Norwegian Media, Framing Effects and Attitudes Towards Immigrants

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Abstract

This paper, investigates a possible relationship between negative representations of immigrants by the Norwegian media and attitudes towards immigrants. It also investigates the potential of negatively framed headlines, in producing framing effects, which can account for negative attitude towards immigrants. The participants were invited to participate through social media and emails, and presented with both negative and positive headlines. Their attitude towards immigrants was measured after the priming by the use of Multicultural Attitude Scale MAS and Social Dominance Scale SDO, these scales are known for encompassing a broader analysis of the different aspects of multiculturalism and attitudes among dominant population and minorities groups. In order to test this possible relationship, between negative media framing headlines and negative attitude towards immigrants, Two Way and Three Way ANOVA were used. The results from both measurements did not show a significant relationship between neither negative nor positive media depiction of immigrants and negative attitudes towards immigrants. However, the results matched previous findings in multiculturalism research where women and people with higher educational levels are generally more supportive of multiculturalism. Surprisingly and contrary to some research, people of 40 years and older are among more positive towards immigration group, even when negatively primed.

The findings presented in this study are further investigated and discussed in two directions demographics and psychological. In terms of demographics, the role of gender, age, and educational levels are further explored. For psychological aspect, framing effects and perception of threat are also discussed as possible predictors of negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Key words: immigrants, media, attitudes, multiculturalism, threat, framing effects.

Sammendrag

Studien undersøker en mulig sammenheng mellom negativ representasjon av innvandrere i de norske medier og holdninger til innvandrere. Det undersøkes også potensialet for negative innrammede overskrifter, i produksjon av rammebetingelser, som kan tegne negativ holdning til innvandrere. Holdninger til innvandrere og innvandring måles ved bruk av Multikulturell Attitude Scale MAS og Social Dominance Scale SDO. Disse skalaene er kjent for å omfatte en bredere analyse av de ulike aspektene av multikulturalisme og holdninger blant dominerende befolkningsgrupper og minoritetsgrupper. For å teste denne mulige sammenhengen, av negativ medieinnramming av overskrifter og negativ holdning til innvandrere, ble det brukt To- og Treveis ANOVA. Resultatene fra begge målingene viste et ikke signifikant forhold mellom negativ eller positiv medieavbildning av innvandrere og negative holdninger til innvandrere. Resultatene stemmer imidlertid overens med tidligere funn i multikulturalistisk forskning hvor kvinner og personer med høyere utdanningsnivå generelt er mer støttende for multikulturalisme. Overraskende og i motsetning til noen undersøkelser er folk mellom 40 og eldre også blant de som er mer positive til innvandrere grupper, selv når de er negativt primet. Resultatene som presenteres i denne studien, er nærmere undersøkt og diskutert i to retninger demografi og psykologisk. Når det gjelder demografi, undersøkes rollen kjønn, alder og utdanningsnivåer nærmere. For det psykologiske aspekt blir rammebetingelser og trusselsoppfattelser også diskutert som mulige prediktorer av negative holdninger til innvandrere.

Nøkkellord: innvadrere, medier, holdinger, multikulturalisme, trusler, innrammings-effekter.

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Introduction

Immigrants in the Norwegian media

A TV program called *Brennpun*kt aired a documentary called *Happy Land* on NRK, a Norwegian TV network, on the18th of April 2017. It was about the presence of Roma people begging for money in the streets of Bergen. The program also aimed to understand if begging was the main objective of the Romani people or begging was used as a pretext to commit other illegal activities. The day after the documentary aired, there were incidents of some Roman people being assaulted, called names, spitted on, and told to go back to where they came from. (Gjerstad, &Ekeland, 2017). The documentary ignited different discussions around Romani immigration to Norway the possible crimes they might have committed (Vermes, 2017), and Norwegians' self-evaluation of as naiveté, regarding the hidden intentions these immigrants have when moving to Norway (Westeng, 2017).

It also helped to reopen the discussion, first about the Roman people, then to a broader contextual discussion about immigrants and immigration to Norway, at a time where news headlines boost debates around immigration issue. Especially when such reports scare, engage, and polarize Norwegians, raising such strong emotions and reactions (Otterlei, 2017). Some claimed that the documentary added to stereotypes, racism, and fuelled to stigmatization and exclusion towards minorities in Norway (Gjerstad, & Ekeland, 2017).

With all the attention received around Romani people and immigration one may wonder, whether the media in Norway have a tendency to frame immigrants and immigration in a contentious light. Does the Norwegian media frame immigrants negatively in general or is there a specific group of immigrants that is often targeted in a negative way?

The Retriever, a digital platform and source of information about Norwegian and Nordic media, in their 2009 report, address the tendency of the Norwegian media to frame matters related to immigrants, immigration or integration more often as a problem.

The Norwegian media also give some groups of immigrants more negative attention than others. For example, in the 2009 report, Somalis was the group that received most negative attention in the Norwegian media, even though there are three times more

Polish immigrants in Norway than Somalis. The Norwegian media often makes reference to Somalis as a group where integration efforts are futile. In addition, findings show that the immigrant group that is the object of negative media attention has varied over the years, where one immigrant group is the focus at any one time.

For instance, back in 2009, the Retriever report calls the attention for the tendency of the Norwegian media to show people from Romania as representative for eastern European criminals. The same report also wonders, if the Roma people are going to be the next group that is going to be negatively represented by the Norwegian media, after the Somalis (IMDI, 2009).

The 2011 Retriever report showed that considering how the media represents people and also compared with the 2009 report; there was an increase in more than ten percent in the representation of immigrants that were involved in criminal activities in Norway (IMDI, 2014). According to the same source, in 2014, there were 1176 articles related to immigrants or immigration. 35 percent of these articles presented immigrants as a problem to the Norwegian society, while 22 percent showed them as a resource. 43 percent of the articles were evaluated as neutral when it comes to coverage of immigrants and immigration (IMDI, 2014).

It is worthy to mention that the increase in news on immigrants is positively related to increase in the in the number of immigrants in Norway. Changes in Europe and in the European Union (EU) during the period between 2000 and 2010 have had some direct influence on immigration to Norway. Of particular significance are the Schengen agreement in 2001 and the expansion of the European Union in 2004. These two events were followed by an increase in the number of migrant workers to Norway (Cappelen, Ouren & Skjerpen, 2011). More recently, during 2016, there has been the Syrian immigrants' wave (SSB, 2017a). Increases in the number of immigrants in Norway have contributed to additional restrictive measures, including the tightening of immigration laws (Cappelen et. al, 2011). One direct consequence of these restrictions is that 2016 had the lowest percentage increase in the number of immigrants to Norway, since 2002 (SSB, 2017b). However, the images and headlines presented by the media suggest otherwise. It suggests that Norway might be on the verge of an "immigrant crisis" which contradicts recent figures showing a decrease in the numbers of immigrants in Norway. Can negative framing of immigrants presented in the media influence Norwegian´s perceptions of immigrants and immigration in Norway?

Norwegian attitudes to immigrants and to immigration

A recent study conducted by Bloom, (2016) indicates that there has been a decrease in Norwegians views of immigrants. The study, which is contained in in an annual report examines Norwegians' attitudes towards immigrants over a long period. The study focuses on several issues ranging from interaction with immigrants, and Norwegians' personal values. For example, the study looked at values that immigrant adds to the working environment and culture of the Norwegian society; the consequences of immigration for the Norwegian welfare system; how difficult/easy it should be for refugees and asylum seekers to get residence in Norway; the extent to which immigrants should adjust or adapt to the Norwegian culture and how much contact Norwegians desired to have, and have had with immigrants in different social settings (Blom, 2016).

As an illustration, the 2009 report showed that, seven out of ten Norwegians thought that immigrants enriched the cultural life of Norway (Blom, 2009). This positive attitude was explained by two main factors: the increase in the number of European immigrants to the Norwegian work market, and the increase of transnational marriages, amongst both, man and women, in Norway with foreigners. The 2016 report presented a more pessimistic view of Norwegians regarding immigrants. A four percent decrease in the Norwegian positive views of immigrants and immigration to Norway is noted (Blom, 2016). The report also showed that there has been an increase of six percent, in the number of Norwegians who felt that immigrants are a source of insecurity in the society, compared to 2015 (Blom, 2016).

In the 2016 report, Blom identified (i) an increase of number of refugees; (ii) an increase of terror attacks in Europe and (iii) changes in the Norwegian economy as the main causes for the down turn in Norwegian attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Although Blom´s study (2016) identified the media as the channel that spread images of immigrants coming to Europe, it fell short in identifying the media as one of the causes for the drop in the previously positive Norwegians' attitude towards immigrants. In Blom´s study, the media is mentioned in a broader context, as the vehicle that provides the Norwegian society with the images of immigrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea by boat; or the Norwegian-Russian borders by bicycle. It is the same vehicle that also covers terror attacks around Europe (Blom, 2016). Thus, it is

reasonable to assume that there is an association between the increase of negative media framing of immigrants and an increase in negative attitude towards immigrants in Norway.

<u>Association between media coverage and attitudes towards minority groups</u>

There are several studies that have found an association between negative media representation and negative attitude towards minority groups (Domke, McCoy & Torres, 1999; Engineer, 1999; Van Dijk, 2012, Kosho, 2016). Øivind Fjeldstad wrote along with Merete Lindstad, a book in 1999 about the media in Norway and according to a book review of 2002 of the findings presented by the book, the Norwegian media does not present a multicultural society when depicting immigrants in Norway, and plays a role in perpetuating (negative) stereotypes immigrants (Figenschou, 2002). Over the years, there have also been several studies about the role of the media in Norway and its representation of immigrants (Bjørnsen, 2009, Figenschou & Beyer, 2014, Ihlen & Thorbjørnsrud, 2014). There are also studies that investigate immigrants broadcasting the news (Bjørnsen, 2009), and other studies that helped to produce information about the ones who hold the power in the Norwegian media (Figenschou & Beyer, 2014a).

There is a great amount of these studies take a discourse analysis and content approach (Brox 2009 cited in Hagelund 2004; Eriksen 2011; Figenschou & Beyer, 2014b). From these literatures, we know that the debate is polarized, that immigrants are depicted/presented to the Norwegian audience as stereotyped versions of themselves. Even though the Norwegian media has been recognized to add on to the perpetuation of stereotypes over the years (IMDI, 2014), studies that tried to establish a relationship between negative framing, and studies that could inspire, explain or justify, negative attitudes towards immigrants are lacking.

It is this gap in research that this Master thesis research seeks to fill. More specifically, this study explores the role of media headlines and columns, not only as presenting objective facts about immigrants, but also as an active actor, that primes the Norwegian public negatively towards immigrants and on immigration matters. The study also explores the media as continuously framing immigrants as problems, fomenting fear, and creating a wedge between immigrants and Norwegians. The focus

of this study is not a discourse analysis of the contents of media headlines but rather to explore whether there is a relationship between negatively framed headlines on immigrants and immigration, the attitudes of Norwegians towards immigrants and immigration.

The reason to choosing negative media representation of immigrants and for this master thesis is because it is a current theme for several reasons. First, Norway as a country has become more multicultural, and this increase in immigrants leads to intergroup interactions in different social settings. Second, because what most people learn about different social groups is through the TV. Third, negative depiction of immigrants can lead to a stereotyped perception of minorities. Fourth, stereotyped depiction of minorities can impair cognitive perceptions and have a negative impact in intergroup interactions and attitudes. As previous researches have shown, there is a tendency of the Norwegian media in favoring negatively framing of immigrants. Therefore, it seems critical to analyze this possible relationship; what are the negative consequences of negative views of immigrants and the immigration issues?

This study assumes that negative media portray of immigrants in Norway, has led to an increase in negative attitudes of the Norwegians towards them due to the framing effects it creates. This study explores which demographic and psychological factors can explain the results. It will consider gender, age, and educational level as the main predictors of positive attitude towards immigrants in the demographics. Regarding psychological factors, the study, will examine the role of framing effects and perception of threat.

The thesis is in five chapters. Chapter 2, the literature review reviews previous research and theories and refocuses on some of the questions previously stated. Then, the concepts about framing priming and will be presented. In the theoretical framework, Social Identity Theory and Integrated Threat Theory will be introduced. Chapter 3 will present the method and the study's e survey and who the participants are. The Results are presented in Chapter 4, and Chapter 5 presents a discussion of findings, limitations and implications of the results.

Literature Review

Central concepts: Framing and Priming, the influence of media, its role in feeding in-group and out-group stereotypes.

What might be the problem with negative framing of immigrants and the possible consequences for the Norwegian society as a whole? Research in this area can be important in gaining a better understanding of the impact of stigma, prejudice, discrimination, racism, xenophobia, and marginalization on the psychological wellbeing of its victims. Understanding these issues are even more urgent in a multicultural society that Norway is becoming.

Attitudes, prejudice, racism, and discrimination

A general idea of attitude refers to the inclination someone has towards to an unspecified object, for example, people, places, etc. They can be positive or negative, implicit or explicit, and they can also be affective, cognitive, and action oriented (Andrews, Lahdenperä & Awebro, 2005). Prejudice refers to negative attitudes or negative views towards a specific outgroup and its members (Dovidio, Brighem, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996). The differentiation between prejudice and stereotype is the emotion. Quite often prejudices happen instantly and unconsciously. Applied to a specific group of people due to their ethnicity the prejudice is called racism (Andrews et.al, 2005). Applied to a specific group due to feelings of superiority, it is discrimination. *Discrimination* from a sociological perspective refers to social interactions, individual and institutional, aimed to express dominance of group above other through derogatory actions. They are justified by the superiority belief, and intended to maintain privileges of the dominant group, while depriving the subordinated group from the same rights (Krieger, 1999).

The costs of discrimination

Research has shown relationship between discrimination on the one hand and poverty (Belle & Doucet, 2003), poor health (Krieger, 1999; Williams, 1999), lower educational achievement (Williams, 1999, Steele & Aronson, 1995; Solórzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000), and unemployment (Braddock &McPartland, 1987) on the other hand.

Stereotypes can lead to racism and xenophobia (Yakushko, 2009) in its extreme form, presenting itself as social pathology, and takes the shape of war and genocide (Nagan & Rodin, 2002).

Discrimination has been found to increase the chances for alcohol abuse by the victims of discriminatory actions, (Mulia, Ye, Zemore, & Greenfield, 2008) and to affect psychological well- being (defined as self-esteem, depression, anxiety, psychological distress and life satisfaction) (Baumeister & Tice, 1990; Bowlby, 1973; Cozzarelli & Karafa, 1998; Frable, 1993; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991; Williams, Shore, & Grahe, 1998, cited in Schmitt & Branscombe, 2011; Major, Mendes & Dovidio, 2013, Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia 2014). Discrimination can lead to cognitive impairment (von Hecker & Sedek, 1999, cited in Schmitt & Branscombe, 2011) and lower academic performance (Williams, 1999, Steele & Aronson, 1995, Solórzano, Ceja &Yosso, 2000). It can also, lead to heart issues, such as heart blood pressure, due to stress which can be caused by intergroup interactions (Sawyer, Major, Casad, Townsend & Mendes, 2012), and other health issues (Major, et. al., 2013; Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999, cited in Schmitt & Branscombe, 2011). Discrimination can lead to social inequality, and this increases the chances of poverty. Poverty has also been linked to poor nutrition, lack of physical exercise, obesity, and tobacco usage, putting minorities groups at greater risk to develop cancer (Ward, Jemal, Cokkinides, Singh, Cardinez, Ghafoor, & Thun, 2004).

