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SOSYOLOJİ ANABİLİM DALI
SOSYOLOJİ (İNGİLİZCE) TEZLİ YÜKSEK LİSANS PROGRAMI

**EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES
TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ITALY, FRANCE, AND
NORWAY**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

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ÖZET

BİREYSEL DEĞERLER İLE GÖÇMENLERE YÖNELİK TUTUMLAR ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİNİN İNCELENMESİ: İTALYA, FRANSA VE NORVEÇ KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ANALİZİ

Bu tez, Schwartz'ın Temel Değerler Teorisi tarafından sınıflandırılan bireysel değerler ile Avrupa'daki göçmenlere yönelik tutumlar arasındaki ilişkiyi, Avrupa Sosyal Araştırması'nın (ESS) 10. turundan elde edilen verileri kullanarak incelemektedir. Çalışma, bu değerlerin göçmenlerin algılarını nasıl etkilediğini araştırmayı ve bu ilişkinin farklı sosyo-kültürel çevrelere sahip İtalya, Fransa ve Norveç ülkeleri arasındaki tutarlılığını değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Avrupa'da artan göçmen sayısı göz önüne alındığında, göçmenlerin nasıl algılandığını ve kabul edildiğini anlamak, etkili entegrasyon politikaları için hayati öneme sahiptir. Bu araştırma, bireysel değer yargıları ve bunların göçmenlere yönelik tutumlar üzerindeki etkisi hakkında değerli bilgiler sunarak politika yapıcılara önemli veriler sunacaktır.

Değerleri on temel türe ayıran Schwartz'ın Temel İnsan Değerleri Teorisi bu tezin teorik temelini oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada değerlerin göçmenlere yönelik tutumlar üzerindeki etkisini açıklığa kavuşturmak için yaş, cinsiyet ve eğitim gibi demografik kontrol değişkenlerini içeren çoklu regresyon analizi kullanılacaktır.

Bu tez, göçmenlere yönelik değerler ve tutumlar arasındaki bağlantıyı derinlemesine inceleyerek bu konudaki literatürü zenginleştirerek önemli bir bilimsel katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, farklı Avrupa toplumlarındaki değer yapılarını ve bu yapıların göçmen algılarını nasıl etkilediğini daha iyi anlamamıza katkı sağlayacaktır. Bulgular aynı zamanda daha kapsayıcı ve etkili sosyal uyum ve entegrasyon politikalarının geliştirilmesine de ışık tutabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Schwartz Değer Teorisi, Avrupa Sosyal Araştırma, Göçmenlere Yaklaşımlar, Kültürel Değerler, Toplumsal Tutumlar

ABSTRACT

EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ITALY, FRANCE, AND NORWAY

This thesis examines the relationship between individual values, as classified by Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values, and attitudes towards immigrants in Europe, using data from the 10th round of the European Social Survey (ESS). The study aims to explore how these values influence perceptions of immigrants and assess the consistency of this relationship across countries with different socio-cultural environments like Italy, France and Norway.

Given the rising number of immigrants in Europe, understanding how they are perceived and accepted is crucial for effective integration policies. This research will provide valuable insights into individual value judgments and their impact on attitudes towards immigrants, offering important data for policymakers.

Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values, which categorizes values into ten basic types, serves as the theoretical foundation of this thesis. The study will employ multiple regression analysis, incorporating demographic control variables such as age, gender, and education, to clarify the effect of values on attitudes towards immigrants.

This thesis aims to make a significant scientific contribution by thoroughly examining the link between values and attitudes towards immigrants, thus enriching the literature on this subject. This study will contribute to a better understanding of the value structures in different European societies and how these structures influence perceptions of immigrants. The findings may also inform the development of more inclusive and effective social cohesion and integration policies.

Keywords: Schwartz Value Theory, European Social Survey, Attitudes Towards Immigrants, Cultural Values, Social Attitudes

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1. INTRODUCTION

Considering today's increasing global migration trends and the sociopolitical challenges of these trends, the importance of this issue becomes evident. In this context, understanding how values influence attitudes towards immigrants is crucial for developing effective integration policies and promoting social cohesion.

Historically, migration has been an important factor shaping societies in Europe, where various waves of migration have occurred over the centuries. In the recent past, developments in the Middle East, especially after 2011 with Syrian internal conflicts, have caused the issue of migration to become a hot topic in Europe again. Relatedly, in recent years, discussions about immigration have increased due to economic uncertainties and security concerns. Previous studies have highlighted various factors that influence attitudes towards immigrants. However, gaps remain in comprehensively understanding the role of personal values through current data and comparing this impact across different country settings.

Within this perspective, this study aims to investigate the relationship between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants in Europe, using data from the 10th Round of the European Social Survey (ESS). The Schwartz Theory of Basic Values will serve as the framework for understanding personal values, utilizing relevant questions from the ESS to measure these values. Similarly, an index will be created from ESS variables to measure attitudes towards immigrants. The analysis will begin by exploring the association between individual values and attitudes towards immigrant, followed by an analysis of which specific values influence these attitudes and the nature of these influences. Additionally, the research will examine how these relationships differ across European countries such as Italy, France, and Norway, which differ significantly in culture, history, economy, and politics. The thesis will include an explanation of key concepts such as values and attitudes within the framework of Schwartz's theory, along with a conceptual clarification of migration and a literature review of previous studies.

This study is important because it explores a hot issue from a not very popular angle as it investigates how individual values influence attitudes towards immigrants in Europe. By applying the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values and analyzing data from the European Social Survey, the research aims to uncover the connections between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants. These insights could help in shaping migration policies that consider personal values and their relationship with attitudes. Thus, ultimately those policies can support more tolerant and inclusive communities. Additionally, examining variations in attitudes across different European countries will highlight how

cultural, historical, and political contexts impact attitudes towards immigrants. Understanding whether the relationship between personal values and attitudes towards immigrants varies across different countries is important because it allows for testing the strength and consistency of this relationship in the context of varying economic conditions, political atmospheres, and cultural backgrounds. By examining these differences, the study can reveal how these factors influence the connection between values and attitudes, leading to a more nuanced understanding of how personal values shape attitudes of immigrants across diverse settings.

In line with this framework, four basic hypotheses will be tested in this study. The first hypothesis suggests that there is a significant relationship between attitudes towards immigrants and the values of people in general. Since values, by definition, affect how individuals perceive and interpret the world, it is predicted that they also shape their views on immigrants. Second hypothesis of the study is that attitudes towards immigrants are positively related to individuals' self-transcendence value category, which has dimensions such as benevolence and universalism. The rationale for this is that these values are associated with empathy, understanding and a desire for social justice. Therefore, these can potentially lead to more positive views of immigrants. On contrary, third hypothesis suggests that attitudes toward immigrants are negatively related to individuals' conservation values, such as security, harmony, and tradition. The background of this hypothesis is the prediction that individuals with dominant conservation values may see immigrants as a threat to social harmony and cultural or national identity, which may lead to more negative attitudes. Fourth and the last hypothesis argues that the relationships between values and attitudes towards immigrants are consistent in different socio-cultural and political contexts. Thus, this final hypothesis of the study tests the generalizability of individual values' effects on attitudes towards immigrants.

The scope of this study is the ESS 10th round data that includes the answers of more than 30 thousand participants from 22 European countries. This dataset has been chosen for this study due to its comprehensive scope, making it suitable for testing the relationship between values and attitudes towards immigrants both across European societies and in comparative analyses within countries. However, the content and limited diversity of the survey questions avoid exploring this relationship in detail.

The rationale for choosing this topic and approach lies in the current need to understand the complex dynamics of migration attitudes in Europe. Rising anti-immigrant sentiment and the problems it triggers are increasing the importance of studies in this context day by day. This study aims to contribute meaningfully to the existing literature by presenting fresh empirical evidence on the subject.

The structure of this thesis is as follows: The literature review section discusses the theoretical framework of Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values and a conceptual framework of migration studies. Then it will continue with previous studies on factors affecting attitudes towards immigrant. The methodology section presents the data sources, variables, and analytical techniques used. The findings section explains the results of the analyses. Finally, the discussion and conclusion section includes a discussion of the implications of these findings, a summary of the main points of the study and suggestions for future research.



2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Values have been fundamental to understanding individual behavior and societal trends since the early days of social sciences. For example, classical sociologists such as Durkheim and Weber addressed values and their roles in their works (Durkheim, 1897/1964; Weber, 1905/1958). However, the definition of values, the structure of the relationships between values, and the lack of effective/reliable methods for measuring these values have been an issue for the studies on values for many years (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Rohan, 2000). Schwartz's work has contributed significantly to overcoming many of these problems and making values re-studiable in modern social sciences. His theory provides this thanks to its explanatory definition of value, comprehensive categorization of values and examination of value relations, as well as suggestions for the measurement of values.

