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## Are Attitudes of Young Portuguese towards Immigration also Hardening? A Comparison between 1999 and 2006

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**Félix Neto**, *Universidade do Porto, Portugal*, [fneto@fpce.up.pt](mailto:fneto@fpce.up.pt)

The host majority has an important impact on how immigrants adapt to their new land. The focus of the present chapter<sup>1</sup> is to understand attitudes of Portuguese young people towards immigration. To achieve this aim, a pilot study was conducted with the ISATIS (International Study of Attitudes Towards Immigration and Settlement) instrument. The sample consisted of 477 Portuguese youngsters attending courses in high school, interviewed in 1999 and in 2006. All participants were of Portuguese origin and 94% were born in Portugal. Their age ranged between 16 and 20 years. An examination of acculturation expectations towards immigration showed that Integration is the option most preferred, while Exclusion is the least preferred. In-between preferences are Segregation and Assimilation. Globally, there was a positive social climate towards immigration and immigrants. However, from 1999 to 2006 those positive attitudes were less strong. Girls revealed more positive attitudes towards immigration and immigrants than boys. Regarding attitudes towards diversity, tolerance is clearly the strongest link. With respect to security, economic security and personal security are the weakest links. The indicators of immigration climate (perceived personal, economic and cultural consequences of diversity and immigration, the tendency to advocate prohibition of immigration and attitude toward 17 ethnocultural groups) are reasonably strong. Immigration climate is more strongly linked to diversity attitudes as compared with security.

The focus of the present chapter is understanding attitudes of young Portuguese towards immigration. At present, Portugal is simultaneously an emigration and immigration country (Neto & Mullet, 1998; Neto, 2003). If emigration in this country has been an old tradition, Portugal has recently become a country of immigration. Several different ethnic groups comprise the immigrant population in Portugal. Some are officially registered as foreign residents but others are clandestine arrivals. The official numbers of immigrants, or legally registered foreigners, in 2004 was 449,194 individuals, corresponding to 4.3% of the population resident in Portugal and 8% of the active population. The growth of the immigrant communities becomes apparent from the 1990s onwards, when there were only approximately 100,000 immigrants, and this reflects a 400% increase in 14 years. Today, Brazilian immigrants (14.9%) are the most numerous, with Ukrainians (14.7%) occupying the second, and Cape-Verdeans (14.3%) the third place. The immigrants from PALOP (African countries with Portuguese as official language) represent 31.3% of the total legally registered foreigners, which corresponds to almost double the number of European Union residents. The foreign population is located above all in the littoral; that is to say, almost half the foreigners live in the area of Lisbon (45.0%), and in the Faro area (13.3%), followed by Setúbal (9.4%) and Porto (7.2%). The majority of foreign workers are mostly employed in four main areas: agriculture, manufacturing, industry, building and civil engineering, and services. Immigrants of European origin are employed mainly in the professional and service sectors; most Brazilians are employed in the service sector; whereas the majority of Africans are employed in the industrial and construction sectors.

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In order to discover how young Portuguese view immigrants (as people), immigration (as a process), and membership in various ethnocultural groups, a pilot study was conducted utilizing the International Study of Attitudes Towards Immigration and Settlement (ISATIS) methodology (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Berry, Kalin, & Bourhis, 2000). This project, which began in 1999, sought to extend the research internationally and, in doing so, to examine whether background factors, especially cultural and economic security, predicted attitudes (Berry, 2006). This project is predicated on the view that the adaptation of immigrants and their descendants to their adoptive society is affected by numerous factors in the receiving society. One of the most important of such factors is the set of attitudes held by members of the receiving society towards them.

Three important psychological processes are likely to affect immigration attitudes within a given society. The first one is a favorable *orientation towards ethnic diversity*. Attitudes towards social diversity and participation constitute nuclear aspects of acculturation and ethnic relations phenomena. In regard to the dominant group, there are two aspects to such phenomena. The first is the views that are held about how non-dominant groups should acculturate; these have been called *acculturation expectations* (Berry, 2006). Second, are the views held by the dominant group about how they themselves should change to accommodate the other groups now in their society; this strategy is assessed with a concept called *multicultural ideology* (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977).

