

**PERCEPTION OF MINORITY TOLERATION FROM THE EYES  
OF THE MAJORITY: THE ROLE OF PERCEIVED THREAT**

by  
BERFIN ACAR

Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences  
in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

Sabanci University  
July 2022

**PERCEPTION OF MINORITY TOLERATION FROM THE EYES  
OF THE MAJORITY: THE ROLE OF PERCEIVED THREAT**

Approved by:

Assoc. Prof. SABAHAT ÇİĞDEM BAĞCI .....  
(Thesis Supervisor)

Assoc. Prof. SİNAN ALPER .....

Asst. Prof. ARZU KARAKULAK .....

Date of Approval: July 25, 2022

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## ABSTRACT

### PERCEPTION OF MINORITY TOLERATION FROM THE EYES OF THE MAJORITY: THE ROLE OF PERCEIVED THREAT

BERFİN ACAR

PSYCHOLOGY M.S. THESIS, JULY 2022

Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. SABAHAT ÇİĞDEM BAĞCI

Keywords: intergroup toleration, tolerance, refugees, LGBTI, Muslims

Although toleration of minorities may be seen as progressive for societies, recent research has shown that toleration may be costly for minority group members' self-esteem as it implies being "put up with". What is relatively less known is how majority group members perceive the toleration of minorities. In four studies, we examined a) whether majority group members distinguished toleration from discrimination and acceptance, b) how positively they evaluated different acts of toleration compared to discrimination and acceptance and in turn supported minority rights, and c) to what extent these perceptions depended on the level of outgroup threat. In Study 1 (N = 214), higher perceived threat from Syrian refugees was found to be associated with Turkish natives' tendency to attribute acceptance to toleration. In studies 2 (N = 161, community sample - Syrian refugee target, high threat context) and 3 (N = 206, student sample - LGBTI target, low threat context), participants were given either a toleration, a discrimination, or an acceptance scenario. We showed that toleration was more likely to be attributed to "acceptance" than "discrimination" and was evaluated more positively in a high threat context. In study 4 (N = 150), we experimentally manipulated the threat of Muslims among Christians in the UK and found that toleration was rated as more favorable and in turn related to lower support of minorities in the high threat condition, whereas it was defined as discrimination and rated less favorably in the control condition. Overall findings indicate that for majority group members the construct of toleration is highly ambiguous and perceived outgroup threat plays a key role in its understanding.

## ÖZET

### GRUPLARARASI TOLERANSTA ÇOĞUNLUK GRUBUN BAKIŞ AÇISI: ALGILANAN TEHDİDİN ROLÜ

BERFİN ACAR

PSİKOLOJİ YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, TEMMUZ 2022

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. SABAHAT ÇİĞDEM BAĞCI

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gruplararası tolerans, mülteciler, göçmenler, LGBTİ,  
Müslümanlar

Azınlık grupların tolere edilmesi toplumu ileriye taşıyacak bir araç gibi görülse de güncel çalışmalara göre ‘katlanılma’ hissini vermesi sebebiyle bireylerin özgüvenlerini zedeleyebilmektedir. Fakat çoğunluk grubun azınlık grupların tolere edilmesini nasıl algıladığı bilinmemektedir. Bu projedeki dört çalışma ile a) çoğunluğun toleransı ayrımcılık ve kabul edilme deneyimlerinden ayırıp ayırmadığı, b) ayrımcılık ve kabul edilmeye kıyasla ne derece olumlu değerlendirdikleri ve c) bu yatkınlıkların algılanan tehdide ne derece bağlı olduğu incelenmiştir. Birinci çalışmada (N = 214), Suriyeli mültecilerden algıladıkları tehdidin Türklerin toleransı ‘kabul edilme’ gibi algılamaları ile ilintili olduğu bulunmuştur. İkinci (N = 161, yerel örneklem, hedef Suriyeli mülteciler, yüksek algılanan tehdit) ve üçüncü (N = 206, öğrenci örneklemi, hedef LGBTİ bireyler, düşük algılanan tehdit) çalışmalarda ise, katılımcılara tolerans, ayrımcılık veya kabul senaryolarından biri verilmiştir. Tolerans algılanan tehdidin yüksek olduğu bağlamda kabul etmeye atfedilmiş ve daha olumlu bir deneyim olarak değerlendirilmişken, algılanan tehdidin düşük olduğu bağlamda ayrımcılık yapmaya benzetilmiş ve daha olumsuz bir deneyim olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Dördüncü ve son çalışmada (N = 150), Birleşik Krallık’taki Hristiyan bir örneklemde Müslümanlara karşı manipüle edilen algılanan tehdidin toleransın daha olumlu görülmesine yol açtığı ve dolaylı olarak Müslümanlara verilen desteği azalttığı bulunmuştur. Sonuç olarak, bulgular çoğunluk grup için toleransın oldukça belirsiz olduğunu ve algılanan tehdidin tolerans algısında önemli rolü olduğunu göstermiştir.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Sabahat ıgdem Baęcı, not only for her tremendous support, positive attitude, and guidance on my thesis project but also for providing me with every chance to improve myself as an early career researcher. She always believed in me and encouraged me to do more. Without her, I would not have been able to write this thesis and develop myself in so many areas. I consider myself lucky to have her as my supervisor.

I also want to thank my professors at Sabanci University for creating a caring environment and doing their best to take each and every one of us forward in many ways. I have learned so much from them.

I am thankful to Assoc. Prof. Sinan Alper and Asst. Prof. Arzu Karakulak for being a part of my thesis defense jury and sharing their much appreciated constructive comments which helped me improve the quality of this thesis.

I feel fortunate to have my parents who have made my accomplishments possible by offering their selfless support in every possible way, a brother with an exceptional sense of humor that always helps, and a boyfriend and friends who always offered emotional and technical support as well as consistent encouragement.

*To those who are only tolerated*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Parallel with the increase in diversity and number of people from many different ethnic or religious backgrounds living in close proximity in contemporary societies, the importance of intergroup toleration - allowing the outgroup to live by their values or enact their identities despite disapproval or dislike (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2017; Walzer 1997) - becomes more salient every day. Traditionally, toleration has been perceived as an approach that is generally ‘anti-discriminatory’ and is supposed to create better experiences for the minorities, such as the preservation of desired ways of life and cultural practices (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2020). Many social psychological studies treat intergroup toleration as a positive construct, such as the ones that focus on its predictors (Brewer and Pierce 2005; Roccas and Amit 2011), the conditions that lead to toleration (Waldzus et al. 2003), its limits (Van Zomeren, Fischer, and Spears 2007), and the possibility of acquiring it through education (Henderson-King and Kaleta 2000). This being the case, toleration has been encouraged in society by governmental policies, non-governmental organizations, and community interventions in order to provide everyone with the opportunity to live by their desired ways of life (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019). However, perceptions around the meaning of toleration and its impact on the minorities seem to be incompatible; on the one hand, it tends to be evaluated as a merely positive approach that we should all embrace and try to disseminate, on the other hand, it involves a certain negativity and condescending tone from the part of the majority group (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019), creating ambiguities about how we should understand and evaluate intergroup tolerance.

The basic definition of toleration in philosophy and political science acknowledges this negativity (Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran 2017; Walzer 1997). In these fields, toleration is understood as one’s active efforts to avoid discrimination against particular outgroups, in spite of their dislike or disapproval (Hirsch, Verkuyten, and Yogeeswaran 2019; Vogt 1997). This conceptualization of toleration as forbearance (Verkuyten, Adelman, and Yogeeswaran 2021), in turn, has various implications for

intergroup relationships, particularly for minority group members for whom toleration is often associated with lower psychological well-being indicators (Bagci et al. 2020). Nevertheless, the current social psychological conceptualization of intergroup toleration is still limited to a few recent studies. Hence, the existing literature lacks empirical research that investigates the perception of toleration a) from the perspective of the majority group members (how they define it and to what extent they conflate it with discrimination versus acceptance), b) as a function of intergroup context (low threat versus high threat), and c) in cultures that are outside Western Europe. The current study aims to fill these gaps by presenting four studies that examine how majority group members in Turkey (Turkish citizens/heterosexuals, Studies 1-3) and the UK (Christians, Study 4) evaluate different experiences of toleration that occur in different intergroup contexts.

It should be noted that I am interested in the majority group's *perception* of toleration, and not their acts of toleration or tendency to tolerate. Studies in the literature investigated how much toleration majority group members show towards the minorities (e.g., Pfafferott and Brown 2006; Velthuis, Van der Noll, and Verkuyten 2022). However, there is a gap, which I am trying to fill with the current studies, when it comes to how majority group members perceive, define and evaluate the toleration of the minorities, especially in relation to how majority group members understand discrimination and acceptance.

## 1.1 Intergroup Toleration

The word toleration indicates that the matter at hand, whether it is the values, beliefs, or lifestyle of a particular group, are disapproved of, but still put up with (Vogt 1997; Verkuyten, Yogeewaran, and Adelman 2019). Toleration implies contempt instead of whole-hearted acceptance and respect, whereby some negative attitudes or prejudice towards the minority might be preserved. As Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) proposed, people might have conflicting attitudes and values in the intergroup sphere. They might be prejudiced against an outgroup but might also possess egalitarian values making it difficult for them to act on their negative attitudes (Gaertner and Dovidio 1986; Lima-Nunes, Pereira, and Correia 2013). Since showing prejudice against an outgroup is deprecated by modern, egalitarian norms (Crandall and Eshleman 2003) or, at least by political correctness, prejudiced members of the majority group may resort to expressing their prejudice in a socially acceptable way (Pereira, Vala, and Costa-Lopes 2010). Therefore, merely tolerating

the minority group might reflect a socially acceptable form of expressing one’s prejudice, as prejudiced attitudes and beliefs are preserved in toleration while disguised by positive behavioral intentions (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019).

Therefore, although toleration is viewed in a positive light as it keeps prejudice from turning into overt discrimination, it is still not an entirely positive phenomenon (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019). This definition puts toleration somewhere in between unrestricted discrimination and fully respectful acceptance (Scanlon 2003, 187; Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019), considering that acceptance refers to treating minorities as equals, and is driven by respect, unlike disapproval and endurance as in toleration (Galeotti 2015; Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019). To further elaborate on the bitterness of toleration, this conceptualization also indicates that, although they hold the power to do so, the majority seems to be ‘choosing’ or ‘preferring’ not to interfere with the minority’s way of living (Bagci et al. 2020). This creates a situation in which the minority group members feel that the toleration they receive is conditional, and their rights can be taken away anytime if they do not abide by the rules or if the majority group members decide they do not want to tolerate the minority anymore (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019; Verkuyten 2022). Also, being tolerated threatens social identity needs as it diminishes minority group members’ ability to affirm their self-esteem and efficacy by implying that their culture, beliefs and values are unadmired (Bagci et al. 2020). Hence, minority group members perceive toleration as a negative experience (Cvetkovska et al. 2022) and prefer being respected instead of being merely tolerated (Bergsieker, Shelton, and Richeson 2010).

Since experiences of toleration and discrimination are constructs that are experienced by the minority group and have a substantial influence on minority members, many studies investigated these constructs from the minority groups’ perspective (Bagci et al. 2020; Cvetkovska, Verkuyten, and Adelman 2020; Pascoe and Richman 2009; Schmitt et al. 2014; Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2020). So far, a few studies have investigated how *majority* group members perceive and evaluate discrimination against minorities (Bagci, Çelebi and Karaköse, 2017; Crosby 2015; Lima-Nunes, Pereira, and Correia 2013; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2015; West et al. 2022). For example, West and colleagues (2022) showed that the majority group members tended to attribute discrimination to a broader set of behaviors when it targeted their ingroup and to a narrower set of behaviors when it is perpetrated by their ingroup to the members of the outgroup. Along with a discrepancy in attributions of discrimination depending on group affiliation, this finding also shows that definitions of minority group members’ intergroup experiences are often unstable and might be affected by various motivations of majority group members.

