



Deconstructing and Reconstructing Attitudes Towards Immigrants

The Case of Sweden

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Abstract

Host societies' attitudes towards immigrants in Europe has continuously been getting attention in recent decades of increased levels of globalization, as attitudes determine the levels of immigrants' integration. This, in turn, has a huge influence on social cohesion so important for the functioning of peaceful and just societies. While Sweden has proved itself as an exception both in terms of open attitudes and integration policies, a recent increase in popularity of the right-wing populist party makes the attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden worth investigating. The presented study argues that distinguishing between sociopsychological and socioeconomic dimensions of attitudes is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. Employing the data from 2017 wave of European Values Survey, the study examines the determinants of attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden, and to what extent they differ in determining different dimensions of attitudes. The theoretical assumptions about different dimensions in attitudes are also confirmed by the method of principal components analysis. Results show that the most variance in attitudes is explained when both sociopsychological and socioeconomic dimensions of attitudes are accounted for, and finds more support for sociopsychological, rather than socioeconomic theories.

Key words: Attitudes towards immigrants, immigrant integration policies, quantitative methods, social economy and social psychology, Sweden

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“It is in the very nature of things human that every act that has once made its appearance and has been recorded in the history of mankind stays with mankind as a potentiality long after its actuality has become a thing of the past”.

Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil

Hannah Arendt (1963)

Prologue

Opening this study with the words of Hanna Arendt from her *Report on the Banality of Evil* does not serve to predict the approaching of dystopian future of Nazi dictatorship, mass murder and genocide, or alike. It is to intensify the importance of the major issue of concern in this piece – the attitudes towards immigrants – that are fed by or feed immigration and immigrant integration policies. And as Arendt, similarly to many others, argued that little was done until it was too late because no one would imagine what happened was even possible, so it seems since then that humanity will never allow it to happen again. Hopefully not, but the increased influence of right-wing nationalist, anti-immigrant forces in Europe puts increased demand on society and political actors to be vigilant, even where being vigilant seems less in need.

List of Abbreviations

EU	European Union
GCA	General (Combined) Attitudes
M	Moderate Party
SD	Sweden Democrats
SAP	Social Democratic Party
SEA	Socioeconomic Attitudes
SPA	Sociopsychological Attitudes
UN	United Nations

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1 Introduction

Since the second half of the past century, globalization, economic crises, conflicts, wars, and other human-made or natural disasters that were followed by mass migration, mass displacements and refugee crises, put the issues of migration high up on national, regional and international political agendas in European Union and its member states among them. And with the increase of immigration, host societies on the one hand, and immigrants on the other, increasingly faced the issues of integration, of being accepting and being accepted. Consequently, together with managing migration, managing integration and respective policymaking has been receiving increased attention.

But if in post-war Europe the shortage of the labour force was one of the reasons that led to open policies for low-skilled labour migration from post-colonial countries, as well as poorer countries of Eastern and Southern Europe, in later years economic stagnation led to increased resistance towards immigrants across Europe. This has often been translated into increased support for anti-immigrant parties or even violence towards immigrants. In this light, there has been growing critic against integration policies for undermining social cohesion in European societies and creation of “ethnic underclass” that do not feel integrated into mainstream cultures (Kim and Byun, 2019). In this sense, one can think of *subaltern immigrants* that are subject to segregation, inequality, and discrimination even where strong institutions and justice system is to be preventing this. But economic processes are not the only explanations behind this. Arguing that liberal democracies face a serious long-term challenge of integrating the immigrant minorities, Fukuyama (2010) links this issue to identity politics, that while claiming to celebrate pluralism and multiculturalism, national identity still exists in contemporary liberal democracies. This links logically with the suggestion that expression of racial prejudice became more subtle in modern European societies with the changes in socio-political climate, and presenting oneself as non-prejudiced is socially and politically correct. But this does not necessarily mean that covert manifestations of racial prejudice also declined (Akrami et al, 2000). And even when positive attitudes are a norm, underneath it “lies the political act of othering” (Bevelander and Ottebeck, 2010, p. 420). These processes make the issue of

immigrant integration a concern of development, and especially the sustainable development goal (10) of reducing inequalities within and among countries, as well as goal (16) of promoting peaceful and inclusive societies, among others. This incorporates “the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status”, and respective policymaking (UN, 2015, p. 21). Often discrimination, exclusionism, xenophobia, etc. that makes integration of immigrants difficult, negatively affecting the social cohesion that is crucial for society’s well-being and development, stems from host societies’ negative attitudes. Thus, monitoring attitudes in a comprehensive manner is crucial for policy-makers to deal with the challenges created by anti-immigrant attitudes (Cohrs and Stelzl, 2010; Marozzi, 2016; Rustenbach, 2010).

Although increased immigration has been quite a general trend in Europe in recent decades, events have not developed with the same sequence and scenarios in every country. While Scandinavian countries have received relatively limited immigrants compared to other European states, Sweden, that is a case of the presented study, has been receiving one of the highest numbers of immigrants per capita, even more so following the recent refugee crises (Olwig, 2011). Having generous asylum policies, and ranking one of the highest in Europe with positive attitudes towards immigration, Sweden has been one of the most open countries to immigrants over the past decade (Heath and Richards, 2019). Although things seem to be changing recently, with the anti-immigration party of Sweden Democrats (SD) gaining more and more voters for the most recent election of 2018. Considering that anti-immigration sentiments were at the core of the far-right SD’s political campaign, increased support from Swedish voters that led the party to poll 17.5% in 2018 compared to 5.7% in 2010 elections, winning them 62 seats in the parliament, might be indicating to increased negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration among Swedes. Moreover that not even two decades ago it was quite unimaginable for a far-right party to have such a presence in Sweden (Demker, 2007), and until recently Sweden has been acknowledged internationally as a model of egalitarian, multicultural, tolerant welfare society, an *exceptionalist* model for the rest of the world to follow (Schierup and Alund, 2011). Thus, it is interesting to see to what extent can Swedish policymaking in this regard still be an example for the rest of Europe, as well as to what extent society’s attitudes are sustainable. On the other hand, the Swedish case raises another question, such as have attitudes been so positive, or is it

because they have not been studied comprehensively? The fact is that the attitude studies have been widely concentrated on the socioeconomic dimension, measuring immigrants perceived impact on the labour market, welfare system, crime rates, etc. This makes it reasonable that in a country with high economic development and with the status of being safe, attitudes towards immigrants measured in these terms, are highly positive. Hence, there seems to be a need for investigating non-socioeconomic dimensions of attitudes and their influencers.

Acknowledging there is more to it than this study can address, an attempt is made to add one piece to the puzzle of attitude formation. In this light, the presented study aims to investigate the factors influencing Swedes' attitudes towards immigrants through investigating different dimensions of attitudes built upon different theories. The study argues that there are at least two dimensions - *sociopsychological* and *socioeconomic* - in attitudes that need to be investigated separately through a broad spectrum of predictors in order to draw a more comprehensive picture of attitudes towards immigrants. In doing so, the study has the ambition to make a theoretical and methodological contribution in attitude studies by testing the existing theories in the field not only through potentially influential factors, but through the new (experimental) methodological approach of developing different scales. In this sense, Sweden, on the one hand, is a case for examining the new methodological approach, while on the other, the methodology was inspired by the Swedish case and is applied to investigate attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden. Thus, the **research questions** of the study are as follows:

Q1: What are the factors influencing Swedes' attitudes towards immigrants coming to live in Sweden?

Q2: How do, if at all, those factors differ in influencing different dimensions of attitudes?

To answer these questions, (i) theoretical and methodological strengths and weaknesses of attitude studies are established through review of the previous works on the issue, (ii) theoretical framework is established in an attempt to narrow the existing gaps, (iii) derived hypotheses are systematically tested using quantitative methods, (iv) findings in terms of influential factors are analysed against theories, and methodological contribution made by the development of attitudes' scales, and its implication for policymaking, as well as for future studies, are discussed.

2 Literature Review

Considering the study is concerned with the attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden, as well as with the theoretical and methodological strengths and limitations of explaining those, the reviewed literature focuses mostly on research in political science, social psychology, sociology, ethnic, racial and migration studies, etc. These works investigate attitudes towards immigrants generally, or towards different groups of immigrants (based on their ethnicity, religion, refugee status, etc.) in Swedish or broader European and/or Western context, using different theoretical and methodological approaches. Furthermore, as presented study uses a quantitative method, the initial focus is on quantitative literature using the cross-country public opinion surveys, such as ESS or EVS, but certain qualitative studies are included as well. Reviewed studies are the ones published in peer-reviewed journals in different disciplines. This is by no means an exhaustive review of every possible approach and theory, but rather an attempt to spot the major trends and multiple developments in theory and methods.

2.1 Theoretical Approaches

When it comes to theorizing formation of attitudes towards immigrants, quite a few theories and approaches have been developed since the 1950s-1960s. Scholars have taken lots of different angles, looked at different factors or combinations of those in order to explain the complex phenomenon of attitude formation. Authors (Strabac and Listhaug, 2008; Tajfel, 1982) who review the development of approaches to attitude studies state that after the WWII when issues of intergroup relations were getting increased attention, the field was dominated by *individual* approaches. With an increased understanding that this approach was not enough to understand the complex issue, there was a slow transition to group approaches, arguing that the regional and cross-national differences could not be explained only by compositional differences in psychological characteristics. This led to the emergence of a sociocultural approach viewing prejudice

through socialization, norms conformity, and historical processes. Prejudiced attitudes were seen as irrational, having almost no real social or economic basis.

Today, two approaches - socioeconomic and sociopsychological – have been proven the most influential (Ceobanu and Escandell, 2010; Fitzgerald et al, 2012; Reicher et al, 2010; Strabac and Listhaug, 2008). Nevertheless, although sociopsychological approaches dominated the field in the second half of the past century, more recently socioeconomic approaches seem to preside. And if a few decades ago the need of going beyond psychological explanations was advocated by scholars, now it is a necessity of going beyond economic approaches deemed insufficient that is increasingly endorsed (Cain, Citrin and Wong, 2000; Hopkins, 2010; Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown, 2011). Sometimes it seems hard to even find the exact boundaries between these two broad approaches due to numerous interpretations, but an attempt is made to briefly overview them, while more detailed discussion and implications for the study are presented in section establishing the theoretical framework.

A number of theories, such as *social identity*, *self-categorization*, *intergroup emotion*, *social learning*, *shared reality*, *contact*, *cultural marginality theories*, etc., have emerged in the realm of **sociopsychological approach**, and are mostly concerned with cultural threat, beliefs, values, intergroup relations, etc. The major claim made is that individuals tend to differentiate one's own group by forming discriminative and prejudiced attitudes towards *other*. Reicher et al. (2010) argue based on the extensive literature review that this approach has proven to be enormously influential in social psychology, but one of the most extensive usages outside its realm is political science.

Contact theories argue that attitudes can change with increased contact with outgroup members (Card et al, 2005; Fitzgerald et al, 2012; Fussell, 2014; Hopkins, 2010; Oliver and Wong, 2003; Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown, 2011). Some argue that it is hard to determine what kind of contact is needed, although studies have shown that friendships are the strongest ties influencing attitudes towards *other* (Bevelander and Otterbeck, 2010). Mansson and Dahlander (2010) find that workplace interaction increases positive attitudes towards guest workers, although authors acknowledge that not all kinds of interactions can have a positive impact and lead to integration, that contact will not always have similar outcomes. Related to the ethnic diversity of communities, *societal*

attachment hypothesis argues that interpersonal trust also affects the attitudes towards *other* (Rustenbach, 2010). Although certain theories under the same approach, such as *halo effect* and *defended neighbourhoods theories*, does not necessarily see the same impact of contact, claiming that attitudes are more negative not in areas densely populated by immigrants, but in close proximity to it (Bevelander and Otterbeck, 2010; Rydgren and Ruth, 2013).

Another approach under the same umbrella is *social/intergroup norm theory* concerned with group norms and intergroup relations, claiming that individuals' attitudes and behaviour are influenced by perceptions on contextually bound social norms. That is, host societies usually adopt normatively desirable behaviour and are more expected to express pro-immigrant attitudes when tolerance is a social norm in a given society (Özdemir et al, 2018). This theory is also linked to works examining country's integration policies serving as *institutionalized norms* in relation to attitudes towards immigrants (Hooghe and de Vroome, 2015a; Hooghe and de Vroome, 2015b; Kim and Byun, 2019). While *eclectic perspective*, although shares the assumptions regarding norms, inclines more towards socioeconomic approach (discussed below) in arguing that whenever the norm, socioeconomically disadvantaged population will still be prone to anti-immigrant attitudes (Esses et al., 2005; Kunovich, 2004). Overall, cross-country studies support the *group norm* perspective showing that multiculturalist and inclusive integration policies lead to greater tolerance towards immigrants.

What lacks the emphasis in these studies is that institutionalized norms can also lead to increased social desirability bias, thus it is hard to argue whether those norms are actually deeply rooted in attitudes or the results are due to socially desirable reporting or political correctness. Moreover, as Kim and Byun (2019) argue, cross-country studies in this respect limit the scope of the analysis and individual country contexts need to be studied more thoroughly. This might be an important point in studying attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden that has one of the most multiculturalist approaches to immigrant integration, considering also that previous studies have shown Swedes' preference towards more assimilationist policies (Demker, 2007).

Another most influential group of theories constituting the **socioeconomic approach** are also rarely straightforward and have been modified in many ways in hands of different

scholars into the *economic threat*, *group threat*, *group position model*, *symbolic or perceived threat*, *group conflict*, *power imbalance* or *ethnic competition theories*, etc. But their leitmotif is that when competition for scarce material resources is high, or when society feels or actually is economically vulnerable, immigrants are perceived as a threat to native's economic well-being and social privilege, and that this affects different domains of society, such as labour market, housing and welfare (Özdemir et al, 2018; Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Pardos-Prado, 2011; Ceobanu and Escandell, 2010; Meulemen et al, 2009). Even when complex individual factors are not necessarily checked, studies confirm that low indicators on country level economic measures, such as employment rates and GDP, leads to more negative attitudes towards immigrants (Meuleman et al, 2009). After reviewing cross-country studies on attitudes towards immigrants, Munck et al. (2018) also state that some findings show more negative attitudes when unemployment among immigrants are higher, while in other cases it is country level unemployment that showed causal relationship, although they acknowledge that different operationalization of outcome variables might also be affecting these findings. Strabac and Listhaug (2008) argue quite the opposite that when only country level predictors are used, less support for the *group conflict theories* is found. One thing that these authors agree upon is that the explanatory power of theories is often determined by variables used in the analysis.

In certain cases, literature finds that socioeconomic factors are at the core of attitude formation, but that sociopsychological factors also have a play, and are thus seen as complementary to the former. Scheepers et al. (2002) for instance, argue that under competitive conditions that are defined by *realistic conflict theories*, the processes identified by *social identity theory* may intensify. Thus they claim to be combining these two into *ethnic competition theory*, which hypothesizes that competition both at an individual as well as at a societal level, reinforces the mechanism of social (contra) identification that translates into ethnic exclusionism. This implies that whenever the ethnic threat arises, be it macro or micro social-economic conditions, the reaction of the majority groups will be exclusionary measures. Esses et al. (2005) offers the modified version of this theory, a *unified instrumental model of group conflict*, with the similar basic assumptions, although linking conflict with host society's motivation to control the resources, and is not thus necessarily attached to one's socioeconomic status.

Whichever approach used, some authors argue that attitude formation is influenced by processes on an individual, group/societal, and structural or international levels and the interplay between these might be generating different effects in different countries (Belevander and Otterbeck, 2010; Cohrs and Stelzl, 2010). Thus, they suggest that further conceptual work is needed to develop theories that account for the interplay of those multilevel processes. Most commonly, individual level predictors accounted for are demographic and economic ones, exposure to and trust in media, generalized trust, religion and religiosity, ideological predispositions, etc. Country level predictors are usually an experience of interaction with outgroups, immigrant group size, the proportion of immigrants in a particular society, national policy discourse or immigrant integration policies, etc. While structural level attitudes usually are ones like historical context, colonial legacy, ongoing international social and political processes. Often the majority of these predictors are not linked to theoretical frameworks at all. For instance, Rustenbach (2010) links education that is one of the commonly used predictors, to *human capital theory*, arguing that educated natives have less feeling of competition for jobs, or that it develops international outlook and increases openness, while the theoretical basis is seldom mentioned in other studies in relation to this predictor. Quite similarly, the impact of *exposure to media per se* is not derived from any theory but has been found influential depending on what kind (emphasizing economic, cultural, security or other issues in a negative or positive light, for instance) and how much information is provided about immigrants generally or about certain groups of immigrants, in a number of studies (Poli et al., 2017).

Last but not least, it should be acknowledged that due to the complexity of the issue, studies rarely employ a single theoretical explanation, although sometimes theoretical framework is derived from single approach (Knudsen, 1997; Marozzi, 2016; Özdemir et al., 2018; Strabac and Listhaug, 2008; Waisman and Larsen, 2016), or both abovementioned approaches (Bevelander and Ottebeck, 2010; Cohrs and Stelzl, 2010; Kim and Byun, 2019; Rustenbach, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2002; Schneider, 2008). However, this often determines the selection of both dependent and independent variables, and these methodological implications are overviewed and discussed below. And while theories going beyond individual factors cannot inform the selection of predictors for the presented study, it is important to acknowledge them to better analyse the possible limitations of this thesis.

2.2 Methodological Approaches

As mentioned above, quantitative approaches are dominant in studying attitudes towards immigrants, although qualitative approaches are also used, mainly to propose the immigrants' perspectives on host society's attitudes towards them, or to analyse the integration policies. This being said, the aim of the methodological overview is not to discuss specific methods, but rather to see how above discussed theoretical approaches are translated into research methods and design, and especially in attitudes' measures and selection of variables included in the analysis.

In most of the literature theoretical framework seems to be employed for the selection of predictors rather than attitudes' measures. That is, usually, several theories are used to look at a wider range of predictors, but a theoretical base of dependent variables are seldom discussed (Bevelander and Otterbeck, 2010; Ceobanu and Escandell, 2010; Coninck et al, 2019; Demker, 2007; Hooghe and de Vroome, 2015*b*; Knudsen, 1997; Rustenbach, 2010; Strabac et al., 2014; Waisman and Larsen, 2016).

Some authors though recognize theoretical reasoning behind indexes they develop. Marozzi (2016) argues that questions whether immigrants take away jobs from natives or not, whether they increase crime problems, are a strain on the welfare system, etc. are measuring the socioeconomic threat, and only analyses it through socioeconomic predictors. Some authors (Miklikowska, 2016; Özdemir et al., 2018; Zalk and Kerr, 2014; Zalk et al., 2013) find it inappropriate to assume that tolerance and xenophobia are two opposite ends of the same dimension. Instead, they argue that these are two related yet distinct dimensions and are influenced in distinct ways, and thus, offer distinct scales for measuring each of those. Although the reasoning behind the item selection (that almost repeats the usual measures found in other studies reviewed here) is hardly justified. Others (Kim and Byun, 2019; Munck et al, 2018), for instance, are interested specifically in the equality issue and develop an index on attitudes towards equal rights for ethnic minorities that they examine through country's policy context for immigrant integration and individual level socioeconomic status. Although not seeking the theoretical explanations behind those, Cohrs and Stelzl (2010) derive several different attitudes'

measures from their extensive literature review, such as *modern prejudice*, *classical prejudice*, *general prejudice*, *positive and/or negative stereotype*, *social distance/desire for proximity*, *acculturation demands*. This once more indicates how wide is the attitudes' spectrum and how most of the studies give us just a partial picture. In a similar manner, although studying specifically labour market discrimination, Mansson and Dahlander (2010) group attitudes in separate dimensions, such as *general immigrant attitude*, *labour market attitudes*, *performance and work morale attitudes*, etc. Probably closest to the reasoning behind the presented study is Callens and Meuleman's (2017) work to distinguish different dimensions of threat (which in its turn, is only one aspect of attitudes) – economic, political, cultural, security, and welfare. Although they only select economic and cultural threat, measure each with a single item rather than with composite ones, and analyse them through limited predictors with a major focus on integration policies. Authors conclude that different predictors have different effects on these scales, and integration policies have more impact on economic rather than on cultural threat which leads to hypothesizing that cultural threat is more enduring and stable and harder to change through policy interventions. That said, others also find that fear of conflict over values and culture explain the interplay between outgroup size and attitudes towards them better than economic fears (Scneider, 2008).

Another interesting example is Strabac and Listhaug's (2008) study where the outcome variable is selected on well-defined conceptual basis of sociopsychological approach (social distance scale), although theoretical framework for the study is socioeconomic and predictors are mostly individual and country level economic indicators. While Snellman and Ekehammar (2005) study the *social distance* hypothesis through prejudice and social dominance. Although used in a general attitudes scale and in a different context by Demker (2007), items measuring the willingness of more personal social contacts, such as willingness to have an immigrant married to one's children, is seldom available in public opinion surveys or used in the analysis by researchers.

Scheepers et al. (2002) also use theoretical reasoning when building the scales they identify as *ethnic exclusionism*, and *perceived ethnic threat*, although they do not use those as outcome variables, but rather argue that *perceived ethnic threat* mediates the effects of social conditions on ethnic exclusionism. That is, they use a set of certain attitudes towards immigrants as mediators to another set of attitudes, concluding that

higher the perception of ethnic threat from outgroups, higher the opposition to granting them civil rights. Authors also acknowledge that actual and perceived threat has various sources but they could not go beyond socioeconomic ones and were not able to include factors such as cultural and historical conditions. Somewhat similarly, Knudsen (1997) takes no specifically defined scale of xenophobia and tests it through national identity predictors to find that aspects of national identity, such as *chauvinism* and *system legitimacy*, strongly affect the xenophobic attitudes.

Some authors dedicate quite an effort to describing methodological limitations when studying the attitude formation. Mansson and Dahlander (2010) stress that attitudes are shaped by experiences, as well as prejudices or combinations of those that make the measurement difficult. Moreover, such attitudes are not directly observable, thus it is difficult to prove that respondents reveal their true latent attitudes. They argue that large surveys like ESS will always have limitations due to insufficient number of categories when it comes to measuring attitudes, which is of great concern for policymaking aimed at reducing prejudice against immigrants. As Strabac et al. (2014) also argue, although much theoretical and empirical research has been devoted to determinants of anti-immigrant attitudes, there is no agreement on how to measure extent and intensity of those attitudes. While consensus on measurements is hard to reach, the issue of anti-immigrant attitudes in the majority of European countries that constitutes an important social and political problem is unanimously acknowledged.

Overall, the review of existing literature shows that both theoretical and methodological approaches differ a lot but what is rare to find is an attempt to draw a comprehensive picture on attitude formation by employing the major theoretical approaches to inform not only predictors but attitudes' measures as well. Thus, based on collected information, the study aims to contribute to filling that gap by employing the major theoretical approaches mentioned above in development of attitudes scales, as well as in selection of predictors to the extent that survey instrument allows. All the possible predictors that are not necessarily linked to specific theories but deemed influential in previous studies are also used.

3 Theoretical Framework and Study Hypotheses

Considering the study aims to show the comprehensive picture of attitudes, the approaches identified as the most influential – sociopsychological and socioeconomic ones - rather than narrower theories are analysed. As Tajfel (1982) argued several decades ago, intergroup relations (part of which is attitudes towards immigrants) “represent in their enormous scope one of the most difficult and complex knots of problems which we confront in our times”, so complex that their study is more a matter of approaches or perspectives rather than “tight theoretical articulations” (p.1).

Theoretical developments in the field were overviewed above in order to inform the analysis regarding factors influencing attitudes, as well as the possible limitations with this regard. The following chapter establishes the theoretical framework and offers more in-depth discussion informing not only possible factors but attitudes’ measures (distinction between *sociopsychological* and *socioeconomic* attitudes that are operationalized further below), as well as respective hypotheses. But it should be noted first to avoid the confusion over conceptualization of approaches that most of the theoretical traditions arise from social psychology, although depending on factors determining the attitudes, theories take either socioeconomic or sociopsychological stance.

3.1 Sociopsychological Approach

Sociopsychological approach derives mostly from the *social identity approach* and constitute mainly of *social identity* and *self-categorization theories*. It is mostly concerned with processes that surround the meaning and formation of social identity, with the ways individuals define themselves as members of a group. Approach has proven to be very powerful as a range of its application is quite broad, but this broadness

is also considered a danger that might lead to various misinterpretations (Reicher et al., 2010). So in this presentation of the approach the attempt will be made to stay focused only on the aspects concerned with explaining attitudes towards immigrants, but still presenting the general reasoning at the core of it that seek to discover individuals' social behaviour through interactions between psychological, social, and political processes.

Social identity theory was initiated in the 1960s in the realm of social psychology by Henri Tajfel and scholars studying the intergroup relations and trying to account for how social structures and belief systems affect human behaviour. Himself being a Jew in post-war Europe, Tajfel turned to the discipline obsessed with the question of how individuals' violent behaviour could have been explained by their group membership. His experiments showed how putting individuals in groups and manipulating competition resulted in intergroup violence. But studies from the same period, as well as ongoing social movements based on class, race, gender and sexuality that did not necessarily contain the elements of competition, led to rethinking the intergroup relations (ibid).

The starting point in Tajfel's reasoning was the realization that self does not only define the individual in relation to other individuals but is also defined through group one belongs to. Social identity is both individual and social simultaneously, as it is a relational term that defines an individual as a function of one's similarities and differences with others. It is shared and provides the basis for shared social behaviour, and is a product of shared past and present. Together with one's own individuality, identities such as gender, ethnicity, etc. are historical, cultural, and contested, is a "socially structured field within individual" (Reicher et al., 2010, p. 5). Thus, it explains how groups comprising of such individuals can act by reference to shared norms, values and beliefs. The simultaneous process of individual and social identification also implies that group identification does not arise from individual need. Rather it is as basic as individual identity, is as much real and carries as much importance. Thus, social identity is not merely a self-perception, it carries value and emotional significance and one's self-esteem is attached to group as much as one identifies with it. Social identity also implies that group identification is always comparative. That is, one will distinguish the group one identifies with from other groups in a way that is favourable to ingroup, individuals will "seek positive differentiation along valued dimensions of comparison" (ibid, p. 5). As these "valued

dimensions” practically determine the behavioural outcomes of group differentiation, they must be examined in context as they can by no means be universal.

In his review on the development of theories around social psychology of intergroup relations, Tajfel (1982) argues that intergroup relations are anchored not merely by *group identification* that is an internal process, but certain external consensus on the existence of the group is also necessary. In its turn, in order to identify with a group, two necessary components are to be at place: cognitive (awareness of membership), and evaluative (awareness is related to some value connotations). In this manner, individuals tend to categorize themselves in *in* and *out* groups that in its turn, stems from the need for a feeling of superiority. As a result, the more individual identifies with in-group, attitudes towards outgroup get more negative. Thus, Tajfel argues that negative attitudes towards immigrants are based on the cognitive processes of determining individuals’ belonging to ingroup and organizing around certain values such as national identity that explains the processes of anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism, and alike. Knudsen (1997) uses the *social identity theory* to explain the influence of national identity (as one of the forms of social identity) on attitudes towards immigrants. He argues that crises of the 1990s resulted in increased emphasis once again on a nation-state as a point of reference for individuals and groups. This, in turn, “spur cognitive and social mechanisms that create sharper lines between those who belong to such an entity and those who not” (p. 224). Such identities are historically and culturally determined, either grown from below or politically determined and/or manipulated. Knudsen argues that the concept of national identity encompasses two theoretically different but empirically linked aspects of *national chauvinism* (shared images and exclusiveness), and *regime legitimacy* (inclusion and openness).

