Attitudes towards homosexuality amongst recent Polish Migrants in Western Europe: migrant selectivity and attitude change

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Abstract

This contribution investigates the attitudes towards homosexuality of newly arrived immigrants from Poland in two Western European countries; Ireland and the Netherlands, with a particular interest in how these attitudes develop over time after migration. Polish natives are on average less accepting of homosexuality than those of these two host countries. First, we infer from comparisons between migrants and non-migrants residing in the origin country whether a selection effect of migrants with a more liberal attitude exists. We find that there is evidence for selective out-migration that remains when controlling for pre-migration characteristics. Second, using data collected shortly after arrival of immigrants and from a second wave one and a half years later in the host country, we show whether immigrants adapt to the norms of the host country and to what extent they maintain the dominant attitudes of the origin country. We find that attitudinal changes after migration are associated with the level of social integration in the host country and maintenance of religious involvement.

Keywords: acculturation; homosexuality; immigrants; migration; religion

Introduction

During the last decade, many leading public figures have addressed the problematic integration of non-Western migrants in Western societies. Whereas in earlier decades successful integration was almost equal to successful economic integration, lack of social and cultural integration has increasingly become one of the arguments why politicians such as the German chancellor Angela Merkel and the former French president Nicolas Sarkozy proclaim the failure of the multicultural society. More repressive civic integration policies have been adopted in most of the European countries (Joppke 2007). Radical right-wing parties have taken the lead in their plea of unbridgeable values over democracy, women's emancipation and sexuality (Rydgren 2007). In particular the differences between migrants and natives relating to issues around sexuality are detrimental, according to Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007). These authors show that there are factual deep-lying value conflicts over issues as freedom of sexuality for women and homosexuality. The latter issue in particular is gaining greater visibility with more and more countries moving towards greater support for homosexual unions, but also with countries introducing bills that restrict the freedom of homosexuals, with both developments accompanied by great public controversy.

The debate around homosexuality as a source of cultural conflict has almost exclusively been concerned with Muslims and largely ignores that value differences (can) also occur between natives and migrants from Eastern European societies (Fitzgerald, Winstone and Prestage 2014). Considering the large numbers of intra-European migrants in recent years, mainly from Poland, to countries like Ireland and the Netherlands (Eurostat 2012), their attitudes are important in determining how this debate will develop in countries that have received large numbers of migrants from this region. While attitudes have become more permissive in many European countries, agreement that gay men and lesbians should be free to live as they wish has remained low in Eastern Europe (Van den Akker, Van der Ploeg and Scheepers 2013), including Poland as the origin country of interest here. By merging unique data of recent migrants from Poland to data of non-movers in the origin country, we answer firstly the question whether those migrating to Western Europe are the citizens with more progressive attitudes toward homosexuality, i.e. that selection effects exist along cultural lines. Despite the challenges involved in studying selection

effects, such an analysis can provide some insight into selectivity that goes beyond the more frequently studied socio-economic factors. Secondly, we investigate to what extent migrants' attitudes change and which factors affect this at an early stage of migration, making use of the longitudinal character of the data on new migrants we employ. Using panel data allows a much closer look at processes of change within persons rather than relying on length of residence as the majority of previous studies.

Public debate as well as academic studies about immigrants' attitudes towards homosexuality have been particularly prominent in the Netherlands, which is known to have become one of the most tolerant countries in the world in this regard (Jaspers, Lubbers and De Graaf 2007). In other Western European countries with less public support, the conflict can be expected to be smaller between native and migrant populations, but comparatively little is known about any differences that may nevertheless occur. In this study we therefore include Ireland in addition to the Netherlands as one of the less tolerant countries towards homosexuality in Western Europe, despite notable changes over the last decade (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Attitudes over time in Ireland, the Netherlands and Poland
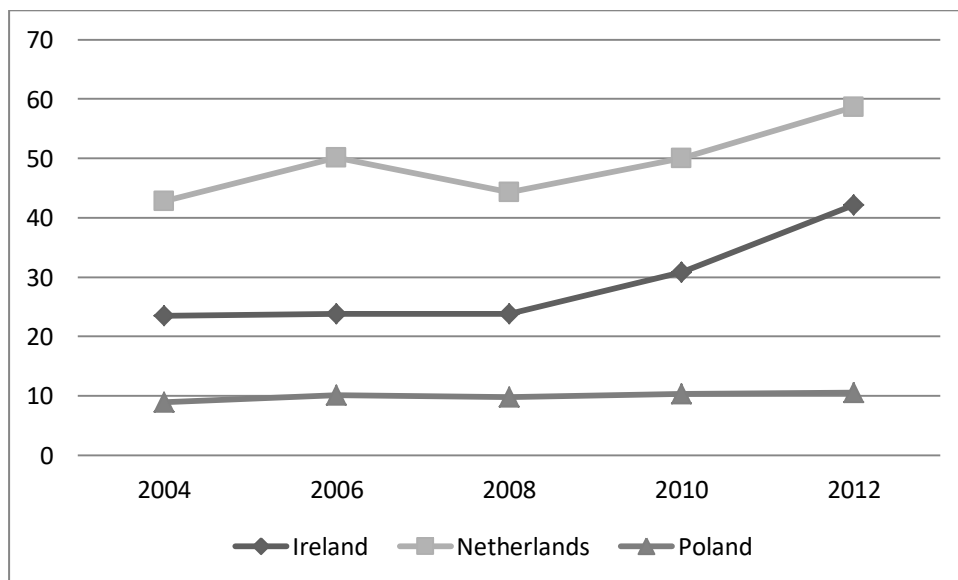
Percentage 'strongly agreeing' with 'gays and lesbians should be free to live as they wish'
Data: ESS Rounds 1 to 5

Since migrants from Poland are not constrained in their choice of an intra-EU destination country – different from extra-EU migrants that face different migration policies that select certain characteristics of migrants -, this study addresses the potential self-selection along cultural characteristics, which is the first contribution this paper aims to make. While studies of immigrant selectivity have largely focused on economic aspects (Borjas 1987; 1999), intra-European migration does not follow a purely economic logic (see for example Hadler 2006; Recchi 2008). Studying selectivity is important for several reasons: firstly, knowing who chooses to leave a country disproportionately can inform us of push factors in the origin country as well as pull factors in the host country, and can furthermore affect the composition of the remaining population over time. Secondly, understanding selectivity is crucial for studying assimilation over time by establishing a baseline from which migrants start this process, as this might not always be simply the average of the origin country. Despite these reasons in favour of studying selectivity, we also emphasize that it is always challenging methodologically. We outline further below the approach used to attempt to test this as robustly as possible.

