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Attitudes towards immigrants of other race or ethnic origin: Polish dataset from Round 7 of the European Social Survey

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CMR Working Papers

109/167

OLGA CZERANOWSKA

**ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS OF OTHER RACE
OR ETHNIC ORIGIN – POLISH DATASET FROM
ROUND 7 OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY**

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Abstract:

Sociological reflections on attitudes towards members of the out-group (such as immigrants) can be divided into two main strands. The first focuses on intergroup conflict and the second on contact between members of different groups. Intergroup conflict theory seeks to identify causes of prejudice in situations of rivalry, when members of opposite groups are perceived as a threat. By contrast, contact hypothesis assumes that interaction between two groups would lessen prejudice, especially if certain requirements regarding the nature of the contact are met.

In this paper we use the Polish dataset from Round 7 of the European Social Survey to analyze factors influencing attitudes towards immigrants of race or ethnic origin that is different than the majority of Poles. Our binary logistic regression model shows that fraternal relative deprivation is the most important factor in predicting respondents' openness to letting immigrants of different race or ethnic origin enter and stay in Poland. The economic situation and education of respondents are also factors, which can be related to their perceptions of realistic threat. 'Basic' contact with individuals who have a different race or ethnic origin is not significant, but having friends from a different race or ethnic group increases the chance of developing positive attitudes regarding immigrants of different race or ethnic origin entering and staying in Poland.

Key words: immigrants, intergroup attitudes, prejudice

Abstrakt:

Socjologiczne refleksje na temat postaw wobec członków obcych grup (jak imigranci) mogą być podzielone na dwa nurty. Pierwszy z nich koncentruje się na konflikcie, drugi zaś na kontakcie. Teoria konfliktu międzygrupowego szuka przyczyn uprzedzeń w sytuacji rywalizacji, kiedy członkowie obcej grupy są postrzegani jako zagrożenie. Hipoteza kontaktu natomiast zakłada, że interakcje pomiędzy grupami zmniejszają uprzedzenia, zwłaszcza jeśli spełnione zostaną pewne warunki dotyczące charakteru kontaktu.

W tekście użyto polskiego zbioru danych z Rundy 7 Europejskiego Sondażu Społecznego, aby analizować czynniki wpływające na postawy wobec migrantów innej rasy lub o innym pochodzeniu etnicznym niż większość osób w Polsce. Zaprezentowany model binarnej regresji logistycznej pokazuje, że grupowa relatywna deprywacja jest najważniejszym czynnikiem pozwalającym na przewidywanie postaw respondentów odnośnie do wyrażanej zgody na przyjazd i pozostanie w Polsce migrantów innej rasy lub o innym pochodzeniu etnicznym. Znaczenie mają również sytuacja ekonomiczna i wykształcenie respondenta, a

więc czynniki, które mogą być łączone z zagrożeniem realistycznym. „Ogólny” kontakt z osobami innej rasy lub o innym pochodzeniu etnicznym nie jest istotny, ale posiadanie przyjaciół z tych grup jest pozytywnie skorelowane z postawami wobec migrantów innej rasy lub o innym pochodzeniu etnicznym.

Słowa kluczowe: imigranci, postawy międzygrupowe, uprzedzenia

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Introduction

Immigration can arouse strong emotions in the receiving society. Fears and worries can be especially strong when the receiving society is homogenous or/and when the newcomers represent a different race or ethnic group from the majority in the receiving society. In this paper we analyze factors that influence openness to immigrants from different race or ethnic groups in a country where the level of immigration is relatively low. We use the Polish dataset from Round 7 of the European Social Survey given that the Eurostat data shows that Poland's population has one of the lowest percentage rates of foreign-born individuals – only 1.6% in 2015, which makes Poland the second lowest in the UE.¹ When Round 7² of the European Social Survey took place in 2014, there were 175,000 foreigners legally resident in Poland (The Office for Foreigners 2015). This number translates into immigrants with a legalized status accounting for less than 1% of the total number of inhabitants in the country. Even if the estimated number of undocumented immigrants were taken into account, Poland is by no mean an immigration country. Among migrants legally residing in Poland in 2014, the majority were Ukrainians (23,4%), with Germans (11,5%) and Russians (6,1%) as the two next largest immigrant groups. Vietnamese migrants are the most largest non-European group, constituting only 5,1% of immigrants legally residing in Poland.

