



An integrative model of attitudes toward immigrants

Colleen Ward^{*}, Anne-Marie Masgoret

Centre for Applied Cross-cultural Research, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

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Abstract

The research tests an integrative model of attitudes toward immigrants. Underpinned by Integrated Threat Theory and the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict and incorporating aspects of the contact and multicultural hypotheses, the model proposes direct paths linking five latent variables: multicultural ideology, contact with immigrants, intergroup anxiety, perceived threat and attitudes toward immigrants. Data generated from a random telephone survey of 500 New Zealand households demonstrated a very good fit for the model. The latent personal (multicultural ideology) and situational (contact with immigrants) variables represented exogenous factors and were related to each other. More frequent intercultural contact led to decreased intergroup anxiety, which, in turn, predicted diminished perceptions of threat and more positive attitudes toward immigrants. At the same time, a second path from multicultural ideology led to decreased perceptions of threat and, in turn, to more positive attitudes toward immigrants. The advantages of an integrative approach to attitudes toward immigrants are discussed, and recommendations are made for future research.

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International research has shown significant variation in attitudes toward immigrants, opinions about immigration, and acceptance of multiculturalism.

Sixteen per cent of Canadians believe that immigrants take away jobs from locals, but 50% agree that the number of immigrants is about right (Hiebert, 2003).

Half of Estonians, 36% of Cypriots and 21% of Turks are resistant to a multicultural society (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2003a).

^{*}Corresponding author. Tel.: +64 4 4636037; fax: +64 4 4635402.

E-mail address: Colleen.Ward@vuw.ac.nz (C. Ward).

Ninety-two per cent of Hungarians, 60% of Britons and 44% of Danes favor the repatriation of criminal migrants (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2003b).

Forty-five per cent of Australians agree ethnic diversity weakens the nation (Dunn, 2003).

Eighty-one per cent of New Zealanders believe that immigrants have made a valuable contribution to the country, but 26% agree that immigration increases crime (Ward & Masgoret, 2005).

What shapes these attitudes? Classic social psychological theories of intergroup relations emphasize the role of threat and competition in predicting intergroup attitudes (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sears, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and empirical research has consistently borne out their negative consequences for attitudes toward immigrants in international and multicultural research (Jackson, Brown, Brown, & Marks, 2001; Quillian, 1995).

Threat may be perceived and interpreted in a number of ways. Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) posits that there are four fundamental threats that lead to unfavorable attitudes toward immigrants: realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). Realistic threats refer to tangible threats arising as a result of scarce resources, particularly economic assets and employment opportunities. Symbolic threats concern differences in norms, beliefs and values that constitute a threat to the ingroup's worldview. Although Stephan et al. (1998) have acknowledged that stereotypes are not usually conceptualized as threats, they serve as a basis for expectations about outgroups and often lead to prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Finally, Stephan and colleagues have argued that people feel threatened in connection with intercultural interactions as they fear being rejected, embarrassed, ridiculed or exploited by outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Stephan and colleagues have produced persuasive empirical evidence that the four threats predict attitudes toward immigrants in a series of studies conducted across Spain, Israel, Mexico, and the United States (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Stephan et al., 1998). However, Stephan and colleagues have acknowledged that ITT is not a comprehensive theory of prejudice, and in more recent research they have suggested that threats mediate the impact of distal variables, including contact, status differentials and perceptions of intergroup conflict, on attitudes toward immigrants and other minority groups (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000).

Distal influences on immigration attitudes may arise from both personal characteristics and situational factors. The Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (IMGC) by Esses and colleagues posits that a social dominance orientation (SDO) is an important individual difference variable in the prediction of attitudinal outcomes (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). SDO refers to the belief that group hierarchies are desirable and competition is inevitable (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Experimental research has consistently demonstrated that intergroup threat and competition, defined in terms of zero-sum beliefs, mediate the influences of SDO on attitudes toward immigrants (Esses, Dovidio, Danso, Jackson, & Semanya, 2005; Esses et al., 2001).

