From Philoxenia to Xenophobia? Relations between Xenophobic Tendencies and Parental Acceptance-Rejection Childhood Experiences for Greek Cypriot University Students

By

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Abstract

Cypriot society has undergone a great number of social changes, especially since 1974. The increased migration to the island has created new realities in the country's social environment. A profound social transformation – the immigration phenomenon – has changed the face of Cyprus and the perceptions and attitudes of its people. Greek Cypriots' perceptions and attitudes pertaining to the concept of philoxenia are undergoing a transformation characterized by increasing xenophobic tendencies. R. Rohner (2005) conducted cross-cultural research and found that in various cultures, rejected children were more aggressive and had a more negative worldview than non-rejected children. Therefore, the question of whether parental rejection in childhood could constitute one of the many underlying causes of the development of xenophobia arises. By drawing from a sample of 215 Cypriot respondents and using two questionnaires (Adult-Gr-PARQ and RACM), we are exploring the extent to which the adverse effects of perceived rejection in childhood could predict and account for the development of xenophobic and exclusionist attitudes toward people from other cultures in adulthood. Although the data analysis of the four scales of the Adult-Gr-PARQ reveals that the majority of our Cypriot respondents fall well within the range of acceptance, the correlation of separate items on the RACM and the Adult-Gr-PARQ scales confirms that those respondents who do exhibit xenophobic tendencies also have scores on the Adult-Gr-PARQ scales that point toward childhood experiences of rejection.

Keywords: *PARTheory of Socialization, parental acceptance-rejection, attitudes, xenophobia*

1. Introduction

Social researchers in Cyprus detect a cultural controversy regarding attitudes toward "foreigners". The sense of "philoxenia",[1] a major cultural value in Greek Cypriot society, which is expressed as hospitality to "guests" or "foreigners", appears to be in conflict with the xenophobic tendencies toward migrants that we also find in this society. The third round of the European Social Study in Cyprus[2] demonstrated that "the Cypriot...is xenophobic and racist". With regard to the survey's relevant exploration of the question of "if Cypriot society is xenophobic", the results of the European Social Survey (ESS) reveal that the developing picture of the Cypriot populace is one of a xenophobic and socially racist society.[3] Additionally, although surveys such as the European Social Survey quantify attitudes toward immigrants and "others", the psychological parameters underlying such attitudes are unknown.

Research results from the use of instruments from the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Theory of Socialization and lifespan development confirm that individuals who feel rejected are likely to feel anxious and insecure and to develop a view of a hostile, untrustworthy, unfriendly, emotionally unsafe, threatening, or dangerous world (Rohner & Khaleque, 2008). Given that xenophobia has been linked to feelings of anger, distrust, aggression, and hostility (APA, 2001; WHO, 1992), our study addresses the following research questions: (a) Could negative feelings, such as those described above, resulting from

rejection also be projected in our attitudes toward people from other cultural backgrounds? (b) Are people who have experienced rejection more ready to develop feelings of rejection toward "the others", thus resulting in xenophobic attitudes and behavioral tendencies?

The Context of Migration to Cyprus

Cyprus is an island with a highly complex history of nationality due to its bi-communal nature and the ongoing conflict between its two primary ethnic groups: Since independence in 1960, there have been two constitutionally recognized communities, Greek Cypriots (82%) and Turkish Cypriots (18%), who maintain distinct identities based on ethnicity, religion, language and close ties with their respective motherlands. A military invasion by Turkey in 1974 de facto partitioned the island into two political areas, so 99.5% of Greek Cypriots now live in the Republic of Cyprus, whereas 98.7% of Turkish Cypriots live in Northern Cyprus. Three other ethnic groups (Armenians, Latins, and Maronites) are treated as religious groups and reside primarily in the Republic of Cyprus.[4]

For a long period of time, Cyprus was a country of emigration to richer countries, such as the UK, the USA, Australia and South Africa, primarily for economic reasons. The events of 1974 not only left the country divided and its economy and society devastated but also created the preconditions for rapid modernization (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2006). The postwar economic development Cyprus experienced during the 1980s and 1990s created labor shortages, primarily for unskilled, low-income labor (Anthias, 2000). At the same time, the large number of Cypriot women entering the work force created a void in terms of child care, as well as care for the elderly, which was traditionally the responsibility of women (Anthias & Lazarides, 2000). These rising needs and the inability of the local workforce to respond to them led to the change in immigration policy in 1990. During that same decade, political developments, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union, successive crises in the Gulf region and the political unrest in the Middle East, contributed to the inflow of economic as well as political refugees from the affected regions (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2006). Additionally, during the 1990s, many Eastern Europeans began to migrate to Cyprus (primarily from Russia, the former Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria). When Cyprus joined the EU in 2004, a new flow of migrants, primarily from Central and Eastern EU countries, was initiated. According to the Cyprus Statistic Department's 2007 Demographic report, the number of non-Cypriot residents in the Republic of Cyprus was 125,300, which constituted approximately 14.3% of the total population of Cyprus. The recent population census (2011) revealed a total of 179,547 non-Cypriot residents (21.4% of the total population of Cyprus), which indicates an increase of 7.1%. These figures do not include the population of "Northern Cyprus".[5] Most migrants in Cyprus are employed as unskilled laborers. A large number of migrants are women from the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and other Asian countries and are employed primarily as housemaids. Migrants from Central and Eastern Europe are primarily employed in the hotel industry. The majority of non-Cypriot employees in the offshore business sector originate from Central and Eastern Europe, primarily Russia and the former Yugoslav republics.[6]

Attitudes toward Migrants: Xenophobic Tendencies

Xenophobia is an attitudinal orientation of hostility toward non-natives in a particular population. The concept originates from two Greek words: *xenos* (meaning foreigner or stranger) and *phobos* (meaning fear). Therefore, the concept is explained with a simple definition as the fear of strangers, whereas the term "strangers" may be used to refer to people who are not indigenes of a particular location or people who are significantly different from the dominant population.

Closely related to the concept of xenophobia is prejudice. According to Allport, prejudice is "an aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to that group" (in Krausz, 1971:81). Prejudice is closely related to but distinct from discrimination, for prejudice is attitudinal, whereas discrimination is behavioral (Kornblum, 1997:395). In this context, according to Marschall (1998:548),

racism refers to the unequal treatment of a population group purely because of its possession of physical or other characteristics socially defined as denoting a particular race.

