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Constructing a social psychological model of prejudice towards minorities: Social identity, relative deprivation and widespread beliefs

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and that, having regard to the acknowledgements contained therein, it is entirely my own work.

Philip Curry

Philip Curry

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SUMMARY : A social psychological model of prejudice was developed based on Relative Deprivation and Social Identity Theory. This model emphasised social identification and comparison processes and was designed to predict prejudice towards refugee groups which had recently arrived in Ireland. To broaden the level of analysis the role of social representations was also considered. A questionnaire was designed which measured social distance to foreign and indigenous minority groups, strength of identification with key identity labels, agreement with widespread beliefs about minorities, demographic characteristics and perception of level, fairness and stability of own, in-group and out-group income. Using this questionnaire a postal survey of the general population of Dublin was conducted (N = 419, Response rate = 53.4%). Education was the most important demographic predictor of social distance. Strength of social identification also predicted prejudice. Contrary to many relative deprivation accounts, although unfavourable comparisons between the in-group and out-group did predict prejudice, egoistic comparisons between own income and minority out-group income were slightly more powerful predictors. More surprisingly, by far the best predictor of social distance was a perception of the out-group as earning income they do not deserve. In multiple regression it was found that this variable was superior to any comparison based measure. This has very important consequences for the validity of social identity theory as a model of real world prejudice. When education was controlled for strong identification of self as 'White' and perception of the out-group as earning undeserved income were the key predictors of prejudice. Together these two variable could explain between 25% and 30% of the variance in social distance which is far superior to the performance of relative deprivation models used in other research. Furthermore, 'White' identification and the perception that refugee groups were getting more than they deserve were both related to belief systems which represent refugees as bogus, taking advantage of a liberal social welfare system and begging while they have independent means of their own. A model is developed which suggests that prejudice is the result of identification with in-groups which espouse prejudiced belief systems. How this model compares to traditional social identity theory is discussed and implications for further testing and prejudice reduction are reviewed. A further study was conducted to determine the nature of the effect of education on tolerance for minorities. The hypothesis that the effect of education on tolerance is mediated by cognitive sophistication was tested. A measure of dialectical thinking was administered to a sample of 73 students (Response rate = 36.5%). The hypothesis was not supported. It is argued that education produces greater tolerance by means of normative influence.

Mr. Deasy halted, breathing hard and swallowing his breath.

- I just wanted to say, he said. Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why?

He frowned sternly on the bright air.

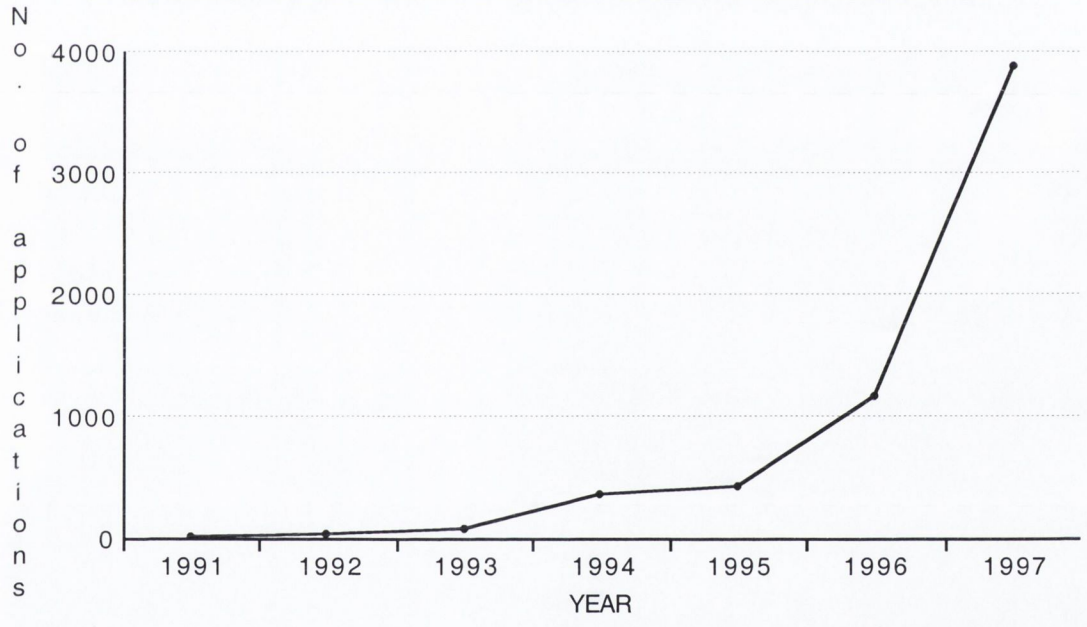
- Why, sir? Stephen asked, beginning to smile.

- Because she never let them in, Mr. Deasy said solemnly.

- James Joyce, **Ulysses**, 2 : 436-442

The mid-1990's witnessed a substantial increase in the number of people applying for asylum in the Republic of Ireland. Previous to this Ireland had been one of the most racially homogeneous countries in Europe. There had in the past been numbers of refugees allowed into the country but usually on a very limited basis and as part of an organised programme. For example, in 1991 140 Vietnamese nationals were brought to Ireland as part of a family reunification programme. However 1994 saw a sharp increase in the number of people making their own way to Ireland and applying directly for asylum seeker status. Figure 1 shows how this number continued to increase dramatically after 1994.

Figure 1 - Applications for Asylum in the Republic of Ireland 1991 - 1997



In 1995 the principle countries of origin of these asylum seekers were Romania, Algeria, Somalia and Zaire respectively (Irish Refugee Council, 1995).

Although overall the number of refugees in Ireland remained relatively small (0.1% of the total population, representing only 0.4% of the asylum seekers in the EU) media reaction was intense. Philip Watt (1997), coordinator of the European

Year Against Racism in Ireland, claimed that the media misrepresented the refugee situation in three important ways :

1. By regularly suggesting that Ireland was experiencing a flood of refugees.

2. By associating refugees with begging, petty theft and crime.

3. By frequently repeating the claim that many asylum seekers, especially the largest group, Romanians, were bogus, only coming to Ireland to exploit its liberal social welfare system.

Such media coverage and a number of minor racist attacks raised fears in many sectors that prejudice toward newly arrived refugees could develop into a serious problem.

This situation presented a singular opportunity for testing social psychological models of prejudice. Often in studying social behaviour it is difficult to disentangle what is due to socialisation and what is due to individual psychological processes. For example, Abeles (1976, p.134) suggested that the humble performance of his relative deprivation model was due to the fact that it was used to predict militancy which was long established rather than militancy at an early stage of a movement's development. He argued that as a movement progresses a person no longer needs to perceive deprivation to become involved, instead they become directly socialised into militant attitudes, beliefs and values. Similarly in using models to predict prejudice it can be difficult to determine what effects are due to socialisation into a racist culture and what is due to individual psychology. Of course it is possible that a model could predict equally well for racism newly formed as for racism with a extensive historical background. The problem is that without proper controls the magnitude of such an effect is unknowable. The situation which

developed in Ireland in the mid - 1990's presented an opportunity to control for the possibility that the psychological motivation for prejudice changes as it become more organised and established within a society. By comparing a model's effectiveness in predicting hostility to a group newly arrived to Ireland with its effectiveness for predicting hostility to a group long established here it is possible to determine if in fact the model's usefulness is compromised by long-term socialisation. For example if a model predicts hostility to a newly arrived group such as Romanians quite well but is quite poor in making predictions of hostility to a group well established here, such as Travellers, it may be argued that the model is more effective in explaining how prejudice is formed rather than how prejudice is learned in a society where it is already well established.

The actual model to be used to predict prejudice in the present study draws on a wide variety of sources in the social psychological literature. Before the model is described in detail some definitions and conceptualisations of prejudice will be considered.

Prejudice and Social Distance

Although a dictionary definition of prejudice would refer to unwarranted bias both for and against an object, as used in social psychology it generally only refers to negative bias against a particular group of people. Thus Allport (1954, p.9) defines prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation". Furthermore it is an antipathy directed "toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group" (ibid., p.7). Similarly Brown (1996, p.532) defines prejudice as "the holding of derogatory attitudes about the members of a social group" and Deaux, Dane and Wrightsman (1993, p.355) as "a negative affective or emotional response to a particular group of people resulting from intolerant, unfair or unfavourable attitudes toward that group". All of these definitions refer to fairly overt expressions of prejudice. This form of prejudice is

now often labelled dominative (Kovel, 1970) or old-fashioned (McConahay, 1982) racism. This is in comparison to recent formulations of symbolic (Kinder and Sears, 1981) or modern (McConahay, 1982) racism. Where the traditional racist would openly espouse prejudiced beliefs the symbolic racist would express their hostility in more covert socially acceptable ways. A further formulation of an alternative form of racism is that of the aversive racist (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986) who will strive to avoid close contact with minorities and express their hostility through discomfort, fear and avoidance of these groups rather than overt hostility.

For the purposes of the present research however, it was thought best to focus on the more overt forms of hostility which would be encompassed by a traditional definition of prejudice such as Allport's. More subtle symbolic forms of prejudice were not considered for a number of reasons. Firstly, although theorists have argued that symbolic racism is different from traditional overt racism the distinction has never been demonstrated empirically (Weigel and Howes, 1985). Secondly, as these 'newer' forms of racist are unlikely to be biased in situations where their bias is obvious to themselves or others measurement is difficult and at best controversial (Brigham, 1993, p. 1935; Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986). Finally there is a practical issue related to the environment in which the present study was carried out. Although this study was undertaken primarily as an examination of a social psychological model of racism it was conducted in the context of real life intergroup relations which may in the future develop into serious social conflict. It was felt that in such a situation the most responsible course is to examine the more serious forms of prejudice which are likely to lead to dangerous social consequences. This is particularly important as there has been little research on the recent arrival of refugees into Ireland and little attempt to assess the likelihood that damaging racial tensions could develop.

A particularly useful conceptualisation of prejudice which directly addresses

the 'action - tendency' of hostile inter-group attitudes is social distance (Borgardus, 1933). Social distance is the degree of intimacy to which a person is willing to admit a member of any particular social group. Social distance is of course not synonymous with prejudice. One would expect that many people would wish to keep distance from groups such as small pox victims, child molesters or murderers without thinking of them as particularly prejudiced. The desire for social distance is prejudiced when it is unmotivated by any logical reason for aversion. So for the purposes of the present research prejudice may be defined as:

> *The desire to keep members of a group at a distance for no other reason than that they belong to that group*

A further advantage of conceptualising prejudice in terms of social distance is that a version of the Borgardus social distance scale has been widely used in Ireland (MacGréil, 1977, 1996) thus allowing comparisons to be made with a large local sample.

The model which will be used to predict prejudice in the present study draws on an array of social psychological theory. A model based on a combination of relative deprivation and social identity theory will be described before considering how the analytical power of this model may be increased by also considering the model at the level of social representations. Finally some other approaches to understanding prejudice will be considered.

A MODEL OF PREJUDICE

Relative Deprivation

A number of early studies examined the relationship between economic deprivation and political orientation. For example Barke, (1934) found that there was a link between unemployment and political radicalism and Jones (1941) found that

economic deprivation was linked to attitudes toward political violence. Street and Leggett (1961) found that groups of Blacks effected most by economic deprivation will be the most likely to view collective and individual violence as the outcome of a further depression.

The concept of relative deprivation added an important psychological dimension to the understanding of how economic deprivation effects an individual's attitudes. The term was first introduced by Stouffer et al. (1949) in 'The American Soldier'. The basic idea is straightforward : people feel deprived on a particular dimension not in relation to some absolute standard of economic wealth but relative to what they perceive to be the difference between their own status and the status of others. The authors of 'The American Soldier' used this concept to explain their finding that although Airmen had more opportunities for promotion than Military policemen they were more dissatisfied with their promotion system. This was explained by reasoning that the Airmen were dissatisfied because they were comparing themselves to their promoted peers and not to more distant groups.

Runciman (1966) did much to refine the definition of relative deprivation and was the first to link it with attitudes to political objects. He defined relative deprivation more formally than Stouffer at al. as follows :

A is relatively deprived of X when

1) he does not have X,

2) he sees some other person or persons, which may include himself at some previous or expected time, as having X,

3) he wants X, and

4) he sees it as feasible that he should have X.

Furthermore Runciman introduced a crucial distinction between fraternal and egoistic deprivation. Egoistic relative deprivation is felt when a person perceives that they are doing poorer than other people on a particular dimension. Fraternalistic relative deprivation is felt when a person perceives that they are a member of a group which is doing significantly poorer on a particular dimension than another salient group. Although in subsequent research the distinction between these two types of deprivation has often been lost or obscured the argument that the two are best used to predict different kinds of behavioural outcome has persisted.

The concept of relative deprivation increased dramatically in popularity during the 1960's when it was used in explanations of the rise of black militancy in the United States. Briefly, what had happened was as follows : after the introduction of mechanical cotton picking in the South in the late 1940's and 1950's there was an enormous migration of blacks northward to the cities as the old sharecropping method of farming collapsed. These blacks who moved northward experienced an increase in political freedom (e.g. blacks were freer to vote in the north) and an initial period of economic improvement which was also greatly helped by the events of World War 2. However the 1960's saw a dramatic increase in black urban unrest and a proliferation of black political and social groups. The number of race riots escalated and changed in nature. Up to this period race riots tended to involve whites rioting because of improvements in black status or housing - now blacks were rioting and attacking symbols of white authority and power. Protesting increased in intensity and frequency reaching a peak in 1969 when there were 169 major urban riots in the first 9 months. Basically the problem which social scientists at the time faced was this : why had the black population suddenly become more militant following years of relative political quiescence and why had this occurred after a period of relative prosperity? The standard relative deprivation account argued:

> "that the rapid socioeconomic changes in the condition of blacks during the 1950's and 1960's resulted in blacks increasing use of whites as comparative reference groups. The northern and urban migration combined with better education, occupational upgrading, and higher wages made blacks more and more aware of their deprivation viv-a-vis whites. The dramatic increase in black militancy as expressed in the civil rights movement and the urban riots of the 1960's resulted from this rising sense of deprivation (Abeles, 1976, p.121)."

A large body of research was conducted to test the validity of this account. However there were a number of differences between the quite sophisticated definitions developed by Runciman (1966) and the concepts of relative deprivation which underpinned much of this research. Two distinct traditions of relative deprivation research developed, one emphasising egoistic deprivation and the other emphasising fraternalistic deprivation.

Runciman (1966) had argued that an egoistic sense that other individuals around you are doing better than yourself is more likely to lead to attempts at self improvement or would manifest itself in stress or neurotic symptoms. He argued that fraternalistic relative deprivation on the other hand is more likely to lead to some form of political militancy. However a group of researchers and theorists have argued that egoistic deprivation can lead to political activity, especially the violent kind. This idea is usually presented in conjunction with some form of the frustration - aggression hypothesis. The argument is that when people perceive others doing better than themselves they become frustrated and as a result are likely to aggress against what they perceive to be the source of their frustration or they will displace that aggression onto some other object. For example, Gurr (1971) in his book 'Why

men rebel' makes much use of the frustration aggression hypothesis. He defines relative deprivation egoistically as a perceived discrepancy between an individual's value expectations and their value capabilities. 'Value expectations" are the goods and conditions of life to which individuals believe they are rightfully entitled; 'value capabilities' are the goods and conditions of life which they believe they are capable of attaining. Gurr appears to argue that fraternalistic deprivation is only a special case of egoistic deprivation. However as he never clearly distinguishes between the two forms of deprivation but blurs the two into one it is hard to evaluate much of his evidence and argument. This confusion of interpersonal and intergroup forms of thinking has been a major conceptual criticism of simple frustration-aggression approaches to prejudice (Brown, 1996, p.534). Such approaches fail to account for the marked uniformity in militant and prejudiced behaviour. As will be discussed later, Tajfel (1978) has persuasively argued that people's behaviour in groups is qualitatively different from their behaviour in interpersonal encounters.

However the major criticism of egoistic relative deprivation accounts of collective behaviours is that empirically they flounder. Crosby (1976, 1982) has argued convincingly that egoistic deprivation can lead to a host of interpersonal outcomes such as stress symptoms or attempts at self-improvement such as attending night-school (see Walker and Pettigrew, 1984, p.304). However predictions of militancy and prejudice have been poor. McPhail (1971), after reviewing a large number of studies of civil unrest which used deprivation-frustration-aggression models, concluded that the model had poor support. Of the 173 studies he reviewed which related directly to the model only 8% provided correlations above 0.3.

Fraternalistic relative deprivation on the other hand has been repeatedly found to predict collective behaviours such as militancy and racism. Runciman (1966) in his study of British working class attitudes found that fraternalistic deprivation

was far less common than egoistic deprivation but where it did exist was a useful predictor of militancy. Abeles (1976) in a secondary analysis of data on black militancy in Cleveland and Miami found that fraternalistic measures were again better predictors than egoistic ones. He also reports an interesting additional finding : the key fraternalistic comparison leading to militancy was not between whites and blacks but between educated blacks and educated whites. It seems that the respondents "looked upon the success of educated blacks as a critical test of American society. If they saw that even educated blacks, who have played by the rules, were not succeeding, they were likely to become more militant upon concluding that the level of racial injustice was intolerable"(Abeles, 1976, p.126). Vanneman and Pettigrew (1972) report an extensive series of studies which consistently found fraternalistic deprivation to be a better predictor of racial attitudes than egoistic deprivation. Walker and Mann (1987) also found that intergroup deprivation among the Australian unemployed was a better predictor than interpersonal deprivation of support for radical political change. More recently, Smith and Gaskell (1990) studied the attitudes of black youth in London toward political violence and rioting and found that fraternal deprivation was a significant predictor of militancy while egoistic deprivation was not.

Criticisms of Relative Deprivation research

The most persistent problem with the above research is that although fraternal deprivation measures reliably predict militancy and prejudice they generally only succeed in predicting a relatively small amount of the variance. For example, in his data for black militancy in Cleveland the strongest single relative deprivation predictor which Abeles (1976, p.125) uses can account for 6.25% (correlation of .25) of the variance when no demographics are controlled for. He admits that the mediating effects of relative deprivation variables "were not as powerful as predicted" (p.133). While it is difficult to exactly determine the strength of Vanneman and Pettigrew's (1972) findings due to the fact that they report

percentages and not correlations Smith and Gaskell (1990, p.185) found that "no single measure of relative deprivation preformed remarkably better than any other" and that most significant correlations were of the order of 0.15.

Attempts to improve fraternalistic relative deprivation predictions have generally focused on measurement issues. Abeles, Smith and Gaskell, and Vanneman and Pettigrew used a variation of Cantril's ladder (Cantril, 1965) in which subjects indicate on a ladder, which extends from the poorest in society to the wealthiest in society, their own position and the position of any group of interest to the researcher. Although this measure is easy to use and an economical way of gaining much information, when used alone it has often been criticised as being too 'cold' (Walker and Pettigrew, 1984, p.307). Essentially it only determines if a person perceives any economic differences to exist between different groups of people and does not determine how the person feels about those differences or if they even believe them to be important. Guimond and Dubé-Simard (1983) found that when they experimentally manipulated subject's perception of the extent of the economic differences between their own group (Montreal Francophones) and a proximate out-group (Montreal Anglophones) there was little effect on feelings of deprivation. This supports the contention that conceptualisations of relative deprivation which treat it solely as a cognitive variable and ignore the affective component will be of limited effectiveness. Using a measure which incorporated perceptions of economic difference and feelings of frustration about that difference Guimond and Dubé-Simard found they could predict militant nationalism better than with a simple measure of perception of inequality. This composite measure predicted 10.9% of the variance in Francophone militant attitudes although it should be noted that their sample was quite limited (80 students taking a degree course at night). In a similar study in South Africa de La Rue and Raju (1996) found that affective relative deprivation measures could predict protest orientation better than cognitive ones. The issue of the affective component of deprivation will be raised again when

relative deprivation is considered in relation to social identity theory.

Walker and Pettigrew (1984) raise two other criticisms which may help to explain the disappointing performance of fraternalistic deprivation predictors : specifying the referent and specifying the compared dimensions. A problem with the methodology generally used with Cantril's ladder is that the subject is not free to choose which groups they will identify as their own. The decision is usually made *a priori* by the researcher which group the subject would identify with when making fraternal comparisons. Gaskell and Smith (1986) developed a procedure which allowed a subject to choose their own membership group. However this procedure will not be adopted here for two reasons. Firstly considering the only marginally better performance of Gaskell and Smith's self selection measures relative to their *a prioi* ones (Smith and Gaskell, 1990) it was felt the improvement in validity would not be worth the amount of time and space the measure would require in a rather limited survey. Secondly as part of the social identity approach estimates are made of how strongly people identify with particular groups. Although this is not as comprehensive as Smith and Gaskell's methodology it does offer an economical way of controlling for people being misrepresented as feeling fraternally deprived in relation to groups they don't identify with. If the argument made against the use of *a priori* group categories in fraternal deprivation measures is correct then the deprivation measures should only work for those subjects who claim to identify strongly with the group used by the researcher.

The issue of which dimension to choose to compare groups on would seem to be one which depends on the situation. Runciman (1966) identified three possible dimensions on which people could feel deprived :

1. Economic - the location which an individual shares with those who are similarly placed in the process of production,

distribution and exchange. This dimension covers not only differences in income between different occupations but also such differences as opportunities for upward mobility, advantages in kind, provisions for retirement and security of employment.

2. Social status - covers those differences in social attributes and styles of life which are accorded higher or lower prestige. Whether people recognise each other as social, as opposed to economic, equals is apt to depend on whether they share the same class situation but this is not necessarily so. The classic example of where this doesn't apply is the *nouveau riche.*

3. Political-cum-legal power - This covers deprivation of representation in important decisions effecting one's life. Again this is usually associated with demands for economic redress but this is not necessarily so. It is possible to demand universal suffrage or equality before the law or workers' control of industry irrespective of demanding equality of class or status.

However subsequent research has tended to focus solely on the economic dimension. Tripathi and Srivastava (1981) used a relative deprivation scale which was originally developed by Naqvi (1974) and consisted of 20 items measuring social, political and economic deprivation as defined by Runciman. They found that fraternalistic comparisons on these dimensions predicted Muslim hostility to Hindus in India. Unfortunately they do not provide scores on the three dimensions of the scale to determine if some dimensions are more sensitive than others. Again

although the value of their approach is recognised it was felt that in the Irish refugee situation measuring relative deprivation on three dimensions would be too time consuming to compensate in substantially improved predictions. Thus far, most of the media reports have focused on the economic dimension and it seemed unlikely that many Irish people would feel deprived relative to newly arrived refugees except in economic terms. There is also the more general consideration that except in the most unusual circumstances economic, political and social status will be so highly correlated as to make measurement on dimensions beyond the economic redundant. Of course in certain situations measurement on other dimensions would have to be considered. But in the present situation no such rationale exists. Instead it seems that more economical ways to improve predictions using fraternal relative deprivation will be :

1. Design a study to explicitly test the relative deprivation model rather than relying on secondary analysis of other data as was done for example by Abeles (1976).

2. Use a random sample from the general population rather than a student convenience sample as was done by Tripathi and Srivastava (1981) and Guimond and Dubé-Simard (1983).

3. Measure deprivation as both a cognitive and affective variable rather than simply as a cognitive variable as was done by Abeles (1976) and Smith and Gaskell (1990).

4. The performance of relative deprivation predictors should be compared with the performance of other predictors based on more objective measures of deprivation such as income and general community level of deprivation. Other demographic

> variables such as gender and education should also be controlled. This allows some test of the power of the deprivation model. Analysis such as those presented by Vanneman and Pettigrew (1972) and Tripathi and Srivastava (1981) which are based only on the comparison of fraternal and egoistic measures of deprivation can only tell us about the most effective way to measure deprivation but not just how effective those measures are.

More radically it will be argued that the best way to substantially improve prediction based on relative deprivation theory will be by situating it within the framework of social identity theory.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1982) is based on the premise that personal and social identity can be distinguished or to put it more accurately that any interaction between people can occur along a dimension from purely (theoretically at least) interpersonal to purely intergroup. Social identity is "that *part* of the individual's self concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or group's) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981). Although it is recognised that ultimately individuals can only interact with other individuals very often they treat each other not as individuals but as members of well defined and clearly distinct social categories. A great deal of experimental work (most notably Tajfel's minimum group experiments) has demonstrated the effects that even transitory group formation can have on behaviour.

The formation of social identities depends on the three stage process of categorisation, identification and comparison (CIC). Social categorisation is the ordering of the social environment in terms of groupings of persons in a manner

which makes sense to the individual. Social identification occurs when the individual identifies themselves with one of the groups created by these categorisations and hence forward this becomes part of their self concept in situations when these categorisations are salient. Finally, the person will make comparisons on valued dimensions between the status of the group they have identified with and other important groups. It is argued that people have a basic need to obtain, through comparison between themselves and others, a relatively positive evaluation of themselves - there is a need for positive self-esteem.

To maintain this positive identity, groups and individuals who make social comparisons and find themselves in a low status position can adopt an array of different behavioural strategies, the choice of which is determined by beliefs about the nature of relations between their own and other groups (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). These beliefs depend firstly on whether it is plausible, as an individual, to move from a low status group and gain acceptance in a high status group. If a person believes that there is social mobility this encourages individuals to dissociate themselves from the low-status group and move towards the dominant group. If however intergroup boundaries are perceived to be impermeable to mobility then a social change belief system will emerge. Positive social identity can then only be achieved by some form of group action. The kind of action taken depends on whether the existing status and power hierarchy is perceived to be stable and legitimate or not. If it is, then it is difficult to conceive of an alternative social structure and various creative strategies will be engaged in. These include choosing new dimensions for intergroup comparison, redefining the values of existing dimensions and comparing with different out-groups. If the status quo is perceived to be unstable and illegitimate then direct social competition will occur.

Fraternal relative deprivation may be considered as a special case of the CIC

process. Walker and Pettigrew (1984) argue that the two traditions of research have much to offer one another but don't develop the details of this mutual benefit in much detail. What can relative deprivation theory gain by being considered in a social identity framework? By situating the concept of fraternalistic relative deprivation in the larger context of intergroup relations insight may be gained into the importance of in-group identification in explaining particular episodes of social behaviour. For example, social identity theory would predict that perceptions of deprivation will increase as the salience of particular groups increases (Kawakami and Dion, 1995). Thus relevant social comparisons would be more salient at times of ritualised reaffirmation of particular identities such as marching season. Social identity theory predicts that even the very process of categorisation creates a tension with perceived out-groups and predicts that some prejudice will exist even without the perception of disparity which would lead to relative deprivation. Such effects are generally the result of cognitive biases which categorisation and identification produce. As Turner (1982, p.29) expresses it "The cognitive output of a functioning social identification is, in a nutshell, stereotypic perception". Social identity theory predicts that this stereotypic perception will be such as to optimise the status of the in-group and homogenise and depreciate the position of the out-group. The motivation for these biases is the enhancement of self-esteem through promoting the status of groups the person identifies with. The present study will allow some exploration of the effects of strong in-group identification on the perception of the relative position and behaviour of the in-group. However although social categorisation and identification generally result in stereotyping perhaps making some degree of prejudice inevitable in social life, relative deprivation theory would predict that unfavourable intergroup comparisons will be necessary for more extreme forms of prejudice to develop.

More important perhaps than providing a larger intergroup relations framework, social identity theory also introduces the concepts of stability and

legitimacy as variables determining when fraternalistic relative deprivation will be translated into direct social competition. The concept of legitimacy seems to be particularly relevant to the theory of relative deprivation. Underpinning much theorising about relative deprivation is the implicit assumption that the problem for the deprived person is the sense that their deprivation is unjust. This seems to be a very powerful way of conceptualising the affective component of relative deprivation which Walker and Pettigrew (1984) mourned was often absent from cognitive measures of deprivation. Essentially what is argued is that relative deprivation measures will be more effective predictors of prejudice if they make the concept of injustice explicit - so as well as being asked if they perceive a difference between the relative positions of the in-group and out-group the subject is also asked if they believe that those relative positions represent a just state of intergroup relations. The concept of injustice appears to have much more universal applicability than the more general feelings of frustration measured by Guimond and Dubé-Simard (1984). Not only does it situate relative deprivation in the wider framework of social identity theory it also relates the idea of deprivation to other social psychological accounts of behaviour which have focused on judgments of justice and equity as key determinants of behaviour. Furby (1986) reviews many such accounts. One of the most well known is Lerner's (1975, 1977) argument that people are motivated to believe in a just world. Lerner has given most attention to the ways in which people justify what happens to other people. Social identity theory would further predict that when people believe that the position of their group relative to others is unjust because the out-group is getting more than they deserve while they are getting less they will react with hostility toward that group. If belief in unjust intergroup relations is a predictor of inter-group hostility then it may be possible to argue that the idea of justice is a powerful explanatory variable in understanding how people perceive the world. Stability is essentially a variable which allows situations to be excluded which would meet the other conditions for deprivation except that the subject perceives the conditions to be transitory and

hence does not experience strong feelings of deprivation.

Relative deprivation theory has a formal history of over 45 years and the basic idea is far older than that. The main focus of this research has been behaviours of important social significance. The main trial for social identity theory as a model which developed out of extensive laboratory work has been to show that the model can also be applied to such non-laboratory social behaviours. As an example of study based on social identity theory consider a study by Kawakami and Dion (1993). They used a role playing experiment to show that manipulations of group salience and intergroup inequality lead to a greater likelihood of subjects reporting the intention to engage in collective action. The assumption is that such experimental situations are an analogue for the way in which real-life intergroup hostility develops or could develop. Relative deprivation research has generally focused on such real life situations to a much greater extent and hence adds a dimension of depth and relevance to traditional experiment based social identity research.

A model of prejudice based on relative deprivation and social identity theory

According to social identity theory the first step in the development of prejudice is the categorisation of the social world into categories and the identification with one of these groups. Thus the first hypothesis is :

> HYPOTHESIS 1 : When a person identifies more strongly with their in-group they are more likely to be prejudiced towards relevant out-groups.

The next stage of the CIC process is comparison. When the outcome of these intergroup comparisons is negative the result is fraternalistic relative deprivation. The model predicts that these kind of comparisons will be more effective predictors of hostility than measures based on comparison of more objective economic

indicators and egoistic relative deprivation measures. Thus the second hypothesis is :

> HYPOTHESIS 2 : When the average income of an out-group is perceived to be better, the same or close to the average income of the in-group hostile attitudes towards that group will be more likely to result.

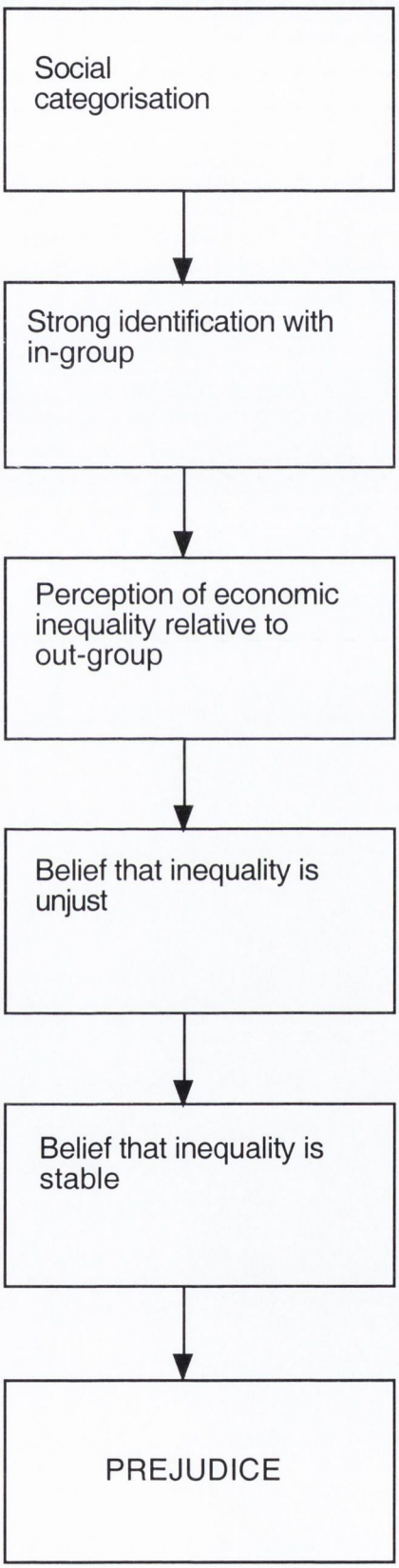
However hostile feelings will not result towards all groups that are believed to be economically superior to the in-group . The translation of this perception of economic disparity into actual hostility will be mediated by two other variables - legitimacy and stability. This is the basis of the third and fourth hypotheses :

> HYPOTHESIS 3 : If an out-group's income relative to the in-group is believed to be undeserved then feelings of hostility will result.

> HYPOTHESIS 4 : If an out-group is believed to be undeservedly economically superior / comparable to the in-group and this situation is believed to be stable for the foreseeable future hostility will be more likely to result.

The model as based on hypothesis 1 - 4 is represented in Figure 2.

Figure 2 - Model of prejudice to be tested



BROADENING THE LEVEL OF ANALYSIS - SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

Doise (1986) distinguishes four levels of explanation which social psychology can operate on :

(1) Intrapersonal theories describe how individuals organise their perception, their evaluation of social milieu and their behaviour within this environment.

(2) The inter-personal and situational level applies to a given social situation. The different social positions of people outside this particular situation are not taken into account and it is assumed that anyone in the same situation would act the same way.

(3) The positional level takes into account the wider historical situation which exists outside the research situation. The different social positions which people bring to the situation are variables in the experimental design.

(4) The ideological level takes into account the influence of the ideologies, belief systems, representations, values and norms which operate in the particular society in which the research is conducted.

The model which has been proposed above operates principally in terms of levels 1 and 3. It was felt however that the analysis could be enriched by further considering level 4. As it stands the model provides an account of how the individual person perceives his social environment and comes to a sense of unmerited deprivation relative to other groups. The question then arises of how this explanation relates to the sociological phenomenon of prejudice. Why do large groups of people come to the same conclusions regarding their economic position relative to other groups? How do they come to similar conclusions regarding the stability or legitimacy of

these differences? Reicher (1983, p.10) poses a similar question when he points out that individualistic theories of rioting such as deindividuation cannot account for the marked uniformity of behaviour in such situations. A theoretical approach to understanding widespread prejudiced belief systems is social representations.

Moscovici (1963) has been a virulent critic of the over-emphasis on individual psychological processes which he argues has characterised mainstream American social psychology. Social representations, the principal theoretical construct which he introduced to counter this over-emphasis on individual psychology, has lead to a major movement in European social psychology. This more sociological form of social psychology (Farr, 1990, p.47) takes as its object of study "systems of preconceptions, images and values which have their own cultural meaning and persist independently of individual experience" (Moscovici, 1982, p.122). Social representations are a theory of reality, a set of concepts and explanations of the world around us. Moscovici (1981, p.181) compares them to "the myths and belief systems in traditional societies", suggesting that they are akin to "a contemporary version of common sense". The key point about social representations which distinguishes them from other social psychological concepts such as attitude and opinion is that they are shared. Jaspars and Fraser (1984, p.104) explain :

> "...what is social about social representations is not, in the first place, that such representations are representations of social reality, or that they are social in origin, but that they are social because they are shared by many individuals and as such constitute a social reality which can influence individual behaviour".

So a social representation may be considered as a theory for the discovery and organisation of reality (Moscovici, 1973, p.xiii) which is 'supra-individual' (Purkhardt, 1993, p.5).

Although social representations may refer to the physical world, branches of scientific or medical knowledge it is clear that they "are often a product of group dynamics, developed to serve group interests" (Breakwell, 1993). If a group of people are prejudiced towards a particular out-group then the contents of its representations regarding that out-group are important for understanding the nature of their hostility. In the context of the model discussed above representations concerning the economic status of the group, its means of income and the stability of its status are especially relevant. Smith and Gaskell (1990, p.179) appear to take a similar direction when they suggest that "relative deprivation theory will achieve really substantial predictive and explanatory power when it succeeds in moving towards a genuinely social perspective such as one incorporating assessments of widespread and shared beliefs in the population in question". They urge that any relative deprivation model should take account of "the fact that whole groups evolve beliefs which are shared by their members, and which come to be adopted by new members or would-be members through various socialisation processes" (p.187). Hewstone, Jaspars and Lalljee (1982) also attempted to show how social representations underpin social identity processes. They demonstrated that public and comprehensive school boys had shared beliefs about each other which led them to make favourable attributions for their in-group and unfavourable ones for the out-group.

The argument in relation to the present model of prejudice is that social representations operate within society which depict minority out-groups as financially successful relative to the majority in-group and which explain this success in often unflattering terms. For example, with the recent influx of refugees there were many reports of organised groups being 'trafficked' to Ireland with the sole purpose of taking advantage of it's social welfare system. Such reports may form part of a popular theory about the economic situation and behaviour of refugees. Similarly Abeles (1976, p.126) finding that "black respondents looked upon the

success of educated blacks as a critical test of American society" suggests that what is underling their sense of deprivation is not a simple perception of economic disparity but a theory about the unjust nature of that disparity. The comparison between educated blacks and whites may be crucial because it forms part of a theory about the whole social structure. By adding this extra level of analysis to the model it may be possible to begin to understand why the specific comparisons which lead to deprivation occur regularly within the population and why prejudice in society is limited in the forms it takes.

Perhaps the most ecologically valid way of examining social representations is through open-ended interviews along with close analysis of the relevant mass media. Due to restrictions of space in the survey method adopted this procedure will not be plausible. Instead key media statements regarding target groups were presented to the subjects and they signal the extent to which they believe them to be true. By doing so it was hoped to be able to identify a group of beliefs which constitute a theory about the status and behaviour of the out-group. People sharing this theory will be more likely to feel deprived and hence prejudiced towards the out-group. Although this procedure is not ideal it does follow the trend of social representations research which is distinctive for the consideration it gives to the contents of the mass media (Farr, 1990, p.53).

Returning to our original point about the differences in predicting hostility to newly arrived and long established groups our argument thus far would appear to suggest that the model should work equally well for both. Although it may be predicted that as representations of newly arrived groups become more entrenched and widespread in a society more hostility will result, the same basic principle should operate : people feel deprived relative to other groups as a result of their theories about that group. Given mass media coverage and a sufficiently information-mobile society such theories about newly arrived groups will not take

long to form and disseminate. Where Abeles (1976) argues that as a social movement becomes more firmly established its members no longer need to perceive deprivation to become militant but instead become directly socialised into militancy it is here argued that socialisation is not an alternative theory to relative deprivation. Rather people are socialised into social representations which portray the out-group as unfairly gaining over the in-group. These representations may become more formalised and widespread as a movement progresses but still the explanation of the outcome behaviour remains the same.

OTHER APPROACHES TO PREJUDICE

Social identity theory and social representations are two of the most important and comprehensive paradigms in contemporary European social psychology. Many previous studies of intergroup behaviour and conflict have been reevaluated in light of these two approaches. How some other approaches to prejudice can be understood in terms of the social identity / social representations model outlined above will now be discussed, principally approaches based on frustration aggression theory, realistic group conflict, attributions and stereotypes, normative influence and cognitive sophistication.

Frustration-aggression approaches to prejudice

There were many early attempts to model prejudice on the frustration-aggression sequence outlined by Dollard et al. (1939). Most of these attempts also used the corollary hypothesis of displacement and scapegoating arguing essentially that people who are experiencing frustration in their life can displace their frustration from the true cause to the weaker and more accessible target of a minority group. The most famous experimental test of this idea was conducted by Miller and Bugelski (1948) on a group of college-age men working at a summer camp. Some of the group were asked to state their attitudes toward Japanese and Mexicans before or after being forced to stay in camp to take tests rather than attend a long-awaited

free evening at a local theatre. Compared to the group who did not undergo this frustrating experience those who did displayed increased prejudice toward the two minority groups. Similarly Rogers and Prentice-Dunn (1981) showed that frustrated subjects were more likely to aggress against a minority member than against someone the same as themselves. Allport (1954) in his book 'The Nature of Prejudice' endorsed the view that minority groups could become the victims of prejudice simply because they were "convenient targets" for someone else's frustration. Berkowitz (1962) outlined four characteristics of minority groups which are likely to lead to them being scapegoats : safeness, visibility, strangeness and prior victimisation. Gurr (1971) in a more direct use of the classic frustration-aggression hypothesis argues that relative deprivation is a cause of frustration which can lead people to violent actions toward what they perceive to be the cause of their deprivation.

However many social identity theorists have criticised approaches which use laboratory work with individuals such as the frustration aggression experiments to explain large scale socially significant forms of collective behaviour. For example Reicher (1984) argues that such individualistic based approaches to understanding collective violence "systematically exclude any social basis for the coherence of social behaviour" (p.2). Essentially such approaches cannot explain why a large group of people translate their personal sense of frustration into uniform patterns of social behaviour such as prejudice or civil unrest. That this theoretical criticism is valid is supported by the fact that frustration-aggression approaches have almost consistently failed to predict participation in civil unrest (McPhail, 1971).