In this paper, we focus on the question of attitudes toward allowing immigrants of different race or ethnic origin than the majority of Poles to enter the country. We start with a summary of the theoretical background relevant to issues of attitudes towards out-groups as well as the findings of previous research concerning the determinants of attitudes towards migration. We then present our descriptive statistics and model on the issue with a focus on the case of Poland.

Theoretical Background

Attitudes towards immigrants can be analyzed with reference to a wider theoretical perspective drawn from studies on prejudice. Two main strands of research can be distinguished, which explain the existence of prejudice towards members of other groups and seek possible ways of alleviating them. The first area of research focuses on conflict between groups while the second on contact between them.

¹ Eurostat.

² Immigration rotating module was most recently used.

1. Intergroup Conflict Theory

Negative attitudes towards members of out-groups can be conceptualized as resulting from conflict, which can be provoked by rivalry if individuals from one group consider the other group as the source of their frustration (Sherif et al. 1954). Realistic Group Conflict Theory is based on the hypothesis that a clash of interests between the groups leads to negative intergroup attitudes (Campbell 1965, after Tajfel, Turner 1979). For example, competition between groups for scarce resources can transform into social conflict (Tajfel, Turner 1979). Even 'artificial' groups display such patterns of interaction, such as in the Robber's Cave experiment, where randomly created, competing groups were enough to produce a feeling of group membership and an escalation of hostile intergroup rivalry (Sherif et al. 1954). The conflict in Sherif's experiment was institutionalized, explicit and objective, but such conditions are not always necessary. Negative intergroup attitudes can also develop in cases of minimal in-group affiliation, anonymity of group affiliation, lack of conflict of interests, and a lack of previous intergroup hostility (Tajfel, Turner 1979).

Based on a literature review, Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman claim that negative attitudes are founded on four basic kinds of threats: *Realistic threat*, *Cultural threat*, *Intergroup anxiety*, and *Intergroup stereotypes* (1997, after Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, Tur-Kaspa 1998). *Realistic threat* can be linked directly to Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif 1966). It is understood as a threat to the existence or well-being of the in-group resulting from competition for scarce resources (Stephan et al. 1998). In case of immigrants, a realistic threat can take the form of concerns about newcomers taking natives' jobs or exploiting the welfare system.

The notion of *Symbolic threat* relates to perceived differences in accepted morals, values, norms, standards, beliefs, and attitudes between two groups and occurs in a situation when one group feels that the other group is undermining (or can undermine) their world-view or system of values (Stephan et al. 1998). Cultural and religious differences between the native population and immigrant groups can provoke fears of such a threat.

The third kind of threat, anxiety in intergroup relations, occurs when people are concerned about the possibility of a negative outcome of interactions across groups, such as disapproval, rejection or embarrassment. Such negative outcomes are likely if previous intergroup contact was negative or if the two groups did not have much previous contact and individuals lack knowledge about the norms of the other group (Stephan, Stephan 1985).

Anxiety is likely to occur if immigrants enter a previously homogenous society (e.g. Polish society), whose members do not know much about the newcomers.

Similarly, negative out-group stereotypes can provoke concerns in the in-group. Negative stereotypes among members of the in-group about the out-group are likely to make the former expect unpleasant and conflict-laden interactions with members of the out-group (Stephan et al. 1998). Specific negative stereotypes are associated with specific immigrant groups, but can relate to morality, work ethic, etc. and determine prejudice (Allport 1957) as well as the likelihood of acceptance for policies related to immigrant groups (Burns, Gimpel 2000). Stereotypes were shown to affect the emotional reactions to specific national groups (Stephan et al. 1994). The substance of stereotypes differs depending on the specific immigrant group, while stereotypes about 'immigrants in general' are low both on the scale of competence and warmth (Lee, Fiske 2006).

