



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

**WHY NOT? - PEOPLE WHO DECIDED NOT TO CONFORM TO
PERCEIVED IMMORALITY**

Advisor: Roger Sages

Isa Gustafsson Jertfelt

Thesis Master Program, Psychology 30p, VT: 2010

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WHY NOT? - PEOPLE WHO DECIDED NOT TO CONFORM TO PERCEIVED IMMORALITY*

Isa Gustafsson Jertfelt

Much of the research in social psychology has focused on conformity. Often conformity is a necessary tool which helps our society to function but when people conform to something dangerous or immoral it can be very dangerous. In this study the people who do not conform for the reason that they disagree with the morality of the group are studied. The study is phenomenological and exploratory and shows several possible reasons to this behavior; strong injunctive norms formed from a previous challenging situation, an empathic concern and an identification with a role as a moral-nonconformer. The results could be used as a starting point for understanding the mechanisms behind moral-nonconforming but need to be explored further in different settings to render usable theories.

Much research in social psychology focused on why people conform to things that they would not do or think, had they not been in a group or in a situation where the behavior is the norm (Hodges & Geyer, 2006; Milgram, 1975). Two of the conclusions in these studies are that conforming to the group norm is more common than nonconforming and that there are multiple reasons to why we conform (Hodges & Geyer, 2006; Milgram, 1975; Short, 1999). Precious few studies have been conducted from the opposite perspective; why some do not conform. The participants of this study have all in some way chosen not to conform to the norm of the larger group because they believed the group was behaving against their moral. Henceforth I will refer to individuals who do not conform for moral reasons as moral-nonconformers and the act moral-nonconforming. This should not be interpreted as they have higher morals than the rest of the group but only that the reasons for their nonconformity are founded on their own moral believes or norms.

A quick review of history, newspaper articles and research shows that negative consequences often befall the people who do not conform (Bouville, 2008; Haglunds, 2009; Hedin, Månsson & Tikkanen, 2008; Monin, Sawyer & Marquez, 2008). Conforming or obedience to authority is often beneficial, otherwise it is unlikely that

* Special thanks to all my respondents, to the Plowshares movement in Sweden, Professor Brian Palmer at Uppsala University and my advisor professor Roger Sages.

we would engage in such behavior (Cialdini, 2001; Milgram, 1975, Oliner & Oliner, 1988). In fact, society is built around the concept of adapting and conforming to one another (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Some suggests that not conforming to a negative behavior could be a symptom of a psychological problem rather than a virtue (Brezina & Piquero, 2007), others claim that there are situations when conforming to the group, even if the group does not agree with one's personal opinion, show higher morals as the damage to the group when not conforming is greater than the gain from acting in accordance with private beliefs (Hodges & Geyer, 2006).

The act of nonconforming seen in an evolutionary perspective would thus seem to be a poor form of environmental adaptation. However, the act of moral-nonconforming, even with the risk of personal loss and no obvious gain, is present during the whole course of the known human history. Thus, the assumption must be made that there are benefits to it as well (Dovidio et al., 2006; Oliner & Oliner, 1988). People who conform to what they do not morally agree with are often seen as doing the right thing among the group members engaged in the same behavior. The people who are outside the group on the other hand, seem to think it is better not to conform when you do not agree with the group (Monin et al., 2008). This could be one explanation for why the world condemns genocides and pogroms although the people within the society and time where such behaviors are the norm find the people who do not conform to these behaviors to be traitors. Whistle-blowers are often considered dissidents and heroes at the same time (Haglund, 2009); this illustrates the double nature of moral-nonconforming.

Moral-nonconforming

Moral-nonconforming is the term used in this study to refer to the act of not conforming to the majority group, because of the individual's disagreement with the morality of the group's actions. It is sometimes hard to distinguish this from closely related behaviors such as altruism and helping and in some occasions being a moral-nonconformer means acting altruistic or engaging in helping behaviors. In the present study four types of moral-nonconforming behavior have been distinguished, these represents a vast part of the moral-nonconforming spectra. They can be defined as follows: 1) A sole individual going against the group without the possibility of grave retribution as when choosing not to eat meat for moral reasons. 2) An individual who is a part of a group going against a bigger group without risking formal retribution as

when helping illegal immigrants in Sweden. 3) A sole individual going against a group with the possibility of retribution such as whistle-blowers. 4) An individual who is a part of a smaller group that goes against a bigger group with the possibility of retribution as civil disobedience groups. There are other possibilities of moral-nonconforming such as going against a small group who are against a bigger group and so on but those involve more than two parties and are not represented in this study. Here follows a presentation of which actions that have merited individuals to participate in this study. There are other possible actions that could be categorized as moral-nonconforming and these are merely the ones represented in this study.

Individuals helping illegal immigrants

These are the representatives for the second group defined above. In Sweden (in oppose to ex. France) helping illegal immigrants is legal. The representatives for this group in this study works in a network that is helping illegal immigrants and there is little or no fear of retribution for the helpers even if there are sometimes threats from racist groups. There is the possibility to count sacrificing time without salary as a kind of punishment but it has not been deemed a retribution as no one receives punishment for helping and their time is given up voluntary

The people helping illegal immigrants work at a clinic and are all volunteers. There has been some previous research about when, how and which people that volunteers. This research has mainly been conducted in the United States where the need for volunteers is larger as they do not have a similarly developed social security as Sweden; it is also much more common to be a volunteer in the United States. The conclusions are therefore very hard to apply to a Swedish context but Penner's (2004) distinction of how volunteerism differs from other pro-social behaviors is useful none the less, to show the distinctions of this group; Volunteerism is a planned action with the presumptive volunteer weighing their options before making the decision to volunteer. Volunteerism is a long-term behavior; most volunteers continue their activity for a long period of time. Volunteering involves "non-obligated" helping which means that there are no previous personal bonds between the volunteer and the people he/she helps. It is not their family obligation to help or their obligations as a close friend that influences the decision to help. Finally in Penner's (2004) distinction, volunteerism happens in the context of an organization. There is a difference between

the organizations and volunteers that Penner (2004) based these distinctions on and the ones presented in this study, his volunteers and organizations are working with people who are legally in the country. The people in the present study working as volunteers helps people who have no rights and that society has declared unwanted and will not give any help to.

Whistle-blowers

The term Whistle-Blowing was invented in the late 1980's (Haglund, 2009; Hedin et al., 2008). Whistle-Blowers are people who decide to go public or to higher authorities with some form of injustice, illegal, harmful or immoral behavior that they have discovered within an organization. The accusation must be backed up by proof of the misconduct. This last criterion is made to be able to distinguish the whistle-blower from the dogmatist (Haglund, 2009). There are researchers that have decided not to use the proof point as a general rule but have decided in each case if the person is a dogmatist by using the definition of a dogmatist and comparing the person's behavior with this definition (Hedin et al., 2008). This will not be an issue in this study as all of the whistle-blowers interviewed have had their cases tried and won in court.

Some researchers have suggested that a whistle-blower should be defined by the consequences the person suffers. There are always retaliations against whistle-blowers (Haglund, 2009). This makes many whistle-blowers members of the third group of moral-nonconformists that has been distinguished: the sole person who goes against a bigger group with possible retaliations as a consequence. Whether the person is aware of these consequences or the extent of the consequences varies from case to case in this study.

Civil disobedience

Civil disobedience is a way of protesting against some perceived injustice/immorality by engaging in peaceful, public and illegal activities (Marcone, 2009). The action is also collective, not an individual one. The purpose of civil disobedience can vary (Quill, 2009). This group represents the fourth group defined at the beginning of this section; members of a small group going against the bigger with a risk of retaliation.

Civil disobedience and helping illegal immigrants have more than being group based in common, their decision to moral-nonconform is taken more than once as their engagement is ongoing and not based on a sole situation.

Altruism, conformity and the previous research

As no previous studies about moral-nonconforming has been made most of the relevant information preceding this study comes from the research about altruism in a moral-nonconforming situation as well as from the research on conforming that also presents potential reasons for not conforming.

Much of the previous research performed on people who show moral-nonconformity has been done outside the field of psychology, foremost in the field of sociology. These studies have mostly focused on one case/act itself and the consequences for the people involved and the type of workplace or society where this occurs rather than the individual behind the actions (Haglund, 2009; Hedin et al., 2008). It is therefore needed to look into the phenomenon within the field of psychology. The aim should be to attempt to find personal what makes an individual become a moral-nonconformist.

Altruism can be defined as aid provided without the anticipation of external rewards (Dovidio et al, 2006), involves a high risk or sacrifice and is voluntary (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Altruism is very close to the behavior of moral-nonconforming and sometimes moral-nonconforming can take the form of altruism. Oliner and Oliner (1988) conducted a study where Europeans in Nazi ruled areas that helped Jews during the Second World War were studied; they label these acts of rescuing altruism. Their study contained 700 people from different countries all over Europe, including rescuers, bystanders and rescued Jews. It uses both qualitative and quantitative measures and focuses much on the upbringing of the altruistic individuals. Hoffman (1975) studies the origins of altruism is the second study that has been found that come close to investigate the causes of moral-nonconforming behavior. The study uses peer reviews to estimate the level of altruism in students and then the people deemed to be altruistic and their parents have filled out a questionnaire about how the individuals have been raised and also their parents' level of altruism.

Some of the studies of altruism suggest that altruism can be a product of a parenting style that promotes it (Hoffman, 1975; Igra, 2001; Oliner & Oliner, 1988). In a study conducted by Hoffman (1975) people who were judged by their peers to be altruistic also had parents that emphasized the importance of apologizing to people that they had hurt, instead of punishing bad behavior in other ways and their parents frequently expressed their affection to them. Additionally the parents' level of altruism also seemed to affect the level of altruism in the child in a positive way. Oliner and Oliner (1988) found similar results.

To form a picture about the knowledge of moral-nonconforming within the field of psychology we must also turn to the research on conforming. Research about conformity in psychology has often been conducted in experimental settings where the participant is tested to conform in a trivial matter. It could be wrong to interpret conforming to something non-significant as a weakness, what happens in a situation where no fundamental values are threatened cannot constitute the basis for generalizations to situations where such values are threatened (Hodges & Geyer, 2006). To have a sound moral base for a decision or opinion are more likely to hinder conformity to the group than if the reasons behind an opinion or a decision are founded on other grounds. There are indications that people with strong moral beliefs behind a decision or opinion were expressing these more strongly when in a group which does not share the opinion or agree with the decision than when asked to express their opinion privately (Honsey, Majkut, Terry & McKimmie, 2003). This indicates that moral-nonconforming is easier to achieve than other types of nonconforming. The interpretations of many studies on conformity could be questioned. When sixty percent of a group decides to conform to the immoral or wrong group act it is often perceived as a high number. However that means that forty percent did not conform. If you take all the reasons for conforming into consideration, it can be interpreted as a high percentage (Hodges & Geyer, 2006). It is therefore necessary to deepen the understanding of these forty percent.

