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Romaphobia among adolescents : the role of perceived threat, nationalism, and acculturation expectations

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Citation

Ljujic, V. (2011, December 14). *Romaphobia among adolescents : the role of perceived threat, nationalism, and acculturation expectations*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18244>

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ROMAPHOBIA AMONG ADOLESCENTS

the role of perceived threat, nationalism
and acculturation expectations



VANJA LJUJIC

**Romaphobia among adolescents: the role of perceived threat,
nationalism, and acculturation expectations**

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. P. F. van der Heijden,

volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties

te verdedigen op woensdag 14 december 2011

klokke 10:00 uur

door

Vanja Ljubic

geboren te Nova Varos, Servië

in 1974

Promotoren

Prof. Dr. P. Vedder

Prof. Dr. H. Dekker

Cover illustration courtesy of Dr. Fahrudin Nuno Salihbegovic (University of Greenwich).

Acknowledgment

Writing this dissertation has been a great pleasure, despite all the difficulties (some small and some big) that I encountered on my way. I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Paul Vedder and Professor Henk Dekker for their patient guidance and encouragement during this project.

I would also like to thank all the students from Serbia and the Netherlands who participated in the surveys, as well as their teachers and school principals. I am very grateful to my cousins Ana, Igor, Buba and Miona, who took care that my stay in Serbia was very warm, pleasurable and feast laden. I would like to thank the TARKI Institute from Budapest for letting me use their data. I am grateful to my colleagues who made me feel at home at Leiden University. Dear Fatima, Mitch, Ron, Erlijn, Begüm and Jenny, thank you for having always been with me in situations when I needed extra inspiration and support. Coen, thanks for helping me find my way in the labyrinths of statistics. I hope to stay in contact with you and other RCI people and to attend one of these lovely onderzoeklunch again!

In the last two years, I've had the pleasure of supervising several BA and MA students with their thesis work on prejudice. Elize, Roelinka, Mirjam, Natasja, Miranda, Claudia, Kevin, Jacqueline, Janique and Aarti - jullie zijn heel gemotiveerde, hardwerkende en stoere mensen en het was bijzonder prettig om met jullie samen te werken!

My stay in the Netherlands outside academia has truly been enriched by my dear friends Gordana, Aleksej, Norbert, Helga, Roelin, Stefania, Matthias, Ian, Albana and Emiliano. My parents, Mila and Milisav, my sister Tatjana, my brother in law Nuno, and my sweet little nephew Isak - you have been my inspiration in research and life! Dear Christoph, if I thanked you for everything for which I owe you, the list would be longer than this dissertation. I am dedicating this thesis to my little princess Soledad! Ти си мамина највећа љубав и срећа!

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1. General Introduction

The studies presented in this thesis stem from an interest in Roma's fate which entails a challenge of immense practical importance. Negative attitudes towards the Roma have been a common denominator of widespread rejection, exclusion and outright hostility that marked the eight-century-long Roma history in Europe (Crowe, 2008). In recent years, an increasing ethnic mobility within the European Union enabled the Roma to travel from one country to another to escape discrimination and search for a better life (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009). Most of Roma, however, remain excluded from the mainstream population, and face continued poverty and discrimination (Kostadinova, 2011).

The goal of this dissertation is to provide an insight into social-psychological mechanisms that underlie this appalling situation of European Roma. We refer to negative attitudes towards the Roma as Romaphobia¹. Like other type of outgroup attitudes, Romaphobia reflects negative emotions associated with group membership, i.e. *being Roma*. The Roma group membership is strongly determined by common ancestry (Liegeois & Gheorghe, 1995). Nevertheless, the label "Roma" does not refer to a homogenous group, but to a highly diversified minority, which adheres to multiple cultural and religious traditions (Liegeois, 1994). Cross-cultural research shows that the label "Roma" pertains to Roma ethnicity (i.e. heritage), but also reflects transparent status differences from the mainstream population (Kligman, 2001; Prieto-Flores, 2006).

The integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 1996) offers a theoretical framework for studying Romaphobia. It focuses on perceived cultural discrepancies and status differences in the form of threat to material (i.e. realistic threat) and immaterial resources (i.e. symbolic threat). In the following sections, we present the theoretical rationales for perceived threat and its antecedents to be the main causes of Romaphobia.

¹ In the following chapters, the words prejudice, negative feelings and anti-Roma attitudes are used interchangeably.

Integrated threat theory

The idea that perceived threat constitutes a key for negative outgroup attitudes has extensively been discussed within the realistic group conflict theory (Sherif, 1966), and symbolic racism theory (Kinder & Sears, 1981). More recently, Stephan and Stephan (1996) unified these conceptually different notions into the integrated threat theory. The integrated threat theory suggests that the social psychological mechanisms underlying outgroup prejudice involve perceived threat and its antecedents (e.g. ingroup identity) (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006, for a meta analysis). Perceived economic threat concerns inter-group competition for scarce resources such as jobs and housing (Sheriff, 1966). Symbolic threat is about the worldviews of a group, which is assumingly threatened by out-group members with distinct morals, norms, and values (Sears, 1988).

Negative attitudes towards outgroups may be independent of actual inter-group competition, generated by minority proportion and contact opportunities (Burjanek, 2001; Nordberg, 2004; Sigona, 2005). Reluctance to share scarce resources with Roma, and intolerance towards the Roma culture, may be linked to *Zeitgeist*, or more precisely, to the extent to which general cultural and political climate in society reflects a supportive (or unsupportive) social context for intercultural relationships (e.g. Phillips, 2010). In particular, it was shown that nationalism and endorsement of unfavorable acculturation strategies, i.e., a desire for cultural homogenization among dominant group members may have contributed to the perceived threat from Roma (Brearley, 2001; Woodcock, 2007). Drawing from past research, this dissertation proposes acculturation preferences and national ingroup attitudes to be antecedents of perceived threat, and to have both direct and indirect (via perceived threat) relationship to Romaphobia.

Nationalism

Nationalism is defined as an in-group identification that is primarily centered on affiliation with a nation, which, depending on the circumstances and ideological premises may reflect strong attachment to or a desire for a nation state (cf. Weiss, 2003). This definition emphasizes the importance of cultural-historical entities as the bases for political legitimacy, but also assumes a strong emotional component which determines the relationship with one's own ethnic group, language, religion, as well as a specific sense of comradeship among the group members (Anderson, 1983). For

people with strong nationalist feelings, the national group provides a familiar context in a broader social landscape.

This emotional attachment to and identification with one's nation may provide a psychological rationale for nationalism as an antecedent of prejudice, i.e., negative feelings towards and unfavorable evaluation of other (national) groups (Wagner, Becker, Christ, Pettigrew, & Schmidt, 2010). Nationalists derive their self-concept from the national group to which they belong; hence perceived threat to the continued transmission of and support for one's heritage culture and economic welfare may become the basis for negative prejudice.

Acculturation expectations

Acculturation refers to intercultural interactions and mutual influences between dominant and subordinate groups (Berry, 1999, 2003). Berry's model of acculturation (Berry, 2003) proposes the relative preference for maintenance of the own ethnic culture and the relative preference for relationships with other groups, as the main criteria for a group's acculturation. Hence, four distinct acculturation attitudes or behavioral strategies are distinguished: integration (*yes* to both cultural maintenance and interethnic contact); assimilation (*yes* to interethnic contact, *no* to cultural maintenance); segregation or separation (*yes* to cultural maintenance, *no* to intercultural contact); and marginalization or exclusion (*no* to both cultural maintenance and intercultural contact).

Past research indicates that by virtue of power advantages, the dominant group members may have relative control over the acculturation of minorities (Bourhis et al., 2009). According to the interactive acculturation models (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Piontkowski, et al., 2002), status differences between the subordinate and dominant group may result in different, even conflicting expectations regarding the acculturation processes (Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006). Scholars distinguish between nationals' perceived acculturation, i.e., nationals' perceptions of other groups' acculturation efforts, and acculturation expectations, i.e., preferences that nationals or majority group members have as regards how minority groups – in our case Roma – should acculturate. The members of subordinate groups are typically interested in cultural maintenance, and often favor integration which grants them space for both contact with nationals and maintenance of their own heritage culture (Bourhis et al., 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti, et al., 2003; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007; Zick,

Wagner, Dick, & Petzel, 2001). Nationals may perceive this acculturation preference of minority group members and be concerned with the prospects of sharing national resources with subordinate groups; hence their acculturation expectations may reflect a desire to reject intercultural relationships between minority and majority groups (Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer & Perzig, 2003; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Piontkowski, et al., 2000). We propose acculturation expectations as antecedent of economic and symbolic threat; and investigate whether or not different types of threat mediate the effects of acculturation expectations on Romaphobia.

Adolescents as research population

Three of the four papers to be presented in this thesis are about adolescents. A growing body of research has revealed that stereotypical beliefs and prejudicial attitudes are developed at an early age, and that these attitudes, once developed, tend to be long-lasting (Aboud, 2008; Barret & Oppenheimer, 2011; Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009). Adolescents constitute an adequate and easily reached research population. Given the fact that most of students' daily life and interactions take place at schools, school may be seen as adequate terrain for prejudice transmission, but also for prejudice reduction, i.e. correction of one-sided perceptions and negative behavioral consequences (e.g., violence, discrimination).

Summary and the main research questions

The following research questions guide our studies:

1. *Is Romaphobia a manifestation of generalized prejudice or a qualitatively distinct type of prejudice?*
2. *Do perceived economic and symbolic threat provide a rationale for nationalists' Romaphobia?*
3. *How are acculturation preferences related to adolescents' Romaphobia?*
4. *Is there a common model of the relationship between Romaphobia, perceived threat and its antecedents in different intercultural settings?*

The first paper reports a secondary analysis of Hungarian national representative data to investigate the empirical justification for conceptualizing negative feelings towards the Roma as a distinct type of prejudice (chapter 2). It is a justification for

focusing the attention in the other chapters on Romaphobia as a specific type of prejudice deserving special attention. This paper momentarily is under review.

In the second and third paper, we use Serbian adolescents' data to investigate the mediating role of perceived economic and symbolic threat on relationships between nationalism and acculturation expectations, on one side, and Romaphobia on the other. The second paper (chapter 3), investigates perception of economic and symbolic threat from Roma, as well as the mediating role of perceived threats on relationships between nationalism and Romaphobia. This paper is accepted for publication in the *Journal of Political Psychology* (Ljubic, Vedder & Dekker, 2011).

In the third paper (chapter 4), we built upon the interactive acculturation model (Bourhis, et al., 2009) to explore adolescents' acculturation expectations as antecedents of perceived threat. In particular, we investigate if ethnocentric acculturation preferences, i.e., assimilation, segregation or exclusion are characterized by higher levels of perceived threat and Romaphobia, than integration preference, which are assumingly accompanied by low levels of perceived threat and prejudice. This paper has been published in the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (Ljubic, Vedder, Dekker, & Van Geel, 2010).

The fourth paper (chapter 5) reports a comparative study. We examine interrelationships among nationalism, integrationist preferences, perceived threats and Romaphobia among Dutch and Serbian adolescents. More specifically, we analyze whether and to what extent threat mediates the relationship between nationalism and integration preferences of national youth and their Romaphobia and whether these relationships are comparable between Serbian and Dutch youth. We expect that differences between the Netherlands and Serbia in terms of density of Roma presence and corresponding contact opportunities between national and Roma youth affect the findings. This paper has been published in the *International Journal of Psychology* (Ljubic, Vedder, Dekker, & Van Geel, 2011).

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2. Romaphobia: A unique phenomenon?

Submitted for publication

This study seeks empirical justification for conceptualizing negative feelings towards the Roma as a distinct type of prejudice, as compared to common prejudice manifested in commonalities between Romaphobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and anti-Chinese feelings. We conducted secondary analyses of Hungarian national representative data collected in 2002 by the TARKI Institute (Budapest), using face-to-face interviews. The national probability sample consisted of 1022 persons (aged ≥ 18 years), of which 58.1 percent were females. Principal component analyses revealed that respondents' feelings towards all four groups were partially explained by social distance at work and in the neighborhood, rejection of inter-group marriage, and antipathy in general. However, the presence of a separate component, dealing specifically with all Roma supports a notion of Romaphobia as a qualitatively distinct construct. Recommendations for future research and practical implications are presented.

Keywords

Roma, Romaphobia, general prejudice, principal component analyses, Hungary

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to thank the TARKI Social Research Institute from Budapest for providing access to the data that are being reported in the current study.

Introduction

The current study investigates empirical justification for conceptualizing negative feelings towards the Roma as a distinct type of prejudice. Ethnic prejudice and discrimination are not quite new phenomena in the eight-century-long Roma history in Europe (Crowe, 2008). On the contrary, research has shown that throughout these eight centuries the Roma were subjected to different forms of persecution, including slavery, forced sterilization, and ethnic cleansing (cf. Kostadinova, 2011).

In recent years, the Roma became salient in the media and political debates, due to an increasing ethnic mobility within the European Union, which enabled the Roma to travel from one member state to another, mainly to escape discrimination and in search for a better life (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009). The discursive representation of Roma has been somewhat ambiguous, oscillating between a sympathetic image of a ‘troubled’ European minority and a pariah pan-European ‘troublemaker’, prone to immorality and criminal behavior (cf. Honicke, 2010, for a review). According to recent studies, the Roma ‘pariah’ position is characterized by poor living conditions (e.g., Masseria, Mladovsky, & Hernández-Quevedo, 2010; Ringold et al., 2005), and disturbing events of discrimination (Halasz, 2009; Kostadinova, 2011), including expulsion of Roma from France, actions against illegal Roma camps in Italy, police profiling in Denmark, and physical violence in Eastern Europe (European Roma Rights Centre, 2011). The appalling situation of Roma in many European countries has led to studies in which only this particular group participated or in which only this group was the main study object (Masseria, et al, 2010). In this paper, the main question is whether this focus on this particular group, i.e., Roma, is justified or even essential.

Generalized Prejudice or Separate Construct?

Research established a strong association between different types of prejudice (cf. Zick, et al., 2008). Empirical evidence suggests that ‘generalized’ prejudice corresponds to negative feelings towards different groups, including Jews, Blacks, Whites, Arabs, Asians, but also homosexuals, and people with developmental disorders (e.g., Backstrom & Bjorklund, 2007; Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991). Moreover, it was found that different groups may experience similar forms of discrimination, regardless of status, race, ethnicity, or religious affiliations (Ekehammar & Akrami,

2003). This structural similarity among prejudice has been attributed to personality (e.g., social dominance orientation or authoritarianism) (Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje, & Zakrisson, 2004), or contextual factors (societal crisis and ethnocentrism) and is characterized by a process of overgeneralization or social polarization (Cvorovic, 2007). This process of social polarization between one in-group (“us”) and several outgroups (“them”) (Brearley, 2001; Brewer & Campbell, 1976) may be amplified by minimizing differences among minority groups (Li & Brewer, 2004). As a consequence, minority groups are lumped together and more likely seen as a quantitatively growing problem. This polarization effect coincides with the emergence or invigoration of xenophobia, i.e., negative feelings towards the minorities in general, including the Roma (e.g., Postma, 1996).

Nevertheless, ample research suggests that different groups may be differently evaluated, which means that people may be prejudiced towards certain ethnic groups but not towards others (e.g., Smith & Stewart, 1983). Structural dissimilarities between types of prejudice may be embodied in culture-specific or time-specific stereotypical categorizations of certain outgroups, defined by age, gender, ethnic, racial, and national background, but also professional and sexual affiliations (Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986). Some types of prejudice reflect long-established, historical stereotypes based on perceived biological or physical differences (e.g., racism and anti-Semitism), whereas others, like for instance Islamophobia may predominantly be situational, i.e., fear and animosity towards the Muslim and Islam, associated to the 9/11 terrorists attacks, the March 2004 Madrid bombing, and the July 2005 London bombing (Welch, 2006). Alternatively, the Zeitgeist may evoke the salience of group labels through discursive reinforcement of old-established fears and dislikes (Cuddy, et al., 2011). Research has shown that stereotypical evaluations may reflect different types of threats and correspond to different levels of fear and social distance from different groups (cf. Bravo Lopes, 2011). For example, in the last decades, stereotypical views of Jews refer to high status and fear of financial power and domination (Glick, 2002; Postma, 1996) whereas Roma stereotypes reflect low status, and anticipation of immoral behavior and criminality, i.e., proximal threat (Woodcock, 2010).

Commonality or differentiation in prejudice: Theoretical models

If indeed prejudice is a generalized or common phenomenon regardless of the type of outgroups and the circumstances of intergroup contacts, studies comparing

prejudice with respect to a variety of groups should reveal a strong common factor or common core. This would underline that Romaphobia is not fundamentally different from anti-Semitism or Islamophobia. Possible differences between the groups evaluated deal with the intensity of prejudice, which may vary depending on the groups and specific historical circumstances. Several theoretical notions, such as right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, do present such unidimensional models (Altemeyer, 1997; Duckitt, 2000), but fail to obtain unequivocal empirical support. Recent research has found differentiated effects of authoritarianism and social dominance on different dimensions of general prejudice, depending on status differences and perceived threat to culture (Asbrock, Sibley, & Duckitt, 2010; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007).

