Elvis Nshom Ngwayuh

Perceived Threat and Prejudice Towards Immigrants and Russian Minorities Living in Finland

Elvis Nshom Ngwayuh

Perceived Threat and Prejudice Towards Immigrants and Russian Minorities Living in Finland

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2017

Perceived Threat and Prejudice Towards Immigrants and Russian Minorities Living in Finland

Elvis Nshom Ngwayuh

Perceived Threat and Prejudice Towards Immigrants and Russian Minorities Living in Finland

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to better understand the relationship between Finns and Russian minorities living in Finland. This study considers the role of perceived threats to the attitudes of Finnish adolescents towards Russian minorities. The theoretical framework for this study was the integrated threat theory (ITT). Even though ITT has been revised and threats have been reduced to two major threats (realistic and symbolic threats) (Stephan et al., 2015), this study utilized the original conceptualization of ITT which stipulates that prejudice and negative attitudes towards minorities can be explained by four types of threats that are: realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes, and intergroup anxiety. Realistic threats are threats to the physical and economic wellbeing and political power of the in-group; symbolic threats are threats that arise because of differences in norms, values and morals with the out-group; negative stereotypes are implied threats to the in-group; and intergroup anxiety refers to the anxiety the in-group might experience in the process of interaction with members of the out-group especially when both groups have had a history of antagonism (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 1998, 2000).

First, this study showed Finns in general do percieve Russian minorities as a threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotypes) and that among the different types of threat, realistic threat and symobolic threat were more prevalent among older Finns than among younger Finns. No significant difference was found between both groups for negative stereotypes. This study also showed perceived threat to be a significant predictor of prejudice, and that among the different types of threat, negative stereotyping was the strongest predictor of negative attitudes towards Russian minorities.

This study also revealed that Finnish adolescents generally perceive immigrants as a threat and that among the different types of threats, realistic threat and symbolic threat were the most perceived threats from immigrants in Finland. This is especially important because realistic threat and symbolic threat were found to be positively related to prejudice or negative attitudes towards immigrants and this positive relationship between threat and prejudice was the same among early, middle, and late adolescents.

Keywords: Integrated threat, prejudice, Adolescents, Finland, Russians

Author's address   Elvis Nshom Ngwayuh
Department of Language and Communication Studies
Address: P.O. Box 35, FI-40014
Email: elnsngwa.student@jyu.fi

Supervisors   Professor Stephen Croucher
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä

Marko Siitonen, PhD
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyvaskyla

Reviewers   Professor Dale Hample
University of Maryland, USA

Professor Ling Chen
Hong Kong Baptist University

Opponent   Professor Dale Hample
University of Maryland, USA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

1. Nshom E. (In press). Immigrant threat, Prejudice and the growing refugee crisis. In S. M. Croucher, Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk, B., & Wilson, P. (Eds), *Approaches to conflict: Mediatized and group dynamics* (pp. TBD). Lanhan, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

2. Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (accepted). Perceived threat and prejudice towards immigrants in Finland: A study among early, middle and late Finnish adolescents. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*

3. Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014). Threats and attitudes toward Russian- speaking immigrants: A comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication, 6*, 308-317.

4. Nshom E. (2015), Predictors of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the role of intergroup contact. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, *45*, 31-44.

TABLES

CONTENTS

1   CHAPTER ONE

One of the greatest sources of difficulties in intercultural relations is the belief that other cultures pose a threat to one's own culture. Wars have been fought because of such fears, and, at a lesser level, feelings of threat commonly interfere with diplomatic, business, and interpersonal relations between members of different cultures. These feelings of threat also may prejudice the members of one culture against those of another culture. (Stephan et al., 2000, p. 240)

1.1 General introduction and background

"Please be very careful… they don't like immigrants there". These were the words a Finnish friend of mine told me when I announced to him I was moving to the city of Joensuu, the capital of North Karelia in Eastern Finland. About 80 percent of those I informed about my relocation to Joensuu expressed a similar concern as that of my friend. I wondered why especially as I knew nothing much about the city. Another friend later explained to me how the city of Joensuu had been notorious in the 1990s to be anti-immigrant. The North Karelian city use to be a hotbed of skinhead activity, anti-immigrant activities and racism in the 1990s (Perho, 2000). For example, "back then a black basketball player of the local Kataja team was beaten up and moved back to the United States" (Migrant tales, 2013). It was particularly after this event that the reputation of Joensuu as an anti-immigrant and racist city spread throughout Finland and internationally. Despite the changes that might have occurred since then, due to the influence of several multicultural associations and local authorities, the reputation of Joensuu today in Finland is far from different (Perho, 2000).

This however did not stop me from moving there. But it however got me thinking and asking the question "why". Why do people dislike or prejudice others who are different? I arrived in Joensuu and started living a normal life. After living there for a couple of months, I realized from several violent and non-violent occurrences directed towards immigrants in general and towards

Russian minorities in particular that, prejudice towards the "other" was however a concern in the city of Joensuu as well as the whole of Finland.

Even though there are numerous immigrant minority groups in Finland, the Russian minority is one of the most significant from a numerical, historical, linguistic, social, and economic point of view. Particularly, Russian speakers represent the largest linguistic minority group in Finland and Russian immigrants have always been the largest ethnic minority in Finland until 2011 when they were slightly overtaken by Estonians (Helsingin Sanomat, 2011). However, Russian immigrants are still the largest immigrant minority group in the Eastern part of Finland. They represent about two percent of the total population (Joensuu kaupunki, 2010). The Russian language is also the most common minority language in the region and it is very common to hear Russian being spoken around and to see written instructions in shops in Russian in Eastern Finland. There have actually been debates on the possibility to teach Russian in schools instead of Swedish as a second language to pupils. The debate started as six municipalities in Eastern Finland petitioned the Ministry of Education to be granted the permission to do so. Their argument was that Russian is more valuable in work and social situations in the region (Yle, 2011).

Moreover, Finland and Russia share a common history: a history of conflict and antagonism. Historically, Finland was under Russian domination from 1808 - 1917 and both fought major wars including the Winter War from 1939 – 1940 and its continuation from 1941 – 1944. Since then, Russian minorities have traditionally and stereotypically been perceived as the oppressor and enemy, this negative stereotypical perception is said to have been passed on from one generation to another, and it is still present in Finnish society (Karamaa, 2004). This has been one of the ways through which Finnish Russophobia is said to have been sustainable in Finnish society. There are several ways of communication through which stereotypes and negative perceptions about an out-group can be transferred or transported. Some of these include everyday talk, cultural jokes, phrases and conceits, the wording of news items in newspapers, cartoons, films, and TV ads, just to name a few (Nshom & Croucher, 2014). Communication can sometimes contain transparent or embedded cultural stereotypes (Lehtonen, 2005). According to Karamaa (2004), negative attitudes towards Russian minorities in Finland were reignited among younger people as parents recounted stories about their struggles at the hands of their oppressor (Russians). They criticized their parents for having dealt with the Russians in a light manner (Nshom & Croucher, 2004).

Research on Russian minorities in Finland suggests Russian minorities in Finland are unfortunately often victims of prejudice, discrimination and intolerance, and they feel psychologically and emotionally alienated more than other immigrant groups in Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). As a matter of fact, in 2007, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), outlined in its recommendation to the Finnish government that Finnish authorities should pay more attention to the specific problems of

intolerance and discrimination faced by Russian minorities in Finland and that effective action be taken to combat negative societal attitudes of prejudice and intolerance toward members of the Russian speaking community (ECRI, 2007).

Despite this unfortunate situation for Russian minorities and the political, social, historical, and economic significance of Russian immigration to Finland, most research on Russian immigration to Finland has instead focused on such issues as intergroup contact, national identification, psychological and socio cultural acculturation, ethnic identity, adaption, and perceived discrimination (e.g. Brylka, Mahonen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 1998, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 1998, 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Liebkind, Mannila, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Jaakkola, Kyntäjä, & Reuter, 2004; Mahonen & Jasinskaja Lahti, 2016). Little research has paid attention to the different and specific factors that explain prejudice or negative attitudes towards Russian minorities among Finns.

However, according to literature on integrated threat theory (ITT), prejudice and negative attitudes towards outgroups or minorities can be explained and predicted by four types of threat (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 1998, 2000): realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotype, and intergroup anxiety. Realistic threats are threats to the physical wellbeing, economic and political power of the in-group; symbolic threats are threats that arise because of cultural differences in values, morals and worldview with the out-group; negative stereotypes are implied threats to the in-group; and intergroup anxiety refers to the anxiety the in-group experiences in the process of interaction with members of the out-group especially when both groups have had a history of antagonism like the case of Finland and Russia (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 1998, 2000). Studies investigating the perception of these threats from the majority Finnish population and focusing particularly on the extent to which these threats explain and predict negative attitudes towards Russian minorities among Finns are rare. However, ITT has been used in other parts of the world and in different settings among various groups to explain prejudice and negative attitudes towards minorities and has proven within the past two decades to be a suitable theoretical framework for understanding prejudice and negative attitudes towards members of an out-group (Riek et al., 2006).

1.2 Aims of the study

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the extent to which these threats (realistic threat, symbolic threat and negative stereotype) manifest among Finns and the extent to which they explain and predict prejudice or negative attitudes particularly towards Russian minorities in Finland. Moreover, this study seeks to understand the extent to which Finns perceive the "generic immigrant" and the extent to which the perception of threat is related to prejudice among early, middle, and late adolescents. With the current immigration crisis at hand, it is important to understand the attitudinal climate not only towards Russian

minorities who represent an important immigrant minority group in Finland, but also towards immigrants in general, especially amidst the current refugee crisis in Europe. Lastly, since Finland borders Russia and Russians are one of the largest immigrant minority groups in the nation, this dissertation also attempts to examine the association between intergroup contact, perceived threat, and prejudice. In order to effectively achieve these objectives, the following research questions were explored as the main critical points of investigation:

1. What is integrated threat theory? (Book chapter)
2. How differently do early, middle, and late Finnish adolescents perceive immigrants as threatening? (Article I).
3. To what extent does the relationship between prejudice and perceived threat differ from Early to Late adolescence? (Article I).
4. What is the relationship between intergroup contact, perceive threat, and prejudice towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents? (Article III)
5. To what extent does perceive threat predict negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents? (Article III)
6. How differently do younger Finns perceive Russian speaking immigrants as threatening from older Finns? (Article II)

These research questions have been addressed in the three studies presented in this dissertation. This dissertation is made up of three empirical studies and one book chapter. In the following paragraphs, the focus of the book chapter and the three journal articles are briefly discussed.

1.3   The book chapter

Nshom E. (In press). Immigrant threat, prejudice and the growing refugee crisis. In S. M. Croucher, Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk, B., & Wilson, P. (Eds), *Approaches to conflict: Mediatized and group dynamics* (pp. TBD). Lanhan, MD: Rowman   & Littlefield.

The book chapter is a theoretical piece. It is an overview of the integrated threat theory (ITT), which is the theoretical framework for this study. First, it discusses perceived threat and prejudice within the broader perspective of immigration and anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe especially within the context of the current refugee crisis. It is also an overview of the different antecedents of threat and the different types of threat as predictors of prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants or minorities. Moreover, this chapter also presents case studies that have tested and applied ITT in different

contexts and settings to better understand majority – minority attitudes or prejudice. The book chapter also discusses the revised or updated version of ITT and elaborates on the usefulness of ITT research to different stakeholders. Lastly, based on my experience researching integrated threat issues, potential areas for further investigation in ITT research are outlined. It answers research question one "what is integrated threat?" This book chapter was peer-reviewed and is currently in press.

1.4   Article I

Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (Accepted). Perceived threat and prejudice towards immigrants in Finland: A study among early, middle and late Finnish adolescents. *Journal of International and intercultural communication.*

This paper applied an integrated threat approach to understand prejudice in adolescence. The development of prejudice in adolescence has been studied (see Raabe & Beelmann, 2011 for a review) but not from an integrated threat perspective. The first aim of the paper was to show how differently immigrants are percieved among early, middle, and late adolescents. The second aim was to examine the relationship between percieved threat and prejudice but most importantly to attempt to show the extent to which this relationship remains stable from early to late adolescence. This paper contributes to the development of Stephan and Stephan´s (1996, 1998, 2000) integrated threat theory (ITT) by showing its applicability in a developmental setting. Even though there are numerous studies on prejudice development and percieve threat, studies on prejudice development (see Raabe & Beelmann, 2011 for a review), have not considered threats as an important factor while studies on threat (see Riek et al., 2006 for a review) have not considered a developmental perspective. This article is therefore important because it introduces an integrated threat approach to the study of prejudice in adolescence develoment and a developmental approach to the study of percieved threat. This is the first study that has applied integrated threat theory in a sample of early, middle, and late adolescents in one study. Even though this study is about Russian minorities, it was important and neccessary to also understand the perception of threat from the generic immigrant, especially amidst the current refugee crises and a hardening of attitudes towards immigration and refugees in Finland. Since this study is about adolescents, it was also important to not only focus on the perception of threat from immigrants among adolescents in general but to pay attention to the differences among early, middle and late adolescents. By doing this, we gain important, specific and vital information about specific target variables to focus on in an attempt to develop or enhance prejudice reduction strategies among adolescents (White, Wootton, Man, Diaz, Rasiah, Swift, & Wilkinson, 2009).

This article has been accepted for publication with the *Journal of International and intercultural communication*. This journal was important because of its focus on intercultural and inter-racial relations espcially from a majority to minority perspective. It was a co-authored piece, but I completed apprximately 75% of the work. (See work distribution page 21).

1.5 Article II

Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014). Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: A comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *6*, 308-317.

It has been argued that the negative percepetion of Russian minorities in Finland can be traced to the common history of conflict between Finland and Russia. As a colony, Finland suffered under Russian domination and oppression and both countries fought wars through which Finland gained its independence in 1940. The perception of Russia and Russians as the enemy did not end after the war for freedom. According to Karamaa (2004), this negative perception was transferred from one generation to another as parents recounted the stories about their struggles from the hands of the Russians. This is one way how traditional Russian stereotypes, Russo-phobia and perceived threat from Russia is said to have been transferred from one generation to another in Finland.

So the main aim of this paper was to examine the generational divide (older versus younger generation) on how Russian minorities in Finland are percieved. Ford (2004) argued younger Europeans especially in Western Europe are likely to be more tolerant and liberal towards immigrants compared to older Europeans because of differences in factors such as immigrant heritage, educational level, preferences for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity and social contact with the immigrant group. Similarly, it was argued in this study that the perception of threat (realistic, symbolic and negative stereotype) from Russians and the feeling of prejudice towards them will be lower among younger Finns and higher among older Finns. While there have been several studies on threat and prejudice (see Riek et al., 2006 for a review), no study has empirically explored age or the generational devide in threat perception. This aspect is even more important and relevant within the context of Finnish Russian relations where percieved threat from Russians has been transfered from one generation to another (Karamaa, 2004). This article was published in the *Russian Journal of Communication*. The *Russian Journal of Communication* was suitable for this article because of its focus on Russian issues. The article focused on Russian speaking minorities in Finland within the broader context of Finnish Russian relations. This article was also a co-authored piece, but I completely approximately 75% of the work. (See work distribution page 21).

1.6   Article III

Nshom E. (2015), Predictors of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the role of intergroup contact. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research, 45*, 31-44.

Even though Russian minorities in Finland are often victims of discrimination and prejudice and feel emotionally more alienated than any other immigrant group in Finland (Jaakola, 2009), studies focusing on the factors that explain prejudice towards Russians especially the perception of threat are almost non existent.   Even though there are other factors such as personality traits, membership in a particular group, and cultural differences among others that have traditionally been considered causes of prejudice (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995), this study particularly considered percieved threat as predictors of prejudice. This is because percieved threat has been found to be an important predictor of prejudice and negative attitude towards minorities (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 1998, 2000).

The aim of this article was to examined the extent to which Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants is predicted by the perception of threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype). Moreover, It also sought to find out which of these threats is the strongest predictor of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants. Based on the common history between Finland and Russia, it was argued or hypothesized that negative stereotype will be the strongest predictor of prejudice towards Russian minorities among Finns. Literature suggests that negative stereotypes about Russians is one of the most common reasons why Finns dislike Russians (Karamaa, 2004). Nshom and Croucher (2014) found that adolescents in the Eastern city of Joensuu had as many negative stereotypes about Russians as old peopple over the age of 65. Moreover, adolescents are less likely to experience economic difficulties and competition from Russians and are less likely to prejudice Russians for symbolic reasons.

Besides, since the possibility for intergroup contact with Russian minorities in the North Karelian region is high and it borders Russia and Russians are the largest immigrant group in the region, this study also sought to understand the relationship between intergroup contact, threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype) and prejudice. This paper was published by the *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, and I am the sole author.

In the following tables, the main research questions of this dessertation and their corresponding article, and the sub research questions in this articles are presented. A work distribution for the coauthored pieces is also presented.

18

TABLE 1 Articles and the main research question addressed

Article	Main research Question addressed
Nshom E. (in press). Immigrant threat, Prejudice and the growing refugee crisis. In S. M. Croucher, Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk, B., & Wilson, P. (Eds), *Approaches to conflict: Mediatized and group dynamics* (pp. TBD). Lanhan, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.	What is integrated threat theory?
Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (accepted) Perceived threat and prejudice towards immigrants in Finland: A study among early, middle and late Finnish adolescents. *Journal of international and intercultural communication*	How differently do early, middle and late Finnish adolescents perceive immigrants as threatening? To what extent does the relationship between prejudice and perceived threat differ from Early to Late adolescence?
Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014) Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: a comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication, 6*, 308-317.	How differently do younger Finns perceive Russian speaking immigrants as threatening from older Finns?
Nshom E. (2015). Predictors of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the role of intergroup contact. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research 45*, 31-44.	What is the relationship between intergroup contact, perceive threat and prejudice towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents? To what extent does perceive threat predict negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents?

TABLE 2 Articles and the sub research questions and or hypotheses

Article	Sub research question / hypothesis
Nshom, E. (in press). Immigrant threat, Prejudice and the growing refugee crisis. In S. M. Croucher, Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk, B., & Wilson, P. (Eds), *Approaches to conflict: Mediatized and group dynamics* (pp. TBD). Lanhan, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.	Book chapter
Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (accepted). Perceived threat and Prejudice towards Immigrants in Finland: A study among early, middle and late Finnish adolescents. *Journal of international and intercultural communication*	*RQ1*: To what extent do Finnish adolescents perceive threat (symbolic threat, realistic threats and negative stereotypes) from immigrants? *H1*: Threat and prejudice will be lower among Late adolescents and higher among early adolescents. *H2*: There will be a positive relationship between perceived threat and prejudice among Finnish adolescents. *RQ2*: To what extent will the correlation between threat and prejudice differ
Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014) Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: a comparative study between	*RQ*: To what extent are the different kinds of threat manifested among Finns from

younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication, 6,* 308-317.	Russian-speaking immigrants? *H*: Younger individuals perceive lower levels of threat from Russian-speaking immigrants than older individuals toward Russian-speaking immigrants.
Nshom, E. (2015). Predictors of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the role of intergroup contact. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research 45,* 31-44.	*RQ1*:To what extent does perceived threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype) predict Finnish adolescent's prejudice towards Russian immigrants? *H1*: Negative stereotype will be the strongest predictor of prejudice towards Russian immigrants. *H2*: Intergroup contact with Russian immigrants is negatively related to perceived threat and prejudice.

TABLE 3   Work distribution for co-authored pieces

Article	Author contribution
Nshom, E. (in press). Immigrant threat, Prejudice and the growing refugee crisis. In S. M. Croucher, Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk, B., & Wilson, P. (Eds), *Approaches to conflict: Mediatized and group dynamics* (pp. TBD). Lanhan, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.	Sole author
Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (accepted). Perceived threat and Prejudice towards Immigrants in Finland: A study among early, middle and late Finnish adolescents. *Journal of international and intercultural communication*	Compilation of research literature (Elvis) Development and structure of aricle (Elvis) Development of theoritical framework (Elvis) Data collection (Elvis) Data preparation (Elvis) Data analysis (Elvis and Croucher) Results (Elvis and Croucher) Discussion (Elvis) Overall supervision and guidance (Croucher)
Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014) Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: a comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication, 6,* 308-317.	Compilation of research literature (Elvis) Development and structure of article (Elvis) Development of theoritical framework (Elvis) Data collection (Elvis) Data preparation (Elvis) Data analysis (Croucher and Elvis) Results (Croucher and Elvis) Discussion (Croucher and Elvis) Overall supervision and guidance (Croucher)

Nshom, E. (2015). Predictors of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the role of intergroup contact. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research 45*, 31-44.	Sole author

1.7   Adolescents as a research population

Three papers in this dissertation are about adolescents. Adolescence is an important and sensitive developmental stage when it comes to the study of prejudice. This is because it is throughout these years that attitudes toward the "other" form and crystalize (Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu, & Vallese, 2003). Adolescents are also the next generation of policy makers. There is extensive research on prejudice development in children (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben, 2006; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Nesdale, 1999), but very little is known about the development of prejudice from early to late adolescence (Kiesner et al., 2003). Most prejudice development theories and research have mostly focused on children from the ages of 4-12. Not so much is known about the experience of threat and prejudice from ages 10 to 20, especially developmentally (White et., al, 2009). Adolescents therefore represent an under studied population. In addition, adolescents constitute an easily reached research population as almost all of these individuals are in school and by studying their experiences of threat and prejudice towards immigrants and Russian minorities, we gain important and vital information about specific target variables to focus on in an effort to develop or enhance prejudice reduction strategies at schools and in the wider community (White et al., 2009).

1.8   Historical overview of immigration in Finland

Finland until recently, compared to other European countries such as Italy, the UK, and France has been a homogenous country and highly excluded from the effects of mass immigration (Ervasti, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, 2000; Kyntäjä, 1997). Finland can be considered a latecomer with regards to in-migration since for most of its history, it has been a country of out-migration towards the West for example Sweden, Canada, Australia, and the United States of America. It was especially in the late 1980s and 1990s that Finland became a preferred destination for many immigrants (Forsander, 2003).
    The genesis of immigration to Finland can be associated with the 1970s, particularly to the 1973 arrival of the first 100 refugees from Chile. A larger wave of immigration began occuring from the beginning of 1990s when the then president of the Republic of Finland Mauno Koivisto, through the Aliens Act (February 22 1990, 37891). This Act gave the right to some citizens of the

former Soviet Union with Finnish descendency who had moved to Russia and some parts of the Soviet Union between the 17th and beginning of the 20th century to return to Finland. This situation led to a significant rise in immigration with over 12000 returning to Finland within few years (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, 2001; Niemi, 2007).

The 1970s in Finland also witnessed the coming of some small immigrant groups, for example the Turks and the Vietnamese boat people. In the 1990s Finland welcomed thousands of refugees from Somalia and the former Yugoslavia (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Finland has therefore witnessed a sharp influx and increase in immigration within the last two decades. The size of the immigrant population increased threefold in the years 1990 to 2002 and fourfold from 1990 to 2006 (Niemi, 2007). Currently, Finland has an immigtrant population of over 200,000 with the highest number of immigrants coming from Estonia, Russia, Sweden, Somalia, and China in decending order. This number however still contitutes just about 2 to 3 percent of the total population (Statistics Finland, 2015). Russian minorities have always been the largest immigrant minority group until recently when they were slighty overtaken by Estonians. However, the Russian speaking community still represents the largest linguistic minority in Finland.

Historically speaking, Finland was a Russian colony from 1808 until 1917 and both countries have a comon history of conflict. Both have fought major wars including the Winter War of 1939–1940 and its continuation in 1941–1944. This common history and unique relationship between Finns and Russians represents an important research area and warrants some attention among other intercultural communication issues in Finland. This study is an attempt to throw more light on the perception of threat from Russian minorities. In order to do this, this study utilized integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 1998) as a theoritical framework. See the book chapter for a detail overview of integrated threat theory.

REFERENCES

Aboud, F. E. (1988). *Children and prejudice*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bigler, R. S. & Liben, L. S. (1993). A cognitive-developmental approach to racial stereo-typing and reconstructive memory in Euro-American children. *Child Development*, *64*, 1507–1518.

Black-Gutman, D.,& Hickson, F. (1996). The relationship between racial attitudes and social cognitive development in children: An Australian study. *Developmental Psychology*, *32*, 448 456.

Brylka, A., Mähönen, T. A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2015). National identification and attitudes towards Russian immigrants in Finland: Investigating the role of perceived threats and gains. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *56*, 670-677.

Doyle, A. B. & Aboud, F. (1995). A longitudinal study of white children's racialprejudice as a Social-cognitive development. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *41*, 209–228.

ECRI. (2007). *Third report on Finland*. Retrieved August 11, 2011, from http://hudoc.ecri.coe.int/XMLEcri/ENGLISH/Cycle_03/03_CbC_eng/FIN-CbC-III-2007-23-ENG.pdf

Ervasti, H. (2004). Attitudes towards foreign-born settlers: Finland in a comparative perspective. In I. S. Teoksessa (Ed.), *Yearbook of population research in Finland* (pp. 25 - 44). Helsinki: Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Ford, R. (2012). Europe's young cosmopolitans: Explaining generational differences in immigration attitudes (Institute of Social Change working paper). Manchester, NH: University of Manchester.

