

Public Attitudes Towards Refugees and What Influences Them

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## **Abstract**

In 2016, in the midst of austerity measures, divisive political referendums, and economic crisis, the Greek island of Lesbos was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize for their support of the thousands of refugees entering their border via the Aegean Sea. This thesis asks, why do some regions in Greece have a statistically significant higher rate of public support for refugees than others and what causes this disparity? This research question would ask what mechanisms cause this to occur while looking to connect Greek identity and history as a potential reason. Through extensive review and qualitative research, the results of this thesis relate values to attitudes towards refugees and confirms that those with family history of refugee status are more likely to support refugees. The results of this thesis, further, indicate that the mechanisms for the relaying of values associated with increased acceptance for refugees, lie primarily in the family unit and school experiences.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction and Existing Literature**

This chapter introduces and provides basic context for the project as well as a discussion of the existing literature on the topic. This includes a brief introduction to the topic and its importance, relevant explanation of the history of the region, and the literature review. Here, I present a review for the existing literature which surpasses the scale of the research conducted by this thesis. While I am not analyzing all of the hypotheses presented in the literature review, the comprehensive review is necessary in order to negate the hypotheses which are often automatically assumed to be responsible for changes in attitudes towards outgroups and to give the reader the larger picture of micro-factors that this thesis is not be able to encompass.

Turkey, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, and other European nations have all presented varying degrees of non-acceptance of refugees. Athens, too, has experienced a rise in anti-refugee sentiment, largely associated with the rise of the neo-nazi Golden Dawn Party who won a record 18 seats in parliament in 2012. However, in 2016, despite austerity measures and significant economic insecurity, the Greek island of Lesbos was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize for not only their acceptance but their support of the incredible number of displaced persons entering their border via the Aegean Sea. Why do some regions in Greece have a statistically significant higher rate of public support for refugees than others? This research question would ask what mechanisms cause this to occur while looking to connect Greek identity and history as a potential reason.

The importance of this question lies in the practical effects of preventing or lessening conflict between displaced persons and the regions they come to occupy once having fled their home-countries. Understanding the factors which influence public support for displaced persons is incredibly important not only for limiting incidences of hate crime, violence, and ethnic

clashes, but also for shaping potential policy regarding aid infrastructure and financial support, i.e. location of infrastructure, allocation of local resources, local public services, etc.

## History

In the 1820's, the Greek War of Independence was fought on the idea of liberation of all Greeks; the recovery of Greeks in the Ottoman Empire and their incorporation into the Greek state.<sup>1</sup> This became known as the *Megali Idea* (the Great Idea) and began to represent the “very identity of the nation and the development of the state”.<sup>2</sup> Near the end of World War I, Turkish nationalists, emblazoned by the invasion and occupation of their homeland by Greek forces, began the Nationalist Movement led by Mustapha Kemal to confront the Greek Megali Idea and retake Turkish territory.<sup>3</sup> From 1914 to 1922 the Ottoman Empire engaged in the mass persecution of Greeks, as well as other minorities, resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths as well as the violent erasure of Eastern Orthodox culture in the region.<sup>4</sup> On March 23, 1921 the Greek military responded to this Nationalist Movement and launched an offensive eastward, at one point extending across much of Anatolia.<sup>5</sup> However, the Greek army became overextended and by 1922 Turkish nationalist forces overtook the Greek line forcing the Greek army back to Smyrna.<sup>6</sup> From September 9-13, 1922 “tens of thousands of Greeks and Armenians died in the destruction of Smyrna” in the Asia Minor Catastrophe, effectively ending the Megali Idea.<sup>7</sup>

This defeat resulted in the 1923 population exchange between the two nations and deportation of 1.4 million Eastern Orthodox Christians from Asia Minor and the Pontiac region

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<sup>1</sup> Gallant, Thomas W. *Modern Greece*. London: Arnold, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, Adam. *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2006, 154-55.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

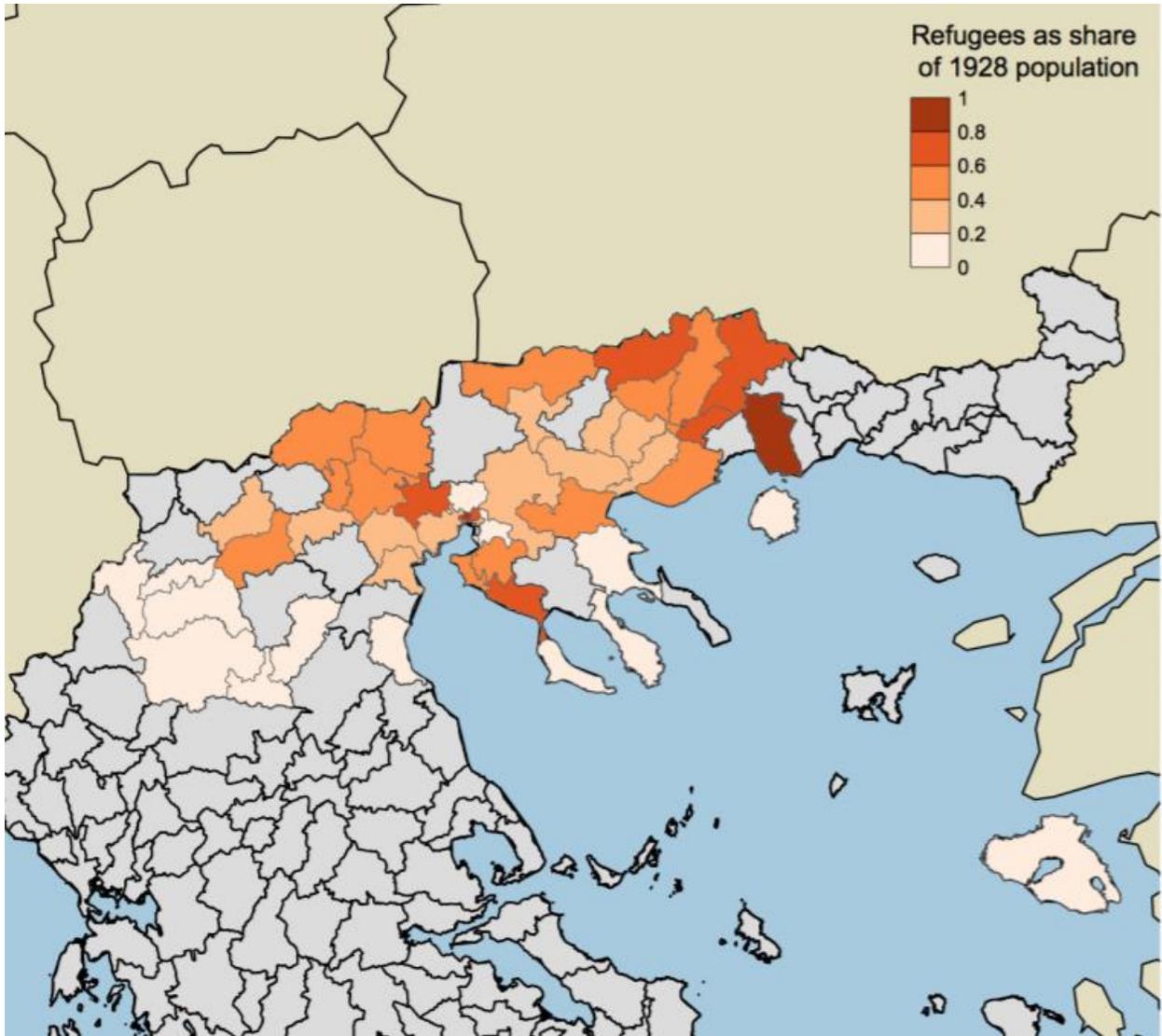
<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

in Turkey and 350,000 Muslims from Northern Greece, Crete, and other parts of Greece based solely on religious affiliation, rather than ethnic, racial, or other identities.<sup>8</sup> These Christian refugees settled largely to regions of Northern Greece, Attica, and the Aegean Islands and were not well received by the existing Greek population, facing significant economic disparity, residing in refugee settlements known as ‘tin towns’ and tent villages, suffering illness, and social discrimination.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Dinas, Elias, and Vasiliki Fouka. "Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2018, 2. doi:10.2139/ssrn.3102093

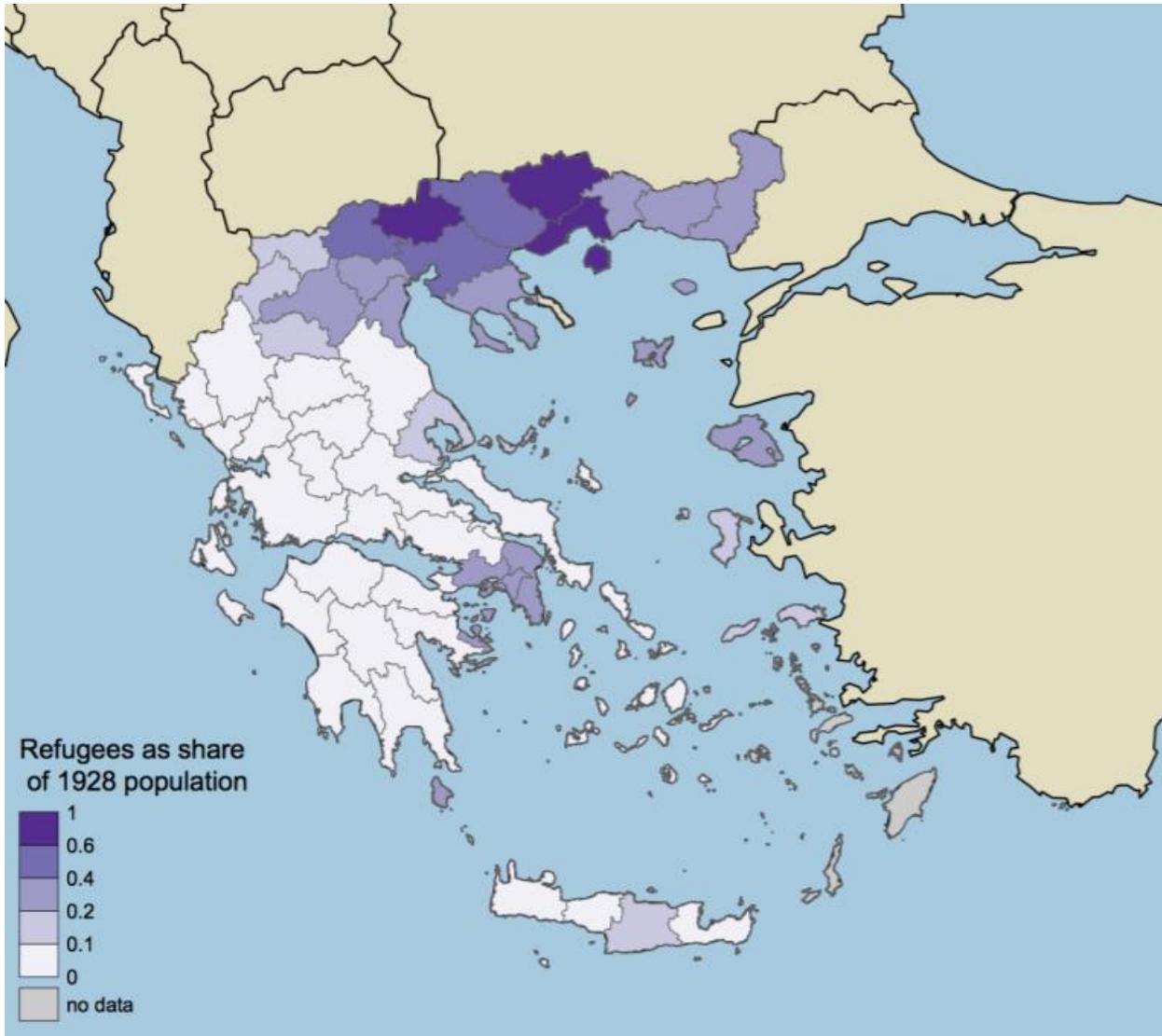
<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 23.



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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 22.

## TRENDS

The literature surrounding what inhibits or facilitates acceptance towards migrants differs mostly on research design and which independent variables are given priority. However, many of these studies suffer from small sample sizes, singular focuses, and moreover concentrate on the “competitive threat” ideology.<sup>12</sup> Competitive threat ideologies revolve around the idea that there is the potential for competition and are often associated with media fear-mongering; within the realm of immigration this can mean economic and cultural competition (wages, unemployment rates, language majorities, religious majorities, etc.). This study attempts to link many of these variables as important factors in determining ATII while also understanding the theoretical perspective that there is a need for non-competitive-threat related data as well as more expansive data. Unfortunately, the scope of this study is limited and such a larger scale longitudinal and multi-country approach is not practical. As such, my thesis acknowledges these existing theoretical perspectives in its consideration for the phenomenon of increased acceptance for refugees occurring in the Greek islands and Northern Greece.

The need for a long term study is becomes visible when looking at the pattern of existing literature over time. Studies written during the 1990’s or before are more likely to employ this competitive threat perspective, look for what decreases forms of acceptance and further, favor economics based hypotheses.<sup>13</sup> Studies written beginning in the late 2000’s and later, however, more commonly have more consistent and defensible (i.e. longer term, wider reach, larger sample sizes) research designs, propose more attitudinal hypotheses, and consistently refute

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<sup>12</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.

<sup>13</sup> Hainmueller J. Hiscox MJ. 2010. Attitudes Toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment. *Am. Polit. Sci. Rev.* 104:61-84.

economic hypotheses of past literature.<sup>14</sup> When looking at studies which concentrate on ‘contact’ based hypotheses<sup>15</sup>, the need for long term study is immediately understandable. While studies exist which measure the effect of increased contact with out-group populations on ATII, there is a deficit of information on long-term contact. Elaborated on later in this paper, there varied results in ATII between 3 years and 12 in other studies, indicating increasing length of contact as an interesting variable and moreover, the absence of this literature.<sup>16</sup>

Further, there is a relative consensus among cross-national studies that, on average, from the late 1980’s to early 2000’s, The United States, Canada, Europe, and Australia were getting more xenophobic.<sup>17</sup> Eastern Europeans were also found to “endorse reduced levels of immigration to a greater extent than Western Europeans”.<sup>18</sup> However, it is important to note the supporting data for these statements were taken before the start of the refugee crisis in the

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<sup>14</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010). doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.; Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. "Public Attitudes toward Immigration." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2289270.; Scheve, Kenneth F., and Matthew J. Slaughter. "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences Over Immigration Policy." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 83, no. 1 (2001): 133-45. doi:10.1162/003465301750160108.; Mayda, Anna Maria. "Who Is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 88, no. 3 (August 2006): 510-30. Accessed March 7, 2019. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1162/rest.88.3.510>.

<sup>15</sup> Contact hypotheses refer to research that focus on the relationship between everyday experience with immigrants in or near one’s community and the effect it has on their views towards those immigrants.

<sup>16</sup> Markaki, Y., and S. Longhi. "What Determines Attitudes to Immigration in European Countries? An Analysis at the Regional Level." *Migration Studies* 1, no. 3 (2013): 311-37. doi:10.1093/migration/mnt015.

<sup>17</sup> Gang IN, Rivera-Batiz FL, Yun MS. 2002. Economic strain, ethnic concentration and attitudes towards foreigners in the European Union. IZA Discuss. Pap. 578, IZA, Bonn, <http://ftp.iza.org/dp578.pdf>; Coenders M, Scheepers P. 2004. Associations between nationalist attitudes and exclusionist reactions in 22 countries. 2004a, pp. 187-208; Semyonov M, Raijman R, Gorodzeisky A. 2006. The rise of antiforeigner sentiment in European societies, 1988-2000. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 71:426-49; Ceobanu AM, Escandell X. 2008. East is West? National feelings and anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 37:1147-70; Meuleman B, Davidov E, Billiet J. 2009. Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: a dynamic group conflict theory approach. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 38:352-65.

<sup>18</sup> Ceobanu AM, Escandell X. 2008. East is West? National feelings and anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 37:1147-70; Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.; Coenders M, Lubbers M, Scheepers P. 2009. Opposition to civil rights for legal migrants in Central and Eastern Europe. *E. Eur. Polit. Soc.* 23(2): 146-64; Kunovich RM. 2004. Social structural position and prejudice: an exploration of cross-national differences in regression slopes. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 33:20-4.

Mediterranean, during periods which experienced much smaller influxes of immigrants relative to their Western counterparts.<sup>19</sup> In later years however, beginning in the late 2000's, there tends to be a shift towards more positive public opinions towards ATII in the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Europe.<sup>20</sup>

## DIVERSITY OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Much of the available research varies in terminology and methodology. With no pattern within independent variables, in individual studies and more erroneously larger reviews of these studies, terminology like 'attitudes toward immigrants' and 'attitudes toward immigration' are used interchangeably.<sup>21</sup> Other terms used in popular studies include "ethnic prejudice"<sup>22</sup>, 'ethnic exclusionism'<sup>23</sup>, 'anti-immigrant prejudice'<sup>24</sup>, 'ethnic discrimination'<sup>25</sup>, 'prejudice against ethnic minorities'<sup>26</sup>, 'immigrant derogation'<sup>27</sup>, 'anti-immigrant sentiment'<sup>28</sup>, 'antiforeigner sentiment'<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 314-315.; Esses VM, Dovidio JF, Jackson LM, Armstrong TL. 2001. The immigration dilemma: the role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity. *J. Soc. Issues* 57(3):389-412; Esses VM, Jackson LM, Armstrong TL. 1998. Intergroup competition and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: an instrumental model of group conflict. *J. Soc. Issues* 54(4):699-724; Simon RJ, Lynch JP. 1999. A comparative assessment of public opinion toward immigrants and immigration policies. *Int. Migr. Rev.* 33(2):466-67.