I believe that similar or even greater conceptual ambiguities might be involved in the definition of toleration, given that the conceptualization of the construct might be different across disciplines, cultures and specific intergroup contexts (Verkuyten 2022). In a similar vein, Lima-Nunes and colleagues (2013) showed that the scope of justice (who deserves to be evaluated by the same standards of justice) is malleable and can be utilized to justify the adverse treatment of outgroups (Opatow 1995). For instance, the mere toleration of Syrian refugees might be perceived as ‘fair enough’ since refugees are not citizens of Turkey and, therefore, they do not need to be treated with the same standards of justice.

These studies show that how discrimination is conceptualized and defined by majorities is subjective and depend on a variety of factors. To my knowledge, no previous empirical research has ever tested how majority group members conceptualize the tolerance of minorities. With the present set of studies, I aim to investigate whether the majority group members are aware of the negative aspects embedded in toleration, particularly when compared to the negative aspects of discrimination, by looking at how these experiences are defined and evaluated by the majority group who perpetrate them.

## 1.2 The Role of Perceived Threat

Perceived threat is seen as an antecedent of intergroup prejudice and hostility (see Riek, Mania, and Gaertner 2006 for a meta-analytic review) and is negatively associated with positive attitudes towards outgroups (Oliver and Mendelberg 2000; Stephan and Stephan 2000), including immigrants (Ward and Masgoret 2006). The threat in intergroup relations might be perceived due to realistic conflict over limited resources such as material goods (Sherif and Sherif 1969) or power and status (Bobo 1988), or due to symbolic issues such as the concern that the minority group will violate ingroup’s values and interfere with their way of life (Sears 1988). It is also a significant predictor of immigration-related attitudes since it is influential in determining the acculturation preferences of the majority group (Florack et al. 2003; López-Rodríguez et al. 2014; Tip et al. 2012). As illustrated by Zagefka and colleagues (2007), economic competition, which is an essential source of perceived realistic threat, was found to be negatively associated with majority group members’ desire for integration of the immigrants through increased negative attitudes towards them both in Turkey and Belgium. Also, symbolic threat as well was related to the majority group’s desire for immigrants to adopt the host culture and



not maintain their own, potentially in an attempt to eliminate the source of threat by eroding the immigrant group's identity (López-Rodríguez et al. 2014). Hence, regardless of the underlying reason for the majority to feel threatened, high levels of perceived threat are shown to increase negative attitudes and intentions towards the outgroup (Esses et al. 2001; Riek, Mania, and Gaertner 2006).

Furthermore, perceived threat may lead to moral exclusion of outgroup members from the ingroup's scope of justice (Lima-Nunes, Pereira, and Correia 2013) and might act as a motivator for justifying discrimination (Pereira, Vala, and Costa-Lopes 2010) and potentially other negative experiences had by the minority group, such as being tolerated. I believe that perceived threat does not only lead people to discriminate against or merely tolerate the minority group but also leads them to *evaluate* these treatments in a more positive light. Pereira and colleagues (2009) suggested that increased levels of perceived threat would be associated with viewing discrimination as a more legitimate treatment. Verkuyten and Martinovic (2015) further demonstrated that perceived power threat among the Dutch majority was linked with lower recognition of discrimination against immigrants. I extend these studies and argue that the level of perceived threat in an intergroup context will have implications on how majority group members define and evaluate the *toleration* experienced by the minority. I expect that discrimination and toleration of the minority groups in the current set of studies will be evaluated more favorably in high threat contexts or when the level of perceived threat is high.

### 1.3 Overview of the Studies

In Study 1, I collected data from Turkish citizens in Turkey and focused on how they define and evaluate an incident of toleration happening to a Syrian refugee. In Studies 2 and 3, I compared two different intergroup contexts (high versus low perceived threat) in terms of how they affect the majority group members' definition and evaluation of toleration and two other constructs, namely, discrimination and acceptance, directed towards the respective minority group. I benefited from Verkuyten and colleagues' (2020) approach in determining the content of the scenarios by introducing different combinations of attitude and behavior valence (Table 1.1). Finally, in Study 4, I manipulated the level of perceived threat among Christians in the UK and examined how this affected their perception of the toleration of Muslims. To my knowledge, I am the first to investigate how majority group members define and perceive the toleration of minority groups. Therefore, I based my

rationale and hypotheses on the studies that looked at how *minority* groups perceive and react to being tolerated, which showed that they view being tolerated more unfavorably than being fully accepted but more favorably than being discriminated against (Bagci et al. 2020; Cvetkovska, Verkuyten and Adelman 2020; Verkuyten, Yogeewaran, and Adelman 2020).

Table 1.1 Attitude-behavior combinations on which the scenarios were based (Verkuyten, Yogeewaran and Adelman, 2020).

	Toleration	Discrimination	Acceptance
Attitude	-	-	+
Behavior	+	-	+

## 2. STUDY 1

Study 1 aims to explore initially how the majority Turkish citizens would evaluate a job-based toleration scenario targeting a Syrian refugee. I specifically investigated to what extent the scenario was evaluated as toleration, discrimination, or acceptance and how positive participants were towards this toleration experience, as well as to what extent perceived threat from the outgroup was likely to predict the definition and evaluation of toleration.

In this study, I collected data from Turkish citizens as the majority group and asked them about their definitions and evaluations of toleration targeting a Syrian refugee living in their country. Millions of Syrian refugees arrived in Turkey since the beginning of the war in Syria (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] and Government of Turkey 2021), and many of them moved to the cities and were given work permit (Içduygu and Diker 2017). As Syrian refugees gained more rights in Turkey, such as access to health and education and economic gains (Yitmen and Verkuyten 2020), zero-sum beliefs among many Turkish citizens emerged, and they perceived Syrian refugees as taking away their resources (Taştan, Haklı, and Osmanoğlu 2017). Hence, they became sensitive towards the positive treatment of Syrian refugees and evaluated the support they were given unfavorably (Içduygu 2015; Yitmen and Verkuyten 2020). Also, surveys showed that many Turkish people perceived Syrian refugees as a threat and the cause of increased unemployment and crime rates in Turkey (Taştan, Haklı, and Osmanoğlu 2017).

First, I hypothesized that agreement about the definition of toleration will be low (participants will likely conflate it with the experiences of discrimination and acceptance). Later, based on the influence of perceived threat on intergroup relations, I hypothesized that the more people feel threatened by Syrian refugees, the less sensitively they will evaluate their experiences. In other words, I expect higher perceived threat to be associated with the tendency to define toleration as acceptance (a less sensitive view which indicates nonrecognition of the devaluing component in toleration compared to defining the experience as toleration or discrimination).

Additionally, I expect that those who perceive higher threat from Syrian refugees to evaluate toleration as a more positive experience.

Finally, I expect attitudes towards the experience to mediate the relationship between perceived threat and support for Syrian refugees. Namely, I expect high levels of perceived threat to be associated with more positive attitudes towards toleration and positive attitudes towards toleration to be associated with lower support for Syrian refugees. My rationale is that when toleration is seen as a favorable treatment, one which is fair enough, perceived need for further support should decrease, leading to lower ratings on support for the outgroup (Bagci, Çelebi, and Karaköse, 2017; helping intentions were shown to decrease when the outgroup was perceived to have high status, Mashuri, Hasanah, and Rahmawati 2013).

## 2.1 Method

### 2.1.1 Participants and Procedure

I collected data from 214 participants (192 undergraduate students of majority status in exchange for extra credit at a private university in Istanbul, Turkey, and 22 participants from the community sample, all Turkish citizens,  $M_{age} = 21.71$ ). After providing their consent, participants filled out a demographics questionnaire in which they answered questions about their age, gender, income, political orientation, religiosity, and warmth towards particular outgroups, including Syrian refugees. Later, they gave their answers to certain scales detailed information about which can be found in the following section. Subsequently, they read a vignette I prepared to depict an incident in which a Syrian refugee was being tolerated, and they chose one of the three options provided to define the experience.<sup>1</sup> Finally, they were debriefed in detail and thanked.

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<sup>1</sup>I initially planned for this study to be an experimental one. Therefore, I tried to manipulate perceived threat by creating two conditions. In the experimental condition, I introduced a bogus news report about the negative influence of Syrian refugees on Turkey's culture and economy. Whereas in the control condition, I made the participants read an unrelated news report which was about agriculture. However, an independent samples t test revealed that there was not a significant difference in the amount of threat these two groups perceived due to Syrian refugees,  $t(212) = .644$ ,  $p = .520$ . It is likely that a ceiling effect occurred, as both groups perceived substantially high levels of perceived threat,  $M_{experimental} = 5.14$ ,  $M_{control} = 5.01$ . Since the manipulation failed, I decided to combine the entire data into a single group and treated the study as a correlational one.

## 2.1.2 Materials

### 2.1.2.1 The vignette

I prepared a scenario in which a Syrian refugee was depicted to be tolerated by a Turkish citizen. Due to inconsistencies in defining tolerance in various fields, toleration might be conceptualized in different ways. In this study, I conceptualize and present toleration as *forbearance* as frequently addressed by Verkuyten and colleagues (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2020; Verkuyten, Adelman, and Yogeeswaran 2021). Hence, based on their approach (2020), I composed the toleration scenario in a way that it would convey a positive behavioral intention, accompanied by an underlying negative attitude. After reading this scenario, participants were instructed to elaborate on their feelings and thoughts about it.

"Muhammed is a Syrian refugee who lives in Turkey. After he arrives in Turkey, he starts to look for a job, and gets called for an interview. After the interview, the interviewer asks him to fill out a form that includes questions about his life in case there is anything additional he wants to share. Muhammed indicates in this form that he is a refugee. A week later, he receives an e-mail from the interviewer. The interviewer says that "We are happy to inform you that you got the job. Although our company does not welcome and appreciate refugees, it has the policy to give everyone who deserves it a chance, so good luck"."

### 2.1.2.2 Measures

The response scale for all items ranged from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree) unless otherwise stated.

#### 2.1.2.2.1 Definition of the experience.

Participants were first asked to choose a single-word definition for the experience they read from the options of toleration, discrimination, and acceptance (How would you define the incident in the scenario?). Subsequently, the same question was asked with a more detailed answer format that included a brief definition of the experience, as 'not appreciated but nevertheless accepted (toleration)', 'not appreciated and not

accepted (discrimination)', and 'appreciated and accepted (acceptance)'.

#### **2.1.2.2.2 Attitudes towards the experience**

Attitudes towards the experience in the scenarios were measured with 4 items asking how *positive*, *acceptable*, *just*, and *moral* the experience was perceived. Higher scores indicated more favorable attitudes towards the scenario. As these four items showed good reliability, I aggregated them into a single scale ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

#### **2.1.2.2.3 Support for Syrian refugees' rights**

Support for Syrian refugees' rights was measured with two items adapted from Yitmen and Verkuyten (2018), which were "Syrian refugees should have the same rights and protection as Turkish citizens," and "Syrian refugees should be protected against workplace discrimination," ( $r = .58$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

#### **2.1.2.2.4 Perceived threat**

Perceived threat was measured with a single item which asked, "How much do you think Syrian refugees pose a threat to Turkey," (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much). I did not specify a type of threat in this question (e.g., realistic or symbolic) in order to allow participants to respond flexibly.<sup>2</sup>

## **2.2 Results and Discussion**

### **2.2.1 Categorization of the Experience**

A total of 36.4% of the participants<sup>3</sup> chose to define the experience in the scenario as toleration, whereas another 36.4% chose to define it as acceptance. On the other hand, a smaller percentage of participants (27.1%) defined the experience as discrimination, which means only a small portion of the participants were highly sensitive in their definition of a potentially negative treatment Syrian refugees are exposed to. I would like to point out that only 36.4% defined the scenario as toleration and a considerable percentage of participants chose to attribute the scenario to a discrimination or acceptance experience, which shows that toleration is indeed an ambiguous construct as I expected.

