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**IDENTICAL TWINS OR JUST  
COUSINS? RACISM, NEGATIVE  
ATTITUDES TOWARD  
IMMIGRANTS AND  
IMMIGRATION, AND THEIR  
PREDICTORS**

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## **IDENTICAL TWINS OR JUST COUSINS? RACISM, NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION, AND THEIR PREDICTORS**

Since the 1980s, an influx of immigrants to Europe from former colonies has been increasing significantly. In particular, the immigration growth curve changed in the 2000s: since that period, the immigrant population of some European countries has more than doubled. This study investigates the association between racism, attitudes toward immigrants (NATIs), and immigration (NATIn). Not only are the structures of these phenomena analyzed, but the factors influencing their formation. Following this research, racism, attitudes toward immigrants, and immigration represent three related but distinct phenomena. The association between attitudes toward immigrants and attitudes toward immigration is stronger than the corresponding associations between them and racism. At the same time, the association between racism and attitudes toward immigration is stronger than the corresponding association with attitudes toward immigrants. Contextual predictors such as the percentage of immigrants and social expenditures matter only in the case of attitudes toward immigrants: a higher rate of immigrants leads to an increase of NATIs and higher social spending leads to a decrease in them. Contextual predictors not only influence the formation of the NATIs directly but also exert an indirect effect by reducing the impact of individual characteristics. The benefits and drawbacks of the study, as well as the directions of further research, are discussed.

Keywords: immigrants immigration racism

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## Introduction

A growing number of researches aim to understand the nature of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration, their predictors and consequences have been appearing in social sciences and economics since the 1990s (see Table 1 in Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Berg, 2015). In particular, much attention has been given to theories of the role of racial prejudice, competitive threats and the experience of having contact with immigrants, on the individual level (e.g. Gorodezky, 2015; Esses et al, 2010; Ward, Masgoret, 2008), and the proportion of immigrants (Ward, Masgoret, 2008; Brunner, Kuhn, 2018), the amount of taxes and social expenditures, on the country level (Newman, 2013; Citrin, Green, Muste, & Wong, 1997). Taking into consideration the European silent rules of expressing attitudes in a politically correct way, it's not a rare case when people who express negative attitudes toward immigrants (NATIs) or negative attitudes toward immigration (NATIn) can be bracketed with the ones, who share racist views. But is it the case? Is there no difference between people who think that an increasing number of immigrants could pose a threat to their society in several ways and those who believe that some races are better than others? Do these phenomena have the same predictors on both individual and country levels? Another pertinent question relates to the comparing attitudes toward immigrants and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Should one treat all these three phenomena as one or does it make sense to study them separately? There are a number of works devoted to clarifying the relationship between NATIn and NATIs, on the one hand, and NATIn, NATIs racism, on the other (Mayda, 2006; Gorodezsky, 2015; Palmer, 1996). In most research, racism is regarded as a significant source of negative sentiment toward immigrants and immigration and is labeled as "modern racism" (Ekehammar & Araya, 2000). There are fewer researches investigating the connection between NATIn and NATIs. Finally, there is still no research, (1) testing the interconnection between all three phenomena and their predictors using advanced statistical methods of analysis, (2) using updated databases, containing such a great number of questions on the related theme and hence allowing measure precisely the phenomena of interest.

In the present paper I would like to investigate (1) the interconnection between NATIn, NATIs, and racism, (2) the differences in the individual predictors of these indicators using both socioeconomic variables and all basic human values components, (3) the differences in country-level predictors of these indicators.

## Hypotheses

### Negative Attitudes toward Immigration, Negative Attitudes toward Immigrants and Racism

It's still an open question whether one should consider NATI, NATIs and racism as the indicators of the same phenomenon or whether they represent distinct types of attitudes.

There are arguments for both of these hypotheses. Below I will provide a summary of the explanations, other researchers have already offered in the corresponding literature.

I suppose that all three types of attitudes share the same roots, which can be either the negative perception of out-group members or unconscious racism. Both phenomena are interconnected and are well studied in social psychology.

The negative perception of out-group members may be a factor, uniting NATIn, NATIs, and racism. Following optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer 2003), negative attitudes toward out-groups may arise when the balance between aspirations for inclusion and distinctiveness within and between social groups is not achieved. As it was shown in literature, one of the main triggers for negative out-group attitudes is low self-esteem (Martiny, Rubin, 2016). Consequently, one can suppose that deeper reasoning behind all three types of attitudes, which are NATIn, NATIs, and racism, is the general tendency of a person to express negative attitudes toward out-groups.

Another explanation tends to unite NATIn, NATIs, and racism based on the similarity of the out-group members, toward whom negative sentiment is leveled. Most immigrants who have come to Europe lately are not only from a different culture but are also of a different racial origin and can have a different color of the body - a marked difference. Hence it could give rise consciously or unconsciously to the same racist views expressed in a more politically correct language. Theory of unconscious racism (Quillian, 2008) assumes that during the early steps of socialization despite the government's and society's assurances of the importance of treating all people equally regardless of their race or ethnicity, citizens still on an unconscious level acquire values of inequality and contrary to government's policy they are used to judging people with respect to their ethnical origins. Why does such a paradox exist? Firstly, taking into account the corresponding insights from psychology it is known that stereotypes help the mind to simplify reality as it's impossible for the human mind to perceive all phenomena in detail (Tajfel, Henri, 1981). Secondly, despite the government's policy and intentions to support the idea of racial irrelevance, people from an early age observe a different picture.

For example, in America citizens frequently read and hear news about another crime committed by black people. They watch movies and see commercials which even today quite often at least highlight the difference between white and blacks and, at the maximum, demonstrate the superiority of whites over black people. In European countries, the same processes could be observed with the substitution of African Americans by immigrants from the Middle East and African countries. While it's no longer socially acceptable to express purely racist ideas, they could be transformed, consciously or unconsciously, into negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Quillian aptly remarks, "deep associations can affect our thoughts and actions without conscious awareness, creating an unconscious racial bias in decisions and action" (Quillian, 2008).

