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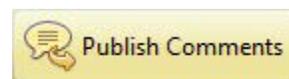


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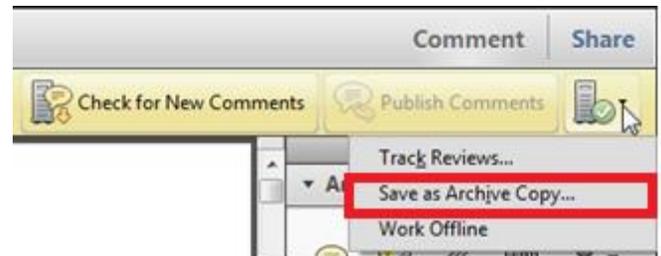
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1 Predictors of “the last acceptable racism”: Group threats and 2 public attitudes toward Gypsies and Travellers

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Abstract

Prejudice against Gypsies/Travellers is prevalent in the United Kingdom and elsewhere but there is a lack of research investigating the underlying factors. The present research examined the relationships between different types of intergroup threats and their antecedents and U.K. residents' attitudes toward Gypsies/Travellers. Regression analyses confirmed that negative stereotypes, symbolic threats, and intergroup anxiety predicted attitudes, whereas multicultural ideology endorsement, ingroup identification, realistic threats, and intergroup anxiety predicted support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights. Moreover, multicultural ideology endorsement predicted support for group rights indirectly through realistic threats, whereas negative stereotypes predicted attitudes indirectly through symbolic threats and intergroup anxiety and predicted support for group rights indirectly through realistic threats and intergroup anxiety. Discussion focuses on the implications for strategies aimed at reducing what is often defined as “the last acceptable racism.”

20 **1 | INTRODUCTION**

21 Gypsies and Travellers are among the most socially excluded and marginal-
 22 ized minorities in the United Kingdom (Cemlyn, Greenfields, Burnett,
 23 Whitwell, & Matthews, 2009; Lane, Spencer, & Jones, 2014). However, in
 24 contrast to the considerable body of research confirming the prevalence
 25 of prejudice against Gypsies/Travellers, there remains a lack of research
 26 investigating the social psychological factors that might explain what is
 27 often defined as “the last acceptable racism” (Coxhead, 2007). The present
 28 research used Intergroup Threat Theory (ITT; Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison,
 29 2009) as a framework to investigate public attitudes toward Gypsies/
 30 Travellers in the United Kingdom. We conducted a cross-sectional study
 31 with U.K. residents to examine the relationships between their attitudes
 32 toward Gypsies/Travellers and the intergroup threats specified in ITT. We
 33 additionally examined antecedent factors which in previous research
 34 (e.g., Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008) have been
 35 shown to predict outgroup attitudes either directly or indirectly through
 36 intergroup threats: multicultural ideology endorsement, intergroup contact,
 37 ingroup identification, and negative stereotypes.

38 **2 | GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS IN THE**
 39 **UNITED KINGDOM**

40 The U.K.'s Gypsy/Traveller population is diverse and consists of several
 41 subgroups and communities: for example, Romany Gypsies, Irish, Scottish

and Welsh Travellers, Bargees, and show and circus people. Of these 42
 groups, only Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers are legally recognized 43
 as distinct ethnic groups and were included in the 2011 National U.K. 44
 Census for the first time. According to that Census, there are approxi- 45
 mately 58,000 Gypsies and Travellers in the United Kingdom, although 46
 the actual number is estimated to be closer to 300,000 (CRE, 2006). 47

48 Despite being protected from discrimination by the Race Relations
 49 Act (1976, amended 2000) and the Human Rights Act (1998), Gypsy/
 50 Traveller prejudice remains widespread and deep-rooted in almost
 51 every geographical location and social environment (Lane et al., 2014).
 52 The most recent public poll to address this issue confirmed that 35% of
 53 U.K. residents admitted to holding negative attitudes toward Gypsies/
 54 Travellers (MORI, 2001) and a report for the Equality and Human
 55 Rights Commission (Cemlyn et al., 2009, p. v) concluded that while
 56 prejudice against other minorities now tends to be “hidden, less
 57 frequently expressed in public and generally seen as unacceptable,”
 58 Gypsy/Traveller prejudice remains “common, frequently overt and seen
 59 as justified.” Reflecting this, Trevor Phillips (Chairman of the former
 60 Commission for Racial Equality) argued that being a Gypsy in 21st cen-
 61 tury Britain is analogous to being a black American in the deep south
 62 of the 1950s, such is the level of discrimination (BBC News, 2004).

63 **2.1 | Intergroup threats and prejudice**

64 ITT (Stephan, Ybarra, Morrison, & Nelson, 2009) specifies two basic
 65 types of intergroup threats which have been shown to predict

66 prejudice toward a host of different outgroups: realistic and symbolic
67 threats. Earlier formulations of ITT (then called Integrated Threat
68 Theory: Stephan & Stephan, 2000) additionally included negative
69 stereotypes and intergroup anxiety as distinct types of intergroup
70 threats, whereas in the most recent formulation of the theory (Stephan
71 et al., 2009) negative stereotypes have been reconceptualized as an
72 antecedent of intergroup threats and intergroup anxiety is now defined
73 as a subtype of threat arising from apprehensions about interacting
74 with outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

75 **2.1.1 | Realistic threats**

76 Realistic threats are conceptualized in ITT as threats that pose a realis-
77 tic danger to the ingroup. This component of the theory has its origins
78 in realistic conflict theories of prejudice (e.g., Levine & Campbell,
79 1972), which hold that intergroup attitudes reflect group interests.
80 However, whereas realistic conflict theories define group interests
81 primarily in terms of intergroup competition for tangible resources (e.g.,
82 territory, money, jobs), ITT includes any perceived realistic threats to
83 the ingroup or its members regardless of whether or not such percep-
84 tions are accurate. This includes perceived threats to the ingroups
85 political or economic power, threats to the property or wellbeing of
86 ingroup members, and threats to the ingroups very existence. ITT
87 proposes that where another groups interests are perceived as
88 incompatible with those of the ingroup, prejudice is a likely outcome.
89 Numerous studies provide support for this prediction (e.g., Semyonov,
90 Rajiman, Tov, & Schmidt, 2004; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999),
91 although none have examined the perception of realistic threat posed
92 by Gypsies/Travellers or the links between such perceptions and
93 prejudice. This is surprising given that negative assumptions about the
94 lifestyles and values of Gypsies/Travellers communities are common-
95 place—for example, that they are dishonest, criminal, live on benefits
96 that they are not entitled to, avoid paying taxes, and have frequently
97 damage the public spaces they inhabit or pass through (Kenrick & Clark,
98 1999). Consequently, Gypsies/Travellers are frequently treated with
99 suspicion and contempt and are regularly subjected to different forms
100 of prejudice and discrimination (Lane et al., 2014). Reflecting this, we
101 expected that the perceived realistic threat posed by Gypsies/
102 Travellers would be associated with more negative attitudes.

