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RESEARCH ARTICLE

WE LIKE SOME PEOPLE, WE HATE OTHERS. THE IMAGE OF THE NATIONAL MINORITIES IN POLAND ON THE BORDER OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

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ABSTRACT

Background: This article describes a study concerning the image of the national and ethnic minorities which exist in the border region of Podlasie in Poland. The main feature of this region, compared with the rest of the country, is its national, ethnic and religious diversity. Based on the theoretical approaches: Image Theory of Intergroup Emotion (Aleksander, Brewer, Herman, 1999); Stereotype Content Model SCM (Fiske, Cuddy, 2002); Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, 2007) and Socio-functional approach (Neuberg, Cottrel, 2005),

Aims: The aim was to find out what emotions and threats are attributed to the eight most represented national and ethnic groups.

Samples and Method: The study group was composed of 1200 people who filled in research questionnaires concerning the estimation of the presence of the groups in the region and in Poland, indicating which group aroused each of the sixteen emotional feelings and eight threats. The participants were asked the same questions twice: first from their point of view and then from the perspective of the inhabitants of Podlasie.

Results and Conclusion: The main results suggest that except for the groups of the high risk of threat and negative feelings, there are also certain groups towards which positive feelings are felt. The situation of these minorities is clearly not the same. Future research could extend these preliminary results.

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INTRODUCTION

The subject matter of the quality of the relationships between social groups constitutes one of the traditional areas of the scientific and investigative consideration of social psychologists. The image of the national minorities in Poland, especially in Podlasie, which has so far been identified by sociologists and educationalists who have undertaken the issues associated with the diagnosis of social attitudes towards cultural distinctiveness and the issues of the integration of religious and national minorities, does not show the full image of emotional, cognitive and behavioural reactions towards the minority groups. Therefore, on the basis of literature I assumed that the relationships between social groups are determined by their situation and that the interpretation of the situation and the capacity to react to it trigger emotional reactions which influence not only the judgements or attitudes towards another group but also influence behaviours. The scientific problem in question, i.e.

“How the national minorities are perceived in the chosen assessments which define their position in relation to the Polish majority” requires the reference to the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, 2002) and the Behaviours from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, 2007) that explain the manner in which we perceive social groups as well as to Neuberg’s sociofunctional approach (2005), which enumerates threats and highlights that each threat causes a specific emotional reaction. On the other hand, the Image Theory of Intergroup Emotion (Aleksander, Brewer, Herman, 1999), lets us understand and interpret intergroup relationships and makes it possible to determine behavioural tendencies in the intergroup relationships. In my theoretical consideration I took an assumption that the chosen national minorities do not possess the same 'stereotype' (Fiske’s model) or 'image' (Alexander’s model) in the eyes of the Polish majority. This direction of scientific works is the element of research into emotions and threats in intergroup relationships which is undertaken within the scientific project. The choice of Podlaskie province as the area of research has a special meaning as the main feature of this region, compared with the rest of the country, is its national (i.e. Belarussians, Russians,

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Ukrainians and Lithuanians etc.) and ethnic (e.g. the Roma, Chechens, the Tatars and Jews etc.) as well as religious diversity (i.e. catholic, orthodox and Muslim etc.). The fact that there are places in Podlasie where the Poles are a minority whereas the majority is constituted by Belarussians and Lithuanians is a nationwide phenomenon. The research in the field of the relationships and emotions between the national minorities in Podlasie makes it possible to look closely at the prevailing relations here, although at the same time they require reference to social and historical processes which have occurred in the area. When recognising and reflecting on their quality, we are deliberating whether they are of 'social order' (Sadowski, 1995a) nature, argument or if they somewhat reflect tendencies to make multiculturalism the landmark or the province (Kleban, 2011).

Multicultural present – The attitude towards a minority

The awareness of national and religious diversity among the inhabitants of Podlasie provokes thought about the prevalent relations between the minorities. A. Sadowski highlights shaping of the established rules of interethnic cohabitation which ensure social order in which the existing differences are made aware but do not constitute a source of conflicts (Sadowski, 1995a). Publications which discuss the quality of relations between the social groups in Podlasie emphasize the apparent socio-cultural, institutional and political cooperation and the fact that there are more and more cultural events of catholic-orthodox nature. Therefore it seems that religious and national differences in Podlasie are not accompanied by socio-professional or economic (Sadowski, 1995a) differentiation and that without regard to the national-religious affiliation, the inhabitants of Podlasie experience similar socio-economic problems. Specifically in the rural areas it is contributed by the similarity of everyday activities, professional duties as well as their proximity and a long-term acquaintance.

According to A. Sadowski, all of the above influences softening the differences between distinct communities towards socio-cultural assimilation, particularly in the sphere of everyday behaviours (Sadowski, 1995a), and the differences mainly occur between rural and urban areas, ergo as in other regions of Poland. M. Barwiński's research shows that 65% of the analysed inhabitants of cities and 79% inhabitants of villages express the opinion that the relations between representatives of the nationalities in Podlasie are 'very good', 'good' or 'correct'. The respondents often said that 'everybody lives in harmony here'. In the country one in twenty respondents said they were 'conflictive' (Barwiński, 2004), whereas in cities one in five did. Decidedly more interviewees are convinced that there are conflicts among the entirety of the inhabitants of Podlasie than the ones who think that the relations between particular nationalities are of conflictive nature. According to the author, it proves that the majority of disputes among the inhabitants of Podlasie does not possess an ethnic background (Barwiński, 2004). In our opinion, this only lets us hypothesise that the conflicts do not have ethnic grounds but it is still worth checking by means of in-depth studies. Is the image of the harmonious multiculturalism of Podlasie the image of factually existing social reality, a myth or a tendency to make multiculturalism the landmark of the province (Jasińska-Kania, Staszyńska, 2009) and to impose certain patterns?. It is worth drawing attention to pointing out to the regularities which were reliably examined by social