Stanley Milgram (1975) does not investigate nonconformity but obedience although this behavior lies very close to the conformity. He mentions some potential explanations to the disobedient behaviors that were seen in some of his studies. He uses some testimonials where the disobedient persons themselves get a chance to explain their behavior. The now classic set of experiments with the teacher and the

electric shocks, were not a test of conformity but rather of the impact that authority has on behavior which most people under normal circumstances find immoral (hurting another person). The moral aspect of these experiments is interesting to look at in the context of the present study. One of Milgram's (1975) disobedient participants explained his actions by saying that he alone is responsible for his actions. If no one feels personally responsible for something the risk increases that nobody does anything as everyone believes somebody else will intervene (Dovidio et al. 2006; Darley & Latané, 1968). A problem with the case descriptions of the disobedient participants in Milgram's (1975) experiment is that they are a byproduct of an obedient experiment. They are not studied for their own characteristics but rather as an opposite to the obedient participants.

The most extensive research on a moral-nonconforming behavior that has been done previously is the Oliner and Oliner (1988) study. It uses both statistical methods and qualitative methods and is based on semi-structural interviews, qualitative interviews and questionnaires. The material and results are extensive and shows that religion, being brought up by non-authoritarian parents and contacts with different cultural and religious groups facilitated helping Jews during the Nazi regime. Although extensive there are several questions that might be risen about how the Oliner and Oliner (1988) study was conducted. First, the questionnaires and interview questions used are focusing on upbringing, religiosity and contact with other cultural and religious groups and these are also the factors that they have found important. It is very possible that these are factors that influence the act of rescuing and their study also shows that they do play a part, but it is also possible that other factors play a role, factors they did not think about asking about as there has been no exploratory study to determine them. Secondly, the Second World War was a unique event and occurred during a limited period of time and in a limited area of the world. It is hard to separate the context from the action in such a study and if the aim is to look at altruistic behavior or rescuing the study need to be completed with a broader spectrum of contexts to see the whole picture.

Purpose

The issue with moral non-conforming is an under-explored one. This study is an attempt to create a framework for future studies to stand upon. The aim is to give a

clearer view and deeper understanding of what determines the life-world of an individual who stands up for their moral beliefs when the society/group does not behave according to those beliefs. Are there any common experiences and meanings shared by the people who choose to become moral-nonconformers?

Seven cases of moral-nonconforming have been gathered for this study to illustrate the phenomenon of moral-nonconforming and the people behind it. The diversity of the participants provides more examples than a single case study can provide. This builds a more solid base for future research on the variables influencing moral-nonconformity. By looking at the issue in a broader, exploratory perspective we will discover which variables are of interest to study from the perspective of the person and not the researcher's perspective. To avoid making the mistake of enforcing my own perspective in this research a phenomenological approach and method for this study had been chosen.

Method

This section will begin with presenting the participants. Next the method of data gathering will be presented and after this a short summary of the philosophical background of phenomenology. This background is not through-out and if one wishes to know more there are better sources which discuss phenomenology (see for example Moustakas 1994; Karlsson, 1995; Sages & Lundsten, 2004). However, in order to comprehend the phenomenological method of analysis it is important to include this in the presentation. After the philosophical presentation of the method, the method of analysis is presented.

Participants

No representatives of the first group of the four groups of moral-nonconforming mentioned in the introduction has been included in this study, this is primarily due to practical reasons in the amount of material that it has been possible to analyze in a meaningful way in the space of this master study. The sample of respondents in this study have been chosen as a purposive one, trying to contain as many aspects of the issue studied as possible (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) to be able to form a complete picture of the issue of moral-nonconforming.

Helping illegal immigrants

Volunteers at a clinic for illegal immigrants are the representatives for the second group of moral-nonconformers presented in the introduction (the individual that is part of a smaller group that goes against the bigger group with no risk of retribution). The respondents in this group were contacted via a clinic for illegal immigrants and their contact person is also the team leader there. One of them chose to be interviewed in person while the other answered via email. The interview was conducted at the clinic. Both the participants worked with the legal rights of the illegal immigrants even if the question also went out to the medical personnel at the clinic.

Whistle-Blowers

Whistle-blowers are representatives for the third group presented in the introduction (a sole individual going against the bigger group with a risk of retribution. Three participants are from the category whistle-blowers. They all blew the whistle within their professions. One of them is a doctor, one works in the field with troubled teenagers and the third blew the whistle while working as a policewoman. Two of them were contacted via email with a written description of the study and a question if they wanted to answer written or in an interview. The contact with these three has gone through personal connections although none of them knew the researcher beforehand. The third person was contacted via telephone. All were interviewed in their current working places in quiet and private environment. Two are from the capital area of Sweden where their whistle-blowing took place and the third lives in the south of Sweden (also in an urban area), and the whistle-blowing took place when working in another Nordic country. Two of the incidents occurred during the mid-nineties and the second one occurred quite recently (less than three years before this study was performed).

Civil disobedience

In this study the representatives for the fourth group (the smaller group going against the bigger group with risk of retribution) are from the civil disobedience movement. The participants from this group have been contacted via email through a network for a civil disobedience movement called the Plowshares movement, which is mainly concerned with anti war/weapon actions. The email was written by the researcher and

then sent out to the network via a contact person. Through the email all participants were offered the opportunity to answer the question either in an interview or in written form. Due to logistic and geographical issues none had the possibility to meet for an interview and the two answers obtained from this group were given in written form. Both had the possibility to answer the questions anonymously but neither took the option, responding via their private email addresses.

Differences in duration

A difference between these different types of moral-nonconforming is the duration of the behavior. A whistle-blower only needs to blow the whistle once even if the consequences might take years to pass the choice is made. Working with illegal immigrants or engaging in civil disobedience requires a continuous choice of moral non-conforming. To make more than one choice to go against the bigger group with a risk of retaliation also includes more cases of retaliation. For many involved in the Plowshare movement taking the punishment after an action is part of the action itself, it is a recognized consequence and the participants in these actions consider the consequences before the action (Om Plogbilsrörelsen visited 2010-08-11).

Data gathering

The data was gathered through interviews and written responses to open-ended questions. The reason for these two different ways of data gathering is foremost methodological and ensures validity. To gather the data in two different ways minimizes the risk of methodological biases and ensures that the selection of participants does not only include people living in a certain area, people who feel comfortable to speak about these issues openly, people who feel comfortable in expressing themselves in written language etc. Additionally, it is a way of minimizing the impact of the researcher's role in the interview situation while still including meetings with participants. The respondents have not been chosen to participate in these different ways randomly but rather by their own wishes and/or practical possibilities.

A question used for a phenomenological study should be open ended and include as much as possible to avoid steering the respondents answer in a certain direction (Sages, 2006). The question gone out to the respondents is:

“Jag skulle vilja att du beskriver din bild, dina tankar, känslor, idéer, associationer och upplevelser kring dina erfarenheter av civil olydnad/ ickevåldsaktioner, att hjälpa papperslösa flyktingar. Skriv allt du kommer att tänka på.”

Translation: I would like for you to describe your view, thoughts, feelings, ideas, associations and experiences around your actions of civil disobedience, helping illegal immigrants. Write everything you can think of.

Philosophical background

The method used in this study is derived from the phenomenological viewpoint and methodology. In an experiment you take the person out of her/his context to tests certain variables and sometimes this is the best method to approach behavior. However, when it comes to more complex behavior the positivistic and experimental approach makes the ecological validity suffer. The domination of the positivistic approach in psychological research also reflects the issues brought up by modern psychology which views psychology as mostly concerned by the testable side of the human being. These are not necessarily the most interesting or most important sides and in the search for the perfect subject for the method sometimes the result is that the issues investigated are quite irrelevant (Karlsson, 1995). Phenomenology acknowledges the human being to be a part of her/his context, both forming it and being formed by it. Removing context from the person is to take away most of the subject you want to investigate.

Phenomenology is perhaps most commonly used for descriptive purposes but it can also be used as a way to extract the meaning of a person's context and life-world and to view it as he/she intends and views it. Thus, explaining the motives behind a certain behavior (Karlsson, 1995, Sages, 2006). To accomplish this it is important to look for what is said implicitly in the material. The key is to not take anything for granted but to look at every sentence as if it was new and to analyze which implications the words have to the person saying them. Each meaning unit is assigned one or several partial intentions, which are the possible implications of the meaning unit. If the meaning unit is: “I like bread” then one of the partial intentions would be that “bread exists”, one of the meanings of the bread is that it exists as a concept for the person. All the possible meanings are thus explored by revealing all implications and possible meanings of the unit and not be content with the surface of the text

(Sages, 2006). To understand social behavior is to look at what it *means* for the person, not what it appears to be for the researcher (Asplund, 1970) and in this phenomenology can be a useful tool. The researcher should not value one word or meaning as more important than another as that would inflict the researcher's subjectivity on the meaning of the person that that he/she is trying to understand. When valuing a meaning as more important than another beforehand it becomes the researcher trying to understand her-/himself. Instead, by taking in every aspect of what the person is saying in the first stage, by analyzing every sentence thoroughly, patterns of the individuals perspective of the world will appear. The patterns are derived from the person's own words rather than the researcher forcing her/his own pattern upon it (Sages, 2006). The state where you can look at another person's life-world without setting your own print on it is called *epoché* and the understanding the researcher achieves is called horizon. All activities are directed towards something, everything we know and are aware of is filled with meaning. Bread is not bread without the person perceiving it having a meaning of bread (eating it, cutting it baking it and so on) bread without these meanings or qualities might as well be a rock (a rock can look like bread but it cannot be eaten, cut or baked, it lacks those meanings). In phenomenology all of these meanings we give something are called intentions (Karlsson, 1995; Sages, 2006).

Every person has a life-world, a way they perceive the world and its different meanings. When people share the same culture they in a sense share pieces of each others' life-worlds and when doing research on other peoples life-worlds these shared points are in one way something that facilitates the process of understanding, but it can also hinder a proper understanding as these shared pieces are rarely questioned or verbalized. Therefore, we sometimes think we have a shared life-world when in fact it differs in meaning between us (Sages, 2006). However, when the analysis reaches the *epoché* we can draw a picture of what people do have in common in their life-worlds, meanings and understandings and those things are what is interesting when studying groups of people. Those common points can explain the common behaviors of people in a certain group.