While previous research has already indicated that acculturation occurs for attitudes towards homosexuality (Fitzgerald, Winstone and Presteon 2014; Röder, forthcoming; Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2014), it has had to rely largely on cross-sectional data dominated by longer staying migrants, thus limiting the potential to investigate these processes at an early stage and in more detail. One of the main mechanisms suggested by previous research for increased adoption of host country attitudes over time and across generations is greater exposure to the host society (Maliepaard, Lubbers and Gijsberts 2010; Van der Bracht and Van der Putte 2014). Yet, exposure to the host country is at least partly affected by migrants' preferences, rather than being an automatic and linear process (Portes and Zhou 1993; Güngör, Fleischmann and Phalet 2011). By making use of longitudinal data of recent migrants, it is possible here to understand better the interplay of contact with the host society and maintenance of origin country and religious orientation in shaping the early pathways for acculturation.

Polish immigration to Ireland and the Netherlands

Ireland is a relatively recent country of immigration. After a long history of large scale emigration, rapid economic growth from the 1990s onwards was associated initially with high levels of return migration as well as the arrival of an increasingly diverse population from other European as well as non-European countries. Immigration levels peaked between 2004 and 2007 as a result of Ireland being one of the few EU member states opening its borders to New Member State migrants immediately after their countries' EU accession. Poles were the largest group of such migrants to arrive, and recent Census figures show that they continue to represent a substantial group despite the overall decrease in inward migration since the onset of Ireland's severe economic crisis (CSO 2012).

The Netherlands, in contrast, has been a migration country since the 1960s, when labour shortages were filled with migrants from the Mediterranean. Until the EU enlargement in 2004, migration from Eastern European was quite limited. Until then, Polish migrants were regularly stereotyped as Polish brides, where Dutch men (often of lower educational level) married Polish women (Dagevos and Gijsberts 2011). From 2004 onwards, Polish migration increased rapidly, with almost 20.000 new migrants who formally registered as new inhabitant of the Netherlands in 2011 alone. Since 2007, Poles no longer need a work permit. Formally, migrants who stay for longer than four months have to register at the municipality they live in, although in practice many migrants refrain from doing so, or do so only after they decide to stay for a longer period.

Theory and hypotheses

Attitudes towards homosexuality differ quite widely across the globe: while it remains illegal in some countries, increasing numbers of states have legalised gay marriage or civil partnerships. Overall public opinion has become more favourable in Europe overall, but attitudes remain more unfavourable in Eastern Europe. Explanations of cross-national differences primarily focus on the impact of modernisation, which has been shown to largely account for country level variation (Gerhards 2010; Stulhofer and Rimac 2009; Van den Akker, Van der Ploeg and Scheepers 2013). While traditional societies attempt to

control sexuality more strongly and emphasize religious concepts of morality (Adamczyk and Pitt 2009), a shift towards more 'post-materialist' values has been observed by Inglehart (1997) particularly in Western countries, which increasingly favour individual rights and self-fulfilment over tradition and religious authority. As discussed above, Polish society remains more socially conservative than Dutch and Irish populations in relation to homosexuality, but also on other social attitudes (Czapiński 2011).

Previous research has also provided the key individual level explanations of attitudes towards homosexuality. In most research, religiosity is found to be the key explanation of unfavourable attitudes, although much of this research has been conducted in Western countries. Adamczyk and Pitt (2009) found that individual level religiosity is a far weaker predictor in countries that are overall more religious. Other crucial predictors are education (the lower educated being less favourable), age (older people being less favourable) and gender (men being less favourable) (Adamczyk and Pitt 2009; Lubbers, Jaspers and Ultee 2009; Van der Meerendonk and Scheepers 2004; Kelley 2001; Stulhofer and Rimac 2009).

Selectivity

Decades of migration research show that those who emigrate are not a random selection of individuals, but differ on a range of characteristics from those who stay (Borjas 1987, 1999; Chiswick 2000; Feliciano 2005). Not everybody can and wants to migrate, and this will depend on individual and family characteristics as well as the conditions in origin and host countries. Firstly, some individuals may not be allowed to migrate due to restrictive policies, or may not have the financial means to do so. In the case of Poles migrating to Ireland and the Netherlands at the time of the survey, the open border regime of the EU as well as relatively low travel costs ensure that the majority of Poles can, if they so wish, move. Nevertheless, some people have more incentive to migrate than others. The best explored aspect appears to be the selectivity of economic migrants, which is shaped by the demand and income structures in the respective host and origin countries and regions (Borjas 1987, 1991; Chiswick 2000; Massey 1999). Figure 2 shows that migrants from Poland to Ireland and to the Netherlands indeed originate from different Polish regions. Whereas Poles to

Ireland mainly originate from the centre of Poland, with urban areas as Warsaw and Krakow, Poles to the Netherlands mainly originate from south-western Silesia.

Figure 2 – Regions of origin of migrants from Poland to Ireland and to the Netherlands

Source: SCIP survey (2011)

While the previous literature has been primarily concerned with the economic selectivity of migrants, it has been suggested more recently that migrants may indeed also differ along other characteristics from non-migrants. Mobility depends strongly on life stage, with the young and untied being substantially more likely to move (Wagner 1990). Additionally, within Europe, migration decisions are argued to be increasingly made for non-economic reasons, such as family, relationship, study or quality of life (Hadler 2006; Recchi 2008). In a country such as Poland, where social attitudes have remained very conservative, those who seek a more liberal environment have an additional incentive to move. This could introduce new forms of selectivity both in terms of the decision to emigrate, and the destination selected.

Here, the aim is therefore to go beyond economic theories of selectivity and ask whether migrants represent a more cosmopolitan and open-minded segment of their origin society regardless of other characteristics that may drive such attitudes. The first step is therefore to control for factors that are known to influence attitudes towards

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homosexuality and that impact on a person's likelihood to migrate. While it is unlikely that a substantial proportion of individuals will decide to migrate or select a destination country specifically because of public opinion towards homosexuality, these attitudes should be understood more broadly as indicators of socially progressive attitudes and tolerance (see for example Florida 2002). Using homosexuality as an attitudinal indicator has the advantage that it is relatively unlikely to be influenced directly by the migration event, which cannot be said for other attitudes that are often considered to indicate a more cosmopolitan outlook such as attitudes towards Europe (Röder 2011) or political attitudes, which appear to be strongly shaped by comparisons between host and origin country (Maxwell 2010; Röder and Mühlau 2012).

