Is It All the Same? Forms of Racial Prejudice, Their Origins and Consequences Reconsidered

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Abstract

For decades, numerous social science contributions have addressed questions concerning attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. While this research gives important insights into how modern civil societies work, it also introduces misunderstandings and adds confusion to what authors understand as anti-immigrant prejudice and, in particular, how this concept is operationalised. Hitherto, attitudes towards immigrants are measured and conceptualized in multiple ways: some speak of ethnic exclusionism, others use the term ethnocentrism, and most of the publications refer to negative sentiments or attitudes towards immigrants. The aim of the present paper is to disentangle this prevailing conceptual confusion by asking if anti-immigrant prejudice is a multidimensional rather than a monolithic concept. Drawing on insights from the US literature on racism as well as the path-breaking contribution by Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993), the paper hypothesizes that racism has four distinct dimensions which differ in their origins and consequences. The results based on confirmatory factor analyses as well multilevel models for individuals living in 20 European countries – taken form the most recent European Social Survey (ESS7, 2014) – reveal that we should discard the idea of anti-immigrant prejudice as a unidimensional concept.

Keywords: *racial prejudice, biological racism, forms of racism, ESS, European comparison, CFA*

Introduction

The research on attitudes towards immigration and immigrants has always been one of the most fruitful research areas in the social sciences, and it is still prospering. By virtue of these manifold publications, we know how perceived threats and inter-racial contacts affect differences in attitudes towards immigrants, what consequences these negative attitudes can have on societal and political outcomes, and how their measurement differs between countries (Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet, & Schmidt, 2008; Freitag & Rapp, 2013; Hjerm, 2009; Kunovich, 2002; McLaren, 2003; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009; Quillian, 1995; Schneider, 2008). Today, with on-going waves of immigration, continuous flows of refugees, and the remarkable rise of populist parties in Western European countries, the explanation of hostile attitudes towards immigrants remains at the top of research agendas.

While this research has produced many advances for the understanding of social processes and social interactions between ethnic groups in modern civil societies, severe discrepancies remain concerning the construction and understanding of "anti-immigrant attitudes" throughout existing publications. According to Ceobanu and Escandell (2010, pg. 314), both the terminology and items used to measure the implemented concepts vary dramatically between publications making comparisons difficult; if not impossible. Taking a closer look at the most prominent publications in this field, we encounter diverse nominal definitions such as ethnic exclusionism, ethnic discrimination, xenophobia, racial prejudice, and anti-immigrant sentiments (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Hjerm, 2009; McLaren, 2003; Quillian, 1995; Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Coenders, 2002; Schneider, 2008). Moreover, the empirical constructs operationalising these concepts are often similar, i.e. the same empirical measures are used for operationalising these diverse nominal concepts. With respect to this general shortcoming, the comparability between studies and their findings suffers significantly.

The present paper follows the claim made by Ceoabnu and Escandell (2010, pg. 314) that "different dimensions of attitudes towards immigrants should be termed in light of the future efforts at theory testing and consolidation". In doing so, the present study aims to disentangle nominal conceptions of anti-immigrant attitudes and their empirical implementation. More specifically, the paper asks if there are different conceptual and empirical types of racial prejudice, and if so, do they differ from each other in their origins and potential impact on societal attitudes? These research questions thereby go back to the

path-breaking contribution by Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993). They were among the first to analyse different forms of racism, their origins and consequences in the European context with the help of a student survey in the Netherlands. However, their research was not pushed forward; mainly due to limited measures of racial prejudice in national and international surveys.

Compared to many other international surveys, the newest release of the European Social Survey (ESS7, 2014) renders the possibility to thoroughly test the implications made by Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) as this survey includes a wide range of items capturing attitudes towards immigrants from different conceptual angles. I take this data set as a starting point to advance existing research in important ways. Hitherto, the insights on different degrees of racial prejudice are mainly limited to the US context (Blumer, 1958; Gaertner, 1973; Sears & Kinder, 1971; Tarman & Sears, 2005; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998) or to small single-country samples (Brown, 2010; Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). On the basis of the ESS, questions on both conceptual and empirical differences in attitudes towards immigrants can be analysed in the context of 20 European countries comprising more than 30,000 individual respondents. The results based on multiple methods, among other confirmatory factor analyses, reveal that there are indeed different types of racial prejudice in the European population. Moreover, these conceptions differ not only in their degree of anti-immigrant sentiment, but also in their influence on other attitudes, i.e. policy preferences regarding immigration.

The paper proceeds as follows: first, the conceptual differences between different types of racial prejudice are explored. These are then tested empirically by means of factor analysis revealing four distinct attitudinal dimensions. Following this conceptual manifestation, the question of the origins and consequences of different types of racial prejudice are tested. Ultimately, the paper concludes with a discussion of the main results and their implications for future research.

Concepts of Racial Prejudice

As aforementioned, the conceptual diffusion of research on anti-immigrant attitudes originates in multiple nominal definitions throughout the literature. Going back to the early days of this research strand we, first and foremost, find the notion of racism, in particular in terms of the demarcation between

Blacks and Whites in the United States (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner, 1973; Sears & Kinder, 1971; Sniderman, Piazza, Tetlock, & Kendrick, 1991; Tarman & Sears, 2005; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). In contrast, in the European context, the main concept capturing anti-immigrant attitudes has always been (racial) prejudice towards diverse groupings (Brown, 2010; Coenders, Scheepers, Sniderman, & Verberk, 2001; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997), whereby diverse primarily refers to ethnicity. Yet, even these original definitions, i.e. racism and prejudice, have been challenged in recent decades: there is an ongoing debate on whether modern civil societies are facing new forms of racism and prejudice. In this respect, researchers talk about old-fashioned vs. modern racism, subtle vs. blatant prejudice, symbolic racism and aversive racism, as well as racial resentment (Brown, 2010; Coenders et al., 2001; Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Tarman & Sears, 2005; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). These diverse conceptualisations and ongoing discussions lead to the conclusion that anti-immigrant attitudes, irrespective of whether racism or prejudice is in focus, are not a monolithic concept (Brown, 2010).

Blumer (1958) underscored that ethnic prejudice – as he calls it – differs significantly in its intensity and manifestation, and the feelings associated with it, as well as its origins. In his words (2000, pg. 184) "ethnic prejudice may be bitter in one situation and mild in another". Accordingly, the conceptualisation of anti-immigrant attitudes is based on a variety of indicators and theories which need to be specified (Chesler, 1976). Blumer (1958) thereby makes the assumption that racial prejudice is always directed against another (conceptualized) group and exists as a collective attitude. According to this line of thought the origins of racial attitudes, first and foremost, can be traced back to intergroup theories, in particular the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The basic premises of this theory is that based on social categorization along distinct cleavage lines (race, ethnicity, religion, language, culture, and class), social groups identify themselves as potential in- and out-groups. Social categorization thus refers to "our tendency to divide the world into two distinct categories, 'us' and 'them'" (Crepaz & Damron, 2009, p. 643). Accordingly, individuals perceive their in-group, i.e., their racial or ethnic group, as superior to an existing out-group such as immigrants or ethnically diverse groupings. Depending on how strong individuals identify with their in-group, they may differ in their perception of specific out-groups and degree of racial prejudice.

