

# **WHAT SHOULD I THINK; HOW SHOULD I FEEL?**

## **THE BALANCING OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND SOCIAL NORMS IN THE OUTGROUP ATTITUDE FORMATION OF YOUTH**

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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## ABSTRACT

The present study focused on the associations between the personal experiences of intergroup contact, perceived social norms and the outgroup attitudes of Finnish majority and Russian-speaking minority youth living in Finland. The theoretical background of the study was derived from Allport's (1954) theory of intergroup contact (i.e., the contact hypothesis), social psychological research on normative influences on outgroup attitudes (e.g., Rutland, 2004; Stangor & Leary, 2006) and developmental psychological research on the formation of explicit (deliberate) and implicit (automatically activated) outgroup attitudes in adolescence (e.g., Barrett, 2007; Killen, McGlothlin, & Henning, 2008).

The main objective of the study was to shed light on the role of perceived social norms in the formation of outgroup attitudes among adolescents. First, the study showed that perceived normative pressure to hold positive attitudes towards immigrants regulated the relationship between the explicit and implicit expression of outgroup attitudes among majority youth. Second, perceived social norms concerning outgroup attitudes (i.e., the perceived outgroup attitudes of parents and peers) affected the relationship between intergroup contact and explicit outgroup attitudes depending on gender and group status. Positive social norms seem to be especially important for majority boys, who need both pleasant contact experiences and normative support to develop outgroup attitudes that are as positive as girls' attitudes. The role of social norms is accentuated also among minority youth, who, contrary to majority youth with their more powerful and independent status position, need to reflect upon their attitudes and experiences of negative intergroup encounters in relation to the experiences and attitudes of their ingroup members. Third, the results are indicative of the independent effects of social norms and intergroup anxiety on outgroup attitudes: the effect of perceived social norms on the outgroup attitudes of youth seems to be at least as strong as the effect of intergroup anxiety. Finally, it was shown that youth evaluate intergroup contact from the viewpoint of their ingroup and society as a whole, not just based on their own experiences.

In conclusion, the outgroup attitudes of youth are formed in a close relationship with their social environment. On the basis of this study, the importance of perceived social norms for research on intergroup contact effects among youth cannot be overlooked. Positive normative influences have the potential to break the strong link between rare and/or negative personal contact experiences and negative outgroup attitudes, and norms also influence the relationship between implicit and explicit attitude expression.

# TIIVISTELMÄ

Tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin, miten henkilökohtaiset kokemukset ryhmienvälisestä kontaktista ja koetut sosiaaliset normit ovat yhteydessä suomalaista enemmistöä ja venäjänkielistä vähemmistöä edustavien nuorten ulkoryhmäasenteisiin. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen tausta perustui Allportin (1954) kontaktihypoteesiin, sosiaalipsykologiseen tutkimukseen normien vaikutuksista ulkoryhmäasenteisiin (esim. Rutland, 2004; Stangor & Leary, 2006) sekä kehityspsykologiseen tutkimukseen eksplisiittisten (tietoisten) ja implisiittisten (automaattisesti aktivoituvien) ulkoryhmäasenteiden kehityksestä nuoruusiässä (esim. Barrett, 2007; Killen, McGlothlin, & Henning, 2008).

Tutkimuksen pääasiallisena tehtävänä oli tarkastella koettujen sosiaalisten normien roolia nuorten ulkoryhmäasenteiden muodostumisessa. Ensiksi, tutkimus osoitti, että koettu normatiivinen paine myönteisten ulkoryhmäasenteiden ilmaiseksi säätelee eksplisiittisten ja impliittisten asenteiden välistä suhdetta. Toiseksi, koetut asennonormit (vanhempien ja vertaisten ulkoryhmäasenteet) vaikuttavat ryhmienvälisen kontaktin ja eksplisiittisten ulkoryhmäasenteiden suhteeseen eri tavoin sukupuolesta ja ryhmän statuksesta riippuen. Myönteiset normit näyttävät olevan erityisen tärkeitä enemmistöryhmää edustavien poikien asenteiden kannalta: jotta heillä olisi yhtä myönteiset asenteet kuin tytöillä, tarvitaan asenteiden tueksi niin myönteisiä kontaktikokemuksia kuin myönteisiä asennonormejakin. Sosiaalisten normien vaikutus asenteisiin on korostunut myös etniseen vähemmistöön kuuluvien nuorten kohdalla: heidän on tarpeen verrata asenteitaan ja kokemuksiaan ryhmienvälisestä kontaktista toisten sisäryhmänsä jäsenten kokemuksiin ja asenteisiin. Tällainen vertailu ei ole samassa määrin merkityksellistä valta-asemassa olevan enemmistöryhmän kohdalla. Kolmanneksi, osatutkimukset antoivat viitteitä normien ja ryhmienvälisen ahdistuksen kokemuksen vaikutuksista ulkoryhmäasenteisiin. Tutkimuksen perusteella näyttää siltä, että normien vaikutus ulkoryhmäasenteisiin on vähintäänkin yhtä suuri kuin ryhmienvälisen ahdistuksen vaikutus. Lopuksi, tutkimus osoitti, että nuoret eivät arvioi ryhmienvälistä kontaktia vain omien kokemustensa vaan myös oman sisäryhmänsä ja yhteiskunnan näkökulmista.

Yhteenvetona voidaan todeta, että nuorten ulkoryhmäasenteet muodostuvat kiinteässä yhteydessä heidän sosiaaliseen ympäristöönsä. Tutkimus osoitti koettujen sosiaalisten normien tärkeyden ryhmienvälisen kontaktin ja ulkoryhmäasenteiden välistä suhdetta tutkittaessa. Myönteisten normien avulla voidaan parhaimmillaan rikkoa kielteisten kontaktikokemusten ja ennakkoluulojen välinen noidankehä sekä vaikuttaa eksplisiittisten ja implisiittisten asenteiden väliseen suhteeseen.

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Helsinki, 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 2011

Tuuli Anna Mähönen

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## LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

- I Mähönen, T. A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., & Finell, E. (2010). Perceived normative pressure and majority adolescents' implicit and explicit attitudes towards immigrants. *International Journal of Psychology, 45*, 182–189.
- II Mähönen, T. A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (in press). The impact of perceived social norms, gender and intergroup anxiety on the relationship between intergroup contact and ethnic attitudes of adolescents. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*.
- III Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Mähönen, T. A., & Liebkind, K. (in press). Ingroup norms, intergroup contact and intergroup anxiety as predictors of the outgroup attitudes of majority and minority youth. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations (2010)*, doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.06.001.
- IV Mähönen, T. A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., & Finell, E. (2011). Perceived importance of contact revisited: Anticipated consequences of intergroup contact for the ingroup as predictors of the explicit and implicit ethnic attitudes of youth. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*, 19–30.

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals.

# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 A SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE OUTGROUP ATTITUDES OF YOUTH

*"I think that this questionnaire was very interesting and good, because you could honestly tell what you think about Finns and people in general. I think that people from all ethnic groups living in Finland should be respected and accepted the way they are. And of course we should remember EQUALITY!"*

*(Minority girl, 9<sup>th</sup> grade, data set 2007)*

*"Equality is bullshit... If I didn't make myself clear, immigrants should go back where they came from. Except for the Turkish immigrants, without them we wouldn't have kebab restaurants, would we? The rest are like the Mexicans in the USA."*

*(Majority boy, 8<sup>th</sup> grade, data set 2007)*

*"I think that the questions were really good, because racism is wrong and in some cases immigrants are treated with disrespect."*

*(Majority girl, 9<sup>th</sup> grade, data set 2007)*

These comments and feedback written by the participants of the present study give a glimpse into the complex balancing of normative pressures and individual thinking that youth perform when forming their attitudes towards ethnic outgroups. Previous social psychological research has shown that the formation of outgroup attitudes relates not merely to cognitive constructions within the individual mind but to a focal part of the socialisation process of children and youth (e.g., Dunham & Degner, 2010; Stangor & Leary, 2006). Consequently, the burden of building the future multicultural utopia envisaged by adults should not be placed on children and youth. Without undermining their own agency, intelligence and experiences of intergroup contact, youth are still raised by adults, affected by the media and policed by people elected by their parents and other adult role models. However, despite research indicative of the effects of the social and political situation (Verkuyten &

Zaremba, 2005) and societal discourses (Mole, 2007; Suurpää, 2001) on the outgroup attitudes of youth and young adults, in research on the effects of intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes, the effects of social context as well as the factors that hinder intergroup contact's ability to reduce prejudice have largely been ignored (e.g., Pettigrew, 2008). Importantly, as adolescence is a crucial time period for both norm adherence and identity development, the socio-cultural context an individual lives in requires more attention when examining outgroup attitudes among adolescents (Schiefer, Möllering, Daniel, Benish-Weisman, & Boehnke, 2010; Pettigrew, 2008). Moreover, as McGlothlin and Killen (2010, p. 632) point out, understanding the relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes in children and youth by using contextual as well as context-free assessments and by examining how social experience shapes these attitudes is essential in order to effectively reduce intergroup bias, as stereotypes among adults are deeply ingrained and often quite difficult to change.

In addition, research using real life samples in their actual social environment is called for, as the majority of previous studies on the effects of personal intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes have used college students as participants and examined more or less artificial membership categories when studying intergroup contact (McGlothlin & Killen, 2010). There is also a lack of studies addressing the outgroup attitudes of minority group members (but see, e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001), not to speak of studies on outgroup attitudes among minority youth (but see, e.g., Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006). Thus, it is a most timely task to simultaneously consider the contextual, status-related and developmental psychological factors affecting the outgroup attitude formation of majority and minority youth, as combining social and developmental psychological standpoints is a task still too rarely undertaken (see, e.g., Dunham & Degner, 2010). Last but not least, considering the complexity of the construct in focus, outgroup attitudes, the issue of measurement has to be carefully considered (see, e.g., Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005). When trying to grasp an issue as socially sensitive as the outgroup attitudes of ethnic majority and minority youth, both explicit and implicit measures of attitudes need to be employed in order to obtain knowledge not only on the factors affecting them, but also on the factors affecting the relationship between them.

To address these objectives, the present study investigates the direct and interactive effects of perceived social norms and personal experiences of intergroup contact on the outgroup attitudes of majority and minority youth. Next, a brief overview of Finland as the intergroup context of this study is provided.

## 1.2 THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Despite increasing immigration particularly from Russia, people with other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami as their mother tongue constitute only 3.6% of the total population of Finland, one of the lowest proportions of inhabitants with a foreign background in Europe (Statistics Finland, 2008). The Russian-speaking minority is the largest ethnic minority group with an immigrant background (40%) in Finland (Statistics Finland, 2008). Despite their varying ethnic backgrounds, the members of the Russian-speaking minority are typically considered Russians by the Finnish majority (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Moreover, according to a study by Iskanius (2006), about 70% of the Russian-speaking youth living in Finland see themselves primarily as Russians. Mainly because of historical reasons (e.g., wars between Finland and Russia in 1939–1940 and 1941–1944), the relationship between the Finnish majority and the Russian-speaking minority has been (and still is) quite problematic, involving substantial prejudice and discrimination towards the Russian speakers (e.g., EU-MIDIS, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Perhoniemi, 2006). For example, in a recent European survey on minorities and discrimination (EU-MIDIS, 2009) one quarter of Russians in Finland report being discriminated against in the past 12 months, which was the highest proportion among the four EU member states surveyed with considerable Russian minorities (i.e., Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland). Also interestingly for the present study, according to a recent opinion poll by the Helsinki Gazette, every fifth Finn thinks that there are reasons to be afraid of Russia (Pohjanpalo, 2010).

However, when looking at the bigger picture, attitudes of the Finnish majority towards both work-related and humanitarian immigration have developed in a positive direction over the past two decades (Jaakkola, 2005, 2008). For example, Jaakkola's (2008) research results indicated that 74% of Finns have a positive attitude towards work-related immigration. Nevertheless, in comparison to the attitude climate in other European countries, the attitudes of Finns towards immigrants seem to be somewhat more negative (European Commission, 2008). For example, when asked to evaluate on a scale from 1 (*very uncomfortable*) to 10 (*very comfortable*) how comfortable or uncomfortable it would be to have a person of a different ethnic origin as one's neighbour, the average score of Finns (7.4) was slightly lower compared to the European average (8.1) (European Commission, 2008). Moreover, while 66% of Finns participating in the Eurobarometer study in question (European Commission, 2008) thought that enough effort is made in their home country to fight all forms of discrimination, only 47% of Europeans, on average, thought so. Also, opportunities for and willingness to engage in intergroup contact are scarce in Finland, which might partly contribute to the numbers presented above: 52% of Finns reported having no friends or acquaintances whose

ethnic origin is different, whereas the corresponding European average was 44% (European Commission, 2008). The safest conclusion about the trends in the Finnish attitude climate corresponds to the one made by Rother and Díez Medrano (2006) on tolerance in Western Europe: general positive trends in tolerance do not fully correspond to trends in tolerance of and towards specific groups.

It should also be noted that the present study was conducted during the years 2007–2010, when the world economy was suffering from a serious downswing. The often reported negative impact of economic recessions on attitudes towards immigration (see, e.g., Heinmueller & Hiscox, 2007) seems – at least according to public opinion polls – to have also affected the attitude climate in Finland. According to a recent poll by the Helsinki Gazette, while more than half of Finns were willing to accept more immigrants to Finland in 2007, in spring 2010 only 36% of respondents had that opinion (Elonen, 2010). Moreover, according to another recent poll made by an organisation known for its critical stance towards immigration (i.e., the Homma-forum), while every tenth Finnish respondent was against labour immigration, almost every other respondent was against the immigration of asylum seekers, their family members and quota refugees (Rantanen, 2010).

As regards youth, the youth barometer from 2008 indicated that approximately every fifth 15-29 year old majority Finn was worried about increasing immigration to Finland (Myllyniemi, 2008), while in 2010 only every tenth respondent shared this worry. However, importantly for the present study, the recent youth barometer (Myllyniemi, 2010) reports a shift in a negative direction in the way the youth perceive their normative environment. While 66% of respondents of the survey conducted in 2005 thought that cultural tolerance has increased in the Finnish society, only 26% of respondents thought so in the recent survey of 2010 (Myllyniemi, 2010). Similarly, while 52% of the respondents of the 2005 survey thought that racism has decreased among Finnish youth, only 28% thought so in 2010 (Myllyniemi, 2010). Thus, on the basis of the picture painted of the Finnish attitude climate as a whole, studying normative influences on intergroup relations among youth is a timely task in the Finnish society.

## 2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS ETHNIC OUTGROUPS

### 2.1 BASIC DEFINITIONS

In current mainstream social psychology, attitudes are typically approached with quantitative methods and defined quite generally as “a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event” (Ajzen, 2005, p. 3). Thus, outgroup attitudes are attitudes towards a group of “others” that do not belong to “our” (e.g., ethnic) ingroup. Classically, attitudes have been thought to consist of cognitive, affective and behavioural components that differently reflect an individual’s perceptions of and feelings and behavioural inclinations towards the attitude target (Ajzen, 2005; Erwin, 2001; Haddock & Maio, 2004). Nowadays the simpler definition of attitude as evaluation is becoming increasingly common (Augoustinos, Walker, & Donaghue, 2006, p. 114), or, at least, the evaluative component is seen as the core of an attitude (Ajzen, 2005). However, it should be noted that these two definitions are not necessarily in opposition to each other. For example, Eagly and Chaiken (1993, pp. 1, 16–17) see cognitive, affective as well as behavioural reactions to an attitude target as classes of evaluative responding, even though (a) all three components are neither needed at the point of attitude formation nor at the point of attitudinal responding, and (b) the extent to which the three aspects are consistent with each other varies.