Discrimination affects the racist person; resistance to interact outside ones' ethnic group. It can lead to stress caused by intergroup anxiety (Stephan, 2014). Research has shown positive correlation between being racist and stress as a result of difficult intergroup interactions (Jackson, Williams, Stein, Herman, Williams & Redmond, 2010).

Discrimination can affects the whole society by creating social disparities, increasing poverty, increasing stress levels among people in minorities groups. It also affects the dominant group, which can yield psychological health issues, and increase substance abuse. In addition it has been linked to increase in violence in same neighborhoods,

due to factors such as substance abuse, loss of productivity, property loss, trials, and psychological counseling, just to mention a few.

<u>Discrimination in Norway</u>

It seems even more urgent to address this issue specially when the media in Norway talks about a great possibility of a terror attack from radical Islamists, meanwhile right wing extremists and new Nazi actions against minorities have taken place in several occasions in Norway. Since 1977 and until 2015, eighteen attacks towards asylum seeker houses, mosques, left wing demonstrations, or people of darker skin, and not to mention, the several bomb attacks towards business owned and frequented mostly my immigrants (Nysten, & Eriksson, 2016). Most recently, a march of neo Nazis took place on the streets of Kristiansand. Even though they did not have permission to march, they were allowed to march in the city center of Kristiansand. It was considered manifestation of free speech and even received the protection of the police (Grimstad, 2017). The attacks towards minorities and groups that support multiculturalism in Norway ultimately showed its force through the actions of Anders Breivik in 2011. He carried out attacks against a Norwegian multicultural society and its open policies towards immigrants. It has taken the lives of 77 people in one day of attack and according to newspaper Aftenposten in a news report from 2013, have cost the Norwegian government 15 billions Norwegian krone (Ekroll, 2013). It seems fundamental to question the role of media and examine its posture of not only presenting the news but in spreading fear and fomenting division.

This study explores the interaction the role of Norwegian media headlines that might contribute to negative attitudinal feelings in in-group, and out-group interaction between immigrants and Norwegians. Central to this interaction are "framing" and "priming." It also uses Social Identity and Integrated Threat theory to explain the interplay between priming, framing, and the role of threat associated to immigrants in headlines and texts in the Norwegian media.

In order to investigate a possible causal relationship between negative media framed headlines and negative attitudes, and to analyze the effects of exposing subjects to either; negative or positive media portrayal of immigrants, by the Norwegian media, it applies Multicultural model and Social dominance models.

Framing and Priming

a. <u>Framing</u>

Research has shown that popular media has a tendency to show ethnic minorities as a threat to local values, tradition, language (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Seate & Mastro, 2015). Conway, Grabe, and Grieves (2007) for instance showed that Bill O´Reilly, TV show, frames issues around immigration and foreign governments as threat, such as how immigrants can put at risk US moral values and norms (Seate & Mastro, 2015). A study conducted by Domke, McCoy and Torres (1999) demonstrated how cognition could be affected by this interplay between framing and media coverage on political topics. This study examined the relationship between news reports on political issues, and whether previous stereotypes related to some ethnic groups and immigration issues can be activated. Accordingly, Domke and colleagues set up an experiment where news regarding immigration issue was framed in either material (e.g., economy), or ethical (e.g., human rights) perspectives, and subjects asked to answer a questionnaire right afterwards that focused on their attitudes towards immigrants.

The results showed that priming participants tended to concentrate their attention on some points of the issue while ignoring others. This process influenced the participants' negative views of minorities as well-activated and reinforced ethnic and racial stereotypes (Domke, et al, 1999). Taking into consideration other previous findings and all the studies presented above (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Conway, Grabe, & Grieves, 2007; Ramasubramanian, 2010, Seate & Mastro, 2015), where the role of the media, immigrants, and immigration have been investigated. It seems difficult to deny that there is a relationship between media, immigrants and stereotypes and negative attitude.

Framing can be defined as the interconnected process between perceptions and evaluations of gains or losses, of a particular issue; and how this perception of losses or gains, influences decisions (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981).

<u>Framing research over the years</u>

Research on framing has its roots in political communication research.

It started around the 1920´s and 1930´s and went from magic bullet models to more well developed and structured theories around the late 1940´s. Back them, people were seem as passive receptors of the media information and the media effects were

believed to have very complex nature and dependent on which channels people watched and how they chose to educate themselves, which could help to reinforce previous beliefs and not challenge them. The 1970´s was marked by changes in the cognitive framework of political communication and there were two main views, one defended by Noelle-Neumann and the other by George Gerbner. Both views agreed about the power of the media and the long-term effect it had over people. However, for Noelle the problem was that journalists were sympathetic and held left orientations in politics, who would question the status quo, foment discussions and formation of new opinions. For Gerbner the problem was with the news corporation and the media groups, mainly entertainment television (Scheufele &Tewksbury, 2006).

The 1980´s and 1990´s also presented a shift of direction, priming and framing in the political communication effects research were seem as having strong potential to affect people´s attitude. Differently from the beginning, people were not seen as passive receptors of information any longer. However, these media effects on people´s attitudes were dependent on several factors such as predispositions, perceptions, way of thinking and organizing information. These factors added to other personal characteristics that can influence how people will process the messages presented by the media (Scheufele &Tewksbury, 2006).

The iconic study produced by Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman (1981) was a mark in this new era and contributed to novel ways of thinking when it challenged the idea that people made decisions based on rationality. According to this new view, decisions are based upon perception, which contradicts the idea of rationality. To show how framing works, Tversky and Kahneman developed an experiment to show that people were more, or less willing to take chances and made more, or less risky decisions depending on which aspects of the issue were emphasized to them (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981).

In the study, they investigated how people would make decisions when analyzing two equal problems, but framed differently, for example, they had to choose between programs against an uncommon Asian disease that was expected to kill 600 people. In one scenario, participants had to choose between either Program A (to save 200 lives), Program B (save a third of the people) or Program C (2/3 probability that nobody would be saved). Results indicated that most students chose option A, because it was

perceived as less risky. The certainty of saving lives seemed to fundament to their choices. However, when the frame changed - Scenario II, and participants were presented the option of certain death for 400 people as option A, and 2/3 probability that people would die, students chose option B. The results indicated that the students were less likely to take chances, or risk adverse outcome, when the situation involved gains. However, they were more likely to take changes, or more risk taking, when the situation involved losses (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981).

Framing process

When people make decisions they choose among options or actions. They also take into account the possible outcomes of their choices or actions. The conception of "acts, results, and contingences, which are consequences of the choice made are called "decision frame" (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). The decision frame chosen is related to two factors: how the problem is formulated, and individual traits, habits, and social norms (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). It is worth noting that it is also possible to frame a problem in several ways. However, people will normally avoid options that can be interpreted as a form of loss. For instance, when the issue around immigration is formulated as a loss for the locals, such as the loss their culture or, social welfare benefits, it can lead to certainty effect. The certainty of losses can influence how people perceive the unknown, increasing averseness and resistance towards something that is just probable, such as the thought of losing their culture (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981).

It seems difficult to deny the importance of the media and its fundamental role, which is to broadcast information, giving it a great amount of power. The focus taken by the media primes the public, giving them easily available pieces of information. The media at the same time appoints the direction to which an issue should be tackled (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, cited in Altheide, 1997). It seems naive to believe that the sole role of the media is to broadcast information: it goes well beyond that. When it is delivering information about an issue or when it chooses to emphasize some parts of the presented issue, making people to focus only on these aspects while forming their opinion around the issue the media produces framing effects (Druckman, 2001a).

Framing effects

Framing effects refers to how people think about the presented issue; the way the news is perceived by the viewer, can distort perception, blur decisions, and appraisals when analyzing the issue. Studies show that the same effect can also occur in surveys depending upon the framing and the choice of wording (Iyengar, 2005). According to communication researchers, the **choice of words** can produce two different kinds of effects: **equivalency and emphasis** (Iyengar, 2005).

Equivalency refers to the use of synonyms or phrases that are logically equivalent (Druckman, 2001a, Iyengar, 2005) but lead people to change their choices. A typical example of equivalent will be a headline on number of people employed or are not employed: 10% unemployment vs. 90% employed (Druckman, 2001a). It can also happen when framing the working market scene either around an unfavorable word to describe the job situation, which can contribute to a more negative perception of the labor- market in general. The other kind of effect is emphasis framing. This refers to the focus on specifically some aspects of the matter (Druckman, 2001a; Iyengar, 2005) while ignoring others. An example here will be when the news media focuses on the issues regarding immigration, such as high costs for the welfare system, and not on the gains, for example, immigration as a solution to low birth rates (Druckman, 2001a): making people to see only problems regarding, for example immigration, and not opportunities or solutions that also comes with it.

However, most of the researches in media focuses more on **how the news is presented**, than about choice of words (Iyengar, 2005). News broadcasters usually frame the news in **thematic or episodic** angle when presenting political issues (Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar, 2005). In addition, the framings used to present the news can create another kind of framing effect. This will help in the attribution of responsibility around the issue; which group of people will be perceived as responsible or are to be blamed for a happening, for example, the society as a whole, a group or an individual (Iyengar, 1996).

Thematic framing emphasizes social context and/or responsibility around the issue, for example, the society as responsible, or the one to blame (Iyengar, 2005). It also refers to the context in which the issue is presented, when presenting news about politics; it is presented in a broader context, such as historical or geographic (Iyengar, 1996).

Episodic framing are usually illustrations of happenings in a specific moment for example terrorist bombing, and the bloodshed resulting from it (Iyengar, 2005). It is about offering images, not deeper understanding or an analysis about and around the issue (Iyengar, 1996). Another fact regarding episodic framing is that it refers to personal, or group, accountability (Iyengar, 2005).

News report in general uses framing, where when for instance, reporting about a terror attack a report will be presented on the attack itself, the circumstances around it, the and the political situation in the country in question, etc. (Iyengar, 1996). Even though news report tend to use both episodic and thematic framing (Iyengar, 1996), research shows that in the United Sates, the issues presented by the media are more likely to take an episodic approach of the issue (Iyengar, 2005), and it might happen because such approach seems to be more appealing to the public (Iyengar, 2005). The consequences of making use of more episodic framing can be misleading due to the effect it creates. Research shows that episodic framing are more likely to breed individual attributions to the responsibility of the issue, instead of societal (Iyengar, 1996).

Iyengar (1991) conducted several studies about thematic and episodic framing and its effects. Results showed that when the news report presented the issue in thematic framing perspective, participants were more likely to attribute responsibility to the society. When the episodic framing perspective was taken in the case of terrorism or crime, participants not only held some groups accounted for their own issues, but also invoked to group and personal characteristic to justify their faith (Iyengar, 2005).

Limitations

Nonetheless, in spite of several research findings showing the linkage between unflattering portrait of minorities and attitude towards immigrants, framing has been heavily criticized for not being able to produce clearly defined and objective guidelines for its approach. It seems to include other similar approaches under the same umbrella, such as agenda setting and priming. Clearer definitions and limitations around each concept would help to increase deeper understanding and solve the issue of internal validity.

An additional issue, which might be the biggest problem in framing research field, is to develop and test various effect models that can account for shaping audience perception in order to achieve external validity. However, in order to deal with the second issue, the field of research cannot ignore the importance of solid and well-defined concept framework (Scheufele &Tewksbury, 2006).

The same challenges are presented in studies about framing and decision-making, even though the results are consistent, they are not universal, and for example, the same framing can also produce different outcomes. Decision-making shows inconsistency if throughout the process the person making the analysis frames the decision problem differently, which might increase the benefits of what seemed more advantageous at first. It might be problematic because if there is lack of objective standards, people can sway views depending on how the issue is framed (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981).

Framing also presents another problem and this is with regarding to its operationalization. For example, framing can be operationalized by keeping the content of the message constant, as in Tversky and Kahneman's well known experiment, while manipulating the description around the condition to be analyzed. Such procedure might increase internal validity but also limit external validity and make it very challenging to be able to apply it in the real world mainly because the effects of messages are usually the result of two factors, the framing and its content (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006). Another issue with regard framing effect is the tendency to focus on the perceptions as the main objective behavior, while ignoring other explanations, such as emotion and intuition (De Martino, Kumaran, Seymour & Dolan, 2006)

Framing new research approaches

Despite of its limitations, multidisciplinary approaches might add to previous information and contribute to a better understanding of framing effects. Neurobiological research investigating framing effects have found more active role of the brain in decision-making. Findings show that decision-making correlates with some specific brain activity in some areas of the brain, such as amygdala, and the prefrontal cortex. Activity around the amygdala indicates the role of emotion system in decision-making, whereas activity in the prefrontal cortex, in the orbital and medial area, reduced role of framing (De Martino et al, 2006).

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Research in neurobiology has also found an interaction between the amygdala and the orbital medial prefrontal cortex. The orbital media prefrontal cortex absorbs inputs from the amygdala, analyses and evaluates these stimuli. This evaluation contributes to the prediction of possible outcomes and can guide future behavior and rational decisions (Schoenbaum, Setlow, Saddoris, Gallagher, 2003, cited in De Martino et al, 2006).

It is important to realize that the way people think about other people and issues are different when creating new framing explanatory models. Social cognition research has shown that people tend to organize information about others in a singular way, focusing around ones trait and social judgments about other people but not on their behaviors (Neumann & Uleman, 1989; Hastie & Park, 1986, cited in Scheufele &Tewksbury, 2006). Whereas information about issues is stored differently, people tend to retain more facts around problems and solutions (Zaller, 1992, cited in Scheufele &Tewksbury, 2006). A better understanding of these models may help differences in differences in cognition.

Research produced from the Retriever 2009 shows that also in Norway the media chooses the episodic angle when talking about immigrants and immigration (IMDI, 2009). Considering the effect of episodic framing, is it possible that decrease in Norwegian positive attitudes towards immigrants may be related to this? How can priming contribute to a broader understanding?

b. <u>Priming</u>

Studies that show the effect of negative characterization of one group of people on the perceptions of another group, influencing how other groups and also members of the negative portrayed group might be perceived (Mastro & Robinson, 2000, Busselle, & Crandall, 2002; Seate & Mastro, 2015). One of the main issues with these mischaracterizations is that negative perceptions feed fears of minorities, affecting negatively in-group and out-group interactions (Mastro & Robinson, 2000), as well as undermine social interactions. A Dutch longitudinal study reinforces these findings. Vergeer, Lubbers and Scheepers (2000) investigated the relationship between negative exposure of minorities by some newspapers and the perceptions of the locals in The Netherlands. Findings show that negative depiction of news report by these

newspapers (e.g., linking minorities to crime), made locals to perceive minorities as more threatening. Locals who read other newspapers that did not have such negative portrayals of minorities did not perceive immigrants in the same way (Vergeer, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2000). According to these findings, the media can aid in the creation of negative attitudes and fears towards some groups. What is unclear is whether this effect is possible only after long period of exposition to negative representation of immigrants. To what extent does short-term exposure to negative media influence negative attitudes towards minorities?