Reicher et al. (2010) argue that probably the major limitation of the theory is the issue of *rational behaviour*. The notion of self-interest that underpins the dominant conception of rationality build around the notion of gain. However, considering above mentioned assumption that social identity has as much importance as individual identity, gain to ingroup might constitute a gain to (social) self, and this gain might vary from group to group. Thus, social identity might be a new basis for rationality. Another issue is one of *power*. Social identity is definitely a *power* that makes collective action possible, but how exactly this mechanism works remains vague. Due to this and other vagueness, theory

can be considered more an agenda setting rather than a final solution. Tajfel offers certain important implications for theorizing social identity but cannot explicitly explain conditions that determine their emergence. I would argue it is politics that explain the *how* question here, as once social identity exists, certain actors can find ways to translate that into collective action.

Limitations of *social identity theory* are overcome, Reicher et al. (2010) believe, by the *self-categorization theory* that provides more complete explanations over the distinctions of different levels of identification. Theory argues that (inter)personal behaviour “is not simply underpinned but also made possible by a salient personal identity, while (inter)group behaviour is both underpinned and made possible by a salient social identity” (p. 8). The crucial development from the previous model is that the group is seen not simply as an aggregation of individuals, but rather as a cognitive entity. Theory tries to address both consequences and antecedents of categorizing oneself as a group member. Simply put, this implies the process of depersonalization. Members of the group are seen as similar, the consequence of which is not only stereotyping others in terms of their group membership but stereotyping oneself as well. This ingroup stereotyping can at times become a reference point for group action, and there will be a source of influence that is “in position to be knowledgeable about group beliefs, norms and values” (p. 9). This does not imply though, that influence of the group always undermines rationality, that only lone individual can be rational. One establishes collective beliefs only in relation to others, it is through others that individual views are transformed into shared objective values, beliefs and behaviours.

Thus, self-categorization has important consequences both for individual and society. How one categorizes oneself and meaning one attaches to it determines social behaviour. One tends to organize individuals in categories because that is how they are organized in the real world. There are no universal predefined identities, the world varies and category salience with it, but fit principles remain important in defining the social categories. That is, a certain category has prior meaning and significance, and it becomes salient if one is psychologically predisposed to use it as a basis for perception and action. An example of such a fit principle can be a race. Racist categorization depends on the ability to use skin colour as “comparatively and normatively fitting basis for categorization” (Reicher et al., 2010, p. 11). To sum it up, what theory suggests is that analysing group in the individual

will help to understand the individual in the group. Although it made a substantial contribution, to argue that theory solved the issue of understanding the quality of group interactions, the nature and emotional intensity of group experiences would not be totally accurate.

As a general critic to sociopsychological approach, Bevelander and Otterbeck (2010) argue that it cannot explain diverse attitudes towards different outgroups, neither can it explain why certain individuals systematically have more negative attitudes than others. Indeed, Strabac and Listhaug (2008) argue that so called *ethnic hierarchies*, showing different levels of prejudice against different outgroups, have been observed in several countries, Sweden among them. Authors claim that ethnic hierarchy cannot be explained by single theory as it is motivated by different factors for different groups involved. It is though connected to ethnocentrism, belief in own cultural superiority, and so it is stereotypes about outgroups and ethnic prejudices that determine how socially desirable they are for the ingroup.

The implication of the theory for the presented study is that it raises the assumption about Swedes identifying themselves in a group based on nationality, shared beliefs and values. These assumptions are reflected upon attitudinal dimensions, as well as on potential determinants. But it should be noted here that *social identity theory* is not a theory of discrimination, although it examines the mechanisms that might be leading to discrimination, the same mechanism might work in the opposite direction (Reicher et al., 2010). This implies that depending on shared values, beliefs and norms of the ingroup, the attitudes towards outgroup can be positive as much as negative. Either way, the assumption is that sociopsychological factors will have higher explanatory power on attitudes related to group's shared experiences such as values, beliefs, culture, traditions, etc. Thus, the first hypothesis of the study is as follows:

H1: The sociopsychological factors will have higher explanatory power and explain more variance in sociopsychological attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden compared to socioeconomic factors.

3.2 Socioeconomic Approach

Socioeconomic approach dates back to 1950s-1960s and emerged in the realm of sociology, studying the societal causes of group conflict and conditions in which they arise, and assuming that real or perceived competition and conflict between groups over scarce material resources is what causes negative attitudes towards outgroups.

Realistic group conflict theory initiated by Sherif is considered to be a ground on which this and similar approaches emerged (Bevelander and Otterbeck, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2002). His experiments showed that competition between groups improves solidarity within a specific group and increases hostility towards other groups. These findings led him, Adorno, Campbell and others to theorize that attitudes and behaviour between groups are based on a desire to maintain status, privilege, power and resources. The threat is realistic once it is institutionalized, when status, prestige, rank or winning over resources is explicitly defined as a contest by social norms or situation. In studying such context, demographic relation between *in* and *out* groups, as well as the amount and availability of resources they are competing for, is to be taken into account.

Blalock extended the analysis by claiming that there was an analytical distinction between the actual and perceived competition. In the actual competition he referred to macro socioeconomic conditions, such as availability of resources and market mechanisms regulating the distribution of those, or micro level where individuals have to compete on the labour market, or else. He argued that these conditions might affect the majorities' perception of competition, increase the subjective perception of socioeconomic threat and project it on ethnic outgroups that might arise negative, hostile attitudes towards them (Scheepers et al., 2002).

Complementing the *realistic conflict theory* with *social identity theory*, Scheepers et al. (2002) developed the *ethnic competition theory*, proposing that under competitive conditions drawn by *realistic threat theory*, the processes of self-identification drawn by *social identity theory* might intensify. They summarize the approach by arguing that "competition at an individual, as well as at a contextual level, may reinforce the mechanisms of social (contra) identification, the eventual outcome of which is referred

to as ethnic exclusionism” (p. 18). That is, no matter whether the threat comes on a national level due to large immigration inflows or economic crises, or on more micro level due to competition for disadvantaged jobs, ingroup will still respond with exclusionary measures. Although membership in certain social categories inside ingroup makes certain individuals more prone to perceive ethnicity as a threat and develop negative attitudes than others. This is more prevalent when “economic niches” of members of different groups overlap and ingroup members feel urge to preserve not only group but individual status as well from the outgroup threat. Theory acknowledges the impact of education and settlement type as well by arguing that while immigrants usually have lower education and live in suburbs of the cities, ingroup members with similar characteristics will have a higher perception of threat. These assumptions also lead to one of the core proposition of the theory that size of outgroup has important bearing for the threat perception and larger the outgroup, more negative the attitudes will get towards it (Schneider, 2008). This symbolic threat to social and political power of dominant groups intensifies as immigration of new groups increases and these groups become more visible. And once there is a feeling that symbolic dominance is under threat, negative attitudes that might not directly be linked to economic factors, such as racial or religious otherness, start to be perceived as a threat as well.

Cohrs and Stelzl (2010) enrich the *group conflict theory* by linking it to Duckitt’s (2001) *dual-process model of ideology and prejudice*, hypothesizing that attitudes are linked to broader ideological beliefs as represented by right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO). RWA is a combination of three interrelated elements of (1) conventionalism (being in line with traditional societal norms), (2) authoritarian submission (obeying authority figures that represent those norms), and (3) authoritarian aggression (engagement with authorized aggression towards those violating societal norms). While SDO represents a preference for hierarchical relations among different groups in society, people high on SDO will not find the immigration policies that increase equality between groups appealing. Authors argue that both theories have been tested in empirical research finding that RWA and SDO definitely predict prejudice, with people high in RWA being negative when seeing immigrants as deviated from the established social order, norms and values, or collective security, while people high in SDO reacting negatively when perceiving immigrants to be on a lower position on a

societal ladder or potential competitors for resources. Difference in the influence of these two sets of predictors in different countries indicates that country context and country level predictors are crucial when interpreting the framework. The authors, for instance, find that RWA played an important role in explaining attitudes in Germany, while in Canada it was SDO. As Kim and Byun (2019) also argue in relation to *group conflict theory*, where integration policies are multiculturalist and inclusive, if immigrants' cultural practices come up against the dominant culture, citizens will tend to have more negative attitudes towards outgroups. In this sense, this approach crosses the sociopsychological theories but still considers the socioeconomic threat at the core of the attitude formation.

Still, measuring a set of attitudes by another set of attitudes that can theoretically be based on similar values, beliefs and perceptions, can be tricky. Indeed, while there is evidence that ideological beliefs predict attitudes, there is also evidence that where there is a high concentration of immigrants, or areas close to such immigrant-dense settlements, support for far-right parties is higher. Some even argue that emergence and establishment of the far-right parties are due to immigration scepticism, xenophobia and racism existing in societies, and that anti-immigration attitudes are strong predictors of right-wing voting (Rydgren and Ruth, 2013). Whatever the causality, this has an important implication for the presented study, as one of the reasons Sweden was selected as a case is increased voting to right-wing party. Thus, links between RWA aspects of the *group conflict theory* and attitudes towards immigrants are particularly interesting.

Either way, the implication of the socioeconomic approach for the study is that socially and economically vulnerable individuals are expected to have more negative attitudes towards outgroup when these attitudes are presented as a socioeconomic threat. Thus, the hypothesis that stems from this approach is as follows:

H2: The socioeconomic factors will have higher explanatory power and explain more variance in socioeconomic attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden compared to sociopsychological factors.

3.3 Integrated Approach

Overviewing the development of the theories on intergroup relations, Tajfel (1982) argued that in the world of increased global interdependence, future would bring even more need, and it will be one of the most important tasks, to learn more in the field of intergroup behaviour. And that psychological study of those, combined with other disciplines, would again need to be in the centre. The presented overview of the different approaches focusing on social, psychological, economic, and political drivers of attitudes is an attempt to do so. As also argued in the overview of the previous studies, combining different theories for the selection of predictors but not for the development of attitudes' scales, prevents to see the comprehensive picture. In an attempt of overcoming this limitation, at least partially, together with developing scales based on different dimensions of attitudes, and examining them through predictors deriving from both here mentioned approaches, the measure combining those dimensions into one general attitudinal scale is also offered. Here, considering that sociopsychological factors are found more durable in explaining the attitudes, the following hypothesis is offered:

H3: The most variance in attitudes towards immigrants is explained when both sociopsychological and socioeconomic dimensions are accounted for when developing attitudes' measures, although the sociopsychological factors will remain to have higher explanatory power and explain more variance in general attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden compared to socioeconomic factors.

Lastly, it should be noted again that certain aspects of the presented theories are not analysed due to the scope of the thesis (which is a single country and single period analysis), although those had to be discussed as they have important bearing for understanding the limitations of the study findings.

4 Research Design

To analyse the questions and hypotheses posed by the study, the **quantitative data and methods** are employed. Often the choice of method, acknowledged or not, is determined by the **philosophical scientific stance** of the researcher through ontological (theory of being) and epistemological (theory of knowledge) assertions. And as there are multiple scientific paradigms within those, so is there no agreement on the relationship between the two. Still, if ontology is related to the nature of the social and political world, epistemology relates to what one can know about it. Epistemology is thus concerned with making sense of ontology, while on the other hand, it is hard to have a theory on knowledge without at least slight idea about the nature of the world (Marsh et al., 2018). Seen through this lens, from the ontological perspective, the study takes an *objectivist/realist* stance, although being more inclined towards tradition in ontology entailing a probabilistic, rather than an absolutist account of causality.

This ontological stance is related to *realist* epistemological stance influenced a lot by Marxist ideas, but also by *logical positivist* views on deduction and generalizability, and sharing a lot with *relativism*, concerned with establishing causal relationships between social phenomena and developing explanatory models. Still, it is also emphasized that many aspects of relationships between social phenomena cannot be observed. In methodological terms, *realist* standpoint sees quantitative data appropriate for studying those relationships that are directly observable, while not directly observable relationships can be studied through qualitative data. *Realist* position often sees a dichotomy between reality and appearance, arguing that certain phenomena reflect material reality, while others are perceived and manipulated by social forces (Marsh and Furlong, 2018). Further, it is argued that contemporary *critical realism* has been influenced by *interpretist* critique positioning that while social phenomena exist independently of our interpretation, the way it is interpreted still affects outcomes, and that knowledge cannot be absolute. Hence, it is necessary to identify the external reality, as well as socially constructed reality, in order to explain relationships between social phenomena (ibid).

This being said, the presented study is concerned with directly observable causal relationships between attitudes and other social phenomena. Although the initial design that was not possible to launch because of the current pandemic situation and time constraints, was to employ the mixed methodology in order to account for relationships impossible to observe with quantitative data as well.

4.1 Case Selection

Although the major reasons for case selection were presented above briefly, it should be stated here once again that Sweden inspired the study design in at least two ways, both connected to increased support for SD. That is, (1) the discrepancy between reported positive attitudes towards immigrants on the one hand, and increased voting to anti-immigration political forces on the other, raised the question whether attitudes have been adequately studied, and (2) being highly developed and economically advanced country, with one of the most generous immigration policies in Europe, the question is raised whether existing theoretical explanations are sufficient in individual contexts such as this. Thus, the presented case study has methodological implications that can potentially contribute to filling the gap in attitude research and test the existing theories. These contributions, in turn, have implications for integration policies, that affect host society's view on and degree of immigrants' acceptance, as already mentioned, but also more broadly discussed below in Swedish context.

Thus, the following sub-section provides more background for understanding the immigration and respective attitudes in Sweden. Most of the literature, whatever the factors examined, be it particularly on Sweden or cross-country analysis, show that attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden are one of the most positive in Europe (Coninck et al, 2019; Marozzi, 2016; Demker, 2007). But as everything is relative, relatively good does not mean good enough in many cases. And indeed, this case description, although brief, still shows tendencies that make Sweden worth investigating (alongside already mentioned reasons).

Similarly to other Scandinavian countries, Sweden experienced extensive out-migration until the 1970s. Since that point, immigration to Sweden increased dramatically, specially inflow of unskilled labour needed in industry. This process determined the emergence of liberal immigration policies that Sweden has maintained since then. Although if groups arriving between the 1950s and 1970s were more welcome due to labour demand, ones arriving after 1980s when the need had decreased, were more perceived as a burden on welfare (Olwig, 2011). Olwig states that welfare system provided an important framework for incorporating immigrants into Scandinavian societies, while they were expected, in turn, to actively participate as workers and taxpayers in the functioning of the Nordic model. Towards this end, immigrants have been subjected to integration policies based on the Scandinavian notion of equality that was supposed to serve their quest for developing a sense of belonging. In doing so, integration has become an “emic term denoting the ability to conform to social norms and cultural values defined in dominant discourse as basic to proper citizenship..., a powerful notion, designating who belongs – and by implication who does not belong – in society (p. 180). Olwig argues that instead of embracing multiculturalism, increased immigration was causing “cultural anxiety” that was “not innocent” but highly racialized. This led to integrative measures with a strong tendency to assimilation, highly centred on acquiring an adequate modicum of “Swedishness”, and equality being interpreted as *sameness*.

While the multiculturalist policies have been criticized for its flaws, Schierup and Alund (2011) argue they have been in many ways exceptional, although this exceptionalism was coming to an end. Being “caught up” with neoliberal globalization and process of segregation, racial exclusion and poverty related to it, multiculturalism, he argues, is transforming into a “bureaucratically managed *tower of Babel*” (p. 48). Immigrants, especially the most disadvantaged ones, have been concentrated into suburban housing areas in the peripheries that have evolved into stigmatized territories with a reputation for the social problems, where “otherness and poverty go together” (p. 51), while the proportions of socially marginalized Swedish majority gradually diminished. That fear of spreading deviance was seen as a threat to Swedish fundamental values of democracy and human rights. State’s response to these fears was to express the need of extending the sense of belonging and shared vision to those living “outside society” in order to secure social cohesion. Together with policies, authors see a responsibility of media in

stigmatizing multi-ethnic suburban areas, focusing on high unemployment, vandalism, crime, and immigrants dependency on welfare, although much of the discourse is pushed behind political correctness in the name of “liberal core values”. This failure of the state to integrate was continuously referred by political right as the failure of the “nanny state” that turns new Swedish citizens into “passive and culturally deviant welfare clients” (p. 54).

Mentioning the political right, the increased popularity of Sweden’s SD was one of the determinants of case selection for this study, as noted above several times. Having roots in neo-Nazi movement of the 1980s, and emerging from the organization known as “Keep Sweden Swedish”, during the last two decades party made a gradual shift from biological racism and was able to build up a strong network throughout local communities (Bo et al., 2018; Schierup and Alund, 2011). Rydgren and Ruth (2013) argue that party established itself next to relatively well-established European populists that share a fundamental core of so called *ethnopluralist doctrine*, ethno-nationalist xenophobia, the major target of which are immigrants of non-European origin. Bo et al. (2018) argue that SD often warns of “Islamization” of Swedish cities and communities. Considering it is projected that as a consequence of migration the majority of the population in Sweden will be Muslim or of non-native descent by 2065, while comparable figures for other countries are below 20% (Coninck et al., 2019), such warnings might seem to have a realistic ground for the part of society.

Bo et al. (2018) associate grown support to SD to policy reforms of 2006 that expanded the income gap between different segments of the population. They argue that naturally occurring shocks tend to shift politics towards extremes, and although this will eventually pass, the effect it has on society might be more enduring. It is hard to know what impact these processes had on attitudes, as it is not directly established in these studies. On the other hand, and linking back to relativity of positive attitudes, studies have found that immigrants, especially non-European youth and so called visible immigrants in Sweden, are more likely to feel isolated and separated from the mainstream society, socially rejected, and ethnically harassed (Özdemir et al, 2018; Özdemir et al, 2016).

When it comes to immigrants’ labour market participation, Waisman and Larsen (2016) find some evidence of the labour market discrimination, although they argue that

negative attitudes affect immigrants quality of life more than employment and income, often leading them to move from their primary placement areas to municipalities where they expect to be less exposed to negative attitudes. Another study based on the natural experiment of hurricane *Gudrun* argues that social interactions between employers and guest workers influence the formation of positive attitudes (Mansson and Dahlander, 2010), which also indicates to the existence of certain attitude related obstacles for immigrant workers on the Swedish labour market. When observable, labour market discrimination can be an important issue in attitude formation, as one of the measures for attitudes is often the perception whether or not immigrants take jobs from Swedes, while this is impossible to happen with a discriminative pattern of employee selection. On the other hand, when unemployed, immigrants can be seen as a burden to the country's welfare system, that creates potentially conflicting sentiments towards immigrants. In 2017, unemployment among foreign-born was at 15%¹, a point that decreased only with 1% since 2010, and that is quite high compared to 4% among native-born (OECD, 2019).

Again, this is just a brief overview of the Swedish context, although it allows seeing possible spaces where society's attitudes affect immigrants, and how these affect or is affected by integration policies. Most importantly, against relatively positive reporting on attitudes towards immigrants, this shows why Sweden is worth investigating.

4.2 Data and Methods

Considering that the presented study is concerned with establishing the causal links between attitudes and their determinants among Swedes, quantitative data (representative for the Swedish population) was to be utilized. Thus, the latest survey data for Sweden, the European Values Survey (EVS, 2017), is analysed. Covering a multitude of themes, this data allows to investigate a range of factors potentially influencing the attitude formation. Besides the fact that EVS offers the latest updates on public opinion on immigrants, together with European Social Survey and Eurobarometer, it is considered to be one of the most comprehensive tools for measuring values, perceptions and beliefs

¹ Although official statistics allows to differentiate among foreign-born and native-born, immigrant in natives perception can also be native-born with immigrant background.

across EU and its neighbourhood. Moreover, as Marozzi (2016) argues, “EVS contains more and better designed items that allow a much more effective assessment of the perceived level of threat from immigrants” (p. 418). Indeed, as described below, EVS allows measuring different dimensions of attitudes, although the measurements offered are quite limited as will be discussed below.

EVS is based on equal accessibility principle and integrated data and documentation (methodological guidelines, methods report, variable report, weights, etc.) for all the waves of the survey is accessible for download free of charge via GESIS Data Archive’s retrieval systems. The data collection for the fifth and the latest wave of EVS in 30 participating countries was carried out in 2017-2018 and collected data was published in 2019. Being conducted every eight years since 1981, EVS is focused on a broad range of values regarding family, work, religion, political and societal values, and is highly comparable across waves and countries (EVS and GESIS, 2019).

The data collection in Sweden was carried out between September 27, 2017, and June 6, 2018. 1 194 respondents were selected through random sampling and interviewed personally (face-to-face) with a mode of data collection being computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) (EVS and GESIS, 2019). Representative single-stage or multi-stage sampling without allowing the substitution and any kind was applied. The sample size was set as an effective sample size – 1200 – for countries with a population of over 2 million. The target population were individuals aged 18 or older with no upper age limit that had an address of residence in Sweden within private households by the beginning of the fieldwork. The language of the interview was Swedish, the translation process of English Master Questionnaire was monitored by the central team employing the Translation Management Tool to ensure the high quality translating for instrument to be comparable across all the languages. The data went through anonymization before made available through direct access modes (EVS and GESIS, 2018a). The ethical considerations of data collection are accounted for as the informed consent of the respondents were received and the provided information was anonymized.

Considering the data is quantitative, the quantitative method – multiple regression analysis, particularly the sequential (hierarchical) multiple linear regression – is applied² to analyse it. Before analysing the data, the principal components analysis is employed to check the statistical accuracy of the proposed theoretical scales of attitudes. Selection of methods in more detail is offered in respective chapters as it gets more clear after operationalization is explained.

4.3 Operationalization

This sub-section aims to operationalize the major concepts of *immigrant*, *attitude*, *sociopsychological* and *socioeconomic attitudes*, *sociopsychological* and *socioeconomic predictors* investigated in the presented study.

Immigrant in the survey instrument is defined as *people from other countries who come to live in Sweden* (EVS and GESIS, 2018c)³. Apart from this, no definition of immigrant is proposed/presented in the study as it is impossible to identify what is respondents' perception behind the word *immigrant* when they are asked about their attitudes towards this latter.

As mentioned above, negative attitudes and prejudice, xenophobia, etc. on the one hand, and positive attitudes and tolerance, etc. are often used interchangeably in the studies, while some authors argue that although they represent attitudinal dimensions, prejudice and tolerance are different concepts rather than different ends of the same phenomenon. As diving into definitions and arguments are not the aim of the study and these are discussed above to the extent deemed necessary, for the sake of operationalization it should be noted here that study sticks with the concept of *attitude*. On the proposed attitudes scales the negative attitude is associated with lower, while positive – with higher scores and are presented as different ends of the same construct. The concept of attitude has also been burdened with lots of different meanings, thus the classic definition developed by Allport (1935) based on the summary of those is offered here suggesting

² The IBM SPSS software is used for the quantitative data analysis in the presented study.

³ All the measures are derived from the survey questionnaire and the exact formulation of questions are presented in appendix 1.

that “an attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and situations with which it is related” (p. 7).

Dependent variables: Attitudes towards immigrants

Only items featuring the word *immigrant* were selected for attitudes’ scales. These items are identified to be measuring the attitudes as in EVS topic classification (EVS and GESIS, 2018a), so in previous studies reviewed above. Only one item measuring the attitude towards immigrants – willingness to have immigrant as a neighbour – was excluded for not being a scale variable.

- *Sociopsychological attitudes (SPA) scale* derive from sociopsychological theoretical approach and includes items on concerns over immigrants’ living conditions in Sweden, and attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture.
- *Socioeconomic attitudes (SEA) scale* derive from socioeconomic theoretical approach and includes items on the perception of immigrants influence on country’s development, prioritizing Swedes’ over immigrants in case of job scarcity, perceptions of immigrants influence on the labour market, on crime problems, and on the welfare system.
- *General attitudes (GCA) scale* is a combined scale that includes items from both *sociopsychological* and *socioeconomic attitudes scales*.

Independent variables:

The categorizations of independent variables are also based on EVS topic classification (EVS and GESIS, 2018a), and in line with theoretical assumptions of the study, as well as with previous research⁴.

- *Sociopsychological factors* derive from the sociopsychological theoretical approach and include items on:
 - *Important aspects of national identity* (importance of being born in a country, of respecting country’s political institutions and laws, of having country’s ancestry, of being able to speak the language, of sharing culture, feeling close to one’s country, sense of pride in country’s citizenship).

⁴ Certain variables were not included in the analysis as the distributions did not allow the comparison across cases.

- *System legitimacy* (confidence in parliament, government, and justice system, assessment of democracy in the country).
- *Socioeconomic factors* derive from socioeconomic theoretical approach and include items on employment status, occupational status, experience of unemployment, experience of social security dependency, and household income.

Control variables:

Study controls for all the variables different theories and the previous research deem influential, to the extent that EVS data allows, which are as follows:

- *Demographics* (age, sex⁵, region of residence, settlement type, nationality⁶, place of birth, parents' place of birth⁷, household composition, educational attainment).
- *Societal attachment* (generalized trust, trust in different groups, such as family, neighbourhood, acquaintances, first met people, people of another religion or nationality).
- *Religion* (religiosity, importance of religion in life, frequency of religious service attendance, belonging to religious institution).
- *Political affiliation* (placement on political “left” and “right”, party affiliation, political party or group belonging, interest in politics, importance of politics in life, following politics on media, trust in press⁸, participation in political action, like voting in national elections, satisfaction with the functioning of Sweden’s political system).

⁵ Survey questionnaire states “sex” rather than “gender”, so it was used as such throughout the study.

⁶ Non-Swedish nationals were not excluded from the analysis, but controlled for, to see whether attitudes vary across all who live in Sweden or just across Swedes. Nationality in survey instrument was defined as being Swedish passport holder.

⁷ Usually used to determine respondent’s immigrant or non-immigrant background.

⁸ Although not measuring the political affiliation itself, following politics on media does not give much information on its possible influence unless respondent’s confidence in it is also measured.

5 Data Analysis and Results

5.1 Preliminary Analysis

Categorical independent variables with two or more values, such as ones measuring the *experience of unemployment, experience of social security dependence, sex, nationality, Sweden being a place of birth, Sweden being father's place of birth, Sweden being mother's place of birth, generalized trust, a region where the interview was conducted, religiosity, employment status, occupational status, belonging to political party/group, belonging to a religious organization, and party affiliation* were transformed into dummy variables. Prior to transforming into dummy variables, *employment status* and *party affiliation* were recoded (appendix 2).

The analysis was carried out on unweighted dataset⁹. The dataset was screened for **missing data** prior to analysis as well (appendix 3). Missing Values Analysis shows that majority of variables have less than 5% of missing data and those variables that have more show no pattern¹⁰. The listwise exclusion of missing data was used so that the analysis was performed on a subset of cases that provide a full set of results (Pallant, 2010), although this reduced the sample size.

