When immigrants seem threatening?

Anti-immigrant prejudice and macrosocial changes in cross-national perspective

Oleksii Shestakovskyi

Institute for Economics and Forecasting (Kyiv, Ukraine)

o.shest@gmail.com

Problem and perspective

- **Question**: Do large-scale societal changes influence anti-immigrant prejudice (AIP) – no matter what migration inflows are?

- **Key idea**: insecurity hypothesis.

  – AIP can rise when social changes make a society (to seem) more uncertain and insecure place to live.

- **Quest** for effects of longitudinal changes on country level, not mere cross-sections.

Theory

- Revised modernization theory (R. Inglehart, C. Welzel, P. Norris)
  - Socioeconomic development -> more existential security -> less prejudice
- Anomia hypotesis
  - L. Srole (1956): anomia correlates with ethnocentrism robustly
  - P. Scheepers et al. (1992): anomia mediates effects of socio-economic position uncertainty and frustration

Theory

- **Extended anomia hypothesis.** Subjective anomia includes:
  - socioeconomic retrogression
  - political and social powerlessness,
  - normlessness
  - and social isolation
- Not just macroeconomics, but political institutions quality and social capital may indirectly affect AIP.

Hypotheses

1. Rise of AIP is predicted by increase of physical insecurity.
2. Insecurity is predicted by macroeconomic decline and increase in labor market troubles.
3. Insecurity is also predicted by complications with citizens' possibilities to affect political decisions and follow the rules.
4. The insecurity is affected by the change in spread of social isolation in a society.
5. These macrosocial changes do not influence change in AIP directly.
6. All these interactions are significant even if to control for changes in migration inflow.

Data

WVS, waves 3–5

- 41 countries

- Period from 1995 till 2008

- 96 country-time points

- **55 observations of time periods** (main object)

Additional country level data from the World Bank

41 countries

- Albania, Argentina, Australia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Finland, Georgia, Germany, India, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, South Korea, Mexico, Moldova, Morocco, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Puerto Rico, Romania, Viet Nam, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, Macedonia, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Serbia

Variables

Anti-immigrant prejudice (AIP) index

- "…sort out any that you would not like to have as neighbors?", % of mentioned immigrants/foreign workers.

- "How about people from other countries coming here to work. Which one of the following do you think the government should do?" (1=Let anyone come; 2=As long as jobs available; 3=Strict limits; 4=Prohibit people from coming). Average for a country.

- Min-max normalization, so they both varied from 0 to 1, and were summed up.

- Encompass two sides of the prejudice: avoidance of close contacts and labor market considerations.

Variables

- Existential insecurity – 4-item Postmaterialism index, country's average.

Economics:

- Change of GDP per capita PPP in 2005 USD, rescaled from 0 to 1 (1 was for Norway 2008, $48526,4).

- Change in unemployment rates, 0-1.

Variables

Political institutions (from WGI):

- Voice and Accountability index, [-2,5; 2,5]. May reflect political powerlessness

- Rule of Law index [-2,5; 2,5]. May reflect normlessness

Social capital: % of distrustful population: "Can't be too careful"

Migration inflows: % of the foreign-born.

Variables

Some data had to be patched :(

Methods

OLS regressions to explore

- DVs: AIP and postmaterialism in the t_2 moment

$$AIP_{T2} = c + b_1 * AIP_{T1} + b_2 * \Delta IV_{T2-T1} + \varepsilon$$

$$PM_{T2} = c + b_3 * PM_{T1} + b_4 * \Delta IV_{T2-T1} + \varepsilon$$

Descriptive statistics

Table 2. **Descriptive statistics of variables' changes across country-period points (N=55)**

|	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Delta Anti-immigration prejudice [0-2]	-0,42	0,92	-0,01
Delta Stock of the foreignborn in the population [0-1], %	-2,33	6,26	0,39
Delta Average Postmaterialism index 4 item [1-3]	-,34	,24	-0,01
Delta Unemployment rate, 0-1	-,07	,07	0,00
Delta WGI Voice and Accountability index [-2,5; 2,5]	-,61	1,27	0,07
Delta WGI Rule of Law index [-2,5; 2,5]	-,50	1,19	0,03
Delta % of 'cant be too careful' response in sample	-,17	,55	0,01

