

TRUST AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRATION
The effects of perceived group threat and exposure to ethnic/racial diversity in the case of France

Marius Mosoreanu, Anamaria Remete
Babes-Bolyai University

Abstract

This article takes into consideration several aspects regarding generalized and institutionalized trust, media exposure, economic and political satisfaction, perceived group threat and symbolic threat, in order to explain, in the context of various degrees of exposure to ethnic and racial diversity, exclusionary behavior towards immigrants in France. The main hypothesis is that high levels of political and economic satisfaction and low mass-media exposure determines a decrease of the level of perceived threat and this, in the context of exposure to racial and ethnic diversity, reduces the exclusionary behavior towards immigrants. By analyzing ESS 2003 data on France, we show that the perceived threat represented by migration and immigrants, translated into behavior by the lack of voluntary relationships (friendship) with migrants, is a process determined by the level of satisfaction felt towards the national economy, the national government and democracy, media exposure and achieved level of education. Due to different patterns of mass-media consumerism, we find that indeed written media, television and radio have different effects on trust – both generalized and institutionalized – but also on the shaping process of threat.

Keywords: trust, migration, France, media, diversity.

While much of the research on immigration in Western Europe has focused on effects of migration, government policy making and migration trends (Quillian 1995; Pettigrew 1998), this article's focus is primarily on the effects that both generalized and institutionalized trust, in the context of exposure to racial and ethnic diversity, have on individual citizens' willingness to engage in close contact with immigrants in the form of a voluntary social relationship as friendship. More specifically, this study's hypothesis is that high levels of political and economic satisfaction minimizes the effects on trust of mass-media exposure which in turn determines a decrease of the level of perceived threat and, in the context of

exposure to racial and ethnic diversity, this leads to reduced exclusionary behavior towards immigrants.

The focus of this study is on France because this country's complex history reflects an open-door policy for visitors and refugees, given its colonial experience in the past. France has also welcomed ethnic groups who work as miners or in construction, but it is not an immigrant-receiving country comparable to the United States or Canada where substantial numbers of newcomers resettle and become naturalized citizens. Nonetheless, contemporary France is experiencing a sharp division of opinions about immigrants, cases where foreign workers get blamed for the economic and social problems of the host country are quite often and the subject of immigration represents a significant issue in the agenda of policymakers and extreme-right political parties. This fact, the political context *per se* in which opinions and discourse towards migration is emitted, plays also an essential role both in shaping and explaining aggregated attitudes towards immigration (Bohman, 2011).

Theoretical perspectives on trust, threat, media exposure and education

The academic literature documenting research regarding the effects of exposure to ethnic and racial diversity on interethnic behavior, commonly known in the literature as the contact hypothesis, is quite well-developed. Allport (1954) was the first to refine this hypothesis by adding contextual factors that may explain why contact (as designed in the contact hypothesis) has such different outcomes in several studies, that is, positive, negative or no results whatsoever. However, generally speaking, most scientists agree that under the "right" circumstances, contact may have a significant impact on reducing the level of hostility toward potentially disliked groups. In this study we explore the question of whether close contact –seen as friendship with immigrants – is not a cause of increased positive attitudes towards diversity but rather an effect of the interaction of several other factors in which the key-role is played by trust, both generalized and institutionalized. In a previous study, McLaren (2003) used contact with immigrants in the form of friendship given the fact that this type of contact is the strongest as it implies a voluntary action.

On the other hand, the relationship between trust and diversity is also a well-documented one: following Putnam's (2006), research which shows that ethnic diversity causes people 'to withdraw from collective life', according to Stolle, Soroka and Johnston (2008), high levels of racial and ethnic heterogeneity are accompanied by lower levels of trust and other