103 **2.1.2 | Symbolic threats**

104 In contrast to realistic threats, symbolic threats are conceptualized in
105 ITT as originating from perceived intergroup differences in norms,
106 beliefs, morals, or values. Such threats arise where another group, by
107 adhering to a different worldview or belief system than the ingroup, is
108 perceived as posing a challenge to the ingroups way of life. In such sit-
109 uations, ingroup members may feel that their cultural identity will be
110 undermined and important norms or values corroded, leading to
111 prejudice (Hutchison, Lubna, Goncalves-Portelinha, Kamali, & Khan,
112 2015). Indeed, several studies have shown that perceived threats to
113 important ingroup norms, values, or cultural practices predict more
114 negative outgroup attitudes (e.g., Abrams, Van de Vyver, Houston, &
115 Vasiljevic, 2017; Semyonov et al., 2004; Stephan et al., 1999). Gypsies/
116 Travellers are frequently portrayed in the media and popular discourse

as living outside of “mainstream” British society and as adhering to dif- 117
ferent norms and values than the majority of U.K. residents (Bhopal & 118
Myers, 2008; Morris, 2000). Reflecting this, we expected that the 119
perception that Gypsies/Travellers pose a symbolic threat would be 120
associated with more negative attitudes. 121

2.1.3 | Intergroup anxiety 122

Intergroup anxiety refers to the negative affective feeling experienced 123
during or in anticipation of intergroup encounters (Stephan & Stephan, 124
2000). Ingroup members may feel this way because of the fear of being 125
misunderstood, rejected, or exploited by outgroup members or if there 126
is a history of antagonism between the two groups (Nshom & 127
Croucher, 2014; Stephan, Stephan, & Oskamp, 2000). An increase in 128
intergroup anxiety can lead to a concomitant increase in prejudice 129
(e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993). Indeed, although no longer included as 130
a distinct type of threat in the most recent formulation of ITT (Stephan 131
et al., 2009), intergroup anxiety has been shown in numerous studies 132
to predict a host of undesirable outcomes including negative outgroup 133
attitudes (e.g., Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000), unfavorable inter- 134
group behavioral intentions (Bousfield & Hutchison, 2010) and avoid- 135
ance of outgroup members (Esses & Dovidio, 2002). It has also been 136
shown to mediate the effects of antecedent factors such as intergroup 137
contact on outgroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). For these 138
reasons, as well as perceived realistic and symbolic threats, the present 139
study additionally examined the relationship between intergroup 140
anxiety and U.K. residents' attitudes toward Gypsies and Travellers. 141
Consistent with the considerable body of previous research in this 142
domain, intergroup anxiety was expected to predict more negative 143
attitudes. 144

2.2 | Antecedents of intergroup threats 145

As well specifying different types of intergroup threats that predict 146
prejudice, research within the ITT framework has additionally identified 147
various antecedent factors with the potential to increase or decrease 148
prejudice either directly or indirectly through their effect on perceived 149
intergroup threats and intergroup anxiety (e.g., Stephan et al., 2009; 150
Velasco González et al., 2008). The present research focuses on four 151
such antecedent factors: multicultural ideology endorsement, inter- 152
group contact, ingroup identification, and negative stereotypes. 153

2.2.1 | Multicultural ideology endorsement 154

Berry (2006, p. 728) defined multicultural ideology as “the general and 155
fundamental view that cultural diversity is good for a society and for its 156
individual members and that diversity should be shared and accommo- 157
dated in an equitable way.” It follows that people who endorse multi- 158
culturalism should be more accepting of groups that adhere to a 159
different belief or value system or whose members engage in different 160
cultural practices than the ingroup (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). 161
They should also be less likely than those who oppose multiculturalism 162
to perceive such groups as a threat or to feel anxious at the 163
prospect of intergroup encounters (Stephan & Renfro, 2002). Research 164
has generally supported these predictions. For example, Ward and 165

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166 Masgoret (2008) found that endorsement of multiculturalism among
 167 New Zealanders was associated with less perceived intergroup threats,
 168 which in turn predicted more positive attitudes toward immigrants.
 169 Along similar lines, Velasco González et al. (2008) found that multicult-
 170 tural ideology endorsement among Dutch adolescents predicted more
 171 positive attitudes toward Muslims, and this relationship was mediated
 172 by perceived intergroup threats. Reflecting this, multicultural ideology
 173 endorsement was expected to negatively predict realistic and symbolic
 174 threat perceptions and intergroup anxiety, which in turn were expected
 175 to predict more positive Gypsy/Traveller attitudes.

176 2.2.2 | Intergroup contact

177 One of the most widely researched antecedents of outgroup attitudes
 178 is intergroup contact. Allport (1954) proposed that contact with out-
 179 group members, under certain conditions, can reduce prejudice and a
 180 considerable body of research supports this prediction (see Pettigrew
 181 & Tropp, 2006). Contact has also been shown to reduce intergroup
 182 anxiety (e.g., Drury, Hutchison, & Abrams, 2016; Hutchison &
 183 Rosenthal, 2011; Voci & Hewstone, 2003) and perceived realistic and
 184 symbolic threats (Velasco González et al., 2008). For example, in a
 185 study with non-Muslim U.K. residents, Hutchison and Rosenthal (2011)
 186 found that frequent positive intergroup contact was associated with
 187 more positive attitudes toward Muslims and this association was medi-
 188 ated by reduced intergroup anxiety. Other studies have shown that
 189 realistic and symbolic threat perceptions similarly mediate the effect of
 190 intergroup contact on prejudice (e.g., Corenblum & Stephan, 2001).
 191 Thus, like multicultural ideology endorsement, intergroup contact was
 192 expected to negatively predict perceived realistic and symbolic threats
 193 and intergroup anxiety, which in turn should be associated with more
 194 positive Gypsy/Traveller attitudes.

