Not Only Competitive Threat But Also Racial Prejudice: Sources of Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in European Societies

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Abstract

The article examines the role of prejudice toward racial and ethnic minorities in shaping attitudes toward immigrants across 19 European countries. Previous studies established that fear of competition (i.e., competitive threat) is likely to increase negative attitudes toward immigrants. Using data from the 2010 European Social Survey, we find that not only competitive threat but also racial prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population is likely to increase negative attitudes toward all immigrants in Europe. Moreover, racial prejudice does not mediate the effect of competitive threat on anti-immigrant attitudes, but exert an independent additive effect. The impact of racial prejudice on attitudes toward immigrants tends to increase with the relative size of the non-European racial minority population in the country.

The influx of immigrants into Europe over the past decades has dramatically changed the ethnic makeup of many European societies. Currently, many European cities that, until recently, had been racially and ethnically homogeneous now include sizeable communities of immigrants of non-European origin (Glikman & Semyonov, 2012; Salt, 2005). The presence of new immigrant communities in Europe not only changed the ethnic fabric of European society, but also became associated with rise of anti-immigrant sentiment. Subsequently, the body of research that focuses on sources of xenophobia and negative attitudes toward immigrants across European societies has grown and became substantial (e.g., for review of this literature, see Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). The growing body of research on the issue

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has resulted in twofold findings: First, negative attitudes toward immigrants in European societies have risen and become substantial (although Meuleman, Davidov, & Billiet, 2009 and Pichler, 2010 did not find a further increase in negative attitudes in recent years); and, second, negative attitudes tend to increase with the relative size of the non-European immigrant population (Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010; Semyonov, Raijman, & Gorodzeisky, 2006).

The positive association between size of the immigrant population and anti-immigrant attitudes had been usually explained when cast within the framework of the "competitive threat" theoretical model (e.g., Blalock, 1967; Blumer, 1958; Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). The logic embodied in this model contends that increased presence of immigrants in a community is likely to prompt fears of competition (whether actual or perceived) over social and economic resources. Fear of competition, in turn, engenders negative attitudes toward immigrants (Quillian, 1995; Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Coenders, 2002; Semyonov et al., 2006). Likewise—and consistent with the logic embodied in the competitive threat model—individuals of low socioeconomic position are more likely to express negative attitudes toward immigrants than individuals of high socioeconomic status, owing to a fear of competition derived from their social and economic vulnerability (Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Raijman, Semyonov, & Schmidt, 2003).

Although most recent research on the topic stresses the impact of a fear of competition on the emergence of negative attitudes toward immigrants, such attitudes can be also driven by racial prejudice. According to Sears (1988) (see also Kinders & Sears, 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003), racial antipathy and negative beliefs regarding out-group populations are often rooted in an abstract system of early-learned moral values and ideals regarding racial and ethnic minorities, regardless of fear of competition. Negative attitudes toward immigrants, then, can reflect a system of beliefs and attitudes toward ethnic and racial out-group populations, a system of beliefs acquired through the socialization process. Following this logic, it is reasonable to expect attitudes toward immigrants to be influenced not only by competitive threat but also by prejudice toward racial and ethnic minorities, especially in the context of the European national states.

Indeed, ethnicity and race may play a major role in shaping attitudes toward immigrants in Europe. The findings presented by Gorodzeisky and Semyonov (2009), for example, reveal that attitudes of Europeans toward inclusion of immigrants in society are influenced by the ethnic origin of immigrants. More specifically, Europeans are more willing to endorse exclusion of immigrants of non-European origin than immigrants of European origin. Following these findings, one may expect negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration to be more pronounced among those holding prejudicial views toward racial and ethnic minorities than among those not holding such views, regardless of any fear of competition.

Curiously, whereas the overwhelming majority of the comparative studies on attitudes toward immigrants in Europe were cast within the competitive threat theoretical framework, only a few studies examined the impact of racial and ethnic prejudice on attitudes toward immigrants in European countries (for notable example, see Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Pettigrew, 1998; Vala, Lopes, & Lima, 2008). These studies focused on the role of prejudice with regard to specific ethnic groups (e.g., West-Indians, Turks, etc.), however, without considering the role of competitive threat.

The present research contributes to the comparative study of public views toward immigrants by examining, for the first time, the role played by racial prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population in affecting attitudes toward all immigrants in Europe net of competitive threat. Specifically, in the analysis that follows, we focus on the impact of racial prejudice on emergence of negative attitudes toward immigrants across European countries while considering competitive threat both at the individual level and the country level in two distinct ways. First, we examine whether prejudice is embedded in threat, hence, whether racial prejudice mostly mediates the effect of competitive threat on attitudes toward immigrants or whether prejudice exerts independent impact on attitudes toward immigrants net of threat. Second, we examine whether structural threat interacts with racial prejudice in affecting attitudes toward immigrants in general. Specifically, we examine whether the impact of prejudice on anti-immigrant sentiment is likely to increase under conditions of intense competitive threat. By so doing, we provide insights into the role played by racial prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population in shaping attitudes toward immigrants in the context of European societies.

Theoretical Framework

According to the competitive threat theoretical model, discriminatory attitudes, prejudice, antagonism, and hostility against out-group populations can be seen as a reaction to perceived threat to the economic and social interests of the majority group members (Blalock, 1967; Blumer, 1958; Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). The threat of competition can stem from two major sources: structural-level contextual characteristics of society (e.g., the size of out-group population residing in the community or economic conditions); and individual-level attributes, especially one's socioeconomic position and cultural and political-national orientation (e.g., measured indicators of social and economic status or vulnerability and of cultural values).

The competitive threat theoretical model has received considerable support and affirmation through a large number of studies across a wide range of societies (e.g., for a review of this literature in Europe, see Ceobanu &

Escandel (2010); see also studies by Wilkes, Guppy, & Faris (2008) for Canada; Bobo & Hutching (1996) for the United States). More specifically, previous research has repeatedly demonstrated that discrimination and negative attitudes toward immigrants or racial minorities tend to rise with the relative size of the minority population in the community and where economic conditions are depressed (Pichler, 2010; Quillian, 1995; Scheepers et al., 2002; Semyonov et al., 2006; Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010).