Although many researchers admit that racial prejudice is a multi-dimensional concept, many of them fail to analyse the theoretical origins of this dimensionality. Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) are among the first to thoroughly conceptualise different forms of racial prejudice. According to them we may distinguish four different types of racial prejudice: aversive racism, symbolic racism, ethnocentrism, and biological racism. All these concepts are already well known and discussed in the prior literature; however, they were only randomly combined into one study. In the following, I outline the conceptual differences between these four concepts. For the sake of clarity and comparability, in the following, anti-immigrant attitudes are defined as forms of racism/forms of racial prejudice. This conceptualisation follows the conceptual definitions by Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993).[1]

Four types of racial prejudice

Different forms of racism are mainly distinguished based on their blatant or subtle nature (Coenders et al., 2001; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). The most blatant and direct form of racism thereby is the biological one. Biological racism incorporates the basic components of a feeling of superiority of one's own race as well as the belief that differences between races or ethnic groups are innate (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993, p. 22). The core of biological racism is based on the idea that there is an innate supremacy of one race over another. Here, it is generally agreed upon that differences between ethnic groups or races can never be overcome. The roots of this type of racism are, first and foremost, found in individual personalities and socialization processes (Chesler, 1976). Adorno et al. (1950) even go further by supporting the idea of an authoritarian and ethnocentric personality underscoring the idea that biological racists are born with this racial ideology.

The literature, in particular contributions focusing on the US context, unanimously criticised the biological form of racism and considered it as outdated. For example, Virtanen and Huddy (1998, pg. 311) conclude that "it is clear that the number of citizens who endorse derogatory statements about blacks' innate ability or intelligence […] has declined since the 1950s" (see also Sniderman & Piazza, 1995). While an obvious decline in biological racial attitudes was observed, this did not mean that racial

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[1] One may question the general notion of racism and racial prejudice, in particular, in modern civil societies. Today, the tendency is to refer to general prejudice or negative sentiments/attitudes rather than racism. However, the present study implements the notion of 'forms of racism' and 'forms of racial prejudice' to be in line with prior research in the field and avoid conceptual misunderstandings.

animosities between blacks and whites were eliminated in the USA. Accordingly, a new, more subtle version of racism was developed by Sears and Kinder (1971). Their *symbolic racism* is, similar to biological racism, still concerned with a general feeling of a racial or ethnic superiority, whereby this superiority is based on cultural rather than on innate conditions.

At the centre of the modern, symbolic form of racism lies the general fear of losing privileges to other ethnic groups, in particular in-groups' belief that out-groups are too privileged and receive too many rights. These status anxieties frame the way in which social groups perceive each other. The more an in-group sees their general rights threatened by an out-group, the stronger they will react with more hostility towards them. While symbolic racism generally supports the equality of ethnic groups, in-groups are mainly concerned with the fear that out-groups are better treated, e.g. by the government or other institutions, than them. For example, the well-known concept welfare chauvinism could be classified as a specific form of symbolic racism (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012; Wright & Reeskens, 2013). According to the implications of this highly topical phenomenon, specific in-groups fear that their country's social welfare system will be exploited by growing numbers of out-groups, i.e. immigrants. Based on this fear, they establish more negative sentiments towards out-groups.

Another quite similar form of racism to symbolic racism found in the literature is ethnocentrism. In general, ethnocentrism follows the same conditions as symbolic racism; however, ethnocentrism has a stronger focus on the superiority of one's ethnic in-group. Accordingly, ethnocentrism can be positioned closer to biological racism. Typical for ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own culture is decisively superior and out-groups should adapt to this culture through assimilation (Adorno et al., 1950). Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993, pg. 23) define ethnocentrism in the words of Sumner (1906) as "a view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to that group". Moreover, ethnocentrism does not support, like symbolic racism, the general equality of rights between groups.

Ultimately, a fourth version of racism, which is even more subtle than the symbolic one, was established: aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner, 1973; Kovel, 1984). According to Dovidio and Gaertner (2004, pg. 618) "aversive racists […] sympathize with victims of past injustice,

support the principle of racial equality, and regard themselves as nonprejudiced, but, at the same time, they possess negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks, which may be unconscious". The crux about this form of racism, thus, is that it is not as obvious, direct, or blatant as more traditional forms of racism. Prior research has especially shown that aversive racism is more intrinsic and subconscious than other forms. Further, the occurrence of aversive racism highly depends on specific situations in which interracial contacts take place. Gaertner (1973), for example, demonstrated in an experiment that aversive racists are for the most part open and friendly towards out-groups, yet, they tend to avoid social interactions with these social groups. In contrast to more blatant racists, who are not afraid of interactions and who like to openly state their opinions (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993), aversive racists feel discomfort and anxiety in interracial contacts. In the experiment by Gartner (1973) Liberals, in terms of their political orientation, had a higher probability to immediately hang up on Black callers in need of help than Conservatives. This reaction can be considered as an avoidance of having bad thoughts about diverse ethnic groups (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004).

Overall, these four forms of racism can be ordered according to their intensity of in-group identification and out-group demarcation. Table 1 summarises the different conceptions of racism and their differences by distinct topics, such as feeling of superiority, social distance or adjustment of out-groups. From the left to the right in Table 1, the attitudes become more extreme ranging from non-racists to biological racists.[2] In how far this conceptual differentiation and ordering holds empirically is tested in the following sections.

Dimensionality of Racial Prejudice

The conceptual differentiation of aversive racism, symbolic racism, ethnocentrism, and biological racism is tested by means of confirmatory factor analysis.[3] Prior research has already demonstrated that specific forms of racism and prejudice are conceptually and empirically distinguishable from each other.

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[2] Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn (1993) defined a slightly different order of the four forms of racism: they saw symbolic racism as closer to the biological notion than ethnocentrism. Based on the theoretical considerations concerning the nature of ethnocentrism, the decision was made to re-order symbolic racism and ethnocentrism with the latter one being the more severe racial attitude.

[3] Additional to the confirmatory factor analysis, an exploratory maximum-likelihood factor analysis was conducted (results are available on request).

Yet, these studies also confirmed that these concepts are highly inter-correlated. Sniderman and Tetlock (1986) even go as far as denying that the 'old-fashioned' form of racism and symbolic racism are distinct concepts due to very high correlations between these two concepts. In their opinion, these two concepts comprise one single dimension.