civic attitudes. The corrosive role of diversity upon trust is further nuanced by Sturgis et al. (2010) that show, while scrutinizing the linear relationship between the two concepts, that even though the conclusions might be valid in the context of North-American societies, in what concerns data generated by a survey conducted in Britain, despite of the fact that there is a statistically significant association between diversity and a measure of strategic trust, 'in substantive terms, the effect is trivial and dwarfed by the effects of economic deprivation and the social connectedness of individuals'. Following the same direction of refining the hypothesized connection between trust and diversity, Hooghe et al. (2009) also show that even though at the individual level, the negative impact of diversity upon trust is confirmed, at the country level, diversity and migration is not necessarily related to a decrease of generalized trust at the aggregate level across European countries. In fact, the causal relationship might even be reversed since Herreros and Criado (2009), by taking into consideration social trust as an independent variable in order to explain attitudes towards immigration, show that individuals with high social capital do exhibit more positive attitudes towards immigration. More than that, by analyzing the European context of ethnic diversity measured in terms of the size of non-western immigrants in Western Europe, Lolle and Torpe (2011) found no general relationships between ethnic diversity and trust either at the country or local level.

While Allport defines prejudice as "an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization" (1954, 9), Ashmore (1970) provides a similar definition but separates the notion of antipathy or hostility from Allport's notion of generalization or stereotyping, defining prejudice as "a negative attitude toward a socially defined group and toward any person perceived to be a member of that group" (1970,253). The contact hypothesis may pose several problems, but the most important may have been revealed by Sherif and Sherif (1953) who argue that the precise type of contact is significant and must be specified. Allport (1954) devised four conditions which he thinks are necessary so that intergroup contact to have positive effects on reducing prejudice. These conditions are as follows: (1) the existence of equal group status; (2) common goals being pursued by group members; (3) intergroup cooperation; and (4) support from authorities, law, norms, customs, etc. Prejudice, seen as the result of a process of categorization is considered a ubiquitous social phenomenon, having the role of "simplifying" - both voluntarily and involuntarily - the everyday life of individuals. As a result of the presence of prejudice, thus of the process of categorization, at the individual level are developed different

attitudes according to the level of similarities between the members of the society, process that is considered to be a in-group - out-group categorization. The most recent development in the research of this social phenomenon is what has been termed the relational demography approach, based largely on two related theories labeled social identity theory (Tajfel& Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, 1987).

During this process, according to Tajfel and Turner (1986), individuals have a tendency to identify themselves with a group - in-group - to which they ascribe positive features expressed by a more favorable attitude while to the rest of the groups (out-groups) an individual has a tendency to assign negative characteristics. In the same time, the presence of opposite (negative) attitudes (prejudice & stereotypes legitimized by the perceived negative features of the out-groups) towards the out-groups - generates a higher self-esteem at the individual level, a self-esteem associated both with the individual but also with the group.

A significant aspect of the relationship between contact (friendship) with minorities and prejudice may be based on the fact that prejudice may result from symbolic threat. This concept implies that people may perceive an out-group as having different morals, values, beliefs, and attitudes than their own group, this in turn affecting their tolerance and trust towards the 'otherness', towards the out-group. Nevertheless, the contact hypothesis states that if an opportunity of contact should produce, then the level of prejudice should lower if in-group members see that their cultural values are not negatively affected.

In what concerns the respective attitudes towards diversity and migration, the academic literature on these topics shows that an important role is played by the feeling of threat. According to an impressive body of literature, both realistic threats (Ashmore& Del Boca, 1976; Bobo, 1988; Coser, 1956; LeVine& Campbell, 1972) but also symbolic, cultural threats (McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988; Esses et al.1993; Esses et al. 1998; Esses et al. 2001; Pehrson et al. 2012) form the basis of prejudice and negative stereotyping which in turn are translated into a specific type of behavior. Sniderman et al. (2004), from an individual-level perspective, show that a general predisposition to feel threatened is usually associated with a low self-esteem and with lack of confidence. Also, the connection between the threats perceived at the level of national culture and the salience of national identity of individuals seems to be confirmed by their results and, in fact, within an overall picture of the results, it is precisely the cultural conflict or