<sup>22</sup> Hello E, Scheepers P, Gijsberts M. 2002. Education and ethnic prejudice in Europe: explanations for cross national variances in the educational effect on ethnic prejudice. *Scand. J. Educ. Res.* 46(1):5-24.

<sup>23</sup> Coenders M, Scheepers P. 2003. The effect of education on nationalism and ethnic exclusionism: an international comparison. *Polit. Psychol.* 24(2):313-43; Scheepers P, Gijsberts M, Coenders M. 2002a. Ethnic exclusionism in European countries: public opposition to civil rights for legal migrants as a response to perceived group threat. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 18(1): 17-34.

<sup>24</sup> Kunovich RM. 2002. Social structural sources of anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe. *Int.J. Sociol.* 32(1):39-57; Kunovich RM. 2004. Social structural position and prejudice: an exploration of cross-national differences in regression slopes. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 33:20-44; McLaren LM. 2003. Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: contact, threat perception, and preferences for the exclusion of migrants. *Soc. Forces* 81(3):909-36; Quillian L. 1995. Prejudice as a response to perceived threat: population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 60(4):586-611.

<sup>25</sup> Coenders M, Scheepers P. 1998. Support for ethnic discrimination in the Netherlands 1979-1993: effect of period, cohort and individual characteristics. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 14(2):405-22.

<sup>26</sup> Scheepers P, Gijsberts M, Hello E. 2002b. Religiosity and prejudice against ethnic minorities in Europe: cross-national tests on a controversial relationship. *Rev. Relig. Res.* 43(3):242-65.

<sup>27</sup> Schlueter E, Wagner U. 2008. Regional differences matter. Examining the dual influence of the regional size of the immigrant population on derogation of immigrants in Europe. *Int. J. Comp. Sociol.* 49(2-3): 15 3-73.

or ‘antiminority attitudes’.<sup>30</sup> Ceobanu illustrates an example of the inherent issue with this ‘terminological ambiguity’ by stating, “[t]he two forms of attitudes may be intermingling in rather complex ways<sup>31</sup>, with one possibly supporting the other (e.g., when anti-immigrant feelings trigger a change in public views toward the perceived societal impact associated with immigration), or alternatively, a connection between the two may be absent (e.g., when support for less restrictive immigration policies is not visibly tied up with the absence of immigrant exclusionism or derogation of foreigners)”.<sup>32</sup> Further, Ceobanu points out that when studies do address this terminological ambiguity, there is an increased focus on “public views toward immigrants” versus a comparative lessened focus on views toward immigration<sup>33</sup>. Further complications arise when looking at the comparative methodologies of studies which often create their own composite indices or scores considering varying factors.<sup>34</sup> One can certainly make conclusions about larger ideas and hypotheses on this topic despite these ambiguities but there is

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<sup>28</sup> Ceobanu AM, Escandell X. 2008. East is West? National feelings and anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 37:1147-70; Hainmueller J, Hiscox MJ. 2007. Educated preferences: explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe. *Int. Organ.* 61:399-442.

<sup>29</sup> Gang IN, Rivera-Batiz FL, Yun MS. 2002. Economic strain, ethnic concentration and attitudes towards foreigners in the European Union. IZA Discuss. Pap. 578, IZA, Bonn, <http://ftp.iza.org/dp578.pdf>; Semyonov M, Raijman R, Gorodzeisky A. 2006. The rise of antifoigner sentiment in European societies, 1988-2000. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 71:426-49; Semyonov M, Raijman R, Gorodzeisky A. 2007. Reply to Wilkes, Guppy, and Farris: on the relations between right-wing parties and antifoigner sentiment. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 72:841-49; Wilkes R, Guppy N, Farris L. 2007. Comment on Semyonov, Raijman, and Gorodzeisky, ASR, June 2008: right-wing parties and antifoigner sentiment in Europe. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 72:831-40.

<sup>30</sup> Semyonov M, Glikman A. 2009. Ethnic residential segregation, social contacts, and antiminority attitudes in European societies. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 25(6):693-708.

<sup>31</sup> Bauer TK, Lofstrom M, Zimmermann KF. 2001. Immigration policy, assimilation of immigrants, and natives' sentiments towards immigrants: evidence from 12 OECD countries. CCIS Work. Pap. 33, Cent. Comp. Immigr. Stud., Univ. Calif, San Diego. <http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg33.pdf>.

<sup>32</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.

<sup>33</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.; Meuleman B, Davidov E, Billiet J. 2009. Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: a dynamic group conflict theory approach. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 38:352-65.

<sup>34</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.

an overall “haziness” as a result of the varying “substance” and “terminology” which should ideally be addressed in later literatures.<sup>35</sup>

Fortunately, though these composite indices may differ, much research studying ATII gathers its data from similar sources - either large cross-national survey projects or experiments which have become essential citations in these studies. The most common surveys used include the ISSP in 1995 and 2003, with focus on “localism, ethnic belonging, and national identity”<sup>36</sup> the World Value Survey (WVS), with questions on public opinion on immigrants<sup>37</sup>, the Eurobarometer biannual surveys’ questions on immigration and immigrants<sup>38</sup>, and lastly, the ESS or European Social Survey, with 58 questions on immigrants and immigration.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Bauer TK, Lofstrom M, Zimmermann KF. 2001. Immigration policy, assimilation of immigrants, and natives’ sentiments towards immigrants: evidence from 12 OECD countries. CCIS Work. Pap. 33, Cent. Comp. Immigr. Stud., Univ. Calif. San Diego. <http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg33.pdf>; Coenders M, Gijsberts M, Scheepers P. 2004. Resistance to the presence of immigrants and refugees in 22 countries. See Gijsberts et al. 2004a, pp. 97-120; Facchini G, Mayda AM. 2008. From individual attitudes towards migrants to migration policy outcomes: theory and evidence. *Econ. Policy* 2 3(56):651-713; Facchini G, Mayda AM. 2009. Does the welfare state affect individual attitudes toward immigrants? Evidence across countries. *Rev. Econ. Stat.* 91(2):295-314.; Hjerm M. 1998. National identities, national pride and xenophobia: a comparison of four Western countries. *Ada Sociol.* 41:335-47; Knudsen K. 1997. Scandinavian neighbours with different character? Attitudes toward immigrants and national identity in Norway and Sweden. *Acta Sociol.* 40:223-43.; Kunovich RM. 2002. Social structural sources of anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe. *Int.J. Sociol.* 32(1):39-57.; Kunovich RM. 2004. Social structural position and prejudice: an exploration of cross-national differences in regression slopes. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 33:20-44.; O’Rourke KH, Sinnott R. 2006. The determinants of individual attitudes towards immigration. *Eur. J. Polit. Econ.* 22:838-61.; Rajzman R, Davidov E, Schmidt P, Hochman O. 2008. What does a nation owe noncitizens? National attachments, perception of threat and attitudes towards granting citizenship rights in a comparative perspective. *Int.J. Comp. Sociol.* 49(2-3): 195-220.

<sup>37</sup> Mayda AM. 2006. Who is against immigration? A cross-country investigation of individual attitudes toward immigrants. *Rev. Econ. Stat.* 88(3):510-30.; Strabac Z, Listhaug O. 2008. Anti-Muslim prejudice in Europe: a multilevel analysis of survey data from 30 countries. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 37:268-86.

<sup>38</sup> Boeri T, Briicker H. 2005. Why are Europeans so tough on migrants? *Econ. Policy* 20(44):629-703; Gijsberts M, Scheepers P, Coenders M. 2004b. Exclusion of legal migrants in Western Europe. See Gijsberts et al. 2004a, pp. 121-43.; Kehrberg JE. 2007. Public opinion on immigration in Western Europe: economics, tolerance, and exposure. *Comp. Eur. Polit.* 5:264-81.; Kessler AE, Freeman GP. 2005. Public opinion in the EU on immigration from outside the Community. *J. Common Mark. Stud.* 43(4):825-50.; Lahav G. 2004a. Immigration and Politics in the New Europe: Reinventing Borders. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press Lahav G. 2004b. Public opinion toward immigration in the European Union: Does it matter? *Comp. Polit. Stud.* 37(10):1151-83.; Leong CH, Ward C. 2006. Cultural values and attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism: the case of the Eurobarometer survey on racism and xenophobia. *Int. J. Intermit. Relat.* 30:799-810.; McLaren LM. 2001. Immigration and the new politics of inclusion and exclusion in the European Union: the effect of elites and the EU on individual-level opinions regarding European and non-European immigrants. *Eur.J. Polit. Res.* 39:81-108.; McLaren LM. 2003. Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: contact, threat perception, and preferences for the exclusion of migrants. *Soc. Forces* 81(3):909-36.; Semyonov M, Rajzman R, Gorodzeisky A. 2006. The rise of antiforeigner sentiment in European

The current literature on what impacts ATII can largely be divided into two groups of hypotheses: micro-level (individuals and what affects them) and macro-level (nationwide or at least regional) hypotheses. The micro-level hypotheses are further given distinctions via non-attitudinal predictors (e.g., cultural competitive threats, race and native demographics, education, religion, political ideology, and identity based values as well as individual level economic threats). Macro-level hypotheses are further divided into contextual level contact and economic hypotheses.

## **MICRO-LEVEL**

### **COMPETITIVE THREATS**

Many of these studies suffer from a focus on hypotheses of prejudice based on ‘competitive threats’ which ultimately limits the theoretical lens through which to measure ATII.<sup>40</sup> However, as competitive threat based literature is not yet entirely redundant and exists as such a significant amount of the overall literature on the topic that it must remain considered. These ‘competitive threats’ are divided most commonly into economic threats to standard of

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societies, 1988-2000. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 71:426-49.; Semyonov M, Raijman R, Gorodzeisky A. 2007. Reply to Wilkes, Guppy, and Farris: on the relations between right-wing parties and antiforeigner sentiment. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 72:841-49.

<sup>39</sup> Card D, Dustmann C, Preston I. 2005. *Understanding attitudes to immigration: the migration and minority module of the first European Social Survey*. CReAM Discuss. Pap 03/05, Cent. Res. Anal. Migr., Econ. Dept., Univ. College, London. [http://www.econ.ucl.ac.uk/cream/pages/CDP/CDP\\_03\\_05.pdf](http://www.econ.ucl.ac.uk/cream/pages/CDP/CDP_03_05.pdf).; Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.; Davidov E, Meuleman B, Billiet J, Schmidt P. 2008. Values and support for immigration: a cross-country comparison. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 24(5):583-9.; Green EGT. 2009. Who can enter? A multilevel analysis on public support for immigration criteria across 20 European countries. *Group Process. Intergroup Relat.* 12(1):41-6.; Malchow-Moller N, Munch JR, Schroll S, Skaksen JR. 2008. Attitudes towards immigration perceived consequences and economic self-interest. *Econ. Lett.* 100:254-57.; Malchow-Moller N, Munch JR, Schroll S, Skaksen JR. 2009. Explaining cross-country differences in attitudes towards immigration in the EU-15. *Soc. Indic. Res.* 91:371-90.; O'Connell M. 2005. Economic forces and anti-immigrant attitudes in Western Europe: a paradox in search of an explanation. *Patterns Prejudice* 39(1):60-74.; Schlueter E, Wagner U. 2008. Regional differences matter. Examining the dual influence of the regional size of the immigrant population on derogation of immigrants in Europe. *Int. J. Comp. Sociol.* 49(2-3): 15 3-73.

<sup>40</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.

living and cultural threats to homogeneity. Nevertheless, the sentiment that economic threats are the most significant factors perseveres when the opposite is consistently found in the research. Economic worries are found to have little effect on ATII whereas cultural threats are found to have much stronger and more consistent support.<sup>41</sup> Economic hypotheses have enjoyed the largest amount of research and as such are discussed later in this paper in order to be best organized into individual and contextual factors.

Cultural threats, on the other hand, have been found to be far more consistent across “analyses, data sets, and approaches”.<sup>42</sup> Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014 provide a comprehensive review of over one hundred studies on ATII that define competitive threats, dividing them into zero-sum (1) economic and (2) cultural competitive threat categories.<sup>43</sup> Hainmueller and Hopkins refer to cultural threats as socio-psychological, defined as “group related attitudes and symbols in shaping immigration attitudes”.<sup>44</sup> As a review, these authors discuss several different examples of what defines cultural threat: racial demographics, religion, language, and national identity, to name the most prominent hypotheses.<sup>45</sup> They find that consistently, cultural threats are valuable impactors of ATII.<sup>46</sup> Card et al. 2011 uses the 2002 ESS to compare the effects of economic and cultural threats and find that cultural threats are “two to five times more important than economic

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<sup>41</sup> Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.; Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. "Public Attitudes toward Immigration." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2289270.

<sup>42</sup> Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.

<sup>43</sup> Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. "Public Attitudes toward Immigration." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2289270.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

concerns”.<sup>47</sup> Chandler and Tsai 2001 use the General Social Survey and show that perceived cultural threats to the English language are “especially strong correlates” of attitudes towards legal and illegal immigration with people who held negative stereotypes of ethnic groups being more “restrictionist”.<sup>48</sup> Hainmueller and Hiscox 2007, Malhotra et al. 2013, Sniderman et. al 2000, and Sniderman et. al 2004 also found that cultural threats do in fact shape ATII, further observing that when cultural threats shape ATII, the race/ethnicity of the immigrant (African or Eastern European in the case of Sniderman et. al 2000), be it the same as natives or different, is not a relevant determinant of ATII.<sup>49</sup> Additionally, as perceptions of competitive threat are heightened, natives’ view of different outgroups are found as interchangeable (refugees, immigrants, minorities, etc) are found to be lessened.<sup>50</sup> Schoon and Anderson use the European Social Survey (ESS) to rate respondents receptivity toward immigrants of varying race/ethnicities and found that older, more conservative, and less educated participants, respectively, were more likely to hold negative attitudes about immigrants of a different race than themselves rather than those that were of the same race/ethnicity.<sup>51</sup> Using this data, Schoon states that “as natives’ individual propensity toward perceived cultural threat increases, they are more likely to express divergent attitudes toward immigrants on the basis of race and

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<sup>47</sup> Card D, Dustmann C, Preston I. 2005. *Understanding attitudes to immigration: the migration and minority module of the first European Social Survey*. CREAM Discuss. Pap 03/05, Cent. Res. Anal. Migr., Econ. Dept., Univ. College, London. [http://www.econ.ucl.ac.uk/crearn/pages/CDP/CDP\\_03\\_05.pdf](http://www.econ.ucl.ac.uk/crearn/pages/CDP/CDP_03_05.pdf).

<sup>48</sup> Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. “Public Attitudes toward Immigration.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17:225–49.; Chandler CR, Tsai YM. 2001. Social Factor Influencing Immigration Attitudes: An Analysis of Data From the General Social Survey. *Soc. Sci. J.* 38:177-188.

<sup>49</sup>Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.

<sup>50</sup> Manevska, K., and P. Achterberg. 2011. “Immigration and Perceived Ethnic Threat: Cultural Capital and Economic Explanations.” *European Sociological Review* 29(3):437–49.; Scheepers, Peer, Merove Gijsberts, and Marcel Coenders. 2002a. “Ethnic Exclusionism in European Countries: Public Opposition to Civil Rights for Legal Migrants as a Response to Perceived Ethnic Threat.” *European Sociological Review* 18(1):17–34.; Scheepers, Peer, Merove Gijsberts, and Evelyn Hello. 2002b. “Religiosity and Prejudice against Aethnic Minorities in Europe: Cross-national Tests on a Controversial Relationship.” *Review of Religious Research* 43(3):242–65.

<sup>51</sup> Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.

ethnicity”.<sup>52</sup> This indicates that while the competitive threat ideology is limiting and not the entire picture, there is value in cultural threat research and that certainly these are factors to be considered.

