

Mechanisms of exclusion:

Attitudes toward allocation of social rights to out-group population

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Mechanisms of exclusion:**Attitudes toward allocation of social rights to out-group population****Abstract**

The study examines the ways in which perceived socio-economic threat, perceived threat to national identity, and prejudice (as reflected in negative stereotypes and desire for social distance) prompt objection to allocation of rights to out-groups. The paper presents a simultaneous test of three theoretical explanations and delineates the complex inter-relations among all concepts, using data from a representative sample of Israelis in structural equation models. The study finds that: a) perception of socio-economic threat is positively associated with perception of threat to national identity; b) the two types of threat do not directly affect attitudes toward allocation of rights, but instead tend to increase negative stereotyping of the out-group; c) negative stereotypes are likely to contribute to a desire for social distance from the out-group; d) the attribution of negative characteristics and a sense of social distance tend to increase objection to allocation of social rights to the out-group.

Key words: exclusionary attitudes, immigration, perceived threat, prejudice, labor migrants, Israel.

Introduction

Sociological and socio-psychological studies have repeatedly demonstrated that exclusionary attitudes toward subordinate (out-group) populations in general and toward foreign labor migrants in particular are widespread among the in-group majority population (Bobo 2000; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders 2002; Raijman and Semyonov 2004; Gorodzeisky and Semyonov 2009). The studies emphasize different sources of exclusionary attitudes and social mechanisms underlying the rise of such attitudes. Whereas some researchers have long suggested that exclusionary attitudes are likely to rise due to competitive threat or fear of competition over economic and social resources (e.g. Bonacich 1972; Olzak 1992; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders 2002; Raijman, Semyonov and Schmidt 2003) others suggest that exclusionary attitudes are predominantly prompted by the threat that out-group populations pose to the national identity and cultural homogeneity of the society (e.g. Fetzer 2000; Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior, 2004). Moreover, several researchers contend that exclusionary attitudes result mainly from prejudicial views against out-group populations while often capturing prejudice by negative stereotypes and/or tendencies of social distancing from the out-group (Bobo 2000; Pettigrew 2000; Dustmann and Preston 2004).

Although the literature on the subject has become substantial, very few studies empirically tested the role of perceived threat to national identity in the rise of exclusionary attitudes; and no one has yet examined the effects of perceived socio-economic threat, threat to national identity, and two most popular components of prejudice, namely, negative stereotypes and desire for social distance, on exclusionary attitudes simultaneously. This neglect is surprising and somewhat unfortunate because the different concepts are often used interchangeably even though they imply differential social mechanisms. The present study, thus, aims to contribute to a better understanding of complex system of inter-relations among the sources of exclusionary attitudes and between the sources and the attitudes themselves. Specifically, the study attempts to answer the following questions: 1) To what extent do different types of threats (socio-economic threat and threat to national identity) affect exclusionary attitudes while controlling for negative stereotypes and desire for social distance?

and 2) To what extent are negative stereotypes and desire for social distance affected by different types of threats and then, in turn, affect exclusionary attitudes?

There are at least two forms of exclusionary attitudes towards foreigners; they may be reflected in public support for restrictive admission policies or in denial of equal access to political, civic and social or other kinds of rights to foreigners (Gorodzeisky and Semyonov 2009). The current study attempts to explain exclusionary attitudes as a general concept while it focuses on the objection to allocation of social rights as one of the particular forms of such attitudes. Specifically, the paper examines within the context of Israeli society the ways in which perceived socio-economic threat, perceived threat to national identity, negative stereotypes and desire for social distance against foreign workers prompts objection to allocation of equal access to social rights and the inter relations among all the concepts.

In what follows, firstly, I review theories and previous research on the sources of exclusionary attitudes toward out-group populations and present an analytical model that has been examined in the current research. Secondly, I briefly outline the Israeli context in which exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers are examined. Thirdly, I present the data source and its descriptive overview. Fourthly, I estimate a series of structural equations with multiple indicators using SEM (structural equation modeling) to test the complex inter-relations between presented theoretical concepts, and thereupon I present findings resulting from the analyses and discuss them in light of sociological theory and previous research on the topic. The last section of the paper sets out the main conclusions and suggests future research directions.

Theoretical considerations: The sources of exclusionary attitudes

Exclusionary views and prejudice against minorities have often been viewed by social scientists as the result of competition, or fear of competition, in the labor market and social services system (Bonacich 1972; Olzak 1992; Espenshade and Hempstead 1996; Raijman and Semyonov 2004; Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky 2006; Schlueter, Schmidt and Wagner 2008;). There are two complementary views of the competitive socio-economic threat held by the majority group members. The first view, focusing at individual level, reflects threats to self-

interests and to the prerogatives of individuals in the labor market. Foreign labor migrants are often perceived by citizens as competitors for scarce resources (e.g. jobs, wages rate, and social services) and as a threat to their economic well-being. Citizens who have a vulnerable position in the social system (e.g. low education, low income and unemployed) are more likely to compete with labor migrants in the labor market and to feel threatened by their presence, and as a result are more likely to express exclusionary attitudes toward foreigners (Espenshade and Hemstead 1996; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders 2002; Raijman and Semyonov 2004). That is, the perception of threat and fear of competition rationalize exclusion of subordinate groups (e.g. labor migrants) from equal access to material goods.

The second view, focusing on threat at the collective level, reflects threat to the collective interests of the dominant group in social and economic arenas (e.g. Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior 2004; Halperin, Canetti-Nisim and Pedhazur 2007). According to Blumer (1958) members of the dominant group believe that certain resources belong exclusively to them, and express negative views toward minority groups as a defensive reaction against any challenges to the dominant groups' exclusive claim's to privileges. The greater the sense of the threat to the interests of the dominant group, the more likely are members of the majority group population to express prejudicial and exclusionary views against threatening outsiders. In other words, exclusionary views tend to particularly increase when the position of the out-group population might undermine the status of the dominant group.

