Structure versus Agency: A Cross-National Examination of Discrimination and the Internalization of Negative Stereotypes

Journal:	*European Societies*
Manuscript ID	REUS-2018-0050.R2
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	Race, Ethnicity, Stratification, Negative Stereotypes, Discrimination, Roma

The worst thing we can do with words, is to surrender to them.

G. Orwell

Stereotypes exist, as they allow for instant orientation through classification (Fiske and Taylor 2013; Ridgeway 2011; Schneider 2005). They often emerge unconsciously and can take both positive or negative forms. Negative stereotypes in particular are extremely troublesome, as they have a tendency to lead to internalization and discrimination (Weiner and Craighead 2010; Derks, Inzlicht & Kang 2008; Fiske et al. 1998). This can happen in any context containing the possibility for marginalization based on social identity (Massey and Owens 2014; Inzlicht and Schmader 2012; Steele et al. 2002). Both discrimination and the internalization of negative stereotypes are associated with detrimental mental and physical health outcomes (Massey and Owens 2014; Inzlicht and Schmader 2012; Vick et al 2008; Stuber, Meyer and Link 2008; Speight 2007).

A key mechanism in the above picture is the role of differential between-group resource availability (Smart-Richman and Lattanner 2014). This is because resource inequalities can heighten group boundaries. Heightened boundaries increase the likelihood of experiencing discrimination, enabling the internalization of negative stereotypes (Ridgeway and Correll 2006; Lamont and Molnar 2002; Runciman 1966). Through this mechanism, racial and ethnic stereotypes may become self-fulfilling prophecies (Penner and Saperstein 2008). As such, income inequalities become reified into powerful cultural and symbolic social determinants (Hatzenbuehler, Phelan and Link 2013; Pickett and Wilkinson 2011; Carter 2007).

Most empirical studies treat stereotypes as individual level variables, simply relating it to other individual level phenomena. As such, it is unclear how population level structural factors - such as between-group, country-level income inequality - play a part in their persistence (Hatzenbuehler, Phelan and Link 2013). While it is important to understand how individuals internalize negative stereotypes, it is also consequential to discern how macro-level conditions play a part (Angermeyer et al. 2014; Pascoe and Smart-Richman 2009; Gee 2008). It is imperative to further examine how the above pieces (between-group resource inequalities, negative stereotypes, discrimination and individual level status characteristics) work in a diverse population, leading to the internalization of negative stereotypes. As research on stereotype internalization and status processes has advanced in differing academic domains, there is a

paucity of information when it comes to the examination of the tangible linkages between the two (Phelan et al. 2014). Stereotype internalization has mainly been constructed as emerging from individual level interaction (Omi and Winant 2014; Lucas and Phelan 2012).[1] As such, little is known about how these phenomena are embedded in, and are perpetuated by population level factors, such as group educational attainment levels, group-level income inequalities and country-level political and economic contexts (Nagel 1996).

The Roma population serves as a great case study for the examination of the linkages between status inequalities, discrimination, and the individual difference moderators of negative stereotype internalization. The Roma of Europe number over 12 million individuals, forming a highly marginalized, yet diverse transnational minority (Isin and Saward 2013; Spirova and Budd 2008). They experience extremely high unemployment and poverty rates, low levels of educational attainment, high rates of infant mortality and lower life expectancy than the majority populations in the countries they reside in (Isin and Saward 2013; Spirova and Budd 2008; Vermeersch 2006).

This paper uses data specifically collected to study their situation across Europe, allowing for a comparative framework. With over 54,000 respondents in my data set, I am able to examine how the markedly different social and economic contexts of the countries they reside in frame the placement of stereotypes in their contextual and structural determinants. The Roma respondents in my data come from six EU and six non-EU countries. This presents the opportunity to better isolate how macro level factors may influence both the experience of discrimination and the relative internalization of negative stereotypes. In support of this, I find that there is a great amount of variation across the countries. For example, Roma men in Slovakia make 20% less income than men from Slovakia's majority population. In Serbia, Roma men make 55% less per month than do Serbian majority men. The novelty of my model is its focus on linking population-level stratification processes with the psychological influence of stereotypes, providing an important contribution linking the micro and macro levels of these phenomena. I show that the internalization of negative stereotypes is facilitated by the interplay of individual and structural level factors.

[1] Some notable exceptions to the above individual-level perspective can be found in recent literature: Lamont and colleagues (2016) show that there are group-specific nuances when it comes to how individuals respond to discriminatory incidents; Hughes et al. (2016) examine how racial identity influences self-esteem in African Americans, and Massey and Owens (2014) test the link between stereotype threat and institutional characteristics.

I begin by first revealing that the relationship between stratification and the internalization of negative stereotypes is more nuanced than what has been illustrated so far in controlled experimental research settings. The subsequent section examines the direct effects of status processes on the internalization of negative stereotypes. I additionally highlight the specific sociodemographic factors which may serve to protect the marginalized from psychological harm. The final section of the article offers an analysis and interpretation of these results, drawing on recent research on status and stigma processes and my own work with the Roma. My research questions include:

(1) What sociodemographic characteristics influence the likelihood of negative stereotype internalization?

(2) How does the interplay between structural and individual level factors affect the above internalization?

Background

A large body of research points to marginalized individuals being more likely to replicate patterns of oppression they are experiencing. This replication leads to the internalization of negative stereotypes and projection toward other members of the marginalized groups they belong to (Wilkins, Mollborn and Bó 2014; Bailey et al. 2011; Bulhan 2004; Padilla 2001; Berger and Zelditch 1998; Banaji and Hardin 1996; Blair and Banaji 1996; Goffman 1963). Perhaps not surprisingly, these findings are highly contested, as the results from controlled, lab-based experimental research studies have been mixed. Select social identity theorists have pushed back, asserting that minority group members should internalize lower levels of negative stereotypes (Crocker and Major 1989; Tajfel and Turner 1986). But, as it turns out, this is highly influenced by the subgroup one belongs to. For example, African Americans tend to internalize lower levels of negative stereotypes than European Americans (Gray-Little & Hafdahl 2000). On the other hand, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans tend to internalize more negative stereotypes than European Americans (Twenge and Crocker 2002). However, the Roma present a conundrum: They have resided in Europe since the middle ages, but one would expect that their stereotype internalization rates would likely be very different than of the Europeans who are not routinely discriminated against in their home countries. Thus, the large

body of current research still needs grounding in population-level empirical evidence, through attention on how sociodemographic variables affect this process in different contexts.

To explain the above, existing research on the topic asserts that societies are based on a small number of primary categories, which are often deployed to indicate group belonging (Fiske and Taylor 2013; Ridgeway 2011; Schneider 2005). These categories allow for instant classification, serving to either facilitate or impede class mobility (Fiske and Taylor 2013; Bourdieu 1985). A key contributor to the allocation of individuals into in-groups and out-groups is the role of differential between-group resource availability (Lamont and Molnar 2002; Runciman 1966). Stratified social differences thus emerge from structural between-group economic cleavages, leading to the formation of group status beliefs, with deeply embedded opinions regarding the competence and the abilities of the various group members (Ridgeway and Correll 2006; Ridgeway et al. 2009, 1998; Berger and Zelditch 1998; Ridgeway and Balkwell 1997; Ridgeway 1991). In a vicious cycle, differences lead to socioeconomic inequalities, yet inequalities also lead to perceived differences and stereotypes (Kimmel 2000).

Link and Phelan's (2014) concept of "stigma power" bridges the gap between micro-level constructs of stigma and agency (Goffman 1963), and the above population-level status hierarchies. The authors position stigma as a macro-level "resource that allows people to obtain ends they desire" (Link and Phelan 2014, p. 15). "Stigma power" therefore becomes a societal phenomenon, and similarly to Bourdieu's symbolic power, serves the interests of the dominant group (Link and Phelan 2014, Bourdieu 1986). As such, social status differences and stigma processes are closely intertwined (Kimmel 2000). The stigmatizers benefit by achieving wealth, power and status through the exercise of stigma, rewarding performances that comply with the dominant world view. Concurrently, the stigmatized may partake in "defensive othering" and the internalization of negative stereotypes towards one's one group in order to make their subordination more tolerable (Pyke 2010). Link and Phelan (2014) assert that there are "close parallels between processes characterizing stigmatization and the status processes that contribute to systemic stratification" (p. 20). They assert that like status, stigma is also rooted in shared social expectations, positing that stigma can occupy multiple levels, from interpersonal to macro-levels.

