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Attitudes toward immigrants in Luxembourg depending on migratory background

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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 résidante 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).

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INTRODUCTION

In a country with a relatively long and intense history of immigration such as Luxembourg, it is difficult to avoid discussing issues including integration and sentiments toward newcomers. This paper contributes to the discussion on how immigrants are perceived by Luxembourg residents with different migratory backgrounds. Attitudes toward immigrants[1] are taken as one of the possible indicators of the quality of the relationship between residents (host society) and newcomers who settled or plan to reside in this multinational and multilingual state.

Social interactions are built around self-definition constructed via contact with others. Group identities, for example, ethnic identity or national identity, evolve in a similar way, that is, through distinguishing and localizing "our" group from "others" (Díez Medrano, 2005; Escandell and Ceobanu, 2009). The quality and quantity of interactions or contacts between these groups shape the way "we" define ourselves as well as our approach others (Lewin-Epstein and Levanon, 2005). In particular, the type of interactions of different identities (national or ethnic) is stimulated by migration and their settling in a territory of majority native population. There are different ways these contacts can evolve, different kinds of attitudes and actions locals adopt in relation to newcomers, and different ways newcomers grow into a new environment, accept it, and create a local "us" feeling, i.e. a sense of "peoplehood" founded on the host society.

There has not been many studies published on perception of immigrants in Luxembourg. However, the existing international literature analyzing the immigrant-related sentiment in European societies shows Luxembourg residents as a whole have generally a positive attitude toward the resident foreign community/immigrants. One of these studies reveals that between 1988 and 2000 Luxembourg residents have exhibited the most positive attitude among 12 analyzed EU countries

"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). The aim of this paper is to contribute to the discussion on perception of immigrants in Luxembourg and to provide readers with a general description of attitudes toward immigrants[2] in this multinational and multilingual country where the proportion of foreign-born residents is slowly reaching that of natives (see Figure 1). According to STATEC (2009), the vast majority of foreigners living in Luxembourg come from the EU-25 countries. The largest groups of immigrants are Portuguese, followed by French, Italian and other nationalities. Luxembourg has a relatively low number of immigrants from outside Europe and in particular from developing countries. Given this particular demographic composition of the country's population, we focus on analyses of immigrant-related attitudes among residents with different migratory background as it is plausible to assume that attitudes toward immigrants will depend heavily on the migration history of the interviewed subject.

For the purposes of this paper we operationalized the migratory background in the following manner. Building upon the literature dealing with migratory background (for example Zhou, 1997; Kucera, 2008; Simon, 2005; Aydemir and Sweetman, 2007; Langers, 2010), we distinguish four main groups of residents: natives, first generation immigrants, second generation immigrants and children of mixed couples. The category of natives[3] 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 parents who were also born abroad. (Aydemir and Sweetman, 2007; Kucera, 2008). The second generation immigrants include residents who were born in the country to both parents born abroad (Zhou, 1997; Kucera, 2008; Simon, 2005; Aydemir and Sweetman, 2007).

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[1] Meuleman (2009:27) states that "Attitudes are more than a consistent, purely rational calculus base 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."

[2] We consider immigrant those who live in a host country but they were not born in the country (Tribalat, 1991).

[3] 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.

