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**Patterns of Intolerance
What is behind the attitudes to Roma,
Gays and Immigrant Minorities?**

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Patterns of Intolerance: What is behind the attitudes to Roma, Gays and Immigrant Minorities?¹

Martina Klicperová-Baker and Jaroslav Košťál

1 Introduction

Civility, the morality of civil society (Klicperová-Baker, Feierabend, Kovacheva, Titarenko, Košťál, Hofstetter. 2007), appears to be the most important predisposition for democracy. It includes *tolerance to minorities* as an important trait which allows us to peacefully and productively coexist, participate in the democratic process and be included in the public sphere.

Individuals and cultures differ substantially in their ability to tolerate/coexist/accept fellow human beings who differ in features which are viewed as important. Hence, ethnic and cultural minorities as well as people with handicap, different lifestyles, seniors, children and people of various wealth tend to experience a varying level of acceptance. *This study looks for commonality in attitudes to selected minorities and attempts to reveal reasons beyond simple expressions of rejection or acceptance of prospective neighbors.*

¹ A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the Annual Conference of the International Society of Political Psychology, Istanbul, Bilgi University, July 9-12, 2011. The authors wish to thank to Eurosphere (www.eurospheres.org) for a universal support, to the European Commission for funding WP6, to the European Values Study for making their data available at <http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/>. This study was conceived as a part of the research plan of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic—Human beings in the context of a life long development AV 0Z 70250504.

2 Aims of the study

- to review attitudes to various minorities in European countries
- to determine the level of consensus, i.e., which minorities are more and less tolerated across Europe
- to focus on Roma, gays and immigrants and determine patterns of in/tolerance toward them
- to interpret the findings for Europe in contrast with the specific case of the Czech Republic

3 Background - Literature

Generally speaking, interpersonal relations reflect a blend of a) identification with general humanity (McFarland, Hamer-Gutowska, 2006) and of b) diversifying perceptions of dissimilar ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, provocative conduct etc. While perceptions of human brotherhood tend to be manifested by benevolence and general tolerance; the perspective of diversity tends to produce stereotypes, prejudice and *a priori* rejections of fellow-humans who appear to belong to different social categories. These extreme positions typically blend together. A model of an integrative perspective is provided by Sicakkan's (2008) notion of "otherness,"² which signifies both commonalities and disparities between persons and groups and "removes the ontological and normative priority of the Self over the Other..." (Sicakkan, 2008, p. 5).

Human relations tend to be strongly influenced by discrimination between ingroup and outgroup (Tajfel, 1974). Moreover, people "tend to favor ingroup members over outgroup members...even when group membership is determined on trivial or random bases" (Sidanius, Haley, Molina, Pratto, 257). This mechanism of social inequality based on gender and other, often arbitrary criteria, such as "nationality, ethnicity, religion, race and class" (Sidanius, Pratto, 2003, p. 207) is explained by the Social Dominance Theory ([Pratto, Liu, Levin, Sidanius, Shih, Bachrach, Hegarty](#) 2000, Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, Levin, 2004).

4 Minorities in the European context

Social research in Europe has been mostly devoted to immigrants from abroad (refugees, immigrant workers, Muslims), internal ethnic minorities (e.g., Roma), to gender (women) and

² "Otherness" as being "other"— adjective (Sicakkan, 2008, p. 5)

sexuality groups (gays, LGBT). Other groups, although well represented, tend to get less attention (seniors, people with various handicaps, the poor).

A considerable research work has been recently devoted to the study of dispositions toward multiculturalism or, conversely, to a study of mechanisms of social exclusion (e.g., Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver 2008; Jasńska-Kania 2009; Kotic, Triandafyllidou 2003; Remennick, 2002; Fevre 1998). Fear, threat and possible racial or religious resentments belong to the most significant polarizing factors (Curşeu, Stoop, and Schalk, 2007; González, Verkuyten, Weesie, Poppe, Edwin. 2008; Ayers; Hofstetter; Schnakenberg; Kolody, 2009).