Previous research on acculturation of migrants has generally not been able to answer the question whether immigrants are favourably selected in terms of more liberal attitudes because it becomes difficult to differentiate the impact of the host country on attitudes from initial selectivity after a migrant has spent a significant amount of time there. Using very recent migrants therefore has the advantage of addressing this issue, as this group will have had little exposure to the host country at such an early stage. If selectivity occurs, i.e. if the more tolerant are more likely to out-migrate, then we should see more favourable attitudes already amongst very recent arrivals.

H1: Recently arrived immigrants hold more favourable attitudes towards homosexuality than comparable natives of their country of origin.

Selectivity is primarily expected to be linked to whether somebody leaves the country or stays, but it may also influence the selection of a suitable destination country. Again, the literature suggests that economic motives such as job opportunities, wages and welfare state provisions are prevalent in the selection of migration destination (Borjas 1987, 1999), as well as the networks migrants already have (Pedersen et al. 2008). If cultural aspects play a role in the selection of a destination, we should see less conservative migrants moving to the Netherlands as compared to those moving to Ireland controlling for other characteristics.

H2: Recent Polish migrants to the Netherlands hold more favourable attitudes towards homosexuality than comparable migrants to Ireland.

Acculturation

Although the public debate in Europe in relation to immigration and cultural values focuses primarily on Islam, there are considerable attitudinal differences within Europe (Gerhards 2010; Stulhofer and Rimac 2009), and even amongst countries with similar religious traditions such as Ireland and Poland. Immigrants who - like our respondents - move as adults, have spent their 'impressionable' years in the country of origin (Alwin and Krosnick 1991). As a consequence of their different socialisation, the origin country public opinion can be expected to continue to play an important role for their attitudes if moving to an overall more tolerant host society. With longer stay in the host society, this influence is expected to diminish – though the literature provides expectations on the conditions that accelerate this process or that may prevent it.

Assimilation theory predicts that immigrants gradually become more similar socio-economically to members of their host society, with both intra- and intergenerational change playing a role (Alba and Nee 2003). While extensive research shows that immigrants assimilate across a wide range of social and economic characteristics (see for example Alba and Nee 2003), less is known about how malleable attitudes and values are after migration. For immigrants, the changed social context and exposure to different norms in the host society can have two potential outcomes, the gradual adoption of such norms, which often occurs unintentionally (Gans 1997), or their rejection and maintenance of origin country beliefs. Acculturation may refer to the increasing adoption of cultural norms and attitudes (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2009), or the rejection of those norms, coining the different acculturation strategies as distinguished by Berry (1997).

Research shows that there is evidence for some, but not necessarily complete adoption of host country attitudes in the first generation. The attitudes of Muslims on sexual liberalization, gender egalitarianism, democracy and the role of religion, for example, lie about half way between those of the origin country and host country populations (Norris and Inglehart 2012). Adoption of host country attitudes has also been shown over time and generations for attitudes towards homosexuality (Fitzgerald, Winstone and Prestage 2014; Röder, forthcoming; Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2014), but also in relation to sexuality and moral values more generally (Ahrold and Meston 2010; Ersanilli 2012), gender role

attitudes (Leaper and Valin 1996; Röder and Mühlau 2014; Yamanaka and McClelland 1994), general trust (Dinesen and Hooghe 2010) and conservative values (Röder and Mühlau 2012). Additionally, the more integrated migrants are in other domains and the more they were oriented towards the host country, the more likely they were to hold more positive attitudes towards homosexuality (Ahrold and Meston 2010; Teney and Subramanian 2010). While none of these studies focused on very early acculturation processes, the above research suggests that acculturation takes time – more so than structural integration (Phalet and Schönpflug 2001) - and is often not completed in one generation. We therefore do not expect that attitudes will necessarily change dramatically for recent Polish migrants, but rather that some migrants will have a preference and greater opportunities for immersion in the host country, whereas others will prefer to remain within their own ethnic group and re-emphasise their origin country values, shaping their early integration pathways.

Supports and barriers for acculturation

The acculturation literature has put forward that adaptation to the host country is dependent on the level of exposure to the destination country's way if life. A stronger connection to the country of destination and its population would support or accelerate this process (Maliepaard, Lubbers and Gijsberts 2010). On the other hand, a stronger connection to the origin country, or the population from the origin country would hamper change in the direction of the country of destination (Alba and Nee 1997). Previous studies of attitudes towards homosexuality amongst migrants in Europe have generally had to rely on length of residence only as their main indicator for acculturation (Fitzgerald, Winstone and Prestage 2014; Röder, forthcoming; Van der Bracht and Van de Putte 2014), and have thus not been able to differentiate along other characteristics that more closely measure actual exposure. Other studies have shown that greater acculturation in other domains is associated with more positive attitudes towards homosexuality amongst ethnic minorities in the United States (Ahrold and Meston 2010) and in Belgium (Teney and Subramanian 2010), but focus on ethnic groups rather than first generation migrants.

In this contribution we study to what extent recent migrants have increased their host country contacts and decreased their origin country orientation in the first years after

their migration, and to what extent these changes are linked to their attitudes towards homosexuality. We identify contacts with the host society by social contacts with the native population, consumption of the country of destination's media and whether or not migrants work or study. Similarly, we include social contacts to other migrants from the same origin country, and origin country media consumption. Host country contact indicators are expected to be associated with more favourable attitudes toward homosexuality, and likewise, changes over time in these contacts are expected to be associated with a change towards more favourable attitudes. The opposite is expected for origin country orientation.

> H3: (a) Immigrants that are more exposed to the host society hold more favourable attitudes towards homosexuality. (b) Stronger maintenance of origin country orientation is associated with less favourable attitudes.

