

(sub)nationalism and attitude towards immigrants

Jaak Billiet

CeSO – K.U. Leuven



outline

1. Some preliminary remarks
2. Dimensions of left-right measured in ISPO (1991-2007)..
3. Economic left-rights in Europ (ESS) and Fla-Wal
4. Major findings on ethnocentrism over last 22 years in Belgium
5. Major findings on sub-national identity in Belgium
6. On the relation between ETHNO and NAT_ID in Flanders and Wallonia: why is the relation between these (measured) concept different?

1. Preliminary remarks

- Statistical figures about response distributions on specific opinion questions are **signs**, not absolute truths = need **interpretation** (*what do they mean?...*)
- There are **strict** methodological **rules** for interpretation
- Basic feature of my work: **do not trust particular questions** (items) because of nonresponse error and measurement error, but rely on **latent variables** (*publication of these figures without methodological insight is nonsense*)
- Latent variables are **constructs** made of sets of questions and carefully tested in **measurement models** in order to secure their validity and reliability
- Always realize: public opinion is not one entity **several public opinions...** (*see next*)

Preliminary remarks (2)

- **Several public opinions:**

- PO_1 in the **media** (made by journalists, commentators...) = biased by interests, ideology
- PO_2 of the (other) opinion leaders: discourse of **politicians** about their interpretation of PO = biased by interest, ideology and by interpretations of voting behaviour
- PO_3 as **measured** in **opinion polls** (OP) (*aggregation of individual opinions*) or in **social research** (SR): many sources of bias (*crucial difference in this respect btw OP and SR*)
- other...

general rule: these PO's are **not necessarily in line...**

but at long term, PO1&2 can change PO_3

(example attitude towards Belgium in recent years...)

Focus now on PO measured in opinion research

2. Dimensions of left-right measured in ISPO

- Several dimensions of left-right ideologies
 - **economic** (more equality, decrease inequality, support of trade unions, taxes vs govn spending)
 - **cultural**
 - attitude towards newcomers (ethnic threat)
 - authoritarian attitude
 - extreme nationalism (# national proud, strong (sub)national identity)
 - ethical conservatism (difference seems evident)
- Difference in economic conservatism (VL Wal) seems evident...
 (instrument from 1991 biased in left direction, but no problem for comparison VI-Wal)
 example from **1999 sample** (*but rather stable over time*)

Means on 3 aspects of left-right not further discussed in this presentation (*SD within brackets*) (ISPO/PIOP 1999) Flemish sample (N = 2179) Walloon sample (N = 1483)

Scores on 10 scales (0 = left --- 10 = right) measured with sets of items

Dimensions	Flanders	Wallonia	<i>p-value of t-test (> 0.01 is significant difference)</i>
Economic conserv (10=right)	3.71 (1.853)	2.60 (1.619)	< 0.0001
Ethical conservatism (10 = most)	2.68 (2.659)	2,47 (2.418)	<i>ns</i>
Authoritarian (10 =: most)	5.58 (1.909)	5.91 (1.985)	< 0.0001
Ethnic threat	<i>See further</i>		
(sub)national identity (<i>comment</i>)	<i>See further</i>		

* not Brussels (N = 577) because of special situation (mixed, multicultural, big city)

Economic conservatism more expressed in Flanders

No difference in ethics domain (abortion, euthanasia)

authoritarian ideas more expressed in Wallonia (according to our measure...)

3. Dimension of economic left-right in EU

- ESS round 4 (2008) contains large module on social security, social benefits and social policy
- 4 scales possible with multiple items + right-left scale (all 10 point)

- **Endorse negative consequences** of social benefits/services

to great strain on economy; encourage foreigners to come in; taxes for business to high; make people willingness to look after themselves; make people less willingness to take care for one another; unemployed do not try to find job

- **Social benefits not responsibility of Government**

government not responsible for jobs for everyone; health care; standard of life of the old; living standare of unemployed; child care services; paid leave from work to care for sick family

3. Dimension of economic left-right in EU

- - **Endorse positive consequences** of social benefits/services

social benefits prevent widespread poverty; lead to more equal society; easier to combine work and family

- **Care for more social equality**

government should reduce income levels; large differences in income not acceptable; to be fair small differences in living standard; many with low income get less than legally entitled to; insufficient benefits to help people in real need;