2.1 Schwartz Theory of Basic Values

2.1.1 Definition and Features of Values

Understanding human behavior requires discovering various psychological concepts, such as attitudes, beliefs, norms, traits, and values. Not only, each of these concepts plays a distinct role in shaping how individuals perceive and interact with the world, but also, they are interconnected in significant ways. Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values provides a comprehensive framework for examining these distinctions and understanding their impact on human actions. For this study, it is crucial to understand the scope and boundaries of the relationships among these concepts, specifically between values and attitudes. Therefore, this section will explain their definitions and differences according to Schwartz's theory. In particular, the concept of "value" will be explored in greater detail in order to establish a context for a deeper analysis of how values influence attitudes and how these concepts are interrelated within Schwartz's model.

Attitudes, for instance, are evaluations of specific objects, people, or events, categorizing them as good or bad, desirable or undesirable. Schwartz suggests, attitudes vary on a positive-negative scale and they are shaped by underlying values, which serve as the foundation for these evaluations (Schwartz, 2012). This can be illustrated with the following example, if an individual values universalism—emphasizing understanding, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people—they may develop a positive attitude toward immigration. Conversely, if security is a more dominant value for a person, they might have a more cautious or negative attitude towards immigration since they might view it as a potential threat to social stability. Thus, while attitudes are the immediate evaluations people make, they are deeply rooted in the broader values that guide our overall approach to life.

Similarly, beliefs are ideas of how true individuals perceive relationships between objects to be. They reflect the subjective probability that certain relationships exist, rather than the importance of goals as guiding principles in life (Schwartz, 2012). Accordingly, it can be said that beliefs are different from values because they are more specific to certain situations and less abstract. Values guide what people think is important in life, while beliefs shape how they see the world and how they make sense of different situations. For instance, the belief that "hard work leads to success" reflects an individual's perception of how the world operates.

Norms, on the other hand, are social expectations or rules that dictate how individuals within a society should behave. They suggest how people should behave in certain situations and vary in how much people agree or disagree with these expectations. Values influence how individuals accept or reject these norms (Schwartz, 2012). For instance, someone who values conformity may quickly accept social norms that emphasize traditional behaviors and social harmony. Conversely, an individual who highly values self-direction may resist norms that restrict personal freedom and creativity.

The concept of traits adds another layer to this framework. They defined as consistent patterns of actions but, unlike values, they do not indicate what is considered important (Schwartz, 2012). For example, a person might be described as conscientious indicating a consistent pattern of being well organized and responsible. However, this trait does not necessarily reflect the individual's values. A person might perform conscientious behavior due to external expectations rather than an internalized value of responsibility. As can be seen, values and traits can sometimes overlap, but they remain distinct concepts.

At the core of this framework, values are explained as the fundamental guiding principles in life by Schwartz (2012). He claims, unlike the other concepts discussed, values are the core motivations that shape not only specific attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors but also the overall direction of an individual's life. In his theory, Schwartz identifies six basic features for values, considering the work of many other theorists (Schwartz, 1992, 2006, 2012). These features are important to understand the definition, scope and limits of values. First, values are defined as beliefs that are closely tied to emotions, and these beliefs come to life with emotions when individuals activate their values. Second, values point to desired goals of peoples' and motivate their actions. Third, values go beyond specific actions and situations and often work as standards or criteria. Fourth, they create a system of priorities. With this system, people create a hierarchy for their values. Therefore, they determine the values' importance for them. Fifth, the relative importance of multiple values is effective in guiding individuals' actions. Finally, the type of values changes depending on the type of motivation they express. Therefore, these six features enable a descriptive understanding of the role of values. This theoretical approach is valuable for using values to better comprehend and explain individual behavior.

As mentioned, Schwartz's theory of basic human values provides a comprehensive framework for understanding human motivation and behavior. Developed and edited since 1992, this theory categorizes human values into ten basic value categories and then groups under four main headings, representing a broad spectrum of human values. These value types are self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence, and universalism. Each of these values represents different but at the same time related motivational goals that individuals prioritize in different levels (Schwartz, 2012).

At this point, it is useful to take a closer look at each of these values in accordance with the theory. Beginning with self-direction, it emphasizes independent thoughts and actions linked to creativity, freedom, and desire for new ideas. Relatedly, stimulation value looks for excitement, originality, and challenge. It pushes individuals on aiming to maintain an optimal level of arousal. Moreover, hedonism prioritizes pleasure and enjoyment in life. Closely, achievement centers on personal success through proving competence with desire for success and recognition. On the other hand, power is related to social status, control, and dominance over people and resources. This shows the desire for prestige and influence. Security mainly emphasizes safety, harmony, and stability of society. Similarly, conformity involves denial of actions and impulses that might harm others and violate social norms. Thus, conformity is basically motivated by obedience to rules and regulations. Tradition promotes respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas presented by one's culture or religion. Benevolence mainly highlights the importance of caring for others and promoting their well-being. Lastly, universalism is concerned with understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the well-being of all people and as well as nature (Schwartz, 2012).

2.1.2 Higher-Order Categories

Schwartz's in his theory suggests an organization these values into four higher-order categories: openness to change, self-enhancement, conservation, and self-transcendence. Briefly, openness to change includes self-direction and stimulation, while self-enhancement consists of achievement and power values, as well as hedonism. Conservation covers security, conformity, and tradition values. Last but not the least benevolence and universalism values are under self-transcendence which represents the motivation to promote the welfare of others and the environment (Schwartz et al., 2012).

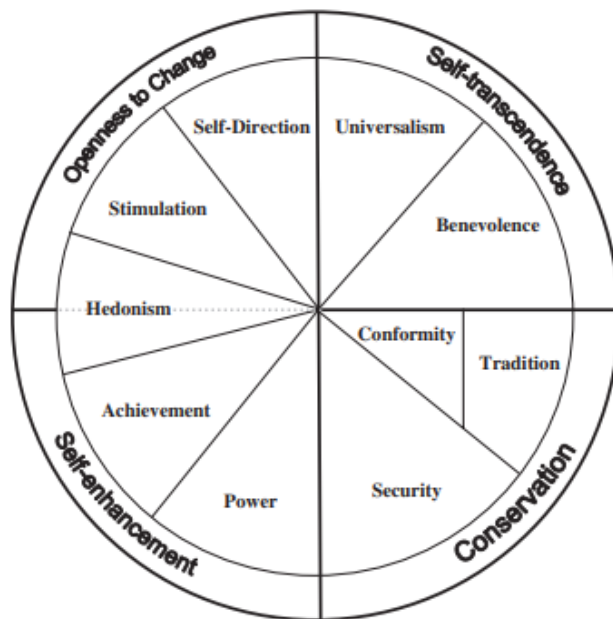
2.1.3 Circular Structure of Values

The theory argues that these value types can be organized in a circular structure based on their motivational similarities and differences. Values that are next to each other on the circle are more compatible and can be effective simultaneously. Accordingly, values that are opposite each other often

conflict and require trade-offs. For instance, following self-enhancement values might conflict with self-transcendence values, as the former focuses on personal gains and the latter focuses on the welfare of other people (Davidov & Meuleman, 2012). The ten value types and their organization into four higher-order categories illustrate the complex nature of values in guiding individual and collective actions.

Figure 1

Circular modal of values (Davidov et al., 2008)



2.1.4 Measuring Values: SVS and PVQ

Several methods for measuring these individual values have been mentioned in Schwartz's theory. One of them is named after the creator of the theory: Schwartz Value Survey (SVS). Accordingly, this method consists of a series of questions. These questions are designed to understand the importance of different values to an individual. Respondents rate each value on a scale, typically from 1 (opposed to my values) to 7 (of supreme importance). The SVS covers a comprehensive range of values, allowing for an in-depth analysis of the respondent's value structure (Schwartz, 2012).

Another used tool is the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ). The PVQ is used in this study as well. Briefly, this method uses short verbal portraits of different people, each describing a person's goals, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a value. Respondents pick how similar the person described is to themselves on a scale from 1 (not like me at all) to 6 (very much like me). This method

is especially effective in cross-cultural research like this study, because it simplifies the abstract value items into more relatable descriptions (Schwartz et al., 2001).

The European Social Survey (ESS) adopts Schwartz's value theory to make the comparison of value orientations across European countries possible. The ESS uses a refined version of the PVQ (named as PVQ-21) which includes 21 questions to cover all ten basic values. This shorter version protects the reliability and validity of the original PVQ while making it more practical for large-scale surveys (Davidov et al., 2008, Schwartz 2003). In other words, ESS's adoption of PVQ-21 questions provides insights into how values influence attitudes and behaviors related to social, political, and economic issues across wide range of population. It also helps in understanding the stability and change of value priorities over time, as the ESS is conducted periodically.

2.2 Migration Overview

2.2.1 Conceptual Distinctions in Migration Terminology

In analyzing how individual values in Europe impact attitudes towards immigrants, a clear understanding of migration terminology is vital. It is necessary to distinguish immigrants from other groups such as refugees or asylum seekers since it highlights the specific challenges they face and legal status they have. Precise definitions allow for a more focused examination of how different values shape attitudes towards immigrants. Therefore, more accurate insights and targeted policy recommendations can be possible. Thus, this section aims to clarify the distinctions between key concepts: Migration, Immigrant, Refugee, Asylum Seeker, and Internally Displaced Person (IDP). In this section, each term is defined and differentiated to build a comprehensive framework for this study.

