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Do contacts matter?**

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Attitudes toward immigrants in Luxembourg - Do contacts matter?*

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Abstract: According to the latest official statistics, the number of immigrants in Luxembourg is approaching half the population. This demographic change raises questions concerning social inclusion, social cohesion, and intergroup conflicts. The present paper contributes to this discussion by analyzing attitudes toward immigrants and their determinants. Controlling for key socio-demographic and economic individual characteristics, we focus specifically on examining how the intensity of core contacts between nationals and inhabitants with migratory background affects attitudes toward immigrants among three groups of Luxembourg residents: natives, first-generation immigrants, and second-generation immigrants. The European Values Study data of 2008 was used in the paper. The results indicate that attitudes toward immigrants depend significantly on the origins of the residents of Luxembourg. Nationals adopt the most negative stance toward immigrants; they are followed by second-generation and first-generation immigrants. Attitudes of second-generation immigrants are closer to those of the native population than to those of first-generation immigrants, which confirms the assimilation hypotheses. Core contacts appear to play the most important role in the case of first-generation immigrants. The more connected the first-generation migrant to the native population, the more negative his/her opinion of immigrants.

Key words: attitudes toward immigrants, contact theory, migratory background, EVS

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Introduction

Luxembourg has one of the largest proportions of immigrants in the population among European countries and a relatively long immigration history. According to the latest official statistics, immigrants represent 43% of the Luxembourg population; thus, we can observe a progressive change in the population profile, with the number of immigrants slowly reaching the number of natives. In this context, the notion of a minority/majority dichotomy is losing its traditional sense, and the country is in the process of finding equilibrium between ethnic diversity and social cohesion of the country. This situation, unique in Europe, evokes many questions regarding acceptance and perception of immigrants and assimilation into and cohesiveness of a multinational and multilingual national state. In this context it is legitimate to study how inhabitants of Luxembourg perceive immigrants and how the multicultural nature of the society affects social cohesion.

In the present paper we answer two research questions. The first examines how three groups of residents with different immigration history (natives and second- and first-generation immigrants) differ in their attitudes toward immigrants. Not distinguishing these three groups would produce mixed results since people in these groups have very different life experiences. The second question explores how the intensity of core contacts is operationalized, that is, how frequency of friendship contacts with native Luxembourgers and with foreigners, having a foreign-born spouse, and associative behavior affect attitudes toward immigrants. Regression models are estimated for each group of residents separately while controlling for selected socio-demographic and economic and labor market factors. The analyses are based on the European Values Study data from 2008.

The main contribution of this paper is twofold. First, it not only analyzes the attitudes of natives toward immigrants in Luxembourg but also takes into account residents with migratory background. This allows testing of the applicability of the assimilation theory and analysis of the differences between different groups of inhabitants. Second, national and linguistic riches of the Luxembourg population provide a unique laboratory for testing assumptions of contact and assimilation theories.

The paper is organized as follows: the first chapter is dedicated to a theoretical discussion of attitudes toward immigrants and the situation of immigration in Luxembourg. The second chapter gives information on the main research questions, methodology, and data used in the paper. The third chapter presents the outcomes of our analyses comparing perceptions of immigrants among different groups of residents and examining the effect of contacts between immigrants and attachment to the country on attitudes of natives and first- and second-generation immigrants. The last chapter draws the main conclusions of the paper.

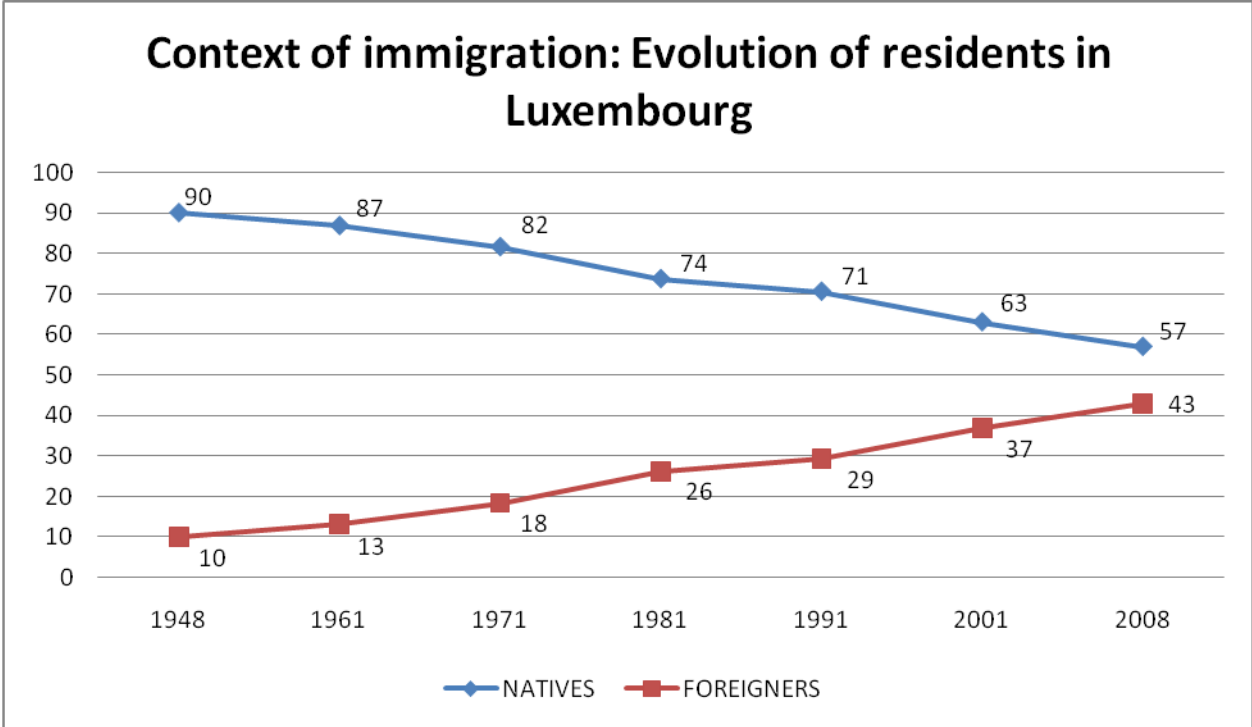
1. Theoretical context and existing evidence