Analysis

The method of analysis used in this study is a phenomenological one and to aid the

process of finding the separate meaning units and to preserve the *époché* the Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) as done with the Minerva software. This program was developed by professor Roger Sages. This software allows the user to break the text into small bits of meaning units and ensures that every bit of text gets the same amount of attention. Dividing the text into smaller meaning units benefits the striving to reach *époché*. To analyze the parts one by one reduces the risk of having the general understanding of the text influencing the analysis as there is no overview of the text in the first steps of the analysis (Sages, 2006).

The Minerva software program used in this study has some practical limits. It does not work well with large quantities of texts. It has therefore been necessary to divide some of the answers to be able to analyze them in the program. This division has the disadvantage that patterns that originates in the beginning of the answers might be overlooked, besides the disadvantage of every analyzed word not to have such a rich context as possible. It has some positive implications as well. Most of the interviews in the present study start with the question of what happened. This is the case for the whistle-blower category. This renders a rich story that most of the participants told a number of times before (some of the interviewed people have been telling their story to journalists or to writers who wrote books about the subject) it is important to hear the story as the knowledge is needed to understand the rest and it is also a good question to start with as the participants once again are forced to think about their experiences and this might render interesting reflections. However, this also means that for the first part of the interview they are more concerned with time lines, other people's actions toward them and the implications of the actions than to reflect about the reasons behind it or the possible meaning of the action itself. In the second part of the interview there are more reflections. This is where the participants discuss and consider the meaning of their action. To divide the text in two has the advantage that the interview can be cut in the point where the participant stops telling the story and start reflecting upon it. When analyzing in Minerva it is easier to distinguish their true meaning from the perceived meaning of the other people's actions. In that sense the dividing of the text might be a tool to facilitate a more throughout analyze of the text but with the cost of some of the context. The interview with the person who is helping illegal immigrants with their asylum process has not been divided as no clear cut line between story and reflection is found. That interview contained too much text to perform a successful analysis with Minerva. This has been solved by entering the

whole text but dividing it into bigger pieces of meaning units to avoid getting too much data into the software and crash it.

The first step in analyzing a text with Minerva is to break down the text into smaller meaning units. Every time there is a shift in meaning the text should be broken off (Sages, 2006) ex. “I like bread but there is a risk I will not be able to afford” Here one can break it two meaning units; “I like bread” and “There is a risk I will not be able to afford it”. A new meaning unit should ideally be formed every time there is a slight shift in meaning. The meaning-units are a bit longer than usual in this study for reasons discussed above.

The next step is to define each meaning units' modalities, meaning how the individual experiences her/his life-world (Sages, 2006; Sages & Lundsten 2004). It is the degree of belief which can be doxa, probability, possibility, question (doxa means absolute certainty of something), the function of it (is it something perceived or is it something imagined etc.), the time, the property, whom it concerns etc.. Modalities reveal how a person experiences her/his life-world (Sages, 2006).

The third step is to find every partial intention and entity in each meaning unit. An entity exists as something meaningful for the person (Sages, 2006; Sages & Lundsten, 2004). These entities have one or more predicates, the way the person speaks about it or puts meaning into the entity. For example “I like bread” would be interpreted as follows: Partial intentions: Bread exists, I exist, I like bread, bread is something which you can like, I can like something. Entities: Bread, I, Predicate: which exists, who exists, who like bread, which you can like, who can like something. The meaning in a partial intention is called an entity and the way this is expressed is called a predicate. Entity is something that exists for the person. There can be more than one predicate to each entity (Sage, 2006).

Once all meaning units have been assigned modalities and their partial intentions, predicates and entities has been distilled I have made a comparing table of all the entities for the seven cases to see what the respondents have in common and not. The number of exclusive entities can also give an estimation of how rich the text is. Some of the entities that all or some of the respondents have in common have been chosen and made a more thorough analysis of their following predicates and modalities to

notice common perspectives or changes in meaning for the same entity between responses. The choice has been to first look at the entities that all of the participants share and then look at the other commonalities. All of them do not show any particular pattern and they have thus not been presented in this study as results. All of them have been checked for patterns but in some cases the predicates of the entities are too widespread and in other cases the entities are not mentioned enough times to find a common theme. Few of the predicates are repeated more than once but the themes chosen are stemming from events that either evoked similar predicates from the respondents or from entities that more than one respondent have in their response and where the predicates are relating to the other respondents predicates for the same entity.

Minerva uses percentage when presenting parts of the material. This should not be seen as statistical proof but as a guideline and another way of presenting the material. To write that a person's meaning units and have a neutral modality in thirty percent of the cases does not imply meaning by itself. The percentage is meant to help to find meanings. Further analysis of the actual meaning units is necessary to ensure validity and to retrieve useful results. The percentage can, however, be of help when finding meanings.

In addition to Minerva the Sphinx software has been used to investigate the richness of the responses. Correlations between text length and number of different words have been done using this software. The closer the positive relation between the two, the richer the text. This is a way to ensure validity, if the person uses a rich text when answering it is more likely that they are interested in answering the question and that the text incorporate a fuller meaning of the subject.

When translations have been made I have made them myself and if further help has been needed I have consulted Oxford dictionary (Soanes & Stevenson, 2005), lexin <http://lexin.nada.kth.se> and Nordsteds Svensk-Engelska Ordbok (Petti, 1992).

Results and Outcomes

This section (A) starts with a short description of each participant's case that motivated their participation in this study plus a description of how they were

contacted. An independent measure of text validity will also be presented. In the next section (B) the results of the analysis will be presented under themes found in the results.

Section A

Brief summary of cases

All names, including the names that the respondents mention are assumed to ensure confidentiality.

Lars

Lars is a doctor who discovered malpractice at a hospital where he was working. One of the other doctors gave sedatives to dying patients to precipitate their deaths. Lars blew the whistle but became harassed by his colleagues and by the authorities where he was seeking help. In the end he got help from a lawyer and from the government when the chain of events was revealed.

I came in contact with Lars through a journalist that have written about whistle-blowers and called his working place. He agreed to an interview and we met in his office. His story has been made into a book and he has done journalistic interviews about this before so it is not the first time he has told his story. He knew that I wanted to know about what could form a person that says no and he had thought about it as he brought books on the subject to our session.

David

David used to be the president of a small museum in a suburb to a bigger city. He was one of the people who took the initiative to build this museum. He lost his job after a conflict with the board of the museum that originated in the board's wish to change the profile of the museum and to let off one of his colleagues. After losing his job at the museum he got back to his old job, fieldwork among children and teenagers who had social problems. During this work he encountered a youth recreation center where he saw misconduct against teenagers and reported this. This led to him losing his job but he got a settlement in a trial. He has several other stories about sanding up for his moral believes beginning with him refusing military service and being sentenced to prison as a consequence. He also went through a divorce where he lost custody of his

children which has affected much of his life since.

David is a friend of my parents. I had not met him before we met for the interview which took place at his workplace. He told me during the interview that he had thought about which stories to tell me and about the interview since I called. His quarrel with the museum has also been made into a book and he has had attention in the press both on his side and against him.

Mia

I came into contact with Mia through Professor Brian Palmer at Uppsala University and she agreed to an interview. She used to work as a policewoman in the nineties and during her apprenticeship, before her training was finished; she witnessed a colleague hit a man's head into a car. When he later reported it she lied to cover for her colleague. The person who had been assaulted then asked her to remember him when she had become a fully trained policewoman. A couple of years later when she was finished with her training another colleague assaulted a man in custody in a lift where she and half a dozen other police were standing. She reported this and got bullied and threatened from her work colleagues and the union. In the end the assaulting policeman lost his job after a trial. Mia has now quit her job as a policewoman and works partly with teenage girls and partly with holding lectures about her experiences at the Police Academy.

Simon

I came into contact with Simon through the Plowshares movement. He has chosen to answer the question by email. He became politically aware after the events of September 11th and since then he has become active in the Plowshare movement and he has been participating in actions in Sweden and abroad. His career has been suffering from this but he is now trying to find a way to balance his political activism with his career. He switched from studying economics to studying journalism so that he can get a better platform for his engagement and he says that he right now is on the verge of getting a breakthrough in his career.

Frida

I came into contact with Frida through the Plowshares movement and she sent her answer to me via email. She has been engaged in civil disobedience activities and had

been put to trial for these. This has caused problems in her relation with her family. She feels that the method of civil disobedience is very good to get a favorably opinion for the peace movement, but in comparison to the other respondents she mentions little about her own motivation or how she came to be active in the movement.

Britta

I came into contact with Britta through a clinic for illegal immigrants. She volunteers there and helps the clients with their legal matters as applying for asylum in Sweden. She is now retired but used to work with immigrants within the system as a social worker during her professional life. When Britta was a child her father died, she was the oldest of her siblings and she claims it was then she became a “helper”. She has chosen to answer my question via email.

Lena

Lena works at the same clinic as Britta. She is on the board for the clinic and she also works with illegal immigrants. Before working there she has served a long sentence for smuggling heroin in another country. She served part of her sentence in Sweden and part in the other country. She has gone through a sociology and juridical education during the part of the sentence she served in Sweden and since she was released from prison she has been working voluntary with asylum issues for illegal immigrants. She says she would rather work within the system but that it is hard for someone with her background to get a job in civil rights. Lena agreed to an interview.

Text richness

To ensure that the texts have sufficient validity a correlation of text richness and text length have been done on each interview with the Sphinx software. All of the responses showed a high correlation between the two which indicates high text richness and thus a high validity. This suggests a good validity for all the answers. An example of the correlations is showed here. The rest is to be found in the appendix. This example is from Simon's response. The correlations between text length and text richness is close to one (0, 99) and the correlations between text length and text banality is close to zero (0, 04).

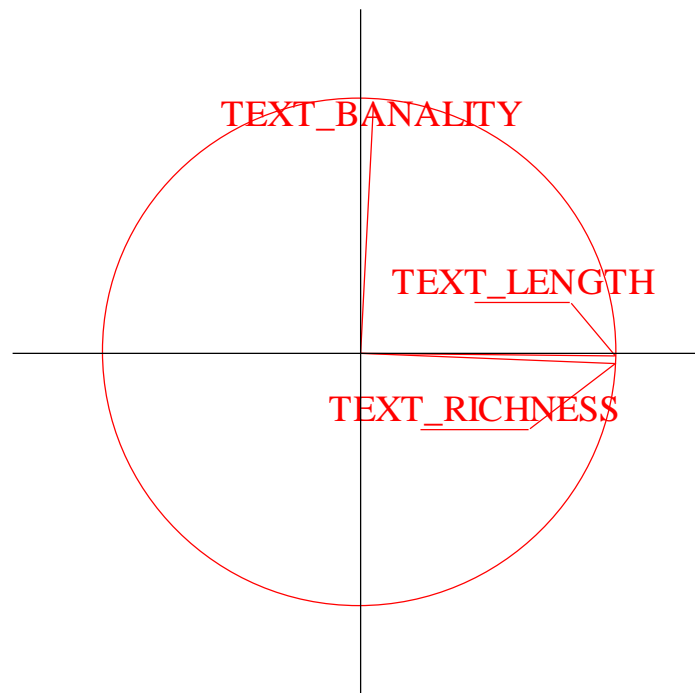


Figure 1.1. Graph showing text length and richness correlation of Simon's answer. The distance between the lines shows how closely correlated they are. The correlations between text length and text richness is close to one (0, 99) and the correlations between text length and text banality is close to zero (0, 04).