the perception that national culture is threatened that triggers the most outstanding negative reactions to immigration and minorities created via immigration waves. Furthermore, as McLaren states, "In keeping with the realistic aspect of realistic group conflict, it is also expected that fear of competition over resources is only likely in certain threatening contexts. Namely, if there are not many immigrants with whom to compete, it is less likely that citizens will be threatened by them, and thus willing to expel them." In order to cover this issue a variable for perception regarding the number of immigrants has been included also. In addition, research on anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe confirms that higher concentrations of immigrants are positively related to such prejudice (Quillian, 1995). To this it may be added that contact might interact with the environment to produce varying levels of anti-immigrant hostility and threat perception. In other words, individuals who live in a context of high immigration but have no contact with these immigrants are likely to be far more threatened than individuals who live in the same context but have established minority friendships. Still several other approaches contend that it is not so much self-interest or competition for resources that drive individual attitudes, but concern for protecting certain cultural symbols of the dominant group. As McLaren states, the early foreigners who immigrated to France were initially from European countries so their culture was not so different from that of the host-country. In contrast, migrants to Europe today are often perceived as culturally different- therefore feel threatened by them - from the dominant nationality, bringing with them religions, such as Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism that are new to most of Western Europe. Many of these differences are quite visible in terms of attire, with fairly large groups of immigrants in many countries clearly indicating religious affiliation and cultural ties through their clothing (McLaren, 2003). While French society itself is not very religious, it is likely that fairly unfamiliar religions such as those mentioned above may pose a threat to the increasingly secular nature of French society. Such threats, then, are not necessarily identical to resource-based threats, although the two are likely to be strongly related. While it is hard to establish which of the two types of perceived threats - realistic group threat and symbolic threat - is more "responsible" for anti-immigrant attitudes, it would be safe to say that neither of them should be set aside.

In the complex relationship between trust - in both its forms taken into consideration - and the feeling of cultural, economic and social threat perceived by individuals, an important role is played by education. Several studies point out that higher levels of education are associated with more

positive views towards immigration and immigrants (Sides and Citrin, 2007) and the main explanation for this is that since a higher education leads to a better economic position, individuals with higher education feel less economically threatened (Gang et al., 2001). Complementary to this rather instrumentalist perspective, it appears that positive attitudes towards immigration associated with higher levels of education are also stemming from learned values (Hainmuller and Hiscox, 2007; Haubert and Fussell, 2002). An interesting insight into the causal direction between education and attitudes towards migration shows that generational replacements might be responsible for this association since cohort differences in racial attitudes stem from the fact that more recent cohorts have higher levels of education and in fact this might be the explanation for the respective relationship (Quillian, 1996; Smith, 1985; Wilson 1994). Nevertheless, at least in what concerns the Canadian society, according to Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown (2011), most attitude change is the result of changing macro-economic conditions while birth cohort succession has little effect and even though there is modest evidence of generational differences in attitudes, these differences do not comprise a major part of the overall trend present over a period of over 20 years of data on which their analysis is based upon.

Mass-media exposure was also found to play a crucial role not only on trust, but also on the attitudes towards migration. From an experimental perspective (Maio et al., 1994; Stephan et al. 2005), it was found that mass-media's negative descriptions of immigration combined with high personal relevance lead to the most negative attitudes, therefore contributing to the propagation of the feeling of threat, (regardless of its forms, be it economic, social or cultural). Media exposure, particularly television watching - more precisely the widespread introduction of television viewing - is also one of the classical 'suspects' in explaining the decline of trust over a long period of time in the US (Putnam, 1995) even though there are studies that either contradict Putnam's explanation of or offer a more nuanced explanation regarding the relationship between trust and television (Uslaner, 1998; Rahn and Transue, 1998). Given media exposure's dual role - associated with both trust and attitudes towards migration - and the fact that the mass-media exposure patterns of individuals have changed since Putnam's research concerning this matter published, the present article takes into consideration not only television watching - the main 'culprit' for distorting the surrounding reality of individuals by painting it in a grim light, thus corroding their trust - but also newspaper reading and radio listening habits in order to better refine the explanation of its roles.

