



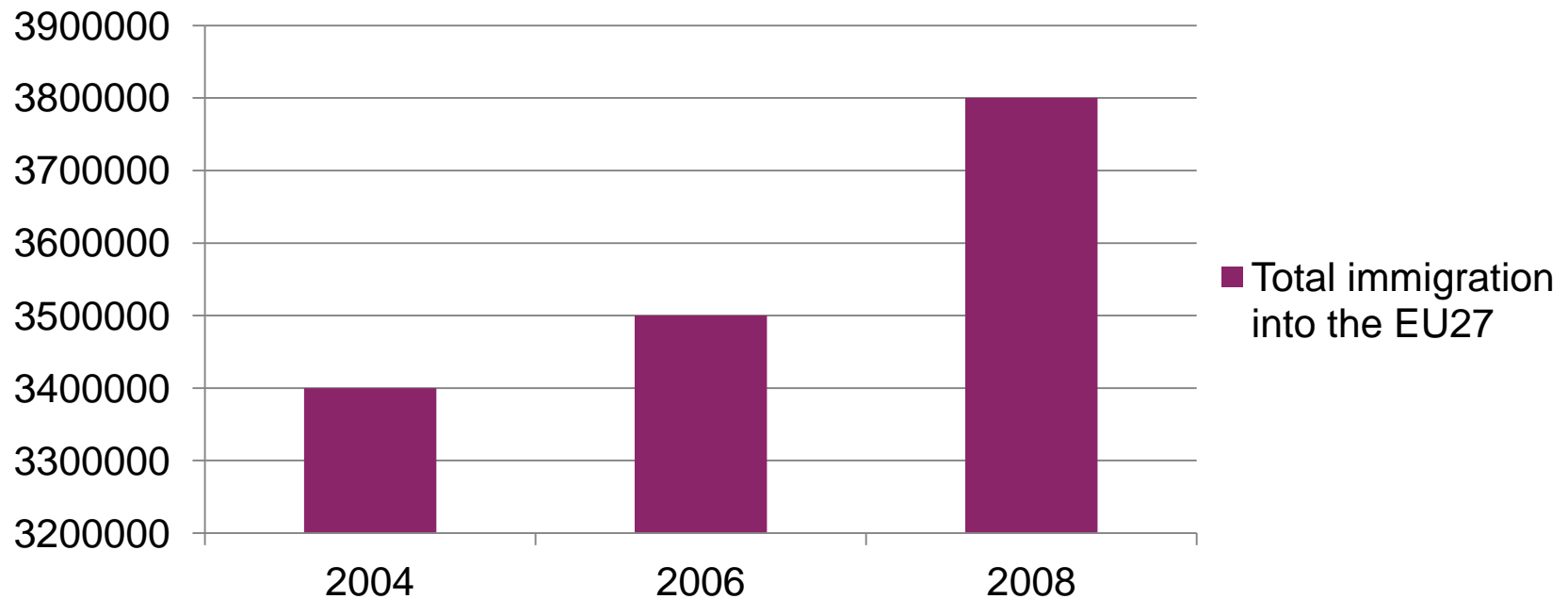
When do Values Matter? Explaining Attitudes Toward Immigration


Peter Schmidt University of
Giessen and HSE Moscow

The story: Why explain attitudes toward immigration?

- **Immigration** has been **on the rise** in Europe in the last years.