Migration is a broad term covering the movement of people from one place to another. IOM defines it as “the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State” (Sironi et al.,2019). Over decades of research, scholars have examined the diverse reasons for migration, uncovering a range of fundamental drivers that include economic, political, social, cultural, demographic, and ecological factors (Czaika & Reinprecht 2022). Internal migration includes movements within the same country, such as from rural to urban areas, often motivated by economic prospects or lifestyle improvements (Harris & Todaro, 1970). On the other hand, international migration means relocating to a different country, which can be motivated by similar factors but also includes considerations like political instability or personal life choices (Massey et al., 1998). This broad concept of migration lays the foundation for understanding more specific terms.

An immigrant is defined as an individual who relocates to a new country with the intention of establishing either temporary or permanent residence. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) further elaborates this term as “from the perspective of the country of arrival, a person who moves into a country other than that of his or her nationality or usual residence, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence” (Sironi et al., 2019). This definition highlights that the term "immigrant" is more specific than "migrant," emphasizing the intent to reside in the new country. Migration can be motivated by various factors, such as economic opportunities, family reunification, or the pursuit of a better quality of life. While many immigrants voluntarily move to enhance their living conditions, others may be compelled to migrate due to adverse circumstances, yet they do not meet the criteria for refugee status. The distinction between these categories becomes clearer when considering both the intention to settle and the particular circumstances of migration, which are further elaborated in the following discussion on refugees.

A refugee is an individual who has been compelled to leave their home country due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. Refugees are distinct because they require international protection and are granted specific rights under international law, including asylum (UNHCR, 2020). Unlike immigrants, whose migration might be voluntary or based on personal choice, refugees are forced to flee due to severe threats especially to their safety. The legal status of refugees is defined by international agreements like the 1951 Refugee Convention, which ensures their protection and assistance (UNHCR, 2020).

After distinguishing between the concepts of "immigrant" and "refugee," it is beneficial to address a few additional terms that are often confused with "refugee" to further clarify these distinctions. This will help to more clearly define the boundaries of each concept. In this context, an asylum seeker is someone who has fled their home country and is seeking international protection but has not yet been recognized as a refugee. The process for seeking asylum involves applying for protection in a host country and undergoing a legal assessment to determine if the individual qualifies for refugee status (UNHCR, 2016). Asylum seekers are in a transitional phase, awaiting a determination of their legal status. Thus, the main distinction between asylum seekers and refugees lies in the legal recognition of their status and the rights related with it.

Lastly, discussing the concept of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is beneficial to complete the conceptual framework required for this study. IDPs are individuals who have been forced to leave their homes due to conflict, natural disasters, or other crises but remain within their own country (Deng, 1999). Unlike refugees, IDPs have not crossed international borders and thus do not benefit from the same international protections. Their situation is managed by national authorities, which distinguishes them from refugees who receive international support. The problems faced by IDPs are similar to those

of refugees, including displacement and loss of livelihood, but their status involves different legal and protective frameworks.

In summary, each term—Migration, Immigrant, Refugee, Asylum Seeker, and IDP—represents a distinct aspect of human movement and displacement. Migration covers all forms of movement, while immigrants refer to individuals who move with the intent to settle in a new country. The reason lying behind this movement to a new country separates immigrants from refugees, asylum seekers and IDFs. Although refugees, asylum seekers and IDFs are compelled to change their location due to similar circumstances, their location being inside or outside of their home country and their legal recognition status distinguishes them from one another.

2.2.2 Europe's Migration History

This section provides a brief overview of European migration history, highlighting key events and milestones and their impact on migration patterns. It then explains the rationale for selecting Italy, Norway, and France as the focus of this study, detailing how these countries offer diverse perspectives on the relationship between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants.

Considering the historical turning points of migration history briefly, World War II times should be mentioned. Post-World War II Europe saw huge population shifts mainly caused by forced relocation as a result of boundary changes (Stalker, 2002). It ended up resulting in West Germany having 30 percent of its population from refugees by 1950 (Borrie, 1970). These migration flow pace slowed down after mid 50s and continued with lower levels until the Berlin Wall (Stalker, 2002). In the following years, 1960s, many European countries encouraged migration to fill labor shortages. Reason for this is the Europe was going through a reconstruction period and experiencing an economic boom creating a high labor demand that cannot be fulfilled internally. European countries with colonial background like United Kingdom and France attempted to fill this need from their former colonies. (Hansen, 2003). On the other hand, others like Germany initiated worker group programs inviting labor force from other countries, like Turks migrating to Germany (Stalker, 2002). However, the trend went backwards on 1970s and 80s because of the negative change in the economic atmosphere, specifically after 1973 oil shock. The crisis accelerated changes in the economy, significantly decreasing the demand for labor (Boyle et al., 2014). During this period European governments closed the door against further immigration flows in addition to their efforts to make guest workers leave. However, the number of foreign residents kept growing as European migration systems shifted from circular to chain migration. Migrants from non-European countries who came under worker programs started settling permanently because returning home for long periods risked losing their residence permits (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). Many brought their families to Europe as government efforts to limit family migration were

mostly unsuccessful (Castles et al. 2014, Hansen 2003). The fall of the Iron Curtain and the opening of Eastern Europe's borders in the 1990s triggered new waves of migration. The wars in the former Yugoslavia also caused a large influx of refugees into Western Europe. In 1992, borders were abolished within the EU, facilitating free movement for EU citizens. However, this process was simultaneously implemented with stricter border controls and visa regulations for immigrants from non-EU countries (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016).

In the recent past, the 2015 forced migration crisis marked a significant turning point in European attitudes towards immigrants. This crisis, triggered by the Syrian civil war and other regional conflicts, led millions to migrate in Europe. This event hardened attitudes towards immigrants in almost all European countries.

Public opinion in Europe remains highly split on the issue of immigration. Zolberg (1987) summed up this ongoing ambivalence with the expression "wanted but not welcome". Many recognize that immigration can bring both benefits and challenges to their country. Perceptions are influenced by a range of social, economic, cultural, and historical factors. However, less attention has been given to how individual value systems and personality traits might explain the psychological foundations behind these views on immigration. (Vecchione et al., 2012)

In this study, Italy, France, and Norway have been selected to analyze the impact of individual values on attitudes towards immigrants in Europe using data from the 10th round of the European Social Survey (ESS). The reasoning behind this choice is these three countries provide a diverse and comprehensive perspective due to their varying cultural and historical context, geographical location, and political approaches. In order to make this rationale clearer, the following paragraphs will continue with details of why these three countries are appropriate for this study.

To begin with, Italy is an important case to consider because of its geographical location and the significant immigration flows it has experienced in recent years. As a Southern European country that serves as a primary entry point for migrants crossing the Mediterranean, Italy faces unique challenges. Ambrosini (2013) argues that this migration flow is driven not only by those countries' Mediterranean coastline but also by specific demands of their economic systems. In his study he analyzes the case of Italy between economical acceptance and political rejection. Including Italy as a Southern European country in this study, enhances the analysis as it helps understanding the effect of economic pressures and political factors influence on individuals' attitudes towards immigrants.

France, on the other hand, provides a contrasting perspective with its long-standing commitment to secularism and republican values. Historically, France turned to immigration for military, demographic, and economic purposes, and since 1889, it has followed an assimilationist model that

demands newcomers to conform to French cultural norms and republican values to maintain national unity and preserve the country's identity (Andreescu, 2017). France's secular framework sometimes conflicts with multicultural policies, creating complex dynamics between national values and immigrant integration (Bertossi, 2011). Examining France allows us to explore how a nation's foundational principles and public policies impact individuals' attitudes towards immigrants.

Norway offers a different scenario as a Northern European country known for its strong welfare state and humanitarian approach. The Nordic region is distinguished by its welfare model, which is characterized by broad access to services, extensive public participation, and a high level of income redistribution. (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011). Another thing that differentiates these countries from some other European countries is they have received immigrants from a wide range of global regions, unlike Britain or France, which mainly host migrants from their former colonies (Gullestad, 2002). Including Norway in this analysis provides insight into how a prosperous welfare state and diverse immigrant population shape attitudes towards immigrants.

Selecting Italy, France, and Norway offers a well-rounded perspective on how individual values influence attitudes toward immigrants across different European contexts. Each country brings its unique economic conditions, cultural traditions, and political climates to the comparison. By examining these diverse environments, the study aims to understand whether the impact of values on immigrant attitudes remains consistent or varies across Europe, exploring the extent and limits of this relationship's generalizability. This approach reveals broader patterns and specific differences, offering a more nuanced understanding of the dimensions and boundaries of values' impact on attitudes towards immigrants in different regions.

