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Do attitudes toward integration of immigrants change over time?
A comparative study of natives, second-generation immigrants and foreign-born residents in Luxembourg

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Do attitudes toward integration of immigrants change over time? A comparative study of natives, second-generation immigrants and foreign-born residents in Luxembourg [*]

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate attitudes toward the integration of immigrants in Luxembourg – the country with the highest proportion of immigrants in Europe. First, the paper examines how attitudes toward integration (consisting of two dimensions, namely attitudes toward assimilation and attitudes toward multiculturalism) vary among different groups of the countries' residents, i.e. natives and residents with a migratory background. Second, it examines how these attitudes have evolved over a period of ten years. The Luxembourgish EVS data from both the 1999 and the 2008 waves are used. The results of the analyses reveal that attitudes toward the integration of immigrants differ significantly among the analysed resident groups. Native residents are more supportive of the assimilation model compared to foreign-born residents and second generation immigrants with two foreign-born parents, whereas the latter groups score higher on the multiculturalism scale than the other groups. With respect to trends in attitudes toward integration, the assimilation model gained popularity between 1999 and 2008 among all groups whereas the opposite was found with respect to preferences for multicultural integration.

Keywords: attitudes toward integration; assimilation; multiculturalism; Luxembourg; EVS

JEL classification codes: C1 ; Z13

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1. INTRODUCTION

Europe has since the mid-twentieth century been confronted with immigration on a larger scale than ever before (Hooghe, Trappers, Meuleman & Reeskens 2008). This has led to demographic, ethnic and cultural changes in European societies. As a result, questions about intergroup conflicts, social cohesion and social inclusion have come to the fore (Bircan & Hooghe 2010; Valentova & Berzosa 2012). Examples of xenophobia, ethnic tension, racism and even ethnic violence encountered in Western Europe are evidence that unprecedented high levels of immigration put contemporary European societies to the test (Semyonov, Raijman & Gorodzeisky 2006).

Thorough understanding of the consequences of immigration is not possible without knowledge on the attitudes toward integration that live among various social categories. Previous studies have convincingly documented that anti-immigrant sentiment and ethnic prejudice are relatively widespread among certain strata of the European majority populations (Coenders, Lubbers & Scheepers 2003; Meuleman 2009; Seymonov et al. 2006). Other studies showed that there is also a difference between what most immigrants would like to follow as integration strategy (generally the multicultural strategy), and what the host society expects (often the assimilation strategy) (Rohmann, Florack & Piontkowski 2006 ; Maisonneuve & Testé 2007; Navas et al. 2007). This incongruence can lead to differing expectations and thus to problems or tensions between these groups in society.

Nevertheless, we believe that the research into intergroup attitudes is lacking in several ways. First, previous research has often focused on very generic attitudinal dimensions, such as attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in general (Meuleman 2009). Public opinion on more specific topics, such as preferences for migrant integration models, is largely lacking. A second shortcoming in the field is that the emphasis has mostly been on the attitude patterns among the majority groups (Rohman et al. 2006) while attitudes of minority groups are neglected. Very little is known, for example, about how (different groups of) newcomers perceive the integration process, and how their perceptions differ from those of the majority population. However, we believe that majority and minority attitudes should be studied in conjunction, since majority and minority groups are interrelated in a dynamic way (Berry 2006; Dandy & Pe-Oua 2010). Lastly, how attitudes toward integration evolve over time is underexplored, even if it is an extremely important area (for exceptions, see Quillian 1995; Meuleman, Davidov & Billiet 2009).

This paper will attempt to fill the void by studying attitudes toward the integration of immigrants in the particular context of Luxembourg. This country is an extremely interesting case, since recent data reveal that in 2010 Luxembourg had a ratio of 57% of native inhabitants to 43% of inhabitants with a migratory background (STATEC 2010). This is very close to a 50-50 situation and thus changes the perspective on what might constitute majority and minority groups in this country. This paper investigates attitudes toward integration of immigrants among natives and residents with different migratory backgrounds in Luxembourg, and analyses the evolution of these attitudes between 1999 and 2008.

The article starts with a review of the existing research into attitudes toward integration and an overview of the Luxembourgish context, resulting in the formulation of testable hypotheses. The data and methods used are described in the third section; the fourth then presents and discusses the results of empirical analyses, concluding with a summary of the main findings and some implications for future research and policy-making.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND HYPOTHESES

2.1. The concept of migrant integration

We start with some conceptual clarifications on the notion of integration. In the midst of a great diversity on the specific meaning attributed to the concept integration, we depart from the work of Esser (2006). Esser seems to provide a very clear and at the same time a rather complete overview of existing approaches which results in a structured definition of the concept that will guide this paper. The author defines integration as a dynamic process that can lead to different ways of co-existence of various groups in society. Esser distinguishes two intertwined aspects. The first is social integration and refers to '*the inclusion (or exclusion) of actors in an existing social system (…) and following on from this the equal or unequal distribution of characteristics of among aggregates or categories of actors*' (Esser 2006, pg. 7). The second, opposing aspect is system integration, concerning: '*(…) the cohesion of entire social systems and refers to the cohesion beyond different elements of a society*' (Esser 2006, pg. 7). The distinction between social and system integration largely coincides with differences between the individual and the societal level. However, these aspects are interrelated; for example, language, education and the labour market all play a role in the social integration of individuals, but they also influence the system integration of a society.

From the prespective of the individual level, i.e. **social integration**, integration refers to different patterns of inclusion/exclusion of the ethnic minority in the host society. Esser discerns four possible integration models: multiple inclusion (or multiculturalism), assimilation, marginalization and segmentation. Where the first concept (multiculturalism) suggests that people can maintain their own cultural heritage on condition that it is nested within shared national boundaries, the second concept (assimilation) states that immigrants need to identify completely with the new host culture and surrender their original cultural identity (Berry 1991; Spry & Hornsey 2007). The other two concepts, marginalization and segmentation, are more unusual strategies of integration and mean exclusion of both ethnic group and host society (the first concept) and exclusion of host society and inclusion of ethnic group (the latter concept). This theoretical model bears close resemblance to the acculturation model of Berry (1997; 2001) which explains the extent to which newcomers can use different strategies when they settle in another country (Boski 2008; Ward & Rana-Deuba 1999; Ward 2008). Using two similar dimensions (identification with the new culture of the host society and identification with the own culture), Berry (1997; 2001) divided the strategies used by minority groups into four distinct categories: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization.