There has been support for the latter: research has found links between race and crime after only a single exposure to negative media about minorities was presented (Mastro, 2009; cited in Seate and Mastro, 2015). Similar results have been found with immigrant groups. Seate and Mastro, (2015) explored whether one time exposure to immigrations news stories could account for negative attitudes towards immigrants. Results show that when the media present images of immigrants as threats, people responded protectively. They were less likely to be supportive to immigration matters and see the immigrant as less deserving and show support to harsh immigration policies (Seate, & Mastro, 2015). It shows that exposure to threatening intergroup news messages can lead to dehumanized attitude towards immigrants. (Seate, & Mastro, 2015). Studies show that over exposition by the media, associating issues such as losses in social benefits, unemployment, and crimes to the increase in the number of immigrants, can contribute to the increase in negative attitude towards immigrants by the locals. (Seate, & Mastro, 2015). As presented above, there is a great amount of support for the role of media in priming negative images of minorities and negative attitudes towards them. Considering horrible facts in history, it seems reasonable to assume that hate can be learned, but can it be primed? How can priming explain this?

Before answering to the questions above, two main points need to be addressed, defining priming and the development of priming research throughout the years.

It is important to distinguish between these two concepts: priming can sometimes be regarded as an extended form of framing, even though, this is not the case. The research field has been criticized about it, but it can still lead to some confusion. While framing focuses on how an issue is described and how it affects how people think about the issue. Priming on the other hand is about whether people think about an issue, and how the issue is available/accessible in one's memory (Bargh, 2006).

Priming research throughout the years

The first studies in the field were from the beginning of the 1950´s and 1960´s emphasized how learning and retrieval of unassociated words become associated after over exposure to these words. Cohen and Bousfield (1953) based their experiments in Hebb´s studies where Hebb tried to explain how people learn about visual objects and are able to recognize and differentiated them later (Hebb, 1949, Wolman, 2012). On the basis of his findings, the cluster studies of Cohen and Bousfield were fundament upon and further explored associative learning of related or unrelated words. Cluster referred to the tendency to remember words from a pre-defined list following a sequence along with other items identified to belong to the same category (Cohen & Bousfield, 1953). Results from their experiment showed that reinforcement plays an important role in the strengthening of connections between previously unrelated words (Cohen & Bousfield, 1953).

Priming and automatic and controlled processes

With regard priming studies, the difference between automatic and controlled process is at the center of behavior and attitude, which can explain stereotyping and prejudice (Bargh, 2006). It refers to a dual processing presented in two articles by Schneider and Shiffrin (1977). According to them, the cognitive processes is divided into two types, the automatic and controlled processes. An automatic process refers to the spontaneous, effortless, and inevitable response when encountering stimulating cues, which activates existing arrangements of nodes in memory. Controlled process, are under cognitive control and therefore can be effortlessly changed, applied and stopped. The nodes are temporally arranged to fulfill or perform a specific task (Conrey, Sherman, Gawronski, Hugenberg & Groom, 2005). It claims that people learn to interpret cues from the environment, which is translated in automatic behavior, and in order to control these automatic responses; one has to be mindful and conscious of the current event. A study produced by Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell and Kardes (1986), can explain it. In this study, the connection between strong associations and attitudes was investigated. The study tried to determine the likelihood of a behavior being produced when coming across to attitude cues. The results showed that as in other associative learning construct, the likelihood that an attitude might happen varies due to association between stimuli and the evaluation/understanding of these stimuli. It is the association strength that can regulate the availability of an attitude in the memory

and the chances that this attitude is going to be triggered unwittingly when encountering the attitude cues (Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell & Kardes, 1986). A classic example refers to how some cops respond to a black or a brown person who might be caring a gun. The ability of controlling automatic bias, associated to blacks and browns people, is what can account for the decision to shoot or not to shoot that person (Conrey et al., 2005).

This association between suggestion and behavior has been demonstrated in other priming studies in the early 1970´s, when researchers exposed participants to violent phrases about people. The results showed that these participants were more prone to develop unfavorable impressions against other people after reading the sentences (Morin, 2013).

Over the years, priming studies expended from its origins in perceptions to studies that sought to account for producing behaviors and people's motivations (Bargh, 2006).

From these findings, it seems that the production of language and social behavior share the same underlying structure (Bargh, 2006), and that priming, in itself, works as a subtle form to influence or suggest an idea, an attitude, or behavior indirectly. (Newell, Shanks, 2014). The judgment, an attitude, or a behavior is directly related to previous environmental cues or associations that is easily accessible or available in the mind (Tversky& Kahneman, 1973). The stronger these associations are, the greater is the likelihood of a specific response. What this means is that the media can help in the practicing and rehearsing of attitude/behavior.

Limitations

Even though priming may be able to explain not only how stereotypes are learned but also how people may respond to cues, priming has its limitations. At the same time that the findings show causal connections between a word and a behavior, the biggest criticism regarding priming is how to be sure that a specific word caused the reported or observed behavior, particularly when an individual is constantly surrounded by a multiple of other possible priming cues Research has shown that even identical priming event can lead to a great variety of distinct outcomes (Bargh, 2006). There is still need for more research to better understand how different psychological effect can be caused by one single stimuli and also how one single stimulus can be accountable for and can explain several different psychological effects. This problem gets even

more complicated because the different psychological effects do not seem to be produced by the same underlying process (Bargh, 2006). A third variable such as passage of time has been shown to affect priming as well (Bargh, 2005). Priming alongside with framing, have been criticized for its lack of objective and, well-structured framework which might lead to some undefined and unclear definitions around the concept, a better and clear theory would might help in the identification of the effects it claims to produce and increasing internal validity. (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006)

Another limitation in the studies regarding dual processing is how to separate automatic processes from controlled processes, mainly because there is interplay between both to produce a behavior. Attempts to separate one from the other have not successful, underscoring the complexity that could account for automatic influences and controlled influences in the responses presented. It also presents limitations regarding how to produce the same automatic response in different people, which might not always be the case (Bargh, 2006).

Priming future research

A new line of research that focuses in selective attention might help to produce a general better understanding of single priming influences and decrease the number of other possible primers (Bargh, 2006).

The present study tries to investigate a possible connection between negative framing of immigrants, and negative priming with activates stereotypes, presented in headlines and articles. It explores whether framing and priming can affect locals and their perception of immigrants and the immigration matter in Norway.

Theoretical Framework: Social Identity and Integrated Threat Theory

As several studies in framing and priming have shown, the interplay between how the issue is framed and primed by the media to the public can affect its audience. At the core of this discussion are the consequences of negative representation of minorities. The threat of terror attacks, the threat that immigrants pose to the welfare system of the country, the threat that violence and unemployment may increase amidst negative portrayals that may fuel stereotypes, prejudice, racism that may exacerbate intergroup conflicts. Threat and fear of others have lead, and can still lead to terrible consequences for humanity.

Social Identity theory and Integrated Threat Theory may be useful theories in explaining the dynamics between groups, from a threat perspective, Social Identity Theory explains conflict from an intrinsic perspective, as a threat to group identity, while Integrated Threat Theory emphasizes the role of threat in intergroup conflicts, from a broader perspective, that includes, but is not limited to in-group identity.

   a. Social Identity theory

Social Identity theory has been used to explain intergroup dynamics (Hornsey, 2008). At the center of this theory are the intergroup relations, based on perceptions towards in-group and out-group members as it reinforces that ones' sense of identity is an extension of the social group that one belongs.

The theory arose from a series of experiments by Henri Tajfel and his colleagues using people who did not share a common history. People with different backgrounds were randomly allocated into groups. After being placed in a group, participants had to allocate or give points to the members of the in-groups and the out-groups. The participants were informed that they would not benefit from the points giving they were also aware that the group that they were assigned to had no future outside the laboratory. Surprisingly, findings showed that people had a tendency to give higher points to their own group, i.e., the in-group, and lower points to the other group, i.e., the out-group.

Self-concept

According to Social Identity theory, the self-concept comes from belonging or being a member in social groups. The categorizations of these social groups contribute to individual self-reference or self-concepts, who that person is in a society, such as reminding an individual his or her role in that society. It also helps to identify or determine the position one occupies in social group. These definitions, which contribute to the identifications of the people who are similar, also differentiate them from the out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, differentiating from one group, means creating distance from other groups and pursuing closer connection to the chosen group, which also implies self enhancement, and it is achieved by associations and belonging to a group that is perceived to be higher in status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People compare themselves with others and will claim membership to groups they identify themselves with. The identification can vary; it can be due to shared values, beliefs, culture, job title, etc. The theory postulates that people will seek to maintain self-esteem through group identification. Group identification is perceived as aiding in either achieving or to maintaining positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It is a form of projection of internal values of who one wants to be, or perceives oneself to be, or as a validated group membership. According to this view, their sense of identity is also the main factor for intergroup conflicts (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013). Taylor and Jaggi (1974) for instance found that Hindus judged the behavior of other Hindus to be more altruistic and suggested that they are internal attributes of Hindus. On the contrary, when judging the same behavior by Muslins, they attributed these behaviors to external causes and not intrinsic ones (Krumm & Corning, 2008). Results from some experiments conducted by Tajfel, (1982), showed that people would either favor or discriminate others based on long lasting psychological associations and distinctions of the concept "us versus them."

Categorization

This theory has been used to explain how categorization of out-groups can lead to devaluation and hate towards a different group. One of the problems with categorization is when information regarding some groups is over simplified and associated with pejorative adjectives regarding an ethnic group. This has been found to result in negative perceptions and social stereotypes (Devine, 1989; Marin, 1984; Power, Murphy, & Coover, 1996; Sears, van Laar, Carrillo, & Kosterman, 1997;

Sigelman, Sigelman, Walkoz, & Nitz, 1995 cited in Domke, et al., 1999). In addition, in extreme cases, categorization can mean blind and unquestionable acceptance of in-group values and superiority (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and advocating in favor of in-group members and explicit favoritism can be translated in discriminatory acts towards out-groups members (Krumm & Corning, 2008).

Stereotypes

Social identity theory has also been used to explain stereotyping, which has been defined by some traditional cognitive researchers as a specific kind of cognitive organization that associates group membership to a particular characteristic or behavior (Ford & Stangor, 1992; Nesdale & Rooney, 1990, Purkiss, Perrewé, Gillespie, Mayes, Ferris, 2006). However, for social identity theorists, stereotypes serve a social function where they can be used not only to explain but also to legitimize past and present behavior of the in-group (Hornsey, 2008).

Research suggests that the framing of some news contributes to the activation of negative stereotypes associated to some minority groups; and to the perception of the immigration as an issue, which contributes to negative attitude from majority towards them (Domke, et al., 1999).

Limitations

Despite of all the support, the theory has been criticized because it has become such a reference in intergroup study that some question if it can still be falsifiable and if it could actually predict how people would act in a real life (Hogg & Williams, 2000 cited in Hornsey, 2008). Another limitation of this theory is that it cannot explain how favoring in-group members can lead to violence towards out-group members (Brown, 2005 cited in Hornsey, 2008).

b. Integrated Threat Theory

This theory has its foundations in Realistic Group Conflict Theory, which emphasizes the realistic and tangible sources of conflict. It claims that conflict would arise because of competition for limited resources, such as natural, economical, or social resources (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966, cited in Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The Realistic Threat Theory has a broader scope than Realistic Group Conflict Theory, it sees threat not only as specific or reduced to resources, but to all possible threats to the

well being of the group. Another difference between the two is that this theory does not differentiate real threats to perceived threats because it understands that even perceived threats could lead to discrimination (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Integrated Threat Theory, just like social identity theory arose from a series of experiments on intergroup relations. These experiments looked at interactions between different minority and majority groups and analyzed whether the nature of the interaction was related to realistic or symbolic threat, and whether intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes were induced.

Kinds of threat in intergroup interactions

Realistic threats account for a broad range of threats, which could put the in-group at risk by threatening the in-group economically or politically and jeopardizing its existence, for example, jobs, welfare, nature resources, violence, crimes, and also perceptions of threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Symbolic threat refers to threats towards values, morals, and attitudes. Intergroup anxiety refers to the threat people feel in intergroup interactions, fear of being ridicule, misunderstood, and losing face. Negative stereotypes are sustained and maintained by the belief that interactions with the member of the other groups are going to be unpleasant, conflictual to the point that one might fear all the negative consequences of social interactions, with out group member (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

The theory claims that threat is at the heart of the issue and the cause of prejudice in intergroup interactions. Intergroup interactions will be mediated by how people perceive threat in these intergroup interactions. Intergroup interactions are underlined by the strength of in-group identification. Intergroup identification refers to the process of personal relevance evaluation, which relates to personal evaluations about the social policies that favors other groups. The intergroup reactions can be mediated by these evaluations, which for example might include, how much people know about the other group, the kinds of intergroup contact they have, the role of group status. The theory identifies prior intergroup conflict past as being the most crucial cause prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Findings corroborate to the efficacy of this model in predicting prejudicial attitudes, mainly because results show different, kinds of threat

are related to prejudice against different groups in the society (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Ignorance and threat

More research is needed in order to understand the antecedents of threat, and the kinds of threats that can arise during different social interactions with different groups of people. A positive characteristic of Integrated Threat Theory is that it acknowledges the role of ignorance in producing fear that can lead to external and or internal feelings of threat that underlies intergroup interactions. Therefore, the theory suggests that knowledge and accurate information about the other is a powerful source for fighting prejudice. It also proposes techniques that should be used during social intergroup interactions that can reduce some feelings of threat.