Growing evidence of related but qualitatively distinct emotional reactions to various groups (Cottrell, Neuberg, & Li, 2007; Schaller, 2008), has led to subtle differentiations within a concept of ‘generalized’ prejudice (Akrami, Ekehammar, & Bergh, 2011). While individual components are group-specific and may vary in relevance, valence, and intensity, a common component reflects a generalized tendency to be ‘prejudiced’ and typically remains stable over time. Zick and colleagues (2008) define a common component in terms of an ideology of inequality, which facilitates relations among prejudice towards different groups (including Jews, Moslems, immigrants, homeless, etc.) that together form the ‘syndrome’ of group-focused enmity. Viewed from an evolution-based perspective, a common component reflects a social preservation mechanism evolved over time, i.e., fears and phobias with respect to outgroups or strangers may be comparable to instinctive reactions to threats to survival in ancient times (e.g., snakes, predators, diseases) (Bracha, 2004; Neuberg & Cottrell, 2006; Schmitt & Pilcher, 2004). Hence, notwithstanding differences in prejudice content, contemporary prejudice, including Romaphobia, may reflect a common core, i.e., ancestral threats and fears evolved over time (cf. Buss, 2008).

Other notions, however, postulate that prejudice towards a variety of groups is best explained by two or more factors. According to Fiske and colleagues, one’s feelings towards other groups result from the anticipation of (a) others’ perceived intentions, i.e., the warmth dimension encompassing morality, kindness, and other desirable social traits in other persons or the lack thereof, and (b) others’ capabilities, i.e., the competence dimension referring to efficacy, intelligence, skills, etc. (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). This approach suggests that the dynamic and changing

nature of prejudice corresponds to cognitive appraisals of others' perceived social status, i.e., poverty, and corresponding unfavorable evaluations. For example, groups associated with higher status (for example, Jews, feminists, or Asian Americans) may allegedly be competent but cold, and hence disliked (i.e., 'envious' prejudice), whereas low status groups (e.g., housewives, the elderly) may be seen as benevolent but incompetent (i.e., 'pitying' prejudice). The groups positioned at the extreme ends of warmth and competence, high-high groups, such as college students, and the low-low groups (homeless) are liked or disliked accordingly (e.g., Casciaro & Sousa-Lobo, 2005; Cuddy, et al, 2007). Empirical evidence for the warmth-competence model with respect to widely varied target groups was obtained and replicated in a series of cross-cultural studies comprising data from the US, Europe, Latin America, East Asia, and Israel (cf. Cuddy, et. al.2009)

To what extent may notions of prejudice represented in the models presented hitherto be generalized to Romaphobia? A one-factor model is not compatible with the notion of Romaphobia as a distinct or unique type of prejudice. A multi-factorial model is a more likely match. A notion of general prejudice implies that a considerable amount of the variance in prejudice can be explained without reference to specific groups, and hence may be generalized across targets, including the Roma. The lack of studies explicitly comparing attitudes towards Roma with attitudes towards other groups obscures the generalizability of past findings with respect to Romaphobia. Additional limitations may arise from the use of non-representative data: ambiguous group categorizations, e.g., 'foreigners' (cf. Cottrell & 2005), and qualitatively different attitude measures for different groups (Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 2002).

The current study

The current study sets out to explore the nature of Romaphobia as either a distinct type of prejudice or as a common type. In this study we compare Romaphobia with anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and prejudice against Chinese immigrants (newcomers). We explore the factorial structure of prejudice. The dataset we use does not allow to distinguish between the different unifactorial or between the different multi-factorial models presented in the introduction. This is due to the fact that we conduct secondary analyses. We reuse data from a design in which the same respondents report their prejudice with respect to different groups, using the same questions except for the different group labels. Finding the required data set was

particularly difficult given that we set out to study Romaphobia. As stated earlier, most studies on Romaphobia only study this type of prejudice.

Ideally, the models reviewed would be compared using a confirmatory factor analysis. However, the definitions and operationalizations of prejudice differ between studies, and for an adequate comparison of models using a confirmatory factor analysis at least a comparable operationalization between models would be necessary. As such in this study we limit ourselves to an exploratory approach. Although we will not be able to analyze in how far the theoretical models reviewed adequately fit the data, we will be able to analyze in how far anti-Roma prejudice is a unique phenomenon.

Method

Participants and Procedure

In this study, we conducted secondary analyses of the “Longitudinal survey of the ethnic and political attitudes of the adult population in Hungary”. The face-to-face interviews were used. A national probability sample consisted of 844 people (aged 18 and more), of which 58.1 percent were females.

Measures

In previous studies, social distance and group evaluation were found to be valid measures of prejudice toward different ethnic groups (e.g., Parrillo & Donoghue, 2005; Weaver, 2008). In the current study, four identical items were used, except for different group labels (TARKI, 2004). The 3-item social distance scale (Bogardus, 1968) was used, enquiring respondents’ attitudes toward a family member marrying a Roma/Jew/Arab/ Chinese (four items), working together with a Roma/Jew/Arab/Chinese (four items), and having Roma/Jew/Arab/ Chinese as neighbors (four items). Respondents rated their attitude on a 5-point response scale, ranging from 1= *definitely against* to 5= *definitely support*. For prejudiced evaluations, we used a question “*how sympathetic are Roma/ Jews/Arabs/Chinese?*” (four items) (Van Oudenhoven, et al., 2002). A 9-point response scale ranged from 1=*very antipathetic* to 9= *very sympathetic*. The selected groups differ in ethnicity and religion, but also in terms of status and history in Hungary. Roma and Jews are old Hungarian (and European) minorities, whereas Chinese and Arabs represent relatively new immigrant groups in Hungary (cf., Hockenos 1993).

Results

Is Romaphobia a Unique Form of Prejudice?

To analyze to what extent respondents distinguished Romaphobia from other forms of prejudice a principal component analysis with varimax rotation was conducted. Five components with eigenvalues larger than one were extracted. These five factors explained 79.2 percent of variance (see Table 1). One component loaded on all the items concerning work and neighbors, one component loaded on the four marriage items and one component loaded on the four sympathy items (though this factor also loaded on the ‘Arabic neighbor’ and ‘Chinese neighbor’ items). These three components seemed to deal with more general attitudes towards minorities: all minorities loaded on these components. One component dealt specifically with attitudes towards Roma, as only the four Roma related items loaded on this component. One component specifically dealt with Jews, as only the four items related to Jews loaded on this component. Thus, though a large part of variance in attitudes towards Roma can be explained by the three generic components, there was a component that specifically dealt with Roma. Part of the variance in Roma attitudes is explained by a unique component.

Mean Differences in Prejudice

A repeated measures ANOVA with ‘work’, ‘neighbor’, ‘marriage’ and ‘sympathy’ as between subject factors and ethnic group (Roma, Arab, Jew and Chinese) as within subject factor was computed to analyze differences in attitudes towards ethnic groups. An overall significant effect was found [Wilks’ lambda $F(12, 832) = 52.724$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .432$]. The univariate tests reported in Table 2 all revealed significant effects. Mean scores reported in Table 2 clarify that Roma score lowest on all four measures. Simple comparisons were used to compare the Roma to the Jews, Arabs and Chinese on all measures. All planned comparisons were significant ($p < .05$) indicating that respondents rated Roma significantly more unfavorable than the other three ethnic groups on all three measures.

Table 1

Results of the varimax rotated principal component analysis

	Work and Neighbor (24.5%)	Marriage (15.1%)	Sympathy (12.3%)	Roma (14.7%)	Jews (12.7%)
marry an Arab		.842			
marry a Roma		.638		.669	
marry a Chinese		.815			
marry a Jew		.521			.709
work with an Arab	.814				
work with a Roma	.618			.640	
work with a Chinese	.806				
work with a Jew	.676				.579
Arabic neighbor	.726		.337		
Roma neighbor	.412			.741	
Chinese neighbor	.679		.450		
Jewish neighbor	.591				.589
sympathetic - Arabs			.721		
sympathetic - Roma			.376	.832	
sympathetic - Chinese			.827		
sympathetic - Jews			.333		.805

Factor loadings lower than .30 are not included in the table

Table 2

Means and standard deviations (between brackets) for the four ethnic groups

	Arabs	Roma	Chinese	Jews	ANOVA
work	2.92 (.79)	2.78 (.93)	2.83 (.81)	3.03 (.78)	$F(3, 2529) = 134.232, p < .001, \eta^2 = .054$
neighbor	2.79 (.75)	2.47 (.95)	2.72 (.78)	2.98 (.70)	$F(3, 2529) = 134.232, p < .001, \eta^2 = .137$
marriage	2.34 (.95)	2.16 (1.02)	2.25 (.94)	2.74 (.96)	$F(3, 2529) = 138.300, p < .001, \eta^2 = .141$
sympathy	3.87 (1.74)	3.44 (1.94)	5.15 (1.85)	3.92 (1.77)	$F(3, 2529) = 225.952, p < .001, \eta^2 = .211$

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to investigate empirical justification for conceptualizing negative feelings towards the Roma as a distinct type of prejudice. The most important finding is that although generalized prejudice may to some extent accommodate negative feelings towards the Roma, Romaphobia may still be seen as a separate construct, i.e., unique type of prejudice. The results provide evidence for structural commonalities among prejudice. The attitudes towards Roma, Jewish, Chinese and Arabs were partially explained by work and neighbors (one factor), marriage, and sympathy. For all groups, rejection at work, and/or neighborhood level, may reflect reluctance to share scarce resources with other groups whereas rejection of intergroup marriage may reflect a desire to sustain ingroup values and/or transmit ethnic heritage to the offspring (Kandido-Jaksic, 2008; Pagnini & Morgan, 1990). Peculiarities of anti-Roma attitudes are manifested in terms of intensity of disliking contact at work, in the neighborhood or as a marriage partner, and antipathy in general. This pattern of results supports a notion of group focused enmity (Zick, et. al., 2008); according to which a general ideology of inequality functions as a device to preserve a dominant group status in face of diversity, hence accommodating attitudes towards different groups, i.e., Roma, Jews, Arabs, and Chinese.

The presence of a separate component, dealing specifically with all Roma supports a notion of Romaphobia as qualitatively distinct construct. A similar outcome was found for anti-Semitism. Perhaps, people may have more ‘determined’ or ‘crystallized’ attitudes towards the old-established and familiar minorities, such as Roma and Jews, than towards new and less familiar immigrant groups, i.e., Arabs and Chinese (Hockenos, 1993). Future research should further examine the unique evaluative and emotional components of Romaphobia, and compare those with other types of prejudice. Fiske and colleagues proposed perceived social status to correspond to four emotional responses, such as admiration, contempt, envy, and pity (Cuddy, Fiske, Glick, 2008; Fiske, et al., 2002). Perhaps, perceived discrepancy in status and goals elicit unfavorable evaluations of Roma in terms of contempt and pity, i.e., downward contrastive comparisons, whereas the perception of Jews as competitive and competent, i.e., upward contrastive comparisons, may elicit different emotions, such as envy (cf. Fiske, et al, 2002). However, empirical support for these interpretations is largely lacking. More in general comparative interpretations with respect to the

structure of prejudice require not only more empirical evidence but also further theoretical clarification (Carpenter, Zárate, & Garza, 2007).

In past studies several models of prejudice have been suggested. Unidimensional models (eg., Zick, et al., 2008) as well as bidimensional models (Fiske et al., 2002) have been used to describe the underlying mechanisms of prejudice against different ethnic groups. In our study we found support for a model in which both the situation and affect (work and neighborhood, marriage and sympathy) and to an extent the ethnic group (Jewish or Roma) regulate the negative emotions. Future research might use a confirmatory factor analysis to compare the different theoretical models of prejudice. Our choice for the TARKI-file was guided by our wish to study in how far Romaphobia was a unique construct. Prejudice against Roma remains understudied, and using the TARKI-file we were able to demonstrate that Romaphobia is to an extent a unique phenomenon. However, given the nature of the scales and items the TARKI file does not allow for a systematic comparison of different models of prejudice, hence the question “is Romaphobia a manifestation of generalized prejudice or a qualitatively distinct type of prejudice”, did not find a definite answer in the current study.

Yet, the findings reported certainly suggest that for combating anti-Roma sentiments and behaviors policy makers and educators may feel and be inspired by generalized notions of prejudice and discrimination, but most likely they will also need to take the particularities of Romaphobia, reflecting perception of group status and related feelings of threat, into account. Better insight into these particularities may support the development of effective social interventions for reducing Romaphobia.

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3. Romaphobia among Serbian adolescents: The role of national in-group attitudes and perceived threat

Political Psychology, accepted for publication

This study employed the integrated threat theory to examine Serbian adolescents' attitudes towards the Roma. The sample consisted of 687 secondary school students (mean age 17), of which 53% were females. In a survey-based study, we assessed adolescents' national in-group attitudes (i.e. nationalism), their feelings toward the Roma, and their perception of economic and symbolic threat. Findings suggest that perceived threat to either real resources or worldviews of the dominant group was related to more negative attitudes towards the Roma minority. Further, Romaphobia was positively related to adolescents' nationalism and this relationship was partially mediated by perceived economic and symbolic threat. The theoretical and educational implications are discussed.

Keywords

Romaphobia, perceived threat, nationalism, Serbian adolescents

Introduction

The beginning of the 21st century has been marked by international and European efforts to improve the position of the Roma, widely considered one of the most disadvantaged groups in Europe (Barany, 2001; Csepeli & Simon, 2004; Guy, 2001; Hancock, 1987; Petrova, 2003; Sigona, 2005). The Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015) is an international political initiative involving twelve European countries dedicated to reducing discrimination, segregation and poverty among this minority. In June 2008, Serbia took the Decade Presidency and announced the National Action Plans for Roma inclusion, prioritizing legalization of Roma settlements and the prevention of discrimination in education. However, the Roma remained segregated from the mainstream population, facing high-unemployment and low-education rates, poor living conditions and limited access to healthcare (Miklos, Smederevac & Tovilovic, 2009; Milcher, 2009). Moreover, they were often subjected to forced evictions, as well as to sporadic incidents of racially motivated violence, committed mostly by ultra nationalist youth groups and skinheads (Ackovic, 2009; Crowe, 2008; Simeunovic, 2008).

The scientific insight into the factors preceding the anti-Roma attitudes may shed new light on the factors that are relevant for preventing discrimination against the Roma. In previous research, the word “anti-Gypsyism” has commonly been used as a generic term for a broad set of negative feelings, stereotypes, and discriminatory practices against the Roma (Hancock, 1987; Petrova, 2003). This term is controversial, however, because it also reflects a pejorative meaning of the word “Gypsy” (Liegeois, 1994). Yet, an alternative in the form of a concise definition of anti-Roma attitudes is lacking. In this study, we define anti-Roma attitudes as Romaphobia. Similar to terms such as Islamophobia or Homophobia, the word “Romaphobia” does not reflect excessive or pathological fear of a particular group; instead, it refers to negative emotions towards the group in settings in which group labels, such as ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation, become a salient basis for categorization (Brondolo, Ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009). The Roma group membership is strongly determined by common ancestry (Liegeois & Gheorghe, 1995). Nevertheless, the label “Roma” does not refer to a homogenous group, but to a highly diversified minority, which adheres to multiple cultural and religious traditions (Liegeois, 1994). Because of this reason some authors argue that the Roma identity is a subjective or ascribed

identification with a group that has historically been labeled “Roma” (Sceply & Simon, 2004). Cross-cultural research shows that the label “Roma” pertains to Roma ethnicity (i.e. heritage), but also reflects status differences from the mainstream population (Kligman, 2001; Prieto-Flores, 2006). Past research suggests that the stereotypical perception of Roma “otherness”, i.e. in terms of threat and mistrust, may be the key to anti Roma attitudes (Petrova, 2003). In addition, it was shown that nationalism and a desire for cultural homogenization among dominant group members may have contributed to the perceived threat from Roma (Brearley, 2001; Woodcock, 2007).

The idea that perceived threat constitutes a key for negative prejudice has extensively been discussed within the realistic group conflict theory (Sherif, 1966), and symbolic racism theory (Kinder & Sears, 1981). More recently, Stephan and Stephan (1996) unified these conceptually different notions into the integrated threat theory. The integrated threat theory suggests the social psychological mechanisms underlying outgroup prejudice involve perceived threat and its antecedents (e.g. ingroup identity) (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006, for a meta analysis).