An interesting feature of Esser's (2006) approach, however, is that it differentiates between four thematic dimensions of social integration. The four distinct dimensions[1] are: the cultural dimension, the structural dimension, the social dimension and the emotional dimension, which can all consequently be applied to concepts leading to cultural, structural, social and emotional marginality, segmentation, assimilation or multiple inclusion. The differences in social integration of individuals based on aggregates or categories can consequently create social and ethnic inequalities (if the categories are based on the ethnic descent of the individual).

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[1] The detailed contents of these four dimensions are the attainment of knowledge and skills (cultural dimension), the acquisition of a position in societal structures such as the labour market (structural dimension), the possession of contacts and social relations (social dimension) and the identification with one or more cultures (emotional dimension).

At the societal level, i.e. **system integration**[2], the focus of the integration concept is on the level of unity in societies that are characterized by differentiation into sub-groups (Esser 2006). In order to establish unity in a society that receives immigrants, societies tend to choose a strategy. These strategies however depend from the definition of integration that is applied by the different and dominant social actors within the host societies at a certain point in time (Mahnig & Wimmer 2000). Generally, these integration models are divided into three different types (Rodríguez-García 2010): an assimilation model (characterized by the adaptation of the immigrants to the dominant society in all life spheres and the concepts political rights, civic participation, naturalization and avoidance of diversity are the main elements of the model), a multicultural model (characterized by the respect and the protection of diversity by allowing ethno-cultural groups equal rights as the majority group in all life spheres) and a segregationist model (characterized by separation between different ethnic communities in certain life spheres, thus inclusion of immigrants in certain domains such as labour market but exclusion from social and political rights). The same strategies or models of integration can thus be seen on both levels and are also interrelated.

The strategies or orientations at the societal level which are mostly advocated are multiculturalism[3] and the antithesis of multiculturalism, assimilation (Spry & Hornsey 2007; Rodríguez-García 2010). For example, one can find the assimilation strategy in the USA (melting pot) (Alba & Nee 1997; Berry 1991) and France (Maisonneuve & Testé 2007) and the multicultural strategy in Canada (Berry 1991; Maisonneuve & Testé 2007) and in the Netherlands (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver 2004). A remark has to be made because even though the rhetoric of a lot of European countries has focused on a multicultural society, few have really implemented this, and in most countries the focus has remained on assimilation strategies (Ruedin & D'Amato 2011). Both strategies are furthermore contested or have more recently fallen out of fashion since one model of integration cannot possibly give answers to all the problems within a society (Duyvendak & Scholten 2011; Ruedin & D'Amato 2011; Rodríguez-García 2010). There is also no guarantee that the dominant integration model in a country is supported by everyone; majority and minority groups can have opposing opinions, which can cause conflict (Berry 1991; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver 2004).

2.2. Understanding the determinants of attitudes toward immigrants

So far, very little research exists on the attitudes of residents toward the integration of immigrants. In order to derive testable hypotheses on how migration background might affect preferences for integration models, and on how such attitudes can evolve over time, we mainly draw on three bodies of literature, namely the acculturation literature (Berry, 2006; Rohmann et al. 2006), group conflict theory (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong 1998; Meuleman 2011) and the contact theory (Allport 1982; Nesdale & Todd 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006).

2.2.1. *Acculturation literature*

The acculturation literature is particularly useful to understand how integration attitudes differ between majority and minority group members, as well as within minority groups. Previous research has pointed out that members of majority groups and/or native-born people are less supportive of diversity and/or multiculturalism than members of minority groups (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver 2004; Dandy & Pe-Pua 2010). A possible explanation for this finding is that minority groups adopt an acculturation strategy in function of diminishing the acculturation stress. Compared to assimilation, the multicultural strategy, has been found to create fewer problems (socially and psychologically) for immigrants (Berry & Sam 1996; Boski 2008; Nesdale & Mak 2003; Liu 2007; Ward & Rana-Deuba 1999). Multicultural strategies are prefered by minority members, because they allow newcomers to

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[2] Berry (2006) also looked at the societal level but, only from the point of view of the majority groups. He calls these strategies, compared to the strategies of the immigrants, respectively multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation and exclusion.
[3] This is the multiple inclusion at the social integration level in the framework of Esser (2006).

maintain cultural and social habits while they also participate in daily life within the host society. Among majority group members, this incentive to support multiculturalism is not present. Rather, they support assimilation since this means that newcomer have to conform to their dominant cultural values.

Acculturation theory also suggests that characteristics of the region of origin and the length of stay of a certain minority group can influence whether people of the host society tend more to the assimilation strategy or the integration strategy with regard to that group (Maisonneuve & Testé 2007). This is due to the historical factors as well as the political and economical situation of the host society. Especially for immigrants with a very different culture than the host society culture, the majority will prefer assimilation or segregation strategies. Also among minority group members, integration attitudes can differ according to the region of origin and the length of stay in the country. Furthermore, looking at the different generations of residents with a migratory background, one would expect the first generation to be in favour of integration and later generations to be more likely to shift in the direction of assimilation since they have been socialized into the host society and are thus confronted with a different acculturation process than the first generation (Abouguendia & Noels 2001).

2.2.2 Group conflict theory

Group conflict theory (Esses et al. 1998; Meuleman 2011) is a generic term for a group of theories which share the central premise that negative attitudes toward other social groups are rooted in perceived intergroup competition for scarce goods. This framework explains that negative attitudes toward out-groups derive from the view that certain resources are threatened by other groups (Bobo 1983; Bircan & Hooghe 2010; Meuleman 2011). Perceptions of threat, which can have economic as well as cultural origins seem to play an important role in the formation of attitudes toward immigration and also acculturation strategies (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman 1999; Stephan, Lausanne Renfro, Esses, White Stephan & Martin 2005; Rohmann et al. 2006). This is because the threat a certain minority group poses, influence prejudices about that minority group and will lead to negative attitudes. As regards the framework of the conflict theories, a distinction has to be made between societal studies, which have investigated the effect of country characteristics on attitudes (Quillian 1995; Meuleman et al. 2009; Semyonov et al. 2006), and social psychology studies, which have looked at individual characteristics and the formation of attitudes (Bircan & Hooghe 2010; Meuleman et al. 2009; Quillian 1995; Semyonov et al. 2006).

With regard to the contextual factors, a larger size of immigrant population leads to increased anti-immigrant feelings (Quillian 1995; Seymonov et al. 2006) since the majority group feels more threatened and this encourages negative attitudes (Bircan & Hooghe 2010). Moreover, the perceived size of the minority group plays also a role and might actually be a stronger predictor of tension than the actual size of the minority group (Bircan & Hooghe 2010; Meuleman 2011; Seymonov et al. 2006). The economic context of a country can also influence negative feelings, as a bad economic situation can increase the feeling of competition between the in- and out-groups (Quillian 1995; Semyonov et al. 2006). Finally, the immigration history of a country can play a role in the development of these attitudes (Hooghe et al. 2008). It is clear that changes in the contextual factors over time can lead to changing attitudes.

