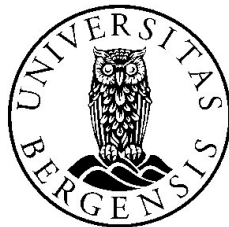# Public Support for a Ban on Begging in Norway – A Consequence of Negative Stereotypes about the Roma Minority?

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Abstract

This thesis examines whether public support for a ban on begging in Norway is influenced by negative stereotypes about the Roma minority. In 2005, the ban on begging was abolished in Norway by a unanimous vote in Parliament. Nine years later, however; a new discussion flourished about whether or not the ban on begging should be re-introduced.

The change in public debate followed a change in the composition of the population of beggars in Norwegian streetscapes. After the eastward expansion of the European Union, Norway as a member of the European Economic Area experienced a similar increase in poor members of the Roma minority begging on the street, as did most EU-member states.

To address the research question, I collected original survey data through the Norwegian Citizen Panel in 2015 (wave 5) as part of a project funded by the EEA and Norway grants entitled "Less Hate More Speech." In the Norwegian Citizen Panel I fielded both standard close-ended survey-questions about negative stereotypes and new open-ended questions, which allowed participants to formulate their thoughts about beggars and the Roma minority in their own words. In analyzing the data, I in part rely on traditional regression analysis, and in part on randomized experiment.

The results of this thesis show that public support for a ban on begging in Norway is strongly affected by negative stereotypes toward the Roma minority. These findings are significant on a 99 percent level, and are found to be significant in three different models that implement two different stereotype measurements – one traditional measurement (based on close-ended survey questions) as well as an original measurement (based on open-ended survey questions).

This thesis has shown for the first time that widespread support for a ban on begging in contemporary Norway is strongly influenced by negative stereotypes about the Roma minority. This adds to our knowledge both about the consequences of European enlargement for Norway, and additionally to our knowledge about why a ban on begging has been such a controversial and difficult political issue over the past years in Norway.

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First of all, I wish to thank my supervisor, Elisabeth Ivarsflaten, for all the guidance, dedication and motivation that helped this thesis take its current form. I also want to thank all the people involved with the Norwegian Citizen panel. Being involved in such a broad and ambitious project has not only widened my horizon, but has also given me higher ambitions and a greater understanding of survey data and its enormous possibilities.

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1.0 Introduction

The topic discussed in this thesis – whether negative stereotypes of the Roma minority influence the public support of a ban on begging – is in reality just a small part of two much larger topics: How society responds and acts upon visible poverty, and how the public responds to being a part of a greater global context, or at least a greater European context. Although both of these topics are too large to treat comprehensively in one master thesis, I believe that this thesis contributes to widen our knowledge about them both.

In 2005, the Norwegian parliament abolished the prohibition against begging, the Vagrancy Act (Løsgjengerloven), thereby legalizing begging for the first time in almost a hundred years in Norway. In the debate leading up to the decision to abolish the Vagrancy Act, some argued that social political measures should act as remedy for begging, not criminal measures.

Norway is a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and thereby also the European Economic Area (EEA). EEA enables citizens of member-states to migrate freely between countries within the EEA, allowing them to stay for three months without any Visa requirements (Claes and Førland 2010). In January 2007, Romania and Bulgaria were admitted and fully accepted as members of the European Union (EU 2016). This allowed Romanian and Bulgarian citizens, like any other citizens within the EEA, free entry into Norway, access to the Norwegian labor market, and the right to stay in Norway without any visa or residency permit. From 2007 and onward, Norway experienced an increase in members of the Roma population from Romania entering the country. Many within this group were poor and had difficulties finding employment, and some turned to begging.

The streetscape changed and many cities, as well as urban areas, experienced a larger number of beggars on the street. According to Brattvåg most of the newcomers among beggars in Norwegian cities had a Roma background (Brattvåg 2007). The new poor migrants from Romania triggered a large amount of media attention and newspaper articles about organized crime, the Romanian mafia, and human trafficking (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012).

The Roma minority is the most discriminated and marginalized group in Europe. A large proportion of the Roma who migrate to other member states within the EU become victims of discrimination in their new countries, suffering from social exclusion and marginalization

(Agency for Fundamental Rights 2012). The stereotypes and prejudice of the Roma are often grounded in historical contexts. Rosvoll and Bielenberg (2012) claim that the most commonly expressed stereotypes about the Roma population today are the same stereotypes that we have seen for over a hundred years. According to these negative stereotypes the Roma are dirty, lazy and criminal.

At the end of the 2000s, a new public debate regarding the legislation of begging started. Both politicians and participants in the public debate expressed the need for a new ban on begging in Norway. In 2014, after a change of government (election held in 2013), a new policy reform was adopted, which made it possible for municipalities to ban begging. Additionally, a national ban on begging was proposed in 2015. However, after weeks of intense debate, the proposal was withdrawn.

There are surprisingly few studies concerning the extensive changes that have taken place both within policy reforms and in the public debate regarding the legislation of begging. Previous research has examined how the Norwegian media portrays the Roma (Adolfsson 2014, Denne 2012). They have documented that negative attitudes toward the Roma minority are more prominent than negative attitudes toward other groups in Norwegian society. However, public support or opposition for the policy changes toward begging has to my knowledge not been the main focus of any previous research. This thesis aims at providing data and analysis to fill this gap.

The main research question is:

"To what extent is public support for a ban on begging influenced by negative stereotypes of the Roma minority in Norway?"

1.1 The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis contains seven chapters. Chapter two summarizes our knowledge about the historical context of both the Roma minority in Europe as well as the legislation on begging in Norway. Chapter three presents the theoretical framework of the thesis and discusses its relation to previous research. It ends by formulating a set of expectations for the analyses. Chapter four presents the methodological framework, the operationalization of concepts, and

the data. Chapter five and six present the results. In chapter five, I describe the pattern of the nature of negative stereotypes about the Roma populations. In chapter six, I describe the pattern of public support for a ban on begging, and I examine the extent to which the negative stereotypes about the Roma population influence support for begging. Chapter seven summarizes the results and makes some recommendations for further research.

2.0 Background

This chapter summarizes the necessary background and contextual knowledge for the analysis in this thesis. The first part of the chapter recounts key aspects of the general European historical background of the Roma minority and how they have been viewed and treated by European governments and societies. I then synthesize some of the history regarding the Norwegian state's treatment of the Roma people. And, finally, I present the historical background for a ban on begging, both the ban from 1907 and the background for the recent political debate about reintroducing the ban on begging.

2.1 The History and Stereotypes of the Roma

2.1.1 History of the Roma People

The Roma People is Europe's largest ethnic minority. To understand today's situation, it is important to understand the history of the Roma People. Agency for Fundamental Rights estimates that between 10 and 12 million Roma are currently living in Europe (2012, 3). Multiple reports about the Roma and their situation show that many Roma face discrimination and social exclusion living in marginalized and very poor socio-economic conditions (Agency for Fundamental Rights 2012, 2014a, b).

For a long time, it was uncertain where the Roma minority originated from. Linguists and geneticists found that the Roma population originates from the Punjab-region in India (Johansen 2013, 16). The emigration started around year 1000, but historians expect that the emigration occurred in more than one stage, and that the first Roma people arrived in Europe around year 1250 (Johansen 2013, 17). The history of the Roma after coming to Europe is gloomy and terrible. The Roma people were persecuted, subject to slavery and forced labor, they also experienced genocide and were driven from place to place with brutal means.

The Roma migration westward in Europe was far from easy. The official governments' first reaction was often to reject them or banish them from the territory (Liégeois 2007, 108). In the 17th Century and in the early 18th Century "gypsy hunts" were initiated in multiple areas in Europe. In the Netherlands, these "gypsy hunts" were called "Heidenjachten." Soldiers, police officers and others "hunted" the Roma and killed them. This type of "hunt" was normal in other parts of Europe as well during this time period (Liégeois 2007, 111). The last "gypsy

hunt" we know of found place in Germany in 1835, in which over 300 Roma people were killed (Denne 2012, 4).

Shortly before and during the Second World War the situation for the Roma population in Europe once again worsened. Germany introduced strict rules and laws already in the 1930s for the Roma (or "gypsies"). It was illegal for "gypsies" to marry or have any sexual contact with persons from "German blood" (Liégeois 2007, 114). In 1939 and 1940, individuals belonging to the Roma minority were deported to Poland, and their situation worsened from 1941 onward when German troops were responsible for assassinations of the Roma in the Eastern European countries occupied by Germany. Further on, the Roma were transported to concentration camps, first and foremost to the Auschwitz-Birkenau, Dachau and Buchenwald camps. Almost all "gypsies" who were sent to these concentration camps were killed or died, and there are hardly any Roma families in Central-Europe that were not completely or partly destroyed after the Nazis' devastations (Liégeois 2007, 115). During the 1930s and 1940s, we reckon that between 400 000 and 500 000 Roma people disappeared, either killed by soldiers after being arrested, or sent away to the concentration camps where they either died from starvation, diseases or were executed (Liégeois 2007, 116).

Despite the fact that the situation for the Roma people in Europe improved after the war, we cannot claim that it was "good." Many were denied citizenships, and after being released from the concentration camps, Germany sent many of the Roma population to labor camps. The labor camps operated until 1947 (Liégeois 2007, 117). Further on, no one with Roma background testified during the Nürnberg trials after the war, and most cases where abuses against the Roma were presented for the court ended with acquittal. As late as 1963, the German Supreme Court ruled that the Roma population were persecuted from 1938 onward and that the persecution had been motivated by racial arguments (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 34).

2.1.2 Norway's Treatment of the Roma People

Rosvoll and Bielenberg state, after a review of the Norwegian political documents that concern the Roma people, that there is no doubt that the Norwegian authorities to a large extent have treated the Roma population in Norway very poorly (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 35).

The first Roma who settled and received Norwegian citizenship came to the country in the time period 1860-1880. Norwegian authorities' policy toward this group of Roma was to try to assimilate them as much as possible with the Norwegian society. This assimilation process included measures such as separating the children from the parents, forced settlement and sterilization (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 37). At the end of the 19th Century the general attitude from both the authorities and religious leaders was to "make decent people out of them"[1] (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 28). This resulted not only in religious movements trying to save the Roma and bring them to Jesus, but also in social workers wanting to help the Roma to live "full and adequate lives" From the 1900s and onward the policy toward the Roma developed in a direction of rejection and dispatch (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 28).

In a letter from the justice department from 1924 and 1925, addressed to all chiefs of police, it was established that "If there are any Gypsies that holds a Norwegian passport, where it is stated that they are Norwegian citizens, the passport should be made invalid and should be confiscated"[2] (translated by author) (cited in Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 38).
The authorities made it almost impossible to be Norwegian and Roma at the same time. The "Stranger Law" (Fremmedloven) from 1927 included the "Gypsy-paragraph" (Sigøynerparagrafen) that stated the following: "Gypsies and other vagabonds who cannot prove having Norwegian citizenship, should be denied access to the territory"[3] (translated by author) (Olafsen 1930, §3, 1750).

The Norwegian authorities' attitudes toward the Roma in this time period can be illustrated by an event in 1934. An entourage of 68 people was on their way from Germany to Norway through Denmark. They were held at the border of Denmark and after having contacted the Norwegian authorities, they were denied entry to both Denmark and Norway. Instead, German authorities placed them in the Altona camp, where they became a part of the German concentration camp system. Until the 1950s there was no known Roma in Norway (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 39).

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[1] "Et ønske om å gjøre «folk» av «uvæsenet»".
[2] «[h]vis det kommer zigøinere som har norsk pass, hvori det er angitt at de er norske statsborgere, er et slikt pass ugyldig og bør inndras.
[3] "Sigøinere og andre omstreifere som ikke godtgjør å ha norsk statsborgerrett, skal nektes adgang til riket".

The "Gypsy paragraph" in the "Stranger Law" from 1927 remained unchanged when Roma wanted to return to Norway in the beginning of the 1950s. The obvious racially discriminating content of the law was, however, raised as an issue in the Norwegian Parliament and in 1956 the "Stranger Law" was changed (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 40).

In the middle of and the end of the 1960s the political approach toward the Roma people changed. The Norwegian Parliament stated in 1973 that the group of Roma in Norway was an "independent minority that one should not assimilate, and that one should not have to force measures, and that from now on all gypsy-related questions should lie under the social affairs department"[4] (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 41).

From the 70s and toward the end of the 80s, Norwegian authorities enforced a policy characterized by special care. Special schools were established ("gypsy-schools") and special gypsy offices were created. However, this special care-policy did not last for long. At the end of the 80s the lack of measurable results and a new political climate led to the end of these institutions; the gypsy offices were discontinued in 1991 (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 42).

In 1991 the Roma in Norway received their status as a national minority. This implied that the state recognized the Roma and their affiliation to the country, and gave them special protection and rights compared to other minority groups, as for example (newer) immigrants (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 42). Despite their status as a minority group, not much has changed. Multiple plans of action have been written, but they are characterized by few specific measures and no accompanying financial support. Norway has also been criticized by the European Council who calls for more measures to better the living conditions for the Roma in Norway (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 43).

2.1.3 Stereotypes and Beliefs about the Roma People

According to Liégeeois there are few positive beliefs about the Roma. Those that do exist, however, can be divided into two: 1) A romantic belief that stems from myths and folklores, and 2) a more intellectual curiosity colored by pity (Liégeois 2007, 159). Beside these two

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[4] "[Rom i Norge er] en selvstendig kulturell minoritet som man ikke kunne assimilere, at man ikke måtte foreta tvangstiltak, og fra nå skulle «sigøyner»-relaterte spørsmål ligge under Sosialdepartementet og de lokale sosialforvaltninger"

positive beliefs most of the other beliefs about Roma are of a negative character. Roma/gypsies are seen as thieves, bullies, dirty/unclean, immoral, fraudulent, social outsiders, and lazy or slackers (Liégeois 2007, 159). Rosvoll and Bielenberg (2012, 17) divide beliefs about Roma in two; one positive, romantic belief, and one belief based on negative stigmatization. Just like Liégeois (2007, 159), Rosvoll and Bielenberg note that there is definitely more negative attitudes and beliefs about Roma than there are positive ones. However, they also note that the positive and negative beliefs about the Roma are not mutually exclusive. Rosvoll and Bielenberg portray the most common stereotypes of the Roma like this (translated by author):

"*The picture of the gypsy is one of an incorrigible liar who brings misery and trouble, who do not want to work and who is taking advantage of the welfare state's benefits. The Roma are portrayed as irrevocable outsiders, and as if something is wrong with them. They have something in their blood that should not be spread to the majority of the population.*" (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 17).

The negative beliefs about the Roma can also be found in the language development, and can be traced in many languages' everyday speech or slang term. One example is the English word "to gyp" which means "to steal." "Gyp" is an abbreviation for "gypsy" (Liégeois 2007, 159). Rosvoll and Bielenberg (2012, 19) claim that one can find the same stereotypes about the Roma all over Europe, and that perceiving the Roma as criminals is a belief that recurs in literature, in media, and among politicians throughout centuries. As for the more positive, romantic belief about the Roma, this belief can also to a large extent be traced to stereotypes. The romantic way of presenting Roma is based on the idea that "Gypsies are free, they do as they want to, and do not live a regular nine-to-four-life, they travel around and enjoy life" (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012, 20).

2.2 Poverty Legislation and the Political Process toward a Reintroduction of a Ban on Begging

2.2.1 Historical review: Poverty Legislation

Begging has long traditions in Norway and Europe. In the 16th Century, the public debate about begging changed. Before the 16th Century, begging was recognized as a genuine and natural expression of poverty and destitution. During and after the 16th Century, this attitude

changed in Europe. A distinction emerged between those who were "deserving" and those who were "undeserving," willingness to work was one of the main criteria (Engebrigtsen 2012, 17).

It was not until the 18th Century that poverty legislation became a topic in Norway. Institutional solutions were created, for example organized poverty authorities for those in need and "prisons" (Tukthus) for vagrants and beggars (Engebrigtsen 2012, 17).

The Vagrancy Act (the law about vagrancy, beggary and drunkenness from 31st of May 1900 nr.5) was enforced on the 1st of August 1907 (Bergkvist 2008, 28). The law's 11th paragraph made habitual or repeated begging in public places punishable (Bergkvist 2008, 41).

2.2.2 The Abolition of the Vagrancy Act

The initiative to abolish the Vagrancy Act, and hence the ban on begging in Norway, was first proposed as an question from the Parliament member Inga Marte Thorkildsen (Socialist Left Party) to the Minister of Justice, Odd Einar Dørum (Liberal Party) (Halvorsen 2004).

In the reply letter to Thorkildsen, the Minister of Justice, Dørum writes the following (translated by author):
"*In my view, time has outrun many of the provisions of the Vagrancy Act. I will therefore shortly send a proposal to abolish the law out for consultation*" (Halvorsen 2004).

From the news article "Med rett til å tigge" (Finstad 2005) we first and foremost get an impression that drug addicts were portrayed as beggars in the street of Norway, and that the abolishing of the Vagrancy Act would benefit them: "*This summer the drug addicts will be able to beg in peace.*" We get the same impression from another news article, where Inga Marte Thorkildsen states (as a reaction to the police and their effort in removing beggars from the city center in Oslo in the Summer of 2004): "*I believed that it was wrong to use force toward human beings in need of treatment*" (Halvorsen 2004). The abolishing of the Vagrancy Act was also accompanied by a discussion on decriminalization of drugs (Finstad 2005).

Although the Parliament unanimously voted in favor of abolishing the Vagrancy Act, there were also voices in the political debate that feared the consequences of removing a ban on begging. For example the previous Governing Mayor of the city Government in Oslo, Erling Lae, feared that abolishing the ban on begging would make the city center less safe for vulnerable groups in society, such as for example the elderly (2005). The chief of Tourism in Oslo, Tor Sannerud, feared that more beggars would be visible when the Vagrancy Act was abolished; "*I fear that tourists will be met by a main street dominated by beggars*" (Olaussen 2005).

In 2005 the ban on begging was removed in Norway by a unanimous vote in Parliament. What changed in the political climate from 2005 until 2014 – only nine years later - when a new policy change introducing a municipal ban on begging was passed in parliament?

Although Norway is not a member of the European Union, many of the EU-policies apply to the country through the membership of the European Economic Area. The EEA provides for the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital within the European Single Market (Claes and Førland 2010). In 2004 and 2007, the EU was enlarged by twelve new member states, mostly from Central- and Eastern – Europe (EU 2016). Newspaper articles from 2014 point to the economic crisis in Eastern – Europe as the reason for the rising number of foreign beggars in Norway, and that this is what initially started a new debate regarding a reintroduction of a ban on begging (2014).

Another factor that may have influenced the policy change is the change of government. The previous government (from 2005 – 2013) consisting of the Labor party, the Socialist Left party, and the agrarian Center Party made it clear that they would not propose a ban on begging in 2013. The majority of the Parliament also dismissed a proposal on ban on begging at this time (Michaelsen et al. 2012). In 2013, the Norwegian people voted for a new government. The Conservative Party (Høyre) and the Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet) formed a minority government with support from the Liberal Party and the Christian Democratic Party. The government platform ("Sundvollen-erklæringen") included a reintroduction of a municipal ban on begging (Statsministerens kontor 2013).

