



“GENERALIZATION OF PREJUDICE AMONG MIGRANTS OUTGROUPS”

Erasmus+ KA2 Strategic Partnership Project “Peace Dialogue
Campus Network: Fostering Positive Attitudes between
Migrants and Youth in Hosting Societies (Peacemakers)”

Bologna Bootcamp, September 24, 2019

Learning Goals

After this unit you will be able to understand:

- know the psychological bases of stereotypes, prejudice, and generalization processes
- understand the theoretical models that propose different generalization processes



Social perception: social categorization

- Us versus them
- Ingroup versus outgroup



The Outcomes of Social Categorisation Processes: Social Discrimination

- Is the differential treatment of individuals, based on their group memberships.
- It is the behavioral outcome of a biased evaluation.
- It can be conceived as the behavioural component of prejudice (i.e., an attitude).

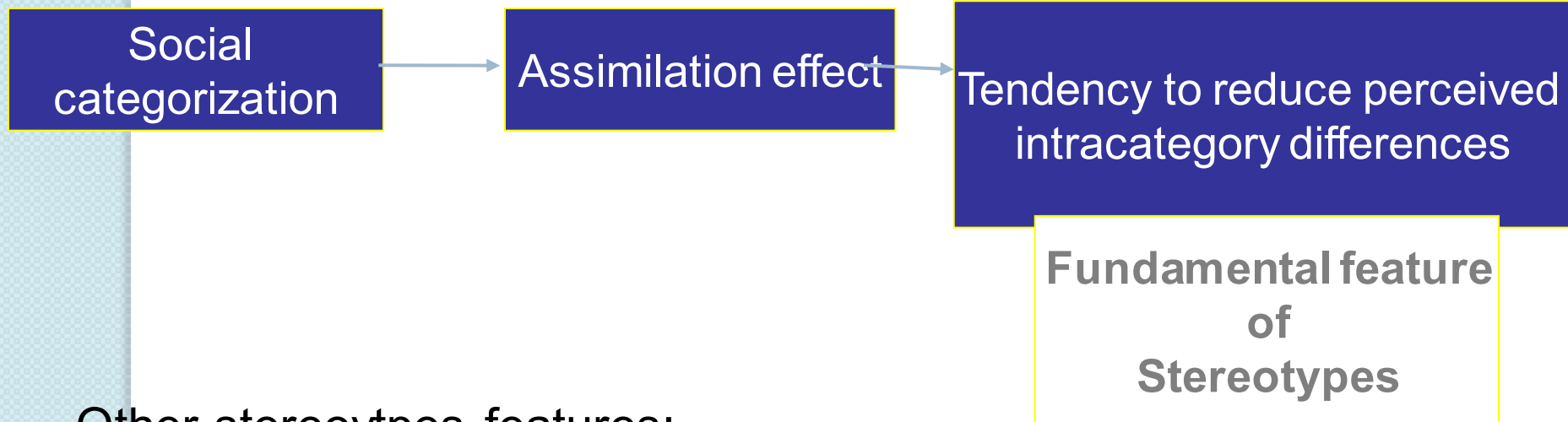


The Outcomes of Social Categorisation Processes: Social stereotypes

- Tajfel (1981)

Social stereotypes are like social representations/myths, that is fundamental components of the environment influencing collective aspects of social behaviours by groups of individuals

Stereotypes formation and features



Other stereoytpes features:

- repeatable
- resistance to change
- Culturally rooted
- Shared through communication

For stereotype formation

A category and an adjective are needed

Stereotypes

- Stereotypes are cognitive structures in which information is organized and connected in terms of specific relations → they affect consequential memory processes or judgement processes
- Culturally shared stereotypes (Devine, 1998), also by people that do not approve them.
- Stereotypes activation is often automatic
 - automatic processes do not require great cognitive effort, nor intention or consciousness;

Stereotypes and Generalization Processes

“They are all alike” (Brown, 2011, p. 49) is the way we often perceive and judge outgroup members (i.e., outgroup homogeneity)

Brown quoted the radio interview by the British football commentator John Motson, who--referring to black football players--said: “there are teams where you have got players who, from a distance, look almost identical. And, of course, with more black players coming into the game (...) it can be very confusing (...) if there were five of six black players into the time and several of them going for the fall it can be difficult” (*Independent*, 5 January 1988; see also Brown, 2011, p. 49)



Stereotypes and Generalization Processes

Such perceived interchangeability among members of an outgroup is at the core of the generalization tendency in which stereotypes are rooted (Judd & Park, 1988) → difficulty in changing stereotypes, especially when negative

Stereotypes and Generalization Processes

Generalization processes as an intragroup phenomenon:

Generalization of extreme exemplars onto the whole group:

- deviant members of a group (i.e., performing deviant, negative, behavior) are **overestimated in the whole group impression** (Rothbart, Fulero, Jensen, Howard, & Birrel, 1978)
- Perceived representativity of extreme versus moderate group outgroup members varies when intergroup context becomes salient → *extreme members* are perceived as representative of the whole outgroup in comparison with moderate ones (Haslam, Oakes, & McGarty 1995)

AN UNDEREXPLORED PHENOMENON: OUTGROUP-TO-OUTGROUP GENERALIZATION (outgroup projection)

OUTGROUP-TO-OUTGROUP
GENERALIZATION IN common
sense

Examples

Islamic terrorists → Muslims/Arabs

Roma → Romanians





Some examples

Such outgroups are very negatively perceived in different (Western) cultural contexts

In public discourse, we often witness generalization of such minority negatively perceived subgroups onto other, more inclusive, partially overlapping outgroups

How to address outgroup-to-outgroup generalization?

One way to investigate how exemplars of one outgroup can be generalized onto another outgroup is through exemplar **prototypicality**.

(prototypes: ideal type members of a category that best represent its identity; Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1998)

Mummendey and Wenzel (1999), in their work on *ingroup projection*, considered the prototypicality of ingroupers and outgroupers over the superordinate common category.

Albarello & Rubini (2011; see also, Albarello, Foroni, Hewstone, & Rubini, 2019) considered prototypicality of the members of one outgroup over another one as an indicator of outgroup projection.

Albarello, Foroni, Hewstone, & Rubini (2017) considered estimation of exemplars of one group over the other in a memory task as an indicator of outgroup projection.

Albarello, Foroni, Hewstone, & Rubini (2019) considered agreement with sentences expressing the overlap between members of one outgroup and of the other one formulated with abstract versus concrete terms (cf. linguistic category model; Semin & Fiedler, 1988) as an implicit indicator of outgroup projection.

Characteristics of Prejudice towards Roma and Romanians

- Anti-Roma hostility is very high in Italy (Claps & Vitale, 2011; ODIHR, 2008) where many cases of discrimination and aggression have been reported (Amnesty International, 2008).
- Not only Roma, but also the national group of Romanians (who represent the most numerous foreign population in Italy; ISTAT, 2018) is targeted with heinous prejudice both in Italy and in Europe (e.g., Ion, 2011).
- This may be due to a confounding between the two groups, given a relative similarity in the category labels defining these two groups (i.e., *Roma-Romanians*)². This led the Romanian government to fund a campaign stressing all the positive characteristics of Romanians living in Italy (Nadotti, 2008).
- Woodcock (2007) highlighted that a consistent portion of Romanians attribute the discrimination they suffer to the association with the Roma subgroup. This is indeed what seems to happen in Italy, wherein the numerical relation is 1.6 Roma individuals to 100 Romanians (European Commission, 2014). Moreover, among Roma within the Italian territory, only a minority seems to have Romanian origins (European Commission, 2014).

Characteristics of Prejudice towards Roma and Romanians

- Ljubic, Vedder, Dekker, and Geel (2012) compared anti-Roma prejudice to Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and anti-Chinese feelings.

They found that, besides some communalities in terms of general negative attitudes towards minorities, evaluations of Roma loaded together on a separate factor. In view of this evidence they concluded that anti-Roma prejudice is different from general prejudice towards minorities

- Ljubic, Vedder, Dekker, and Geel (2013) analysed the role of perceived threat, nationalistic feelings and integrative orientations towards Roma comparing a Dutch and Serbian sample of high-school students.

They found that Dutch adolescents perceived Roma as both economically and symbolically threatening (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) and that such perceptions mediated the effects of integration preference and nationalism on Romaphobia. Serbians, on the other hand, reported lower levels of economic and symbolic threat compared to Dutch adolescents.

Prejudice towards Muslims/Arabs

- Prejudice against Muslims and people from Arab countries is very widespread in Western countries too (FRA, 2017; Ogan, Willnat, Pennington, & Basir, 2014) and such outgroups are also very negatively perceived (Bruneau, Kteily, & Laustsen, 2018).
- Perceived Arab support for terrorist attacks has been shown to predict prejudice against immigrants, in general, and Muslims (Doosje, Zimmermann, Kupper, Zick, & Meertens, 2009). Generalization of terrorists onto such groups also appears in the Western popular culture (e.g., in movies; Malik, 2009) and in public opinion.



Contents of stereotypes towards Roma (Albarello & Rubini, 2011, Study 1, Study 2)

Albarello & Rubini (2011) investigated the content of stereotypes towards Roma and Romanians

- To whom these characteristics might apply?
«warm», «well-mannered», «having a civilized life-style», «educating children to respect civilised behavioural norms», «interested in children well-being», «illegality», «delinquent», «dishonesty», «cunning», «sly», «dirty», «living close to animals», «musical»
 - Response format: Roma/ Romanians/ Roma and Romanians/ None
- To what extent the following emotions are elicited by Roma/Romanians?
«fear»; «threat»; «worry»; «envy»; «admiration»; «insecurity»

Content of stereotypes towards Roma and Romanians

[illegible]

Emotions elicited by Roma and Romanians

	Admiration	Envy	Disgust	Insecurity	Threat	Fear	Worry
None	50 (92.6%)	54 (100%)	21 (38.9%)	12 (22.2%)	12 (22.2%)	15 (27.8%)	5 (9.3%)
Roma	2 (3.7%)	0 (0%)	18 (33.3%)	17 (31.5%)	16 (29.6%)	11 (20.4%)	22 (40.7%)
Romanians	1 (1.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.9%)	1 (1.9%)	5 (9.3%)	4 (7.4%)	2 (3.7%)
Roma and Romanians	1 (1.9%)	0 (0%)	14 (25.9%)	24 (44.4%)	21 (38.9%)	24 (44.4%)	25 (46.3%)
Total	54 (100%)	54 (100%)	54 (100%)	54 (100%)	54 (100%)	54 (100%)	54 (100%)

Stereotype content towards Roma and Romanians (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002)

	Groups	
	Roma	Romanians
Social status	1.67 _c (.91)	2.32 _d (.87)
Perceived threat	5.20 _a (1.70)	4.62 _b (1.80)
Incompatibility of goals	4.87 _a (2.00)	4.20 _b (1.69)
Fear	5.30 _a (1.55)	4.71 _b (1.70)
Admiration	1.75 _c (1.10)	2.30 _d (1.09)
Envy	1.30 _f (.83)	1.52 _e (.98)

Prejudice towards Roma and Romanians

- Warmth and education (cf., SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) are not attributed to both Roma and Romanians.
- Civilized life-style is associated to Romanians but not Roma (for a consistent percentage of participants it does not apply to both Roma and Romanians).
- Both groups are attributed lack of attention to children well-being.
- Roma are attributed life-style close to animals, but a quarter of sample attributed this feature to Romanians also.
- The majority of participants evaluated both Roma and Romanians as dishonest, delinquent, both groups are also perceived as sly and cunning.