Religion is often cited a barrier to integration in the European context (Foner and Alba 2008). Religious institutions tend to define family norms as married, heterosexual couples and generally reject other family models (Diehl, Koenig and Ruckdeschel 2008). Immigrants are on average more religious than the native population (Van Tubergen and Sindradottir 2011), and extensive research shows that religious self-identification and greater religiosity are linked to less support for homosexuality (Gerhards 2010; Lubbers, Jaspers and Ultee 2009; Stulhofer and Rimac 2009; Van der Akker, Van der Ploeg and Scheepers 2012). Indeed, the decline in religion during the past decades amongst the Dutch has been shown to be to a large extent responsible for their increasingly more liberal attitudes (Jaspers, Lubbers and De Graaf 2007), while Poles continue to be much more religious than most other Europeans, with the Irish being placed in between as a traditionally very religious country which has seen a decline in the importance of religion in recent times.

While the link between religiosity and attitudes appears to be well established, it is of interest here to determine to what extent change in religiosity after migration is related to changes in immigrants' attitudes. Immigrants' religiosity has been suggested to be shaped by the origin country, but to become more similar to the prevalent patterns of the host country over time (Alanezi and Sherkat 2008; Van Tubergen and Sindradottir 2011). A Polish migrant moving to Ireland, and particularly to the Netherlands, can be expected to have, on

average, a higher level of religiosity than the native population. While religious involvement gets disrupted by the migratory event itself (Van Tubergen 2013), it has been suggested that levels of religiosity may recover again after some time in the origin country (Diehl and Koenig 2013).

H4: Stronger maintenance of religion in the host country is linked to less favourable attitudes towards homosexuality.

Data

To answer our research question on migrant selectivity, we match a new dataset collected in 2010/2011 among Polish migrants in Ireland and the Netherlands (SCIP 'Social Cultural Integration Processes') to Rounds 4 and 5 of the European Social Survey (ESS) consisting of natives who remained in Poland, collected in late 2008 and early 2009, and late 2010 and early 2011 respectively[1].

The SCIP data are part of a larger Norface project 'Social Cultural Integration Processes' (SCIP). In Ireland and the Netherlands, an equivalent face-to-face questionnaire in Polish was used. The survey aimed at data collection within 18 months after migration. In the first wave, new immigrants in Ireland were sampled by snowball in the Dublin area due to the absence of a population register in the country. Moreover, all migrants that registered at the office where social insurance (PPS) numbers are issued were invited to participate. As these numbers are necessary for anybody wishing to work or claim social welfare benefits in Ireland, it can be assumed that the vast majority of migrants register shortly after arrival. In order to reduce volunteer bias, interview participation was rewarded; as was referral of suitable respondents. 49 per cent of the Irish sample was recruited via direct approaches, and 51 per cent via referrals.[2] In the Netherlands, a sample from the population registers from 38 municipalities with most Polish migrants was drawn. Migrants intending to stay for a longer period than 4 months are expected to register. In

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[1] From the ESS dataset, we excluded non-citizens considering that the inclusion criteria for the SCIP study specified that only Polish nationals would be interviewed.

[2] All analyses were checked to determine whether there was an effect of sampling method. While migrants in the referral sample had more negative attitudes overall than those from the non-referral sample, findings presented here are robust regardless of sampling method.

practice this means that hardly any migrant less than 4 months was sampled, whereas in Ireland very recent migrants were included. Moreover, in the Netherlands, many of the Polish migrants turned out to be longer in the country than the date of registration. Migrants longer than 48 months in the country were dropped from the analyses. Straightforwardly, we control for length of stay, and test our analyses regarding selectivity for robustness using very recent migrants only (for further details on data collection see Gresser et al. 2014). This data collection resulted in 1056 valid responses in Ireland (no response rate can be calculated due to sampling method; however, the sample represents approximately one quarter of all eligible new migrants arriving during this time) and 874 valid responses in the Netherlands (response rate: 51%).

To study changes among migrants in their attitude towards homosexuality, we use both the first and a second wave of the SCIP dataset. The second wave started 15 months after the first wave. The response rate in Ireland for the second wave was 58%. However, out of the 611 respondents that were successfully re-contacted, 206 were return migrants, so that 405 valid responses remain for our analyses here. In the Netherlands, 544 migrants were approached again in wave 2. This number excludes long-stayers (>48 months), migrants that were not willing to participate in wave 2 and re-migrated Poles. Here 355 valid responses remain in the second wave (41% of the total wave 1 N; 65% of the approached migrants in wave 2). The variables, modelling approach and findings for the selectivity analysis are presented before moving on to the second part of the analysis using panel data to model acculturation pathways.

Migrant selection: Variables and modelling

Dependent variable. In SCIP and ESS the dependent variable for measuring the attitude toward homosexuality is recorded identically. Respondents were asked to state whether they (strongly) agreed, (strongly) disagreed, or neither agreed nor disagreed with the item 'gay men and lesbians should be free to live their life as they wish'. For the analyses here, we reversed the coding, so that higher scores reflect more favourable attitudes. While it is a limitation that only one item was available to measure a concept that has various sub-dimensions (Grey et al. 2013), most items used to measure attitudes towards homosexuality

in cross-national surveys have been shown to be highly correlated and consistent in terms of their validity (Takács and Szalma 2013).

Independent variables. In the analyse testing for migrant selectivity, we control for gender, age, education, marital status and hostile attitudes towards homosexuality in the origin region. *Gender* and *age* (measured in years) were recorded identically in both SCIP and ESS. *Educational level* was simplified in both datasets to include primary, secondary, tertiary and 'other'. *Marital status* was recoded into never married, married (includes widowed due to small sample size) and divorced. *Hostility to homosexuality in the origin region* was recorded as the average attitudes in the 16 regions in Poland (voivodeships) based on ESS data (higher values indicate greater hostility on a 1 to 5 scale). Additionally, *place of residence* (big city and suburb, town and village/countryside) and *main activity* (paid work, unemployed, in education, retired, home duties, other) were included; for SCIP respondents, their status before migration was used.

Religion. A dummy for *non-religious* individuals was included, i.e. those indicating that they did not belong to any religion. *Religious attendance* was recorded in both surveys on a range from several times per week to never. This was simplified to 'weekly' (weekly or more), 'monthly' (at least once a month or on specific holy days) and 'less often' (less or never). *Prayer* was recorded in both surveys as ranging from every day to never, coded here into 'every day', 'several times per week', 'less' (monthly or on special holy days) and 'never'.