2.2.3 The Reintroduction of a Ban on Begging

Naturally, following the formation of the new government and the new political platform, a proposition on a municipal ban on begging was passed in Parliament in 2014 with the support from the Conservative party, the Progress Party as well as the agrarian Center Party. In 2014 the majority of the Norwegian Parliament passed a new ban on begging, this time a possible ban on begging would be decided in the local governments (municipalities). The changes to the law of the Police Act from 1995 (Prop.83 L (2013-2014) §14 first paragraph of Section 8) (Lovdata 2014) made it possible for municipal or local governments to decide if they wanted to propose a ban on begging or not. The municipal ban on begging, however, was intended to be a transitional arrangement until a national ban on begging was supposed to be proposed in 2015 (NTB 2014). In the consultation process a range of organizations opposed to the proposed law, for example; The Norwegian Bar Association (Advokatforeningen), The Salvation Army (Frelsesarmeen), and the Church City Mission (Kirkens Bymisjon) were all opposed to a ban on begging. However, the Directorate of the Police in Norway was strongly in favor for a national ban on begging (NTB 2014).

With support from the agrarian Center Party (Senterpartiet), the government intended to implement a national ban on begging within the summer of 2015. The newspaper, Dagsavisen, interviewed Jenny Klinge (member of parliament for the Center Party) on why her party was in favor of a national ban on begging. She stated that her party views begging as closely related to other problems in society, for instance criminal activities, trafficking and exploitation (Unosen and Sæther 2014). When asked about a national ban on begging has anything to do with the Roma people, she stated the following (translated by author): "*The influx of foreign beggars have been large the last couple of years, and this may have been crucial for the issue of a ban on begging to surface. But I will not highlight certain groups or nationalities as the reason for the ban [on begging]*" (Unosen and Sæther 2014).

A national ban on begging was proposed by the Minister of Justice, Anders Anundsen in January 2015. The proposal included two different aspects. The first was to forbid organized begging, the second aspect was that the law proposal would criminalize people that facilitated this type of activity (Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet 2015). The agrarian Center Party, (Senterpartiet) had previously announced that they would support a national ban on begging. Re-introducing the ban had been part of their political program since 2009 (Senterpartiet 2009). The debate following the government proposal was intensely critical of the proposed

law and especially of the criminalization of the facilitators of begging. After barely two weeks of intense debate in the media about a national ban on begging, the Center Party decided it would withdraw its support for the proposed law. This meant that the governing parties no longer had support from the majority in parliament, and therefore the Minister of Justice withdrew the law proposal, and the law never made it to the parliament for processing (Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet 2015).

2.3 The Parties' Stance on a Ban on Begging

From the paragraph above, we can tell that the Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet), The Conservative party (Høyre), and the agrarian Center Party (Senterpartiet) are all originally in favor of a ban on begging. However, we see that the parties distinguish between a national ban, and a municipal ban on begging. Table 2.1 presented below shows an overview of the different parties' policy position toward a general ban on begging. The table is based on the parties that are currently represented at *Stortinget* (2013 -) and how they voted on the act of a municipal ban on begging, as well as what they have written about a ban on begging in their political programs from the previous election period 2009 – 2013 and the current election period 2013 – 2017.

Table 2.1 Voting on Municipal Ban on Begging 2014, Party Programs 2009 and 2013

Table 2.1 Voting on municipal ban on begging 2014, party programs 2009 and 2013			
Party	Voting in parliament	Party program 2013	Party program 2009
The Labor Party (Arbeiderpartiet)	Against	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
The Conservative Party (Høyre)	Pro	"Reintroduce the ban on begging to combat human trafficking and organized crime"	Not mentioned
The Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet)	Pro	"Reintroduce a ban on begging"	"Reintroduce a ban on begging"
The Christian Democratic party (Kristelig Folkeparti)	Against	"Dismiss a proposal about a ban on begging"	Not mentioned
The Agrarian Center Party (Senterpartiet)	Pro	"Reintroduce a ban on begging"	"Reintroduce a ban on begging"
The Liberal Party (Venstre)	Against	"Opponents of a ban on begging"	Not mentioned

The Socialist Left Party (SV)	Against	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
The Environmental Party the Greens (MDG)	Did not vote	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
(Norsk senter for forskningsdata (NSD) 2016)			

2.4 Summary

The review of Norway's treatment of the Roma minority throughout the last hundred years shows similar traits to the European treatment of the Romas; they were in general undesirable and persecuted. The Norwegian legislation clearly reflected these attitudes. When comparing the two debates concerning a ban on begging from 2004 and 2014-2015 we see that the political debate surrounding the abolishing of the Vagrancy Act first and foremost portrayed the drug addicts as beggars in the street. The main arguments used in the discussion about abolishing the Vagrancy Act were first and foremost that social policy measures should prevent people from begging rather than the criminal measures. The political debate surrounding the reintroduction of a ban on begging, on the other hand, portrayed foreign beggars, and often the Roma people as beggars of the streets in Norway. We also see that criminal activities, trafficking and exploitation was mentioned when the proposal of a national ban on begging was discussed in 2014. Due to the Center Party's withdrawal of the support for a national ban on begging, Norway has a municipal ban on begging, but not a national ban on begging. Until now only two local governments have introduced a ban on begging in their governing areas; Arendal and Lillesand (two relative small municipalities in the South of Norway). However, Arendal has already reversed the resolution on the ban on begging, thus there is no longer such a ban in place there (Arendal kommune 2015).

3.0 Theoretical Framework

This chapter reviews theoretical contributions and previous empirical findings that are considered significant to the research question. I argue that begging when considered as a political issue is closely related to both the immigration issue and the welfare issue. The theoretical framework presented here is found in the intersection between political science and political psychology. The chapter is divided in three: Firstly, the previous empirical findings and theoretical contributions are presented; secondly, the concept of stereotypes and the concept of begging are treated, and lastly, the chapter summarizes the factors that can be expected to influence public support for a ban on begging and highlights the explanations that will be the main focus of this thesis.

3.1 Previous Empirical Findings about the Roma and Begging in Norway

Despite considerable changes taking place over the last couple of years, both in the public debate and in policy reform, studies on the legislation of begging, as a political issue are almost non-existent. Begging is not a new phenomenon, and it is not unique to Norway. However, the Norwegian case regarding the begging legislation and changes in the public debate surrounding begging over the past ten years is, if not unique, at least certainly distinctive. By comparison, studies about prejudice against the Roma minority are more common. There are, however, surprisingly few published studies of the Norwegian case (For example; Adolfsson 2014, Bye et al. 2014, Moe 2012, Dalsklev and Kunst 2015).

Depictions of the Roma in Norwegian media often have a negative focus (Denne 2012). This is also confirmed by Dalsklev and Kunst (2015) who state that the increasing number of Romas coming to Norway over the past years has triggered a lot of focus on the Roma in the Norwegian media. They find that the Norwegian media's depictions of the Roma minority are drawn on generalized stereotypes and stigmatizing views about this group. One study even finds that the word "beggar" and "Roma" were treated as synonyms by the Norwegian media (Adolfsson 2014, 49).

In Norway, homelessness and begging among migrants are almost exclusively referred to in ethnic terms (Djuve et al. 2015). The Norwegian term used most often about the Roma minority is the rather recent Norwegian term "Romfolk" (Roma people).

Discriminatory attitudes toward the Roma minority are still widespread in the Norwegian population (Bye et al. 2014). By employing a stereotype contest model on the Norwegian case, Bye and colleagues find that:

> "*The 'lowest-of-the-low' in terms of stereotype content in Norway is the Roma people. (...) [this] suggests that Roma people also in Norway are at risk of substantial discrimination*" (Bye et al. 2014, 473).

Compared with other groups in the Norwegian society, the Roma people, drug addicts and Somali immigrants are groups associated with the most negative stereotypes in Norway (Bye et al. 2014, 474).

By the use of a survey experiment, Bjånesøy and Berntzen (2015) find that the Roma minority is one of the most discriminated groups when compared to other "out-groups" in society. For example the experiment shows that the Roma minority is considered far more negatively than the Muslim minority, and that the Romas are considered almost on equal terms as members of the controversial motorbike club Hell's Angels.

Previous research about the Roma minority in Norway is first and foremost a set of studies focusing on the perception of the Romas as portrayed in the Norwegian media (Adolfsson 2014, Dalsklev and Kunst 2015). Empirical research regarding begging legislation and the Roma minority is barely traceable. Djuve et al. (2015) is one honorable exception, however: Their study primarily focus on the migrants from Romania on the streets of the three Scandinavian capitals: Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm. While the legislation of begging in these three countries is portrayed as important, they do not focus on public support for the legislation.

Both Moe (2012) and Bye et al. (2014) show important findings regarding prejudice against the Roma in Norway compared to other groups in the Norwegian society. Currently there is no substantial previous research on public support for a ban on begging in Norway, or at least one might say, the topic is not the main focus of any of the previous research shown above.

3.2 The Concept of Stereotypes and Begging

   3.2.1 Stereotypes

Stereotypes, prejudice and racial attitudes are three different concepts. According to Gilens (1999, 78), stereotypes are rooted in cognitive constructions that affect our attitudes to a specific social group. Hilton and von Hippel (1996, 240) define stereotypes as *"the attitudes about the characteristics, properties and the behavior of members from certain groups."* Prejudice, on the other hand is more difficult to conceptualize. *"Prejudice is a complicated, broad, and cloudy concept"* (Jacobs 2000, 11). Although sociologist and social psychologist have wrestled with the concept of prejudice for a long time, they have been unable to agree on a single definition.

Gilens (1999, 78) points out that stereotypes can be negative and positive as well as neutral, but that they are characterized by the fact that they always include claims or allegations about group members (that can be true or false). However, the concept of stereotypes in itself has a negative association, regardless of whether the characteristic is a positive, neutral or negative feature, namely, because the nature of stereotypes includes claims or allegations about group members. Additionally, a stereotype with a positive characteristic may still be perceived as something negative for the individual that is being stereotyped by others. Some stereotypes can be developed from ones own experience with members from different groups, but usually stereotypes are attitudes and opinions that are shared among a given community and are based on the cultural community as a whole. They are often inherited from one generation to the next (ibid., 78).

Stereotypes and prejudice represent a somewhat contradicted theme in western societies: On the one hand studies find that many majority citizens have negative biases against immigrants, ethnic minorities, Muslims and other out-groups. On the other hand, however; western societies share a widespread societal norm to be against prejudice and stereotypes, and many citizens wish to conform to this norm by controlling their prejudice (Harteveld and Ivarsflaten 2016).

Stereotypes are automatically activated in the presence of a member of an out-group, however citizens who are motivated to control prejudice can bring this automated response in line with egalitarian beliefs (Devine 1989, 12).

3.2.2 Begging

Fawole, Ogunkan, and Omouan (2011) point out that in our daily language, "to beg" is to approach somebody for help. Although this definition provides a basic understanding of begging, it cannot be used as a working definition. Kennedy and Fitzpatrick (2001) define begging simply as "asking passers-by for money in a public space." This definition is not sufficient either, because it does not reflect all activities of beggars. For example, beggars may approach people not necessarily for money alone, but also for food, clothes and so on.

Engebrigtsen (2012, 16) emphasizes that begging has the same function as work does in general; obtaining a livelihood. Therefore begging is basically an income-generating activity. Further on, she claims that one might regard begging as a type of informal economic street activity. In this regard, she supports Adriaenssen's and Hendrickx' (2011) definition of begging, which emphasizes begging as informal work and complements the previous definition by Feige (1990: 994):

"We define begging as informal work in a public space. Consisting of a receiver asking for a non-reciprocated gift" (Adriaenssens and Hendrickx 2011, 24).

"Begging is informal work in that sense that is part of those economic activities that circumvent the cost and are excluded from the benefits and rights (…) of a formal society" (Feige 1990, 994).

These two definitions lay the foundation for begging seen as informal work. Following this definition, begging is viewed as an exchange of goods, were the begging is the work that is exchanged by payment. However, begging stands out from formal work, because beggars do not pay taxes or have the common rights as other workers do. Engebrigtsen (2012) also points out that begging can be viewed in a different matter, namely as an exchange of gifts. This differs from exchange of goods in the sense that a gift is seen as a way to maintain a relation between the giver and receiver, whereas a gift shall be returned by a gift. In the context of begging, Engebrigtsen (2012, 16) claims that the gift being returned is "reward in heaven," or a sort of remission of sins.

3.3 Theoretical Contributions

This thesis aims at examining whether negative stereotypes about the Roma people affect public support for a ban on begging. Due to the lack of empirical research regarding support for begging legislation and the Roma minority, we first and foremost need to figure out what type of theoretical framework is relevant. This part of the chapter presents a discussion regarding different frameworks that could be relevant to the thesis and its research question, and it is divided into two: (1) the welfare perspective, and (2) the immigration perspective.

3.3.1 The Welfare Perspective

Begging, as Fawole et al. (2011) points out, is to approach somebody for help, thereby, one might say that begging, in its nature, is related to a welfare issue, and also a poverty issue. Considering the political debate regarding the decision to abolish the Vagrancy Act in 2005, one might argue that begging legislation is closely related to the welfare field. In most of human history, the majority of people struggled just to obtain the basic necessities in life (Gilens 1999). Contemporary Norway is one of the world's richest countries and the Norwegian welfare system is comprehensive. In 2005, when the parliament of Norway unanimously legalized street begging, the debate leading up to this decision argued that begging was a result of the failure of the welfare state, and that no one should need to beg in Norway (see chapter two). Thus, one might conceptualize public opinion regarding the legislation of begging as a welfare issue.

As a consequence of being a member of society, everyone in Norwegian society is entitled to help and support from the welfare system if needed. However, with the entitlement for help, comes also the obligation to contribute to society, for example through paying taxes and fees. Both Sniderman et al. (2014) and Gilens (1999) claim that the crucial focal point is the relationship between the demands/entitlements and the obligation/duties. Further on, they both note that the order between demands and duty is of importance to the logic of the normative decision regarding who deserves the right to help and support ("deservingness"). Keep in mind that this distinction of "deserving" and "undeserving," is not a new phenomenon as explained in chapter two. This distinction was already adopted during the 16th Century in Europe.

Gilens' study on "*Why Americans Hate Welfare*" shows that Americans do not hate welfare in itself. In fact, they view welfare as a necessary and desirable task that the government should facilitate. However, what Americans dislike is the welfare given to those they assume are "undeserving" of the support (Gilens 1999, 2). This again is substantiated by widespread perceptions that welfare receivers would rather sit at home and receive money than work. Gilens argue that stereotypes play a significant role in generalizing the opposition to welfare in the United States, especially the stereotypes of Black Americans (1999, 3). Following this logic of the deservingness of welfare recipients, one might also relate other policies toward the "deserving argument."

Although the legislation of begging, without doubt, is related to welfare issues, this alone is not sufficient to explain public support for a ban on begging in Norway. The popular understanding of begging in 2005 (when begging was legalized) compared to the one in 2014 (when a new ban was introduced) and 2015 (when a new national ban on begging was discussed) has substantially changed. Both the recent public and political debates differ from the one in 2005. Hence, I present a discussion on whether public support for a ban on begging can also be conceptualized as an immigration issue.

3.3.2 The Immigration Perspective

Considering the significant change in the public debate surrounding a ban on begging from 2005 to 2014, I argue that in order to understand the public opinion toward a ban on begging one must see begging also an immigration issue. As chapter two showed, the history of the discrimination of the Roma minority in Norway is long. However, from 2007 and onward, a new "group" of Roma came to Norway. This group of the Roma people came from Romania. Romania became a member of the European Union in 2007. The streetscape changed during these years, and many cities, as well as other urban areas received a larger proportion of beggars. According to Brattvåg (2007) most of these beggars have a Roma background.

The literature on public perception of immigration is extensive. The field is (or at least it used to be) divided between those emphasizing economic explanations and those emphasizing cultural explanations. Those emphasizing economic variables often use realistic group conflict theory (McGann and Kitschelt 2005, Ivarsflaten 2005), while those emphasizing cultural variables often use social identity theory (Kriesi et al. 2008, Ivarsflaten 2005).

Although neither of these theories have been developed to look directly upon support for a ban on begging, they are proven to be important theories within the immigration field.

Economic Explanations – Realistic Group Conflict Theory

A common feature in the social sciences is the tendency to explain public opinion toward immigration in terms of concern about the economy (Ivarsflaten 2005, 22). One of the oldest beliefs is that conflict between groups are rooted in a clash of interests (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior 2004). Group interests can clash over a wide horizon of valued goods, including claims to social status and privileges. But in most realistic conflict interpretations, the core group conflict is the clash of competing economic interests (ibid, 35). As groups compete with other groups for limited resources, they learn to view the out-group as the competition, which then again leads to prejudice (Zárate et al. 2004, 100).

Although immigration may impact the economy in many ways, Hainmueller and Hiscox state that recent research has emphasized two critical economic concerns that could generate anti-immigrant sentiment among native citizens: Concerns about the labor market and fears about the fiscal burden on public services (2010, 62). The first economic concern points to the competition for jobs. If people believe immigrants take away jobs that would otherwise have gone to local citizens, they would be expected to have more negative attitudes toward immigrants. The second concern is somewhat broader. It points to the concern for the general fiscal burden on public services. This may include public education, health services, and various types of welfare assistance, as well as basic services such as police and fire protection, roads, parks and amenities, in addition to the immigrants' contribution to tax revenues (Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010, 64).

Realistic conflict explanations concentrate on social-structural sources of group difference. The key explanatory mechanism in this approach is the economic competition. Realistic group conflict theory assumes that the driving motive is a desire to be materially better off (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior 2004, 36).

Previous research finds that the media's portrayal of Romas in Norway is negative and almost synonymous with beggars. This thesis conceptualizes begging as informal work. However, I do not expect that people regard the Roma immigrants as competitors on the regular job market. The first economic concern regarding job competition is therefore not considered

relevant for this thesis. The second economic concern that points to the total fiscal burden on public services, however, seems like a reasonable explanation. Ivarsflaten (2005, 42) and (Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010, 79) find that cultural variables trump the economic variables. Although the cultural explanations are found to be a stronger explanatory factor than the economic explanations in previous research, the effect of the economic explanations versus the cultural explanations is not settled once and for all. For instance, Kriesi et al. argues that economic competition plays a significant role within support for immigration policies (2008). Hence, when treating support for a ban on begging as a question within the immigration field, we expect according to realistic group conflict theory, that economic downfalls or a bad perception of the national economy affect people's view on immigration policies, primarily because of peoples concern about the total fiscal burden on public services.

Cultural Explanations – Social Identity Theory

Social identity explanations concentrate on an array of group memberships. Contrary to the economic approach, the social identity approach takes the key explanatory mechanism to be group categorization (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior 2004, 36). As individuals we belong to many different groups. Some of these groups we are forced to belong to, while others we choose to belong to, and some we even actively choose not to belong to. There are also groups in which one is not allowed to be a member. The theory of social identity takes for granted that individuals have the need of self-evaluation. In order to think well of themselves, people need to think well of the groups they belong to. And, in order to think well of the groups they belong to, they must distinguish them from others groups. Further on, the theory states that to be able to distinguish the groups, they must place the groups they belong to in a favorable position and the other groups in an unfavorable position (Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007, 75).

Tajfel (1974) defines social identity as the following: *"… that part of an individual´s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership"* (Tajfel 1974, 69).