Preliminary analysis was performed to test the **normality of distributions**. Although none of the continuous variables is perfectly normally distributed according to the

⁹ There seems to be no consistency in published studies on performing the analysis on weighted on unweighted dataset. In the presented study, analysis was first performed on weighted dataset using the calibration weights as instructed in EVS weighting guidelines for single country analysis (EVS, GESIS, 2018b). But as it appeared to be creating the heteroscedasticity issue, the final models were run on unweighted dataset.

¹⁰ As Tabachnic and Fidell (2013) suggest, if only few data points – 5% or less – are missing in a random pattern that it will not affect the analysis. Univariate statistics from Missing Values Analysis show that two variables had missing data greater than 5% – *being proud of Swedish nationality, occupational status, party affiliation, and placement on political “left” and “right”*. Separate Variance *t* Tests show no systematic relationship between missingness on these and any other variables, with *a* values greater than .05. Little's MCAR testing whether the data are missing completely at random shows statistically significant result ($p=.000$) indicating to probability of pattern in missing data, but these is not showed on *t* tests in relation to dependent variables. Thus, as only few cases have missing data that also seems to be a random subsample of the whole sample, deletion of variables with missing data is not necessary and just the deletion of cases with missing values is justified (ibid).

Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality (.000), it is considered common in large samples (Pallant, 2010). Neither skewness and kurtosis values are exactly at 0 (although they range mostly between 0 and +/-1)¹¹ that is also a very common occurrence in social sciences, and although there are tests to evaluate the actual skewness and kurtosis values, some authors argue they are too sensitive with large samples and inspecting the shape of the distribution is more recommended (Pallant, 2010; Tabachnik and Fidell, 2013). The mean and 5% trimmed mean values of all the variables are quite the same, indicating the absence of a problem with outliers (Pallant, 2010) (appendix 4). Inspections on the histogram and normal probability plot indicate to reasonable normality of most of the continuous variables included in the analysis (appendix 5). Although transformation is not generally recommended as transformed variables might be tricky to interpret, Tabachnik and Fidell (2013) argue it is still preferable if it substantially improves the results of the analysis. Thus, the transformation of skewed variables was tried according to their shape of the distribution, although this did not improve either the distribution, or the results of the analysis substantially. Thus, this solution was dropped.

5.2 Scale Development

As mentioned above, three different scales as dependent variables were to be developed to run three separate regression analysis. Although the scale development choices are built on certain theory-driven logic, considering these scales¹² have not been used and tested in previously published work (at least not in quite an extensive number of works reviewed in the presented thesis), certain procedures were applied before using them in the analysis. Pallant (2010) suggests that the principles and procedures of scale development are to be investigated before building new composite variables. One of such procedures that scholars (DeVellis, 2017) advocate most commonly when the new scale is developed is factor analysis, that helps an “investigator to augment, refine and test his or her intuitive grasp of an area” (Briggs and Cheek, 1986, p. 107).

¹¹ Except for several variables that are only slightly skewed (appendix 4).

¹² While the socioeconomic attitudes scale includes variables that have been used together in one scale quite often, although not in this exact form, the sociopsychological and general attitudes scales are not found in previous literature.

As variables to be factor analysed were measured on different scales, they were standardized for scale development. The method of standardized z-scores for overcoming the dependence on measurement scale is offered in statistics' literature (Field, 2013; Hair et al., 2014; Streiner et al., 2015) and used in a number of studies concerned with developing attitudes' scales (Akrami et al., 2000; Henry and Sears, 2002; Munck et al., 2018). Variables were checked for positive wording and negatively worded items were reverse coded so that items included in the scale are consistent (Pallant, 2010) (appendix 1).

5.2.1 Principle components (factor) analysis

Both confirmatory and exploratory factor analysis (FA)/principal components analysis (PCA) are widely used in attitude studies. Although sometimes it is hard to differentiate between those. Briggs and Cheek (1986) explain on the example of personality psychology studies that often FA results can be hypothesized but statistical techniques of exploratory rather than confirmatory FA are employed to confirm those, thus, they are "conceptually but not statistically confirmatory... and the textbook distinction between exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis cannot be applied neatly in the evaluation of published work" (p. 132). Moreover, because these techniques are similar in many ways, they are often used interchangeably, and *components* are usually referred to as *factors* (Pallant, 2010), but because of complications of FA, PCA is more commonly used, although some proponents of FA object the categorization of PCA under factor analysis techniques (Hair, 2014). This relates to the presented study so that the major aim of the factor analysis is to confirm that hypothesized variables do belong to the respective hypothesized scales, and PCA is employed to do so (appendix 6).

The **data suitability** was assessed first. With 1194 observations data is suitable and so is the ratio of participants to items¹³. A correlation matrix was inspected for variables included in the analysis that are described above in the operationalization subsection, to

¹³ Most commonly, 300 observations are perceived as threshold for correlation coefficients to be reliable and factors obtained generalizable. Often, ration of participants to items are regarded more important, with thresholds differing from 10:1 to 5:1 ratios (Hair, 2014; Pallant, 2010).

find that a substantial number of correlations among variables score above the threshold of .3 and are not equal. Other criteria, such as quite low values on the anti-image correlation matrix, MSA values quite higher than the threshold of .5, and KMO MSA at .8, significant (.000) result on Bartlett's test of sphericity, all indicate to factorability of data (Hair, 2014; Pallant, 2010). Assumptions regarding normality of distributions and non-existence of outliers that it common for regression analysis as well are met and described in the preliminary analysis section.

Unit of analysis being variables rather than respondents, *R* factor analysis was employed. In the analysis with only 7 variables, only one component with an eigenvalue greater than 1 was extracted, while inspection on scree plot indicates that at least 2 factors can be extracted. Thus, and to enable the factor rotation (as unrotated factors have less scientific utility and interpretability), the model was respecified to extract 2 factors. It is suggested that when it is more likely that factors are correlated (above .32 on component correlation matrix) rather than not, oblique rotation (OBLIMIN) seems more reasonable, which is the case here as well (Tabachnic and Fidell, 2013; Hair, 2014).

After respecification (table 1), the cumulative variance accounted for by two components increased to 55% (close to the common threshold of 60% in social sciences). The component matrix was inspected to find that all the component loadings score above .50 indicating to the practical significance of variables. Tabachnic and Fidell (2013) suggest that differences between high and low loadings are more apparent in the pattern matrix than in the structure matrix, and as a rule of thumb, only variables with loadings above .32 are to be interpreted, with .45 being fair, .55 – good, .63 – very good, and .71 – excellent. Cross-loadings were also considered to make sure each component represent distinct concepts, to find that there is only one variable with cross-loadings, but as it loads only slightly on the first factor, but has good loading on other, the decision to delete was not made. Communalities (representing multiple correlations between variables and the components extracted) higher than the threshold of .3, indicate that items fit with other items in its component. The results based on pattern matrix suggest two components that are almost the same as theoretically suggested above, with the only difference being that perception of immigrants impact of country's development that was assumed conceptually to belong to SEA scale, loads on component grouping *sociopsychological* measures.

Table 1 Model Respecification

	Component Loadings		Communalities
	Component I	Component II	
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	0.70		0.71
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	0.68		0.65
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	0.85		0.62
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	0.63		0.41
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development		0.55	0.37
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture		0.84	0.64
Concerns over immigrants' living conditions	0.34	0.45	0.44

Cummulative variance - 55%

Extraction method: Principle Component Analysis

Rotation method: Oblim with Kaiser Normalization

Tabachnic and Fidell (2013) suggest that “as different methods of extraction tend to give similar results with a good data set, different methods of rotation tend to give similar results if the pattern of correlations in the data is fairly clear” (p. 642). Thus, an alternative method of orthogonal rotation (VARIMAX) was tried out to find that although cross-loadings increased, variables load well (above .50) on the same components as in the case of oblique rotation, while communality values stayed the same.

While the best way to validate the analysis results is confirmatory factor analysis that usually is not feasible, the alternative most common mean is split sample analysis (if testing entirely new sample is not possible) where a sample is split into two equal parts and component models are reestimated (Hair, 2014). In this case, the sample was split with 597 respondents per each split sample. The comparison of pattern matrixes and communalities shows that the first component structure is stable across two samples, while the second component is less so. This might be limiting the generalizability and comparability of developed scales, although it is difficult to conclude without further testing that was not available in the scope of the study.

5.2.2 Scale adequacy

As initially intended, the variables loading high enough on one component were used to create summated scales (composite measures). Although sometimes *a surrogate variable* (with the highest loading) is used to represent the component/factor, even when such variable can be found, it is more recommended to use a summated scale to avoid the risk of misleading results by an attempt to represent potentially complex structure by one variable. Besides, using several variables minimizes the risk of measurement error that is “inherent” to every measured variable, and “represents the multiple aspects of a concept in a single measure” (Hair, 2014, p.122). The scale was chosen above another option of calculating factor scores as well to ensure more generalizability and transparency.

Thus, based on the PCA results, two scales were developed - *sociopsychological attitudes* and *socioeconomic attitudes* scales - that were further checked for scale adequacy, that is, for conceptual definition/content validity, dimensionality, reliability and scale validity (Hair, 2014).

The *conceptual definition* and *content/face validity* are first and foremost about whether summated scales make theoretical sense. As already mentioned above, the scaling decision and variables to be included in each of them were initially based on theoretical judgements and CPA was employed for confirmatory reasons. Indeed, the analysis results follow the theoretical assumptions with the exception that the variable measuring the perception of immigrants impact on country’s development loaded quite highly on the component that was identified as SPA scale. Considering the difficulty of exact interpretation of development as belonging to sociopsychological or socioeconomic dimension, the decision to follow the analysis results was made. Thus, although these are very subjective criteria, overall, scales seem to be meeting those.

The issue of *dimensionality* is often solved during the factor analysis to make sure items load highly on a single scale to make it unidimensional. That is argued to be the case in the presented study as well and is already discussed above in PCA sub-section.

The *reliability* measures usually include reliability coefficient, inter-item correlations and item-to scale correlation. Internal consistency is linked to the homogeneity of items within a scale, thus high inter-item correlation indicates that items are measuring the same thing (DeVellis 2017) (appendix 7). Briggs and Cheek (1986) argue that the optimal level of homogeneity ranges between 2 to 4. Lower than 1 most probably indicates that a single total score is unlikely to adequately represent the complexity of the items, while higher than 5 indicates that items on the scale are overly redundant and construct too specific.

The first scale – *sociopsychological attitudes* – turned to be less reliable when tested for internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .5 which is below the acceptable point of .7, and scoring .25 on inter-item correlations mean (which is not influenced by the scale length and is thus considered a clearer measure of item homogeneity) that is optimal but low. Item-total correlations are also optimal but low at .3. The deletion of any item from the scale does not improve the reliability either. Although the low value of alpha is reported as common with scales with less than 10 items, and widely considered as often misleading (Briggs and Cheek, 1986; DeVellis, 2016; Field, 2013; Pallant, 2010), more sophisticated measure of bootstrapping, or alternative measure of coefficient omega could not be checked for as these are not available in SPSS package which was used for data analysis. Still, considering this, together with optimal inter-item correlation mean and item-total correlations, that items on scale loaded high on one factor, but also that alpha value below .7 is usually expected when dealing with complex psychological constructs, using this scale in the analysis can be justified with acknowledgement of its limitations.

The second scale including five items – *socioeconomic attitudes* - has proved to be more reliable with Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .8, and scoring .43 on inter-item correlations mean. Item-total correlations are also above .4.

The third combined scale containing all 7 abovementioned items – *general attitudes scale* – proved to be reliable with Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .8, and scoring .31 on inter-item correlations mean. Item-total correlations are also above .4. Hereby, the fact that combined scale proved reliable might be indicating that low alpha coefficient on SPA could potentially be caused by the low number of items on the scale, as it contains the

same items as combined scale and if those did not *stick* together, more likely it should have undermined the reliability of other scales they are included in too.

As two out of three newly developed scales turned to be reliable, to avoid any confusion over the comparison of a surrogate variable to composite variables, it was decided to experiment with these and run a regression with both scales, as well as with surrogate variables for both scales and check whether models will be similar or they will return different coefficients. This can also help determine to what extent the measurement error matters when using a single rather than a composite variable. Thus, variables with highest loadings were identified as a surrogate: perception of *whether immigrants should maintain their distinct customs and traditions* (.84) for SPA scale, and *whether immigrants take away jobs from natives* (.85) for SEA scale.

Scales based on factor solution were checked for **scale validity**. Convergent validity was chosen to assess “the degree to which two measures of the same concept are correlated” (Hair, 2014, p. 124). To do so, respective factors were saved as variables and checked for correlation with respective scales to find a high and significant correlation between SPA scale and its respective factor (.94, $p < .01$), as well as SEA scale and its respective factor (.98, $p < .01$). Furthermore, although some of the variables included in the scale were not perfectly normally distributed, visual inspection of all three scales show reasonably normal distribution, with mean and 5% trimmed mean values quite close, and skewness value close to 0.

5.3 Multivariate Analysis

As already mentioned above, the initial idea was to run three sets of regression to see what difference, if at all, two different scales of attitudes, as well as their combination would make, but as one of these scales had low reliability, in order to compare results of the analysis on scales and surrogate variables, five sets of sequential (hierarchical) multiple linear regression were run instead: two sets for the first dependent variable – *sociopsychological attitudes* (1) scale and (1a) surrogate variable, two sets for the second dependent variable – *socioeconomic attitudes* (2) scale and (2a) surrogate variable, and one set for the third dependent variable - combined (3) scale of *general attitudes*.

Predictors were entered in all five models in the same sequence. Tabachnik and Fidell (2013) suggest that variables presumed to be prior based on theoretical or logical considerations be entered first, or *vice versa*. Thus, as different predictors are hypothesized to be of prior impact for different outcome variables, it was decided to start by entering control variables, and the predictors¹⁴ were entered at following steps: (1) control variables, (2) variables measuring socioeconomic factors, and (3) variables measuring sociopsychological factors.

Before interpreting the results, the diagnostics were run for each model to check that the basic underlying assumptions of the linear regression were met (Table 2¹⁵). Hereby, the initial idea was to include nationality as a predictor in the analysis to see any possible differences between nationals and non-nationals, as having immigration background is found to be associated with attitudes in a positive way (Coninck et al., 2019). But it did not go through in the analysis, thus, the analysis was performed on a dataset including only Swedish nationals, while predictor of having father born in Sweden included in the analysis might serve as a rough, indirect indication of respondent's immigrant background.

Models were examined for *outliers* using Cook's distance. Visual inspection on scatterplot shows several points with different Cook's distance than most of the cases, although none of these cases scores higher than .04 for any set of the analysis, and are thus quite below the problematic point of 1. When checked for a threshold of 4/N of cases, the score gets .01 which is lower than .02 and is within the boundary of three times the average leverage value¹⁶ (.45) that is considered non-problematic. Inspection on histogram show roughly bell-shaped distribution and cases on Normal P-P plots are aligned with the theoretical diagonal quite tightly with both standardized and unstandardized residuals, skewness and kurtosis are well below 1, while Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality is non-significant, all indicating that the assumption of *normality* is met (except for the set 4). *Linearity* diagnostics on regression scatterplot

¹⁴ Please, refer back to operationalization section for clarifications on sets of predictors.

¹⁵ For complete model diagnostics refer to appendix 8.

¹⁶ $(3(k_{\text{number of predictors}} + 1)/N_{\text{number of participants}})$

shows a reasonably linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables¹⁷. The scatterplot of standardized residuals and the predicted values show there is no violation of *homoscedasticity* in the model, as data points are randomly and evenly dispersed throughout the plot (Field, 2013), while at a threshold, the ANOVA F-test at Breush-Pagan's also show no significant heteroscedasticity for models with scales as an independent variable, while there is significant heteroscedasticity in the models using surrogate variables. Assumption of *multicollinearity* is also met with the majority of variables having VIF score lower than 3 in every model that is perceived to be a more conservative threshold (Zuur, et al., 2010), and only a few above 3 but still within the score of 8-10 (no variable score higher than 7.4) that is considered more liberal threshold (Field, 2013; Pallant, 2010).

Table 2 Model Diagnostics

Regression Set	N	Outliers		Normality		Homoscedasticity	Multicollinearity
		Cook's distance (Max)	Skewness	Kurtosis	Kolmogorov-Smirnov test	ANOVA F-test at Breush-Pagan's (final model)	VIF (Max<8)
Set 1 Sociopsychological attitudes_Scale	718	.02	.01	-.14	.200	.224	7.34
Set 1a Sociopsychological attitudes_Surrogate variable	721	.04	.33	.44	.161	.001	7.37
Set 2 Socioeconomic attitudes_Scale	712	.03	-.20	-.02	.200	.678	7.35
Set 2a Socioeconomic attitudes_Surrogate variable	728	.04	-.91	1.24	.000	.004	7.39
Set 3 Combined scale of general attitudes	703	.03	-.07	.15	.200	.301	7.28

Consequently, the model diagnostics show that some of the basic assumptions of linear regression, mainly the heteroscedasticity, are violated with surrogate variables as independent variables in the model. Besides, and more importantly, as the issue of heteroscedasticity could have been overcome by incorporating the heteroscedasticity-consistent robust estimators, analysis shows that models with surrogate variables have notably less explanatory power compared to models with scales as outcome variables (Table 3). Thus, it was decided to use models with scales for further interpretation. It is acknowledged though that this can limit the interpretation of results for the unreliable scale of SPA, but as the comparison of different models show, limitations could not have

¹⁷ Due to high number of regressions run and predictors included in the models, linearity check on each predictor separately was not run.

been avoided even if the model with surrogate variable was interpreted. Besides, although the scale of the SPA had low reliability, the discussion above shows that it can still be used, although it might not be reliable on other samples. In any case, this is also an argument of the presented study that measures of SPA are not adequate in EVS and similar surveys, and limitations this scale carries is pretty much a confirmation of this argument.

5.4 Results

Following the above decision, the results of three sets of the analysis with scales of (1) sociopsychological attitudes, (2) socioeconomic attitudes, and (3) general attitudes as outcome variables will be interpreted and discussed further¹⁸.

Table 3 Model Summaries

Regression Set	Model	R	R ²	Adj. R ²	Std. Error	R ² Change	Change Statistics			Sig. F Change	Selection Criteria	ANOVA	
							F Change	df1	df2		Akaike Information Criterion	F	Sig.
Set 1													
Sociopsychological attitudes scale	1	.509	.259	.214	1.735	.259	5.760	41	676	.000	831.83	5.76	.000
	2	.524	.275	.216	1.733	.016	1.109	13	663	.348	842.39	4.65	.000
	3	.568	.322	.255	1.689	.048	4.168	11	652	.000	815.60	4.77	.000
Set 2													
Socioeconomic attitudes scale	1	.622	.387	.349	2.345	.387	10.297	41	670	.000	1254.45	10.29	.000
	2	.650	.423	.376	2.297	.037	3.202	13	657	.000	1236.72	8.92	.000
	3	.706	.498	.447	2.161	.075	8.733	11	646	.000	1160.02	9.85	.000
Set 3													
General (combined) attitudes scale	1	.646	.418	.382	3.341	.418	11.577	41	661	.000	1736.54	11.58	.000
	2	.667	.445	.398	3.296	.027	2.396	13	648	.004	1729.53	9.61	.000
	3	.723	.522	.474	3.082	.078	9.427	11	637	.000	1645.49	10.72	.000

¹⁸ While the major statistics are presented in tables included in the document, and some important tables and figures from SPSS outputs are included in the analysis, the complete correlation and regression outputs were impossible to include due to their enormous size. Complete outputs can be provided upon request from the author at n.zubashvili.1@gmail.com or ni3508z@s@student.lu.se.

5.4.1 Estimating the sociopsychological attitudes

After entering the *control* variables as a first step in the first set of the regression (table 3, set 1), the model explains 21% (*adj. R²*¹⁹) of variance in SPA. With only control variables, the model is significantly better than the null model (F (41, 676)=5.76, p<.001, *R²*=.26, AIC=831.8)²⁰. After entering *socioeconomic* predictors, *adj. R²* increases only with 1%, and although significant as a whole, is not significantly different from the first model (F (13, 663)=4.65, p<.00, *R²*=.28, AIC=842.4). After entering the *sociopsychological* measures as a final step, the model explains 26% of the variance, is significantly different from a null model (F (11, 652)=4.771, p<.001, *R²*=.32, AIC=815.6), making a statistically significant contribution, and the smallest AIC²¹ value indicating it is a better fit compared to previous models.

Of all the predictors included in the model, only a few turned to be statistically significant, of which none is from *socioeconomic* ones (Table 4). The strength of explanatory power²² of the different type of predictors is quite similar, some of the *political affiliation* and *sociopsychological* measures are one of the strongest predictors. SD being a party closest to the respondent has a strongest and negative association (-.16), and decreases the positive attitudes with 1.18 points²³ compared to feeling close to other parties. Although having relatively smaller explanatory power (.10), with a lower frequency of voting, attitudes increase by .57 points. There is a strong association with the importance of sharing culture (.14) and ability to speak Swedish (.09). The less important these factors are for the respondent, the more positive the SPA get by .39 and .24 points, respectively. Similarly, higher the perception that Sweden is governed democratically (.09), more positive the attitudes get by .10 points. *Societal attachment* measures represented by generalized trust also show strong association (.11), increases

¹⁹Adj. *R²* is interpreted throughout the analysis rather *R²* as it is sensitive to the number of predictors in the model and less prone to increase even if some variables show random correlations (Field, 2013).

²⁰ Large *df* value indicates that prediction is robust with regard to being representative of the overall sample of respondents (Hair, 2014), while sig. F change (p<.001) tells whether the contribution of the model is significant, and F value higher than 1 (lower threshold) indicates to good fit and likelihood that outcome did not occur by chance (Field, 2013).

²¹ Although ANOVA F-test and Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) both provide information of model fit, in case of discrepancy in results given by these two, AIC is considered more robust measure. The threshold of required difference between AIC values of models is considered to be 2.

²² According to *regression standardized beta coefficients*.

²³ According to *regression unstandardized B coefficients*.

positive attitudes with .46 compared to being cautious with people. Other significant associations were found with *demographic* indicators. Having a father born in Sweden show the strongest association among those (.12), with attitudes being more positive with .67 points compared to respondent whose father was born elsewhere. This is followed by educational attainment (.10) increase in which increases positive attitudes by .10 points, while of several Swedish regions, residing in Sydsverige and Övre Norrland regions show association (.10 and .8, respectively), increasing positive attitudes by .51 and .59 points, respectively, compared to residing in Stockholm.

5.4.2 Estimating the socioeconomic attitudes

After entering the *control* variables as the first step in the second set of the regression (table 3, set 2), the model explains 35% (*adj. R²*) of variance in SEA. With only control variables, the model is significantly better than the null model (F (41, 670)=10.30, $p<.001$, $R=.39$, AIC=1254.5). After entering *socioeconomic* measures, *adj. R²* increases with 3%, is significant as a whole, is significantly different from the first model (F (13, 657)=8.92, $p<.001$, $R^2=.42$, AIC=1236.7), and is a better fit. After entering the *sociopsychological* measures as a final step, the model explains 45% of the variance, is significantly different from a null model (F (11, 646)=9.85, $p<.001$, $R^2=.50$, AIC=1160.0), making a statistically significant contribution, and the smallest AIC value indicating it is a better fit compared to previous models.

Of *socioeconomic* predictors included in the analysis, only household income (.08) and being a small agricultural employer (.07) showed significant association (Table 4). With one unit increase in household income, the SEA towards immigrants gets more positive only slightly by .09 points, while being a small agricultural employ increases the positive attitudes with 2.13 points compared to being a routine worker. *Political affiliation* and *sociopsychological* measures turned out to have the strongest explanatory power. Placement on political “left” and “right” shows the strongest and negative association (-.21), with higher the placement towards the “right” attitudes getting more negative by .30 points. Reporting SD and Social Democratic Party (SAP) as closest to oneself both show a negative association with attitudes, with beta points of -.16 and -.12, respectively.

Together with the stronger association, SD also shows a higher increase in negative attitudes (-1.76) than SAP (-.74) compared to other parties. Quite weak but significant negative association is found with a frequency of following politics on social media (-.10), with lower the engagement with it, higher the negative attitudes with .13 points.

Sociopsychological measures of both aspects of *national identity* and *system legitimacy* show strong associations. Importance of having Swedish ancestry for being truly Swedish has one of the strongest explanatory power in the model (.17), not perceiving it as important is associated with an increase in positive SEA with .65 points. Perceiving sharing culture (.10) and being born in Sweden (.09) less important is associated with an increase in attitudes by .39 and .29 points, respectively. With relatively strong explanatory power (.10), higher the perception of democratic rule in the country is associated with an increase in positive attitudes with .16 points, while there is a negative association with confidence in government (-.08), and less the confidence, more negative the attitudes get by .34 points.

Of *control* measures, *societal attachment* indicators, such as generalized trust and trust towards people of another nationality show a significant association, with being trustful (.08) associated with more positive attitudes by .48 compared to being cautious with people. While less trust in people with different nationality (-.11) is decreasing the positive attitudes by .59 points. Religiosity also has relatively high explanatory power, and while not being religious did not show any association, reporting oneself as religious (.11) is associated with more positive attitudes towards immigrants by point .70 in reference to being an atheist. Of *demographic* factors, only regions respondent resides in is associated with attitudes significantly, although very interestingly, if in case of SPA residing on Sydsverige showed a positive association, in case of SEA association is negative (-.08) with .60 points compared to residing in Stockholm. Residing in Mallersta Norrland (-.09) show even more negative association by point 1.17 change compared to the reference category.

5.4.3 Estimating the general attitudes

After entering the *control* variables as a first step of the third set of the regression (table 3, set 3), the model with a combined scale of general attitudes (including both SPA and SEA) explains 38% (*adj. R²*) of variance. With only control variables, the model is significantly better than the null model ($F(41, 661)=11.577$, $p<.001$, $R^2=.42$, $AIC=1736.5$). After entering *socioeconomic* measures, *adj. R²* increases with only 2%, is significant as a whole, is significantly different from the first model ($F(13, 648)=9.61$, $p<.001$, $R^2=.45$, $AIC=1729.5$), and is a better fit. After entering the *sociopsychological* measures as a final step, the model explains 47% of the variance, is significantly different from a null model ($F(11, 637)=10.72$, $p<.001$, $R^2=.52$, $AIC=1645.5$), making a statistically significant contribution, and the smallest AIC value indicating it is a better fit compared to previous models.

The indicators that turned significant are almost a combination of indicators that proved significant for either or both of the previously discussed scales, with the exception that none of the *socioeconomic* indicators, neither region respondent resides in proved significant (Table 4). Besides, the explanatory power of those variables also changed. *Political affiliation* and *sociopsychological* measures remain to have one of the strongest explanatory power. Placement on political “left” and “right” shows the strongest and negative association (-.19), with higher the placement towards the “right”, attitudes getting more negative by .38 points. Although all the party affiliation variables prove significant, reporting SD as a party closest to oneself has the strongest (-.19) negative association with attitudes, followed by SAP (-.12), and a Moderate party (M) (-.07). Respectively, attitudes are more negative by 2.91, 1.10, and .70 compared to other party affiliation. Quite weak but significant negative association is found with a frequency of following politics on social media (-.10), with lower the engagement with it, higher the negative attitudes with .19 points. With a lower frequency of voting that has relatively strong explanatory power (.08), there is an increase in positive attitudes by 1.13 points.

