

## **Do men and women perceive immigrants differently? Analysis of gender gaps in attitudes toward immigrants among different groups of Luxembourg residents**

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## Programme European Values Study

L'European Values Study (EVS) est une enquête réalisée au Luxembourg en 2008 auprès d'un échantillon représentatif de la population résidente composé de 1610 individus âgés de 18 ans ou plus.

Au niveau national, cette enquête fait partie du projet de recherche VALCOS (Valeurs et Cohésion sociale), cofinancé par le FNR dans le cadre du programme VIVRE. Au niveau international, elle est partie intégrante d'une enquête réalisée dans 45 pays européens qui a pour objectif d'identifier et d'expliquer en Europe les dynamiques de changements de valeurs, et d'explorer les valeurs morales et sociales qui sous-tendent les institutions sociales et politiques européennes ([www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu](http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu)).

Plus d'infos : <http://valcos.ceps.lu>.

## INTRODUCTION

Luxembourg is one of the European countries with the largest proportion of immigrants in the population and a relatively long immigration history. According to the latest official statistics, immigrants represent 44% of the resident population. Thus, we observe a progressive change in the population profile where the number of immigrants is slowly reaching the number of natives. In this context, the notion of the minority/majority dichotomy is losing its traditional sense. This situation, unique in Europe, evokes a lot of questions regarding perception of newcomers.

Despite the fact that there have not been many research published on perception of immigrants in Luxembourg, the available international literature analyzing the immigrant-related sentiment in European societies (Semyonov et al., 2006) shows that Luxembourg residents as a whole have a generally positive attitude toward the resident foreign community/immigrants. This study reveals that Luxembourg residents have exhibited the most positive attitude among 12 analyzed EU countries between 1988 and 2000. "In 2000, negative attitudes toward foreigners were most pronounced in Greece, Belgium, Germany, and France, and least pronounced in Spain, Luxembourg, and Italy." (Semyonov et al., 2006:436).

A recently published descriptive study focusing only on Luxembourg (Valentova & Berzosa, 2010) reveals, among other things, that people who had personal/direct experience with immigration (the first-generation migrants) are more likely to report positive attitudes to immigrants than other groups of residents. It was also found that residents who had only one foreign born parent differ notably from those where both parents were born outside the country.

The current study builds up on the aforementioned paper and presents a more detailed analysis of perception of immigrants focusing on the question whether attitudes toward immigrants<sup>1</sup> vary between men and women within different groups of Luxembourg residents.

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<sup>1</sup> Immigrant is defined as person who resides in a host country but who was not born there (Tribalat, 1991).

## I. CONTEXT

Empirical studies have demonstrated significant differences between men and women in their attitudes about immigration in Europe (Bridges & Mateut, 2009; Citrin et al., 1997; Dustmann & Preston, 2000; Gang et al., 2002; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2002). The vast majority of these studies report female attitudes toward immigration are more negative than those of men. Women tend more to believe that immigration has negative effect on the economy and culture (Bridges & Mateut, 2009), and are more concerned about jobs and welfare (Dustmann & Preston, 2000). Furthermore, researchers have also reported that, compared to men, women tend to oppose more strongly the arrival of newcomers from richer countries not poorer ones, and they show less positive attitudes toward the different-race immigrants (Dustmann & Preston, 2000:29-30).

The reasons behind such differences have not been thoroughly explored and empirically documented in the literature until now. However, we can think of various possible explanations for this phenomenon. Some authors (for example Chafetz, 2006) argue gender differences in attitudes toward immigrants (like any other attitude) may stem from men and women performing different social roles, being involved in different types of networks, and confronting different opportunity and reward structures in adulthood.

With respect to the networks and the number and intensity of contacts with members of the non-native population, Dixon (2006) claims those who are in day-to-day contact with non-natives, such as at work, and those who have close friends among immigrants will display less concern about immigration and vice versa. Applying this argument to women's attitudes, we may infer that as women, mainly those older ones, are less often employed than men (Hardarson, 2006)<sup>2</sup> and as their networks often include other women in similar situations, they will be less exposed to day-to-day contacts with foreign-born newcomers and consequently might exhibit less open attitudes towards them. Furthermore, we might assume that highly-educated women, who also more often tend to

be active in the labour market, might share more positive attitudes toward non-natives in contrast to their less-educated counterparts.