While the aforementioned approach stresses the impact of socio-economic forces on exclusionary views and prejudice, an alternative theoretical explanation suggests that prejudice and exclusionary attitudes are affected not only by perceived socio-economic threat but rather by the threat posed by the subordinate group to the cultural homogeneity and national identity of the society (Fetzer 2000; Raijman and Semyonov 2004; Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior 2004). The perception of threat to national and cultural homogeneity may give rise to hostility and prejudice against out-group populations (e.g. labor migrants) and may rationalize their exclusion from social rights. The bigger the cultural and national identity differences between

the subordinate and dominant group, the greater the level of hostility among the members of the dominant group towards the subordinate group (Wimmer 1997; Fetzer 2000). It should be, noted, however, that the effect of perceived threat to national identity on attitudes towards allocation of rights to foreigners has been rarely empirically tested (see, for example, Rajzman and Semyonov 2004). Most of the empirical research on the topic has investigated the relationship between perception of threat to national identity and prejudice (or other general negative sentiments) against minority groups (Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior 2004; Coenders et al. 2008).

Putting the aforementioned concepts of threats into the context of socio-psychological integrated threat theory, ITT, (Stephan, Diaz-Loving and Duran, 2000), socio-economic threat can be seen as one of several realistic threats; while threat to national and cultural homogeneity can be viewed to some extent as a parallel concept to one of the symbolic threats (e.g. threats to in-group's values, beliefs and worldview). On the whole, perceptions of threat to national identity as well as to the socio-economic interests of the majority population have often been viewed by social scientists as being the leading theoretical explanations for both prejudice and exclusionary attitudes.

At the same time, however, sociological and socio-psychological research has provided theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence that prejudice, as often reflected in negative stereotypes and/or tendencies for social distancing from out-group populations, also leads to an increase in exclusionary attitudes toward the out-groups (Bobo 2000; Pettigrew 2000; Verberk, Scheepers and Felling 2002; Dustmann and Preston 2004). Following theoretical logic and results of this body of research, it is reasonable to suggest that rejection and derogation of out-group populations, as reflected in prejudice, intensifies the denial of equal access to rights for out-groups, in some cases regardless of sense of threat posed by the out-group. For example, Bobo (2000) found that racial prejudice of white population in US affect objection to affirmative action stronger than collective sense of threat does and Stefan and Stefan (1996) claim that if majority group and out-group are not in open conflict, the majority attitudes toward out-groups would be based more on negative stereotypes than on realistic or symbolic threats.

Likewise, Raijman and Semyonov (2004) argue that exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers in Israel cannot be fully explained by perception of threat either to socio-economic well-being or to national homogeneity of the state and suggest that xenophobic sentiment accompanied by prejudice may also increase exclusionary attitudes.

The revised version of integrated threat theory (Stefan, Renfro and Davis, 2008) posits change in out-group stereotypes as well as opposition to policies favoring the out-group among other potential outcomes of threats, and empirical studies based on this theory test relations between different outcomes of threats (see Stefan, Renfro and Davis, 2008). Although exclusionary attitudes toward foreigners were not addressed in these studies, following the logic embodied in the revised threat theory, it is reasonable to assume that negative stereotyping and/or tendencies of social distancing from foreigners as a response to perceived threat, also lead natives to advocate denial of equal access to social rights for the out-group population.

The analytical model presented in Figure 1 summarizes the theoretical discussion and previous research presented in the current section.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

In the framework of this analytical model the following analysis will test the system of relationships between socio-economic threat, threat to national identity, two components of prejudice (negative stereotypes and desire for social distance), and exclusionary attitudes, as reflected in support for the exclusion of foreign labor migrants from access to social rights. Before presenting the analysis, in what follows, I briefly outline the Israeli context in which exclusionary attitudes toward foreign labor migrants are examined.

The Setting – Israel

Israel is an ethno-national state that actively encourages Jewish immigration while discouraging the settlement of non-Jewish migrants. According to the Law of Return (1950) and Law of Nationality (1952) every Jew has the right to settle in Israel and to be granted citizenship upon arrival. Unwillingness to accept non-Jewish immigrants is expressed through exclusionary immigration policies and restrictive naturalization rules (Smootha 1990; Semyonov, Raijman

and Yom Tov 2002;). Despite its ethno-national character, de facto Israel is a multi-ethnic society inhabited mostly by Jews and Arabs (the latter constituting approximately 20 percent of Israeli citizens). The Arab minority is disadvantaged relative to Jews in every aspect of social stratification; these disadvantages are largely understood within the context of the Jewish-Arab conflict (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov 1993).

In recent decades, the ethnic composition of the Israeli labor force had changed due to the massive entry of foreign labor migrants. Like many European societies, Israel began to allow the entry of non-citizen workers mostly for low-paying menial jobs in construction, agriculture and service industries. The largest numbers of overseas labor migrants have been drawn from Romania, Thailand, the Philippines, China, and Turkey, but more recently also from India, Sri Lanka and Bulgaria. At present, foreign labor migrants comprise approximately eight percent of the total Israeli work force. According to the Ministry of Labor and Welfare, 60 percent of the labor migrants work without permits. Foreign labor migrants in Israel hold the least desirable jobs, earn the lowest salaries, suffer the worst working conditions, and barely benefit from welfare protection accorded to Israeli citizens (Rosenhek 2000; Kemp and Raijman 2008).

The official framing of the 'foreign workers issue' is predominantly based on the concept of Israel as a Jewish state. Consequently, non-Jewish migrants are typically perceived as a threat. From this perspective, the state considers non-Jewish foreign workers simply as workers and not as immigrants, the latter category being reserved to Jews and their affiliates (Raijman and Semyonov 2004; Kemp and Raijman 2008). Raijman (2010) found that the levels of objection to the allocation of social rights to three out groups in Israel rank labor migrants the highest, followed by Israeli Arabs, and then by new Jewish immigrants. However, the difference between the levels of support for the exclusion of Israeli Arabs and new Jewish immigrants is much smaller than the difference between Israeli Arabs and labor migrants. Apparently, citizenship emerges in Israel as the main mechanism for exclusion that re-affirms the already marginal position of labor migrants in Israel (Raijman, 2010).