With respect to individual characteristics, literature shows that the following factors play a role in the shaping of attitudes toward the out-group: migratory background (Hainmueller & Hiscox 2007; Valentová & Berzosa 2012), education (Coenders, Lubbers & Scheeper 2005; Bircan & Hooghe 2010; Valentová & Berzosa 2012) working skills (Bauer, Lofstrom & Zimmermann 2000) labour market vulnerability (Semyonov et al. 2006), religiosity (Billiet 1995), right-wing voting (Billiet 1995; Seymonov et al. 2006), human values such as self-transcendence and conservation values (Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet & Schmidt 2008) and generalized trust (Hooghe, Reeskens, Stolle & Trappers 2009). The general attitudes can thus change according to the composition of a certain population and the changes over time within that population.

2.2.3. Intergroup contact theory

Intergroup contact theory, however, counters the group conflict theory and its assumptions. Allport (1982) was among the first to investigate how contact with social minorities can reduce prejudice (Allport 1982; Nesdale & Todd 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). He established four conditions for good contact so that prejudices between majorities and minorities could be reduced. Thus an increasing minority group in a society will lead, contrary to the group conflict theory, to more positive attitudes toward minorities since there is more opportunity for contact. Further research, however, produced contrasting results, indicating that some additional conditions are needed in order to reduce prejudices. Otherwise contact can even have contra-productive effects. Furthermore it appears that the intergroup contact theory has more influence on a personal or individual level whereas the conflict theory has more impact on a contextual level (Meuleman 2011).

2.3. Context of Luxembourg

In this paper, we investigate how the aforementioned processes shape integration attitudes among Luxembourgish residents. To understand current relations between majority and minority groups in Luxembourg, it is necessary to look at the migrant history of the country. The fast development of the steel industry in the nineteenth century, and the related increasing demand for a larger workforce, led to the arrival of foreign workers, especially Italian workers, and later on in the 1960s Portuguese workers arrived who were willing to work in the mines and steel plants (Kirps & Reitz 2001). Furthermore, the need for other, more diverse, immigration patterns was highlighted with the dawn of the diversification of industry and the development of services, especially banking. Highly skilled immigrants, especially from neighbouring countries and EU countries, together with cross-border workers filled that gap. This has led to the current labour situation in which foreigners are both at the top and at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Kirps & Reitz 2001) and to a very specific demographic situation in Luxembourg in 2010, namely a ratio of 57% of natives and 43% of inhabitants with a migratory background (STATEC 2010). This last group consists mainly of European and Roman Catholic residents who are culturally and religiously close to the native population (Fetzer 2011). The largest groups are the Portuguese community, followed by Italian immigrants and immigrants from the neighbouring countries (France, Belgium and Germany). Only less than 14% of the residents with a migratory background come from outside Europe.

Valentová and Berzosa (2012) argue that this very specific composition of the population should be reflected in the research strategies used to analyse the situation in this country, mainly with respect to studies regarding attitudes toward immigrants. In countries with such a high proportion of people with a migratory background, it is not possible to focus only on the majority population or to blindly mix the opinions of the majority and minority populations. Building on other research (Kucera 2008; Zhou 1997) Valentová and Bersoza (2012) attempt to distinguish four main groups of residents: natives, first-generation immigrants, second-generation immigrants with both parents foreign born and second-generation immigrants with one foreign parent. The distinction within second-generation immigrants is needed as Kucera (2008) argues that individuals with both parents born in a foreign country differ in terms of behaviours, values, etc. from native-born individuals, whereas this is either not the case or it applies to a lesser extent for individuals who have only one immigrant parent.

From the conflict theory perspective, the diversity in Luxembourg is assumed to lead to an increase in negative attitudes since the country has the highest proportion of foreign residents of all EU Member States (Vasileva 2010). These negative attitudes may however decrease because of Luxembourg's GDP[4] and the highly probable contacts between the majority and the large minority group. Research has shown that Luxembourgish residents of different migratory background have different attitudes

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[4] Luxembourg has the largest GDP (per capita) among the OECD countries (Fetzer 2011).

toward immigrants owing to the effect of core contacts (Valentová & Berzosa 2012). According to Seymonov and colleagues (2006), the country has the second lowest score on the index of anti-foreigner attitudes.[5]

A last point must be made about the current integration policies of the country. It is not easy to identify or classify the current policies on integration of immigrants since the policies are very recent and the country has almost never been included in cross-cultural comparisons of integration policies (see Fetzer 2011). Fetzer (2011) claims that the country is an immigration success story, even without clear migration or integration policies. Policies regarding immigration were based on the 1972 law concerning reunification of families (Kollwelter 2007). Only after requests for an active immigration and integration policy from institutions such as CES,[6] were several legal modifications made in 2008, one of which is the law of 16 December 2008 on the reception and integration of foreigners (Ministry of Family and Integration 2010). This law was intended to adapt the legal framework in order to facilitate the integration of foreigners and gave rise to the development of the first national action plan on integration and discrimination in which integration was defined as: "*a two way process by which foreigners show their willingness to participate on a long-term basis to the host society which in turn takes all the necessary measures at the social, economic, political, and cultural levels, to encourage and facilitate this approach*" (Ministry of Family and Integration 2010, pg. 22). This definition gives some indices for a recently implemented strategy on multiculturalism. No research so far, however, has been conducted to investigate whether these latest developments reflect the general opinions of Luxembourg residents regarding the issue.

2.4. Hypotheses

Based on the theoretical overview and the description of the Luxembourgish situation given above, various hypotheses can be derived.

