

**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

**Intergroup contact theory and Albanians' feeling temperature toward Greeks: ethnicity, fear, class, and exposure**

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**Abstract**

Intergroup contact theory claims that, under certain condition, contacts help to reduce prejudices among members of different contact groups. However, critics point to the endogenic relationship between contact and prejudices. In addition, the conditions under which the intergroup contacts would reduce prejudices warn against the inductive character of the theory, thus leaving it susceptible to frequent rejections. We test the contact theory for the first time in the Balkans. Considering the case of Albanians contacting Greeks after half a century communist isolation out of rational migration calculations rather than emotional preference leads us to argue that this is a case when contacts precede prejudice reduction. We find strong evidence that contacts have helped Albanians to feel warmer toward Greeks even though most of those contacts have happened in conditions of intergroup social inequalities. Moreover, we find that variables that operationalize Allport conditions either move to the opposite direction from the theoretical expectations or do not carry any statistical significance. Three control cases help to reinforce our findings: the effect of contacts on Albanians' feelings toward the Roma and Serbs, and on Albanian Kosovar feelings toward Greeks. We employ data that we gathered through public opinion surveys in several Balkan countries during summer 2011.

**Keywords**

contact theory, feeling temperature, Albanian isolation, migration to Greece, Allport conditions

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**Introduction**

Since its original formulation, intergroup contact theory has inspired an outstanding conceptual and empirical work in efforts to confirm the theory. Arguably, isolation of social groups generates hostile stereotypes for others and personal acquaintances help to reduce them. The basic tenets of the theory, as laid down by Allport (1954), hold that, under certain key conditions, contacts between different social groups can reduce intergroup prejudices. Those key conditions include equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law or custom. The theory's clout stems from its policy prescriptive promise, that is, if governments want to reduce intergroup hostilities, they normatively encourage and support intergroup contacts.

In spite of its persistent theoretical confirmation, the intergroup contact theory has not been immune of criticism. First, both its proponents and critics point to the unclear causal relationship between intergroup contacts and prejudices; do intergroup contacts affect the decrease of prejudices among the individuals of each group toward other groups and their members; or do those prejudices lead to or prevent intergroup contacts (Pettigrew 1998a; Forbes 2004)? Other vulnerabilities of the theory stem from the nature and interpretation of the variables involved, the strength of the relationship, the role of other variables, and the difference between attitudes and behavior (Forbes 2004). However, the most serious challenge to the intergroup contact theory comes from our common knowledge that social conflict occurs exactly among social groups that are in contact with each other. Unveiling this paradox in the case of ethnic

conflict, Forbes (2004) argues that researchers' failure to consider not only individual level but also aggregate level data has prevented our understanding of the causes of such paradox.

As an empirical limitation, we have observed that most of the intergroup contact theory tests its hypotheses on data collected within a single country.<sup>1</sup> In some other cases, research focuses on a single ethnic group in a foreign country (Chang 1973). Other authors have tried to explain the risky behavior of those Europeans who saved Jews under the Nazi (Oliner and Oliner 1988). Yet, to our knowledge, there is no significant research that has tested the intergroup contact theory with data collected at a cross-national level, and we know of no efforts to test it in the Balkans. Such a testing would offer an opportunity to observe personal and aggregate behavior different from other cases considered thus far. First, in Balkans, in more than one instance, prejudices against other ethnic groups have escalated to ethnic violence, ethnic cleansing and attempts to group extinction. Therefore, fear from ethnically different neighbors is not simply fear of assimilation, as Forbes (2004) puts it, but fear of extinction, as Kaufman (2001) argues. Balkan recounts of their neighbors' atrocities against them are unmistakably unified by the horror of foreign bayonets poking the abdomens of pregnant women, even though no one accepts that their own soldiers might have done the same to their neighbors.<sup>2</sup> National communism in Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia fueled ethnic hostilities against the neighbors, but such recounts of history persisted even in Greece. Most of the Balkan countries host ethnic minorities from another country, often of the same ethnic groups of the hostile neighbors. Therefore, it should come as no surprise the fact that those minorities are viewed as Fifth Columns and threats to national security.

Second, communist regimes isolated Balkan countries from each other and the rest of the world. Living in their towns and villages, even ethnic minorities were isolated from the rest of

their host countries. The advent of democratization from the early 1990s presented the Balkan population with increased exchanges among them, hence new perceptions for the self and others. Sometimes, new intergroup contacts—and the lack thereof—represented geographic and economic rationales rather than personal choices based on language and cultural affinity. The cases of Turkish citizens travelling through Greece to reach the Albanian coasts and sneak to Italy as well as the massive migration of Albanians to Greece are the best examples. Therefore, studying the causes of Albanians' feeling temperature toward Greeks becomes an outstanding opportunity to overcome the endogeneity problem between contacts and prejudices. If intergroup contact theory holds generalization sway, we should expect that Albanians feel warmer toward Greeks if they have met them. Other aggregate variables would help to take into account the negative effect of group fears in improving perceptions for the others. Three control cases would help to strengthen our confidence in findings from the original case: an explanatory model of Albanians' feeling temperature toward the Roma and Serbs, as well as Kosovar Albanians' feeling temperature toward Greeks.

Third, contributors of intergroup contact theory have hinted that we should expect a higher correlation between contact and prejudice reduction in cases of high level of intergroup hostility (Pettigrew 2010: 419). The Balkans represents a golden opportunity to test such a statement. And finally, going back to Allport's conditions under which contact can reduce prejudices, the Balkans satisfy few if any of those conditions and its ethnic groups seem not to meet each other in equal group status; nor do they build common goals; nor seem they willing for intergroup cooperation; nor authorities, law or custom seem enthusiastic for intergroup cooperation across ethnic lines. Hence, the Balkans would be a good opportunity to see whether Allport conditions are necessary, as he argued, or suggestive, as Pettigrew implies.

### **The promise of intergroup contact theory and its shortcomings**

The fundamental promise of intergroup contact theory is that more contacts between individuals belonging to antagonistic social groups (defined by culture, language, beliefs, skin color, nationality, etc.) tend to undermine the negative stereotypes and reduce their mutual antipathies, thus improving intergroup relations by making people more willing to deal with each other as equals. Living in isolation, groups tend to develop intergroup bias, a systematic tendency to evaluate one's own membership group (the in-group) or its members more favorably than a non-membership group (the out-group) or its members (Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis 2002). In a nutshell, more contact means less ethnic or cultural conflict, other things being equal (Miller 2002; Brewer and Gaertner 2001; Pettigrew and Tropp 2000; Pettigrew 1998a,b, 1971; Hamburger 1994; Amir 1976; Zajonc 1968; Works 1961; Allport 1954).