Another contact related explanation might be found in family and parenthood networks. As in most European countries (including Luxembourg) women still dedicate more time to family responsibilities (see labour market inactivity figures due to family responsibilities in Hardarson, 2006) and childbearing activities (see parental leave take up rates in Math & Meilland, 2004). Females consequently are more directly preoccupied with issues of security and safety of their children than their male partners; one may expect it is women who exhibit a more protectionist, conservative and less open attitudes to newcomers than men. However, this general tendency may be affected by many factors. For example, one study (Gang et al., 2002) found that members of larger families with children below 15 years of age were able to dissolve their immigrant-related fears and anxiety. The reason is that children are more likely to have contact with other children, including migrants' children, and consequently might defuse possible tensions between the adults. This way, mothers can overcome their lack of contact with the foreign-born through their children.

Other possible explanation of the gender differences in attitudes toward immigrants is of an economical nature. As women's position in the labour market is, in general, more vulnerable than men (OECD, 2007) and they are more often relying on the welfare provisions or their husbands incomes (because they are still more in charge in family, and child-related care compared to their male counterparts), they are more likely to be concerned about the impact of an immigrant labour force on the labour market.

The main aim of the present paper is to fill in this gap in the literature and provide the reader with a first glance at the gender differences in attitudes toward immigrants in Luxembourg. Based on all the aforementioned arguments, we hypothesize that alike in other European countries,

<sup>2</sup> Hardarson (2006) shows that in 2006 about 32 % of Luxembourg women aged 25-54 years were inactive in the labour market, while only 5 % of Luxembourg men in the same age category were officially outside the labour force.

female Luxembourg residents exhibit less positive attitudes than their male counterparts.

Valentova and Berzosa (2010) suggest that when analyzing attitudes toward immigrants in this country, it is advisable to split the population by migratory background and analyze separately residents with different migrant history as Luxembourg residents with personal migrant history show significantly different attitudes toward immigrants than residents without this kind of life experience.

Given this, we distinguish four main groups of residents depending on their migratory background: natives, first generation immigrants, second generation immigrants and children of mixed couples. The category of natives<sup>3</sup> includes those residents who were born in the country to both parents also born in the country (Langers, 2010). The first generation immigrants are residents who were born abroad to both foreign-born parents. The second generation immigrants are residents who were born in the country to parents who were both born abroad (Zhou, 1997; Kucera,

2008; Simon, 2005). Finally, the group of children of mixed couples<sup>4</sup> includes those individuals who were born in Luxembourg to parents out of who one was born in the country and the other one abroad (Muñoz & Tribalat, 1984; Neyrand & M'Sili, 1997; Kucera, 2008; Philippe, 2008). Those residents of Luxembourg who could not be positioned in any of the four mentioned group are not included in the present study<sup>5</sup>.

Due to the absence of theoretical and/or empirical material dealing with gender differences in perception of immigrants in the four groups of residents with different migratory background, we are unable to set a theoretically anchored hypothesis. However, given general findings stemming from international research presented above, we tentatively assume that women across all analyzed residents' groups tend to adopt less positive stances toward immigrants.

<sup>3</sup> The terms "native" and "native-born" are used interchangeably in this paper. They refer to the population born in the country of residence, not to the population which has the nationality of that country.

<sup>4</sup> In the literature this category of residents is sometimes called "1.5 generation immigrants".

<sup>5</sup> You can see them in Table 1 as the missing cases which equal to 42.

## II. DATA

The analyses are based on the 2008 European Values Study (EVS) for Luxembourg. The original sample consisted of a representation of 1610 residents of Luxembourg, who are 18 years old or more. The sample for this article is restricted to 1568 residents, where it was clearly possible to distinguish the migratory background of an individual (see the definition above). The remaining 42 cases, representing those respondents who were not born in Luxembourg to one or both native-born parents, were excluded from the present analyses.

EVS data reveal that natives are 45% of the respondents, first generation immigrants represent approximately 37% of the sample, children of mixed couples represents 9% and second-generation immigrants represents 7% of the sample.

These figures revealed that 53% of residents of the country have either direct (personal) or indirect (transmitted via at least one of their parents) experience with migration in their nuclear family. This unique composition of the population allowed us to analyze gender difference in attitudes toward immigrants among the four distinct groups of residents. For details concerning distribution of residents depending on migratory background and gender consult Table 1.

