# Predictors of attitudes towards immigrants among Russians Introduction

Attitudes towards immigration and particularly to immigrants remain a widely investigated topic in social sciences. This area of research gained particular attention especially in the European context since Europe has faced the intensive influx of immigrants in recent years and there is a need for successful integration within the host society (Gentin et. al, 2019; Davidov at al., 2020).

The available research has previously confirmed the existence of large-scale negative attitudes towards immigrants among Europeans derived by the perception of immigration as a threat to the existing social order as well as traditions and norms (Rustenbach, 2010; Meuleman et al., 2018).

Attitudes to immigrants are affected not only by individual-level factors, such as income (Becchetti at al., 2010), education (Coenders and Scheepers, 2003), ideological views (Rowatt, 2019), but also by country-level ones, for example, economic conditions (Gorodzeisky, 2011), size of immigrant population (Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010), or specific events, like terrorist attacks, occurring within a country (Schlueter at al., 2020).

One of the core individual factors that influence attitudes to different minorities, including immigrants, are human values (Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995; Schwartz, 2006). Values to a large extent determine whether immigrants are perceived as a threat, and via this perception shape attitudes to the group (Davidov et al., 2020). Another important element which strongly determines attitudes towards immigrants is social trust (Fierro and Parella, 2020) since it enables people to reach out to others and make social connections. Social trust is also often mediates attitudes to immigrants (see Pellegrini at al., 2021; Korol and Bevelander, 2021). Generally, people with high levels of social trust have more positive attitudes towards immigration than others (Herreros and Criado, 2009). Thus, we expect that people with more universalistic values who are more self-transcendent and less conservative than people with prevailing conformity values (Schwartz, 2012) will be more willing to cooperate with those who are different from them, and by extending their pool of social connections they will acquire more accepting attitudes to outgroup members, including immigrants.

European and other Western countries which remain the focus of the research on immigrants are likely to possess a specific context in which immigrant-host interactions occur. In this regard, the results achieved within the existing pool of research on the topic are hardly

applicable to other world countries. In this regard, we propose to examine attitudes towards immigrants in another social context, which in our view Russia appears to represent well.

According to the UN, there are around 12 million immigrants living in Russia in 2021 (United Nations, 2021). Most of them come from former Soviet Union states, such as Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and others (Iontsev et al., 2010). Attitudes towards immigrants are mainly reported to be negative. According to FOM, a Russian research center, practically every fifth local citizen in Russia expresses discontent towards immigrants as well as reports the occurrence of ethnic conflicts in his/her local area (FOM, 2011; 2018). Those immigrants from Central Asia (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and others) are especially subjected to negative attitudes: it is reported that almost a half of the population in Russia actually would support the restrictions on the flow of immigrants coming from Central Asian countries (FOM, 2022).

All in all, in this study we intend to find out whether there is an association between basic human values and attitudes towards immigrants in Russia and whether there is a mediating role played by symbolic threat and social trust in this association. Within the analysis we will use data from the 8th round of European Social Survey (ESS). Structural equation modeling (SEM) will be used as a method to obtain relevant information for answering the research question.

#### **Literature Review**

# Value Theory and Basic Human Values

Values are not something that can be measured distinctively. In this regard, there are multiple theoretical approaches that are used in the studies of human values. Probably the most widely used ones are Rokeach's instrumental and terminal values (Rokeach, 1973), Inglhart's post-materialist theory and cultural focus (Inglehart, 1990), and Schwartz's universal values (Schwartz, 1992).

In this paper, we focus on Schwarz's basic human values which come up in different social contexts. According to Schwartz, values are "objectives that are desirable, transcendent, and of variable importance and establish the principles that guide the life of a person or social entity" (Schwartz, 1992). In other words, values can be defined as concepts or beliefs that influence people's orientations when setting life priorities. Being closely related to individuals' motivations, values help to shape personality and set life goals. It is also important to note that values do not act only as internalized schemata, but they also play the key role in individual action (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). It is important to note that basically all of the values from

the Schwartz structure are present within an individual, but these values acquire different degrees of expression among different individuals.

Schwartz has developed a schematic representation of human values' structure. There are upper-level dimensions: openness to change, self-transcendence, conservation, self-enhancement. Within these dimensions specific values are placed.



Figure 1. Schematic representation of human values' structure by Schwartz

Within this research we are interested in conformity and universalism, the values that are largely different from each other in their sense. Universalism value is an element of Self-transcendence dimension which includes those facets related to nature/beauty, to tolerance, and to concern for others' well--being. Conformity value is placed within Conservation value dimension and presumes individual's complying with social norms and avoiding upsetting others derived from the desire of protecting the self and avoiding negative reactions from others (Schwartz, 1992).