Data analysis

By considering generalized trust as a behavioral intention (Mayer, Davis and Schoorman, 1995; McKnight, Cummings and Chervany, 1998; Rousseau et al., 1998) to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the actions of the trustee (Rousseau et al., 1998), the hypothesis of this article was tested using the dataset on France provided by the 2003 European Social Survey (N=1503). The dataset offers a measure of generalized trust obtained through Noelle-Neumann's standard question "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?" Even though the debate if whether or not this question truly measures trust in unknown people, the level of trust and the radius of the circle of unknown people in which interaction based on trust is taken into consideration by the respondents, is still an open one (Delhey et al. 2011), given the hypothesized relationships between the two forms of trust and the other variables, we consider it to be sufficiently accurate in providing a general enough measure to contain in its level of generalization the hypothetical interaction of the respondent with immigrants.

The data analysis confirms the fact that, indeed, more educated people exhibit a tendency to be more trusting, the correlation between the achieved level of education and the level of generalized trust, although relatively weak (Pearson's $r = .191$, $p\text{-value} < .01$),¹ is statistically significant. In what regards the exposure to diversity, based on the correlation between the level of education and the degree in which in the respondent's living area are present persons belonging to a minority ethnic group or a race, it also appears that more educated people have a slight tendency to be more exposed to ethnic and racial diversity (Pearson's $r = .104$, $p\text{-value} < .01$). Or, at least, more educated respondents seem to be more prone to perceive diversity and to value it, given the positive, although weak, correlation between the level of education and the desired level of ethnic or racial diversity present in an ideal living condition (Pearson's $r = .202$, $p\text{-value} < .01$). Following the same direction of the relationship between education and attitude or behavior towards diversity, a correlation between the level of education and whether or not the respondents have any immigrant friends, seems to confirm the positive effect of education on the perceptions of diversity, more educated people exhibiting a weak

¹ For more technical aspects regarding the correlation coefficients presented further on, see Annex 1.

tendency to have friends who are immigrants (Pearson's $r=.261$, $p\text{-value}<.01$).

The level of education also has an effect on the mass-media exposure of respondents, the data showing a weak correlation between education and television watching (Pearson's $r=-.261$, $p\text{-value}<.01$), but there is no correlation between education and newspaper reading or radio listening. Thus it appears that, at least in the case of France, more educated people, on a weekly average, watch less TV than less educated ones.

In what concerns the concept of institutionalized trust as used in this paper, defined to be the amount of trust placed into public institutions and politicians, according to Gershtenson, Ladewig and Plane (2006), several factors play a major role in explaining it one of them being the actual and perceived conditions of the economy (Citrin and Green, 1986; Hetherington, 1998; Miller, 1983). A factorial analysis of the dimensions of institutional trust taken measured by the ESS questionnaire, shows that there is only one component, therefore we introduced into our analysis the trust the respondents have in politicians and the trust they have in the police, since this institutions is, from the perspective of the potential social threat posed or generated by immigrants, the most involved one. The general negative mass-media's discourse concerning migration and immigrants, in which immigrants are portrayed - regardless if or without bias - as perpetrators, thieves, rapists or murderers usually contains references to the activity of the police thus legitimizing the assumption that trust in the police, as the single most important law-enforcement institution of the state, might have an effect upon the respondents' attitude towards immigration and migrants. The respective assumption is supported by the correlation between the amount of weekly average hours spent watching television and the responses to the question of whether or not immigrants make country's crime problems better or worse (Pearson's $r=-.094$, $p\text{-value}<.01$), shows that indeed, even though very weak, there is a tendency to consider immigrants as a source of criminality which is associated with a higher amount of television consumption. On the other hand, television watching and trust in the police are also negatively correlated (Pearson's $r=-.057$, $p\text{-value}<.05$), despite of the fact that trust in the police and the opinion of whether or not immigration constitutes a source of criminality, do not correlate.

Based on the initial results provided by the correlations previously described, we introduce in the following table the results of a SEM model² estimated by using AMOS, estimates obtained by testing the initial hypothesis without taking into consideration the level of exposure to ethnic/racial diversity.