Section B

Every respondent has some important issues exclusive for her/him that will be presented first. Then different themes in the answers will be analyzed. These are: norms, relations and groups, empathy, motivation and roles in helping.

The theme of the important issue has come from looking at predicates and entities that was repeated in the answers for each participant. The analysis showed that many of the participants reported an event that somehow affected their norms and thus this was deemed a theme in the study as well. After this the social relations for each participant was analyzed. The entity “we” was in common for many of the respondents had in common but it represented different aspects for them. From the entity “we” other entities that represented common groups for the respondents were found and subsequently analyzed. When looking at the relations between the respondents and the people surrounding them the category empathy was investigated and found as a common issue for many of the respondents. In association to the situation where the moral-nonconforming took place several of the respondents reported similar feelings

these have been analyzed under the theme motivations. Finally roles in moral-nonconforming is analyzed as one two of the respondents say that they identify themselves with their moral-nonconforming.

Important issues in moral-nonconformity

All of the quotations in this section are predicates unless otherwise stated. The analysis is primary based on predicates except in Frida's case as differs from the other cases as it does not show a clear important issue.

Frida

The most common entity for all the respondents “I” except in Frida's response. The most common entity for Frida is “Civil disobedience”. This could be due to her, in contrary to the other respondents, not mentioning her own motivation and how she came to her decision to engage in civil disobedience, but the method itself and its pro's and con's. She discusses some of the consequences of her choice for her personal life but otherwise she focuses on the goal of civil disobedience.

She describes her relationship with her family as problematic because of her choice to engage in civil disobedience but says that they are slowly changing their attitude *“there can be punishment in that some people do not accept one's behavior”*, *“The reactions of my family has not been as positive”*, *“they have become more positive with time”*. Frida always mentions her family in the context of not agreeing with her engagement although she is hoping that might change.

She has a positive view of civil disobedience *“My personal experiences of civil disobedience have been positive”*. She mentions it mostly with a positive-prospective modality (the affect presented is positive and she speaks about the positive thing as something that is happening, that will happen or without a time at all) although she does not talk about it in a retrospective way. Frida differs from the others by having the affect positive-prospective modality as the most frequent affect modality in her answer. She also uses always-recurrent as her most frequent time modality which suggests that she talks about general things not specific events. Frida does not discuss specific examples of activities she has been involved in.

Mia

The predicates Mia uses when she talks about the decisions she made are presented here. The entities are not presented because they are too many although she speaks about the same theme it is not the same entity. By looking at the predicates connected when she talks about the two times when she witnessed the assault it is possible to see a turning point and some issues that she gives more importance than others. Mia explains that her decision to report a colleague was made years before the incident when she was still in training. She did not expect it to happen the first time. She uses the predicate: *“it did not exist for me”* two times and *“I had not had a thought about it”* another two times to explain how she thought about a situation like this before the first incident. She witnessed an assault on a suspect from a policeman and she decided to lie during the investigation of that assault and claimed not to have seen anything. This process made her feel very uneasy and she decided never to put herself in that position again. She uses the predicates: *“It was such a down trade for me”*, *“I thought I was forced”*, *“I was done with doing that thing (e.g. lying, covering up)”*. Mia also makes it clear that it was her own decision and no-one forced her to do it. *“I took that decision”* and *“I was afraid”*, are two predicated that she repeats there. So when the assault that she reported took place she had already worked out what she would do, *“I had already made a very strong statement”*, *“I was prepared in a way”*, *“I knew exactly what I was going to do”*, *“It was very important for me”* *“I don't want to have that feeling”*. She had not given the consequences of her action that much thought even if she indicates that she realized that they might be bad, *“I had not given the consequences any thought”*, *“I was afraid for a lot of things”*.

One of the reasons Mia gives for her actions is that the person who got assaulted the first time when she lied told her that as she was in training he understood her but that he wished for her to remember him when she was trained and working as a policewoman. This was one of the most important things for her, that he did not get angry but asked for this favor, *“If he would have reacted in a different way I might not have committed myself as I did”*, *“Things we just say without thinking can have such a big impact”*, *“I did not expect that”*, *“It can change one's life-path”*.

David

David has a long line of moral-nonconforming behind him before he filed the complaint on the staff of the youth recreation center he had been in many situations

when he had stood up for what he believed right. The predicates are used as base for this analyze for the same reasons as for Mia, the entities are too wide spread to give a good picture but the predicates shows what he thinks about the situations he has been in. He lost a job that was part of his lifework because he stood up for his ideals and he had been sentenced to prison because he refused military service. *“I always end up in these situations”, “there are more stories like this”, “Since I went to prison for refusing military service there have been these stories in my life”*.

After turning of the recorder in the interview with David he told a story that he believes was of special importance to his moral-nonconformity. His brother died when he was very young because the doctor did not take his illness seriously, possible because his parents did not speak very good Swedish at the time and the doctor chose not to understand. This is a story that has been told over and over again in his family as an example that one has to stand up for oneself and the people closest if one does not want to be mistreated *“there has been family stories”*. David was fully aware of the potential consequences of filing the complaint, both from his own experience beforehand but also because of a warning from a friend who had insights in the working place. David says: *“If I wouldn't do it I wouldn't be myself, I would be someone else, a conformist”*.

Simon

Predicates will be used here as well for the same reasons as above. Simon decided to work with civil disobedience after the 9-11 attacks in New York when he was studying in the United States. *“I got politically conscious after 9-11”*. He was morally upset about the western response to those attacks and started to question himself, his life-path and decided that he wanted to make a difference *“I remember thinking that now the western world stands in a crossroad”, “I felt that the world was not right”*. The attacks seem to have raised an anger and confusion in Simon and to handle this he first tried to grasp and intellectualize the problem by reading about the theories around the issue and then choosing to take a course of action *“I sought desperately to find answers”, “I read a lot that fall”, “I felt instinctively that nonviolent actions was the answer”, “During other circumstances I don't know if I would have become politically active”*.

Simon seem to be angry with the west-northern world and how it behaves towards the

south-eastern part of the world “*there is an inequality between the north west and south east*”, “*north-west accepted and participated in a growing oppression of a people in the south east*”, . This seems to have awakened a moral outrage in him “*I used the civil disobedience as a method to handle my sorrow and anger*”. He expected the European society to do much more to prevent United States actions after the attacks on the world trade center “*we had a European establishment without the spine to go against it (e.g. The American politics after September 11th)*”. He mentions this several times in different wordings. He says that the actions after September 11th were beyond all sense, which is an indicator upon how he believes in people being sensible thinkers in general. This could be the reason why he reads up on a subject before coming to a conclusion, he believes that human beings should be essentially sensible and therefore he need to be sensible himself. He does not describe himself as impulsive, rather as a person who wants all the fact before making up his mind. This could partly have caused his outrage for the follow up on the September 11th that he finds insensible.

Britta

Predicates do also describe Britta's important issues the best and will be used to exemplify here. Britta says that she became a “helper” when her father died at a young age and she was the oldest child. She had already a contact with the team leader at the clinic and she had been working her whole life with refugee questions in the municipality she was living. She says that she knew that her competence could be of help at the clinic and when she retired it seemed like a natural prolonging of her engagement in helping and refugees.

Empathy and family seem to be important to Britta. She mentions trying to put herself in the position of the refugees she helps and she feels for them “*I often think about what would happen if me and my family had to flee*”, “*it feels inapprehensible*”. She also says it is hard to see the children of the illegal immigrants that she helps “*It is especially hard to see the children*”, “*the children fare very ill*”.

Lena

Lena decided to work with human rights during the time she spends in prison in a third world country. The predicates of the meaning units concerning her decision have been used to analyze her experiences and thoughts. She was amazed of the support

she got even though she felt that she had not supported people during her life-course and therefore did not expect any *“I thought that now everybody will ignore me because I have ignored everybody so much”*, *“I got unconditional love from everywhere”*. She says that this support, from the other women in prison and from other people around made up her mind to work with human rights *“human rights that I saw was needed everyday”*, *“If my sisters in prison hadn't reached out their hands it would never have worked, I would not have been where I am today”*. Lena says that one might have to go through something like that to be able to see the needs.

Lena says that she hopes the time she spent in prison has made her into the person she is today. She believes that it saved her from a life where she did not feel happy although she did not know she was unhappy at the time *“I never felt good in what I did before”*. She admits prison was a high price to pay for the change in her life but that she did not before that care about others the way she cares now, *“it was a high price to pay to get out of that treadmill”*. In the prison in the other country she had to learn to cooperate with others and to give and receive aid. This has formed her thoughts today when she helps and thinks that somehow if she is good it will come back to her, *“we must help each other”*, *“we must be humble enough to accept help when it is given”*, *“the norm is: do good without expecting anything in return and something good will happen to you”*. She also states the belief in a just world is something she always had *“I've always lived like that and believed that”*.

Lena speaks a lot about how all people have equal value and should have equal rights *“This is what I build my life around now, on everybody's equal rights”*. These seem to be norms that she tries to follow and work hard to manifest *“When I see injustices in this I cannot help but do something”*. She says that she feels sorry for the people who do not understand the basic principle of all people having equal rights *“I feel sorry for people who do not understand that everybody are of equal value”* is a predicate she repeats twice when speaking about critics to her work. Although she points out that even if we have equal rights people have different need and these should be sought to individually. A quotation: *“When the rules are so general that it doesn't give room to individual assessments I can become very frustrated”*. Lena mentions humans/people (Swedish word: människor) as an entity twenty times and all except one of her predicates for that entity concerns either people's equal value or their unique lives.

Lars

Lars reported no event that influenced his decision to moral non-conform and he is also the only one who says he would not do the same thing again. The predicates when he talks about the situation are summarized here. He says that he has been in similar situations afterward but that he has not chosen the same course of action. Quote: *“If it would happen again, well, it has now; I would not go into it as such. I would have marked what is mine”*. He does not explain which course of action (if any) he has taken these following times. It seems that he did not know the potential consequences of his action for himself, *“I did not grasped how bad it could get”*. He thought that he was doing something that was the norm of the group although something had gone a little amiss in the hospital he was working *“I thought it was something unique that I fell into”*, *“I thought it worked perfectly and something small had gone wrong”*. He said that once he did raise the alarm it was a matter of surviving but he could not refrain from doing so as he knew he was right *“It was a matter of survival”*, *“One could have perished”*, *“I had no choice”*, *“one thing was that I knew I was right”*, *“No, you don't have a choice”* *“In that situation I had no other choices”*.