In the context of immigration and cultural pluralism, a low SDO and positive attitudes toward diversity are key components of a multicultural ideology. Berry (2006) defines multicultural ideology (MCI) as the “general and fundamental view that cultural diversity

is good for a society and for its individual members and that diversity should be shared and accommodated in an equitable way.” In a test of the multicultural hypothesis, that is, cultural and economic security leads to intergroup sharing, mutual respect and a reduction of prejudicial attitudes, Berry confirmed that multicultural ideology and a sense of economic and cultural security led to greater acceptance of immigrants (also see Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977).

Both SDO and attitudes toward diversity represent intrapersonal variables; however, research has shown that situational factors also affect attitudes toward immigrants. One of the most important of the situational influences is close contact with individuals from other ethno-cultural groups. Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2000) meta-analysis, based on over 200 studies of the contact hypothesis in friendship, work and neighborhood arenas, found that contact per se had beneficial effects in reducing prejudice, but that the effects were stronger when optimal conditions (e.g., equal status, voluntary, pleasant, intimate, cooperative contact) were apparent (see Allport, 1954).

Aspects of the contact hypothesis and ITT are combined in work by Hewstone and colleagues in their studies of intergroup perceptions and relations (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hewstone, 2003; Islam & Hewstone, 1993). In the specific context of immigration, Voci and Hewstone (2003) reported that the influence of interpersonal contact on Italians’ attitudes toward immigrants was mediated by intergroup anxiety. Similarly, Stephan and colleagues, in extending their research to incorporate intergroup contact, found that intergroup anxiety mediated the influence of contact on Americans’ attitudes toward Mexicans (Stephan et al., 2000). More recently, realistic and symbolic threats have also been found to mediate the influence of contact on attitudes toward minority groups, and stereotypes have been repositioned as a distal variable in a revised model of ITT (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2002). At the same time, Stephan and colleagues have suggested that ITT research “would benefit from a consideration of both additional antecedents and consequences of threat” (Stephan et al., 2002, p. 1252).

This research follows Stephan’s suggestion and incorporates a range of threat antecedents in the construction of a predictive model of attitudes toward immigrants. The research is conducted in New Zealand, a country built on a base of its indigenous Maori population and early nineteenth century migration from Britain. Historically, European migration to New Zealand was strongly favored and Asian and Pacific migration restricted until the 1986 and 1991 changes to immigration policy. These changes opened up the sources of immigration and determined entry on the basis of preferred skills, leading to a large influx of new and diverse immigrants. Consequently, migration from Asia has increased 240% over the last 10 years, with China and India amongst the largest contributors to the growing population. At present one in five of New Zealand’s 4 million residents were born overseas, and almost 40% of overseas-born persons originate from Asia and the Pacific (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). The ethnic origin of the population in New Zealand is now: 80% European, 14.6% Maori, 6.5 Pacific, 6.6% Asian, and 6.9% other (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).¹

This research extends ITT theory, drawing on the IMGIC (Esses et al., 1998), the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), and the multicultural hypothesis (Berry et al., 1977) and

¹New Zealand census permits residents to identify with more than one ethnic group; consequently, the percentage breakdown of the population’s ethnic composition exceeds 100%.

incorporating personal and situational factors that affect attitudes toward immigrants. More specifically, the research tests an integrative model of attitudes toward immigrants. The model commences with two sets of exogenous variables: individual differences (multicultural ideology) and situational factors (intercultural contact). It is proposed that greater contact leads to lowered intergroup anxiety, which in turn, predicts lowered threat and consequently, more positive attitudes toward immigrants. At the same time, the influence of multicultural ideology on attitudes toward immigrants is proposed to be mediated by threat. Specifically, greater acceptance of multicultural ideology leads to a lowered sense of threat and consequently, more positive attitudes toward immigrants.

1. Method

1.1. *Participants and procedure*

Five hundred adults (238 males and 262 females) aged 18 and over, who were drawn from a random sample of households in New Zealand, participated in the research. Their ages ranged from 18 to 65+. While the smallest proportion of participants came from the 18–25 age range (7%), the largest percentage of participants (23%) came from the 36–45 age range, followed by 46–55 (20%), 65+ (19%), 26–35 (16%), and 56–65 (15%). The majority of the respondents (75%) described themselves as New Zealand European. Nine per cent of the respondents classified themselves as Maori (9%), 4% as Asian, and 2% as Pacific; the remainder generated other categories to describe their ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Greek, Persian, South African). As New Zealand is becoming increasingly culturally diverse and approximately 20% of the population is overseas born, all respondents were included in the study; this sampling technique produces a more accurate picture of the characteristics of the receiving society to which new immigrants must adapt.