Conflict between groups can also be linked to relative deprivation. The original concept, introduced by Stouffer (Stouffer et al. 1949), concerned individuals, but a later reference group framework was added by Merton (1957). Subsequently, a distinction was proposed by Ruciman (1966) between the relative deprivation of the egoistic (individual) and the fraternal (group). Smith et al (2012) define fraternal relative deprivation in three steps: comparisons made by the individual, cognitive appraisal resulting from seeing one's own group as disadvantaged, and perceiving this disadvantages as unfair. Relative deprivation occurs when the group identity is salient and correlates with the level of inequalities (Kawakami, Dion 1993).

Interestingly, while some similarities between groups (e.g. normative systems, traditions) would result in positive interactions, others (e.g. same skills or formal education) would have a negative impact on intergroup relations (Zarate et al. 2004). The characteristics of the native population in the receiving country and of the immigrant population are significant for the type of threat that is likely to shape relations between the native population and immigrant groups.

Some characteristics can be indicators of an increased probability of (real/perceived) conflict with the immigrant population. For example, the educational level and the economic situation can be linked to realistic threat (Stephan et al. 1997, after Stephan et al. 1998) as described by Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif 1966). In contrast, highly skilled individuals are likely to feel more secure on the labor market and so would be less susceptible

to the realistic threat connected with an inflow of immigrants. The existing research clearly shows that education has a positive impact on attitudes towards immigration (Mayda 2006, Scheve, Slaughter 2001, Card, Dustmann, Preston 2005, Kessler, Freeman 2005, Raijman et al. 2003, Hood, Morris 1998). Another explanation of this phenomena is a progressive and liberal orientation of educational institutions (Gasseholt, Togeby 1995).

A better economic situation (higher income) has also been shown to correlate with pro-immigration attitudes (Mayda 2006). These factors can be interconnected in the context of the labor market where higher educational level/skills lead to higher income and thus a more stable economic position (Burns, Glimpel 2000). On the other hand, the prosperous part of the population can still hold anti-immigration attitudes about specific immigrant groups, which are perceived as being dependent on the receiving country's welfare system (Dustman, Preston 2007).

Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) posit a different explanation in their review of studies on attitudes towards immigration policies in Europe and in the USA. They argue that it is not an individual's personal economic situation, but a more general, sociotropic concern about immigration's impact on a country's culture and (to a lesser extent) economy that produce anti-immigrant attitudes. It is worthy of note that these different concerns can merge (Hainmueller, Hopkins 2014) and have been positively correlated (Card, Dustman, Preston 2012). This means that even if an individual is in no way personally threatened by immigrants, s/he can still hold negative attitude towards immigrants if s/he believes that immigrants will not be willing to integrate with the host society or that they will abuse the welfare system.

Political orientation is another significant factor, which can be connected to an individual's economic standing (e.g. the probability of realistic threat), but can also be associated with a susceptibility to be concerned about a cultural threat (Stephan et al. 1997, after Stephan et al. 1998). For example, the rhetoric used by radical right-wing parties paints immigrants as a threat to national identity, as causing an increase in unemployment and criminality, and as exploiting the welfare system (Rydgren 2008), all of which correlates right-wing political opinions with anti-immigration attitudes (Mayda 2006). For the new radical right-wing parties in Europe immigration is one of the most important policy issues. Analysis of the first round of ESS data focused on immigration (2001) suggests that a better predictor of voter preference for radical right-wing parties is an attitude of 'skepticism about immigration' (e.g. wanting to reduce the number of immigrants) rather than outright

xenophobia (Rydgren 2008). This confirms earlier results indicating that respondents holding anti-immigration attitudes would be more likely to vote for radical right-wing populist parties (Knigge 1998, Lubbers et al. 2002).

2. Contact Hypothesis

Relations between groups has varied effects on attitudes towards immigration – sometimes contact with individuals of a different race or ethnic group than one’s own can decrease hostility, but in other situations such contact exacerbates prejudice (Pettigrew, Tropp 2005). This finding can be significant for policies that aim to manage social diversity resulting from increasing migration.