Table 1. Regression Weights: general sample, without taking into consideration the level of exposure to racial/ethnic diversity

Regression weights:			Estimate	S.E.
TV	<---	Education	-0,171***	0,016
Newspapers	<---	Education	0,005	0,01
Radio	<---	Education	0,004	0,02
Generalized Trust	<---	Newspapers	0,093**	0,045
Generalized Trust	<---	TV	-0,063**	0,027
Generalized Trust	<---	Radio	-0,008	0,023
Threat	<---	Education	0,213***	0,018
Generalized Trust	<---	Education	0,105***	0,018
Institutional Trust	<---	Education	0,023**	0,011
Institutional Trust	<---	TV	0,047*	0,017
Institutional Trust	<---	Newspapers	0,133***	0,028
Institutional Trust	<---	Radio	0,005	0,014
Immigrant Friends	<---	Threat	-0,164***	0,012
Institutional Trust	<---	Satisfaction	0,651***	0,043
Generalized Trust	<---	Satisfaction	0,324***	0,043
Threat	<---	Generalized Trust	0,108***	0,025
Satisfaction	<---	Threat	0,218***	0,046
Threat	<---	Institutional Trust	-0,125	0,09
MODEL FIT				
Chi-square			254.614	
NFI			.943	
CFI			.956	
RMSEA			.044	

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

² The model itself, with a visual representation of the relationships between the variables, is presented in Annex 2.

As the regression weights show, in what concerns the impact of education upon mass-media consumption, it appears that education has an impact only on television watching, while radio and newspapers are unaffected. Nevertheless, both TV watching and radio listening have a small statistically significant impact on generalized trust, an increase in exposure, lowering the level of trust. As expected according to the theoretical background regarding the relationship between education and generalized trust, an increase in education leads to an increase in trust, while education also has a statistically significant impact upon the feeling of threat regarding immigrants and migration (feeling of threat composed by the three dimensions established by the academic literature on the topic, social threat, cultural threat and economic threat). This effect might be indeed due to the fact that out of the three components of threat, the one that has the highest impact according to the data is the economic one.

Concerning institutional trust, television also has an effect on it, a weaker one compared to generalized trust, a much higher effect being produced by newspapers. While in the case of generalized trust, television had a corrosive effect while newspapers had a positive one, in the case of institutional trust, both effects are positive and rather different, since newspapers have a much stronger one compared to the one of television. It appears that indeed, the contribution of the information provided by newspapers leads to a much higher increase in institutional trust. The effect of education upon institutional trust is also a positive one, more educated people trusting more the politicians and the police. Among all the factors taken into consideration, it appears that the highest impact on institutional trust is the one of the level of satisfaction, satisfaction based according to the results of a factorial analysis on the satisfaction felt regarding the national economy, the satisfaction felt towards the way democracy works and satisfaction towards the national government. Generalized trust also appears to be influenced by this factor, at least to a lower extent, but a statistical significant one, more satisfaction leading to more trust in both its general and institutional form. According to the obtained results, the feeling of threat is reduced by institutionalized trust while on the other hand a decrease of the threat felt induces a slight increase of the level of satisfaction since, in the dataset, a lower value of the variables that measure the feeling of threat indicates a higher threat. As hypothesized, threat itself as an attitude is translated into behavior by the lack of contact with the immigrants in the form of absence of voluntary relationships (friendship). The results confirm this, threat itself having a large, statistical significant,

effect upon whether or not the respondents have friends that are immigrants.

In the second model, we control for the effects of exposure to ethnic and racial diversity, table 2 comprising the obtained results.

As observed, education has the lowest negative effect upon television under exposure to minimal diversity; the effect increases under medium exposure and decreases again for the respondents that are exposed, according to their own reporting, to maximum ethnic/racial diversity, all the effects being statistically significant. Nevertheless, this pattern in turn seems not to be translated into what concerns the effects of mass-media exposure upon generalized trust, the only statistically significant one being the effect of television under maximal exposure to diversity. Hence by taking into consideration the level of exposure to diversity, in what concerns the relationship between generalized trust and attitudes towards immigrants and migration, it appears that indeed, television has a corrosive effect upon generalized trust but it only appears in the context of high level of ethnic diversity. Newspapers also appears to have a negative effect on institutional trust in the case of both medium and maximum exposure to diversity, a corrosive effect even greater than the one television has in the context of minimal diversity – the only statistically significant one.