In this framework, internalization of negative stereotypes can occur as soon as one is categorized by status, framing future expectations regarding performance and behavior. This

internalization exists on a continuum: marginalized group members individually encounter different levels of discrimination, leading to varying amounts of negative stereotype internalization (Crocker and Major 1989; Poupart 2003). Existing research examining how marginalized groups cope with prejudice notes that individual reactions to discrimination vary. The magnitude of the psychological distress one may experience after discrimination depends on multiple factors: the recognition of the act itself (Cooley 1902), feeling in control (Ruggerio & Taylor 1997), the length of time one is exposed to discrimination (Williams, Shore and Grahe 1998; Williams et al. 2003), whether one feels that the stigma against their own group is justified (Major and Crocker 1993), and the individual coping mechanisms deployed after the incident (Burkley and Hart 2008; Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey 1999). Here, it is important to note that despite being related constructs, stereotypes and discrimination are distinct. Stereotypes often emerge unconsciously and can be both positive and negative (with the negative form often referred to as stigma). Discrimination is the behavior that stems from these internal attitudes (Weiner and Craighead 2010; Fiske et al. 1998; Oakes and Haslam 1994; Lippmann 1922). Thus, between-group resource availability, stereotype internalization and discrimination are closely intertwined, yet very distinct phenomena.

As the literature above illustrates, between-group resource inequality is an important contributor to the formation of negative stereotypes. Yet, its consideration is also important for more macro-level reasons. We can think of long-standing, state-sanctioned between-group resource inequalities as a form of structural discrimination (Bourdieu 1994, Wacquant 2009) or structural violence (Farmer 2010). Both concepts reflect the institutional reproduction of long-term marginalization, and the ways in which poverty and inequality 'get under the skin' (Singer and Erickson 2011). Collectively, the literature implies that population level structural factors (such as highly entrenched between-group income inequality) play a substantial part in how marginalized populations experience discrimination and stereotypes. Therefore, we must pay attention to country-bounded status structures. The specific topography of a state's economic system, with its symbolically sanctioned resource inequalities, plays a central role in the formation and persistence of status and stigma processes. With this in mind, we must consider how resources acquired through both physical and symbolic capital – such as income, education, occupation, migration status, geographic location, age, gender and health – may influence the relationship between stratification and the internalization of negative stereotypes.

Modeling Inequality, Discrimination, and Negative Stereotypes

Data

The data are comprised of in-person interviews with 41,334 Roma and 13,326 non-Roma individuals in twelve European countries conducted in a partnership between the United Nations Development Programme, World Bank, European Commission and the European Union's Agency for Fundamental Rights. In 2011, these organizations coordinated efforts to examine the situation of the Roma in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Slovakia. These countries represent a wide range of political, economic and social contexts, in both EU and non-EU states. The sample was collected through random sampling and is nationally representative for Roma living in areas more densely populated by members of their ethnic group. The non-Roma sample serves as a benchmark for the Roma.[2] Of the Roma population, a randomly selected adult sub-sample (N=4651) was asked questions about their views on stereotypes and experiences with prejudice.

The interviews were carried out face-to-face in the respondent's homes by trained fieldworkers in the national language. Up to three household members were interviewed in every household: the head of household answered questions regarding the demographic profile of each household member and the overall status of the household; the children's primary caregiver was queried about childcare and educational details; and a randomly selected adult respondent was interviewed concerning individual attitudes. The response rates for the Roma varied from 56% in Moldova to 90% in Croatia. The survey contains questions covering the socioeconomic situation of every member in the household. Additional topics include health, housing circumstances, neighborhood infrastructure, civic pride, citizenship status, stereotypes, human rights awareness, experience of discrimination, and migration history. For this study, I restricted the sample to only the adult Roma randomly selected to be queried about stereotypes and discrimination (N=4651).

Dependent Variable: Internalization of Negative Stereotypes

[2] Anon. 2012. "Roma Household Survey Methodology." *UNDP*. Retrieved January 20, 2015a (http://issuu.com/undp_in_europe_cis/docs/integrated_roma.web_1)

The dataset contains several variables that can be used as proxies for negative stereotypes toward the Roma. The interviewer prefaced them with: "Below is a set of statements reflecting certain opinions, stereotypes and prejudices about the Roma. We would like to know your opinion about them. Please tell us which of them you find justified and which - not." The statements include: 1. "Roma are dirty/not clean." 2. "Roma are lazy." 3. "Roma steal." 4. "Roma are abusing the system." Respondents had the option of responding to the negative stereotypes presented with “finding them totally unjustified” or “finding them justified”. I consider respondents who report finding at least one of the four negative stereotypes ‘justified’ as having internalized a negative stereotype towards their own ethnic group. I base my internalization measure on established research that suggests that those who recognize other’s negative view of their own ethnic group as justified are more likely to also confirm, experience and internalize negative stereotypes (Steele & Aronson 1995; Davies, Spencer, & Steele 2005; Massey and Owens 2014; Ruggiero and Taylor 1997).

Of the over 4600 randomly asked adult Roma respondents, nearly 27% report internalizing at least one of the negative stereotypes listed above. The first three categories (dirty, lazy, steal) are most prevalent (with approx. 30% of the respondents internalizing one or more). The category of system abuse is the least internalized. The internalization of negative stereotypes is coded as a categorical variable, comprised of those who have internalized at least one negative stereotype and those who have not. This makes sense for multiple reasons. While the individual stereotypes are all negative, they are qualitatively slightly different from each other. The various factors that may cause respondents living in different contexts to run the risk of internalizing one over the other are unknown. Thus, it would be irresponsible to lump them all together as a continuous measure representing low to high rates of internalization. It is also undeniable that internalizing at least one negative stereotype toward your own ethnic group is troubling, and warrants examination.

Independent Variables: Between-Group Income Inequality and Ethnic Discrimination

Using data directly from the survey, I capture the above country-level income inequality by calculating the difference between the median monthly household wages for both Roma men and women by country, as they relate to non-Roma men’s wages for the same country. Figure 1

shows this distribution. I also considered using official income inequality statistics by country. I choose to proceed with my measure, as in addition to the results being extremely similar, the direct consideration of the income difference of the Roma and the non-Roma living in close proximity to them is likely a more salient determinant of their everyday interactions, than a more removed measure incorporating areas of a country they may never visit.

[Figure1.]

The consideration of structural discrimination as captured by country level between-group income inequality is necessary when it comes to understanding the high levels of ethnic discrimination experienced by the Roma. This measure is particularly salient for them, as Ladanyi and Szelenyi (2001) show that the economically disadvantaged of Eastern Europe are more likely to be classified as belonging in the marginalized Roma ethnic group. This is because racial perceptions are fluid (Omi and Winant 2014) and greatly influenced by socioeconomic status (Penner and Saperstein 2008). To examine how between-group income inequality may influence everyday interaction, I consider whether the respondents have experienced ethnic discrimination in the recent past. To do so, I rely on the survey question of: "In the past 12 months (or since you have been in this country) have you personally felt discriminated against because you are Roma?" The respondents were asked this question at the end of the last survey module, removing the possibility that asking about potentially painful experiences of ethnic discrimination could have primed the stereotype-related responses described above. Figure 2 shows the country-level percentages for this measure.

[Figure 2.]

Other Covariates

In In order to account for individual level factors that could influence the internalization of stereotypes, I control for variables that were shown by previous literature as influential. These are: gender (categorical: male/female), age (adults only, categorical: 18-29, 30-49, 50+), household income (continuous on log scale), employment status (categorical: employed, unemployed), educational attainment (categorical: incomplete primary, primary education only,

incomplete secondary, secondary only, higher than secondary school), occupation (categorical: farmer, unskilled worker, skilled trades, professional), marital status (categorical: married, divorced, separated, widowed, cohabiting, single), self-reported health (categorical: good, fair, poor); migration status (categorical: household migrated in the last 5 years, household has not migrated) and geographic location (categorical), measured by urban or rural residence and current country. Table 1 shows the distributions of these controls.

[Table 1.]

