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Breaking the Stereotype: Age and Public Opinion Towards Refugees in Germany

Michelle Hermes
College of William and Mary

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Breaking the Stereotype:
Age and Public Opinion Towards Refugees in Germany

Michelle Hermes

Breaking the Stereotype: Age and Public Opinion Towards Refugees in Germany

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Government from
The College of William and Mary

by

Michelle Hermes

Accepted for _____

(Honors)



Jaime Settle, Director, Department of Government



Clayton Clemens, Department of Government



Jennifer Gilly, Department of German

Williamsburg, VA
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Abstract

In light of the ongoing refugee crisis, Germany has proven itself as a humanitarian leader. The country has accepted more refugees than any other country in the European Union and has some of the most liberal policies in regards to refugee admittance. Some speculate that Germany's policies and attitudes stem from a desire to break from stereotypes that remain from World War II and the Holocaust. At the same time, Germany has also experienced a rise in far-right populist attitudes, evident through the success of the AfD party in the 2017 parliamentary election. This majority of the AfD's base is composed of younger individuals, those under 40. These nationalist, anti-immigrant ideas contradict the image Germany has been struggling to build for itself since the end of World War II. Older individuals are more familiar with this struggle. They experience collective guilt more intensely, as they lived through much of Germany's turbulent history.

This study analyzes the 2016 Pew Global Attitudes Dataset to explore whether older individuals in Germany will perceive refugees in their country more positively when compared to other countries. I hypothesize that older German individuals will have more positive perception scores than older individuals in other countries and that the variable of age in Germany will not follow the trends outlined in the literature as strongly. Results suggest that overall trends in Germany do not necessarily break from the trends present in other European countries, but that age is less significant of an indicator of perception when compared to other demographic variables and other countries.

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Introduction

Europe has seen an unprecedented rise of far-right parties. While this trend was thought to be unique to in Eastern Europe and former Soviet regions, Western Europe has also seen an increase in support for these far-right parties. The recent refugee crisis which flooded Europe with Middle Eastern refugees and likely led to an upswing in terror attacks has prompted this ideological shift. Western European countries such as Italy, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, Germany, and Austria have seen a growth in momentum for far-right, anti-immigrant parties. The exceptions to this movement include Spain and Portugal, which both have large Muslim populations and thus do not see the same support for anti-immigrant movements. In regards to the countries that have been experiencing this trend, it is often difficult to compare where the movement has caught on the strongest because parliamentary elections do not occur on the same schedule across Europe. There are also a variety of differences between the far-right parties for each country that may skew a comparison of their success rates.

In the 2017 election, Germany's far-right AfD- Alternativ für Deutschland party (Alternative for Germany) received 12.6% of the vote. France and Austria also had parliamentary elections in 2017 and saw far-right parties receiving upwards of 20% of the popular vote¹. Finland, Denmark, and Switzerland all had elections in 2015 with far-right parties also receiving over 20% of the vote. Many Eastern European countries see far-right parties

¹ The Netherlands also had an election in 2017 where the far-right party received approximately 14% of the popular vote. It is important to note that while this does not fall into the general trend, the upwards momentum of this party is still present. Also significant that the Dutch parliament only has 30/127 left-leaning members of parliament. The same is true of Britain- while the far-right party gained an increased presence in the 2015 election, Brexit led to a decrease in the 2017 election.

holding over half the seats in parliament. These countries often see the most substantial impact from refugees because of geographical proximity to the Middle East.

Within Europe, Germany became a leader in the refugee crisis. In 2015, Germany received 476,000 asylum applications and absorbed over 890,000 refugees from places such as Iraq and Syria. A lack of accountability in setting and adhering to quotas across Europe led Chancellor Angela Merkel to push for stricter policies on refugee admittance. Even now in 2018, Germany is still processing hundreds of thousands of asylum applicants.

