

The Roots of Xenophobia

Research Concept

(New Project)

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Why the Concern about Xenophobia?



Table 1. Main Far Right Results in Votes and Seats, 2014 and Change (2014-2009).

Country (# MEPs) - Party	Percentage of Vote		Number of Seats	
	2014	Change	2014	Change
Austria (18)	20.2	+2.9	4	+2
- Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)	0.5	-4.1	0	0
- Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)	19.7	+7.0	4	+2
Belgium (21)	6.4	-4.8	1	-1
- National Front (FNb)	0.0	-1.3	0	0
- Popular Party (PP)	2.3	+2.3	0	0
- Flemish Interest (VB)	4.1	-5.8	1	-1
Bulgaria (17)				
- Ataka	3.0	-9.0	0	-2
Denmark (13)				
- Danish People's Party (DF)	26.6	11.8	4	+2
France (74)				
- National Front (FN)	25.0	18.7	24	+21
Germany (96)	1.0	-0.3	1	+1
- National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD)	1.0	+1.0	1	+1
- The Republicans (REP)	0.0	-1.3	0	0
Greece (21)	12.1	+4.4	3	+1
- Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)	2.7	-4.5	0	-2
- Golden Dawn (XA)	9.4	+8.9	3	+3
Hungary (21)				
- Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)	14.7	-0.1	3	0
Italy (73)				
- Northern League (LN)	6.2	-4.0	5	-4
Netherlands (26)				
- Party for Freedom (PVV)	13.2	-3.8	4	-1
Romania (32)				
- Greater Romania Party (PRM)	2.7	-6.0	0	-3
Slovakia (13)	5.3	-0.3	0	-1
- People's Party – Our Slovakia (L'SNS)	1.7	+1.7	0	0
- Slovak National Party (SNS)	3.6	-2.0	0	-1
Sweden (22)				
- Sweden Democrats (SD)	9.7	+6.4	2	+2
United Kingdom (73)				
- British National Party (BNP)	1.1	-4.9	0	-2
European Union (751)			52	+15

Source: <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/election-results-2014.html>

Negative consequences of xenophobia

Individual level	Economic level	International politics level	Social level
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Psychological trauma as a result of xenophobic violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- The destruction of valuable properties of victims and innocent people as well as public facilities and properties that can scare away foreigners and potential foreign investors	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- The expulsion of non-indigenes, causing a strain in bilateral and multilateral relationships- The negative image of the offending group or country	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- An increase of hate crimes and other crimes in a community or society- Bitter and intense intergroup/inter-cultural conflict- A direct threat to law and order, the possibility of genocide



**What
is xenophobia?**

**Who
is likely to be
xenophobic ?**

Why People Engage in Xenophobia?

- “Xenophobia is an *irrational* or *unreasoned* fear of that is perceived to be foreign or strange” (Global Studies Encyclopedic Dictionary, 2014)
- “Public responds to *elite cues* provided by the leaders of the major political parties” (Sniderman et al., 2014)
- “Xenophobic beliefs may arise out of invalid *inductive inferences* and by *stereotyped categorization* processes” (Rydgren, 2004)
- “All human beings have an innate, *evolution* produced tendency to seek proximity to familiar faces because what is unfamiliar is probably dangerous and should be avoided” (Waller, 2002)

Theoretical Framework

- The Evolutionary Modernization Theory (Inglehart, 1990, 1997), (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005), (Norris and Inglehart, 2004)

“...in times of economic or political crisis, even advanced industrial societies are prone to xenophobia, as the rise of fascism during the Great Depression demonstrated, and as recent events in Western Europe and the U.S. continue to demonstrate...” (Inglehart, 1997)

Specific Contribution

- (H1): The surge of xenophobia in 2014 reflected heightened insecurity due to the Great Recession of 2007-2012 (economic decline, rising unemployment)
- (H 2): Insecurity leads to an anti-immigrant backlash in countries with large flows of immigration
- (H3): Xenophobic attitudes are more intensive in countries with largely Islamic immigration
- (N=33): Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Northern Ireland, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States

Core Variables and Methodology

(step 1) Dependent variables:

- *Xenophobic attitudes*

(V39) Would you like to have immigrants/foreign workers as neighbours?

(V46) Do you agree or disagree that when jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to people of this country over immigrants

0=two non-xenophobic responses, 1=mixed, 2=two xenophobic responses

- *Vote intention for xenophobic/non-xenophobic parties*

(V228) If there were a national election tomorrow, for which party on this list would you vote?

0=vote for non-xenophobic party, 1=vote for xenophobic party

Core Variables and Methodology

(step 2) Regression/indicators:

- *Security/insecurity indicators*

(V229) group into manual/non-manual work

(V235) save money/borrow money

(V236) subjective social class

(V237) income scale

(V246) educational level

(V247) age left school

- *Survival/Self-expression values*

- *Economic left-right dimension*

(V96) income equality

(V97) private ownership/government ownership

(V98) government responsibility/individual responsibility

Core Variables and Methodology

(step 3) Multi-level analysis/national-level variables:

- Unemployment rate
- Economic growth rate in recent years
- Size of immigration flow
- Percentage of immigration that is Islamic
- GDP/capita

Thank you for your attention

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