Analysis

The statistical analyses proceed in three stages. First, I present descriptive statistics of variations between respondents who have experienced ethnic discrimination and those who have not. I provide both simple descriptive (unadjusted) comparisons and group comparisons adjusted for differences in covariates through binomial logistic regression analyses. Logistic regression analysis interrogates whether the log odds of the internalization of at least one negative stereotype is associated with the recent experience of ethnic discrimination, while controlling for the effects of the covariates above. To account for non-independence among observations and the assumption of independence in sampling required by logistic regression analysis, in the third stage, I use hierarchical linear modeling to investigate the association between individual and structural economic discrimination, as this is captured by long-standing, state-enabled population level income inequality (Hox et al. 2010; Raudenbush and Bryk 2001). This method is appropriate, as my data is hierarchically structured into individuals belonging to different levels, with respondents within the same group sharing the same country-level economic environment (Hox et al. 2010, Merlo 2003; Goldstein et al. 2002).

My multilevel logistic model is grounded in a fixed component which measures the magnitude of associations between the variables, allowing for a random intercept showing the differences between second-level components and the variances in the different levels, following the guidance of Sniders and Bosker (2012) and Kreft and Leeuw (1998). The random coefficients are measures of the random effects derived from variability between units, shown as variation between the country level intercepts in fitted regression lines (Kreft and Leeuw 1998). At the individual level, this model examines how the log odds of internalizing stigma is modified

by the predictor variables. At the country level, to interrogate how state structures enable the existence of income inequality between specific populations, I introduce a variable measure of income inequality between the Roma and the non-Roma.

My goal in the model building process consists of ensuring that my variable selection is guided by the existing theoretical frameworks detailed earlier in this paper, while also maintaining a strong focus on parsimony. Although I initially simplified the multilevel models by trimming insignificant parameters, reporting the full models allows for consistency across the explanatory variables and for the discussion of significance tests. The model is represented by the equation:

$$\ln\left(\frac{p_{ij}}{1-p_{ij}}\right)=\beta' x_{ij}+\gamma' z_j+u_j+\gamma_{ij} \text{ where } \ln\left(\frac{p_{ij}}{1-p_{ij}}\right) \text{ is}$$

the natural logarithm of the odds that a respondent *i* internalizes at least one negative stereotype. x_{ij} is the matrix of explanatory variables at the individual level; and z_j is the matrix of country-level income inequality; β and γ are vectors of parameters, respectively associated with individual and country level variables. The random effect u_j, which captures the correlation between observations, is assumed to be normally distributed with mean of zero and variance σ^2_u. The model relies on constant intercept β_0 and u_j, variable between the countries, having a normal distribution with mean zero and variance σ^2_{u0}. This allows for the calculation of the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC), partitioning variance across the two levels of the model to determine variance in stigma power as it is attributable to the country level as compared to the individual level (Taylor 2010). I conduct analysis using the statistical software Stata13.

Results

The results are presented in four parts. First, I describe the overall composition of the adult Roma sample in my dataset. The following section examines how the recent experience of discrimination affects the internalization of negative stereotypes and how this relationship varies by context. Next, I identify the sociodemographic factors of influence when it comes to the likelihood of internalizing negative ethnic stereotypes. Last, I interrogate how the joint repercussions of structural and individual level discrimination influence this internalization.

Sample Characteristics

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for the Roma adult sample. The sample population is nearly evenly split between the sexes, with 50.4% being female. Reflecting current knowledge, we find that the population is younger: 41.7% are between the ages of 18-29, approximately 37% between the ages of 30-49, and 21% over the age of 50. Over half of the adult sample is currently married. Only 23% have never been married. 60% live in an urban location. The educational attainment levels of the sample are quite low, with approximately 11% having completed secondary education or higher. Only 24.5% of the sample is employed. Of these, the largest percentage are unskilled workers (64.28%). 27.78% consider themselves in a skilled trade. Contrary to popular stereotypes about the population, only 3.5% of the total Roma households have moved (from a different city or from a different country) in the past five years. Nearly 61% of the sample report being in good health, while the rest are in poor or fair health.

[Table 1.]

Figure 1 illustrates the between-group, country level income inequality between the Roma and non-Roma. There is a great amount of variation, both between the genders and across the countries. In Moldova, Romania and in Bulgaria, Roma men and women make the same amount of money. However, they make 40 to 50 percent less than the majority men in these countries. On the other hand, Roma men in Slovakia make 20% less money than men from Slovakia's majority population. On average, Roma women in the same country make only 48% of what non-Roma men make.

[Figure 1.]

Discrimination and Stereotype Internalization

Figure 2 presents the country level percentages of ethnic discrimination and internalized negative stereotypes among the Roma. As the figure shows, country-level ethnic discrimination and the internalization of negative stereotypes closely parallel each other. In countries with high levels of ethnic discrimination, the Roma also internalize more negative stereotypes. There is a considerable amount of variation across countries. Of the overall adult Roma respondents, 27%

have internalized at least one negative stereotype toward their own ethnic group, ranging from 25% to 37% of the total respondents per country.

[Figure 2.]

Over 12% of the Roma report experiencing ethnic discrimination in the past year. There are vast country-level differences in reported discrimination levels. In nearly every country, Roma respondents report having recently experienced discrimination due to their ethnicity. The internalization of negative stereotypes and discrimination are closely intertwined, even across markedly heterogeneous populations and contexts. Montenegro is the only exception here. 26.33% of the Roma respondents have internalized negative stereotypes here, but only 3.39% report experiencing ethnic discrimination.

Sociodemographic Factors of Influence

Next, I turn to the task of identifying sociodemographic factors of influence when it comes to the likelihood of internalizing negative ethnic stereotypes. Table 2 contains the results of logistic regression analyses, interrogating whether the log odds of the internalization of at least one negative stereotype is associated with the recent experience of ethnic discrimination, while accounting for the effects of sociodemographic variables. To provide a more intuitive understanding of the results, I convert these log odds into odds ratios.

[Table 2.]

Results show that when it comes to the internalization of stereotypes, the recall of ethnic discrimination is detrimental. The odds of internalizing negative stereotypes toward one's own ethnic group are over 11 times higher when a person experiences ethnic discrimination. Additionally, the odds of internalizing at least one negative stereotype increase as the Roma progress through the educational system. This is consistent with existing work on the subject of educational institutions playing a part in larger systems of dominance, through which marginalized populations experience both explicit forms of discrimination and persistent

microaggressions, increasing the likelihood of stigma internalization (Kohli and Solórzano 2012; Sue et al. 2007; Dixson and Rousseau 2005; Feagin and Sikes 1995). Migration is not a significant predictor in the model.

As expected, there is significant country-level variation when it comes to the internalization of stigma. Roma in the Czech Republic and Croatia have the highest odds, with Romania, Montenegro and Moldova following closely behind. Figure 3 illustrates this logistic relationship visually, showing the per-country log odds of internalizing at least one negative stereotype after the experience of discrimination.

[Figure 3.]

Women and those who are divorced, widowed or never married have a much higher probability of internalizing negative stereotypes compared to those who are married. Figure 4 illustrates the relationship between gender and the internalization of stereotypes, taking context into account.

[Figure 4.]

Taking a closer look, we find that while women in general have a higher likelihood of internalizing negative stereotypes, the statistical significance of this relationship is influenced by geographic context. Specifically, holding other variables constant in the model, of the twelve countries, this relationship is statistically significant only in Albania, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, Bulgaria and Serbia. Those in poor health also internalize more negative stereotypes toward their own ethnic group.

Stereotype Internalization in Economic Context

[Table 3.]

Table 3 shows results of the multilevel models, illustrating that the consideration of between-group income inequality matters when it comes to discrimination shaping the

internalization of negative stereotypes. This is true for both Roma men and women. To honor the differences in income inequality between the genders, I run 2 models: one considering the income inequality between Roma men and majority men, and the other considering the same between Roma women and the men of the majority population. While we cannot directly compare logit coefficients across these models, it is interesting to note that the probabilities of internalizing stigma remain significantly positive, reaffirming that having experienced recent ethnic discrimination leads to a higher likelihood of internalizing negative stereotypes. However, structural inequality shapes this process by modifying the magnitude of this effect, with the overall influence of individual level discrimination decreasing. This reinforces previous findings that ethnic stigma and racial perceptions are mediated to a large degree by macro-structural and socioeconomic processes (Penner and Saperstein 2008; Ladanyi and Szelenyi 2001).

