



Programa de
Población



GEDEMI

Grupo de Estudios de Migración
e Integración en Uruguay

Attitudes towards foreign immigrants and returnees: new evidence for Uruguay

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Aim

- This study is a first attempt to research into the attitudes towards foreign immigrants and returnees in Uruguay, which is the Latin American country with the lowest level of rejection towards immigrants (Latinobarómetro 2015)
- Recent growth of immigration flows, from new origin countries (mainly, Venezuela, Cuba and Dominican Rep.), and new legislation based on human rights perspective (2008,2014)
 - Emigrant country since 1960's (UN 2015 stock 10%); Immigrant stock 2.4%.
 - Return migration main driver of positive net migration since 2009

Main research questions

- To what extent do Uruguayan people have negative or positive attitudes towards foreign immigrants and returnees?
 - Do they hold a positive view of immigration and return migration?
 - Do they think that equal rights and opportunities between migrants and non-migrants must be granted?
 - Do they fear economic competition?
- Which are the individual factors associated with negative or positive attitudes towards foreign immigration or return migration?

Motivation

- Lack of research combining attitudes towards immigration and return migration, and little research on attitudes towards immigration in Latin America.
- Relation with immigrant/returnees (re)integration
 - Poor outcomes found at the Uruguayan labor market (Prieto 2016, Koolhaas 2016)
- The study of public attitudes towards migrants constitutes a useful input for the design of integration policies design and public campaigns emphasizing immigrant's contributions.
- Link with migration policies, as the opinion of citizens shapes the preferences of politicians, which indirectly affects policies.

What do we mean by attitudes? (Cea D'Ancona, 2002)

The **disposition of an individual to value people and objects of his world of life in a favorable or unfavorable way.**

Two dimensions, one **manifest** and another **latent**.

The most widespread way to measure attitudes has been through **opinion surveys**. Surveys only address the most superficial aspect of the disposition towards "the other" ("manifest attitude"), whose externalization depends on the legitimacy that the social context assigns to manifestations of, for example, xenophobic or racist attitudes.

Literature review

- Most part of literature refers to developed countries. Almost no research about attitudes about return migration and very little research in Latin American countries
- Macro-level analysis (Magnitude and composition of immigration, size of countries, level of development, economic growth, level of employment, historical and political context)
- Micro-level analysis (focus of these presentation)
 - Status in the labor market and the welfare distribution
 - Non-economic and socio-cultural (i.e, impact to cultural homogeneity)
- ❑ **Educational attainment** is the strongest predictor of positive attitudes, being especially relevant in high and medium income countries (Mayda 2004).
- ❑ Other relevant factors: age, migration experience, political orientation, etc.

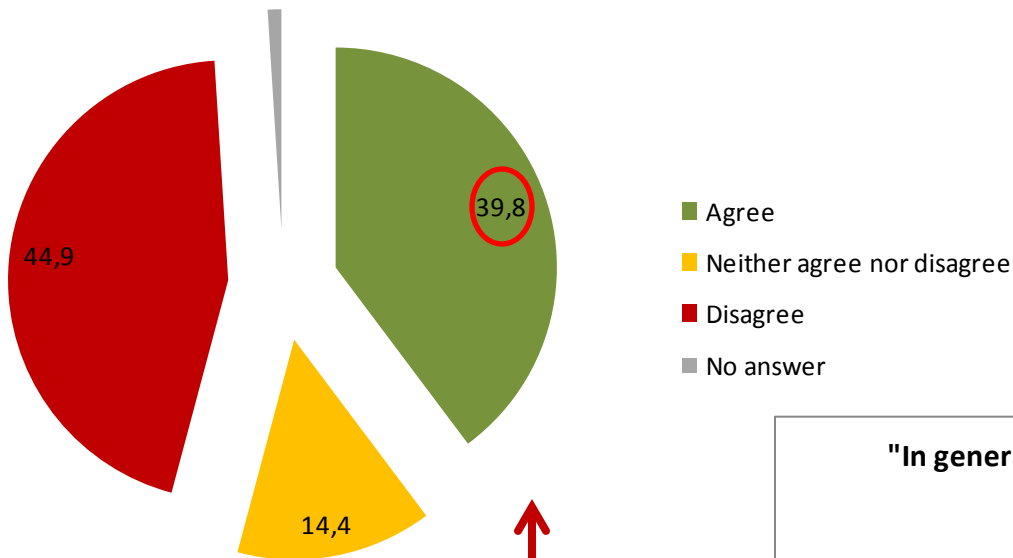
Data Source:

National Survey of Attitudes and Opinions about Foreign Immigrants and Returnees, Uruguay 2015/2016