## RACE AND NATIVE DEMOGRAPHICS

Studied apart from competitive threats, research which focus on ethno-racial prejudice and/or native demographics as the determining factor for ATII have had inconsistent results. To understand this it is helpful to separate existing literature on race and ethnicity into three categories of research: (1) theoretical focus on ethnic prejudice while only measuring responses regarding *immigrants*<sup>53</sup> (2) a focus on the pattern of change of ethnic prejudice by creating scores by which to combine measure of attitudes towards immigrants and racial/ethnic minorities<sup>54</sup>; (3) and lastly, experimental research that relies on “contextual indicators of ethnoracial difference to examine the sociotropic threats posed by immigrants”.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Hello, E., P. Scheepers, M. Gijsberts. 2002. “Education and Ethnic Prejudice in Europe: Explanations for Crossnational Variances in the Educational Effect on Ethnic Prejudice.” *Scandinavian Journal of Education Research* 46(1):5–24.; Manevska, K., and P. Achterberg. 2011. “Immigration and Perceived Ethnic Threat: Cultural Capital and Economic Explanations.” *European Sociological Review* 29(3):437–49.; Scheepers, Peer, Merove Gijsberts, and Marcel Coenders. 2002a. “Ethnic Exclusionism in European Countries: Public Opposition to Civil Rights for Legal Migrants as a Response to Perceived Ethnic Threat.” *European Sociological Review* 18(1):17–34.; Scheepers, Peer, Merove Gijsberts, and Evelyn Hello. 2002b. “Religiosity and Prejudice against Aethnic Minorities in Europe: Cross-national Tests on a Controversial Relationship.” *Review of Religious Research* 43(3):242–65.; Schneider, Silke L. 2008. “Anti-immigrant Attitudes in Europe: Outgroup Size and Perceived Ethnic Threat.” *European Sociological Review* 24(1):53–67.

<sup>54</sup> Coenders, Marcel, and Peer Scheepers. 1998. “Support for Ethnic Discrimination in the Netherlands 1979–1993: Effects of Period, Cohort, and Individual Characteristics.” *European Sociological Review* 14(4):405–22.; Coenders, Marcel, and Peer Scheepers. 2003. “The Effect of Education on Nationalism and Ethnic Exclusionism: An International Comparison.” *Political Psychology* 24(2): 313–43.

<sup>55</sup> Brader, Ted, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay. 2008. “What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4):959–78.; Ford, Robert. 2011. “Acceptable and Unacceptable Immigrants: How Opposition to Immigration in Britain Is Affected by Migrants’ Region of Origin.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37(7):1017–37.; Hainmueller, Jens, and Dominik Hangartner. 2013. “Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination.” *American Political Science Review* 107(1):159–87.; Hartman, Todd K., Benjamin J. Newman and C. Scott Bell. 2014. “Decoding Prejudice towards Hispanics: Group Cues and Public Reactions to Threatening Immigrant Behavior.” *Political Behavior* 36(1):143–63.; Hopkins, Daniel J. 2014. “The Upside of Accents: Language, Intergroup Difference, and Attitudes toward Immigration.” *British Journal of Political Science*

An example of the experimental research is found where Hartman and Newman showed that in the United States, white “Americans take significantly greater offense to transgressions such as being in the country illegally, working under the table, and rejecting symbols of American identity, when the perpetrating immigrant is Hispanic rather than White (or unspecified)”.<sup>56</sup> Anti-Hispanic sentiment is further shown to have a positively correlational relationship with influencing anti-immigration views in several previous studies.<sup>57</sup> A similar conclusion was also found by the survey created by *Racial and Economic Factors in Attitudes to Immigration* which posed questions regarding participants views towards immigrants from different countries thus producing data on the racial elements of participants biases.<sup>58</sup> Participants from European countries were more likely to see white immigrants positively and immigrants from West Africa negatively. This part of the survey found that racial differences played significantly into respondents’ views on immigration.

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45(3):531–57.; Newman, Benjamin J., Todd K. Hartman, and Charles S. Taber. 2012. “Foreign Language Exposure, Cultural Threat, and Opposition to Immigration.” *Political Psychology* 33(5):635– 57.; Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.; Sniderman, Paul M., Pierangelo Peri, Rui J. P. De Figueiredo, and Thomas Piazza. 2000. *The Outsider: Prejudice and Politics in Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.; Valentino, Nicholas A., Ted Brader, and Ashley E. Jardina. 2013. “Immigration Opposition among U.S. Whites: General Ethnocentrism or Media Priming of Attitudes about Latinos?” *Political Psychology* 34(2):149–66.

<sup>56</sup> Hartman, Todd K., Benjamin J. Newman and C. Scott Bell. 2014. “Decoding Prejudice towards Hispanics: Group Cues and Public Reactions to Threatening Immigrant Behavior.” *Political Behavior* 36(1):143–63.

<sup>57</sup> Burns, P., & Gimpel, J. G. (2000). Economic insecurity, prejudicial stereotypes, and public opinion on immigration policy. *Political Science Quarterly*, 1152, 201–225.; Citrin, J., Green, D. P., Muste, C., & Wong, C. (1997). Public opinion toward immigration reform: The role of economic motivations. *Journal of Politics*, 59, 858–881.; Hartman, Todd K., Benjamin J. Newman and C. Scott Bell. 2014. “Decoding Prejudice towards Hispanics: Group Cues and Public Reactions to Threatening Immigrant Behavior.” *Political Behavior* 36(1):143–63. ; Hood, M. V, I. I. I., & Morris, I. L. (1997). Amigo o enemigo? Context, attitudes, and anglo public opinion toward immigration. *Social Science Quarterly*, 78, 7813–7819.

<sup>58</sup> Dustmann C. Preston I. 2007. Racial and Economic Factors in Attitudes To Immigration. *BE J. Econ. Anal. Poli.* 7:1-39.

However, this idea is rarely replicated outside of anti-Hispanic sentiment and most other research states that “ethnoracial differences do not serve as a meaningful basis for distinction”.<sup>59</sup> Schoon argues that this inconsistency in cross-national survey-based research comes from the assumption that “race and ethnicity are salient in shaping attitudes toward immigrants but do not directly test this proposition”.<sup>60</sup> Experimental research, however, does “isolate the effects of ethnoracial differences on attitudes towards immigrants”<sup>61</sup> but has produced inconsistent results across countries and time periods. This implies that race and ethnicity do shape attitudes towards immigrants but more research is necessary to determine when and where.<sup>62</sup>

## **POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND RELIGION**

Political ideology hypotheses are well represented in terms of available literature but are less homogeneous in terms of terminology. I use this term to include any culturally identifiable ideology that influences attitudes towards outgroups, including religion, nationalism, or similarly linking belief and/or value system. As such, I include any research that studied religious biases in this category. *The Migration Myth in the Absence of Immigrants* identifies views on refugees as public philosophy. This article links xenophobia and general anti-immigration sentiment in both Hungary and Turkey to a bigger national ideology - persistent even in times without large-scale immigration crises in the region.<sup>63</sup> This article’s strengths lie in their brief but comprehensive summation of the most recent histories of immigration policy and surrounding politics in both

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<sup>59</sup> Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Korkut, Umut. "The Migration Myth in the Absence of Immigrants: How Does the Conservative Right in Hungary and Turkey Grapple with Immigration?" *Comparative European Politics* 12, no. 6 (2014): 620-36. doi:10.1057/cep.2014.23.

Hungary and Turkey. This includes details of present day citizenship requirements. A particularly interesting example given was a survey conducted measuring Hungarian's attitudes towards specific ethnic groups, including a non-existent group called "pirez" which had a 68% rate of refusal.<sup>64</sup> Political ideologies are seen as particularly relevant in multiple studies, but as more of a multi-factor theory rather than sole determinants.<sup>65</sup> This is corroborated by many other studies which have shown that "more conservative political ideologies and higher rates of reported religiosity increase perceptions of threat and contribute to negative attitudes toward outgroups".<sup>66</sup>

Interestingly, religion is not as often studied or cited as a relevant factor affecting ATII. Stephanie Doebler found in her study, *Relationships Between Religion and Intolerance Towards Muslims and Immigrants in Europe: A Multilevel Study*, that Europeans were less accepting of Muslims than non-Muslim immigrants, which she claims is a result of a post-9/11 Islamophobia.<sup>67</sup> Eastern Europeans were more likely to hold more negative opinions of Muslims but somewhat less intuitively, denominational individuals were not any less or more tolerant of Muslims than those of no denomination.<sup>68</sup> Scheepers et al. 2002b concluded the opposite, that Catholics and Protestants were more likely to have more prejudice against ethnic minorities than individuals

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Chandler CR, Tsai YM. 2001. Social Factor Influencing Immigration Attitudes: An Analysis of Data From the General Social Survey. *Soc. Sci. J.* 38:177-188.

<sup>66</sup> de Figueiredo, Rui J. P., Jr., and Zachary Elkins. 2003. "Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiry into the Vices of In-group Pride." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(1):171–88.; Kunovich, Robert M. 2009. "The Sources and Consequences of National Identification." *American Sociological Review* 74(4):573–93.; Scheepers, Peer, Merove Gijssberts, and Evelyn Hello. 2002b. "Religiosity and Prejudice against Aethnic Minorities in Europe: Cross-national Tests on a Controversial Relationship." *Review of Religious Research* 43(3):242–65.; Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.; Semyonov, Mosh, Rebeca Raijman, and Anastasia Gorodzeisky. 2008. "Foreigners' Impact on European Societies: Public Views and Perceptions in a Cross-national Comparative Perspective." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 49(1): 5–29.; Sides, John, and Jack Citrin. 2007. "European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." *British Journal of Political Science* 37(3):477–504.

<sup>67</sup> Doebler, Stefanie. "Relationships Between Religion and Intolerance Towards Muslims and Immigrants in Europe: A Multilevel Analysis." *Review of Religious Research* 56, no. 1 (2013): 61-86. doi:10.1007/s13644-013-0126-1.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

who identified as having no religion.<sup>69</sup> Further, both church attendance and conservative ideologies were positively correlated with increased prejudicial views towards ethnic minorities.

## EDUCATION

Education hypotheses focus on the concept that areas with higher rates of high school graduation, college attendance, and graduate degree reception, are more likely to have pro-immigration sentiments. Education is consistently considered an important variable in multifactor theories. *Social factors influencing immigration attitudes: an analysis of data from the General Social Survey* focuses on the social factors impacting public opinion toward immigration policy and identifies them as being primarily college education and perceived cultural threats (e.g., towards language).<sup>70</sup> Hainmueller and Hiscox, too, contrast traditional labor market arguments by showing that higher skill and higher rates education are highly correlated with more positive ATII, as opposed to the idea that natives are more likely to be threatened by immigrants with similar skill levels.<sup>71</sup> This hypothesis is continually reproduced in literature between the late 80's and early 2010's through the following terminology of educated individuals having "lower levels of ethnocentrism", "placing more emphasis on cultural diversity", and having more optimistic attitudes on the "economic impacts of immigration".<sup>72</sup> There is no apparent available data which directly contradicts this hypothesis but there is

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<sup>69</sup> Scheepers, Peer, Merove Gijsberts, and Evelyn Hello. 2002b. "Religiosity and Prejudice against Aethnic Minorities in Europe: Cross-national Tests on a Controversial Relationship." *Review of Religious Research* 43(3):242-65.

<sup>70</sup> Chandler CR. Tsai YM. 2001. Social Factor Influencing Immigration Attitudes: An Analysis of Data From the General Social Survey. *Soc. Sci. J.* 38:177-188.

<sup>71</sup> Hainmueller J. Hiscox MJ. 2007. Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes Towards Immigration in Europe. *Int. Organ.* 61:399-442.; Hainmueller J. Hiscox MJ. 2010. Attitudes Toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment. *Am. Polit. Sci. Rev.* 104:61-84.

<sup>72</sup> Bobo L. Licari FC. 1989. Education and Political Tolerance. *Public Opin. Quart.* 53:285-307.; Citrin J. Green DP. Muste C. Wong C. 1997. Public opinion toward immigration reform: The role of economic motivations. *J. Polit.* 59:858-881.; Chandler CR. Tsai YM. 2001. Social Factor Influencing Immigration Attitudes: An Analysis of Data From the General Social Survey. *Soc. Sci. J.* 38:177-188.; Card D. Dustmann C. Preston I. 2012. Immigration, Wages, and Compositional Amenities. *J. Eur. Econ. Assoc.* 10:78-119.; Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. "Public Attitudes toward Immigration." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2289270.

evidence that given a “stacked deck” certain industries, (specifically high-tech sectors which are more threatened by immigrant labor) can be leveraged to produce negative ATII. The authors of these studies however argue that due to the intentional data leveraging, these results should be considered the effect’s “upper bound”.<sup>73</sup>

Despite this remarkable consistency across datasets, there is doubt regarding the mechanisms which result in the significant positive correlation between education and more positive ATII. Examples of this include the “liberalizing effect of education”<sup>74</sup> and the dissent on the topic<sup>75</sup> or the perspective of education as an “indicator of cultural threat”.<sup>76</sup>

## INDIVIDUAL LEVEL ECONOMIC

When examining economic indicators on ATII it is important to separate individual factors from nationwide factors. Economic vulnerability on this level is most often cited as income and employment status.<sup>77</sup> Though not academically defensible, the most commonly held belief regards individuals with lower incomes or unemployment status as being more likely to hold negative opinions about immigration and immigrants or more generally outgroups.<sup>78</sup> These ideas have been regularly debunked and support for them has been marked as “mixed, at best”.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Malhotra N, Margalit Y, Mo CH. 2013. Economic Explanations for Opposition to Immigration: Distinguishing between Prevalence and Conditional Impact. *Am. J. Polit. Sci.* 57: 391–410.

<sup>74</sup> Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.; Hainmueller J, Hiscox MJ. 2007. Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes Towards Immigration in Europe. *Int. Organ.* 61:399-442.; Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.

<sup>75</sup> Kunovich, Robert M. 2004. “Social Structural Position and Prejudice: An Exploration of Cross-national Differences in Regression Slopes.” *Social Science Research* 33(1):20–44.

<sup>76</sup> Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.

<sup>77</sup> Schneider, Silke L. 2008. “Anti-immigrant Attitudes in Europe: Outgroup Size and Perceived Ethnic Threat.” *European Sociological Review* 24(1):53–67.

<sup>78</sup> Kiecolt, K. Jill. 1988. “Recent Developments in Attitudes and Social Structure.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 14:381–403.; Scheepers, Peer, Merove Gijsberts, and Marcel Coenders. 2002a. “Ethnic Exclusionism in European Countries: Public Opposition to Civil Rights for Legal Migrants as a Response to Perceived Ethnic Threat.”

## IDENTITY AND VALUES

Identity here refers to factors which individuals consider to be essential to sense of self<sup>80</sup>, such as values, history, and family. Relevant examples of this are the presence of forced migration in a person's family, ancestral, or regional history as factors which can lead to significant differences in individuals' views towards refugees or any immigrant. The psychology of perspective is important here. These ideas can be represented by any sort of "symbolic interest" which indicate a personal identification with a group.<sup>81</sup> Theoretically, identity, here, is based in social identity theory<sup>82</sup> which states that "individuals tend to think favorably about themselves and the groups to which they belong".<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately, causal implications or mechanisms connecting ATII and social identity theory do not currently exist and as a result, this study uses this absence in the literature to most contribute.

The following study references a psychological experiment where participants were asked to judge favorability of individuals who had some unfavorable characteristic. The study

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*European Sociological Review* 18(1):17–34.; Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.; Semyonov, Moshe, Rebeca Raijman, and Anastasia Gorodzeisky. 2006. "The Rise of Anti-foreigner Sentiment in European Societies, 1988–2000." *American Sociological Review* 71(3): 426–49.

<sup>79</sup> Schoon, Eric W., and Kathryn Freeman Anderson. "Rethinking the Boundaries: Competitive Threat and the Asymmetric Salience of Race/Ethnicity in Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1-14. doi:10.1177/2378023117713908.

<sup>80</sup> Davidov E, Meuleman B, Billiet J, Schmidt P. 2008. Values and support for immigration: a cross-country comparison. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 24(5):583-99.

<sup>81</sup> Davidov E, Meuleman B, Billiet J, Schmidt P. 2008. Values and support for immigration: a cross-country comparison. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 24(5):583-99.; Sides, John, and Jack Citrin. 2007. "European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." *British Journal of Political Science* 37(3):477–504.

<sup>82</sup> Tajfel H. 1982. *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. New York: *Cambridge Univ. Press.*; Tajfel H, Turner JC. 1986. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. S Worchel, W Austin, pp. 2-24. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

<sup>83</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.

found that when prompted to consider themselves in the place of that individual, participants were more likely to respond favorably. The implication of this increased favorability along with corresponding studies regarding the persistence of memory in communities, indicates that a region or people's history cannot be ignored when considering the direction of immigration sentiment in a community. Vasiliki Fouka uses the terms 'attitudes toward outgroups' and argues through survey data that family history (specifically in the case of the 20th century in Greece and Asia Minor, Nazi Occupation, island concentration camps, military dictatorship) is directly correlated to sympathy and action for displaced persons.<sup>84</sup> This experiment encouraged participants, both Greeks with a history of forced migration and those without, to donate money to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.<sup>85</sup> She finds that these descendants are more likely, (a quarter of a standard deviation) to view refugees as people fleeing conflict as opposed to economic migrants. Additionally, she finds that there is a spillover effect onto charitable actions towards those within the ingroup.<sup>86</sup> She also references a study conducted in China in 2016 which showed similar results. Interestingly, she finds that this effect is found in Greeks without a history of forced migration but only in regions where there is a significant population with such experience.<sup>87</sup>

Regarding the potential mechanisms which might influence this phenomenon, Davidov et al. found that self identified values exist as significant indicators for ATII. In their study, *Values and Support for Immigration: A Cross-Country Comparison*<sup>88</sup>, Davidov et al. rely on the theoretical framework of Shalom Schwartz in illustrating ten basic human values and

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<sup>84</sup> Dinas, Elias, and Vasiliki Fouka. "Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2018, 2-45. doi:10.2139/ssrn.3102093.