# The Concepts of Social Trust and Symbolic Threat: Relationship with Human Values and Attitudes to Immigrants

## Social Trust

Social trust along with engagement in social networks is usually considered as part of the widely investigated concept of social capital (Fukuyama, 2001). Social capital indeed remains an essential element in the studies of social organization since it constitutes the core component of a logic of action, which in its turn eases social cooperation and the achievement of collective common goods (Coleman, 1994). However, because social capital is a

multidimensional concept, some scholars claim that each element within the concept has to be studied separately (Özcan and Bjørnskov, 2011; Welch et al., 2005).

Nevertheless, the concept of trust itself is multidimensional, so there is a need to distinguish between different types of trust. Basically the strict line can be drawn between personalized or particularized trust and interpersonal trust or generalized trust to which social trust is often extended to (Özcan and Bjørnskov, 2011).

Social trust as a faith in people who are different from oneself is considered to have a uniting effect on societies and to promote cooperation. People with high levels of social trust are more tolerant to different minorities, including immigrants, are more likely to engage in charity and volunteering as well as to support equal rights for all members of the society (Uslaner, 2009; Herreros and Criado, 2009). Social trust often serves as a starting point for meaningful relationships, it increases opportunities for mutual aid, reciprocity, and solidarity (Welch et al., 2005).

However, social trust is not a characteristic per se and there have been multiple attempts to determine what shapes social trust. Within individual-oriented theory, interpersonal, or social, trust is regarded as a moral value that people learn early in their lives (Uslaner, 2007). This approach to analyze the origins of social trust corresponds with the assumption that trust is primarily determined by basic values that start to be assimilated within the early steps of socialization.

### Symbolic Threat

The concept of symbolic threat presumes the fear of loss of the cultural homogeneity, the ingroup's values, and the national identity of the host society held by the members of the host society (Fetzer, 2000).

The important role played by the feeling of threat, especially symbolic threat, in the formation of negative attitudes towards groups possessing distant from one's own group traditions and cultural values, have been largely emphasized by scholars (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Meuleman et al., 2018). Since immigrants are the prime example of such an outgroup, those individuals who experience symbolic threat are likely to have negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Since values, particularly ingroup ones, underlie the feeling of threat, the assumption that basic human values, especially those related to conservation, determine the presence and the extent of symbolic threat is highly justifiable. Indeed, for example, Davidov and his colleagues, find the mediating effect of symbolic threat in the relationship between

universalism/conformity values and support/disapproval of immigrants and immigration (Davidov et al., 2020).

#### **Data and Methods**

In order to address the research question we use data from European Social Survey (ESS), a cross-national survey conducted across European nations which measures individual attitudes, beliefs and behavior patterns. The data is drawn from the 8<sup>th</sup> round which was conducted in 2016. ESS is not limited to EU members, and in this study we are particularly interested in Russia which is also represented in the database. Another thing about ESS is that it uses Schwartz's approach to measure basic human values, which is an important aspect within this study.

Considering the aims of the present research as well as the results achieved within previous works, we assume that social trust has a positive impact on attitudes towards immigrants, whereas symbolic threat has a negative impact on this kind of attitudes.

Our main hypotheses within this research are as following:

- 1. Social trust partially mediates the relationship between universalism/conformity values and attitudes toward immigrants.
- 1.1. Within this relationship universalism values increase social trust and improve attitudes towards immigrants, while conformity values decrease social trust and deteriorate attitudes towards immigrants
- 2. Symbolic threat partially mediates the relationship between universalism/conformity values and attitudes toward immigrants.
- 2.1. Within this relationship universalism values, on the contrary, should decrease symbolic threat and improve attitudes towards immigrants, while conformity values should increase symbolic threat and deteriorate attitudes towards immigrants.
  All in all, 5 latent variables are used in the research:
  - The dependent variable "Allow", which represents attitudes towards immigrants, is measured by three indicators showing to what extent respondents think their country should allow people of the same race or ethnic group, of a different race or ethnic group, from other poorer countries to come and live in respondents' home country. There was a need to recode this variable since code 1 stood for "allow many", while code 4 was "allow none".
  - Conformity Value variable is measured through the importance of following rules and behaving properly for a respondent, where code 1 stands for "Very much like me" and

- code 6 stand for "Not like me at all". Hence, reverse recoding was done for this variable.
- Universalism Value variable is measured through importance of equality and understanding other people for a respondent. The variable is measured just the same as Conformity Value variable. So, reverse recoding was needed here as well.
- Symbolic Threat variable which is measured by three indicators inquiring whether
  respondents believe that cultural life as well as religious beliefs and practices in their
  country are generally undermined or enriched by immigrants, and whether they think
  immigrants make the country a worse/better place to live on 11-point scale (0 "Worse place to live", 11- "Better place to live")
- Social Trust variable is measured by the respondent's (dis)agreement on a 11-point scale, just like the previous variable, with the statements that most people can be trusted, most people try to take advantage of oneself, most of the time people are helpful

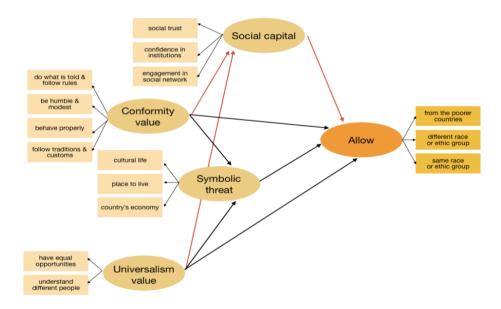


Figure 2. Theoretical model

Since this research presumes a theory-driven approach, we use Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Conformity value, Universalism value, Allow, Symbolic threat, Social trust. In order to measure effects of independent variables on dependent variable structural equation modeling would be conducted (include path part OLS and measurement CFA part).