Fifty-nine per cent of the participants were married. The majority of participants were New Zealand born (77%), New Zealand citizens (91%), and reported English to be their first language (93%). Seventy-two per cent were employed at the time of the survey. With respect to level of education, 31% held secondary school diplomas, 38% post-secondary credentials, and 30% tertiary degrees as their highest completed qualification.

The surveys were administered by trained research assistants using a computer assisted telephone interview (CATI) facility. Participants were selected from households throughout New Zealand from a list of randomly generated telephone numbers that were purchased for research purposes from NZ Telecom and were not accompanied by the names of the participants. The interviewers prefaced the survey with an introduction explaining the nature of the study and emphasized that participation in the study was anonymous and voluntary. A total of 1965 eligible participants were contacted, and 500 completed the interview, representing a 25.4% response rate.

1.2. *Materials*

In addition to a section on demographic information, the questionnaire included measurements of: Multicultural Ideology, Intergroup Anxiety, Contact with Immigrants, Perceived Intergroup Threat, and Attitudes toward Immigrants.

1.2.1. Multicultural ideology

Two measures were used to assess the construct of multicultural ideology: SDO and attitudes toward diversity.

A 3-item SDO scale based on work by Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994) was used to assess the extent to which individuals believe that unequal social outcomes and social hierarchies are appropriate and support the unequal distribution of resources among ethnic groups. The items on the SDO measure (e.g., “Some groups are just culturally inferior to others.”) were each rated using a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly agree* (1) to *strongly disagree* (5). Higher scores indicate a stronger SDO.

Attitudes toward diversity were assessed by three items (e.g., “How much do you agree or disagree that we should recognize that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of New Zealand?”) adapted from various international surveys, including the International Study of Attitudes toward Immigration and Settlement (Berry, this volume). Each item was rated using a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly agree* (1) to *strongly disagree* (5). Higher scores indicate a stronger endorsement of a society that promotes cultural diversity.

1.2.2. Intercultural contact

The frequency of contact was measured across three domains (i.e., “How often do you interact with immigrants in your workplace/in your social life/in your neighborhood?”). Respondents indicated the extent of their contact with immigrants in each of these three areas using 5-point rating scales ranging from *never* (1) to *very often* (5). High scores indicate a greater level of contact.

1.2.3. Intergroup anxiety

An intergroup anxiety measure comprised of three items was adapted from Stephan et al. (1998) to assess how respondents would feel when asked to imagine they were interacting with a group of people from a different ethnic background. A sample item is “How impatient do you think you would feel?” Respondents were asked to indicate their reactions using 3-point rating scales ranging from *not at all impatient* (1) to *very impatient* (3). High scores indicate a greater level of anxiety.

1.2.4. Perceived intergroup threat

Three scales were used to assess feelings of threat and competition in relation to immigrants: realistic threat, symbolic threat (3 items each) and zero-sum beliefs (4 items). Each measure was summed and averaged to obtain an overall score. Sample items are: “How much do you agree or disagree that immigrants take jobs away from other New Zealanders?” (realistic threat); “How much do you agree or disagree that immigration tends to threaten New Zealand culture?” (symbolic threat); and “How much do you agree or disagree that the more political power immigrants obtain, the more difficult it is for New Zealanders already living here?” (zero-sum beliefs). Each of the intergroup threat measures was assessed using a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly agree* (1) to *strongly disagree* (5). Higher scores indicate stronger feelings of intergroup threat.

1.2.5. Attitudes toward immigrants and immigration

Three measures were used in the assessment of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Three items tapped New Zealanders’ Attitudes toward Immigrants

(e.g., “Immigrants have made an important contribution to New Zealand”). These items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly agree* (1) to *strongly disagree* (5). The three items were recoded where appropriate, summed and averaged to obtain an attitudes toward immigrants score, with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes toward immigrants.

In addition, intergroup perceptions were assessed using a general measure (“If you were to describe your general views of immigrants on a numerical scale from 0 to 100, where 0 is very unfavorable and 100 is very favorable, what would your rating be?”). Respondents were asked to provide their rating by stating a number ranging from 0 (very unfavorable) to 100 (very favorable).