Such qualitative data let us argue that the **negative content of stereotypes** of Roma **are generalised** onto Romanians and that the positive ones (e.g., musical) are generalised onto the superinclusive outgroup.

Emotional reactions to Roma and Romanians

Data revealed an overlap between the emotions attributed to Roma and Romanians:

- Both groups do not elicit envy nor admiration, but they both elicit threat, insecurity, fear, and worry.
 - according to the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002), such emotions are associated to the contemptuous facet of prejudice, which is associated to both groups.
 - both Roma and Romanians are thus perceived as low status, not warm outgroups
- Low attribution of disgust for both groups (social desirability?)



Which is the relation between groups' perceived prototypicality and prejudice towards Roma and Romanians? (Albarello & Rubini, 2011, Study 3)

Examined concepts:


Evaluation of Roma and Romanians (perceived threat; likeability, feelings thermometer; human prototypicality of groups)

Projection measures (i.e., «to what a typical Roma is a representative exemplar of a typical Romanian?»; cf. Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999)

Variable	Prejudice towards Romanians				
	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Roma prototypicality over Romanians	-9.48	3.53	-.34	-2.68	.010
Romanians prototypicality over Roma	-1.79	2.47	-.09	-.73	.473
Prejudice towards Roma	0.56	0.12	0.54	4.82	.000
Variable	Prejudice towards Roma				
	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Roma prototypicality over Romanians	6.19	3.97	.23	1.56	.127
Romanians prototypicality over Roma	-0.94	2.66	-0.05	-0.35	.726
Prejudice towards Romanians	0.64	.132	.66	4.82	.000

$F(3, 45) = 13.57, p < .001, R^2 = 0.70$ (adj. $R^2 = 0.49$).

$F(3, 45) = 8.40, p < .001, R^2 = 0.61$ (adj. $R^2 = 0.38$).

- 
- Prejudice towards Romanians is related to the tendency to project Roma (minority negatively perceived subgroup) onto Romanians.

That is, the more people perceive Roma as a prototype of Romanians (but not viceversa), the more prejudice they display towards Romanians.

- People distinguish between Roma and Romanians and evaluate Roma more negatively than Romanians. Nevertheless, due to a generalisation process, they project the (more salient) minority outgroup onto the partially overlapping superinclusive one.



Does threat related to immigrants enhance the outgroup projection bias?

(Albarello, Foroni, Hewstone, & Rubini, 2017)

INTERGROUP THREAT AS AN ANTECEDENT OF PREJUDICE

-Stephan and Stephan (1996, 2000):

- *realistic threat* (i.e., threats to ingroup's existence, economic and political power, or physical or material well-being)
- *symbolic threat* (i.e., threat related to outgroups' differential morals, values, beliefs and standards)

Threat, in addition to increased intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping, predicts prejudice towards national outgroups in the U.S.A.

Threat leads to legitimization of discrimination (Pereira, Vala, & Costa Lopez, 2009; for a review, see, Rios, Sosa, & Osborn, 2019)

- realistic threat mediates the relationship between prejudice and opposition to immigration;
- symbolic threat mediates the effects of prejudice on opposition to the naturalisation of outgroups.



INTERGROUP THREAT AS AN ANTECEDENT OF PREJUDICE

- **Threat leads to restriction of intergroup boundaries and exclusion of ambiguous targets** (e.g., categorization of mixed-race targets as outgroupers under intergroup threat; Ho, Sidanius, Cuddy, & Banaji, 2013).
- **Intergroup threat enhances explicit discrimination and also implicit linguistic discrimination towards Roma** (Albareello & Rubini, 2018)

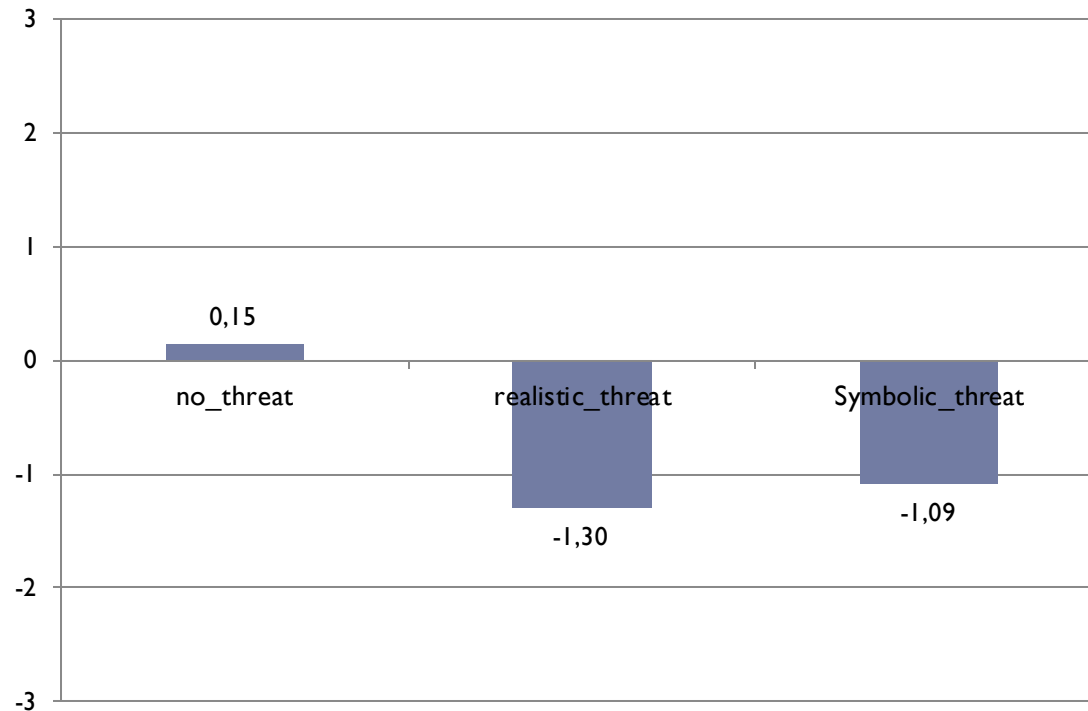
THREAT AND DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS ROMA (Albarello & Rubini, 2018)

Procedure

- Participants received a paper-and-pencil questionnaire. On the first page they were assured about anonymity of their answers and were told that the research focused on perception of social groups. In the second page, before presenting the dependent measures, in the realistic and symbolic threat conditions, they read a scenario that was meant to manipulate threat and had been previously pretested.
- The *realistic threat scenario* read: “Recent research by the national statistical institute showed that during the last year unemployment increased for Italians (+3%) and 176.000 Italians lost their jobs. Conversely, immigrants’ (among whom Romanians are the most represented group) employment level increased (+200.000). Moreover, immigration led to increased costs for public health, education and welfare policies aimed at promoting immigrants’ integration”.
- The *symbolic threat scenario* read: “Recent research by the national statistical institute showed strong cultural differences between Italians and immigrants. Immigrants (among whom Romanians are the most represented group) have different habits, traditions, ideologies and moral values when compared to those of Italians. Immigrants are also radically different in terms of their life-styles, the ways in which they behave at work and also at home, for instance, in terms of the children’s educational policies they endorse”.

THREAT AND DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS ROMA (Albarello & Rubini, 2018)

LINGUISTIC ABSTRACTION

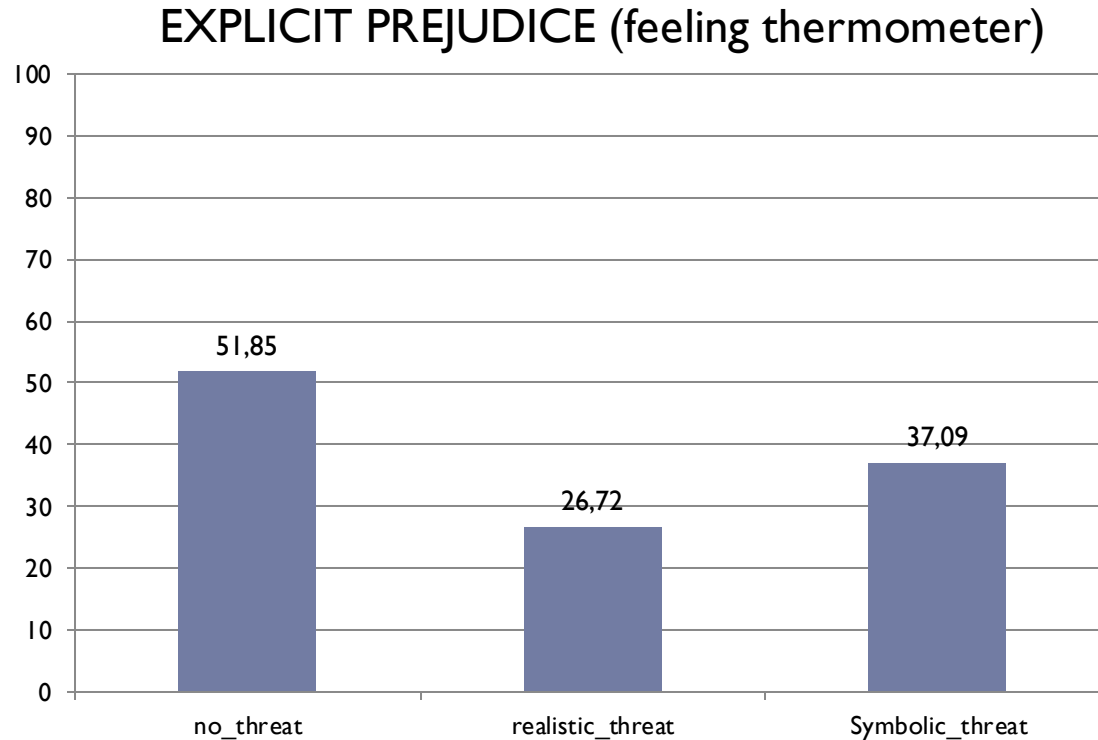


$$F(2, 95) = 36.04, p < .001, \eta^2 = .431$$

H1:

No-threat vs. Realistic threat: $p < .001$;
No-threat vs. Symbolic threat: $p < .001$

THREAT AND DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS ROMA (Albarello & Rubini, 2018)



$$F(2, 95) = 9.27, p < .001, \eta^2 = .163$$

H2:

No-threat vs. Realistic-threat: $p < .001$;

No-threat vs. Symbolic-threat: $p = .039$

THREAT AND DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS ROMA (Albarello & Rubini, 2018)

SPSS MACRO 2.15 (model 4)

Predictor	Total effect			Direct effect			Total Indirect effect 95% CI			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
D_1	-25.13	5.87	.000	-11.74	7.24	.109	-13.39	4.81	-23.64	-4.61
D_2	-14.76	5.79	.012	-3.35	6.81	.624	-11.41	3.77	-19.80	-4.61

Note. D_1 = no-threat (0), realistic threat (1); D_2 no-threat (0), symbolic threat (1); SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit.