The notions of nationalism and perceived threat may certainly depict the intergroup relationships in Serbia over the last decades (Pesic, 1996). Past research suggests that the relationships between the Roma and Serbian majority were not conflictive, however they were influenced by regional and local conflicts (Brearley, 2001; Crowe, 1994). In former Yugoslavia (1943-1992), the integration of Roma into the mainstream society was actively promoted within the state-governed policy of multiculturalism (Frazer, 1992). This meant that there was room for the preservation of the language and culture of the Roma, but also that there were efforts toward equal access to education, housing, healthcare, and employment possibilities (Barany, 2001). Different from the situation in other communist countries, Yugoslav Roma had the right to set up their own social and cultural organizations, unsupervised by the state (Barany, 2001; Crowe, 1994). Nevertheless, the Roma integration was only partially successful; the socio-economic discrepancy between the Roma and non-Roma remained, particularly in the area of education levels and the standard of living (Crowe, 1994; Latham, 1999).

This trend and its consequences became more rigorous during the economic and political crises of the post-Communist era, when the living conditions of the Roma further deteriorated, while negative attitudes and discrimination against the minority

increased (Antic, 2005; Brearley, 2001). Hence, the salience of economic threat can be attributed to the factors which associate the Roma group with poverty and a distribution of social benefits. The salience of symbolic threat may be related to the socio-political changes in Serbia. The political transition (from a one-party system to political pluralism) induced nationalism as a device to preserve superior group status in the face of socio-political changes (Denitch, 1996; Pesic, 1996; Ramet, 2006; Todosijevic, 2008). On the one hand, symbolic threat may be a manifestation of general intolerance towards (ethnic, racial, and/or religious) diversity in the post-war society (Ivekovic, 2002; Sekulic, Massey & Hodson, 2006). On the other hand, it can be seen as a part of the newly emerging racism in Serbia (Byford, 2002), focusing on ‘cultural differences’ as legitimate grounds for negative feelings towards out-groups.

Drawing on past research, we expect that the relationships between nationalism and Romaphobia in Serbia may be explained by feelings of threat (cf. Brewer, 1999). More specifically, we expect that perceived threat mediates the relationship between nationalism and Romaphobia. Testing this assumption is the main goal of the present study.

Nationalism as antecedent of perceived threat and Romaphobia

Nationalism has been defined in two major ways, as the national in-group identity, or the ideology and socio-political movement for realization of political autonomy in the name of a nation (cf. Weiss, 2003). On the one hand, these definitions emphasize the importance of cultural-historical entities as the bases for political legitimacy. On the other, they assume a strong emotional component which determines the relationship with one’s own ethnic group, language, religion, as well as a specific sense of comradeship among the group members (Anderson, 1983). Nationalists typically want a nation state to “protect” or “maintain” national cultural values. As the research into the recent Serbian past clearly indicates, Serbian nationalism is based on an emotional identification with the ethnic in-group and a belief that a country must meet national, rather than individual interests (Pesic, 1996). Although the Serbian involvement in the Yugoslav war devastated the country both economically and symbolically, nationalism has remained the dominant factor of socio-political cohesion and political legitimacy in post-conflict Serbia (Byford, 2002; Todosijevic, 2008).

For the current purpose, we will define nationalism as a type of in-group identification that is primarily centered on affiliation with a nation, which depending

on the circumstances and ideological premises, may reflect strong attachment to or a desire for a nation state (Anderson, 1983). For people with strong nationalist feelings, the national group provides a familiar context in a broader social landscape. The feeling of belonging and attachment to a nation accommodates a desire for a positive social identity and aggregate security and harmony of interests (Weiss, 2003). However, this feeling may also reinforce a fear of outsiders jeopardizing desired ethnic homogeneity and a national monopoly over scarce resources (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966).

In previous studies, people with strong nationalistic feelings were found more prejudiced towards culturally distinct minorities and perceived more threat (Brearley, 2001; Helleiner, 1995; MacLaughlin, 1998; Mummendey, Klink & Brown, 2001; Salecl, 1993; Woodcock, 2007). From these findings it is not clear whether nationalism precedes threat or whether threat fuels nationalism (Li & Brewer, 2004; Staub & Levine, 1999). The integrated threat theory proposes that perceived threat mediates the relationships between in-group and out-group attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Hence, the notion of mediation implies that the relationships between nationalism and Romaphobia in Serbia may be explained by real or perceived conditions in which groups compete over scarce resources (cf. Brewer, 1999).

Romaphobia and perceived threat

Conceptually, this study builds upon the integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 1996) which considers perceived threat (posed by the out-group or its members) as the main predictor to prejudice. The present study focuses on perceived or the apperception of personally experienced economic and symbolic threat. Perceived economic threat concerns intergroup competition for scarce resources such as jobs and housing (Sheriff, 1966). Symbolic threat is about the worldviews of a group, which is assumingly threatened by out-group members with distinct morals, norms, and values (Sears, 1988).

Past research has provided evidence that perceived threat depends of the socioeconomic context and the type of group that is dealt with (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006, for a meta analysis). For example, symbolic but not economic threat was found to predict negative attitudes toward Ethiopian immigrants in Israel (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998) and adolescents' Islamophobia in the Netherlands (Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). Common for these

groups (Ethiopians in Israel, and Moroccans in the Netherlands) is that they are considered to belong to lower social strata in the host countries and therefore do not compete for scarce resources (e.g. jobs) with the mainstream population. In addition, economic circumstances in both countries are relatively favorable; hence there is no objective ground for the perception of economic threat. However, being culturally different from the dominant ethnic group, the nationals, these minorities are typically perceived as a threat to values cherished by the dominant group, including individualism, work ethic, gender equality, and democratic culture in general (Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Bettencourt, Ervin, & Jackson, 2002; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999).

In the Serbian context, one would expect that symbolic threat coincides with the desire for cultural homogenization and fear of out-groups (in this case the Roma) not accommodating this desire. Although ideological discussions surrounding intercultural differences played an important role in ethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia and hence in Serbia (Pesic, 1996), the hardship of the economic reality in the post-conflict era has shifted the focus of public attention towards mundane matters, such as employment, sustainable development, and the quality of life (Todosijevic, 2008). For these reasons we expect Serbian adolescents' anti Roma attitudes to be linked to perceived threat to mainstream culture (symbolic threat), and material wellbeing (economic threat).

Moreover, the feelings of threat felt by the nationals are likely to be triggered by the 'visibility' of the Roma in general. The attention for the Decade of Roma Inclusion may increase the salience of the Roma and hence may increase Romaphobia. The role of institutional support in enhancing the salience of group memberships is well known from studies on anti-Black attitudes in the United States that show that people tend to perceive institutional support for out-groups as a type of unwelcome and unjustified positive discrimination, which raises the levels of perceived economic and symbolic threat (e.g. Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006). Nationalists typically believe that the national material and immaterial resources belong to the dominant group; hence, they may perceive the affirmative actions in favor of a subordinate group as an unfavorable distribution of these resources (Li & Brewer, 2004; Schatz, Staub & Lavine, 1999).

Finally, demographic changes which occurred due to the massive arrival of Roma refugees from Kosovo in 1999 may have facilitated symbolic threat. Most of these new-comers were Muslims and were perceived to be culturally different from the

national population which is predominantly Christian (European Roma Rights Centre, 1999). Moreover, these newcomers had an unclear legal status. Many have been forced to live in temporary settlements and have been unable to obtain valid residence permits (Humanitarian Law Centre, 2003).

The role of gender and education

Earlier studies highlighted gender and educational differences regarding appreciation or animosity towards various out-groups (e.g. Arendt-Toth & Vijver, 2003; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Watts, 1996). Generally, being a female or highly educated coincide with lower levels of prejudice and less perception of intergroup threat than being male or less educated. Drawing from past research, the current study examines gender and education differences in regard to the adolescents' prejudice toward the Roma.

The present study

Current study focuses on perceived economic and symbolic threat from Roma. In addition, it analyzes the direct and indirect (via perceived threat) relationships between nationalism and prejudice. The study adds to past research by providing insights into the relative contribution of different types of threat to adolescents' Romaphobia, and by introducing nationalism as an antecedent of threat. Furthermore, earlier studies primarily focused on adults' attitudes (Dunbar & Simonova, 2003; Postma, 1996), whereas the current study uses a sample of adolescent secondary school students. An important reason to focus on young people as the research population is the empirical evidence that basic inter-ethnic attitudes are developed at an early age, and that these attitudes, once developed, tend to be long-lasting (Aboud, 2008; Barret & Oppenheimer, 2011; Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009). A second reason is that this group is still at school. If desired or needed they can be relatively easy reached to correct one-sided perceptions and negative behavioral consequences (e.g., teasing, discrimination). If indeed threat plays an important mediating role between nationalism and Romaphobia, addressing threat may provide better opportunities for prevention and intervention than the focus nationalism. Attempts to reduce or avoid fear may even be the key to changing nationalist attitudes. Finally, the study allows for assessing the differences in anti Roma attitudes between different educational levels.

The hypotheses guiding the current study are formulated as follows:

- 1) *Romaphobia is positively related to both economic and symbolic threat.*
- 2) *Nationalistic in-group attitudes will be positively associated to anti Roma attitudes;*
- 3) *Both types of perceived threat will mediate the relationship between nationalism and Romaphobia.*
- 4) *The male and the vocational school students will feel more threatened and have stronger anti Roma attitudes than the female and grammar school students.*

Method

Participants

In May 2008, 747 adolescents (aged 16-18) participated in the survey-based study which took place in both grammar (53.4 percent) and vocational (46.3 percent) schools in Serbia. The sample consisted of second, third, and fourth grade students. Based on self-report, a great majority of students were ethnic Serbs ($N = 687$; 92.3%). Minority students, including two who declared themselves as ethnic Roma, were excluded from the data set. The sample consisted of 364 (53.3%) females, and 319 (46.7%) males. Four students did not report gender. Sixty-two percent of grammar students, and 42.3% of vocational students were females. The mean age of the whole sample was 16.96 ($SD = .69$), and was similar among the school types (grammar: $M = 17$; $SD = .66$; vocational: $M = 16.86$; $SD = .71$).

Procedure

Prior to the data collection, we contacted twenty, randomly chosen, grammar and vocational schools from four cities. Four schools, two grammar and two vocational schools, promptly showed interest in participating in the survey, and were surveyed first. Thereafter we assured access to six schools thanks to recommendations from the schools already participating in the study. The directors of the participating schools had the authority to act in *loco parentis* to give permission for the students to take part. Data were collected in the classrooms, during the regular school hours, and supervised by the researcher or the research assistant. The students were asked to participate in a study on “adolescents’ attitudes towards multiculturalism and the plural society.” All students participated voluntarily and gave their consent prior to their inclusion in the

study. Questionnaires were in Serbian and it took the students about 45 minutes to complete them.

Measures

The first part of the questionnaire contained *demographic questions* dealing with age, ethnicity, gender, and school type.

Romaphobia was measured with a six item scale, based on a scale developed by Stephan and colleagues (1999, 2000, 2002). Participants were asked to indicate to what extent the words, such as *approval*, *acceptance*, *admiration* (all reverse-scored), *antipathy*, *disdain*, and *disrespect* reflected their feelings towards the Roma. Responses ranged from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (absolutely agree). A principal component analysis with varimax rotation (henceforth PCA) revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 52% variance. Cronbach's alpha amounted to .80.

The two threat scales were based on instruments used in previous studies on perceived out-group threat (Stephan et al., 1999, 2000, 2002). *Economic Threat* was measured with a 11-item Scale (sample items: "*Too much money is spent on Roma educational programs*"; "*Many companies prefer less qualified Roma than more qualified non-Roma when hiring people*"). The five-point response scale ranged from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*absolutely agree*). A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 50% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .90.

Symbolic threat was measured with a 12-item scale (sample items: "*Roma and non-Roma have different family values*"; "*Roma have different work attitudes than non-Roma*"). The items were scored on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*absolutely agree*). A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 37% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .83

Nationalism was measured with a 9-item scale extracted from Dekker et al.'s scale (2003). Sample items: "*In general, Serbs are better than people with other nationalities*"; "*The Serbs should not mix with people with other nationalities*"; etc. The five-point Likert scale ranged from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*absolutely agree*). A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 56.7% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .89.

Statistical analyses

We first present descriptive data and measures of correlation and dependence between the variables. We next present hierarchical regression analyses conducted to assess the predictive power of the variables on Romaphobia. The objective of subsequent mediation analyses (Baron and Kenny, 1986) is to test direct and indirect (via perceived threat) relationships between national in-group attitudes and anti Roma attitudes.

Results

Descriptives and correlations of the main variables

Table 1 presents means and standard deviations of the main study variables. In general, adolescents did not express strong negative attitudes towards Roma ($M = 2.06$; $SD = .91$), or a high level of perceived threat ($M = 1.95$, $SD = .84$, for economic); and ($M = 2.95$; $SD = .85$, for symbolic threat). The mean score for nationalism was also relatively low ($M = 2.89$; $SD = 1.15$). This pattern of results followed previous (self-report) survey-based findings from social psychological research, which primarily reveal “neutral or low positive” out-group attitudes (cf. Gonzales, et al., 2008).

The correlations between the main study variables were significant. Consistent with our expectations, nationalism was significantly correlated to Romaphobia ($r = .25$, $p < .001$); but also to the threat variables (economic: $r = .37$, $p < .001$; and symbolic: $r = .26$, $p < .001$). The two threat variables were also significantly correlated with each other ($r = .54$, $p < .001$) and with Romaphobia (economic threat: $r = .45$, $p < .001$, and symbolic threat: $r = .39$, $p < .001$).

A one-way ANOVA procedure was used to test for gender and educational differences in Romaphobia. The analyses revealed a main effect of gender ($F(1,679) = 30.960$, $p < .001$) and school type ($F(1,682) = 14.038$, $p < .001$). More specifically, it was found that being a female ($M = 1.89$; $SD = .86$) or a grammar student ($M = 1.94$; $SD = .89$) corresponded with a lower level of Romaphobia than being a male ($M = 2.27$; $SD = .92$, *Cohen's d* = .42) or a vocational student ($M = 2.20$; $SD = .91$, *Cohen's d* = .28).

Table 1

Means, standard deviations and Pearson correlations between variables

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Romaphobia	Economic threat	Symbolic threat
Romaphobia	2.06	.91	-		
Economic threat	1.95	.84	.45**		
Symbolic threat	2.95	.85	.39**	.54**	
Nationalism	2.89	1.15	.25**	.37**	.26**

** $p < .001$ *Threat hypotheses*

To test our first and second hypotheses, a hierarchical regression analysis was performed between Romaphobia as the dependent variable and perceived threat (i.e. economic and symbolic) and nationalism as independent variables. Because of their well documented association to out-group negative attitudes, gender (e.g. Altemeyer, 1998; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and adolescents' education (Tumin, Barton & Burrus, 1958, Stephan, 1999, Wagner & Zick, 2006) were added as control variables in hypotheses testing. These nominal variables (i.e. gender and school type) were dummy-coded before being entered into the regression model. In the step-wise procedure, demographic variables were entered first into the regression model (model 1). Thereafter, the threat variables were entered (model 2). Finally, national in-group preference was added (model 3). Results are presented in Table 2.

The first hypothesis was supported. Economic and symbolic threat accounted for eighteen percent of explained variance in Romaphobia. With respect to socio-demographic factors, gender remained a significant predictor for Romaphobia after all variables were entered into the model, whereas education was no longer a significant predictor after economic threat was entered into the regression model.

The results of the hierarchical regression analyses supported the second hypothesis that nationalist in-group attitudes ($\beta = .12$, $t(626) = 2.80$, $p < .01$) would be a significant, albeit weak predictor for Romaphobia ($R^2 = .01$). The whole model accounted for 25% of variance in adolescents' anti Roma attitudes.

Table 2

Summary of hierarchical regression analysis for variables predicting Romaphobia (N = 634)

<i>Variable</i>	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SEB</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SEB</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SEB</i>	β
Gender	-.33	.07	-.18**	-.26	.06	-.14**	-.23	.06	-.12**
School type	-.25	.07	-.14**	-.01	.06	-.01	.00	.06	.00
Economic threat				.32	.04	.30**	.29	.04	.27**
Symbolic threat				.23	.04	.22**	.22	.04	.21**
Nationalism							.09	.03	.12**
ΔR^2			.06**			.18**			.01*
<i>F</i> for change in R^2			14.778			79.116			4.440

* $p < .01$

** $p < .001$

Mediation hypothesis

To test whether there was both a direct and indirect (via economic and symbolic threat) effect of national in-group attitudes on Romaphobia (the third hypothesis), mediation analyses were performed. Mediation analyses were performed in accordance with Kenny and Baron (1986), i.e. estimating a series of regression models (see Table 3). The first step tested the predictive power of nationalism, which accounted for six percent of explained variance in anti Roma attitudes ($\beta = .25$, $t(673) = 6.73$; $p < .001$). The second step was to test the separate relationships between nationalism, on the one hand, and the two types of threat, on the other. Nationalism was found a significant predictor for both economic ($\beta = .37$, $t(674) = 10.53$, $p < .001$) and symbolic ($\beta = .26$, $t(671) = 7.02$, $p < .001$) threat; explained variances were 14%, and 6%, respectively. The third and final step revealed support for the mediation hypothesis, albeit partially. Economic threat predicted Romaphobia, even when nationalism was statistically controlled, while the effect of nationalism on Romaphobia decreased when economic threat was statistically controlled ($\beta = .09$, $t(672) = 2.65$, $p < .01$). Similarly, the standardized regression coefficient between nationalism and anti-Roma attitudes partially decreased when controlling for symbolic threat ($\beta = .16$, $t(669) = 4.47$, $p < .001$).