Previous studies reveal that perception of threats posed by labor migrants, as well as exclusionary attitudes toward foreigners, are widespread among Israeli citizens (e.g. Semyonov, Rajjman and Yom Tov 2002; Rajjman, Semyonov and Shmidt 2003; Rajjman and Semyonov 2004; Halperin, Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur 2007). While perceived threat and its impact on exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers were examined in a few studies in Israeli society, there is no systematic research on prejudice (as reflected in negative stereotyping and tendencies to social distancing¹) toward foreign workers in Israel and on their role in the relations between threats and support for exclusion.

Data, Variables and Descriptive Overview

The data for the analysis were obtained from a survey regarding worker groups administered to a representative sample of Israeli adults in 2007². The research population represents members of the dominant group in Israeli society; specifically 668 Jewish citizens aged 24-60 who were born in Israel or who immigrated to Israel prior to 1989.

The socio-demographic characteristics of respondents are included in the analysis models mainly as control variables. They are: age (in years), gender (male=1), marital status (married=1), education (academic degree=1), monthly income (in New Israeli Shekels), labor force position (a set of dummy variables distinguishing white collar, blue collar, not in the active labor forces and unemployed), political orientation (in 5 ordinal categories, with left-wing orientation=1) and level of religiosity (orthodox and religious=1).

The main dependent variable in the analysis - respondents' attitudes toward granting basic social rights to foreign workers (access to the state health and welfare system and protection of the minimum wage) are measured on a 1 to 7 scale. Three measured items are used to construct a latent variable – 'support for exclusion of foreign workers from access to social rights' (hereafter EXCLUSION). Data show that between a quarter and a third of the respondents in Israel would deny granting various kinds of social rights to foreign workers. The exact wording of questions and descriptive statistics for all attitudinal variables are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Six measured items (on 7 point scale) are used to construct a latent variable ‘perceived socio-economic threat’ (hereafter SETHREAT). As it has been mentioned in the theoretical part, research on anti-minority attitudes distinguishes between the individual and the collective level of perceived socio-economic threat. However, the explanatory as well as confirmatory factor analysis of the data showed no distinction between indicators of socio-economic perceived threat at the individual and collective level. Thus I decided to construct one latent variable for the indicators of individual and collective level of perceived socio-economic threat. Descriptive statistics reveal that around 40 per cent of Israeli Jewish citizens feel that foreign workers pose a threat to their collective interests in the labor market and social services system, while 30 per cent feel that foreign workers threaten their personal interests in these areas.

Perceived threat to the national identity (hereafter NTHREAT), in our case, threat to the Jewish character of the state, is constructed as an interaction between extent of agreement with the following two sentences: “In the future the proportion of foreign workers would be so high that they would be a threat to the Jewish majority of the state” (on 4 point scale) and “Israel should be a Jewish state” (on 7 point scale). The interaction between these two items should be viewed as a measure of the sense of threat weighted by the level of commitment to preserve the ethno-national character of the state³. Data show that more than a third of the interviewees feel that the presence of foreign workers threatens the national homogeneity of Israeli society.

To measure prejudice against foreign workers I use the two most popular components that capture ethnic prejudice: generalization of negative characteristics of the out-group population and tendencies towards social distancing from them. Respondents’ extent of agreement with four statements attributing negative characteristics to foreign workers is used to construct a latent variable ‘generalization of negative characteristics’ (hereafter STEREOTYPES). Responses for four ‘social distance’ questions are used to construct a latent variable ‘desire for social distance’ (hereafter SDISTANCE). Both variables are measured on a 7 point scale. With regard to STEREOTYPES, data reveal that a third of the interviewees feel that foreign workers are suited to manual labor only. One of every five interviewees attributes

violent tendencies to foreign workers. A desire to maintain social distance from foreign workers is expressed by Israelis in even higher percentages. Over 40 per cent of Israelis feel that it would be unpleasant to have a foreign worker as a neighbor; over 80 per cent of respondents would be unwilling for a foreign worker to marry into their family.

Similar to previous research on the issue (Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders 2002; Verberk, Scheepers and Felling 2002; Raijman and Semyonov 2004), I view perceived socio-economic threat, perceived threat to national identity and two components of prejudice (generalization of negative characteristics and desire for social distance) as distinct and separate concepts. A confirmatory factor analysis using AMOS procedure (Arbuckle 2008) lends firm support to the hypothesis that SETHREAT, NTHREAT, STEREOTYPES and SDISTANCE are indeed four distinctive concepts (results are presented in Appendix A).

Analysis and Findings

To examine the social mechanisms associated with support for exclusion of foreigners from social rights, in the following analysis I estimate structural equation models with latent variables (using AMOS 16 software). The structural equation modeling allows not only more accurate measurement of the concepts, since it takes into account measurement errors, but also provides an opportunity to simultaneously test several paths (causal correlations)⁴ in one model (Arbuckle, 2008).

Before examining the complex relationship among perceived socio-economic and national identity threats, generalization of negative characteristics and desire for social distance (two components of prejudice), and support for exclusion of foreign workers from access to social rights; it seems reasonable to focus, first, on examination of the relationship between exclusionary attitudes and each one of the factors contributing to these kind of attitudes, while controlling for socio-demographic characteristics.