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<sup>2</sup>I also measured ingroup identification, common ingroup identification, social dominance orientation, positive and negative contact frequency, attitudes towards Syrian refugees and religious similarity to check if they interacted with any of my main variables.

<sup>3</sup>Overall, the participants scored quite low on the feeling thermometer (32.17 out of 100), which indicates that they did not feel warm about Syrian refugees.

When I asked participants to choose a definition for the experience among the options that included brief explanations of the constructs (instead of single words), 77.1% of the participants chose the option “not appreciated but nevertheless accepted,” (toleration). A total of 17.8% of the participants defined the experience as “appreciated and accepted” (acceptance), whereas only 5.1% of them defined it as “not appreciated and not accepted,” (discrimination). The sharp increase from 36.4% to 77.1% that I observed when I provided an explanation for the construct of toleration indicates that toleration is not understood the same by everyone and that a brief explanation is helpful in creating an increased agreement.

### **2.2.2 Predicting Definitions**

A multinomial logistic regression analysis showed that perceived threat was a significant predictor of how participants defined the toleration experience depicted in the vignette [ $X^2(2)=8.002$ ,  $p=.018$ ]. Specifically, participants who scored higher on perceived threat were more likely to define toleration as “acceptance” in comparison with the baseline category of “toleration”,  $b=0.328$ ,  $SE=.120$ ,  $p=.006$ , 95% CI [1.097, 1.756], indicating that they endorsed lower sensitivity.

The predictive effect of perceived threat disappeared when the outcome was definitions with brief explanations rather than single-word definitions [ $X^2(2)=2.926$ ,  $p=.232$ ]. This result shows that when clear definitions of the constructs are provided, perceived threat loses its predictive power.

### **2.2.3 Predicting Attitudes towards the Experience**

Perceived threat also predicted attitudes towards the experience.<sup>4</sup> Participants who perceived high threat from Syrian refugees rated the toleration experience more favorably ( $b=0.203$ ,  $SE=.076$ ,  $p=.008$ ), on a scale that measures the positivity, acceptability, justness and morality of the treatment.

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<sup>4</sup>No age or gender differences were observed.

## 2.2.4 Mediation by Attitudes towards Experience on the Relationship between Perceived Threat and Support for Refugees

I was unable to show the mediation effect I hypothesized ( $b=-0.013$ ,  $SE = 0.016$ , 95% CI  $[-0.049, 0.014]$ ), as attitudes towards the experience did not predict support for refugees in this specific context ( $b=-0.066$ ,  $SE = 0.066$ , 95% CI  $[-0.196, 0.064]$ ). I speculate that the lack of this effect is due to a built-up prejudice against Syrian refugees that makes it difficult to sympathize and show increased levels of support even when they are depicted to be discriminated against.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Evaluating the toleration experience unfavorably did predict increased support for Syrian refugees' rights in people who scored low on SDO (conditional effect of attitudes towards the experience on support at  $SDO = 1.5$ ,  $b=-0.256$ ,  $SE=0.084$ ,  $p=.002$ , 95% CI  $[-0.421, -0.092]$ ). Interestingly, having defined the toleration experience in the scenario as discrimination, which was a sensitive response, did not predict higher support for Syrian refugees ( $F(2, 211)=0.131$ ,  $p=.877$ ). This finding implies that, although majority group members may recognize negativity in a certain treatment at the cognitive level, they still may not wish to support the minority group, which might be due to substantially high levels of conflict and threat in this particular setting on which I conducted my investigations.



### 3. STUDIES 2 & 3

Study 1 demonstrated that the threat perceived from a minority group was a significant predictor of how majority group members defined and evaluated the toleration experienced by that minority group. Higher levels of perceived threat were associated with a stronger tendency to define toleration as acceptance and with more favorable attitudes towards the treatment. However, the positivity of the majority group's attitudes towards a particular minority group might affect how they approach their experiences (Bourhis et al. 1997) and therefore toleration might imply different connotations for an intergroup context where the perceived threat is relatively lower and the outgroup is more valued/liked. For example, members of the host community in Canada were more welcoming and they endorsed a more integrationist acculturation orientation towards the immigrants they valued in comparison with those that they devalued (Montreuil and Bourhis 2001; 2004). Therefore, in Studies 2 and 3, I aimed to extend the findings from Study 1, by examining the understanding of toleration in two different intergroup contexts, one relatively more threatening/high prejudicial context (Study 2, host community vs Syrian refugees) and the other less threatening/low prejudicial context (Study 3, heterosexual students vs LGBTI). Moreover, extending Study 1, I further included two different scenarios (acceptance and discrimination) in order to examine whether the ambiguities involving tolerance are unique to this experience.

Intergroup contexts vary in the specific emotional reactions they elicit (Cottrell and Neuberg 2005). As Cottrell and Neuberg (Sociofunctional Threat-Based Approach 2005) argued, people may experience a variety of emotions (such as anger, fear, disgust, pity, admiration, and guilt) depending on the situation in their specific intergroup context and types of threat it introduces. Hence, prejudice will stem from a different source in each case and will lead to different reactions and behavioral intentions. With this approach, Cottrell and Neuberg (2005) suggested that different threatening triggers will lead to discrete emotions that create a certain behavioral tendency towards the relevant outgroup to reach the desired state. This

conceptualization is useful as it informs my hypotheses in each context I tackle. In the high threat context where I targeted Syrian refugees, I foresee that participants will perceive a threat to their economic resources, feel angry<sup>6</sup> (Kamans, Otten, and Gordijn 2011), and consequently wish to weaken the threatening minority (e.g., Bagci, Verkuyten, and Canpolat 2022). With this motivation, participants might be less sensitive towards the negative experiences Syrian refugees might be having, such as being tolerated or discriminated against, and evaluate these experiences more favorably and offer less support. Therefore, a devalued group's toleration experiences might be legitimized more, and the ambiguous toleration act might be interpreted as a more positive act (seen more as acceptance than discrimination).

In the LGBTI context, I focused on a student sample for the majority group that endorsed a substantial amount of support and sympathy for LGBTI, which suggests that perceived threat should be low in this context. Indeed, if I revisit the discussion on the scope of justice by Lima-Nunes and colleagues (2013; Opatow 1995) it might be that LGBTI is a part of this majority group's moral circle that the same scope of justice applies. Therefore, a scenario of toleration targeting an LGBTI individual is likely to be seen more negatively, as individuals' sensitivity towards a relatively more valued outgroup would be higher.

In studies 2 and 3, I aimed to explore majority group members' attitudes towards minority's discrimination, acceptance, and toleration by giving participants various scenarios that depict a member of the minority group experiencing one of these three constructs (in a between-subject design). In Study 2, I examined how majority group members (Turkish participants) categorized those experiences among minority group members in a high threat context following Study 1. I targeted Syrian refugees as the target in the scenarios and collected the data from the community sample, who generally endorsed negative attitudes towards refugees (Içduygu 2015; Taştan, Haklı and Osmanoglu 2017). Whereas in Study 3, I targeted LGBTI people as the outgroup and investigated the same research question as in Study 2, collecting data from university students at a private institution in Istanbul, Turkey. Although in representative samples in Turkey, prejudice is likely to be prevalent against LGBTI (Bagci et al. 2020; Pew Research 2013), unlike in the first context, university students seem to hold favorable attitudes towards LGBTI since the number of associations and student clubs increased (Bagci et al. 2022; Yılmaz 2013). Thus, this context served as a suitable low threat one.<sup>7</sup> Through the comparison of

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<sup>6</sup>Turkish people also felt pity for Syrian refugees when they first arrived. However, as time passed and the number of refugees moving to the cities and joining the economic market reached millions, pity gave its place to anger and fear.

<sup>7</sup>Indeed, I saw that threat perceived by LGBTI was very low ( $M = 1.52$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ) in this context and participants scored quite high on the feeling thermometer ( $M = 76.93$ ,  $SD = 25.73$ ).

these two studies, I aimed to show how the majority group's perception of toleration and its perceived negativity may change across different contexts which induce varying levels of threat.

I hypothesized that toleration of the target outgroup will likely be defined more as acceptance and less as discrimination and will be evaluated more favorably in the high threat context compared with the low threat one. Moreover, a highly threatening context is likely to provoke less support for the outgroup through more positive attitudes towards the toleration experience. However, I expect the acceptance scenario to decrease support for the outgroup through more favorable attitudes towards the experience and the discrimination scenario to increase support for the outgroup through less favorable attitudes towards the experience.

I expect this pattern for two reasons. First, when the outgroup is depicted to be already accepted, perceived need for further support might decrease (Bagci, Çelebi, and Karaköse, 2017; helping intentions were shown to decrease when the outgroup was perceived to have high status, Mashuri, Hasanah, and Rahmawati 2013). Secondly, when they are shown to be discriminated against, the outgroup might be perceived as vulnerable and inferior in the social hierarchy, which decreases threat perceptions and makes attitudes towards that outgroup more positive (Bagci, Çelebi, and Karaköse 2017). When it comes to toleration, the outcome becomes more unpredictable and dependent on the context. On the one hand, showing toleration towards the minorities can give the majority the sense that they hold the power and superiority (Verkuyten and Kollar 2021), and that they can influence other groups in the society by exerting their power. This reassurance of superiority may similarly decrease perceived threat, leading to more positive outgroup attitudes. On the other hand, in an intergroup context where perceived threat is high, toleration might be perceived as resembling to acceptance as I hypothesized earlier, and similarly decrease perceived need for further support. In such a context, toleration can be threatening as the status of the minority members might be perceived to increase as a result, and a new source of threat could be emerged, as now the minority's status approaches that of the majority.

## 4. STUDY 2

### 4.1 Method

#### 4.1.1 Participants and Procedure

I collected data from 161 participants through convenience sampling (108 females, 52 males, 1 other,  $M_{age} = 40.90$ ) for this between-subjects study. A total of 123 of these participants identified as Turkish, whereas 38 of them identified with different ethnic groups in Turkey such as Kurds and Armenians (all were citizens of Turkey).<sup>8</sup> After providing their consent, participants filled out a demographics questionnaire in which they answered questions about their age, gender, ethnicity, income, education, religiosity, and political orientation as well as their attitudes towards certain outgroups. Then, participants were presented with a scenario including either toleration, discrimination, or acceptance experienced by a Syrian refugee depending on the group that they were in. Then I invited them to write down their opinion about the incident in the scenarios to ensure that they gave it sufficient thought. Subsequently, they answered some questions in which they provided a definition to the experience they have read in the vignette and proceeded to fill out the scales. Finally, they were debriefed in detail and thanked.

#### 4.1.2 Materials

In order to investigate reactions to different experiences, I created three different scenarios where a Syrian refugee is either discriminated against, tolerated, or accepted. Based on Verkuyten and colleagues' (2020) approach, I designed the scenarios ac-

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<sup>8</sup>I repeated the analyses after excluding those participants who reported identification with any ethnicity other than Turkish, however, as the results did not change, I decided to keep those participants in the data as well.

ording to the positivity of the perpetrator's attitude and behavior in each case (refer to Table 1.1 above). In the toleration scenario, the behavior was positive, but the attitude continued to be negative. In the discrimination scenario, both attitude and behavior were negative, whereas in the acceptance scenario they were both positive.

#### **4.1.2.1 The vignettes**

Three scenarios were prepared by the researchers reflecting three different experiences a Syrian refugee has when he applies for a job. This person was shown to be either tolerated, discriminated against, or fully accepted depending on the group the participant was in. After reading the scenario, participants were asked to elaborate on it to make sure that they gave it sufficient thought.