The European EVS questionnaire contains batteries of questions regarding attitudes toward immigrants. These batteries have been introduced at European level in 2008, which gives us the possibility to analyze respondents' attitudes toward eight specific aspects of immigration only in this particular year, but prevents us from conducting longitudinal comparisons. The first set of six items deals with the opinions regarding immigrants as a whole, without referring to a particular Luxembourgish context. These opinions are measured on a 10 point scale, where value 1 stands for strong agreement (i.e. negative attitude toward immigrants) and 10 for strong disagreement (i.e. positive attitude toward immigrants). The exact wording of the items is:

- Immigrants take jobs away from natives in a country (A)
- A country's cultural life is undermined by immigrants (B)
- Immigrants make crime problems worse (C)
- Immigrants are a strain on a country's welfare system (D)
- In the future the proportion of immigrants will become a threat to society (E)
- For the greater good of society is better if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions (F)<sup>6</sup>.

The second set of items focuses on attitudes toward immigration in Luxembourg and is measured on 5 point scale that was oriented in such a way that 1 stands for a strong agreement with the statement (i.e. respondents express negative attitudes toward immigrants) and category 5 stands for strong disagreement with the statements (i.e. respondents express positive attitudes toward these aspects of immigrants). The items were presented to respondents as follows:

- Because of the number of immigrants in Luxembourg, I do feel like a stranger (G)
- Today in Luxembourg, there are too many immigrants (H).

To make the items comparable and our findings more comprehensible, we reduced the number of responses of the items of the first battery to five<sup>7</sup>. Value 5 stands for positive attitudes toward immigrants and 1 for negative attitudes toward a particular statement. Outcomes of our analysis are presented in a form of mean values. The interpretation of the mean values is as follows: the higher is the mean value, the more positive stance the respondents adopt toward immigrants.

Some of the aforementioned items, as they were designed by the EVS European survey experts and were used in 45 countries participating in the EVS survey in 2008, have certain shortcomings that might lead to biased or mixed results and thus should be interpreted with caution. First, some of the items in the questionnaire were negatively

<sup>6</sup> This item was excluded from further analysis because optimal scaling analysis proved it is not compatible with the remaining ones. This incompatibility was confirmed also by the outcomes of exploratory factor analysis applied on eight items.

<sup>7</sup> Optimal scaling was used to recategorize 10 point scales into 5 point ones. The recategorization was realized as follows: items A, B, D, E: (1 thru 2=1) (3 thru 4=2) (5 thru 6=3) (7 thru 8=4) (9 thru 10=5); item C: (1 =1) (2 thru 4=2) (5 thru 6=3) (7 thru 8=4) (9 thru 10=5).

formulated, which could have an impact on responses, for they might suggest that immigration is a priori negative. Second, the formulation of questions and items do not allow distinguishing among different types of immigrants (those from EU vs. non-EU countries, immigrants of different ethnic and racial origins, etc.) despite the empirical evidence that perception of immigrants varies depending on race and ethnic origins of immigrants (Berg, 2009; Bridges & Mateut, 2009). Thirdly, the formulation of some of items is rather general and speaks about a society or country without specific reference to Luxembourg. This means attitudes toward these statements should be interpreted as attitudes toward immigrants in general, not exclusively to immigrants in Luxembourg (even if we assume that respondents' attitudes are affected by personal experience their closest surrounding, environment and even stereotypes)<sup>8</sup>.

**TABLE 1.** Distribution of residents of Luxembourg depending on their migration history and gender, percentage

Migratory background	Male	Female	Total
Natives	52.0	48.0	100.0
First-generation immigrants	51.9	48.1	100.0
Second-generation immigrants	47.9	52.1	100.0
Offspring of mixed couples	43.5	56.5	100.0
Total	50.9	49.1	100.0

Source: EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD

Note: N=1568

Note: 42 cases (2.6 % of the analyzed sample) were excluded from the analyses as they did not fit any of the four categories of residents. These cases represent either individuals who were not born in the country to at least one parent born in the country or those for whom the data was missing on one of the variable on which this composite categorization was based.