Descriptive statistics

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of variables across country-time points (N=96)

|	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Anti-immigration prejudice index [0-2]	,25	1,94	0,80
Stock of the foreignborn in the population [0-1], %	,04	43,34	6,30
Average Postmaterialism index 4 item [1-3]	1,31	2,30	1,80
GDP per capita PPP in 2005 USD, rescaled to 0-1	,03	1,00	0,28
Share of the unemployed, 0-1	,01	,31	0,10
WGI Voice and Accountability index [-2,5; 2,5]	-1,66	1,70	0,34
WGI Rule of Law index [-2,5; 2,5]	-1,45	1,96	0,26
% of 'cant be too careful' response in sample	,26	,97	0,72

AIP by independent var's
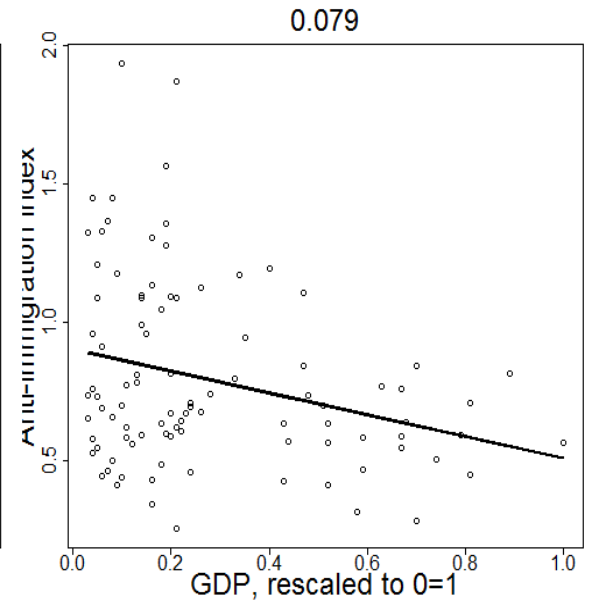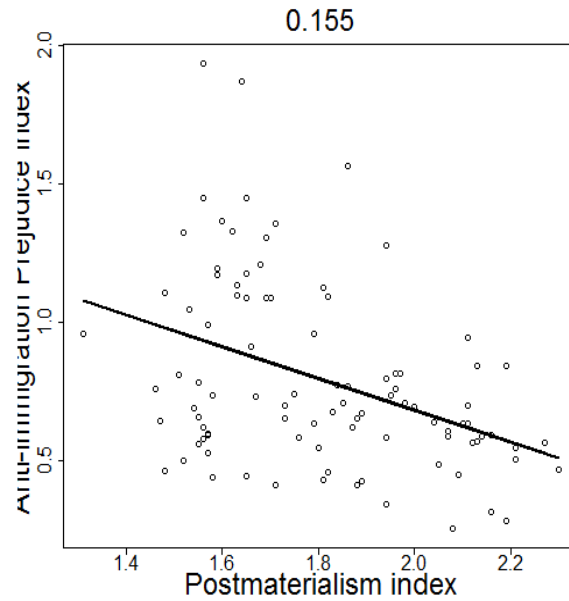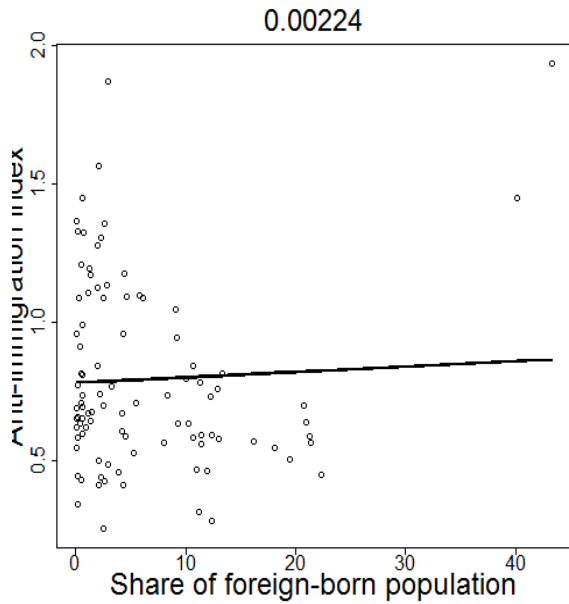