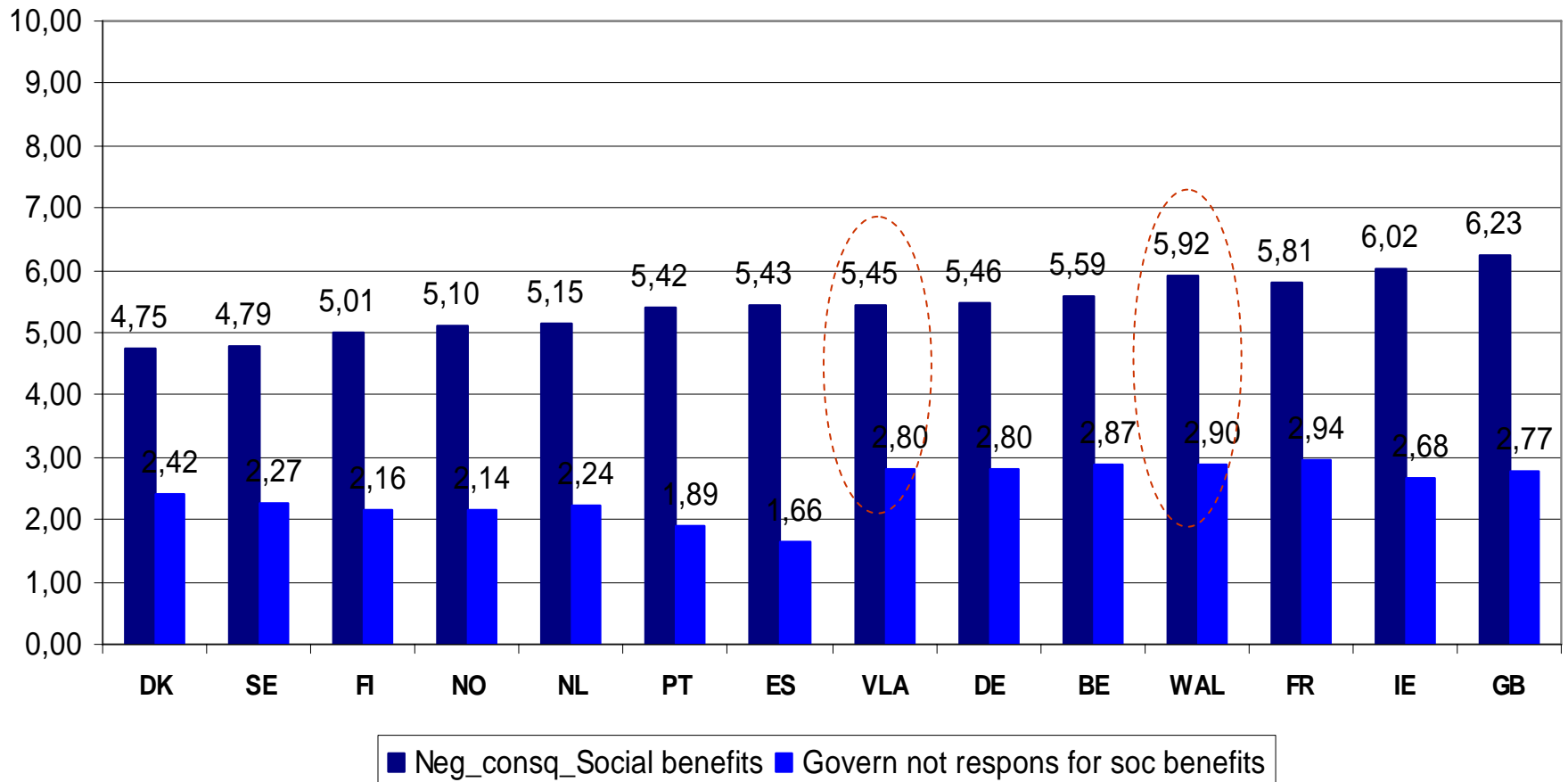
Satisfactory to very good **reliable measures** of the 4 concepts in all countries

- **right (0) -left (10)** scale (single question)

See graphs

Left-right in some European countries vs. Vla-Wal

Mean scores on "Negative consequences of social benefits" and "Social support no government responsibility" (10-point scales: high score is right wing) ESS 2008