5 Neighborhoods

There is a general pressure from the majority to assimilate minorities, yet, at the same time, minorities as neighbors are often rejected. And the same time, minorities themselves often prefer to segregate and cluster together rather than intersperse (Netting 1991, White, Kim, Glick 2005). Irrespective of race and ethnicity, “people of all types see higher minority areas as less desirable places to live“ (Stipak, Hensler, 1983; p.319). There are several reasons why people deeply care about the demographics of their neighborhood, a significant role is played by xenophobia and prejudice. Another, pragmatic reason dwells in the “environmental injustice“ (Talih, Fricker, Jr, 2002).

So, although research often testifies that crime rates may be higher in minority neighborhoods, the “positive deviance“ of immigrants is often underreported, i.e., better working ethics and academic achievement (Pearce 2006), or that homicides may be lower in neighborhoods with certain percentage of immigrants.³

6 Social distance research

One of the earliest methods used to assess tolerance among members of diverse social groups is the Social Distance Scale (SDS) devised by Emory S. Bogardus (1925). Over the years, social distance proved to be a viable concept and the SDS method is still both a favorite tool and an inspiration for constructing related social distance techniques (Payne Jr., York Joen Fagan 1974; Jerabek, De Man 1994; Lyman 1995; Akerlof 1997; [Lee](#) , [Campbell](#) , [Mulford](#) 1999; Brockett, Village, Francis 2009).

³ Krueger, Bond, Rogers and Hummer (2004, p. 223) demonstrated that “residents of areas where 10% or more of their neighbors are foreign born have 35% lower mortality risks than people living in areas with fewer foreign born people (p<0.05) ; in other words, “areas with high concentrations of foreign born people protect against homicide mortality” (p. 224).

Bogardus's scale underwent rigorous challenges, especially when used outside the Western culture context; e.g., Weinfurt, Moghaddam (2001) report that Indian and Algerian respondents deviated substantially from the assumption of ordinal scales of the questionnaire. Although results need to be interpreted always with an utmost care, it should be noted that – in words of H. Sicakkan (2005)—not all that seems non-harmonic or logically inconsistent is necessarily noise. Hence, the renown European Values study (EVS), has been using Bogardus type scale in its regular surveys of mutual tolerance among European citizens.

The EVS has provided an invaluable treasure of data and an encouragement to research European attitudes at a grand scale—see, among others, the series of European Values Studies publications which now forms a nice library of 13 volumes (EVS 2011). There is also a rich assortment of scholarly works which analyze individual countries and phenomena. Among others, Aleš Burjanek (2001) in his study on xenophobia calculated “indices of xenophobia,” described a typical xenophobe and pointed out differences in tolerance between the Western and Eastern Europe prevailing a decade after the fall of Berlin wall. Coming out from this methodological standpoint our intention was to look even further, into the latent variables beyond the data. We were hoping that using the same scale we may succeed to capture spontaneous meanings and contexts between the variables.

7 Method

The European Values Study, wave 4 which was executed in the 2008-2010 period, served as a data source for our secondary analysis. The fourth wave included 44 European countries with N=63,281 participants. Question 6 of the survey⁴ asked: “*On this list are various groups of people. Could you please sort out any that you would not like as neighbors?*” The participants' task was to indicate which of the list they would not like to have as a neighbor: Christians, Jews, large families, Muslims, immigrant workers, Roma, gays, people with AIDS, people with criminal record, people of different race, emotionally unstable, political extremists, heavy drinkers, drug addicts.

We recoded original scale 1=mentioned, 0=not mentioned, DK/NA, NAP (structural missings—no answer possible), and not asked into: 1=did not mention (including DK, NA), 2=mentioned and -1=user missing value for (not asked).

All applicable national data sets were included to our analyses: the whole sample (44 European countries, N=63,281) of unweighted data entered the initial analyses. The factor