##### **4.1.2.1.1 The toleration scenario**

"Muhammed is a Syrian refugee who lives in Turkey. After he arrives in Turkey, he starts to look for a job, and gets called for an interview. After the interview, the interviewer asks him to fill out a form that includes questions about his life in case there is anything additional he wants to share. Muhammed indicates in this form that he is a refugee. A week later, he receives an e-mail from the interviewer. The interviewer says that "We are happy to inform you that you got the job. Although our company does not welcome and appreciate refugees, it has the policy to give everyone who deserves it a chance, so good luck"."

##### **4.1.2.1.2 The discrimination scenario**

". . . The interviewer says that "We are sorry to inform you that you did not get the job. Our company does not welcome and appreciate refugees, and it does not have the policy to give everyone a chance. So, I wish you good luck elsewhere"."

##### **4.1.2.1.3 The acceptance scenario**

". . . The interviewer says that "We are happy to inform you that you got

the job. Our company welcomes and appreciates refugees, and it has the policy to give everyone who deserves it a chance, so good luck!".

#### 4.1.2.2 Measures

Definition of the experience, attitudes towards the experience ( $\alpha = .887$ ), perceived threat ( $r = .781$ ), support for refugee rights ( $\alpha = .725$ ), and the other variables I measured for exploratory purposes were measured the same way as in Study 1 except that I had an additional item in the support scale asking, "Would you be willing to share the incident in the scenario with others, for instance through social media?". I also measured warmth towards the outgroups in both studies, in order to make sure that these two contexts indeed differed in their level of positivity towards the outgroup.

## 4.2 Results and Discussion

### 4.2.1 Categorization of the Experience

As can be seen in Table 4.1 below [ $\chi^2(4, N = 161) = 36.813, p < .001$ ], there was a profound disagreement across participants in their definition of toleration.<sup>9</sup> Only roughly one-third of the participants defined the experience as toleration, whereas another third defined it as discrimination (See Table 4.1). Also, the majority of the participants attributed acceptance to the experience of toleration.

The agreement level across participants was higher in the discrimination condition with 77.4% defining the experience as discrimination. However, 17% of the participants chose to define the experience that was quite blatantly discriminatory as 'acceptance', which points out to a potential indifference to the negative treatment Syrian refugees receive.

Disagreement in the acceptance condition was surprisingly higher than I expected with 42.9% defining the scenario as acceptance, 32.7% defining it as toleration and 24.5% defining it as discrimination. I speculate that the reason why a significant per-

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<sup>9</sup>I should note that I excluded those participants with ethnicities other than Turkish and repeated the analyses. However, as this exclusion did not change any of the findings, I decided to keep all the participants to retain the statistical power.

centage of people defined acceptance as toleration was that they probably thought Syrian refugees could not be truly accepted. Therefore, even when they seemed to be accepted, they were probably perceived to be only tolerated. Furthermore, considering that the sample in Study 2 involves individuals who hold high prejudice towards Syrian refugees (mean ratings of warmth on the feeling thermometer = 30.25 out of 100, mean ratings of threat = 4.86 out of 7), 24.5% of them defining acceptance as discrimination seems strange. However, as evident from the comments they left in the elaboration task, they thought accepting a Syrian refugee and giving him a job was discriminatory towards “the Turkish citizens”. A total of 16 participants among the 28 who defined the acceptance scenario as either toleration or discrimination made a comment with the gist being that the scenario included reverse discrimination and that it was not fair to Turkish citizens who were unemployed. This is in line with the finding that being concerned for ingroup’s interests decreases support for affirmative action (Lowery et al. 2006) and with Opatow’s argument (1997) about how majority group members may resort to limiting the scope of justice in a way that only includes ingroup members when affirmative action is perceived unfair and threatening (Lima-Nunes, Pereira, and Correia 2013).

Table 4.1 Distribution of single-word definition options across scenarios in Study 2.

			Definition options			Total
			Toleration	Discrimination	Acceptance	
Scenarios	Toleration	Within group %	32.2 %	30.5 %	37.3 %	100 %
	Discrimination	Within group %	5.7 %	77.4 %	17 %	100 %
	Acceptance	Within group %	32.7 %	24.5 %	42.9 %	100 %
Total			23.6 %	44.1 %	32.3 %	100 %

#### 4.2.2 Attitudes towards the Experience

I performed a one-way ANOVA to investigate the between-group differences in attitudes towards the experience in the scenarios. Mean differences conveyed that the scenario in the acceptance group was rated the most favourably ( $M = 4.15$ ,  $SD = 1.76$ ), followed by the scenario in the toleration group ( $M = 3.90$ ,  $SD = 1.86$ ). The scenario in the discrimination group was rated the least favourably ( $M = 2.74$ ,  $SD = 1.45$ ). After the ANOVA yielded a significant result [ $F(2, 154) = 10.181$ ,  $p < .000$ ], I performed post hoc tests which revealed that there was a significant difference between the discrimination group and the toleration group ( $p = .001$ ), and also between the discrimination group and the acceptance group ( $p < .001$ ). Toleration group and the acceptance group did not significantly differ from each other on attitudes they elicited ( $p = .736$ ). These findings reveal that in a high threat context

targeting a devalued minority, toleration seems to be evaluated more like acceptance than discrimination.

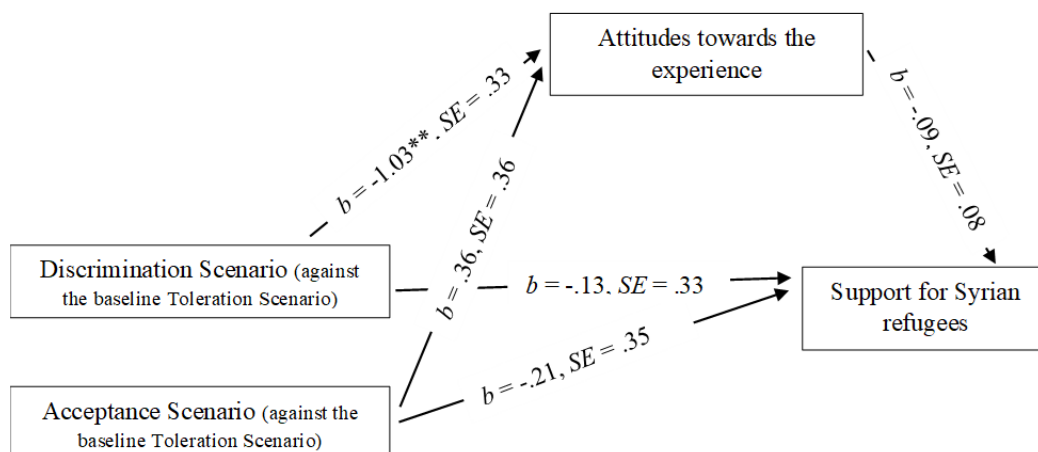
### 4.2.3 Support for Syrian Refugees

The toleration, discrimination and acceptance scenarios did not lead to different levels of support towards Syrian refugees across participants [ $F(2, 150) = .120, p = .887$ ]. This pattern might be the result of a built-up prejudice towards Syrian refugees, which makes it hard for people to show sympathy at this point even though they read about a Syrian refugee being discriminated against.

### 4.2.4 Mediation by Attitudes towards the Experience

I performed a mediation analysis (see Figure 4.1) using Process Model 4 in SPSS, to test whether support for Syrian refugees is driven by specific attitudes endorsed towards the experiences in the scenarios. However, I did not observe any indirect effect in this specific context (indirect effect of discrimination scenario against the baseline of toleration scenario,  $b=0.09, SE=0.10, 95\% CI [-0.11, 0.31]$ , indirect effect of acceptance scenario against the baseline of toleration scenario,  $b=-0.03, SE=0.06, 95\% CI [-0.21, 0.05]$ ).

Figure 4.1 Mediation by attitudes towards the experience in the relationship between scenarios and support for refugee rights. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .





## 5. STUDY 3

### 5.1 Method

#### 5.1.1 Participants and Procedure

For this between-subjects study, I collected data from 206 undergraduate students of majority status (heterosexual 93 men and 113 women,  $M_{age} = 21.92$ ) in exchange for extra credit for one of their courses at a private university in Istanbul, Turkey. After providing their consent, participants filled out a demographics questionnaire in which they answered questions about their age, sex, gender, sexuality (to confirm their majority status), income, political orientation, and attitudes towards certain outgroups. The rest of the procedure exactly followed Study 2.

#### 5.1.2 Materials

##### 5.1.2.1 The vignettes

The scenarios I used in Study 3 were the same as Study 2 except that I changed the target person to a homosexual man from a Syrian refugee.

##### 5.1.2.2 Measures

I used the exact same measures as in Study 2. Reliabilities of attitude and support scales were  $\alpha = .931$ , and  $r = .765$  respectively.

## 5.2 Results and Discussion

The results of Study 3 is presented in a comparative manner by addressing the results of Study 2 as well.<sup>10 11</sup>

### 5.2.1 Categorization of the Experience

As can be seen in Table 5.1 below, participants had varying degrees of agreement depending on the scenario they were presented [ $X^2(4, N = 206) = 152.674, p < .001$ ]. When options were presented as single-word definitions (toleration, discrimination, or acceptance) with no clear explanation of the construct, a high level of disagreement appeared among the participants, particularly in the toleration scenario, with almost half of the participants attributing this experience to discrimination. While the percentage of participants who chose to define the toleration experience as toleration is quite low and similar to Study 2 (32.2%), the percentage of those who defined it as discrimination is much higher and of those who defined it as acceptance is much lower (37.3% of participants attributing toleration targeting Syrian refugees to acceptance and only 16% of participants attributing toleration targeting LGBTI to acceptance). This shows that in a low threat context where the outgroup is of higher value (mean ratings of warmth = 76.93 out of 100, mean ratings of threat = 1.52 out of 7), it was easier to recognize the discriminatory component in toleration.

Furthermore, the participants in Study 3 were much more likely to detect discrimination as 98.6% did so.<sup>12</sup> Whereas only 77.4% defined the discrimination experience as discrimination in Study 2 when it was directed to Syrian refugees. This shows that discrimination is a clearer construct compared to toleration as the majority of the participants agreed on its definition. However, even discrimination can be defined and evaluated differently in different intergroup contexts, since some participants did not choose to attribute discrimination to the incident in the high threat context,

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<sup>10</sup>I tested the strength of ingroup identification, social dominance orientation, frequency of positive/negative contact, and perceived threat as moderators, however, the interaction effects did not reach significance. Therefore, I omit these variables from further discussion.

<sup>11</sup>Gender was a significant predictor of perceived threat in this specific context ( $F(1, 204) = 13.783, p < .001$ ). Men were significantly more threatened by LGBTI people ( $M_{threat} = 1.82$ ) in comparison with women ( $M_{threat} = 1.28$ ).

<sup>12</sup>I considered if the higher levels of agreement when the concept is explained might be due to a difference between the levels of education between these two groups, as I used a community sample in Study 2 and a student sample in Study 3. However, participants in the community sample were almost as educated as participants in the student sample (education in the community sample  $M = 3.91, SD = 0.67$ , on a scale out of 5 which represented a graduate degree). Therefore, the level of education did not explain this result.

which is in line with previous research (West et al. 2022). Finally, in the acceptance group, 80% of the participants defined the experience as acceptance, whereas 5% defined it as toleration and 15% even defined it as discrimination. These results show that the greatest level of disagreement emerged regarding the experience of toleration, which was seen to be more similar to ‘discrimination’ rather than ‘acceptance’ in this low-threat context.

Table 5.1 Distribution of single-word definition options across scenarios in Study 3.