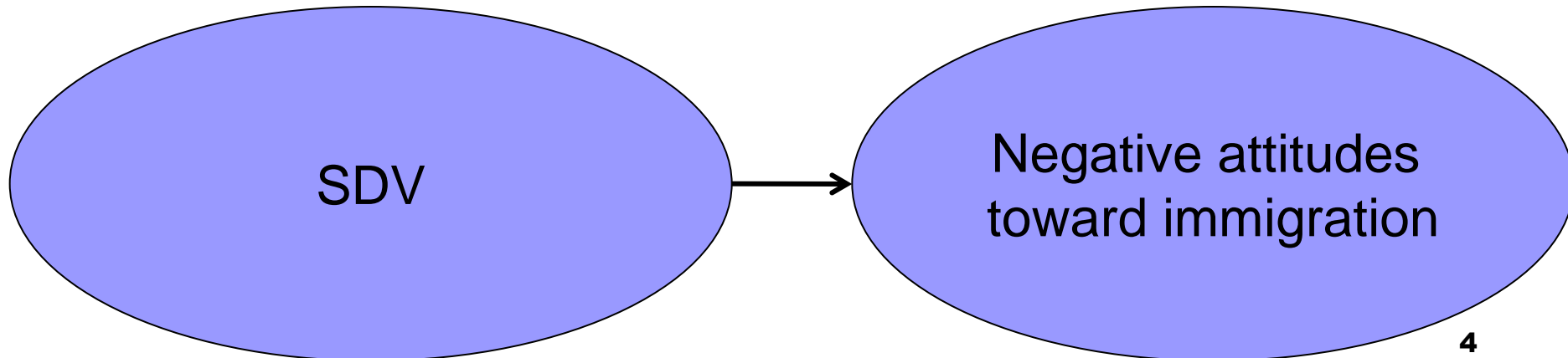
Total immigration into the EU27



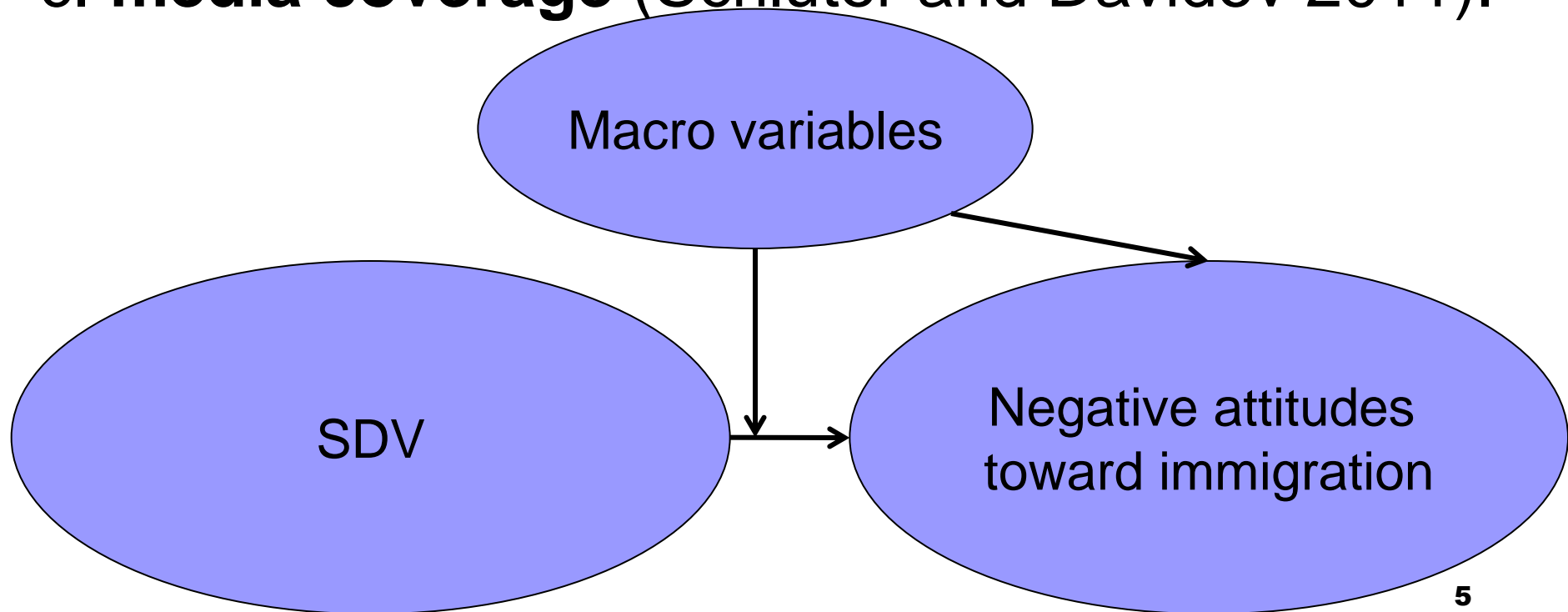
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- At the same time, there are studies indicating that also **anti-foreigner sentiments** have been high or **on the rise** in the last decades (Semyonov et al. 2006, Schlüter and Davidov 2011).
 - Thus, studying **the causes of negative** attitudes toward immigration are very relevant: They may provide **tools to understand** such attitudes better and might be the basis for **development of policies.**

How do previous studies explain negative attitudes toward immigration?