Omnibus effect of total effects: $F(2, 95) = 9.27, p < .001$;

Omnibus test of indirect effects: 95% CI [1.36, 7.32]

Alternative mediational model: CI [0.00, 0.00]

THREAT AND DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS ROMA (Albarello & Rubini, 2018)

- Threat (realistic/symbolic) enhanced both explicit and implicit discrimination towards the negatively perceived and marginalised group of Roma.
- Linguistic discrimination mediated the effect of threat on explicit prejudice

→ threat emphasises linguistic biases

INTERGROUP THREAT AS AN ANTECEDENT OF PREJUDICE

- **Intergroup threat enhances outgroup-to-outgroup generalisation** (Albarello et al., 2017):

Realistic and Symbolic intergroup threat increase the generalization of members of a negatively valued minority outgroup (i.e., Roma) onto a partially overlapping superinclusive outgroup (i.e., Romanians)

Intergroup threat enhances outgroup-to-outgroup generalisation (Albarello et al., 2017)

Procedure:

Threat manipulation through a slide presenting a different threat scenario.

Then, participants were presented with a **sequence of 20 slides** (for 2 seconds each), each presenting a **photo of either a Roma ($n = 10$) or a Romanian ($n = 10$) male**. The categorical label (“Roma” or “Romanian”) was added.

After presentation of all the photographs, participants were presented with a paper-and-pencil questionnaire in which they were asked to **estimate the percentage of Roma individuals** out of the total amount of presented photographs.

The response represented our **measure of outgroup projection**.

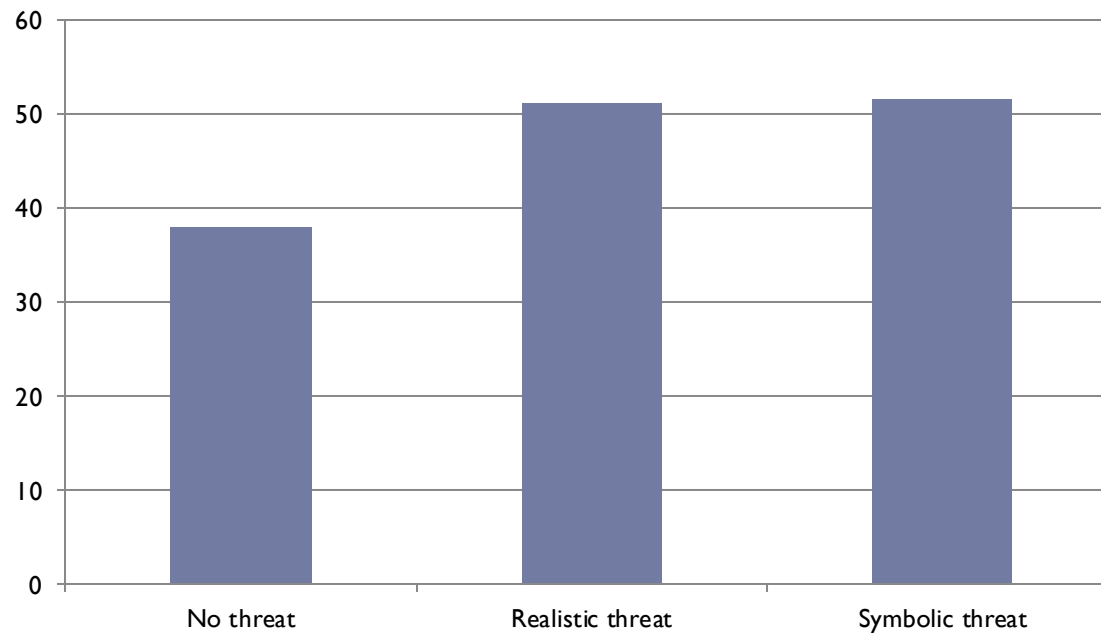
For instance, if a participant answers 100% (i.e., 20 photographs of Roma), the answer highlights a strong outgroup projection; if the answer is 0% (i.e., 0 photographs of Roma), there is no outgroup projection.

Manipulation check: Participants reported the extent to which they felt threatened by the groups at stake on a 7-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

- The one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) (threat condition: no-threat, realistic threat, symbolic threat) on the measure of perceived threat showed a significant effect, $F(2, 88) = 27.54, p < .001, \eta^2 = .385$. Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc comparisons revealed that participants in the realistic ($M = 4.92, SD = 1.21$) and the symbolic threat ($M = 4.60, SD = 1.60$) conditions felt more threatened than those in the no-threat condition ($M = 2.45, SD = 1.42; ps < .001$) while the two threat conditions did not differ from each other ($p = 1.00$).

Intergroup threat enhances outgroup-to-outgroup generalisation (Albarello et al., 2017)

Estimation of Photos of Roma out of the Total



$$F(2, 88) = 4.78, p = .011, \eta^2 = .089.$$

Preconditions for outgroup-to-outgroup projection bias (Albarello et al., 2019)

a) Which outgroups are involved?

Negatively perceived minority outgroup **(pretest 1-2)**

b) Are all outgroup generalized onto another outgroup?

A relation of (perceived) sub/superinclusion is necessary **(pretest 3)**

c) Does intergroup threat enhance outgroup-to-outgroup generalisation and what is the underlying process leading to this effect? **(Study 1, Study 2)**

The hypothesised underlying process:

Intergroup threat enhances salience of intergroup distinction (cf. Haslam et al., 1995) and leads to restriction of intergroup boundaries (cf. Ho et al., 2013) and to exclusion of ambiguous targets →

This leads to enhanced outgroup-to-outgroup generalization

Why?

People evolutionary prefer to perform false positive errors (i.e., failing to adopt a theory that is true; Haselton & Nettle, 2006) rather than false negative errors (i.e., failing to adopt a theory that is true) in order to **AVOID THE RISK of failing to recognize the members of the more negative outgroup**

The process underlying the outgroup projection bias (Albarello et al., 2019)

Threat and emotions

- Recent attention has been paid to the role of emotions as processes through which threat enhances prejudice (Chang, Krosch, & Cikara, 2016)
- Link between threat and **fear** in neurophysiological research: fear as a reaction preparing the organism to react to threat (Mobbs et al., 2000; Ohman, 2000)
- Intergroup emotions elicited by groups mediate the effects of prejudice predictors (i.e., warmth and competence Cuddy, Fiske, & Glisk, 2007) on behavioral reaction towards groups.
- **Disgust** is associated to avoidance of negative stimuli (Rozin et al., 2000) and leads to defensive mechanisms to protect the ingroup on intergroup contexts (Hodson & Costello, 2007).
- Rom e Rumeni suscitano pregiudizio di disgusto (Albarello & Rubini, 2011)

The process underlying the outgroup projection bias (Albarello et al., 2019)

- Study 1:
 - target groups: Roma, Romanians
 - threat: no-threat, realistic threat, symbolic threat
 - VDs: explicit generalisation (i.e., groups' prototypicality cf. Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999)
 - fear due to threat; repulsion emotions (i.e., disgust & contempt) elicited by groups.
- Study 2
 - Target groups: Islamic terrorists/Arabs
 - threat: no-threat, symbolic threat
 - VDs: explicit generalisation + implicit linguistic generalisation based on linguistic abstraction (cf. Semin & Fiedler, 1988)
 - repulsion emotions

Pretesting necessary pre-conditions (Albareello et al., 2019)

Pre-test I Evaluation of Roma < Romanians

- $N = 40$ undergraduate, $M_{age} = 23.40$, $SD = 3.36$, female: 57.5%)

- VD: perception of Roma/Romanians (1 = very negative; 7 = very positive)

Roma ($M = 1.63$, $SD = 0.87$) < Romanians ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 0.88$), $t(39) = 4.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .320$.

$p < .001$, $d = 2.74$; $t(39) = -13.44$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.13$.

Pre-test I Evaluation of Islamic terrorists < Arabs

$N = 45$ undergraduate, $M_{age} = 20.67$, $SD = 4.20$, female: 68.1%)

- VD: perception of Islami terrorists/Arabs (i.e., the people from the 22 member states of the Arab League; (1 = very negative; 7 = very positive)

- Islamic terrorists ($M = 1.33$, $SD = 0.48$) < Arabs ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 0.83$), $t(45) = 17.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .785$.

Pretesting necessary pre-conditions

(Albarello et al., 2019)

Pre-test 3: «is the sub/suprainclusion relation between groups necessary?»

Does intergroup threat enhance generalisation of Roma onto another (not superinclusive outgroup)?

Target groups: Roma – Turks (only a limited % of Turks are also Roma; cf. Council of Europe, 2018)

- $N = 82$ undergraduate, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.14$, $SD = 3.91$, females: 69.5%)
- IV = threat (no-threat, realistic threat, symbolic threat)
- VD: group prototypicality (cf. Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; e.g., to what extent a typical Roma is similar to a typical Turk?»; 1 = *not at all*; 7 = *very much*)
- Results: Threat effect: $F(2, 79) = 0.02$, $p = .983$, $\eta^2 = .000$ (all pair-wise comparisons, *ns*)

STUDY I (Albarello et al., 2019)

- Threat will enhance the tendency to generalise Roma onto Romanians (but not viceversa) (H1)
- Since negative prototypes shape the group perception, Roma exemplars will be perceived as prototypes of Romanians (but not the other way around) (H2)
- **Fear** due to threat (H3a) and **repulsion emotions** due to groups (H3b) will mediate the effect of threat on generalization of Roma onto Romanians.

STUDY I (Albarello et al., 2019)

- $N = 186$ undergraduate, $M_{\text{age}} = 18.88$, $SD = 6.15$, females: 70.4%

- *Procedure*: study on group impressions

- **Romanians** (described as people from Romania, some of whom could also be Roma)
- **Roma** (described as a minority ethnic group some of whom could also be Romanians).

$N =$ threat (no-threat, realistic threat, symbolic threat)

target group (Roma, Romanians)

Studio I (Rom/Rumeni) – METODO

Manipolazione minaccia

(pretestata in Albarello & Rubini, 2018, JLSP)

Minaccia realistica

Ricerche recenti dell'Istat sul rapporto tra cittadinanza italiana e immigrati mostrano che nell'ultimo anno è aumentato il tasso di disoccupazione dei cittadini italiani (+3.1%).