Before discussing the relationship between the concept of attitude and its conceptual neighbours, some words of caution should be added with respect to the value and applicability of the concept of attitude. First, it should be noted that the cognitive, dispositional and non-contextual definition of attitude has been criticised, for example, on behalf of discursive social psychology, in which attitudes are approached as rhetorical acts (e.g., Billig, 1996; Billig et al., 1988; Verkuyten, 1998). Also, in the field of “mainstream social psychology”, Yzerbyt and Kuppens (2009) and Smith and Conrey (2007) among others have recently claimed that attitudes are not stable representations, but rather recreated in each specific situation in which an evaluation is considered necessary. Indeed, research has clearly indicated that it is possible to associate both positive and negative evaluations with the same attitude target (e.g., Billig et al., 1988; de Liver, van der Pligt, & Wigboldus, 2006), and that the formation and expression of outgroup attitudes essentially depends on the social context in question (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Stangor & Leary, 2006; Stephan, Renfro, & Davis, 2008). This understanding of attitudes is in stark

contrast to older definitions of attitudes, and emphasises that individuals' thoughts, feelings and behaviours towards socially relevant objects can be much more flexible than was traditionally thought.

When evaluating the applicability of the concept of attitudes, one cannot leave aside the possible behavioural consequences of attitudes. As decades of research have indicated, the path from attitudes to behaviour is far from simple (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 2006; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009; Erwin, 2001). As Augoustinos and colleagues (2006, p. 125) have summarised, behaviours can "cause" attitudes as much as the other way around, and as often as not behaviours appear to be quite unrelated to attitudes. First, theoretically it is problematic to determine whether discriminatory behaviour or engagement in intergroup contact represents the behavioural component of attitudes (e.g., Ajzen, 2005; Haddock & Maio, 2004), the antecedents of attitudes (e.g., Allport, 1954) or the consequences of attitudes (see, e.g., Binder et al., 2009 on contact effects on attitudes and prejudice effects on contact). Second, outgroup attitudes should not be expected to be empirically linked to discriminatory behaviour unless both are measured in the same context and with the same outgroup in mind (Yzerbyt & Kuppens, 2009). Related to this, research in the field of health psychology, for example, has indicated that in order to predict actual behaviour such as condom use, one should measure attitudes towards using a condom rather than attitudes towards condoms in general (e.g., Ajzen, 2005; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Thus, based on the research reviewed, the concept of attitudes is understood in the present study as a theoretical set of context-sensitive and possibly ambivalent cognitive-affective evaluations. The relationship between attitudes and behaviour, in turn, is approached here through the theoretical lens of the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), while simultaneously acknowledging that the relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes is reciprocal (Binder et al., 2009), as is the relationship between attitudes and behaviour in general (Augoustinos et al., 2006).

In everyday language, the concept of attitude is often used interchangeably with the concepts of prejudice and racism, and in social psychological research literature the three terms are conceptual neighbours. However, some distinctions can and should be made between these concepts. The concept of *prejudice* has often been used as an equivalent of a negative attitude towards an ethnic, racial or other social outgroup (Augoustinos et al., 2006; Forsyth, 1987, p. 614; Perlman & Cozby, 1983, p. 417). Some definitions have stressed the affective side of prejudice (Hewstone, Stroebe, & Jonas, 2008; Yzerbyt & Kuppens, 2009): for example, Yzerbyt and Kuppens (2009, p. 144) have defined prejudice as "the affective reaction that people experience when they are confronted with another group or one of its members". Others, in turn, have utilised definitions that come close to the three-component structure of attitudes described above. For example, Brown (2010, p.



7) defines prejudice as “any attitude, emotion or behaviour towards members of a group, which directly or indirectly implies some negativity or antipathy towards that group”. An intermediate stand is provided by Billig and colleagues (1988, p. 102), according to whom prejudice “refers particularly to irrational feelings or attitudes which are held against social groups”.

The classic and probably most widely referred to definition of prejudice can be found in the book *The nature of prejudice* by Allport (1954, p. 9), where prejudice is defined as “an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalisation”. The book has immensely influenced research on intergroup relations (Wagner, Tropp, Finchilescu, & Tredoux, 2008) and evoked useful analyses of the connotations of the concept of prejudice. Importantly, Billig and colleagues (1988) have noted that in *The nature of prejudice* (Allport, 1954), prejudice is not only analysed, but also morally condemned in order to eradicate it in the name of tolerant rationality (Billig et al., 1988, p. 103). Billig and colleagues propose that the roots of this logic can be found in Enlightenment ideals, as that was the first time that notions of irrationality and ignorance were incorporated into the concept of prejudice (Billig et al., 1988). However, prejudice can be understood also more neutrally as an affective and evaluative bias in favour of the ingroup and/or against outgroups, and as a basic human tendency that is functional and adaptive in the sense that it helps people simplify the complex social world (Operario & Fiske, 1998, p. 34).

Besides its great influence on research, Allport’s (1954) classic definition of prejudice has also evoked some serious criticisms. For example, it has been pointed out that the traditional definition includes only exclusive and violent forms of antipathy, leaving aside more indirect but not less important forms of prejudice such as seemingly well-meant paternalism (Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005; see also Brown, 2010, p. 7, on indirect forms of prejudice). Further, according to Eagly and Diekmann (2005), discrimination does not always require a generalised antipathy towards the discriminated group. Moreover, in line with researchers stressing the importance of social context for the formation of outgroup attitudes, Eagly and Diekmann (2005) point out that prejudice changes as a function of the social context and the groups’ positions in the social structure. Finally, Eagly and Diekmann (2005) state in their analysis that generalisations such as the stereotypes underlying prejudice can be somewhat accurate at the group level, although they are faulty at the individual level. Related to the question of the accuracy of prejudiced beliefs, Brown (2010) has remarked that it is problematic to include any truth value element in the definition of prejudice, as we should evaluate expressions of prejudice not through their relative correctness, but through their implied value connotations. Thus, it can be concluded that although prejudice can be seen as a form of negative outgroup attitude, and although some forms of negative outgroup attitudes could be described also as forms of prejudice, the two partly overlapping concepts

encompass slightly different aspects.

As regards the concept of *racism*, it can be seen as a specific form of prejudice (Augoustinos et al., 2006, p. 236). However, when studying racism, the level of analysis is more on the ideological than on the individual or intergroup level, as racism involves a (scientifically discredited) perception of biological races among human beings and of the superiority of certain races over others (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Vesala, 2002; Liebkind, 1994). However, racism, negative outgroup attitudes as well as prejudice can all be behaviourally manifested and result in ethnic discrimination, unequal treatment based on one's cultural/ethnic background (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2002). Before moving on to the factors affecting outgroup attitudes, a closer look at different manifestations and measurements of attitudes is needed.

## 2.2 EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT OUTGROUP ATTITUDES

In everyday language, the term attitude usually refers to open statements about an attitude target. These are expressions of *explicit attitudes* – attitudes that are overt and consciously controlled (Maass, Castelli, & Arcuri, 2000). However, as it has become in Western societies more and more normative to support ideals of multiculturalism, equality and tolerance, most blatant expressions of negative outgroup attitudes have declined and been at least partly substituted with more subtle manifestations of socially undesirable attitudes (e.g., Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Moreover, these kinds of attitudes are not only socially and societally undesirable, but also a threat to the self-image of people for whom valuing cultural diversity and equality is personally important or at least is the way they prefer to present themselves to others (Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004, Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Since the 1980s, social psychological research on attitudes, prejudice and racism has increasingly focused on symbolic, modern, aversive and subtle forms of attitudes in order to find ways to overcome respondents' unwillingness and/or incapability of reporting negative outgroup attitudes (e.g., Sears & Henry, 2005). In comparison to blatant forms of explicit attitudes, subtle attitudes are defined as more "cool, distant and indirect" (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995, p. 57). Typical aspects of these so-called "new" forms of prejudice include the denial of discrimination, the defence of the individual right to maintain a distance from unwanted outgroups, blaming of the victim and the exaggeration of cultural differences (see, e.g., Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every, 2005; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Sears & Henry, 2005; Vala, Pereira, & Costa-Lopes, 2009). On a continuum from explicit to implicit ethnic attitudes, subtle attitudes are commonly classified as being closer to the implicit end of the continuum than blatant ones, although their expression

is not beyond intentional control, either (Maass et al., 2000).

The most recent steps in finding a measure free from social desirability have been taken in research on *implicit attitudes*. According to a widespread understanding, implicit attitudes represent unconscious mental associations that are difficult to assess with standard self-report measures (see, e.g., Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Maass et al., 2000). However, this assumption has evoked serious criticisms (see, e.g., Gawronski, Hofmann, & Wilbur, 2006; Gawronski, LeBel, & Peters, 2007), as the term unconscious can refer to (a) people's awareness of the origin of a particular attitude, (b) people's awareness of the attitude itself or (c) the influence this attitude has on other psychological processes (Gawronski et al., 2006). Critics have also raised the question of whether it is the attitude or the measure that is implicit (Fazio & Olson, 2003) – if either (Degner & Wentura, 2010; Gawronski et al., 2006). However, in research literature it has become conventional to use the conceptual distinction between explicit vs. implicit attitudes instead of explicitly vs. implicitly measured attitudes.

Various forms of assessment tools ranging from physiological reactions and neuroimaging (see, e.g., Phelps et al., 2000; Olsson & Phelps, 2007) to projective techniques (e.g., Vargas, von Hippel, & Petty, 2004; Vargas, Sekaquaptewa, & von Hippel, 2007) are referred to as measures of implicit attitudes, but the most commonly used tests rely on the measurement of reaction times to stimuli related to the attitude object in question (e.g., the Implicit Association Test, the IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) or reactions to different priming techniques (e.g., Degner & Wentura, 2010; Wittenbrink, 2007). However, these measures of attitudes also remain controversial (see, e.g., Gawronski et al., 2007). For example, as the measurement of implicit attitudes is usually based on the speed and accuracy of associations, criticism has been raised about the conceptual leap from associations to attitudes (Arkes & Tetlock, 2004). Also, the unstable interrelationships between explicit and implicit measures (e.g., Hofmann et al., 2005; Nosek, 2005) as well as between different implicit attitude measures (Fazio & Olson, 2003) have forced researchers to search for more robust ways of measurement and ways to ensure the structural fit of the different attitude measures used within a study.

Moreover, implicit measures of attitudes are found to be context sensitive (e.g., Arkes & Tetlock, 2004; Smith & Conrey, 2007; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 2001) and thus not indicative of a stable evaluative construct that works beyond an individual's conscious control. However, the effects of context on implicit as well as explicit attitudes can be also seen as a potentially promising route towards changing negative outgroup attitudes (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006; Vargas et al., 2004; Wittenbrink et al., 2001) as well as automatic discriminatory behaviours (Dasgupta & Rivera, 2006, 2008; see also Vargas et al., 2004). Moreover, recent research has suggested that the regulation of automatic

associations has the potential to attenuate their influence on intergroup interaction (Gonsalkorale, von Hippel, Sherman, & Klauer, 2009).

In recent years increasingly complex and comprehensive theoretical models have been proposed to account for the relationship between and functioning of explicit and implicit attitudes. One of the two most well-known examples, the QUAD model by Conrey, Sherman, Gawronski, Hugenberg and Groom (2005), focuses on the functioning of implicit attitudes and claims that implicit measures of attitudes, prejudice and stereotyping do not reflect only automatic cognitive processes but the joint contributions of multiple, qualitatively different processes related to the task at hand and more general information processing. The second, the APE model by Gawronski and Bodenhausen (2006), in turn, proposes that implicit or automatic attitudes represent associative reasoning (= activation of association independent of perceived truth or falsity), whereas explicit or deliberate attitudes represent propositional reasoning (= concerned with the validation of evaluations and beliefs). These kinds of theorisations offer promising new approaches to take the prior vague conceptualisations and unsatisfactory methods to a new level in order to understand the underlying processes affecting explicit and implicit social cognition and their interrelationship.

Importantly, the basic question of the effects of self-presentational concerns on explicit and implicit attitudes and their relationship remains unsolved. With adult samples, some researchers have found self-presentation (domain-specific altering of responses for personal or social purposes; Nosek, 2005) and social pressure (general pressure to avoid being prejudiced; Payne, Burkley & Stokes, 2008) to moderate the relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes, but others have not found correlations between implicit and explicit measures to increase as a function of heightened social desirability concerns (Hofmann et al., 2005; Gawronski et al., 2007). Moreover, to my knowledge, no previous studies have focused on this question among adolescents. The task is important as the salience of social norms might be heightened in youth when autonomy from the family is still not fully achieved and the influence of peers is simultaneously growing (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986; Del Valle, Bravo, & López, 2010). Moreover, it is important to validate previous (e.g., experimental) findings in an ecologically valid context with personally relevant sources of normative pressure.

Thus, all pros and cons considered, implicit measures of attitudes currently represent the best available option for measuring attitudes relatively free of self-presentational concerns (Greenwald et al., 2009). Even more importantly, research on qualitatively different forms of outgroup attitudes improves our opportunities to predict actual intergroup behaviour and improve intergroup relations (see, e.g., Greenwald et al., 2009; Prestwich, Kenworthy, Wilson, & Kwan-Tat, 2008). Moreover, research suggest that it may be possible to alter implicit biases through their

explicit forms (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006; Wallaert, Ward, & Mann, 2010). This is why in this study, the predictors of both explicit and implicit outgroup attitudes of youth are addressed.

## 2.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUTGROUP ATTITUDES

Our current understanding of the development of attitudes towards ethnic outgroups in childhood and adolescence mostly relies on theories and empirical evidence on the formation of explicit attitudes. The increasing cognitive capabilities to differentiate within ethnic groups and to use multiple cross-cutting categories are proposed to lead to the decrease of negative outgroup attitudes with age: Aboud's (1988; see also Aboud & Amato, 2001) cognitive-developmental theory suggests an inverted-U relation between age and prejudice. More specifically, according to this line of theorisation, ingroup favouritism and negative outgroup attitudes should peak around the age of six and decrease through the course of middle childhood and early adolescence (Aboud & Amato, 2001). In contrast, Nesdale's (2004) social identity development theory posits that children's positive attitudes towards the ingroup are shifted to negative attitudes towards outgroups from about 7 years of age onwards. However, in children whose socialisation context is supportive of positive intergroup relations, this change in attitudes can simply mean less positive (and not stikingly negative) attitudes towards outgroups – in other words, prejudice does not emerge in all children as a matter of course (Nesdale, 2004). According to Nesdale's (2004) theorisation, rather than knowing and being able to reproduce negative statements about outgroups, a prejudiced person holds them as his/her own. The shift from ingroup preference to outgroup dislike depends on factors such as the ability to emphasise and take the viewpoint of another, as well as on the level of moral reasoning. A more cognitive prerequisite for the development of negative outgroup attitudes is the capability to understand that outgroups have a substance and longevity to which attitudes can be attached. (Nesdale, 2004.) However, research has also indicated that stereotypic expectations may increase with age, and as stereotypes are fundamentally social constructions, the outgroup attitudes of adolescents living in a highly prejudiced environment would probably remain intact in spite of their newly developing cognitive capabilities (see Enesco, Guerrero, Callejas, & Solbes, 2008).