Studies also demonstrate that socioeconomically vulnerable individuals (e.g., unemployed, low education, and/or low income) are more likely to feel threatened by competition; hence, they are more likely to express negative attitudes toward members of the out-group population (Scheeppers et al., 2002; Esses, Davidio, Jackson, & Amstrong, 2001 for Europe; Espenshade & Hempstade, 1996 for the United States). Likewise, individuals holding conservative views and ideologies (religiously observant individuals, those with a right-wing political orientation and national ideology, and older people) are more likely to express negative attitudes toward an out-group population because of sense of threat posed by out-group populations to the majority's national-cultural traditions, values, and ethnic homogeneity (Castles & Miller, 1993; Gorodziesky & Semyonov, 2009; Wimmer, 1997).

Studies that introduced prejudice into the competitive threat theoretical model (e.g., Gorodzeisky, 2013; Verberk, Scheepers, & Feeling, 2002) view prejudice as resulting from fear of competition, hence, as a mediating mechanism between competitive threat and negative attitudes toward immigrants. By way of contrast, the classical prejudice model suggests that racial and ethnic prejudice is not a response to threat but, first and foremost, socially learned feelings and sentiments (Allport, 1958; Katz, 1991; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Kinder, 1985). Racial prejudice is defined in the literature as a collection of negative attitudes "toward a socially defined group and toward any person perceived to be a member of that group" (Ashmore, 1970, p. 253) or as "antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization" (Allport, 1958, p. 9). According to classical prejudice model, thus, racial prejudice is an irrational feeling with scant economic or social basis. As such, prejudice becomes an independent source of anti-immigrant attitudes, regardless of fear of competition. Indeed, it was demonstrated that individuals holding racial prejudice tend to hold negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Pettigrew, 1998). Following this view, we expect that racial prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population would constitute an additional independent source of negative attitudes toward all immigrants (regardless of race/ethnicity) beyond and above competitive threat. Moreover, we suggest that the effect of racial prejudice on negative attitudes toward the immigrant population in general may vary across different level of competitive threat. More specifically, the effect of racial prejudice may

increase under conditions of intense competition. Therefore, in the analysis that follows, we put to test the following two hypotheses:

H1: Racial prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population is expected to exert net effect on negative attitudes toward immigrants across European countries beyond and above competitive threat (both at the individual and the structural level) and beyond and above individuals' socio-demographic attributes. That is, the higher the racial prejudice is the more negative are the attitudes toward all immigrants.

H2: The effect of racial prejudice toward non-European minority population on anti-immigrant attitudes is expected to intensify with level of structural competitive threat. That is, the effect of racial prejudice on negative attitudes toward immigrants would be more pronounced in places where structural-contextual threat is more prevalent than in places where structural-contextual threat is less prevalent.

Data and Variables

Data for the present analysis were obtained from the fifth round of the European Social Survey (ESS), conducted in 2010. We used information provided by the 2010 ESS on 19 European countries.[1] In each country, information was gathered from a random probability national sample of the eligible resident populations aged ≥15 years. The analysis reported here was restricted to the citizens whose fathers were born in the country (majority group population). The list of the countries included in the analysis and the sample size are presented in Table 1.

The dependent variable *attitudes toward the immigrant population* is an index constructed as the mean score of responses to three questions regarding respondents' views on the impact that immigrants exert on society. The three questions pertain to the following spheres: the economy, cultural life, and society in general. Responses are coded according to an 11-point scale ranging between 0 (*most positive impact*) and 10 (*most negative impact*). Several previous

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[1] In addition to the 19 countries included in the present analysis, the 2010 ESS data also include the post-Soviet and post-Yugoslavian Republics. We did not include these countries in the analysis because recent changes in the borders, polity, and status of independence do not allow for the proper and accurate identification of the majority and minority populations of the countries, especially in the migration context. Moreover, the meaning of foreigner (and immigrant) status in these countries is significantly different from other European countries. We also excluded Israel from the analysis because it is not a European country. In our preliminary analysis and in previous studies, Greece was found to be an outlier with extremely high levels of anti-immigrant sentiment (Ceobanu, 2011; Semyonov, Raijman & Gorodzeisky, 2006, 2008) and a society where the issue of ethnic minorities differs in meaning from other European countries (see, e.g., Glikman & Semyonov, 2012). It should be noted that there are no meaningful differences between the results of the multivariable analysis without Greece and when Greece is included. The inclusion of Greece in the analysis only slightly affects the level of significance of the effect that "size of racial minority" exerts on anti-immigrant attitudes.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Anti-Immigrant Attitudes Index, Racial Prejudice (Weighted), and Sample Size in 19 European Countries

Country	Anti-immigrant attitudes index, mean	Different race/ ethnic group is treated better, %	Do not know, %	N
Ireland	5.3	22	7	2,177
Czech Republic	5.9	21	6	2,247
Hungary	5.6	18	9	1,492
UK	5.6	18	2	2,015
Belgium	5.2	16	0.3	1,426
France	5.3	16	0.3	1,426
Slovakia	5.4	16	12	1,757
Bulgaria	4.7	14	10	2,382
Poland	4.1	14	14	1,696
Germany	4.7	13	4	2,541
Spain	4.8	13	2	1,700
Portugal	5.4	12	11	2,013
Switzerland	4.3	11	2	1,031
Netherlands	4.5	10	1	1,622
Cyprus	6.3	10	9	1,019
Norway	4.5	9	0.3	1,358
Finland	4.2	9	1	1,795
Denmark	4.3	6	1	1,416
Sweden	3.5	5	0.6	1,262
Total	4.9	14.5	4.1	32,375

Source: European Social Survey, 2010.

studies relied on these variables to construct an index that captures attitudes toward immigrants (e.g., Legewie, 2013; Semyonov et al., 2008; Sides & Citrin, 2007). It is important to note that the dependent variable pertains to attitudes toward all immigrants, regardless of their origin. Specifically, the questions pertain to "people who come to live here from other countries." Table 1 displays the mean values of the dependent variable by country. The value of Cronbach's alpha for the three items in the entire sample is .856, while the values of Cronbach's alpha for each country separately ranges from .741 to .886.