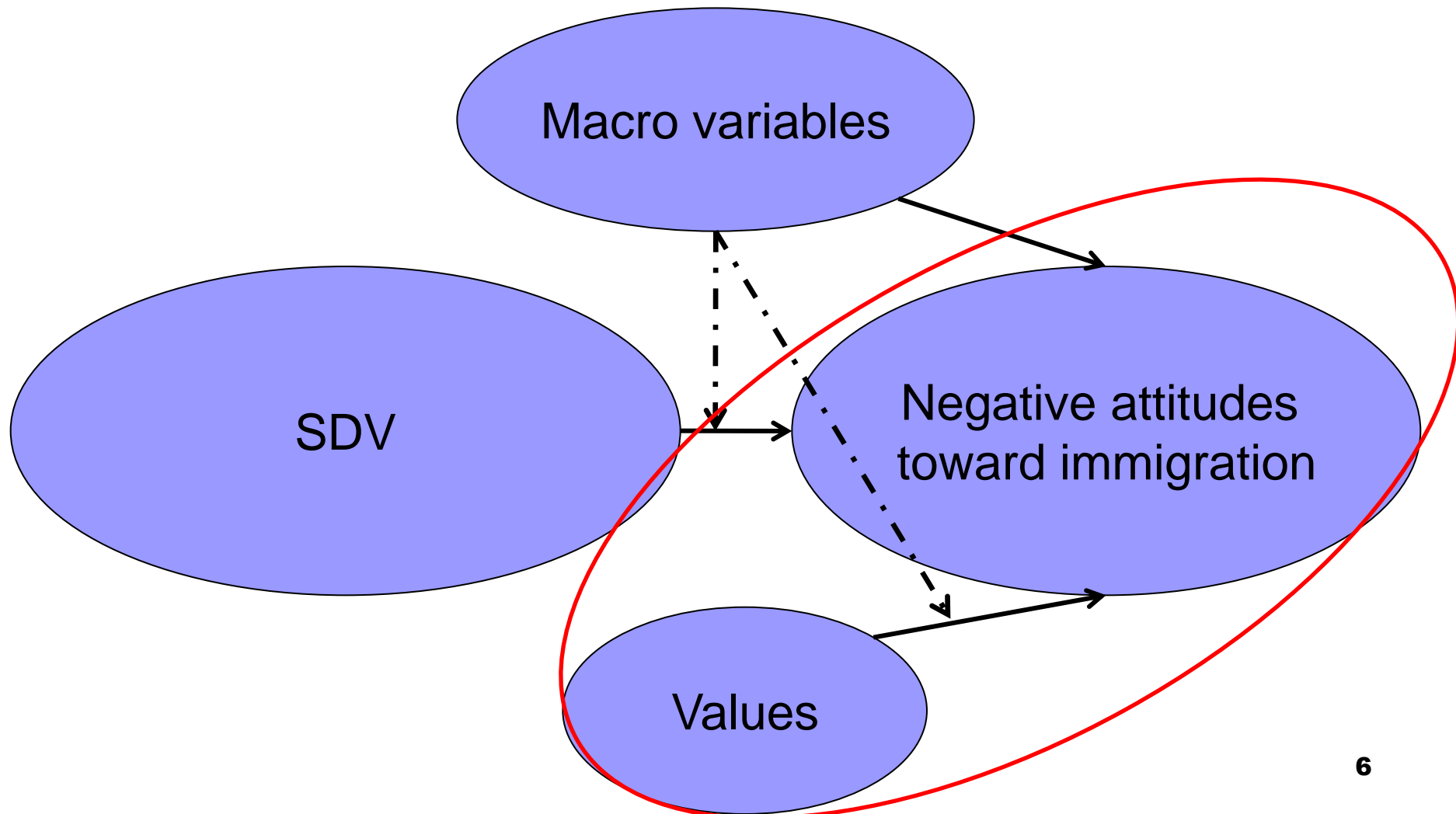
- 1) Some use **sociodemographic variables** (SDV) , such as age, education, political orientation and income (e.g., Kunovich, 2004, Scheepers et al. 2002, Semyonov et al. 2006).




- 2) Others include also **macro-level variables**:
 - state policies** (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov 2000, Semyonov et al. 2003),
 - threat** (economic conditions or percentage of foreign-born population, see e.g. Quillian 1995, 1996, Scheepers et al. 2002) or
 - media coverage** (Schlüter and Davidov 2011).



- 3) Recent studies have acknowledged that people also have **values**, and that these values play a **central role** in the explanation (Sagiv and Schwartz 1995, Davidov et al. 2008, Davidov and Meuleman in press).



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- So far, there are no studies that **explain in a theory-driven way why there are differences** in the effects of values **across countries**.
 - The current study focuses on this aspect.