Modelling. The first part of the analysis is concerned with selection effects. These are studied using the full SCIP dataset from the first wave of the survey. Data from ESS and SCIP were merged to allow a direct comparison between Poles in Poland, Polish migrants in the Netherlands and Polish migrants in Ireland (see Appendix I for descriptives). Both surveys used the same item to measure attitudes, and were carried out as face-to-face interviews. Nevertheless, the sample in the receiving countries may be selective, particularly in Ireland due to the absence of registers. Therefore it was also tested whether it mattered in which way a respondent was recruited into the Irish sample, and results are robust. To match migrants to 'comparable natives' on the above characteristics, propensity score matching was used. This was done with different cut-off points for time since migration to ensure that potential length of residence effects are not responsible for observed differences,

particularly considering that Poles in the Netherlands had generally much longer residence at Wave 1 than their counterparts in Ireland. The *psmspss* programme in SPSS was used for propensity score matching (Thoemmes 2012), implemented as nearest neighbour matching with replacement.[3]

Findings of migrant selectivity

First we present the extent to which Poles in Ireland and the Netherlands held favourable attitudes in the first wave of our study, when they were relatively recent in these countries, and compare them to the Poles in Poland, but also to Irish in Ireland and Dutch in the Netherlands. As migrants in our sample are significantly younger on average, we also show the attitudes of those under 40 years of age. As Table 1 illustrates, Poles living in Poland hold the least favourable attitudes of all the groups investigated here, with Irish attitudes being more favourable, but nevertheless quite far behind Dutch attitudes. Amongst the recent migrants in our sample, Poles in the Netherlands appear to be more favourable than Poles in Poland, with Poles in Ireland again being in between, and this pattern is the same when looking at the under 40 cohort only. While these results indicate that as expected in the first two hypotheses there are differences between Polish migrants and Poles who have remained in Poland, we need to establish whether this is due to the selection of a particular cohort of Poles who migrated to these two countries.

Table 1 – Attitudes towards gays and lesbians in host and origin countries

	Host populations				*Poles*			
	Ireland		Netherlands		Poland		Polish migrants	
	all	<40	all	<40	all	<40	IRL	NL
Agree strongly	42.1	48.1	58.7	61.8	10.5	12.9	18.7	25.8
Agree	42.0	38.1	34.1	30.6	34.6	40.8	49.9	52.6
Neither	10.6	8.6	4.0	4.6	19.6	22.6	15.7	8.1
Disagree	3.9	3.5	2.1	2.0	19.8	15.5	11.5	9.6
Disagree strongly	1.5	1.7	1.1	1.0	11.3	8.1	4.2	3.9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Don't know/refusal	2.6	1.3	0.6	0.3	7.3	4.9	2.4	3.1

Data: ESS 5 and SCIP (Wave 1)

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[3] Using replacement means that an ESS respondent can be used more than once as a match for a SCIP respondent, as the emigrants are a highly selective group.

Poles that have migrated to Ireland and the Netherlands differ on a range of characteristics from Poles remaining in Poland. As shown above, they originate from different regions, but they are also younger, better educated (especially in Ireland), more likely to be single, divorced than married or widowed, and have a greater likelihood to have been working, having been in education or having been unemployed before migration. They are disproportionately drawn from cities and towns rather than villages, and report less religious practice before migration than stayers (see Appendix 2).

Table 2 - Difference between Polish migrants in Ireland and the Netherlands from Polish non-movers (in Poland) on the approval of homosexuality (Propensity score matching)

	Ireland			Netherlands		
	Poles in IRL (SCIP)	Poles in Poland matched by demographics[a]	Poles in Poland matched by demographics and religion[b]	Poles in NL (SCIP)	Poles in Poland matched by demographics[a]	Poles in Poland matched by demographics and religion[b]
Average approval of homosexuality	3.67	3.46	3.51	3.87	3.44	3.47
		Difference to Polish migrants in IRL			Difference to Polish migrants in NL	
All respondents	3.67 (n=1030)	-.21***	-.16***	3.87 (n=708)	-.43***/e	-.40***/d
Up to two years	3.67 (n=1030)	-.21***	-.16***	3.86 (n=403)	-.42***/e	-.39***/d
Up to 18 months	3.67 (n=1029)	-.21***	-.17***	3.85 (n=319)	-.41***/e	-.38***/d
Up to one year	3.66 (n=866)	-.20***	-.15**	3.83 (n=228)	-.39***/c	-.36**/d
Up to six months	3.68 (n=720)	-.22***	-.17**	3.98 (n=50)	-.54***/d	-.51***/c
Up to three months	3.71 (n=578)	-.25***	-.20***	n/a	n/a	n/a
Up to two months	3.70 (n=513)	-.24***	-.19***	n/a	n/a	n/a
Up to one month	3.69 (n=395)	-.23***	-.18**	n/a	n/a	n/a

Excludes respondents with any missing variables on any dependent or independent variable; [a] Results after using propensity score matching controlling for gender, age, educational level, marital status, average; attitudes in region of origin in Poland, place of residence, main activity, [b] plus religious denomination, religious attendance, prayer
Significance levels: (a) comparing Poles in Poland with Poles in IRL/NL: *=p≤ .05, **=p ≤ .01, ***=p ≤ .001, two-tailed; (b) comparing Poles in IRL with Poles in NL: [c]=p ≤ .05, [d]=p ≤ .01, [e]=p ≤ .001

This profile suggests that the differences we observe in Table 1 may be due to the different profile of migrants, whose characteristics overall make them more likely to hold more liberal attitudes. However, after controlling for these factors via propensity score matching, we find that Poles who have migrated continue to have less unfavourable attitudes than stayers, supporting hypothesis 1 (Table 2). This is the case when matching only by demographic and socio-economic factors, as well as when additionally including religiosity.

Testing this with different cut-off points in terms of length of residence shows that this effect does not appear to be the result of acculturation, as already very recent migrants hold more favourable attitudes.[4] This can be seen particularly well in the Irish data, which consists of more recent migrants than the Dutch data. Furthermore, the country difference between migrants to Ireland and those to the Netherlands is also significant, indicating that recent Polish migrants to the Netherlands hold more favourable attitudes towards homosexuality than recent Polish migrants to Ireland, supporting hypothesis 2.

Changes in the attitude toward homosexuality among migrants: Variables and modelling

For the analyses on changing attitudes toward homosexuality among migrants, we rely solely on the longitudinal SCIP data.