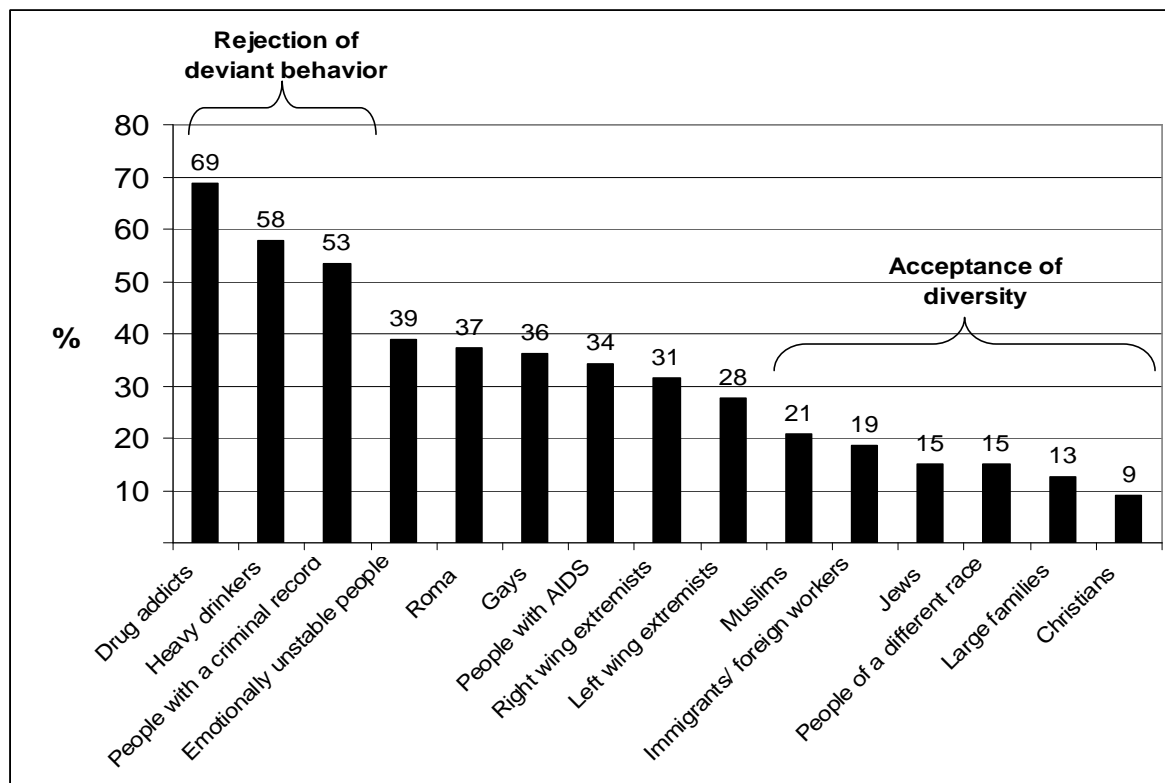
⁴ Derived from the Social Distance Theory

analyses were executed with a) all European national data (unweighted) where the original multiple battery was asked in its full extent⁵ and b) the complete Czech sample of the fourth wave (N=1,821).

The statistical analyses were executed by SPSS, version 18. Among others, we carried out an exploratory factor analysis using extraction method of principal components and VARIMAX rotation based on Kaiser's criterion of eigenvalue > 1.

8 Results

Our exploration started with a review what neighbors are being viewed as the most or least “undesirable” by respondents of all the 44 participating countries. Graph 1 presents average percentages, the countries entered are unweighted with respect to their population (hence each country had an equal weight when the all-European average was calculated). DK and NA responses were handled as “undesirability not mentioned.”



Basis: All respondents, including DK/NA responses, item Christians was left out in 7 countries (At, Dk, Fr, By, It, No, Si)