2.2.3 Previous Studies on Factors Influencing Attitudes Towards Immigrants

Regarding the studies on factors influencing attitudes towards immigrants, the literature is quite rich. Periods of economic uncertainty and high unemployment rates correlate with increased negative attitudes towards migrants. The local population often perceives immigrants as competitors in the job market and as consumers of limited economic resources, fostering negative sentiments. Vogt Isaksen (2019) supports this by highlighting how economic downturns, such as the 2007-2008 financial crisis, coincided with more negative views toward immigration across 25 European countries. The study emphasizes that during times of economic instability, people may scapegoat migrants as they perceive them as a threat to their economic security. Accordingly, this is particularly true in cases where unemployment rises, as competition for low-skilled jobs increases, intensifying feelings of group threat (Vogt Isaksen, 2019) The link between the economy and attitudes toward immigrants is a well-known topic. Many people worry that immigrants might lead to job shortages and this influences their views on

immigration. While economic factors are important, other less obvious factors also play a role. Our study aims to uncover these hidden influences, showing that attitudes toward immigrants are shaped by more than just loudly voiced conditions.

Social factors, including cultural differences and security concerns, are another element that affects attitudes toward immigrants. Perceptions of cultural threats, where immigrants are viewed as disruptors of local culture and social norms often lead to more negative attitudes. When immigrants are seen as a challenge to established cultural practices, people may resist immigration more strongly as they feel their traditional way of life is at risk (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015). Similarly, security concerns, such as fears about rising crime rates and societal instability due to increased migration, also contribute to negative sentiments. These concerns about crime and public safety can increase resistance to immigration, showing that attitudes toward immigrants are influenced by both cultural and security-related factors (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015). Such studies add a new layer to our understanding by highlighting factors beyond the economic dimension that influence attitudes toward migrants. Therefore, they contribute significantly to the literature on this topic.

Moreover, political factors also considered as having an influence on attitudes toward immigrants. Right-wing populist rhetoric and policies often increase negative sentiments by portraying immigrants as threats to the economic and social rights of the native population. This rhetoric argues that immigrants compete for jobs, strain public resources, and disrupt societal norms, which fosters hostile attitudes. Research shows that right-wing populist communication can strongly affect public attitudes by emphasizing these perceived threats and negative aspects of migration (Wirz et al., 2018). Additionally, media portrayals by right-wing outlets frequently highlight criminal activities and societal disruptions linked to migrants. This portrayal reinforces stereotypes and contributes fears shaping negative public opinion and influencing immigration policy preferences (Wirz et al., 2018). Examining these factors in studies on attitudes towards immigrants provides valuable insights. On the positive side, understanding the impact of political rhetoric and media portrayal helps identify mechanisms driving negative attitudes since they allow for more targeted counter-strategies. However, the focus on these factors can also lead to an oversimplification of the complex relationship between political messaging, media influence, and public opinion. Thus, it can potentially lead one to overlook other significant contributors to attitudes towards immigrants.

Narrowing down our focus to the individual values and their relationship with attitudes towards immigrants, Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values stands out as a useful tool. His theory provides a very important framework for understanding how individual values shape attitudes towards migrants. According to this theory, values like universalism and security play a pivotal role in forming attitudes. Universalism values emphasize understanding and welfare for all people, while security values

emphasize the importance of societal stability and harmony (Schwartz, 2012). Thus, it is expected that individuals with universalism values tend to have more positive attitudes towards migrants, whereas those who prioritize security values present negative attitudes. Few studies have attempted to connect attitudes toward immigration with human values, which is both unsurprising and regrettable. This neglect is notable because human values are crucial for understanding attitudes in general, and attitudes toward immigration specifically (Davidov & Meuleman, 2012).

Research has shown a strong correlation between individual values and attitudes towards migrants. For instance, Davidov et al. (2008) found that values like universalism and benevolence, which fall under self-transcendence, are associated with positive attitudes towards immigrants. Conversely, values such as security and conformity correlate with negative attitudes towards immigrants. This study is significant because it shows how values, especially those that promote acceptance of diversity and concern for others, shape attitudes towards immigrants. By focusing on values like universalism and benevolence, it provides a clear framework for understanding how more inclusive and tolerant perspectives lead to positive attitudes. This work has also inspired further research since it emphasizes the role of personal values in individuals' attitudes. However, the study also has its limitations. Since it was conducted in 2008, some of its findings may now be outdated. Migration discourse and related public opinion have a very dynamic nature. Global circumstances have shifted considerably due to factors such as global refugee crises and increasing nationalism. Additionally, the study overlooks unemployment status, which could also influence attitudes towards immigrants. These gaps highlight the need for updated research that cover more recent developments and additional variables. This would help provide a more complete picture of how values impact attitudes toward immigrants today.

Vecchione et al. (2012) in their study "The Role of Personal Values and Basic Traits in Perceptions of the Consequences of Immigration: A Three-Nation Study," examined how personal values and basic personality traits influence perceptions of immigration consequences in Italy, Spain, and Germany. Compatible with the study of Davidov et al. (2008) that has just been mentioned, they also found that universalism values correlate with positive attitudes of immigration, whereas security values correlate with negative attitudes. This study also highlighted the mediating role of these values between personality traits (such as openness and agreeableness) and immigration attitudes (Vecchione et al., 2012). The multi-nation approach strengthens the study since this feature allows it to discuss generalizability across different European contexts. They, took a step further by differentiating between personal and group security values. This is where their study mainly differentiates from Davidov's work on 2008. They found that group security values had a much stronger impact on negative attitudes toward immigration comparing to personal security values. This suggests that collective concerns about societal safety and stability are more powerful in shaping immigration attitudes than individual-level fears. This

distinction is particularly insightful since it adds another layer of understanding to how security concerns play out in attitudes toward immigration.

Chan-Hoong Leong and Colleen Ward (2006) in their paper "Cultural Values and Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Multiculturalism: The Case of the Eurobarometer Survey on Racism and Xenophobia," analyzed data from the Eurobarometer survey to understand how cultural values influence attitudes towards immigrants and multiculturalism. They found that cultural values significantly shape public attitudes, with more inclusive cultural values leading to positive attitudes towards immigrants and multiculturalism. As they themselves point out, their study does have some limitations like it focuses only on Western, industrialized countries. This situation limits how generalizable the findings are. Additionally, the data were collected before the significant shifts in global attitudes post-9/11, which may not fully capture today's views on immigration (Leong & Ward, 2006). Despite these drawbacks, their research remains important because it provides a unique cultural insights into broader patterns of acceptance and multiculturalism.

Ponizovskiy et al. (2016) in his study "Values and Attitudes Towards Immigrants: Cross-Cultural Differences Across 25 Countries," examined the relationship between values and attitudes towards immigrants across 25 countries. He found significant cross-cultural variations in how values influence attitudes, with universalism and benevolence associated with positive attitudes, and security and conformity associated with negative attitudes (Ponizovskiy., 2016). The study's comprehensive cross-cultural approach provides a broad understanding of the relationship between values and attitudes across different contexts. This study is important as it challenges against earlier research that claimed little to none cross-cultural variation in attitudes towards immigrants (Davidov et al., 2008). Instead, it argues that impact of values depends heavily on cultural context. By using a comprehensive cross-cultural approach, the study shows that promoting universal values like equality might not have the same effect in every country. For example, what appeals to people in Western democracies may not resonate in Eastern European countries. This insight is crucial for the literature because it emphasizes the need to consider cultural context when assessing how values shape attitudes towards immigrants.

Leach, Dempster, and Hargrave (2020) enrich the literature on attitudes towards immigration by focusing on the role of underlying values and worldviews. Their study shows that while external factors can have an influence, these attitudes are deeply rooted in stable personal values. One of their key findings is the identification of the "conflicted middle," a group with mixed and often contradictory views on immigration. This highlights the complexity of public sentiment. The paper also calls for better coordination across different sectors and disciplines to avoid redundant efforts and address gaps. It emphasizes the need for significant investment in integration, polling, and testing interventions. The authors argue that substantial resources are necessary for meaningful attitudinal shifts and effective

strategies (Leach et al., 2020). Overall, their work goes beyond just analysis. It offers practical recommendations for addressing the link between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants. This makes their contribution both valuable and enlightening in advancing our understanding and approach to immigration attitudes.

These studies used various methodological approaches providing robust evidence of the relationship between values and attitudes. Comparing the findings of the studies focusing on the relationship between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants, it is apparent that there is both consensus and disagreement. Most studies agree that universalism and benevolence values are positively associated with supportive attitudes towards migrants and security and conformity values are linked to negative attitudes. However, there are variations in how strongly these relationships are observed across different cultural contexts. For example, Ponizovskiy (2016) found that the strength of these associations varied significantly across the 25 countries studied, suggesting that cultural and socio-economic factors play a role in shaping these relationships.