The media has approached Germany's leadership role in the global refugee crisis as a chance for Germany to become a "moral leader" (Hewitt, 2015). In regards to German history, extensive research exists on the effects of "*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*" or German Collective Guilt. This concept applies to the guilt and shame that Germans still feel concerning the horrors committed by their ancestors during the Holocaust. German shame was most prevalent immediately following World War II, and many of the individuals who experienced this firsthand are still alive. Ever since then, Germany has witnessed an inability to completely distance itself from its history. Many view the humanitarian approach to the refugee crisis as an attempt to do so. While this may be the case, it cannot be ignored that 13% of Germans voted for the AfD party in the 2017 parliamentary elections. Their platform uses rhetoric which contradicts the idea that Germany can become a humanitarian haven for refugees. The AfD views Islam as an alien to German society, and AfD leader Alexander Gauland has talked about "fighting the invasion of foreigners" (BBC, 2015). The surge in AfD popularity came about as a response to Merkel's approach to the refugee crisis. The growing number of terror attacks throughout Europe has fueled anxiety and led Germans to latch onto the AfD message. There are a series of interesting trends which explain the origin of the AfD's voter base. Many AfD supporters have

tried to end the taboo on Nazi-era thinking. The ideas of “German-ness,” the danger of a multicultural society, and individuals who clung to these ideas have found a way to reemerge within the AfD. Another notable trend is the geographical location of the AfD voters. While East and West Germany reunified in 1990, the electoral map tells a different story. Former communist East Germany carried the AfD to their 94 parliamentary seats. This may stem from frustrations with the East German economy and a general feeling of disenfranchisement from the rest of the country. This theory is also supported by the fact that the leftist socialist party also received the most votes in the Eastern part of Germany.

The trend that I hope to examine in regards to voting behavior and in turn, attitudes towards refugees, is that of age. The age demographics of the AfD highlight some of the most interesting trends about German collective guilt and the aforementioned idea of Germany as a moral leader. The party is the most popular among younger Germans. While the CDU received a majority of votes across age groups, the AfD almost the same number of votes as the SPD among 30-44 year olds. Individuals over 60 were least likely to cast their vote for the AfD when compared to all other age demographics (ZEIT, 2015). This voting pattern contradicts trends found throughout the literature regarding the correlation between being conservative parties and age. The relationship between age and conservatism presents as linear, with conservatism increasing as age increases. On this spectrum, the AfD is the most right-wing party in Germany, yet older individuals were more likely to vote for more the more centrist parties. While this does not prove that older individuals have positive attitudes towards refugee admittance, it does demonstrate that they do not feel strongly enough about the subject to vote for the AfD, as many younger Germans did. The idea of Germany as a moral leader and the country’s aim to distance itself from the Holocaust may be more prevalent among older individuals who directly

experienced the past from which Germany so desperately wants distance. The only indicator of attitudes towards refugees among older populations when compared to younger populations come from election data. By further understanding the role of German Collective Guilt in decision-making processes of German people, I hope to shed light on potential policy implications and future trends as the demography of the population continues to change.

In this paper, I will first review the existing literature surrounding the various factors which may influence perceptions of immigrants and refugees. Next, I will discuss the theory behind collective guilt and examine how the concept has been conceptualized and examined in past research. I will present my hypotheses about the role of the Holocaust Complex in determining how German people will perceive refugee admittance in their country. I will describe the data I use to test my hypotheses, as well as controlling for the factors outlined in the literature review to best isolate the dependent variable. From the results of my data cleaning and analysis, I will determine the accuracy of my hypotheses, discuss the potential implications of these results, draw conclusions and identify potential policy implications and areas of future study.

