

Material for the Press Conference

European Conditions. Findings of a study on *Group-focused Enmity* in Europe

Presentation of the Study on

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10:30-12:00 a.m.

at the Thüringische Landesvertretung, Mohrenstr. 64

under the chair of the Amadeu Antonio Foundation, Berlin

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Short study report

Group-focused Enmity across Europe Objectives, method and first results

The study is managed Prof. Dr. Andreas Zick and Dr. Beate Küpper, Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence at the University of Bielefeld, Germany. It is conducted by a team of scientists from the universities of Amsterdam, Bielefeld, Budapest, Grenoble, Lisbon, Marburg, Oxford, Padua, Paris, and Warsaw.

Objectives of the present study

Prejudice, racism and discrimination are indicators of a society's ability to integrate diverse individuals and groups. Negative attitudes towards disadvantaged societal groups in particular, and towards diversity in general, are a barrier to integration, peaceful multiculturalism and social cohesion. With the declaration of Amsterdam in 1997 the European Union agreed on joint action against prejudice and discrimination towards several target groups. However, little is known about the overall level of prejudice towards different target groups in the different European countries. How many Europeans hold prejudiced attitudes? What are the major causes? Do European countries differ in the level of prejudices and triggering factors? What can European countries learn from each other for intervention and prevention?

The Project on “*Group-focused Enmity in Europe*” aims

- to measure the level of prejudice towards several target groups: *immigrants, ethnic-cultural minorities, Jews, Muslims, women, gay men and lesbian women, homeless and disabled people*.
- to analyse the most relevant causes of prejudice
- to find out more about similarities and differences between European countries
- to disseminate findings to policy makers and field workers to support evidence-based action.

Knowledge on prejudices and their causes as they are analyzed in the present study can help to prevent and to combat prejudice and discrimination. This may also help to reflect and reconsider one's own attitudes towards, since many of us might ourselves regard one or the other group in a stereotypical and devaluing way.

How we define “prejudice”

In this study, prejudices are understood as the negative evaluation of groups and of individuals because of their (factual or perceived) group membership. This is different to individual dislike of a specific person. Prejudices are used to legitimise social inequality. Following this definition, we have selected specific statements that indicate prejudices towards a variety of groups. These statements may involve e. g. the devaluation and general rejection of persons because of their group membership, stereotypical characterizations of

groups and their members, the over-generalization of actions of some group members to other persons that are perceived to be member of this group, double standards when judging a group' doings, purely supposed large differences e.g. in characteristics or values.

The present study is a study on attitudes, more precisely, on attitudes respondents expressed to the interviewer. Previous research has shown that beside these openly expressed attitudes there are also more subtle, sometimes unconscious or hidden attitudes, especially when it comes to prejudices. In many European societies prejudices are rather undesired and it is likely that many respondents themselves would possibly reconsider some of their attitudes if they get the chance to open their minds. Otherwise it seems to be likely that some respondents rather hid especially negative attitudes.

However, prejudices have the insidious power to violate their victims and to contaminate the overall societal climate. They can create an atmosphere of mistrust, hate and devaluation. Under specific conditions of the overall societal context, the specific situation and the approval by others can even lead to harmful behaviour such as discrimination, exclusion, or even in the worse case to brutality and violence that might culminate e. g. in hate crimes.

Acknowledgement

The research team gratefully acknowledges the support for this project: Compagnia di San Paolo, the Volkswagen Foundation, the Freudenberg and Groeben Stiftung, the Amadeu Antonio Stiftung and two anonymous foundations. The Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence of the University of Bielefeld took over staff costs and funded seven workshops held to develop the project and measures.

Method

Eight countries were selected for this research: *Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Poland and Hungary*. The countries comprise both old and new EU member countries of varying integration policies, immigration history and rate, and overall wealth. A telephone survey was completed in winter 2008/09 by TNS Infratest and their European partners. In each country, 1000 respondents 16 years old and above representative for *citizens* of each country were interviewed. There are 48% men and 52% women in the sample, 47 years old on average. 85% had no migration background at all (neither themselves nor their parents or grandparents).

Interviews focused on the respondents' attitudes towards several target groups of prejudice and discrimination as well on several related attitudes, general values, specific emotions and experiences related to immigrants. In addition, the respondents' economical situation and future expectancies as well as demographic details were recorded.

The different elements of the GFE syndrome (types of prejudices) were measured with statements that were selected from previous studies on prejudice and carefully pretested with elaborated statistical methods (confirmatory factor analyses with multiple group

comparison) to be reliable and valid indicators of this type of prejudice. To measure each GFE-element respondents were asked for their agreement or disagreement on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *somewhat disagree*, 3 = *somewhat agree* to 4 = *strongly agree*. Their answers to several statements were then summarized to one scale measuring one specific GFE-element. This ensures that random errors or individual misunderstandings do not seriously affect the overall measure.

All findings that are presented in this report were checked carefully by advanced statistics.

Results

Summary:

1. The syndrome of Group-focused Enmity that includes the same elements (prejudices towards various target groups) was observed in all countries studied. Different types of prejudices share a common core mainly triggered by an ideology of inequality.
2. Prejudices are widely share across Europe. Nevertheless, countries differ to the overall degree with general lowest rates in the Netherlands, followed by Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and comparably highest overall levels in Poland and Hungary.
3. Group-focused Enmity is caused by a bundle of several factors. Among the most important factors are those that are open to negative propaganda, but also to prevention and intervention through education, reflection and positive personal experience:
 - a) the very subjective feeling that immigrants threaten a country's economy and way of life;
 - and b) the endorsement of authoritarian attitudes, i.e. the support for harsh disciplinary and law-and-order measures, whereas c) a positive approach towards diversity, i.e. societal heterogeneity that include various social, ethnic, cultural and religious groups decreases GFE.

In the following the findings are presented in detail.

Please consider the following:

The statements that were used to measure different types of prejudice are focused on the specific target group; therefore statements are worded differently (i. e. there are different indicators for anti-Semitism and for anti-Muslim attitudes). That means the different statements can not be compared with each other directly. As a consequence, the overall level of prejudice towards one group can not be compared with the level of prejudice towards another group. That means: It is not possible to state that there is e. g. less anti-Semitism than anti-Muslim prejudice in Europe.