He sees himself as a person who cannot stand for something he does not think is right *“I cannot say that black is white and white is black”*. Even so he says he will not act the same way if it happened again. This he says is because he has learned to protect himself and that this is not something small to correct but a systematic flaw in society he cannot correct himself *“Now I see that it happens all the time”*. It thus seems that the consequences of the event have made him more pessimistic than before the event. An event like this might have the capacity to extinguish the moral non-conformer in a person as well as awaken it.

Lars emphasizes that he would not have sounded the alarm if it hadn't been anything important to him. It must be an important issue for him to go against the group *“Something that is important to one triggers”*, *“It cannot be something insignificant”*. This is align with Hodges and Geyer's (2006) critique against experiments on conforming where they question the ecological validity by asking weather participants do not feel that it is more important to please the group and make it happy in a trivial issue such as which line is longer than to be right.

Lars speaks much about trust. It is important for him to trust his patients and it is important for his patients to be able to trust him to make a base for a successful treatment. *“The job as a doctor builds a lot on trust”*. He seem to have an aversion for lying and also think it is worse when people who have some kind of authority lies *“That professors can lie like that!”*, *“I cannot lie to myself”*, *“to lie is to violate myself”*, *“You can kill me but I cannot say that black is white and white is black”*. He was chocked to learned that they also lie and that this is commonly known in the society *“but they do (e.g. lie) I know that now”*. All meaning-units mentioning the lying have a negative affect modality except one which is neutral in which he talks about lying to himself.

Norms

Norms can be divided into two categories, norms containing how the group actually behaves are called descriptive norms and norms concerning what people should do morally are called injunctive norms. Injunctive norms have been shown to affect pro-social behavior. Injunctive norms can be used as orientations in new situations or morally demanding situations (Thomas & McGarthy, 2009) and promotes pro-social behavior (Dovidio et al., 2006; Thomas & McGarthy, 2009). Examples for the respondents predicates concerning injunctive norms are presented below along with an analysis of them, Frida does not speak about such norms.

Mia

Mia had already made up her mind what to do when she was confronted with the situation in the lift. She never wanted to be in the situation she was the first time when an assault happened when she had no training in what to do and conformed to the group *“I was done with that thing”*. She had put up a norm for herself to follow in the event that a thing like that would happen again, *“I committed myself”*. It seems like in Mia's case the catalyst resulted in stronger injunctive norms. Some examples of predicates confirming this: *“One should stand up for what one does”*, *“If I had done that thing (e.g. Lying) I would have had a hard time holding interrogations with someone who had assaulted someone”*, *“I have to be able to see myself in the mirror.”*. Or as she puts it, quote: *“I had made a very strong statement in myself, I was never to let this happen again.”*

Even in the interview she shows that she lives after the norm to stand up for what she

does as she says that she thought that she was being forced to lie that first time when she was in training but then she says that it was her own decision and no-one forced her to do it. *"I took that decision"*

David

David talks about morality and norms being a part of his upbringing and that the norms of his family includes standing up for ones believes, *"I am raised a catholic and moral issues has been a part of my upbringing"*, *"it might have to do with my family traditions"*, *"there are many stories in my family about people who has stood up for the right thing"*, *"I have role models"*. David seems to have integrated this norm and follows it in many situations which his repeated moral non-conforming behavior suggests. *"I could not have done anything different as I did the right thing"*, *"If I didn't do it I wouldn't be myself"*, *"if I wouldn't defend it would feel like a betrayal"*, *"If I didn't defend what I believed in I would feel like a coward"*. It thus seems that he has had a history of following his injunctive norms all life and he does not see the possibility of not following them.

Simon

Simon does not report living after injunctive norms or considering them before the 9-11 attacks but after the attack he spent a lot of time researching and trying to understand the events and finding norms and a way of dealing with it. He explains that he during this time was filled was anger and sorrow which grew when he volunteered working in a third world country *"I remember thinking that now the western world stands in a crossroad"*, *"I felt that the world were not right"*. The events seem to have forced him to make norms and chose a type of engagement because it evokes uncomfortable feelings within him *"During other circumstances I don't know if I would have become politically active"*. In his case the catalyst seem to have evoked the need for injunctive norms that he did not have before. His reading after the attacks could have been a way to create such norms.

Lars

Lars seems to have an integrated strong injunctive norm of not lying. Truthfulness matters to him. Before the event where he raised the alarm Lars thought that this norm was also the descriptive norm. He explains that he was very surprised to find out it was not *"But they cannot do like that, lie and such"*. He does not tell about an event

that made him get these injunctive norms although he talks about his childhood having the descriptive norms of discussion instead of punishment and violence and so he thought that the rest of the world was like that as well *“I had never encountered before that one was at that level”, “It is something that has formed me since childhood”, “when we disagreed we always discussed it”, “there was never violence or such”*.

Lena

Lena speaks about not caring about others before being sentenced to prison in the other country. She was surprised to see that people cared for her in that situation because she felt that they had no reason to as she had not cared for them. When in prison she had to learn to give and take to survive. When she after four years was moved to a prison in Sweden she started to get herself an education to be able to do things for others when she got out. It thus seem that Lena's catalyst, the prison also gave her strong injunctive norms that she did not have before, *“I have learned how important it is with empathy”, “I have learned to be humble enough to give and receive help”, “I succeeded as I had spent four years with nothing else to do than to build on myself”* .

Relations

To deepen the understanding of the social environment of the respondents the entities and subjects “we”, the entity “family”, “family tradition” “family stories”, “siblings”, “mum”, “dad” ,”parents”, “childhood”, “friends” and “colleagues” have been analyzed for each respondent to see which groups he/she perceive her-/himself belonging to and how he/she relates to them.

David

David mentions “we” both as an entity and a subject modality in the form of “we who built the museum”, and “we” as a group with me in my role as an interviewer as *“so what do we get from this?”* he also speaks about “we” as a group with the woman who's job he tried to protect at the museum and who also had a private relationship with him, “we” is the people who worked with him as a fieldworker, “we” is also him and his ex-wife but only when he talks about their separation not the battle of custody afterward.

David uses “friend” as an entity in his interview. It is only used in the context that his friend tried to warn him not to report the youth recreation center because he would lose his job, an advice that he ignored. The affects for friend is either neutral or negative-retrospective. It seems that David did not rely on a network of friends at the time or that he does not give that much importance to it if there was one.

David mentions everybody with birth name and surname which in Sweden is quite formal. The only individuals he talks about and not using surnames is his father, his ex-wife, his children and his former colleague and the friend who advised him not to report the youth recreation center who he only mentions as “a friend”. He calls his father “dad” as is the normal way of referring to one's father. He does not mention his ex-wife and children by name. This could be to protect their privacy but it could also be a way of distancing himself from the trauma of losing his children in a painful trial. The only person he mentions only by birth name is his former colleague and friend.

David talks about this family as it has many traditions that have to do with standing up for one's belief and tales about this. David explains that his family have always talked about good role models that stand up for their believes, they had many moral discussion as is upbringing was strictly catholic and that his father, although perhaps not agreeing with his decision to refuse military service, has never reproached this decision in any way. David does not speak of this in explicitly positive terms but only in neutral modalities, which could indicate that he takes this approach for granted.

Mia

Mia uses the entity “we” to indicate her membership in the group “policemen”, ”we” is also her and her friend who give lectures as the police academy, “we” are humans, the policemen working at the same police station as her and the group of policemen in the car at the first assault.

Mia only mentions the entity “friend” when she is talking about a friend of hers who she had a discussion about her motives with. Mia does, however, talk about her “colleagues” and she seems to use this entity synonymously to “friend” sometimes when she is talking about another policeman. She says that she has had very good colleagues but also that some that she considered her friends was not there for her as she thought they would be. She also mentions a colleague before she became a

policewoman that suggested that starting the police academy could be an option for her. Mia does not mention her family.

Lena

Lena expresses a kinship with her fellow inmates in the third world prison that she does not express for anyone else. Group and belonging socially seems to be very important to her. She uses the entity “we” more than anybody else in the study and she uses it for her fellow inmates in the foreign prison (she calls them “my sisters”) but also as a member of the group prisoners in Sweden. She uses “we” when talking about everything that happens in the clinic to emphasize that the clinic is a joined effort. Her most frequent modality subject is still “I” but compared to the other subjects she uses “we” a lot more (9.13% when the rest of the respondents all have a frequency of “we” fewer than 5%). The entity “we” for Lena is referring to “we as humans and people”, “we as prisoners”, “we as volunteers” and “we as friends”. Most of the predicates connected to the modality subject “we” are positive.

Lena uses the entity “friends” for the people at the clinic. She says that the people volunteering there are her closest friends and that she actively searched for a network like that when she got out of prison. She talks about the nature of friendship how it is important to nurture it. She brings up a case she has been working with and she calls the person involved a “friend” and describes frustration about the problems he encounters in trying to regain his specialist medical license. In all Lena seems to have a wide spectrum of groups she feels like a member of. Her work at the clinic is important for her both because she can help but also because the people there represent a big portion of her social network and security.

Frida

Frida does not use the entity “we”. Neither does she use the subject “we” as a modality but she speaks about her family. When she speaks about them in a past tense it is mostly negative but she has hopes for the future that they will come to accept what she does. It thus seems that she does not have such a secure social base at least not from her family or that she does not deem her social life and security as being important in her engagement.

Frida discusses about how much better it is to be able to do actions openly and not

having to suspect new members of the group when working with civil disobedience in opposed to working in the animal rights movement. This could suggest that she has gotten involved with civil disobedience instead of animal rights because she feels that this gives her a more secure social environment. She mentions that the stress is less in the civil disobedience movement. Noteworthy is that she never says that she is or has been active in the animal rights movement so her reasoning could be only on a theoretical level with no practical experiences.

Simon

Simon talks about the “we” entity and subject only as the group humanity. He mentions his parents in a negative-retrospective modality, but the negativity is not in how he regards them but in how they feel. He shows concern of how they have been worried about him getting into trouble with the law when he is doing his civil disobedience actions. Simon came to the conclusion to start engaging himself in civil disobedience without having a former connection to such a network. He says that his upbringing was politically conservative (Swedish: *borgerlig*) and that he discovered that he agreed more with the left wing anarchist theorists when he started reading after the 9-11 attack. His decision to join a civil disobedience group therefore seems to be independent from a social pressure from either side.