Finally, the category entitled children of mixed couples[4] includes those individuals born in Luxembourg to a mixed couple where one of the parents was born in that country and the other abroad (Muñoz and Tribalat, 1984; Neyrand and M'Sili, 1997; Kucera, 2008; Philippe, 2008). Those who could not be positioned in any of the four aforementioned groups are not studied[5] (or were excluded from this study).
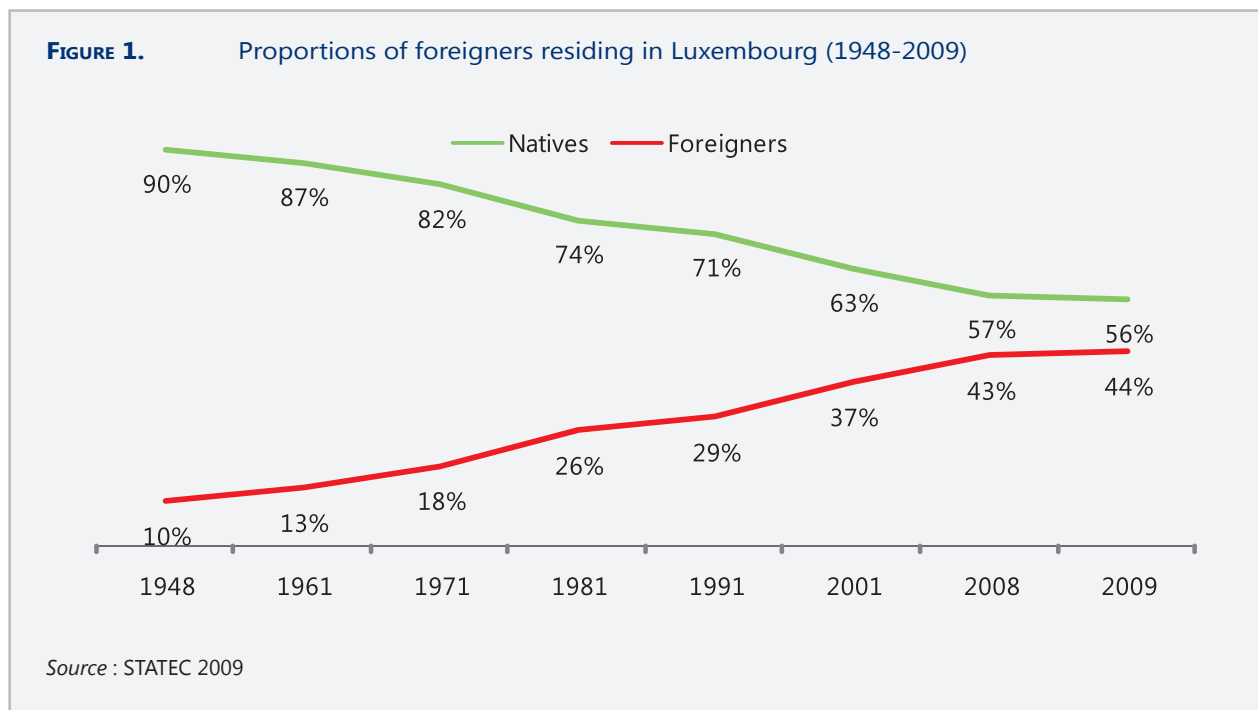
It needs to be noted that having either both foreign-born parents, or only one, can make a significant difference. In this context, Kucera (2008) claims that individuals raised by two immigrant parents may substantially differ in values, behavior, or achievements from natives whereas this is not necessarily the case for individuals with only one migrant parent. Influence of an immigrant parent can be weakened or cancelled out by the non-migrant parent; therefore, we assume that parental composition has an impact on the integration of a child into a host society and consequently on his or her values and attitudes.

Based on the aforementioned arguments, we hypothesize that residents with some migratory background (first and second generation immigrants and offspring of mixed couples) will exhibit more positive attitudes toward immigrants than natives.

As the second generation immigrants or children of mixed couples were born, socialized and educated in the host society, one can assume that, in general, their attitudes, values and world views were shaped by these experiences and therefore might be closer to the views of natives, rather than those of foreign-born residents. However, as literature suggests, we should not forget that residents having only one foreign-born parent might differ notably from residents where both parents were born outside the country. Given this, we postulate that out of these two groups of residents, offspring of mixed couples will exhibit attitudes closer to the natives.

In the present paper we focus exclusively on the impact of migratory background of residents on attitudes toward immigrants. Given this, we disregard the effect of other important individual determinants of immigrant-related attitudes such as age, gender, professional status, education, social status etc.