Contact theory has attracted enormous empirical work in social settings characterized by deeply divided societies. Initially, Allport (1954) drew mainly from research conducted in the United States. Until the 1990s, the contribution of American scholars remained limited in studying anti-Black prejudices (Cook 1984; Hamilton and Bishop 1976), and only recently turned their focus on other ethnic minorities (see Levin, Laar, and Sidanius 2003). Beyond the United States, intergroup contact theory has been employed to explain intergroup relations in a large variety of countries including Australia (Griffiths and Nesdale 2006), Western Europe (Tajfel ed. 1982), Europe (see the special issues of *Journal of Social Issues* edited by Zick, Pettigrew, and Wagner (2008: 223-430)), and South Africa (see the special issue of *Journal of Social Studies* edited by Finchilescu and Tredoux (2010: 223-351)), as well as relations among groups that differ from each other in other aspects.<sup>3</sup>

Recently, intergroup contact theory has been employed to explore effects of intergroup contacts in regions with violent ethnic conflicts. The work performed on the Northern Ireland conflict (Hewstone et al. 2006; Hewstone et al. 2004; Tam et al. 2008; Tausch et al.2007) has brought strong support for the hypotheses of the contact theory, and so has Sentama's (2009) work on the post-conflict Rwanda. However, to our knowledge, the theory has not been tested in the Balkans, and the special place that the region occupies in the studies of ethnic conflict begs for empirical work in that direction.

Critics of contact theory come from political science. Ideologies and the social norms that they produce assign stereotyped identities to members of other groups, and the nature of these social norms rather than interpersonal contacts make the difference between peaceful and *conflictual* relations (Jowit 2002; O'Leary 2002; McGarry and O'Leary 1995). This approach builds on a rational assumption and is supported by the widely known fact that most of the twentieth century's ethnic killings have been performed by states under strong rational motivations rather than irrational crowd hysteria (Chirot 2002: 6). The elite-led breakups of former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia serve as strong supports of this argument (Roskin 2002; Zimmerman 1996).

Our common knowledge tells that contending groups tend to live adjacent to each other and that contact between neighbors tend to breed conflict. Forbes (2004) explains this paradox with the lopsided individual-level view of social psychologists, and suggests a model that would take into account fears of and resistance to assimilations that groups exhibit against perceived or real threats from other groups.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, critics of the contact theory point to—and its contributors are aware of—the endogenic relationship between contact and prejudice; people tend to contact out-groups toward whom they nurture positive feelings and shun contacts with

out-groups toward whom they carry negative perceptions and stereotypes (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Forbes 2004; Voss, 1998; Wilson 1996; Herek and Capitanio 1996). Empirical work tries to resolve this issue either by using cross-sectional data and analyzing which path is stronger—in the studies of Van Dick et al. (2004), Pettigrew (1997), Powers and Ellison (1995), Butler and Wilson (1978) the path from contact to reduced prejudices is stronger. Alternatively, scholars might conduct longitudinal studies as the best way to resolve that problem (Pettigrew 1998)—in the case of Eller and Abrams (2003, 2004), Levin, van Laar, and Sidanius (2003), and Sherif (1966) longitudinal analysis show that optimal contact reduces prejudices over time (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

Those results come from analyzing cases when the two ethnic groups live in the same political entity and have multiple opportunities of interaction. However, there might be cases when ethnic groups live close to yet totally separated from each other. As many scholars who study the Balkans have pointed out, the Balkan people live close to each other, not with each other (Kaplan 2004; Roskin 2002; Brown 2001). Only now, after the end of the isolationist communist regimes, the end of the Yugoslav wars, and some liberalization of travelling throughout the region are the Balkan people contacting and exchanging with each other.

### **The merits of the case study**

Analyzing Albanian attitudes toward Greeks will be an outstanding opportunity to inquire attitudinal change of people with previous minimal contact but with current large social exchange among them. Albania's victory in September 2004 against then soccer European champion, Greece, was celebrated in Tirana with huge gathering of people and overnight spontaneous festivals on the streets of Albanian cities. Albanian migrants took the streets of

Greek cities and towns waving the Albanian flag and chanting ‘O sa mirë me qënë Shqiptar’ [It’s so great to be an Albanian]. Occasionally, they were confronted by Greek mobs, and one Albanian teenager was stabbed to death. The fact that Greece was then the European champion in power might have played a role for the Albanian exuberance, but many analysis pointed to decades, perhaps a century frustration against their mightier southern neighbors.

From 1990, hundreds of thousands of destitute Albanians have crossed the borders between the two countries and found job and residence in Greece. Almost all of them had to tackle the difficulties of illegal migration as well as the dehumanization that often comes with it. However, the Greek job market offered to the Albanian migrants many economic opportunities, and many seized them. But their vulnerable legal status often made Albanian migrants susceptible to abuse by both their employers and police. The practically permanent operation *Skupa* [the broom] used to ‘clean’ the streets of Greece from roaming migrants, and others were taken in their workplaces and homes and send to the Albanian border. However, by early 2000s, the Greek government decided to tackle this problem with legalization of foreign migrants, among whom the Albanians were an overwhelming majority.

Police activity in deporting Albanian migrants from Greece was more intensive during the periodic political crises between the two countries, and exacerbated during summer 1994 when the Albanian government accused Greece of having supported a Greek commando who, in April 1994, attacked an Albanian military post in village of Peshkëpi, only few kilometers from the Greek border, and killing one Albanian army officer and one recruit, as well as injuring several others and looting weapons from the arsenal. Other minor tensions between the two countries flare up every time Greece accuses Albania of mistreating its Greek minority or reporting inflated numbers of that minority, but also when Albanian politicians demand the

repatriation of the Albanian *Çam* population ethnically cleansed in June 1944 from their villages in Northern Greece.