There is still however the issue of how making unfavourable intergroup comparisons such as those involved in fraternalistic deprivation is to be conceptualised as the basis of aggressive behaviour toward out-groups. Recent reformulations of the frustration-aggression hypothesis may provide the answer.

Berkowitz (1984, 1988) has outlined a cognitive neo-associationist model of aggression which makes a number of important changes to the original frustration-aggression hypothesis. Primarily it argues that the key antecedent of aggression is not just the experience of frustration but the experience of negative emotions in general. This can include such things as anger, shame and irritation as well as frustration. This allows for a more flexible understanding of the causes of aggression including such things as anger and injustice resultant from a perception of relative deprivation. Even more importantly a number of studies have shown the importance of cognitive factors such as attributions of intentionality and avoidability in mediating the link between negative affect and resultant aggression. For example, Burnstein and Worchel (1962) found that group members whose progress was impeded by a member who had a hearing problem were much less aggressive than group members whose difficulty was caused by a member who appeared to be deliberately blocking the group's progress. A more elaborate study by Ohbuchi et al. (1989) showed that people were less likely to retaliate against a person who had insulted them if the person apologised, regardless of whether the insult was countered by the experimenter or not. What findings like these suggest is that the interpretation of a situation is as important in determining the behavioural outcome as the fact that the situation causes the person to feel negative emotions such as frustration. Applied to the model outlined above this approach can show how the link between unfavourable intergroup comparisons and prejudiced behaviour might work. Presuming the unfavourable comparison is a source of frustration and embarrassment to the person social representations which represent the comparison as one which is undeserved and unjustified will provide the cognitive framework whereby the person or persons will perceive the situation as one in which their negative emotion should be translated into aggression.

Realistic group conflict

The most famous demonstration of realistic group conflict as a model of intergroup

relations was conducted at 'Robber's Cave' summer camp by Muzafer Sherif (Sherif, 1966; Sherif et al., 1961). In one version of this study two groups of boys arrived at the camp initially unaware of each others existence. The experimenters then made the groups aware of each other and introduced a competitive reward structure whereby situations were created in which the success of one group depended on the failure of the other. The experimenters observed marked changes in the behaviour of the two groups towards each other typified by in-group bias and out-group hostility. Sherif proposed this experiment as a paradigm for real life intergroup hostility which he argued occurred when groups compete over scarce resources.

The argument underlining relative deprivation theory is that intergroup conflict is not based on realistic conflict over resources but the perception of a difference in resources. Essentially realistic conflict over resources is to perception of resource difference what objective income is to relative deprivation. Only when differences in resources are perceived by a person and judged to be unfair are they a motivation for behaviour. This helps account for the fact that conflict may arise over perceived differences in resources which have no actual basis in reality (e.g. the perceptions of Jews as the controllers of world banking which circulated in early Nazi Germany). The difference in the two conceptions of conflict over resources may be especially important when trying to generalise from experimental situations such as those used by Sherif to real life situations. In the Sherif situation there is an obvious reward structure in place which the members of both groups could easily perceive. In a more complex real world urban environment reward structures are not so clear and people must rely on shared representations regarding the reward structures in operation. So the view of realistic group conflict theory in light of the relative deprivation model outlined above is that competition over scarce resources is in fact a source of intergroup hostility but not in the objective sense described by Sherif. People are not motivated to respond to the objective intergroup situation but to the intergroup situation as they perceive it. The correspondence between the two

is not necessarily perfect.

Stereotypes and attributions

Prejudiced stereotypes are essentially rigid and negative ideas about the kinds of behaviour which members of certain social categories typically engage in while prejudiced attributions are explanations for a social group's behaviour which reflect poorly on those groups. Both have been studied extensively in the social psychological literature. Many early approaches to stereotyping were based on the descriptive procedures devised by Katz and Braly (1933) and essentially explored the content and prevalence of popular stereotypes about different minority groups. For example, Katz and Braly found that 75% of their sample believed Negroes to be lazy and 79% that Jews are shrewd. More recently attention has focused on the process of 'intergroup attribution' (Hewstone, 1989a) situating stereotyping and attribution research more firmly in a social identity framework. Many research studies have shown that stereotypical beliefs and negative attributions about out-groups are an almost inevitable result of identification with an in-group. As an example of this approach, Hewstone, Jaspars and Lalljee (1982) examined the in-group bias which public and comprehensive school boys made in explaining each other's behaviour. Closely related to the tendency to hold negative stereotypes about the out-group and positive ones about the in-group is the phenomenon of the outgroup homogeneity (Park and Rothbart, 1982). This refers to a cognitive bias whereby all out-group members are perceived as being the same while in-group members are perceived as individual and distinct. This effect can even occur at the level of physical recognition with a tendency to perceive all members of other ethnic groups as looking the same (Bothwell et al., 1989).

Social representations theory can also provide an interesting and potentially powerful framework for exploring the nature of stereotypes and attributions. Hewstone (1989b) argues that social representations can contribute to an

understanding of what attributions are, where they come from and what functions they serve. Social representations theory highlights the context and collective nature of attribution and stereotyping processes. Where research has traditionally focused on isolated examples of particular stereotypical beliefs and attributions social representations proposes that such cognitive processes form part of a larger theory which people use to understand and explain the world. It also focuses on the way in which such theories are disseminated and shared within large in-groups.

Education : normative influence or cognitive sophistication?

That more education is associated with reduced prejudice, as expressed in measures of attitudes to minority groups, is well established. Stouffer's (1955) wide-scale study of the attitudes of the American population to civil liberties for ethnic minorities showed that education was a key predictor of tolerance. Nunn, Crockett and Williams (1978) performed a replication of this study and found that education had an even more powerful effect on tolerance than it did in Stouffer's study. However although the effect of education on prejudice is well established the meaning of the effect is much debated.

Nunn, Crockett and Williams (1978) presumed that the effect of education was part of a learning process that enhanced cognitive skills, cultural knowledge and cognitive flexibility. Other theorists such as McClosky (1964) have similarly argued that the positive effect of education on political tolerance is due to increased understanding and cognitive skill. However critics have objected that the effect of education on political tolerance is only a superficial one. The most vocal of these has been Mary Jackman (Jackman, 1978; Jackman and Muha, 1984) who has argued that the effect of education on tolerance is only the result of a superficial commitment to democratic values which does not extend to supporting concrete action to improve the status of minorities. Theorists such as Bobo and Licari (1989) have attempted to counter this argument by showing that education has an effect on cognitive abilities

which are related to tolerance. However their research is inconclusive and the debate about the depth of change involved in greater education is still unresolved.

Even if the argument is accepted that education does produce a genuine change towards greater tolerance there are two basic ways of understanding the effect : normative influence or cognitive sophistication. As normative influence the effect of education may be understood as being caused by the person identifying with new in-groups which act as a reference group from which they learn more liberal attitudes. Newcomb (1943; Newcomb et al., 1967) suggested that this kind of influence was causing the change of attitudes towards greater liberalism he observed over the four years which students spent in Bennington college. In a follow-up study he also found that these effects appeared to last into adulthood well after the students had left the college. Studies which have shown that people who are prejudiced are more likely to conform to other social norms (Pettigrew, 1958) and have prejudiced parents and peers (Agnew at al., 1994. Reported in Meyers, 1996, p.409) also highlight the importance of normative influence on prejudice. Expressed in terms of normative influence the effect of education is compatible with the social identity model outlined above. Education causes people to become less prejudiced because they are introduced to a social environment which endorses more liberal values and which they want to identify with. Social identity theory would argue that when people identify with new in-groups they adopt the values of that group and its general attitude towards out-groups. Of course if this argument is correct then the influence of education need not always be one which reduces prejudice. If there is a prevailing prejudice towards some groups among the highly educated then according to the normative influence argument increased education would be predicted to lead to greater intolerance toward those groups.

Other theorists have argued that education causes greater cognitive sophistication which leads to the reduction in prejudice. Bobo and Licari (1989) and

Sniderman et al. (1984) take this approach. The essential argument is that greater cognitive sophistication allows the more educated person "to reject the unsophisticated, unscientific, undemocratic prejudices of those with less education" (Jackman and Muha, 1989). As cognitive sophistication the effect of education is harder to reconcile with the model of prejudice outlined above and is perhaps to be understood as an influence on prejudice independent of the effects of social identity, relative deprivation and social representation.

The methodology of a study designed to test the different parts of the model of prejudice outlined above will now be described in chapter 2.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY OF SURVEY

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In order to field test a model of prejudice which uses relative deprivation and social identity theory and further assumes that both of these processes are underpinned by social representation mechanisms the following variables need to be measured in a random sample of the general population :

1. **Social distance** to key target groups. This is the crucial dependent variable, the extent to which individuals wish to keep members of minority groups at a distance from themselves. It is important in doing this to provide a range of target groups in order to determine if the model predicts better for different kinds of minority group, for example for newly arrived groups and long established ones. By including groups to which the person should feel little distance it is also possible to establish that the scale is working properly. If it is there should be predictably different distances for different groups.

2. Strength of **identification** with a range of relevant in-groups. This is the first stage of the social identity process. People who identify strongly with particular groups should be more prejudiced towards minority groups as they stand to gain most in self esteem by elevating the status of their own group through denigrating others.

3. **Perception of average income** of key target groups as compared to average income of in-group. This comparison is the next stage of the social identity process and is the key predictor in fraternal relative deprivation accounts of prejudice. Personal

income should also be measured on the same scale in order to test the hypothesis that fraternal relative deprivation is a better predictor of prejudice than egoistic deprivation. A practical and efficient way to measure all of these income variables is by using Cantril's (1965) ladder.

4. Perception of the **legitimacy** of the target group's income. Social identity theory further predicts that unfavourable intergroup comparisons will only lead to hostility if they are perceived to be illegitimate.

5. Perception of **stability** of average income of target groups. Social identity theory also predicts that unfavourable social comparison will only lead to intergroup hostility when the situation is not perceived to be temporary.

6. A sample of **widespread beliefs** regarding key minority groups. The extent to which people agree with such beliefs should determine the kinds of intergroup comparisons they make and how they interpret them (most importantly whether or not they are perceived to be legitimate and stable).

7. **Objective measures of economic status**. These are important in that they provide a test of the usefulness of relative deprivation predictors. If simple objective economic measures can predict prejudice better than measures based on social comparison then the usefulness of such involved psychological measures may be questioned. Other important demographic variables should also be controlled for.

There are three ways of administering a questionnaire measuring these variable to a random sample of the general population : (1) Door to door interviewing based on a questionnaire (2) Telephone interviewing based on a questionnaire (3) Mailing a questionnaire. It was decided that the most cost effective way to reach a large sample would be via the mail. This decision was made for a number of reasons :

1. Lower income groups were of particular interest as according to previous research they were more likely than other groups to be hostile to minorities and at the same time less likely to respond to surveys. In addition working class areas were the locations in which most newly arrived refugees were living making the attitudes of local populations of particular interest. In order to reach this population telephone surveys would be unsuitable as they require the respondent to possess a telephone. Face-to-face interviews would increase the response rate. However it would also involve sending interviewers to some areas with very high crime rates.

2. The project did not have the budget to hire interviewers to cover the whole area of interest.

3. Racial prejudice is a very sensitive issue and it was felt that the effect of interviewer bias and expectations would be lessened if the respondent did not have to face the interviewer personally.

4. A method exists for administering mail surveys in such a way as to ensure large return rates (Dillman, 1978).

5. Mail surveys allow the researcher complete geographic mobility in the selection of subjects.

6. Mail surveys allow people to complete the questionnaire at leisure thus cutting

down on lost subjects due to inappropriate timing by an interviewer. This can be especially important in determining the representativeness of the sample as many face-to-face surveys are carried out at times when many people are at work thus leading to systematic bias.

In deciding on the best procedure to use in designing and administering the survey Dilliman's (1978) Total Design Method was followed. The principal idea behind this method is that by careful design of all materials and procedures it is possible to increase response rates and sample representativeness. Some of the most important methods which Dillman recommends and which are to be adopted in the present survey are as follows :

1. All materials including questionnaires, covering letters and reminders should be on good quality clean stationary. As far as possible they should be appealing to the eye.

2. A personal approach should be taken to each subject. All communications including envelopes, covering letters and reminders should refer to the subject by name. All letters should be signed by hand.

3. All questionnaires and letters should be written in simple clear language.

4. Questionnaires should be reasonably short, taking no more than 10-12 minutes to complete.

5. Not only should the questionnaire be short it should also appear short. A way Dillman suggests of doing this is by using both sides of A4 pages and folding them into a booklet thus making it appear smaller and neater.

6. Every questionnaire sent out should be followed up by a carefully programmed series of reminders. This should include a postcard 'reminder / thank you' note after one week and a second letter (with a replacement questionnaire and return envelope) three weeks after that.

7. It is desirable to provide the respondent with some small reward as an incentive *before* they are asked to fill out the questionnaire. This helps to establish a positive attitude towards the questionnaire.

8. Every questionnaire should be accompanied by a covering letter which explains the purpose and value of the research.

Having decided that the best way to test the model was by a carefully programmed mail survey of a large random sample of the Irish population the next step was to design a suitable questionnaire.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Before deciding on the final questionnaire and procedure there were two pilot studies. The results of these two pilot studies will be reported below and then the final questionnaire and procedure will be described. But first each part of the model will be examined to explain how the original items for the first pilot questionnaire were chosen.

Social Distance

The social distance scale used was based on the original seven item scale developed by Bogardus (1933). MacGréil (1977, 1996) had used a version of the social distance scale widely in Ireland and it was decided to follow his use of the scale as this would allow comparisons to be made between the social distance results of the present

survey and the results for a much larger sample of the Irish population who had been interviewed face to face. The version of the social distance scale which MacGréil used is based on the following seven items :

1. Would marry or welcome into my family
2. Would have as a close friend
3. Would have as a next door neighbour
4. Would work in the same work place
5. Would welcome as an Irish citizen
6. Would only allow as visitors to Ireland
7. Would deport or debar from Ireland

The subject is asked if they would agree 'yes' or 'no' to each of these items if it was applied to a particular target group. As used by Bogardus and MacGréil a social distance scale is a cumulative one - that is, it is based on the assumption that if a respondent selects a particular item they would respond similarly to all items of lower rank. So, for example, if a respondent agreed with item 3 it is also assumed that they would agree with items 4 and 5 (items 6 and 7 are not part of the cumulative assumption of the scale). Hence in administration the respondents selects one item which is presumed to indicate the closest degree of intimacy that they would be willing to admit a member of the target group. This cumulative assumption was felt to be questionable and hence a different administration procedure was used in the present research. It is argued that in different situations and applied to different groups the items of the scale would be of differing importance. For example, as applied to some groups employment might be a more sensitive issue than living in proximity to them. If this argument is correct then the assumption that the scale is cumulative will misrepresent the subject's opinions and the researcher will lose valuable information about the patterns of hostility which may apply to particular target groups.

In order to test the cumulative assumption of the scale an alternative administration procedure was used whereby respondents are asked to respond to each item individually. If the cumulative assumption is correct, then subjects who agree with a level of intimacy high on the scale should also accept all lower levels as well. For example if a subject responds that they are unwilling to have a member of a minority group in their workplace they should also be unwilling to have a member of that group as a neighbour. Hence overall there should be an increasing willingness to accept the items as the scale is descended.

The two most important target groups which were to be considered in the present research were Refugees and Travellers. As was mentioned in the introduction Refugees are an out-group that has recently gained much prominence in Irish society. Travellers are Ireland's largest indigenous ethnic group and have in the been past been the focus of much prejudice. As a group they share several common characteristics : a high rate of intermarriage, use of Shelta language, adherence to Roman Catholicism and mostly commercial / industrial nomadic occupations such as selling linoleum door-to-door, barn painting and laying tarmac (Ni Shuinear, 1994). They are generally believed, and believe themselves to be, of local origin (Okeley, 1994). They were chosen as a key target group as they have been the object of hostility within the local population for a very long period and hence comparison can be made between predictions made for this group and predictions made for newly arrived groups such as refugees.

Six other groups were chosen for a variety of different reasons :

1. Drug pushers - This is a group towards which it was predicted most people would express distance. The purpose of including them was to ensure that the instrument was working properly. If it was then there should be a high level of hostility compared to other groups.

2. Spaniards - This is a foreign group which has a large transient population in Ireland but towards which there appears to be little hostility. The purpose of inclusion was again to ensure that the instrument was working properly but also to allow comparison with foreign groups towards whom hostility is expressed.

3. Bosnians - In 1997 there were 761 Bosnians living in Ireland most of whom came here during the war of 1992 to 1995. The reason they were included was to determine if people drew a distinction between these displaced refugees who came here as part of an organised programme and those who came here directly and apparently only for economic reasons.

4. Romanians - These are the largest group which have come to Ireland in recent years without being part of any organised refugee programme. Although there are many reasons for their seeking asylum they have generally been represented in the media as being purely economic refugees (Keating, 1997).

5. Muslims - This is one of the longest established foreign ethnic groups in Ireland. Muslims have being coming to Ireland, often as students, since the 1950's. There are many small mosques around the country and in 1996 a large mosque and cultural centre was opened in Dublin. They were included to determine if people distinguished between foreign groups who had a long history here and those newly arrived. Another distinguishing factor of the Muslim group is that many of them who came to Ireland were economically independent.

6. Blacks - This group was included to determine to what extent there was a separate skin colour prejudice.

In order to save on space the scale was presented in terms of a grid with the seven social distance statements along the top and the eight target groups along the side

and subjects were asked to tick those statements which they agreed with for each group. They were given instructions how to do this and their attention was drawn to the fact that the last two items on the scale are phrased in the negative.

Social Identities

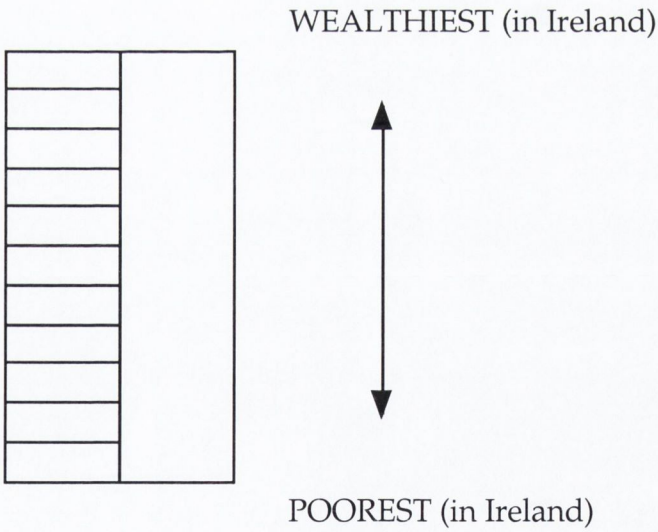
A simple Likert format was used to determine the extent to which people identified with particular group labels. The scale was on 5 points ranging from Very important to Very unimportant. Subjects were asked how important they rated six key identities : Irish, working class, white, Catholic, middle class and European. It was expected that those strongly identifying themselves as Irish, white, and working class would be particularly prone to express hostility to out-groups. The inclusion of working class and middle class allowed control for the possibility that people may not identify with the reference groups which were provided when measuring fraternal deprivation. The key reference group provided in the relative deprivation section was working class so if people did not identify with that label in the identities section it could be concluded that for that subject the scale was not actually measuring fraternal deprivation. It is difficult to make a simple prediction for the effect of identifying oneself as Catholic as research findings on the link between church membership and prejudice are mixed. In large surveys of the American population church members have been found to express more racial prejudice than non-members (Altemeyer and Hunsberger, 1992; Batson et al., 1993; Gorsuch, 1988). However it has also been found that regular church attenders are less prejudiced than occasional attenders (Batson and Ventis, 1982) and that those scoring high on an index of 'spiritual commitment' are more likely to welcome a member of an ethnic minority as a neighbour (Gallup and Jones, 1992). From this it would appear that mere church membership is a predictor of prejudice while genuine religious commitment tends to be associated with less prejudice. Since the measure being used is of the importance of the label Catholic and not simply church membership it may be predicted that strong Catholic identification will lead to reduced prejudice.

Finally European was included as a minor test of super-ordinate identity theory which suggests that people who identify with labels which include larger more diverse groups of people will be more likely to be tolerant.

Relative Deprivation - Perception of inequality

Cantril's ladder was used to measure simple perception of average group income. Subjects were asked to indicate the performance of four different groups on the ladder : Travellers, Refugees, the Dublin working class, and their own household. For example for the target group refugees subjects were presented with some general instructions and then the following :

a) The income of the average refugee living in Ireland
(compared to the richest and poorest people in Ireland)



These ratings for four groups allowed a person's sense of egoistic relative deprivation and their sense of fraternalistic deprivation relative to Travellers and Refugees to be calculated. For example if a person rates Travellers income on the fifth 'rung' of the ladder, working class income on the fourth and own income on

the sixth then their egoistic deprivation is scored as own income minus working class (6 minus 4 = -2) and their fraternal deprivation relative to Travellers as working class income minus Traveller's income (4 minus 5 = -1).

Relative deprivation - Affective component

After the ladder was presented for each group two questions were asked about the ladder which related to different aspects of the emotional component of relative deprivation. One asked about the subject's level of frustration at the group's income and the other about the perceived fairness of the group's income. The purpose of including two questions was to decide at the pilot stage which would be the most effective. The two questions were asked in relation to Refugees, Travellers, the Dublin working class and the subject's own household. For example applied to refugees the two questions were as follows :

1. Please indicate the extent to which you experience frustration with the level (too high or too low) of the average refugee's income.

1	2	3	4	5
Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither	Satisfied	Very satisfied

2. Do you think it is fair that the average refugee receives this level of income?

1	2	3	4	5
Very fair	Fair	Neither	Unfair	Very unfair

Relative deprivation - stability

After the two questions about the emotional evaluation of economic performance there was one question about the likelihood of future change in the target group's income. Again this was asked for each of the four target groups. For refugees the question appeared as follows :

3. It is likely that the income level of the average refugee will change dramatically (better or worse) in the near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Stay the same	Worse	Far worse

Widespread Beliefs

Ten statements about Refugees (7 items) and Travellers (3 items) which were frequently made in the media were presented in Likert format and the subject indicated the extent to which they believed them to be true. The items were presented on a five point scale ranging from Very True to Very False. The results were to be factor analysed to determine if there are clusters of beliefs which may be identified as representing a widespread theory about Refugees and Travellers and whether there are other shared theories which may lead to greater tolerance. The ten statements were as follows :

a) Many foreigners are coming to Ireland to exploit its social welfare system [negative].

b) Since Irish people have emigrated for so many years it is only right that we welcome other nationalities to Ireland [positive].

c) The majority of immigrants coming to this country are not genuine political refugees [negative].

d) Ireland is currently experiencing a flood of refugees [negative].

e) Travellers commit far more crime than other groups of people in Irish society [negative].

f) The current methods of processing asylum seekers looking for refugee status in this country are unfair [positive].

g) Many refugees with money are begging in the streets of Dublin [negative].

h) Police are biased against travellers [positive].

i) Ireland is traditionally a welcoming culture and should continue to be by welcoming foreigners seeking refuge here [positive].

j) Travellers are unhygienic and at high risk of sanitary diseases [negative].

Demographic information

This section asked the subject to provide the following information in confidence - sex, age, educational qualifications, occupation, age they left school, household income per week. Finally they were asked what newspapers they read regularly.

All of the above material was presented in a five part booklet questionnaire entitled the Dublin Social Opinions and Identities Survey. The five parts were as follows[1] :

1. Social identity items.
2. Demographic questions with a brief reminder of confidentiality.
3. Widespread belief items.
4. Social distance scale.
5. Relative deprivation. There was a separate section for each of the four groups and all of the measures (Cantril's ladder, frustration, fairness and stability) were to be

[1] The full text of the questionnaire used is presented in Appendix 1.

filled in for a particular target group before proceeding to the next group.

The questionnaire was tested on a non-random sample of twenty subjects from the Dublin area to ensure their were no difficulties in understanding. None were reported except that a number of people did report slight difficulty in using the social distance scale. Some minor changes were made to the instructions used with this scale as a result but the administration procedure remained essentially the same.

FIRST PILOT

The first pilot was a complete replication of the methodology which was intended for use in the main survey. This was thought advisable in the light of the high cost of the proposed postal survey and the threat of low response rates.

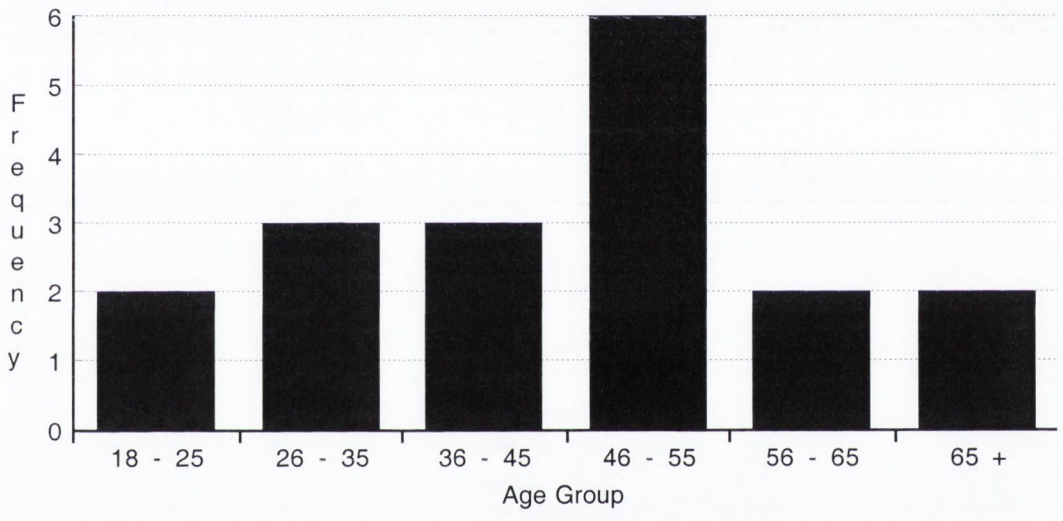
Method

SUBJECTS : 50 names were drawn at random from the 1997 electoral register. Keogh and Whelan (1986) after a careful analysis of the Irish electoral register found that although there are certain biases against young people and those who have recently moved it "is the best generally available frame from which samples of the Irish population may be selected" (p.91). Only certain designated electoral districts were chosen which essentially represented the area of Dublin inner city. The reason for restricting the survey to Dublin city was that most newly arrived refugees were located in Dublin. There was also a certain emphasis made on lower income areas as it was felt desirable to have a representative sample from those areas and it was known that lower response rates were to be expected from lower income respondents. However it was also ensured that there was a complete sample of economic areas including some of the higher income bracket areas in Dublin[2].

2 The full list of areas used in all surveys in this study is presented in Appendix 2.

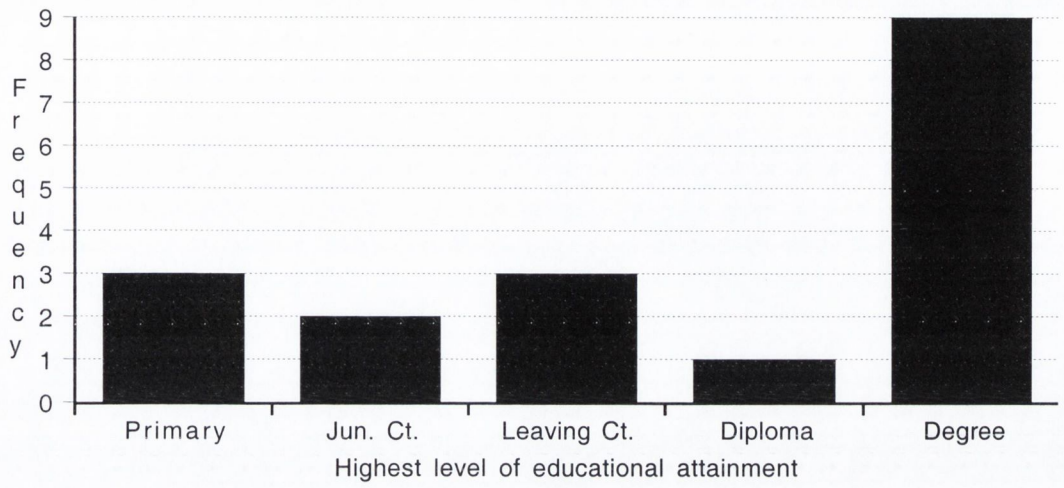
Of the 50 subjects sent questionnaires and the full series of reminders 18 returned fully completed questionnaires giving a response rate of 36%. A further 2 people returned blank questionnaires and 1 person reported that they found it too difficult to complete. Roughly equal numbers of males and females responded : 10 males and 8 females. There was also a roughly equal distribution in terms of age group except that the group 46 - 55 was heavily over represented as can be seen from Figure 3.

Figure 3 - Age group of subjects in first pilot



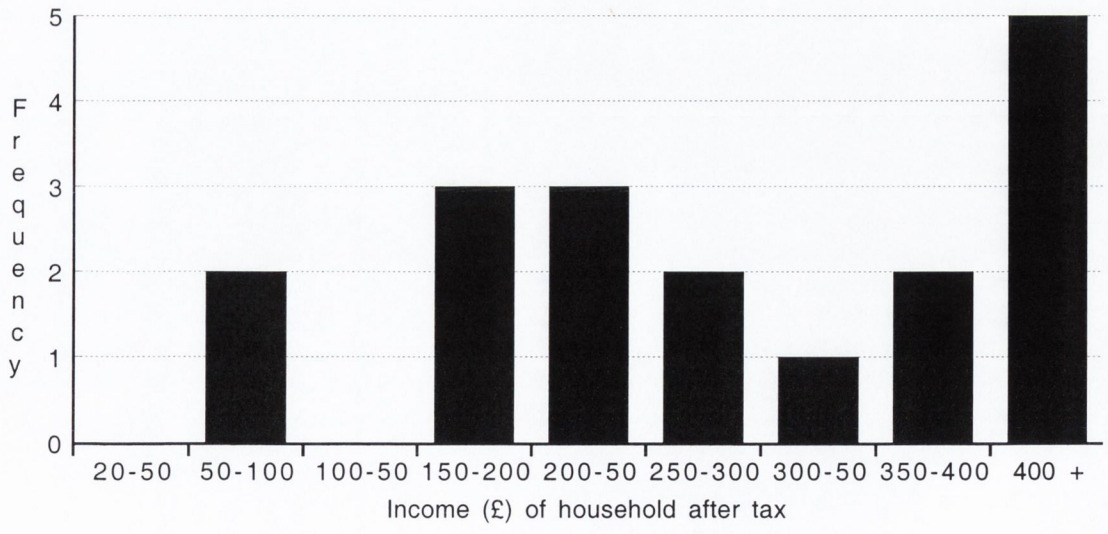
The distributions of education, income and occupation presented a coherent picture of the sample as a predominately white collar highly educated group of substantial means. Half of the subjects had third level degrees as can be seen from Figure 4.

Figure 4 - Educational level of subjects in first pilot



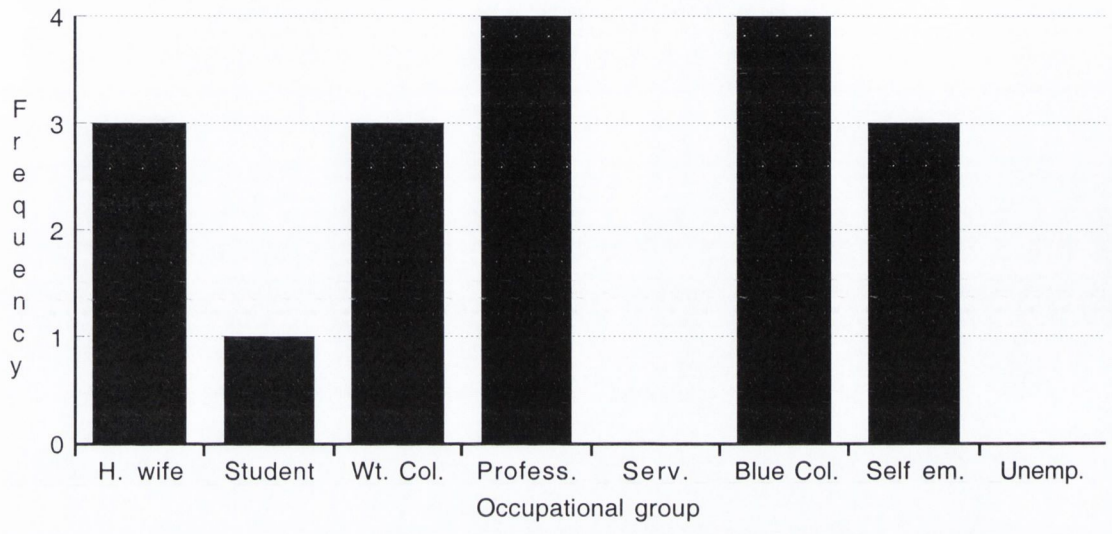
The most frequent response for household income per week after tax deductions was in excess of £400 and Figure 5 shows a definite bias in favour of higher income groups.

Figure 5 - Weekly income of subjects in first pilot



As can be seen from Figure 6 over half of the people who responded were white collar workers, professional or self employed and no unemployed people responded.

Figure 6 - Occupations of subjects in first pilot



MATERIALS : In addition to a copy of the booklet questionnaire described above each subject was also mailed :

1. A stamped return envelope addressed to The Social Research Group at Trinity College Dublin. This title was used as it was felt that people might be turned off or alter their responses if the questionnaire was addressed to a psychology department. The return envelopes were all tagged with an identification number in order to determine which subjects had not responded when sending out later reminders. The presence of this identification number was noted and explained in the covering letter.

2. In accordance with Dillman's recommendations a Lotto card was given as a minor reward before the subject filled out the questionnaire. This appears to be effective

way establish a positive attitude to the questionnaire and to distinguish it from much of the commercial literature which people commonly receive through the post.

3. A covering letter which explained the purpose and importance of the research and gave strong assurances of anonymity[3].

PROCEDURE : Each of the fifty subjects was mailed the materials above. This was followed by two reminders as follows -

> 1 Week later : a postcard reminder which thanked those who had returned their questionnaires and asked those who hadn't done so yet to return them as soon as possible was sent to all subjects.
>
> 3 Weeks later : A letter which included a replacement questionnaire plus return envelope and a cover letter, which emphasised the importance of receiving responses from as many people as possible, was sent to all subjects who had not yet responded.

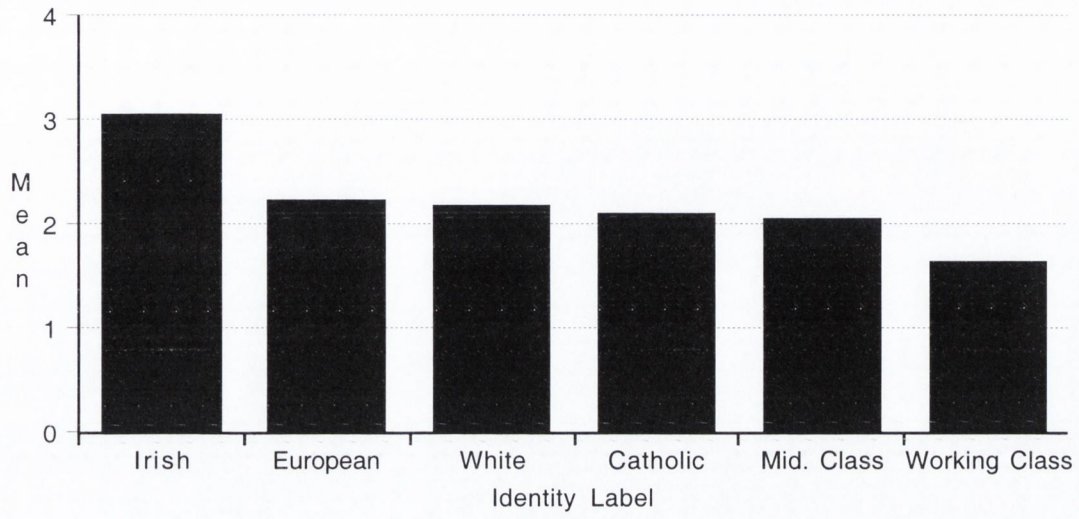
Results

With the exception of 'Irish' most of the identity labels were on average considered more unimportant than important. In accordance with what might be expected from the demographic information in the subjects section the label chosen most seldom was 'Working class' as can be seen from Figure 7.

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[3] This letter is provided in Appendix 3.

Figure 7 - Strength of identification with in-groups (First pilot)



Overall the pattern of results for the social distance scores was as predicted. Spaniards were the closest group and drug dealers the most distant. Looking at Figures 8 and 9 which present the social distance results for Romanians and Bosnians a trend can be seen that exists for virtually all of the groups.

Figure 8 - Percentage agreement with social distance items (1st Pilot) : ROMANIANS

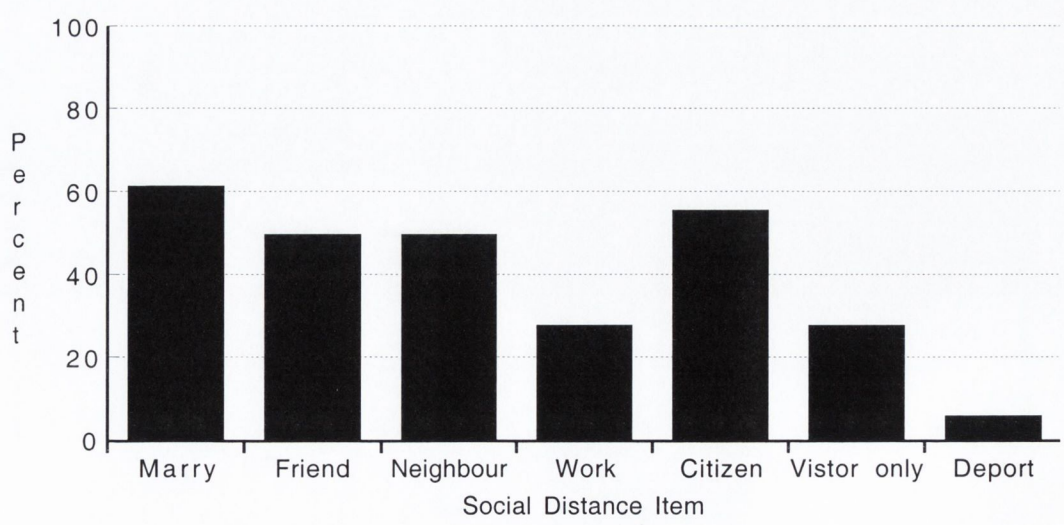
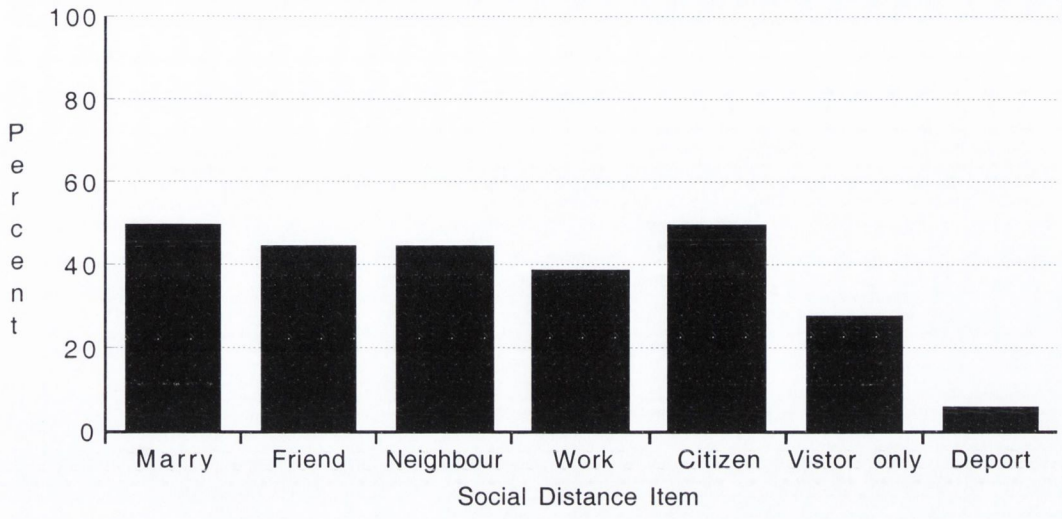


Figure 9 - Percentage agreement with social distance items (1st Pilot) : BOSNIANS



With higher agreement indicating greater social distance it can be seen that the cumulative assumption of the scale as used by Bogardus and MacGréil is unsound. There was a consistent trend for people not to wish to grant citizenship while at the same time being willing to work in the same workplace, even though citizenship would apparently indicate greater distance. As this cumulative assumption appeared to be incorrect new methods of scoring the scale had to be sought. Another feature which was noticeable about Figures 8 and 9 was that in general Bosnians were considered to be less distant than Romanians suggesting that people did perceive differences between the different types of refugee coming to Ireland.

