# New Policies, Old Attitudes?

## Discrimination against Roma in Norway

Runa Falck Langaas

Masteroppgave

Vår/2017

Institutt for sammenliknende politikk
Universitetet i Bergen

# Abstract

Norway has a long history of discrimination against a group of Roma, namely the Tater/Romani people. In 1998, the Norwegian authorities officially apologised for the way in which the Tater/Romani people had been treated. A few years later, another group of Roma started coming to Norway from Eastern Europe to make a living through begging. By the time these individuals came to Norway laws against discrimination were in place, but we have seen many examples of hateful speech or acts directed against Roma people. The research question of this thesis is: *To what extent do Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination?* To answer this question, I use secondary literature to examine the history of Roma and antiziganism in Norway. I also document the political efforts that have been made to limit discrimination in Norway. I then discuss theories on why one would think the ideals of the anti-discrimination laws have been met. I use survey experiments to examine attitudes towards immigrant Roma and find that despite the tremendous political change described in the first part of the thesis, there is not equal treatment of the Roma minority in Norway today.

# Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I wish to thank my inspiring supervisor, Professor Elisabeth Ivarsflaten (UoB), for an interesting suggestion of topic, constructive, thorough and efficient guidance, and contagious enthusiasm throughout the process. I also want to thank all the wonderful people at DIGSSCORE, and the Norwegian Citizen Panel for granting me a stipend.

In addition, I would like to express my gratitude for all the possibilities I have had to present my work while writing this thesis: Thank you to the MOR research group at the Department of Comparative Politics, the DIGSSCORE lunch seminar, and the students participating at the IMER seminar. I also want to thank the "Less Hate, More Speech" project for inviting me to present my preliminary findings at their seminar in Budapest this spring.

I am very much obliged for the comments from Professor Ian Hancock (University of Texas in Austin), who took the time to discuss my project, and Professor Paul Sniderman (Stanford University), who gave insightful criticism on the methods and experiments chapters. I additionally have to thank Troy Saghaug Broderstad (UoB) for technical assistance and encouraging words.

Thank you to all my friends, family, and the many people who have showed an interest in my project. At last, thank you Daniel, for being supportive, loving, and patient.

Runa Falck Langaas
Bergen, May 2017

## Contents

# Figures and tables

# 1 Introduction

In Norway, there is a history of tough assimilation towards a group of Roma, namely the Tater/Romani people. The assimilation was done through measures we would strongly oppose today (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 5-6). From the mid-1800s to the 1980s, the Norwegian government tried to assimilate the Tater/Romani people. The goal was to replace the itinerant lifestyle with a sedentary one, through almost any means (NOU 2015: 7, 10). The state introduced laws and regulations with discriminatory effects, and created negative prejudices against the Tater/Romani people (NOU 2015: 7, 5).

After World War II, the state's policies towards minorities have gradually changed. The value of a multicultural and diverse society has been recognized (Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet, 2014). In 1998 the Norwegian authorities officially apologised for the way in which the Tater/Romani people had been treated (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 40) and in 1999 the Tater/Romani people received status as a national minority (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001)).

Since then, a new group of Roma, immigrant Roma from eastern Europe, have to an increasing degree come to Norway to beg, collect bottles and do other types of informal street work. This has created heated political debate and also sparked a significant amount of hatred towards the Roma in social media and in the comments sections on internet news sites (Djuve, Friberg, Tyldum & Zhang, 2015, 7). Even though the groups which the begging concerns do not only consist of Roma, the debate has been carried out as if the begging issue is a "Gypsy problem" (Kaveh, 2015, 29). The debate was renewed earlier this year, when the main Norwegian public television broadcaster, NRK, showed the documentary "*Lykkelandet*" about a Romanian network which controls the market of organized begging, prostitution and drug sales in Bergen (TV2, 2017).

This thesis was in the completion phase and the data collection was long finished at the height of this most recent debate in the spring of 2017. This thesis does therefore not speak directly to that debate. However, the public discussions following "*Lykkelandet*" demonstrated the need for more studies on the relationship between the Norwegian state and society, on the one hand, and the Roma minority on the other. This thesis is one such study. It contributes to our

knowledge about this relationship, first, by documenting real progress on the law and policy-making side. Second, the thesis contributes to our knowledge by demonstrating a remaining gap between the non-discrimination ideals embedded in these laws and policies and the Norwegian citizens' attitudes as revealed through survey experiments.

## 1.1 Research question and structure of the thesis

My research question is: *To what extent do Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination?*

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. In the next chapter I will define the Roma and explain the distinction between the three different Roma groups in Norway today. I distinguish between the Tater/Romani people (first migration), the Norwegian Roma (second migration) and immigrant Roma (third migration). Furthermore, I define important concepts for this thesis, such as Roma, prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. I explain the phenomenon of antiziganism, which is the special kind of racism that is directed towards Roma. Moreover, I give an overview of the history of discrimination against the Roma both in Norway and elsewhere in Europe. This thesis has a bigger background chapter than many other MA theses, for the simple reason that when I started working on the topic, I found a part of Norwegian history that many are not aware of. The historical context is important in understanding the situation of Roma today. It is also a likely explanation for why the attitudes towards Roma do not reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination.

Chapter three examines the political changes towards anti-discrimination laws. After World War II, values like cultural and ethnic diversity were to an increasing degree accentuated. I have tried to trace this shift in Norway, step by step through the various relevant international treaties and agreements the state has signed since then. I also aim to explain why and how it happened. The chapter also examines some of the social movements that have worked for Roma rights. Some political science scholars assert that treaties have noticeably positive consequences, while others emphasize the impact of social mobilization. Especially the first approach could lead us to expect that Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma have changed according to the recent anti-discrimination laws.

After this historical and theoretical background, I introduce the method and data in chapter four. The method used to study citizens' attitudes is survey experiments. As far as I know, survey experiments have never been used to examine attitudes towards immigrant Roma in Norway before, despite scholarly agreement that experiments is a very valuable tool for research on attitudes and discrimination. In a survey experiment, respondents are randomly assigned to treatment groups. Any differences we observe across subgroups must have been caused by the experimental treatment. This method is unique in its combination of high internal and external validity. The data is from the Norwegian Citizen Panel wave 4 (2015) and wave 6 (2016).

The presentation of the survey experiments and the results of them have been separated into two chapters. Chapter five is about what I have termed "the Roma penalty" and consists of two survey experiments designed to measure discrimination of the Roma minority in to different situations. The first survey experiment is about renting an apartment to specific groups. The second experiment is about support for a policy change that would limit the possibility to immigrate to Norway. Both experiments show a considerable disadvantage for the Roma minority, or a significant "Roma penalty".

The subsequent chapter examines what is behind the discriminating behaviour. The first experiment is related to the Stereotype Content Model. It reveals that Roma are considered colder and less competent than any of the other minority groups in the experiment. The other experiment measures the respondents' internal motivation to control prejudice. It shows that people are less motivated to control their prejudice towards Roma than towards the other minority groups.

The thesis demonstrates that Norwegian citizens still discriminate against the Roma minority. This is something we did not know for certain before, but which we now know. I do not have data over time, so I cannot tell whether the development has been in a positive or negative direction. It is reasonable to expect that the political changes have affected Norwegians' attitudes in a positive way. In spite of the many laws against discrimination, it appears evident that an individual that is perceived to be affiliated with the Roma minority is still likely to be at a considerable disadvantage in Norwegian society today. This is both when compared to individuals associated with ingroups and when compared to individuals associated with other minority groups.

# 2 History of discrimination

In this chapter, I discuss who the Roma are and the commonly made distinction between the three migrations of Roma in Norway. I then define important concepts and models, such as prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination and the Stereotype Content Model. I then explain the concept of antiziganism and what the stereotypes against Roma are. Moreover, I summarize the history of discrimination against the Tater/Romani people in Norway and against the Roma all over Europe.

## 2.1 Roma people

The historical background of the Romani populations is crucial to understand who these groups are, and how they are related to each other. There are three main groups of Romani populations living in Norway today; Tater/Romani people, Norwegian Roma and immigrant Roma. This thesis is mainly about the Tater/Romani people and immigrant Roma, not about the Norwegian Roma. I have nevertheless chosen to also mention their history, because the experiences of Norwegian Roma are also part of the historical context for Tater/Romani people and immigrant Roma.

The official EU and European Council terminology is that Roma is an umbrella term that includes groups of people who share some cultural characteristics and a history of segregation in European societies, such as the Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Gens du voyage, Kalé, etc.[1] (Council of Europe, 2012, 4; Selling, 2015b, xiv). Kaveh (2015, 30) uses the term Roma as a designation for people who regard themselves as Roma or were and are regarded as such by the governments under such labels as "Gypsy" with its national variations ("*sigøyner*", "*tater*", etc). In Norway this is the case for both immigrant Roma and Tater/Romani people (and Norwegian Roma). I have chosen to use the same terminology.

It is estimated that there are 10 million Roma in Europe, and perhaps 2-3 million elsewhere. Roma is not a single entity. They recognize Roma in other countries as fellow Roma, but consider them «not our sort of Roma». The label «Roma» has largely replaced the former «Gypsy» (Stewart 2015, 748). In 2005, International Roma associations requested that the term

---

[1] In some of the groups mentioned there is no consensus on this designation, but the term Romanies enjoys a wider acceptance (Selling, 2015b, xiv).

"Gypsies" should no longer be used. The Roma found the term to be linked with negative, paternalistic stereotypes which still pursue them in Europe (Council of Europe 2012, 8). Norwegian media started using Roma *("rom")* instead of Gypsies *("sigøynere")* in 2008 (Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012, 7).

The history of Roma is not well documented. What we know about their history is primarily based on linguistic studies (Bunescu 2014, 25; Greenberg 2010, 924). The origin of their language, Romani, has been traced back to India. There is now consensus among researchers that the Roma have descended from groups who emigrated from India to Europe at least one thousand years ago (European Commission 2004, 7; Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 31; *St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001)*, 32). Still, the sources do not agree on Roma's arrival in Europe. Hancock (1992, 40) asserts that the first European Romani diaspora began in the 13th century, when the first Roma crossed the Dardanelles into the Balkans (Hancock, 1992, 40-41). According to St.meld nr. 15 (2000-2001, 32), Egypt was one of the gates to Europe and the Roma reached the Balkans a little later, in the 1300s. The word "Gypsy" derives from "Egyptians", because people thought they came originally from Egypt[2] (End, 2015, 101).

Some of these Roma then went further into northern and western Europe (Hancock, 1992, 40), during the period known as the First Migration (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 37). In the first half of the 1400s, they went to Germany, France, Spain and Portugal, and around 1500 they went to Scotland (Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012, 6). It is common to separate between different migrations or diasporas of Romani populations. In Norway, there are three such groups. The Tater/Romani people belongs to the first migration, Norwegian Roma consist of the second migration, while immigrant Roma can be seen as part of the third migration (Hancock, 1992; Minken, 2009; Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015; Pedersen, 2016).

### 2.1.1 First migration: Tater/Romani people

Since the 16th century, there have been Roma groups in Norway which go by different names in different regions, but which were usually called "*tatere*" or nowadays Romani (Kaveh, 2015,

---

[2] The Norwegian word "*sigøyner*" (which is also used in some variation in French, German, Italian and the other Scandinavian languages) is derived from the Greek word *athinganoi* which is translated to "alien" or "stranger". It was used in the Romanian language as one of several synonyms for slave (Westin, 2015, 200).

30). The Tater/Romani people have many names; *reisende* ("Travellers"), *vandriar* ("Wanderer"), *romanifolket* ("Romani people"), *tatere* ("Taters"), *fant, splint, omstreifere* ("Vagrants"). Those who travelled by sea and lived on boats were called *kystreisende* ("Coast Travellers"). Several of these designations have never been used by the group itself and have negative connotations. The term Vagrants (*omstreifer*) was formerly used in official documents, but has negative connotations today. Designations like the Travellers (*de reisende*), Romani people (*romanifolket*) and wanderer (*vandriar*) have been perceived as more positive by the group itself. The word Tater used to have negative connotations. Parts of the group wish to take the term back, to demonstrate that they appreciate their origins. Others do not agree with this. Because of this internal disagreement, it is safest to use the more complicated designation *Romanifolket (taterne/de reisende)* in Norwegian (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 36; *St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001)*, 45). "Romani" could be confusing in English, because it includes all kinds of Roma people (Rosvoll & Bielenberg 2012, 6). In this thesis, I have nevertheless chosen to use the term into "Tater/Romani people", which is the same as is used in some of my English sources (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015; Vollebæk & Plesner, 2014).

There are no certain numbers of how many people belong to the Tater/Romani people in Norway, but there are are thought to be at least a few thousand. There are huge variations in how they live, both when it comes to education level, living conditions, beliefs and how they live as travelers (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 45). The clear majority of Tater/Romani people now have permanent homes, but many maintain their itinerant culture by going travelling for parts of the year. There are differences within the group as to how much they wish to emphasize their Tater/Romani people heritage. Many of them have grown up in a society where Tater/Romani people have been oppressed, and where words such as "*tater*", "*fark*", "*splint*" and "*fant*" have been used as derogatory terms. Some are frightened that increased focus on the Tater/Romani people will lead to further oppression (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 39-41).

The first documentation of Roma people in Norway is from 1505. In 1512, another group appeared in Stockholm, called "*tattare*". These were probably representatives from the same people (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 32). It is disputed among Tater/Romani people today whether the Tater/Romani people mentioned in the sources from the 17th century and onwards can be directly linked to the Roma groups that came to Scandinavia in the beginning of the 16th

century. Many of them wish to distance themselves from the other Roma groups (Minken 2009, 15). The Tater/Romani people is not considered to be the same ethnic group as the Roma in Norway (Rosvoll & Bielenberg 2012, 6). Norway has decided to recognise the two groups as two separate national minorities, whereas in Sweden, Roma and "*Resande*" are considered parts of the one national minority of Romanies. The Norwegian as well as the Swedish decision reflect the different political strategies in different countries by the groups concerned (Selling, 2015a, 42).

The first to launch a theory about "*fantefolket*" (another designation for the Tater/Romani people) was the social scientist and cultural researcher Eilert Sundt (NOU 2015: 7, 42). He argued that they stemmed from two groups. Partly from the "real Gypsies", partly from the old Norwegian farmer society (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 32-33). Whereas more recent linguistic and historical research has supported the understanding of the West-European Roma as a distinct group within the Romani populations. Their roots go back to the first Roma migration in the 15th century. Both linguistically and historically they differ markedly from the South-East European Roma who came to Western Europe from the 1850s and onwards (Minken 2009, 16-17).

Other researchers argue that the groups have different origins. According to this position, the linguistic similarities between their languages have emerged in the cultural meetings between the Roma and the Tater/Romani people (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 32). The Council of Europe (2012, 7) writes: "In Norway, the term "*Romani*" refers to a separate minority, distinct from the Roma. The Norwegian Romani/Travellers are an indigenous community who do not share the North Indian origin of the Roma." Whether the Tater/Romani people share the same Indian origins as other Roma or not, the policies towards both groups have largely been the same. The authorities made it difficult for both the Roma and the Tater/Romani people to make a living in a legal way through traditional occupations (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 32). I will come back to this part of the history of Tater/Romani people in Norway later in this chapter.

### 2.1.2 Second migration: Norwegian Roma

The Roma who remained in Moldovia and Wallachia, in present-day Romania, were enslaved in the 14th -19th century (Hancock 1992, 41; Greenberg 2010, 924). The second migration consisted of ex-slaves who fled from Romania from the 1860s onwards. Descendants of these

Roma, usually referred to as the Vlax, have settled everywhere where the first migration populations are also found. Thus, in Scandinavia, as elsewhere in Europe, the Romani populations consist of both the first and the second migration immigrants. Because of the very different historical situations distinguishing the two migratory waves, and the resulting linguistic divergence, Vlax and non-Vlax Roma today share little social interaction, even when they inhabit the same environment (Hancock, 1992, 40-41).

The first group of Vlach Roma probably came to Norway in the 1860s. In the beginning, little attention was paid to the small Roma entourages staying in Norway. In 1927, however, the "Gypsy paragraph" ("*sigøynerparagrafen*") was added to the Foreign Act (*fremmedloven*). It stated that "Gypsies and other foreign Vagrants" could no longer enter the country. Their Norwegian passports became invalid. When a group of Norwegian Roma tried to flee Germany for Norway in 1934 they were turned away and sent back. Most of these people lost their life in the concentration camps. Survivors from the group applied for entry permits again during the 1950s. Many of them were born in Norway and were also able to prove it with their birth certificates. All applications were initially rejected. Political pressure and extensive media coverage eventually led the authorities to allow most of them to return. In 1956 the legislative clause on a special entry ban for "Gypsies" was abolished (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 31-32; Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012, 38-39; St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 35)

Roma who settled in Norway after the ban was lifted found life difficult. Many experienced that they were not believed when they described the abuses they had suffered during the war. They were deeply affected by the fate of many of their family members, but Norwegian Roma could not access the compensation schemes that were set up for other concentration camp prisoners. Besides, their traditional trades were no longer in demand (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 31-33).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the state and Oslo municipality conducted a series of special measures directed towards problems among the Norwegian Roma group. For instance, a kindergarten and leisure club was established for children and youth who belonged to the Roma population. The "Gypsy office" *("Sigøynerkontoret")* was established in Oslo in 1973. Their main task was settlement and practical help in relation to this. In addition, they dealt with applications for social assistance and managed the payments. All these special measures were discontinued in

the beginning of the 90s, partly because they were expensive and partly because they were not considered successful (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 35).

Norwegian Roma mostly live in the Oslo-area, and travel during the summer season ((St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 35). Following the so-called Diamond Raid, a fraud perpetrated against the Norwegian central bank by people with a Norwegian Roma background, Norwegian Roma experienced growing prejudice and many moved to Sweden. The exact number of the second migration Roma in Norway today is not known, but it may be between 500 and 750 (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 33-34).

### 2.1.3 Third migration: Immigrant Roma

The third migration of Roma from Eastern to Western Europe took place in the second half of the 20th century. It was caused by war and political changes, in addition to racism and discrimination  (Karoly n.d., 1). Some Roma people have come to Norway as asylum seekers, primarily from former Yugoslavia (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 35). The Roma from Romania who have come to Norway to beg can be seen as part of this third migration.

When Brattvåg (2007) interviewed Romanian beggars in Oslo in 2006, most of the beggars were Roma. One of these said she came to Norway to beg for the first time in 2004 (Brattvåg, 2007). The ban on begging was abolished in 2006 (Elden, 2013) and Romania became an EU member in 2007 (European Union, n.d.). As EU-members, Romanians could stay in Norway for up to three months without a visa (Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012, 46). This has led to an increase of immigrant Roma who come to Norway. In the wake of the economic crisis in Europe, marginalised segments of Romanian society have migrated to Scandinavian countries. They make a living through begging, collecting bottles and other types of informal street work, and tend to sleep outside in parks, on street pavements, in parked cars or camped in the woods (Djuve, Friberg, Tyldum, & Zhang, 2015, 7).

The conspicuous presence of abject poverty and marginalisation in public spaces has created heated political debate. In the social media and in the comment sections of internet news sites it has also sparked a significant amount of racism and hatred towards the Roma (Djuve et al. 2015, 7). In April 2017, a program on the Norwegian public broadcaster NRK, Brennpunkt, showed a documentary entitled *"Lykkelandet"*, which documented how a Romanian network

of 140 persons controls the prostitution and beggar market in Bergen. The documentary was the most seen Brennpunkt documentary to date, and it led to strong reactions They day after the documentary was shown on TV, beggars reported that they been exposed for harassment and violence. They had been kicked, hit and spat on (Braseth, 2017).

## 2.2 Prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination

Prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination are closely linked and often coexist in the individual expressing social bias. However, each is a distinct construct with unique properties. All three forms of social bias can lead to preservation of the status quo, particularly when shown by dominant group members (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013, 890). Prejudice is an individual-level attitude toward groups and their members that creates or maintains hierarchical status relations between groups. Stereotypes can be defined as associations and beliefs about the characteristics and attributes of a group and its members, that shape how people think about and respond to the group. They systematically affect how people perceive, process information about, and respond to, group members (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010, 7-8). Discrimination, on the other hand, can be defined as behaviour that creates, maintains, or reinforces advantage for some groups and their members over other groups and their member (Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010, 10)

Stereotyping is a process of categorization. The stereotypes introduce simplicity and order where there is complexity and nearly random variation (Tajfel, 1969, 82). However, stereotypes also constrain. In general, stereotypes produce a readiness to perceive behaviors or characteristics that are consistent with the stereotypes (Dovidio et al., 2010, 7). There is good evidence that even when facts destroy the useful and comfortable distinctions, we still find ways to preserve the general content of our categories (Tajfel, 1969, 82). Stereotypes arise from, and are reinforced by, discrimination. People infer the characteristics of groups based on the social roles they occupy. Consequently, people view members of groups with lower socioeconomic status as less competent/motivated than high-status groups members, even if the status is caused by discrimination. This way stereotypes justify disparities between groups (Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010, 7). Discrimination appears to be associated with a range of other factors than prejudice and attitudes, such as one's motivation and opportunity to control one's prejudice (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013, 892).

Social categorization often occurs automatically, on the basis of physical similarity, proximity, or shared fate. Social categorization has immediate and profound effects on the perception of groups and their members. When people are categorized into groups, actual differences between members of the same category tend to be perceptually minimized, while differences between groups tend to become exaggerated and overgeneralized. Moreover, social categorization typically identifies an individual as either a member of the ingroup or an outgroup. The distinction between ingroup and outgroup members significantly shapes social perception, affect, cognition and behaviour (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2010, 315). Differential treatment of ingroup versus outgroup members, whether rooted in favouritism for one's own group or biases against the other group, contributes to the advantaged position of one's own group (Dovidio, Gaertner, et al., 2010, 316).

Al Ramiah and Hewstone (2013) argue that there is only a modest relationship between attitudes and behaviour, but in the effort to create a better world where people have equal opportunities, one must combat both prejudice and discrimination. Reducing prejudice should result in fewer incidences of discrimination. Combating discrimination should result in people re-evaluating their attitudes over time in order to bring them into line with current norms and laws (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013, 904). To combat discrimination, they argue, policy-makers must both seek to reduce the negative stereotypes and prejudice that people hold, and combat discrimination directly through various legal means (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013, 912).

**2.2.1 Stereotype Content Model**

Stereotypes have typically been divided into two categories, either flattering or unflattering. It has been presumed that flattering stereotypes target in-groups, while unflattering stereotypes lead to prejudice toward out-groups (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002, 878). The Stereotype Content Model suggests that stereotypes are more complex than that. According to this framework, stereotypes are captured by two dimensions, warmth and competence. Warmth comprises qualities such as morality, trustworthiness, kindness, friendliness, and being good-natured and sincere. Competence is about being efficient, skilful, creative, capable, confident and intelligent (Cuddy et al., 2009, 3; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008, 63; Fiske et al., 2002). Positive stereotypes on one dimension are often consistent with negative stereotypes on the other dimension (Fiske et al., 2002, 878).

When people meet others, they want to know what the other's intentions will be, and how effectively the other will pursue those intentions. Well-intentioned others are seen as warm, and capable others are seen as competent. Intention and capability is related to competition and status, which have long been identified as important variables in intergroup relations. Competition and status also predict the warmth and competence judgments. Groups viewed as high status (e.g., rich people) are stereotyped as competent, whereas groups viewed as low status (e.g., poor people) are believed to be incompetent. Groups viewed as competitors are stereotyped as lacking warmth, whereas groups viewed as cooperative are stereotyped as warm (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007, 632; Cuddy et al., 2008, 92-94; Fiske et al., 2002, 878-879).

According to the Stereotype Content Model framework, the four combinations of high versus low warmth and competence judgments create four unique emotional responses; admiration, contempt, envy, and pity (Cuddy et al., 2008, 102). High-status, non-competitive groups (e.g., in-groups, societal reference groups) are stereotyped as both competent and warm, and elicit admiration and pride. Low-status, non-competitive groups (e.g., housewives, elderly) are stereotyped as warm but incompetent, and are pitied. The high-status, competitive groups (e.g., rich people, Jews) are ambivalently stereotyped as competent but cold, and are envied. The only groups eliciting contempt and disgust are the low-status, competitive groups (e.g., welfare recipients, poor people) deemed neither warm nor competent. In the worst cases, these latter outgroups are severely dehumanized (Cuddy et al., 2008, 102; Fiske et al., 2002, 879 & 881)

Judgments of warmth and competence underlie perceptions of others, driving perceivers' emotional and behavioural reactions. The universality of the warmth and competence dimensions result from their correspondence to two critical questions for surviving and thriving in a social world; status and competition (Cuddy et al., 2008, 63, 92-93). The Stereotype Content Model has been tested and proved applicable in Norway (Bye, Herrebrøden, Hjetland, Røyset, & Westby, 2014). The Stereotype Content Model is relevant when examining discrimination against the Roma, because it not only shows that discriminatory behaviours can range from the subtle to the overt, but also that the particular views that we have about each out-group can determine the manifestation of discrimination (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013, 897).

The BIAS map (Cuddy et al., 2007) builds on the Stereotype Content Model, proposing that the four combinations of high versus low warmth and competence elicit not only differentiated emotions, but also four patterns of behavioural responses: active facilitation (e.g., help), active harm (e.g., harassment), passive facilitation (e.g., convenient cooperation), and passive harm (e.g., neglect). Groups judged as warm elicit active facilitation, whereas those judged as lacking warmth elicit active harm. Groups judged as competent elicit passive facilitation, whereas those judged as lacking competence elicit passive harm (Cuddy et al., 2008, 70-71 & 107).

Active facilitation explicitly aims to benefit a target. Interpersonally, these behaviours include helping, assisting, and defending others. This could for example be to open the door for someone. At the intergroup level, this would include hiring, promoting, and befriending group members. Institutionally, these behaviours include assistance programs for the needy, corporate charitable giving, progressive tax codes, and anti-discrimination policies. Active harm on the other hand, explicitly intends to hurt a target and its interests. Individual insults, bullying, and attack are individual active harms. Using group epithets, sexual harassment, and hate crimes all constitute group-based active harm. Institutionally, active harm can range from discriminatory policies to legalized segregation to mass internment to genocide (Cuddy et al., 2008, 109).

Passive facilitation accepts obligatory association or convenient cooperation with a target. Such behaviour is passive because contact is not desired, but only tolerated in the service of other goals. Interpersonal examples include tolerating association in educational, commercial, or professional settings. Intergroup examples include hiring the services of outgroup members or choosing to work with members of a group assumed to be smart on a team project. Institutionally, realpolitik cooperation with a disliked regime illustrates passive facilitation. Passive harm demeans or distances others through excluding, ignoring, or neglecting. Interpersonal passive harm includes avoiding eye contact, being dismissive, and ignoring another person. The same behaviours applied on the basis of outgroup membership would constitute intergroup passive harm. Institutionally, passive harm involves disregarding the needs of some groups (e.g., by denying assistance) or limiting access to necessary resources such as education, housing, and healthcare. Passive harm acts without the group, denying its existence, harming its members by omission of normal human recognition (Cuddy et al., 2008, 109).