Collective Guilt

I build my hypothesis around the central idea of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* or German collective guilt. This term translated, means “the struggle to come to terms with or overcome the past”. This term is the overarching concept which has become important to the study of post-1945 German literature, society, culture, and politics. It raises questions of responsibility for the Holocaust and World War II as well as referring to the embarrassment and sense of remorse Germans felt and continue to experience for the war crimes of World War II and the Holocaust. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* is a concept which is studied across disciplines, as it affects all

facets of German life. In regards to immigration, the literature focuses on the sense of identity it creates, and how this, in turn, leads to the isolation of migrants because they do not have this sense of shared guilt that largely defines the culture. Group identification, group glorification, and group attachment are vital throughout studies conducted on the presence of collective guilt. (Özkan, 2014). The majority of the research done on the topic is in the field of psychology and focus on networks and dynamics within cultures and other homogeneous groups. In-group dynamics are vital to the manifestation of collective guilt, as an individual has to identify with the group to bear the load of the collective.

Other factors affect the manifestation of collective guilt. Aside from group identification, the presentation of the Holocaust and of collective guilt are vital to its manifestation in individuals. Existing research on the concept establishes the importance of presentation and framing. A study conducted in 2005 revealed that the presentation of social inequality in terms of in-group privilege leads privileged group members tend to feel collective guilt more strongly than when it is presented in terms of out-group disadvantage. Proximity and the establishment of a direct connection to an issue are vital in the construction of group dynamics (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005).

In regards to Germany and the Holocaust, there is no consensus on the strength of the collective guilt. Some researchers conclude that there is a low level of collective guilt among German because of the convoluted relationship between the past and the present (Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Erb, 2012; Leach, Zeineddine, & Cehajic-Clancy, 2013). The education of younger generations about the events of the Holocaust is central in creating and maintaining this proximal relationship.

There is no consensus on how to examine, operationalize, or measure collective guilt because of the abstract and multifaceted nature of the issue. Previous the studies manage to operationalize the collective guilt with different mechanisms (Imhoff, Wohl, & Erb, 2013; Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010). In one study, researchers elicited high levels of collective guilt when the ongoing consequences of negative action were emphasized by manipulating the subjective temporal distance of the Holocaust in one study (Peetz et al., 2010). Again, a variety of different types of proximity are central to the understanding of collective guilt.

Literature Review

The literature about immigration is extensive; researchers across countries use the same types of analyses to determine which factors influence public opinions about migration. Much of the world has felt minimal impacts of the Syrian Refugee Crisis; aside from Europe and the Middle East, the most contentious migration debates are on Mexican immigration to the United States. The literature, however points to multiple factors which can be discussed throughout the world. There are distinct similarities among the varying countries, but differences exist when cultural and ethnic variables are taken into account.

Gender

When considering the variable of gender, the assumption is often made that men have more negative opinions than women on immigration. Women are described as being more emotional and thus being more open to the admittance of refugees, especially when these refugees are children. This argument is a source of debate throughout the literature. The argument has not been made that men are more likely to oppose immigration than women. Research in the United States and Canada found that women are less accepting of refugees than men (Espenshade & Calhoun, 1994). Within this literature, no conclusion exists as to why this

may be the case. Calhoun and Espenshade infer that the negative attitude may stem from values more present in females such as religious beliefs, economic self-reliance, speaking English and voting in elections (Espenshade & Calhoun, 1994).

Men are traditionally deemed more rational, more violent and less emotional. Despite whether or not this belief is accurate, it has led to the mindset that men have harsher attitudes towards refugees and migrants. A recent study conducted across the E.U. however, found that men in all countries evaluated, had more negative attitudes towards refugees (Cides & Citren, 2007). These researchers dismissed the importance of this factor. The focus of the study was on subjective and individual factors and their role in determining attitudes toward the refugee crisis; gender was analyzed in conjunction with other factors and was not one of the central findings of the study. A Mori poll conducted in the UK produced similar results. Men were more likely to take a harder stance toward asylum seekers (Mori Social Research Institute, 2002).

Education and Social Class

Education and social class are traditionally evaluated separately throughout the literature, but for the purpose of this review, are grouped as the arguments often overlap. There is a consensus in the literature that education and social class shape opinions about immigrants. There is a strong positive correlation between education and positive attitudes towards migrants; the same is true for higher social class.