Indeed, also according to the social-cognitive developmental model by Rutland, Killen and Abrams (2010), prejudice development occurs in a close interplay between the development of group identity (e.g., the preservation of group norms) and moral beliefs (e.g., fairness judgements). In a similar vein, it has been suggested that intergroup bias decreases in adolescence because of an increasing capability

of making fairness judgments (Enesco et al., 2008) and an increasing ability to engage in social perspective-taking (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), which contributes to a greater adherence to social norms (Enesco et al., 2008; see also Mulvey, Hitti, & Killen, 2010). Previous research has shown that in adolescence, the salience of (e.g., Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986) and accountability to (e.g., Rutland et al., 2005; Schiefer et al., 2010) social norms are heightened. There are signs that while both parental and peer norms are important for youth, with age, the normative influences of peers (in contrast to parents) strengthen (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008). Peer groups represent important reference groups, in which adolescents receive social support and emotional closeness while renegotiating their dependency relationships with their parents (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). Moreover, alongside the development of autonomy from the family, a young person's understanding of social emotions such as guilt, embarrassment and shame steadily develops in adolescence (FitzRoy & Rutland, 2010; Tangney & Dearing, 2002), and youth are increasingly able to commit themselves to the norms and values of their ingroup due to their more mature identity (Schiefer et al., 2010). For example, recent research results of Schiefer and his colleagues (2010) indicated that adolescents' outgroup attitudes are influenced by the preferred values shared by the individual's cultural group, and the relationship between cultural values and negative outgroup attitudes is stronger among older compared to younger adolescents. This result is in line with the Eurobarometer findings of Leong and Ward (2006): four clusters of cultural values (humanitarianism-egalitarianism, conservation, collectivism and instrumentality) were related to individual's attitudes towards immigration.

Importantly, with increasing norm adherence and stronger group identities, youth are likely to vary their prejudice due to self-presentational concerns (Rutland et al., 2010). According to a recent review on age-related changes regarding stereotyping and exclusion by Mulvey and colleagues (2010), it seems that with age, children are even more focused on group dynamics and their concern with being loyal to group norms increases, which may perpetuate stereotypes and lead to a greater exclusion of outgroup members. In contrast, Mulvey and colleagues (2010) point out that there are also findings showing a decrease in racial prejudice and stereotyping in older children, but this can be explained by their heightened public self-focus (Mulvey et al., 2010). Thus, as the expression of outgroup attitudes is found to be affected by social desirability and normative influences (e.g., Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Sears & Henry, 2005; Stangor & Leary, 2006), implicit attitudes also need to be examined when discussing the development of the outgroup attitudes of youth.

Despite the limited empirical evidence (for critical viewpoints, see Gawronski et al., 2007), it is commonly assumed that implicit attitudes are rooted in early socialisation experiences, while explicit attitudes develop later in life and are more



easily affected by new experiences and information (e.g., Devine, 1989; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2001; see also Degner & Wentura, 2010). Recent studies by Degner and Wentura (2010) shed light on the issue of explicit vs. implicit attitude development. Their results consistently showed that while the expression of explicit bias decreased with age, the expression of implicit bias (assessed with an affective priming method) increased with age. Moreover, after comparing the IAT (i.e., tasks based on forced social categorisation) and affective priming (i.e., tasks based on priming effects) as methods of the assessment of implicit bias, Degner and Wentura (2010) posit an early onset of category-based automatisisation of prejudice and a later onset of exemplar-based prejudice automatisisation. In other words, even though young children can already understand which groups exist and which kinds of evaluations are attached to them, only children of ca. 12–13 years of age are capable of understanding the social consequences of their own and others' group memberships and learn to validly apply social categorisations to individuals (Degner & Wentura, 2010).

Finally, with regard to the key factors affecting the development of adolescents in general and the expression of outgroup attitudes specifically, the role of gender should not be forgotten: there is some evidence of boys having more negative outgroup attitudes and stronger ingroup favouritism compared to girls (Barrett, 2007; for systematically found gender differences in the Finnish attitude climate, see Jaakkola, 2005, 2008; Liebkind & McAlister, 1999). Besides being more inclusive in terms of group categories such as gender and race, females are also found to judge intergroup friendship to be more likely than males (McGlothlin & Killen, 2010). Moreover, girls and women are found to value benevolence and universalism more than boys and men (Schwartz & Rubel, 2005; Silfver-Kuhlampi, 2008). Furthermore, gender may affect not only the development of outgroup attitudes, but also norm adherence and normative behaviour (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). There is some research evidence suggesting that compared to the independent self-images of boys and men, interdependence is a more important part of the self-images of girls and women (Bassen & Lamb-This, 2006; Cross & Madson, 1997; Rankin, Lane, Gibbons, & Gerrard, 2004). This might result in female adolescents' greater adherence to social norms about attitude expression.

It can be concluded that no single theory can fully explain the individual variation in children and youth's attitudes towards outgroups (Barrett, 2007; Rutland, 2004), as children's developmental patterns vary according to the context they live in, their specific situation within that context and the particular target groups involved (Barrett, 2007, p. 255). As pointed out also by Enesco and colleagues (2008), researchers studying intergroup relations among children and youth should acknowledge the historical relationships between the groups in question and their relative positions in the social hierarchy, the traditions and societal values related

to outgroups, the degree of acceptability of negative outgroup attitudes in the surrounding society, and the personal and ingroup experiences of youth. In the present study, the groups studied (i.e., the Finnish majority and the Russian-speaking minority) were chosen by taking into consideration the socio-historical intergroup context. The normative and contact effects on outgroup attitudes represent the very core of the study, and the different societal and cultural positions of majority and minority group members are taken into account: group status (minority/majority) is treated as one of the variables affecting the interplay between personal contact experiences and normative influences on outgroup attitudes. In the next section these themes will be discussed in relation to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis and its recent developments – the main theoretical basis of this study.



### **3 THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS AND ITS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS**

#### **3.1 ALLPORT'S ORIGINAL FORMULATION**

Gordon Allport's (1954) influential theory on the prejudice-reducing effects of intergroup contact has evoked a vast amount of research over the past five decades. According to the so-called contact hypothesis, positive effects on intergroup relations emerge when the groups in contact are equal in status, when they cooperate and have common goals, and when the contact is supported by authorities, law or custom (Allport, 1954). Over time, these four conditions have been supplemented with other influential factors, such as the potential to form friendships, feelings of threat and anxiety, and values and societal norms (Pettigrew, 1998). Despite the call for longitudinal research on intergroup contact and studies on the effects of norms on contact effects (e.g., Pettigrew, 1998), researchers have largely focused on cross-sectional surveys and experimental studies specifying the mediators and moderators of the contact effects presented below.

According to the extensive meta-analysis on contact effects by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), intergroup contact typically reduces explicit prejudice. Moreover, their analysis indicated that contact effects typically generalise to the entire outgroup, and they emerge across a broad range of outgroup targets (i.e., ethnic and other outgroups) and contexts. As regards the optimal (or, in fact, quite utopian; Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005) conditions for intergroup contact outlined by Allport (1954), the meta-analysis indicated that all conditions work together as a bundle of facilitating but not necessary factors for positive contact effects to occur (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) concluded their meta-analysis by calling for research on negative factors that prevent intergroup contact from diminishing prejudice as well as the development of a more comprehensive theory of intergroup contact. The present study aims for its part to address these needs by acknowledging normative influences on the explicit and implicit outgroup attitudes of youth.

### 3.2 THE QUANTITY, QUALITY AND IMPORTANCE OF CONTACT

Intergroup contact is usually operationalised through the quantity and quality of contact. Until quite recently it was believed that the effects of contact quality were more definitive than the effects of contact quantity (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, even mere exposure to the outgroup (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) as well as imagined intergroup contact (Turner, Crisp, & Lambert, 2007) have been found to alter outgroup attitudes. Moreover, recent research has indicated that a good quality of contact may be related to the formation of positive explicit attitudes (Prestwich et al., 2008; Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007), which are characterised by deliberative cognitive reasoning (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). In contrast, contact quantity (i.e., frequent exposure to the outgroup as such) seems to be related to the formation of more positive implicit attitudes (Prestwich et al., 2008; Turner et al., 2007), which are characterised by spontaneous cognitive reasoning (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). However, in some studies, contact quality (Aberson, Shoemaker, & Tomolillo, 2004), the number of outgroup friends (Banaji, Baron, Dunham, & Olson, 2008) and the interaction between contact quality and contact quantity (Aberson & Haag, 2007) have also been found to be associated with implicit attitudes.

In addition to contact quality and quantity, the perceived importance of contact for the individual has been suggested to contribute to the prejudice-reducing effects of intergroup contact. In fact, the results of van Dick and colleagues (2004) suggest the perceived importance of contact to be the best proximal predictor of contact's reduction of prejudice even when the effects of contact quality and quantity are controlled for. This finding is in line with previous studies showing the positive effect of valuing diversity on intergroup relations (Tropp & Bianchi, 2006; see also van Dick, van Knippenberg, Hägele, Guillaume, & Brodbeck, 2008), as well as studies focusing on interest in or readiness for future intergroup contact (Milgram, Geisis, Katz, & Haskaya, 2008; Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Shelton & Richeson, 2006; Tropp, 2003; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006), which have unanimously indicated the positive effects of the willingness to engage in intergroup contact on positive intergroup relations. However, to my knowledge, before the present study no research has been conducted to develop further the theorisation of van Dick and colleagues (2004) on the perceived importance of intergroup contact.

Despite the generally optimistic mainstream of studies published on intergroup contact effects (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, & Wolf, 2006; Wagner, van Dick, Pettigrew, & Christ, 2003), it should be noted that in some contexts with historical intergroup tensions and/or scarcity of resources, the absolute size of the minority group and opportunities for intergroup contact can be positively and not negatively associated with prejudice and inter-

group conflict (Cernat, 2010; Coenders, 2001; McLaren, 2003; Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Coenders, 2002). Importantly, the recent results of Cernat (2010, p. 27) suggest that a larger minority group can mean merely outgroup proximity, not necessarily more opportunities for contact, and that inter-regional comparisons can hide significant intra-regional differences. Also, Wagner, Christ and colleagues (2008, p. 205) point out that in smaller geographical areas, intergroup contact mediates the relationship between minority proportion and prejudice, whereas in larger areas political and media influences can make the topic of immigration so salient that intergroup threat, rather than contact, starts to play a role in outgroup attitude formation. As a further explanation for the sometimes found positive relationship between the absolute size of the ethnic minority group and prejudice, according to Forbes (2004), intergroup contact is a potential cause of assimilation, which makes it also a cause of potential intergroup conflict, at least from the minority group's perspective. Hjern (2009), in turn, found in his study on anti-immigrant attitudes in Sweden that neither the proportion of the immigrant population nor the political climate of municipalities had any effect on anti-immigrant attitudes, whereas the economic context mattered in that negative attitudes were strongest in poor municipalities with a large share of immigrants. Thus, it seems that it is not the the proportion of immigrants as such, but the complex interactions between the local intergroup proportions, the economic situation and the nature of intergroup contact that explain the differences in research findings.

On a more general level, what brings these critical notions together is the questioning of methodological individualism in studies on contact effects. Not only are individual attitudes formed in close connection to the social and societal context at hand (e.g., Wagner et al., 2008), but shifts in prejudice also happen in groups of people and not just within individuals (Dixon et al., 2005). Moreover, when studying the outgroup attitudes of adolescents, it should be noted that reasoning based on personal choice on the one hand, and on group functioning on the other, increases with age, which makes adolescents see intergroup relations also from the viewpoint of their ingroup (Killen et al., 2008). Thus, based on the research reviewed, the proper way of applying intergroup contact theory seems to be to acknowledge the social nature of intergroup relations and to see the individual as a member of his or her ingroup (see, e.g., Pettigrew, 1998; Schieffer et al., 2010; Yzerbyt & Kuppens, 2009). As regards the role of the perceived quality, quantity and importance of contact, in this study the focus is both on the individual's contact experiences and on the importance of contact as perceived by the individual on behalf of his or her ingroup.

### 3.3 INTERGROUP ANXIETY

Intergroup anxiety, defined as feelings of uneasiness and distress during intergroup encounters, is a part of Stephan and colleagues' (2008) threat theory which focuses on perceived realistic (related to the ingroup's material welfare) and symbolic (related to the ingroup's world-view) threats, negative stereotypes and experiences of intergroup anxiety as the antecedents and consequences of intergroup conflict. The theory makes a distinction between threats to individual group members and threats to the ingroup as perceived by the individual, but intergroup anxiety relates explicitly to the experiences of the individual (Stephan et al., 2008). Intergroup anxiety arises from the expectation of negative consequences, such as misunderstandings and embarrassment, for oneself in intergroup encounters (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). On the one hand, rare and/or negative contact experiences are seen to precede feelings of intergroup anxiety (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985), but on the other hand, intergroup anxiety may lead to the avoidance of intergroup encounters (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Besides its direct effects on outgroup evaluations (e.g., Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006; Stephan et al., 2002), intergroup anxiety is probably the most studied mediator of contact effects. Intergroup anxiety has been found, in line with the theorisation of Stephan and Stephan (1985), to mediate the effects of intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes or at least their explicit forms (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tam, Hewstone, Harwood, Voci, & Kenworthy, 2006; Voci & Hewstone, 2003; see also Brown & Hewstone, 2005). However, research evidence on the relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup anxiety is unclear and mixed; while some studies have found contact to decrease anxiety, some studies have found contact to increase it, and others have failed to find any association between the two (see Paolini, Hewstone, Voci, Harwood, & Cairns, 2006, for a review). Moreover, the role of intergroup anxiety in contact-attitude association has not – to my knowledge – been previously studied simultaneously with perceived social norms within the ingroup, even though both of these factors have been found to directly predict both engagement in intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes (e.g., Riek et al., 2006; Stangor & Leary, 2006). Thus, more research is required in order to determine the role of intergroup anxiety in the contact-attitude association.

### 3.4 INGROUP NORMS

There are both theoretical and empirical grounds for claiming that ingroup norms have a direct effect on outgroup attitudes (for a review, see Stangor & Leary, 2006). Moreover, as indicated in the research reviewed above, social norms have a crucial

impact on the development of the outgroup attitudes of children and youth (e.g., Enesco et al., 2008; Nesdale, 2004; Rutland et al., 2005). Ingroup norms have been approached in previous research literature on intergroup relations both from the viewpoint of norms regarding acceptable outgroup attitudes (e.g., Liebkind & McAlister, 1999; Poteat & Spanierman, 2010; Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009; Stangor & Leary, 2006) and norms regarding the acceptability of intergroup contact (e.g., Ata, Bastian, & Lusher, 2009; Feddes et al., 2009). However, empirical research has overlooked the interplay between intergroup contact and social norms when predicting outgroup attitudes (but see Cook, 1984). Nevertheless, two theoretical hypotheses have been suggested for the possible interaction effect of norms and intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes. First, social norms may moderate the association between contact and outgroup attitudes so that if attitudes towards outgroups are perceived to be positive within the ingroup, intergroup contact is more willingly accepted and has more positive effects on the attitudes of individuals (cf., Cook, 1984; Pettigrew, 1998; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). On the other side of the coin, detrimental norms deter positive contact from diminishing prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Second, contact may also moderate the association between social norms and outgroup attitudes. In a study by Towles-Schwen and Fazio (2001), early positive contact experiences helped children with prejudiced parents to overcome their discomfort about interacting with outgroup members. Rodríguez-García and Wagner (2009) also mention the possibility that a person reporting important contact experiences with outgroup members is less dependent on secondary information about the outgroup than a person with less important or no contact with outgroup members.

Another line of research relevant for the present study has focused on normative processes affecting explicit and implicit expressions of negative outgroup attitudes among different age groups (e.g., Hofmann et al., 2005; Monteiro, França & Rodrigues, 2009; Nosek, 2005). As Rutland (2004) has pointed out, the degree to which children and youth demonstrate explicitly negative outgroup attitudes may well be moderated by their ability to critically evaluate the legitimacy and acceptability of these attitudes on the basis of their internalised normative beliefs about the expression of particular views. Importantly, according to the results reported by Abrams and Rutland (2008), older children have achieved the ability to understand the rules of group loyalty, and by the age of eleven they are likely to judge the behaviour of individual group members in terms of the intergroup implications of those behaviours (see also Mulvey et al., 2010). By adolescence, youth are able to spontaneously enact self-presentation and bias regulation, even when public self-focus is manipulated to be low (Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005). In studies among adults, some researchers have found self-presentation (the domain-specific altering of responses for personal or social purposes; Nosek, 2005) and social pressure (general pressure to avoid being prejudiced; Payne et al., 2008) to

moderate the relationship between implicitly and explicitly expressed attitudes. In contrast, social desirability (an individual's general tendency to present oneself positively) has not been found to moderate the relationship between implicit and self-reported attitudes (Gawronski et al., 2007; Hofmann et al., 2005).