TABLE 1: Forms of racism

Topic	**Non-racist**	**Aversive racism**	**Symbolic racism**	**Ethnocentrism**	**Biological racism**
Culture	Differences in cultures can be overcome				Differences between ethnic groups are innate
Superiority	No superior races/ethnicities		Cultural superiority of own ethnic group		Biological superiority of ethnic in-group
Threat	Out-group is no threat – but rather enrichment for society	Contact with out-group is threatening/a social problem	Out-group forms a cultural threat / a societal problem		Ethnic groups are a biological threat/a racial problem
Rights	Equality of rights		Rights for equality, but not more than deserved	No rights for equality	Out-groups have no rights
Adjustment	Out-groups are free to live according to their own culture		Out-groups are free to behave as they like within limits	Out-groups must adjust to in-group/ in-group culture (assimilation)	Out-groups cannot adjust/ must be excluded
Segregation	No cultural or physical separation between groups	Distance towards out-groups	Cultural differences/segregation between ethnic groups		Physical segregation between groups
Social distance	No distance	----------------------------------Increasing social distance----------------------- --->			
Ideal society	Pluralism as ideal society	In-group culture should be dominant and accepted by out-groups			Homogenous and "pure race" society

Notes: Table adapted according to Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993, pg. 24) with minor changes.

However, the distinction between symbolic and traditional forms of racism is still supported by other findings in this field (Brown, 2010; Coenders et al., 2001; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). For example, Tarman and Sears (2005) demonstrate that symbolic racism itself has more than one dimension. According to their structural equation analysis of national US surveys (NES and LACSS) symbolic racism is built on two, highly correlated, attributional factors. The division between old and new forms of racism is further supported by findings based on

factor analysis in the work by Virtanen and Huddy (1998), whereby they conceptualise the new form of racism as value stereotypes. Concerning the differentiation between blatant and subtle forms of prejudice, a long debate has been going on between Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) and Coenders and colleagues (2001). Coenders et al. (2001) re-examined the data by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) in more sophisticated analytical ways revealing that the two factor structure found by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995; see also Meertens and Pettigrew, 1997) did not pass the more thorough testing. Some of the initial subtle prejudice items were shown to load stronger on the blatant scale than predicted by Meertens and Pettigrew (1997). However, Coenders et al. (2001) could not deny that the items measuring subtle and blatant prejudice were based on two distinct (empirical) factors.

By way of example, Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) went even further than prior studies by distinguishing four different forms of racism (see Table 1 above). Their oblique factor analysis, however, disclosed a two factor structure with the two factors correlating by r=.48. Regardless of their finding, they relied on the four-dimensional structure for further analysis. The following analysis builds on their general idea and tests the four factor structure of the above-presented racism concepts with the help of cross-national survey data.

Method and Operationalisations

For testing the dimensionality of racism I rely on the latest release of the European Social Survey (ESS7, 2014), which includes more than 37,000 individuals nested in 20 countries.[4] The seventh wave of the survey comprises a special module on immigration and attitudes towards immigrants. Accordingly, a wide range of questions on racial prejudice were asked. The most striking novelty of the ESS7, however, is the integration of questions asking for biological racism. This makes the data sets particularly suitable for testing the present research questions. Overall, 11 items measuring the four dimensions could be identified.

For the measurement of the four types of racism, I follow the item selection by Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993), as well as the above-presented conceptual implications. The intention was to stay as

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[4] Originally, 21 countries were integrated into the ESS7. The case of Israel was excluded from the analysis limiting the cases to the European context.

close as possible to the original items by Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993, pg. 26). The ESS provides

at least two items per racial dimension as shown in the following:[5]

Items measuring biological racism
1. Do you think some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent than others? [D23]
2. Do you think some races or ethnic groups are born harder working than others? [D24]
3. Thinking about the world today, would you say that some cultures are much better than others or that all cultures are equal? [D25]

Items measuring ethnocentrism
4. Please tell me how important you think being committed to the way of life in [country] should be in deciding whether someone born, brought up and living outside [country] should be able to come and live here. [D6]
5. It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions. [D13]

Items measuring symbolic racism
6. Compared to people like yourself who were born in [country], how do you think the government treats those who have recently come to live here from other countries? [D17b]
7. Would you say that people who come to live here generally take jobs away from workers in [country], or generally help to create new jobs? [D7]
8. Most people who come to live here work and pay taxes. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, do you think people who come here take out more than they put in or put in more than they take out? [D8]
9. Are [country]'s crime problems made worse or better by people coming to live here from other countries? [D9]

Items measuring aversive racism
Now thinking of people who have come to live in [country] from another country who are of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people, please tell me how much you would mind or not mind if someone like this…
10. …was appointed as your boss? [D10]
11. …married a close relative of yours? [D11]

Against the backdrop of the above-presented theoretical considerations, a four factor structure is

assumed. Accordingly, I test if the selected 11 items construct four distinct concepts by means of

confirmatory factor analysis. The predicted factor structure is displayed in Figure 1. Considering the

findings from previous research, however, I further test if the concepts of racism are better fitted by

three, two or one factor solutions (the respective graphs can be found in the appendix in Figure A1).

Following the insights from the literature as well as the theoretical considerations, it could be possible

that symbolic racism and ethnocentrism comprise a single factor rather than two separate ones. Both

concepts are based on the assumption of cultural supremacy of an in-group, which makes them quite

similar. In this respect, a three factor solution would be expected. Drawing on insights from prior

publications on racism, it is further conceivable that we are confronted with a two factor structure

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[5] A detailed list of these items including their means and scales is given in Table A1 in the appendix.

dividing blatant and subtle forms of racism. And lastly, following the insights from Sniderman and Tetlock (1986), the claim of a single racism dimension is tested, i.e. one single factor incorporating all of the 11 items.

Results From Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)

To test the adequacy of the respective CFA models, I rely on the most common fit indices, namely, the RMSEA (root mean square error of approximation), CFI (comparative fit index), SRMR (standardized root mean square residual), and TLI (Tucker-Lewis Index). Conventional wisdom states that an adequate model fit is achieved if the RMSEA reveals values smaller than 0.06, the SRMR is smaller than 0.08 and both the TLI and CFI reach values greater than 0.95 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). In addition to these fit indices, the AIC (Akaike Information Criterion) evaluating the best model fit over the four tested models is presented. Here, smaller values point to a better overall model fit. The `sem` module in Stata 14.2 was used to test the different factor structures.