Similar to other Balkan ethnic grudges, the contemporary volatile Albanian-Greek relations originate around the turn of the twentieth century when both ethnic groups were competing for the land previously under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Similar to other Balkans, both Albanians and Greeks complain that the European power game favored their neighbors at their expense. To make things worse, the Italian-occupied Albania served as a launching territory for the Italian invasion of Greece, October 1940, an act that prompted a Greek declaration of war to Albania—a legal act that Greece has not abolished yet, and which continues to spark discomfort among the Albanians even as we speak. Moreover, for most of its existence, the Albanian national-communism portrayed Greece as an imminent threat to Albanian's national sovereignty, and Albanian textbooks were filled with historical facts and lies about the history between the two countries.<sup>5</sup>

The Albanian bizarre communist isolation from the rest of the world cut contacts between Albanians and Greeks. A small Greek minority used to live isolated in the southern part of the country the same way most of the regions were isolated from each other—the Albanian communist regime tried to discourage contacts among people as it saw those contacts as potentially threatening to the regime. Moreover, since most of the villages inhabited by Greek minority rest near the Greek border, a special permission by security authorities were needed to visit them, and such permission was granted only to those who had strong reasons for such visits. But even when few members of the Greek minority worked in other parts of the country, they tended to appear as Albanian southerners rather than Greeks.

Thus, by the end of 1990s, all what Albanians knew about Greeks were the ‘historical injustices’ that the latter have allegedly caused to Albanians, but almost no personal contacts existed between the two groups. However, when the faltering Albanian communism could no longer protect the borders and tens of thousands of destitute Albanians invaded foreign embassies in Tirana and commercial sea carriers in the harbor of Durrës in desperate attempts to migrate to western countries, the largest part of them opted to cross the mountainous Albanian-Greek border. We argue that, rather than a systematic sympathy for Greece, the Albanian migration in that country rests on cost-benefit calculations and that those who migrated to Greece saw it as the most viable migration pattern. During the 1991 and 1992, after the Albanian police improved port security, crossing the Adriatic and Ionian seas to reach Italian coasts became very difficult, while crossing the long and loosely controlled Albanian-Greek border seemed a much more feasible project.

The continuation of Albanian migration to Greece for the rest of the 1990s can be explained with rationalist theories of migration, mainly those who find social networks as one of the most important factors that affect migration choices (Espinosa and Massey. 1997; Davis, Stecklov, and Winters 2001; Haug 2008). Academic work performed on the Albanian migration to Greece (King, Mai, and Dalipaj 2003; King, Mai, and Schwandner-Sievers 2005; Hatziprokopiou 2006; King and Mai 2011) shows that Albanian migrants in Greece come from every walk of life and every region of Albania, thus, we argue, proximity to the Greek border and some affinities to Greek culture due to Greek TV waves penetrating some of the Albanian southern towns cannot explain the entire Albanian migration to Greece. Many of the Albanian migrants to Greece came from overpopulated regions such as Fier, Lushnje, Berat, the capital city, Tirana, as well as Albanian northern regions. Nor did most of the Albanians hold cultural

similarities with Greece, and many of them met pressure to change their Koranic or Albanian ethnic names to Greek names. Many other Albanians used Greece to enter Italy, mainly by hiding inside the many carriers that sail from Greece to Italy, but we know no cases when Albanians who managed to migrate to Italy wanted to go to Greece.

Therefore, we can claim that much of Albanians' contacts with Greeks came from Albanian migration to Greece during the 1990s, and that the migration pattern was chosen based on rational calculations rather than warm feelings and sympathy for Greece; hence our argument that, to a large extent, contacts of Albanians with Greeks preceded their attitudinal change.

## **Methodology and data**

### *Methodology*

We test the intergroup contact theory with the case of effects that contact makes on Albanians' perceptions of Greeks through regression analysis of both personal and aggregate data, thus allowing us to control for group reactions arguably generated from intergroup contact. We employ as a dependent variable the feeling temperature of Albanians towards Greeks in the range between 0 and 100. Since this variable could take any value between these margins, we employ linear regression analysis.

We employ a range of independent variables that operationalize the response of whether or not someone has met a Greek, age, gender, residential site, education, the fact that someone might have migrated to Greece, the priority that respondents give to their country's EU membership, economic status and household economic performance during the last year as well as the religious affiliation of the respondents. Moreover, we control for Allport (1954) favorable conditions. First, we test his claim that intergroup contact reduces prejudices only if people from

different groups meet as equals, a claim that recently has been shown as unnecessary (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). We introduce a variable that represents the fact of migration to Greece. We know that such an encounter has been overwhelmingly lopsided in favor of Greeks. If Allport is right, then Albanians who have met a Greek while working as illegal immigrants in Greece might not be expected to nurture positive feelings toward Greeks.

We test the other conditions as well. We consider the EU membership as a common project between Albanians and Greeks; hence, if Allport is right, those Albanians who prioritize their country's EU membership should feel warmer to Greeks. In addition, we argue that Albanians' contacts with Greeks happen in the conditions of deep mistrust between both groups and mutual fears. During the last decades, leaders of both countries have only occasionally tapped on those fears, but certainly have done almost nothing to alleviate them. Therefore, if Allport is right, we should be able to observe no prejudice reduction/temperature rise in the Albanian feelings toward Greeks whatsoever.

Literature in social psychology has recently argued that the constraints normally in place, which limit intergroup bias to in-group favoritism, are lifted when out-groups are associated with stronger emotions (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears et al. 1998; Mackie and Smith 1998; Brewer 2001; Mummendey, Otten, Berger, et al. 2001). Meanwhile, some political scientists tend to place ethnic conflict on existential anxieties caused by fears of assimilation and perception of group extinction (Forbes 2006; Kaufman 2001). Therefore, it is easily conceivable how fear generates Balkan ethnic conflict. Abundant historical account and qualitative research has shed empirical light on such claim (Mulaj 2008), but this would be a good opportunity to test Forbes claim that fears of assimilation from larger and wealthier groups generate more prejudices against that group from members of the group that feels threatened.

*Data*

While Albania represent a valuable opportunity for extending research on people perception for other ethnic groups, the underdeveloped state of social research in the country makes gathering data harder. Albania does not contain established survey institutes and private polling organizations of the size and variety found in Western Europe and North America; nor do external organizations of that sort regularly employ people with the linguistic and cultural background to operate in Albania. External organizations such as Gallup do occasionally conduct surveys in the country by subcontracting to local groups such as NGOs or policy institutes, but social scientists generally find the associated costs to be prohibitive.