			Definition options			Total
			Toleration	Discrimination	Acceptance	
Scenarios	Toleration	Within group %	34.7 %	49.3 %	16 %	100 %
	Discrimination	Within group %	0 %	98.6 %	1.4 %	100 %
	Acceptance	Within group %	5 %	15 %	80 %	100 %
Total			14.1 %	56.3 %	29.6 %	100 %

### 5.2.2 Attitudes towards the Experience

I performed a one-way ANOVA to investigate the between-groups differences in attitudes towards the experience in the scenarios. Mean differences conveyed that the scenario in the acceptance group was rated the most favourably ( $M = 4.90$ ,  $SD = 1.81$ ), followed by the scenario in the toleration group ( $M = 3.05$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ). The scenario in the discrimination group was rated the least favourably ( $M = 1.72$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ ). After the ANOVA yielded to a significant result [ $F(2, 203) = 73.464$ ,  $p < .000$ ], I performed post hoc tests which revealed that all the multiple comparisons across groups were highly significant ( $p < .001$  for all combinations). These results show that on a scale that measures positivity, acceptability, justness and morality of an experience, toleration was perceived to be more favourable than discrimination, but less favourable than acceptance.

When studies 2 and 3 are compared (analyzed together<sup>13</sup>), acceptance is rated more favorably in a low threat context ( $M = 5.01$ ,  $SD = 1.84$ ) in comparison with a high threat one ( $M = 3.94$ ,  $SD = 2.00$ ) ( $t(107) = 2.90$ ,  $p = .005$ ), and discrimination is rated less favorably in a low threat context ( $M = 1.53$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ) than in a high threat one ( $M = 2.74$ ,  $SD = 1.45$ ) ( $t(122) = -5.43$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Finally, toleration was rated more favorably when it targeted a Syrian refugee ( $M = 3.73$ ,  $SD = 2.03$ ) than an LGBTI person ( $M = 3.02$ ,  $SD = 1.60$ ) ( $t(132) = -2.27$ ,  $p = .025$ ). These

<sup>13</sup>It should be noted this comparison is not ideally reliable. As these were two different studies, participants were not randomly assigned to the compared groups. Also, sample characteristics were quite different (student vs community samples), which could likely confound the results. I still wanted to include this analysis in order to give the reader an idea, however, a future study that is specifically designed to test this research question is needed.

results show that attitudes towards negative experiences such as discrimination can be less unfavorable and more acceptable when these experiences target devalued and threatening minorities, in comparison with valued and nonthreatening ones. Also, higher sensitivity on behalf of the majority group members might be observed while evaluating toleration when it targets a valued, non-threatening minority group. It should be noted that I have made these comparisons after establishing that warmth towards the relevant outgroups in both studies were significantly different from each other. Warmth towards Syrians in Study 2 ( $M = 30.25$ ,  $SD = 30.25$ ) was significantly lower than warmth towards LGBTI in Study 3 ( $M = 76.93$ ,  $SD = 25.73$ ) ( $t(365) = 15.96$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Perceived threat was also significantly lower in Study 3 in relation to LGBTI ( $M = 1.52$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ) in comparison with Study 2 in relation to Syrian refugees ( $M = 4.57$ ,  $SD = 2.24$ ) ( $t(365) = -17.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ), however as perceived threat was measured after the participants read the vignettes, basing the comparisons on warmth can be a more reliable method (warmth was measured initially, right after the demographics questionnaire). I have not manipulated perceived threat in these studies, however, the scenarios I presented may have increased perceived threat for some participants (e.g. reading about a Syrian refugee being accepted in Study 2).

### 5.2.3 Support for LGBTI

I performed another one-way ANOVA to look at the differences across groups in the amount of support for LGBTI rights the scenarios evoke in the participants. The analysis led to a significant result [ $F(2, 203) = 5.78$ ,  $p = .004$ ], and the toleration group ( $M = 6.24$ ,  $SD = 0.89$ ) did not significantly differ from the discrimination group in the amount of support the scenarios elicit ( $M = 6.26$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ,  $p = .990$ ). This shows that toleration was perceived by the participants to be similar to discrimination. On the other hand, the scenario in the acceptance group ( $M = 5.71$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ) led to significantly less support than both the toleration and the discrimination scenarios ( $p = .010$  and  $p = .008$ , respectively). This decline in support in the acceptance group might be reflecting a conceptualization on behalf of the participants that LGBTI members were already accepted, which would mean they did not need much support, in comparison with the groups in which they were shown to be subjected to discrimination or toleration.

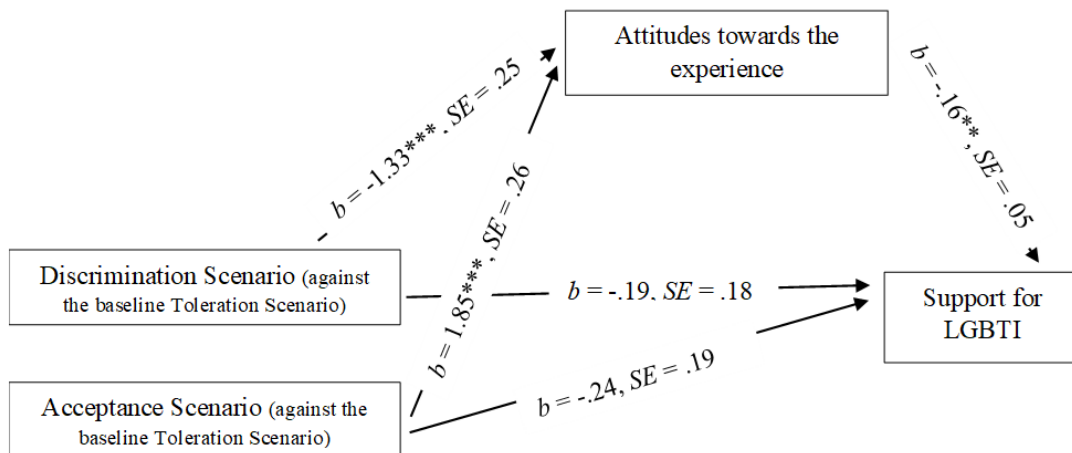
It should be noted that reading about the discriminatory treatment Syrian refugees were exposed to did not evoke higher support in the participants which is likely an indication that eliciting sympathy in high threat contexts might be more difficult

than in low threat ones.

### 5.2.4 Mediation by Attitudes towards the Experience

I performed a mediation analysis (see Figure 5.1) using Process Model 4 in SPSS, to test whether there is a mediation by attitudes towards the experience in the relationship between scenarios and support for LGBTI rights, in other words, to see if support for LGBTI rights is driven by specific attitudes endorsed towards the experience in the scenario. I observed a significant indirect effect, which eliminated the direct effects (indirect effect of discrimination scenario against the baseline of toleration scenario,  $b=0.21$ ,  $SE=0.08$ , 95% CI [0.07, 0.37], indirect effect of acceptance scenario against the baseline of toleration scenario,  $b=-0.29$ ,  $SE=0.11$ , 95% CI [-0.53, -0.09]). Hence, I concluded that the participants in the acceptance group showed less support for LGBTI rights through more positive attitudes towards the experience in the scenario, which depicted an LGBTI person being accepted by majority members. Similarly, participants in the discrimination group showed higher support for LGBTI rights through less positive attitudes towards the experience in the scenario, which showed an LGBTI person being discriminated against based on his sexual orientation.

Figure 5.1 Mediation by attitudes towards the experience in the relationship between scenarios and support for LGBTI. \* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p<.01$ , \*\*\* $p<.001$ .



## 6. STUDY 4

In Study 4, I ran a preregistered experiment<sup>14</sup> and manipulated perceived threat among self-reported Christians in the UK against Muslims through the survey company Prolific<sup>15</sup>. This experimental manipulation helped me more clearly identify the causal influence of perceived threat in defining and evaluating the toleration of minorities among the majority group members. Study 4 serves as a replication of Study 1 in the UK context, considering that Study 1 was initially planned as an experimental study. However, Study 4 differs from Study 1 in the sense that in the current study, the script I gave the participants included both an out-of-context description of toleration and a real-life example in which a Muslim man was being tolerated. By adopting this multi-method approach, I aimed at tackling toleration thoroughly, without being restricted to a single case of occupational context (which might have been a limitation of Studies 1-3).

I hypothesize that (1) participants in the experimental condition where I induced threat would tend to define Muslims' toleration more as acceptance and less as discrimination, (2) they would evaluate toleration to be a more positive experience compared to the participants in the control condition, (3) and they would report less support for Muslims' rights through more positive attitudes towards toleration, as perceived need for support should decrease.

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<sup>14</sup>[https://osf.io/b74dk/?view\\_only=85f02fd2fd9749bca206252124857d26](https://osf.io/b74dk/?view_only=85f02fd2fd9749bca206252124857d26)

<sup>15</sup>I initially aimed to manipulate perceived threat in the Turkish context among the heterosexual majority from the community sample against LGBTI. However, I could not manage to increase threat against this outgroup, meaning, my manipulation failed. Therefore, I did not include that study in this thesis in order to save space. I speculate that the failure of my manipulation could be due to heterosexual identification not being very strong or central among the majority group members, unlike identities based on race, ethnicity, or religion.

## 6.1 Method

### 6.1.1 Participants and Procedure

I collected data from 150 participants who identified as Christians (111 females, 37 males, 2 non-binary,  $M_{age} = 41.24$ ) through a survey platform in the UK (Prolific). After providing their consent, participants filled out a demographics questionnaire in which they answered questions about their age, gender, income, political orientation, religiosity level, warmth towards their ingroup (Christians) and certain outgroups including Muslims. Subsequently, they were given a short script either about how Muslims' values were incompatible with those that of Europe (to increase perceived threat) or an unrelated script about agriculture in the UK depending on the condition they were in. Following manipulation, they were asked to read a script in which I gave them a brief description and an example of toleration and asked to provide their definition of the experience (choosing from the answer options of toleration, discrimination, and acceptance), as well as rating its favorability. They also gave their answers to several scales both before and after the manipulation. Finally, they were debriefed in detail and thanked for their participation.

### 6.1.2 Materials

#### 6.1.2.1 The threat manipulation

I manipulated perceived threat with a short script through which I conveyed the message that Muslims' values and morals were incompatible with the progressive values of Europe and that Muslims want for the social structure in the UK to be changed in a way to accommodate Muslim people and wish to be more strongly represented in the UK in the near future (adapted from Pavetich and Stathi 2021, see in the Appendix).

#### 6.1.2.2 The toleration script

After the manipulation, I provided participants with a brief text that includes a description of toleration (without a title for the construct, as this was expected from the participants) and an example that depicts an incident in which a Muslim man was being tolerated (see the Appendix for the text).

### **6.1.2.3 Measures**

The response scale for all items ranged from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree) unless otherwise stated.

#### **6.1.2.3.1 Manipulation check**

Manipulation check was achieved by asking participants two questions as “How much threat do you think Muslim people pose to your country’s values?” and “How harmful do you think Muslims are for Western morals and values?” (1-Not at all, 7-Very much) ( $r = .84, p < .001$ ).

#### **6.1.2.3.2 Definition of the experience.**

Participants were first asked to choose a single-word definition for the construct they were presented. They were asked “How would you define this situation?” and chose from the options of “A) Toleration, B) Discrimination, and C) Acceptance,”. Subsequently, I asked, “How would you explain this situation?” and provided clearer answer options which consisted of brief definitions of the same constructs as “A) Not appreciated but nevertheless accepted, B) Not appreciated and not accepted, and C) Appreciated and accepted,”.

#### **6.1.2.3.3 Attitudes towards toleration**

Attitudes towards toleration were measured the same way as in previous studies asking how positive, acceptable, just, and moral the situation was ( $\alpha = .95$ ).