195 2.2.3 | Ingroup identification

196 According to Stephan and Stephan (2000), ingroup identification should
 197 be positively associated with perceived intergroup threats because
 198 people who strongly identify with their ingroup are likely to be more
 199 concerned than low identifiers with protecting the ingroups interests
 200 and preserving important ingroup norms, values, or customs (Hutchison
 201 & Abrams, 2003). High identifiers also experience more anxiety during
 202 intergroup encounters (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006) and due to the
 203 desire to perceive the ingroup as positively distinct from outgroups
 204 (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) may in certain situations (e.g., threatening inter-
 205 group contexts) display favoritism toward ingroup members (Brown,
 206 2000). Several studies provide support for these ideas. For example, in
 207 a study conducted with white and African American participants in the
 208 United States, Stephan, Renfro, Mackie, and Smith (2002) found that
 209 ingroup identification was associated with more negative racial
 210 attitudes and this association was mediated by perceived realistic and
 211 symbolic threats. Along similar lines, Velasco González et al. (2008)
 212 found that Dutch national identification among non-Muslims in the
 213 Netherlands predicted more negative attitudes toward Muslims, and
 214 this association was mediated by perceived intergroup threats. In the
 215 present study, British identification was expected to positively predict
 216 realistic and symbolic threat perceptions and intergroup anxiety, which

in turn should predict more negative attitudes toward Gypsies/
 Travellers. 218

219 2.2.4 | Negative stereotypes

Negative stereotypes were defined in early formulations of ITT 220
 (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) as a distinct type of threat but have since 221
 been reconceptualized as an antecedent of realistic and symbolic threat 222
 perceptions (Stephan et al., 2009). This is based on the assumptions 223
 that where negative outgroup stereotypes exist, ingroup members may 224
 expect outgroup members to behave in stereotype-consistent ways 225
 that are harmful to the ingroup. Such expectations can lead to a 226
 concomitant increase in perceived intergroup threats and intergroup 227
 anxiety, resulting in prejudice. These ideas are supported by research 228
 showing that negative outgroup stereotypes predict more realistic and 229
 symbolic threat perceptions and intergroup anxiety (e.g., Stephan et al., 230
 2002) as well as more negative outgroup attitudes (e.g., Stephan, 231
 Ageyev, Coates-Shrider, Stephan, & Abalakina, 1994). For example, in a 232
 study with white and African American students in the United States, 233
 Stephan et al. (2002) found that realistic and symbolic threats and 234
 intergroup anxiety mediated the effects of antecedent factors including 235
 intergroup contact, ingroup identification, and negative stereotypes on 236
 racial attitudes. Thus, in line with the most recent formulation of ITT 237
 (Stephan et al., 2009), we expected that negative Gypsy/Traveller 238
 stereotypes would predict more perceived intergroup threats and 239
 intergroup anxiety, which in turn should be associated with more 240
 negative Gypsy/Traveller attitudes. 241

242 2.3 | The present research

The present research used ITT (Stephan et al., 2009) as a framework to 243
 investigate public attitudes toward Gypsies/Travellers in the United 244
 Kingdom. Predictions derived from ITT have been tested with different 245
 ethnic and cultural groups but no previous studies have examined the 246
 links between public attitudes toward Gypsies/Travellers the threat and 247
 antecedent variables specified in ITT and related research (Velasco 248
 González et al., 2008). Indeed, despite overwhelming evidence that 249
 Gypsy/Traveller prejudice is widespread and deep-rooted in the United 250
 Kingdom and elsewhere (Lane et al., 2014) and is seen by many people 251
 as acceptable and justified (Coxhead, 2007), there is a surprising lack of 252
 research investigating the underlying factors. With this in mind, the pres- 253
 ent study examined for the first time the relationships between different 254
 types of intergroup threats and their antecedents and U.K. residents' 255
 attitudes toward this marginalized minority (Stephan et al., 2009). 256

ITT provides an appropriate framework to investigate public 257
 attitudes toward Gypsies/Travellers as Gypsy/Traveller communities 258
 are typically perceived and portrayed as posing a threat to the resour- 259
 ces and norms and values of the settled communities they come into 260
 contact with or pass through (Kenrick & Clark, 1999). Media represen- 261
 tations feed such perceptions (Morris, 2000; Richardson & O'Neill, 262
 2012). For example, the Channel 4 documentary series *Big Fat Gypsy* 263
Weddings has faced criticisms over its portrayal of Gypsies/Travellers 264
 as "feckless, violent, and criminal," which has allegedly contributed to 265
 an increase in prejudice and bullying of Gypsy/Traveller children 266

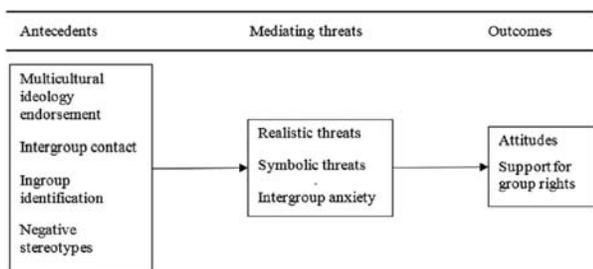


FIGURE 1 Theoretical model for predicting public attitudes toward Gypsies/Travellers (based on Stephan et al., 2009)

were female and 75 were male. The age range was from 18 to 54 years (306
 (M = 23.72, SD = 5.39 years). Ninety participants indicated their high- 307
 est level of education as “higher education,” 75 as “further education,” 308
 14 as “secondary school,” and one participant did not indicate their 309
 highest level of education. One hundred and thirty-two lived in an 310
 urban location, 47 in a rural location, and one participant did not 311
 indicate their usual place of residence. Education level and place of 312
 residence had no effects in the analysis and are not further discussed. 313
 Gender, age, and duration of U.K. residence effects are described 314
 below. 315