1.1. Immigration in Luxembourg

To understand the origins of immigration to Luxembourg we must go back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with the industrialization of the country and the beginning of mining activities. Before exploitation of the mines on an industrial scale, the country's main source of employment and wealth was agriculture (Kreins, 1996). Development of the mining and steel industry created demand for a labor force that could not be supplied by the native population. Both low- and highly skilled workers were required (Cordeiro, 2001). The first wave of immigrants who saturated the demand for low-skilled workers in the steel industry comprised Italians. During the 1950s Italians gradually stopped coming to Luxembourg (this coincided with development of the Italian economy); this gap was filled by the Portuguese. For more highly skilled workers, the first wave of immigrants consisted mainly of Germans. Beginning in the 1960s Luxembourg began developing a finance sector that has led to the immigration of highly skilled labor, mainly French, Belgium, and German. Around the same time, Luxembourg became one of the administrative centers of the European Union, hosting various institutions, which attracted other groups of highly skilled migrants. Given these qualities of migration, Luxembourg is among the OECD countries in the middle range in terms of share of highly qualified immigrants (OECD, 2008).

Figure 1 shows how the composition of Luxembourg residents has evolved over time. The administrative data reveal that the percentage of foreign nationals residing in Luxembourg territory increased from 10% in 1948 to 43% in 2008.

Figure 1. Composition of the Luxembourg resident population



Source: Statec, 2008

The vast majority of foreigners living in Luxembourg come from the EU-25 countries. The most numerous group of immigrants are Portuguese, followed by French and Italians. Thus, Luxembourg has a relatively low number of immigrants from outside Europe, in particular from developing countries.

1.2. Attitudes toward immigrants

In a country with a relatively long and very intense history of immigration, it is difficult to avoid discussion about issues such as interethnic relations, integration, and sentiments toward newcomers. This paper will contribute to the discussion on how immigrants are perceived by

Luxembourg residents of different migration background. Attitudes toward immigrants¹ are taken as one of the possible indicators of the quality of the relationship between “us” and “others” in this multinational and multilingual state. By “us” we mean the residents of the country and by “others,” immigrants, that is, people who came from a different country to settle in a host country.² Social interactions are built around self-definition constructed via contacts 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 & Ceobanu, 2009). The quality and quantity of interactions or contacts between these groups shape the way “we” define ourselves as well as our approach to others (Lewin-Epstein & Levanon, 2005). In particular, the type of interactions of different identities (national or ethnic) is stimulated by migration and the settling of foreign nationals 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 that newcomers grow into a new environment, accept it, and create a local “us” feeling. This process, which is based on the development of a sense of peoplehood founded on the host society, is very close to the concept of assimilation. Alba and Nee (1997) define assimilation as a process in which individual members of minority origins change their behavior and attitudes so they are able to function in the mainstream society. From the point of view of members of a minority, assimilation goes in the direction of the mainstream culture, even if this culture is itself changing through incorporation of elements of minority cultures; thus, the cultural and social distance that members of minority groups must overcome may narrow.

In this context Berg (2009) mentions the threat and contact theories. The threat theory (Blumer, 1958; Blalock, 1967; Quillian, 1995; McLaren, 2005) posits that as an area becomes ethnically diverse, the political, economic, and social powers of locals might be threatened by immigrants. This might lead to negative attitudes toward newcomers. Stephan et al. (1999 and 2000) distinguishes four main drives behind negative out-group attitudes: realistic and symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. Realistic threats are those where in-groups

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 use the terms foreign-born and foreign residents interchangeably.

feels threatened by out-group members with respect to political and economic power. Symbolic threats are related to endangered symbolic and cultural domination of in-group. Intergroup anxiety concerns uncertainty and anxiety related to the interaction with out-group members. Negative stereotypes refer to a simplified and standardized image of out-groups held in common by in-group. Meuleman et al (2009) argue that the level of threat, and consequently negative perceptions of immigrants, is affected mainly by the size of the minority group and the economic conditions of a country. Díez Medrano (2005), Lewin-Epstein and Levanon (2005), and Escandell and Ceobanu (2009) found that the stronger the identification, attachment, or sense of belonging to a country by a respondent (the stronger the “us” or “in-group” feeling), the more negative his or her perceptions of newcomers.

Contrary to the threat theory, the contact theory, elaborated by Allport (1954), Pettigrew (1998), and Dixon (2006), points out that frequent close interactions between natives and foreigners may yield positive intergroup sentiments. The theory suggests that locals with greater exposure to foreign groups adopt less stereotypical stances than counterparts who live in an ethnically homogenous environment. The effect of contact depends on the type of contact. The most powerful and influential contacts in value and attitude formation are so called core networks, i.e., contacts with people who have emotionally close ties with the individual (Marsden, 1987). The composition of core networks depends on individual choices of friends (Mouw, 2006) or on structured opportunities for particular partnerships (Blau, 1977). Multicultural and multiethnic environments are structurally more favorable for creation of intergroup contacts and exchange. Berg (2009) and Marsden (1987) point out that the core network of the individual determines his/her attitudes toward a minority. Another factor closely related to the contact theory is the experience of living abroad. García Faroldi (2009) claims that individuals with this kind of experience (being a foreigner), at least for some time, are more likely to have more positive attitudes toward immigration than people who have never lived in a different country.

While comparing the effect of contact on attitudes toward immigrants between native and immigrant, one should not forget other types of important determinants. These are not the center of interest in this paper but should be taken into account as control variables in empirical models. The first group of factors comprises socio-demographic factors, including gender, age, and

presence of children. Some empirical studies (Espenshade & Hempstead 1996; Burns & Gimbel, 2000) present evidence that older individuals tend to be less likely to report pro-immigrant attitudes than younger counterparts. With respect to gender, there is empirical evidence that women adopt a more negative attitude toward immigrants than their male counterparts (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Dustmann & Preston, 2000). Bridges and Mateut (2009) explain this fact by women's belief that migrants are negative for the economy. The presence of children under the age of 15 has a positive effect on attitudes toward immigrants. 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 two adult groups (Gang et al., 2002).