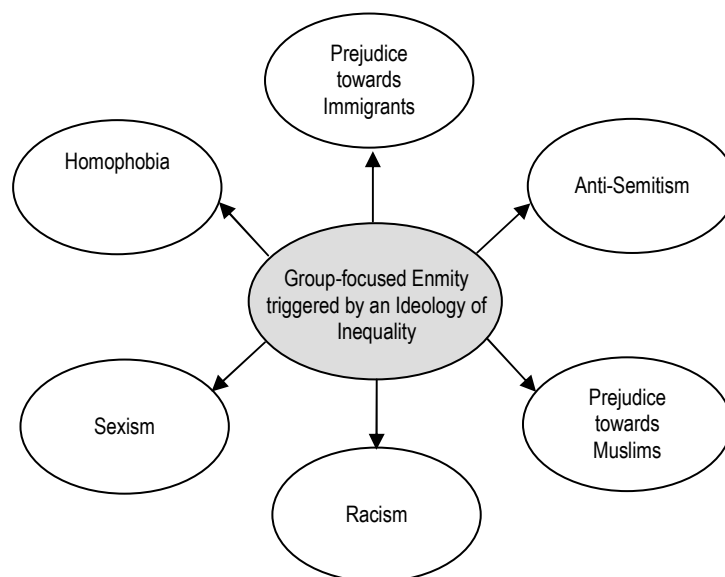
Instead, it is possible to compare the level of one type of prejudice between the eight countries. That means: There is e. g. less prejudice towards immigrants in the Netherlands than in Italy. But careful: Slight apparent differences are not necessarily statistical relevant.

1. Different types of prejudice compose a syndrome of *Group-focused Enmity* (GFE)

Different types of prejudices are interrelated within a syndrome of *Group-focused Enmity* that arises from a general ideology of inequality (see figure 1). As proposed, our analyses of the European data revealed strong **interrelations of six different elements of the GFE-syndrome**: anti-immigrant attitudes, anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim attitudes, racism, sexism, and prejudice towards homosexual persons. These different types of prejudices are strongly linked in all eight countries. In other words: A person who holds negative sentiments towards immigrants is more likely to be prejudiced against other groups as well such as Jews, Muslims, and even homosexual persons or women etc. This does not necessarily accounts for every single person, but this is true on average for the population in all eight countries. Prejudices towards homeless and disabled persons were not very strongly related to the other types of prejudices. Possibly, there are further other and country-specific types of prejudices such as prejudices towards Sinti and Roma, or towards psychical ill persons that should have been integrated in the GFE-syndrome study in some of the countries. However, due to limited capacity we could not address them in this study.

In addition, all single elements of the Group Focused Enmity syndrome (i.e. different types of prejudice) are powered by a **common core** that we interpret as generalized devaluation of “weak” groups. This common core of Group Focused Enmity is strongly predicted by an ideology of inequality in all countries. To hold such an ideology of inequality means, to support social hierarchies of ‘superiority’ and ‘inferiority’ of some groups e.g. because of their supposed natural, cultural, or social predispositions. The general ideology considers some social groups as unequal in value for reasons such as economic uselessness, a perceived lower level of civilization or so-called abnormal sexual practices. We argue that several types of prejudice serve to maintain or enhance a person’s own group status and to keep lower status groups in their inferior place.

Figure 1. The syndrome of *Group-focused Enmity* in Europe



2. Prejudices are widely spread in Europe, but vary between countries

The detailed analyses of the different types of prejudices revealed:

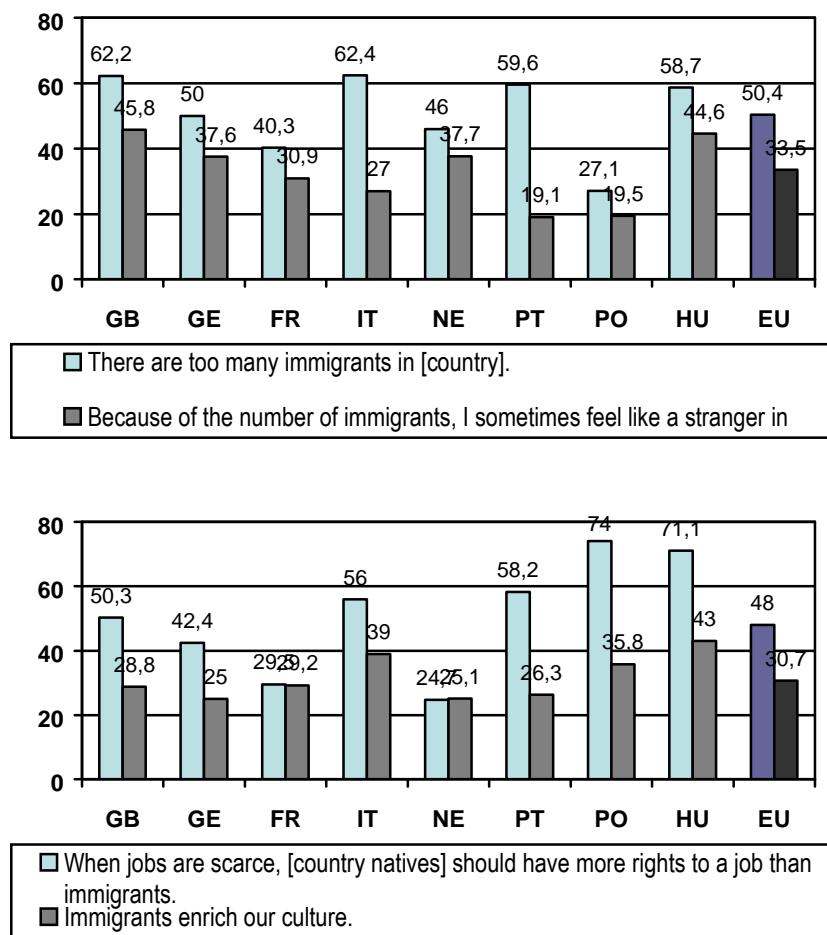
- 50,4% of the Europeans somewhat or strongly agree that “there are too many immigrants” in their country. This statement indicates a generalized and blind rejection of immigrants.
- 24.5% supposes that “Jews have too much influence in [country]”. Here, a traditional facet of anti-Semitism appears that mirrors anti-Semitic conspiracy myths.
- 54.4% of the Europeans believe that “the Islam is a religion of intolerance.” This makes obvious that many Europeans share a generalized negative image of the Islam (and of Muslims as the agreement to additional statements reveals).
- Nearly one third (31,3%) of the Europeans somewhat or strongly agree that “there is a natural hierarchy between black and white people”. Thus, they agree to a very blatant and direct statement indicating the belief in ethnic hierarchies legitimised by implied natural differences.
- A majority of Europeans of 60.2% stick to traditional gender roles that result in economical and power gender inequality as they are demanding that “women should take their role as wives and mothers more seriously.”
- 42,6% deny equal value of gay men and lesbian women and judge homosexuality as ‘immoral’.

However, there are remarkable differences in the level of prejudice between the observed countries. On average, prejudices towards a variety of groups are the lowest in the Netherlands and the highest in Poland and Hungary with many exceptions and country-specific patterns. The following graphs show the percentage of the respondents, who either somewhat or strongly agrees on an item across Europe and separated for the eight countries.

Anti-immigrant attitudes

A large proportion of the population in each country holds negative attitudes towards immigrants. 50,4% of the Europeans somewhat or strongly agree that “there are too many immigrants” in their country and 38,5% “sometimes feel like a stranger “ in their country, because of the number of immigrants. In addition, 48% agree to the statement: “When jobs are scarce, [country natives] should have more rights to a job than immigrants.” At the same time, 69,1% think that “immigrant enrich our culture”, while 30,7% disagree. Overall, the level of prejudice towards immigrants is fairly similar across all observed countries with comparably the lowest level in France and the Netherlands and the highest level in Britain and Poland.