In Table 2 I display parameter estimates and fit measures for 4 separate models predicting exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers in Israel. Thus, model 1,

simultaneously estimates: 1) the direct effects of the exogenous variables on the latent variable SETHREAT, 2) the direct effects of the exogenous variables on the latent variable EXCLUSION, 3) the direct effect of SETHREAT on EXCLUSION and 4) the indirect effect (via SETHREAT) of exogenous variables on EXCLUSION. In model 1 SETHREAT is treated as an intervening variable between socio-demographic characteristics and EXCLUSION. In models 2, 3 and 4, I replace SETHREAT with NTHREAT, STEREOTYPES and SDISTANCE, respectively. In this section I focus only on the direct effects of SETHREAT, NTHREAT, STEREOTYPES and SDISTANCE on the latent variable EXCLUSION, controlling for socio-demographic characteristics. I discuss the effects of socio-demographic variables obtained from a general inclusive model in the following section.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The findings, presented in Table 2 (model 1 and 2) show that, contrary to the ‘competitive threat’ model argument, neither perception of socio-economic threat nor perception of threat to national identity exert a significant direct effect on exclusionary attitudes among majority group members in Israel. The coefficients for both types of threats presented in models 1 and 2 are not significant. There are two possible explanations for these findings. First, this research focuses only on support for exclusion of foreign workers from access to basic social rights (access to the state health and welfare system and protection of the minimum wage), while most of the previous studies in Europe and in Israel (e.g. Pettigrew 2000; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders 2002; Raijman, Semyonov and Schmidt 2003) have treated inclination to exclude foreigners from different types of rights (for example, civil rights, political rights, social rights and others) as one broad concept. Current results imply that perceived threat does not increase the level of objection to granting foreigners basic social rights.

The second explanation lies in the areas of methodology and operationalization of ‘perceived socio-economic threat’. This study permitted the introduction of a more accurate measure of the concept using a latent variable in the empirical models. In addition, in contrast to

previous studies in Israel (e.g. Raijman and Semyonov 2004; Raijman 2010), the latent variable ‘perceived socio-economic threat’ does not include items related to sense of threat in such areas as housing conditions, children’s education and crime. Recent research (Gorodzeisky, 2010) casts doubt on the relevancy of these items in the Israeli context to the operational definition of ‘perceived threat posed by foreign workers’ variable, in terms of its content and discriminant validity. Therefore, the latent variable ‘perceived socio-economic threat’ in the current study is supposed to exclusively capture ‘perceived socio-economic threat’ and does not include an expression of any other anti-foreign sentiment, like prejudice. Assuming that prejudice does increase exclusionary attitudes, it is reasonable to suggest that the exact measure of perceived threat, without the intervention of prejudice, does not affect exclusionary attitudes with regards to granting foreigners social rights⁵.

The findings, presented in models 3 and 4 in Table 2, show that ‘generalization of negative characteristics’ as well as ‘desire for social distance’ (two components of prejudice) are likely to prompt support for exclusion of foreigners from social rights. The effects of ‘generalization of negative characteristics’ ($\beta=0.214$) and ‘desire for social distance’ ($\beta=0.264$) on exclusionary attitudes are strong and significant.

Estimating a General Model

Although interesting, the results presented thus far provide only partial and limited information about the relationships between the sources of exclusionary attitudes and objection to allocation of social rights to foreigners. To examine the complex mechanism of these relationships following the theoretical rationale discussed at the outset of the paper, I estimate a final general model that includes: 1) socio-demographic characteristics as exogenous independent variables, 2) SETHREAT, NTHREAT, STEREOTYPES and SDISTANCE as intervening variables and 3) EXCLUSION as a main dependent variable⁶. Five equations, predicting SETHREAT (1), NTHREAT (2), STEREOTYPES (3), SDISTANCE (4) and EXCLUSION (5) are estimated simultaneously. The diagram for the trimmed⁷ model and fit measures are presented in Figure 2⁸.

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

The data provide very good fit as indicated by all fit measures. Specifically, the ratio of the X^2 to degrees of freedom is about 2; RMSEA is below 0.05; PCLOSE = 1; and GFI exceeded 0.90, which is considered to be a highly acceptable fit to the theoretical model (Arbuckle, 2008). In Table 3 I display the parameter estimates for the model according to the path diagram.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

The results presented in column 1 of Table 3 show that individuals' position in the labor market exerts a significant effect on the perception of socio-economic threat posed by foreign workers. Not surprisingly, unemployed Israelis or those who are not in the active labor force feel more threatened by competition from foreign workers in the socioeconomic arena than those who are employed. By contrast, individuals' position in the labor market does not affect perception of threat to national identity, as shown in column 2. The perception of threat to national identity is more prevalent among religious and older people. Both types of threat are likely to increase with right-wing political orientation. Therefore, the presence of foreign workers in Israel is a concern to different social groups depending on the social context. In general, the findings are in line with previous research that has focused on the perception of threat to the socio-economic interests of the majority group population and on the perception of threat to national identity of the society. Thus, socio-economically vulnerable majority group members are more likely to perceive foreign workers as a threat to their socio-economic interests (Bonacich 1972; Olzak 1992), while more conservative natives (older, religious and right-wing politically oriented people), express a stronger sense of threat in relation to the national identity of their society (Fetzer 2000; Raijman and Semyonov 2004).

The effect of SETHREAT on the threat to the Jewish character of the state is positive and significant ($\beta=0.355$). The finding suggests that net of the socio-demographic characteristics, respondents who are more threatened by foreigners in the socio-economic arena

are also more concerned with the impact foreigners exert on the national identity of the Israeli society.

The findings presented in column 3 and 4 reveal that Israelis with no academic education, holding blue-collar occupations (versus white collar) and right wing political ideologies are more likely to attribute negative characteristics to foreign workers, net of their perception of threats. At the same time men and religious people are more likely to be concerned about maintaining social distance from foreign workers. The findings are in line with the theoretical assumption and previous studies on the effect of socio-demographic attributes on prejudice (Pettigrew 2000; Strabac and Listhaug 2008).

The coefficients presented in column 3 also firmly support the theoretical argument (Blumer, 1958; Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior, 2004), suggesting that perception of socio-economic threat and perception of threat to national identity are likely to prompt stereotypes against foreign workers among the majority group population. The coefficients presented in column 4 show that 'desire for social distance' is positively associated with the perception of threat to national identity ($\beta=0.132$) and mostly with the level of STEREOTYPES ($\beta=0.405$).