#### **6.1.2.3.4 Support for Muslims**

Support for Muslims was measured with two items as “Muslims should have the same rights and protection as non-Muslims in the UK,” and “Muslims should be protected against the discrimination they are exposed to,” ( $r = .82, p < .001$ ).

## **6.2 Results and Discussion**

### **6.2.1 Manipulation Check**

First, I performed a t test to check the effectiveness of the manipulation. I compared the perceived threat levels of the experimental ( $M = 3.39, SD = 1.74$ ) and control ( $M = 2.54, SD = 1.53$ ) groups, and showed that they were significantly different from each other ( $t(146) = 3.16, p = .002$ ). I then proceeded to test my main hypotheses



about the impact of perceived threat on the definition and evaluation of toleration.

### 6.2.2 Categorization of the Experience

A total of 56% of the participants in the control condition chose to define the toleration experience as discrimination, whereas this number dropped to 36% in the experimental condition where I experimentally induced threat ( $X^2(2, N = 150) = 6.04, p = .049$ ) (see Table 6.1). As hypothesized, this finding indicates that when people perceive a higher level of threat from an outgroup, their sensitivity towards the potentially negative intergroup experience decreases, and they tend to define ambiguous situations as discrimination less. Contrary to my hypothesis, an increase in perceived threat did not lead to a profound increase in participants' tendency to define the toleration experience as acceptance. Rather, the percentage of participants defining the experience as toleration increased from 34.67% to 50.67%, yielding to a stronger agreement with my conceptualization of the toleration experience.

Table 6.1 Distribution of single-word definition options across conditions in Study 4.

		Definition options			Total	
		Toleration	Discrimination	Acceptance		
Condition	Experimental	% within condition	50.7 %	36 %	13.3 %	100 %
	Control	% within condition	34.7 %	56 %	9.3 %	100 %
Total			42.7 %	46 %	11.3 %	100 %

### 6.2.3 Attitudes towards the Experience

I showed that people tended to define toleration as discrimination less when their threat levels were increased. Furthermore, I showed that participants in the experimental condition rated the toleration experience to be more favorable (more positive, acceptable, just and moral) ( $M = 2.91, SD = 1.70$ ) in comparison with those in the control condition ( $M = 2.21, SD = 1.28$ ),  $t(148) = 2.85, p = .005$ . This finding indicates that being tolerated seems like a better treatment for a minority group when the members of the majority group perceive higher levels of threat due to the minority. Higher perceived threat decreases sensitivity and makes it less likely that majority group members would find toleration as problematic. Meaning, I found support for my hypothesis that higher levels of perceived threat would lead participants to evaluate toleration more favorably.

#### 6.2.4 Support for Muslims

I performed a t test to check whether the manipulation led to an increased level of support for Muslims. However, I showed that participants in the experimental condition endorsed similar levels of support for Muslims ( $M = 5.99$ ,  $SD = 1.29$ ) as those participants in the control condition ( $M = 6.20$ ,  $SD = 1.30$ ),  $t(148) = -1.01$ ,  $p = .314$ . It should be noted that participants in both conditions endorsed substantially high levels of support for Muslims which can be an indication of growing tolerance of minorities in the UK (Kelley, Khan, and Sharrok 2017; Rubin et al. 2014).<sup>16</sup>

#### 6.2.5 Mediating Role of Attitudes towards the Experience in the Link between Perceived Threat and Support

I also hypothesized that higher levels of perceived threat would lead to less support for Muslims through more favorable attitudes towards toleration. The view of being tolerated as a reasonably positive experience should decrease the perceived need for further support. In line with my hypothesis, higher levels of threat led to more favorable attitudes towards toleration, and favorable attitudes towards toleration in turn led to less support for Muslims (indirect effect of threat on support for Muslims,  $b = -.08$ ,  $SE = .04$ , 95% CI  $[-0.17, -0.02]$ ).

Overall, this experimental study revealed the potentially hampering effect of perceived threat on identifying minority group members' experiences. When majority group members perceived higher levels of threat from Muslims, their sensitivity tended to decrease, and they evaluated a Muslim man being tolerated in a more positive light. This finding might have profound implications as I also demonstrated that more favorable attitudes towards toleration ultimately led to less support for the minority group's rights.

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<sup>16</sup>Participants indicated higher than average levels of warmth towards Muslims on the feeling thermometer ( $M = 68.79$ ,  $SD = 26.63$ ).

## 7. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Intergroup toleration has substantial implications for societies that are culturally diverse (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019). Although it has been treated as a positive phenomenon in the social psychology literature (e.g. Brewer and Pierce 2005), it has significant negative influences on the minority group members (similar to the effects of discrimination), as it creates identity threat by undermining their self-esteem and sense of control (Bagci et al. 2020; Cvetkovska, Verkuyten, and Adelman 2020). To bring a different perspective to those studies that investigated how minority group members' well-being is affected by being tolerated, the set of studies in this paper adopted the perspective of the majority group members and examined how they perceived, defined, and evaluated the toleration of the minorities. The main aim of these studies was to see whether the majority group members are aware that a certain negativity might be embedded in toleration, as it implies that minorities are being "put up with" (Vogt 1997; Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019). In addition to this, I investigated whether majority group members' definition of and attitudes towards toleration depended on the perception of threat from the relevant outgroup. After the initial study (Study 1) in which I showed that definitions and evaluations of toleration became more positive as perceived threat increased, I extended this research question by conducting additional studies in two different contexts targeting two different outgroups. In Study 2, I showed that participants often conflated toleration with acceptance and had little tendency to attribute this experience to discrimination. In Study 3 which targeted LGBTI individuals, contrary to the findings of Study 2, I showed that participants often conflated toleration with discrimination and evaluated it more negatively. With the fourth and final study, I demonstrated that participants in the experimental condition in which I experimentally increased the level of outgroup threat tended to evaluate the experience of toleration significantly more positively when compared with participants in the control condition. Taken together, people were more sensitive about the toleration of a valued minority group member in a low-threat context and tended to see their toleration as a more negative experience (i.e., discrimina-

tion). Whereas, when toleration was experienced by a devalued minority in a highly threatening context, people tended to see toleration as a more positive experience (i.e., acceptance) and evaluated it more positively.

Furthermore, the results showed that agreement across participants was generally low when it comes to how to define toleration, in comparison with how to define discrimination and acceptance. Especially, when they were asked to choose from single-word options (i.e., toleration, discrimination, or acceptance), the ambiguity was greater in comparison with when I provided brief definitions of these constructs as the response options (i.e. not appreciated but nevertheless accepted, not appreciated and not accepted, or appreciated and accepted). However, these findings indicate that educating people about toleration is possible by communicating its meaning more clearly. Although this may not be sufficient in order for the majority group members' to show sympathy or offer support (as I showed that perceived threat is an important motivation to turn a blind eye to minority's suffering), this could be used as an initial step for perspective taking.

This might also mean that majority group members' construal of negative minority experiences might be changed by how this experience is framed. Hence, further research may examine how changing the framing of these experiences affects the justification of negative intergroup experiences. I generally attempted to use an objective definition of tolerance driven from current research literature, yet portraying toleration as a 'good' and 'necessary' act compared to highlighting its condescending nature may result in different perceptions. This may also have implications for how policy makers, for example, who might frame the toleration and acceptance of refugees and immigrants in a country in different ways, in order to increase or decrease the support of particular minority groups. Additionally, it may be important to further include the responses of the minority groups. Here, I only concentrated on how a member of the majority group treated a member of the minority group, without referring to the resulting minority response. However, for instance, majority group members may favor toleration more if the target outgroup member readily accepts being tolerated. Hence, toleration may be justified even more if the target outgroup is satisfied by this treatment. This might have been further questioned by also examining how majority group members would react to toleration when their ingroup is particularly targeted, as previous research has shown majority group members to describe discrimination more broadly when it targets their ingroup (West et al. 2022). Hence, the current study may be extended by adding various other conditions whereby toleration might be evaluated as a more or less positive intergroup phenomenon.

While this research represents the first systematic investigation of minority toleration from the perspective of majority group members, it has some limitations. One methodological drawback was the fact that across Studies 2 and 3, I changed both the sample and the target group in order to achieve intergroup contexts that differ in terms of attitudes. However, this still creates a challenge to interpreting the effects I showed and poses the question that whether it was the change in target minority or the change in the sample characteristics that resulted in the observed outcomes. To resolve this issue, I compared Studies 1 and 3 as both of them consisted of a student sample. The target outgroup was Syrian refugees in Study 1 (high-threat, student sample) and LGBTI individuals in Study 3 (low-threat, student sample). Analyzing the data from these two studies together, I showed that a similar effect was still persistent. Meaning, when I targeted Syrian refugees, attitudes towards toleration was still significantly more positive, in comparison with when I targeted LGBTI, even though both samples consisted of university students.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, further research is needed to show what caused the differences across the two contexts.

Another potential limitation of these set of studies could be the way I operationalized and represented those minority experiences, namely toleration, discrimination and acceptance, in the scenarios. I used Verkuyten and colleagues' (2020) approach and designed the scenarios based on an attitude-behavior matrix, depending on their valence. The toleration scenario, for instance, included an incident in which the attitude of the perpetrator was negative despite the positive behavioral intention. Based on the same rationale, the acceptance scenario included an incident in which both the attitude and behavior were positive. However even in the acceptance scenario, I made a reference to the target's identity. This might have caused some participants to see some level of bias in the acceptance scenario as well. As such, some participants in the data attributed the acceptance scenario to discrimination in the low-threat LGBTI context. I believe this is still informative though, as this sensitivity was much more prevalent in the low-threat context when I targeted LGBTI among a supportive student sample, and was minimal in the high-threat context when the target was a Syrian refugee. Still, using other methods and representing these experiences in different ways, maybe without explicitly indicating attitudes or naming social groups, would be elucidative.

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<sup>17</sup> Attitudes towards toleration was significantly more positive in Study 1 when the target was a Syrian refugee ( $M = 3.74$ ,  $SD = 1.59$ ), when compared with Study 3 which included an LGBTI target ( $M = 3.05$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ),  $t(287) = -3.26$ ,  $p = .001$ . However, this analysis is not ideally reliable as the two sample sizes were quite different in magnitude. The sample in Study 1 consisted of 214 participants, whereas the part of Study 3 that I could use in this analysis consisted only of 75 participants. The reason for this decrease in Study 3's sample size in this analysis is the fact that I divided participants into three categories in that study and only one-third were given the toleration scenario (the rest were given either a discrimination or an acceptance scenario). This issue should be tackled properly in a future study, however, I still wanted to share the limited insights I could get from this comparison to give the reader an idea.

Finally, there was an incompatibility between the targets in the scenarios and subsequent questions in the sense that only one member of the outgroup was targeted in the scenarios, whereas the entire group was targeted in the subsequent questions. The reason why this difference might pose a potential problem is that it may limit participants' ability or willingness to generalize the situation to all members of the outgroup. For instance, they might think that the Syrian refugee in the scenario was qualified enough to get the job, however, not all Syrian refugees are like that. Therefore, although the specific incident in this case might be classified as discrimination, it would not be classified as such when concerning all Syrian refugees. Hence, the issue of specificity might influence how participants choose to define the experiences.