In conclusion, the extensive literature on attitudes toward immigrants highlights a multidimensional aspect of influencing factors. Economic conditions, such as periods of high unemployment and economic downturns, often triggers negative attitudes toward immigrants since these conditions can encourage perceptions of competition for jobs and resources. Social factors, including concerns about cultural disruption and security risks lead to resistance against immigration. Additionally, it is also studied that political rhetoric and media portrayals from right-wing sources strengthen negative views by framing immigrants as threats. Moreover, individual values play a crucial role in attitudes towards immigrants. Noting the debate on its generalizability, studies often argue values emphasizing universalism generally associated with more positive attitudes and those prioritizing security linked to negative attitudes. Overall, understanding these diverse factors is essential for addressing and potentially mitigating negative attitudes toward immigrants. Our study builds on this existing body of research by using more recent data from the European Social Survey (ESS) 10th round, providing an updated analysis of the relationship between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants in a more specified way.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Hypotheses

In this study, four main hypotheses were developed to examine the relationships between attitudes towards immigrants and people's values. These hypotheses are based on Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values and aim to evaluate the effects of these values on attitudes towards immigrants.

H1: There is a relationship between attitudes towards immigrants and people's values. This hypothesis suggests that there is a significant relationship between personal values in general and attitudes towards immigrants. It is assumed that the values people adopt shape their views about immigrants. Considering that values directly affect the way individuals perceive and interpret the outside world in general, it is quite reasonable to think that the attitudes towards immigrants is also within the influence of values. In this context, how values affect individuals' attitudes and behaviors is examined in this study.

H2: Attitudes towards immigrants are positively related to individuals' self-transcendence values. This hypothesis suggests that there is a positive relationship between self-transcendence values (benevolence and universalism) and positive attitudes towards immigrants. Accordingly, individuals with self-transcendence values are expected to exhibit attitudes that support the participation and integration of immigrants into their societies. The empathy, understanding and helpfulness characteristics of people with a dominant benevolence value have led to the idea that they may view immigrants positively. Similarly, since the value of universalism predominantly prioritizes equality and peace, it is predicted that it will lead to a moderate approach towards immigrants.

H3: Attitudes towards immigrants are negatively related to individuals' conservation values. This hypothesis suggests a negative relationship between conservation values (e.g., security, harmony, and traditionalism) and negative attitudes toward immigrants. It is assumed that individuals with conservation values may tend to see immigrants as a potential threat and therefore present more negative attitudes towards immigrants. The values within this conservation generally tend to preserve social order and resist change. Since immigration brings with it many changes and interactions, people with strong conservation values may see immigrants as a direct threat to their traditions and security. Immigrants may be evaluated by these people as having the potential to harm the existing cultural, religious and demographic homogeneity of the countries and therefore their social harmony.

H4: These relationships between values and attitudes towards immigrants do not vary in countries with different socio-economic structures, and political traditions (such as France, Italy, Norway). This hypothesis suggests that the relationships between values and attitudes towards immigrants are consistent regardless of socio-cultural, political and economic context. It is assumed that even in

countries with different backgrounds, the role of personal values in determining attitudes towards immigrants will be similar. This hypothesis aims to test the universality of values and that their influence on attitudes is stable regardless of external factors. It also, in a sense, establishes a hierarchy between individual values and socio-cultural factors, and includes the idea that values are the most fundamental determinant in determining people's attitudes.

These hypotheses comprehensively address the general purpose and research questions of the study and will help understand how the relationships between attitudes towards immigrants and personal values are shaped in different contexts.

3.2 Data Source and Sample

The European Social Survey (ESS) is an international survey that has been conducted periodically since 2001. So far, the number of countries included in the survey has been reached 40. The scope, rigor, diversity and reliability of ESS surveys have made it a valuable resource for researchers conducting research on European countries in many social, economic and religious fields.

In ESS Round 10, used in our study, some countries were unable to conduct face-to-face fieldwork as usual due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In total, 9 countries switched to the self-completion (web and paper) method, while 22 countries used the traditional face-to-face fieldwork approach of ESS. In this sense, ESS has suggested that researchers should pay attention to this when doing country comparative studies. The three countries for this study were selected from the 22 countries where face-to-face surveys were conducted.

The dataset used in this study is 10th Round of the European Social Survey (ESS). Specifically, the third edition (edition 3.2), published in November 2023. The mentioned version covers data collected from September 2020 to May 2022. The dataset includes a total of 37,611 participants from 22 countries. The valid observation rates for each country are as follows: Belgium 3.6%, Bulgaria 7.2%, Croatia 4.2%, Czechia 6.6%, Estonia 4.1%, Finland 4.2%, France 5.3%, Greece 7.4%, Hungary 4.9%, Iceland 2.4%, Ireland 4.7%, Italy 7%, Lithuania 4.4%, Montenegro 3.4%, Netherlands 3.9%, Norway 3.8%, North Macedonia 3.8%, Portugal 4.9%, Slovenia 3.3%, Slovakia 3.8%, Switzerland 4%, and the United Kingdom 3.1%.

Considering the scope of the survey, the high number of participants and the homogeneous distribution of countries, this dataset appears to be quite suitable for a country comparative study.

3.3 Data Cleaning and Recoding

One thing needs to be pointed out at this point is that the data collected in countries includes all persons aged 15 and over residing in private households, regardless of their nationality, citizenship,

language or legal status. In the sections of the study focused on country-specific analyses, participants who indicated 'Yes' for the 'ctzcntr' (citizen of the country) variable were selected. This approach was intended to minimize prejudice and bias, ensuring that the analyses were based solely on the citizens of the respective countries, excluding immigrants or foreigners. Accordingly, there were 5,685 participants in total of three countries and the distribution by country was as follows: 2,494 people from Italy (43.9%), 1,862 people from France (32.8%) and 1,329 people from Norway (23.4%).

As a second step in data cleaning, focus was given to the 21 PVQ questions, which will be explained in detail later in this chapter. It is important to note that the criteria for cleaning this data were not set by us but were recommended by ESS. Thus, in accordance with ESS recommendations, only participants with no more than 5 missing values and no more than 16 identical responses for the 21 value items were included in the analysis (Cieciuch et al., 2018). The purpose of this is to include participants who give consistent and real answers in the survey and to eliminate weak data that may lead to misleading results. When applying these criteria, unlike the other data cleaning and analysis steps of our study, R has been used instead of SPSS. The reason for this is that such a complex cleaning process cannot be done easily in the current version of SPSS.

Table 1 shows that after the second cleaning process, the total number of participants decreased from 5,685 to 5,374. The number of participants by country is as follows: 1,791 people from France (33.3%), 2,261 people from Italy (42.1%) and 1,322 people from Norway (24.6%). A decrease of 71 participants from France (from 1,862 to 1,791), 233 participants from Italy (from 2,494 to 2,261) and 7 participants from Norway (from 1,329 to 1,322) emerged. Additionally, after this cleaning process, the total number of participants covering all countries in the data decreased from 37,611 to 35,255. However, the extent of the decrease in the number of participants is not significant. Thus, by this cleaning the survey data was optimized for more accurate analysis. Additionally, after this cleaning process, the total number of participants covering all countries in the data decreased from 37,611 to 35,255.

Table 1*Frequencies of Three Countries*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
France	1791	33,3	33,3	33,3
Italy	2261	42,1	42,1	75,4
Norway	1322	24,6	24,6	100,0
Total	5374	100,0	100,0	

Finally, 21 PVQ variables consist of value questions were recoded for a better analysis and easier understanding of the results. The recoding process essentially involves reversing the scales, as (1=6) (2=5) (3=4) (4=3) (5=2) (6=1). Details of the variables and questions again will be provided in the independent variable sections of the chapter.

3.4 Survey Questions and Variables

The survey questions and relevant variables used in this study are as follows:

3.4.1 Dependent Variable:

An index has been created to calculate the average of three variables questioning attitudes on the impact of immigrants on the country's economy, cultural life, and quality of life. This index named as imindex will be the dependent variable showing individuals' attitudes towards immigrants. The three questions of the index are the following:

- **Impact on economy:** "Immigration bad or good for country's economy?" (0 = Bad, 10 = Good)
- **Impact on cultural life:** "Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants" (0 = Undermines culture, 10 = Enriches culture)
- **Impact on quality of life:** "Immigrants make country worse or better place to live " (0 = Worse, 10 = Better)

The reliability analysis for the three variables showed a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.882 (Table2). This value is above the common threshold of 0.7, indicating high internal consistency. This means the variables are

very consistent with each other and measure the same thing well. Therefore, these variables can be combined into one index for this analysis.

Table 2

Cronbach's Alpha

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
,882	3

Considering the dependent variable without country filtering, the descriptive statistics for imindex (attitudes towards immigrants) show a sample size of 33,333 respondents (Table 3). The imindex ranges from 0 to 10 as mentioned above. Also, the index has mean of 5.28 and a standard deviation of 2.29. This shows a moderate attitude towards immigrants, with a considerable variation in responses across the sample. Moreover, normality of the dependent variable, imindex, has been checked by using its histogram as well as skewness, and kurtosis values (Table 3, Figure 2). The histogram presented that the distribution approximates normality (Figure 2). The skewness value of -0.345 indicates a slight left skew, and the kurtosis value of -0.249 meaning a somewhat flatter distribution than the normal. Despite these minor deviations, we can consider the imindex variable as distributing normally.