Berry and his colleagues (e.g., Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989) have developed a two-dimensional model of acculturation, which provides a framework for the study of acculturation attitudes. They suggest that two critical issues determine the type of acculturation that takes place: (a) the extent to which individuals consider it of value to identify with and maintain the cultural characteristics of their own ethnic groups and (b) the importance such individuals attribute to maintaining positive relationships with the larger society and other ethnic groups. On the basis of this model, there are four possible ways in which non-dominant group members can participate in a culturally diverse society: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. The literature generally suggests that among the four acculturation options, integration must be the most adaptive (Berry, 1997; Neto, 2002, 2006). When these four attitudes are assessed among members of the larger society, they refer to the ways in which the dominant group thinks immigrants and their descendants should adapt to living in the larger society. In this case, the appropriate terms are assimilation, segregation, integration and exclusion (Berry, 1974; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997).

The concept of "multicultural ideology" was introduced by Berry et al., (1977). This concept refers to the general orientation individuals may have towards living in a culturally plural society. If for some people diversity is the spice of life, for others it is the major irritant.

The second process is a favorable *orientation towards social equality*. Ethnic tolerance is a critical issue in all societies, and Portugal is no exception. Ethnocentrism has been related to increases in anxiety as a consequence of outgroup contact (Stephan & Stephan, 1992). Thus, it appears that individuals who are highly ethnocentric anticipate and then experience anxiety when interacting with outgroup members.

The third process is a sense of *personal and collective security*. Security involves a sense of confidence among everyone who resides in a plural society. The multiculturalism hypothesis is that such a sense of security in one's identity will be a psychological precondition for the acceptance of those who are culturally different (Berry et al., 1977). Individuals who feel personally and collectively insecure are less likely to be favorably oriented towards ethnic diversity and less likely to be accepting of immigrants.

The demographic background of host majority members can also be related to immigration attitudes. Demographic antecedents include gender, age, social class, education and ethnic background. For example, results of empirical research on the effect of gender on attitude towards immigrants are contradictory. In a study by Pepels and Hagendoorn (2000) the

strongest prejudice against immigrant groups was found amongst elderly women. However, the broader picture seems to indicate that men express more explicit prejudice toward outgroups than women (e.g., Ekehammar, Akrami, & Araya, 2003).

Attitudes towards social diversity, attitudes towards social equality, feelings of personal and collective security, and demographic background can have an impact on the *social climate* for relationships between immigrants and members of the host society. This social climate is made up of three attitude components: (a) preferences for/prohibition against certain types of immigration; (b) attitudes about the positive and negative consequences of immigration for the host society; (c) feeling comfortable in the presence of immigrants from different ethnic, linguistic, and religious background.

Attitudes toward other ethnic groups have been studied as far back as Bogardus (1928). In particular Bogardus found that stereotypes of ethnic groups and immigrants were the source of negative attitudes. Clark (1998) reported that, since 1965, attitudes toward immigrants have turned increasingly negative. For example, O'Rourke (2002) reported that attitudes have been 'hardening' even in traditional liberal societies like Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. Is such a hardening of attitudes evident in Portugal, too?

Traditionally, the Portuguese are tolerant of cultural diversity and positive attitudes prevail. This is possibly because Portugal has a long history of contact with other cultures. Marriage between Portuguese and native peoples was more frequent in Portuguese colonies than in other European colonies. Nevertheless intolerance has increased recently.

Three research questions were stated for this study. Our first question involved the evaluation of attitudes towards immigration and immigrants. Would participants have positive attitudes towards immigration and immigrants? Our second question regarded possible differences by gender. Would girls have more positive attitudes towards immigration and immigrants than boys? Finally, our third question regarded possible differences over a lapse of time. Would participants have more positive attitudes in two cohorts, that is 1999 and 2006?

### Method

#### *Participants*

Participants were 477 Portuguese youngsters attending courses in high school (two cohorts). The participants were interviewed in 1999 ( $n = 234$ ) and in 2006 ( $n = 243$ ). Ninety-four percent were born in Portugal, and all were of Portuguese origin. Forty two percent were male and 58% female. The age of the participants ranged from between 16 to 20 years, with a mean age of 16.8 years. All were resident of North Portugal. Forty-four percent of their mothers and 49% of their fathers had attended school for more than six years.

Time (cohorts) was not significantly associated with gender ( $\chi^2 = 3.03$ ,  $d.f.=1$ ,  $p>.05$ ) nor with place of birth ( $\chi^2 = 2.11$ ,  $d.f.=1$ ,  $p>.05$ ). However time was significantly associated with the sociocultural level of the parents ( $\chi^2 = 14.92$ ,  $d.f.=1$ ,  $p<.05$ ). The sociocultural level of parents was higher in 1999 than in 2006. The mean age also differed significantly between the two years ( $F_{1, 465} = 38.29$ ,  $p<.01$ ), being higher in 1999 (Mean = 17.1) than in 2006 (Mean = 16.8). Thus, parental sociocultural level and age will be used as covariates.