Racial prejudice was constructed from respondents' answers to the two following questions: "When victims report crimes, do you think the police treat some people worse because of their race or ethnic group or is everyone treated equally?" and "Suppose two people from different race or ethnic groups each appear in court, charged with an identical crime they did not commit. Choose an answer to show who you think would be more likely to be found guilty?" The constructed variable distinguishes between two main

categories: (1) those who express racial/ethnic prejudice—respondents who reported that people from a different race/ethnic group than most [country] people treated better by either police or court or both of them; and (2) those who do not express racial prejudice—respondents who reported in both questions that everyone was treated equally regardless of their race/ethnic group or that people from the same race/ethnic group as most [country] people treated better. Because the number of respondents who answered "do not know" in both questions was not negligible, we created (mostly for control purpose) an additional category indicating a "do not know" response in both questions (Table 1 displays the frequency distribution of racial prejudice categories by country). It should be emphasized that the measure of racial prejudice used here is consistent with measures of racial prejudice used previously in studies of attitudes toward racial minorities in the United States and Europe (e.g., Feldman & Huddy, 2005; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Kinder, 1996; Pettigrew, 1995; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997). According to these studies, a statement that racial minorities are treated better by state institutions than the majority population can serve as a valid indicator of racial prejudice.[2]

It is important to stress that the term "immigrants" is not mentioned or included in any way in the measure of racial prejudice adopted here. To examine the thesis that racial prejudice and anti-immigrant attitudes are, in effect, two separate and distinct concepts, a confirmatory factor analysis with two latent variables (racial prejudice and anti-immigrant attitudes) was conducted. Based on Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS) procedure (Arbuckle, 2008), it lends firm support to the theoretical premise that the two concepts are distinct. Specifically, the empirical analysis reveals that the data (results presented in Figure 1) provides a good fit to the measurement model in which two latent variables (racial prejudice and anti-immigrant attitudes) are positively but weekly interrelated, with root mean square error of approximation <0.05 level and goodness of fit index and probability of close fit equal to 1, which is considered highly acceptable standard (Arbuckle, 2008).

To capture *competitive threat* (or socioeconomic vulnerability) at the individual level, the following proxies were used: education (years of formal schooling); labor market position (white-collar occupations, blue-collar occupations, unemployed, out of the labor force, and student); and reported

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[2]To validate our results and the measure, we examined an alternative measure of racial prejudice (namely, racial exclusionism). This measure was constructed by the following items: "To what extent do you think [country] should allow people of the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people to come and live here?" "How about people of a different race or ethnic group from most [country]?" Responses were "many," "some," "a few," and "none." Each respondent whose level of objection to admission of people from different race or ethnic group was higher than their level of objection to admission of people from the same race or ethnic group was coded as "racial exclusionist." When replicating the multivariate multilevel analysis with the alternative measure of racial prejudice, the results were similar to those reported in Table 2.

Figure 1

Standardized coefficients of confirmatory factor analysis
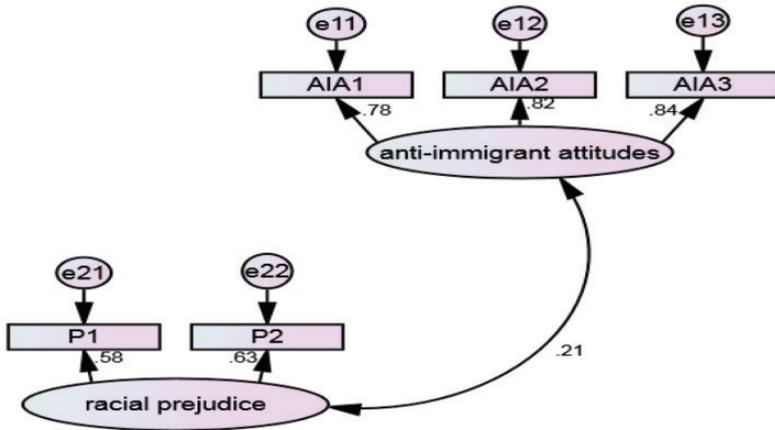
chi-square=1.272 df=3
GFI=1.000 RMSEA=.000 PCLOSE=1.000

Note. Data source: European Social Survey, 2010. Bootstrapping method was applied. To fit the model, correlation between e12 and latent variable "racial prejudice" was allowed, although the correlation was very weak (.05). Values of fit measures (such as goodness of fits index, root mean square error of approximation, probability of close fit) for the model without this correlation also indicate highly acceptable fit of the theoretical model.

subjective income (insufficient vs. sufficient). Level of religious observance and religious denomination (belongs to titular religion,[3] belongs to nontitular religion, and does not belong to any religion) were included as indicators of *conservative cultural values*. Age, gender, and place of residence (rural versus urban) were introduced into the analysis as demographic control variables, although advanced age and rural residence could be also considered as proxies for conservatism.

The structural-level indicator of *competitive threat* (as a contextual variable) used here is the proportion of the out-group population residing in a country. Because the focus of the research is on the impact of racial/ethnic prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population on attitudes toward all immigrants, it seems most appropriate (and reasonable) to rely on the relative size (i.e., proportion) of the racial/ethnic minority population (namely, first- and second-generation immigrants of non-European origin) in a country's population rather than on the relative size of immigrants as the structural level (contextual)

[3]In countries with two main religious denominations (comparable by the proportion of residents who belong to the two dominations), both religious denominations were considered as titular.

indicator of competitive threat.[4] We contend that the presence of visible racial minorities creates sense of threat that increases anti-immigrant sentiments.