FIGURE 1: Four-Factor Solution
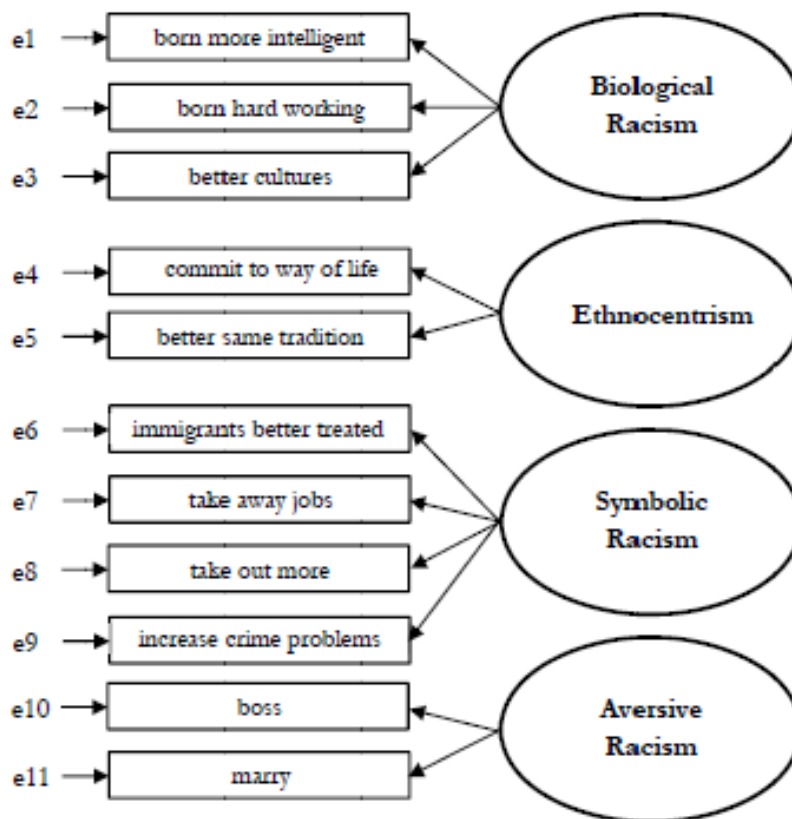
The main results are presented in the following tables. First, the model fits between the four potential factor structures are displayed in Table 2. Table 3 then gives the detailed results for the model that best fitted the empirical data. As Table 2 shows, the four tested models differ in their model fits. To start with, we see that the one-dimensional factor structure, implying that racism is constituted by a single factor, shows very poor model fits. Similarly, model B testing the two-dimensional solution of blatant and subtle racism, fails to reach the cut-off values in all four model fit indices. A slightly better result can be observed from the fit indices testing the three-dimension solution. While in model C the SRMR reaches the acceptable value of 0.046 (<0.08), the three other fit indices do not fulfil the requirements. Turning to the last estimates testing the four-dimensional solution, we see that all measures pass the thresholds recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999). Moreover, the values for the AIC are the smallest in Model D compared to the other three models. This seems to support the theoretical prediction claiming that racism has four distinct dimensions.

TABLE 2: Dimensionality of racism – Model fit indices

Model	Chi-squared	Df	SRMR	RMSEA	TLI	CFI	AIC
A: One dimension	19904.00	44	0.078	0.134	0.567	0.654	894491.98
B: Two dimensions	16549.86	43	0.089	0.124	0.632	0.712	891139.18
C: Three dimensions	4855.15	41	0.046	0.069	0.887	0.916	879448.46
D: Four dimensions	1541.25	38	0.026	0.040	0.962	0.974	876140.55

Notes: N= 37,597; missing values were treated with listwise deletion; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; TLI = Tucker-Lewis index; CFI = comparative fit index; AIC = Akaike information criterion.

If we take a closer look at the single loadings of the 11 items on the respective factors, we further see that the four-dimensional solution is highly satisfying (see Table 3). According to Brown (2015), acceptable and sufficiently salient factor loadings should be larger than 0.30. Table 3 shows that all standardized factor loadings exceed this critical value pointing to a satisfying factor structure. In more detail, the item "better cultures" demonstrates the weakest fit with a value of 0.35. In contrast, both items identifying aversive racism, having an immigrant as a boss and a relative marrying an immigrant, show a very high identification (>0.80) with their respective factor.[6]

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[6] The displayed results were all achieved without making any modifications to the models as presented in Figure 1 and Figure A1 (appendix). It may be possible that, for example, the three factor solution would pass the critical fit values if some modifications, i.e. adding covariances to items, were done.

TABLE 3: Loadings of the four-dimensional racism model

	Estimate	SE	P(>|z|)	Loadings
Biological racism				
→ born more intelligent	1		0.00	0.70
→ born hard working	0.98***	0.02	0.00	0.53
→ some cultures are better	0.66***	0.02	0.00	0.35
Ethnocentrism				
→ commit to way of life	1		0.00	0.50
→ better to have same tradition	0.62***	0.01	0.00	0.70
Symbolic racism				
→ immigrants are better treated	1		0.00	0.46
→ immigrants take away jobs	3.53***	0.06	0.00	0.69
→ immigrants take out more	3.64***	0.06	0.00	0.75
→ immigrants increase crime problems	2.45***	0.05	0.00	0.54
Aversive racism				
→ mind immigrants as boss	1		0.00	0.84
→ mind if relative married immigrant	1.04***	0.01	0.00	0.85

Notes: N= 37,597; missing values were treated with listwise deletion; loadings display standardised values; ***p<0.01.

A relevant issue in prior research on the dimensionality of racism is the rather high covariance between estimated factors questioning the distinctiveness of the dimensions (Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986). In the present sample, the correlations between the factors are relatively moderate: Biological racism ↔ Symbolic racism =0.33; Biological racism ↔ Ethnocentrism racism =0.42; Biological racism ↔ Aversive racism =0.37; Symbolic racism ↔ Ethnocentrism =0.55; Symbolic racism ↔ Aversive racism =0.42; Ethnocentrism ↔ Aversive racism =0.58. Most interestingly, the highest covariance is found between ethnocentrism and aversive racism which are, theoretically, further apart from each other as for example ethnocentrism and symbolic racism. All in all, the presented covariance values are below the critical cut-off criterion of 0.85, which points to problematic discriminant validity (Brown, 2015). Moreover, adding the covariance structure between the four factors to the estimated model does not improve the overall model fit or the values of the model fit indices.

In sum, we may conclude that the presented forms of racism are best represented by a four-dimensional factor structure. In how far these four dimensions differ in their origins and consequences is tested in the following sections.

Determinants of Racial Prejudice

The preceding analysis demonstrated that different forms of racism can be distinguished. But do these four types of racism also have different origins? Following Chesler (1976) biological racism is primarily

based on the degree of social integration and social interactions of individuals, as well as personality factors and early socialisation experiences (Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). In contrast, symbolic racism finds it origins in the socio-economic status of individuals and the degree of deprivation. As aforementioned, both symbolic racism and ethnocentrism revolve around the fear of losing one's own status as well as losing privileges to out-groups. Moreover, these forms of racial prejudice are built on the assumption of the cultural superiority of one's in-group. Accordingly, symbolic racism and ethnocentrism should be, in particular, explained by perceived cultural threats. Aversive racism should originate in social interactions, or better say, the lack of these interactions. As presented above, this form of racism is the most intrinsic and defined by the reluctance to interact with out-groups.

