

***The Political Voice of Xenophobes
and the Ethno-discriminated in Europe***

**Irina Tomescu-Dubrow
Kazimierz M. Slomczynski**

IFiS PAN, CONSIRT – OSU PAN

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Polska na tle Europy: Kontynuacje i zmiany**

Two groups

1. People who feel discriminated against because of their ethnicity

2. People who espouse xenophobic attitudes

Both groups operate in relation to the rest of society – those who are not feeling ethno-discriminated or xenophobic.

To understand the patterns of the two groups' political engagement means taking the rest of society as the reference point.

Dependent Variables

Two types of behavior that are explicitly political:

a) Participation in lawful demonstrations in last 12 months

Dummy: 1 = yes, 0 = no

Range: 2% (Finland) – 14% (France)

b) Working for political parties or other organizations in last 12 months

- worked in a political party or action group
- worked in another organization or association

Dummy: 1 = yes on any of the two items; 0= no.

Range: 5% (Slovenia) - 37% (Sweden)

Perceived ethno-discrimination

“An ethnic group refers sociologically to an overlap between patterns of (positive or negative) recognition and of resource allocation (p. 102)” and culture is a main differentiator between groups (including minority-majority) – Crowley, 2001.

ESS ∈ 5 items related to feelings of ethno-discrimination based on:

- color/race**
- nationality**
- religion**
- language**
- ethnicity**

Dummy: 1 = feeling discriminated on min. one of the above; 0 = else.

Xenophobia

The intense dislike or fear of strangers or people from other countries

International Labour Office (ILO) International Organization for Migration (IOM) Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)

- can target national minorities derived from processes of state formation as well as ethnic groups derived from immigration

ESS ∈ many items dealing with rejection and exclusion of immigrants generally, and immigrants of different race/ethnic group than given country's majority

Classifying people as xenophobes

Stance of rejection of immigrants

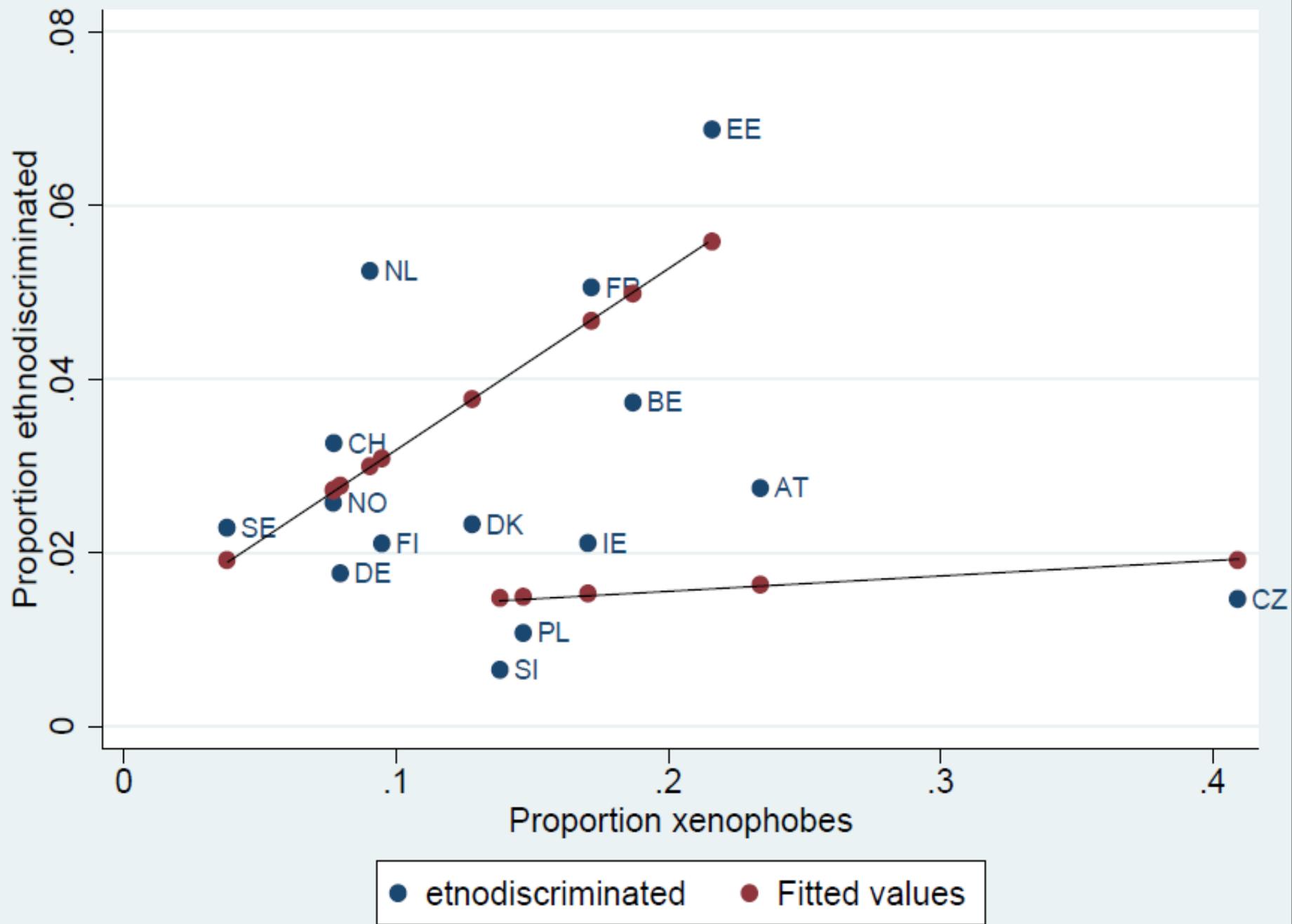
Construct:
Allow:
(1) no immigrants of different race or ethnic group than the majority and (2) no Jews, and (3) no Muslim, and (4) no Roma