To sum up, besides the possible interplay between personal contact experiences and social norms, the moderating role of normative pressure in the relationship between explicit and implicit attitudes also remains unclear. Studies on ingroup norms vary in relation to their focus on actual or perceived norms. While in some studies it has been stressed that the norms reported by the senders of the norms themselves should be measured (e.g., Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008), in other studies it has been stressed that it is usually the perception of others' attitudes or behaviours that is directly influential on the individual, rather than others' actual attitudes or behaviours (Ata et al., 2009; Neighbors, Dillard, Lewis, Bergstrom, & Neil, 2006). In this study the focus is specifically on *perceived ingroup norms regarding outgroup attitudes*, as the study tries (1) to explain the relationship between explicit and implicit attitudes, and (2) to disentangle the interplay between youth's perceptions of intergroup contact experiences and ingroup norms in their expressions of outgroup attitudes. However, making the issue even more complex, the different positions and motivations of majority and minority group members need to be taken into account.

### 3.5 GROUP STATUS

Majority and minority groups differ not only in group size, but also in terms of the power and status of the groups, with the latter mostly ranking lower in society's status hierarchy than the former (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007; Simon, 2004; Simon, Aufderheide, & Kampmeier, 2001). As a consequence, majority and minority groups differ also with regard to their resources, perspectives, expectations and motivations in a given intergroup interaction situation (Dovidio, Gaertner, Saguy, & Halabi, 2008). Recent longitudinal and meta-analytic studies with adult and adolescent samples have indicated that while positive experiences of intergroup contact are consistently found to improve the outgroup attitudes of majority group members (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the effects of intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes are small or even non-existent among minority group members (Binder et al., 2009; Feddes et al., 2009; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008).

At least three kinds of explanations have been given for this difference in contact effects. First, minority members are suggested to experience distrust in intergroup contexts due to prior histories of prejudice and discrimination (Tropp, 2008) and the general devaluation of their ingroup (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), which inhib-

its the potential for positive contact outcomes. For example, Tropp (2007) found no significant contact effects on outgroup attitudes among African Americans who had experienced discrimination.

Second, minority group members may perceive intergroup encounters more negatively than majority group members (see, e.g., Shelton, Dovidio, Hebl, & Richeson, 2009) and be less convinced than majority group members about the extent to which the optimal conditions for intergroup contact (equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of external authorities, law or custom; Allport, 1954) are met (Feddes et al., 2009; see also Tropp & Prenovost, 2008). For example, according to the recent research results of Killen and colleagues (2008), minority youth evaluate exclusion based on group functioning as a proxy for racism, whereas majority youth view such exclusion as addressing group functioning rather than race.

Third, the different motivations of majority and minority group members have consequences on the success of intergroup encounters. On the one hand, on the basis of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), it can be expected that majority group members are more motivated than minority members to secure the status quo, whereas social change is more in the interests of minority group members (Dovidio et al., 2008). On the other hand, as Forbes (2004) has remarked, close intergroup contact can be seen as a potential threat of assimilation, at least for minority group members. As regards multicultural vs. assimilationist orientations, majority groups are found to prefer assimilation to the mainstream culture to a higher degree than minority group members, for whom a multiculturalist or separationist orientation would secure the maintenance of their cultural heritage (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). However, in some intergroup contexts the reverse pattern may be more functional. In Portugal, the representation of majority and minority groups as one group reduced more efficiently the prejudice of minority group members, whereas dual identity representation of separate majority and minority groups reduced more efficiently the prejudice of majority group members (Guerra et al., 2006). Thus, to determine, which representation of group identities and intergroup relations most effectively promotes the goals of majority and minority group members, the cultural context needs to be taken into account.

Finally, it should be noted that not only the effects of intergroup contact, but also (a) the effects of perceived social norms and (b) the interplay between contact experiences and social norms can differ between majority and minority group members. At first glance, based on studies using adult samples, it might be expected that majority group members are especially concerned about violating the societal norms of valuing diversity and having positive outgroup attitudes, as these ideals have become highly normative in Western societies (Dovidio et al., 2007; FitzRoy



& Rutland, 2010; Shelton & Richeson, 2006). However, less is known about the self-regulation of outgroup attitudes among children and youth (FitzRoy & Rutland, 2010), and as regards the differences in attitudinal self-regulation in minority groups, minority group members typically find themselves in a situation where the fear of retaliation may induce them to avoid appearing prejudiced towards the majority group (Simon et al., 2001). The effect of this fear may be the same as that of societal norms on the outgroup attitudes of majority members, although the reasons for self-regulation differ. As for the pronounced role of ingroup social norms for minority group members with an immigrant background, immigrants living in Western societies often come from more hierarchical and conservative cultures (e.g., Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Schwartz & Bardi, 1997) or from cultures with socio-economic conditions that necessitate material as well as interpersonal interdependence (see Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Moreover, the role of perceived ingroup norms in the formation of minority youth's outgroup attitudes could be especially accentuated when they are exposed to negative intergroup contact. Dealing with negative intergroup contact experiences such as discrimination by seeking advisory, informative and emotional support from parents and peers has been found to have a buffering effect against the often found negative association between discrimination and psychological adaptation (Van Geel & Vedder, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001).

The role of social support is important especially for children and adolescents, who have a limited ability to understand the reasons behind their negative contact experiences and to decide upon appropriate reactions to them (Van Geel & Vedder, 2009). Importantly, significant ingroup members offer not only support for coping with unpleasant contact experiences but also normative models of desired outgroup attitudes, as the perception of intergroup contact as negative often involves discussions with ingroup members to obtain their perspective and insight into one's own experiences (Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1998). Thus, it is worth examining how majority and minority youth balance their own experiences of intergroup contact in relation to their perceived social norms when forming attitudes towards ethnic outgroups.

### 3.6 OTHER SPROUTS OF THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

As Wright (2009) summarises, the first decades of research on the contact hypothesis focused on the question of *when* contact reduces prejudice, whereas during the last 15 years the key question has been *why* it does so. For example, positive intergroup contact is seen to reduce intergroup anxiety (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993) and increase self-disclosure (e.g., Tam et al., 2006), empathy (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tam et al., 2006), perspective-taking (e.g., Aberson & Haag, 2007)



and the inclusion of the other in the self (see, e.g., Wright, 2009), which, in turn, are associated with more positive outgroup attitudes. Importantly, according to Wright (2009), intergroup friendship can be seen as a form of including the other in the self, whereas the generalisation of positive interpersonal contact experiences to cover the whole outgroup can be seen as a form of including the outgroup in the self – thus giving one plausible explanation of why contact reduces prejudice.

In another notable trend, a growing line of research has focused on the potential of extended intergroup contact in improving intergroup relations and on the role of including the other in the self in this process (e.g., Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2006; Feddes et al., 2008; Liebkind & McAlister, 1999; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin, & Ropp, 1997). According to the extended contact hypothesis (Wright et al., 1997), knowing that your ingroup member with whom you can relate has a close friendship with a typical outgroup member can lead to more positive attitudes towards the whole outgroup. Several explanations, such as reduced intergroup anxiety, changed perceptions of ingroup norms and including the other in the self have been proposed to account for extended contact effects, but to date, no full understanding of the moderating and mediating effects of the functioning of extended contact has been reached. Also imagined intergroup contact, the mere imagining of an intergroup contact situation (see Turner et al., 2007), has been suggested to lead to more positive outgroup attitudes, but as direct contact has been found to have more robust longitudinal effects on outgroup attitudes than those of extended contact (Feddes et al., 2009), it is – in light of present research evidence – plausible that the effects of imagined contact cannot surpass the effects of direct positive intergroup encounters, either.

Research on the inclusion of the other in the self builds a link between research on intergroup contact effects and research on the effects of group categorisation to “us” and “them” on outgroup attitudes (see, e.g., Cameron et al., 2006; Files, Casey, & Oleson, 2010; Guerra et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1998; Wright, 2009). There has been a vivid discussion on how intergroup boundaries should be organised in order to improve intergroup relations most efficiently. While some theoretical models have stressed the negative effects of category salience on outgroup attitudes (Brewer & Miller, 1984), others have argued for the importance of some category salience for positive attitude generalisation to occur (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). According to current understanding, however, these two ways of theorising are not at variance with each other: for the best intergroup outcomes, social identities on both the inclusive superordinate and subgroup levels need to be simultaneously acknowledged and respected (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007).

Even though the effects of group categorisation and most of the mediators of contact effects are beyond the scope of the present study, this brief summary builds

links to other, no less important sprouts of Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. In this study the choice was to focus on the under-researched balancing of personal contact experiences and perceived social norms in the outgroup attitude formation of youth. Next, the aims of the study are outlined more specifically.

## 4 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The present study aims to further develop the research on the contact hypothesis by acknowledging the social nature of intergroup relations. As regards the effects of intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes, the focus is both on the individual's personal contact experiences and on the importance of contact as perceived by the individual on behalf of his or her ingroup. The ingroup's influence on outgroup attitudes is even more accentuated in the study's focus on normative influences. The study will look at the interplay between personal intergroup contact experiences and perceived ingroup norms, as well as at the moderating role of perceived normative pressure in the relationship between the explicit and implicit outgroup attitudes of youth. Moreover, to fully understand the effects of personal contact experiences and social norms on the formation of outgroup attitudes in adolescence, the different socialisation processes of girls and boys, as well as the different status positions and motivations of majority and minority group members are taken into account. Finally, the effects of perceived social norms within the ingroup will be studied, for the first time, by simultaneously acknowledging the role of intergroup anxiety in the contact-attitude association.

The first two research questions addressed in this study and covered in Article I are related to the socially determined expression of ethnic outgroup attitudes among majority youth. First, it is asked **whether perceived normative pressure (i.e., one's perception of the normative expectations of family and friends regarding one's outgroup attitudes) has a direct impact on the explicit outgroup attitudes of majority youth**. Based on studies on the effects of perceived social norms on outgroup attitude expression (e.g., Monteiro et al., 2009; Stangor & Leary, 2006) it is hypothesised that normative pressure is positively associated with explicit attitudes towards immigrants (H1). In other words, the more normative pressure is perceived, the more positive the outgroup attitudes of youth should be. Second, it is asked **whether this normative pressure moderates the relationship between the explicit and implicit attitudes attitudes of majority youth towards immigrants**. As previous research has found self-presentation and social pressure to moderate the relationship between implicitly and explicitly expressed outgroup attitudes (Nosek, 2005; Payne, Burkley & Stokes, 2008), perceived normative pressure is expected to moderate the relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes towards Russian immigrants. Explicit and implicit attitudes are expected to correspond with each other only when there is less normative pressure to express positive attitudes towards immigrants (H2).

Third, the study focuses on the interplay between familial and peer influenc-

es and personal contact experiences in the explicit attitude formation of majority youth. In Article II it is asked **whether perceived social norms moderate the relationship between the quality of personal contact experiences and outgroup attitudes so that positive norms strengthen the positive effect of contact on blatant as well as subtle forms of explicit attitudes among majority youth.** It has been suggested that if attitudes towards ethnic outgroups are positive within the ingroup, intergroup contact is more willingly accepted and has more positive effects on the outgroup attitudes of individuals (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Thus, in this study it is expected that perceived social norms will generally moderate the relationship between the quality of intergroup contact and attitudes so that positive norms strengthen the effect of positive contact on blatant as well as subtle attitudes (H3). In addition, as the assumption of the generic moderating effect of social norms has not been challenged with a gender perspective, even though women are found to be socially more engaged than men (e.g., Rankin et al., 2004), in Article II **it is explored whether familial and peer norms moderate the relationship between the quality of intergroup contact and attitudes differently depending on gender.**

Fourth, besides gender, group status may also affect the way perceived social norms and intergroup contact affect the explicit attitudes of youth. Thus, in Article III it is asked **whether the effects of intergroup contact and social norms on outgroup attitudes are different among majority and minority youth.** As minority group members' perception of intergroup contact as negative often involves reflection on the contact with ingroup members to obtain their perspective and insight into their experiences (Swim et al., 1998), it is hypothesised in this study that perceived norms and the quality of intergroup contact have a joint effect on outgroup attitudes only among minority youth (H4). More specifically, minority group members' negative contact experiences are expected to be associated with negative attitudes towards the majority only when the perceived ingroup norms support the expression of negative outgroup attitudes. However, as negative intergroup contacts rarely lead majority group members to attribute negative characteristics to themselves when confronted with negative attitudes towards their ingroup (Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998), and as such negative outgroup attitudes or prejudice may not be perceived to be as severe as among minority group members (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002), perceived norms and contact experiences are expected to affect the outgroup attitudes of majority group members independently of each other.

Fifth, it must be recognised that not only the normative influences within the immediate social surroundings, but also in the larger society, affect the attitudes of youth. Increasing immigration means also increasing intergroup contact, and therefore it is important to study majority group members' perceptions of future

contact as antecedents of their explicit and implicit attitudes towards immigrants. It is argued that reasons for perceiving intergroup contact as important (or unimportant) derive from the anticipated consequences of that contact for the ingroup (cf., Tropp & Bianchi, 2006; van Dick et al., 2008). Thus, in Article IV it is asked **how perceiving future intergroup contact as important because of anticipated realistic (i.e., economic) and symbolic (i.e., cultural) gains for the ingroup affects the explicit and implicit attitudes of majority youth towards immigrants.** Following studies on propositional vs. associative reasoning (Rydell & McConnell, 2006; Rydell, McConnell, Mackie, & Strain, 2006), perceiving intergroup contact as important because of a concrete need for the outgroup's potential value to the society (i.e., perceiving realistic gains) can be expected to result in a slow accumulation of associations in the memory, which, in turn, are reflected in implicit attitudes. However, as explicit attitudes are found to rely "on logical, verbal, or symbolic representations at a relatively higher order level of cognitive processing" (Rydell & McConnell, 2006, p. 996), perceiving intergroup contact as important because of symbolic gains (such as cultural enrichment) can be expected to require higher order cognitive processing and therefore to be reflected in explicit attitudes. Thus, in this study a positive association between symbolic (i.e., cultural) gains and explicit attitudes is expected (H5), as well as a positive association between realistic (i.e., economic) gains and implicit attitudes (H6).