How toleration is understood has important implications as it shows that the meaning and positivity of certain minority experiences and the attributions majority people make depend on the intergroup context and the level of threat it elicits. Perceived threat serves as an important motivation to justify the negative treatment of minorities (Lima-Nunes, Pereira, and Correia 2013; Pereira, Vala, and Leyens 2009; Pereira, Vala, and Costa-Lopes 2010; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2015). Especially, since toleration stands in between an unrestricted discrimination and a respectful acceptance (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019) in terms of its positivity, it has the potential to serve as a convenient tool for those who are prejudiced towards an outgroup but cannot act on their prejudice due to egalitarian norms or political correctness (Crandall and Eshleman 2003; Gaertner and Dovidio 1986; Lima-Nunes, Pereira, and Correia 2013). Furthermore, toleration's kind façade might give the majority group a morally superior image while asserting their sovereignty (Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman 2019), which can be an additional appeal of utilizing toleration. However, toleration has substantial negative implications not only for the minority's psychological well-being (Bagci et al. 2020; Cvetkovska, Verkuyten, and Adelman 2020), but also for a genuine improvement towards societal equality as I have demonstrated that evaluating toleration favorably leads to lower levels of support for the relevant minority group and their rights. Hence, these studies are influential in informing policy decisions in not promoting toleration as a solution to inequality as they imply that tolerance is not a solely positive approach, and is evaluated more positively by those who feel threatened by the relevant minority.

Future studies should also make cross-cultural comparisons on this effect. Cultures differ in their concerns around societal equality along with their attitudes towards diversity. For instance, I observed in Study 4 that average support endorsed for Muslims in the UK was quite high (above 6 out of 7), whereas support endorsed for Syrian refugees was considerably lower in the Turkish samples (around 3.5 out of 7). This pattern might be reflecting a difference in genuine concerns around (or ed-

ucation about) discrimination, as well as higher endorsement of political correctness in the UK sample, which is not common in Turkey when compared with Western cultures. These cross-cultural differences might lead to divergent attitudes towards a similar treatment across different settings. Also, a word of caution about studying toleration cross-culturally might include considering different meanings it might have across different cultures. For instance, in the surveys in Turkish, I chose to use the word *müsamaha* to represent toleration, as it has a meaning much closer to forbearance. However, if I had chosen the word *hoşgörü* (which still include a condescending tone, but in a milder format), it might have indicated a more positive attitude in which prejudice is potentially lower, which is a conceptualization of toleration that I did not aim for in the current set of studies. While the findings about threat effects on the evaluation of toleration was largely replicated across cultures, in Turkey and the UK, it is still possible that cross-cultural discrepancies in the meaning of toleration exist. Future research should consider such differences while designing future studies.

In summary, across four studies, I demonstrated the ambiguities and the subjectivity involved in the understanding of toleration from the eyes of the majority group. Along with previous findings which demonstrated how subjective the perception of discrimination is (West et al. 2020), I indicated a similar and even more evident trend in the understanding of toleration. Furthermore, I have identified threat involved in the relevant context to be a major precursor of how people would legitimize the toleration of minorities, and tested my hypotheses in different intergroup contexts in different cultures. Future research is needed to better understand the conditions under which toleration is perceived as a more benign or malign act.

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## APPENDIX A

### A.1 Study 1

#### A.1.1 Additional Materials

##### A.1.1.1 Attitudes towards the outgroup

I measured the attitudes participants held for certain groups with a feeling thermometer (possible ratings of warmth ranging from 0 to 100) (Esses, Haddock, and Zanna 1993). I included LGBTI people, Kurds, Syrian refugees, homeless and disabled people as the target outgroups.

##### A.1.1.2 Ingroup identification

How strongly participants identify with their ingroup was measured with two items (adapted from Verkuyten and Yildiz 2006) to investigate if this affects how they perceive minority experiences. A sample item is ‘My national identity is an important part of who I am,’.

##### A.1.1.3 Social dominance orientation

SDO was measured with the four-item short version of the scale developed by Pratto and colleagues (2013). A sample item from this scale is “Superior groups should dominate inferior groups,”. SDO was measured as it is an important construct that influences how people approach intergroup relationships (Halabi, Dovidio, and Nadler 2008). It might lead to a more positive perception of toleration without recognizing how it could be detrimental to the minority, as people high on SDO tend to perceive less inequality in society (Guimond et al. 2010; Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington, and Ho 2017; Thomsen, Green, and Sidanius 2008).

#### **A.1.1.4 Contact frequency**

Prevalence of contact with the outgroup was measured as a moderator, as previous research suggests that more contact with outgroup members increases the motivation for alleviating inequality through decreased legitimacy of status differences (Di Bernardo et al. 2021). I asked participants how often they engaged in positive and negative contact with LGBTI people with two items. The response options for these questions ranged from 1 = Never to 7 = All the time.

#### **A.1.1.5 Common ingroup identification**

Common ingroup identification was measured with a single item as “Turks and Syrian refugees belong to a common group,”, with answer options ranging from 1 = Completely disagree to 7 = Completely agree.

#### **A.1.1.6 Perceived religious similarity**

Perceived religious similarity was measured with a single item as “Turks and Syrian refugees resemble each other in terms of their religion,”, with answer options ranging from 1 = Completely disagree to 7 = Completely agree.

### **A.1.2 Additional Analyses**

Correlations among the variables can be found below (Table A.1).

Right-wing ideology predicted stronger ingroup identification ( $b=0.329$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and higher social dominance orientation ( $b=0.131$ ,  $p=.012$ ). Perceived religious similarity led to the endorsement of more positive attitudes toward Syrian refugees ( $b=0.265$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and this effect was mediated by a sense of common ingroup identification,  $b=0.132$ , 95% CI [0.074, 0.204]. Furthermore, social dominance orientation led to decreased perceived religious similarity ( $b=-0.327$ ,  $p=.001$ ), which in turn predicted lower common ingroup identification (indirect effect of SDO on CII,  $b=-0.128$ , 95% CI [-0.212, -0.051]). Higher self-reported positive contact with Syrian refugees predicted lower levels of perceived threat ( $b=-0.430$ ,  $p<.001$ ), which in turn predicted more negative attitudes towards the toleration experience (indirect effect of positive contact on attitudes towards the toleration experience,  $b=-0.094$ ,



Table A.1 Means, standard deviations, and correlations among variables of interest in Study 1.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Correlations										
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
1.Positive contact	1.75	1.03	-										
2.Negative contact	2.49	1.74	.175**	-									
3.Perceived religious similarity	3.30	1.67	.226**	-.005	-								
4.Common ingroup identification	2.46	1.56	.320**	.084	.476**	-							
5.Attitudes towards Syrian refugees	2.81	1.28	.408**	-.110	.346**	.446**	-						
6.Perceived threat	5.07	1.42	-.313**	.175**	-.261**	-.360**	-.609**	-					
7.Support for refugee rights	4.29	1.61	.189**	-.105	.316**	.379**	.421**	-.349**	-				
8.Attitudes towards toleration	3.74	1.59	-.017	.115*	-.065	-.122*	-.123*	.181**	-.126*	-			

Note. \*Significance at the 0.05 level, \*\*Significance at the 0.01 level.

95% CI [-0.185, -0.020]). On the other hand, higher self-reported negative contact with Syrian refugees predicted higher levels of perceived threat ( $b=0.143$ ,  $p=.010$ ), which in turn predicted the endorsement of favorable attitudes towards toleration (indirect effect of negative contact on attitudes towards the toleration experience,  $b=0.027$ , 95% CI [0.002, 0.061]).

Although SDO did not predict how participants chose to define the experience directly [ $X^2(2)=.269$ ,  $p=.874$ ], it had a significant effect on the definition through the mediation of favorable attitudes towards the experience ( $b=0.040$ , 95% CI [0.004, 0.081]).

Attitudes towards Syrian refugees as well predicted how participants defined the toleration experience [ $X^2(2)=6.731$ ,  $p=.035$ ]. Those who endorsed more positive attitudes towards Syrian refugees were less likely to define the experience as acceptance in comparison with defining it as toleration,  $b=-0.332$ ,  $SE=.131$ ,  $p=.011$ , 95% CI [0.555, 0.928]. However, once included in the model simultaneously with perceived threat, the effect of both variables became nonsignificant due to multicollinearity ( $r = -.609$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

Attitudes toward the experience was another significant predictor of how participants defined toleration [ $X^2(2)=67.806$ ,  $p<.001$ ]. Unsurprisingly, participants who endorsed a more positive attitude towards the experience in the vignette were more likely to choose the option “acceptance” to define it,  $b=0.652$ ,  $SE=.130$ ,  $p<.001$ , 95% CI [1.487, 2.477], and those who endorsed a negative attitude towards the experience were more likely to choose the option “discrimination”,  $b=0.438$ ,  $SE=.141$ ,  $p=.002$ , 95% CI [1.174, 2.044] (all compared with the baseline category of toleration).

High social dominance orientation predicted more favorable attitudes towards the toleration experience ( $b=0.208$ ,  $p=.095$ ,  $p=.030$ ), and this effect was mediated by an increase in perceived threat,  $b=0.044$ , 95% CI [0.002, 0.100].

Ingroup identification, common ingroup identification, religiosity, religious similarity, SES, positive and negative contact, and attitudes towards Syrian refugees did not predict attitudes towards the experience. However, warmth towards Syrian refugees measured on a simple feeling thermometer did predict attitudes towards the experience, with people who felt more positively about the refugees endorsing more negative attitudes towards their toleration ( $b=-0.012$ ,  $p=.006$ ). Finally, political orientation almost reached significance. People who were on the right side of the spectrum (1-extreme left, 10-extreme right) tended to evaluate the toleration experience more favorably ( $b=0.143$ ,  $p=.051$ ). Furthermore, political orientation interacted with ingroup identification to predict attitudes towards the experience

( $b=-0.087$ ,  $SE=0.039$ ,  $p=.027$ , 95% CI [-0.163, -0.010]). At high levels of identification, political orientation did not predict attitudes towards the experience (at identification = 5,  $b=0.023$ ,  $SE=0.090$ ,  $p=.803$ , 95% CI [-0.156, 0.201]). On the contrary, at low levels of identification, political orientation strongly predicted positivity towards the toleration experience depicted in the scenario (at identification = 1,  $b=0.369$ ,  $SE=0.130$ ,  $p=.005$ , 95% CI [0.113, 0.624]).

High levels of perceived threat negatively predicted the endorsement of support for Syrian refugees' rights ( $b=-0.395$ ,  $p<.001$ ). This effect was mediated by a decrease in positive attitudes towards Syrian refugees,  $b=-0.229$ , 95% CI [-0.355, -0.119]. Furthermore, attitudes towards Syrian refugees themselves predicted how much participants supported their rights. Those participants who felt more positively about Syrian refugees endorsed higher support ( $b=0.531$ ,  $p<.001$ ), as well as those who reported higher warmth on the feeling thermometer ( $b=0.034$ ,  $p<.001$ ). When I included these two variables in the model simultaneously, only warmth was still a highly significant predictor ( $b=0.029$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

Positive contact frequency ( $b=0.295$ ,  $p=.005$ ), religious similarity ( $b=0.305$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and common ingroup identification ( $b=0.392$ ,  $p<.001$ ) predicted higher support, and common ingroup identification acted as a mediator in the relationship between religious similarity and support given to Syrian refugees,  $b=0.136$ , 95% CI [0.074, 0.208]. Conversely, high ingroup identification ( $b=-0.220$ ,  $p<.001$ ), SDO ( $b=-0.626$ ,  $p<.001$ ), right-wing ideology ( $b=-0.159$ ,  $p=.033$ ), and high religiosity ( $b=-0.200$ ,  $p=.004$ ) predicted lower support for refugee rights.

## A.2 Study 2

### A.2.1 Additional Materials

Additional materials are the same as in Study 1, except that I measured perceived threat with two items as “Syrian refugees living in Turkey constitute a threat to our lifestyle,” and “The values and beliefs of Syrian refugees are not compatible with our values and beliefs.”