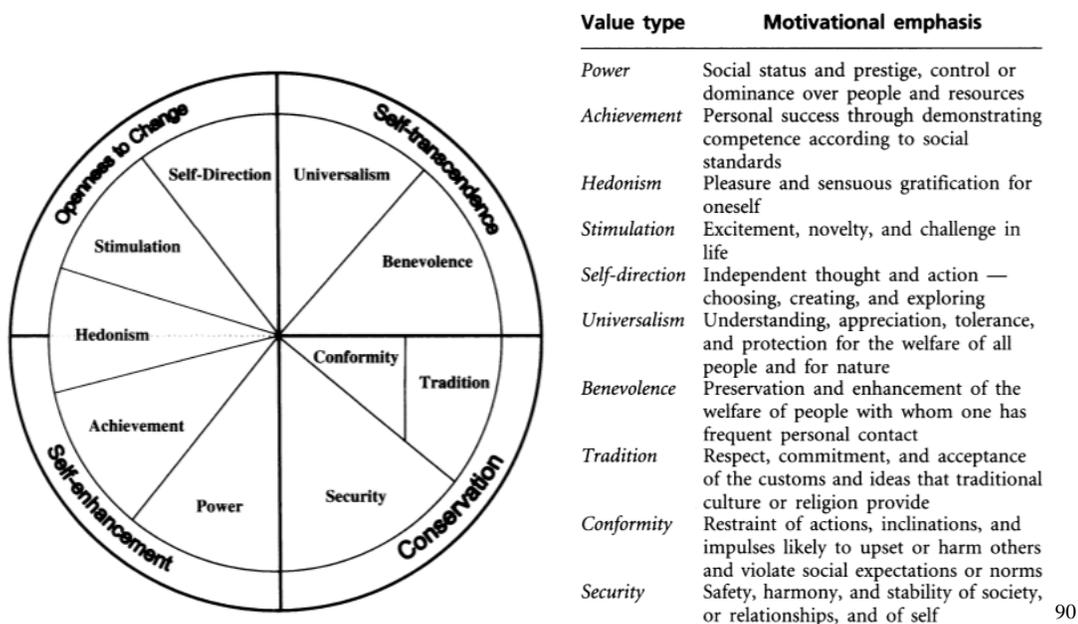
<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Davidov E, Meuleman B, Billiet J, Schmidt P. 2008. Values and support for immigration: a cross-country comparison. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 24(5):583-99.

categorizing them into two dimensions of ‘self-transcendence’ and ‘conservation’.<sup>89</sup> These terms are illustrated in the following figure.



Davidov et al. found that self-transcendent values led to more positive attitudes towards immigration whereas values in the conservation dimension led to more negative attitudes towards immigration.<sup>91</sup>

## MACRO-LEVEL

### CONTACT/ VISIBILITY

Contact hypothesis here refers to the idea that increased contact with immigrants, refugees, local migrants, etc., leads to decreased xenophobia through the increased interactions in daily life between natives and immigrants. As populations of specific minorities increase, presence and visibility in schools, churches, grocery stores, and other community centers also increase,

<sup>89</sup> Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In Zanna, P. (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. Volume 25, San Diego: Academic Press, pp. 1-65.

<sup>90</sup> Davidov E, Meuleman B, Billiet J, Schmidt P. 2008. Values and support for immigration: a cross-country comparison. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 24(5):583-99. Value Type Figure.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

decreasing fear based hate and leading natives to advocate more on a policy level for their immigrant neighbors. The basis for this hypothesis was initially developed by James Pettigrew in *Intergroup Contact Theory*.<sup>92</sup> Pettigrew illustrates four processes about which contact increases positive ATII, those being, (1) learning about the outgroup, (2) changing behavior, (3) generating affective ties, and (4) ingroup reappraisal<sup>93</sup>. Pettigrew specifies that “the situation must allow equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and authority support” and that “the contact situation must have “friendship potential””.<sup>94</sup> However, it is important to note that if native populations perceive a specific pre-existing cultural threat, i.e., language disappearance, dropping religious rates, racial majority status loss, or other forms of cultural loss, higher immigrant population may act as cause for increased anti-immigrant sentiment.<sup>95</sup> Using public opinion, and economic and census data, *Xenophobia and Immigrant Contact* looks at the relationship between the presence of immigrant populations and xenophobic sentiments.<sup>96</sup> The study, maintaining contact theory, ultimately claims that larger immigrant populations are actually correlated with lessened xenophobia among native populations. *What Determines Attitudes Towards Immigration in European Countries, An Analysis at the Regional Level* discusses attitudes towards migrants as being more accepting when there is a larger immigrant population and the immigrant population has a lower unemployment rate.<sup>97</sup> In this study, interestingly, there is a correlation between *higher* native unemployment rate and less

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<sup>92</sup> Pettigrew, Thomas F. "Intergroup Contact Theory." *Annual Review of Psychology* 49, no. 1 (1998): 65-85. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Chandler CR, Tsai YM. 2001. Social Factor Influencing Immigration Attitudes: An Analysis of Data From the General Social Survey. *Soc. Sci. J.* 38:177-188.

<sup>96</sup> Jolly, Seth K., and Gerald M. Digiusto. "Xenophobia and Immigrant Contact: French Public Attitudes toward Immigration." *The Social Science Journal* 51, no. 3 (2014): 464-73. doi:10.1016/j.soscij.2013.09.018.

<sup>97</sup> Markaki, Y., and S. Longhi. "What Determines Attitudes to Immigration in European Countries? An Analysis at the Regional Level." *Migration Studies* 1, no. 3 (2013): 311-37. doi:10.1093/migration/mnt015.

pronounced anti-immigration views.<sup>98</sup> This correlation is opposite to most economic theory findings. This lack of concurrence within the existing literature speaks to missing variables.

### **CONTEXTUAL LEVEL ECONOMIC**

These economic hypotheses focus on the idea that the economics of the country being emigrated to, in some way if not in multiple ways, are the most significant factor determining a native populations likelihood to be accepting or not accepting of immigrant populations. The most common economic factors considered include welfare or other social expenditure, labor market conditions for immigrants and native citizens, wages, and low-skill and high-skill prevalence within these markets. Economic hypotheses are the most significantly represented hypotheses amongst the existing literature and as such are also the most varied in terms of micro-factors.

There is also a significant (almost equal) amount of literature arguing *against* individual economic theories. Studies favoring economic theory tend to have taken place in the 1990s-early 2000s whereas studies against tend to be more recent. It is a particularly interesting perspective to look at in this case because many communities in Greece can be described as economically insecure, especially during the period with which the refugee crisis hit its peak in the early 2010's.

Unemployment rates are often regarded as the most traditional indicator for native citizens' perceptions of economic conditions and therefore their opinions regarding immigration or further competition in job markets. Various studies have found significant data on positive correlations between unemployment rates and public opinion polls. With regard to more recent data, the European Social Survey data suggests that from 2003 to 2007, European ATII did not

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

continue the downward trend of the 80's and 90's and that decreasing unemployment rates during this period seemed to correlate to more positive ATII.<sup>99</sup>

Welfare concerns are also well represented in existing literature. Mid 2000's literature suggests that welfare expenditure was of greater importance than labor market concerns. This is further supported by work by Scheve and Slaughter in 1999.<sup>100</sup> This is interesting as labor markets are more often seen to be indicative of regions which are anti-immigration and given the above studies. GDP is notably not included as an effective catalyst for ATII, however. This is likely due to the disconnect between GDP and perceived wealth increases for average citizens due to its failure to account for "distribution of income".<sup>101</sup>

Literature on labor markets, however, is more immediately contested. Many studies, correlate low-skill labor with anti-immigration sentiment, particularly in high immigrant population communities, along with the idea that natives in these communities are likely to associate higher immigration population with lower wages.<sup>102</sup> However, a significant study contests this (albeit cautiously considering the geographical limits of their own study) and claims that there is "no strong evidence that the greater labor market concerns sometimes believed to exist among unskilled and manual workers are reacted in opposition towards further

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<sup>99</sup> Meuleman, Bart, Eldad Davidov, and Jaak Billiet. "Changing Attitudes toward Immigration in Europe, 2002–2007: A Dynamic Group Conflict Theory Approach." *Social Science Research* 38, no. 2 (2009): 352-65. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2008.09.006.

<sup>100</sup> Dustmann C. Preston I. 2007. Racial and Economic Factors in Attitudes To Immigration. *BE J. Econ. Anal. Poli.* 7:1-39.; Scheve, Kenneth F., and Matthew J. Slaughter. "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences Over Immigration Policy." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 83, no. 1 (2001): 133-45. doi:10.1162/003465301750160108.

<sup>101</sup> Meuleman, Bart, Eldad Davidov, and Jaak Billiet. "Changing Attitudes toward Immigration in Europe, 2002–2007: A Dynamic Group Conflict Theory Approach." *Social Science Research* 38, no. 2 (2009): 352-65. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2008.09.006.

<sup>102</sup> Scheve, Kenneth F., and Matthew J. Slaughter. "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences Over Immigration Policy." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 83, no. 1 (2001): 133-45. doi:10.1162/003465301750160108.; Mayda, Anna Maria. "Who Is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 88, no. 3 (August 2006): 510-30. Accessed March 7, 2019. doi:https://doi.org/10.1162/rest.88.3.510.

immigration. However, labour market concerns are an important channel for preference towards immigration among the better educated".<sup>103</sup>

With regards to both *Do Concerns About Labor Market Competition Shape Attitudes Towards Immigration?* and *Public Attitudes Towards Immigration*, Hainmueller has written extensively on the topic of attitudes towards immigration and consistently finds that economic fears as well as ideologic prejudices simply are not significant factors in the accurate representation of public opinion towards further immigration.<sup>104</sup> These articles name the more often cited sources of this economic theory and categorically dismantles their credibility by pointing out methodological problems and biases created by poor research design.<sup>105</sup> This work then conducts its own study with much larger sample sizes, correcting research design problems they identify in other studies, and finds economic factors to be relatively insignificant factors for determining attitudes towards immigration.<sup>106</sup>

Regarding literature that poses economic factors as not significantly relevant to attitudes towards immigration, *The Migration Myth in the Absence of Immigrants* discusses factors which would encourage the country to be less xenophobic like falling birth rates, brain drain, youth

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<sup>103</sup> Dustmann C. Preston I. 2007. Racial and Economic Factors in Attitudes To Immigration. *BE J. Econ. Anal. Poli.* 7:1-39.; Scheve, Kenneth F., and Matthew J. Slaughter. "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences Over Immigration Policy." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 83, no. 1 (2001): 133-45. doi:10.1162/003465301750160108.

<sup>104</sup> Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17, no. 1 (2014): 225-49. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-102512-194818.; Hainmueller, Jens, Dominik Hangartner, and Giuseppe Pietrantuono. "Catalyst or Crown: Does Naturalization Promote the Long-Term Social Integration of Immigrants?" *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2015. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2664101.

<sup>105</sup> Scheve, Kenneth F., and Matthew J. Slaughter. "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences Over Immigration Policy." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 83, no. 1 (2001): 133-45. doi:10.1162/003465301750160108.; Mayda, Anna Maria. "Who Is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 88, no. 3 (August 2006): 510-30. Accessed March 7, 2019. doi:https://doi.org/10.1162/rest.88.3.510.

<sup>106</sup> Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17, no. 1 (2014): 225-49. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-102512-194818.

flight, etc. and countries' respective continued closed immigration policy with leader quotations and quoted legislation.<sup>107</sup>

In this chapter, I provided an introduction to the research question this thesis considers (What affects attitudes towards outgroups and how are values shared in a community?) as well as the basic context and history for the case study of the Aegean, Athens, and Northern regions of Greece. Further, I presented an exhaustive review of the existing literature in order to provide a fuller context for the topic and to eliminate hypotheses which are often falsely considered to be the most major factors in influencing attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. This review lays the context for the research of the Greek case study, in which the most relevant hypotheses will be tested (the family history micro-factor presented by Fouka and Dinas) and how that research will be designed in order to best access the causes of this phenomenon of increased acceptance for refugees in certain Greek regions.

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<sup>107</sup> Korkut, Umut. "The Migration Myth in the Absence of Immigrants: How Does the Conservative Right in Hungary and Turkey Grapple with Immigration?" *Comparative European Politics* 12, no. 6 (2014): 620-36. doi:10.1057/cep.2014.23.

## Chapter 2: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter details this thesis' hypotheses, research design and methodology. Given the above discussion of existing literature, this chapter illustrates this project's expansion of the literature on identity, values, and the effect of family history on attitudes through the investigation of the mechanisms that cause the increase in positive ATII in certain Greek regions. Here, there is a discussion of the defining and measuring of the terminology, namely, acceptance, why this project chooses to focus on public opinion, and how it planned to measure it. Then, this section of the thesis describes the research design and justifies the use of qualitative research via in-depth questionnaires, and discusses how this research was carried out and analyzed.

### Hypotheses

I argue that a significant cause for increased acceptance of refugees is present in the last century of Greece's history. Citizens and residents of the islands specifically affected by the Asia Minor population exchange in 1923 are particularly sympathetic to refugees because they themselves experienced the loss of homeland and refugee status, or saw the traumatic effect it had on older generations. Although I am not evaluating all of the hypotheses presented in the literature review, the exhaustive review is necessary in order to acknowledge and falsify the hypotheses which are defaultly assumed to be responsible for the phenomenon as well as to give the reader the larger picture of micro-factors that this thesis is not be able to encompass.

*Hypothesis 1:* Where family experience with refugee status is present, public support for refugees increases.

*Hypothesis 2:* The mechanism for this lies within the family and school units via communicative sharing of altruistic values.

## Methodology

Given my research question, there is an immediate need to define the term *acceptance* in a meaningful qualifiable way. Here, I clarify the concept of acceptance as ‘public support’ as the sole definer of the phenomenon seen in the Aegean in the early 2010’s - given the lack of government resources and astounding public sacrifice. This project is not studying EU border jurisdiction and immigration policy nor related policy from Athens because it is the actions and opinions of local populations in the defined regions which vary significantly from the rest of the nation. It is this public response which is the unique phenomena. *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment* discusses migration in Europe as part of a larger assimilation within the growing concept of ‘Europe’.<sup>108</sup> With this frame, the author views migration as being predominantly economically motivated, even in cases where violence is a relevant factor. The main focus of this work however, is outlining the factors which in a given host country, will affect the acceptance and adjustment of immigrants<sup>6</sup>. However, the relevance of this work is not in the stance it takes on why citizens do or do not accept displaced persons but for its work in defining what constitutes factors by which to measure ‘acceptance’. The author divides these factors into policy and non-policy and their attributed ‘openness’.<sup>109</sup> Policy here refers to governmental immigration policy, social benefits, vocational training and available orientations, programming, and requirements for naturalization.<sup>110</sup> Non-policy factors include economy, public opinion from polling, and existing national ideologies.<sup>111</sup> This thesis concentrates on the public opinion aspects of these works.

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<sup>108</sup> Arnold Marshall Rose, *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment* (Minneapolis (Minn.): University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

Variation in Refugee Acceptance

(Favorable/ Non-favorable to refugees)  
(F) (NF)

(Volunteer Efforts, Community based Fundraising, Local Efforts, Public Services Increase)	(Increased Rate of Hate Crimes, Lowered Rates of Charity, Public Services Decrease)
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The parenthetical sections of this conceptualization have significant variation - specific to Greece - comparatively to the rest of the world as well as in comparing the regions of Greece to others within the nation. This conceptualization acts simply as a means to illustrate real life behaviors that the conjunction and disjunction of natives' views towards outgroups and incoming refugee populations can take.

### **Research Design**

My research design considers the evidence presented by Elias Dinas and Vicky Fouka along with the European Commission for Public Opinion, and looks to identify the mechanism which results in these higher rates of acceptance; mechanisms like generational word of mouth value sharing, local history education, or any other medium by which these ideas are manifested and continued.<sup>112</sup> My focus is on qualitative evidence, derived from in-depth questionnaires. These questionnaires were conducted with 15 individuals from Thessaloniki and the Aegean islands, both in support and not in support of displaced persons. The study focuses on these regions because they are both where this phenomenon is shown to be taking place and because

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<sup>112</sup> Dinas, Elias, and Vasiliki Fouka. "Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2018, 2. doi:10.2139/ssrn.3102093.

they have the largest population with 1923 forced population exchange ancestry, as shown in the census of 1928<sup>113</sup>. This methodology is further based on the data presented by Fouka and Dinas who have shown that though family history is the essential cause to this phenomenon of increased acceptance for refugees, these attitudes toward outgroups are shared to the surrounding area to individuals who may actually not share this history.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, it is not necessary to specifically seek out participants with family history of forced migration and in fact may be revealing to see the differences in mechanism between those that do and do not have this history.

Qualitative data collection is preferred here both due to the absence of this type of data in existing literature and because it is the most effective means to elaborate on existing literature. By identifying the mechanisms which are responsible for the Greek phenomena of increased positive ATII<sup>115</sup> (Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration), the micro-factors, one is able to gather a greater understanding of the macro sociological factors which impact ATII. Specifically, my study uses questionnaires as a means of obtaining in-depth information collected from individuals' experiences in the region where the public opinion abnormality is occurring. These questionnaires use the same structure of questions with minute differences based on the experiences of the participant and flow of conversation. The template for the questionnaires used the following format, with a brief description of the study preceding.