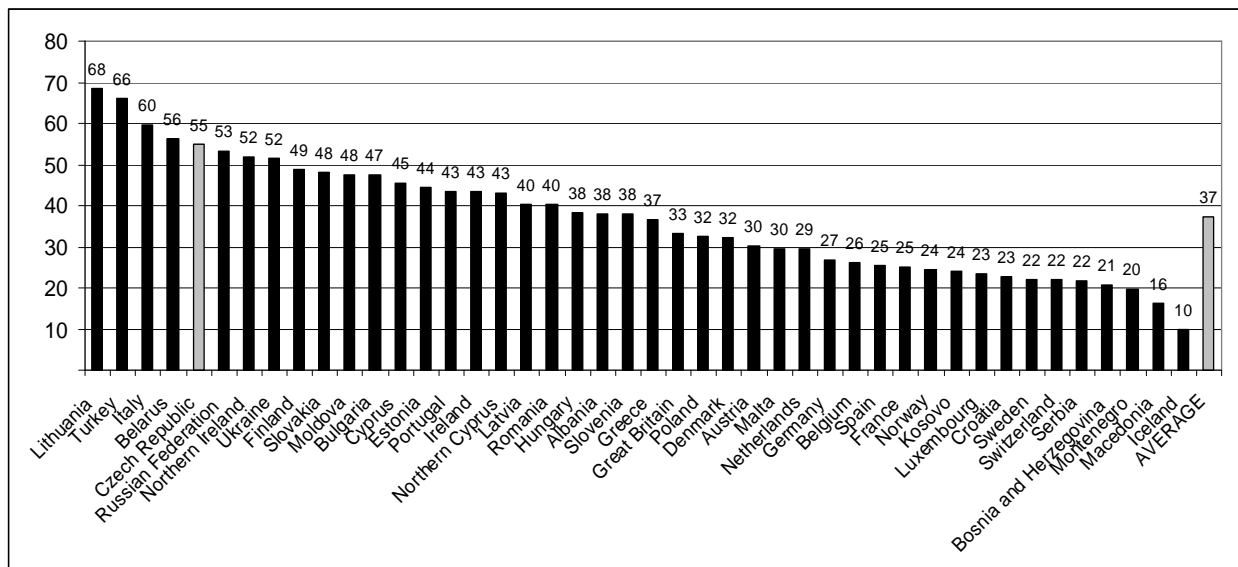
Graph 1. Undesirable Neighbors in 44 European Countries--unweighted percentages

⁵ This condition was not met by national samples of Austria, Denmark, France, Belarus, Italy, Norway and Slovenia, where Christians were not included to the multiple dichotomy, the list of prospective neighbors as a part of the survey question. Therefore, these samples were not included into the European factor analysis in the factor analysis of this study. Data of these countries though were not excluded from the subsequent analyses in our forthcoming publication.

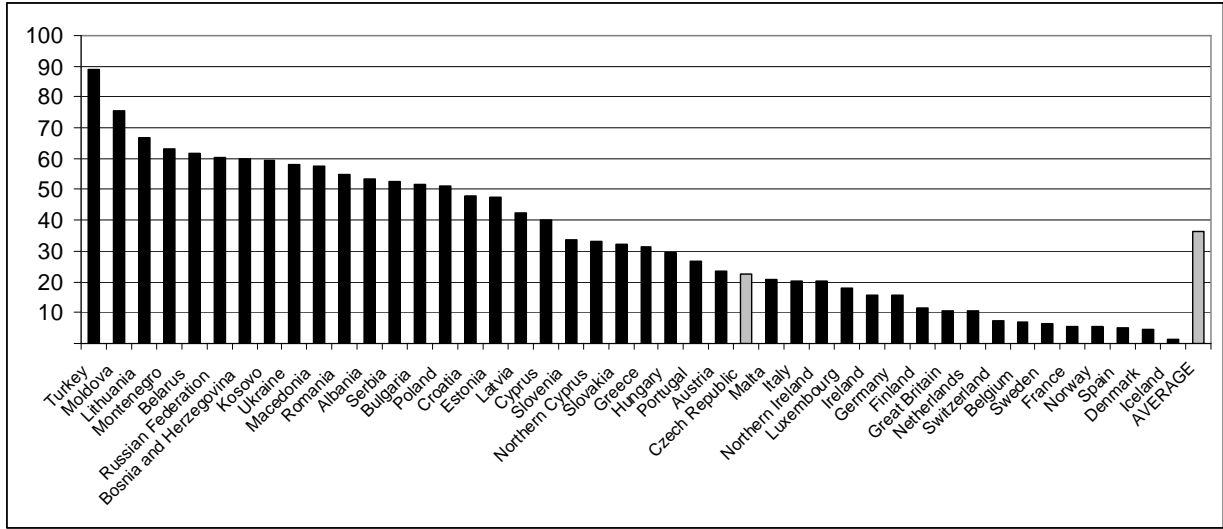
Graph 1 provides a general review of :

- a) The most desirable neighbors, accepted by at least 75% of respondents. These are prevalently characterized by *ethnic diversity* of religions and ethnicities.
- b) The least desirable neighbors, rejected by most respondents. These are mostly characterized by various types of behavioral excesses, *behavioral deviance from social norms*.
- c) Ambivalently judged social groups, in the middle of the graph, with rejection rate between 25-50%. These social categories elicit most *mixed attitudes*, they are political radicals, Roma, gays with people with AIDS and emotionally unstable people.