The second group of factors concerns human capital, economic status, and the labor market situation. Semyonov et al (2006) summarize that, in general, socially and economically vulnerable people are more threatened by the presence of migrants and more likely to adopt more discriminatory and exclusionary attitudes toward newcomers. More concretely, some studies (O'Rourke & Sinnott, 2004; Mayda, 2004; Malchow-Moller et al 2006; Dustmann & Preston, 2000) confirm that less-educated individuals (education measured by the highest level of education obtained or years of schooling) are more likely to have negative attitudes toward immigrants. Conversely, people with higher educational attainment tend to hold comparatively sympathetic attitudes toward immigrants (Berg, 2009). Usually, less educated people also have low-skilled jobs, which are, in general, a more vulnerable job market position. This makes them more likely to adopt a negative point of view toward immigrants (Dustmann & Preston, 2000; Malchow-Moller et al., 2006); therefore, they will have a negative perception of the impact of immigrant labor on their wages. Wealthier individuals have a more positive attitude toward immigrants (Bilal et al., 2001; Doherty, 2006). All in all, the literature indicates that those who face more direct competition from immigrants tend to have a more negative attitude toward them (Gang et al., 2002). Consistent with several studies, we can say that retired people show a negative attitude toward immigrants (Hjerm, 2007; Gang et al., 2002; Dustmann & Preston, 2000; Semyonov et al., 2006). One explanation is that they may have formed their attitudes toward foreigners in earlier years, when immigrants were perceived as a threat to their employment, a threat that does not necessarily disappear over time or after retirement. On the other hand, students tend to report more positive attitudes toward immigrants (Gang et al., 2002).

At the macro level, Meuleman et al. (2009) point out that unemployment rates in a society influence attitudes toward immigrants. Lower unemployment means a positive attitude toward immigrants. This idea is also linked with the economic situation of a country. There is empirical evidence that the economic situation of a country is linked to the perceptions of the established population toward immigrants (Malchow-Moller et al., 2006; Gang et al., 2002; Dustmann & Preston, 2000). If the economic situation is not that of growth, they are likely to perceive that immigrants are a threat to their jobs and therefore have a negative attitude toward them.

Existing empirical evidence analyzing the evolution in the increase of antifoignier 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 (with the second most positive attitude among 12 EU countries between 1988 and 2000); however, Bridges and Mateut (2009) point out that when Luxembourg residents are asked about allowing or limiting the future arrival of immigrants in the country, they indicate a desire to limit access to certain groups of foreigners, mainly those of a different ethnic origin. Both these studies examined attitudes of individuals residing in Luxembourg but did not distinguish residents depending on migration history.

2. Data, methodology, hypotheses

In the present study, analyses are based on the 2008 European Values Study (EVS) for Luxembourg. The original sample consisted of a representative sample of 1610 residents of Luxembourg older than 17. The sample data have been weighted to represent the adult population of the country.

The first research question is answered by an OLS regression model where the effect of migrant history on attitudes toward immigrants is analyzed from pooled data of all residents, with an index of attitudes toward immigrants as the dependent variable and the key independent variable comprising migrant background (natives, first- and second-generation migrants). The

effect of migratory background is estimated while controlling for socio-demographic and economic individual characteristics.

The second question is answered by applying regression models to subgroups of natives, first-generation immigrants, and second-generation immigrants separately. The dependent variable in the model is the factor score on attitudes toward immigrants.

In the majority of research, attitudes toward immigrants living or intending to live in a country is analyzed from the perspective of the population as a whole or from the natives' perspective (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007), whereas little attention has been paid to residents with a migrant history. In countries with a low share of immigrants in the total population, this omission does not necessarily have a significant impact on the results; however, this does not hold in countries like Luxembourg, where the proportion of residents of foreign nationality is extremely high. Thus, in the present paper, we analyze attitudes toward immigrants among various groups of residents separately: natives as well as immigrants of different generations.

This approach will shed more light on attitudes toward various subgroups of the Luxembourg population and produce less mixed results than analyses conducted only on the population of residents as a whole or only on residents holding Luxembourg nationality. Therefore we distinguish three groups of residents depending on migrant background: native population, second-generation migrants, and first-generation migrants. Nationals are defined as people born in the country and whose parents were born in the country. In the context of this study we do not consider individuals born abroad to at least one Luxembourg national to be natives. First-generation immigrants are residents born outside Luxembourg to foreign-born parents. Second-generation immigrants are individuals born in Luxembourg with at least one parent born outside the country (Zhou, 1997; Kucera, 2008; Simon, 2005). When conceptualizing second-generation immigrants one must bear in mind that the definition is very broad and includes individuals with only one or both immigrant parents. Having either 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. In our analyses we thus distinguish among three categories of second-generation migrants: both parents born outside the country, foreign-born mother, and foreign-born father.

EVS data reveal that first-generation immigrants represent approximately 37% of the sample. Second-generation immigrants represent approximately 17% of the sample, and the remaining 46% of respondents are natives.

Table 1. Distribution of Luxembourg residents depending on migration history

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Native	721	44.8	45.6
Second-generation immigrants	260	16.2	16.6
First-generation immigrants	586	36.4	37.4
Total	1568	97.4	100.0
Missing	42	2.6	
Total	1610	100	

Source: EVS 2008

42 missing cases represent individuals born outside the country to at least one parent born in Luxembourg; these cases were not included in regression analyses.