#### *Instrument*

The survey administered to the Portuguese student sample was an amended version administered to the Canadian student samples (Berry et al., 2000). Some items from the social dominance scale were added and social dominance became one of the indicators of diversity attitude (in addition to tolerance and multicultural ideology). Perceived consequences of immigration and diversity were also elaborated and grouped in personal, economic and cultural dimensions. In designing the Portuguese version of the instrument, guidelines proposed in the literature on cross-cultural methodology (Brislin, 2000) were followed as closely as possible (e.g., independent, blind back-translations, educated translation, small-scale pretests). The

following variables of the ISATIS instrument were used. There are three **Security** variables: *Cultural* (e.g., “We have to take steps to protect our cultural traditions from outside influences”), *Economic* (e.g., “The high level of unemployment is a grave cause for concern”) and *Personal* (e.g., “People’s chances of being robbed, even murdered, are getting higher and higher”).

*Attitudes Towards Social Diversity and Participation* had two separate scales: *Multicultural Ideology* (e.g., “Portuguese should recognize that cultural diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Portuguese society”) and *Acculturation Expectations* (e.g., “Immigrants should not have to give up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting Portuguese culture”).

*Attitudes Towards Social Equality*, also had two components: *Tolerance* (e.g., “Recent immigrants should have as much to say about the future of Portugal as people who were born and raised here”) and *Social Dominance Orientation* (e.g., “To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others”).

We also assessed four immigration attitudes, which taken together evaluated the *Immigration Climate: Perceived Consequences of Immigration* (e.g., “Immigration increases social unrest”); *Attitudes towards Immigrant Numbers* (e.g., “Overall, there is too much immigration to Portugal”), and *Attitudes towards Kinds of immigrants* (both preference and prohibition items –e.g., “Immigrants who are highly educated should be given preference”; e.g., “Immigrants who are culturally very different from most Portuguese should be prohibited”); and *Attitudes Towards Ethnocultural Groups* (e.g., “On a 100-point scale, indicate how favorable you are toward members of the following groups: Angolan, Brazilian, Chinese, Indian, etc.”).

Additional questions referred to *Demographic* information (age, gender, education, place of birth, and ethnicity).

#### Procedure

The survey was conducted in 1999 and in 2006. Data collection involved completing a structured questionnaire during small group meetings. The questionnaire was self-explanatory, but a standard instruction was given at the start of the session informing students that participation was voluntary, and that responses were confidential.

The data were subjected to a two-way analysis of co-variance (age and sociocultural level of parents as covariates). There were two between-subjects factors: gender (boys versus girls) and time (1999 and 2006). Besides ANCOVA the statistic analysis included correlations and a structural equation modeling procedures.

#### Results

Internal consistency levels of the psycho-social scales are presented in Table 1. They are low for *Security Scale*, moderate for *Multicultural Ideology* and *Attitudes Towards Social Equality*, and satisfactory for *Perceived Consequences of Diversity and Immigration*, *Immigration Prohibition* and *Attitudes toward Ethnocultural Groups* Scales. Even though Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  indices are not equally high, the six scales have been retained in their present format for comparability reasons (Canadian data).

In Table 2 the mean scores for the four acculturation expectations towards immigrants are presented. Their examination shows that the highest acculturation expectation of young Portuguese towards immigrants is integration, while exclusion is the least preferred.

Girls supported integration more ( $Mn= 5.8, SD= 1.4$ ) than exclusion ( $Mn= 1.9, SD= 1.5$ ); boys reported less extreme expectations (respectively and in comparison to the girls’ scores,  $Mn= 5.5, SD= 1.6, \eta^2 = .01$  and  $Mn= 2.2, SD= 1.6, \eta^2 = .01$ ). The effect of time was significant on two acculturation expectations: integration, ( $F_{1, 462} = 8.3, p < .05$ ), and exclusion, ( $F_{1, 467} = 9.3, p < .01$ ). The integration score was weaker and the exclusion score stronger in 2006 than in

1999. The effect of gender was significant on two acculturation orientations: integration, ( $F_{1, 462}=6.0, p<.05$ , and exclusion, ( $F_{1, 467}=6.6, p<.05$ ). No interaction was significant.