Circa 176.000 cittadini italiani hanno perso il proprio posto di lavoro. L'occupazione straniera è invece cresciuta (200.000 circa).

L'immigrazione ha inoltre prodotto un aumento dei costi economici di gestione della salute pubblica, dell'istruzione e delle politiche di welfare volte a favorire l'integrazione degli immigrati.

Minaccia simbolica

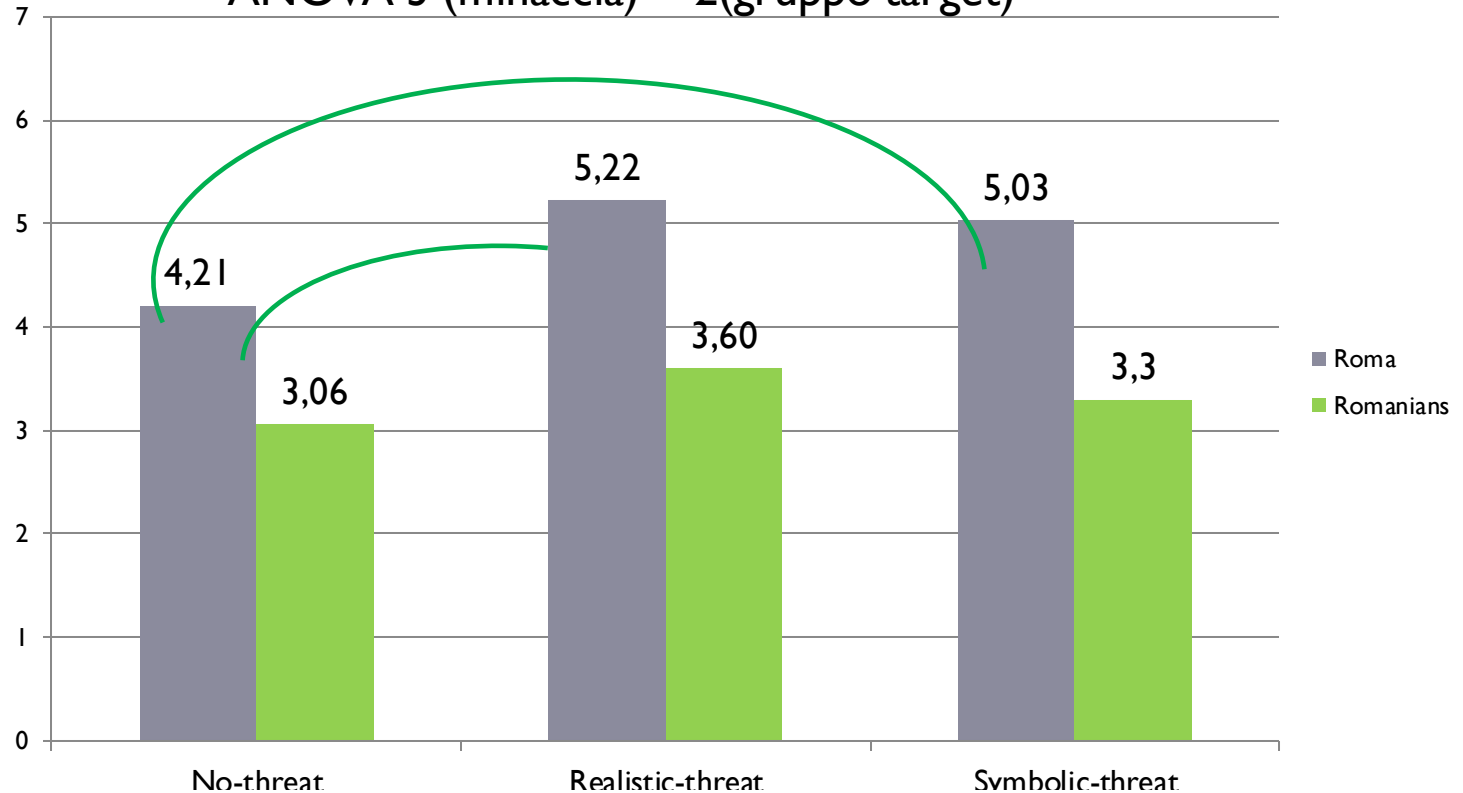
Ricerche recenti dell'Istat sul rapporto tra cittadinanza italiana e immigrati hanno rilevato forti differenze culturali tra la popolazione italiana e quella immigrata.

Gli immigrati sul territorio italiano posseggono abitudini, tradizioni, ideologie e valori morali diversi da quelli degli italiani.

Gli immigrati si differenziano radicalmente anche per gli stili di vita, i comportamenti lavorativi e i comportamenti legati alla sfera familiare, come le pratiche e gli standard educativi verso i figli.

Results (H1): group prototypicality

ANOVA 3 (minaccia) × 2 (gruppo target)



H1: threat enhances generalisation of the minority outgroup onto the other outgroup

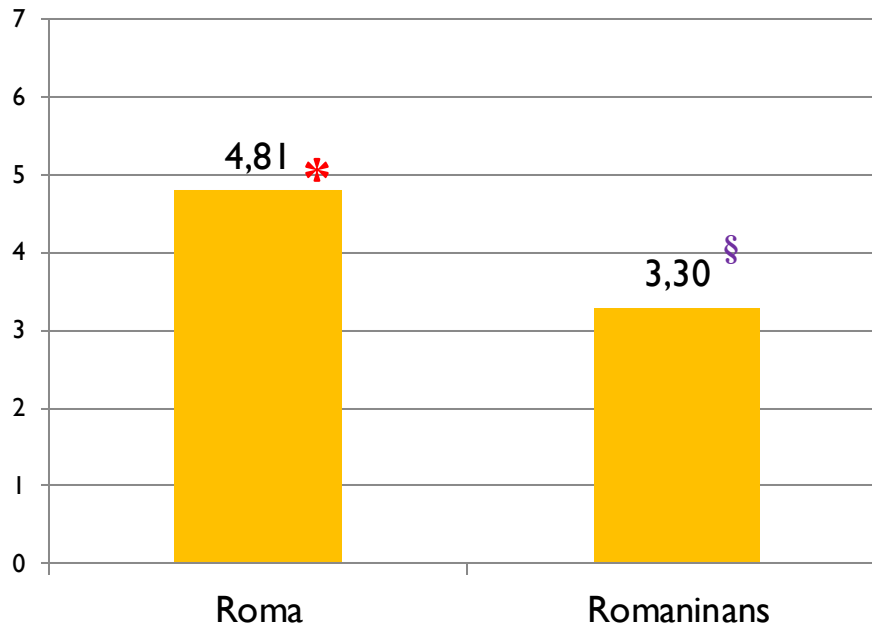
- Threat: ($M_{\text{no-threat}} = 3.67$; $M_{\text{realistic-threat}} = 4.50$; $M_{\text{symbolic-threat}} = 4.22$), $F(2, 180) = 4.85$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2 = .051$

- Threat × Target group, $F(2, 180) = 1.54$, ns

- Threat simple main effects: a) **Roma**: no-threat ≠ realistic/symbolic threat ($p_s \leq .052$)

b) **Romanians** ($p_s \geq .476$)

Results (H2): groups prototypicality



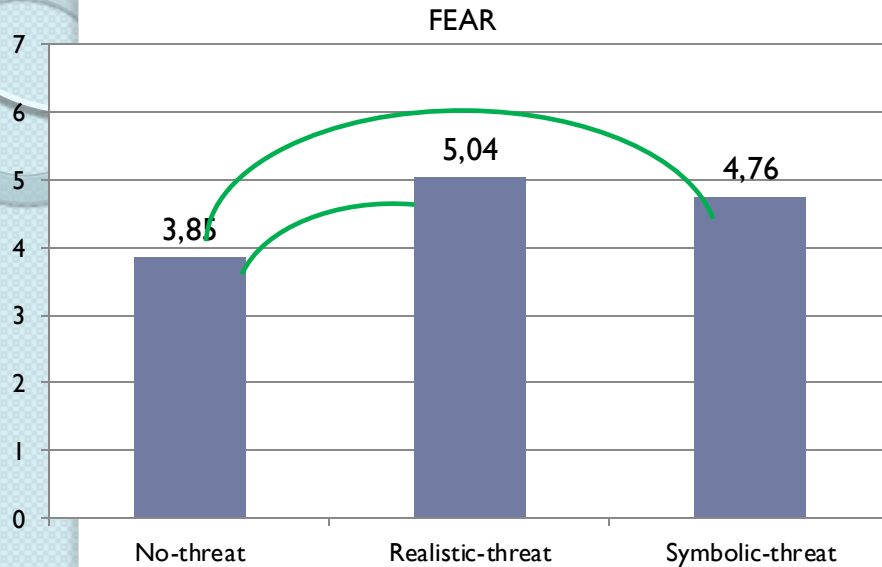
* > mean point, $t(99) = 5.26$,
 $p < .001$, $d = 0.35$

§ $t(86) = -4.09$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.53$

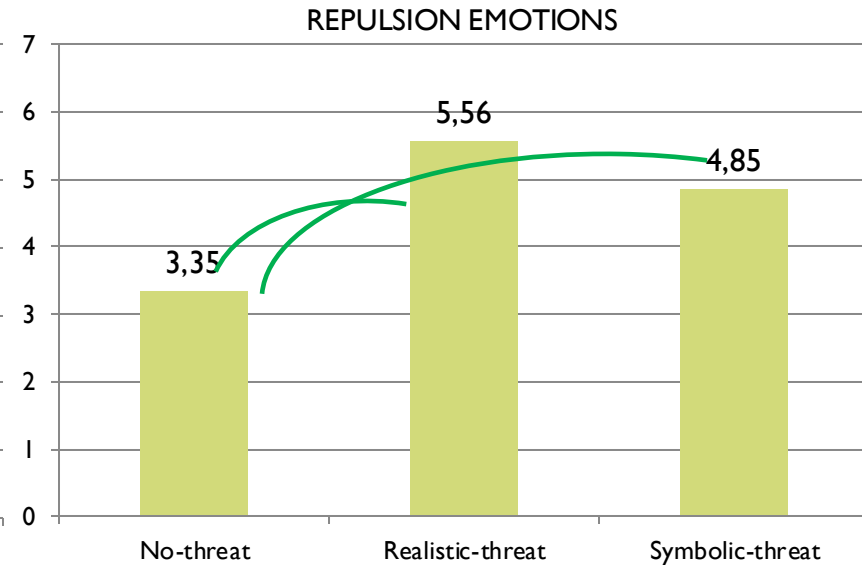
Target group: $F(2, 180) = 52.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .225$

H2: the generalization process is not reversible: not all outgroups are generalized onto another outgroup