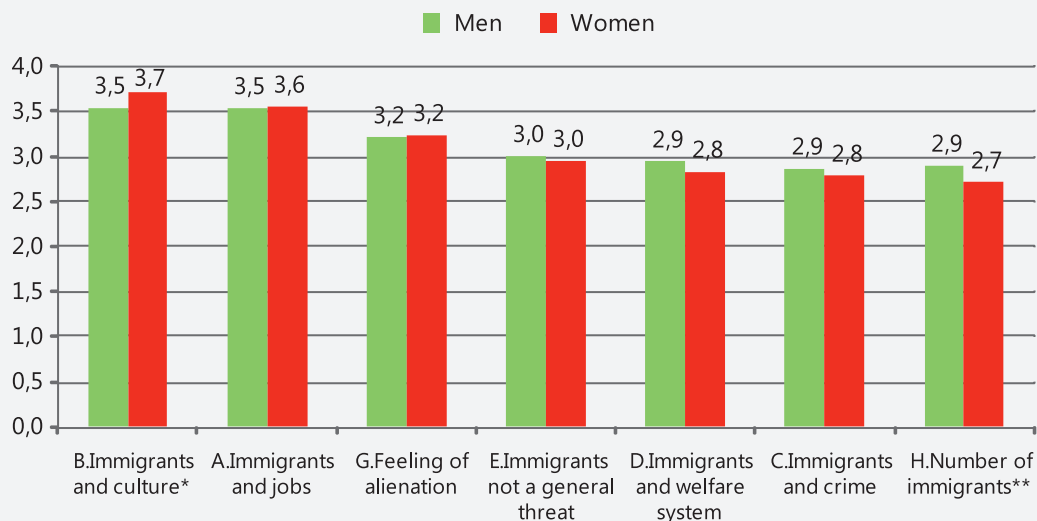
<sup>8</sup> Meuleman (2009:27) states that "Attitudes are more than a consistent, purely rational calculus based on solid, well-founded information. Intuitive feelings superficial impressions, stereotypes and ideological positions play an important role in the formation of attitudes, especially when the person has little personal experience of the attitude object."

### III. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS – WHOLE POPULATION

To give an overall view, we analyze the gender differences in perception of immigration-related items first on the pooled sample of all respondents (representative of the whole population of Luxembourg residents). The data presented in Figure 1 reveal that men appear to be slightly more tolerant than women in case of five out of seven analyzed items. Women seem to surpass men only twice. However, more detailed analyses show that only in case of two items gender differences were proven to be statistically significant: immigrants and culture and the number of immigrants. These

significant gender gaps are indicated with an asterisk (*see Figure 1*). Given the above mentioned arguments, we conclude that at statistically significant levels, men adopt more positive attitudes toward immigrants than women when it comes to the claim that there are too many immigrants in the country. Women are more positive than men with respect to immigrant's effect on culture of a host society.

**FIGURE 1.** Attitudes toward immigration-related items depending on gender, full sample - mean values (1-5)



Source : EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD

Note: Values are measured on 5 point scale where 1 stands for a strong agreement with the statement (i.e. respondents express negative attitudes toward immigrants) and category 5 stands for strong disagreement with the statements (i.e. respondents express positive attitudes toward these aspects of immigrants). The interpretation of the mean values is as follows: the higher is the mean value, the more positive stance the respondents adopt toward immigrants.

Significant association between gender and perception of immigrants<sup>9</sup> is identified by an asterisk. The absence of the asterisk means no significant association between variables.

Interpretation of the asterisk: \*\*\*=0,001 significance level; \*\*=0,01 significance level; \*=0,05 significance level.

<sup>9</sup> We have conducted chi-square test of association between the gender variable and each of the immigration related items and independent sample t-test.