FIGURE 1. Proportions of foreigners residing in Luxembourg (1948-2009)

Natives — Foreigners

90% 87% 82% 74% 71% 63% 57% 56%

10% 13% 18% 26% 29% 37% 43% 44%

1948 1961 1971 1981 1991 2001 2008 2009

Source : STATEC 2009

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4 *In the literature this category of residents is sometimes called "1.5 generation immigrants".*
5 *You can see them in Table 1 as the missing cases which equal to 42.*

I.   DATA

Our analysis is based on the 2008 European Values Study (EVS) for Luxembourg. The original sample consisted of a representation of 1610 residents of Luxembourg, who are at least 18 years old. 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), thus 42 cases were excluded from the analyses.

These 42 respondents represent those who are not born in Luxembourg to one or both parents Luxembourgish. 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 (see Table 1).

The international EVS questionnaire contains batteries of questions regarding attitudes toward immigrants. These batteries have been introduced at an international 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 deal 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)[6].

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[7]. 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 and used in the EVS international survey, have certain shortcomings that might lead to slightly biased or mixed results. First, some of the items in the questionnaire were negatively formulated, which could have an impact on responses. 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; Heath and Tilley, 2005; Bridges and Mateut, 2009).

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[6] 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.
[7] 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).

TABLE 1.   Distribution of residents of Luxembourg depending on their migration history

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Native	721	44.8	45.6
First generation immigrant	586	36,4	37,4
Children of mixed couples	145	9,0	9,3
Second generation immigrant	115	7,1	7,3
Total	1568	97.4	100.0
Missing cases	42	2.6	
Total	1610	100	

Source : EVS Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD.

II. ATTITUDES OF ALL LUXEMBOURG RESIDENTS

Table 2 provides a general idea of the Luxembourg residents' attitudes toward immigrants. The data points out that among all listed statement, Luxembourg residents expressed the most positive attitudes toward statements claiming that immigrants do not undermine one's country cultural life and they do not take away jobs from natives. Less positive attitudes were reported with respect to issues on crime and the number of immigrants.

After presenting the finding regarding the Luxembourg population as a whole, we examine how the residents with different migration background perceive immigrants, i.e. whether there is some difference in perception of immigrants among individuals who have some personal experience with immigration (either by direct personal experience or experience mediated via one of or both parents) and those who do not.

TABLE 2. Attitudes toward immigration related items, mean values

Items	Mean values
B.Immigrants and culture	3,63
A.Immigrants and jobs	3,55
G.Feeling of alienation	3,22
E.Immigrants not a general threat	2,98
D. Immigrants and welfare system	2,89
C.Immigrants and crime	2,82
H.Number of immigrants	2,80

Source: EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD.
Note: The interpretation of the mean values is as follows: the higher is the mean value , the more positive stance the respondents adopt toward immigrants.

III.   ATTITUDES DEPENDING ON MIGRATORY BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

When we split the sample by migratory background and examine how the perception of immigrants differs among the four earlier specified groups (*see Figure 2*), we observe it is the first generation immigrants who present the most positive attitudes toward immigrants, followed by the second generation immigrants, natives and offspring of mixed couples. Analyses of the association between the migratory background variable and migration-related items reveal that there is a statistically significant relationship between migrant history and each of the analyzed items (*see asterisks in Figure 2*).

It should be noted that the children of mixed couples and natives exhibit very similar positions in case of the following three items: immigration and culture, the absence of the feeling of alienation, immigration and welfare system. The second generation immigrants occupy an intermediate position between native and first generation migrants.

Examining the perception of immigration-related items within each group of residents separately, we see that the native population adopt the most positive stances toward the following statements: immigrants do not undermine culture and they do not take away jobs from natives. On the contrary, the most negatively perceived are those concerning crime and the number of immigrants.

Among the first-generation immigrants, the most positively perceived statements are about immigrants' impact on jobs and culture. Conversely, items dealing with the number of immigrants is too high and immigration related crime are evaluated least positively by this group of residents.

For the second generation immigrants, out of all analyzed items the most positive stances were adopted with respect to immigrants and jobs, immigrants and culture and absence of feeling of alienation caused by the number of immigrants. Conversely, they showed the least open attitudes toward issues regarding crime, the number of immigrant and welfare system.