- Measures manifest attitudes / doesn't study xenophobia
- Conducted by phone – Consulting firm (Equipos Mori)
- Field work: December 2015-January 2016; N 1064
- Representative at country level, population aged 18+
- Results consistent with World Value Survey 2010-2014
- 61 questions organized in three modules:
 - a) Expatriates and returnees
 - b) Immigrant population
 - c) Socio-demographic profile
- Study the attitudes towards immigration and return migration focusing on:
 - a) Impacts of migration
 - b) Migration Policy
 - c) Rights and equality natives-immigrants
 - d) Preferences about immigrants attributes

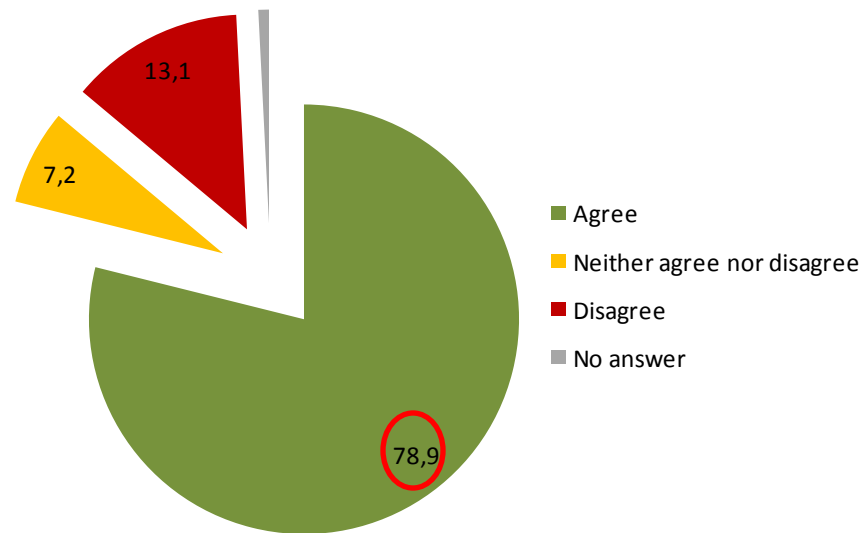
Results – General opinion on migration

"In general it is good for the country that foreign immigrants arrive to live here"



More positive view of return migration than foreign immigration

"In general it is good for the country that return to live and work the Uruguayans who left"



Big Gap:
39 percentage points
(79% vs 40%)

A clearer profile is identified among those who have a favorable attitude toward immigration

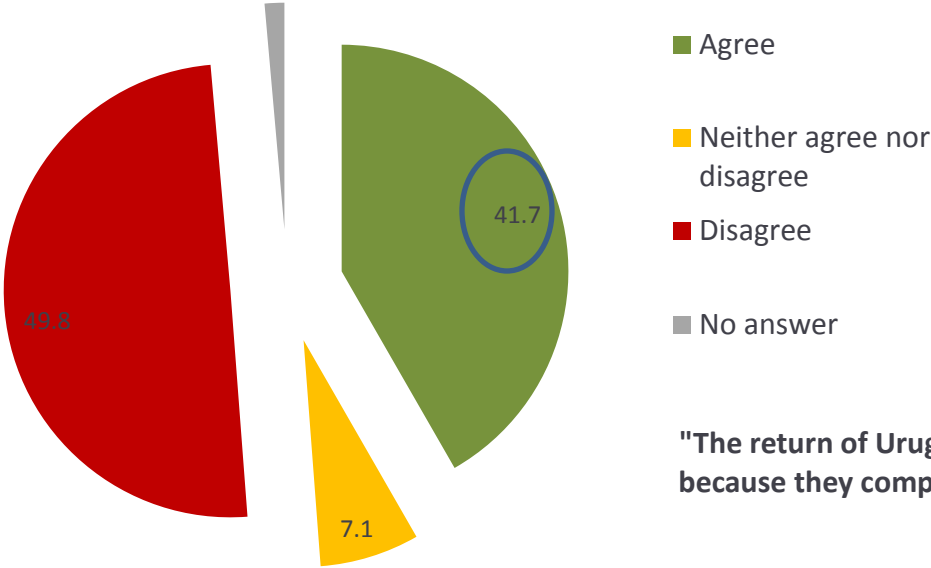
Individual attributes associated with general opinion towards immigration or return migration (logistic regressions)

	Immigration is good		Return Migration is good	
	Sign.	Odds ratio	Sign.	Odds ratio
Sex: Male (ref: Female)	+	1.59***		0.94
Age: 18-44 (ref: 45+)	+	1.30**	+	1.34*
Residence: Montevideo (ref: Rest)	+	1.34**	-	0.71**
Education: upper Secondary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)	+	1.52**		1.09
Education: Tertiary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)	+	1.89***		0.98
Political orientation: Left/Centre-Left (ref. Right/Centre-Right/Center)	+	1.78***	+	1.45**
Employment status: unemployed (ref. employed or inactive)		0.73	-	0.55**
Migration background	+	1.43**		0.75