Important aspects in the study

- A large-scale cross-country data set is used
- The data are internationally comparable
- Measurement models of the theoretical constructs of interest are tested taking measurement errors into account
- Measurement equivalence of the theoretical constructs is tested across countries
- Less used constructs – values – are applied for the explanation
- Theory-driven hypotheses about a cross-level interaction between micro and macro levels of explanation are formulated and tested


Outline

- 1. Theoretical background
 - The value theory
 - Differentiation between values and attitudes
 - Hypotheses on the micro level and the cross-level interaction
- 2. Data and measures
- 3. Testing for invariance across countries
- 4. Results
- 5. Conclusions

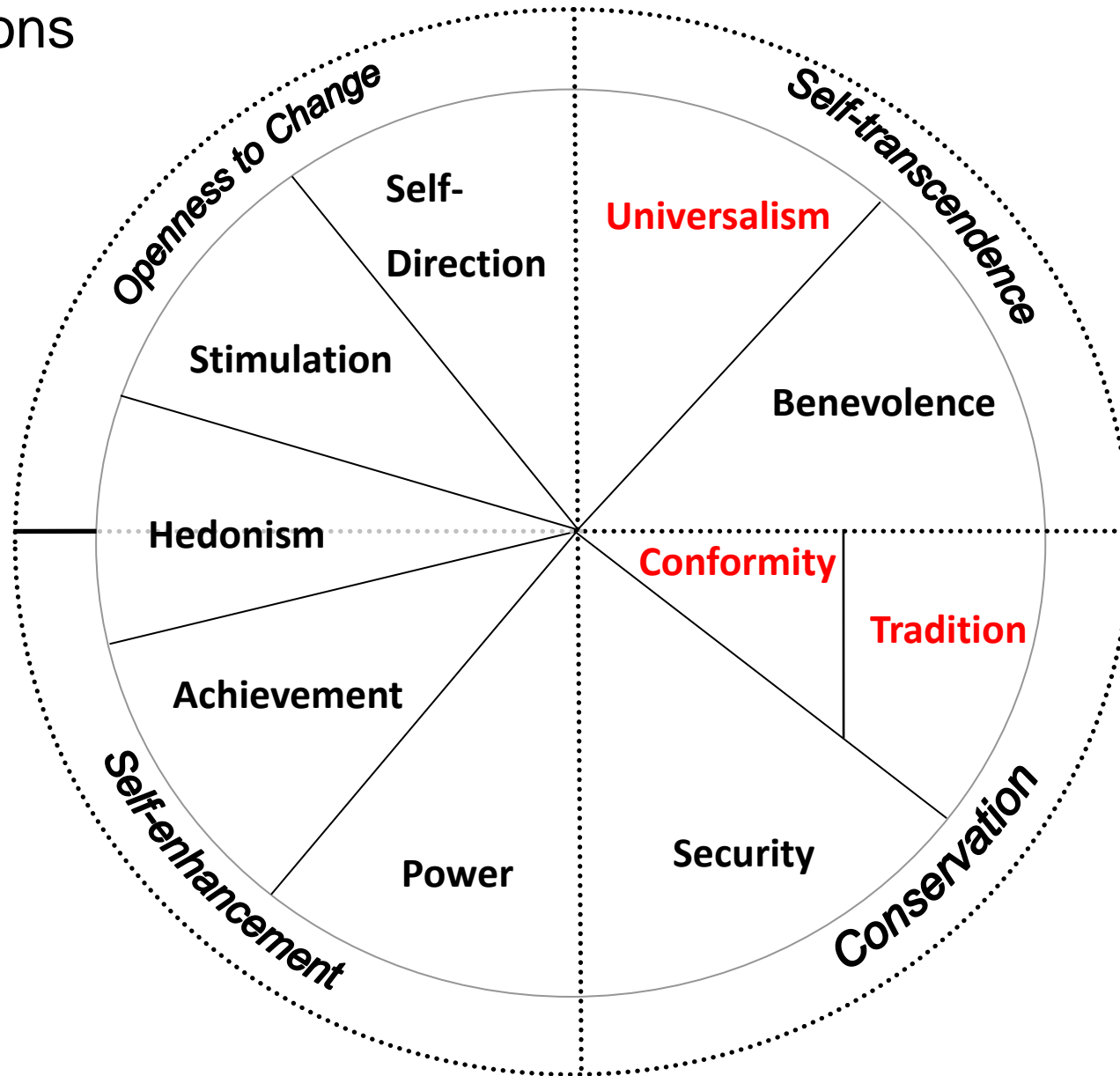
1. Theoretical Background



The value theory

- Values are defined by Schwartz (1994: 21) as ,desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity’.
- Value is a **basic, stable and abstract belief**, this differentiates it from an attitude, which is much more specific (Rokeach 1968, Ajzen 2005).
- So far, Schwartz has limited the number of values to ten.