Forsander, A. (2003). Insiders or Outsiders Within? Immigrants in the Finnish Labor Market. *Finnish Yearbook Of Population Research*, *39,* 55-72. Retrieved from http://ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/fyp/article/view/44984

Helsingin Sanomat. (2011). *International edition*. Retrieved from http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Estonians+now+Finland%E2%80%99s+la rgest+immigrant+group/1135264130988

Jaakkola, M. (2000). *Finnish attitudes towards immigrants in 1987–1999*. (I. Söderling, Toim.) Helsinki, Finland: Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Jaakkola, M. (2009). Maahanmuuttajat suomalaisten näkökulmasta. Asennemuutokset [Finnish attitudes towards immigrants in] 1987–2007. Helsinki: City of Helsinki Urban Facts Research Series.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000*). Psychological acculturation and adaptation among Russian speaking adolescents in Finland*. Retrieved from www.ethesis:http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/val/sosps/vk/jasinskajalahti/psycholo.pdf

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (1998). Content and predictors of the ethnic identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *39*, 209–219.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (2001). Perceived discrimination and psychological adjustment among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Psychology*, *36*, 174–185.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Jaakkola, M., & Reuter, A. (2006). Perceived discrimination, social support networks and psychological well-being among three immigrant groups. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *37*, 293–311.

Joensuun kaupunki. (2010). *Joensuu – Karelian beat and vitality*. Retrieved from http://www.jns.fi/Resource.phx/sivut/sivut-jns/generalinfo/index.htx?lng=en

Kangas, A. (2011). Beyond Russophobia: A practice-based interpretation of Finnish Russian/Soviet relations. *Cooperation and Conflict, 46*, 40–59.

Karemaa, O. (2004). *Foes, fiends, and vermin. Ethnic hatred of Russians in Finland 1917–1923*. Retrieved from http://finoved.madistudio.com/?idm=41&op=main&idcont=126.

Kiesner, J., Maass, A., Cadinu, M., & Vallesse, I. (2003). Risk factors for ethnic prejudice during early adolescence. *Social Development*, *12*, 288–308.

Kyntäjä, E. (1997). Ethnic remigration from the former Soviet Union to Finland-patterns of ethnic identity and acculturation among the Ingrian Finns. In S. S. Teoksessa (Ed.), *Yearbook of population research in Finland* (pp. 102–   113). Helsinki, Finland: Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Lehtonen, J. (2005). Stereotypes and collective identification. In D. Petkova & J. Lehtonen (Eds.), *Cultural Identity in an intercultural context* (pp. 67–94). Jyväskylä, Finland: University of Jyvaskyla.

Liebkind, K., Mannila, S., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Jaakkola, M., Kyntäjä, E., & Reuter, A. (2004). Venäläinen, virolainen, suomalainen. Kolmen maahanmuuttajaryhmän kotoutuminen Suomeen (Russian, Estonian, Finnish: Integration of Three Immigrant Groups in Finnish Society), Helsinki, Finland: Gaudeamus.

Mannila, S., & Reuter, A. (2009). Social exclusion risks and their accumulation among Russian-speaking, ethnically Finnish and Estonian immigrants to Finland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*, 939–956.

Mähönen, T. A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2016). Ramifications of positive and negative   contact experiences among remigrants from Russia to Finland. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *22*, 247-255.

Migrant tales (2013). City of Joensuu: Challenging and beating intolerance one step at a time. Accessed 04/07/2016. City of Joensuu: http://www.migranttales.net/city-of-joensuu-challenging-and-beating-intolerance-one-step-at-a-time/

Nesdale, D. (1999). Ethnic prejudice in children: A social identity model. In P. R. Martin & W. Noble (Eds.), *Psychology and Society* (pp. 92–110). Brisbane, Australia: Australian Academic Press.

Niemi, H. (2007). *Russian immigrants in Finnish society*. Retrieved from http://www.socmag.net/?p=270

Nshom, E., & Croucher, S. M. (2014). Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: A comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *6*, 308–317.

Nshom, E. (2015), Predictors of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the role of intergroup contact. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, *45*, 31-44.

Pettigrew, T. F., Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 25*, 57-75.

Perho S. (2015). The racist youth subculture: The case of the 'little skinheads' of Joensuu. *Young 8(3)*, 17-36

Protassova, E. (2008). Teaching Russian as a heritage language in Finland. *Heritage Language Journal*, *6*, 127–152.

Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and the integrated threat theory: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *10*, 336–353

Ringo, M. (2005). Communication between Hong Kong and mainland Chinese: Rethinking crosscultural adaptation. *International & Intercultural Communication Annual*, *28*, 197–213.

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., McNatt, S. P., & Renfro, L. C. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of blacks and whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*, 1242–1254.

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Looving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *31*, 240–249.

Stephan, W. G., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In D. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.), *From prejudice to intergroup emotions: Differentiated reactions to social groups* (pp. 191–207). New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Stephan, W. G., Renfro, C. L., & Davis, M. D. (2008). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In U. Wagner, L. R. Tropp, G. Finchilescu, & C. Tredoux (Eds.), *Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew* (pp. 55–72). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1993). Cognition and affect in stereotyping: Parallel interactive networks. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception* (pp. 111–136). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *20*, 409–426.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 225–246). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice toward immigrants: An integrated threat theory. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *29*, 2221–2237.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C., Schwarzwald, J., & Turk-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, *29*, 559–576.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Morrison, R. (2009). Intergroup threat theory. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice* (pp. 43–59). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

White, F. A., Wootton, B., Man, J., Diaz, H., Rasiah, J., Swift, E., & Wilkinson, A. (2009). Adolescent racial prejudice development: The role of friendship quality and interracial contact. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *33*, 524-534.

Yle (2011). Russian language makes more strides in Eastern Finland. Accessed on 01/07/2016 http://yle.fi/uutiset/russian_language_makes_more_strides_in_eastern_finland/5306274

2   CHAPTER TWO

2.1   Method

2.1.1   Participants

Three different data sets were collected for this dissertation each representing an article in this dessertation (see table 3 below). The first data collection was used for article II. The sample consisted of 152 (62.8%) high school students between the ages of 16 and 19 years, while 90 (37.2%) were 65 years of age or older. In total, there were 242 participants. 87 (35.9%) were men and 155 (64.1%) were women. The distinction between younger and older Finns is primarily because the study was a comparative analysis between younger and older Finns in the way they percieve Russian speaking immigrants. The data for younger Finns were collected among high school students in the city of Joensuu while data for older Finns were collected among pensioneers living in the city of Joensuu. Joensuu is home to a significant amount of Russian speakers. Russians are the most populous immigrant group in the region. The city in itself is therefore relevant for this study since the study focused on Russian speaking minorities.

The second round of data collection was used for article I. Article I focused on percieved threat and prejudice in Finland among early, middle, and late adolescents and data were collected from the cities of Jyväskylä, Helsinki, and Joensuu. These cities were chosen based on factors such as relevance and proximity just to name a few. All participants were Finnish students from grade six to upper secondary school with an age range of 11 to 19 years. The study was approved by the respective authorities in city council and schools. There was a total of 795 participants. 459 (57.7%) were female while 336 (42.3%) were male. Moreover, 157 (19.7%) of the total sample were between 11 to 13 years old (early adolescents); 362 (45%) were between 14-16 years of age (middle adolescents), and 276 (34.7%) were between 17-19 years of age (late adolescents). These age categories were used based on developmental periods in adolescence which are: early adolescents (11-13 years), middle adolescents

(14-16 years), and late adolescents (17-19 years) (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Valsiner & Connolly, 2003). All participants were native Finns.

The third round of data collection was used for article III titled predictors of Finnish adolescents prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the effect of intergroup contact. The data was also collected from Joensuu bordering Russia. Joensuu was important for this study because of the possibility for a high quantity of contact with Russian immigrants. All respondents were Finnish adolescents from upper secondary to high school with an age range of 11–19. In total, there were 305 participants: 188 (60%) were women while 122 (40%) were men. So in total (all sub studies put together), this dissertation had a total of 1342 participants. See table below.

TABLE 4   Data, focus and participants

Data set	Focus	Article	Participant characteristics
Round one	Comparative study between younger and older Finns on the perception of threat	II	242 participants. 87 (35.9%) men and 155 (64.1%) women. 152 (62.8%) high school students between the ages of 16 and 19 years, while 90 (37.2%) were 65 years of age or older.
Round two	The relationship between threat and prejudice and its stability from early to late adolescence	I	795 participants, 459 (57.7%) female while 336(42.3%) were male. Moreover, 157 (19.7%) of the total sample were between 11 to 13 years old(early adolescents); 362 (45%) were between 14-16 years of age (middle adolescents), and 276 (34.7%) were between 17-19 years of age (late adolescents).
Round three	Predictors of Finnish adolescents prejudce and the role of intergroup contact.	III	305 participants: 188 (60%) were women while 122 (40%) were men between the ages of 11 to 19 .

2.1.2   Procedure

The required authorization and approval for each sub study in this dessertation was obtained from the University, education board of the city councils and the principals of all the schools. It took about 10 to 15 minutes to complete the self administered questionnaire and participants were told that participation was free and completely voluntary and that anonymity was guaranteed.

Data for article I was collected from Helsinki, Jyvaskyla and Joensuu. After obtaining the neccessary authorization and approval from all neccessary authorities, the researcher organized a data collection trip firsly to Helsinki. The questionnaires were handed over to teachers in the teachers room who in

turn handed them to their students at the start of their class according to detailed written instructions. The researcher passed back later and collected the questionnaires already filled. This same procedure was repeated for the cities of Jyvaskyla and Joensuu.

As for article II, which was collected in Joensuu, the data were made up of high school students between the ages of 16 to 19 and old people over the age of 65. After the neccessary authorization and approval was obtained, the principals assigned some classes to the researcher and the teachers of these classes gave the researcher 15 minutes at the start or end of their class to administer the questionnaires. Students were introduced to the questionnaire and were made to understand that participation was completely voluntary. It took about ten to fifteen minutes to complete the questionnaire. The data for older people were collected from the association of pensioners in the city of Joensuu. An introductory email was sent to the coordinator of the association and as a ressponse, he gave the researcher the opportunity to collect data in their general assembly. The researcher got there on the appointed day and explained to the participants the purpose of the study and that it was totally voluntary. It took about 10 to 15 minutes to complete the questionaire.

Data for article III was collected among high school students in Joensuu between the ages 11 to 19. The researcher contacted the school after official authorization from the education board of the city of Jyvaskyla. The researcher then took the questionnaires to the school and the school gave students the questionnaires to fill during their weekly general assembly. The researcher made sure that instructions were clearly written and understood by the administrator. The researcher went back later and collected the questionnaires after they had been completed.

2.1.3 Measures of main variables

The questionnaires used for article I, II and III all had demographic measures, a measure of symbolic threat (González et al., 2008), a measure of negative stereotype (González et al., 2008), a measure of realistic threat (González et al., 2008) and a measure of prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2002). Article III additionally had a measure of contact (both quality and quantity) (González et al., 2008). The original language of the questionnaire was in English but since it was addressed to Finns, it had to be translated and back translated into Finnish by native speakers of English and Finnish.

Realistic threat (articles I to III). Realistic threat was measured by asking participants to respond to the following questions: Because of the presence of immigrants (article I), Russian speaking immigrants (article II), Russian immigrants (article III), Finns have more difficulty finding a job", "Because of the presence of immigrants (article I), Russian speaking immigrants (article II), Russian immigrants (article III); Finns have more difficulty finding a house," and "Because of the presence of immigrants (article I), Russian speaking immigrants (article II), Russian immigrants (article III), unemployment in

Finland is increasing. Response categories ranged from (1) strongly disagreeto (5) strongly agree and higher scores meant more threat.

Symbolic threat (article I to III). Symbolic threat was measured by asking participants to respond to the following statements "Finnish identity/culture is threatened because there are too many immigrants (article I), Russian speaking immigrants (article II), Russian immigrants (article III) today," "Finnish norms and values are threatened because of the presence of immigrants (article I), Russian speaking immigrants (article II), Russian immigrants (article III) today," and "immigrants (article I), Russian speaking immigrants (article II), Russian immigrants (article III) are a threat to Finnish culture". Response categories ranged from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree.

Negative stereotype (article I to III). Negative stereotype was measured by asking participants the extent to which they thought some eight traits (violent, dishonest, unintelligent, friendly, arrogant, kind, greedy, and inferior) fully described immigrants (article I), Russian speaking immigrants (article II), Russian immigrants (article III). Response categories ranged from (1) no, absolutely not, to (5) yes, certainly.

Prejudice (article I and III). Prejudice was measured by giving participants six emotional words and asking them to indicate the extend to which that revealed their feelings towards "immigrants (article I), Russian immigrants (article III). The answer ranged from (1) totally disagree to (5) absolutely agree.

Contact (article III). Contact was measured using four items. Two sample items include: "How many Russian immigrant friends do you have?" and "Do you have contact with Russian immigrants?" The first item was rated from (1) none to (4) only Russian immigrant friends. The other three items were as follows: "Do you have contact with Russian immigrants at school?", "Do you have contact with Russian immigrants in your neighborhood?", "Do you have contact with Russian immigrants somewhere else such as during activities? Response options ranged from (1) never to (4) often. The following tables shows the alpha reliabilities for the scales.

TABLE 5   Alpha reliabilities for the scales

Measures	I	II	III	Original
Realistic threat	.89	.78	.94	.80
Symolic threat	.85	.82	.94	.89
Negative stereotype	.85	.71	.84	.83
Prejudice	.71		.71	
Conatact			.72	.72

30

REFERENCES

González, K. V., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice
    towards   Muslims in The Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory.
    British Journal   of Social Pyschology, 47, 667–685

Raabe, T. & Beelmann, A. (2011). Development of ethnic, racial, and national
    prejudice   in childhood and adolescence: A multinational meta-analysis of
    age   differences. Child Development, 82, 1715-1737.

Valsiner, J., & Connolly, K. J. (Eds.). (2003). Handbook of developmental
    psychology. London, UK: Sage

3 CHAPTER THREE

3.1 Main Results

This chapter presents a brief overview of the results of this study. SPSS was the main statistical software used to analyze the data in this study.

Research question 2 and 3 Article I

RQ2. How differently do early, middle and late Finnish adolescents perceive immigrants as threatening? (Article I)

RQ3. To what extent does the relationship between prejudice and perceived threat differ from Early to Late adolescence? (Article I).

Even though there are different immigrant groups in Finland, and this study fucused more on Russian minorities, it was important to understand how Finnish young people feel towards the "generic immigrant"; the one who takes their jobs and exploits their welfare system just to name a few because recently public discourse in Finland about immigration has focused much more on the generic immigrant rather than a particular group. Secondly, it was important to understand how the fear of immigrants differ from Early to Late adolescence. This is important in an attempt to design targeted prejudice reduction interventions. We also investigated the extent to which this fear was related to prejudice and whether this relationship between perceived threat and prejudice changed from Early to Late adolescence. This research questions were addressed in article I. Based on previous research, which suggests prejudice should be higher among early adolescents and lower among late adolescents (Black – Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Fishbein, 1996; Kiesner et al., Poteat & Anderson, 2012; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Rutland 1999; van Zalk & Kerr, 2014; White et al., 2009), and literature that suggests precieved threat is positively related to prejudice (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996; Stephan et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 1999), it was argued that threat and prejudice will be higher among early adolescents and lower among late adolescents. It was also

expected that threat should be positively related to prejudice and that this positive relationship should be the same from early to late adolescence. Results were as follows: On prejudice, 17-19 year olds ($M = 3.97$, $SD = .55$) scored significantly higher than both 14-16 year olds ($M = 3.81$, $SD = .76$), and 11-13 year olds ($M = 3.77$, $SD = .70$). On symbolic threat, 17-19 year olds ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 1.20$) scored significantly higher than 14-16 year olds ($M= 3.57$, $SD= 1.30$) and 11-13 year olds ($M= 3.71$, $SD= 1.40$). Similarly, on realistic threat, 17-19 year olds ($M= 3.77$, $SD=1.10$) scored significantly higher than 14-16 year olds ($M= 3.43$, $SD= 1.20$) and 11-13 year olds ($M= 3.47$, $SD= 1.30$). On negative stereotypes, 17-19 year olds ($M= 1.93$, $SD= .54$) scored significantly lower than 14-16 year olds ($M= 2.21$, $SD= .78$) and 11-13 year olds ($M= 2.17$, $SD= .81$). To what was expected, these results indicated that prejudice and threat (realistic threat and symbolic threat with the exception of negative sterotyping) were higher among early adolescents and lower among late adolescents. Moreover, as expected, the study also showed a positive relationship between prejudice and realistic threat ($r = .21$, $p < .01$) and between prejudice and symbolic threat ($r = .25$, $p < .01$) but a rather negative relationship between prejudice and negative stereotyping ($r = -.64$, $p < .001$) and this relationship between prejudice and the threat variables remained relatively stable from early to late adolescence. (see article I).

Research question 4 (article III)

RQ4.   What is the relationship between intergroup contact; perceive threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype) and prejudice?

The neccessity to investigate this question is rooted in the fact that Russian minorities are the biggest minority group in the Eastern part of Finland where this study was carried out. This region borders Russia and the Russian language is commonly spoken in the region. For this reason, the quantity and quality of contact with Russian immigrants was expected to be high. Based on Allport´s contact theory (1954) and previous research (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Jaakkola, 2000; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Stephan & Stephan 1996; Stephan et al., 1998, 2000; Valentova &Alieva, 2010), it was expected that intergroup contact would be negatively correlated with prejudice and percieved threat. However, the results of the study contradicted our expectation, as there was no significant relationship between intergroup contact with Russians and prejudice ($r = −.03$, $p = .63$), realistic threat ($r = .09$, $p = .07$), symbolic threat ($r = .08$, $p = .07$) and negative stereotype ($r = .06$, $p = .16$). (See article III).

Research question 5 (article III)

> RQ5. To what extent does perceive threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotype) predict negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents?

Even though there has been a lot of studies in Finland on Russian minorities (e.g. Brylka, Mahonen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 1998, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 1998, 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Liebkind, Mannila, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Jaakkola, Kyntäjä, & Reuter, 2004; Mahonen & Jasinskaja Lahti, 2016; Mannila et al., 2009), studies investigating specific factors that explain and predict negative attitudes or prejudice towards Russian minorities in Finland are rare. ITT was utilized in this study to study the extent to which percieved threats (realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotype) predicted negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants. It was also argued based on the traditional stereotypical perception of Russians and the prevalence of Russian stereotypes in Finland, that negative stereotyping will be the greatest predictor of negative attitudes towards Russians living in Finland. As anticipated, results showed threat to be a significant predictor of prejudice towards Russian immigrants in Eastern Finland F = 12.76, p < .0001, R^2 = .13. Individually as predicted, negative stereotype was found to be the only threat that significantly predicted prejudice towards Russian immigrants F = 32.94, p < .0001, R^2 = .12. Realistic threat F = .33, p = .57, R^2 = .001 and symbolic threat F = .55, p = .46, R^2 = .002 were not important to the attitudes of Finnish adolescents towards Russian immigrants. (see substudy III).

Research question 6 (sub study II)

> RQ6. How differently do younger Finns perceive Russian speaking immigrants as threatening from older Finns?

This question sought to understand how differently younger Finns percieve Russian speaking immigrants as threatening from older Finns. Even thought research suggests that the perception that Finns have towards Russians could have been transfered from one generation to another (Karamaa, 2004), this has never been empirically tested. It was therefore important to investigate the generational divide in attitudes towards Russian miorities considering the shared and common history between Finland and Russia as highlighted earlier in this dessertation. Results indicated that both groups (younger and older Finns) have prejudices against Russian speakers and that the older generation had more feelings of threat and prejudice towards Russian speaking immigrants than the younger generation. (See sub study II). These were the results that were obtained in this study. In the following chapter, the possible implications of these results are discussed. Limitations of this study and recommendations for future research are also suggested.

34

REFERENCES

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Brown, R. J., & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 37, pp. 255–331) San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Brylka, A., Mähönen, T. A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2015). National Identification and Attitudes Towards Russian Immigrants in Finland: Investigating the Role of Perceived Threats and Gains. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *56(6), 670-677.

Jaakkola, M. (2000). Finnish attitudes towards immigrants in 1987–1999. In I. Söderling (Toim.). Helsinki, Finland: *Väestöntutkimuslaitos*.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000*). Psychological acculturation and adaptation among Russian speaking adolescents in Finland*. Retrieved fromwww.ethesis:http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/val/sosps/vk/ jasinskaja- lahti/psycholo.pdf.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (1998). Content and predictors of the ethnic identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *39*, 209–219.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (2001). Perceived discrimination and psychological adjustment among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Psychology*, *36*, 174–185.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Jaakkola, M., & Reuter, A. (2006). Perceived discrimination, social support networks and psychological well-being among three immigrant groups. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *37*, 293–311.

Karemaa, O. (2004). *Foes, fiends, and vermin. Ethnic hatred of Russians in Finland 1917–1923*. Retrieved from http://finoved.madistudio.com/?idm=41&op=main&idcont=126.

Kiesner, J., Maass, A., Cadinu, M., & Vallesse, I. (2003). Risk factors for ethnic prejudice during early adolescence. *Social Development*, 12, 288–308.

Liebkind, K., Mannila, S., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Jaakkola, M., Kyntäjä, E., & Reuter, A. (2004).Venäläinen,virolainen,suomalainen.Kolmen maahanmuuttajaryhmän kotoutuminen Suomeen (Russian, Estonian, Finnish: Integration of Three Immigrant Groups in Finnish Society), Helsinki, Finland: Gaudeamus.

Mannila, S., & Reuter, A. (2009). Social exclusion risks and their accumulation among Russian-speaking, ethnically Finnish and Estonian immigrants to Finland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*, 939–956.

Mähönen, T. A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2016). Ramifications of positive and negative contact experiences among remigrants from Russia to Finland. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *22(2), 247-255.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*, 65–85.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*, 751–783.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*, 922–934

Poteat, V. P., & Anderson, C. J. (2012) Developmental changes in sexual prejudice from early to late adolescence: The effects of gender, race, and ideology on different patterns of change. *Developmental Psychology*, *48*, 1403-1415.

Raabe, T. & Beelmann, A. (2011). Development of ethnic, racial, and national prejudice in childhood and adolescence: A multinational meta-analysis of age differences. *Child Development*, *82*, 1715-1737.

Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and theintegrated threat theory: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *10*, 336–353.

Rutland, A. (1999). The development of national prejudice, in-group favouritism and self-stereotypes in British children. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*, 55–70

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., McNatt, S. P., & Renfro, L. C. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of blacks and whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*, 1242–1254.

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Looving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *31*, 240–249.

Stephan, W. G., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In D. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.), *From prejudice to intergroup emotions: Differentiated reactions to social groups* (pp. 191–207). New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Stephan, W. G., Renfro, C. L., & Davis, M. D. (2008). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In U. Wagner, L. R. Tropp, G. Finchilescu, & C. Tredoux (Eds.), *Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew* (pp. 55–72). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1993). Cognition and affect in stereotyping: Parallel interactive networks. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception* (pp. 111–136). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *20*, 409–426.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 225–246). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice toward immigrants: An integrated threat theor y. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *29*, 2221–2237.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C., Schwarzwald, J., & Turk-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, *29*, 559–576.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Morrison, R. (2009). Intergroup threat theory. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice* (pp. 43–59). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Van Zalk, M. H. W., & Kerr, M. (2014), Developmental trajectories of prejudice and tolerance toward immigrants from early to late adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *43*, 1658–1671.

White, F. A., Wootton, B., Man, J., Diaz, H., Rasiah, J., Swift, E., & Wilkinson, A. (2009). Adolescent racial prejudice development: The role of friendship quality and interracial contact. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *33*, 524-534.

Valentova, M., & Guayarmina, B. (2010). Attitudes towards immigrants in Luxemburg-do contacts matter? *International Review of Sociology*, *22*, 341–363.

4 CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Implications and recommendations

This study has gone a long way to help us to better understand the nature of the relationship between Finns and Russian minorities living in Finland and the nature of the relationship between Finns and immigrants. Particularly, this study sheds light on the extent to which Finns percieve Russian minorities and immigrants as a threat to the Finnish society and way of life and the extent to which this perception explains and predicts prejudice or negative attitudes. This study also revealed to us how differently the fear of immigrants manifest among early, middle and late adolescents and how differently the threat from Russian minorities manifests between younger and older Finns. The results as highlighted in the previous chapter, has potential implications within the context of Finnish Russian relations and within the context of Finnish immigrant relations.   In the next paragraphs, some of these potential implications and subsequent recommendations are highlighted. The usefulness of these findings can not be underestimated to stakeholders interested in Finnish Russian relations and Finnish immigrant relations such as National and local governments in Finland, the city council of Joensuu, educational institutions, international, national and local non governmental organizations and multicultural and immigrant associations just to name a few.