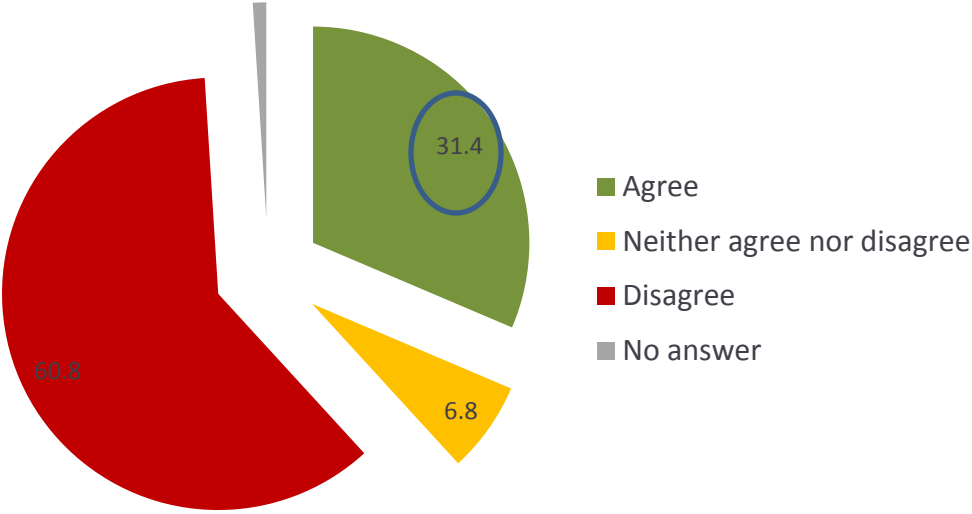
* p<0.10, **p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Descriptive Results – Fear of economic competition

"The arrival of foreign immigrants to live in Uruguay is negative for the country because they compete with Uruguayans for jobs"



"The return of Uruguayans living abroad is negative for the country because they compete for jobs with the Uruguayans who remained all their lives in the country"



Educational attainment and unemployment status are the individual attributes associated with a negative view of migration because of the fear of economic competition. These results are consistent with opinions towards return migration and immigration.

Individual attributes associated with fearing economic competition (logistic regressions)

	Immigration		Return Migration	
	Sign.	Odds ratio	Sign.	Odds ratio
Sex: male (ref: Female)		0.92		1.23
Age: 18-44 (ref: 45+)		0.95		0.82
Residence: Montevideo (ref: Rest)	-	0.72**		0.83
Education: upper Secondary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)		0.80		0.92
Education: Tertiary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)	-	0.49***	-	0.33***
Political orientation: Left/Centre-Left (ref. Right/Centre-Right/Center)		0.87		0.80
Employment status: unemployed (ref. employed or inactive)	+	1.72**	+	1.83**
Migration background		0.84		1.07

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

Results – Policies

*‘Suppose the government is planning a new policy to...
Would you agree or disagree with this policy?’*

■ Agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Disagree



Multivariate Results – Policies

Individual attributes associated with a support to certain policies encouraging immigration or return (odds ratio, logistic regressions)

	Immigration		Return Migration	
	Total	Scientists	Total	Scientists
Sex: male (ref: Female)	1.18	1.30**	0.74**	1.09
Age: 18-44 (ref: 45+)	1.51***	0.90	1.13	0.89
Residence: Montevideo (ref: Rest)	1.40**	1.01	1.03	0.87
Education: upper Secondary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)	1.37*	1.38**	0.91	1.60**
Education: Tertiary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)	1.66**	1.97***	0.84	1.91***
Political orientation: Left/Centre-Left (ref. Right/Centre-Right/Center)	1.91***	1.64***	2.33***	2.19***
Employment status: unemployed (ref. employed or inactive)	0.72	1.01	0.75	0.86
Migration background	1.07	1.24	1.11	1.25

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

Descriptive Results- Rights and/or opportunities

- **72% agree** with the statement “**Uruguayans who went to live abroad** during 2002 economic crisis and returned years later deserve the same opportunities than those **Uruguayans who remained** in the country.”
- **76% agree** with a law granting equal rights to **Uruguayans and foreigners** (similar to National Act No. 18250 passed in 2008)
 - However, when asked more specifically about the idea of giving preference to natives over foreigner in access to different services (housing, health, education):
 - 48% agree with the idea of giving preference to natives over foreigners in access to health.
 - 58% agree with the idea of discrimination of foreigners in access to housing.
 - 49% agree with the same idea considering access to education.