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- Values create a **continuum**, and **dividing them is arbitrary** and done **for empirical convenience**.
 - Values which are **congruent** and close to each other share an underlying similar motivation and will **correlate positively**.
 - Values which are **in conflict** and opposite to each other will **correlate negatively**.
 - Schwartz has developed several questionnaires to measure his values, one of which is the **Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ)**.

Structural relations among the 10 value types and the two dimensions



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- I will focus on two values to explain negative attitudes toward immigration: **Universalism** and **conformity/tradition** (conservation).

Can values explain attitudes?

First, there are three arguments:

- Rokeach (1968) and Ajzen (1993) define attitudes as much **more specific** than values: *‘an individual’s disposition to react with a certain degree of favorableness or unfavorableness to an object, behavior, person, institution, or event – or to any other discriminable aspect of the individual’s world’.*
- Only a **limited** number of values, but **many** possible attitudes exist, as large as the number of objects... (endless?)
- **Values** are also considered to be **more stable over time** than attitudes.

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- ‘The black-box’ (Gangl 2010; Hedström and Ylikolski 2010; Opp 2007):

What is the mechanism behind the relation between values and attitudes toward immigration policies? Values whose **motivational goals are promoted or blocked** by the arrival of immigrants **will affect attitudes toward immigration** (Ajzen 2005; Davidov et al. 2008; Davidov and Meuleman in press).

- This **applies especially for two values: Universalism and conformity/tradition.**

Hypotheses of the study

The mechanism of universalism:


- The **motivation** of **universalist** people according to theory is **protection for the welfare of all people**.
- The **arrival of immigrants** into the country provides an **opportunity** for these people **to realize this value**.
- Therefore, I expect a **positive effect** of **universalism** on **attitudes toward immigration**.

H1: The higher Universalism is → the more positive the attitudes toward immigration are.

- The **motivation** behind **conformity and tradition** is **commitment** and acceptance of the **customs** or **restraint** of **violating social expectations** or **norms**.
- The **arrival of immigrants** is a **threat** for people who want to realize these values, as **immigrants bring along new norms and customs**.
- Therefore, I expect a **negative effect** of **conformity and tradition** on **attitudes toward immigration**.
- *H2: The higher conformity and tradition are → the more negative the attitudes toward immigration are.*

Cross-level interactions

- I expect that the values in general have a **milder** effect in **‘collective’ (less ‘individualistic’) societies**.
- Schwartz (2006) uses for such societies the term **‘embedded’**, and explains this concept in the following way:


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- **Embedded societies** emphasize **status quo, solidarity and traditional order.**
 - In embedded societies individual **try to reach the shared goals of the collective rather than their own.**
 - In **less embedded societies, own goals and motivations are more prominent.**


*H3: The effects of values are expected to be **smaller in more embedded societies.***

- Group Threat Theory (Stephan et al. 2005, Coenders 2001, Scheepers et al. 2002; Quillian 1995, 1996; Schlüter and Wagner 1998):
 - People living in **competitive conditions** perceive **immigrants as a threat**, because they have to fight on scarce resources.
 - Competitive contextual conditions affect negative attitudes toward immigration on the country level (Scheepers et al., 2002).
 - In addition, we can expect that traditional/conformist people will reject immigration even more under competitive conditions.

H4: The higher the proportion of immigrants in the country → the higher the country level rejection of immigration

H5: The higher the proportion of immigrants in the country → the stronger the negative effect of conformity and tradition

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- Previous studies provide support for the expectations of the effects of values on the individual level (Rokeach 1973 for the U.S.; Sagiv and Schwartz 1995 for Israel; Iser and Schmidt 2005 for Germany; Duriez et al. 2002 for the Flemish part of Belgium; Davidov et al. 2008 and Davidov and Meuleman in press for several European countries).

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- On the macro-level there is mixed evidence regarding the effect of size of immigrants (Supportive findings: Quillian 1995, 1996; Scheepers et al. 2002; No support: Semyonov et al. 2004; Strabac and Listhaug 2008; partial support: Semyonov et al. 2006).
 - No previous studies tested the cross-level interactions in this systematic way.

2. Data and Measures

- Analyses are based on data from the fourth round of the European Social Survey (ESS), 2008/9, which includes 26 West and East European countries, N = 46,353.
- Translations of questions are done rigorously to allow comparability (Harkness et al. 2003).