However, despite the expected interconnection between NATIn, NATIs, and racism a tangible difference between these phenomena is still apparent. In contrast with racism, NATIs and NATIn are more complicated and flexible in their nature and can be influenced strongly by the current economic situation and the corresponding government's social policy. While racism is an ancient phenomenon, based on the old dichotomy «mine VS others», NATIs and NATIn are relatively new constructs in Europe that appeared as an answer to a particular socioeconomic situation at the end of the XX century and at the beginning of XXIst. Unlike people displaying racism people, expressing NATIs or NATIn may not have any prejudice against a particular race or ethnicity in general, but merely worry about possible economic, social, and cultural effects, which could be triggered by increasing waves of immigration.

Hence my first hypothesis is that NATIn and NATIs are not identical to each other and should, therefore, be measured separately. At the same time, all three phenomena could have the same roots which may be either a general tendency of a person to express negative attitudes toward out-group or the effect of unconscious racism.

#### Negative Attitudes toward Immigrants and Negative Attitudes toward Immigration

There is a long-standing controversy in academic literature regarding the approaches to measure attitudes toward immigrants and attitudes toward immigration. Some scholars unite these two indicators into one multi-item index (Esses et al. 1998, 2001; Simon & Lynch 1999). Others point out that such unification can lead to serious methodological problems, including problems with validity (Ceobanu, 2010). I assume that not only methodological issues are obstacles to attempts to measure NATIn and NATIs together, but also theoretical ones. People who express NATIn tend to share a general fear regarding increasing

immigration from other countries and toward specific religious and ethnic groups of immigrants such as Muslims, Gypsies, and Jews. In contrast, those who share NATIs describe specific possible problems such as unemployment, growing crime rates, etc, which could be caused by immigrants without expressing the idea that any member of this or that group of people has some intrinsic bad qualities. Following the same logic, I expect to find a closer connection between a NATIn and racism than between NATIs and racism, because the first two phenomena depict a more abstract form of relation to out-groups. Both racists and those who express NATIn keep in mind abstract groups. First, they share beliefs that all people of the same race have some intrinsic features (mostly bad ones). Second, they also demonstrate a widespread fear that any member of a certain group poses a threat to their state's well-being but instead of the race/ethnic criterion they use (1) the religious one (Muslim, Jewish and Gypsies are not welcomed) or (2) the origins one (people from poor countries).

At the same time, despite the similarity, they are not identical to each other. NATIn is close to anchored in their attachment to the ethnoreligious entity. As was mentioned before, NATIn can also be seen as a modern expression of the same racist ideas, proposed just in a more politically correct form as a direct approval of racist views is considered improper in European society. Yet NATIn is different from racism not only because it can put forward racist ideas differently. Those who share NATIn could negatively perceive other races and ethnoreligious entities not in general but only in connection with the question of immigration to their country. One can assume that these people also see a threat in immigration regarding the social, cultural, political, and economic issues caused by immigration from other countries. Finally, people who have NATIs may have nothing against immigrants' origins or their religion. They could simply anticipate possible harm caused by immigrants the economy of their state in general and their work-position in particular.

With reference to literature, I expect to find a positive association between NATIn, NATI, and Racism. However, it's still important to see that these types of attitudes towards out-groups represent distinct phenomena, and the corresponding methods of data analysis, such as Confirmatory Factor Analysis, could provide the evidence for such a statement. Also, the difference between these phenomena may be seen through socio-demographic factors forming this or that type of attitude. Thus, my **first hypothesis (H1)** is that NATIn, NATIs, and racism represent closely related but distinct phenomena. There is a stronger association between NATIn and racism than between NATIs and racism.

### Contextual predictors

As was said before, the difference between NATIn, NATIs, and racism could be proved not only by using CFA but also by watching the predictors of these phenomena closely. In the previous section, I described the possible effect of individual characteristics. Below I will dwell on the attention on so-called second-level variables or contextual variables. By including them into the models, one can see how the general context in a concrete community may have a direct and an indirect effect on the phenomena of my interest. An indirect effect occurs when the association between two individual measured variables depends on contextual variables. In the following section I will describe this in more detail.

Higher government social expenditures and taxes can have a dubious effect on NATIn and NATIs. On the one hand, they can lead to a decrease in anti-immigrant attitudes because of improving social policy and better coping with an influx of immigrants. It can include better work of adaptation centers, providing immigrants with sufficient resources so that they can be more easily integrated into a local community. At the same time, increased sums of money allocated to social expenditures can provoke a negative reaction from wealthier citizens, who are not ready to see their tax money spent on newcomers' adaptation. In this research, I test the hypothesis that supports the first opinion: the more the government spends on social policy, the smaller the number of people who share anti-immigrants attitudes.

As my measurement of NATIs among others shows acceptance of others who may differ from oneself, I assume that the more different the people around you are, the harder it is to keep being tolerant. From a group rather than an individualistic point of view, we may say that there are certain limits to which one group can absorb the people from other groups while remaining tolerant of their differences. This idea can be found in literature as well. For instance, David Goodhart claims that "high immigration can undermine national solidarity and be a threat to social democratic ideals of the welfare state" (Goodhart, 2013). To see whether such an idea can still be considered feasible, I include in the model the share of immigrants in any given in dataset of one country.

Contextual predictors may imply not only direct but indirect effects as well. Higher percentages of immigrants may mitigate the effect of individual-level predictors, equaling the reaction of people with different SES. As a result, not only people with low SES, who are more likely to face competitive threats but also people with higher SES, who don't face such a problem, can express negative sentiments toward immigration and immigrants. The opposite effect could be observed in the case of the level of social expenditures. It can also mitigate the impact of SES but in an opposite way: the higher social spending may lead to a lower probability that



people of low SES would express NATIn, NATIs, or support racist ideas, equaling people of low SES with people who display relatively higher SES.

So my **second hypothesis (H2)** is based on the idea that higher numbers of immigrants and higher taxes lead to higher NATIn, NATIs, and racism. Higher levels of social expenditures, however, could lead to lower values of these indicators. All three contextual factors mitigate the effects of SES.