What is known as the contact hypothesis was initially developed by Williams (1947), but the intergroup contact theory statement which guided research over subsequent decades was presented by Allport in his *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). Allport considered the different possible outcomes of contact between members of two groups – usually contact would reduce prejudice, but sometimes it would make them even more acute. According to Allport, intergroup contact has a positive effect (i.e. reduces prejudice) only when certain requirements, or *positive factors*, are met such as: equal status of the groups involved in the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support for intergroup contact from relevant authorities, laws or customs.

The contact hypothesis has been confirmed in meta-analyses based on numerous previous studies (Pettigrew, Tropp 2006, Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, Christ 2011), as well as meta-analysis of contact-based outside-the-lab interventions focused on the reduction of ethnic prejudice (Lemmer, Wagner 2015). Allport’s optimal contact conditions have been proven to facilitate a reduction of prejudice, but they are not obligatory for contact to have a positive outcome as contact that did not fulfill the required conditions was still shown to reduce prejudice (Pettigrew et al. 2011).

The fact that contact can reduce prejudice can also be connected simply with the exposure effect, i.e. the tendency to like/prefer familiar objects (Zajonc 1968). Moreover, the effects of such exposure can be generalized to similar or related objects (Rhodes, Halberstadt, Brajkovich 2001), which, in the case of immigrants, would mean generalizing the positive feelings one has toward an individual with a particular national/ethnic/racial background to the entire group of that same national/ethnic/racial background. It could also mean generalizing positive feelings about one group of immigrants to other groups. Interestingly,

close contact with immigrants can result in more positive attitudes towards other vulnerable groups, a phenomenon called the ‘secondary transfer effect’ (Pettigrew 2009, Vezzali, Giovannini 2011).

Contact that is especially close and personal (e.g. intergroup friendships) have been shown to reduce prejudice (Pettigrew 1997, Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright 2011), which may be associated with the fact that such contacts involve Allport’s optimal conditions, including cooperation, common goals and equal status. Additionally, close emotional bonds mean contacts can be repeated over a longer period of time and in changing circumstances. Friendship is also connected with self-disclosure, which is an important mediator of the effect that contact can have on prejudice (Pettigrew et al. 2011). It follows that having immigrant friends was shown to strongly influence positive attitudes towards immigrant group (Sides, Citrin 2007, Vezzali, Giovannini 2011).

Although intergroup conflict theory and conflict hypothesis might seem contradictory, Laurence (2014) suggests that both can operate in the context of social diversity. Therefore, diversity can have both a positive (e.g. contact) and a negative (e.g. conflict) effect on intergroup attitudes and those effects can balance each other. It is interesting to consider how such interaction might work in a country of relatively low diversity, such as Poland.

Hypotheses

We formulated the following research hypotheses based on the literature review presented above:

- 1) A better personal economic and labor market situation as well as satisfaction with the economic situation of the country would promote more positive and open attitudes towards immigrants from different race or ethnic group.
- 2) A feeling of fraternal relative deprivation would stimulate negative attitudes towards immigrants from different race or ethnic group.
- 3) Contact with individuals from different race or ethnic groups (both ‘basic contact’ and having close friends) would positively affect attitudes towards immigrants.
- 4) Individuals who hold stereotypes about the innate intelligence and work ethic of different racial and ethnic groups would be less open to allow immigrants from different race or ethnic groups to enter and stay in Poland.

The first hypothesis has a universal character because individuals who feel some kind of economic threat (on the personal or the country level) exist in every country and would be less open to receiving immigrants. As for the second hypothesis, in case of Poland where the real number of immigrants is low and the country's immigration policy is among the least favorable in Europe (see: the Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015), fraternal relative deprivation is likely based not on the real but the imagined situation of immigrants. Thus, regarding the third hypothesis, we take into account that only a small group of respondents could have had any contact with immigrants. When first-hand knowledge about immigrants is not available (because of a low percentage of foreign-born individuals within the receiving population and thus limited contact between members of different groups), the role of stereotypes in shaping perceptions of the out-group is likely to be more significant than in countries where stereotypes are regularly challenged in real-life encounters (fourth hypothesis).