The dependent variable ALLOW

- Reflects ‘Willingness to let immigrants into the country’
- 3 questions on a 4-point scale (1-allow none, 4-allow many)
- To what extent do you think [*country*] should allow people
 - of the same ethnic group
 - of a different ethnic group from most [*country*] people
 - from poorer countries outside Europe to come and live here.
- The three questions load strongly on *one factor* in all countries.

The independent variables


- The ESS **value questions** are derived from a previous 40-item questionnaire (PVQ) and reduced to 21 questions.
- Question formulation: Now I will briefly describe some people. Please listen to each description and tell me how much each person is or is not like you.
- 1 Very much like me
- 2 Like me
- 3 Somewhat like me
- 4 A little like me
- 5 Not like me
- 6 Not like me at all


Scores were reversed-high scores=high importance of the value.

- Universalism: 3 question items, e.g.:
 - Ipeqopt/un1: Important that people are **treated equally** and have **equal opportunities**
- Tradition: 2 question items, e.g.:
 - Imptrad/tr2: Important to **follow traditions** and customs
- Conformity: 2 question items, e.g.:
 - Ipfrule/co1: Important to do what is told and **follow rules**

Country level: embeddedness

- Country **embeddedness** is based on data from the **Schwartz Value Survey** (1988 – 2007).
- **Change** in cultural value orientations is **very slow** even in the presence of major political and institutional change (Schwartz 2006) .
- Data were collected among **students** and **school teachers** in urban areas.
- The selection of items was **validated empirically** with **multi-dimensional scaling** (countries as the analytical unit, Schwartz 2006).

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- **Embeddedness** was operationalized as an aggregate score for answers about the importance of
 - social order, tradition, forgiving,
 - obedience, politeness, being moderate,
 - honoring elders, national security,
 - cleanliness, devotedness,
 - wisdom, self-discipline,
 - own protection of public image,
 - family security, and reciprocation of favors.


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- % of non-EU immigrants data was retrieved from the OECD Statistics database (<http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx>).

3. Testing for Invariance Across Countries

- Why should we examine measurement invariance & comparability across countries?
- Testing that concepts are invariant is a necessary condition before cross-cultural studies may be meaningfully conducted.

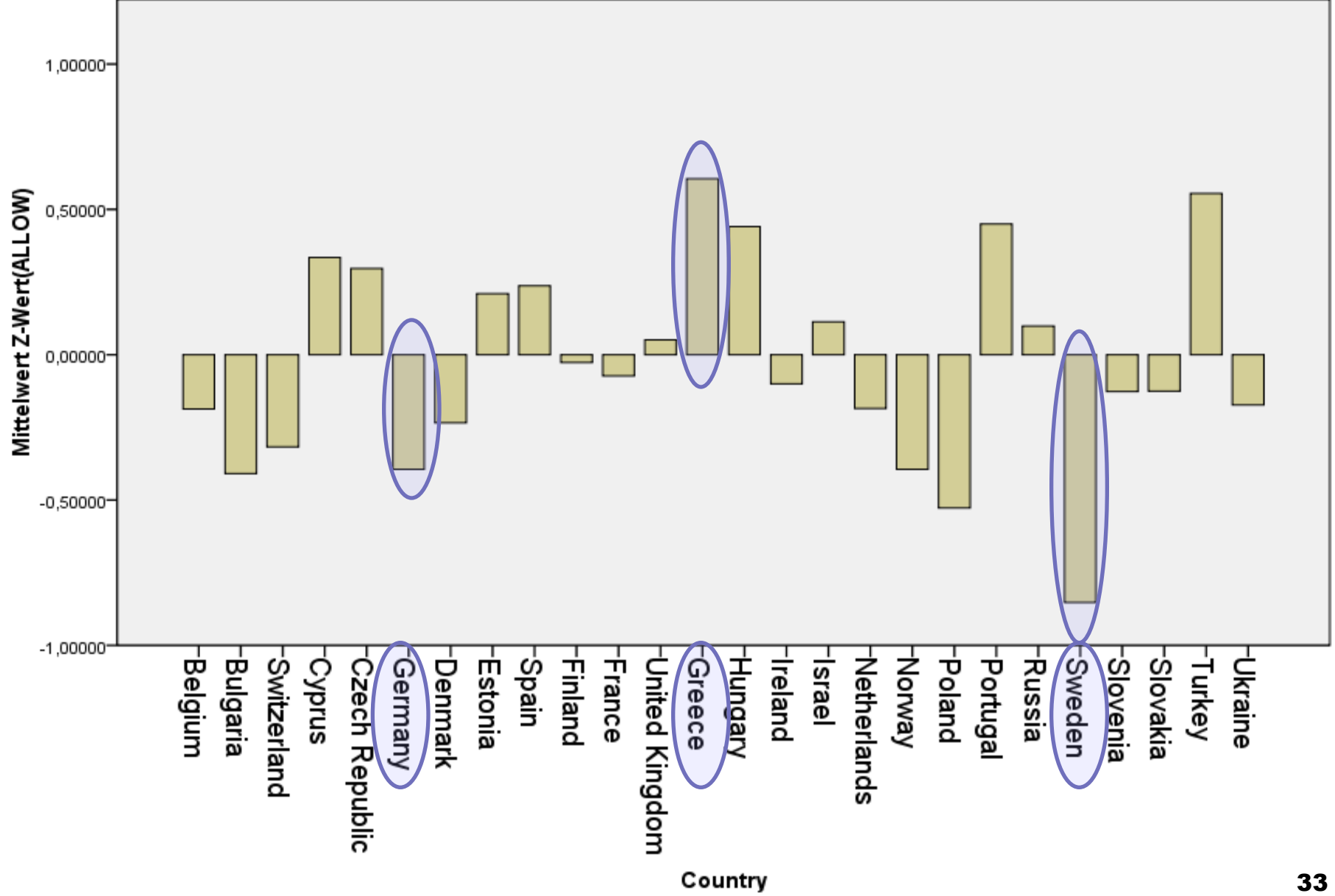
‘whether or not, under different conditions of observing and studying phenomena, measurement operations yield measures of the same attribute’ (Horn & McArdle 1992)