In another manner, xenophobia can be viewed as a form of racism that does not utilize the concept of race as its defining element (Boehnke, Hagan, & Hefler, 1998:586). Today, we gradually view a racism developing not in its "traditional form", which was based on physical differences (i.e., skin color) but in a form focused primarily on cultural differences. This shift of focus from biological to cultural differences portrays racist and xenophobic arguments in a "justified" and "logical" manner ("we do not like them not because they are black but because we don't like their ways and behavior") (Lazarides & Koumandaraki, 2001). The ideological marginalization of race and racism and their replacement with terms such as "nation" or "culture" offer an easier "legalization" of xenophobia and racism. This shift toward a rhetoric of xenophobia and racism is focused on the role of the state regarding migration while creating conflict between the rights of the natives and those of the non-natives: the mere presence of non-natives creates a type of threat regarding the rights of the local population (Spyrou, 2010:32). According to Hall (1996) and others (Derrida, 1981; Foucault, 1971; Said, 1978), it is "difference" and not "similarity" that constitutes identity. It is also through its relationship with the "other" that the self defines itself as a unit. Immigrants are potentially the "others". People are usually encouraged through socialization processes to express loyalty and solidarity with their "in-group" and to distance themselves from "out-groups" (Soyombo, 2011). Separated by differences or race, class, and political standing, Cypriots view migrants – many of whom live within their very homes – as strangers/foreigners ("*xenoi*").

Racism and Xenophobia are key indicators of the levels of intolerance present in a society. A finding of all relevant surveys is that socially disadvantaged majority populations, including people who (a) conclude their education before the age of 18, (b) live on low incomes, (c) are unskilled or skilled workers or unemployed, or (d) live in rural areas, are more likely to display negative attitudes toward minorities than socially advantaged majority populations.[7]

According to the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), one in two Europeans is xenophobic and one in three is racist. A European Union survey conducted several times and in various forms between 1997 and 2003 revealed a worrying level of racism and xenophobia in member states, with nearly 33% of the participants openly describing themselves as "quite racist" or even "very racist" (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2003). Results obtained with the same instruments in Cyprus reveal that Cypriots' xenophobic tendencies are reflected in the following ways: (a) they do not appreciate the immigration of people from foreign countries to the island, (b) they tend to believe that people who come to Cyprus from other countries do not enhance the culture and traditions of the country, and (c) they have a negative disposition toward the contribution of immigrants to the island's economy.[8]

In view of the above-mentioned data, the attitude of "philoxenia", in its traditional form, now appears to be present in Cyprus within a limited moral framework, namely that which involves impressing primarily those foreigners in Cyprus who originate from more economically advanced societies. According to Spyrou (2010), Cypriots are aware of the political and economic superiority of these societies over Cyprus, and they counter this awareness by demonstrating their moral superiority through philoxenia. Conversely, migrants originating from so called Third World countries are considered "inferior" and not worthy of this treatment, and that which is offered to them is considered a form of charity rather than hospitality.

PARTheory of Socialization
Evidence reported by the PARTheory of Socialization and lifespan development suggests that as much as 21% of the variability in adults' psychological adjustment can be explained by childhood experiences of caregiver acceptance-rejection (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). Children everywhere need a specific form of positive response – acceptance – from parents and other primary caregivers. According to PARTheory

personality sub theory, parental rejection leads to various personality outcomes. Among both children and adults, seven personality dispositions tend to vary according to childhood experiences of perceived rejection. These dispositions include (a) hostility, aggression and passive aggression; (b) dependence or defensive independence, depending on the form, frequency and intensity of rejection; (c) impaired self-esteem; (d) impaired self-adequacy; (e) emotional unresponsiveness; (f) emotional instability; and (g) negative worldview. Theoretically, these dispositions are thought to emerge because of the great psychological pain produced by perceived rejection (Rohner & Khaleque, 2008). The results of earlier studies in 2000/2005 conducted among Greek Cypriot youth (15-23 years old) (Demetriou, 2005) that draw correlations between a questionnaire exploring racist tendencies (RAC) and the PAQ (Personality Assessment Questionnaire) revealed the following significant correlations:

The participants who perceived the difference between themselves and "others" more strongly showed, to a greater extent, tendencies toward Hostility/Aggression.

The respondents who showed a greater awareness of racism in their community tended more toward emotional dependence.

The participants with higher xenophobic tendencies revealed lower self-esteem values than those with lower xenophobic tendencies.

Negative worldview, negative self-esteem, negative self-adequacy, and some of the other personality dispositions described above are important elements in the social cognition or mental representations of rejected persons. Along with the individual's emotional state, mental representations tend to form the mode of individual perceptions, constructs and reactions to new experiences, including interpersonal relationships (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005).

This evidence led to further investigation of the role of early childhood parental rejection experiences in the development of xenophobic and exclusionist attitudes toward people from other cultures in adulthood.

2. Method

The research was conducted in Limassol, Cyprus, between October 2009 and March 2011. Limassol is the second largest city in the Republic of Cyprus, with a metropolitan population of 235,056.[9]
Data were obtained from a sample of 250 university students using the Adult-PARQ and a specially developed questionnaire on xenophobia (RACM). For the purpose of this research, we chose to utilize a sample of young adults (18-25), who, while still in the process of acquiring an education, are also focused on the developments of the quite limited and competitive local job market and their potential success in finding work (in the midst of a severe economic crisis).

Research reported here could be viewed as a continuation of the aforementioned research on Xenophobia and the PAQ (Demetriou, 2005b) and our research on the PARQ Child (Demetriou, 2005a; Demetriou & Christodoulides, 2006).

More specifically, we pose the following hypotheses:
Xenophobia will be strongly prevalent among social categories of the majority group that exhibit higher levels of perceived parental rejection in childhood, which results in higher scores on the following PARQ scales: Hostility/Aggression, Undifferentiated Rejection, and Indifference/Neglect.

Xenophobia and ethnic exclusionism will be less prevalent among social categories of the majority group that contain higher levels of perceived parental acceptance in childhood, which results in lower scores on the PARQ Warmth/Affection scale.

Our research tools consist of the following two questionnaires:

The RACM (a modified version of the RAC used in 2005 (Demetriou, 2005b) to obtain demographic data and attitudes and opinions regarding racism and xenophobia in our Greek Cypriot sample and

The PARQ Adult to assess adults' perceptions of the treatment they received from their mothers or fathers during childhood.

The Adult-PARQ

The Adult-PARQ (Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire) is a 60-item self-report instrument designed to measure individuals' perceptions of parental acceptance-rejection. The instrument measures individuals' perceptions of the warmth, affection, care, nurturance, support (i.e., parental acceptance) or rejection they received in their family of origin. Most of the items on the questionnaire refer to parental behavior rather than to parental attitudes and thus avoid some of the difficulties commonly encountered when one must demonstrate that a link exists between the attitudes expressed by an individual and that individual's behavior (Rohner, 2005). Parental acceptance-rejection is a bipolar dimension containing acceptance at one end of the continuum and parental rejection at the other. There are three versions of the instrument (Adult, Parent, and Child). All versions of the PARQ consist of four scales: (1) Warmth/Affection (WA) (20 items), (2) Hostility/Aggression (HA) (15 items), (3) Indifference/Neglect (IN) (15 items) and (4) Undifferentiated Rejection (UR) (10 items).