Dependent variable. As above, the item 'gay men and lesbians should be free to live their life as they wish' was used to measure attitudes towards homosexuality and reversed so that higher values reflect more favourable attitudes.

Independent variables. In all models we control for gender, age, education (primary, secondary, tertiary, other), marital status (never married, married/widowed, divorced) and average hostile attitudes toward homosexuality in the origin region. Additionally, we control for any *previous longer visits* to the residence country and *months since arrival* at the first wave of interviews.

Religion. A dummy for *non-religious* individuals indicates those that do not belong to any religion. A scale of *religious practice* was created made up of variables measuring frequency of attendance and prayer[5], with higher values indicating greater religious commitment. Additionally, the difference in this indicator between waves was included to account for change in religious practice.

Host country embeddedness. To measure migrants' embeddedness in the host country, we measured whether a migrant *worked or studied* in the host country. *Contact to host country*

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[4] A range of robustness tests were performed that show that differences in sampling method in Ireland (referral versus non-referral methods), previous visits in the host country and previous contacts in the host country did not alter results.
[5] Results are robust if using the variables prayer and attendance separately.

residents was assessed as the frequency of contacts migrants have with natives ('How often do you spend time with Irish/Dutch people?' Every day, several times a week, a few times a month, several times a year, less). For the frequency of destination country's media usage respondents were asked 'How often do you read Irish/Dutch printed or online newspapers?' and 'How often do you watch television on Irish/Dutch channels?' Answer categories were every day, several times a week, once or twice a week, less often and never. These two questions were combined to make one scale of media usage.

Origin country maintenance. For *origin country contacts*, we include how frequently respondents have contacts with members of the same ethnic community, and how often they use *origin country media* (same items as above, but for origin country contacts and media). The questions relating to host and origin country contact were included in both waves of SCIP, enabling us to test whether changes in ethnic embeddedness are associated with changes in attitudes towards homosexuality. Change variables (increase in contact and media exposure) are included as the difference in Wave 2 compared to Wave 1 (see Appendix 2).

Modelling. Only migrants that have responded in both waves of SCIP are included. Before discarding cases that are no longer in the data in wave two, we checked whether there is selectivity in panel attrition along the variables of interest. The main differences are along gender, marital status and to a lesser degree length of residence and education. Women are more likely to be re-interviewed, as are those that are married or divorced rather than never married. The shorter a respondent was in the country at W1, the less likely they were to be re-interviewed, and higher educated individuals are also more likely to be captured in Wave 2 again (Appendix 2). We tested whether the results differed between linear regression models, either based on the original dependent variable or reduced to 3 categories, a logistic regression analysis and ordered logistic regression. We found that the results are robust, and therefore we present findings from the linear analysis with 5 categories. We initially show the effects of the main explanatory variables on attitudes at wave 1 (Models 1a to 1c). Then we regress the attitude in wave 2 on the unfavourable attitude in wave 1, and add the relevant predictors from waves 1 and 2 to see whether remaining variance (indicating change) is explained (Models 2a to 2c). An analysis on change scores, as one would predict, resulted in similar findings. The results from this model

indicates to what extent change in the unfavourable attitude towards homosexuality has been stronger among people with more or less host country contacts, origin country orientation and different levels of religiosity.

Findings for acculturation pathways

It can be noted that aggregate attitudes between waves did not change at all in Ireland, and only marginally – though negatively - in the Netherlands (see Table 3). However, at the individual level, there has been significant change, with over half of respondents changing their attitudes, with some respondents turning more negative and some more positive, again with stronger change towards more negative attitudes in the Netherlands than in Ireland. This suggests that there are individual characteristics at play that differentiate between migrants.

Models 1a to 1c (Table 4) show what characteristics affect attitudes at Wave 1, starting with demographic and socio-economic variables only (1a), including religiosity (1b) and lastly host and origin country contact (1c). As expected, being male and having only primary level education are associated with more negative attitudes toward homosexuality. Attitudes in the origin region and marital status do not have a significant effect, and neither does length of residence at first wave interview. The effect of age is positive, but not significant, which is interesting given that in the general population the opposite is typically observed. Migrants who had previously visited the country for a longer stay held overall more negative attitudes.[6] Less religious migrants and those with greater host country contact hold more favourable attitudes, while we do not find the expected effects for origin country contact.

Table 3 – Change in attitudes between waves in Ireland and Netherlands

	SCIP Wave 1[a]	SCIP Wave 2	Change to more positive	No change	Change to more negative
Ireland	3.71	3.71	25.7%	47.7%	26.6%
Netherlands	3.90	3.78	19.2%	46.2%	34.6%

[a]Wave 2 sample only

[6] As above with the propensity score models, controlling for previous contacts with people in the host country and sampling method in Ireland did not alter results in the regression models.

In Models 2a to 2c (Table 4), the impact on change in Wave 2 compared to Wave 1 is shown. As noted above, there is a significant amount of within-person change between waves, and this change appears to follow certain patterns. Males not only hold more negative attitudes (see Model 1a), they also change in a more negative direction between waves than females. The same is the case for those respondents with only primary education, although this ceases to be significant when host and origin contact variables are included. Older respondents change marginally towards more positive attitudes (significant only in Model 2c), while marital status, time in residence country and previous visits do not affect change between waves. Respondents from more hostile areas in Poland show a negative change, but this ceases to be significant when religiosity and host/origin contacts are included.

Evidence supports hypothesis 3a that greater media usage and working or studying in the host country are linked to change towards more favourable attitudes (the attitude at wave 2 is more favourable, while controlling for attitude at wave 1; see Model 2c). The effect of contact to host country people is also in the expected direction, but is not significant when working/studying is included. Interestingly, media exposure at wave 1 is already indicative as to how much a migrant's attitude changes, which lends credence to the argument that underlying preferences, and a more general openness to the host country, are of importance. In addition to this, change towards more residence country exposure is also associated with greater change in attitudes between waves, although, it again reaches the level of significance only for increased host country media exposure.[7] On the other hand, we do not find the expected negative effects of origin country media usage and contact to members of the same migrant group (hypothesis 3b). It should be noted, though, that the recent migrants surveyed almost all have very frequent contact to other Poles, and have quite frequent use of origin media.[8]

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[7] As language may mediate host country contacts, additional models were estimated that control for language ability of the respondent, but these do not differ in any substantial way from the models presented here. Interaction effects between media usage and language ability were not significant.
[8] A separate model which interacts the host country exposure variables (media use, contact, work/study) with the host country shows that patterns do not differ significantly between Ireland and the Netherlands.