Hence drawing on the arguments described above, I propose the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 1:**

*Racism, NATIs, and NATIn are the three interconnected but distinct phenomena. In particular, they are not identical in terms of SES predictors, influencing their formation.*

**Hypothesis 2:**

*Contextual variables matter in the formation of NATIn, NATI, and racism. They exert not only the direct but the indirect effect as well through mitigating the effect of SES predictors.*

## Empirical Strategy

### Data and Methods

In this research, I use the data about anti-immigrant attitudes, racial prejudice, and SES from the 7th Round of European Social Survey, conducted in the 2014 year. The exact words of questions used to measure my variables of interest could be found in the Appendix. The data was collected in 21 countries from Europe, from a random probability national samples. The data about taxes was taken from Eurostat and information about the percentage of immigrants in a given country – from United Nations report Trends in International Stock: The 2013 Revision.

There are a number of methods, which I use to test my hypotheses. Firstly, to see whether NATIn, NATIs, and racism are distinct phenomena and to create then latent variables depicted by these indicators, I use Explanatory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). To see the direct and indirect effects of country-level variables such as social expenditures, GDP per capita and total income tax rate, Multilevel Modeling is used. Using the data collected across different groups, it's essential to be sure that the structure of this or that construct is



the same or at least similar across these groups. To test this hypothesis, I use the methods, allowing me to check Measurement invariance as each construct in my model, - NATIn, NATINs, and racism, - is a latent variable based on a number of observed indicators.

#### SES predictors

I add the education variable: more educated people are expected to be more tolerant of the differences between groups and are less likely to succumb to stereotypes (Pettigrew, Tropp, 2006).

There is no agreement in the corresponding literature whether contact with immigrants leads to more favorable sentiment to them among locals (Barlow et al 2012; Pettigrew, Tropp 2006) or, on the contrary, whether it is positively associated with NATIn and NATI (Johnston, Gendall, Trlin, Spoonley, 2010) as the contact between people from different cultural backgrounds could lead to mutual misunderstanding. According to contact theory (Allport, 1954), under certain circumstances, which are equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and authority support, intergroup contact leads to more favorable attitudes toward out-group members. As these conditions are clearly violated in the case of relations between locals and immigrants in Europe, one should expect that contact experience doesn't reduce prejudices against out-group members. To check whether this hypothesis is correct or not, the measure of the occurrence of contact with people from different ethnic groups or races was included in the model. In particular, the opposite effect is possible for racism, which is expected to have deeper roots in one's mindset. Due to strong original bias, communication with a person of a different race or ethnicity could only reinforce prejudices toward these groups.

People placing themselves on the left end of the left-right political spectrum are supposed to be less likely to share NATIn, NATIs, and racism. Those individuals who have a high level of income are less likely to share NATIn and NATIs because the competitive threat is not laid bare for them. More religious respondents are expected to be more hostile toward immigrants because most people who regard themselves as religious are likely to share conservative views as well. Finally, feeling safety leads to a decrease in NATIs and NATIn.

#### Contextual predictors

To see the effect of contextual factors such as the percentage of immigrants in a given country, social expenditures, and taxes I'm using the multilevel modeling method. To see the indirect effect of these second-level variables, I'm adding

interaction effects, which could show whether the context determines the strength of the SES effect on NATIn, NATIs, and racism.

Finally, it's important to underscore that I measure negative attitudes. This means that the higher values of NATI and NATIn variables indicate stronger negative attitudes, while the lowest values imply stronger positive attitudes.

## Results

### Measurement Invariance

Before running the models, described above, as was mentioned before I need to check whether my approaches to measuring constructs of interest fit the requirements of measurement invariance. This means that I need to be sure that 'under different conditions of observing and studying phenomena, measurement operations yield measures of the same attribute' (Horn and McArdle, 1992: 117). In my case, I should check whether invariance is absent or not as I use the sample, representing twenty-one European countries. In other words, I need to demonstrate that it makes sense to compare the values of the constructs cross-nationally.

There are three levels of invariance (Steenkamp, Baumgartner, 1998):

1. Configural equivalence: The factor structure is the same across groups in multi-group confirmatory factor analysis.
2. Metric equivalence: Factor loadings are similar across groups.
3. Scalar equivalence: Values/Mean are also equivalent across groups.

**Table 1** below demonstrates that both NATIn and NATIs fit these requirements of configural and metric invariance: CFI (comparative fit index) in all cases is higher than 0.950. So now I can go to the next step and check the association between the constructs.

**Table 1**

	Configural Invariance		Metric Invariance	
	CFI	RMSEA	CFI	RMSEA
Negative Attitudes toward Immigrants (Integrated indicator)	0.982	0.072	0.95	0.79
Negative Attitudes toward Immigration	1	0	0.977	0.133

As was discussed in the first part of this work NATIn, NATIs, and racism are expected to be interconnected but still reflect different phenomena to a certain extent. To see what kind of structure better explains the relations between these indicators, I build three models.

In the first model (*Graph 1, Model 1 in Appendix*), all indicators of NATIn, NATIs, and racism are independently put into one model so that I can check whether there is one latent variable based on all these indicators. In the second model (*Graph 2, Model 2 in Appendix*), I unite indicators into three separated latent variables, NATIs, NATIn, and racism, which in turn are united into one second-order latent variable. In the third model (*Graph 3, Model 3 in Appendix*) there are three orders of latent variables measurement: firstly I create two separated latent variables, which measure different types of NATIn, then I unite them into one latent variable of NATIn, after this I unite three latent variables, measuring NATIn, NATIs, and racism into one latent variable.

As it is shown in the graphs, the factor loading of racism is very low. This means that racism and NATIn and NATIs can not be considered as indicators of the same phenomena. At the same time, this Graph shows clearly that NATIn and NATIs represent similar phenomena.

Of all three models, the last one demonstrated the best fit measure (*Table 2*). In accordance with these results, I can conclude that NATIn and NATIs represent similar phenomena, while racism is different.