Britta

Britta does not use the entity or the subject “we”. Britta mentions her family when she hypothesizes about how she would feel if she had to flee or if her family had to go and she couldn't see them again. She also mentions how she was the oldest of her siblings and her father dying when she was a child and how she took responsibility for her younger siblings. She says that is when she became a “helper”.

Lars

Lars uses the entity and the subject “we” to represent the group of him and his friend who also had a whistle-blowing experience, he uses “we” as “humans” in a biological and psychological manner, “we” is also his childhood family, the group in the working place where he works now, “we” as doctors, “we” as patients and doctors, and “we” as whistle-blowers.

Lars explains that his childhood was very secure and that there was never physical

punishment, his parents would discuss conflicts and make him and his brothers see their perspective. When he speaks about the entity “childhood” the modalities are either positive-retrospective or neutral. He mentions his parents with the predicates that “*who never hit us*”, “*who used arguments*” and “*who would discuss with us*”. His parents were academicians and he implies that academicians uses argument and not forces to justify their decisions. This could be one of the reasons why Lars got so chocked when the doctors and professors lied and mistreated him for telling the truth. He feels that educated people have a higher moral obligation to speak the truth.

Lars does not use the entity “friend” although he uses “bästisar” which in Swedish is short for best friends when he speaks about the other doctor who also sounded the alarm and how they met and became “bästisar”. The entity “colleague” is used a couple of times the affect neutral and with the predicate “*which exists*” and the other one “*who was a professor in child medicine*”.

Empathy

The analysis done in this section is based solely on predicates as the only one who mentions empathy as an entity is Lena. Even if the entity empathy is only mentioned by her many of the respondents talk about their feelings for other people and it could potentially be a strong motivator.

Lena

The only respondent who mentions empathy as an entity in her response is Lena. She is the one who has most entities in common with other people. She speaks about empathy and how that makes her motivated to do her job. She speaks about how she gets filled up by empathy when seeing people in need “*I become filled with empathy*” and that she often starts to cry “*I cry easily*”. Lena also expresses empathy when she speaks about how she gets sad and upset about the destinies of the people she meets and also how she relates to the disappointment of a client and a friend. She says that empathy is very important, “*I have learned how important it is with empathy*”.

Britta

Britta does not mention the word empathy but she implies that she has the feeling when she speaks about how hard it is to see the children who do not get to go to school and also when she speculates in how she would feel if her and her family had to

become refugees, quote: “I often think about what would happen if me and my family had to flee or what would happen if my children had to flee and I couldn't see them anymore, it feels inapprehensible”. Her ability to imagine herself in their situation seems to be an important motivator for her.

Mia

Mia does not mention the entity empathy but she does speak about how the man who got assaulted in the lift felt “*you can just imagine how you feel, you can't even strike back*”, “*you can't defend yourself, you only get assaulted*” and she also expresses guilt and worry for how the first assault victim who she did not come forward to help felt “*one does not even get redress, everybody just lies*”, “*I was curious of how it had affected him*”. She sought out the first victim to ask for forgiveness many years after the incident and she speaks more about him than the victim of the second assault. But Mia also expresses empathy for the policeman that she reported and wonders how he feels today “*I almost wished that he wouldn't get convicted*”, “*I felt bad for him losing his job*”, “*He had a major chock*”. She does not think it was fair that he had to take the whole blame for something she perceives as an error of the group “*It's the group's responsibility*”. She does not show any empathy for the people who did not support her during her ordeal. In all Mia seem to think about other people in an empathic way but she does not mention it as a motive for what she did. Nowhere does she say that she did it for the victim's sake.

Frida, Simon, David and Lars

Frida speaks in empathic terms about the animals that the animal rights movement releases “*some animals live under horrible conditions*” and Simon seems to feel an empathy towards the people in countries he perceives as oppressing “*I felt bad from my time in a third world country*”, “*I felt sorrow and anger*”. Both of them seem to have an empathic linking to something more abstract. Frida does not mention herself being an animal rights activist or having any other direct contact with the animals. Simon on the other hand experienced the oppression that he had read about during his time working in a third world country. But he mentions being angry and sad about the mistreatment of these people before seeing them in person. Lars and David do not speak in empathic terms at all.

Motivation

When the respondents talk about what they are doing they motivate their actions in different ways and have different way of expressing them. The analysis here stems from the predicates concerning the feelings the respondents had in connection with their decision to moral-nonconform.

Lars, Mia and David

Lars uses the predicates “*I had to do it*”, “*I cannot say that black is white and white is black*”, “*I would rather die than to say how it’s not*”, “*I would violate myself if I said the opposite*” and “*I cannot do it*” about the decision to act. This contradicts him saying that he would not do it again as he uses present tense. One interpretation is that he would not do it in the same way but he would still stand up for his believes if something similar happened today. Mia says that she had to do it because she knows right from wrong and she has to be able to see herself in the mirror, “*I couldn't have done anything different*”. She says it is because she has fundamental values that are important and she cannot break them. This is similar to what Lars says. He says that he is not able to violate himself like that and she says that she needs to live with herself. They both have principles or norms that they want to follow for their own personal sake, they do not mention the possible consequences not acting would have on another person. David says he had to do it “*I made my choices, I don't regret anything*”, “*I had to defend it*”, “*I have to defend what I believe in*”. He says that he had to act he had to defend it because it was right and that he couldn't have done it differently. “*I had to*” is something that he repeats during the interview. All three of them declare that they had to or that they could not have done it any other way. Thus the feeling might be implicit, the predicates do not explain how they thought and this might be because they do not know.

Simon and Frida

Simon explains that he engaged in civil disobedience because it was close to his world-view and to fight for what he believes in to reveal the misconducts he has found. He was sad and angry and the civil disobedience helped him to coop with this “*Civil disobedience is one way out*”, “*Civil disobedience was one method to deal with my anger and my sorrow*”. Frida seem to have chosen civil disobedience because she wants to change society and she prefers working openly to closed groups and actions “*It is easier to work openly*”. She speaks about the goal with the peace

movement but she does it in third person, not indicating that this is her goal as well. “*They work for a world filled with love and not hate*”, “*the system has to change*”. She does not mention what motivated her to take the first step into the engagement.

Britta and Lena

Britta decided to work with illegal immigrants as she retired because she knew she had the expertise and she had followed the work of the team leader for a long time. She does not express any emotional process that made her decide to start volunteering. She also speaks about her father’s death when she was a child and says that this might have gotten her into the role of the helper. Lena decided to start working with human rights and to get an education in this when she was imprisoned in another country. She says it was because when saw that it was needed and because she learned there the importance of helping and receive help.

Just World Theory

Lena says that one of the reasons that she has chosen to help illegal immigrants is because she believes that if you do something good, good things will happen to you. This is a quite common belief that has been investigated in the just world research (Lerner & Miller, 1978). She does not express any sentiment of the other implication of the Just World Theory namely that people who do bad things get punished. Besides that her belief is consistent with the theory. Even if she has encountered hardship in her life seemingly without any fault of her own she still believes that good things happen to good people. Many people who believe strongly in a just world also try to take matters into their own hands and tries to restore balance by treating people who are misfortune good (Dovidio et al., 2006).

Intellectualizing

Two of the respondents, Lars and Simon, have more entities in common independent of the group they belong to (for example Britta and Lena have more entities in common but only for matters that concerns the clinic directly) than any other pair of respondents. The entities concerns reading, professors and books. They are the only ones who have these entities. Simon and Lars seem to have read about the theoretical aspects of their actions and/or norms. Lars uses “read” as an entity two times (that would make it place twenty-two in frequency order of his entities) and the predicates for it are: “*that one can do*” and “*that one can do up on something*”. The modalities

are neutral both times. It is mentioned both in past and in present which indicates that reading is something that that can be done continuously and the subjects are “one-all” and “I”. Reading is something he does and he presumes that other people do. He has a very theoretical perspective of the situation he was in, it seems that he has read a lot about it to be able to cope with the emotions and the mistreatment he endured. He shares the entity “read” with Simon who mentions it one time also in a neutral manner with the predicate “*that I can do*”, the time modality is: pres → pas and the subject is: I. Simon and Lars thus seem to agree on the meaning of reading, it is something he does and that is done continuously and it is neutral in affect. Lars and Simon also share the entity “books”. Simon, although not talking as much of books as Lars seem to have a more personal and emotional relationships to books where Lars show a more intellectual perspective. Lars uses the entity “professor” eight times. They are negative-retrospective or neutral in affect modality, the entities are: “*that one can be*” and “*that one can be in a subject*”, “*that can lie like that*”. Simon uses the entity professor two times, with the entities: “*Which exists*” and “*who had written an essay*”. They are both neutral in affect modality.

Moral-nonconforming can be a traumatic event for the individual. Sounding the whistle can in many cases lead to personal tragedy (Haglund, 2009) and engaging in civil disobedience can also affect the activist’s life in a negative manner with prison time or high liabilities to pay. To read about the action can be a way of keeping the event on an intellectual level and thus detach oneself from the negative emotions associated with the event, this is called intellectualizing, a defense-mechanism closely related to rationalizing (Friedman & Schustack, 2006). Lars has searched for an intellectual understanding about what happened to him, this could be a way of intellectualizing. He has done much of the reading after the event even if he says that he also has read books about Nelson Mandela and Aung San Suu Kyi before the event. Although he did not make the connection that these sort of thing actually happens and that people do get mistreated like that “*I think I had read about it*”, “*It is different levels, how you know it and how you feel it*”. He says that after sounding the alarm he understands these issues not only intellectually but emotionally as well. Simon on the other hand seems to have done most of his reading before deciding to engage himself in moral-nonconformity, his choice to engage seem to be largely intellectual although he explains that his engagement also is a way of handling the anger and sorrow he feels when he sees the injustice in the world. His time in a third

world country made him understand the issues on a deeper level, *“that time showed me emotionally what I already knew intellectually”*. For both Simon and Lars it has been important to connect what they know with what they feel.

Roles in moral-nonconforming

When a person makes a repeated commitment to a group their commitment gets stronger and can result in an internalizing of the behavior and the norms and moral of the group or the action. Continued volunteer activities changes the volunteer's self-concept; the volunteer role becomes part of her/his personal identity (Penner & Finkelstein, 1998). David has made many commitments to moral-nonconforming and when he speculates about why he started with refusing military service he says that it was in the spirit of the time (this happened in the late 60's) and that he was part of the young protest culture *“It was such a time”, “I became a part of the young protest movement”*. He has done several moral-nonconforming acts after that and when he talks about the possibility of not doing them now he says that that would make him a conformist and thus someone else. He has internalized the moral-nonconforming act to be a part of his personality.