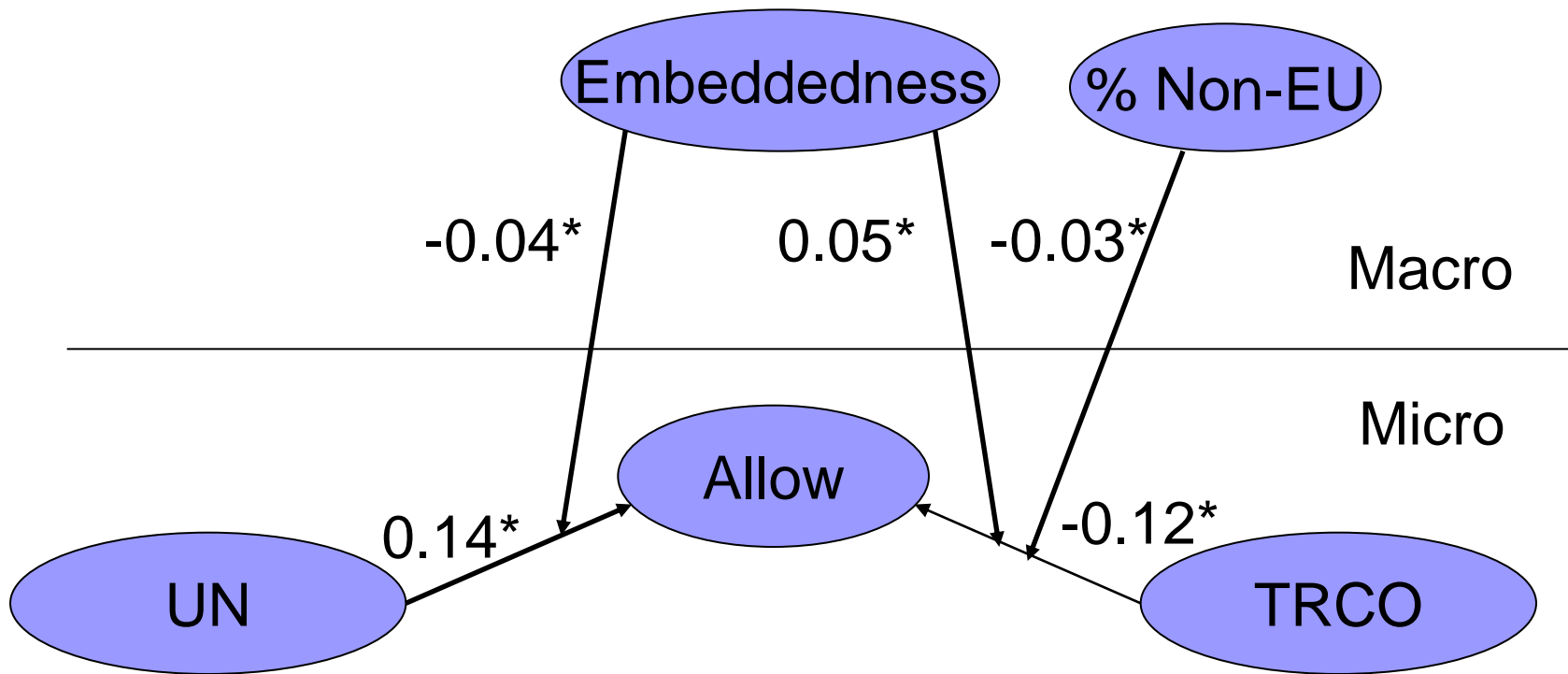
- There are three important levels of testing measurement invariance:
 - Configural Invariance
 - Metric Invariance
 - Scalar Invariance