“This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+
2. What is your occupation?

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 22-23.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>115</sup> Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010): 310-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651.

3. How long have you lived in Greece?
4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?
5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?
6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?
7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?
8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?
9. What values are important to being Greek?
10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?
11. Where would you say these values come from?
12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?
13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?
14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?
15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?
16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?
17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?
18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?"

These questions attempt to understand the specific values regarding ATII of Greeks native to the Thessaloniki and Aegean regions and what participants identify as being contributing factors for the development of those values. Demographic questions are also asked in order to identify and control any other obvious biases. Volunteers in refugee camps were considered participants despite the fact that they could be considered extreme in terms of

willingness to give or sacrifice for refugees. This study does not consider this to be a bias because it considers the work of Fouka and Dinas to be sufficient in proving that the phenomenon exists in these regions. As this study looks only to identify the mechanisms that underlie ATII, participants who would otherwise be regarded extreme are considered. In fact, in the context of this study, these participants are particularly valuable as their experiences and learned values led them to be comparatively positive towards refugees.

This project's contribution to the literature involves fifteen questionnaires with native Greeks. Due to distance and seven hour time difference, questionnaires were conducted over email where participants were given the aforementioned eighteen questions to answer in their own time. Participants were not known by the author or advisors and were instead found through a combination of the Greek language subreddit r/GREEK (twelve participants) and volunteer information point Facebook groups (two participants). These Facebook groups are not social or political in nature and are moderated to only exist to supply information and connect individuals to aid. The r/GREEK subreddit, too, is not political or social and is moderated to be a community dedicated to learning Modern Greek language. I have observed these Facebook communities for one year and the subreddit for several years. One participant was recommended by someone who was contacted but preferred not to participate. It was necessary to the project to find participants who were born and raised in Greece and therefore this project sought these participants via internet groups where that demographic was most prevalent. Finding native Greeks with opinions on outgroups, who used the internet actively and were therefore findable by this project, were fluent in English, and were willing to participate in the lengthy questionnaire led to some degree of initial difficulty. This was compounded as I was not in the country personally and had only one on the ground contact in Lesbos (who had minimal contact with anyone due to being

the night shift on a boat watch). The above described demographic should also definitely be acknowledged as potentially having some degree of bias (mostly young, computer literate, having at least some degree of political literacy) but that ultimately the findings and conclusions of these questionnaires are valid beyond that potential bias and that the findings hold in participants who do not encompass all or any of these characteristics. All questionnaires were conducted in English and the participants were made aware of the topic of study before answering questions.

### **Coding Responses**

Questionnaires were processed categorically binarily or otherwise quantitative coding which allowed for correlations between attitudes and characteristics to be quickly drawn from the sample. These categories and their codebook instructions are listed in the template below, where unless otherwise noted a 0 indicates a negative response and a 1 indicates a positive response. Values stated and particularly poignant quotations were the only text fields coded.

Participant	Age	Education	Affected by economic crisis	Change in Values of Neighborhood	Greek Values Identified Altruism	Greek Values Given Text	Identifies values coming from Greek History or specifically Asia Minor	Mechanism for learning values	
Directions	1,2,3,4,5 for age groups	0- high school, 1 - college, 2- postgrad	0/1	(-1,0,1 liberal leaning, no change, conservative leaning)	0/1		0/1	1-family 2-school 3-church 4-personal exploration, 5-media, 6 - culture, 7- other	
Welcome refugees	Greek Public Services for refugees	Interaction w/ refugees	Empathizes w/ refugees - puts themselves in place of refugees	Affected by Asia Minor	Europe should share responsibility for crisis	Religious Affiliation?	Level of engagement?	Notes:	Quotes with reference number 1-18.
0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1/2 = not personally but knows someone	0/1	0/1	0-none, 1-support, 2-volunteer / donate		

From here, once potential correlations and patterns of the data were made clear, individual responses were studied for particular comparative relevance and clarity. Conclusions regarding binary data (Ex: 12/15 have experienced \*A\* and also stated \*B\* in their responses) were documented at this time. These quotations were saved and categorized for later stages of drafting.

### **Participant characteristics**

Participants' demographics ranged as fairly young with five between the ages of 18-24, seven between the ages of 25-34, two in the 35-44 category, and one between the ages of 55-64, presenting as favorable range of experiences as could be expected in such a small sample size contacted via the internet. Most significant was level of education as eight participants were in some form of post-graduate program and five having some form of college education, with only two not indicating education obtained past high school. This leads this study's data to conform to

the existing literature which does point to education as being a significant micro-factor in determining attitudes towards outgroups. Only five participants reported regular contact with refugees but four out of these five did actively empathize with refugees without prompt. With regard to economic status, every individual currently living in Greece reported being varyingly affected by the economic crises in some significant way.

*“Everyone has been largely affected by the economic crisis. Even people from the higher classes have way simpler lifestyles nowadays, way different than before. People, hide and hoard their money. We also, have a major shift not only in the way we live or manage our money but on our values as well or how we perceive the world and each other<sup>116</sup>.”*

*“I am from a low income family so things were never perfect. The economic crisis has affected us in many ways though. Now we think twice about spending money. Meat is more expensive than everything else so we eat more vegetables and legumes than we did before. Smoking is also an expensive habit, and I know many people who have quit because of that. So in a way I can say that the economic crisis has made us healthier. On the other side we avoid going to the doctor unless it’s an emergency. If you have a minor cold you can stay at home, eat a soup, and drink some tea. A doctor’s visit usually costs ~ 50 euros, money we don’t really want to spend. If any appliances break down we tend to fix them ourselves, and only if something can’t be fixed we buy a new one. The increasing taxes are increasing everyones debt because at the same time our income has decreased, making it impossible to pay the bills. People are working too much and being paid less. This is increasing the tension in our relationships and is affecting peoples’ mental health. Many people I know are getting divorced. Depression and anxiety rates are increasing. Social media are making things even worse. Seeing people travel around Europe*

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<sup>116</sup> Throughout this thesis, quotations separated by paragraph breaks indicate different participant responses.

*when you can't even go for a coffee without second-thinking about the money you will spend, is very depressing. The future is scary, but I'm sure we'll make it."*

As seen above, participants were significantly impacted by the economic crisis in Greece in ways that affected every part of their lives. Life in Greece for these participants is a constant reminder of the difficult economic conditions for themselves and for the country as a whole.

This chapter illustrated and justified the project's hypotheses and research design regarding identity, values, and the effect of family history on ATII in light of the above literature review. It also discussed how and why this thesis chose to condense the conceptualization of acceptance to public opinion and how it analyzed participant responses once received. The following two chapters will then elaborate on the most significant findings of the thesis.

### Chapter 3: Identified Values

This chapter discusses this thesis' results with respect to what values participants identified in their responses. Here, I discuss the details of these findings with quotations from participants as evidence, percentages of comparative responses, and the details of the research design which allowed for the conclusions made (question diction). I further define and elaborate on the most common values reported by participants.

In the context of the modern phenomenon in the Aegean, the two main goals of these questionnaires were to identify the values that led to such heightened levels of support for refugees<sup>117</sup> and then to identify the mechanism for learning these values. Questions nine and ten on the questionnaire asked for participants to identify values they felt were important to being Greek and then to further identify how and where these values are practiced in their daily life. Twenty two unique values were listed with some degree of overlap in definition (e.g. kindness, understanding, openness, altruism, community, hospitality or religion, tradition, heritage, Greek education). The most common strictly stated responses, excluding responses which received only one or two mentions for clarity, are represented in the chart below as hospitality, family, altruism, and philotimo\*.

Just over 20% of respondents included family as an essential value with little variation on the vocabulary used or how family might be interpreted. Family in this context is deeply rooted in heritage and tradition, with most respondents referring to close knit, large families.

*“Greeks put much importance on family. They always did.”*

*“Being Greek means respecting your culture, heritage, family, education, religion, and hospitality.”*

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<sup>117</sup> Dinas, Elias, and Vasiliki Fouka. "Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2018, 2. doi:10.2139/ssrn.3102093

Participants here related family with heritage and culture and maintained that family was an essential part of self. It seems that the term ‘family’ was used mostly as a relationship with one’s family and maintaining one’s culture and heritage throughout their life.

Twelve out of fifteen identified some type of altruism (defined here as any value which could be construed as working for the well-being of others) as being “important to being Greek” without prompt. In fact, interestingly, patriotism is the only value commonly mentioned that does not fall in the realm of some variety of altruist notion. However, because of Greece’s rocky recent history, patriotism in this country was defended by the participants who identified it as an important value. These participants referred to it as being less correlated to more harmful notions of nationalism and instead as being a prideful overcoming of adversity and a community which spans to those of the diaspora as well.

Philotimo was another example of altruistic values given by many participants.

*“Philotimo. It is difficult to describe in English.”*

*“In Greek, the word is φιλοξενία.”*

*“I could go on and on about ‘Philotimo’ but I will give you an example you can definitely understand...I felt a genuine impulse to help even though I don’t know you...because that feels the right thing to me. All this chain reaction in my head, exists in most Greeks and is the only thing keeping our nation together and it is ‘Philotimo’.”*

Philotimo, notorious for its untranslatability, incorporates many of these values into a singular concept which is solely Greek. The two roots of the word philos and timi, meaning friend and honor, create the term which is as the Greek City Times described, “about goodness, selflessness, giving without wanting anything in return and the force that drives individuals to

think about the people and the world around them”.<sup>118</sup> Many participants identified this term, unsure how to describe it, as the singular driving force behind Greeks’ support of refugees in context of their own adversity.

The most commonly reported value was hospitality or some other form of altruism.

*“Especially in small villages and towns, people are encouraged to take in refugees, donate to charities, hire refugees, and volunteer to help the poor. People teach Greek lessons for free or very cheap, and volunteer at soup kitchens run by churches. “*

*“There are regular calls for food, clothes and other necessities for refugees organized by NGO’s, and people bring what they can spare every time. If there is a car broken down on the side of the road, you’ll almost always see people stop and offer help.”*

*“Take hospitality for example. If you visit a Greek’s home, you will immediately be offered a meal and drinks. We don’t think anything of it...It is our duty to be hospitable, but it is difficult to provide the adequate services given our financial dilemmas.”*

*“[I]f a guest was coming in a house people used to first give him food clothes a place to sleep and then ask who he is and introduce themselves.”*

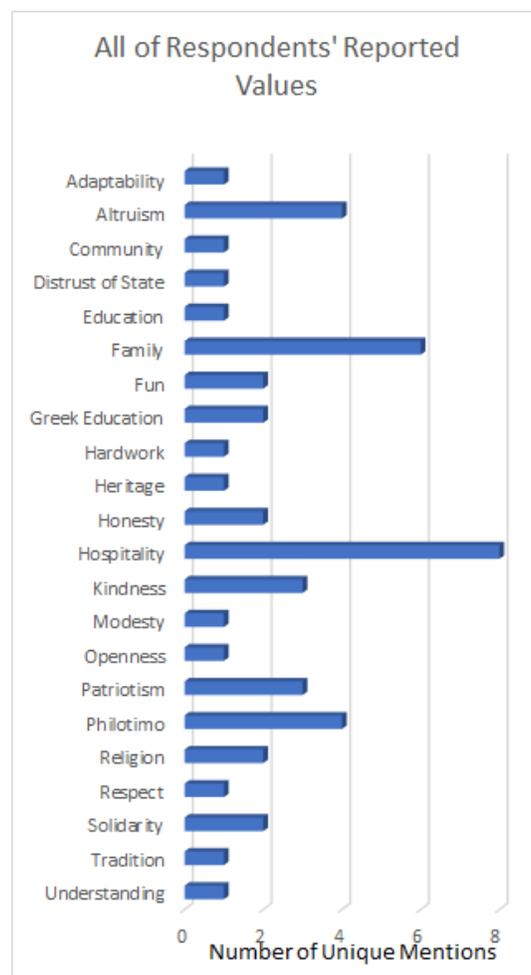
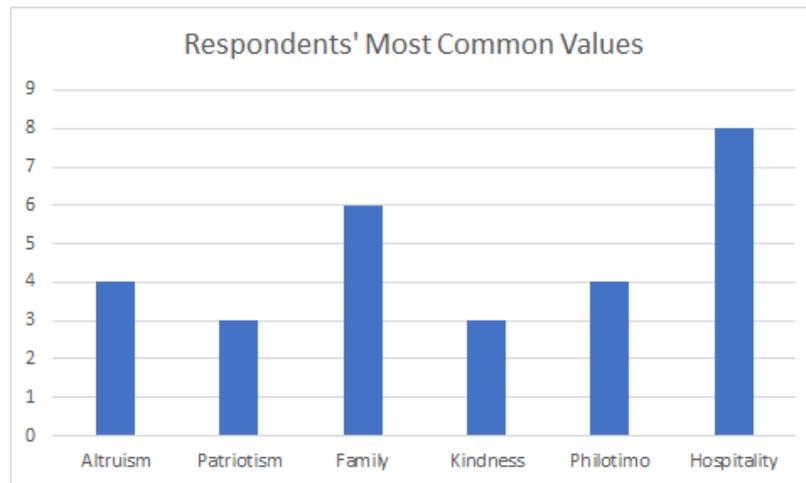
It is clear in these quotes, that these participants identify hospitality and generosity as important to their sense of self but also that there is this awareness that this hospitality is in the face of significant adversity.

Notably, only two of the fifteen participants did not include some value related to helping others as being most important to being Greek. Philotimo and these other values regarding

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<sup>118</sup> Alexia Amvrazi-GCT- <https://greekcitytimes.com/2018/10/22/philotimo-one-greek-word-packed-with-so-much-meaning-it-cant-be-defined/>

hospitality or altruism can be seen clearly in the context of the simultaneous economic and refugee crises in Greece.



This chapter discussed the values that participants identified in their responses. Using direct quotes and charts for clarity, I showed the variation in the large number of individual values reported. I then showed the commonalities between the most commonly reported values as being altruistic in some nature and analyzed the relevant quotations as being representative of those values.

## Chapter 4: Mechanisms for Values

In this chapter I discuss the main hypotheses of this paper and the results which correspond to those hypotheses. This includes the conclusion that family history is a major causal factor for increased positive ATII in this region and the identification of mechanisms for sharing values. These mechanisms are illustrated through participant responses which are then analyzed and ranked in order of frequency so as to garner conclusions about the most relevant mechanisms in this case.

The second group of relevant data revolves around identifying the mechanism which led to learning the values identified by the first group of data. The immediately relevant data were that first, nine out of the fifteen respondents identified their reported values coming from Greek history, but by different means (school, family, etc.) and that seven of these nine individuals also had familial history with the forced population exchange of 1923. Further, seven of eleven individuals (63%) who had familial history with forced population exchange identified this history as being one of the most significant factors influencing their values. It is important to note that this study did not ask directly whether respondents agreed that this history affected individual's values but that respondents brought this up in an open discussion of their values and their causes.

*“Mostly from Greek history. Greek people have experienced immigration many times through [the] years. One of the most important were in 1923 when there was an exchange between Christian orthodox Greek people living in Turkey and Muslim Turkish people living in Greece. Furthermore people have experienced starvation and famine during the Second World War, therefore there is an empathy with other people who are experiencing similar situations.”*

*“A lot refugees came in Greece in a situation very similar to what is happening today, the only difference was that these people were actually [G]reek.”*

*“Most people here in Macedonia, the northern part of Greece, are ancestors of refugees on the most part and that's why a lot of people tend to sym[p]athise with refugees in general.”*

*“I'm not a historian or sociologist but if I had to guess I'd say it because of the hardships the Greek nation has gone through in recent history. 400 years under Ottoman rule, then 2 Balkan wars and WW1, the Asia Minor catastrophe, WW2 and the Nazi Occupation, then immediately after that ended a civil war, and most recently the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.”*

These responses indicate that some individuals have an awareness of the effect of their ancestral history on their current views towards refugees and reference Northern Greek recent history, as well as the entire rocky history of the Modern Greek nation as causes of increased sympathy for refugees.

Additionally, after reading the total of the responses, it became clear that the majority of respondents indicated some form of empathy when working through their views on refugees. Further, out of the eleven individuals who identified family history with refugee status, eight (72%) indicated, either formally or informally, identification with modern refugees or empathetic thoughts towards the topic in general.

*“I was always a supporter of minority groups and I am now as well. I belong to a minority group as well so I think that helped me see things in life in a different way.”*

*“Being an immigrant, myself. Although I was not fleeing from unsafe conditions, I still moved to another country. I understand the difficulty in traveling, adapting, learning another language,*

*etc. I am also a parent, and I understand doing whatever it takes to provide a better life for your child.”*

*“...refugees should be welcome in Greece because as I said before hospitality used to be a great value. and it should be with these people who as running from hard situations such as war. also after wor[l]d war 2 greeks used to be in a very similar situation and they had to move to different counties for a better life. They are just fighting for they lives like me and you would. [sic]”*

Acknowledging empathy as a part of the essential thought process surrounding how individuals form views about outgroups is an important part of studying the mechanisms which influence these decisions. Further, participants whose level of engagement was past the point of support into volunteering or some other method of donated labor, all made points to empathize with refugees. It would seem, based off of these questionnaires, individuals who incorporate empathy into the essential thought process when regarding outgroups are more likely to regard those individuals positively.