Although the results on the social distance scale did behave as predicted and showed consistent trends across groups, suggesting that most people did understand how to use it, in the "Further Comments" section at the end of the questionnaire three subjects did report having some difficulty filling it out.

The Cantril's ladder part of the relative deprivation section appeared to work satisfactorily as can be seen from Table 1.

Table 1 : Means and Standard Deviations of ratings on Cantril's ladder

	Mean	Standard Deviations
Refugees income	2.76	1.30
Travellers income	3.06	1.82
Working class income	3.53	1.59
Own income	5.94	1.98

As might have been expected from the demographics section, in general the subjects rated their own income as far higher than that the average incomes of Refugees, Traveller and the working class. However there was little deviation around the mean.

Of the two items which addressed the affective component of relative deprivation the one which was based on fairness appeared to be discriminating better in relation to out-groups than the one based on feelings of frustration. Table 2 presents the set of results for both of these items.

Table 2 - Means and Standard Deviations for frustration and fairness items

	Mean	Standard Deviation
FAIRNESS		
Refugee income	3.17	.71
Traveller income	3.33	.84
Working class income	3.56	.70
Own income	2.44	.78
	[* A mean greater than 3 means more fairness]	
FRUSTRATION		
Refugee income	2.83	.51
Traveller income	2.83	.62
Working class income	2.67	.69
Own income	3.28	.96
	[* A mean greater than 3 means more frustration]	

There appears to be a trend for people to perceive their own income as unfair and frustrating while perceiving other people's income as less frustrating and more fair. However in measuring response to minority groups the fairness item does appear to perform better. The standard deviations suggest that the frustration item might be a good way to get reactions to own income but not that of others. It is probable that frustration is a label associated more readily with a person's own situation than that of others.

Most of the demographic items were responded to in full. In the 'Newspapers that people read' section the subject was presented with 14 possible papers. Of these 14 choices, only four were not read at all : Socialist Worker, An Phoblacht, News of

the World and The Sunday Telegraph.

Discussion

Although it is to be expected that return rates will be lower among less educated and poorer populations there seemed to be a heavy bias in favour of well-educated, well-paid respondents. Half of the subjects had third level degrees, over half claimed to have incomes after tax in excess of £250 and none of them were unemployed. The simplest way to increase the number of lower income respondents may be to make the covering letter and questionnaire less intimidating, less time consuming and easier to complete.

The argument made above against assuming the social distance scale to be cumulative appears to be well grounded. As regards both Romanians and Bosnians the issue of citizenship was far more important than the issue of workplace even though the workplace item would appear to imply less distance. If the cumulative assumption had been made many people who would agree to share a workplace with someone would have been classed as refusing to because if they denied citizenship it would have been automatically assumed they would also refuse to share a workplace as this implies greater proximity. Thus on initial inspection the alternative procedure of administering the social distance scale used here appeared to be better than the method adopted by MacGréil (1977, 1996) although alternative aggregate scoring systems had to be sought for statistical analysis. However there appeared to be other problems with the scale. The fact that three subjects reported difficulty with the scale together with the low number of subjects with medium and low levels of education suggested that the scale was not presented clearly and simply enough for postal use.

The use of 'Refugee' as the target group for the relative deprivation model testing was more suitably replaced by a group such as 'Romanian' in subsequent

versions of the questionnaire as people appeared to be distinguishing between different groups of refugees and Romanians are the most distant group.

The Cantril's ladder section seemed to be working since the results from it appear to make sense. However the small amount of deviation in the scores suggested that a more diverse sample may be needed for the ladder to produce meaningful results.

In order to save space in follow-up versions of the questionnaire the frustration item was left out. Although it may tap the emotion with which one relates to one's own personal income it does not appear to a useful way of conceptualising a person's feeling about the economic situation of out-groups.

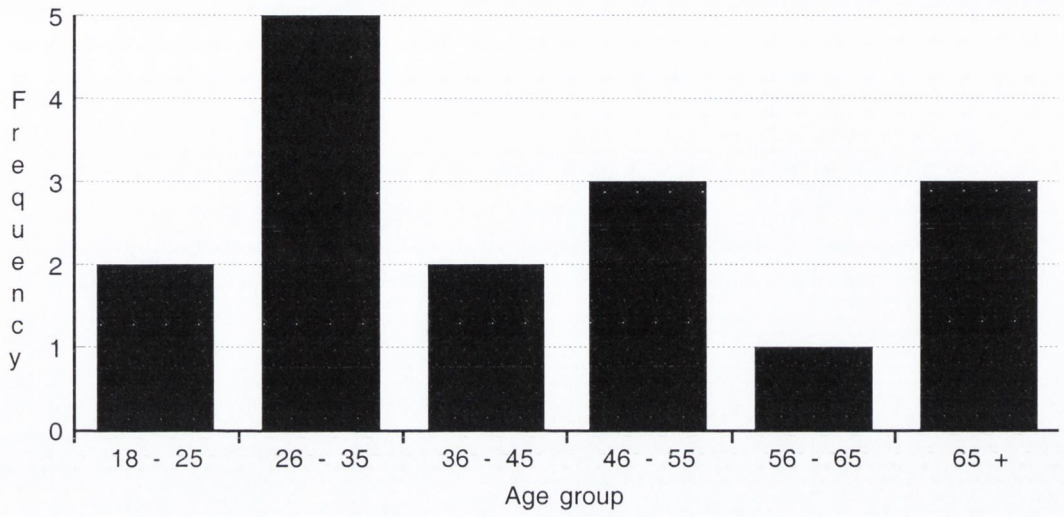
SECOND PILOT

In light of the first pilot substantial changes were made to the questionnaire and administration procedure and a second similar pilot study was run.

Method

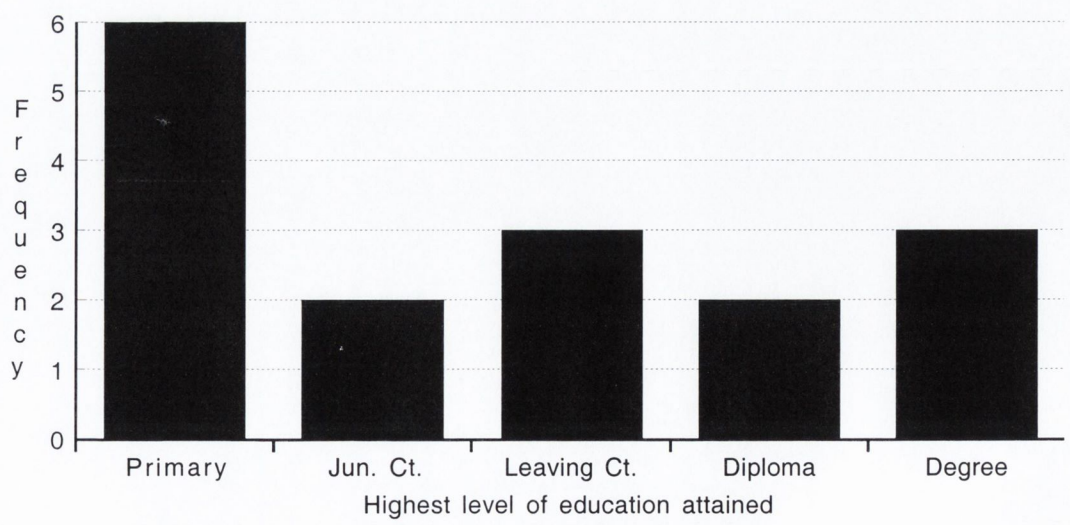
SUBJECTS : Again a random sample of 50 from the 1997 electoral register was drawn up. From this group 17 returned completed questionnaires. Two questionnaires were returned as registered to the wrong address and one because the person was deceased. This gave an overall return rate of 36.2%. Of the completed questionnaires 7 were filled in by women, 9 by men and one person didn't give their gender. The distribution by age group was different from the first pilot with the modal group now those between 26 and 35 as can be seen from Figure 10.

Figure 10 - Age of subjects in second pilot



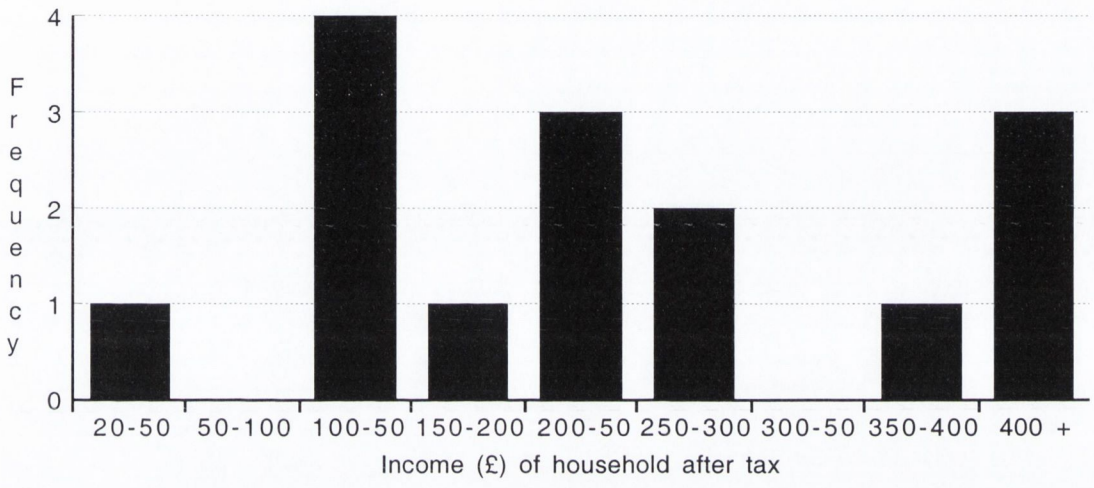
The distributions of education, income and occupation suggest that this was a much more diverse group that that obtained in the first pilot. Figure 11 shows that the majority of these subjects had not reached third level and in fact the modal level of education was Primary.

Figure 11 - Educational level of subjects in second pilot



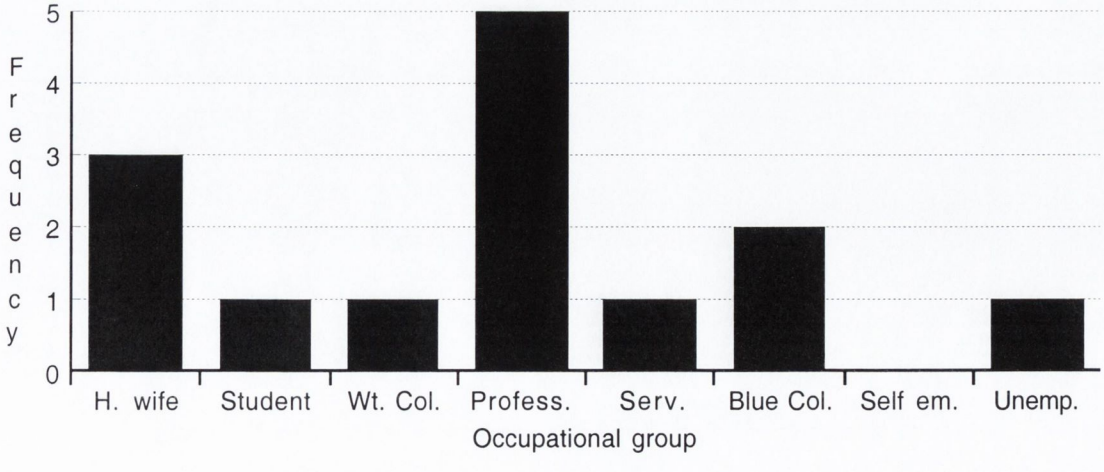
Although there were still a number of subjects reporting themselves to be in the higher income brackets the modal response was now £101 - 150 per week after deductions and over half of the respondents report that their household income was less than £250 as can be seen from Figure 12.

Figure 12 - Weekly income of subjects in second pilot



Although there was still a high proportion of professionals in the sample there were also more subjects from lower status occupations as can be seen from Figure 13.

Figure 13 - Occupations of subjects in second pilot



MATERIALS : The most radical change made to the questionnaire was the abandonment of the booklet format recommended by Dillman. Instead the questionnaire was presented on both sides of three A4 pages. The reason for the change was that it was felt that the booklet format was too difficult to read because of its size. Using the larger A4 format allowed the items to be presented in larger fonts while still using the same number of pages. It was hoped that this would be helpful to less educated respondents.

Another major change was the introduction of a new administration procedure for the social distance scale. Instead of using a cross-referenced grid as in the first pilot each social distance item was presented in a separate box with the list of target groups underneath and the subject was asked to tick those groups they would agree to apply the item to. For example Figure 14 shows how the first social distance item appeared.

Figure 14 - The first social distance item in revised format



It may be noted that the number of target groups was reduced by two. Refugee was removed as the first pilot suggested that people were distinguishing between different classes of refugee. As a result it was thought more economical to focus only on two particular refugee groups : Bosnians and Romanians. The key comparison group in the relative deprivation was also changed from Refugee to Romanian as

Romanians were the group to which people seemed to be the most hostile. Drug pusher was also removed as a social distance stimulus category as it was thought that its presence may appear to be suggesting that this socially undesirable group was in some way comparable to the other groups which were all ethnic minorities. One other minor change to the list of target groups was simply a change in name : African was substituted for Black. The reason for this change was the group Black appear to be too broad including too many sub-groups for straightforward analysis.

Substantial changes were also made to the relative deprivation sections. The affective components which referred to frustration and fairness was replaced by one item for each target group which asked the subject how much they felt the target group deserved the income they had. For Romanians this item appeared as follows :

1. Do you believe the average Romanian refugee's income is more or less than is deserved?

1	2	3	4	5
Far more	More	Neither / Don't know	Less	Far less

The stability of income item remained the same as it had been in the first pilot questionnaire. The cognitive component of relative deprivation measured by Cantril's ladder was also changed into what was hoped to be a simpler format. Ladders for the four groups (Travellers, Romanians, Working class and own Household) were all presented together on one page and more complete instructions along with an illustrative example were provided. The questions about deserving and stability were presented in a separate section on another page.

The identity item and widespread beliefs sections were essentially the same as in the original first pilot although more space was now available for their presentation. There was also a change to the name of the questionnaire from "Dublin Social Opinions and Identities Survey" to "Dublin Attitude Survey". A minor change was also made in the demographic section : the number of papers the

person had to choose from as reading regularly was reduced from 14 to 9. This was done as the saving in space made the questionnaire appear more attractive and the first pilot suggested that some of the papers which had been left out in the new questionnaire were seldom read. A space was provided for the subject to indicate any other papers they might read aside from those presented.

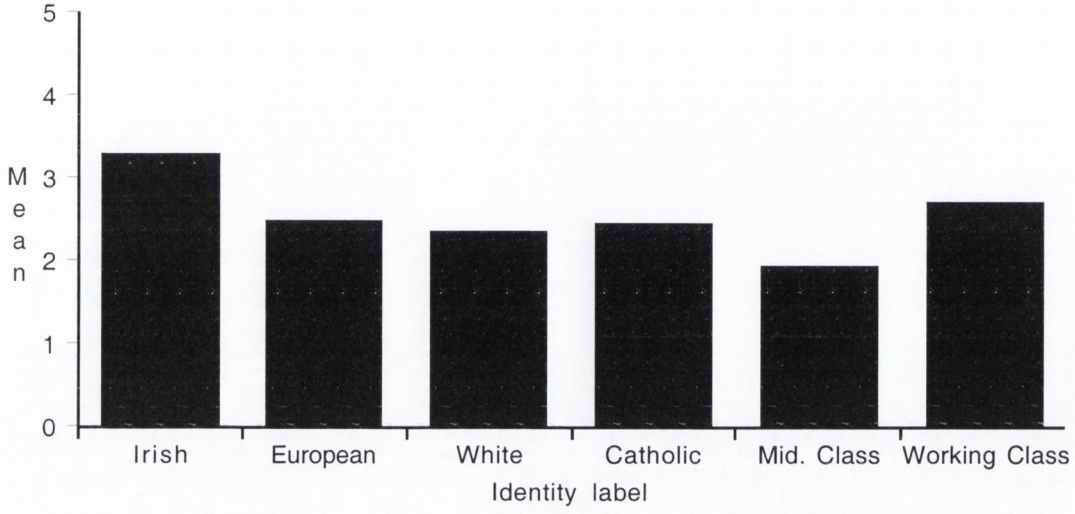
Changes were also made to the covering letter to reduce its length and make it less formal while still making the important points of anonymity and the importance and purpose of the research.

PROCEDURE : The procedure used was the same as in the first pilot with each subject being sent a letter containing the questionnaire, a covering letter, a Lotto card and a stamped return envelope. This was then followed by a postcard reminder one week letter and a replacement questionnaire with covering letter three weeks later.

Results

The responses to the identity items seemed to reflect the different composition of the sample as compared with the first pilot. Again Irish was the most important identity. However as can be seen in Figure 15 working class was the second most important identity where it was the least important in the first pilot.

Figure 15 - Strenght of identification with in-groups (Second pilot)



Figures 16 and 17 present the results on the social distance results for Romanians and Bosnians. Again there was a trend for the items to fall in an order not predicted by the Bogardus cumulative assumption that agreement with the items should be less frequent as the scale is descended. The item concerning citizenship consistently provoked more hostility than items which related to mere physical distance.

Figure 16 - Percentage agreement with social distance items (Second pilot) : ROMANIANS

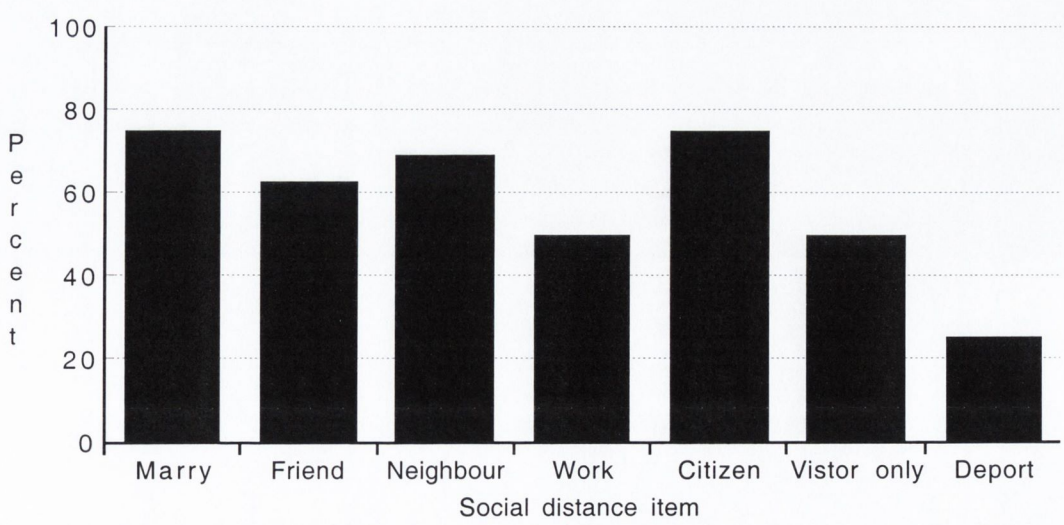
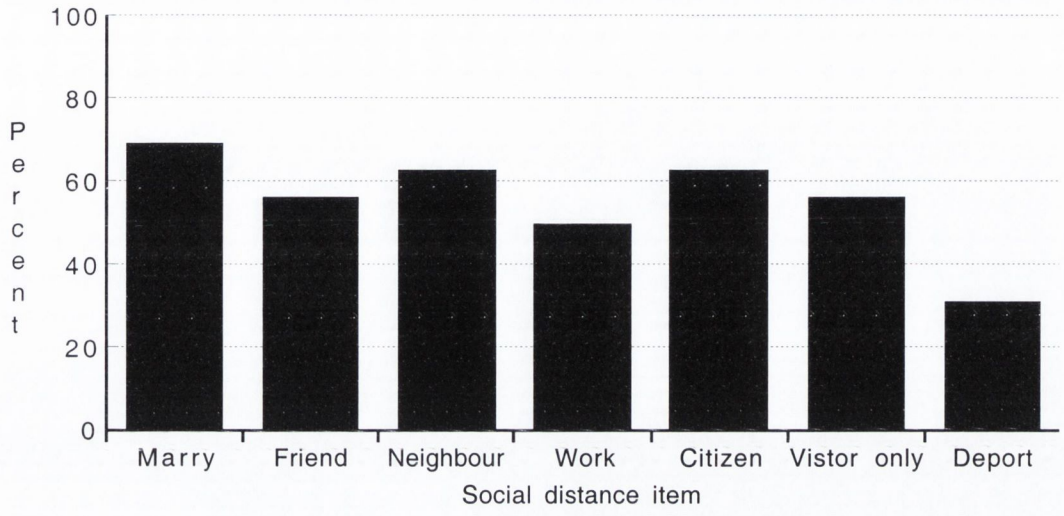


Figure 17 - Percentage agreement with social distance itmes (Second pilot) : BOSNIANS



In the second pilot the difference between distance to Romanians and Bosnians were not as pronounced as in the first reflecting perhaps the different background of the second group of subjects. There was still however a tendency for Romanians to be the more distant group.

On Cantril's ladder there was still a trend for people to consider their own income higher than that of Romanians and the Dublin working class. However they also considered that on average Travellers possessed more income than themselves. As can be seen in Table 3 there was also a greater variety of responses on this scale than in the first pilot as reflected in the higher standard deviations.

Table 3 : Means and Standard Deviations of ratings on Cantril's ladder

	Mean	Standard Deviations
Romanian income	4.35	2.69
Traveller income	4.35	1.62
Working class income	5.76	2.66
Own income	5.24	2.11

The standard deviations for the new deserves item were not much greater than those for the previous frustration / fairness items as can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4 : Means and Standard Deviations of deserves item

	Mean	Standard Deviations
Romanian income	2.76	.97
Traveller income	2.70	.75
Working class income	4.00	.35
Own income	3.53	.80

[* A mean of more than 3 implies less than they deserve]

The fact that many of the subjects identify themselves strongly as working class may account for the fact there was a fairly uniform sense that the working class get less than they deserve. The deserves item did however seem to be useful in getting a response to the economic status of out-groups.

Discussion

Although the response rate did not noticeably improve with the second pilot there was greater success in reaching lower income and educational groups. This may

have been due to sampling error in the first pilot or to the changes made to the questionnaire and covering letter but most likely due to a combination of both. The major problem for future use of this methodology was increasing the response rate. This was attempted in the final study by offering further financial reward for returning the completed questionnaire (entering a draw) and by upgrading the presentation of materials. A more indirect way of improving the response rate was to ask people to return the questionnaire if the person addressed no longer lived at the address. The best place to do this seemed to be in the first reminder postcard. This was the one place where reading the request did not depend on people opening an envelope not addressed to them.

The argument that an alternative scoring procedure will have to be sought for the social distance scale still appeared to hold. Again the cumulative assumption appeared to be flawed as a second random group of subjects considered citizenship to be more important than sharing a working environment despite the apparently closer physical proximity.

FINAL STUDY

A number of changes were made to the materials and procedures used in the two pilot studies. Most of these were designed to increase the response rate. The full procedure used in the main survey will now be described.

Method

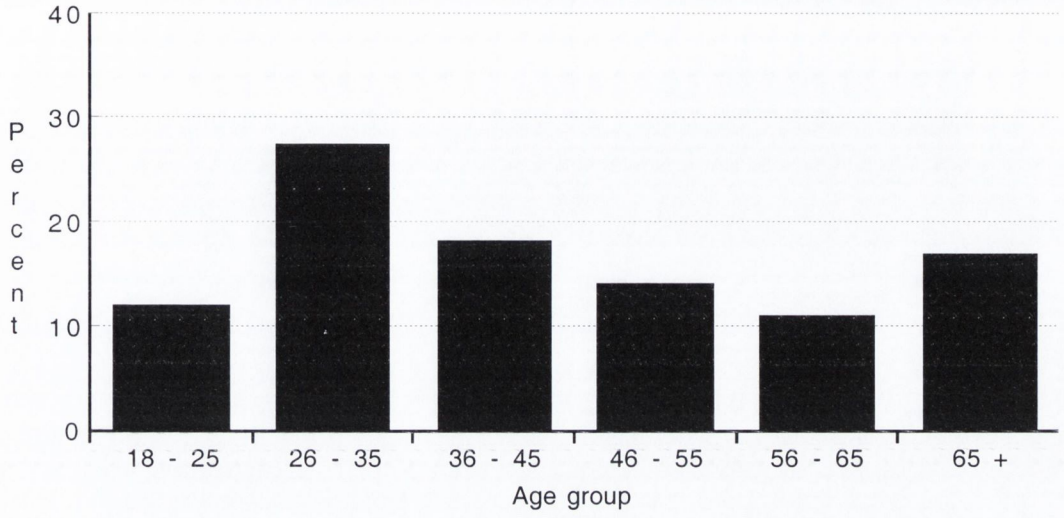
SUBJECTS : A systematic random sample of 800 people from the 1997 electoral register for the Dublin area were requested to fill in the questionnaire. Of these 419 completed questionnaires were returned. Of the initial sample 15 people were accounted for as unable to respond for non-study relevant reasons (See Table 5).

TABLE 5 - Reasons given for subjects not included in the study.

Person no longer lived at address	9
Person on holiday	3
Deceased	2
Person not Irish	1

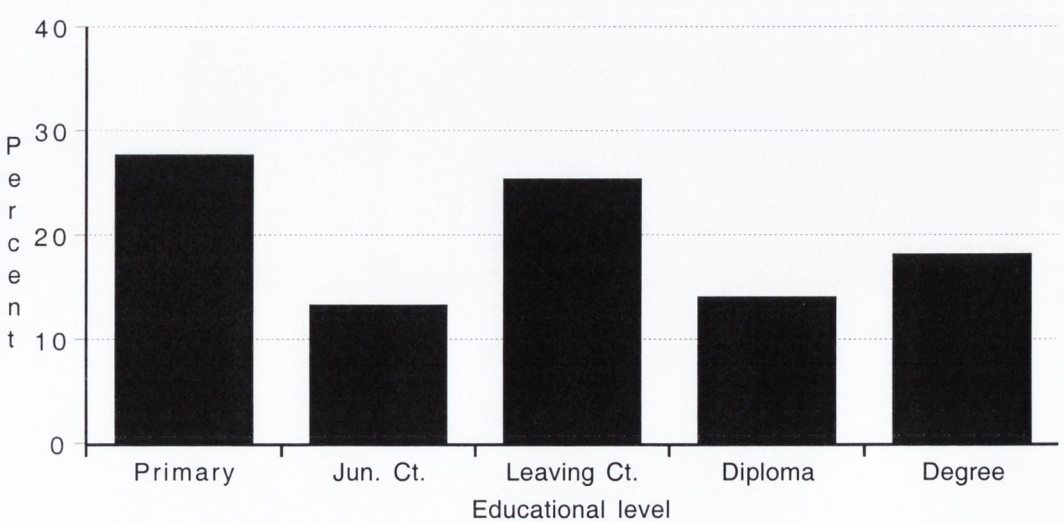
This means that the overall return rate was 53.4%. This group was made up of 196 women and 209 men. As can be seen from Figure 18 there was generally an even distribution of replies across age group except for a greater tendency for people between the ages of 26 and 35 to respond.

Figure 18 - Age of subjects in final survey



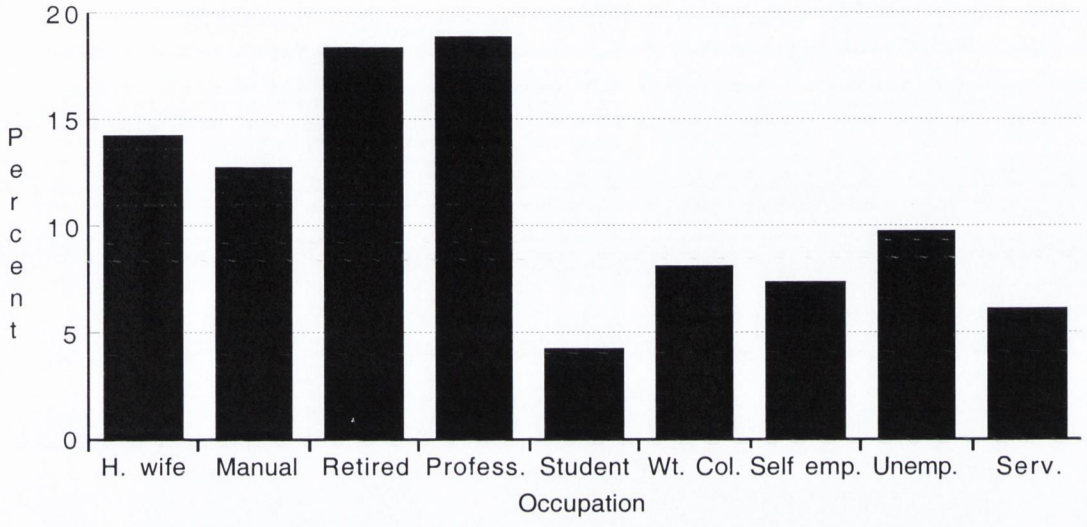
As can be seen from Figure 19 there was a wide distribution of educational levels among the respondents with the modal response being Primary level. This was a sign that the changes made to simplify the questionnaire in the pilot stages may have worked as people with lower levels of education are generally particularly difficult to reach with postal surveys.

Figure 19 - Highest level of educational attainment of sujects in final survey



As in the pilot studies there was still a preponderance of respondents classifying themselves as professional. As can be seen from Figure 20 however there are also large numbers of housewives, retired and manual workers.

Figure 20 - Occupational status of subjects in final survey



MATERIALS : The final questionnaire was essentially the same as that used in the second pilot. On the first page subjects were assured of anonymity and confidentiality, told there were no right or wrong answers and asked to be as truthful as possible. The questionnaire then consisted of six sections :

1. Six identity labels (European, Catholic, Middle Class, White, Irish and Working class) presented in a Likert format which the subject rated as being more or less important in describing themselves.

2. Ten positive and negative statements about Refugees (7 items) and Travellers (3 items) which the subject indicated their agreement or disagreement with on a 5 point Likert scale.

3. Cantril's ladder measuring cognitive perception of economic performance relative

to the richest and poorest people in Ireland for four groups of people : Travellers, Dublin inner city working class, Romanian refugees and own household. The ladder allowed for 11 grades of difference between richest and poorest.

4. The fourth section dealt with the affective and temporal components of relative deprivation. Subjects were asked if they believed each of the four target groups got the income they deserved. They responded to this on a five-point Likert scale from "Far more" to "Far less". In the same section subjects also indicated the extent to which they believed the income of these four groups would change in the near future. Again they responded on a five-point Likert scale, this time from "Far better" to "Far Worse".

5. Subjects replied whether they would apply seven different social distance items to six different target groups : Spaniards, Bosnians, Travellers, Arabs, Romanians and Africans.

6. Six simple demographic questions were presented at the end of the questionnaire where Dillman suggests they are most likely to be responded to. These items elicited the person's gender, age group, present occupation, household weekly income, education and newspaper preference[4].

The covering letter was the same as that used in the second pilot except that at the end the person was informed that they would be entered into a draw for £250 if they returned a completed questionnaire[5]. For the main survey the quality of the envelopes and stationary was upgraded.

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[4] The full text of the questionnaire is available in Appendix 4.
[5] A copy of this letter is presented in Appendix 5.

PROCEDURE : A number of minor changes were made to the posting system used in the hope of increasing the response rate. The first posting of the questionnaire, covering letter, return envelope and Lotto card was again followed up by a postcard reminder one week later to all subjects. As in the pilot the postcard thanked those who had completed the questionnaire and requested those who had not done so to please do so soon as possible. In addition however the postcard now also asked that the person who received it would return the card if they were not the person it was addressed to. Postage was paid for on receipt. The purpose of this was to attempt to account for subjects who had moved house or who had died. This first reminder was followed three weeks later by a letter to the subjects who had not yet replied containing a covering letter, a replacement questionnaire and return envelope. Finally after another three weeks the subjects who had not yet responded were sent a hand written postcard asking them to respond before the draw for £250 which was to be held two weeks following.

As had been high-lighted by both of the pilot studies a scoring procedure for the social distance scale was needed which was not based on the assumption that the scale is cumulative. The simplest way to analyse the social distance scores might be to do so for each item individually. However there was a clear need for more aggregate forms of analysis if the results were to be dealt with economically. The simplest way of doing this was to add the results of the items for each group together, with a higher score indicating greater distance. However it appeared advisable to treat the last two items (those dealing with visitors to the country and deportation) separately from the rest. They are both phrased negatively and deal with political rather than physical proximate distance. MacGréil treated them separately from the cumulative score based on the first five items of the scale. Hence the basic measure used in this study was a six point scale (0 to 5) based on responses to the first five social distance items. This was scored by the simple addition of the responses to the first five items rather than at greatest level of distance the subject

indicates. It was also possible to form other scales based on groupings of the distances for different groups (to give for example an overall prejudice score). Such measures will be discussed in relation to the results for the social distance scales.

Simple perception of out-group income was measured from Cantril's ladder on a scale of 1 to 11 based on where the subject indicates on the ladder. This allows the calculation of the following relative deprivation scores :

1. Egoistic Rel. Deprivation : Own income minus Working class income
2. Egoistic Rel. Deprivation (Romanians) : Own income minus Romanian income
3. Egoistic Rel.Deprivation (Travellers) : Own income minus Traveller income
4. Fraternalistic Rel. Deprivation (Romanians) : Working class income minus Romanian income
5. Fraternalistic Rel. Deprivation (Travellers) : Working class income minus Traveller income

Age was coded into 6 groups as follows :

1. 18 - 25
2. 26 - 35
3. 36 - 45
4. 46 - 55
5. 56 - 65
6. 66 +

The person's income measured by their household income per week after tax deduction was classed into nine groups as follows :

1.	£20 - 50	2.	£51 - 100	3.	£101 - 150
4.	£151 - 200	5.	£201 - 250	6.	£251 - 300
7.	£301 - 350	8.	£351 - 400	9.	£401 +

The fact that the return envelopes had identification numbers in order to determine who should be sent reminder letters and to choose the winner of the £250 draw allowed the calculation of an another economic variable. This was a measure of the level of deprivation of the whole electoral district which the subject came from. The purpose of this was to give a more enriched measure of objective deprivation than the person's self-reported income. The measure of electoral district deprivation used was developed by the Small Area Health Research Unit (1995) at Trinity College Dublin. The measure is a composite of five census indicators which are widely believed to represent material deprivation : unemployment, low social class, lack of a car, living in rented accommodation and overcrowding. These indicators had been subjected to factor analysis to determine an appropriate weighting for each. One factor emerged in principal components factor analysis which explained most of the variance. These factor scores were then divided into five categories for ease of analysis with 5 representing the most deprived and 1 the least. This is the deprivation index (SAHRU, 1995) used in the present study. This complex measure of objective deprivation provides a powerful test for the hypothesis that measures of relative deprivation are more pertinent than objective ones when considering behavioural outcomes.

The identity, widespread belief, income deserves and income stability items were all scored from 1 to 5 based on their Likert ratings.

Chapter 3

RESULTS OF SURVEY

The aim of this analysis is to determine the relative importance of social identification, comparison of in-group and outgroup income, and perceived legitimacy and stability of intergroup comparisons in predicting prejudice to minority out-groups. In order to do this these predictors will first be compared with predictors based on simple demographic variables such as income and gender. Secondly these predictors will be compared with each other in order to determine which of them is most crucial. For example if the perception of legitimacy of intergroup comparison is explaining the same variance as is explained by the actual comparisons of income then the second variable is not needed. By doing this it is hoped to derive the most economical model of prejudice possible. A separate part of the analysis looks at the role of widespread beliefs in maintaining prejudice. The reason this is looked at separately is because there is always a danger that such measures of prejudiced beliefs will be confounded with the dependent measure of prejudice. As a result is seems unfair to compare these predictors directly with the other social identity/ relative deprivation predictors. This is also conceptually sound as it is not argued that social representations are an alternative explanation to social identity but rather that social identity processes are maintained by social representations which represent minority out-groups in prejudiced ways. Before this analysis can be undertaken the first step is to examine the results for the key dependent variable, social distance to minorities. This will also yield a general picture of the extent of the practical problem which is being examined in this thesis, prejudice towards minorities in Dublin.

SOCIAL DISTANCE

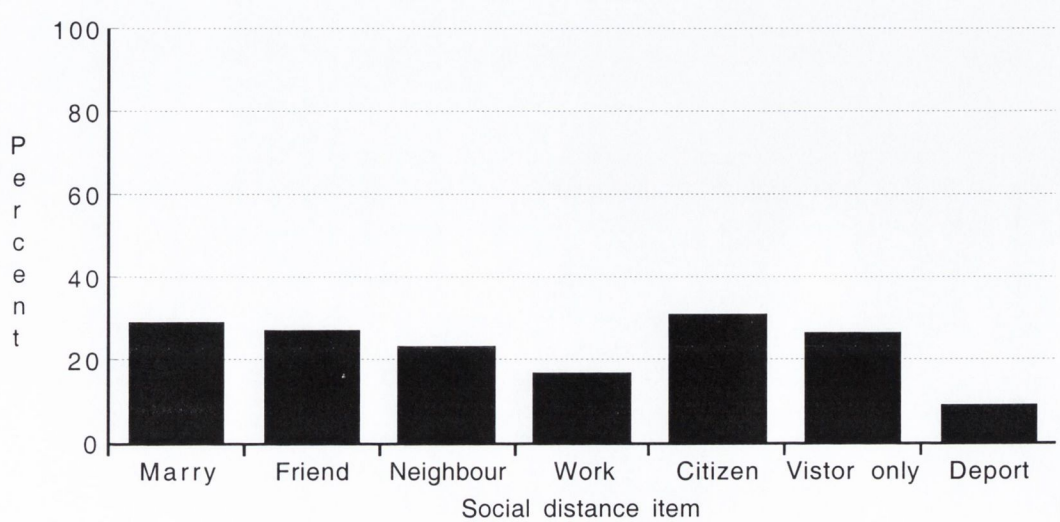
On average the group which was perceived to be the furthest from the individual was Travellers with Spaniards being the closest. A 6 point scale (0 - 5) was constructed by the addition of the responses to the first five social identity items (i.e. excludes those which refer to only allowing as visitor and deportation). With a higher value indicating greater social distance the mean scores for all the target groups on this scale are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6 - Average social distance scores for the six social groups.

SPANIARDS	1.27
AFRICANS	2.10
BOSNIANS	2.29
ROMANIANS	2.39
ARABS	2.58
TRAVELLERS	2.75

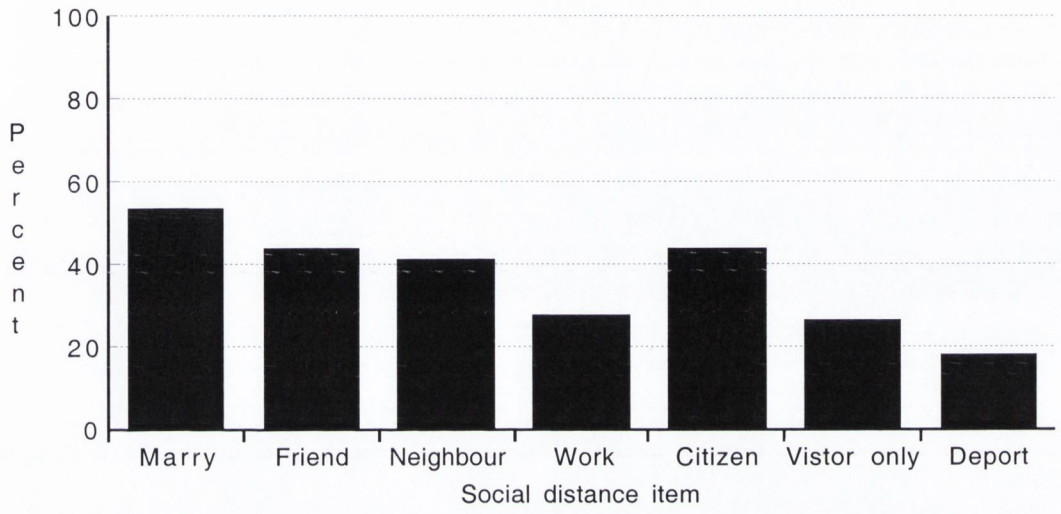
For the least distant group, Spaniards, hostility was still quite high as can be seen from Figure 21. Over 29 % said that they would not marry a Spaniard or have one marry into their family while 9.3 % said that they should be deported.

Figure 21 - Percentage agreement with social distance items for Spainards



The results for Africans (Figure 22) follow pretty much the same pattern as those for Spaniards but levels of distance were much higher with 52.7% refusing to marry or have marry into their family and 17.4% wishing to deport.

Figure 22 - Percentage agreement with social distance items for Africans



The results for Bosnians and Romanians were almost identical with only a minor trend for people to express more distance towards Romanians (Graphs 23 and 24).