	Regression weights:		Minimal exposure		Medium exposure		Maximal exposure	
			Estimate	S.E.	Estimate	S.E.	Estimate	S.E.
TV	<---	Education	-0,131***	0,03	-0,198***	0,024	-0,14***	0,036
Newspapers	<---	Education	0	0,018	0,011	0,014	0,026	0,022
Radio	<---	Education	0,045	0,036	-0,032	0,029	0,028	0,043
Generalized Trust	<---	Newspapers	0,084	0,08	0,066	0,072	0,14	0,086
Generalized Trust	<---	TV	0,058	0,05	-0,073	0,041	-0,153**	0,053
Generalized Trust	<---	Radio	0,04	0,041	-0,019	0,034	-0,032	0,045
Institutional Trust	<---	Newspapers	0,08	0,044	0,189***	0,046	0,136**	0,058
Institutional Trust	<---	TV	0,056**	0,028	0,034	0,026	0,046	0,035
Threat	<---	Education	0,249***	0,03	0,156***	0,024	0,199***	0,044
Generalized Trust	<---	Education	0,082**	0,033	0,141***	0,027	0,064	0,038
Institutional Trust	<---	Education	0,006	0,019	0,025	0,017	0,03	0,025
Institutional Trust	<---	Radio	0,021	0,022	-0,014	0,021	0,021	0,029
Immigrant Friends	<---	Threat	-0,155***	0,02	-0,176***	0,021	-0,137***	0,019
Institutional Trust	<---	Satisfaction	0,678***	0,076	0,668***	0,067	0,598***	0,081
Generalized Trust	<---	Satisfaction	0,225**	0,085	0,338***	0,069	0,364***	0,075
Threat	<---	Generalized Trust	0,151***	0,045	0,13***	0,035	0,03	0,06
Threat	<---	Institutional Trust	-0,15	0,159	-0,168	0,119	0,156	0,202
Satisfaction	<---	Threat	0,302***	0,083	0,187**	0,08	0,118	0,079
Model Fit								
Chi-square	388.476							
NFI	.914							
CFI	.954							
RMSEA	.026							

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

Conclusion and discussion

The results of the model show that education has the largest positive effect upon threat – in terms of reducing it – in the case of minimal exposure to diversity, the effect decreasing in the case of medium exposure and increasing again when the respondents are exposed to maximum ethnic/racial diversity.

The impact of the feeling of threat towards migration and immigrants upon the level of satisfaction felt concerning the national economy, democracy and national government appears to be statistically significant only in the case of minimal and medium exposure, a decrease in threat leading to an increase of the satisfaction felt towards the three components taken into consideration. This happens in the context in which satisfaction increases the level of institutional trust in various degrees (statistically significant) at all levels of exposure to diversity, the differences between the sizes of the effect being almost nonexistent.

Generalized trust also appears to reduce the feeling of threat in the case of minimal exposure, while threat itself is affecting behavior towards immigrants – in terms of whether or not the respondents have friends that are immigrants – to a higher extent when the ethnic/racial exposure has a minimal level. Nevertheless, satisfaction influences generalized threat a lot less than institutional trust, which is consistent with the complex differences between the two forms of trust, the effect of satisfaction – as in more satisfaction leads to more trust – being minimal in the case of minimum exposure and maximized in the case of maximal exposure.

In what regards the attitude towards migration and immigrants translated into behavior, it appears that a decrease of the feeling of threat leads to a higher probability of having immigrant friends in the case of minimal exposure to diversity, the probability decreasing under the effects of minimal exposure and reaching its minimum when the respondents are exposed to maximum diversity.