For religion, we observe that belonging to a religion is not significantly associated with change in attitudes, but religious practice is. Interestingly, religiosity overall increased between waves (Appendix 2). The impact of religious practice on attitudes occurs both in terms of how much a migrant practiced at the first interview, but also whether religious practice has increased or decreased between waves, thus fully supporting hypothesis 4. Comparing Ireland and the Netherlands, we see that the attitudes of Poles in Ireland were overall more negative at Wave 1 (not significant in Model 1c), but that they change more towards more favourable attitudes between waves (significant only in Model 1c).

Table 4 – Regression model: Agreement with 'gays and lesbians should be free to live as they wish'

	Attitudes at W1			Attitude change W1/W2		
	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 2c
Constant	4.274***	4.346***	3.858***	3.748***	3.774***	3.430***
Attitudes at W1				.310***	.296***	.267***
Gender (Ref: Female)						
Male	-.387***	-.410***	-.417***	-.321***	-.358***	-.377***
Age (in years)	.005	.007	.009	.004	.006	.009*
Marital status (Ref: Never married)						
Married	-.092	-.074	-.080	-.029	.011	.025
Divorced	-.132	-.141	-.150	.054	.059	.070
Education (Ref: Secondary)						
Primary	-.446*	-.426*	-.339	-.386*	-.363*	-.320
Tertiary	-.034	-.031	-.061	.033	.032	-.009
Other	.016	.030	-.032	-.654	-.545	-.501
Origin region hostility	-.137	-.112	-.046	-.430*	-.311	-.277
Months spent in RC at W1	.004	.004	.001	.002	.001	.002
Previous longer visits in RC	-.212*	-.208*	-.246**	.014	.001	-.019
Religion						
Non-religious		.155	.126		-.124	-.155
Religious practice W1		-.064**	-.067**		-.087***	-.091***
Increase in religious practice					-.085**	-.079**
Residence country (RC) contact						
Working or studying in RC						.174*
Spending time with RC people at W1			.071**			.038
Increase in time spent with RC people						.018
RC media exposure at W1			.026			.073*
Increase in RC media exposure						.079*
Country of origin (CO) contact						
Spending time with CO people at W1			-.007			-.022
Increase in time spent with CO people						-.001
CO media exposure at W1			-.006			-.026
Increase in CO media exposure						.027
(Ireland if added to main model)	(-.231*)	(-.210*)	(-.143)	(.097)	(.135)	(.193*)

Total N=703 (IE:380; NL: 323); Significance levels (a) different from zero: *=p< .05, **=p < .01≤, ***=p ≤ .001

Discussion and conclusion

This contribution had two main aims: firstly, to determine whether there is evidence of selectivity along cultural attitudes, and secondly, to explain what factors are linked to a greater propensity to adopt more favourable attitudes towards homosexuality. Findings regarding migrants' selectivity suggest that progressive individuals are more likely to leave the country, and that this might even play a role in migrants' choice of destination decision. While it may be too much to claim on the basis of the evidence here that the flat lining of overall public attitudes in Poland is explained by the outmigration of its more tolerant citizens, it could be contributing somewhat, considering the high levels of emigration from Poland (Dustmann, Frattini and Rosso 2012). More likely, however, is that the stability of conservative value orientations in Poland contributes to the emigration of younger, more cosmopolitan citizens who look for opportunities elsewhere.

Studying selection effects is challenging without having before migration data on individuals who move versus those that did not. Using new migrants matched to comparable non-migrants is useful if relevant characteristics are controlled for, and we are indeed comparing like for like. This is not without potential pitfalls, but due to relatively detailed pre-migration characteristics in the SCIP dataset, a range of important variables could be controlled for here. Nevertheless, despite careful selection of matching variables, there may be unobserved characteristics along which migrants and non-migrants differ that are relevant for their attitudes and that explain our findings here. While we tested as much as possible for the effects of different sampling strategies, and compared our sample to official statistics, we cannot fully exclude that the new migrant samples may be selective on some other criteria not accounted for here.

A further challenge is potential social desirability bias, which may explain the difference in attitudes between recent movers and non-movers. So rather than actually holding more tolerant attitudes, migrants may say what they feel is expected of them. This would explain not only the difference between recent Polish migrants and natives, but also the difference between migrants to Ireland and the Netherlands, as public discourse in the Netherlands has traditionally been more concerned with homosexuality, although this topic is gaining importance in the Irish context also. At the same time, one could argue that

awareness of such norms within the host society and a desire to conform to them in itself would be an indicator of greater acculturation. Further research should consider the possibility of selection effects that go beyond the socio-economic factors studied in most research to date to provide further evidence on the phenomenon observed in this study, or indeed contradict our preliminary conclusions here.

The second contribution of this paper relates to better understanding patterns of early acculturation. As expected, length of residence has only marginal effects both in terms of attitudes at wave 1, and in terms of overall change between waves. This is perhaps unsurprising, considering that we are looking at a relatively short time span, which may not be sufficient for a substantial shift in cultural attitudes, which tend to change more slowly than other aspects of migrant integration (Idema and Phalet 2007; Nauck 1989; Röder, forthcoming). Previous research on related attitudes has largely examined migrants who had been in the country for a very long time on average, so that greater levels of change could be observed (e.g. Leaper and Valin 1996; Röder and Mühlau 2012; 2014). Despite this relative stability of attitudes overall, we found support for differentiation within this group already at this early stage. Although country of origin group embeddedness neither hinders nor supports change in the attitude towards homosexuality – most likely because it is and remains very high for the majority of respondents - higher levels of religious practice in the host country are, as predicted, associated with less favourable attitudes. Conversely, being more embedded in the host society, and indeed becoming more so over time, is associated to more favourable attitudes. This is important as it shows that already at an early stage after migration we can see quite different paths develop that may be reinforced further over time. This is an important finding given that previous research has relied on cross sectional data, which means that within group differentiation can easily be overlooked if there is no clear overall change. With previous research showing that exposure related effects can take a very long time to become noticeable, the differentiation we observe at this early stage are perhaps better understood as different pathways, with some migrants orienting themselves more towards the host country in their attitudes, contacts and interests.