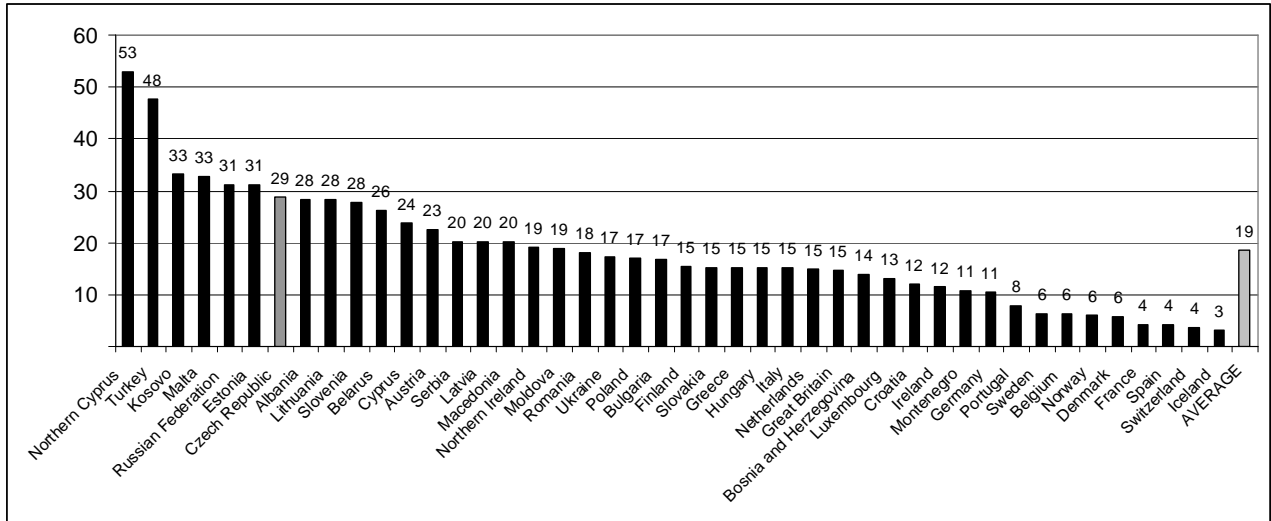
The following Graphs 2 a, b, c concentrate at individual social groups, i.e., acceptance of Roma, gays and immigrant workers across individual countries.



Graph 2a. Undesirable neighbors—Roma by country. Percentage of frequency counts. Average and the Czech Republic values highlighted.



Graph 2b. Undesirable neighbors—gays by country. Percentage of frequency counts. Average and the Czech Republic values highlighted.



Graph 2c. Undesirable neighbors—immigrants and foreign workers by country. Percentage of frequency counts. Average and the Czech Republic values highlighted.

A closer look at the trio of Graphs 2a, 2b and 2c allows interesting insights. For one, the average rejection rate of Roma and gays is practically identical—36% and 37%. Yet the spans of both distributions are very different. While in Roma rejection there is bigger consensus—Roma are rejected by 10% (in Iceland) to 68% (in Lithuania), gays are rejected with a wider span of national averages: from almost none (1% respondents in Iceland) to almost all (as many as 89% respondents in Turkey). Notably, there appear to be various patterns of xenophobia: e.g., the Czechs are relatively benevolent to gays (rejection rate of 22%) but strict to Roma and foreign workers (rejection rate of 55% and 29% respectively).

Our main analyses focused on revelation of less obvious, deeper relationships among these attitudes by exploratory factor analysis. We performed it twice: 1. once on an “all-

European sample” which involved data from all countries where the original survey question (the list of prospective neighbors included the Christian category, hence altogether 44-7=37 countries). The second run of factor analysis included 2.the Czech sample.

Table 1 shows the results of factor analysis for the “all European” data. Three factors were found:

1. The *first factor* merge gathered social groups with distinct ethnic (mostly religious and racial) traits; we may label the factor as Ethnic or Ethnic Diversity factor. Notably, this factor joins together majoritarian Christianity with other, minority ethnic groups.
2. The items with the highest loading on the *second factor* congregated social groups distinctive by unusual behavior, different from social norms: drug addicts, heavy drinkers and people with criminal record warrant a label of Behavior or Behavioral Deviance.
3. Finally, the clear cut *third factor* put together the two items of (left and right) Political Extremism.