Table 3

Mediating role of threats on relationship between nationalism and Romaphobia

	Dependent variable	Predictor	B	SEB	B	R ²
Step 1	Romaphobia	Nationalism	.19	.02	.25**	.06**
Step 2	Economic threat	Nationalism	.27	.02	.37**	.14**
Step 3	Romaphobia	Economic threat	.44	.04	.41**	.20**
		Nationalism	.07	.02	.09*	
Step 1	Romaphobia	Nationalism	.19	.02	.25**	.06**
Step 2	Symbolic threat	Nationalism	.19	.02	.26**	.06**
Step 3	Romaphobia	Symbolic threat	.37	.03	.35**	.17**
		Nationalism	.12	.02	.16**	

* $p < .01$ ** $p < .001$

Discussion

Nationalism as an antecedent of threat and Romaphobia

In the current study we measured adolescents' in-group identity as nationalism. To the best of our knowledge, no previous study analyzed the relationships between nationalism, perceived threat, and out-group attitudes (but see Morrison, Plaut & Ybarra, 2010). Empirical research points to nationalists' inclination for intolerance and negative attitudes towards others (Weiss, 2003). Nationalism generates concerns about resource allocations, i.e. economic threat, and cultural interests of the dominant group, i.e. symbolic threat (Li & Brewer, 2004; Schatz, Staub & Lavine, 1999). This threat, in turn, entices and supports the emergence of Romaphobia.

The most important contribution of the current study concerns the introduction of adolescents' nationalistic feeling as an antecedent of threat. The results revealed that both nationalism and perceived threat explain part of the variance in anti Roma attitudes. A nationalistic desire to preserve the dominant group status may be particularly salient within the context of complex transitional processes in contemporary Serbia, i.e. the emergence of a liberalized economic system and new market competition (Antic, 2005; Todosijevic, 2008). In this context it could be that nationalism induces ethno-cultural polarization or a climate in which ethnic (or cultural) diversity is typically seen as challenging the dominant culture. Hence, both

economic and symbolic threat may be seen as a manifestation of ethno-cultural polarization in post-conflict Serbia (Denitch, 1996; Pesic, 1996; Ramet, 2006). Furthermore, the results suggest that the relationship between nationalism and anti Roma attitudes cannot be completely explained by the link that both have with economic and symbolic threat. It may be that nationalism provides an ideological framework for intolerance and intergroup animosity, affecting most of the citizens, including adolescents (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Mummendey, Klink & Brown, 2001).

Alternatively, one may argue that the relationships between nationalism and threat may be intertwined and cyclic, i.e. reflecting (and depending on) intergroup dynamics in specific socio-political contexts. For example, out-group threat is typically salient in times of socio-political crises due to political elite's attempts to undergird the national ties using emotional mobilization (Stern, 1995). In recent Serbian history, such emotional mobilization had undoubtedly a notable role in providing mainstream support for the ethnic conflict in former Yugoslavia. The most prominent Serbian national myths were related to a specific intergroup context (for example, the 1389 Kosovo battle as a symbol of "historical animosity" between Serbs and Muslims). Perhaps this threat-driven nationalist exclusionism resulted in a self-fulfilling prophecy in intergroup relationships. Notwithstanding a relatively passive role of Roma people in the Yugoslav crisis, Romaphobia increased during the ethnic conflicts (Crowe, 2008).

Threat and Romaphobia

Results of this study demonstrated that both economic and symbolic threat accounted for a considerable percentage of the variance in Romaphobia among Serbian adolescents. This finding was in accordance with our expectations, and with the integrated threat theory that formed the basis for our hypotheses. The relative contribution of specific types of threat can be attributed to several contextual and intergroup factors, such as socio-economic circumstances in the country, history of intergroup relationships, subordinate group status, and cultural differences (See Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006, for a meta analysis).

The current findings can be elucidated by a short historical account of the relationship between the Roma and the Serbian majority. Historically this relationship has been peaceful, although influenced by social crises and regional conflicts (Brearley, 2001; Crowe, 1994). Serbian involvement in the brutal ethnic conflicts in

the 1990's led to the international isolation and the devastation of living conditions for most of the citizens (Jaksic, 2002), a situation that amplified intergroup competition for scarce national resources. In times of crisis, the Roma typically served as a scapegoat for disadvantageous economic circumstances (Liegeois, 1994; Liegeois & Gheorghe, 1995). Apparent economic vulnerability of the Roma and unwanted distribution of social benefits added to the salience of nationals' feelings of economic threat. The salience of symbolic threat may be a manifestation of general intolerance towards ethnic diversity in post-war Serbia (Ivekovic, 2002; Sekulic, Massey & Hodson, 2006), but may also be evidence of a newly emerging racism towards a visible minority with a distinct culture (Bobo, 1999).

Gender and school type

The relationship between gender and out-group prejudice concurs with previous research (cf. Ekehammar, Akrami, & Araya, 2003). On average, males scored higher on anti Roma attitudes, than females. This may be due to different appreciations of threat between man and women, but it may reflect differences in actual competitiveness when it comes to the real resources, or cultural values.

As predicted, vocational students were more Romaphobic than adolescents attending the grammar schools. In contrast to the grammar schools students that are encouraged to obtain higher education, associated to better jobs and higher social status, the vocational students are provided with sufficient skills and knowledge to enter the labor market soon after the completion of secondary education. The vocational students are therefore more likely to compete for jobs with the subordinate group members, which may lead to a higher level of perceived economic threat, and higher anti Roma attitudes among this educational group.

Implications

The results of the study suggest that prevention efforts for reduction of Romaphobia should focus on the feelings of threat and the nationalistic feelings. The feelings of economic threat may be reduced by working towards the creation of superordinate group identities that endorse perception of out-groups as valuable resources; not just as an extra group of competitors (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Symbolic threat may be reduced through intercultural training programs that may focus on enhancing alternative multidimensional classifications of 'others' (Bigler & Liben,

2002), and on reducing the salience of category distinctiveness (Brewer, 1999). The adolescents participating in the current study were all students in secondary schools.

Given the fact that the Roma youngsters are particularly a risk group to be exposed to all forms of violence from their peers (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2008), these schools and possibly primary schools as well, are ideal places to implement strategies and programs aimed at achieving the aforementioned goals. And, last but not least, in terms of political participation in society adolescents are the newcomers. Their attitudes in the field of ethnic prejudice may provide important insight into personal value orientations that are crucial in a democratic society, such as tolerance and voting behavior (e.g. Miller & Sears, 1986).

Limitations and prospects

The study presented in this article has some limitations. It is a correlational study that cannot deal adequately with the uncertainty about causal relationships between the variables. Although proposed model was a directional model in which nationalism was suggested to precede Romaphobia and threat was positioned as the mechanism of influence, this study actually does present no evidence about the suggested causality. We would need a longitudinal or experimental design to find such evidence. Moreover, a longitudinal study would allow for a better analysis and interpretation of the mediation models tested in this study. An important shortcoming is also the use of self-reports, typically associated to motivational response concerns (Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005). The use of implicit attitude measures (Fazio & Olson, 2003), instead of self-assessment (i.e. questionnaire), especially in research on socially sensitive matters, such as out-group attitudes may reduce social desirability bias. Furthermore, in order to get a better view on the national youths' perception of Roma and their position in Serbian society, future researchers would be well advised to investigate the symbolic position of Roma in comparison to the other culturally different out-groups, such as new Chinese migrants. In addition, future research may benefit from a more interactive approach, including also Roma's perspective, and some refinements with respect to the antecedent factors. For example, the notion of minority influence and the conflict elaboration (Perez & Mugny, 1996) may be used to explore how a low status minority like the Roma exercise social influence in a competitive intergroup context. Moreover, the effect of possible moderators, such as intergroup contact, acculturation expectations, and

knowledge (ignorance) about the Roma, pose challenges for future research on Romaphobia. Studying such moderators may more directly than the current study feed into future interventions that can be implemented in schools to combat anti Roma attitudes.

Conclusion

Our assumptions came from the integrated threat theory, which proposes in-group identity to be an antecedent of threat. The current study defined nationalism as a social identity. The results of the study indicate that the relationships between nationalistic preferences and Romaphobia are partially direct and partially due to perceived threat to economic wellbeing and cultural values. The present findings do not exclude the possibility that the relationship between nationalism and threat is cyclic or reciprocal, instead of simply linear.

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4. Serbian adolescents' Romaphobia and their acculturation orientations toward the Roma minority

International Journal of Intercultural Relations, in press

This study examines whether and to what extent perceived threat mediates the relationship between expectations towards the Roma acculturation and anti-Roma attitudes. A model was tested using structural equation modeling. The sample consisted of 687 Serbian adolescents (mean age 17), of which 53% were females. In a survey-based study, we assessed participants' acculturation expectations, their feelings toward the Roma, and their perception of economic and symbolic threat. The results provide support for the expected interrelationships between the constructs: the endorsement of integrative acculturation expectations was negatively associated with perceived threat and Romaphobia, whereas the preferences for assimilation, segregation, or marginalization were associated with more perceived threat, and more Romaphobia. Moreover, the relationships between acculturation expectations and Romaphobia were partially (in case of integration and marginalization) and fully (in case of assimilation and segregation) mediated by perceived threat. The implications and suggestions for future research are discussed.

Keywords

Romaphobia, acculturation expectation, perceived threat, Serbian adolescents

Introduction

This study deals with anti-Roma prejudice in Serbia. Empirical research points to the widespread social exclusion of long-established Roma communities in their home countries, one of which is Serbia (Guy, 2001, Prieto-Flores, 2009; Sigona, 2005). Notwithstanding their uninterrupted presence in Serbia for almost seven centuries, the Roma are not considered part of the host society, and are subjected to negative prejudice, discrimination, low standards of living, and residential segregation (Antic, 2005; Jaksic, 2002). Being a low status group, this minority lacks the social means, like school careers, access to news media and bank loans, to participate and integrate into mainstream society (Postma, 1996). Moreover, empirical evidence indicates that status change, i.e. upward mobility of individual Roma does not reflect on the position of Roma as a group (Prieto-Flores, 2009). On the contrary, individual status change (due to educational attainment or entrepreneurship) typically goes hand in hand with assimilation into the dominant society and breaking the ties with the Roma culture (Barany, 2001; Koulisch, 2005).

Past research has shown that the power advantages enable dominant group members to impose acculturation strategies on the members of subordinate groups, supposedly to protect the mainstream or majority host culture and the wellbeing of its members (cf. Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009). Stephan and Stephan (1996) demonstrated that perceived cultural discrepancies and status differences between the groups lead to the perception of subordinate group members as persons who threaten national material (i.e. realistic threat) and immaterial resources (i.e. symbolic threat). Past research has shown that perceived threat is an important predictor of outgroup prejudice (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006, for a review). Moreover, it was found that people who were less accepting of minorities' acculturation entailing a preference for maintaining the minorities' heritage culture, or social participation in the dominant culture also perceived more intergroup threat (e.g., Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002). In contrast, people who endorsed integrationist attitudes towards outgroups and multiculturalism were found less threatened and less prejudiced towards culturally distinct minorities (Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). The current study investigated if perceived threat mediates the relationships between

expectations toward the Roma acculturation and anti-Roma attitudes among Serbian adolescents.

Acculturation expectations

Acculturation refers to intercultural interactions and mutual influences between dominant and subordinate groups (Berry, 1999, 2003). Berry's model of acculturation (Berry, 2003) proposes the relative preference for maintenance of the own ethnic culture and the relative preference for relationships with other groups, as the main criteria for a group's socio-cultural adaptation. Hence, four distinct acculturation attitudes or behavioral strategies are distinguished, i.e. integration (*yes* to both cultural maintenance and interethnic contact), assimilation (*yes* to interethnic contact, *no* to cultural maintenance), segregation or separation (*yes* to cultural maintenance, *no* to intercultural contact) and marginalization or exclusion (*no* to both cultural maintenance and intercultural contact).

Much of the past research dealt with the psychological and socio-cultural adaptation of minority (mostly immigrant) groups. It was found that not only one's ingroup identity and desire for intergroup contact account for intergroup processes, but also the willingness of the receiving society to welcome and accept the newcomers. In particular, discrimination and negative prejudice were found to be related with the acculturation of subordinate groups (e.g. Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003).

Moreover, past research indicated that by virtue of power advantages, the dominant group members may have relative control over acculturation of minorities (Bourhis et al., 2009). According to interactive acculturation models (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Piontkowski, et al., 2002), status differences between the subordinate and dominant group may result in different, even conflicting expectations regarding the acculturation processes (Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006). The members of subordinate groups are typically interested in cultural maintenance, and often favor integration which grants them space for both contact with nationals and maintenance of their own heritage culture (Bourhis et al., 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti, et al., 2003; Zick, Wagner, Dick, & Petzel, 2001). In contrast, the members of national groups may be concerned with the prospects of sharing national resources with subordinate groups; hence their acculturation expectations may reflect a desire to reject a 'foreign' culture and /or to limit intercultural relationships with "devalued"

subordinate groups (Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer & Perzig, 2003; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Piontkowski, et al., 2000).

Recent surveys show that nine out of ten Roma seek to work with dominant group members and over 90 % of the Roma want their children to befriend children of the majority (United Nations Development Program, 2003). It was found that the majority of the Roma seek to “integrate but not assimilate”, i.e. to actively participate in their society, while maintaining their heritage culture and ethnic affiliations (Jaksic, 2002). According to the interactive acculturation model (Bourhis, et al., 2009) the intergroup processes should be harmonious when both host and subordinate group members show a clear preference for integration (Bourhis, et al., 2009; Piontkowski, et al., 2002). Although the present study did not explicitly deal with this mutuality in acculturation preferences between Roma and the Serbian nationals, we assume, on the ground of the earlier research, that for part of the subjects participating in the study the aforementioned mutuality is their reality. We hold that for these nationals their integration preference is accompanied by low levels of perceived threat and by generally positive emotions toward the Roma minority. By contrast, we expect nationals who endorse assimilation, segregation or exclusion to be characterized by higher levels of perceived threat and Romaphobia (Barrette, Bourhis, Personnaz, & Personnaz, 2004; Bourhis, et al., 2009; Wimmer, 2004).

Perceived threat

Threat theorists argue that perceived threat may be the key to understanding negative out-group attitudes (Bobo, 1999; Sherif, 1966; Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000). Perceived threat reflects the belief that intergroup relationships have detrimental outcomes for ingroup members (Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Ervin, & Jackson, 2002; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). The present study focuses on the apperception of personally experienced economic and symbolic threat. Perceived economic threat concerns inter-group competition for scarce resources such as jobs and housing (Sheriff, 1966). Symbolic threat is about the worldviews of a group, which is assumingly threatened by out-group members with distinct morals, norms, and values (Sears, 1988).

Cross cultural research suggests that different types of threat play a different role in different inter-group settings, depending on previous inter-group relationships, the socio-economic context, and the particular out-group that is dealt with (cf. Riek,

Mania & Gaertner, 2006). This is why we will first present here an abridged version of the history of the relationship between the Roma and the Serbian majority. In former Yugoslavia (1943-1992), the integration of Roma into the mainstream society was actively promoted within the state-governed policy of multiculturalism (Frazer, 1992). This meant that there was room for the preservation of the language and culture of the Roma, but also that there were efforts toward equal access to education, housing, health care, and employment possibilities (Barany, 2001). Different from other communist countries, Yugoslav Roma had the right to set up their own social and cultural organizations, unsupervised by the state (Barany, 2001; Crowe, 1994). The Roma integration was nevertheless only partially successful; the socio-economic discrepancy between the Roma and non-Roma remained, particularly in the area of education and standard of living (Latham, 1999). This trend and its consequences became more rigorous during the economic and political crises of the post-Communist era, when the living conditions of the Roma further deteriorated, while negative attitudes and discrimination against the minority increased (Antic, 2005). Particularly the current economic crisis gave impetus to the growth of feelings of economic threat in Serbian nationals vis a vis the Roma. In short, the salience of economic threat may be attributed to the factors which associate the Roma group with poverty and a distribution of social benefits. For this reason, it is reasonable to expect that one's wish to keep the Roma in segregated position may primarily be inspired by a fear that including them in all kinds of social participation and granting them equal rights will simply costs more than it will bring returns.