Finally, attitudes toward immigration were assessed using a single item to measure participants’ endorsement of exclusion: “How much do you agree or disagree that it doesn’t matter which culture immigrants adopt or maintain, because, in any case, there should be less immigration to this country (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

2. Results

2.1. Preliminary analyses

The purpose of this study was to assess the adequacy of a model of intergroup attitudes that proposes various relationships to explain the interplay between personal and situational variables and the mediating role of intergroup threat in determining attitudes toward immigrants. Prior to testing the proposed model, Cronbach alphas were calculated to check scalar reliability of measures consisting of multiple items. The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients for the measures assessing SDO (3 items, .52), attitudes to diversity (3 items, .71), intergroup anxiety (3 items, .66), realistic and symbolic threat (6 items, .80), zero-sum beliefs (4 items, .84), and attitudes toward immigrants (3 items, .64) demonstrated acceptable internal consistency considering the small number of items in each scale. This was confirmed by the calculation of the mean inter-item correlations for the scales, which in all cases fell between the optimal range of .2–.4 as recommended by Briggs and Cheek (1986).

2.2. The model

The proposed model was derived from a review of existing theories and research on attitudes toward immigrants. In employing structural equation modelling techniques, the objective is to test a theoretically driven model linking indicator variables to latent variables, where appropriate, and displaying functional relationships among the latent variables. The adequacy of this model is determined by examining whether the proposed model can account for the relationship among the variables, as reflected in the variance/covariance matrix for the variables. If the fit is relatively close, it can be concluded that the hypothesized model is appropriate for explaining the relationships obtained among the variables.

A causal model includes a measurement and a structural model. The measurement model estimates the relationships among indicator variables and hypothesized latent variables, and these estimates can be tested for significance. The structural model concerns the relationships between the indicator variables and hypothesized latent variables,

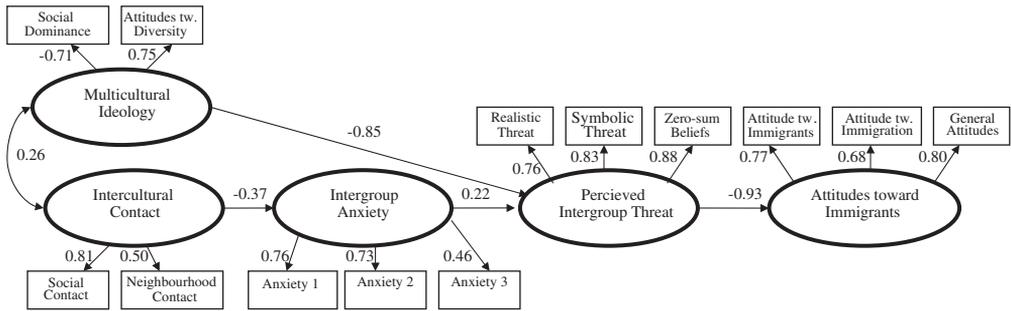


Fig. 1. An integrative model of attitudes toward immigrants.

expressed in terms of correlation and regression coefficients. Similar to the measurement model, the structural model allows for tests of significance of these estimates.

The proposed model is concerned with demonstrating how individual difference variables, such as multicultural ideology, as well as situational variables, such as the frequency of intercultural contact, are functionally related to intergroup threat, and how threat mediates the relationships between these more distal factors and attitudes toward immigrants. The model proposes direct paths linking five latent variables: multicultural ideology, contact, intergroup anxiety, perceived threat, and attitudes toward immigrants. The proposed model was tested using the AMOS 5.0 program (Arbuckle, 1999) applied to the variance/covariance matrix. Fig. 1 presents this model showing the relationships of the indicator variables to the latent variables as well as the functional relationships among the latent variables.

2.2.1. The measurement model

In the model, two of the latent constructs, multicultural ideology and contact, are considered exogenous variables in that their causes are not represented in the structural equation model. As shown in Fig. 1, SDO and attitudes toward diversity formed the basis for the indicators used to assess the latent construct of multicultural ideology. The latent construct assessing contact was based on two items assessing frequency of contact with immigrants.²

While the multicultural ideology and contact measures represent exogenous latent variables, the remaining three latent constructs in the model are designated as endogenous variables, i.e., variables that are influenced by (and may influence) other latent variables. These are: intergroup anxiety, perceived threat, and attitudes toward immigrants.