**Table 1.** Internal Consistency estimates for the Portuguese Sample (N=477) by Time

Scale	Number of items	Cronbach's $\alpha$	
		1999	2006
Overall Security	13	.44	.36
Multicultural Ideology	10	.65	.64
Attitudes towards Social Equality	11	.65	.77
Perceived Consequences of Diversity and Immigration	11	.78	.67
Immigration Prohibition	8	.80	.82
Attitudes towards Ethnocultural Groups	17	.94	.95

**Table 2.** Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Acculturation Expectations by Time

Acculturation Expectations	Mn	SD	Mn	SD	F	p	$\eta^2$
	1999		2006				
Integration	5.9	1.4	5.4	1.6	10.1	<.01	.02
Segregation	3.7	2.1	3.5	2.0	.69	ns	–
Assimilation	2.6	1.8	2.9	1.8	3.2	ns	–
Exclusion	1.7	1.4	2.2	1.6	9.8	<.01	.02

Note: Higher scores refer to positive higher acculturation expectations.

With respect to relationships among these scores, results showed the existence of significant negative correlations between integration and assimilation ( $r=-.25$ ) and integration and exclusion ( $r=-.21$ ) and a significant positive correlation between assimilation and exclusion ( $r=.18$ ), assimilation and segregation ( $r=.13$ ), and segregation and exclusion ( $r=.29$ ). In other words, there is recognition in the sample that integration and assimilation, and integration and exclusion are alternative acculturation orientations. However, segregation and exclusion are positively correlated. This positive correlation reflects a recognition that both segregation and exclusion share a negative orientation toward involvement of immigrants in the larger society. This pattern of correlations was relatively similar in 1999 and 2006.

Concerning the remaining psychosocial variables (Table 3), attitudes were on the positive side of the mid-point (on 7-point scales). Overall, the results show that Portuguese adolescents have positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

The main effect of gender on six psychosocial variables was significant: security ( $F_{1, 456}=7.4, p<.01, \eta^2=.02$ ), multicultural ideology ( $F_{1, 461}=20.2, p<.001, \eta^2=.05$ ), social equality attitude ( $F_{1, 454}=16.8, p<.001, \eta^2=.04$ ), perceived consequences of diversity and immigration ( $F_{1, 455}=7.0, p<.01, \eta^2=.02$ ), immigration prohibition ( $F_{1, 457}=15.5, p<.001, \eta^2=.03$ ), and attitudes towards ethnocultural groups ( $F_{1, 458}=13.6, p<.001, \eta^2=.03$ ). These effects indicated that boys felt more security and advocated more immigration prohibition than girls, and that girls revealed more favorable attitudes toward multicultural ideology, social equality, perceived consequences of diversity and immigration, and towards ethnocultural groups. The main effect of gender on immigration level was not significant.

The main effect of time was significant on four other psychosocial variables: security,  $F_{1, 456}=34.3, p<.001$ , multicultural ideology,  $F_{1, 461}=14.1, p<.001$ , perceived consequences of diversity and immigration  $F_{1, 455}=4.2, p<.05$ , and immigration level,  $F_{1, 468}=29.9, p<.001$ . The effects reflected that in 1999 security, multicultural ideology, perceived consequences of

diversity and immigration were higher and immigration level was lower than in 2006. Analysis of covariance revealed no significant interactions.

**Table 3.** Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Portuguese Sample by Time (N=477)

	<i>Mn</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mn</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	1999		2006				
Overall Security	3.8	.57	3.5	.52	34.6	<.001	.07
Multicultural Ideology	5.1	.78	4.7	.72	11.3	<.001	.02
Attitudes towards Social Equality	5.5	.76	5.4	.95	.35	ns	–
Perceived Consequences of Diversity and Immigration	4.3	.93	4.1	.84	4.2	<.05	.01
Immigration Level (too high)	3.9	1.4	4.7	1.6	33.8	<.001	.07
Immigration Prohibition	2.9	1.0	3.0	1.1	.61	ns	–
Attitudes towards Ethnocultural Groups	5.8	1.7	5.6	2.0	2.7	ns	–

Note: Possible scores range from 1 to 7. Higher numbers indicate more positive attitudes, except for Immigration Prohibition.

Even though the overall attitude toward immigration and immigrants was positive, there were differences in the comfort ratings of the ethnocultural groups. In Table 4 the mean comfort ratings of the sample in relation to 17 ethnocultural groups are presented. The first position is occupied by Brazilians, followed by the Timorese and the French. African Countries with Portuguese as their Official Language (PALOP) occupy intermediate positions (Angolans, Mozambicans, Cape-Verdeans, Guineans and Santomeans). Gypsies are the ethnocultural group which attracts the lowest comfort rating. Some comfort ratings of ethnocultural groups have improved with time, such as Indians and Germans, and others have changed for the worse, such as Chinese and Gypsies.