To test the assumption that forms of racial prejudices are influenced by different determinants, I refer to the wide-ranging literature on influence factors on anti-immigrant attitudes (among others Hjerm, 2009; Kunovich, 2002; McLaren, 2003; Quillian, 1995; Rapp, 2015; Schneider, 2008). The four forms of racism are regressed on a set of common explanatory factors which can be grouped as follows: socio-economic and ideological determinants (sex, age, education, political ideology, income, living area), social integration and satisfaction determinants (social trust, regular social interactions, life satisfaction), threat perceptions (economic and cultural threats), intercultural contacts (regular contacts with immigrants, quality of contact, i.e. positive or negative, with immigrants) as well as the contextual composition of immigrants in each of the 20 countries (perceived diversity in country, share of EU immigrants, share of non-EU immigrants). A detailed list of all implemented variables as well as their operationalisation is given in Table A1 in the appendix.

Again, the data stems from the newest release of the ESS comprising 28,027 – some cases were dropped due to missing values on different variables. The analyses follow a step-wise procedure testing the five different sets of explanations separately, whereby the socio-economic model builds the baseline model which is integrated in all estimates. Additionally, a model testing all described influences jointly is implemented (see Table A2 in the appendix). The factor values for the different forms of racism construct the four dependent variables. An overview over the average values per country for all four racism scales is given in Table 4, as well as the number of respondents per country. Due to the hierarchical data structure, linear multilevel models are implemented.

TABLE 4: Mean factor values by country for the four forms of racial prejudice

Country	Aversive racism	Symbolic racism	Ethnocentrism	Biological racism	N
Austria	-0.01	-0.02	0.11	0.06	1,795
Belgium	0.00	0.11	0.07	0.20	1,769
Czech Republic	0.14	0.79	0.24	1.99	2,148
Denmark	-0.03	-0.44	-0.10	-0.52	1,502
Estonia	0.09	0.25	-0.05	0.91	2,051
Finland	0.00	0.08	-0.05	-0.35	2,087
France	-0.02	-0.11	-0.02	-0.08	1,917
Germany	-0.05	-0.26	-0.10	-0.63	3,045
Great Britain	0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.33	2,264
Hungary	0.07	0.54	0.21	1.57	1,698
Ireland	0.02	-0.10	0.05	-0.02	2,390
Lithuania	0.02	0.37	0.02	1.27	2,250
Netherlands	-0.09	-0.26	-0.01	-0.73	1,919
Norway	-0.08	-0.51	-0.14	-0.80	1,436
Poland	-0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.01	1,615
Portugal	0.13	0.04	0.04	-0.12	1,265
Slovenia	0.01	0.06	-0.02	-0.45	1,224
Spain	-0.03	-0.02	0.07	-0.54	1,925
Sweden	-0.12	-0.56	-0.25	-1.50	1,791
Switzerland	-0.01	-0.20	-0.07	-0.52	1,532
mean	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.03	1,881

Notes: weighted means per country are displayed.

Results – Determinants of different forms of racial prejudice

For an easier understanding, Table 5 displays the explained variance in the dependent variable – each form of racial prejudice detected in the prior CFA – accounted for by differences between individuals and between countries. Overall, 10 percent of the total variance in biological racism can be accounted for by differences between the 20 countries in the sample. The other forms of racism show similar variances: ethnocentrism 12 percent, symbolic racism 8 percent, and aversive racism 15 percent. Table 5 further presents the values for the AIC evaluating the best model fit with smaller values indicating a better overall fit. Additionally, the results for the model integrating all sets of explanatory factors are given in Table A2 in the appendix.

At first glance in Table 5, we see that the potential to explain the variance in each of the four forms of racial prejudice highly differs between the sets of explanatory variables as well as between the single types of racism. As predicted, symbolic racism as well as ethnocentrism are best explained by perceived economic and cultural threats: 45 percent of the variance in symbolic racism can be accounted for by these threat measures. This is also supported by the tremendous decrease in the AIC in the symbolic racism model. Not surprisingly, it seems as if threat perceptions are the indicators that have the strongest

influence on all four forms of racism. This underscores the findings by previous studies that threat perceptions are the strongest explanatory factor for anti-immigrant prejudice. Interracial contacts are also well-known to exhibit a decisive influence on racial prejudice. For this reason, we see that the variances of aversive racism, symbolic racism and ethnocentrism are explained by approximately 20 percent due to interracial contacts (and socio-economic factors). In contrast, socio-economic factors as well as the social integration of individuals exhibit the lowest explanatory power. Similarly, the share of immigrants from EU and non-EU countries as well as the individually perceived ethnic diversity in a country seemingly play a subordinate role in explaining the different forms of racism.

TABLE 5: Determinants of different forms of racism – Comparison of variance explanations

Model	Aversive racism	Symbolic racism	Ethnocentrism	Biological racism
Socio-economic & ideological explanations				
variance reduction individual level (σ^2)	5.79 %	9.98 %	10.86 %	6.10 %
variance reduction contextual level ($\sigma^2_{\mu 0}$)	0.00 %	25.33 %	0.96 %	8.75 %
AIC	116415.30	19784.87	69406.50	-15033.67
Social integration & satisfaction				
variance reduction individual level (σ^2)	9.62 %	15.41 %	15.20 %	8.59 %
variance reduction contextual level ($\sigma^2_{\mu 0}$)	13.56 %	41.44 %	17.96 %	20.43 %
AIC	115565.70	18337.54	68423.71	-15438.40
Cultural and economic threat				
variance reduction individual level (σ^2)	22.82 %	45.40 %	36.23 %	15.45 %
variance reduction contextual level ($\sigma^2_{\mu 0}$)	34.31 %	72.24 %	43.30 %	32.28 %
AIC	108753.80	6420.21	59253.18	-17045.88
Intercultural contacts				
variance reduction individual level (σ^2)	18.63 %	19.01 %	20.81 %	9.63 %
variance reduction contextual level ($\sigma^2_{\mu 0}$)	27.10 %	42.75 %	23.33 %	19.44 %
AIC	109971.90	16700.14	64849.94	-15517.63
Perceived and contextual diversity				
variance reduction individual level (σ^2)	9.17 %	10.35 %	13.83 %	7.75 %
variance reduction contextual level ($\sigma^2_{\mu 0}$)	14.73 %	18.74 %	17.61 %	17.82 %
AIC	107431.20	18094.16	64175.93	-14424.12
Complete models				
variance reduction individual level (σ^2)	31.37 %	47.82 %	41.19 %	17.91 %
variance reduction contextual level ($\sigma^2_{\mu 0}$)	61.39 %	78.00 %	63.32 %	45.83 %
AIC	101893.9	5101.71	55435.21	-16749.5

Notes: Model estimates are based on linear ML-models; explained variances are based on Snijder/Bosker R². N=28,027; dependent variables are factor estimates from prior CFA; % reduction of variance at respective analytical level.