psychology and which may ultimately question some interpretations of the observed tendencies and the conclusions drawn from them. The first involves the awareness of intergroup differences which requires categorisation. Its basic form is the division into 'ours' (us) and 'others' (them) and it is never neutral (because it is accompanied by a series of comparisons and related evaluative differentiations. The motivation hidden behind them, which is combined with the need of securing a positive identity, in the first place leads to a valorisation of 'ours' and not 'others', also in the situations in which it is obvious that, in a chosen dimension, others are better (e.g. richer), another substituting dimension can be found (e.g. 'but we are more honest than them'). This regularity, which was analysed H. Tajfel (1971), does not lead to serious social conflicts, although it constitutes its psychological base. A serious conflict occurs in a situation when actions are taken against others. Consequently, it is difficult to insist on a point of the awareness of differences and the lack of conflicts without asking questions about common interests, aims or perceived threats.

However, it seems possible that levelling differences, e.g. by referring to common categories of affiliation or another way of defining of 'fellow men', e.g. based on a shared territory ('locals'), common or similar activities ('farmers'), shifts the problem onto 'others' ('city dwellers', 'highbrows' and 'clerks'). It is also problematic to acknowledge only on the basis of the declaration of the causes of the conflict that in the Podlaskie region they do not have the national ethnic or denominational background. When answering this sort of questions, we usually activate heuristics of the most effortlessly available information in our memory, that is we recall the last two, three neighbourly conflicts and their reasons (too loud music, damages caused by children etc.). Being easily available in our memory they seem to be typical and frequent. Every day and ordinary conflicts do not seem to have a basis connected with the 'neighbours' affiliation to a different social group but they may adopt it when the relationship with them is long-lasting and-as every such a relationship – complex. It is likewise so that the answer to the questions concerning the area of social conflicts is burdened with so call 'social correctness', that is the tendency to present oneself in such a way as it is thought to be appropriate in the eyes of others. If the expectation, standard or norm is the lack of conflicts with them, another important reason is needed to show oneself as a person who does not measure up to these expectations. Such a mechanism may lead the respondents to declare 'life in agreement'. These, inter alia, were the reasons why we became interested in both the last events regarding attitudes towards the minorities and the answers of those who point out to the national ethnic or denominational background of the conflicts between the groups. Moving in the subject area of the quality of the relations between social groups in a particular territory requires the reference to and thorough knowledge of the historical and cultural background of the attitude towards minorities which is described in the publication edited by E.Drozda-Senkowska (Hendo-Milewska, Drozda-Senkowska, 2014).

Theoretical basis

The theoretical basis of the article is the Image Theory of Intergroup Emotion (Aleksander, Brewer, Herman, 1999), the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, 2002) and the Behaviours from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map

(Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, 2007) and also the socio-functional approach (Neuberg, 2005). In the context of the above mentioned theories, definitional explanations and the assumptions of the examination procedure have been elaborated. A presupposition was made that relations between social groups are to a large extent conditioned by their situation (present, past or a projection into the future) while the interpretation of the situation as unexpected/expected, pleasant/unpleasant and the possibility to react to it trigger emotional reactions which influence not only judgements and attitudes towards another group but also behaviours towards it. Alexander's, Brewer's and Hermann's theories provide us with the bases to understand the evaluation of the level of intergroup emotions and behavioural tendencies. In the experiments conducted by them, Alexander and Hermann show that the evaluation of intergroup relations induces specific emotions which underpin behavioural and cognitive bases of reactions to an alien group. Herrmann distinguished three dimensions of intergroup relations which trigger accumulation of feelings and, as a consequence, compose the image of other people and particular behavioural tendencies:

1. The analysis of the group's goals,
2. Evaluation of the relative power / authority / group's influence,
3. Evaluation of the group's status / socio-economic status of the group.

This type of analysis determines the evaluation of the possibility to react to situations, (e.g. towards groups perceived as dominant, i.e. having a higher status or authority and perceived as having contradictory aims to the aims of the affiliation group (present, past or future), emotions such as fear and envy may prevail over the emotions such as anger, while the reactions such as submissiveness or dutifulness may dominate over the reactions such as attack or rebellion). Among overall images which may result from diverse configurations of the evaluations of intergroup relationships, five of them are recognized as notably important in foreign relations. They were defined as the image of 'an enemy', 'an ally', 'a barbarian', 'a dependant' (colonist) and 'an imperialist' (Brewer, Alexander, 2002). Table 1 contains the summary of the evaluation model of emotions in relation to the five specific configurations formulated on the basis of the theory of image in foreign relations.

Table 1. The evaluation model of emotions in relation to the five specific configurations

Elements of relations	Emotions and feelings	Behavioural tendencies	Image
Integrity of goals Equal status Equal authority	Admiration trust	cooperation	allies
Incompatibility of goals Equal status Equal authority	anger	attack or suspension	enemies
Non-dependence of goals Low status Low authority	Disgust contempt	exploitation, paternalism	dependants
Incompatibility of goals Low status High authority	Fear embarrassment	protection / patronage	barbarians
Non-dependence of goals High status High authority	Envy negative feelings	defiance, rebellion	imperialists

Source: Brewer, M.B., Alexander, M. G., Intergroup emotion and Images. In: D. Mackie, E. R. Smith, (ed.), (2002). *From prejudice to intergroup emotions. Differentiated reactions to social groups*, New York and Hove: Psychology Press, p. 209.