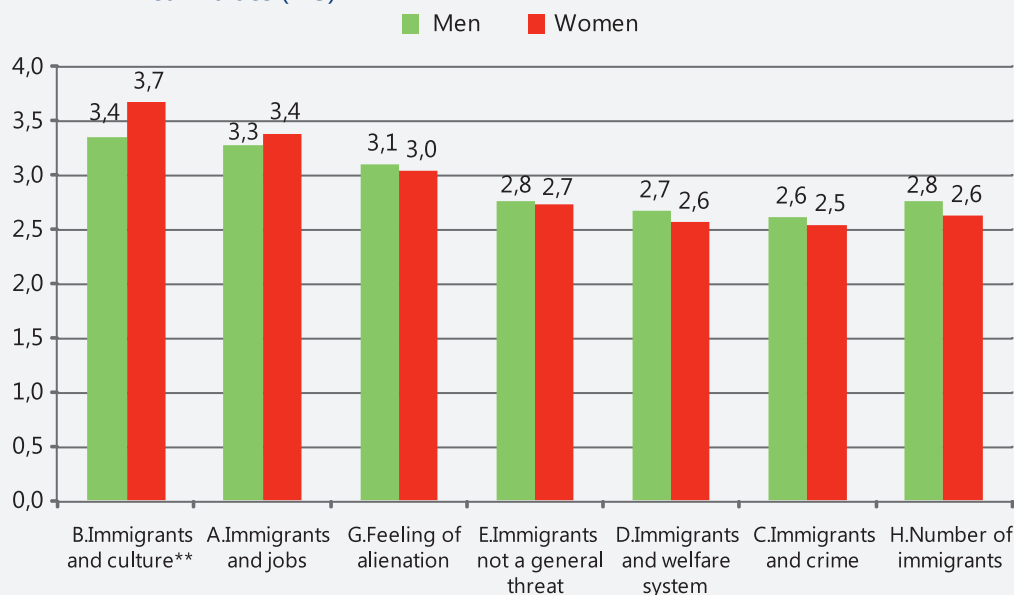
#### IV. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS – NATIVES

When looking at the responses given by native men (see Figure 2), it can be observed that they perceive most positively issues related to culture and jobs. Contrarily, they adopt the least positive stance with respect to the statement on immigrants and crime. For women, data illustrate that they show the most and the least open attitudes toward the same items like men.

At first glance, the data presented below suggest that native men have a more positive attitudes toward immigrants than native women as the mean values for men appear to be higher in five out of

seven items: immigrants not becoming a general threat, their relation with the welfare system, their number and their relation with crime. However, a test of statistical significance of the association between gender and attitudes toward individual items reveals that there is only one significant gender difference in this subgroup of Luxembourg respondents. This allows us to draw the conclusion that among natives, women are significantly more likely than men to express positive attitudes toward item on immigrants' impact on country's cultural life, meaning that with respect to this aspect they feel less threatened than men.

**FIGURE 2.** Attitudes toward immigration-related items depending on gender, natives - mean values (1-5)



Source : EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD

Note: Values are measured on 5 point scale where 1 stands for a strong agreement with the statement (i.e. respondents express negative attitudes toward immigrants) and category 5 stands for strong disagreement with the statements (i.e. respondents express positive attitudes toward these aspects of immigrants). The interpretation of the mean values is as follows: the higher is the mean value, the more positive stance the respondents adopt toward immigrants.

Significant association between gender and perception of immigrants<sup>10</sup> is identified by an asterisk. The absence of the asterisk means no significant association between variables.

Interpretation of the asterisk: \*\*\*=0,001 significance level; \*\*=0,01 significance level; \*=0,05 significance level.

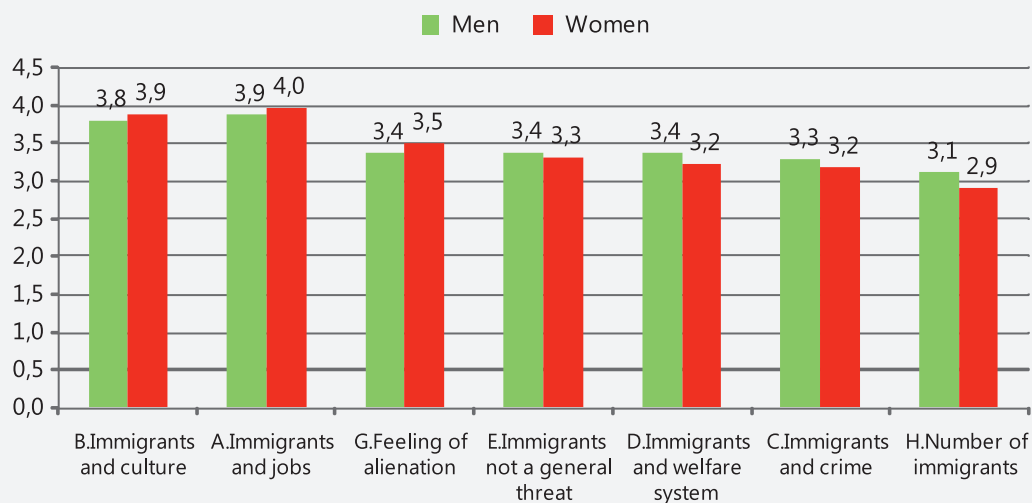
<sup>10</sup> We have conducted chi-square test of association between the gender variable and each of the immigration related items and independent sample t-test.