First, based on the acculturation theory and the group conflict theory, the expectation is that natives, second-generation residents and first-generation residents will differ in their attitudes toward integration of immigrants. In more concrete terms (**Hypothesis 1a**) *it is expected that natives and second-generation immigrants with one parent foreign born will be more in favour of assimilative integration than first-generation immigrants and second generation immigrants with both parents foreign born.* It is also reasoned (**Hypothesis 1b**) *that first-generation residents and second generation immigrants with both parents foreign born will be more inclined to have multicultural attitudes than the native population and the second generation immigrants with one parent foreign born.*

With respect to the second aim of the paper, which focuses on the analysis of trends in attitudes toward integration between 1999 and 2008, most prior research about attitudes toward out-groups so far has been conducted only on the data covering one point in time, with a few exceptions (i.e. Semyonov et al. 2006; Meuleman et al. 2009). This paper aims to develop these latter authors' findings and compare attitudes across time. Attitudes toward out-groups can be influenced or even changed if economic conditions change, if different migration groups with different migration histories arrive, or if the size of the group increases or decreases. In Luxembourg, the number of foreigners has increased dramatically since the year 2000 (STATEC 2008). Will these changes lead to more support for a multicultural society or an assimilation approach? According to the conflict theory, with the arrival of more immigrants, people feel more threatened (Bircan & Hooghe 2010; Meuleman 2011; Quillian 1995; Seymonov et al. 2006) and will prefer assimilative over multicultural attitudes. Minority groups on the contrary are proven to prefer multicultural societies more than natives (Dandy & Pe-Pua 2010; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver 2004). Since the minority groups have increased in size they are also

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[5] One should bear in mind that most studies included all residents of a country without making any distinction regarding their migratory background.
[6] CES is the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

able to make stronger demands. These arguments suggest the following two hypotheses: (**Hypothesis 2a**): *The native population and second-generation immigrants with one foreign born parent will show stronger support for assimilative integration in 2008 than in 1999.* (**Hypothesis 2b**): *First-generation immigrants and second generation immigrants with both parents foreign born will show stronger agreement with multiculturalism in 2008 than in 1999.*

3.   DATA AND METHODS

3.1. Data

The European Value Study (EVS)[7] data for Luxembourg are used in this paper (EVS 1999 & 2008). The data for Luxembourg were collected by the VALCOS project (CEPS/INSTEAD)[8] and contained additional questions specific to Luxembourg. The last two waves of the Luxembourg EVS survey (1999 and 2008) were analysed. The total sample consisted of 2787 residents[9] (Fleury 2009) and the number of observations used in the regression analysis was 2292.[10] The data were weighted in order to allow comparison across the waves (Fleury 2009).

3.2. Dependent variables: Attitudes toward integration of immigrants

3.2.1.   Items

The dependent variables were compiled from a battery of ten items that asked respondents about the importance of certain aspects of integration. Respondents had to answer the items on a four-point scale from "very important" to "not at all important". The exact wording of the question in the EVS questionnaire and of the items can be seen in Table 1. These items were developed to investigate various dimensions of integration attitudes (namely attitudes toward an assimilation and a multicultural integration model) and implemented in the Luxembourgish questionnaire. Items questioning the national language skills, participation in Luxembourgish associations and citizenship were supposed to relate to the assimilation dimension, whereas items asking about citizenship of origin and participation both in Luxembourgish culture and in culture of origin were part of the multicultural dimension. Two items, LU31 and LU32, were excluded[11] before the analysis as they did not measure theoretically the same concepts as the other items.

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[7] The EVS is a cross-national, cross-sectional survey that attempts to draw a map of the current values of people living in and outside Europe (see www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu).

[8] The VALCOS project is supported by the Luxembourg Fonds National de la Recherche (contract FNR/VIVRE/06/01/09) and by core funding for CEPS/INSTEAD from the Ministry of Higher Education and Research of Luxembourg.

[9] The figure was 1177 for the 1999 wave and 1610 for the 2008 wave.

[10] The figure was 1150 for the 1999 wave and 1142 for the 2008 wave.

[11] The exact wording of the excluded items was: LU031 *Being integrated in Luxembourg primarily means having a job*; LU032 *One is integrated when one's children do well at school*;

Table 1. The exact wording of the questions and the items (N=2704).

ITEMS
INTEGRATION ITEMS: ASSIMILATION
-To be integrated into Luxembourg requires to know Luxembourgish **(LU30)**
-To be integrated in Luxembourg means to be able to speak Luxembourgish, French & German **(LU35)**
-Foreigners should join Luxembourgish associations rather than to set up their own associations **(LU37)**
-To be integrated requires to acquire the Luxembourgish citizenship **(LU39)**
INTEGRATION ITEMS: MULTICULTURALISM
-For foreigners, to be integrated is/means to benefit from the same social and political rights and duties as Luxembourgers, without losing their citizenship of origin **(LU33)**
-Integration is successful if foreigners can grasp the important meaning of the Luxembourgish culture and bring to Luxembourgers their meaningful culture **(LU34)**
-A foreigner can be integrated and at the same time keep traditions and customs from own country **(LU36)**

Source: EVS (2008)

3.2.2.   *Confirmatory factor analysis of dependent variables*

A confirmatory factor analysis with maximum likelihood (ML) estimation in Mplus 5 (Muthén & Muthén 1998-2007) was performed in order to confirm the supposed assimilation and multicultural dimensions of integration. One item, LU38,[12] was excluded since it loaded highly on the assimilation dimension when it was expected to load on the multicultural dimension. Furthermore, the modification indices also suggested a correlated measurement error between item LU30 and item LU35, which was substantively justified as the two items ask the respondent about integration via language proficiency. This produced a clear model with two distinct dimensions, an assimilation dimension consisting of four items and a multicultural dimension consisting of three items as can be seen graphically in Figure 1.

This model has a good fit with a χ^2 value of 103.321 with 12 degrees of freedom, a Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) with a value of 0.034, a Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) value of 0.058, and a Comparative Fit Index of 0.953, since the cut-off points for a good fit are considered to be less than 0.08 for SRMR values, less than 0.06 for RMSEA values and 0.90 or more for CFI values (Brown 2006; Hu & Bentler 1999). The standardized factor loadings are in all cases except one higher than 0.4.