Table 4_Model Coefficients

	Sociopsychological attitudes scale			Socioeconomic attitudes scale			General attitudes (combined) scale		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients		Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients		Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	
	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.
(Constant)	-.779		.542	-2.555		.122	-4.108		.083
Age	-.009	-.075	.151	-.008	-.046	.310	-.017	-.067	.129
Female	.233	.060	.115	.305	.052	.109	.555	.065	.043
Household composition	.021	.013	.760	-.153	-.064	.074	-.134	-.038	.287
Educational attainment	.103	.098	.027	.016	.010	.792	.143	.062	.096
Settlement type	-.023	-.011	.772	-.133	-.043	.196	-.179	-.040	.225
Born in Sweden	-.471	-.068	.195	-.042	-.004	.928	-.559	-.037	.403
Father born in Sweden	.692	.118	.019	.424	.048	.263	1.176	.092	.030
Mother born in Sweden	-.165	-.029	.570	-.132	-.015	.726	-.295	-.024	.583
Region_Östra Mellansverige	.222	.042	.320	-.043	-.005	.882	.150	.013	.715
Region_Småland med öarna	.391	.054	.176	-.315	-.029	.402	.112	.007	.835
Region_Sydsverige	.516	.096	.026	-.591	-.075	.046	-.060	-.005	.888
Region_Västsverige	.259	.053	.228	-.015	-.002	.957	.177	.017	.658
Region_Norra Mellansverige	-.062	-.008	.836	-.615	-.057	.102	-.537	-.033	.331
Region_Mellersta Norrland	.324	.037	.350	-1.174	-.090	.008	-.850	-.045	.181
Region_Övre Norrland	.592	.075	.054	.339	.029	.394	.981	.057	.085
Most people can be trusted	.457	.108	.006	.484	.077	.023	.875	.095	.004
Trust: your family	-.052	-.007	.845	.657	.059	.056	.573	.036	.242
Trust: people in your neighborhood	-.062	-.021	.621	.027	.006	.869	-.058	-.009	.802
Trust: people you know personally	.150	.039	.300	.159	.028	.392	.271	.032	.310
Trust: people you meet for the first time	-.111	-.035	.423	.105	.022	.559	-.030	-.004	.906
Trust: people of another religion	-.070	-.022	.670	-.233	-.049	.280	-.227	-.033	.460
Trust: people of another nationality	-.201	-.057	.271	-.586	-.111	.015	-.875	-.113	.011
Trust: religion	-.049	-.022	.624	.001	.000	.995	-.028	-.006	.880
Attend of religious services	-.040	-.031	.462	.022	.012	.754	.020	.007	.842
A religious person	-.027	-.006	.912	.694	.109	.030	.809	.087	.077
Not a religious person	.007	.002	.972	.313	.054	.199	.389	.046	.265
Belonging to a religious organization	.037	.009	.823	.083	.013	.699	.119	.013	.701
Important in your life: politics	-.191	-.072	.103	-.226	-.057	.138	-.415	-.071	.057
Interest in politics	-.117	-.048	.307	-.182	-.050	.212	-.306	-.057	.145
Placement on political “left” and “right”	-.080	-.085	.066	-.298	-.213	.000	-.379	-.186	.000
Belonging to a political party or group	.028	.004	.911	-.260	-.026	.408	-.241	-.017	.592
Satisfaction with political system	-.042	-.045	.301	.084	.060	.111	.033	.016	.659

	Sociopsychological attitudes scale			Socioeconomic attitudes scale			General attitudes (combined) scale		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients		Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients		Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	
	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.
Following politics on television	-.015	-.009	.836	-.010	-.004	.915	.009	.003	.943
Following politics on the radio	-.006	-.004	.917	.084	.041	.240	.085	.029	.405
Following politics in the daily papers	.016	.011	.793	.044	.020	.588	.035	.011	.761
Following politics on social media	-.062	-.044	.226	-.127	-.061	.052	-.190	-.062	.043
Trust in press	.108	.037	.324	-.125	-.029	.376	-.002	.000	.991
Voting in national elections	.569	.090	.012	.285	.031	.321	1.130	.082	.007
Party affiliation_Social democratic party	-.298	-.070	.083	-.743	-.118	.001	-1.095	-.119	.001
Party affiliation_Moderate party	-.367	-.081	.061	-.287	-.042	.254	-.702	-.071	.053
Party affiliation_Sweden democrats	-1.183	-.158	.000	-1.761	-.156	.000	-2.913	-.178	.000
Household income	-.050	-.072	.132	.086	.083	.044	.036	.024	.558
In paid employment	-.047	-.012	.797	-.086	-.015	.711	-.159	-.018	.636
Unemployed	-.242	-.015	.675	-.684	-.029	.356	-.874	-.026	.409
Unemployment experience	.324	.047	.240	.030	.003	.935	.304	.020	.562
Social security dependency experience	.359	.025	.478	.615	.028	.365	.993	.032	.305
Occupation_Higher_professionals	.237	.056	.522	.322	.051	.498	.603	.066	.374
Occupation_Lower_professionals	.353	.082	.326	.804	.126	.081	1.182	.126	.073
Occupation_intermediate_occupations	-.096	-.012	.818	-.051	-.004	.924	-.202	-.012	.791
Occupation_Small_employers	.579	.056	.218	-.346	-.023	.566	.285	.013	.741
Occupation_Small_agricultural_employers	.388	.019	.605	2.127	.072	.027	2.609	.061	.057
Occupation_Lower_supervisors	.409	.054	.310	.101	.009	.843	.457	.028	.536
Occupation_Lower_service	.254	.042	.494	.147	.016	.759	.421	.031	.538
Occupation_Lower_technical	.004	.000	.993	-.745	-.056	.182	-.806	-.042	.312
Importance of being born in a country	.202	.090	.075	.294	.087	.043	.501	.102	.017
Importance of respecting country's political institutions and laws	.073	.017	.626	.083	.013	.660	.261	.029	.342
Importance of having country's ancestry	-.001	.000	.993	.653	.174	.000	.698	.127	.003
Importance of being able to speak the language	.242	.078	.051	.170	.037	.281	.333	.050	.143
Importance of sharing culture	.389	.139	.000	.385	.093	.006	.782	.129	.000
Attachment to one's country	5.837	.000	1.000	-.173	-.037	.250	-.191	-.028	.377
Proudness of being a Swedish citizen	.088	.029	.428	-.012	-.003	.934	.098	.015	.632
Confidence in: parliament	-.121	-.042	.343	.240	.055	.145	.143	.023	.542
Confidence in: government	-.021	-.008	.869	-.341	-.084	.035	-.379	-.064	.102
Confidence in: justice system	-.150	-.052	.183	-.150	-.035	.300	-.301	-.048	.150
Assessment of democracy in Sweden	.097	.086	.045	.162	.097	.010	.279	.115	.002

As already pointed out, *sociopsychological* measures of both aspects of *national identity* and *system legitimacy* show strong associations here as well. Importance of having Swedish ancestry (.13), sharing culture (.13), and being born in Sweden for being truly Swedish, all have one of the highest explanatory powers in the model. Perceiving these as less important is associated with an increase in positive attitudes with .78, .70, and .50 points, respectively. With similarly strong explanatory power (.12), higher the perception of democratic rule in the country is associated with an increase in positive attitudes with .28 points.

Of control measures, *societal attachment* indicators, such as generalized trust and trust towards people of another nationality show a significant association, with being trustful (.10) associated with more positive attitudes by .88 point compared to being cautious with people. While less trust in people with different nationality (-.11) is decreasing the positive attitudes by .88 points. As for *demographic* factors, with relatively weaker explanatory power (.07), being female is associated with more positive attitudes compared to being male with .56 points, while having father born in Sweden has a stronger association (.09) that differs with 1.18 points from not having a father that was born in Sweden.

6 Analysis and Discussion

In accordance with the study aims, an attempt is made to interpret and discuss the results of the statistical analysis in relation to Swedish case through existing theoretical assumptions and knowledge gained from previous research, but also in relation to more general implications this can have for the development of theory and methods in attitude studies. Thus, study questions regarding the factors determining Swedes' attitudes towards immigrants, and whether and how these differ in explaining different dimensions of attitudes are discussed below, followed by a discussion on more general methodological contribution and its implication for policymaking, as well as by limitations of this discussion and how these can be overcome in future research.

It is argued in previous sections of the study that multiple different factors influence the formation of attitudes towards immigrants and these factors should not only be accounted for when determining predictors, but when developing the attitudes' measures as well. And in order to determine these factors as comprehensively as possible, informing the study design by as wide range of theories as possible is crucial. In an attempt of doing so, the presented study was designed to account for multiple theories that were summarized in sociopsychological and socioeconomic approaches depending on where their major focus lay. Respectively, the attitudes' scales, as well as a set of indicators were determined by those assumptions.

6.1 Discussion of Findings in Swedish Context

To link it back to reasons behind the case selection, what was known from nation-wide surveys is that Sweden generally has quite positive attitudes towards immigrants, and from the cross-country analysis – that it is one of the most tolerant nations in Europe. This seemed discrepant with the increased popularity of the nationalist, anti-immigration right-wing party, but also with studies investigating immigrant integration issues in

Sweden that not show such positive picture as studies investigating host society's attitudes. Taken together, these factors set the case that required studying the attitudes in a more comprehensive manner.

As studies seemed to be taking socioeconomic approach, it was interesting to see whether accounting for sociopsychological dimension would show the same results, moreover, and mostly because Sweden is highly developed, safe country, with a strong economy (16th richest in the world with GDP per capita), the strong welfare system, low levels of unemployment (varying between 8%-6% between 2010-2018), and scoring very high on Human Development Index. Thus, it seemed reasonable, if judged from a socioeconomic theoretical perspective, that high level of economic well-being would produce higher positive attitudes. On the other hand, not only sociopsychological dimension was not accounted for, little reference was made in such studies to sociopsychological factors of national identity and alike, factors that are deemed influential in determining attitudes by sociopsychological theories of *social identity*, etc.

And indeed, the high impact of sociopsychological and political factors, and low impact of economic ones, are *in starring roles* in the presented analysis. The study found almost no support for socioeconomic theories, while sociopsychological theories receive strong support, as sociopsychological factors turned to have high explanatory power in all three sets of the analysis and contributing to the variance explained in both dimensions of attitudes, as well as in a combination of those. Further, analysis confirmed that different factors influence different dimensions of attitudes, while certain factors influence all dimensions of attitudes, although in different ways and to different extents, as also described above in results sub-section.

6.1.1 Discussing the study hypotheses

To start with **sociopsychological attitudes**, it was hypothesized that *sociopsychological factors would have higher explanatory power and explain more variance in sociopsychological attitudes towards immigrants compared to socioeconomic factors*. Indeed, although the most variance in SPA is explained by control measures of *political*

affiliation, societal attachment and demographics, variance explained increases when sociopsychological predictors are added, while socioeconomic factors have no impact at all. Overall, it should be noted that although some predictors are used in all three sets of the analysis, they have the lowest explanatory power when SPA is at question, compared to other two scales of attitudes that will be discussed below. More specifically, this is only a fourth of the variance in the SPA. This might be indicating to at least two issues: on the one hand, the scale is quite weak as only small portion of the possible spectrum of sociopsychological dimension is accounted for due to scarce data, on the other, sociopsychological dimension adds much more complexity to the issue of attitudes and probably much more complex and comprehensive factors are to be employed in an attempt to explain those. Here the limitations of the study design are not disregarded, especially the fact that only individual, rather than country and structural level predictors are examined. But considering the wide spectrum of predictors employed based on a wide spectrum of theories, these issues can be indicative of limited themes that can be investigated based on EVS data, and most likely, on other similar surveys. As for the more specific factors that determine SPA, as it makes more sense when discussed comparatively, it is done so below in comparison across three different attitudinal scales.

When it comes to **socioeconomic attitudes**, it was hypothesized that *socioeconomic factors would have higher explanatory power and explain more variance in socioeconomic attitudes towards immigrants compared to sociopsychological factors*. This hypothesis was not approved, as sociopsychological factors turned more influential, although unlike the previous scale, socioeconomic factors did appear to have some explanatory power. This might be an interesting finding in relation to *group conflict theory* arguing that perception of economic threat might stimulate negative attitudes towards immigrants out of the economic realm as well, through ideological beliefs and cultural perceptions (Cohrs and Stelzl, 2010; Kim and Byun, 2019). While ideological beliefs, such as placing oneself towards the *right* on the ideological scale, and/or feeling close to the right-wing party, do indeed trigger negative socioeconomic perceptions, this is not quite connected to respondents socioeconomic background. Although and again, this finding cannot be robust without multilevel analysis, also without employing the interaction terms in the analysis, but more importantly, without comparative analysis as this finding can be very specific to Sweden. And indeed, some more insight around the interplay between here mentioned theory and its links to ideological and

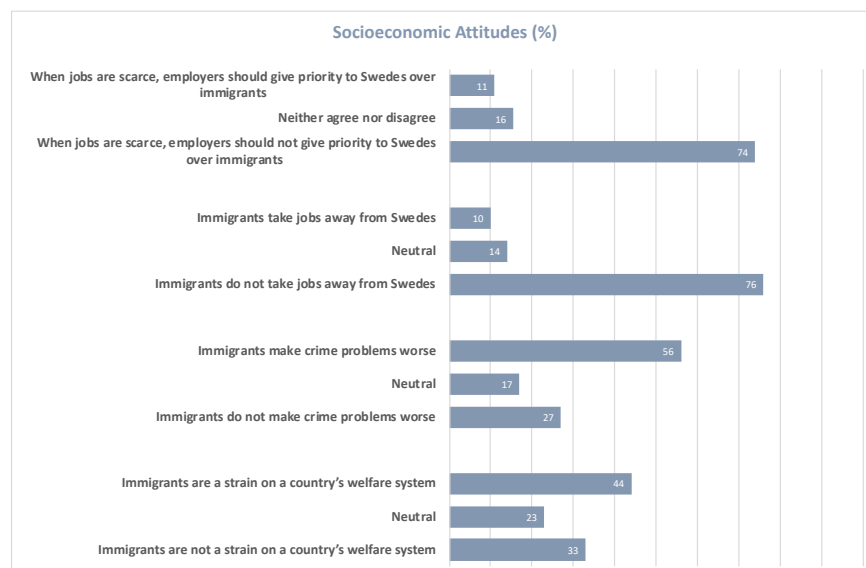
sociopsychological factors are offered in the discussion below. Overall, up to half of the variance in SEA is explained. Referring back to the above presented argument, this might be indicating that analysed factors are better fit to explain SEA, as well as that scale is more comprehensive. Still, this does not give even a half of the picture.

Although based on socioeconomic theories it was hypothesized that socioeconomic factors would have an influence on SEA, it was also discussed above, that considering the high economic development and strong welfare system in the country, it is not very surprising that this hypothesis did not hold in the Swedish case. EVS 2017 data shows that only 2% of Swedes report being unemployed (according to statistics Sweden this number was around 6% in 2017-2018 when the fieldwork was conducted), 10% - to have experienced unemployment, and only 2% - to have experienced social security dependency, so these were less expected to have any influence. But certain factors still showed some association that will be discussed here as they had no impact on other scales and thus, are not quite comparable. Household income turned to be associated with attitudes, with higher the income, more positive the attitudes, although there is a very slight change. Similarly, of all the possible occupations, being a small agricultural employer turned to be positively associated with attitudes. Although this needs a study in its own, it can only be speculated here that agricultural employers have experience of hiring an immigrant workforce that could be associated with *contact theory*. Although not synonymous to agriculture, the study of Swedish forest owners discussed above showed that their attitudes improved after hiring immigrant workers (Mansson and Dahlander, 2010).

Indirect links with *contact theory* can also be drawn with regards to regional differences in attitudes. Out of all the Swedish regions, residing in the South or Middle North appears to be negatively associated with SEA. In case of South, this might be explained by a higher proportion of residents with an immigrant background living there compared to other regions, and can be linked to what is argued to be their negative representation by media and treatment by police, especially how they react to outbursts of frustration in Malmo and other cities (Schierup and Alund, 2011). According to Swedish electoral authority, SD also got most of the votes in South of Sweden. But residing in the Middle North not only shows a stronger association, it is also twice as likely to have negative attitudes towards immigrants compared to South (while both in reference to Stockholm).

This might be contradictory considering that immigrant inflow is notably lower in Northern regions (Ruist, 2013). Although discussing this point can be problematic as not much is known about regional differences, the negative representation mentioned here should be linked to immigrants' association with crime, as more than half of the population think immigrants make the crime problem worse (figure 1). Whether this is true or not is quite debatable. Some argue this can be fuelled by media (Schierup and Alund, 2011), while some find that crime is higher among immigrants, although this is caused by disadvantaged living conditions compared to natives (Malmberg et al., 2013). In any case, this once again indicates inequality among natives and immigrants, that fuelling the negative attitudes, threaten to widen, rather than narrow the existing gaps.

Figure 1_Frequencies of items included in SEA²⁴



Despite, as socioeconomic theories argue that it is the perception of socioeconomic threat that determines the negative attitudes towards immigrants, it can be claimed that no such relationship is found in the study, as sociopsychological and political/ideological factors turned to be stronger predictors. On the other hand, some links can be implied with *group dominance theory* discussed above and arguing that when outgroup size increases,

²⁴ Item on prioritizing Swedes over immigrants in case of job scarcity was recoded from 5 point scale to three point scale, with options *agree strongly* and *agree* recoded into *when jobs are scarce employers should give priority to Swedes*, and options *disagree strongly* and *disagree* – into *when jobs are scarce, employers should not give priority to Swedes*; Items on immigrants impact on labour market, crime problems and welfare were recoded from 10 point scale into 3 point scale, with options 1 to 4 recoded into *immigrants take jobs away from Swedes*, *immigrants make crime problems worse*, and *immigrants are a strain on a welfare system*, respectively, options 5-6 – into neutral position, and options 7 to 10 – into *immigrants do not take jobs away from Swedes*, *immigrants do not make crime problems worse*, and *immigrants are not a strain on a welfare system*, respectively. The original wording of items in EVS questionnaire are presented in appendix 1.

ingroup will seek to maintain control over resources (Esses, 2005). Moreover, Olwig (2011) argues that seeing immigrants as a burden on welfare can also be linked to the fear of globalization that can threaten the national welfare states. Although these assumptions might not necessarily be tested by individual level predictors of socioeconomic status, it can have at least two interconnected implications for the presented findings: on the one hand, that welfare is a resource Swedish society is seeking to maintain control over, while on the other, as everyone is contributing to welfare, a perception that immigrants are not doing so might be influencing the attitudes no matter the socioeconomic status of the individual. Thus, the interplay between socioeconomic factors and attitudes are not directly observable in the data but is most probably there and need more sophisticated analysis.

And finally, the analysis was performed on scale combining both SPA and SEA, and thus, representing more **general attitudes**, hypothesizing that the *most variance in attitudes towards immigrants would be explained when both sociopsychological and socioeconomic dimensions are accounted for when developing attitudes' measures, although the sociopsychological factors will remain to have higher explanatory power and explain more variance in general attitudes towards immigrants compared to socioeconomic factors*. Although somehow approved, this hypothesis turned quite hard to interpret as not much difference in variance explained occurred compared to results of SEA analysis. Most variance is indeed explained compared to the analysis of previous scales, but the increase from SEA scale is quite small. It is confirmed though that sociopsychological factors have higher explanatory power compared to socioeconomic factors. This is quite similar to what was found with regard to SEA scale analysis, with the exception that not a single socioeconomic factor has significant explanatory power in GCA. On the face of it, it might seem that combining SPA with SEA does not change a picture, but as argued above, although SPA scale has many flaws, it still has the ability to show some trend, and this slight trend is visible here as well not only in a slight increase in variance explained but also in how it affected the explanatory power of individual predictors. This is discussed below in more detail in comparison to the other two scales.

6.1.2 Discussing the influential factors

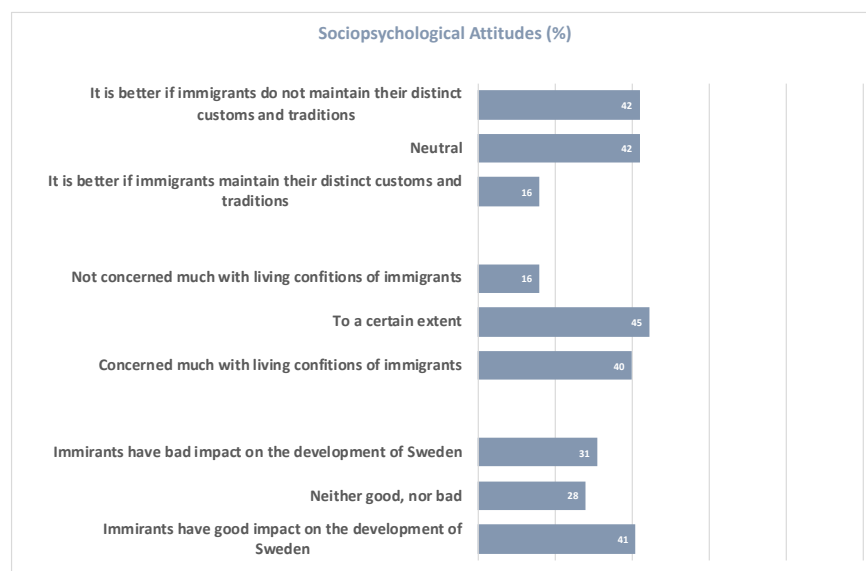
As already stated, sociopsychological and political affiliation predictors appeared to have the strongest explanatory power across all attitudinal dimensions. But these, alongside other factors, showed association to different extents. Although going into a very detailed discussion of influential factors will not be possible, major trends are intended to be discussed here with an attempt to make sense of similarities and differences coming out of the Swedish context.

Different sociopsychological aspects showed association with different scales to different extents. Factors that had explanatory power in all three sets of the analysis were the importance of sharing culture and assessment of democratic rule in the country. While certain aspects of *national identity* - importance of respecting country's political institutions and laws, feeling close to Sweden, being proud of being Swedish, and certain aspects of *system legitimacy* - confidence in parliament, and in justice system, showed no association. Although considering that majorities express a high degree of agreement with these issues, such a result is not so surprising.

Less important Swedes find it to share culture, more positive all three – SPA, PEA, and GCA – get. This is quite interesting finding considering that sharing culture is reported important for being truly Swedish by majorities (77%). This also makes it less surprising that more Swedes would prefer if immigrants did not maintain distinct culture and traditions (item included in SPA scale) (Figure 2). The issue of culture plays an important role in SPA and potentially reveals in what terms Swedes see themselves as a part of the nation. This resonates to a certain extent to findings of Callens and Meuleman (2017) who, although using integration policies as a major predictor, conclude that integration policies have more impact on economic rather than cultural threat perception. This leads to hypothesizing that cultural threat is more enduring and stable and harder to change through policy interventions (ibid). Olwig (2011), comparing Sweden to more nationalistic Scandinavian societies of Denmark and Norway, argues that this centralist nation-state “has asserted itself as a progressive country with official multicultural policy, celebrating cultural diversity” (p. 181), despite, it could not avoid some of the problems characteristic for its less progressive in this terms neighbours.

One of such problems is a discrepancy between the political discourse of multiculturalism on the one hand, and on the other, the practice of integration programs that are heavily focused on local social norms and cultural values and traditions. These policies are argued to be seeking to *shape* immigrants socially and culturally according to Scandinavian norms, and that not being able to acquire those to *appropriate* levels is argued to be creating barriers for integration. With this respect, it should be noted here again that Scandinavian culture is argued to be closely related to the notion of equality, while equality tends to be seen as *sameness* (ibid). In the same vein, Schierup and Alund (2011) argue that culture was devised as a cure to all social problems of immigration and was implemented in discriminatory institutional practices particularly since the mid-1980s, and was to underpin “the new Swedish identity” based on shared democratic values, rather than history. A lot could have been changed since then, but as more recent studies also indicate to this issue, seems like culture, however, understood or perceived, is an important aspect of Swedish national identity, and an influential notion for Swedes in the judgment of immigrants.

Figure 2_Frequencies of items included in SPA²⁵



²⁵ Item on preference for immigrants to maintain their culture and traditions was recoded from 10 point scale into 3 point scale, with options 1 to 4 recoded into *it is better if immigrants do not maintain their distinct customs and traditions*, options 5-6 – into neutral position, and options 7 to 10 – into *it is better if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions*; Item on concerns over living conditions of immigrants was recoded from 5 point scale to 3 point scale, with options *very much* and *much* recoded into *concerned much with living conditions of immigrants*, and options *not at all* and *not so much* – into *not concerned much with living conditions of immigrants* Item on immigrants impact on development was recoded from 5 point scale to three point scale, with options *very good* and *good* recoded into *immigrants have good impact on the development*, and options *very bad* and *bad* – into *immigrants have bad impact on the development of Sweden*. The original wording of items in EVS questionnaire are presented in appendix 1.

While the majority of Swedes do not find it important to be born in or have the ancestry of Sweden, these still show association with SEA and GCA. A weak explanation could be that while these attitudes are concerned with welfare and job market, it is more likely to think that one is more entitled to the latter once Swedish. Similarly, less confidence in government is associated negatively with attitudes only in case of SEA. While the government is responsible for regulating the job market and providing welfare, this finding seems logical.

Sympathizing with right-wing party of SD (with 8% of respondents reporting SD as party closest as a first choice) has strong explanatory power across all three sets of the analysis, although the strength differs depending on what kind of attitudes are explained. It has the strongest explanatory power for SPA, while it remains one of the strongest for SEA and GCE. Although the association is strong, it is hard to talk about causality when it comes to attitudes and ideological beliefs. *Group conflict theory* discussed above argues that right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation in individuals are activated in a competitive environment and result in negative attitudes towards immigrants (Cohrs and Stelzl, 2010).

Although the existence of a competitive environment is hard to spot here, *rightist* orientation might be causing negative attitudes rather than vice versa. In societies with generally little support for the political right, certain events or processes not necessarily directly linked to immigration might increase interest towards populist parties, and once this happens, it might influence the whole spectrum of beliefs they touch upon. As mentioned above, some studies (Bo et al., 2018) argue that dissatisfaction with economic policies in 2006 increased the popularity of SD, and although this dissatisfaction might have faded away, the effects of such occurrence might have been more durable. Studies have found links between right-wing seats in local governments and negative attitudes towards Muslims in respective local populations (Bevelander and Ottebeck, 2010). While some argue that among other reasons, it was increased salience of immigration issues that SD manipulated with (Rydgren and Meiden, 2019). Again, it is hard to argue which caused what, but as discussed above, SD does have a strong negative emphasis on Muslim immigrants particularly.

Thus, although the association between *rightist* orientation and attitudes has been and is again found, the presented finding can draw an additional, and presumably quite an important conclusion. That is, although economic dissatisfaction could trigger increased support for SD at some point, it is obvious that economic factors of income, employment, occupational status, the experience of social security dependency, have almost no impact on attitudes, *rightist* orientation and supporting right-wing party, on the other hand, has quite an impact. This could be indicating once again that the link between attitudes and political affiliation is more an issue of values, rather than material concerns in the case of Sweden. While when it comes to GCE, support for all three major parties has explanatory power. This might be indicating that when welfare and security are at stake, no matter the political affiliation, attitudes towards immigrants get negative, again, notwithstanding the individual's socioeconomic background.