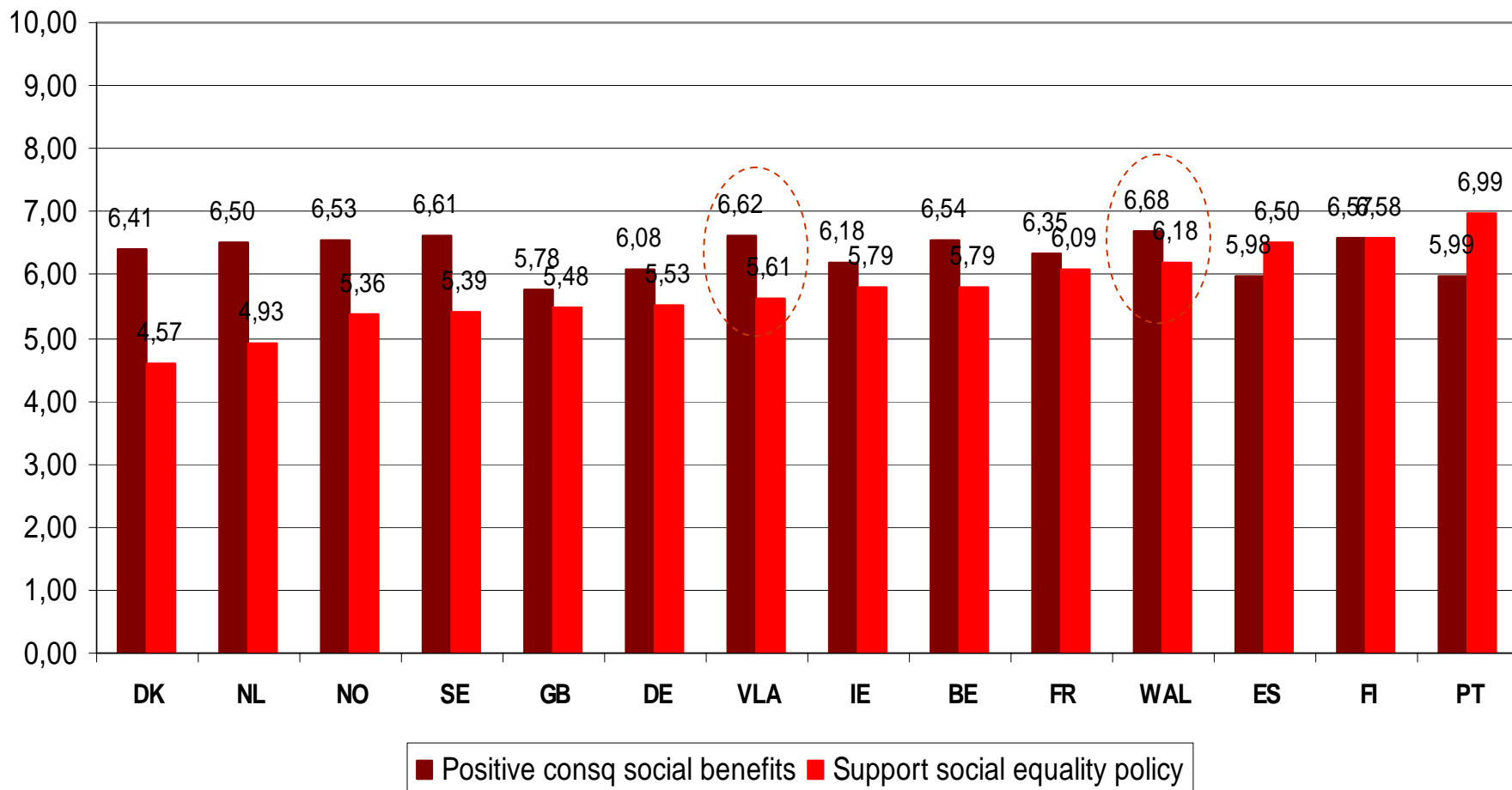
Comment on left (0) –right (10) scales

- Countries of Northern Europe most left on the negative views of social policy measures (social benefits) and support for social benefits policy = most left
- Non-continental countries most right (less social policy support)
- BE centre-right site, but... Wallonia somewhat more right wing then Flanders!!! (**small** significant difference)



Right-left in some European countries vs. Vla-Wal

Mean scores on "positive consequences of social benefits", "support of social equality polity" and "right-left position on 10-p scale" (highest score = left wing). ESS 2008



Comment on left (0) –right (10) scales

Less clear pattern in W-N-S Europe

- Wallonia clearly more in favour of more social equality measures
- In Flanders and Wallonia about same level of positive assessment of social benefits as in Nordic countries and NL
- Position on right-left scale: Wallonia (5.21) more left than Flanders (4.91) ($p < 0.01$) (*but not much difference in the extremes*)

Conclusion: not a clear view of right-wing Flanders and left-wing Wallonia. Most citizens support social policy and perceive positive consequences of it in both Fla and Wal. Expected Vla-Wal difference concerning more social equality.