The multilevel results also show, that with country-level income inequality in the mix, women have a much higher probability of internalizing negative stereotypes than men. Women aged 30-49 are also significantly more likely to internalize negative stereotypes. Being widowed or never married remains a risk factor for both genders. Those in poor or fair health are more likely to internalize negative stereotypes. The odds of internalizing negative stereotypes are 1.04 times higher for those living in urban areas. Additionally, as the Roma progress through the educational system, their risk of internalizing negative stereotypes increases.

[Figure 5.]

Figure 5 illustrates the relationship between education and the internalization of stereotypes, while controlling for the other variables in the men's multilevel model (results not shown for women as they were very similar). Here, we see that despite an overall small percentage of the Roma of Europe achieving higher than secondary education, they are also more likely to internalize negative stereotypes. Unlike the lower educational attainment levels, this is statistically significant in the model.

Discussion

One of the most destructive effects of discrimination is the internalization of negative stereotypes. However, our understanding remains incomplete without an examination of the interplay between the macro and micro-level factors that influence the likelihood of internalizing negative stereotypes. This study made an effort to address this gap, by systematically linking the concepts of discrimination, negative stereotype internalization and status. This was accomplished through a specific focus on how individually experienced discrimination and structural income inequality shape the internalization of negative ethnic stereotypes.

The dynamics discussed require the consideration of agency and power: stereotypes require buy-in, and persistent income inequalities require deep societal control over employment and educational opportunities. Paying homage to Bourdieu's multilevel model of the social world provided an apt framework for the interrogation of the ramifications of structural discrimination. This study enriches the oft individual-level focus of the existing psychological literature on stereotype internalization. My results support Bourdieu's assertions when it comes to the benefits from education being unequally distributed between groups, as different groups possess varying amounts of cultural and social capital required successfully navigate and manipulate this system (Bourdieu 1986). The odds of internalizing at least one negative stereotype increase as the Roma progress through the educational system. In order for educational institutions to cease to be a mechanism of symbolic violence against the Roma, future research and policy efforts need to focus on ensuring that educational achievements enable class mobility and health for all.

Researchers and policy makers have long-grappled with how to best ensure that education can serve as a route to socioeconomic mobility for the Roma too. Currently, only one percent of the Roma are able to enter a university, and this is not because of a lack of want, nor is to because they value education less (Bhabha et al. 2018). As a recent study conducted in collaboration between the François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights at Harvard University (Harvard FXB) and the Center for Interactive Pedagogy in Belgrade notes, Roma pupils across Europe still face significant discrimination while attending school. This can occur as often as nearly every day according to the respondents queried (Bhabha et al. 2018). Yet, this work also points at important sites of intervention when it comes to achieving more positive higher education outcomes. These include access to discrimination-free early childhood development services, adequately funded schools for Roma pupils, increasing parental education

levels, and having non-Roma allies to help when Roma pupils do experience discrimination (Bhabha et al. 2018). While none of the above ensures that educational institutions will fully cease to ensure that the Roma do not internalize the negative stereotypes they are subjected to, nevertheless, many countries in Europe are actively taking steps in the right direction to allow for eventual equity (Fuller et al. 2015).

L*imitations and implications*

Though this study is a great first step, it needs to be supplemented by further ethnographic work exploring the reasons as to *why* particular Roma respondents internalize prevalent negative stereotypes toward their own ethnic group. My ongoing qualitative research with Hungarian Roma refugees points to the reasons for this internalization being both socioeconomic status and context dependent. Exploring this 'why' question in the future will be imperative for a more complete understanding of the processes that link structural and individual level discrimination and the internalization of stigma.

It is important to remain mindful that in environments characterized by high levels of inequality, both the stigmatizers and the stigmatized are adversely affected when it comes to their overall social, psychological and physical health outcomes (Hatzenbuehler 2011; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Phelan et al. 2008; Ridgeway and Correll 2006; Castro and Farmer 2005; Parker and Aggleton 2003; Ridgeway and Balkwell 1997). It is vital that future work pays equal attention to the processes that also influence the majority population's internalization of negative stereotypes.

While the data was collected through a random sampling process following current best practice standards for dealing with the sensitive subject of ethnicity, it cannot fully capture the experiences of all the Roma (Ivanov et al. 2012). Though only 2% - 3% of the Roma population complete university[3], future researchers also need to study these outliers, while also continuing to focus on the many ongoing successful educational initiatives targeting the Roma.[4]

Lastly, we need to ask what would be a 'low' level of stereotype internalization and discrimination experience in a population, and what could be considered high. In my sample,

[3] https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/06/03/only-tiny-minority-roma-enter-higher-education-europe
[4] http://www.sussex.ac.uk/education/cheer/researchprojects/rise/impactevent; http://www.errc.org/press-releases/ngos-visit-hungary-to-find-successful-practices-on-roma-education-and-desegregation

over 12% retroactively report experiencing ethnic discrimination, and nearly 27% have internalized negative stereotypes. This is troubling, as I interpret this as nearly a third of my sample risking the curtailment of their life chances due to stereotype theat. In an ideal world, no one would experience any discrimination. However, in order to dig into these results a bit more, future data collection efforts need to ask more nuanced questions when it comes to the discrimination measure. In order to ensure that the recall of discrimination is not under-reported, the surveyors themselves need to come from the Roma community. Though this dataset represents the highest quality multi-country data currently available on this population, future data collection efforts need to directly enlist Roma leaders and academics, focused on collecting longitudinal data on the population.

Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

Despite the above limitations, this study presents multiple contributions to the literature. I show that when it comes to a better understanding of the lived experience of disadvantage, structural economic marginalization - as measured by between-group inequality and framed by geographic context - matters greatly. There is a considerable amount of heterogeneity between the 12 countries under examination when it comes to the internalization of stigma. Yet, I caution against grouping these countries into stable categories of more or less stigma toward the Roma, as there is considerable ebb and flow in this phenomenon across time. Romania serves as a good example for this. Before 1864, the Roma were enslaved in Romania, then murdered by the Nazis. During the Ceausescu dictatorship, they were included in both the employment and educational systems, improving their overall economic standing. [5] However, after the fall of the dictatorial regime, over 90% of Romania's Roma again found themselves in extreme poverty.[6]

The examination of the multiple social, political and economic factors that influence changes in population level internalization of negative stereotypes across time and geographic context serve as fertile ground for future research on the subject. A worthwhile next-step would be the consideration of how migration might play a part in discrimination and stereotype threat. As only 3.5% of my respondents have migrated any time in the past five years, due to the

[5] https://kopachi.com/articles/roma-in-romania-valeriu-nicolae/
[6] https://www.reuters.com/article/us-romania-roma-property-feature/roma-fear-there-is-no-place-for-them-as-romanias-cities-modernize-idUSKBN16T043

temporal mismatch between how the migration related question and the discrimination related question was asked, it was hard to determine if their experience of discrimination occurred in their current country of residence. Future data collection efforts focusing on this population need to ask a more comprehensive set of migration-related questions. The low migration rate of my sample points to two possibilities: It potentially pushes back against a very prevalent public discourse about the Roma, which often portrays them as being perpetually on the move. Alternatively, it is also possible the overall sampling strategy of the survey is biased against migrant populations. Both possibilities require further research with more complete longitudinal data sources on the subject of migration and ethnic discrimination.

Future research needs to re-visit the issue of gender when it comes to how structural variables affect the experience of discrimination and the internalization of negative stereotypes. People at the intersection of multiple disadvantages are particularly vulnerable: women in general have a higher likelihood of internalizing negative stereotypes, but women who are divorced, widowed or never married have a much higher probability of internalizing negative stereotypes than those who are married. However, when holding other variables constant in the model, of the twelve countries, this relationship is statistically significant in six of the twelve countries. This calls for future comparative qualitative research for a better understanding of the differences between women's lived experiences in the various European Union member countries.

Stigma as a Resource, Stigma as a Process

My findings support recent theoretical work on stigma and processes of social stratification being closely intertwined (Link and Phelan 2014). Multilevel analyses results show that the interplay between structural and individual level factors is important when it comes to understanding stereotype internalization. I find that between-group income inequality directly and significantly influences the likelihood of experiencing discrimination and the internalization of negative stereotypes.