Similar to ethnic minorities in the rest of the Balkans, the Greek minority lives too much of an extent geographically and culturally isolated to a degree than found in even the most segregated industrialized societies. In order to find the proper variance, we conducted surveys in three parts of the country: in the southern region of Vlora we sampled the Albanian population with the most exposure to both Greek ethnic minority and mainland Greece; in Tirana we sampled a metropolitan population with both a moderate exposure to the Greek minority but also Greek business, politics and arts from the mainland Greece as well as members of the Greek minority who have chosen to develop socio-economic ties with the Albanian capital; and in the regions of Dibër and Kukës, both of them being in the geometrical opposite end of an imaginary diagonal line that would cross Albania from its southwestern Ionian shores to its northeastern mountains bordering Kosovo and Macedonia. Throughout this line running through the capital city of Tirana we are confident that the geographic distribution of our survey sample covers the potentially best sample frame. Indeed, as the sample itself shows, due to the high internal

mobility and the small size of the country, we have been able to interview people from all Albanian regions who have happened to be on the survey sites.

Conventional sampling methods are inappropriate for our specific research question. Telephone access and Internet usage are not systematically—and, until recently, in a politically relevant way—distributed across the population, so random-digit-dialing methods are not viable. As for door-to-door sampling methods, they are not feasible partly because residential patterns are complicated by the close proximity of single-family and multi-family dwellings, and partly because in most communities either the norms, the family structure, or suspicion of the state rules out approaching people in their homes. Conventional methods would create strong and systematic biases in the sample. For these reasons, we are representing here findings from the Three-Region Survey of Albanian Perceptions of Ethnic Minorities within the Seven-Country Survey of Balkan Perceptions of Ethnic, Racial and Social Divisions using trained interviewers. The survey combines a stratified design for selecting communities with non-probability methods for identifying individual respondents that were tailored to suit the living patterns found in each community. The stratification approach maximizes sample variation across the main explanatory variables: region of residence, ethnicity of respondent, socioeconomic class, age, religion affiliation, education, migration to Greece, political preferences, and likelihood to have contacted a Greek. The non-probability sampling within each community, on the other hand, attempts to approach as closely as possible the ideal of randomization, thus seeking a representative population on possible intervening variables.

The survey went into the field in the May of 2010, in the district of Vlora which large geographical stretch encompasses both populations with a relatively moderate exposure to both Greece and the Greek minority in Albania such as the one in the city of Vlora and the

**Table 1. Survey sites in Albania**

Country	Name	Alternate Name	Majority
ALBANIA	City of Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	Village of Akerni/Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	Village of Bishan/Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	Village of Borovjan/Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	Village of Novosele/Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	Village of Mifol/Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	Town of Delvina/Vlore		Albanian/Greek minority
ALBANIA	City of Saranda/Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	Town of Konispol/Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	Town of Ksamil/Vlore		Albanian/Greek minority
ALBANIA	Village of Mesopota	Μεσοπόταμο	Greek/Albanian minority
ALBANIA	Village of Munize/Vlore		Albanian
ALBANIA	City of Tirana		Albanian
ALBANIA	Town of Paskuqan/Tirane		Albanian
ALBANIA	Town of Kamez/Tirane		Albanian
ALBANIA	Village of Kashar/Tirane		Albanian
ALBANIA	Town of Burrel/Diber		Albanian
ALBANIA	City of Peshkopia/Diber		Albanian
ALBANIA	Town of Maqellare/Diber		Albanian
ALBANIA	City of Kukes/Kukes		Albanian
ALBANIA	Village of Kolesjan/Kukes		Albanian
ALBANIA	Village of Morin/Kukes		Albanian

surrounding villages; and populations with high exposure to Greece and Greek minority in Albania as is the case of the city of Saranda and the surrounding areas. While most of the cities, towns and villages in the region were inhabited only with Albanians, there is at least one village, Mesopotam, inhabited by a Greek majority, and some other towns and villages where the Greeks represent the minority of the population. Also, in May 2010, our team interviewed inhabitants in the northeastern Albanian regions of Dibër and Kukës, while it conducted surveys in the capital city of Tirana in June 2010. Table 1 includes the survey sites in Albania.

Although the specific approach of the Seven-Country Survey of Balkan Perceptions of Ethnic, Racial and Social Divisions to selecting respondents varied from community to community, according to the social patterns encountered in each place, certain traits of the interviewing remained constant. Every questionnaire was delivered in a face-to-face interview, with questions posed in the respondent's primary language by an interviewer of the same ethnic background. In the case discussed by this paper, the questionnaires were conducted in Albanian. The research teams dispatched to each community consisted entirely of university students trained by the authors, either in a UNYT research methods course or in an abbreviated 'survey methodology certificate' program designed specifically for recruits to this survey. Both sets of students received an introduction to systematic interviewing and to the concept of scientific sampling. They practiced filling out questionnaire forms efficiently, to prevent respondents from dropping off during the interview. They were instructed on how to avoid the negative effects of selection bias: by dressing professionally to elicit good responses, by approaching potential respondents in a fashion that would encourage their cooperation, and by practicing the phonetics needed to ask individual questions.

Members of the research team spread out within each city, town, or village to ensure maximum geographic dispersion. Typically interviewers traveled to a public place and, after taking up their posts, identified potential respondents using what in the American context is casually called "man on the street" interviewing—and among scholars referred to (even more derisively) as convenience sampling. The standard dismissal of this research design is so widespread, and the concern with potential selection bias when considering this method so severe, that it is worth explaining why we view the approach as the superior option given our research goals.

Despite skepticism for such methods when applied in the Western context, the research environment in the Balkans strongly favors conducting surveys in public spaces, and not simply due to the inefficacy of rival approaches. Rather, much of Balkan social life takes place in ‘the bazaar’—from village squares to town fountains to city parks or gardens, from highly trafficked downtown sidewalks to smaller shops or cafes—so a potential respondent will view a stranger’s approach in public places as acceptable if not natural. In many of the communities selected for our survey, the common practice is for families to promenade at dusk, unwinding after a busy day in anticipation of their nightly meal. Much of the population will be out and about during prime time. Far from resisting taking a survey during such times of relaxation, potential respondents typically enjoyed the diversion represented by a discussion of public affairs with young students from the nearby university. A public approach also obviates the anxiety that respondents might feel when approached by an educated stranger at their homes. Ironically, approaching respondents in their homes posed quite a different research burden when the interview subjects trusted the members of our student team. Some other times, interviewers could not conduct interviews efficiently because the expectations of Balkan hospitality required that respondents invite the student inside, offer them refreshment, and otherwise extend the conversation beyond sustainable limits. Simply put, awareness of the rhythms of Balkan life cautions a researcher against trying to transplant Western survey mechanisms to the region.