4. Ethnocentrisme (attitudes towards immigrants)

- Ethnocentrism = dimension of political right
- **Data:**
 - research with large **random** samples in Belgium (+/- 2000 cases) since 1989
 - **ISPO/PIOP** election surveys (3 regions) in 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007 (Flanders 2010 not used here) each time large (balanced set of items)
 - **ESS** (*European Social Survey*) in 2002 (large set), 2004 (6 items), 2006, 2008, 2010
 - **EVS** (*European Value Study*) in 1999 and 2008
- Findings based on these surveys:

Ethnocentrisme (2)

- **Major findings**

- several concepts depending on survey but **four items comparable** over time in ISPO (*see further*)
- findings very **stable** over time
- differences between Flemish and Walloons (samples in Brussels mostly too small, but BR = city)
- differences **not very large**
- BE compared with other countries: in the middle qua rejection of immigrants (ethnic threat...)
(most open in NO, SE... most negative GR, PO, HU...)

Ethnocentrisme (3)

- In Flanders somewhat more **cultural threat** but Wal somewhat more **economic threat**
(*typical example*)

“Immigrants take advantage of our social security system” (2007)

Flemish sample = 52% agree and Walloon sample = 58% agree

“Immigrants are a threat to our culture and customs” (2007)

Flemish sample = 42% agree, Walloon sample = 38% agree

- *Islamphobia* measured in 2007: FI > Wal
- *Islamphobia* > *ethnic threat* in both FI and Wal
- Explanatory factors for *ethnic threat* and *Islamphobia* same in FI and Wal (lower education and older generations most neg.)

Ethnocentrism (4)

Strictly comparable items over the whole observed period (1991-2007) – instrument equivalent over time and between regions

“In general, immigrants cannot be trusted”.

“Immigrants take advantage of our social security system”.

“Immigrants are a threat to our culture and customs”.

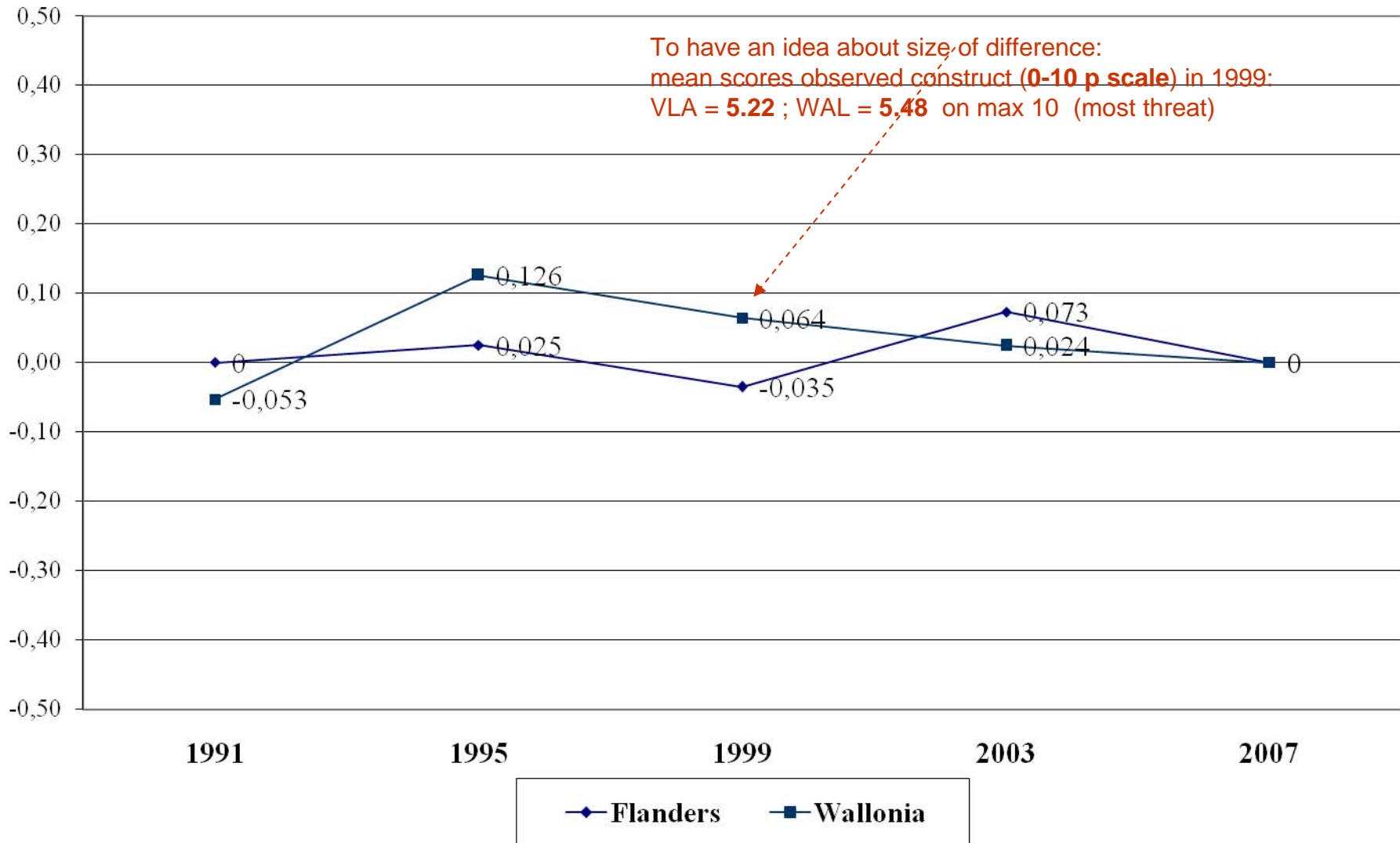
“The presence of different cultures enriches our society”.