Britta has also internalized her helping behavior. She calls herself a “helper” as a label of her personality. The role originates from the death of her father when she was seven years old. Now she is over the age of pension (normally 65 years in Sweden) she have had a lifetime to internalize the behavior into her personality. Adults that categorize themselves as helpful people can become even more helpful (Dovidio et al., 2006).

End discussion and summary

If we can determine possible causes or common experiences among moral-nonconformers we could potentially use that knowledge to influence people not to conform to the group when the group is behaving immorally. In this study some potential causes for individuals to become moral-nonconformers have been discovered. An event that forces a person to evaluate her/his norms and produces strong injunctive norms has been found as a common experience among the moral-conformers who say that they are willing to continue with their moral-nonconforming. To have parents who discuss morality and right and wrong and accept the moral decisions of their children could also be a factor positively linked to moral non-

conforming later in life. Empathy seems to facilitate helping but it does not seem to be needed to be moral-nonconformer. Empathy could influence the choice of the type of moral-nonconforming an individual will engage in as empathy was seen as a bigger issue in the group that helped illegal immigrants. Non-conforming and helping have often been attributed to a heightened sense of personal responsibility (Darley, & Latané, 1968; Dovidio et al., 2006; Milgram, 1975; Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Interestingly none of the respondents in this study have mentioned responsibility as a factor that influenced their decision of moral-nonconforming.

This discussion will start with the main themes and then look at the possible differences and commonalities between different types of moral-nonconforming. After this concerns with the study and ideas for future research will be presented.

Important events and catalyst

In their work concerning rescuers Oliner and Oliner (1988) found that many of the rescuers had some kind of catalyst that made them take the step into helping in the first place, some sort of event that made them take the step into helping. The catalyst was generally something that challenged their highest beliefs and turned concern into action. The present study suggests that nearly all the participants experienced a form of catalyst. Mia had her assault case when being an apprentice, Simon his wake-up call at 9-11, Lena had her years in prison when focusing on herself, David had the incident with his brother and Britta got into the role of helping when her father died. Frida and Lars do not report such incidents. In Frida's case it could be either because she has none or because it follows her general theme in the answer where she speaks very little of herself and her motivations. In Lars case this could also be true but less likely as the interview is more throughout. There could also be a connection between Lars not reporting a catalytic event and that he is the only respondent who says that he would not do the same thing again.

Empathy in general

The act of moral-nonconforming has resemblance to the act of helping and sometimes manifests in the same behavior (like people who help illegal immigrants). The behavior might therefore have something to do with a heightened sense of empathy as there is a link between empathy and willingness to engage in pro-social behavior (Eisenberg & Sheffield Morris, 2001; Stocks, Lishner & Decker, 2009). In Oliner and

Oliner's (1988) study rescuers did not score significantly higher on an empathy scale than non-rescuers except when they witnessed people in pain. This combined with a high responsibility made them more likely to help.

The respondents in the present study do not appear to display any extraordinary sense of empathy but it is still possible that empathy affects their decision to become moral-nonconformers, perhaps foremost for the type of moral-nonconforming that gets the person in direct contact with people who need help in some way. Some people try to hide from the pain their empathic response causes them (Stocks et al., 2009) so the act of moral-nonconforming could also be a consequence not of higher empathy but of a reaction to empathy that does not include trying to hide from the empathic pain but instead do something about the source.

Relations in general

Lars, David and Britta mention their upbringing as something that might have influenced their moral-nonconforming behavior. For David this is in the form that they have implied a certain moral in him and not condemning him for making other life choices than his father. Lars emphasizes on the method of discussing issues and feeling of security. Britta talks about the responsibility she took when her father died as a probable cause for her becoming a helper as an adult as well. Lena does not emphasize on her upbringing but mentions that they have lived in many different countries when she was a child.

The theories already existing on moral-nonconforming in the form of altruistic behavior and rescuing (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Hoffman, 1975) emphasizes the individual's upbringing as a crucial part of forming an altruistic behavior. Parents of rescuers and people more prone to altruism have focused less on punishment and obedience but more on relations and explications (Hoffman, 1975, Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Stereotyping has been less frequent and members of outgroups have been seen as individuals (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). The present study might suggest that these factors influence the moral-nonconforming but other factors might be more important. This conclusion stems from that relatively few of the respondents have brought up their upbringing in an elaborate manner. Never the less the results show that an individual's upbringing can be a contributing factor to a moral-nonconforming behavior. Having parents who respects the child's choices, not being authoritative,

discuss moral matters with the child and give responsibility could facilitate moral non-conformity.

All of the respondents who uses the entity or the subject “we” uses it in the sense of “we as human beings” except for David. It could indicate that the moral-nonconformers have a strong sense of being part of humanity or perhaps that they think about the question of what it is to be a human being. Friends does not seem to have been very important to any of the people involved in whistle-blowing but for Lena it seems to be very important that she has a friendship relation to the people she volunteers with and Simon also says that he has met some of the people that he admire the most in the civil disobedience movement, it might therefore not be a coincidence that they have chosen to do their moral-nonconforming in a group whereas the whistle-blowers have done theirs alone.

Motivation in general

The reasons for the moral-nonconformity seem to differ for the moral-nonconformity between the whistle-blowers and the rest of the groups. The whistle-blowers keep repeating that they had to or that they did not have a choice but the other groups seem to have made a more calculated choice. It could suggest that their choice to moral-conform is less calculated and more of an impulse reaction to an implicit feeling. The fact that Mia reasoned about what she would do in an event like this beforehand and that David has put himself in many of these situation suggests otherwise. One possibility is that the whistle-blower at the time and perhaps even after the action interpret their own behavior as impulsive and following a diffuse feeling when it is actually a result of a long-term cognitive process, even if they might not be aware of that the process.

Group differences

There is a difference between the groups in how the respondents talk about the victims of the perceived immorality that they do not conform to. Britta and Lena talk about the people they help and their situation. Simon talks about the injustice to the people in the south-eastern part of the world, in more abstract terms than Britta and Lena talks about the people they help. This is only expected as he talks about groups of people he has very little contact with compared to Britta and Lena who have close contact to the people they are helping. Frida also talk about the victims and how they

suffer, in this case the animals that the animal rights activists let out and place in better homes. The three people who are whistle-blowers show another pattern. Mia is the only one who mentions the feelings of the victim, the man assaulted in the lift, but she speaks more about the first victim and his feelings and even the perpetrator and his feelings. Lars does not mention the patient who died from the mistreatment of the other doctor at all, nor does he speak about the patient's family. It could be due to patient-doctor confidentiality but that would not hinder him to speak about it in abstract terms. David does not mention the children that got mistreated in the youth recreation center. This difference between the whistle-blowing group and the other groups could be a sign that the whistle-blowers motives have more to do with the outrage of a broken injunctive principle or norm than about the people who suffers from the misconduct that they have raised the alarm about.

Concerns with the study

The sample of respondents in the study is quite small but diverse. They can therefore shed light on different aspects of the issue. Thus a sufficient amount of information was received. The independent validation of the text richness done with the Sphinx software further strengthens this. It would have been better if a representative from the group of individuals who moral-nonconform against the group without the chance of retaliation had been included. It would also have been preferable to have had a control group. The problems with finding a control group to this sample are severe. It is hard to find people who have been in a situation where they could have blown the whistle but have chosen not to do so. It is also hard to find a group of people who never stood up for their moral believes and it would perhaps be unethical to raise such a question. In Sweden it is seen as a good thing to be able to stand up for your beliefs and not to conform when the group does things you do not agree with. The taboo of conforming against one's moral is so profound that it is unlikely that someone would admit to do that. The lack of control group has partly been redeemed by choosing participants from different contexts. Their combined life-worlds can give us a good understanding of the issue, especially if compared to one another, even without the presence of a control group.

Another problem with the sample is that many of the respondents have told their story many times before to newspapers and authors, this is especially true for Lars, Mia and David. Lars and David both had books written about their cases and Mia tells the

story on the seminar she holds at the Police Academy. They have therefore thought about the issue before and maybe been influenced to form reasons for their behavior that might not stem from their own life-world. David for example says that he has thought about which stories to tell me at the interview and Lars brought books to the session to show me and help me get an insight in the issue. Lars is an academic person who has done a lot of research. After his whistle-blowing it is clear that he has read a number of books about whistle-blowing. It is therefore likely that he brings up causes for his actions that are coherent with the theories in the books he has read. This makes it very hard to know if his thoughts about why he chose to raise the alarm are his own or if he has fitted them into existing theories.

My personal connection to David might have affected the interview. I have not met him before the interview but he is a friend of my parents.' He was ensured of my confidentiality but as we are likely to meet again in social gatherings he could have adjusted his answers after this. The result could be that he disclosed some things that he would have said to somebody without a personal connection but it could also have had the effect that he opened up more, feeling more secure because of our personal connection. A third possibility is that the connection did not affect his answers at all.

The interviews as a data gathering method could also be a possible bias in this study. It is always problematic to use interviews as there is a risk that the interviewer unknowingly affects the respondent to give certain answers and an interaction always occurs. Giving the participants the choice of responding through interviews was in this case a better option than limiting the collection of data only to written answers. Some people may find it easier and more relaxed to talk to somebody and get a face of the person who is going to analyze your words, handing in an anonymous letter might feel uncomfortable for some people. It could also be easier to express oneself verbally in an interview than in written form where the person might become more anxious about the wording than what they are saying. It is also hard to know in which environment the text has been written and if they had more to tell or just stopped writing because they felt they did not have the time or felt that the task was craving too much effort. Many of the people whom I contacted for the study and did not submit answers were people who told me that they would prefer an interview but time and geographic limits made this impossible. In all the interviews used in this study no time limit was set ahead but if asked I would answer that it took around two

hours. None of the interviews took longer than one and a half hours and no interview was shorter than an hour.

Many of the people contacted for the study did not participate. For some it was a problem to schedule an interview on a time and place where it was possible for us both to attend and they did not want to write down their answers. In other cases they did not return the answer after getting the written question by email. This could be because they felt uncomfortable with the question, did not understand the question or did not have the time to answer. Perhaps they forgot to submit it or for any other number of reasons. I have contacted these people only once because I did not want them to feel pressure to participate. The email that went out to the network in which the people engaged in civil disobedience are members was answered by eight people and in the end two submitted their answers. I do not know how many people the inquiry went out to begin with as I did not have access to the network myself. Two of the whistle-blowers I contacted did not participate in the study and at the clinic I informed around ten people of my project and two decided to participate.

The respondents have not been randomly chosen to participate by interview or written answer but rather by their own wishes or practical possibilities. This can affect the results, especially as it is not evenly distributed among the groups. None of the whistle-blowers answered in written form whereas both of the people engaged in civil disobedience did so. One of the effects is that the material is much larger in quantity for the whistle-blowers. The richness of a text is by no means depending only on the length of something but during course of a one and a half hour long interview there are more possibilities to bring up a greater number of subjects than in four pages of text.