## 2.3 Antiziganism

Antiziganism is also known as anti-Gypsyism, romaphobia and gypsophobia (for a discussion of the term, see End, 2015). A resolution adopted by the European Parliament in April 2005 was the first official text to speak of «Anti-Gypsyism/Romaphobia». Since then, references to antiziganism have become increasingly common at the international level (Liégeois 2007, 298). Antiziganism is the special kind of racism that is directed towards Roma. The European Parliament defines it as «an ideology founded on racial superiority, a form of dehumanisation and institutional racism nurtured by historical discrimination, which is expressed by, among other things, violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatisation and the most blatant kind of discrimination» (European Parliament, n.d.).

However, to define antiziganism is harder than one might think, since antiziganism refers not only to the hostility against the Roma and Sinti, but also against those who have been labeled "Gypsies" by the majority society, even if they are not of Roma or Sinti ethnicity (Wippermann 2015, 3). Both Roma and Tater/Romani people are exposed to antiziganism and the same mechanisms of exclusion. The stereotypes about Roma are often the same as for the Tater/Romani people. Back in the 18th century, the government did not even distinguish between Roma and Tater/Romani people (Rosvoll & Bielenberg 2012, 14). Antiziganism is a hatred towards some conception of deviant social behavior which is attributed to those perceived as "Gypsies", no matter how the group members themselves identify. The "Gypsy" symbolizes a dangerous and at the same time desirable negotiation of social rules, imagined to be the core of "Gypsy life" (End, 2015).

YouGov did a survey in 2015 to examine what impressions, positive or negative, people had of different groups in society. The groups they asked about were Roma/Gypsies, Muslims, Black people, gay people and Jews. Their research included seven countries; Denmark, Finland, France, Britain, Germany, Norway and Sweden. In all of them, negative impressions of Roma/Gypsies was the most common (Dahlgreen, 2015).

### 2.3.1 What are the stereotypes about Romani populations?
Previous scholars have divided the stereotypes about Roma into two categories. One is positive and romantic, the other is negative and stigmatizing. These have been almost the same ever

since the first Roma came to Europe, and it is striking how similar the stereotypes are all over the continent. The two categories of stereotypes are not mutually exclusive, but rather overlapping (Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012, 17). The negative stereotypes are most common. Roma are regarded as thieves, rowdy, dirty and immoral people, tricksters, social misfits and layabouts (Liégeois, 2007, 159). An analysis of Norwegian media's presentation of Roma found a variety of expressions that describe their stereotypic characteristics: *"Zigøinerplagen"*, *"uvesen"*, *"landeplage"*, *"frekk"*, *"sjenerende"*, *"problem"*, *"tigging"*, *"renn på dørene"* and *"uorden"* (Eide & Simonsen, 2007, 76-77).

All over Europe, Roma have been viewed as criminals and lazy parasites, liars and troublemakers. Roma have been seen as outsiders with something in their blood that should not be spread to the majority population (Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012, 19). A widespread negative stereotype is that immigrant Roma are criminals, rather than poor, and that they create insecurity in the public spaces, because of their (culturally conditioned) aggressive behaviour (Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet, 2014). There are many examples of how the same stereotypes manifest themselves in different languages. In most countries, the collective term for Roma and Travellers is pejorative, and transmits all the negative force of the popular image in itself. In English, to gyp means to steal. In Greece, the expression «Gypsy house» describes a dirty and untidy home. In Polish, «cyganic» means to lie or to trick. In Bulgarian, even in dictionaries, the second meaning of «tsiganin» is «dirty, false, bad» (Liégeois 2007, 159-160).

The persistent and repellent caricature of the nomad is blended with the ambiguous, sometimes attractive image of the folklore Gypsy (Liégeois, 2007, 160). The positive stereotypes say that Roma are attractive, seductive, free, they do what they like, they travel around and enjoy life. The stereotypical Gypsy women are fortune tellers and beautiful dancers who wear traditional costumes and jewelry. These stereotypes can be found all over Europe in media, literature, politics and music. Although the stereotype is mainly positive, it has a negative element. The Roma are seen as uncontrollable, quick tempered and unpredictable. This stereotype can be an explanation for why Roma are so often declared incompetent and unreliable by the society (Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012, 22-24). Lein (2016, 58) found that negative stereotypes about the Roma people do exist in contemporary Norway, but that such negative stereotypes are not necessarily a majority phenomenon. The most widespread stereotype was the idea that Roma people are family oriented. Many people also agreed that Roma people are criminals and that they do not want to work (Lein, 2016, 50-51).

## 2.4 Discrimination policies towards the Tater/Romani people

In the 1800s, nationalism was the prevailing ideology. The vision of one culture, one language and one people gave little room for being different (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 37). Assimilation was the prevailing policy in great parts of Europe and North America from the mid-1800s. In Norway, this policy lasted until at least the second world war, which is longer than in most other countries. The reason could be that Norway was a relatively young nation state. The development towards an independent Norway through the 1800s and early 1900s resulted in strong nationalistic sentiments that were deeply rooted in the Norwegian society (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 29).

The policy towards the Tater/Romani people and their children must also be seen in light of the political orientations in the Western world towards minorities. In colonial areas, like Australia, Canada and New Zealand, measures directed towards children and families of national minorities had been actively used to promote assimilation (Pettersen, 2000, 75). The historical context is also important. The church still played a significant role in the society when the policies towards the Tater/Romani people were made. Compared to other North European countries with a vagrant minority, the situation in Norway was different because of the influence of Christian groups. Several people had a strong, personal involvement in promoting a Christian-inspired view of the Tater/Romani people in the Norwegian society (Hvinden, 2000, 20-21)

In the 1840s, the authorities asserted that the large Vagrant groups (*fantefølgene*) in Norway were about to become a plague. The Government decided that the "Vagrants" (*"omstreifere"*), including the Tater/Romani people (*fantene*), were to be counted during the population census in 1845. The list consisted of 223 Vagrant groups and all in all 1145 persons. The official policy consisted for a long time of attempts to get this group under control. This was done through criminalizing the Vagrant lifestyle. The authorities tried to combat the Vagrants (*omstreifervesenet*), mostly with permits to initiatives that should give children of Vagrants a Christian upbringing and schooling. The Child Protection Act (*vergerådsloven*) of 1896 allowed the authorities to take children away from all travellers, while the Vagrancy Act

16

(*løsgjengerloven)* of 1900 made the itinerant lifestyle a crime (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 37; St.meld nr. 15 (2000-2001), 33).

### 2.4.1 The Mission

In 1897, the private organisation "Association for Combating Vagrants" ("*Foreningen for bekjempelse av omstreifervesenet*") was established. It soon developed into an administrator of the social services for the Tater/Romani people, with subsidies from the state. In 1935 the association changed its name to "Norwegian Mission for the Homeless" ("*Norsk misjon blant hjemløse*"), often just called the Mission. The government delegated the work to assimilate the Tater/Romani people to the Mission. The aim was to eradicate the Tater/Romani people culture (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 39; St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 33). Both the Child Protection Act and the Vagrancy Act were important prerequisites for the Mission's activities (Hvinden, 2000, 16).

The Child Protection Act allowed for measures against Tater/Romani children, which played an important role for the organisation, both as a purpose of financial support and as ideological justification (Hvinden 2000, 16). The Mission opened six children's homes between 1900-1929. They also established other institutions, like school homes. All their institutions were primarily for Tater/Romani children, but from the 1950s other children were also taken in (Sandvik, 2000, 102). In total, at least 1500 children were taken from parents with Tater/Romani background and placed in children's homes or foster care. Even though the size of the Tater/Romani population for this period is unknown, this is a big part of the population which the Mission and the government assumed belonged to the Tater/Romani people. It is probably almost a third of the population over two generations. Many of the children were neglected and exposed to physical and psychological abuse. The Mission in most cases made sure that contact between the child and the biological parents was broken. This did not happen with other groups, and it was probably a deliberate policy by the Mission, and accepted by the government (NOU 2015: 7, 40-41).

Many of the children grew up without knowing about their Tater/Romani people background. Some only got to know their relation to the Tater/Romani people as adults. There was a low threshold for punishment in the activities run by the Mission. Several children became ill and were sent to psychiatric institutions. The children can also have been sent to psychiatric

institutions because they resisted the strict discipline. Tater/Romani people who have been to orphanages, and to some degree boarding schools, often tell about a systematic degradation and contempt for their culture. The Ministry of Social Affairs vouched for the operations, and the Parliament praised the organisation (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 39; St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 33).

The Vagrancy Act was an important condition for the Mission's work with settlement of the Tater/Romani people. Svanviken labour colony was established as part of the settlement policies (Hvinden, 2000, 16). The Mission also had other labour colonies, like the Bergfløtt labour colony for "*geseller og enslige mænd*" (NOU 2015:7, 44), but Svanviken labour colony is the most infamous one. It was established in 1908, and located in Eide municipality at Nordmøre. All in all, 990 children and adults stayed at Svanviken between 1908 and 1989 (NOU 2015: 7, 44). More than one hundred families of Tater/Romani people descent were sent to the Svanviken labour colony in Nordmøre to be "weaned off" their traditional way of life and become "good Christians". Under the threat of having their children taken away from them, Tater/Romani people families were prohibited from speaking Scandoromani, wearing traditional clothes and practising traditional handicrafts. They were not permitted to receive visits from relatives (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 39).

### 2.4.2 Sterilization

In the 1920s, the idea of race hygiene became influential in Norway. Tater/Romani people's genes were regarded as undesirable. The Sterilisation Act of 1934 allowed for forced sterilisation of people with serious mental conditions, people who were mentally deficient, or people whose mental development was severely impaired. The goal was to exterminate so-called "inferior genes" from the population, and in this way reduce the scope of amongst other mental retardation, criminality and alcoholism (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 37; St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 34).

The Mission's leaders did not promote sterilization as a measure in the public. Nevertheless, many Tater/Romani people were sterilized and central employees in the Mission seem to have contributed to these sterilizations. Some Tater/Romani people resisted the Mission's measures and continued their vagrant way of life after their stay at for example Svanviken labour colony. Sterilization could work as a possible reaction to the unsuccessful cases. The Mission's original

aim was to make good, settled Christians of the Tater/Romani people, but with sterilization the aim moved towards preventing that certain members of the group got any (more) descendants (Hvinden 2000, 25).

The sterilizations occurred in the period 1934-1977 (Aas & Vestgården, 2014, 53). It is hard to give a certain number of how many Tater/Romani people were sterilized on the basis of race hygienic indications, but one estimate is around 500 (Bastrup & Sivertsen, 1996, 232). Haave (2000, 48) has documented that 109 Tater/Romani people (94 women, 15 men) were sterilized on the basis of the Sterilization Act. In addition, 15 women and one man was sterilized after the "*Lov nr. 1 til vern om folkeretten*" between 1943-45. Sterilization also occurred without legal basis. How many Tater/Romani women were exposed to sterilization in this way is almost impossible to find out (Haave, 2000, 48).

The youngest Tater/Romani girl was only 14 years old when she was sterilized, at the end of the 1940s (Haave 2000, 52). Tater/Romani women were more likely to be sterilized without their own permission than other women in Norway (Haave 2000, 48 & 52). Many of them were left with physical and mental scars, and several later committed suicide. Lobotomy was also carried out on Tater/Romani people, resulting in death for some of them (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 37 & 39).

## 2.4.3 After World War II

The Tater/Romani people probably used to have regular itineraries, but after World War II, many began to travel only during the summer and the school vacations. This is related to changes in the Animal Welfare Act in 1951, which made it illegal for Tater/Romani people to use horses. The Tater/Romani people were to a large extent forced out of the traditional itinerant occupations, because of the government's regulations. This has weakened the foundation to maintain, continue and renew the experiences, the knowledge and practical skills that these occupations were based on (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 33 & 45).

The special arrangements for "Vagrants" were not removed before 1986 (NOU 2015:7, 40-41), and the Norwegian Mission for the Homeless continued its activities in Svanviken until 1989 (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 39). The modern policies towards the Tater/Romani people aimed at making a certain group of the population give up their

traditional culture and way of life, and become assimilated in the majority society. If this policy had succeeded, it would result in the Tater/Romani people ceasing to exist as a distinct people (Hvinden 2000, 15). The consequences of the Mission's activities are hard to measure, but it probably contributed to reducing the number of persons registered as Vagrants from the end of the 1800s till the end of the 1920s, from almost 4000 to 2000 (Haave 2000, 39). Aas & Vestgården (2014, 52-53) even argue that the policies against the Tater/Romani people amounted to a genocide, according to the UN Genocide Convention.

Many Tater/Romani people today have been given insufficient schooling. Tater/Romani people children have experienced bullying, harassment and xenophobia from teachers, other pupils and parents because of their ethnic background. This has led many of them to view educational institutions with scepticism. There is still irregular school attendance amongst this minority. Representatives from the minority have themselves pointed out that it is important for schools to acknowledge the historical wariness associated with sending their children to school along with the travelling lifestyle that many of them still pursue (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 39-41).

Prejudices and neglect have contributed to strengthening the Tater/Romani people's feeling of being an outsider. Youth have experienced rejection when they apply for apprenticeships. Others have been rejected when they apply for jobs, a place to live or a place in the camping site, on the grounds that they are of "Tater blood". The negative perceptions behind the assimilation policies in the 20th century have long historical roots, but were to a great extent created from the 1850s onwards (NOU 2015:7, 6).

## 2.5 Discrimination towards Roma all over Europe

Church- and state-owned slaves were freed in Wallachia and Moldavia between 1842 and 1847. Finally, in 1855, all remaining Roma slaves in the region were made free. The influence of abolitionist movements in the West, and humane principles brought home by children of Eastern European elites who studied there, as well as the industrial revolution, which had made the ownership of slaves less of an asset, contributed to the emancipation of perhaps 600,000 Roma slaves (Greenberg, 2010, 924). This is when the first efforts to compel Roma to conform to the norms of the wider society were made. In the subsequent two centuries, Roma were

frequently removed from their families by force and placed with non-Romani families, or placed in institutions, to rid them of what have been perceived as deviant traits, and to end the common existence of the ethnic group itself (European Commission, 2004, 7).

### 2.5.1 Nazi period

The development of modern police practices brought with it the development of ideas of «Gypsy crime», and with it, comprehensive police registers of Roma. Roma were targeted for race-based persecution during the Hitler regime in Germany 1933-45 and in Nazi-occupied countries. In many places, the persecution was implemented by local officials as well as the German authorities (European Commission, 2004, 7-8). The Nazis believed that the Roma lifestyle was rife with criminality, alcoholism and low sexual morals, and that they neglected their children. Like the Jews and disabled, they were deemed to be a threat to society. In the late 1930s several thousand Roma were interned in labour camps, where many were forcibly sterilised and suffered because of overwork and malnutrition (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 32).

With the outbreak of World War II, the Nazis undertook a program to exterminate the Roma, paralleling their "final solution" for the Jews (Greenberg 2010, 925). In 1941 the Nazis began to send thousands of Roma to the concentration camps. It is difficult to say how many Roma were killed in these camps, because the Nazis did not keep as detailed records of murdered Roma as they did of murdered Jews. However, it is estimated that the proportion of Roma who died in the concentration camps is the same as the proportion of Jews (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 32). Some say the number of Roma murdered by the Nazis and their allies in the Second World War is well over 100 000 (Stewart 2015, 751). Another estimate is that the Nazis killed at least 1.5 million in the Roma Holocaust, a number that does not include Roma exterminated by Nazi allied states (Greenberg 2010, 925).

The term *Porrajmos* denotes the Nazi attempt to exterminate the Roma, and was coined by Ian Hancock (Westin 2015, 198). After 1945, the German perpetrators and judges claimed the Roma had not been persecuted for reasons of race, like the Jews, but rather because of their distinctive anti-social characteristics (Wippermann, 2015, 5). For many years after World War II, the West German authorities rejected Romani claims for reparation. As a consequence, Roma

victims of the Nazi genocide were not recognized and Holocaust was not understood to cover the systematic murder of Roma people at Nazi hands (Westin, 2015, 196).


**2.5.2 After World War II**

After the Nazis were defeated in World War II, most Roma residing in Eastern Europe fell under Soviet domination. Roma got jobs, housing, and education (Greenberg 2010, 925). Communist policies toward the Romani populations of eastern Europe treated «Gypsy» as a lifestyle. It was assumed that the Romani cultural and linguistic practices were superficial traits that would be abandoned once full social integration was on offer (Stewart, 2015, 752). This idea produced both some of the first generations of Roma in the elite, as well as further high numbers of Roma in state institutions, removed from their families. Post-war state socialism failed in eradicating racism. Some governments undertook policies of coercive sterilization of Romani women, and in many countries schooling became segregated (European Commission, 2004, 7). Post-communist, democratic polities however, have taken the opposite stance, stressing the distinct cultural and linguistic practices of Romani communities. At the same time, they have condemned a large part of the Romani population to ever greater economic and social marginalization (Stewart, 2015, 752).

A recent report from the European Agency of Fundamental Rights (2016) states that the European Union's largest ethnic minority continues to face intolerable discrimination and unequal access to vital services. Some 80 % of Roma surveyed live below their country's at-risk-of-poverty threshold, every third Roma lives in housing without tap water, every third Roma child goes to bed hungry at least once a month, and 50 % of Roma between the ages of six and 24 do not attend school. Four out of 10 Roma surveyed felt discriminated against at least once in the past five years, yet only a fraction pursued the incident. This is hardly surprising, considering that most Roma are unaware of laws prohibiting discrimination, or of organisations that could offer support. However, the report raises serious questions about the fulfilment of the right to non-discrimination guaranteed by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU and the Racial Equality Directive (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2016, 3)

## 2.6 Summary

This review has given us some reasons to expect that it may take a long time to reach the anti-discrimination ideal. This chapter described a long and heavy history of discrimination against Roma in Europe. Furthermore, the theoretical discussion of prejudice in this chapter further strengthened this expectation in that it argues that negative stereotypes are persistent and take a long time to change.

# 3 Political changes

In this chapter, I trace the political developments which would lead us to think that Roma are met with broader acceptance today. After World War II, the emphasis was mainly on individual human rights. To the extent one cared about minorities protection and human rights, the policies towards Tater/Romani people were not part of such discussion. Critique of the assimilation policies started to appear in the 1970s, and the issue of minority rights emerged in the 1980s, reaching the top of the UN and European agendas in the early 1990s. In 1998, Norwegian authorities apologized for the way in which the Tater/Romani people had been treated. Norway ratified the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1999, which recognized the Tater/Romani people as a national minority. In the 1990s and early 2000s, several Tater/Romani people organisations were established. I end this chapter by discussing the work of scholars who argue that we should expect such policy changes to have a positive impact on human rights and equal treatment.

## 3.1 Human rights, not minority rights

The situation of national minorities in Europe was discussed by the League of Nations already in the interwar period. At that time though, one mainly thought of those people who ended up on the "wrong" side of a new international border. For example, the ethnic Hungarians who found themselves in Romania, or ethnic Germans in Poland (Kymlicka, 2007, 28; St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 20). In World War II, Nazi Germany had justified its invasion of Poland and Czechoslovakia on the grounds that these countries were violating the treaty rights of ethnic Germans on their soil. This created a strong reaction against the concept of international protection of minorities after the war. The new approach was to substitute universal human rights for minority-specific rights (Kymlicka, 2007, 29-30).

In Norway, the assimilation policies towards minorities turned in a more liberal direction in the post-war period, probably because the international, ideological stream had turned (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 30). However, the development was slow and not in line with all the attention human rights received in Norway from the 1950s onwards. Svanviken labour colony continued its activities, and was possibly at its most damaging in the 1950s and 1960s. Children of Tater/Romani people were still taken away from their families, even though the new Child

Welfare Law ("*barnevernloven*") of 1953 prioritized staying together with parents. To the extent one cared about minority protection and human rights, the policies towards Tater/Romani people were not considered in a critical way (NOU 2015: 7, 73).

An example of this, is how the Child Protection Act ("*vergerådsloven*") was used differently in cases of Tater/Romani children than in cases of other children, despite laws against this in the European Convention on Human Rights, which Norway ratified in 1952 (European Court of Human Rights, n.d.). According to article 8 in the convention, everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life. Article 14 states that the rights set forth in the Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as association with a national minority or other status (European Convention on Human Rights, n.d., 10 & 12). NOU 2015: 7 argues that the Child Protection Act itself was not in conflict with human rights, but parts of the *practice* against the Tater/Romani people was against the Convention, such as the measures to break all contact between the children and their parents. It was also discriminating that Tater/Romani children were taken care of by the Mission and not by public authorities like other children (NOU 2015: 7, 76).

Similarly, Norway's adherence to UN's International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination did not consider the policies towards the Tater/Romani people in a critical way (NOU 2015: 7, 73). According this convention, states should facilitate the conditions for minorities to express, maintain and develop their own identity, their own language and their own culture. At the same time, minorities should have the right to full and efficient participation in the majority community (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 5). Norway signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1966, and it was ratified in 1970. Before the ratification, the Norwegian government considered whether the convention made it necessary to change any laws (Haave, 2015, 38).

Consequently, a report was made and two laws were regarded relevant for the possible discrimination of Norwegian Roma and Tater/Romani people, namely the Vagrancy Act of 1900 ("*løsgjengerlovern*") and the Foreign Act of 1956 ("*fremmedloven*"). The conclusion was that these laws did not discriminate against ethnic groups, only individuals' lifestyle as travellers

(Haave, 2015, 29). The distinction between lifestyle and ethnicity is artificial and problematic. These laws targeted a lifestyle that was historically related to ethnic minorities in the Norwegian society. Besides, the horse ban of 1951 was still there when the report was made in 1969, but it was not mentioned (Haave, 2015, 38-39). The assimilation policy of the Norwegian Mission for the Homeless was also ignored (Haave, 2015, 50).

With an exception for the horse ban, none of the laws in the 1960s discriminated against Tater/Romani people in the wording. The political intentions and social consequences, however, could be stigmatizing and discriminating (Haave, 2015, 57). This was the old, assimilation policy way of thinking. A contrasting, more integrational approach can be found already a year later, in 1970, when the Nordland-utvalget asserted that even though "Gypsies" (Norwegian Roma) were not discriminated against by the Norwegian law, they were nevertheless exposed for considerable discrimination  (Haave, 2015, 53-54). Although the Nordland-utvalget discussed the situation of the Norwegian Roma, their recommendations included evaluations that were also valid for the Tater/Romani people (Haave, 2015, 57).

Article 27 in the UN's International Covenant on the Civil and Political Rights is the most essential provision in the international protection of minorities. It states that persons who belong to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities have the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language  (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 5). This Covenant was adopted by the UN in December 1966. It entered into force in Norway in March 1976 (Utenriksdepartementet, 2004). Article 27 is the reference point for the general shift in the ground rules for the treatment of all ethnocultural groups (Kymlicka, 2007, 34).

When originally drafted, this article was not necessarily intended to provide any tangible minority-specific rights, as opposed to simply reaffirming the commitment to universal human rights. However, attitudes towards the rights of minorities started to change in the 1980s, and article 27 was gradually reinterpreted to encompass positive minority rights. In 1994 the UN's Human Rights Committee released its "General Comment on Article 27", where it was argued that the Article not only imposes a duty of non-discrimination in the protection of civil liberties,

but also may require adopting positive measures to enable and accommodate the minority's exercise of this right to enjoy their culture (Kymlicka, 2007, 35).

## 3.2 National changes in the 1970s

Since the 1970s, the assimilation policies in Norway were slowly discontinued. State authorities were less focused on actively changing the travelling lifestyle. Still, they did not emphasize the importance of continuation of, or communicating, the group's cultural traditions. Simultaneously, the Tater/Romani people gradually began to change their way of life. Many established permanent homes, and only travelled for a shorter period every year, similar to today's situation (NOU 2015: 7, 72).

Early in the 1970s, Vibeke Løkkeberg made a documentary about the Svanviken labour colony. This documentary contributed to a process that changed the policy (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 34). Before Løkkeberg's documentary, there was little debate about the Tater/Romani people in Norway. Some meant that their culture had become extinct. Few knew that the Mission still held its iron grip. When the documentary was sent on national TV in prime time, it sent shock waves through the nation. She pointed to the Mission's activities and asked critical questions. The regular viewer was surprised that there still existed Tater/Romani people in Norway, and that they were subject to a private Mission with dictatorial power. However, the Mission was used to the media and defended itself, while the Tater/Romani people did not trust the media and remained silent (Gotaas, 2000, 402-403).

The debate in the wake of Løkkeberg's documentary broke the seeming public consensus about the special care for the Tater/Romani people (Hvinden, 2000, 12). In 1975, Torild Skard from the Socialist Left Party brought up the situation of the Tater/Romani people in an interpellation in parliament. In particular, she argued that the Vagrancy Act with its special provisions on Vagrants gave a legal basis for a repressive and discriminatory minority policy (Haave, 2015, 57). As a result of this, a committee was established in 1976, and in 1980 they published NOU 1980: 42 about the situation of the Vagrants. The special care for the Tater/Romani people was discontinued in the 1980s (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 35).

## 3.3 International changes in the 1980s

For almost forty years after World War II, the issue of minority rights was essentially invisible within the international community. In the 1980s it re-emerged, and minority rights reached the top of the UN and European agendas in the early 1990s, leading to a flurry of studies, negotiations, and drafts, the results of which have gradually become institutionally consolidated and diffused around the world since then (Kymlicka, 2007, 38). The EU antidiscrimination policy also began to develop early in the 1980s (Givens & Case, 2014, 5). The early 1990s witnessed both a profound pessimism about ethnic politics in the post-communist and post-colonial world, and an equally profound optimism about ethnic politics in the West. These two factors likely contributed the explosion of international efforts in this area from 1990-1995, when virtually all of the major global and regional minority rights instruments were developed (Kymlicka, 2007, 51).

The conditions of the minorities in Europe received a renewed attention after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, when the new democracies in Eastern Europe developed (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 20). There were fears that violent ethnic conflict would spread from Yugoslavia to Central Europe. The West had undergone its own ethnic revival in the 1960s, with a dramatic upsurge in ethnic political mobilization by a range of different groups, including immigrant groups, substate nationalist groups (such as the Scots, Catalans and Québécois), and indigenous peoples. This ethnic revival was initially feared by many people as potentially destabilizing, and a threat to liberal democracy. By the early 1990s, however, ethnic politics in the West was regarded as a profoundly democratic phenomenon in itself (Kymlicka, 2007, 49-50).