We do not include an indicator of country's economic conditions as a proxy of competitive threat in the models presented later. In a preliminary analysis, GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita (as indicator of economic situation) was also included in the models, first separately, then together with the size of the out-group population. This preliminary analysis demonstrated that GDP per capita does not exert any statistically significant effect on the dependent variable in any model. Nor does it change the results. Subsequently, in light of the limited degrees of freedom at the country level and for the sake of parsimony, we decided not to include GDP per capita in the analysis reported here.

Focusing on countries as units of analysis at the structural level, we follow a well-established research tradition, which views national context as one of the major factors that shape individuals' attitudes toward immigrants (e.g., Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). Indeed, the national context is a pertinent level for studying attitudes toward foreigners because migration policies coupled with the general concept of reception are largely framed at the country level. It should be also noted that the operationalization of the dependent variable in the present study refers to the (perceived) impact that immigrants exert on the country as a whole.[5]

Descriptive Overview

The data displayed in Table 1 reveal considerable cross-national variations in attitudes toward the immigrant population. Negative attitudes toward all immigrants are most pronounced in Cyprus, the Czech Republic, U.K., and Hungary (the respective mean values are 6.3, 5.9, 5.6, and 5.6). Belgium, France, Ireland, Slovakia, and Portugal are characterized by mean values ranging from 5.2 to 5.4 (slightly negative). Attitudes toward immigrants are slightly positive in the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, and Denmark

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[4]Unfortunately, data concerning the percentage of racial minorities (especially, second-generation immigrants of non-European origin) were not available for all countries. To overcome this limitation, we calculated directly from the 2010 ESS data set the percentage of racial/ethnic minorities residing in the country. A respondent was defined as a member of a racial/ethnic minority (or as a person of non-European origin) when the respondent's father was not born in Europe, Australia, or Northern America. We are aware that immigrant populations (especially first-generation immigrants) might be underrepresented in survey data. However, because we are interested in the relative proportion of the racial/ethnic minority population (first- and second-generation immigrants of non-European origin) in a country (as compared with other countries) rather than in absolute proportion, and because underrepresentation might be common in all countries, deflated values of percent non-Europeans do not seem to be a serious problem for biasing model estimation.

[5]Although regions can also serve as relevant structural-level units of analysis, it is impossible to arrive at reliable estimates of percent racial minorities in each region when calculated directly from the 2010 ESS data set.
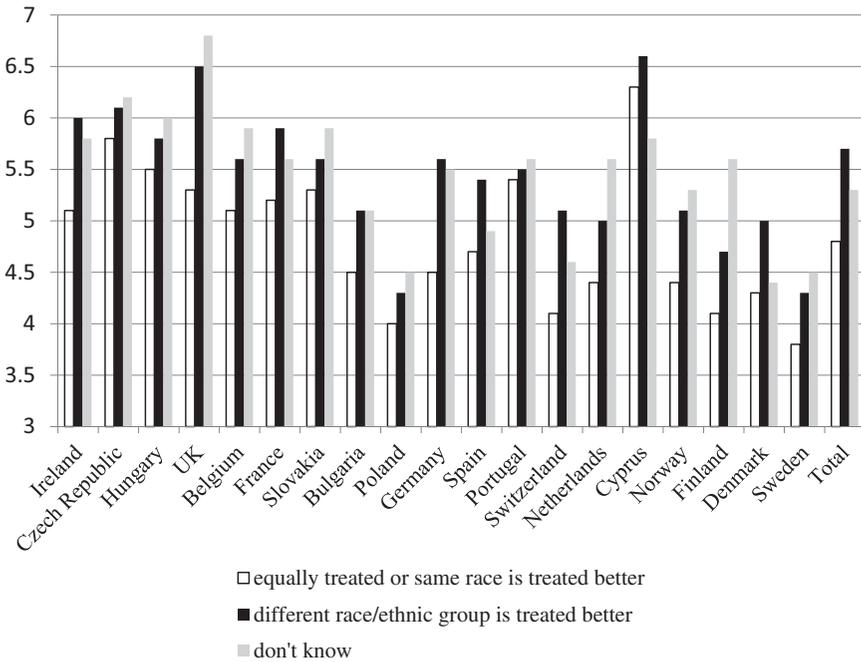
(respective means: 4.5, 4.5, 4.3, and 4.3). In Finland, and Poland, and especially in Sweden, the attitudes toward immigrants are, on average, more positive than in all other countries (the respective mean scores are 4.2, 4.1, and 3.5).

The data also show that across all countries, 14.5% of respondents express racial prejudice (as reflected by the response to the statements that people of a different race/ethnic groups from majority [country] people are treated better by state institutions). However, there is considerable cross-country variation in the measured indicator of racial prejudice. The percentage of respondents expressing racial prejudice toward all non-Europeans/non-Whites ranges between 5% (in Sweden) and 22% (in Ireland). The percentage of respondents expressing prejudicial views toward racial/ethnic minority population is relatively high in the Czech Republic, U.K., and Hungary (21%, 18%, and 18%, respectively) and relatively low in the Scandinavian countries (9% in Finland and Norway and 6% in Denmark). The percentage of individuals holding prejudicial views in the other countries falls around the European mean (14.5), ranging from 16% in Belgium, France, and Slovakia to 14% in Bulgaria and Poland, and 13% in Germany and Spain.

Figure 2 displays the mean values of the level of anti-immigrant attitudes by country for three groups of respondents: those who do not express racial prejudice, those who express racial prejudice, and those who answered "do not know" to questions regarding the way racial/ethnic minorities are treated by institutions of the state. The data reveal that in all countries, negative attitudes toward all immigrants or immigrants in general ("people who come to live here from other countries") are more pronounced among respondents expressing prejudicial views toward non-European/non-White minority population. The difference in the negative attitudes between those expressing racial prejudicial views and those who do not express such views is statistically significant in all countries (at the level of $p < .05$), except for Cyprus and Portugal. That is, in almost all countries, those holding prejudicial views toward racial minorities are more likely to express negative attitudes toward all immigrants. As to respondents who stated "do not know" to the racial prejudice questions, the pattern is not as clear. Yet, in most countries, respondents who selected the "do not know" category tend to express a higher level of anti-immigrant attitudes than those who do not express prejudicial views against racial minorities. These findings may lend support to the thesis that negative attitudes toward immigrants are embedded in prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population.