Also, we include in our model control variables: Age (measured in years), gender (1 - male, 2 - female), education (0 - no primary education, 5- tertiary education), perceived income (1 - very difficult on present income, 4 - Living comfortably on present income). We assume

that young people with high education scoring higher on universalism values, social trust and allowance of immigration and lower on conformity values and symbolic threat.

#### Results

In our research, we have a sample of 2430 respondents. Table 1 provides the means and standard deviations for all concerned variables. Considering the means of variables on attitudes toward immigrants we can say that Russians allow some or few immigrants to enter the country. They are a bit more open to immigrants of the same race or ethnic group and more closed to immigrants of different race or ethnic groups. Also, Russians do not tend to allow immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe to enter the country. The average scores for social trust among Russians are close to 5 points out of 10, which means that people in Russia do not tend to trust people and share ideas of generalized trust. Also, scores on symbolic threat variables shows that immigration in Russia could be perceived as a negative phenomenon by Russians, because their scores on effects of immigrants on the country show a low rate.

Considering results of confirmatory factor analysis, we could say that the theoretical model (without social trust) is applicable to the Russian sample and could be accepted (see table 2). However, we are interested in modernized model including social trust. The model with social trust is also acceptable (according to CFI, TLI, RMSEA) (see table 3). All observed variables are significant and strongly correlated with all latent variables (Allow, Symbolic threat, Universalism, Conformity, Social trust). The factor loading of observed variables provided in table 7. Since human basic values are determined concepts and Conformity and Universalism values are measured through mentioned variables, we ignore that some factor loading on these factors are less than 0,5. Thus, we could use 4 factors in our further analysis.

In order to measure effects and describe them we should conduct structural equation modeling with mentioned latent variables, add path part with OLS and control model by age, gender, income and education. The first SEM model includes only direct effects of independent variables on dependent one and control variables. Results of the model relate to the literature review on values part. There is a significant negative association between conformity value and allowance to immigrants (sig. 002), which means that the increase of conformity value typicality leads to decrease of allowance of immigrants by 0.275 points (and other predictors are equal to 0). At the same time, the association between attitudes toward immigrants and universalism value is significantly positive (sig. 000): change of universalism value typicality by 1, leads to increase of allowance of immigrants by 0.36 points (and other predictors are equal to 0). Also, age and income separately show the negative association with attitudes toward immigrants, and according to gender women are more likely to allow immigrants to

enter their country than men. Links between dependent variables with other variables are insignificant. At the same time, symbolic threat and conformity value have significant negative relations, which means that change of conformity value typicality by 1, leads to decrease of symbolic threat by 0.47 points (and other predictors are equal to 0). This result contradicts our assumption on the direction of link between these variables. Also, the association between symbolic threat and universalism value is insignificant. Considering social trust, we cannot define any significant relations with conformity or universalism value. Thus, our hypothesis on the increasing level of social trust by higher typicality of universalism value and decreasing level of social trust by higher typicality of conformity value among Russians should be rejected. We can highlight that women, young people and educated people with low confidence in income are more truthful.

In order to test hypotheses on mediation of symbolic threat and social trust on allowances of immigrants in Russia and describe direct and indirect effects of concerned variables we need to conduct a full SEM model. We define the direct effect of symbolic threat on allowances of immigrants in Russia, stay with the direct effect of social trust on allowances of immigrants in Russia. Also, we define indirect effects of universalism value through direct effect of symbolic threat on allowances of immigrants in Russia and indirect effects of conformity value through direct effect of symbolic threat on allowances of immigrants in Russia. We keep the social trust in our model and define indirect effects of universalism value through direct effect of social trust on allowances of immigrants in Russia and indirect effects of conformity value through direct effect of social trust on allowances of immigrants in Russia. Moreover, we calculate the total effect of the indirect effect of universalism value on allowances of immigrants in Russia and the direct effect of symbolic threat on allowances of immigrants, total effect of the indirect effect of conformity value on allowances of immigrants in Russia and the direct effect of symbolic threat on allowances of immigrants. We stay with social trust and also measure the total effect of the indirect effect of universalism value on allowances of immigrants in Russia and the direct effect of social trust on allowances of immigrants, total effect of the indirect effect of conformity value on allowances of immigrants in Russia and the direct effect of social trust on allowances of immigrants.