Dependent variable: Attitudes toward immigrants

The EVS questionnaire comprised two batteries of questions regarding attitudes toward immigrants. The first set of six items dealt with opinions regarding immigrants without referring to any particular Luxembourg context. Opinions were measured on a 10-point scale, with 1 = strongly agree and 10 = strongly disagree. The items were worded as follows:

- Immigrants take jobs away from natives in a country.
- A country's cultural life is undermined by immigrants.
- Immigrants make crime problems worse.
- Immigrants are a strain on a country's welfare system.
- In the future the proportion of immigrants will become a threat to society.

- For the greater good of society, it is better if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions.

The second set, consisting of two questions, focused on people's attitudes toward immigration in Luxembourg and was measured on 5-point scale, with 1 = strongly agree and 5 = strongly disagree. The following two items were presented to respondents:

- Because of the number of immigrants in Luxembourg, I sometimes feel like a stranger.
- Today in Luxembourg, there are too many immigrants.

These items have shown shortcomings that might lead to slightly biased or mixed results. First, the items in the questionnaire were negatively formulated, which could have had 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 & Tilley, 2005; Bridges & Mateut, 2009). However, because of the composition of migrants in Luxembourg mentioned earlier, we can dismiss the idea that natives adopt negative attitudes toward foreigners mainly as a result of different ethnic origins.

To aggregate the information, we created a composite score of general attitudes toward immigrants. Similar to the procedures of Dustmann & Preston (2000), Bilal et al. (2001), Lewin-Epstein & Levanon (2005), Heath and Tilley (2005), and Meuleman et al. (2009), we used principal component analysis to test whether all items could be summed up in one composite scale of attitudes toward immigrants. Items concerning customs were repolarized to orient them in the same direction; i.e., the higher the value, the more positive the point of view toward immigrants. To harmonize the 5- and 10-point scales, the items were standardized into Z-scores.

The outcome of the principal component analyses of the eight items suggests the existence of two distinct factors, where seven items create one factor and the item concerning customs of immigrants stands alone and forms another distinct factor. Scale reliability test (Cronbach's Alpha), yielded similar results, suggesting that exclusion of the item concerning customs would improve the reliability of the intended composite scale. Given this, the item was

not included in further analyses. On the basis of the principal component analysis (table 2), the factor score was calculated³. The higher the score, the more positive the attitude toward immigrants. The factor score was used as the dependent variable in the regression analyses.

Table 2. Outcome of principal component analyses: composite measure of attitudes toward immigrants

Principal component matrix	Factor loadings
Immigrants and jobs	.711
Immigrants and culture	.676
Immigrants and crime	.788
Immigrants and social security system	.783
Number of immigrants as a general threat to society	.833
Feeling of alienation due to number of immigrants in Luxembourg	.679
Too many immigrants in Luxembourg	.744

Source : EVS 2008,

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = 0.862

Variance explained by the shown factor is equal to 59%

Deducing from the threat and contact theory, we assume that native residents of Luxembourg will exhibit more negative attitudes toward immigrants than first- and second-generation immigrants, as we expect them to have stronger “us” national feelings and identification with the country than people with some migrant history. Based on theories of assimilation, we hypothesize that first-generation immigrants will be more positive toward newcomers than second-generation immigrants who were socialized and educated in the host society and thus inevitably more similar to the majority with respect to sentiments and values.

Key independent variables

We referred to the contact and network theories of Allport (1954), Pettigrew (1998), Dixon (2006), and Berg (2009) and operationalized the intensity of core contacts into a set of variables: intensity of friendship, contacts with natives and intensity of friendship contacts with

³ Factor loadings presented in the table reveal that the most important components of general factors are statements regarding future threat to society caused by the number of immigrants, crime, social security, and too many immigrants in Luxembourg.

foreigners, having a foreign-born partner/spouse, and frequency of civic involvement in clubs and informal associations. The exact wording of the variables is as follows:

- Among your friends, how far do you have contact with Luxembourgers? Responses: 1 = much, 2 = to a certain extent, 3 = not so much, 4 = not at all.
- Among your friends, how far do you have contact with foreign nationals (Portuguese, French, German, Belgian, Italian)? Responses: 1 = much, 2 = to a certain extent, 3 = not so much, 4 = not at all.⁴
- Was your partner/spouse born in Luxembourg? Responses: 1 = yes, 2 = no, 7 = not applicable (transformed into a dummy variable: 1 = yes, 0 = other responses).
- How often do you do the following activities: Spend some time with people in clubs or associations (sports, culture, local bodies). Responses: 1 = every week, 2 = once or twice a month, 3 = a few times a year, 4 = not at all.⁵

Deducing from the contact theory, we hypothesized that nationals who had rather intense friendships with other nationalities would exhibit more positive opinions of immigrants, as they are exposed to differences and able to create links; as mentioned in the section on theory, more contacts with immigrants may decrease the perceived threat posed by them. Another kind of close contact with immigrants can be realized via a partner's relationships, where it can be expected that nationals with a spouse not born in the country are more exposed to foreigners and thus will have more positive attitudes toward immigrants than Luxembourgers whose spouses were born in Luxembourg. Similarly, we hypothesized that people with migrant origins who had a Luxembourg spouse/partner adopted a more negative stance regarding foreigners. We also assumed that residents with migrant background (both first- and second-generation immigrants) who had more frequent contact with Luxembourg nationals would be more likely to express negative opinions of immigrants. In line with this assumption we hypothesized that first- and

⁴ This variable was constructed by calculating the average of five independent items concerning each nationality (Portuguese, French, Germans, Belgians, Italians). This average represents intensity of friendship contacts with the most frequent immigrant groups in Luxembourg.

⁵ This variable measures frequency of associative behavior of an individual and thus, his/her engagement in a civil society; however, this variable fails to give information on the exact type of associations and clubs. Thus, we cannot distinguish between associations that are open to all nationalities and thus favor interethnic/cultural exchange and those that gather only certain national groups. Nevertheless, we assume that there are no officially recognized associations and clubs in Luxembourg that would be explicitly isolationist.

second-generation immigrants who have frequent contact with foreign-born friends would tend to adopt more positive attitudes toward immigrants. With respect to associative behavior, we inferred that individuals with migrant background (especially first-generation migrants) who were active in various associations or clubs would be more likely to express positive attitudes.