Results – Rights and/or opportunities

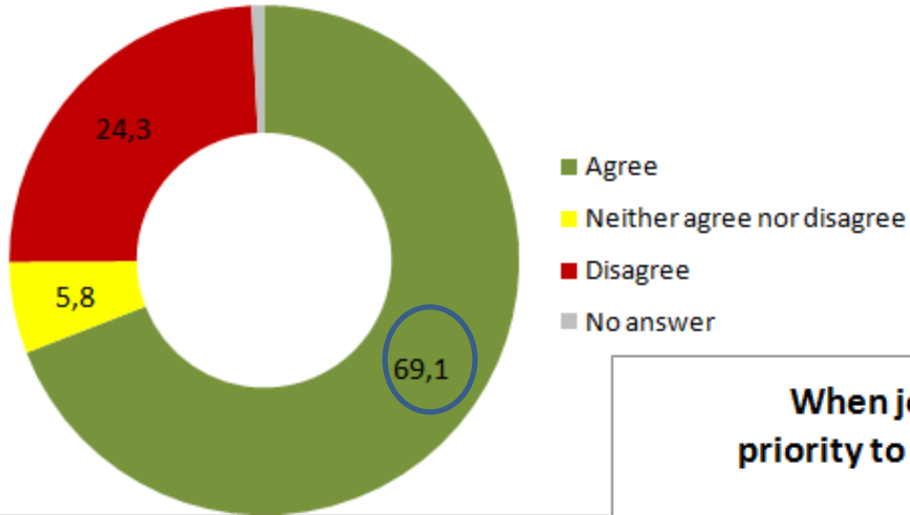
Individual attributes associated with support to the idea of equal rights or opportunities to migrants (immigrants and returnees) and non-migrants (odds ratio, logistic regressions)

	Immigration		Return Migration	
	Sign.	Odds ratio	Sign.	Odds ratio
Sex: male (ref: Female)	+	1.33*		1.06
Age: 18-44 (ref: 45+)	+	1.79***	+	1.50**
Residence: Montevideo (ref: Rest)	+	1.28		1.19
Education: upper Secondary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)		1.17		0.96
Education: Tertiary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)	+	0.73*		1.20
Political orientation: Left/Centre-Left (ref. Right/Centre-Right/Center)	+	1.77***	+	1.60**
Employment status: unemployed (ref. employed or inactive)		1.65	-	0.65*
Migration background		1.21		0.95

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

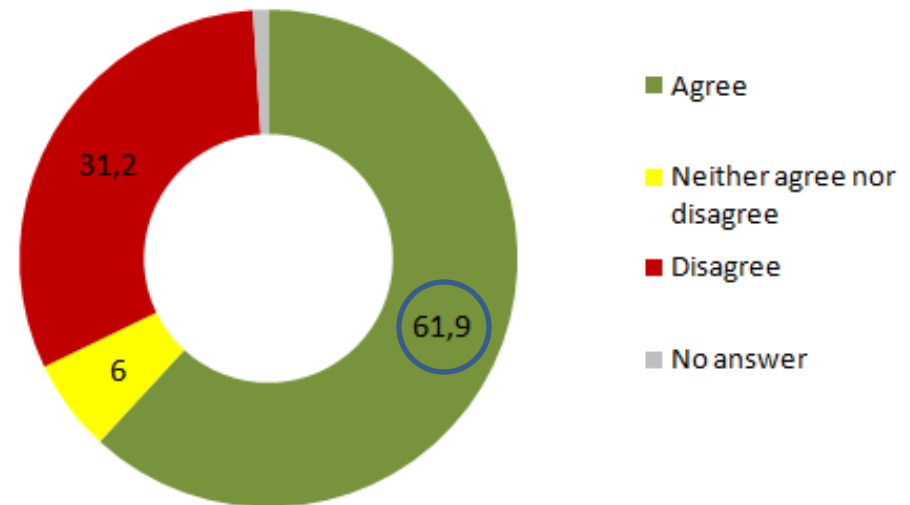
Descriptive Results – Economic rights

When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to Uruguayans over foreigners



The big gap in opinions towards return migration and immigration when asked if it is good for the country is reduced when people think about the labor market competition of migrants (from 39 pp. to 7 pp.)

When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to Uruguayans who always lived in Uruguay



Multivariate Results – Economic rights

Individual attributes associated with an agreement to the statement “when jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to Uruguayan/non-migrant population” (logistic regressions)

	Immigration		Return Migration	
	Sign.	Odds ratio	Sign.	Odds ratio
Sex: male (ref: Female)	-	0.78*	-	0.67***
Age: 18-44 (ref: 45+)	-	0.79*	-	0.80
Residence: Montevideo (ref: Rest)	-	0.60***	-	0.46***
Education: upper Secondary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)	-	0.64**	-	0.38***
Education: Tertiary (ref: Primary/lower Sec.)	-	0.36***	-	0.19***
Political orientation: Left/Centre-Left (ref. Right/Centre-Right/Center)	-	0.75**	-	0.71**
Employment status: unemployed (ref. employed or inactive)	+	1.75**	+	1.75**
Migration background	-	0.65**	-	0.65**

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

Conclusions

- **General preference for return migrants over immigrants and for highly-skilled migrants (immigrants or returnees).**
- In general terms independent variables behaves as expected
 - **Educational attainment** and **political orientation** are the variables that most divide the opinions regarding migration. Both are the most relevant predictors for the odds of having a positive attitude and for embracing rights of foreign immigrants and returnees
 - **Employment status** is the variable with the largest effect in predicting the odds for economic fear
- Most vulnerable population in the labor market, such as women and less educated people, have more probability to reject immigration because of economic competition fear.