Graph 1 . Anti-Immigrant attitudes in Europe
Percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly agree.

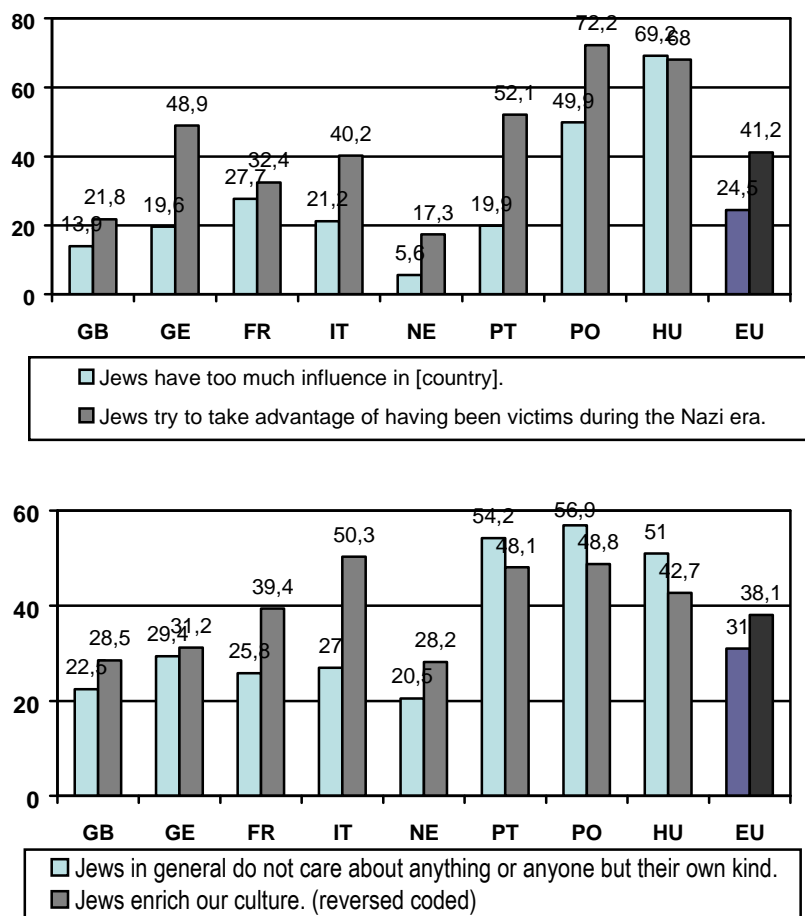


Note: The graph shows the percentage of disagreement to the statement: “Immigrants enrich our culture.”

Anti-Semitism

We considered traditional anti-Semitic attitudes suppose e.g. that “Jews have too much influence in [country]”. Here, one ¼ of Europeans (24.5%) somewhat or strongly agrees. In addition, 41,2% suppose that “Jews try to take advantage of having been victims during the Nazi era”. Nearly one third (31%) agrees that “Jews in general do not care about anything or anyone but their own kind.” Contrary, 61,9% consider Jews “to enrich our culture”; 38,1% disagree to that statement. We also measured the degree of anti-Semitism that is hidden behind a specific criticism of Israel’s policy towards the Palestinians that uses anti-Semitic NS-associations by using the term “war of persecution” and a generalization to ‘all Jews’ (not shown in graph 2). 45,7% of the Europeans in seven of the observed countries (except France where this facet of anti-Semitism was not measured) somewhat or strongly agree that “Israel is conducting a war of extermination against the Palestinians.” 37,4% agree to the statement: “Considering Israel’s policy I can understand why people do not like Jews.” Overall, the level of anti-Semitic attitudes varies quite a lot across Europe with comparably lower levels of anti-Semitic attitudes in Britain and the Netherlands and significantly higher levels in Portugal, and especially Poland and Hungary.

Graph 2 . Anti-Semitism (traditional facet) in Europe:
Percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly agree.

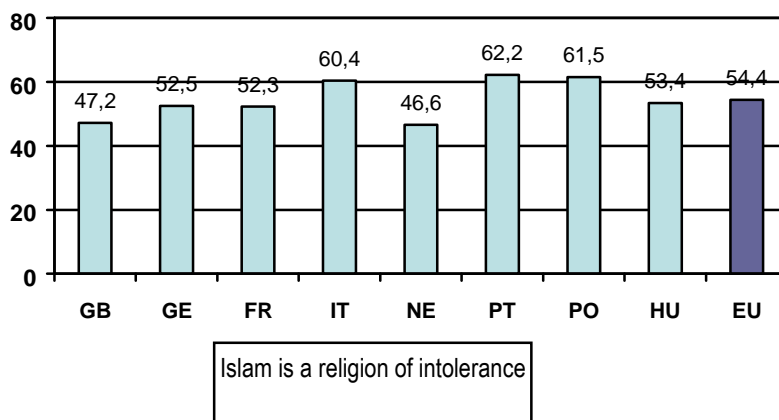
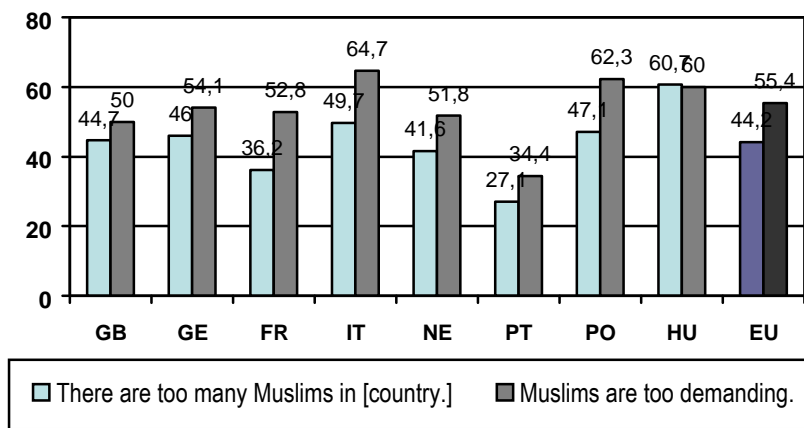


Note: The graph shows the percentage of disagreement to the statement: “Jews enrich our culture.”

Anti-Muslim attitudes

More than half of the Europeans (54.4%) in the observed countries believe that the Islam is a religion of intolerance. 55,4% think that “Muslims are too demanding”. In addition, 44,2% somewhat or strongly agrees “that there are too many Muslims” in their country. This is a remarkable high percentage considering the actual low percentage of Muslims in most of these countries and especially in those countries with the highest level of agreement. In addition, quite a lot of Europeans are suspicious that Muslims in general justify Islamic terrorism (not included in graph 3 below), i. e. insinuates that a majority of Muslims justifies terrorism (22% agreement in Europe) and suppose that Muslims perceive terrorists as heroes (30,9% agreement in Europe without France). Overall, the eight countries differ not very much in the level of prejudice towards Muslims and the Islam. There are slightly less negative attitudes towards Muslims in Portugal, the Netherlands, France and Britain, and slightly more in Germany, Hungary, Italy and Poland.