Fear of consequences of immigrants' presence

Construct:
Immigrants are bad for country's: (1) economy and (2) cultural life, and (3) place of living, and (4) jobs, and (5) safety, (6) and religious practices, and (7) welfare

Keeping social distance to immigrants

Construct:
Minds (1) having close relative marrying an immigrant from different race or ethnic group than the majority, and (2) having a boss from the same category



Theoretical Background - I

Marginalization (social exclusion) theory (Sen 2000, Crowley 2001).

Small groups in democratic systems are exposed to specific risks of marginalization, especially if they have distinctive interests embedded in patterns of prejudice emanating from the majority (Crowley 2001:103).

Social exclusion involves discrimination against individuals and groups based on one/many different social attributes or elements of social identity (Landman 2006)

Ethno-discrimination as a basis for exclusion. Even if exclusion is constructed reality, it will affect how actors express themselves politically because it defines actors' (perceived) needs and interests.

Xenophobes = minority group; loss of prestige /status following structural modernization processes and ensuing perceptions of relative deprivation make people who experience these conditions feel left out, and adopt right-wing values and behaviors (Koopmans and Statham 2000). Radical right populist discourse that frequently chides the political establishment for its exclusion of “true” citizens can encourage feelings of marginalization among xenophobes.

Marginalization can lead to political action Estivill (2003) or can undermine capacity for collective action (Gough & Eisenschitz 2006:131; Burchardt, Grand & Piachaud 1999)

Theoretical Background - II

Group conflict theory: categorization processes in social perception and interaction shape individual and group identity and create intergroup tensions (Tajfel & Turner 1979; 1986; Turner and Oaks 1986) .

People, and the groups they identify with, have real historical and current relations to each other. Relations turn into conflict when there is (real or perceived) competition for resources, including political power (Blalock 1967).

Group conflict also occurs when there are perceived threats to group position and fundamental cultural values (Sherif 1953; Bobo 1983; Jackson 1993; Esses, Jackson & Armstrong 1998; Baumeister & Vohs 2007).

Koopmans and Statham (2000), in discussing migration, ethnic minorities, and xenophobia, speak of the “the increasingly acute and conflicting political aspirations – often diametrically opposed of actors entering the field” (p. 14)

Ethnic conflict approach applied primarily to explaining voting for right-wing parties in Europe (Lubbers et al. 2002; Fennema 2005, Koopmans et al. 2005; Rydgren 2006b in Rydgren 2007).

To political behavior other than voting (for US) - Lieghley & Vedlitz (1999)

Hypotheses

H I: In comparison with the core of society, persons who feel ethno-discriminated are more likely to participate in demonstrations, while xenophobes are less likely to do so, other things being equal.

H II: Feelings of ethno-discrimination increase one's odds of working with civil society, that is, political parties or other organizations. We expect that people holding xenophobic attitudes would be less likely than the mainstream to do so.