Figure 23 - Percentage agreement with social distance items for Bosnians

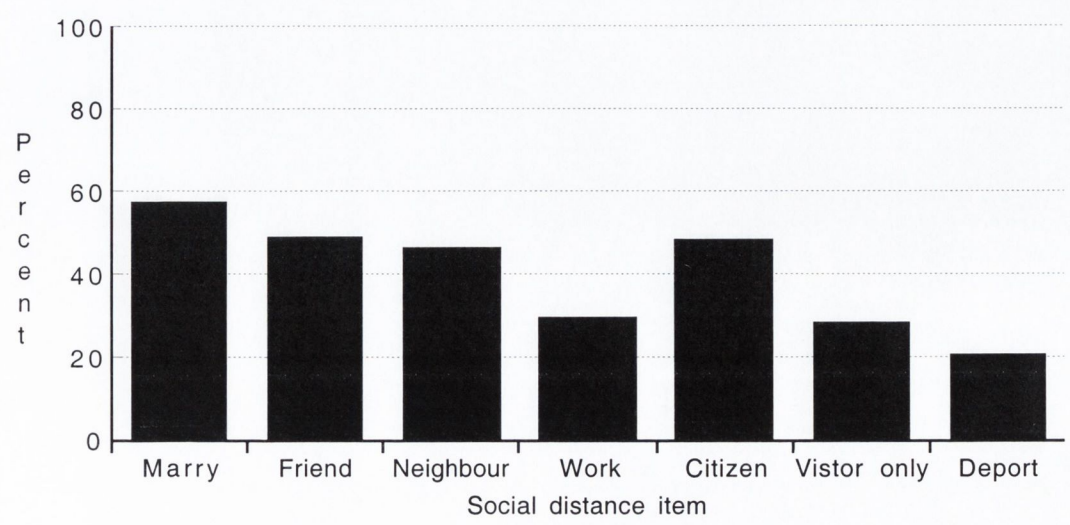
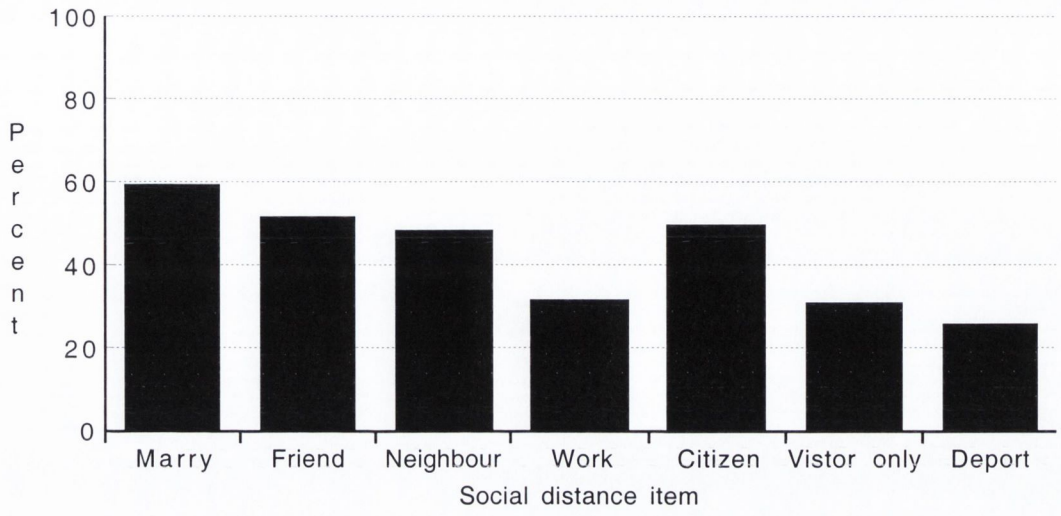
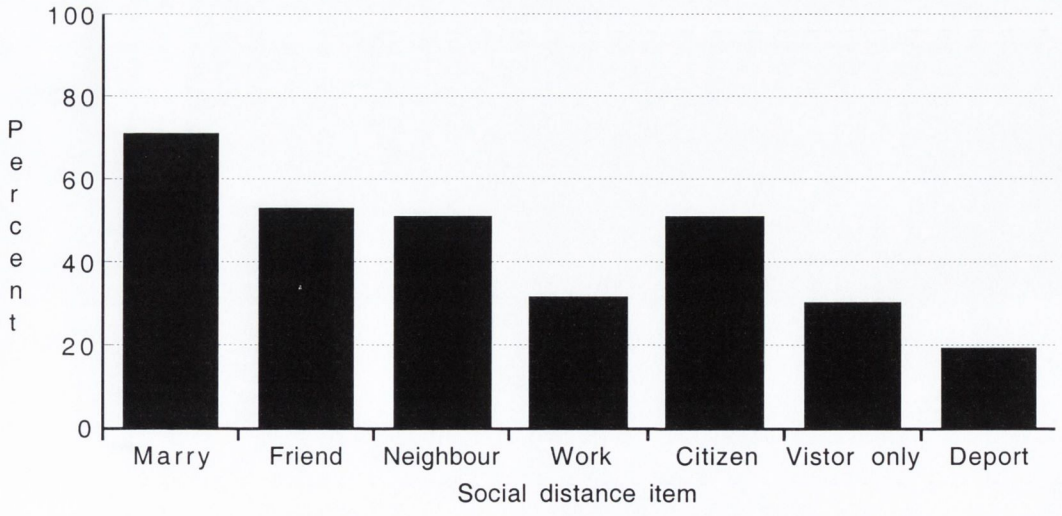


Figure 24 - Percentage agreement with social distance items for Romanians



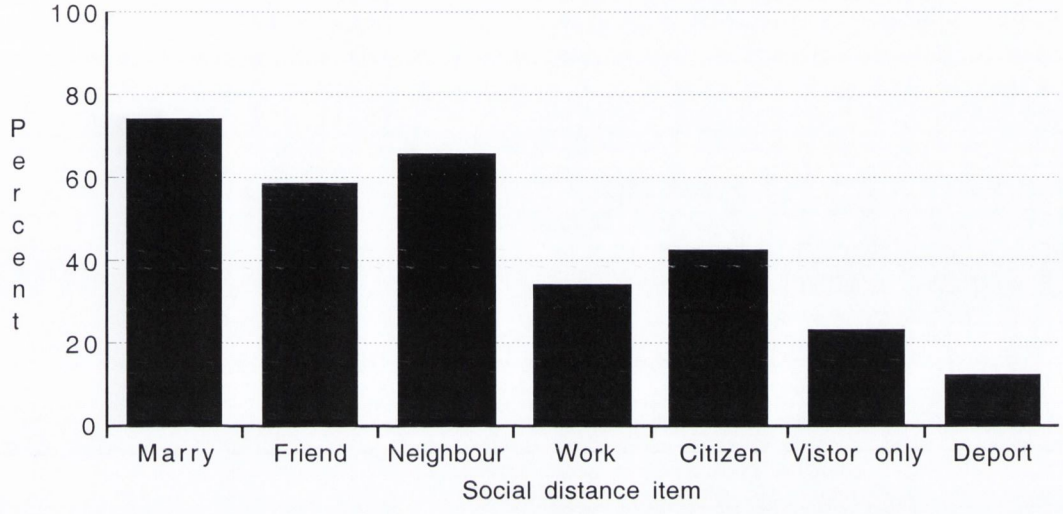
The same basic pattern of responses was observable for Arabs (Figure 25) except that there was an elevated level of distance on the marriage item (69.7% refusing to marry or have marry into their family). This is perhaps related to a stereotype of Arabs as being very conservative on gender issues.

Figure 25 - Percentage agreement with social distance items for Arabs



Finally, for Travellers (Figure 26) it is noticeable that the number of people refusing to have them as a neighbour was particularly high at 64%. This is presumably related to a stereotype of Travellers as unhygienic, noisy and quarrelsome.

Figure 26 - Percentage agreement with social distance items for Travellers



A number of features emerge from the social distance profiles for the six target groups. First, overall levels of prejudice in Dublin are quite high, suggesting that there is at least the possibility of serious intergroup hostilities developing in this population. It may be objected that the sample is over-representative of lower income, less educated groups but it is worth noting that many refugees arriving in Ireland are being located in lower income areas of Dublin. Secondly, the argument made in relation to the pilot studies against assuming that the items in the scale can be treated cumulatively is supported. People are more willing to accept members of all the target groups in their workplace than to grant them citizenship. This may reflect an awareness of workplace norms that counter expressions of hostility or a belief in citizenship as an exclusively in-group privilege. In many cases people are also more willing to live next door to an out-group member than grant them citizenship. The point seems to be clear : the scale does not only measure increasing physical distance and as a result cannot be conceived of as a continuous cumulative

scale. Finally it can be noted that the items of the scale show a different pattern for each group suggesting that when the scale is not used cumulatively it can reveal more about the nature of people's hostility towards particular groups. For example it appears from the pattern of results for Travellers and Arabs that people are hostile to these groups as result of stereotypes they hold about them. If the scale had been cumulatively it would not have emerged that people are more willing to accept a Traveller as a friend than as a neighbour as anyone who responded that they would not wish to live next door to a Traveller would have automatically been scored as not wanted to have a Traveller as a friend. What the difference seems to reveal is that distance to Travellers is related to a stereotype of them as noisy difficult neighbours. This would have been obscured by cumulative use of the scale.

In order to determine if people discriminate between the groups they are hostile to or if the same people are hostile to all groups the social distance scores for all groups were correlated. From Table 7 it can be seen that the scores were all highly correlated.

TABLE 7 - Correlations of the 5 point social distance scores for all groups.

	Romanians	Africans	Arab	Bosnians	Spaniards	Travellers
Romanians		.85	.87	.93	.63	.72
Africans			.82	.85	.61	.69
Arabs				.85	.58	.75
Bosnians					.63	.69
Spaniards						.43

[All of these correlations are significant at the <.001 level]

Although distance to Spaniards is not as highly correlated with distance to the rest of the groups as the other groups are to each other overall the distances for all groups are very highly correlated. This means that the distances to the different groups can be meaningfully added together to give an overall measure of distance. In the following analysis this is done in two ways as follows :

1) The results for each of the groups can be added to give an overall social distance score from 0 to 30. This score is labelled TOTAL SOCIAL DISTANCE.

2) In the main body of the analysis which deals particularly with distance to Travellers and Romanians the scores for the other groups (Africans, Arabs, Bosnians and Spaniards) are added together as OTHER GROUPS in a scale from 0 to 20. This is an economical way to determine if particular variables predict only distance to Travellers and Romanians or are predictors of social distance generally. For example this score can be used to show that deprivation relative to Travellers only predicts distance to Travellers and not distance to minority out-groups in general.

On the basis of these different scoring methods the following analysis attempts to construct a model which will predict hostility to out-groups starting with the simplest demographic predictors.

DEMOGRAPHIC PREDICTORS

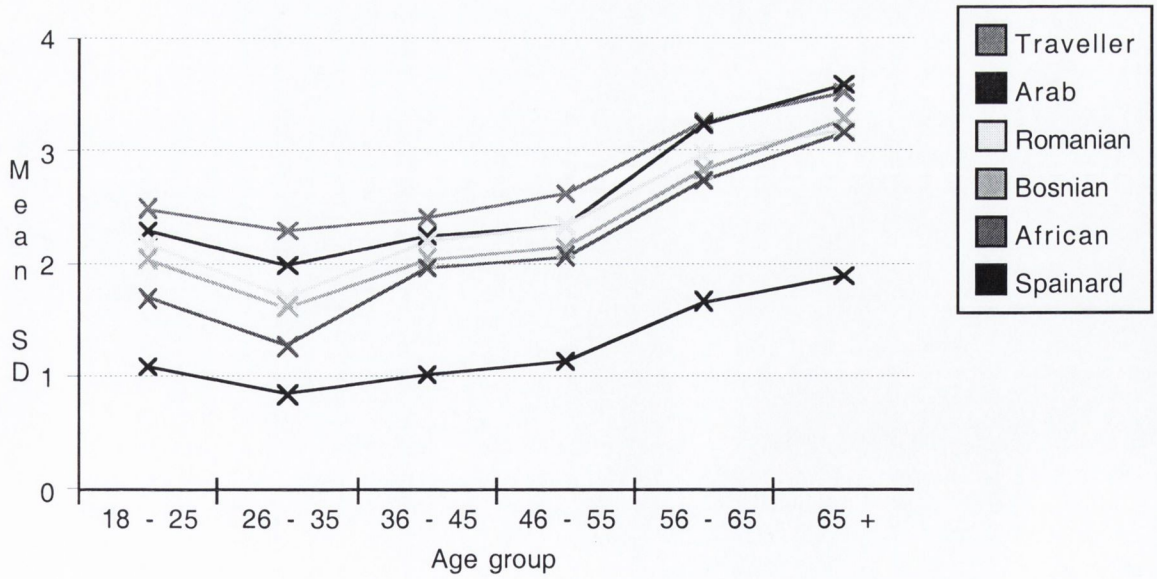
As can be seen from Table 8 there was a trend for women to show less social distance than men. However these differences were not consistent and none were significant (t-test).

TABLE 8 - Gender differences in social distance to all target groups

	Africans	Arabs	Bosnians	Romanians	Spaniards	Travellers
WOMEN	2.04	2.43	2.25	2.38	1.13	2.67
MEN	2.06	2.64	2.23	2.32	1.33	2.75

As can be seen from Figure 27 there is a consistent trend for social distance to increase towards all groups with increasing age. It can also be noticed that there is an unexpected elevation of distance among the 18-25 year old group.

Figure 27 - Age group and mean social distance to target groups



ANOVA[1] reveals that the differences in social distance between different age groups are significant. This can be seen from Table 9.

TABLE 9 : ANOVA results for age group and social distance (df = 5)

	F
Africans	9.17*
Arabs	7.54*
Bosnians	6.82*
Romanians	5.37*
Spaniards	3.78**
Travellers	4.86**

[* $p < .0001$; ** $p < .01$]

Post-hoc analysis (Bonferroni) shows that for Africans, Arabs, and Bosnians the key differences were those between all the groups under 55 and those over 66 and between those 26 to 35 and those 55 to 65. For Romanians, Spaniards, and Travellers the most important differences were between those 18 to 25 and those over 66. This presents a consistent picture of those over 55 being significantly more prejudiced than younger groups.

[1] The full results of this ANOVA and all statistical procedures used in this chapter are presented in Appendix 6.

The TOTAL Social Distance scores for each occupational group are presented in Table 10.

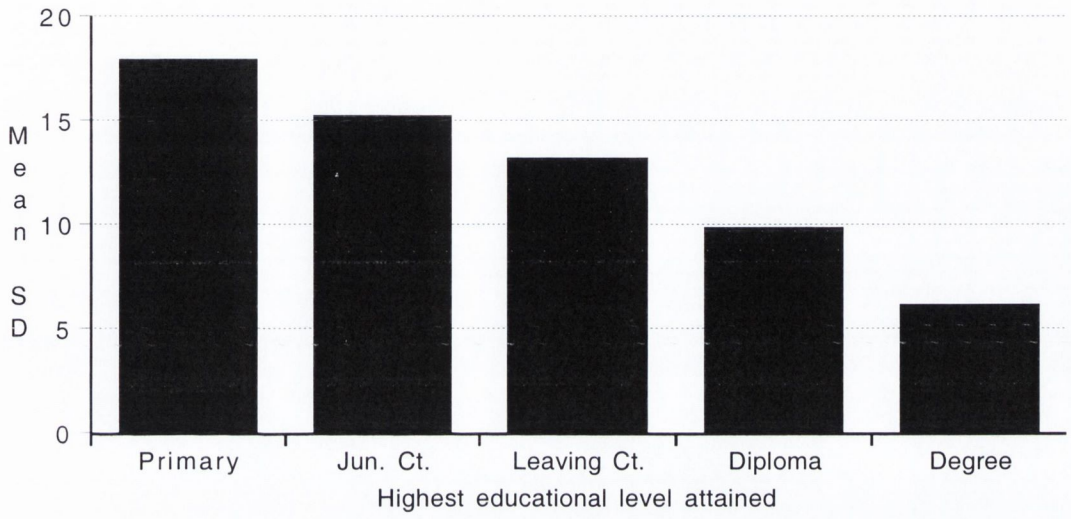
TABLE 10 : Overall Social Distance by occupational status

	Mean S.D.	N
House Wife	19.51	53
Retired	18.14	72
Unemployed	14.05	37
Service	13.67	24
Manual Worker	13.46	52
White Collar	11.03	33
Self Employed	9.97	30
Student	8.82	17
Professional	6.81	78

These differences were significant in ANOVA ($F=10.51$, $df=8$, $p<.0001$). The significant differences were between professionals and manual workers / unemployed and between professionals, students, white collar workers, the self employed and retired people / housewives. Hence the key differences were consistently between higher education and income groups and those of lower income, greater age and less education.

There was a linear increase in level of overall social distance as level of education increased as can be seen from Figure 28.

Figure 28 - Decreasing mean social distance with increasing education



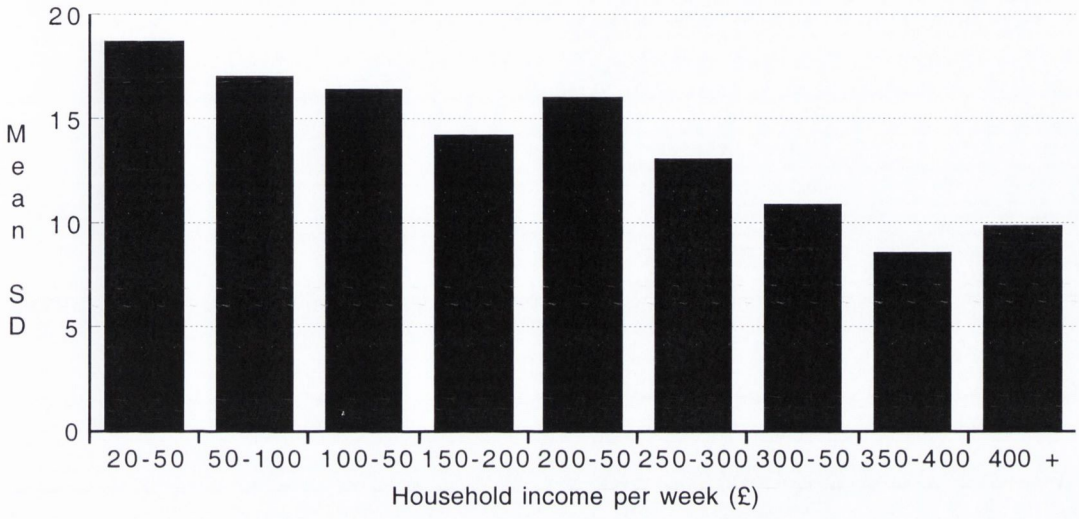
The effect of education was significant as can be seen from Table 11 which presents the results of an ANOVA of social distance by education.

TABLE 11 : ANOVA of social distance by education

	Sum of Squares	D.F.	F	Sig.
Between Groups	6861.1	4	18.2	<.0001
Within Groups	36059.7	382		
Total	42920.9	386		

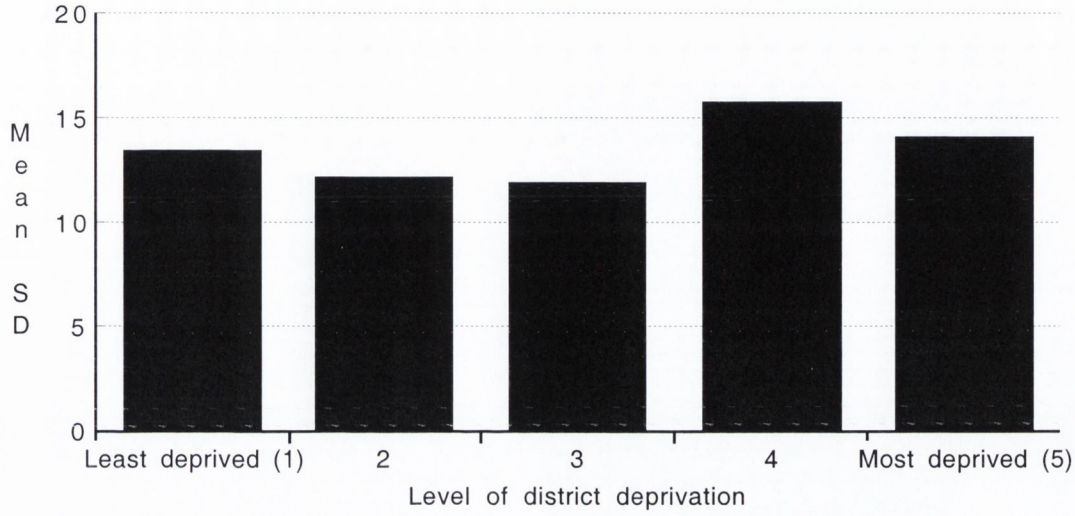
In general social distance decreased with increasing income as can be seen from Figure 29. This effect was significant (F= 3.68, df=8, p= .0004).

Figure 29 - Income per week after deductions and mean social distance



Based on postal address each subject was assigned a number which represented a composite measure of the deprivation of the electoral district in which they lived. This level of deprivation did not relate clearly to social distance as can be seen from Figure 30. The differences between these groups were not significant (F=1.95, df=4, p=.1015). From Figure 30 however it appears that there is a general trend for districts scored at a level of 3 and below to be higher on the social distance scale than areas higher up. If these two group are compared by ANOVA there is a significant difference between the two although the effect is still weak (F=6.262, df=1, p=.013).

Figure 30 - Mean social distance by deprivation of electoral district



Finally ANOVAs were performed to compare the effects of all these different demographic predictors on three different outcome measures : Distance to OTHER GROUPS, to Romanians and to Travellers. The purpose of this was to determine which demographic predictors were the most powerful and which were redundant. If for example the differences found for age group could be explained by differing levels of education or income then there would be no need to include the age variable in subsequent analysis.

When the demographic variables gender, age, education, occupation, income and deprivation of electoral district are used to predict social distance to all of the groups except Travellers and Romanians it is found that education is the most robust and powerful predictor. As can be seen from the ANOVA presented in Table 12 the other variables are not significant when the influence of education is controlled for.

TABLE 12 : ANOVA of all demographic predictors to social distance to OTHERS

	Sum of Squares	DF	F
MAIN EFFECTS	4098.6	30	3.23*
Gender	1.3	1	.03
Age	164.7	5	.78
Dist. deprivation	255.0	4	1.51
Education	745.0	4	4.40**
Income	253.6	8	.75
Occupation	330.7	8	.98
Explained	4098.6	30	3.23*
Residual	13244.1	313	
Total	17342.7	343	

[* $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$]

Again for Romanians the key demographic predictor was education as can be seen from the results of the ANOVA presented in Table 13. It is noticeable that in this analysis and that for the 'Other' groups the deprivation of the electoral district is the only other variable which begins to approach significance.

Table 13 : ANOVA of all demographic predictors to social distance to Romanians

	Sum of Squares	DF	F
MAIN EFFECTS	345.6	30	3.01*
Sex	2.4	1	0.63
Age	12.0	5	0.63
Dist. Deprivation	27.4	4	1.79
Education	71.7	4	4.69*
Income	20.1	8	0.66
Job	31.1	8	1.02
Explained	345.6	30	3.01*
Residual	1193.6	312	
Total	1539.3	342	

[* $p < .001$]

For Travellers the overall pattern of results is slightly different. As can be seen from Table 14 education is not a significant predictor although it is very close to being one. District deprivation is the strongest predictor of distance to Travellers.

Table 14 : ANOVA of all demographic predictors to social distance to Travellers

	Sum of Squares	DF	F
MAIN EFFECTS	201.0	30	2.07 *
Sex	.03	1	.01
Age	9.1	5	.56
Dist. deprivation	47.7	4	3.69 **
Education	30.5	4	2.36 ***
Income	30.3	8	1.17
Job	17.1	8	.66
Explained	201.0	30	2.07*
Residual	1011.7	313	
Total	1212.7	343	

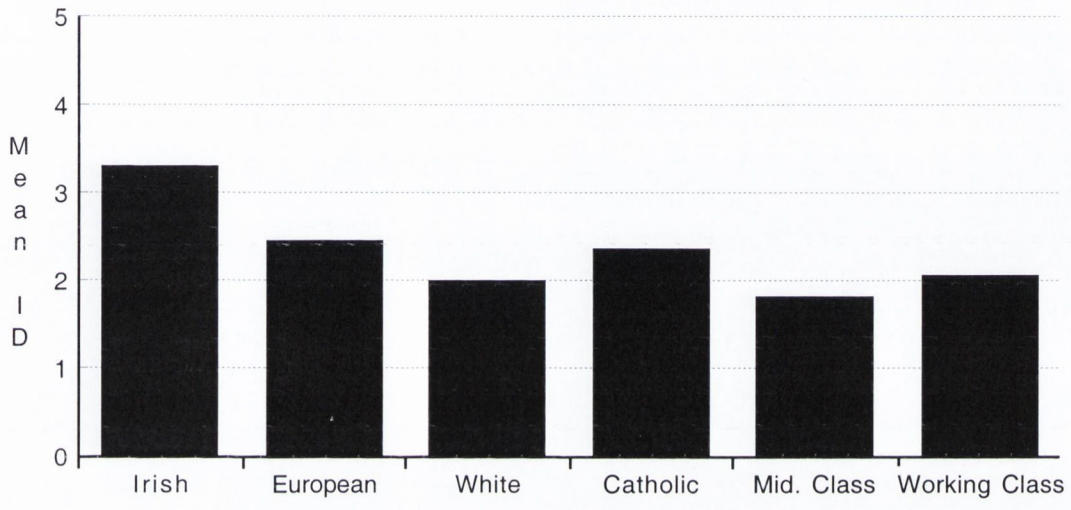
[* $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; ***$p = .054$]

The general picture which emerges from the analysis of the effects of demographic variables on social distance is that level of education is consistently the single most powerful demographic determinant of prejudice. If a model of prejudice based on social identity and relative deprivation variables can predict prejudice when education is controlled for it is possible to conclude that the variables are operating independently of simple demographic factors. The following analysis attempts to construct a compact and powerful model of prejudice to submit to this test. Before this however, one final point can be noted about the demographic predictors. Although relative deprivation theory argues that the perception of an economic situation is the source of discontent it would also be predicted that such perceptions should be at least imperfectly related to the objective economic situation. In accordance with this, community level of deprivation is also an independent source of variance especially for the one indigenous group, Travellers.

SOCIAL IDENTITIES

Overall the Irish and European identities were considered to be the most important as can be seen from Figure 31.

Figure 31 - Strength of identification with in-groups



The six identity scores were correlated with the social distance scores for each of the six groups. White identification is consistently the best predictor followed by Catholic. Working class is a statistically significant predictor as is middle class to a lesser extent. None of the other identities are significant predictors but all identities except Irish show the same trend - the more a person identifies with a particular group the more likely they are to be hostile to other groups. This seems to support Tajfel et al.'s (1971) 'mere group membership' hypothesis which suggest that people are prone to be hostile to out-groups simply and solely as a result of identifying themselves as a member of an in-group. Table 15 shows the significant correlations for the social distance scores.

TABLE 15 - Correlations of identity scores and social distance

	White	Catholic	Work. class	Mid. class
Romanians	-.37	-.22	-.25	-.15
Africans	-.36	-.26	-.22	-.11
Arabs	-.39	-.23	-.25	-.14
Bosnians	-.39	-.25	-.29	-.16
Spaniards	-.26	-.27	-.28	-.11
Travellers	-.36	-.22	-.17	-.36

The effects of strong identification with an in-group can be explored in more detail for the group working class. Although this is slightly tangential to the main purpose of the research to design a model of prejudice an important premise of social identity theory can be tested. A basic tenet of social identity theory is that categorisation and identification have a profound effect on the way in which people perceive the relationships and relative status of groups. The nature of this effect can be explored with the present data by comparing the way in which people who strongly identify themselves as working class perceive their own economic position and that of other groups. The Cantril's ladder part of the questionnaire had the subject rate the economic position of the working class, Travellers and Romanians relative to the richest and poorest people in Ireland. The sample was divided into two groups : those who rated the label working class as important or very

important and those who rated it as neither important or unimportant, unimportant or very unimportant. Table 16 shows how those who strongly identify themselves as working class differ from those who do not in terms of how they perceive the economic status of the working class and other groups.

Table 16 - Strong identification as working class and perception of working class and out-group economic status

	Working class identification	
	STRONG	WEAK
Working class income	3.67	3.78
Romanian income*	4.70	3.05
Traveller income*	5.02	3.87

[* t-test significant at $p < .001$]

There does not appear to be a trend toward in-group bias : people identifying themselves as working class seem to rate working class income about the same as people who do not. Quite unexpectedly there is a trend for people who identify themselves as working class to perceive that Romanians and Travellers are doing better than their own group. In fact compared to people who do not, people who identify themselves as working class seem to be more likely to believe that Romanians as a group are doing better than their in-group. This is contrary to what would be expected from social identity theory which predicts that people will be biased in such as a way as to promote the status of the in-group as in so doing they elevate their own self esteem. In the present case it appears that identification with

the in-group leads to a perception of the elevated status of the out-group. The solution to this dilemma may be found if the ratings which people who strongly identify themselves as working class made of the fairness of in-group and out-group income are examined. As part of testing the social identity construct of legitimacy subjects had to rate the fairness of working class, Traveller and Romanian income on a five point scale from 'Far more than deserved' (1) to 'Far less than deserved' (5). Table 17 shows how strong identification as working class relates to perception of fairness of in-group and out-group income.

Table 17 - Strong identification as working class and perception that the working class, Romanians and Travellers get the income they deserve

	Working class identification	
	STRONG	WEAK
Working class deserves*	4.02	3.81
Romanian deserves**	2.53	2.98
Traveller deserves	2.87	2.96

[* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$]

It appears that people who strongly identify themselves as working class believe that the working class are getting less than they deserve while Romanians are getting more than they deserve. They also believe that Travellers are getting more than they deserve though this trend is not significant. This can perhaps explain some of the unexpected finding that people strongly identifying themselves as working

class believe that they are getting less compared to Romanians and Travellers. Social identity theory would predict that this should not occur as it would mean that people are identifying with a group which they believe is inferior to its' out-groups. This removes the self-esteem incentive for identifying with the in-group. However if it is argued that people can compensate for their feeling that their in-group is not doing as well as others by believing that the difference is unjust then it is possible to maintain the basic social identity premise that people wish to identify with groups because it increases self-esteem. It is argued essentially that the feeling that one's own group is not doing as well as other groups can be compatible with self-esteem if it is believed that the out-group is gaining it's superior status by illegitimate means. The sense that the poorer performance of one's own group is not the result of its own inadequacy but the unfair behaviour of others may mean that the loss in self-esteem due to unfavourable intergroup comparison is avoided. This argument will be considered in more detail after the role of social comparison processes in prejudice has been examined.

RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

COGNITIVE COMPONENTS : The simplest way to test the effect of perception of economic performance on prejudice is to look at how Cantril's ladder ratings relate to social distance. As can be seen from Table 18, which shows the correlations of the Cantril's ladder ratings with the social distance scores for Romanians, Travellers and Other groups, the perception of an out-group as performing well economically is related to distance to that group. This is especially the case for the newly arrived group Romanians. It is also noteworthy that people who perceive these groups to be doing well are also more likely to express distance to other minority and ethnic groups as well. Interestingly it is perception of the out-group's income that is most strongly related to distance to that group while perception of own income and own in-group income seem to have a far less powerful effect. This seems to suggest that people are motivated to prejudice by perceptions of the out-group's status not by their own condition or that of their in-group. This contradicts arguments made in relation to some frustration-aggression approaches to prejudice which suggest that people use minority groups as scapegoats when they find their own economic conditions frustrating.

TABLE 18 - Simple Cantril's ladder ratings and their effects on social distance

	SOCIAL DISTANCE TO		
	Travellers	Romanians	Others
Travellers Ladder income	.22**	------	.27**
Romanians Ladder income	------	.41**	.41**
Own Ladder income	-.05	-.18*	-.15*
Working class ladder income	.02	.13*	.15*

[**Sig at p<.0001; *Sig at p<.05]

The ladder income scores also allow us to calculate a number of egoistic and fraternalistic relative deprivation variables. Table 19 shows how these variables relate to social distance to Romanians, Travellers and Other groups.

TABLE 19 - Relative deprivation and social distance

	SOCIAL DISTANCE TO		
	Travellers	Romanians	Others
Egoistic RD - Working class	-.05	-.25**	-.24**
Egoistic RD - Travellers	-.20**	--------	-.32**
Egoistic RD - Romanians	--------	-.37**	-.35**
Fraternalistic RD - Travellers	-.18**	--------	-.16*
Fraternalistic RD - Romanians	--------	-.28**	-.25**

[**Sig at p<.0001; *Sig at p<.05]

A number of striking findings emerge from these results. First, contrary to expectation egoistic measures are more powerful predictors of distance than the equivalent fraternalistic ones. Secondly the key egoistic comparisons are not between self and in-group but between self and out-group. Thirdly the simple ladder measures appear to be better predictors than any of the equivalent more complex relative deprivation measures.

The poor performance of the fraternalistic relative deprivation measures may be due to the fact that the respondents did not identify with the reference group working class. In order to control for this possibility the comparison of egoistic and fraternalistic measures was made again while controlling for strength of identification with the label working class. Respondents were divided into three groups : those who thought the label working class was important or very important in describing themselves (N=128), neither important nor unimportant in

describing them (N=149) and unimportant or very unimportant in describing them (N=126). As can be seen from Table 20 when the analysis is rerun predicting social distance to Romanians it is found that the performance of fraternalistic relative deprivation does improve the more a person identifies with the label 'working class'. However even under these conditions the fraternal relative deprivation measure never performs better than simple Romanian ladder income or an egoistic comparison with Romanians.

TABLE 20 : Fraternal and egoistic relative deprivation and social distance controlling for strength of working class identification

Working class identification : Important

	DISTANCE TO ROMANIANS
Egoistic RD - Working class	.14
Egoistic RD - Romanians	.28
Fraternalistic RD - Romanians	.25
Ladder income - Romanians	.37
Ladder income - Working class	.14

Working class identification : Neither important nor unimportant

	DISTANCE TO ROMANIANS
Egoistic RD - Working class	.25
Egoistic RD - Romanians	.41
Fraternalistic RD - Romanians	.29
Ladder income - Romanians	.38
Ladder income - Working class	.15

Working class identification : Unimportant

	DISTANCE TO ROMANIANS
Egoistic RD - Working class	.21
Egoistic RD - Romanians	.24
Fraternalistic RD - Romanians	.15
Ladder income - Romanians	.31
Ladder income - Working class	.15

AFFECTIVE COMPONENTS : Thus far it seems that the key variables relate to perceptions of the out-group and not comparisons between the in-group and out-group. This is again supported by the fact that the perception of the fairness of out-group income is a far better predictor of distance to that group than the perception of the fairness of own group or own personal income. As can be seen from Table 21 the sense that Travellers and Romanians earn more than they deserve is quite a powerful predictor of distance to those groups. Furthermore, it can be seen that this variable is far better at discriminating between distance to these particular groups and distance to minorities in general than any of the measures discussed so far.

TABLE 21 - Deserving income and social distance

	SOCIAL DISTANCE TO		
	Travellers	Romanians	Others
Travellers deserve income	-.39**	-------	-.27**
Romanians deserve income	-------	-.47**	-.39**
Working class deserves income	-.09	-.01	-.02
Self deserves income	.01	.15*	.14*

[**Sig at p<.0001; *Sig at p<.05]

Thus far, perception of out-group deserving income is the most powerful predictor of social distance to minority groups suggesting that criticisms of research which treat relative deprivation solely as a cognitive variable are valid. Furthermore the role of social comparison does not appear to be as important as relative deprivation and social identity theory would suggest as the key predictor so far is the perception of the extent to which the outgroup deserves the income it receives. This is not based on any comparison with the in-group. It may be objected that the comparisons that are relevant are between the extent to which the in-group gets the income it deserves and the extent to which the out-group gets more than it deserves. If social comparison is conceived in this way it is possible to calculate a new

set of egoistic and fraternalistic relative deprivation scores as follows :

1. Egoistic Rel. Deprivation : Own income deserves minus Working class income deserves
2. Egoistic Rel. Deprivation (Romanians) : Own income deserves minus Romanian income deserves
3. Egoistic Rel.Deprivation (Travellers) : Own income deserves minus Traveller income deserves
4. Fraternalistic Rel. Deprivation (Romanians) : Working class income deserves minus Romanian income deserves
5. Fraternalistic Rel. Deprivation (Travellers) : Working class income deserves minus Traveller income deserves

As can be seen from Table 22 when these justice based measures of relative deprivation are compared to the predictions made for the simple perception of fairness of outgroup income the latter is still more powerful. Hence it appears that measures based on perceptions of out-group behaviour are better predictors of social distance than measures which are based on comparisons with the in-group.

Table 22 - Spearman correlation for relative deprivation measures based on fairness of income and social distance

	SOCIAL DISTANCE TO		
	Travellers	Romanians	Others
Egoistic RD - Working class	.12*	.17**	.16**
Egoistic RD - Travellers	.27	-------	.32**
Egoistic RD - Romanians	-------	.37**	.34**
Fraternalistic RD - Travellers	.23**	-------	.16*
Fraternalistic RD - Romanians	-------	.31**	.28**
Romanian income deserves	-------	.42**	.39**
Traveller income deserves	.39**	-------	.27**

[* $p < .05$; $p < .001$]

STABILITY OF DEPRIVATION : Perception of out-group not in-group status is again the key predictor of social distance. As can be seen from Table 23 the perceived stability of the income of Travellers and Romanians is a predictor of distance to those groups though not as powerful a one as either perception of economic status or perception of fairness of income.

TABLE 23 - Stability of income and social distance

	SOCIAL DISTANCE TO		
	Travellers	Romanians	Others
Traveller income stability	-.12*	--------	-.14*
Romanians income stability	-------	-.21**	-.19**
Working class income stability	-.07	-.01	-.02
Own income stability	.07	.16*	.15*

[**Sig at p<.0001; *Sig at p<.05]

What emerges from the analysis of relative deprivation variables is that people who perceive out-groups who are securely well-off financially and who they believe do not deserve the income they are receiving will be inclined to be hostile towards those groups.

BUILDING A RELATIVE DEPRIVATION MODEL

Thus far a general picture emerges of what are the most important relative deprivation and social identity variables for predicting social distance. The first step is identification of self with in-group. White appears to be the most important in-group for predicting distance to minority out-groups with identification as Catholic, middle class or working class to a lesser extent. Also a number of variables relating to perception of the out-group emerge as important for predicting social distance. These include perception of the out-group's income, egoistic comparisons with the out-group, a sense that the out-group does not deserves their income, and to a lesser extent a sense that the out-group's economic situation is stable. There is however a serious risk that these variables overlap as a result of being highly correlated to each other. In order to reduce these variables to the most economic number possible stepwise multiple regression was used to determine both the overall efficacy of the model and which parts of it are the most essential. As can be seen from Table 24 when all of these variables are used to predict distance to Romanians only three of the variables are needed to explain 28.9% of the variance.

TABLE 24 : Relative deprivation and social identity variables regressed on social distance to Romanians

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variables	B	SE B
White identification	-.570**	.091
Egoistic RD - Romanians	-.126**	.031
Romanians deserve income	-.614**	.117
Constant	6.080	.398

N = 339

Adjusted R squared = .289

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variables	Beta In	Partial
Catholic identification	-.075	-.084
Middle class identification	-.049	-.052
Working class identification	-.023	-.026
Romanian Ladder income	.037	.025
Fraternalistic RD - Romanians	.043	.035
Romanian income stability	.007	.007

[**Significant at p <.0001]

When this analysis is rerun with just the three significant variables the amount of variance explained increases to 30.3% and the N to 361.

When the same stepwise multiple regression procedure was used to predict social distance to Travellers only two of the variables emerged as significant but the amount of variance explained was reduced to 25.5%. As can be seen from Table 25 the two variables out-group deserving and white identification are significant in predicting distance to both Romanians and Travellers.

TABLE 25 : Relative deprivation and social identity variables regressed on social distance to Travellers

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B
Travellers deserve income	-.988**	.120
White identification	-.509**	.080
Constant	7.14	.414

N = 352

Adjusted R squared = .255

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial
Traveller income stability	.021	.023
Egoistic RD - Travellers	-.058	-.064
Fraternalistic RD - Travellers	-.081	-.090
Catholic identification	-.082	-.091
Middle class identification	-.074	-.076
Working class identification	-.074	-.082
Travellers ladder income	.040	.043

[**Significant at p <.0001]

When this analysis is rerun with just the two significant predictor variables the amount of variance explained is 24.0% and the N is 389.

Both of these analyses suggest that the two key predictor variables are White identification and a sense that the out-group does not deserve the income it is receiving. An egoistic comparison between self and out-group is also a significant predictor for the newly arrived group Romanians. The model of relative deprivation which this analysis suggest is far more economical than that suggested by previous research and theorising. Before this model can be examined in more detail however it should be compared with alternative simpler models based on demographic predictors.