Response scale (completely disagree (1) --- completely agree (5) reversed for last item)

Latent variable has no numerical mean, solution: one group (FI in 1991) = reference group (zero), other latent means expressed as deviation of reference

Evolution = somewhat different pattern, WHY? (9/11 in Flanders but why not in Wallonia?)

Figure 1. Means of latent variable ethnic threat in Flanders and Wallonia over time (ISPO/PIOP)



5. (Sub) national identity

- Also dimension of political right, but **not always** (regionalism in Wallonia = left?, nationalism in Flanders = right? And what with Catalonia or South Tirol for example...?)
- Our measure is NOT strictly nationalism but “*(sub)national consciousness*”.
One can see this as a *proxy variable* for nationalism:
(*very likely that Flemish nationalists are located at the Flemish pole of the scale*).
- The 4-item set is equivalent over time and between FI and Wal, but this does not mean that the subnational identity pole has same meaning in FI and Wal (*more nationalism in FI and more regionalism in Wal?*)

(Sub) national identity (2)

The four indicators for NAT_ID

- Subjective identification with FI (Wal) – BE (first identity)
research of EVS (1999) shows that many identify with both, depends on situation
- The Moreno question:
BE more than FL (Wal) --- FI (Wal) more than BE
(see next page for comparison over time)
- 11-point scale FI (Wal) must decide --- Belgium must decide in all
- 5-point choice question “Unitarian Belgium state --- split the state”

(Sub) national identity (3)

Sub-national identity much stronger in Flanders than in Wallonia Example the Moreno question: “Which one of the following statements applies most to you?”

Table. Response to Moreno question in ISPO 2007

Response alternatives	Flemish sample	Walloon sample
I consider myself only as a Fleming/Walloon	6.5	1.5
I feel more Fleming/Walloon than Belgian	26.9	6.0
I feel as much Fleming as Belgian	36.0	36.9
I feel more Belgian than Fleming/Walloon	17.9	22.9
I consider myself only as a Belgian	12.8	32.7

Evolution over time:

Flanders: increase of feeling only or more Flemish since 1995 (+ 6 percent points)

Wallonia: increase of feeling only or more Belgian since 1995 (+ 4 percent points)

6. Relation between (sub)national identity and ethnic threat

- Stable finding over time (ISPO 1995,1999, 1993, 2007)
- Relation between the two concepts is substantial but not very high (stronger in Flanders)
- Relation in opposite direction
 - positive in Flanders (stronger sub-national identity -> stronger negative feelings to immigrants (and Muslims in 2007))
 - negative in Wallonia (stronger sub-national identity -> stronger positive feelings to immigrants (and Muslims in 2007))
- Next pages: the indicators of the three concepts (ethnic threat, Islamphobia and (sub)national identity) and the measurement and structural model in 2007