## V. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS – FIRST GENERATION IMMIGRANTS

When looking at men and women in this group separately (see Figure 3), we find that men perceive most positively statements regarding culture and jobs. They are least open with respect to the number of immigrants. Among all the statements, women seem to adopt the most open attitudes toward immigrants' impact on jobs and culture and, alike men, they perceive least positively the number of immigrants in the country.

At first glance, men show more open attitudes than women toward four out of seven items, while women surpass men in the remaining three. Nevertheless, it should be noted that these gender differences are rather small and statistically insignificant, which implies that there women and men in this group of Luxembourg residents do not differ with respect to their perceptions of immigrants.

**FIGURE 3.** Attitudes toward immigration-related items depending on gender, first generation - mean values (1-5)



Source : EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD

Note: Values are measured on 5 point scale where 1 stands for a strong agreement with the statement (i.e. respondents express negative attitudes toward immigrants) and category 5 stands for strong disagreement with the statements (i.e. respondents express positive attitudes toward these aspects of immigrants).The interpretation of the mean values is as follows: the higher is the mean value, the more positive stance the respondents adopt toward immigrants.

Significant association between gender and perception of immigrants<sup>11</sup> is identified by an asterisk. The absence of the asterisk means no significant association between variables.

Interpretation of the asterisk: \*\*\*=0,001 significance level; \*\*=0,01 significance level; \*=0,05 significance level.

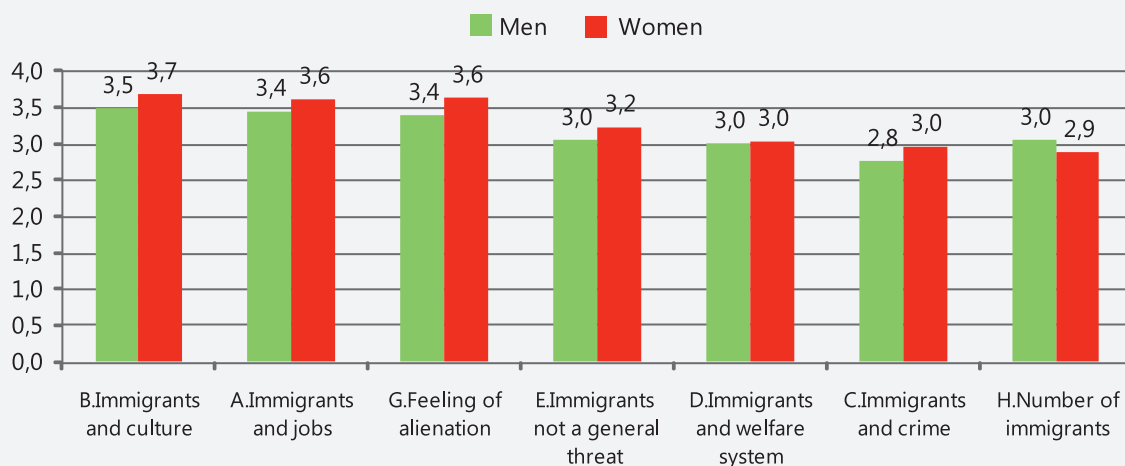
<sup>11</sup> We have conducted chi-square test of association between the gender variable and each of the immigration related items and independent sample t-test.

## VI. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS – SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS

The Figure 4 shows that among all listed items, both second generation immigrant males as well as females tend to show the most positive attitude toward the statements dealing with culture, jobs and the feeling of alienation. With respect to the most negatively perceived items, men and women differ. Men adopt the most negative stance toward claims regarding immigration-related crime, while women see most negatively the item regarding the number of immigrants.

Among second-generation immigrants, it is women who seem to exhibit more positive attitudes toward immigrants than their male counterparts as they surpass men in six out of seven items. Nevertheless, these findings should be read with caution as the found gender differences are relatively small and have not been proven statistically significant. This insignificance might be due to a small number of cases in this sub-group of Luxembourg residents.