Data and Methods

We used Polish data from Round 7 of the European Social Survey. Data was collected from the 17th of April until the 14th of September 2017 through pen and pencil interviews (PAPI). A two-domain sampling design was used based on a list of towns (with a population under and over 50,000) and the Computer-based National Register of Citizens. A total of 1615 interviews were conducted with a response rate of 65.84%. ESS provides high quality data, which are often used in migration studies (Card, Dustmann, Preston 2005, Billiet, Meuleman, De Witte 2014). Moreover, the ESS Immigration rotating module is unique in the richness of the questions asked to representative samples of European countries (Card, Dustmann, Preston 2005).

1. Variables

1.1. Dependent Variables

We analyzed the factors behind attitudes towards immigrants with a different race or ethnic origin than that of most Poles. We used a question about the extent to which respondents think Poland should allow such immigrants to come and live in the country (survey question: *...to what extent do you think Poland should allow immigrants of a different race or ethnic group from most Polish people to come and live here?*). Respondents could choose from four possible answers: *allow many/allow some/allow a few/allow none*. Extreme answers were chosen only by a small proportion of respondents, so we recoded a four item scale into a

binary scale of positive and negative attitudes towards allowing immigrants of different race or ethnic groups to enter and stay in Poland.

1.2. Independent Variables

Our model took into consideration variables that can be connected with conflict theory and contact hypothesis, as well as personal characteristics.

We used various questions that could be linked to conflict between natives and groups of immigrants. Realistic conflict was measured in terms of labor market/realistic threat. Skills-related labor market vulnerability was based on a question about the respondents' level of education recoded into three categories: ISCED³ I-II, ISCED III-IV and ISCED V. In regard to the economic situation, we used a question about respondents' feelings about the current household income. We recoded answers into three categories: *Living comfortably on present income*, *Coping on present income* and *Finding it difficult/very difficult on present income*. For a more general realistic threat, we used a question about the respondents' opinions about the current state of the Polish economy. We recoded answers on the scale from 0 (*Extremely dissatisfied*) to 10 (*Extremely satisfied*) into three categories: *Dissatisfied* (0-3), *neither dissatisfied nor satisfied* (4-6) and *satisfied* (7-10).

For symbolic conflict we used the respondents' political views recoded into three categories: *Left*, *Neither right nor left* and *Right*

In regard to fraternal relative deprivation, we used a variable of the respondents' assessment of how they consider new migrants to be treated by the government in comparison to how people treat them (answers were recoded into two categories: *Better* and *The same or worse*, where the first answer indicates feelings of fraternal relative deprivation and the second a lack thereof).

To measure stereotypes, we included two questions about 'innate' differences between races and ethnic groups. In first question, respondents were asked if they think that some races or ethnic groups are born with an ability to work harder and in the second question, respondents were asked if they think that some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent.

For the contact hypothesis, we used a question about 'basic contact': *How often do you have any contact with people who are of a different race or ethnic group from most Polish people when you are out and about? This could be on public transport, in the street, in shops*

³ International Standard Classification of Education.

or in the neighborhood. Because only a minority of respondents had any contact with individuals of a different race or ethnic origin than their own, we recoded answers into a binary variable where *Never* was coded as *No* and all other answers (*Less than once a month/Once a month/Several times a month/Once a week/Several times a week/Every day*) as *Yes*. We also took friendship with immigrants into consideration with a question about whether respondents had friends of different race or ethnic origin than their own. Answers to this question were also recoded into a binary variable (*Yes/No*).

We included also age (in years) and gender coded as binary variable (*Men/Woman*).

2. Data Analysis

2.1. Descriptive Statistics

The data sample was slightly feminized, with a mean age of 46. The majority of respondents said that they were able to cope on their present income, while only 10% were living comfortably. Those with the lowest level of education (ISCED I-II) were most numerous in the sample. Nearly 50% of the sample was neutral when it comes to satisfaction with the present state of the economy in the country, while almost 40% were dissatisfied. Slightly more than half of the sample did not have a decided political view.