Finally, the present study focuses on the effects of intergroup anxiety on outgroup attitudes. As discussed above, previous research has attested to its direct effect on attitudes, as well as to its mediating role in the relationship between intergroup contact and attitudes. However, to my knowledge, normative influences and intergroup anxiety have rarely been studied simultaneously, and the existing research results are inconsistent. Thus, a more rigorous examination of the predictive power of each of these key predictors of outgroup attitudes among majority and minority youth is called for. In Articles I-III it is explored **whether both perceived social norms and intergroup anxiety work as independent predictors of the explicit outgroup attitudes of majority and minority youth.**

## 5 METHODS

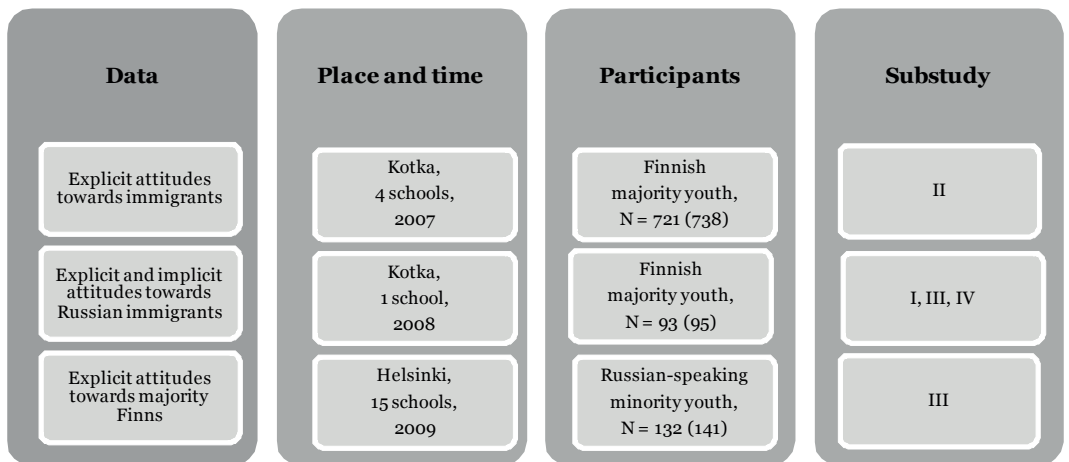
### 5.1 PARTICIPANTS

The data for this study was collected in three stages, which are presented in Figure 1. In total, 974 pupils of 20 upper level comprehensive schools (grades 7–9) participated in the study. The first two data sets were collected among Finnish majority youth in Kotka near the Russian border, where the cultural exchange between Finns and Russians is particularly lively. In order to find enough Russian-speaking participants belonging to the same age group, the third data set was collected in Helsinki. The schools were chosen for the study on the basis of their ethnic composition: as the effects of intergroup contact were the focus of the study, the places chosen for data collection had to offer opportunities for this contact. In the first data set, schools from different socio-economic areas were chosen, and the second data set was collected in one of the schools with the highest numbers of immigrant pupils visited in the first wave of data collection. In the first two stages of data collection, the criteria for choosing the classes for data collection were that (1) the classes had to represent all three grades of the upper level comprehensive school, and (2) the whole class had to be able to participate in the study at the time of data collection. Otherwise, the classes were randomly chosen by the schools.

Even though most of Finland's ethnic minority population is concentrated in the Helsinki metropolitan area, as many as 15 schools with the highest percentage of Russian-speaking pupils needed to cooperate in order to ensure that enough pupils represented the same age group. The 15 schools were chosen on the basis of the number of Russian-speaking pupils: data collection was conducted in schools giving courses in Russian as a mother tongue with at least 20 Russian-speaking pupils. In this third stage of the data collection, the participants were chosen on the grounds of the mother tongue of their parents: if at least one of the parents was Russian speaking, the pupil could participate in the study.

The first data set was collected among Finnish majority youth in Kotka. The focus of this data collection was on the predictors of the explicit attitudes of Finnish majority youth towards immigrants living in Finland. A total of 738 pupils participated in this round of data collection, but because of missing data, only the full data of 721 participants (mean age 14 years, 52% females) was used in the analyses. No systematic bias was detected with regard to the participants with missing data.

The second data set was also collected among Finnish majority youth in Kotka. This round of data collection focused on the predictors of explicit and implicit attitudes towards Russian immigrants and not on immigrants living in Finland in general, as the aim was to be able to eventually compare the attitudes of Russian-speaking youth towards Finns with those of Finns towards Russian speakers. Measuring the attitudes towards a specific outgroup was justified because the measure chosen to tap implicit attitudes required the use of a single evaluated target (see the description of the Single Target Implicit Attitude Test, ST-IAT, below). A total of 95 pupils from five classes (response rate 100%) participated in this stage, but due to the poor quality of their ST-IAT responses (more than 10% of trials with a latency of less than 300 ms), the data of two respondents had to be excluded from the analysis. As the final sample size was quite small ( $N = 93$ , mean age 15 years, 46% females), missing data was replaced in the analyses with mean values.



Note: Numbers in parentheses refer to the total number of participants in each data set, including participants who were excluded from the analysis.

Figure 1. Data sets used in the study.

The third data set on the predictors of the explicit attitudes of minority youth towards the Finnish majority was collected among Russian-speaking minority youth in Helsinki. Data on their attitudes towards other immigrant groups was also collected, but that part of the data is not included in this thesis. In total, 141 pupils participated in this stage of the study, and they represent ca. 37% of all Russian-speaking students of that age group in Helsinki at the time of the study. The response rate had to be estimated on the basis of numbers given by the Russian language teachers: 141 out of their 143 pupils (99%) participated in the study. However, four pupils had to be excluded from the data because of their age (one 13 year old and three 18 year olds) in order to get the data set to match the rest of the data sets. Moreo-

ver, analysis of the missing data indicated that five respondents had left more than 15% of their responses blank, and were thus omitted from the analyses. Thus, the final sample size in this data set was 132 (mean age 15, 50% females), and in the analyses their missing data was replaced with mean values.

## 5.2 PROCEDURE

All three data sets were collected in the schools during lessons. All the participants were told that the study is about youth's experiences of cultural encounters, especially between the Finnish majority and (Russian) immigrants. The participants were also told that participation was voluntary and that their anonymity would be secured. The necessary permission for data collection was obtained from the parents, the local boards of education and the school principals.

The first data set was collected by the author and two research assistants, but in one school ( $n = 136$ ) the teachers carried out the data collection according to detailed written instructions. The second data set was collected by the author and her colleague (Eerika Finell). After all the participants had filled in the questionnaire in the classroom under the supervision of my colleague, they were randomly assigned to small groups of 2–6 persons to take the ST-IAT test in a different room under my supervision. While the tests were taking place, the rest of the class watched a nature documentary film (*March of the Penguins* by Jacquet, 2005) and were not allowed to discuss the test. The third data set was collected during the participants' Russian language lessons by the author and her research assistant (Meri-Tuuli Hirvonen) (2 schools), the research assistant (3 schools), and by the teachers, according to detailed written instructions (10 schools).

## 5.3 MEASURES OF THE MAIN VARIABLES USED IN THE STUDY

The survey questionnaire was available in Finnish for the majority participants and also in Russian for the minority participants. The measures were back-translated from English or Finnish to Russian. The Finnish majority represented the outgroup in the minority questionnaire, and either Russian immigrants or immigrants living in Finland in general represented the outgroup in the two majority questionnaires.

*The quality of intergroup contact (Studies I-IV).* Following Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns and Christ (2007), the quality of intergroup contact was measured in Study II with a single item asking whether contact with outgroup members was generally pleasant or not (very unpleasant – very pleasant, with higher scores denoting more positive contact). In a similar vein, to assess the quality of



intergroup contact in Studies I, III and IV, the respondents were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale whether past contact with (1) adult outgroup members and (2) outgroup members from the respondent's own age group was generally pleasant or not (very unpleasant – very pleasant). Higher scores indicated more pleasant contact experiences. A summed score was created to measure the perceived quality of intergroup contact.

*The quantity of intergroup contact (Studies I-IV).* The measures for the quantity of intergroup contact were also adapted from Tausch and colleagues (2007). In Study II, the present quantity of intergroup contact was measured on a 5-point bipolar scale with the question “Currently, how often do you have contact with members of other ethnic groups (e.g., in school, in your neighbourhood, during hobbies or in leisure time)?” (never – very often), with higher scores indicating more frequent intergroup contact. In Studies I, III and IV, the respondents were asked to indicate on a 5-point bipolar scale how often they were in contact with (1) adult and (2) adolescent Russian immigrants (never – very often), with higher scores denoting more frequent contact. A summed score was created to measure the perceived quantity of intergroup contact.

*Intergroup anxiety (Studies I-III).* A scale adapted by Tausch et al. (2007) from the original scale by Stephan and Stephan (1985) was used to measure experiences of intergroup anxiety. Respondents were asked, “If you were the only member of your ethnic group and you were interacting with people from other ethnic groups (e.g., talking to them or doing homework with them), how would you feel?” Respondents answered on a 5-point scale whether they would feel more or less nervous, anxious, comfortable, awkward, safe and at ease, with higher scores denoting more anxiety. A summed score was created to measure intergroup anxiety.

*Perceived normative pressure (Study I).* Two items adapted from Rasmussen, Damsgaard, Poulsen and Due (2005) were used to assess perceived normative pressure (“What attitude would your [family/friends] like you to take towards Russian immigrants?”). The respondents rated their opinions on a 7-point scale (very negative – very positive), with higher scores denoting more perceived normative pressure to have positive attitudes towards the outgroup. A summed score was created to measure perceived normative pressure.

*Perceived social norms (Studies II-III).* To assess adolescents' general perceptions of parental and peer norms for outgroup attitudes, they were asked to evaluate how positive or negative the attitudes of their (1) parents and (2) friends were towards the outgroup in question. The respondents marked their views on a 5-point scale (very negative – very positive), with higher scores denoting more positive perceived norms. A summed score was created to measure perceived social norms.

*The perceived importance of intergroup contact for the ingroup (Study IV).* Measures for the perceived realistic (i.e., material) and symbolic (i.e., cultural) in-

group gains anticipated to result from future intergroup contact were developed for this study. To accentuate that the two single items used are about perceived gains for the ingroup (not just for the respondent as an individual), the following instruction was given: “Immigration to Finland is increasing. People have different views on the extent to which different cultural groups need each other for Finnish society to function optimally. Please circle the number that corresponds to your view.” The respondents were then asked to rate on a 7-point scale the following two single items: (1) “Finns need Russian immigrants to enrich their culture and way of life” and (2) “Finns need Russian immigrants for reasons related to the labour market and the economy” (not at all – very much), with higher scores denoting more perceived need.

*Perceived school achievement (Study II).* Achievement was assessed with a single-item measure “I think that my school achievement is...” (poor / below average / average / above average / good). Higher scores indicated better self-rated school achievement.

*Explicit outgroup attitudes (Studies I-IV).* In studies I, II and IV, a scale previously used by Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Solheim (2009) was adapted for the school context. The scale consisted of nine items (e.g., “I treat Russian immigrants the same way I treat Finns”; “Russian immigrants are annoying”), which were assessed on a 5-point scale (totally disagree – totally agree), with higher scores denoting more positive attitudes. In Study II, these nine items constituted a measure of blatant explicit attitudes, while three more items measuring subtle attitudes tapped typical aspects of the so-called “new” or “symbolic” forms of prejudice (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 2005; Sears & Henry, 2005): the denial of discrimination, the defence of the individual’s right to maintain a distance from unwanted outgroups and blaming of the victim. The subtle attitude items were reshaped from scales by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995; “If immigrants would only try harder, they could be as well off as Finnish people”) and Liebkind and McAlister (1999; “Immigrants can blame themselves if they are scorned”; “People have the right to keep immigrants away from their neighbourhood”). The subtle attitude scale was assessed on a 5-point scale (totally disagree – totally agree) with higher scores denoting more positive attitudes. In study III, outgroup attitudes were measured with the feeling thermometer, which has been widely used to study the attitudes of both ethnic majority and minority members (e.g., Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008). The instruction was as follows: “If feelings could be described with a thermometer with a scale from 0 to 100, how would you describe your own feelings towards [the outgroup]?” Zero was told to stand for extremely negative feelings, and 100 for extremely positive feelings.

*Implicit attitudes (Studies I and IV).* Implicit attitudes towards Russian immigrants were measured with the ST-IAT (Wigboldus et al., 2004). The participants’ task was to categorise according to instructions words that appeared on the screen

by pressing one of two keys (A or L). All tasks and instructions were administered on laptops (Dell Latitude D630, 2 GHz) with 14.1 inch displays. The stimuli were presented using E-Prime software (Schneider, Eschman & Zuccolotto, 2002). Each stimulus remained on the screen until a key was pressed. Incorrect responses were followed by a 500 ms presentation of the word “incorrect” written in red. The inter-stimulus interval was 500 ms. The ST-IAT consisted of three blocks, each consisting of 20 trials in random order. During the first practice block, five positive (flower, warm, health, happiness, love) and five negative (cancer, cold, sickness, pain, sorrow) words were presented twice. The task was to press the appropriate key according to instructions. In the other two blocks, the attitude object was also presented on the screen. We used five typical Russian names (Natasha, Svetlana, Tatjana, Igor and Sergei) to represent Russian immigrants. In the positive block, the respondent should press one of the keys for five Russian names and five positive words, and the other for 10 (2 x 5) negative words. In the negative block, one key was assigned for five Russian names and five negative words, and the other key for 10 (2 x 5) positive words. The order of the positive and negative blocks was counterbalanced between the participants.

## 5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

All statistical analyses were conducted with SPSS software. With regard to the data preparation of the ST-IAT, to calculate ST-IAT effects, the improved IAT scoring algorithm by Greenwald, Nosek and Banaji (2003) was followed. This algorithm was applicable, as it has been previously used also in ST-IAT research (e.g., Houben & Wiers, 2008). Data from practice trials was used, error penalties were given, and the results were standardised at the level of the participant. To yield the ST-IAT effects, we subtracted the mean latency of the positive block from the negative block. Thus, a positive score indicated that a participant associated Russian names with positive words faster than with negative words, signifying a positive spontaneous reaction to the attitude target in question. A paired samples *t*-test was used to explore if there was a mean difference in reaction times between positive and negative blocks.

To test the hypotheses of the four substudies, the primary method of data analysis was hierarchical regression analysis. Following Becker’s (2005) recommendation, the analyses were conducted both with and without control variables. For the moderation analyses, the recommendations of Aiken and West (1991) were followed: all interaction effects were interpreted with a simple slope analysis. For the mediation analysis, either the Sobel test or bootstrap analyses were performed.

## 6 MAIN RESULTS

### 6.1 STUDY I: THE NORMATIVE EXPRESSION OF OUTGROUP ATTITUDES

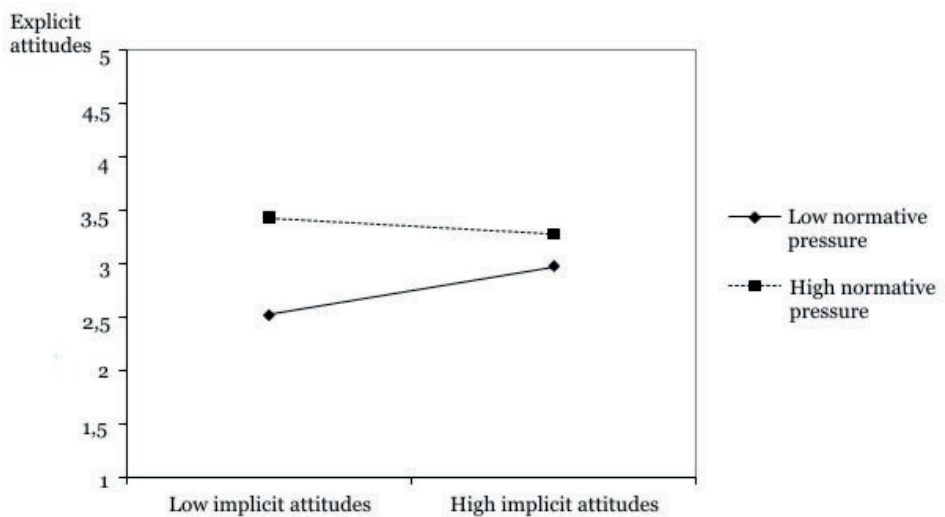
The aim of the first substudy was to determine the role of perceived normative pressure to express positive outgroup attitudes in the relationship between the explicit and implicit attitudes of adolescents. It was examined whether perceived normative pressure had a direct impact on majority youth's explicit attitudes and moderated the relationship between their implicit and explicit attitudes towards Russian immigrants in Finland. The effects of age, gender, the quality of past intergroup contact experiences and intergroup anxiety were controlled for in the hierarchical regression analysis.