Research agenda

- To deepen the comparative study of the factors associated with attitudes of rejection of immigrants, in a South-South migration context.
 - Joint study of macro factors (attributes of countries such as size and composition of immigration, migration policies, economic and labor market variables, etc.) and micro factors (educational level, ideological orientation, activity condition, sex, age, etc.)
 - Sources: Latinobarómetro , World Value Survey
- Conduct another National Survey that better measures perceptions of migration and allows monitoring the evolution of attitudes toward immigration and return.
- Complementary use of other research strategies to capture the "latent" attitude towards immigration.



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Thank you for your attention

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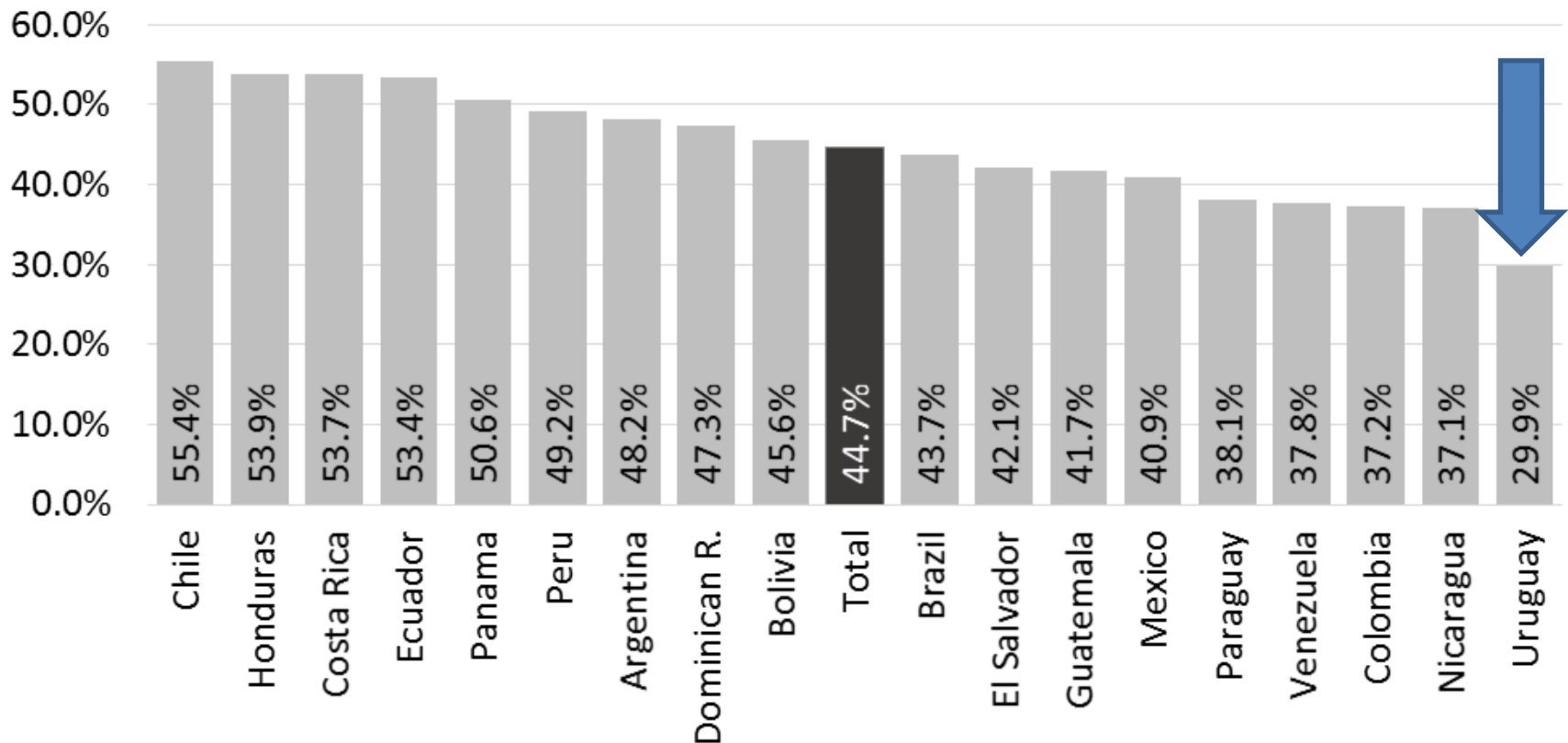
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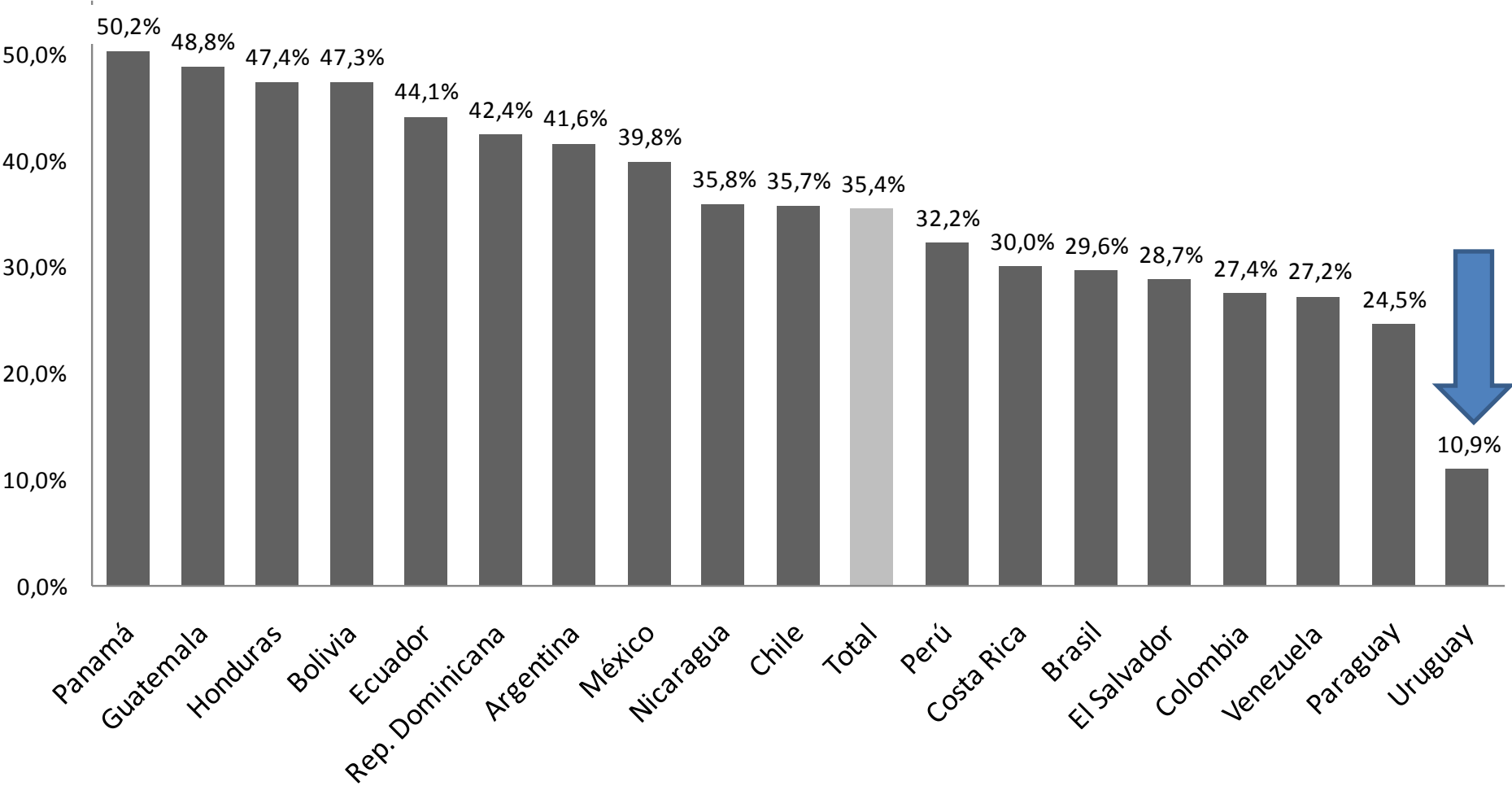
Uruguay: The Latin American country with the lowest level of rejection towards immigrants?