Regarding what causes these values, questions 11, 12, and 16 inquired as to where and how these values were developed.

**11. Where would you say these values come from?**

**12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?**

**16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?**

An overwhelming majority (93%) responded that family was the most significant mechanism for learning their values, followed by schooling at 67%, identified as “primary school”, “school”, “university”, and “Greek school”.

Family	14
School	10
Personal Exploration	4
Church	3
Media	2
Culture	2
Other	2

*“These values come from my upbringing [sic] from my parents.”*

*“I learned these values first from my family, but they didn’t push themselves on me, they let me make my own decisions.”*

*“My family and university have played a major part in the endorsement of such values.”*

*“It’s a combination of our environment, media, school and most importantly: our family. As I said before, greeks give a lot of gravitas to the concept of family and as a result what they learn in their home environment shape them a whole lot.”*

*“The family and school play the most important role in my opinion, since much of Greek identity is cultivated there.”*

*“Mainly from family which is an important part and integral part of the culture.”*

*“There is a greater focus on religious diversity and tolerance, though, given how many immigrants and refugees there are. Parents are instilling the value of kindness and generosity with more purpose.”*

Given the incredible majority and these individual responses, it is clear that family acts as the location and agent of the most significant mechanisms for ATII.

Four participants identified some form of personal exploration as the reason for their values as well, including philosophy, books, and other reading as being essential to shaping their values. Very few individuals mentioned religion as important to shaping their values.

*“The church is considered to teach these values but most of the time for a specific aim and not for every situation. For instance the church in its majority is xenophobic, racist and many of the priest are making hate speeches.”*

*“...church sadly in Greece is not working as it supposed to.”*

*“I think most people learn them from their family and each other. There is no school lesson that teaches them, nor the church has any credibility to teach people how to be good to each other. Especially when you see Arch-bishops [sic] travel inside their 60,000+ euro cars dressed with golden crowns and scepters while people around them can't put food on the table or pay their bills.”*

Interestingly, in a predominantly Christian Orthodox country where 90% of individuals identify as Orthodox, only three participants identified the church or religion as relevant to their values and many, in fact, spoke against the church, stating how the church was meant to help shape the populations' values but instead often was found to be at odds with their teachings morally and financially. The Orthodox Church preaches assistance to the poor and the

irrelevance of national borders<sup>119</sup> but maintains traditions of golden idols and expensive church infrastructure with controversial expenses spent by church leaders. It can be seen by these responses that participants are aware of this disparity and it impacts the church's ability to influence their values.

In this chapter I discussed the main hypotheses of this thesis in the context of the results of the research; the confirmation that family history with refugee status does have a positive causal impact on ATII as well as the identification of mechanisms that affect the sharing of values. This chapter outlined how the research was designed to get this information from participants and analyzed those participants' responses for the identification of those mechanisms. This chapter also discussed the surprising results of the research like the importance of empathy and the contrast between the expectations surrounding an Orthodox country and the results of the questionnaires.

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<sup>119</sup> Human Rights and the Orthodox Church in a Global World - Society Articles - Greek Orthodox Archdiocese Of America <https://www.goarch.org/en/-/human-rights-and-the-orthodox-church-in-a-global-world>

## Chapter 5: Conclusions

This chapter summarizes the conclusions of this project discussed in chapters three and four. It revisits the literature review and the hypotheses that were discussed there but not tested in this thesis, explains why they were not tested, and then elaborates on how they would ideally be studied. It further elaborates on the limits of this project and the research agenda it puts forth for future study.

This research sought out to fill the gap in scholarship regarding this topic and identify the mechanisms which explain the phenomenon of increased public acceptance of refugees when there is significant regional ancestral history of refugee status. This project's results are in agreement with literature<sup>120</sup> suggesting that family history and education are the most significant micro-factors in shaping ATII where relevant as well as that economic conditions are not relevant factors in shaping ATII. Most participants were pursuing or had received some form of post-graduate degree and had also experienced and are continuing to experience hardship during the economic crisis.

Further, this thesis concurs that self-transcendent values like altruism and benevolence are positive indicators for increased positive ATII. Sixty three percent of participants with family history of refugee status identified this history as being important to shaping these values that encouraged their views on refugees. Seventy two percent of these individuals with family history further indicated some form of empathy for refugees, usually in the form of personal identification. Due to the experiences of the participants of this project, contact with refugees did not produce visible effects to ATII and there were no indications of concerns to competitive cultural threats.

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<sup>120</sup> Dinas, Elias, and Vasiliki Fouka. "Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2018, 2. doi:10.2139/ssrn.3102093

This study found that Greeks from Thessaloniki and the Aegean islands identify hospitality, family, altruism, philotimo, and patriotism as their most commonly held values and that the majority of people questioned from these region identify some value related to helping others as important to their senses of self. In locating these values it became apparent that when individuals perform empathy as an essential thought process when regarding outgroups, they are more likely to regard those individuals positively. Further, that individuals with family history were more likely to indicate some form of empathy in their responses. Lastly, this study found that the mechanisms which carried this phenomenon between individuals with Asia Minor history and increased positivity towards outgroups were mainly interactions between family members (to the effect of sharing values) and various school experiences (curriculum and social experiences). Church (Orthodoxy) was found to not be a relevant mechanism. This research also contributes to an in-depth qualitative understanding of the multiple factors that impact ATII.

Analysis of the binary coded responses showed that while all respondents were willing to welcome refugees into their communities this was to different degrees. For example, two individuals did not think that Greek public services should be given to refugees and one participant stated that “illegal” immigrants should be deported. Most participants did not experience a change in neighborhood values with an equally small amount identifying more conservative movement to more liberal movement. Crucially, eleven of the participants identified having had family affected by the forced population exchange. Religious affiliation and further demographic differences were not directly measured in this study and there was no indicator that religion or demographic data outside of Greek identity or family history of refugee status was impactful on the data or participant’s stated values. In fact, many participants stated

that religion may have been relevant in prior generations but was no longer significant in shaping values.

As stated earlier, although I did not evaluate all of the hypotheses presented in the literature review, the complete review was necessary in order to acknowledge and falsify the hypotheses which are defaultly assumed to be responsible for the phenomenon and to give the reader the entire picture of micro-factors that this thesis was not be able to cover. This thesis did not look to measure the effects of race, native demographics, or national level contact with refugees or economic threats. Here I will explain those variables that I did not measure, why I did not measure them, and how future research should consider them.

In the existing literature, race and native demographics, as primary variables, have produced inconsistent results. However, given that Greece is such a racially homogeneous country, with 90% of its residents identifying as ethnically Greek<sup>121</sup>, Greece does not make itself a particularly obvious case study for this research. The effect of refugees' races could be studied in terms of how this affects natives' ATII, but this experiment has already been done and concluded that outgroup race does have an impact on ATII.<sup>122</sup>

National level contact and economic threats were ultimately outside the scale of this project as a large nationwide survey was not within the realm of capability with the resources I had available. Further, a national level contact experiment, as previously mentioned, would need to span across at least two decades to resolve the issues and inconsistencies presented by current literature on the topic. National level economic states / threats have largely been debunked by existing literature and were thus not considered for further research.

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<sup>121</sup> Papademetriou- Theresa - <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/greece-minorities/greece.php>

<sup>122</sup> Dustmann C. Preston I. 2007. Racial and Economic Factors in Attitudes To Immigration. *BE J. Econ. Anal. Poli.* 7:1-39.

Cultural competitive threats, religion, political ideology, individual level economic threats, and individual level contact hypotheses were not directly tested but did each have questions which indirectly accessed participant's responses to these variables and indicated that they were not relevant in shaping these individuals' ATII.

**“4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?”**

This question acted to understand the participant's economic conditions and to then comparatively analyze them within the context of the other participants to see if significant variations occurred. There were no significant variations as nearly every participant was impacted in some major way by the economic crisis and nearly every participant showed wholehearted support for refugees. This agrees with the existing literature that economic threats are not good indicators for effects of ATII.

Political Ideologies were also not directly measured but were captured to some respect through questions six and eight which ask:

**“6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?”**

**“8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?”**

These questions resulted in many participants citing whether they had felt their neighborhood had moved to the left or right on the political spectrum and how they felt about this movement. Participants' responses indicated an even amount of leftward and rightward movement with many citing that they noticed little to no change. There was no clear difference in effect on ATII in either group.

Measuring religion was not a priority in this project as again, religious homogeneity is near 90%<sup>123</sup> and Greece would not serve as a good comparative case study without also studying other countries, which would be outside the scale or focus of this project. This being said,

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<sup>123</sup> Papademetriou- Theresa - <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/greece-minorities/greece.php>

question twelve on the questionnaire did question participants about their relationship with religion.

**“12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?”**

This question, while primarily used to locate the mechanism for how values are shared, did serve to prompt some participants to talk about their relationship with religion. Those that did, responded negatively, as previously discussed. Religion is not often cited as being a causal agent for significant changes in ATII but there was a study conducted by Doebler which indicated Eastern Europeans are more likely to have prejudice against Muslim immigrants than non-Muslim immigrants.<sup>124</sup> This indicates that further study could be beneficial and would likely take the form of a larger qualitative survey with added in-depth responses in order to best capture the range of effects that religion has on ATII and what causes this prejudice.

Individual level contact was measured through question fifteen.

**“15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?”**

This question resulted in a range of experiences from participants from zero interaction, casual interaction, to daily interaction through volunteer experiences. While existing literature does indicate that individuals’ increased experience with refugees does relate to increased positive ATII, that result was not found with these participants, indicating that other factors were more significant here.

This work was limited most significantly in scale in that during the duration of the project the responses of only fifteen participants were collected. Further research should incorporate a larger scale of participants. This work was also unable to locate individuals for comment who did not support refugees in the time allotted. Ideally, additional research would incorporate the

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<sup>124</sup> Doebler, Stefanie. "Relationships Between Religion and Intolerance Towards Muslims and Immigrants in Europe: A Multilevel Analysis." *Review of Religious Research* 56, no. 1 (2013): 61-86. doi:10.1007/s13644-013-0126-1.

values and identified mechanisms for those values of individuals who are not supportive of outgroups for the purposes of comparison. Those uncollected opinions could be illuminative in terms of other values (perhaps falling into the conservation category as described by Davidov.<sup>125</sup>) Further, expansion of this line of research (studying effects of family history with forced migration on attitudes towards ATII) in a longer term cross-national study (perhaps Polish-Jewish families, Palestinian families in the United States and Lebanon, or any other example of refugees fleeing violence or persecution) would have been ideal but was unfortunately outside of the scope of this project.

Further research would concentrate in two directions: 1) studying the effects of family history of forced migration on other regions to see if similar findings were present and 2a) to concentrate inwardly and look into what participants define as effectual family correspondence in regards to attitudes towards outgroups (how family values are passed down: verbally, via literature, or other cultural elements) as well as 2b) seek to identify if there is differentiation in effect of different school teachings (more local history versus less, homeschool with local history or the effect of socializing on this phenomena, etc.).

The first direction mentioned, studying other regions, would most benefit from first quantitative, large scale, cross-national research over the course of at least two decades as there are varied results in ATII between 3 years and 12 in other studies, indicating increasing length of contact as an interesting variable and moreover, the absence of this literature.<sup>126</sup> Further, much of the existing cross-national research suggests that from the 80's to the 00's Western countries

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<sup>125</sup> Davidov E, Meuleman B, Billiet J, Schmidt P. 2008. Values and support for immigration: a cross-country comparison. *Eur. Sociol. Rev.* 24(5):583-99.

<sup>126</sup> Markaki, Y., and S. Longhi. "What Determines Attitudes to Immigration in European Countries? An Analysis at the Regional Level." *Migration Studies* 1, no. 3 (2013): 311-37. doi:10.1093/migration/mnt015.

(U.S., Europe, Canada, etc.) were getting more xenophobic.<sup>127</sup> However, after this period, (and during the periods of refugee crisis) rates of xenophobia decreased. This indicates a need for a longer term study to measure these fluctuations in ATII and what causes them.

The research agenda I indicated by 2a would be best measured through in-depth qualitative means, likely interviews, with individuals from relevant regions with high proportions of family history of refugee status (possibly Greece), looking for how exactly values are passed down through families, be it stories, traditions, parent-child communication, etc. The research agenda indicated by 2b would be similar (qualitative, regional, potentially interviews with supplemental information on curriculums) but focused on the effect school has on ATII. Research would compare the effects different curriculums, different types of schools, emphasis on local history versus not, peer-peer communication, and teacher-student communication.

This chapter concluded the results discussed in chapters three and four and elaborated on their meaning in the context of the existing literature. It also explained in depth why many hypotheses discussed in the literature review were not studied or were not directly focused on in this thesis, and how they should be studied in the future. I examined the limits of this thesis, why the limits existed, and the general research agenda set forward by this paper. Lastly, I considered how best further research might be conducted.

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<sup>127</sup> Gang IN, Rivera-Batiz FL, Yun MS. 2002. Economic strain, ethnic concentration and attitudes towards foreigners in the European Union. IZA Discuss. Pap. 578, IZA, Bonn, <http://ftp.iza.org/dp578.pdf>; Coenders M, Scheepers P. 2004. Associations between nationalist attitudes and exclusionist reactions in 22 countries. 2004a, pp. 187-208; Semyonov M, Raijman R, Gorodzeisky A. 2006. The rise of antiforeigner sentiment in European societies, 1988-2000. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 71:426-49; Ceobanu AM, Escandell X. 2008. East is West? National feelings and anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 37:1147-70; Meuleman B, Davidov E, Billiet J. 2009. Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: a dynamic group conflict theory approach. *Soc. Sci. Res.* 38:352-65.

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## Appendix - Full Questionnaires

### First Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

25-34

2. What is your occupation?

Master's student in Pedagogical Sciences

3. How long have you lived in Greece?

26 years

4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?

Difficulty in finding a job after finishing my bachelor's studies, reduction of parents' salary.

5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

I don't know anyone personally who have been affected by it.

6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

Probably not. More and more buildings are being constructed, there is lack of green areas and parks.

7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

I am not sure about that. In general not many refugees moved in my neighborhood or the area I was living in Greece. They were mostly living in the center of the city (Thessaloniki) and in poorer neighborhoods, such as Ampelokipi, Menemeni.

8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

More and more people are becoming nationalists or at least they express ideas of far right political parties.

9. What values are important to being Greek?

Solidarity, helping the people who are in need, love for Greek culture.

10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

By participating in volunteer projects or other activities from municipalities which are having as a goal to help socially susceptible people. Participating in cultural events, such as folk festivals, concerts.

11. Where would you say these values come from?

Mostly from Greek history. Greek people have experienced immigration many times through years. One of the most important were in 1923 when there was an exchange between Christian orthodox Greek people living in Turkey and Muslim Turkish people living in Greece.

Furthermore people have experienced starvation and famine during the Second World War, therefore there is an empathy with other people who are experiencing similar situations.

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

By family some of them. The church is considered to teach these values but most of the time for a specific aim and not for every situation. For instance the church in its majority is xenophobic, racist and many of the priest are making hate speeches.

I adopted these values by personal exploration, reading, participating in exchanging programs in Europe and volunteering.

13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

They should be welcomed in Greece as well as everywhere. All countries should open their borders and help refugees be integrated and start a new life. I cannot see any reason of not accepting people who fled from war zones to survive.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

Absolutely.

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

Unfortunately I do not interact with refugees in my daily life. I have as an aim though to start an internship in an organization which is helping refugees integrate in the society they live at the moment.

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

I was always a supporter of minority groups and I am now as well. I belong to a minority group as well so I think that helped me see things in life in a different way.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

My great grandparents.

18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

Concerning the refugee crisis, I firmly believe that wealthy countries should help Greece which has accepted the largest number of refugees regarding its own population, by providing more resources. Greece is not able to help refugees due to economic crisis which coincided with the refugee one. At the moment national and international NGOs are doing the main job. The living conditions in some of the reception centers are terrible while others are like “luxury” centers made by some NGOs to claim their ability and power.

## Second Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

25-34

2. What is your occupation?

Phd student

3. How long have you lived in Greece?

30 years

4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?

I was affected pretty much. All the people that I knew (pretty close family and friends) lost immediately around 40% of their income. So this affects the economy so I was affected too.

5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

No the people I know they do not affected by the refugee crisis.

6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

No, my neighborhood remained at the same (give or take) in the last ten years. I live in Athens to the northern suburbs. There are living above average people (talking about yearly salary).

7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

No, same answer as 7.

8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

No, the values of the Greek people didn't change at all the last ten years.

9. What values are important to being Greek?

I can't truly answer this question. I am Greek and my values are to be modest, to be hardworking, to be helpful to others. I don't think that those values are important to the general population.

10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

I am trying to live by those values and I want to practice those whenever I have human interaction.

11. Where would you say these values come from?

These values come from my upbringing from my parents and after reading philosophical books.