The results of the model appear to confirm our initial hypothesis according to which high levels of political and economic satisfaction minimize the corrosive effects on trust of mass-media exposure which in turn determines a decrease of the level of perceived threat. This, in the context of exposure to racial and ethnic diversity, indeed leads to reduced exclusionary behavior towards immigrants. More than that, the results help to refine

Putnam's findings according to which television reduces generalized trust, showing that indeed, television might happen to have this detrimental effect – at least when we analyze the issue of generalized trust in the context of migration or opinions and attitudes towards migrants – but nevertheless, exposure to television and mass-media in general does not have a unitary effect, but it is rather dependent on contextual factors, like education or the level and type of exposure.

Bibliography:

- Ashmore, R.D., and Del Boca, F.K. 1976. Psychological approaches to understanding intergroup conflict. In P. A. Katz. ed., *Towards the elimination of racism*. New York: Pergamon.
- Ashmore, Richard D. 1970. Prejudice: Causes and Cures. In Barry E . Collins, ed., *Social Psychology: Social Influence, Attitude Change, Group Processes, and Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.
- Bobo, L. 1988. Group conflict, prejudice, and the paradox of contemporary racial attitudes. In P.A. Katz, & D.A. Taylor, eds., *Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy*. New York: Plenum.
- Bohman, A. 2011. Articulated antipathies: Political influence on anti-immigrant attitudes. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 52(6): 457-477.
- Citrin, J., and Sides, J. 2008. Immigration and the Imagined Community in Europe and the United States. *Political Studies* 56(1): 33-56.
- Coser, L. 1956. *The functions of social conflict*. New York: Free Press.
- Delhey, J., Newton, K., and Welzel, C. 2011. How General Is Trust in "Most People"? Solving the Radius of Trust Problem. *American Sociological Review* 76(5): 786-807.
- Esses, V. M., Dovidio, J. F., Jackson, L. M., and Armstrong, T. L. 2001. The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity. *Journal of Social Issues* 57(3): 389-412.
- Esses, V. M., Haddock, G., and Zanna, M. P. 1993. Values, stereotypes, and emotions as determinants of intergroup attitudes. In D.M. Mackie and D.L. Hamilton, eds., *Affect, Cognition and Stereotyping*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Esses, V.M., Jackson, L.M., and Armstrong, T.L. 1998. Intergroup competition and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: An instrumental model. *Journal of Social Issues* 54(3): 699-724.

- Gershtenson, J., Ladewig, J., and Plane, D. L. 2006. Parties, Institutional Control, and Trust. *Social Science*, 87(4).
- Gordon W. Allport. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison: Wesley.
- Herreros, Francisco, and Henar Criado. 2009. Social Trust, Social Capital and Perceptions of Immigration. *Political Studies* 57(2): 337-355.
- Husfeldt, Vera. 1997. Extreme Negative Attitudes Towards Immigrants: An Analysis of Factors in Five Countries. *Applied Sciences* XXXVI(3).
- LeVine, R.A. and Campbell, D.T. 1972. *Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes, and group behavior*. New York: Wiley.
- Quillian, Lincoln. 1995. Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review* 60:586-611.
- Lolle, Henrik, and Lars Torpe. 2011. Growing ethnic diversity and social trust in European societies. *Comparative European Politics* 9(2): 191-216.
- Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., and Schoorman, F. D. (1995). An integrative model of organizational trust. *Academy of Management Review* 20: 709-734.
- McConahay, J.G. 1986. Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In J.F. Dovidio and S.L. Gaertner, eds., *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- McKnight, D. H., Cummings, L. L., and Chervany, N. L. (1998). Initial trust formation in new organizational relationships. *Academy of Management Review* 23: 473-490.
- McLaren, Lauren M. 2003. Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants. *Social Forces* 81(3): 909-936.
- Pehrson, Samuel, Mirona A Gheorghiu, and Tomas Ireland. 2012. Cultural Threat and Anti-immigrant Prejudice: The Case of Protestants in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 124: 111-124.
- Putnam Robert D. 2007. E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century: The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30: 137-74.
- Rousseau, D. M., Sitkin, S. B., Burt, R. S., and Camerer, C. 1998. Not so different after all: A cross-discipline view of trust. *Academy of Management Review* 23: 393-404.
- Sears, D.O. 1988. Symbolic racism. In P.A. Katz and D.A. Taylor, eds., *Eliminating racism*. New York: Plenum.
- Sherif, Muzafer and Carolin W. Sherif. 1953. *Groups in Harmony and Tension*. Harper Brothers.