This study focused on Russian minorities but also immigrants. Two of the three studies (articles II and III) in this dessertaion were about Russian minorities in Finland and particularly in the city of Joensuu while one study (article I) was about immigrants in Finland. In the case of Russian minorities, it was revealed that Finns in general do percieve Russian minorities as a threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat and negative stereotype) and article II showed that among the different types of threat, realistic threat and symobolic threat were more prevalent among older Finns compared to younger Finns but no significant difference was found between both groups for negative stereotype. This has potential implications to Finnish Russian relations because the perception of threat has been found to be related to prejudice and

discrimination towards outgroups (Gonzaléz, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Stephan, Diaz-looving, & Duran, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Turk-Kaspa, 1998; Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Shelley, Krome, Sandra, & Ludlow, 2005). This could also explain why Russian minorities are considered to be the most pyschologically and emotionally alienated immigrant group in Finland and are often victims of prejudice (Jaakola, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). This is the first study that focuses particularly on percieved threat as an important factor to the attitudes of Finns towards Russian minorities in Finland. In 2007, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) recommended that the Finnish government should pay much more attention to the specific problems of discrimination and prejudice towards Russian minorities (ECRI, 2007). Based on the findings in this dissertation, it is recommended that any attempt to improving intergroup relations between Finns and Russian minorities in Finland should focus on reducing the perception of realistic threat, symbolic threat and negative stereotype but most importantly realistic threat as it was found to be the most prevalent among Finns in general. Moreover, much more attention and effort should be directed towards older Finns as the perception of threat from Russian minorities has been found to be even higher among them. Even though article II showed that older Finns showed a higher level of threat (realistic threat and symbolic threat), there was no significant difference between younger and older Finns on negative stereotyping. Article III also showed that among the different type of threats, negative stereotyping was the stronger predictor of negative attitudes towards Russian minorities. This means that among the different types of threat, negative stereotyping is the most important threat predicting negative attitudes towards Russian miorities. This implies that among the different types of threats, more attention should also be placed on reducing or counteracting negative stereotypes in an effort to reduce prejudice and negative attitudes towards Russian minorities in Finland and Joensuu in particular. The predictive power of negative stereotyping on prejudice and the insignificant difference between younger and older Finns on negative stereoyping is however not surprising within the context of Finnish Russian relations and history. However, this is the first time this phenomena has been empirically investigated and tested. It is not surpring because Finns have traditionaly held negative stereotypical perceptions about Russian minorities in Finland. Finland was a colony to Russia. Finland gained its independence from the hands of its said oppressor the Russians after fighting a number of brutal wars. This is said to be the origin of Finnish Russophobia and the negative stereotypical perception of Russians in Finland. This negative stereotypical perceptions were passed down traditionally from one generation to another as parents recounted the stories about their struggles in the hands of their Russian oppressors (Karamaa, 2004). Just like Karamaa (2004) suggested, this study also confirmed that negative stereotypes about Russians are prevalent in Finnish society today and that younger Finns have as much stereotypes about Russian

minorities as older Finns and among the different types of threat negative stereotypes is the strongest predictor of attitudes towards Russian minorities.

Even though there is very little research about how the different types of threats can be reduced or counteracted, Stephan and Stephan (2000) suggest that since since negative attitudes and threats can occur due to ignorance, providing ingroups with the right and accurate information, could counteract and reduce those threats and negative attitudes. According to Stephan and Stephan (2000), the following are some ways to do it: diversity training, multicultural education, cooperative learning programs, intergroup dialog, intergroup workshops, intercultural relations training, conflict resolution training, peace education, problem solving intergroup workshops and campaigns just to name a few. Based on the findings of this study, there is a need for schools in the North Karelian region of Finland to focus on creating or enhancing educational programs and campaigns that would reduce negative stereotypes about Russian minorities at school in particular and within the wider Finnish society. This will go a long way to enhance or create a conducive and welcoming educational and living environment for Russian students. Stereotypes can be very dangerous. "Whenever stereotypes are applied to members of a group, they tend to be denigrating and in most cases form the basis for intergroup prejudice. This may hinder communication, intercultural exchange/dialogue, and interpersonal relationships (Ringo, 2005)" (Nshom, 2016, p.11). According to Croucher (2013), an ingroup will less likely accept an immigrant group if they feel threatened by the immigrant group and host acceptance has potential implications to the successful adaptation of outgroups (Croucher et al., 2013; Kim, 1988). The negative consequences of perceived threat cannot therefore be underestimated.

On the other hand, this study also revealed that Finnish adolescents generally perceive immigrants as a threat and that among the different types of threats, realistic threat and symbolic threat were the most perceived threats from immigrants in Finland. Again, this means that there is a need for interventions that can reduce the perception of these threats from immigrants among Finnish adolescents. Any intervention aimed at improving intergroup relations between Finnish adolescents and immigrants should focus predominantly on reducing the perception of realistic threat and symbolic threats. These were found to be dominant among Finnish adolescents. This is especially important because realistic threat and symbolic threat were also found to be positively related to prejudice or negative attitudes towards immigrants and this positive relationship between threat (realistic threat and symbolic threat) and prejudice was the same for early, middle and late adolescents. This implies that whether it is among early, middle or late adolescents, any intervention aimed at reducing prejudice should focus predominantly on reducing the perception of realistic and symbolic threat. There was no significant relationship between prejudice and negative stereotyping among early, middle and late adolescents. We now know the factors that are important to the attitudes of Finnish adolescents towards

immigrants. This is important because according to Stephan and Stephan (1996, p. 423):

> A consideration of the role of threats as causes of prejudice has important implications for changing prejudice. In order to reduce prejudice between specific groups, it may be useful to know which types of threats are the strongest determinants of prejudice between these groups. This type of knowledge would be valuable in deciding on the particular techniques that are most likely to improve relations between the groups…

4.2 Significance and relevance of the study

The relevance of this study cannot be underestimated especially within the context of the current immigration crisis in Europe. Immigration and the threat posed by immigrants remains a very topical and sensitive issue on several political, economic and social platforms. Attitudes towards immigrants in Europe have worsened especially amidst the outbreak of the ongoing refugee crisis. In 2015, more than one million asylum seekers flooded onto European soil. This massive influx of refugees met with many demonstrations in several European countries (UNICEF, 2015). In Finland, it led to anti-immigrant demonstrations (Reuters, 2015; Yle, 2015). This study is timely within the context of anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe and in Finland particularly as it throws more light on the attitude of Finns and the perception of threat from immigrants and Russian minorities.

This study is also the first study to examine the generational divide in threat perception. Most studies on threat perception have mostly focused on adolescents or adults without a specific focus on understanding the generational divide between younger Finns below 20 and older Finns over 65 years old especially within the context of Finnish Russian relations and history. The sample is therefore unique.

Similarly, this is also the first study that attempted to understand how perceived threat from immigrants manifests in the process of adolescence development. This study introduces an integrated threat approach in the study of prejudice in adolescence and a developmental approach to the study of perceived threat by studying perceived threat among early, middle and late adolescents. This contributes to ITT by showing its applicability in a developmental setting. For example, this is the first study that attempts to show the extent to which the relationship between perceived threat and prejudice remains stable from early to late adolescence. Moreover, even though there are numerous studies on Russian immigration to Finland, this is the first study that focuses on perceived threat as an important factor to the attitudes of Finns towards Russian minorities living in Finland. Nevertheless, this study has some certain limitations.

4.3 Limitations and recommendations of the study

The first limitation of this study is the fact that it (study II and III) focusing on Russian minorities were carried out in the city of Joensuu, the capital city of the North Karelian region. This region was found suitable because of the fact that it borders Russian and Russian immigrants are the most significant minority group in the region. Even though this appears to be more of a plus, it represents a limitation in that its hard to genenralize the results to the entire Finnish population. Therefore generalizations of these findings should be made with caution. It is however recommended that future research should consider the probability or possibility of a bigger sample accross multiple cities in Finland for a more reliable and acurate generalization to the entire Finnish population.

Moreover, studying percieved threat among early, middle and late adolescents would have been more insightful if the data were longitudinal in nature. But because of some contrains, it was impossible to use a longitudinal approach (sub study I). The study was made up of seperate samples of early, middle, and late adolescents. Even though it is recommended that future rsearch should consider studying percieved threat and prejudice from a longitudinal perspective, the absence of it in this study is considered a limitation.

In addition, even though we obtained a high reliability for the scales in this study. We however acknowledge the fact that there is a possibility that some of the questions might have been too sensitive or some responses may have been influenced by the desire to main a positive face. In order to avoid this we made sure we emphasized the fact that the questionnaire was completely anonymous. However, the sensitive nature of some questions and the subject of prejudice and percieved threat can not be ignored as a potential limitation to this study.

In addition, all the studies included in this dissertation were quantitative in nature. Almost every study on percieved threat and prejudice has followed a quantitative approach. Studies utilizing a qualitative approach or a mixed method approach on percieved threat are still to surface. It is therefore recommended that future research on percieved threat consider the possibility of a qualitative or mixed method approach as its methodological approach. This will most likely give us more insight and an indepth understanding of integrated threat issues.

Lastly, the samples for this dissertation focused on adolescents between the ages of 11 to 19 and old people over 65 years old. This implies that there is a huge age category that is from 21 to 64 (adults) that was not included in this study. This means that this study does not tell us anything specific about poeple between 21 and 64 years old. This is a limitation in this study. However, studies in the future can consider studying the perception of threat from Russian minorities and from immigrants among adults between those ages.

This will enable us to see a bigger and better picture. However, this dessertation has successfully and empirically contributed to our understanding of the relationship between Finns and Russian minorities and between Finns and immigrants living in Finland.

REFERENCES

ECRI. (2007). *Third report on Finland*. Retrieved August 11, 2011,fromhttp://hudoc.ecri.coe.int/XMLEcri/ ENGLISH/Cycle_03/03_CbC_eng/FIN-CbC-III-2007-23-ENG.pdf.

Croucher, S. M. (2013). Integrated threat theory and acceptance of immigrantassimilation: An analysis of Muslim immigration in Western Europe. *Communication Monographs*, *80*, 46–62.

Croucher, S. M., Homsey, D., Brusch, E., Buyce, C., DeSilva, S., & Thompson, A. (2013). Prejudice towards American Muslims. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, *32*, Retrieved from http://immi.se/inter0063ultural/.

González, K. V., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice towards Muslims in The Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 47*, 667–685.

Karemaa, O. (2004). *Foes, fiends, and vermin. Ethnic hatred of Russians in Finland 1917–1923*. Retrieved from http://finoved.madistudio.com/?idm=41&op=main&idcont=126

Kim, Y. Y. (1988). *Communication and cross-cultural adaptation*: An integrative theory. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Nshom Elvis (2016), Predictors of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the role of intergroup contact. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research. 45*, 31-44.

Ringo, M. (2005). Communication between Hong Kong and mainland Chinese: Rethinking crosscultural adaptation. *International & Intercultural Communication Annual*, *28*, 197–213.

Schweitzer, R., Perkoulidis, S. A., Krome, S., Ludlow, C., & Ryan, M. (2005). Attitudes towards refugees: The dark side of prejudice in Australia. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, *57*, 170–179.

Scheibner, G., & Morrison, T. (2009). Attitudes towards polish immigrants to the Republic of Ireland: An integrated threat analysis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *32*, 1431–1448.

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Looving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *31*, 240–249.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *20*, 409–426.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C., Schwarzwald, J., & Turk-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, *29*, 559–576.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 225–246). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (2001). Perceived discrimination and psychological   adjustment among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Psychology*, *36*, 174–185.

44

Yle (2015), Anti-Immigration protest draws 200 in Helsinki. Accessed 29/09/2015. http://yle.fi/uutiset/anti-immigration_protest_draws_200_in_helsinki/8317805

5   SUMMARY

Recent trends in immigration have shown that attitudes towards immigrants or minority groups remain a major concern in most Western societies. Immigration issues are one of the most popular topics on political, economic, social and media platforms. Immigration and attitudes towards "the other" has never been a concern in Europe as much as it is now. This is off course not strange as Europe battles to survive one of the greatest immigration crises it has ever faced. Understanding the perception of the majority from the minority is indispensable especially in an attempt to improve intergroup relations between groups. In the words of Stephan and Stephan (1996, pp. 423), "In order to reduce prejudice between specific groups, it may be useful to know which types of threats are the strongest determinants of prejudice between these groups". This study focused on the perception of threat from immigrants in general and from Russian minorities in particular among Finns as a way of throwing more light on the factors that are important to the attitudes of Finns towards these two groups. In order to this effectively, this study employed the ITT as its main theoretical framework. According to ITT, there are four types of threats that may be perceived from the minority by the majority and these are: realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes, and intergroup anxiety. Realistic threats are threats to the physical and, economic wellbeing and political power of the in-group; symbolic threats are threats that arise because of cultural differences in norms, values and morals with the out-group; negative stereotypes are implied threats to the in-group; and intergroup anxiety refers to the anxiety the in-group might experience in the process of interaction with members of the out-group especially when both groups have had a history of antagonism (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 1998, 2000).

The peer reviewed book chapter in this dissertation is a general overview of the ITT and its various components. This book chapter answers research question 1.

1. What is integrated threat theory?

Article I (n = 795) focused on how differently early, middle and late adolescents perceive immigrants as threatening. It also sought to understand the relationship between threat and prejudice among Finnish adolescents and the extent to which this relationship remains stable from early to late adolescence. The paper is an application of ITT in order to understand the development of prejudice in adolescence. It answers research questions 2 and 3 below.

2. How differently do early, middle and late Finnish adolescents perceive immigrants as threatening?
3. To what extent does the relationship between prejudice and perceived threat differ from Early to Late adolescence?

The aim of article II (n = 242) was to understand the generational divide in the way Russian minorities are perceived in Finland. It answered research question 6.

6. How differently do younger Finns perceive Russian speaking immigrants as threatening from older Finns?

Lastly, article III (n = 305) focused on the extent to which perceived threat predicted prejudice towards Russian minorities and the effect of intergroup contact. This study provided answers to research question 4 and 5 of this dissertation

4. What is the relationship between intergroup contact, perceive threat and prejudice towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents?
5. To what extent does perceive threat predict negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents?

The findings in this study showed Russian minorities are percieved as a threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype) with realistic threat and symobolic threat being the most dominant threats. Older Finns where also found to percieve a greater level of threat (realistic threat and symobolic threat) from Russian minorities compared to younger Finns. There was no significant difference between both groups for negative stereotypes. This study also showed threat to be a significant predictor of prejudice, and that among the different types of threat, negative stereotype was the strongest predictor of negative attitudes towards Russian minorities.

Concerning immigrants, this study revealed that Finnish adolescents generally perceive immigrants as threatening and that among the different types of threats, realistic threat and symbolic threat were the most dominant threats perceived from immigrants in Finland. A positive association was also found between prejudice, realistic threat and symbolic threat. Most importantly, this association between threat and prejudice remained relatively stable from early to late adolescence.

These findings have important implications to Finnish Russian relations and Finnish immigrant relations. From these findings, we know what are the specific factors that are important to the attitudes of Finns towards these two groups (Immigrants and Russians) living in Finland. This information is useful especially in an attempt to develop specific and targeted interventions to reduce prejudice towards these groups. This study is therefore not only theoretically relevant as the first study to utilize an integrated threat approach to the study of prejudice in adolescence development but it is also practically relevant within the context of Finnish-Russian relations and within the context of Finnish-immigrant relations.

ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

IMMIGRANT THREAT, PREJUDICE AND
THE GROWING REFUGEE CRISIS

by

Nshom E. (in press)

In S. M. Croucher, Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk, B., & Wilson, P. (Eds), Approaches to conflict: Mediatized and group dynamics (pp. TBD). Lanhan, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

2

Immigrant Threat, Prejudice and the Growing Refugee Crisis

by

Elvis Nshom
Department of language and communication studies
University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland

"One of the greatest sources of difficulties in intercultural relations is the belief that other cultures pose a threat to one's own culture. Wars have been fought because of such fears, and, at a lesser level, feelings of threat commonly interfere with diplomatic, business, and interpersonal relations between members of different cultures. These feelings of threat also may prejudice the members of one culture against those of another culture." (Stephan et al., 2000)

Introduction

For the past decades and even more recently in the face worsening economic conditions; the refugee crisis and increasing migration; intergroup relations and conflict between immigrants and members of the host society has become a major concern in many parts of the world especially in western societies. Europe for example has witnessed a tremendous increase in immigration within the last two decades (Meuleman, Davidov & Billiet, 2009) and Studies focusing on anti- immigrant prejudice, threat perceptions and attitudes in Europe have boomed within recent years and are now relatively widespread (Schneider, 2008). Even though:

> many western countries are major aid donors, most are high net
> recipients of immigrants, and all are signatories to a number of United

Nations charters which repudiate discrimination and persecution and
guarantee human rights. Yet, despite this reputation for liberalism,
there can be little doubt that, in the past decade or so within Western
countries, there is an increasing awareness of, and a hardening of
attitudes towards people who are different and, in particular, towards
immigrants" (Vani & Mangan, 2009, p. 34).

Recent analysis in the 21st century has shown that negative, xenophobic and even racist
attitudes are widespread in Europe (Ervasti, 2004). Lets take the case of the current
refugee crisis for instance. In 2015, there was an unprecidented influx of asylum
seekers on European shores from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Somalia
Iraq and countries experiencing conflict, widespread violence and insecurity. By the
end of December 2015, about one million refugees had arrived Europe; about thirty four
thousand of of whom came by land through Turkey and the rest by sea through Greece,
Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, Cyprus and Malta (BBC, 2015; UNICEF, 2015). This situation
has been received with mixed feelings among members of the host community in
different European countries especially as most of these asylum seekers come from
muslim countries. In most European countries attitudes towards refugees have
hardened. In the UK for example, nearly half of Britons do not think refugees should be
welcomed into the country (Mirror.co.uk). Attitudes towards immigrants and
immigration in Finland have also become less positive especially amidst the outbreak of
the current refugee crises. Besides, Finland made headline news on several international
media outlets as anti immigrant protesters went on the streets and threw rocks and
fireworks at a bus transporting asylum seekers to a reception center in Lahti, Southern
Finland (Reuter, 2015). The influx of refugees into European soil also met with anti-
immigration demonstrations and protests in other European countries such as Britain,

Germany, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czech Republic just to name a few (Yle, 2015; Euractive, 2015). Research has shown that with regards to refugees and immigrant minorities, most members of the in-group or host society are often worried about an increase in unemployment, the economic burden these refugees or immigrants would pose to their respective governments and the potential danger they represent to the host culture and society (Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002; Yle, 2013). In fact according to Schneider (2008), prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants in Europe can be largely attributed to percieved threat. Within the past two decades, a lot of research has also demonstrated that when members of the in-group or majority believe that an out-group or minority such as immigrants and refugees is a threat to the host society, it could potentially lead to prejudice and conflict between them (Croucher, Galy-Badenas, Routsalainen, 2014; Stephan, Diaz-Looving, & Duran, 2000).

What is prejudice?

Prejudice off course is not a new phenomenon. According to Rus and Madrid (1998), there are different definitions of prejudice (see Ashmore, 1970; Buss, 1961; Devine,1995; Eagly, 1992; Morales & Moya, 1996; Oskamp, 1991; Simpson & Yinger 1965). However, etymologically, prejudice comes from the Latin word p*raejudicium* and ccording to Allport (1954) the father of prejudice research, the briefest definition of prejudice is "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant". In Ashmore's words, prejudice is: "a negative attitude toward a socially defined group and toward any person perceived to be a member of that group" (Ashmore, 1970, p. 253). Allport (1954) also defines prejudice as:

> An aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group… Ethnic prejudice is an

antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he is a member of that group (Allport, 1954, pp.7).

As far back as in the 1920s, prejudice and intergroup attitudes has been a major topical concern in the social sciences particularly in the fields of sociology and psychology. Beginning from the 1940s, there has been an emergence of theories on prejudice and intergroup conflict. Many of these theories such as the realistic group conflict theory (Sheriff, 1966), symbolic racism theory (Kinder & Sears, 1981), 'group position' model (Blumer 1958, see Bobo 1999, Quillian 1995, 1996), the power/economic threat approach (Blalock,1967), ethnic competition theory (Barth 1969; Coenders, 2001) suggest that threat perceptions and fear largely contribute to prejudicial attitudes towards outgroups such as immigrants and refugees (Schlüter, 2007). We all know of several and severe cases of prejudice that have resulted in open conflict between the majority and the minority. For example the cases of the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Northern Ireland and Nigeria, just to name a few (Oskamp, 2000). On another level, immigrant minorities in Europe and America are on daily basis victims of prejudice and discrimination.

The integrated threat theory of prejudice (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996, 2000) is the most recent theoretical postulation on this subject and provides a useful and integrated framework for understanding prejudice and negative attitudes towards outgroups or minorities (Scheibner & Morrison, 2009). It incorporates several and previous theoretical perspectives on intergroup conflict, prejudice and negative attitudes towards outgroup such as immigrants into a comprehensive explanatory model. In the following paragraphs, we will particularly focus on ITT and its components.

Integrated threat theory

According to ITT, there are four major threats that can explain and predict prejudicial attitudes towards outgroups such as refugees and immigrants. These are realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes (Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Stephan, Diaz-looving & Duran, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, Turk-Kaspa, 1998; Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Shelley, Krome, Sandra, Ludlow., 2005). These threats can also be predicted by factors such as: intergroup conflict, status differences, strength of identification, knowledge of the outgroup and intergroup contact. These factors are said to determine the extent to which an outgroup is percieved by the ingroup as threatening while the different types of threat (realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes) are considered to be the different factors explaining or predicting prejudicial attitudes towards outgroups. These different types of threat and their antecedents are disscussed in greater detail in the following parapgraphs:

Antecedents of Threats

Inter-group conflict

Intergroup conflict refers to real intergroup confrontations over scarce resources or differences in culture, norms and values. This potentially promotes the perception of threat and subsequently leads to negative attitudes or prejudice (Curseu, Stoop & Schalk, 2007). Within the context of the current refugee crisis in Europe, Europeans may have conflict with refugees or immigrants over scarce resources such as jobs, power, and money, just to name a few. This might be a motivating factor for them to perceive refugees or immigrants as a threat (realistic threat). They may also feel that the massive presence of refugees and immigrants may lead to their assimilation and conse-

quently the loss of cultural heritage. This could potentially also lead to the perception of threat from refugees and immigrant minorities.

Knowledge of the out-group

According to Stephan and Stephan (2000), the absence of basic or significant information about an outgroup will unavoidably cause the ingroup to perceive the outgroup as threatening. In such situations of ignorance, the ingroup is likely to make some assumptions of the outgroup or because of the fear of the unknown and unfamiliar, they might develop feelings of fear and threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). On the other hand, increased and sufficient knowledge about an outgroup can counter stereotypical perceptions previously held about the outgroup and consequently reduce the extent to which the outgroup may be perceived as threatening (Matusitz, 2012).

Intergroup Contact

The quantity and quality of contact also influences the perception of threat from an outgroup and its members. If the ingroup has a more positive contact with the outgroup compared to the amount of negative contact, the outgroup will less likely be perceived as threatening. The tendency here is that those with a previous negative contact with members of an outgroup, usually feel threatened by possibilities of future contact with the same group (Stephan et al., 1999; Stephan & Stephan 2000). Allport (1954) also emphasized that if contact is voluntary, cooperative, equal status, individualized and positive, it will improve intergroup relations. Several studies have found intergroup contact to be related to lesser feelings of threat (Aberson & Gaffney, 2008; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Stephan & Stephan 1996; Stephan et al., 1998, 2000; Valentova & Alieva, 2010).

Status differences

Whenever there are two groups with different statuses that is, high and low, there is a tendency for the higher to perceive the lower as threatening. This usually occurs because of the fear that members of the low level group might reverse the trend of power relations between them that is dominated by those of high status. The salience of threat posed by the other outgroups increases as the degree of status inequality increases. Threats will be more salient if the ingroup has a very high status or a very low status compared to the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 1998, 2000)

Strength of Identification

Identifying strongly with the ingroup has the ability to increase salience in all the four types of threat (Stephan & Stephan 2000). People generally have the tendency and the motivation to develop and maintain a positive sense of their social self (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Gonzalez et al., 2008). In the process of interaction, members of an ingroup who do not strongly identify themselves with the ingroup will not relate with the outgroup from the basis of their membership and consequently, will experience less feelings of threat or not at all. On the other hand, the feeling of threat is often higher with people who strongly identify with their membership when interacting with members of the ougroup. For instance, in-group identification has been found to have a significant effect on realistic and symbolic threat (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006). Individuals in the Netherlands who identified strongly with the Dutch ingroup were found to be more likely to perceive ethnic minorities as threatening to Dutch society and culture (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998).