According to the above model, the configuration related to the image of an ally is connected to feeling pleasant intergroup emotions, such as admiration and trust. On the other hand, the negative image of a group is diversified by unpleasant emotions, depending on the evaluation of power / authority of one's own group and the status. When the resources and the status of one's own group are equal, the image of the group is interpreted by anger (the enemy's image) or admiration (the ally's image). When the resources of one's own group are perceived as low, the emotions which will be triggered are disgust and contempt (the image of the group as a dependent one), whereas when the status of one's own group is perceived as low while the power is seen as high, the emotions which will occur are fear and embarrassment (the image of an alien group – barbarian). Finally, when one's own group is perceived as having a stronger and higher status than an alien group, the responding emotion will be envy, which will be connected with the dependence of the image of the group as imperialists.

In the context of the theory of the intergroup threat (Stephan, 2002) the intergroup threat may occur when members of one group notice that the other group is able to harm them, which is caused by anxiety, e.g. loss of resources. Numerous factors have been analysed which are related to the reaction of the human being's reaction to the perception of danger. This reaction is cognitive at first, then emotional and, finally, behavioural. *Cognitive reactions* to a threat from other people who belong to another group may affect the changes in perception of an alien group, e.g. as intolerance, hatred or changes in the perception of the alien group's behaviour. *Emotional reactions* to a threat will probably be unpleasant: fear, anxiety, anger and outrage, contempt and disgust as well as anger, hatred, humiliation, fear, helplessness, grief, and outrage. *Behavioural reactions* in response to threats occur in the form of, e.g. withdrawal, submissiveness and negotiations in the situation of aggression (direct or indirect), lie, fraud, theft, revenge or other forms of conflict.

Responses to a threat should be diverse according to the fact whether the threat is perceived as directed towards a group (it triggers emotions associated with care for the group's welfare, such as anger, regret, or a collective sense of guilt) or its respective members (it arouses emotions connected with care for oneself, i.e. personal safety, such as fear and sensitivity, susceptibility to harm). Therefore, people react to threats in a number of various ways. For example, fear often leads to escape if we are alone and feel weaker but it can also lead to the attack if we are in a group or if we can count on the group's strength. It goes to show that the groups integrity, the extent of identification with it as well as individual predispositions condition our reactions to threats posed by others. It should be recalled that literature indicates two basic types of threats: *real and symbolic threats*. A *real threat* of a group is the threat to power, resources and general welfare; it concerns real physical or material damages for particular members of a group, such as pain, physical harm, or death and economic loss, deprivation of resources, health hazards or personal safety. *Symbolic threats* are threats in the area of religion, values, the system of beliefs, ideology, philosophy, morality and the outlook on life. Symbolic individual threats are, e.g. a threat to losing face or honour and undermining one's own identity and the person's self-esteem (Stephan, 2002).

Table 2. Emotional and behavioural reactions towards a perceived threat to one's own reference group

Perception of a threat to one's own group	Emotions aroused within a group	Basic objective	Basic action
Threat to a group's safety	Fear, resentment/anger	Self-defence	Escape from dangerous groups
Threat to social cooperation	Anger	Restoration of effective functioning of a group	Punishment and isolation of an onerous group
Threat to a group's value	Disgust, anger, fear	Preservation of the system of values	Rehabilitation or punishment and isolation of a perpetrator

Own elaboration based on: Neuberg, S. L., Cottrell, C. A. (2003). Intergroup Emotions. A Biocultural Approach. In: Mackie, D. M., Smith, E. R., *From Prejudice to Intergroup Emotion. Differentiated Reactions to Social Groups*, Psychology Press, p. 272.

Consequently, two basic types of threats – real and symbolic ones may be experienced on the level of a group or on an individual level (Stephan, 2002). To sum up this part of deliberations, it should be stated here that the areas related to power / a group's strength, the history of conflicts and a group's size cause real threats to a greater extent than symbolic threats. These factors are closely related to the possibility of harming a group or to the control of the value of resources and beliefs, since the factors are connected to the possibility of harming one's own reference group. Socio-functional approach by Neuberg (2005) distinguishes threats concerning the following: ownership, economic resources, the right to freedom, equality, social cooperation, a group's merit, a group's functioning based on social trust, health, voluntary compliance with the rule of reciprocity and a group's safety. According to Neuberg and Cottrell (2003), each threat triggers specific emotional reaction and always, sooner or later, anger. It should be expected that threats directed towards individual group members arouse emotions related to the concern for oneself (e.g. for personal safety or one's image), such as fear and sensitivity or susceptibility to harm. It is expected that threats directed towards a group as a whole trigger emotions related to care for the group's welfare (e.g. the benefit of resources or the group's reputation), such as anger, regret and collective sense of guilt. Behavioural reactions to a number of threats may assume the form of, e.g. withdrawal, submissiveness, and negotiations in the situation of aggression (direct or indirect), discrimination, lie, fraud, theft, protests, wars and other forms of an open intergroup conflict. In some cases a threat leads to direct hostility towards an alien group, which is closely related to the source of the threat. Table 2 shows emotional and behavioural reactions towards a perceived threat to one's own reference group.