Symbolic threat may be a manifestation of general intolerance towards ethnic, racial, and religious diversity in the post-war society (Ivekovic, 2002). Some authors argue that the political transition from a one-party system to political pluralism induced ethnic nationalism as a device to preserve superior group status in the face of socio-political changes (Pesic, 1996; Ramet, 2006). It may also be related to the desire for cultural homogenization and fears of Roma not accommodating this desire. This longing for cultural homogeneity and social cohesion may have been triggered or reinforced by the arrival of high numbers of Roma refugees from Kosovo in 1999. Most of these new-comers were Muslims, in contrast to the majority of the national population which is predominantly Christian (European Roma Rights Centre, 1999). The contrast was sharpened by the fact that most newcomers were unable to obtain

valid residence permits and forced to live in temporary, often isolated settlements (Humanitarian Law Centre, 2003).

In addition to this account of recent history past research suggests that the Roma disadvantageous socio-economic status for ages has been attributed to the Roma culture, which is seen as a foundation of values and customs which encourage laziness and irresponsibility (Petrova, 2003). This suggests that the perception of Roma as an economic liability may be, at least partially, related to the perceived cultural discrepancies between the Roma and mainstream population.

The present study

In this study we explore the relationship between acculturation attitudes or expectations and Romaphobia. We analyze whether and to what extent this is a direct relationship or a relationship mediated by two types of threats, i.e. economic and symbolic.

The hypotheses that are tested are formulated as follows:

1. Romaphobia is positively related to assimilation, segregation, and marginalization, and negatively to integrative orientations.
2. Perceived economic and symbolic threat will mediate the relationship between acculturation and Romaphobia.

The current study contributes to the knowledge in the field because it applies theories on acculturation and intergroup threat in an intercultural context, which has not been the focus of extensive research before. It proposes acculturation expectations as antecedent of economic and symbolic threat; and investigates whether or not different types of threat mediate the effects of acculturation expectations on outgroup attitudes among Serbian adolescents.

We cannot beforehand exclude the possibility that the direction of the relationships between the variables is different. It could be that the endorsement of integration is fueled by an absence of threat and generally positive emotions toward the outgroup (Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer & Perzig, 2003). To be as conclusive as possible about the direction of relationships we will also test the alternative models.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 687 Serbian adolescents (aged 16-18; 53.3% female). Subjects were drawn from second, third, and fourth grades of secondary vocational schools (46.3%), and grammar schools (53.4%). Sixty-two percent of grammar students, and 42.3% of vocational students were females. The mean age of the whole sample was 16.96 ($SD = .69$), and was similar among the school types (grammar: $M = 17$; $SD = .66$; vocational: $M = 16.86$; $SD = .71$). Adolescents' socio-economic status (SES) was assessed using two levels of father's education: secondary education or less and higher education. In the grammar sample, 54.8 percent of the fathers were highly educated (university degree and higher), whereas in the vocational school sample, the majority of fathers' highest level of education was secondary school (66.2%).

Procedure

Prior to the data collection, we contacted twenty, randomly chosen grammar schools and vocational schools from four cities. In Serbia, vocational schools provide students with sufficient skills and knowledge to enter the labor market soon after the completion of secondary education, whereas the grammar schools' academic curriculum prepares the student for university. Four schools, two grammar schools and two vocational schools, promptly showed interest in participating in the survey, and were surveyed first. Thereafter we assured access to six schools thanks to recommendations from the schools which already participated in the study. The directors of the participating schools had the authority to act in *loco parentis* to give permission for the students to take part. Data were collected anonymously, in the classrooms, during regular school hours, and supervised by the researcher (or research assistant) and a teacher. The students were asked to participate in a study on "adolescents' attitudes towards multiculturalism and the plural society." All students participated voluntarily, gave their consent prior to their inclusion in the study and no one refused to participate. The questionnaires were in Serbian and it took the students about 45 minutes to complete them.

Measures

The first part of the questionnaire ascertained students' age, ethnicity, gender, school type, education and socio-economic background of the parents.

Romaphobia was measured with a 6-item scale, based on Stephan and colleagues (1996, 2000). Participants were asked to indicate to what extent the words *approval*, *acceptance*, *admiration* (all reverse-scored), *antipathy*, *disdain*, and *disrespect* reflected their feelings towards the Roma. Responses ranged from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (absolutely agree). A principal component analysis with varimax rotation (henceforth PCA) revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 52% variance. Cronbach's alpha amounted to .81.

The two threat scales were based on instruments used in previous studies on perceived out-group threat (Stephan et al., 2002). *Economic Threat* was measured with a 11-item scale (sample items: "*Too much money is spent on Roma educational programs*"; "*Public services favor the Roma*"). The five-point response scale ranged from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*absolutely agree*). A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 50% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .89.

Symbolic threat was measured with a 12-item scale (sample items: "*Roma and non-Roma have different family values*"; "*Roma have different work attitudes than non-Roma*"). The items were scored on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*absolutely agree*). A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 37% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .83.

The four scales on acculturation expectations were adopted from Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006). They all were 4-item scales, reflecting Berry's bi-dimensional model of acculturation. The five-point response scale ranged from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*absolutely agree*).

Integration items were: "*I want the Roma to keep their own culture, but also to adopt ours*"; "*I want the Roma to be fluent in their own and our (Serbian) language*"; "*I want the Roma to take part in social activities which involve both Roma and non-Roma*"; and "*I want the Roma to be friends with both Roma and non-Roma*". A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 60% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .75.

Assimilation items were: "*I want the Roma to adopt Serbian culture and not to keep their own*"; "*I want the Roma to take part in social activities which do not*

involve the Roma"; *"I want the Roma to be more fluent in Serbian than in their own language"*; and *"I want the Roma to be friends with non-Roma"*. A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 53% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .70.

Segregation items were: *"I want the Roma to keep their own and not to adopt the Serbian culture"*; *"I want the Roma to be more fluent in their own than in Serbian language"*; *"I want the Roma to take part in social activities, which involve Roma members only"*; and *"I want the Roma to be friends only with the Roma"*. A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 50% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .67.

Marginalization or exclusionism items: *"I neither want Roma to keep their own nor to adopt our cultural traditions"*; *"I do not want Roma to know their own nor Serbian language"*; and *"I do not want Roma to participate in our own nor in their social activities"*. A PCA revealed that all items loaded on one factor, explaining 63% variance. Cronbach's alpha was .80.

Analyses of Data

An initial check of the data revealed that eight respondents failed to complete one or more scales. As this is approximately one percent of all the respondents, listwise deletion was used for scales that were not answered. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations of the main study variables. In general, integration was preferred by Serbian adolescents, but there were also high scores on separation and marginalization.

The first hypothesis is that Romaphobia is positively related to assimilation, segregation, and marginalization, and negatively to integrative orientations. We will test this hypothesis using bivariate Pearson's correlations.

The second hypothesis is that perceived economic and symbolic threat will mediate the relationship between acculturation and Romaphobia. We will test this using path analyses. As was suggested in the introduction, other models might also explain the relations between perceived threat and acculturation. In order to conclude that the relations between the variables are best described by a mediated model, a mediated model should fit the data better than other models. We will compare the fit of a mediated model to the fit of an unmediated model, and to the fit of a model in which threat explains which acculturation profile is preferred (Florack, et al. 2003). Using path analysis, different models can be tested to analyze the interrelationships between

correlations. Goodness of fit measures are used to describe how well a particular model fits a given pattern of correlations. Using these goodness of fit measures, it can also be analyzed which model fits the data best. Regression weights are computed, so that the significance of modeled interrelations can be analyzed (Byrne, 2006). The path analyses were carried out with the EQS software package (Bentler, 1995).

Results

Hypothesis 1: Romaphobia is positively related to assimilation, segregation, and marginalization, and negatively to integrative orientations

The correlations (Table 1) between the main study variables were significant, and in the expected direction, except for Romaphobia and assimilation (which were not correlated). As predicted, Romaphobia was negatively related to integration and positively to segregation and marginalization.

Hypotheses 2: the relation between acculturation and Romaphobia is mediated by threat.

The first model that was tested was a fully mediated model. This means that this model presents the assumption that acculturation variables were only related to Romaphobia through symbolic and economic threat. This model did not fit the data [$\chi^2(2) = 32.328, p = .000, RMSEA = .10, GFI = .987$].

Table 1 indicates that integration and marginalization are strongly correlated with Romaphobia; hence, we decided to fit a partial mediation model. Next to the relations between the acculturation variables and Romaphobia that are mediated by threat, integration and marginalization were also modeled to be directly related to Romaphobia. This model is depicted in Figure 1.

Table 1

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between the study variables

Variables	<i>M (SD)</i>	Economic threat	Symbolic threat	Integration	Assimilation	Segregation	Marginalization
Romaphobia	2.07(.91)	.452**	.398**	-.270**	.054	.221**	.300**
Economic threat	1.96(.84)		.540**	-.145*	.242**	.270**	.327**
Symbolic threat	2.96(.86)			-.234*	.121**	.444**	.431**
Integration	3.28(.85)				.096*	-.196**	-.326**
Assimilation	2.31(.80)					.019	.306**
Segregation	3.20(.90)						.518**
Marginalization	2.57 (.92)						

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

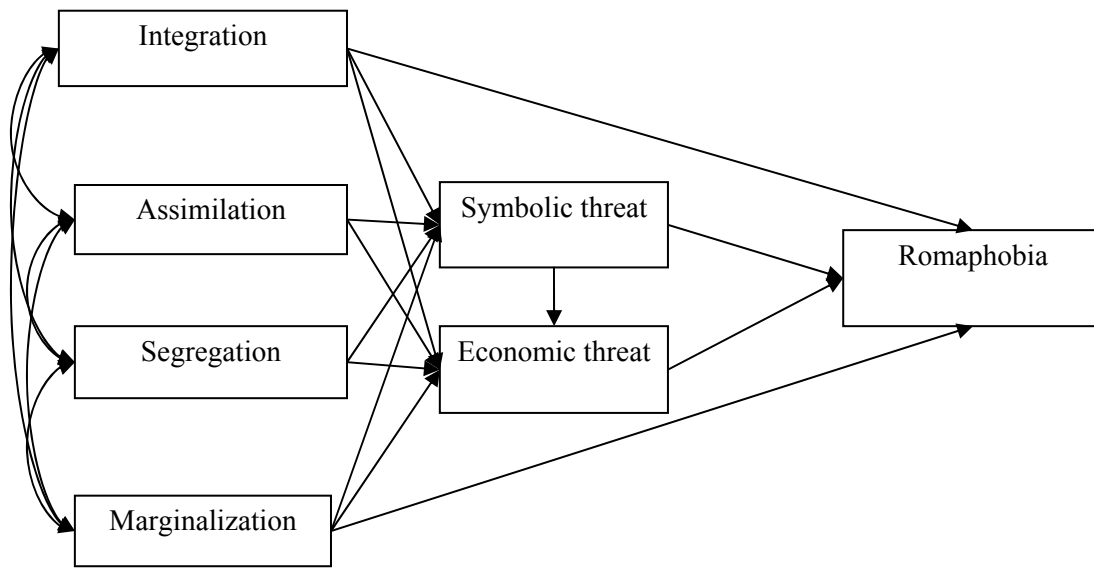


Figure 1 A graphical representation of the fitted model.

Table 2

Results of the path analysis

dependent variable	Independent variable	Unstandardized weights	SE	Standardized weights	R^2
Economic T.	Integration	-.087	.038	-.087*	
	Assimilation	.208	.040	.198*	
	Segregation	.161	.039	.171*	
	Marginalization	.138	.042	.151*	.16
	Symbolic threat	.431	.036	.425*	.42
Symbolic T.	Integration	-.074	.032	-.073*	
	Assimilation	-.030	.032	-.028	
	Segregation	.225	.035	.236*	
	Marginalization	.143	.034	.155*	
Romaphobia	Economic threat	.343	.042	.318*	
	Symbolic threat	.178	.044	.167*	
	Integration	-.169	.037	-.157*	
	Marginalization	.068	.037	.069	.28

Significant regression weights are marked with an ‘*’

Overall, the partial mediation model had a very good fit [$\chi^2 (2) = 3.019$, $p = .221$, RMSEA = .03, GFI = .999], which supports our hypotheses that the acculturation preferences of majority members are related to Romaphobia, and that these relations are mediated by economic and symbolic threat. However, the model also suggests that direct relations between acculturation preferences and Romaphobia, and mediated relations alone are not enough to describe the processes. The results of the path analysis are summarized in Table 2.

To compare whether the mediated model would fit the data better than a model without mediation, we fitted a model that was changed so that there were no relations between acculturation attitudes and threat. Instead, we added direct relations between all the acculturation attitudes and Romaphobia. For the rest, the model was the same as the model presented in Figure 1. This unmediated model did not fit the data [$\chi^2 (7) = 242.968$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .223, GFI = .918]. This indicates that the model in Figure 1 provides a better description of the data than an unmediated model.

The last model we tested modeled a process in which perceived threat and Romaphobia are related to acculturation preferences. Contrary to the previous models, in this model threat and Romaphobia predicted acculturation preferences. Economic threat, symbolic threat and Romaphobia were modeled to be interrelated, and both types of threat and Romaphobia were related to all four acculturation preferences. The analysis indicated that this model did not fit the data [$\chi^2 (4) = 215.889$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .251, GFI = .917]. Thus, the only model that fitted the given pattern of correlations was a partial mediation model. As such it can be concluded that a partial mediation model provided a better description of the data than the other three models.

Discussion

Acculturation expectations and Romaphobia

The results of this study revealed that most adolescents showed clear preferences for integration, i.e. the expectation that Roma maintain their own culture and at the same time establish and maintain good contacts with the national group. Still, a considerable group of adolescents reported a preference for segregation and marginalization or the expectation that the Roma will not attempt to establish or maintain good relationships with the Serbian national group. The least favored acculturation strategy was assimilation, anticipating restriction upon the cultural

maintenance for the sake of equal social, including socio-economic participation of Roma in the mainstream society.

Past research suggests that a divergence between acculturation expectations among the dominant group members reflect a socio-political context in which inter-group relationships take shape (Abu-Rayya & White, in press; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). In Serbia, the acculturation processes are clearly challenged by economic instability; and ideological confrontations (for instance, between ethnic nationalism and multiculturalism) (Todosijevic, 2008). The massive support towards Roma integration found amongst the adolescents who participated in the current study may be a reflection of a recent public debate about the Roma inclusion into Serbian society (Antic, 2005), but also a promising indication of a shift towards multiculturalism in post-conflict Serbia. However, the still considerable support for segregation and marginalization suggests that many adolescents do not accept social participation of Roma on an equal basis. Given the unfavorable economic circumstances in the country, people may be unwilling to share (or compete for) scarce resources, such as jobs and housing, with out-group members. Perhaps we should conclude that the wish to preserve a dominant social status in face of economic instability overshadowed youth's desire to reduce the salience of intercultural differences (via assimilation of minorities).

As expected, Romaphobia was negatively related to integration, and positively to segregation and marginalization. However, contrary to our expectations, assimilation was not related to Romaphobia. The possible explanation may be that assimilation expectations reflect a desire for minimization of the intercultural distinctiveness and related symbolic threat. Koulish (2005) argued that assimilated Roma are not considered a part of Roma community, but rather the members of the mainstream community.

Mediation analyses

The results yield support the mediation hypotheses. Integration (as extreme acceptance), and marginalization (as extreme rejection) were both directly, and indirectly (via perceived economic and symbolic threat) related to Romaphobia. Integration was associated with less perceived threat, which lead to less Romaphobia, whereas marginalization implied more perceived threat and more Romaphobia.

At a more general level, these findings correspond to earlier studies showing that one's integrationist views may reflect a multicultural ideology (Berry et al, 2006; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) which not only expresses a personal wish for peaceful coexistence, but also entails notions and values regulating evaluations of intergroup relationships. The combination of the direct and the indirect relationship between integration and Romaphobia shows that there is more than the possible absence or presence of threat that fuels perceived Romaphobia or the suppression thereof. A comparable line of reasoning can be used for marginalization, which was found akin to enduring cognitive vulnerability, and neuroticism, which have direct negative implications to the self (i.e. low self esteem), and to others (e.g. xenophobia)(Garety, Kuipers, Fowler, Freeman & Bebbington, 2001; Hofstede & MsCrae, 2004). In addition, marginalization expectations or the wish that members of other groups are in a sense completely inactive and invisible in terms of maintaining positive relationships with their cultural environment, will most likely be accompanied by fear that this wish is not realized. Again not just expectations about other groups are basic to prejudice, but a personality structure that is akin to neuroticism and xenophobia.