Two main camps of researchers exist which attempt to explain how education and social class and attitude towards immigrants demonstrate a positive correlation. The first of these two arguments is based on the effects of education. The literature posits that those with a better education are more tolerant because of an increased depth of exposure to different cultures (Case, Greely & Fuchs, 1989). This argument is made by scholars researching multiple

countries. This camp of researchers describes the correlation between education and positive attitudes towards refugees as stemming from a lack of ignorance. More educated individuals understand immigration policies, political situations in other countries, and approach the concept of immigration more holistically. They also are more educated on the effects of immigration in their country. In a similar argument, Case and Greeley state that the educated individuals have, “wider knowledge, more critical habits of thought, greater security, or merely a more sophisticated defense of their class interests” (Case, Greeley & Fuchs, 1989).

The other main camp of researchers posits that economic security and occupational prestige lead the more educated population to think more positively of immigration. These individuals have no fear of losing their jobs to low-skilled immigrants; they are also generally financially stable and do not suffer economic consequences with increased immigration (Espenshade & Hampstead, 1996; Sheve & Slaughter, 2001; Mayda, 2006). Uneducated populations are less receptive towards immigration because they work low-skill jobs, which are often the first to be filled by immigrant workers. A study conducted in Europe made this argument, saying that no correlation existed between income and attitude towards refugees. The variable they found to be most important was the perception of economic well-being. If an individual feels their economic security is under threat, regardless of their income, they will respond more negatively towards refugees (Cides & Citren, 2007).

Individual Factors

In addition to age, gender, and education, the majority of researchers also mention the importance of more subjective, individual factors which differ across cultures. Connection with immigrants is a key factor in determining attitudes towards them. If an individual is of the same background as the immigrants in question, they are more likely to have positive perceptions

(Espenshade & Hampstead, 1996). Opinions about the ideal level of state interventionism also influence attitudes. This argument is more prevalent in European states, where intervention is less frequent than in the United States (Taylor, 2015). Other arguments include perceptions of the importance of a country's homogeneity, and other cultural factors. These factors differ in regards to individual countries, and thus do not appear as frequently in the literature.

Age

There is an overall consensus throughout the literature about the correlation between age and apprehension towards immigration. Researchers have overwhelmingly found that as age increases, attitudes toward immigrants and refugees become more negative. The explanations for this phenomenon vary. The most frequently made argument relates age to political ideology. Older individuals are more likely to be conservative and in accordance with their ideology, oppose immigration (Espenshade & Calhoun 1993). Other researchers cited different explanations for this phenomenon. Many disagree that there is a correlation between age and conservative ideology, but few offer alternative explanations. Espenshade and Calhoun contend that older people are more resistant to social change and face lower job security as they grow older (Espenshade & Calhoun 1993).

The literature about the relationship between age and perceptions towards refugees is focused mainly on the United States. Considering that approximately two-thirds of the world's asylum seekers and refugees reach their final destination in the European Union, this gap in the literature is surprising. In 2015, Germany pledged to accept a million refugees, making it the leader in the European Union (BBC, 2016). The influx of Muslim immigrants began in the 1990's and is ongoing (Alibi, 2009). Germany is still in the process of integrating these individuals into the society (Alibi, 2009). Research on these demographic changes has been

conducted on the European Union as a whole, which provides some insight into factors which may differ from the North American focus of the literature. The same factors are the focal point of the analysis: age, gender, economic security, and education. The trends established throughout the literature hold true for both the United States and the European Union as a whole.