Although a threat usually causes hostile behaviour (directly or indirectly) towards members of an alien group, the threat may sometimes seemingly cause positive behaviour towards members of an alien group, e.g. when people are motivated to maintain a positive image of oneself and members of one's group (Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, Elliot, 1991). Threats may serve to improve relations in small subgroups, when people need to unite in the face of a common menace. However, it is vital to remember that behaviour of one group affects cognitive reactions and behavioural tendencies to another group. For instance, if people's reaction to danger is an aggressive action to an alien group it means that the alien group will be forced to respond. If the alien group responds aggressively, it will change the reaction on the level of one's group in the scope of perception of the level of the conflict between groups and it will increase the perception of danger. Susan Fiske's Stereotype Content Model (SCM) (Fiske, Cuddy, 2002) presupposes the existence of two dimensions through which social groups are perceived: competence (e.g. autonomous, clever, self-confident, talented) and kindness (e.g. good-natured, trustworthy, sincere, friendly).

Placing a group in this two-dimensional space is predestined to find the social structure of relations between groups, especially the status and competence (Glick, Fiske, 1999; Fiske, Cuddy, 2002). Why are the two dimensions chosen? It is presumed that the perception in the category of the status predicts which groups will stereotypically be competent, while in the case of the lack of competence it is predicted which groups will be friendly (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, 2002). *Pity and compassion* will be targeted at groups with low competence. These groups will be seen as friendly but incompetent. On the other hand, *envy* will be targeted at groups with high competence. These groups will be viewed as competent but unfriendly. *Contempt* is aimed at groups which are perceived as incompetent while *appreciation and pride* will be directed at groups effectively seen as friendly and competent.

Methodological aids

In the process of elaboration of the research procedure we posed the following question: which social groups should be surveyed? The National Population and Housing Census in Poland of 2011 (www.mniejszości.narodowe.mac.gov.pl, 18.02.2016) provides the data indicating the presence of particular social groups in Podlasie, which means that, inter alia, Belarussians, Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians and Tatars (www.mswia.gov.pl/portal/pl/61/37/24.10.2011; Jasińska-Kania, Staszyńska, 2009) live in the territory of Podlaskie province. The framework structure of cultural diversification of the inhabitants of Białystok shows the social groups which in historical and religious terms constitute the majority, i.e. Belarussians, Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians, the Tatars and the Roma (Sadowski, 2006). However, the choice of minority groups to be surveyed by us was not made merely on the basis of the statistical majority. The analysis of the historic-cultural background connected with the functioning of social groups in Poland and in Podlasie is also essential. Therefore, the following social groups have been chosen for our own research: Belarussians, refugees from Chechnya, Tatars, the Roma, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Russians and Jews.

The research issue raised in the article adopted the form of the following question: 'How are national-ethnic minorities perceived in the chosen dimensions which characterize their positions as compared to the Polish majority?' Given that the relations between social groups are to a large extent determined by their situation (present, past and a projection into the future) and that the interpretation of the situation as unexpected / expected, pleasant / unpleasant and the possibility to react to it trigger emotional reactions which affect not only opinions or attitudes towards another group but also behaviours to it, in the first phase of the research the aim was to select social groups which, in the eyes of the society, trigger specific emotions and pose specific threats and, at this opportunity, to check or develop the existing typologies of

threats. The goal of the second phase of the research was to discover and analyse the connection / profile of emotions, threats and behaviours towards the chosen social groups. Yet the practical purpose of these deliberations is to develop the tools which will enable us to select social groups arousing unpleasant emotions and posing threats in order to foresee behaviours directed towards them. Knowledge about them should help ruling bodies take actions which prevent spreading conflicts between social groups.

We adopted the following hypotheses:

1. the chosen national-ethnic minorities do not possess the same 'stereotype' (Fiske's model et al.) or the same 'image' (Aleksander's model et al.) in the eyes of the Polish majority;
2. differences in the position which is attributed to national-ethnic minorities are related to the threats, emotions and behavioural tendencies attributed to them.
3. The research was conducted from November 2011 to May 2012. The respondents answered individually. For the purpose of preserving their full anonymity they received a questionnaire in an envelope which they sealed before returning it.

Characteristics of the respondents

Characteristics of the respondents was made on the basis of an identification card attached to a questionnaire. The analysis of data concerning the respondents participating in the research which was supposed to select *national groups* indicates that 60 students were examined: 53 women and 7 men aged 19 to 47; 75.0% of the respondents have secondary education, 3.33% - higher vocational education and 21.7% - university education. All respondents declared Polish citizenship and Poland as their country of origin. The research was undertaken in May 2011 in NWSP premises. Participation in the research was voluntary. The analysis of the answers from the identification card to the question about which national group/groups appeal to you shows that the majority of respondents – 20.0% indicates Polish people and the Russians as the most appealing to them. In the second stage of the research 1200 questionnaires were handed out (to 600 students and 600 adults). The respondents were young people (33 years of age in average), professionally active, educated inhabitants of Bialystok, among which women prevailed, and who, except from few cases, declared Polish citizenship and Polish language as their mother tongue.

Measures and research procedure

The basic research tools in the first stage of the research were a questionnaire, which included 3 questions, and an identification card defining the elementary characteristics of the respondents. The first question pertained to the quantitative evaluation of the presence of the eight groups and 'people like them' in the region and in Poland. The second question showed which group triggered each of the 16 positive and negative emotional sensations. The respondents were asked about it twice: first from their point of view and then from the point of view of the inhabitants of Podlasie. They gave their answers to the same question in relation to 'people like them' on a separate sheet of paper. On the basis of the same format, the third question pertained to approximately 8 threats. In the final

stage, young people described 'people like them' and filled in the identification form.