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[12] LU038: *Integration requires some effort and compromises on the part of Luxembourgers as well as foreigners.*
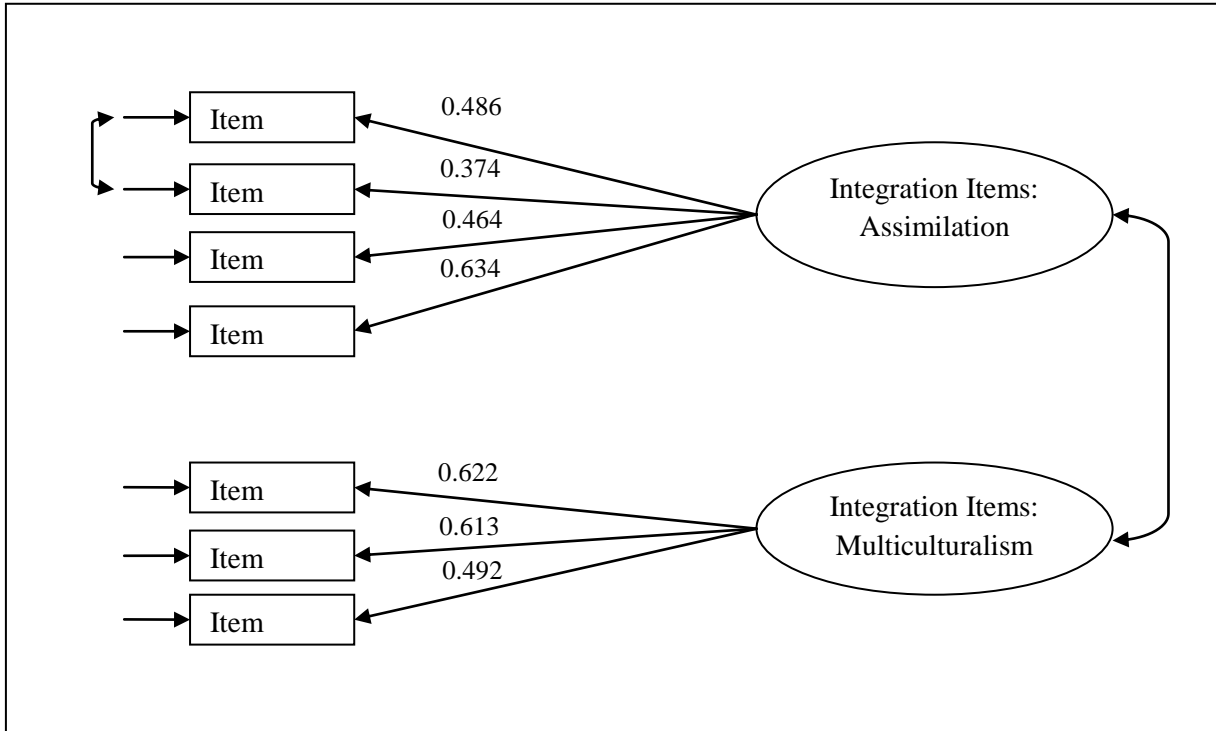
Figure 1. CFA model for attitudes toward integration of immigrants with standardized factor loadings.
Source: EVS (1999; 2008)

3.2.3. *Measurement equivalence test for dependent variables*

In order to use the dependent variable in the further time comparison analysis in a meaningful way, there should be measurement equivalence over both waves and for the different migratory background groups. This was investigated using multiple group structural equation modelling. We follow the conceptual framework and the testing procedure proposed by Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1998). They distinguish different hierarchical levels of measurement equivalence: the higher the level of measurement equivalence, the stronger the evidence for measurement equivalence between the groups.

Table 2 shows the results of the MGCFA measurement equivalence test. The analysis was done on four groups selected in order to test the measurement equivalence over time and between two distinct migratory background groups, natives and respondents with a migratory background. The first step then was to test whether there was configural equivalence (Steenkamp & Baumgartner 1998) (or analysis of equal form (Brown 2006)), which means that the measurement model for the latent concept has the same factor structure across the different groups. Again as shown in Table 2, the results for this test indicate that the factor structure holds across the four groups with a subsequent good model fit: $\chi^2_t(48)=155.957$, RMSEA = 0.057, SRMR = 0.041, CFI = 0.940 and TLI 0.865.

The next step is the test of metric equivalence (Steenkamp & Baumgartner 1998) or the test of equal factor loadings (Brown 2006). If the factor loadings for the items are equal across the different groups, this means that the difference scores of the items can be meaningfully compared across the groups. The model here is again of a good fit (see Table 2). In order to compare the fit of the models, alternative fit indices were used, such as RMSEA, CFI and TLI whereby smaller values of RMSEA and higher values of CFI and TLI indicate a better fit (Steenkamp & Baumgartner 1998). The model of metric equivalence is in this case a better fit than the configural equivalence model since both RMSEA and SRMR have lower values and the values of CFI and TLI have increased.

Lastly, the previous model allows a subsequent test for scalar equivalence. When there is scalar equivalence, this means that the group differences of the means of the observed items is the product of the differences in the means of the latent mean because there is equality of the intercepts across the groups (Steenkamp & Baumgartner 1998). The means of the different groups can then be compared. The fit of the model for the full scalar equivalence is not a good fit as is indicated by the model fit specifications and also by the Modification Indices (MI). Therefore some of the equality constraints were freed to improve the model fit. This was done in two steps, first by freeing the intercept indicator of item LU030 within the four groups and second by freeing the intercept indicator of LU037 for the natives of wave 1999. In these last two steps the alternative fit models show that the fit improved and there were no problematic indications of the MI. The last partial scalar model has the best fit and there is thus partial scalar equivalence across the four groups, indicating that the model holds over the two waves and for the two different migratory background groups.

TABLE 2. Outcome of the measurement equivalence test of the MGCFA of the migratory backgrounds across time (N=2753).

MODEL SPECIFICATION	χ^2	df	$\Delta \chi^2$	RMSEA	SRMR	CFI	TLI
MEASUREMENT EQUIVALENCE							
-Configural Equivalence (equal form)	155.957	48		0.057	0.041	0.940	0.895
-Metric Equivalence (equal factor loadings)	188.417	63	32.460	0.054	0.047	0.930	0.907
-Scalar Equivalence (equal intercept)	389.085	78	200.688	0.076	0.065	0.827	0.814
-Partial scalar equivalence (LU030 free in all four groups)	284.832	75	104.253	0.064	0.058	0.883	0.869
-Partial scalar equivalence (LU037 free in Wave99_Natives)	247.142	74	37.690	0.058	0.052	0.904	0.891

Source: EVS (1999; 2008)

With this MGCFA result, the use of the two dimensions in further regression analysis is possible. These dimensions were transformed into scales by taking the mean of the items of which they consisted, however the items were firstly rescaled[13] to a scale ranging from zero to one. The assimilation scale (ASSIMIL) has an item mean of 0.552 (st.dev. = 0.210) and the scale is normally distributed. The MULTICUL scale, the multicultural scale, has an item mean of 0.683 (st.dev. = 0.211) and the scale is slightly right-skewed. In terms of both scales, the higher the score, the more in favour of the proposal one is.

3.3. Independent variables

3.3.1. Migratory background

The main independent variable was the migratory background of the Luxembourg residents. Unlike the confirmatory factor analysis where the distinction natives versus immigrants was used owing to the small group sizes, the rest of the analyses distinguish *natives* who were born in Luxembourg, as were both their parents, *first-generation* inhabitants born outside Luxembourg like both or one of their parents and *second-generation* inhabitants born in the country whose parents were born outside the country (*second generation both* parents foreign born) or who have one parent foreign-born (*second generation one* parent foreign). The distribution of this independent variable across the different waves can be found in Table 3. This distribution has changed considerably over time especially with regard to the native and first-generation residents.

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[13] This rescaling was effected by multiplying the items with the same factor to obtain a ten-point scale.