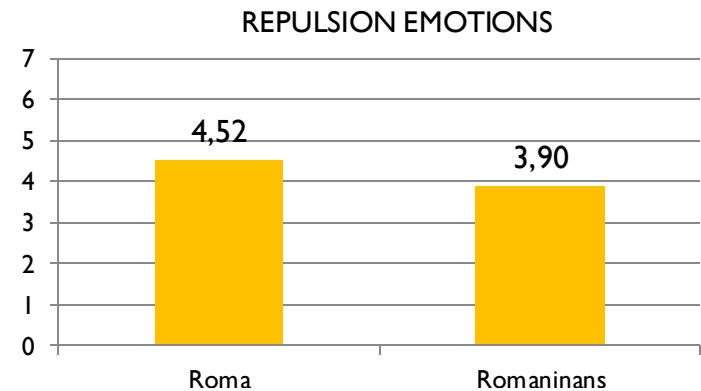
Results: Fear, Repulsion emotions



Threat: $F(2, 185) = 13.66, p < .001, \eta^2 = .132$



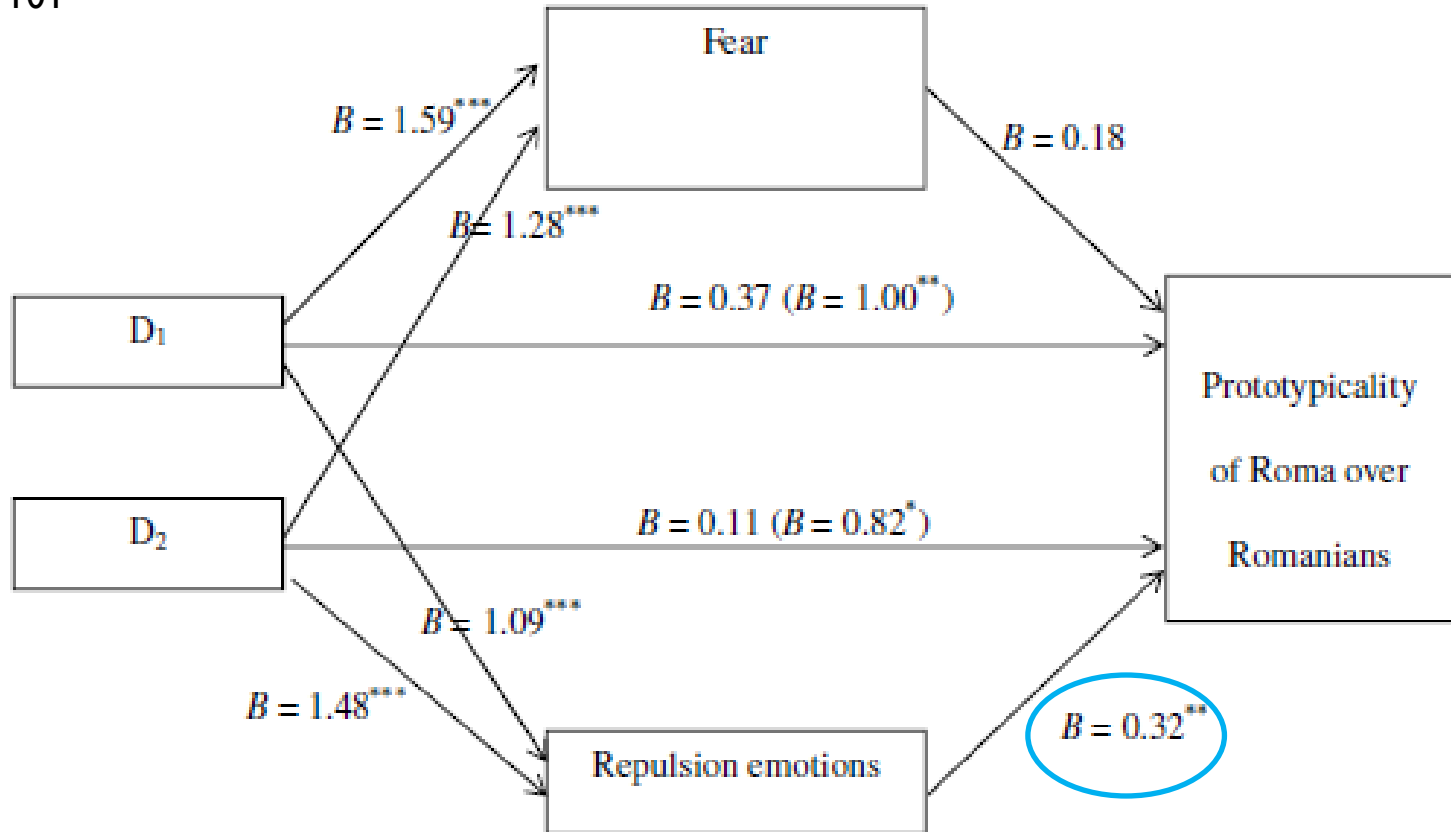
Threat: $F(2, 185) = 21.75, p < .001, \eta^2 = .195$



Target group: $F(2, 185) = 9.09, p = .003, \eta^2 = .048$

Results (H3a, H3b): the underlying emotional process

Bootstrap multiple mediational analysis (5000 re-samples) with PROCESS 2.15 (MODEL 4) for SPSS
N = 101



Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. D₁ = no-threat (0), realistic-threat (1), symbolic threat (0); D₂ no-threat (0), realistic-threat (0), symbolic-threat (1); Coefficients are unstandardized regression weights.

Results (H3a, H3b): the underlying emotional process

Total, Direct, Indirect, and Omnibus Effects of Predictors of Prototypicality of Roma over Romanians (N = 101)(Study 1)

Predictor	Total effect			Direct effect			Indirect effect 95% CI through fear				Indirect effect 95% CI through repulsion emotions			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
D ₁	1.00	0.36	.006	0.36	0.38	.343	0.29	0.20	-0.05	0.74	0.35	0.20	0.05	0.85
D ₂	0.82	0.36	.024	0.11	0.38	.776	0.23	0.17	-0.04	0.63	0.47	0.24	0.08	1.05
Omnibus effect			.014			.601	0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.10	0.06	0.04	0.01	0.16

Note: D₁ = no-threat (0), realistic-threat (1), symbolic threat (0); D₂ no-threat (0), realistic-threat (0), symbolic-threat (1); *B* = unstandardized beta weights; *SE* = standard error; *CI* = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

Omnibus test of direct effects, $F(2, 96) = 0.51, p = .601, R^2 = 0.01$

Modello alternativo, omnibus test of direct effects, $F(2, 96) = 5.95, p = .004, R^2 = 0.09$

Studio I - DISCUSSIONE

- In condizione di minaccia, il gruppo minoritario valutato più negativamente viene generalizzato al gruppo più ampio parzialmente sovrainclusivo (H1);
- Il fenomeno della generalizzazione non è bidirezionale (H2);
- Le emozioni di repulsione suscitate dai Rom mediano l'effetto della minaccia intergruppi nell'aumentare la generalizzazione dei Rom ai Rumeni (H3b).
- Tale risultato corrobora le evidenze sull'interazione tra **cognizione** e **emozioni** suscitate dai gruppi nel determinare le relazioni intergruppi (e.g., Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000).

Study 2 – Is the outgroup-to-outgroup generalization bias detectable with other groups and measures?

a) L'outgroup projection si applica a gruppi differenti (ferme restando le precondizioni necessarie)?

b) Si può misurare più implicitamente?

a) target groups: islamic terrorists (i.e., negatively valuted minority outgroup; cf. Pretest 2) e Arabs (partially superinclusive outgroup rated less negatively; cf. Pretest 2)

b) Implicit linguistic measure of generalization (cf. Linguistic Category Model, LCM; Semin & Fiedler, 1988)

STUDIO 2 - METODO

VI :Target groups (Islamic terrorists, Arabs)

Qui di seguito troverai domande volte ad indagare la percezione degli

ARABI (persone provenienti dai territori della Lega Araba)



TERRORISTI ISLAMICI (intesi come i membri di gruppi politici che si avvalgono, nella lotta, di metodi terroristici per promuovere le proprie idee politiche/religiose)



Threat (no-threat, symbolic threat)

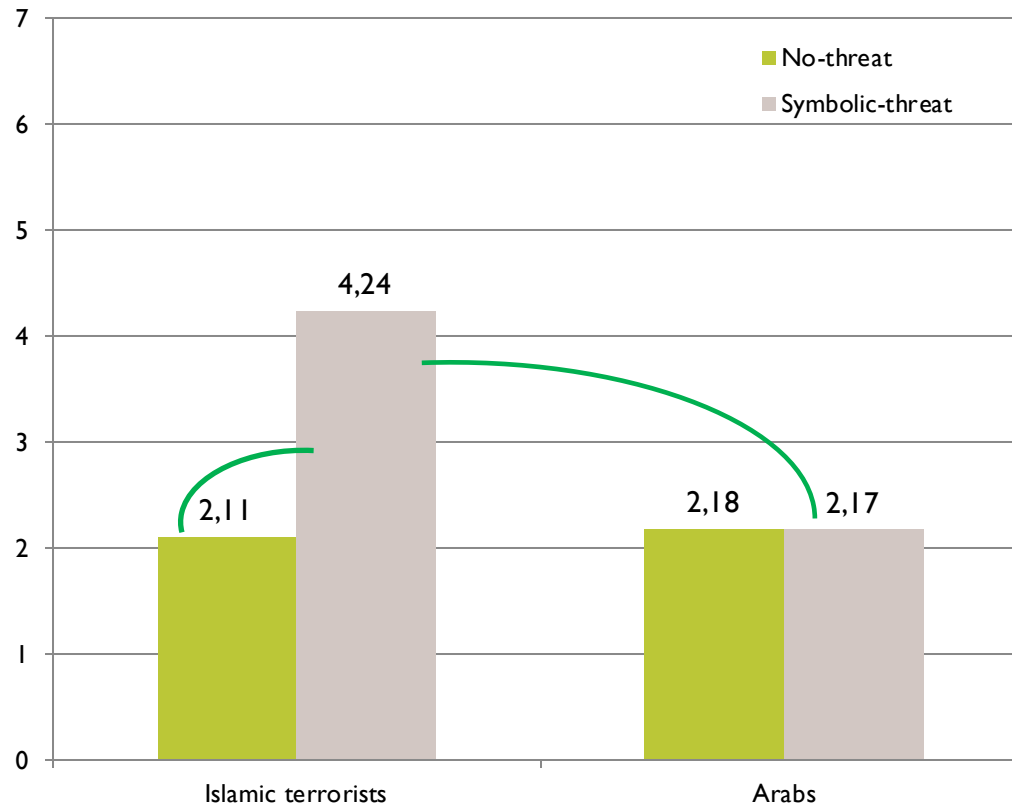
Results: Groups' prototypicality

H1: threat leads to generalise Islamic terrorists onto Arabs to a higher extent

Islamic terrorists are perceived as prototypical of Arabs more than Arabs are perceived as prototypical of Islamic terrorists