Control variables

To correctly estimate the key independent variables, we controlled for selected socio-demographic and economic individual characteristics that according to the literature presented in the theoretical part of the paper affect attitudes toward immigrants: gender, age, presence of children, marital status, education, categorized total net household income, position in the labor market, occupation, experience with unemployment during the last five years, and dependence on social security during the last five years.

We use as well controls concerning integration: attachment to the country⁶, language proficiency (level of ability to speak and understand) in the three official languages of the country (Luxembourgish, French, and German)⁷ as language proficiency can be an important proxy of integration into a country and facilitates contact with locals (Esser, 2006; Dustmann & Fabbri, 2000), Luxembourg nationality/citizenship⁸ as we assumed that residents holding citizenship, mainly those with migratory background, would exhibit a higher level of formal integration into the host society and thus might have a different approach to newcomers.

In the case of second-generation immigrants, we controlled as well for the fact of only one or both migrant parents as this would have an impact on the assimilation process of a child. In the case of first-generation immigrants we added a variable measuring duration of stay in the

⁶ How do you feel regarding Luxembourg? Responses: 1 = “I feel as I don’t belong to the country”; 10 = “I feel as I belong to the country.”

⁷ Do you have difficulties to speak and understand Luxembourgish? 1 = “No difficulty at all,” 2 = “some difficulty,” 3 = “much difficulty,” 4 = “no knowledge”

Do you have difficulties to speak and understand French? 1 = “No difficulty at all,” 2 = “some difficulty,” 3 = “much difficulty,” 4 = “no knowledge.”

Do you have difficulties to speak and understand German? 1 = “No difficulty at all,” 2 = “some difficulty,” 3 = “much difficulty,” 4 = “no knowledge.”

⁸ Are you a citizen of Luxembourg? 1 = yes, 2 = no; transformed to a dummy variable: 1 = yes, 0 = no.

country (year of arrival in Luxembourg subtracted from the year of the survey), because the duration of stay in the country might influence formation of values and attitudes.

3. Analyses

As shown in Table 3, residents of Luxembourg as a whole tended to agree most with the statements that immigrants make crime problems worse (48% of respondents agreed with the statement) and that there are too many immigrants in Luxembourg (40%). The fewest agreed that a country's cultural life is undermined by immigrants (25 %) and that immigrants take jobs away from natives (24%). These relatively low scores for the items concerning culture and the labor market can be explained by the composition of the migrant population in Luxembourg. Most migrants come from EU-25 countries, i.e. countries with similar cultural background. Moreover, the situation in the labor market, with unemployment rates not exceeding 4%, does not create severe competition in the labor market between natives and immigrants.

When comparing residents on the basis of migrant history, all findings confirm our expectation that the most negative perception of immigrants is held by the native population, followed by second-generation immigrants and then first-generation immigrants. More than half the native population agreed with the following statements: immigrants are a strain on a country's welfare system, and immigrants make crime problems worse. About 49% of natives were concerned about the fact that in the future the proportion of immigrants could represent a threat to a country and that there were too many immigrants in Luxembourg.

The outcomes of more detailed statistical analyses reveal that in all presented items, first-generation immigrants are significantly less likely to have negative attitudes toward immigrants compared with natives or second-generation immigrants. This means that attitudes of immigrants by individuals born in the country to at least one immigrant parent toward immigrants are much closer to those of natives than to first-generation immigrants.

Table 3. Description of individual items on attitudes toward immigrants

		N	Mean when original values kept	% of respondents who agree with the statement
Immigrants and jobs	native	721	6.08	30.5
	second generation	260	6.17	30.1
	first generation	586	7.38*	15.5
	total	1568	6.57	24.7
Immigrants and culture	native	721	6.48	27.8
	second generation	260	6.51	23.3
	first generation	586	7.25*	20.6
	Total	1568	6.77	24.3
Immigrants and crime	native	721	4.33	58.4
	second generation	260	4.56	53.3
	first generation	586	5.89*	34.3
	Total	1568	4.95	48.4
Immigrants and social security	native	721	4.60	54.4
	second generation	260	4.92	47.1
	first generation	586	6.14*	29.5
	Total	1568	5.22	43.7
Number of immigrants as a future threat to a society	native	721	4.86	49.2
	second generation	260	5.07	42.3
	first generation	586	6.27*	27.4
	Total	1568	5.41	39.7
Feeling of alienation due to number of immigrants in Luxembourg	native	716	3.04	37.8
	second generation	258	3.23	32.2
	first generation	547	3.46*	23.0
	Total	1521	3.22	31.2
Too many immigrants in Luxembourg	native	703	2.66	49.0
	second generation	252	2.67	48.3
	first generation	555	3.01*	37.3
	Total	1510	2.79	44.4

Source: EVS 2008

Significant difference at 0.05 level between natives and remaining two categories of residents is indicated by *
 Interpretation of mean values: the lower the mean value, the more negative the attitude toward immigrants

To test whether these conclusions hold when key control variables are introduced, we ran an OLS regression where the dependent variable was the factor score of seven items, described earlier. The results of regression analysis confirm that natives and second-generation immigrants exhibit significantly greater negative attitudes toward immigrants than residents who were not

born in Luxembourg (the reference category). Residents born in the country to foreign parents were closer in perception of immigrants to natives than to first-generation immigrants.

According to R-squared diagnostics, socio-demographic and economic variables explain 11% of variance of the dependent variable. Dummy variables of migration history of residents contribute approximately 7% to the explanatory power of the regression model; thus, the model as a whole explains approximately 17% of attitudes toward immigrants. When we change the reference category and compare the effect of being second- or first-generation immigrant to the effect of being a native, it becomes apparent that second-generation immigrants are less negative toward immigrants than their native counterparts; however, the effect of this dummy is not significant. From this we deduce that even when controlled for key individual characteristics, second-generation immigrants adopt opinions that are closer to those of natives than to first-generation migrants.