The latent construct of intergroup anxiety was assessed using three items describing affective states arising, when asked to imagine interactions with a group of people from a different ethnic background. The perceived threat construct is made up of three indicators; measures of symbolic and realistic threat were incorporated into the latent variable, along with a measure of zero-sum beliefs.

²In order to maintain the maximum number of respondents in the analysis, one measure of contact (contact at work) was not included in the model. Previous studies based on the contact hypothesis, however, have shown that contact in the friendship, work, and neighborhood domains had positive effects on improving attitudes toward immigrants, and that these effects were most effective when contact was voluntary (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).

Finally, the model assessed the latent variable Attitudes toward Immigrants using three attitudinal indicators: a measure of attitudes toward immigrants, intergroup perceptions and endorsement of exclusionary immigration practices. As can be seen in Fig. 1, all of the coefficients for the measurement model are significant and are substantial in magnitude.

2.2.2. *The structural model*

The structural model is concerned with the functional relations among the latent variables as indicated by the regression coefficients between the latent variables. Consistent with the proposed model, Intergroup Anxiety was shown to mediate the relationship between contact and feelings of intergroup threat such that high levels of contact lead to lower levels of threat. In addition to the predicted relationship between contact and multicultural ideology, the modelling analysis also confirmed the predicted influence of multicultural ideology on low levels of perceived threat. Based on these relationships in the model, low levels of threat relate directly to positive attitudes toward immigrants.

Assessments of the adequacy of the model indicate that all of the goodness-of-fit indices are acceptable. That is, this model has a $\chi^2(60) = 175.38$, $p < .001$, a $\chi^2/df = 2.92$, an adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI) of .904 (GFI = .937), an incremental fit index (IFI; Bollen, 1989) of .948, a non-normed fit index (TLI; Bentler & Bonnett, 1980) of .932, a comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990) of .948, and a root mean square residual (RMSEA) of .068. The values for AGFI, GFI, and TLI are all higher than the recommended value of .90, suggesting that the model provides a strong representation of the relationships among the variables in the proposed model.

3. Discussion

The research, grounded in ITT, commenced with the assumption that perceived threat plays a pivotal and proximal role in predicting attitudes toward immigrants and that it mediates the influence of a range of distal variables. Acknowledging the importance of the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict as well as the contact and multicultural hypotheses, a model was proposed that identified both personal and situational influences on attitudes toward immigrants. More specifically, at the individual difference level multicultural ideology (positive attitudes toward diversity and a negative SDO) led to a sense of decreased threat and more favorable attitudes toward immigrants. In terms of situational variables, more contact with immigrants led to decrements in intergroup anxiety, and, in turn, diminished perceptions of threat and more positive attitudinal outcomes. The data arising from a random sample of 500 New Zealand households provided a very good fit to the model.

The research employed structural equation modelling, also known as causal modelling, to test the hypotheses. As the research is correlational, the direction of causality cannot be conclusively established. Nevertheless, there is a sound rationale, supported by experimental and survey research, for the positioning of exogenous and endogenous variables in our model. Contact was located as an exogenous variable partially based on Pettigrew's (1997) study that employed non-recursive structural equation modelling to test both the paths from contact to attitudes and from attitudes to contact. The findings revealed that both paths were significant but that the strength of the former was somewhat greater. Brown and Hewstone (2005) also adopted this approach in a number of their studies and concluded that increased contact leads to more positive attitudinal outcomes.

Furthermore, experimental studies that have manipulated contact have demonstrated its effect on attitudes toward outgroups (Brown, Vivian, & Hewstone, 1999).

The positioning of multicultural ideology as an exogenous variable may also be the subject of debate. Arguments could be advanced that security predicts more positive attitudes toward diversity and a stronger multicultural ideology, as suggested by Berry (2006), or that multicultural ideology leads to a reduced sense of threat as proposed in this model. Given the empirical basis of the IMGIC and the established mediational role that zero-sum beliefs has played on the influence of SDO on attitudes toward immigrants, our integrative model has positioned multicultural ideology as an exogenous variable.