Share of population who agree with the idea that immigrants come to compete with locals for jobs. Latin America, 2015



Source: Latinobarómetro 2015

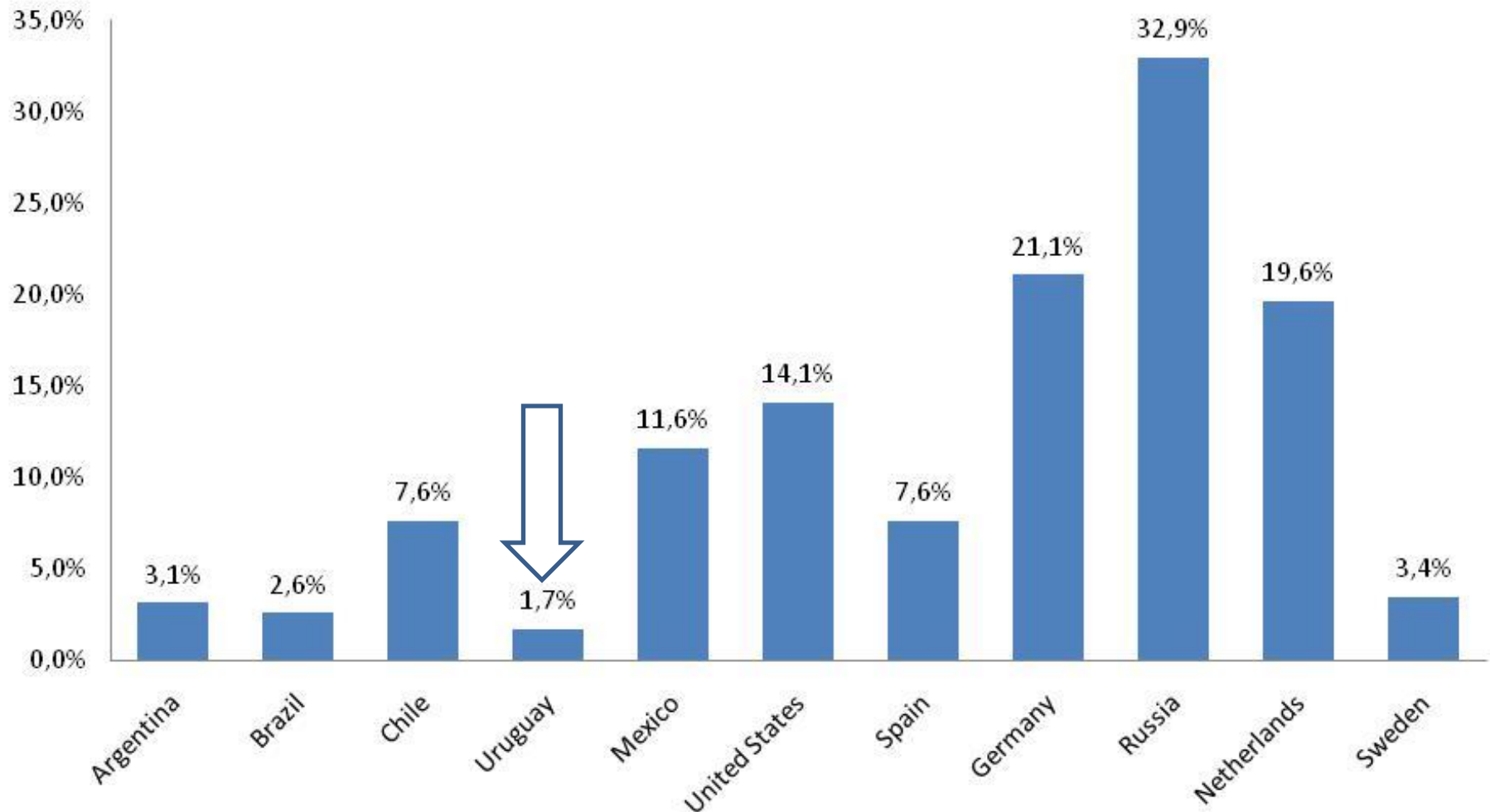
Share of population who agree with the idea there should be a law preventing the entry of foreign citizens. Latin America, 2015



Source: Latinobarómetro 2015

Uruguay: The Latin American country with the lowest level of rejection towards immigrants?

Share of population who declares that they wouldn't like to have immigrants as neighbours
(World Value Survey, 2010-2014)