3.2 | Materials and procedure 316

Participants were recruited on two university campuses in south east 317
 England and invited to participate in a study on “Gypsy and Traveller 318
 communities in the United Kingdom.” Those who agreed were directed 319
 to an online questionnaire containing all instructions and measures. 320
 Participants were then invited to send a link to the questionnaire to 321
 other potential participants who met the selection criteria (British 322
 residents aged 18 years or over). 323

3.2.1 | Multicultural ideology endorsement 324

Five items assessed the extent to which participants endorsed multicul- 325
 turalism: for example, “The more cultures there are, the better it is for 326
 Britain.” The items were adapted from a measure used by Berry and 327
 Kalin (1995). Responses were recorded on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly* 328
disagree, 5 = *strongly agree*) and were averaged to form a single score. 329
 A higher score indicates more endorsement of multiculturalism 330
 ($\alpha = .71$). 331

3.2.2 | Intergroup contact 332

This was assessed using a 4-item measure adapted from measures 333
 used in previous research testing predictions derived from ITT 334
 (e.g., Velasco González et al., 2008).¹ Three items assessed how much 335
 contact the respondents had with Gypsies/Travellers (e.g., “Do you 336
 have contact with Gypsies/Travellers in your neighborhood?”: 337
 1 = *never*, 5 = *often*) and one item asked how many Gypsy/Traveller 338
 friends they had: 1 = *none*, 5 = *many*). The latter item is typically used 339
 to assess the quality of intergroup contact rather than its quantity (see 340
 Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011). A higher score 341
 indicates more intergroup contact ($\alpha = .75$). 342

¹Preliminary analysis indicated that the items assessing intergroup contact—when analyzed individually or when arranged into two separate measures representing contact quantity and contact quality, respectively—were related to the other variables in identical ways (although none of these relationships were significant). Moreover, the mean score for the three contact quantity items combined was not significantly different from the mean score for the single contact quality item, $t = .96, p = .34$. For these reasons and to avoid conducting additional redundant analyses, rather than two separate measures we combined the contact items to form a single intergroup contact score.

267 (Foster & Norton, 2012; Knapton, 2015). Moreover, as Morris (2000)
 268 argued, regional newspapers regularly represent Gypsies/Travellers in
 269 negative stereotypical ways that enflame tensions with members of
 270 settled communities. Consequently, Gypsies/Travellers are regularly
 271 subjected to different forms of prejudice and discrimination including
 272 negative attitudes and the denial of basic human rights (EHRC, 2016;
 273 Lane et al., 2014).

274 With these considerations in mind, the present research tested pre-
 F1 275 dictions derived from the theoretical model displayed in Figure 1, in which
 276 the intergroup threats specified in ITT (Stephan et al., 2009) and inter-
 277 group anxiety are conceptualized as mediators of the predicted
 278 relationships between antecedent factors (multicultural ideology endorse-
 279 ment, intergroup contact, ingroup identification and negative stereotypes)
 280 and U.K. residents' attitudes toward Gypsies/Travellers. As well as meas-
 281 uring attitudes directly, we additionally assessed U.K. residents' support
 282 for Gypsy/Travellers group rights. As Verkuyten and Yildiz (2006) argued,
 283 supporting a minority groups rights increases the likelihood of that group
 284 being able to maintain and express its own distinctive culture and identity
 285 while allowing them to obtain a more equal status in society. Assessing
 286 support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights, thus, provides an additional, less
 287 direct, measure of U.K. residents' attitudes toward Gypsies/Travellers.

288 Based on the most recent formulation of ITT (Stephan et al., 2009)
 289 and the various lines of related research discussed above, it was pre-
 290 dicted that perceived intergroup threats and intergroup anxiety would
 291 be associated with more negative attitudes toward Gypsies/Travellers
 292 and less support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights. Moreover, multicul-
 293 tural ideology endorsement and intergroup contact were expected to
 294 predict less perceived threats and intergroup anxiety, whereas ingroup
 295 identification and negative stereotypes were expected to predict more
 296 perceived threats and intergroup anxiety. Finally, perceived intergroup
 297 threats and intergroup anxiety were expected to mediate the relation-
 298 ships between the antecedent variables (multicultural ideology
 299 endorsement, intergroup contact, ingroup identification, and negative
 300 stereotypes) and U.K. residents' outgroup attitudes and their support
 301 for Gypsy/Traveller group rights.

302 3 | METHOD

303 3.1 | Participants

304 Participants were 180 adults who had lived in the United Kingdom for
 305 between 1 and 54 years (M = 20.84, SD = 7.31). One-hundred and five

TABLE 1 Means, standard deviations and correlations

	M	SD	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Multicultural ideology	3.58	0.81	.07	.14 [†]	-.35***	-.28***	-.20**	-.10	.28***	.30***
2. Intergroup contact	1.85	0.85	-	.03	-.08	-.09	.03	-.04	.15 [†]	.00
3. Ingroup identification	3.39	1.02		-	.04	.11	.05	.12	-.03	-.16*
4. Negative stereotypes	3.51	0.79			-	.47***	.48***	.44***	-.53***	-.31***
5. Realistic threat	2.62	0.83				-	.58***	.54***	-.40***	-.53***
6. Symbolic threat	2.92	0.95					-	.37***	-.44***	-.32***
7. Intergroup anxiety	2.21	1.02						-	-.39***	-.49**
8. Attitude	42.84	21.85							-	.44***
9. Group rights	3.99	0.99								-

Note. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, [†] $p < .07$.

343 **3.2.3 | Ingroup identification**

344 Seven items assessed participants' identification with Britain: for
 345 example, "Being British is an important part of how I see myself." The
 346 items were adapted from a measure used by Doosje, Ellemers, and
 347 Spears (1995). A higher score indicates more British identification
 348 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$).

349 **3.2.4 | Negative stereotypes**

350 Participants indicated how much they associated six stereotypical
 351 attributes with Gypsies/Travellers: for example, dishonest, trustworthy
 352 (reverse scored). Responses were recorded on a 5-point scale (1 = not
 353 at all, 5 = very much). A higher score indicates a more negative stereo-
 354 type ($\alpha = .85$).