All in all, the results presented in Table 5 imply that differences in both symbolic racism and ethnocentrism are best accounted for by traditional sets of explanatory variables from the immigration literature. This underscores that these two forms of racism stem from the same origin, whereas both biological racism and aversive racism seem to have different influence factors. One possible explanation for these differences could be that biological racism, first and foremost, is based on personality factors such as the authoritarian personality, as claimed by Adorno et al. (1950). The lack of explanatory power of well-established explanations for aversive racism could be due to the fact that aversive racism is less explicit and only occurs in specific situations. For example, Dovidio and Gaertner (2004) remark that aversive racism is best explained in social psychological experiments in which distinct situations of social interactions are tested. However, looking at the results in Table 5, the assumption that aversive racism mainly derives from interracial interactions, or the lack of them, is slightly supported.

Consequences of Racial Prejudice

Now that we know that the four types of racism can be traced back to marginally different influence factors, the point that racial prejudice has four distinct forms is further pursued by asking whether these forms of racism exhibit different impacts on policy preferences concerning out-groups, i.e. immigrants. Prior studies showed already that, for example, symbolic and old-fashioned racism differ in the way they affect opposition to policies designed to help out-groups. The results are, however, not unambiguous: some authors assert that old-fashioned racism is the stronger factor influencing negative policy preferences, whereas others see symbolic racism as the more severe negative attitude influencing policy inequalities (Brown, 2010; Coenders et al., 2001; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Tarman & Sears, 2005; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998).

Unfortunately, while the ESS asks multiple questions of attitudes towards immigrants, the survey does not cover many items capturing policy preferences concerning immigrants, such as welfare eligibility or equality of rights for immigrants. The items that come closest to measures of policy preferences and have been used in similar ways in previous studies (Coenders et al., 2001) are items capturing opposition to immigration. In more detail, these items ask for individual preferences concerning the number of immigrants coming to one's country. In the ESS, the following item incorporates this dimension: "*To what*

extent do you think [your country] should allow people of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people?" The scale ranges from 1=allow many to come and live here to 4=allow none.

Besides this simple question, the ESS7 further makes use of a survey experiment asking similar questions like the one above to randomly selected survey participants. The aim of this experiment was to test the impact of origin regions of immigrants as well as their economic status on preferences concerning the number of immigrants allowed to come to one's country.[7] To test the impact of different forms of racism on these policy preferences, the following two items were selected: "*Please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow professionals from [poor European country providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?*" and "*Please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow unskilled labourers from [poor European country providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?*". The underlying scale for both items ranges from 1=allow many to come and live here to 4=allow none. Although the survey experiment comprises four items on immigration opposition, only these two were selected to keep the cultural threat idea (poor European country) stable. This guarantees a better comparability with the item selected above.

Each of the three above-presented survey items construct the dependent variables for the analysis testing the impact of different forms of racism on policy preferences regarding immigration. On the basis of their respective distributions, all three items were recoded into 0=allow many/some and 1=allow a few/none. Accordingly, the following analyses implement logistic multilevel models testing the explanatory power of the four forms of racial prejudice. The models all control for basic socio-economic variables (see appendix and above). For an easier and more straightforward understanding of the potential impact of different forms of racism on policy preferences regarding immigration, the predicted probabilities for each racism variable are presented in Figure 2. The full regression results can be found in Table A3 in the appendix.

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[7] More detail on the survey experiment in ESS round 7 is given in the following document: http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/round7/survey/ESS7_appendix_a10_e03_0.pdf

FIGRURE 2: Consequences of forms of racism – predicted probabilities
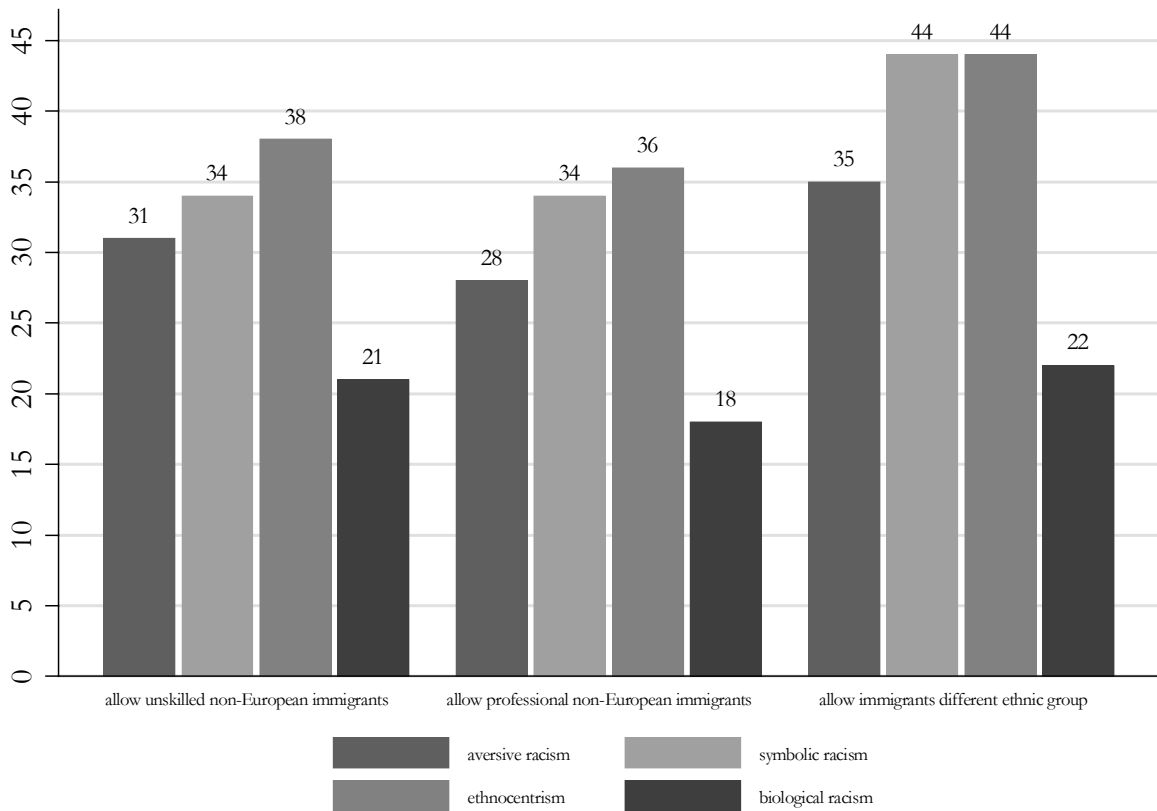
Notes: Predicted probabilities are displayed; results based on multilevel logistic regressions; all models controlled for basic socio-economic variables; full regression results in Table A3 in the appendix.