What had changed was not peoples' beliefs about the legitimacy of universal moral norms, but rather peoples' assumptions about whether minority rights protection promote or hinder those universal norms. The architects of the UN and of post-war regional organizations, assumed that minority rights were not only unnecessary, but indeed destabilizing. Today, on the contrary, it is widely asserted that the accommodation of ethnic diversity is not only consistent with, but in fact a precondition for, the maintenance of a legitimate international order (Kymlicka, 2007,

45). The international recognition of minority rights is also related to a shift in the view of what a modern state looks like. While the ideal used to be the centralized, unitary and homogenous state, the modern state today is pluralistic with structures for recognizing and empowering regions and minorities (Kymlicka, 2007, 42).

Givens and Case (2014) give some other explanations for why minority rights entered the agenda. During the 1980s, racist violence and entry of far-right parties into the European Parliament drew a response at the EU level. Contrary to the U.S., antidiscrimination policy in Europe has not developed directly from demands by minorities. While the development of legislation in the U.S. came during a time of great social upheaval in the 1960s, the situation in Europe was quite different. As a response to the rise of anti-immigrant radical right parties, politicians in Europe drew upon policies that diffused from North America to Great Britain in the late 1960s. This ultimately led to passage of the EUs Racial Equality Directive in 2000 (Givens & Case, 2014, 2).

Since 1990, three of the most powerful inter-governmental organizations, The Council of Europe, the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), have taken up the cause and made firm minority rights commitments. The OSCE was the first European body to make an official declaration on minority rights, in 1990. Partly based on the OSCE work, the Council of Europe adopted a European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1992, a Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1995, and has subsequently established an Advisory Committee to monitor its implementation. The European Union, for its part, declared in 1993 that respect for minority rights was one of the accession criteria that countries needed to meet if they wished to join the Union. In 1994 the EU parliament also passed a resolution on linguistic and cultural minorities in the European Community (Kymlicka, 2007, 37).

How did this affect the Roma? Although both the Tater/Romani people and the Norwegian Roma have status as national minorities in Norway, Roma do not enjoy the same status elsewhere in Europe. It is interesting to note that the efforts to formulate and monitor European norms of minority protection largely ignored the Roma. Because they do not have a kin-state

or a historic homeland in Europe, they did not raise the same fear of regional instability as other minorities (Kymlicka, 2007, 219). From a humanitarian point of view, however, the Roma are even more in need of international protection than traditional substate national minorities. As fears of escalating ethnic civil wars involving substate minorities in Eastern Europe have faded, the plight of the Roma has become more central to public debates about the minority problem in post-communist Europe (Kymlicka, 2007, 220).

Kymlicka (2007) argues that the EU's attention to the Roma is not solely a result of humanitarian concern. After all, the EU has shown little concern for the plight of the Roma in the EU's own member-states like Spain, Italy or Greece, even though they often face the same sort of discrimination and disadvantages as the Roma in post-communist countries. The EU's concern is rather that the Roma will emigrate to the West. The unwelcome prospect of large numbers of Roma migrants from the East arriving in the West has arguably motivated the EU to focus on improving the treatment of the Roma in post-communist countries (Kymlicka 2007, 220). This is supported by Liégeois (2007) who states that it was politically useful to the EU member states to highlight the situation of Roma in central and eastern Europe, because it diverted attention away from the situation of Roma in the EU countries (Liégeois 2007, 260). Either way, there is no doubt that the Roma have received a lot more attention in the recent years. The European Union, the Council of Europe and the OSCE have stepped up their work and increased the number of activities directed at Roma (Liégeois 2007, 258).

## 3.4 National minority and official apology

During the 1990s, there was a dramatic change in the relationship between the Tater/Romani people and the Norwegian majority society. The situation of the Tater/Romani people was given much more attention in the media, and the media reports had a different character than earlier. People with Tater/Romani background were invited to talk about their experiences and opinions. This led to a critical view on the earlier officially sanctioned policy towards the group (Hvinden, 2000, 11).

February 11 1998 the then Minister of Local Government and Regional Development (*"kommunal- og regionalminister"*) apologised on behalf of the Norwegian authorities for the way in which the Tater/Romani people had been treated (ECRI, 2000; Norwegian Directorate

for Education and Training, 2015, 40; *St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 14*). The Glomdalsmuseet in Elverum was given the national responsibility for documentation of the Tater/Romani people's culture and history. In 2006, they opened the permanent exhibition "*Latjo drom*". The museum has produced touring exhibitions and dissemination programmes for school classes, and they have established regular activities with the Tater/Romani people culture as a theme (Glomdalsmuseet, n.d.).

Norway ratified the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1999 (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 4). There are four national minorities in Norway, in addition to the Tater/Romani people; the Kvens (10 000-15 000 people), the Norwegian Roma people (300-400 people), the Forest Finns (several hundred people), and the Jews (1100 people) (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 6). The framework convention does not define the term 'national minority'. However, there is widespread agreement that a minority group must have original or lasting connection, at least hundred years, to the territory of the state concerned to be counted as a national minority (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 20). According to the Framework Convention, the Sami are also regarded as a national minority. The Sami parliament decided not to be included in the national minorities, because they preferred to protect their status as an indigenous people (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 40).

Most of the minority population was positive to the ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, included one of the Tater/Romani people organisations (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 39). Other representatives from the Tater/Romani people doubted that attention from the state could lead to anything good. They did not trust that the authorities, who until quite recently led a policy for extermination of their culture, now wanted to promote it (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 46). In the years after the ratification, the attitude among the minority organizations that were sceptical, has become more positive. There has been no negative feedback from the groups of the experiences they have had as a consequence of the ratification (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 39).

## 3.5 Tater/Romani people organizations and their demands

Not everyone belonging to the group today wants to be associated with Tater/Romani people. On the one hand, people are proud of their background. On the other hand, people do not want

to stand out, because of fear for discrimination and persecution (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 45). Others strongly identify with their Tater/Romani people heritage and have become involved in organisations that work actively and preventively to promote the interests of Tater/Romani people and to maintain their traditions. After a few feeble attempts to organise themselves, the organisation "*Romanifolkets Landsforening*" was formed in 1995 before eventually changing its name to "*Taternes Landsforening*". Additional organisations have since appeared, including "*Landsorganisasjonen for Romanifolket*", "*Romanifolkets Kystkultur*" and "*Romanifolkets Riksforbund*" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2015, 39-41).

In the 1990s and early 2000s, several Tater/Romani people organisations were established. Organisations that are based on a national minority, can get economic support from the state. There are four Tater/Romani people organisations who receive such support today. Although the organisations are only a small part of the Tater/Romani people, they are important agenda setters (NOU 2015: 7, 25).

The groups' demands have a wide range. Many emphasize support for family history research as particularly important, since the earlier policies have made it difficult for many to come forward with their true origins. The state policy has also isolated and separated many from their families and other Tater/Romani people. The wish to combat ignorance, prejudice and discrimination in the Norwegian society is central to this group. The organizations want a visible restoration for the policies that the authorities formerly led towards the group. They also want support to maintain and develop their crafts and cultural traditions, and ensure the possibility to continue with a travelling lifestyle (St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001), 46).

Their political goals and achievements have included official apology from the Norwegian church and government, status as a national minority, easier access to individual compensation and the creation of a collective redress for the abuse against the group. In 2004, a special scheme for Tater/Romani people was established, and in 2007 the group got a culture fund[3], which gave guidance for those who would apply for compensation for previous abuse (NOU 2015:7, 26).

---

[3] In 2014 the culture fund was replaced by annual allocations from the state budget, after years with controversy concerning the board of the foundation. The Norwegian Foundation Authority had criticized that two thirds of the annual funds went to administration and board fees (Lindvåg, 2017). This change was criticized by several of the Tater/Romani people organisations, who perceived it as a breach of promise (NOU 2015: 7, 90). In March 2017,

## 3.6 Anti-Discrimination Act and Equality and Discrimination Ombudsman

In 1998, the Centre against ethnic discrimination (*Senter mot etnisk diskriminering – SMED)* was established as an administrative body under the Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation ("*kommunal- og regionaldepartementet*"). SMED aimed to protect against discrimination on the basis of religion, skin colour, or national/ethnic origins. The main task was to provide legal aid to persons who experience ethnic discrimination, and to document and monitor what and how common this kind of discrimination was (Ot.prp. nr. 34 (2004–2005), 16).

In 2006, SMED merged with the Equality Centre and the Equality Ombudsman, and became the Norwegian Equality and Discrimination Ombudsman. The Ombudsman's main task is to promote equality and combat discrimination based on sex, ethnicity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and age (Berg 2016). The Ombudsman shall ensure that Norwegian law and administrative practice complies with the obligations Norway has in conjunction with the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the UN Convention on Racial Discrimination, and Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet, n.d.)

The UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) criticized Norway's shortcomings in the legal protection of discrimination against minorities (Ot.prp. nr. 33 (2004-2005), 9). Consequently, the Anti-Discrimination Act ("*diskrimineringsloven*") was introduced in 2005, and replaced by the Anti-Discrimination Act on Ethnicity ("*diskrimineringsloven om etnisitet*") in 2013. The replacement was mostly of editorial nature. The purpose of the law was to promote equality independent of ethnicity, religion and belief. The law forbids discrimination and demands active work for equality. The Anti-Discrimination Act on Ethnicity § 5 makes the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination from 1965 to a part of the Norwegian law (Ikdahl, 2015). The Anti-Discrimination Act also met the

---

the management of the culture fund was charged by the Norwegian Government for fraud and corruption (Dagbladet, 2017)

requirements for the EU's Racial Equality Directive. Norway was not bound to these agreements through the EEA agreement, but aimed to have legal standards at least equivalent to the anti-discrimination policy in the EU. The Racial Equality Directive forbids discrimination on the basis of race or ethnicity (Ot.prp. nr. 33 (2004-2005), 10-11).

## 3.7 *Folk Er Folk*

*Folk Er Folk* ("People Are People") is an ideal organization that publishes the street magazine Folk Er Folk, which is sold by independent sellers in public spaces all over Norway. The sellers get a fixed amount of the price from each magazine they sell. The profit from the organization is not given to the owners, but to the users. Folk Er Folk's goal is to combat poverty and racism. Folk Er Folk is based on solidarity with poor and oppressed people. Today this is mainly Roma from Eastern Europe. Their ambition is to give the readers informative articles that illuminate both historical background and current issues. They want to show stories about work that helps, a point of view which they argue is not as much covered in other publications (Folk er Folk, n.d.). Bjønnulv Evenrud, who started Folk Er Folk, received the "Norwegian of the year" prize from Norwegian magazine Ny Tid in 2012 because of his work for the Roma people in Norway (Heinesen, 2012).

Folk Er Folk was established in 2012 by distributing a poster in Oslo, handing out flyers with information, collecting money to buy tents and teach people how to use "Oslomarka", where it is legal to go camping. They took part in the public debate, reported offenses against the street workers by the Norwegian government, and helped the Romanian street workers to be heard in the Norwegian society. They also created work groups who could take assignments such as cleaning, carpentry, painting and moving help. This business was relatively extensive until recently but is now discontinued. They still publish the street magazine "Folk Er Folk", help their salespersons and their families with problems related to the sale and also assist the salespersons with financial needs by capacity. The organization is led by two Norwegians, and has one full-time employee who is Romanian (but not Roma). Despite being closely tied to Roma people, the organization's objective is to combat racism and poverty in general. Around 40 % of the Romanian street workers in Oslo are not Roma, and that also goes for the sales persons of "Folk Er Folk". The magazine is distributed to the whole country. There is for

example a regular distribution of the magazine in collaboration with *Kirkens bymisjon* in Haugesund (email with Bjønnulv Evenrud, manager, Folk Er Folk, 01.12.2016).

## 3.8 Should we expect citizens' attitudes to reflect these changes?

Should this history of political changes lead us to expect that Norwegians' attitudes towards Roma reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination? Different scholars maintain different perspectives on the importance of international treaties. While some claim that treaties have a positive effect on human rights (Kymlicka, 2007; Simmons, 2009) others emphasize the role of social movements (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; Sikkink, 2011; Tarrow, 2011). In the following discussion, I will examine the theories on why we would think the ideal may or may not yet have been met.

### 3.8.1 Top-down perspective

Simmons (2009) maintains that international human rights law has made a positive contribution to the realization of human rights in much of the world. While critics argue that the world's idealists have thrown too much law at the problems of human rights, to the neglect of underlying political conditions essential for rights to flourish, Simmons argue that treaty ratification provides a central "hook" by which the oppressed and their allies can legitimately call for behavioural change (Simmons, 2009, 6-7). Treaties change politics by setting visible goals for public policy and practice that alter political coalitions and the strength, clarity and legitimacy of their demands (Simmons, 2009, 12).

Kymlicka (2007) also assert that the rhetorical change of minority rights has been matched by actions. The development of international norms and mechanisms is making a difference. International declarations have made the international environment today profoundly more sympathetic to minority claims than it used to be. Relations between states and minorities are still fundamentally determined by domestic political processes, with relatively few constraints from international law. But the way in which these domestic political processes are framed, has been dramatically altered by a new international environment that stigmatizes older assimilationist models while encouraging minority rights activism (Kymlicka, 2007, 44).

It is exactly this influence on domestic politics Simmons claims is essential to measure the compliance to international treaties. There are three mechanisms through which treaties might have positive effects in domestic politics. Treaties influence the *national policy agenda,* they influence the *legal decisions* and they influence the propensity of *groups to mobilize* (Simmons, 2009, 114). None of these mechanisms suggest that international law has a homogenous effect across all polities. Each mechanism suggest that treaties can be more or less influential under particular institutional or political conditions (Simmons, 2009, 148).

The most "top-down" mechanism involves the effect an international treaty can have on the political agenda of governing elites  (Simmons, 2009, 18-19). Treaties can have important influences even in countries where governments are supportive of their purposes. For most countries, an internationally negotiated treaty is an exogenous event in the flow of national policymaking and legislation. The need to consider ratification can rearrange a country's priorities, if not its preferences. The ability of treaties to impact national agendas is a mechanism that is available only within the sincere ratifiers (Simmons, 2009, 128-129). For example, the decision of the European Union to make respect for minority rights one of the accession criteria[4] for would-be members prodded several countries to adopt pro-minority policies that would not have emerged otherwise (Kymlicka, 2007, 41).

Litigation is also a political strategy with the power to inspire rule revision and further to mobilize political movements. It can be used strategically not only to win cases, but also to publicize and mobilize a cause (Simmons, 2009, 133). A court victory alone does not produce permanent rights changes. The point is that availability of litigation, and the crucial role of a treaty commitment rather than customary international law (which is harder to establish empirically) or a mere norm, is a crucial legitimating lever and can interact positively with political mobilization generally. Especially when treaties have direct effects in countries with independent judicial systems and broad respect for the rule of law, litigation is potentially an important mechanism for compliance (Simmons, 2009, 135). EU's Racial Equality Directive has been used by transnational activists to do strategic litigation (Givens & Case, 2014, 137).

---

[4] By way of contrast, Liégeios (2007, 259-260) points out that when improvement of conditions for Roma became one of the accession criteria, the "problem of integrating the Roma" was by many equated with the "problem of joining the EU". As a result, the Roma came to be regarded as an obstacle in the accession process and they were stigmatised yet again.

The third mechanism by which international human rights treaties can influence right outcomes is through their strategic use as a tool to support political mobilization. Quite aside from the benefits and risks associated with litigation, legal mobilization in the broader sense of appealing to legal rights promotes movement organization and claim-making (Simmons, 2009, 139). International treaties influence the probability of mobilization in two ways. First, they help convince people that the recognized rights are worth fighting for. Moreover, the availability of international treaty law can increase the movement's social/political mobilization, in turn increasing pressure on governments to live up to their legal obligations. International treaties both change the value individuals place on succeeding as well as the probability of success (Simmons, 2009, 136).

Kymlicka (2007, 42) agrees that when the international community officially embraced the idea that a modern state is one that recognizes minority rights, the inevitable result was to legitimize attempts by ethnocultural groups to mobilize politically to claim these rights (Kymlicka, 2007, 43). This is also consistent with Hvinden's (2016, 11) observation that when people with Tater/Romani background could to a greater extent share their opinions, evaluations and demands with the public, this was partly made possible through the beginning organising within the group. But there had also been a development in the majority society, government and media's way to relate to minorities and cultural differences. Norwegian society was affected by international streams in the direction of greater acceptance of minorities rights to respect, self-determination and expression of own and different culture (Hvinden, 2000, 11).

This is a "bottom-up" account of treaty effects that contrasts state-centered approaches prevalent in the international relations literature. When international relations scholars think of treaty effects, they are far more likely to have in mind the effects of an international agreement on states than on their citizens. However, citizens must play a central role in the diffusion of values for the protection of individual rights. Rights treaties affect the welfare of individuals. If there is any international issue area in which socialization at the non-elite level is important, this should be it (Simmons 2009, 138-139).

### 3.8.2 Bottom-up perspective

Ultimately, anti-discrimination is not only about whether a country complies, but whether the citizens do. There is also a substantial literature on the bottom-up perspective. Such perspectives dominate in the study of social movements. Movement scholars emphasize three broad sets of factors in analysing the emergence and development of social movements/revolutions. These are the political opportunities, mobilizing structures and framing processes (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996, 2). The political environment in which the movement is embedded will continue to constitute a powerful set of constraints/opportunities affecting the movement's development. Changes in the structure of political opportunities can contribute to our understanding of the shifting fortunes of a single movement (McAdam et al., 1996, 12).

Movements may largely be born of opportunities, but their fate is heavily shaped by their own actions (McAdam et al., 1996, 15). In the case of the Tater/Romani people in Norway, it is argued that the formation of Tater/Romani organizations and the group's increasing activism was an important background for why the people was given the status as a national minority in 1999 (NOU 2015: 7, 24). The Tater/Romani organizations have triggered resources, support and sympathy, or managed to get a better negotiation position by alternately accentuate their resources and their lack of resources. The social movement has contributed to welfare political measures, public attention and providing information (Halvorsen, 2000, 222).

Sikkink (2011, 5) uses the term "Justice Cascade" to describe the shift in the legitimacy of the norm of individual criminal accountability for human rights violations and an increase in criminal prosecutions on behalf of that norm. The Justice Cascade began as a norm, which again started as ideas held by a handful of individuals. These so-called "norm entrepreneurs" who try to turn their favoured ideas into norms mostly fail. Sometimes they succeed, and norms spread rapidly, leading to a norms cascade. This is what happened to for example smoking in public (Sikkink, 2011, 11). In the academic diffusion literature, real people are often absent from the stories. At a tipping point, disembodied ideas may travel rapidly, but at the beginning of any norm cascade, specific people work hard to propose new ideas and policies. They share their ideas with others, who carry them to new settings (Sikkink, 2011, 23). Vibeke Løkkeberg and Torild Skard could be regarded as such "norm entrepreneurs" for the Tater/Romani people case in Norway.

Tarrow (2011) highlights the role of contentious politics in the establishment of social movements. Contentious politics occur when ordinary people, usually in alliance with more influential citizens and with changes in public mood, join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities, and opponents. In the last fifty years, the American Civil Rights movement, the peace, environmental and feminist movements, revolts against authoritarianism in both Europe and the Third World, and the rise of new Islamist movements have brought masses of people into the streets demanding change. They often succeeded, but even when they failed, their actions set in motion important political, cultural and international changes (Tarrow, 2011, 6).

Likewise, Keck & Sikkink (1998) emphasize the role of transnational advocacy networks in changing the behaviour of states and international organisations. By transnational advocacy networks they mean those relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse and dense exchanges of information and services (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, 2). Networks bring new ideas and help set agendas through media attention, debates, hearings, and meetings. They also promote norm implementation, by pressuring states and international organizations to support international declarations or to change stated domestic policy positions (Keck & Sikkink 1998, 25). A government that claims to be protecting indigenous areas or ecological reserves is potentially more vulnerable to charges that such areas are endangered than one that makes no such claim (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, 26). In this case they agree with Simmons (2009, 148) that ratified treaties provide a political opening for rights demanders that is more favourable than is the case in their absence.

## 3.9 Summary

This chapter has summarized political developments concerning minority rights in Norway and internationally that are relevant to the treatment of the Roma minority in contemporary Norway. After World War II, Norway ratified many conventions protecting minority rights, but it was not until the 1970s that the situation of the Tater/Romani people was considered in a critical way. This chapter has also discussed relevant theories regarding human rights and political change. While chapter two gave reason to believe that we have fallen short when it comes to

the anti-discrimination ideal which the research question asks for, this chapter has pointed to reasons why we should believe the opposite. There has been a tremendous political change, and there are those who argue that such changes have consequences for the society. On the other hand, the long history of discrimination and the limited social mobilization can be reason enough to suspect that attitudinal changes caused by international agreements will not be enough to eliminate discrimination among the population. It is also possible that the political changes have affected the attitudes towards Norwegian groups of Roma differently than the immigrant groups of Roma, who are EU citizens, but not Norwegian citizens.

# 4 Methods and data

This chapter describes the data and methodology used to answer the research question of this thesis. First, I describe the data that I have used from the Norwegian Citizen Panel, wave 4 (2015) and wave 6 (2016). Moreover, I will present the methodology of survey experiments. Survey experiments have many general advantages, such as internal and external validity and the need to theorize in advance. They also have some special advantages for examining the research question posed in this thesis, because they reduce social desirability bias and consistency bias, which is a common concern raised in survey-research on prejudice.

## 4.1 Data

This thesis is part of an EAA and Norway Grants project, entitled "Less Hate, More Speech". The survey experiments have been developed by a group of researchers. I have chosen the experiments that can shed light on my research question, and which have not already been presented in publications. Results are presented here for the first time. The analysis and interpretations are my own.

### 4.1.1 "Less Hate, More Speech"

"Less Hate, More Speech" is a project coordinated by Median Research Centre, in collaboration with the University of Bergen (Norway), Central European University (Hungary) and the Centre for Urban and Regional Sociology (Romania). The project aims to make both scientific and practical contributions. One of the scientific contributions is to contribute to the sensitive area of pro-democratic and minority-tolerant attitudes. The project will also shed light on the extent and sources of many striking differences between Norway and Romania with respect to the presence of a pro-democratic, tolerant discourse among citizens (Less hate more speech, 2012). The Project PI is Professor Marina Popescu, Central European University. The Norwegian team is led by Professor Elisabeth Ivarsflaten, the University of Bergen.

**4.1.2 Norwegian Citizen Panel**

I use data from the Norwegian Citizen Panel, which is a research-purpose internet panel with over 5000 active participants, based on a probability sample of the general Norwegian population above the age of 18 drawn from the Norwegian National Population Registry. Recruitments were conducted by post in November 2013 and October 2014. Only invited individuals may participate (DIGSSCORE, n.d.). The Norwegian Citizen Panel was established as a collaboration between several schools at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Bergen and UNI Research Rokkansenteret (Skjervheim & Høgestøl, 2015, 2). Its main source of funding is an infrastructure grant awarded by the Bergen Research Foundation.

I use survey experiments from both wave 4 and wave 6 of the Norwegian Citizen Panel. The data collection of wave 4 was conducted during the month of March 2015. In total, the wave 4 survey received 6297 answers (Skjervheim & Høgestøl, 2015, 2-3). Wave 6 of the Norwegian Citizen Panel was conducted during March 2016. The wave 6 survey received 4859 answers in total (Skjervheim & Høgestøl, 2016, 2-3). All waves of the Norwegian Citizen Panel Survey include several survey experiments where different groups of respondents received questions with slightly different wordings. This is achieved by randomly assigning respondents to groups during the data collection process. In all waves, the questionnaire is divided in different subsets (U1-U4). To reduce the overall time required to answer the survey, some sections of the questionnaire were only presented to one of these subsets. For these reasons, the number of respondents who have answered a single question might be substantially less than the total number of respondents. This is a deliberate design feature of the survey and not non-responses (Skjervheim & Høgestøl, 2015, 5 & 10; 2016, 5 & 10).

The sampling frame of the survey is made up of the Norwegian population above the age of 18, comprising a population of approximately 3.9 million individuals. Earlier reports have documented a systematic underrepresentation of respondents belonging to the two lowest educational groups, independent of gender and age. The underrepresentation is particularly strong for young men. Individuals with education from universities or university colleges are systematically overrepresented across all demographic segments. All of these observations are also true for wave 4 and wave 6 (Skjervheim & Høgestøl, 2015, 6; 2016, 7). The interpretations I make need to take these biases and their potential impact into account.

## 4.2 Survey experiments

The survey experiment was introduced to political science largely through the efforts of Sniderman and his colleagues at the Survey Research Center at the University of California at Berkeley, and has represented a methodological breakthrough of great importance to public opinion and political psychology. As technology has developed, survey experiments have become more feasible, but it is the interesting effects of question ordering and question-wording that have motivated the use of the research method. The word "experiment" implies that researchers assign respondents randomly to control and treatment conditions, actively manipulating a treatment. By comparing the decisions, judgments, or behaviours of the respondents in the treatment group to those in the control group, one can reveal the causal effects under investigation (Gaines, Kuklinski, & Quirk, 2007, 2-4 & 17). Survey experiments are especially useful when the research is related to perceptions, behaviours and attitudes of human beings (Mutz, 2011, 5).

Survey experiments have been met with broader acceptance than other experiments in political science. A reason for this is that survey experiments are better suited to meet the requirements of external validity (Sniderman, 2011, 113). Besides, its capacity to demonstrate cause and effect is better than any other scientific methodology (Druckman, Green, Kuklinski, & Lupia, 2006, 627). Because respondents are randomly assigned to treatment groups, we know that, within the bounds of sampling error, the subgroups are identical in every way. Consequently, any differences we observe across subgroups must have been caused by the difference in the experimental treatments each received. While cross-sectional survey analysis is plagued with spurious associations and ambiguous causal relationships, these problems are avoided in survey experiments (Gilens, 2002, 248). Survey experiments combine the internal validity of experiments with the external validity of population samples, which allows generalization to the larger population (Barabas & Jerit, 2010, 226; Mutz, 2011,5).

### 4.2.1 Theorizing in advance

While regular quantitative data-analysis is all about what you do with the data once collected, experimental design is about what you think in advance. In a scientific experiment an investigator has a clear idea precisely how it will turn out because the experiment is based on a theory. Of course, the theory could be wrong and the experiment should show that. However,

making a precise prediction and having it disconfirmed is different from saying "I have no idea what will happen here" (Webster, Murray & Sell, 2007, 191). This obligation to do the theorizing beforehand is an important feature of the survey experiment. Moreover, to maintain sufficient size subgroups, one must limit the number of independent dimensions of experimental manipulation. Experiments impose a greater degree of theoretical discipline on the researcher than more traditional survey methods do (Gilens, 2002, 248).