Alike other groups of Luxembourg residents, the children of mixed couples perceive most positively immigrants' impact on culture and jobs in a host country and they are least content with the number

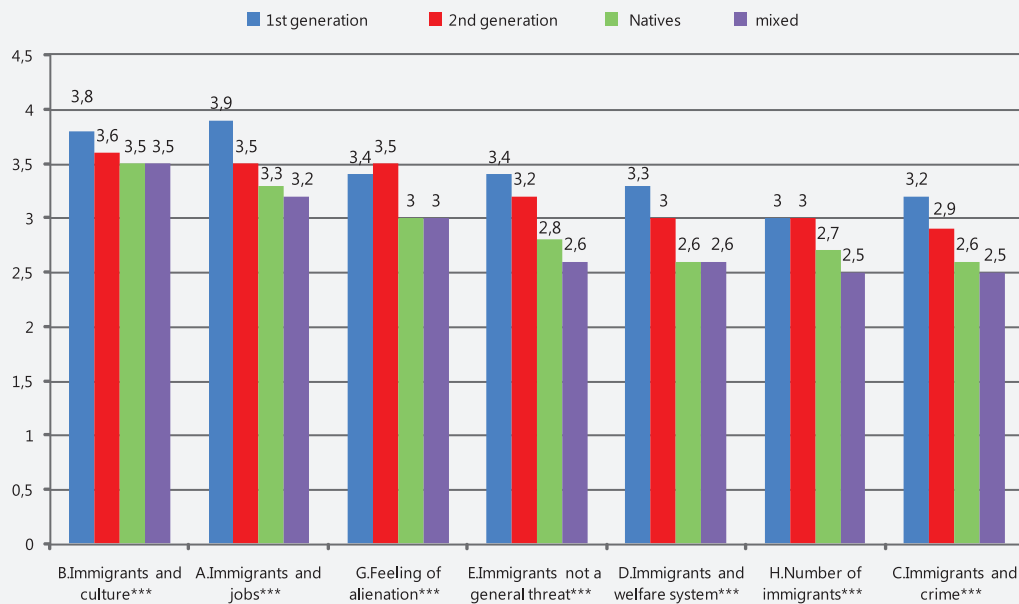of immigrants in the country and immigration related crime.

When we rank perceptions of individual items and try to identify which items are the most positively perceived among all groups of respondents, we can observe a clear convergence. All four groups of Luxembourg residents tend to agree most with the claims that the country's cultural life is not undermined by immigrants and that immigrants do not take jobs away from natives in a country.

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 the information from individual items and provides an overall (composite) attitude toward immigrants. The values of sum score vary between 1 and 5 where value 5 identifies the most positive perception of immigrants and value 1 the most negative one. For more details regarding the construction of the sum score, see Valentova (2010).

Table 3 presents the outcomes of the analysis of the mean of the sum score depending on the migratory background. The data in the table shows that the first generation immigrants exhibit the most positive overall attitude toward immigrants. They are followed by the second generation migrants, than the natives and children of mixed couples.

Additional analysis shows there is a significant association between overall attitudes toward immigrants and migratory background. The data presented in Table 4 reveal that the most notable and statistically significant difference in mean values was identified between children of mixed couples and first generation immigrants (scale 1 – 5). On the contrary, the differences in mean scores between natives and offspring of mixed couples turned to be statistically insignificant and their magnitude is negligible. The same applies for the difference between the first and second generation immigrants, even if the magnitude of the difference in overall attitudes of these two groups is a bit larger. These results, in general, corroborate our findings based on the analyses of individual items.

FIGURE 2. Percentage of respondents who agree with the statements by migratory background

Source : EVS Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD.
Note : Interpretation of the figures in the table: the higher is the mean value, the more positive is the attitude.
Significant association[8] between migratory background and attitudes toward particular item 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.

TABLE 3. Overall attitude toward immigrants by migratory background

	Mean
Native	2.91
First generation immigrant	3.44
Children of mixed couple	2.82
Second -generation immigrant	3.24
Total population	3.12

Source: EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD
Interpretation of the mean values: the closer the value to 5 the more positive the overall perception of immigrants.

