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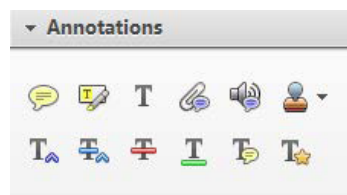


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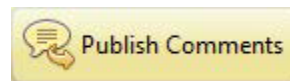


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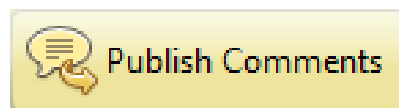
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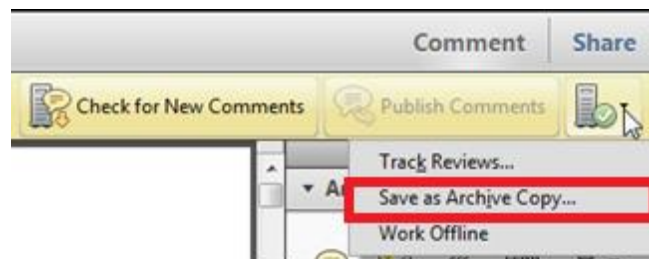
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# Predictors of “the last acceptable racism”: Group threats and public attitudes toward Gypsies and Travellers

AQ4 3 Paul Hutchison<sup>1</sup>  | Raluca Chihade<sup>1</sup> | Andrei A. Puiu<sup>2</sup>

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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.”

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

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

## 2 | GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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

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

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

### 2.1 | Intergroup threats and prejudice

ITT (Stephan, Ybarra, Morrison, & Nelson, 2009) specifies two basic 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

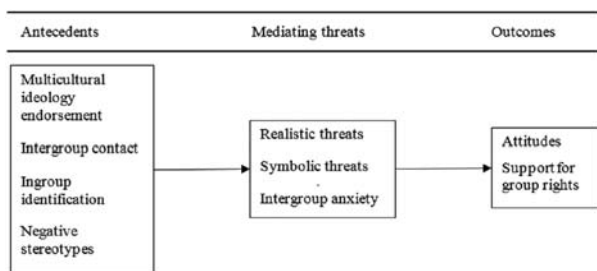
## 219 2.2.4 | Negative stereotypes

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).<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup>Preliminary 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 <sup>†</sup>	-.35***	-.28***	-.20**	-.10	.28***	.30***
2. Intergroup contact	1.85	0.85	-	.03	-.08	-.09	.03	-.04	.15 <sup>†</sup>	.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. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < .07$ .

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 adject-  
 370 tives: 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**

375

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 nega-  
 tive 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**

384

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**

389

Table 1 displays the means and standard deviations for the measures  
 as well as their intercorrelations. The mean attitude score was signifi-  
 cantly 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  
 than 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 scale  
 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 scale  
 midpoint,  $t = -1.08$ ,  $p = .28$ .

**4.1 | Correlation analysis**

403

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	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$	B	SE	$\beta$
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 <sup>†</sup>	-.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 <sup>2</sup>		.31			.38			.22			.39	
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		9.99***			5.99**			6.30***			14.94***	

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < .06$ .

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.

<sup>2</sup>High 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  $\leq 1.98$  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.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Although 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

## 511 5.2 | Antecedents of intergroup threats

512 As well as the links between the intergroup threats and outgroup atti-  
513 tudes, the present research additionally investigated antecedent varia-  
514 bles which in previous studies have been shown to predict intergroup  
515 threats, intergroup anxiety, and outgroup attitudes (see Stephan et al.,  
516 2009). Correlations between the antecedents and the threat and out-  
517 come variables were broadly in line with predictions. However, when  
518 all variables were included as predictors in linear regression analyses,  
519 only negative stereotypes, perceived symbolic threats, and intergroup  
520 anxiety predicted attitudes, whereas multicultural ideology endorse-  
521 ment, perceived realistic threats, and intergroup anxiety predicted sup-  
522 port for Gypsy/Traveller group rights. Moreover, multicultural ideology  
523 endorsement predicted support for group rights indirectly through real-  
524 istic threats, whereas negative stereotypes predicted attitudes indi-  
525 rectly through symbolic threats and intergroup anxiety and predicted  
526 support for group rights indirectly through realistic threats and inter-  
527 group anxiety. This suggests that our sample of U.K. residents may  
528 have had reservations about expressing support for the rights of a  
529 minority group that is perceived by many people as consisting of "crimi-  
530 nal outsiders" with "questionable morality" (Bhopal & Myers, 2008).  
531 This would not be entirely surprising given how Gypsies/Travellers are  
532 regularly portrayed in the media and popular discourse (Bhopal &  
533 Myers, 2008; Morris, 2000). In contrast, the stereotypical belief that  
534 Gypsies/Travellers adhere to different norms or values that the British  
535 majority may influence U.K. residents' (dis)liking of them more than  
536 their concerns about upholding or improving their collective rights. This  
537 may explain why, along with intergroup anxiety, perceived realistic  
538 threats mediated the effect of negative stereotypes on support for  
539 group rights, whereas perceived symbolic threats mediated the effect  
540 of negative stereotypes on attitudes.