A theory attempts to represent abstract features of specified kinds of situations, and it has the potential to predict outcomes in such situations. An experiment attempts to create an instance of the kinds of situations represented in a theory, and it has the potential to measure certain outcomes in that instance. When the concrete experimental outcomes are close to the outcomes represented abstractly in the theory, they increase confidence in the theory (Webster, Murray & Sell, 2007, 197). The experiments in this thesis are related to different, but relevant situations. In chapter five there are two experiments about real-life situations. The first experiment is about who you would like to invite to view the apartment you are renting out, and is a typical situation for studying direct discrimination. The second experiment is about support for policy change, and is a more indirect measure of discrimination.

In addition to real-life situations, it is also important to examine stereotypes and the motivation to control prejudice, as is done through the experiments in chapter six. Remember that it is not only discrimination, but also stereotypes and prejudice that lead to preservation of the status quo (Al Ramiah & Hewstone 2013, 890). Stereotypes shape how people think about and respond to a group (Dovidio, Hewstone, et al., 2010, 8). The third experiment explores stereotypes against Roma people according to the Stereotype Content Model, while the fourth experiment is about motivation to control prejudice. The Stereotype Content Model can show us which groups are ingroups and which groups are outgroups. These are different approaches to examine the research question about Norwegians' attitudes towards Roma. If they show a similar pattern across a whole series of experiments, one can have more confidence in the results.

### 4.2.2 Target groups and between-subjects design

The aim of the experiments is to study how a group is treated in a situation, compared to other groups. The experiments in this thesis are target group experiments with between-subjects

design. In the between-subjects design, each subject is exposed to a single treatment, whereas in the within-subject design, subjects are exposed to several or all the treatments that are included in the study (Keren, 1993, 257). The between-subjects design consists of randomly dividing the total sample into two or more subsamples, each of which is administered one form of a question. This is the method which has traditionally been called the "split-ballot experiment" (Schuman & Presser, 1996, 2). In the experiments, everything but the target group is held constant. My experiments all have in common that they include Roma as one of the target groups, but in the different experiments, there are different target groups. The other target groups were included in the experiments because there were substantial research interests related to those groups. The experiments make use of two distinct approaches. Some compare the Roma minority to a wide range of other groups in the Norwegian society, while some look at Roma in an immigration context.

The target group design intentionally varies who the group is compared to. Based on the legislation discussed earlier, I need to compare Roma to different kinds of groups in order to tell whether the group is being discriminated against or treated equally. The different target groups work as benchmarks or "anchors", and allow us to examine the extent of the differential treatment. Some groups are similar anchor-groups and some are contrasts. The experiments that compare the Roma minority to a wide range of other groups in the Norwegian society include target groups that represent ingroups which have particularly positive associations, other minority groups who are likely not to be favoured and outgroups with particularly negative associations.

According to Norwegian law, a Roma person should be treated as well as any member of the ingroups. Another benchmark is the other minority groups. Are Roma treated better, the same or worse than these groups? The minority groups are not a non-discrimination anchor, because we know that these groups are often discriminated against. If we find that Roma are treated the same way as Muslims, this would not imply that Roma are not discriminated against. Finally, there are the controversial benchmarks, criminals and extremists that are considered to be outgroups in the society. If an ethnic group is considered the same way as these outgroups, it would be a strong indication of discrimination. For the experiments that look at Roma in an immigration context, the other target groups are similar groups. If there is a difference in how people look at these groups, it indicates that the reluctance towards the Roma group is not only because of its immigrant status.

**4.2.3 Reduced social desirability and consistency bias**

The alternative to survey experiments would be to use regular survey data. The relationship between verbal expressions on surveys and actual behaviours directed toward members of stigmatized groups is complicated, particularly for hard-to-measure behaviours such as discrimination. Social surveys have long been plagued by the problem of social desirability, or the phenomenon that respondents seek to give socially appropriate answers to questions, even if this involves distorting the truth (Pager & Quillian, 2005, 358). When asked questions about race or other sensitive issues, respondents may be led by these pressures to shift their opinions subtly in the direction of answers they perceive to be the most socially acceptable. To the extent that real-world discrimination continues, this has the effect of biasing survey results in the direction of politically correct, nonprejudicial responses, and of weakening the relationship between measured attitudes and behaviour. Social desirability bias can be reduced by using experimental survey designs to avoid direct group comparisons (Pager & Quillian, 2005, 359), especially when asking about sensitive topics like race and sexual preference (Gaines et al., 2007, 4).

When survey respondents are reluctant to reveal their true thoughts, the randomized experiment can tease out the nuances of public opinion or uncover aspects of the public's thinking that may otherwise remain hidden. Rather than asking respondents to compare between groups, a randomly selected half of the respondents could be asked a series of questions about one group and the other random half of the sample could be asked identical questions about the other group. By comparing the answers of these two subgroups of respondents, one might hope to gain a clearer picture of the true feelings people have towards different groups. Survey experiments have become a tool to dig below the surface of the traditional survey response to better understand the alternative meanings that a respondent's behaviour might reflect (Gilens, 2002, 233-234).

Comparing answers with questions within a single survey has always been problematic because such answers may be influenced by previous questions. Comparing aggregate answers with questions across different surveys risks confounding shifts in response with change over time or other variations from one survey to another. Experimentation using random subsamples within surveys avoids both these problems (Schuman & Bobo, 1988, 274). The survey

experiment builds on the split-ballot survey design, in which randomly chosen subsamples of a survey are primed with one of several variants of a survey question to assess responses to a particular group or condition (Pager & Quillian, 2005, 359).

For instance, Schuman and Bobo (1988) used a split-ballot design in which half the sample was asked about objections to a Japanese family moving into their neighbourhood, while the other half was asked about objections to a black family moving into their neighbourhood. Had each respondent been asked about both a black and a Japanese family on the same survey, they may have biased their responses toward similar evaluations of the two groups, consistent with norms of equal treatment. Through statistical comparisons across the two groups, split-ballot studies are thought to produce valid population-level estimates of the importance of race for the question of interest while reducing concerns about social desirability bias that arise from direct racial comparisons. Experimental survey designs have clear advantages for the measurement of sensitive topics, and their results have indeed shown a greater incidence of prejudice than those from traditional survey designs (Pager & Quillian, 2005, 359).

## 4.3 Summary

The use of survey experiments has many advantages when the research is related to perceptions, behaviours and attitudes of human beings, and this is probably the first time survey experiments have been used to measure attitudes towards Roma in Norway. Survey experiments reduce social desirability and consistency bias, forces the researcher to theorize in advance and are high in both internal and external validity. The experiments were conducted online, some in March 2015 and some in March 2016. They are all related to the research question, but they make up different pieces of the puzzle. The two experiments in chapter five examine real-life situations of discrimination, while the experiments in chapter six examine the social psychological theories which can help us understand why discrimination occurs. Both aspects are relevant for exploring whether Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination.

# 5 "The Roma penalty"

As we have seen in the former chapters, Norway has come a long way the past 100 years, from discriminatory laws to laws against discrimination. However, laws are one thing, what about the real world? Have peoples' attitudes changed as well? To answer my research question, I will use survey experiments that tell us something about peoples' attitudes towards, and possible discrimination against, immigrant Roma. This chapter presents the design and results of two survey experiments that reveal whether Norwegian citizens discriminate against ethnic groups. The two experiments have different strategies. The first experiment is about which group one prefers to rent out one's apartment to, and compares immigrant Roma to a wide range of other groups in the Norwegian society. The second experiment concerns policy support, and compares immigrant Roma to other EEA immigrants.

## 5.1 Apartment rental experiment

The aim of Norwegian housing policy is that every citizen is provided with adequate housing. Nevertheless, population and housing census, as well as statistics on the living conditions of the immigrant population show systematic differences in housing conditions. These differences vary according to ethnic background. Statistics on living conditions (2005/2006) among the immigrant population state that 27 percent of tenants with such background were sure and 11 percent believed they had been rejected from a rental because of their background (Søholt & Astrup, 2009, 16).

There is a larger percentage among the immigrant population who does not own their own home, compared to the majority population. The rental market is therefore important for the immigrants' living conditions (Søholt & Astrup, 2009, 23). When tenants with an immigrant background are instantly rejected as possible tenants when they first encounter the landlord, this should be categorized as direct discrimination (Søholt & Astrup, 2009, 20). Since 2004, there have been provisions against discrimination in the housing market through the Tenancy Act ("*husleieloven*"). Discrimination was specifically mention discrimination in this law because there had been a lot of attention around discrimination in the housing market. The legal provisions were a strong signal that discrimination was unacceptable (Søholt & Astrup, 2009, 29).

" In connection with the letting of property, regard may not be paid to ethnicity, national origin, extraction, colour, language, religion or view of life[5]. Such circumstances may not be deemed objective grounds for refusal of inclusion as a member of a household, sub-letting or change of tenant or be taken into account in connection with termination of the tenancy. In the event of such discrimination, the Discrimination Act shall apply (Husleieloven 1999, § 1-8; Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2007)."

The Swedish Equality Ombudsman states that discrimination in the Swedish housing market is a substantial and complex problem for many Roma. The right to housing is enshrined in several international conventions to which Sweden is a party, including the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the European Social Charter (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2011, 48). Norway is also a party to these conventions (Council of Europe, n.d.; United Nations, n.d.).

To examine whether Roma are discriminated against in the housing market, I use a survey experiment from Norwegian Citizen Panel, wave 4 (2015). The experiment is based on Schuman and Bobo's (1988) classic experiment, where they examined white opposition to racial segregation. One of their experiments was about whether the respondents would "personally mind a black neighbour". The question was experimentally varied so that in half the cases "Japanese-American" was substituted for "black". They found that there was significantly less objection to a Japanese-American neighbour than to a black neighbour (Schuman & Bobo, 1988, 291).

My question is whether Roma are discriminated against. All the other target groups in the experiment are there to illustrate the extent of discrimination. The target groups are very different. The nursing student is defined through education, while the progress party politician is defined through political affiliation. The Roma are defined through ethnicity and the Muslims through religion. Some of the groups are defined through their membership of extreme groups, such as the Hells Angels and the Prophet's Ummah. This means that the experiment is well-anchored on both sides with groups that probably are very attractive tenants and groups that probably are unattractive tenants. I have divided the groups in three categories: Uncontroversial

---

[5] In Norwegian the list says "kjønn, etnisitet, religion, livssyn, nedsatt funksjonsevne, seksuell orientering, kjønnsidentitet eller kjønnsuttrykk". The translation is retrieved from regjeringen.no, but is not an officially accepted translation.

groups, minority groups and controversial groups. The respondents were randomized into seven[6] treatment groups, and were asked about only one group each. They were asked to rate their likelihood of inviting the group to view their apartment with the following range of responses: very likely, likely, somewhat likely, unlikely, and very unlikely.

The uncontroversial groups are the young nursing student and the young Progress party politician. Nursing students are probably attractive tenants. Progress party politicians represent a party that is controversial among some in Norway, but which is nevertheless one of Norway's most popular parties and is now in government. The controversial groups in this experiment are the young members of Hell's Angels and young members of the Muslim fundamentalist group the Prophet's Ummah. Both of these groups are associated with extremism and crime (Linge, 2013; Morselli, 2009), and one can expect that people do not want to rent out their apartments to them.

*Table 1. Categories of tenants*

| Uncontroversial groups | Minority groups | Controversial groups |
|---|---|---|
| Young nursing student (438 respondents) | Young Muslim (425 respondents) | Young member of the Hells Angels (419 respondents) |
| Young Progress Party politician (437 respondents) | Young Roma person (425 respondents) | Young member of the fundamentalist group Prophet's Ummah (477 respondents) |

In the minority group category, I have placed young Muslims and young Roma. Both are minorities in Norway. Muslims are defined on the basis of their religion, while Roma is an ethnicity. Still, they are reasonable to compare. They are both often criticized in the media and especially on online forums. It is not specified in the question wording whether it is asked about Norwegian or immigrant Roma, so one cannot be a hundred percent sure about who

---

[6] The experiment also included "a Roma person" as a variable. I chose to exclude this one, because all the other groups were described as young, and it seemed fairer to compare only the "young" groups to each other. Besides, the Roma person received the same result as the young Roma person. To exclude this variable did not change the conclusion in any way. The entire analysis can be found in the appendix.

people have in mind when they answered. However, considering that the survey was conducted in 2015, when the debate about immigrant Roma was very hot, it is reasonable to believe that the respondents were thinking of immigrant Roma.

What result would prove that the international norms have not spread into society? If there is equal treatment, then minorities should be treated the same way as the uncontroversial groups. At least as well as the progress party politician, which represents one of the most disliked of the Norwegian parties (Melgård, 2014). It is likely that the Roma will be treated like the other minority group in the experiment, the Muslim. If that is the case, it will not prove that Roma are not subject to discrimination. Muslims are one of the least tolerated minorities in Norway (Dahlgreen, 2015). If the Roma is treated like the controversial groups, it is definitely discrimination. Ethnic minorities should be treated better than feared, violent groups.

### 5.1.1 Expectations

We know that there is a history of discrimination and antiziganism in Norway. On the other hand, we also know that there has been a political change. The state no longer discriminates against Roma, and the Tenancy Act specifically forbids discrimination in connection with the letting of property[7]. The question is whether these ideals have reached the citizens. The history of discrimination against Roma suggests that this group is still subject to discrimination, while the political efforts for equal treatment of all groups indicates that Norwegians should no longer discriminate against ethnic groups. Based on this information, I have formulated two expectations (E1 and E2). If E1 is supported, then we have evidence that citizens' attitudes are in line with the non-discrimination norms. If E2 is supported, then we have evidence of a negative gap between citizens' attitudes and the ideal embedded in the non-discrimination norms.

*E1: A young Roma is as likely to be invited to view the apartment as any other group.*

*E2: A young Roma is less likely to be invited to view the apartment than the other groups.*

---

[7] This does not necessarily mean that I will have uncovered illegalities if the experiment shows that people discriminate between groups.

### 5.1.2 Experimental results

The respondents were asked the following question, but each respondent was asked about only one of the groups:

"Imagine that you own a flat and that you want to rent it out.  <A young Muslim/a young Roma person/a young Progress Party politician/a young member of the Hells Angels/a young member of the fundamentalist group the Prophet's Ummah/a young nursing student> calls you expressing interest. How likely is it that you would invite the person concerned to come and view it?"

*Figure 1. Likelihood of inviting group to view apartment*
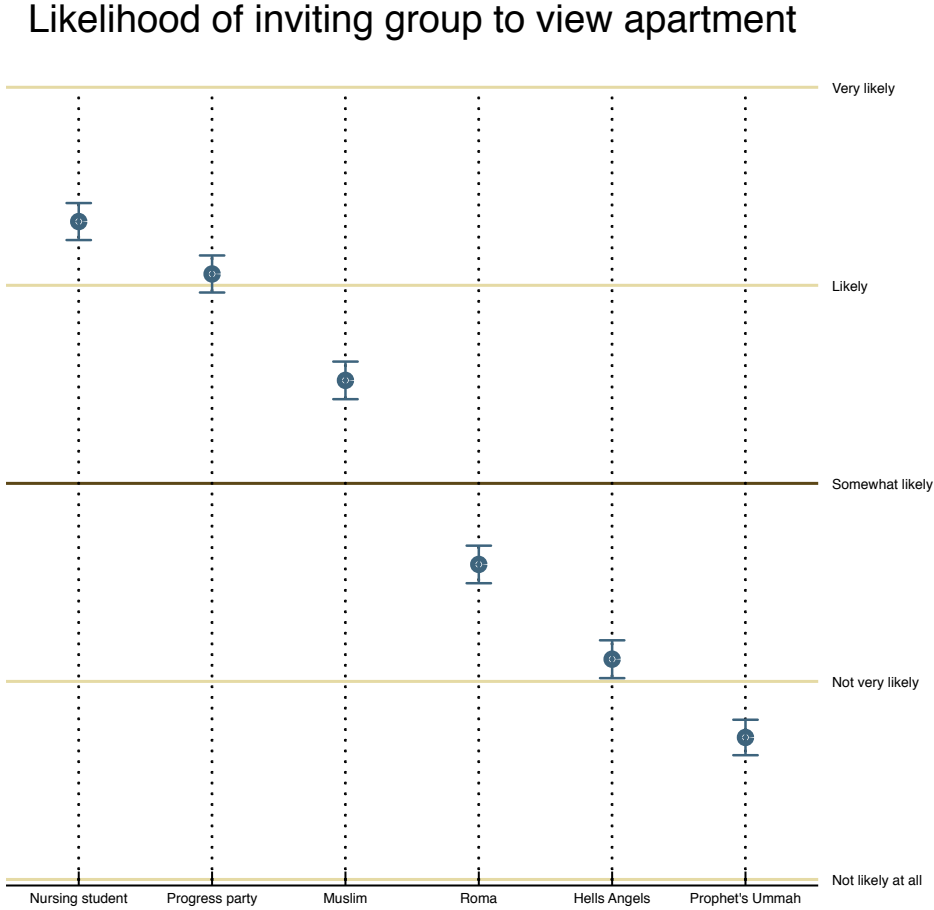


Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, r4dv44a-g

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2015, total N=2621, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment, figure is based on regression analysis with 95% confidence intervals.*

It turns out that there are substantial differences between the groups in this experiment. The group which is most likely to be invited to view an apartment is the young nursing student. People are also likely to invite the young progress party politician. A young Muslim is a little less likely to be invited, but the respondents still say they are more likely than unlikely to invite the Muslim. The young Roma however, is significantly less likely to be invited to view the apartment. In fact, the Roma is in the "no"-group, together with the members of Hells Angels and the Prophet's Ummah.

Not only are the Roma less likely to be invited to view the apartment than the uncontroversial groups (nursing students and Progress party politicians), they are also much less likely to be invited than the other minority group (Muslims). The Roma minority is considered far more negatively than the Muslim minority, and are considered almost on equal terms as members of the controversial motorbike club Hell's Angels. This indicates that Norwegian citizens discriminate against the Roma people to a larger extent compared to other groups in the Norwegian society. The results show that the gap between the Roma people and Muslim minority is substantial.

Why are the Roma so unpopular tenants? Do people also associate them with crime? Diskrimineringsombudsmannen (2011, 48) explains the discrimination of Roma in the Swedish housing market with antiziganism and racist attitudes. This could be the case for Norway as well. Søholt and Astrup (2009, 93) discuss landlords' preferences for tenants. Drug abusers and social clients are not wanted, and neither are big families with many children. Big families with immigrant background are particularly mentioned as unwanted. The same goes for a big family on welfare. If these families have an immigrant background which is particularly stigmatized, the families become even less attractive as tenants. These negative tenant characteristics could fit well with stereotypes about Roma that Lein (2016, 50-51) found in her MA thesis, namely that Roma are perceived as family-oriented people who do not want to work.

A landlord is not allowed to refuse a person because of prejudices about the person's ethnic group. Every person should be considered as an individual. If not, it is discrimination (Søholt & Astrup, 2009, 80). The landlord is nonetheless allowed to choose a tenant with Norwegian background rather than one with an immigrant background, when there are other arguments

than ethnic background. Evaluations of the tenant's economy, size of the household, presumption of suitability and communication possibilities can all be legitimate justifications. However, these arguments can make it very complicated for the groups that are perceived as unattractive tenants to obtain a satisfactory housing situation in the ordinary rental market (Søholt & Astrup, 2009, 178).

Suitability is a legitimate justification for choosing a tenant. It is understandable if someone meant that a person associated with an extreme or criminal group was unsuitable to rent their apartment. It is possible that the respondents thought about immigrant Roma beggars, and imagined that they would not be able to pay the rent with only their income from bottle collecting and begging. To not rent out your apartment to a Roma person because of ethnicity, however, is not a legitimate justification, and is in fact prohibited by law. The experiment shows that Norwegian citizens discriminate against the Roma people to a considerable extent.

This experiment indicates that it is indeed difficult for Roma to be invited to an apartment viewing. The results support E2, not E1. Discrimination is behaviour that favours one group and intentionally or inadvertently harms another group, and in this case other groups are definitely favoured compared to Roma. There is a remarkable discrepancy between norms and rules and the experimental result. The attitudes are evidently not as one would wish according to international ideals. There seems to be a penalty related to being associated with Roma. Even more than for Muslims, who is another exposed group in our society.

## 5.2 Willingness to change immigration laws experiment

In the former experiment, Roma was compared to several very different groups in the Norwegian society. While the rental of apartment experiment gives us a full picture of the discrimination against Roma, this next experiment examines the immigrant status of Roma, by comparing them to more similar groups, namely other poor EEA immigrants. Under EU/EEA regulations, all citizens of member countries have the right to enter Norway and stay for up to three months. As long as they are able to support themselves they are in principle allowed to stay (Djuve et al., 2015, 9)

The movement of migrants who travel to other countries within the EU to beg, collect bottles, trade and do other types of informal 'street work' is an issue that has featured on the political agendas of most European countries over the past decade. While the EU framework encourages the free movement of labour, there is little regulation in place to address the free movement of poor people. At the same time, EU regulations limit the room for political manoeuvrability. Policy responses vary from increased policing and bans on activities such as begging and rough sleeping to the provision of basic emergency services through NGOs (Djuve et al., 2015, 7).

This experiment can reveal whether support of a certain immigration policy depends on the target group. The target groups in this experiment are all poor Europeans who immigrate to Norway, either poor Spaniards, poor Poles or poor Roma from Romania. Accordingly, in this case it is not a question about high-skilled work immigrants. The three different groups are all EU members and all have equal rights to immigrate to Norway. They are all minorities who to an increasing degree have started coming to Norway to earn money. However, it is possible that they are perceived differently by the Norwegian citizens. The Spaniards represent a western-European country, while the Poles and the Roma from Romania represent the Eastern part of Europe. The Norwegian citizens may perhaps not relate to the Poles and the Roma from Romania as closely as to people from Spain.

In this experiment, it is not only the target group that functions as experimental treatment, but also the activity the immigrants come to Norway to do. Some of the respondents were asked about immigrants who come to Norway to beg, while some were asked about immigrants who come to Norway to seek work. To beg is the stereotypical activity for Roma, while to seek work is a counter-stereotypical activity. Perhaps the Roma will be welcomed more on equal terms as the other immigrants if it is specified that they come to seek work, rather than to beg?

In this experiment, there is no control condition, only several treatment conditions that are compared to each other. The lack of controls is typical for survey experiments where changed question wording serves as the treatment. But omitting a control condition is risky. With no baseline, the researcher confronted with a significant difference between responses across treatments cannot know whether one frame or the other (or both) shapes attitudes. The two treatment group results could differ significantly from each other even though neither differs from the control group results, if they push people in opposite directions (Gaines et al., 2007, 8-9).

The respondents are randomized into six groups, as shown in table 2.

*Table 2. Immigrants and activities*

| Beg | Seek work |
|---|---|
| Roma from Romania (261 respondents) | Roma from Romania (247 respondents) |
| From Spain (262 respondents) | From Spain (278 respondents) |
| From Poland (263 respondents) | From Poland (249 respondents) |

**5.2.1 Expectations**

The law states that all EU members have the same rights, and begging is no longer prohibited. If the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination are reflected in Norwegian citizens' attitudes, one can expect that people will not respond differently when asked about Roma from Romania than about other poor immigrants. However, Roma people have historically been discriminated against in Norway. It is possible that people feel differently about different European groups, and that the international ideals have not reached every citizen yet. This leads us to expect that people will be more likely to agree that Norway should limit immigration when they are asked about Roma from Romania than when they are asked about other groups. I have therefore formulated two competing expectations (E3 and E4). If E3 is supported, then we have evidence that citizens' attitudes are in line with the non-discrimination norms. If E4 is supported, then we have evidence of a negative gap between citizens' attitudes and the ideal embedded in the non-discrimination norms.

*E3: People are not more likely to agree that Norway should introduce agreements designed to limit immigration when they are asked about Roma from Romania than when they are asked about other groups.*

*E4: People are more likely to agree that Norway should introduce agreements designed to limit immigration when they are asked about Roma from Romania than when they are asked about the other groups.*

### 5.2.2 Begging experiment

The respondents were asked the following question, but each respondent was asked about only one group:

"The financial crisis has caused considerable poverty in Europe. Some of the poorest Europeans are <from Spain/from Poland/the Roma people from Romania> and some of them come to Norway to beg so that their families can have a better life. To what extent do you agree or disagree that Norway should introduce agreements designed to limit this?"

*Figure 2. Limit immigration for beggars.*
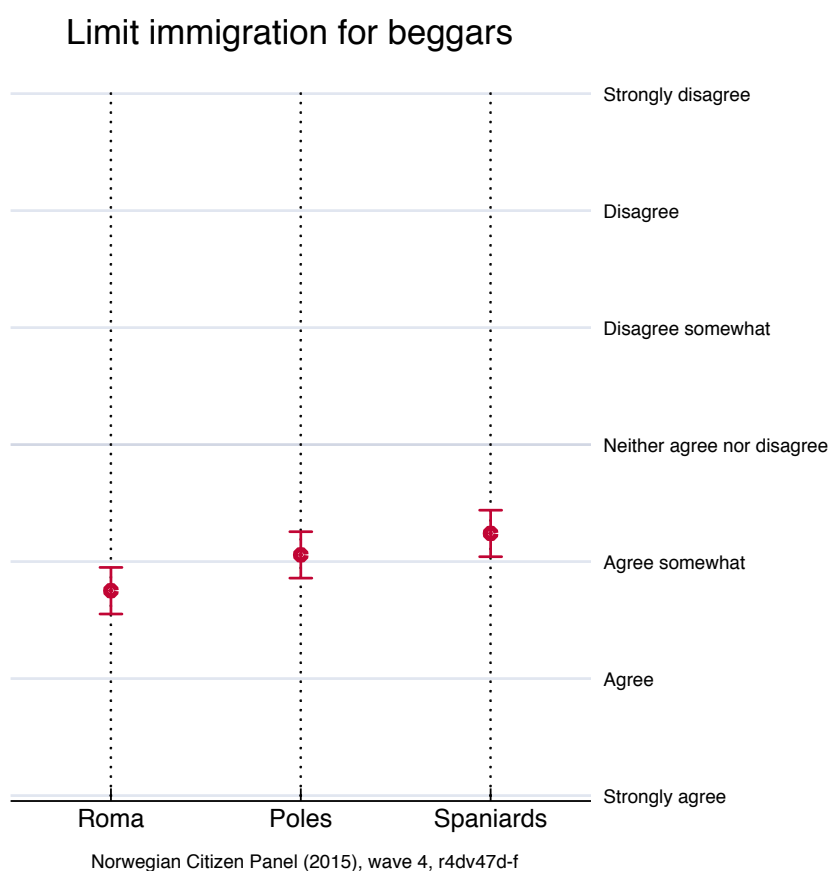


Limit immigration for beggars

Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, r4dv47d-f

Respondents agree that Norway should find a way to limit the immigration of beggars, independent of which group they are asked about. The Roma beggars are the least welcome, but it is not a significant difference from the Polish beggars. The Spanish beggars are the most welcome, but again there is not a significant difference from the Polish. Even if there is a significant difference between the responses when people are asked about Spaniards compared to Roma, the difference is not big.