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[8] We have conducted chi-square test of association between the migratory background variable and each of the immigration related items. We have also measure the standardized adjusted residuals.

TABLE 4.   Sum scores differences between different groups of residents

		Mean difference between resident's group listed in the first column of the table and those in the second column
Natives	First generation migrants	-.54*
	Offspring of mixed couples	.09
	Second generation migrants	-.33*
First generation migrants	Natives	.54*
	Offspring of mixed couples	.62*
	Second generation migrants	.20
Offspring of mixed couples	Natives	-.09
	First generation migrants	-.62*
	Second generation migrants	-.42*
Second generation migrants	Natives	.33*
	First generation migrants	-.20
	Offspring of mixed couples	.42*

Source: EVS, Luxembourg, 2008, CEPS/INSTEAD
Note: Asterisk identifies a significant difference in mean values of sum score between two groups of residents. The outcomes of ANOVA analysis and Bonferroni test.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The outcomes of our analyses expose that, in general, first generation immigrants exhibit more positive attitudes toward immigrants than second generation immigrants, natives and offspring of mixed couples. This confirms our hypothesis stating 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. The data show as well that the children of mixed couples exhibit attitudes very close to those of natives and that, in general, they exhibit the least positive attitudes toward immigrants among all analyzed groups. The outcomes of our analyses also confirm Kucera's claim (2008) that residents who had only one foreign-born parent differ notably from those who's both parents were born outside the country. These findings, based on the analyses of individual items, were corroborated by the outcomes of analyses of a sum score of attitudes toward immigrants.

The results presented in this paper reveal a certain convergence among all analyzed groups of residents with respect to ranking of most positively perceived aspects of immigration. We observed that all groups of residents ranked very high (showed the most positive attitudes toward) statements claiming that: 1) a country's cultural life is not undermined by immigrants and 2) that immigrants do not take jobs away from native in a country.

One of the possible explanations of this relatively high appreciation of the cultural contribution of immigrants to a host culture might be the composition of migrant community residing in or entering Luxembourg. The literature points out that the attitudes toward immigrants depend, among other things, also on race and ethnic origins of immigrants and that a host society is more likely to accept immigrants of the same or similar racial, ethnic and consequently, cultural background (Berg, 2009; Heath and Tilley, 2005; Bridges and Mateut, 2009). As the vast majority of immigrants in Luxembourg come from the EU countries (Statec, 2010) and mainly from countries with a rather similar cultural background, dissonances stemming from cultural differences are not very common (Hartman-Hirsch et al., 2006). In this context

Rother (2005:122) states: "…as Luxembourg is per se a multilingual country and also a country with a high proportion of highly qualified foreigners, problems of any kind of cultural integration and background are less relevant in social life."

An alternative explanation can be the fact that Luxembourg belongs to a group of countries with a relatively long standing immigration history (Hartman-Hirsch et al., 2006) starting in the last quarter of the 19th century which means that inhabitants of the country are accustomed to daily interactions with newcomers and different nationalities.

A relatively positive attitudes toward the impact of immigrants on the job market in a host country can be, to certain extend, explained by "…a general sense of economic 'well being': Luxembourg's economic indicators were on the top of the EU-scale" (Hartman-Hirsch et al., 2006:6) and a relatively good situation in the labour market prior to and at the time of the EVS survey, mainly with respect to the labour force demand. The Eurostat data (2009) reveal that with respect to unemployment Luxemburg has belonged to countries with lower unemployment rates during the past decade. In concrete terms, in 2000 Luxembourg exhibited the lowest unemployment rates among all EU-27 countries. In 2008 it occupied the seventh position in the EU-27 ranking. Thus, despite certain deterioration of the situation, immigrants have not presented a pronounced labour market threat for Luxembourg residents. Despite this, it needs to be mentioned that as the situation in the labour market has changed after the financial crises of 2008 as well as people's perceptions of security of their jobs further empirical investigations would be required to confirm whether the proposed explanation is plausible.

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

[10] Even if it should be noted that, according to OECD (2008), foreign-born residents have higher unemployment rate than natives.

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