Since the aim of this paper is to test whether attitudes can change over time, the second main independent variable was the year in which the survey was conducted. This variable wave where zero stands for the wave of 1999 (50.2%) and one stands for the wave of 2008 (49.8%) was included in the regression analysis. The variable is, however, a very crude measure for grasping differences and evolutions over time. It also has to be noted that when the mentioned subgroups were compared over time, i.e. in 1999 and 2008, certain changes were observed. This is mainly because of the ageing of the population (mainly natives) as well as the influx of new immigrants. In that context it is important to bear in mind that the groups are different in composition because they represent distinct groups of Luxembourg residents at different points in time. In order to control for the different composition of the resident groups across time, a first interaction effect between the migratory background and the period was introduced into the analysis.

3.4. Control variables

Since, to our knowledge, not much previous research has been conducted on attitudes toward integration the key control variables have not yet been fully explored. A study by Breughelmans and Van de Vijver (2004), however, has shown that individuals show different levels of support for multicultural attitudes depending on their position in several societal domains, e.g. their education level. Given these facts, conventional control variables and variables that were mentioned in the literature as important predictors for the attitudes toward immigrants among the majority group were introduced on top (see Table 3). Another important point has to be made about the fact that the four residents' groups analysed differ in terms of most of the covariates, such as educational level, professional status, age, religion, living with a partner and having children in the household.[14] This is controlled for by the regression analysis. Furthermore, it was also tested whether the main effects differed according to migratory background by introducing other interaction effects between the migratory background and the covariates. No significant differences were found except for the theoretically chosen human capital variables which are described in the following section.

To control for human capital, education and professional status were included in the analysis. In most research within the majority group, those educated to a higher level seem to be more in favour of multicultural attitudes than those who left school earlier (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver 2004; Dandy & Pe-Pua 2010). The variable was operationalized according to the ISCED classifications (Barro & Lee 2001): primary education, secondary education (inferior level), secondary education (superior level) and post-secondary education. Secondary educational (superior level) is the biggest category in both waves and primary education was chosen as the reference category. In addition, professional status was included in order to investigate if minority groups with the same work category have the same preferences regarding the attitudes as the majority group. The variable for professional status was operationalized to take into account both active and non-active respondents. This resulted in a variable with nine categories for which the category of labourer was the reference category. Since the human capital variables play an important role in explaining general attitudes towards immigrants and these can be very different according to the migratory background of the respondents, they were also included as interaction effects with the migratory background variable.

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[14] The outcomes of this descriptive analysis are not presented in the paper but are available upon request. Similar analyses are also described in Valentová and Berzosa (2012).

TABLE 3. Univariate description of independent and control variables.

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	WAVE 99	WAVE 08	POOLED
INDEPENDENT				
Migratory background	Natives (REF)	61.1 %	46.0 %	53.6 %
	First generation	26.1 %	37.4 %	31.8 %
	Second generation (both)	6.8 %	7.4 %	7.1 %
	Second generation (one)	6.0 %	9.2 %	7.6 %
Period	Wave 1999 (REF)			50.2 %
	Wave 2008			49.8 %
CONTROL				
Education	Primary (REF)	24.2 %	24.4 %	24.3 %
	Secondary first cycle	14.8 %	14.0 %	14.4 %
	Secondary second cycle	41.7 %	34.3 %	38.0 %
	Post-secondary	19.3 %	27.2 %	23.3 %
Professional status	Self-employed, intell.,prof.	4.8 %	5.4 %	5.6 %
	Private employee	19.0 %	26.3 %	22.6 %
	Civil servant or similar	13.5 %	9.7 %	11.6 %
	Labourer (REF)	13.8 %	18.4 %	16.1 %
	Retired	21.5 %	17.9 %	19.7 %
	Housewife/husband	17.8 %	11.9 %	14.9 %
	Student	8.1 %	6.0 %	7.1 %
	Unemployed	1.2 %	2.7 %	2.0 %
	Disabled	0.3 %	1.6 %	0.9 %
Sex	Male (REF)	49.3 %	50.8 %	50.0 %
	Female	50.7 %	49.2 %	50.0 %
Age	Mean	44.691	46.113	45.399
	(St.dev)	(16.806)	(16.169)	(16.503)
Religion	Atheist	28.0 %	24.9 %	26.5 %
	Christian religion (REF)	70.4 %	72.5 %	71.5 %
	Not Christian religion	1.6 %	2.6 %	2.1 %
Living with partner	Not living with partner (REF)	33.6 %	29.6 %	31.6 %
	Living with partner	66.4 %	70.4 %	68.4 %
Child in HH	No child in HH (REF)	57.6 %	52.9 %	55.2 %
	Child in HH	42.4 %	47.1 %	44.8 %
Political orientation	Left (REF)	20.4 %	20.7 %	20.5 %
	Centre	25.7 %	27.7 %	26.7 %
	Right	29.5 %	31.2 %	30.3 %
	No preference	24.4 %	20.5 %	22.4 %
N		**1150**	**1142**	**2292**

Source: EVS (1999; 2008)

The variable sex was introduced as ambiguous results for gender differences concerning attitudes toward immigrants have been found (Dandy & Pe-Pua 2010; Valentová & Berzosa 2012). In this sample, there was an almost equal distribution of men and women. Age[15] was included as a positive relationship between age and negative attitudes towards immigrants was demonstrated (Coenders et al. 2005; Valentová & Berzosa 2012; Dandy & Pe-Pua 2010). The option of living with a partner (whether married or not) was preferred to the more traditional marital status (being married or not). In the pooled sample, almost two-thirds of the respondents were living with a partner, whereas the remaining third were not. The last variable was the presence of a child in the household, which was the

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[15] The variable age was squared to check for curvilinearity and was introduced into all the analyses. It is reported only when significant.

case for 40% of the respondents, since this shapes the attitudes of people (Valentová & Berzosa 2012).

Religiosity also plays a role in the forming of attitudes toward immigrants (Billiet 1995) and is assumed to play an important role in attitudes toward integration as well. In this paper a distinction was made between non-religious respondents, Christian respondents (the biggest group) and a small group of religious but non-Christian[16] respondents. Finally, political orientation was selected as one of the control variables since right-wing voting has influenced certain opinions on immigrants (Billiet 1995; Seymonov et al. 2006). In order to avoid too many missing values on the classic left-right scale, the variable was categorized whereby non-responses were included in one distinct category. This resulted in a variable with four equal categories.

3.5. Methods

An ordinary least square regression analysis was performed in SPSS for both dependent variables on the pooled sample. The dependent variables were the scales measuring attitudes toward integration, which were developed after confirmatory factor analysis in Mplus version 5 (Muthén & Muthén 1998-2007) and which were equivalent across time and residents. The independent variables were the migratory background and the period (the year when the survey was conducted). To obtain the most precise estimates for the effect of the key independent variables, the aforementioned control variables were also included.