The relationships between ambivalent acculturation attitudes, i.e. assimilation and segregation on the one hand, and Romaphobia – on the other, were fully mediated by perceived threat. Assimilation was associated to economic threat, which in turn led to Romaphobia, whereas the relationship between segregation and Romaphobia was mediated by both economic and symbolic threat. Like in previous research, one's desire to limit either cultural, or socio-economic integration of out-group members, seems to reflect the anticipation of negative outcomes of inter-group relationships (Zick, et al., 2001). Given the unfavorable economic conditions in Serbia, one may primarily perceive the Roma as potential contributors to the country's economic welfare (Frederickson, 1999; Zick, et al., 2001). One's wish for assimilation of Roma may therefore overlap with one's concern that assimilated Roma will not comply, hence a strong relationship between assimilation attitudes and economic threat. One's desire to segregate the Roma may overlap with feelings that Roma threaten national values, but also with anticipation that disproportional social benefits would be spent on the Roma.

The role of perceived threat

The findings supported our assumption that acculturation expectations held by dominant group members have causal influence on perceived intergroup threat, which in turn lead to negative feelings towards the Roma.

In Serbia, the salience of economic threat may certainly be attributed to the economic crises (Jaksic, 2002), but also to the unfavorable social status of the Roma, whereas the symbolic threat may be seen in the context of perceived worldview' differences. Moreover, the strong relationships between economic and symbolic threat may be related to the transparent status differences (i.e. disproportional high poverty or unemployment rate among the Roma population), typically attributed to a unfavorably perceived Roma culture, i.e. promoting work-shyness, laziness, and irresponsibility (Petrova, 2003).

Implications and limitations

The scientific insight into acculturation attitudes can shed light on psychological and socio-cultural mechanism that are basic to inter-group relationships (Piontkowski, et al., 2002). Our findings show that for a better understanding of the processes involved in the development of Romaphobia amongst Serbian adolescents, it is important to consider the expectations toward the Roma acculturation, and perceived threat. Consistent to earlier studies (Bourhis, et al., 2009), our findings demonstrated that integrationists' orientations had positive implication for the outgroup attitudes; whereas the endorsement of assimilation, segregation, and marginalization had negative implication for the outgroup attitudes.

The major finding of the present study is that the perceived economic and symbolic threat mediate relationships between acculturation expectations and Romaphobia, depending on the relative degree of culture and/or contact uneasiness associated to the intercultural interactions. This explanation suggests implications for both policy makers and education. Policy makers' efforts to improve the social participation of Roma most certainly deserve prolonged attention. However, there is a clear need to provide supportive social contexts for positive intergroup relationships (Antic, 2005). One such context is the school (Wagner & Zick, 2006). At present the Serbian school curricula offer just modest possibilities for multicultural interventions within the recently introduced civic education, but a systematic approach is lacking (Aleksov, 2004). The ethnocentric acculturation attitudes and feeling of outgroup threat among Serbian youth certainly pose a great challenge to the national educational

system (Weinstein, Warshauer-Freedman & Hughson, 2007). Multicultural interventions (Wolsko, Park, Judd & Wittenbrink, 2000) might help to mitigate the possible negative consequences of acculturation expectations that do not grant Roma space for either contacts with nationals or the maintenance of their own culture.

The current study has some limitations. First, the correlational design does not allow for causal interpretations. Although our model was a directional model in which acculturation was suggested to precede Romaphobia and threat was positioned as the mechanism of influence, and we compared the fit to a model with the direction reversed, this study actually does present no evidence about the suggested causality. We would need a longitudinal or experimental design to find such evidence. Another shortcoming is related to the use of self-reports. They are vulnerable to social desirability bias and strongly depend on the understanding of textual cues (Hofmann, Gawranski, Gschwendner, Le & Schmitt, 2005). The first problem can be better dealt with by using implicit attitude measures (Fazio & Olson, 2003) whereas the second would benefit from using direct observations and measures of behaviors instead of appreciations.

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5. Romaphobia among Serbian and Dutch adolescents: The role of threat, nationalistic feelings and integrative orientations

International Journal of Psychology, in press

This study examines the relationships between nationalism and integration attitudes on the one hand, and anti-Roma prejudice on the other. Using Stephan and Stephan's threat theory the study analyzes whether and to what extent these relationships are mediated by perceived economic and symbolic threats. Data were collected among 16 to 17-year-old students in Serbia and the Netherlands. A path analysis shows that perceived economic and symbolic threats mediate the relationships between nationalism and integration on the one hand, and Romaphobia on the other. Moreover, the findings show that these relationships are comparable between Serbian and Dutch youth. Levels of threat and Romaphobia differ between countries. Youth in the Netherlands, who barely have contact opportunities with Roma, are characterized by higher threat and Romaphobia scores than Serbian youth who have proportionally more contact opportunities. Explanations are discussed as well as implications for theory and prejudice reduction in diverse intercultural settings.

Keywords: Romaphobia, threat, nationalism, integration, adolescents

Introduction

According to socio-historical and linguistic research, the Roma people originated in North India, and have dispersed throughout Europe in the last eight centuries (Crowe, 2008). The European history of the Roma has been characterized by poverty and different forms of persecutions, including slavery and ethnic cleansing. The restrictions upon trade and shelter for Roma people, as well as prohibition of language and culture, continued in some countries until the 20th century (cf. Hancock, 1987). In the last two decades, the Roma were granted legal rights all over Europe and minority status in the countries with large proportions of Roma (e.g., Hungary, Romania, and Serbia). Nevertheless, prejudice and discrimination against the Roma remain widespread (Phillips, 2010). In recent years the re-emerging nationalist and anti-immigrant feelings have had major implications for the Roma population: an upsurge in physical violence, and semi-official measures, such as forcible evictions, police profiling and expulsions (Mirga, 2009).

Presently, around 10 million Roma live in Europe, mostly in the Balkans, South-Eastern and Central Europe. Precise figures are, however, unavailable due to the lack of official data. Ethnic mimicry, in other words, identification with other groups, and refusal to disclose one's Roma origin due to fear of discrimination, but also cultural (including religious) diversity within the Roma community (Arayici, 2002) make official registration difficult. Nevertheless, regardless of territorial diversity and some cultural differences, the Roma people are considered a unique group, sharing not only the same origin and language, but also a similar – disadvantaged – status (exclusion, poverty, etc.) across Europe (cf. Prieto-Flores, 2009).

At present the Roma receive considerable attention in the media across Europe and they are the subject of intensive and in most cases negative discussions in the political and public arena. Yet, research on anti-Roma prejudice remains scarce. A few studies have been conducted in Southeastern and Central European countries with a large Roma minority (Burjanek, 2001; Sigona, 2005; Todosijevic & Enyedi, 2002). Even fewer empirical studies on anti-Roma attitudes were conducted in the countries with small proportions of Roma (e.g., Nordberg, 2004). An exception is the World Values Survey (1999) that shows that one-fifth of the Dutch population would not like to have Roma neighbors. The current study investigates negative prejudice towards

Roma among Serbian and Dutch adolescents. It analyses whether models or explanations for negative prejudice that were supported by research in countries with large proportions of Roma and ample intergroup contact opportunities also are valid in the Dutch context, characterized by a small proportion of and limited contacts with the Roma.

Hitherto we used the word “Romaphobia” for anti-Roma prejudice in order to avoid pejorative meanings associated with such labels as “Gypsy” and “anti-Gypsism” (Okaly, 1997). In the context of intergroup categorizations and prejudice, the word “phobia” refers to perceived threat to mainstream values, norms or customs (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006, for meta analysis). A scientific insight into factors preceding Romaphobia can shed light on psychological and socio-cultural mechanisms that play a role in its emergence, and may clarify what conditions or processes should be taken into consideration in attempts to prevent prejudice and discrimination against the Roma. The current study focuses on adolescents. Past research supports the importance of using an adolescent sample as a research population for studying attitudes towards immigrants (Torney-Purta, 2010), and historic minorities, such as the Roma people (Todosijevic & Enyedi, 2002). Basic outgroup prejudice develops at an early age and a school may be an ideal place to assess and correct negative categorizations and its behavioral consequences (e.g. teasing or discrimination) (Aboud, 2008).

Past research points to the exaggerated socio-cultural differences between the Roma and mainstream population (Dunbar & Simonova, 2003). In addition, it has shown that social insecurity intensifies competition for scarce resources, leading to negative feelings toward the Roma (Postma, 1996). Threat theory (cf. Stephan & Stephan, 1996) proposes that perceived threat linked to scarce and appreciated commodities is the main cause of outgroup prejudice. In previous studies, both perceived threat to material goods, i.e. economic threat, and to the world view of a group, that is to say a symbolic threat, predicted negative feelings towards ‘devalued’ minorities (e.g. Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009). A ‘devalued’ status is typically associated with unfavorable distribution of social benefits, whereas a ‘devalued’ culture refers to perceived discrepancies in morals and values between the ‘valued’ and the ‘devalued’ cultures (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). Research suggests that nationalistic feelings, ignorance about other cultures, and intergroup contact (or the lack of it) might fuel these feelings of threat (e.g., Li & Brewer, 2004). The

present study investigates the validity of these assumptions using survey data collected among Serbian and Dutch adolescents.

Perceived threat, Romaphobia and their antecedents

Besides providing evidence that intergroup threat leads to outgroup prejudice, past research demonstrates the need to investigate the antecedents of threat and the ways they relate to negative feelings towards the outgroups (e.g., Stephan, Dias-Loving, & Renfro, 2000). These antecedent factors have been shown to possibly have both a direct and an indirect effect on prejudice, acting through the threat variables (Riek, et al., 2006).

The first antecedent to be studied here is nationalism. In sociological literature, nationalism is viewed as a way of identifying oneself and classifying other people (Brubaker, 2009), that is a national identification (Dekker, et al., 2003), or ideology, primarily centered on affiliation with a nation, or in other words, ethnocentrism (cf. Weiss, 2003). Research suggests that one's support for the national group functions as a device for maintaining a positive social identity, and may lead to outgroup derogation in case this positive social (i.e., national) identity is possibly threatened by other groups (Li & Brewer, 2004; Woodcock, 2007). Serbian nationalism played an important role in the Balkan conflict (Pesic, 1996) and remained a relevant factor of political cohesion in post-conflict Serbia (Byford, 2002; Todosijevic, 2008). In the Dutch context, nationalism played a prominent role in recent immigration debates, reflecting both national pride and a desire to preserve the dominant group status in the face of ethnic diversity (Verkaaik, 2010). Nationalist preferences and ethnic diversity do not easily blend. The current study explores to what extent perceived threat mediates the relationship between nationalism and Romaphobia in a Serbian and Dutch sample. In addition the current study examines the relationship between nationals' integrationist preferences and Romaphobia; two qualities that tend to blend more easily.

Because of power advantages and a higher status, the dominant group members may delineate, or even impose, acculturation strategies on minority groups (Bourhis, et al., 2009). Integration is presented by many scholars as the most favorable acculturation strategy (Turner & Crisp, 2010). It enables the minority group to maintain their heritage culture, but also to enjoy the socio-

economic benefits of participating in the mainstream society, including equal access to education, housing, healthcare and employment possibilities (Barany, 2001). In addition, past studies revealed numerous psychological benefits for integrated individuals, such as less subjective distress, anxiety and depression, but also more active and productive roles in society (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Moreover, integration is related to favorable intergroup attitudes and harmonious intergroup relationships (e.g., Bourhis, 2009).

Both in Serbia and the Netherlands, the Roma have benefited from integrationist policies. In former Yugoslavia (1943-1992), in which Serbia was one of the six socialist republics, integration of the Roma people was pursued under the umbrella of the socialist “brotherhood and unity”, which enabled the Roma to keep their language and to set up their own cultural organizations (Barany, 2001; Sekulic, et al., 1994). The post-Second World War communist history is often seen as a period of emancipation for Yugoslavian and Serbian Roma, primarily because of greater opportunities for education and employment in comparison to other countries (Crowe, 2008). Nevertheless, the economic discrepancy between the Roma and the majority populations was apparent and remained so in the post-communist era (Fraser, 1992). In the Netherlands, the integrationist policy towards ethnic minorities was introduced in the early 1980s (Joppke, 2007). It was manifested in welfare programs and antidiscrimination laws, but also in better housing, educational and employment opportunities for the minority group members, including the Roma and Sinti (Vasta, 2007).

A strong integrationist preference in majority group members entails hope for positive contacts between different groups and their members. Past research demonstrates that intergroup contact may have different implications for outgroup attitudes, depending on status or value dissimilarities between the groups concerned (Allport, 1954). Favorable contact conditions, for example equal status and common goals, lead to favorable outgroup attitudes, whereas unequal status and different goals lead to more threat and prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The notion of integration suggests that not only actual contact but also the willingness to accept or engage in intergroup contact leads to less threat and more favorable outgroup attitudes (Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006). The current study examines the mediating role of threat in the relationship between integrative expectations toward the Roma acculturation and adolescents’ Romaphobia.

Different countries, different circumstances, different levels of threat

According to the last available census data from 2002, the Roma minority is one of the largest in Serbia numbering 108,193 people, which is 1.44% of the total population (Raduski, 2007). Given the long history of coexistence between the Serbian and Roma people, and also the fact that a large proportion of Serbian Roma speak Serbian as their mother tongue, and share their religion with the nationals, we expect symbolic threat to play a minor role in Serbia.

Earlier research suggests that the threat to material resources, in other words the economic threat, should be the most important predictor of outgroup prejudice in unstable socio-economic circumstances (Riek et al., 2006). Although people may be reluctant to share national resources with “devalued” outgroups in different situations (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt 2009), it has been shown that the actual availability and distribution of scarce resources influences the degree to which outgroup members are perceived as threatening (Savelkoul, Scheepers, Tolsma, & Hagendoorn, 2010). Because of a relatively unfavorable economic situation in Serbia (Lazic & Cvejic, 2010), we expect the economic threat to be clearly salient for Serbian adolescents. In particular, the youth from the lower social strata may be reluctant to share scarce resources, such as jobs, housing, and social benefits with the Roma (Raduski, 2007).

In contrast to Serbia, where the Roma form an old-established host population (Petrova, 2003), the Dutch Roma consist of heterogeneous immigrant groups, mostly from Central and South-Eastern Europe (Rodrigues, 2006). The first group of Roma arrived to the Netherlands during the interbellum, followed by small groups of labor migrants in the 1960s and the Roma refugees from former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Presently, most of the Roma immigrants come from the new EU member states, such as Romania and Bulgaria. In total, approximately 3,500 Roma people currently live in the Netherlands (about 0.00035% of the population) (Rodrigues, 2006). The notion of threat reflects actual and perceived competition for scarce resources. As a minimum, the actual competition implies visibility of a ‘threatening’ outgroup. This visibility is greater in Serbia than in the Netherlands. From the perspective of threat theory therefore, prejudice against Roma would be expected to be more intensive and widespread in Serbia than in the Netherlands. The opposite expectation is suggested by contact theory (Allport,

1954), that is to say: the large minority proportion may enhance possibilities for intergroup contacts in Serbia. This is a well-known precondition for favorable intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, one of the conditions for positive effects of contact is status equality, while status differences between the Roma and dominant group members are particularly transparent in South-Eastern Europe, including Serbia (Prieto-Flores, 2009), meaning that the possible positive effect of contact opportunities is offset by the lack of status equality.

In contrast to Serbia, the chance of actual contacts between Roma and nationals in the Netherlands is very small. Hence, the limited intergroup contact and general lack of familiarity with the Roma culture may lead to negative prejudice (see Savelkoul et al., 2010). Moreover, most information nationals receive about the Roma comes from unfavorable media reports. This is likely to fuel mistrust towards the “foreign” culture, but also a desire to preserve the dominant status of the mainstream culture in the face of immigration and immigrants (Lucassen, 2005). Moreover, in reaction to ten years of policy initiatives to reduce intercultural differences in the Netherlands (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004), the Dutch context is not currently supportive of cultural diversity. These circumstances lead us to expect that the symbolic threat is particularly salient for the Dutch adolescents.

The current study

The current study contributes to our knowledge with respect to a type of prejudice, Romaphobia, which has previously not been intensively studied. In addition, there is, to the best of our knowledge, no unified model for the study of Romaphobia in different countries. Hence, a comparative study of Romaphobia in the Netherlands and Serbia offer the opportunity to test the generalizability of the relations between threat and adolescents’ Romaphobia across different countries and intergroup settings. Furthermore, the present study investigates nationalism and integration expectations as the antecedents of perceived threat and Romaphobia. More specifically, we analyze whether and to what extent threat mediates the relationship between nationalism and the integration preferences of national youth and their Romaphobia and whether these relationships are comparable between Serbian and Dutch youth. In addition we will test differences in levels of threat and Romaphobia between Dutch and Serbian national youth.