According to the results shown in column 5, education is the only socio-demographic characteristic (among these included in the study) that has a direct effect on the latent variable EXCLUSION; Israelis who hold an academic degree are less likely to deny foreign workers access to social rights, than those who do not. The finding confirms the arguments that educated people are more opposed to exclusionary policies regardless of their sense of threat and prejudicial views (Raijman, Semyonov and Schmidt 2003; Raijman and Semyonov 2004). In line with previous studies (Pettigrew 2000; Verberk, Scheepers and Felling 2002; Dustmann and Preston 2004), the findings also show that prejudice (as measured by 'generalization of negative characteristics' and 'desire for social distance') are likely to increase support for exclusionary practices. The effect of both variables on EXCLUSION is positive and significant. As was discussed before, the perception of both types of threat does not exert a direct effect on attitudes towards allocation of social rights to foreigners.

In Table 4 I list the direct and indirect effects of the four factors contributing to support for exclusion from social rights, as they are estimated in the general model.

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

The results presented in Table 4A, show that a small part of the impact of ‘perceived socio-economic threat’ on STEREOTYPES can be attributed to a ‘perceived national identity threat’ ($\beta=0.058$ for indirect effect via NTHREAT). The coefficients presented in Table 4B imply that perception of threat to national identity exerts both a direct and indirect effect (via STEREOTYPES) on the variable ‘desire for social distance’. However, SETHREAT exerts only an indirect effect on the willingness of Israelis to maintain social distance from foreign workers; and this effect can be fully attributed to STEREOTYPES. It is reasonable to suggest that people who view foreigners as a threat to the national homogeneity of the state tend to avoid social contact with them. By way of contrast, majority group members who feel threatened by foreign workers only in the socio-economic arena do not necessarily want to maintain social distance from them. They wish to avoid social contact with foreign workers only when they attribute negative characteristics to them.

The coefficients presented in Table 4C reveal that perception of socio-economic threat as well as perception of threat to national identity tend to increase exclusionary attitudes indirectly (via two components of prejudice: STEREOTYPES and SDISTANCE). The standardized coefficients of the indirect effects of both types of threat on EXCLUSION are positive and significant ($\beta=0.099$ for SETHREAT and $\beta=0.056$ for NTHREAT). Perception of threats, indeed, contributes to motivation to exclusion, however not directly, as has been found in previous studies (Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders 2002; Raijman, Semyonov and Schmidt 2003), but via prejudice (e.g. ‘generalization of negative characteristics’ and ‘desire for social distance’). In addition, STEREOTYPES affect exclusionary attitudes directly and indirectly via the variable ‘desire for social distance’.

In sum, the analysis posits that the Israeli majority group’s perception of being socioeconomically threatened by foreign workers is positively associated with the perception of threat to the national identity of the society. The two types of perceived threat do not directly

affect exclusionary attitudes in the social sphere, but do lead members of the majority group to attribute negative characteristics to the foreign workers -- in other words, to negatively stereotype them. Negative stereotypes contribute to the desire to maintain social distance from foreign workers. When Israelis attribute negative characteristics to foreign workers, partially due to a perception of being threatened, and, as a result, seek to maintain a certain degree of distance from them, they are willing to deny basic social rights for the out-group as well.

Conclusions

The main objective of the research was to simultaneously examine the complex relationship between perceived socio-economic threat, perceived threat to national identity, negative stereotypes and desire for social distance (as two components of prejudice) and exclusionary attitudes (controlling for socio-demographic characteristics); and thus, to contribute to a better understanding of the social mechanisms associated with the inclination to exclude foreign workers from the system of social rights. In general, data reveal that between a quarter and a third of the members of majority group population in Israel would deny granting basic social rights to foreign workers.

The results of the structural equation modeling analysis reveals the following mechanisms underlying the exclusionary attitudes: The perception of threat posed by a subordinate group (e.g. foreign workers) to majority group members' interests in the socio-economic arena intensifies the perception of threat posed by the subordinate group on national identity of the Israeli society. Neither socio-economic perceived threat nor national-identity perceived threat leads directly to an increase in the level of objection to allocation of social rights to foreign workers. However, the two types of perceived threat do lead members of the majority group to attribute negative characteristics to the out-group population -- in other words, to negatively stereotype them; while negative stereotypes contribute to the desire to maintain social distance. These findings are in line with the theoretical view of prejudice as a result of fear of competition or perception of threat posed by subordinate groups on the interests of majority groups in different life spheres (Blumer 1958; Fetzer 2000; Sniderman, Hagendoorn

and Prior 2004). Further analysis reveals that when members of the majority group attribute negative characteristics to the subordinate group, partially due to a perception of being threatened, and, as a result, seek to maintain a certain degree of distance from them, they are willing to deny social rights for the subordinate group as well.

One may say that it is not sufficient for majority group members to feel threatened by a subordinate (out-group) population in the socio-economic or national identity arenas in order to express exclusionary attitudes toward the group. They also have to attribute negative characteristics to the out-group population and to manifest a desire for social distance from them. That is, members of the majority population have to hold prejudicial views toward the out group population in order to be willing to exclude them from equal access to basic social rights.

The current findings concerning the lack of the direct effect of perception of threats on exclusionary attitudes do not fully confirm the 'competitive threat' model thesis or previous research suggesting that perceived threats directly affect not only prejudice but also exclusionary attitudes. A possible explanation for the differences in the findings is the focus of current research on support for the exclusion of foreign workers from basic social rights (in contrast to previous studies that treated attitudes toward civil, political, social and others rights as one broad concept).

Despite the ethno-religious character of the Israeli nation state and Israeli immigration policy that encourages Jewish immigration while implementing serious restrictions on non-Jewish immigration, the analysis shows that, in general, similar factors play a central role in the emergence of exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers in Israel in comparison to other countries. Thus, it would be interesting to test the present findings on the role of perceived socio-economic threat and threat to national identity, negative stereotypes and a desire for social distance in explaining exclusion of out-groups from access to basic social rights in socially different but theoretically relevant contexts; for example with regards to European citizens' attitudes toward labor migrants.