355 **3.2.5 | Realistic threat**

356 Six items assessed perceived realistic threat: for example, "Gypsies/
 357 Travellers get more from this country than they contribute." The items
 358 were similar to those in a measure used by Stephan et al. (1999). A
 359 higher score indicates more perceived realistic threat ($\alpha = .70$).

360 **3.2.6 | Symbolic threat**

361 Six items assessed perceived symbolic threat: for example, "The values
 362 and beliefs of Gypsies/Travellers regarding family issues and socializing
 363 children are similar to those of most other people in the United
 364 Kingdom" (reverse scored). These items were also similar to those in a
 365 measure used by Stephan et al. (1999). A higher score indicates more
 366 perceived symbolic threat ($\alpha = .82$).

367 **3.2.7 | Intergroup anxiety**

368 Intergroup anxiety was assessed by asking participants how they would
 369 feel interacting with a Gypsy/Traveller on six anxiety-related adjectives:
 370 for example, anxious, relaxed (reverse scored). The adjectives
 371 were similar to those in measures used in previous research (Stephan &
 372 Stephan, 2000). Responses were recorded on a 5-point scale (1 = not
 373 at all, 5 = very much). A higher score indicates more intergroup anxiety
 374 ($\alpha = .91$).

3.2.8 | Attitude

Participants evaluated the group "Gypsies/Travellers" on a "feeling
 thermometer." The measure and instructions were similar to those
 used by Verkuyten (2007): "Below is a feeling thermometer. Use this to
 indicate your feelings about Gypsies/Travellers in general. You may use
 any degree between 0 and 100. 0 degrees indicates very cold or negative
 feelings and 100 degrees indicates very warm or positive feelings."
 A higher score indicates a more positive attitude toward Gypsies/
 Travellers.

3.2.9 | Gypsy/Traveller group rights

Four items assessed participants' endorsement of Gypsy/Traveller
 group rights: for example, "Gypsies/Travellers should be entitled to live
 on public spaces when and where they chose" ($\alpha = .77$). A higher score
 indicates more support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights.

4 | RESULTS

Table 1 displays the means and standard deviations for the measures
 as well as their intercorrelations. The mean attitude score was significantly
 lower than the scale midpoint, $t = -4.26$, $p < .001$, indicating a
 relatively negative attitude toward Gypsies/Travellers. In contrast, the
 mean support for group rights score was high and significantly above
 the scale midpoint, $t = 13.10$, $p < .001$. The multicultural ideology
 endorsement, ingroup identification, and negative stereotypes mean
 scores were also all significantly higher than the scale midpoint, all
 $t_s > 5.11$, all $p_s < .001$, whereas intergroup contact, perceived realistic
 threat and intergroup anxiety were all significantly lower than the
 midpoint, $t_s > -6.13$, all $p_s < .001$. Finally, the mean symbolic threat
 score was also relatively low but not significantly lower than the
 midpoint, $t = -1.08$, $p = .28$.

4.1 | Correlation analysis

As shown Table 1, multicultural ideology endorsement was negatively
 associated with perceived realistic and symbolic threats and positively
 associated with attitudes and support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights,

TABLE 2 Summary of hierarchical regression analysis predicting attitude and group rights

Variable	Attitude						Group rights					
	Step 1			Step 2			Step 1			Step 2		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Age	-.09	.33	-.02	-.25	.32	-.06	-.00	.02	-.01	-.01	.01	-.06
Gender	3.65	3.14	.08	5.12	3.04	.12	-.08	.15	-.04	.03	.13	.02
U.K. residence duration	.15	.24	.05	.08	.24	.03	.02	.01	.14	.01	.01	.09
Multicultural ideology	2.34	2.06	.09	1.44	2.02	.05	.35	.10	.29***	.29	.09	.24**
Intergroup contact	2.80	1.71	.11	3.29	1.73	.13 [†]	-.02	.08	-.01	-.01	.08	-.01
Ingroup identification	-1.02	1.50	-.05	-.31	1.44	-.01	-.19	.07	-.20**	-.13	.06	-.13*
Negative stereotypes	-13.47	2.01	-.49***	-8.44	2.26	-.31***	-.28	.09	-.23**	.03	.10	.03
Realistic threat				-1.40	2.42	-.05				-.34	.11	-.29**
Symbolic threat				-5.06	1.89	-.22**				-.04	.08	-.04
Intergroup anxiety				-3.43	1.74	-.16*				-.27	.08	-.28***
R		.56			.62			.47			.63	
R ²		.31			.38			.22			.39	
F for change in R ²		9.99***			5.99**			6.30***			14.94***	

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, [†] $p < .06$.

407 whereas negative stereotypes was positively associated with perceived
 408 realistic threat and intergroup anxiety and negatively associated with
 409 attitudes and support for group rights. Moreover, ingroup identification
 410 was negatively associated with support for group rights whereas inter-
 411 group contact was (marginally) positively associated with attitudes, and
 412 both perceived realistic and symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety
 413 were negatively associated with attitudes and support for group
 414 rights.²

415 Although not displayed in Table 1, age was positively associated
 416 with intergroup contact, $r = .21$, $p = .005$, and negatively associated
 417 with perceived realistic threat, $r = -.26$, $p = .001$. Age was also (mar-
 418 ginally) negatively associated with both perceived symbolic threat,
 419 $r = -.14$, $p = .06$, and intergroup anxiety, $r = -.13$, $p = .07$, whereas
 420 duration of U.K. residence was positively associated with ingroup iden-
 421 tification, $r = .17$, $p = .04$, and (marginally) negatively associated with
 422 intergroup anxiety, $r = -.14$, $p = .07$. In addition, males indicated hav-
 423 ing more contact with Gypsy/Travellers ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 0.93$) than
 424 females ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 0.76$), $t = 2.42$, $p = .02$, and females endorsed
 425 multiculturalism ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 0.71$) more than males ($M = 3.41$,
 426 $SD = 0.91$), $t = -2.48$, $p = .01$. Age, gender and duration of U.K. resi-
 427 dence were, therefore, included as covariates in the analyses described
 428 below.