Threat × Target group

$$F(1, 86) = 12.06, p = .001, \eta^2 = .123$$

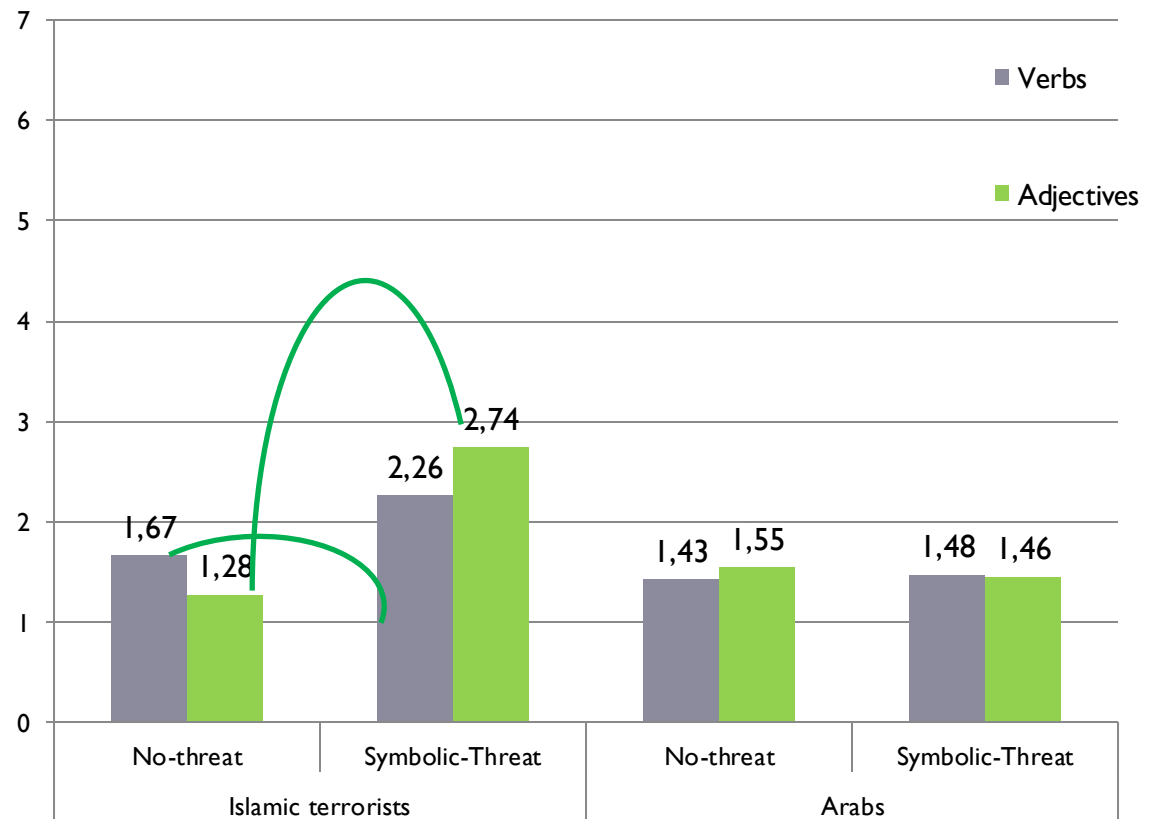


Results: GENERALIZZAZIONE LINGUISTICA

Threat × Target Group × Terms (verbs, ADJs)

$$F(1, 86) = 3.65, p = .059, \eta^2 = .041$$

H1: when Islamic terrorists are the target group, threat enhances agreement with sentences on the overlap between Islamic terrorists worded with either Verbs ($p = .036$) or ADJs ($p = .001$)

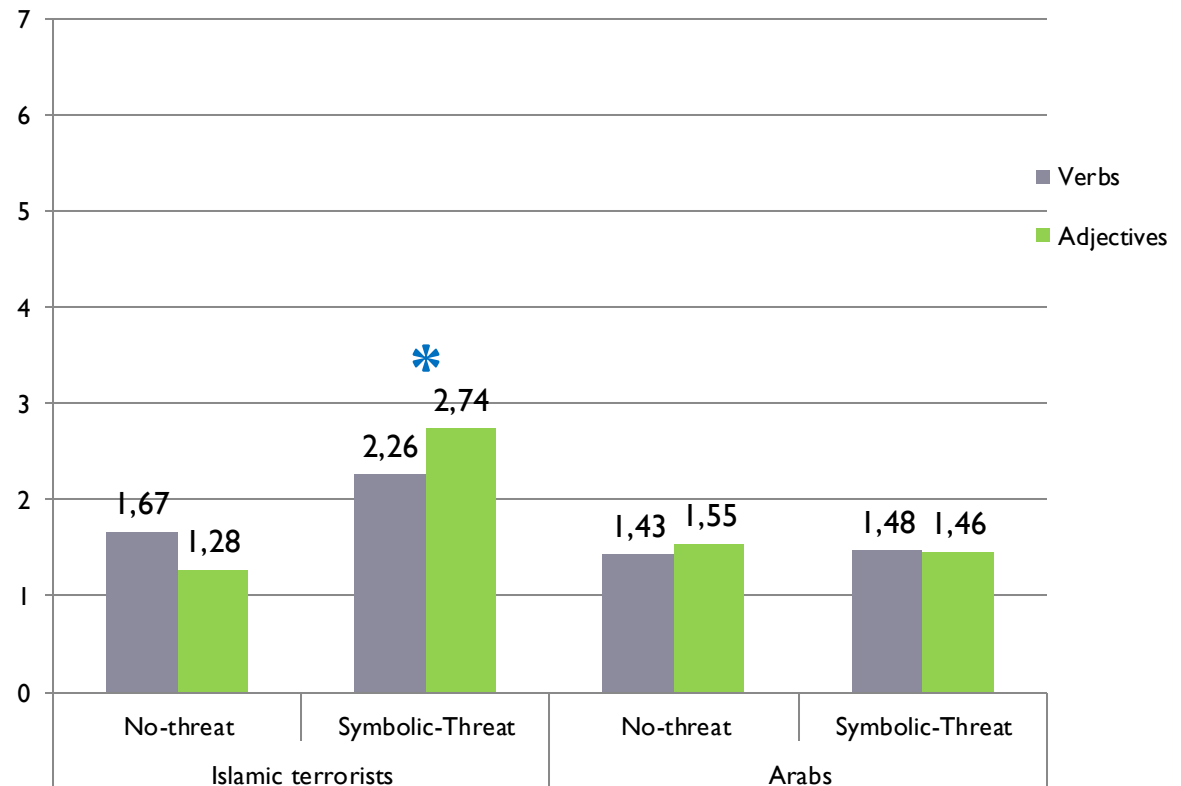


Risultati: GENERALIZZAZIONE LINGUISTICA

Minaccia × Gruppo target × Termini (verbi, aggettivi)

$$F(1, 86) = 3.65, p = .059, \eta^2 = .041$$

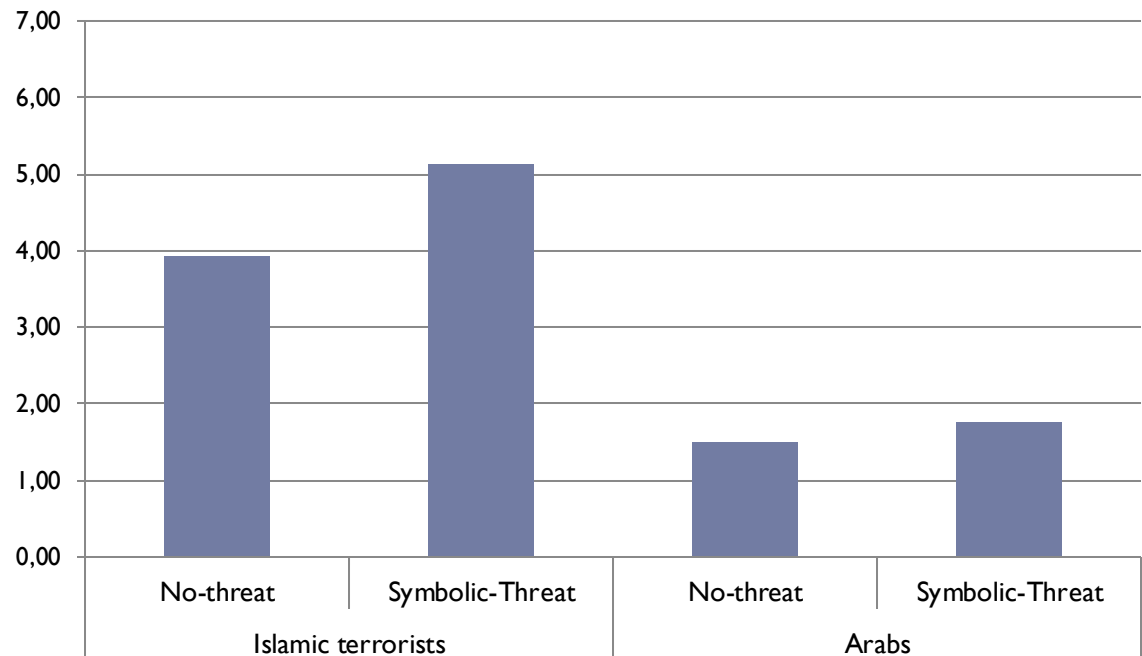
H2: quanto i Terroristi islamici sono il gruppo target, i partecipanti nella condizione di minaccia valutano le frasi formulate con gli **AGGETTIVI** come più adatte a definire la relazione tra Terroristi e Arabi rispetto alle frasi formulate con verbi ($p = .046$).