4. RESULTS

To analyse the scales on attitude toward integration of immigrants, the regression analysis was conducted in a similar manner. First, the main independent variables were included in the analysis. Then the interaction effect of time together with the migratory background variable was introduced in a second step and lastly the control variables together with the remaining interaction effects were added.

The results of the regression analysis of the dependent variable ASSIMIL (Table 4) show that the migratory background and the wave variable together explain 10% of the variance in the support for assimilation. In particular, the difference in migratory background seems to play a role in shaping attitudes toward the integration of immigrants. Both first-generation immigrants and the second generation both score lower on the scale than the native population. Furthermore the second generation one does not differ significantly from the native population. The two distinct groups within the second generation clearly differ in their attitudes, which supports the distinction applied in this paper (Kucera 2008; Valentová & Berzosa 2012). These results are thus in line with the first hypothesis (1a) that predicted that natives and second-generation immigrants with one foreign parent would be more in favour of assimilation than first-generation immigrants and second generation immigrants with both parents foreign born.

A general increase in support for assimilation over time, controlled for migratory background, was also found. On average, respondents in 2008 scored 0.072 points higher on the assimilation scale than the respondents in 1999. The hypothesis (2a) is only partially confirmed as there seems to be an increase in the support for assimilation among all the residents contrary to the expectation that support would only increase among the natives and the second-generation one. This is an important finding since the first-generation immigrants are a very mixed group with a constant influx of newcomers during the investigated time span and yet they seem to have increased their support for assimilation over time. Furthermore, one would expect that residents who have a direct experience of immigration and settling in a different country would be less in favour of assimilation. A possible explanation for this result could be that, because the population in Luxembourg is now so heterogeneous, people feel

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[16] In this group the majority of respondents were Muslims, followed by small groups of Jewish, Buddhist and Bahai believers.

the need for more assimilation and anchoring in the host society. When the first interaction effect to control for differences in the resident groups over time was included, the variable was not significant and was thus excluded from the analysis.

TABLE 4. Results of the multiple regression analysis of the pooled sampled with dependent variable ASSIMIL, N =2292.

Variable Name		MODEL 1 B (Stand.B)	MODEL 2 B (Stand.B)
Intercept		0.565***	0.750***
Migratory background	Natives (REF)		
	First generation	-0.135*** (-0.300)	-0.124*** (-0.276)
	Second generation (both)	-0.077*** (-0.094)	-0.058*** (-0.071)
	Second generation (one)	-0.014 (-0.018)	-0.009 (-0.012)
Wave	Wave 99 (REF)		
	Wave 08	0.072*** (0.172)	0.073*** (0.174)
Education	Primary (REF)		
	Secondary first cycle		0.006 (0.009)
	Secondary last cycle		-0.005 (-0.011)
	Post-secondary		-0.036** (-0.073)
Professional status	Self-employed, intell., prof.		-0.029 (-0.031)
	Private employee		-0.033* (-0.066)
	Civil servant or similar		-0.032 (-0.048)
	Labourer (REF)		
	Retired		-0.012 (-0.023)
	Housewife/husband		0.002 (0.004)
	Student		-0.057* (-0.069)
	Unemployed		-0.011 (-0.007)
	Disabled		-0.018 (-0.008)
Sex	Male (REF)		
	Female		-0.009 (-0.022)
Age			0.006 (0.509)
Religion	Atheist		-0.001 (-0.003)
	Christian religion (REF)		
	Non-Christian religion		0.021 (0.014)
Living with partner	Not living with partner (REF)		
	Living with a partner		-0.016 (-0.036)
Living with partner	Not living with partner (REF)		
	Living with a partner		-0.016 (-0.036)
Political orientation	Left (REF)		
	Centre		0.034** (0.071)
	Right		0.072*** (0.158)
	No preference		0.030* (0.060)
F		65.436***	16.295***
Adjusted R^2		0.101	0.143
N			2292

Significance Level: *: 0.050; **:0.010; ***:0.001
Source: EVS (1999; 2008)

When the control variables are added together with the two remaining interaction effects, an additional 5% of the dependent variable is explained (see Table 4), whereas the effects of the main independent variables remain stable. Neither of the interaction effects is significant. Consequently, this means that as regards attitudes toward assimilation there was no difference to be found within the different respondent groups over time and the groups did not differ significantly on the covariates.

The data suggest that education, professional status, age and political orientation have some effect on support for assimilation. As predicted, respondents with a post-secondary education seem to score significantly lower on the assimilation scale than respondents with only primary education. There is no difference, however, between respondents with secondary education and the reference group. The same applies to professional status, as only two categories scored significantly differently on the assimilation scale from the labourers. Both students and private employees seem to support assimilation attitudes less. Lastly, political orientation seems to play an important role in support for assimilation. Both people from the right and people voting for moderate, centrist parties are more in favour of assimilation than people from the left political spectrum.

When we look at the second analysis with the MULTICUL scale in Table 5, different results can be seen. Again the first step was the analysis of the dependent variable with the two main independent variables, migratory background and wave. Compared with the native population, first-generation immigrants and second generation with both foreign parents are more favourable toward multiculturalism. This difference is, however, stronger for the first generation. Similarly to the other analysis, there is no difference to be found between the native respondents and the second-generation respondents with only one foreign parent. Again the research hypothesis (1b) was confirmed.

An opposite effect can, however, be noted across time. All respondents in 2008 scored significantly lower on the multiculturalism scale than they did in 1999. This is a remarkable insight, even though the effect is not particularly strong. The second hypothesis (2b) can thus not be confirmed because, on average, all the resident groups decreased their support for multiculturalism over time, even within the first-generation immigrants and the second generation with both parents foreign born immigrants.

The picture changes slightly, however, when the interaction effect of the migratory background with the period is introduced in the second step. The effect is, contrary to the previous analysis, significant and the data suggest that the attitudes of the four resident groups seem to evolve different across time. When examining more in detail - by looking at the magnitude of the variables on the dependent variable- there seems to be almost no evolution over time for the native residents, a slight decrease of support for multiculturalism among the first generation and the second generation both. However, a rather big decrease is to be seen for the second generation one and this is also the only significant effect. Thus, one additional significant trend can be noted apart from the general decrease of support for multiculturalism namely that the second generation one has the steepest decrease and scores even lower than the natives on the multiculturalism dimension. This is a remarkable finding that we did not find an explanation for.