This claim is supported by some studies that used multicultural education approach to teach people from dominant groups some facts about history. Instead of presenting the facts from the dominant group perspective, these historical facts were told from the minority group point of view. It has shown that members of the dominant group (Whites) were less prejudicial towards minorities' members after re-learning about these historical facts, however, it did not change the views that minorities members (blacks) had about Whites (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Maybe more research in this area could bring more information about how to improve positive feelings of people from minority groups towards the dominant groups maybe what future research should aim to investigate. Future research should also investigate the different kinds of threat that can predict intergroup prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Limitations

Although integrated threat theory has been linked to several intergroup relationships, it has its limitations. To begin with, the theory ignores the role of personality such as authoritarian personality in prejudice, and social structures as one of the causes and maintenance of prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

The theory also presents several categories considered to be the responsible ones for feelings of threat and prejudice. However, research findings are limited. For example, when investigating intergroup interactions between Mexicans and Anglo-Americans, and also interactions between women and man, realistic threat did not predict prejudice in these intergroup interactions. Similarly, prejudice could not be accounted for when

examining intergroup interactions between a dominant and a subordinate group, For instance, prejudice could not be accounted for by symbolic threats in Israel and in Russia. It seems that more research is needed in order to the conditions under which a particular kind of threat can appear and predict prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).
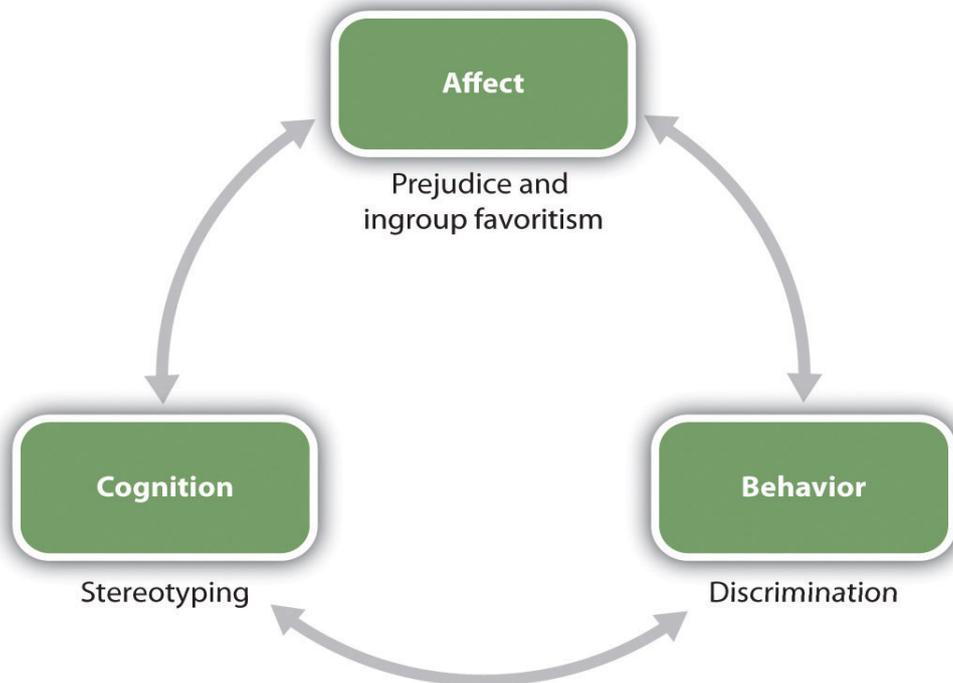

Fig 1. Interplay between Stereotyping, Prejudice, and ingroup favoritism that can lead to discrimination.

Media and polarization

The media can cause feelings of "us" against "them" by reinforcing values that make "us," "us," and what makes "us" different from "them." Social Identity Theory postulates that this group favoritism works in two ways: a) it affects societal identification and increases focus on the positive characteristics of the in-group; b) this behavior fuels not only differentiation, but also selectively see out-group members through discriminatory actions, c) Cognition is influenced by stereotyping which automatically associates negative characteristics to out-group members, see fig.1. Groups that conform to their norms are evaluated more positively than the ones that don´t (Tajfel, 1981; cited in Vergeer, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2000). There is

overwhelming evidence that the media plays a role in fueling in-group and out-group fear, for example, by portraying whites as victims and Latinos or blacks as perpetrators (Dixon & Linz, 2000b; Entman, 1990; cited in Seate, 2012). Non-whites and foreigners are presented in the news and movie industry, as a threat to majority members (whites) (Arednt, 2010; Dixon & Linz, 200a; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; cited in Seate, 2012). In several studies produced in the Netherlands, Van Dijk (1983, 1987, 1991), showed that the media has a tendency to show and connect immigrants and/or minorities to narcotics, disturbance, and criminality (Vergeer, et al., 2000). These findings seem to match findings in the Norwegian media. The report by the Retriever shows findings produced by Fjeldstad and Lindstad (1999) that the Norwegian media mainly mentions immigrants in cases about criminality or football (IMDI, 2014). Empirical evidence shows that negative media depiction of immigrants can aggravate intergroup differences and stimulate in-group protection (Mastro & Seate, 2012; Seate, & Mastro, 2015), which can be translated into avoiding contact with other groups (Seate, & Mastro, 2015). Taking into consideration Blom's (2016) study that showed a six percent decrease in the number of Norwegians who have contact with immigrants at a time when there was an increase in negative depiction of immigrants in the Norwegian media, a natural question to ask is whether the media framed and primed Norwegians to be negative towards immigrants? More specifically, can negative framing of immigrants presented by the media influence Norwegian´s perceptions of immigrants and immigration in Norway, and can it explain an increase in negative attitude towards immigrants?

Based on the literature reviewed. The following hypothesis can be formulated:

H1: People exposed to negative media portrayals of immigrants will be less positive toward multicultural attitudes show high Social Dominance. H22: Conversely, people exposed to positive media portrayals will be more positive to multicultural attitudes and low on social dominance.

In addition, this study will also include and investigate in its analysis the role of other demographic variables that have been found to be related to either more positive or negative attitudes towards immigrants with respect to multicultural attitudes and social dominance. These variables are: gender, age and educational level.

Individual response: Multiculturalism Attitudes and Social Dominance Orientation.

To understand Norwegians' attitudes towards immigrants and the degree of their interaction with immigrants, Social Dominance Orientation and Multiculturalism Attitude will be explored.

Attitudes can also be implicit or explicit, positive or negative. Prejudice, for example, refers to negative attitude towards a specific group of people (Andrews et al., 2005).

An increase in the number of immigrants in a population can produce a defensive reaction from the locals since now, not only jobs and welfare, but also privileges, prerogatives, power, and status, might be perceived at threat (Meuleman et al, 2008). This overexposure of media messages not only stimulate negative views of minorities in the present moment, but helps to produce future negative appraisal of immigrants and immigration. Turning minority depreciation into a spiral of self-reinforced and self-perpetuating fed by the media (Schemer, 2012; Seate & Mastro, 2015).

However, can individual factors such as Social Dominance Orientation and Multiculturalism attitudes contribute to a more resistant and less positive attitude towards immigrants and immigration?

a. <u>Multicultural Attitudes</u>

The term multiculturalism derives from the same body of studies that include intergroup attitudes and acculturation (Van de Vijver et al, 2008). Sam, (2017) defines the concept of multiculturalism as: "a policy and its attending practices regarding the coexistence of many ethno cultural groups in a plural society, as well as the normative beliefs that characterize how the relationships should be among the groups" (Sam, 2017, p. 504). This definition refers and implies to different aspects of the phenomena, for instance; multiculturalism refers to interplay between the locals and the immigrants based upon acceptance and support to a pluralistic society (Van de Vijver et al, 2008).

Multiculturalism refers to the demography, or the number of different ethnic groups of a multicultural society. It can also refer to kinds of policies that support diversity, such as inclusion of immigrants in the local society, policies that favor upward mobility, ensuring that immigrants have equal rights, and preventing and eliminating discriminatory behaviors. Multiculturalism also entails an attitude towards a multicultural environment. (Van de Vijver et al., 2008). Multiculturalism or

(multicultural attitudes) as used in this present study refers to individuals' (positive) attitudes towards, and a support for the mutual co-existence of people of different cultural backgrounds within a given society. It also refers to the support for a cultural group to hold on to its own cultural values and traditions and to be able to interact with members of the larger society without the need on their part to give up on their culture.

Multicultural intergroup interactions

The attitudes of the majority groups towards the minorities are crucial in determining integration and social adjustment. (Van de Vijver, et al., 2008). Research has shown that support for multiculturalism is positively related to positive intergroup interactions (Van de Vijver et al., 2008). While positive attitudes towards a multicultural society can yield in positive social interaction between groups, it can also influence the acculturation strategy that immigrants might pursue (Kosic, Manneti & Sam, 2005). Acculturation strategies refer to self-questioning about which of one's previous cultural values are going to be maintained or replaced in a new cultural environment (Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006), and also to the extent of interactions the immigrants choose to have with the members of the majority group or with the members of their own social group (Kosic et al., 2005).

Some main predictors, such as good economy and equality orientation, might favor positive interaction between locals and immigrants. Previous studies in multiculturalism have indicated a positive correlation between Gross Domestic Product, low power distance and stable economy and low power distance with in positive attitudes towards immigrants (Van de Vijver et al., 2008). Other studies indicate that people high on egalitarian values are less likely to be influenced by negative stereotypes compared with people who favor social inequality (Devine & Monteith, 1998; Judd, Park, Brauer, Ryan & Kraus, 1995; cited in Sandal, Bye & Pallesen, 2012). However, negative attitudes have been found among Norwegians, in spite of the country being very high on egalitarian values. Bye, Herrebrøden, Hjetland, Røyset, and Westby (2014) conducted a study among Norwegians on stereotypes among different social groups in Norway. The study found Swedes were rated more positively (i.e., warmth and competence) than any other immigrant groups. Somalis on the other hand were rated more negatively (i.e., cold and incompetent) on these two dimensions. These findings could serve as basis to suggest that stereotypes towards out-groups can develop into negative attitudes towards integration of some immigrant

groups (Bye et al., 2014). Assuming that people learn about other social groups on TV, lack of intergroup interactions can lead to a gap that can be filed with stereotyped views of other groups, which can be even more dangerous when broadcasting media becomes a tool used to reinforce and feed social hierarchical myths and negative stereotypes between groups (Ramasubramanian, 2010; Johnson, 2016).

Limitations

The study of multiculturalism has not been able to clearly demonstrate if there is a correlation between support for policies that favor immigrants and support for multiculturalism. Even though they seem equivalent, as some studies might claim (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, Senécal, 1997), cross-cultural research has shown otherwise (Berry, Phinney, Sam, Vedder, 2006).

Another limitation refers to the concept of multiculturalism itself. It is broad, recent, and unique with regard its multicultural interaction and attitudinal consequences for intergroup relations. Researches in this area have produced inconsistent results, which can indicate that there is still a lot to learn about this phenomenon (Van de Vijver, et al. 2008).

b. Social Dominance Orientation SDO

According to Social Dominance theory, inequalities or equalities are sustained by two concurring myths. From one side, it is the enhancing myths, that supports the idea that one group is better or superior to another social group (Pratto et al., 1994). On the other side, are the attenuating myths that questions social differences in inequality, and beliefs such as universal rights and equality (Pratto et al., 1994). In addition, these myths help to reduce conflict among groups by collaborating to the idea that some groups are superior to others (Sidanius, Pratto, Martin, & Stallworth, 1991; Pratto et al., 1994)

Social Dominance theory states that, legitimized myths can vary from society to society, which can influence in the degree of oppression over some groups, and lead to more equal societies than others (Pratto et al., 1994). However, SDO seems to be a common denominator in egalitarian or non-egalitarian societies. Studies have shown that, in spite of cultural differences, individual support for power of some groups in a

society, or support for sexism, racism, and the military yield social dominance orientation in non-egalitarian and egalitarian societies such as Sweden (Sidanius & Pratto, 1993b, Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto, 1992; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a cited in Pratto et al., 1994), as it does in the USA or Russia (Pratto et al., 1994).

People high on Social dominance have been found to lack empathy for people considered to belong to be of lower status (Pratto et al., 1994). SDO states that people high on social dominance orientation are more likely to support high hierarchical policies and ideologies (Pratto et al., 1994). They are likely to be ethnocentric, hold negative attitudes towards immigrants and other minorities, traditional, and bigoted. They believe in social Darwinimt, where the strong group wins and the weak group loses (Duckitt, 2006). The perceptions of having to compete with others in order to either maintain or gain social status fuels social dominance orientation ideals (Duckitt, 2006, Crawford, Brady, Pilanski, & Erny, 2013a). This is manifested through their support for agencies that aim to maintain law and order and at the same time maintain unequal group relations, together with support for certain ideologies that favor group roles, as well as stereotypes some groups in the society (Pratto, Liu, Levin, Sidanius, Shih, Bachrach, & Hegarty, 2000). On the other hand, people low in SDO are more likely to favor low hierarchical policies and ideologies (Pratto et al., 1994). They are high in tolerance, empathy and care about others well being (Pratto et al., 1994).

SDO and the media portray of minorities

Several studies about race have shown the important role the media has in feeding ideologies that show groups, particularly whites, as better representative of moral values such as law-abiding. Ethnic minorities such as blacks and Latinos are usually associated with the lack of these moral values (Seate & Mastro, 2015, Ramasubramanian, 2010). The media provides and broadcasts messages that legitimize and perpetuate discrimination and status quo, and at the same time are used to justify group hierarchy and inequality (Ramasubramanian, 2010), which resonate well with the beliefs that people high in SDO share.

Crawford, Jussim, Cain, and Cohen (2013b), conducted a study, which investigated how people with low or high SDO would respond to the news when exposed to news articles about affirmative actions. The news articles were about giving homosexual

couples the same rights as heterosexual couples. The result showed that when participants were exposed to news regarding measures aiming to reduce inequality in subordinate groups, in this case homosexuals, people high on SDO were more likely to respond negatively to the news articles (Crawford, Jussim, Cain, & Cohen, 2013b). It seems that people high in SDO are inclined to perpetuate injustices and might be more inclined to use "blaming on the victim for their own fate" discourse (Ramasubramanian, 2010). It may be because SDO can distort how people perceive and evaluate factors regarding minorities groups, making their evaluations biased by political and ideological orientations (Crawford, et al., 2013a). Studies have also pointed out that people high on SDO respond differently to environmental cues, which they perceive as a threat to in-group hierarchy. According to Pratto and Shih (2000), in their research about implicit prejudice, they found out that people high on SDO are inclined to favor in-group, and likely to respond to group threats, such as words or an editorial that threatens group hierarchy, by discriminating out-groups members (Pratto, & Shih, 2000).

Limitations

SDO has nevertheless been criticized in spite of all the research findings. Critics point to the attitudinal effects SDO is supposed to measure, and that this is dependent on the interval between exposure and measurement, they are normally short lived and therefore difficult to determine cause and effect (Kteily, Sidanius & Levin, 2011). Another criticism is that under specific priming circumstances SDO can be influenced by attitudes in intergroup interaction. These variations in SDO could imply that SDO is less reliable measure of attitude than first implied (Guimond, Dambrun & Duarte, 2003 cited by Kteily, Sidanius & Levin, 2011).

Method

The study is a quantitative study, which aimed to investigate priming and framing and the role they play in affecting a more or negative attitude towards immigrants. This thesis explores whether negatively priming, framing, and overexposing immigrants by Norwegian media is related to Norwegians' attitudes towards immigration.

In terms of Norwegian attitudes, the focus is on multiculturalism attitudes.

The thesis also examines the relationship between social dominance and multiculturalism attitudes.

The study underlying this thesis is a two-staged process: a pilot study followed by a main study.