Risultati: EMOZIONI DI REPULSIONE

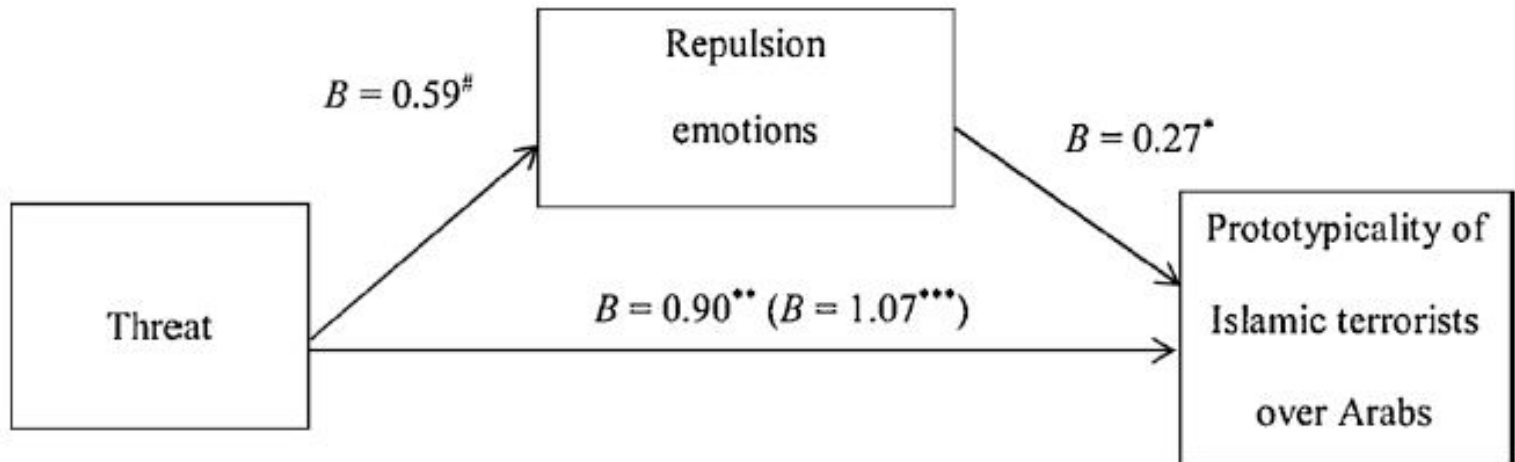
- **Minaccia** ($M_{\text{no-threat}} = 2.06, SD = 1.83; M_{\text{symbolic-threat}} = 3.58, SE = 2.52$),
 $F(1, 86) = 4.09, p = .046, \eta^2 = .045$
- **Gruppo target** ($M_{\text{Islamic terrorists}} = 5.13, SD = 2.01; M_{\text{Arabs}} = 1.62, SE = 1.31$),
 $F(1, 86) = 66.11, p < .001, \eta^2 = .435$

Minaccia \times Gruppo target, $F(1, 86) = 1.67, ns$.



Results (H3): The mediational process

Bootstrapping mediational analysis with PROCESS 2.15 SPSS MACROs (model 4)



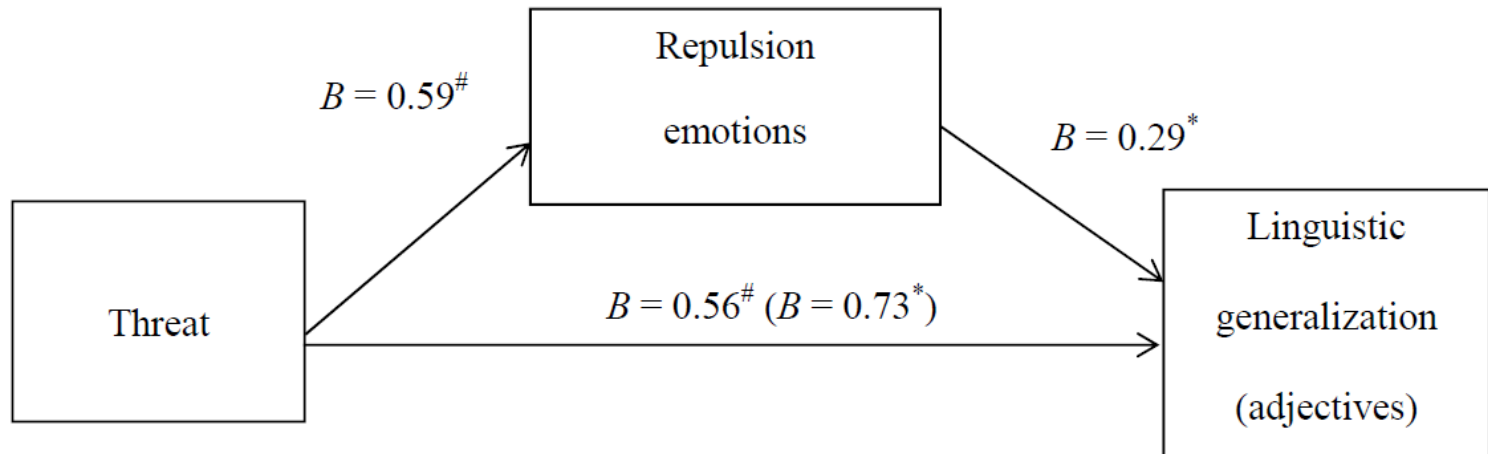
Note: $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{\#}p = .055$. Coefficients are standardized regression weights.

Indirect effect: 95 % CI [0.01, 0.47]. Effect size of mediational model $R^2 = 0.09$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.24]

Effect size of alternative mediational model: $R^2 = 0.07$, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.25]

RISULTATI (H3): il processo mediazionale

Bootstrapping mediational analysis with PROCESS 2.15 SPSS MACROs (model 4)



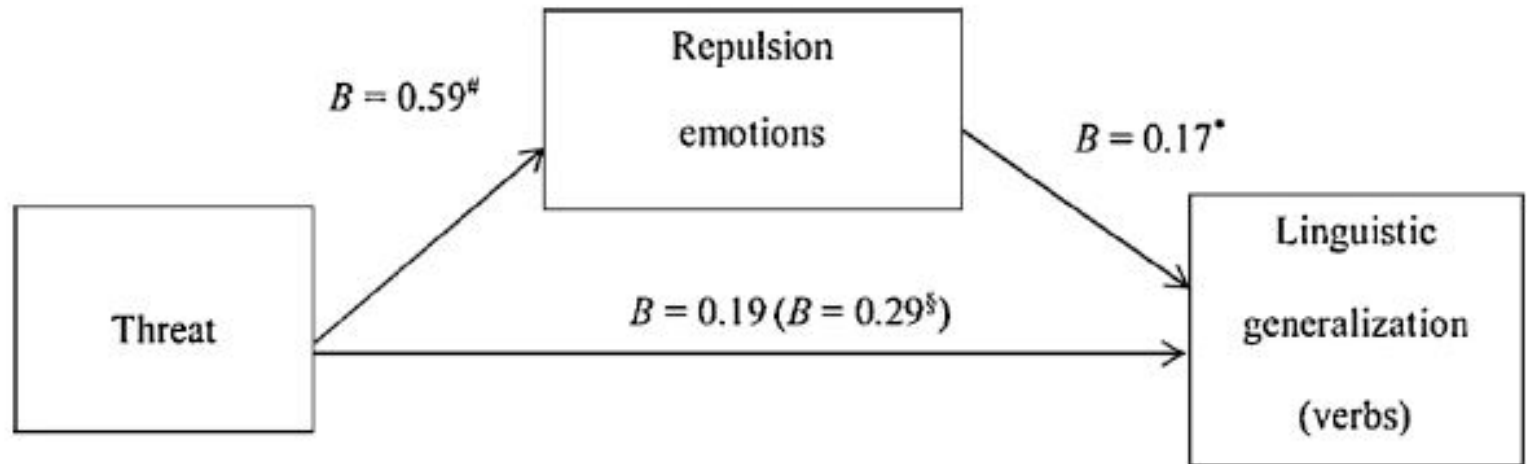
Note: $^* p < .05$. $^{\#} p = .055$ Coefficients are unstandardized regression weights.

Indirect effect: 95 % CI [0.03,045]. Effect size of mediational model $R^2 = 0.06$, 95% CI [0.01,0.18]

Effect size of alternative mediational model: $R^2 = 0.06$, 95% CI [-0.00,0.17]

RISULTATI (H3): il processo mediazionale

Bootstrapping mediational analysis with PROCESS 2.15 SPSS MACROs (model 4)



Note: $^*p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{\#}p = .055$. Coefficients are standardized regression weights.

Indirect effect: 95 % CI [-0.00, 0.23]

Alternative mediational model: 95% CI [-0.00, 0.18]

The outgroup projection bias: General conclusion

- Generalization processes are not limited to the intragroup (cf. Rothbart et al., 1978) and can be extended outgroup-a-outgroup relations.
- This outgroup projection bias (Albarello et al., 2017, 2019; Albarello & Rubini, 2011) **does not apply to ALL outgroups and needs peculiar preconditions to appear.**
- The examined underlying mediational process relying on repulsion emotions suggests that the outgroup projection bias (might be due to the **motivation to avoid the risk of not recognizing a more negatively valued** outgroup, thus leading to generalization of members of the negative outgroup not the less negative superinclusive one.

Specificity of the *Outgroup Projection Bias*

- It differs from the «outgroup homogeneity effect» (cf. Brown, 2011), since it does not apply to all outgroups nor to positive characteristics; (see Albarello & Rubini, 2011).
- It differs from the **ingroup projection effect** (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) since it applies only to outgroups, it does not involve one's ingroup and it is not related to ingroup promotion through increased ingroup normative adherence to the superinclusive prototype.
- It relies on a **defensive motivation** which is similar to the one at the roots of the **ingroup overexclusion effect** (i.e., protection of the ingroup from contamination due to outgroupers; cf. Rubin & Paolini, 2014).

Future directions

- Exploration of further emotional bases: e.g., further emotions elicited by groups (cf. Cottrell, Richards, & Nichols, 2010)
- Cross-cultural comparison
- Mediation effect of fear due to threat: employ neurophysiological measures i (e.g., Mobbs et al., 2009)

Suggested readings

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- Mummendey, A., & Wenzel, M. (1999). Social discrimination and tolerance in intergroup relations: Reactions to intergroup difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 158-174. doi: 10.1207/s15327957pspr0302_4
- Semin, G. R., & Fiedler, K. (1988). The cognitive functions of linguistic categories in describing persons: Social cognition and language. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 558-568. doi: [10.1037/0022-3514.54.4.558](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.4.558)



Studio I - RISULTATI

Table 1

Perceived Threat, Prototypicality of Groups, Fear, and Repulsion Emotions as a Function of Threat and Target Group (Study 1).

Threat	Target group	Perceived threat	Prototypicality of groups	Fear	Repulsion emotions
No-threat	Roma	2.49	4.21	3.63	3.67
		(1.40)	(1.63)	(1.21)	(1.34)
	Romanians	1.96	3.06	4.10	2.98
		(0.80)	(1.25)	(1.31)	(0.94)
Realistic-threat	Roma	4.93	5.22	5.26	4.79
		(1.36)	(1.15)	(1.55)	(1.19)
	Romanians	4.76	3.60	4.76	4.28
		(1.51)	(1.36)	(1.13)	(2.02)
Symbolic-threat	Roma	4.58	5.03	4.91	5.15
		(1.53)	(1.57)	(1.48)	(1.32)
	Romanians	4.67	3.30	4.58	4.52
		(1.30)	(1.32)	(0.82)	(1.35)

Note: Standard deviations are presented in parentheses.

Studio 2 - RISULTATI

Perceived Threat, Prototypicality of Groups, Linguistic Generalization Verbs and Adjectives) and Repulsion Emotions as a Function of Threat and Target Group (Study 2).