Graph 3 Anti-Muslim Attitudes in Europe:
Percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly agree.

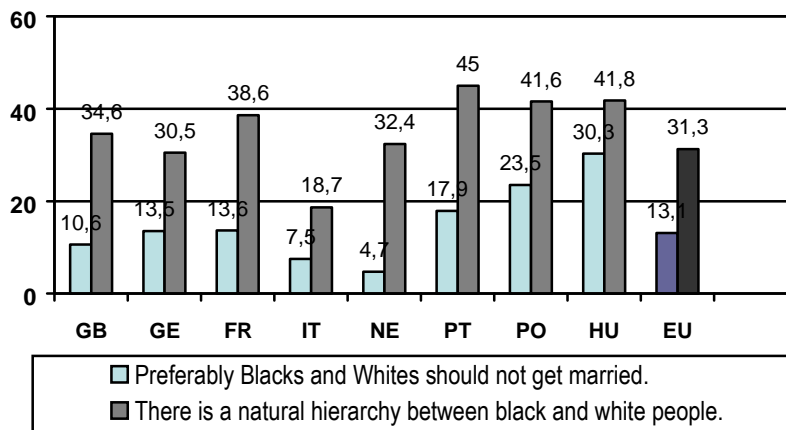


Note. For France the graph shows the percentage of disagreement to the statement: “Islam is a religion of tolerance.”

Racism related to skin colour:

Here one can see the percentage of Europeans agreeing to racist attitudes indicated by an assumed natural hierarchy between black and white and the rejection of inter-racial marriage. Just 13,1% of the Europeans agree openly to a very blatant form of racism related to skin colour as it is mirrored in the statement: "Preferably Blacks and Whites should not get married". However, at the same time nearly one third (31,3%) somewhat or strongly agree that "there is a natural hierarchy between black and white people". This is particular remarkable as this statement focuses very directly on group-based inequalities that are legitimized by implied natural differences. Again, countries differ quite a lot in the overall degree of anti-Black racism. In Italy, the overall levels of negative attitudes towards Blacks are comparably the lowest, followed by the Netherlands and Britain, whereas highest levels show up in Portugal and Hungary.

Graph 4 . Racism (related to skin colour) in Europe
Percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly agree.

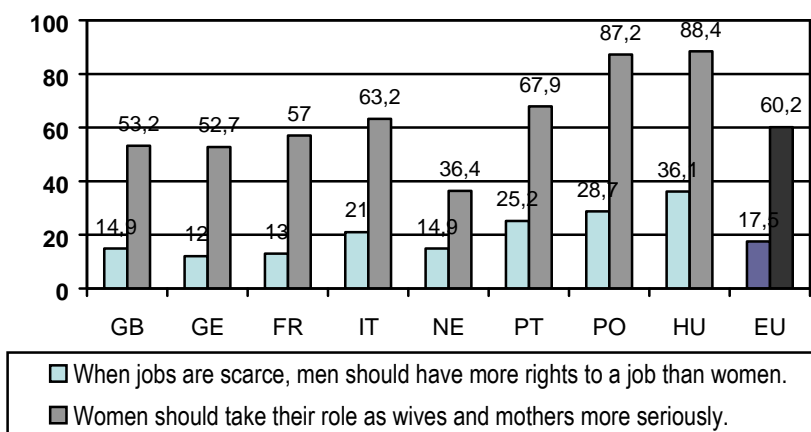


Note. For France the graph shows the percentage of disagreement to the positively worded statements: "It is no problem if Blacks and Whites get married." and "There is no natural hierarchy between black and white people."

Sexism

Sexism was measured with two statements that focus on the agreement or disagreement of traditional gender roles. Traditional gender roles perceive women to be more responsible for caring roles and men to be more responsible for occupational roles. This concept has led to fundamental gender inequalities and still serves to legitimise devaluation (e. g. when it comes to political and economical power or independence) and exclusion of women (e. g. from the job market). A majority of Europeans (60.2%) stick to traditional gender roles and somewhat or strongly agree to the statement: "Women should take their role as wives and mothers more seriously." However, respondents in the different countries rather differ in their agreement. A similar pattern is found when it comes to a privilege of men over women to get access to jobs. 17,5% of the Europeans somewhat or strongly agree to the statement: "When jobs are scarce, men should have more rights to a job than women." The level of old-fashioned sexism varies a lot across countries with lowest levels in the Netherlands, followed by Britain, and highest levels in Poland and particular in Hungary.

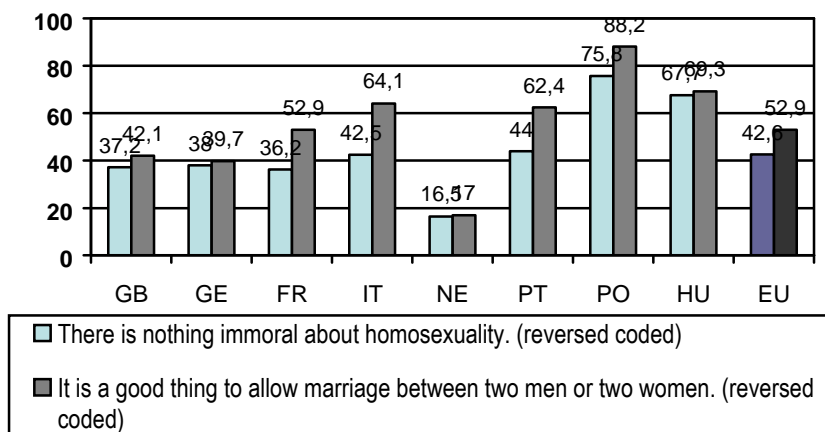
Graph 5 . Sexism in Europe:
Percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly agree.



Homophobia

Prejudices towards gay men and lesbian women are mirrored in the denying of equal rights such as same-sex marriage. In addition, the harsh judgment of immorality reflects negative sentiments towards homosexual persons. Respondents indicated their agreement or disagreement towards the two positive worded statements: "It is a good thing to allow marriages between two men or two women" and "There is nothing immoral about homosexuality." Below in graph 6, you can find the frequencies of disagreement towards both statements. More than half of the Europeans (52,9%) reject same-sex marriages. In addition, 42,6% somewhat or strongly disagree to the statement that there is nothing immoral about homosexuality. With respect to homophobia, there is a dramatic variation across Europe. While the vast majority in the Netherlands does not held prejudices towards homosexual persons, followed by Britain, Germany and France with a medium level, the majority in Poland does. It worthwhile to consider that Poland is the most religious country observed, with high degrees of religiousness also in the other predominantly catholic countries Italy and Portugal, and also to a somewhat minor extent in Hungary. The study has revealed that religiousness has a particularly strong negative impact on tolerance towards homosexuality.