Social identity theory distinguishes between two categories: In-groups and out-groups. The whole existences of the in-groups are seen as a phenomenon that derives from the relationship between the "in-group" and its "out-groups" (Tajfel 1974, 67). Further on, Tajfel (1974, 69) claims that one must consider social categorization as a system of orientation, that creates and

define the individuals' own place in society. By categorizing people into either the in-groups or the out-groups, the differences between the in-groups are minimalized, the members are considered somewhat equal or similar, while the difference between the groups (the in-groups and out-groups) increases. This then reinforces the distance between the groups. The need to put the in-group in a favorable light hence assumes that one assumes that one's own group is superior. As a consequence of this, people tend to assign more positive characteristics toward their own group than to out-groups (Høie 2005, 56).

In order to enhance its own self-image, social identity theory suggests that the in-group will discriminate against the out-group, and that this is the core reason for prejudice views and the consequences that may follow. Stereotyping is based on a normal cognitive process, which is the tendency to group things together. In doing so we tend to exaggerate two things; firstly, the differences between groups, and secondly, the similarities of things in the same group (McLeod 2008).

Social identity theory proposes three processes involved in evaluating others. These processes are called social categorization, social identification, and social comparison (McLeod 2008). Table 3.1 displays these different stages, and of what they consist.

Social identity theory is an important contribution to the understanding of why people hold stereotypes and prejudices against minority groups in society. Throughout the history of Europe, the Roma minority has always been a discriminated group, and has traditionally been seen as an out-group by the majority (see chapter 2).

Table 3.1 Stages Explaining the Process of Stereotyping

Tab 3.1 Stages explaining the process of stereotyping	
Stage 1: Social Categorization	We categorize objects in order to understand them and identify them. In a very similar way we categorize people (including ourselves) in order to understand the social environment.
Stage 2: Social Identification	In this stage we adopt the identity of the group we have categorized ourselves as belonging to. We conform to the norms of the group with which we identify. One's self-esteem will become bound up with group membership.
Stage 3: Social Comparison	If our self-esteem is to be maintained our group needs to compare favorably with other groups. This is critical to understand prejudice, because once two groups identify themselves as rivals they are forced to compete in order for the members to maintain their self-esteem. Competition and hostility between groups is thus not only a matter of competing for resources like jobs, but also the result of competing identities.
(McLeod 2008)	

3.3.3 Summary

Public support for a ban on begging in Norway is closely related to both welfare issues and immigration issues. The social identity theory represents an important theory for why people hold prejudice and stereotypes toward other groups. While the realistic group conflict theory emphasizes the economic variables, social identity theory emphasizes the cultural variables within the immigration field. This thesis includes explanatory factors that correspond with theories mentioned above, as well as explanatory factors within the welfare field and the immigration field.

3.4 Factors Influencing Public Support of a Ban on Begging

In this section, I present the hypothesis and expectations for the further analyses. Several explanatory factors have been found to be of importance within the welfare and immigration fields. Although these factors are not specifically constructed for the research question of this thesis, I argue that they may be important to include in the analyses of the research question of this thesis. The immigration field can be divided into two dimensions: The cultural dimension and the economic dimension. I will primarily focus on five factors: The cultural factor, the economic factor, two welfare factors and general trust. Additionally I will include three socio-demographic factors that I expect will influence public support for a ban on begging. Firstly, the hypotheses related directly to the research question of this thesis will be presented.

3.4.1 Social Identity: Negative Stereotypes about the Roma Minority

Social identity theory gives a thorough explanation of why human beings hold stereotypes toward other groups in society. Gilens (1999) has already shown that attitudes about policy issues may be affected by stereotypes toward other groups. Additionally, previous empirical findings show that the Roma minority in Norway is closely associated with begging due to the media portrayal of the minority in recent years (For example; Adolfsson 2014, Denne 2012). Because of all of this, we find reason to believe that both negative attitudes, as well as negative stereotypes, about the Roma minority may affect the view on begging legislation. Given the research question of this thesis, the factors and hypotheses mentioned above and below are the main explanatory factors that are being researched in this thesis.

H1: *People who hold negative stereotypes about the Roma minority are more likely to be in favor of a ban on begging.*

H2: *People who express a negative attitude about the Roma minority are more likely to be in favor of a ban on begging.*

3.4.2 The Cultural Factor

Ivarsflaten explains support for restrictive immigration policies in the following way:*"The main driving force behind western Europeans' support for restrictive immigration and asylum policies is their concern about the unity of their national community. A large majority sees*

great value in maintaining or creating the dominance of one language, one religion, and one set of traditions. Moreover, those who think this way are very likely to support restrictive immigration and asylum policies, because they believe that minorities threaten this cherished unity" (Ivarsflaten 2005, 42). Previous empirical findings state that cultural explanations within the immigration field are the main driving force behind the support for restrictive immigration policies in Western Europe (McGann and Kitschelt 2005). People's view on whether cultural diversity is a positive or negative quality of a given society is an important factor also for this thesis, and I expect that opinion on cultural diversity might also affect the public opinion regarding a ban on begging.

H3: ***Respondents with positive attitudes toward cultural diversity are less supportive of a ban on begging.***

3.4.3 The Economic Factor

Although economic explanations are recently proven to be less 'important' compared to cultural explanations within the immigration field, there are still scholars who argue that economic competition and hence economic explanations are important factors within this field (Kriesi et al. 2008). Because the debate surrounding the economic factors versus the cultural factors is not settled, and because of the long tradition of including both cultural and economic variables within research in the immigration field, I choose to include an economic factor in my analysis. The realistic conflict theory states that most group conflicts are a result of the competition for limited resources, for example jobs. And although I do not necessarily believe that people view beggars as competitors on the job market, one can argue that fears about the fiscal burden on public services may be viewed as a limited resource. And therefore it is questioned who is deserving of it or not. Both Sniderman et al. (2014) and Gilens (1999) claim that the crucial focal point is the relationship between the demands and the obligations for the logic of the normative decision regarding who deserves the right to help and support within the welfare system.

H4: ***People who view the national economy as poor are more likely to be in favor of a ban on begging.***

3.4.4 Welfare factors: Political Ideology and Redistribution

Support for a ban on begging may be related to the welfare field. I therefore include two factors, political ideology as well as a redistribution factor, in addition to the economic factor explained above. The conceptualization of the traditional left-right axis, represented by a political left in opposition to a political right, is central in most democratic societies (Huber and Inglehart 1995), whereas the state-centered socialist parties are placed to the left, and market-centered conservative parties are placed to the right. The left-right axis is also a measure of the public-private dimension (Aardal 2011). In general, people who identify themselves with collectivistic values, as opposed to individualistic values, place themselves to the political left.

In short, we expect respondents who identify with the political left to want more welfare than those who identify with the political right. Political identity is often associated with a group affiliation and describes the ways in which being a member of a particular group might express specific political opinions and attitudes. Income inequalities in a given society are normal, however opinions on whether these should be reduced or not – by for example taxes or other measures – are disputed. It is also expected that people who identify with the left side of the political scale are more in favor of redistribution of resources. If, then, those who support more welfare also were less supportive of a ban on begging, we would expect that political left-identity and redistribution preference would lead to an opposition to a ban on begging.

H5: *People with a political orientation toward the right are more likely to be in favor of a ban on begging.*

H6: *People who think that the state should reduce income inequality are more likely to be less in favor of a ban on begging.*

3.4.5 Other Factors and Demographic Factors

In addition to the factors mentioned above, a general trust measurement is commonly used within the immigration field. According to previous research (See for example; Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior 2004, Ivarsflaten 2005) the role of trust is found to be important when analyzing the public opinion regarding immigration policies. One assumes that attitudes

toward immigrants can be related to the general trust individuals have in other people in society. If one is suspicious and afraid of other people, this might be a personality attribute that increases the likelihood of this person's willingness to restrict immigration policies (Ivarsflaten 2005, 34).

Also demographic factors such as level of education, age and gender are found to be important factors when researching public support for immigration policies.

Education
Scholars argue that people with higher education are more likely to favor liberal immigration policies than people with lower education (McGann and Kitschelt 2005, Ivarsflaten 2005). Kitschelt claims that "*higher education predisposes individuals toward a more libertarian view of community than the view held by less education individuals*" (1994, 17). The 'Losers of globalization' hypothesis put forward by Kriesi et al. (2006, 922) argues that the groups most vulnerable to competition from immigrant labor will most strongly oppose immigration and ethnic diversification. Because those who are vulnerable to competition in the job market often are those with jobs that require less education, we expect that lower educated people may be more in favor of restrictive immigration policies. However, as mentioned above, we do not necessarily expect the Roma immigrants to be regarded as a threat in the job market, because they have been so closely related to beggars in the Norwegian media. However, Moe (2012, 32) showed in her findings that the higher educated respondents were more positive toward all groups included in the study (Americans, Catholics, Jews, Poles, Pentecostals, Muslims, Somalis and Roma people) compared to lower educated respondents. Thus, we expect that higher educated people are more likely to be against a ban on begging, compared to people with a lower educational level.

Age and Gender
Two socio-demographic variables have been found to affect policy preferences regarding immigration policy, namely age and gender (Ivarsflaten 2005). In general, previous research has found that women tend to support more inclusive policies than men, and younger people are more prone to support liberal immigration policies than older people (McGann and Kitschelt 2005). We expect to find differences among age groups in this thesis; however the gender variable needs to be explained more thoroughly.

There are strong theoretical explanations for why women are expected to be more motivated to control prejudice than men, and hence vote differently than men when it comes to immigration policies. For instance, women have been argued to place more importance on interpersonal relations (Gilligan 1982), and generally women have scored higher on empathy than men (Macaskill, Maltby, and Day 2002, 664). Additionally, women as a group may have a self-interest to fight all sorts of prejudice, because of the past and previous gender discrimination (Harteveld and Ivarsflaten 2016).

Moe (2012) reports significant differences in attitudes between the genders in her study of attitudes toward different minorities in the Norwegian society. We thereby expect to find differences among gender also in this thesis. However, a recent study by Harteveldt and Ivarsflaten finds that although women have higher MCP (motivation to control prejudice), women as a group do not always support a more liberal immigration policy (2016,14). The same study also found that in the Norwegian case, the gender gap in the vote for the radical right party, the Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet), is to be explained by traditional means based on differences in ideology rather than motivation to control prejudice (Harteveld and Ivarsflaten 2016).

Although the recent study by Harteveldt and Ivarsflaten found that the gender gap within the immigration field is not as simple as previous research suggest, I (at least as a base line) still expect to find differences among genders in this thesis. A ban on begging represents a policy change that can be considered a change in a direction of not controlling the motivation for prejudice. Thus, we expect that women are more prone to be against a ban on begging, but – because this policy change is not only supported by the Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet), but also other parties such as the Conservative Party (Høyre) and the agrarian Center Party (Senterpartiet), one might expect the gender gap not to be as significant as in other immigration policies.

4.0 Methodology and Data

This chapter describes the data and methodology used to answer the research question of this thesis. I start by presenting the choice of data in this thesis, as well as the reasoning behind the choice of the Norwegian Citizen Panel. Further, I present the methodology including the quantitative approach, ordinal logistic regression model as well as model assumptions, and include a section concerning population-based survey experiments. At last, I present the operationalization of the dependent variable and independent variables used in the analyses as well as the operationalization of the survey experiment.

4.1 Choice of Data - Survey Data

The research question of this thesis is directly connected to the attitudes of citizens in Norway. This makes survey data ideal for answering the research question. In my thesis I use a national survey. National surveys contain more questions and more observations than international surveys, but an unfortunate consequence of this choice is that it creates challenges when wanting to compare across countries. However, as the research question for this thesis does not aim to compare across different countries, I believe that I will benefit more from a national survey. Additionally, due to the thesis association with the EAA and Norway grant project "Less Hate More Speech," it was natural to look to the Norwegian citizen panel.

4.1.1 Norwegian Citizen Panel

The Norwegian Citizen Panel (NCP) is an online-survey infrastructure started in 2013 at the Social Science Faculty at the University of Bergen. The NCP is based on a probability sample of the general Norwegian population above the age of 18. Recruitment was conducted in November 2013 and October 2014 by postal recruitment. Only invited individuals may participate. The panel currently consists of about 5000 active participants. The response rates and representativity of the panel used in each round is described in detail in the methodology reports prepared after each wave of the data collection. These reports are available online at NSD and DIGSSCORE's main website at: http://digsscore.uib.no.

4.1.2 Response Rate and Representativity of NCP Wave 5

Wave 5 of the NCP used in this thesis involves data collection from existing members of the panel. The data collection was conducted during the months of October and November 2015

(Skjervheim and Høgestøl 2015, 2). In total, the wave 5 survey received 5451 answers. NCP has 10247 panel members. Many of them have not actively opted out of the panel, but have silently withdrawn by not participating in the surveys. The overall response rate for wave 5 is 62 %. 1453 respondents have not participated in wave 3 – wave 5. If included in the calculation of response rate, these respondents would arguably give an artificially low rate. Hence, these 1453 respondents are not included in the calculation of response rates given (for more insight regarding the response rate see appendix table A.5 and the full methodology report) (Skjervheim and Høgestøl 2015, 3).

The total sampling frame of the survey equals to the Norwegian population above the age of 18, comprising a population of approximately 3.9 million individuals. There are two main challenges concerning the representativity of the fifth wave of the NCP. The first factor concerns the access to and familiarity with the Internet. (Given that the NCP is a web-based questionnaire, and no other options are made available). The second challenge concerns the motivation and interest of the respondents.

The first challenge is strongly related to the age composition of the survey respondents. Although Norway has a high computer and Internet density, the probability of having the skills as well as an e-mail address decreases with increasing age. The second challenge, concerning motivation and interest among the respondents, is often explained by the respondents' level of education. Previous reports as well as the report for wave 5 document a systematic underrepresentation of respondents belonging to the two lowest educational groups. This result is independent of age and gender. The underrepresentation is especially strong for young men, and as expected, individuals with education from university or university colleges are overrepresented. Additionally, the age group between 18 and 29 years are underrepresented in the net sample of wave 5. The age groups 30 – 59 years, and 60 years and above, are both overrepresented. Possible explanations for this are that the younger age group (18 – 29 years) is less loyal to the NCP, and the panel has aged since new members last were recruited (Skjervheim and Høgestøl 2015, 7).

Because of the observed biases in the survey, weights have been calculated in order to compensate for these. The weights are equal to the relation between a given strata in the population and the total population, divided by the relation between a given strata in the net sample and the total net sample (Skjervheim and Høgestøl 2015, 9). Two different weights

have been calculated; Weight 1 is based on demographical variables only (age, gender and geography), Weight 2 combines the demographic variables with education (respondents with missing data on the education variable are only weighted on demography, the education component of the weight is in these cases set to 1). When applied, both weights will provide a weighted N equal to the number of the respondents included in the survey. According to Skjervheim and Høgestøl, out of all the factors considered, level of education provides the most bias (2015, 10). Hence, they recommend to use Weight 2 in all statistical analyses, as this weight provides the most accurate compensation for the various sources of bias in the net sample (Skjervheim and Høgestøl 2015). I have therefore used Weight 2 in the descriptive analyses (if not other is specified), and as for the regression analyses, I have included the demographic variables as well as the education variable, hence an extra set of weight is not necessary.

4.1.3 Needs and Availability

In order to answer the research question of this thesis it was necessary to obtain survey data that was 1) is available, or could become available 2) is representative of the Norwegian population, and 3) includes those indicators that can be applied for hypotheses-testing and as control variables.

The first need concerns the availability of data. Due to the support from the "Less Hate More Speech"-project, the data needed for this thesis, that did not exist, was made available by formulating my own survey questions in the NCP wave 5. Hence, the main reason for choosing the NCP was this possibility to formulate the missing survey question I needed in order to answer the research question of this thesis.

The second need concerns the representativity of the survey data. As already mentioned the NCP are representative of the Norwegian population (note, however, the representativity challenges mentioned above). The NCP includes a lot of variables and control variables that were suitable for this thesis. Additionally, NCP is one out of very few national surveys in Norway that have conducted survey experiments regarding attitudes toward minorities in Norway previously, and thus has experience about this particular area that has been valuable for this thesis to build upon.

4.2 Open-ended Survey Questions

One of the survey questions used in this thesis is an open-ended survey question. There are advantages and disadvantages of using an open-ended question. The advantages are that the participants of the survey can respond to the question exactly as they would like to answer it. They are free to express themselves however they want to, and the researcher does not place any limits on their response. Another advantage is that the respondents can be as detailed as they would like (Sincero 2012). An open-ended question also has disadvantages. It takes more time to answer an open ended question, and although some respondents may have no problems articulating such an answer, not all respondents may feel comfortable with these types of questions, and some might even struggle to answer them. Additionally, when including open-ended questions in a survey, one needs to be aware of the potentially time-consuming work needed to prepare the data for analysis. All these concerns limit the number of open-ended questions the researchers can include in one survey (Sincero 2012).

Another concern regarding open-ended questions is how the survey is designed altogether. In the NCP wave 5, it was crucial to present the open-ended question regarding the Roma minority and begging before the remaining questions about the Roma people. This was important because some of the remaining questions concerning the Roma people could influence the respondent's answers in the open-ended questions. So to avoid biased answers in the open-ended survey questions, these two questions were the first questions asked about the Roma people in the survey.

There are also disadvantages and advantages of open-ended question when concerning the analysis of the data. The advantage of an open-ended question is that the data being collected is more detailed and allows the researcher to investigate the meaning of the responses, unlike in a closed-ended survey question, where the respondents are required to choose a response that (may) not exactly reflect their answer, and where the researcher cannot further explore the meaning of the responses. The disadvantage of choosing open-ended survey questions is that they are very time-consuming to analyze. In addition, it is difficult to both code and interpret the answers.

In order to overcome the difficulties related to coding and interpreting the answers, I have carefully developed a code manual. The coding of the data received from the open-ended survey experiment has to be done manually, and is meant to create an overview through

simplification and compilation of the contents of the texts. By implementing a systematic coding, the researcher herself develops categories that will lay the foundation for deeper analysis.

4.3 Quantitative Approach

This thesis aims to examine the attitudes toward a minority, the Roma people, and which political consequences these potential negative attitudes have regarding the public support for a national ban on begging. A quantitative approach is used in this thesis. Quantitative research is an important tool to visualize and highlight group hostility and negative attitudes. Quantitative approaches give one the opportunity to measure the effect one phenomenon has on another, while other explanations are kept at a constant level (Midtbø 2007, 97). Additionally, a quantitative approach opens for the possibility to research a high number of observations and units at the same time (George and Bennett 2005, 25, Ragin 1987, 59-60). George and Bennett (2005) argue that a potential weakness with the quantitative approach is the relations to the objects being researched. In quantitative methods this relation is distant, but as long as the research question and the methodological choices are strongly embedded in the theoretical framework one can ensure good validity.

4.4 Descriptive Approach

Descriptive statistics are suitable to obtain an overview of the data material. Descriptive analyses may highlight patterns and deviations, and additionally they make the data material more understandable for the reader. Descriptive analyses are frequently used in analyses of survey data. Even though many scholars see regression analysis as the superior analysis, there is a lot to learn from the data by the help of descriptive statistics (Midtbø 2007). All the descriptive analyses used in this thesis have been weighted, if not other is specified.