<div align="center">

Types of threats

</div>

Realistic Threats

According to González et al. (2008), this fear arises because of competition over scarce resources such as houses and jobs or when the ingroup feels their resources are being

threatened by the outgroup. The desire of the ingroup to protect their resources becomes the motivating factor behind prejudice, negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviour towards members the outgroup. This often occurs when groups living together in a shared context compete for scarce resources and develop conflicting goals (Curseu et al., 2007). Several studies have found realistic threat to be related to prejudice and negative attitudes towards outgroups (Stephan & Stephan 1996; Stephan et al., 1998, 1999). In Finland for example, politicians and the media have often blamed outgroups such as refugees, Arabs and Russians for rising unemployment and economic difficulties (Finnish National Broadcasting Company, 2011; Jaakola, 2009). In fact, Jaakola (2004) found out that attitudes towards immigrants in Finland grew even harsher in the down turn of the economic recession. In Finland, Finns often worry about an increase in unemployment, the economic burden immigrants would pose to the Finnish government and their social welfare system (Pitkänen & Kouki, 2002). Similarly in other European countries like the UK, France and Germany, immigrants are often blamed for high rates of unemployment among members of the majority in the country. Whenever an outgroup represents an economic or political harm to the ingroup, the ingroup tends to perceive the outgroup as a realistic threat. It is a threat posed to the ingroup by the very existence of the outgroup (Stephan et al., 1998, 2000)

Symbolic Threats

It is obvious that when outgroups such as immigrants and asylum seekers move into a new society, they experience a lot of cultural change or go through some form of acculturation. On the other hand, members of the ingroup can sometimes be concerned or worried about the potential harm an outgroup with a different culture or way of life represents to their society and its members. According to Stephan and Stephan (1996) symbolic threats are threats that arise as a result of perceived differences in morals, val-

ues, standards, beliefs or attitudes between the ingroup and the outgroup. These are seen as threats to the way of life of the ingroup. Usually outgroups with a different view often threaten the ingroup and are consequently often disliked by the ingroup (Stephan et al., 2000). In the context of contemporary Europe and the current refugee crisis, immigrants with a Muslim background are in most cases perceived differently because of their religion and cultural values. Islam is most often presented as a religion of violence and abuse especially by the media. The outgroup´s values and beliefs are often times perceived as a threat to the autonomous population and its members whose values in most cases are considered the right ones (Curseau et al., 2007; Nshom & Croucher, 2014; Stephan et al., 1998). Research has found a relationship between symbolic threat and prejudice. Gonzalez et al. (2008) for example, found symbolic threat to be related to prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands. In another study, Croucher (2013) also found symbolic threat to be related to prejudice towards Muslim immigrants in Western Europe. Similarly, in Finland, Muslim immigrants are usually perceived negatively because of differences in their religious and cultural values (Jaakkola, 2009).

Inter-group Anxiety

Intergroup anxiety often occurs in the process of ingroup interaction with outgroup members. This anxiety or feeling arises because of the fear of embarrassment, ridicule, rejection, exploitation etc (Stephan et al., 2000) or when the outgroup and the ingroup both have a history of antagonism and have little prior personal contact, are ethnocentric, are ignorant of one another, and also when they are interacting in for example, unstructured or competitive circumstances where the outgroup has a higher status than the ingroup (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan et al., 1998). This anxiety experienced in the process of interaction is usually motivated by feelings of threat and in most cases causes the ingroup to dislike the outgroup member (Stephan et al., 2000). Some studies

have found a relationship between intergroup anxiety and negative attitude towards out-groups (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan et al., 1999; Stephan et al., 2000).

Negative Stereotype

These are threats that arise because of negative stereotypes the ingroup has of the out-group. For example, if ingroup members believe that immigrants and refugees are aggressive, dishonest, and unintelligent or whatever negative attribute or stereotype you can imagine, they will expect interactions with them to be negative (Gonzalez et al., 2008). In the course of interaction, ingroup members may be afraid that negative consequences will befall them because they have negative expectations of the outgroup (Stephan et al., 1998). This fear can lead to prejudice and negative attitudes. Negative stereotype has been found to be related to negative outgroup attitudes and prejudice (Stephan et al., 2000). The more negative stereotypes an ingroup has of an outgroup, the more feelings of threat and fear they will likely perceive from them. On the other hand, positive stereotypes have been associated to lesser feelings of fear and anger towards outgroups (Verkuyten, 1997; Gonzalez et al., 2008).

Thus originally, realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotype and intergroup anxiety are conceptualized as the different types of threat explaining and predicting negative attitude, prejudice and discriminatory behaviour towards outgroups while intergroup conflict, status differences, strength of identification, knowledge of the outgroup and intergroup contact are conceptualized as antecedents or predictors of threat (Stephan et al., 1996, 1998). (See the figure 1 below):
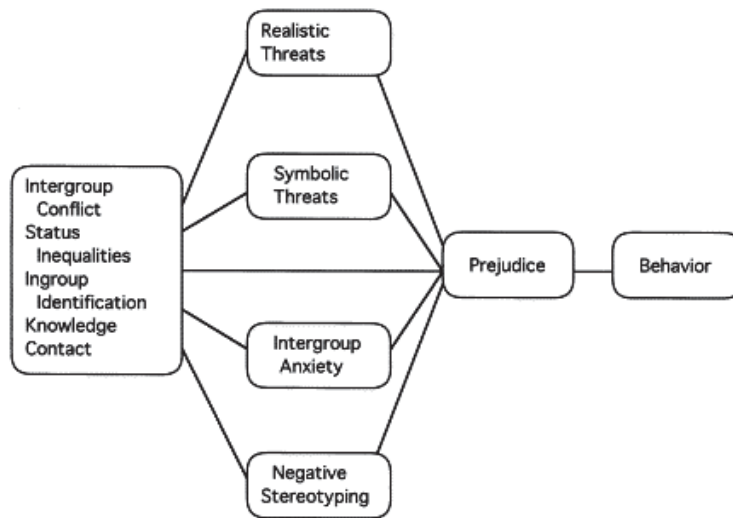
Figure 1: The Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) Model (Stephan, Ybarra &

Bachman, 1999)

Application of ITT

Since the inception of ITT, there have been numerous studies that have applied ITT as a

framework to explain and predict negative attitudes and prejudice towards different

types outgroups in different parts of the world. Most of these studies have received em-

pirical support for ITT and have proven its applicability in several contexts (Curseu et

al., 2008; Stephan and Stephan, 1996; Stephan et al., 1998, 1999). For example, Steph-

an et al. (1998), in a sample of American students found out that threats were responsi-

ble for a significant amount of negative attitudes and prejudice towards immigrants

from Mexico, Cuba and Asia. In another study carried out by Stephan et al. (1998) on

attitudes towards immigrants in Spain and Israel, they found out that all four threats

(realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes) were

useful and significant predictors of prejudice towards immigrant groups. Other studies,

such as Curseu et al. (2007), employed ITT of prejudice to predict prejudicial attitudes

towards immigrant employees in a sample of Dutch workers. In this particular study, it

was noticed that the variables were interrelated. ITT has also been used to explain negative attitudes towards AIDS and cancer patients (Berrenberg, Finlay, Stephan, & Stephan, 2002), towards refugees in Australia (Schweitzer et al., 2005) and toward Muslims (Croucher et al., 2013; Gonzalez et al., 2008) and ethnic minorities (Nshom & Croucher, 2014, 2015; Riek et al., 2006).

Despite the fact that many studies have obtained considerable support for ITT of prejudice as a suitable theoretical framework for understanding prejudicial attitudes towards outgroups (Curseu et al., 2007; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan et al., 1998, 2000), ITT has also been criticized. It has been criticized for its restriction to four threats as the sole explanation and cause of prejudice and negative attitudes towards outgroups by ignoring other non-inclusive factors that might also lead to prejudicial attitudes. It is important to state here that even though Stephan et al. (1998, 1999) have demonstrated through a number of studies that these four threats (realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety) are important predicators of prejudice towards immigrants, they have also acknowledged the limitation of ITT in understanding and explaining every aspect of prejudice (Laher, 2008).

There have also been some problems with the conceptualization of some threats (negative stereotype and intergroup anxiety) and antecedents (Redmond, 2011; Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006). For example in the last decade, there has been research questioning the position of negative stereotype in the ITT model whether as a predictor of outgroup attitudes or as a predictor of threat (Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Bettencourt, Ervin, Jackson, McNatt, & Renfro, 2002). The conceptualization of negative stereotype as a threat is still being debated (Riek et al., 2006). Stephan et al. (2002) in their study conceptualized negative stereotype as a predictor of threat and as a predic-

tor of out-group attitudes in the same study and found out that negative stereotype was more fitted as a predicator of threat rather than negative attitudes. Similarly, Aberson and Gaffney (2008) conceptualized negative stereotypes as an antecedent of threat, rather than a threat itself. Others such as Harrison and Peacock (2010) and Riek et al. (2006) have suggested that negative stereotype and intergroup anxiety be removed from the ITT model as a threat. Because of all these, there have been some major revisions of ITT since its inception (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan, Ybarra & Rios, 2009, 2015).

The revised version of ITT

In the latest revision labelled intergroup threat, the original four threats (realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety) have been revised and reduced to two basic threats that are: realistic and symbolic threats (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009; Stephan, Ybarra & Rios, 2015). According to Stephan et al. (2015), negative stereotype is considered a subset of realistic threat and symbolic threat. It is considered a realistic threat when the negative stereotype is one that implies a potential harm to the ingroup (e.g. violent, materialistic) and on the other hand a symbolic threat when the negative stereotype has the potential to undermine the values, norms, culture or worldview of the ingroup (e.g. Disrespectful, immoral). Intergroup anxiety has also been categorized as a subset of realistic threat because it deals with apprehensions about interacting with outgroups members. So in essence, realistic and symbolic threats are the only threats that have been retained as the basic threats predicting or explaining prejudicial attitudes towards outgroups. However, they have also made a distinction between group threats and individual threats, group threats being threats to an ingroup as a whole and individual threats being threats to individuals because of their membership in a particular group. Thus in the revised edition, there are

four types of threats: realistic group threats, symbolic group threats, realistic individual threats, and symbolic individual threats (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan et al., 2009; Stephan et al., 2015). (See figure 2 below):
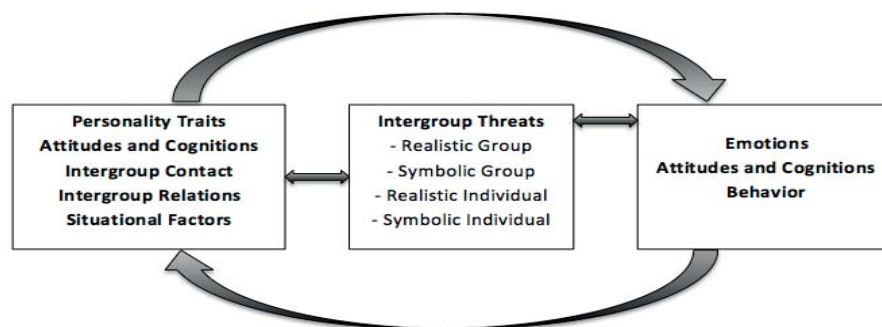
Figure 2: Theoretical Model of Integrated Threat Theory: Revised version (Stephan et al., 2015)

The perception of threat could have serious consequences. Stephan et al. (2015) explains that whenever the ingroup perceives an outgroup as threatening; it affects them cognitively, emotionally and behaviourally. Cognitively, it affects their mental perception of the outgroup and its members which may consequently lead to the perception of negative stereotypes, ethnocentrism, intolerance, hatred and dehumanization of the outgroup. On another level, this may also lead to the opposition of any policies, benefits and privileges that favour outgroups. Emotionally, ingroup members may experience negative emotions such as anger, fear, anxiety and resentment, contempt, disgust, vulnerability, collective guilt, rage, hatred, humiliation, dread, helplessness, despair, righteous indignation and panic. Perceived threats could also undermine emotional empathy for members of the outgroup and increase empathy towards members of the ingroup. These mental and emotional experiences often leads to behavioural responses such as discrimination, withdrawal, prejudice, violence, aggression, lying, cheating, harassment,

sabotage, protests, strikes, warfare, genocides and other forms of intergroup conflict depending on the type of threat against members of the outgroup (Stephan et al., 2015).

Perceived threat can have a lot of practical implications on the peaceful coexistence between members of the ingroup and outgroup in different contexts and at different levels of society. The consequences of threat perception, discrimination and prejudice cannot be underestimated in our world today, be it on a personal or even larger level if not checked or reduced. The current refugee crisis in Europe has led to a lot of violence, demonstrations and aggression towards refugees in particular and immigrants in general. This attitude is predominantly motivated by the perception that they are a threat to the host society (Schneider, 2008).

Focusing on percieved threats from the out-group will definitely not be a bad idea at all in an atempt to improving intergroup relations for the achievement of a better society where there is peaceful coexistence, a better appreciation of diversity, love and unity. ITT research can help to redefine our focus, effort and investment in an attempt to improve intergroup relations and reduce discrimination and prejudice towards outgroups or minorities such as refugees and immigrants. This is because it shows us specific and important variables to the attitudes of ingroups towards a particular outgroup. The usefulness or importance of ITT research to stakeholders such as governments, policy makers, teachers, trainers, social workers, NGOs, associations, just to name a few, cannot therefore be underestimated. According to Stephan and Stephan (1996, p. 423):

A consideration of the role of threats as causes of prejudice has important implications for changing prejudice. In order to reduce prejudice between specific groups, it may be useful to know which types of threats are the strongest determinants of prejudice between these

groups. This type of knowledge would be valuable in deciding on the particular techniques that are most likely to improve relations between the groups…

Unfortunately, very little research has focused on how the different types of perceived threat can be reduced or counteracted so that relations between the ingroup and outgroup can be improved. Nevertheless, one of the ways in which this can be done is by providing ingroups with accurate information that counteracts the type of threat. This is based on the assumption that threat and negative attitude towards outgroups can be due to ignorance and with the right information, such fears can be reduced. There are several ways to do this; for example diversity training, multicultural education, cooperative learning programs, intergroup dialog, intergroup workshops, intercultural relations training, conflict resolution training, peace education, problem solving intergroup workshops, campaigns (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Moreover, according to Stephan et al. (2015), group level threats are often targeted from a public space while individual level threats are often targeted from an individual space. On an individual level, there should be an effort to maintain daily security by establishing laws and rules that promote peace and unity and prohibit violence, prejudice and discrimination towards outgroups or minorities. Opportunities for intergroup contact should also be created, enhanced or maximized. Researchers particularly emphasize the importance of intimate situations that have the potential to offer ingroup members personalized understanding of members of the outgroup or situations and events that may provide ingroup members a chance to create friendships with outgroup members. Research has shown that more positive contact between both groups can lead to lesser feelings of threat and lesser feelings of prejudice (e.g. Abberson & Gaffney, 2008; Jaakkola, 2000; Stephan & Stephan 1996; Stephan et al., 1998, 2000;

Valentova & Alieva, 2010). On a group level, policies ought to be formulated and implemented that will help to eradicate the perception of threat. Public campaigns that stress the importance of cultural diversity, global citizenship, peace and unity are an asset in an effort to eradicate or reduce perceived threat. The media can also play a very useful and important role in this process. These among others are some of the ways in which threats can be reduced.

Even though ITT has proven to be a useful tool in understanding and explaining intergroup conflict and prejudice towards racial, gender, national, ethnic and immigrant groups (Riek et al., 2006). There is however a lot still to be learned and many questions to be answered. In the following list below, some questions that warrant more attention in the study of integrated threat issues are presented. Some of these questions come from my experience of researching integrated threat issues while others are questions I consider very important from Stephan et al. (2015). The questions are as follows:

1) How does threat change as people move from one stage of human development to another and what are the factors that affect it?

2) What are the different dimensions and factors that predispose an antecedent of threat to be a more significant predictor of threat while another is not in the same geographical, economic and social context?

3) If outgroups perceive themselves as a threat to the ingroup, what are the possible implications to intergroup relations?

4) What are the factors and conditions that facilitate the translation of a threat from a cognitive and emotional level into actual behavioral manifestation?

5) When does the experience of threat escalate, and what causes it to do so?

6) Does the perception of threat typically decrease over time as people adapt to it?

7) To what degree are threats consciously appraised, and to what degree do they affect people in the absence of conscious awareness?

8) What actions on the part of outgroups cause the greatest perceptions of threat?

9) Do the responses to threat vary as a function of whether the threat is posed by a single outgroup member or the outgroup as a whole?

I hope that different stakeholders will pay attention to Integrated threat research especially amidst worsening attitudes towards refugees and immigrants in western countries in an attempt to improve intergroup relations with these groups. The rapid change in the demographical composition of western societies also means more attention should be given to relations between minorities and majorities.

References

Aberson, C. & Gaffney, A. (2008) An integrated threat model of explicit and implicit attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *39*, 808–830.

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge MA: Addison-Wesley.

Ashmore, R. D. (1970). "Prejudice: Causes and Cures." In *Social psychology: Social influence, attitude change, group processes, and prejudice* (pp. 245-339). B. E. Collins (Ed.). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bizman, A. & Yinon, Y. (2010). Intergroup and interpersonal threats as determinants of prejudice: The moderating role of in-group identification. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *23*, 191-196.

Berrenberg, J. L., Finlay, K. A., Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C.W. (2002). Prejudice toward people with cancer or AIDS: Applying the integrated threat model. *Journal of Applied Biobehavioral Research*, *7(2*), 75–86.

Curseu, P. L., Stoop, R., & Schalk, R. (2007). Prejudice toward immigrant workers among   Dutch employees: Integrated theory revisited. *European Journal of Pyschology*, *37*, 125-140.

Croucher, S. M., Aalto, J., Hirvonen, S., & Sommier, M. (2013). Integrated threat and intergroup contact: An analysis of Muslim immigration to Finland. *Human Communication, 16*, 109 - 120.

Croucher, S. M. (2013). Integrated threat theory and acceptance of immigrant assimilation: An analysis of Muslim immigration in Western Europe. *Communication Monographs,80*, 46 - 62.

Duckitt, J. (1992). Psychology and prejudice. A historical analysis and integrative framework. *American Psychologist*, *47*, 1182-1193.

ECRI. (2007). Third report on Finland. Retrieved August 11, 2011, from

    http://hudoc.ecri.coe.int/XMLEcri/ENGLISH/Cycle_03/03_CbC_eng/FIN-

    CbC-III-2007-23-ENG.pdf.

Finnish National Broadcasting Company. (2011). General election results. Retrieved

    from http://yle.fi.vaalit.tulospalvelu/2011/

González, K. V., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice towards

     Muslims in The Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal

    of Social Pyschology, 47,* 667–685.

Harrison, N. & Peacock, N. (2010) Cultural distance, mindfulness and passive

    xenophobia: using Integrated Threat Theory to explore home higher education

     students' perspectives on 'internationalisation at home'. *British Educational

    Research Journal*, *36*, 877–902.

Islam, R. M. & Hewstone, M. (1993). Dimensions of contact as predictors of intergroup

    anxiety, perceived outgroup variability, and out-group attitude: An integrative

    model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19,* 700-710.

Jaakkola, M. (2000). Finnish Attitudes towards immigrants in 1987-1999. (I. Söderling,

    Toim.) Helsinki, Finland: Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Jaakkola, M. (2009). *Maahanmuuttajat suomalaisten näkökulmasta. Asennemuutokset

    1987-2007.* Helsinki, Finland: City of Helsinki Urban Facts Research Series.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. & Liebkind, K. (2001). Perceived discriminaion and psychological

    adjustment among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland.

    International Journal of Psychology, *36*, 174-185.

Kinder, D. & Sears, D. (1981). Negative attitudes and politics: Symbolic racism versus

    racial threats to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*,

    40, 414-431.

22

Laher, H. (2008). *Antagonism toward African immigrants in Johanesburg, South Africa.*
Johanesburg, South Africa: University of Witwaterland, Johanesburg, SA

Matusitz, J.(2012), Relationship between knowledge, stereotyping and prejudice in
Interethnic communication, *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Heritage*, *10*, 89-
98.

Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014). Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking
immigrants: a comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian
Journal of Communication*, *6,* 308-317.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice?
Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*,
38, 922-934.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact
theory.   Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *90*, 751-783.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*,
65-85.

Redmond, B. F. (2011). Intergroup Theories (Integrated Threat, Social Identity, and
Social Dominance). Assesed march 28, 2012.
https://wikispaces.psu.edu/display/PSYCH484/8.+Intergroup+Theories+(Integr
ated+Threat,+Social+Identity,+and+Social+Dominance).

Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and the
integrated threat theory: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social
Psychology Review*, *10*, 336–353.

Scheibner, G. & Morrison, T. (2009). Attitudes towards Polish immigrants to the
Republic of Ireland: An integrated threat analysis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*,
32, 1431-1448.

Sherif, M. (1966). *Group conflict and cooperation*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Stephan W. G. & Stephan C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice in S.Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing Prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 225-246). Hillsdale, NJ,Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stephan, W. G., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In D. Mackie and E. R. Smith (Eds.), *From prejudice to intergroup emotions: Differentiated reactions to social groups*, 191-207. New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., McNatt S. P. Renfro L. C. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of Blacks and Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 1242-1254.

Stephan W. G. & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 409-426.

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Looving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 240-249.

Stephan, W. G., Renfro, C. L. & Davis, M. D. (2008). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In U. Wagner, L. R. Tropp, G. Finchilescu, & C. Tredoux (Eds.), *Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F.Pettigrew* (pp. 55-72). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Morrison, R. (2009). Intergroup Threat Theory. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice* (pp. 43-59). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

24

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice toward immigrants: An

integrated threat theory. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *29*, 2221-2237.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C., Schwarzwald, J., & Turk-Kaspa, M. (1998).

Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory

analysis. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, *29*, 559-576.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Rios Morrison, K. (2015). Intergroup Threat Theory. In

T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of Prejudice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence

ErlbaumAssociates.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In G.

Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*

(pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Valentova M. & Guayarmina B. (2010). Attitudes towards immigrants in Luxemburg-

Do contacts matter? CEPS / INSTEAD. Working Paper No. 2010 – 20, 1 – 33.

Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Prins, K. S., & Buunk, B. P. (1998). Attitudes of minority and

majority members towards adaptation of immigrants. *European Journal of

Social Psychology*, *28*, 995–1013.

Verkuyten, M. (1997). The structure of ethnic attitudes: The effects of target group,

region, gender, and national identity. Genetic, Social & General Psychology

Monographs, *123,* 261-284.

II

PERCEIVED THREAT AND PREJUDICE TOWARDS IMMI-GRANTS IN FINLAND: A STUDY AMONG EARLY, MIDDLE AND LATE FINNISH ADOLESCENTS

by

Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (accepted)

Perceived threat and prejudice towards immigrants in Finland: A study among early, middle and late Finnish adolescents

By

Elvis Nshom and Stephen Croucher
Department of language and communication studies
University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland

Abstract

Using integrated threat theory (ITT), this study examined how perceived threat, or fear of immigrants, manifests among early, middle, and late Finnish adolescents and the relationship between perceived threat and prejudice among Early, Middle, and Late adolescents. The total sample consisted of 795 Finnish adolescents between 11 and 19 years of age. Realistic and symbolic threats were the most perceived threats and were more prevalent among Late Adolescents. There was a positive relationship between prejudice and realistic threat and between prejudice and symbolic threat, but a negative relationship between prejudice and negative stereotyping and this relationship remained relatively stable from early to late adolescence. Implications are also discussed.

Key words: Prejudice, adolescents, integrated threat, Finland, immigrant.

Background

Despite the continuous rise in immigration and an attempt to manage immigration in Europe, anti- immigrant threat and prejudice remains a major concern at the individual and societal levels, and more often than not surfaces as a key political, economic, and social issue. With a current immigrant population of over 200,000 (Statistics Finland, 2014), Finland has traditionally been viewed as a homogeneous society and highly excluded from the consequences of massive immigration (Kyntäjä, 1997). However, from 1990 to 2002 the number of immigrants tripled, but accounted for less than three percent of the total population (Ervasti, 2004). Research has shown anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe in general, and Finland in particular, is relatively widepread (Jaakola, 2000, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Schneider, 2008; Tarvas & Martikainen, 2012). According to Schneider (2008), one of the core explanatory factors for such widespread anti-immigrant attitudes is threat perception. Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in Finland have become less positive especially amidst the outbreak of the current refugee crises in Europe. This has even led to anti-immigration demonstrations especially in the capital area (Helsinki) (Yle, 2015). Not long ago, Finland made headline news as anti-immigrant protesters threw rocks and fireworks at a bus transporting asylum seekers to a reception center in Lahti, Southern Finland (Reuter, 2015). Most Finns often worry about an increase in unemployment, the economic burden immigrants would pose to the Finnish government and the danger immigrants represent to the Finnish culture and society (Pitkänen & Kouki, 2002; Yle, 2013). Research has shown believing people from other cultures are a threat to one's own culture and survival can lead to prejudice and discrimination towards people from other cultures such as immigrants (Croucher, Galy-Badenas, Routsalainen, 2014; Stephan, Diaz-Looving, & Duran, 2000). In other studies, threats have been found to predict prejudice and to be positively

related to prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 1998).

According to Stephan and Stephan's (1996, 1998, 2000) integrated threat theory (ITT), prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants and outgroups, can be related to four types of threats: realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotype, and intergroup anxiety. Realistic threats are threats to the physical wellbeing, economic and political power of the in-group; symbolic threats are threats that arise because of cultural differences in values, morals and worldview of the out-group; negative stereotype are threats that arise because of negative stereotypes the in-group has about the outgroup, and intergroup anxiety refers to the anxiety the in-group experiences in the process of interaction with members of the out-group especially when both groups have had a history of antagonism (as in the case of Finland and Russia).