The social groups which tend to be judged with ambivalence (Roma, gays and people with AIDS, who on average receive 34% to 37% of negative choices – see Graph 1) turned out to be associate with the first two factors: hence, the Roma, gays and AIDS patients have considerable loadings both on Ethnicity and Behavior (i.e., Diversity and Deviance) factors—see Table 1a. This result suggests that Roma and gays (along with AIDS patients) are attributed not just diversity identity but they are also judged on the basis of their normative conduct. This normative accent in Europe seems to be particularly pronounced for gays (and AIDS patients) and is also significantly present in attitudes to people with mental imbalance (loading .558).

Table 1a. Factor analysis – Europe N=53.288 participants

	FACTOR ANALYSIS – EUROPE		
	ETHNICITY ethnic diversity	BEHAVIOR behavioral deviance	POLITICS political extremism
UN/DESIRABLE NEIGHBORS			
Jews	.732		
Christians	.711		
people of different race	.698		
immigrants/foreign workers	.686		
large families	.659		
Muslims	.576		
Roma	.411	.391	
drug addicts		.751	
heavy drinkers		.678	
people with a criminal record		.668	
gays	.309	.658	
people with AIDS	.345	.657	
emotionally unstable people		.558	
right wing extremists			.904
left wing extremists			.862

Both KMO (.848, i.e., well above the .6 criterion) and Bartlett sphericity tests were satisfactory, total variance explained was 53.30%. (see Table 1b).

Table 1b. The variance explained by three factors:

Components	Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	4.540	30.269	30.269	3.287	21.914	21.914
2	2.042	13.611	43.880	3.009	20.063	41.977
3	1.413	9.423	53.303	1.699	11.326	53.303

The factor analytic *solution for these Czech (unweighted) data produced identical three factors* as were yielded by the European (unweighted data) solution: here, too, we can label the major factors as Ethnicity (Ethnic Diversity), Behavior (Behavioral Deviance) and Politics (Political Extremism). In fact, this three-factor solution for the Czechs is stable and occurs even when the sample is weighted for demographic data ⁶ (more about weighting please find in the discussion segment).

⁶ While the all-European solution for weighted data produced an additional, Religion factor, no such Religion factor was produced by the Czech responses, even in the weighted condition. This is most likely due to the

There is considerable international agreement on what constitutes Diversity and Deviance. Still, despite the identical factor solution, there are also notable differences between the European and Czech factor solutions, particularly for minorities which tend to be judged ambivalently, such as Roma, gays and immigrant workers:

Roma, who in the European factor analysis evenly balance between the Ethnicity (Ethnic Diversity) and Behavior (Behavioral Deviance) factor with almost identical loadings of .4, landed in the Czech factor analysis unambiguously on the Behavior factor with a significant loading of .590. (Notably, as Graph 1 documents, Roma in the Czech Republic appear to be rejected by most—i.e., by as many as 55% respondents).

In contrast, *gays*, who are in the Czech Republic accepted with more benevolence than in an average European state (Graph 1 shows a low rejection rate of gays in the Czech Republic by mere 22% of respondents) have a correspondingly different position in factor analysis: The gay loadings are stronger on the Ethnicity factor than on Behavioral Deviance factor (in .6 to .3 ratio); that is an opposite ratio than in the European result for gays (.3 to .7).

Still, loadings relevant to the *people with AIDS* in the Czech Republic divulge that attitudes to AIDS patients are linked more to Behavioral Deviance than to Diversity (.4 to .6), very much so as in the rest of Europe. That does not necessarily indicate that the Czechs are generally discriminating against illness. In fact, the Czechs appear quite benevolent to *emotionally unstable people*, at least as much can be judged from a primary placement of mental instability on the Diversity factor (with a significant loading of .538), rather than on Deviance factor by the Czech sample.

Immigrants and foreign workers somewhat surprisingly have not retained in the Czech factor solution their exclusive position on the Ethnic Diversity factor (loading as high as .686 in the all-European solution). The Czech factor analysis shows immigrants and foreign workers split between the Ethnic Diversity factor (.534) and Behavioral Deviance factor (.396).