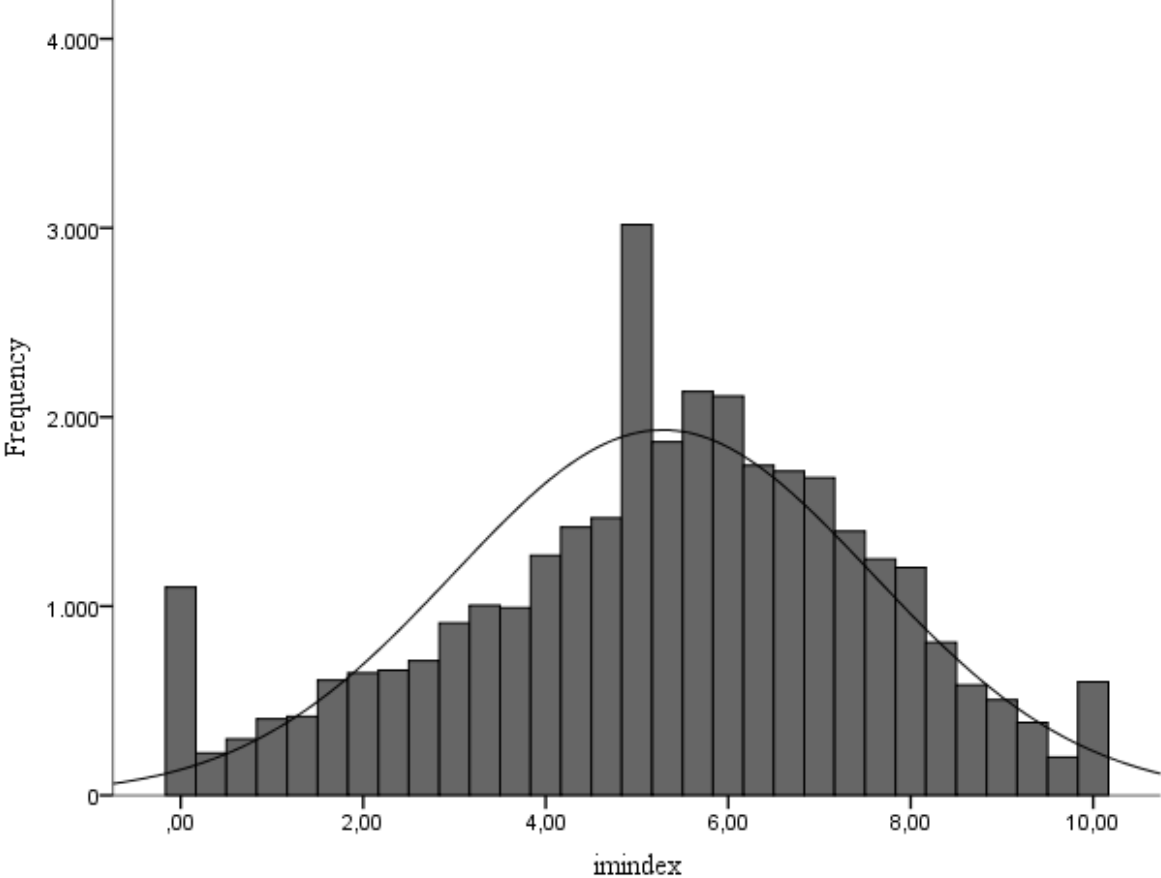
Table 3

Dependent Variable Descriptives for All Data

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
imindex	33333	,00	10,00	5,2840	2,29439	-345	-249

Figure 2

Immigration Index Frequency Table



Looking into the dependent variable for Italy, the descriptive statistics for imindex (attitudes towards immigrants) show a sample size of 2,184 respondents (Table 4). The imindex’s mean is 4.92 and standard deviation is 2.12. This points that, on average, attitudes towards immigrants in Italy are slightly below the midpoint of the scale with a generally moderate to slightly negative attitude. There is also a notable variation in responses, as indicated by the standard deviation.

For France, the descriptive statistics for the dependent variable imindex (attitudes towards immigrants) has a sample size of 1,716 respondents. The standard deviation again presents a meaningful variation in responses among the participants. However, this time, the imindex ranges from 0 to 10, with a mean of 5.42 and a standard deviation of 2.15. This means, on average, attitudes towards immigrants in France are just above the average, suggesting a generally moderate to slightly positive attitude.

For Norway the sample size is 1,295. It has the highest average (mean) among three countries with 6.40. This shows that, on average, attitudes towards immigrants in Norway are more positive. 1.72 value for standard deviation presents there is some variation in the responses, but overall, the

attitudes are more favorable compared to the other countries. In addition, when the normal distribution of the dependent variable was checked separately for the three countries, the result was not very different from the control made for the entire data, and the distribution was still found to be at a normal and acceptable level.

Table 4

Dependent Variable Descriptives for Three Countries

Italy

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
imindex	2184	,00	10,00	5,0193	2,15865

France

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
imindex	1716	,00	10,00	5,4297	2,15193

Norway

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
imindex	1295	,00	10,00	6,4049	1,72207

3.4.2 Independent Variables:

Values were divided into four main categories based on Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values (Schwartz, 1992). Accordingly, new variables were created to serve as independent variables by combining the variables within these value categories. The procedures is done by following the guidance of Schwartz's theory.

Self Transcendence: (Benevolence + Universalism) / 2

- **Benevolence:**

- Importance of help: "Important to help people and care for others well-being" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of loyalty: " Important to be loyal to friends and devote to people close " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

- **Universalism:**

- Importance of equality: " Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of understanding: " Important to understand different people " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of environment: " Important to care for nature and environment " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

Self Enhancement: (Power + Achievement) / 2

- **Power:**

- Importance of richness: " Important to be rich, have money and expensive things " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of respect: " Important to get respect from others " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

- **Achievement:**

- Importance of ability: " Important to show abilities and be admired " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of success: " Important to be successful and that people recognise achievements " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

Conservation: (Conformity + Security + Tradition) / 3

- **Conformity:**

- Importance of rules: " Important to do what is told and follow rules " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of behave: " Important to behave properly " (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

- **Security:**

- Importance of safe: "Important to live in secure and safe surroundings?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of strength of the government: "Important that the government is strong and ensures safety?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

- **Tradition:**

- Importance of modesty: "Important to be humble and modest, not draw attention?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of traditions: "Important to follow traditions and customs?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

Openness to Change: (Self-Direction + Stimulation + Hedonism) / 3

- **Self-Direction:**

- Importance of creativity: "Important to think new ideas and being creative?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of freewill: "Important to make own decisions and be free?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

- **Stimulation:**

- Importance of new things: "Important to try new and different things in life?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of adventure: "Important to seek adventures and have an exciting life?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

- **Hedonism:**

- Importance of good time: "Important to have a good time?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)
- Importance of fun: "Important to seek fun and things that give pleasure?" (1 = Not important at all, 6 = Very important)

3.4.3 Control Variables

The demographic control variables used in the analysis are:

- **Age:** The respondent's age.
- **Gender:** The respondent's gender (1 = Male, 2 = Female).
- **Educational Level:** The highest level of education completed by the respondent (0 = Incomplete, 1-7 = Various levels from primary school to university).
- **Household Income:** Total household income (1 = Lowest income, 10 = Highest income).
- **Political Orientation:** The respondent's self-placement on the political spectrum (0 = Left, 10 = Right).

- **Politics Interest:** The respondents' degree of political interest (1=Very interested, 4=Not interested at all)
- **Religiosity:** The respondent's degree of religiosity (0 = Not at all, 10 = Very religious).
- **Citizenship Status:** The respondent's citizenship status (1 = Yes, 2 = No).
- **Employment Status:** Respondent's employment status and whether they have actively searched for a job in the past 7 days (0=Unmarked 1= Marked (unemployed and actively looking for a job)).

The descriptive statistics for the independent and control variables presents that self-transcendence values have an average of 4.82 with a standard deviation of 0.75 (Table 5). This means it is quite important to respondents but self-enhancement is less important as it has an average of 3.60 and a standard deviation of 1.01. Moreover, conservation has an average of 4.31 with a standard deviation of 0.80, showing it is also important. Last independent variable is another value category named openness to change. It can be said that this one is somewhat important with an average of 4.05 but doesn't provide anything strongly meaningful. Moving on the control variables the average religiosity is 4.73 meaning its slightly below median with a wide range shown by a standard deviation of 3.15. The average age is 50.94 years, with again a wide range (standard deviation of 18.37) just like religiosity. Education level has a high average of 409.98 (standard deviation of 297.51). Political orientation shows a slight right-leaning tendency and also has some variation with standard deviation of 2.34. The data shows that 4% of participants are unemployed and actively looking for a job, while 96% are either employed or unemployed but not seeking employment. Even though some scores do not give a clear understanding yet, these statistics overall give a clear picture of the respondents' values and demographics in the whole dataset.