Multicultural ideology and the frequency of intercultural contact are related and may be seen as representing personal and situational influences, respectively, on attitudes toward immigrants. This distinction is in line with Pettigrew's (1998) discussion of the influence of individual differences and situational factors on contact and its outcomes. In this instance the influence of personal and situational factors on attitudes toward immigrants is mediated by other variables. Consistent with contemporary work in the field, the influence of contact is mediated by intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Voci & Hewstone, 2003), and the influence of both intergroup anxiety and multicultural ideology is mediated, in turn, by perceived threat (Esses et al., 1998, 2001).

The model proposed here has several advantages over other approaches to intergroup relations. First, it draws upon and integrates perspectives from classic social psychology (Allport, 1954), contemporary models of prejudice against immigrants (Esses et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 1998) and international work on acculturation and intergroup relations (Berry, 2001, this volume). It also demonstrates the influence of both personal and situational factors on attitudes toward immigrants, and it incorporates affective (e.g., intergroup anxiety), behavioral (e.g., amount of intercultural contact) and cognitive (e.g., SDO) dimensions of the process leading to attitudinal outcomes. As such, the model is more comprehensive than existing frameworks for the study of intergroup perceptions and relations.

Our integrative model is consistent with other contemporary developments in the field, specifically, the recent revision of the IMGIC. Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, and Hodson's (2005) revised framework, the Unified Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (UIMGC), identifies ideologies and situational factors as exogenous variables, which, in the presence of a relevant out-group, lead to perceived competition. Perceived competition has cognitive, affective and motivational components; manifests itself in realistic and symbolic domains; and leads to competition-reducing responses, including negative attitudes, avoidance and exclusion. Also noteworthy in the unified framework are the mutually reinforcing influences of situational and ideological factors, as in our model, so that "ideologies heighten sensitivity to situational factors, and situational factors reinforce and strengthen ideologies" (Esses, Jackson et al., 2005, p. 236).

On the other hand, our model departs on some counts from the theoretical bases from which it has emerged. Most notably, intergroup anxiety has been examined as a precursor to threat. Intergroup anxiety was repositioned in our model for two reasons. First, a distinction may be made between interpersonal and intergroup threats, and there is empirical evidence that these are affected in different ways by moderating variables (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). Intergroup anxiety may be seen as an interpersonal threat. It has been identified as the "most self-interested of threats" (Stephan et al. (2002, p. 1250), and a strong link was anticipated between personal intercultural contact and intergroup anxiety.

Second, in keeping with realistic conflict theory and the theory of symbolic racism, realistic and symbolic threat and the zero-sum beliefs associated with them were taken to represent a robust but parsimonious measure of the cognitive and affective aspects of perceived intergroup threat (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Esses et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 1998). As the data provide a very good fit for the model, theoretical and empirical dimensions merge to support this distinction.

Despite the robustness of our model, it is not suggested that this represents the definitive statement on intergroup perceptions and relations. First, it is recognized that the survey technique used in the research may contribute to common method variance, perhaps inflating the strength of the results. Second, it is acknowledged that the 25% response rate is rather low and may have biased the results. Third, the research is confined to self-report, and the analyses are correlational. Finally, this study represents the first test of an integrative model and was conducted only in New Zealand, where the rate of immigration is high and attitudes toward migrants are relatively positive. Consequently, it is recommended that multiple methods should be used to examine attitudes toward immigrants, that research should be extended to other cultural contexts to examine the model's external validity, and that experimental research should be conducted to provide more compelling evidence in support of the model's pathways.

As a final point, it is acknowledged that a range of factors affect attitudes toward immigrants, including the salience of group categories during contact, national identity, stereotypes and political ideology, and these should be systematically investigated in future research (Bierbrauer & Klinger, 2002; Esses, Dovidio et al., 2005; Esses et al., 2001; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Stephan et al., 1999; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). There are also persuasive reasons to distinguish amongst the differential aspects and components of immigration attitudes. These distinctions may include the differences across attitudes toward immigrants, immigration and immigration policy; between ingroup-favoritism and outgroup derogation; and between subtle and blatant prejudice (Esses et al., 1998; Jackson et al., 2001; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). These issues, as well as Esses, Jackson et al.'s (2005) recommendation for more studies on the cures, rather than the causes, of prejudice should be taken up in future research.

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