According to statistics on full SEM model, we can conclude that the covariance matrices of the observed and predicted model are not identical. The significance of the chi-square in this case may be due to the large sample size. Nevertheless, concerning direct effects in full SEM model we can highlight some points of analysis: neither conformity value, nor universalism value have significant direct linear associations with allowance of immigrants.

However, human basic values show significant associations with symbolic threat and social trust. There is a positive link between universalism and symbolic threat, which means that by change in typicality of universalism value, symbolic threat would be increased by 6.156 points. At the same time, conformity value has a negative relation with symbolic threat, the change in conformity value would decrease symbolic threat by 5.042. There is a positive significant link between social trust and universalism value, which means that by changing typicality of universalism value, the level of social trust would be increased by 5.953. In contrast, the change of universalism value typicality, the level of social trust would be decreased by 4.601. However, the association between symbolic threat and attitudes toward immigrants is positive and significant (the change of symbolic threat would increase allowance by 0.150), while the link between social trust and attitudes toward immigrants is insignificant.

Despite the insignificant relations we would consider all possible effects, but in further research the modification of the model would be a possible solution for the correct analysis and insights. The indirect effect of universalism on allowance of immigrants mediating by symbolic threat is equal to 0.926, while the indirect effect of conformity on allowance of immigrants mediating by symbolic threat is equal to -0.759. Considering symbolic threat as mediator, the total effect of universalism value on allowance of immigrants is equal to 3.886 and the total effect of conformity value on allowance of immigrants is equal to -3.074. Thus, we can conclude that symbolic threat mediates the relationship between universalism and conformity values and attitudes toward immigrants. However, within this relationship universalism values increase symbolic threat and improve attitudes towards immigrants, while conformity values should decrease symbolic threat and deteriorate attitudes towards immigrants. Thus, our hypothesis on symbolic threat should be perceived as partly proved.

The indirect effect of universalism on allowance of immigrants mediating by social trust threat is equal to 0.507, whereas the indirect effect of conformity on allowance of immigrants mediating by social trust is equal to -0.657. Concerning social trust as mediator, the total effect of universalism value on allowance of immigrants is equal to 2.303 and the total effect of conformity value on allowance of immigrants is equal to -1.808. Therefore, social trust does not mediate the relationships between universalism/conformity values on attitudes toward immigrants. And we reject our hypothesis on social trust and could not assess the input of human values separately on attitudes toward immigrants through social trust.

In the final SEM model, we perform a partial model without total effects due to excluding direct effects of basic human values and attitudes toward immigrants. In other words, we consider only indirect effects mediating by symbolic threat and social trust separately. Only

the link between symbolic threat and allowance of immigrants is significantly positive. The link between social trust and allowance of immigrants is insignificant, hence, we cannot measure the indirect effect of basic human values on allowance of immigrants mediating by social trust. Thus, we reject the hypothesis that social trust partially mediates the relationship between universalism/conformity values and attitudes toward immigrants.

The association between symbolic threat and universalism value is significantly positive, which means that the change of universalism value typicality would increase the symbolic threat by 5.654 points. At the same time, the relation between symbolic threat and conformity value is significantly negative, which means that the change of conformity value typicality would decrease the symbolic threat by 4.546 points. Therefore, we could test our hypothesis on symbolic threat as a mediator. The indirect effect of universalism value on allowance of immigrants is significant and positive (1.234), while the direct effect of conformity value is also significant and negative (-0.992). Consequently, the hypothesis on symbolic threat is partially accepted. Thus, symbolic threat partially mediates the relationship between universalism/conformity values and attitudes toward immigrants, but within this relationship universalism values increase symbolic threat and improve attitudes towards immigrants, while conformity values decrease symbolic threat and deteriorate attitudes towards immigrants.

Comparing full and partial SEM models (tab 8) Chi-Squared Difference Test suggests the partial SEM model is better (sig.000). Thus, symbolic threat partially mediates the effect of basic human values on attitudes toward immigrants. The typicality of conformity value negatively affects the allowance of immigrants, while the typicality of universalism value shows a positive effect on allowance of immigrants in Russia.