Graph 6 . Prejudice toward homosexual persons in Europe
Percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly disagree.



3. Why are Europeans prejudiced? Some major causes of GFE

Several previous studies have worked out important causes for different types of prejudices. Here, we tested some of the most relevant factors in relation to the **GFE**, composed as summarizing index of six different types of prejudices as it is shown in figure 1 (prejudices towards Immigrants and Muslims, anti-Semitism, anti-black racism, sexism, and homophobia).

Below in figure 2, you find 12 factors that turned out to be the most relevant to understand GFE in Europe and to explain, why some people are more or less prejudiced towards several target groups (tested simultaneously in a multiple regression analyses). The following figures 3-10 show the results separately for each country. One needs to notice that there might be also other, additional predictors of GFE that have been not taken into consideration yet, but will be taken into account in future analyses. These factors need to be analysed more precisely in the next steps, taking into account the different country conditions, such as the overall wealth, social and political developments etc.

In sum: Europeans hold more prejudices towards several target groups if they favour discipline and stronger action towards “troublemakers” and if they favour groups-based hierarchies instead of social equality. They are also more prejudiced if they perceive that the country’s economy and values and their personal financial situation and way of life are threatened by immigrants and if they do not support societal diversity. In addition, Europeans are more prone to GFE if they think not to have any political power and if they tend politically to rather to the right than to the left. Also, they tend more to GFE if they are more religious. Further, Europeans are more prejudiced if they feel as individual or as group relatively deprived compared to other country natives respectively to immigrants. While a strong identification with their own country or region is rather linked to higher level of GFE, the identification with Europe somewhat reduces GFE in some countries. Finally, they hold more prejudices in general if they are less educated and of older age.

The following graphs show the impact of these factors for Europe in total and separate for the eight countries. The most important factors in each country are highlighted in dark grey, medium important factors are highlighted light grey and minor important factors are white. If a factor did not reach level of significance in one country, it is not included in the country graph (please compare missing factors in the country graph with the European graph).

The most important factors to understand GFE in Europe are:

The general endorsement of Authoritarianism.

Several previous studies have yielded authoritarian attitudes as important factor that help to explain prejudice. The present study supports for Europe in total and all countries: Individuals who support strict discipline in schools, who favour stronger actions towards “troublemakers” to maintain law and order and who speak out to restore death penalty in their country more likely to agree to GFE.

Perceived Threats related to Immigrants.

This feeling of threat is a very subjective one that spreads its harmful consequences without

any reference to reality. Respondents who subjectively feel that immigrants threaten the economy and values of their country and/or their personal wealth and way of life hold more negative sentiments not only towards immigrants but to a variety of other groups. One reason for the perceived threat is a lack of real experiences that would allow developing a realistic instead of a stereotyped image of members of 'strange' groups, to notice similarities and person- (and not supposed group-) specific differences. In regions (e.g. in some rural areas) with hardly any immigrants or closed neighbourhoods there are less options to actually meet persons with an immigrant background and to replace threats by multifaceted and possibly also positive experiences.

The Rejection of Diversity.

Diversity believes are the appreciation that societies include different ethnic, cultural, religious etc. groups instead preferring homogenous societies, where everybody shares the same customs and traditions. Persons who reject diversity are more prejudiced in general. Vice versa this finding points to the importance of teaching about the value and chances diversity has for society as a whole. In addition, here one can see the positive consequences of intergroup contact, e. g. contact with immigrants as friends, neighbours or colleagues. Intergroup contact opens opportunities for reality-based (instead of purely stereotype-based) and positive experiences with other ethnic, cultural and religious groups. Intergroup contact has been shown to be of particular importance to deconstruct prejudice towards immigrants as it reduces perceived threat by immigrants and increases the approval for diversity. We can show in our study that specific contact with immigrants has also positive consequence regarding prejudice towards other groups as it may help to increase social competence and open minds towards a greater acceptance of differences between groups and people in general.

Social Dominance Orientation.

This factor most closely mirrors the endorsement of an ideology of inequality that was shown to trigger the common core of different types of prejudices. Individuals, who support group-based hierarchies, i. e. accept that some groups are 'at the top' while others are 'at the bottom' of their societies, and who rather reject equality between groups are more prone to GFE. This indicates that the combat against prejudice and discrimination needs to reflect such general ideologies of societal hierarchies and equality.

Political Alination.

The subjective impression of powerlessness when it comes to politics is of medium importance for the explanation of GFE in Europe. Respondents tend more to GFE if they think not to have any say about what the government does, if they believe that politicians do not care what people like themselves think, and if they speak out for a strong leader for their country who does not bother about parliament or elections.

Political Orientation.

Respondents self-stated their political orientation on a scale from the far left to the far right. Findings indicate a linear trend of GFE the more respondents position themselves at the political right. That means GFE is comparably higher among those tending to the political right, somewhat lower in the political centre and the lowest among those tending to the moderate left. At the very left end, GFE is slightly higher again but clearly not as high as in

the political centre or the right end of the political scale. This result makes obvious that prejudices are not a restricted problem of the political right-wing. Instead, it also draws importance on prejudiced attitudes among the vast majority of Europeans who see themselves in the political centre.

Self-stated Religiosity.

Contrary to what many might have expected GFE rises with religiousness. The more religious respondents say they are, the more they hold prejudices towards various groups. This finding is supported by previous research on the topic of religion and prejudice. Soon, we will publish a special analyzes of “Religion and GFE” summarized in a dossier edited by the *NEF Initiative on Religion and Democracy in Europe*. Please see download materials at the homepage of the Network of European Foundation: <http://www.nefic.org/> by the mid of December.

Own Financial Situation compared to others (Individual Relative Deprivation).

The subjective impression to get less compared to other country natives plays as well a significant role for GFE. Respondents who feel to get less compared to others are more prejudiced towards a variety of target groups. The subjective impression to get less compared to others is not necessarily related to factual income, in fact, the relation is rather vague. One can speculate if this feeling of individual relative deprivation also serves to legitimate hostility towards other groups perceived to be of even lower social status.

Group Relative Deprivation

Here, respondents indicate if they rate the economical situation of country natives as better, the same or worse compared to that of immigrants to their country. Again, this is a purely subjective impression that is not linked to any factual conditions. Those, who rated their own group's economical situation as worse compared to that of immigrants, i. e., who felt relatively deprived on the group level, tended more to GFE. It seems to be likely that target groups of prejudice may be perceived as responsible scapegoats for one's own group's deprivation.