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

The school --> sure not. We go to school only as a way to university,

The church --> I wasn't going, so I don't have an opinion.

The Family --> yes

The media --> only if your values are to be a trash.

13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

Yes. They should be welcomed because they are humans in need. So we have to help them.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

No. They are Greek public services. They have to find a way to help both the Greek people and the refugees at the same time.

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

I have very few experiences with refugees. I don't know. I believe that they would be like regular people.

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

I have made the thought that they are human like me. Also, my great grand parents were refugees at a time of war in Greece and it is possible me, in the future to become one. You never know what's going to happen.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

Yes, my grandparents were living at Smyrna (now Ismir).

18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

Yes, first, the Greek problem is a problem created by the Greek people and their charlatans politicians. The poor sad people who are refugees and escaped the war are not the problem. Second, all the upper answers are due to the refugee problem, with the refugees come to Greece many illegal immigrants. I say illegal immigrants because they are illegal by our law system. These people have to be deported back to their countries because they had broken the law.

### Third Participant Response

1. Im 18 years old.
2. Im a student.
3. Ive lived my whole life in Greece, particularly Athens where i was born and raised.
4. My dad and a friend of his ran a small construction firm before the crisis. The construction sector basically died during the crisis so it was a bit hard at the beginning, but we managed through pretty okay.
5. I personally havent been affected by the refugee crisis, nor anyone i know. The borough in which i live in is a bit distant from the city centre and going onto the mountains, so not many refugees are here. I live in a more "better" neighbourhood of Athens, refugees dont end up here. If you go to some places in Athens like the old Airport, its completely different there. I would sometimes see refugees while passing by.
6. My neighbourhood has had very minimal change over the last years, or changes so small that you cant notice. The schools dont have enough teachers now but its a countrywide problem. I would say the fear of walking alone in the dark has gone up, mainly because of some stories and bad things occurring.
7. There are less young people as there were 10 years ago, the so called "brain drain". Despite that there is still a moderate to good presence of young people (at least in my neighbourhood).
8. Values dont really change much, some of my friends are quite progressive but if you ask the adults and elders, old values are still as strong as a rock.
9. Values important to being Greek. Everybody has a different interpretation but i will try to cluster out the most essential. First, being Christian Orthodox and deriving from an orthodox family. Religion still plays a role in our values. By that i dont mean that every greek must be hardcore religious but should at least have an orthodox background, it goes back in history. Secondly, traditions. No matter how much time passes, a Greek family never forgets its traditions. School parades with local music celebrating many things, like our Independence. You must know your traditions here. In addition, patriotism. As a Greek you are to love your country and defend it as a default. Most people do feel like that and are patriotic, if you arent patriotic and remain neutral nobody will slander you but if you come out as somehow "anti Greek", you will get your fair share of arguments. Patriotism in Greece isnt taboo as in many other European countries, you are ought to be patriotic and it is mostly welcomed in the society. Greek flags are hanging from every second building. Some other minor aspects, as a Greek you should know your history and your language. (These are all i could think of, forgive me if i forgot anything)
10. As i told you before, greek flags are hanging of from everywhere basically and you can freely speak about being patriotic on the streets and you wont be bothered. As to religion, lets say i take a 10 min walk from my home to walk around the neighbourhood, i will see at least 3 churches in just 10 minutes of walking. The number of churches is overwhelming. As to

traditions, even some ancient ones are still practised and are praised, not denounced like in some other European nations.

11. Greece has a very long history and these aspects can be explained through it. The traditions come from the huge culture the ancient greeks developed, modern greeks envy our ancient selves and i think thats why we try so hard to not lose anything from them. The different traditional dances and clothing also brings us closer to "them" and as the ancient greeks are known all around the world for being very intelligent and powerful, we of course want to keep that up. (Even if it is going to shit right now hahah). Patriotism, in my opinion, has to do with the fact that Greece seldom was an attacker(speaking about wars). In history we mostly defended ourselves and after 400 years under ottoman rule, patriotism was sure to be very dominant for a "young" nation like Greece (compared to the rest of Europe). Nonetheless we havent committed any enormous crimes throughout our history (as the nazis or communists) so there is little taboo on being a patriot. As for religion, in particular the Orthodox Christianity, it has played a very very important role in our fight of independence against the ottomans. The church kept teaching Greek history and language and Christianity in secret in schools called "kryfo sxolio" (translating to "hidden school"),basically keeping the greek identity and language alive. It also helped start the revolution and fight the wars against the ottomans. Thats why being a Greek Orthodox is still a big value, it impacted our history directly.

12. I learned these values first from my family, but they didnt push theirselves on me, they let me make my own decisions. School was pretty neutral but it taught me our history, helping me draw conclusions. Most of these values you get to learn through society and media.

13. In my opinion anyone from a country in war that really ( and i say again really) needs help is more than welcome to come and we will support anyone that really needs it. Why? Because every individual with good ambitions and goals should have a helping hand when his country is sinking into darkness.

14. Here i base my argument as in Question 14. Every refugee that is truly grateful about the help that is given to him and isnt ignorant about some AC not working, shall receive help. Any refugee that is complaining about his bed not being good enough,although receiving any help from a country that has its own problems, isnt a refugee and should be sent back.

15. Sadly i dont interact with any refugees.

16. How the media portrays the refugees has surely impacted my views. I try not to be completely depended on mainstream media and do my own research, but it still impacts me.

17. Yes, a very good friend of mine was impacted. He originally came from Asia Minor, but his great grandparents were forced to leave and settle in mainland Greece. Relations with Turkey have never been good, even now a war between Greece and Turkey is very realistic, which is frightening to say the least.

18. I dont have anything to add :) Im glad i could help out.

#### Fourth Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

25-34

2. What is your occupation?

I am a Ph.D. Student.

3. How long have you lived in Greece?

I have lived in Greece since birth.

4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?

The average income of my family unit has decreased up to 40%, mainly due to heavy taxation.

5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

A refugee camp was in operation near my home town for the better part of three years.

6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

Yes it has. Local, small scale business has been affected, but I cannot be certain that those changes can be attributed solely to the economic crisis.

7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

Not that I am aware of.

8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

Not that I am aware of.

9. What values are important to being Greek?

Openness, kindness, adaptability, understanding.

10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

Some practice them, others do not. I wish that they could be more widespread than they are today.

11. Where would you say these values come from?

It is mostly a matter of family values, general education and personal choice.

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

My family and university have played a major part in the endorsement of such values.

13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

Greece should be a safe haven for all those seeking a better, happier life. It is a matter of basic dignity and human rights.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

They should be given to refugees, perhaps even more actively than they are right now.

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

Yes, I do. Such interactions are brief but mutually cordial.

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

My family and personal readings, academic or otherwise.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

Not that I am aware of.

### Fifth Participant Response

1. 18-24

2. Student

3. My whole life

4. Everyone has been largely affected by the economic crisis. Even people from the higher classes have way simpler lifestyles nowadays, way different than before. People, hide and hoard their money. We also, have a major shift not only in the way we live or manage our money but on our values as well or how we perceive the world and each other.

5. No, not really. The refugee crisis didn't affect me personally or on people I know. I haven't heard any cases that refugees were a trouble for native greeks and I respect that. There is, though, a certain fear, since the refugee crisis begun, and people are more cautious to walk around in the cities just in case.

6. Not really. The situation of my neighborhood is pretty much the same my whole life. Same people, same stores, same habits.

7. I don't think so.

8. I don't think so too. They are pretty much the same.

9. Greeks put much importance on family. They always did. Only in the latter years they accepted open-minded lifestyles in our society. Also, a lot of greeks are very religious especially people over 40 years old, a major percentage are very religious on the contrary to the younger generations who tend to be more progressive in their religious views. Another important value that characterize a lot of greeks is solidarity and a very giving nature. As we see, on the case of refugees, greeks accept anybody to our country due to the fact that we are very hospitable as a nation. On the other hand, that doesn't mean that there are not a lot of greeks who are indeed racist and fear about the future of our country due to the many refugees we have accepted in the later years.

10. Greeks try to practice the aforementioned values in their everyday life but when the crisis broke this changed. People are getting more suspicious, bitter and miserable and as a result everyone's thinking about their well-being instead of society's.

11. Greek values are a result from a series of traditions and a way of life that has been passed throughout the years from one generation to another. Older generations were very serious about keeping those traditions alive because they were considered it a part of their identity.

12. It's a combination of our environment, media, school and most importantly: our family. As I said before, greeks give a lot of gravitas to the concept of family and as a result what they learn in their home environment shape them a whole lot.

13. Yes, I think refugees should be welcomed in my country. As long as they don't create any problems, they are welcome.

14. I think a certain aid is ok. Now, since our country has major economical problems, I think these aids should be financed by the European Union and not from the greek nation. People here are very angry about this.

15. No, not really. I don't live near refugee camps.

16. The news for the most part have shaped my opinion on the refugee crisis.

17. Yes. Most people here in Macedonia, the northern part of Greece, are ancestors of refugees on the most part and that's why a lot of people tend to sympathise with refugees in general.

Personally, my great-grandparents lived in Turkey before the Asian Minor Catastrophe.

18. I think the refugee crisis plays a quite important role on the future of Europe. This is not only a crisis for the refugees but for the whole European Union. With that being said, I think that it's inhuman that other countries do not accept refugees. We are all people and these are people in times of need. It's unacceptable countries more well-developed than Greece to say "NO" and even close their borders. Our humanity shows in times of need. In my opinion, the solution to this problem should be a better monitor on who enters our country and help people who are actually in need instead of wanting to kick them out (which is a case with a lot of Greeks). Thank you and I hope I helped with my insight!

### Sixth Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

20

2. What is your occupation?

Computer Science student

3. How long have you lived in Greece?

Since I was born

4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?

Periods during which we could only pay for all our bills and basic necessities appeared, which wasn't a thing before. Also money spending is generally minimal. As a minor living under the protection of my parents and having grown up, I now realize that they didn't let much of the economic hardships *they* were experiencing get through to me. So the situation I experienced was a bit better than how things actually were.

5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

Apart from some incidents I have seen downtown between migrants from North Africa, I haven't experienced anything myself or know anyone that has. The only noticeable difference is the number of Syrian/Iraqi families I see on the street or on the bus going about their business.

6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

My neighborhood has changed for the better in terms of infrastructure (getting a proper asphalt road, widening the parking area, planting trees in the nearby hill which have grown). Everyone has been struggling economically more or less though, which seems to have affected their purchases in general.

7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

One of our neighbors moved to back to Germany for a while and hasn't been around. Otherwise slowly but surely most kids coming out of high school have enrolled in a University in a different city and so they no longer live here.

8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

People have generally become a bit more nationalistic but it hasn't affected any of their core values as I see it.

9. What values are important to being Greek?

For me being Greek has to do with my heritage and having grown up in Greece. When it comes to my compatriots they often mention a vague notion of “Greek education”(Ελληνική παιδεία, which somehow relates to ancient Greece) as a value that makes one Greek. Apart from that I can't say why others want to identify with my ethnicity, in fact I am often critical of people that identify as Greek ethnically while having no relation to Greece itself, haven't grown up here and don't have any identifiable Greek ancestors. So in conclusion having experienced Greece is important, but otherwise I don't think that any values specifically make one Greek.

10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

The “value” of “Greek education” often manifests itself in different ways, it makes some people want to be more democratic, others more “careful” with their language and ancient heritage and makes others find patriotism or nationalism important to being Greek. Also another weird manifestation of this value which rears its head is an absurd obsession with ancient Greece, which can be found in all parts of society(education, government, church, daily discussions etc.). So I guess Greek values are grouped under this umbrella term of “Greek education”

11. Where would you say these values come from?

This specific value along with its manifestation as an obsession with our ancient forefathers, has its roots in the formation of the Greek state by the local “aristocracy”/”higher classes” and the western Philhellenes that aided it. (Continued below)

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

(Continuing from above) Nowadays these values are propagated through the family, school, the media and more rarely the Church. The family and school play the most important role in my opinion, since much of Greek identity is cultivated there.

13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

Refugees should be welcomed in Greece. They can help our aging society and at the same time open the Greek's eyes to something other than what they have known their whole lives. They're bound to give Greeks a new perspective on their identity aswell, which will help strengthen it. Although, I don't agree with any kind of forced integration (direct or indirect) and would like it more if they could strengthen their own identities in Greece and go make their countries better, or join Greek society as a true part of it. Of course that should only be an option, but in any case it would help our country for as long as they stay here for the aforementioned reasons, it would help them go back to their country of origin smoothly if they desire to do so, it would help their

country make a swifter recovery and it would boost the relations between the refugees' respective countries and ours as we won't indiscriminately be sucking up their educated workforce.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

Certainly a part of the Greek public services will have to provide for these people if we ever want to help them so that they can help us.

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

I only see them on the street sometime going about their daily lives as I said before, so no I haven't had any interactions with them.

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

Seeing their bad behavior on the streets sometimes or listening to discussions by friends on their bad behavior. Apart from that I don't really let the media or the internet affect me as it is full of fake news meant to demonize them.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

My entire background is originally from lands now belonging to Turkey, a big part of my family was affected by the Pontic Greek genocide itself and the population exchange when arriving in Greece. Meaning many were killed on the way, died from sickness or disappeared in the confusion.

18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

### Seventh Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

55-64

2. What is your occupation?

Quality Control

3. How long have you lived in Greece?

Birth-18 years

4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?

Members of my family back home had to move back in with another after living independently. I have a niece who moved to France for a better opportunity.

5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

Yes. My family primarily lives in Athens. Many refugees are in the city seeking assistance. It has been difficult on an already crumbling economy.

6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

The city looked beautiful when it was cleaned up for the Olympics. Following that, it has seen it's wear and tear from the economy, protests, and from more people coming in from other countries. It hasn't necessarily changed for the worse. Athens is a large city and changes the way that cities do.

7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

There are many more Albanians and other minority groups. More Athenians have left due to the poor economy.

8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

I'm not sure

9. What values are important to being Greek?

Philotimo. It is difficult to describe in English. Being Greek means respecting your culture, heritage, family, education, religion, and hospitality.

10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

Take hospitality for example. If you visit a Greek's home, you will immediately be offered a meal and drinks. We don't think anything of it. I came to America for to pursue an education.

My children were raised in the Greek community, learned to speak the language, and participated in the church.

11. Where would you say these values come from?

They're engrained in the culture and history.

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

All of the above. Mainly from family which is an important part and integral part of the culture.

13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

Yes. It is our duty to be hospitable, but it is difficult to provide the adequate services given our financial dilemmas.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

Not sure

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

Not where I currently live

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

Being an immigrant, myself. Although I was not fleeing from unsafe conditions, I still moved to another country. I understand the difficulty in traveling, adapting, learning another language, etc. I am also a parent, and I understand doing whatever it takes to provide a better life for your child.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

My mother was born in Asia Minor. Her parents fled during that time. Members of my family grew up in poverty, and the effects of malnourishment while they were children are evident in their physical stature.

18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

### Eighth Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group?
  - a. 35-44
2. What is your occupation?
  - a. Teacher
3. How long have you lived in Greece?
  - a. Native born, since 1976
4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?
  - a. Had to emigrate to find work.
5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?
  - a. No
6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?
  - a. No
7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?
  - a. Yes, more Albanian families have moved in.
8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?
  - a. Not in any noticeable way.
9. What values are important to being Greek?
  - a. Family, community, honesty, directness, being hospitable
10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?
  - a. Making decisions about a job or moving based on how much it will remove you from your family or friends.
11. Where would you say these values come from?
  - a. Family, culture.
12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?
  - a. Primarily from family and local community.
13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?
  - a. Yes. They are innocents paying the price for geopolitical games.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

a. Yes but with financial and technocratic support from the UN.

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

a. None. I live far away from the refugee hotspots.

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

a. Knowledge of politics and history.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

a. No (or if we did, there is no such memory within the family history).

18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

a. A refugee crisis is the responsibility of more than 1 countries, and so providing for refugees should require international cooperation.

## Ninth Participant Response

1. 34-44
2. professional chef
3. Forever , I was born here.
4. A lot, In the first years of economic crisis i moved to London because i couldn't find a job in Greece.
5. Yes, a lot of people i know in Lesvos have been affected by the crisis because a lot of refugees came to the island followed by lot of volunteers and that led to the development of the island's economy.
6. You can see small changes in the streets like more plants and better roads for bikes.
7. yes because now the older people are mostly moving to the villages so the towns are mostly lived by young people
8. i can't see a lot of changes from the politics. but the people have changes a lot, they have start recycle helping the animals and caring about the neighbourhood they live in. that is really the most important change.
9. one of the most important value in Greece is the family but hospitality used to be vary important to greek people
10. Hospitality used to be very important not only for the guests that might stay in your house but also in the way you threat everyone in your daily life.
11. These value were very important from the ancient years. the ancient greeks believed in values like the gods family and hospitality. if a guest was coming in a house people used to first give him food clothes a place to sleep and then ask who he is and introduce themselves .
12. church sadly in Greece is not working as it supposed to. i would say mostly values are coming from school and the family. young people are now evolving the media . to be like an open world and that is helping people to get values
13. yes refugees should be welcome in Greece because as i said before hospitality used to be a great value. and it should be with these people who as running from hard situations such as war. also after word war 2 greeks used to be in a very similar situation and they had to move to different counties for a better life
14. yes absolutely . refugees in my opinion shouldn't have different treatment than greeks
15. Yes i interact every day with refugees. Right now i volunteer as a chef in a non profit organisation. What i notice is that although these people had been through a lot of difficulties in their life, they are full of life and they are trying to create a better life
16. In the beginning i was thinking that because they are from different countries we would have different values, but the every day interaction with them has taught me that our only difference is the place on Earth that we were born. They are just fighting for they lives like my and you would.
17. my family was not affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe because both of the sides of my family come from the mainland but it had a big impact in Greece. A lot refugees came in Greece

in a situation very similar to what is happening today, the only difference was that these people were actually greek.