**Table 2**

	CFI	TLI	RMSEA
<i>Model 1</i>	0.826	0.794	0.097
<i>Model 2</i>	0.922	0.904	0.066
<i>Model 3</i>	0.948	0.934	0.055

As expected, I found out that racism, on the one hand, and NATIn and NATIs, on the other, can't be regarded as the indicators of the same phenomenon. The latter indicators have appeared quite recently as the result of the particular socioeconomic first of all but also the political situation that has emerged in Europe recently. The increasing waves of immigration to Europe from the Middle East and African countries were shocking to the locals due to the ratio between its size and the speed. As most immigrants differ from locals by their cultural

traditions and appearance (color of skin, for example), some people in and outside Europe have started to claim that the expressions of NATIs and/or NATIn today are just the modern forms of old racism. However, my empirical analysis has demonstrated that it's not the case. The rationale behind such a result is that NATIn and NATIs, on the one hand, and racism, on the other, are quite different in their nature. Whereas the former phenomena are quite new and connected with concrete geographic zone and its socioeconomic issues, the latter is the ancient phenomenon, existing on deeper levels of human consciences and - and this is important – unconscious and based on an ancient and basic dichotomy my VS another's. And this explains why racism and NATIn and NATIs are not the same. However, as it was shown, NATIn are closer to racism than NATIs. The main difference between NATIn and NATIs is that people, who share the former attitudes tend to formulate their relations to the members of the concrete group, basing only on the fact of their membership. Whereas those who support NATIs see the problem not in the membership in this or that group, but in the economic or social consequences of presenting this or that group in their country. So the rationale of people who share NATIn is truly closer to racism than the rationale of those who share NATIs.

#### Differences in SES predictors <sup>2</sup>

##### **Age**

Empirical findings (*Table 5. Multilevel Modeling*) show that age plays different roles in determining support for NATIs, NATIn, and racism. The older the person is, the higher the probability is that they would share NATIn. This result could be explained by older people's worldview is being less flexible. Taking into account that such an inflow of immigrants from Arabic and African countries is a relatively new phenomenon, it can be hard for older people to accept the rapid changes in their society caused by this immigration. At the same time, the positive effect of age on the probability that a given person would share NATIs is less obvious. NATIs are more likely to be based on rational concerns. As a result, their formation could occur independently from age.

Surprisingly in accordance with the empirical findings the younger people are more likely to support racist ideas. This is a puzzle, which can be explained in the following way. Firstly, younger people tend to express their ideas in a less politically correct form. The process of their socialization and adopting the "silent" rules of society cannot be fully finished yet. Secondly, younger people tend to be

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<sup>2</sup> To see the effect of all SES predictors look at the Table 5 in Appendix.

more radical and more likely to support extreme ideas due to the specifics of their emotional functioning.

### ***Religion***

Judging by the empirical results, religious people are more likely to oppose immigration and immigrants, but no significant association between religion and racism hasn't been found. Such a finding supports the idea that racism, on the one hand, and NATIn and NATIs, on the other hand, represent different phenomena. Most immigrants coming to Europe during the last ten years are Muslims, while most Europeans are Christians. Religious people of one confession are more likely to oppose the coming of people of another confession. At the same time, racists use different criteria to divide groups and differentiate "us" from "others" – this criterion is race. This explains why religion has a significant association with NATIn and NATIs but has no effect on racism.

### ***Education***

Education, measured as the length of studying, decrease the probability that a given person would share NATIn, NATIs, and racism. The more educated people are expected to have more developed critical thinking and understand that inter-group differences do not necessarily mean that out-group members pose a threat to their way of life.

### ***Income***

A vast majority of corresponding literature claims that a higher level of income should lead to a decrease in discriminative behavior toward out-group members. In particular, Maslow (1981), Lipset (1959) and Inglehart (1971) assert that a higher level of economic prosperity leads to a shift in values, from materialist ones, when you first of all care about your survival, to postmaterialist values, when you start to care not only about your survival but also about your self-realization, other people's rights, etc. In accordance with these theories, my models demonstrate that a higher income leads to a significant decrease in NATIs, NATIn, and racism. However, the association between income and NATIn and NATIs is significantly stronger than the same association with racism. As was mentioned before, racism is a much older and hence more rigid phenomenon, which is less likely to be influenced by the individual's specific characteristics.

### ***Contact***

Another predictor demonstrating a different effect on NATI, NATIn, and racism is the experience of having contact with out-group members. The more contacts the

individual has had, the higher the probability is that he/she would have warmer attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. However, the higher intensity of having such contact leads to a higher likelihood that a person would share racist views. Such a result once again demonstrates that racism is a more rigid phenomenon, which is less likely to be affected by the factors, influencing NATIn and NATIs, as more recently appeared and more flexible phenomena.

So in accordance with the empirical results, my first hypothesis was proved.

### **Hypothesis 1:**

*It was shown that NATIn, NATIs, on the one hand, and racism, on the other, represent different phenomena. This means that racism and NATIn and NATIs can't be considered as the indicators of the same phenomenon. However, it was shown clearly that NATIs and NATIn are similar and can be regarded as different indicators of the same phenomenon. There is a certain difference between NATIn, NATIs, and racism also in terms of their predictors both on the individual and, as will be described below, country-level.*

### **Contextual predictors**

The formation of individual characteristics could be affected not only by individual-level predictors but also by the characteristics of the group. In the case of NATIn, NATI, and racism, it's important to keep in mind the possible effect of societal characteristics and governmental policy. To verify this statement's accuracy, I add three contextual predictors - the percentage of immigrants, the amount of taxes, and the share of social expenditures - and run multilevel models. Empirical analysis (*Table 5. Multilevel Modeling in Appendix*) demonstrates that contextual variables do not affect racism and NATIn. However, social expenditures and the percentage of immigrants affects NATIs: higher social expenditures lead to lower values of NATIs while a higher percentage of immigrants in a country, on the contrary, leads to higher values of NATIs. It shows that firstly NATIs is a more flexible phenomenon, easier affected by a number of different processes and individual characteristics. Secondly, people sharing NATIs are more likely to base their conclusions on the rational analysis of the present-day situation, unlike the ones sharing NATIs and displaying racism, who express negative sentiments toward out-groups, deriving merely from the fact of "outgroupness".