Individuals respond to statements on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from *almost always true* to *almost never true.* A total (composite) score for the PARQ, which provides an overall acceptance-rejection profile, is obtained by summing the four scales after reverse scoring the Warmth/Affection scale score to produce a measure of parental coldness and low affection. All scales on the PARQ are keyed in the direction of perceived rejection; that is, the higher the score on any scale or the higher the total PARQ scores, the greater the perceived parental coldness/lack of affection, hostility/aggression, indifference/neglect, undifferentiated rejection, and overall perceived rejection is. Scores above the midpoints (see Table 1) reveal experiences of qualitatively more rejection than acceptance. Total Composite Test Scores (TCTS) on the standard PARQ spread from a possible low of 60 (revealing maximum perceived acceptance) to a high of 240 (revealing maximum perceived rejection) (Rohner & Khaleque, 2008:48).

A bilingual individual familiar with the questions asked, as well as with the nature of the research, translated the Adult-PARQ into the Greek language so that it could be used with the Cypriot sample. A second translator then back-translated the questions into English. The original English and the back-translated versions of the PARQ were then compared, and discrepancies were noted and corrected. This process was repeated until the back-translated version matched the original English version very closely. We henceforth refer to the questionnaire that resulted through the aforementioned process as Adult-Gr-PARQ.

The RACM Questionnaire

Our second questionnaire, the RACM, is a modified version of the questionnaire we used in our research in 2005 (Demetriou, 2005). This questionnaire includes personal data and items related to communication with "foreigners", agents of socialization and ideas and behaviors exhibited toward "others". In particular, the questionnaire consists of 57 primarily closed questions with a series of precoded answers, out of which the participant may choose one or more. The attitudes of the majority toward minorities are assessed according to the extent to which the respondents agree or disagree with certain statements. The RACM includes the following five parts:

Part I: consists of 12 items on personal data, such as gender, age, place of birth and residence, number of siblings, family circumstances, education, work, and parents' economic circumstances.

Part II: includes 15 questions that refer to relationships and experiences with 'foreigners' and investigate particular views on foreigners.

Part III: through 11 questions, invites participants to provide their views on racism, its origins in Cypriot society and interpretation/justification of existing tendencies.

Part IV: includes 9 questions that focus on the rights of foreigners living in Cyprus.

Part V: includes 10 questions that refer to issues of tolerance in a multicultural society and the perceived limits of a multicultural society, with regard to Cyprus.

Social and demographic variables (Part I) can be correlated with Part II – Part V variables that may be viewed as predispositions due to social, educational, and cultural socialization, which potentially drive young adults toward acts of discrimination.

Qualitatively (excluding the demographics), the questionnaire may be viewed to consist of 3 scales: a cognitive, an affective and a behavioral scale, as suggested by the *ABC model of attitudes*, regarding any attitude we develop toward others (Rajecki, 1989). In the study of negative attitudes toward other groups, social psychologists differentiate between negative stereotypes (negative beliefs and perceptions about a group of people, i.e., the cognitive element), prejudice (negative feelings developed toward a group, i.e., the affective element), and discrimination (negative behaviors toward the members of a group, i.e., the behavioral component) (Turner, 1987).

2. Data Analysis

The analysis of the findings from the current research consists of (a) obtaining and discussing the frequencies of the demographics of our sample (acquired through RACM), (b) assessing the descriptive statistics and reliability of the Adult-Gr-PARQ, (c) detecting correlations among the seven factors in the three scales of the RACM and the demographics items and (d) establishing correlations among the seven factors of the three RACM scales with the four Adult-Gr-PARQ scales. To study the patterns of correlations within the suggested scales (see "*The RACM Questionnaire*"), we performed a factor analysis for each individual RACM scale.

The Cognitive scale consists of four items and consists of the manner in which individuals develop ideas and thoughts about the object of the attitude, which is, in this case, "foreigners". According to Hamilton and Trolier (1986), human beings tend to place others in groups and categories in ways that differentiate "their" own group from "the others". The analysis of responses to the items on this scale resulted in two factors with eigenvalues greater than 1: Factor CF1, which explores respondents' perceptions regarding the limits/limitations of a multicultural society and includes two items (64 and 65), [10] and Factor CF2, which also includes two items (30 and 31), and explores the participants' perceptions of differences between 'us' and 'them'.

The affective scale consists of eight items and encompasses the participants' positive or negative emotions about the object of the attitude, namely, "foreigners". Analysis of the responses to the items on this scale resulted in three factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. Factor AF1 corresponds to respondents' degrees of intolerance of individuals from other cultural backgrounds (items 57, 62, and 63); factor AF2 explores the respondents' resistance to multicultural society (items 60 and 61). Factor AF3, which includes three items (34, 36, and 38), explores the respondents' feelings about differences in skin color between themselves and non-natives.

The behavioral scale consists of six items and relates to predispositions or intentions to act in a particular manner that is relevant to one's attitude. A major reason for studying attitudes is the expectation that they will enable us to predict behavior. In this respect, we investigate our participants' predispositions to behave in certain ways toward "foreigners" in Cyprus. The analysis of the responses to the items on this

scale resulted in two factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. The first factor, BF1, which consists of four items, encompasses the participants' degrees of opposition to granting various social and civil rights to non-natives residing in Cyprus (items 66, 67, 68, and 69). Factor BF2 includes two items that explore respondents' opinions regarding the extent to which foreigners living in Cyprus should be entitled to social and civil rights (52 and 53).

3. Results

Demographics of the Sample
Our sample consisted of 250 University students from the same University (Frederick University – Limassol Campus) and belonging to the Dept. of Primary Education, thus consisting of future teachers. Out of the 250 questionnaires distributed, only 215 were valid for analysis.

Because the profession of elementary school teacher is much more popular with women, our sample consisted of 76.7% young women and 23.3% men. The majority of our sample (93.5%) was between the ages of 18-25 years old and was born, raised and lived in Cyprus all of their lives (90.7%). Additionally, the majority of our sample (68.8%) was raised and lived in towns, as opposed to 31.2%, who were raised and still lived in rural areas of Cyprus.

A large percentage (73.0%) of the sample consisted of young adults who were raised by both of their parents, and most of the young adults still lived at home. By examining their family's educational background, we could perceive that they came from families in which 17.7% and 20.0% of their mothers and fathers, respectively, were tertiary education graduates. The majority of the families (80.9%) had an average monthly income of 2,500 Euros or less, which is considered a typical lower middle-class income in Cyprus (Table 1).