TESTING THE MODEL AGAINST SIMPLE DEMOGRAPHIC PREDICTORS

Two demographic variables have emerged as significant predictors of social distance to minority out-groups. These are education and level of deprivation of electoral district. As can be seen from Table 26 when these two variables are used in stepwise multiple regression to predict distance to Romanians in conjunction with the significant relative deprivation variables it emerges that education is the key demographic predictor while white identification and out-group deserving income are the key relative deprivation variables.

TABLE 26 : Relative deprivation and key demographic variables regressed on social distance to Romanians

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B
Education	-.391**	.067
White identification	-.535**	.089
Romanians deserve income	-.707**	.104
Constant	7.11	.375

N = 340

Adjusted R Square = .341

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variables	Beta In	Partial
Egoistic RD - Romanians	-.089	-.086
District deprivation	-.039	-.046

[**Significant at p <.0001]

Running a similar analysis for Travellers, the same significant predictors emerge with the addition of electoral district deprivation as a weak but significant predictor. As can be seen from Table 27 even with the addition of demographic predictors the amount of variance is still substantially less than that explained for distance to Romanians.

TABLE 27 : Relative deprivation and key demographic variables regressed on social distance to Travellers

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variables	B	SE B
Travellers deserve income	-.849**	.118
District deprivation	-.155*	.070
Education	-.233**	.063
White identification	-.512**	.082
Constant	7.90	.491

N = 348

Adjusted R Squared = .277

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variables	Beta In	Partial
Egoistic RD - Travellers	.032	.032

[* Significant at p<.05; **Significant at p <.0001]

So for both of the key target groups two powerful and robust predictors emerge which were derived from the relative deprivation and social identity literatures : strong identification with in-group and believing the out-group to be gaining income they do not deserve.

WIDESPREAD BELIEFS

Subjects were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with ten different statements regarding refugees and Travellers. Table 28 shows the percentage of people who agreed (agree or agree strongly), neither agreed nor disagreed and disagreed (disagreed or disagreed strongly) with the items which related to negative beliefs about refugees.

Table 28 - Agreement with negative beliefs about refugees

a) Many foreigners are coming to Ireland to exploit its social welfare system.

Agreed - 57.3% **Neither** - 12.9% **Disagreed** - 29.8%

b) Ireland is currently experiencing a flood of refugees.

Agreed - 75.1% **Neither** - 7.6% **Disagreed** - 17.4%

c) Many refugees with money are begging in the streets of Dublin.

Agreed - 54.3% **Neither** - 18.3% **Disagreed** - 27.5%

As the results on the social distance scales would predict, large numbers of this sample appear to hold very negative beliefs about refugees. Although the numbers of refugees coming to Ireland are comparatively small it seems that many people have accepted media representations which have used the flood metaphor to describe the recent increase in refugee traffic. Furthermore many people seem to believe that refugees coming to this country are acquiring income by illegitimate means : by exploiting the social welfare system and begging even though they have independent means. Popular support for such beliefs is also high-lighted by the results for the positive items regarding refugees as can be seen from Table 29.

Table 29 - Agreement with positive beliefs about refugees and refugee status

a) The current methods of processing asylum seekers looking for refugee status in this country are unfair.

Agreed - 39.4% **Neither** - 28.7% **Disagreed** - 31.9%

b) Since Irish people have emigrated for so many years it is only right that we welcome other nationalities to Ireland.

Agreed - 67% **Neither** - 9.4% **Disagreed** - 23.7%

c) Ireland is traditionally a welcoming culture and should continue to be by welcoming foreigners seeking refuge here.

Agreed - 51.0% **Neither** - 13.9% **Disagreed** - 35.1%

d) The majority of immigrants coming to this country are genuine political refugees.

Agreed - 28.6% **Neither** - 16.0% **Disagreed** - 65.4%

Again it appears from the item regarding political status that many people believe that most refugees coming to Ireland are bogus fortune hunters. The items regarding Ireland as a welcoming culture and responsible because of its own immigrants quite surprisingly found much support. This is interesting in that it appears to suggest that under the right conditions the subjects could be quite welcoming to foreign nationals. However such potential for welcome appears to be countered by beliefs which suggest that most refugees are undeserving and counterfeit. Many people do however seem to be aware that the current methods of processing asylum seeker applications are slow and ineffective. The results for the items regarding beliefs about Travellers are more mixed as can be seen from Table 30.

Table 30 - Agreement with beliefs about Travellers

a) Police are biased against travellers.

Agreed - 35.0% **Neither** - 27.2% **Disagreed** - 37.8%

b) Travellers commit far more crime than other groups of people in Irish society.

Agreed - 15.7% **Neither** - 18.1% **Disagreed** - 66.1%

c) Travellers are unhygienic and at high risk of sanitary diseases.

Agreed - 40.8% **Neither** - 19.6% **Disagreed** - 39.6%

The one response which may help to account for the high levels of social distance to Travellers may be that many people believe Travellers are unhygienic and at risk of sanitary disease. This concurs with the finding that social distance on the item 'Have as a neighbour' was particularly high. The relationship of the other two items to the high levels of social distance observed is not as clear cut. Generally people do not seem to endorse the stereotype that Travellers are heavily involved in crime. Furthermore there is a reasonable amount of support for the position that the police are biased against Travellers. Both of these would seem to be factors which would militate against social distance to Travellers. However the sample were more hostile to this group than to any other.

In a Principal Components Varimax rotation of all ten items relating to beliefs about refugees and Travellers three key factors emerged as can be seen from Table 31.

TABLE 31 - Loadings of the ten widespread belief items in a Principal Components Varimax Factor Analysis

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Refugees - negative			
a) Exploiting social welfare	-.72		
b) Flood of refugees	-.63		
c) Begging	-.66		
Refugees - positive			
a) Processing asylum seekers	.62		
b) Responsibility as immigrants	.76		
c) Welcoming culture	.73		
d) Political refugees	.61		
Travellers			
a) Police bias			.66
b) Commit more crime		.74	
c) Unhygienic and unsanitary		.65	

What these groupings suggest is that there is one large factor which relates to positive and negative 'Beliefs about refugees'. There are then two factors which relate to Travellers. Factor 2 is the most important of these representing beliefs that Travellers commit more crime and are unhygienic. This will be labelled 'Beliefs about Travellers'. The third factor may be tapping some non relevant police related belief and as it is difficult to decipher and unclear in its meaning it will be ignored in subsequent analysis.

The first thing to consider was how these beliefs relate to social distance. The 'Beliefs about refugees' factor is a significant predictor of distance to all of the groups. The 'Beliefs about Travellers' factor is also a significant predictor to distance from Travellers but only to this group. Table 32 presents the relevant correlations.

TABLE 32 - Correlations of belief factors and social distance

	'Beliefs about refugees'	'Beliefs about Travellers'
Romanians	.62	
Bosnians	.61	
Africans	.58	
Arabs	.58	
Travellers	.54	.26
Spaniards	.38	

[** All correlations are significant at $p < .0001$]

However the hypothesis made in the current research is that widespread beliefs regarding minority groups are not simply related to social distance, they are what mediate the effects of social identity / relative deprivation variables on prejudice. The analyses of the previous sections lead to a model of prejudice which is quite compact and suggests that prejudice is the result of strong identification of self as white and perception of outgroup as gaining undeserved income. The next question to be answered was if the effects of these variables on prejudice were mediated by widespread beliefs about minorities.

Predicting prejudice and widespread beliefs

The final model for predicting distance to Romanians consisted of two variables : white identification and Romanians getting undeserved income. Each of these variables was used in a multiple regression procedure to predict scores on the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor. As can be seen from Table 33 both of the variables were significantly related to the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor.

Table 33 - Regression of white identification and out-group deserving on 'Beliefs about refugees'

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B
White identification	-.137 **	.037
Romanians deserve income	-.615 **	.044
Constant	2.17 **	.157

N = 367

Adjusted R Square = .392

[** $p < .001$]

Both of the elements in the model of prejudice used to predict distance to Romanians were independently related to the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor. Furthermore, as a group these variables predict more variance in the beliefs score (39.2%) than in the social distance score (30.3%). Although establishing causality in this kind of situation is very difficult this at least supports the position that the effect of the model variables on social distance is mediated by widespread belief mechanisms. If the variables were effecting social distance directly rather than through shared beliefs mechanisms they would explain more variance in social distance than in the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor.

Examining the 'Beliefs about Travellers' factor is not as straightforward as the factor is less satisfactory and comprehensive then the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor. It is only based on two items rather than the seven of the refugee factor. However regression with the two variables which were used to predict distance to Travellers reveals that all of the variables are significant or very close to significant predictors of 'Beliefs about Travellers'.

Table 34 - Regression of white identification and out-group deserving on 'Beliefs about Travellers'

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B
White identification	.134**	.044
Travellers deserve income	.352*	.065
Constant	-1.44*	.229

N= 368

Adjusted R Square = .097

[* $p < .001$; ** $p < .05$]

In this analysis however the amount of variance explained is far less than for the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor and for direct social distance toward Travellers. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this finding however as the 'Beliefs about Travellers' factor was so impoverished. What this analysis does tell us is that the variables which predict social distance to Travellers are all related to negative beliefs regarding their behaviour.

Widespread beliefs and the media

Since the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor was such a powerful explanatory variable it was decided to explore it in more detail. It appears that people who are distant to Romanians and other refugee groups do hold a series of beliefs which represent these group as coming to Ireland for purely economic reasons including illegitimate use of the social welfare system and begging. It was decided to explore the possibility that people are acquiring these beliefs from the newspapers they read. Since the beliefs factor was found to be significantly related to education ($F = 11.18$, $df = 4$, $p < .0001$) it was felt that education should be controlled for when exploring the relationship between newspaper readership and social distance. In order to do this the subjects were divided into three educational levels corresponding to the groups represented in Table 35. Table 35 also shows the average score within each educational level on the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor (higher scores indicating more prejudiced beliefs).

TABLE 35 - Frequency of people in each educational category

	N	'Beliefs about refugees'
Primary / Junior Cert	168	.23
Leaving Cert	100	.10
Third level diploma / degree	129	-.46

Mann-Whitney U tests were then used to determine the relationship between newspaper readership and racist beliefs within each educational level. Of the nine Sunday and Daily papers examined 6 were found to be significantly related to prejudiced beliefs. At the lowest educational level five papers were related to the 'Beliefs about refugees' as can been seen in Table 36.

TABLE 36 - Prejudiced beliefs as a function of newspaper readership at lowest educational level (n = 168)

		N	'Beliefs about refugees'
Sunday Independent (p=.01)	Readers	39	-.09
	Non readers	114	.32
Sunday World (p=.03)	Readers	42	.47
	Non readers	111	.12
The Sun (p=.01)	Readers	23	.68
	Non readers	130	.13
Sunday Times (p=.04)	Readers	14	-.49
	Non readers	139	.29

A noticeable feature of these findings is that at lower levels of education people who read what are traditionally considered more educated papers tend to be less prejudiced in their beliefs. For both Sunday World and The Sun, two tabloid papers, the results suggest that readership tends to be related to prejudice. At the level of Leaving Cert only one newspaper showed a significant relationship to racist beliefs as can be seen in Table 37.

TABLE 37 - Prejudiced beliefs as a function of newspaper readership at Leaving Cert level (n=100)

		N	'Beliefs about refugees'
Irish Times (p=.004)	Readers	40	-.12
	Non readers	54	.27

At the highest educational level two papers are of interest with the direction of the relationship being opposite in the two cases. As can be seen from Table 38 readers of the Sunday Independent are significantly more likely to hold prejudiced beliefs while readers of the Irish Independent are less likely to do so. It is also worth noting that even for readers of the Sunday Independent the level of their prejudiced beliefs is low compared to the almost all groups of newspaper readers at the lowest level of education.

TABLE 38 - Racist beliefs as a function of newspaper readership at Third level (n = 129)

		N	'Beliefs about refugees'
Sunday Independent (p=.001)	Readers	44	-.05
	Non readers	78	-.69
Irish Independent (p=.04)	Readers	48	-.61
	Non readers	74	-.22

What emerges from these analysis of prejudiced beliefs and newspaper readership is the view that prejudiced beliefs are related to the newspapers that people read and that those beliefs are related to people wishing to keep those groups at a greater distance.

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION OF SURVEY RESULTS

Analysis of the survey results provides the opportunity to assess the importance of each of the different steps proposed by relative deprivation and social identity models of prejudice. Before looking at the first of these steps, social identification, the results for the key dependent variable, social distance, will be examined in more detail.

Social distance

Some very interesting findings regarding the nature of the Dublin population's attitudes to foreign and ethnic minority groups emerge from the analysis. The first thing to notice is that levels of social distance the local population perceive between themselves and minority out-groups are very high. Even for groups such as Spaniards which are of West European origin, 9.3% of respondents wish them deported. And for foreign groups which are more exotic than Spaniards, levels of distance are at least twice as high. Interestingly, Africans appear to be less distant than Bosnians, Romanians and Arabs suggesting that simple skin colour is not as salient as other issues such as beliefs about the reasons for coming to Ireland. It may also reflect the influence of an experimenter pleaser effect. It is quite possible that in the current social climate prejudice based on skin colour is perceived as politically incorrect while prejudice towards same skin colour groups is perceived as legitimate social judgment.

The respondents seemed to make little distinction between Bosnians and Romanians suggesting that for the general public there is no perceived difference between program refugees brought to Ireland to escape conflict in their home country and refugees which are not part of any organised program and who have arrived here directly. This suggests that the Irish government which has often been criticised for its sluggish processing of asylum seeker applications is also remiss in raising awareness about those groups that it has actually accepted. It may be

objected that the respondents may be aware of the differences between the two groups but that they simply feel equally distant to both. It seems more plausible however that many people have confused accusations made in the media against newly arrived groups such as Romanians and all foreign ethnic groups residing in Ireland. Otherwise it seems very difficult to explain why people should wish to keep Bosnians, a small group of well established political refugees, at greater distance than other foreign groups such as Spaniards and Africans.

Of the five foreign groups Arabs were perceived to be the most distant. From the pattern of social distance responses it appears that this is related to gender issues. A greater percentage of people wish to deport Romanians and Bosnians than Arabs and levels of distance on most of the other items for Arabs are comparable with those for Romanians. However almost 70% of people said that they would not marry an Arab or have one marry into their family. This is higher than for any other group except the most distant group, Travellers. This suggests that the elevated levels of distance to Arabs are related to a perception of Muslim culture as being very conservative on gender issues and the role of women in marriage.

By far the most distant group is Travellers. Over 42% of people believe that this indigenous ethnic groups should not be welcome as Irish citizens. Whereas distance to all other groups is mediated by the effect of education the impact of education on distance to Travellers is far less powerful suggesting that this is a prejudice deeply rooted in mainstream Irish culture. Compared to other groups the items which Travellers are most distant on are those related to personal contact : marriage, friendship and having as a neighbour. This suggests that the distance is motivated largely by common stereotypes of Travellers as aggressive, unhygienic and untrustworthy.

Some of these results may be compared with those of MacGréil (1996) who

surveyed social distance among a large sample of the Dublin population by means of door-to-door interview in 1988-9. MacGréil used a version of the social distance scale which is very similar to the one used in the present study. He reports many of his results in terms of Mean Social Distance which is a score comparable but not identical with the distance score used in the present study. He employed only four of the target groups used in the present study but as can be seen from Table 32 the pattern of results for these groups is very similar to those of the present survey.

Table 33 - Social distance among a sample of Dubliners in 1988-9.

	MEAN SOCIAL DISTANCE*
Spaniards	2.12
Africans	2.92
Arabs	3.51
Travellers	3.55

[* Similar but not identical to the social distance scores used in the present study]

Based on MacGréil (1996), pages 116, 143 and 327.

In addition, the responses to particular items are similar in many respects. For example MacGréil (ibid., p.327) found that 71% of his Dublin sample would not marry a Traveller or have one marry into their family while the comparable figure in this survey was 74.4%. He found that 79.9% of people in a whole Republic of Ireland sample would refuse to marry an Arab or have one marry into their family while the comparable figure in the present survey of just the Dublin population was 69.7%. What these examples suggest is that the methodology of the present survey has produced broadly similar results to a large scale door-to-door survey of the

same population. Furthermore, what both of these surveys seem to indicate is that levels of social distance in this population are very high. There is an urgent need for valid models of the origins of this prejudice. Analysis of the results of the survey offers a number of different explanations for the patterns of social distance observed.

Social identification

The first stage of a social identity / relative deprivation model is identification with an in-group. The results of the survey support the argument that people who strongly identify with an in-group are more likely to perceive out-groups as more distant. This seems to occur regardless of the in-group that is identified with. Masson and Verkuyten (1993) similarly found that prejudice in Holland was a function of positive identification with the Dutch as a group. Although not statistically significant for 'European' the trend for prejudice to increase with strength of identification even occurs for this, the most inclusive of possible identities offered. This suggests that approaches to the reduction of prejudice which are based on the concept of super-ordinate group identification are probably misguided. For example, writers such as Guelke (1994) have argued that the concept of a European identity could be used to resolve some of the problems of Northern Ireland by sidestepping the crucial issue of whether Northern Ireland is British or Irish territory. Trew (1996) criticises this approach as she finds little empirical evidence to suggest that the people of Northern Ireland find the European identity one which has much meaning for them. More fundamentally the current research suggests that even if people do identify with a particularly inclusive label such as European they may still retain hostility to other sub-groups within the supposed super-ordinate group. Further the very act of identifying with an in-group no matter how large seems to create out-groups (e.g. Romanians do not appear to be Europeans in the sense in which these respondents identify with the label). These results seem to concur with the laboratory findings of Tajfel et al. (1971). Their minimum group

experiments showed that membership of arbitrary and temporary in-groups can lead to prejudiced behaviour towards an out-group even when there is no obvious reward to the person or in-group for doing so. It appears that in real life situations in-group membership is as powerful a cause of prejudice as in the laboratory. In multiple regression the identification of self as white is a predictor of social distance even when demographic variables and perceptions of the out-group are controlled for. The conclusion to be drawn from these findings seems to be that the simple act of identifying with an in-group leads to hostility to out-groups even without the pressure of realistic conflict between the groups.

Identification with the group white is a particularly powerful predictor of distance, even to groups that are the same skin colour as the respondent. In fact white identification is at least as powerful a predictor of distance to Romanians, Bosnians, Arabs and Travellers as it is to Africans. This suggests that strong identification as white is an attribute which represents a complex network of beliefs that are not only related to skin colour. From the present results it is not immediately obvious exactly why white identification should be associated with prejudiced attitudes towards Romanians and Travellers. However if identification with an in-group involves accepting a set of social representations which the group holds about the social world then the situation is perhaps more comprehensible. The fact that white identification is a powerful predictor of the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor suggests that this is so. White may not simply represent a means of social categorisation but a complex system of beliefs about what it means to be white. This means that to understand why people identifying themselves as white should be hostile to same skin colour groups it has to be realised that the social meaning of the label white does not simply refer to skin pigment but represents a universe of associated meaning. The present research does not allow exact examination of the structure of these meanings but presumably it involves some distinction between 'good' and 'bad' whites. Further research may reveal that white identification is

linked to complex attitude structures such as right wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988) and anti-immigration ideologies. The argument that identification with an in-group involves adopting a set of in-group beliefs will be dealt with again in relation to the findings on widespread beliefs.

Tajfel (1981) outlines three stages in the social identity process : categorisation, identification and comparison. While the results of the survey seem to offer strong support for the importance of the first two stages the utility of the final stage is far less certain. The comparison stage suggests that when people identifying with an in-group perceive that the group is performing poorly on some valued dimension relative to an out-group they will be more likely to be hostile to that group. The idea is essentially the same as conceptualisations of relative deprivation which treat it solely as a cognitive variable i.e. as a perception of deprivation relative to an another group independent of any emotional evaluation of the perceived difference.

Relative deprivation : Social comparison or social judgment?

Initially the basic relative deprivation hypothesis seems to be supported. Although objective personal income is a predictor of social distance relative deprivation predictors are far more powerful. The basic tenet of relative deprivation theory that the psychological perception of an economic situation is far more important for predicting inter-group hostility than the actual objective situation appears to be confirmed. However it also appears that unfavourable comparisons between the in-group and out-group are not the crucial element in the perception of the situation. Simple perception of out-group income is a more powerful predictor of hostility toward that group than more complex measures based on comparison with own group or self. Furthermore all of the key predictors of distance to the out-group are based on perceptions of the out-group itself and not on comparisons with the in-group. From this it will be argued that although comparison processes are perhaps

inevitable in social contact between groups they are not the crucial element in predicting prejudice toward minorities.

Three factors in the perception of relative deprivation were examined in this study : cognitive perception of deprivation based on fraternal and egoistic comparisons, sense of fairness of out-group income and stability of out-group income. For the first two sets of variables it seems to be very clear that beliefs regarding the justice of the out-group's income are far more powerful predictors of distance to that group than cognitive perceptions regarding the magnitude or relative magnitude of out-group income. Guimond and Dubé-Simard (1983) conducted an experiment which similarly suggests that it is the evaluation of an economic situation which is important in predicting hostility and not the simple cognitive awareness of it. They used relative deprivation variables to predict Francophone militant nationalist attitudes in Quebec. Before the subjects filled in the questionnaire they were informed that according to several studies Francophones had a lower average income than Anglophones or they were not informed of this at all. They found that this manipulation did effect the subject's perception of the economic differences between the two groups but had no effect on the other variables including frustration based fraternal relative deprivation measures and militant nationalist attitudes. This adds further support to the position that it is the evaluation of an economic situation rather than the simple perception of it that causes prejudice and hostility to develop.

The present research was the most comprehensive test of all proposed elements of relative deprivation theory to date. What the results point to is that previous fraternal relative deprivation measures based on comparison processes were only successful in so far as they tapped the person's sense of injustice at the situation. In many research situations this would yield significant results as unfavourable comparisons are very likely to be accompanied by a perception of the

injustice of the out-group's income. However the crucial element was not the unfavourable comparisons but the belief that the out-group's income (and behaviour) was illegitimate. Proposing that this is the most effective way to conceptualise relative deprivation is contrary to much previous theory and research on the subject. As well as proponents of social identity theory, relative deprivation theorists such as Runciman (1966), Vanneman and Pettigrew (1972), Abeles (1976), Tripathi and Srivastava (1981), Guimond and Dubé-Simard (1983), Walker and Pettigrew (1984), Walker and Mann (1987) and Smith and Gaskell (1990) have all argued that relative deprivation should be conceptualised on the level of inter-group (fraternal) comparisons rather than at the level of inter-personal (egoistic) comparisons. From the present research it appears that on the contrary egoistic comparisons are more important predictors of inter-group hostility than fraternal ones. More fundamentally it appears that neither of these comparisons are as important as the perception that the out-group is earning income which they do not deserve. This is not to suggest that groups will be concerned with any out-group behaviour which they perceive to be illegitimate. Obviously those out-groups towards which people will be most likely to be prejudiced will be those whose illegitimate income is gained in a way which is perceived to be in some way damaging to in-group interests. This argument is not fully tested in the present research but it is suggested by the fact that many of the negative stereotypes about refugees which predict distance to Romanians are related to abuse of the social welfare system. Presumably this group are in some way perceived to be taking advantage of an in-group the person identifies themselves with.

Before considering this argument in more detail the performance of the other variable which relates to perception of the economic situation, stability of out-group income, will be considered briefly. This variable does explain a small amount of the variance in hostility to relevant out-groups but when other relative deprivation variables are controlled for the effect disappears. The poor performance of the

stability variable may not be because the variable is unimportant but may be due to the fact that it is not a variable which can be usefully operationalised at the level of a particular society. This variable may be of great value when comparing studies done in different countries or in relation to very different inter-group situations in the same country. However within a particular research situation it may be of limited use as it seems probable that most people in a given situation will probably agree about its stability and hence there may be insufficient variance for adequate testing of the concept.

Developing a model of prejudice

The multivariate analysis of relative deprivation and social identity predictors leads to a quite compact model which posits identification of self as white and perception of out-group as gaining undeserved income as the two key predictors of social distance to a relevant out-group. The fact that these same two variables emerged in two separate analyses of distance to two very different groups, Travellers and Romanians, suggests that they are powerful and independent predictors of hostility to out-groups. On both tests not only are they consistently better than a range of other social identity and relative deprivation predictors but they also predict better than a range of demographic predictors and operate when education, the most important demographic variable, is controlled for. Together the two variables predict 30.3% of the variance in distance to Romanians and 24.0% of the variance in distance to Travellers. This is far better than the performance of relative deprivation predictors in any other study for which comparable statistics are available. The most powerful fraternalistic relative deprivation predictor that Abeles (1976) uses can explain 6.25% of the variance in a general sample and 12.25% in a highly educated sample. Guimond and Dubé-Simard (1983) report 10.9% of the variance in nationalism explained while Smith and Gaskell (1990) report 2.25 % of variance explained for their most powerful fraternalistic relative deprivation predictor.

Given that these variables appear to be the key predictors of distance the question then arises of how they relate to each other. The argument made here is that the relationship between the two can be understood if the final stage of Tajfel's social identity theory is reconceptualised. Tajfel proposes that the social identity process is organised around the three stages of Categorisation, Identification and Comparison. The finding that white identification is such a reliable predictor of prejudice suggests that the first two of these stages are in fact important in the formation of inter-group hostility. People do appear to categorise the social world into discrete social groups and their identification with some of these groups and not others has important consequences for their attitudes towards out-groups. The final stage which Tajfel proposes after this is that people make comparisons between their in-group and key out-groups along certain valued dimensions and are more likely to be hostile toward those out-groups which they make unfavourable comparisons with, presuming they cannot identify with those out-groups themselves. Tajfel further proposes the variables of perceived legitimacy and stability to determine the behavioural outcome of these negative comparisons. What the present research suggests is that the key is not the perceived legitimacy of comparison between in-group and out-group but more simply the perceived legitimacy of the out-group's means of attaining their position. Prejudice is not the result of a process of comparison but the result of holding certain beliefs about the legitimacy of the out-group's behaviour. That the perception of out-group's behaviour is crucial is suggested by the fact that the perception of out-group income as undeserved, which is such a powerful predictor of social distance, is very strongly associated with beliefs about refugees which depict them as abusers of the social welfare system. In order to explore this argument further some of the social representations involved in maintaining distance to target groups will be examined in more detail.

Social Representations

Factor analysis of the respondents beliefs about a number of key issues relating to refugees and Travellers revealed that some people do hold a set of consistently negative beliefs about refugees. There is also a less powerful factor which represents beliefs about Travellers. Holding beliefs which represent asylum seekers as mostly unwelcome and bogus refugees who have come to Ireland in order to make illegitimate use of its social welfare system is a very powerful predictor of distance to both Romanians and Bosnians. In fact by itself this 'Beliefs about refugees' factor can predict 38% of the variance in social distance to Romanians and 37% in distance to Bosnians. That it should predict equally well for both again supports the argument made in relation to the social distance scores that people are making little distinction between these two groups and are confusing accusations made in the media against Romanians with Bosnians who have resided here much longer. 'Beliefs about refugees' is also a powerful predictor of social distance to other groups such as Arabs, Africans and Travellers. This suggests that the beliefs measured in this research may be only a small sample of a much larger belief system which involves beliefs about other ethnic groups as well. This may function in a similar way to the general and specific abilities proposed by Spearman (1904) as the basic components of intelligence as there may be some general core beliefs that people hold toward many ethnic groups and some more particular ones which they only hold about individual groups. The fact that there exists a separate factor which only predicts distance to Travellers suggest that this is so. However this factor actually predicts less distance to Travellers than the beliefs about refugees factor. This may be explained by the fact that the original ten statement measure of beliefs about out-groups was more focused on refugees rather than Travellers. In addition the items regarding refugees are more general and probably reflect an explanation which is used for the behaviour of many distant out-groups (the equivalent of Spearman's g): that is, they are gaining undeserved income through the social welfare system.

Given the large amount of variance in distance to Romanians which is explained by the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor it might be argued that the two scales are confounded and are actually measuring the same thing: negative attitudes towards Refugees and Romanians. This argument is difficult to counter within the context of the present research. However if the argument is accepted, that social distance is actually maintained by (and not simply correlated with) a network of beliefs which represent the out-group as behaving in an illegitimate way, it fits very nicely with findings from other parts of the research. It has been found that for both Romanians and Travellers the key predictor of distance, a perception of the outgroup as getting income they don't deserve, is very closely related to holding a set of beliefs about the behaviour of those groups. For example believing that refugees are mostly bogus and mercenary is related to believing that Romanians are getting income they don't deserve. It has also been found that believing Romanians are getting income they don't deserve is a key predictor of prejudice. These finding can all be integrated into the argument that what is maintaining prejudice is a set of beliefs which represent the outgroup as behaving illegitimately. This argument may help to make sense of one of the key findings in relation to relative deprivation: distance is predicted better by perceptions of the out-group as earning undeserved income rather than by comparisons between in-group and out-group. How can this finding be explained within a social representation framework?

Smith and Gaskell (1990) proposed that relative deprivation theory can be made more truly social if it incorporates assessment of widespread beliefs in the target population. They speculatively suggest that black militant attitudes towards the police "have more to do with the functioning of social representations of the police than with relative deprivation mechanisms *per se*"(p. 189). They suggest that "many young blacks hold a network of beliefs in which the police play a central role in providing simple and flexible explanations for many of the ills which befell them" (p. 189). On the crucial question of how these belief networks relate to the concept of

relative deprivation they propose that "these relative deprivation associations reflect less a *mechanism* in which deprivation *causes* hostile attitudes to the police, and more a *theory* shared by young blacks according to which many of their difficulties are *explained* by the processes of law in Britain today" (p. 189, italics in original). This is as far as they develop the nature of the relationship. If relative deprivation is replaced by a perception of an undeserving out-group this relationship may come clearer. Hostility towards the outgroup is in fact a product of a theory which explains the out-group's behaviour and the common feature of theories about groups that people are hostile to is a representation of the out-group as behaving illegitimately. A perception of injustice is not the result of prejudiced beliefs but a quality or attribute of the shared theories that people hold about distant out-groups. For groups who are less distant such as Spaniards there are shared representations but they are not likely to lead to hostility as they do not represent them engaging in illegitimate activity. What this argument proposes is that the major cause of prejudice is shared belief systems which represent out-groups as behaving in an illegitimate fashion. The exact content of those belief systems may vary from out-group to out-group but perceived illegitimacy is a common feature of them all.

The argument thus far proposes that prejudice is the result of shared belief systems which represent out-groups as behaving in an illegitimate way. It has also been argued that prejudice is the result of identifying strongly with an in-group. How do these two findings relate to each other? If the argument made earlier that identification with a group involves more than simply adopting a label is developed further it can be argued that part of the identification process is the adoption of a series of shared in-group beliefs. In fact this may more accurately represent the final stage of the social identity process than Tajfel's proposed stage of social comparison. Hence the way in which people evaluate the world relative to the group they identify with is not simply the result of a cognitive evaluation of the relative position of different groups. Identifying with a group also provides the person with a set of

beliefs and representations which the group shares. These representations may have to do with many aspects of the physical and social world including such things of course as the relative positions of out-groups. The argument being made is not that the person does not evaluate the relative positions of the two groups but that the key point is not the outcome of this comparison but the perception of the illegitimacy of an out-group's status and behaviour. This helps to parsimoniously account for the fact that people can be hostile toward groups which are not in direct competition, and which are poorer, than their own.

Evaluating relative deprivation and social identity theory

If it is argued that distance to key minority groups is predicted better by a perception of out-group illegitimate behaviour than by unfavourable inter-group comparisons serious questions can be raised about the usefulness of the concept of relative deprivation for predicting prejudice. It is recognised that theorists such as Guimond and Dubé-Simard (1983) and Walker and Pettigrew (1984) have suggested that the best way to conceptualise relative deprivation may be as a perception of illegitimate comparison of incomes or a comparison which causes the person to feel frustration. However what is being argued here is that although the comparison process is inevitable it is not the key antecedent of prejudice toward minorities. This is more than a reconceptualisation of relative deprivation theory, it is essentially a rejection of it for it is arguing that hostility does not depend on a relative comparison or a sense of deprivation, it depends on a sense of injustice. A sense of deprivation is often accompanied by a sense of injustice but not always and a sense of injustice can most certainly exist without a sense of deprivation. For example can the Northern Irish militant Loyalism of the early 1970's or the reaction of whites in America to black militancy in the early 1960's be explained comfortably as a result of a sense of deprivation? They can perhaps be easier explained as a result of shared perceptions of injustice. Essentially what is being argued is that hostility will develop if people believe that their in-group is in some way being taken advantage of by an

out-group in an illegitimate way. These are far less stringent grounds for the development of intergroup hostility than those proposed by relative deprivation theory. People do not have to perceive an out-group as having a relatively higher status in order to be hostile towards them : they simply need to perceive that their group interests are being abused in some way by the out-group. Hence people can be hostile even to groups they believe are economically and socially far inferior to their own. These arguments can be developed further in relation to social identity theory.

A simplified schema of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) would suggest that the process leading to conflict among social groups starts with categorisation into distinct social groupings and identification with one or other of those groupings. In reality of course a person may identify with many different social groupings at the same time. The person then compares the in-group's position on valued dimensions with that of key out-groups. If the outcome of these comparisons is unfavourable the person may respond in a number of ways. If social mobility exists the person may try to identify with the out-group they believe is higher in power and status. If social mobility does not exist two broad classes of strategy are possible : social creativity and social competition (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Which is chosen depends on how the person perceives the situation. If the situation is perceived as secure (i.e. legitimate and stable) they will choose creative strategies such as redefining the value of the compared dimension, comparing with a different out-group or choosing new dimensions of intergroup comparison. This may result in behaviours such as 'poor white racism' (comparing with a different out-group) or redefining the qualities of the in-group as implied in the slogan 'Black is beautiful'. If the situation is perceived as insecure (i.e. illegitimate and unstable) then direct social competition such as civil rights activity, lobbying, terrorism and revolution will occur.

What the present research suggests is that the first two of these stages,

categorisation and identification, are important in predicting intergroup conflict. However it appears that the final stages of the model may not accurately represent the way in which people actually reach the outcome of social competition, at least in relation to prejudice towards minority groups. As outlined by social identity theory a process of social comparison followed by an evaluation of the situation as secure or insecure may be an abstraction which appears logical and probable but which may in fact be an uneconomical way of representing the way in which this form of intergroup hostility is arrived at. The model developed on the basis of the present research suggests that the process of social comparison and evaluation of the security of the situation may be more accurately understood as a process of adopting the beliefs (social representations) of the in-group regarding the out-group. The judgment of the legitimacy of the perceived status of intergroup comparison on valued dimensions is not made directly. Rather it is a feature of the in-group beliefs and representations which people adopt when they identify themselves with an in-group. On a practical level what this suggests is that if empirically predicting intergroup hostility the key measures should be of the perceived legitimacy of out-group behaviour. The exact form of the perceived illegitimate behaviour will depend on the situation but a sense of harming the in-groups interests in some unjust way will perhaps be a common feature of them all. However measures which examine the content of shared beliefs should not be used alone in research as there is always the danger that they will be confounded with the dependent measures.

The modification of social identity theory which is being suggested when making predictions about prejudice is that the first two stages of categorisation and identification should remain as they are while the final stages should be reconceptualised as a stage of social judgment made on the basis of shared beliefs about the outgroup which are adopted when a person becomes a member of an in-group. For heuristic purposes the difference may be represented by changing

Tajfel's acronym CIC, which he uses to represent the process of categorisation, identification and comparison, to CIA representing categorisation, identification and adoption of in-group beliefs. It is thus proposed that instead of intergroup comparison, judgments are made of the illegitimacy of out-group behaviour by reference to some abstract standard of fairness. Of the two variables which Tajfel proposes in addition to social comparison, perceived legitimacy and stability of comparison, the need for the first is removed while the second may be important when comparing intergroup judgments made in different countries or very different situations. Reorganising social identity theory in this way also allows a more parsimonious way of integrating research findings in the social identity tradition which show that in-group identification leads to negative stereotyping of the out-group and positive stereotyping of the in-group (e.g. Tajfel, 1969; Byrne and Wong, 1962; Rokeach and Mezei, 1966). Hogg and Abrams (1988) argue that stereotyping is motivated by the same factors involved in social identification, a motive for positive self-regard or self-esteem "which can be satisfied by accomplishing evaluatively positive intergroup distinctiveness in favour of the in-group" (p.74). The model being outlined here supports this argument and goes further by suggesting that stereotyping is the result of the same processes that lead to more direct overt forms of prejudice. In fact the evaluation of the out-group's position and the legitimacy of it may be said to be part of the shared stereotypical beliefs which people adopt regarding the out-group when they identify with the in-group. In the case of groups to which people express more extreme forms of prejudice these stereotypical beliefs will involve representations of the out-group as engaging in illegitimate behaviours which are damaging to the in-group in some way (e.g. abusing the social welfare system, engaging in particular forms of criminal behaviour).

Although they maintain that the process of social comparison is important Hinkle and Brown (1990) also make some serious criticisms of the concept as it is

used in social identity theory. They review evidence which suggests that when comparing their in-group to other groups people do not necessarily show in-group favouritism and and out-group negative bias. In fact they can on occasion show an out-group favouritism. This suggests that positive social identity (the motivating force in social identity theory) is not always maintained through the process of intergroup comparison. Furthermore, they note that if the social identity account is accurate then people achieve positive social identity through favourable comparison with an out-group. Hence social identity theory would predict that people who identify strongly with an in-group will have the most to gain from in-group bias. However in-group bias has often been found to be poorly correlated with strength of identification with in-group (e.g. Brown et al., 1986; Watts, 1989; Struch and Schwartz, 1989). As an aside to the main argument it can be noted that this was also found in the present study, with people identifying themselves strongly as working class being more likely to rate Romanians as doing better than their in-group. In this case it appeared that the lack of self esteem consequent on making the unfavourable comparison could be compensated with a sense of being "hard done by", as people who strongly identify themselves as working class were also more likely to believe that their group was getting less than it deserved and Romanians were getting more. Thus a sense of injustice may serve both as a spur to hostility toward the groups which are perceived to be unjustly doing better and a buffer for the self esteem which is presumably lost in identifying with a group which is doing relatively poorly on valued dimensions. This doesn't contradict the social comparison account but merely qualifies it. However Hinkle and Brown (1990) also note that what evidence exists on the subject suggests that spontaneous intergroup comparisons in real life are rare (e.g. Brown and Williams, 1984; Watts, 1989). This is unexpected if the Tajfel and Turner (1979) argument is accepted that intergroup comparisons are important in meeting a person's needs for positive identity. What Hinkle and Brown (1990) propose to account for these mixed findings on the utility of social comparison is that intergroup comparisons are only important in

determining a person's behaviour under certain conditions. They point out that in complex social environments groups are of many different types whereas social identity theory was mainly developed on the basis of research with rather similar kinds of groups in the laboratory. They propose that the two relevant dimensions along which groups differ are the extent to which they are collectivist or individualist in outlook and have a comparative or non-comparative ideology. Putting conditions such as these on when social comparison will explain social behaviour raises further questions about how useful the concept is for explaining prejudice. Prejudice is a very widespread phenomenon in both the sample studied and in many other populations. If spontaneous social comparison is comparatively rare and unpredictable in its effects then its validity as a model of prejudice may be suspect without even considering the empirical evidence of the present study which suggests that intergroup comparisons are not powerful or independent predictors of prejudice. Although the distinctions which Hinkle and Brown (1990) make between different kinds of group are not adopted in the present research the critiques they make of the intergroup comparison hypothesis do support the proposal outlined above that social judgment may be a better model of real world prejudice than social comparison.

Some ways in which the model outlined in this chapter may be expanded and tested further will be discussed in the final chapter. Before this however a number of other features of the model will now be discussed, in particular the influence of the media, the differing predictions for old and new prejudice and the impact of education and district deprivation.

The media

There are probably various sources of beliefs which represent minority groups as reaping illegitimate income. The methodology of the present survey allowed the investigation of one potentially important source of such representations, the

newsprint media. Watt (1997) argued that the Irish media misrepresented the facts about refugees coming to Ireland by regularly suggesting that Ireland was experiencing a flood of refugees, by associating refugees with begging, petty theft and crime and by frequently repeating the claim that many asylum seekers were bogus, only coming to Ireland to exploit its 'liberal' social welfare system. All three of these beliefs about refugees were part of the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor and even when education is controlled for there is strong evidence that newspaper readership is related to this factor. The nature of the relationship between these beliefs and newspaper readership is most likely a dialectical one. That is, people who hold certain beliefs are more likely to choose to read newspapers which endorse those beliefs but at the same time newspapers can directly influence people's beliefs about minority groups. Reconciling this with the argument that people who identify strongly with an in-group also adopt a series of in-group beliefs it may be proposed that the first of these factors is powerfully determined by in-group identification - members of certain in-groups are more likely to read certain kinds of newspapers because of the beliefs those papers espouse. In relation to the direct influence that newspapers have on people's beliefs about minority groups it can be argued that members of certain in-groups will be more likely to take notice of and accept uncritically negative information about minority groups. Overall these findings suggest that newspapers do in fact have an important role to play in determining people's attitudes toward minority groups. However it is also noted that it may not be too easy for newspapers to change perceptions of minority groups as in-group members may tend to selectively expose themselves to information consistent with beliefs they already hold.