Table 4. Model change statistics: pooled sample

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Change Statistics			
				R Square Change	F Change	df1	Sig. F Change
1	.325	.106	.091	.106	7.294	18	.000
2	.415	.172	.157	.067	44.733	2	.000

Source: EVS 2008

The results of the regression analysis shown in Table 5 confirm that the perception of immigrants indeed depends on migrant background of the residents even if we control for key socio-demographic and economic variables. Natives and second-generation immigrants exhibit significantly more negative attitudes toward newcomers than first-generation immigrants. The differences in Beta coefficients between nationals and second-generation migrants are not statistically significant.

Table 5. Results of OLS regression: effect of migrant history, pooled sample of residents

Dependent variable: attitudes toward immigrants	Model 1 Unstandardized Beta	Model 2
(Constant)	.159	-.067
Age	-.004	.000
<i>Male</i>		
Female	.058	.049
<i>No children</i>		
Presence of children	.095	.065
<i>Employed</i>		
Self-employed	-.166	.032
Retired	-.289**	-.233*
Housewife	-.398***	-.295**
Student	.033	.201
Others	-.071	-.018
<i>Married</i>		
Single, divorced, separated, widow	-.264***	-.171**
Education post-secondary		
Education secondary lower	-.408***	-.251**
Education secondary higher	-.429***	-.263***
Education primary	-.188	-.128
<i>Not dependent on social security during past 5 years</i>		
Dependent on social security during past 5 years	-.039	-.040
<i>No experience with unemployment last 5 years</i>		
Experience with unemployment last 5 years	.107	.050
Household Income	.031*	.054***
<i>Worker</i>		
Civil servant	.097	.341**
Private employee	.175*	.244**
Other occupation	.029	.057
<i>First-generation immigrants</i>		
Natives		-.645***
Second-generation immigrants		-.543***

Source: EVS 2008

N = 1132

*** = 0.001 significance level, ** = 0.01 significance level, * = 0.05 significance level

In the following part of the paper we treat the three groups of residents separately and test the hypotheses based on the contact theory (see page 6). The outcomes of regression models reveal the following: regarding natives, the variables measuring level of integration and intensity

of contacts between natives and foreigners do not significantly affect their attitudes. These factors help to explain only 0.4% of variance of dependent variables, whereas sociodemographic and economic variables account for 18%. The R Square change is therefore insignificant. Thus, among this group of respondents we observe that socio-demographic and economic determinants play a more important role than those regarding core contacts or the level of attachment/integration.

Table 6. Model change statistics: natives

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Change Statistics				
				R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.429	.184	.155	.184	6.373	18	509	.000
2	.433	.188	.153	.004	.653	4	505	.625
3	.444	.197	.150	.009	.822	7	498	.570

Source: EVS 2008

There was only one variable concerning core contacts that approached significance at 0.07. This was the variable measuring intensity of contact with non-Luxembourg nationals. The coefficient obtained suggests that the less intense the contact reported by natives, the more negative their attitudes toward immigrants. Thus, the contact theory can be confirmed at the level of friendship, as the level of significance is smaller than 0.1. Our hypothesis regarding the effect of spouse was not confirmed. One of the possible explanations for this can be the fact that 66% of these spouses come from three neighboring countries: Germany, France, and Belgium, and Germans, French, and Belgians are neither perceived nor they do not perceive themselves as “real” immigrants.

With respect to economic and socio-demographic variables, the data reveal that income is positively associated with perception of immigrants. The higher the household income, the more positive the attitudes expressed by natives. The data also show that natives who are or have been employed as civil servants or private employees are more open to immigrants than blue collar workers. Education seems to play an important role as well. People with primary and secondary education are significantly more negative about immigrants than their counterparts who have obtained post-secondary education. Students exhibit more positive attitudes than people who are

employed. Women who are out of the labor market because of family care (housewives) and retired residents tend to perceive immigrants more negatively than employed natives. These results confirm the finding presented in the theoretical part of the paper that in high-income, developed countries, more highly educated, well-situated natives in more highly skilled, secure jobs mainly in the public sector (89% of Luxembourg nationals active in the labor market work as state employees (SESOP, 2007)) are more likely to perceive immigrants more positively than their poorer, less-educated counterparts who are more likely to compete with immigrants for available jobs.

Table 7. Results of OLS regression: natives

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Dependent variable: attitudes toward immigrants	Unstandardized Beta		
(Constant)	-1.400	-1.511	-1.035
Age	.008	.008	.009
<i>Male</i>			
Female	.032	.022	.038
<i>No children</i>			
Presence of children	.174	.142	.078
<i>Employed</i>			
Self-employed	.199*	.205*	.182
Retired	-.350*	-.321*	-.306*
Housewife	-.372	-.354	-.321
Student	.379	.405	.405
Other	.130	.142	.100
<i>Married</i>			
Single, divorced, separated, widow	-.138	-.166	-.131
<i>Education post-secondary</i>			
Education secondary lower	-.390**	-.394**	-.400**
Education secondary higher	-.291**	-.288*	-.302**
Education primary	-.220	-.212	-.240
<i>Never dependent on social security during past 5 years</i>			
Dependent on social security during past 5 years	.064	.132	.160
<i>No experience with unemployment - last 5 years</i>			
Experience with unemployment - last 5 years	-.270	-.271	-.243
Household Income	.068**	.064**	.058*
<i>Worker</i>			
Civil servant/public employee	.534***	.528***	.547***
Private employee	.488***	.486***	.475**
Other occupation	.210	.204	.216
Proficient in Luxembourgish language		.152	.034
Proficient in French language		-.130	-.093
Proficient in German language		.179	.148
Level of attachment to the country		.001	.008
<i>Spouse not born in Luxembourg</i>			
Spouse born in Luxembourg			-.098
No spouse			-.182
Contact with other nationals			-.127
Contacts with Luxembourgers			.105
<i>No associative activities</i>			
Associative activities weekly			-.111
Associative activities monthly			-.013
Associative activities yearly			.008

Source: EVS 2008

N = 529

*** = 0.001 significance level, ** = 0.01 significance level, * = 0.05 significance level

The picture gets only slightly different when we look at the second group of residents: second-generation immigrants. The data show that, among this group, variables concerning level of integration explain 2% of variance in attitudes toward immigrants whereas socio-demographic and economic determinants account for 28% and integration variables 4%. None of the contact variables are significant.