The predicted probabilities provided in Figure 2, displaying the relative impact of the four forms of racial prejudice on opposition to immigration, reveal remarkable findings: against the idea that the most negative form of racism, i.e. biological racism, should have the strongest effect on opposition to immigrants, we see that if biological racism changes from one standard deviation below its sample specific mean to one standard deviation above this mean, the probability of opposing immigrants increases by roughly 20 percentage points in all three instances. This leads to the conclusion that biological racism might be the most negative form of racism in terms of the demarcation of out-groups, but it certainly is not the strongest form, in terms of its impact on opposition to immigration. Even the most subtle form of racism, aversive racism, reveals a stronger impact on all three dependent variables than biological racism.

A much stronger factor explaining opposition to immigration displays both ethnocentrism and symbolic racism. These more subtle forms of racism are capable of predicting policy preferences regarding immigration to a greater extent. For example, if ethnocentrism changes from one standard deviation below its sample specific mean to one standard deviation above this mean, individuals' probability of denying unskilled ethnically diverse immigrants access to the country is enhanced by 38 percentage points. Figure 2 further shows that in general the rejection of unskilled immigrants is more strongly predicted by different forms of racism than the rejection of professionals. Moreover, we see the strongest impact of all forms of racism in the model with the general opposition to ethnically diverse immigrants, i.e. the measure without controlling for the economic status of immigrants.

Discussion and Conclusion

By virtue of the prospering research on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, we know a lot about both the origins and consequences of these attitudes. Yet, drawing consistent conclusions from these works is sometimes made more difficult than it should be. The main reason for this can be found in the diverse nominal definitions, conceptualisations and operationalisations of anti-immigrant attitudes implemented by researchers. For example, some speak of prejudice, others rely on anti-immigrant sentiment or ethnic exclusionism (McLaren, 2003; Oliver & Wong, 2003; Scheepers et al., 2002; Schneider, 2008). Certainly, these inconsistencies are primarily due to diverse questionings in attitudinal cross-national and national surveys. However, researchers in this field should pay more attention to consistent framings and measurements of racial prejudice. This would help in pushing further theory testing and integration among research papers and research literature (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010).

The aim of this study was to disentangle the diverse conceptualisations of racial prejudice. Drawing on the contribution by Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993), who were among the first to test different forms of racial prejudice in the European context, the leading research questions concerned whether different forms of racial prejudice can be distinguished conceptually and empirically, and if so, whether these forms of racism differ in their origins and impact on policy preferences regarding immigration. The results thereby revealed that racial prejudice is a multidimensional concept (Blumer, Lyman, & Vidich,

2000) which differs in its content and empirical structure. This supports the assumptions made by prior US-specific research.

One of the most striking findings concerning the dimensionality of racism is the fact that we cannot support the common assumption that biological racism is dead. Many surveys refrained from asking questions on the biological superiority of races and ethnicities in the European context following the impression that this form of racial prejudice is not socially acceptable and respondents would not answer these kinds of questions. Yet, the above results show that a large proportion of respondents are willing to state that some ethnicities are born more intelligent and harder working than others. While the presented results further showed that biological racism has a much weaker impact on policy preferences regarding immigration than other forms of racism, the findings on the existence of biological racism in Europe are still alarming. In particular we need to know more about the origins of this form of racial prejudice, which are probably rooted in specific personality traits of individuals (Adorno et al., 1950). Accordingly, surveys should keep on asking these delicate questions. It might be, however, that people answering these questions are not completely aware of what these questions imply and what meaning they have.

Some other important conclusions can be drawn from this investigation of racial prejudice. The strongest manifestation of anti-immigrant sentiments can be found in ethnocentrism and symbolic racism. Both these forms exhibit a decisive influence on opinions on immigrants and immigration. These two types are mainly based on status anxieties and the fear of losing privileges. In the present environment, in which we are seeing increasing levels of immigration and facing a refugee crisis in the European context, this kind of racial prejudice could even increase. The increase of immigration from ethnically diverse groupings is one of the biggest threats to in-groups as prior research already demonstrated (McLaren, 2003; Rapp, 2015; Scheepers et al., 2002). In-groups thereby fear, in particular, the erosion of their cultural heritage as well as the loss of in-group privileges to growing out-groups. In this scenario the emergence of more symbolic racists as well as 'ethnocentrists' could have severe consequences for European civil societies.

In the end, however, one must be careful regarding the presented results. The robustness of the described findings may be questionable given that we only have data for 20 countries on level-2.

According to Stegmueller (2013) and Bryan and Jenkins (2016), one must be careful in interpreting results from multilevel models with less than 30 countries. To test the reliability of the presented results, I ran some sensitivity analyses searching for influential cases. These analyses revealed similar results to those presented above. Despite the issue of multilevel results, the question arises of whether the four-dimensional factor structure of racial prejudice holds in each of the 20 countries of the ESS. This would require a multi-group factor analysis (MGFA) testing for measurement equivalence of the presented constructs. A very preliminary test of this measurement equivalence showed that while the factor structure seems to be stable among the 20 countries (configural invariance), the respective factor loadings and means differ between contexts (no metric or scalar invariance). This indicates that respondents may understand the presented 11 items in different ways. A more thorough test of this measurement equivalence could be an important avenue for further research.

Another fruitful exercise for future research in this field would be to test the origins and consequences of different forms of racism in more refined ways. The presented models were rather simple without acknowledging the potential mediating and moderating effects of influence variables, in particular the interrelations between different forms of perceived threat, interracial context, and contextual diversities. In addition, an analysis on the political consequences of different types of racial prejudice may lead to further interesting results (Rapp & Ackermann, 2015). For example, it could be that symbolic racists are more politically active and interested than aversive racists or persons holding no racists attitudes at all. Overall, this study is merely a first step in the direction of initiating further analyses on the dimensionality of racial prejudice. There are still many issues to be solved in the context of the presented study.