Beyond the direct effect, contextual variables exert an indirect effect as well. The interaction effect between these variables and the number of individual

characteristics prove to be statistically significant. As it is shown in *Graphs 5-8 (in Appendix)*, the effect of some individual characteristics is dwindling while the values of contextual variables are increasing. A higher percentage of immigrants leads to a decrease in the effect of income and education on NATIs. Higher taxes result in a decrease in the effect of frequency of having contact with people of a different race or ethnic group and income on NATIs. In accordance with such results, one may conclude that the higher values of contextual variables lead to the vanishing of the significance of differences in individual characteristics in their effect on NATIs. And this one more time proves that context matters in forming attitudes toward immigrants. The higher rates of contextual indicators lead to the destruction of traditional theories about the effects of individual-level variables. And this should be taken into account by politicians who make decisions regarding corresponding policy. It means that European societies have passed certain line beyond which they all are becoming more homogeneous in the question of attitudes toward immigrants, and their answer to this question is negative: people without regard to their socio-economic differences anymore tend to share anti-immigrant attitudes.

Hence second hypothesis was partly proved.

### **Hypothesis 2:**

*Contextual indicators matter only in the case of NATIs. Higher social expenditures lead to lower values of NATIs while a higher percentage of immigrants in a country, on the contrary, leads to higher values of NATIs. Contextual exert not only direct, but indirect effects as well through interaction effect with individual characteristics by mitigating the effect of the latter.*

### **Conclusions**

Since the 19th century and, in particular, WWII, European culture could be characterized as humanistic, highlighting and supporting the value of tolerance, human rights, and equality of opportunities. Up to now, these values have been fixed in both national laws and international declarations. However, today the value of tolerance is faced with the challenge of increasing influx of immigrants, most of whom are coming from the countries whose population at least partly have different values from those of European ones. Previous literature on this question has highlighted several sources of anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. These are cultural threat and competitive threat on an individual level, and taxes rate, GDP, and social expenditures on the country level. Some researchers also point out the



role of racial prejudices (Gorodzeisky, Semyonov 2015). Other scholars not only consider the role of racial prejudice in sharing anti-immigrant attitudes but define these attitudes as a modern form of racism (Akrami, Ekehammar, Araya 2000). In the present study, using quite extensive data from ESS, I contribute to the existing body of literature about anti-immigrant attitudes in the following ways.

Both NATIn, NATIs, and racism could be explained by insights from social psychology in general and in-group out-group theories in particular. There is an important intersection between out-group members in both cases. European racists share negative attitudes toward certain races and nationalities such as blacks and Arabs, for example. Most current immigrants to Europe share the same race and nationality. Therefore, it's not surprising that some scholars suggest that NATIn and NATI are just a modern, more politically correct version of the old phenomenon (racism). However, as was demonstrated above, there is still a significant difference between NATIn, NATIs, and racism. There are several possible explanations of this discrepancy. Firstly, it could relate to a difference in the nature and longevity of these phenomena. Being an older form of prejudice than NATIn and NATIs, racism can be so deeply integrated in person's worldview that the one can just fail to perceive it as something specific. Racism has been distributing in Europe for ages, whereas the current immigration crisis in Europe has appeared relatively recently as the result of the concrete socioeconomic situation and immigration from certain countries. While racism in today's Europe in most cases is grounded in irrational reasons and artificial images of out-group members, increasing waves of immigration to Europe from North Africa and the Middle East lead to the emergence of concrete and up-to-date socioeconomic issues. Consequently, although being similar to some extent, NATIn, NATIs, and racism still represent different phenomena.

It was also shown that contextual variables exert not only direct but indirect effect as well. The higher values of the percentage of immigrants and taxes lead to a drop in the effect of income, education, and contact on NATIs. This means that the effect of individual differences on NATIs is diminishing in a certain context.

Probably the main drawback of the present research might relate to the inability to add the time factor and see if the attitudes and their association with different variables have been changing over time. In particular, it could be measured whether a rise in the number of immigrants in a given country can affect NATIn, NATIs, and racism. Unfortunately, the set of the questions about attitudes toward immigrants is not a regular one in ESS, but was conducted just once in 2014.

However, taking into account rapid changes in socio-demographic composition in Europe today could provide us with new results.

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## Appendix

Table 3. Operationalization of the terms

The term	Measurement
<b>Negative Attitudes toward Immigrants (NATI)</b>	<p>1) Immigrants take jobs away in country</p> <p>2) Most people who come to live here work and pay taxes. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, do you think people who come here take out more than they put in?</p> <p>3) Are [country]'s crime problems made worse or better by people coming to live here from other countries?</p> <p>4) Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants</p>
<b>Negative Attitudes toward immigration (NATI<sub>n</sub>1)</b>	<p>Allow professionals from [poor European country providing largest number of migrants]</p> <p>to come to live in [country]?</p> <p>Allow professionals from [poor country outside Europe providing largest number of migrants]</p> <p>to come to live in [country]?</p> <p>Allow unskilled labourers from [poor European country providing largest number of migrants]</p> <p>to come to live in [country]?</p> <p>Allow unskilled labourers from [poor country outside Europe providing largest number</p>

	of migrants] to come to live in [country]?
<b>Negative Attitudes toward certain nationalities of immigrants (NATIn2)</b>	1) Allow many or few Jewish people to come and live in country 2) Allow many or few Muslims to come and live in country 3) Allow many or few Gypsies to come
<b>Racism</b>	1. Thinking about the world today, would you say that some cultures are much better than others or that all cultures are equal? 2. Do you think some races or ethnic groups are born harder working than others? 3. Do you think some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent than others?