Table 5*Independent Variable Descriptives for All Data*

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Self transcendence	34765	1,17	6,00	4,8170	,74830
Self enhancement	34628	1,00	6,00	3,5957	1,00834
Conservation	34297	1,00	6,00	4,3107	,79756
Openness to change	34624	1,00	6,00	4,0544	,87046
Religiosity	34914	0	10	4,73	3,149
Gender	35255	1	2	1,54	,499
Age	35012	15	90	50,94	18,367
Education level	35135	0	5555	409,98	297,513
Household income	27759	1	10	5,39	2,688
Political orientation	30447	0	10	5,21	2,340
Politics interest	35185	1	4	2,73	,921
Employment status	35255	0	1	.04	,197
Valid N (listwise)	23523				

The descriptive statistics for the three country Italy, France, and Norway has notable differences and similarities across various values and demographic characteristics that will be briefly mentioned. First, it can be seen that self-transcendence scores are consistently high in all three countries meaning a strong emphasis on this value. Additionally, Italy stands out on conservation value with a high average of (4.67), whereas France (4.05) and Norway (4.02) has more moderate levels of importance. This means a stronger preference for tradition and security among Italians which is well known. Again, religiosity is highest in Italy (5.26) compared to France (4.50) and significantly lower in Norway (3.20).

When it comes to demographics, this time Norway stands out with the highest levels of education (mean = 480.51) compared to France (426.08) and Italy (347.22). Household income is relatively higher in France (6.41), followed by Norway (5.77), and then Italy (4.97). Political orientation is centrist in all three countries and interest in politics is has no meaningful differences.



Table 6*Independent Variable Descriptive for Three Countries*

	Italy					France					Norway				
	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std
Self transcendence	2231	1,58	6,00	4,9089	,70816	1779	2,17	6,00	4,9830	,69267	1317	2,17	6,00	4,9039	,61370
Self enhancement	2219	1,00	6,00	4,2305	,80030	1764	1,00	6,00	2,8192	,96517	1304	1,00	5,75	3,1308	,86518
Conservation	2178	2,00	6,00	4,6687	,69967	1729	1,00	6,00	4,0528	,81546	1297	1,17	6,00	4,0216	,75072
Openness to change	2210	1,33	6,00	4,0562	,76425	1769	1,33	6,00	4,0498	,83868	1310	2,00	6,00	3,8687	,82406
Religiosity	2230	0	10	5,26	2,748	1776	0	10	4,50	3,468	1321	0	10	3,20	2,784
Gender	2261	1	2	1,53	,499	1791	1	2	1,51	,500	1322	1	2	1,49	,500
Age	2228	15	90	52,30	18,609	1789	16	90	49,68	18,705	1322	15	90	47,45	18,300
Education level	2237	0	5555	347,22	261,737	1790	0	5555	426,08	332,592	1321	0	5555	480,51	231,243
Household income	1421	1	10	4,97	2,408	1611	1	10	6,41	2,965	1262	1	10	5,77	2,713
Political orientation	1725	0	10	5,15	2,367	1616	0	10	5,07	2,266	1289	0	10	5,01	2,420
Politics interest	2259	1	4	2,90	,858	1789	1	4	2,63	,962	1322	1	4	2,39	,771
Employment status	2261	0	1	,05	,210	1791	0	1	,03	,180	1322	0	1	,02	,128
Valid N (listwise)	1113					1426					1194				

3.5 Analysis Method

Multiple linear regression analysis was preferred in this study. Multiple linear regression analysis is the most appropriate method to examine the relationships between the normally distributed numeric dependent variable, attitudes towards immigrants (imindex), and the independent variables, which include value categories and control variables. The empirical model is as follows:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{1i} + \beta_2 x_{2i} + \dots + \beta_p x_{pi} + e_i$$

y_i : dependent variable

$x_{1i}, x_{2i}, \dots, x_{pi}$: values of independent variables

β_0 : intercept

$\beta_1, \beta_2, \dots, \beta_p$: coefficients for each independent variable

e_i : error term

There are several main reasons for choosing this method. Multiple regression analysis excels in two key areas that are highly desirable for research. Firstly, in prediction studies, it allows for the integration of multiple variables to achieve optimal predictions of the dependent variable. Secondly, for causal analysis, it isolates and examines the unique effects of each independent variable on the dependent variable (Allison, 1999). Thus, it is possible to understand effects of various factors on attitudes towards immigrants. This method allows a detailed examination of how value categories (self-transcendence, self-enhancement, conservation, openness) and demographic variables affect the dependent variable.

Moreover, the listwise method is used to handle missing data. This method is the most simple and popular way of dealing with missing data (Allison, 2009). The listwise method ensures that only complete data sets are used in the analysis, thus eliminating the potential impact of missing data on the results. This approach ensures that the analysis results are more reliable and valid. Overall, while it may reduce sample size, listwise deletion is valued for its ability to produce robust and credible findings by using only complete and reliable data.

Finally, conducting the analyzes separately for France, Italy and Norway allows examining how these relationships differ across various countries. This comparative approach provides a deeper understanding of the dynamics of attitudes towards immigrants by highlighting the similarities and differences between countries. Therefore, this method is the most suitable method to achieve the objectives of the study and obtain comprehensive and comparative results.

4. FINDINGS

This section presents the findings of the study that focuses on the relationships between attitudes towards immigrants and individuals' values and the impact of various control variables. The analysis includes various multiple linear regression results based on data from the European Social Survey (ESS). This section will cover both results for all participating countries and country-specific analyses for France, Italy and Norway. Thus, it will allow us to have the opportunity to comment on the four hypotheses have been mentioned in the methodology section one by one.

Respectively, the findings for each of my 4 hypotheses will be provided during this section. To mention again, first hypothesis of the study is that there is a significant relationship between attitudes towards immigrants and people's values. This relationship has been tested with a regression model with dependent variable imindex (attitudes towards immigrants) and the four value categories as independent variables (self-transcendence, self-enhancement, conservation, and openness to change).

According to the results, the significance value is less than 0.01. This shows strong significant relationships between imindex (attitudes towards immigrants) and the four value categories (self-transcendence, self-enhancement, conservation, and openness). Therefore, the study's first hypothesis has been confirmed by the analysis.

Same regression model has been used to test the second and the third hypotheses that claim attitudes towards immigrants are positively related to the self-transcendence value category and negatively related to the conservation value category. By adding the control variables mentioned in the methodology section to this regression analysis, the model is capable to show the extent of the impact of the mentioned value categories on attitudes towards immigrants.

The results in the Table 7 points out that self-transcendence values have a positive and significant effect on attitudes towards immigrants. Value of B coefficient is 0.719 means that a one unit increase in self-transcendence values leads to a 0.719 unit increase in imindex value. On the other hand, results also shows that conservation values have a negative and significant effect on attitudes towards immigrants. The fact that the B coefficient is -0.552 proves that an increase in conservation values by one unit causes a decrease of 0.552 units in the imindex value. Moreover, the beta coefficient score of 0.200 says effect of conservation values on the dependent variable compared to other independent variables. Also, R Square value of 0.169 shows that 16.9% of the variance in attitudes towards immigrants (imindex) can be explained by the model and the table also shows the model is significant. Thus, the results predicted by hypothesis two and hypothesis three agreed with the analyses.

In addition to these hypotheses, a brief comment will be provided on the effects of control variables on the imindex (attitudes towards immigrants). The analysis results shows that, the effects of these variables on attitudes towards immigrants vary. Accordingly, more religious and more educated individuals tend to be more tolerant towards immigrants. Similarly, household income has a positive effect. In other words, individuals who are more economically secure tend to view immigrants more positively. In contrast, age and political orientation have a negative effect. This means that as age increases and right-wing bias increases, attitudes towards immigrants become more negative. Lastly, gender and employment status does not have a significant effect. These findings reveal the different effects of demographic factors on attitudes towards immigrants and show that these attitudes have a multidimensional structure.

Table 7

Regression for All Data

	Beta	Std.Beta
Constant	5,309	
Self transandence	,718	,239
Self enhancement	-,190	-,086
Conservation	-,552	-,200
Openness to change	,049	,019
Religiosity	,022	,031
Gender	,007	,002
Age	-,009	-,071
Education level	,001	,072
Household income	,054	,065
Political orientation	-,079	-,083
Politics interest	-,416	-,169
Citizenship status	,787	,073
Employment status	-,076	-,006
R	,411	
R Square	,169	
Sig	,000	
F	386,967	

Moving to the test of the fourth hypothesis that argues the relationships between values and attitudes towards immigrants do not vary significantly across countries with different socio-cultural structures and political traditions. Specifically, it will be examined whether the role of personal values in shaping attitudes towards immigrants is consistent regardless of the cultural, economic and political context in three countries: France, Italy, and Norway. This analysis will be helpful on understanding the universality of the influence of values on attitudes towards immigrants across different settings. As detailed in this section, the analyses revealed no significant differences in the results among these three countries (Table 8).