Table 1. Demographics of the Cyprus Sample

Category	Percentages	
Gender	Men %	Women %
	23.3	76.7
Age	18-25 %	Other %
	93.5	6.5
Place of birth	Cyprus	Other
	90.7%	9.3%
Family circumstances	Nuclear family	Single-parent family
	73%	27%
Parental education	Tertiary education	Other
	Mother 17.7 Father 20.0	Mother 82.3 Father 80.0
Family income	Below 2500 €	Above 2500 €
	80.9%	19.1%

Results of the Adult-Gr-PARQ
The analysis of the responses to the items on the Adult-Gr-PARQ reveals the following characteristics: The means of all of the individual Adult-Gr-PARQ scales (Table 2) are significantly lower than the

corresponding means of the Validity-Study Version for the Adult-PARQ (Rohner & Khaleque, 2008). Additionally, note that the TCTS mean scores for various USA studies ranged between 90 and 110 (standardized version). The Adult-Gr-PARQ TCTS (non-standardized) is a very satisfying 94.1.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for the Adult Gr-PARQ Scales (*N* = 215)

Scale	*M*	*SD*	Median	Range	Theoretical			α
					Low	Mid point	High	
Warmth/affection*	30.0	8.6	27	20 – 68	20	50	80	0.89
Hostility/Aggression	23.6	7.1	22	15 – 57	15	37.5	60	0.88
Indifference/Neglect	24.7	5.6	23	16 – 47	15	37.5	60	0.63
Undifferentiated Rejection	15.8	4.9	14	10 – 39	10	25	40	0.81
Total Composite Test Score	94.1	22.2	88	66 – 196	60	150	240	0.73

* The Warmth/Affection scale scores have been reverse-scored (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005).

Cronbach's coefficient alpha (α), a measure of the internal consistency of items within a scale (Nunnally, 1968; Guilford & Fruchter, 1973), was used to test the reliability of the Adult-Gr-PARQ. The internal consistency of the Adult-Gr-PARQ is judged as satisfactory because the coefficients are reasonably high for all of the scales and range from 0.63 to 0.89 (p<.001), with a median of 0.85 (see Table 2). Moreover, the overall coefficient alpha is 0.73, which is within the acceptable region for reliability and in accordance with most previous studies on the PARQ (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). In theory, because the mean and standard deviation of the scale scores are likely to vary in different samples, researchers may need to convert scale scores to standardized z-scores (Guilford & Fruchter, 1973) prior to summing the TCTS. Here, for clarity, we opted to keep the actual value of the TCTS, which is not significantly different from the standardized value.

It is noteworthy that our findings for the Adult-Gr-PARQ for the current study are enhanced by the findings for the Child-Gr-PARQ (Demetriou & Christodoulides, 2006), as evidenced by the following corresponding mean scores: 28.1 (WA), 23.8 (HA), 24.0 (IN), 19.2 (UR), and 95.1 (TCTS). Tables 2 and 3 summarize the descriptive data for the Adult-Gr-PARQ.
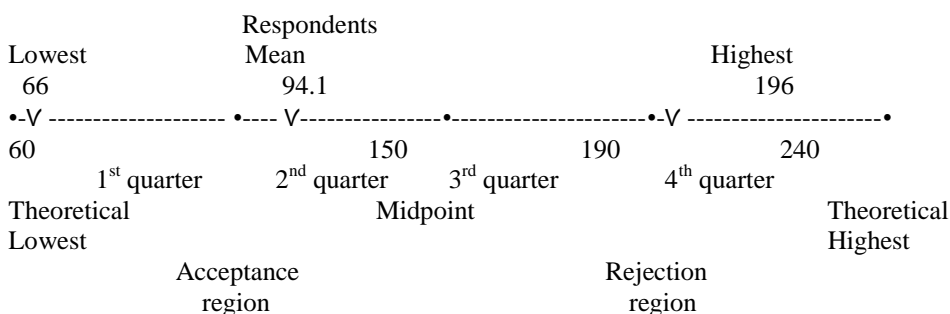
Total composite test score. Our first segment of data analysis relates to the Total Composite Test Score of the Adult-Gr-PARQ, as this provides an overall acceptance-rejection profile of the individual or population tested and, in the current study, reveals where the Cyprus sample lies on the bipolar dimension of parental behavior. As observed in Table 3, the theoretical midpoint is 150.

Table 3. Scores of the Adult Gr-PARQ Sample in Relation to the Theoretical Midpoint

Scale	Theoretical Midpoint m	% Scores <m	% Scores ≥m
Warmth/Affection	50	97	3
Hostility/Aggression	37.5	94	6
Indifference/Neglect	37.5	96	4
Undifferentiated Rejection	25	93	7
Total Composite Test Score	150	98	2

According to the analysis of the Cypriot students' responses, the TCTS ranges from a minimum of 66 to a maximum of 192. The mean score is 94.1 and lies in the 1st quarter of the region, which is well below the theoretical midpoint, i.e., it is in a region we could name the "acceptance region". A high percentage of 98% of the respondents have totals below, and merely 2%, above, the theoretical midpoint (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Scores on the Total Composite Test Score.

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                        Respondents
Lowest                     Mean                                  Highest
  66                       94.1                                   196
•-V -------------------- •---- V----------------•----------------------•-V ---------------------•
60                          150                  190              240
        1st quarter     2nd quarter  3rd quarter      4th quarter
Theoretical                        Midpoint                    Theoretical
Lowest                                                         Highest
             Acceptance                       Rejection
              region                           region
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Interpretation of scales

*Warmth/Affection scale (WA).*This scale refers to parent-child relationships in which parents are perceived to offer love or affection that is without qualification but not necessarily characterized by high expression. A high score on the Warmth/Affection scale reveals a minimum perception of warmth, i.e., maximum rejection. The reverse-scored scale refers to a parent that is viewed as unaffectionate, unloving, uninvolved or uncaring but not aggressive or positively neglectful per se. As shown in Table 3, in the Adult-Gr-PARQ sample, 97% of the respondents are below the theoretical midpoint of 50 and only 3% are above. With a mean score of 30.0, one can ascertain that the respondents are just above the 1st theoretical quartile, i.e., well within the "Acceptance region".

Hostility/Aggression scale (HA). This scale assesses conditions in which (a) individuals believe that their parent is angry or resentful of him/her (hostility) or (b) individuals believe that their parents intend to hurt them physically or verbally (perceived aggression). As illustrated in Table 3, in the Adult-Gr-PARQ sample, 94% of the respondents are below the theoretical midpoint of 37.5 and 6% are above. With a mean score in the 1st quarter of 23.6, one can ascertain that the level of childhood hostility/aggression perceived by our respondents is very low.

Indifference/Neglect scale (IN). The third PARQ scale assesses conditions in which individuals perceive their parent as unconcerned or uninterested in them. Neglectful or indifferent parents are not necessarily viewed as hostile; they may simply be viewed as distant and unconcerned about their children. As demonstrated in Table 3, in the Adult-Gr-PARQ sample, 96% of our participants are below the theoretical midpoint of 37.5 and 4% are above. As a mean score of 24.7 is well below the theoretical midpoint, one can say that the Cypriot respondents have a very low perception of Indifference/Neglect with regard to their primary caregivers' behavior toward them.

Undifferentiated Rejection (UR). The last PARQ scale refers to conditions in which individuals perceive their parents to be rejecting but the expression of rejection is not clearly unaffectionate, aggressive or rejecting. In the Adult-Gr-PARQ sample, 93% of the respondents are below the theoretical midpoint and 7% are above. For this scale, the theoretical midpoint is 25 and the mean score of the Cyprus sample is at 15.8. A slight difference exists in our findings between the scores for this scale and the other three, as it carries the highest percentage of responses above the theoretical midpoint (7%) and our participants lie in the 2nd quarter of the UR scale, so the score is thus higher than it is for all three of the other scales.