The research questionnaire in the second stage of the studies contained five series of questions:

- The first one related to 12 threats,
- The second one pertained to 20 emotions / feelings,
- The third one concerned behaviours corresponding to 12 chosen threats,
- The fourth one related to 6 dimensions of evaluations of the positions of the minority groups: warmth, competence, compatibility of aims / rivalry, status, power and morality
- The fifth – the evaluation of the contact with minority groups and knowledge about them.

The respondents filled in the questionnaire twice – first evaluating one of the minority groups and then evaluating 'persons such as you'. The order of the studies was controlled - half of the respondents started from evaluating a minority group and half of them started from evaluating their own affiliation group. In the end they answered a series of questions in the data sheet, starting by giving 3 characteristics of 'persons such as you'. The questions in the data sheet pertained to age, sex, income, religion, mother tongue, citizenship and the place of residence.

Statistical Power

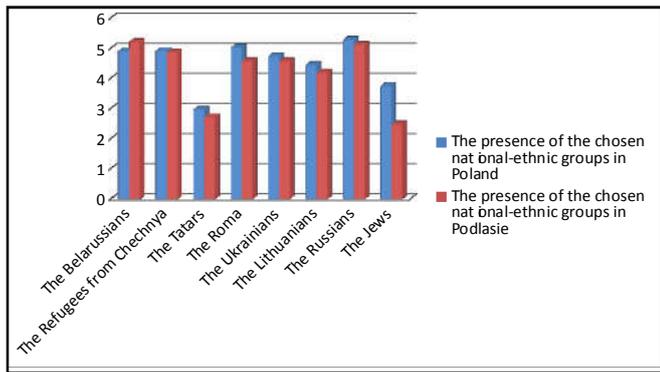
In the statistical analysis of the collected data, Pearson's χ^2 tests for independence were applied to evaluate the relationships between the traits of qualitative and ordinal nature as well as the following tests: One-Sample Statistics, Paired Samples Statistics, Paired Samples Test. All the calculations were made in the SPSS Statistics 17.0. Statistical hypotheses were verified based on 0.05 significance level.

RESULTS

The evaluation of the presence of the chosen national-ethnic groups

In order to select the most and the least present groups we carried out a test of distinctions with respect to the middle of the scale from 1 (absent) to 9 (very present), that is with respect to the value which equals 5. It turns out that the evaluation of none of the groups exceeds the middle of the scale considerably in the case of both Podlasie and Poland. In other words, none of the eight proposed groups is considered as explicitly present. On the other hand, the evaluation of the presence of four groups (the Tatars, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Jews) is substantially lower than the middle of the scale and in Poland it is the case of three of them, except for Ukrainians.

Therefore, it seems that, as regards to Poland, the respondents see Belarussians, Chechens, the Roma, Ukrainians and Russians as neither very present nor absent and the Tatars, Lithuanians, and Jews as rather not much present. The same opinion applies to Podlasie, except for Ukrainians who are considered as not much present in the region.



Source: own research

Graph 1. The evaluation of the presence of the chosen national-ethnic groups in the region and in Poland

The achieved results indicate the following:

1. The proposed national-ethnic groups are seen as less populous with respect to the respondents' group of affiliation – 'persons such as myself' – in most of the cases meaning 'the Poles';
2. The evaluation of their presence in the region and in the country is highly correlated and, apart from one group (Jews less present in the region than nationwide) does not differ;
3. None of the eight groups is considered as 'very present' in Podlasie, four of them (Belarussians, Chechens, the Roma and Russians) are considered as 'neither very present or absent' and four groups (the Tatars, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Jews) as 'not very present'.

The emotions attributed to denominational and national-ethnic groups

In order to simplify the analysis, in the first step we divided emotions into 'negative' ones (sorrow, anger, disgust, envy, shame, embarrassment, jealousy, fear, contempt and guilt) and 'positive' (joy, affinity, pride, compassion, admiration, curiosity). The results of the test of distinctions in the frequencies of attribution positive and negative emotions to national-ethnic groups show that the groups to whom the respondents ascribe more positive emotions than the negative ones are Belarussians and Ukrainians. With Lithuanians we can observe the tendency moving in this direction ($p < 0.07$) but it is not statistically vital. Chechens, the Roma, and Jews arouse more negative than positive emotions. The Tatars and Russians constitute groups emotionally ambivalent – the number of positive emotions attributed to them does not substantially differ from the amount of negative emotions attributed to them.

The results which relate to assigning emotions to national-ethnic groups suggest that:

- **Groups** which arouse rather negative emotions are Chechens, the Roma and Jews,
- **Groups** which arouse rather positive emotions are Belarussians and Ukrainians,
- **The Tatars** and Russians are ambivalent groups (they arouse both positive as well as negative emotions).

Does the same image concern the attributed threats, i.e. do the respondents attribute more threats to Chechens, the Roma or Jews and fewer to Belarussians and Ukrainians?