Notes:

1. One notable exception is the study by Halperin, Canetti-Nisim and Pedazur (2007); however the research was carried out using purposive sampling procedure and was not based on a representative sample of Israeli adults.
2. The survey was conducted by B.I. Cohen Institute, Tel Aviv University. Information was obtained through face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes, lasting on average 40 minutes. The response rate for the survey was 57.5%.
3. Due to data limitations, I use a single item measure to capture the perceived threat to national identity while measuring all other key variables in the study by latent variables with multiple indicators. It is important to note that a single item measure is less capable of capturing complex social phenomena than multi-items measures and may suffer from possible reliability issues.
4. Although fully determining the causal relations using non longitudinal data is somewhat problematical, I estimate the models under the premises that have been developed from well-established theoretical arguments on causal relations between: a) perceived threat and either exclusionary attitudes or prejudice, b) prejudice and exclusionary attitudes. It should also be noted that Schuelter, Schmidt and Wagner's (2008) study provides longitudinal evidence that perceptions of threatened group interests are causally antecedent to out-group derogation as suggested by the conventional 'competitive threat' theoretical model. No support is found for the assumptions of the reverse or of the reciprocal model. Specifically, the study reveals that heightened levels of perceived group threat lead to heightened levels of dislike, ethnic distance and intended negative behavior towards foreigners.
5. Neither threat exerts a significant effect on exclusionary attitudes, even without introducing controls for socio-demographic variables in the models.
6. The effects of socio-demographic variables on each one of the attitudinal variables have been introduced into the final general model only if these effects were found significant in previous models that examined each one of the attitudinal variables separately. In order to reach this final general model, I started with the preliminary model that included only perceived SETHREAT and socio-demographic characteristics. At each step I added one additional variable to the model

and the relevant correlations between this variable and those already included in the model. Throughout the process I only introduced into the new models paths (causal correlations) that were found significant in the previous steps of the research. I used this technique to avoid statistical artifact as a result of a large number of variables and causal correlations.

7. Whereas the full model includes all possible paths, all non-significant effects are eliminated from the trimmed models. Thus, the model includes only paths that represent significant effect.

8. SETHREAT and NTHREAT are inter-related. The limitation of cross-sectional data does not allow me to implement an appropriate test for causal relationship between two concepts. With the data in hand, I estimated non-recursive model (Kline 2005) including SETHREAT and NTHREAT; the results reveal a statistically significant path from SETHREAT to NTHREAT, but a statistically insignificant path from NTHREAT to SETHREAT. This finding is in line with Raijman and Semyonov's (2004) results. Following that, I decided to introduce only one path from SETHREAT to NTHREAT to the general model. However, since I do not have longitudinal data and there is no strong theoretical assumption about the relationship between the two types of threat, it is important to be cautious with the interpretation of the path from SETHREAT to NTHREAT. As to the relationship between two components of prejudice (STEREOTYPES and SDISTANCE), the assumption of previous studies on the topic is that attributing negative characteristics to the out-group takes place before a desire to maintain social distance from them, and therefore negative stereotyping contributes to the desire for social distance (for example, Verberk, Scheepers and Feeling 2002; Bobo and Charles 2009). I estimate the general model under this premise, while introducing a path from STEREOTYPES to SDISTANCE. In addition, I estimated non-recursive model including STEREOTYPES and SDISTANCE; the results reveal a statistically significant path from STEREOTYPES to SDISTANCE, but a statistically insignificant path from SDISTANCE to STEREOTYPES.

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Table 1. *Descriptive statistics for attitudinal variables^a.*

	Mean	% of responses from 5 to 7
EXCLUSION: highest value indicates absolute disagreement		
Minimum wages for foreign workers should be protected	2.77	22.4
The State should grant foreign workers health services	2.95	26.4
The State should grant foreign workers welfare services	3.43	33.3
STEREOTYPES: highest value indicates absolute agreement		
Foreign workers have a tendency toward violence	2.91	20.5
Foreign workers bring diseases	3.26	28.1
Foreign workers in Israel are only fit for unskilled work (manual labor); they cannot manage in other kinds of work that require a higher level of skills	3.46	31.2
Foreign workers do not mind living in substandard living conditions	4.47	52.2
SDISTANCE: highest value indicates “unpleasant”		
It would be pleasant or unpleasant for you to have a foreign worker as a neighbor	4.54	41.7
It would be pleasant or unpleasant for you to have a foreign worker marry into your family	6.21	82.4
It would be pleasant or unpleasant for you to have the child of a foreign worker in your child’s school-class	4.54	41.5
It would be pleasant or unpleasant for you to have a foreign worker as a boss	5.07	53.7
SETHREAT: highest value indicates absolute agreement		
Foreign workers are a strain on the welfare services system	3.68	38.4
Foreign workers can hurt welfare services which you are entitled to	3.22	29.2
Foreign workers take job from Israelis	4.01	44.7
Foreign workers can hurt your employment opportunities	3.01	28.5
The presences of foreign workers lowers the Israelis’ wage level	4.02	43.7
Foreign workers can hurt your wage level	2.97	27.9
	Mean	% of responses 3 and 4
NTHREAT: highest value indicates absolute agreement		
In the future the proportion of foreign workers would be so high that they would be a threat to the Jewish majority of the state (4 point scale)	2.25	35.6

a. The variables were measured on a 7 point scale (if not stated differently). All variables are recoded in the way that highest value represents negative attitudes.

Table 2. Standardized coefficients (*t*-values) of full structural equation models^a (SEM) predicting exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers in Israel, controlling for socio-demographic variables^b.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
SETHREAT	0.015 (0.33)	----	----	----
NTHREAT	---	-0.047 (-1.10)	----	----
STEREOTYPES	----	----	0.214* (4.12)	----
SDISTANCE	----	----	----	0.264* (4.93)
Fit measures:	X ² =200, df=110 GFI=0.969 RMSEA=0.035 PCLOSE=0.999	X ² =80, df=42 GFI=0.983 RMSEA=0.037 PCLOSE=0.954	X ² =152, df=82 GFI=0.974 RMSEA=0.036 PCLOSE=0.996	X ² =171, df=80 GFI=0.971 RMSEA=0.042 PCLOSE=0.945

a. The models are estimated with the assumption of intercorrelations among the measurement errors for the factor solution (presented in Appendix A). In order to fit the models I estimate also observed correlations among exogenous (socio-demographic) variables.

b. The models include age, gender, marital status, education, monthly income, labor force position, political orientation and level of religiosity. The coefficients are not presented.