### A.2.2 Additional Analyses

When I provided an explanation for the experience, instead of a single word definition (Table A.2), answers aligned more strongly with the meanings I intended for all three experiences to have. This time, 62.7 % of the participants defined the experience as ‘not being appreciated but nevertheless accepted’, only 3.4 % percent defined it as ‘not appreciated and not accepted’, and still a 33.9 % defined it as being appreciated and accepted with only a slight decline which shows that for some participants the toleration experience is truly sufficiently positive, and the misattribution with the single words is not due to the lack of understanding the meaning of the construct.

The percentage of participants defining the discrimination scenario as ‘not appreciated and not accepted (discrimination)’ increased to 86.8 % from 77.4 %. However, there was still a small amount of disagreement. Furthermore, the percentage of participants defining the acceptance scenario as being ‘appreciated and accepted (acceptance)’ increased to 71.4 %, whereas the percentage of those defining it as being ‘not appreciated and not accepted (discrimination)’ decreased to 2 %. The percentage of those defining it as being ‘not appreciated but nevertheless accepted (toleration)’ declined from 32.7 % to 26.5 %. This was only a small decline with many participants still choosing the option ‘not appreciated but nevertheless accepted’ which is in line with my speculation that some people do not think Syrian refugees can ever be truly accepted.

I tested whether there was an interaction effect between perceived religious similarity and assigned scenario on attitudes towards the experience. Those participants who thought Syrian refugees and Turks were similar in terms of their religion had more negative attitudes toward the experience in the discrimination scenario (for high similarity participants  $M = 2.16$ , for low similarity participants  $M = 3.44$ ) and more positive attitudes toward the experience in the acceptance scenario (for high similarity participants  $M = 4.83$ , for low similarity participants  $M = 3.64$ ) [ $F(2, 151) = 7.654, p = .001$ ].

I selected the participants in the toleration group and performed a multinomial logistic regression to see if any of the variables predict how participants choose to define toleration. I showed that the strength of ingroup identification was significantly associated with how participants defined the experience on the question whose response options included an explanation ( $p = .004$ ). The likelihood of defining toleration as ‘not appreciated but still accepted’ (converging with the meaning I intended) was higher in comparison with the likelihood of defining it as ‘appreciated and accepted’, for participants who strongly identify with their national identity,  $b=0.39$ ,

Table A.2 Distribution of definition options with explanations across scenarios in Study 2.

Scenarios	Toleration Discrimination Acceptance	Within group % Within group % Within group %	Definitions with explanations			Total
			Not appreciated but accepted	Not appreciated and not accepted	Appreciated and accepted	
			62.7 %	3.4 %	33.9 %	100 %
			5.7 %	86.8 %	7.5 %	100 %
			26.5 %	2 %	71.4 %	100 %
Total			32.9 %	30.4 %	36.6 %	100 %

SE=0.16, 95% CI [1.086, 2.011]. I speculate that those who score high on ingroup identification might be less likely to think that Syrian refugees could genuinely be accepted.

Also, the level of religiosity was significantly associated with how participants defined the toleration experience, this time on the question, which provided single-word definition options ( $p = .023$ ). The likelihood of choosing to define toleration as discrimination compared to acceptance was lower for those participants with high levels of religiosity,  $b=-0.57$ , SE=0.22, 95% CI [0.363, 0.875]. Those participants who were highly religious might value showing gratitude and, therefore, might have defined toleration as acceptance. In a similar vein, participants who are low on religiosity, meaning those who are more secular, might be more sensitive regarding societal issues, hence, might have tended to define toleration as discrimination.

Finally, experiences depicted in the scenarios did not lead to different levels of perceived threat [ $F(2, 150) = .197$ ,  $p = .822$ ] or differential attitudes towards Syrian refugees across participants in different groups [ $F(2, 154) = .156$ ,  $p = .856$ ].

### **A.3 Study 3**

#### **A.3.1 Additional Materials**

Additional materials are the same as in Study 2, except that I did not measure common ingroup identification, religious similarity, and religiosity in Study 3 as these constructs applied to the intergroup context with Syrian refugees more. Also, necessary adjustments on scale items were made from ‘Syrian refugees’ to ‘LGBTI’ as the target.

#### **A.3.2 Additional Analyses**

When I changed the single-word definitions with brief explanations (Table A.3), agreement levels across participants increased substantially. First, all the participants in the discrimination group chose the option ‘not appreciated and not accepted’, which was the brief definition I picked to reflect the discrimination experience. Also, the percentage of participants who chose to define the acceptance scenario as ‘not appreciated and not accepted (discrimination)’ dropped from 15 to 1.7. However, the percentage of those in the acceptance group who selected the

‘not appreciated but accepted (toleration)’ option increased from 5 to 16.7, probably because this group of participants supported the LGBTI quite a lot and were sensitive about the treatment they receive, therefore, they perceived an unappreciation even in the acceptance scenario. The percentage of ‘appreciated and accepted (acceptance)’ remained almost the same (80 % to 81.7 %).

The most notable change occurred in the toleration group, with many of the participants selecting the option ‘not appreciated but accepted (toleration)’, increasing the percentage from 34.7 to 81.3 in comparison with the answers given when I only provided a single-word definition. This shows that the degree of agreement across participants has increased when a brief definition of toleration was provided, compared to when only the word ‘toleration’ was present, which indicates that there is a confusion about the meaning of the word ‘toleration’. This has implications above and beyond, in the sense that it shows how I frame toleration can lead to very different conceptualizations in the recipients. When I compare the percentage of those who selected ‘appreciated and accepted’ to define toleration (10.7%), I see that it is much less than in Study 2 with Syrian refugees (33.9%). This shows that in a high threat context, a larger percentage of people insist on defining toleration as acceptance even with a clear explanation of the constructs present.

Table A.3 Distribution of definition options with explanations across scenarios in Study 3.

Scenarios	Toleration Discrimination Acceptance	Within group % Within group % Within group %	Definitions with explanations			Total
			Not appreciated but accepted	Not appreciated and not accepted	Appreciated and accepted	
			81.3 %	8 %	10.7 %	100 %
			0 %	100 %	0 %	100 %
			16.7 %	1.7 %	81.7 %	100 %
Total			34.4 %	37.9 %	27.7 %	100 %



## A.4 Study 4

### A.4.1 Additional Analyses

The significant difference across conditions disappeared once I provided clearer answer options that included short explanations of the concepts ( $X^2(2, N = 150) = .07, p = .966$ ) (see Table A.4). When provided with a definition, the majority of the participants chose to define the experience as toleration (around 65% in both conditions), and a smaller percentage defined it as discrimination (22.67% in both conditions). Note that, the trend in both the experimental and control conditions were quite similar when participants were given more information.

Table A.4 Distribution of definition options with explanations across conditions in Study 4.

Condition	Experimental	% within condition	Definitions with explanations			Total
			Not appreciated but accepted	Not appreciated and not accepted	Appreciated and accepted	
			66.7 %	22.7 %	10.7 %	100 %
	Control	% within condition	65.3 %	22.7 %	12 %	100 %
Total			66 %	22.7 %	11.3 %	100 %

## A.4.2 Manipulations

### A.4.2.1 Experimental condition

SOCIETY NEWS FEATURE

SNAPSHOTS|VOL21|10 JANUARY 2019

## Islam and the Western World

**Expert estimations: Islamic values prove to be extreme threat to Non-Muslim ideals**

**Ayla James** examines the interplay between social values of the Muslim world and Western world

Many Muslims actively oppose the modern values and norms held by non-Muslim Westerners. Islamic messages about morality are being spread by Muslim immigrants across Western nations. "Muslims in the West choose to challenge and reject the values of the countries that they reside in," said Dr. R. J. Stevens, head of the Global Values Council (GVC). "They are trying to establish a moral framework that is incompatible with humanitarian and egalitarian standards of the West. Certain traditional Islamic values that can be stagnant and degenerate are being promoted in the Western public sphere,".

Around 35 institutions such as mosques and Muslim-schools are opening across the UK every year, which is considered to pose potential threats to the development of infrastructure like hospitals and schools for non-Muslims.

Many Muslims promote Islamic values and practice and call their circles to abandon the secular morality which includes crucial elements of a Western civilization such as gender equality and freedom for all. "Most Muslims in the UK reported perceiving the secular morality and related education material their children are taught at schools as a threat to the religious continuity in their household," said B. Carla Jacobs, managing director of the Global Stability Initiative.



A recent poll conducted in 20 non-Muslim majority countries (including the UK, Europe, and America) found that a large majority of Muslim respondents felt that the presence of Islamic culture and morality should be increased as they do not match the population of Muslim immigrants in their respective countries. They claimed that Muslim presence in the Western world cannot and should not be denied, therefore, necessary adjustments in Western societies should be made in a way that they would manifest Islamic morals as well.

**Ayla James is a reporter for *Snapshots* based in London, UK.**

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## A.4.2.2 Control condition

AGRICULTURE WEEKLY

SNAPSHOTS|VOL21|12 OCTOBER 2021

### Agriculture industry in the UK

**Statistics & Facts**

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Agriculture and farming are vitally important for the United Kingdom as the sector constitutes a key supply source for the country's food consumption needs. As of 2020, approximately 71 percent of the total area of the United Kingdom was used as agricultural land and the agricultural sector contributed more than 9 billion British pounds in gross value added (GVA) to the national economy in that year.

#### Crop farming in the UK

With more than 4 million hectares of land area used for crops, the United Kingdom produces a variety of agricultural crops for domestic consumption, but also for global export. In 2020, wheat production in the United Kingdom was valued at approximately 1.5 billion British pounds, while fresh vegetable production reached around 1.61 billion pounds in value.

#### Livestock farming in the UK

The number of dairy cows in the United Kingdom has not fluctuated much in the last decade, hovering around 1.8 million dairy cows. The biggest number is mainly concentrated in farms in England, where the number of dairy cows reached 1.1 million in June 2020, compared to around 173 thousand



in farms in Scotland. Nationwide, the total amount of slaughtered cows and adult bulls was around 695 thousand adult cattle in 2020.

#### Exports from the UK

Exports of agricultural products has also been an important source of income in the UK, as agricultural product exports of were worth 623 million British pounds, only during the second quarter of 2016.

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### **A.4.3 The toleration Script**

Sometimes, there might be situations in which non-Muslim people have objections to Muslims' norms, practices and lifestyle, but do not intervene. Please read the script below which constitutes an example of this:

"Mohammad is a Muslim immigrant who recently moved to the UK. He started to look for a job and got called for an interview. After the interview, the interviewer asked him to fill out a form that included questions about him in case there was anything additional he wanted to share. Mohammad indicated in this form that he was a Muslim. A week later, he received an e-mail from the interviewer. The interviewer said: "We are happy to inform you that you got the job! Although Muslim community's values and lifestyles are not strongly appreciated here, our company has a policy to give everyone deserving a chance, so good luck"."

## **A.5 Study X**

### **LGBTI - Failed manipulation**

#### **A.5.1 Manipulations**

##### **A.5.1.1 Experimental condition**

"AR research group has been collecting data regularly on Turkey's societal values since 1992. According to the report they published in January 2022, society's profile and values have changed considerably in the past ten years. One of those profound changes was in the influence of LGBTI people on Turkish society. Alongside the substantial increase in the number of people who identify as homosexual or transsexual, an increase in the number of their supporters has also been observed. The report also foresees a potential change in Turkey's traditional values in the long run."

#### A.5.1.2 Control condition

“Agriculture is an important sector in Turkey due to its profound contribution to employment, exportation, and national income. The fact that Turkey’s geography and climate are suitable for agriculture makes it one of the few countries that are self-sufficient in terms of satisfying their food need. Production in agriculture especially increased following the planned period that started in 1963, and the growth rate, in the long run, is noted as 3.3%. These developments are due to the accumulation of knowledge in agriculture and irrigation techniques, agricultural pesticides, artificial insemination, therefore, is due to an increase in productivity.”