Frida might have misinterpreted the question a little bit, talking more about what is good with the method of disobedience than her own motivations but I could have misinterpreted her answer. She might not have misunderstood the question; she might have a different view on her engagement than anyone else in the study. This confusion might have been avoided in an interview where follow-up questions might be asked.

The phenomenological viewpoint includes trying to reach *epochè* by dividing the text into smaller meaning units to avoid the researcher's preconceptions to interfere with

the interpreting of the respondent meaning. Although the Minerva software assists in doing this by dividing the text so that each meaning unit is interpreted separately it is of course impossible to exclude all preconceptions to influence the analysis of the text. Especially in the cases where I have conducted the interview and the transcription so that I am very familiar with the text as a whole before the division has been done. This is a possible bias and the only way of going around it would have been for another person to conduct the interviews and the transcriptions and possible also let another researcher make an analysis of the text to see if another interpretation is made. This has not been possible in the scope of this master study but would be recommended to do in other cases.

Another problem has been the Minerva software inability to cope with large amount of texts. Especially in the case of Lena who's interview I could not divide this can be a bias. It is hard to know which other information that could have been found and what other meanings there are to discover. Hopefully the Minerva can be upgraded so that this will be possible to do in the future.

To ensure the participants anonymity the text has been sent to them in advance so that they have had the possibility to ask me to change personal details so that they are satisfied with me keeping their confidentiality. They have been informed that their original answers would not be available for anyone else than me and my adviser.

Practical implications and future research

There are claims that the research on conformity has not resulted in enough practical implications as to how we can work against for example racism (Short, 1999). I believe that this study could lead to new insights and methods to work with this. Social psychologists has for a long time been focusing on the inevitability of conforming, obedience or other type of influence to steer our actions in ways we did not plan and perhaps do not agree with at first (Cialdini, 2001; Hodges & Geyer, 2006; Milgram, 1975). I believe that that by looking at the issue from the other side, at individuals who do not conform we can find tools to prevent blind obedience or conformity. If we want moral-conformers we could tell people what to do and how to do it instead of what not to do.

The research on moral-nonconforming is still in its infancy and few practical

implications can be drawn from this study alone. The finding that a moral/norm challenging situation might have a possible implication on a moral-nonconforming behavior could potentially be used in the school system to promote moral-nonconforming in the population. The dramatic nature of the situations presented here makes this ethically difficult and hard to do practically. There is also a risk that events like these might cause other individuals to behave in a different manner, being traumatized etc. Therefore more research is needed before any practical implications can be made or drawn.

The participants in this study have been chosen for their engagement in behavior that is outside the group's descriptive norm for moral reasons. I will refrain from making judgments if about the actions. It is not my place to decide if the action was good or bad. I have not chosen to work with people whose behavior goes directly against my own moral believes or that promotes violent behavior such as neo-Nazis, even if this sort of behavior could be characterized as suiting for the study. The participants have been located through personal connections and I have no access to groups which has moral believes that I strongly disagree with. This could potentially be a source of bias. Violent moral-nonconforming behavior could potentially have other components than the ones presented here and non-equality ideologies might form another type of moral-nonconforming. This would make an interesting theme for an extended study. If we want to use the knowledge about why people chose to morally not conform it is important to know if there is a potentiality risk to push people in the directions towards undemocratic and violent ideologies. I therefore propose that one of the next steps should be to look at these groups as well.

In all issues concerning human behavior there are cultural differences. Moral-nonconforming is no exception, in some culture it is considered more immoral to express an opinion different to the group than in other cultures (Hodges & Geyer, 2006). Other possible cultural differences in moral judgment and moral behavior have been found in previous studies, like the role of reciprocity in moral judgments and the importance of being a moral person (Miller & Bersoff, 1994; Jackson et al. 2008). This study only concerns people who are culturally Swedish. To make a full study of the phenomenon moral-nonconforming it would be necessary to study the phenomena in multiple cultural settings. There is a possibility that moral-nonconforming looks different and has different causes and meanings in other

contexts. If meaningful generalizations are to be made these possibilities must be examined. The next natural step in this area would therefore be to do a similar study in other countries.

The previous studies of issues close to moral-nonconforming have found upbringing and parenting style to be important to nurture the future moral-nonconformer (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Hoffman, 1975). Some of the results in this study also point in that direction. It is possible that this influence could also arrive from other significant caretakers, to have a non-authoritative, less stereotyping school where problems are discussed rather than punished could perhaps have a similar impact on moral-nonconforming behavior but we need to investigate this further.

Finally, the most significant finding of this study is the theory that a moral-nonconformer might need a previous moral or norm challenging situation to become a moral-nonconformer. This situation might have to be emotion laden and/or dramatic in nature to cause a moral-nonconforming behavior in the future. This is a theory well worth investigation in the future.

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Appendix

Table 2.1. Entities used as examples in the study. Order of frequency, number one is the most common one for the individual. If two or more entities have the same frequency they have been given the same number. The number in the parenthesis is how many times the entity is used for each individual.

Entity	Respondent						
	Mia	Lars	David	Simon	Frida	Britta	Lena
I	1 (625)	1 (398)	1 (437)	1 (167)	2 (40)	1 (64)	1 (440)
Civil disobedience	-	-	-	2(22)	1(42)	-	-
Humans (människor)	23 (3)	11 (15)	17 (2)	9 (1)	8 (6)	2 (11)	5 (20)
We	6 (33)	9 (22)	3 (25)	4 (7)	-	-	2 (70)
Family	-	22 (2)	-	-	3 (19)	8 (1)	-
Family-stories	-	-	17 (2)	-	-	-	-
Family-traditions	-	-	15 (4)	-	-	-	-
Mum	-	-	-	-	-	-	18 (1)
Dad	-	-	-	-	-	7 (2)	-
Siblings	-	-	-	-	-	7 (2)	-
Parents	-	16 (7)	2 (8)	-	-	-	-
Childhood	23 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Childhood experiences	-	-	21 (3)	-	-	-	-
Friend	-	17 (7)	14 (5)	-	-	-	3 (28)
Colleague	6 (35)	22 (2)	14 (5)	-	-	-	-
Read	-	22 (2)	-	9 (1)	-	-	-
Book	14 (10)	-	-	9 (1)	-	-	-
Professor	-	16 (8)	-	8 (2)	-	-	-

Entities in frequency order for each person (number of uses of the entities).

Table 2.2. Shows the respondents frequency of modalities in percentage of their total number of meaning-units

Modality Category	Respondents						
	Mia	Lars	David	Simon	Frida	Britta	Lena
Frequency in %							
Affect							
Neg.-pro.	8,52	13,02	6,57	3,53	27,27	32,26	21,63
Neg.-retro.	25,76	18,43	28,10	18,82	7,27	3,23	15,38
Neutral	55,90	60,69	61,68	61,18	18,18	51,61	31,73
Pos.-pro.	3,49	2,95	1,46	10,59	45,45	9,68	15,38
Pos.-retro.	6,33	4,91	2,19	5,88	1,82	3,23	15,87
Belief							
Doxa-affirm.	89,41	80,34	81,02	89,41	80,00	93,55	86,06
Doxa-negat.	19,21	12,04	10,22	1,18	5,45	6,45	9,13
Possibility	1,75	2,70	2,19	5,88	12,73	-	0,96
Probability	3,28	2,70	1,46	3,53	1,82	-	2,40
Question	5,90	2,12	4,74	-	-	-	0,96
Function							
Imag/sign	0,87	1,72	0,36	5,88	12,73	-	1,92
Imaginative	8,95	1,72	0,73	4,71	10,91	6,45	2,88
Perc/imag	1,09	0,98	1,46	1,18	-	3,23	0,96
Perc/sign	2,84	2,21	4,74	5,88	9,09	9,68	6,25
Perceptive	84,06	93,12	91,24	67,06	49,09	67,74	76,92
Sign/imag	0,22	0,25	0,36	-	-	-	-
Signitive	1,97	-	1,09	4,71	18,18	12,90	11,06
Property							
Her	-	0,25	1,82	-	-	3,23	-
His	0,87	0,74	-	-	-	-	1,44
My	3,93	4,67	12,41	5,88	12,73	29,03	16,35
Not stated	94,10	93,37	85,04	90,59	87,27	67,74	77,88
Others	0,22	0,25	-	-	-	-	-
Our	-	-	-	2,35	-	-	2,40
Their	0,44	0,25	0,36	-	-	-	1,92
Your	0,44	0,49	0,36	-	-	-	-
Subject							
He	11,35	11,79	4,01	-	-	3,23	7,21
I	45,41	34,89	58,76	72,94	23,64	48,39	53,85
It	6,11	3,69	8,39	4,71	20,00	9,68	3,85
One-all	8,30	14,74	2,92	4,71	20,00	6,45	8,65
She	1,97	0,25	2,55	-	-	3,23	0,96

Them	13,97	14,99	13,87	5,88	23,64	22,58	14,42
Unspecified	7,21	15,48	4,38	7,06	12,73	-	1,44
We	2,18	2,95	4,01	3,53	-	-	9,13
You	3,49	1,23	1,09	1,18	-	6,45	0,48
Time							
Always-rec.	17,47	29,73	12,41	9,41	38,18	25,81	25,96
Empty	5,90	6,88	5,47	9,41	9,09	3,23	7,69
Future	0,87	1,97	0,73	-	5,45	6,45	1,92
Past	59,39	44,23	68,98	65,88	10,91	38,71	40,87
Pres → fut	0,22	-	-	1,18	5,45	-	0,48
Pres → past	0,66	0,98	1,09	8,24	1,82	6,45	2,88
Present	15,50	16,22	11,31	5,88	29,09	19,35	20,19
Will							
Aspiration	1,53	0,25	-	-	3,64	3,23	1,44
Engagement	62,66	61,43	78,47	78,82	47,27	87,10	77,40
None	10,48	20,64	9,49	5,88	29,09	6,45	5,77
Unengaged	23,58	17,44	10,58	9,41	18,18	3,23	12,98
Wish-positiv	1,75	0,25	1,46	5,88	1,82	-	2,40

Table 2.3. Correlation between text length, text richness and text banality in the responses

	Simon	Britta	Lars	Mia	Lena	David	Frida
Text richness*text length	0,99	0,99	0,98	0,97	0,99	0,98	0,99
Text banality*text length	0,04	0,30	0,03	-0,02	-0,06	-0,04	0,04
Text banality*text richness	0,01	0,29	0,00	-0,05	-0,09	-0,08	0,01