Threats ascribed to denominational and national-ethnic groups

The results in the scope of the number of threats ascribed to national-ethnic groups from the point of view of the inhabitants of Podlasie are analogical to the results in the scope of the number of threats ascribed to national-ethnic groups from the point of view of the respondents. A vast majority of the respondents (minimum 80%) does not ascribe any threat to Ukrainians, the Tatars and Lithuanians, while the minority of the respondents does not ascribe any threat to Chechens, the Roma and Russians. Apart from that, the three groups are the most threatening for a number of reasons, i.e. they are attributed various types of threats at the same time. The following table summarises the observed tendencies concerning the evaluation of the presence of the groups as well as the emotions and threats ascribed to them. It seems that the image of the four groups is relatively clear. Chechens and the Roma are considered as fairly present in Podlasie; they trigger more negative than positive emotions and they are ascribed the most number of threats. Ukrainians and Lithuanians are considered as not very present in Podlasie; they arouse more positive than negative emotions (for Lithuanians it is about a statistical tendency) and they are ascribed few threats. The image of Belarussians seems to be interesting due to its complexity. The former, fairly present, trigger more positive than negative emotions and they are ascribed an average number of threats, whereas the latter arouse emotional ambivalence with a lot of threats ascribed to them.

Position of national-ethnic minorities in the light of Stereotype Content model by Fiske

According to the average figures of general indicators for each of the dimension of the group's position, one's own affiliation group (*IN GR*, that is the Poles) is evaluated better than a minority group (*OUT GR*). According to the table below, the tendency intensifies depending on the evaluated dimension of the position and the evaluated minority group. Still, the difference of evaluation in favour of one's own group, present in all dimensions, relates to first and foremost to Chechens and the Roma. The analysis of Stereotype Content Model by Fiske & al. relates to two dimensions: 'warmth' and 'competence'. It was accomplished by differences of IN-OUT evaluations for each of the two dimensions. The employed indicator means that the closer the difference is to 0, the more similar the evaluation of minority groups is to the evaluation of one's own group (here 'People like Me', that is the Poles). The bigger the IN-OUT difference and its positive value, the higher one's own group is evaluated in comparison to the minority group; the bigger the difference and its negative value, the higher score is given to the minority group in comparison with one's own group. The results of the analysis of the variances for each of the item's dimensions and six national-ethnic minorities show that for both 'warmth' and 'competence' dimensions the IN-OUT out difference is statistically vital (for 'warmth' $F(5, 876)=14.21, p < 0.000$; for 'competence' $F(5, 877)=12.17, p < 0.000$).

In the case of 'warmth', Tukey's HSD test shows that:

1. Belarussians are evaluated in the closest manner to the group of affiliation (the average IN-OUT difference is 0.54) which means that they are considered almost as amiable, benign and sociable as one's own group

evaluation of one's own group (average IN-OUT differences equal 1.72 and 1.74) than the evaluation of Ukrainians and the Roma (for the former it is 2.34, and for the latter it is 2.58).

In the case of «competence», Tukey's HSD test shows that:

Table 3. The number of threats ascribed to national-ethnic groups

Group	No threat		1 threat		2 threats		3 threats		4 threats		5 threats		6 threats	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Belarussians	38	63.3	19	31.7	2	3.3	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chechens	24	40.0	18	30.0	9	15.0	3	5.0	2	3.3	2	3.3	2	3.3
the Tatars	48	80.0	9	15.0	1	1.7	2	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
the Roma	23	38.3	18	30.0	10	16.7	6	10.0	0	0	2	3.3	1	1.7
Ukrainians	52	86.7	7	11.7	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lithuanians	48	80.0	12	20.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Russians	25	41.7	20	33.3	10	16.7	2	3.3	1	1.7	0	0	2	3.3
Jews	37	61.7	19	31.7	4	6.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: own research

Table 4. Tendencies in the evaluation of the presence of the social groups in Podlasie and attribution of emotions and threats in the respondents' opinion

Group	Present	Emotions	Threats	Type of group (hypothesis)
Belarussians	Average	Positive	Fairly	Potentially non-conflicting
Chechens	Average	Negative	A lot	Conflicting
Tatars	Little	Ambivalence	Little	Immaterial
the Roma	Fairly	Negative	A lot	Conflicting
Ukrainians	Average	Positive	Little	Non-conflicting
Lithuanians	Little	Positive (tendency)	Little	Non-conflicting
Russians	Average	Ambivalence	Little	Potentially conflicting
Jews	Little	Negative	Fairly	Non-popular
People like me	A lot	Positive	A lot	-----

Source: own research

Table 5. Average figures of general indicators for the chosen dimensions of the groups' position

Position's dimension	Average for IN GR	Average for OUT GR
Warmth	6.87	4.93
Competence	6.80	4.58
Inconsistency of goals	5.81	3.86
Status	5.46	3.79
Power	4.66	3.45
Morality	6.99	4.22

Source: own research

Table 6. Dimensions of the evaluation of minority groups

	Warmth	Competence	Inconsistency of goals	Status	Power	Morality
IN GR	6.40	6.76	5.74	5.46	4.65	6.90
Belarussians	5.86	5.28	4.33	4.14	3.71	5.02
IN GR	6.92	6.91	6.09	5.67	4.87	7.09
Chechens	4.16	3.86	3.58	3.03	2.98	3.43
IN GR	6.88	6.75	5.90	5.38	4.84	6.90
Lithuanians	5.16	5.12	4.18	4.27	3.84	5.04
IN GR	6.93	6.94	5.89	5.42	4.43	7.14
the Roma	4.38	3.79	3.40	3.11	2.89	3.35
IN GR	7.05	6.88	5.74	5.56	4.80	6.97
Russians	5.33	4.82	3.40	4.19	3.70	4.02
IN GR	7.07	6.54	5.53	5.27	4.38	6.95
Ukrainians	4.70	4.61	4.30	3.99	3.56	4.43

Source: own research

2. Chechens are evaluated in the most disparate manner from the group of affiliation (the average IN-OUT difference is 2.75) which means that they are considered much less amiable, benign and sociable as one's own group
3. Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians and the Roma are situated between those two extremes, although the evaluation of Lithuanians and Russians are closer to the
4. Belarussians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Russians are evaluated in a closer manner to the evaluation of one's own group (average IN-OUT differences equal 1.46, 1.63, 1.88, 2.02)
5. Chechens and the Roma are evaluated in the most disparate manner from the group of affiliation (for the former it is 3.03, for the latter 3.16).