**FIGURE 4.** Attitudes toward immigration-related items depending on gender, second generation - mean values (1-5)



Source : EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD

Note: Values are measured on 5 point scale where 1 stands for a strong agreement with the statement (i.e. respondents express negative attitudes toward immigrants) and category 5 stands for strong disagreement with the statements (i.e. respondents express positive attitudes toward these aspects of immigrants). The interpretation of the mean values is as follows: the higher is the mean value, the more positive stance the respondents adopt toward immigrants.

Significant association between gender and perception of immigrants<sup>12</sup> is identified by an asterisk. The absence of the asterisk means no significant association between variables.

Interpretation of the asterisk: \*\*\*=0,001 significance level; \*\*=0,01 significance level; \*=0,05 significance level.

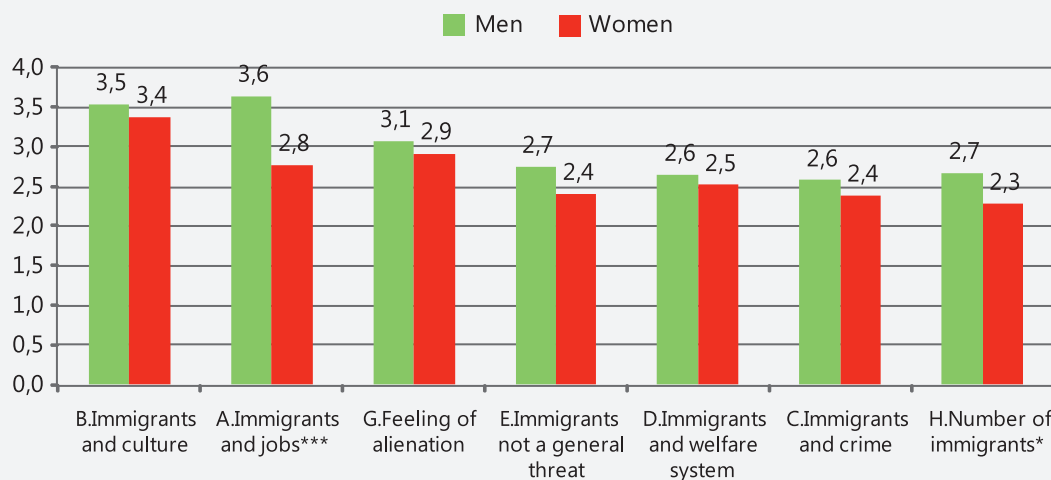
<sup>12</sup> We have conducted chi-square test of association between the gender variable and each of the immigration related items and independent sample t-test.

## VII. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS – CHILDREN OF MIXED COUPLES

When looking at men and women in the subgroup of offspring of mixed couples separately (see Figure 5), men report the most open attitudes toward immigrants' impact on jobs in a host country. On the contrary, they show the least positive attitudes when it comes to immigration and crime. For the female offspring of mixed couples, it appears that out of all analyzed items they adopt the most positive stance toward the cultural aspect of immigration and, on the contrary, least positively perceived statement is about the number of immigrants.

Among offspring of mixed couples, we observe the opposite trend to the one reported in case of the second-generation immigrants. Here, it is men who seem to show more positive attitudes than women in all analyzed items. However, only in case of two items gender differences were proven to be statistically significant: items on jobs and the number of immigrants. Given this, it can be concluded that men in this subgroup of Luxembourg residents tend to agree more than women with the claim that immigrants do not take away jobs from natives and that there are not too many immigrants in the country.

**FIGURE 5.** Attitudes toward immigration-related items depending on gender, children of mixed couples - mean values (1-5)



Source : EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD

Note: Values are measured on 5 point scale where 1 stands for a strong agreement with the statement (i.e. respondents express negative attitudes toward immigrants) and category 5 stands for strong disagreement with the statements (i.e. respondents express positive attitudes toward these aspects of immigrants). The interpretation of the mean values is as follows: the higher is the mean value, the more positive stance the respondents adopt toward immigrants.

Significant association between gender and perception of immigrants<sup>13</sup> is identified by an asterisk. The absence of the asterisk means no significant association between variables.

Interpretation of the asterisk: \*\*\*=0,001 significance level; \*\*=0,01 significance level; \*=0,05 significance level.

<sup>13</sup> We have conducted chi-square test of association between the gender variable and each of the immigration related items and independent sample t-test.