*p<0.05

Table 3. Standardized coefficients (*t*-values) of trimmed structural equation model^a
(SEM) predicting exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers in Israel

	SETHREAT (1)	NTHREAT (2)	STEREOTYPES (3)	SDISTANCE (4)	EXCLUSION (5)
Age	---	0.101* (2.78)	---	---	---
Men	---	---	---	0.084* (2.49)	---
Married	---	-0.094*(-2.54)	0.113* (3.10)	---	---
Academic degree	---	---	-0.085* (-2.20)	---	-0.110*(-2.67)
Income	---	---	---	---	---
Blue collar ^a	0.032 (0.73)	---	0.106*(2.62)	---	---
Not in the labor force ^a	0.138* (3.09)	---	0.076 (1.87)	---	---
Unemployed ^a	0.103* (2.48)	---	0.070 (1.87)	---	---
Political orientation	0.249* (5.82)	0.117* (2.56)	0.135* (3.36)	---	---
Religious	----	0.118* (2.88)	---	0.383* (10.62)	---
SETHREAT		0.355* (8.32)	0.411* (7.88)	---	---
NTHREAT			0.164*(4.01)	0.132* (3.52)	---
STEREOTYPES				0.405* (8.58)	0.120* (2.15)
SDISTANCE					0.182* (3.37)

a. White color occupations are an omitted category. Since position in the labor market is constructed as a series of dummy variables, in order to allow comparison between equations the paths from all other categories are kept in the equation, if at least an effect of one category was found significant.

*p<0.05

Table 4. Standardized direct, indirect and total effects on exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers in Israel^a

	Total Effects	Direct Effects	Indirect Effects
4A: Effects on STEREOTYPES; indirect effects via both SETHREAT and NTHREAT			
SETHREAT	0.469*	0.411*	0.058*
NTHREAT	0.164*	0.164*	
4B: Effects on SDISTANCE; indirect effects via both types of threat and STEREOTYPES			
SETHREAT	0.237*		0.237*
NTHREAT	0.198*	0.132*	0.067*
STEREOTYPES	0.405*	0.405*	
4C: Effects on EXCLUSION; indirect effects via both types of threat, STEREOTYPES and SDISTANCE			
SETHREAT	0.099*		0.099*
NTHREAT	0.056*		0.056*
STEREOTYPES	0.193*	0.120*	0.074*
SDISTANCE	0.182*	0.182*	

a. The coefficients of socio-demographic characteristics' effects are not presented. To estimate standard errors and significance level of the indirect and totals effects, the bootstrapping method was applied.

*p<0.05

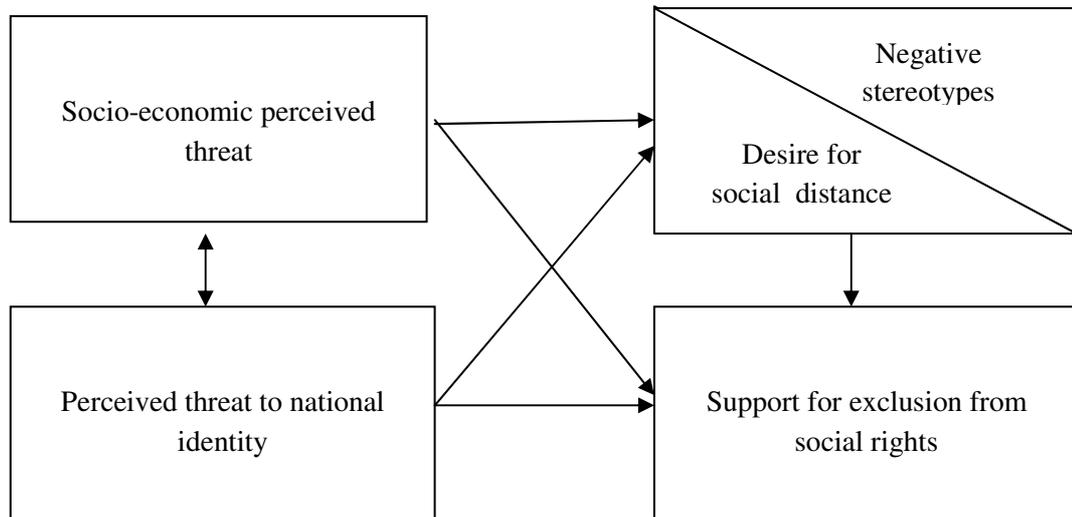
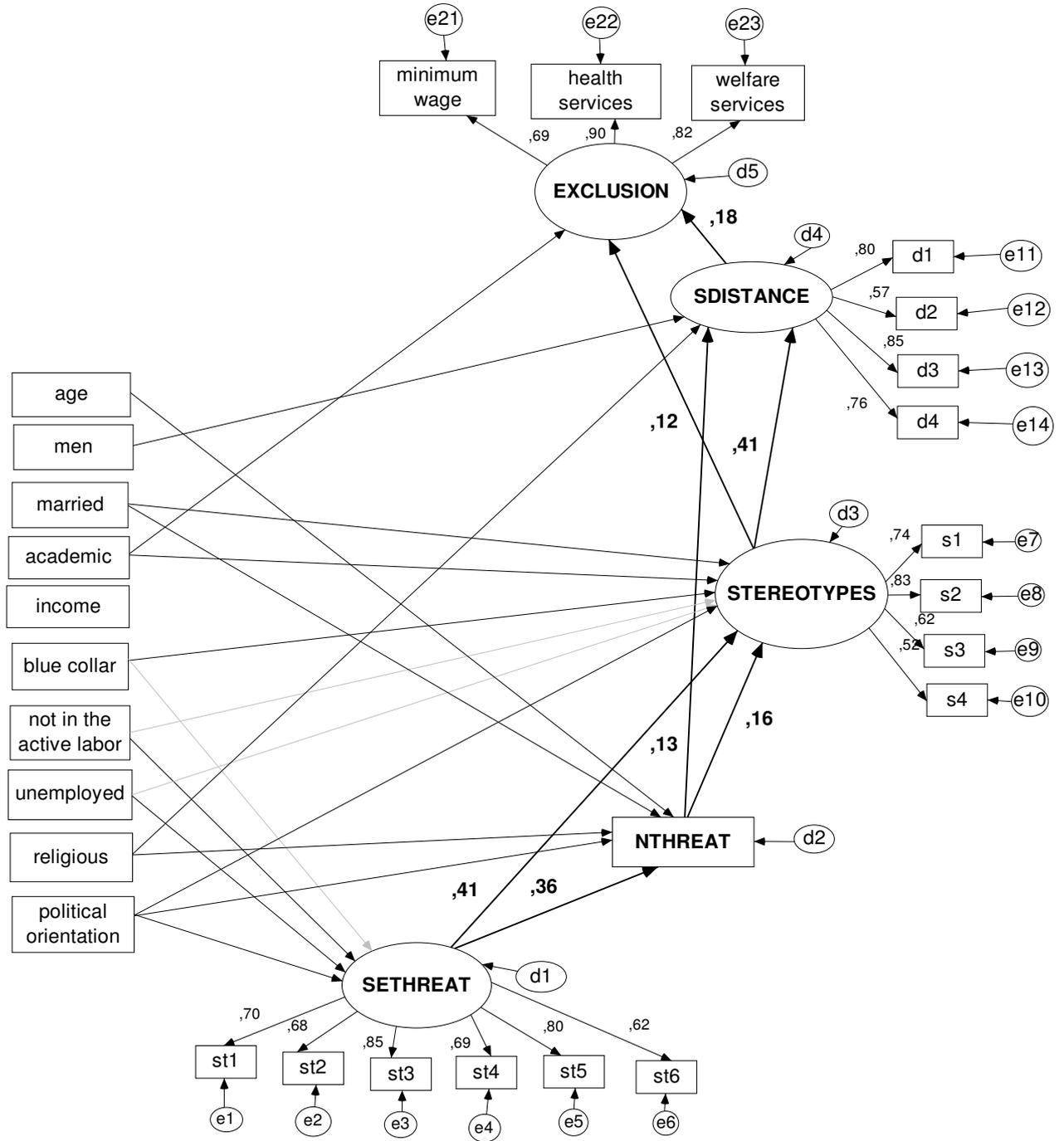
Figure 1. *Analytical model*