While participation in this public sphere is so widespread that ‘man on the street’ interviewing does not bring the sort of selection bias that it would in other industrialized countries, indeed arguably represents an ‘appropriate technology’ given Balkan community life, that does not mean we can dismiss other forms of bias that typically will emerge from a sample of convenience. Specifically, we had to train interviewers against selecting for the most

cooperative potential respondents and toward selecting a more representative sample. Interviewers dispatched to public areas would establish a rubric, typically to approach the third person encountered after each attempt to conduct an interview. Yet in some small and sparsely populated villages, they had to interview every person they encountered. Interviewing took place not only around twilight (roughly 6 pm – 9 pm), when most citizens are engaging in public life out of doors, but also in the morning (roughly 9 am – 12 pm) because those hours allow access to the one population that would be most poorly represented in the evening: Women with large families whose household duties might bind them to the home.<sup>6</sup>

The overall design of the Three-Region Survey of Albanian Perceptions on Ethnic Minorities within the Seven-Country Survey of Balkan Perceptions on Ethnic, Racial and Social Divisions therefore is, without a doubt, a non-probability sample that permits no straightforward analytical derivation of sampling error. At root, confidence in the results cannot be reduced to a simple number, and must derive from the combination of scientific principles and sensitivity to research context that informed the overall design. Our hope is that other scholars will appreciate the theoretical leverage provided by this survey, which sits at the border between the responsiveness of ethnographic research and the generality of large-n statistical research. It is as close to a stratified representative sample as we can imagine one collecting from these countries, certainly without the sort of exorbitant expenditure that few research questions could justify. Our approach allows us to expand the study of important substantive topics to places often missed because of their imperviousness to more comfortable and familiar research methods. Specifically, it gives us the valuable theoretical leverage provided by the Balkans for understanding the political psychology of ethnic divisions and finding out the factors that would help overcoming such rifts.

## Analysis

We begin with some descriptive statistics that show the effects of both socioeconomic factors and exposure to Albanians' perceptions toward Greeks. We measure those perceptions by a variable called *feeling temperature*, generated as a response to a specific question in our questionnaires, asking respondents about their feelings toward a certain specific group (in this case Greeks) in a range between 0 and 100 degree with 0 showing the most hostile perception and 100 showing the most friendly perception. Table 2 describes the mean of those temperatures for people with improved house incomes, stayed the same, or worsen in the course of the last year. An interesting trend appears: individuals from families with improved incomes tend to have in average lower feelings temperature for Greeks (29,096), with such temperatures slightly higher among those who claim that their household incomes remained steady (30,584). In turn, those who claim that their family incomes decreased have an even more positive view of Greeks (34,588), a behavior that might be explained with an effort to view migration to Greece as a way out of his family's deteriorating economic conditions.

**TABLE 2 - The effect of household income trends on the Albanians' feelings temperature toward Greeks**

	Observations	Mean	Minimum grade	Maximum grade
Improvement of house incomes	167	29,096 (32,040)	0	100
Same house incomes	226	30,584 (31,296)	0	100
Worsening of house income	228	34,588 (35,803)	0	100

Table 3 shows perceptions toward Greeks of Albanians coming from different socioeconomic strata. In this case we observed a steady trend toward warmer feelings with the switch from the lowest economic status to the highest, with the mean of feeling temperature going from the lowest 26,4 for those who identify themselves as very poor to 32,967 for those who identify themselves as poor to 30,753 for the middle class to 49,062 for those who claim to be rich with 65 for those who claim to be very rich.

**TABLE3 - The effect of class on Albanians' feeling temperature toward Greeks**

	Observations	Mean	Minimum grade	Maximum grade
Very rich	4	65 (44,347)	0	100
Rich	16	49,062 (37,781)	0	100
Middle class	447	30,753 (32,588)	0	100
Poor	123	32,967 (34,200)	0	100
Very poor	25	26,4 (35,576)	0	100

Therefore, it seems as the very rich and rich Albanian's warm feelings toward Greeks might suggest either/both their security and contacts with upper class Greeks while perceptions toward Greeks of very poor and poor Albanians might have been created either under hardship of migration or in total isolation from Greeks. This would be a question that we'll try to respond in the following of this paper.

Table 4 describes the correlation between meeting a Greek and the feeling temperature toward Greeks, with a significant difference for those who have met at least one Greek in their lives (35,704) and those who have not (22,138). Combined among them and statistics in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 , these findings show an interesting and suggestive trend. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show that Albanians’ contacts with Greeks come mainly from their migration to Greece. Even those who claim to have not migrated to Greece or not migrated at all respond that they have met at least one Greek in their lives. In that point, our questionnaire makes no distinction between Greeks of mainland Greece and Greeks from their ethnic minority in Albania. Therefore, while perceptions of many Albanians toward Greeks might come from migration experiences, other perceptions seem to have been created outside such experiences. This fact opens opportunities for comparing the effects of the quality of contacts on the feelings of those who claim to have met Greeks because of their migration to Greece and those who simply claim to have met Greeks without situational details.

**TABLE4 - The effects of contact on the Albanians' feeling temperature toward Greeks**

	Observations	Mean	Minimum grade	Maximum grade
Meet Greek	423	35,704 (-34,101)	0	100
Not meet Greek	189	22,138 (-29,499)	0	100

**TABLE 4.1 - The coincidence of Albanians meeting a Greek because of migration to Greece**

Meeting Greeks	Migrated to Greece		Total
	No	Yes	
No	88	4	92
Yes	128	74	202
<b>Total</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>294</b>

**TABLE 4.2 - The coincidence of Albanians meeting Greeks because of migration**

Meeting Greeks	Ever migrating		Total
	No	Yes	
No	80	12	92
Yes	100	102	202
<b>Total</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>294</b>

Table 5 brings three descriptive models. Model 1A builds a bivariate correlation between Albanians’ perceptions of Greek minority as a threat to Albania and their feeling temperature toward Greeks; Model 1B builds a bivariate relationship between Albanians’ perceptions of Greece as a threat to Albania and their feeling temperature toward Greeks; Model 1C establishes a bivariate correlation between Albanians’ religious beliefs (or lack thereof) with their feeling temperature toward Greeks.