In Finland, few studies have empirically investigated threats posed by immigrants to the majority Finnish population (e.g., Croucher, Aalto, Hirvonen, & Sommier, 2013; Nshom & Croucher, 2014) and even though ITT (Stephen & Stephan, 1996, 1998) has been widely used in other parts of the world to understand threats posed by immigrants and minority groups among different samples (e.g., Curseu, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007; González et al., 2008; Ljujic, Vedder, & Dekker, 2012; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Turk-Kaspa, 1998), these studies have not considered how differently early, middle, and late adolescents percieve immigrants as threatening. The goal of this study is to fill this research gap. This study is also an attempt to introduce an integrated threat perspective to the study of prejudice development from early to late adolescence and at the same time a contribution to research on ITT by showing its applicability in a developmental setting. In this study, we first examine the extent to which

Finnish adolescents feel threatened by immigrants and subsequently how differently threat and prejudice manifests itself among Early, Middle, and Late Adolescents.

On the other hand, even though research has empirically found a relationship between percieved threat and prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996), scholarship has not investigated the stability of this relationship. Another dimension in this study is to understand the extent to which Finnish adolescent's prejudice towards immigrants is related to percieved threat and the extent to which this relationship remains stable from early to late adolescence. This is particularly important because studies on prejudice development (see Raabe & Beelmann, 2011 for a review), have not considered threats while studies on threat and prejudice (see Riek et al., 2006 for a review) have not considered a developmental perspective.

Adolescence is a crucial developmental stage because these individuals represent the next generation of policy makers and it is also throughout these years that prejudice and attitude towards outgroups form and crystalize (Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu, & Vallese, 2003). By describing their experiences of threat and prejudice towards immigrants, and clearly differentiating between Early, Middle, and Late adolescents, we gain important and vital information about specific target variables to focus on in an attempt to develop or enhance prejudice reduction strategies towards immigrants, which is a worthwhile social investment for the future (White, Wootton, Man, Diaz, Rasiah, Swift, & Wilkinson, 2009).

General research on Prejudice

Human history has been plagued consistently with intergroup prejudice and conflict (Webstar, Saucier, & Harris, 2010). Prejudice has been defined and studied differently (e.g., Allport, 1954; Buss, 1961; Carter & Rice, 1997; Meertens & Pittergrew, 1995, 1997; Oskamp, 1991, 2000; Rus & Madrid, 1998); but according to Allport (1954) prejudice is a negative attitude towards someone who belongs to a group simply because he is a member of that

group and is presumed to have the qualities ascribed to the group. He insists it is based on a faulty generalization. Personality threats, membership in a particular group, and cultural differences among others have traditionally been considered causes of prejudice (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). However, concerning children and adolescents, attention has particularly been given to factors such as classification skills, group norm understanding (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Bergen, 2001; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), moral development (Killen, Margi, & Sinno, 2006), motivational factors (Aboud, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) such as ethnic awareness and identity development (Nesdale, 1999), social environmental factors such as intergroup contact (White et al., 2009), parents attitude (White & Gleitzman, 2006) and friendship with out-groups (White et al., 2009).

There is extensive research on prejudice development in children (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben, 2006; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Nesdale, 1999), but very little is known about the development of prejudice in adolescence (Kiesner et al., 2003). Most prejudice development theories and research have focused on children from the ages of 4-12, looking at the role of social-cognitive developmental and motivational processes (Aboud, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Very little is known about the experience of threat and prejudice from ages 10 to 20 (White et al., 2009).

Integrated threat theory (ITT) and prejudice

Within the last two decades, Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) has been widely used to explain prejudice towards immigrants. Its basic contention is that perceived threat and negative belief about an outgroup tend to usually have the tendency to express itself in prejudicial actions or negative attitude (Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996). This has been demonstrated in many studies (e.g., Curseu, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007; González et al 2008; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Martnez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). Literature on ITT suggests prejudice can be caused by four types of threats. These

are realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (Stephan et al., 1998, 1999; Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

Realistic threat gained its theoretical basis from the realistic group conflict theory (Schweitzer et al., 2005). According to Stephan and Stephan, (1996), these are fears related to economic and political power, physical or material well-being of the ingroup or its members. According to González et al. (2008), this fear arises because of competition over scarce resources such as houses and jobs. The ingroup may feel their resources are being threatened by the outgroup or outsiders. The desire of the ingroup to protect their interest becomes the motivation responsible for prejudice, negative attitudes and discriminatory behavior towards the outgroup. This usually happens when social groups living together in a shared context compete for scarce resources and develop conflicting goals (Curseu et al., 2007). For example, immigrants living in Finland are often blamed for rising unemployment and economic difficulties (Finnish National Broadcasting Company, 2011; Jaakola, 2009).

Symbolic threats are threats due to perceive group differences in their world view, religion, culture, values, morals, attitudes and beliefs, just to name a few. Because of these perceived differences, ingroup members often have the tendency to dislike members of the outgroup and consequently prejudice them (Stephan et al., 2000). For example, Muslim immigrants in Europe and in Finland are usually perceived negatively because of differences in their religion and values (Jaakkola, 2009).

Intergroup anxiety refers to the anxiety that usually occurs when ingroup members are interacting with outgroup members. Outgroup members could feel this way because of the fear of being embarrassed, ridiculed or exploited by the other or if there exists some history of antagonism between the two groups (Nshom & Croucher, 2014; Stephan et al., 2000). Studies have shown an increase in intergroup anxiety leads to an increase in the feeling of threat (Islam & Hewstone, 1993). According to Croucher, Homsey, Brusch, Buyce, DeSilva,

and Thompson (2013), intergroup anxiety is an individual level fear rather than a group level fear like the other fears. Since the focus of this study is on group level fears, intergroup anxiety is not included.

Negative stereotypes occur when ingroup members believe members of an outgroup are rude, selfish, flirtatious, aggressive, dishonest, or whatever negative attribute or stereotype one could think about, they will expect interactions with them to be negative and this could lead to negative attitudes towards the "other" (González et al., 2008). Negative stereotypes can produce fear that can affect the process of interaction between the majority and minority (Verkuyten, 1997). For example, Russian immigrants in Finland have historically and traditionally been perceived as the enemy due to a history of conflict and antagonism between Russia and Finland (Karamaa, 2004).

Research hypotheses

Previous research on prejudice in childhood and adolescence is to some extent marred with controversy and inconsistency with regards to age related changes associated with prejudice (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). However, research shows prejudice development has often been characterized by a nonlinear trend with an increase until the age of 7, a decrease until the end of elementary school and another increase from early Adolescence (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Some studies have also found a corresponding peak in prejudice from early adolescence (e.g., Black – Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Kiesner et al. 2003; Rutland, 1999). However, from early Adolescence to late adolescence, prejudice is said to decrease (White et al., 2003). For example, Van Zalk and Kerr, (2014) in their study on developmental trajectories of prejudice and tolerance toward immigrants from early to late adolescence, found a strong normative decline in prejudice towards immigrants from early to late adolescence. Similarly, according to Hoover and Fishbein (1999):

"there are three theoritical views that 'indirectly' leads to the prediction of a decrease in prejudice with increasing age from 10 to 20: (i) Fischer and Lamborn (1989) propose that because prejudice stems in part from simplistic social thinking that, as adolescents move towards more abstract levels, prejudice should decline; (ii) Katz and Ksansnak (1994) model predicted that gender role flexibility increases with age in adolescence due to an interaction between increasing cognitive flexibility and socialization influences, and this model when extended to prejudice predicts a decrease with age; and (iii) Kohlberg and Candee (1984) theorize that moral development generally increases from preadolescence to young adulthood because prejudice can involve action against target groups it can be seen as a proxy for moral action" (White et al., 2009, p. 525).

Since in this study we consider ITT (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotypes) as a factor in our attempt to examine how differently early, middle and late Finnish adolescents perceive threat from and prejudice towards immigrants, the following descriptive research question and hypothesis is proposed:

> *RQ1:* To what extent do Finnish adolescents perceive threat (symbolic threat, realistic threats and negative stereotypes) from immigrants?

> *H1:* Threat and prejudice will be lower among late adolescents and higher among early adolescents.

In addition, even though perceived threat has been found to be positively related to prejudice (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996; Stephan et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 1999), the stability of this relationship has not been studied particularly adolescents. In this study, we first examine the extent to which Finnish adolescent's prejudice towards immigrants is related to perceived threat and second we attempt to show the extent to which that

relationship remains stable from early to late adolescence. In order to do this, we propose the following hypothesis and research question:

> *H2:* There will be a positive relationship between perceived threat and prejudice among Finnish adolescents.

> *RQ2:* To what extent will the correlation between threat and prejudice differ between Early, Middle, and Late Finnish Adolescents?

Method

Participants and Procedures

Data were collected from three cities in Finland: Jyväskylä, Helsinki, and Joensuu. The participants were Finnish students from grades six to upper secondary school with an age range of 11 to 19 years of age. Data were collected through self-administered questionnaires and the primary researcher made sure it conformed to the established institutional ethical guidelines. The study was approved by the city council and principals of the schools. Out of 795 participants, 459 (57.7%) were female while 336 (42.3%) were male. Also, 157 (19.7%) of the total sample were between 11 to 13 years old (early adolescents); 362 (45%) were between 14-16 years of age (middle adolescents), and 276 (34.7%) were between 17-19 years of age (late adolescents). Since the aim of this study is to understand the experience of threat and prejudice in adolescence, these age categories were created based on developmental periods in adolescence: early adolescents (11-13 years), middle adolescents (14-16 years), and late adolescents (17-19 years) (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Valsiner & Connolly, 2003). All participants were native born Finns. The researcher organized data collection trips to the schools after obtaining official authorization from the appropriate university and school authorities. Participation was voluntary and participants were not compensated for their participation. It took approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete the questionnaire. [1] A pretest

was conducted in order to make sure all participants, especially the youngest ones, understood the questions clearly. Results indicated that questions were clearly understood even by the youngest participants.

Measures

The questionnaire included demographics measure, a measure of symbolic threat (González et al., 2008), a measure of realistic threat (González et al., 2008), a measure of negative stereotypes (González et al., 2008), and a measure of prejudice (Stephan & Stephan 2002). The survey was originally prepared in English and then translated/back-translated into Finnish by native speakers of Finnish-English. Participants were asked throughout the survey to respond to questions about immigrants and not a particular immigrant group. This decision was made to ascertain how adolescents feel about the generic "immigrant" and not a specific immigrant group as the term is often understood by adolescents to mean those that look or speak differently from the majority irrespective of where they come from (Egharevba, 2011). See Table 1 for the means, standard deviations, correlations, alphas, and kappas for the study variables.

Realistic Threat: Realistic threat was assessed by asking participants to respond to three statements. These statements were: "Because of the presence of Immigrants, Finns have more difficulty finding a job", "Because of the presence of Immigrants; Finns have more difficulty finding a house," and "Because of the presence of Immigrants, unemployment in Finland is increasing". These scales were adapted from (González et al. 2008) and showed an alpha reliability of .80. Response categories ranged from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate more perceived threat. This current study showed an alpha reliability of .89 for realistic threat.

Symbolic Threat: In order to measure symbolic threats, three items from González et al. (2008) were used. These included "Finnish identity/culture is threatened because there are too many Immigrants today", "Finnish norms and values are threatened because of the pres-

ence of Immigrants today," and "Immigrants are a threat to Finnish culture". Responses ranged from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. Higher scores meant stronger feelings of threat. The alpha reliability for this scale was .89 in the original (Gonzalez et al., 2008) but this current study showed an alpha reliability of .85 for symbolic threat.

Stereotypes: Negative stereotype was assessed by asking participants to what extent 8 trait adjectives (violent, dishonest, unintelligent, friendly, arrogant, kind, greedy, and inferior) fully described immigrants. Friendly and kind were reversed scored. The alpha reliability for these traits in the original was .83 (Gonzalez et al., 2008) and in this current study was .85. Responses ranged from (1) *no, absolutely not*, to (5) *yes, certainly*.

Prejudice: Participants were given six evaluative and emotional reactions and were asked to indicate to what extent these items reflected how they felt towards immigrants. This scale was adapted from Stephan and Stephan (2002). The items that made up the scale were as follows: "Acceptance, approval, admiration, antipathy, disdain, and disrespectful". Acceptance, approval and admiration were reverse scored and an alpha reliability coefficient of .71 was obtained for prejudice in this study. Responses ranged from (1) *totally disagree* to (5) *absolutely agree*. Higher scores indicated more feelings of prejudice towards immigrants. Insert Table 1 here

Results

Research question one asked the extent to which Finnish adolescents perceive threat (symbolic threat, realistic threats, and negative stereotypes) from immigrants. Table 1 details the means and standard deviations of the combined sample and the means and standard deviations of each sub-sample (early, mid, and late adolescents). *H1* proposed threat and prejudice would be lower among late adolescents and higher among early adolescents. To test *H1,* a 3 (student) X 4 (prejudice, symbolic threat, realistic threat, and stereotypes) multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted. The independent variable, student is categorical.

The dependent variables are continuous. There was a significant effect of type of student on the independent variables, $\lambda = .96$, $F(8, 1224) = 3.50$, $p < .05$. Games-Howell post-hoc analysis showed significant differences between the different student groups and prejudice, symbolic threat, realistic threat, and stereotypes. See Table 2 for post hoc results. On prejudice, 17-19 year olds ($M = 3.97$, $SD = .55$) scored significantly higher than both 14-16 year olds ($M = 3.81$, $SD = .76$), and 11-13 year olds ($M = 3.77$, $SD = .70$). On symbolic threat, 17-19 year olds ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 1.20$) scored significantly higher than 14-16 year olds ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 1.30$) and 11-13 year olds ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.40$). Similarly, on realistic threat, 17-19 year olds ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.10$) scored significantly higher than 14-16 year olds ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.20$) and 11-13 year olds ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.30$). On negative stereotypes, 17-19 year olds ($M = 1.93$, $SD = .54$) scored significantly lower than 14-16 year olds ($M = 2.21$, $SD = .78$) and 11-13 year olds ($M = 2.17$, $SD = .81$). Thus, counter to what was predicted, Late adolescents scored higher on prejudice, symbolic threat, and real threat than early adolescents. early adolescents did however score higher on stereotyping.

Insert Table 2 here

A one-tailed Pearson correlation was conducted to test *H2*, which asserted that for Finnish adolescents there would be a positive correlation between threat and prejudice. The correlation results for the full sample are presented in Table 1. Based on the correlation analysis, the hypothesis is partially supported: prejudice is positively correlated with realistic threat ($r = .21$, $p < .01$), and with symbolic threat ($r = .25$, $p < .01$). However, prejudice is negatively correlated with stereotyping ($r = -.64$, $p < .001$). This trend continued when the sample was divided into Early, Middle, and Late adolescents; see Table 1 for the full correlation results.

To answer *RQ2,* to what extent will the correlation between threat and prejudice differ between Early, Middle and Late Finnish Adolescents, a Fisher's *z* comparison of corre-

lations was computed for each correlation (prejudice X threat). The results suggested the correlations between threat and prejudice did not significantly differ between the different age groups. See Table 3 for the full Fisher's z-results.

Insert Table 3 here

Discussion

This study set out to investigate to what extent Finnish adolescents perceive threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotypes) from immigrants and how differently threat and prejudice manifest between Early, Mid, and Late adolescents. Results suggested Finnish adolescents in general do have a significant amount of prejudice towards immigrants. It was also suggested that Finnish adolescents are more likely to percieve immigrants as a realistic threat and a symbolic threat than to negatively stereotype them. This implies that the kind of fear Finnish adolescents have when it comes to immigration or immigrants is one related to economic issues. For realistic threats, the core issue is perceived competition over scarce resources, and the perception that these resources are threatened by outsiders (González et al., 2008). For example, immigrants living in Finland have often been blamed for rising unemployment and economic difficulties (Finnish National Broadcasting Company 2011; Jaakola, 2009). Morever, research has indicated attitudes towards immigrants in Finland became even sterner during the downturn of the economic crises (Jaakkola, 2000). On the other hand, the idea that Finnish adolescents percieve a significant level of symbolic threat suggests their fear is also related to differences in values, beliefs, worldview, norms or culture with immigrants. This is the case for example with Muslim immigrants in Finland who have often been viewed negatively because of negative media depictions (Croucher et al., 2013; Jaakkola 2009). This is a revelation that neccesitates interventions that can reduce these fears (realistic and symbolic threat) among adolescents as these fears have often been found in many samples and settings to lead to prejudicial actions

against the outgroup (González et al., 2008; Khan & Wiseman, 2007; Ljujic, 2011; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Schweitzeret al., 2005; Stephan, et al., 1998, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). These results therefore support the vast body of research that explore threats from the majority through the theoritical lens of ITT (Nshom & Croucher, 2014; Stephan et al., 1998).

Moreover, based on previous research (e.g., Black – Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Kiesner et al. 2003, Poteat & Anderson, 2012; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Rutland, 1999; Van Zalk & Kerr, 2014; White et al., 2009), we hypothesized threat and prejudice would be lower among Late adolescents and higher among early adolescents. Contrarily, the results suggested that between Early, and Late adolescents, Late adolescents perceived the highest amount of prejudice, realistic threat, and symbolic threat, and the lowest amount of negative stereotypes. Thus, we obtained partial support for *H1,* which stated threat and prejudice will be lower among late adolescents and higher among early adolescents.

These results however contradict previous research and approaches that have examined the development of prejudice in adolescence, since previous research suggest prejudice should be higher among early adolescents and lower among Late adolescents or that prejudice should decrease with age in adolescence (Black – Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Fishbein, 1996; Kiesner et al. 2003, Poteat & Anderson, 2012; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Rutland, 1999; Van Zalk & Kerr, 2014; White et al., 2009). Nevertheless, several factors could explain why prejudice, realistic threat, and symbolic threat are higher among Late Finnish adolescents and why negative stereotyping is lower. Based on ITT, prejudice is higher among late adolescents because perceived threat (realistic and symbolic threats) with the exception of negative stereotyping is higher when compared to early and middle adolescents as earlier indicated. According to ITT, higher perception of threat should imply more feelings of prejudice (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006; Stephan et al., 1998; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999) and this is the case with Late Finnish adolescents. Moreover, Late adolescence is a

transitional stage to early adulthood (Hooghe & Meeusen, 2012) and some late adolescents in Finland already experience some form of autonomy and are more likely to perceive economic difficulties in their lives, families or society. This transition makes them more susceptible to feelings of realistic threat. In addition, they may perceive greater realistic and symbolic threat because of a stronger identification with the ingroup (feelings of nationalism). According to the original theorization of ITT, ingroup identification is considered a predictor of perceived threat (Stephan, Renfro, & Davis, 2008) and according to González et al. (2008):

> The more people identify with their in-group, the more likely they are to be concerned about their group interests and to consider it important to preserve their own culture. Group identity functions as a group lens that makes people sensitive to anything that could harm their group. (p. 671)

For instance, in-group identification has been found to have a significant effect on realistic and symbolic threat (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Individuals in the Netherlands who identified strongly with the Dutch ingroup were found to be more likely to perceive ethnic minorities as threatening to Dutch society and culture (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Even though in this study we did not include ingroup identification as a variable, research according to Way, Hernandez, Rogers, and Hughes (2013) shows ethnic or racial group belonging increases with age (e.g., Pahl & Way, 2006; Quintana, 2007; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006).

On the other hand, from *RQ1*, we found Finnish adolescents in general are not prone to negatively stereotype immigrants and it was also suggested that among the different groups, Late adolescents are the least likely to stereotype immigrants. In fact, the difference between early and middle adolescents was rather insignificant, while Late adolescents scored significantly lower than the other groups. This result suggest negative stereotyping remains relatively low and stable among early and middle adolescents but as they move to Late ado-

lescence, negative stereotyping significantly drops or becomes even lower; supporting the idea that "As adolescents mature, they develop more complex cognitive skills and rely less on stereotypes" (Hooghe & Meeusen, 2012, p 1.). One could also argue late adolescents have more opportunities to learn about immigrants either from school or through intergroup contact. This knowledge in turn counters stereotypical perceptions previously held about the outgroup. Literature on ITT suggest knowledge of the out-group and contact with the out-group can affect the level of threat. Similarly, anxiety uncertainty management (AUM) theory, cultural theory and the white racial identity developmental model conclude that increased knowledge about an outgroup may lead to the reduction of stereotypes (Matusitz, 2012). This is related to the contact hypothesis of Allport (1954,) which stipulates intergroup contact will likely lesson stereotyping as it's a way of gaining knowledge about the "other" (Matusitz, 2012).

Another dimension in this study was to understand the correlation between Finnish adolescent's percieved threat and prejudice towards immigrants and to what extent the correlation differed between early and late adolescents. We proposed there would be a positive relationship between perceived threat and prejudice among Finnish adolescents" and sought to explore the extent to which the correlation between threat and prejudice would differ between Early, Middle and Late Finnish Adolescents. Our results clearly incated prejudice is positively correlated with realistic threat and symbolic threat but negatively corelated with negative stereotypes. Finnish adolescent's prejudice towards immigrants is related to the perception of realistic and symbolic threat and less likely with negative stereotyping. The finding that realistic threat and symbolic threat are positively related to prejudice is not new, as this result supports other studies and research on ITT that found a positive correlation between percieved threat and prejudice (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996; Stephan et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 1999). However, the negative

correlation between prejudice and negative stereotyping is interesting and even more especially as the negative correlation between prejudice and negative stereotype remains stable between Early, Mid, and Late adolescents. These results are particularly surprising as research has also shown negative stereotyping to be positively associated with prejudice (Allport, 1954; Stephan et al., 1998, Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This however indicates that negative stereotype is not important to the attitudes of Finnish adolescents (irrespective of their age) towards immigrants. This may be due to exposure to other cultures and the development of more cognitive and complex skills espcially as they mature (Hooghe & Meeusen, 2012). Moreover, the current public discourse about immigration in Finland especially amidst the influx of refugees into the country, is more centered around the economic and symbolic threat that they represent to the Finnish society rather than negative streotypes. There is also a possibility it might have something to do with the scale for negative stereotype. Even though we obtained a significant reliability, we are not sure if the sensitivity of the scale influenced the way they responded to this measure of negative stereotype. This represents a possibile limitation to this study.

However we recommend that future research should consider other factors that may mediate the relationship between threat and prejudice especially among Early, Middle and Late adolescents. So far this is the first study that attempts to understand the relationship between percieve threat and prejudice in the process of adolescence development (from early to late adolescence).

Therefore, this study contributes to research on prejudice by introducing an integrated threat approach to the study of prejudice from a developmental perspective particularly in adolescence which is considered to be a crucial and important stage in human development. Even though it is throughout these years that prejudice and attitude towards outgroups form and crystalize (Kiesner et al., 2003), until now, research had not considered

percieved threats as a factor in the development of prejudice in adolescence. Moreover, this study contributes significantly to research on ITT by extending and showing its applicability in a developmental setting (adolescence). To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study in Finland and the world over that applies ITT in a sample of Early, Middle and Late adolescents in one study.

We recommend future research should consider a longitudinal approach in the application of ITT to better understand outgroup attitudes developmentally. Such a study is currently non existent. It would also be important to include other variables that could possibly explain the variance between the groups (Early, Middle and Late adolescent) in the way they percieve threat and how they feel towards immigrants. Moreover, it would be advantageous to evaluate how adolescents feel about specific immigrants, and not general "immigrants" as was done in the current study. It is possible that exploring perceptions of specific immigrant groups may provide insight into how adolescents perceive and conceptualize the world around them. In addition, just as Nshom and Croucher (2014) recommended in their study, we recommend exploring perceptions of threat from the majority viewpoint using qualitative methods. Most ITT studies are quantitative in nature. In depth interviews would help shed light on some extenuating factors related to threat and prejudice particularly in the process of adolescence.

Nevertheless, this study empirically shows us that among the different types of threats, realistic threat and symbolic threat are the most percieved from immigrants among Finnish adolescents. The study also revealed how these threats (realistic and symbolic threats) are also more prevalent among Late adolescents when compared to early and middle adolescents. Moreover, there was a positive relationship between prejudice and realistic threat and between prejudice and symbolic threat, but a negative relationship between prejudice and negative stereotyping and this relationship remains relatively stable from early

to late adolescence.   In conclusion, this study shows ITT to be an important factor in understanding the developement of prejudice in adolescence.

References

Aberson, C. & Gaffney, A. (2008) An integrated threat model of explicit and implicit
      attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *39*, 808–830.

Abrams, D., & Rutland, A. (2008). The development of subjective group dynamics. In S. R.
      Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through*
      adulthood (pp. 47–65). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Aboud, F. E. (1988). *Children and prejudice*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bergen Jr., T. J. (2001). The development of prejudice in children. *Education*, *122*(1), 154.

Bigler, R. S. & Liben, L. S. (1993). A cognitive-developmental approach to racial stereo-
      typing and reconstructive memory in Euro-American children. *Child Development*,
      64, 1507–1518.

Bizman, A. & Yinon, Y. (2010). Intergroup and interpersonal threats as determinants of
      prejudice: The moderating role of in-group identification. *Basic and Applied*
      Social Psychology, *23*, 191-196.