This result mostly supports E3. Even if respondents agree more that Norway should introduce agreements designed to limit immigration when they are asked about Roma from Romania than when they are asked about the other groups, the difference in the answers is small. Respondents do not agree significantly more that Norway should introduce agreements designed to limit immigration when they are asked about Roma from Romania than when they are asked about other groups. That is to say, in this case there seems to be equal treatment of the different groups.

### 5.2.3 Work seeking experiment

The respondents were asked the following question, but each respondent was asked about only one group:

"The financial crisis has caused considerable poverty in Europe. Some of the poorest Europeans are <from Spain/from Poland/the Roma people from Romania> and some of them come to Norway to seek work so that their families can have a better life. To what extent do you agree or disagree that Norway should introduce agreements designed to limit this?"

*Figure 3. Limit immigration for work seekers.*

Limit immigration for work seekers
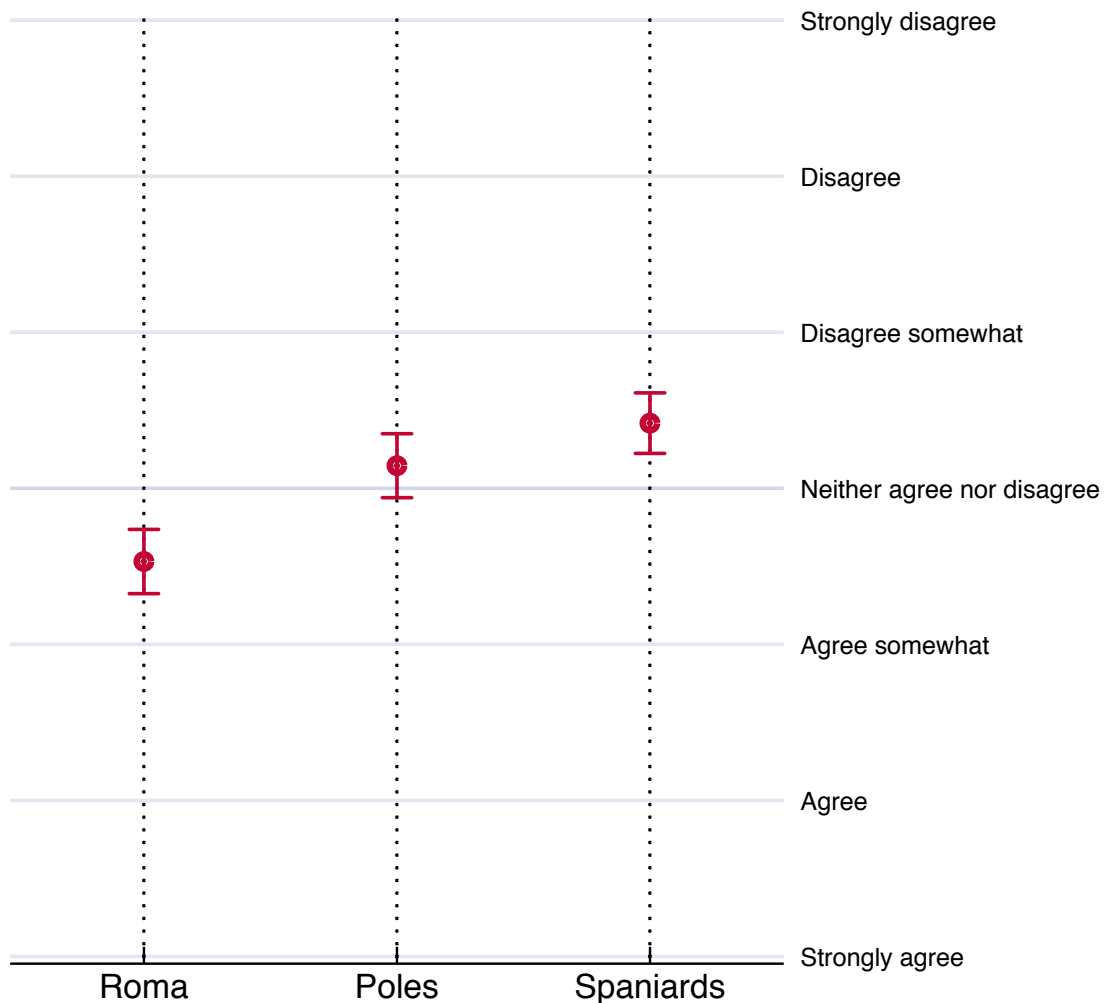
Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, r4dv47a-c

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2015, total N=774, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment based on regression analysis with 95% confidence intervals.*

The support for agreements designed to limit the immigration of people from EU countries decreases when people are asked about poor people seeking work instead of beggars. The pattern, however, is still the same as in the beggar immigration experiment. People agree more that we should limit the immigration when asked about Roma from Romania than when they are asked about Poles. They also disagree more that we should limit the immigration when asked about the Spaniards than when asked about Poles. This time, there is a significant difference between the result for the Roma and the result for the Poles. Although the thought

of Spaniards makes people less willing to introduce such agreements, compared to the thought of Poles, the confidence intervals are overlapping and the difference is not significant.

Moreover, the Poles and the Spaniards are both on the disagree-side of the spectre, while people tend to still want to introduce agreements to limit work immigration when asked about Roma from Romania. This shows persistent prejudice even in the face of counter-stereotypical information and strongly suggests that the support for limiting immigration of Roma is not only about begging. It is troubling that when it is specified that Roma from Romania come to do a counter-stereotypical activity, to seek work, it is an even bigger disadvantage for them. Because the Roma have so strong negative associations, they are met with negative attitudes even when they do other activities. This supports E4. The results are still negative for the Roma, even when it is stated explicitly what activity they come to do and when they are compared to other European migrants.

### 5.2.4 Begging and work seeking experiments compared

The full wording of the experiment is as follows:

"The financial crisis has caused considerable poverty in Europe. Some of the poorest Europeans are <from Spain/from Poland/the Roma people from Romania> and some of them come to Norway to <seek work/beg> so that their families can have a better life. To what extent do you agree or disagree that Norway should introduce agreements designed to limit this?"

*Figure 4. Limit work immigration/immigration for beggars*



Limit work immigration/immigration for beggars

Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, R4dv47a-f
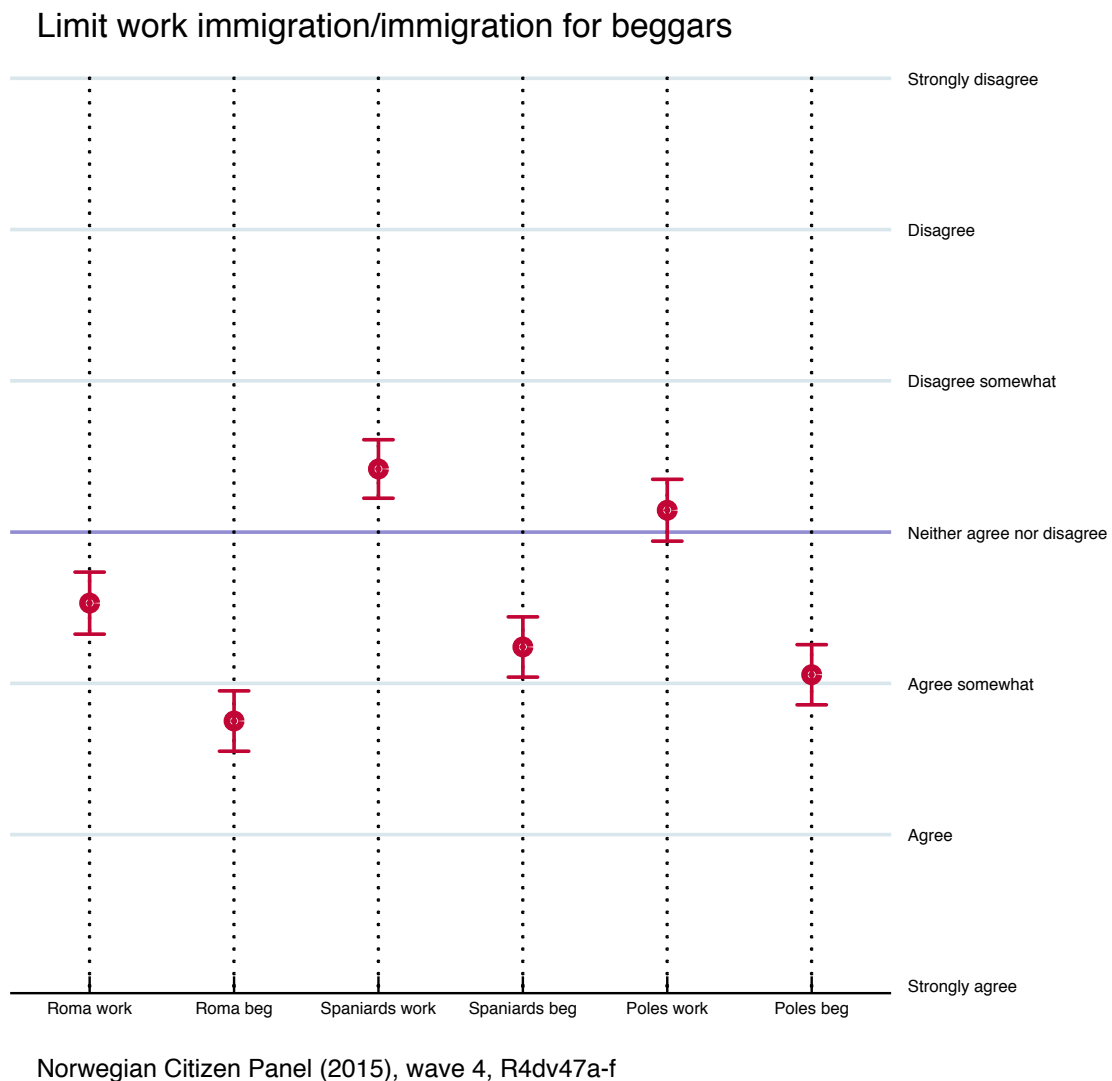
*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2015, total N=1560, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment based on regression analysis with 95% confidence intervals.*

The Roma work seekers are in fact as little welcome as the Spanish beggars, when we compare all the results. For all the groups, work immigrants are more popular than beggar immigrants. There is also consistent hierarchy. People prefer the Spanish immigrants to the Polish immigrants, and the Polish immigrants to the Roma from Romania, both when they are asked about work and beggar immigration. The results can be related to stereotypes about the different groups.

When the respondents are asked if they think Norway should introduce agreements designed to limit immigration, this would imply renegotiation of the EEA agreement, although the respondents are probably not aware of this. It is not sure that the respondents would have been so positive of limiting immigration had they not been primed with a group, or had they been asked directly about renegotiating the EEA agreement. Still, when Great Britain voted to leave the EU, one of the main arguments for Brexit was to limit the free movement of persons into the UK (Lee, 2016). One cannot disregard the possibility of similar political consequences of negative attitudes towards immigrants, and specifically of Roma immigrants, in Norway.

## 5.3 Summary

This chapter has shown through survey experiments that Roma are discriminated against in Norway. First, they are unlikely to be invited to view an apartment. Moreover, support for anti-immigration policy increases when these policies will exclude Roma as a group instead of Poles or Spaniards. The latter is not so much the case when it comes to beggar immigration, but it is clearly the case when it comes to work immigration.

# 6 Negative stereotypes and internal motivation to control prejudice

The experiments in the former chapter were about real-life situations. We discovered how Norwegians discriminate against Roma, who consistently faced a penalty in the experiments. The experiments in this chapter examines the social psychology of prejudice to the Roma minority in more detail. Through these experiments, I explore the attitudes that shape the discriminating behaviours. The history of discrimination against Roma in Norway (chapter 2), as well as several reports and research that show the vulnerability of the Roma minority in Norway and the rest of Europe (Dahlgreen, 2015; Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2011; European Commission, 2004; Liégeois, 2007; Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012) give reason to believe that Norwegian citizens hold negative stereotypes towards the Roma. In this chapter, I will examine these stereotypes through two survey experiments. First, a target group experiment on the on the Stereotype Content Model. Second, a target group experiment on the internal motivation to control prejudice.

## 6.1 Stereotype Content Model experiment

The Stereotype Content Model experiment examines what is behind discriminatory behavior in the housing market and discriminatory attitudes when it comes to immigration, namely stereotypes. To understand the extent of discrimination against Roma, we have to examine the stereotypes related to the group. From a discriminating attitude to discriminating actions, there is only a small step (Rosvoll & Bielenberg, 2012, 15-16). This question is related to the Stereotype Content Model, which measures peoples' stereotypes towards other groups through two dimensions, warmth and competence.

The respondents were randomized into nine[8] groups, and they were only asked about one target group each. They were first asked about the group's competence, and then the group's warmth. The groups that were asked about, were refugees, Roma people, Muslims, followers of the Muslim fundamentalist group the Prophet's Ummah, members of the Liberal political party,

---

[8] I only included the groups I considered relevant for the research question. The groups I removed from the presentation in this chapter were asylum seekers and members of the of the Human Rights Service, fronted by Hege Storhaug. This did not change the analysis. The entire analysis can be found in the appendix.

members of the Progress Party, and members of the of the neo-Nazi group The Norwegian Resistance Movement. The respondents were asked to what extent the (members of target group) were warm/competent with the following range of responses: not at all, slightly, somewhat, to a great extent or to a very great extent.

The target groups in this experiment are varied. I have categorized them in three categories; controversial groups, immigrant groups and political groups. The members of the political parties can be regarded as ingroups. As discussed previously, the Progress party is considered to be somewhat controversial in Norway, but it is nevertheless one of the biggest parties and is currently in government. The Liberal party is probably less controversial. There are two minority groups in addition to the Roma. These are Muslims and refugees. Finally there are two controversial groups, followers of the Muslim fundamentalist group the Prophet's Ummah and members of the neo-Nazi group the Norwegian Resistance Movement. One could argue that the Muslim fundamentalists and the neo-Nazis are political groups as well, but their opinions are so controversial and on the edge of the Norwegian society, that I chose to put them in a separate category.

*Table 3. Controversial groups, minority groups and political groups*

|  | **Warmth** | **Competence** |
|---|---|---|
| **Controversial groups** | Followers of the Muslim fundamentalist group the Prophet's Ummah (286 respondents) | Followers of the Muslim fundamentalist group the Prophet's Ummah (286 respondents) |
|  | The neo-Nazi group the Norwegian Resistance Movement (285 respondents) | The neo-Nazi group the Norwegian Resistance Movement (284 respondents) |
| **Minority groups** | Roma people (300 respondents), | Roma people (300 respondents) |
|  | Muslims (291 respondents) | Muslims (293 respondents) |
|  | Refugees (296 respondents) | Refugees (299 respondents) |
| **Political groups** | Members of the Liberal party (283 respondents) | Members of the Liberal party (284 respondents) |
|  | Members of the Progress Party (305 respondents) | Members of the Progress Party (307 respondents) |

How are these groups perceived on the warmth/competence dimensions? Remember that warmth is related to intentions and noncompetitiveness, while competence is related to skills and high status. The Liberal party is a small and immigrant-friendly party, and is probably perceived as warm. When it comes to the Progress party, it is not unlikely that their anti-immigrant views would be regarded as cold. The political groups are probably regarded as skilful and clever, and therefore competent. The controversial groups are probably perceived as having bad intentions, and they do not enjoy a particularly high status in Norway, so they are likely to be regarded as low in both warmth and competence.

The minority groups could be perceived as competing for ingroup resources, and therefore as cold. It is also possible that people separate between different groups of minorities. The Roma beggars do not have a high status, but the stereotypes about Roma, discussed previously in chapter two, are ambiguous. To be criminal, dirty and lazy probably would probably be regarded as cold and incompetent. But to be attractive, family-oriented and to enjoy life could make Roma be perceived as warm. And to be artistically gifted, clever and even a trickster could lead people to say they are high in competence. However, the stereotypes about Roma are mostly negative, and they are most likely perceived as cold and incompetent.

That being said, previous research on subgroups in the Stereotype Content Model has shown that two polarized subgroups can cancel each other out in the Stereotype Content Model. This has for example been the case for Blacks. People view Black professionals and poor Blacks in different ways. If the study does not separate the two distinct subgroups, they will cancel each other out and leave the generic group in the middle. A racial stereotype can depend on social class (Fiske et al., 2002, 889).

### 6.1.1 Expectations

If the attitudes of Norwegian citizens reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination, then the stereotypes against them should be as positive as the stereotypes for ingroups in our society. Despite the political changes in recent decades, Norway has a long history of discriminating against Roma. This discrimination was often justified with stereotypes about the group. If these negative stereotypes still persist, the Roma will be perceived as colder and more incompetent than the other groups. I therefore formulate two competing expectations (E5 and E6).

*E5: Roma are likely to be perceived as warm and as competent as the ingroups.*

*E6: Roma are likely to be perceived colder and more incompetent than the ingroups.*

### 6.1.2 Warmth experiment

The exact wording of the experiment was as follows:

"Think about how (members of group) are regarded by people in Norway generally. As people generally see it, to what extent are (members of group): Warm (friendly, kind, honest)"

*Figure 5. Warmth experiment*

Regarded by Norwegians, to what extent are (group):

# Warm
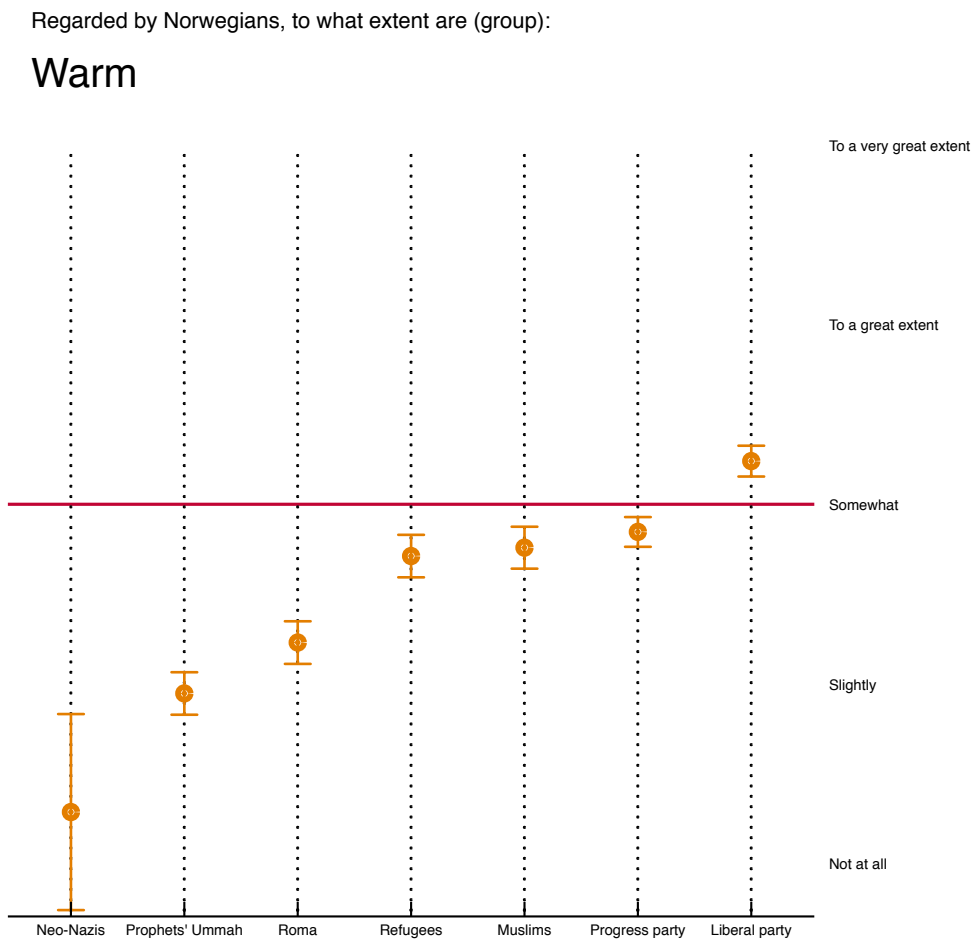


Norwegian Citizen Panel (2016), wave 6, r6dv13a-d_2, r6dv14a-b_2, r6dv14d_2

As expected, the controversial groups have the worst result. Especially the neo-Nazis are deemed very cold. The different minority groups have not received the same rating. The Roma are deemed the coldest, and are close to the followers of the Muslim fundamentalist group the Prophet's Ummah. Then comes another political group, namely the Progress party. It is interesting that the Progress party gets the same results as Muslims and refugees, since these groups are opposites in the political debate. It is also somewhat unlikely, considering what we know about negative stereotypes of these groups. The case for the Muslims and Refugees can be a consequence of the subgroups ruling each other out, leaving the generic group in the middle. It is surprising, but uplifting if true, that these groups were not perceived to be regarded colder. Finally, the Liberal party is seen as the warmest of these groups, although not that warm. The Roma has a worse outcome than all the other groups, except for the controversial ones. This supports E6.

### 6.1.3 Competence experiment

The exact wording of the experiment was as follows:

"Think about how (members of group) are regarded by people in Norway generally. As people generally see it, to what extent are (members of group): Competent (skilful, self-assured, clever)"

*Figure 6. Competence experiment*

Regarded by Norwegians, to what extent are (group):

# Competent
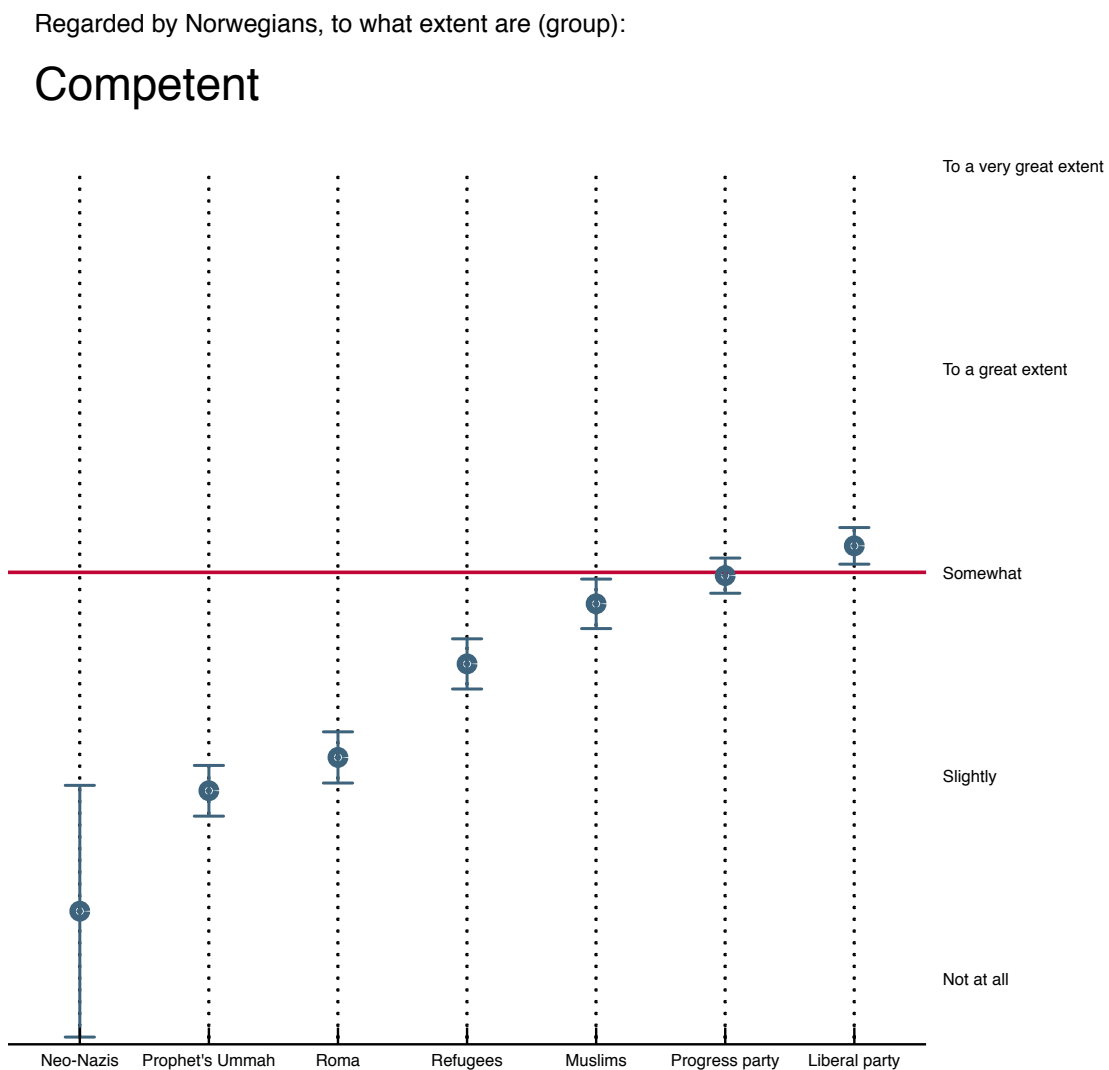


Norwegian Citizen Panel (2016), wave 6, r6dv13a-d_1, r6dv14a-b_1, r6dv14d_1

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2016, total N=2053, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment based on regression analysis with 95% confidence intervals.*

The neo-Nazis are at the bottom and the Liberal party is on the top again. The results this time follow the categories, with the controversial groups as the most incompetent, then the minority groups, and finally the political groups as the least incompetent. The political groups are in the middle, neither competent nor incompetent. The Roma once again receive the lowest ranking of all the immigrant groups. They are placed between the Refugees and the Muslim fundamentalists in the Prophet's Ummah These results also support both E6.