Results of the RACM

Cognitive scale (factors CF1 and CF2).
Factor CF1: limits to multicultural society (64 and 65). The two items related to this factor explore participants' opinions, first, with regard to whether a society can be open and multicultural or should institute a limit on the number of immigrants a society is able to accept (item 64), and second, regarding a

more specific stand as to whether Cyprus has reached its limits in accepting people from other cultures on the island (item 65).

The majority of our participants (45.3%) agree with the position that there is a limit to the number of immigrants a society is able to host/handle. Almost one-third of our respondents (32.2%) do not take a stand, and 22.4% of the students in our sample feel that there should be no limit to the number of non-natives a society can accept (item 64). Regarding the second item (65), almost half of our respondents (47.7%) believe that Cyprus has reached its limits in terms of accepting and hosting immigrants. Only 15.4% of our participants feel that Cyprus has not yet reached these limits, and 36.9% of our students declared ignorance on this matter.

Factor CF2: Perception of differences between "us" and "them." Items related to this factor investigate whether, upon first impression, participants perceive differences between themselves and the non-natives living in Cyprus (item 30) and if, upon further interaction, this impression changes (item 31).

In our sample, 64.7% of the students do not perceive any differences between themselves and the non-natives that live near them in Limassol (item 30). Almost one-third (29.8%) of our students perceive differences between themselves and foreigners, and a mere 5.6% do not take a stand. The great majority of the students in our sample (85.1%) report that closer interaction with people from other cultures living in Limassol confirmed their initial perception that "they" (foreigners) are not different than "us" (item 31). Those who disagree constitute 11.6% of our sample, and 3.3% express no opinion on this item.

Affective scale (factors AF1, AF2, and AF3).
Factor AF1: Intolerance of other cultures (items 57, 62, and 63). The three items included address whether (a) illegal immigrants should be punished severely (item 57), (b) non-natives should abandon those cultural and religious traditions that are in conflict with Cyprus laws to become integrated in Cypriot society (item 62) and (c) whether non-natives should abandon religious and cultural traditions such as polygamy to be acceptable members of Cypriot society (item 63).

The majority of our respondents (60.3%) disagree with the use of severe punishments for illegal immigrants, and 13.1% agree with such state policies. One-quarter of the participants refused to take a stand (26.6%) (item 57).

More than half of our participants (52.8%) feel that non-natives should not abandon those cultural and religious traditions that clash with the Cypriot laws to become integrated in local society, and 19.2% feel that they should. Again, approximately one-quarter of the sample did not take a stand (28%) (item 62).

The majority of our participants (40.7%) appear to believe that non-natives should not abandon specific religious and cultural traditions, such as polygamy, to become acceptable members of Cypriot society, whereas one-third of our respondents (32.2%) believe that they should abstain from such practices. Again, approximately one-quarter of the respondents (27.1%) proclaimed ignorance on this matter (item 63).

Factor AF2: Resistance to multicultural society (items 60 and 61). Respectively, the two items related to this factor ask participants to take a stand on (a) multiculturalism and its positive or negative effects on a given society and (b) whether multiculturalism constitutes an advantage or a disadvantage for Cypriot society.

Almost half of our participants (45.3%) feel that it is positive for a society to consist of people from different races, religious backgrounds, and cultures. Conversely, 25.7% of the respondents disagree with this viewpoint, and almost one-third of our participating students declare ignorance (29.0%) regarding this issue (item 60).

Of those who did express an opinion on the second item (61), 30.4% believe that multiculturalism is positive for Cypriot society and 27.1% view it as negative (Q61). A high percentage of the participating students (42.5%) refused to take a stand by choosing the "I do not know" option for this item.

Factor AF3: Xenophobia (items 34, 36, and 38). Items 34, 36, and 38 ask participants to report, respectively, whether (a) the color of non-natives or (b) their religion and culture makes them feel in any way uncomfortable and whether (c) they could establish trusting relationships with people from other racial and cultural backgrounds.

For the first item (34), the majority of our participants (59.1%) state that the color of non-natives near them does not make them feel in any way uncomfortable. Conversely, a relatively high percentage (21.9%) of the respondents state that this does create discomfort, and 19.1% do not have an opinion on this matter.

When asked whether the different religions or cultures of non-natives in Cyprus makes them feel negatively (item 36), more than half (55.3%) of the participants state clearly that it does not. However, a disturbing 28.9% of the participants do feel uncomfortable when faced with different religious or cultural rituals performed by non-natives near them. A total of 15.8% of our respondents did not provide an opinion.

The majority of our respondents (65.2%) state that they would not become involved in a personal relationship with a foreigner (item 38). Approximately one-third of our participants state that they would readily develop a relationship with a non-native. A mere 4.2% refused to take a stand.

Behavioral scale (factors BF1 and BF2).
Factor BF1: Opposition to civil rights for foreigners (items 66, 67, 68, and 69). The items grouped together for this factor have as their central theme the participants' opinions on acquisition by foreigners of social/civil rights in Cypriot society, such as citizenship and the right to convey more members of their family to Cyprus and whether they should be sent back to their country of origin if they cannot find employment in Cyprus.

More than one-third of our participating students (35%) disagree with the practice of legal immigrants from non-EU states bringing close members of their families to Cyprus, and 33.6% agree with this measure. Almost one-third of our respondents (31.3%) did not take a stand on this question (item 67).

A slight majority of 39.3% of our sample agrees that legal immigrants from EU countries should enjoy the same social rights as Cypriot citizens. Almost one-third of our respondents (31.8%) disagree, and 29% declare ignorance regarding this item (item 66).

Only a small minority of our respondents (13.6%) express consent to the non-native acquisition of Cypriot citizenship, whereas the majority of our respondents (53.3%) disagree with this policy (item 68). One-third of the participants do not take a stand (33.2%).

Finally, 24.8% of our participants agree that legal immigrants from non-EU countries should be sent home if they are unemployed. Approximately one-third, 31.8%, of the Cypriot respondents do not agree with such strict measures, and 43.5% of the respondents refused to answer this item (item 69).

Factor BF2: Opposition to civil rights for foreigners (items 52 and 53). Items related to this factor explore respondents' reactions regarding the extent to which foreigners living in Cyprus should be entitled to social and civil rights.

The analysis of their answers reveals that a vast majority (75.7%) of the students in our sample believe that when non-natives acquire rights in Cyprus, their own needs might remain unfulfilled, which demonstrates that they perceive a "threat" from this possibility. A minority of 16.8% does not perceive such a threat, whereas 7.5% do not take a stand (item 52).

A very small minority of our students (4.2%) appear to believe that non-natives should have no freedom of speech and religion. The majority of our participants (93.4%) agree that foreigners should be afforded all civil rights (item 53).