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- Several authors have introduced the concept of **partial invariance** (Byrne et al. 1989, Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1998).
 - **Two** invariant items are sufficient to guarantee **partial invariance**.
 - Thus, for **multilevel analysis** we need **at least partial scalar invariance** (because it requires that means are comparable).

4. Results

- **Multiple-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MGCFA)** (Bollen 1989, Brown 2006, Jöreskog 1971) with 26 groups (countries) was conducted to test for invariance of the theoretical concepts Allow, Universalism and Tradition/Conformity.
- The concepts exhibit **partial scalar invariance** across countries.
- This allows a meaningful interpretation of a multi-level analysis.





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- On the micro level (within countries):
 - Universalist individuals are more supportive of immigration.
 - Conservative individuals have a higher tendency to object immigration.
 - Effects show a clear and consistent pattern over all countries, and are stronger than the effect of sociodemographic variables like age, or income and as strong as education.



■ On the cross-level interaction:

- The effects of universalism and conservation are moderated by the level of embeddedness of a country: In countries where the level of embeddedness is higher, values have a weaker effect in the formation of attitudes.
- The effect of conformity and tradition is stronger in countries where the size of the immigrant population is higher.


5. Conclusions: Micro level

- Previous findings on the significant effect of values on attitudes toward immigration could be **replicated** after controlling for social structural variables.
- This may be **relevant for policies**: When policies for increasing public support for immigration are considered, values within the population should be seriously taken into account as part of the factors.
- In line with Icek Ajzen's (2005) postulation: Values' effect on attitudes is not part of the theory of planned behavior, but '*can complement it... and thereby deepen our understanding of a behavior's determinants*' (Ajzen 2005: 134).
- Nowadays, the ESS provides researchers with ample opportunity to examine questions like these.

5. Conclusions: Cross-level interaction

- Effects of values differ across countries.
- Differences in the effects can be explained by variation in the level of embeddedness on the country level. In low-embeddedness countries **values play a more important role.**
- Size of immigration may also bring about different effects of tradition/conformity values.

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- Thank you very much for your attention!!!

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- The ten values of Schwartz (1992):
 - universalism, benevolence,
 - tradition, conformity, security,
 - power, achievement,
 - hedonism, stimulation and self-direction.



■ Universalism Questions:


- Ipeqopt/un1: Important that people are **treated equally** and have **equal opportunities**
- Ipudrst/un2: Important to **understand different people**
- Impenv/un3: Important to **care for nature** and environment

■ Tradition Questions:

- Ipmodst/tr1: Important to **be humble and modest**, not draw attention
- Imptrad/tr2: Important to **follow traditions** and customs

■ Conformity Questions:

- Ipfrule/co1: Important to do what is told and **follow rules**
- Ipbhprp/co2: Important to **behave properly**

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- Multi-Trait-Multi-Method („MTMM“) design for robustness: Changing the explained variable (into sexism) and the method used (using multiple-group structural equation modeling) produced similar patterns of results.

Parameter	Est.	SE	Significance
Constant Term	0.000	0.062	
ZUN	0.139	0.009	.000
ZTRCO	-0.113	0.010	.000
Sub. income	-0.092	0.006	.000
Education	0.124	0.005	.000
Age	-0.100	0.005	.000
Gender	-0.009	0.005	.046
Left-Right Scale	-0.079	0.005	.000
Religiosity Degree	0.050	0.005	.000
Zembedded	-0.176	0.098	NS
% Non-EU	-0.049	0.064	NS
ZUN * Zembedded	-0.040	0.014	,000
ZTRCO * Zembedded	0.054	0.016	,000
ZTRCO * % Non-EU	-0.033	0.010	.000

a. Abhängige Variable: ALLOW.

Variance components			
ICC	0.10		
Explained variance			
% reduced variance residual	0.09		
% reduced variance intercept	0.26		
% reduced var. slope TRCO	0.53		
% reduced var. slope UN	0.62		

Intercepts and Slopes

equal slopes and unequal intercepts