The descriptive statistics of Study I are presented in Table 1. As regards the testing of the predicted associations, the results confirmed the hypotheses. In line with H1, normative pressure was positively associated with the explicit attitudes of adolescents ( $\beta = .35, p < .001$ ), and a significant interaction between implicit attitudes and normative pressure ( $\beta = -.14, p < .00$ ) was found (see Figure 2). In line with H2, the implicit attitudes of the adolescents towards immigrants surfaced on the explicit level only when they did not perceive any normative pressure to hold positive attitudes towards Russian immigrants. More specifically, when there was no normative pressure, the explicit attitudes of the youth were, at best, neutral, and reflected their implicit attitudes ( $\beta = .25, p < .01$ ). In contrast, when normative pressure was perceived to be high, the level of explicit attitudes was generally more positive, and the expression of explicit attitudes was not determined by implicit attitudes ( $\beta = .09, p = .33$ ).

**Table 1.** Descriptive statistics of the variables used in Study I.

	Age	Gender	Intergroup anxiety	Quality of contact	Normative pressure	Implicit attitudes	Explicit attitudes
<i>M</i>	14.01		3.26	3.04	4.06	-.09	3.04
<i>SD</i>	0.65		0.92	0.79	1.37	.48	0.99
Correlations							
Age	-	.08	-.04	.01	.10	-.24*	-.04
Gender		-	.17	-.31**	-.20	.08	-.28**
Intergroup anxiety			-	-.51**	-.57**	.06	-.69**
Quality of contact				-	.62**	-.00	.74**
Normative pressure					-	-.12	.75**
Implicit attitudes						-	-.04
Explicit attitudes							-

Note. For gender 1 = female and 2 = male. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .



**Figure 2.** The regression slopes of explicit attitudes as explained by implicit attitudes and perceived normative pressure.

## 6.2 STUDY II: PERCEIVED SOCIAL NORMS, CONTACT EXPERIENCES AND GENDER

The main focus of the second substudy was to expand the current understanding of the relationship between intergroup contact, intergroup anxiety and ethnic attitudes among adolescents by addressing the possibly gender-specific way in which familial and peer norms moderate the effect of intergroup contact on the blatant and subtle ethnic attitudes of adolescents. The effects of perceived school achievement and age were controlled for in the analyses.

The descriptive statistics for Study II are presented in Tables 2 and 3. The present data did not support the general moderation hypothesis (H3). However, as presented in Figure 3, familial norms had a gender-specific impact on the relationship between contact quality and subtle attitudes ( $\beta = .08, p < .05$ ). For the girls, there was no interaction effect of quality of contact and familial norms on subtle attitudes. In fact, having positive familial norms seems to be enough for the girls to have positive subtle attitudes towards immigrants (the interaction between familial norms and quality of contact for the girls with positive norms:  $\beta = -.04, p = .56$ ; for the girls with negative norms:  $\beta = .06, p = .41$ ). However, the mechanism of outgroup attitude formation seems to be more complex for boys. A good quality of contact improved their subtle attitudes to some extent, even when familial norms were negative ( $\beta = .14, p = .047$ ). However, for positive personal contact experiences to really improve their subtle attitudes, positive familial norms were also needed ( $\beta = .29, p < .001$ ). Further, both familial and peer norms predicted the blatant and subtle attitudes of the youth. Contact quantity had no effect, but contact quality had strong effects on both types of outgroup attitudes. Finally, intergroup anxiety had direct and mediating effects on both types of outgroup attitudes (see Figures 4 and 5).

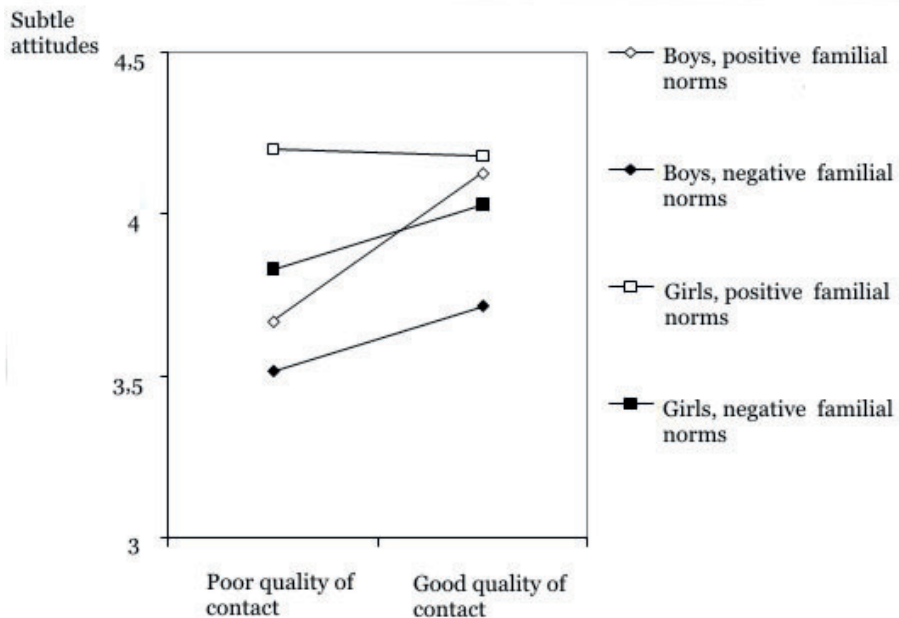
**Table 2.** Means and standard deviations by gender of the variables used in Study II.

Variable	Total	Girls	Boys	<i>F(df)</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>		
Age	14.08 (.77)	14.09 (.77)	14.09 (.76)	.02 (1, 705)	.897
School achievement	3.21 (.86)	3.26 (.83)	3.16 (.89)	2.43 (1, 708)	.119
Blatant attitudes	3.29 (.92)	3.58 (.85)	2.99 (.89)	81.63 (1, 713)	.000
Subtle attitudes	3.66 (.93)	3.91 (.86)	3.41 (.93)	55.92 (1, 712)	.000
Familial norms	3.30 (.97)	3.39 (.95)	3.22 (.98)	5.49 (1, 711)	.019
Peer norms	3.07 (.97)	3.34 (.90)	2.79 (.96)	62.85 (1, 710)	.000
Quality of contact	3.46 (.81)	3.67 (.77)	3.23 (.79)	53.94 (1, 687)	.000
Quantity of contact	3.04 (1.17)	3.23 (1.15)	2.85 (1.15)	19.66 (1, 713)	.000
Intergroup anxiety	3.04 (.91)	2.83 (.91)	3.25 (.85)	40.18 (1, 709)	.000

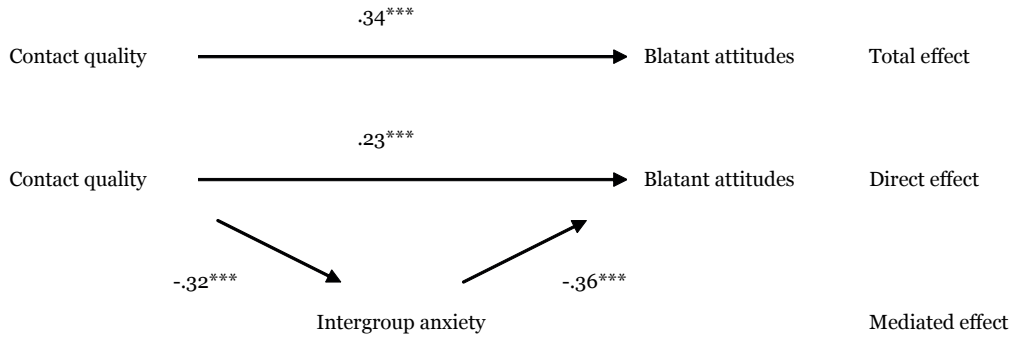
**Table 3.** The Pearson's correlations of the variables used in Study II.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age	-	.01	-.10**	-.11**	-.07	-.17**	-.12**	-.02	-.09*	.07
2. Gender		-	-.06	-.32**	-.27**	-.09*	-.29**	-.27**	-.16**	.23**
3. School achievement			-	.13**	.14**	.15**	.16**	.09*	.00	-.08*
4. Blatant attitudes				-	.62**		.67**	.58**	.33**	-.67**
5. Subtle attitudes					-		.44**	.37**	.16**	-.43**
6. Familial norms						-	.52**	.31**	.20**	-.39**
7. Peer norms							-	.48**	.30**	-.50**
8. Quality of contact								-	.46**	-.49**
9. Quantity of contact									-	-.30**
10. Intergroup anxiety										-

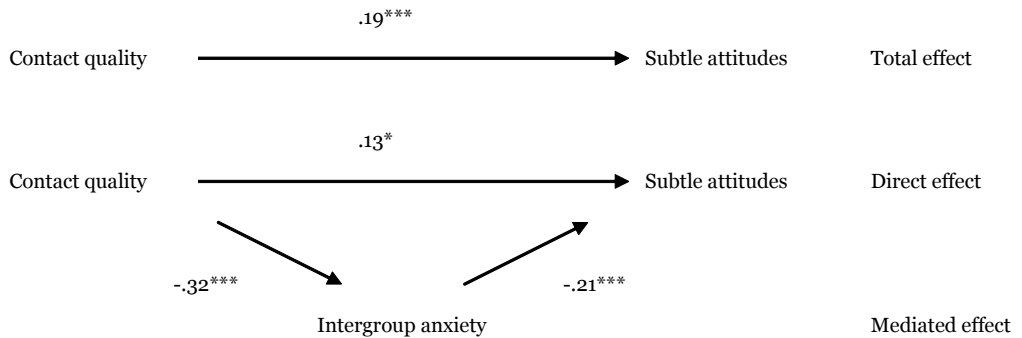
Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .



**Figure 3.** The gender-specific impact of familial norms on the relationship between the quality of intergroup contact and the subtle attitudes of adolescents.



**Figure 4.** Path diagram of the blatant attitudes mediation model controlled for covariates.



**Figure 5.** Path diagram of the subtle attitudes mediation model controlled for covariates.

### 6.3 STUDY III: PERCEIVED SOCIAL NORMS, CONTACT EXPERIENCES AND GROUP STATUS

The third substudy focused on the interplay between perceived parental and peer norms and the quality of intergroup contact in predicting outgroup attitudes among majority and minority youth. In addition, the role of intergroup anxiety on the contact-attitude association was studied simultaneously with the effects of social norms. Although the effect of the quantity of intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes is found to be minimal (Binder et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), this variable was controlled for in the analysis. The effect of gender was also controlled for as the different socialisation of boys and girls may lead to gender differences in, for example, normative behaviour and outgroup attitudes. In the hierarchical



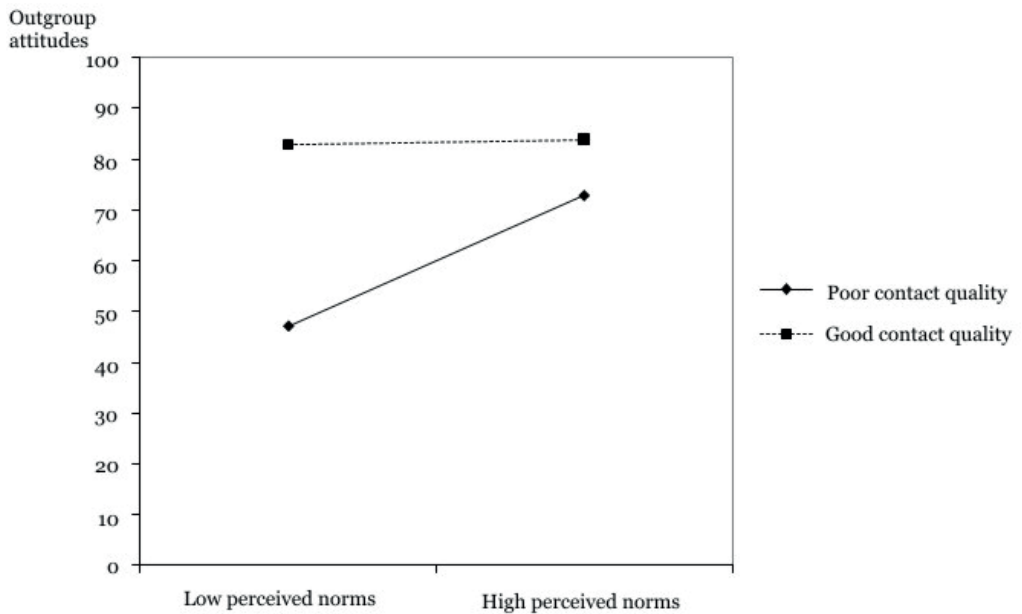
regression model for minority group members, age at arrival to Finland ( $M = 7.45$ ,  $SD = 4.73$ ) was included as an additional control variable, as it was expected to affect the dependent variable, outgroup attitudes.

The descriptive statistics of Study III are presented in Table 4. As expected, the effects of intergroup contact and social norms on the outgroup attitudes were different depending on group status (the interaction effect of group status, contact quality and perceived norms:  $\beta = .19$ ,  $p < .01$ ). In line with H4, perceived norms and the quality of intergroup contact had a joint effect on outgroup attitudes only among the minority youth ( $\beta = -.14$ ,  $p < .05$ ). While perceived norms and contact experiences affected the outgroup attitudes of the majority group members independently of each other, as indicated in Figure 6, the minority group members' negative contact experiences were associated with negative attitudes towards the majority only when the perceived ingroup norms supported the expression of negative attitudes ( $\beta = .35$ ,  $p < .001$ ). When intergroup contact was rated as very pleasant, perceived norms were not associated with outgroup attitudes ( $\beta = .13$ ,  $p = .11$ ). However, surprisingly, intergroup anxiety mediated the contact-attitude association only among the minority youth (*Sobel's*  $z = 2.17$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and the effect of contact quality on outgroup attitudes was stronger among the minority youth than among the majority youth (the interaction between group status and contact quality:  $\beta = -.55$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

**Table 4.** Descriptive statistics of the variables used in Study III (statistics for minority members in italics).

	Gender	Quantity of contact	Quality of contact	Perceived norms	Intergroup anxiety	Outgroup attitudes
<i>M</i>		2.48 4.06	3.04 3.92	2.80 3.95	3.26 1.94	38.71 70.97
<i>SD</i>		.96 .88	.83 .70	.88 .83	.92 .94	21.07 24.35
Correlations						
Gender	-	-.30** .01	-.32** .02	-.28** -.12	.17 -.07	-.28** -.06
Quantity of contact		-	.66** .52**	.45** .07	-.43** -.37**	.49** .37**
Quality of contact			-	.63** .37**	-.54** -.45**	.71** .63**
Perceived norms				-	-.54** -.36**	.78** .49**
Intergroup anxiety					-	-.51** -.61**
Outgroup attitudes						-

Note. \*\* $p < .01$ .



**Figure 6.** The interaction between contact quality and perceived norms in predicting the outgroup attitudes of minority youth.

#### 6.4 STUDY IV: THE ANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES OF CONTACT FOR THE INGROUP

The fourth substudy investigated the impact of the perceived importance of intergroup contact on the explicit and implicit attitudes of Finnish adolescents towards Russian immigrants. It was argued that (1) the perceived importance of contact depends on the anticipated consequences of contact for the ingroup, further divided into realistic (i.e., economic) and symbolic (i.e., cultural) gains, and that (2) irrespective of the effects of personal contact experiences, perceived realistic and cultural gains have a positive impact on youth's outgroup attitudes.