New and old prejudice

The model proposed so far predicts that prejudice is the result of identifying with an in-group which endorses belief systems which represent minority groups as behaving in illegitimate ways. In the present research two of the key predictor

variables supporting this model are white identification and perception of undeserved income. Both of these variables emerge as powerful predictors in separate analysis of distance to both Travellers and Romanians. It can be noted throughout the analysis however that predictions are consistently stronger for distance to Romanians than distance to Travellers. What this suggests is that using this model it is more difficult to predict distance toward groups which are the long established targets of prejudice than distance to groups which have newly arrived despite the fact that levels of distance are much higher for the former. A number of conclusions may be drawn from this. Whereas much research on social representations has looked at representations which have circulated in a society for a long time such as psychoanalysis (Moscovici, 1976), leadership (Graumann and Moscovici, 1986) and health and illness (Herzlich, 1973), it appears that social representations of new social stimuli can form and disseminate very quickly. In relation to a model of prejudice the difference in prediction between Travellers and Romanians suggests that socialisation into a prejudiced culture may be an important factor. Abeles (1976) appealed to a socialisation argument to explain why his relative deprivation model was predicting militancy poorly. He argued that if relative deprivation had been measured at an earlier stage of the militant movement's development the predictions would have been stronger. As the movement progressed it was argued the person no longer needed to perceive deprivation to become militant, instead they were socialised directly into militant attitudes and beliefs. He could not however substantiate his argument as he had no way of measuring relative deprivation predictors at an earlier stage of the movement's development. The present findings however suggest that he may have been right. The fact that it is more difficult to predict hostility to Travellers than to newly arrived Romanians may be due to the fact that socialisation into mainstream Irish culture may involve the inculcation of negative attitudes toward certain groups independent of beliefs about that group. This is further supported by the fact that for all target groups distance to Travellers is the one least influenced by education.

The influence of education and district deprivation

Why district deprivation only has a clear effect on distance to Travellers and not any of the other target groups is difficult to decipher in the context of the present survey. One possible explanation is that people in lower income districts have probably had more contact with Travellers than people in higher income areas. This contact is not likely to have had any positive impact on intergroup attitudes as it does not meet any of the requirements for positive outcomes from contact as summarised by Hewstone and Brown (1986) : the contact should be prolonged and involve cooperation, the contact should have institutional supported and should involve people of equal status. So on initial inspection it is perhaps possible to explain the effect of district deprivation on distance to Travellers as being the result of a greater amount of inappropriate social contact in lower income areas.

Education is by far the most powerful demographic predictor of social distance having a large and consistent effect on distance to all of the target groups. In the case of Travellers this influence is slightly weaker than in the other cases but the effect is still consistently significant. Education is the only other variable besides white identification and perception of out-group deserving income that is still a significant predictor when other demographic and relative deprivation variables are controlled for. How do this triumvirate of consistently powerful predictors of social distance relate to each other?

How education fits in with the model described above depends on how the nature of its influence is understood. If education is understood as a superficial effect which causes people to be less likely to express hostility to minorities overtly (Jackman, 1978) then its influence is simply noise in the data which must be controlled for but which is not important for understanding prejudice. If education is seen as something which causes greater cognitive sophistication (e.g. Glock et al., 1975; Bobo and Licari, 1989) then it is hard to reconcile its influence with the model

outlined above and it perhaps reflects a separate influence on prejudiced beliefs. If however it is argued that the effect of education on tolerance is the result of normative influence (e.g. Newcomb, 1943; Newcomb at al., 1967) then its effect is much closer to the kind of influence described in the model. The effect of education can be explained as the result of the person changing normative reference group and thus adopting a new set of in-group shared beliefs which represent minority out-groups in a different way.

The results discussed in this chapter present many opportunities for follow-up study. Some of these opportunities will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter. Before this however a study which was conducted to explore just one of the hypotheses that arises as a result of this discussion will be described. For a variety reasons the question which was chosen to follow-up was the nature of educational influence on social distance to minorities. For economic reasons it was felt that another study of the general population was unfeasible and many of the hypotheses which could be examined to follow-up the present research would be best tested on such a general population. However the influence of education could be ideally studied in a university setting which would allow for much less costly research procedures. Aside from economic considerations however it was felt that the issue of the effect of education on tolerance was a very important one from the practical point of view of attempting to reduce prejudice. If it can be shown that education has non-superficial effects on political tolerance towards minorities and these effects are substantial and consistent as they have been in the present research then education would seem to be a key tool for reducing prejudice. Although better resourced and more widespread access to education may seem to be high cost endeavour it is at least a very practical goal which can be lobbied for. Other approaches to reducing prejudice such as super-ordinate goals and contact are notoriously difficult to implement and dependent upon a wide variety of conditions to be successful (see Chapter 6).

Chapter 5

A CLOSER LOOK AT EDUCATION

The following chapter describes a study conducted to test the hypothesis that the effect of education on tolerance is mediated by cognitive sophistication. The cognitive ability examined was 'dialectical thinking', scales of which have been developed by Georgoudi (1984). The basic hypothesis tested was that education enables a person to reason with greater awareness of possible alternatives to their own position and this enables them to be more critical in evaluating information regarding minority groups. This presumed critical ability and its relationship to social distance was examined in a sample of university students.

Highest level of education attained was a powerful predictor of less social distance towards all of the target groups used in this study. This is consistent with research which has shown greater political tolerance for minority groups among higher educated groups in far larger samples (Stouffer, 1955; Davis, 1975; Lawrence, 1976; Nunn, Crocket and Williams, 1978; Bobo and Licari, 1989; Wagner and Zick, 1995). The purpose of the present study is to determine if the effect of education on social distance to minorities observed in the survey reflects a genuine difference in attitude or if it is artifactual. Jackman and Muha (1984) argue that the effect of education on tolerance is only superficial. They review evidence which shows that education is only associated with tolerance in the abstract while it does not effect support for concrete reform such as racially integrated schooling or equal opportunity employment legislation. They argue that the reason for this is that "dominant social groups routinely develop ideologies that legitimise and justify the status quo and the well-educated members of these dominant groups are the most sophisticated practitioners of their group's ideology" (Jackman and Muha, 1984, p.751). However objections may be made to this argument. Jackman and Muha (1984) argue that the superficial effect of education is caused by a need to justify the dominant group interests. However no measure is ever made of this variable. As Sniderman et al. (1984, p.77) point out "accounting for 'inconsistent' support of principle and policy by simply labelling it hypocrisy seems to be an unsatisfactory solution, at least until alternative explanations have been considered". It seems that a desirable procedure for exploring such alternative explanations is to look for variables presumed to mediate the link between education and tolerance.

A number of theorists have tried to define what it is that education does that produces increased tolerance. Two basic approaches have been taken : one which looks for changes in some cognitive ability and one which looks at socialisation process such as normative influence. Proponents of the view that education leads to

increased cognitive ability have formulated the presumed effect in a number of different ways. Selznick and Steinberg (1969, p.93) propose that during the education process people "acquire knowledge, are exposed to values and develop modes of thinking". Quinley and Glock (1979) argue that education provides people with more information about minorities and with general cognitive skills which enable them to detect and reject prejudice. Lawrence (1976) has argued that the more educated are more consistent in applying norms. On the other hand theorists such as Newcomb (1943; Newcomb at al., 1967) have argued that the beneficial effects of education are due to the influence of learning new group norms. In time Newcomb argued these norms become the person's own through the process of internalisation. Jacob (1957) also argued that of the effect of education on tolerance was a result of socialisation into new groups norms but unlike Newcomb he argues that this effect is superficial rather than a genuine learning of new attitudes through group processes.

However only a small number of studies have actually tried to directly measure the relevant effects that higher education is supposed to impart. Zellman and Sears (1971) found that tolerance in children was related to divergent self-esteem, defined as the ability to entertain novel and unusual thoughts. Glock at al. (1975) found that cognitive interests, openness to new ideas, and willingness to risk uncertainty and ambiguity reduced anti-Semitism. However as Bobo and Lacari (1989) point out this research relied upon unusual samples and more fundamentally did not establish that their measures of cognitive ability were related to education. Essentially a mediating variable should be related to both increasing education and to greater tolerance. Bobo and Lacari (1989) adopt this approach and claim to show that the effect of education on tolerance is mediated by cognitive sophistication. However their research is seriously flawed by the fact that the only measure of cognitive sophistication they use is the number of correct answers to a ten-word vocabulary test. They offer little by way of concrete evidence to show that this

measure is not confounded with formal education. Their methodology of looking for variables which relate to both education and increased tolerance is however potentially very powerful and it is adopted in the present research.

The aim of the present study then, is to look for a difference between those with more education and those with less which can also be associated with reduced social distance to minorities. According to previous research two types of variable may be relevant : variables relating to some cognitive ability or to some form of normative influence. In order to allow full and adequate testing it was considered best to only examine one of these approaches in detail. This was done because it was felt that in order to get a representative sample a questionnaire should be relatively short and that in order to avoid using quite weak measures such as those used by Bobo and Lacari (1990) some length would be required. In the end, a cognitive sophistication approach was chosen for closer study because a plausible candidate for an intervening variable presented itself which had never been tested before.

Milburn (1991, p.68) describes a study conducted by Milburn, Cistuli and Garr (1988, unreported) which used a measure of 'dialectical thinking' (Georgoudi, 1985) to explore the explanations which people gave for terrorist attacks and other acts of political violence. They found that the use of dialectical thinking was related to making more complex attributions (which recognised both internal and external factors in the cause of an incident) and was also related to education. Georgoudi (1985) had originally used a measure of dialectical thinking to explore responses to more neutral items such as explanations of accidents and coincidences. She defined three levels of thinking on this scale : (1) Dialectical, in which the person sees a variety of possible explanations and understands the relationships among them (2) Potentially dialectical, in which the person is aware of the potential of two different explanations but only focuses on one of them (and there is no relationship between the different explanations) and (3) Non-dialectical, in which the person can see only

one explanation or none at all. Essentially the meaning of dialectical in this context is similar to the meaning it has in Hegelian philosophy : the interaction of two opposite positions (thesis and antithesis) to form a synthesis. As applied to the thinking processes of people regarding the causes of events it means the ability to recognise the influence of both internal and external factors and the way in which the two interact to produce the final outcome behaviour. In social affairs the dialectic thinker is one who is able to realise that an interaction occurs between situational and dispositional factors when arriving at an explanation of other people's behaviour. An important point to note about Georgoudi's theory is that she claims that the ability to think dialectically is domain specific - a person may reason at different levels about different issues. So for example she found that people tend to reason differently about the different classes of events she studied (accidents, coincidences and occurrences).

In the previous section of the present study it was argued that prejudice is maintained by widespread beliefs which represent minority groups as illegitimately gaining income which they do not deserve. From the analysis of the 'Beliefs about refugees' factor it appears that the content of these beliefs relate to the idea that many refugees are bogus, only coming to Ireland to exploit its social welfare system. Since it was also found that this factor relates strongly to education it was predicted that the effect of education might be mediated by 'dialectical thinking'. If dialectic thinkers are more likely to consider different explanations for observed behaviour they might not be so ready to accept uncritically biased representations of refugees. This argument seems plausible considering that it has previously been found by Milburn (1991) that dialectical thinking about political violence is related to education. There is the further question of the domain in which dialectical thinking should be measured in. Two scenarios are possible : education improves dialectical thinking in relation to minority groups or education improves dialectical thinking generally and part of this is an ability to reason better about issues involving

minority groups. In order to test both of these possibilities it was decided to measure both the ability to reason dialectically about neutral situations such as those used by Georgoudi (1985) and the ability to reason dialectically about situations involving refugees. If the hypothesis that education increases cognitive sophistication which leads to a more critical evaluation of stereotypical beliefs about minorities is correct then both of these forms of dialectical thinking should improve with number of years of education while social distance to minorities decreases.

This study was therefore designed to test the hypothesis that education leads to a greater ability to reason dialectically which leads to greater tolerance towards minority groups. The basic procedure used is to compare first and fourth year students in university with the expectation that they will differ in ability to reason dialectically about both neutral scenarios and scenarios involving refugees. Further, it is predicted these forms of dialectical thinking will predict lower levels of social distance.

METHODOLOGY

The first step was to design a suitable measuring instrument for dialectical thinking which tapped ability to reason dialectically about both neutral and refugee issues. This also involved designing scoring procedures and establishing inter-rater reliability. This was then incorporated into a questionnaire which in addition sought some basic personal information and included the social distance scale used in the previous study. Finally this questionnaire was administered to a sample of first and fourth year university students.

First Pilot

Georgoudi's (1985) method for measuring dialectical thinking involves asking the subject to respond to scenarios such as :

> A forgot to lock her car. Her stereo was stolen [Accident].
>
> A won first prize in the lottery [Coincidence].
>
> A's alarm clock failed to ring. He was late to school and missed his exam [Occurrence].

The subject is asked to rate each of these scenarios on three attribution scales (for dispositional, situational and bi-causal attributions) and then provide a narrative account of their explanations for the event. This same basic procedure was adopted in the present study. The study objectives required the measurement of dialectical thinking on both neutral and refugee issues. The neutral issues could be taken from Georgoudi. As these items had been used successfully before and took time to administer only two of them were used. Georgoudi had originally used three classes of events : accidents, occurrences and coincidences. It was felt that only one of these classes was needed in the present study and accidents were chosen as according to

Georgoudi they produced the greatest diversity of response. The only change made to the scenarios was the use of real names instead of the letters used by Georgoudi to designate people. This procedure was also followed in relation to the refugee scenarios and in both cases all the names used were male in order to avoid the risk that the gender of the actor might have a confounding effect. The refugee items were developed from newspaper reports about incidents involving refugees and were designed to correspond to the stereotypical beliefs about refugees that were examined in the main survey. Four such items were developed and used in the first pilot study. This gave a total of six scenarios which were used in the pilot. They were as follows :

Neutral

1. Michael forgot to lock his car. His stereo was stolen.
2. Alan was talking while handing a drink to Ann. He spilled the drink on Ann's dress.

Refugee

3. Dobrin, a Romanian refugee, was refused asylum in this country because he was caught working illegally while waiting for his application for asylum to be processed.
4. Mircea, 2 months after arriving from Romania, was arrested for stealing two Rolex watches from a Jewellers.
5. Gheorghe, a Romanian refugee, was assaulted while begging on O'Connell street in Dublin city centre.
6. Emeric, a refugee, has lived in Ireland for 6 months but cannot speak English.

Four different orders for these items were randomly chosen to counter any unwanted order effects. Each scenario was followed by three attribution scales which the subject rated the scenario on and these were followed by a blank half a page in which the subject was asked to provide an narrative account of the reasons

why they responded the way they did to the attribution scales. So for example, the first refugee item used appeared as follows :

1. **Dobrin, a Romanian refugee, was refused asylum in this country because he was caught working illegally while waiting for his application for asylum to be processed.**

a) Being refused asylum was Dobrin's fault.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

b) Being refused asylum was a result of circumstances beyond Dobrin's control.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

c) Being refused asylum was a result of Dobrin's behaviour and other circumstances beyond his control.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

Could you please explain why you responded to this item the way you did :-

The procedures for scoring the responses to the narrative responses were developed from those described by Georgoudi (1985). She rated the response to each narrative in one of three categories :

1. Non-dialectical : if the narrative indicates the consistent entertainment of one position to the exclusion of others.
2. Potential dialectical : more than one position is consistently entertained which, however, despite regular combination in a disjunctive or conjunctive mode, failed to generate novel and more complex perspectives of the situation analysed.
3. Dialectical : this is distinguished from potentially dialectical by the presentation of successively more and more complex arguments, initiated out of the juxtaposition of the different perspectives or positions adopted at each point.

A questionnaire was drawn up which included the six dialectical thinking scenarios, the social distance scale as used in the main survey and a section which asked for

some very basic demographic information. This questionnaire was administered to a convience sample of 11 undergraduate students.

Results of first pilot

The questionnaire took roughly 15 minutes to complete which was felt to be too long as it might jeopardise the response rate in a larger study. It was decided that of the four refugee scenarios used two would have to be dropped. In order to decide which to keep, the range and standard deviations on the attribution scales for the four scenarios were examined. As can be seen from Table 39 the items which related to Gheorghe begging and Emeric not learning English had the lowest ranges and standard deviations suggesting that most people responded to these items in a similar way. Their utility in discriminating between dialectical and non-dialectical thinkers is therefore open to question.

Table 39 - Standard deviation and range for the four refugee scenarios

	Standard Deviation	Range
Dobrin working illegally		
Dispositional attributions	1.29	5
Situational attributions	1.33	5
Bi-Causal attributions	1.2	5
Gheorghe assaulted begging		
Dispositional attributions	0.48	1
Situational attributions	0.87	4
Bi-Causal attributions	1.03	5
Emeric learning English		
Dispositional attributions	0.84	4
Situational attributions	0.75	2
Bi-Causal attributions	.74	2
Mircea stole watches		
Dispositional attributions	0.94	4
Situational attributions	1.1	4
Bi-Causal attributions	1.7	5

Two independent raters were given a copy of Georgoudi's (1985) description of her procedure for scoring the narratives. They agreed in 60.6% of their judgments on all the narratives but as can be seen from Table 40 in only 4 cases did they differ by more than one point.

Table 40 - Agreement of raters on scoring of narratives

RATER 2	RATER 1		
	Non-dialectical	Potential Dial.	Dialectical
Non-dialectical	24	13	4
Potential Dial.	15	9	
Dialectical			1

In examining the narratives it was felt that people had not responded as fully as they might. The raters also reported that they found the scoring procedures difficult and ambiguous in scoring some responses. On a very minor point it was also noticed that many people did not know if the name Mircea was male or female.

Second Pilot

The major reason for designing a second pilot was to improve the scoring procedures so as to increase the inter-rater reliability. In order to achieve this, the scoring procedures used by Georgoudi were revised so as to remove as much of the vagueness and ambiguity as possible. The principal innovation introduced to assist in this was to split judgment of each narrative into two different parts. The first rating made was simply of the number of arguments used, with each novel cause for the incident considered being regarded as a separate argument. Secondly a rating was made of the level of dialectical thinking involved in the narrative. However this was made on a slightly more simplified schema than that described by Georgoudi.

Some changes were also made to the questionnaire, most importantly the dropping of the two refugee scenarios which were found to be discriminating poorly in the first pilot. More space was left for the person to respond to the narrative (a full page) and a new instruction was added which asked the person to fill in the narrative section as fully as possible. The revised questionnaire was administered to a new convenience sample of 18 undergraduates.

Results of second pilot

In calculating both the number of arguments in the narratives and the level of dialectical thinking there were no disagreements between the raters of more than one point. As might be expected the level of agreement was higher for the number of arguments (77.8%) than for the level of dialectical thinking (73.6%). Overall for both of the scales there was a correlation (Spearman) of .86 between the two raters' judgments.

FINAL STUDY

In light of the results of the second pilot some minor changes were made to the scoring procedures and the final questionnaire was administered to a larger sample of university students. This time however only first and fourth year students were tested in the expectation that they would differ in level of dialectical thinking and social distance.

Subjects

In order to select the subjects a list was made of all the courses available in the University. These were divided into Arts and Science and a course was randomly selected from each. Fifty questionnaires were distributed in the first year and fourth year class of the first Arts and Science class selected (i.e. 200 questionnaires in all). If less than one hundred could be distributed in a class the remainder were distributed in the next Arts or Science course randomly selected and so on. Of the 200 questionnaires distributed 73 usable were returned giving an overall response rate of 36.5%.

The youngest subject was 17 and the oldest was 23 with a mean age of 19 years 9 months. There were 50 men and 23 women. As can be seen from the faculty breakdown for gender in Table 41 less students from the Science faculties responded but taking this into account there was a consistent trend for men to respond more than women in both groups.

Table 41 - Breakdown of subjects in second study by gender and faculty

	MALE	FEMALE	
ARTS	29	15	44
SCIENCE	18	7	25
	47	22	69*

[* There are 3 missing values for Faculty]

As be seen from Table 42 there were roughly equal numbers of first and fourth year respondents and the gender breakdown among these two groups was roughly equal.

Table 42 - Number of first and fourth year respondents and their gender breakdown

	FEMALE	MALE	
First Year	12	27	39
Fourth Year	11	23	34
	23	50	73

However as can be seen from Table 43 while there were roughly equal numbers of Arts and Science students in the fourth year group the first year group were predominately Arts students.

Table 43 - Breakdown of first and fourth year students by faculty

	ARTS	SCIENCE	
First Year	29	8	37
Fourth Year	15	17	32
	44	25	69*

[* There are 3 missing values for Faculty]

The small number of fourth year Science respondents made the use of procedures such as MANOVA unfeasible and all analysis of the results are based on univariate statistical procedures.

Materials

The final questionnaire used was very similar to the one used in the second pilot. The first page contained the title of the questionnaire ('Attitude and Cognition Questionnaire'), basic assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, instructions for returning the question via internal university mail and space for the subject to indicate their age, gender, faculty department and their number of years in college. The subject was also informed that for every completed questionnaire returned 50p would go to charity (cancer research).

Following this, four dialectical thinking items were presented. In preparing the questionnaires four formats were used, differing only in the order in which these items were presented. These four different orders were randomly selected and were used to control for any possible order effects. The following four scenarios were used :

Neutral items

1. Alan was talking while handling a drink to Ann. He spilled the drink on Ann's dress.
2. Michael forgot to lock his car. His stereo was stolen.

Refugee items

3. Emeric, 2 months after arriving from Romania, was arrested for stealing two Rolex watches from a Jewellers.
4. Dobrin, a Romanian refugee, was refused asylum in this country because he was caught working illegally while waiting for his application for asylum to be processed.

The subjects were first asked to rate the cause of the outcome in each of these scenarios on three five point attribution scales : dispositional, situational and bi-causal. They were asked how they would rate each of these possible causes if given only the information in the scenario - this was done for two reasons. Firstly because some subjects in the pilot studies reported that there was insufficient information to respond properly to the item. Secondly it was felt that this might crudely simulate the quality of information regarding refugees which people often receive through the media and word-of-mouth. If, as was indicated in the previous section, prejudice is sustained by popular widespread beliefs regarding minority groups then it might be argued that the effect of education on prejudice is to be explained by the fact that the more educated take a more critical stance toward such low quality information. After the three attribution scales the subjects were asked to explain as fully as

possible why they responded to these scales the way they did. There was then a full blank page left for the subject to respond to this request. The final section of the questionnaire contained the social distance scale as it was used in the main survey[1].

The scoring procedures used to rate the narratives were essentially the same as those in the second pilot. They may however be considered in more detail here. The first judgment made was the number of different arguments present in the narrative, each argument being rated as different if it considered a novel possible cause of the outcome of the scenario. The second judgment made of the narratives was the level of dialectical thinking present. This was categorised as follows :

1. Non-dialectical : Considers only one basic cause for the behaviour.
2. Potentially dialectical : Considers more than one cause but considers them separately.
3. Dialectical : Considers more than one basic cause and integrates them to reach an overall conclusion, that is they evaluate different positions and proposes a solution based on the integration of these.

How this scoring procedure actually worked in practice may be understood more clearly if some examples are considered. The following are two examples of narratives which were scored as dialectical and non-dialectical :

EXAMPLE 1

Scenario : 'Dobrin, a Romanian refugee, was refused asylum in this country because he was caught working illegally while waiting for his application for asylum to be processed'.

Response : "If he was working illegally to feed and clothe himself by necessity then

[1] The "Attitude and Cognition Questionnaire" is provided in Appendix 7.

it's unfair to use this against him. If one is to be refused asylum it should be based on reasons outside those above. It can't be his fault that he had to wait for asylum to feed himself in the meantime - you can't press pause on a person, while they're waiting they still have to live".

Number of arguments : 1 Level of dialectical thinking : 0

In this response there is only one basic line of argument - Dobrin was working illegally because he had to feed himself. There is no serious counter argument considered and hence no possibility for the development of dialectical thought.

EXAMPLE 2

Scenario : 'Michael forgot to lock his car. His stereo was stolen'.

Response : "If Michael had locked his car - a sign of responsibility - maybe his stereo wouldn't have been stolen. A thief could have been plotting on his stereo and Michael just made it easier for the thief to steal the stereo.

Michael could have been sick and needed to get home so he didn't have the time to lock his car. And then somebody could have been tempted by the unlocked car, and they decided suddenly to steal the stereo. Or maybe Michael's neighbourhood was considered to be safe and some unknown character from a bad neighbourhood just happened to be passing by. Michael was just unlucky.

I think that nobody is to be trusted nowadays, so no matter how safe we feel we should always protect ourselves to the best of our abilities to, at least, reduce crime and violence".

Number of arguments : 5 Level of dialectical thinking : 2

This example considers five different causes of the outcome of the scenario -

irresponsibility, a thief who was plotting to rob the stereo, sickness leading to negligence, bad luck and general rising crime. It also exhibits dialectical thinking in that different causes are considered and evaluated in reaching the final conclusion that vigilance should always be exercised. This is not proposed as a conclusive solution to the problem of crime but as a means of reducing it. It is recognised that other factors will mean that crime will continue in society no matter how vigilant the public are.

In scoring the narratives two independent raters were used. In this final study the inter-rater reliability was .75 for the number of arguments in a narrative and .71 for the level of dialectical thinking. When these raters disagreed by more than one point on either of the two rating scales the scenarios were reexamined to make sure no obvious error had occurred. When they disagreed by one point the average was taken of the two scores.

Procedure

The subjects were contacted during lectures which were part of the regular university programme. At the end of the lecture subjects were asked to take a questionnaire regarding student attitudes and beliefs and return it completed to the psychology department in their college through the internal mail system. The researchers also returned to the lecture the following week to accept any returns by hand. When making the appeal to take the questionnaires only students who were in their first or fourth year at college were asked to respond (i.e. students repeating a year or taking the course as a visiting student were asked not to respond). Furthermore only those aged between 17 and 23 were asked. This was done to reduce the confounding of age and years of education as much as possible - essentially the aim was to select two groups of people who were as homogeneous as possible except in differing number of years in education. It was hoped that this procedure would have the further benefit of making the subjects who fit the age

and year in college conditions feel specially selected. Dillman (1978) suggests that any procedure which makes the respondent feel that they have been selected rather than simply found at random will increase the response rate. Whether this effect actually worked is difficult to establish but the students generally seemed very willing to take the questionnaires.

RESULTS

In order to support the hypothesis that education leads to higher levels of dialectical thinking which in turn leads to lower levels of prejudice requires that the following relationships be found to be significant :

1. Subjects who are in their first year of college should display more social distance to minorities than subjects in their fourth year,

2. Students in their fourth year in college should display higher levels of dialectical thinking than subjects in their first year,

3. Dialectical thinking should be related to reduced social distance towards minority groups.

Each of these relationships will be analysed in sequence beginning with the differences in social distance among educational groups.

Social Distance

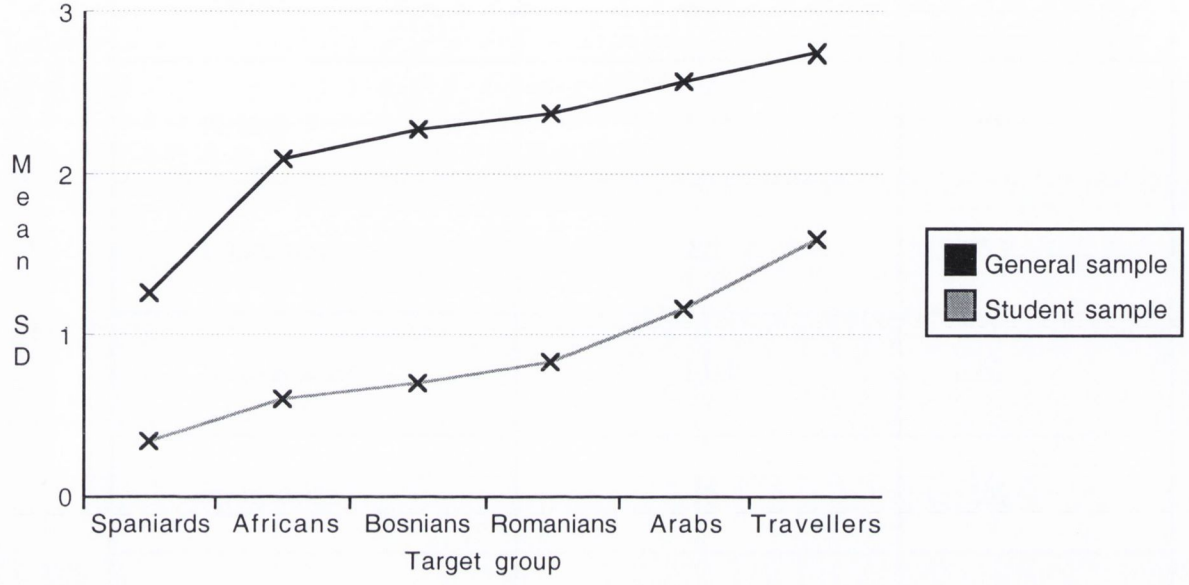
As can be seen from Table 44 the social distance scores for the six target groups are far less extreme than they were in the survey of the general population reported in chapter 3.

Table 44 - Social distance on the six point scale for the six target groups

Spaniards	.36
Africans	.60
Bosnians	.70
Romanians	.84
Arabs	1.16
Travellers	1.60

However as can be seen from Figure 32 when the results for the two samples are compared the same groups were chosen as most and least distant.

Figure 32 - Comparsion of social distance in student and general samples



As can be seen from Table 45 there was a consistent trend for people in their fourth year to score less distance for all groups than subjects in their first year. A Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs signed ranks test was used to determine significance. What this test calculates is the likelihood of simultaneously observing the changes which occurred within each of the six social distance scales used - essentially the different target groups act as the matched subjects would in a normal matched design procedure. The test showed that the trend for social distance to decrease between the two educational groups was significant ($z = -2.2$, $p = .014$)[2].

[2] The full results of this and all statistical tests used in this chapter are presented in Appendix 8.

Table 45 - Differences in social distance between first and fourth year respondents

	First Year	Fourth Year
Africans	.85	.32
Arabs	1.41	.88
Bosnians	.85	.53
Romanians	1.03	.62
Spaniards	.46	.24
Travellers	1.85	1.32

The first part of the hypothesis was supported : social distance does decrease with number of years in college. To determine if dialectical thinking plays a role in this effect the results for the neutral scenarios will be examined first.

Neutral Dialectical thinking

The first rating which subjects had to make of the two neutral scenarios was on the three attribution scales : dispositional, situational and bi-causal. These scores were added together to examine if different groups of students made different use of dispositional, situational and bi-causal attributions when reasoning about neutral everyday situations. As can be seen from Table 46 on overall use of the three kinds of attributions for the two scenarios there appears to be little difference between first and fourth year students. When these average differences are examined by t-test none were found to be significant.

Table 46 - Average use of different kinds of attribution by first and fourth year students when reasoning about neutral scenarios

	First Year	Fourth Year
Dispositional attributions	2.55*	2.45
Situational attributions	2.73	2.71
Bi-causal attributions	3.55	3.30

[* A lower score indicates greater use of that form of attribution]

Each subject also wrote a narrative account of how they understood the causes of the incident. These narratives were given two ratings : number of arguments present and level of dialectical thinking. These scores were added for the two neutral scenarios to give an average number of arguments score and an average dialectical thinking score. As can be seen from Table 47 there appear to be differences in these scores for those in first and fourth year in college with the second group using more arguments and more dialectical thinking. The difference in the level of dialectical thinking was significant on a Mann-Whitney test ($U = 425.0$, $p = .045$). The difference in number of arguments used was not significant on the same test.

Table 47 - Mean difference in number of arguments made and dialectical thinking in neutral scenarios between first and fourth year students

	No. of Arguments	Dialectical thinking
First Year	1.70	.79
Fourth year	1.90	.97

Thus the second part of the hypothesis is supported : those with more education do use more dialectical thinking in considering information about neutral scenarios. However these differences in cognitive processes do not relate to differences in social distance to minorities. As can be seen from Table 48 both the number of arguments and the dialectical thinking scores for the neutral scenarios are poorly correlated with social distance to all of the minority groups. Although it is notable that all of the relationships except one are in the same direction (indicating that more sophistication is associated with less distance) none of the reported correlations are significant.

Table 48 - Spearman correlations for number of arguments used / dialectical thinking and social distance to all minority groups

	No. of Arguments	Dialectical thinking
Africans	.10	.01
Arabs	.12	.03
Romanians	.19	.08
Bosnians	.02	.07
Spaniards	.05	.01
Travellers	.13	-.00

[None of these correlations are significant at the 5% level]

The conclusion regarding the role of neutral dialectical thinking in education would seem to be that education does improve a person's ability to reason dialectically but it is not this which leads to the reduction in prejudice associated with higher education.

Dialectical thinking about scenarios involving refugees

As can be seen from Table 49 there was little evidence that first and fourth year students made different kinds of attributions about scenarios involving refugees. When these average differences are examined by t-test none were found to be significant. However it can also be seen from Table 49 that in general subjects made use of more dispositional attributions in explaining the outcome of scenarios involving refugees than with more neutral scenarios.

Table 49 - Average use of different kinds of attribution by first and fourth year students when reasoning about scenarios involving refugees

	First Year	Fourth Year
Dispositional attributions	2.39*	2.43
Situational attributions	3.37	3.34
Bi-causal attributions	2.71	2.83

[* A lower score indicates greater use of that form of attribution]

As can be seen from Table 50 there does not appear to be any difference in the number of arguments present and level of dialectical thinking for the scenarios involving refugees for those in first and fourth year in college. Neither of the differences were significant in t-test. It is also noticeable that both of these scores are lower than in relation to the neutral scenarios.

Table 50 - Mean difference in number of arguments made and dialectical thinking in scenarios involving refugees between first and fourth year students

	No. of Arguments	Dialectical thinking
First Year	1.63	.654
Fourth year	1.59	.608

The hypothesis that education leads to greater use of dialectical thinking in considering information about refugees is not supported. However as can be seen from Table 51 where dialectical thinking is present it does correlate with distance to Bosnians and the number of arguments made correlates with distance to the two refugee groups, Bosnians and Romanians. Furthermore, it can be seen that the direction of all the correlations is the same with more dialectical thinking and number of arguments predicting less social distance.

Table 51 - Spearman correlations for number of arguments used / dialectical thinking and social distance to all minority groups

	No. of Arguments	Dialectical thinking
Africans	.18	.12
Arabs	.23	.15
Romanians	.29*	.21
Bosnians	.32*	.32*
Spaniards	.23	.23
Travellers	.12	.08

[* Significant at $p < .05$]

Dialectical thinking about information regarding refugees does not appear to mediate the effect of education on social distance. It is not related to education. However where dialectical thinking about scenarios regarding refugees does exist it does predict less social distance to refugee groups. It also seems to be very specific, only relating to refugee and not other minority groups.

DISCUSSION OF EDUCATION STUDY

In accordance with the results of the main survey there appears to be a consistent trend for social distance in this sample to decrease with years in education. In yet another test education was found to be an important influence on prejudice towards minorities (Stouffer, 1955; Davis, 1975, Lawrence, 1976; Nunn, Crocket and Williams, 1978). This is especially striking in the present case where a relatively homogeneous group of people who differ only in a small number of years in education display such reliable differences. However explaining the nature of the impact which education has on tolerance is still problematic.

This study looked at a cognitive sophistication variable and found it to be a poor candidate for the mediating link between education and prejudice. It was found that the ability to reason dialectically about neutral issues such as accidents does improve with years in education suggesting that education does in fact improve the ability to reason in the abstract. However this ability is not related to orientation towards minority groups. Hence in this case although education does appear to lead to greater cognitive sophistication it is not this which leads to the reduction in prejudice associated with education. The ability to reason dialectically about scenarios involving refugees is not related to number of years in college. This supports Georgoudi's original hypothesis that the ability to reason dialectically can develop in one domain of events but not in another. However the ability to reason dialectically about refugee scenarios is related to reduced social distance toward the two refugee groups, Bosnians and Romanians. So it appears that thinking more deeply about information regarding refugees does lead to increased tolerance for those groups but this is not what mediates the effect of education. In fact the highly educated subjects generally seem more capable of reasoning dialectically about neutral information than about information regarding refugees.

Although this is not a full test of the hypothesis that the effect of education on tolerance is due to increased cognitive ability the case for education as cognitive sophistication appears dim. In the present study education is having a positive effect on the outcome social distance variable but the cognitive abilities which are associated with increased education do not predict this social distance and the cognitive abilities which do predict social distance are not related to education. If the argument that education does not lead to a form of cognitive sophistication which leads to reduced prejudice is accepted at face value how is the effect of education on tolerance to be understood? Two alternatives present themselves. Jackman and Muha (1984, p.751) argue that the effect of education on tolerance is a superficial one and that "the well educated are but one step ahead of their peers in developing a defence of their interests that rests on qualification, individualism, obfuscation and symbolic concessions". Similarly Sidanius et al. (1996) found that the link between conservatism and racism is stronger among the more highly educated, a finding they explain by arguing that more cognitively sophisticated members of a majority group will possess a more valid and comprehensive understanding of these two ideological instruments for legitimising group claims and a stronger grasp of the implications for relative intergroup positions within the hierarchical social system. The finding in the present study that education does improve the ability to reason about neutral scenarios but not the ability to reason about scenarios involving refugees and further that only the second of these cognitive abilities is related to reduced prejudice seems to support the position that the effect of education on liberal values is a superficial one which serves an in-group bias. What does improve with education is the kind of abstract cognitive ability which both Jackman and Muha (1984) and Sidanius et al. (1996) argue allows the educated person to manipulate ideological constructs in such a way as to present a non-prejudiced surface while advocating majority group interests.

However there is an alternative way of interpreting the results of the present

study. If the actual situation studied is considered the argument that education serves dominant group interests may seem a little cynical if not unparsimonious. The present study found that between first and fourth year in university students display less social distance toward minority groups. The dominant group perspective would argue that what these students have learned in relation to minority groups is to be more sophisticated defenders of their own group's privileged position. In order to achieve this end they have learned to superficially appear to be less prejudiced. Without any direct measurement of the presumed intervening variables this seems to be quite a complicated position to put forward. Arguing that when students enter college they become part of a dominant group which needs to defend its own privileged position may be unrealistic as most students are not yet part of a dominant social group. Arguing that the change in attitude towards minorities observed through the college years is a form of preparation for becoming a dominant group member seems a little laboured in the absence of any measure of intervening variables. The argument that education leads to more sophisticated defence of dominant group interests may be more effective in accounting for a change in attitude toward minorities that might occur after a person leaves college and enters a professional position in which they are sharing in the wealth obtained through the dominant group's position of superiority.

An alternative position on the education tolerance link argues that the key mediating variable is normative influence. Jacob's (1957) argument that this form of influence is also quite superficial perhaps reflects a tendency in Western culture to deride conformist behaviour. However conformity is an important influence on behaviour and one which need not be superficial. Under certain conditions conformity may lead to internalisation of normative values. This is especially true with conformity based on informational influence - where the person is dependent on the source of influence for information in an ambiguous situation (Deutsch and Gerard, 1955). In the case of attitudes to minorities both normative (motivated

simply by a desire to fit in) and informational conformity probably occur simultaneously. A person will probably wish to hold the same orientation toward out-groups as their peers simply to avoid appearing deviant. In addition however often the person will have little direct contact with the minority groups in question and hence is also dependent on the in-group for information about the minority groups. This form of influence is particularly powerful in producing lasting change in attitudes toward the normative position. Studies by Newcomb (1943; Newcomb et al., 1967) suggest that the effects of education on liberal attitudes may endure over a long period of time and that the effect may be due to normative influence. He found that women attending Bennington college consistently became more liberal with number of years on campus. Although he recognised that initially students might be adopting liberal values because they had prestige value in the college Newcomb argued that as time passed the value change became internalised. A key difference between internalised value change and value change which is simply an attempt to fit-in (as Jacob had suggested the influence of education on tolerance was) is that when values are internalised they will persist even when the original source of influence is no longer present. Newcomb et al. (1967) found evidence to support the view that education does produce internalised value change. They followed up the subjects in Newcomb's original study of Bennington college and found that the value change which the students had undergone had persisted 25 years after they had left the college. Not only were these subjects more liberal in outlook, 60% of them reported being politically active (mostly in the Democratic party, bearing in mind that most of them came from conservative backgrounds). Furthermore they found evidence to suggest that the continued change in attitude was due in large part to the fact that after they left college these people selected new reference groups which shared their values. Those women who did not persist in the liberal values they had adopted in college were those who had married more conservative men, again highlighting the importance of normative social influence. As well as making a person more liberal, in a society in which the dominant

ideology is racist normative influence can also potentially make a person more prejudiced e.g. Pre-reform South Africa (Duckitt, 1994).