Although there is a clear connection between attitudes and ideological beliefs as already stated, the fact that control measures other than political affiliation also showed a strong association, and that overall they explained the most of the variance in attitudes, might be indicating that the mainstream theorizing is missing lots of aspects important in attitude formation. On the other hand, theories that are studying such predictors separately and producing or testing certain theories, are getting detached from the broader context. Probably indirectly, but this once again indicates the need for more comprehensive theorizing when it comes to attitudes. Besides, as repeatedly mentioned above, the context is utterly important. Generalizability might be important for philosophical enquiry, but findings on Sweden cannot be unconditionally generalized. Rather, each study must add to the understanding of the phenomenon, so that attitude studies can get as comprehensive as possible. This study took the same approach. Instead of testing single theory with limited predictors, an attempt was made to take as much as possible from different theories and see what would hold for Swedish case, as well as try to explain why these would hold in the Swedish context.

6.2 Methodological and Theoretical Discussion

It has been argued above that presented research would contribute to filling the existing gap in attitude studies by developing comprehensive attitudes' measures that seem to be lacking in the literature. In doing so, it was argued further that attitudes have different dimensions that are affected differently by different factors, and if all the possible dimensions are not accounted for, it is impossible to learn about all the possible factors influencing perceptions on immigrants in a given society. In the presented study, two dimensions were identified based on theoretical grounds, but also confirmed by empirical analysis (CPA), and analysed further independently, as well as in combination in order to see whether accounting for all the dimensions in one scale would reveal all the possible determinants. And indeed, for the most part, factors influencing general attitudes turned to be the combination of determinants of SPA and SEA, although still lots of factors get invisible in such aggregated analysis. Thus, it is argued that there is a potential of losing quite a lot of relevant information about determinants of attitudes towards immigrants if different dimensions are not analysed separately.

Theoretical and methodological findings of the study might have interesting and important implication for further studies, but these cannot be considered robust unless applied to comparative analysis. The interplay between different factors is also presumably not quite context-sensitive, and it might differ a lot in different environments. In the meantime, as the scope of the assignment did not allow to do so, it should be acknowledged that findings might be influenced a lot by a selected case. Yet, it is presumed that determinants of different attitudinal dimensions would still vary if the analysis were comparative. And this finding can be claimed to be one of the major strengths of the study. It is only natural that different theoretical assumptions will fit into different contexts, so the fact that socioeconomic approach did not appear relevant in explaining Swedish society's attitudes by no means invalidate socioeconomic theories.

One of the reasons for selecting Sweden as a case study was also the above mentioned arguments on the importance of careful contextual analysis for a comprehensive understanding of attitudes in a given society. Which, in its turn, is necessary to inform integration policies or any other political decision that affect not only immigrants but

society as a whole. Studies finding links between integration policies and attitudes towards immigrants have been discussed on several occasions above. Although this is not a perfectly linear relationship. It is characteristic of a democratic system that public opinion affects the policy process, migration policies among them. As studies also argue, voters' attitudes towards immigrants often shape migration policies as policymakers seek to maintain public support and avoid disorder, but can also be manipulated in political campaigns, and most likely activated by far-right parties (Card et al., 2005; Cornelius and Rosenblum, 2005; Facchini and Mayda, 2008; Hooghe and Vroome, 2015b; Olwig, 2011). Callens and Meuleman (2017) summarize these processes in *policy feedback* and *policy responsiveness* hypotheses and label it a vicious policy-opinion cycle. Although analysing integration policies were not the major aim of the presented study, the above discussion showed that such policies in Sweden have created strong cultural images of citizenship. This seems tightly connected to cultural notions of national identity, which was found to be one of the major determinants of attitudes towards immigrants, and most likely, a stronger mediator between *rightist* orientation and attitudes compared to socioeconomic factors.

And while the implication of understanding society's attitudes for integration policies is obvious, both attitudes and policies together influence the social cohesion, peace, justice and equality in societies, and well-being for all. But without proper tools to understand attitudes, it is impossible to understand their wider societal and political impact. Thus, the presented study can argue to have made a contribution in this direction. At least, tools developed here certainly turned beneficial to reveal some important aspects of attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden. And while in order to test the robustness of these newly developed tools, applying them to other data is necessary, its potential to be applicable to a wider context is quite reassuring.

6.3 Strengths and Limitations

As an attempt was made to discuss the strengths and limitations of decisions made in study design and data analysis along almost every step taken, it should probably be summarised briefly once again.

The presented study contributes to attitudes research by offering new tools for a comprehensive understanding of attitudes towards immigrants. The major strength of the study is to employ broad theoretical and empirical base for identifying attitudes measures and attitudes determinants, and developing new attitudes scales, although it limits the study's comparability to previous similar works. Thus, no comparisons on how attitudes could have changed across time and space were offered, rather just a localised analysis was done to see where Sweden stands now. The study also only focuses on host society's attitudes towards immigrants and does not show the immigrants' perspective. This is considered a limitation as understanding attitudes is important as much as it affects immigrants and their integration in every sphere of life, and without knowing their part of the story it is hard to judge what impact host society's attitudes have, no matter how positive or negative. Besides, although an attempt was made to analyse the data in a country context based on previous studies, and despite the broad range of possible predictors selected, study accounts only for individual level predictors, rather than incorporating national and structural level ones, which would also make more sense if the study was comparative.

The limitation of the EVS survey instrument not differentiating between different kinds and different groups of immigrants, at least on a very general level (immigrant/refugee; immigrant/native with the immigrant background; European/non-European; etc.) is reflected on the study as well. Thus, different respondents might be thinking about different groups when answering the survey questions. The limitation of survey instrument also limited the development of attitudes scales, as it is argued and mentioned above as well, that items included in survey questionnaire are not enough to account for the whole possible spectrum of attitudes. Most probably this can also be linked to the issues of SPA scale reliability that is already discussed in more detail in the respective section of the paper.

Last but not least, one of the major limitations of the study is considered to be the lack of measurement of social desirability bias, that is a limitation of survey instruments of most of the nation-wide, cross-country surveys such as EVS, as well as most of the studies employing those data, acknowledged or not. Although it should be noted here that

some authors do acknowledge it as an important limitation (Coninck, 2019; Miklikowska, 2016; Lundborg and Skedinger, 2016).

7 Conclusion

In an increasingly globalized world where societies become more and more ethnically diverse, the issue of integration is receiving increased attention as it is essential for sustainable development as much as it affects the social cohesion, peaceful and just societies, and equality for all. As host societies' attitudes play an immense role in immigrants' integration process, a comprehensive understanding of attitudes towards immigrants is crucial for designing integration policies. Resonating with recent developments in Sweden in terms of increased support to right-wing, anti-immigration political forces, and attempting to fill the gap in existing literature being unable to draw an overarching picture of attitudes and factors determining their formation, the study aimed to investigate Swedes attitudes towards immigrants and their determinants. In doing so, attitudes were *deconstructed* and different scales were developed to measure - *sociopsychological* and *socioeconomic* - dimensions of attitudes, while later integrated, *reconstructed*, to see whether and how a spectrum of factors selected based on different theoretical assumptions would differ in affecting those.

The socioeconomic theories do not hold for explaining attitudes towards immigrants in Swedish society, while sociopsychological theories seem quite relevant in this case. Although of all the possible sociopsychological aspects, the notion of culture seems to be the most important for Swedes, and the argument is made that the increased support for far-right in the country is most probably also linked to cultural aspects of national identity, rather than socioeconomic factors. Why this might be a case has been discussed in the study, but more sophisticated analysis is needed.

From a theoretical and methodological standpoint, the major finding of the study is that there is a difference in sociopsychological and socioeconomic dimensions of attitudes, and in factors determining them. From this, at least two major conclusions derive: (1) it is not possible to have a comprehensive picture of attitudes towards immigrants in a particular society without accounting for both sociopsychological and socioeconomic dimensions, and thus, (2) it is not possible to understand the determinants of attitudes

without accounting for both sociopsychological and socioeconomic dimensions, as well as without sociopsychological and socioeconomic predictors.

Still, although the most of the variance in attitudes was explained when both sociopsychological and socioeconomic dimensions were accounted for in attitudes' measure (general attitudes scale), and although a wide range of predictors informed by a wide range of theories was analysed, the study was able to uncover only half of the picture, as no more than 50% of the variance in attitudes could have been explained. Some of the limitations of the study discussed above can explain this result. But it should once again be highlighted that some of these limitations stem from data used in the study. And not because data was not chosen carefully, as EVS is considered to be one of the most reliable data sources, and it is EVS and similar surveys that attitude research mostly relies on. The point that was already made a few times throughout the study is that these surveys lack the items crucial for comprehensive analysis of attitudes. Thus, the data factor limits presented the study as much as it limits probably more than half of the literature in attitude research. As it has already been established that understanding attitudes and their determinants have important societal and political implications, it is important for future studies to develop more comprehensive measures. Otherwise, any conclusion and generalization made on attitudes and their nature might be misleading.

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9 Appendixes

9.1 Appendix 1

Original questions from the EVS 2017, measurement scales and answer options (excluding *don't know, refuse to answer, etc.*), and treatment (where applicable)

Dependent variables: Attitudes towards immigrants

- *Sociopsychological attitudes scale* (concerns over immigrants' living conditions in Sweden, attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture):
 - To what extent do you feel concerned about living conditions of the following groups living in country – immigrants?

Original	Very much	Much	To a certain extent	Not so much	Not at all
Value	1	2	3	4	5
Reverse coded	Not at all	Not so much	To a certain extent	Much	Very much

- Please look at the following statements and indicate where you would place your views on this **(10 point)** scale:

Original	It is better if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions		It is better if immigrants do not maintain their distinct customs and traditions							
Value	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Reverse coded	It is better if immigrants do not maintain their distinct customs and traditions		It is better if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions							

- Now we would like to know your opinion about the people from other countries who come to live in Sweden – the immigrants. How would you evaluate the impact of these people on the development of Sweden?

Very bad	Quite bad	Neither good, nor bad	Quite good	Very good
1	2	3	4	5

- *Socioeconomic attitudes scale* (perception of immigrants influence on country's development, prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity, perceptions of immigrants influence on job market, on crime problems, on welfare system):

- How strongly do you agree or disagree to the statement that when jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to Swedes over immigrants?

Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

- Please look at the following statements and indicate where you would place your views on this **(10 point)** scale?

Immigrants take jobs away from Swedes										Immigrants do not take jobs away from Swedes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

- Please look at the following statements and indicate where you would place your views on this **(10 point)** scale?

Immigrants make crime problems worse										Immigrants do not make crime problems worse
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

- Please look at the following statements and indicate where you would place your views on this **(10 point)** scale?

Immigrants are a strain on a country's welfare system										Immigrants are not a strain on a country's welfare system
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

Independent variables:

- *Sociopsychological factors*
 - *Important aspects of national identity* (importance of being born in a country, of respecting country's political institutions and laws, of having country's ancestry, of being able to speak the language, of sharing culture, feeling close to one's country, feel of pride in country's citizenship):

- Some people say the following things are important for being truly Swedish. Others say they are not important. How important do you think is the following – To have been born in Sweden?

Very important	Quite important	Not important	Not important at all
1	2	3	4

- Some people say the following things are important for being truly Swedish. Others say they are not important. How important do you think is the following – To respect Sweden's political institutions and laws?

Very important	Quite important	Not important	Not important at all
1	2	3	4

- Some people say the following things are important for being truly Swedish. Others say they are not important. How important do you think is the following – To have Swedish ancestry?

Very important	Quite important	Not important	Not important at all
1	2	3	4

- Some people say the following things are important for being truly Swedish. Others say they are not important. How important do you think is the following – To be able to speak Swedish?

Very important	Quite important	Not important	Not important at all
1	2	3	4

- Some people say the following things are important for being truly Swedish. Others say they are not important. How important do you think is the following – To share the Swedish culture?

Very important	Quite important	Not important	Not important at all
1	2	3	4

- People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how close do you feel to Sweden?

Very close	Close	Not very close	Not close at all
1	2	3	4

- How proud are you to be a Swedish citizen?

Very proud	Quite proud	Not very proud	Not proud at all
1	2	3	4

- *System legitimacy* (confidence in parliament, government and justice system, assessment of democracy in the country):

- How much confidence you have in parliament, is it great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?

A great deal	Quite a lot	Not very much	None at all
1	2	3	4

- How much confidence you have in government, is it great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?

A great deal	Quite a lot	Not very much	None at all
1	2	3	4

- How much confidence you have in justice system, is it great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?

A great deal	Quite a lot	Not very much	None at all
1	2	3	4

- And how democratically is this country being governed today?

Not at all democratic										Completely democratic
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

- *Socioeconomic factors* (employment status, occupational status, experience of unemployment, experience of social security dependency, household income):
 - Are you yourself gainfully employed at the moment or not? Please select (only for the main job) the employment status that applies to you:

<i>Paid employment</i>
- 30 hours a week or more - Less than 30 hours a week - Self employed
<i>No paid employment</i>
- Military Service - Retired/pensioned - Homemaker not otherwise employed - Student - Unemployed - Disabled

- What is the name or title of your main job? – This was an open-ended question later standardized in the published dataset according to ESEC classification that looks as follows in the analysis:

1	Large employers, higher managers/professionals
2	Lower managers/professionals, higher supervisory/technicians
3	Intermediate occupations
4	Small employers and self-employed (non-agriculture)
5	Small employers and self-employed (agriculture)
6	Lower supervisors and technicians
7	Lower sales and service
8	Lower technical
9	Routine

- During the last five years, have you experienced a continuous period of unemployment longer than 3 months? – Yes/No
- During the last five years, have you been dependent on social security at any time? – Yes/No
- Here is a list of incomes and we would like to know in what group your household is, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in. Just give the letter of the group your household falls into, after taxes and other deductions.

Decile	Monthly (Currency Swedish Krona)	Annual (Currency Swedish Krona)
A 1st decile	up to 10999	up to 131999
B 2nd decile	11000-14999	132000-179999
C 3rd decile	15000-18999	180000-227999
D 4th decile	19000-21999	228000-263999
E 5th decile	22000-24999	264000-299999
F 6th decile	25000-28999	300000-347999

G 7th decile	29000-32999	348000-395999
H 8th decile	33000-39999	396000-479999
I 9th decile	40000-48999	480000-587999
L10th decile	49000 or more	588000 or more

Source statistics Sweden and ESS

Control variables:

- *Demographics* (age, sex, place of birth, parents' place of birth, household composition, region of residence, settlement type, nationality, educational attainment):

- Can you tell me your year of birth, please? – Self-reported, later converted into Age of respondent from 18 to 82
- Sex of respondent – Male/female
- Do you have Swedish nationality? – Yes/No
- Were you born in Sweden? – Yes/No
- Was your father born in Sweden? – Yes/No
- Was your mother born in Sweden? – Yes/No
- Including yourself, how many people – including children – live here regularly as members of this household? - Self-reported number from 1 to 7 and more.
- Region – Filled in by interviewer according to where interview was conducted.

1	Stockholm
2	Ostra Mellansverige
3	Smaland med oarna
4	Sydsverige
5	Vastsverige
6	Norra Mellansverige
7	Mellersta Norrland
8	Ovre Norrland

- Size of town - Filled in by interviewer.

1	under 2000
2	2 - 5.000
3	5 - 10.000
4	10 - 20.000
5	20 - 50.000
6	50 - 100.000
7	100 - 500.000
8	500.000 and more

- What is the highest educational level that you have attained? – The answers in the survey questionnaire were based on Swedish educational system and later standardized in the published dataset according to ISCED that looks as follows in the analysis:

0	Less than primary
1	Primary
2	Lower secondary
3	Upper secondary
4	Post-secondary non tertiary
5	Short-cycle tertiary
6	Bachelor or equivalent
7	Master or equivalent
8	Doctoral or equivalent

- *Societal attachment* (generalized trust, trust in different groups such as family, neighborhood, acquaintances, first met people, people of another religion or nationality):

- Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1	Most people can be trusted
2	Can't be too careful

- Could you tell me whether you trust your family completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
1	2	3	4

- Could you tell me whether you trust people in your neighborhood completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
1	2	3	4

- Could you tell me whether you trust people you know personally completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
1	2	3	4

- Could you tell me whether you trust people you meet for the first time completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
1	2	3	4

- Could you tell me whether you trust people of another religion completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
1	2	3	4

- Could you tell me whether you trust people of another nationality completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
1	2	3	4

- *Religion* (religiosity, importance of religion in life, frequency of religious service attendance, belonging to religious institution):

- Independently of whether you go to church or not, would you say you are...?

1	A religious person
2	Not a religious person
3	A convinced atheist

- How important is religion in your life?

Very important	Quite important	Not important	Not at all important
1	2	3	4

- Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

1	More than once a week
2	Once a week
3	Once a month
4	Only on specific holidays
5	Once a year
6	Less often
7	Never, practically never

- On the following list of voluntary organizations which, if any, do you belong to? – Religious or church organizations? – Mentioned/not mentioned

- *Political affiliation* (placement on political “left” and “right”, party affiliation, belonging political party of group, interest in politics, importance of politics in life, satisfaction with the functioning of Sweden’s political system, following politics on media, trust in press, participation in political action such as voting in national elections):

- In political matters, people talk of “the left” (1) and “the right”(10). How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?

The left									The right
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

- Which (political) party appeals to you most?

1	Social democratic party
2	Moderate party
3	Sweden democrats
4	Center party
5	People’s party

6	Left wing party
7	Green party
8	Christian democratic party
31	Other, please specify

- How often do you follow politics on television?

Every day	Several times a week	Once or twice a week	Less often	Never
1	2	3	4	5

- How often do you follow politics on the radio?

Every day	Several times a week	Once or twice a week	Less often	Never
1	2	3	4	5

- How often do you follow politics in the daily papers?

Every day	Several times a week	Once or twice a week	Less often	Never
1	2	3	4	5

- How often do you follow politics on the social media?

Every day	Several times a week	Once or twice a week	Less often	Never
1	2	3	4	5

- How much confidence you have in press, is it great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?

A great deal	Quite a lot	Not very much	None at all
1	2	3	4

- How satisfied are you with how the political system is functioning in your country these days?

Not satisfied at all									Completely satisfied
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

- How important is politics in your life?

Very important	Quite important	Not important	Not at all important
1	2	3	4

- How interested would you say you are in politics?

Very interested	Somewhat interested	Not very interested	Not at all interested
1	2	3	4

- On the following list of voluntary organizations which, if any, do you belong to? – Political parties or groups? – Mentioned/not mentioned

- When elections take place, do you vote always, usually or never?

Always	Usually	Never
1	2	3

9.2 Appendix 2

Process of Recoding

Variable Name		Variable Values		Reason for Recoding
Original	Recoded	Original	Recoded	
Gainfully employed at the moment	Employment status	1 = Paid employment – 30 hours a week or more 2 = Paid employment – less than 30 hours a week 3 = Paid employment – self employed 4 = No paid employment – military service 5 = No paid employment – retired/pensioned 6 = No paid employment – homemaker not otherwise employed 7 = No paid employment - student 8 = No paid employment - unemployed 9 = No paid employment - disabled	1 = In paid employment (including value 1 to 3) 2 = Not in paid employment (including values 4, 5, 6, 7, 9) 3 = Unemployed (including value 8)	Recoded to later transform into a dummy variable.
Political party that appeals to respondent the most	Party affiliation	1= Social democratic party 2= Moderate party 3= Sweden democrats 4=Center party 5=People’s party 6=Left wing party 7= Green party 8= Cristian democratic party 31=Other	1= Social democratic party (75201) 2= Moderate party (75202) 3= Sweden democrats (75203) 4=Other (including values 4 to 8, and 31)	Recoded to later transform into a dummy variable.

9.3 Appendix 3

Missing Values Analysis

Variable	Univariate Statistics		Separate Variance t Tests							
	Missing	Missing	Proud of being Swedish		Placement on political “left” and “right”		Party affiliation		Occupation	
	Count	Percent	t	P(2-tail)	t	P(2-tail)	t	P(2-tail)	t	P(2-tail)
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	4	0.7	-1.8	0.089	-0.2	0.869	-0.7	0.467	-1.2	0.227
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	22	3.6	-1.2	0.228	-1.4	0.173	0.5	0.641	-2	0.053
Prioritizing Swedes’ over immigrants in case of job scarcity	16	2.7	1.6	0.123	0.5	0.651	0.5	0.625	-0.6	0.527
Perception of immigrants impact on country’s development	9	1.5	-0.7	0.486	-0.7	0.471	0.6	0.56	-0.9	0.381
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	7	1.2	-0.2	0.879	1	0.306	-0.2	0.824	1	0.321
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	18	3	-2	0.059	-0.5	0.648	-1	0.338	-1.3	0.204
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	18	3	-1.4	0.183	-1	0.311	-0.7	0.474	-1.4	0.156
Proud of being Swedish	31	5.1	.	.	-1.2	0.23	-1.9	0.064	-1.7	0.103
Voting in national elections	4	0.7	-7.2	0	-0.5	0.642	-2.8	0.006	-3.9	0
Importance of politics in everyday life	2	0.3	-1.1	0.264	-3.2	0.003	-2.8	0.007	-0.5	0.612
Importance of religion in everyday life	3	0.5	0.2	0.879	0.5	0.649	1.7	0.085	0.7	0.485
Trust in Family	1	0.2	-1.9	0.072	-0.9	0.369	-1.2	0.253	-1.3	0.206
Trust in people in neighborhood	9	1.5	-2.6	0.012	0.2	0.808	-1.5	0.137	-1.1	0.266
Trust in people one knows personally	3	0.5	-2.1	0.047	-2.8	0.009	-1.3	0.19	-1	0.325
Trust in people first met	10	1.7	-2.2	0.038	-0.5	0.606	-2.3	0.026	0	0.984
Trust in people of another religion	27	4.5	-0.6	0.548	0.7	0.501	0.4	0.683	0.6	0.532
Trust in people of another nationality	20	3.3	-1.2	0.237	0.8	0.445	-0.1	0.891	0.3	0.788
Frequency of religious service attendance	1	0.2	0.3	0.761	1.3	0.203	2.6	0.01	2	0.044
Interest in politics	2	0.3	-0.6	0.523	-3.8	0.001	-3.9	0	-1.8	0.073
Trust in parliament	15	2.5	2.2	0.039	-1.5	0.147	0	0.987	0.9	0.369
Trust in government	15	2.5	3	0.006	-0.7	0.465	0.2	0.809	0.9	0.379
Trust in justice system	16	2.7	1.9	0.068	-2.2	0.038	-0.6	0.539	1.2	0.231
Assessment of democracy in Sweden	10	1.7	-0.7	0.49	1.6	0.119	1.2	0.218	-0.1	0.958
Placement on political “left” and “right”	32	5.3	3.1	0.004	.	.	1.1	0.275	0.9	0.36
Satisfaction with political system	12	2	-2.3	0.027	2.6	0.015	1.3	0.206	1	0.324
Attachment to one’s country	4	0.7	-2.8	0.009	-2.3	0.026	-0.8	0.454	-0.2	0.832
Importance of being born in a country	8	1.3	1.1	0.279	-0.7	0.491	0.4	0.708	-0.2	0.809
Importance of respecting country’s political institutions and laws	3	0.5	-1.4	0.186	-2.7	0.011	-0.9	0.359	-1.4	0.179
Importance of having country’s ancestry	8	1.3	1.4	0.172	-0.3	0.794	-0.1	0.882	-0.4	0.69
Importance of being able to speak the language	3	0.5	-0.1	0.914	-1.4	0.176	2	0.051	-0.4	0.675
Importance of sharing culture	8	1.3	-0.1	0.947	-1.8	0.074	-0.8	0.427	0.4	0.665
Following politics on television	2	0.3	-2	0.057	-6.1	0	-6.2	0	-2.6	0.013
Following politics on the radio	2	0.3	-2.6	0.015	-3.3	0.002	-2	0.053	-3	0.003
Following politics in the daily papers	2	0.3	-4.3	0	-6.1	0	-3.4	0.001	-3.3	0.002

Following politics on social media	2	0.3	-0.4	0.658	-3	0.006	-3.8	0	1.2	0.242
Trust in press	3	0.5	0	0.975	0	0.97	0.6	0.542	0	0.965
Age	3	0.5	2.9	0.007	1.1	0.289	2	0.054	4.8	0
Household composition	3	0.5	-0.9	0.402	1.5	0.149	-0.5	0.647	-2.4	0.017
Household income	25	4.1	1.9	0.065	2.8	0.009	2.1	0.035	2.4	0.02
Educational attainment	5	0.8	0.2	0.87	3	0.004	1.7	0.088	3.8	0
Settlement type	0	0	0	0.984	1.3	0.217	0.6	0.52	2	0.049
Sex	1	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Party affiliation	76	12.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Generalized trust	12	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Religiosity	13	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Born in Sweden	2	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Father born in Sweden	3	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mother born in Sweden	1	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employment status	18	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployment experience	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social security dependence experience	4	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region of settlement	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nationality	2	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation	69	11.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belonging to religious organization	7	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belonging to political party/group	7	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Little's MCAR test: Chi-Square = 4410.014, DF = 3766, Sig. = .000										