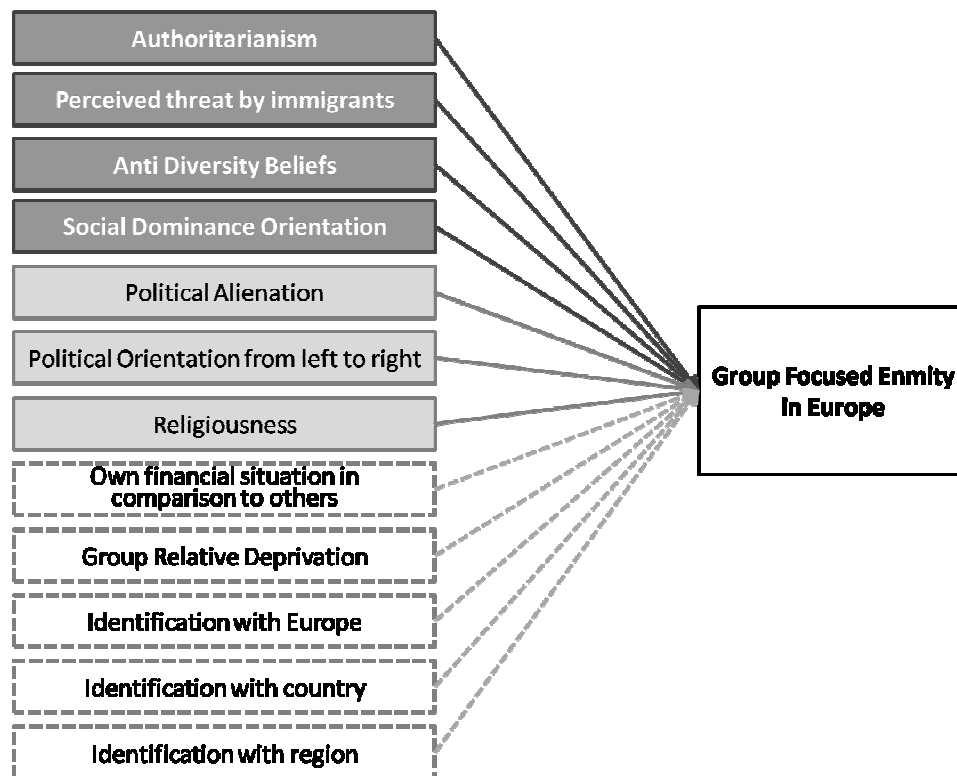
Identification with Europe, one's own Country and Region.

The degree to which respondents feel attached to their region, nation or to Europe is of only minor importance for GFE but still has a significant impact. Interestingly, the identification with Europe has a slightly reducing effect on GFE in some countries, i. e., the more respondents feel attached to Europe the less prejudiced they are. Contrary, the identification with their own nation and – noteworthy – their own region lead to an increase of GFE. One reason for this finding is that people try to increase their own group's position through the devaluation of others.

Age and Education.

Not presented in the graphs, there is some additional impact of the respondents' age and level of education. The older the participants and the less educated, the more they hold prejudices in general. This latter finding is particularly interesting in the European context as previous research indicated a stronger impact of education in long-term democracies compared to recent democratic countries. The findings suggest that in particular an education that stresses democratic principles is crucial for GFE.

Figure 2. Major important causes of GFE in Europe

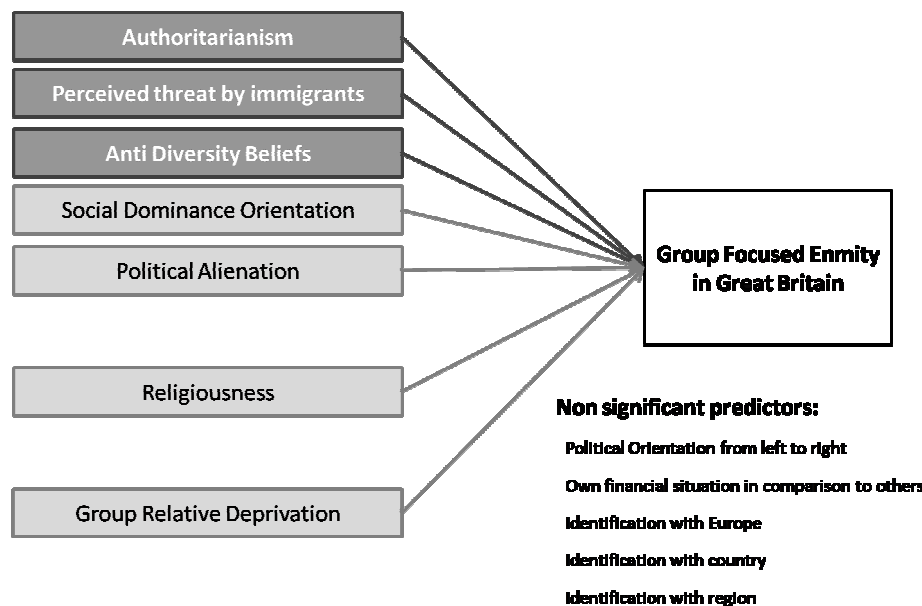


Note. Dark grey: strongest predictors (Beta coefficients $>.15$), light gray: moderate predictors (Beta coefficients $>.05$), white boxes: low, but significant predictors of GFE in Europe. All paths are significant at $p<.05$. Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

Conclusion

These findings on major causes of GFE also give first (not yet statistically proven) ideas why there is more GFE in some countries and less in others (see result 2). Countries differ in overall wealth but also in the long-term implementation of democratic principles. It needs to be considering that Poland and Hungary are recent democracies that have just started to implement democratic forms of education that focus on tolerance and diversity. And, only since very recently, these countries have started to accept or even train open and critical debates e. g. of rigid authoritarian ways of handling social matters. Just recently, if at all, there are broader societal debates on diversity and equal rights (such as those of homosexual persons) in general. Also, countries differ in the spread of hostile, nationalistic propaganda that promote a homogeneous society and excluded others diverging from this norm. In addition some countries are less experienced with immigration from poorer countries. Finally, the overall degree of religiousness that differs largely among countries gives some possible insight into cross-cultural differences in GFE. Last but not least, countries differ in overall wealth and personal financial security but also the overall satisfaction with the political system. Even though these factors were of minor importance across Europe they may help us to understand the significantly higher levels of GFE in poorer and newly European countries.