### 6.1.4 Stereotype Content Model experiment

The results become easier to interpret visually when we add them together in the Stereotype Content Model. The exact wording of the experiment was as follows:

"Think about how (members of group) are regarded by people in Norway generally. As people generally see it, to what extent are (members of group): <Competent (skilful, self-assured, clever)/Warm (friendly, kind, honest)>"

*Figure 7. Stereotype Content Model*
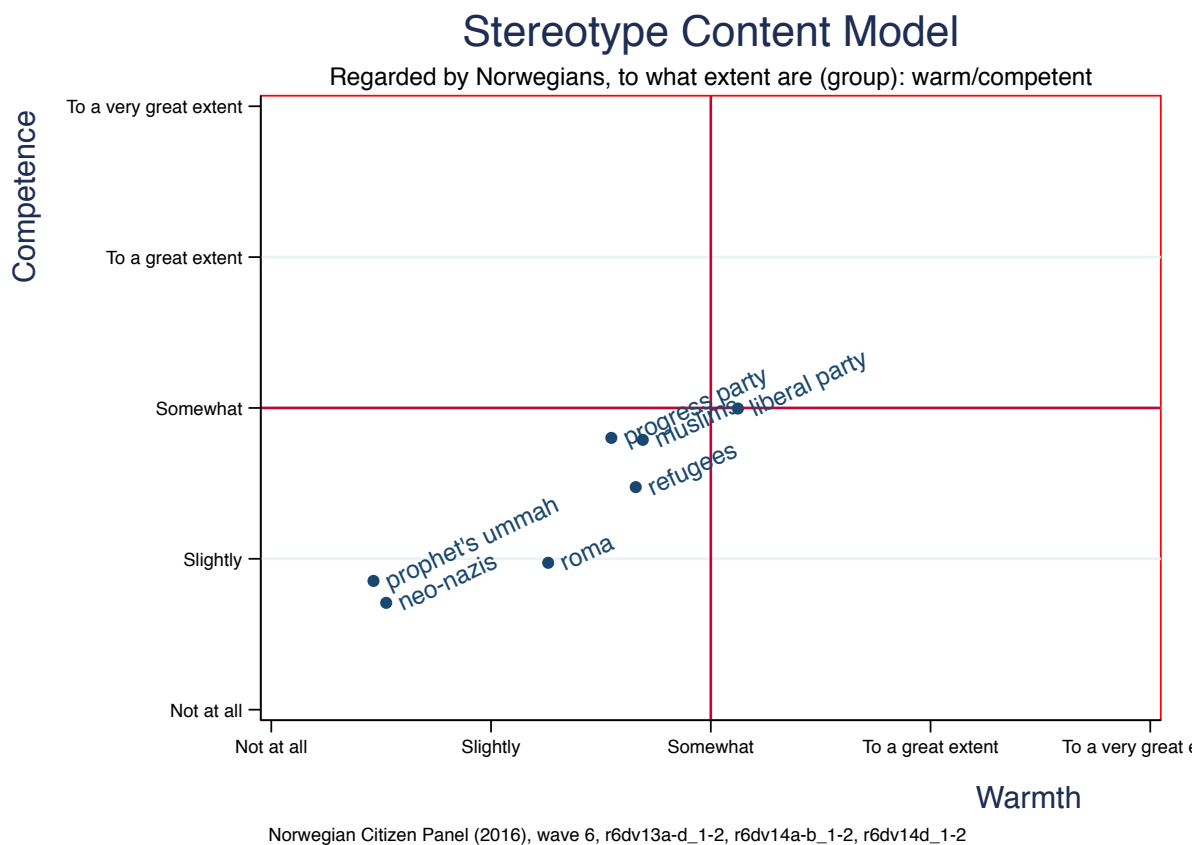


Norwegian Citizen Panel (2016), wave 6, r6dv13a-d_1-2, r6dv14a-b_1-2, r6dv14d_1-2

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2016, random design, random allocation of treatments. Two-way scatterplot with mean result for group on each dimension.*

Few of the groups in this survey are particularly well regarded by Norwegians. However, it is clear that the stereotypes towards Roma are more negative than towards any of the other groups, except the extreme ones. Only the Muslim fundamentalists in the Prophet's Ummah and the

neo-Nazis in the Norwegian Resistance Movement are considered to be regarded as colder and more incompetent than the Roma. This is consistent with the results of similar research (Bye et al., 2014), where Roma were considered the least warm and the second least competent group, clustered together with beggars and drug addicts.

This finding can help explain why the Roma are victims of harassment in Norway today. In Oslo, Roma street-workers experience more harassment than non-Roma street workers. In addition to abuse and humiliation, street workers are exposed to physical violence, mainly from ordinary Norwegians who hit, kick or push them. Oslo stands out among the Scandinavian capitals, with the highest levels of violence towards street-workers overall. One in four street workers in Oslo has been hit, kicked or pushed. While Stockholm and Copenhagen do not exhibit significant differences between the Roma and the non-Roma, the Roma in Oslo experience violence twice as frequently as the non-Roma (Djuve et al., 2015, 103-104). After the Norwegian public broadcaster, NRK, showed the Brennpunkt documentary "*Lykkelandet*" in April 2017, which told the story about Romanians who are involved in prostitution and criminal activities in Bergen, Roma beggars in Bergen reported that they had been kicked, hit and spat on (Otterlei, 2017). These are examples of active harm and could be a consequence of the negative stereotypes against Roma.

## 6.2 Internal Motivation to Control Prejudice experiment

Motivation to control prejudice measures the intensity of an individual's motivation to achieve the goal of unprejudiced behavior. Social psychologists have identified both internal and external motivations to act without prejudice. Individuals may wish to avoid being perceived as prejudiced by others, and they may also wish to avoid appearing prejudiced even to themselves. Internally motivated people attempt to control (reduce) prejudiced responses in intergroup interactions as part of their ongoing efforts to respond consistently with their internalized nonprejudiced values (Plant & Devine, 1998). In the Norwegian Citizen Panel data, there are four measures of internal motivation to control prejudice, which I will examine here.

All the target groups in this experiment, Roma, Muslims and immigrants, are all minority groups. Roma people and Muslims are the least tolerated minorities in Norway and Europe (Dahlgreen, 2015). The group of Roma that people are likely to think about in this experiment

is also an immigrant group, although it is not specified in the wording. The target group "immigrants" encompass Roma as well as many other. We can therefore expect that these groups will get approximately the same results. This experiment is designed to look at the nuances in differential treatment. As we have seen in the former experiments, minority groups are not always judged in the same way. Some minorities are preferred to other.

### 6.2.1 Expectations

If Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination, then there should be no differences in the answer between the different groups, and the motivation to be unprejudiced should be very high. Conversely, if there is a difference even in the internal motivation to control prejudice, that will tell us that some work definitely remains before the citizens' attitudes reflect the international ideals. I have therefore formulated two competing expectations (E7 and E8).

*E7: People are not less motivated to control their prejudice in regard to Roma people than in regard to other groups.*

*E8: People are less motivated to control their prejudice in regard to Roma people than in regard to other groups.*

### 6.2.2 Question wording and experimental results

The exact wording of the first question that measures internal motivation to control prejudice was as follows:

"It is important for me personally to be unprejudiced in regard to immigrants (535 respondents)/Roma (499 respondents)/Muslims (509 respondents)."

*Figure 8. It is important for me personally to be unprejudiced*

How well or poorly would you say that the following description apply to you:

## It is important for me personally to be unprejudiced in regard to (group).
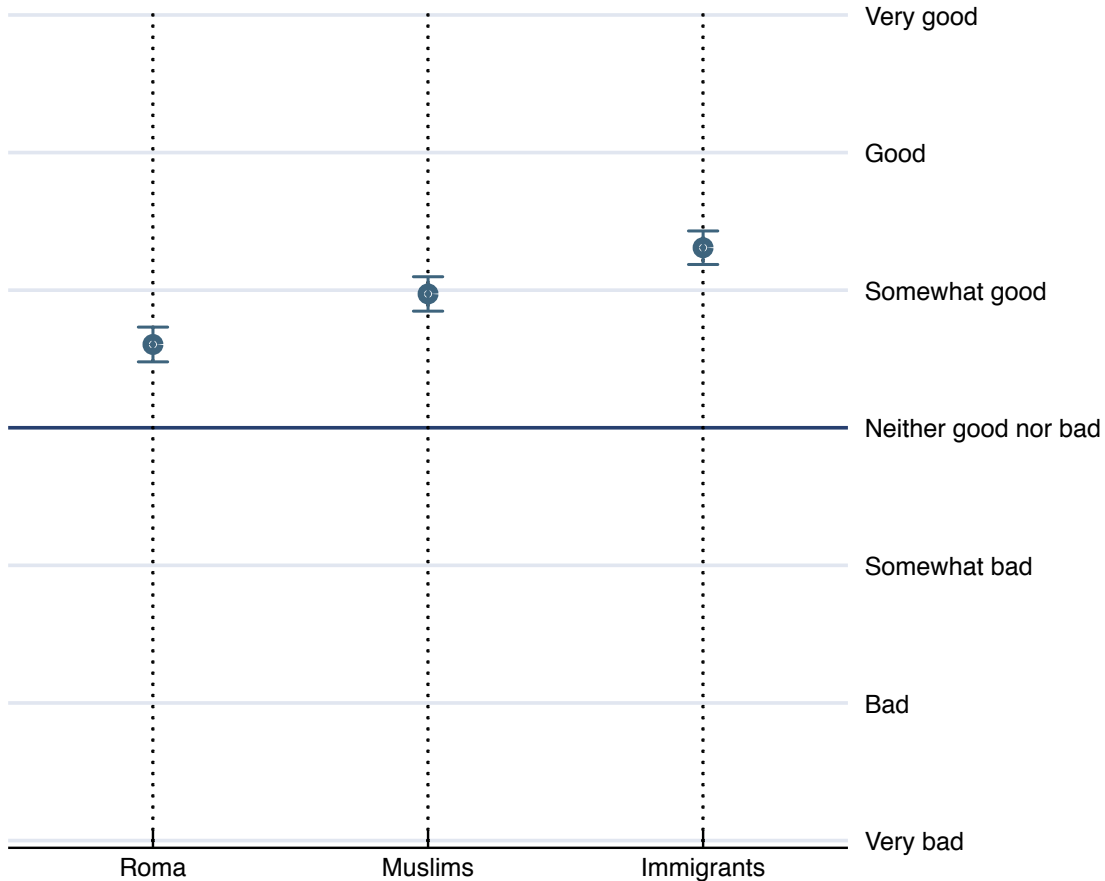


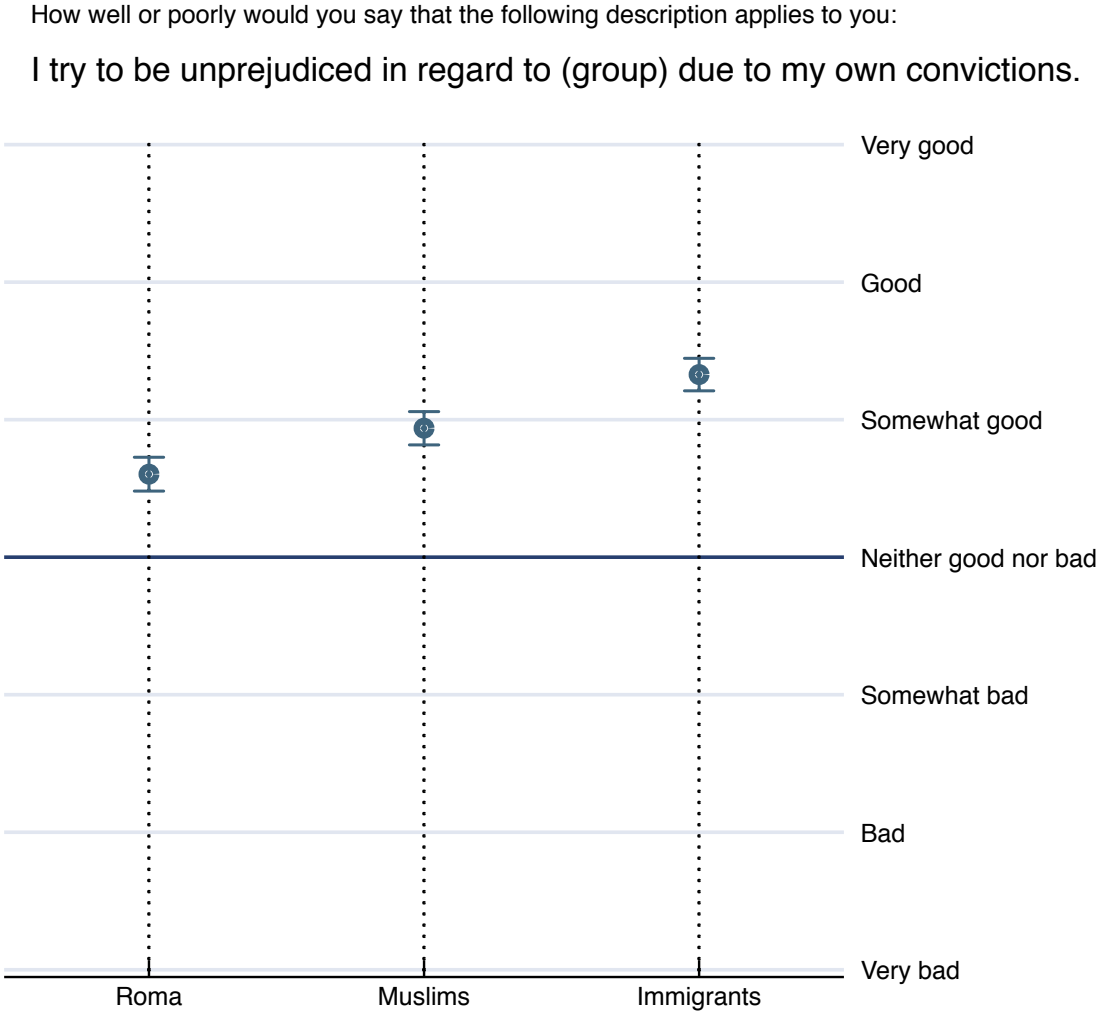Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, r4dv35a-c_1

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2015, total N=1543, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment based on regression analysis with 95% confidence intervals.*

There are no major differences in the answers, they are all between "good" and "neither good nor bad", but people tend to control their prejudice most in regard to immigrants, then to Muslims and the least to Roma people. This supports E8.

The exact wording of the second experiment that measures internal motivation to control prejudice was as follows:

"I try to be unprejudiced in regard to immigrants (537 respondents)/Roma (497 respondents)/Muslims (512 respondents) due to my own convictions"

*Figure 9. I try to be unprejudiced due to my own convictions*

How well or poorly would you say that the following description applies to you:

I try to be unprejudiced in regard to (group) due to my own convictions.



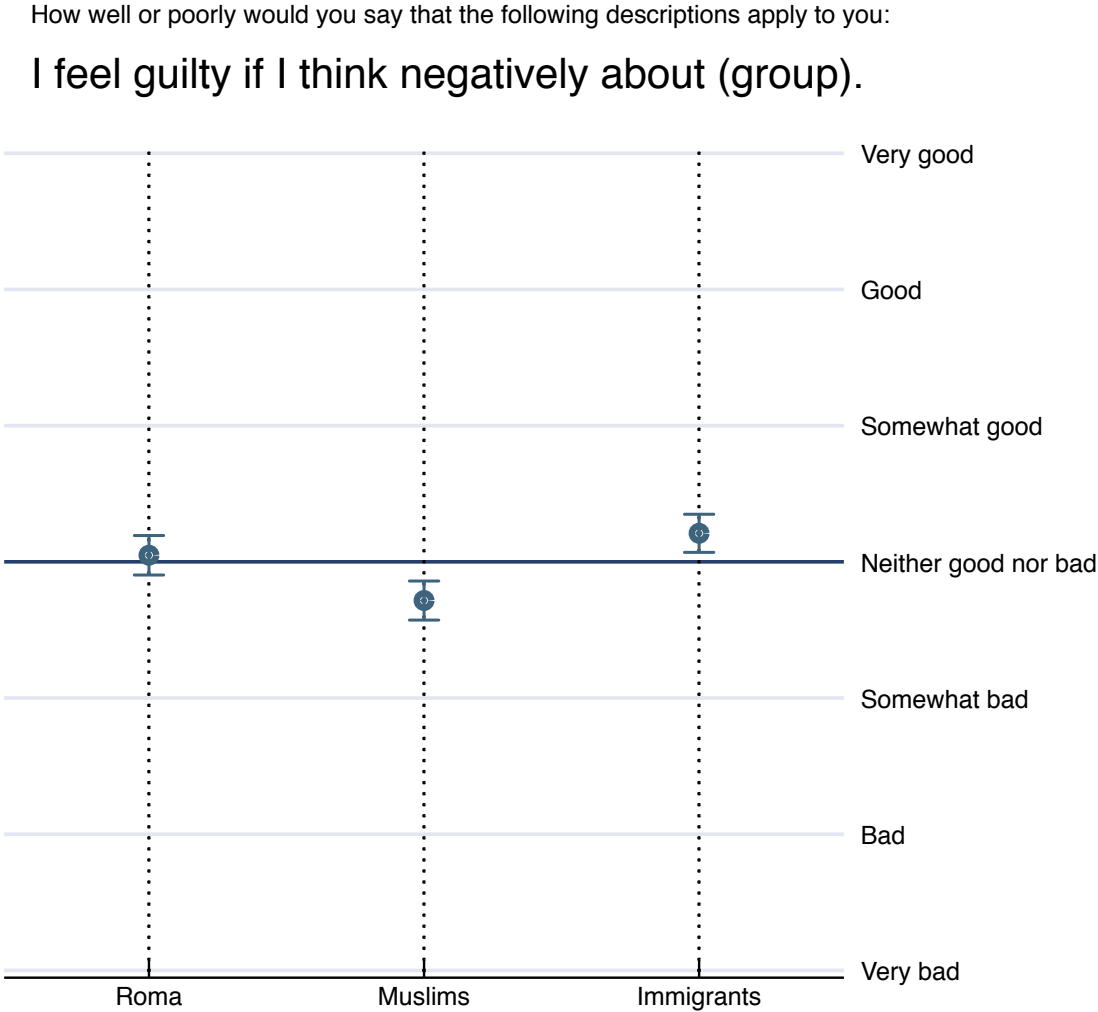Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, r4dv35a-c_3

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2015, total N=1546, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment based on regression analysis with 95% confidence intervals.*

This experiment has almost the same responses as the one above. This is as expected, since they measures are so similar. People try the most to be unprejudiced in regard to immigrants, then to Muslims and the least in regard to Roma people. This also supports E8.

The exact wording of the third experiment that measures internal motivation to control prejudice was as follows:

"I feel guilty if I think negatively about immigrants (535)/Roma (499)/Muslims (510)."

*Figure 10. I feel guilty if I think negatively about (group)*

How well or poorly would you say that the following descriptions apply to you:

## I feel guilty if I think negatively about (group).



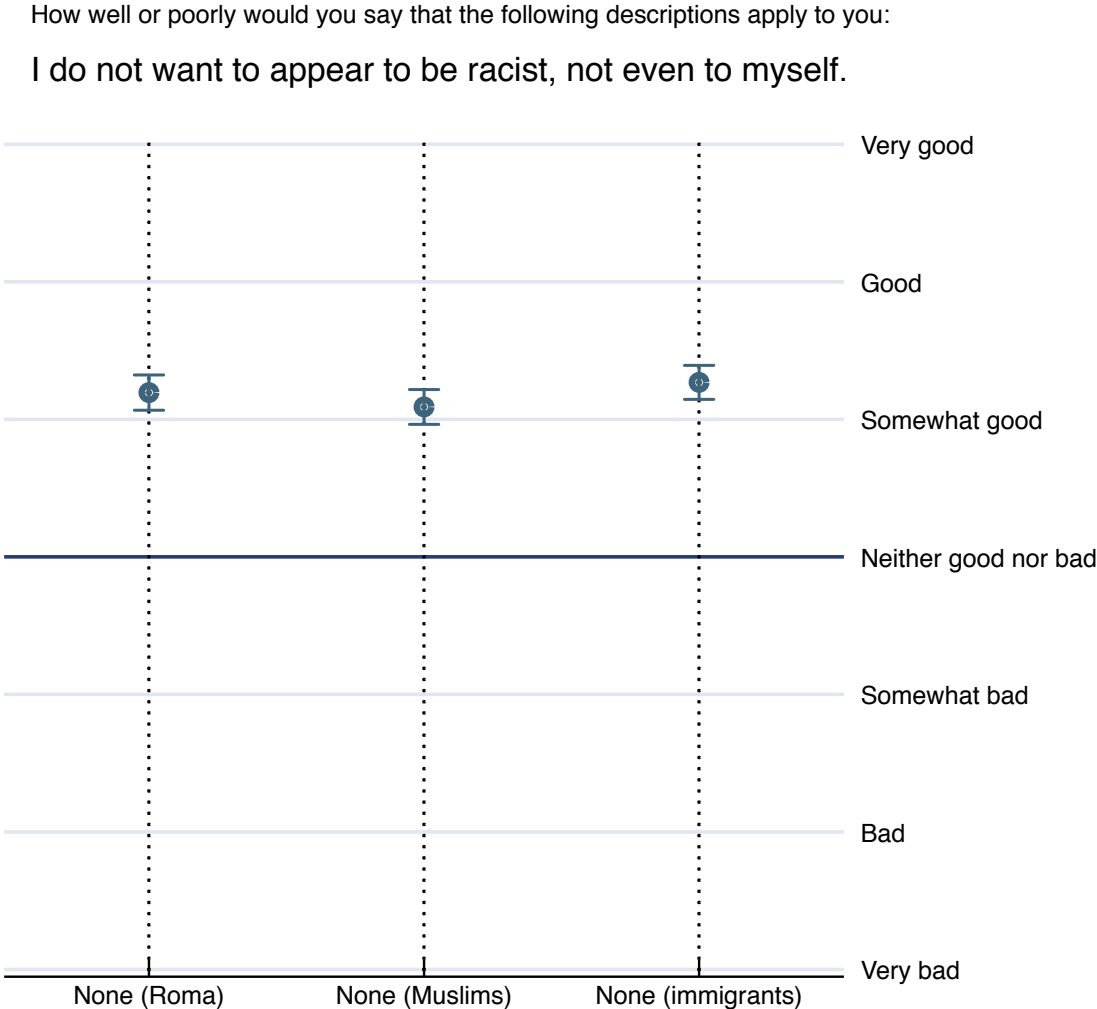Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wace 4, r4dv35a-c_2

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2015, total N=1544, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment based on regression analysis with 95% confidence intervals.*

This experiment gives a different result. Suddenly it is the Muslims who have the worst outcome. People seem to react differently when asked about guilt. All the answers here are less motivated than in the former questions. This result supports E7.

The final question does not mention any group. The respondents were asked about appearing racist in general. The exact wording of the experiment was as follows:

"I do not want to appear to be racist, not even to myself (Roma group: 499) (immigrants group 536) (Muslims group 511)."

*Figure 11. I do not want to appear to be racist, not even to myself*

How well or poorly would you say that the following descriptions apply to you:

I do not want to appear to be racist, not even to myself.



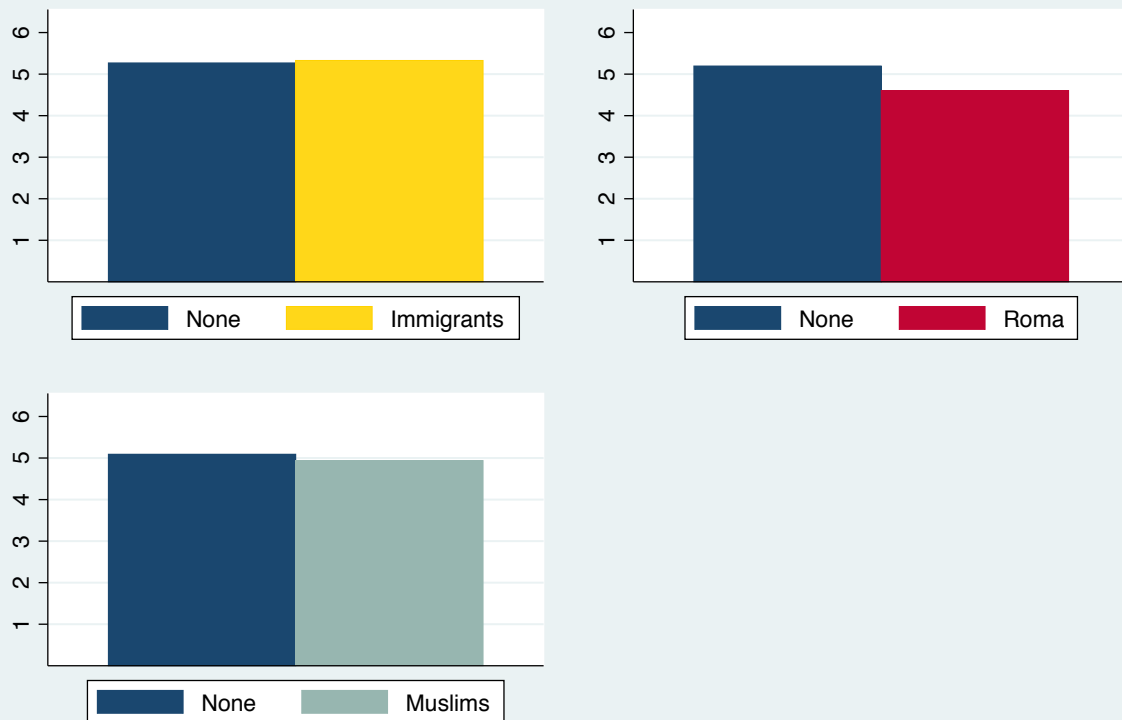Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, r4dv35a-c_4

This graph shows the answers when respondents in the different groups are asked about racism in general, without being primed with any group. As expected, there is no significant difference, all answers are close to "somewhat good". This means that none of the randomized groups were more racist than the other. The respondents asked about Roma had the same score on general internal motivation to control prejudice as the others. Accordingly, the lower result for the Roma people group is not a result of the people in that group being less motivated to control their prejudices in general.

### 6.2.3 Comparison of general motivation and target group motivation

Finally, I will compare the results from the general "*I do not want to appear to be racist, not even to myself*" with one of the measures of internal motivation to control prejudice where the respondents are asked to think about a group. I chose only one of the measures, since they were so similar. I chose the one that demanded most active will *("I try to"* says more about your own efforts than "it is important").

*Figure 12. Comparison of IMCP in general and IMCP when primed with group*

Comparison of IMCP in general and IMCP when primed with group

Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, r4dv35a-c_3-4

The general internal motivation to control prejudice ("I do not want to appear racist, not even to myself") are the "None"-bars. The others show how internally motivated people are to control their prejudice towards a specific target group (immigrants, Muslims or Roma). When we compare the general questions with the specific questions, it becomes visible how much less people are trying to be unprejudiced towards the Roma.

The respondents are actually slightly more motivated to control their prejudice when they are asked explicitly about immigrants. For Muslims, the respondents are little less motivated to control their prejudice. For Roma, however, the motivation to control prejudice is weaker than the baseline, and also weaker than for the other groups. It appears that respondents tend to accept their own prejudices against Roma to a larger extent than for immigrants and Muslims. This does not only show that once again Roma get a worse result than the other groups in the experiment, but it can also explain why people seem to be more willing to express negative thoughts about the Roma than about other groups in the society. These experiments capture a norm in our society, which can tell us something about citizens' degree of compliance to the new international laws.