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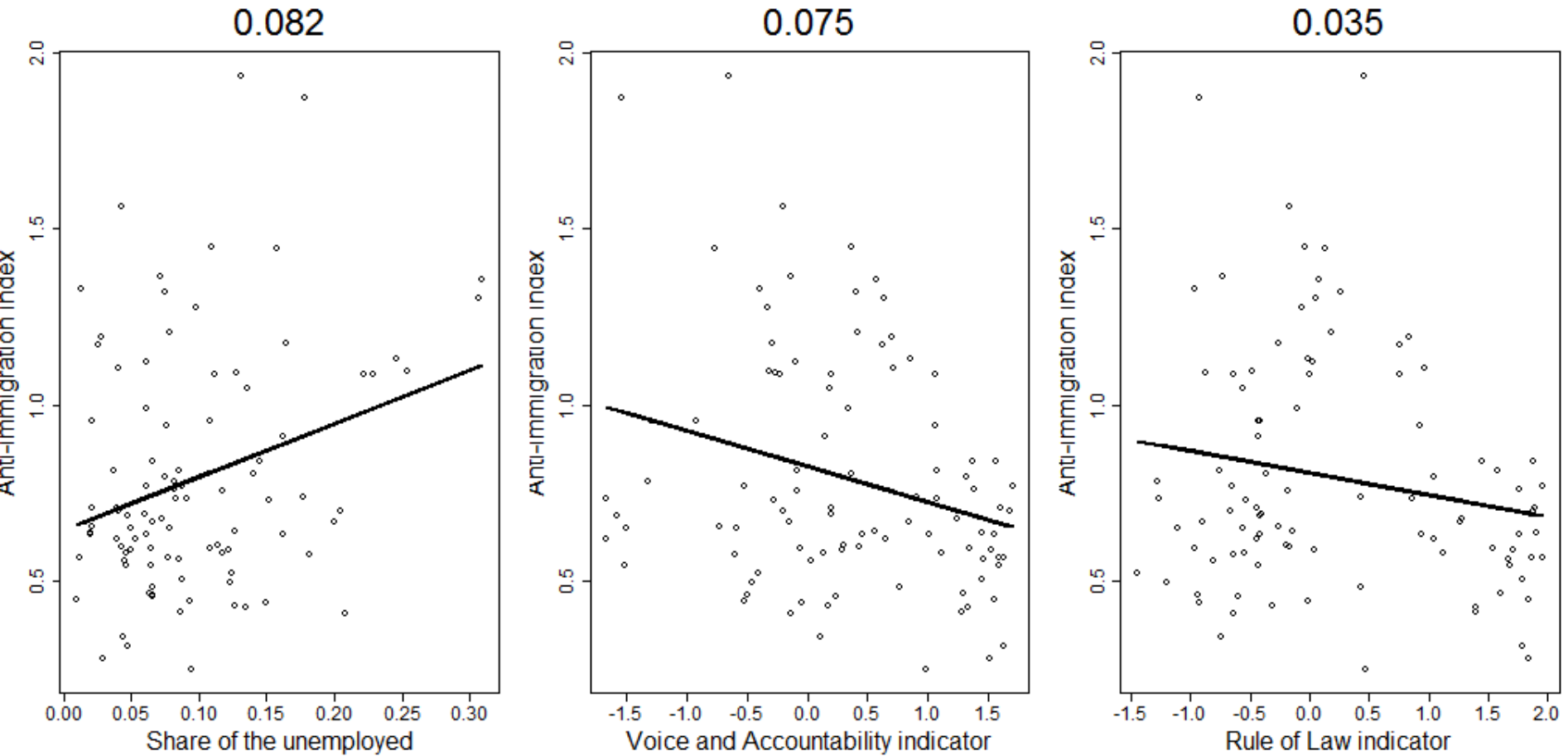
Postmaterialism by independent var's
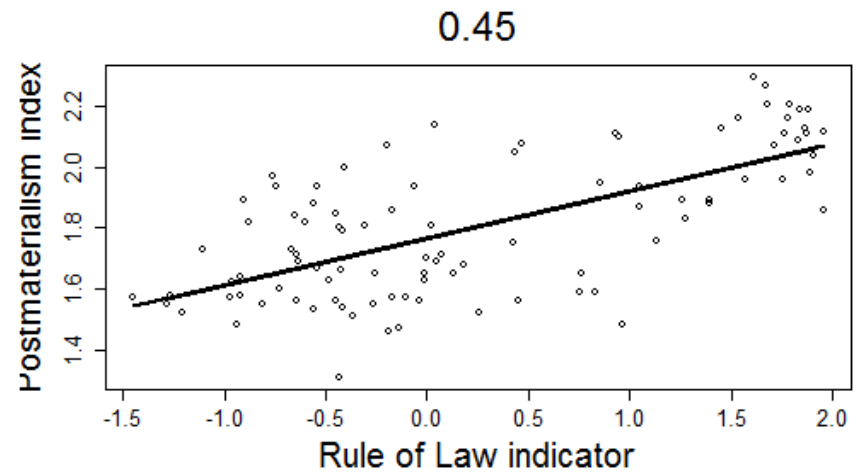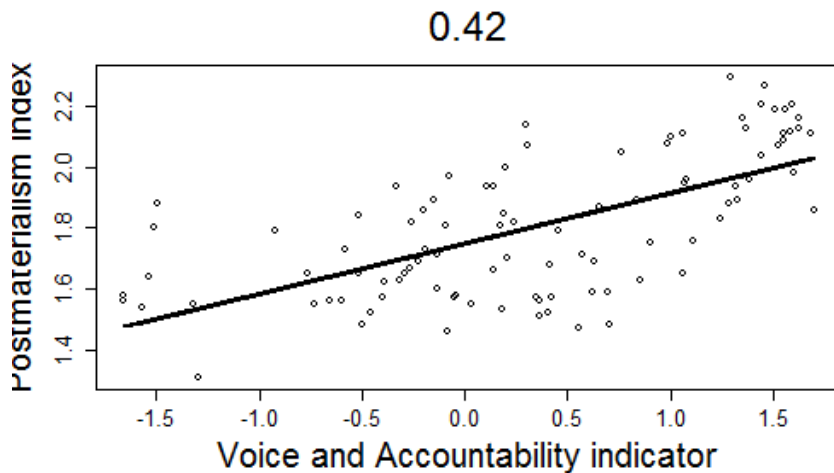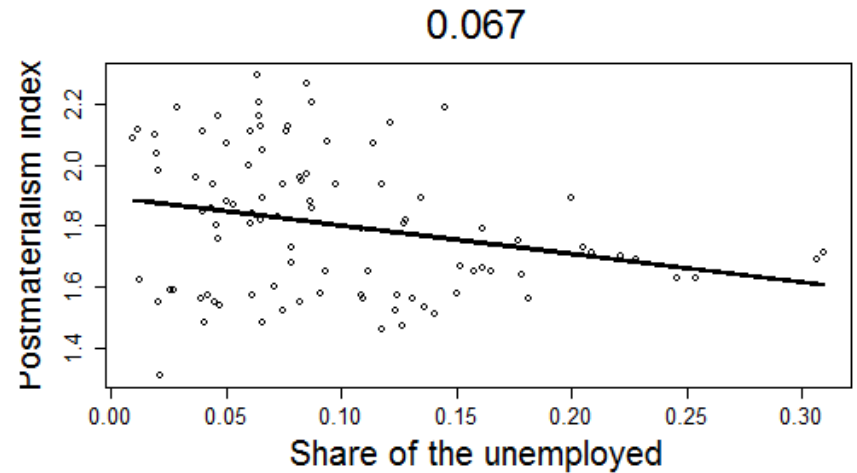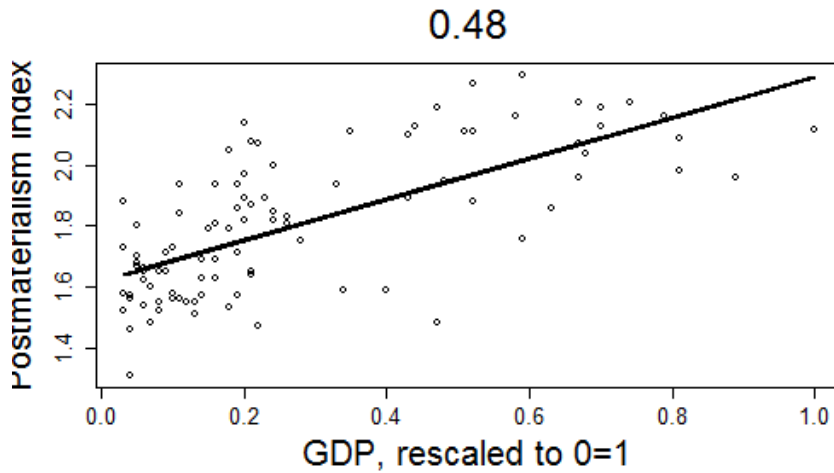
Exploratory OLS