Pilot project

An online search of the headlines of major Norwegian Newspaper that included the terms "immigrants" and "immigration." The following newspapers were searched: Dagbladet, Aftenposten; VG, Bergens Tidende, E24. According to reader statistics, these are the most widely read newspapers in Norway. The headlines and articles were gathered from the period from 2011 until 2016. The headlines were about immigrants and immigration in Norway in all contexts, and were chosen for being perceived as either degrading or complimentary for immigrants. Nineteen headlines with both negative and positive messages about immigrants in Norway were selected and an electronic survey was created.

The collection of data for the pilot project was done through SurveyXact.

Participants in the pilot project

Facebook friends from Norway and colleagues from the university of Bergen were asked to participate in this part of the project.

In this part of the study, the main role of the participants was to identify how these nineteen headlines represented immigrants.

The link of this electronic survey was shared on my Facebook timeline and among friends. The participants were asked to access the link on Facebook and read the headlines. By clicking on the link, participants were presented with the both negative and positive headlines about immigrants and immigration. For each headline, the

following question was asked; " Does this headline show a positive picture of immigrants? ".

Participants had to evaluate whether the headline depicted a positive or negative view of immigrants choosing one of six alternative options (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree, and I don´t know).

The main objective of the pilot project was to identify which of the headlines participants were deemed very positive and which ones were deemed very negative. The headlines that scored highest in either both positive and negative according to the participants' opinion were chosen to be part of the main study.

There were ten headlines that could be considered negative, they were headlines related to chaos, terror, and criminality that surrounds the immigrants problematic. Some examples of negative headlines that scored highest are: " *One million refugees can come to Europe also this year.*" (Andersen, 2016) and " *Most immigrants commit or are accused of killing their partner*" (Quist, Brenna, & Matre, 2016), " *Half of Europeans fear refugees*" (NTB, 2016).

Nine headlines more identified as positive, such as these ones: " *Norwegian immigrants about the king´s speech: " Real love direct from the heart.*" (Pettersen, 2016), and "*Refugees started their own voluntary cleaning group. Yesterday they cleaned the whole beach!*" (Farooq, 2016). The headlines above were identified as the ones that people were more responsive towards them, and therefore used in the main experiment.

Among the nineteen headlines, there were also some that people were not very responsive towards them. It might be because they were not clearly defined as either negative or positive and people might not have known how to respond to them. They might have been perceived as neutral and maybe therefore scored lower. For example: "*EU gives bank card to refugees*" (Bjørnstad, 2016).

In total, 165 people accessed the link, (n=24, 10%) answered some of the questions, and (n=59, 24%) completed the survey. The total numbers of respondents was about a third of the people who actually finished the survey, which can be considered low. The possible reasons behind it will be discussed in the limitation section of this thesis.

<u>Participants in the main study</u>

Participants were recruited through several channels. Some students were invited at the university campus to access the link to the survey, others via Facebook and also through invitation emails that were sent to about nine hundred and twenty five public emails addresses. Once again, the collection of data was done through SurveyXact. Most of the participants, 94.6%, took part in the experiment via Facebook, only 5.4% participated in the experiment via emails.

In all, there were 209 people who took part in the study. The majority of the participants were 41 years or older (n=134, 64,2%). In terms of gender, the majority of the participants (n=121, 57.1%) were females. The vast majority of the respondents were from Norway, (n=198, 93.8%). The participants are highly educated, nearly half has attended university or similar levels of education for four years or more (n=103, 49,3%,), followed by the ones who attended university or similar levels for one or four years (n=60, 28,7%). Most of the sample is made of workers (n=148, 70,5%,). Considering how often they read, (n= 159, 76,8%,) of the respondents read the newspaper daily. Considering what they read, the findings show a split between the ones who rarely read only the headlines (n=72, 35,1%), versus the ones who sometimes reads only the headlines, (n=67, 32,7%). Table 1. shows descriptive information of the participants in terms of age grouping, gender, educational level, reading frequency and reading habits.

Table 1. Demographic data divided between different age groups.

Age Groups	N	%	1 (18-24)	2 (25-32)	3 (33-40)	4 (41 or older)
Gender						
Male	91	42.9	7	9	13	62
Female	121	57.1	12	16	19	74
Missing	3					
Education Level						
High School	4	1.9	1			3
Youth School	42	20.1	8	4	6	24
University (1-4) years	60	28.7	8	7	4	41
University (4 years or more)	103	49.3	2	14	21	6
Missing	3					
Total	209					

Procedure

This scientific research aimed to investigate if negative headlines could be associated to negative influence on Norwegian attitudes towards immigrants; a survey was used to investigate this possible causal relationship between these factors, headlines, and Norwegian attitudes.

The main study

In order to create the survey used in this research, five headlines, from the pilot project, were selected and four news articles were added to compose a negative and a positive set to be used as priming. The news articles were added in the experiment to offer a

broader context and a deeper view of either the immigrant, immigration than headlines usually does. The headlines and articles were then placed into two different sets. One set had only negatively loaded headlines, and articles, and the other set had only positive headlines and articles. Both sets were composed of three headlines and two articles each. An example of the negative headlines is: *"Most immigrants commit or are accused of killing their partner"* (Quist, et. al, 2016). Followed by two negative articles, an example is an article about the number of unemployment in the Norwegian society. It says that one out of four unemployed is an immigrant, and that this number has increased 13.6% in the past year (NTB, 2013).

As for positive headlines, *"Immigration is positive for economy"* (E24, 2012), and one of the positive article was about the speech made by the King Harald of Norway about a multicultural Norway and talked about diversity in a very positive view (Pettersen, 2016).

Randomization process

The survey started with a question about the person's month of birth. The month of birth determined whether the participant would be directed to positive or negative headlines with articles. People born in the months of January, February, March, July, August, and September were forwarded to negative headlines and articles. People who were born in April, May, June, October, November, and December were presented with the positive headlines and articles. Thus, getting a positive or negative headline and articles was randomized on the bases of month an individual was born. This approach resulted in 139 people who were exposed to the negative priming and 180 who were exposed to positive priming. However, there were (n=212) actual the number of people who finished the survey. The possible reasons for this high missing number will be addressed in the discussion part.

Priming process

Just before the priming section, a question about Norwegian policies and politics regarding immigration was presented. People were them asked to rank it into (1) "not very strict"; 2 "somewhat strict"; 3 "very strict" and 4 "I don´t know".

The participants were then exposed to either positive or negative priming. For each headline and article presented, they were asked to evaluate it by answering the following question: " To which degree do you think that this headline/article shows a picture of the immigrants as a resource in the society?" The participants could rank their answers from: 1 "largely"; 2 "to some degree"; 3 "to a lesser extent"; 4 "not al all" and 5 "I don´t know".

To access multiculturalism tendencies, two different scales were used: Multicultural Attitude Measurement (MAS) and Social Dominance Scale (SDO).

Multicultural Attitude Measurement Scale

The Multicultural Attitude Scale, MAS was used to measure attitudes towards multiculturalism. MAS consist of 28-item to be answered on Likert scale from -3 (Absolut disagree) to 3 (Absolut agree). People would them read the statements and choose the most appropriated response ranging from absolute disagree to absolute agree.

The sale is divided in four domains that yield to the single score on multiculturalism, of all the items, 12 are negatively keyed and are reversed before scoring (Schalk-Soekar, Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2008). The four different domains of multiculturalism are as follows:

Domain one refers to questions around diversity, and questions if diversity is good or bad to the society. An example is:

" I think that is good for the Norwegians to have different groups with a distinct cultural background living in this country."

Domain two refers to the maintenance of minorities' culture, and adoption of the majority culture, for example:
" I think that most immigrants are sufficiently familiar with Norwegian culture and customs."

Domain three refers to majority support to integration and the immigrants maintaining their culture:

"I think that Norwegian schools should think more about the cultural background of their pupils."

Domain four refer to the ideas of equality among all groups.

"I think that Norwegian children should have both Norwegian and immigrant teachers." (Schalk-Soekar, Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2008).

People who score high in one domain are more likely to score high on the others domains across the scale, and people scoring low in one domain are more likely to present the same low score in other domains (Schalk-Soekar, Breugelmans, & van De Vijver, 2008). This measurement was chosen due to its excellent reliability (Van de Vijver, et al., 2008)

Social Dominance Orientation measurement

SDO (Pratto et.al, 1994) was used to measure both social attitude and personal inclination for social hierarchy in the Norwegian society. Research has shown SDO as a relevant predictor of attitudes about social policies and issues, aiming to reduce or increase social disparity or status hierarchies (Duckitt, 2001, Duckitt et al., 2002, cited in Crawford et al., 2013b). This measurement was chosen due to its high reliability (Kugler, Cooper, & Nosek, 2010) and for being considered a strong predictor of people´s perception and evaluation of media articles about social equalitarian policies that favors members of minority groups (Crawford, et al., 2013b).

SDO scale

The 16-item SDO scale is divided in two opposing poles, eight of the questions favors social inequality and the other half favors social equality (Pratto et.al, 1994). Each statement of the SDO tries to access attitudinal orientation of people.

The scale ranges from 1 to 7, being 1 strongly disagree and 7 strongly agree with the statements (Pratto et al., 1994). For example, when considering dominance over other groups the sentences would be similar to the following one:

"It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom." (Pratto et al.,1994). Versus sentences, that emphasizes equality among different social groups:

"No one group should dominate in society." (Pratto et al.,1994).

Ethics

The participants answered to demographic questions, such as age, gender, occupation, educational levels, place where they have lived most of their lives, how often they read the newspaper, and how often they read more than the headlines.

 All the respondents were presented with a confidentiality agreement and a participant consent form, containing information about the study, and before starting the presented study, agreed upon participating in it.

The study followed the ethical clearance of the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD Personvernombudet for Forskning) and according to its guidelines; the study was classified under the anonymous category because it does not offer the possibility of identification of participants. Even when participants received an invitation via email to participate in the study or when they clicked on the study link, it was not possible to know which or who had clicked, joined, or fulfilled the study. In addition, personal information provided by the participants would not allow any form for either direct or indirect identification. Therefore, an application was not submitted to NSD. (nsd.uib.no).

Results

Statistical Analysis

After the sample of respondents was analyzed, an internal consistence analyses was performed on both MAS and SDO scales in order to check internal consistence.

For MAS scale, the variables 2, 3 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 15, 18, 20, 22, and 27 were reversed Cronbach Alpha was .94, suggesting high internal consistency. For SDO scale, as the scale represented 1 as very negative and 7 very positive, the variables 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, and 16, were reversed. The Cronbach for SDO was .89.

In order to access the attitude respondents have regarding immigrants in Norway after being exposed to media headlines, a statistical analysis was performed to evaluate the data. A Two-way Anova, along with correlational tests, was used in order to explore the relationships between media exposition and negative or positive attitudes towards immigrants.

The main hypothesis of this study was: People exposed to negative media portrayals of immigrants will report higher multicultural attitudes and lower social dominance traits than their counterparts who are exposed to neutral or positive media portrayals. Similarly, the opposite effect is expected: people exposed to positive portrayals of immigrants will report higher multicultural attitudes and lower social dominance traits.

An independent T- test was used to test the above hypotheses, where results showed that there is no significant difference [$T_{(218)}$ = .46, p> .05]. Between individuals who received positive versus negative media exposition on MAS to measure attitude towards immigrants. The mean score of the participants who received positive exposure and negative exposure were M = 130.03, SD = 30.84 and Mean = 131.83, SD = 27.76 respectively.

The mean score of the ones exposed to negative media M=131.85, SD=27.76 was higher than the ones exposed to positive media M=130.03, SD= 30.84. Similar results was also found in SDO, there was no significance difference in the mean score of the people exposed to negative or positive media and presented to SDO scale questionnaire, [$T_{(209)}$ = -9.34, p> .05] participants exposed to negative media presented

M=32.80, SD=14.07 versus participants exposed to positive media M=34.85, SD=18.01.

A Two- Way Anova was used to investigate the variables, gender, age, and educational level and if they could account for differences in MAS and SDO after negative and/or positive media exposition. Even though the first part of the analysis did not show any significant results between media exposition and negative attitude towards immigrants, a further investigation of the three variables, age, gender and educational level was performed to see if together, they could account for positive attitude towards immigrants.

First, a Three-Way Anova was used to investigate the variables, gender, age, and educational level all together, not taking into account media exposition.

When considering the Multicultural attitude, age, gender, and educational level together the result was significant $(F_{6,185})$ = 4.06, p<. 001. In order to investigate further where the significant result was, the variables were analyzed in pairs, and the significant result was found between educational level and gender $(F_{2,185})$ = 7.84, p< .001, the effect of this difference is $(\eta_P^2 =$. 078), which is considered moderate. Results from Bonferroni post-hoc test (not presented in the table) showed significant differences within the subgroups of the educational level variable. The University (4 or more years) variable presented a higher average score than people in High School MD= 19.11, p<.05, the same was found between the variable University (1-4 years) MD= 12.66, p<.05, and the variable High School MD= 6.45, p<.05. The result shows a significant difference between more years of study and lower educational level, which indicates to what extent education interacts with attitudes towards immigrants. As the gender variable is divided in two categories, post hoc could not be performed.

Neither age and gender $(F_{3,185})$ = 1.71, p=0.17), nor age and educational level $(F_{6,185})$ = .18, p=0.98 were significant. See table 2 below.

Table 2. Average, standard deviation of educational level and gender. Three Way Anova results for MAS scale with F-value

	N	M	SD	df	F	Sig	η_P^2
Educational level				2	1.96	.144	.021
Gender				1	15.21	.000	.076
Educational level*Gender	209			2	7.84	.001	.078
Women*High/Y. School	22	129.86	25.59				
Women*University 1-4 years	30	138.17	28.48				
Women*University more than 4 years	67	143.33	24.61				
Men*High/ Y. School	24	112.04	34.17				
Men*University 1-4 years	30	115.87	29.99				
Men* University more than 4 years	36	132.89	21.73				

A Three Way Anova was also used to investigate SDO together with all the variables, age, gender and educational level, the result was not significant $(F_{6,185}) = 1.76$, p=0.11. The variables were also analyzed in pairs, and age and educational level presented a significant result $(F_{2,185}) = 2.20$, p=0.05. The effect of the difference $(\eta_P^2=. 067)$ is considered medium. Bonferroni post-hoc test results (not presented in the table) showed significant differences within the subgroups of age variable. The age group was divided in four groups; 18-24 years of age, 25-32, 33-40, 41 years and older. There was a significant result found between the 41 years and older group variable versus the 18-24 age group variable. The 41 years and older showed a higher average score than the 18-24 age group variable, MD= 13.41, p<.05. It was also found a significant difference between the 33-40 age group and the 41 and older age group variable, MD= 8.09, p<.05. There was no significant difference found between the other age groups variable. For the educational level variable, Bonferroni post-hoc results (not presented in the table), indicated that the University (4 or more years)

variable had a higher average score than the variable High School MD= 6.80, p<.05, the average score was also higher between the variable University (1-4 years) MD= 5.53, p<.05, and the variable High School MD= 1.27, p<.05. There was no significant difference between educational level and gender ($F_{6,185}$) = 2.42, p=0.09. Age and gender presented the following results ($F_{3,185}$) = .11, p=0.96. Table 3 below shows the the significant interaction between educational level and age, see table 4 for details of this interactions in age and table 5 for educational level interaction data.