As the Model 1A shows, the perception of Greek minority as a threat affects Albanians’ feeling temperature toward Greeks which in that case is an average of 21,525 compared to 34,197 when such fears do not exist. By the same token and very similarly, Albanians who view Greece as a threat to their country show an average feeling temperature toward Greeks of 20,873 compared to 34,993 of those people who experience no such fears (Model 1B).

Model 1C should not surprise us when it shows that the average temperature toward Greeks of respondents as they vary across religion affiliations. Our data provide a positive

**TABLE 5- Describing the feeling temperature of the Albanians toward Greeks**

	MODEL 1A Descriptive Model	MODEL 1B Descriptive Model	MODEL 1C Descriptive Model
Perception of Greece as threat		20,873 (29,750)	
Perception of Greece as non-threat		34,993 (33,316)	
Perception of Greek minority as threat	21,525 (28,334)		
Perception of Greek minority as non-threat	34,197 (34,103)		
Catholic			16,148 (25,484)
Eastern Orthodox			53,675 (3,970)
Muslim			27,88 (31,420)
Protestant			27,333 (20,526)
Non-religious			42,593 (34,589)
Affiliated to other religions			31,842 (30,784)
Observations	644	644	554

correlation between being an Albanian Christian Orthodox and experiencing relatively positive feelings toward Greeks (53,675). Adherents of other religious denominations include Protestants (27,33), Muslims (27,88), people affiliated to other religions (30,734) and non-believers (42,593) falling in between that range. What should come as a surprise is the low average feeling temperature displayed by Albanian Catholics (16,148). However, in this case, a multicollinearity problem inhibits us for learning whether there are religious affiliations or exposure the determinants of Catholic Albanians' perceptions for Greeks. Albanian Christian Orthodox live in the southern regions of the country, many of them in regions bordering Greece, hence they are more exposed to Greek people and culture. Differently, Albanian Catholics live in northwestern

and central-north parts of Albania and historically have communicated with Italy, Montenegro and some regions in Kosovo, but have been by and large isolated from modern Greece.

On the one hand, these statistics seem to undermine our case study. On the other hand, however, we never claimed that Albanians were totally isolated from Greece and one can easily perceive that, while physical contacts with Greeks during communist were almost null, even those contacts that Albanians had with Greek culture were determined by geography, not choice; people in southern regions of the country could access Greek radio and TV waves while people in Northern Albania could not. However, one can also claim that people in the south also harbored bitter historical memories from Greek military invasions during the WWI and WWII, while people in the north have only read about those invasions. The sum of feelings created by such contacts might help to explain the difference.

The regression models 2A and 2B (Table 6) capture our causal explanation of Albanians' perceptions toward Greeks. Model 2A includes both our key variables (economic status, perceptions of threat/fear, and exposure as well as the religious affiliation, education and age as control variables. The dependent variable is the feeling temperature that Albanians show toward Greeks. We use the 'Albanian Muslim' variable, an indication of the declared religion affiliation of the respondent, as a reference category. As the model shows, there are two key variables that affect heavily Albanians' perceptions for Greeks. The result received by the variable 'Met a Greek' seem to vindicate the contact theory because not only has it the high values of 12,615 in Model 2A and 14,469 in Model 2B per each single unit of the reference category, but in both cases it's  $p$  value is smaller than 0.001, thus showing a high statistical significance. By the same token, the perception of Greece as a threat brings a negative value of the coefficients, -12,392 for Model 2A and -10,522 for Model 2B. Both coefficients have a  $p$  value larger than 0.05, thus

**TABLE 6 - Explaining the feeling temperature of the Albanians toward Greeks**

Linear Regression	MODEL 2A Predictive Model	MODEL 2B Predictive Model	MODEL 3C Predictive Model
Met a Greek	12,615 *** (2,927)	14,469 *** (-3,035)	12,982 *** (-4,724)
Year born	-0,11 (0,093)	-0,152 (-0,096)	-0,114 (-0,144)
Years of education	0,19 (0,093)	0,347 (-0,401)	1,402 * (-0,658)
Trend in household incomes	1,334 (1,685)	1,389 (-1,783)	6,803 * (-2,777)
Perception of Greece as threat	-12,392 *** (3,008)	-10,522 *** (-3,252)	-2,709 (-5,128)
Perception of Greek minority as threat		-5,871 (3,548)	-11,964 * (-5,364)
EU as political priority			-2,011 (-1,489)
Migrated to Greece			10,693 * (-4,965)
Catholic	-9,063 (6,496)	-10,801 (6,852)	-18,133 (-10,548)
Eastern Orthodox	22,337 *** (3,970)	22,5 *** (4,020)	19,28 *** (-6,106)
Protestant	7,37 (17,980)	5,865 (17,865)	3,344 (-30,820)
Non-religious	7,84 (17,978)	6,47 (6,881)	-7,034 (-10,418)
Affiliated to other religions	2,176 (7,698)	-2,453 (8,739)	-13,833 (-12,795)
Constant	233,484 (183,961)	314,635 (189,994)	219,419 (-282,676)
Observations	545	504	230
Adjusted-R <sup>2</sup>	0,013	0,016	0,19

NOTE: All models use the post-stratification weights provided with the survey data. Standard errors reported in parentheses: \*\*\* p < .01 \*\* p < .05 \* p < .1

indicating that it is highly unlikely that we have these values accidentally. However, there is a key variable for which we do not receive as much of empirical support as we wanted: while the betterment of household incomes shows the feeling temperature toward Greeks to increase by 0,19 and 0,347 for Models 2A and 2B respectively, the lack of statistical significance for those coefficients makes us cautious toward the risk of having those values appearing only as a

snapshot of the data rather than showing any trend of them consistently affecting people's feelings toward Greeks.

We control for a number of control variables, namely the religious affiliation of the respondent, their age and education. Of these, only being a Christian Orthodox confidently affects—in this case positively—Albanians' feelings toward Greeks. Age seems to affect negatively Albanians' feelings toward Greeks while education seems to affect them positively. Yet, none of the other coefficients bears the necessary statistical significance as to make us confident in asserting them as a trend rather than an accidental observation. This continues to be the case with Catholics who seem to be negatively inclined toward Greeks; Protestant (7,37 and 5,865 for Models 2A and 2B respectively); and those who are not affiliated with any religion (7,84 and 6,47 for Models 2A and 2B respectively). Only the effect of 'other religions' on Albanians' feelings toward Greeks takes different directions in Model 2B compared with Model 2A (2,176 for Model 2A and -2,453 for Model 2B).