OLS Regressions on anti-immigrant prejudice change

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	,113	,077	,138
AIP in the moment t_1	,843 ***	,878***	,832***
Δ Share of the foreign-born $(t_2 - t_1)$	-,005		
Δ Postmaterialism $(t_2 - t_1)$		-,645**	
Δ GDP Rescaled $(t_2 - t_1)$			-,372
Adjusted R^2	,52	,56	,52
N	55	55	55

Anti-immigrant prejudice index in the moment t_2 is dependent variable. In the cells are unstandardized beta coefficients. Significance levels are * $p < .100$, ** $p < .050$, *** $p < .005$

Exploratory OLS

OLS Regressions on anti-immigrant prejudice change

	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Constant	,132	,128	,098	,115
AIP in the moment t_1	,818***	,836***	,854***	,823***
Δ Share of the unemployed $(t_2 - t_1)$	1,102			
Δ Voice and Accountability $(t_2 - t_1)$		-,144		
Δ Rule of Law $(t_2 - t_1)$			,188	
Δ General distrust $(t_2 - t_1)$				1,152***
Adjusted R^2	,54	,54	,54	,64
N	55	55	55	55

Anti-immigrant prejudice index in the moment t_2 is dependent variable. In the cells are unstandardized beta coefficients. Significance levels are * $p < .100$, ** $p < .050$, *** $p < .005$

Exploratory OLS

OLS Regressions on Postmaterialism change

	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12
Constant	,391	,343	,389	,391	,469
Postmaterialism in the moment t_1	,784 ***	,804 ***	,778 ***	,777 ***	,737 ***
Δ GDP Rescaled ($t_2 - t_1$)	-,204			,029	
Δ Share of the unemployed ($t_2 - t_1$)		,671*			
Δ Voice and Accountability ($t_2 - t_1$)			,023		
Δ Rule of Law ($t_2 - t_1$)				,029	
Δ General distrust ($t_2 - t_1$)					-,335**
Adjusted R^2	,79	,80	,78	,79	,81
N	55	55	55	55	55

Postmaterialism in the moment t_2 is dependent variable. In the cells are unstandardized beta coefficients.

Significance levels are * $p < .100$, ** $p < .050$, *** $p < .005$

Conclusions

- Just another evidence for revised modernization theory (effect of self-expression values).

- Extended anomia and WGI were excessive
  - **But:** if to introduce anomia variable itself?

- Unemployment rate: invalid indicator for precarious labor market situation

Conclusions

- Why macrosocial parameters, being strongly correlated with postmaterialism, almost do not influence it in dynamics?

- Migration inflow indicator is also questionable, both in terms of reflecting "real" immigration and in terms of year coverage

Further steps

Other data?

- With less patches and omissions
- Coverage of Recession period

Other methods of analysis?

- Mediation
- To add multilevel
- To account for cohort replacement

Thanks for your attention!

Thank you for attention!

Your suggestions are most welcome!