Table 8. Model change statistics: second-generation immigrants

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Change Statistics				
				R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.532	.283	.202	.283	3.519	18	160	.000
2	.568	.323	.222	.040	1.827	5	155	.111
3	.587	.345	.213	.022	.721	7	148	.655
4	.611	.374	.237	.029	3.408	2	146	.036

Source: EVS 2008

Looking at socio-demographic and individual economic determinants, we can conclude that in this subgroup of residents those who are not married are more likely to have a negative approach to immigration than their married counterparts. The same applies to people with primary education and higher secondary education compared to those with post-secondary diplomas. Related to labor market status, we can see that students perceive immigrants in a more positive light than the employed. Similar to the subgroup of natives, income seems to positively affect attitudes toward immigrants; the higher the income, the less negative stances people adopt.

We found that one of the integration variables—self-reported level of attachment to the country—is relatively close to being significant, at 0.09. It appears that second-generation immigrants who feel more attached to the country tend to exhibit more negative attitudes toward immigrants.

As noted earlier, when analyzing second-generation immigrants it is important to distinguish how attitudes differ between those with only one foreign-born parent and those whose parents were both born outside the country. Thus, we introduced additional dummies regarding parents (mother born in Luxembourg, father born in Luxembourg, both parents foreign-born) to our model (see model 4). The data confirm our expectation that people with one

native-born parent exhibit significantly more negative attitudes toward immigrants than those with both foreign-born parents. The difference between the effect of a native mother and that of a native father is not statistically significant.

Table 9. Results of OLS regression - second-generation immigrants

Dependent variable: factor score of overall attitudes toward immigrants	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Unstandardized Beta			
(Constant)	.884	1.488	1.379	1.249
Age	-.016*	-.009	-.006	-.003
<i>Male</i>				
Female	.276	.219	.204	.181
<i>No children</i>				
Presence of children	-.243	-.313	-.295	-.188
<i>Employed</i>				
Self-employed	-.423	-.204	-.273	-.434
Retired	.624*	.577	.598	.572
Housewife	-.653*	-.551*	-.488	-.364
Student	.798	.905*	.912*	.924*
Other	-.483	-.522	-.592	-.705
<i>Married</i>				
Single, divorced, separated, widow	-.536*	-.510**	-.572*	-.588**
<i>Education post-secondary</i>				
Education secondary lower	-.209	-.257	-.234	-.297
Education secondary higher	-.612**	-.575**	-.541**	-.571**
Education primary	-.879**	-.741*	-.671*	-.785*
<i>Never dependent on social security during past 5 years</i>				
Dependent on social security during past 5 years	.484	.467	.420	.281
<i>No experience with unemployment last 5 years</i>				
Experience with unemployment last 5 years	-.214	-.326	-.273	-.132
Household Income	.064	.063	.078	.082*
<i>Worker</i>				
Civil servant	-.283	-.148	-.091	-.002
Private employee	-.426*	-.370	-.333	-.320
Other occupation	-.934**	-.976**	-.884**	-.820*
Proficient in Luxembourgish language		-.112	-.190	-.209
Proficient in French language		-.287	-.282	-.207
Proficient in German language		.166	.180	.129
Level of attachment to the country		-.053	-.055	-.057
<i>Not Luxembourg nationality</i>				
Luxembourg nationality		-.257	-.248	-.076
<i>Spouse not born in Luxembourg</i>				
Spouse born in Luxembourg			-.048	.003
No spouse			.119	.227
Contact with other nationals			-.181	-.183
Contacts with Luxembourgers			.193	.184
<i>No associative activities</i>				

Associative activities weekly	.136	.190
Associative activities monthly	.177	.236
Associative activities yearly	.013	.011
<i>Both parents born outside the country</i>		
Father born in Luxembourg		-.455*
Mother born in Luxembourg		-.481*

Source: EVS 2008

N = 180

*** = 0.001 significance level, ** = 0.01 significance level, * = 0.05 significance level

In the case of first-generation migrants, we observe that most of the socio-demographic and economic factors appear insignificant and do not explain much of the variance of the composite dependent variable. The exceptions are variables concerning social vulnerability such as experience with dependency on social system during past years and experience with unemployment in the last five years. People with experience of dependency on the social system exhibit more negative attitudes toward immigrants than those who have not had this experience. On the contrary, experiencing unemployment positively affects attitudes toward foreigners. Private employees exhibit more positive attitudes toward immigrants than workers. Core contact-related variables turned out to be most important among first-generation immigrants. These variables accounted for 14% of the explained variance of the dependent variable while the complete model explains 23%.

Table 10. Model change diagnostics: first-generation migrants

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Change Statistics			
				R Square Change	F Change	df1	Sig. F Change
1	.304	.093	.050	.093	2.172	18	.004
2	.447	.200	.151	.107	10.100	5	.000
3	.495	.245	.184	.045	3.161	7	.003
4	.495	.245	.182	.000	.062	1	.803

Source: EVS 2008

N = 402

The results of the regression analyses presented in Table 11 reveal that having a partner/spouse born in Luxembourg, frequent friendship contacts with foreigners, and frequent attendance at associations and clubs affect perceptions of immigrants.

In detail, we observe that the fewer intense friendship contacts with other foreigners, the more negative a respondent's attitudes toward immigrants. Individuals with a partner/spouse who was born in Luxembourg exhibit more negative attitudes toward immigrants than respondents whose spouses are of foreign origin. Fewer friendship contacts with non-Luxembourgers and partnerships with Luxembourgers make them less open toward foreigners. The sign of the coefficient of associative and club contacts suggests that individuals who participate in different associations and clubs based in Luxembourg very frequently (every week) adopt more negative attitudes toward immigrants than those who report no participation in associative life in the host country. This could be explained by the fact that individuals who are very actively engaged in informal organizations are more integrated into and connected to the host society and thus less open to newcomers.