In short: (1) We know that minority group membership serves as a marker of lower status, while lower status also leads to a higher likelihood of being categorized as belonging to a marginalized minority group (Penner and Saperstein 2008; Ladanyi and Szelenyi 2001). (2)

Structural economic marginalization additionally leads to stigma, and the higher likelihood of the stigmatized directly being discriminated against – linking the tangible memory of ethnic discrimination to the macro level phenomena giving rise to it (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Marmot 2005). (3) Negative stereotype internalization emerges from the direct knowledge of the stereotype in question. It is shaped by experiences with individual level discrimination, which in turn is connected to status processes. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect structural between-group income inequality to directly influence the social psychological process of stereotype internalization (Hatzenbuehler 2014; Phelan et al. 2008; Castro and Farmer 2005; Parker and Aggleton 2003).

This study rests on the conviction that when conducting research on the internalization of negative stereotypes, data permitting, it is important to maintain focus on both individual and population level processes, as this is the only way to identify holistic intervention strategies. This perspective serves as a contribution to the existing literature. My results show that in highly unequal environments, factors that we often think of as protective – such as higher education – may carry unintended consequences when it comes to the internalization of negative stereotypes (Mirowsky and Ross 2003). In such contexts, policies that only focus on individual level factors without also addressing structural inequality-based processes will fall short in providing equally protective psychological health benefits to the marginalized populations they seek to target.

My results provide evidence showing that structural discrimination has an effect on many of the sociodemographic factors influencing the likelihood of internalizing negative stereotypes. This analysis serves as an important first step in tracing the contours of the simultaneous effects of individual and structural discrimination on the internalization of negative stereotypes, drawing attention to the necessity for an explicit inclusion of theory to guide study design and interpretation. My results underscore the need for further population level research on psychosocial processes as they are connected to processes of stratification. Research on this subject has significant health and social policy implications.

References

Angermeyer, Matthias C., Herbert Matschinger, Bruce G. Link, and Georg Schomerus. 2014. "Public Attitudes Regarding Individual and Structural Discrimination: Two Sides of the Same Coin?" *Social Science & Medicine* 103:60–66.

Bailey, Tamba-Kuii M., Y. Barry, Wendi S. Williams, Anneliese A. Singh, and Heather K. Terrell. 2011. "Development and Validation of the Internalized Racial Oppression Scale for Black Individuals." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 58(4):481–93.

Banaji, Mahzarin R. and Curtis D. Hardin. 1996. "Automatic Stereotyping." *Psychological Science* 7(3):136–41.

Berger, Joseph and Morris Zelditch Jr. 1998. *Status, Power, and Legitimacy: Strategies and Theories*. Transaction Publishers.

Bhabha, Jacqueline et al. 2018. One in One Hundred: Drivers of Success and Resilience among College Educated Romani Adolescents in Serbia. FXB Center for Health and Human Rights, Harvard University. https://cdn2.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/114/2018/12/OneinOneHundred.pdf

Blair, Irene V. and Mahzarin R. Banaji. 1996. "Automatic and Controlled Processes in Stereotype Priming." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70(6):1142–63.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2000. *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994. "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field." *Sociological Theory* 12(1): 1–18.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1989. "Social Space and Symbolic Power." *Sociological Theory* 7(1):14–25.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education." Pp. 241–58 in. New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1985. "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups." *Theory and Society* 14(6):723–44.

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. 1999. Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77, 135–149.

Bulhan, Hussein Abdilahi. 2004. *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Burkley, Melissa and Hart Blanton. 2008. "Endorsing a Negative in-Group Stereotype as a Self-Protective Strategy: Sacrificing the Group to Save the Self." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 44(1):37–49.

Carter, Robert T. 2007. "Racism and Psychological and Emotional Injury: Recognizing and Assessing Race-Based Traumatic Stress." *The Counseling Psychologist* 35(1):13–105.

Castro, Arachu and Paul Farmer. 2005. "Understanding and Addressing AIDS-Related Stigma: From Anthropological Theory to Clinical Practice in Haiti." *American Journal of Public Health* 95(1):53–59.

Cooley, Charles Horton. 1902. Human Nature and the Social Order. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Crocker, J., & Major, B. 1989. Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. Psychological Review, 96, 608–630.
Davies, P. G., Spencer, S. J., & Steele, C. M. 2005. Clearing the air: Identity safety moderates the effects of stereotype threat on women's leadership aspirations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*, 276–287
Derks, Belle, Michael Inzlicht and Sonia Kang. 2008. "The Neuroscience of Stigma and Stereotype Threat." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 11(2): 163-181.
Dixson, Adrienne D. and Celia K. Rousseau. 2005. "And We Are Still Not Saved: Critical Race Theory in Education Ten Years Later." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8(1):7–27.
Farmer, Paul. 2010. *Partner to the Poor: A Paul Farmer Reader*, edited by Haun Saussy. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Feagin, Joe R. and Melvin P. Sikes. 1995. *Living with Racism: The Black Middle-Class Experience*. Boston: Beacon Press.
Fiske, Susan T. and Shelley E. Taylor. 2013. *Social Cognition: From Brains to Culture*. SAGE.
Fiske, Gardner Lindzey, Daniel Gilbert, Susan T. 1998. *The Handbook of Social Psychology*. 4th ed. Boston, Mass.
Fuller, Arlan, Margareta Matache, Sarah Dougherty and Krista Oehlke. 2015. Strategies and Tactics to Combat Segregation of Roma Children in Schools: Case studies from Romania, Croatia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Greece. Boston: FXB Center for Health and Human Rights, Harvard University. https://cdn2.sph.harvard.edu/wpcontent/uploads/sites/5/2015/05/Roma-Segregation-full-final.pdf
Gee, Gilbert C. 2008. "A Multilevel Analysis of the Relationship Between Institutional and Individual Racial Discrimination and Health Status." *American Journal of Public Health* 98(1): S48–S56.
Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Simon and Schuster.
Goldstein, Harvey, William Browne, and Jon Rasbash. 2002. "Partitioning Variation in Multilevel Models." *Understanding Statistics* 1(4):223–31.
Gray-Little, B., & Hafdahl, A. R. 2000. Factors influencing racial comparisons of self-esteem: A quantitative review. Psychological Bulletin, 126, 26–54.
Hatzenbuehler, Mark L. et al. 2014. "Structural Stigma and All-Cause Mortality in Sexual Minority Populations." *Social Science & Medicine*103:33–41.
Hatzenbuehler, Mark L. and Bruce G. Link. 2014. "Introduction to the Special Issue on Structural Stigma and Health." *Social Science & Medicine* 103:1–6.
Hatzenbuehler, Mark L., Jo C. Phelan, and Bruce G. Link. 2013. "Stigma as a Fundamental Cause of Population Health Inequalities." *American Journal of Public Health* 103(5):813–21.
Hatzenbuehler, Mark L. 2011. "The Social Environment and Suicide Attempts in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Youth." *Pediatrics* 127(5):896–903.
Hox, Joop J., Mirjam Moerbeek, and Rens van de Schoot. 2010. *Multilevel Analysis: Techniques and Applications*. 2nd ed. Routledge.
Hughes, Michael, Jill Kiecolt, Verna Keith and David Demo. 2016. "Racial Identity and Well-Being Among African Americans." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 78(1): 25-48.
Inzlicht, Michael and Toni Schmader. 2012. *Stereotype Threat: Theory, Process, and Application*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Isin, Engin F. and Michael Saward, eds. 2013. *Enacting European Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ivanov, Andrey, Jaroslav Kling, and Justin Kagin. 2012. *Integrated Household Surveys among Roma Populations: One Possible Approach to Sampling Used in the UNDP-World Bank-EC Regional Roma Survey 2011*. Bratislava: United Nations Development Program.
Kimmel, Michael. 2000. *The Gendered Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Kohli, Rita and Daniel G. Solórzano. 2012. "Teachers, Please Learn Our Names!: Racial Microagressions and the K-12 Classroom." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 15(4):441–62.
Kreft, Ita G. and Jan de Leeuw. 1998. *Introducing Multilevel Modeling*. UK: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
Ladányi, János and Iván Szelényi. 2001. "The Social Construction of Roma Ethnicity in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary during Market Transition." *Review of Sociology* 7(2):79–89.
Lamont, Michèle et al. 2016. *Getting Respect: Responding to Stigma and Discrimination in the United States, Brazil, and Israel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Lamont, Michèle and Virág Molnár. 2002. "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28:167–95.
Link, Bruce G. and Jo C. Phelan. 2014. "Stigma Power." *Social Science & Medicine* 103:24–32.
Lippmann, Walter. 1922. *Public Opinion*. Harcourt, Brace.
Lucas, Jeffrey W. and Jo C. Phelan. 2012. "Stigma and Status: The Interrelation of Two Theoretical Perspectives." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 75(4):310–33.
Major, B., & Crocker, J. 1993. Social stigma: The affective consequences of attributional ambiguity. In D. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), Affect, cognition and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception (pp. 345–370). San Diego, CA: Academic.
Marmot, Michael. 2005. "Social Determinants of Health Inequalities." *The Lancet* 365 (9464):1099–1104.
Massey, Douglas S. and Jayanti Owens. 2014. "Mediators of Stereotype Threat among Black College Students." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(3):557–75.
Merlo, Juan. 2003. "Multilevel Analytical Approaches in Social Epidemiology: Measures of Health Variation Compared with Traditional Measures of Association." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 57(8):550–52.
Mirowsky, John and Catherine E. Ross. 2003. *Education, Social Status, and Health*. Transaction Publishers.
Nagel, Joane. 1996. *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture*. Oxford University Press.
Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 2014. *Racial Formation in the United States*. Routledge.
Padilla, Laura M. 2001. "But You're Not a Dirty Mexican: Internalized Oppression, Latinos & Law." *Texas Hispanic Journal of Law & Policy*7:59.
Parker, Richard and Peter Aggleton. 2003. "HIV and AIDS-Related Stigma and Discrimination: A Conceptual Framework and Implications for Action." *Social Science & Medicine* 57 (1):13–24.
Pascoe, Elizabeth A. and Laura Smart Richman. 2009. "Perceived Discrimination and Health: A Meta-Analytic Review." *Psychological Bulletin* 135(4):531–54.
Penner, Andrew M. and Aliya Saperstein. 2008. "How Social Status Shapes Race." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105(50):19628–30.