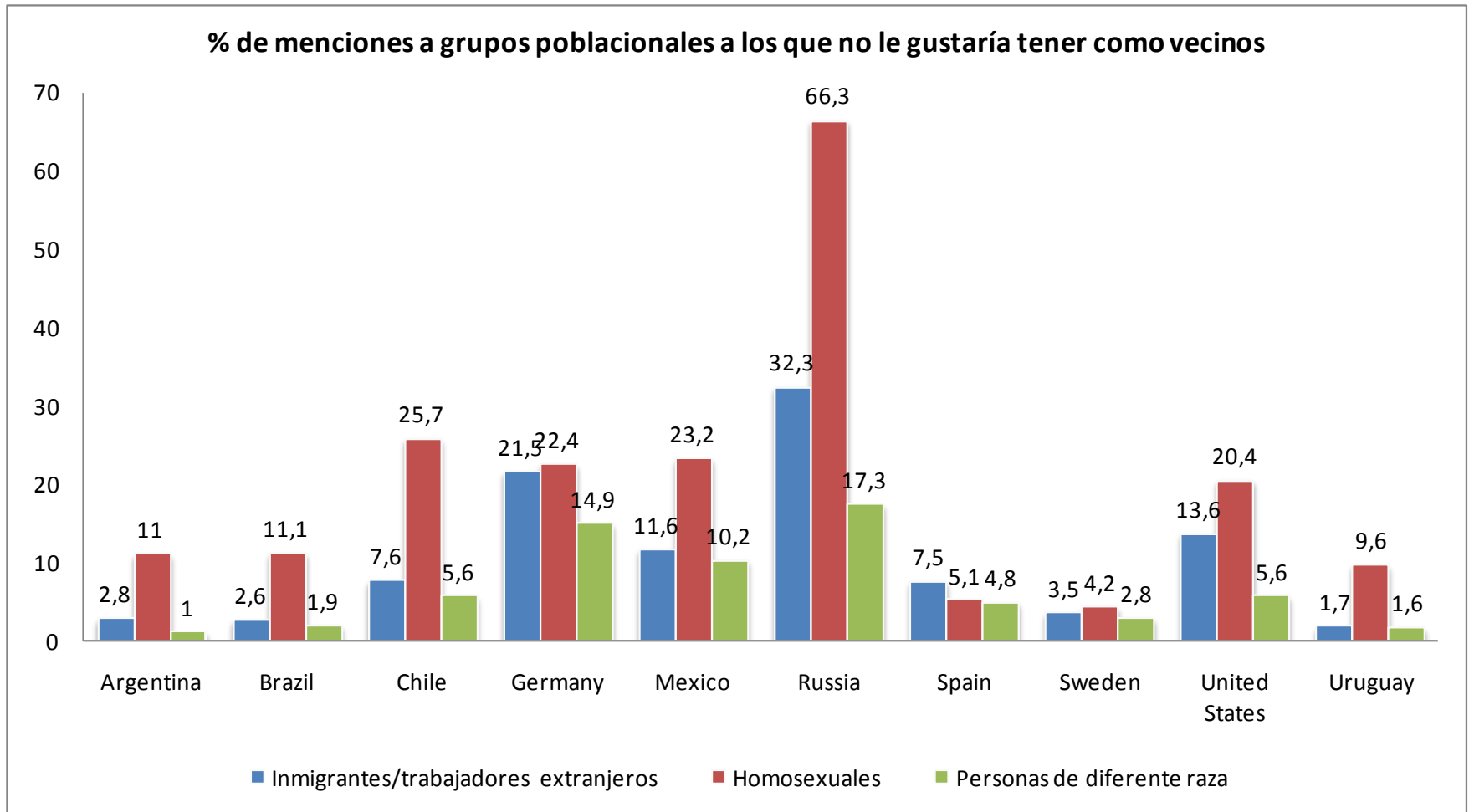
Results of EAPNIER survey 2015 are consistent with World Value Survey 2011

Agree with the statement “When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to native population over immigrants,” by data source

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Total
Total	69,9	12,4	17,7	100
Argentina	49,1	16,3	34,6	100
Brazil	75,2	8,0	16,7	100
Chile	68,0	16,7	15,3	100
Colombia	80,8	7,1	12,1	100
Ecuador	70,5	16,9	12,6	100
Uruguay				
World Value Survey 2011	68,6	9,1	22,3	100
EAPNIER Uruguay 2015/2016	69,7	5,9	24,4	100

Source: online tabulator World Value Survey and microdata from EAPNIER survey-Uruguay 2015/2016

Higher prevalence of homophobia in all countries except Spain. Less prevalence of racist attitudes



Source: World Value Survey, 2010-2014

Literature review. Micro-level analysis

- **Educational attainment** is the strongest predictor of positive attitudes, being especially relevant in high and medium income countries (Mayda 2004).
 - ❑ Education stimulates tolerance and analytical skills, which translates into positive attitudes towards foreign-born immigration (Hainueller & Hiscox 2010).
- The support to immigrants' rights is negatively associated with **age** (Malchow-Møller et al. 2009) .
 - ❑ “Intergenerational value change”, i.e. young people preferences for post-materialist values, such as tolerance, diversity, respect for human rights, and freedom of expression (Inglehart & Carballo 2008).
- People who identify themselves with right **parties**, who don't live in big **cities** and who don't have **migration experience** are more likely to have negative attitudes towards immigration (Malchow-Møller et al. 2009)
- Regarding **gender**, the evidence is quite mixed, but there is more evidence that women tend to have more negative attitudes than men.

Descriptive results – Perceived effects of foreign immigration

Agree with the statement “immigration is good for the country” (n=440)

	Enriches cultural life	Contributes to crime growth	Contributes to job competition	Contributes to population growth	Contributes with skills and knowledge acquired abroad
Agreement	<u>83.0%</u>	11.8%	26.3%	<u>74.2%</u>	<u>87.5%</u>
Indifference	6.6%	11.8%	6.7%	10.7%	4.5%
Disagreement	10.3%	<u>76.4%</u>	<u>67.0%</u>	15.1%	8.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Descriptive results – Perceived effects of return migration

Agree with the statement “return migration is good for the country” (n=838)

	Contributes to job competition	Contributes to population growth	Contributes with skills and knowledge acquired abroad
Agreement	29.4%	79.7%	<u>86.8%</u>
Indifference	7.5%	9.5%	5.8%
Disagreement	<u>63.1%</u>	<u>10.7%</u>	7.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%