Correlations between the RACM Scales/Factors and the Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales

Our discussion here focuses primarily on drawing any significant dependence between the seven factors of the RACM and the four scales and Total Test Score of the Adult-Gr-PARQ through a detailed analysis of the frequencies of the individual items included in each factor. The testing tool chosen for this purpose was the χ^2 test. The p-values are mentioned separately for each case. Note that in those cases in which no dependence between factors and scales was detected, we chose to further test the dependence of the PARQ scales with each item within a factor.

Cognitive scale factors and the adult-Gr-PARQ scales: Regarding the Cognitive scale (2 factors), we found significant correlations between factor CF1, "Limits to Multicultural Society", and the Adult-Gr-PARQ Hostility/Aggression scale ($p<0.01$).(Table 4).

Table 4. Correlations between the RACM Cognitive Scale (CF1 and CF2) and the Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales

RACM Cognitive Scale Factors			Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales (Mean)				
			WA 30.0	HA 23.6	IN 24.7	UR 15.8	TCTS 94.1
CF1: limits to multicultural society			(p<0.1)	(p<0.0)			
Eigen value = **1.44** Cumulative % of explained variance = **35.9**							
Item	*fl*						
There are limits to the number of people of different races, religions or cultures that a society can accept.	0.83	Agree	30.4	24.2			
		Disagree	28.7	23.5			
Cyprus has reached its limits.	0.83	Agree					
		Disagree					
CF2: perception of "difference"							
Eigen value = 1.21 Cumulative % of explained variance = **66.2**							
Foreigners are different from "us".	0.79	*Agree*					
		Disagree					
When I became better acquainted with foreigners, I realized that they are different from us.	0.75	Agree					
		Disagree					

* The shaded areas indicate that no correlations exist between the RACM and the Adult-Gr-PARQ scales.

Participants who believe that there should be limits to the number of foreigners accepted in a society and that Cyprus has reached these limits reveal a higher mean on the HA scale (24.2) than those respondents who viewed multicultural society as open and limitless (mean 23.5). We also detected a weak dependence between the Warmth/Affection scale and factor CF1 ($p<0.1$). Participants who perceive limits have a higher mean (30.4) on the WA scale than those who do not (28.7). (Let it be noted that higher means on the WA scale indicate a higher degree of perceived rejection in childhood). The second Cognitive scale factor (CF2) revealed no correlations with any of the Adult-Gr-PARQ scales.

Affective scale factors and the adult-Gr-PARQ scales.
Regarding the first of three Affective scale factors, namely factor AF1, "Intolerance to 'others'", we detect significant correlations with the Warmth/Affection scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ, with a clear dependence between WA and AF1 ($p<0.01$). Participants showing less tolerance of "others" score a higher mean (30.7) on the WA scale than those who show more tolerance toward the cultural and religious practices of people from other countries (28.9) (WA mean is 30.0) (Table 5).

Table 5. Correlations Between RACM Affective Scale Factor AF1 and the Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales

RACM Affective Scale Factors			Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales				
			WA 30.0	HA 23.6	IN 24.7	UR 15.8	TCTS 94.1
AF1: intolerance to "others"			$p<0.1$		$p<0.05$	$p<0.1$	$p<0.1$
Eigen value = **2.11** Cumulative % of explained variance = **26.37**							
Item	fl						
To be acceptable members of Cypriot society, members of minorities should abandon those religious and cultural practices that clash with Cypriot law.	0.86	Agree	28.9		26.6		
		Disagree	30.7		24.6		
To become acceptable members of Cypriot society, members of minorities should abandon certain religious or cultural traditions, such as polygamy.	0.86	Agree					
		Disagree					
Foreigners entering Cyprus illegally should receive exemplary punishment (jail sentences, beatings).	0.47	Agree				16.8	96.8
		Disagree				15.2	93.1

Factor AF1 also correlates significantly with the Indifference/Neglect scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ ($p<0.05$). Participants with less tolerance show a higher mean (26.6) on the IN scale than those with more tolerance (24.6) (IN mean is 24.7).

A relatively weak dependence between the Undifferentiated Rejection scale (UR) and the 3rd AF1 item ($p<0.1$) is also established. The participants who believe in harsh punishments have a higher mean on the UR scale (16.8) than those who do not agree with such practices for illegal immigrants (15.2) (UR mean

is 15.8). Similarly, "revenge-seeking" participants exhibit a higher Total Test Score on the Adult-Gr-Park (mean 96.8) than those who do not agree with such state practices (93.1),(TCTS mean 94.1)(Table 5).

Regarding the 2nd Affective scale factor, AF2, "Resistance to multicultural society", the only correlation that was established is a significant dependence between the Indifference/Neglect scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ and the 1st AF2 item ($p<0.05$). Those participants who perceive multiculturalism in a given society as 'negative' have a higher mean on the IN scale (25.2) than those who believe that different races, religions and cultures are positive assets in a given society (24.1) (scale mean is 24.7) (Table 6).

Table 6. Correlations between RACM Factor AF2 (Affective Scale) and the Adult-Gr- PARQ Scales

RACM Affective Scale Factors			Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales				
			WA 30.0	HA 23.6	IN 24.7	UR 15.8	TCTS 94.1
AF2: resistance to multicultural society					$p<0.05$	$p<0.1$	$p<0.1$
Eigen value = **1.46** Cumulative % of explained variance = **44.63**							
Item	*fl*						
It is negative for a society to consist of people from different races, religions and cultures.	**0.81**	Agree			25.2		
		Disagree			24.1		
Multiculturalism is a negative of Cypriot society (agree/disagree/do not know).	**0.79**	Agree Disagree					

The last Affective scale factor, factor AF3 "Xenophobia", correlates with the Total Composite Test Score of the Adult-Gr-PARQ, as there is a relatively weak dependence between TCTS and AF3 ($p<0.1$). Participants who feel uncomfortable among people with different skin color, religion, and culture are found to have a higher mean on the TCTS (94.7) than those participants who do not (93.8) (TCTS mean 94.1).

A significant dependence between the Indifference/Neglect scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ and the 3rd AF3 item is also established ($p<0.05$). The respondents who would be willing to trust foreigners and develop personal relationships with them have a lower mean on the IN scale (24.4) than those who are less willing to do so (mean 25.1) (IN mean 24.7).

Moreover, we found a relatively weak dependence between Hostility/Aggression and the first AF3 item ($p<0.1$). Respondents who state that the color of non-natives makes them feel uncomfortable have a higher mean on the HA scale (24.5) than those who do not feel this way (23.4) (HA mean 23.6) (Table 7).

Table 7: Correlations between RACM Factor AF3 (Affective Scale) and the Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales

RACM Affective Scale Factors			Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales				
			WA 30.0	HA 23.6	IN 24.7	UR 15.8	TCTS 94.1
AF3: xenophobia					p<0.05		p<0.1
Eigen value = **1.11** Cumulative % of explained variance = **58.53**							
Item	*fl*						
Non-natives' differing skin color makes me feel uncomfortable.	0.86	Agree		24.5			94.7
		Disagree		23.4			93.8
Non-natives differing religion and/or culture make me feel uncomfortable.	0.86	Agree					
		Disagree					
Personally, I do not trust in the development of personal relations with foreigners".	0.47	Agree			25.1		
		Disagree			24.4		

Behavioral scale factors and the adult-Gr-PARQ scales.