**Table 4.** Comfort Ratings of Ethnocultural Groups by Time

<b>Ethnocultural Group</b>	<i>Mn</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mn</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
	1999		2006				
Brazilians	7.0	2.3	6.6	2.5	3.8	ns	–
Timorese	6.5	2.5	5.6	2.7	17.2	<.001	.04
French	6.3	2.3	6.2	2.5	.97	ns	–
Angolans	6.1	2.3	6.1	2.5	.13	ns	–
Mozambicans	6.1	2.4	5.5	2.8	9.8	<.01	.02
British	6.1	2.4	5.6	2.7	6.7	<.01	.01
Cape-Verdeans	6.0	2.2	6.0	2.5	.72	ns	–
Americans (USA)	6.0	2.2	6.0	2.7	.33	ns	–
Guineans	5.9	2.4	5.6	2.6	2.6	ns	–
Santomeans	5.8	2.5	5.5	2.9	3.0	ns	–
Venezuelans	5.6	2.4	5.3	2.6	3.4	ns	–
Spanish	5.6	2.5	5.6	2.7	.02	ns	–
Jews	5.3	2.7	5.3	2.7	.29	ns	–
Indians	5.2	2.4	5.9	2.7	6.5	<.01	.01
Chinese	5.2	2.5	3.8	2.9	27.3	<.001	.01
Germans	5.1	2.4	5.8	2.7	6.6	<.01	.01
Gypsies	4.4	2.7	3.7	2.78	7.8	<.01	.02

In Figure 1, the intercorrelations between security, multicultural ideology, tolerance and social climate variables are presented. The association of security with other variables is not very high, but attitudes towards social diversity and towards social equality are highly associated with social climate.

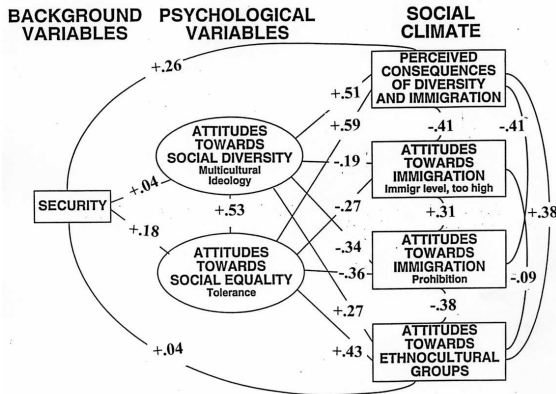


Figure 1. Intercorrelations: ISATIS Portuguese student sample in 1999.

Finally, in Figure 2 a postulated structural model is presented, as driven from the Canadian ISATIS data, and as consisting of three latent variables: security, diversity attitude, and immigration climate. *Security* is hypothesized as creating a positive immigration climate directly and indirectly by creating a positive *diversity attitude*. A positive *diversity attitude* is also hypothesized as causing a positive *immigration climate*. The latent *security* variable is indicated by cultural, economic and personal security observed variables. Alternatively, we could say that *security* consists of the common variance among cultural, economic and personal security. *Diversity attitude* is indicated by (consists of the common variance among) multicultural ideology, tolerance and social dominance observed variable. *Immigration climate* consists of the common variance among perceived positive or negative consequences (personal, economic, and cultural) of diversity and immigration, the tendency to advocate prohibition of immigration on various grounds, and a positive attitude towards a broad range of immigrants of various ethnic groups, them being observed variables in the data as well.

This model was tested with the AMOS structural equation modeling procedure. The overall model had a slightly better fit in the Portuguese sample as compared with the Canadian student samples (RMSEA of .057 vs. .071). Figure 2 contains the standardized path coefficients for the Portuguese sample. Regarding *diversity attitude*, tolerance is clearly the strongest link. Regarding *security*, economic security, and personal security are the weakest links. The indicators of *immigration climate* (perceived personal, economic and cultural consequences of diversity and immigration, the tendency to advocate prohibition of immigration, and attitudes toward 17 ethnocultural groups) are reasonably strong. The regression coefficients for *security* are lower and *security* is less strongly linked to *diversity attitude* and *immigration climate* than in Canadian samples (Berry et al., 2000), a result which is rather difficult to identify at this point.