In Figure 3, we demonstrate the relationships between the mean values of anti-immigrant attitudes and the percentage of respondents who express racial prejudice at the country level. Figure 3 points to a clear and straightforward conclusion: The higher the share of a country's population that embraces

Figure 2

Mean anti-immigrant attitudes index (0–10 scale) by three categories of response to a racial prejudice variable in 19 countries

□ equally treated or same race is treated better

■ different race/ethnic group is treated better

▨ don't know
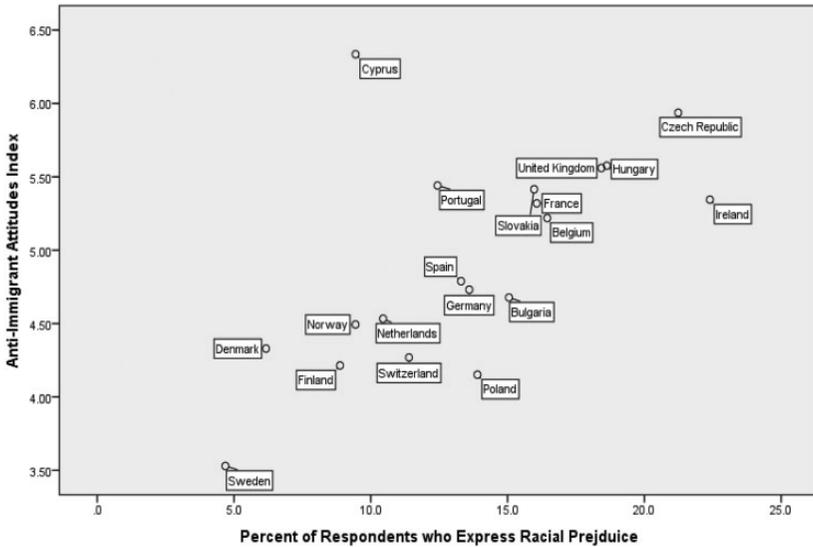
Note. Data source: European Social Survey, 2010.

racial prejudice against non-European/non-White racial minorities, the higher the level of that country's anti-immigrant attitudes. These findings are, indeed, in line with the argument that, at the country level, attitudes toward all immigrants ("people who come to live here from other countries") and prejudice toward racial/ethnic minority population are interrelated.

Analytical Strategy and Multivariate Analysis

Although the descriptive figures presented in the previous section provide us with an interesting and informative overview of the relationship between anti-immigrant attitudes and racial prejudice, they do not enable us to reach conclusions regarding the role of racial prejudice in shaping anti-immigrant attitudes among individual respondents. To reach such conclusions, we estimated a series of hierarchical linear model (HLM) regression equations in which individual respondents (first level) are nested in countries (second level). In Equation (1), we predict attitudes toward immigrants as a function

Figure 3

Mean country's anti–immigrant attitudes index by percentage of respondents expressing racial prejudicial views in 19 countries

Note. Data source: European Social Survey, 2010.

of individuals' demographic attributes and conservative values (that serve mostly as control variables in our study) and the size of the racial minority population in a country (as a country-level structural indicator of competitive threat). In Equation (2), we add indicators of socioeconomic vulnerability (as individual-level indicators of threat). In Equation (3), we add racial prejudice against non-European/non-White racial minorities to the predictors of individuals' attitudes toward all immigrants: If racial prejudice is independent source of anti-immigrant attitudes, we expect that both competitive threat and racial prejudice would exert independent net effects on attitudes toward immigrants. We also expect that the effect of competitive threat in Equation (3) would not be substantially different from those observed in Equation (2). However, if racial prejudice (as a reaction to competitive threat) is a mediator between competitive threat and anti-immigrant attitudes rather than independent source of such attitudes, we expect that most of the effect of competitive threat on anti-immigrant attitudes would be mediated *via* racial prejudice.[6] In Equation (4), we include an interaction term between racial prejudice and the

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[6]The causal order between prejudice and attitudes is not fully clear. One could argue, and justifiably so, that anti-immigrant attitudes may also affect prejudice (not only prejudice affects attitudes) and that both concepts may serve as predictors of a third concept. However, from a theoretical point of view, we are interested in explaining anti-immigrant attitudes. Therefore, the theoretical framework of the present research that guides its empirical analysis views anti-immigrant attitudes as resulting from either racial prejudice or competitive threat.

size of the racial minority population to examine whether the effect of racial prejudice on attitudes toward immigrants tends to vary across levels of competitive threat. In Equation (5), we introduce the percentage of the population holding prejudicial views toward racial/ethnic minorities as an additional country-level contextual variable, to examine the effect of racial prejudice and competitive threat on anti-immigrant attitudes at both the individual- and the country-level data. The coefficient estimates of four HLM regression equations are displayed in Table 2.

The results displayed by Equations (1) and (2) (Table 2) reaffirm the competitive threat thesis. The data reveal that anti-immigrant attitudes tend to be more pronounced among socially and economically vulnerable populations. Consistent with previous studies on the topic, anti-immigrant attitudes tend to be higher among the unemployed, among those employed in blue-collar occupations (as compared with those having white-collar jobs), and among those perceiving their income as insufficient (as evidenced by the positive and significant coefficients of these variables). By way of contrast, negative attitudes toward immigrants tend to decrease with education and to be lower among students (as evidenced by the negative coefficients of the variables). The inclusion of the individual-level indicators of competitive threat (Equation (2) as compared with Equation (1)) substantially reduces the individual- and country-level variance components.