Table 3. Interaction between educational level and age. Three Way Anova results for SDO scale with F-value

	N	df	F	Sig	η_P^2
Educational level		2	.584	.559	.006
Age		1	15.21	.000	.076
Educational level*Age	209	6	7.84	.045	.067

In the second part of the analysis, media exposition, and the variables gender, age and education levels were analyzed individually. The results are presented below:

Gender

After a Two-Way Anova analysis was performed using gender as variable, the results show that: there is no significant difference between gender versus either positive or negative media exposition ($F_{1,208}$) = .13, p=.072). However, there is significant difference between man and women, ($F_{1,208}$= 21.70, p<.001), independent of being exposed to negative or positive media. It reinforces previous findings in MAS women scored higher than man in Multiculturalism Attitude Scale in both negative and positive groups women M=142.24, SD= 23.23 and men M= 122.84, SD= 28.40 versus positive media exposition; women M= 137.78, SD=27.56 and men M= 121.17, SD=31.17. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, (η^2 ==0.004) which is considered small effect size (η_P^2=.004).

There is no significant difference between negative exposition and gender in SDO ($F_{1,208}$) = 1.50, p=.022. The results for men in negative condition were M= 35.00, SD=

13.86 versus women´s results M=30.59, SD=14.07. The positive primed group presented the following results, men M= 40.38, SD= 19.22 and women M=30.71, SD=14.51.These findings also corroborate with previous findings where men are more likely to score higher in SDO scale. Similar to MAS, there was a significant difference between men and women ($F_{1,208}$) = 10.75, p<.001, however it is independent of media exposition.

Age

When age was used in a Two Way Anova analysis, findings show that there is no significant difference between age and media exposition ($F_{3,204}$) =1.82, p=.144. In both conditions, older people scored higher in MAS, however the difference is not significant. For people exposed to negative media, the results were, 18-24 years M=116.67, SD= 27.41, 25-32 years M= 139.18, SD= 17.30, 33-40 years M= 120.19, SD= 35.95 and 41 years and older M= 135.92, SD=25.77. For the ones exposed to positive media, 18-24 years M= 124.77, SD= 43.61, 25-32 years M= 143.29, SD= 27.61, 33-40 years M= 138.06, SD= 28.97 and 41 years and older M= 129.18, SD= 27.29.

SDO showed similar findings, there is no significant difference between the age group and media expositions ($F_{3,204}$) = 2.55, p=.057. For people exposed to negative media, the results were, 18-24 years M= 41,00, SD= 6,48, 25-32 years M= 33.00, SD= 13,00, 33-40 years M= 44.81, SD= 18.28 and 41 years and older M= 29.05, SD= 11.63.

For the ones exposed to positive media, 18-24 years M= 46.00, SD= 24.72, 25-32 years M= 34.79, SD= 20.13, 33- 40 years M= 32.31, SD= 16.38 and 41 years old and old M= 32.46, SD= 14.07. However, results showed that there was a significant difference within the age groups ($F_{3,204}$) = 5.14, p<.002. A Bonferroni post hoc was performed to analyze the findings and it shows that there was a significant difference between negative media exposition people in the group of 41 and older MD=12.75, p<.05 higher than the youngster group 18 to 24 years among people in the group that were exposed to negative media. The effect size of this difference is large (η_P^2=. 020). The results are shown on the table 4 below.

Table 4. Average, standard deviation of age group Two Way Anova and SDO scale with F-value

	M	SD	N	df	F	Sig.
Negative media exposition			97			
18-24 years	41.00	6.48				
25-32 years	33.00	13.00				
33-40 years	44.81	18.28		3	5.35	.001
41 years and older	29.05	11.63				
Positive media exposition			112			
18-24 years	46.00	24.72				
25-32 years	34.79	20.13				
33-40 years	32.31	16.38		3		.001
41 and older	32.46	14.07				

Educational Level

At first, the participants were divided in four educational levels. However, the number of people who had only completed high school was only one in the negative condition and three in the positive condition. In order to perform a statistical analysis, the High school participants were joined with the Youth School participants. Results from the ANOVA showed that there is no statistic significant difference same educational level versus negative or positive media exposition in MAS ($F_{2,203}$)= 2.16, p=.012.

According to findings, participants exposed to negative media had the following mean scores, High school / Youth School M= 124.50, SD= 27.58, University (1-4 years) M= 118.40, SD= 33.43 and University (4 or more years) M= 141.43, SD= 22.08. Participants exposed to positive media, High school /Youth School M= 116.27, SD= 35.17, University (1-4 years) M= 131.33, SD= 29.35 and University (4 or more years) M= 137.82, SD= 26.10. However, there is significant difference between

educational levels within the group exposed to negative media ($F_{2,203}$) = 6.30, p<.002. A Bonferroni Post Hoc was performed but not presented on the table. The results on table 5, shows a significant difference between. University (4 or more years) MD= 19.11, p<. 05 has an average score higher than High/Youth School MD=6.45, p<.05, it was found that University (1-4 years) MD= 12.66, p<. 05 also had a higher score than High/Youth School, the effect size is small (η_P^2=.0.004).

Table 5. Average, standard deviation of age group Two Way Anova and MAS scale with F-value

	M	SD	N	df	F	Sig.
Negative media exposition			112	3	5.35	.002
High/Y. School	124.50	27.58				
University (1-4)	118.40	33.43				
University 4 or more years	141.43	26.10				

Results for SDO show that there was no significant difference between educational level versus negative or positive priming $(F_{2,203})$ = 1.56, p=.021. For negative exposition the results were: High School M= 33.54, SD= 14.96, University (1-4 years) M= 36.80, SD= 33.43 and University (4 or more years) M= 31.15, SD= 13.86. For positive media M= 41.82, SD= 19.61, University (1-4 years) M= 35.95, SD= 16.51 and University (4 or more years) M= 30.22, SD= 15.12. However, there was significant difference between the different educational levels ($F_{2,203}$)= 4.27 p<.001. A Bonferroni Post Hoc was performed but not presented on the table. The results on table 6, shows a significant difference between. Bonferroni post-hoc results (not presented in the table), the University (4 or more years) variable had a higher average score than the variable High School MD= 6.80, p<.05, the average score was also higher between the variable University (1-4 years) MD= 5.53, p<.05, and the variable High School MD= 1.27, p<.05 in the positive group. See table 6 below.

Table 6. Average, standard deviation of age group Two Way Anova and SDO scale with F-value

	M	SD	N	df	F	Sig.
Positive media exposition			112	2	.256	.774
High/Y. School	41.82	19.61				
University (1-4)	35.95	16.51				
University 4 or more years	30.22	15.12				

Discussion

The goal of this study was to find out if negative framing of immigrants presented by the media influenced Norwegians´ perceptions of immigrants and immigration in Norway and if it can be accounted for an increase in negative attitude towards immigrants. The working assumption of the study was that extensive negative media coverage might have played a role in the increase of negative attitudes towards immigrants by Norwegians as reported in Blom´s 2016 study. Against this background, the hypotheses of the study were as follows: Norwegians primed with negative headlines will score lower in MAS, and higher in Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). MAS was an instrument used to measure attitudes and openness for a multicultural society. SDO was a scale used to assess hierarchy orientation by natives towards minorities. Similarly, it was hypothesized that Norwegians primed with positive headlines would score higher in MAS and lower in SDO. Findings did not support the hypotheses. Even though there was a difference in the mean results between positive and negative exposition, they were not statistically significant and could account for very little, around 0.1 to 0.3%, of the variance. What are the factors that can account for that?

Framing effects

When considering framing, there is still a great debate about how to produce framing effects that can account for the analyzed attitudes consistently. Some framing effects are more likely to be produced and demonstrated in laboratories than in real setting experiments (Scheufele &Tewksbury, 2006). One of the framing research greatest challenges is to consistently produce robust findings and establish a causal relationship between communications of news broadcasted media and shaping of though in the audience, translated in attitudes. Even though such findings might be easier to produce in an artificial setting, research has shown that there are some factors that can improve the strength between framing and its effect. They are source, episodic framing, emotion, and identity threat (Druckman, 2001a, Druckman 2001b, Iyengar, 2005, Arceneaux, 2012, & Klar, 2013)

In a framing context, source is related to reliability and trustworthy of the material presented to the participants, when the participant of an experiment sees the source as

reliable it influences how it is perceived and increases its "framing-effects" on the participants (Druckman 2001b). The use of episodic or thematic framed headlines and articles presented to the participants can also account for framing effects. Even though some studies have emphasized the role of episodic frame in the strength of effects, mixed headlines are also seem as producing good framing effects. First because they don´t give the participants a clear cue regarding what the study was about, which could compromise the framing effects (Druckman, 2010). Second, support for mixing thematic and episodic headlines, comes from considering personal differences among participants, because different frames produce different effects in people. For example, a study by Aarøe, (2011) reinforces the strength of a study when using both forms of framing. He conducted a study regarding an immigration issue in Denmark. According to his findings, episodic frames invoked more emotions and were more effective among the participants who also responded with more emotion in response to frames. On the other hand, thematic frames evoke low levels of emotions they are more effective in people that responded with no or low emotions to the frames (Busby, Flynn & Druckman, (nd). The role of emotion has been mentioned in other framing studies. Arceneaux (2012), research suggests that the strength of framing effects is partly dependent on the extent to which there is a match between the frames´ content and the emotions experienced by the audience/participants (Busby et al, (nd). Such findings emphasize an important component in the framing effect debate, the emotion created by the frame and the emotional threshold of the audience. The fourth factor that has been identified as promoting framing effects identity threat, that creates an emotional state that alters the assessment and impairs cognition, which can amplify the framing effects. (Klar, 2013)

Research in multiculturalism using MAS scale identifies demography and psychological factors as the main variables that can predict support or opposition for multiculturalism attitudes. Under the demographic variable are gender, age, and educational level (Van de Vijver et al., 2008). Researches in SDO also corroborates to these three demographic factors and threat the psychological factor, as predictors for majority group members' social attitude towards immigrants (Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994). This study will now discuss its findings and taking into account the variables gender, age, and educational level. As the psychological variable, the study discusses

the majorities' perception of threat to the local society, through the lenses of social identity and integrated threat theory.

Gender

Previous findings in MAS researches show men are less supportive of multiculturalism than women (Van de Vijver et al., 2008). Yet, the exposition to either negative or positive media seems not to have accounted for that.

Conforming to Social Identity theory, people categorize, identify, and compare. It is an interchangeable process where categorizing helps to identify, and at the same time, compares and separate the different from the equal. The same principles are also used in social contexts, social groups. Identification of the equals' strength the formation of ties among members identified as similar, in-group members, and increases the distance of the ones identified as different, out-group member. This identification with their own group seems to be stronger among males than women; for example, research has shown that men, more than women, have a preference for watching other males on TV programs (Trepte, & Krämer, 2007). Identification with in-group is not an issue. The issue starts when there is an over identification with the in-group. It can lead to loss of a sense of self as an individual, and difficult to separate their own identity as a person from the group. Suddenly the line becomes blurred, people might act in certain ways to favor the in-group and start to discriminate out-group members. Stereotypes are going to be used by the in-group to justify negative attitudes towards the out-group members and in-group favoritism (Hornsey, 2008). It seems that the male over identification with their own gender, and misperception of threat can contribute to intergroup conflicts. Findings in Integrated Threat Theory studies corroborate to the idea that perceived threat is a reliable predictor of gender- specific attitudes, inter racial and minorities versus majority interactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1996) and males seem to be most prone for that. Gender specific attitudes are also found in SDO research (Sidanius, et al.1994).

Males seem to have preferences for hierarchy in different social contexts, maintenance of social status and favoritism for in-group members' status. These findings are cross-cultural, and also present in egalitarian societies such as Norway (Sidanius, et al.1994). This persistence in maintaining ingroup social status and dominance over other minorities groups, can lead to a more resistant, less open and often times aggressive attitude towards out-groups members. Considering these findings and previous

research both in multicultural attitudes and SDO and Social Identity theory, male ingroup favoritism along with preferences for inequality contribute to lower scores in MAS and yield in higher SDO. Their resistance to different social groups might partly answer why not even positive media priming of immigrants could influence in their SDO or MAS scores.

<u>Age</u>

Findings from this study find support in other multicultural attitudinal researches, where the correlation between younger age and support for multiculturalism is not always found (Van de Vijver et al., 2008). Here, people between 18-24 are more resistant to multiculturalism. There might be different interpretations for this result, for example; conflict among different groups is more likely rise among people who are economically vulnerable (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013), which can occur at younger age. Trying to enter in the work market competing against people from other countries with more working experience, broader language skills and willing to work more and work for less are factors that might threaten the young candidate. Social Identity Theory might provide a different explanation for the motives behind negative attitudes towards out-group members. It claims that the results from some experiments conducted by Tajfel, (1982), showed that people would either favor or discriminate others based upon more long lasting psychological associations and distinctions of the concept "us versus them". From this perspective, the root of conflict was more about their sense of identity provided by the group. Explained by a deep connection to the in-group and sense of belonging, which provided them their sense of identification, the main factor for intergroup conflict, and not only when competing over resources (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013).

However, the role of age and SDO found support in the findings presented in this study. In both conditions, either when exposed to negative media and with positive media, the oldest group scored the highest in SDO. Research in SDO has provided support for the role of age and the SDO high scores (Pratto et al, 1994). There might be several explanations, why they score higher in SDO. Older people might be more resistant to changes in general, not only immigrants, because it represents changes in the status quo. They also might be more resistant to immigrants because the in-group members will evaluate of what the arrival of the immigrants represents and associate

them to threats to social status, welfare, traditions, values, and costumes (Meuleman, Davidov & Billiet, 2009). Older people in some societies can have the function of upholding majority values, customs, and traditions. They are the keepers of moral values and the history of a social group. Any threat to the social status shall be opposed, therefore out-group members can be perceived as threats, and specially when they come from different cultures and challenges their values, religion, and customs. Another reason for such fear of immigrants groups is that their presence reminds the older people of that society of their vulnerable position depending on the welfare system and having to compete with others. This intergroup interaction can produce some sort of anxiety, which can be expressed in negative attitudes towards immigrants (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

Educational Level

Previous research both in multicultural attitudes and SDO have provided support for the role of education as one of the strongest predictors of multiculturalism (Van de Vijver et al., 2008). It matches the findings in this study where highly educated people are more positive towards multiculturalism. A significant difference was found between people with lower education and people with higher education (i.e., more than four years at a university). Highly educated people had higher MAS scores, suggesting that they were more supportive of multiculturalism. The results can be explained as people with lower income and low educational levels are more resistant to immigrants, mainly because they see immigrants as a threat and as competitors for the same, limited resources, such as welfare support, jobs and other social benefits (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013). Instead of pursuing education, growing economically and accepting life challenges they seem more interested in finding a scapegoat for their own failures. They do so by blaming immigrants for all the problems in the society, standing up against immigration measures and presenting negative attitudes towards immigrants. Which might explain the results of highly educated people even after negative exposition of immigrants, they might see them as an asset to the society and not a threat.