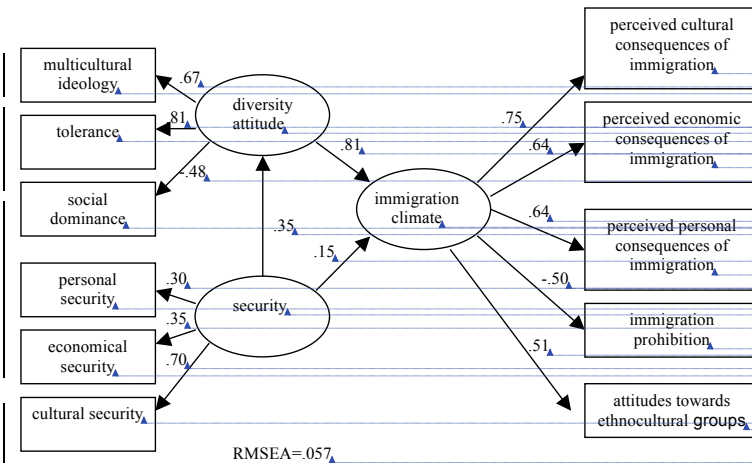


Figure 2. ISATIS model of attitudes towards immigrants in Portuguese student sample in 1999.

Discussion

International research has shown significant variation in attitudes towards immigrants, opinions about immigration, and acceptance of multiculturalism (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). In this paper we have discussed how Portuguese young people view immigrants. In particular, we have studied attitudes toward acculturation among this dominant group, including both their expectations about acculturation in others, and their own willingness to engage in acculturation change. We also gained an understanding concerning attitudes towards immigration, immigrants and the ethnocultural groups which result from recent immigration flows.

Using Berry's framework, comparisons can be made between individuals and their ethnocultural groups, and between non-dominant peoples and the larger society within which they are acculturating. Bourhis et al., (1997) have outlined an interest in mutual strategies, examining situations where the two parties in contact may have different views about how to go about their mutual acculturation. Inconsistencies and conflicts between the various acculturation preferences are sources of difficulty, usually for acculturating individuals, but also for members of the dominant group. Current data has shown that the preferred strategy was integration in agreement with the preferences desired by ethnocultural groups living in Portugal (Neto, 2002). This mutual consistency may prevent intercultural conflict at the levels of larger society.

The first research question regarded the evaluation of attitudes towards immigration and immigrants. Globally, the results showed that there were positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The second research question regarded possible differences by gender. Our results showed that, in general, girls have more positive attitudes towards immigration and immigrants than boys. Girls, compared with boys, report more positive attitudes toward integration. Conversely, boys report greater endorsement of exclusion attitudes. These results are in agreement with previous research showing that men have higher explicit ethnic prejudice (e.g., Ekhammar et al., 2003) than women.

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Our third research question examined possible differences over time. The data showed that from 1999 to 2006 those positive attitudes were less strong. This change can be explained by at least two factors. On the one hand, the total of foreigners almost doubled between 1999 and 2006, the immigration rate having grown quickly in recent years. On the other hand, the unemployment rate has also increased, 4.4% in 1999 and 7.6% in 2006. Nevertheless, in 2006 the attitudes towards immigration and immigrants were still positive, but it will be necessary to follow the evolution of these attitudes over coming years.

When attitudes towards ethnocultural groups were assessed, a preference hierarchy has been found. The ethnocultural group viewed most positively was the Brazilian and the ethnocultural group viewed least positively was the Gypsy. African countries with Portuguese as the Official Language (PALOPs) emerged in the middle range of the hierarchy. Even if some comfort ratings have changed for the worse over time, the evaluations of Indians and Germans have improved during the same period. Similar hierarchies have been found in Europe (e.g., Hagendoorn, Drogendijk, Tumanov, & Hraba, 1998; Van Oudenhoven, Groenewoud, & Hewstone, 1996) and in Canada (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Berry et al., 1977). In Portugal, ethnocultural groups of Western and Northern European backgrounds are usually viewed more positively than those of other origins: Eastern and Southern Europeans are lower in the hierarchy, followed by those of non-European backgrounds.

In general, this study provides support for the multiculturalism hypothesis: when adolescents feel that their place is secure in their own plural society, they are both tolerant of, and more welcoming to, immigrants. It is acknowledged that a range of factors affect attitudes toward immigrants, including the salience of group categories during contact, national identity, stereotypes, and political ideology, and these should be investigated in future.

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