Phelan, Jo C., Jeffrey W. Lucas, Cecilia L. Ridgeway, and Catherine J. Taylor. 2014. "Stigma, Status, and Population Health." *Social Science & Medicine* 103:15–23.
Phelan, Jo C., Bruce G. Link, and John F. Dovidio. 2008. "Stigma and Prejudice: One Animal or Two?" *Social Science & Medicine* 67(3):358–67.
Poupart, Lisa M. 2003. "The Familiar Face of Genocide: Internalized Oppression among American Indians." *Hypatia* 18(2):86–100.
Pyke, Karen. 2010. What is internalized racial oppression and why don't we study it? Acknowledging racism's hidden injuries. *Sociological Perspectives*, *53*(4), pp.551-572.
Raudenbush, Stephen W. and Anthony S. Bryk. 2001. *Hierarchical Linear Models: Applications and Data Analysis Methods*. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 2011. *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World*. Oxford University Press, USA.
Ridgeway, Cecilia L., Kristen Backor, Yan E. Li, Justine E. Tinkler, and Kristan G. Erickson. 2009. "How Easily Does a Social Difference Become a Status Distinction? Gender Matters." *American Sociological Review* 74(1):44–62.
Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and Shelley J. Correll. 2006. "Consensus and the Creation of Status Beliefs." *Social Forces* 85(1):431–53.
Ridgeway, Cecilia L., Elizabeth Heger Boyle, Kathy J. Kuipers, and Dawn T. Robinson. 1998. "How Do Status Beliefs Develop? The Role of Resources and Interactional Experience." *American Sociological Review* 63(3):331–50.
Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and James W. Balkwell. 1997. "Group Processes and the Diffusion of Status Beliefs." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 60(1):14–31.
Ridgeway, Cecilia. 1991. "The Social Construction of Status Value: Gender and Other Nominal Characteristics." *Social Forces* 70(2):367–86.
Rosenbaum, P.R., 2010. *Design of Observational Studies*. Springer, New York.
Ruggiero, K. M., & Taylor, D. M. (1995). Coping with discrimination: How disadvantaged group members perceive the discrimination that confronts them. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68, 826–838.
Runciman, W. G. 1966. *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Schneider, David J. 2005.*The Psychology of Stereotyping*. New York: Guilford Press.
Singer, Merrill and Pamela I. Erickson. 2011a. "As the Future Explodes into the Present: Emergent Issues and the Tomorrow of Medical Anthropology." Pp. 515–32, in *A Companion to Medical Anthropology*, edited by Merrill Singer and Pamela I. Erickson. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Smart-Richman, Laura and Micah R. Lattanner. 2014. "Self-Regulatory Processes Underlying Structural Stigma and Health." *Social Science & Medicine* 103:94–100.
Sniders, Tom and Roel Bosker. 2012. *Multilevel Analysis: An Introduction to Basic and Advanced Multilevel Modeling*. London: Sage Publications.
Speight, Suzette L. 2007. "Internalized Racism: One More Piece of the Puzzle." *The Counseling Psychologist* 35(1):126–34.
Spirova, Maria and Darlene Budd. 2008. "The EU Accession Process and the Roma Minorities in New and Soon-to-Be Member States." *Comparative European Politics* 6(1):81–101.
Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Aronson, J. 2002. Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 34, pp. 379–440). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Stuber, Jennifer, Ilan Meyer, and Bruce Link. 2008. "Stigma, Prejudice, Discrimination, and Health." *Social Science and Medicine* 67:351-57.
Sue, Derald Wing et al. 2007. "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice." *American Psychologist* 62(4):271–86.
Oakes, Penelope J. and S. Alexander Haslam. 1994. *Stereotyping and Social Reality*. 1st edition. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. 2005. *European Monitoring Centre on Racism, and Xenophobia: Annual Report*. Luxembourg.
Pickett, Kate and Richard Wilkinson. 2011. *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press.
Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. 1995. Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*, 797–811.
Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *The psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
Taylor, Peter. 2010. "An Introduction to Intraclass Correlation That Resolves Some Common Confusions." (http://www.faculty.umb.edu/peter_taylor/).
Twenge, J., & Crocker, J. 2002. Race, ethnicity, and self-esteem: Meta-analyses comparing Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans. Psychological Bulletin, 128, 371–408.
Vermeersch, Peter. 2006. *The Romani Movement: Minority Politics and Ethnic Mobilization in Contemporary Central Europe*. New York: Berghahn Books.
Vick, S. Brooke, Mark Seery, Jim Blascovich, Max Weisbuch. 2008. The effect of gender stereotype activation on challenge and threat motivational states. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 44: 624–630.
Wacquant, Loïc. 2009. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham NC: Duke University Press Books.
Weiner, Irving B. and W. Edward Craighead. 2010. *The Corsini Encyclopedia of Psychology*. John Wiley & Sons.
Wilkinson, Richard G. and Kate E. Pickett. 2009. "Income Inequality and Social Dysfunction." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35(1):493–511.
Williams, David R., Harold W. Neighbors, and James S. Jackson. 2003. "Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Health: Findings From Community Studies." *American Journal of Public Health* 93(2):200–208.
Williams, K. D., Shore, W. J., & Grahe, J. E. 1998. The silent treatment: Perceptions of its behaviors and associated feelings. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 1*, 117-141.
Wilkins, Amy C., Stefanie Mollborn, and Boróka Bó. 2014. "Constructing Difference." Pp. 125-154 in *Handbook of the Social Psychology of Inequality*, edited by Jane McLeod, Edward Lawler, and Michael Schwalbe. Springer.