Similar findings were found with respect SDO. The results also showed a significant difference between people with low education compared with those with at least 4-year university education. It might be that even when primed with positive views of

immigrants; there is a resistance from lower educated people to see them as an asset to the society.

<u>Limitations</u>

This particular study, tried to follow some of these guidelines to increase its framing effects strength on the participants. The headlines and articles were from well-known Norwegian newspapers, reliable sources of information. It also used mixed framing headlines and articles to better match participants' different emotional threshold. However, the emotional state of the participants was neither accessed nor stimulated to increase framing effect. The headlines and articles presented also did not either challenge or implied a direct threat to the identity of the participants; it presented immigrants as a general threat and a problem to the society. The immigrants were related to increase in criminality, connected to terror activities, unemployment and terror attacks. Nonetheless, the headlines referred to immigration as an issue in general terms or as a problem in the immigrants' own social context. The headlines and articles did not directly represent the immigrants as a threat to the Norwegian individuals or to the Norwegian population as a whole. It might have created a distance between the immigrants and the consequences of immigration for the locals. Which then undermined the sense of personal threat, interfering and reducing the framing effect in multicultural attitudinal and SDO scores, consequently did not produce some of the expected results. According to the findings presented, media exposition alone cannot account for either negative or positive attitude towards immigrants when considering both scales.

The study also had two main issues; one presented itself during both phases of the project, pilot, and main study. There were (n=319) people who accessed the link, however, only (n=209) finished the study. What can account for that? Participants had to go on line to access the link from where ever they were. They could do it over the phone or using their own computers, as they were not in a confined environment it might be the reason why (n=319) started, and only (n=209) finished. The second issue refers to the email approach. Emails addresses were sent to about nine hundred people, randomly selected from the University of Bergen, Bergen Municipal city and other email accounts. They were selected not for belonging to anyone in particular, but for being available in the website of the institution. However, 95% of the participants were

people who accessed the link through Facebook, why? It might be because people who received emails with the link and information about the research got suspicious of the link and the sender. Despite the fact that it was sent through the students UIB email account. They might have been doubtful of the sender and chose not to answer it, thinking it could have been a virus.

Practical and Theoretical Implications

Despite the challenges and limitations regarding priming and framing effects presented above, one of the strengths of the study is its design. It aims to mimic how people nowadays interact with news, which is reading headlines or news articles from a link and for a more optimal access of the framing effect of headlines and news articles, was to expose these participants to the same experiment over time.

It is a study that can contribute to previous studies about how the Norwegian media represents immigrants. It questions the role of the media in not only broadcasting information, but also spreading stereotyped views of immigrants, and that needs to be addressed. The study does not aim to censure the media, but it aims to question its role and its effects, especially among locals.

Even though that a connection between news media and framing effects could not be demonstrated in this study, there is overwhelming scientific evidence that the media plays a role in fueling in-group and out-group fear. For example, Non-whites and foreigners are presented in the news and movie industry, as a threat to majority members (whites) (Aredt, 2010; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005, cited in Seate, 2012). Van Dijk claims that in the Netherlands, the White majority favors media negative depiction of immigrants and minorities, and a positive representation of Whites because it helps in the maintenance of social hierarchy and power (Vergeer et al., 2000). According to him, immigration is mostly presented as a problem by the news media, and immigrants are presented as welfare abusers. The immigrants normally don´t have a voice in news reports, and his findings maintain that newspapers feed the polarization, us versus them, idea (Vergeer et al., 2000). This depiction of immigrants that the media takes, contribute to the reinforcement of bias, prejudice, racism, friction and division.

Future Research

Real life experiments might not always been able to show constant results and have yield in different directions and giving different explanations for priming and framing. However, they have contributed to valuable insights about both priming and framing effects. Even though they are different, they complement and enhance each other. For a deeper and better understanding about the consequences of priming and framing effects of news headlines, in Norway, future studies should try to investigate the emotional level of the participants in their natural setting in order to try to enhance priming and framing effects. For example, the emotional levels of participants should be accessed before performing the study. They should also try to create an emotional state such as fear or threat to see if these emotions could influence the framing effect and the scores results in MAS and SDO.

Conclusion

This study tries to investigate if negative framing used to portray immigrants and issues around the immigration topic can induce negative attitude towards immigrants in Norway.

The results of this study could not find a significant relationship between negative media portrayals and negative attitudes. Factors, such as gender, age, good economical, and educational level were identified related to multicultural attitudes and social dominance.

Even though the findings presented in this study did not show a direct association between these two factors, the role of the media effects should not be ignored. First because, the greater the number of studies produced, especially with the inclusion of other areas of psychology, the greater is the information generated, adding positively to a broader understanding about the framing effects.

Secondly, as framing researches have shown, the activation of specific cognitions helps people to form different interpretations of issues around the immigration matter. It can shape audience´s perception, which can make some of them focus on the material costs to the society, while others can interpret it differently and see it through a more humanitarian perspective and more willing to help the new comers. Some, perhaps, will interpret the immigration matter as a threat.

There is where the challenge resides, in how these framing news effects might be the interpreted, processed differently and its aftermath. These cognitive misconceptions can contribute to stereotyped views of the out-group, giving support to intergroup bias and can lead to negative attitudes towards minorities. Therefore, the media should hold itself accountable to its role in not only informing, but also, in dividing and polarizing first opinions, groups, and possibly the whole society, due to the effects it produces, when it depicts minorities unfavorably.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Invitation to the survey translated to English

This survey addresses how readers perceive newspaper headlines relating to immigrants.

You will be asked to read some headlines and texts from different Norwegian newspapers, and then answer some questions.

The results of the survey will be used in my master's thesis in psychological science. They can also be published in national and international journals.

Professor Gro Mjeldheim Sandal at the Department of Social Psychology is my supervisor.

All responses will be treated confidentially and you will not be prompted to provide names or other information that can identify you.

It is voluntary to participate in the study and you can withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

If you have questions about the study, please contact Kelly Førland.

If you are willing to participate in the study, touch "next" at the bottom of the page.

Sincerely

Kelly Førland

Appendix B

Invitation letter and survey in Norwegian

Invitasjon til å delta i undersøkelse

Denne undersøkelsen tar for seg hvordan lesere oppfatter avisoverskrifter som omhandler innvandrere.

Du vil bli bedt om å lese noen overskrifter og tekster fra forskjellige norske aviser, og etterpå å svare på noen spørsmål.

Resultatene fra undersøkelsen vil bli brukt i min masteroppgave i psykologisk vitenskap. De kan også bli publisert i nasjonale og internasjonale fagtidsskrift. Professor Gro Mjeldheim Sandal ved Institutt for samfunnspsykologi er min veileder.

Alle besvarelser vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og du vil ikke bli bedt om å oppgi navn eller annen informasjon som kan identifisere deg. Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke deg uten å oppgi noen grunn.

Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Kelly Førland.

Dersom du er villig til å delta i studien trykker du på "neste" nederst på siden.

Med vennlig hilsen

Kelly Førland

Masterstudent

I hvilken måned er du født?

(1) ❑ 1. Januar, Februar, Mars

(2) ❑ 2. April, Mai, Juni

(3) ❑ 3. Juli, August, September

(4) ❑ 4. Oktober, November, Desember

Hva tenker du om norsk innvandringspolitikk i dag?

(1) ❑ Norge fører en altfor streng innvandringspolitikk

(2) ❑ Norge fører en passe streng innvandringspolitikk

(3) ❑ Norge fører en altfor snill innvandringspolitikk

(4) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å lese noen overskrifter og avisartikler. Etter hver overskrift/artikkel ber

vi deg om å ta stilling til i hvilken grad disse tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i

samfunnet.

Negative priming

Nytt forslag: EU-land som nekter å ta imot flyktninger, må betale 250 000 euro ... per flyktning

Nye asylregler for Europa ble presentert i dag.

I hvilken grad mener du at denne overskriften tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❑ I stor grad

(2) ❑ I noen grad

(3) ❑ I mindre grad

(4) ❑ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❑ Vet ikke

Halvparten av europeerne frykter at den nylige flyktningtilstrømningen øker risikoen for terrorangrep, viser en ny undersøkelse.

I hvilken grad mener du at denne overskriften tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❏ I stor grad

(2) ❏ I noen grad

(3) ❏ I mindre grad

(4) ❏ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❏ Vet ikke

Flest innvandrere begår og utsettes for partnerdrap

I hvilken grad mener du at denne overskriften tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❏ I stor grad

(2) ❏ I noen grad

(3) ❏ I mindre grad

(4) ❏ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❏ Vet ikke

Innvandrere mer kriminelle nordmenn

Innvandrere som ikke kommer fra Vest-Europa er mer kriminelle enn andre nordmenn.

På landsbasis er totalt 28 av 1000 norske menn kriminelle. Blant ikke-vestlige innvandrere er 42 av 1000 menn, kriminelle, viser en rapport fra Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB).
Statistikken fra SSB viser også at ikke-vestlige innvandrerkvinner dobbelt så ofte som norske kvinner blir ofre for voldshandlinger i helgene.
Rapporten er en oppsummering av prosjektet "Innvandrere og kriminalitet", og bygger på tall fra politiets sentrale registreringssystem, STRASAK, som dekker alle registrerte lov-brudd ved landets politidistrikter

I hvilken grad mener du at denne artikkelen tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❏ I stor grad

(2) ❏ I noen grad

(3) ❏ I mindre grad

(4) ❏ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❏ Vet ikke

En av fire arbeidsledige er innvandrere

Antallet arbeidsledige innvandrere i Norge har økt med 13,6 prosent det siste året. Én av fire uten jobb er innvandrere.

26.620 innvandrere var registrert som arbeids-søkere ved inngangen til mai. Antallet har økt fra 23.435 til samme tid i fjor, viser tall Aften-posten har fått utarbeidet av Nav.

Polakker og litauere utgjør den største grup-pen, etterfulgt av svensker, irakere, somaliere, russere og tyskere. 14.500 er fra OECD-land, mens 12.000 er fra land utenfor OECD. Dette betyr at nesten én av fire uten arbeid i den offi-sielle Nav-statistikken - 23 prosent - er inn-vandrere. Tallene fanger ikke opp de som ikke har

Positive priming

I hvilken grad mener du at denne artikkelen tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❏ I stor grad

(2) ❏ I noen grad

(3) ❏ I mindre grad

(4) ❏ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❏ Vet ikke

I hvilken grad mener du at denne overskriften tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❑ I stor grad

(2) ❑ I noen grad

(3) ❑ I mindre grad

(4) ❑ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❑ Vet ikke

I hvilken grad mener du at denne overskriften tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❑ I stor grad

(2) ❑ I noen grad

(3) ❑ I mindre grad

(4) ❑ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❑ Vet ikke

I hvilken grad mener du at denne overskriften tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❑ I stor grad

(2) ❑ I noen grad

(3) ❑ I mindre grad

(4) ❑ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❑ Vet ikke

I hvilken grad mener du at denne artikkelen tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❑ I stor grad

(2) ❑ I noen grad

(3) ❑ I mindre grad

(4) ❑ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❑ Vet ikke

Norske innvandrere om kongens tale: «Ekte kjærlighet, rett fra hjertet»

I talen som har vakt stor oppmerksomhet i sosiale medier og høstet mange lovord det siste døgnet, filosoferte kong Harald over temaet «Nordmenn».

– Nordmenn tror på Gud, Allah, Altet og Ingenting. Nordmenn liker Grieg og Kygo, Hellbillies og Kari Bremnes, sa kongen blant annet.

Reaksjonene har heller ikke latt vente på seg i de norske innvandrermiljøene og profilerte nordmenn med innvandrerbakgrunn er fulle av ros og lovord.

«Varmer mitt hjerte og gløder mitt politiske sinn»

– Det varmer mitt hjerte og gløder mitt politiske sinn å høre Kongen så tindrende klart inkludere de som lett faller utenfor, inn i det norske. Ikke bare innvandrere fra vestlige land, men også funksjonshemme- de og nordmenn med brun og svart hud- farge. Referansen til Allah i vår konfliktfyl-

I hvilken grad mener du at denne artikkelen tegner et bilde av innvandrere som ressurs i samfunnet?

(1) ❑ I stor grad

(2) ❑ I noen grad

(3) ❑ I mindre grad

(4) ❑ Ikke i det hele tatt

(5) ❑ Vet ikke

MAS Scale in Norwegian

Vennligst angi hvor enig eller uenig du er med følgende utsagn:

	Absolutt uenig -3	-2	-1	Nøytral 0	1	2	Absolutt enig 3
1 - Jeg mener det er bra at Norge har grupper med forskjellig kulturell bakgrunn som bor her.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
2 - Jeg liker ikke å være på en buss eller et tog hvor det er mange innvandrere.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
3 - Jeg mener at samholdet i Norge svekkes av innvandrere.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
4 - Jeg mener at det er mindre trygt i områder hvor det bor mange innvandrere.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

Vennligst angi hvor enig eller uenig du er med følgende utsagn:

	Absolut t uenig			Nøytral			Absolut t enig
	- 3	- 2	- 1	0	1	2	3
5 - Jeg mener at det bor mange innvandrere i Norge.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
6 - Jeg mener det er best for Norge at innvandrere holder fast ved sin egen kultur og sine tradisjoner.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
7 - Jeg føler meg avslappet når jeg er i et område hvor det er mange innvandrere.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
8 - Jeg mener at de fleste innvandrere er tilstrekkelig kjent med norsk kultur og tradisjoner.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

Vennligst angi hvor enig eller uenig du er med følgende utsagn:

	Absolut t uenig -3	-2	-1	Nøytral 0	1	2	Absolut t enig 3
9 - Jeg føler meg ille til mote når innvandrere snakker sammen på et språk jeg ikke forstår.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
10 - Jeg mener at innvandrere i Norge anstrenger seg for å skaffe seg arbeid.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
11 - Jeg mener at for mange innvandrere i Norge bor i de samme områdene.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
12 - Jeg mener at innvandrere burde lære seg å snakke ordentlig norsk.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

Vennligst angi hvor enig eller uenig du er med følgende utsagn:

	Absolutt uenig -3	-2	-1	Nøytral 0	1	2	Absolutt enig 3
13 - Jeg synes det er greit at kvinnelige innvandrere bruker hijab.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
14 - Jeg mener at nordmenn flest ikke er tilstrekkelig kjent med innvandreres kultur og tradisjoner.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
15 - Jeg ville heller vært nabo med en norsk familie enn en innvandrerfamilie.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
16 - Jeg mener at norske bedrifter bør anstrenge seg mer for å ansette innvandrere.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