Model 2B has an additional key variable: Albanians' perceptions of the Greek minority as a threat to the country. While we should expect a strong multicollinearity between that variable and Albanians' perception of Greece as a threat to their country, the latter maintain its significance even if it drops in value. The 'Perception of Greek minority as threat' variable takes, as we expected, a negative value, but it carries no statistical significance, which shows that, in the conditions of Albanians' perceptions of Greece as a threat to their country, many people are able to sort apart the Greek minority and isolate those perceptions only to mainland Greece. This behavior suggests a stronger bond between the Albanian majority and the Greek minority of Albania than between Albanians and mainland Greeks.

Model 3C tests two of the Allport conditions. First, by adding the variable ‘Migrating to Greece’, it directly tests the relevance of the claim that the equal social status between encountering groups is a condition for the reduction of prejudices among them and inequality among those groups is likely to increase the prejudices. Second, by testing feeling temperature toward Greeks of the Albanians who prioritize their countries’ membership to the EU, we indirectly test Allport’s claim of the necessity that the encountering groups harbor common goals. If the Allport condition holds, then those Albanians should feel warmer to Greeks since Greece is an EU member country. One negative effect of introducing these two variables needs to be mentioned: our sample drops from 504 to 230 respondents since many people did not respond or responded ‘I don’t know’ to these questions. After a thorough investigation, we were not able to find any systematic reason why people did not respond to those questions; hence we are confident that no selection bias has crept up on our sample.

This model brings some interesting developments: first, it keeps almost intact the high positive impact that meeting a Greek has on Albanian’s feeling temperature (correlation coefficient value of 12,982); second, by the statistical significance of the coefficients, it gives us confidence that variables ‘Years of education’ and ‘Trend in house incomes’ significantly impact Albanians’ feeling temperature toward Greeks. The coefficient value of another variable that captures the effects of prioritizing Albania’s EU membership on Albanians’ feelings for Greeks takes a negative direction (-2,011) but its lack of statistical significance erodes our confidence on the relevance of its correlation coefficient. Third, the positive value of the correlation coefficient of the ‘Migrated to Greece’ variable (10,693) and its statistical significance supports Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2006) claim that the Allport condition of having groups contact each other as equal as a prerequisite for prejudice reduction might not be necessary. Our findings show that, even

though the destitute Albanians who migrated to Greece found themselves in disadvantageous social conditions compared to the much wealthier Greeks, contacts have helped reduce their prejudices toward Greeks.

### **Three control cases**

Models 3A and 3B in Table 8 explain the effect of some socioeconomic factors on Albanians' feeling temperature toward the Roma and Serbs, while Model 4 explains the effects of those factors on Kosovar Albanians' feeling temperature toward Greeks. The Roma minority in Albania is not related to any home state, the Serbian minority is practically insignificant in numbers, and Kosovo represents a totally different sociopolitical and demographic setting compared to Albania. All these models bring evidence in support of our argument. Again, in all these cases, being an Albanian Muslim serves as a reference category.

Analyzing Models 3A and 3B, we observe that Albanians' contacts with both Roma and Serbs bring positive coefficients for the respective correlation coefficients (16,095 and 8,263). However, we see that the increase in years of education brings a positive correlation coefficient with the Albanians' feelings toward Serbs (1,052), and it holds statistical significance, but the coefficient is negative—albeit very small in value—when it comes to their perceptions toward the Roma (0,024), even though it does not hold any statistical significance. These findings can be explained with the sympathy that the more educated Albanians have for Serbian contribution in science, art, culture, and sports. In addition, it shows that, all things equal, more education might help against ethnic hatreds, but might not help much against racial hatreds. In addition, the perception of both Roma and Serbs as threats to Albania correlate negatively with Albanians'

**TABLE 7 - Explaining the feeling temperature of the Albanians toward the Roma and Serbs**

Linear Regression	MODEL 3A Predictive Model	MODEL 3B Predictive Model
Met a Roma	16,095 *** (3,233)	
Met a Serb		8,263 *** (2,947)
Year born	0,115 (0,107)	0,0223 (0,091)
Years of education	-0,024 (0,451)	1,052 *** (0,381)
Trend in household incomes	1,442 (1,960)	0,146 (1,673)
Perception of Serbia as threat		-7,71 ** (3,758)
Perception of Serbian minority as threat		-10,254 * (5,425)
Perception foreign threats to Albania	-1,539 (1,316)	
Perception of Roma minority as threat to Albania	-12,757 (15,413)	
Catholic	-4,891 (7,429)	7,408 (6,264)
Eastern Orthodox	11,591 *** (4,602)	15,997 *** (3,890)
Protestant	-25,432 (19,664)	-4,219 (16,904)
Non-religious	25,059 *** (7,468)	14,761 *** (6,535)
Affiliated to other religions	-8,986 (10,017)	-10,435 (8,542)
Constant	-209,481 (211,799)	47,918 (179,545)
Observations	496	493
Adjusted-R <sup>2</sup>	0,08	0,09

NOTE: All models use the post-stratification weights provided with the survey data. Standard errors reported in parentheses. \*\*\* p < .01 \*\* p < .05 \* p < .1

feeling temperatures to these groups (-12,757 and -7,71 for Serbia proper and -10,254 for Serbian minority in Albania), but only in the case of Serbs and Serbian minority the correlation coefficient holds statistical significance. And finally, those who declare themselves as Eastern Orthodox and non-religious tend to feel warmer toward both Roma and Serbs (11,591 and

15,997 in the first case and 25,059 and 14,761 in the second case) and all these coefficients are statistically significant. The correlation coefficient values for Protestants and those who adhere to other religions all take negative values for both ethnic groups, while for Catholics those values are negative only for the Roma. However, the latter, like the former, lacks statistical significance.