- Smith, Christopher B. 1994. Back and to the Future: The Intergroup Contact Hypothesis Revisited. *Sociological Inquiry* 64: 438-55.
- Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities. *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35-49.
- Stephan, W. G., Lausanne Renfro, C., Esses, V. M., White Stephan, C., and Martin, T. 2005. The effects of feeling threatened on attitudes toward immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29(1): 1-19.
- Stolle, Dietland, Stuart N. Soroka and Richard Johnston, When Does Diversity Erode Trust? Neighborhood Diversity, Interpersonal Trust and the Mediating Effect of Social Interactions'. *Political Studies*: 56 (2008), 57-75.
- Tajfel, H., and J. C. Turner. 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel and W. G. Austin, eds., *Psychology of intergroup relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Uslaner, E. M. 1998. Social Capital, Television, and the "Mean World": Trust, Optimism, and Civic Participation. *Political Psychology* 19(3): 441-467.
- Wilkes, R. and Corrigan-Brown, C. 2010. Explaining time trends in public opinion: Attitudes towards immigration and immigrants. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 52(1-2): 79-99.

Annex 1.

Table of correlations		Level of education	Any immigrant friends	Generalized trust	Ideal exposure to diversity	Current exposure to diversity	TV watching	Radio listening	Newspaper reading	Trust in country's parliament	Trust in the legal system	Trust in the police	Trust in politician
Level of education	Correlation	1	-,261	,191	,202	,104	-,261	,006	,014	,193	,179	,022	,119
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,818	,600	,000	,000	,387	,000
Any immigrant friends	Correlation	-,261	1	-,067	-,229	-,234	,162	-,052	,031	-,086	-,087	,022	-,040
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000		,009	,000	,000	,000	,045	,226	,001	,001	,405	,120
Generalized trust	Correlation	,191	-,067	1	,078	-,015	-,109	-,008	,054	,266	,263	,178	,230
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,009		,003	,569	,000	,755	,037	,000	,000	,000	,000
Ideal exposure to diversity	Correlation	,202	-,229	,078	1	,143	-,077	,026	-,018	,047	,128	-,006	,053
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,003		,000	,003	,319	,491	,076	,000	,819	,044
Current exposure to diversity	Correlation	,104	-,234	-,015	,143	1	-,033	,016	-,042	,035	,008	-,024	-,022
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,569	,000		,199	,532	,102	,178	,744	,347	,391

EUROPOLIS vol. 5, no.2/2011

TV watching	Correlation	-.162	-.109	-.077	-.033	1	.028	-.009	-.077	-.081	.057	-.006
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.003	.199		.274	.730	.003	.002	.029	.826
Radio listening	Correlation	-.006	-.008	.026	.016	.028	1	.040	-.013	-.007	.005	.015
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.818	.755	.319	.532	.274		.125	.621	.800	.857	.567
Newspaper reading	Correlation	.014	.054	-.018	-.042	-.009	.040	1	.103	.056	.048	.115
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.600	.037	.491	.102	.730	.125		.000	.032	.061	.000
Trust in country's parliament	Correlation	.193	.266	.047	.035	-.077	-.013	.103	1	.507	.409	.655
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.076	.178	.003	.621	.000		.000	.000	.000
Trust in the police	Correlation	.022	.178	-.006	-.024	.057	.005	.048	.409	.532	1	.429
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.387	.000	.819	.347	.029	.857	.061	.000	.000		.000
Trust in politicians	Correlation	.119	.230	.053	-.022	-.006	.015	.115	.655	.557	.429	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.044	.391	.826	.567	.000	.000	.000	.000	

Annex 2.