Considering the variables of attachment and integration into the country sheds more light on the way first-generation migrants perceive immigrants. It appears that first-generation immigrants who keep their original passports (do not have Luxembourg citizenship/nationality) are significantly more positive about immigrants than their counterparts with Luxembourg nationality. This shows that immigrants who demanded Luxembourg nationality exhibit higher level of assimilation than those who kept their original nationality. Proficiency in Luxembourgish also appears significant in the case of first-generation immigrants. The more proficient the respondent in Luxembourgish, the more negative his or her attitude toward immigrants.

These findings suggest that close contact with Luxembourgers and formalized integration play very important roles in the way first-generation immigrants form opinions of newcomers. The closer the contacts and the stronger the formal integration, the more negative first-generation migrants are toward immigrants. This observed tendency is in line with our assimilation hypothesis.

Table 11. Results of OLS regression: first-generation immigrants

Dependent variable: factor score of overall attitudes toward immigrants	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Unstandardized Beta			
(Constant)	.064	-.216	.161	.169
Age	-.002	.004	.003	.004
<i>Male</i>				
Female	.047	.044	.081	.083
<i>No children</i>				
Presence of children	.001	-.060	-.054	-.053
<i>Employed</i>				
Self-employed	-.246	-.212	-.215	-.218
Retired	-.409*	-.275	-.124	-.117
Housewife	-.075	-.203	-.127	-.128
Student	-.637	-.419	-.429	-.434
Other	-.012	.018	.048	.046
<i>Married</i>				
Single, divorced, separated, widowed	.000	-.060	-.192	-.193
<i>Education post-secondary</i>				
Education secondary lower	-.056	-.063	-.073	-.066
Education secondary higher	-.144	.061	.026	.033
Education primary	.173	.062	-.005	.006
<i>Not dependent on social security during past 5 years</i>				
Dependent on social security during past 5 years	-.307	-.340*	-.394*	-.395*
<i>No experience with unemployment last 5 years</i>				
Experience with unemployment last 5 years	.270*	.303*	.359**	.355**
Household Income	.029	.016	.020	.020
<i>Worker</i>				
Civil servant	-.096	.156	.006	.006
Private employee	.342*	.415**	.327*	.326*
Other occupation	.249	.272	.253	.257
Proficient in Luxembourgish language		.188**	.134*	.129*
Proficient in French language		-.067	.005	.001
Proficient in German language		.021	.070	.071
Level of attachment to the country		-.032	-.028	-.028
<i>Not Luxembourg nationality</i>				
Luxembourg nationality		-.568***	-.474**	-.469**
<i>Spouse not born in Luxembourg</i>				
Spouse born in Luxembourg			-.406**	-.406**
No spouse			.073	.076**
Contact with other nationals			-.222	-.221**
Contacts with Luxembourgers			.022	.021
No associative activities				

Associative activities weekly	.243	.243*
Associative activities monthly	.076	.075
Associative activities yearly	.047	.044
Year of arrival in the country		-.001

Source: EVS 2008

N = 402

*** = 0.001 significance level, ** = 0.01 significance level, * = 0.05 significance level

4. Conclusions

The paper uses EVS 2008 data to analyze attitudes toward immigrants in Luxembourg. In a first step it explores how attitudes vary across three groups of residents distinguished according to migration history: natives, first-generation and second-generation immigrants. In a second step it examines the effect of the level of integration and the closeness of contacts between nationals and immigrants on perception of immigrants according to group while controlling for socio-demographic and economic individual characteristics listed in the literature as significant determinants of attitudes toward immigrants.

The results of our analyses confirm our hypotheses stemming from the contact theory and stating that personal experience with immigration (i.e., being a first- or second-generation immigrant) does affect one's perception of immigrants. Residents who were not born in the country are less likely to adopt a negative attitude toward immigrants compared with natives and people born in Luxembourg to immigrant parents. We can observe as well that second-generation immigrants converge in their opinions on immigration toward the native population, as they have no personal experience with immigration and know it only from parents or other family members. This convergence in attitudes toward immigrants between second-generation immigrants and natives can also be explained by assimilation, strengthened by the fact that second-generation immigrants are schooled in Luxembourg and exposed to natives from birth.

With respect to the effect of core networks/contacts on attitudes toward immigrants (intensity of friendship contacts with foreigners and natives, having a partner of immigrant origin, and associative behavior), it can be concluded that while controlling for key socio-demographic and economic individual determinants these variables seem to have no notable impact on attitudes toward immigrants by the native population and second-generation immigrants, i.e., those respondents born, socialized, and educated in the country. In the case of respondents who were not born in the country, the picture is different. Their core contacts play a

rather important role in the formation of their opinions, in this case opinions concerning immigrants. In particular, our data reveal significant effects of limited contact with other foreigners, a spouse born in the country, and strong involvement in informal associations. The stronger the core contacts with members of the host society and the weaker the friendship ties with foreigners, the more negatively first-generation immigrants regard immigrants. A similar tendency has been observed with respect to attachment to and formal integration into the host society (holding Luxembourg citizenship and proficiency in Luxembourgish). The more integrated first-generation migrants are with respect to these two aspects, the closer their attitudes are to those of the native population. Thus, the stronger their formal ties with the host society, the more negatively they perceive immigrants.

These findings corroborate our assimilation hypotheses stating that the longer an individual lives in the country, the more he/she is assimilated, i.e., adopts the culture and values of the host society and develops an “us” feeling of relatedness to nationals rather than to “outsiders” or “newcomers.” Our assumptions regarding the effect of core contacts have been confirmed in the case of first-generation immigrants. The more close contacts these residents have with the natives, the less open they seem to immigrants. The same applies to the level of integration into the country.

To conclude, an analysis of perception of immigrants is clearly important, not only to improve understanding of views on immigration but also to help policy makers to shape the country’s immigration policies.

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