The hypotheses that are tested are:

- (1) Serbian students will experience more economic threat, whereas the Dutch students will experience more symbolic threat.
- (2) Both in Serbia and in the Netherlands, Romaphobia is positively related to nationalism, and negatively to integration.
- (3) Both in Serbia and the Netherlands, perceived economic and symbolic threat will mediate the relationships between nationalism and integration on the one hand and Romaphobia on the other

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 16- and 17-year-old students; of which 285 (64% female) were drawn from Serbian gymnasiums and 95 (46.3% female) from the Dutch pre-university high schools (VWO), a school type comparable to the gymnasiums. Both samples consisted of dominant group members (ethnic Serbs, and ethnic Dutch) only. The mean age of the Serbian sample was 16.73 ($SD = .44$), and for the Dutch sample 16.62 ($SD=.48$). Forty-eight percent of the Dutch students' fathers and 40.4 % percent of the mothers had a university degree. In the Serbian sample, 36 % of Serbian students' fathers and 36.8 % of the mothers had a university degree.

Procedure

Prior to the data collection in Serbia, ten gymnasiums were contacted, two of which promptly showed an interest in participating in the survey, and were surveyed first. Thereafter we secured access to two more gymnasiums thanks to recommendations from the schools that had already participated in the study. The directors of the participating schools had the authority to act in *loco parentis* to give permission for the students to take part. Data were collected anonymously in the classrooms, during regular school hours, and supervised by the researcher (or research assistant) and a teacher. The students were asked to participate in a study on "adolescents' attitudes towards multiculturalism and the plural society." All students participated voluntarily, and gave their consent prior to their inclusion in the study and no one refused to participate. Questionnaires were in Serbian and it took the students about 45 minutes to complete them.

In the Netherlands, two pre-university high schools were contacted (VWO; a school type comparable to the Serbian gymnasiums), and both agreed to participate. Prior to the data collection, the parents received a letter about the survey and were informed that a passive consent was requested. Data were collected anonymously in the classrooms, during regular school hours, and supervised by a research assistant and a teacher. The students were asked to participate in a study about “adolescents in intercultural settings.” All students participated voluntarily, and gave their consent prior to their inclusion in the study. Questionnaires were in Dutch and it took the students about 45 minutes to complete them.

Measures

Identical scales were used for the Dutch and Serbian sample. The scales were adapted using a translate–backtranslate protocol. The first part of the questionnaire contained *demographic questions* dealing with age, ethnicity, gender, school type, education and socio-economic background of the parents.

Romaphobia was measured with a four-item scale, based on Stephan and colleagues (1999, 2000). Participants were asked to indicate to what extent the words *empathy*, *warmth*, *sympathy* and *approval* (all reverse-scored), reflected their feelings towards the Roma. Responses ranged from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (absolutely agree). Cronbach’s alpha for the Serbian sample was .77. For the Dutch sample, Cronbach’s alpha was .62.

The two threat scales were based on instruments used in previous studies on perceived outgroup threat (Stephan et al., 2002). The items of both scales were scored on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*absolutely agree*). *Economic threat* was measured with a four item scale (sample item: “*Too much money is spent on Roma educational programs*”). Cronbach’s alpha for the Serbian sample was .81 and for the Dutch .84. *Symbolic threat* was measured with a six-item scale (sample item: “*Roma do not understand the way non-Roma view the world*”). Cronbach’s alpha for the Serbian sample was .80 and .73 for the Dutch.

Nationalism was measured with a four-item scale extracted from Dekker et al.’s scale (2003). Sample items: “*In general, Serbs (Dutch) are better than people*

with other nationalities"; "Serbia (*The Netherlands*) is the best country to live in"; etc. Cronbach's alpha for the Serbian sample was .85 and .89 for the Dutch.

Integration expectations were measured with a four-item scale adopted from Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006). The five-point response scale ranged from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*absolutely agree*). A sample item: "I want the Roma to keep their own culture, but also to adopt ours". Cronbach's alpha for the Serbian sample was .77 and .76 for the Dutch.

Results

Measurement invariance

We hypothesized mean differences between the Dutch and Serbian samples on the variables Romaphobia, economic threat and symbolic threat. In order to interpret mean differences, it is important to ensure that scales measure the same construct across samples, and that mean differences are due to differences in the latent construct as opposed to differences in scale use, in other words, scales need to be invariant across samples (Van de Vijver & Tanzer, 2004). We used multigroup confirmatory factor analyses to analyze to what extent scores were comparable across the Dutch and Serbian samples. It has been suggested that CFI is a useful fit index for analyzing measurement invariance, with a CFI higher than .90 indicating a reasonable fit (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). We found good support for strict invariance (same construct, equal factor loadings and, equal error variance) for Romaphobia (CFI = .92), symbolic threat (CFI = .94), and economic threat (CFI = .91).

We formulated hypotheses concerning mean differences between Dutch and Serbians in terms of threat only, not in terms of integration and nationalism. However, these variables will be used in a path model, and as such these variables should relate to the same construct in both samples (configural invariance). We found support for configural invariance for both integration (CFI = .97) and nationalism (CFI = .99), indicating that for both variables and both samples a unidimensional factor structure was supported.

Do Serbian and Dutch adolescents differ on Romaphobia, symbolic threat and economic threat?

To test for differences between the Serbian and Dutch adolescents on Romaphobia, symbolic threat and economic threat, a MANOVA was used. Because

there were more girls in the Serbian than in the Dutch sample, gender was included in the analyses. The MANOVA revealed that there were significant differences between the Dutch and the Serbians (Wilks' lambda $F(3, 370) = 18.625, p < .05, \eta^2 = .131$), but not between boys and girls (Wilks' lambda $F(3, 370) = 2.363, p > .05, \eta^2 = .02$), and there was no interaction between gender and nationality (Wilks' lambda $F(3, 370) = 2.515, p > .05, \eta^2 = .02$). Follow-up univariate ANOVAs revealed that Dutch adolescents scored higher on Romaphobia ($F(1, 372) = 11.801, p < .05, \eta^2 = .03$), symbolic Threat ($F(1, 372) = 5.391, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$), and economic Threat ($F(1, 372) = 55.253, p < .05, \eta^2 = .13$). The effect sizes reveal that on economic threat the Dutch adolescents score much higher than the Serbian adolescents. The mean scores are reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Means and standard deviations between the study variables for Dutch and Serbian sample

Variables	Dutch (n=95)	Serbian (n=285)
Romaphobia	3.18 (.73)	2.73 (1.05)
Symbolic threat	2.94 (.62)	2.65 (.93)
Economic threat	2.57 (.78)	1.78 (.86)
Nationalism	2.43 (1.11)	2.58 (1.22)
Integration	3.65 (.71)	3.73 (1.04)

Can the relation between antecedents, threat and Romaphobia be described by a mediated model in the Dutch and Serbian samples?

The correlations between the variables entered in the path analysis were in the expected direction, except for Romaphobia and nationalism in the Serbian sample, which were not correlated (see Table 2).

We used a multigroup path analysis, fitting the same model in the Serbian and Dutch samples to analyze whether a mediated model would fit a Dutch and Serbian sample. We first tested a model in which the antecedents' (integration and nationalism) relations with Romaphobia were fully mediated by symbolic and economic threat. This model did not provide an adequate fit [$\chi^2(6) = 17.673, p = .00$, RMSEA = .14, CFI = .94]. Previous studies have indicated that integration may be a partial mediator (Ljubic, et al., 2010); hence we tested a model in which integration was a partial, and nationalism a full mediator. This model provided a good fit to the

data [$\chi^2(2) = 3.230, p = .20, \text{RMSEA} = .06, \text{CFI} = .99$]. The regression weights are reported in Figure 1.

Table 2

The intercorrelations between the study variables for Dutch and Serbian sample

Variables	Romaphobia	Symbolic threat	Economic threat	Nationalism	Integration
Romaphobia		.32**	.28**	.26**	-.21*
Symbolic threat	.33**		.38**	.36**	-.32**
Economic threat	.40**	.43**		.19	-.2
Nationalism	.06	.17**	.20**		-.29**
Integration	-.36**	-.41**	-.31**	-.28**	

NOTE: The correlations for the Dutch sample are above the diagonal and the correlations for the Serbian sample are below the diagonal.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

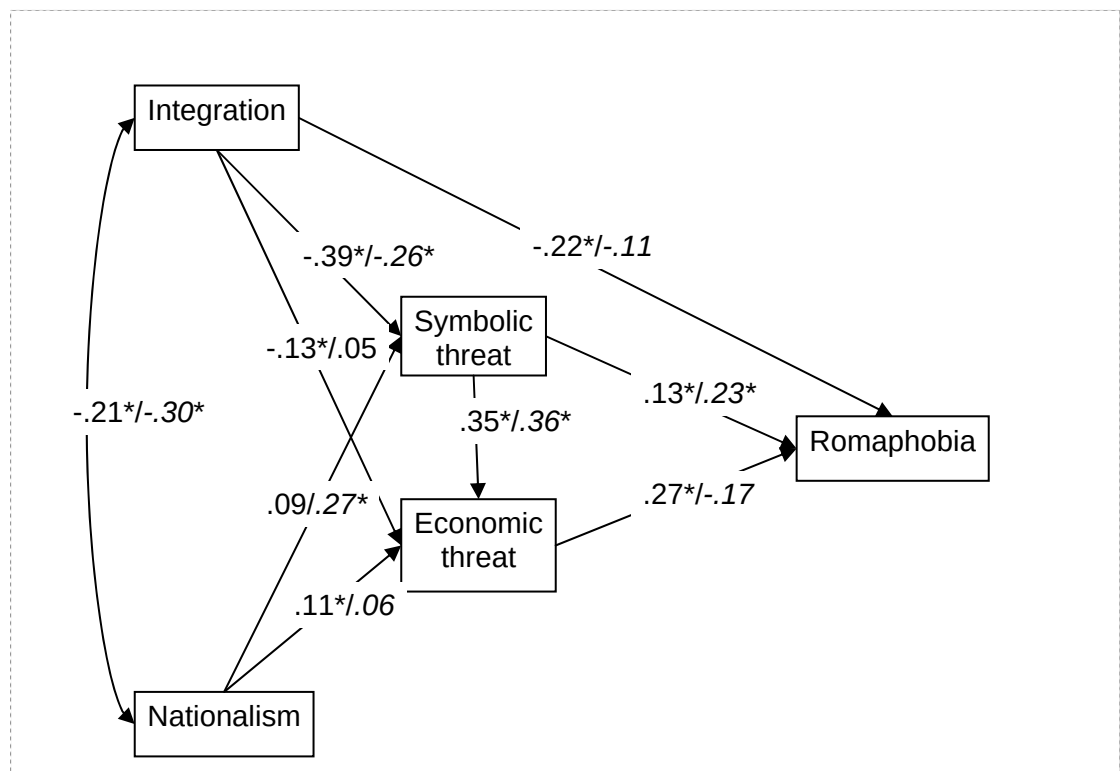


Figure 1. A multigroup path analysis for the Serbian and Dutch sample.

NOTE: Standardized regression weights for the Dutch and Serbian (*in italics*) samples. Explained variances for symbolic threat were $R^2=.18$ and $R^2=.19$, for economic threat $R^2=.21$ and $R^2=.16$, for Romaphobia $R^2=.21$ and $R^2=.18$ For the Dutch and Serbian samples respectively.

Are the regression weights moderated by nationality?

At face value, the regression weights between the Dutch and Serbian samples seem to differ. Integration seems to be more strongly related to threat and prejudice in the Dutch than in the Serbian sample. We analyzed a model in which the regression weights between integration and economic- and symbolic threat and integration and Romaphobia were constrained to be equal across the Dutch and Serbian model. This model actually provided a better fit than the unconstrained model [$\chi^2 (5) = 5.520, p = .36, RMSEA = .02, CFI = .99$]. As such, the regression weights of integration can be considered equal across the Dutch and Serbian sample. We ran the same analysis constraining the regression weights of nationalism across groups. Again we found that the constrained model fitted better [$\chi^2 (4) = 4.835, p = .30, RMSEA = .03, CFI = .99$]. We then analyzed whether relations between economic and symbolic threat and Romaphobia were equal across groups. When the relation between symbolic threat and Romaphobia was constrained, this resulted in a better model fit than the fully unconstrained model [$\chi^2 (3) = 3.890, p = .27, RMSEA = .04, CFI = .99$]. When the relation between economic threat and Romaphobia was held constant, this resulted in a slightly worse fit than the fully unconstrained model [$\chi^2 (3) = 5.247, p = .15, RMSEA = .06, CFI = .99$]. However, a chi square difference test indicated that the constrained model did not fit significantly worse than the unconstrained model [$\chi^2 (1) = 3.230, p = .15$], as such the regression weights between economic threat and Romaphobia may be considered equal for the Dutch and Serbian samples. Given these results, we tested whether a fully constrained model (all regression weights and correlations constrained) would also fit the data. A fully constrained model fitted the data better than an unconstrained model [$\chi^2 (11) = 9.235, p = .60, RMSEA = .00, CFI = .99$]. This indicates that both the models and the regression weights can be considered equal across the Dutch and Serbian samples.

Discussion

Romaphobia and perceived threat

In this study, the perception of economic and symbolic threat predicted adolescents' Romaphobia in both Serbian and Dutch samples. Contrary to our expectations, the Dutch students were more Romaphobic and perceived more threat from Roma than Serbian students. The reason may be a non-supportive social context manifested in particularly controversial immigration policies in the Netherlands, which have made the outgroup threat a highly salient issue for the Dutch (Sniderman, et al., 2004). Perhaps, for young people, who do not have much contact with the Roma and are typically unfamiliar with the Roma culture, the perceived threat to culture and particularly economic resources may be regarded as conflicting more with self-interest than the actual competition for scarce resources warrants. The salience of negative prejudice regardless of the actual presence and visibility of the Roma in society may be compared to "anti-Semitism without Jews" (Glassman, 1975). Another possibility is that the encouragement given by media and schools in the Netherlands to adolescents to be political engaged means that young people should express their ideas and feelings about intergroup relationships even if they are "strong". This notion of "oral liberalism" was sharply voiced within the immigration debate, particularly with respect to culturally unfamiliar and economically vulnerable groups (Houtman, 2008).

The perception of economic threat in the Serbian sample probably reflects the unfavorable economic situation in that country (Lazic & Cvejic, 2010). However, the magnitude of this feeling of threat may have been reduced by a general familiarity with the Roma, including status disadvantages (Ackovic, 2009). Moreover, one notion of group conflict postulates a certain degree of interactions and actual or perceived competition between the groups, which in the case of Serbian and Roma youth may not be very intense due to residential segregation and the almost complete exclusion of the Roma from the labor market (Raduski, 2007).

The symbolic threat in the Serbian sample may be attributed to a nationalistic conception of ingroup values, reflecting both an unfavorable evaluation of outgroup culture and a desire to preserve moral superiority over others (Mummendey, et al., 2001). However, it may be that the Serbian perception of intercultural differences appears to be less pronounced than in the Dutch sample because of a 'familiarity

effect'. Alternatively, this pattern of results may reflect the different socio-historical status of the Serbian Roma as a long-standing ethnic minority, and the Dutch Roma as predominantly recent immigrants. In other words, in the Dutch sample the attitude towards the Roma may not be specific to the Roma as a group, but to immigrants in general, while in the case of the Serbian sample the answers may be directed specifically to the Roma. Also, sharing one's existing own resources with an incoming, new group of people may be different from sharing resources with a historic minority, with which the majority group has been sharing resources for a long time, albeit with a very unequal outcome. In the latter case all actors have been present for centuries, in the former case there is a new actor asking for a share. As expected, Romaphobia was negatively related to students' integrationism in both samples, and positively related to Dutch nationalism. Contrary to our expectations, Serbian adolescents' nationalism was not related to Romaphobia. This is in line with the fact that in the Serbian sample, nationalism did not correlate with Romaphobia, but in the Dutch sample it did. In the latter situation it might be more closely akin to 'immigrant phobia'.

Mediation analyses

The results offer support for the mediation hypothesis. It was shown that integration was directly related to Romaphobia, but also indirectly through the threat variables. These findings correspond to previous research showing that acceptance of social interactions with a culturally diverse minority correspond to less threat and more favorable outgroup attitudes (Gonzalez, et al., 2008). The combination of the direct and indirect relationships between the antecedent factors and prejudice suggests that Romaphobia may be akin to other factors besides the (lack of) intergroup threat. Past research has pointed to multiculturalism, accommodating favorable ideological and institutional conditions for ethnic diversity, as well as equal opportunities in pursuing individual and aggregate interests (Berry et al, 2006; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

Nationalism was indirectly related to Romaphobia through economic and symbolic threat. For both Serbian and Dutch adolescents, nationalism reflected the fear that the Roma threaten national values, but also the anticipation that the Roma affect the competition for economic resources, for example, disproportional social benefits could be spent on the Roma. This is consistent with previous studies showing

that the reciprocal relationships between nationalism and prejudice may be limited to circumstances in which groups compete over scarce resources (cf. Brewer, 1999).