The occurrence of heavy drinkers on the third factor is somewhat mysterious and hard to explain by something else than by an unrotated proximity of survey items as “heavy drinkers” were “sandwiched” between political extremists during administration (the sequence was: C. Left extremists, D. heavy drinkers E. Right extremists).

overwhelmingly non-confessional Czech populace and a limited immigration from non-Christian countries. (More in proceedings from the Eurosphere symposium at the RCPE conference—Klicperová-Baker, Košťál 2011).

Table 2. Exploratory factor analysis – the Czech Republic N=1,821

UN/DESIRABLE NEIGHBORS	FACTOR ANALYSIS – CZECH REPUBLIC		
	ETHNICITY ethnic diversity	BEHAVIOR behavioral deviance	POLITICS political extremism
Jews	.732		
people of different race	.637		
Christians	.633		
large families	.609		
gays	.608	.313	
Muslims	.555		
emotionally unstable people	.538		
immigrant/foreign workers	.534	.396	
drug addicts		.718	
people with criminal record		.638	
Roma		.590	
heavy drinkers		.557	.407
people with AIDS	.397	.550	
right wing extremists			.870
left wing extremists			.863

Both KMO (.886) and Bartlett tests were satisfactory, total variance explained was 52.29%. (see Table 1b).

Table 1b. The variance explained by three factors:

Components	Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.118	34.117	34.117	3.322	22.144	22.144
2	1.576	10.508	44.625	2.505	16.700	38.844
3	1.150	7.665	52.290	2.017	13.446	52.290

9 Discussion and conclusions

This study analyzes latent relationship among attitudes to selected minorities. It attempts to reveal patterns beyond simple expressions of rejection or acceptance of prospective neighbors documented by the European Values Survey.

There appears to be a general agreement regarding the most tolerated/accepted and most ostracized/rejected social groups. The former, the tolerated groups, have a common trait in their ethnic diversity. The latter, rejected groups can be generally defined by behavior

diverting from general norms⁷. This division into: *acceptance of diversity* and *rejection of behavioral deviance* was confirmed by factor analyses. Both, the solution for Europe as well as for the Czech Republic produced comparable three factors with high factor loadings. 1. factor of Ethnicity (Ethnic Diversity), 2. factor of Behavior (Deviant Behavior) and 3. Political (Political Extremism) factor.

The content of these factors reveals what spontaneous attributions (descriptors or threats) are ascribed to respective minorities. The fact that the majoritarian Christianity shares the first factor with other ethnicities can be interpreted in conciliatory multicultural terms, such as that Christians along with Jews, Muslims and people of various races are just ethnically different one people. Clustering of socially deviant behavior (drug addiction, alcoholism and crime) together to the second factor was to be expected.

Less predictable and most revealing is the factor affiliation and height of loadings of the rest, i.e., of social groups which are generally judged with ambivalence (receiving medium level rejections—see Graph 1). After political extremists formed their own factor, we are left with the rest of social groups (gays, Roma, emotionally unstable people, people with AIDS and immigrant workers) who, depending on the social context show up sometimes closer to the Ethnic Diversity factor, other times to the Behavioral Deviance factors. These alternative attributions reveal latent spontaneous attributions and suggest what underlying concerns, prejudice, etc. may be involved beyond a simple response to the survey item on the side of the respondents.

Apparently, these underlying contents are region specific, this study points out just the differences in factor analyses between Europe and the Czech Republic. While Graphs 2a-c inform us of variance in the acceptance of Roma, gays and foreign workers in various countries and in Europe in general; the factor analysis, in addition, suggests latent variables which are behind the attitudes and which most indicate sources of in/tolerance.

The generally accepted *ethnic groups* (Jews, Christians, Muslims) as well as *people of different race and large families* landed unequivocally on the first, Ethnic Diversity factor, both in the all-European as well as in the Czech factor analysis solution. On the other hand, generally rejected social groups (people involved in *crime, drug and alcohol abuse*)

⁷ Let us point out that deviance from social norms does not necessarily imply normativity of moral character although socially maladaptive drug addiction and crime appear at the top of this factor. Deviance from majority may be also in the positive direction as we noted in the earlier section on the positive features of immigrants and as literature on positive deviance informs (see also Pascale, Sternin and Sternin 2010, Walker, Sterling, Hoke, Dearden, 2007; Zaidi, Jaffery, Moin 2010).

associated along the second, Behavior (or Behavioral Deviance) factor—which was again true both for the all-European and Czech samples.