4.5 The Logistic Regression Model

In my thesis I handle several independent variables. For this reason regression analysis is used to process many variables at the same time. The purpose of this is to research the hypotheses' robustness, and the variables' relative explanatory power to other phenomena affecting public support for the legislation on begging. The most suitable type of regression model essentially depends on the data of the study. This thesis makes use of cross-sectional data from a survey. The dependent variable is made up from a seven-point scale and describes the respondent's

opinion regarding a ban on begging. The variable is the claim that "begging should be prohibited in Norway," and the seven values range from $1-7$[5]. Although the dependent variable is made up of values with a clear range to each other, it is not possible to measure the distance between them. This is because the level of measurement is at an ordinal level, and thereby it is not possible to quantify the distance between each value (Midtbø 2007). Midtbø (2007, 33) states that variables that are situated at an ordinal level usually are referred to as non-metric variables, and that such variables cannot be used in normal regression analysis (linear regression). When dependent variables are categorical the most used statistical techniques are logistic or probit. The two approaches are very similar, and differences in results are very small. Selecting logistic regression over probit in this thesis should therefore not affect the results. The results from logistic regressions can be estimated either as odds ratios or as logged odds. Because the regression model is non-linear, no approach to interpretation can fully describe the relationship between a variable and the outcome (Long and Freese 2006, 157).

The choice of what type of regression model depends on the data and the dependent variable. In this thesis I have chosen to use an ordinal regression model. Because the dependent variable is situated at an ordinal level, I believe this is the most correct model to use, however, there are many examples of linear regression being used for these types of data as well, and scholars disagree on whether ordinal variables can in some cases be used as metric variables. For instance Midtbø states that an ordinal variable that includes more than six to seven values should be able to function as a metric variable, and hence, should be possible to use in regression models that require metric variables (2007, 33).

4.5.1 The Ordinal Model

When dependent variables are ordinal, a binary logistic regression is not sufficient because it relies on S-shaped outcomes. The ordinal logistic regression model differs from the binary model. One difference is that an intercept or constant is reported for the binary model, while a cut point in the ordinal regression model replaces the constant. However, the predicted probabilities as well as the slope coefficients are the same under either parameterization (Long and Freese 2006, 187). The ordinal regression model is non-linear, and the magnitude

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[5] The variable #r5dv29_1 found in the Norwegian Citizen panel ranges from 1-7, where the value 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = agree somewhat, 4 = neither agrees nor disagrees, 5 = disagree somewhat, 6 = disagree, 7 = strongly disagree.

of the change in the outcome probability for a given change in the dependent variable depends on the levels of all the independent variables (Long and Freese 2006, 183).

The standard formula for the predicted probability in the ordinal regression model can be written as:

Pr (y= m ∣ χ) = F (τm − χβ) − F (τm−1 − χβ)

Where F is the cdf (cumulative distribution function) for the error term ε. In ordinal logit, F is logistic with Var(ε) = π2/3. For y = 1, the second term on the right drops out because F (-∞- χ β) = 0, and for y = J, the first term equals F (∞- χ β) = 1 (Long and Freese 2006, 185).

4.5.2 Model Assumptions

The ordinal logistic regression model comes with assumption. The assumption of the parallel regression is implicit (Long and Freese 2006, 197). One assumes that the relationship between each pair of outcome groups is the same. This is also called the proportional odds assumption. Explained further, one can say that the assumption is that that the relationships between the independent variables and the logits are the same for all the logits. That means that the results are a set of parallel lines – one for each category of the outcome variable. Each probability curve differs only in being either shifted to the left or right. That is they are parallel as a consequence if the assumption that the β s are equal for each equation (Long and Freese 2006, 198).

The second assumption for the ordinal regression model states that the error term should have independent variation (Skog 2004, 380). This assumption is, in most cases, fulfilled if the data are selected through random sample. The data used in this thesis have been selected through random sample, and I thereby assume that this assumption is fulfilled at a satisfactory level. The third assumption within the logistic regression model concerns the independent variable and the error term, which states that these two should be uncorrelated. The relationship between the dependent and independent variables should not be caused by any underlying factors (Skog 2004, 381). This assumption is the same as in linear regression, and equally to the linear regression, this is also the assumption that is most difficult to prove empirically. A multivariate model increases the reliability that the results are not spurious, but essentially, the most important remedy for spuriousness is a solid theoretical foundation and operationalization of the variables included in the analysis (Skog 2004, 381).

The model chosen for this thesis is ordinal logistic regression. I will, however; also run linear regressions, in order to test whether the results stay robust also when specifying the model differently. In that way I can control that the model specification chosen is not crucial for the main findings to remain significant.

4.6 Population-based Survey Experiments

A population-based survey experiment uses survey-sampling methods to produce a collection of experimental subjects that is representative of the target population of interests for a particular theory. Mutz (2011, 1) defines the term "population based survey experiment" as an experiment that is administered to a representative population sample. By design, population-based survey experiments are experimental studies that draw on the power of random assignment to establish unbiased causal inferences (Mutz 2011, 3). Survey experiments are not necessarily a new feature to social sciences. However, the Internet has greatly increased their potential. Internet-based interviews open up possibilities for graphics, photographs, and video as part of the experimental treatments (Mutz 2011, 7).

Mutz claims: "*as long as the perceptions, behaviors, or attitudes of human beings are of interests, and the researcher's goal is to test a causal proposition of some kind, population-based survey experiments are likely to be valuable, in particular so, if the study is one that would benefit from combining the internal validity of experiments with the external validity of representative population samples*" (2011, 5).

Survey experiments have several advantages. By the use of a survey experiment the researcher exposes randomly selected respondents to randomly assigned treatments. One of the key advantages of this is that the researcher can assign both *large* and *diverse* samples to experimental conditions of their choosing (Mutz 2011, 10). With a large sample comes greater statistical power. This makes it possible to identify more subtle differences between experimental groups (Mutz 2011, 11).

4.7 Operationalization of the Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in the regression analysis is named r5dv29_1 in the NCP original data from wave 5 (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015). In the analysis I have renamed the variable "begging."

The variable consists of a claim that reads: *"Begging should be prohibited in Norway,"* and the respondents are asked to consider seven different answers composed as a 7-point scale[6]. Additionally, as in all other surveys the respondents are free to choose not to answer the question. Respondents who did not answer the question are omitted from the regression analysis.

For the final analysis using ordinal logistic regression, I have recoded the variable to range from 0 – 1, still making up a seven-point scale, whereas 0 stands for "strongly disagree" and 1 stands for "strongly agree." By reversing the scale it is easier to interpret the results in the final analyses.

4.8 Operationalization of the Independent Variables

This section presents the independent variables of this thesis, and how they are operationalized in the further analyses. Additionally, the two different approaches to measure stereotypes and negative attitudes are presented in this part of the thesis.

4.8.1 Stereotype Measurement - A Classic Traditional Approach

In order to research whether stereotypes about the Roma minority exist in Norway, I have developed a stereotype measurement based on previous literature (Moe 2012, Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007). I have carefully developed six claims based on the literature that states the most common stereotypes about the Roma minority (See for example; Liégeois 2007, Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012).

The survey questioning is: "Below is a list of statements that have been made about Roma people. As you see it, how true or untrue are these statements?"

- Roma people are particularly gifted artistically
- Roma people do not want to work
- Roma people are criminals
- Roma people are family oriented
- Roma people are honest

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[6] The respondents are coded as 1 if they answer 'strongly agree', 2 = 'agree', 3 = 'agree somewhat', 4 = 'neither agree nor disagree', 5 = 'disagree somewhat', 6 = 'disagree', and 7 = 'strongly disagree'.

■ Roma people have always created problems in the country they live in
  (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015).

The respondents are asked to range on a 5-point scale to what degree they find the claim to be correct. The scale goes from 1 to 5[7]. In addition the respondents can either choose not to answer, or make use of the exit option[8] (see ethical considerations below). In the descriptive analyses weights have been added to compensate for observed bias, based on the demographic variables age, gender, geography and education.

Ethical Considerations

Because of the nature of the design of the survey questions, the respondents are asked to consider these six attributes of a specific minority group; the Romas. This implies that there of course are ethical issues to consider. When studying the attitudes toward a specific minority group, the researcher should be aware of the dilemmas within this type of research. One does not wish to design a survey question that reinforces or indirectly legitimizes the existence of negative attitudes toward this minority or reinforce the perception of group stigmatization within a population. An important discussion regarding the design of these survey questions was therefore to include an "exit-option" ("impossible to answer"), so that the respondents were free to mark their distance toward the group structures and the questioning. In this way the respondents who become uncomfortable answering a question about certain characteristics of a specific group, can choose not to answer the question at all.

4.8.2 Stereotype Measurement – An Original Approach

The second approach to measuring stereotypes includes an open-ended survey question. In order to use this data for statistical analysis, I have coded the respondents' answers carefully into metric values according to a strict code manual. Extractions from the respondents' answers function as an important addition to the quantitative analysis by creating a more pictorial presentation of the data.

The open-ended survey questions are part of a survey experiment, and are made up of two different treatments. The respondents are randomly divided into two different groups, whereas

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[7] The values take on the following labels: 1 = extremely true, 2 = largely true, 3 = somewhat true, 4 = hardly true at all, 5 = completely untrue.
[8] The exit-option is the value 6, and takes on the label "impossible to answer."

one of the groups will be asked, "What do you think about when hearing the word 'beggar'?" (r5rom1a) and the other group will be asked "What do you think about when hearing the word 'Roma people'?" (r5rom1b). In this thesis the second treatment "Roma people" (r5rom1b) is of interest. Considering how this second measurement concerning negative attitudes about the Roma minority originally is formed as an experiment, with two different treatments: "Roma people" and "beggar" - only half of the sample will be presented in this approach (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015).

Figure 4.1 Screenshot of R5rom1b
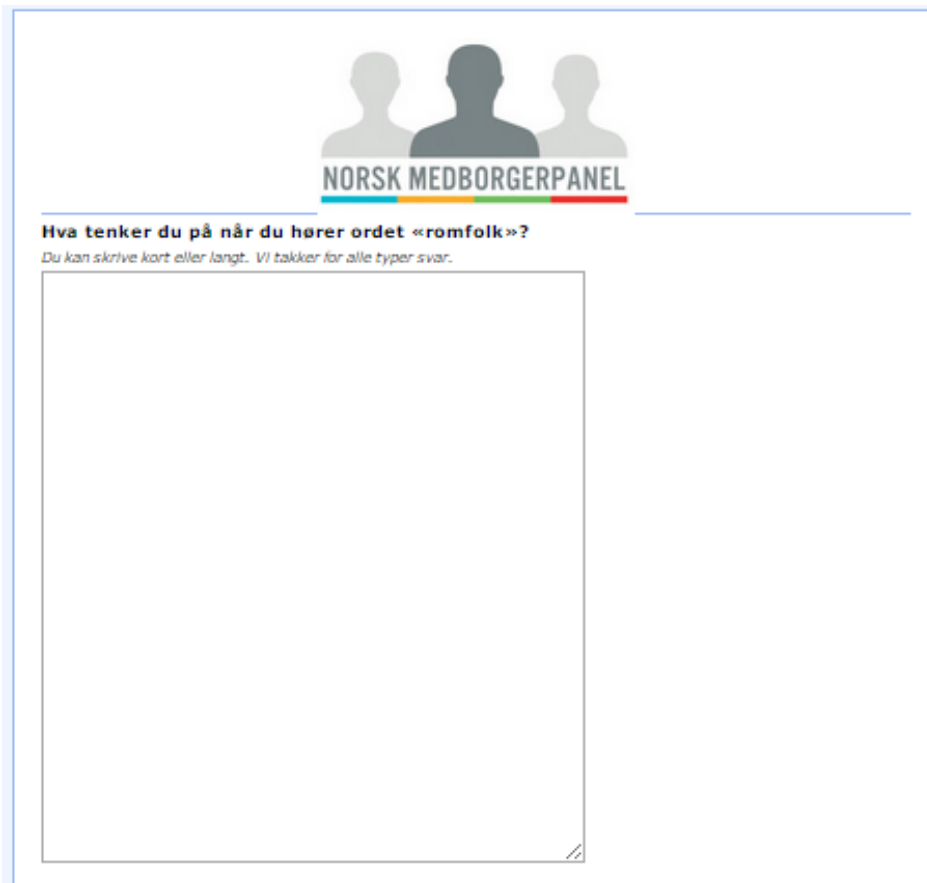
Figure 4.1 displays how the survey question was asked to the respondents. Note that the text box is large. This was done in order to motivate respondents to write full-length answers.

Three categories were developed from the answers respondents gave to this survey question concerning their general attitude. The general attitude categories are the following: Negative, positive, or neutral - and they are mutually exclusive. A respondent may have a positive attitude toward the word "Roma people" ("romfolk"), while others may have a clearly

negative or simply a neutral attitude. If a respondent expresses both a negative and a positive attitude the respondent in question will be placed in the neutral category. The open-ended questions are valuable in that sense that one receives a spontaneous reaction from the respondents.

In this thesis the category named "negative" is used in further analysis as a dummy variable. I have chosen a rather strict requirement for a respondent to be coded as 1 in the variable "negative," for example in cases where respondents who mention "beggar" when asked about their spontaneous reaction toward the word "Roma people" ("Romfolk"), this is not necessarily coded as negative, but rather neutral. In order to be coded as negative (cf. receive the value 1) the respondents must clearly express negativity toward the "Roma people" (See table 4.1 for code manual extraction, or appendix for full code manual).

Table 4.1 Extractions from Code Manual

Table 4.1: Extraction from code manual, classification for the category of general attitude		
General attitude	Negative	Respondent shows a negative attitude, by using negative words. Such as: Thugs, bandit, parasitism, crimes, etc. Or that the respondent him/herself mentions his or her negativity toward this word.
	Positive	Respondent shows a positive attitude. For example by mentioning positive words, or that the respondent her-/himself mentions her or his positive attitude.
	Neutral	Respondents are classified as neutral if neither negative nor positive attitudes are portrayed in their answer, or that the respondents describe both negative and positive attitudes.

4.8.3 Diversity – A Cultural Factor

Previous research, as outlined in chapter three, has shown that a cultural explanatory factor is important to include when analyzing support for immigration policies. Therefore I have included a cultural explanatory factor in the analyses in this thesis. In the NCP we can find a suitable variable that measures the attitude toward a diverse society. The variable r5dv31_2 consists of a statement: "It is better for a country if there is a diversity of different religions and beliefs" (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015). The variable consists of a seven-point scale that ranges from 1 to 7[9]. For statistical purposes I have recoded the original variable, reversed it and ranged it between 0 – 1. Higher values thereby indicate greater acceptance, whereas lower levels indicate lower acceptance of the statement. The recoded variable is called "diversity1" in the statistic analyses in this thesis.

4.8.4 Economic measurement – An Economic Factor

A common explanatory measurement within the immigration field is the general perception of the national economy. The variable named r5k10 found in the NCP asks the question: "How do you perceive the current economic situation to be in Norway? Do you think it is" (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015). A seven - point scale ranging from 1 to 7[10], makes up the variable. In the statistical analysis I have chosen to recode the original variable. I have reversed the scale, and ranged it from 0 – 1, whereas the higher level indicates a more positive perception of the national economy, and the lower level indicates a more negative perception of the national economy.

4.8.5 Political Identity and Redistribution – Welfare Factors

In order to measure the welfare factors concerning political identity and redistribution, I have chosen to include two different types of variables found in the NCP. First, a variable that asks the respondents to place themselves on the 'traditional' political scale, whereas 0 represents the far left, and 10 represent the far right (r5k8_1)[11] (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015). I have recoded

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[9] R5dv31_2 takes on the values 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = agree somewhat, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 5 = Disagree somewhat, 6 = disagree, 7 = strongly disagree.

[10] R5k10 takes on the values 1 = very good, 2 = good, 3 = quite good, 4 = neither good nor bad, 5 = quite bad, 6 = bad, 7 = very bad.

[11] R5k8_1 asks the question: "In politics people often talk about the 'left wing' and the 'right wing.' Below is a scale where 0 represents those who are politically on the far left, and 10 represents those who are politically on the far right." The values range from 0 to 11.

the variable, but it is still presented as an 11-point scale that ranges from 0 to 1. I have named this new variable "ideology." Note that although standardized, this variable is not reversed, meaning that higher levels represent a placement to the right of the scale, and lower levels represent placements to the left of the scale.

The second variable used in this thesis to measure the welfare factor of redistribution is r5dv31_1. This variable is formed as a statement that reads: "The government should contribute toward reducing income differences in society" (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015). The respondents are asked to what degree they agree or disagree with the statement. The variable ranges from 1 to 7. I have recoded the variable to take on the values ranging from $0 - 1$, and reversed the scale, so that higher levels indicate higher acceptance of the statement, and lower levels indicate lower acceptance of the statement. The recoded variable has received the new name "inequality."

4.8.6 General Trust

To measure general trust, I have used the variable r5k15_1. This variable consists of the question: "Would you say that most people in general can be trusted, or do you think that one cannot be careful enough when dealing with others?" The respondents are asked to range their opinion based on a scale from 0 to 10, whereas 0 represents "one cannot be careful enough" and 10 represents "most people can be trusted" (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015). I have recoded the variable, to range on an 11-point scale from 0 to 1, whereas the closer to 1, the more trust in other people the respondents have. The new variable is named "trust1."

4.8.7 Demographic Variables

Three demographic variables are included in order to display a bigger picture together with the independent variables. I have included the control variables named education, age, and gender. The discussion in chapter three presents the reasons for why these control variables are included. Below is a table that presents the coding of the different control variables.

Table 4.2 Operationalization of Control Variables

Table 4.2 Operationalization of control variables		
Variable (original name in NCP):	*Survey question:*	*Coding:*
Education (r5p4_1)[12]	"What is your highest accomplished education?"	1 = No education/ Primary school 2 = High school 3 = University/College
Age (r5p5_2)	"Please enter: your age"	1 = 18 – 29 years old 2 = 30 – 59 years old 3 = 60 and above
Gender (r5p1)	"Please enter: your gender"	1 = male 0 = female
(Ivarsflaten et al. 2015)		

4.9 Operationalization of the Social Distance Experiment

In order to research how the view on the Roma minority compares to that of other minority groups in the Norwegian society, I have chosen to perform a survey experiment. This experiment is based on the classic measure of social distance from Bogardus (1925). The idea is to create a measure of how different groups in society are viewed compared to each other. This experiment is not directly designed to investigate ethnic hierarchies because I have only a handful of indicators, but I argue that the experiment in itself can provide valuable insight on how Norwegian citizens view the different groups compared to each other, and most importantly compared to the Roma minority.

The survey experiment is based on random assignment: Randomly selected respondents are assigned to randomly assigned treatments. The treatments in this survey experiment are Spaniards/Roma/Poles/Muslim. Each respondent is randomly selected to answer either questions about Spaniards, Romas, Poles or Muslims and the preferred social distance toward the group assigned. Questioning: *To what degree would you like or dislike the scenario where (Spaniards/Roma/Poles/Muslims) (became your neighbors/come to Norway as immigrants/became part of your family)?*

The respondents are asked to consider 7 different answers ranging from 1-7[13] (Ivarsflaten et al. 2015). Because my main goal in this survey experiment is to examine the different out-

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[12] Note that the variables education and age have not been standardized.

groups compared to each other and particularly compared to the Roma minority, and not necessarily the different social distance measurements in itself (the measurement of social distance is just in place to see how citizens view the out-groups compared to each other), I implement an index, which makes the experiment more rigid. The social distance between the three categories (neighbors, immigrants and part of one´s family) will therefore not be distinguished, but rather looked upon combined. A Cronbach's alpha is used in order to assess the reliability of a summative rating scale composed of the variables specified (Cronbach 1951).