The results also demonstrate that rural residents tend to express higher level of anti-immigrant attitudes than urban residents. When compared with persons who do not belong to a religious denomination, persons belonging to a titular religious denomination are more likely to perceive an immigrant population in negative terms, while persons belonging to nontitular religious denomination are less likely to perceive immigrants in negative terms. Curiously, net of religious denomination, the level of religious observance decreases negative attitudes toward immigrants ($B = -0.02$, $SE = 0.009$). Apparently, membership of a titular religious denomination, rather than the level of religious observance, prompts anti-immigrant attitudes. The findings regarding titular religious denomination and the level of religious observance, although somewhat curious and counterintuitive, can be explained in the framework of Blumer's (1958) group position theoretical model. The model specifies that discriminatory attitudes toward foreigners are based on a sense of exclusiveness that dominant group population possess with regard to certain rights, resources, statuses, and privileges in different life areas (Blumer, 1958; Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). It is reasonable to suggest that native-born citizens belonging to titular religious denomination tend to be more concerned with the impact that foreigners may exert on country's cultural values, practices, and way of life because the latter are resources that the dominant group (i.e., titular religion group) believe themselves to be entitled to. In addition, the

Table 2

HLM (Hierarchical Linear Model) Regression Coefficients (Standard Errors) Predicting Anti-Immigrant Attitudes by Individual- and Country-Level Variables

	1	2	3	4	5
Intercept	4.70*	4.31*	4.24*	4.23	4.2*
Individual-level variables					
Men	−0.10*	−0.06	−0.06	−0.06	−0.06
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	0.01*	−0.002	−0.003	−0.003	−0.003
	(0.00)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Rural	0.24*	0.10*	0.10*	0.10*	0.10*
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Labor market position (white collar is the omitted category)					
Student	–	−0.28*	−0.29*	−0.29*	−0.29*
		(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Unemployed	–	0.52*	0.49*	0.49*	0.49*
		(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Blue collar occupations	–	0.50*	0.48*	0.48*	0.48*
		(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Out of the labor force	–	0.45*	0.44*	0.44*	0.44*
		(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Insufficient income (subjective)	–	0.44*	0.41*	0.41*	0.41*
		(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Education	–	−0.12*	−0.12*	−0.12*	−0.12*
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Belongs to titular religious denomination	0.13	0.15*	0.16*	0.16*	0.16*
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Belongs to nontitular religious denomination	−0.20*	−0.15*	−0.15*	−0.16*	−0.16*
	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Level of religious observance	−0.02	−0.02*	−0.02*	−0.02*	−0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Racial prejudice	–	–	0.56*	0.48*	0.48*
			(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.07)
"Don't know" answer for the questions regarding racial prejudice	–	–	0.39*	0.39*	0.38*
			(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Country-level variables					
Proportion of racial minority population	0.07*	0.09*	0.07*	0.08*	0.06*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Percentage of population expressing racial prejudice		–	–	–	0.11*
					(0.02)
Interaction term					
Racial prejudice * Size of country's racial minority		–	–	0.044*	0.044*
				(0.02)	(0.02)

(continued)

Table 2
Continued

	1	2	3	4	5
Variance component					
Individual-level random effects—r	3.83	3.46	3.40	3.40	3.40
Country-level random effects—u_o	0.26	0.22	0.20	0.20	0.07

Source: European Social Survey, 2010. $*p < .05$.

Note. The slopes of all individual-level variables apart from "racial prejudice" have been constrained to be identical across 19 countries. Age, education, and level of religious observance have been centered around their grand means. Dummy variables are un-centered. The slope of the "racial prejudice" variable has been allowed to vary across countries. The level-two predictors have been centered around their grand mean. The variance component for the fully unconditional model at the individual level is 3.90, country level is 0.31. The value of deviance in Equation 2 = 125,804 (log-likelihood = −6.290249E+004); the value of deviance in Equation 3 = 113,249 (log-likelihood = −5.662453E+004). Model comparison test: χ^2 statistic = 12,554, $d = 4$, $p < .001$.

finding concerning the effect of level of religiosity is in line with the results of recent cross-country comparative study by Bohman and Hjerm (2014) who demonstrate that Europeans with strong religious conviction are less likely to express anti-immigration attitudes.

At the country-level, the positive and statistically significant coefficient for size of a country's racial minority population ($B = 0.09$, $SE = 0.03$) in Equation (2) implies that negative attitudes toward all immigrants are likely to rise in conjunction with the size of the racial minority residing in the country. Apparently, the data are consistent with previous studies that show that anti-immigrant attitudes tend to increase with structural sources of competitive threat.

The positive statistically significant coefficient ($B = 0.56$, $SE = 0.09$) for racial prejudice in Equation (3) implies that, other things being equal, anti-immigrant attitudes are likely to be more pronounced among individuals who express racial prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population in a country. Moreover, the inclusion of racial prejudice in Equation (3) has not changed the coefficients of the individual attributes representing socio-economic vulnerability (as well as conservative views) as compared with Equation (2). Nor does it meaningfully change the significant impact of the size of country's non-Europeans/non-White population on anti-immigrant attitudes. Apparently, racial prejudice does not mediate the effect of socio-economic vulnerability as individual-level indicators of competitive threat (as well as the effect of conservative views) on anti-immigrant attitudes. Results obtained from statistical test for mediation (Herr, n.d.; Kenny, 2014; MacKinnon & Dwyer, 1993) related to the effects of socioeconomic indicators on anti-immigrant attitudes *via* prejudice are reported in Appendix A. Racial

prejudice only slightly intervenes in the relationship between the size of the racial minority population (as a structural-level indicator of competitive threat) and anti-immigrant attitudes. In sum, thus, the findings suggest that prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority population exerts an independent additive effect on attitudes toward all immigrants (above and over the indicators of competitive threat).

In addition to a further decrease of the individual- and country-level variance components in Equation (3), indicators of model fit also reveal a significant decrease in parameters of deviance after including racial prejudice in the model (see note for Table 2). These findings provide further support to the argument that anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe are driven not only by competitive threat but also by racial prejudice toward non-European/ non-White minority populations. In a preliminary analysis (not presented here), interactions terms between racial prejudice and indicators of socioeconomic position at the individual level (education, income, and labor market position) were also included in the model. None of these interactions exerted statistically significant effect on anti-immigrant attitudes. Apparently, the impact of racial prejudice on anti-immigrants attitudes does not vary across different socioeconomic positions of individuals.