One of the remarkable findings is that, though in both Ireland and the Netherlands we found support for the effects of religious practice and host society embeddedness, Poles

in the Netherlands were less likely to change towards a more favourable attitude toward homosexuality than Poles in Ireland. This might be explained by their already more favourable attitude at the start, however, we would like to encourage researchers to investigate how migrants respond to the perception of discrimination in the host country. The SCIP survey provides evidence that this perception of group discrimination is higher in the Netherlands than in Ireland, from which one may predict precisely what is found here: that Poles in the Netherlands are less likely to adopt the norms of the host county than the Poles in Ireland, and are more likely to withdraw into their country of origin group.

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Appendix 1 - Descriptive statistics from ESS and SCIP Wave 1 data (variables used for propensity score matching)

	ESS[a]	SCIP Wave 1 (full sample)	
	Poles in PL	Poles in IE	Poles in NL
Approval of homosexuality (1-5)	3.20	3.67	3.87
	(SD=1.18)	(SD=1.04)	(SD=1.03)
Male (%)	47.6	48.0	49.8
Age (in years)	44.5	30.5	31.6
	(SD=18.9)	(SD=10.4)	(SD=9.1)
Education			
Primary (%)	23.5	3.7	3.8
Secondary (%)	56.6	43.7	55.6
Tertiary (%)	19.9	52.0	34.8
Other (%)	0.0	0.3	1.4
Marital status			
Never married (%)	28.9	64.6	40.6
Married (%)	60.0	25.6	50.7
Divorced or separated (%)	5.0	9.7	8.6
Main activity[b]			
Paid work (%)	47.9	59.2	73.5
In education (%)	12.1	20.2	14.2
Unemployed (%)	5.5	14.7	8.7
Retired (%)	26.1	1.9	0.3
Home duties (%)	6.8	2.7	1.3
Other (%)	1.6	1.3	1.1
Place of residence in PL[b]			
Big city or suburb (%)	31.0	46.0	34.8
Town (%)	32.0	40.2	46.1
Village or countryside (%)	37.0	13.9	19.0
Origin region hostility	2.78	2.79	2.74
	(SD=.20)	(SD=0.20)	(SD=.19)
Non-religious (%)	8.7	9.6	3.9
Religious attendance[b,c]			
Weekly (%)	56.4	35.2	38.6
Monthly/holy days (%)	28.5	50.3	43.1
Less often (%)	5.1	14.5	18.3
Prayer[b,c]			
Every day (%)	45.0	21.5	22.5
Several times per week (%)	16.8	19.9	17.0
Monthly/holy days (%)	34.5	44.8	47.6
Never (%)	3.6	13.7	12.9
Number of cases	3,357	1,056	852

[a]Waves 4 and 5 merged, unweighted; [b]Before migration for SCIP W1; [c]Only for those belonging to a religion

Appendix 2 - Descriptive statistics from SCIP Waves 1 and 2 (variables used for regression analyses)

	SCIP Wave 1 (full sample)		SCIP Wave 1 (W 2 sample)[a]		SCIP Wave 2[b]	
	Poles in IE	Poles in NL	Poles in IE	Poles in NL	Poles in IE	Poles in NL
Approval of homosexuality (1-5)	3.67	3.87	3.71	3.90	3.71	3.78
	(SD=1.04)	(SD=1.03)	(SD=1.06)	(SD=0.99)	(SD=1.04)	(SD=0.82)
Male (%)	48.0	49.8	45.1	39.4	n/a	n/a
Age (in years)	30.5	31.6	31.7	32.1	n/a	n/a
	(SD=10.4)	(SD=9.1)	(SD=10.0)	(SD=9.1)		
Education						
Primary (%)	3.7	3.8	3.4	3.3	n/a	n/a
Secondary (%)	43.7	55.6	35.2	59.1	n/a	n/a
Tertiary (%)	52.0	34.8	60.6	36.9	n/a	n/a
Other (%)	0.3	1.4	0.7	0.8	n/a	n/a
Marital status						
Never married (%)	64.6	40.6	56.2	34.8	n/a	n/a
Married (%)	25.7	50.8	31.8	55.6	n/a	n/a
Divorced or separated (%)	9.7	8.6	12.1	9.6	n/a	n/a
Origin region hostility	2.79	2.74	2.77	2.74	n/a	n/a
	(SD=0.20)	(SD=0.19)	(SD=0.19)	(SD=0.17)		
Length of residence at W1 (in months)	5.1	30.7	6.8	24.8	n/a	n/a
	(SD=5.3)	(SD=28.5)	(SD=5.8)	(SD=13.9)		
Previous visits to RC (%)	18.4	22.3	24.4	22.9	n/a	n/a
Non-religious (%)	9.6	3.9	9.4	4.0	n/a	n/a
Religious practice (1 to 7)	3.5	3.4	3.7	3.6	n/a	n/a
	(SD=1.8)	(SD=1.6)	(SD=1.8)	(SD=1.6)		
Change in religious practice	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	.36	.21
					(SD=1.25)	(SD=1.33)
Working or studying in RC at W2 (%)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	77.1	80.6
Contacts with RC residents (1-6)	4.0	5.3	4.2	5.4	4.9	4.3
	(SD=1.9)	(SD=1.3)	(SD=1.8)	(SD=1.2)	(SD=1.4)	(SD=1.8)
Change in time spent with RC people	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.7	-1.1
					(SD=1.9)	(SD=2.0)
RC media exposure (1-5)	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7
	(SD=1.2)	(SD=1.2)	(SD=1.2)	(SD=1.2)	(SD=1.2)	(SD=1.2)
Change in RC media exposure	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.14	0.18
					(SD=1.24)	(SD=1.13)
Spending time with CO people (1-6)	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.5	5.3	4.9
	(SD=0.9)	(SD=1.1)	(SD=1.0)	(SD=1.1)	(SD=1.0)	(SD=1.3)
Change in time spent with CO people	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.13	-0.65
					(SD=1.17)	(SD=1.45)
Origin media exposure (1-5)	3.2	3.6	3.3	3.6	3.3	3.5
	(SD=1.9)	(SD=1.1)	(SD=1.2)	(SD=1.1)	(SD=1.1)	(SD=1.3)
Change in CO media exposure	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.07	-0.09
					(SD=1.18)	(SD=1.16)
Number of cases	1,056	852	406	376	406	376

[a]Excluding return migrants; [b]Time varying variables only