4.9.1 Reliability – Cronbach's Alpha

A reliability coefficient demonstrates whether the test designer was correct in expecting a certain collection of items (variables) to yield interpretable statements about individual differences (Cronbach 1951). Nunnally (1978) has indicated that a score of 0.7 is to be considered an acceptable reliability coefficient. The higher the score the more reliable the generated scale is. When performing the Cronbach's alpha in the constructed index of the social distance measure, I receive scores higher than 0.7 in all specified variable scales. This thus implies that an index is fair to use.

4.9.2 Validity – The Importance of Randomization

Randomization is important for both internal and external validity. A research design that consists of randomly selected respondents displays more external validity than research designs in which respondents are not randomly selected. The NCP consists of purely randomly selected respondents and present a representative sample (note, however, the challenges concerning representativity in NCP wave 5 section 4.1.2). This is important for the external validity for the survey example of social distance.

A high internal validity is obtained by continuing the use of randomization. For an experiment it is important to randomly assign the respondents to each of the separate treatments. In this way one ensures higher validity than if one were to pre-determine selection factors (Mutz 2011, 3). The NCP makes sure to randomly assign respondents to each treatment. The survey

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[13] The values of the variables r5rom3a-d: 1 = very much dislike, 2 = dislike, 3 = dislike a little, 4 = neither like nor dislike, 5 = like a little, 6 = like, 7 = very much like.

experiment constructed for this thesis draws on the power of random assignment to establish unbiased causal inferences.

4.10 Summary

Chapter four presents the methodological choices made in this thesis as well as the data choice and the operationalization of the data. The thesis makes use of different methods and approaches that complement each other, and in this way lays the foundation to come to more substantial conclusions and rigid results.

5.0 Results: The Presence of Stereotypes

In order to answer the research question of this thesis, we need to examine whether Norwegian citizen hold stereotypes about the Roma minority. There are reasons to believe that Norwegian citizens hold negative stereotypes toward the Roma, both due to the historical and comparative perspective (see chapter two), and as shown in multiple European reports that consider the Roma minority a vulnerable group in the European society (See for example; Agency for Fundamental Rights 2012). Although we have reasons to believe that stereotypes about the Roma minority exist among the Norwegian citizens, we do not know this for sure, or to what degree. This chapter examines this through multiple measures. Firstly, a classical stereotype measurement is examined, thereafter an original measurement, and thirdly, a survey experiment comparing four different groups in society is included. The descriptive question of whether citizens of Norway hold negative stereotypes about the Roma is an important part of the analysis in this thesis and of its contribution to our knowledge in this field.

5.1 Discussion of the Classical Stereotype Approach

The first approach is based on how previous literature and research have measured stereotypes toward a group. Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007) performed a study that is similar to the first approach of this thesis: They went through a list of attributes and asked the respondents one by one if they applied to most members of specific minorities (in this case Turkish immigrants, Moroccan immigrants, refugees, and Surinamese immigrants). The participants of the study were asked about eight possible characterizations of minorities: Honest, slackers, selfish, intrusive, law-abiding, complainers, violent, and inferior (Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007, 47). Although similar in some ways to this thesis' approach, the approach performed by Sniderman and Hagendoorn was constructed as a survey experiment. My approach builds on this experiment, but is more similar to Moe's approach (2012). Moe constructed a measurement of Norwegians' beliefs and attitudes toward Jews. By constructing survey questions including different claims that presented both anti-Jewish attitudes (based on the historical context as well as the political context) and positive portrayals of Jews, Moe constructed a measurement of stereotypes. In all, the respondents are asked to consider ten different claims that previously have been put forward about Jews (Moe 2012, 22).

My first approach consists of six different survey questions (see chapter 4) based on some of the common stereotypes of Roma presented in the literature (see chapter 2). The purpose of these survey questions is to research whether or not Norwegian citizens hold negative stereotypes toward the Romas, and if they do so - how strong these negative stereotypes are. Note that the attribute "honest" as well as "artistic" can be viewed as positive attributes. The previous literature states that Romas are often perceived as dishonest, or not trustworthy (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012). "Honest" as an attribute must therefore be seen as a reversed stereotype of the Roma. Artistic function as a positive attribute, however, interestingly is also one of very few positive stereotypes about the Romas. The purely negative attributes implemented in the survey questions are the following: Roma people are criminal, Roma people only create problems in the countries they live, and the Roma people do not want to work. The characteristic of being family oriented needs further explanation. Although being "family oriented" in most cases would serve as a positive characteristic (etc. spends time with their children, good parents and so on), I am rather unsure if this is the case regarding the Roma. According to previous research of the Norwegian media's portrayals of the Roma (Denne 2012, Adolfsson 2014) as well as the fact that Rosvoll and Bielenberg (2012) has noted that the media have linked the Romas to Mafia tendencies, we might expect that respondents view the characteristic of "family oriented" rather as a negative characteristic than a positive characteristic. This characteristic is therefore stated to be an ambiguous stereotype, meaning that it can be both positive and negative.

5.2 Results of the Classic Stereotype Approach – Discovering Stereotypes

Table 5.1 shows the percentage of the total number of respondents who have chosen the values "extremely true" or "largely true" to the stereotypes put forward in the survey question. This is a restrictive interpretation that does not count the respondents who have answered "somewhat true" as holding substantial negative stereotypes. The disadvantage of this restrictive scoring is that I may underestimate the share holding negative stereotypes somewhat, while the advantage is that I am certain that those who are classified as holding stereotypes toward the Roma minority in this analysis are firstly willing to say that they do (by not choosing the exit-option), and secondly are willing to say that they find the statements to be largely true, or even extremely true. I am aware that respondents answering differently may hold stereotypes as well, but because they have answered more cautiously to the

question, I choose to give them the benefit of the doubt – meaning that until further analysis they are not classified as holding substantial stereotypes about the Roma minority.

Table 5.1 Stereotypes about the Roma People – exit-option included

Table 5.1 Stereotypes about the Roma people – exit-option included. "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements issued about the Roma people?" (Weights included).	
Characteristics	Respondents who answered "Extremely true/largely true," in percent (%)
Roma people do not want to work	23
Roma people have always created problems in the country they live	16
Roma people are criminals	15
Roma people are particularly gifted artistically	5
Roma people are dishonest*	14
Roma people are family oriented	43
N = 1349 (listwise deletion) NCP wave 5, 2015	

Between 5 and 43 percent of the respondents are classified as holding the different stereotypes about the Roma minority. Note that one of the listed stereotypes, namely that the Roma people are honest (marked with star), functions as a reversed stereotype. The stereotype was contra-stereotypical when presented to the respondents. In this case the 14 percent shown in table 5.1 are the percentage of respondents who choose the answer "completely untrue" to the claim that "Roma people are honest."

Figure 5.1 Distribution of Stereotypes about the Roma Minority
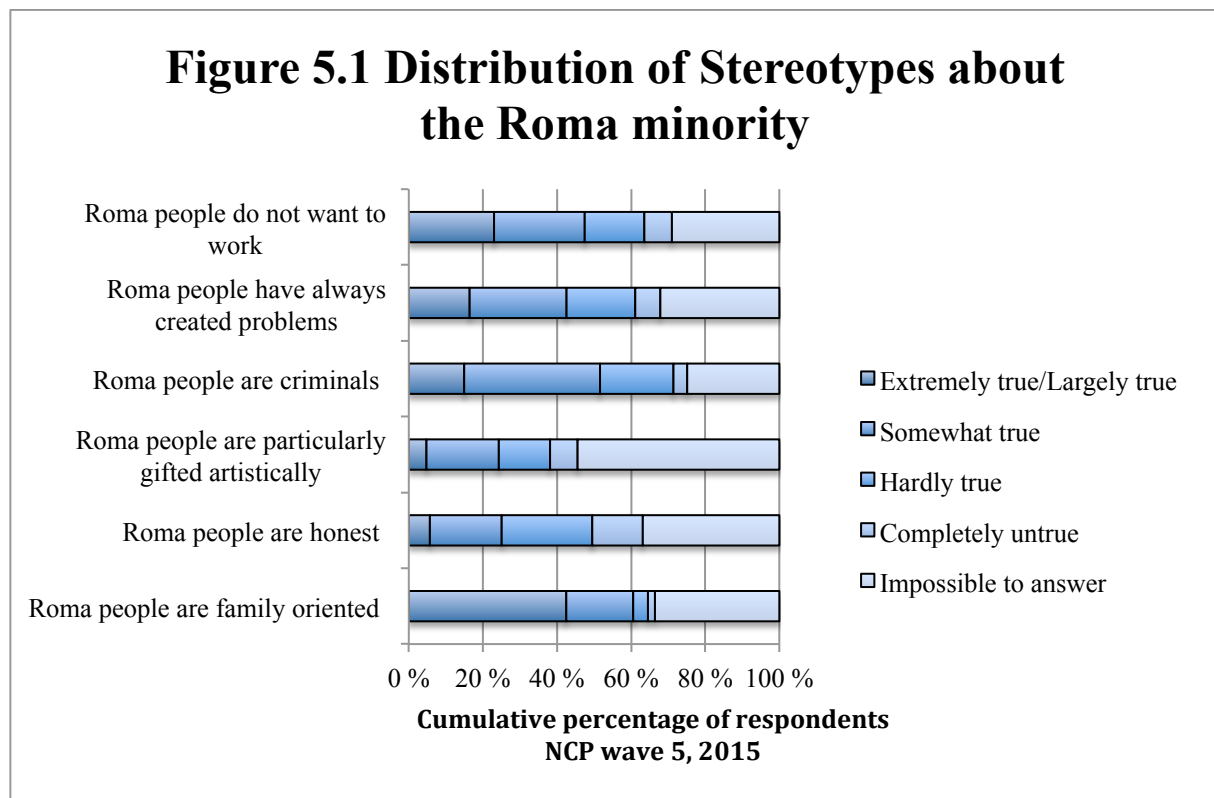
Figure 5.1 shows the total distribution for all the respondents and how they answered to the survey questions entailing different claims about the Roma minority. A striking feature of the results is the number of respondents who have chosen the "exit-option." In all six attributes a large proportion of the respondents have chosen "impossible to answer." There might be various reasons for why many of the respondents found these questions "impossible" to answer. It is reasonable to think that respondents who have chosen the exit-option do not agree with the premise of the survey question, namely the categorization of a people based on their ethnicity.

There are also other possible reasons for why people have chosen the exit-option, for example this could imply that people in general do not find these questions interesting, or possibly the respondents have an unwillingness to express negative attitudes toward the Roma. Another possibility is that the respondent feels that he or she does not have the necessary knowledge it takes to answer such questions. Although there are other explanations for why people have chosen the exit-option, it is reasonable to assume that the respondents who have chosen this are rather unwilling to categorize other people based on these claims. The exit-option was included in this survey question out of pure ethical considerations, however, the results

presented and the percentage that have chosen this option show that this way of posing the question offers important additional information.

Figure 5.1 and table 5.1 describe the Norwegian citizens' stereotypes about the Roma minority. We can divide the six different characteristics into three different types of stereotypes: 1) *Negative stereotypes* – Roma people do not want to work, Roma people have always created problems in the country they live, and Roma people are criminals. 2) *Positive stereotypes* – Roma people are particularly gifted artistically, and Roma people are honest (negative when reversed). 3) *Ambiguous stereotypes* – Roma people are family oriented.

5.2.1 'Negative' Stereotypes

Table 5.1 and figure 5.1 show that the negative stereotype about Roma people not wanting to work is found to be true by one fifth of the respondents. The results shown in figure 5.1 shows that a large number of the respondents have chosen the exit-option when answering this question. Table 5.1 tells us that 23 percent of the respondents answering this question are classified as having substantial stereotype about the Roma minority regarding their willingness to work. Although the results show that the stereotype about the Roma people wanting to avoid work is one of the characteristics that the highest percentage found to be true (to an extreme or large degree), the result is not necessarily surprising. This is confirmed by previous literature which has found this to be a very common stereotype about the Roma people (Rosvoll and Bielenberg 2012).

When comparing the results about the claim that Roma people do not want to work to the other two negative stereotypes presented here (Roma people have always created problems in the country they live and Roma people are criminals) we see some shared features. Firstly, a large proportion of the respondents have chosen the exit-option also on these questions (see fig. 5.1). Additionally, about 15 to 16 percent of the respondents have answered that these stereotypes are extremely or largely true, and by this thesis' criteria are classified as holding substantial stereotypes about the Roma minority. A third similarity is that all three of the negative stereotypes share the feature that only a small proportion of the respondents actively disagree with the claim and find it "completely untrue."

The common negative stereotypes presented in the previous literature, namely that Roma people create problems, do not want to work and are criminals, seem according to the results presented above to be evident among Norwegian citizens. However, only about one fifth of the respondents show substantially negative stereotypes (finding the stereotypes to be extremely or largely true) when asked directly in a survey such as this.

The claim "Roma people are honest" is without doubt a positive characteristic, however, as mentioned above it functions as a reversed stereotype in this stereotype measurement. The claim is presented in a contra-stereotypical way to the respondents, and because of this it may affect the results. Table 5.2 below shows the distribution of the respondents answer to this particular claim.

Table 5.2 Distribution of Respondents, "Roma people are honest"

Table 5.2 Distribution of respondents, claim: "Roma people are honest" (Weights included).	
	Percentage (%)
Extremely or largely true	6
Somewhat true	19
Hardly true at all	24
Completely untrue	14
Impossible to answer	37
N = 1349 **NCP wave 5, 2015**	

5.2.2 'Positive' Stereotypes

One of the very few characteristics of the Roma presented as a positive stereotype is that they are particularly artistically talented. As one can see in fig. 5.1 showing the total number of respondents asked about the claim that Roma people are artistically talented, over half of them chose the exit-option. At first, it might be difficult to understand why a higher percentage of the respondents chose the exit-option on this item. However, there might be many possible reasons for why respondents chose the exit-option particularly frequently on this question. In addition to the reasonable thought that respondents do not wish to categorize people based on their ethnicity, a possible explanation may also be that respondents do not have the knowledge they feel is necessary in order to answer the question. Table 5.1 showed that only 5 percent of the respondents found the claim that the Roma people are artistically

talented to be true (either extremely or largely so). The interesting feature, in my opinion, is that 17 percent of the respondents have said that the claim is "completely untrue" (see fig.5.1). Compared to the negative stereotypes this is a larger number. One can also ask whether these results are because the respondents disagree with the actual claim or if this may represent a distancing to the Roma people as a group, and therefore reluctance to see positive characteristics. Social identity theory may explain the results along those lines.

5.2.3 'Ambiguous' Stereotype

The claim "Roma people are family oriented" functions as an ambiguous stereotype. This claim can both be viewed positively and negatively. This makes it harder for the researcher to interpret. Compared to the other claims, fig.5.1 shows that the claim about Roma people being family oriented does not stand out when it comes to the percentage of the respondents who have chosen the exit-option. The power of ambiguity may explain why this claim receives such a large proportion of support from the respondents. Due to the difficulties connected to whether or not "family oriented" can be interpreted as a positive or a negative characteristic, respondents may be more prone or willing to express their support for the claim, and hence a rather large proportion of the respondents are classified as holding this stereotype about the Roma minority.

5.2.4 Summary of the Classical Stereotype Approach

The first approach uses new data (from NCP), but not a new approach in order to find out whether or not Norwegian citizens hold stereotypes toward the Roma minority. The result from the first approach confirms the thesis' expectations, namely that the Norwegian citizens seem to hold negative stereotypes toward the Roma minority. However, this is not found to be a phenomenon of the majority.

5.3 Results of the Original Stereotype Approach

In addition to the classic stereotype measurement, as presented above, I have included an original measurement of how Roma people are viewed by the Norwegian citizens. The original approach uses open-ended survey data and has been interpreted and coded by the researcher manually. Three categories have been developed based on the general attitude presented by the respondents in their answers to the question "What do you think about when

hearing the word 'Roma people'?" Despite having enforced a rather strict coding on whether or not a respondent is to be categorized as "negative" within the general attitude categories, we see from table 5.3 that almost 30 percent of the respondents express a negative attitude toward the word "Roma people."

Table 5.3 Distribution of General Attitude

Table 5.3: Distribution of General Attitude (weights not included)			
	Values	%	N
Negative	1	29	185
	0	71	451
Positive	1	3	19
	0	97	617
Neutral	1	68	429
	0	32	207
N = 636			
NCP wave 5, 2015			

Due to the nature of the survey question (open-ended), the responses from the respondents vary. I did, however, when analyzing the data according to the code manual, find some similarities. When asked what one thinks about when hearing the word "Roma people," respondents often describe common stereotypes about the Roma minority. For example, several respondents described the Roma people as criminals. One respondent writes:

- *"(…) A group of people who live on the side of our society and do not manage to integrate themselves here. Support themselves mainly through begging, **stealing**, prostitution and other forms of **crimes.**"* (Marked and translated by author).

Another respondent writes the following:
*"Beggars. Poor people. **Criminals.**"* (Marked and translated by author).

Table 5.4 shows the distribution of respondents within the criminal category. 13 percent of the total number of respondents who answered this question have mentioned criminal activities in their answers. Considering the fact that the answers of the open-ended question are

spontaneous reactions to the word "Roma people," 13 percent mentioning criminal activities is considered a quite high percentage.

Table 5.4 Distribution of Respondents within the Category "Criminal"

Table 5.4: Distribution of respondents within the category "criminal" (weights not included)		
Criminal	%	N
1	13	80
0	87	556
N = 636 NCP wave 5, 2015		

Some of the respondents emphasize other stereotypes. Dishonest is also a common stereotype that the respondents repeat in their answers. For example two respondents write (marked and translated by author):

- *"**Dishonest** and thugs."*

- *"Beggars and thieves and **dishonesty.**"*

Some respondents use various terms and synonymous for dirty or unhygienic in their responses (marked and translated by author). For example:

- *"Gypsies, freeloaders and **unclean.**"*

- *"Begging, crime, ringleaders, **dirty**, poor, zero respect."*

Others emphasize the work ethic or use different words to describe the Roma people as lazy and unwilling to work (marked and translated by author), for example:

- *"Gypsies that **do not work**, but burden the society. Many of them steal or work illegally without paying taxes."*

- *"A people **unwilling to work**. They always try to deceive you."*

- *"People who beg and steal and are **lazy** human beings who are **not interested in working.**"*

Some of the respondents also mention that the Roma immigrants are hard to integrate or emphasize the difference of culture (marked and translated by author), example:

*- "Thinking not necessarily of "refugees." Beggars. Nomadic people not interested in working/get a job. Poor work ethic, based on a **different culture** than the typical Norwegian."*

*- "A people who does **not want to integrate** in the society, rather keep their own traditions."*

A very small minority of the respondents emphasized the positive stereotypes of the Roma people (marked and translated by author), for example:

*- "Unfortunately, I am thinking of beggars, however I know that this is a stereotype I have been inculcated with. **Colorful and free.**"*

*- "**Colorful** skirts and camping life."*

*- "A people that does not wish to commit to anything regular, but rather want the **freedom** to move around."*

*- "**Music.**"*

5.3.1 Summary of the Results in the Original Stereotype Approach

The second approach found that a substantial part of the respondents show a negative general attitude when asked about the word "Roma people." However, similarly to the first approach this is not a majority phenomenon. One needs to notice that this result is based on qualitative interpretation by the researcher using a very strict criterion in order to be labeled 'negative' (see chapter 4). Due to the strict criteria implemented, one could suppose that there might be a higher proportion of Norwegian citizens with negative attitudes toward the Roma minority, than presented in this approach. The second approach also found that common, historical stereotypes about the Roma (see chapter 2) were repeated, for example the stereotype of Roma people being criminal. Although the second approach is an original and new approach to the field of stereotype research, we do see similarities between the first and second approaches, and when looking at the results one can indeed draw similar conclusions from both approaches.