A significant dependence was established between the 1st factor BF1 item ("Opposition to Civil Rights for Foreigners") and the Warmth/Affection scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ and (p<0.05). Participants who disagree with legal non-EU immigrants' practice of bringing close family members to Cyprus display a higher mean on the WA scale (31.2) than those participants who would accept this practice (29.3) (mean WA 30.0) (Table 8).

Table 8: Correlations between RACM Factor BF1 (Behavioral Scale) and the Adult- Gr-PARQ

RACM Behavioral Scale Factors			Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales				
			WA 30.0	HA 23.6	IN 24.7	UR 15.8	TCTS 94.1
BF1: opposition to civil rights for foreigners p<0.05				p<0.1	p<0.05		p<0.1
Eigen value = **2.27** Cumulative % of explained variance= **37.80**							
Item	*fl*						
Legal immigrants from non-EU countries should not have the right to bring members of their family to Cyprus.	0.81	Agree	31.2		25.1		
		Disagree	29.3		24.5		
Legal immigrants from non-EU countries should not have the same social rights as Cypriot citizens.	0.79	Agree					
		Disagree					
Legal immigrants from non-EU countries should not be able to easily acquire Cypriot citizenship.		Agree					
Legal immigrants from non-EU countries should be sent back to their country of origin if unemployed.	0.74	Disagree					
	0.63	Agree		23.9			
		Disagree		23.2			

Furthermore, a significant dependence (p<0.05) was established between the same BF1 factor item and the Indifference/Neglect scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ: Respondents who disagree with the practice of non-EU immigrants bringing their families to Cyprus have higher means on the IN scale (24.5) than those who agree (25.1) (mean IN 24.7) (item 67).

Finally, a relatively weak dependence (p<0.1) was established between the 4th BF1 item and the HA scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ (p<0.1). Participants who agree that unemployed legal immigrants should be deported to their country of origin show a higher mean (23.9) than those who disagree (23.2) (HA mean 23.6) (item 68) (Table 8).

Factor BF2 ("Intolerance for Civil Rights for foreigners") exhibits significant dependences on the IN scale (p<0.01). Participants who express being "threatened" by foreigners' acquisition of more rights in Cypriot society have a significantly higher mean on the IN scale (25.0) than those who do not perceive such a threat (24.1). Furthermore, the Cypriot students who feel threatened display a mean of 94.7 on the TCTS, as opposed to a lower 93.8 for those who do not feel threatened (p<0.01) (TCTS mean 94.1). Moreover, BF2 exhibits a relatively weak dependence on the WA scale. Respondents who feel threatened have a higher mean on the WA scale (31.1) than those who do not feel threatened (29.6) (Table 9).

Table 9: Correlations between RACM Factor BF2 (Behavioral Scale) and the Adult-Gr-PARQ

RACM Behavioral Scale Factors		Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales				
		WA 30.0	HA 23.6	IN 24.7	UR 15.8	TCTS 94.1
Behavioral scale		p<0.1		p<0.01		p<0.01
BF2: intolerance of civil rights for foreigners	Agree	31.1		25.0		94.6
	Disagree	29.6		24.1		93.8
Eigen value = 1.28 Cumulative % of explained variance = **59.16**						
Item	fl					
When foreigners acquire rights in Cyprus, my own needs remain unfulfilled.	0.82	Agree				
		Disagree				
Every person, except non-natives residing in Cyprus, has the right to freedom of opinion, expression and religion.	0.74	Agree				
		Disagree				

4. Discussion

In our first hypothesis, we postulated that higher levels of perceived parental rejection in childhood would lead to stronger tendencies of xenophobia among social categories of the majority group.

According to our findings, the scores of more than 90% of our participants fall well within the acceptance region on the TCTS and all four scales of the Adult-Gr-PARQ, i.e., hardly within the region of rejection. Consequently, the analysis and discussion that follow regarding the role of rejection in the development

of xenophobic tendencies can merely be academic. Our results establish that the vast majority of our students (98%) exhibit totals below the theoretical midpoint. The aforementioned Adult-Gr-PARQ TCTS findings are almost identical to our results on the Child-Gr-PARQ, for which 97% of the Greek Cypriot children examined also exhibited totals below the theoretical midpoint. These findings confirm that Cypriot respondents (children and adults) fall well within the region of "acceptance" (Demetriou & Christodoulides, 2006; Demetriou & Christodoulides, 2011).

Let it be noted that in those cases in which no dependence was detected between factors and scales of the RACM and the Adult-Gr-PARQ, we further tested the dependence of the PARQ scales with each item within a factor. The findings confirm our first hypothesis as follows (Table 10).

Table 10: Overview of Scales and Factors of the RACM Displaying Correlations with the Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales and TCTS

RACM Scales/Factors	Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales				
	WA 30.0	HA 23.6	IN 24.7	UR 15.8	TCTS 94.1
Cognitive scale					
Factor CF 1: limits to multicultural society	▲	▲			
Affective scale					
Factor AF 1: intolerance of other cultures	▲		▲	▲	▲
Factor AF 2: resistance to multicultural Society			▲		
Factor AF 3: xenophobia			▲		▲
Behavioral scale					
Factor BF1: opposition to civil rights for foreigners	▲	▲	▲		
Factor BF2: intolerance of civil rights for foreigners	▲		▲		▲

Participants who believe that there are limits to the numbers of foreigners who should be accepted in a society and that Cyprus has reached its limits (CF1) reveal a higher mean on the Hostility/Aggression scale (24.2) than those who do not express this belief. According to the PARTheory, individuals' mental representations of self, of significant others, and of the world around them tend to stimulate them to seek or to avoid certain situations and types of people. According to Rohner (2005), the manner in which individuals think about themselves and their world shapes the manner in which they live their lives. For example, many rejected persons have a tendency to perceive hostility where none is intended. According to the Frustration - Aggression theory, xenophobia (if seen as an aggressive behavior) can be attributed to frustrations experienced or imagined by one group that are believed to have been caused by another group or for which another group is held accountable (Dollard, Miller, & Doob, 1939). It is believed that when a group experiences frustrations in the pursuit of desired goals (e.g., failure to secure job opportunities or inability to cater adequately to personal and family needs), members of the group are likely to respond to this frustration by engaging in hostile feelings or acts that are usually targeted at the group that they believe is responsible for their predicament (in this case, immigrants).