Figure 3. Predictors of Group Focused Enmity in Great Britain

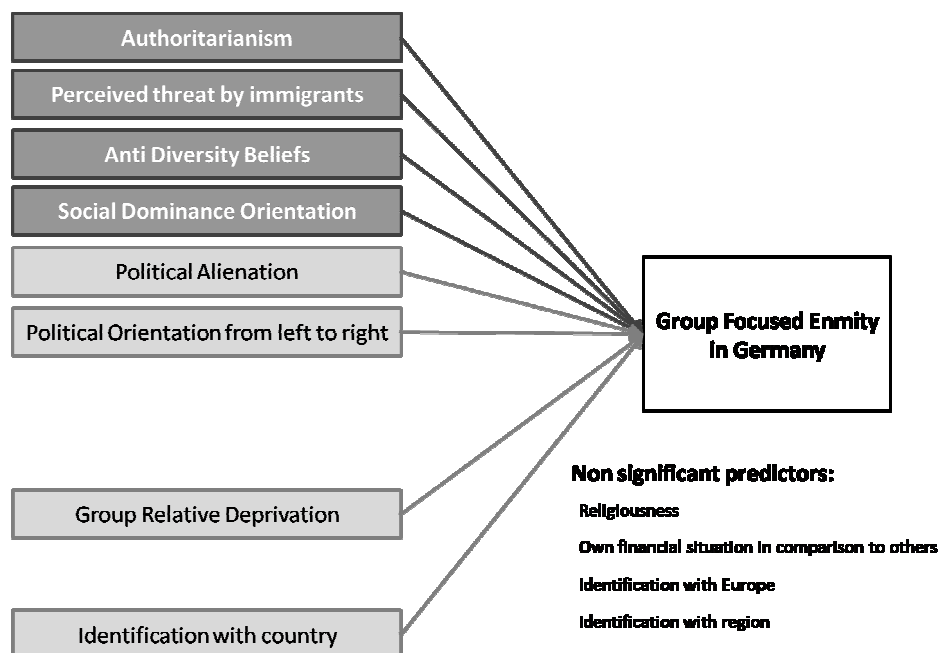


Note Dark grey: strongest predictors (Beta coefficients $>.15$), light gray: medium and low predictors (Beta coefficients $>.05$).

All paths are significant at $p < .05$.

Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

Figure 4. Predictors of Group Focused Enmity in Germany

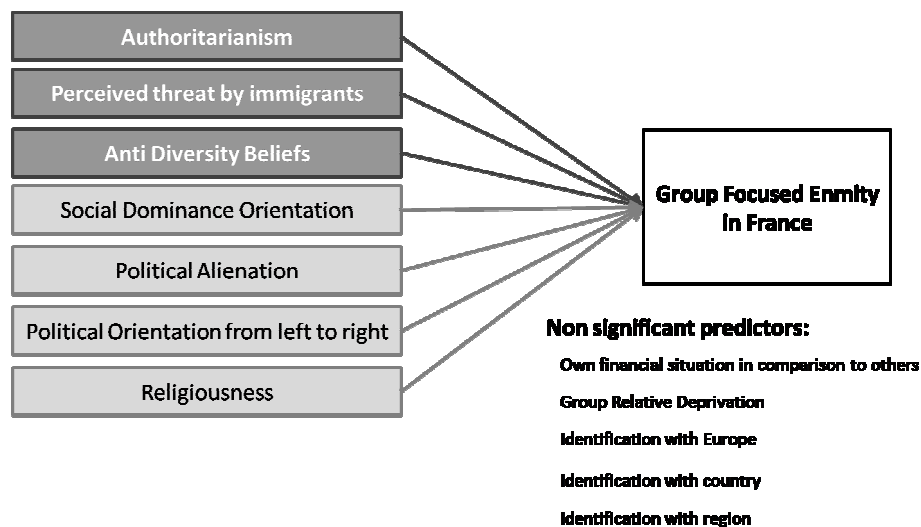


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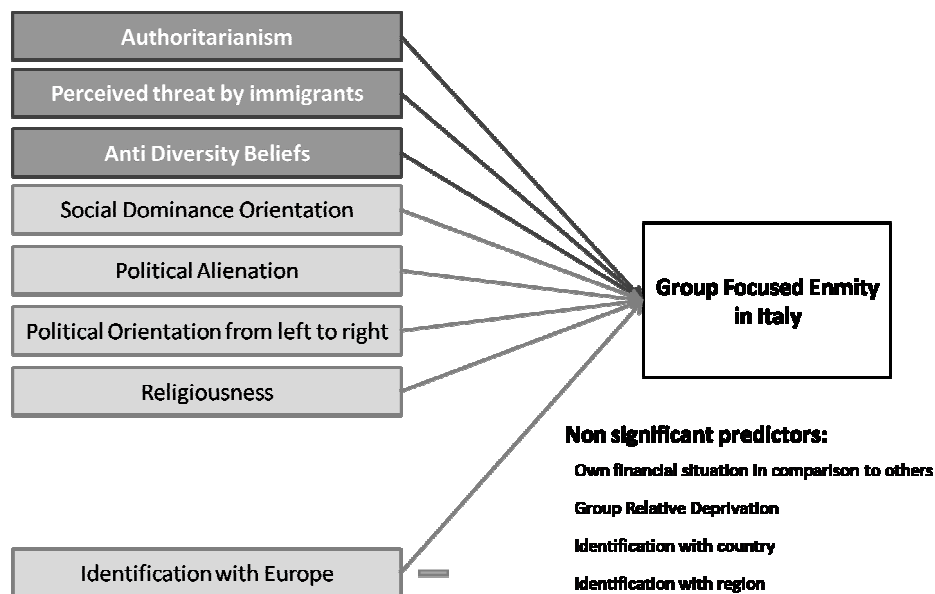
Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

Figure 5. Predictors of Group Focused Enmity in France



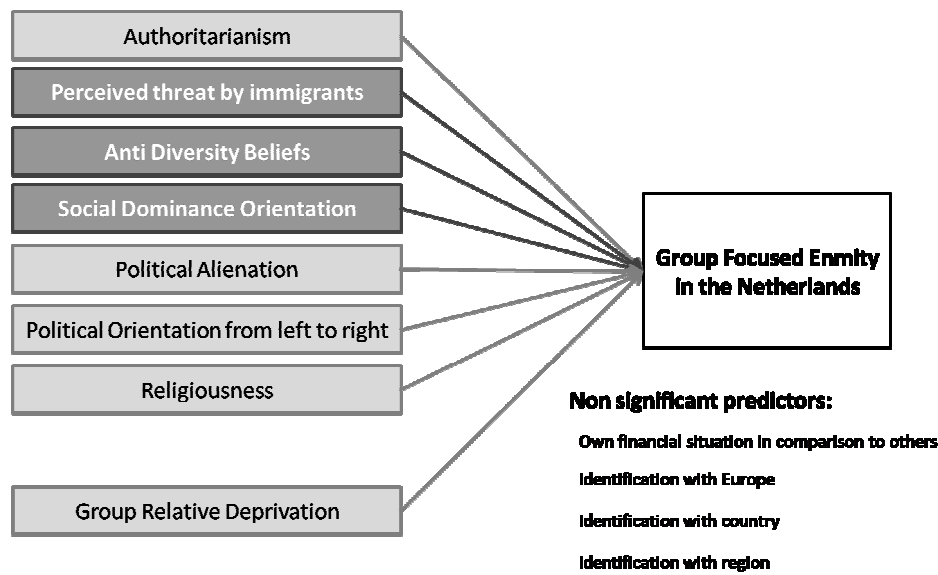
Note Dark gray: strongest predictors (Beta coefficients $>.15$), light gray: medium and low predictors (Beta coefficients $>.05$).
All paths are significant at $p<.05$.
Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