## 6.3 Summary

This chapter has described two survey experiments which have given us insight in peoples' internal motivation to control prejudice and the content of their stereotypes. Both experiments showed that Roma people yet again are met with particularly negative stereotypes. The experiments are interesting because they tell us something about why the Roma people always are penalized in the experiments (and the real world). People have a lower motivation to control their prejudice against Roma, which means that they are more willing to express their negative ideas about the group. The Roma people's low score on the warmth and competence scale in the Stereotype Content Model means that people react to them with contempt (emotion), neglect (passive harm) and attack (active harm).

# 7 To what extent do Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma reflect anti-discrimination ideals?

Through four survey experiments, I have examined whether Norwegians discriminate against Roma. It is conspicuous how the result for the immigrant Roma is always negative, regardless of the situation. The four different experiments have a different approach to the research question. Together they make up different parts of the puzzle. The survey experiments do not say anything about the development of discrimination against Roma. However, seen together, it seems clear that there is still a long way to go before the international ideals have reached the individual citizen.

The first experiment was about how likely the respondents are to invite a certain person to view their apartment. The apartment rental experiment is the closest measure of direct discrimination. It is a realistic situation and a very concrete measure of discrimination. It shows that the Roma minority is unlikely to be invited to view the apartment. The Roma is considered almost on equal terms as members of the controversial motorbike club Hells Angels. According to this experimental result, Roma are indeed discriminated against in the rental market in Norway today. Reports have shown that the Norwegian population is most negative toward interaction with Muslims, in addition to Roma (Dahlgreen, 2015; Hoffmann, Kopperud, & Moe, 2012). We can in other words assume that the Muslims are being somewhat discriminated against. To find a substantial gap between the Roma and the Muslims in the apartment experiment indicates that the negative differential treatment of Roma is big.

The second experiment is about policy support, and is a more overarching situation of discrimination. The target groups here are not as diverse as in the former experiment. The experiment compares the support for anti-immigration measures when respondents are primed to think about either poor Spaniards, poor Poles or poor Roma immigrants. These groups are all EU members and have the same right to enter Norway. It is also specified in the question that the group is poor, so the differences in the answers are not because people prefer affluent or high-skilled immigrants. The only factor that separate these groups is their nationality/ethnicity.

The results showed that the respondents were more likely to support anti-immigration policies when they were asked to think about Roma people. When the respondents are asked about immigrants who come to Norway to beg, the differential treatment is very small. Other groups, who are otherwise more positively regarded (Poles and Spaniards), are considered in a negative way when they come to beg. In this case we find some evidence of equal treatment. In the work immigration experiment, on the contrary, the Roma receive a penalty, and there is a substantial difference in the support for anti-immigration policy. It is disturbing that when it is specified that the Roma do a counter-stereotypical activity (seek work), they get an even bigger disadvantage. Because they are related to a group with which there are strong negative associations, they meet negative attitudes even when it is explicitly stated that they act differently. This suggests negative stereotypes about the Roma minority do not change easily.

The experiments in chapter six had a more social psychological approach, and are important because they allow us to understand the mechanisms that make the discrimination against Roma so persistent. The experiments related to the Stereotype Content Model, showed that Roma are considered to be almost as cold and as incompetent as the extreme groups, members of the Prophet's Ummah and members of the neo-Nazi group the Norwegian Resistance Movement. According to the Stereotype Content Model and BIAS map framework, these negative stereotypes have consequences for how Roma are perceived and how they are treated. To be perceived as cold and incompetent is related to emotions like anger contempt, disgust, hate and resentment. To be perceived as cold is also related to active harm, while to be perceived as incompetent is related to passive harm. Again, Roma are perceived to be colder and more incompetent than Muslims or any other of the minority groups. The distance between the Roma and the other minority groups is striking.

The final experiment asked the respondents about their internal motivation to control prejudice. That is, their will to avoid appearing prejudiced even to themselves. The other target groups were also minority groups. If Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination, there should be no differences in the answer between the different groups, and the motivation to control prejudice should be high. What the results showed, however, was that people were considerably less motivated to control their prejudice in regard to Roma than in regard to the other minority groups. This not only shows that the anti-discrimination ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination have not reached

individuals, but also that this discrepancy between norms and attitudes is particularly big when it comes to the Roma people, compared to other minority groups.

## 7.1 Weaknesses and strengths of the study

One might find that respondents express substantially different attitudes when asked about one group instead of the other. At the same time, one also might find substantial support for equal treatment when respondents are asked in a traditional, nonexperimental format. It is tempting to consider the experimental results to reveal the "true" attitudes and the direct expression of support for equal treatment to represent a superficial commitment to a socially desirable position. It would be a mistake, however, to identify only one of these results as revealing "true" attitudes. Public expression of support for equality, even if it is not backed up by equivalent responses in the experiment, might nevertheless reflect a genuine reluctance to condone disparate treatment, and this reluctance might have important implications for the nature of public debate over policy. Both the traditional survey question about equal treatment and the randomized experiment would each reveal something about the public's attitudes. In combination, we could get a fuller range of the public's thinking about immigration than we would get from either technique alone (Gilens, 2002, 249-250). Besides, attitudes will always be imperfect predictors of discrimination (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013, 893; Pager & Quillian, 2005).

It is often observed that experimental methods offer high internal validity, but are more problematic in external validity (Gilens, 2002, 249). The issue of external validity goes beyond the representativeness of the subjects. External validity concerns inferences about the extent to which a causal relationship holds over variations in persons, settings, treatments, and outcomes. Thus, when scholars embed experiments in opinion surveys, they must consider whether the treatments themselves are externally valid (Barabas & Jerit, 2010, 227). Many survey experiments attempt to mimic some experience from everyday life, such as the acquisition of information from the media or a social encounter with a more or less friendly stranger. These efforts are often crude simulacra of the real-life experiences of interest (Gilens, 2002, 249). To the extent that treatments in survey experiments are overly strong or atypical, the observed effects may not generalize beyond the particular study at hand. This feature may also limit the extent to which the findings are generalizable, even with nationally representative samples

(Barabas & Jerit, 2010, 227). Barabas & Jerit (2010) examine whether survey experiments are externally valid, and they conclude that what occurs in their survey experiment resembles what takes place in the real world.

Although there are challenges related to the inferences one can make even with survey experiments, the findings in this thesis is strengthened by the fact that four different experiments, of which some were conducted in wave 4 (2015) and some in wave 6 (2016), all show the same tendency in the result for Roma people. This makes it possible to be confident in the finding that there is widespread discrimination against the Roma in Norway today. This does not mean that there has not been a positive change since World War II. This thesis cannot say anything about Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Tater/Romani people today. Additionally, many Norwegians treat immigrant Roma in a decent way today. After all, there are 33 % of the respondents who state that the description "I try to be unprejudiced in regard to Roma people due to my own convictions" is a good or very good description of them (compared to 53 % of those asked about immigrants).

## 7.2 Why is the history of discrimination important to understand the discrepancy between anti-discrimination ideals and attitudes?

The historical context is relevant to understanding why it has been so hard to spread the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination to the individual citizens. I argue that there are particularly two reasons why the long historical background of discrimination against the Tater/Romani people in Norway is important for understanding the discrimination and negative attitudes towards immigrant Roma today. First, the historical background can help us understand why the ideal may not yet be met. Antiziganist ideas are persistent. Second, it is possible that the way the political changes happened has affected the degree to which citizens' attitudes reflect the ideals embedded in the law.

### 7.2.1 Antiziganism against Tater/Romani people and immigrant Roma

Although there are examples of discrimination against Tater/Romani people today (Nordberg, 2014), the negative attention to Roma groups today is mainly directed towards immigrant Roma. There are nevertheless strong similarities between the negative attitudes towards

immigrant Roma today and the negative attitudes towards Tater/Romani people in the past. The history of antiziganism in Norway and the discrimination against the Tater/Romani people is relevant to understanding why the immigrant Roma are penalized in the survey experiments. Most Norwegians are probably unaware of this connection and do not think about the Tater/Romani people when they evaluate the immigrant Roma negatively. But even if the Tater/Romani people and immigrant Roma are two different groups, they are both exposed to antiziganism. We know that such ideas take long time to change.

The Swedish Equality Ombudsman states that although discriminatory legislation directed at Roma is no longer found in Sweden, negative perceptions and attitudes, known as antiziganism, still affect the Roma's situation. The prevalence of antiziganism limits Roma's access to rights in areas of public life such as housing, social services and education. This highlights the question of whether Sweden has made sufficient effort to follow up on international conventions (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2011, 46-47). There is no reason to believe that the situation should be much different in Norway, although a similar report does not exist. Awareness of how antiziganism, laws, regulations and established norms limit individual opportunity is crucial to a proper understanding of discrimination against Roma people (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2011, 16).

Antiziganism is a phenomenon with historical reoccurrence with certain variations. The antiziganist rhetoric in the present has analogues in the past (Selling, 2015a, 41). For example, the Vagrancy Act issued in 1900 prohibited begging and made the itinerant lifestyle a crime (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2015, 37). The term "Vagrant" was defined to include such groups as the Tater/Romani people (*tatere*) and Norwegian Roma (*sigøynere*) (Kaveh, 2015, 31). In 2006, the Act was abolished by a unanimous Norwegian Parliament (Kaveh, 2015, 29). There were several arguments for this. Among other, it was pointed out that most of the people who beg are in a difficult life situation, like drug addicts who finance their drug abuse through begging (Ot.prp. nr. 113 (2004-2005), 19). Another reasoning was that the unpleasantness of being confronted with a beggar, is not of such a nature that makes it reasonable to use means of punishment against the beggars (Kaveh, 2015, 35).

As the composition of the beggars changed from being primarily drug addicts to also including immigrant Roma, a debate was started on whether Norway should reintroduce the ban on

begging (Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet, 2015). The reactions against the immigrant Roma today are surprisingly similar to the reactions against the Tater/Romani people one hundred years ago. A municipal ban on begging was introduced in 2014. The government tried to introduce a national ban in 2015, but withdrew the proposal when they lost the necessary support from the Agrarian party (Sund, Eriksen, & Rydland, 2015).

The ban on begging was criticized by the equality and anti-discrimination ombudsman, who argued that it could be a violation to the human right to freedom of speech and protection from indirect discrimination. Also, the undocumented assertions about criminality could strengthen the negative stereotypes about Roma, which could again lead to increased discrimination and harassment (Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet, 2015). Not all beggars in Norway are Roma, and those who are, are not begging because they are Roma, but because they are poor. But as long as the general understanding is that they are mainly Roma, the imagined "conceptual Gypsy" influences the terms of public debate (Selling, 2015a, 43).

By the same token, the features of historical antiziganism were not specifically and exclusively applied to the Roma. The "Tramps" were perceived as hostile as the "Vagrants" in the interwar period. This historical antiziganism makes its reappearance in the present debates on begging in the same manner. Even though the source of irritation is not the Roma or the Roma culture itself, the society's response is directed at the Roma because they are easily made into scapegoats. The antiziganist stereotypes fit the society's fears regarding beggars. They are perceived as freeloaders and useless, unhygienic, criminal individuals who are a threat to orderly society, quite apart from whether they are Roma or not (Kaveh, 2015, 38). The current arguments which are put forward on begging as a cover for criminal activities are a repetition of the interwar context. Although in contrast with the situation then, when a majority of the complaints were about the so-called Tramps ("*løsgjengere*"), the contemporary sources of irritation are mainly people from Eastern Europe, of whom a substantial number, but not all, are Roma (Kaveh, 2015, 35).

Kaveh (2015, 35) argues that the responses to the immigrant beggars, of which many are Roma, are outright antiziganism. It assumes a very static and generalist conception of what the Roma culture is and stands for in terms of stereotypes. Antiziganism is such a powerful tool to discriminate against, marginalise and alienate the Roma because the antiziganist prejudices are so readily available. There is a difference between a general moral panic, for instance in regard

to prostitution, the working class, youngsters, etc, and the antiziganist moral panic directly targeted at the Roma. The characteristics or circumstances which are the focus of complaint and censure are viewed as an unchangeable and inseparable part of Roma culture (Kaveh, 2015, 35). The documentary "*Lykkelandet*" strongly indicated that a group of Romanians in Bergen operate with organized crime related to drugs and prostitution. Negative stereotypes are confirmed from time to time. Still, that does not mean that crime is an inseparable part of Roma culture, and it is not acceptable to discriminate against the entire ethnic group.

The realities forming Romani life conditions are unknown to many. Few are aware of the five hundred years of enslavement of the Roma in what is today Romania. This slavery was not terminated until 1864, only one year before slavery was abolished in the United States. Among scholars in the United States, there is consensual understanding that racism and social exclusion impacting on the African-American population to this day may be traced directly back to the centuries of slavery. The legacy of slavery continues to have a profound impact on popular stereotypes and prejudices about African-Americans. No corresponding awareness is present within the scientific community at large, among politicians or the lay public that a similar situation existed in Europe. The aftereffects still shape stereotypes and prejudices of Romani peoples of Europe (Westin, 2015, 195).

In a like manner, Roma's claims for reparation after World War II were rejected. Roma victims of the Nazi genocide were not recognized. The term Holocaust is generally understood to mean the systematic Nazi genocide of the Jews, not the Roma, and the term Porrajmos which denotes the Nazi murder of the Roma is less familiar to the general public. Consequently, the parallel and simultaneous genocide of Europe's Roma slips into the shadows. It appears not to be equally disastrous or equally significant. Even in death at the hands of Nazi murderers, the Roma continued to be excluded (Westin, 2015, 196). It is likely that greater awareness of the history of Roma in Norway and the rest of Europe, could have contributed to limiting the negative attitudes towards the group.

### 7.2.2 Policy implementation

The second reason why the history of discrimination against Tater/Romani people is relevant to understanding the discrimination against immigrant Roma, is that we can draw lessons from how the anti-discrimination policies have been implemented. It is possible that the anti-

discrimination values have not spread sufficiently to Norwegian citizens because the implementation has been mostly top-down and not bottom-up. On the one hand, Simmons (2009) argues that treaties have a positive effect on human rights, but on the other she points out that one of the most important effects runs through treaties' influence on the probability of social mobilization (Simmons 2009, 138-139). Social mobilization may prove necessary for the values of non-discrimination to take hold in the population at large.

The bottom-up perspective holds that social movements introduce new ideas to society and change politics. That does not mean that social movement scholars think treaties have a negative effect, but they emphasize the important role of social movements. In Norway, the first Tater/Romani people organisations started to appear in the 1990s. Although one should not underestimate the role of these organisations, this is relatively recent, and after many of the international treaties protecting minority rights had already been introduced. The national changes started in the 1970s with some critical "norm entrepreneurs" introducing the situation of the Tater/Romani people to the society. In the 1980s and 1990s, minority rights came on the international agenda and led to a flurry of international treaties. Norway has ratified several such treaties, the most important one for the Tater/Romani people being the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

Givens and Case (2014) examine the processes around the Racial Equality Directive in the EU. Contrary to the U.S., where strong civil society organizations developed around the issue of race in the 1960s, there was not the same kind of support from a social movement in Europe. The immigrants themselves were not mobilized in the same way African Americans and their white supporters were in the U.S (Givens & Case, 2014, 134). Politicians and experts played a key role in developing the EU's approach to anti-racism and antidiscrimination policy by influencing the discourses through which the issues were defined (Givens & Case, 2014, 4). The Racial Equality Directive was also supported by activists (Givens & Case, 2014, 138).

This would seem to be the case in Norway as well. The Anti-Discrimination Act/Anti-Discrimination Act on Ethnicity was introduced as a result of critique from the UN, and was later formed to meet the requirements of the EU's Racial Equality Directive.  Folk Er Folk is

one of the most prominent organizations fighting for immigrant Roma's rights today. Although the organization has made its presence felt, it does not represent a broad political mobilization, and it is not led by the minority itself. Can it be supposed that this top-down approach has affected the diffusion of the values of minority rights in Norway? Despite the extensive anti-discrimination policies in Norway, citizens have not played a central enough role. The top-down measures are in place, but for the values for the protection of minority rights to diffuse, citizens or activists must probably play a larger role than they have so far.

When the aim is to prosecute war criminals, agreement between states serves the purpose. To eliminate discrimination, on the other hand, requires something of the population as well. Perhaps, for the population to react, there has to be some form of social mobilization that makes the discriminated group visible in the society. This can be achieved through demonstrations, marches and popular movements, but not through international agreements. This does not imply that such agreements are insignificant, but for an attitude change to happen they are not sufficient.

According to Givens and Case (2014), the principal issue related to discrimination in Europe today is no longer the lack of legislation, but rather its uneven implementation on the ground. While satisfactory, and increasingly comprehensive, legislation to combat discrimination is in place in almost all EU member states, it has not been implemented to its full advantage. In many cases, implementation has simply been "pro forma", meaning that otherwise adequate legislative measures have been undermined by a lack of political will and public support (Givens & Case, 2014, 129). This leads Givens and Case to argue that the European Union's antidiscrimination priority for the next decade should not be to create more legislation or more institutions. Instead the EU needs to strengthen the ones it already has (Givens & Case, 2014, 130). This could be the case for Norway as well.

Why do Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma not reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination? After all, it has been a while since Løkkeberg's documentary about the Svanviken labour colony and the official apology to the Tater/Romani people. A simple explanation could be that these are persistent prejudices that take a long time to change. This

thesis has showed something we did not know hitherto, but we still do not know everything. Some of the literature I have discussed show that there have been many laws and treaties, but less social movements. Some organisations exist, but they are mostly related to the Tater/Romani people. Are immigrant Roma linked to that? Since the Tater/Romani people is defined as a different ethnic minority than the Roma in Norway, people may not connect the discrimination against the Tater/Romani people to the discrimination of other Roma groups. The organisations that work for Tater/Romani people rights are not related to those that work to improve the situation for immigrant Roma.

Although there is still not equal treatment of immigrant Roma in Norway today, this study does not show that there has not been a positive change in the attitudes. The survey experiments have only been done once and do not say anything about development over time in Norwegian citizens' tendency to discriminate against Roma. It is still possible that Simmons (2009) is right that the international treaties have had a positive effect. It is reasonable to believe that the political and judicial developments have affected Norwegians' attitudes in a positive way. After all, the treatment of the Tater/Romani people, as described in chapter two, no longer occurs. This thesis cannot say anything about the anti-discrimination process, but the experiments tell us that some work still remains. At least now we know where we are today, which we did not know previously. Survey experiments on attitudes towards Roma have to my knowledge never been conducted in Norway before.

## 7.3 Conclusion

Norway has committed to ensure minorities' rights through a number of treaty ratifications. But to what extent do Norwegian citizens' attitudes towards Roma reflect the ideals embedded in the laws against discrimination? There is a long history of discrimination against Romani populations in Norway, but there have also been significant political changes. However, the experimental results presented in this thesis suggest that more change is needed before there is equal treatment of the Roma minority. The survey experiments in chapter five and six show that immigrant Roma are discriminated against in Norway, despite the fact that the state has officially apologised for the mistreatment of another Romani population, the Tater/Romani people. There is definitely negative discrimination against Roma in all forms.

This thesis has shown that the prevalence of antiziganism limits Roma's access to housing. It has political consequences for the way we think about borders. The negative stereotypes about Roma can lead to resentment, exclusion and harassment of the group, and the low internal motivation to control prejudice make people more willing to express their negative thoughts about Roma. It is remarkable how Roma as a group always receive a penalty, and the survey experiments prove a serious discrepancy between laws and how citizens act. Future research should look at obstacles and facilitators related to the diffusion of anti-discrimination norms, and the connection between social movements and attitudinal change. According to Norwegian law it is prohibited to discriminate on the basis of ethnic background, but I have documented that discrimination against Roma occurs, despite the tremendous political change. It is safe to conclude that the treatment of the Roma minority in Norway today falls short of the non-discrimination ideals.

# Bibliography

Aas, S., & Vestgården, T. (2014). *Skammens historie*. Cappelen Damm.

Al Ramiah, A., & Hewstone, M. (2013). Discrimination Conditions, Consequences, and "Cures." In L. Huddy, D. O. Sears, & J. S. Levy (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (2nd ed.). Oxford Handbooks Online. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199760107.013.0027

Barabas, J., & Jerit, J. (2010). Are Survey Experiments Externally Valid? *The American Political Science Review*, *104*(2), 226–242. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40863718.pdf

Bastrup, O. R. E., & Sivertsen, A. G. (1996). *En landevei mot undergangen*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Braseth, S. (2017, April 19). Bergenstiggere hevder de blir sparket, slått og spyttet på etter NRK-dokumentar. *Dagbladet*. Retrieved from http://www.dagbladet.no/kultur/bergenstiggere-hevder-de-blir-sparket-slatt-og-spyttet-pa-etter-nrk-dokumentar/67499205

Brattvåg, H. (2007). *Folk fra Romania som tigger i Oslo - En rapport fra Kirkens Bymisjons prosjekt Rett i koppen*. Retrieved from http://www.bymisjon.no/PageFiles/16323/Folk fra Romania som tigger Oslo.pdf

Bunescu, I. (2014). *Roma in Europe: The Politics of Collective Identity Formation*. New York: Routledge.

Bye, H. H., Herrebrøden, H., Hjetland, G. J., Røyset, G. Ø., & Westby, L. L. (2014). Personality and Social Psychology Stereotypes of Norwegian social groups. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *55*, 469–476. https://doi.org/10.1111/sjop.12141

Council of Europe. (n.d.). The Charter in four steps. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from https://www.coe.int/en/web/turin-european-social-charter/about-the-charter

Council of Europe. (2012). *Descriptive Glossary of terms relating to Roma issues*. Retrieved from http://a.cs.coe.int/team20/cahrom/documents/Glossary Roma EN version 18 May 2012.pdf

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS Map: Behaviors From Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes An Integrative Foundation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*(4), 631–648. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.4.631

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Warmth and Competence as Universal Dimensions of Social Perception: The Stereotype Content Model and the BIAS Map. In

*Advances in Experimental Social Psychology 40* (pp. 62–149). Elsevier.
https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(07)00002-0

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., Kwan, V. S. Y., Glick, P., Demoulin, S., Leyens, J.-P., …
Ziegler, R. (2009). Stereotype content model across cultures: Towards universal
similarities and some differences. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *48*(1), 1–33.
https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608X314935

Dagbladet. (2017, March 29). Regjeringen anmelder stiftelsen Romanifolket/taternes
kulturfond. *Dagbladet*. Retrieved from http://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/regjeringen-
anmelder-stiftelsen-romanifolkettaternes-kulturfond/67439828

Dahlgreen, W. (2015). Roma people and Muslims are the least tolerated minorities in Europe.
Retrieved February 20, 2017, from https://yougov.co.uk/news/2015/06/05/european-
attitudes-minorities/

DIGSSCORE. (n.d.). Methodology. Retrieved May 10, 2017, from
http://digsscore.uib.no/methodology

Diskrimineringsombudsmannen. (2011). *Roma rights - Discrimination, paths of redress and
how the law can improve the situation of Roma*. Retrieved from
http://www.do.se/contentassets/b7f4b55bcf8e4a40b5db846f7f45a2a3/report-roma-
rights2.pdf

Djuve, B. A., Friberg, J. H., Tyldum, G., & Zhang, H. (2015). *When poverty meets affluence:
Migrants from Romania on the streets of the Scandinavian capitals*. Retrieved from
http://www.rockwoolfonden.dk/app/uploads/2016/02/When-poverty-meets-Affluence-
WEB-VERSION.pdf

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kawakami, K. (2010). Racism. In J. F. Dovidio, M.
Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice,
Stereotyping and Discrimination* (pp. 312–327). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Dovidio, J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. M. (2010). Prejudice, Stereotyping and
Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical Overview. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P.
Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and
Discrimination* (pp. 3–28). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Druckman, J. N., Green, D. P., Kuklinski, J. H., & Lupia, A. (2006). The Growth and
Development of Experimental Research in Political Science. *American Political Science
Review*, *100*(4), 627–635. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055406062514

ECRI. (2000). *Second Report on Norway*. Retrieved from
https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Norway/NOR-CbC-II-

2000-033-EN.pdf

Eide, E., & Simonsen, A. H. (2007). *Mistenkelige utlendinger : minoriteter i norsk presse gjennom hundre år*. Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget.

Elden, J. C. (2013). Løsgjengerloven. In *Store norske leksikon*. Retrieved from https://snl.no/løsgjengerloven

End, M. (2015). Antigypsysim: What's Happening in a Word? In J. Selling, M. End, H. Kyuchukov, P. Laskar, & B. Templer (Eds.), *Antiziganism - What's in a Word?* (pp. 99–113). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

European Commission. (2004). *The Situation of Roma in an Enlarged European Union*. Luxembourg. Retrieved from http://www.ergonetwork.org/media/userfiles/media/egro/situation of roma.pdf

European Convention on Human Rights. (n.d.). *European Convention on Human Rights*. Strasbourg: European Court of Human Rights. Retrieved from http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf

European Court of Human Rights. (n.d.). *Press country profile: Norway*. *European Court of Human Rights*. Retrieved from http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/CP_Norway_ENG.pdf

European Parliament. (n.d.). Texts adopted - Wednesday, 15 April 2015. Retrieved December 19, 2016, from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&language=EN&reference=P8-TA-2015-0095

European Union. (n.d.). Romania. Retrieved January 10, 2017, from https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries/member-countries/romania_en

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2016). *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey*. Luxembourg. Retrieved from http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/eumidis-ii-roma-selected-findings

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*(6), 878–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Folk er Folk. (n.d.). Questions and Answers. Retrieved December 19, 2016, from http://folkerfolk.no/faq/

Gaines, B. J., Kuklinski, J. H., & Quirk, P. J. (2007). The Logic of the Survey Experiment Reexamined. *Political Analysis*, *15*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mpl008

Gilens, M. (2002). An Anatomy of Survey-Based Experiments. In J. Manza, F. L. Cook, & B. I. Page (Eds.), *Navigating Publig Opinion: Polls, Policy and the Future of American Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Givens, T. E., & Case, R. E. (2014). *Legislating equality : the politics of antidiscrimination policy in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Glomdalsmuseet. (n.d.). Latjo Drom - Om Latjo Drom. Retrieved December 19, 2016, from http://old.glomdalsmuseet.no/html/romani/latjo-drom/om.htm

Gotaas, T. (2000). *Taterne - Livskampen og eventyret*. Oslo: Andresen & Butenschøn.