Lastly, the control variables together with the other two interaction effects were introduced into the analysis. The explained variance increased by 0.9%, which shows that they hardly affect preferences for multicultural integration policies. Nonetheless some small effects of the control variables and the interaction effect have to be taken into account. Only one of the two interaction effects can be found in the table 5 since the interaction effect of migratory background with professional status was not significant. It seems thus that the effect of educational level is different for the different resident groups, but only two variables of the interaction effect are significant. Again, when we look at the magnitude of the scores, more insight can be gained. The effect of the migratory background is different for the different levels of education and this effect is different from the model without interaction effect. Only two groups score lower than the reference group of natives with a primary level of education. First, the second generation with both foreign-born parents with secondary (inferior) level of education has a significantly lower score on the multiculturalism scale and second the second generation one foreign-born parent with the same level of education also scores lower than the reference group. All other groups score higher on the multiculturalism scale than the natives with a primary educational level but only for the first generation post secondary education level this effect was significant. Furthermore, there seems to be an effect of gender; women seem to score higher on the multiculturalism scale than men. The small significant effects of political orientation and professional status disappeared after introduction of the interaction effect.

TABLE 5. Results of the multiple regression analysis of the pooled sampled with dependent variable MULTICUL, N =2292.

Variable Name		MODEL 1 B (Stand. B)	MODEL 2 B (Stand.B)	MODEL 3 B (Stand.B)
Intercept		0.656***	0.658***	0.775***
Migratory background	Natives (REF)			
	First generation	0.107*** (0.236)	0.094*** (0.207)	0.123*** (0.270)
	Second generation (both)	0.067*** (0.082)	0.042 (0.051)	0.127* (0.154)
	Second generation (one)	0.005 (0.006)	0.057 (0.071)	0.065 (0.081)
Wave	Wave 99 (REF)			
	Wave 08	-0.025** (-0.059)	-0.030* (-0.070)	-0.034** (-0.079)
Wave 08 * Migratory background	Wave99*natives (REF)			
	Wave08*first generation		0.023 (0.043)	0.025 (0.047)
	Wave08*second_both		0.050 (0.044)	0.054 (0.035)
	Wave08*second_one		-0.084* (-0.083)	-0.090** (-0.089)
Education	Primary (REF)			
	Secondary first cycle			0.020 (0.032)
	Secondary last cycle			0.007 (0.017)
	Post Secondary			0.028 (0.056)
Professional status	Self-employed, intell., prof.			0.001 (0.001)
	Private employee			0.026 (0.051)
	Civil servant or similar			0.005 (0.008)
	Labourer (REF)			
	Retired			-0.007 (-0.014)
	Housewife/husband			-0.025 (-0.042)
	Student			0.025 (0.030)
	Unemployed			-0.041 (-0.027)
	Disabled			0.014 (0.006)
Sex	Male (REF)			
	Female			0.022* (0.052)
Age				0.003 (0.206)
Religion	Atheist			-0.010 (-0.020)
	Christian religion (REF)			
	Non-Christian religion			0.024 (0.016)
Living with a partner	Not living with partner (REF)			
	Living with partner			0.004 (0.010)
Child in HH	No child in HH (REF)			
	Child in HH			0.015 (0.035)
Political orientation	Left (REF)			
	Centre			-0.023 (-0.048)
	Right			-0.009 (-0.020)
	No preference			-0.018 (-0.035)
Migratory background * Education	Natives*primary (REF)			
	First gen*second_inf			-0.042 (-0.033)
	First gen*second_sup			-0.027 (-0.037)
	First gen*second_post			-0.074** (-0.100)
	Sec_both*second_inf			-0.158* (-0.079)
	Sec_both*second_sup			-0.097 (-0.087)
	Sec_both*second_post			-0.115 (-0.062)
	Sec_one*second_inf			-0.108 (-0.054)
	Sec_one*second_sup			-0.003 (-0.002)
	Sec_one*second_post			0.054 (0.033)
F		32.852***	20.463***	5.325***
Adjusted R²		0.053	0.056	0.065
N				2292

Significance Level: *: 0.050; **:0.010; ***:0.001   Source: EVS (1999; 2008)

5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this article was twofold. The first aim was to analyse the attitudes of the residents of Luxembourg with different migratory backgrounds toward the integration of immigrants and the second was to see whether these attitudes have evolved over time. Overall, several interesting findings were encountered which mostly confirmed the aforementioned four hypotheses.

First, the results of the regression analyses show that the native residents and the second-generation residents with one parent foreign-born are indeed more likely to be in favour of assimilation, whereas the first generation and the second generation with both parents foreign-born show less support. The opposite can be noted for multicultural attitudes, where the first generation and second generation both are more in favour and the two other groups less. These findings thus suggest that attitudes toward the integration of immigrants do vary significantly depending on the migratory background. People with a migratory background show support for multiculturalism, probably because this integration model allows them to keep some of their ethnic culture which leads to less stress and conflict. This incentive is not present for the native population or people with only minor experience with migration, such as second generation immigrants with only one foreign born parent. Furthermore, the results show clearly differences within the second-generation residents. This group should therefore not be considered as a homogeneous group but, when possible, be divided into two distinct groups.

The main findings of this paper, however, relate to the second hypothesis, attitudinal change over time. It was expected that the two concepts would become more divergent over time within the different resident groups but surprisingly the data suggest that there was an overall increase over time among all resident groups in the support for assimilation whereas fewer residents favoured multiculturalism over time, even within the group of foreign-born residents. Several explanations together could explain these trends. One explanation is that the influx of newcomers has indeed had an influence on the attitudes of the natives which has led to increased support for assimilation. Also, these results are in line with the current trend in many European countries where the multiculturalism concept and multicultural policies are now contested (Ruedin & D'Amato 2011). This does not really explain the attitudes of the other resident groups, however. Another explanation for these attitude trends may be that the current heterogeneity of Luxembourg society forces all residents to find common ground on which they can live together, resulting in increased support for assimilation and a decreased support for multiculturalism, even among residents with a migratory background.

The aforementioned findings have several implications. First of all, the overall increase of attitudes favouring assimilation between 1999 and 2008 among residents with very different migrant histories may show that people are searching for common ground and stronger ties with the country. The results could serve to guide modifications to the recently adopted integration policies in Luxembourg.

Furthermore, this research is highly innovative in the sense that, differently from many similar studies, attitudes toward the integration of immigrants have been investigated for both majority and minority groups in a society. It was also able to compare these attitudes over time and within a very particular setting, the multinational country of Luxembourg. Hence limitations were encountered since the model was limited to variables available in both waves and multicultural attitudes could not be fully explored by the model used. Recommendations for further research would be to explain in more depth the two attitude scales and the differences among the different resident groups.

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