Table 8 shows the predictive Model 4 that explains the impact of contact, age, the trend of household incomes, perception of Greece as a threat, and religion on Albanian Kosovars toward Greeks. We should keep in mind that most of the Albanian Kosovars feel themselves as an extension of the Albanian ethnonation, hence often they perceptions to Greeks reflects both their discontent with Greek support to Serbia in their conflict with the latter, and their perception of Greece as a threat to mainland Albania's national security. Second, differently from mainland Albanians, Albanian Kosovars do not migrate to Greece, and their contacts with Greeks might come mainly from their contacts with the Greek KFOR troops in Kosovo and/or Greeks who worked for the UN administration of Kosovo UNMIK, and the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX). In all these cases, Albanian Kosovars perceive Greeks as being Serb supporters. As the model shows, all the correlation coefficients are small, but our key variable, 'Meet Greek' has a much higher value (6,861) and is statistically significant. As it is expected, another variable, 'Perception of Greece as threat', deeply affects people's feeling temperature toward Greeks, with its correlation coefficient taking a negative value (-16,641) and being statistically significant. Again this model undermines the Allport condition that necessitates groups working together on the same project to reduce prejudices. It is clear that Albanian Kosovars and Greeks do not work together on the same project; on the contrary, they work together in mutually exclusive projects, but intergroup contact still helps to improve temperature feelings among the Albanians toward Greeks.

**TABLE 9 - Explaining the feeling temperature of the Kosovar Albanians toward Greeks**

Linear Regression	MODEL 4 Predictive Model
Met a Greek	6,861 ** (3,159)
Year born	0,02 (0,016)
Years of education	0,161 (0,432)
Trend in household incomes	-1,306 (1,895)
Respondent ever migrated	-1.568 (3,050)
Respondent's family ever migrated	1,784 (3,033)
Perception of Greece as threat	-16,641 *** (5,800)
Catholic	3,82 (7,484)
Eastern Orthodox	(dropped)
Protestant	(dropped)
Non-religious	-1,491 (15,021)
Affiliated to other religions	6,13 (21,016)
Constant	-18,549 (208,301)
Observations	442
Adjusted-R <sup>2</sup>	0,015

NOTE: All models use the post-stratification weights provided with the survey data. Standard errors reported in parentheses.

\*\*\* p < .01 \*\* p < .05 \* p < .1

## Conclusions

Our efforts aimed at falsifying the contact theory in conditions never tested before. The focus of this paper was to test the contact theory in the Balkans. Specifically, we inquired into the effect

of contacts on Albanians' feelings toward Greeks. Our findings turned out to be consistent with the contact theory as we find strong evidence that show warmer feelings succeeding intergroup contact.

Yet, what is most important, we found no need for any of the Allport conditions. According to one of Allport condition, that is the dependence of the prejudice reduction on equality between the encountering groups, we find strong positive impact of intergroup contact to feeling temperature of the Albanians who have migrated to Greece, albeit that migration has put them in a significantly disadvantaged position compared to Greeks. In addition, even though those Albanians who prioritize their country's membership to the EU should consider Greeks as partners in a common goal, hence feel warmer to them, this is not the case. And finally, it is clear that Albanians of Kosovo and Greeks do not share any common project. On the contrary, their political projects diverge diametrically: the Albanian Kosovars want the international recognition of their country and the Greek government has vowed not to recognize Kosovo. Yet, again, those Albanian Kosovars who have met Greeks feel warmer to them.

As for the social norms supporting intergroup contact, these are almost inexistent in the Balkans. Politicians who seem tough against the neighbors have more chances to succeed, and the media continues to fuel ethnic divisions. The Balkan countries and different ethnic groups continue to carry disbeliefs and nurture prejudices against their seemingly unknown neighbors. However, our findings offer hopes that they can be converted to prescriptive suggestions: contact reduces prejudices and contact in the Balkans is always better than its absence. Moreover, while Allport conditions can facilitate prejudice reduction through contacts, those conditions might not be necessary.

Our cases were limited to the effect of contact on positively reducing Albanians' prejudices against Greeks. We found empirical support for contact theory's claims, and also generalized by analyzing the effects of contact on reducing Albanian prejudices against the Roma and Serbs. In addition, empirical evidence remains consistently supportive even in the case of the Albanian Kosovars' feelings toward Greeks. However, one might legitimately ask whether or not there might be something idiosyncratic feature in the Albanian culture that leads them toward better view of all the out-groups that they meet. In order to respond this concern, more research that focuses on other Balkan ethnic binaries (Montenegrin vs. Serbs, Muslim Bosnians vs. Serbs, Croats vs. Serbs, Bosnian Muslims vs. Croats and vice versa) need to be analyzed. Obviously, further research is needed to fulfill that task.

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, M.R. Islam and M. Hewstone (1993) analyze relationships between the minority Hindu and majority Muslim in Bangladesh; Voci and Hewstone (2003) have studies intergroup contacts and prejudices toward immigrants in Italy; Wagner and Machleit (1986) and Wagner, Hewstone, and Machleit (1989) have tested the theory within the German setting; Ben-Ari and Amir's (1986) data are from Israel; Bornman and Mynhardt (1991) discuss a case of intergroup relations in the apartheid South Africa, while the June 2010 issue of *Journal of Social Issues* draws from the intergroup contact theory in post-apartheid South Africa; Harris (1972) and Kirk (1993) considers the polarization between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland; McKay and Pitman (1993) explain the factors that determine Anglo-Australian stereotypes of the Vietnamese in Australia; Brooks research concerns London population; Taylor and Bellerose (1986) tested the theory in Quebec; Zuel and Humphrey (1971), Pettigrew (1975) Patchen (1982); Jackman and Crane (1986), Morrison and Herlihy (1992), Cohen and Lotan (1995) represent only a tiny fraction of the research conducted in the US.

<sup>2</sup> Often, such horrifying recounts remain unconfirmed.

<sup>3</sup> For an application of the intergroup contact theory to explain heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuals see Herek and Capitanio (1996); for an application of the theory in cases of contacts between healthy and diseased people, see Link and Cullen (1986) and Harper and Wacker (1985).

<sup>4</sup> Brown and Hewstone (2005) point out that the reduction of prejudice broadly generated from the contact would include also the group level analysis.

<sup>5</sup> Also the Greek text books hold much misconceptions and untruths about Albanian and Albanians, and the revision of both Albanian and Greek textbooks was stipulated by the 1996 Cooperation and Friendship Treaty between the two countries.

<sup>6</sup> Morning times are best for catching household women, who have time to spare while shopping for groceries. Women interviewed during the day also need not answer the questions under the scrutiny of their husbands.