Fraternal relative deprivation was presented by almost 30% of the respondents who were of the opinion that new immigrants are treated better by the government than people born in Poland. Almost half of the sample had some contact with individuals of a different race or ethnic origin, but only about 20% had close friends who were of a different race or ethnic origin than their own. Almost 30% of the sample believed that some races or ethnic groups are born with an ability to work harder, while nearly 15% believed that some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Age, mean (SE)	46,13 (0.47)
Gender	
Male	47,92%
Female	52,08%
Political views	
Left	15,16%
Neither right nor left	50,60%
Right	34,24%
Income – feeling about the household's current income	
Living comfortably	10,10%

Coping	65,03%
Difficult/very difficult	24,87%
Education level	
ISCED I-II	44,87%
ISCED III -IV	31,34%
ISCED V	23,78%
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy in the country	
Dissatisfied	38,68%
Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied	47,04%
Satisfied	14,28%
Treatment of new immigrants compared to people born in Poland	
Better	28,55%
The same or worse	71,45%
Contact with persons of different race or ethnic group	
Close friends of different race or ethnic group	20,32%
Stereotypes: Some races or ethnic groups are born with the ability to work hard	29,37%
Stereotypes: Some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent	11,40%
Attitudes towards immigrants of different race/ethnic group	
Allow many	14,72%
Allow some	43,60%
Allow a few	31,15%
Allow none	10,53%

Source: ESS 7, Polish sample, weighted data, N=1524

2.2. Model

The binominal logistic regression analysis (Table 2) indicates that individuals who see their economic situation as difficult/very difficult were less open towards allowing immigrants of a different race or ethnic origin enter and stay in Poland. In contrast, the highest level of education was correlated with more positive attitudes towards immigrants of different race or ethnic origin. These results suggest that a better economic and labor market situation makes individuals more open to immigrants who have a different race or ethnic origin. This outcome is in accordance with realistic threat (Stephan et al. 1997, after Stephan et al. 1998) and Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif 1966), which posit that less affluent and less educated individuals are more likely to compete (or see themselves as competing) for resources with immigrants on the labor market or within the welfare system. As mentioned earlier, because immigration policy in Poland is among the least favorable in Europe, the more affluent citizens are not likely to feel that they are burdened with funding support for prospective immigrants (as in Dustman, Preston 2007). Similarly, a liberal, inclusive

orientation of higher education institutions can have a positive correlation with the level of education and the openness towards immigrants from different race or ethnic groups.

The respondents' assessment of the state of the Polish economy did not seem to be a significant factor for attitudes towards immigrants of different race or ethnic origin – this factor was significant only for the middle category (*Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied*). Contrary to what Hainmueller and Hopkins argue, sociotropic concerns were not a significant factor in the case of attitudes among Polish respondents. This result may be connected with a tendency to neutral answers to the question about satisfaction with the present state of the economy in the country.

Fraternal relative deprivation appears to be the most important factor in predicting attitudes towards immigrants of different race or ethnic origin. Respondents who think that new immigrants are treated better by the government than people born in Poland are more likely to be opposed to allowing such immigrants in the country – if there is a risk that immigrants will take away Poles' resources, it is better not to allow them into the country. As stated earlier, the reality in Poland is that the number of immigrants (especially from different race and ethnic groups) is low and immigrants do not receive meaningful support from the government. Thus feelings of relative deprivation among respondents are not, for the most part, based on personal experience. The fact that respondents think that new immigrants are treated better by the government than Polish citizens could be linked to media discourse as well as to propaganda by anti-immigrant groups.

The variable of 'basic contact' with individuals of a different race or ethnic origin was not significant for attitudes toward immigrants from different race or ethnic group, but having close friends of different race or ethnic origin increased the chances of positive attitudes towards allowing such immigrants enter and stay in Poland. This part of the model is consistent with some of Allport's *positive factors* as intergroup friendship would naturally result in an equal status for both sides of the relationship and foster common goals. Similarly, research conducted in Warsaw by Piekut and Valentine (2017) shows that only encounters in private spaces (and in some quasi-public places such as restaurants or bars) change attitudes towards minorities in positive ways. Therefore, in the context of the homogenous society in Poland, closer relations are needed in order to reduce intergroup prejudice.