5.4 Summary of Both Approaches – Discovering Stereotypes by Classic and Original Means

The two approaches employed in order to find out whether or not Norwegian citizens hold negative stereotypes about the Roma can be summarized in three core insights. Firstly, the

insight that negative stereotypes about the Roma people do exist in contemporary Norway. Secondly, the insight that such negative stereotypes are not necessarily a majority phenomenon. Thirdly, these results are found both when using the traditional closed-ended list of attributes approach and when using the less common open-ended associations approach. This last insight is a valuable methodological contribution to the research field of stereotypes. The most prominent criticism regarding stereotype research where close-ended survey questions are used is that the questions and the answer options will trigger respondents to be more prone to accept the stereotypes, in this way making the results biased. The second approach shows that when respondents have the opportunity to write in their own words, a significant number of respondents clearly and willingly share their negative beliefs and stereotypes. Both approaches found that negative stereotypes occur.

However; another important factor to keep in mind is that as in all research concerning minority groups, respondents may not necessarily express their own true views and opinions, rather state what they assume is politically correct, or socially desirable norms. There are on the other hand researchers within the field of stereotyping and racial attitudes that find this problem to be exaggerated. For example Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007, 49) state the following: "*It has become a cliché that people will not express derogatory views of minority groups for fear of being labeled racist. So far as we can tell, this cliché owes its plausibility to the force of repetition.*" Additionally, Internet-collected survey data, such as the NCP, may allow more honest views and opinions because of the distance to the researcher. It might be easier to give your true opinion when answering online than when answering directly to a researcher's personal presence or over the phone. When comparing the two different approaches, and given their similar result, I agree with Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007). Nevertheless, it may still be possible that these results are affected by the bias that occurs when respondents provide the socially desirable answer instead of their true opinion.

We know from previous research that stereotypes and prejudice may lead to discrimination (Bye et al. 2014). Additionally, social identity theory predicts that negative stereotypes may lead to discrimination. We know from the results presented above that a large proportion, although not a majority, of Norwegian citizens hold negative stereotypes about the Roma minority.

The results above have given us valuable insights on how Roma people are stereotyped by Norwegian citizens. How the Roma are viewed compared to other groups in society is regarded in the survey experiment.

5.5 Social Distance Experiment - Consequences of Stereotypes

The social distance experiment follows the classic "in-group" and "out-group" logic of the social identity theory. The idea of the experiment is to compare some groups in society and use the combined social distance measure to obtain knowledge about how the different groups are viewed comparatively to each other. I choose to include four different groups: Roma, Spaniards, Poles, and Muslims.

Bjånesøy and Berntzen (2015) found through a survey experiment regarding apartment rental that Norwegian citizens discriminate the Roma people in a larger extent compared to other groups in the Norwegian society. Their results show that the Roma people stand out as the most discriminated ethnic minority, and that the gap between the Roma people and Muslim minority is substantial (2015).

Figure 5.3 shows the direct effects of the social distance experiment. The results show us that out of all the groups in question, the Roma people stands out as the group most respondents would prefer to have the largest social distance from. This corroborates with previous research that portrays the Roma minority as particularly disadvantaged in Europe today.

Figure 5.2 Direct Effects in Social Distance Experiment
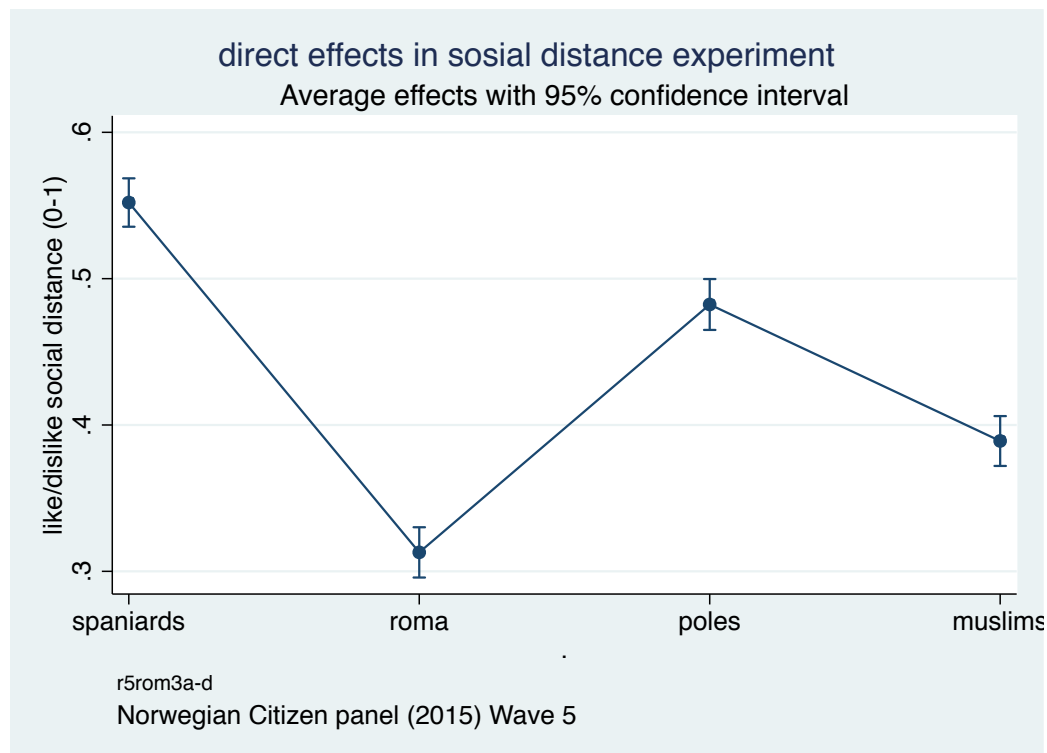
Question wording: *In what degree would you like or dislike the scenario where (Spaniards/Roma people/Poles/ Muslims) (became your neighbors/came to Norway as immigrants/became part of your family)?*

In order to see the Norwegian citizens preferred social distance to the Roma compared to other groups, it was important to construct this experiment in such a way that other out-groups in society were included. Despite the fact that Muslims are not an ethnic minority, rather a religious minority – this group is included in the experiment because it functions as an out-group of the Norwegian society (See for example; Moe 2012, Bye et al. 2014, Bjånesøy and Berntzen 2015). Note that the more negatively framed words "Poles"[14] and "Spaniards"[15] have been used in this experiment instead of the more neutral wording "Spanish people," "Polish people," or "people from Spain" and "people from Poland." This was first and foremost done so that the respondents were invited to think about them as groups. Additionally because the term Roma people ("Romfolk") has been found to be negatively portrayed by the media, using the more negatively phrased words about the other groups included in this experiment accordingly may prevent increased differences.

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[14] "Polakker" in Norwegian
[15] "Spanjoler" in Norwegian

Spanish people in this case also represent a minority, however, not (necessarily) an out-group. The Spanish are an important part of this experiment because they represent a western-European country, and in that way can function as a group that Norwegian citizens may relate to as an in-group. People from Poland are in this experiment likewise important because this group represents the Eastern part of Europe, a group the Norwegian citizens perhaps may not relate to as closely as people from Spain. Considering the theory of social identity, one expects that respondents are more in favor for greater distance toward Eastern-European citizens than Western-European citizens due to historical reasons as well as cultural differences. Also, one expects that the respondents are more likely to prefer an even greater distance toward out-groups in society such as Muslims compared to Eastern-Europeans. This can be explained by the social identity theory.

As expected, we can see from figure 5.3 that respondents prefer less social distance to Spaniards than Poles, and that they prefer greater distance toward Muslims and the Roma minority. Note especially the finding that the respondents prefer greater distance toward the Roma than to the Muslims – despite the fact that Muslims are known to be an out-group in the Norwegian society.

5.5.1 Summary of the Results from the Social Distance Experiment:

The results from the social distance experiment works as further evidence of many Norwegian citizens' negative views of the Roma minority, and particularly so compared to other groups in society – including Muslims, a minority (and out-group) in the Norwegian society. The results are consistent with the one Bjånesøy and Berntzen (2015) found, although the distance found between the Muslim minority and the Roma minority in my results is not as substantial as in theirs. The results are also consistent with the expectations of social identity theory. The results from the experiment clearly tell us that the Roma minority is viewed as an out-group in the Norwegian society.

We already know that a noticeable proportion of the citizens of Norway holds negative stereotypes toward the Roma minority. The social distance experiment has shown that on average citizens of Norway prefer a substantial social distance between themselves and this particular minority group – also when compared to other groups in society. This furthermore

leads to the conclusion that the Roma minority is a vulnerable group in the Norwegian society.

5.6 Summary

Chapter five has given us valuable and substantial insight into how Norwegian citizens view the Roma minority. The different approaches presented in this chapter have shown that a substantial share of Norwegian citizens, although not the majority of the Norwegian citizens, holds negative stereotypes about the Roma minority. The social distance experiment has additionally shown that Norwegian citizens on average prefer a larger social distance to the Roma minority than to the three other groups in society included in the experiment.

6.0 Results and Discussion: Factors Influencing the Public Support for a Ban on Begging - the Political Consequences of Stereotypes about the Roma Minority

While the last chapter showed descriptive presentations of how the Norwegian citizens view the Roma minority, this chapter starts by providing a descriptive presentation of how the Norwegian citizens view a ban on begging. Additionally this chapter presents regression analyses designed to evaluate whether or not support for a ban on begging is influenced by the negative stereotypes about the Roma minority documented in the previous chapter.

6.1 Support for a Ban on Begging in Norway

Figure 6.1 presents the distribution of the public opinion for a ban on begging in Norway. The results clearly show that a majority of the respondents support a ban on begging. Almost 60 percent strongly agree, agree or agree somewhat to the claim that begging should be prohibited in Norway. This is a large number, and the numbers shown in figure 6.1 below show clearly that being in favor of a ban on begging is a majority phenomenon.

Figure 6.1 Distribution of Support for a Ban on Begging in Norway

Figure 6.1 Distribution of support for a ban on begging in Norway

Claim: "Begging should be prohibited in Norway"
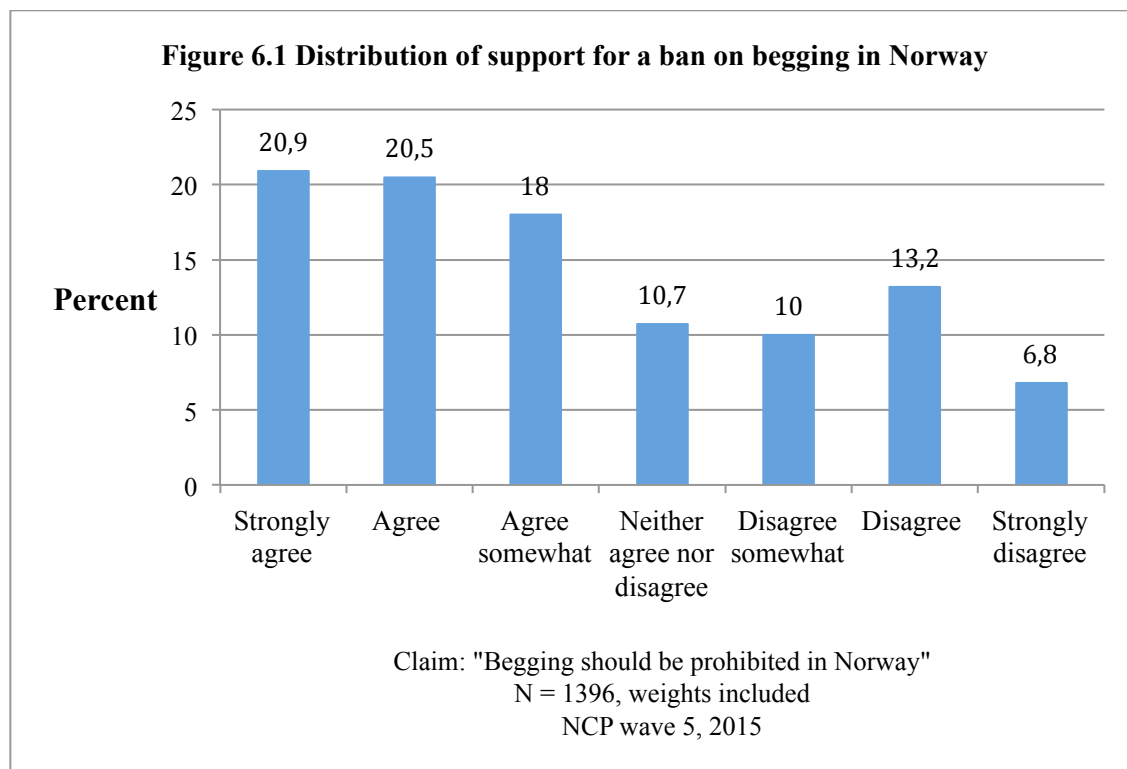N = 1396, weights included
NCP wave 5, 2015

Figure 6.1 shows that only about 11 percent of the respondents neither agree nor disagree, and about 30 percent strongly disagree, disagree, or disagree somewhat with the claim that begging should be prohibited in Norway. Compared to the results from the previous chapter, we find that a larger proportion of Norwegian citizens are in favor of a ban on begging than we find as expressing negative stereotypes about the Roma minority. A further analysis of the relationship between negative stereotypes and support for the ban on begging will be presented in the following sections.

6.2 Results of the Ordinal Regression Analyses

This section presents the results from three different ordinal regression models[16]. The first models (model 1A and 1B) keep the respondents who chose the exit-option on the stereotype items in the analyses; the second models (model 2A and 2B) exclude respondents who chose the exit-option. The third and final models use the measure of negative attitudes toward the Roma minority constructed from the open-ended survey question (model 3A and 3B). Before going directly to the results of the models, I present a short section about how the stereotype index in models 1A, 1B, 2A and 2B is operationalized, and how the models differ.

6.2.1 Negative Stereotype Measurement – Index Variables

The measurements of stereotypes in the first two tables (table 6.1 and 6.2) are coded as index variables. The three claims that are classified as negative stereotypes: "Roma people have always created problems in the country they live," "Roma people are criminals," and "Roma people do not want to work" are combined to an index variable[17] named "stereotypes." The exit-option is included in the first two models, model 1A and 1B, but coded as missing in model 2A and 2B. The new variable that measures the negative stereotypes is made up by a 17-point scale (in model 1A and 1B) and a 13-point scale (in model 2A and 2B), both ranges illustrated from 0 – 1. The stereotype variables are reversed, meaning that the closer the respondents are to 0 the less negative stereotypes they hold against the Roma minority, while respondents who are closer to 1 hold more negative stereotypes toward the Roma minority.

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[16] The main results found in these ordinal regression models are also found to be significantly robust when running a linear regression model and hence the choice of regression model does not affect the robustness of these results. However, the linear regression models are not portrayed in this thesis due to shortage of space.

[17] I have used a Cronbach's alpha measurement as well as a factor analysis in order to check whether an index variable is safe to use. The results of the factor analyses can be found in the appendix.

The reversion of the variables makes the results easier to interpret in the ordinal regression analysis.

6.2.2 Model 1 – Including the Exit-option

Table 6.1 shows the results for model 1 (A and B). These models keep the respondents who chose the exit-option on the stereotype items in the analysis. The population sample consists of 1265 observations.

Table 6.1 Factors Explaining Support for a Ban on Begging

Table 6.1 Factors explaining support for a ban on begging, Model 1A and Model 1B - exit-option included.		
	MODEL 1A	**MODEL1B**
Variables	begging	begging
Stereotypes	2.974*** (0.200)	1.820*** (0.216)
diversity1		-2.143*** (0.214)
ideology1		1.765*** (0.292)
trust1		-0.732*** (0.270)
economy1		-0.536* (0.279)
inequality		-0.852*** (0.246)
2.age		0.829*** (0.162)
3.age		0.429** (0.179)
gender		-0.145 (0.105)
2.education		-0.201 (0.201)
3.education		-0.425** (0.192)
Constant cut1	-1.696*** (0.132)	-4.174*** (0.449)
Constant cut2	-0.252** (0.098)	-2.526*** (0.436)
Constant cut3	0.331*** (0.096)	-1.823*** (0.433)
Constant cut4	0.891*** (0.097)	-1.144*** (0.432)
Constant cut5	1.753*** (0.106)	-0.125 (0.432)
Constant cut6	2.997*** (0.128)	1.303*** (0.433)
N	1265	1265
LR chi2	(1) 234.60	(11) 569.79
prob > chi2	0.0000	0.0000
Pseudo R2	0.0491	0.1192
Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 **NCP wave 5, 2015**		

The exit-option was originally included in the survey question out of ethical considerations. In order to interpret the results found in model 1, we would have to interpret the respondents

65

who have chosen the exit-option as the most opposed to stereotypes. Hence, model 1 represents an interpretation where we exclude all other reasons for why people may have chosen the exit-option, except the fact that they have done so in order to distance themselves as much as possible from the claims asked about the Roma minority.

The main findings from the results presented in table 6.1 are shown in Model 1A, namely that negative stereotypes matter to a strong extent to the support of a ban on begging. Model 1B shows that also when including other explanatory factors - as were argued in chapter three to be of importance - negative stereotypes matter to the support of a ban on begging. Model 1B shows that with one unit increase in the stereotype variable, we expect a 1.82 increase in the log odds of the dependent variable (begging) given that all other variables in the model are held constant. Hence, the results in table 6.1 indicate that the more negative stereotypes respondents hold about the Roma minority, the more likely it is that they support a ban on begging. This is significant both independently and when other explanatory factors are included in the model.

Figure 6.2 Predicted Probabilities for Negative Stereotypes about the Roma Minority on Support for a Ban on Begging

Figure 6.2 Predicted Probabilities for Stereotypes on support for a ban on begging (95 % CIs)
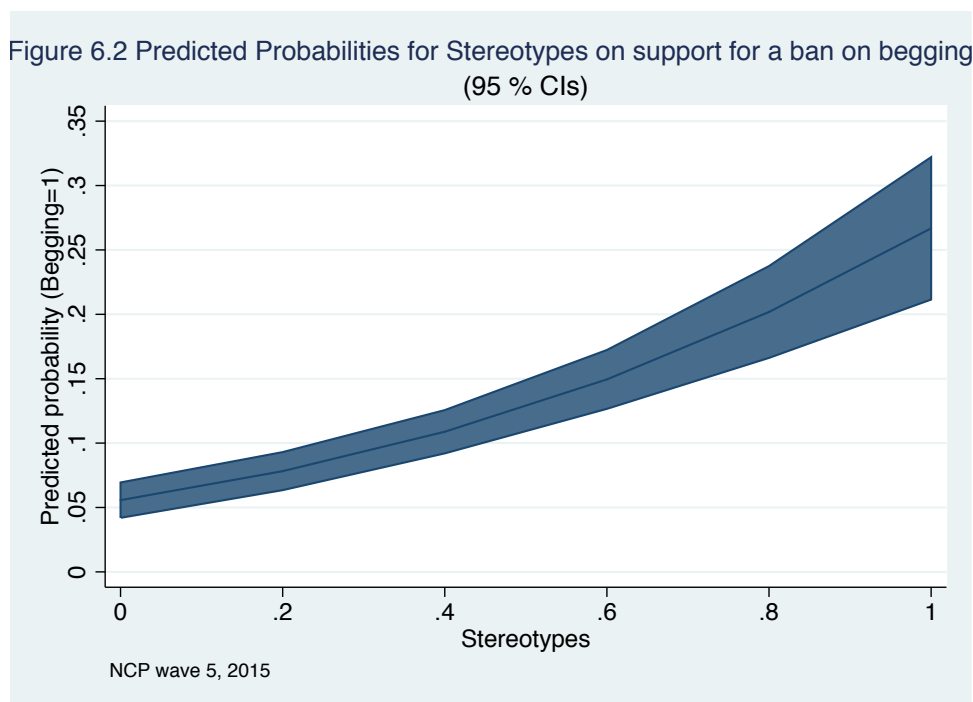
The predicted probabilities in figure 6.2 demonstrate the distribution of negative stereotypes, respectively from the lowest (0) to the highest value (1) when support for a ban on begging=1. The graph for negative stereotypes moves upward from the left to the right, meaning that the probability for supporting a ban on begging increases with an increase in negative stereotypes. The predicted probabilities of support for ban on begging at the highest value range from 5 to 26 percent. Together with the results from model 1, figure 6.2 clearly state that negative stereotypes do influence the support for a ban on begging and shows to what degree it does, when all other variables are held constant. This corresponds with the expectations stated in chapter three.