The descriptive statistics of Study IV are presented in Table 5. The results showed that in line with H5, perceived symbolic ingroup gains were associated with more positive explicit attitudes towards Russian immigrants ( $\beta = .28, p < .01$ ), while there was no association between perceived realistic gains and explicit attitudes. However, in contrast with H6, perceived realistic ingroup gains predicted more negative implicit attitudes ( $\beta = -.36, p < .01$ ). As regards the effects of contact quantity and quality on explicit attitudes, the more frequent and pleasant the personal contact experiences were, the more positive were the explicit attitudes ( $\beta = .22, p < .01$  and  $\beta = .50, p < .001$ , respectively). However, the quantity of contact was

positively associated with implicit attitudes ( $\beta = .35, p < .01$ ), whereas the quality of personal contact experiences had no impact on implicit attitudes. Further, additional analyses revealed that there was a suppressor effect of contact quantity on implicit attitudes, as the quantity of intergroup contact was a significant predictor of implicit attitudes only when age was added to the regression model.

**Table 5.** Descriptive statistics of the variables used in Study IV.

	Gender	Age	Contact quality	Contact quantity	Realistic gains	Symbolic gains	Implicit attitudes	Explicit attitudes
<i>M</i>			3.04	2.48	3.71	3.15	-.09	3.04
<i>SD</i>			.82	.96	1.44	1.44	.48	.92
Correlations								
Gender	-	.10	-.30**	-.30**	.07	-.05	.08	-.26*
Age		-	.01	.11	.14	.10	-.24*	-.03
Contact quality			-	.60**	.31**	.40**	-.00	.74**
Contact quantity				-	.37**	.37**	.12	.61**
Realistic gains					-	.64**	-.17	.36**
Symbolic gains						-	-.00	.53**
Implicit attitudes							-	.04
Explicit attitudes								-

Note. For gender 1 = female and 2 = male. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

## 6.5 STUDIES I-III: THE ROLE OF INTERGROUP ANXIETY

Besides answering the research questions related to the normative expression of outgroup attitudes and to the interplay between perceived social norms and intergroup contact, in Articles I-III the effect of intergroup anxiety on the outgroup attitudes of youth was also examined. In Article I it was found that perceived normative pressure moderated the relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes when the effects of intergroup anxiety and the quality of intergroup contact were controlled for. Thus, this result was suggestive of the effect of normative influences on attitude expression irrespective of one's experiences of anxiety and unease during intergroup contact situations.

The results of Article II complemented the results related to the effects of normative pressure on attitude expression by indicating that when controlling for the effects of perceived familial and peer norms, intergroup anxiety had both direct and mediating effects on the blatant and subtle outgroup attitudes of the youth. Thus, both intergroup anxiety and social norms were given a more rigorous test than in previous studies, which have addressed these key predictors of outgroup attitudes only separately. With regard to our data in the second article, it should be noted that although both familial and peer norms were strong predictors of the blatant and subtle outgroup attitudes of the majority youth, the impact of intergroup anxiety significantly increased the predictive power of the regression models.

Finally, in Article III the simultaneous effects of perceived norms, intergroup contact and intergroup anxiety on explicit outgroup attitudes were compared among both the majority and minority youth. It was discovered that when controlling for the effects of perceived parental and peer norms, intergroup anxiety partly mediated the effects of intergroup contact on explicit outgroup attitudes only among the minority youth. In order to explain why intergroup anxiety did not mediate the contact-attitude association among the majority youth, additional analyses were conducted indicating that intergroup anxiety was directly associated with outgroup attitudes and partly mediated the contact-attitude association also among the majority youth when no other variables were included in the model. Moreover, intergroup anxiety was still directly associated with outgroup attitudes and partly mediated the contact-attitude association among the majority youth when all other variables in the original regression model, except for perceived norms, were included in the model. Thus, including perceived norms in the regression model seems to be the reason why no association between intergroup anxiety and outgroup attitudes was found among the majority youth. Studies II and III are among the few existing studies simultaneously examining the effects of perceived norms and intergroup anxiety, but their results are slightly different: the mediating effect of intergroup anxiety was found only in Study II. This might be due to the smaller statistical power in Study III compared to Study II.

## 7 DISCUSSION

### 7.1 THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE MAIN RESULTS

#### 7.1.1 THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The impact of different normative pressures on attitudes towards ethnic outgroups is not in itself a new issue. As pointed out already by Allport (1954, pp. 332–333), “Especially when inner conflict is present, people put brakes upon their prejudices. . . . Brakes may be applied anywhere, according to the strength of counterforces (inner and outer).” However, children and youth are not merely passive internalisers of prevailing norms: the formation of outgroup attitudes in youth involves complex mental negotiations on how to combine personal contact experiences with normative influences in the social environment (Dunham & Degner, 2010). Indeed, to date, not everything has been said about the interaction between personal experiences and normative influences in the formation and expression of outgroup attitudes. Importantly, while tackling this issue, the present study exemplifies the advantages of bringing social psychological and developmental psychological research together.

The main contribution of this study is that it *specifies* the role of perceived social norms in the formation of outgroup attitudes among adolescents and thus complements previous research on the direct effects of intergroup contact (e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and social norms (e.g., Feddes et al., 2009; Stangor & Leary, 2006) on outgroup attitudes. It was shown that youth do not form their outgroup attitudes solely based on their encounters with outgroup members, but balance their own experiences with and express their opinions in relation to the experiences and opinions of ingroup members. *First*, perceived normative pressure to hold positive attitudes towards immigrants is shown to regulate the relationship between the explicit and implicit expression of outgroup attitudes among majority youth: negative implicit attitudes surface on the explicit level only when youth do not perceive a pressure to express positive outgroup attitudes. What makes this result important for interventions aimed at improving intergroup relations is that negative implicit biases may be tackled with the help of explicit information processing (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). *Second*, perceived norms concerning outgroup attitudes are found to affect the relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes depending on gender and group status. Positive social norms seem to be especially important for majority boys, who need both pleasant contact expe-

periences and normative support to form equally positive outgroup attitudes as those held by girls. The role of social norms is accentuated also among minority youth, who need to relate their attitudes to the experiences and attitudes of their ingroup members to a higher extent than do majority youth, who have a more powerful and independent status position. These research results are useful for developing intervention tools that can take into account the different needs and motivations of specific groups of youth. *Third*, the present research results are indicative of the independent effects of social norms and intergroup anxiety on outgroup attitudes and thus compliment previous research on the mediating role of intergroup anxiety in the contact-attitude association (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 2005). In the light of these findings, the role of perceived social norms in the outgroup attitude formation of youth seems to be at least as strong as the role of intergroup anxiety. Thus, the simultaneous effects of both of these factors need more attention in future theorization and empirical research alike. *Finally*, it was found that youth evaluate intergroup contact from the point of their ingroup and society as a whole and not just based on their own experiences of pleasantness or anxiety. Importantly, youth were shown to weigh complex societal issues when forming their opinions about outgroups: thus, the roles of media and public discussion on immigration in the outgroup attitude formation of youth cannot be ignored.

In all, the four substudies showed that outgroup attitudes of youth are formed in a close relationship with their social environment. The importance of perceived social norms for research on intergroup contact effects among youth cannot be overlooked, as positive normative influences have the potential to break the strong link between rare and/or negative personal contact experiences and negative outgroup attitudes, as well as the link between negative implicit attitudes and explicit attitude expression. Besides having implications for research on the outgroup attitudes of youth, the present study may be of value also to research on intergroup relations among adults. As pointed out by Degner and Dunham (2010, p. 564), “adult knowledge does not spring into existence, fully formed, at 18”. Thus, to truly understand outgroup attitudes in adulthood, we need to first understand the developmental course of these attitudes.

## 7.1.2 POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE NORMS

The present study focused on the promising role of social norms in improving intergroup relations, but it should be noted that in all societies, both positive and negative social norms live side by side. As pointed out by Rutland (2004, p. 253), it is fair to say that although prejudice is viewed negatively and seen as unreasonable in most societies, with national prejudice this is not always the case. While social norms regarding the illegitimacy of ethnic prejudice might dampen overt

expressions of it, social norms surrounding nationalistic ideologies might actually encourage more prejudice (Rutland, 2004). Indeed, research on adults has clearly shown that the manipulation of ingroup social norms can increase levels of intergroup discrimination (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996; Rutland & Brown, 2001). Considering the role of different threats posed by the outgroup to the ingroup in nationalistic discourses (e.g., Bjørgo, 1995; Triandafyllidou, 2000; van der Valk, 2003), it is crucial to notice that while high levels of intergroup contact are found to promote the use of moral instead of group-based conventional reasoning, a perceived outgroup threat encourages children to base their exclusion judgments more on factors related to group memberships than on morality (Rutland et al., 2010, p. 286). Thus, it should be remembered that children and youth are affected by the negative as well as the positive normative influences of peers, parents, other adults and the society as a whole. As Perho (2010) points out in her recent PhD thesis on racist group identities among Finnish adolescents, youth make salient the thoughts of adults on multiculturalism. Moreover, she found that in communities of racist youth there is a simmering revolt against norms of tolerance and multiculturalism on the one hand, and against the demands and pressures put on youth on the other. As a consequence, the youth studied rebelled against all things that were perceived as “different”, not exclusively against other “races”. (Perho, 2010.)

In Finland, parts of the political right have in recent years started evoking critical debate on immigration and multiculturalism with language beyond the rules of convention (Keskinen, Rastas, & Tuori, 2009). In the light of the present research results, the effects of public discourses and the use of language in general become even more salient. Besides biased content (e.g., Mole, 2007), the level of abstractness in newspaper articles affects people’s attitudes towards immigrants. In a recent study by Geschke, Sassenberg, Ruhrmann and Sommer (in press), reading abstractly worded articles was associated with higher estimates of immigrants’ future criminal behaviour and subtle prejudice than reading concretely worded news. Moreover, disclaimers either consciously or unconsciously considered as nothing more than harmless jokes are often more than that. Integral links have been found between extreme hatred and dehumanising, violent humour (Billig, 2001). While it naturally would be against basic human rights to muzzle the press and the sharp-tongued critics, more attention should be given to the way very complex and multifaceted issues of intercultural encounters are debated in public (including schools, workplaces etc.).

### 7.1.3 CRITICAL NOTIONS ON THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

Even though the main theoretical background of the present study, the contact hypothesis, has – again – proven its value and applicability for research and practical

interventions alike (see, e.g., Dovidio et al., 2005; Wagner, Tropp et al., 2008), it has been sometimes criticised for its theoretical individualism (Dixon et al., 2005) and for contact's short-lived and societally insignificant effects (Forbes, 2004; see also Cernat, 2010). The present study aimed at answering these criticisms by focusing on the formation of outgroup attitudes in their social environment. Moreover, the question has been asked whether the optimal conditions outlined for contact by Allport (1954) are more utopian than attainable (Dixon et al., 2005) – especially as minority group members are found to be quite unconvinced about the extent to which the optimal conditions for contact are met (see, e.g., Feddes et al., 2009). Ironically, it has been shown in recent studies that in the case of disadvantaged (minority) group members, intergroup contact can – despite its positive effects on outgroup attitudes – undermine minority members' support for collective action aimed at improving the ingroup's social position (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Thus, it is crucial for intergroup contact to happen in a way that acknowledges rather than downplays the different characteristics, status positions and motivations of the majority and minority groups in that contact, so that the ingroup's position has no need to be bolstered with prejudice (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). This study aimed for its own part to increase our understanding of the formation of outgroup attitudes among majority and minority group members and showed that in some contexts, positive intergroup contact can improve outgroup attitudes also among minority group members.

Besides these criticisms, perhaps the most extensive critical discussion about the contact hypothesis regards the direction of the causal paths. Even though Allport's (1954) theory of intergroup contact makes a causal prediction about intergroup contact's positive effects on outgroup attitudes, it has been pointed out by Allport himself that the causal relationship between contact and outgroup attitudes is probably equivocal. Indeed, it has been shown that prejudice also shapes intergroup interactions so that less prejudiced people may also engage in more frequent and more positive intergroup contact (e.g., Shelton et al., 2009). In their meta-analysis on the contact hypothesis, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) tested the strength of each of these causal paths in more than 500 studies and found the link from contact to attitudes to be stronger than vice versa. However, most of these studies were cross-sectional, and until recently there has been a lack of longitudinal evidence on contact effects.

According to a recent longitudinal study by Vezzali, Giovannini and Capozza (2010), quantity of intergroup contact improved outgroup evaluations among majority and minority youth, while quality of contact had reliable effects only for majority group members. However, the reverse causal paths from outgroup attitudes to intergroup contact were not statistically significant. Also the longitudinal study by Brown, Eller, Leeds and Stace (2007) showed that the quantity of intergroup



contact predicted more favourable outgroup attitudes towards the outgroup, but the reverse path was not significant. Moreover, a more positive association between the quality of contact and positive outgroup attitudes was observed for those believing that the outgroup person was highly typical of the other group than for those who saw the outgroup member as less typical. However, according to the longitudinal research results of Levin, van Laar and Sidanius (2003), the effects of contact on attitudes were approximately on the same level as the reverse, and in their recent longitudinal multi-national study on the outgroup attitudes of European school-children, Binder and colleagues (2009) found the link from prejudice to contact to be at least as strong as the reverse causal path. Thus, even though the bulk of research on intergroup contact has concentrated on the effects of intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes, it should be kept in mind that in real life, contact and attitudes share a reciprocal relationship. In the present study the aim was to find ways to improve intergroup relations through outgroup attitudes, but it is recognised that the better the outgroup attitudes are, the better the future intergroup encounters can become.

#### 7.1.4 REDUCING PREJUDICE OR INCREASING TOLERANCE?

When evaluating the present study from a theoretical perspective, it should be noted that even though the same processes are often considered to underly both negative and positive intergroup relations (see, e.g., Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003), the reduction of intergroup discord does not necessarily equal the establishment of positive intergroup relations, and a lack of negative attitudes does not necessarily equal being tolerant (e.g., Jonas, 2009). By definition, *tolerance* is an “attitude-driven behavior to actively embrace differences on an individual level and also on a collective level, without the intent to eliminate this difference” (Jonas, 2009, p. 286). Tolerance includes ego-involvement and thus is not merely indifference or an affirmation of irrelevant issues (Jonas, 2009, p. 286). Consequently, the expression “to tolerate” should not be used in this context as a synonym for “putting up with” or “enduring” (cf., the typical connotation of everyday language, at least in Finnish and English). Importantly, the experimental research results of Verkuyten and Slioter (2007) on the judgements of Dutch adolescents regarding Muslim beliefs and practices indicated that tolerance is not a global construct, as the type of actor, the nature of the social implication of the behaviour, the underlying belief type and the dimension of tolerance made important differences to the judgments of youth. Thus, whether we are speaking of prejudice or tolerance, the way intergroup context is perceived has a crucial impact on how the outgroup is evaluated.

It should also be noted that the definition of tolerance (Jonas, 2009) closely resembles the definition of multicultural ideology – fostering understanding and respecting cultural differences (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005). However, the concept of prejudice is not necessarily ideological, even though studies have shown in several countries that right-wing ideology correlates with prejudice and negative outgroup attitudes (towards, e.g., immigrants; see Jaakkola, 2008 on the Finnish context; Kreindler, 2005; Whitley, 1999). In this study the focus was not on tolerance or multiculturalism, but on the predictors of majority and minority youth's outgroup attitudes, be they positive, neutral or negative. However, it would be hypocritical to claim that this study analysed attitudes from a totally value-neutral perspective. This work continues a long line of research aimed at finding ways to improve intergroup relations. Thus, the focus of the present study has not been on outgroup attitudes in general, but on such processes underlying attitude expression and formation that can be affected by theoretically informed interventions.