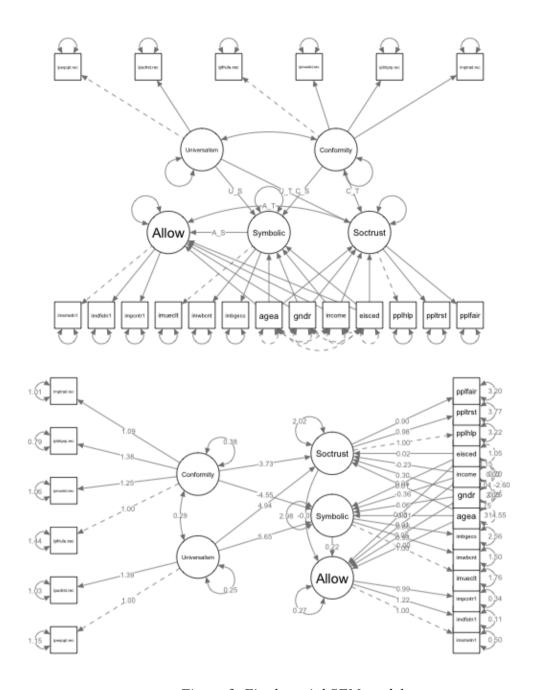


Figure 3. Final partial SEM model

# Conclusion

Attitudes towards immigrants remain an accurate topic for discussion, especially in the Russian context. In our study, we have tried to describe predictors of positive or negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Answering the research question, it is important to note that generally people in Russia do not tend to trust others. In this regard, it is not surprising that social trust could not predict the attitude towards immigrants in Russian society and mediate the relationship between allowance of immigrants and basic human values. However, symbolic threat could. We can conclude that individuals with prevailing universalistic values express a higher threat of

immigrants, but at the same time they show higher support of immigration. On the contrary, conservative individuals display the opposite pattern. This is an interesting finding since it can be assumed that there are some other strong predictors that actually result into high support of immigrants by people with universalistic values despite feeling threatened. Such results can be also explained by the fact that Schwartz value structure is applicable mostly to Western countries (Fontaine at al., 2008), thus, within the Russian context its use may lead to unexpected outcomes. Nevertheless, we can state that symbolic threat indeed partially mediates the association between values and immigration attitudes in Russia.

In the further research on the topic the concept of social trust could be redefined, for example, by confidence of institutions. We also suggest performing SEM without social trust or other additional latent variables, focusing on symbolic threat in order to prove or reject results of previous research.

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# Appendix

Table 1. Items measuring values, symbolic threat, willingness to allow immigrants into country, and control variables with means and standard deviations for the total sample

Role	Construct	Variable	Question	Scale	Mean	Std.Dev
		Imsmetn1	Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority	1– None; 4 – Many	2.64	0.99
Dependent variable immigrants into country Imdfetn1 imm difference	immigrants	Imdfetn1	Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group than majority	1 – None; 4 – Many	2.18	0.89
	Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe	1 – None; 4 – Many	1.94	0.89		
		ipfrule.rec	Important to do what is told and follow rules	1 – Not like me at all; 6 – Very much like me	3.78	1.35
Independent	Conformity	ipmodst.rec	Important to be humble and modest, not draw attention	1 – Not like me at all; 6 – Very much like me	4.20	1.29
variable	value	ipbhprp.rec	Important to behave properly	1 – Not like me at all; 6 – Very much like me	4.24	1.26
		imptrad.rec	Important to follow traditions and customs	1 – Not like me at all; 6 – Very much like me	4.55	1.22
Independent	Universalism	ipeqopt.rec	Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities	1 – Not like me at all; 6 – Very much like me	4.42	1.21
variable	value	ipudrst.rec	Important to understand different people	1 – Not like me at all; 6 – Very much like me	4.22	1.23
		imueclt	Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants	0 – Enriched; 10 – Undermined	3.56	2.31
Independent variable	Symbolic Threat	imwbent	Immigrants make country worse or hetter place to live	0 – Better place to live; 10 – Worse place to live	3.42	2.19
		imbgeco	Immigration bad or good for country's economy	0 – Bad for the economy ; 10 – Good for the economy	3.71	2.29

Independent variable	pplhlp		Most of the time people helpful or mostly looking out for themselves	0 – People mostly look out for themselves; 10 – People mostly try to be helpful	4.71	2.46
	Social trust	Social trust ppltrst Most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful		0 – You can't be too careful; 10 – Most people can be trusted	4.39	2.49
		pplfair	Most people try to take advantage of you, or try to be fair	0 – Most people try to take advantage of me; 10 – Most people try to be fair	5.32	2.3
	Education	eisced	Highest level of education, ES - ISCED	1 (ES-ISCED I) – 5 (ES- ISCED V2)	3.87	1.03
	Age	agea	Age of respondent, ca	lculated	46.72	18.02
	Gender	gndr	Gender	1 – Male; 2 – Female	1.57	0.49
Control variable	Income	income	Feeling about household's income nowadays	1 – Very difficult on present income; 4 – Living comfortably on present income	2.61	0.84

Table 2. Statistics of CFA zero model

Degrees of freedom	48
P-value (Chi-square)	159.468 (.000)
CFI	0,984
TLI	0,978
RMSEA	0,036

Table 3. Statistics of CFA model with social trust

Degrees of freedom	80
P-value (Chi-square)	222.604 (.000)
CFI	0,982
TLI	0,976
RMSEA	0,032

Tab 4. Statistics of SEM zero model

Degrees of freedom	128
P-value (Chi-square)	457.760 (.000)
CFI	0,957
TLI	0,944
RMSEA	0,039

**Tab 5. Statistics of Full SEM model** 

Degrees of freedom	165
P-value (Chi-square)	492.761 (.000)
CFI	0.952
TLI	0.939
RMSEA	0.041