Although there is reason to believe that the exit-option can be interpreted as the utmost distance to the stereotypes presented, one cannot be sure that this is the reason for why the exit-option was chosen by respondents. Hence, I present model 2A and 2B. It is the exact same analysis except that respondents who chose the exit-option have been coded as missing, and are in this case removed from the analysis. We see from table 6.2 that the consequence of coding these respondents as missing is that there are fewer observations included in the model.

6.2.3 Model 2 – Excluding the Exit-option

Table 6.2 shows somewhat different results than table 6.1. First and foremost, we can see that the number of observations have dropped from 1265 to 709. This is of course due to the fact that the exit-option is removed from the analysis. The main finding from the two models presented in table 6.2 is however the same as the main findings from model 1A and model 1B: Negative stereotypes about the Roma minority matter for the support for a ban on begging, both individually (as measured in model 2A) and when measured together with other explanatory factors (model 2B). The results shown in model 2B, however, show an even stronger effect than the results shown in model 1B. One unit increase in the stereotype variable is expected to increase the log odds of the dependent variable, begging, by 3.84, given that all other variables are constant.

Table 6.2 Factors Explaining Support for a Ban on Begging – Exit-option excluded

Table 6.2 Factors explaining support for a ban on begging Model 2A and Model 2B - exit-option excluded.		
	MODEL 2A	**MODEL 2B**
Variables	begging	begging
stereotypes	5.386*** (0.353)	3.837*** (0.386)
diversity1		-1.615*** (0.285)
ideology1		1.410*** (0.394)
trust1		-0.548 (0.371)
economy1		-0.803** (0.371)
inequality		-0.853** (0.331)
2.age		0.717*** (0.247)
3.age		0.470* (0.261)
gender		-0.0168 (0.144)
2.education		-0.223 (0.268)
3.education		-0.358 (0.254)
Constant cut1	-0.845*** (0.205)	-3.269*** (0.631)
Constant cut2	0.734*** (0.170)	-1.545** (0.615)
Constant cut3	1.396*** (0.172)	-0.795 (0.613)
Constant cut4	1.916*** (0.177)	-0.206 (0.613)
Constant cut5	2.849*** (0.193)	0.831 (0.615)
Constant cut6	4.191*** (0.223)	2.299*** (0.618)
N	709	709
LR chi2	(1) 275.07	(11) 388.88
Prob > chi2	0.0000	0.0000
Pseudo R2	0.1051	0.1487
Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 **NCP wave 5, 2015**		

Figure 6.3 Predicted Probabilities for Negative Stereotypes on Support for a Ban on Begging – Exit-option Excluded

Figure 6.3 Predicted Probabilities for stereotypes on support for a ban on begging (95 % CIs)
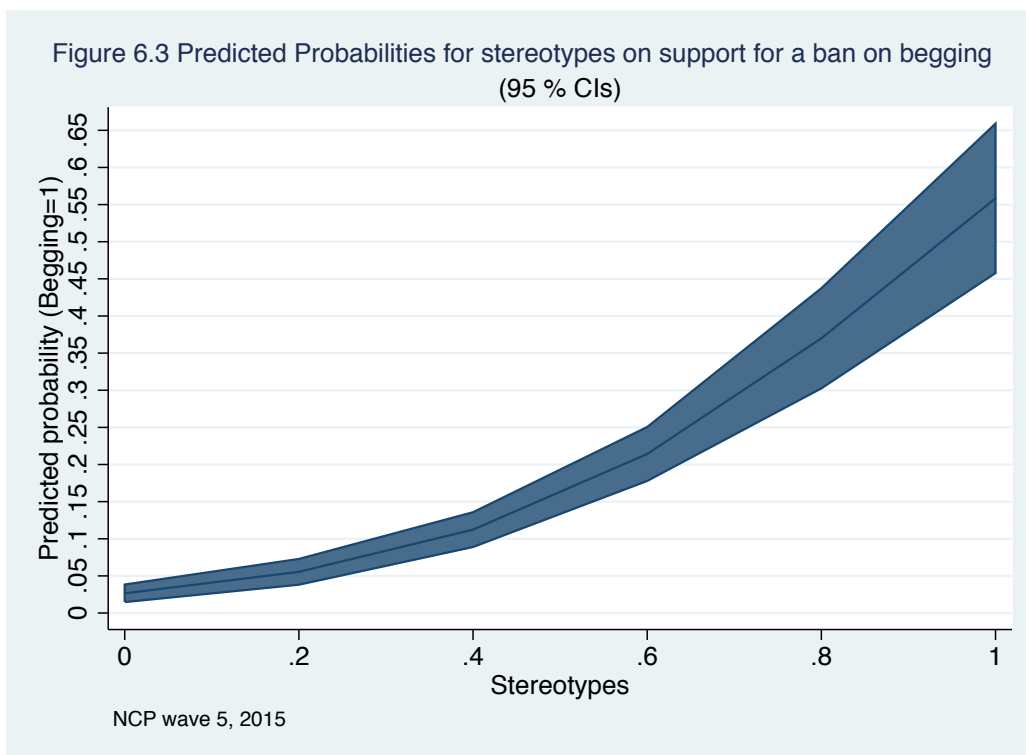
The predicted probability shown in figure 6.3 demonstrates the distribution of negative stereotypes about the Roma minority, respectively from the lowest (0) to the highest value (1) when support for a ban on begging = 1. Just like we saw from figure 6.2, also the graph in figure 6.3 moves upward from the left to the right, meaning that the probability for supporting a ban on begging increases with an increase in negative stereotypes. However, the two figures differ, we can see that the highest value ranges from about 3 percent to about 56 percent. Together with table 6.2, the predicted probability shown in figure 6.3 demonstrates that negative stereotypes about the Roma minority strongly influence the support for a ban on begging. These results are thereby consistent with the expectations put forward in chapter three as well as the expectations put forward within social identity theory.

6.2.4 Model 3 – An Original Approach

The second approach of this analysis is based on the coding of the open-ended survey question, and represents a very different measurement of negative attitudes than the previous approach (shown in table 6.1 and 6.2). The variable measuring negative attitudes toward the Roma minority in model 3A and model 3B is based on manual coding of the answers to the

open-ended survey question. Because this approach is obtained with substantially different means, it is hard to compare the two approaches with each other. Chapter 5 showed that almost 30 percent of the respondents had a negative attitude toward the Roma people.

Table 6.3 Factors Explaining Support for a Ban on Begging – Original Approach

| Table 6.3 Factors explaining support for a ban on begging (original measurement) Model 3A and Model 3B		
	MODEL 3A	**MODEL 3B**
Variables	begging	begging
negattitude	0.879*** (0.166)	0.529*** (0.173)
diversity1		-2.264*** (0.313)
ideology1		2.359*** (0.420)
trust1		-0.868** (0.397)
economy1		-0.846** (0.421)
inequality		-0.643* (0.367)
_Iage_2		0.871*** (0.249)
_Iage_3		0.362 (0.271)
gender		-0.0416 (0.154)
_Ieducation_2		-0.540* (0.313)
_Ieducation_3		-0.743** (0.295)
Constant cut1	-2.480*** (0.171)	-4.937*** (0.639)
Constant cut2	-1.103*** (0.108)	-3.324*** (0.619)
Constant cut3	-0.561*** (0.098)	-2.626*** (0.614)
Constant cut4	-0.092 (0.094)	-2.009*** (0.611)
Constant cut5	0.742*** (0.099)	-0.932 (0.608)
Constant cut6	1.832*** (0.125)	0.408 (0.606)
N	586	586
LR chi2	(1) 28.39	(11) 249.71
Prob > chi2	0.0000	0.0000
Pseudo R2	0.0129	0.1132
Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 **NCP wave 5, 2015**		

We see from table 6.3 that the number of observations is somewhat lower than in the previous models presented. Note that this is not a matter of data quality, but rather how the study was done. The study was originally presented as a survey experiment, meaning that only half of the sample selection received the question.

The main findings from table 6.3 are that negative attitudes of the Roma population influence public support for a ban on begging. This is proven to be significant both on its own, as shown in model 3A, and when including other explanatory factors, as shown in model 3B. A noteworthy feature of these models is that also when measuring negative attitudes with open-ended survey data in this thesis' original measurement of stereotypes, we find similar results to when we are using a classical stereotype measurement. Although of course the measures are substantially different, and therefore hard to compare, we see that the coefficient from model 3B is somewhat weaker than the two coefficients found on the stereotype measurement in model 1B and model 2B. With one unit increase in the variable measuring negative attitudes about the Roma minority, we expect a 0.53 increase in the log odds of the dependent variable, support for a ban on begging, given that all other variables are constant.

Although the results obtained in this approach are hard to compare with the classical approach for measuring stereotypes, we can state that the results from table 6.3 show the same trend as the results found in the previous models (table 6.1 and 6.2), and that also when measuring negative attitudes about the Roma minority in a completely different approach we see that negative attitudes matter for the support for a ban on begging.

The predicted probabilities shown in figure 6.4 below demonstrate the distribution of negative attitudes about the Roma minority, from the lowest (0) to the highest (1) value when the dependent variable, begging, equals to 1. The graph of negative attitudes moves upward from the left to the right, meaning that the probability for supporting a ban on begging increases with an increase in negative attitude variable. The predicted probabilities for negative attitude about the Roma minority on support for a ban on begging at the highest value range from about 11 percent to 17 percent. If one were to compare figure 6.4 to figure 6.2 and figure 6.3, the graph shows a less steep predicted probability line in the original measurement implemented in model 3B than in the two classical approaches of stereotype measurement in model 1B and model 2B. Nonetheless, the results are significant, and hence corresponding to the expectations of this thesis.

Figure 6.4 Predicted Probabilities for Negative Attitudes about the Roma Minority on Support for a Ban on Begging – Original Measure

Figure 6.4 Predicted Probabilities for negative attitudes on support for a ban on begging (95 % CIs)
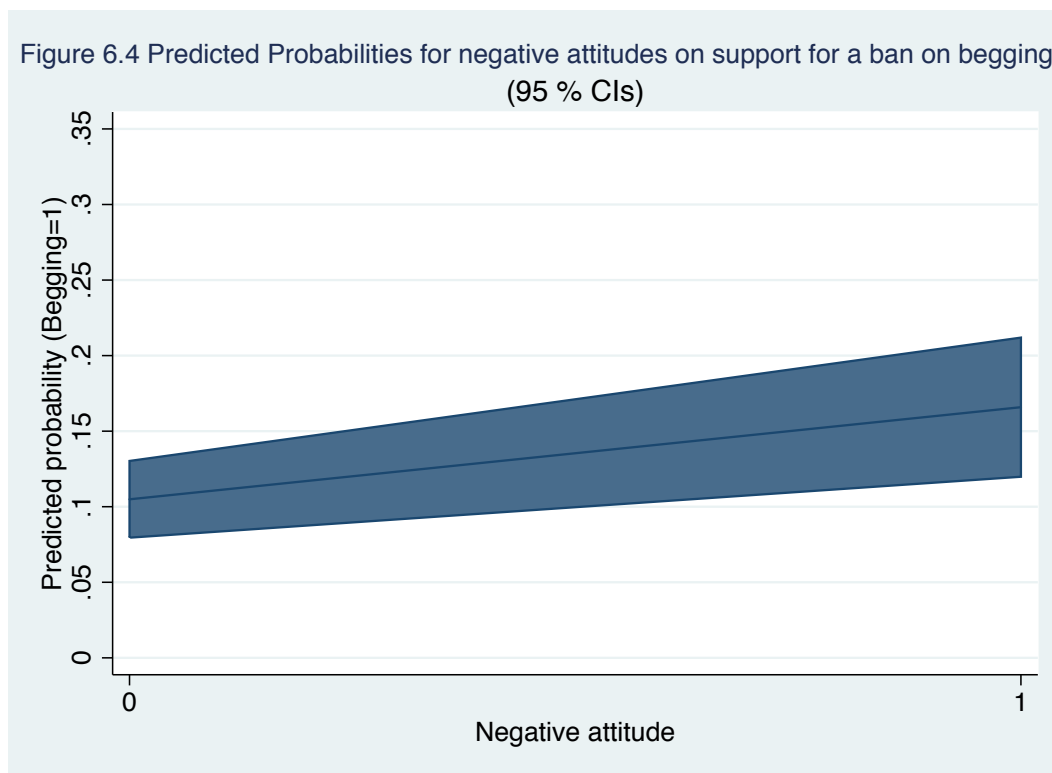
6.3 Discussion of the Results from the Three Different Models

The three different models presented above share a lot of similar results and show some differences. Chapter three outlined different factors that I expected to influence the public support for a ban on begging, while chapter four identified the different variables I used to measure these factors. This section goes through all expectations and hypotheses stated in chapter three based on my results.

6.3.1 Social Identity – Stereotype Factor

The main finding, and the most important result found in the three tables (6.1, 6.2, 6.3), is that negative stereotypes matter on the public support for a ban on begging. We see from both model 1B (presented in table 6.1) and from model 2B (presented in table 6.2) that the stereotype measurements have a strong and positively significant effect on the dependent variable, when all other variables are constant, meaning that we can confirm the expectation from H1 stated in chapter three. *People who hold negative stereotype toward the Roma minority are more supportive of a ban on begging.* This is shown to be significant both when

stereotypes are measured alone against the dependent variable (support for a ban on begging) (model 1A and model 2A), and also when other explanatory factors are included in the models (Model 1B and 2B). Because this result is significant in both table 6.1 and table 6.2 – and therefore regardless of how one chooses to interpret the exit-option – this represents an important finding.

Additionally, model 3A and 3B – which are based on an original measurement of negative attitudes toward the Roma minority - show positive significant effects on the dependent variable, meaning that also H2 can be accepted, and consequently: *People who have negative attitudes toward the Roma minority are more supportive of a ban on begging.* This too represents an important finding; also with original means of measuring attitudes about the Roma minority, the results clearly show that negative attitudes about the Roma minority matter on public support for a ban on begging. This is also proven to be significant both on its own (shown in model 3A), and when measured together with other explanatory variables held at a constant level (model 3B). These findings, together with the results from table 6.1 and 6.2, succeed in answering the research question of this thesis.

6.3.2 The Cultural Factor

Chapter three outlined additional explanatory effects that were relevant to this thesis. The cultural explanation factor was expected to receive a negative effect on the support for a ban on begging. Both model 1B and model 2B receive significant results that support the expectation of H3 stated in chapter three. Additionally, model 3B also shows that the variable measuring cultural diversity has a statistical negative significant effect on the support for a ban on begging. The cultural factor – in this case measuring the support for whether or not it is a positive quality to have a society with a diversity of religions and beliefs – plays a very significant role in all three models. This tells us that this explanatory effect is important for understanding the public support for a ban on begging. These results are also consistent with previous research within the immigration field and confirm H3 stated in chapter 3. Based on all three models I confidently conclude the following: *The more positive people are toward a cultural diversity, the less supportive they are of a ban on begging.*

6.3.3 The Economic Factor

Although economic factors have been found to be less important compared to the cultural factor by some scholars, I chose to include an economic variable within all of the analyses. The results from the three models show that the economic factor is a weaker explanatory variable than the cultural diversity factor, and hence is consistent with previous research within the immigration field (Ivarsflaten 2005, McGann and Kitschelt 2005). However, the results are significant in two out of the three models on a 95 percent level (the exception is in model 1B, here it is only significant on a 90 percent level) and can therefore not be removed from the analyses or regarded as not an effective measure concerning the support for a ban on begging. All models show results that have a significant negative effect, and works as support for the H4 presented in chapter three. Based on the results of the three models (1B, 2B and 3B) I conclude with the following: *The more positive perception of the national economy people have, the less support they have for a ban on begging.*

6.3.4 Welfare Factors - Political Identity and Redistribution of Income

Chapter two showed that most parties (represented in the Norwegian Parliament) have taken a stand on whether they support a ban on begging or not. A pattern was revealed: Most conservative parties (cf. Right-parties) supported the ban on begging, while traditional Left-parties did not support a ban on begging. The welfare factor concerning political identity, based on the placement on the political scale (Left or Right), is therefore included in all three B-models. This variable measures political orientation toward the right, and the higher the value, the more to the right. The expectations from chapter three are confirmed. All three models show that the ideology variable measuring political identity has a positive significant effect. H5 is thereby accepted: *The further to the right people place themselves on the political scale, the more supportive they are of a ban on begging.*

Another welfare factor was included in the analyses, namely an inequality measurement, or a measurement of redistribution. The assumption was that people who agree with the claim that the state should reduce income inequalities are more in favor of an egalitarian society, and are thus also less prone to support a ban on begging. We expected that these people are placed more on the left within the economic political dimension, than those who disagree with the claim. All three models show a negative significant effect on the dependent variable, meaning that *people who agree with the statement that the state should contribute to reduce income*

inequalities in society are less supportive of a ban on begging. H6, put forward in chapter three, can as shown here be accepted.

6.3.5 General Trust and Demographic Factors

Previous literature on public opinion regarding immigration policies finds that general trust is an important factor (see for example; Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior 2004, Ivarsflaten 2005). Hence, the assumption put forward (in chapter three) was that people who are suspicious or afraid of other people in society, might have an individual reason for wishing to restrict immigration policies – and thereby, also a ban on begging. The measurement of general trust has a negative effect on ban on begging in all three models, however it is only significant in two of them (model 1B and model 3B). Still, I conclude that the expectations within the immigration field are met, and that trust does matter to the support for a ban on begging.

Education is also seen as an important control variable within the immigration field, and previous research has found that higher educated people are more positive toward liberal immigration policies (McGann and Kitschelt 2005). The variable included in the three models is a factor variable with three different levels. Model 3B shows that both the third level (higher education) and the second level (high school level) has a negative significant effect on the dependent variable, when compared to the first level (primary education/no education). In other words, model 3B shows that people who have higher education (college level/University level) are less supportive of a ban on begging than people with primary education or no education at all. People with high school education too are less supportive of a ban on begging than people with primary education or no education at all. The education variable receives the same negative direction in model 2B, as in model 3B, however it is statistically insignificant. Model 1B shows a negative significant effect on the dependent variable in one of the education categories, namely that people with a higher education (at college or University level) are less in favor of a ban on begging compared to the reference group, in this case, people with primary education or no education at all. Although it is not proven to be significant in all models presented in this thesis, the educational levels seem to fulfill the expectation stated in chapter three, at least in model 1B and model 3B.