## VIII. OVERALL PERCEPTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY GENDER AND MIGRATORY BACKGROUND

To take the analysis further we have created a sum score. This sum score is a composite indicator of perceptions of immigrants based on the results of principal component analysis. It allows us to aggregate information from the above presented attitudes toward individual items and gives us an overall (composite) attitude toward immigrants. The values of the sum score vary between 1 and 5. Value 5 stands for the most positive perception of immigrants and value 1 is the least positive one. (For more details regarding the construction of the sum score see Valentova, 2010).

Table 2 presents the outcomes of the analysis of the mean. First, we calculate the mean values of the sum score separately for men and women of different groups of residents. Second, we test whether gender differences of overall attitudes toward immigrants are statistically significant, i.e. whether we can generalize them to each respective sub-population of Luxembourg residents.

The outcomes of our analyses reveal that among natives, first-generation immigrant and offspring of mixed couples, men adopt more positive stance toward immigrants than their female counterparts, whereas among second-generation immigrants, it is women who exhibit slightly more positive attitudes. However, only statistically significant and, in terms of magnitude, the largest gender difference was found among children of mixed couples. In the remaining groups of residents the gender gaps were negligible and not significant. Having said this we can conclude that the analyses of the sum score are in line with the findings stemming from the aforementioned analyses of the individual immigration-related items.

**TABLE 2.** Overall attitude toward immigrants by migratory background

Group of residents	Gender	Mean
Natives	Men	2.91
	Women	2.90
First- generation immigrants	Men	3.46
	Women	3.42
Children of mixed couple	Men	2.98*
	Women	2.66*
Second-generation immigrants	Men	3.17
	Women	3.29
Total	Men	3.14
	Women	3.11

Source: EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD

Note: Interpretation of the mean values: the closer the value to 5 the more positive overall perception of immigrants.

Asterisk identifies a significant difference in mean values of sum score between men and women within a given group of residents.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Previous research (Valentova & Berzosa, 2010) suggests that in general, the first and second generation immigrants exhibit more positive attitudes toward immigrants than natives and offspring of mixed couples. Due to these significant differences in perception of immigrants, in future research dealing with attitudes toward immigrants, these groups of resident should be treated separately. The main task of this paper is to examine whether we can find some significant gender differences with respect to attitudes toward immigrants within the four resident's groups.

When looking into the differences by gender, we conclude that in the population as a whole, men and women do not differ notably regarding their attitudes toward immigrants. Significant gender differences (even if not very large in terms of magnitude) were found only in case of two out of seven items. Men were more positive compared to women with respect to the number of immigrants in the country while women adopted more positive stance toward the statement that a country's cultural life is not undermined by immigrants. This does not corroborates our first hypothesis stating that, overall men exhibit more positive attitudes than women.

After splitting our sample by respondents' migratory background, it became apparent that natives show similar pattern of gender responses to the one of pooled sample of all Luxembourg residents. This is not very surprising because natives represent the biggest part of the analyzed sample, thus their answers are reflected in the finding referring to the whole sample. No significant gender differences in perception of immigrants were found among first and second generation immigrants.

The most interesting finding regarding gender gaps in the perception of immigrants concerns the offspring of mixed couples and the second generation immigrants. Among the offspring of mixed couples, we found a notably large and statistically significant gender gap in attitudes toward the item dealing with immigrants and jobs. Opposed to the situation found within all other groups of residents, female offspring of mixed couples tend to more support the claim that immigrants take away jobs from natives in a country than their male counterparts. This implies

that, out of all groups of Luxembourg residents, our general hypothesis about gender difference is closest to be confirmed among offspring of mixed couples.

The analyses of overall composite indicator of perception of immigrants (sum score) corroborate some of the early mentioned tendencies. For example, men and women in different groups of Luxembourg resident do not differ significantly with respect to their attitudes toward immigrants (even if male natives, first-generation immigrants and offspring of mixed couples exhibit slightly more positive stances toward immigrants compared to their female counterparts). The only exception is offspring of mixed couples. Here it was found that men who were born in a family where one of the parents is native and the other was born outside Luxembourg are more likely to perceive immigrants more positively than their female counterparts. These findings do not allow us to confirm our second tentative hypothesis that the gender effect will be invariant across all analyzed groups.

While reading this paper, one should keep in mind that we focused only on the relationship between gender and immigration-related attitudes and thus we disregarded the effects of other important determinants of attitudes toward immigrants such as, for example, age, professional and social status. A further analysis is needed to examine these effects and to account for them.

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