Table 1. Sample Characteristics (%)

Respondent Characteristics	
Experienced Discrimination	12.36
Internalized Stereotype	26.93
Female	50.4
Age	25.2
18-29	41.71
30-49	37.03
>=50	21.26
Marital Status	
Married	51.17
Divorced	3.26
Separated	1.85
Widowed	5.93
Cohabiting	14.7
Never Married	23.02
Urban	60.05
Highest Education Attained	
None or Incomplete Primary	53.4
Primary	30.25
Incomplete Secondary	4.9
Secondary	10.86
Higher	0.23
Income(mean)	
Log monthly household income	7.65
Occupational Category	
Farmer	2.42
Unskilled Trades	64.28
Skilled Trades	27.78
Professional	5.52
Employed	24.52
Migrant	3.51
Self Reported Health	
Good	60.98
Fair	16.64
Poor	22.37

Table 2. Logistic regression predicting the internalization of negative stereotypes

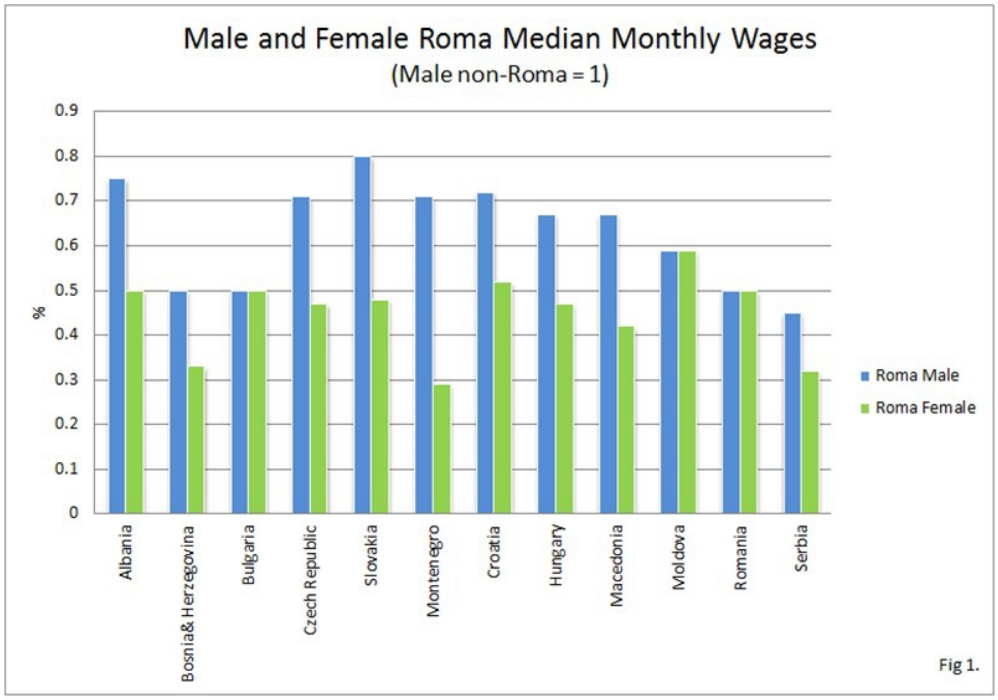
	Odds	s.e.
Experienced Discrimination	11.65**	0.1
Female	1.69**	0.12
Age		
18-29		
30-49	1.18	0.14
>=50	1.07	0.17
Marital Status		
Married		
Divorced	2.18**	0.21
Separated	1.09	0.35
Widowed	1.4**	0.16
Cohabiting	1.25*	0.12
Never Married	1.78**	0.28
Urban	1.05*	0.1
Highest Education Attained		
None or Incomplete Primary		
Primary	1.27**	0.11
Incomplete Secondary	1.03	0.21
Secondary	1.14	0.14
Higher	8.17**	0.49
Income(mean)		
Log monthly household income	1.03	0.01
Occupational Category		
Farmer		
Unskilled Trades	1.15	0.27
Skilled Trades	1.2	0.28
Professional	1.46	0.04
Employed	1.12	0.11
Migrant	1.21	0.28
Self Reported Health		
Good		
Fair	1.17	0.12
Poor	1.11	0.12
Country		
Albania		
Bosnia& Herzegovina	0.67	0.31
Bulgaria	1.39	0.24
Czech Republic	2.65**	0.17
Slovakia	0.34**	0.33
Montenegro	1.17	0.27
Croatia	1.47	0.24
Hungary	1.19	0.2
Macedonia	1.13	0.22
Moldova	1.09	0.26
Romania	1.81**	0.22
Serbia	1.23	0.24
_cons	1.16**	0.35
AIC (BIC)	1643.65 (1785.43)	

** p<0.001; *p<0.05 (N = 4651)

Table 3. Multilevel regression results predicting the internalization of negative stereotypes

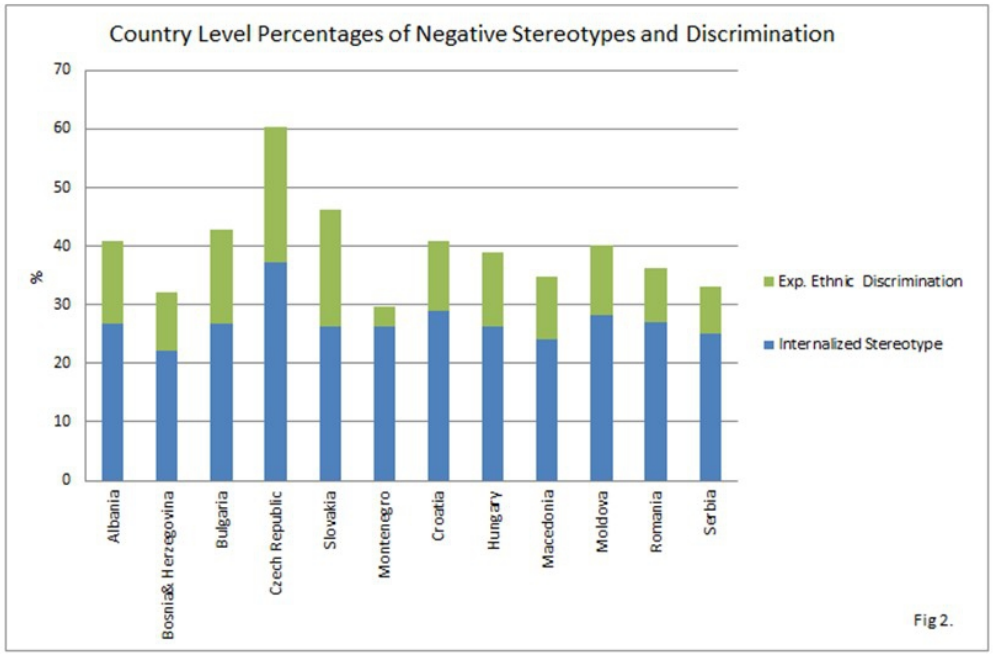
	Male Roma vs Male Majority		Female Roma vs Male Majority	
	Odds	s.e.	Odds	s.e.
Experienced Discrimination	1.66**	0.17	1.66**	0.01
Female	1.11**	0.01	1.11**	0.01
Age				
18-29				
30-49	1.03	0.02	1.04**	0.02
>=50	1.01	0.02	1.01	0.02
Marital Status				
Married				
Divorced	1.17**	0.03	1.15**	0.03
Separated	1.07	0.04	1.06	0.04
Widowed	1.11**	0.02	1.12**	0.02
Cohabiting	1.02	0.01	1.02	0.01
Never Married	1.16**	0.03	1.15**	0.03
Urban	1.04**	0.01	1.04**	0.01
Highest Education Attained				
None or Incomplete Primary				
Primary	1.01	0.01	1.01	0.01
Incomplete Secondary	1.01	0.03	1.02	0.03
Secondary	1.04**	0.02	1.05**	0.02
Higher	1.42**	0.1	1.44**	0.1
Income(mean)				
Log monthly household income	1.01	0.001	1.01	0.003
Occupational Category				
Farmer				
Unskilled Trades	1.01	0.04	1.02	0.04
Skilled Trades	1.01	0.04	1.01	0.04
Professional	1.06	0.05	1.01	0.05
Employed	1.01	0.01	1.01	0.01
Self Reported Health				
Good				
Fair	1.05**	0.02	1.04**	0.01
Poor	1.03**	0.02	1.03**	0.01
Migration	1.02	0.03	1.01	0.03
Country level income inequality	1.25 **	0.01	1.30**	0.02
_cons	1.31**	0.05	1.41**	0.06
ICC	0.31		0.36	