Greenberg, J. (2010). Report on Roma Education Today: From Slavery to Segregation and Beyond. *Columbia Law Review*, *110*(4), 919–1001. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/27806640.pdf

Haave, P. (2000). Sterilisering av tatere - kirurgi på "rasemessig" grunnlag? In B. Hvinden (Ed.), *Romanifolket - og det norske samfunnet*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Haave, P. (2015). Vedlegg 3: Ingen rasediskriminering av tatere? In *Vedlegg til NOU 2015: 7* (pp. 29–61).

Halvorsen, R. (2000). Etnisk mobilisering i en brytningstid. In B. Hvinden (Ed.), *Romanifolket - og det norske samfunnet* (pp. 195–241). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Hancock, I. (1992). The Social and Linguistic Development of Scandoromani. In E. H. Jahr (Ed.), *Language Contact: Theoretical and Empirical Studies* (pp. 37–52). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heinesen, C. T. (2012). Her er Årets Nordmann 2012. Retrieved December 19, 2016, from https://www.nytid.no/pa-vei-ut-av-kulda/

Hoffmann, C., Kopperud, Ø., & Moe, V. (2012). *Antisemittisme i Norge? - Den norske befolkningens holdninger til jøder og andre minoriteter*. Oslo. Retrieved from http://www.hlsenteret.no/aktuelt/2012/HL_Rapport_2012_web.pdf

Husleieloven. Lov om husleieavtaler (husleieloven) - Lovdata (1999). Retrieved from https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1999-03-26-17

Hvinden, B. (2000). Innledning: Fra fordømmelse til respekt og verdighet. In B. Hvinden (Ed.), *Romanifolket - og det norske samfunnet* (pp. 11–31). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Ikdahl, I. (2015). Diskrimineringsloven om etnisitet. Retrieved December 19, 2016, from https://snl.no/diskrimineringsloven_om_etnisitet

Karoly, M. (n.d.). *Third Migration*. Retrieved from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/roma/Source/FS/7.0_corr.pdf

Kaveh, C. (2015). Antiziganism in Norway: Comparison of the Interwar Period and Today. In

J. Selling, M. End, H. Kyuchukov, P. Laskar, & B. Templer (Eds.), *Antiziganism -*
*What's in a Word?* (pp. 29–40). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond Borders*. New York: Cornell University
Press.

Keren, G. (1993). Between- or Within-Subjects design: A Methodological Dilemma. In G.
Keren & C. Lewis (Eds.), *A handbook for data analysis in the behavioral sciences, vol.*
*1.* (pp. 257–273). Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum. Retrieved from
https://pure.tue.nl/ws/files/1546388/692169802592569.pdf

Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet. (2014). Grunnlaget for politikken overfor
nasjonale minoritetar.

Kymlicka, W. (2007). *Multicultural Odysseys - Navigating the New International Politics of*
*Diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, T. B. (2016). Brexit: the best argument for Britain to leave the European Union.
Retrieved May 10, 2017, from https://www.vox.com/2016/6/21/11974600/brexit-eu-
euro-disaster

Lein, L. (2016). *Public Support for a Ban on Begging in Norway - A Consequence of Negative*
*Stereotypes about the Roma Minority?* The University of Bergen. Retrieved from
http://bora.uib.no/handle/1956/15611

Less hate more speech. (2012). Less hate, more speech. Retrieved May 10, 2017, from
http://lesshate.openpolitics.ro/en/

Liégeois, J.-P. (2007). *Roma in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet. (n.d.). Mandatet vårt. Retrieved December 19,
2016, from http://www.ldo.no/nyheiter-og-fag/om-ombudet/mandatet-vart/

Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet. (2014). Svar på høringer om forslag til endring i
politiloven. Retrieved December 19, 2016, from http://www.ldo.no/nyheiter-og-
fag/Horingsuttalelser/Arkiv/2013/Svar-pa-horing-om-forslag-til-endring-i-politiloven-1/

Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet. (2015). 15/158 Høringssvar - Forslag til endring i
straffeloven 1902 og 2005 (ny § 350a og ny § 181a om forbud mot organisert tigging).
Retrieved January 10, 2017, from http://www.ldo.no/nyheiter-og-
fag/Horingsuttalelser/Arkiv/2015/15158-horingssvar---forslag-til-endring-i-straffeloven-
1902-og-2005-ny--350a-og-ny--181a-om-forbud-mot-organisert-tigging/

Lindvåg, A. W. H. (2017, February 16). Stiftelsestilsynet med totalslakt av taterfond. *Vårt*
*Land*. Retrieved from http://www.vl.no/nyhet/stiftelsestilsynet-med-totalslakt-av-
taterfond-1.926178

Linge, M. (2013). Den konservative muslimske vekkelsen - om islamnet, profetens ummah og salafismens fremvekst i Norge. *Samtiden, 4*. Retrieved from https://www.idunn.no/file/ci/65447157/Den_konservative_muslimske_vekkelsen_Om_Is lamNet_Profeten.pdf

McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1996). Introduction: Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes - toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements. In D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, & M. N. Zald (Eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements* (pp. 1–22). Cambridge.

Melgård, M. (2014, September 29). Frp minst likt av andre velgere - dagsavisen.no. *Dagsavisen*. Retrieved from http://www.dagsavisen.no/innenriks/frp-minst-likt-av-andre-velgere-1.288422

Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation. (2007). The Tenancy Act. Retrieved April 28, 2017, from https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/the-tenancy-act/id270390/

Minken, A. (2009). *Tatere i Norden før 1850 - Sosio-økonomiske og etniske fortolkningsmodeller*. Universitetet i Tromsø.

Morselli, C. (2009). *Inside Criminal Networks*. New York: Springer. Retrieved from https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-0-387-09526-4

Mutz, D. C. (2011). *Population-based Survey Experiments*. New Jersey: Princenton University Press.

Nordberg, R. (2014, December 2). «Går ikke på deg som person, men at du er av taterfolket». *Glåmdalen*. Retrieved from https://www.glomdalen.no/nyheter/gar-ikke-pa-deg-som-person-men-at-du-er-av-taterfolket/s/1-57-7717305

Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. (2015). *Norway's national minorities - For kindergarten and school staff*. Retrieved from https://www.udir.no/globalassets/filer/samlesider/nasjonale-minoriteter/nasjonale_minoriteter_eng_trykk-01.02.pdf

NOU 2015: 7. (2015). *Assimilering og motstand - Norsk politikk overfor taterne/romanifolket fra 1850 til i dag*.

Ot.prp. nr. 113 (2004-2005). (n.d.). *Om lov om oppheving av løsgjengerloven og om endringer i straffeloven mv. (eget straffebud mot vold i nære relasjoner mv.)*. Retrieved from https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/4f60429245164ead87102fd959ac293d/no/pdfs/otp200420050113000dddpdfs.pdf

Ot.prp. nr. 33 (2004-2005). (n.d.). *Om lov om forbud mot diskriminering på grunn av etnisitet,*

*religion mv. (diskrimineringsloven)*. Retrieved from

https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/5b1893b1c806474daede3a654d683916/no/pdf

s/otp200420050033000dddpdfs.pdf

Ot.prp. nr. 34 (2004–2005). (n.d.). *Om lov om Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet og Likestillingsog diskrimineringsnemnda (diskrimineringsombudsloven)*. Retrieved from https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/dad289975fe34ebd8322a60d0e4a55ec/no/pdfs/ otp200420050034000dddpdfs.pdf

Otterlei, S. S. (2017, April 19). – Tiggere blir sparket, slått og spyttet på av bergensere. *NRK*. Retrieved from https://www.nrk.no/hordaland/_-tiggere-blir-sparket_-slatt-og-spyttet-pa-av-bergensere-1.13479521

Pager, D., & Quillian, L. (2005). Walking the Talk? What Employers Say Versus What They Do. *American Sociological Review*, *70*(3), 355–380. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240507000301

Pedersen, B. H. (2016). *Bare på besøk? - Rom (sigøynere) i det norske fellesskapet*. University of Oslo. Retrieved from https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/51636/Pedersen_masteroppgave.pdf

Pettersen, K.-S. (2000). For barnas skyld? - Ideologi og praksis i tiltakene rettet mot taternes barn. In B. Hvinden (Ed.), *Romanifolket - og det norske samfunnet* (pp. 74–100). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*(3), 811–832. Retrieved from http://www.uky.edu/AS/PoliSci/Peffley/pdf/Sniderman/Plant_&_Devine_98_JPSP_Int_ &_Ext_Motiv.pdf

Rosvoll, M., & Bielenberg, N. (2012). *Antisiganisme, stereotypier og diskriminering av rom*. Oslo. Retrieved from http://www.hlsenteret.no/publikasjoner/digitale-hefter/pdf/hl_temahefte_14_digital.pdfor

Sandvik, A.-B. (2000). Å være tater i barne- og skolehjem. In B. Hvinden (Ed.), *Romanifolket - og det norske samfunnet* (pp. 101–129). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Schuman, H., & Bobo, L. (1988). Survey-Based Experiments on White Racial Attitudes Toward Residential Intergration. *American Journal of Sociology*, *94*(2), 273–299. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2780776.pdf

Schuman, H., & Presser, S. (1996). *Questions and answers in attitude surveys : experiments on question form, wording, and context*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Selling, J. (2015a). Comment on Chalak Kaveh, "Antiziganism in Norway: Comparison of the Interwar Period and Today." In J. Selling, M. End, H. Kyuchukov, P. Laskar, & B. Templer (Eds.), *Antiziganism - What's in a Word?* (pp. 41–47). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Selling, J. (2015b). Introduction. In J. Selling, M. End, H. Kyuchukov, P. Laskar, & B. Templer (Eds.), *Antiziganism - What's in a Word?* (pp. xiv–xiii). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Sikkink, K. (2011). *The Justice Cascade: how human rights procedures are changing world politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Simmons, B. A. (2009). *Mobilizing for Human Rights - International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skjervheim, Ø., & Høgestøl, A. (2015). *Norwegian Citizen Panel 2015, Fourth Wave Methodology report*. Retrieved from http://www.nsd.uib.no/data/individ/publikasjoner/NSD2342/NSD2342rapport.pdf

Skjervheim, Ø., & Høgestøl, A. (2016). *Norwegian Citizen Panel 2016, Sixth Wave Methodology report*. Retrieved from https://scholar.uib.no/sites/default/files/medborgerpanel/files/methodology_report_wave_6.pdf

Sniderman, P. M. (2011). The Logic and Design of the Survey Experiment. In J. N. Druckman, D. P. Green, J. H. Kuklinski, & A. Lupia (Eds.), *Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science* (p. 562). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Søholt, S., & Astrup, K. (2009). Etniske minoriteter og forskjellsbehandling i leiemarkedet. *NIBR - Norsk Institutt for by- Og Regionforskning*, *2*. Retrieved from http://biblioteket.husbanken.no/arkiv/dok/3432/etniske_minoriteter.pdf

St.meld. nr. 15 (2000-2001). (n.d.). *Nasjonale minoritetar i Noreg - Om statleg politikk overfor jødar, kvener, rom, romanifolket og skogfinnar*. Retrieved from https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/9b737d2114904b379fd4436c9a9bd1af/nn-no/pdfa/stm200020010015000dddpdfa.pdf

Stewart, M. (2015). Roma People. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 748–753). https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.12082-3

Sund, I. B., Eriksen, N., & Rydland, S. (2015, February 5). Det blir ikke tiggeforbud. *NRK*. Retrieved from https://www.nrk.no/norge/det-blir-ikke-tiggeforbud-1.12191244

Tajfel, H. (1969). Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, *25*(4), 79–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1969.tb00620.x

Tarrow, S. G. (2011). *Power in Movement - Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (3rd ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511973529

TV2. (2017, April 19). Nå vil flere ha tiggeforbud. *TV2*. Retrieved from http://www.tv2.no/a/9072834/

United Nations. (n.d.). Ratification Status for Norway. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=129&Lang=EN

Utenriksdepartementet. (2004). FNs konvensjon om sivile og politiske rettigheter (ICCPR). *032201-120032*.

Vollebæk, K., & Plesner, I. T. (2014). Constitutional Protection of National Minorities' Rights in Norway: Does It Matter? *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, *32*(2), 176–187. https://doi.org/10.1080/18918131.2014.897800

Webster, Murray, J., & Sell, J. (2007). Theory and Experiments in the Social Sciences. In W. Outhwaite & S. P. Turner (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Science Methodology* (p. 641). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Westin, C. (2015). Concluding Remarks. In J. Selling, M. End, H. Kyuchukov, P. Laskar, & B. Templer (Eds.), *Antiziganism - What's in a Word?* (pp. 194–201). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Wippermann, W. (2015). The Longue Durée of Antiziganism as Mentality and Ideology. In J. Selling, M. End, H. Kyuchukov, P. Laskar, & B. Templer (Eds.), *Antiziganism - What's in a Word?* (pp. 2–6). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

# Appendix

*Figure 13. Likelihood of inviting group to view apartment, all variables*
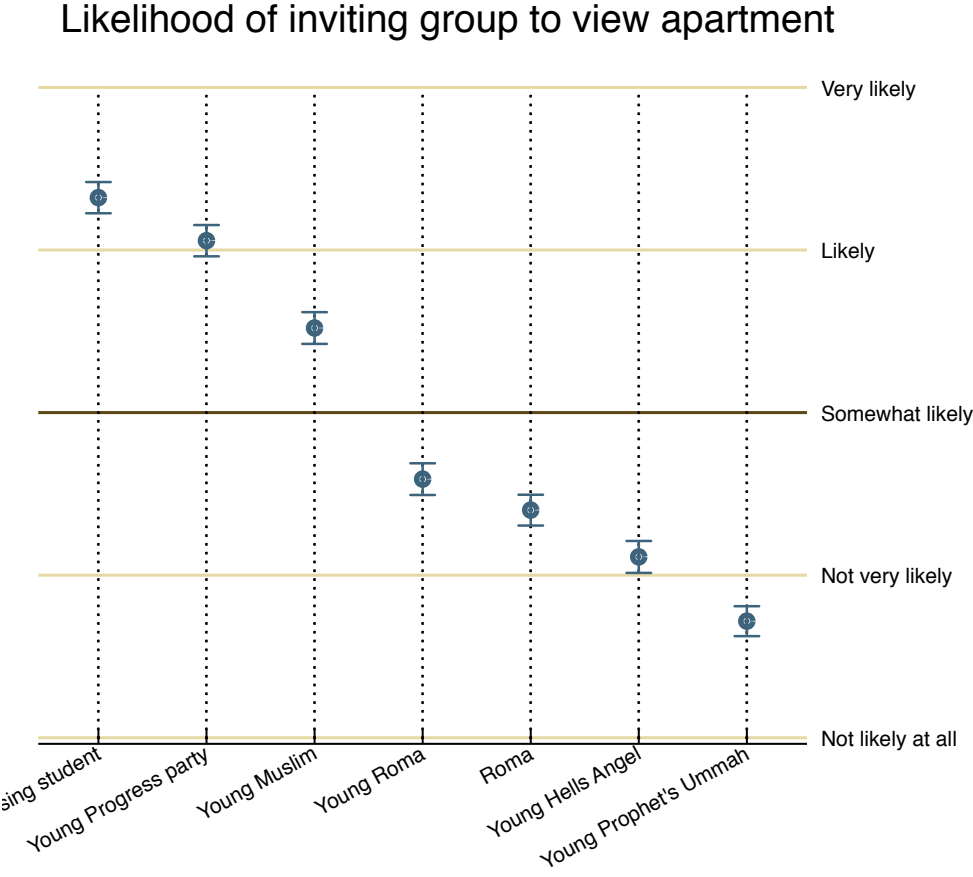
## Likelihood of inviting group to view apartment



Norwegian Citizen Panel (2015), wave 4, r4dv44a-g

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2015, total N=3071, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment, figure is based on regression analysis with 95 % confidence intervals. The first variable is supposed to say "Young nursing student".*

*Figure 14. Warmth experiment, all variables*

Regarded by Norwegians, to what extent are (group):

# Warm
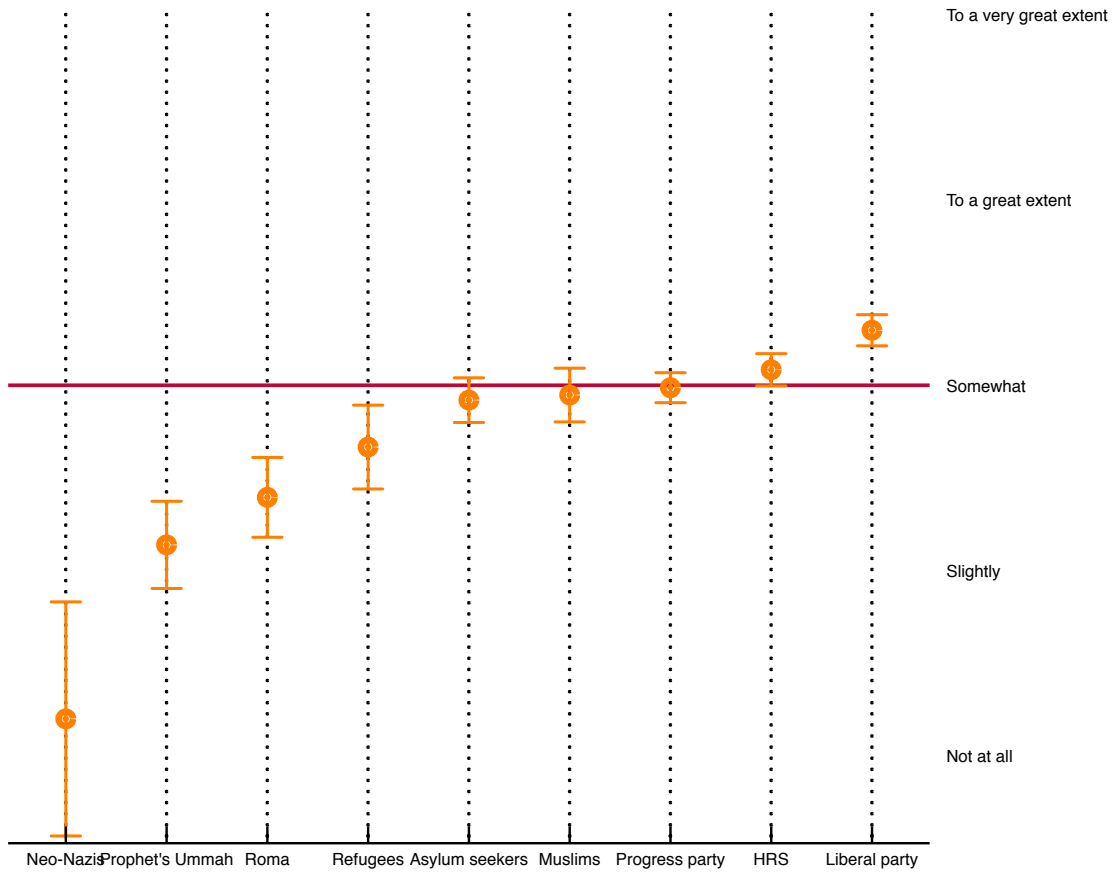


Norwegian Citizen Panel (2016), wave 6, r6dv12aa_2, r6dv13a-d_2, r6dv14a-d_2

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2016, total N=2927, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment, figure is based on regression analysis with 95 % confidence intervals.*

*Figure 15. Competence experiment, all variables*

Regarded by Norwegians, to what extent are (group):
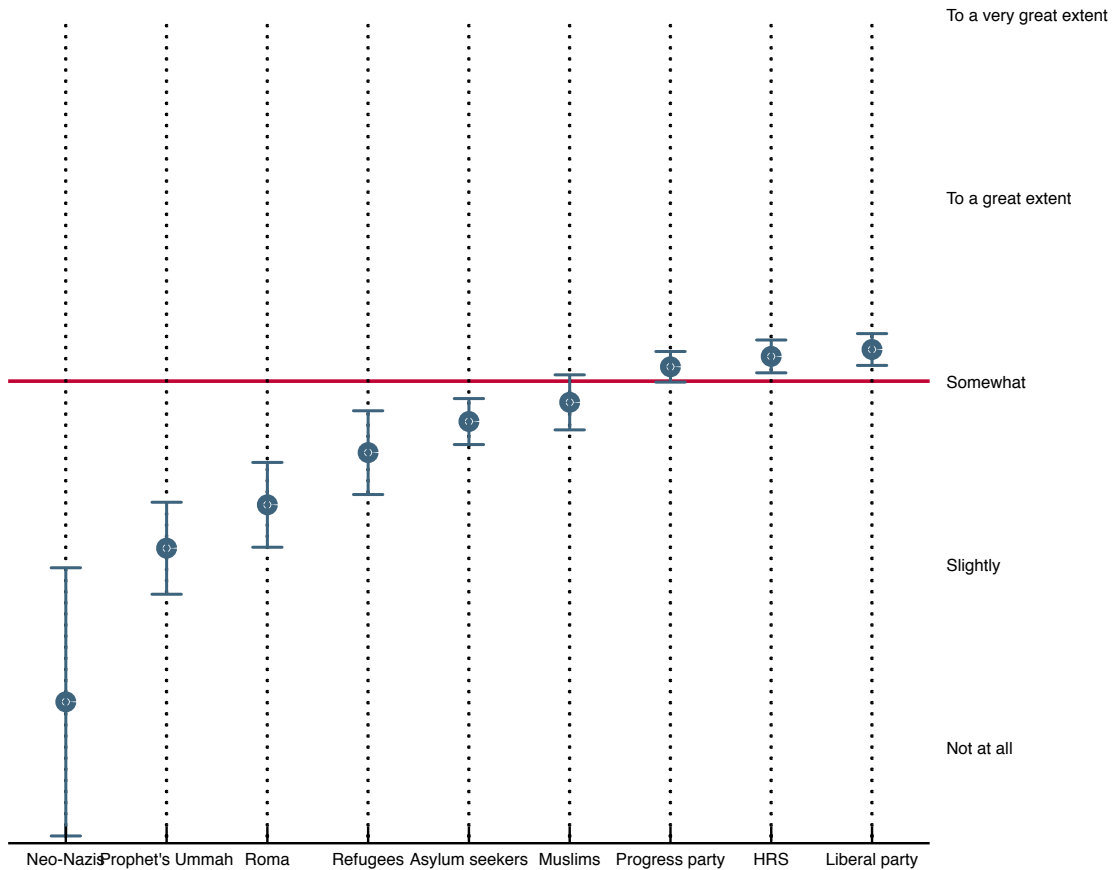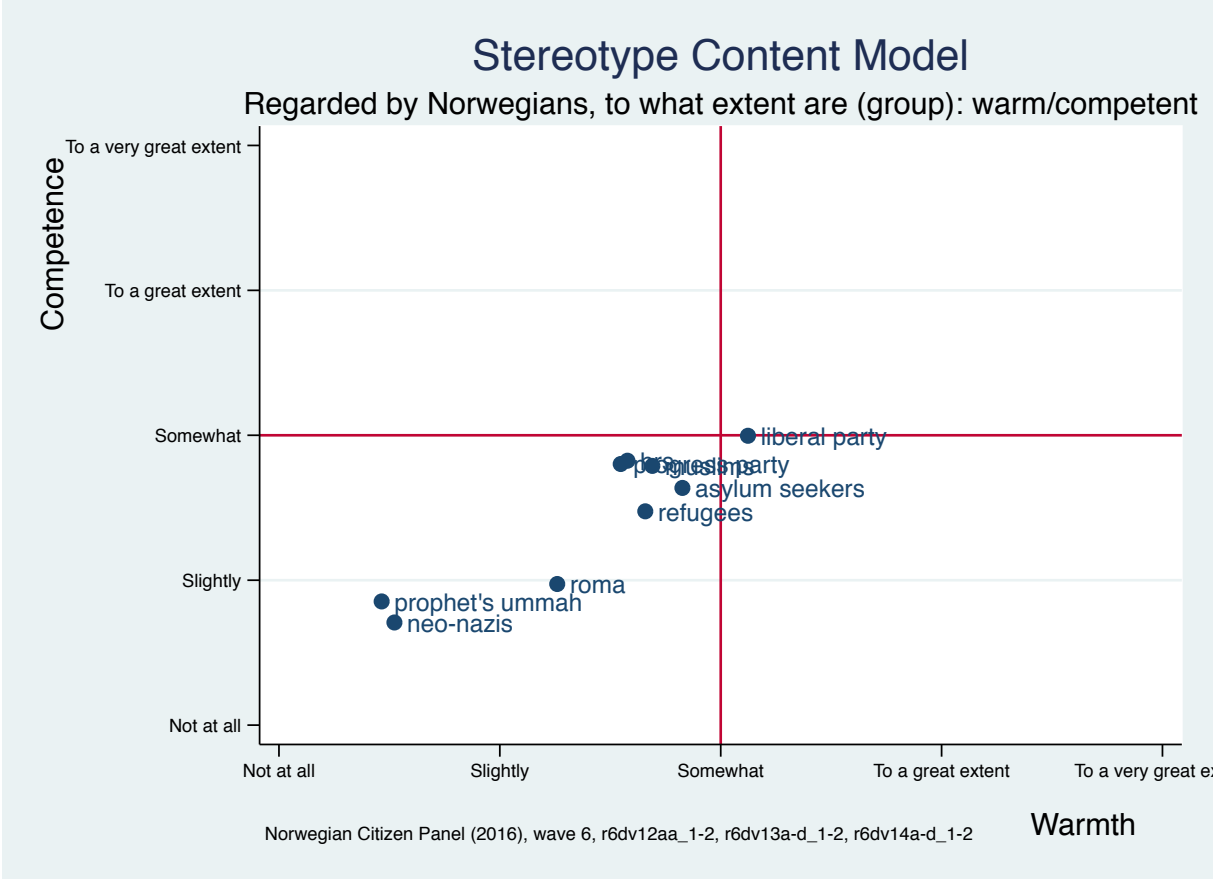
# Competent



Norwegian Citizen Panel (2016), wave 6, r6dv12aa_1, r6dv13a-d_1, r6dv14a-d_1

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2016, total N=2944, random design, random allocation of treatments. Main effects of the experiment, figure is based on regression analysis with 95 % confidence intervals.*

*Figure 16. Stereotype Content Model, all variables*

## Stereotype Content Model

### Regarded by Norwegians, to what extent are (group): warm/competent

**Competence** (y-axis)
- To a very great extent
- To a great extent
- Somewhat
- Slightly
- Not at all

liberal party

progress party / HRS / muslims

asylum seekers

refugees

roma

prophet's ummah

neo-nazis

**Warmth** (x-axis)
- Not at all
- Slightly
- Somewhat
- To a great extent
- To a very great ex[tent]

Norwegian Citizen Panel (2016), wave 6, r6dv12aa_1-2, r6dv13a-d_1-2, r6dv14a-d_1-2

*Notes: The experiment was conducted in 2016, random design, random allocation of treatments. Twoway scatterplot with mean result for group on each dimension. The groups that overlap are "Progress party", "HRS" and "Muslims".*