9.4 Appendix 4

Descriptive Statistics

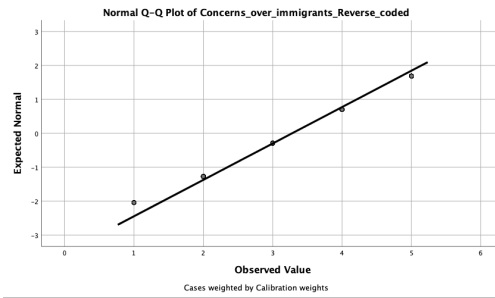
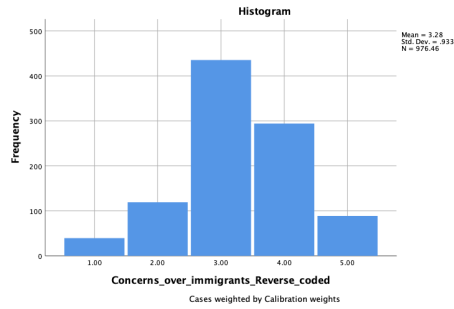
Variable	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	5% Trimmed Mean	Std. Dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Significance
Concerns over immigrants' living conditions	1184	1	5	3.2848	3.3003	0.93119	-0.247	0.052	.000
Attitudes towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	1152	1	10	4.8845	4.8008	2.19301	0.177	-0.215	.000
Perception of immigrants influence on country's development	1172	1	5	3.1	3.07	1.086	-0.15	-0.77	.000
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants when jobs are scarce	1171	1	5	3.92	3.98	1.055	-0.86	0.079	.000
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	1180	1	10	7.73	7.98	2.444	-1.064	0.296	.000
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	1163	1	10	4.67	4.5	2.699	0.474	-0.852	.000
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	1160	1	10	5.15	5.06	2.747	0.27	-1.002	.000
Household income	1144	1	10	6.69	7.01	2.979	-0.52	-1.066	.000
Importance of being born in a country	1179	1	4	3.04	3.11	0.891	-0.675	-0.291	.000
Importance of respecting country's political institutions and laws	1183	1	4	1.22	1.13	0.538	2.866	9.371	.000
Importance of having country's ancestry	1176	1	4	3.22	3.3	0.824	-0.891	0.208	.000
Importance of being able to speak the language	1184	1	4	1.52	1.47	0.653	1.166	1.46	.000
Importance of sharing culture	1176	1	4	2.03	2	0.745	0.37	-0.148	.000
Attachment to one's country	1186	1	4	1.67	1.62	0.638	0.581	0.206	.000
Age	1188	18	82	49.06	49.25	18.685	0.089	-1.153	.000
Settlement type (size)	1195	1	5	3.36	3.35	0.954	0.313	-0.67	.000
Educational attainment	1182	0	8	4.08	4.14	1.899	0.242	-0.973	.000
Placement on political "left" and "right"	1140	1	10	5.51	5.56	2.069	-0.002	-0.488	.000
Following politics on television	1188	1	5	2.83	2.75	1.329	-0.031	-1.254	.000
Following politics on the radio	1190	1	5	3.38	3.39	1.404	-0.537	-1.047	.000
Following politics in the daily papers	1191	1	5	2.84	2.73	1.402	-0.035	-1.363	.000
Following politics on social media	1190	1	5	3.33	3.29	1.392	-0.391	-1.149	.000
Trust in press	1182	1	4	2.68	2.67	0.699	0.081	-0.388	.000
Satisfaction with political system	1171	1	10	6.37	6.47	2.16	-0.539	-0.137	.000
Household composition	1185	1	7	2.45	2.37	1.303	0.811	0.032	.000
Trust in Family	1192	1	4	1.11	1.04	0.348	3.513	13.632	.000
Trust in people in neighborhood	1178	1	4	1.71	1.61	0.697	0.89	1.043	.000
Trust in people one knows personally	1188	1	4	1.47	1.45	0.527	0.454	-0.82	.000
Trust in people first met	1175	1	4	2.19	2.13	0.661	0.696	0.987	.000
Trust in people of another religion	1145	1	4	1.89	1.86	0.653	0.599	1.135	.000
Trust in people of another nationality	1160	1	4	1.81	1.78	0.593	0.416	1.183	.000
Frequency of religious service attendance	1194	1	7	5.79	5.99	1.569	-1.173	0.402	.000
Interest in politics	1193	1	4	2.28	2.22	0.875	0.207	-0.656	.000
Trust in parliament	1167	1	4	2.31	2.31	0.701	0.308	0.023	.000
Trust in government	1165	1	4	2.53	2.54	0.737	0.301	-0.348	.000
Trust in justice system	1165	1	4	2.07	2.07	0.714	0.486	0.389	.000
Assessment of democracy in Sweden	1177	1	10	7.83	8.01	1.817	-1.436	2.834	.000
Proud of being Swedish	1138	1	4	1.52	1.45	0.668	1.108	0.848	.000
Voting in national elections	1098	1	3	1.13	1.04	0.419	3.411	11.029	.000
Importance of politics in everyday life	1192	1	4	2.09	2.01	0.789	0.502	0.006	.000
Importance of religion in everyday life	1190	1	4	2.89	2.94	0.93	-0.523	-0.558	.000
Employment_In paid employment	1158	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employment_Not in paid employment	1158	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Employment_Unemployed	1158	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

Unemployment_experience_Yes	1181	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployment_experience_No	1181	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social_security_dependency_experience_Yes	1187	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social_security_dependency_experience_No	1187	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sex_Male	1193	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sex_Female	1193	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Born_in_Sweden_Yes	1189	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Born_in_Sweden_No	1189	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Father_Born_in_Sweden_Yes	1188	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Father_Born_in_Sweden_No	1188	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mother_Born_in_Sweden_Yes	1190	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mother_Born_in_Sweden_No	1190	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Generalized_trust_Most people can be trusted	1175	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Generalized_trust_Can not be too careful	1175	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Religiosity_A religious person	1165	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Religiosity_Not a religious person	1165	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Religiosity_A convinced atheist	1165	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Party_affiliation_Social democratic party	1048	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Party_affiliation_Moderate party	1048	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Party_affiliation_Sweden democrats	1048	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Party_affiliation_Other	1048	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region_Stockholm	1195	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region_Östra Mellansverige	1195	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region_Småland med öarna	1195	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region_Sydsverige	1195	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region_Västsverige	1195	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region_Norra Mellansverige	1195	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region_Mellersta Norrland	1195	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Region_Övre Norrland	1195	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belonging to a political party or group	1178	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not belonging to a political party or group	1178	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belonging to a religious organization	1178	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not belonging to a religious organization	1178	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Higher professionals	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Lower professionals	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Intermediate occupations	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Small employers	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Small agricultural employers	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Lower supervisors	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Lower service	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Lower technical	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation_Routine	1063	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nationality_Swedish	1192	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nationality_Not Swedish	1192	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Valid N (listwise)	694								

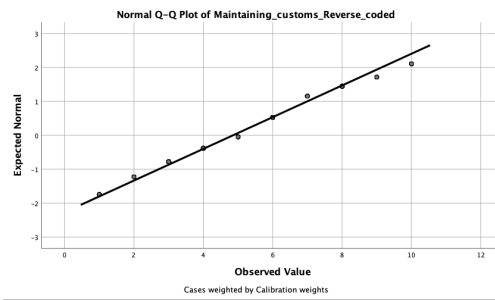
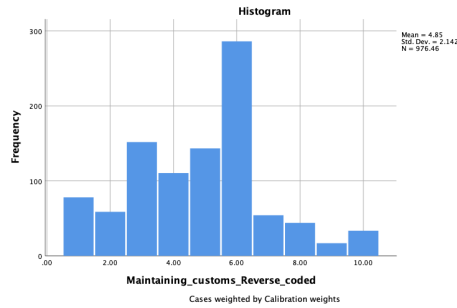
9.5 Appendix 5

Normality of Distribution of Individual Variables

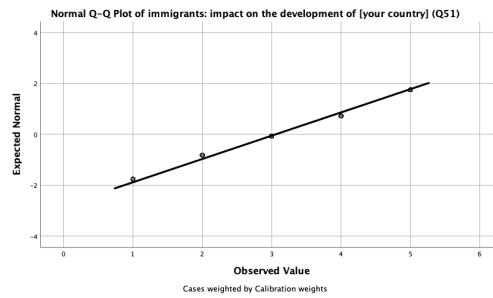
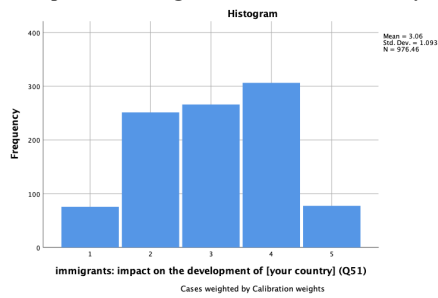
Concerns over immigrants' living conditions in Sweden



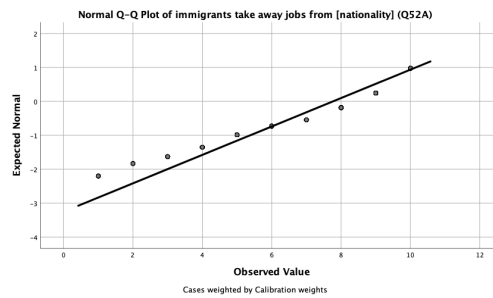
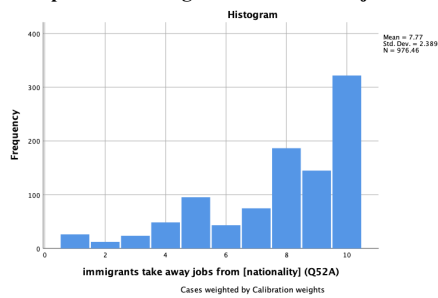
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture



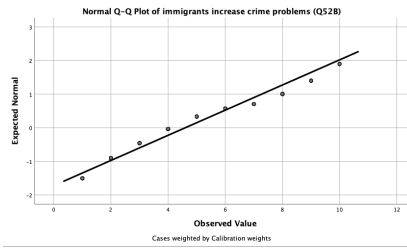
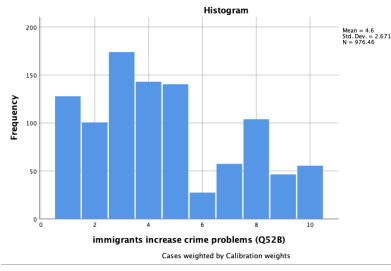
Perception of immigrants influence on country's development



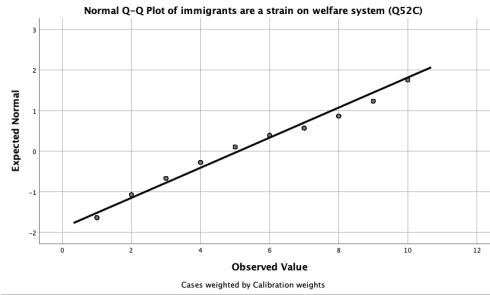
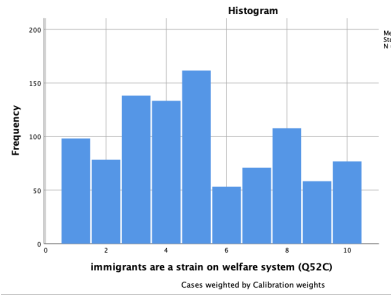
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market



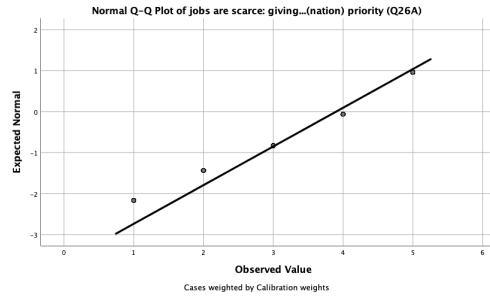
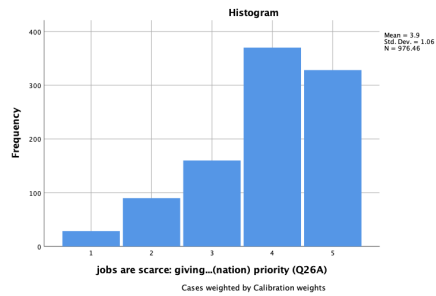
Perceptions of immigrants influence on crime problems



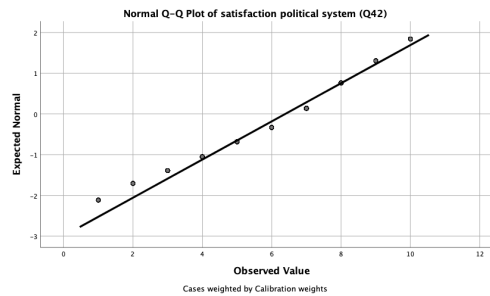
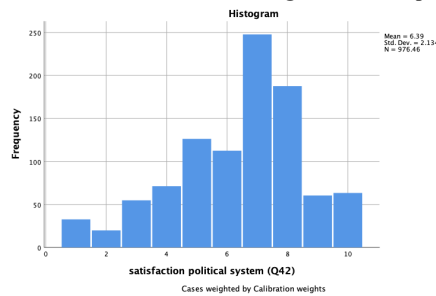
Perceptions of immigrants influence on welfare system



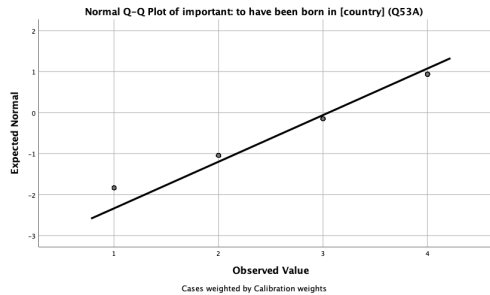
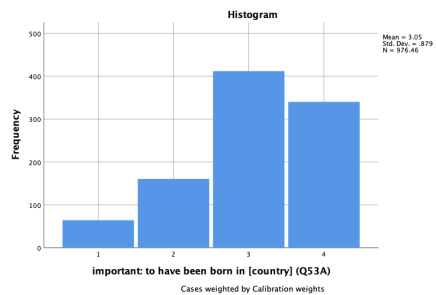
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity



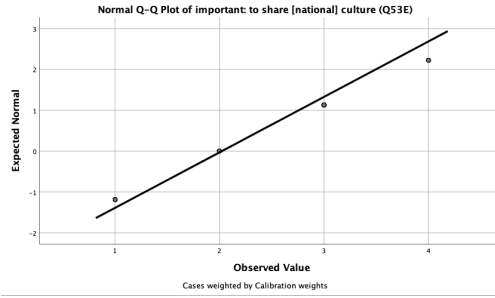
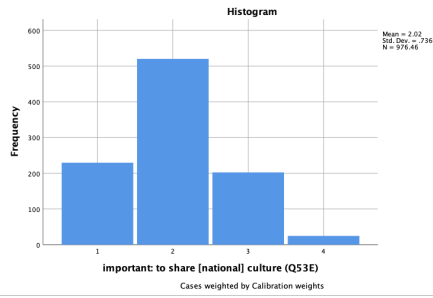
Satisfaction with the functioning of Sweden's political system



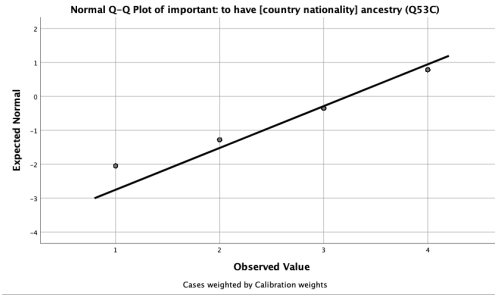
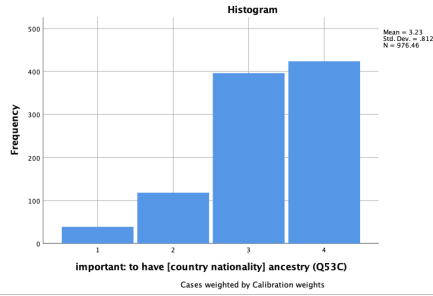
Importance of being born in a country



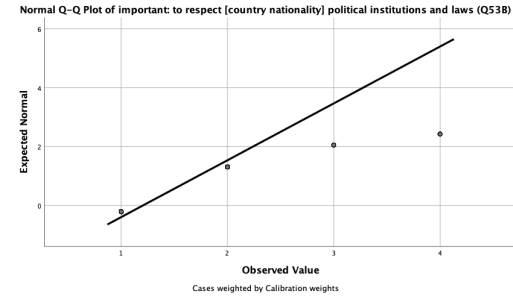
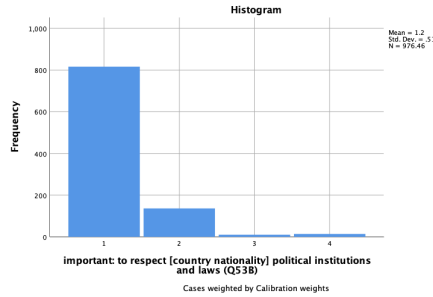
Importance of sharing culture



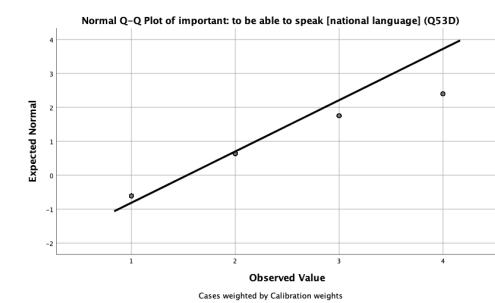
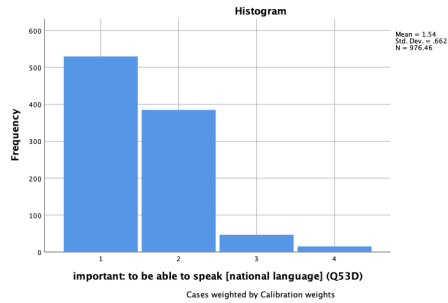
Importance of having country's ancestry



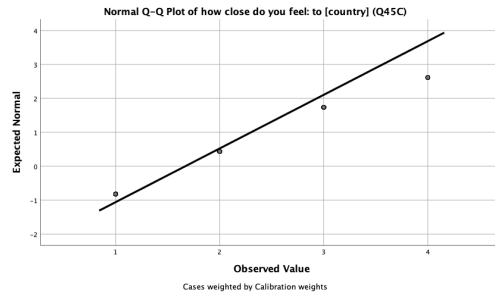
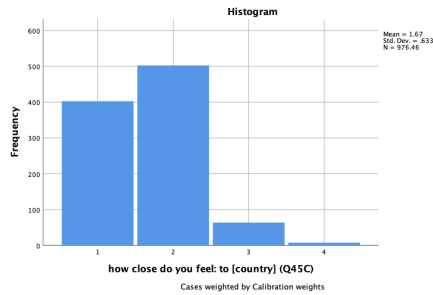
Importance of respecting country's political institutions and laws



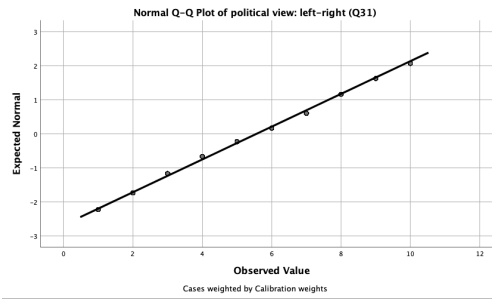
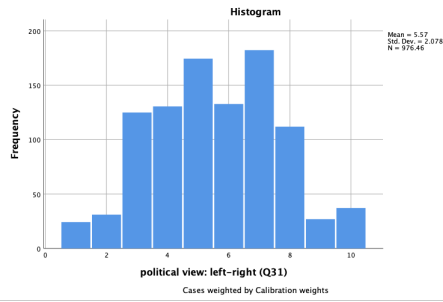
Importance of being able to speak the language



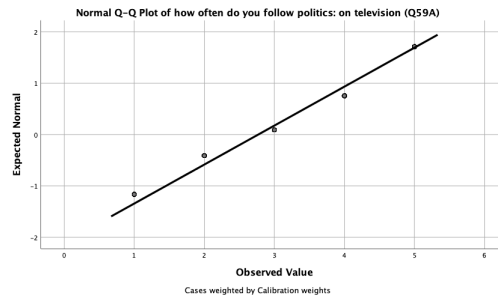
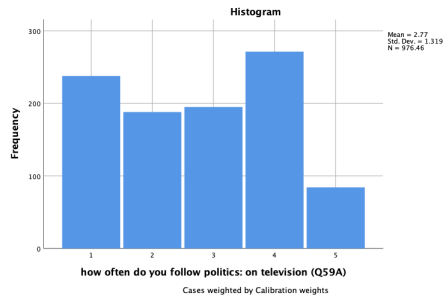
Attachment to one's country



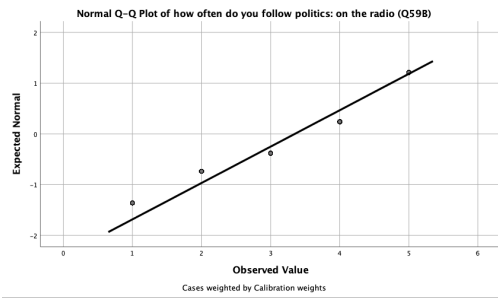
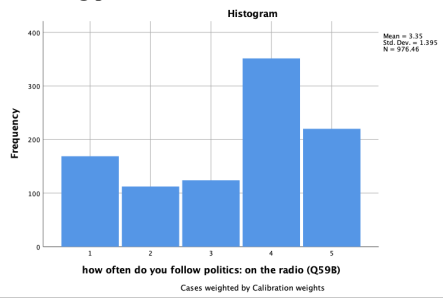
Placement on political "left" and "right"



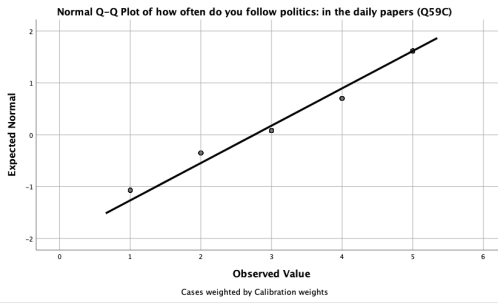
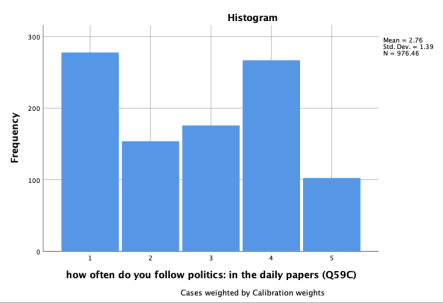
Following politics on television



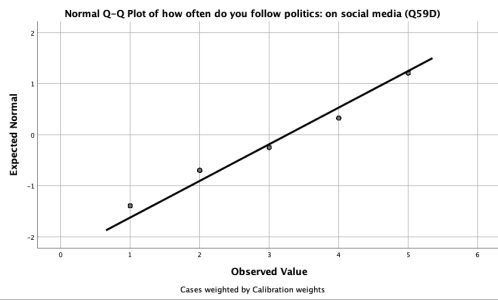
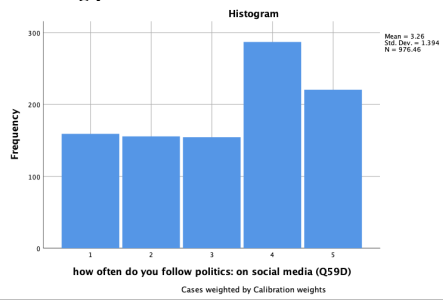
Following politics on the radio



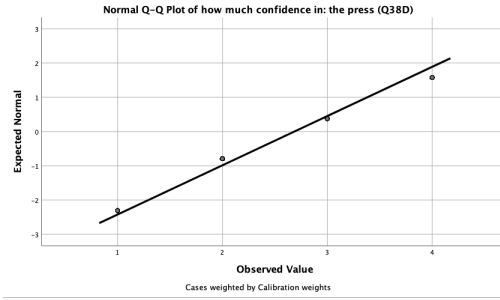
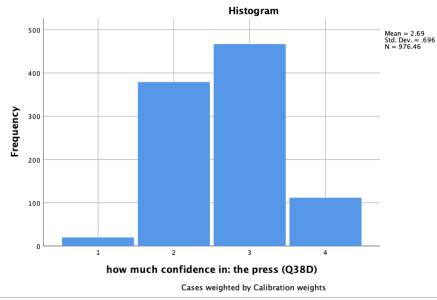
Following politics in the daily papers



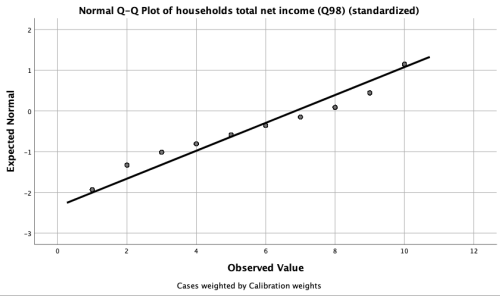
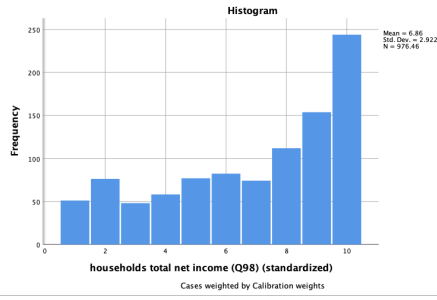
Following politics on social media



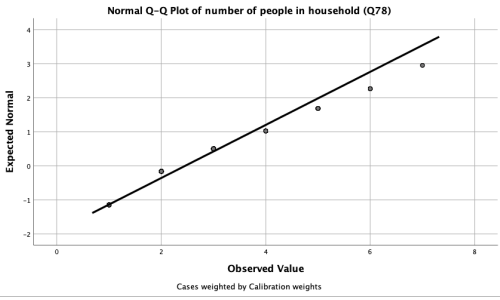
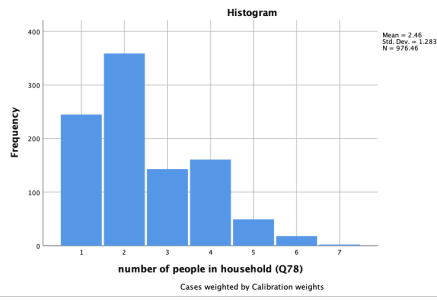
Trust in press



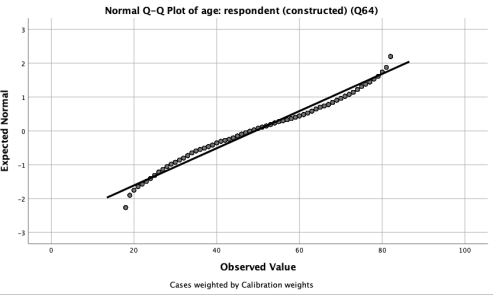
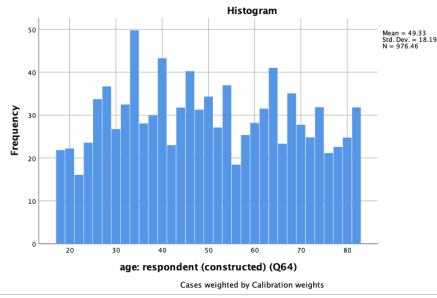
Household income



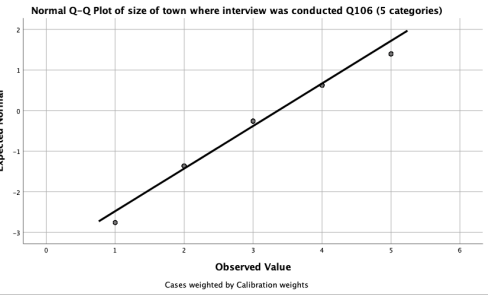
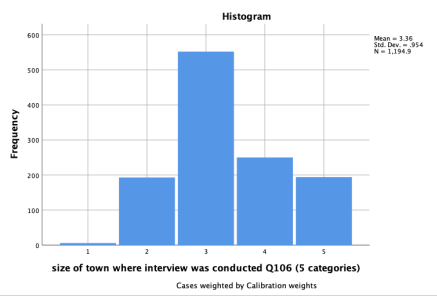
Household composition



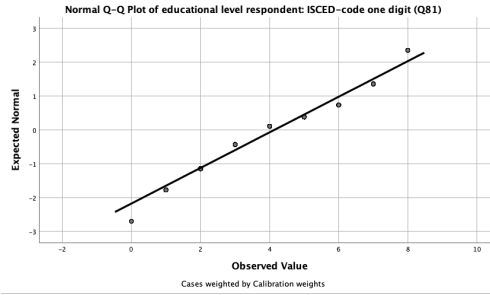
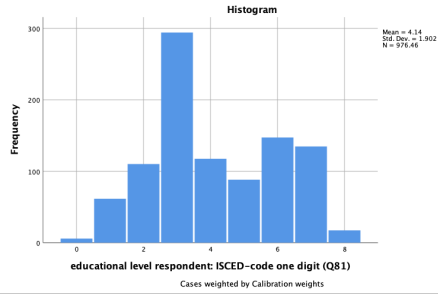
Respondent's age