²High correlation among predictor variables can lead to problems of multi-
 collinearity, which can be detected by inspecting the variance inflation fac-
 tors (VIFs). A VIF value greater than 10 indicates problematic
 multicollinearity (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). All VIFs in the cur-
 rent dataset were ≤ 1.98 indicating an absence of problematic
 multicollinearity.

4.2 | Regression analysis

429 We conducted two hierarchical linear regression analyses to assess the
 430 extent to which the antecedent and threat variables predict attitudes
 431 and support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights, respectively. As shown in
 432 Table 2, as well as age, gender, and duration of U.K. residence, the
 433 antecedent variables were entered in Step 1 and the threat variables in
 434 Step 2.
 435

436 When attitudes was the outcome variable, the regression equation
 437 was significant at Step 1, $F(7, 157) = 9.99$, $p < .001$. Negative stereo-
 438 types negatively predicted attitudes at Step 1, $\beta = -.49$, $t = -6.70$,
 439 $p < .001$. The regression equation was also significant at Step 2, $F(10,$
 440 $157) = 9.46$, $p < .001$. Negative stereotypes, $\beta = -.31$, $t = -3.73$,
 441 $p < .001$, symbolic threat, $\beta = -.22$, $t = -2.67$, $p = .008$, and inter-
 442 group anxiety, $\beta = -.16$, $t = -1.98$, $p = .048$, negatively predicted atti-
 443 tudes whereas intergroup contact (marginally) positively predicted
 444 attitudes, $\beta = .13$, $t = 1.89$, $p = .06$.

445 When support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights was the outcome
 446 variable, the regression equation was significant at Step 1, $F(7, 159) =$
 447 6.30 , $p < .001$. Multicultural ideology endorsement positively predicted
 448 support for group rights, $\beta = .29$, $t = 3.64$, $p < .001$, whereas ingroup
 449 identification, $\beta = -.20$, $t = -2.75$, $p < .001$, and negative stereotypes,
 450 $\beta = -.23$, $t = -3.01$, $p = .003$, negatively predicted support for group
 451 rights. The regression equation was also significant at Step 2, $F(10,$
 452 $156) = 10.05$, $p < .001$. Multicultural ideology endorsement positively
 453 predicted support for group rights, $\beta = .24$, $t = 3.32$, $p = .001$, whereas
 454 ingroup identification, $\beta = -.13$, $t = -1.20$, $p = .048$, realistic threat,
 455 $\beta = -.29$, $t = -3.21$, $p = .002$, and intergroup anxiety, $\beta = -.28$,
 456 $t = -3.62$, $p < .001$, negatively predicted support for group rights.

TABLE 3 Summary of indirect effect tests for attitude and group rights

	Multicultural ideology				Intergroup contact				Ingroup identification				Negative stereotypes			
	PE	SE	LL	UL	PE	SE	LL	UL	PE	SE	LL	UL	PE	SE	LL	UL
Attitude																
Realistic threat	.01	.02	-.022	.067	.00	.01	-.011	.030	-.01	.02	-.057	.011	-.02	.04	-.096	.055
Symbolic threat	.02	.02	-.014	.086	-.02	.02	-.074	.005	-.01	.02	-.053	.022	-.10*	.04	-.201	-.027
Intergroup anxiety	.01	.02	-.022	.048	.00	.01	-.016	.045	-.02	.02	-.069	.005	-.07*	.04	-.165	-.003
Group rights																
Realistic threat	.05*	.03	.005	.135	-.00	.02	-.048	.048	-.03	.03	-.122	.007	-.11*	.05	-.229	-.028
Symbolic threat	.00	.01	-.010	.040	-.00	.01	-.050	.015	-.00	.01	-.034	.010	-.02	.05	-.111	.069
Intergroup anxiety	-.00	.03	-.065	.046	-.00	.02	-.053	.041	-.03	.03	-.107	.007	-.12*	.05	-.238	-.042

Note. LL = lower limit; PE = point estimate; SE = standard error; UL = upper limit.

*Indirect effect is significant.

457 **4.3 | Mediation analysis**

458 To test the prediction derived from ITT (Stephan et al., 2009) that per-
 459 ceived intergroup threats will mediate the relationships between the
 460 antecedents variables (multicultural ideology endorsement, intergroup
 461 contact, ingroup identification, and negative stereotypes) and both atti-
 462 tudes and support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights, we used the
 463 approach outlined by Hayes (2013) for testing multiple mediator mod-
 464 els. This approach uses bootstrapping techniques to estimate the indi-
 465 rect effect of a predictor on an outcome variable through one or more
 466 mediator variables (controlling for other predictors). In these analyses
 467 an indirect effect is significant if the 95% bias-corrected confidence
 468 interval does not include zero. The analyses described below are based
 469 on 5,000 bootstrapped resamples. The variables were standardized and
 470 age, gender, and duration of U.K. residence were included as
 471 covariates.

T3 472 As shown in Table 3, the indirect effect of negative stereotypes
 473 on attitudes through symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety was sig-
 474 nificant. The indirect effect of multicultural ideology endorsement
 475 on support for group rights through perceived realistic threat was
 476 also significant, as was the indirect effect of negative stereotypes on
 477 group rights through perceived realistic threat and intergroup
 478 anxiety.³

³Although negative stereotypes is conceptualized in the most recent formu-
 lation of ITT (Stephan et al., 2009) as an antecedent of intergroup threats,
 previous formulations of the theory defined negative stereotypes as a type
 of threat, which, like the other intergroup threats, expected to mediate the
 effect of antecedent variables on prejudice. Reflecting this we ran another
 analysis with negative stereotypes as a mediator (along with realistic and
 symbolic threats and intergroup anxiety) rather than an antecedent. This
 confirmed that the indirect effect of multicultural ideology endorsement on
 attitudes through negative stereotypes was significant, PE = .12, SE = .04,
 LL = .049, UL = .218. Negative stereotypes did not mediate the effects of
 any other antecedent variables on attitudes or endorsement of group
 rights.