As for stereotypes, only one out of two included in the model (on innate differences in intelligence between different racial and ethnic groups) was significant (and only with $p < 0.1$):

respondents who believe that some ethnic groups are born less intelligent were more likely to oppose immigrants of different race or ethnic origin entering the country. It is possible, that this results was produced by the very general phrasing of the survey questions (i.e. ‘some races or ethnic groups’). Respondents’ opinions might have been more significant for explaining an openness to receiving migrants if the survey question asked about specific racial or ethnic groups.

Table 2: Binominal logistic regression model: Attitudes towards letting immigrants of different race/ethnic group enter and stay in Poland (0=No, 1=Yes)

Variable	Coefficients (standard errors in parentheses)
Age	-0.0128*** (0.00381)
Gender (ref: male)	0.0631 (0.136)
Political views (ref: “Left”)	
Neither left nor right	-0.292 (0.210)
Right	-0.389 (0.215)
Income - feeling about the household's current income (ref: “Living comfortably”)	
Coping	-0.248 (0.238)
Difficult/very difficult	-0.539* (0.263)
Education level (ref: “ISCED I-II”)	
ISCED III -IV	-0.0353 (0.157)
ISCED V	0.465* (0.186)
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy in the country (ref: “Dissatisfied”)	
Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied	0.375** (0.145)
Satisfied	0.386 (0.211)
Treatment of new immigrants compared to people born in Poland (ref: “Better”)	
The same or worse	0.775*** (0.146)
Contact with individuals of different race or ethnic group: (ref: “No”)	0.111 (0.162)
Close friends of different race or ethnic group (ref: “No”)	0.403* (0.197)
Stereotypes: Some races or ethnic groups are born with the ability to work hard (ref: “Yes”)	0.112 (0.161)
Stereotypes: Some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent (ref: “Yes”)	0.717** (0.222)

_cons	-0.153
	(0.399)

Log pseudolikelihood = -505.60905, Wald chi2(16) = 95.34, Prob > chi2 = 0.0000, Pseudo R2 = 0.1032

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Source: ESS 7, Polish sample, weighted data

Conclusion

We analyzed the Polish dataset of Round 7 from the European Social Survey in order to identify factors that influence the possibility of positive attitudes towards allowing immigrants of different race or ethnic groups enter and stay in Poland. The binominal logistic regression model that we employed shows that fraternal relative deprivation is the most important factor in predicting who would be open to receiving immigrants. People who think that the government is treating new immigrants better than people born in Poland are more likely to be against receiving immigrants.

Also the economic and labor market situation were significant factors. The more educated (ISCED V) the individuals, the more likely they were to allow immigrants of different race or ethnic origin to enter and stay in Poland. By contrast, respondents who perceived their economic situation as difficult or very difficult were less likely to hold such positive attitudes. This suggests that those who are in a better economic situation and have a better position on the labor market (due to education) are less likely to feel economically threatened by immigrants.

Our model also accounted for two stereotypes: one concerning differences in intelligence and the second about differences in work ethic between individuals of different race and ethnic origin. Only the stereotype regarding work ethic appeared significant, although, paradoxically, the respondents who held this stereotype were also more likely allow immigrants from a different race or ethnic group to enter and stay in Poland.

Having ‘basic contact’ with individuals from a different race or ethnic group did not correlate significantly with attitudes towards allowing immigrants from a different race or ethnic group to enter and stay in Poland; however, having friends from a different race or ethnic group positively correlated with openness towards immigrants from a different race or ethnic group. These results suggest that, in this particular case, contact requires Allport’s *positive factors* (which are present in the context of friendship) in order to reduce prejudice.

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International Social Survey Programme

European Social Survey Round 1

European Social Survey Round 7

Eurobarometer 82.3

Eurobarometer 83.3

Eurobarometer 85.2

Eurobarometer 86.2

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¹ Eurostat

¹ Immigration rotating module was most recently used

¹ International Standard Classification of Education