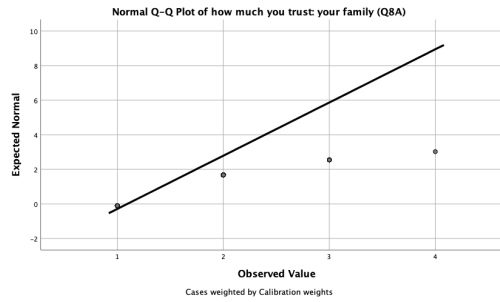
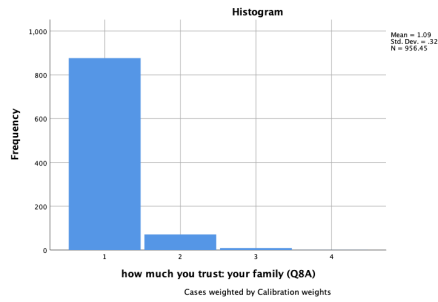
Settlement type



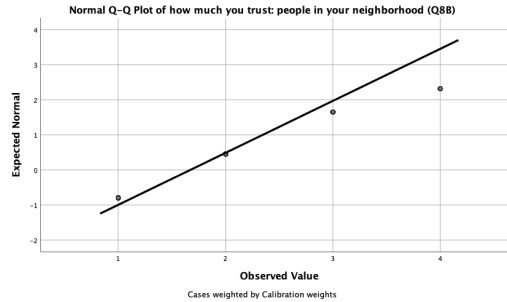
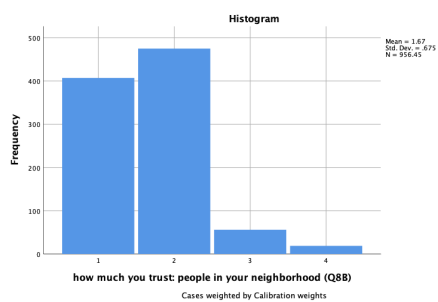
Educational attainment



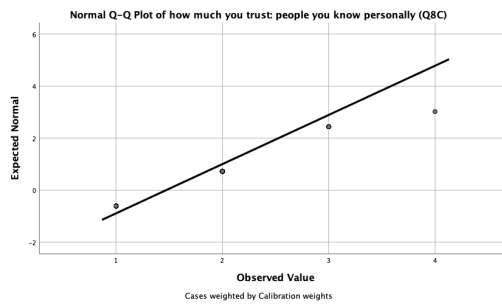
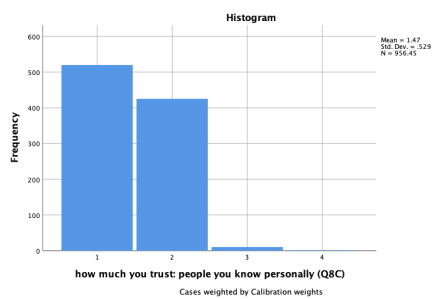
Trust in Family



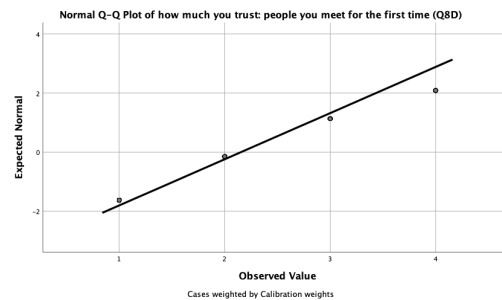
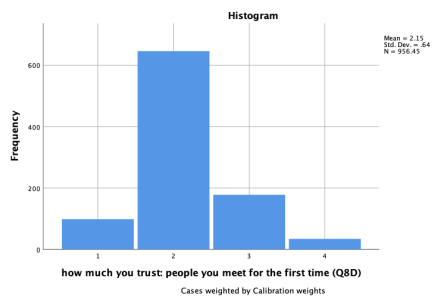
Trust in people in neighborhood



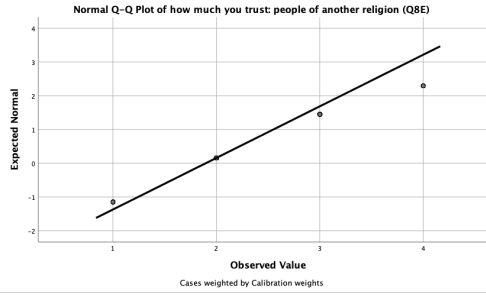
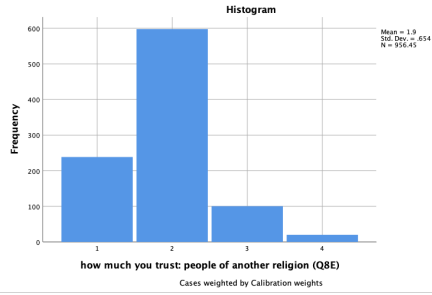
Trust in people one knows personally



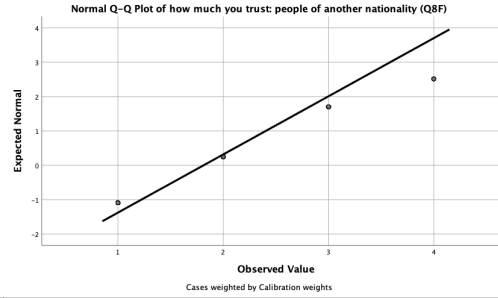
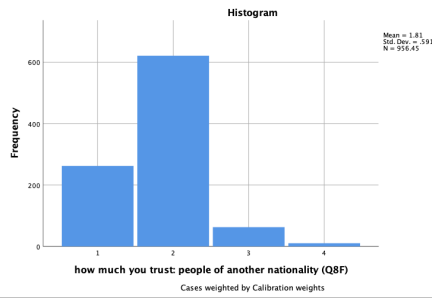
Trust in people first met



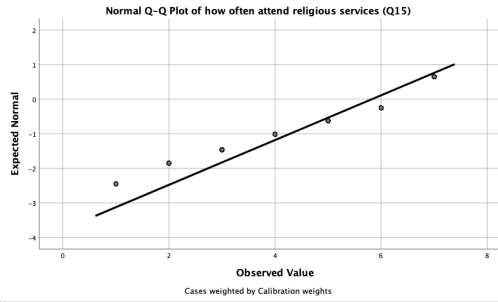
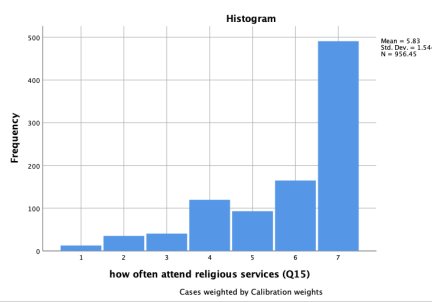
Trust in people of another religion



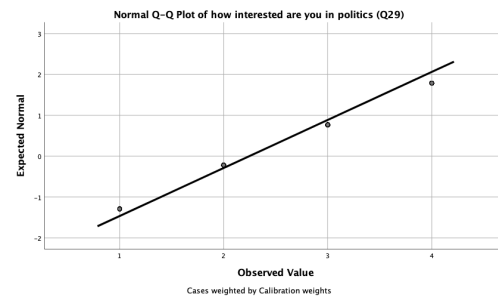
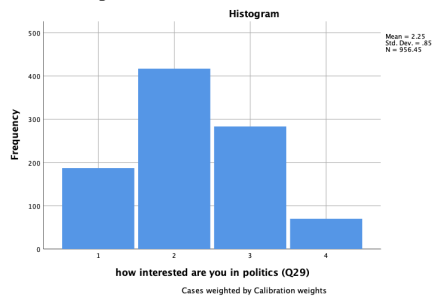
Trust in people of another nationality



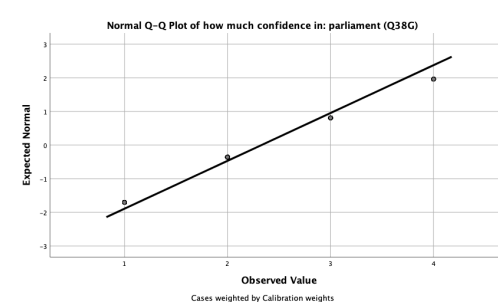
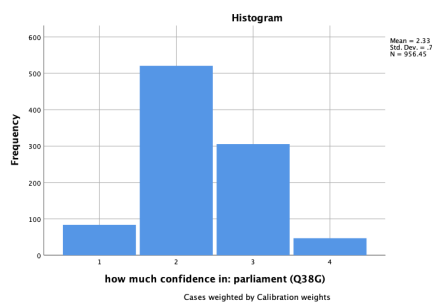
Frequency of religious service attendance



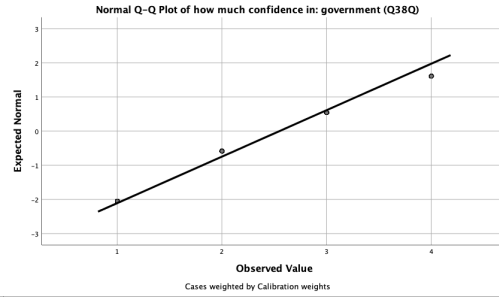
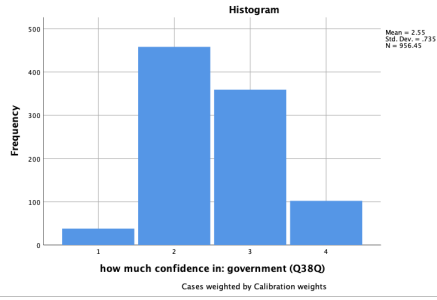
Interest in politics



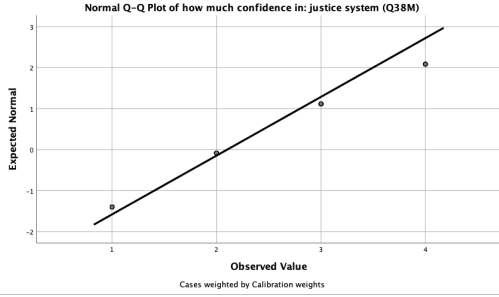
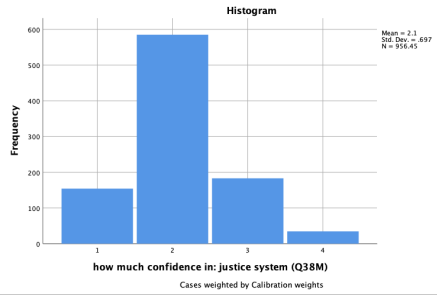
Trust in parliament



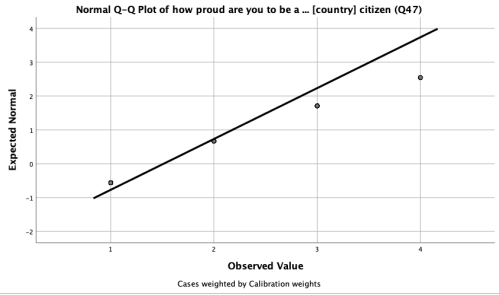
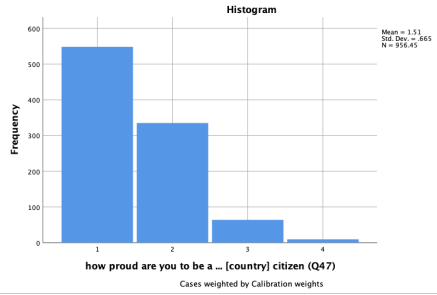
Trust in government



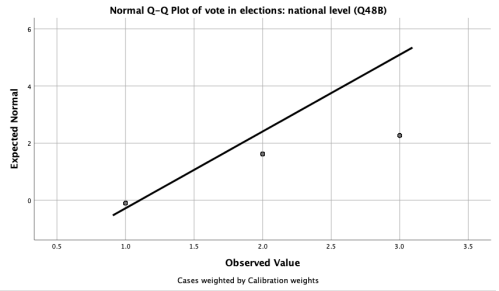
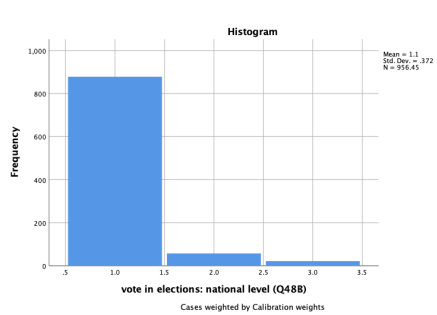
Trust in justice system



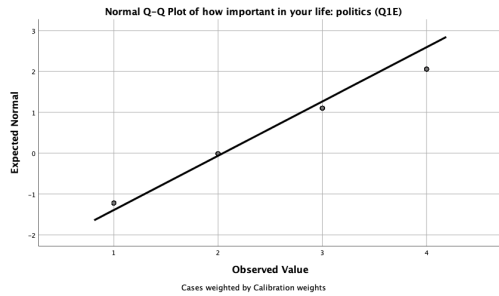
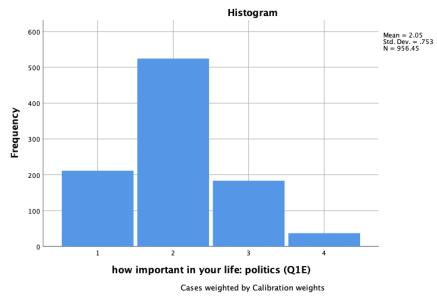
Proud of being Swedish



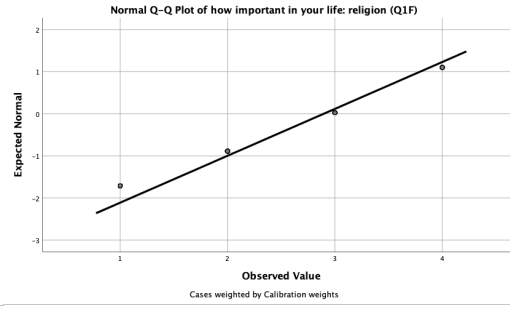
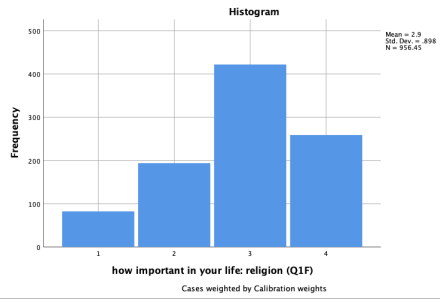
Voting in national elections



Importance of politics in daily life



Importance of religion in daily life



9.6 Appendix 6

Scales Development Principal Components (Factor) Analysis

Data suitability and initial model

Correlation Matrix

		Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	Concerns over immigrants living conditions	Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture
Correlation	Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	1.000	.256	.175	.286	.312	.243	.179
	Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	.256	1.000	.352	.337	.341	.286	.205
	Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	.175	.352	1.000	.369	.415	.243	.173
	Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	.286	.337	.369	1.000	.740	.372	.275
	Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	.312	.341	.415	.740	1.000	.459	.283
	Concerns over immigrants living conditions	.243	.286	.243	.372	.459	1.000	.248
	Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	.179	.205	.173	.275	.283	.248	1.000

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.789
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1861.580
	df	21
	Sig.	.000

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.952	42.175	42.175	2.952	42.175	42.175
2	.875	12.506	54.680			
3	.829	11.841	66.521			
4	.798	11.397	77.917			
5	.695	9.927	87.844			
6	.601	8.581	96.424			
7	.250	3.576	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Anti-image Matrices

		Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	Concerns over immigrants living conditions	Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture
Anti-image Correlation	Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	.898 ^a	-.133	-.003	-.056	-.098	-.084	-.065
	Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	-.133	.850 ^a	-.225	-.091	-.031	-.116	-.072
	Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	-.003	-.225	.861 ^a	-.067	-.181	-.022	-.026
	Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	-.056	-.091	-.067	.726 ^a	-.625	-.018	-.077
	Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	-.098	-.031	-.181	-.625	.711 ^a	-.245	-.059
	Concerns over immigrants living conditions	-.084	-.116	-.022	-.018	-.245	.867 ^a	-.113
	Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	-.065	-.072	-.026	-.077	-.059	-.113	.909 ^a

a. Measures of Sampling Adequacy(MSA)

Component Matrix^a

	Component 1
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	.507
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	.603
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	.604
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	.798
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	.836
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	.636
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	.478

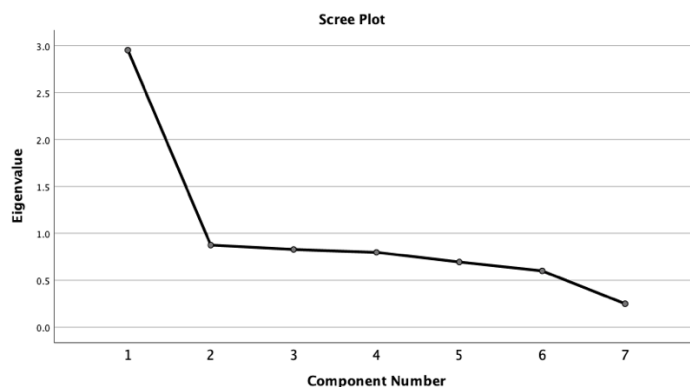
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	1.000	.257
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	1.000	.363
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	1.000	.365
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	1.000	.636
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	1.000	.699
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	1.000	.404
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	1.000	.228

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.



Alternative rotation method

Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	.787	
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	.723	.429
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	.697	.399
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	.618	
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture		.799
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development		.567
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	.404	.523

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	1.000	.366
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	1.000	.413
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	1.000	.622
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	1.000	.645
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	1.000	.706
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	1.000	.437
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	1.000	.638

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Validation on split-sample I

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.746
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	861.395
	df	21
	Sig.	.000

Pattern Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	.874	
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	.857	
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	.648	
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	.461	
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	.350	
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development		.925
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity		.527

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	1.000	.784
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	1.000	.471
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	1.000	.377
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	1.000	.708
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	1.000	.761
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	1.000	.381
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	1.000	.219

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Validation on split-sample II

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.820
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1030.231
	df	21
	Sig.	.000

Pattern Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	.779	
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	.742	
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	.705	
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	.694	
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture		.898
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development		.505
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	.324	.498

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
 Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	1.000	.375
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	1.000	.497
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	1.000	.567
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	1.000	.669
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	1.000	.720
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	1.000	.479
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	1.000	.716

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

9.7 Appendix 7

Scale Descriptive statistics, reliability tests, normality of distribution tests

Descriptive statistics

	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Socioeconomic_Attitudes	1084	90.8%	110	9.2%	1195	100.0%
Sociopsychological_Attitudes	1084	90.8%	110	9.2%	1195	100.0%
Combined_attitudes_scale	1084	90.8%	110	9.2%	1195	100.0%

Sociopsychological attitudes' scale

Reliability tests

Case Processing Summary

Cases		N	%
		Valid	1133.56
	Excluded ^a	61.39	5.1
	Total	1194.95	100.0

Weighted by the variable Calibration weights

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.464	.464	3

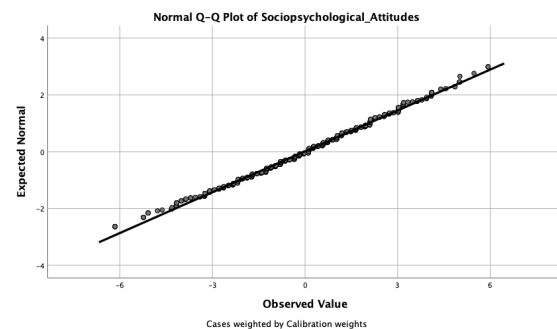
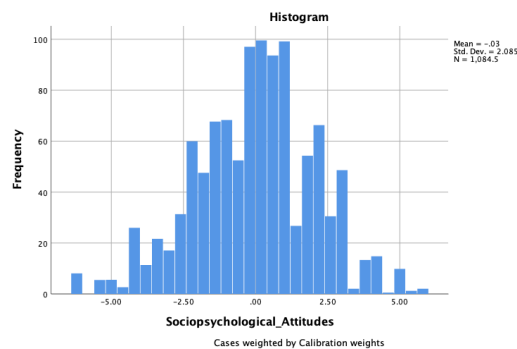
Summary Item Statistics

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Inter-Item Correlations	.224	.172	.251	.080	1.463	.002	3

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	-.0079841	2.345	.326	.107	.293
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	-.0139149	2.523	.266	.075	.402
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	-.0079175	2.513	.268	.076	.398

Normality of distribution tests



Socioeconomic attitudes' scale

Reliability tests

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	1119.10	93.7
	Excluded ^a	75.85	6.3
	Total	1194.95	100.0

Weighted by the variable Calibration weights

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.749	.750	4

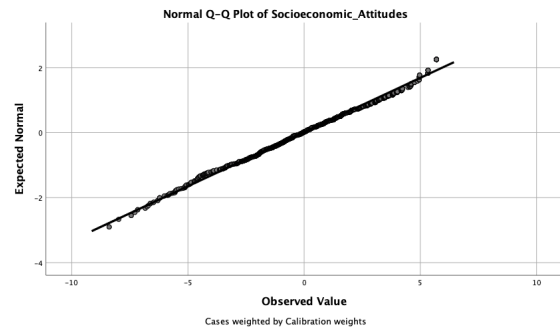
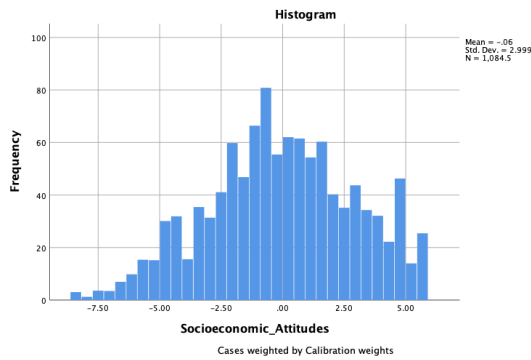
Summary Item Statistics

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Inter-Item Correlations	.428	.345	.742	.396	2.148	.022	4

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	-.0049856	6.013	.422	.182	.757
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	-.0098024	5.821	.468	.225	.733
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	-.0081382	5.196	.637	.561	.638
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	-.0062771	5.117	.666	.578	.622

Normality of distribution tests



General (combined) attitudes' scale

Reliability tests

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	1084.50	90.8
	Excluded ^a	110.45	9.2
	Total	1194.95	100.0

Weighted by the variable Calibration weights

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.760	.760	7

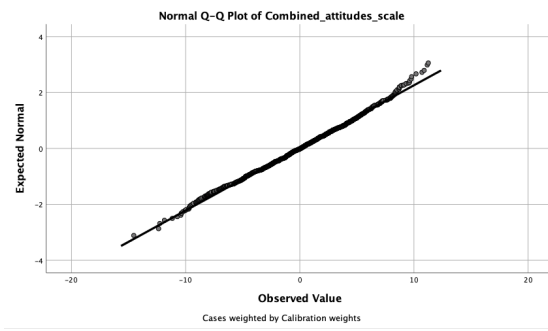
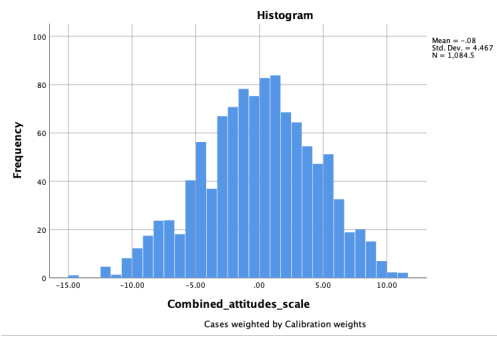
Summary Item Statistics

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Inter-Item Correlations	.312	.173	.740	.567	4.281	.015	7

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Prioritizing Swedes' over immigrants in case of job scarcity	-.0634307	15.386	.451	.216	.736
Perceptions of immigrants influence on job market	-.0794940	15.538	.436	.227	.739
Perceptions of immigrants impact on crime problems	-.0641976	14.283	.627	.562	.698
Perceptions of immigrants impact on welfare system	-.0705444	13.969	.681	.610	.686
Concerns over immigrants living conditions	-.0784824	15.235	.471	.247	.732
Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture	-.0783558	16.287	.337	.118	.759
Perception of immigrants impact on country's development	-.0649021	16.043	.360	.138	.755

Normality of distribution tests



9.8 Appendix 8

Model Diagnostics

Set 1_Sociopsychological attitudes_scale

Model summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				Selection Criteria				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	Akaike Information Criterion	Amemiya Prediction Criterion	Mallows' Prediction Criterion	Schwarz Bayesian Criterion
1	.509 ^a	.259	.214	1.73484	.259	5.760	41	676	.000	831.833	.833	79.016	1024.045
2	.524 ^b	.275	.216	1.73303	.016	1.109	13	663	.348	842.394	.846	89.848	1094.100
3	.568 ^c	.322	.255	1.68921	.048	4.168	11	652	.000	815.602	.815	66.000	1117.649

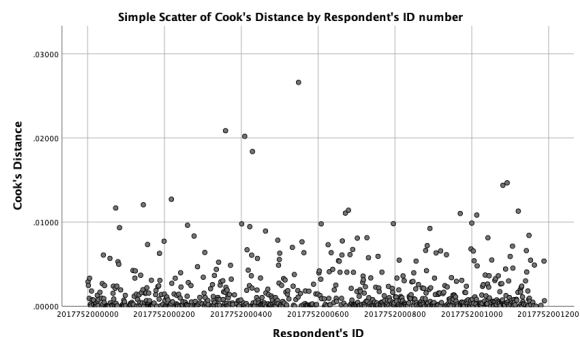
ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	710.753	41	17.335	5.760	.000 ^b
	Residual	2034.529	676	3.010		
	Total	2745.282	717			
2	Regression	754.034	54	13.964	4.649	.000 ^c
	Residual	1991.248	663	3.003		
	Total	2745.282	717			
3	Regression	884.856	65	13.613	4.771	.000 ^d
	Residual	1860.426	652	2.853		
	Total	2745.282	717			

a. Dependent Variable: Sociopsychological_Attitudes

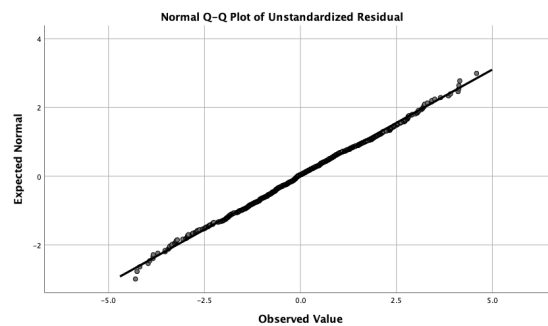
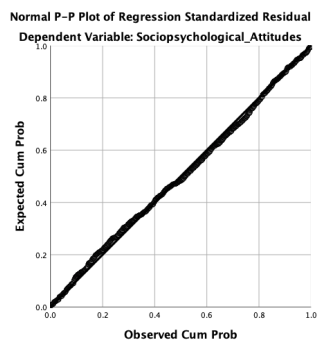
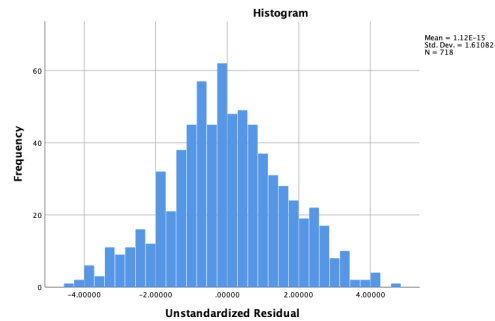
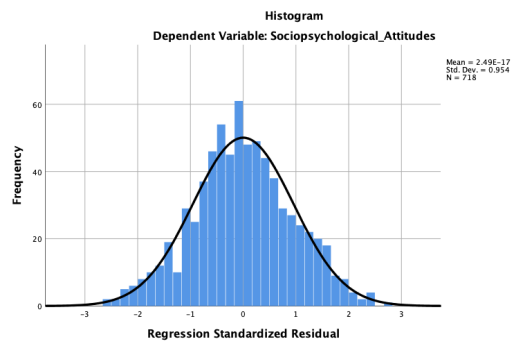
Detecting outliers using Cook's distance

Residuals Statistics ^a					
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	-4.0936	3.2453	-.1323	1.13874	707
Std. Predicted Value	-3.479	2.966	.000	1.000	707
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.335	.817	.505	.092	707
Adjusted Predicted Value	-4.2979	3.0397	-.2992	1.18192	445
Residual	-4.52300	4.52825	.00000	1.60128	707
Std. Residual	-2.691	2.695	.000	.953	707
Stud. Residual	-2.867	2.958	.000	1.004	707
Deleted Residual	-5.13276	4.37098	.03088	1.77646	445
Stud. Deleted Residual	-2.883	2.535	.018	1.003	445
Mahal. Distance	27.038	165.833	64.908	25.096	707
Cook's Distance	.000	.019	.002	.003	445
Centered Leverage Value	.038	.235	.092	.036	707

a. Dependent Variable: Sociopsychological_Attitudes



Normality tests



Descriptives

		Statistic	Std. Error	
Unstandardized Residual	Mean	.0000000	.06011522	
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-.1180229	
		Upper Bound	.1180229	
	5% Trimmed Mean	.0043581		
	Median	-.0687571		
	Variance	2.595		
	Std. Deviation	1.61081866		
	Minimum	-4.29932		
	Maximum	4.58675		
	Range	8.88607		
	Interquartile Range	2.06005		
	Skewness	.011	.091	
	Kurtosis	-.140	.182	

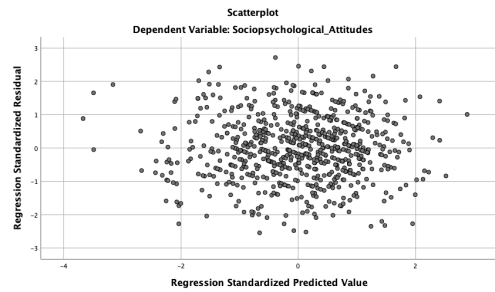
Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Unstandardized Residual	.021	718	.200 [*]	.997	718	.275

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance.