Tab 6. Statistics of partial SEM model

Degrees of freedom	131
P-value (Chi-square)	507.439 (.000)
CFI	0.951
TLI	0.938
RMSEA	0.041

**Tab 7. Factor loadings** 

<b>37</b> ' 11	ATL	Symbolic	G. G. W.	TT .*	Social
Variable	Allow	treat	Conformity	Universalism	trust
imsmetn1	0.694				
imdfetn1	0.933				
impentr1	0.763				
imueclt		0.827			
imwbent		0.838			
imbgeco		0.724			
ipfrule.rec			0.459		
ipmodst.rec			0.602		
ipbhprp.rec			0.713		
imptrad.rec			0.569		
ipeqopt.rec				0.491	
ipudrst.rec				0.656	
pplhlp					0.668
ppltrst					0.646
pplfair					0.639

Table 8. Chi-Squared Difference Test on full and partial SEM models

	Df	AIC	BIC	Chisq	Chisq diff	Df diff	Pr(>Chisq)
					14.678		
Partial SEM	131	86928	87195	507.44		2	0.0006

Table 9. Statistics on full SEM and partial SEM

	Full SEM	Partial SEM
	Estimate	Estimate
	Factor	Loadings
Allow		
imsmetn1	1.00+	1.00+
imdfetn1	1.22***	1.22***
impentr1	0.99***	0.99***
Symbolic		
imueclt	1.00+	1.00+
imwbent	0.93***	0.93***
imbgeco	0.86***	0.86***
<u>Universalism</u>		
ipeqopt.rec	1.00+	1.00+
ipudrst.rec	1.35***	1.39***
Conformity		
ipfrule.rec	1.00+	1.00+
ipmodst.rec	1.25***	1.25***
ipbhprp.rec	1.38***	1.38***
imptrad.rec	1.09***	1.09***
Soctrust		
pplhlp	1.00+	1.00+
ppltrst	0.98***	0.98***
pplfair	0.90***	0.90***
Reg	ression Slopes	1
Allow		
Universalism	2.96	
Conformity	-2.32	
agea	-0.00	-0.00*

gndr	0.08*	0.05
income	-0.06	-0.01
eisced	0.03*	0.03*
Symbolic	0.15***	0.22***
Soctrust	-0.11	-0.01
Symbolic		
Universalism	6.16**	5.65**
Conformity	-5.04**	-4.55**
agea	-0.01**	-0.01**
gndr	0.06	0.06
income	-0.36***	-0.36***
eisced	0.05	0.05
Soctrust		
Universalism	5.95**	4.94***
Conformity	-4.60**	-3.73**
agea	0.01*	0.01*
gndr	0.30**	0.30**
income	-0.23***	-0.23***
eisced	0.02	0.02
<u>R</u>	esidual Variances	
imsmetn1	0.50***	0.50***
imdfetn1	0.11***	0.11***
impentr1	0.34***	0.34***
imueclt	1.76***	1.76***
imwbcnt	1.49***	1.50***
imbgeco	2.56***	2.56***
ipeqopt.rec	1.15***	1.15***
ipudrst.rec	1.05***	1.03***
ipfrule.rec	1.44***	1.44***

ipmodst.rec	1.06***	1.06***				
ipbhprp.rec	0.80***	0.79***				
imptrad.rec	1.01***	1.01***				
pplhlp	3.22***	3.22***				
ppltrst	3.77***	3.77***				
pplfair	3.20***	3.20***				
agea	314.55+	314.55+				
gndr	0.25+	0.25+				
income	0.70+	0.70+				
eisced	1.05+	1.05+				
Residu	al Covariances					
agea w/gndr	1.75+	1.75+				
agea w/income	2.05+	2.05+				
agea w/eisced	-2.60+	-2.60+				
gndr w/income	0.04+	0.04+				
gndr w/eisced	0.02+	0.02+				
income w/eisced	-0.15 <sup>+</sup>	-0.15+				
<u>Late</u>	nt Variances					
Allow	0.17*	0.27***				
Symbolic	3.02***	2.98***				
Universalism	0.25***	0.25***				
Conformity	0.38***	0.38***				
Soctrust	1.95***	2.02***				
<u>Latent Covariances</u>						
Universalism w/Conformity	0.30***	0.29***				
<u>Constructed</u>						
IND.U	0.93***	1.23**				
IND.C	-0.76***	-0.99**				
IND.TC	0.51	0.02				

IND.TU	-0.66	-0.03
TOT.U	3.89*	
TOT.C	-3.07*	
TOT.Un	2.30	
TOT.Co	-1.81	
<u>Fit Indices</u>		
$\chi^2$	492.76(129)***	507.44(131)*
CFI	0,95	0,95
TLI	0,94	0,94