Observed indicators for perceived ethnic threat (ISPO 2008) (5p disagree---agree items)

Item	Ethnic threat
Q114_1	In general, immigrants are not to be trusted (-)
Q114_2	Immigrants contribute to the country's welfare (+)
Q114_3	Guest workers come here to take advantage of our social security system (-)
Q114_4	Immigrants are a threat to our culture and customs (-)
Q114_5	The presence of different cultures enriches our society (+)
Q114_6	Most immigrants are lazy, who try to avoid hard work (-)
Q114_7	Guest workers are a threat to the employment of Belgians (-)
Q114_8	Immigrants' way of life is irreconcilable with Western Europeans' way of life (-)

Observed indicators for Islamphobia (ISPO 2008) (5p disagree---agree items)

Item	Islamfobia
D32_1	The Islam can contribute to the European culture (+)
D32_2	Muslim men dominate their wives (-)
D32_3	Muslims do attach great importance to their children's education (-)
D32_4	If it really matters Muslims turn against Europe (-)
D32_5	The Islamic culture and history are more violent than others (-)
D32_6	Islamic values are a threat to the European culture (-)
D32_7	Most Muslims have respect for our culture and our way of living (+)

Observed indicators for (sub)national identity (ISPO 2008)

Item	(Sub)national identity
First_id	4-point scale (0 = first identification with Belgium --- 3 = first identification with Flanders/Wallonie)
Exclus_VW	5-point scale (1 = exclusive Belgium --- 5 = exclusive Flemish/Walloon)
Decide	11-point scale (0 = Belgium must decide --- 10 = Flanders must decide)
Split_B	5-point scale (1 = Unitarian Belgium state --- 5 = split the state)



Table: Equivalent measurement model (scalar and metric invariance) in the Flemish and Walloon samples

part I: measurement part – standardized factor loadings (*response style = acquiescence = tendency to agree with all*)

Items	<i>Ethnic threat</i>	<i>Islamophobia</i>	<i>(Sub)national identity</i>		<i>Response style</i>
	<i>(in both samples)</i>	<i>(in both samples)</i>	<i>Flemish</i>	<i>Walloon</i>	<i>(in both samples)</i>
Q114_1	0.797				0.112
Q114_2	-0.751				0.112
Q114_3	0.817				0.112
Q114_4	0.873				0.112
Q114_5	-0.781				0.112
Q114_6	0.791				0.112
Q114_7	0.746				0.112
Q114_8	0.829				0.112
D32_1		-0.773			0.112
D32_2		0.627			0.112
D32_3		0.608			0.112
D32_4		0.836			0.112
D32_5		0.813			0.112
D32_6		0.902			0.112
D32_7		-0.705			0.112
First_id			0.793		
Exclus_VW			0.789		
Decide			0.632	0.749	
Split_B			0.750		

Table 1: Equivalent measurement model in the Flemish and Walloon samples. **Part II:** structural model

Stand. cov. Flanders	<i>Ethnic threat</i>	<i>Islamophobia</i>	<i>(Sub)national identity</i>	<i>Response style</i>
<i>Threat</i>	1.000			
<i>Islamophobia</i>	0.790	1.000		
<i>(Sub)national</i>	0.259	0.319	1.000	
<i>Resp. style</i>	-	--		1.000
Stand. cov Wallonia	<i>Ethnic threat</i>	<i>Islamophobia</i>	<i>(Sub)national identity</i>	<i>Response style</i>
<i>Threat</i>	1.000			
<i>Islamophobia</i>	0.790	1.000		
<i>(Sub)national</i>	-0.243	-0.240	1.000	
<i>Resp. style</i>	--	--		1.000

Theoretical significance

- Relation between attitude towards immigrants and national feelings not always in same direction (*more national feeling not always more negative towards immigrants*)
- How to explain?
 - Depends on (collective) **representation** of the “nation”: ethnic versus civic, or ethnic versus instrumental
 - Ethnic representation** based on *primordial autochtonie* (ground, descend or origin, long stay)
 - Civic (instrumental)**: based on respect for the laws, accept rules...
language = ambiguous (both instrumental and primordial)
 - **historical**:
 - Flemish nationalism is traditionally right wing
 - Walloon regionalism is left wing
 - **political landscape and discourse**: strong (extr. Right) nationalist party in Flanders but in Wallonia right extr = Belgicism

Presentation based on...

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