Participants who display less tolerance of "others" appear to confirm our hypothesis that perceived rejection would lead to stronger tendencies of xenophobic characteristics. Their Total Composite Test Score on the Adult-Gr-PARQ, namely the indicator of the overall acceptance-rejection profile of the individual or population tested, is higher for the 3rd AF1 item. Respondents who show less tolerance of

individuals from other cultures also reveal a higher mean on the Warmth/Affection scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ than those who exhibit more tolerance. At the same time, respondents with less tolerance toward "others" (AF1) and with more resistance to a multicultural society (AF2) have higher mean values on the Indifference/Neglect scale of the Adult-Gr-PARQ. In both cases, the correlations between the individual factors and the Adult-Gr-PARQ scales are significant ($p<0.05$). Let it be noted that participants who have a lower tolerance of the cultural and religious practices of people from other countries have a higher mean on the Undifferentiated Rejection scale than those who believe that different races, religions and cultures are positive assets in a given society. According to Rohner's Parental Acceptance-Rejection Theory, rejected children and adults often construct mental images of personal relationships as being unpredictable, untrustworthy, and perhaps hurtful. Such negative mental representations are often transferred into new relationships in which rejected individuals find it difficult to trust others emotionally (in this case, especially "foreigners") or they become extremely cautious and very sensitive to any signs of emotional undependability (Rohner, 2005). Arietti (1979) theorized that in their innocence, children trust the people with whom they first live to protect them against danger. Conflict, which generates much anxiety, arises when the children discover that these individuals cannot be relied upon to protect them. Consequently, xenophobia emerges during their adulthood when they encounter strangers or foreigners to whom the anxiety is displaced because they have some resemblance to the unreliable individuals.

Respondents who feel threatened by the idea of granting more civil rights to foreigners also appear to confirm our hypothesis that perceived rejection leads to stronger tendencies of xenophobia. Dependencies between "Opposition to Civil Rights for foreigners" (BF1) and "Intolerance to Civil Rights for foreigners" (BF2) and the four scales of the Adult-Gr-PARQ were detected as follows: The participants expressing opposition (BF1) and showing intolerance (BF2) to the granting of civil rights to foreigners had a significantly higher mean on the Warmth/Affection scale, indicating the perception of higher levels of rejection in their childhood. At the same time, they displayed higher means on the Indifference/Neglect scale than those who felt less threatened by foreigners' acquisition of more rights in Cypriot society. According to Rohner's PARTheory Personality sub theory, seven personality dispositions among both children and adults tend to vary according to childhood experience of parental rejection. These dispositions include (a) hostility, aggression, and passive aggression; (b) dependence or defensive dependence, depending on the form, frequency, and intensity of rejection; (c) impaired self-esteem; (d) impaired self-adequacy; (e) emotional unresponsiveness; (f) emotional instability; and (g) negative worldview. Negative worldview, negative self-esteem, and negative self-adequacy are important elements of the social cognition or mental representations of rejected individuals. Rejected persons are likely to seek, create, interpret, or perceive experiences, situations, and relationships in ways that are consistent with their distorted mental representations. Consequently, rejected individuals could react to real and to *perceived* competition from non-national "outsiders" by constructing obstacles against minorities' incorporation into society, in the sense of the "conflict theory's" explanation for "ethnic exclusionism". The essential idea is that competition between people for scarce resources produces conflict and the desire to exclude others. Rejected individuals may have an amplified perception of threat and/or competition for work, housing, and other resources.

Let it be noted that in all cases presented above in which dependencies were detected between the scales of the RACM and the four scales and the TCTS of the PARQ, the participants tending less toward xenophobia exhibited lower scores on all scales and the Adult-Gr-PARQ TCTS. This result confirms our second hypothesis that xenophobia will prevail less among social categories of the majority group that have higher levels of perceived parental acceptance in childhood.

5. Conclusion

Xenophobia is an indication of the multicultural nature of contemporary society. The concepts of acceptance and mutual respect are important in the development of positive attitudes toward the "other",

the foreigner or the "*xenos*". In this sense, we focused on the relationship between Parental Acceptance and Rejection in childhood and the development of xenophobic attitudes in early adulthood in terms of Cyprus, a society that is being transformed by unprecedented social change: a society of emigrants, the island has recently become a prime destination for large numbers of migrants.

Attitudes toward foreigners are not uniform across Greek Cypriot society. Not every Greek Cypriot is xenophobic. Rather, attitudes vary quite significantly when age, level of education and levels of perceived parental acceptance in childhood are considered.

One of the explanations for xenophobia is rooted in a theory of subterranean values as described in the sociological work of Matza (1964), for example. He argues that times of rapid social change weaken social controls that can otherwise suppress deviant societal traditions. In such times, "subterranean values" inherent in a given society or culture, such as in-group favoritism and out-group violence, are expressed more freely. Western societies, such as Cyprus, are strongly competition-oriented . The individual quest of economic self-interest and the personal effort to surpass others in the accumulation of wealth and status are widely proclaimed to be of great importance to a well-functioning market-oriented economy. Such competitive prerequisites for success may produce pervasive feelings of insecurity. Among other declarations, the PARTheory Personality sub theory asserts that the adults' sense of emotional security and well-being tends to be dependent on the perceived quality of relationships with attachment figures (Rohner & Khaleque, 2008). Rejected individuals are more likely to develop feelings of insecurity. In times of rapid social and economic change, these feelings of insecurity may further increase and overpower forces that can channel striving for success in more socially acceptable ways. To resolve special feelings of insecurity, some young adults may be especially inclined to overemphasize the basic values of competitiveness. Xenophobia and xenophobic acts may be among the results of feeling and acting on the basis of these extreme value orientations (Boehnke, Hagan, & Hefler, 1998:587).

Ongoing research in this area (i.e., Teacher Acceptance Rejection and children's development of xenophobic tendencies, Hostility between indigene and immigrant children in the primary school, etc.) will aid us in discovering more factors and parameters involved in xenophobia so that prevention strategies can be sought and developed.

Notes
[1]The word "xenos" is Greek for "guest", "foreigner" or "non-native". "Philo-xenia" is the Greek word for showing friendliness to "guests", i.e., "hospitality."
[2]Published in "Philelftheros", 10 November, 2007, p. 1.
[3]European Social Survey, 3rd round.
[4]Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, Demographic Report, 2007.
[5]Cyprus Statistical Service, Preliminary Results of the Census of Population, 2011.
[6]In total, 179.547 individuals in the enumerated population are foreign citizens. Of these, 112,424 individuals (62.6%) originate from EU countries and the remaining 67,123 (37.4%) from third countries. The largest number of foreign citizens enumerated is from EU countries: more specifically, 31,044 foreign citizens originate from Greece, 26,659 from the United Kingdom, 24,376 from Romania and 19,197 from Bulgaria. With regard to foreign citizens from third countries, the majority (or 9,744) originate from the Philippines, 8,663 originate from Russia, 7,350 originate from Sri Lanka and 7,102 originate from Vietnam.
[7]ECRI, Report 2 for the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.
[8]ECRI, Report 3 for the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.
[9]Cyprus Statistical Service, Preliminary Results of the Census of Population, 2011, http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All
[10]The tables with data on factor loadings against items of the RACM in the three scales follow in section Correlations Between the RACM Scales/Factors and the Adult-Gr-PARQ Scales.

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