<sup>+</sup>Fixed parameter

<sup>\*</sup>p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

### **Appendix:** R script

```
library(car)
library(dplyr)
library(lmtest)
library(texreg)
library(psych)
library(scales)
library(lavaan)
library(haven)
ESS8 <- read_sav("/Users/svesh1971/Downloads/ESS8e02_2.sav", user_na = F)
# ipfrule
ESS8$ipfrule.rec <- 7-as.numeric(ESS8$ipfrule)
ESS8$ipfrule.rec <- labelled(ESS8$ipfrule.rec, c("Not like me at all" =1,"Not like me" = 2,
                             "A little like me" = 3, "Somewhat like me" = 4,
                             "Like me" = 5, "Very much like me" = 6))
# ipmodst
ESS8$ipmodst.rec <- 7-as.numeric(ESS8$ipmodst)
ESS8$ipmodst.rec <- labelled(ESS8$ipmodst.rec, c("Not like me at all" =1, "Not like me" =
2.
                             "A little like me" = 3, "Somewhat like me" = 4,
                             "Like me" = 5, "Very much like me" = 6))
# ipbhprp
ESS8$ipbhprp.rec <- 7-as.numeric(ESS8$ipbhprp)
ESS8$ipbhprp.rec <- labelled(ESS8$ipbhprp.rec, c("Not like me at all" =1 ,"Not like me" =
2,
                             "A little like me" = 3, "Somewhat like me" = 4,
                             "Like me" = 5, "Very much like me" = 6))
# imptrad
ESS8$imptrad.rec <- 7-as.numeric(ESS8$imptrad)
ESS8$imptrad.rec <- labelled(ESS8$imptrad.rec, c("Not like me at all" =1, "Not like me" =
2,
                             "A little like me" = 3, "Somewhat like me" = 4,
                             "Like me" = 5, "Very much like me" = 6))
# ipeqopt
ESS8$ipeqopt.rec <- 7-as.numeric(ESS8$ipeqopt)
ESS8$ipeqopt.rec <- labelled(ESS8$ipeqopt.rec, c("Not like me at all" =1,"Not like me" = 2,
                             "A little like me" = 3, "Somewhat like me" = 4,
                             "Like me" = 5, "Very much like me" = 6))
# ipudrst
ESS8$ipudrst.rec <- 7-as.numeric(ESS8$ipudrst)
```

```
ESS8$ipudrst.rec <- labelled(ESS8$ipudrst.rec, c("Not like me at all" =1,"Not like me" = 2,
                             "A little like me" = 3, "Somewhat like me" = 4,
                             "Like me" = 5, "Very much like me" = 6))
df <- ESS8[,c('ipfrule.rec', 'ipmodst.rec', 'ipbhprp.rec', 'imptrad.rec', # Conformity value
            'ipeqopt.rec', 'ipudrst.rec', # Universalism value
            'imueclt', 'imwbcnt', 'imbgeco', # Symbolic Threat
            'pplhlp', 'ppltrst', 'pplfair', #Social trust
            'trstlgl', 'trstplc', 'trstplt', 'trstprt', 'trstprl', # confidence in institutions
            'imsmetn', 'imdfetn', 'impcntr', # Allow
            'agea', 'gndr', 'hincfel', 'eisced', 'lrscale', 'cntry')] # control variables
data <- df[as_factor(df$cntry)=="Russian Federation",]
summary(as factor(data$cntry)) #проверяем, что у нас нужные страны]
data$imsmetn1 <- 5-as.numeric(data$imsmetn)
data$imsmetn1 <- labelled(data$imsmetn1, c("Allow none" =1, "Allow a few" = 2,
                             "Allow some" = 3, "Allow many to come and live here" = 4))
data$imdfetn1 <- 5-as.numeric(data$imdfetn)
data$imdfetn1 <- labelled(data$imdfetn1, c("Allow none" =1, "Allow a few" = 2,
                             "Allow some" = 3,"Allow many to come and live here" = 4))
data$impcntr1 <- 5-as.numeric(data$impcntr)</pre>
data$impcntr1 <- labelled(data$impcntr1, c("Allow none" =1, "Allow a few" = 2,
                             "Allow some" = 3, "Allow many to come and live here" = 4))
summary(data$agea)
hist(data$agea)
round(addmargins(prop.table(table(data$gndr))), 2)*100
data$income<-5-as.numeric(data$hincfel)
data$income<-labelled(data$hincfel, c("Very difficult on present income" =1,"Difficult on
present income" = 2,
                    "Coping on present income" = 3,"Living comfortably on present
income'' = 4)
table(data$income)
data\( eisced \( | = 6 \) data\( eisced == 7 \) <- 5
table(data$eisced)
mean(data$income, na.rm=T)
sd(data\sincome, na.rm=T)
# CFA
cfa0<- cfa("Allow =~ imsmetn1 + imdfetn1 + impcntr1;
       Symbolic =~ imueclt + imwbcnt + imbgeco;
       Universalism =~ ipeqopt.rec + ipudrst.rec;
```

```
Conformity =~ ipfrule.rec + ipmodst.rec + ipbhprp.rec + imptrad.rec;
        data[data$cntry == "RU",],
        estimator = "ml",
        missing = "listwise")
summary(cfa0, fit.measures = T, standardized = T)
cfa1<- cfa("Allow =~ imsmetn1 + imdfetn1 + impcntr1;
       Symbolic =~ imueclt + imwbcnt + imbgeco;
       Universalism =~ ipegopt.rec + ipudrst.rec;
       Conformity =~ ipfrule.rec + ipmodst.rec + ipbhprp.rec + imptrad.rec;
       Soctrust =~ pplhlp + ppltrst + pplfair;
        data[data$cntry == "RU",],
        estimator = "ml",
        missing = "listwise")
summary(cfa1, fit.measures = T, standardized = T)
## SEM
sem1 <- sem(
 "Allow =~ imsmetn1 + imdfetn1 + impcntr1;
 Symbolic =~ imueclt + imwbcnt + imbgeco;
 Universalism =~ ipeqopt.rec + ipudrst.rec;
 Conformity =~ ipfrule.rec + ipmodst.rec + ipbhprp.rec + imptrad.rec;
 Soctrust =~ pplhlp + ppltrst + pplfair;
 # regression
 Allow ~ Universalism + Conformity;
 Symbolic ~ Universalism + Conformity;
 Soctrust ~ Universalism + Conformity;
 # control variables
 Allow + Symbolic + Soctrust ~ agea + gndr + income + eisced;
 data[data$cntry == "RU",],
 estimator = "ml",
 missing = "listwise"
)
summary(sem1, fit.measures = T, standardized = T)
library(semPlot)
semPaths(sem1, nCharNodes = 0, layout = "tree")
### Full SEM
sem2 <- sem("Allow =~ imsmetn1 + imdfetn1 + impcntr1;
```

```
Universalism =~ ipegopt.rec + ipudrst.rec;
       Conformity =~ ipfrule.rec + ipmodst.rec + ipbhprp.rec + imptrad.rec;
       Soctrust =~ pplhlp + ppltrst + pplfair;
       # регрессии
       Allow ~ A_U*Universalism + A_C*Conformity;
       Symbolic ~ U_S*Universalism + C_S*Conformity;
       Soctrust ~ U T*Universalism + C T*Conformity;
       # control variables
       Allow + Symbolic + Soctrust ~ agea + gndr + income + eisced;
       Allow ~ A_S*Symbolic; # direct effect of symbolic threat on allowance
       Allow ~ A_T*Soctrust; # direct effect of social turst on allowance
       IND_U := A_S*U_S; # indirect effect of symbolic threat on universalism value
       IND_C := A_S*C_S; # indirect effect of symbolic threat on conformity value
       IND\_TC := A\_T*C\_T; # indirect effect of social turst on conformity value
       IND TU := A T*U T; # indirect effect of social turst on universalism value
       TOT_U := IND_U + A_U; # total effect of universalism value on allowance
mediating by symbolic threat
       TOT C := IND C + A C; # total effect of conformity value on allowance mediating
by symbolic threat
       TOT_Un := IND_TU + A_U; # total effect of universalism value on allowance
mediating by socail trust
       TOT_Co := IND_TC + A_C; # total effect of conformity value on allowance
mediating by socail trust
data[data$cntry == "RU",],
estimator = "ml",
missing = "listwise"
summary(sem 2, fit.measures = T, standardized = T)
### Partial SEM
sem3 <- sem("Allow =~ imsmetn1 + imdfetn1 + impcntr1;
       Symbolic =~ imueclt + imwbcnt + imbgeco;
       Universalism =~ ipeqopt.rec + ipudrst.rec;
```