Vennligst angi hvor enig eller uenig du er med følgende utsagn:

	Absolutt uenig - 3	- 2	- 1	Nøytral 0	1	2	Absolutt enig 3
17 - Jeg mener at norske skoler bør ta mer hensyn til elevenes kulturelle bakgrunn.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
18 - Jeg mener at norsk politi bør patruljere mer i områder hvor det bor mange innvandrere.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
19 - Jeg mener at nordmenn bør hjelpe innvandrere med å bevare sin kultur og sine tradisjoner.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
20 - Jeg misliker det når en innvandrer ikke forstår meg.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

Vennligst angi hvor enig eller uenig du er med følgende utsagn:

	Absolut t uenig - 3	- 2	- 1	Nøytral 0	1	2	Absolut t enig 3
21 - Jeg mener at innvandrere og nordmenn bør samarbeide mer for å løse problemer i Norge.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
22 - Jeg misliker å bli ekspedert av innvandrere i butikker.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
23 - Jeg mener at innvandrere og nordmenn bør søke mer kontakt med hverandre.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
24 - Jeg mener at norske barn bør ha både nordmenn og innvandrere som lærere.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

Vennligst angi hvor enig eller uenig du er med følgende utsagn:

	Absolut t uenig - 3	- 2	- 1	Nøytral 0	1	2	Absolut t enig 3
25 - Jeg mener at flere innvandrere bør arbeide i politiet.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
26 - Jeg mener at norske barn bør leke mer med innvandrerbarn.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
27 - Jeg ville ikke likt å ha en innvandrer som min overordnede på jobb.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
28 - Jeg mener at innvandrere og nordmenn bør ha like rettigheter.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

SDO Scale in Norwegian

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

	Absolutt uenig 1	2	3	4	5	6	Absolutt enig 7
1 - Noen grupper av mennesker må holdes på sin plass.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
2 - Det er trolig en bra ting at visse samfunnsgrupper er på toppen og andre er på bunnen av samfunnet.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
3 - Et ideelt samfunn forutsetter at noen grupper er på toppen og andre er på bunnen.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
4 - Noen grupper av mennesker er underlegne andre grupper.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
5 - Gruppene på bunnen av samfunnet fortjener like mye som gruppene på toppen.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
6 - Ingen enkeltgruppe burde være den mest dominerende i samfunnet.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
7 - Gruppene på bunnen av samfunnet skal ikke behøve å holde seg på sin plass.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
8 - At noen grupper får være de mest dominerende er et dårlig prinsipp.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

	Absolut t uenig						Absolut t enig
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9 - Vi bør ikke presse på for å skape større sosial likhet.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
10 - Vi bør ikke prøve å garantere at alle grupper får lik livskvalitet.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
11 - Det er urettferdig å likestille samfunnsgruppene.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
12 - Likhet mellom grupper bør ikke være vårt primære mål.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
13 - Vi bør arbeide for at alle grupper får lik mulighet for å klare seg godt.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
14 - Vi bør gjøre hva vi kan for å utjevne ulike gruppers vilkår.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
15 - Vi bør strebe etter at alle grupper skal ha de samme mulighetene i livet, uansett hvor mye innsats dette krever.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑
16 - Likhet mellom forskjellige grupper bør være vårt ideal.	(1) ❑	(2) ❑	(3) ❑	(4) ❑	(5) ❑	(6) ❑	(7) ❑

Demographics

Nå ønsker vi at du forteller oss litt om deg selv.

Hvor gammel er du?
(1) ❑ 18-24 år
(2) ❑ 25-32 år
(3) ❑ 33-40 år
(4) ❑ 41 år eller eldre

Er du?
(1) ❑ Kvinne
(2) ❑ Mann

I hvilken del av verden har du bodd mest i ditt liv?
(1) ❑ Norge
(2) ❑ Skandinavia utenom Norge
(3) ❑ Europa utenom Skandinavia
(4) ❑ Amerika (Nord/Mellom/Sør)
(5) ❑ Afrika
(6) ❑ Asia
(7) ❑ Oseania

Er du?
(1) ❑ Utelukkende student
(3) ❑ Utelukkende i lønnet arbeid
(4) ❑ Student og i lønnet arbeid
(5) ❑ Annet

Hva er din høyeste fullførte utdanning?
(1) ❑ Grunnskole (barne- og ungdomsskole)
(2) ❑ Videregående skole
(3) ❑ Universitet/høgskole (1-4 år)
(4) ❑ Universitet/høgskole mer enn 4 år

Hvor ofte leser du avis på internett eller papir?

(1) ❑ Hver dag

(2) ❑ 5-6 ganger i uken

(3) ❑ 3-4 ganger i uken

(4) ❑ 1-2 ganger i uken

(5) ❑ Sjeldnere enn en gang i uken

Hvilke vaner har du når du leser aviser?

(1) ❑ Jeg leser alltid bare overskrifter

(2) ❑ Jeg leser ganske ofte bare overskrifter

(3) ❑ Jeg leser noen ganger bare overskrifter

(4) ❑ Jeg leser sjelden bare overskrifter

(5) ❑ Jeg leser aldri bare overskrifter

Takk for at du deltok!

Appendix C

MAS Multiculturalism Attitudes Scale in English

Multiculturalism Attitude Scale MAS	Absolut disagree -3	-2	-1	Neu tral 0	1	2	Absolut agree 3
1. I think that it is good for Norway to have different groups with a distinct cultural background living in this country.[c]							
2. I do not like being in a bus or a train in which there are many immigrants.[bc]							
3. I think that the unity of Norway is weakened by immigrants.[bc]							
4. I think that it is less safe the areas where many immigrants live .[bc]							
5. I think that too many immigrants are living in Norway.[bc]							
6. I think that it is best for Norway that immigrants keep their own culture and customs.[c]							
7. I feel at ease when I am in a district where there are many immigrants.[c]							
8. I think that most immigrants are sufficiently familiar with Norwegian culture and customs.[d]							

9. I feel bad when immigrants talk to one another in a language I do not understand.[bd]							
10. I think that immigrants in Norway put enough effort into getting a job.[d]							
11. I think that too many immigrants in Norway live in the same districts.[bd]							
12. I think that immigrants should learn to speak proper Norwegian.[bd]							
13. I approve of immigrant women wearing headscarves.[d]							
14. I think that most Norwegians are not sufficiently familiar with the culture and customs of immigrants.[e]							
15. I would rather live next to a Norwegian family than next to an immigrant family.[be]							
16. I think that Norwegian companies should put more effort into hiring immigrants.[e]							
17. I think that Norwegian schools should think more about the cultural background of their pupils.[e]							
18. I think that Norwegian police should patrol more in city districts with many immigrants.[be]							

19. I think that Norwegians should support immigrants more in maintaining their culture and customs.[e]							
20. I dislike it when an immigrant does not understand me.[bd]							
21. I think that immigrants and Norwegian people should cooperate more to solve problems in Norway.[f]							
22. I do not like being served in a shop by an immigrant.[bf].							
23. I think that immigrants and Norwegian people should seek more contact with one another.[f]							
24. I think that Norwegian children should have both Norwegian and immigrant teachers.[f]							
25. I think that more immigrants should work in the police department.[f]							
26. I think that Norwegian children should play more with immigrant children.[f]							
27. I would not like having a immigrant supervisor at work.[bf]							
28. I think that immigrants and majority group members should have equal rights.[f]							

Note. Norway is the name of the country of residence of the participants.

[a]Higher means refer to stronger support for multiculturalism.

[b]Reverse-keyed items.

100

[c]Domain of (dis) approval of cultural diversity in Norway.

[d]Domain of minority acculturation strategies.

[e]Domain of majority acculturation strategies.

[f]Domain of equal societal participation and interaction

See Schalk-Soekar, Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2008

Appendix D

SDO Scale in English

Items on the 16-Item Social Dominance Orientation Scale

Social Dominance Orientation Scale SDO	Absolut disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	Absolut agree 7
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.							
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.							
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.							
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.							
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we							

would have fewer problems.							
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.							
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.							
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.							
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.							
10. Group equality should be our ideal.							
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.							
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.							
13. Increased social equality.							
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated							

people more equally.							
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.							
16. No one group should dominate in society.							

- Items 9-16 should be reverse-coded.

- The response scale was *very negative* (1) to *very positive* (7).

- **See Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth and Malle, 1994.**

Appendix E

Pilot Project invitation letter translated to English

This survey addresses how readers perceive newspaper headlines that deal with immigrants.

You will be asked to read 19 headlines from different newspapers in Norway. After each heading, you will be asked to answer a single question.

When answering the questions, press Continue to proceed. It will take about 10 minutes to answer the questions.

The results of the survey will be used in my master's thesis in psychological science.

Professor Gro Sandal is my supervisor.

All responses will be treated confidentially and you will not be prompted to provide names or other information that can identify you.

Thank you for taking the time to attend.

Best regards

Kelly Førland Master student

Appendix F

Pilot project with the invitation letter in Norwegian, headlines, and demographics.

Denne undersøkelsen tar for seg hvordan lesere oppfatter avisoverskrift som omhandler innvandrere.

Du vil bli bedt om å lese 19 overskrifter fra forskjellige aviser i Norge. Etter hver overskrift blir du bedt om å svare på et enkelt spørsmål.

Når du svarer på spørsmålene må du trykke på **fortsett** for å gå videre. Det vil ta ca. 10 minutter å besvare spørsmålene.

Resultatene fra undersøkelsen vil bli brukt i min masteroppgave i psykologisk vitenskap. Professor Gro Sandal er min veileder.

Alle besvarelser vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og du vil ikke bli bedt om å oppgi navn eller annen informasjon som kan identifisere deg.

Takk for at du tar deg tid til å delta.

Med vennlig hilsen

Kelly Førland masterstudent

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

IS vil skape kaos og sende 500 000 innvandrere inn i Europa

«Psykologisk våpen» om de blir angrepet igjen.

Denne ovesrkriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Hver femte innvandrer fra Irak og Somalia tatt for lovbrudd

Mens kinesiske innvandrere er underrepresentert. Fersk rapport viser store forskjeller i den norske krimstatistikken.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

- En million flyktninger kan komme til Europa i år også

«Restplass.eu» dumper båtpriser - 47 000 tok sjansen i verste vinterværet mellom Tyrkia og Hellas.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Nytt forslag: EU-land som nekter å ta imot flyktninger, må betale 250 000 euro ... per flyktning

Nye asylregler for Europa ble presentert i dag.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Syria-flyktninger kommer syklende over grensa i Øst-Finnmark. Vekker internasjonal oppsikt

100 bare i dag, og kapasiteten er sprengt.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Innvandringen gjør Norge yngre

Skal foryngelsen av den norske befolkningen gi oss økonomisk drahjelp, må vi lykkes med å få innvandrerne i arbeid.

Denne overskriften gi et positive bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Halvparten av europeerne frykter flyktninger

Halvparten av europeerne frykter at den nylige flyktningtilstrømningen øker risikoen for terrorangrep, viser en ny undersøkelse.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig
(2) ❑ Enig
(3) ❑ Hverken eller
(4) ❑ Uenig
(5) ❑ Ganske uenig
(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Lær oss innvandrere bergensk!

Hun sa «dokkers hus». Hva betyr det? Dukker? «Doll» på engelsk?

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Flest innvandrere begår og utsettes for partnerdrap

Tidligere sto etniske nordmenn bak majoriteten av partnerdrap, men nå begås nær ett av to drap av personer med utenlandsk opprinnelse.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Frihet til å flytte

Flyktninger må få bo der de selv mener de har størst sjanse for et godt og selvforsørget liv i Norge.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

EU gir bankkort til flyktninger

) EU skal dele ut bankkort til syriske flyktninger i Tyrkia.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Norske innvandrere om kongens tale: «Ekte kjærlighet, rett fra hjertet»

Kong Harald rørte hele Norge med sin tale på Slottets hagefest torsdag. Nå får han ros fra norske innvandrere.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Terrorangrepet: Dansk storavis skylder på innvandring

Danske Jyllands-Posten mener på lederplass at mange år med stor innvandring fra Midtøsten er årsaken til at Danmark nå må leve med frykt for terrorangrep.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Innvandring og terror

Innvandring fra terrorutsatte land øker risikoen for terrorangrep, men innvandring generelt sprer ikke terror.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Oljeinnvandrerne ryker ut

Ekteparet Sara og Anja Wilcken flyttet fra Tyskland til Stavanger i 2010. Nå er arbeidsinnvandrerne de største taperne i oljekrisen.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

- (1) ❑ Ganske enig
- (2) ❑ Enig
- (3) ❑ Hverken eller
- (4) ❑ Uenig
- (5) ❑ Ganske uenig
- (6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

- Vi er glad for tilveksten asyldriften ga oss, sier Lars Håkon Blostrupmoen i Blostrupmoen Medical Equipment. Her er han ifjor høst ved Dæsbekken Villmarksenter som ble brukt til asylmottak. Foto: Thomas T. Kielven

Flyktninger ga gevinst

Denne overskriften gi et posiitv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Flyktningene startet egen ryddegruppe. I går ryddet de hele stranda

- Jeg elsker å være med på dette.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Tusk: Europa har snart ikke plass til flere flyktninger

Europa nærmer seg grensen på sin evne til å ta imot nye flyktningbølger, sier EU-president Donald Tusk.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Nå ber vi deg om å ta stilling til følgende utsagn:

Én av tre arbeidsledige er innvandrere

To tredjedeler av de ledige innvandrerne i Hordaland er EØS-borgere, ifølge tall fra Nav.

Denne overskriften gi et positiv bilde av innvandrere.

(1) ❑ Ganske enig

(2) ❑ Enig

(3) ❑ Hverken eller

(4) ❑ Uenig

(5) ❑ Ganske uenig

(6) ❑ Vet ikke

Fortell oss litt om deg selv

Hvor gamel er du?
(1) ❑ 18-24
(2) ❑ 25-32
(3) ❑ 33-40
(4) ❑ 41 eller eldre

Er du?
(1) ❑ Kvinne
(2) ❑ Mann

Er du
(1) ❑ Student
(2) ❑ Ikke student
(3) ❑ Annet

I hvilket land har du bodd mest av ditt liv ?
(1) ❑ Norge
(2) ❑ Skandinavia uten Norge
(3) ❑ Europa uten Skandinavia
(4) ❑ Amerikas (Nord/Mellom/Sør)
(5) ❑ Afrika
(6) ❑ Asia
(7) ❑ Oseania

Leser du avis/nettavis?

(1) ❑ ja

(2) ❑ nei

Hvor ofte leser du avis/nettavis?

(1) ❑ hverdag

(2) ❑ 5-6 ganger i uken

(3) ❑ 3-4 ganger i uken

(4) ❑ 1-2 ganger i uken

(5) ❑ aldri

Takk for at du deltok!