The linear regression modal results for Italy show that self-transcendence values have a positive and significant effect on attitudes towards immigrants ($B = 0.743$, $p < 0.001$). This means that individuals who prioritize values such as benevolence and universalism tend to have more favorable views towards immigrants. It is quite understandable considering these people likely prioritize empathy, understanding, and equality which naturally translates into a more welcoming attitude towards immigrants. Also, the substantial positive coefficient emphasizes the strength of this relationship and proves how deeply these values influence perceptions of immigrants.

On the other hand, conservation values illustrate a negative and significant impact on attitudes towards immigrants ($B = -0.675$, $p < 0.001$). This score displays that individuals who place high importance on security, tradition, and conformity are more likely to hold negative views towards immigrants. These values are typically associated with a desire to maintain the status quo and a caution towards change. Therefore, these desires can lead to picturing immigrants as potential threats to cultural and social stability. The negative coefficient here reflects the capacity of these values contribute to less favorable attitudes towards immigrants. Additionally, the modal is significant with a moderate level of explanatory power as 22% for the independent variables included in the model ($R^2 = 0.229$).

In the case of France, the regression analysis reveals that self-transcendence values significantly influence positive attitudes towards immigrants ($B = 0.519$, $p < 0.001$). In other words, individuals who follows self-transcendence values, such as benevolence and universalism, are more likely to have positive views of immigrants. On the other hand, again, conservation values have a notable negative effect on attitudes towards immigrants ($B = -0.503$, $p < 0.001$), meaning that people who prioritize values like security, tradition, and conformity usually view immigrants less positively. One can also see that the model explains 25% of the variance in attitudes towards immigrants ($R^2 = 0.258$). This displays that the included value categories and control variables provide a relatively strong explanation for the dependent variable. Last but not the least the ANOVA test once again proved the modal is significant.

Moving on to Norway, the analysis again supported our hypotheses meaning positive effect of self transcendence on attitudes towards immigration ($B = 0.688, p < 0.001$). Similarly, correlationg with other countries conservation values have a negative and significant impact ($B = -0.413, p < 0.001$) on attitudes towards immigration. This time the modals' predictors explain 19% of the variance in attitudes towards immigrants ($R^2 = 0.191$) which is a moderate level of explanatory power.



Table 8*Regression for Three Countries*

	Italy		France		Norway	
	Beta	Std.Beta	Beta	Std.Beta	Beta	Std.Beta
Constant	8,845***		7,134***		4,870***	
Self transcendence	0,743***	(0,221)***	0,519***	(0,167)***	0,688***	(0,243)***
Self enhancement	-0,422***	(-0,155)***	0,099	(0,044)	0,100	(0,049)
Conservation	-0,675***	(-0,198)***	-0,503***	(-0,191)***	-0,413***	(-0,180)***
Openness to change	0,080	(0,027)	-0,065	(-0,025)	-0,020	(-0,009)
Religiosity	0,018	(0,022)	0,067***	(0,107)***	-0,014	(-0,022)
Gender	-0,008	(-0,002)	-0,007	(-0,002)	0,076	(0,022)
Age	-0,022***	(-0,184)***	-0,014***	(-0,117)***	0,004	(0,042)
Education level	0,001**	(0,090)**	0,001***	(0,104)***	0,001***	(0,136)***
Household income	0,013	(0,014)	0,066***	(0,088)***	0,016	(0,025)
Political orientation	-0,175***	(-0,192)***	-0,266***	(-0,282)***	-0,150***	(-0,208)***
Politics interest	-0,441***	(-0,172)***	-0,443***	(-0,198)***	-0,206**	(-0,090)**
Employment status	-0,464	(-0,044)	0,340	(0,028)	-0,099	(-0,007)
R	,478***		,508***		,437***	
R Square	,229***		,258***		,191***	

* p value \leq 0.05,** p value \leq 0.01,*** p value \leq 0.00

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study aimed to investigate the relationship between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants in three countries from Europe: Italy, France and Norway. In this study, 10th Round of the European Social Survey (ESS) has been used as the data source. The main research questions of the study were determined as the extent of the relationship between values and attitudes towards immigrants, how different value orientations affect people's attitudes towards immigrants, and whether these relationships show significant differences in countries with different cultural, political and economic contexts.

The immediate findings of the research revealed that there is a close and meaningful relationship between individuals' value orientations and their attitudes towards immigrants. Subsequently, it was revealed that the self-transcendence value category, which includes benevolence and universalism, is positively related to attitudes towards immigrants. In contrast, the conservation value category, which includes security, conformity, and tradition, was found to be associated with negative attitudes. Although the strength of these effects varied by country, these relationships were consistent in all three countries of the study even if those countries have apparent differences. One difference was that in Italy conservation values had a stronger negative impact on attitudes towards immigrants than in France and Norway. Also, in Norway self-transcendence impact was the strongest among those three countries.

When the study's results were compared with existing literature, it was found to be consistent with previous studies highlighting the role of values in shaping attitudes towards immigrants. This study confirms these results on more recent data and differentiated statistical modal. Theoretically, our findings also strengthen Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values by demonstrating its applicability in understanding immigration attitudes in different contexts. Thus, this study contributes to theory by confirming the importance of self-transcendence and conservation values in shaping individual's attitudes regarding immigrants.

In terms of a practical perspective, the results of the study point to important political consequences. As a result of mass migration, which is one of the important topics of our day, anti-immigrant sentiment is rising rapidly throughout the world and in Europe, and the dangers of this situation are being discussed. In this context, understanding that values such as benevolence and universalism encourage positive attitudes towards immigrants can support the development of education and integration programs that emphasize these values. Recognizing the negative impact of conservation

values on immigration attitudes can help policymakers address public concerns more effectively by promoting social stability and cultural integration.

The use of a large, representative dataset from the ESS in the study is an important point that supports the generalizability of the findings. In addition, the comparative analysis across three countries provides a comprehensive perspective on the impact of values on migration attitudes in different environments. However, the study also has limitations. First, the index used as the dependent variable measures the participants' attitude towards immigrants under the headings of culture, economy and quality of life. However, approaches towards immigrants may have many other dimensions, such as security concerns. Therefore, measuring these approaches from a broader perspective could have enabled the results to be more specific. In addition, in this study, there is no answer to the question of whether attitudes towards immigrants arise from discourses formed by factors such as the political atmosphere or the media, or whether they arise from the experience's individuals because of their interaction with immigrants in daily life. This situation prevented a more comprehensive view of the factors affecting individuals' attitudes. Additionally, the collection date of the data also sets some boundaries when it comes to evaluation of the findings. Migration discourse have a very dynamic nature. Global circumstances are shifting rapidly due to factors such as global refugee crises and increasing nationalism.

Despite growing interest, there remains a notable gap in research examining how individual value orientations relate to attitudes toward immigrants. This gap in the research highlights the need for more investigations in this area. Future studies should explore whether the relationships observed between values and attitudes hold true across different global contexts and changing socio-political climates. Such ongoing research would deepen our understanding of how these relationships vary under different circumstances. Expanding the analysis beyond European countries to include nations with different cultural backgrounds, such as Türkiye, would add a new dimension to this field of research. Countries like Türkiye present unique socio-cultural contexts where the relationship between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants may differ from patterns seen in more homogenous European settings. For instance, research claims that unlike many other developed countries, individuals in Türkiye who are wealthy, elite, and highly educated tend to feel more discomfort with migrants than their counterparts in different countries (Gülerce & Bozkurt, 2022). This distinctive societal pattern highlights the importance of conducting studies in countries with distinct backgrounds to better understand how values influence attitudes towards immigrants in non-Western contexts. By incorporating countries like Türkiye into such research, future studies may uncover both universal principles and context-specific factors that shape value-driven attitudes toward immigration. Moreover, it can potentially lead valuable insight regarding how different societies prioritize or interpret various

value categories. Without studies of this kind, even if research similar to this one yields consistent results across different European countries, it is essential to exercise caution when generalizing findings globally.

Additionally, future research can also look into how people's values are formed and how they can change over time. Learning more about this could help guide us in shaping values in ways that lead to positive outcomes. By studying how values develop, researchers could provide useful ideas for shaping attitudes especially toward immigration. This would make research on the link between values and attitudes more meaningful and could lead to practical policy suggestions. These policies that built on a better understanding of how values work, could help create more effective solutions to social issues.

Overall, this study underlines the important role of individual values in shaping individual's attitudes towards immigrants in Europe. The research confirms the relevance of Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values and studies in literature such as Davidov et al. (2008) and Vecchione et al. (2012). This study found out that this relationship between individual values and attitudes towards immigrants are relatively generalizable in Europe as it presents consistent results in all three countries. As a result, this study highlights this fundamental role of values in shaping individuals' attitudes. Effective shaping on these values can lead important theoretical and practical implications for policy makers aiming to promote more inclusive societies. Accordingly, promoting values such as empathy, tolerance and social justice can contribute to more positive attitudes towards immigrants. As societies continue to grapple with the challenges of migration, promoting these values may be key to creating more cohesive and integrated communities.

6. REFERENCES

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