Figure 6. Predictors of Group Focused Enmity in Italy



Note Dark gray: strongest predictors (Beta coefficients $>.15$), light gray: medium and low predictors (Beta coefficients $>.05$).
All paths are significant at $p<.05$.
Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

Figure 7. Predictors of Group Focused Enmity in Netherlands

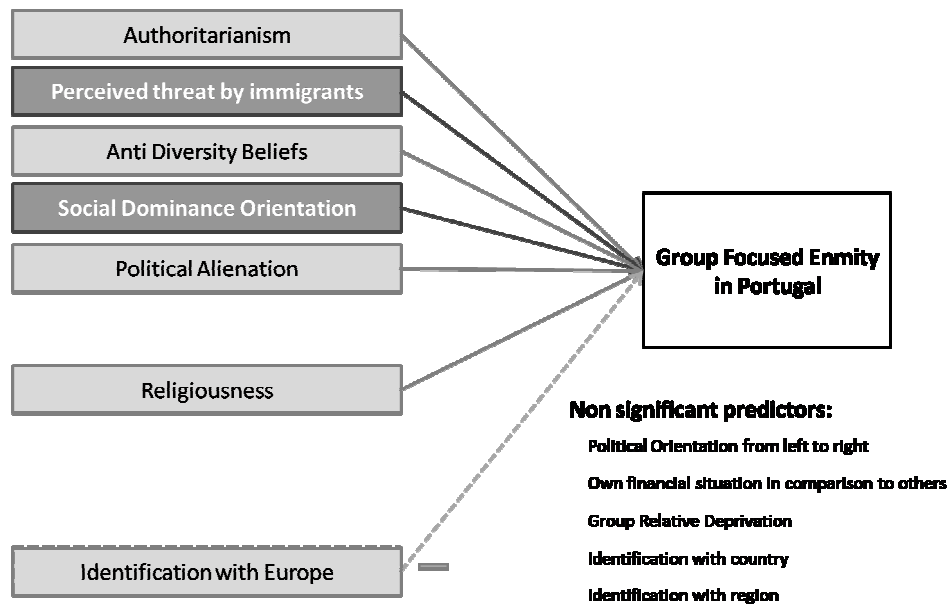


Note Dark gray: strongest predictors (Beta coefficients $>.15$), light gray: medium and low predictors (Beta coefficients $>.05$).

All paths are significant at $p < .05$.

Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

Figure 8. Predictors of Group Focused Enmity in Portugal

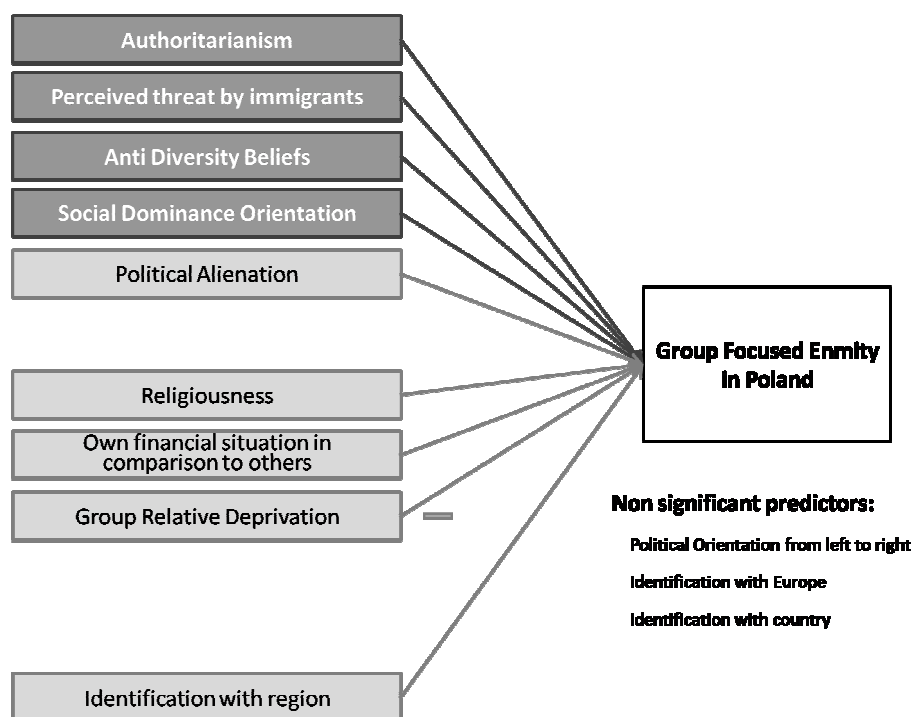


Note Dark gray: strongest predictors (Beta coefficients $>.15$), light gray: medium and low predictors (Beta coefficients $>.05$).

All paths are significant at $p < .05$.

Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

Figure 9. Predictors of Group Focused Enmity in Poland

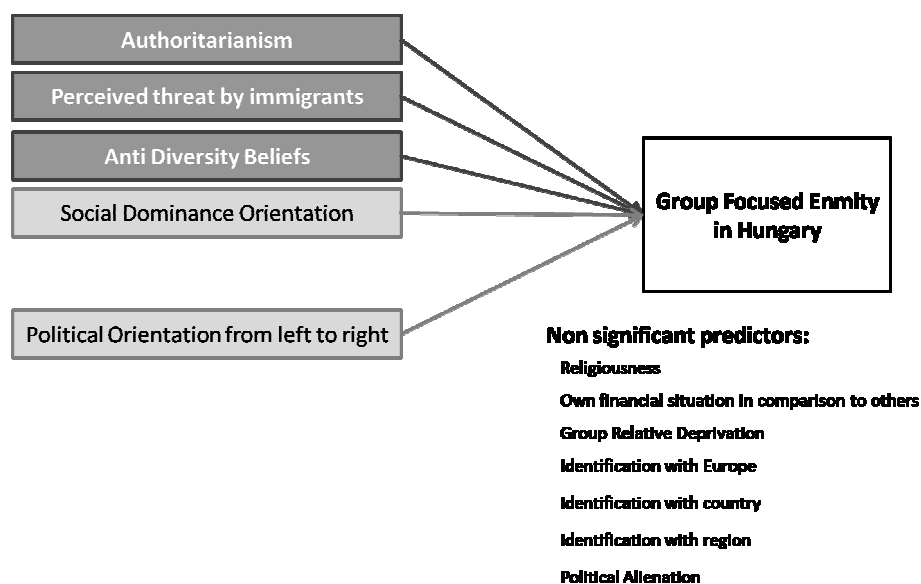


Note Dark grey: strongest predictors (Beta coefficients $>.15$), light gray: medium and low predictors (Beta coefficients $>.05$).

All paths are significant at $p < .05$.

Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

Figure 10. Predictors of Group Focused Enmity in Hungary



Note Dark grey: strongest predictors (Beta coefficients $>.15$), light gray: medium and low predictors (Beta coefficients $>.05$).

All paths are significant at $p < .05$.

Coefficients are controlled for age, sex and education.

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