18. The only thing i would like to add is that although some are trying to make us hate each other we, people, have nothing to argue no matter where we are from and we should help each other no matter what.

### Tenth Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

18-24

2. What is your occupation?

Student and gym coach

3. How long have you lived in Greece?

Around 12 years, I go back annually for a few months

4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?

We were forced to emigrate

5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

Yes the size of classes in schools has increased, as has the crime rate.

6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

I wouldn't say there has been too much of a change in either way. There is certainly more diversity, which I personally appreciate.

7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

Yes, there are more people from Syri, Albania, and the Middle East.

8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

The values seem to have remained the same. There is a greater focus on religious diversity and tolerance, though, given how many immigrants and refugees there are. Parents are instilling the value of kindness and generosity with more purpose.

9. What values are important to being Greek?

In Greek, the word is φιλοξενία. It means hospitality, represents a dedication to reaching out to people who are not as privileged as yourself.

10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

Especially in small villages and towns, people are encouraged to take in refugees, donate to charities, hire refugees, and volunteer to help the poor. People teach Greek lessons for free or very cheap, and volunteer at soup kitchens run by churches.

11. Where would you say these values come from?

Older generations have passed down the idea that φιλοξενία/hospitality and being a good person is what makes the people of Greece (and therefore, the nation) great.

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

Family and primary school, definitely.

13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

Absolutely. Nobody uproots their entire life and family, potentially facing danger on the way, if there is no good reason. Western powers have done their part to make the countries of innocent people hostile so now, since we are in a position to help people, we should. Do unto others as you would have them do unto you, and all that.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

Yes! We cannot build or improve our society if we treat half its members unequally.

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

Sometimes. Mostly people working minimum wage jobs. They are generally friendly, my family and I try to help where we can by giving mother's clothes and children's things we no longer use.

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

Research, and basic human compassion. I have heard so many xenophobic comments that my convictions have strengthened.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

Yes - this has caused animosity between Turks and Greeks today who had nothing to do with it. Pity.

18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

We have one planet. Let's not ruin it further. Working together will always yield more positive results than discrimination and war.

### Eleventh Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

25-35

2. What is your occupation?

I'm a developer.

3. How long have you lived in Greece?

All my life, 25 years.

4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?

My father lost his job when his company laid off half its staff. He remained unemployed for 3 years.

My mother's wage and benefits were cut by around 40% overall.

As for me, I still haven't found a steady job in my field and every one of them either pays very low wages or is unreported employment.

5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

I live in a suburb of Athens which isn't affected much by refugees. I have friends who live in Lesbos, a hotspot island for mainly Syrian refugees, who have been affected by the situation. There are refugees living in closed camps in horrible conditions, people roaming the streets for food or clothes waiting to make it to western Europe. There are also many NGO's on the island to help with the situation however they can but as a side effect rent has more than doubled in the last 3 years, since the island wasn't equipped to host that many people.

6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

Neighborhoods have become more dangerous in the last decade because of the economic crisis. Burglaries and car thefts have become more common than in the past. We've had both a burglary and a stolen family car in the last 4 years.

7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

There has been a 4% population decrease but there is no other meaningful data that I could find.

8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

I'd say people are keeping more to themselves. We used to know pretty much everyone in our neighborhood, at least the surrounding buildings. People nowadays talk less to their neighbors.

9. What values are important to being Greek?

I'd normally say our hospitality, compassion, and eagerness to help others, but I don't even know if that's true anymore. The economic and refugee crisis has changed our society to be more selfish. These values still exist but in smaller extent than before.

10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

There are regular calls for food, clothes and other necessities for refugees organized by NGO's, and people bring what they can spare every time.

If there is a car broken down on the side of the road, you'll almost always see people stop and offer help.

If you visit a stranger's house, they'll offer you all the food and drinks they have. Sometimes it's ridiculous how much they expect you to eat, but they do it to make you feel welcome.

11. Where would you say these values come from?

That is a hard question. I'm not a historian or sociologist but if I had to guess I'd say it because of the hardships the Greek nation has gone through in recent history. 400 years under Ottoman rule, then 2 Balkan wars and WW1, the Asia Minor catastrophe, WW2 and the Nazi Occupation, then immediately after that ended a civil war, and most recently the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. This is why, I think, Greeks are compassionate and helpful to other people.

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

I think most people learn them from their family and each other. There is no school lesson that teaches them, nor the church has any credibility to teach people how to be good to each other. Especially when you see Arch-bishops travel inside their 60,000+ euro cars dressed with golden crowns and scepters while people around them can't put food on the table or pay their bills.

13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

Yes. I believe in the creation of a plan that involves all countries of the European Union which aims to take in refugees in a fair way, according to the needs and capacity of each country. If countries handle the situation correctly and integrate refugees in the society instead of isolating them, there will be no problems for anyone.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

Yes. All public services should be used to ensure a healthy and happy society. That's what they were made for. Refugees are part of our society so they should be getting the same treatment as normal residents.

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

There are no refugees in my neighborhood, but I do encounter some in flea markets. The interactions with them are as they are with any other stranger, they come to buy or sell something to the shop owner and don't really talk to other people.

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

Greek people are familiar with what it means to have your home destroyed by war and become a refugee. In 1922 Smyrna, a city in Asia Minor with was burned to the ground resulting in 1.6 million Greeks leaving Turkey and coming to Greece as refugees.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

My Great Grandmother was a Greek refugee from Smyrna. She came to Greece in 1922, on a boat, barely surviving the burning city. Because of the high number of people who came to Greece from Turkey in 1922 as refugees, many people have had a Great Grandparent from Asia Minor, Istanbul or Pontus and as a result Greek people know how it is to be a refugee.

18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

When 1% of the human population controls 99% of the global wealth it becomes apparent why refugees are a problem. But there are no "illegal immigrants" because there are no "illegal people". If the 1% wants, it can help every single person on the planet. It's just a matter who controls the means of production.

## Twelfth Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

18-24

2. What is your occupation?

I'm a university student, currently at the final year.

3. How long have you lived in Greece?

I was born here, and I still live here. I moved from my hometown to a bigger city to study at university.

4. How were you affected by the economic crisis?

I am from a low income family so things were never perfect. The economic crisis has affected us in many ways though. Now we think twice about spending money. Meat is more expensive than everything else so we eat more vegetables and legumes than we did before. Smoking is also an expensive habit, and I know many people who have quit because of that. So in a way I can say that the economic crisis has made us healthier. On the other side we avoid going to the doctor unless it's an emergency. If you have a minor cold you can stay at home, eat a soup, and drink some tea. A doctor's visit usually costs ~ 50 euros, money we don't really want to spend. If any appliances break down we tend to fix them ourselves, and only if something can't be fixed we buy a new one. The increasing taxes are increasing everyone's debt because at the same time our income has decreased, making it impossible to pay the bills. People are working too much and being paid less. This is increasing the tension in our relationships and is affecting people's mental health. Many people I know are getting divorced. Depression and anxiety rates are increasing. Social media are making things even worse. Seeing people travel around Europe when you can't even go for a coffee without second-thinking about the money you will spend, is very depressing. The future is scary, but I'm sure we'll make it.

5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

No not really, I don't live near the islands where there is a mass arrival of refugees. In my hometown there are some hotels that are housing families and children refugees as far as I know. A year or two ago when it was announced, there were negative reactions from the locals, even from young people. In the city the society is more used to having people from different nationalities around, so there are not so many negative and hostile reactions. People are afraid because the refugees have a different religion, different views about women etc. Also they correlate them to drugs and increased crime rates.

6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

I don't think there is any change visible. At least not for the better.

7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

In my hometown not really. In the city where I study, the neighborhood is more diverse than 5 years ago when I moved here. Mostly families from the Balkans.

8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How? I don't really think there is much change. Not that I know of. There are people who are very polite, there are others who are very nosy and like to gossip, and others who like to fight (because someone else parked at their usual parking space etc).

9. What values are important to being Greek? We are obviously known for our hospitality. Kindness, politeness, respect are important too.

10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

There are many examples I can think of. But on the other side there also many examples where these values don't apply. People are always polite and respectful towards the elderly. If you smile to someone on the street or the bus they will probably smile back, if you ask for directions they will help, if you ask for money, I don't think so. Not many people give money to beggars. On the other side the amount of volunteers and supplies provided during the recent fires in Mati, was incredible (23-24/7/2018, thousands of houses burned, ~100 people died).

11. Where would you say these values come from?

They are passed on by families for sure.

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

Respect is mostly learned from school. These values used to be learned from church but nowadays people are not that much religious. Now they are mostly passed on by families. We are definitely not learning any values from the media. TV is full of gossip and reality shows and low quality series.

13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

I believe refugees should be welcome and protected everywhere. In Greece especially. Our country that has gotten many refugees throughout the history. The Greek/Turkish population exchange in 1923 is a good example. These people were seen as foreigners and were victims of racism for a very long time. It's unacceptable in my opinion that these people now are hostile towards the refugees, since they have been in the same place. We might be refugees in the future, and I really wouldn't like to be treated like an animal and live in horrible conditions.

14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

Yes of course.

15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

No not really. But I've volunteered in a refugee camp. The language barrier is the problem. But people are very friendly. They are here for a better future, not to hurt us in any way. That's what the locals don't understand.

16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

I don't know. These were my views always. I just think that something similar could happen to us too.

17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

My family have been in my hometown forever (we have a family tree that dates back to 1600). I think we are very lucky. But I have friends whose grandparents came from the Asia Minor.

18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

The economic crisis is making people more hostile towards refugees. We would be even more helpful but when you don't have enough money to feed your children, you don't even consider helping anyone else. People get frustrated when money from the state are given to the refugees than the civilians, but as far as I know the money are provided from the European Union, so not from Greece. After all the refugees are the ones who need immediate help.

### Thirteenth Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

*25-34*

What is your occupation?

*Freelance editor & video producer*

How long have you lived in Greece?

*29 years*

How were you affected by the economic crisis?

*My buying power has been lowered and it's become more difficult to find work.*

Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

*Not in an immediate sense, but some people have become more openly racist and it's become more acceptable to openly discriminate against refugees. Conversely, some people I know have volunteered in refugee centres. It seems the refugees crisis has just reinforced people's pre-existing beliefs and positions.*

In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

*Yes, I've been fortunate enough to live in a neighbourhood that was gentrified throughout the crisis.*

Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

*Many young upper middle-class families have moved in.*

Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

*I think the process of gentrification has made the neighborhood a bit less tolerant of poverty and more about keeping one's own property secure. It used to be a traditionally*

*left-wing neighborhood but in the next mayoral elections I could see it swinging the other way.*

What values are important to being Greek?

*Loyalty to family;  
obsession with Ancient history and disdain of current/modern Greek identity;  
distrust of state, public services and politicians;  
pleasure first, work second.*

Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

*Adults will see parents and family and be involved in their lives more often than in other countries;  
people identify with Ancient Greece and get obsessed over things like the Macedonia question but seem to be entirely ignorant of modern culture, history etc;  
tax evasion and neglected state of public spaces shows that people do not identify with "the commons";  
people will give up many things when going through financial hardship before giving up going out for coffee/food/drinks and socialising -- fewer people seem to be workaholics or career-oriented, and living from hand to mouth is common. People see work as a means to an end and not an end in itself.*

Where would you say these values come from?

*Many of these values are shared among Greece and other countries in the Balkans and Turkey. I believe they have to do with Greece's relatively recent Ottoman past and the reaction of Modern Greeks to it.*

How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

*Family and the educational system.*

Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

*Yes. Greece has always been a melting pot of civilizations, and our country has had a lot of Eastern influences throughout the years. I would love to see Greek culture becoming more tolerant and multicultural, because as a person I do not believe in the Greek national myths and enjoy opening up to different cultures. I often dream of Greece being part of a Balkan/Mediterranean Union.*

Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

*I do not see a reason why refugees should be exempt from working in the public sector, if they can speak Greek and have the necessary skills.*

Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

*No.*

What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

*Travelling and participating in European Erasmus+ youth exchange programs that have focused on inclusion and a family history of frequent uprooting and persecution that makes me skeptical of rigid borders and sympathetic towards people hit by such devastation.*

Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

*Yes, my neighborhood is Nea Smyrni, or New Izmir, which was originally founded by refugees. My grandmother's parents were born in Izmir and had to flee in 1922.*

Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

*The last question made me wonder why not more Greeks make the connection that Greece has been a country that has been affected by immigration and war in its history and refuse to accept that Greece as a country has been shaped by such stories that aren't in the public discourse as much as they could or should.*

### Fourteenth Participant Response

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

1. What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+
2. What is your occupation? Teacher, currently unemployed
3. How long have you lived in Greece? Since birth
4. How were you affected by the economic crisis? Both my husband and I have lost our jobs and we may also lose our home
5. Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How? No
6. In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better? No
7. Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? No
8. Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How? We don't seem to be social anymore
9. What values are important to being Greek? Personally speaking filotimo is number one(difficult to translate in English), helping each other, hospitality.
10. Where/how are these values practiced in daily life? Helping your neighbours, being truthful, opening your home to people in need
11. Where would you say these values come from? I think they are engraved in our DNA!

12. How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media? Family and school
13. Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why? Yes. Because Greeks have been refugees many times before and we should treat others as we would like to be treated
14. Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees? Of course, it's the humane thing to do
15. Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like? Seldom, because there aren't many in my area. I have interacted when I donated clothes to a camp. Their eyes were always searching for something and everybody except the children were very alert of their surroundings.
16. What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees? My grandparents were refugees
17. Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey? Yes, my family and a lot of friends' families
18. Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share? Good luck with your research!

Fifteenth Participant Response:

This project aims to look at the effect of family history on attitudes towards refugees.

What is your age group? <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+

→ 25-34

What is your occupation?

→ I am a Police Sergeant for the Hellenic Police

How long have you lived in Greece?

→ All my life

How were you affected by the economic crisis?

→ Our wages took a major cut and for the last 5-6 years we haven't seen any major raise, because raises in our sector are "frozen". On top of that most wages in the private sector are low (500 euros approximately) which also affects our family life.

Have you, or people you know, been affected by the refugee crisis? How?

→ Other than the fact that my work group, has taken the most burden to manage the refugee crisis and its consequences I wouldn't say anyone else I know is affected.

In the last ten years has your neighborhood changed for the better?

→ I would say most things remain the same, but they could definitely be better.

Have the demographics of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years?

→ The average age of my neighborhood has grown and it's a fact that birthrates were low. Also there was a raise in immigrants and foreigners.

Have the values of your neighborhood changed in the past ten years? How?

→ I am not sure. I know that my values and my family's haven't.

What values are important to being Greek?

→ In the past the three main values were "Country, Religion and Family", nowadays we still value the concept of "Family" and have added values like "Having Fun". We still thing highly of our country and religion, but newer generation seem to take a step back. But I think the value that describes most of is "Philotimo" [ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philotimo> ]

Where/how are these values practiced in daily life?

→ Greeks are realy attacehed to our families. We think highly of a "good relative" even if he is our fifth cousin, because we respect the long line of ancestors that connect us.

Older generations were so keen on working to reconstruct the country but even then, they were finding ways to have fun and forget the struggles. Nowaday we have adopted "Having Fun" as a value. Most Greeks just can't let 2-3 days without socialising. You could say that going out and having a good time is in our DNA.

I could go on and on about "Philotimo" but I will give you an example you can definitely understand. When I saw your post on Reddit I felt a genuine impulse to help even though I don't know you and I even told you I do it for free, because that feels the right thing to me. All this chain reaction in my head, exists in most Greeks and is the only thing keeping our nation together and it is "Philotimo".

Where would you say these values come from?

→ Definatly our tradition

How did you learn these values? School, church, family, media?

→ All the above, but mostly family.

Do you believe refugees should be welcomed in Greece? Why?

→ Greeks have been refugees and therefore we can't be unwelcoming to refugees. It's that simple.

Do you think that Greek public services (coast guard, EMS, welfare) should be given to refugees?

→ These services exist for anyone who needs them. If a refugee is in need he should get help as any other citizen.

Do you interact with refugees in daily life? What are these interactions like?

→ Due to my occupation I interact with many foreigners but most of them are immigrants. The refugees I happened to interact with were really interesting to talk to because they gave me their point of view on the refugee crisis that most people don't get to know.

What do you think has impacted your views towards refugees?

→ Definitely my work and my interaction and info I take through my work.

Were you or any of your friends or family affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe between Greece and Turkey?

→ No

Do you have any other thoughts that you would like to share?

→ No