Implications and directions for future research

The results of our comparative study on Romaphobia among adolescents in Serbia and the Netherlands demonstrate two major findings. They show that perceived economic and symbolic threats mediate the relationship between negative feelings towards the Roma on the one hand and nationalistic and integrationist preferences on the other. The findings show that these relationships are comparable between Serbian and Dutch youth. Of course, the use of cross-sectional data implies a certain ambiguity with respect to causal interpretations of the findings, which should therefore be validated in an experimental or longitudinal study. Also, the use of self-reports may be vulnerable to social desirability bias, hence future research may benefit from the use of implicit attitude measures (Fazio & Olson, 2003). Nevertheless, the current study has important theoretical implications that are helpful when clarifying the generalizability of the mediation model between distinct national contexts.

It may be argued that threat theory may benefit from some refinements with respect to the antecedent factors. For example, a study on integration attitudes may complement existing research on the role of intergroup contact. Actual or direct contact may have both positive and negative implications for outgroup attitudes, depending on whether the optimal contact conditions, such as equal status and common goals are met, or not (Allport, 1954). For most Roma in Serbia, these conditions are still unattainable (Barany, 2001; Raduski, 2006; Rodriques, 2006). In both Serbia and the Netherlands, the Roma occupy the lower social strata compared with the national population, and are likely to have different, if not conflicting, goals (Barany, 2001). The integrationists' attitudes reflect less outgroup threat and more favorable outgroup attitude, regardless of whether optimal contact conditions are met or not (Rohmann, et al., 2006). Moreover, whereas optimal contact conditions pose a real challenge in some situations, such as social conflict, or small minority proportions, the advantages of integrationist orientations may easily be addressed (and achieved) using multicultural interventions that focus on recognition and appreciation of cultural differences, regardless of group status (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). The multicultural interventions may also help to mitigate threat effects

associated with nationalistic ingroup favoritism, which promotes social comparison, leads to distinguishing groups through categorization and gives rise to feelings of threat. Past studies have suggested that such negative consequences of social categorization may be reduced by enhancing common goals between groups and promoting superordinate group identity (Brewer, 1999).

The current findings provide some indirect support for the contact hypothesis. Given more contact possibilities, Serbian youth are more likely to have personal contacts with the Roma, and to be more familiar with the Roma culture than Dutch students. This argument is in accord with the finding that Serbian adolescents are characterized by lower threat levels and less Romaphobia than Dutch youth. In the same vein, we could explain the relatively high levels of threat in the Dutch sample by referring to the low chance of contact between adolescents from the majority population and Roma youth. Particularly with regard to the situation in the Netherlands, however, this is a somewhat disappointing explanation from an educational perspective. In a sense it is a confirmation of the Roma people's history of prolonged discrimination and derogation. Future research should investigate the role of hetero-ethnicization and infra-humanization (Tileaga, 2007; Vala, Pereira, & Costa-Lopes, 2009) in the process of scapegoating the Roma; the singling out of this group as carrying the blame for socio-economic problems (Barany, 2001; Postma, 1996) and how to counter it. This is particularly relevant in a country like the Netherlands with an extremely small proportion of Roma. Their numbers are so small that the fear of them resembles children's fear of the bogeyman: it is a strictly subjective reality, a fiction, which is nonetheless experienced as very real and overwhelming. This virtual reality in adolescents may be confronted and possibly resolved through reality checks or facts and knowledge about the Roma. These could be brought about by personal contacts with the Roma, but also through indirect contacts, via the broader social network (e.g. ingroup friendship) or exposure through stories and movies, as postulated by the extended contact hypothesis (Liebkind & McAlister, 1997; Vedder, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Nickmans, 2006). In the Dutch, as well as in the Serbian context, such types of proximity through indirect contact or media may counter negative expectations about the Roma, and facilitate a more balanced and likely more favorable evaluation of this minority.

The current study is the first to provide support for a common model of the relation between Romaphobia and its antecedents in different intercultural settings

and it shows that this relation applies regardless of whether minorities are recent immigrants or an historic ethnic minority. This finding adds to the hope that the commonality of the explanation of Romaphobia could also point to a possible commonality in the conditions that may lead to a resolution.

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6. General discussion

The purpose of the research presented in this thesis was to gain insight into social-psychological mechanisms that underlie negative attitudes towards the Roma, i.e. Romaphobia, among adolescents. Drawing from the threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000), we found evidence that the perception of economic and symbolic threat mediates relationships between national in-group attitudes and acculturation preferences, on the one hand, and Romaphobia on the other. This model of relationships appeared to be structurally similar between the Netherlands and Serbia, two countries that clearly differ with respect to minority proportion and status.

Romaphobia, a unique phenomenon

The results of our first study (chapter 2) based on a Hungarian national representative sample indicate that notwithstanding some structural commonalities with other types of prejudice, Romaphobia may be seen as a separate construct. This uniqueness may be embodied in stereotypical categorizations, reflecting low status, poverty, and anticipation of unconventional, even antisocial behaviors (Woodcock, 2010). Research suggests that *Zeitgeist*, i.e., general socio-political and cultural climate in a given society, may evoke such stereotypical categorizations and prejudice through discursive reinforcement of nationalism and ethnocentric acculturation strategies for minorities by political elite and media (Wagner, et al., 2010).

Nationalism as an antecedent of perceived threat and Romaphobia

To gain more insight into the factors preceding adolescents' Romaphobia, we tested adolescents' nationalism as an antecedent of threat (chapter 2). The results revealed that both nationalism and perceived threat explain part of the variance in anti Roma attitudes. Furthermore, the results suggest that the relationship between nationalism and Romaphobia cannot be completely explained by the link that both have with economic and symbolic threat. It may be that nationalism provides an ideological framework for intolerance and intergroup animosity, affecting most of the citizens, including adolescents (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Mummendey, Klink & Brown, 2001).

Acculturation expectations as antecedents of perceived threat and Romaphobia

The results reported in chapter 3 revealed that perceived economic and symbolic threat mediate relationships between acculturation expectations and Romaphobia. Following Berry's model of acculturation, we distinguish four types of acculturation expectations: integration, assimilation, segregation and marginalization. Adolescents who endorsed ethnocentric acculturation strategies, characterized by a relative degree of rejection of Roma's culture (assimilation), contact with Roma (segregation), or both (marginalization), perceived more threat and Romaphobia. In contrast, youth who favored Roma integration perceived lower levels of threat and more favorable attitudes toward the Roma. Moreover, findings suggested that threat played a crucial role in assimilationists' and segregationists' Romaphobia. Integrationists' and marginalists' Romaphobia were also threat-driven, albeit partially.

General model of Romaphobia

In Chapter 4, we test a general model of the interrelations among nationalism, integration orientation, perceived economic and symbolic threat and Romaphobia in a Serbian and Dutch adolescent sample. In both samples, perceived economic and symbolic threat mediate the relationship between negative feelings towards the Roma on the one hand and nationalistic and integrationist preferences on the other. The findings show that these relationships are comparable between Serbian and Dutch youth.

Perceived threat and its implications for Romaphobia in different contexts

Our results indicate that both economic and symbolic threat have mediated adolescents' Romaphobia. This finding was in accordance with our expectations, and with the integrated threat theory that formed the basis for our hypotheses. The apparent economic vulnerability of the Roma and unwanted distribution of social benefits may lead to the salience of economic threat. Perceived symbolic threat reflects intolerance towards the Roma culture, which is perceived different, even conflicting with mainstream moral, norms and values. The strong relationships between economic and symbolic threat may be related to the transparent status differences (i.e. disproportional high poverty and unemployment rate among the Roma population), typically attributed

to a unfavorably perceived Roma culture, i.e. a culture promoting work-shyness, laziness, and irresponsibility (Petrova, 2003).

The reason that adolescents in the Netherlands (a country with small proportion of Roma, and hence less contact opportunities with the members of Roma community) are characterized by higher perceived threat and higher Romaphobia scores than Serbian youth (who have proportionally more contact opportunities), may be the non-supportive social context and restrictive immigration policies, which have made out-group threat a highly salient issue for the Dutch (Sniderman, et al., 2004). For Dutch youth, who do not have much contact with the Roma and are most likely unfamiliar with the Roma culture, the perceived threat to culture and particularly economic resources may be perceived as more conflicting with self-interest than the actual competition for scarce resources warrants. The salience of negative attitudes regardless of actual presence and visibility of Roma in society may be compared to “anti-Semitism without Jews” (Glassman, 1975). The Roma constitute a long-time ethnic minority in Serbia. Hence, it may be because of a “familiarity” effect that the Serbian perception of economic and symbolic threat is less pronounced than in the Dutch sample.

Limitations and directions for future research

In this thesis we presented correlational designs. Such design implies unavoidable uncertainty about causal relationships between the variables. Although the proposed models were directional models in which nationalism and acculturation attitudes were suggested to precede Romaphobia and threat was positioned as the mechanism of influence, the present findings do not exclude the possibility that the relationship between nationalism and acculturation on the one hand, and threat on the other, is cyclic or reciprocal, rather than simply linear. The use of a longitudinal study would allow for a better analysis and interpretation of the mediation models that have been tested in the second, third and fourth chapter.

Furthermore, in order to get a better view on the national youths’ perception of Roma, future researchers would be well advised to investigate the symbolic position of Roma in comparison to the other culturally different out-groups. In addition, future research may benefit from a more interactive approach, including also Roma’s perspective, and some refinements with respect to the antecedent factors. For example, the notion of minority influence (Perez & Mugny, 1996) may be used to explore how a

low status minority like the Roma exercise social influence in a competitive intergroup context. Moreover, the effects of possible moderators, such as intergroup contact and knowledge about the Roma (or the lack thereof), pose challenges for future research on Romaphobia. Studying such moderators may build upon the current study and feed into future interventions that can be implemented in schools to combat anti-Roma attitudes.

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7. Samenvatting

Het doel van dit proefschrift was om inzicht te geven in sociaal-psychologische mechanismen die ten grondslag liggen aan de vooroordelen van adolescenten jegens Roma in verschillende sociaal-culturele settings. Het betreft survey-onderzoek met drie verschillende databestanden.

In de eerste studie (hoofdstuk 2) voerden wij secundaire analyses uit op representatieve Hongaarse data om de empirische onderbouwing te onderzoeken van de stelling dat Romafobie een apart type vooroordeel vormt. *Principale component analyses* toonden aan dat de gevoelens van de respondenten ten opzichte van Roma en andere groepen (d.w.z. Chinezen, Joden en Arabieren) gedeeltelijk verklaard werden door de sociale afstand op het werk en in de buurt, afwijzing van trouwen met iemand uit een andere groep, en antipathie in het algemeen. De intensiteit van de anti-Roma-houding was duidelijk groter dan de negatieve houding jegens andere groepen, d.w.z. er bestond een aantoonbaar hoger niveau van antipathie en een grotere sociale afstand. Bovendien was de aanwezigheid van een aparte component met specifieke items over Roma een aanwijzing dat Romafobie een kwalitatief duidelijk te onderscheiden categorie vormt. Hoofdstuk 3 en 4 gaan over Servische jongeren en hoofdstuk 5 over Servische en Nederlandse jongeren. In deze hoofdstukken gebruikten wij de *integrated threat theory* om de houdingen ten opzichte van Roma onder adolescenten te onderzoeken. Onze hypothese was dat de perceptie van economische en symbolische bedreiging een sociaal-psychologische basis vormt voor Romafobie. Bovendien verwachtten wij dat de gevoelde bedreiging een mediator is bij de relaties tussen antecedentfactoren, zoals bij de relatie tussen nationalistische gevoelens en acculturatieverwachtingen aan de ene kant en Romafobie aan de andere kant.

De tweede studie (hoofdstuk drie) behandelde het nationalisme als een reden voor gevoelde bedreiging en Romafobie onder Servische adolescenten. De bevindingen suggereren dat de door de dominante groep gevoelde bedreiging van daadwerkelijke middelen of wereldbeeld gerelateerd is aan een negatievere houding ten opzichte van de Roma-minderheid. Bovendien gaven de resultaten aan dat de relaties tussen nationalisme en Romafobie deels direct en deels indirect zijn, d.w.z. gemedieerd worden door gevoelde bedreiging van economische welvaart en culturele waarden.

Studie 3 (hoofdstuk vier) gaat over acculturatieverwachtingen als reden voor gevoelde dreiging en Romafoobie. Uit de resultaten van deze studie bleek dat de meeste adolescenten een duidelijke voorkeur toonden voor integratie, de verwachting dat de Roma hun eigen cultuur behouden en tegelijkertijd goede relaties met de nationale groep hebben. Toch uitte een aanzienlijke groep adolescenten een voorkeur voor segregatie en marginalisering ofwel de verwachting dat Roma niet zouden proberen om goede relaties met de Servische nationale groep op te bouwen of in stand te houden. De minst begunstigde strategie van acculturatie in onze studie was assimilatie, d.w.z. de verwachting dat Roma zich gaan gedragen als autochtonen, en bereid zijn om hun eigen etnische bijzonderheden en relaties op te geven. Overeenkomstig de hypothese, was Romafoobie negatief gerelateerd aan integratie en positief aan segregatie en marginalisering. Tegen onze verwachtingen in, was assimilatie niet gerelateerd aan Romafoobie. De resultaten van de analyse met structurele-equivalentiemodellen ondersteunden de mediatie-hypothese. Integratie en marginalisering waren zowel direct als indirect (via gevoelde economische en symbolische bedreiging) gerelateerd aan Romafoobie. Integratie was geassocieerd met een lager niveau van gevoelde bedreiging en daardoor ook minder Romafoobie, terwijl marginalisering een hoger niveau van gevoelde bedreiging en meer Romafoobie impliceerde. Assimilatie was geassocieerd met economische bedreiging die op zijn beurt leidde tot Romafoobie, terwijl de relatie tussen segregatie en Romafoobie werd gemedieerd door zowel economische als symbolische bedreiging.

In de studie 4 (hoofdstuk 5) testten wij een algemeen model van de onderlinge relaties tussen nationalisme, verwachte integratie, gevoelde economische en symbolische bedreiging en Romafoobie onder Servische en Nederlandse adolescenten. Een pad-analyse toonde aan dat gevoelde economische en symbolische bedreiging de relatie medieerden tussen negatieve gevoelens ten opzichte van Roma aan de ene kant en voorkeuren voor nationalisme en integratie aan de andere kant. Deze relatie was vergelijkbaar bij Servische en Nederlandse adolescenten. Wel verschilde het niveau van gevoelde bedreiging en Romafoobie tussen de twee landen. Nederlandse jongeren die nauwelijks contactmogelijkheden met Roma hadden, lieten meer gevoelde bedreiging en Romafoobie zien dan Servische jongeren die duidelijk meer contactmogelijkheden met Roma hadden. De resultaten ondersteunden de mediatie-hypothese. Er werd aangetoond dat integratie direct, maar ook indirect (via de bedreigingsvariabelen) gerelateerd was aan Romafoobie. De combinatie van directe en

indirecte relaties tussen de antecedentfactoren en vooroordelen suggereert dat Romafoobie veroorzaakt kan worden door andere factoren naast inter-groep bedreiging of het gebrek eraan. Vroegere studies wijzen op multiculturalisme dat niet slechts gunstige ideologische en institutionele voorwaarden voor etnische diversiteit biedt, maar ook gelijke kansen in het nastreven van individuele en gemeenschappelijke doelen. Nationalisme was indirect gerelateerd aan Romafoobie door middel van economische en symbolische bedreiging. Bij Servische en Nederlandse jongeren reflecteerde nationalisme niet alleen de vrees dat Roma nationale waarden bedreigen, maar ook economisch een dreiging vormen, bijvoorbeeld door de noodzaak 1 veel sociale uitkeringen te moeten betalen aan de Roma.. Kort gezegd zijn de wederkerige relaties tussen nationalisme en vooroordelen wellicht beperkt tot omstandigheden waarin groepen wedijveren om schaarse middelen.

De bevindingen in dit boek zijn de eerste die empirische steun geven aan een algemeen model van de relatie tussen Romafoobie en haar antecedenten in verschillende interculturele contexten. We hopen te hebben bijgedragen aan een dieper begrip van gevoelde bedreiging, dat kan inspireren tot toekomstige interventies die in scholen kunnen worden toegepast om negatieve verwachtingen met betrekking tot Roma te verminderen.

8. Biography

Vanja Ljubic was born on the 9th November 1974 in Nova Varos (Serbia). After completing the Secondary School of Economics in her birthplace, she studied law at the University of Kragujevac (Serbia), from which she graduated in 1999. She received her Master's degree in international law (with specialization in human rights law) at University of Utrecht in 2001. From 2002 until 2006 she worked at the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, as a coordinator of a large educational project in the Balkans. From 2006 until 2011 she has been working on a Ph.D. project entitled Romaphobia among adolescents: the role of perceived threat, nationalism, and acculturation expectations at Leiden University. She is a member of the European Academic Network on Romani Studies. Her research interests include prejudice, perceived threat, nationalism, acculturation, political socialization and interethnic relationships.