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Appendix

TABLE A1: Overview over operationalisations of implemented variables

Variable	Stats	Survey questions, operationalization and source
forms of racism		see pages x-x and table 4 on page
sex	*min*: 0 *max*: 1 female: 52.91 male: 47.09	male=0 , female=1
age	*min*: 14 *max*: 114 *mean*: 49.39 *SD*: 18.67	Age in years – population over 14.
educational level	*min*: 1 *max*: 7 *mean*: 3.87 *SD*: 1.85	Highest completed education level: Categories for international comparison (ISCED levels); range from 1 to 7. Range from 0 to 6 with higher levels indicating higher levels of education.
religiosity	*min*: 0 *max*: 10 *mean*: 4.31 *SD*: 3.05	*How religious are you?* Answer categories from 0=not at all religious to 10=very religious.
living in urban area	*min*: 0 *max*: 4 *mean*: 2.08 *SD*: 1.20	Place of living urban vs. rural [recoded] Answer categories from 0=farm or home in countryside to 4=a big city.
coping with income	*min*: 0 *max*: 3 *mean*: 2.07 *SD*: 0.82	*Which of the descriptions on this card comes closest to how you feel about your household's income nowadays?* [recoded] Answer categories from 0=finding it very difficult on present income to 3=living comfortably on present income.
national identification	*min*: 0 *max*: 3 *mean*: 2.40 *SD*: 0.68	*How close do you feel to [country]?* [recoded] Answer categories from 0=not close at all to 4=very close.
political ideology	*min*: 0 *max*: 10 *mean*: 5.04 *SD*: 2.17	*In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?* Answer categories from 0=left to 10=right.
regular social contacts	*min*: 1 *max*: 7 *mean*: 4.80 *SD*: 1.56	*How often do you meet socially with friends, relatives or work colleagues?* Answer categories from 1=never to 7=every day.
social trust	*min*: 0 *max*: 10 *mean*: 5.22 *SD*: 2.36	*Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?* Answer categories from 0=you can't be too careful to 10=most people can be trusted.
satisfaction with life	*min*: 0 *max*: 10 *mean*: 7.07 *SD*: 2.17	*All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?* Answer categories from 0=extremely dissatisfied to 10=extremely satisfied.
perceived economic threat	*min*: 0 *max*: 10 *mean*: 5.06 *SD*: 2.41	*Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?* Answer categories from 0=bad for the economy to 10=good for the economy.

Variable	Stats	Survey questions, operationalization and source
perceived cultural threat	*min*: 0 *max*: 10 *mean*: 4.37 *SD*: 2.48	*Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?* Answer categories from 0=cultural life is undermined to 10=cultural life is enriched.
contact with immigrants	*min*: 1 *max*: 7 *mean*: 4.43 *SD*: 2.17	*How often do you have any contact with people who are of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people when you are out and about? This could be on public transport, in the street, in shops or in the neighbourhood.* Answer categories from 1=never to 7=every day.
quality of contact with immigrants	*min*: 0 *max*: 10 *mean*: 6.73 *SD*: 1.98	*Thinking about this contact, in general how bad or good is it?* Answer categories from 0=extremely bad to 10=extremely good.
perceived contextual diversity	*min*: 0 *max*: 100 *mean*: 20.06 *SD*: 16.86	*Out of every 100 people living in [country], how many do you think were born outside [country]?* Numbers between 0 and 100.
share of EU immigrants	*min*: 0.1 *max*: 15.6 *mean*: 3.61 *SD*: 3.40	Number of immigrants from EU states as percentage of the total population in a country in 2013. Source: EUROSTAT.
share of non-EU immigrants	*min*: 0.2 *max*: 14.9 *mean*: 4.95 *SD*: 3.84	Number of immigrants from states outside the EU as percentage of the total population in a country in 2013. Source: EUROSTAT.

Notes: All individual level variables are taken from the ESS 7.

TABLE A2: Determinants of different forms of racism – complete models

	biological racism	ethnocentrism	symbolic racism	aversive racism
individual level				
female	-0.02***	-0.10***	-0.01***	-0.17***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)
age	0.00***	0.00***	0.00	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
educational level	-0.01***	-0.04***	-0.01***	-0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
religiosity	0.00***	0.01***	-0.00***	0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
living in urban area	0.00*	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
coping with income	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01***	0.02
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)
national identity	0.01***	0.13***	0.02***	0.16***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.02)
political ideology	0.01***	0.05***	0.01***	0.07***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
regular social contacts	-0.00	-0.01***	-0.00	-0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
social trust	-0.00***	-0.02***	-0.01***	-0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
satisfaction with life	0.00	0.01**	-0.00*	0.01
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
perceived economic threat	0.01***	0.08***	0.06***	0.12***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
perceived cultural threat	0.01***	0.12***	0.04***	0.18***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
contact with immigrants	-0.00	-0.02***	0.00	-0.08***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
quality of contact	-0.01***	-0.07***	-0.02***	-0.21***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
perceived diversity in country	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
contextual level				
share of immigrants from the EU	-0.00	-0.02*	0.00	-0.06*
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.03)
share of immigrants from outside the EU	0.00*	0.03**	-0.00	0.07**
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.03)
intercept	-0.10***	-0.80***	-0.29***	-0.45*
	(0.02)	(0.09)	(0.03)	(0.24)
N (indiv./country)	28027/20	28027/20	28027/20	28027/20

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

TABLE A3: Regression results: influence of different forms of racial prejudice on policy preferences regarding immigrations

	allow unskilled non-European immigrants				allow professional non-European immigrants				allow immigrants from different ethnic group			
	m1a	m1b	m1c	m1d	m2a	m2b	m2c	m2d	m3a	m3b	m3c	m3d
biological racism	2.54***				2.05***				2.36***			
	(0.16)				(0.13)				(0.07)			
ethnocentrism		0.98***				0.93***				1.08***		
		(0.04)				(0.04)				(0.02)		
symbolic racism			2.22***				2.17***				2.62***	
			(0.09)				(0.08)				(0.04)	
aversive racism				0.35***				0.31***				0.36***
				(0.02)				(0.01)				(0.01)
female	0.06	0.10*	-0.00	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.03	0.07	0.05*	0.09***	-0.02	0.05*
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
age	0.00***	0.00	0.00***	0.00	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00**	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
educational level	-0.14***	-0.09***	-0.10***	-0.12***	-0.17***	-0.13***	-0.13***	-0.15***	-0.19***	-0.14***	-0.15***	-0.17***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
religiosity	-0.02**	-0.02*	-0.00	-0.02**	-0.02*	-0.02**	-0.00	-0.02**	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.00	-0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
living in an urban area	-0.05**	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.07***	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.05**	-0.06***	-0.02*	-0.02**	-0.04***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
coping with income	-0.15***	-0.12***	-0.07*	-0.15***	-0.25***	-0.23***	-0.18***	-0.27***	-0.19***	-0.16***	-0.10***	-0.20***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
national identity	0.06	-0.00	0.08**	0.07*	0.03	-0.06	0.03	0.01	0.08***	-0.02	0.09***	0.07***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
political ideology	0.13***	0.09***	0.11***	0.12***	0.05***	0.03**	0.05***	0.05***	0.11***	0.07***	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
intercept	0.82***	1.05***	0.49**	0.95***	0.28	0.26	-0.20	0.28	0.12	0.19	-0.41**	0.17
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.15)
contextual variance	0.31***	0.26***	0.29***	0.24***	0.32***	0.26***	0.33***	0.25***	0.43***	0.36***	0.43***	0.34***
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.11)
N (indiv/country)	7868/20	7868/20	7868/20	7868/20	8023/20	8023/20	8023/20	8023/20	32188/20	32188/20	32188/20	32188/20
AIC	8963.091	8350.634	8473.54	8643.596	9130.324	8564.976	8572.174	8788.395	37021.81	33965.18	33859.11	35191.04

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

FIGURE A1: Different factor structures