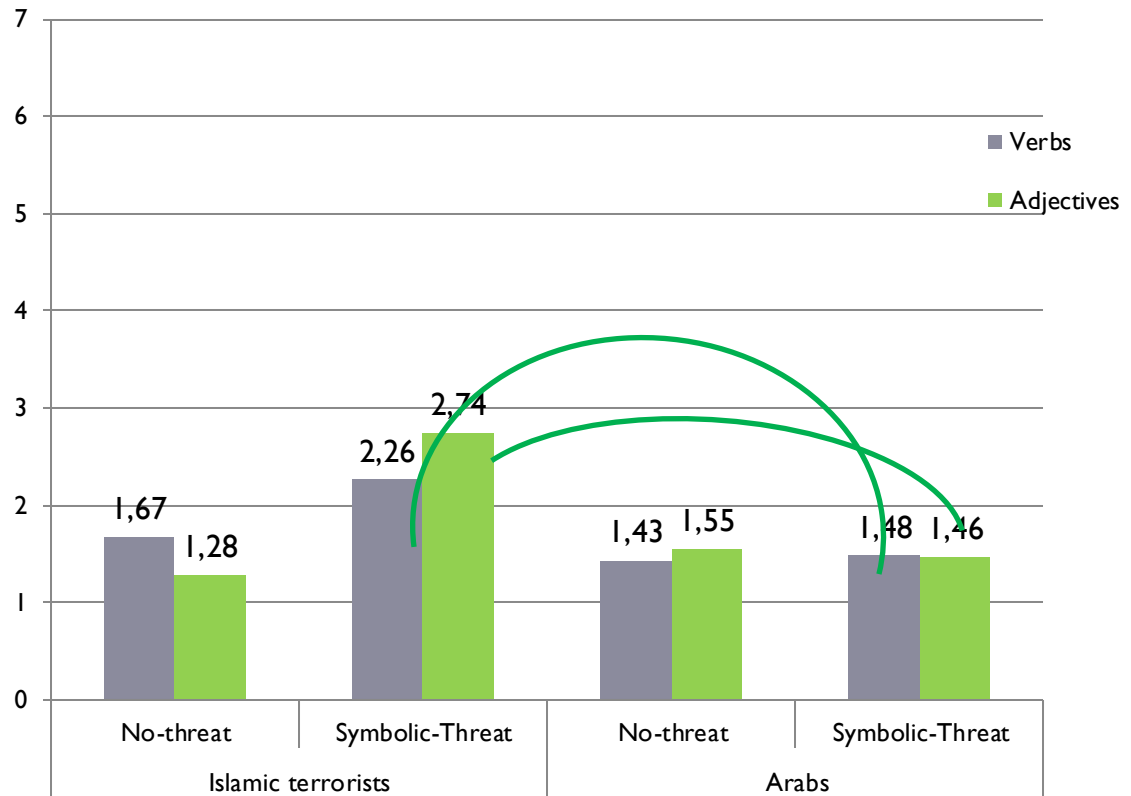
Threat	Target group	Perceived threat	Prototypicality of groups	Linguistic generalization (verbs)	Linguistic generalization (adjectives)	Repulsion emotions
No-threat	Islamic terrorists	1.94 (1.00)	2.11 (0.83)	1.67 (0.87)	1.28 (0.55)	3.94 (1.92)
	Arabs	2.14 (1.67)	2.18 (0.88)	1.43 (0.60)	1.55 (0.51)	1.50 (0.65)
Symbolic-threat	Arabs	4.22 (1.97)	4.24 (2.19)	2.26 (1.25)	2.74 (2.33)	5.13 (2.00)
	Islamic terrorists	3.96 (2.05)	2.17 (1.10)	1.48 (0.68)	1.46 (0.60)	1.76 (1.73)

STUDY 2- RESULTS: LINGUISTIC GENERALIZATION

Threat × target group × type of terms (verbs, adjectives)

$$F(1, 86) = 3.65, p = .059, \eta^2 = .041$$

When threat was at stake participants agreed to a higher extent with sentences (either worded with verbs [$p = .003$] or ADJs [$p = .001$]) in the Islamic terrorists condition than in the Arabs condition.



PRETESTING THE LINGUISTIC GENERALIZATION MEASURE

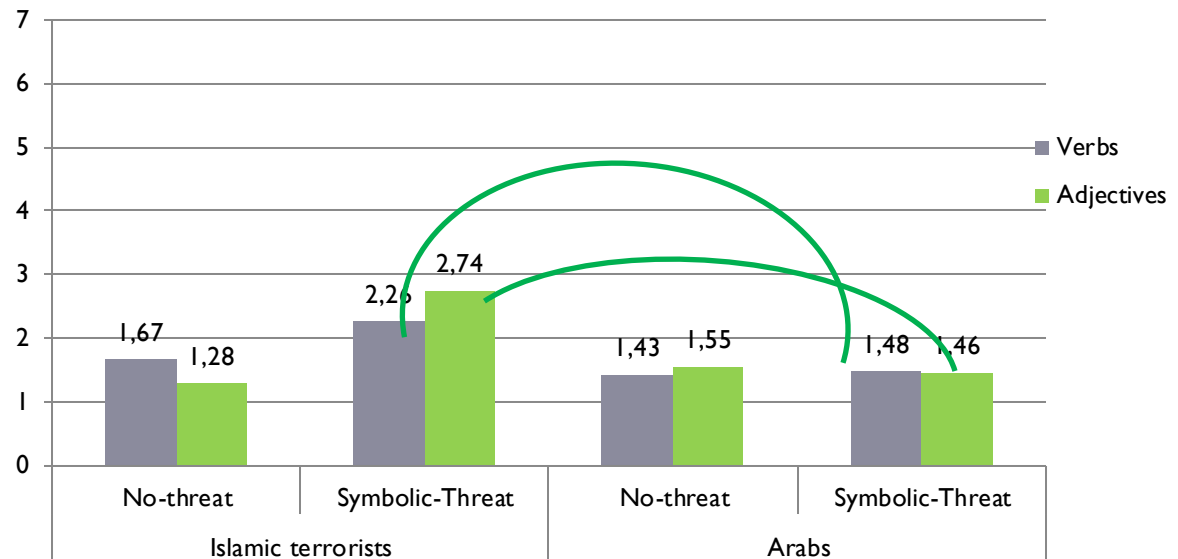
- The two verbs (i.e., “overlap”; “match”) and the two adjectives (i.e., “identical”; “undistinguishable”) employed in the four sentences comprised in the ad hoc created measure of linguistic generalization among different outgroupers were pretested.
- A sample of undergraduate Italians ($N = 25$, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.48$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 2.55$; 79.2% female) rated on a series of semantic differentials the extent to which each term described the overlap between two fictional groups (i.e., group X, group Y) in concrete (1) versus abstract (7) terms.
- Means of ratings referring to the two verbs ($r = .644$, $p = .001$) and to the two adjectives ($r = .858$, $p < .001$) were averaged and then compared through a paired-sample t -test.
- The sentences containing verbs were rated as describing the relations between the two groups in more concrete terms than sentences using adjectives ($M_{\text{verbs}} = 1.16$, $SD = 0.43$; $M_{\text{adjectives}} = 5.78$, $SD = 1.51$), $t(24) = -4.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .471$.

STUDY 2- RESULTS: LINGUISTIC GENERALIZATION

Threat × target group × type of terms (verbs, adjectives)

$$F(1, 86) = 3.65, p = .059, \eta^2 = .041$$

When threat was at stake participants agreed to a higher extent with sentences (either worded with verbs [$p = .003$] or ADJs [$p = .001$]) in the Islamic terrorists condition than in the Arabs condition.



THREAT SCENARIOS

Procedure

- Participants received a paper-and-pencil questionnaire. On the first page they were assured about anonymity of their answers and were told that the research focused on perception of social groups. In the second page, before presenting the dependent measures, in the realistic and symbolic threat conditions, they read a scenario that was meant to manipulate threat and had been previously pretested.
- The *realistic threat scenario* read: “Recent research by the national statistical institute showed that during the last year unemployment increased for Italians (+3%) and 176.000 Italians lost their jobs. Conversely, immigrants’ (among whom Romanians are the most represented group) employment level increased (+200.000). Moreover, immigration led to increased costs for public health, education and welfare policies aimed at promoting immigrants’ integration”.
- The *symbolic threat scenario* read: “Recent research by the national statistical institute showed strong cultural differences between Italians and immigrants. Immigrants (among whom Romanians are the most represented group) have different habits, traditions, ideologies and moral values when compared to those of Italians. Immigrants are also radically different in terms of their life-styles, the ways in which they behave at work and also at home, for instance, in terms of the children’s educational policies they endorse”.

STUDY 2: PRETESTING GROUP EVALUATIONS

- $N = 45$; $M_{\text{age}} = 20.67$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 4.20$; 68.1% female.
- Participants were informed that the research focused on impression formation about members of social groups and that the current section regarded the group of Arabs (defined as people from member states of the Arab League) or of Islamic terrorists (defined as members of political groups that make use of terrorist methods in order to promote their political/religious ideas; adapted from Treccani, 2017).
- Perception of Arabs and Islamic terrorists was rated on a single item from 1 (*very negative*) to 6 (*very positive*). An independent samples *t*-test showed that Islamic terrorists were rated more negatively than Arabs ($M_{\text{Arabs}} = 3.80$, $SD = 0.83$; $M_{\text{Islamic terrorists}} = 1.33$, $SD = 0.48$), $t(45) = 12.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .785$.

RISULTATI (IPOTESI 3a e 3b): modello alternativo

Total, Direct, Indirect, and Omnibus Effects of Predictors of Repulsion Emotions Elicited by Roma (N = 101)(Study 1)

Predictor	Total effect			Direct effect			Indirect effect 95% CI				Indirect effect 95% CI			
							through fear				through prototypicality of			
											Roma over Romanians			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
D ₁	1.09	0.32	.001	0.61	0.33	.068	0.24	0.17	-0.03	0.65	0.25	0.15	0.04	0.65
D ₂	1.48	0.31	.000	1.08	0.31	.001	0.19	0.14	-0.02	0.53	0.20	0.15	0.01	0.63
Omnibus effect			.000			.004	0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.08	0.02	0.02	-0.00	0.07

Note: D₁ = no-threat (0), realistic-threat (1), symbolic threat (0); D₂ no-threat (0), realistic-threat (0), symbolic-threat (1); *B* = unstandardized beta weights; *SE* = standard error; *CI* = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

Omnibus test of direct effects: $F(2, 96) = 5.95, p = .004, R^2 = 0.09$



c) La minaccia intergruppi aumenta la generalizzazione da outgroup-a-outgroup?

- La minaccia intergruppi realistica/simbolica aumenta la sovrastima degli esemplari di un gruppo minoritario (Rom) rispetto al gruppo più inclusivo (Rumeni) in un compito di percezione in laboratorio (Albarello et al., 2017)

From Social Identity to Intergroup discrimination

Possible negative outcomes of dealing with diversity in multicultural societies:

- Indifference;
- Discrimination;
- Active/passive harm or facilitation (cf. Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007);
- “Aggravated” forms of discrimination (i.e., **dehumanisation**), etc...