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Linearity and Homoscedasticity



Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	556.276	41	13.568	1.095	.319 ^b
	Residual	8375.419	676	12.390		
	Total	8931.695	717			
2	Regression	754.777	54	13.977	1.133	.244 ^c
	Residual	8176.918	663	12.333		
	Total	8931.695	717			
3	Regression	909.135	65	13.987	1.137	.224 ^d
	Residual	8022.560	652	12.305		
	Total	8931.695	717			

a. Dependent Variable: RES_squared

Set 1a_Sociopsychological attitudes_surrogate variable

Model summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	Change Statistics			Sig. F Change	Selection Criteria			
						F Change	df1	df2		Akaike Information Criterion	Amemiya Prediction Criterion	Mallows' Prediction Criterion	Schwarz Bayesian Criterion
1	.384 ^a	.147	.096	2.00216	.147	2.857	41	679	.000	1041.799	.958	95.306	1234.186
2	.405 ^b	.164	.096	2.00191	.017	1.013	13	666	.437	1053.684	.974	107.109	1305.619
3	.487 ^c	.237	.161	1.92791	.073	5.737	11	655	.000	1009.362	.917	66.000	1311.684

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	469.567	41	11.453	2.857	.000 ^b
	Residual	2721.859	679	4.009		
	Total	3191.426	720			
2	Regression	522.333	54	9.673	2.414	.000 ^c
	Residual	2669.092	666	4.008		
	Total	3191.426	720			
3	Regression	756.901	65	11.645	3.133	.000 ^d
	Residual	2434.525	655	3.717		
	Total	3191.426	720			

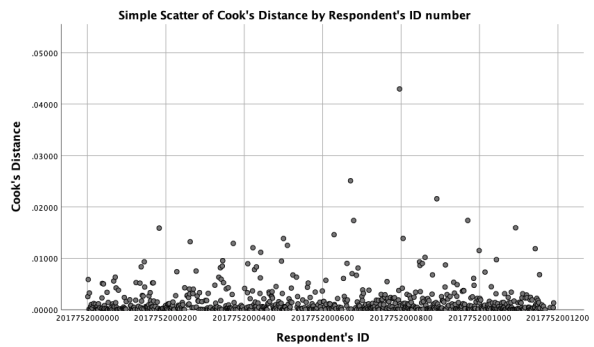
a. Dependent Variable: Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture_Reverse_coded

Detecting outliers using Cook's distance

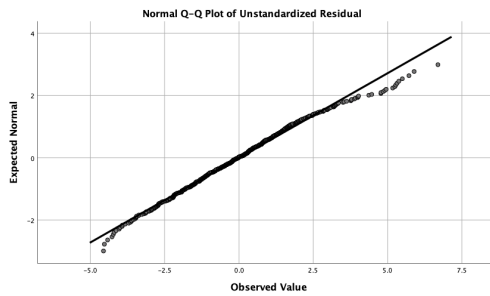
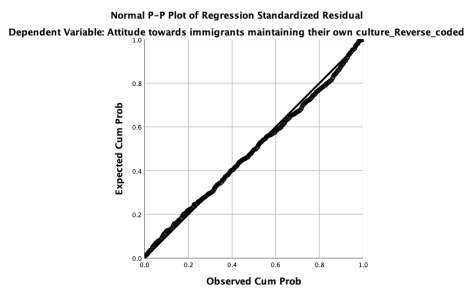
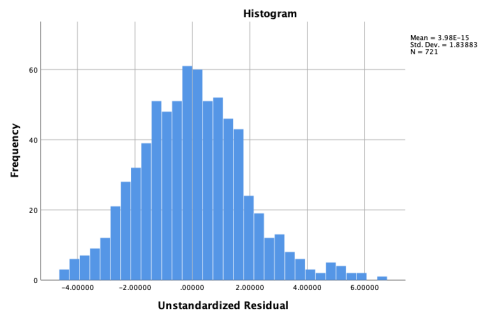
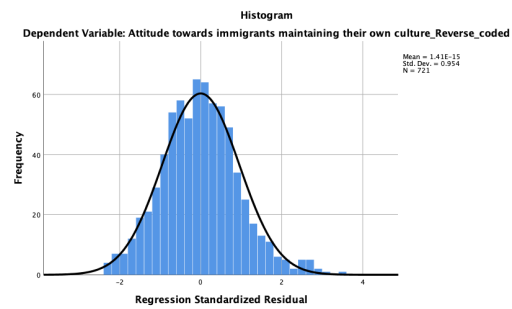
Residuals Statistics^a

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	1.6532	8.3187	4.8044	1.02531	721
Std. Predicted Value	-3.074	3.428	.000	1.000	721
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.378	.983	.573	.108	721
Adjusted Predicted Value	1.3182	7.8917	4.8056	1.04475	721
Residual	-4.55680	6.69092	.00000	1.83883	721
Std. Residual	-2.364	3.471	.000	.954	721
Stud. Residual	-2.509	3.796	.000	1.004	721
Deleted Residual	-5.13337	8.00667	-.00112	2.03894	721
Stud. Deleted Residual	-2.519	3.836	.000	1.006	721
Mahal. Distance	26.680	186.215	64.910	26.576	721
Cook's Distance	.000	.043	.002	.003	721
Centered Leverage Value	.037	.259	.090	.037	721

a. Dependent Variable: Attitude towards immigrants maintaining their own culture_Reverse_coded



Normality tests



Descriptives

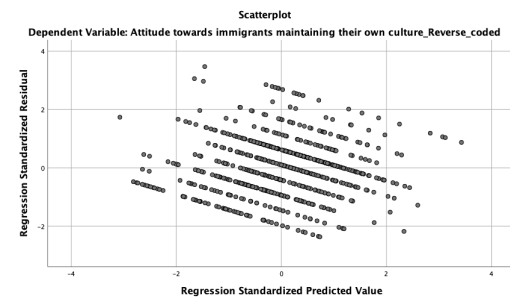
		Statistic	Std. Error	
Unstandardized Residual	Mean	.0000000	.06848150	
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-.1344473	
		Upper Bound	.1344473	
	5% Trimmed Mean	-.0392406		
	Median	-.0231003		
	Variance	3.381		
	Std. Deviation	1.83882710		
	Minimum	-4.55680		
	Maximum	6.69092		
	Range	11.24772		
	Interquartile Range	2.37976		
	Skewness	.325	.091	
	Kurtosis	.440	.182	

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Unstandardized Residual	.030	721	.161	.991	721	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Linearity and Homoscedasticity



ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	1397.616	41	34.088	1.247	.143 ^b
	Residual	18568.588	679	27.347		
	Total	19966.203	720			
2	Regression	2223.484	54	41.176	1.546	.009 ^c
	Residual	17742.720	666	26.641		
	Total	19966.203	720			
3	Regression	2888.512	65	44.439	1.704	.001 ^d
	Residual	17077.692	655	26.073		
	Total	19966.203	720			

a. Dependent Variable: RES_squared_2

Set 2_Socioeconomic attitudes_scale

Model summary

Model Summary^d

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	Selection Criteria			
										Akaike Information Criterion	Amemiya Prediction Criterion	Mallows' Prediction Criterion	Schwarz Bayesian Criterion
1	.622 ^a	.387	.349	2.34515	.387	10.297	41	670	.000	1254.456	.690	161.071	1446.315
2	.650 ^b	.423	.376	2.29661	.037	3.202	13	657	.000	1236.719	.673	140.058	1487.964
3	.706 ^c	.498	.447	2.16098	.075	8.733	11	646	.000	1160.016	.605	66.000	1461.509

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2321.883	41	56.631	10.297	.000 ^b
	Residual	3684.820	670	5.500		
	Total	6006.704	711			
2	Regression	2541.423	54	47.063	8.923	.000 ^c
	Residual	3465.281	657	5.274		
	Total	6006.704	711			
3	Regression	2989.998	65	46.000	9.850	.000 ^d
	Residual	3016.706	646	4.670		
	Total	6006.704	711			

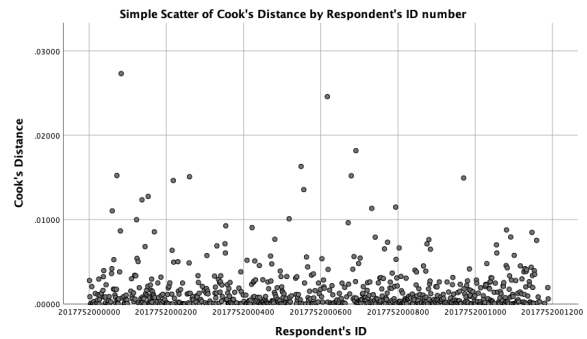
a. Dependent Variable: Socioeconomic_Attitudes

Detecting outliers using Cook's distance

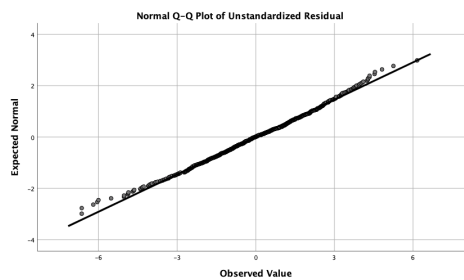
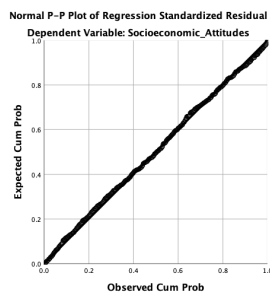
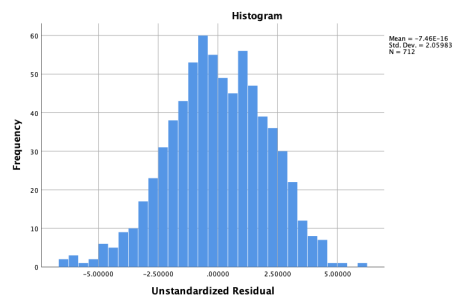
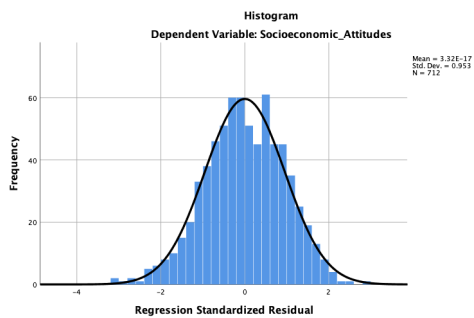
Residuals Statistics^a

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	-7.9639	5.1310	-.0325	2.05069	712
Std. Predicted Value	-3.868	2.518	.000	1.000	712
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.429	1.110	.647	.122	712
Adjusted Predicted Value	-7.9604	5.2964	-.0330	2.06457	712
Residual	-6.64050	6.15609	.00000	2.05983	712
Std. Residual	-3.073	2.849	.000	.953	712
Stud. Residual	-3.315	3.029	.000	1.003	712
Deleted Residual	-7.72945	6.96068	.00046	2.28169	712
Stud. Deleted Residual	-3.341	3.049	.000	1.004	712
Mahal. Distance	26.973	186.608	64.909	26.556	712
Cook's Distance	.000	.027	.002	.003	712
Centered Leverage Value	.038	.262	.091	.037	712

a. Dependent Variable: Socioeconomic_Attitudes



Normality tests



Descriptives

		Statistic	Std. Error	
Unstandardized Residual	Mean	.0000000	.07719545	
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-.1515583	
		Upper Bound	.1515583	
	5% Trimmed Mean	.0323076		
	Median	-.0248786		
	Variance	4.243		
	Std. Deviation	2.05983140		
	Minimum	-6.64050		
	Maximum	6.15609		
	Range	12.79659		
	Interquartile Range	2.80732		
	Skewness	-.203	.092	
	Kurtosis	-.015	.183	

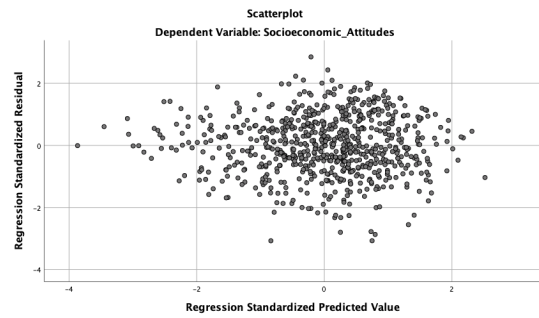
Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Unstandardized Residual	.029	712	.200 [*]	.996	712	.080

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance.

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Linearity and Homoscedasticity



ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	1329.637	41	32.430	.908	.637 ^b
	Residual	23929.876	670	35.716		
	Total	25259.513	711			
2	Regression	1790.414	54	33.156	.928	.622 ^c
	Residual	23469.099	657	35.722		
	Total	25259.513	711			
3	Regression	2115.953	65	32.553	.909	.678 ^d
	Residual	23143.561	646	35.826		
	Total	25259.513	711			

a. Dependent Variable: RES_squared_3

Set 2a_Socioeconomic attitudes_surogate variable

Model summary

Model Summary^d

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	Change Statistics				Selection Criteria			
						F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	Akaike Information Criterion	Amemiya Prediction Criterion	Mallows' Prediction Criterion	Schwarz Bayesian Criterion
1	.431 ^a	.186	.137	2.131	.186	3.825	41	686	.000	1142.088	.914	106.138	1334.880
2	.468 ^b	.219	.157	2.107	.033	2.198	13	673	.008	1137.819	.908	101.588	1390.286
3	.531 ^c	.282	.211	2.038	.062	5.235	11	662	.000	1099.094	.862	66.000	1402.054

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	711.905	41	17.364	3.825	.000 ^b
	Residual	3114.170	686	4.540		
	Total	3826.076	727			
2	Regression	838.729	54	15.532	3.499	.000 ^c
	Residual	2987.347	673	4.439		
	Total	3826.076	727			
3	Regression	1077.805	65	16.582	3.994	.000 ^d
	Residual	2748.271	662	4.151		
	Total	3826.076	727			

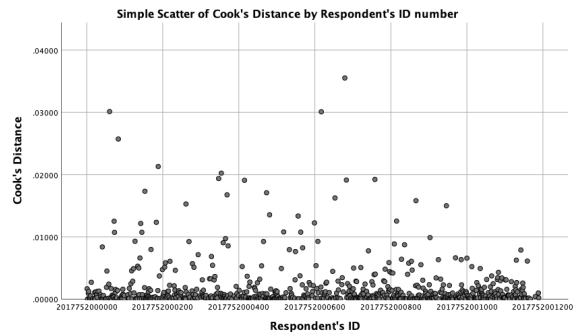
a. Dependent Variable: Immigrants taking away jobs from Natives

Detecting outliers using Cook's distance

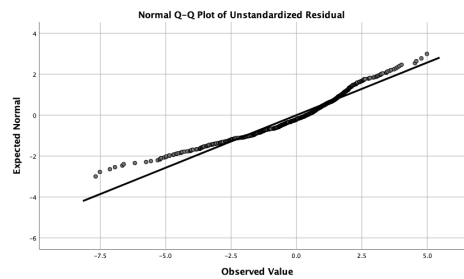
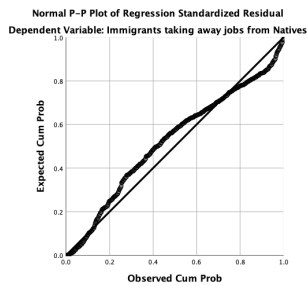
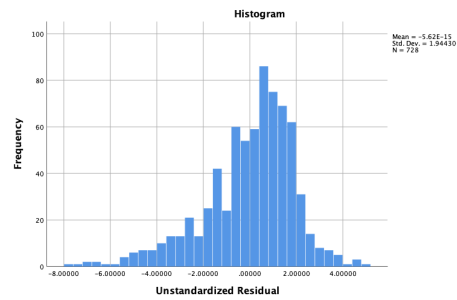
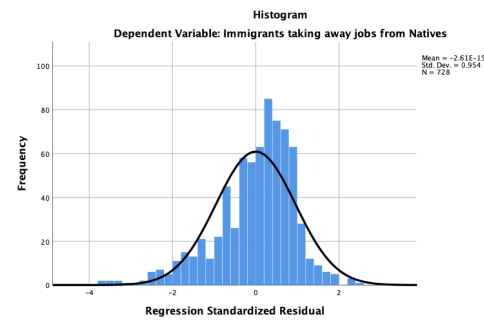
Residuals Statistics^a

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	3.21	10.42	7.85	1.218	728
Std. Predicted Value	-3.807	2.109	.000	1.000	728
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.399	1.038	.603	.114	728
Adjusted Predicted Value	3.44	10.87	7.85	1.244	728
Residual	-7.678	4.986	.000	1.944	728
Std. Residual	-3.768	2.447	.000	.954	728
Stud. Residual	-3.996	2.630	.000	1.008	728
Deleted Residual	-8.634	5.759	.001	2.172	728
Stud. Deleted Residual	-4.042	2.642	-.001	1.011	728
Mahal. Distance	26.821	187.534	64.911	26.642	728
Cook's Distance	.000	.036	.002	.004	728
Centered Leverage Value	.037	.258	.089	.037	728

a. Dependent Variable: Immigrants taking away jobs from Natives



Normality tests



Descriptives

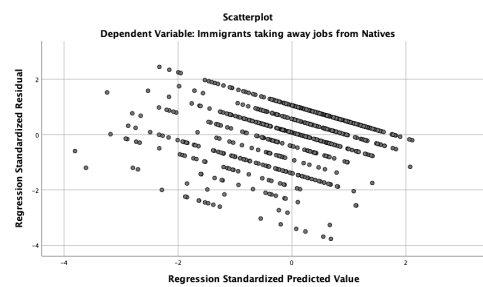
			Statistic	Std. Error
Unstandardized Residual	Mean		.0000000	.07206043
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-.1414714	
		Upper Bound	.1414714	
	5% Trimmed Mean		.0977258	
	Median		.3783260	
	Variance		3.780	
	Std. Deviation		1.94429669	
	Minimum		-7.67835	
	Maximum		4.98551	
	Range		12.66386	
	Interquartile Range		2.36600	
	Skewness		-.905	.091
	Kurtosis		1.237	.181

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Unstandardized Residual	.087	728	.000	.951	728	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Linearity and Homoscedasticity



ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	3073.753	41	74.970	1.695	.005 ^b
	Residual	30333.811	686	44.218		
	Total	33407.565	727			
2	Regression	3626.788	54	67.163	1.518	.012 ^c
	Residual	29780.777	673	44.251		
	Total	33407.565	727			
3	Regression	4463.450	65	68.668	1.571	.004 ^d
	Residual	28944.114	662	43.722		
	Total	33407.565	727			

a. Dependent Variable: RES_squared_4

Set 3_SGeneral (combined) attitudes scale

Model summary

Model Summary^d

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	Change Statistics				Selection Criteria			
						F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	Akaike Information Criterion	Amemiya Prediction Criterion	Mallows' Prediction Criterion	Schwarz Bayesian Criterion
1	.646 ^a	.418	.382	3.34059	.418	11.577	41	661	.000	1736.536	.656	157.306	1927.861
2	.667 ^b	.445	.398	3.29565	.027	2.396	13	648	.004	1729.529	.650	147.699	1980.074
3	.723 ^c	.522	.474	3.08253	.078	9.427	11	637	.000	1645.499	.577	66.000	1946.153

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	5296.829	41	129.191	11.577	.000 ^b
	Residual	7376.455	661	11.160		
	Total	12673.283	702			
2	Regression	5635.158	54	104.355	9.608	.000 ^c
	Residual	7038.125	648	10.861		
	Total	12673.283	702			
3	Regression	6620.511	65	101.854	10.719	.000 ^d
	Residual	6052.773	637	9.502		
	Total	12673.283	702			

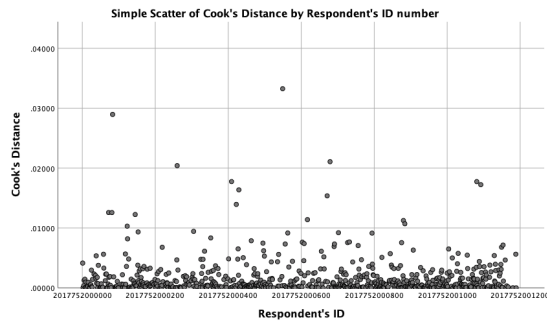
a. Dependent Variable: Combined_attitudes_scale

Detecting outliers using Cook's distance

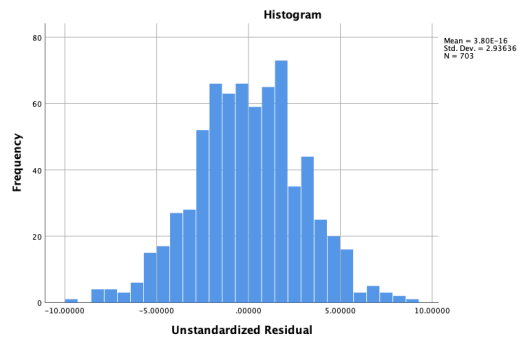
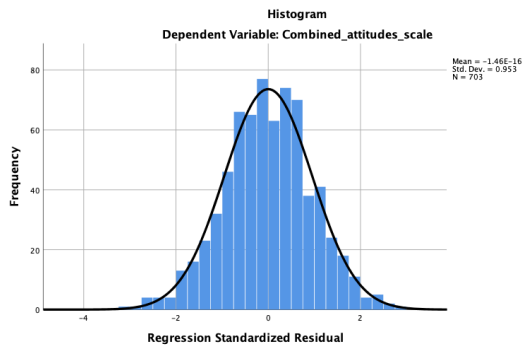
Residuals Statistics^a

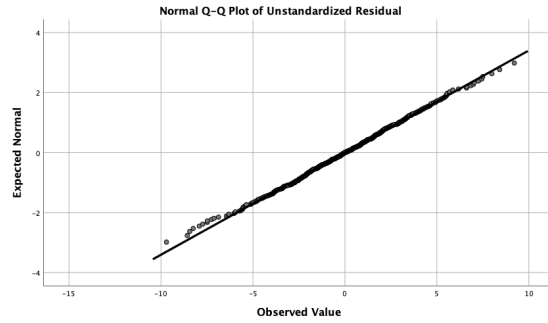
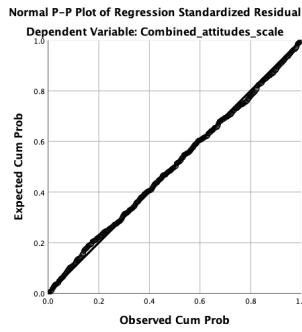
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	-12.0154	7.2345	-.0946	3.07098	703
Std. Predicted Value	-3.882	2.387	.000	1.000	703
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.614	1.588	.928	.175	703
Adjusted Predicted Value	-12.6033	7.3141	-.0941	3.09095	703
Residual	-9.70535	9.20691	.00000	2.93636	703
Std. Residual	-3.148	2.987	.000	.953	703
Stud. Residual	-3.399	3.278	.000	1.003	703
Deleted Residual	-11.31097	11.08764	-.00049	3.26064	703
Stud. Deleted Residual	-3.428	3.303	.000	1.005	703
Mahal. Distance	26.872	185.302	64.908	26.520	703
Cook's Distance	.000	.033	.002	.003	703
Centered Leverage Value	.038	.264	.092	.038	703

a. Dependent Variable: Combined_attitudes_scale



Normality tests





Descriptives

		Statistic	Std. Error	
Unstandardized Residual	Mean	.0000000	.11074674	
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-.2174345	
		Upper Bound	.2174345	
	5% Trimmed Mean	.0154131		
	Median	-.0083173		
	Variance	8.622		
	Std. Deviation	2.93635543		
	Minimum	-9.70535		
	Maximum	9.20691		
	Range	18.91225		
	Interquartile Range	3.92906		
Skewness	-.074	.092		
Kurtosis	.152	.184		

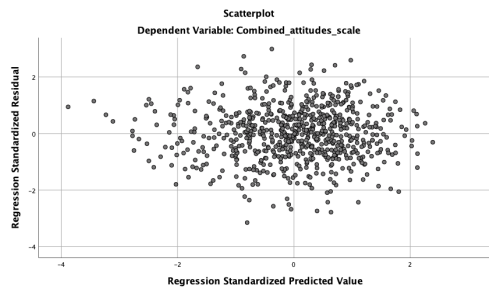
Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Unstandardized Residual	.019	703	.200 [*]	.999	703	.874

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance.

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Linearity and Homoscedasticity



ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	8050.067	41	196.343	1.253	.138 ^b
	Residual	103583.808	661	156.708		
	Total	111633.876	702			
2	Regression	9830.999	54	182.056	1.159	.210 ^c
	Residual	101802.877	648	157.103		
	Total	111633.876	702			
3	Regression	11169.619	65	171.840	1.090	.301 ^d
	Residual	100464.257	637	157.715		
	Total	111633.876	702			

a. Dependent Variable: RES_squared_5