## 7.2 METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Despite its theoretical contributions, the present study is not without methodological limitations that affect the evaluation of the present findings. First, the use of cross-sectional data makes it impossible to make inferences of causality, even though the tested models in each substudy were firmly grounded in theory and previous research results. Second, as reported more specifically in the four articles of this study, the measures used in the present study included some problematic features such as single items and low inter-item correlations. However, all the results reported are interpretable in the light of previous theory and empirical evidence, which confirm the validity of the present findings. Third, due to the limited sample sizes and practical problems in contacting the research participants, the representativeness of the samples and, consequently, the generalisability of the results are less than ideal. The problem is obvious especially in the case of the Russian-speaking minority youth: with the absence of accurate registers in schools, minority youth could be identified only with proxies such as their mother tongue and the place of birth of their parents. As Birman (2006) has pointed out, this problem is a very general one in research on ethnic minority groups. Consequently, if the composition of the population is different on multiple dimensions in every study on the group in question, it is impossible to determine what population(s) the findings generalise to (Birman, 2006). Related to this, it might also be the case that the present research findings cannot be replicated in all contexts and age groups due to the specific characteristics of the specific intergroup context and developmental period in question.

Fourth, the awareness of social norms condemning ethnic prejudice can be reflected in socially desirable responding, especially in the school context, which is characterised by the disapproval of undesirable behaviour (Verkuyten, 2008). Moreover, as the Russian-speaking immigrants rank low in the ethnic hierarchy (Jaakkola, 2005) and are victims of pervasive discrimination in Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006), it is possible that the minority respondents studied have tried to manage the impression that the researcher, representing the Finnish majority, has of their ingroup (i.e., by expressing overly positive outgroup attitudes). However, it can be argued that if social desirability has affected the results, it has assumingly done so for the majority and minority samples alike. Also, the majority participants may have tried to exaggerate the positivity of their views, as the researcher represents the university and thus the official norms of society. Moreover, considering the statistical variation found in the scales and the varied feedback given by both the majority and minority respondents at the end of the questionnaire, there is no reason to believe that the present findings are substantially skewed because of socially desirable responding. Fifth, and partly related to the previous notion, the present study can be criticised for the fact that perceived instead of actual norms were measured, since in some studies it has been possible to collect data directly from the norm senders, such as parents (cf., Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008). However, it has been stressed that it is particularly the perception of others' attitudes or behaviours that is influential on the individual (Ata et al., 2009; Neighbors et al., 2006).

Besides discussing the methodological limitations of the present study, some considerations regarding research ethics are called for. Besides mentioning that the common research ethical guidelines regarding anonymity, voluntariness and research permissions were followed in the present study, two additional points need to be covered here: the characteristics of studying adolescents and minority group members with an immigrant background, and the political aspects related to the research topic at hand. As pointed out by Vehkalahti, Rutanen, Lagström and Pösö (2010), the way in which the researcher sees childhood and adolescence also directs also her/his ethical choices and the way the research is conducted. As childhood and adolescence are considered especially vulnerable developmental periods, no harm or distress should be caused to the youth studied (e.g., Cauce & Nobles, 2006; Rastas, 2008; Vehkalahti et al., 2010). However, this does not mean that youth should not be disturbed with research: it has been stressed that children and youth should be considered competent subjects who should be given their own independent voice in research (Vehkalahti et al., 2010).

Because authorities both in Finland and internationally have clamped down on giving permission to research on youth, there is a risk that research on socially sensitive topics among youth is impeded in the name of research ethics (Vehkalahti et al., 2010). The necessary permits for conducting the present study were

obtained from school principals and local education boards, but in the case of two schools (one school in the majority data from 2007 and one school in the minority data from 2009), the headmasters also required obtaining permission from the participants' parents. In other schools, it was considered to be in the power of the school authorities to decide what kinds of activities were performed during school hours. This serves as an example of the varying interpretations of research ethics. In the present study, which had approximately 15-year-old participants, I relied more than anything on their personal judgment and their motivation to participate in the study.

While adolescence presents developmental challenges for all youth, minority adolescents may face an even wider set of stressors and thus need to be approached especially sensitively by researchers (Cauce & Nobles, 2006). Moreover, while it is considered ethical to give a voice to minority group members and to be in dialogue "with them", not merely in dialogue "about them" (Wahlbeck, 2008), it should be noted that the research design applied in the present study requires the categorisation of participants into majority and minority group members. Even though the questionnaire was, for the most part, identical for the majority and minority youth, for example, outgroup attitudes and contact experiences needed to be measured with a specific outgroup in mind (i.e., attitudes towards / contact with Finns or Russian immigrants). In order to give the pupils the right version of the questionnaire, they were asked to indicate if one or both of their parents were born abroad. Even though the way this request was made was well thought out in beforehand in order to make the situation as equal and considerate as possible, the classification of participants can be understood as questioning the national identification (in this case, the Finnishness) of the minority group members studied (cf., Rastas, 2008) and as restricting their categorisation and identification options (see, e.g., Howarth, 2002). In the feedback collected from the participants of my study, this indeed became evident. Some of the minority youth studied expressed their interest in and even gratitude for the research carried out on their experiences of intergroup encounters. However, some of them were either confused or irritated about being treated as an immigrant in the study, even though they had the opportunity to indicate freely their ethnic background and degree of ethnic and national identification right in the beginning of the research questionnaire. As these reactions were anticipated, it was considered as important to give the participants the opportunity to share their thoughts and feelings at the end of the questionnaire and also the opportunity to contact the researcher personally, if needed. However, none of the participants contacted me afterwards.

Last but not least, research on the outgroup attitudes of majority and minority youth carries a certain political baggage. Both internationally and in the Finnish context in particular it is still quite unusual to speak the fact aloud that not only

majority but also minority group members have prejudice towards ethnic outgroups (see Rastas, 2008). As Wahlbeck (2006) has pointed out, the researcher's responsibility for the picture that is drawn of minorities – and consequently, of intergroup relations – is substantial. Moreover, researchers have to think about the consequences their research has on the position of the groups studied and how their research results are interpreted (Wahlbeck, 2006). Thus, when discussing outgroup attitudes among minority and majority group members, the reciprocity of intergroup relations should be stressed by simultaneously acknowledging the uneven power relations between majority and minority groups. Without denying minority group members' impact on the outgroup attitudes and intergroup behaviour of majority group members, it should be kept in mind that the impact of majorities on the lives of minorities is typically stronger than vice versa (e.g., Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Furthermore, researchers must remember that not even they are free from prejudice and other distorted social-cognitive processes. Reflecting on one's predispositions, motivations, values and attitudes is a general requirement in the field of qualitative psychology, where research results are understood to be inevitably affected by the researcher (e.g., Yardley, 2008). This surely is an effort worth taking by researchers doing quantitative research on intergroup relations as well, as the researcher has the power to formulate the research questions, to choose particular measures and to analyse and interpret the findings. In the present research project this reflecting has been done outside the published pages of the thesis, but both regularly and thoughtfully.

### **7.3 IDEAS FOR FUTURE STUDIES**

Considering the above-mentioned critical insights, the scope of the present study opens several paths for further research, especially for studies using longitudinal data. As regards the interplay between intergroup anxiety and ingroup norms, it is possible that the mediating effect of intergroup anxiety on the contact-attitude association is moderated by social norms so that the role of intergroup anxiety diminishes in a context with positive social norms supporting positive intergroup contact and/or outgroup attitudes. However, it is also possible that pressure to suppress negative outgroup attitudes evokes more anxiety: in Shelton's (2003) study, whites who were instructed to try to not be prejudiced during an interracial interaction reported more anxiety compared to those who were not given these instructions. To properly test these alternative hypotheses, longitudinal data on both contact and attitudinal norms should be utilised. Moreover, to fully determine the role of perceived vs. actual social norms on the outgroup attitude development of youth, their effects on outgroup attitudes should be compared.

Considering the recent research findings indicating the role of perspective-taking abilities (Abrams & Rutland, 2008) and moral emotions (FitzRoy & Rutland, 2010) in outgroup attitude development, it would be interesting to study further the role of moral development in intergroup relations among adolescents (cf., Rutland et al., 2010). As research has indicated, conflicting motivations and misunderstandings often come into play in intergroup encounters and are an important explanation for why intergroup relations do not always work out despite good intentions (Demoulin, Leyens, & Dovidio, 2009). For example, due to the prevailing stereotypes in the United States, in interracial interaction racial minority members seek to be respected and seen as competent more than majority members do, while majority members seek to be liked and seen as moral (Bergsieger, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; see also Shelton & Richeson, 2005). Consequently, besides the optimal conditions for intergroup contact outlined by Allport (1954), morally sustainable behaviours and sensitivity to other people's perspectives (Hebl et al., 2009; Shelton & Richeson, 2005) are also needed in order for intergroup relations to be positive. Research could look at the roles of moral development and norms of morality on the outgroup attitude expression of majority and minority youth, as well as their role in reparatory actions following intergroup misunderstandings and conflict. Moreover, as regards improving outgroup attitudes, the power of social norms could be studied by changing cognitions related to outgroups in a more complex direction. As implicit cognition has been found to be more black and white compared to more ambivalent explicit cognition (see Fiske, Harris, Russell, & Shelton, 2009), it could be possible to influence implicit outgroup attitudes via explicit attitudes (cf., Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006) by exposing youth to more complex representations about outgroups with the help of normative influences.

It is worth noting that the results of this study could and should be employed when studying intergroup relations between different minority groups – a topic deserving much more attention in the future. Other data on the predictors of Russian-speaking adolescents' attitudes towards other groups with an immigrant background living in Finland was also collected in this PhD project, but due to time pressure and the focus of the study, this part of the data is still to be analysed. More generally speaking, considering the cautions related to the generalisability of the results, research using different age groups in different intergroup contexts is also called for to test the value of the present findings for the research field. It would be especially interesting to address more closely the surprising finding that intergroup contact affected more strongly the outgroup attitudes of minority youth than of majority youth. Even though contact effects are typically found to be weak or even non-existent among minority group members (see, e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008), a recent longitudinal study by Vezzali and colleagues (2010) once again showed that at least in some contexts, it is not unheard of to find con-

tact effects also among minority group members. In the present intergroup context it is possible that the majority group does not represent a typical majority, as it can be claimed that the short and war-ridden history of the independent nation of Finland does not give its members a secure sense of an advantaged status position (see Liebkind, 1990; 1992). Thus, it is possible that the present study reports unusually weak contact effects among majority group members instead of reporting just unusually strong contact effects among minority group members. The effects secure and insecure representations of the ingroup have on intergroup relations might explain the different research findings encountered in varying intergroup contexts and thus deserve to be studied more thoroughly. Finally, this study potentially gives new research ideas for qualitative research on outgroup attitudes and intergroup relations in adolescence. For example, the functions of attitudes among youth (cf., Augoustinos et al., 2006) and the perceived roles of norms vs. personal contact experiences in the attitude formation of youth could be approached with qualitative methods in order to tap their subjective perceptions on the factors affecting their outgroup attitudes and their expression.

## 7.4 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

On the basis of the results of the present study, suggestions and recommendations for multicultural education and interventions aimed at improving intergroup relations among youth can be made. Obviously, measures should be taken to offer youth opportunities for both positive experiences of intergroup contact and positive role models. The awareness of social norms can take the form of compliance, but norms can also be internalised as personal beliefs (Verkuyten, 2008), thus becoming a part of one's self-image (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Accordingly, I am not suggesting that the existence of intergroup discord should be denied or that negative expressions of attitudes should be totally repressed. As pointed out already by Allport (1954, p. 339), "There are such things as realistic opponents in our quest for our values. But what vanishes in an integrated personality are the racial bogies and traditional scapegoats who have nothing, really, to do with life's woes."

Based on this study and also previous research on, for example, multiculturalism (e.g., Verkuyten, 2008) and the formation of explicit and implicit attitudes (e.g., Fiske et al., 2009; Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006), a balance should be reached between discussing intergroup relations with youth in a multifaceted manner and promoting norms that stress the equality of all people as the basis of positive outgroup attitudes. Most importantly, it should be noted that pleasant experiences of intergroup contact are not enough for youth to develop positive intergroup relations. Instead of pushing the responsibility of forming a functional multicultural



society to future generations, adults must (1) become aware of their own outgroup attitudes and biases, (2) actively support the positive attitude formation of youth by sharing positive experiences and accurate information with them, (3) keep themselves informed about the media consumption of youth and monitor it, and (4) acknowledge the different needs and motivations of girls and boys on the one hand, and of majority and minority group members, on the other, while being involved in their outgroup attitude development. Even though it can be argued that interventions aiming to increase tolerance should be developed differently from those aimed at decreasing prejudice (cf., Jonas, 2009), there is no reason to believe that these recommendations would not be applicable to both kinds of interventions.

As a more general point I would like to raise the issue of society's attitude climate as an antecedent of youth's outgroup attitudes, as the present study was indirectly indicative of the importance of societal influences for attitude formation. If social norms are negative, the attitudes of individuals will also correspond to them (e.g., FitzRoy & Rutland, 2010). As discussed by Liebkind, Nyström, Honkanummi and Lange (2004), the Finnish majority is – at least to some degree – characterised by a defensive and security-seeking stance towards immigrants: discussion on the potential economical, political and cultural threats immigration is assumed to cause are not hard to find in the media, blogs and coffee table discussions. Related to this, the different viewpoints and motivations of majority and minority groups should be kept in mind. For minority groups, the reduction of intergroup conflict is not always desirable: for disadvantaged groups being prejudiced may be the one important possibility to mobilise ingroup members to promote social change (Kessler & Mummendey, 2009). However, in insecure majorities (see Moscovici & Paicheler, 1978), perceived deprivation and feelings of intergroup threat may possibly induce a similar reaction and partly explain the increased levels of prejudice and the rise of anti-immigrant movements during the recent recession (cf., Heinmuel-ler & Hiscox, 2007).

Interestingly, in her recent experimental study, Kamans (2010) found that in uncertain situations where outcomes are not totally fixed, powerless groups challenge the powerful in a constructive manner, whereas the powerful respond with less constructive behaviour. Thus, on a larger scale it would be worth considering what could increase feelings of security among both majority and minority groups in order to support immigrant integration and mutually positive outgroup attitudes in Finland as well as in other culturally diverse societies. For example, Saguy, Dovidio and Pratto (2008) found advantaged group members to acknowledge the uneven power relations in intergroup interactions more when they perceived that their group's advantage was illegitimate. The normative example set by a secure ingroup that treats outgroups in a constructive manner would be the best possible environment for the outgroup attitude development of majority and minority youth



alike. However, as pointed out by Tropp (2008), it is rather the ingroup members' histories of prior intergroup experiences and their beliefs about the values and intentions of outgroup members than very broad social norms that truly contribute to reducing suspicion between groups and increasing interest in intergroup contact (see also Guerra et al., 2010). Thus, it must be acknowledged that norms regarding outgroup attitudes and intergroup contact are not independent of the historical context in which the groups live. For example, in the case of Finland's neighbouring country, Estonia, the historical intergroup tensions and the strong ethnic connotation of the current nation-state model hinders the integration of the considerable Russian minority (Kruusvall, Vetik, & Berry, 2009). In the light of the present study, in the intergroup context between the Finnish majority and the Russian-speaking minority as well, work still needs to be done to reconcile past conflicts with the culturally diverse future.

To conclude, I quote Jonas (2009, p. 298) in his book chapter on interventions enhancing intergroup tolerance: "The famous last sentence in our papers or presentations about the applicability of the findings should be more than lip-service." Thus, I strongly urge future research and practical programmes aimed to promote intergroup harmony to take the message of the present study seriously. The nature and expression of outgroup attitudes of both majority and minority youth are strongly affected by their personal contact experiences on the one hand, and the social and normative context in which they live on the other. Moreover, the role of social norms for attitude formation and expression deserves growing attention, as they have the potential to break the link between possibly negative contact experiences and negative outgroup attitudes, and help especially minority youth to proportion their experiences to those of their ingroup members. As a consequence, we adults – as researchers, policy makers, parents, teachers, neighbours etc. – have the responsibility to support youth and prepare them for the challenges and opportunities of a multicultural future.

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