Symbolic =~ imueclt + imwbcnt + imbgeco;

)

```
Conformity =~ ipfrule.rec + ipmodst.rec + ipbhprp.rec + imptrad.rec;
      Soctrust =~ pplhlp + ppltrst + pplfair;
      # Regression
      # Allow ~ A_U*Universalism + A_C*Conformity;
      Symbolic ~ U S*Universalism + C S*Conformity;
      Soctrust ~ U_T*Universalism + C_T*Conformity;
      # control variables
      Allow + Symbolic + Soctrust ~ agea + gndr + income + eisced;
      Allow ~ A_S*Symbolic;
      Allow ~ A T*Soctrust;
      IND_U := A_S * U_S;
      IND_C := A_S * C_S;
      IND\_TC := A\_T*C\_T;
      IND_TU := A_T*U_T;
     # TOT_U := IND_U + A_U;
     # TOT_C := IND_C + A_C;
     # TOT_Un := IND_TU + A_U;
     # TOT_Co := IND_TC + A_C;
      data[data$cntry == "RU",],
      estimator = "ml",
      missing = "listwise")
summary(sem3, fit.measures = T, standardized = T)
lavTestLRT(sem2, sem3)
library(semTable)
s.tab <- semTable(list(sem2, sem3),
         columns = "eststars",
         type = "html",
         print.results = FALSE)
library("htmltools")
browsable(HTML(s.tab))
```