	Participation in lawful public demonstrations, y = ln (p/1 – p)		
	B	SE	Odds Ratios
Ethno-discriminated	.701*	.109	2.015
Xenophobes	-.284*	.072	.753
Constant	-2.795	.026	-
LRChi2 (2) = 56.09 LL = -6988.45 N = 27,979 AIC = 13942.89 BIC = 13967.61			
	Working for Political Parties, Associations or Organizations, y = ln (p/1 – p)		
	B	SE	Odds Ratios
Ethno-discriminated	-.116	.087	.890
Xenophobes	-.824*	.049	.439
Constant	-1.152	.016	-
LRChi2 (2) = 333.82 LL = -14602.55 AIC = 29211.11 BIC = 29235.82 N = 27,963 * p < .01			

Differences between Ethno-discriminated and Xenophobes according to background characteristics

	Ethno-discriminated	Xenophobes	Difference
Gender (Male = 1) (proportion)	.49	.49	ns
Age =< 35 (proportion)	.44	.23	sig
Age => 67 (proportion)	.09	.23	sig
Education (years)	13.1	12.0	sig
Household income (deciles)	4.7	4.8	ns
Citizenship (proportion)	.67	.96	sig

Differences btw. Ethno-discriminated and Xenophobes according to attitudes and opinions

	Ethno-discriminated	Xenophobes	Difference
Dissatisfaction with system ^a (z-scores)	.22	.41	sig
Perceived efficacy ^b (z-scores)	-.12	-.35	sig
Interest in politics (4-point scale)	2.4	2.2	sig
Trust in people ^c (z-scores)	-.33	-.32	ns

^a Factor of 3 items: dissatisfaction with government, economy & democracy (+ = dissatisfaction, - = satisfaction)

^b Factor of 4 items: ability to take active role in political group, confidence in own ability to participate in politics, ease of taking part in politics

^c Factor of 4 items: most people can be trusted, most people try to be fair, people mostly try to be helpful

	Participation in lawful public demonstrations		
	$y = \ln (p/1 - p)$		
	B	SE	Odds Ratios
Ethno-discriminated	.747*	.131	2.111
Xenophobes	-.175^	.096	.839
Gender (Male = 1)	-.033	.056	.967
Age =< 35	.346*	.061	1.414
Age => 67	-.537*	.093	.584
Education (years)	.044*	.008	1.045
Household income	-.022^	.011	.979
Citizenship	-.323*	.115	.724
Dissatisfaction	.290*	.035	1.337
Perceived efficacy	.481*	.037	1.617
Interest in politics	.415*	.039	1.514
Trust in people	.138*	.042	1.147
Gini (2012)	-.061	.072	.941
Population/1000	.012^	.007	1.012
Constant	-2.885	1.849	-
Var = .234 SD = .098			
WaldChi2 (13) = 791.09 LL = -5052.14 AIC = 10136.29 BIC = 10265.24			
N _{Countries} = 14 N _{individuals} = 23,373 * p < .01 ^ p < .10			

	Working for Political Parties, Associations or Organizations		
	$y = \ln(p/1 - p)$		
	B	SE	Odds Ratios
Ethno-discriminated	.244#	.103	1.276
Xenophobes	-.223*	.056	.800
Gender (Male = 1)	.084#	.033	1.088
Age =< 35	-.183*	.040	.833
Age => 67	.198*	.045	1.217
Education (years)	.043*	.005	1.044
Household income	.027*	.007	1.027
Citizenship	.440*	.083	1.553
Perceived efficacy	.520*	.021	1.683
Interest in politics	.278*	.023	1.320
Trust in people	.105*	.024	1.111
GDP (ln)	.813*	.232	2.254
Population/1000	.006	.005	1.006
Constant	-12.128	2.498	-
Var = .188 SD = .073			
WaldChi2 (13) = 1968.69 LL = -11806.33 AIC = 23642.65 BIC = 23764.94			
N_{Countries} = 14 N_{individuals} = 25,652 * p < .01, # p < .05			

Conclusions

Usefulness of marginalization theory and group conflict theory, taken together, for hypothesizing how the (perceived) ethno-discriminated and the xenophobes would differ from mainstream society with respect to participating in legal demonstrations, and working for political parties or other organizations.

Inclusion contextual variables that describe “opportunities for action”, e.g. substantial presence of right-wing parties and the strength of the multicultural environment.

Larger geographical coverage and longer time span would enrich knowledge on political engagement of persons who feel ethno-discriminated and of xenophobes