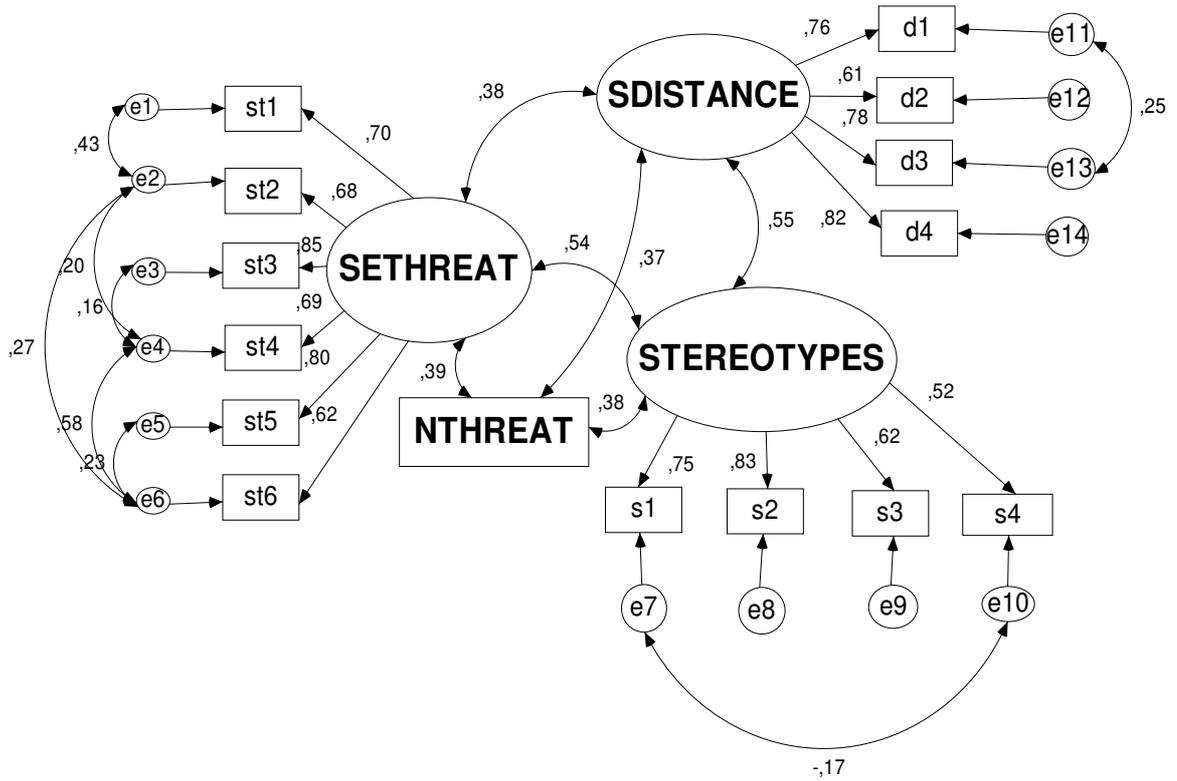
Figure 2. *Structural equations model^a (standardized coefficients of trimmed model) predicting exclusionary attitudes toward foreign workers in Israel*



chi-square=615,955 df=304
 GFI=.939 RMSEA=.040
 PCLOSE=1,000

a. The model is estimated with the assumption of intercorrelations among the measurement errors for the factor solution (presented in Appendix A). In addition, in order to fit the models I estimate observed correlations among exogenous (socio-demographic) variables. The values of socio-demographic variables' coefficients are presented in Table 2.

Appendix A. Standardized coefficients of confirmatory factor analysis



chi-square=158,007 df=77
 GFI=,969 RMSEA=,040
 PCLOSE=,969