** p<0.001; *p<0.05 (N = 4650)



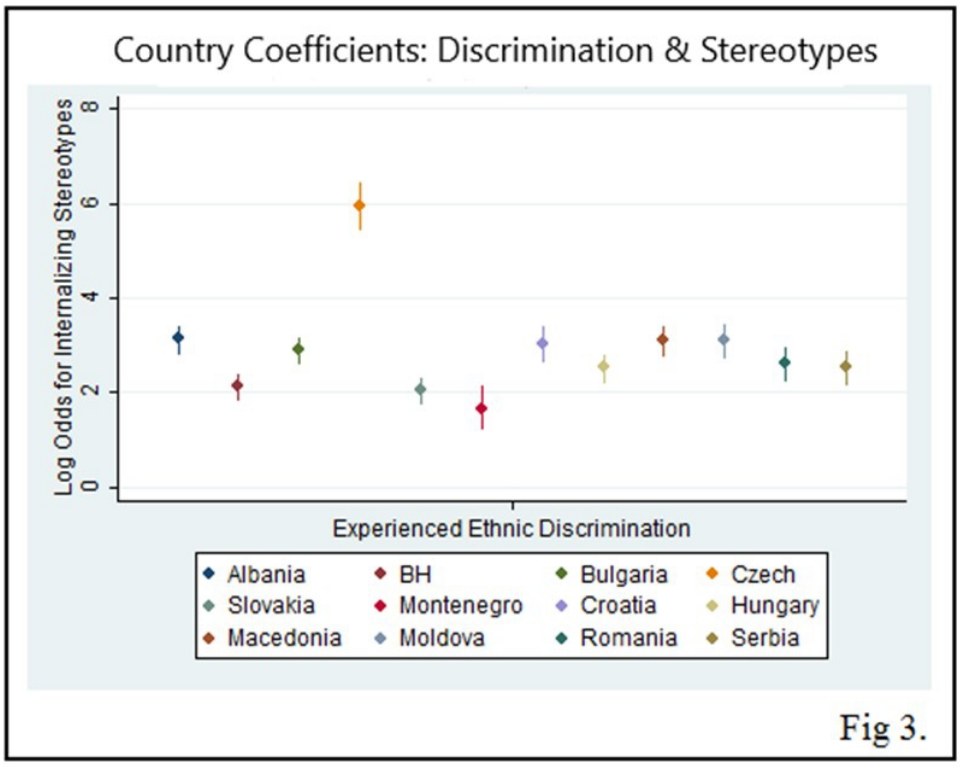
Male and Female Roma Median Monthly Wages

213x150mm (96 x 96 DPI)



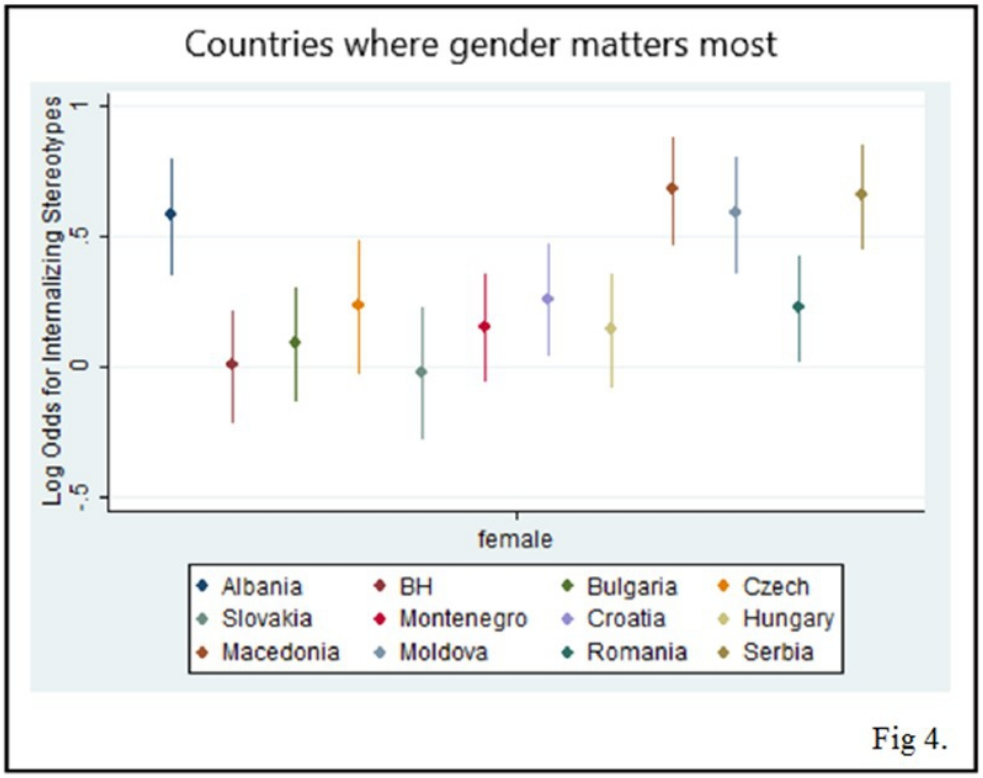
Country Level Percentages of Negative Stereotypes and Discrimination

214x143mm (96 x 96 DPI)



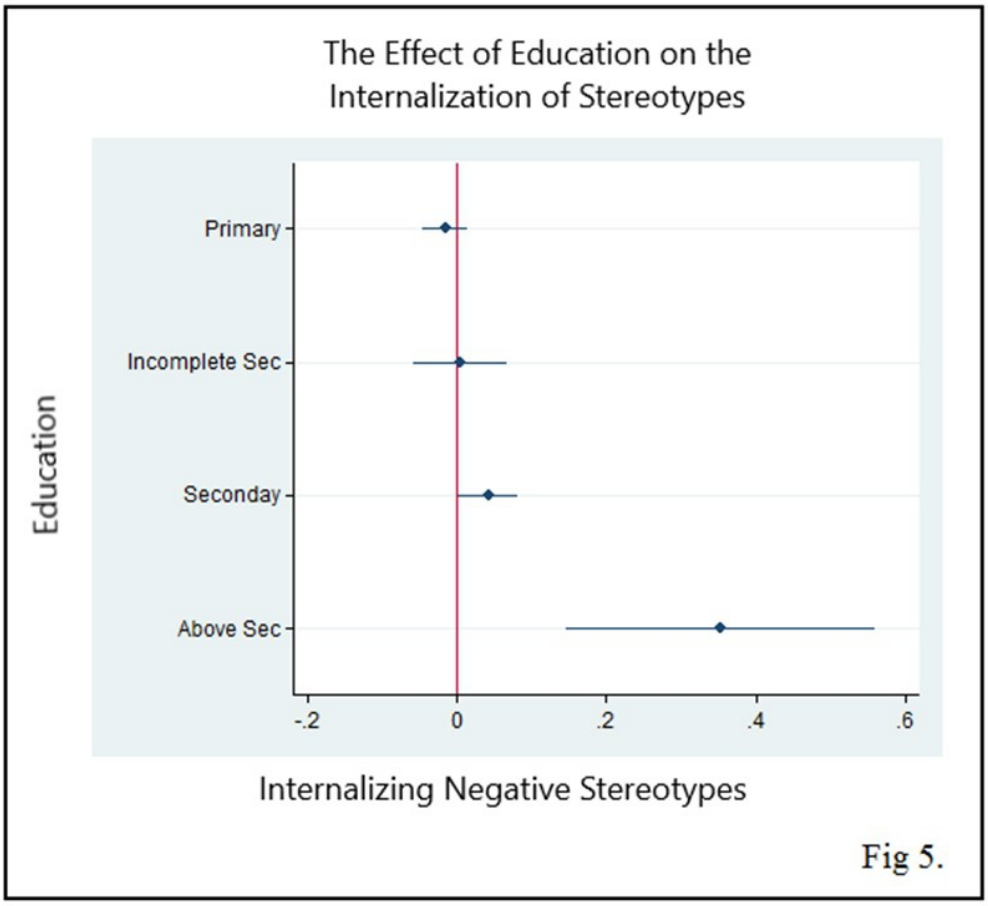
Country Coefficients: Discrimination and Stereotypes

219x173mm (96 x 96 DPI)



Countries where gender matters most

214x169mm (96 x 96 DPI)



The effect of education on the internalization of stereotypes

212x197mm (96 x 96 DPI)