To sum up this part of research in the light of Stereotype Content model by Fiske, it should be stated, that the national-ethnic minorities do not possess the same 'stereotype'. In this way the first hypothesis was conducted. In other words, Chechens and the Roma are perceived as much less competent, clever and conscientious than the Poles, Belarussians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Russians also as less competent, clever and conscientious than the Poles, but closer to the evaluation of the Poles.

Position of national-ethnic minorities in the light of Alexander's Image Theory

The analysis of Alexander's Image Theory relates to three dimensions: integrity of goals, status and power. It was accomplished through the analysis of variance of the differences of IN-OUT evaluations for all six national-ethnic groups, separately for each of the dimensions. The results show statistically vital differences for each of the dimensions (integrity of goals $F(5, 872)=6.69$, $p<0.000$; status $F(5, 871)=12.22$, $p<0.000$; power $F(5, 872)=4.64$, $p<0.000$). When it comes to status (political, economic and social), the evaluation of Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Belarussians and Russians are the closest to the evaluation of one's own group of affiliation (the average IN-OUT differences are equal in the above mentioned order 1.11, 1.27, 1.32, 1.40). The evaluation of the Roma and Chechens is the most disparate from the evaluation of one's own group of affiliation (the average IN-OUT differences are 2.35 and 2.66). The figures of IN-OUT differences show that none of the minority groups has neither higher or equal status to the affiliation group's status. A similar tendency can be observed in the case of power. The evaluation of the power of Ukrainians, Belarussians, Lithuanians and Russians is as near as possible to the evaluation of one's own group's power (the average IN-OUT differences are 0.84, 0.93, 1.00, 1.11). The evaluation of Chechens is the most remote from the evaluation of one's own group (1.90) followed by the evaluation of the Roma (1.54). These tendencies become complicated in the scope of the assessment of the integrity of goals/rivalry. The closest scores to one's own group are given to Ukrainians (average IN-OUT difference is 1.21) and Belarussians (1.41). Chechens (2.51), the Roma (2.49) and Russians (2.29) received the most disparate evaluation from the evaluation of one's own group. Lithuanians are an intermediary group (1.71). In other words, the minorities considered having the least consistent goals with the goals of one's own group are Chechens, the Roma and Russians. As seen above, the respondents assess their own group as having a higher status, more power and different goals than the minority groups. Beside Chechens and the Roma, whose image is close to the image of «barbarians», the image of Russians is also interesting. Considered relative rivals (inconsistency of goals), they have the power and status relatively close (although lower) to one's own group. To sum up this part of research in the light of Alexander's Image Theory, it should be stated, that the national-ethnic minorities do not possess the same 'image'. In this way the first hypothesis was conducted.

Threats

In order to check the internal scale of threats (11 items after deleting the item which corresponds to a general threat), Cronbach's alpha for the assessment of the IN group equals

0.896, and for the OUT group is 0.925. In both cases it is satisfactory and makes it possible to use the 'global' indicator which corresponds to the difference between the assessments of one's own group and the minority group (IN – OUT). As the summary of the received results shows in the table below, except for a threat to freedom of speech where the tendency is reverse, that the most threatening groups are the Roma, Chechens and Russians, the least – Belarussians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians in most of the cases.

Table 7. Threats ascribed to national minority groups

Threat	The most threatening groups	The least threatening groups
Economic Possessed goods	No differences	No differences
Trust	the Roma	Belarussians
Cooperation	Russians	Lithuanians
Recognised values	Chechens	Ukrainians
Freedom of speech	Russians Lithuanians Belarussians	the Roma Chechens Ukrainians
Health	the Roma Chechens Ukrainians, Russians	Belarussians Lithuanians
Morality Safety	Chechens the Roma Russians, Ukrainians	Lithuanians Belarussians

Source: own research

Emotions/feelings

As in the case of threats, on the basis of the data concerning emotions, analyses of the general emotional attitude were made thanks to two items: 'pleasant feelings' and 'unpleasant feelings' and analyses of variations of both the differences in the assessment of the IN-OUT emotions and the repetitive emotions for the 'type of the assessed group'. The analysis of the IN-OUT out differences concerning pleasant and unpleasant feelings indicates that the former as well as the latter differ depending on a minority (for pleasant feelings $F(5, 910)=7.31$, $p<0.000$; for unpleasant feelings $F(5, 910)=4.45$, $p<0.001$). In respect of «pleasant feelings», the closest scores to one's own group are given to Lithuanians (1.15), and then Belarussians (1.29) and Ukrainians (1.53). The Roma (2.44) and Chechens (2.17) received the most disparate scores from one's own group. Russians are placed between the above classes of groups (1.96). When it comes to unpleasant feelings, the evaluation of Chechens (-0.49), and then the Roma (-0.32) are the most remote from one's own group's evaluation. The assessment of Belarussians (-0.07), Russians (-0.06) and Lithuanians (0.08) are almost equal to one's own group's evaluation and the evaluation of Ukrainians (0.23) is slightly better than one's own group's evaluation (less unpleasant feelings are felt towards them than towards one's own group). Only in the case of two emotions: shame ($F(5,812)=1.40$, $p<0.222$) and resentment ($F(5,812)=1.18$, $p<0.315$) the difference between IN and OUT is not essential. The analysis of specific emotions suggests that (Tukey's HSD test):

Behavioural tendencies. The intentions of 'open rejection' and 'support'

The scale of behavioural intentions, which was used, contains 24 items, 2 for each of the 12 threats. A factor analysis was done on 24 items (Kaiser's promax rotation) and its results

made it possible to select two factors for both the IN and OUT group. The analysis of the meaning of the above formation of items requires an in-depth analysis, still it seems that the first factor corresponds in the large part to, so called intentions of open rejection and the second – declared support.