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

## 558 5.3 | Limitations and future research

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

study which future research should aim to address. One limitation 561  
concerns intergroup contact and its measurement, which was only 562  
marginally associated with more positive attitudes and not significantly 563  
associated with any other variables. At face value, this appears contrary 564  
to the considerable body of previous research suggesting that contact 565  
reduces perceived intergroup threats, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice 566  
(see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stephan et al., 2009). However, the 567  
mean contact score in the present study was low, with 30% of partici- 568  
pants indicating having no contact whatsoever with Gypsies/Travellers 569  
and 86% scoring below the scale midpoint. This lack of contact and 570  
consequent lack of variability in the contact scores may partly explain 571  
the lack of any meaningful associations between intergroup contact 572  
and the other variables. With this in mind, future research should aim 573  
to recruit more participants who have experienced more direct contact 574  
with Gypsies/Travellers to better understand its potential to predict 575  
Gypsy/Traveller prejudice. 576

A related issue concerns the contact measure used in the present 577  
study which focused primarily on the quantity of contact rather than 578  
the quality of contact. Numerous studies have shown that contact 579  
quality is a more reliable predictor of outgroup attitudes than contact 580  
quantity (e.g., Drury et al., 2016). We included an item assessing how 581  
many Gypsy/Traveller friendships respondents had, which is often 582  
used to assess the quality of intergroup contact (Davies et al., 2011; 583  
Turner & Feddes, 2011). However, the mean score on this item was 584  
also low and the responses did not differ from the responses to the 585  
items assessing contact quantity. Moreover, like the contact quantity 586  
items, the item assessing cross-group friendships was not significantly 587  
associated with any other variables when analysed on its own. To help 588  
overcome such limitations, future research should use more established 589  
(i.e., reliable and valid) measures of different forms of intergroup con- 590  
tact, including contact quantity, contact quality, and cross-group friend- 591  
ships. Future research should also aim to assess more vicarious forms 592  
of contact between members of settled and Gypsy/Traveller commu- 593  
nities, such as extended contact (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & 594  
Ropp, 1997) and imagined contact (Crisp, Stathi, Turner, & Husnu, 595  
2009), which have been shown to improve intergroup attitudes and 596  
pave the way for more direct contact (Eller, Abrams, & Gomez, 2012). 597

As second limitation in the present study concerns ingroup identifi- 598  
cation which has been shown in previous research to predict more inter- 599  
group threat perceptions and prejudice (see Stephan et al., 2009), 600  
whereas in the present study British identification was associated only 601  
with less support for Gypsy/Traveller group rights. We measured British 602  
identification to examine the extent to which U.K. residents perceived a 603  
minority that is commonly portrayed as existing outside of "mainstream" 604  
British society and as adhering to different norms and values from the 605  
majority of U.K. residents as a threat and/or as a source of intergroup 606  
anxiety. However, it may be that assessing local community identifica- 607  
tion would be more appropriate than British identification as it is at the 608  
community/local level that tensions between settled and Gypsy/ 609  
Traveller communities are typically experienced (Kabachnik, 2010). 610

Alternatively, it may be that the U.K. residents in our sample were 611  
more concerned with threats to their personal welfare and/or property 612  
than with group-level threats. Along these lines, Stephan and Renfro 613

(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.<sup>3</sup> 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, emphasising 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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