### Graphs

NATIn - Negative Attitudes toward Immigration

NATI1 - Negative Attitudes toward Immigration 1

NATI2 - Negative Attitudes toward Immigration 2

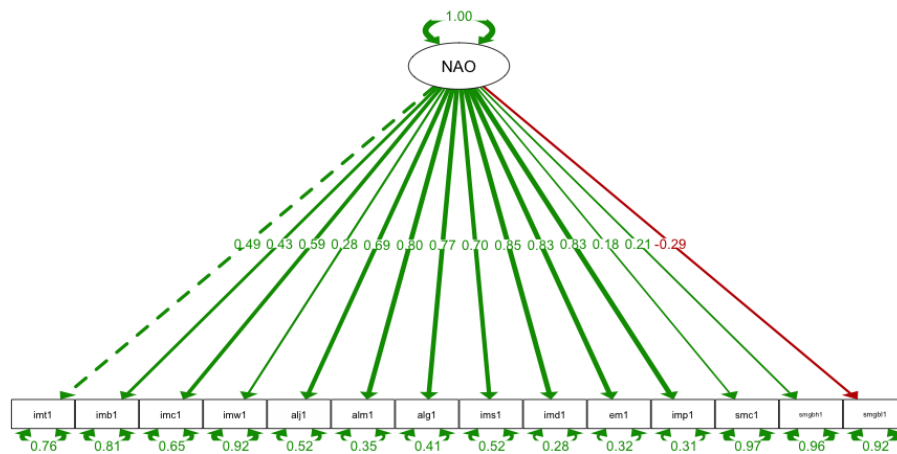
NATIs - Negative Attitudes toward Immigrants

Rcs – Racism

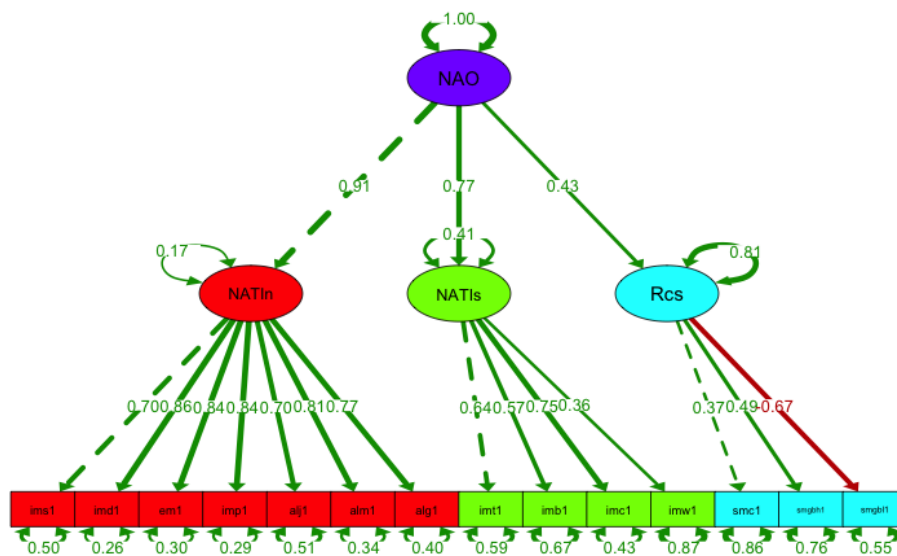
NAO – Negative Attitudes toward out-groupsB

### Graph 1

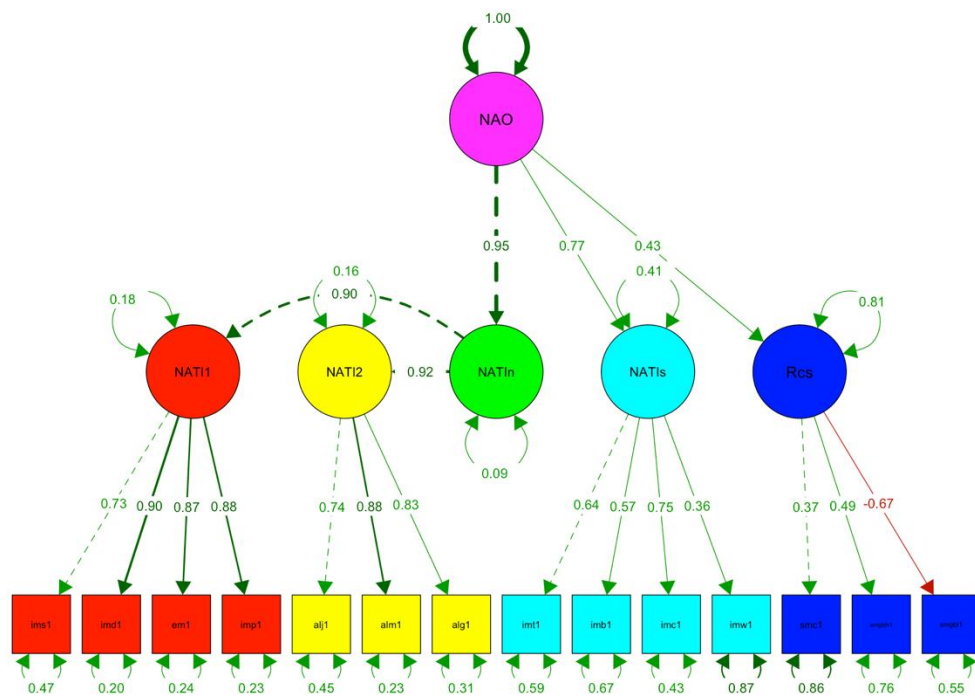




Graph 2



Graph 3



**Table 4. Fit measures**

	CFI	TLI	RMSEA
<i>Model 1</i>	0.826	0.794	0.097
<i>Model 2</i>	0.922	0.904	0.066
<i>Model 3</i>	0.948	0.934	0.055

**Table 5. Multilevel Modeling**

Table 1:

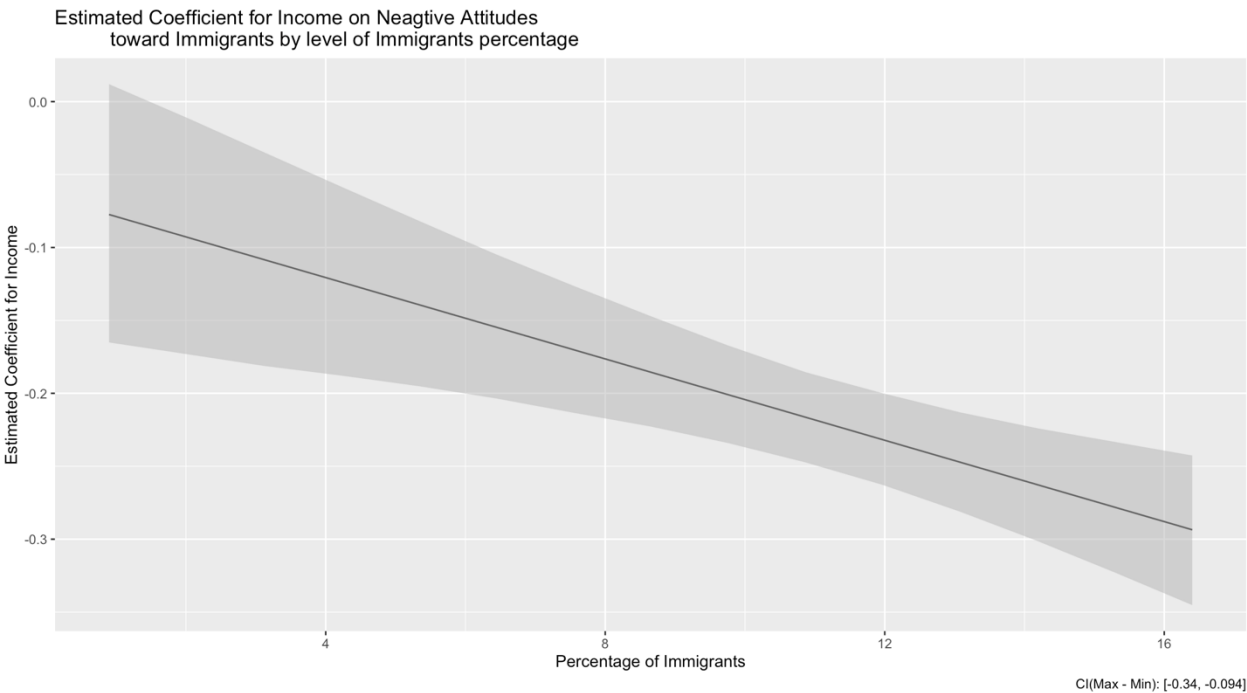
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	NATIn	NATIs	RC
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Taxes	−0.010 (0.009)	0.001 (0.014)	−0.003 (0.002)
Percentage of Immigrants	−0.004 (0.014)	0.037* (0.022)	0.0001 (0.003)
Social Welfare	0.0001 (0.0001)	−0.0002** (0.0001)	−0.00001 (0.00001)
Year Born	−0.048*** (0.005)	0.055*** (0.012)	−0.005*** (0.002)
Education	−0.154*** (0.005)	−0.235*** (0.011)	−0.005** (0.002)
Income	−0.090*** (0.006)	−0.184*** (0.013)	−0.004* (0.002)
Safety	−0.076*** (0.005)	−0.155*** (0.012)	−0.006*** (0.002)
Right-left	0.114*** (0.005)	0.142*** (0.012)	0.020*** (0.002)
Religion	−0.025*** (0.006)	−0.041*** (0.012)	0.003 (0.002)
Contact	−0.107*** (0.005)	−0.137*** (0.012)	0.006*** (0.002)
Constant	2.843*** (0.327)	5.972*** (0.523)	1.675*** (0.080)
Observations	16,960	14,825	16,227
Log Likelihood	−16,280.310	−25,061.660	516.105
Akaike Inf. Crit.	32,586.620	50,149.330	−1,006.210
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	32,687.230	50,248.180	−906.183

*Note:*

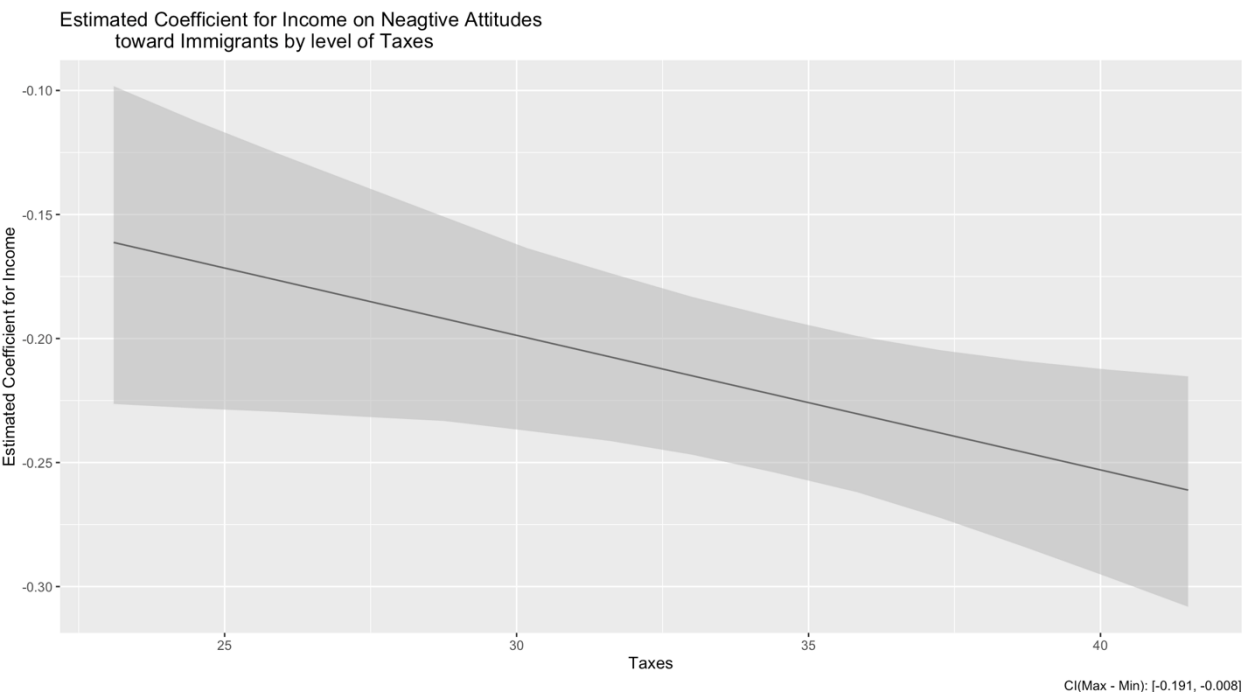
\*p&lt;0.1; \*\*p&lt;0.05; \*\*\*p&lt;0.01