Hogg and Abrams (1988) have argued that the conformity process may be conceptualised in terms of a development of social identity theory, self categorisation theory. Essentially this position maintains that conformity effects occur because a person identifies themselves with the in-group which is the source of normative influence. They cite studies by Abrams et al. (1986, reported in Hogg and Abrams, 1988, p.176ff) which show that subjects in a conformity situation such as that used by Asch (1952) who were explicitly identified as in-group members were more likely to conform than when the confederates were explicitly identified as out-group members. Incorporating this perspective on conformity into the argument just made that the effect of education on tolerance may be produced by normative influence it can be argued that education causes people to be less prejudiced because they begin to identify themselves with a group which holds more liberal attitudes toward minority groups. This again high-lights the importance of in-group identification in determining how a person feels towards out-groups that was found in the main survey research. In support of this position it is worth noting that the experimental situation was one which emphasises the subject's identity as a student which according to social identity theory should lead to cuing of beliefs associated with that group membership. Presumably this effect is stronger for the fourth year students who are more firmly self-categorised as students.

How can the argument that education leads a person to adopt the normative liberal values of their educational environment be reconciled with the finding that more educated people do not analyse information regarding minorities any deeper than the less educated? In the previous chapter it was argued that people become more prejudiced when they identify with an in-group which represents an out-

group as behaving in illegitimate ways. Such prejudice it was argued is maintained by a set of social representations which characterise the out-group as engaging in particular behaviours and being motivated by generally unpraiseworthy motives. For the individual what is the advantage of adopting such representations? Firstly there is the advantage of reaffirming their identification with an in-group. Secondly social representations serve as a heuristic device for interpreting and making sense of the social world. Part of this function is to allow the person to interpret new information by means of an existing theory of knowledge rather than interpreting it systematically and 'objectively'. Much social representations research had focused on exploring the ways in which popular notions about scientific theories differ from the actual theory from which they derive. This suggests that social representations allow people to process information and represent ideas in a cognitively economical way. If this is the case then the difference between educated and less educated people may be the more liberal representations they hold about minority groups as a result of their identification with the higher educational group. However holding more positive representations about minorities does not necessarily mean that the person will process new information about those groups in any more depth. In fact one of the purposes of adopting the representations in the first place is to avoid the expenditure of such effort.

However although interpreting the effect of education on tolerance as being due to normative social influence fits most germanely with the other arguments made in this research, principally with the argument that prejudice results from adopting the orientation of the in-group toward the out-group, the results of this analysis of the effects of education are inconclusive. The argument that education produces a form of cognitive liberation from prejudice has not been supported. It is possible that the effect of education on tolerance is due to a superficial attitude change as part of a sophisticated form of defence of dominant group interests or that it reflects a more genuine change of attitude as a result of changing normative reference group.

Chapter 6

Evaluation of Research

An effective way to evaluate the usefulness of a piece of research is to consider the implications it has for further research and practical application. Both of these issues will be considered in relation to the present research after a brief summary of the conclusions that were reached.

Conclusions

Conclusions drawn from the present research may be considered in two classes : those regarding prejudice in Dublin and those regarding social psychological models of prejudice in general.

Prejudice in Dublin

The most striking feature of Dubliner's prejudice towards minorities that emerges from the present research is its intensity. The social distance scale used was administered in such a way that people had to actively indicate their hostility. Put simply, if a subject left the social distance section blank they were scored as indicating no distance between themselves and minority groups whereas they had to actually respond in order to indicate the groups they felt distance towards. Given this, and the fact that minority prejudice questionnaires administered to the general public in the name of a prestigious university are likely to get a certain amount of 'politically correct' responding, it appears that the levels of prejudice in the Dublin population were underestimated if anything. It may be objected that the sample were over-representative of lower income less educated groups. Although this is the case and probably did elevate the levels of distance observed it is these groups which most minority groups will have principal contact with.

Of particular interest are the results for newly arrived refugees. There has as yet been little research on the reaction of the local population to these groups. From the responses regarding widespread beliefs and from the social distance scales it

would appear that the general population are quite hostile to newly arrived refugees. Furthermore they believe that there are large numbers of refugees arriving here and that many of them are coming here for the sole purpose of exploiting the social welfare system. It appears that Dubliners are making little discrimination between different refugee groups. There seems to be little distinction made between political refugees who came to Ireland as part of a state sponsored program and refugees who have come to Ireland without such government backing. Although there have been only a few reports of serious hostility towards foreign nationals living in Ireland it would seem that under the right conditions serious ethnic tension could develop. The recent increase in the number of people seeking refugee status in Ireland has coincided with a period of economic boom. The present research suggests that prejudice towards arriving refugees is maintained by common beliefs that such refugees are bogus, taking advantage of a liberal social welfare system meant for Irish nationals. If this is the case then is likely that such beliefs will become ever more relevant and consequent prejudice ever more widespread and hostile if the present economic development should falter.

Social psychological models of prejudice

Social identification and by implication its corollary social categorisation were found to be key concepts in predicting intergroup prejudice. This concurs with much previous field and laboratory research. Social identity theory has long stressed the importance of mere group membership in producing biased intergroup behaviour. However the most dramatic finding to emerge from the present research was the failure of social comparison measures to predict prejudice as effectively as measures based on perceptions of out-group behaviour. Both relative deprivation and social identity theory predicted that comparisons made between a person's in-group and out-group would be important in predicting intergroup hostility. Both it appears were wrong. Instead it seems that a person's perception of the legitimacy of the out-group's behaviour is more important in predicting prejudice than any comparisons

made with the in-group. Further it appeared that such perceptions were determined by beliefs the person adopted as a result of identifying with an in-group. This yielded a compact form of measurement based on two questions which far outperformed more complex measures based on social comparison in this and a range of other studies for which comparable statistics are available. At the very least it has been shown that measures of social comparisons which simply rely on 'cold' perception on difference on valued dimensions will not predict intergroup hostility as well as measures which considered evaluative dimensions. The most important evaluative dimension looked at in this study was that of justice. This it seems is a very important dimension on which people judge the behaviour of out-groups.

Another conclusion to be drawn from the present research is that social representations are important in maintaining prejudice and offer a useful way of enriching social psychological research. When the conclusion had been reached that the perception of the illegitimacy of out-group income was a key predictor of prejudice such an approach allowed the kinds of beliefs which underlay this perception to be examined in more detail. On a theoretical level social representations theory provides the link between the individual and the uniform social movements of which they are a part.

Finally a reliable effect of education on tolerance for minorities was found and attempts were made to explore the nature of the relationship. It was found that the effect does not appear to be mediated by increased cognitive sophistication. An alternative explanation which accords well with the model of prejudice outlined in this thesis is that education leads people to identify with liberal in-groups which espouse tolerance towards minorities. This hypothesis although not categorically proven by the present research does provide an approach to the problem which is empirically testable.

Further research

It has argued on the basis of the present research that a possible mechanism for the development of prejudice is the identification with in-groups which hold prejudiced beliefs about minorities. At times it has been necessary to go beyond the evidence found in this particular study to argue the case for this approach and it could not be claimed that the research has conclusively shown that such an approach performs better than an approach based on traditional social identity theory. What the research had yielded however is a model of prejudice which can be empirically tested. What approaches to research might best be followed to test this model?

By the far the most controversial claim made in this thesis is that the last stages of Tajfel's social identity theory, which he claims are made up of a process of social comparison followed by an evaluation of the legitimacy and stability of the comparison, can be reconceptualised as a stage of adoption of in-group beliefs regarding the out-group. When these beliefs involve representations of the out-group as behaving in illegitimate ways prejudice towards that group will result. The present research contains only one study supporting this model. The social identity model is widely accepted and has been widely tested. How might the difference be explained and how can it be tested further? A notable feature of social identity theory is that much of the evidence supporting it has come from laboratory situations. A problem with generalising from laboratory scenarios involving two artificially created groups is that in such situations social comparisons process might be part of the demand characteristics of the situation. In such simple two group situations comparisons between the two groups may be inevitable and hence social comparisons is a powerful predictor of intergroup bias and hostility whereas in real world situations which involve many different groups and multiple identifications for any particular individual social comparisons may not be as obvious or as frequently made. Evidence which suggests that in real life spontaneous comparisons between groups are rare supports this argument (Runciman, 1966; Brown and

Williams, 1984; Watts, 1989). In order to account for such findings Hinkle and Brown (1990) propose that social comparison will only be effective in predicting intergroup hostility in situations in which a comparative ideology exists. The crucial test then for the model of prejudice proposed in this thesis then would be if measures based on an evaluation of the legitimacy of out-group behaviour could out-perform measures based on social comparison in a situation in which such a comparative ideology exists. This might mean for example showing that Catholics in Northern Ireland who perceive the behaviour of Unionists to be illegitimate will be more hostile to them than Catholics who perceive a large discrepancy between the positions of the two groups on valued dimensions.

A further issue which arises regards parts of the model of prejudice developed in this thesis which relate to social judgment. This is the dimensions on which judgments are made. In the present study only judgments of the legitimacy of out-group income were considered. This was simply for reasons to do with the conditions under which the research was carried out - the key target group, refugee, was one which had been regularly represented as gaining undeserved income in the Irish media. In another situation judgements regarding undue influence at a legal or political level, involvement in criminal activity or more generally undeserved social status may be relevant. Research in other situations may reveal if some dimensions are more potent sources of hostility or predict different forms of prejudice (e.g. aversive, symbolic or traditional).

The research conducted in this thesis has not found either egoistic or fraternalistic forms of relative deprivation to be particularly effective models of racial prejudice. Where it does predict successfully, egoistic measures are better predictors than fraternalistic ones. This disagrees with much previous research. However it is quite possible that fraternal relative deprivation will be an effective predictor of more left-wing forms of intergroup behaviour. It is possible that such

cognitive processes are more relevant in predicting militant forms of behaviour such as participation in civil protest against racial discrimination. This would be supported by the fact that such behaviours are less frequent than prejudice and may require a more sophisticated representation of the state of intergroup relations.

Aside from the issue of social comparison questions also arise regarding the meaning of social identification. Further research is needed to determine the exact meaning associated with the label 'White' in an Irish context. How does it relate to more complex attitude structures such as Right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988) and voting behaviour? It has been proposed in the present research that white identification leads a person to adopt prejudiced in-group beliefs. Some of those beliefs were examined. However quite interestingly it was found that holding negative beliefs about refugees predicted social distance to other non-refugee groups such as Travellers and Arabs. It was proposed that the reason for this may be that some people adopt a network of beliefs which can be applied to many out-groups. In this case the beliefs focus on misuse of the social welfare. Further research is needed to determine how such general representation mechanisms might operate and how they relate to social identification processes.

Finally there is the issue of how education relates to less observed hostility on scales of racial prejudice. The present research suggests that the effect of education on tolerance is not mediated by cognitive sophistication. Two alternative hypotheses are considered : sophisticated defence of dominant group interests and normative influence. Of these the effect of normative influence is perhaps the easiest to test. Essentially what this would involve is showing that more education leads to greater identification with educated group labels and that identification with those labels is predictive of less prejudice.

Reducing prejudice

The methods of reducing prejudice which have been most widely discussed in social psychology are the contact hypothesis and its corollary super-ordinate goal formation, super-ordinate identification, education and propaganda. Many of these approaches have much in common - for example the assumption that prejudice is caused by ignorance about the out-group. How all of these approaches can be understood in relation to the conceptual approach to prejudice adopted in this thesis will be now be discussed.

The contact hypothesis, originally proposed by Gorden Allport (1954), argues that intergroup prejudice can be reduced by bringing members of conflicting groups together. Allport also proposed a list of conditions under which such contact will be effective in reducing prejudice. That such conditions are necessary was borne out by Sherif's (1966) 'Robber Cave' experiments. In these experiments intergroup conflict developed when zero-sum reward structures were introduced between two groups of boys at a summer camp. In one version of the study the experimenters tried to reduce the tension between the two groups by bringing them together for social events such as a fireworks display and a feast. These events however only served as occasions for the two groups to further attack each other. Hence it appears that simple contact is not enough to reduce prejudice. The conditions which Allport proposed for contact to be effective in reducing prejudice were as follows : the contact should be prolonged and cooperative, should be officially and institutionally supported, should be between people of equal status.

That contact which is cooperative may be effective in reducing prejudice is also supported by interventions used in the Sherif (1966; Sherif et al., 1961) summer camp studies. When situations of mutual interdependence were introduced between the two groups of boys intergroup conflict was reduced. The most well known of these interventions involved having the camp truck breakdown while both groups

were far away from camp. In order in get the truck working again both groups had to work together. Incidents such as this and other similar situations (for example a damaged water supply which could only be fixed by the two groups working together) which involved the two groups achieving a common goal through cooperation appeared to reduce prejudice between the two groups. This has formed the basis of super-ordinate goal approaches to reducing prejudice. One of the most practical developments which arose out of this approach was the jig-saw classroom (Aronson et al., 1978; Aronson and Thibodeau, 1992). This was originally developed in response to the problems which developed in the schools of Austin Texas after desegregation was introduced. Effectively what the jig-saw classroom involved was placing students of different racial backgrounds in pursuit of common goals which could only be realised if all worked together. Unlike the traditional approach to education which places students in competition the aim of the jig-saw programme is to induce interdependence. Not only was this programme effective in reducing prejudice the students taking part actually did better on objective tests and had higher self-esteem on average. Other similar techniques have proved very successful in educational settings (e.g. Cook, 1985; Johnson and Johnson, 1987; Sharan, 1980). However it is clear that such approaches require a very high degree of control such as exists in a classroom setting. Such control is rarely present in many real life situations. On a practical level it is quite difficult to involve adults in such intergroup cooperation situations who are not already quite positive in their attitude toward minorities. This problem becomes even more serious when evidence is reviewed which suggests that the success of joint group endeavours is very important in determining the effect that common group goals have on intergroup hostility (e.g. Blanchard et al., 1975). It is not enough that the two groups simply pursue a common goal, they must do so successfully. Such conditions are much easier to guarantee in the classroom or summer camp than in situations involving adults. The super-ordinate goal approach is perhaps quite useful in situations such as those in which it was originally used - when institutional forces

have compelled people of different social groups to join in some common endeavours which are likely to be successful if cooperation occurs. However it must be recognised that in dealing with the prejudice of adults in most Western democracies it is of limited use. Implementing such an approach involves huge resources and will probably not succeed in reaching those who are initially quite prejudiced as they will avoid situations which bring them into dependent contact with minority groups. Another serious problem with contact approaches is that of generalisation (Hewstone and Brown, 1986). It has often been found that when contact has been successful in reducing prejudice in a particular situation that the effect does not generalise to other situations or members of the target group who were not part of the contact situation. For example, Harding and Hogrefe (1952) found that white shop workers developed more positive attitudes towards working with black employees after contact but that these effects did not generalise to other social situations such as eating or socialising. Similarly Minard (1952) observed that black and white miners in West Virginia were completely integrated when they were working underground but observed complete segregation when above ground. Cook (1978) found that contact in cooperative encounters frequently did produce more positive attitudes to the contact participants but little change to attitudes toward the minority group as a whole. Various suggestions have been made about how to reduce the effect of generalisation (e.g. Wilder, 1984; Miller et al., 1985). For the moment however it is sufficient it to note that contact may under certain circumstances reduce prejudice but there are high costs involved and serious risks of failure.

Another approach to understanding the way in which contact works is super-ordinate group identification. Gaertner et al. (1993) describe this as the common in-group identity approach. Essentially the argument is that contact, including situations which involve intergroup cooperation and mutual dependence, has a positive effect to the extent that it succeeds in creating a new in-group. In a situation

with two competing groups, factors which aid in the formation of a cognitive representation of one larger group will reduce intergroup prejudice (Gaertner et al., 1990). Such an approach to reducing prejudice accords very well with social identity theory which has consistently argued that social groups are an almost inevitable feature of social life. In accordance with this the super-ordinate identity approach suggests that prejudice may be reduced not by the eradication of group boundaries but by the creation of new groups. Hence the importance of group processes is not denied but taken advantage of. In support of the super-ordinate identity approach the present survey found that strong identification with the presumably exclusive in-group 'white' was associated with greater hostility towards minorities. However it was also found that greater tolerance was not associated with identification with more inclusive labels such as 'European'.

The theoretical model of prejudice which has been developed in this thesis gives an interesting twist to the super-ordinate identity approach to reducing prejudice. What the model developed here suggests is that prejudice results when people identify with groups which hold beliefs about minority out-groups which represent them as gaining income or other resources in a way that is illegitimate. If this is the case then not only does it suggest that prejudice can be reduced by identifying with a larger group which includes both in-group and out-group, it can also be reduced by identifying or emphasising identities which are associated with tolerant beliefs about minority out-groups. For example, although the present research failed to prove it categorically it has been argued that the effect of education may work in this way : people identifying with more liberal groups develop less prejudiced beliefs as a result of adopting new in-group beliefs about the minority out-group. Whether an effective approach can be developed which is based on the premises that prejudice can be reduced by teaching people to identify with groups which do not hold prejudiced beliefs about minorities remains to be seen. Such an approach however would seem to have the same advantage which

super-ordinate identity approaches enjoy in that it recognises the importance of group processes in social life and seeks to take advantage of them. Furthermore, it proposes conditions which must inevitably be less difficult to realise than those proposed for super-ordinate goal strategies to work - it is proposed that any strategy designed to encourage and reward a person for identifying with a group which holds non-prejudiced attitudes towards minorities will be effective in reducing prejudice. Obviously any super-ordinate group will be such a group which does not hold prejudiced beliefs but the argument is that in order to reduce prejudice it is not necessary that the group identified with also include members of the out-group.

It may be possible to use such an approach to avoid a danger particularly associated with super-ordinate identity approaches : if the introduction of the super-ordinate identity is perceived as a threat to the person's core identity structures it may be resisted (Hewstone and Brown, 1986). If people believe that attempts are being made to erode their group distinctiveness they will react with hostility. It should be easier to validate group distinctiveness in a situation which attempts to induce a person to identify with a group which is tolerant of diversity than in a situation in which they are asked to identify with a super-ordinate group which includes a minority out-group obviously quite different from their own. Another advantage of attempting to reduce prejudice by means of inducing a person to identify with groups which are unprejudiced is that it can be used in the absence of contact. This may be particular useful when prejudice is strong and hence direct approaches at contact may be avoided. In such situations it may be desirable to try to reduce prejudice before contact is even proposed. Contact may come afterwards. The validity of such an approach is further supported by the fact that research has found that super-ordinate identity approaches based on contact have been effective in reducing aversive racism (Gaertner et al., 1993). This means that super-ordinate identity approaches to contact may be particularly useful in reducing the kinds of prejudice which people are even unaware they have. However there may be

enormous difficulty in using such approaches with people who are overtly prejudiced as they will probably simply avoid contact and attempts to induce super-ordinate identities which seek to identify them with a disliked group. Trying to induce people to identify with groups which are not prejudiced may be a less direct way of approaching someone in this frame of mind. At best such an approach may only be an effective way to convert someone from a traditional racist to an aversive or symbolic racist in that the person may adopt more liberal beliefs regarding the out-group yet still feel some residual emotion of hostility or mistrust towards minorities. At this stage approaches such as super-ordinate goal and identity formation may be useful.

Education as a tool in reducing prejudice has often been seen as a way of reducing ignorance about minorities. In a similar vein it has been argued that education produces greater cognitive sophistication which in turn leads to greater ability to process information regarding minorities and ability to apply democratic norms. The present research found little evidence of greater cognitive sophistication as a mediating link between education and prejudice. The model proposed here would suggest that the real value of education in reducing prejudice may be to teach people to identify with liberal non-prejudiced reference groups. Essentially it can be argued that the real effect of education on tolerance is not in terms of providing better quality information or more critical cognitive skills but in creating a psychological need to identify with a group who do not hold prejudiced beliefs. Should such an argument be found to be valid there are important implications for the understanding of education as a force for producing greater tolerance towards minorities. Information about minority groups should be part of any secondary educational programme which wishes to reduce prejudice yet it may not be the information itself which reduces prejudice but what the information reveals about the attitudes of the in-group towards minorities. At third level such direct attempts to provide information about minorities are perhaps not as practical. In this situation

and in the situation of society at large what is important is that the values of educated groups be consistently perceived to be anti-prejudice. In terms of inducing people to identify with in-groups which espouse non-prejudiced beliefs the highly educated (most likely in so far as they constitute 'informed opinion') are perhaps one of the most important reference groups.

Finally the role of propaganda in reducing prejudice may be considered. State backed attempts to reduce prejudice through advertising in the mass media are often referenced to some abstract value system such as Humanism. Such advertising may be effective provided the recipient identifies with the value system espoused. Propaganda may serve a number of other useful functions in reducing prejudice however. Firstly it can act as a corrective for prejudiced beliefs. For example in the situation of refugees arriving in Dublin it appears that many people (over 75%) are under the impression that Ireland is experiencing a flood of refugees. Such obviously inaccurate beliefs may be a feasible target for advertising aimed at reducing prejudice. Providing information which is obviously contradictory to a person beliefs about refugees might be particularly effective if it is strong enough to induce the person to think more deeply about information regarding minority groups. Although it was found that there was no relationship between education and thinking with greater sophistication about minorities there was evidence that people who processed information about refugees in more sophisticated ways did show less social distance to Romanians and Bosnians. Hence advertising which can induce people into thinking in more complex ways about situations involving refugees may be effective in reducing prejudice towards those groups. At an even more profound level advertising can attempt to foster and create positive social identities which do not endorse hostile attitudes toward minorities. For example in the Dublin situation such an approach may be possible for the identity 'Irish'. Large numbers of the subjects did believe that Ireland is traditionally a welcoming culture and has a responsibility for refugees as so many Irish have had to emigrate. It may

be possible to use such beliefs to create a conception of Irish identity which is open, welcoming and tolerant of diversity. If the model of prejudice developed in this thesis is correct then such an approach could be very effective in reducing prejudice towards minorities if people can be rewarded sufficiently for identifying with such more tolerant identities. Such an approach may also be very effective in schools where clearly defined tolerant identities can be offered and rewarded when students adopt them.

However the main obstacle to attempts to reduce prejudice towards refugees in Ireland is the fact that many people appear to believe that most refugees coming to Ireland are not genuine political refugees and are only coming here to exploit the social welfare system. It appears from this research that such beliefs do in fact lead to prejudice. One of the major ways to reduce prejudice towards refugees coming to this country is to tackle such common representations. One of the major problems in doing this is that until quite recently it was illegal for any asylum seeker to work in this country until they had been granted refugee status. This could take more than three years. Recently some attempts have been made to improve this situation but they were not far reaching and can do little to reverse the negative impression which many Dubliners have of refugees as abusers of a social welfare system they were forced to rely on. In such a situation anti-racist propaganda should try to make people aware of the fundamental attribution error they are making in adopting such beliefs.

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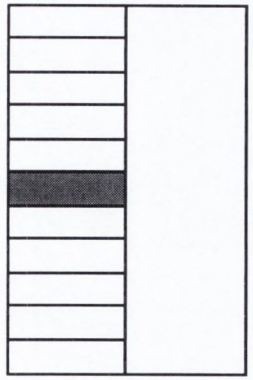
APPENDICES

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Appendix 1

Pilot questionnaire

This questionnaire was originally printed on both sides of three A4 pages and folded over so that it formed a small booklet.



Dublin Social Opinions and Identities Survey

This questionnaire takes ten minutes to complete. Your assistance is greatly appreciated. Any information you provide is completely confidential and anonymous. We wish to know what you think - there are no right or wrong answers. Your answers will be analysed along with many others and no record is kept of individual respondents names and addresses.

This questionnaire is designed to allow people of different opinions express how they feel about various social groups. As a result you may find material in the questionnaire with which you don't agree. Please don't take offence to such material but recognise that the questionnaire is constructed to accommodate views which may be very different from your own. There is room on the back page to comment
further on the material in the questionnaire.

Please be as truthful as possible and attempt to answer all questions. Please return the completed questionnaire in the envelope provided to :

Dublin Social Opinions and Identities Survey,
Aras an Phiarsaigh,
Trinity College,
Dublin 2.

Thank you very much

The Trinity Social Research Group

1. Please indicate how important you think each of the following labels is in describing how you think of and define yourself :

a) **EUROPEAN**

1	2	3	4	5
Very Important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

b) **CATHOLIC**

1	2	3	4	5
Very Important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

c) **MIDDLE CLASS**

1	2	3	4	5
Very Important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

d) **WHITE**

1	2	3	4	5
Very Important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

e) **IRISH**

1	2	3	4	5
Very Important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

f) **WORKING CLASS**

1	2	3	4	5
Very Important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

2. Could you please provide a small amount of information about yourself in this section (Remember all answers confidential and anonymous) :

a. **Sex** : [ ] Male [ ] Female

b. **Age** : [ ] 18-25 [ ] 26-35 [ ] 36-45
[ ] 45-55 [ ] 56-65 [ ] 65+

c. **Occupation** :

		Housewife	[ ]	Student	[ ]
White collar worker	[ ]	Professional	[ ]	Service	[ ]
Manual worker	[ ]	Self employed	[ ]	Unemployed	[ ]

d. At what age did you leave **school**? _____Years

e. Could you estimate roughly how much **income** comes into your household **per week** after tax deductions?

£20-50	[ ]	£50-100	[ ]	£100-150	[ ]
£150-200	[ ]	£200-250	[ ]	£250-300	[ ]
£300-350	[ ]	£350-400	[ ]	Over £400	[ ]

f. Please indicate which of the levels you have completed?

Primary school	[ ]	FAS / ANCO course	[ ]
Junior / Inter Cert	[ ]	Third level diploma	[ ]
Leaving Cert	[ ]	Third level degree	[ ]

g. Which of the following **newspapers** do you read regularly :

Sunday Independent	[ ]	Irish Times	[ ]	Sunday World	[ ]
Irish Independent	[ ]	Evening Herald	[ ]	The Mirror	[ ]
Socialist Worker	[ ]	An Phoblacht	[ ]	The Sun	[ ]
News of the World	[ ]	Sunday Times	[ ]	The Star	[ ]
Sunday Telegraph	[ ]	Sunday Tribune	[ ]		

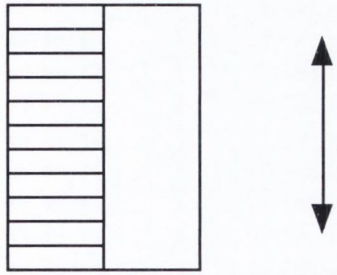
3. Please indicate which of the statements below you would agree with for each of the seven groups. The situations described in the statements at the top are hypothetical. e.g. statement 4 for Muslim asks if you would not object to working in the same place as a Muslim should the situation arise. Similarly if you believe that Romanians should only be allowed as visitors to Ireland then tick the box under 6 across from Romanian and so on for all groups across from 1 to 7. Note - a) Leave those boxes blank which you disagree with b) Statements 6 and 7 are both negative while the rest are positive.

	1 Would marry or welcome as a member of my family	2 Would have as a close friend	3 Would have as next door neighbour	4 Would work in the same work place	5 Would welcome as an Irish citizen	6 Would only allow as a visitor to Ireland	7 Would debar or deport from Ireland
Drug pusher							
Romanian							
Spaniard							
Bosnian							
Refugee							
Traveller							
Muslim							
Black							

4. The 'ladders' below represent the distribution of economic wealth (money and property) in Ireland. Indicate with a line on the ladder how well you think each group is doing relative to the richest and poorest people in Ireland.

a) The average income of the travelling community

WEALTHIEST (in Ireland)



POOREST (in Ireland)

1. Please indicate the extent to which you experience frustration with the average level (too high or too low) of traveller income.

1	2	3	4	5
Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither	Satisfied	Very satisfied

2. Do you think it is fair that the travelling community receives this level of income?

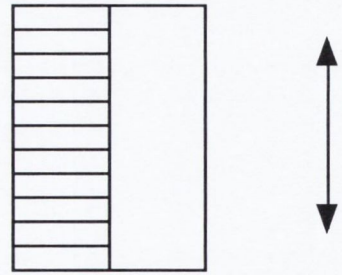
1	2	3	4	5
Very fair	Fair	Neither	Unfair	Very unfair

3. It is likely that the income level of the average traveller will change dramatically (better or worse) in near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Stay the same	Worse	Far worse

b) The income of the average refugee living in Ireland

WEALTHIEST (in Ireland)



POOREST (in Ireland)

1. Please indicate the extent to which you experience frustration with the level (too high or too low) of the average refugee's income.

1	2	3	4	5
Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither	Satisfied	Very satisfied

2. Do you think it is fair that the average refugee receives this level of income?

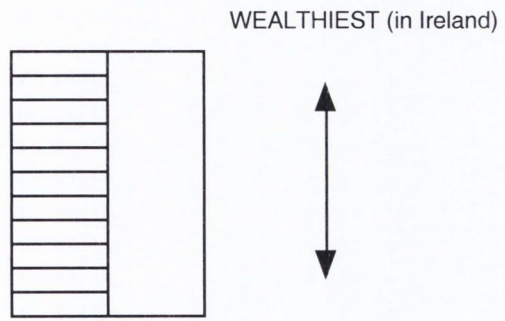
1	2	3	4	5
Very fair	Fair	Neither	Unfair	Very unfair

3. It is likely that the income level of the average refugee will change dramatically (better or worse) in the near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Stay the same	Worse	Far worse

b) The income of the average refugee living in Ireland

c) The average working class income in Dublin inner city areas



1. Please indicate the extent to which you experience frustration with the average level (too high or too low) of Dublin working class income.

1	2	3	4	5
Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither	Satisfied	Very satisfied

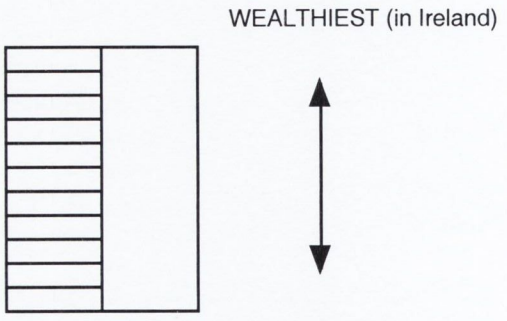
2. Do you think it is fair that the Dublin working class receives this level of income?

1	2	3	4	5
Very fair	Fair	Neither	Unfair	Very unfair

3. It is likely that the income level of the average member of the Dublin working class will change dramatically (better or worse) in near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Stay the same	Worse	Far worse

d) The income of your own household



1. Please indicate the extent to which you experience frustration at your families level of income.

1	2	3	4	5
Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither	Satisfied	Very satisfied

2. Do you think that it is fair that your family receives this level of income?

1	2	3	4	5
Very fair	Fair	Neither	Unfair	Very unfair

3) It is likely that the income level of your family will change dramatically (better or worse) in the near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Stay the same	Worse	Far worse

5. Which of the following statements would you consider to be true :

a) Many foreigners are coming to Ireland to exploit its social welfare system.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

b) Since Irish people have emigrated for so many years it is only right that we welcome other nationalities to Ireland.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

c) The majority of immigrants coming to this country are not genuine political refugees.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

d) Police are biased against travellers and refugees.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

e) Travellers commit far more crime than other groups of people in Irish society.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

f) The current methods of processing asylum seekers looking for refugee status in this country are unfair.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

g) Many refugees with money are begging in the streets of Dublin.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

h) Ireland is currently experiencing a flood of refugees.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

i) Ireland is traditionally a welcoming culture and should continue to be by welcoming foreigners seeking refuge here.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

j) Travellers are unhygienic and at high risk of sanitary diseases.

1	2	3	4	5
Very true	True	Don't know	False	Absolutely false

FURTHER COMMENTS

Appendix 2

Electoral districts surveyed

The following electoral districts were used in all of the surveys conducted on the Dublin general popluation reported in this thesis. They represent the major part of the Dublin inner city, with a slight emphasis on lower income areas.

Clontarf West D
Clontarf West E
Drumcondra South A
Drumcondra South B
Ballybough A
Ballybough B
North Dock A
North Dock B
North Dock C
Mouthjoy A
Mouthjoy B
Rotunda A
Rotunda B
North City
Innes Quay A
Innes Quay B
Innes Quay C
Arran Quay A
Arran Quay B
Arran Quay C
Arran Quay D
Arran Quay E
Usshers A
Usshers B
Usshers C
Usshers D
Usshers E
Usshers F
Merchant Quay A
Merchant Quay B
Merchant Quay C
Merchant Quay D
Merchant Quay E
Merchant Quay F
Wood Quay A
Wood Quay B
Royal Exchange A
Royal Exchange B
St. Kevins
Mansion House A
Mansion House B
South Dock
Pembroke East A
Pembroke East B
Pembroke East C
Pembroke East D
Pembroke East E
Pembroke West A
Pembroke West B
Pembroke West C

Appendix 3

Covering letter used with first pilot

Dublin Attitude Survey
TRINITY COLLEGE
DUBLIN 2, IRELAND

Dublin Attitude Survey
TRINITY COLLEGE

Tel. +353-1-608 1623
Tel. +353-1-608 1886 (Secretary)
Email moconnll@tcd.ie

Fax +353-1-671 2006
Telex 93782 TCD EI

9 th February 1998

Dear Mr. Smith,

We hope you will not mind us writing to you to ask you for your assistance with the Dublin Attitudes Survey. The survey is designed to find out what people think about various different social groups. All names where taken randomly from the electoral register. When your views are known, they can influence the opinions of politicians and other relevant parties.

We would like you to fill out the enclosed booklet and return it in the stamped addressed envelope provided. THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS SHORT AND EASY TO COMPLETE. We can guarantee that all information will be treated in the strictest confidence. We do not ask you to sign your name, or to identify yourself in any way on the form, and the information you provide will be used without reference to your name or address. The return envelope has an identification number for mailing purposes only. This is so that we can check your name off the mailing list when your questionnaire has been returned. Your name will never be connected to the returned questionnaire itself.

Thank you very much for your co-operation with the Dublin Attitudes Survey. It will help in developing a clearer understanding of how Dubliners feel about some important issues. Please find enclosed a Lotto scratch card as a small token of our appreciation (Good Luck!). If you want advice on filling out the form, you can ring the following number : (01) 608 1623.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Michael O'Connell,
Survey coordinator.

Philip Curry
Survey Administrator

Appendix 4

Final questionnaire used in survey

DUBLIN ATTITUDE SURVEY

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE TAKES TEN MINUTES TO COMPLETE.
ANY INFORMATION PROVIDED IS COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS AND CONFIDENTIAL.
WE WISH TO KNOW WHAT YOU THINK - THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.
PLEASE BE AS TRUTHFUL AS POSSIBLE AND ATTEMPT TO ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS.
THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS DESIGNED TO ALLOW PEOPLE OF VERY DIFFERENT OPINIONS EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS. PLEASE DON'T TAKE OFFENCE IF ANYTHING IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE CONFLICTS WITH YOUR OWN OPINIONS.

. Please indicate how important you think each of the following labels are in describing yourself:

) EUROPEAN

	2	3	4	5
ery important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

) CATHOLIC

	2	3	4	5
ery important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

) MIDDLE CLASS

	2	3	4	5
ery important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

) WHITE

	2	3	4	5
ery important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

) IRISH

	2	3	4	5
ery important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

WORKING CLASS

	2	3	4	5
ery important	Important	Neither	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

2. Which of the following statements would you agree with :

a) **Many foreigners are coming to Ireland to exploit its social welfare system.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

b) **Since Irish people have emigrated for so many years it is only right that we welcome other nationalities to Ireland.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

c) **The majority of immigrants coming to this country are genuine political refugees.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

d) **Ireland is currently experiencing a flood of refugees.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

e) **Travellers commit far more crime than other groups of people in Irish society.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

f) **The current methods of processing asylum seekers looking for refugee status in this country are unfair.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

g) **Many refugees with money are begging in the streets of Dublin.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

h) **Police are biased against travellers.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

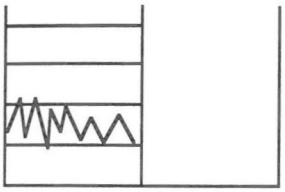
i) **Ireland is traditionally a welcoming culture and should continue to be by welcoming foreigners seeking refuge here.**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

j) **Travellers are unhygienic and at high risk of sanitary diseases.**

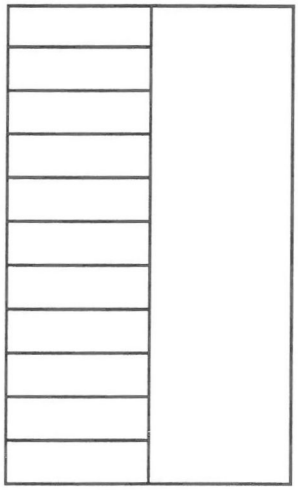
1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree

3. The ladders below represent the distribution of economic wealth (money and property) in Ireland. Indicate by shading a box how well YOU think each group is doing relative to the richest and poorest people in Ireland. So for example if you believe that some group is doing only slightly better than the very poorest people in the country you would respond by shading in a square close to the bottom such as -



a) The average income of the travelling community

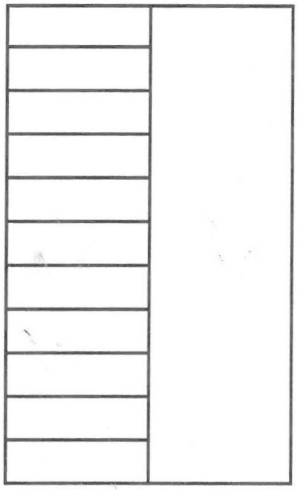
RICHEST



POOREST

b) The average working class income in Dublin inner city areas

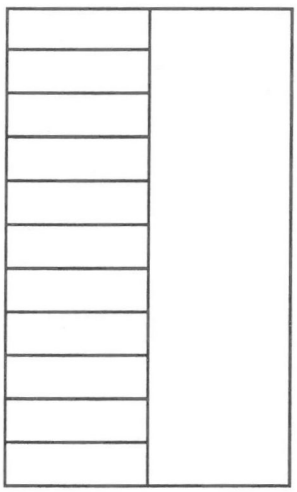
RICHEST



POOREST

c) The income of the average Romanian refugee living in Ireland

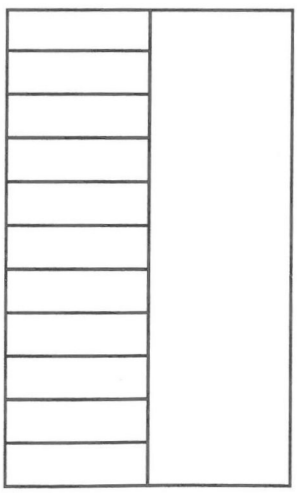
RICHEST



POOREST

d) The income of your own household

RICHEST



POOREST

TRAVELLERS

1. Do you believe the average Traveller income is more or less than is deserved?

1	2	3	4	5
Far more	More	Neither / Don't know	Less	Far less

2. It is likely that the average income level of the traveller will change dramatically (better or worse) in the near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Neither / Don't know	Worse	Far worse

ROMANIANS

1. Do you believe the average Romanian refugee's income is more or less than is deserved?

1	2	3	4	5
Far more	More	Neither / Don't know	Less	Far less

2. It is likely that the income level of the average Romanian refugee in this country will change dramatically (better or worse) in the near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Neither / Don't know	Worse	Far worse

WORKING CLASS DUBLIN

1. Do you believe the income of a typical Dublin Working class family is more or less than is deserved?

1	2	3	4	5
Far more	More	Neither / Don't know	Less	Far less

2. It is likely that the income level of the typical Dublin Working class family will change dramatically (better or worse) in the near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Neither / Don't know	Worse	Far worse

OWN HOUSEHOLD

1. Do you believe that your family's income is more or less than is deserved?

1	2	3	4	5
Far more	More	Neither / Don't know	Less	Far less

2. It is likely that the income level of your family will change dramatically (better or worse) in the near future.

1	2	3	4	5
Far better	Better	Neither / Don't know	Worse	Far worse

4. Below are 7 statements with which you are asked to agree or disagree for each of 6 different groups. Please indicate by ticking the box if you would agree with the statement applied to that group. e.g. If you would agree to have all of the groups as next door neighbours then you would tick all the boxes in statement c. If not, then leave those blank you don't want as neighbours etc. for all the statements.

Note that the statements are hypothetical, they ask how you would react should the situation arise - if for example a Romanian or a Spaniard wanted to move in next door to your house or marry into your family.

a) Would marry or welcome as a member of my family	**b) Would have as a close friend**
☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African	☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African
c) Would have as a next door neighbour	**d) Would work in the same workplace**
☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African	☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African
e) Would welcome as an Irish citizen	**f) Would ONLY allow as a visitor to Ireland**
☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African	☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African

g) Would deport or debar from Ireland
☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African

5. Could you please provide a small amount of information about yourself in this section (Remember all answers are confidential and anonymous).

a. **Sex** : [ ] MALE [ ] FEMALE

b. **Age** : [ ] 18-25 [ ] 26-35 [ ] 36-45
[ ] 45-55 [ ] 56-65 [ ] 65+

c. **Present occupation** :

[ ] Housewife	[ ] Manual worker	[ ] Retired
[ ] Professional	[ ] Student	[ ] White collar worker
[ ] Self employed	[ ] Unemployed	[ ] Service (shops etc.)

d. Could you estimate roughly how much income comes into your household **per week** after tax deductions?