Buss, A. H. (1961). *The psychology of aggression*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Curseu, P. L., Stoop, R., & Schalk, R. (2007). Prejudice toward immigrant workers among
      Dutch employees: Integrated theory revisited. *European Journal of Pyschology*, *37*,
      125-140.

Croucher, S. M., Aalto, J., Hirvonen, S., & Sommier, M. (2013). Integrated threat and
      intergroup contact: An analysis of Muslim immigration to Finland. *Human*
      Communication, 16, 109 - 120.

Croucher, S. M. (2013). Integrated threat theory and acceptance of immigrant assimilation:
      An analysis of Muslim immigration in Western Europe. *Communication*
      Monographs, 80, 46 - 62.

22

Croucher, S. M., Homsey, D., Brush, E., Buyce, C., DeSilva, S., & Thompson, A. (2013).

Prejudice toward American Muslims: An integrated threat analysis. *Journal*

of Intercultural Communication, 32, http://immi.se/intercultural/.

Croucher, S. M., Galy-Badenas, & Routsalainen, M. (2014). Host culture

acceptance, religiosity, and the threat of Muslim immigration: An integrated threat

analysis in Spain. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*,

35.http://www.immi.se/intercultural/

Carter, C. & Rice, C. (1997). Acquisition and manifestation of prejudice in children. *Journal*

of Multicultural Counseling & Development, *25*, 185-194.

Doyle, A. B. & Aboud, F. (1995). A longitudinal study of white children's racial prejudice as

a Social-cognitive development. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *41*, 209–228.

Egharevba Stephen (2011). Understanding the racial nature of police and immigrant relations

in Finland: The case of Africans in Turku.   Department of social policy University

of Turku. accessed 29/09/2015.

https://www.doria.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/70725/AnnalesB331.pdf?sequence=1.

Ervasti, H. (2004). Attitudes towards foreign-born settlers: Finland in a comparative

perspective. Teoksessa I. S. (Ed.), *Yearbook of population research in Finland* (pp.

25-44). Helsinki, Finland: Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Fischer, K. W., & Lamborn, S. (1989). Mechanisms of variation in developmental levels:

Cognitive and emotional transition during adolescence. In A. de Ribaupierre (Ed.),

Transition mechanisms in child development: The longitudinal perspective (pp. 33–

67). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

González, K. V., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice towards Muslims

in The Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social*

Pyschology, 47, 667–685.

Harrison, N. & Peacock, N. (2010) Cultural distance, mindfulness and passive xenophobia: using Integrated Threat Theory to explore home higher education students' perspectives on 'internationalisation at home'. *British Educational Research Journal*, *36*, 877–902.

Hooghe M. & Meeusen, C. (2012). Homophobia and the transition to adulthood: A three year panel study among Belgian late adolescents and young adults. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *41*, 1197-1207.

Hoover R. & Fishbein, H. (1999). The development of prejudice and sex role stereotyping in white adolescents and white young adults. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *20*, 431-448.

Islam, R. M. & Hewstone, M. (1993). Dimensions of contact as predictors of intergroup anxiety, perceived outgroup variability, and out-group attitude: An integrative model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19,* 700-710.

Jaakkola, M. (2000). Finnish Attitudes towards immigrants in 1987-1999. (I. Söderling, Toim.) Helsinki, Finland: Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Jaakkola, M. (2009). *Maahanmuuttajat suomalaisten näkökulmasta. Asennemuutokset 1987-2007.* Helsinki, Finland: City of Helsinki Urban Facts Research Series.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. & Liebkind, K. (2001). Perceived discriminaion and psychological adjustment among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Psychology*, *36*, 174-185.

Katz, P. A., & Ksansnak, K. R. (1994). Developmental aspects of gender role flexibility and traditionality in middle childhood and adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 30, 272–282.

Kiesner, J., Maass, A., Cadinu, M., & Vallesse, I. (2003). Risk factors for ethnic prejudice during early adolescence. *Social Development*, 12, 288–308.

24

Killen, M., Margie, N. G., & Sinno, S. (2006). Morality in the context of intergroup

relationships. In M. Killen & J. G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development*

(pp. 155–183). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Kohlberg, L., & Candee, D. (1984). The relationship of moral judgment to moral action. In

W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Morality, moral behavior, and moral*

development (pp. 52–73). New York: Wiley.

Kyntäjä, E. (1997). Ethnic remigration from the former Soviet Union to Finland-patterns of

ethnic identity and acculturation among the Ingrian Finns. Teoksessa S. S. (Ed.),

Yearbook of Population Research in Finland (pp. 102-113). Helsinki, Finland:

Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos

Ljujic, V., Vedder, P., Dekker, H., & Geel, M. (2013). Romaphobia among Serbian and

Dutch adolescents: The role of perceived threat, nationalistic feelings, and

integrative orientations. *International Journal of Psychology*, *48*, 352-362.

Ljujic, V., Vedder, P., & Dekker, H. (2012). Romaphobia among Serbian adolescents: The

role of national in-group attitudes and perceived threat. *Political Psychology*, *33*,

911-924.

Matusitz, J.(2012), Relationship between knowledge, stereotyping and prejudice in

Interethnic communication, *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Heritage*, *10*, 89-98.

Meertens, R. W. & Pettigrew, T. F. (1997). Is subtle prejudice really prejudice? *Public*

Opinion Quarterly, 61, 54-71

Nesdale, D. (1999). Ethnic prejudice in children: A social identity model. In P. R. Martin &

W. Noble (Eds.), *Psychology and Society* (pp. 92–110). Brisbane, Australia:

Australian Academic Press.

Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014). Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking

    immigrants: a comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal*

    of Communication, *6,* 308-317.

Oskamp. S. (1991). *Attitudes and Opinions*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Oskamp, S. (2000). *Reducing prejudice and discrimination*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

    Associates, Inc.

Pahl, K., & Way, N. (2006). Longitudinal trajectories of ethnic identity among urban Black

    and Latino adolescents. *Child Development*, *77*, 1403-1415.

Pettigrew, T. F. & Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe.

    European Journal of Social Psychology, *25*, 57-75.

Pitkänen, P., & Kouki, S. (2002). Meeting foreign cultures: a survey of the attitudes of

    Finnish authorities towards immigrants and immigration. *Journal of Ethnic and*

    Migration Studies, 28(1), 103-118.

Poteat, V. P., & Anderson, C. J. (2012). Developmental changes in sexual prejudice from

    early to late adolescence: The effects of gender, race, and ideology on different

    patterns of change. *Developmental Psychology*, *48,* 1403-1415.

Quintana, S. M. (2007). Racial and ethnic identity: Developmental perspectives and research.

    Journal of Counseling Psychology, *54*, 259-270.

Raabe, T. & Beelmann, A. (2011). Development of ethnic, racial, and national prejudice in

    childhood and adolescence: A multinational meta-analysis of age differences.

    Child Development, *82*, 1715-1737.

Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and the integrated

    threat theory: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*,

    10, 336–353.

Rus, A. & Madrid, D. (1998). An overview of prejudice: Some Spanish studies, International
    Journal of Political Psychology and Political Socialization, *7*, 117-130.

Schneider, S. L. (2008). Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe: Outgroup size and perceived
    ethnic threat. *European Sociological Review*, *24*, 53-67.

Scheibner, G. & Morrison, T. (2009). Attitudes towards Polish immigrants to the Republic of
    Ireland: An integrated threat analysis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *32*, 1431-1448.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (Ed.). (2008). *Culturally speaking: Culture, communication and politeness
    theory* (2nd ed.). London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Stephan, W. G. & Stephan, C. W. (1993). Cognition and affect in stereotyping: Parallel
    interactive networks. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition
    and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception* (pp. 111-136). Orlando,
    FL: Academic Press.

Stephan W. G. & Stephan C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice in S.
    Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing Prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 225-246). Hillsdale, NJ,
    Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A.,
    McNatt S. P. Renfro L. C. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of Blacks
    and Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*, 1242-1254.

Stephan W. G. & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of
    Intercultural Relations*, *20*, 409-426.

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Looving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and
    intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural
    Psychology*, *31*, 240-249.

Stephan, W. G., Renfro, C. L. & Davis, M. D. (2008). The role of threat in intergroup
    relations. In U. Wagner, L. R. Tropp, G. Finchilescu, & C. Tredoux (Eds.),

Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F.Pettigrew (pp. 55-72). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd..

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice toward immigrants: An integrated threat theory. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *29*, 2221-2237.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C., Schwarzwald, J., & Turk-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, *29*, 559-576.

Statistics Finland (2014) Demographic statistics:

http://www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_vaesto_en.html#foreigners

Tarvas, T. & Martikainen, T. (2012). Islampelko on pysynyt aisoissa. Europa. Retrieved from: http://www.europalehti.fi/2012/08/islampelko-on-pysynyt-aisoissa/

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Prins, K. S., & Buunk, B. P. (1998). Attitudes of minority and majority members towards adaptation of immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *28*, 995–1013.

Van Zalk, M. H. W., & Kerr, M. (2014). Developmental trajectories of prejudice and tolerance toward immigrants from early to late adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *43*, 1658–1671.

Valsiner, J., & Connolly, K. J. (Eds.). (2003). *Handbook of developmental psychology*. London, UK: Sage.

Way, N., Hernández, M. G., Rogers, L. O., & Hughes, D. L. (2013). "I'm not going to become no rapper": Stereotypes as a context of ethnic and racial identity development. *Journal of Adolescent Research 28*, 407–430.

28

White, F. A., Wootton, B., Man, J., Diaz, H., Rasiah, J., Swift, E., & Wilkinson, A. (2009).
Adolescent racial prejudice development: The role of friendship quality and
interracial contact. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *33*, 524-534.

Webster, R. J., Saucier, D. A., & Harris, R. J. (2010). Before the measurement of prejudice:
Early psychological and sociological papers on prejudice. *Journal of the History of
Behavioral Sciences, 46*, 300–313.

White, F. A. & Gleitzman, M. (2006). An examination of family socialization processes as
moderators of racial prejudice transmission between adolescents and their parents.
Journal of Family Studies, *12*, 247–260.

Yip, T., Seaton, E. K., & Sellers, R. M. (2006). African American racial identity across the
lifespan: Identity status, identity content, and depressive symptoms. *Child
Development, 77*, 1504-151.

Yle (2015). *Anti-Immigration protest draws 200 in Helsinki*. Accessed 29/09/2015.
http://yle.fi/uutiset/anti-immigration_protest_draws_200_in_helsinki/8317805

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Alpha Reliabilities for Study Variables

<u>Full Sample</u>

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*α*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Realistic Threat	3.60	1.23	.89	-			
(2) Symbolic Threat	3.74	1.32	.85	.82**	-		
(3) Stereotypes	2.12	.73	.85	-.22**	-.23**	-	
(4) Prejudice	3.85	.69	.71	.21**	.25**	-.64**	-

<u>Early Adolescents</u>

Variable	*M*	*SD*		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Realistic Threat	3.48	1.35		-			
(2) Symbolic Threat	3.58	1.51		.88**	-		
(3) Stereotypes	2.20	.82		-.10	-.07	-	
(4) Prejudice	3.79	.70		.14*	.16*	-.66**	-

<u>Mid Adolescents</u>

Variable	*M*	*SD*		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Realistic Threat	3.47	1.25		-			
(2) Symbolic Threat	3.62	1.34		.81**	-		
(3) Stereotypes	2.21	.78		-.24**	-.25**	-	
(4) Prejudice	3.81	.75		.17**	.24**	-.66**	-

<u>Late Adolescents</u>

Variable	*M*	*SD*		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Realistic Threat	3.82	1.12		-			
(2) Symbolic Threat	4.00	1.14		.78**	-		
(3) Stereotypes	1.96	.56		.-24**	-.28**	-	
(4) Prejudice	3.94			.28**	.32**	-.57**	-

Note: ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001.

Table 2

Games-Howell Comparison for Threat and Prejudice

Variable	(I) Age	(J) Age	M Diff	SE		95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Symbolic Threat	11-13	14-16	.131	.146		-.157	.418
		17-19	-.253	.152		-.552	.046
	14-16	11-13	.131	.146		-.418	.157
		17-19	-.384*	.117		-.613	-.154
	17-19	11-13	.253	.152		-.046	.552
		14-16	.384*	.117		.154	.613
Real Threat	11-13	14-16	0.40	.138		-.231	.312
		17-19	-.302*	.144		-.585	-.018
	14-16	11-13	-.040	.138		-.312	.231
		17-19	-.342*	.111		-.559	-.125
	17-19	11-13	.302*	.144		.018	.585
		14-16	.342*	.111		.125	.559
Stereotypes	11-13	14-16	-.040	.079		-.196	.116
		17-19	.235*	.083		.072	.397

14-16	11-13	-.040	.079	-.116	.196
	17-19	.274*	.063	.150	.399
17-19	11-13	-.235*	.083	-.397	-.072
	14-16	-.274*	.063	-.399	-.150
Prejudice	11-13	14-16	-.039	.076	-.189	.111
		17-19	-.202*	.080	-.358	-.045
	14-16	11-13	.039	.076	-.111	.189
		17-19	-.163*	.061	-.283	-.043
	17-19	11-13	.202*	.080	.045	.358
		14-16	.163*	.061	.043	.283

Note: Games–Howell post-hoc comparisons conducted. * $p < .05$.

Table 3

Realistic Threat X Prejudice

Early Adolescents *r*	Mid Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
.14	.17	1.44 (*ns*)

Early Adolescents *r*	Late Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
.14	.28	1.46 (*ns*)

Mid Adolescents *r*	Late Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
.17	.28	.32 (*ns*)

Symbolic Threat X Prejudice

Early Adolescents *r*	Mid Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
.16	.24	.87 (*ns*)

Early Adolescents *r*	Late Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
.16	.32	1.59 (*ns*)

Mid Adolescents *r*	Late Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
.24	.32	.97 (*ns*)

Stereotypes X Prejudice

Early Adolescents *r*	Mid Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
-.66	-.66	0 (*ns*)

Early Adolescents *r*	Late Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
-.66	-.57	1.81 (*ns*)

Mid Adolescents *r*	Late Adolescents *r*	Fisher's *z*
-.66	-.57	1.81 (*ns*)

III

THREATS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD RUSSIAN-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN YOUNGER AND OLDER FINNS

by

Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014)

Russian Journal of Communication, 6, 308-317

Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: a comparative study between younger and older Finns

Elvis Nshom and Stephen Michael Croucher

Department of language and communication studies

University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland

Abstract

Using integrated threat theory as a theoretical lens to detect negative attitudes toward minority groups, this study compares and contrasts the perceptions and attitudes of older and younger Finns toward Russian-speaking minorities in Finland. A sample of high school students between 16 and 20 years of age represented the younger generation, while individuals over 65 years of age represented the older generation. The total sample was 242. Results indicated that there is a positive correlation between threat perception and prejudice. Results revealed that both groups have prejudices against Russian speakers and that these prejudices are related to the perception of realistic threat and negative stereo-types. The study also found that the older generation had more feelings of threat and prejudice than the younger generation. Implications and future areas of research are discussed.

Introduction and background

Recent analyses reveal that negative, xenophobic, and even racist attitudes are widespread in Europe, and many Europeans have voiced worries concerning minorities due to the perception that minorities are a threat to social peace and welfare (Ervasti, 2004). Ethnic threat perception is said to be a core explanatory factor for widespread anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe (Schneider, 2008; Stephan, Diaz-Looving, & Duran, 2000). Traditionally speaking, Finland until recently, compared to other European countries such as Italy, Britain, and France has been a homogenous country and highly excluded from massive immigration (Ervasti, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Kyntäjä, 1997). However, among the various immigrant groups in Finland, the Russian minority has traditionally been the largest until a recent survey indicated Estonians had slightly overtaken them (Helsingin Sanomat, 2011). However, it is unfortunate that Russian minorities in Finland feel alienated psychologically and emotionally more than other minority groups in Finland and have witnessed or experienced discrimination in different forms such as racial abuse and assaults (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). This discrimination is predominantly motivated by historical underpinnings between Finland and Russia and on the one side, by the ineffective and inadequate policies to manage immigration in Finland. According to Mannila and Reuter (2009), other studies on Russian immigrants in Finland have mostly focused on psychological adaption and perceived discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Liebkind et al., 2004). However, few studies have focused particularly on Russian-speaking minorities.

Therefore, this study examines Finnish attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland. Specifically, this study is interested in two aspects of the relationship between Finns and Russian-speaking immigrants. First, this study focuses on the perception of older and younger Finns toward Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland. Ford (2012) argued that younger Europeans are generally more tolerant of immigrants than older Europeans. As many Finns have traditionally had a negative perception of Russian immigrants, it is advantageous to explore the generational divide in attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland, who are still one of the largest immigrant groups in Finland. Second, this study uses Stephan and Stephan's (1993, 1996) integrated threat theo-

ry (ITT) to examine the perceptions of threat Finns have toward Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland. ITT provides a useful framework for understanding how a majority perceives threat from a minority group.

Finnish and Russian relations

Russians have visibly and increasingly been participants in the history of immigration in Finland. The genesis can be traced to the eighteenth century with the immigration of about 40,000 Russian soldiers and 600 civilian workers and businessmen. The independence of Finland led to the return from Finland to Russia of so many of the aforementioned soldiers and the establishment of some of those businessmen in Finland. There have been three major Russian migratory waves to Finland before WorldWar II. These are those categories of immigrants considered "Old Russians" and they have approximately 3000 to 5000 of their descendants residing in Finland (Niemi, 2007).

Moreover, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, many Russians moved to Finland as guest workers and worked for low-paying jobs. Nevertheless, the peak of Russian immigration in Finland in the twentieth century dates back to the early 1990s with the return of Ingrian Finns and many other people with Finnish ancestry from Russia and other parts of the former Soviet Union. After 1991, with the coming of about 5000 citizens from the former Soviet Union, the total number of people immigrating to Finland from the former Soviet Union and Russia has been about 2000 each year and about half were returnees. These individuals returned for family ties, marriage, and other factors accounting for why Russians get a resident permit to Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998; Niemi, 2007). For example, mixed marriages between Finnish men and Russian women are a common phenomenon in the Eastern part of Finland. In the eastern part of Finland, about 2% of the population is immigrants. Among the various immigrant groups, the Russians are the most popular (Joensuu Kaupunki, 2010). Understanding the history of Finland vis-à-vis its involvement with Russia is paramount to our understanding of the perception and attitudinal climate of Finland toward its Eastern neighbors. The origin of anti-Russian attitudes is deeply planted and connected to the common history between Finland and Russia. According to Karemaa (2004), the genesis of negative stereotypical per-

ceptions of Russians in Europe as devious, bestial, violent, lecherous, and drunken barbarians dates back to the sixteenth century. Many of these stereotypes according to her are still alive and active in society. These stereotypes have gained Russians the reputation of being the most common representation of "otherness" in European thinking. Similarly, Finland was also influenced by these negative stereotypes about Russians, but these stereotypes reportedly appear not to have been widespread. Finland was under Russian domination from 1808 until 1917 when Finland announced its independence. Both countries fought major wars including the Winter War of 1939–1940 and its continuation in 1941–1944. Branding Russians as archenemies and as the barbaric "other" was therefore inevitable. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, anti-Russian attitudes in Finland were reignited as the younger generation criticized their elders after hearing the stories of their struggles from the hands of their oppressors (Russians), for having dealt with the Russians in a laissez-faire manner, and not even being able to hate them. Consequently, Russians living in Finland have traditionally been victims of ethnic prejudice and discrimination (Jaakkola, 2000; Protassova, 2008), and this was also noted internationally by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2007).

Integrated threat theory

Threat perceptions and fear largely contribute to negative attitudes toward minorities and immigrants (González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008; Stephan et al., 2000). The ITT of prejudice by Stephan and Stephan (1993, 1996) provides a useful framework for understanding prejudice and discrimination among out-groups (González et al., 2008; Khan & Wiseman, 2007; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, & Ludlow, 2005; Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Turk-Kaspa, 1998).

This theory suggests that there are four major threat perceptions that can lead to negative attitudes toward an out-group: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2013; Stephan & Stephan, 1993). Realistic threats are those posed to the in-group by the very existence of the out-group. These are threats related to the economic and

political power, and physical or material well-being of the in-group or its members. González et al. (2008) stated:

> The core issue here is (perceived) competition over scarce resources, such as houses and jobs, and the perception that these resources are threatened by outsiders. The desire to protect the in-group's interests is considered the underlying motivation responsible for negative attitudes and discriminatory behavior. (p. 669)

In Finland, the political party the True Finns has consistently linked rising unemployment with the presence of immigrants, such as Estonian and Russian immigrants (Finnish National Broadcasting Company, 2011).

Symbolic threats are threats that emerge as a result of differences in morals, values, standards, beliefs, or attitudes between the in-group and the out-group. These are seen as threats to the way of life of the in-group. Usually out-groups that adhere to different views often threaten the ingroup and as a consequence are disliked by the in-group (Stephan et al., 2000). In the context of contemporary Europe, immigrants are in most cases perceived as different because of their religious and cultural values. These values and beliefs are perceived as threats to the dominant population, which in most cases is believed to be correct (McLaren, 2003; Stephan et al., 1998, as quoted in Curseu, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007).

Intergroup anxiety usually happens in the process of in-group interaction with out-group members. This anxiety or feeling arises because of the fear of embarrassment, ridicule, rejection, exploitation, etc. (Stephan et al., 2000) or when the out-group and the in-group both have a history of antagonism (for example the case of Finland and Russia) or because of little or no prior personal contact.

On the other hand, negative stereotypes are implied threats to the in-group. This is because in the course of interaction with out-group members, in-group members fear negative consequences will befall them because they have negative expectations of the out-group (Stephan et al., 1998). The common history between Finland and Russia characterized by conflict has traditionally gained Rus-

sians the reputation of archenemies in Finland, and according to Karemaa (2004), this negative stereo-typical perception has been transferred from one generation to another and is present in Finnish socie-ty today. According to Lehtonen (2005), stereotypes can be transported through different ways of communication such as everyday talk, cultural jokes, phrases and conceits, the wording of news items in newspapers, cartoons, films, and TV ads, just to name a few. Communication can contain transpar-ent or embedded cultural stereotypes. Negative stereotypes and prejudice are related in that they feed each other. Negative stereotypes have been found to be a contributing factor of prejudice and negative attitudes toward out-groups (Ringo, 2005; Stephan et al., 2000).

Studies utilizing ITT in order to understand generational differences in attitudes toward an immigrant group are rare. According to Ford (2012), there are four factors that largely explain the generational differences in European attitudes toward immigrants: education level; immigrant herit-age; preferences for cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity; and social contact with immigrants. He explained that younger Europeans, particularly in Western European countries with a long history of immigration, exhibit high levels of the aforementioned factors, for whom attitudes toward immi-grants may tend to be more tolerant or liberal. A generation can be defined "as age cohort that shares unique formative year's experiences and teachings…and thus develop unique core values and atti-tudes that are different from other generations (Underwood, 2007: 43)" (Delcampo, Haggerty, & Haney, 2011, p. 5). Similarly, he also observed that the core values and identity orientations of indi-viduals are greatly influenced by the conditions and circumstances of the times in which they grow up.

Research question and hypothesis

Based on the literature showing there is a history of tension between Finns and Russians-speaking immigrants (Jaakkola, 2000; Protassova, 2008), we believe that ITT can best explain the current rela-tionship between these two groups. As each kind of threat manifests itself between these two groups, we would like to explore the extent to which the different kinds of threat are manifested among Finns toward Russian-speaking immigrants. Thus the following research question is posed:

RQ: To what extent are the different kinds of threat manifested among Finns from Russian-speaking immigrants?

Furthermore, Ford (2012) demonstrated that generational differences affect perception and acceptance of immigrant groups. Specifically, younger individuals are more likely to perceive lower levels of threats, while older individuals are more likely to perceive higher levels of threat from immigrants. Therefore, we pose the following hypothesis to explore the effect of age on threat:

H: Younger individuals perceive lower levels of threat from Russian-speaking immigrants than older individuals toward Russian-speaking immigrants.

Method

Participants and procedures

A total of 242 people in Eastern Finland participated in the study. All of the participants were native Finns, and not Russian-speaking immigrants. Only individuals who were native-Finnish speakers were permitted to complete the survey. The principal investigator asked participants their native language prior to beginning the survey. Of the sample, 152 (62.8%) were high school students between the ages of 16 and 19 years, while 90 (37.2%) were 65 years of age or older. There were a total of 87 (35.9%) men and 155 (64.1%) women in the sample. Data were collected through questionnaires after appropriate institutional ethics approval. A visit was organized to participating schools and organizations. Participants were explained the purpose of the study and were handed the questionnaire. It took 10–15 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Measures

All surveys included demographic questions (gender and age) and the following modified measures: a measure of symbolic threat (González et al., 2008), a measure of realistic threat (González et al., 2008), and a measure of negative stereotypes. The survey was originally prepared in English and then translated/back-translated into Finnish by native speakers of Finnish-English. See Table 1 for the means, standard deviations, correlations, alphas, and kappas for the study variables.