Previous research has shown that differences between the genders are common when it comes to attitudes toward minorities in the Norwegian society (Moe 2012). All three models receive insignificant results on the gender variable. The models all show a negative effect – meaning that if the results were to be significant – one could interpret them as women being less supportive of a ban on begging than men. It is somewhat surprising that this variable is not significant in neither of the three models, however; as explained in chapter three, a recent study has found that the gender gap is not always true when it comes to immigration policies (Harteveld and Ivarsflaten 2016). The policy concerning a ban on begging seems to be one of those policies to which this gender gap is not proven to be significant.

Age is the second demographic variable that has been found to be important within the immigration field and connected to attitudes toward immigration policies (McGann and Kitschelt 2005, Ivarsflaten 2005). All three of the models show that the age variable has a positive significant effect compared to the reference group (which in these cases represents the ages between 18 and 29), with the exception of group3 in model 3B, which shows a positive direction but is insignificant. Despite the last insignificant result in model 3B, based on all the other results – the models in this thesis confirm the expectations from previous literature and research within the immigration field; *Older people are more supportive of a ban on begging compared to younger people.*

6.4 Further Discussion

Chapter two in this thesis outlined the political debate regarding a reintroduction of a ban on begging in Norway. Compared to the debate nine years earlier concerning the abolishing of the Vagrancy Act, we see that the arguments have changed, and the perception of the streetscape and who the beggars are has changed too. Previous research has shown that the media treat the words Roma people and beggars almost as synonymous (Adolfsson 2014). Similarly, chapter three argued that the public opinion of a ban on begging lay in the research field within immigration policies. The argument is simplified with the logic that if a ban on begging were to exist in Norway, less immigrants will come to Norway (to beg).

The results reached in this thesis are consistent with the expectations found within the immigration field and welfare field (with a few exceptions). Additionally, the results presented in this thesis are consistent with the argument that the cultural explanatory factor is

more prominent than the economic explanatory factor, and hence underline the research within public opinion of immigration policies (Ivarsflaten 2005). Social identity theory can explain why people categorize and hold stereotypes and prejudice toward other groups in society. This thesis has additionally shown that the consequence of the group categorization and stereotypes toward the Roma minority influences Norwegian citizens' support for a specific policy change – in this case, a ban on begging.

This thesis has proven the relevance of a public support for a ban on begging both within the immigration field and the welfare field. The perception of whether beggars are "worthy in need" or "deserving of help" can be discussed within both fields. The brief outline of the political debates concerning the abolishing of the Vagrancy Act and the reintroduction of a ban on begging in 2014 – 2015 (see chapter 2), shows that the perception of beggars differed. In the political debate concerning the decision to abolish the Vagrancy Act the perception of the streetscape was dominated by Norwegian people (primarily drug addicts), while the perception of beggars in the debate surrounding an introduction of a ban on begging concerned immigrants (and primarily Romas from Romania).

Sniderman et al. (2014) and Gilens (1999) claim that the crucial point is the relationship between demands and obligations in the normative logic of who deserves the right to help in a welfare system. Although immigrants who come to Norway and decide to beg for a living are not given the same rights and benefits within the welfare system, one can still argue that the argument of the "worthy in need" is relevant, especially so when trying to answer the question of why the Norwegian Parliament abolished a ban on begging when Norwegians dominated the streetscape, and started a debate concerning a reintroduction of a ban on begging as soon as immigrants dominated the streets as beggars in Norway?

The novel evidence brought forward in this thesis shows that public support for a ban on begging in 2015 was influenced by negative stereotypes about the Roma population even after controlling the relevance of all the other major explanatory factors. On the side of the public, then there can be no doubt that support for reintroduction of the ban on begging was a consequence of the change in the beggars' identities.

6.5 Summary

Chapter six has shown that public support for a ban on begging in Norway is a majority phenomenon, unlike negative stereotypes of the Roma minority as shown in chapter 5. Chapter six has additionally presented the results from the ordinal regression analysis. Despite the differences between the B-models, all three of them show that negative stereotypes and negative attitudes toward the Roma minority affect public support for a ban on begging, meaning that the more negative stereotypes or attitudes one holds against the Roma minority, the more support one has for a ban on begging when all other factors are held constant. The same models also confirm nearly all of the expectations put forward in chapter 3 and proves that all hypotheses (H1 – H6) are confirmed.

7.0 Conclusion

In this last chapter, I present a conclusion to the research question of this thesis followed by the contributions to this thesis as well as suggestions for further research opportunities.

7.1 Conclusion

In short, this thesis has found that negative stereotypes about the Roma minority influence public support for a ban on begging in Norway. More substantially, a minority of the Norwegian population is found to express strong and clearly negative attitudes and negative stereotypes about the Roma minority. At the same time, a majority of the Norwegian population is shown to support a reintroduction of a ban on begging.

All three models estimated in the previous chapter show that the measurement measuring negative attitudes (open-ended) and the measurement for negative stereotypes have a positive significant affect, meaning that those who hold negative attitudes or negative stereotypes about the Roma minority are more likely than others to support a ban on begging. Although not necessarily comparable, the classical stereotype measurement (based on close-ended survey questions) shows a stronger effect (a higher coefficient and predicted probability) than the original measurement (based on the open-ended survey question).

This thesis has found that stereotypes matter, both individually and when measured together with other explanatory factors such as political ideology, support for a diverse society, perception of the national economy, view on redistribution and inequality, trust and socio-demographic factors held at constant levels. This thus suggests that we can state that stereotypes about the Roma minority strongly influence the public support of a ban on begging.

How does an affluent society, such as the Norwegian society, respond to poverty? How does the Norwegian population respond to visible poverty in the streets? This thesis comes close to answering parts of these two questions. The Roma minority is proven both in previous research as well with new original survey data collected for this thesis to be one of the most vulnerable groups in our society. The results of this thesis show that the Norwegian population responds to visible poverty by supporting a reintroduction of a ban on begging. That said, the national ban on begging was withdrawn as a proposal by the Minister of Justice

because of lack of support in the Norwegian parliament, which leaves Norway with an opportunity for the municipal authorities to introduce a ban on begging in their respective areas. So far (at the time of writing) only one municipality has introduced this ban, suggesting that although the majority of the Norwegian citizens prefers a ban on begging, political action has not (yet) been taken.

This study touches upon various important elements that are of societal value. Quantitative surveys on attitudes toward minorities are fairly new in Norway, but have been conducted in many countries and are used as tools for highlighting hostility toward minorities. How the public views minorities can reveal stereotypes and prejudice attitudes, which we know might be factors that lead to discrimination, and in extreme cases even racism and violence. Both survey experiments and descriptive statistics are important tools used in social sciences to reveal attitudes toward minority groups. Knowledge about prejudice attitudes and the consequences of such attitudes are important in order to understand the society in which we live.

The European common grounds created by the EU and EEA include free movement of people within the member states of the EEA. This has contributed to the creation of a common labor marked across the EU and EEA. However, free movement between countries, although sharing a lot of similarities, can also reveal the differences between the countries, both regarding culture and social issues. The change of the streetscape in Norway, and the increase of migrant beggars, were caused by the economic crisis in Eastern Europe, as referred to in newspaper articles. How the Norwegian society has reacted upon this visible poverty tells us something important also about the Norwegian society and culture.

7.2 Contributions and further research

This thesis aims at filling a gap found in previous research. Public opinion on a ban on begging in Norway has barely been researched before and this thesis therefore makes an important contribution to this field of study. Using both close-ended survey questions and an open-ended survey question has given this thesis a strong data foundation and the ability to draw more resilient conclusions. The descriptive analyses have been an important tool in order to research the attitudes toward both the Roma minority and a ban on begging separately. The survey experiment has additionally shown how the Roma minority is viewed

when compared to other groups in the Norwegian society. The use of multiple measures and approaches to gathering the survey data strengthens our confidence in the results presented in this thesis.

This thesis introduces an original approach in order to research negative attitudes toward a minority. Open-ended survey questions have not, as far as I know, been used in previous research in order to measure negative attitudes about the Roma minority in Norway. The measurements of stereotypes by the use of close-ended survey questions have been criticized. The combination of both close-ended questions and open-ended questions and the finding that the results are resilient to both sets of measurements makes an important contribution to the field. When comparing the three models presented in this thesis based on different approaches, all three of them show similar results regarding the measurement of negative attitudes and negative stereotypes.

This thesis has shown for the first time that widespread support for a ban on begging in contemporary Norway is strongly influenced by negative stereotypes about the Roma minority. This adds to our knowledge both about the consequences of EU's policy of free movement of people after several Eastern European countries received status as member states, but also to our knowledge about why a ban on begging has been such a controversial and difficult political issue in the past years in Norway. As there is very little research regarding the policy changes on begging in Norway, this should be further researched. Additionally, this thesis has added new additional evidence to the body of scholarship that has documented the fact that the Roma minority represents a vulnerable group in the Norwegian society. Further research considering the nature and consequences of this vulnerability would be of societal value and interest.

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Appendix

A.1 Tables

Table A.1 Correlation analysis Stereotype variables (exit-option included)						
	Artistic	Not willing to work	Criminal	Family oriented	Honest	Problems
Artistic	1.0000					
Not willing to work	0.3008	1.0000				
Criminal	0.2441	0.6396	1.0000			
Family oriented	0.4016	0.2356	0.2365	1.0000		
Honest	0.3743	0.2811	0.3122	0.4139	1.0000	
Problems	0.3112	0.5949	0.5914	0.2667	0.2624	1.0000
Number of observations: 1349						
NCP wave 5 2015						

Table A.2 Correlation analysis Stereotype variables (exit-option excluded)						
	Artistic	Not willing to work	Criminal	Family oriented	Honest	Problems
Artistic	1.0000					
Not willing to work	-0.2255	1.0000				
Criminal	-0.2165	0.6427	1.0000			
Family oriented	0.3587	-0.2907	-0.3398	1.0000		
Honest	0.2735	-0.5600	-0.6274	0.3114	1.0000	
Problems	-0.1945	0.5967	0.6003	-0.2287	-0.4970	1.0000
Number of observations: 445						
NCP wave 5, 2015						

Table A.3 Factor analysis stereotype variables (exit-option included)			
Variables	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness
Artistic	0.4942	0.3139	0.6572
Not willing to work	0.7261	-0.2403	0.4150
Criminal	0.7197	-0.2504	0.4193
Family oriented	0.4674	0.3742	0.6414
Honest	0.4980	0.3195	0.6499
Problems	0.7027	-0.1914	0.4695
NCP wave 5, 2015			

Table A.4 Factor analysis stereotype variables (exit-option excluded)			
Variables	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness
Artistic	- 0.3504	0.3557	0.7507
Not willing to work	0.7594	0.1141	0.4103
Criminal	0.8023	0.0953	0.3473
Family oriented	- 0.4308	0.3386	0.6997
Honest	- 0.7236	0.0073	0.4763
Problems	0.6975	0.1616	0.4874
NCP wave 5, 2015			

Table A.5 Responses and response rate for Panel members by the different stages of data collection				
	Responses	Cumulative responses	Response rate (%)	Cumulative response rate (%)
Invitation (28th of October 2015)	2147	2147	24.4	24.4
Reminder no.1 (30th of October 2015)	1873	4020	21.3	45.7
Reminder no.2 (04th of November 2015)	797	4817	9.1	54.8
Reminder no.3 (10th of November)	634	5451	7.2	62.0
(Skjervheim and Høgestøl 2015, 3)				

A.2 Code Manual for Analyzing Open Answers from R5rom1b

1.0 Introduction

The data consists of text from respondent answering the survey question R5rom1b. Coding of this material shall create an overview through simplification and compilation of the contents of the texts. These codes are meant to be descriptive, interpretative and explanatory. By conducting systematic coding, I will form and develop categories that will create the foundation for deeper analysis.

The survey question is originally formed as an experiment, where a random half of the sample received the following question: "What is the first that you think of when hearing the word Beggar?" (R5rom1a), and the other half was asked, "What is the first that you think of when hearing the word Roma?" (R5rom1b). In total 1267 responded to the two questions. Distributed as following between the two: R5rom1a N = 621, and R5rom1b N = 646 (before the anonymization process).

2. My Approach

The coding process followed an anonymization process that included removing respondents who gave personally identifiable information from the data set. Respondents who gave this type of information in their answers were coded with the value 97, and were consequently classified as "not answered" and later removed from the final analyses.

I started by identifying key terms used by the respondents. Further on I started the coding process by going through the first 50 responses and developed categories based on these answers. Thereafter I defined and developed strict coding "rules" that determine whether or not a certain respondent is placed within the chosen categories and if there is any need to develop new categories. Summed up, my approach follows this pattern:

1. Identify key terms
2. Develop categories based on the 50 first responses
3. Define the categories and sub- categories
4. Continue coding and develop new categories if necessary

As I final step in the coding process I have looked over the text I have coded and made sure that I have not missed anything and that my coding is consistent.

3. Key Terms

r5rom1b – "Hva tenker du på når du hører ordet "romfolk"? "What do you think about when hearing the word "Roma people?"

Key terms identified for r5rom1b: "Roma people":		
Key terms	*Sub-terms*	*Example*
Beggars/Begging	People asking for money	"Gypsies that beg and sleep outside under plastic. Trash nearby. Begging."
Poverty/Poor	People without money, Difficult situation, hard living conditions	"Poor people"
Gypsy/Gypsies	"Sigøyner", "tatere"	"Gypsies…"
Discrimination	Oppressed, persecution, outcast, stigmatization, exposed to hatred	"A group of people that are and have been oppressed for a very long time"
Travelers	Moves around, nomadic life/lifestyle, itinerant	"Traveling people"
Criminal	thief, stealing, fraud, thugs	"Traveling people that to a large extent make a living of crimes"

4. Categories – Definitions

As I analyzed the first 50 responses for r5rom1b I developed categories. As I continued coding, additional categories became necessary. These are the final categories I have chosen, based on all the responses. Note that only the categories "general attitude" and "criminal" are used in the final thesis.

Categories for R5rom1b: "Romfolk"			
Category	Sub-category	Definition	Variable, variable label and values
General attitude	Negative	Respondent show a negative attitude, by using negative words. Such as: thugs, bandit, parasitism, crimes, etc. Or that the respondent	R5rom1b_LL_negative

"Does the respondent express a general negative attitude?"

1 = yes, 0 = no |

		him/herself mentions his or hers negativity toward this word.	
	Positive	Respondent shows a positive attitude. For example by mentioning positive words, or that the respondent her/himself mention her or his positive attitude.	R5rom1b_LL_positive "Does the respondent express a general positive attitude?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
	Neutral	Respondents are classified as neutral if neither negative nor positive attitudes are portrayed in their answer, or that the respondent describe both negative and positive attitudes.	R5rom1b_LL_neutral "Does the respondent express a general neutral attitude?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Begging/Beggar	Beggar, begging, asks for money etc.	Respondents who mention beggar or synonymous to begging.	R5rom1b_LL_mentbeggar "Does the respondent mention the word beggar or synonymous words?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Poverty	Poor, poverty, tragic living conditions, poor conditions, hard situations etc.	Respondents who mentions poverty, poor or terrible living conditions etc.	R5rom1b_LL_poor "Does the respondent mention poverty or synonymous words?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Sympathy	"feel sorry for them"	The respondent must clearly point out that they feel sympathy.	R5rom1b_LL_sympathy "Does the respondent express sympathy?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Discrimination	"Discriminated people," oppressed, outcast, no one likes them, etc.	Respondents who use words like discrimination or synonymous.	R5rom1b_LL_discrimination "Does the respondent mention discrimination or similar terms?"

			1 = yes, 0 = no
Hard to integrate	"hard to integrate," "doesn't want to integrate in our society" etc.	Respondents who mention that Roma people are hard to integrate in society or similar.	R5rom1b_LL_integration "Does the respondent mention integration work or similar?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Lazy	Lazy people.	Respondents who mention the word lazy or synonymous words.	R5rom1b_LL_lazy "Does the respondent mention the word lazy or synonymous words?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Work ethic	"Does not want to work," could have worked, should have worked, cannot get work, unemployed, have not tried to get work, etc. "we should give them jobs"	Respondents who mention work ethic or some kind of framing that "they" should work.	R5rom1b_LL_workattitude "Does the respondent mention work ethic or similar?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Immigration perspective	Illegal stay, should go back to their home country, etc	Respondent clearly show that this is an immigration issue. If respondent mentions immigration as either problem or solution.	R5rom1b_LL_globalization "Does the respondent relate this word to immigration policies or global issues?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Welfare perspective	Should receive help from the welfare state, the state should help these people, or more negative such as these people steal from our welfare, receives too much money	Respondent clearly indicate that this is a welfare issue, or that the welfare state is either not present enough for these people, or too present.	R5rom1b_LL_welfare "Does the respondent relate this word to welfare policies?" 1 = yes, 0 = no

	from the social services, etc.		
Organized	Organized, network, league, Ringleaders, mafia etc.	Respondents that mentions organized, or synonymous words.	R5rom1b_LL_organized "Does the respondent mention organized or synonymous words?" 1 = yes 0 = no
Criminal	Criminal, crime, stealing, thief, fraud, human trafficking, drug dealing,	Respondents who mention either "criminal" or criminal activities.	R5rom1b_LL_criminal "Does the respondent mention 'criminal' or other criminal activities?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Gypsy	Gypsy/Gypsies, Tater?	Respondents who explicitly mention the word "sigøyner" (in Norwegian) Gypsy.	R5rom1b_LL_gypsy "Does the respondent mention the word 'gypsy' or 'sigøyner'?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Violence	Violent people, violent discussions etc.	Respondents who mention violence or violent actions.	R5rom1b_LL_violence "Does the respondent mention violence?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
People without affiliation	People with no affiliation, no nationality, a rootless people, etc.	Respondents who mention affiliation-issues.	R5rom1b_LL_noaffiliation "Does the respondent mention affiliation-issue or similar?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Family mafia	Family dear, close family ties, family importance etc.	Respondents who mention family or somehow family ties etc. This also includes mafia related tendencies.	R5rom1b_LL_mafiafamily "Does the respondent mention family or similar words describing a network or Mafia-tendencies?" 1 = yes, 0 = no

Traveling/travelers	Travelers who travel from one place to another. Traveling, travelers etc.	Respondents who mention travelers or synonymous words.	R5rom1b_LL_travelers "Does the respondent mention traveling or synonymous words?" 1 = yes, 0 = no
Free	Freedom, free from commitment, "does not live a nine-to-five life."	Respondents who mention freedom or synonymous words.	R5rom1b_LL_free "Does the respondent mention freedom or synonymous words?" 1=yes, 0=no
Dirty	Dirty, unclean, littering, garbage, uncleaned etc	Respondents who mention dirty, littering or synonymous words.	R5rom1b_LL_dirty "Does the respondent mention dirty or synonymous words?" 1 = yes, 0 = no

Reliability of the Coding

Although coding can improve reliability as it creates a structure and agreement about important definition, constructs and theme, reliability in coding can still be complicated. This is primarily because determining which code should be assigned to a particular text is not always easy. A common reliability problem is that coders or raters do not always code similar passages or text exactly the same.

As a first thing to improve reliability in my coding, I have written this code manual. To receive a structural and strict coding I have chosen to follow this code manual and these definitions during my coding.

As a second step to improve the reliability in my coding I have coded the data more than once, meaning that I have gone through all of my coding multiple times to make sure I have not made any mistakes in the first round of coding.