The inclusion of the interaction term between the relative size of the racial/ethnic minority population (as a country-level variable) and racial prejudice (as an individual-level variable) in Equation (4) does not alter the individual-level coefficients observed in Equations (2) and (3). Nor does it meaningfully change the effect of size of the racial minority population on attitudes toward immigrants observed in the previous equations, as evidenced by the significant and positive effect of (country-level) size of the minority population ($B = 0.08$, $SE = 0.03$). The positive and significant coefficient for the interaction term between racial prejudice and the proportion of the racial minority population in a country ($B = 0.044$, $SE = 0.02$ in Equation (4)) lends support to the hypothesis that the impact of racial prejudice on anti-immigrant attitudes tends to accentuate and intensify with the proportion of a racial minority population in a country. According to this view, a high concentration of a racial/ethnic minority population (i.e., residents of non-European origin) in a society is likely to intensify a sense of competitive threat, which increases, in turn, the impact of racial prejudice on negative attitudes toward all immigrants.

Apparently, under conditions of greater structural competitive threat (i.e., high proportion of racial minority populations in the country), the effect of racial prejudice on anti-immigrant attitudes becomes more pronounced. Put differently, differences in the level of anti-immigrant attitudes between those holding prejudicial views toward racial minority population and those not holding such views become more pronounced in places where

the proportion of the racial minority population is large than in places where the proportion of the racial minority population is small. The relationship between the size of the racial minority population and the effect of racial prejudice on anti-immigrant attitudes is graphically illustrated by Figure 4. The figure not only shows that anti-immigrant attitudes tends to rise with size of the racial minority population, but also that the differences between racially prejudiced and nonprejudiced individuals in attitudes toward all immigrants tends to widen with the growth in size of the racial minority population.

In Equation (5), we added the percent of individuals expressing racial prejudicial views as an additional country-level control variable. Consistent with expectations, the results reported by Equation (5) demonstrate that the percentage of majority group members embracing racial prejudice (as a country-level characteristic) tends to affect anti-immigrant attitudes, above and beyond individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, individual prejudicial views, and above and beyond the size of the minority population residing in the country. The more widespread the racial prejudice at the country level, the more extreme the anti-immigrant attitudes. It is also important to note that inclusion of racial prejudicial views as an additional country-level contextual variable in Equation (5) hardly changed the coefficients of all the variables included in the previous equations.

To take a closer and more detailed look into the data, we estimated 19 separate country-specific models. In each country, we predict anti-immigrant attitudes as a function of the individual-level variables included in Model 3 of Table 2. Figure 5 displays coefficients of racial prejudice variable taken from each one of 19 country-specific models. The coefficients serve as indicators of the net difference in the level of anti-immigrant attitudes between those who express and those who do not express prejudicial views toward non-European/ non-White minority population in each country.

The results displayed in Figure 5 reveal statistically significant differences in anti-immigrant attitudes between those holding racial prejudice and those not holding such prejudicial views in 16 of the 19 countries. Specifically, the level of anti-immigrant attitudes among the former are considerably higher than among the latter, regardless of demographic characteristics, conservative views, and socioeconomic position. Only in three countries, the effect of racial prejudice on attitudes toward immigrants does not reach the acceptable level of statistical significance (gray bar in Figure 5, yet in the same direction). Cyprus appears to be an outlier not only here but also in the descriptive findings. The findings related to Portugal may be explained by the "luso-tropicalist" representation that stresses the uniqueness of the Portuguese colonial relations based on Portuguese capacity to deal with people from different cultures (Vala et al., 2008).

Figure 4

Predicted effects of racial prejudice on anti-immigrant attitudes, by size of the country's racial minority
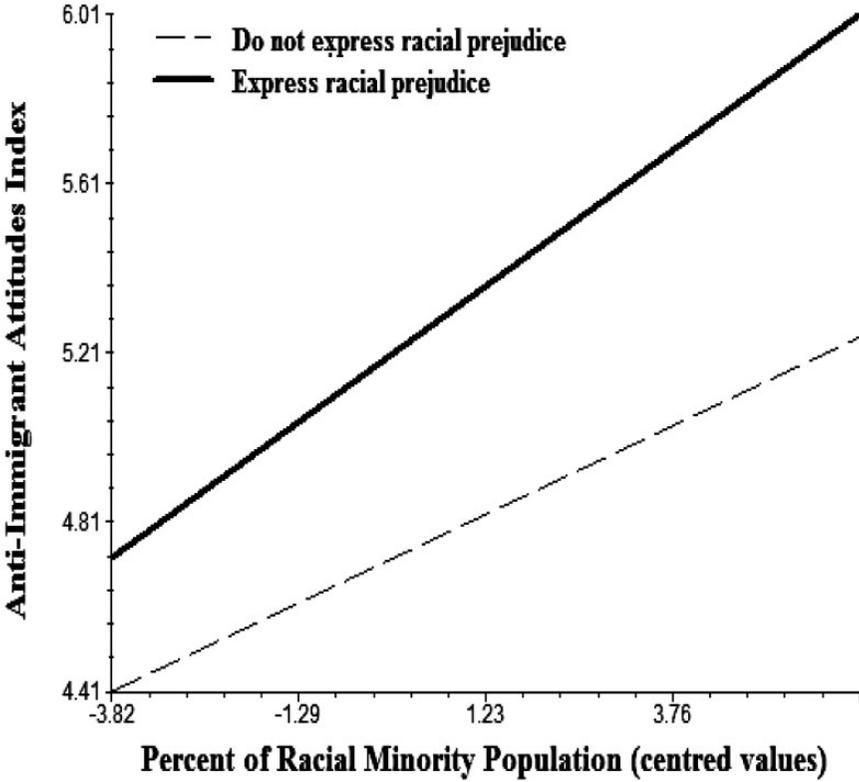
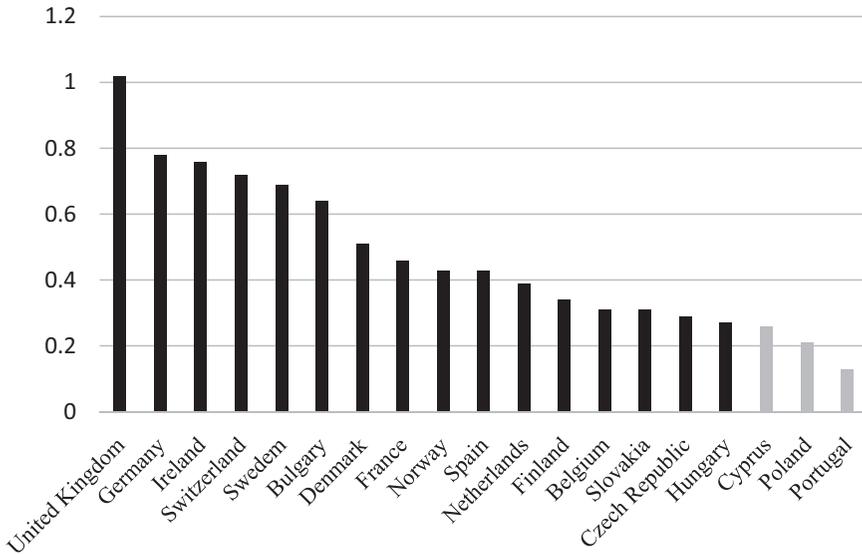*Note.* Data source: European Social Survey, 2010.