[ ] £20 - 50	[ ] £51- 100	[ ] £101 - 150
[ ] £151 - 200	[ ] £201 - 250	[ ] £251 - 300
[ ] £301 - 350	[ ] £351 - 400	[ ] Over £400

e. Please indicate which of the following you have completed :

[ ] Primary school	[ ] FAS / ANCO course
[ ] Junior / Inter Cert	[ ] Third level diploma
[ ] Leaving Cert	[ ] Third level degree

f. Which of the following **newspapers do you read** regularly :

[ ] Sunday Independent	[ ] Irish Times	[ ] Sunday World
[ ] Irish Independent	[ ] Evening Herald	[ ] The Mirror
[ ] The Sun	[ ] Sunday Times	[ ] The Star

Other _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Any comments you would like to add about the topics raised in this questionnaire...

Appendix 5

Final covering letter used in survey

Dublin Attitude Survey
TRINITY COLLEGE
DUBLIN 2, IRELAND

Tel. +353-1-608 1623
Tel. +353-1-608 1886 (Secretary)
Email moconnll@tcd.ie

Fax +353-1-671 2006
Telex 93782 TCD EI

Appendix 6

25th June 1998

Dear Mr. Smith,

We hope you will not mind us writing to you to ask you for your assistance with the Dublin Attitudes Survey. The survey is designed to find out what people think about various different social groups. We would like you to fill out the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the stamped addressed envelope provided. THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS SHORT AND EASY TO COMPLETE.

All names were taken randomly from the electoral register. We can guarantee that all information will be treated in the strictest confidence. We do not ask you to sign your name, or to identify yourself in any way on the form, and the information you provide will be used without reference to your name or address. The return envelope has an identification number for competition and mailing purposes only. Your name will never be connected to the returned questionnaire itself.

Thank you very much for your co-operation with the Dublin Attitudes Survey. It will help in developing a clearer understanding of how Dubliners feel about some important issues. When your views are known, they can influence the opinions of policy-makers and other relevant parties. Please find enclosed a Lotto scratch card as a small token of our appreciation (Good Luck!). In addition the names of all participants (identified by number on the return envelope) who return the questionnaire completed will be entered into a draw for £250. Only 800 questionnaires are sent out so there is a reasonable chance of winning. The draw will be held on August the 20th. If you want advice on filling out the form, you can ring the following number : (01) 608 1623.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Michael O'Connell,
Survey Coordinator.

Mr. Philip Curry
Survey Administrator

Appendix 6

Full results of statistical tests used in chapter 3

Page 90

Social distance to Africans by age group.

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	5	177.3092	35.4618	9.1719	.0000
Within Groups	390	1507.8726	3.8663		
Total	395	1685.1818			

Multiple Range Tests: Modified LSD (Bonferroni) test with significance level .05

The difference between two means is significant if

MEAN(J)-MEAN(I) >= 1.3904 * RANGE * SQRT(1/N(I) + 1/N(J)) with the following value(s) for RANGE: 4.18

(*) Indicates significant differences which are shown in the lower triangle

Mean	AGE	2 1 3 4 5 6
1.2768	Grp 2	
1.7083	Grp 1	
1.9861	Grp 3	
2.0727	Grp 4	
2.7674	Grp 5	*
3.1667	Grp 6	* * * *

Social distance to Arabs by age group.

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	5	136.6701	27.3340	7.5404	.0000
Within Groups	390	1413.7617	3.6250		
Total	395	1550.4318			

Multiple Range Tests: Modified LSD (Bonferroni) test with significance level .05

The difference between two means is significant if

MEAN(J)-MEAN(I) >= 1.3463 * RANGE * SQRT(1/N(I) + 1/N(J))

with the following value(s) for RANGE: 4.18

(*) Indicates significant differences which are shown in the lower triangle

Mean	AGE	2 3 1 4 5 6
2.0089	Grp 2	
2.2639	Grp 3	
2.2917	Grp 1	
2.3636	Grp 4	
3.2558	Grp 5	*
3.5909	Grp 6	* * * *

Social distance to Bosnians by age group.

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	5	139.9378	27.9876	6.8168	.0000
Within Groups	390	1601.2213	4.1057		
Total	395	1741.1591			

Multiple Range Tests: Modified LSD (Bonferroni) test with significance level .05

The difference between two means is significant if
MEAN(J)-MEAN(I) >= 1.4328 * RANGE * SQRT(1/N(I) + 1/N(J)) with the following value(s) for RANGE: 4.18

(*) Indicates significant differences which are shown in the lower triangle

Mean	AGE	2 1 3 4 5 6
1.6161	Grp 2	
2.0417	Grp 1	
2.0417	Grp 3	
2.1455	Grp 4	
2.8605	Grp 5	*
3.3030	Grp 6	* * * *

Social distance to Romanians by age group.

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	5	114.0801	22.8160	5.3667	.0001
Within Groups	389	1653.8085	4.2514		
Total	394	1767.8886			

Multiple Range Tests: Modified LSD (Bonferroni) test with significance level .05

The difference between two means is significant if
MEAN(J)-MEAN(I) >= 1.4580 * RANGE * SQRT(1/N(I) + 1/N(J)) with the following value(s) for RANGE: 4.18

(*) Indicates significant differences which are shown in the lower triangle

Mean	AGE	2 1 3 4 5 6
1.7117	Grp 2	
2.1875	Grp 1	
2.1944	Grp 3	
2.3455	Grp 4	
2.9767	Grp 5	*
3.2121	Grp 6	*

Social distance to Spaniards by age group.

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	5	58.5738	11.7148	3.7825	.0023
Within Groups	390	1207.8707	3.0971		
Total	395	1266.4444			

Multiple Range Tests: Modified LSD (Bonferroni) test with significance level .05

The difference between two means is significant if
MEAN(J)-MEAN(I) >= 1.2444 * RANGE * SQRT(1/N(I) + 1/N(J)) with the following value(s) for RANGE: 4.18

(*) Indicates significant differences which are shown in the lower triangle

Mean	AGE	2 3 1 4 5 6
.8571	Grp 2	
1.0278	Grp 3	
1.1042	Grp 1	
1.1455	Grp 4	
1.6744	Grp 5	
1.9091	Grp 6	*

Social distance to Travellers by age group.

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	5	83.0060	16.6012	4.8628	.0003
Within Groups	390	1331.4258	3.4139		
Total	395	1414.4318			

Multiple Range Tests: Modified LSD (Bonferroni) test with significance level .05

The difference between two means is significant if
MEAN(J)-MEAN(I) >= 1.3065 * RANGE * SQRT(1/N(I) + 1/N(J)) with the following value(s) for RANGE: 4.18

(*) Indicates significant differences which are shown in the lower triangle

Mean	AGE	2 3 1 4 5 6
2.3125	Grp 2	
2.4167	Grp 3	
2.5000	Grp 1	
2.6364	Grp 4	
3.2791	Grp 5	
3.5152	Grp 6	* *

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Overall social distance by occupation.

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	8	7883.6548	985.4568	10.5123	.0000
Within Groups	387	36278.5270	93.7430		
Total	395	44162.1818			

Multiple Range Tests: Modified LSD (Bonferroni) test with significance level .05

The difference between two means is significant if

MEAN(J)-MEAN(I) >= 6.8463 * RANGE * SQRT(1/N(I) + 1/N(J)) with the following value(s) for RANGE: 4.55

House wife	1	Manual	2
Retired	3	Professional	4
Student	5	White collar	6
Self employed	7	Unemployed	8
Service	9		

(*) Indicates significant differences which are shown in the lower triangle

Mean	JOB	4 5 7 6 2 9 8 3 1
6.8077	Grp 4	
8.8235	Grp 5	
9.9667	Grp 7	
11.0303	Grp 6	
13.4615	Grp 2	*
13.6667	Grp 9	
14.0541	Grp 8	*
18.1389	Grp 3	* * * *
19.5094	Grp 1	* * * *

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Total social distance by education

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	4	6861.1396	1715.2849	18.1709	.0000
Within Groups	382	36059.7338	94.3972		
Total	386	42920.8734			

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Total social distance by income

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	8	3147.1926	393.3991	3.6845	.0004
Within Groups	366	39078.7434	106.7725		
Total	374	42225.9360			

Total social distance by district deprivation

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	4	874.7832	218.6958	1.9496	.1015
Within Groups	391	43859.5703	112.1728		
Total	395	44734.3535			

Total social distance by district deprivation as a dichotomous variable

Analysis of Variance

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	1	699.8213	699.8213	6.2617	.0127
Within Groups	394	44034.5322	111.7628		
Total	395	44734.3535			

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Social distance to OTHERS by gender, age, district deprivation, education, income and occupation.

Analysis of Variance

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Main Effects	4098.615	30	136.620	3.229	.000
Gender	1.352	1	1.352	.032	.858
Age	164.679	5	32.936	.778	.566
District deprivation	255.048	4	63.762	1.507	.200
Education	744.990	4	186.247	4.402	.002
Income	253.563	8	31.695	.749	.648
Occupation	330.660	8	41.333	.977	.454
Explained	4098.615	30	136.620	3.229	.000
Residual	13244.118	313	42.313		
Total	17342.733	343	50.562		

419 cases were processed. 75 cases (17.9 pct) were missing.

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Social distance to ROMANIANS by gender, age, district deprivation, education, income and occupation.

Analysis of Variance

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Main Effects	345.641	30	11.521	3.012	.000
Sex	2.420	1	2.420	.633	.427
Age	2.025	5	2.405	.629	.678
District deprivation	27.448	4	6.862	1.794	.130
Education	71.753	4	17.938	4.689	.001
Income	20.094	8	2.512	.657	.730
Job	31.083	8	3.885	1.016	.424
Explained	345.641	30	11.521	3.012	.000
Residual	1193.619	312	3.826		
Total	1539.259	342	4.501		

419 cases were processed. 76 cases (18.1 pct) were missing.

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Social distance to TRAVELLERS by gender, age, district deprivation, education, income and occupation.

Analysis of Variance

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Main Effects	201.001	30	6.700	2.073	.001
Sex	.030	1	.030	.009	.923
Age	9.128	5	1.826	.565	.727
District deprivation	47.712	4	11.928	3.690	.006
Education	30.468	4	7.617	2.356	.054
Income	30.297	8	3.787	1.172	.316
Job	17.134	8	2.142	.663	.724
Explained	201.001	30	6.700	2.073	.001
Residual	1011.732	313	3.232		
Total	1212.733	343	3.536		

419 cases were processed. 75 cases (17.9 pct) were missing.

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Working class identification and working class, Romanian and Traveller income ratings on Cantril's ladder.

LADDER - WORKING CLASS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
Strong identification	114	3.6754	1.898	.178
Weak identification	268	3.7799	1.696	.104

Mean Difference = -.1044

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= 1.309 P= .253

t-test for Equality of Means				5%	
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	-.53	380	.596	.197	(-.491, .282)
Unequal	-.51	193.37	.612	.206	(-.510, .301)

LADDER INCOME - ROMANIANS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
Strong identification	111	4.7117	2.928	.278
Weak identification	260	3.0500	2.029	.126

Mean Difference = 1.6617

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= 36.467 P= .000

t-test for Equality of Means				5%	
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Dif
Equal	6.28	369	.000	.265	(1.141, 2.182)
Unequal	5.45	156.94	.000	.305	(1.059, 2.264)

LADDER INCOME - TRAVELLERS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
Strong identification	114	5.0175	2.710	.254
Weak identification	266	3.8684	2.123	.130

Mean Difference = 1.1491

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= 18.987 P= .000

t-test for Equality of Means					5%
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Dif -------
Equal	4.44	378	.000	.259	(.640, 1.658)
Unequal	4.03	175.09	.000	.285	(.586, 1.712)

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Working class identification and working class, Romanian and Traveller ratings of income deserves.

WORKING CLASS DESERVES INCOME

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
Strong identification	123	4.0163	.757	.068
Weak identification	268	3.8097	.674	.041

Mean Difference = .2066

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= .536 P= .465

t-test for Equality of Means					5%
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Dif -------
Equal	2.70	389	.007	.076	(.056, .357)
Unequal	2.59	213.91	.010	.080	(.049, .364)

ROMANIANS DESERVE INCOME

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
Strong identification	120	2.5333	1.004	.092
Weak identification	268	2.9776	.899	.055

Mean Difference = -.4443

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= 11.216 P= .001

t-test for Equality of Means				5%	
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Dif -------
Equal	-4.34	386	.000	.102	(-.646, -.243)
Unequal	-4.16	207.94	.000	.107	(-.655, -.234)

TRAVELLERS DESERVE INCOME

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
Strong identification	122	2.8689	.900	.081
Weak identification	270	2.9556	.661	.040

Mean Difference = -.0867

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= 19.903 P= .000

t-test for Equality of Means				5%	
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Dif -------
Equal	-1.07	390	.285	.081	(-.246, .073)
Unequal	-.95	182.33	.341	.091	(-.266, .093)

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Relative deprivation and social identity variables regressed on social distance to ROMANIANS.

**** STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Romanians

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000

White identification / Catholic identification / Middle class identification / Working class identification / Egoistic RD - Romanians / Deserves income - Romanians / Ladder income - Romanians / Fraternalistic RD - Romanians / Income stability - Romanians

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. Deserves income - Romanians

Multiple R	.41869
R Square	.17530
Adjusted R Square	.17288
Standard Error	1.91880

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	266.08855	266.08855
Residual	340	1251.80619	3.68178

F = 72.27166 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Deserves - Romanians	-.941819	.110786	-.418690	-8.501	.0000
(Constant)	5.006306	.333058		15.031	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
White identification	-.297743	-.323054	.970870	-6.285	.0000
Catholic identification	-.172723	-.188314	.980302	-3.530	.0005
Mid. class identification	-.142568	-.156407	.992581	-2.916	.0038
Work. class identification	-.134645	-.145374	.961367	-2.705	.0072
Ego. RD - Romanians	-.217929	-.212747	.785948	-4.009	.0001
Ladder income - Roms.	.183782	.171910	.721594	3.213	.0014
Frat. RD - Romanians	-.107610	-.107196	.818366	-1.985	.0479
Income stability - Roms.	-.057785	-.059550	.875825	-1.098	.2728

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Romanians

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

2.. White identification

Multiple R	.51124
R Square	.26137
Adjusted R Square	.25701
Standard Error	1.81859

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	396.73182	198.36591
Residual	339	1121.16291	3.30727

F = 59.97883 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
White identification	-.582473	.092676	-.297743	-6.285	.0000
Deserves - Roms.	-.827508	.106563	-.367872	-7.765	.0000
(Constant)	6.485077	.393703		16.472	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Catholic identification	-.105734	-.118004	.911143	-2.185	.0296
Mid. class identification	-.021975	-.023085	.797259	-.425	.6715
Work. class identification	-.059967	-.065996	.894619	-1.216	.2248
Ego. RD - Romanians	-.206966	-.213370	.771264	-4.015	.0001
Ladder income - Roms.	.176556	.174469	.708487	3.258	.0012
Frat RD - Romanians	-.106984	-.112611	.798954	-2.084	.0379
Income stability - Roms.	-.050042	-.054475	.855686	-1.003	.3166

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Romanians

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

3.. Egoistic RD - Romanians

Multiple R	.54314
R Square	.29500
Adjusted R Square	.28874
Standard Error	1.77934

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	447.77456	149.25819
Residual	338	1070.12018	3.16604

F = 47.14355 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
White identification	-.570143	.090728	-.291441	-6.284	.0000
Egoistic RD - Roms.	-.125850	.031343	-.206966	-4.015	.0001
Deserves - Roms.	-.614534	.116980	-.273194	-5.253	.0000
(Constant)	6.080954	.398137		15.274	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Catholic identification	-.074698	-.084026	.761227	-1.548	.1226
Mid. class identification	-.049152	-.052404	.767261	-.963	.3361
Work. class identification	-.023370	-.025830	.755725	-.474	.6356
Ladder income - Roms.	.036751	.024965	.325326	.458	.6469
Frat. RD - Roms.	.042842	.035083	.453504	.644	.5197
Income stability - Roms	.006783	.007240	.720355	.133	.8943

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

Page 112

Previous multiple regression analysis on page 112 rerun with only the three significant predictor variables.

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Romanians

Block Number 1. Method: Enter White identification Deserves income - Romanians Egoistic RD - Romanians

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. Egoistic RD - Romanians
2.. White identification
3.. Deserves income - Romanians

Multiple R	.55549
R Square	.30857
Adjusted R Square	.30281
Standard Error	1.77447

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	505.88691	168.62897
Residual	360	1133.54990	3.14875

F = 53.55426 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
White identification	-.597453	.087379	-.306217	-6.837	.0000
Deserves income - Roms.	-.620083	.114844	-.274546	-5.399	.0000
Egoistic RD - Roms.	-.117187	.030288	-.194332	-3.869	.0001
(Constant)	6.152408	.378616		16.250	.0000

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Relative deprivation and social identity variables regressed on social distance to TRAVELLERS.

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Travellers

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000

Income stability - Travs. / Ego. RD - Travs. / White identification / Frat. RD - Travs. / Catholic identification / Middle class identification / Work. class identification / Ladder income - Travs. / Deserves - Travs.

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. Deserves - Travs.

Multiple R	.41753
R Square	.17433
Adjusted R Square	.17199
Standard Error	1.70844

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	216.92622	216.92622
Residual	352	1027.40429	2.91876

F = 74.32131 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Deserves - Travs.	-1.081378	.125436	-.417530	-8.621	.0000
(Constant)	5.843366	.379189		15.410	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Income stability - Travs.	.014133	.014515	.870964	.272	.7858
Ego. RD - Travs.	-.096150	-.101242	.915433	-1.907	.0574
White identification	-.292840	-.319833	.984900	-6.324	.0000
Frat. RD - Travs.	-.109714	-.115548	.915811	-2.179	.0300
Catholic identification	-.155829	-.170337	.986570	-3.239	.0013
Mid. class identification	-.186531	-.204397	.991412	-3.912	.0001
Work. class identification	-.152202	-.167288	.997456	-3.179	.0016
Ladder income - Travs.	.078709	.080944	.873224	1.521	.1290

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Travellers

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

2.. White identification

Multiple R	.50872
R Square	.25879
Adjusted R Square	.25457
Standard Error	1.62101

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	322.02266	161.01133
Residual	351	922.30785	2.62766

F = 61.27561 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
White identification	-.509255	.080524	-.292840	-6.324	.0000
Deserves - Travs.	-.988180	.119925	-.381546	-8.240	.0000
(Constant)	7.140749	.414160		17.242	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Income stability - Travs.	.021020	.022781	.860986	.426	.6702
Ego. RD - Travs.	-.058059	-.063988	.900303	-1.200	.2311
Frat. RD - Travs.	-.081166	-.089800	.907284	-1.687	.0925
Catholic identification	-.081937	-.090927	.911234	-1.708	.0885
Mid. class identification	-.073467	-.076507	.798537	-1.436	.1520
Work. class identification	-.073605	-.081674	.901145	-1.533	.1262
Ladder income - Travs.	.039876	.042931	.859156	.804	.4220

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

Page 114

Previous multiple regression analysis on page 113 rerun with only the two significant predictor variables.

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Travellers

Block Number 1. Method: Enter White identification Deserves - Travs.

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. Deserves - Travs.

2.. White identification

Multiple R	.49375
R Square	.24379
Adjusted R Square	.23989
Standard Error	1.64590

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	338.84944	169.42472
Residual	388	1051.08407	2.70898

F = 62.54190 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
White identification	-.547851	.076059	-.319843	-7.203	.0000
Deserves - Travs.	-.887609	.114788	-.343361	-7.733	.0000
(Constant)	7.003632	.395298		17.717	.0000

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Relative deprivation and key demographic predictors regressed on distance to ROMANIANS.

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Romanians

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000

District deprivation / Egoistic RD - Romanians / Education / White identification / Deserves income - Romanians

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. Deserves income - Romanians

Multiple R	.43470
R Square	.18897
Adjusted R Square	.18660
Standard Error	1.91736

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	292.94253	292.94253
Residual	342	1257.27840	3.67625

F = 79.68509 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Deserves - Romanians	-.986030	.110459	-.434705	-8.927	.0000
(Constant)	5.151899	.332446		15.497	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
District deprivation	.024930	.027149	.961841	.502	.6163
Egoistic RD - Roms.	-.216460	-.211546	.774622	-3.997	.0001
Education	-.305725	-.329139	.940010	-6.437	.0000
White identification	-.310327	-.336810	.955360	-6.606	.0000

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Romanians

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

2.. White identification

Multiple R	.53007
R Square	.28097
Adjusted R Square	.27676
Standard Error	1.80798

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	435.56908	217.78454
Residual	341	1114.65185	3.26877

F = 66.62576 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
White identification	-.607262	.091932	-.310327	-6.606	.0000
Deserves - Romanians	-.837308	.106563	-.369139	-7.857	.0000
(Constant)	6.583577	.381112		17.275	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
District deprivation	.037925	.043825	.917301	.809	.4192
Egoistic RD - Roms.	-.206062	-.213779	.751415	-4.035	.0001
Education	-.267234	-.302555	.911425	-5.853	.0000

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Romanians

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

3.. Education

Multiple R	.58889
R Square	.34679
Adjusted R Square	.34103
Standard Error	1.72577

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	537.60395	179.20132
Residual	340	1012.61698	2.97829

F = 60.16929 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Education	-.390882	.066781	-.267234	-5.853	.0000
White identification	-.534794	.088622	-.273294	-6.035	.0000
Deserves - Romanians	-.706589	.104141	-.311510	-6.785	.0000
(Constant)	7.107284	.374625		18.972	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
District deprivation	-.039330	-.045734	.847831	-.843	.3999
Egoistic RD - Roms.	-.089546	-.086222	.605626	-1.593	.1120

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

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Relative deprivation and key demographic predictors regressed on distance to TRAVELLERS.

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Travellers

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000

Deserves - Travs. / Education / District deprivation / White identification / Ego. RD - Travs.

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. Deserves - Travs.

Multiple R	.39099
R Square	.15287
Adjusted R Square	.15045
Standard Error	1.74201

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	191.66811	191.66811
Residual	350	1062.10461	3.03458

F = 63.16124 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Deserves - Travs.	-1.005712	.126546	-.390990	-7.947	.0000
(Constant)	5.621876	.382800		14.686	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Education	-.194924	-.210883	.991523	-4.030	.0001
District deprivation	-.047780	-.051902	.999610	-.971	.3323
White identification	-.322231	-.346411	.979031	-6.899	.0000
Ego. RD - Travs.	-.079623	-.083267	.926436	-1.561	.1194

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Travellers

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

2.. White identification

Multiple R	.50451
R Square	.25453
Adjusted R Square	.25026
Standard Error	1.63649

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	319.12109	159.56055
Residual	349	934.65163	2.67808

F = 59.58009 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Deserves - Travs.	-.885689	.120147	-.344329	-7.372	.0000
White identification	-.564271	.081795	-.322231	-6.899	.0000
(Constant)	6.994523	.410989		17.019	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Education	-.144866	-.164659	.950968	-3.114	.0020
District deprivation	-.049844	-.057717	.978621	-1.078	.2816
Ego. RD - Travs.	-.029999	-.033055	.905061	-.617	.5377

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Travellers

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

3.. Education

Multiple R	.52416
R Square	.27474
Adjusted R Square	.26849
Standard Error	1.61647

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	344.46203	114.82068
Residual	348	909.31070	2.61296

F = 43.94273 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Deserves - Travs.	-.860574	.118951	-.334565	-7.235	.0000
Education	-.188600	.060562	-.144866	-3.114	.0020
White identification	-.521048	.081977	-.297549	-6.356	.0000
(Constant)	7.325566	.419648		17.456	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
District deprivation	-.106067	-.118001	.864896	-2.214	.0275
Ego. RD - Travs.	.048511	.048190	.715676	.899	.3694

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. Social distance to Travellers

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

4.. District deprivation

Multiple R	.53370
R Square	.28484
Adjusted R Square	.27660
Standard Error	1.60748

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	4	357.12357	89.28089
Residual	347	896.64916	2.58400

F = 34.55138 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
Deserves - Travs.	-.848949	.118406	-.330045	-7.170	.0000
Education	-.233523	.063552	-.179371	-3.674	.0003
District deprivation	-.154617	.069849	-.106067	-2.214	.0275
White identification	-.511967	.081625	-.292363	-6.272	.0000
(Constant)	7.899782	.491369		16.077	.0000

---------- Variables not in the Equation ----------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
Ego. RD - Travs.	.032196	.031877	.701066	.593	.5534

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

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Factor analysis for the ten widespread belief items :

a) Many foreigners are coming to Ireland to exploit its social welfare system.

b) Since Irish people have emigrated for so many years it is only right that we welcome other nationalities to Ireland.

c) The majority of immigrants coming to this country are not genuine political refugees.

d) Ireland is currently experiencing a flood of refugees.

e) Travellers commit far more crime than other groups of people in Irish society.

f) The current methods of processing asylum seekers looking for refugee status in this country are unfair.

g) Many refugees with money are begging in the streets of Dublin.

h) Police are biased against travellers.

i) Ireland is traditionally a welcoming culture and should continue to be by welcoming foreigners seeking refuge here.

j) Travellers are unhygienic and at high risk of sanitary diseases.

---------- FACTOR ANALYSIS ----------

Analysis number 1 Listwise deletion of cases with missing values

Extraction 1 for analysis 1, Principal Components Analysis (PC)

Initial Statistics:

Variable	Communality	*	Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
STATEA	1.00000	*	1	3.50790	35.1	35.1
STATEB	1.00000	*	2	1.27275	12.7	47.8
STATEC	1.00000	*	3	1.08873	10.9	58.7
STATED	1.00000	*	4	.90050	9.0	67.7
STATEE	1.00000	*	5	.76058	7.6	75.3
STATEF	1.00000	*	6	.62811	6.3	81.6
STATEG	1.00000	*	7	.57578	5.8	87.3
STATEH	1.00000	*	8	.52276	5.2	92.6
STATEI	1.00000	*	9	.41155	4.1	96.7
STATEJ	1.00000	*	10	.33134	3.3	100.0

Factor Matrix:

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
STATEA	-.72223	-.17702	.25877
STATEB	.76444	.14280	.18551
STATEC	.61382	.14498	.13523
STATED	-.63018	-.11696	.38052
STATEE	-.30533	.73785	.13800
STATEF	.62306	-.00905	.41236
STATEG	-.66375	-.04998	.24641
STATEH	.21666	-.43141	.66088
STATEI	.72887	.17059	.17161
STATEJ	-.35753	.65124	.32902

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality	*	Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
STATEA	.61991	*	1	3.50790	35.1	35.1
STATEB	.63918	*	2	1.27275	12.7	47.8
STATEC	.41608	*	3	1.08873	10.9	58.7
STATED	.55560	*				
STATEE	.65669	*				
STATEF	.55832	*				
STATEG	.50378	*				
STATEH	.66981	*				
STATEI	.58981	*				
STATEJ	.66019	*				

VARIMAX rotation 1 for extraction 1 in analysis 1 - Kaiser Normalization.

VARIMAX converged in 11 iterations.

Rotated Factor Matrix:

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
STATEA	-.76994	.13532	.09378
STATEB	.72707	-.00557	.33245
STATEC	.59649	.01702	.24493
STATED	-.68319	.21085	.21072
STATEE	-.04806	.78634	-.18984
STATEF	.50791	-.01474	.54784
STATEG	-.66985	.22728	.05856
STATEH	-.05353	-.18413	.79564
STATEI	.70601	.02308	.30136
STATEJ	-.15647	.79731	-.00319

Factor Transformation Matrix:

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 1	.92455	-.26588	.27298
Factor 2	.34694	.88363	-.31438
Factor 3	-.15762	.38536	.90920

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Regression of white identification and out-group deserving on 'Beliefs about Refugees'

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. 'Beliefs about refugees'

Block Number 1. Method: Enter White identification / Deserves income - Romanians

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. Deserves income - Romanians

2.. White identification

Multiple R	.62864
R Square	.39519
Adjusted R Square	.39189
Standard Error	.77537

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	144.16909	72.08454
Residual	367	220.64013	.60120

F = 119.90125 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
White identification	-.137077	.037370	-.151971	-3.668	.0003
Deserves - Roms.	-.615082	.043906	-.580396	-14.009	.0000
(Constant)	2.167321	.156607		13.839	.0000

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Regression of white identification and out-group deserving on 'Beliefs about Travellers'

**** MULTIPLE REGRESSION ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. 'Beliefs about Traveller'

Block Number 1. Method: Enter White identification Deserves - Travs.

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. Deserves - Travs.

2.. White identification

Multiple R	.31860
R Square	.10151
Adjusted R Square	.09662
Standard Error	.93969

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	36.71068	18.35534
Residual	368	324.95063	.88302

F = 20.78705 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
White identification	.133764	.044522	.149121	3.004	.0028
Deserves - Travs.	.352050	.065242	.267827	5.396	.0000
(Constant)	-1.436107	.228900		-6.274	.0000

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Newspaper readership and 'Beliefs about refugees' at lowest level of education.

SUNDAY INDEPENDENT

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
'Beliefs about refugees'	154	.22456020	.98939747	-2.04508	2.63537
Sunday Independent	167	.25748503	.43856382	.00000	1.00000

- - - - - Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

'Beliefs about refugees' by Sunday Independent

Mean Rank	Cases	
82.77	114	Sunday Independent = 0 Non- reader
60.14	39	Sunday Independent = 1 Reader

	153	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
1565.5	2345.5	-2.7526	.0059

SUNDAY WORLD

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
'Beliefs about refugees'	154	.22456020	.98939747	-2.04508	2.63537
Sunday World	167	.25748503	.43856382	.00000	1.00000

- - - - - Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

'Beliefs about refugees' by Sunday World

Mean Rank	Cases	
72.08	111	Sunday World = 0 Non reader
90.00	42	Sunday World = 1 Reader

	153	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
1785.0	3780.0	-2.2322	.0256

THE SUN

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
'Beliefs about refugees'	154	.22456020	.98939747	-2.04508	2.63537
The Sun	167	.14371258	.35185307	.00000	1.00000

- - - - - Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

'Beliefs about refugees' by The Sun

Mean Rank	Cases	
73.23	130	The Sun = 0 Non reader
98.28	23	The Sun = 1 Reader

	153	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
1005.5	2260.5	-2.4989	.0125

SUNDAY TIMES

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
'Beliefs about refugees'	154	.22456020	.98939747	-2.04508	2.63537
Sunday Times	167	.08982036	.28678414	.00000	1.00000

----- Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

'Beliefs about refugees' by Sunday Times

Mean Rank	Cases	
79.31	139	Sunday Times = 0 Non reader
54.07	14	Sunday Times = 1 Reader

	153	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
652.0	757.0	-2.0313	.0422

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Newspaper readership and 'Beliefs about refugees' at Leaving Cert.

IRISH TIMES

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
'Beliefs about refugees'	94	.11964858	.79274738	-1.73456	2.57476
Irish Times	100	.43000001	.49756986	.00000	1.00000

- - - - - Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

'Beliefs about refugees' by Irish Times

Mean Rank	Cases	
54.50	54	Irish Times = 0 Non reader
38.05	40	Irish Times = 1 Reader

	94	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
702.0	1522.0	-2.8906	.0038

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Newspaper readership and 'Beliefs about refugees' at Third Level.

SUNDAY INDEPENDENT

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
'Beliefs about refugees'	122	-.44703910	1.01004517	-2.40606	2.39655
Sunday Independent	129	.34883720	.47846046	.00000	1.00000

- - - - - Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

'Beliefs about refugees' by Sunday Independent

Mean Rank	Cases	
53.67	78	Sunday Independent = 0 Non- reader
75.39	44	Sunday Independent = 1 Reader

	122	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
1105.0	3317.0	-3.2577	.0011

IRISH INDEPENDENT

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
'Beliefs about refugees'	122	-.44703910	1.01004517	-2.40606	2.39655
Irish Independent	129	.38759691	.48910117	.00000	1.00000

- - - - - Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

'Beliefs about refugees' by Irish Independent

Mean Rank	Cases	
56.24	74	Irish Independent = 0 Non reader
69.60	48	Irish Independent = 1 Reader

	122	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
1387.0	3341.0	-2.0387	.0415

Appendix 7

Dialectical thinking questionnaire

Attitude and Cognition Questionnaire

Age_____

Sex [ ] Male [ ] Female

Department_____

Number of years in College [ ]1 [ ]2 [ ]3
[ ]4 [ ]5 [ ]6

It is very important that you attempt to respond to all of the items. No record is kept of individual names or respondents so please be as truthful as possible. There are no trick questions, no right or wrong answers so just respond as honestly as you can.

Returning : The completed questionnaire may be returned via INTERNAL MAIL (no stamp required) at a number of locations around college e.g. in Front arch on your left as you enter college, at the security desk on the ground floor in the Arts block etc.

IRISH CANCER SOCIETY

By arrangement 50p goes to the Irish Cancer Society for every questionnaire returned so please remember to reply as soon as you can. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

If given only the information in the item below please indicate the extent to which you would agree or disagree with EACH of the statements below it on a scale of 1 (Agree strongly) to 5 (Disagree strongly).

1. Alan was talking while handling a drink to Ann. He spilled the drink on Ann's dress.

a) The drink being spilt was Alan's fault.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

b) The drink being spilt was a result of circumstances beyond Alan's control.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

c) The drink being spilt was a result of Alan's behaviour *and* other circumstances beyond his control.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

Could you please explain AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE why you responded to this item the way you did :-

If given only the information in the item below please indicate the extent to which you would agree or disagree with EACH of the statements below it on a scale of 1 (Agree strongly) to 5 (Disagree strongly).

2. Dobrin, a Romanian refugee, was refused asylum in this country because he was caught working illegally while waiting for his application for asylum to be processed.

a) Being refused asylum was Dobrin's fault.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

b) Being refused asylum was a result of circumstances beyond Dobrin's control.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

c) Being refused asylum was a result of Dobrin's behaviour and other circumstances beyond his control.

Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Neither**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**
1	2	3	4	5

Could you please explain AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE why you responded to this item the way you did :-

If given only the information in the item below please indicate the extent to which you would agree or disagree with EACH of the statements below it on a scale of 1 (Agree strongly) to 5 (Disagree strongly).

3. Emeric, 2 months after arriving from Romania, was arrested for stealing two Rolex watches from a Jewellers.

a) Stealing the watches was Emeric's fault.

Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

b) Stealing the watches was a result of circumstances beyond Emeric's control.

Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

c) Stealing the watches was a result of Emeric's behaviour and other circumstances beyond his control.

Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

Could you please explain AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE why you responded to this item the way you did :-

If given only the information in the item below please indicate the extent to which you would agree or disagree with EACH of the statements below it on a scale of 1 (Agree strongly) to 5 (Disagree strongly).

4. Michael forgot to lock his car. His stereo was stolen.

a) The stereo being stolen was Michael's fault.

Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

b) The stereo being stolen was a result of circumstances beyond Michael's control.

Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

c) The stereo being stolen was a result of Michael's behaviour *and* other circumstances beyond his control.

Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

Could you please explain AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE why you responded to this item the way you did :-

Below are 7 statements with which you are asked to agree or disagree for each of 6 different groups. Please indicate by ticking the box if you would agree with the statement applied to that group. e.g. If you would agree to have all of the groups as next door neighbours then you would tick all the boxes in statement c. If not, then leave those blank you don't want as neighbours etc. for all the statements.

Note that the statements are hypothetical, they ask how you would react should the situation arise - if for example a Romanian or a Spaniard wanted to move in next door to your house or marry into your family.

a) Would marry or welcome as a member of my family	**b) Would have as a close friend**
☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African	☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African
c) Would have as a next door neighbour	**d) Would work in the same workplace**
☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African	☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African
e) Would welcome as an Irish citizen	**f) Would ONLY allow as a visitor to Ireland**
☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African	☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African

g) Would deport or debar from Ireland
☐ Spaniard ☐ Bosnian ☐ Traveller ☐ Arab ☐ Romanian ☐ African

Appendix 8

Full results of statistical tests used in chapter 5

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Social distance scores paired for each target group between first and second year group. Note - the prediction was one-way in that it was predicted that social distance would decrease with years in college.

- - - - - Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks Test

First Year with Fourth Year

Mean Rank	Cases	
3.50	6	- Ranks (Fourth Year LT First Year)
.00	0	+ Ranks (Fourth Year GT First Year)
	0	Ties (Fourth Year EQ First Year)
	-	
	6	Total

Z = -2.2014 2-Tailed P = .0277

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T-tests for neutral attributions by year in college.

DISPOSITIONAL ATTRIBUTIONS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
First Year	39	2.7308	.818	.131
Fourth year	33	2.7121	.613	.107

Mean Difference = .0186

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= 1.713 P= .195

t-test for Equality of Means					95%
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	.11	70	.914	.173	(-.326, .364)
Unequal	.11	69.05	.912	.169	(-.318, .356)

SITUATIONAL ATTRIBUTIONS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
First Year	38	3.5526	.705	.114
Fourth year	32	3.2969	.761	.134

Mean Difference = .2558

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= 1.410 P= .239

t-test for Equality of Means					95%
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	1.46	68	.149	.175	(-.094, .606)
Unequal	1.45	64.02	.152	.177	(-.097, .608)

BI-CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
First Year	38	2.5526	.733	.119
Fourth year	32	2.4531	.614	.109

Mean Difference = .0995

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= .587 P= .446

t-test for Equality of Means					95%
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	.61	68	.545	.163	(-.227, .426)
Unequal	.62	68.00	.539	.161	(-.222, .421)

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Differences in neutral dialectical thinking between first and fourth year in college. The hypothesis was directional in that it was predicted that first year students would show more dialectical thinking.

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
Dialectical thinking	67	.87313	.48729	.00	2.25
Year in college	73	1.46575	.50228	1.00	2.00

- - - - - Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

Dialectical thinking by Year in college

Mean Rank	Cases	
30.31	36	Year in college = 1 First Year
38.29	31	Year in college = 2 Fourth year
	--	
	67	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
425.0	1187.0	-1.6964	.0898

Difference in number of arguments in neutral scenarios between first and fourth year in college. Again the hypothesis was directional in that it was predicted that first year subjects would use less dialectical thinking than fourth years.

	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
Number of arguments	67	1.79478	.49414	.50	3.50
Year in college	73	1.46575	.50228	1.00	2.00

- - - - - Mann-Whitney U - Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test

Number of arguments by Year in college

Mean Rank	Cases	
30.51	36	Year in college = 1 First Year
38.05	31	Year in college = 2 Fourth year
	--	
	67	Total

Corrected for ties

U	W	Z	2-Tailed P
432.5	1179.5	-1.6152	.1063

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T-tests for attributions with refugee scenarios by year in college.

DISPOSITIONAL ATTRIBUTIONS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
First Year	38	2.3947	.764	.124
Fourth year	34	2.4265	.827	.142

Mean Difference = -.0317

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= .596 P= .443

t-test for Equality of Means				95%	
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	-.17	70	.866	.187	(-.406, .342)
Unequal	-.17	67.52	.867	.188	(-.408, .344)

SITUATIONAL ATTRIBUTIONS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
First Year	38	3.3684	.844	.137
Fourth year	33	3.3939	.891	.155

Mean Difference = -.0255

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= .023 P= .881

t-test for Equality of Means					95%
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	-.12	69	.902	.206	(-.436, .385)
Unequal	-.12	66.43	.902	.207	(-.438, .387)

BI-CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
First Year	38	2.7105	.927	.150
Fourth year	32	2.8281	.848	.150

Mean Difference = -.1176

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= .103 P= .750

t-test for Equality of Means					95%
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	-.55	68	.585	.214	(-.545, .310)
Unequal	-.55	67.51	.582	.212	(-.541, .306)

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Differences in dialectical thinking in scenarios regarding refugees between first and fourth year in college.

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
First Year	34	.6544	.473	.081
Fourth year	30	.6083	.419	.076

Mean Difference = .0461

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= .609 P= .438

t-test for Equality of Means				95%	
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	.41	62	.683	.112	(-.178, .271)
Unequal	.41	62.00	.681	.111	(-.177, .269)

T-test for difference in number of arguments in scenarios involving refugees between first and fourth year in college.

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	SE of Mean
First Year	35	1.6286	.537	.091
Fourth year	31	1.5887	.459	.082

Mean Difference = .0399

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F= .453 P= .503

	t-test for Equality of Means				95%
Variances	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig	SE of Diff	CI for Diff
Equal	.32	64	.748	.124	(-.207, .287)
Unequal	.33	63.93	.746	.123	(-.205, .285)