5 | DISCUSSION

479

Prejudice against Gypsies/Travellers is widespread and deep-rooted in 480
 the United Kingdom and elsewhere but there is a lack of research 481
 investigating the underlying factors. The present research used ITT 482
 (Stephan et al., 2009) as a framework to investigate U.K. residents' atti- 483
 tudes toward Gypsies/Travellers. ITT has been used to examine atti- 484
 tudes toward a host of different ethnic and cultural minority groups 485
 but to our knowledge the present study is the first to test predictions 486
 derived from ITT in the context of public attitudes toward Gypsies/ 487
 Travellers. 488

5.1 | Intergroup threats and Gypsy/Traveller attitudes

489

Finding that our sample of U.K. residents expressed an overall negative 490
 attitude toward Gypsies/Travellers is consistent with the considerable 491
 body of reports highlighting the prevalence of Gypsy/Traveller preju- 492
 dice in the United Kingdom and elsewhere (e.g., Lane et al., 2014). In 493
 contrast, endorsement of Gypsy/Traveller group rights was relatively 494
 high, suggesting that participants were not insensitive to the problems 495
 that members of Gypsy/Traveller communities regularly face. Thus, 496
 despite expressing a lack of warmth toward members of such commu- 497
 nities, the general feeling seems to be that Gypsies/Travellers deserve 498
 the protection that group rights potentially afford. 499

Regards the relationships between intergroup threats and the out- 500
 come variables, the correlation results were broadly consistent with 501
 predictions: perceived realistic and symbolic threats and intergroup 502
 anxiety were negatively associated with attitudes and support for 503
 Gypsy/Traveller group rights. Thus, although participants were gener- 504
 ally supportive of Gypsy/Traveller group rights, such support seems to 505
 be tempered by concerns about the assumed lifestyle and/or values of 506
 members of Gypsy/Traveller communities. These findings are consist- 507
 ent with those from previous research showing that perceived inter- 508
 group threats predict more negative outgroup attitudes (e.g., Stephan 509
 et al., 1999). 510

5.2 | Antecedents of intergroup threats

As well as the links between the intergroup threats and outgroup attitudes, the present research additionally investigated antecedent variables which in previous studies have been shown to predict intergroup threats, intergroup anxiety, and outgroup attitudes (see Stephan et al., 2009). Correlations between the antecedents and the threat and outcome variables were broadly in line with predictions. However, when all variables were included as predictors in linear regression analyses, only negative stereotypes, perceived symbolic threats, and intergroup anxiety predicted attitudes, whereas multicultural ideology endorsement, perceived realistic threats, and intergroup anxiety predicted support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights. Moreover, multicultural ideology endorsement predicted support for group rights indirectly through realistic threats, whereas negative stereotypes predicted attitudes indirectly through symbolic threats and intergroup anxiety and predicted support for group rights indirectly through realistic threats and intergroup anxiety. This suggests that our sample of U.K. residents may have had reservations about expressing support for the rights of a minority group that is perceived by many people as consisting of "criminal outsiders" with "questionable morality" (Bhopal & Myers, 2008). This would not be entirely surprising given how Gypsies/Travellers are regularly portrayed in the media and popular discourse (Bhopal & Myers, 2008; Morris, 2000). In contrast, the stereotypical belief that Gypsies/Travellers adhere to different norms or values that the British majority may influence U.K. residents' (dis)liking of them more than their concerns about upholding or improving their collective rights. This may explain why, along with intergroup anxiety, perceived realistic threats mediated the effect of negative stereotypes on support for group rights, whereas perceived symbolic threats mediated the effect of negative stereotypes on attitudes.

In contrast to negative stereotypes, which was associated with more perceived intergroup threats and intergroup anxiety, more negative attitudes, and less support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights, multicultural ideology endorsement was associated with less perceived threats, more positive attitudes, and more support for group rights. These findings, and the fact that perceived realistic threats mediated the effect of multicultural ideology endorsement on support for group rights, suggests that strategies aimed at improving the plight of Gypsy/Traveller communities should aim to highlight the benefits to local communities and wider society of multiculturalism. Such strategies have been used to improve relations between a host of different cultural and ethnic groups (e.g., Castillo, Brossart, Reyes, Conoley, & Phoummarath, 2007; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004) but to our knowledge the present study is the first to demonstrate how adhering to a multicultural ideology could potentially improve relations between members of settled and Gypsy/Traveller communities and, in particular, improve the former's support for the rights for the latter.

5.3 | Limitations and future research

While the majority of our findings are in line with predictions derived from ITT (Stephan et al., 2009), there are limitations with the present

study which future research should aim to address. One limitation concerns intergroup contact and its measurement, which was only marginally associated with more positive attitudes and not significantly associated with any other variables. At face value, this appears contrary to the considerable body of previous research suggesting that contact reduces perceived intergroup threats, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stephan et al., 2009). However, the mean contact score in the present study was low, with 30% of participants indicating having no contact whatsoever with Gypsies/Travellers and 86% scoring below the scale midpoint. This lack of contact and consequent lack of variability in the contact scores may partly explain the lack of any meaningful associations between intergroup contact and the other variables. With this in mind, future research should aim to recruit more participants who have experienced more direct contact with Gypsies/Travellers to better understand its potential to predict Gypsy/Traveller prejudice.

A related issue concerns the contact measure used in the present study which focused primarily on the quantity of contact rather than the quality of contact. Numerous studies have shown that contact quality is a more reliable predictor of outgroup attitudes than contact quantity (e.g., Drury et al., 2016). We included an item assessing how many Gypsy/Traveller friendships respondents had, which is often used to assess the quality of intergroup contact (Davies et al., 2011; Turner & Feddes, 2011). However, the mean score on this item was also low and the responses did not differ from the responses to the items assessing contact quantity. Moreover, like the contact quantity items, the item assessing cross-group friendships was not significantly associated with any other variables when analysed on its own. To help overcome such limitations, future research should use more established (i.e., reliable and valid) measures of different forms of intergroup contact, including contact quantity, contact quality, and cross-group friendships. Future research should also aim to assess more vicarious forms of contact between members of settled and Gypsy/Traveller communities, such as extended contact (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997) and imagined contact (Crisp, Stathi, Turner, & Husnu, 2009), which have been shown to improve intergroup attitudes and pave the way for more direct contact (Eller, Abrams, & Gomez, 2012).