Realistic threat: To assess realistic threat, the participants were given four statements that measured Finnish perception of Russian-speaking immigrants' effects on the Finnish economy. Studies of integrated threat historically ask about the economy, as economic issues have been found to be one of the most, if not the most, pertinent fear for most individuals (González et al., 2008). These items are based on the work of González et al. (2008). A sample statement is: "The scarcity of jobs in Finland is due to Russian-speaking immigrants." Responses ranged from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Higher scores indicate higher perception of realistic threat. Scales like this have shown high reliability, from .80 to .92 (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2013; González et al., 2008). A factor analysis on the Finnish translation confirmed all four items should be retained as one factor: Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) = .77, and Bartlett's test of Sphericity $\chi 2$ = 268.99, $p < .001$.

Symbolic threat: Three items were used to measure symbolic threat (González et al., 2008). A sample item includes "Russian-speaking immigrants have a negative effect on Finnish culture". Responses ranged from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Higher scores indicate higher perception of symbolic threat. Scales such as this have shown high reliability, ranging from .89 to .94 (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2013; González et al., 2008). A factor analysis of the Finnish translation confirmed that all the three items should be retained as one factor: KMO = .71, and Bartlett's test of Sphericity $\chi 2$ = 266.89, $p < .001$.

Stereotypes: Individuals were asked the extent to which eight traits describe Russian-speaking immigrants. Four of these traits come from González et al. (2008): violent, dishonest, friendly, and arrogant, and the remaining four traits: respectful, lazy, reliable, and materialistic were designed specifically for this study. Stereotypes are viewed as "generalizations that are assumed to be common among the members of a given in-group and which concern the members of a given collective,…who are assumed to share the same attitudes, personality traits and behavioral predispositions" (Lehtonen, 2005, p. 67). Therefore, we slightly modified the original items measuring stereotypes by González et al. (2008) by adding common stereotypical perceptions of Russian immigrants in the Eastern part of Finland. Responses ranged from (1) no, absolutely not to (5) yes, certainly. The first factor analysis revealed three items with eigenvalues below .40, thus these items were dropped from the analysis.

The remaining five items (reverse-coded friendly, violent, dishonest, lazy, and arrogant) were analyzed and a one-factor structure was achieved: KMO = .78, and Bartlett's test of Sphericity $\chi2$ = 202.90, $p < .001$.

Table 1

Means, standard deviations, correlations, alphas, and kappas for study variables

Variable	M	SD	α	κ	(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) Stereotypes$_{ab}$	2.59	.64	.71	.72	-		
(2) Realistic threat$_{ac}$	2.91	.78	.78	.75	.56**	-	
(3) Symbolic threat$_{bc}$	2.28	.91	.82	.74	.54**	.64**	-

Note: subscripts indicate significant mean differences between variables, * $p < .001$.

Results

To answer the research question, a repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. The analysis revealed a significant difference among the different kinds of threat for Finns toward Russian speaking immigrants: $F(1.96, 467.06) = 89.16$, $p < .001$. Tukey's multiple comparison procedure was used to find the kind of threat Finns have the most toward Russian-speaking immigrants. Overall, Finns, significantly perceive more realistic threats ($M = 2.91$) from Russian-speaking immigrants than any other kind of threat. See Table 1 for means of each threat.

To test the hypothesis independent samples *t*-tests were conducted. The results of the *t*-tests reveal the following. First, older individuals perceive higher levels of realistic threat ($M_O = 3.01$; $SD_O = .87$) than younger individuals ($M_Y = 2.75$; $SD_Y = .70$) from Russian-speaking immigrants, $t(239) = -3.18$, $p < .01$. Second, older individuals perceive higher levels of symbolic threat ($M_O = 2.54$; $SD_O = 1.00$) than younger individuals ($M_Y = 2.03$; $SD_Y = .80$) from Russian-speaking immigrants, $t(153.38) = -4.11$, $p < .001$. Third, there is no statistical difference between older individuals stereotyping ($M_O =$

2.61; SD_O = .61) and younger individuals (M_Y = 2.57; SD_Y = .65) stereotyping of Russian-speaking immigrants, t(192.00) = -.57, p = .57.

Discussion

This study had two main aims: to understand the extent to which Finns perceive different kinds of threat from Russian-speaking immigrants and to understand the generational divide in threat perception among Finns from Russian-speaking immigrants.

Results indicated that Finns generally perceive Russian speakers more as a realistic threat compared to other threats. This situation may arise due to competition over scarce resources such as jobs, housing, welfare services, or political power, just to name a few. Jaakkola (2000) also showed that Finnish attitudes toward immigrants became sterner during the downturn of the economic depression. This study also supports other studies that utilized ITT to successfully detect threats faced by the majority from the minority and in this case Finns from Russian speakers (González et al., 2008; Khan & Wiseman, 2007; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Schweitzer et al., 2005; Stephan, et al., 1998, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). This study sheds more light on the antagonism that has traditionally existed between these two groups.

Moreover, as hypothesized but not yet empirically measured, it was clear from our study that older Finns perceive Russian speakers as a realistic and symbolic threat more than younger Finns do. This could be an indication that the perception and attitudinal climate toward Russian-speaking immigrants in Eastern Finland are changing and that a generational divide in threat perception does exist, except for negative stereotypes as observed in this study. The exception of negative stereotypes is alarming because this implies younger Finns could hold as many stereotypes of Russian speakers as older Finns. According to Kangas (2011) and Karemaa (2004), Finns have traditionally had stereotypes about Russians and these stereotypes were transferred from one generation to another as parents recounted to their children the struggles they went through in the fight for freedom from the hands of the oppressors (Russians) during the war years. She argued that these negative perceptions of Russians are still alive in the Finnish society. This could be a possible explanation as to why there is no

significant difference between older and younger Finns in the perception of negative stereotypes toward Russian speakers. It can be argued that negative stereotypical perceptions of Russian immigrants are related to Finnish collective identity. According to Lehtonen (2005), an identification as a part of the collective or in-group could be a commitment to share in not only the in-group's generalized and simplified perception of self "us" but also the out-group's "others" (Russian immigrants). And even though stereotypes are not necessarily negative, they tend to be denigrating when applied to members of a group. In most cases, this forms the basis for intergroup prejudice and may hinder communication, intercultural exchange/dialog, and relationships (Ringo, 2005).

Implications and future research

While age has been studied in relation to attitudes toward immigrants, studies have not empirically explored age as a factor in attitudes toward immigrants, particularly prejudice/threat.

Ford (2012) did discuss such differences, but this is the only such hypothesis. The current study shows older Finns are more threatened by Russian immigrants than younger Finns. Thus, the first contribution of this study is that it adds to integrated threat research by empirically showing the significance of age as a predictive factor of threat.

Related to age, the second contribution of this study is the study's sample diversity. From a methodological perspective few studies in communication or on immigration have sampled high school students or individuals over 65 years of age. Thus, the current study's sampling represents diverse perspectives that are underrepresented.

Third, this research continues a growing trend of studies that explore the perceptions of the dominant culture, and not the perceptions of the immigrant. Typically in studies of immigration and cultural adaptation studies focus on the experience of the immigrant. While such studies have provided a wealth of information about the immigration experience, such studies have not tackled the pivotal question of host acceptance (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2013). A host culture is less likely to accept an immigrant group if the host feels threatened by the immigrant group (Croucher, 2013). In the case of the current study, the results show that the main fear Finns have from Russian immigrants

are realistic threats, such as economic threats. Such threats must be addressed to facilitate cultural adaptation, as it is impossible for immigrants to culturally adapt if they are not welcomed, or if they are feared by the dominant culture (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2013; Kim, 1988).

We see two areas of future research stemming from this study: the need to explore the effect of threat on intercultural exchange/dialog, and the need for qualitative research on threat. The Council of Europe (2008) defined intercultural dialog as a:

> process that comprises an open and respectful exchange or interaction between individuals, groups and organizations with different cultural backgrounds or world views. Among its aims are: to develop a deeper understanding of diverse perspectives and practices; to increase participation and the freedom and ability to make choices; to foster equality; and to enhance creative processes. (p. 10).

We see the study of integrated threat and prejudice as integral to understanding intercultural dialog, as such research is essential to understand the environment in which dialog takes place to be able to foster open and productive exchange (dialog). Numerous political, economic, linguistic, and sociocultural variables can influence the success of intercultural diaolgs (in whatever form the dialog may come) (Carbaugh, Boromisza-Habashi, & Ge, 2006; Deetz & Simpson, 2004; Ganesh & Holmes, 2011; Näss, 2010). We propose that intercultural researchers interested in dialog research negative attitudes between groups (prejudice, stereotypes, threat, etc.) as potential deterrents of effective intercultural dialog.

Moreover, we recommend that future research should focus on utilizing more qualitative or mixed-method approaches to understand the nature of antagonism in intergroup relations. So far the majority of studies looking at threat have used quantitative methods. Through in-depth interviews, we could have access to more profound insight as to how individuals feel, how they perceive immigrant minorities, and other extenuating factors. This kind of research could be done not only for members of the in-group but also for the out-group. Understanding whether the out-group perceives itself as

threatening to members of the host society and how it affects the nature of their interaction and relationship has not been given considerable attention as of yet.

This study has two limitations: sampling and the impossibility of knowing its effects on the participants. True random sampling is virtually impossible in intercultural and/or cross-cultural research; thus, this study did use a purposive convenience sample. The majority of the participants came from middle- to upper-middle-class families, and thus it is logical to assume such neighborhoods. Therefore, generalizations to the larger Finnish population should be done with caution, as Finland is an economically diverse nation. As the paper focused on Russian immigrants to Finland, the participants for the study were taken from Eastern Finland. This region of Finland borders Russia and has an economic, political, and cultural interest in Russian immigration. Future research should strive for more sample diversity. The second potential limitation of this study is that it is impossible to know if taking this survey could have brought forth prejudices in the younger participants. Even though a debriefing took place after surveys were completed, in which participants were asked to share their thoughts about the survey, such a debriefing may bring forth more prejudicial/stereotypical thoughts. We argue that when studying sensitive issues with any population, one must be diligent to debrief the participants and be sure they have done no harm. We believe we have done our best to this end.

In summary, the results of this study provide support that Finns perceive Russian immigrants as more of a realistic threat than any other kind of threat, and that older Finns are more threatened by Russian immigrants than are younger Finns. Further research should continue to explore integrated threat in diverse cultural settings to better understand the intricate relationship between immigrants, dominant group members, and the cultures in which they live.

References

Carbaugh, D., Boromisza-Habashi, D., & Ge. X. (2006). Dialogue in a cross-cultural perspec   tive. In N. Alto & E. Reuter (Eds.), *Aspects of intercultural dialogue* (pp. 27–46). Koln: SAXAVerlag.

Council of Europe. (2008). White paper on intercultural dialogue: "Living together as equals   in dignity." Retrieved from www.coe/int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/white%20paper_final_revised_en.pdf

Croucher, S. M. (2013). Integrated threat theory and acceptance of immigrant assimilation: An analysis of Muslim immigration in Western Europe. *Communication Mono   graphs, 80*, 46–62.

Croucher, S. M., Homsey, D., Brusch, E., Buyce, C., DeSilva, S., & Thompson, A. (2013). Prejudice toward American Muslims: An integrated threat analysis. *Journal of Intercultural Communication, 32*.Retrieved from http://immi.se/intercultural/

Curseu, P. L., Stoop, R., & Schalk, R. (2007). Prejudice toward immigrant workers among Dutch employees: Integrated theory revisited. *European Journal of Psychology, 37*, 125–140.

Deetz, S., & Simpson, J. (2004). Critical organizational dialogue. Open formation and the demand of "otherness". In R. Anderson, L. Baxter, & K. N. Cissna (Eds.), *Dialogue. Theorizing difference in communication studies* (pp. 141–158). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Delcampo, R. G., Haggerty, L. A., & Haney, M. J. (2011). *Managing the multi-generational work-force: From the GI generation to the millennial*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Group.

ECRI. (2007). Third report on Finland. Retrieved August 11, 2011, from http://hudoc.ecri.coe.int/XMLEcri/ENGLISH/Cycle_03/03_CbC_eng/FIN-CbC-III-2007-23-ENG.pdf

Ervasti, H. (2004). Attitudes towards foreign-born settlers: Finland in a comparative perspec   tive. In I. S. Teoksessa (Ed.), *Yearbook of population research in Finland* (pp. 25–44). Helsinki, Finland: Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Finnish National Broadcasting Company (2011). General election results. Retrieved from http://yle.fi.vaalit.tulospalvelu/2011/

Ford, R. (2012). *Europe's young cosmopolitans: Explaining generational differences in immigration attitudes*. University of Manchester, Institute of Social Change working paper.

Ganesh, S., & Holmes, P. (2011). Positioning intercultural dialogue-theories, pragmatics, and an agenda. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 4*, 81–86.

González, K. V., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice towards Muslims in The Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 47*, 667–685.

Helsingin Sanomat. (2011). International edition. Retrieved from http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Estonians +now+Finland%E2%80%99s+largest+immigrant+group/1135264130988

Jaakkola, M. (2000). *Finnish attitudes towards immigrants in 1987–1999*. (I. Söderling, Toim.) Helsinki, Finland: Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000). Psychological acculturation and adaptation among Russian speaking Adolescents in Finland. Retrieved from www.e- thesis:
http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/val/sosps/vk/jasinskaja-lahti/psycholo.pdf

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (1998). Content and predictors of the ethnic identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 39,* 209–219.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (2001). Perceived discrimination and psychological adjustment among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Psychology, 36,* 174–185.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Jaakkola, M., & Reuter, A. (2006). Perceived discrimination, social support networks and psychological well-being among three immigrant groups. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37*, 293–311.

Joensu Kaupunki. (2010). Joensuu – Karelian beat and vitality. Retrieved from

http://www.jns.fi/Resource.phx/sivut/sivut-jns/generalinfo/index.htx?lng=en

Kangas, A. (2011). Beyond Russophobia: A practice-based interpretation of Finnish Russian / Soviet

relations. *Cooperation and Conflict, 46*, 40–59.

Karemaa, O. (2004). Foes, fiends, and vermin. Ethnic hatred of Russians in Finland 1917–1923. Re-

trieved from http://finoved.madistudio.com/?idm=41&op=main&idcont=126

Khan, Z., & Wiseman, R. (2007). What are you going to take from us now? Perceived threats

from immigrants, ethnocentrism, and intercultural communication apprehension. *Intercultural Com-

munication Studies, XVI: 2*, 55–64.

Kim, Y. Y. (1988). *Communication and cross-cultural adaptation: An integrative theory*. Clevedon,

UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kyntäjä, E. (1997). Ethnic remigration from the former Soviet Union to Finland-patterns of ethnic

identity and acculturation among the Ingrian Finns. In S. S. Teoksessa (Ed.), *Yearbook of population

research in Finland* (pp. 102–113). Helsinki, Finland: Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Lehtonen, J. (2005). Stereotypes and collective identification. In D. Petkova & J. Lehtonen (Eds.),

Cultural identity in an intercultural context (pp. 67–94). Jyväskylä, Finland: University of Jyvaskyla

Press.

Liebkind, K., Mannila, S., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Jaakkola, M., Kyntäjä, E., & Reuter, A.   (2004).

Venäläinen, virolainen, suomalainen. Kolmen maahanmuuttajaryhmän ko   toutuminen Suomeen

(Russian, Estonian, Finnish: Integration of Three Immigrant   Groups in Finnish Society), Helsinki,

Finland: Gaudeamus.

Mannila, S., & Reuter, A. (2009). Social exclusion risks and their accumulation among Rus   sian-

speaking, ethnically Finnish and Estonian immigrants to Finland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration

Studies, 35*, 939–956.

Näss, H. E. (2010). The ambiguities of intercultural dialogue: Critical perspectives on the European Union's new agenda for culture. *Journal of Intercultural Communication, 23*. Retrieved from http://immi.se/intercultural.

Niemi, H. (2007). Russian immigrants in Finnish society. Retrieved from http://www.socmag.net/?p=270

Protassova, E. (2008). Teaching Russian as a heritage language in Finland. *Heritage Lan guage Journal, 6*, 127–152.

Ringo, M. (2005). Communication between Hong Kong and mainland Chinese: Rethinking cross-cultural adaptation. *International & Intercultural Communication Annual, 28*, 197–213.

Scheibner, G., & Morrison, T. (2009). Attitudes towards Polish immigrants to the Republic of Ireland: An integrated threat analysis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 32*, 1431–1448.

Schneider, S. L. (2008). Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe: Outgroup size and perceived ethnic threat. *European Sociological Review, 24*, 53–67.

Schweitzer, R., Perkoulidis, S. A., Krome, S., Ludlow, C., & Ryan, M. (2005). Attitudes towards ref-ugees: The dark side of prejudice in Australia. *Australian Journal of Psy chology, 57*, 170 -179.

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Looving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercul tural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31*, 240–249.

Stephan,W. G., & Stephan, C.W. (1993). Cognition and affect in stereotyping: Parallel interactive networks. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition, and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception* (pp. 111–136). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 20*, 409 - 426.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C. M., Schwarzwald, J., & Turk-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 29*, 559–576.

IV

PREDICTORS OF FINNISH ADOLESCENT´S PREJUDICE TOWARDS RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS AND THE ROLE OF INTERGROUP CONTACT

by

Nshom E. (2015)

Journal of Intercultural Communication Research, 45, 31-44

Predictors of Finnish Adolescent's Prejudice towards Russian Immigrants and the Effect of Intergroup Contact

Elvis Nshom

Department of language and communication studies

University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä Finland

Abstract

This study examined perceived threat as a predictor of Finnish adolescent´s prejudice towards Russian immigrants. Moreover, since Russian immigrants represent the largest immigrant group in Eastern Finland, this study also explored the relationship between intergroup contact, threat, and prejudice. The sample consisted of 305 Finnish adolescents ranging from 11 to 19 years old. Results showed threat to be a significant predictor of prejudice towards Russian immigrants in Eastern Finland. Individually, negative stereotype was found to be the only threat that significantly predicted prejudice towards Russian immigrants. Realistic and symbolic threats were not important to the attitudes of Finnish adolescents towards Russian immigrants. Moreover, there was no significant relationship between intergroup contact, prejudice, and threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype). Implications are also discussed.

Keywords: prejudice; Finland; Russian immigrants; immigration; integrated threat.

Introduction

Europe has witnessed a tremendous increase in immigration within the last two decades (Meuleman, Davidov & Billiet, 2009) and Finland is no exception. This is mostly because Finland compared to countries like Britain, France, Germany, and Italy has traditionally been a homogeneous society and highly excluded from mass immigration (Ervasti, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Kyntäjä, 1997). Even though, immigration in Finland has been on the increase since the 1990s, the immigrant population of about 200,000 still constitutes only about 2-3% of the total population (Statistics Finland, 2014). Among the various immigrant groups and an immigrant population of over 200,000, Russian immigrants have always been the largest until 2011 when they became the second largest immigrant group in Finland after Estonians. However, the Russian speaking community still remains the largest immigrant community in Finland (Helsingin Sanomat, 2011).

Unfortunately, it has been reported that Russian speaking immigrants in Finland are often victims of prejudice and discrimination and also feel psychologically and emotionally alienated more than any other immigrant groups (Jaakkola, 2000; Protassova, 2008). This has also been noted internationally by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, (ECRI) who recommended that Finnish authorities pay much more attention to the specific problems of disadvantage and discrimination faced by Russian speaking communities in Finland and that action be taken to fight negative societal attitudes and intolerance toward members of the Russian speaking community, which is said to have intensified due to lack of determined action on the part of Finnish authorities (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). Reports indicate Russian speakers have been targets of violence; Russian speakers have suffered from racial harassment, and bullying of Russian speaking children at school has also been reported. Attention has also been drawn to anti-Russian materials on the internet and media inciting hatred and to the use of derogatory expressions to refer to Russian immigrants (ECRI, 2007).

Despite the numerical (see Statistics Finland, 2014) and historical (see Karemaa, 2000; Niemi, 2007) significance of Russian immigration to Finland, and the sensitivity of Finnish-Russian relations (see Nshom & Croucher, 2014), no research has been carried out in Finland with the aim of understanding the role of perceived threat on the attitudes of Finns towards Russian immigrants. According to Mannila and Reuter (2009), studies on Russian immigration to Finland have rather focused on other issues such as psychological acculturation, ethnic identity, adaption and perceived discrimination of Russian immigrants (e.g. Jasinskaja-Lahti, 1998, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 1998, 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola & Reuter, 2006; Liebkind, Mannila, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Jaakkola, Kyntäjä, & Reuter, 2004) with little or no attention to the factors that explain and predict negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants among Finns. The aim of this study is to fill this gap. First, this study examines perceived threat as a predictor of Finnish adolescent's prejudice towards Russian immigrants in the Eastern region of Finland, which is home to the highest number of Russian immigrants in the country. Second, this study explores the relationship between intergroup contact, perceived threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype), and prejudice. In order to do this, this study employs integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996, 2000) and the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954). Stephan and Stephan's (1993, 1996, 2000) ITT provides a useful framework for understanding, explaining and predicting negative attitudes towards immigrants or minorities. It identifies realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotype, and intergroup anxiety as predictors of prejudice or negative attitudes towards outgroups. Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis explains how intergroup contact could positively affect the feeling of prejudice, especially when it is cooperative, individualized, voluntary, equal status, and positive.

Integrated Threat Theory (ITT)

One of the reasons for anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe is ethnic threat perception (Schneider, 2008). Believing that people from other cultures are a threat to one's own culture and survival can negatively impact intercultural relations whether at a diplomatic, business, individual and /or interpersonal level. At a higher level, wars have been fought because of such fears because feelings of threat

have been found to lead to prejudice and discrimination towards people from other cultures (Stephan, Diaz-Looving & Duran, 2000). Prejudice is:

> An aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group… Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he is a member of that group. (Allport, 1954 p. 7).

Research has demonstrated that perceived threat has the ability to explain and predict prejudice towards immigrants and minorities (Curseu, Stoop & Schalk, 2007; Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Martnez, Schwarzwald & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). Basically, prejudice can be predicted by four types of threats: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (Stephan et al., 1998; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000; Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Bettencourt, Ervin, Jackson, McNatt & Renfro, 2002).

Realistic threats are threats to the physical, political, and economic power of the in-group or its members (Stephan et al., 2000) and according to Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow and Ryan (2005), realistic threat gained its origin from the realistic group conflict theory. According to Curseu, Stoop and Schalk (2007), this occurs when social groups living together in a shared context compete for scarce resources and develop conflicting goals. The core issue here is therefore presumed to be the perceived competition over scarce resources and the assumption that they are threatened by immigrants (Gonzalez et al., 2008). For example, rising unemployment in Finland has often been linked to immigrants such as Estonians and Russians (Finnish National Broadcasting Company 2011; Jaakola, 2009; Nshom & Croucher, 2014).

Symbolic threats are threats that occur because of differences in worldview, beliefs, norms, culture, morals, values, and attitudes between the in-group and the out-group. Outgroups that adhere to a different way of life are often disliked by the in-group (Stephan et al., 2000). For example, symbolic

threat is related to prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands (Gonzalez et al., 2008) and in Western Europe (Croucher, 2013).

Intergroup anxiety often occurs in the process of interaction between members of the in-group and the out-group. This anxiety happens because of the fear of being ridiculed, embarrassed, or exploited. Feelings of anxiety have been shown to be related to prejudice (Stephan et al., 1999). Croucher, Homsey, Brusch, Buyce, DeSilva & Thompson (2013) argued intergroup anxiety is an individual level fear rather than a group level fear like the other threats. Since the focus of this study is on group level fears, intergroup anxiety is not included.

Negative stereotypes according to Lehtonen (2005) can be viewed as "generalizations that are assumed to be common among the members of a given in-group and which concern the members of a given collective, … who are assumed to share the same attitudes, personality traits and behavioral predispositions" (p. 67). They are implied threats to the in-group because in the process of interaction, in-group members often fear negative consequences will befall them. For example if an in-group member thinks an out-group is dishonest, unintelligent or violent, they will expect interactions between them and members of the out-group to be negative and as a consequence dislike them (Stephan et al., 2000).

Research hypotheses

In Finland, studies investigating the manifestation or perception of these threats and to what extent they predict and explain prejudices particularly towards Russian immigrants are non-existent. However, Nshom and Croucher (2014) carried out a study describing how differently younger Finns feel threatened by Russian speaking immigrants from older Finns. However, the authors did not examine the extent to which these threats predicted or explained prejudice and negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants. A focus in the current study is to find out to what extent these threats (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotypes) predict prejudice towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents in the Eastern region of Finland, which houses the highest number of Russian immigrants in the country. Taking into consideration literature that suggests perceived threat is

an effective predictor of prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996, 2000), the following research question is posed:

RQ1: To what extent does perceived threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype) predict Finnish adolescent's prejudice towards Russian immigrants?