Interaction effects

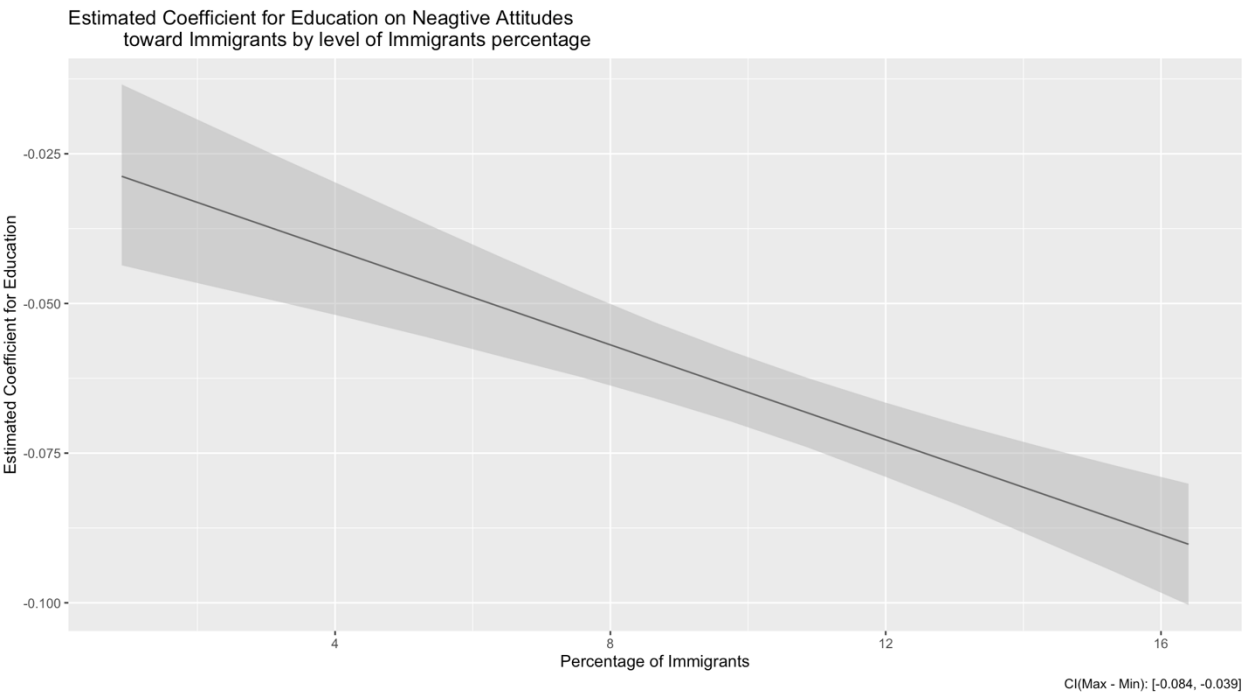
Graph 5



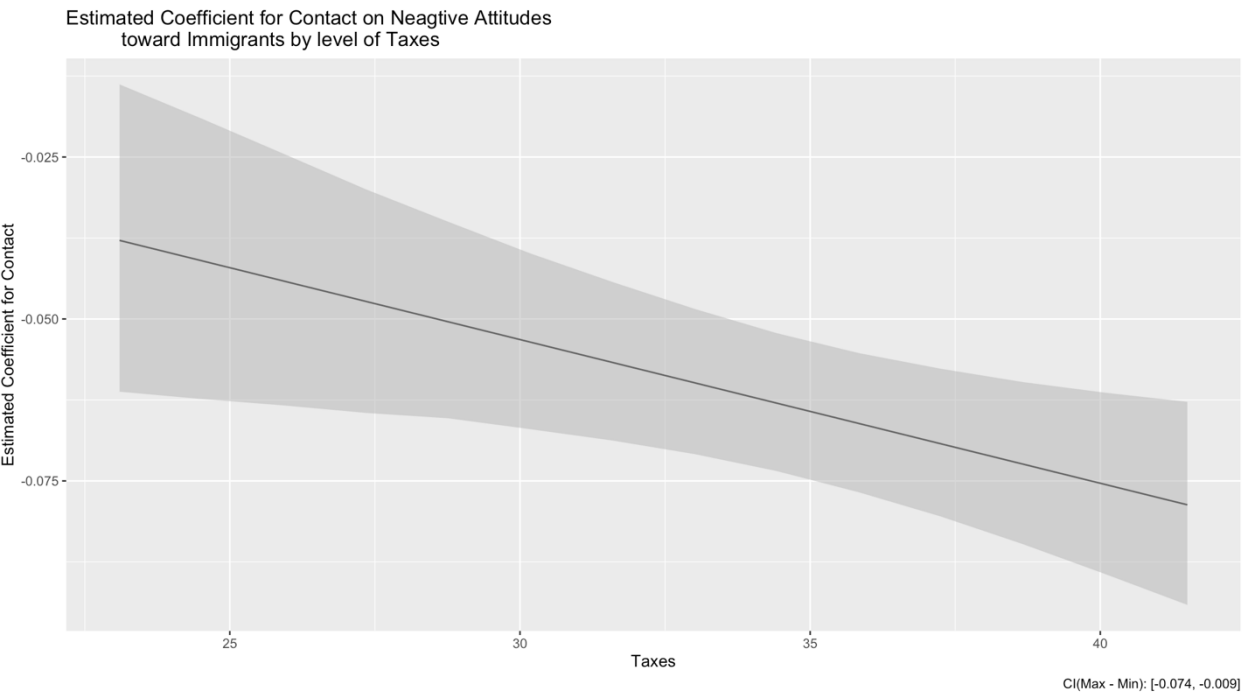
Graph 6



Graph 7



Graph 8



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