The size of the significant effect of racial prejudice toward non-White minority population on attitudes toward all immigrants varies across European countries. The effect is most pronounced in U.K. followed by Germany. The effect is least pronounced in most of the Eastern European countries. In general, the figure illustrates that the effect of racial prejudice on attitudes toward all immigrants tends to be higher in "old-immigration" countries than in "new-immigration" countries (where the proportion of non-European minorities is low).

Conclusions

The principal objective of this research was to provide a systematic analysis of the role played by racial prejudice (i.e., prejudice toward all non-European/

Figure 5

Net gap in the level of anti-immigrant sentiment between those who express and those who do not express prejudicial views toward non-European/non-White minority population in 19 countries

Note. Data source: European Social Survey, 2010. Derived from per-country multivariate regression equations controlling for age, gender, rural/urban residence, labor market position, education, subjective income, religious denomination, level of religiosity.

non-White minorities) in shaping attitudes toward immigrants in Europe (in addition to the impact of competitive threat). More specifically, we examine whether racial prejudice toward non-European/non-White minority popula- tion is an independent source for negative attitudes toward all immigrants and whether prejudice mediates the effect of competitive threat on attitudes toward immigrants. By so doing, we also examine whether racial prejudice interacts with competitive threat to produce divergent levels of attitudes toward immigrants.

Using data obtained by 2010 ESS in 19 European countries, the findings demonstrate that negative attitudes toward all immigrants (immigrants in gen- eral regardless of their race/ethnic origin) are shaped not only by fear of competition over social and economic resources and by threat to the cultural homogeneity of society, but also by racial prejudice toward racial/ethnic min- ority population (residents of non-European origin) at both the individual and the country levels.

The analysis reconfirms the argument that sense of competition is likely to increase anti-immigrant attitudes. Yet, the analysis also reveals that racial pre- judice exerts an independent additive effect on anti-immigrant attitudes in

Europe above and over the effects of competitive threat (as reflected in socio-economic vulnerability and conservative views of individuals and size of racial minority population). Moreover, the data suggest that racial prejudice toward all non-European/non-White minorities does not mediate the effect of competitive threat on anti-immigrant attitudes but constitutes an independent source of such attitudes. Rather, racial prejudice interacts with competitive threat in affecting attitudes toward all immigrants. Specifically, the data show that where sense of competitive threat is more pronounced (as indicated by the size of the non-European minority population), the impact of racial prejudice on negative attitudes toward all immigrants becomes stronger and more pronounced.

In sum, then, the findings of the present research suggest that both racial prejudice toward non-European/non-White minorities and competitive threat (both at individual and country levels) are two independent sources of attitudes toward all immigrants. Whereas previous studies that incorporated both competitive threat and prejudice as predictors of anti-immigrant sentiment viewed prejudice mostly as a mediating mechanism between competitive threat and anti-immigrant attitudes, the findings revealed by the present research suggest that, at least in the European context, racial prejudice toward non-White/non-Europeans should be seen as an independent (and additive) source of negative attitudes toward immigrants in general. Yet, the findings further suggest that the effect of racial prejudice on anti-immigrant attitudes tends to increase with the size of racial minority population in a country (as structural-level indicator of competitive threat). It is our hope that the model observed here, according to which competitive threat interacts with prejudice to produce divergent attitudes toward out-group populations, would be further examined in future studies on the topic whether in Europe or in other social contexts.

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Appendix

Since the mediator variable (racial prejudice) is dichotomous and outcome variable (anti-immigrant attitudes) is continuous, we used method developed by Herr, n.d. (primarily formula came from MacKinnon & Dwyer, 1993) to standardize coefficients of logistic and linear regressions in order to calculate indirect effect of each indicator of socio-economic position (X) on anti-immigrant attitudes (Y) *via* prejudice (M). As suggested by Kenny (2014), total effect is inferred from $ab + c'$ (a = path from X to M, b = path from M to Y, controlling for X and c' = path from X to Y controlling for M) and direct effect is inferred from c', based on separate procedures for each indicator (X). The data demonstrate that only negligible part of the total effect of each indicator of socio-economic position on anti-immigrant attitudes is mediated by racial prejudice:

Table A1

	Indirect effect	Direct effect (controlling for racial prejudice)	Total effect
Education	-0.017	-0.284	-0.301
Insufficient income	0.01	0.159	0.169
Blue collar occupations	0.013	0.234	0.247

Paths a and b in implemented procedures could be overestimated, thus the tests provides us with most conservative results to demonstrate that barely any portion of the effect of socio-economic position on anti-immigrant attitudes were mediated by racial prejudice.

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