It is also important to note that Russian immigrants have visibly been active part of Finnish history. Finland and Russia have a rather interesting history. Finland was under Russian domination and both countries fought major wars with Finland gaining its independence in 1940. Since then, Russians have traditionally and stereotypically been perceived as the archenemy and the oppressor. According to Karamaa (2004), this stereotypical perception is said to have been transferred from one generation to another and is present in Finnish society today even among Finnish adolescents. In fact, Nshom and Croucher (2014) found that adolescents in the Eastern region of Finland had as much negative stereotypes about Russian immigrants as Finns over the age of 65. Essentially, there was no significant difference between younger and older Finns in the level of negative stereotype towards Russian speaking immigrants. Stereotypical perceptions about Russians have been considered to be the most common reason why Finns show negative attitudes towards Russians living in Finland (Karamaa, 2004). With this in mind, among the different types of threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat and negative stereotype), it is expected negative stereotype will be the strongest predictor of negative attitude or prejudice towards Russian immigrants. Thus the following hypothesis is posed:

H1: Negative stereotype will be the strongest predictor of prejudice towards Russian   immigrants.

Intergroup Contact

Literature on the intergroup contact hypothesis suggests that when intergroup contact is cooperative, individualized, voluntary, equal status, and positive, it has the ability to reduce prejudice thereby improving intergroup relations (Allport, 1954). In recent decades, there has been an intense renewal of research and theoretical interest in Allport's (1954) intergroup contact hypothesis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Brown and Hewstone (2005) and Pettigrew (1998) developed the hypothesis into a

more refined theory and have shown its applicability in a wide variety of groups and settings. This has successfully established the basic contention that intergroup contact between the ingoup and outgroup reduces prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008). Many studies conducted in various situations and with several prejudiced social groups like foreign students, immigrants, refugees and the elderly have supported this notion (e.g. Jaakkola, 2000; Stephan & Stephan 1996; Stephan et al., 1998, 2000; Valentova & Guayarmina, 2010).

In relation to adolescents in Europe, Ford (2006) also argued adolescents will experience more social communication and contact and display more acceptance and tolerance because they grew up when the migrant group had settled in the country. He associated the possibility for adolescents to have more liberal attitudes towards immigrants by arguing a typical and average European youngster has the experience or possibility of traveling to different countries where they get in contact with people from other countries and cultures. In addition, an average Western European is educated especially with the increase in higher secondary and tertiary education in the continent. He insists they are bound to encounter a degree of social and cultural diversity within the school or the wider city. This fosters a more cosmopolitan attitude toward foreigners and immigration.

Based on Allport´s contact theory (1954), Ford's proposition (2006) and the fact that Russian immigrants are the most populous immigrant group in Eastern Finland (Nshom & Croucher, 2014), contact with Russian immigrants is expected to be high and by analyzing the quantity and quality of contact with Russian immigrants, it is expected that intergroup contact will be negatively related to the level of threat and prejudice. Thus, the following hypothesis is posed:

H2: Intergroup contact with Russian immigrants is negatively related to perceived threat and prejudice.

<center>**Method**</center>

Participants and Procedures:

     This study was carried out in the Eastern region of Finland (Joensuu) bordering Russia. This region is home to the highest number of Russian speakers. Respondents consisted of Finnish students from upper secondary to high school with an age range of 11 to 19. Data were collected through self-administered questionnaires and the researcher made sure it conformed to the established institutional ethical guidelines. Overall, there were 305 final participants: 188 (60%) were women while 122 (40%) were men. 43 participants (14.1 %) were between 11 to 13 years old (early adolescents); 182 (59.7%) were between 14-16 (middle adolescents) and 80 (26.2 %) were 17-19 years old (late adolescents). Since this study is interested in native Finns, all non-native Finns were disqualified from the study. The researcher obtained official authorization from the appropriate authorities and organized data collection trips to the schools. Completing the questionnaire took approximately 10 to 15 minutes and participants were not compensated for their participation. Participation was completely voluntary.

Measures

The measures in the questionnaire included demographics, a measure of symbolic threat (González et al., 2008), a measure of realistic threat (González et al., 2008), a measure of negative stereotypes (González et al., 2008), a measure of prejudice (Stephan & Stephan 2002), and a measure of contact (both quality and quantity) adapted from González et al. (2008). The survey was originally prepared in English and then translated/back-translated into Finnish by native speakers of Finnish-English. See Table 1 for the means, standard deviations, correlations, alphas, and kappas for the study variables.

     Realistic Threat: In order to measure realistic threat, participants were asked to respond to the following three statements: "Because of the presence of Russian immigrants, Finns have more difficulty finding a job", "Because of the presence of Russian immigrants; Finns have more difficulty finding a house," and "Because of the presence of Russian immigrants, unemployment in Finland is increasing." These questions were taken from González et al. (2008) and had a reliability of .80. For

this current study, the alpha reliability for realistic threat was .94. Response categories ranged from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. Higher scores meant more threat.

Symbolic Threat: symbolic threat was assessed by three items from González et al. (2008). These included "Finnish identity/culture is threatened because there are too many Russian immigrants today," "Finnish norms and values are threatened because of the presence of Russian immigrants to-day," and "Russian immigrants are a threat to Finnish culture". Response categories ranged from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. Higher scores implied stronger feeling of threat. This scale showed an alpha reliability of .89 in the original study of González et al. (2008). In this current study the alpha reliability was .94.

Stereotypes: Negative stereotype was assessed by asking participants to what extent some 8 trait adjectives fully described Russian immigrants. Examples of such adjectives are as follows: violent, dishonest, unintelligent, friendly, arrogant, kind, greedy, and inferior. Friendly and kind were reverse coded and higher scores meant more negative stereotypes. Responses ranged from (1) *no, absolutely not*, to (5) *yes, certainly*. The alpha reliability for these traits was .83 in the original study of González et al. (2008) but for this study it was .84

Prejudice: Prejudice was measured by presenting participants with six evaluative and emotional reactions and asking to indicate to what extent that reflected how they felt towards Russian immigrants. This scale was adapted from Stephan et al. (2002). The items that made up the scale included: Acceptance, approval, admiration, antipathy, disdain, and disrespectful. Acceptance, approval and admiration were reverse scored and an alpha reliability coefficient of .71 was obtained for prejudice in this study. Response options ranged from (1) *totally disagree* to (5) *absolutely agree*. Higher scores indicated more feelings of prejudice towards Russian immigrants.

Intergroup contact: Intergroup contact was measured using four items from González et al. (2008). Two sample items include: "How many Russian immigrant friends do you have?" and "Do you have contact with Russian immigrants?". The first item was rated from (1) *none* to (4) *only Russian immigrant friends*. The remaining three items were as follows: "Do you have contact with Rus-

sian immigrants at school?", "Do you have contact with Russian immigrants in your neighborhood?", "Do you have contact with Russian immigrants somewhere else such as during activities? Response options ranged from (1) *never* to (4) *often*. The alpha reliability for the scale was .70 and .72 in the original study and current study respectively. Table 1 contains the means, standard deviations, alphas and correlations for all variables in this study.

Insert Table 1 here

Results

To explore *RQ1,* a multiple regression analysis was conducted with prejudice as the dependent variable and the different types of threats (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype) as the independent variables. Results indicated all three types of threat: realistic (β = .26, $p <$ .05), symbolic (β = -.27, $p <$ .05), and negative stereotype (β = .34, $p <$ .0001) significantly predicted prejudice towards Russian immigrants: F = 12.76, $p <$ .0001, R^2 = .13. See Table 2 for the full regression results. Due to a high correlation between realistic threat and symbolic threat, the test to determine if the data met the assumption of collinearity was conducted. It indicated that multicollinearity was not a concern (symbolic threat Tolerance .26, VIF = 3.75, realistic threat, Tolerance .26, VIF = 3.75 and negative stereotype, Tolerance .99, VIF = 1.01).

Insert Table 2 here

To address, *H1,* the three types of threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotypes) were individually regressed on prejudice in order to test the predictive power of each threat in isolation from the effect of the other threats. Individually, symbolic threat was not a significant predictor of prejudice: F = .55, p = .46, R^2 = .002. Individually, realistic threat was not a significant predictor of prejudice: F = .33, p = .57, R^2 = .001. Individually, negative stereotype was a significant predictor of prejudice: F = 32.94, $p <$ .0001, R^2 = .12. Thus, negative stereotype was the only significant threat predictor of prejudice; therefore, *H1* is supported.

To address *H2,* which argued contact with Russian immigrants would be negatively related to threat and prejudice, a Pearson's correlation analysis was conducted. Results suggested intergroup contact was not significantly correlated with prejudice ($r = -.03$, $p=.63$) nor with realistic threat ($r = .09$, $p=.07$), symbolic threat ($r = .08$, $p=.07$) and with negative stereotypes ($r = .06$, $p=.16$). Thus, *H2* is not supported (see Table 1).

Discussion

This study showed perceived threat as a whole to be a significant predictor of prejudice towards Russian immigrants. Cultural differences between Russian immigrants and Finns, negative stereotypes about Russian immigrants and perceived economic difficulties posed by Russian immigrants are altogether important elements that explain negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents. This supports the integrated threat theory of prejudice (ITT), which stipulates prejudice or negative attitudes towards immigrants and minorities can be predicted by perceived threat (Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996, 1998). Research has demonstrated perceived threat has the ability to explain and predict prejudice towards outgroups (Curseu, Stoop & Schalk, 2007; Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008; Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Martnez, Schwarzwald & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). A case in point, Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999) studied attitudes towards three different immigrant groups (Cubans, Asians, and Mexicans) in the US and found prejudice was predicted by threat in all three immigrant groups.

However, it was observed that even though perceived threat, which is the combination of all three kinds of threat, significantly predicted a substantial amount of prejudice as indicated, individually, symbolic and realistic threat did not significantly predict prejudice towards Russian immigrants irrespective of the fact that they were the highest and most perceived threats respectively. On the other hand, even though negative stereotype was the least perceived threat compared to the other threats, this study showed negative stereotype to be the strongest and only significant predictor of prejudice towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents. This result provided support for *H1,* which

postulated negative stereotype would be the strongest predictor of prejudice towards Russian immigrants. Thus, among the different types of threats, negative stereotype is the only threat that is statistically important to attitudes towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents in the Eastern region of Finland. There is an abundance of literature showing the perception of negative stereotype can lead to prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants (Stephan et al., 1998, 2000).

However, in the last decade, there also has been research questioning the conceptualization of negative stereotype as one of the four threats predicting outgroup attitudes (Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Bettencourt, Ervin, Jackson, McNatt, & Renfro, 2002). There is debate as to whether negative stereotype should be conceptualized as a predicator of threat or a predictor of negative attitudes (Riek et al., 2006). In fact, Riek et al. (2006) in their meta-analytical review of integrated threat and outgroup attitudes recommended negative stereotype and intergroup anxiety be replaced with group esteem threat. Stephan et al. (2002) in their study found negative stereotyping to be more fitted as a predicator of threat rather than negative attitudes. Similarly, Aberson and Gaffney (2008) conceptualized negative stereotypes as an antecedent of threat, rather than a threat itself. In another study, Stephan, Demitrakis and Yamada (2000) studied the attitudes of women towards men and found negative stereotypes to not be important to attitudes towards men, and Harrison and Peacock (2010) suggested negative stereotyping be removed as part of the four types of threats predicting prejudice. In fact in the most recent revisions of ITT, the original four threats (realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety) have been revised and reduced to two basic threats – realistic and symbolic threats (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009; Stephan, Ybarra & Rios, 2015). However, the ability of negative stereotype to predict prejudice and negative attitudes towards outgroups has received empirical support since the inception of ITT (Stephan et al., 1998, 2000). This study utilized the original conceptualization of ITT (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 1998, 2000) which includes negative stereotype because of the centrality of negative stereotype within the context of Finnish Russian relations.

The current study clearly showed negative stereotype to be the only threat significantly predicting prejudice or negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants. This study finds support for negative

stereotype as an effective predictor of prejudice. It is also important to however acknowledge the gap in research as to the factors that affect the degree to which individual threats are likely to predict prejudice or negative attitudes.

Despite literature suggesting the extent to which perceived threats are likely to predict prejudice can depend on some factors such as: the prior historical relations between the groups, the relative status of the groups, the strength of in-group identification, knowledge of the out-group and the nature of intergroup contact (Stephan et al., 1999; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Renfro, & Davis, 2008), research explaining why some threats would be less predictive of prejudice (in this case, realistic and symbolic threat) and others more predictive of prejudice (in this case negative stereotype) in the same sample is limited. The findings in this study are rather interesting. Negative stereotype is the only threat significantly predicting negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants compared to realistic and symbolic threat. This means Finnish adolescents will less likely prejudice Russian immigrants because of economically related fear. One explanation for this is the nature of the sample. First, it is important to note this study was carried out among adolescents aged 11 to 19, and all of them were students. People in this age category are less likely to perceive economic difficulties. They will be less likely to prejudice immigrants for taking their jobs, as this feeling of competition is less likely to arise. González et al. (2008) emphasized that for realistic threat:

The core issue here is (perceived) competition over scarce resources, such as houses and jobs, and the perception that these resources are threatened by outsiders. The desire to protect the ingroup´s interests is considered the underlying motivation responsible for negative attitudes and discriminatory behavior. (p. 669).

Moreover, this study was carried out in Eastern Finland. This region borders Russia and has an economic, political and cultural interest in Russia (Nshom & Croucher, 2014). In fact Russian immigrants are the most populous immigrant group in the region (Statistics Finland, 2014). By implication, contact with Russian immigrants and knowledge about Russian immigrants at school and in the wider city is probably high and this could be an explanation as to why cultural difference between

Russians and Finns (symbolic threat) is not important to negative attitudes towards them. Stephan et al., (1999) stated, when "in-group members are knowledgeable about the out-group, and contact has been extensive, voluntary, positive, individualized, and cooperative, threats are unlikely to be strong predictors of prejudice" (p.2232). This is similar to the idea proposed by the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954). Moreover, the fact symbolic threat is high among Finnish adolescents but does not significantly predict negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants, means that even though Finnish adolescents think Russian immigrants represent a threat to the Finnish culture, values and norms but it doesn't matter when it comes to disliking them. This is particularly important because this study shows symbolic threat to be negatively associated with prejudice towards Russian immigrants. One factor that may have affected and accounted for such a relationship is personal beliefs such as religious beliefs. People could sometimes perceive an outgroup as highly threatening but because of their beliefs may not be permitted or comfortable to dislike or prejudice them. Moreover even though the quality of contact experiences was not measured, it is possible that positive contact experiences might have led to lower feelings of prejudice but not lesser feelings of threat especially as the study location is home to the highest number of Russians in the country. Prejudice is an emotional state and can be easily affected by external factors that change the way we feel. But the threat pose by Russians is deeply rooted not only in the common history between Finland and Russia but also in the Finnish collective identity. Lehtonen (2005) has argued that identifying as part of an in-group is a commitment to share in the in-group's generalized perception of self "us" and "others" (Russian immigrants) (Nshom & Croucher, 2014). This may be some of the factors influencing the nature of the relationship between symbolic threat and prejudice.

However, an interesting finding in this study is the extent to which negative stereotype is related to Finnish adolescents prejudice towards Russian immigrants. Negative stereotype is the only significant threat predicting prejudice towards Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents. This is probably because Russian immigrants in Finland have traditionally and stereotypically been perceived as the enemy. This is primarily because Finland was under Russian domination and the common history between Finland and Russia was characterized by conflict, which gained Finland its independ-

ence from the hands of its "Russian oppressors" (Nshom & Croucher, 2014). This stereotypical perception of Russians according to Karamaa (2004) has been transferred from one generation to another and is present in Finish society today, even among young people. Nshom and Croucher (2014) found Finnish adolescents in Eastern Finland had as much negative stereotypes about Russian speaking immigrants as older Finns over 65 years old. There are many ways through which stereotypes can be transported to children and adolescents. It can be transported through different ways of communication such as everyday talk, cultural jokes, phrases, and conceits, the wording of news items in newspapers, cartoons, films, and TV ads, just to name a few. Communication can sometimes consciously or unconsciously contain transparent or embedded stereotypes (Lehtonen, 2005). Moreover, a lot of Russian immigrants live in this region. Negative contact experiences have the ability to enforce stereotypical perceptions and consequently lead to negative attitudes (Aberson & Gaffney, 2008). So the common history between Finland and Russia and the generational and traditional stereotypical perception of Russians in Finland and most probably the possibility for negative contact experiences in the region (Eastern Finland) and negative media portrayal are important factors that could account for the salience of negative stereotype. This supports the idea that when prior historical relations between the in-group and the out-group have been amicable, then threats will less likely be related to prejudice (Stephan et al., 1999). This is not the case between Finns and Russians. However, this study alongside others such as Stephan et al. (1998, 2000) clearly show the perception of negative stereotype to be a strong predictor of prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Moreover, this study showed there is no significant relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice and similarly between intergroup contact and threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotypes). This therefore means *H2* was not supported. This does not support the contact hypothesis of Allport (1954) and previous research that has found intergroup contact to be related to prejudice or threat (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Jaakkola, 2000; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Stephan & Stephan 1996; Stephan et al., 1998, 2000; Valentova & Guayarmina, 2010). This also raises the question of under what circumstances should intergroup contact be related to out-group attitudes. Allport (1954) clearly emphasized how intergroup contact could affect the feeling of

prejudice particularly when it is cooperative, individualized, voluntary, equal status, and positive. Positive contact has been associated with lesser feelings of threat and negative attitude. It is expected positive contact will relate to reduced feeling of threat and prejudice while negative contact to increased feelings of threat and prejudice (Aberson & Gaffney, 2008). Aberson and Gaffney (2008) in their study employed this distinction and found positive contact experiences were related to lesser feelings of threat while negative contact experiences were related to greater feelings of threat. The intergroup contact measure (González et al. 2008) used in this study mostly focused on contact frequency. There was just one question for contact quality. This definitely represents a potential limitation. Future research investigating the relationship between contact and prejudice towards outgroups should also consider and examine the nature (positive and negative) of contact experiences and not just the quantity and frequency of contact. This probably explains why this study did not find any significant relationship between intergroup contact, threat and prejudice.

Implication and future research

Russian immigration is very significant to Finland economically, politically, and culturally. This study showed realistic and symbolic threats are not important to prejudice towards Russian immigrants but negative stereotype was shown to significantly predict and explain prejudice and negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants. This necessitates interventions that will reduce the perception of negative stereotypes as this study shows it could lead to prejudice against Russian immigrants especially in schools. There is therefore a need to create anti-stereotyping programs in schools to help counter these stereotypical perceptions about Russian immigrants among Finnish adolescents. Such programs would improve Finnish-Russian relations and promote a safe educational environment for Russian speaking pupils. Whenever stereotypes are applied to members of a group, they tend to be denigrating and in most cases form the basis for intergroup prejudice. This may hinder communication, intercultural exchange/dialogue, and interpersonal relationships (Ringo, 2005). Research suggests members of the host culture are less likely to accept an immigrant group if they feel threatened. This also represents a potential hindrance to the successful adaptation of Russian speaking pupils as it is very difficult for outgroups to adapt if they are not welcomed and accepted by the members of the

host culture (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2013; Kim, 1988; Nshom & Croucher, 2014). Moreover, adolescence is a crucial and very important developmental stage. They represent the next generation of policy makers and it is throughout these years that prejudice and attitudes towards outgroups form and crystallize (Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu & Vallese, 2003).

However, future research should consider the circumstances in which individual threats effectively predict prejudice. The different factors advanced by Stephan et al. (1999) and in the original conceptualization of ITT (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) are not threat specific. These factors may not be applicable for all threats and in every situation and at the same time. There are also other factors that may mediate the relationship between perceived threat and prejudice and it is important to consider them.

This study is limited by sampling. The study used a purposive convenience sampling as it is almost impossible to achieve true random sampling in intercultural research (Nshom & Croucher, 2014). Moreover, this study was carried out in Eastern Finland. This region borders Russia and Russian immigrants are the biggest immigrant group in the region (Statistics Finland, 2014). Since this study focused on Russian immigration and intergroup contact, this region appeared very relevant. However, generalizations to the entire Finnish population should be done with care.

 This is the first study to the best of my knowledge that includes early adolescents (adolescents below 14 years old) in a study on ITT. The sample for this study consisted of adolescents from 11 to 19 years old (early, middle and late adolescents). Earlier studies applying ITT among adolescents have only focused on middle and/or late adolescents. Early adolescence is important and crucial because some studies have found a peak in prejudice from around early adolescence (e.g., Black – Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Kiesner et al., Rutland 1999).

Until now, no studies in Finland considered exploring the extent to which perceived threat predicts or explains negative attitudes towards Russian immigrants among Finns. This study successfully and clearly demonstrated threat is a significant predictor of prejudice towards Russian immigrants in Eastern Finland. Individually, negative stereotype was found to be the only threat that significantly predicted prejudice towards Russian immigrants. Realistic and symbolic threats were not important to the

attitudes of Finnish adolescents towards Russian immigrants. Last, this study found no significant relationship between intergroup communication / contact, prejudice and threat (realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotype.

References

Aberson, C. & Gaffney, A. (2008) An integrated threat model of explicit and implicit   attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *39*, 808–830.

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge MA: Addison-Wesley.

Curseu, P. L., Stoop, R., & Schalk, R. (2007). Prejudice toward immigrant workers among Dutch employees: Integrated threat theory revisited. *European Journal of Psycholo gy*, *3*, 125-140.

Brown, R.J. & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 37, pp. 255-331). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Croucher, S. M. (2013). Integrated threat theory and acceptance of immigrant assimilation: An analysis of Muslim immigration in Western Europe. *Communication Monographs*,*80*, 46–62.

Croucher, S. M., Homsey, D., Brusch, E., Buyce, C., DeSilva, S., & Thompson, A. (2013). Prejudice towards American Muslims. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, *32*, http://immi.se/inter0063ultural/.

ECRI. (2007). Third report on Finland. Retrieved August 11, 2011, fromhttp://hudoc.ecri.coe.int/XMLEcri/ENGLISH/Cycle_03/03_CbC_eng/FIN-CbC-III- 2007-23-ENG.pdf.

Ervasti, H. (2004). Attitudes towards foreign-born settlers: Finland in a comparative perspective. In I. S. Teoksessa (Ed.), *Yearbook of population research in Finland* (pp. 25–   44). Helsinki, Finland: Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Ford, R. (2012). Europe's young cosmopolitans: *Explaining generational differences in   immigration attitudes*. University of Manchester, Institute of Social Change working paper.

González, K. V., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psy   chology*, *47*, 667–685.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (2001). Perceived discrimination and psychological adjustment among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Psychology*, *36*, 174–185.

Helsingin Sanomat. (2011). *International edition*. Retrieved from http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Estonians+now+Finland%E2%80%99s+largest+immigrant+group/1135264130988.

Jaakkola, M. (2000). *Finnish attitudes towards immigrants* in 1987–1999. (I. Söderling, Toim.) Helsinki, Finland: Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Jaakkola, M. (2009). *Maahanmuuttajat suomalaisten näkökulmasta. Asennemuutokset 1987-2007*. Helsinki, Finland: City of Helsinki Urban Facts Research Series.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000). Psychological acculturation and adaptation among Russian speaking adolescents in Finland. Retrieved from
    www.ethesis:http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/val/sosps/vk/jasinskaja-lahti/psycholo.pdf.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (1998). Content and predictors of the ethnic identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *39*, 209–219.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K. Jaakkola, M., & Reuter, A., (2006). Perceived discrimination, social support networks and psychological well-being among three immigrant groups. *Journal of Cross - Cultural Psychology*, *37*, 293–311.

Karemaa, O. (2004). *Foes, fiends, and vermin. Ethnic hatred of Russians in Finland 1917–1923*. Retrieved from http://finoved.madistudio.com/?idm=41&op=main&idcont=126.

Kiesner, J., Maass, A., Cadinu, M., & Vallese, I (2003). Risk factors for prejudice attitudes during early adolescence. *Social Development*, *12*, 288–308.

Kim, Y. Y. (1988). *Communication and cross-cultural adaptation: An integrative theory*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kyntäjä, E. (1997). Ethnic remigration from the former Soviet Union to Finland-patterns of ethnic identity and acculturation among the Ingrian Finns. In S. S. Teoksessa (Ed.), *Yearbook of population research in Finland* (pp. 102–113). Helsink, Finland: Väestöliitto, Väestöntutkimuslaitos.

Lehtonen, J. (2005). Stereotypes and collective identification. In: *Cultural Identity in an intercultural context* (pp. 67-94), D. Petkova & J. Lehtonen (Eds.). Jyväskylä, Finland: University of Jyvaskyla.

Liebkind, K., Mannila, S., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Jaakkola, M., Kyntäjä, E., & Reuter, A. (2004). Venäläinen, virolainen, suomalainen. Kolmen maahanmuuttajaryhmän kotoutuminenSuomeen (Russian, Estonian, Finnish: Integration of Three Immigrant Groups in Finnish Society), Helsinki, Finland: Gaudeamus.

Mannila, S., & Reuter, A. (2009). Social exclusion risks and their accumulation among Russian-speaking, ethnically Finnish and Estonian immigrants to Finland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*, 939–956.

Meuleman, B., Davidov, E. & Billiet, J. (2009). Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002–2007: A dynamic group conflict theory approach. *Social Science Research*, *38*, 352-355.

Niemi, H. (2007). *Russian immigrants in Finnish society*. Retrieved from
http://www.socmag.net/?p=270

Nshom, E. & Croucher, S. M. (2014). Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: A comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *6*, 308-317.

Pettigrew, T. F., &Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*, 922- 934.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*, 751-783.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*, 65-85.