Table 8. Pleasant emotions ascribed to national minority groups

Chosen pleasant emotions	The closest group to the feelings towards one's own group The most of the particular emotion is triggered by:	The furthest group from the feelings towards one's own group The least admired are:
Affinity	Belarussians Lithuanians Russians	the Roma Chechens
Joy	Lithuanians Belarussians	the Roma Chechens
Pride Admiration	Lithuanians Ukrainians Belarussians	the Roma Chechens Russians

Source: own research

Table 9. Unpleasant emotions ascribed to national minority groups

Chosen unpleasant emotions	The closest group to the feelings towards one's own group The least of the particular emotion is triggered by:	The furthest group from the feelings towards one's own group The most of the particular emotion is triggered by:
Anger	Ukrainians	Russians
Disgust	Lithuanians Ukrainians	Chechens the Roma
Embarrassment	Lithuanians Belarussians	Chechens the Roma
Contempt	Belarussians Lithuanians	Chechens the Roma
Fear	Ukrainians	Chechens

Source: own research

In comparison to one's own group, Chechens and the Roma are the minorities which arouse the strongest intentions of open rejection, and the next are Russians. In the case of the Roma and Chechens, one's own group also becomes the subject of stronger intentions of support.

Table 10. The intentions of 'open rejection' and 'support' towards national minority groups

Evaluated group	'Open rejection'	'Support'
IN	2.36	4.65
Chechens	4.00	4.28
IN	2.17	4.77
the Roma	3.68	4.28
IN	2.27	4.40
Russians	3.08	4.14

Source: own research

The relationships between threats, emotions and behavioural intentions

With the exception of the mentioned tendencies in the evaluation of threats, emotions and behavioural intentions towards the chosen minorities, the analysis of the relationships between those three factors is interesting. According to the theoretical assumptions, the existence of this relationship was postulated. The analyses of the strength of correlation show that 'embarrassment' is the least connected with threats, which is also 'the mildest' specific emotion. As expected, the general 'unpleasant feeling' is quite strongly connected with all the threats except the economic one. It is the only threat where the

difference between the assessment of one's own group and a minority group is not statistically vital. The specific emotion which is the most strongly connected with the majority of threats is, above all, disgust, then anger and finally fear. Disgust is also the emotion connected the most strongly with the intention of open rejection of a minority group, the next is contempt, anger and fear. Intentions of open rejection are deeply correlated to both the threats (the highest correlation factors are related to a general threat to safety, health, the reciprocity rule of choice, coordination and recognised values) as well as emotions and negative feelings (the highest correlation factors are related to unpleasant feelings, disgust, contempt, fear and frustration). To sum up this part of research it should be stated, that differences in the position which is attributed to national-ethnic minorities are related to the threats, emotions and behavioural tendencies attributed to them. In this way the second hypothesis was conducted.

Summary of the results

Based on the work on the intergroup emotions, our intention was to find out what emotions and threats were ascribed by the youth from the region to the chosen national-ethnic and religious groups in Podlasie. The achieved results suggest that, except from the group of high threat risk and the one which arouses the most negative feelings (Chechens, the Roma, Russians) there are some dangerous groups which trigger positive feelings (Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Belarussians). The situation of these minorities is clearly not the same. As I conducted in the hypothesis, the chosen minority groups do not represent the same threats, do not trigger the same emotions and do not lead to the same behavioural tendencies. They also differ as far as their perceived position is concerned, that is the perceived status, power, the integrity of goals, warmth and competence. It seems that Chechens and the Roma are the minorities which are 'openly stigmatised'. Russians belong to a group being 'rejected', and Belarussians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians belong to 'relatively close' groups. It is evident that these tendencies require further studies because it is also worth considering the types of perceived threats as not all of the ones used in this research seem to be essential for the reality of Podlasie. For instance, so called 'economic' or 'a threat to a good economic situation of Poland' is surely too generally formulated compared to, e.g. 'a threat to the labour market'. Likewise, it is worth considering behavioural intentions. Obviously in this research, as in many others, the division into passive and active behaviours seems to be interesting. Except for the factors of the open rejection and the intention of support, which were selected thanks to the factor analysis, so called 'normativity' of behaviours ('it should', 'it is good' etc.) may be interesting.

It is usually connected to, so called 'protection' of a group. It seems that in the process of prevention from conflicts of social groups both in Poland and Podlasie, a policy relating to minorities and a relevant value system are essential. It is worth asking about such a policy. One thing is certain in this fascinating and complicated image of the relations towards the minorities – what is definitely lacking here is social psychology research which should provide a basis for actions in the area of intercultural education and enhance them greatly. The results of this research seem to be unique. They are based on theories created on the basis of studies of ethnically diverse multicultural societies and provide one of the first comparative

data collected in the society of the lowest percentage of the national-ethnic minorities in Europe.

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