As second limitation in the present study concerns ingroup identification which has been shown in previous research to predict more intergroup threat perceptions and prejudice (see Stephan et al., 2009), whereas in the present study British identification was associated only with less support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights. We measured British identification to examine the extent to which U.K. residents perceived a minority that is commonly portrayed as existing outside of "mainstream" British society and as adhering to different norms and values from the majority of U.K. residents as a threat and/or as a source of intergroup anxiety. However, it may be that assessing local community identification would be more appropriate than British identification as it is at the community/local level that tensions between settled and Gypsy/Traveller communities are typically experienced (Kabachnik, 2010).

Alternatively, it may be that the U.K. residents in our sample were more concerned with threats to their personal welfare and/or property than with group-level threats. Along these lines, Stephan and Renfro

(2002) made a distinction between threats to the ingroup and threats to individual ingroup members. Threats to the ingroup are likely to be influenced by factors such as the perceived nature of intergroup relations (e.g., historical intergroup conflicts) and ingroup identification, whereas threats to individual ingroup members are influenced more by variables specific to the proximal contexts in which ingroup and outgroup members interact (e.g., community spaces; Stephan et al., 2009). Thus, future research should investigate not only the types of threats that Gypsies/Travellers are perceived as posing but also whether such threats are experienced at the personal or group level.

A further limitation with the present study concerns the cross-sectional design, making it difficult to draw firm conclusions about causality. Although our predictions were derived from the perspective of an established and rigorously tested theoretical model (Stephan et al., 2009), alternative pathways between the variables cannot be ruled out.³ For example, it could reasonably be argued that rather than perceived threats and intergroup anxiety underlying negative Gypsy/Traveller attitudes, individuals with more negative Gypsy/Traveller attitudes tend to perceive more threats. Indeed, it may be possible to rationalize just about any direction of influence between the variables examined in the present study (see also Abrams, Van de Vyver, Houston, & Vasiljevic, 2017; Olmstead & Bentler, 2013; Velasco González et al., 2008). Thus, while the most recent formulation of ITT (Stephan et al., 2009) provides a sound theoretical basis for the hypothesized relationships between the variables assessed in the present study, and a considerable body of supportive evidence, future research should be conducted experimentally and longitudinally to allow for stronger inferences to be established.

Another issue that future research should consider is the different ways that attitudes toward marginalized minorities in general, and Gypsies/Travellers in particular, are expressed (see Dixon & Levine, 2012; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). The attitude measure used in the present study required participants to evaluate Gypsies/Travellers as a whole in terms of how warm or cold they feel toward them. As previously discussed, the overall attitude expressed on this measure was relatively negative (or "cold") whereas support for group rights was relatively high. This underlines the importance of using different measures to gain a more nuanced understanding of outgroup attitudes and future research should include additional measures to investigate other potential cognitive, affective, and behavioral consequences of the intergroup threats that Gypsy/Travellers are widely believed to pose.

6 | PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Despite the limitations discussed above, the findings from the present study have potential implications for strategies aimed at reducing prejudice and improving relations between settled and Gypsy/Traveller communities. One implication is that such strategies should focus on the factors that predict intergroup threats rather than just focusing on and condemning Gypsy/Traveller prejudice without addressing such threats and their antecedents (see also Abrams et al., 2017). For example, reflecting the finding that multicultural ideology endorsement was

associated with less perceived intergroup threats, more positive attitudes, and more support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights, emphasizing the merits of cultural diversity and multiculturalism is a potentially fruitful avenue for reducing Gypsy/Traveller prejudice. As previously discussed, such strategies have proved useful in reducing prejudice toward different cultural and ethnic groups (e.g., Castillo, Brossart, Reyes, Conoley, & Phoummarath, 2007; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004) but to our knowledge no such strategies have focused on reducing prejudice against Gypsies/Traveller. However, it should be noted that such strategies alone may be counterproductive to the extent that they highlight and potentially reify intergroup boundaries which can undermine social cohesion (Crisp & Turner, 2011; Schlesinger, 1992).

Another potentially useful strategy that follows from the present research, albeit indirectly, concerns social categorization, and ingroup identification. In the present study, British identification was associated with less support for Gypsy Traveller group rights. However, a considerable body of research suggests that social categorization and ingroup identification need not necessarily result in more negative intergroup relations. For instance, such studies have shown that identification with an inclusive superordinate category instead of, or in conjunction with, a subordinate category can reduce prejudice (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Other research has demonstrated the merits of emphasising cross-cutting categorizations for reducing prejudice (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999; Crisp, Walsh, & Hewstone, 2006). In particular, such studies have shown that when outgroup members are perceived as simultaneously sharing a basis for mutual affiliation with ingroup members (e.g., residents of a particular village or town) this can weaken the salience of the initial "us" and "them" category distinction and thereby reduce category-based evaluative bias (Crisp & Turner, 2011). Future research should extend these lines of enquiry to examine how different models of categorization and social identification might help to inform strategies for improving relations between settled and Gypsy/Traveller communities.

Finally, despite the limitations with the contact measure used in the present study, a considerable body of previous research confirms contact can reduce perceived intergroup threats and intergroup anxiety and, in turn, improve intergroup attitudes. Strategies aimed at reducing prejudice against Gypsies/Travellers should capitalize on these findings, for example, by improving opportunities for members settled and Gypsy/Traveller communities to engage in meaningful contact with the potential to form cross-group friendships and work toward common goals—for example, associated with securing appropriate sights for members of Gypsy/Traveller communities to reside. Given the current level of prejudice and anti-Gypsy/Traveller sentiment in the United Kingdom, interventions involving more vicarious forms of intergroup contact (e.g., extended or imagined contact) could first be utilized to pave the way for interventions involving more direct forms of contact (Eller et al., 2012).

7 | CONCLUSIONS

The present research shows for the first time how the intergroup threats specified in ITT (Stephan et al., 2009) and intergroup anxiety

714 can shape and guide public attitudes toward one of the most socially
715 excluded and discriminated against minorities in the United Kingdom. It
716 additionally identifies factors with the potential to increase or decrease
717 such threats, and strategies aimed at improving the plight Gypsies/
718 Travellers and improving relationships with settled communities should
719 aim to capitalize on the findings by not just targeting and condemning
720 Gypsy/Traveller prejudice but by also addressing the threats that lead
721 to prejudice and their antecedents.

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