Rather surprising was a similar, unequivocal placement of *emotionally unstable people* on the same Behavioral factor by the all-European sample. This association with Behavioral Deviance seems to be related to the phenomenon of fearing and blaming mental/psychiatric patients (e.g., Martin, Pescosolido, Olafsdottir, McLeod 2007). In this context, the sole attribution of emotional instability to the Diversity factor in the Czech case strikes as rather surprising and suggests a prevalent excuplation of people with mental problems as well as affirmation that “negative attitudes toward mental-health problems in communist past have been overcome” (Krosnar 2008).

A similar discrepancy was observed in the attitudes to *gays*: the all-European sample data reveal mixed feelings, associating the *gays* primarily with the factor of Behavioral Deviance (along with the *AIDS-patients*). The Czech results appear more benevolent: the *gays* are assigned primarily to the Diversity factor, less so to Behavioral Deviance (still, the *AIDS-patients* retain the Behavioral Deviance attribution in the Czech solution, as was the case in the all-European results). Tendency to blame the victim seems to be generally prevalent (Lee, Campbell, Mulford (1999).

Not very surprisingly, loadings for *Roma* in the all-European case were divided evenly between Ethnic Diversity and Behavioral Deviance factors while Czech attributions rested primarily on the Behavioral Deviance factor only. After all, the Czech discourse about *Roma* is heavily focused on the *Roma* conduct, i.e., on their behavioral issues rather than on ethnic specificity, *Roma* characteristics are discussed more than responsibilities of the majoritarian society. This is in concordance with Buriánek’s (1999) review of Czech *Roma* situation and his point that the Czech xenophobia of the *Roma* has social and cultural rather than ethnic roots. Ryšavý (2003) in his article *Social Distance towards Roma* points out that results of public opinion regarding *Roma* in the Czech Republic are often presented in a way which suggests that the research is focused on what kind of people *Roma* are rather than what are the public attitudes toward them and that such presentation may feedback to reinforce negativity. It is telling that those who have a personal experience with living close to *Roma* report better coexistence with them (admittedly, negative responses still prevail) than people without such direct *Roma* experience.⁸

⁸ In a recent poll of IVVM (2011) 43% of respondents claimed that they had *Roma* in their neighborhood and the ratio of positive versus negative evaluation of coexistence with them was 36% to 59%; in the general population this ratio was even more skewed: 16% positive to 81% negative ratings on coexistence.

Similar to the Roma phenomenon is the case of attitudes *to immigrant and foreign workers*. The all-European analysis, as could be expected, attributed the immigrants primarily to the Ethnic Diversity factor. However, the Czech data show immigrants balancing partly on the Ethnic and partly on the Behavioral (Behavioral Deviance) factor. One may suspect that this is another projection of low tolerance and to a great degree a result of associating immigrant workers with crime. By far the most numerous foreign workers in the Czech Republic are Ukrainians—the Czech Statistical Office has registered over 130,000 Ukrainians in the Czech Republic (2009) as well as cases of their illegal migration or overstaying legal permits (2011). The most usual media reports on Ukrainians in the Czech Republic seem to cover activities of Ukrainian mafias who specialize in trafficking illegal workers from Ukraine and systematically rob them of their earnings (e.g., Idnes 2001, Týden 2008).

Although one has to be very cautious with interpretations, we believe that our exploratory, heuristic study provides a deeper insight into the complex network of attitudes, namely enables comprehension of the attributions of the general public with regard to minorities. The ratios between ascriptions of Diversity and Behavioral Deviance may also provide leads for education for better European and Czech citizenship.

This article, devoted to the unweighted data of the 4th EVS wave,⁹ may be considered an opening step of our analysis. Further examination will include demographic weighting with respect to proportions of population size, gender and age of respective nations (we are aware of risks which may be brought into the data by weighting procedures) and review of findings based on weighted and unweighted data.

⁹ The 4th EVS wave was carried out by random stratified sampling procedure including representative geographical and urban/rural coverage.

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