In European countries, the historical context may influence more nuanced factors playing a role in attitudes towards refugee admittance. Throughout the EU, attitudes towards homogeneity are central to explaining attitudes towards refugee populations. The United States boasts a diverse population. This is not to say that there are not Americans who dream of an ethnically or racially homogenous version of the United States, but the rhetoric surrounding American society's diversity is that of the "melting pot" Europe has historically remained homogenous until recently. The preference for cultural unity is strong. Researchers found that across Europe, 91% of individuals said it was important that residents of a country spoke a common language; only 26% disagree with the claim that a country is better if everyone shares the same beliefs and customs (Hatton, 2015). The homogeneity phenomenon creates a unique situation in Europe, and Germany's unique historical legacy continues to complicate the effect this phenomenon may have on the individual attitudes and the country's policies.

Citing one or a combination of factors which influence perceptions of migration is impossible. Variables such as gender, education, economic security, and age are deemed important across the literature, regardless of the country. The individual factors explain the differences which exist across state lines. The importance of a country's homogeneity for European respondents is especially important in regards to Germany. This desire for homogeneity in Germany was the central factor in the rise of the Third Reich, so the relationship that contemporary Germany has with this idea is complicated and nuanced. (Weber, 2009). The

fall of the Third Reich and the reputation Germany received from the international community led to immense suffering and a loss of identity for the German people. These memories of World War II's aftermath may lead older individuals to have different opinions about the need for homogeneity in a country and thus react more positively towards immigrants. The literature makes it evident that younger individuals have positive opinions about immigration and refugees, but the combination of homogeneity as a variable and Germany's historical context may reverse this trend.

Research Design

My research focuses on German public opinion towards refugee admittance and the effect of German collective guilt on perception. To operationalize collective guilt, I use age as a proxy. Those over the age of 65 saw the direct consequences of the war and lived through reconstruction before the German economic boom (*Wirtschaftswunder*) in the early 1950's. For the first phase of my research, I compare overall German public opinion data with that of other countries to create a baseline understanding of how Germany differs from its European counterparts. The other countries included in this analysis are Italy, France, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, and the Netherlands. For this phase of the research, I predict that overall attitudes will mirror the countries' political climates. If this is the case, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Germany will have the most positive attitudes and Hungary and Poland will have the most negative attitudes. Such findings will support the reliability of the data and allow me to confidently utilize the data for the remainder of my research questions. The theoretical framework of my research builds on the idea that older individuals are more likely to experience collective guilt because they remember the aftermath of World War II., I conduct an analysis on the basis of age. I predict that older German individuals' public opinions will differ when compared to (a) other age

groups in Germany and (b) older age groups in the other European countries. If my hypotheses are correct, the overall relationship between age and perceptions towards refugees in Germany will differ significantly from those in other countries because older individuals employ collective guilt in their decision-making processes.

The second phase of my research consults the trends present throughout the immigration literature. In my preliminary research, I found widespread consensus regarding the effects of gender and economic security on attitudes towards immigration. Analysis of these factors throughout the literature is as extensively as age, and their effects are undoubtedly present in my dataset. To control for these factors as extensively as possible, I analyze the country-level data on the basis of gender and economic security as well. No literature exists on the relationship between collective guilt and economic security or collective guilt and gender; thus I predict that these factors will be less affected by collective guilt than the variable of age. If this is the case, my data will more closely align with the trends posited throughout the literature when examined on the basis of gender and economic security. It is important to note that economic security, age, and gender are not variables which exist independently of one another, but this analysis allows me to isolate the effect of age as methodically as possible.

The question of homogeneity frames the third phase of my research question. The idea of cultural homogeneity is an individual-level factor which is present throughout the literature, but is especially prevalent in Europe because of the historically homogenous nature of Western European countries, especially. Research on Germany's relationship with the idea of homogeneity has been conducted, and trends are similar to those present in the rest of Europe (Hatton, 2015). Despite this, there is an added dynamic to the homogeneity variable which is not present throughout the rest of Europe. A major goal of the Third Reich was to create

homogeneity throughout Germany and greater Europe, and many ideas surrounding the refugee crisis play off similar ethnocentric rhetoric. The literature about this topic in Germany is contradictory. Collective guilt is definitive in the creation of German culture, which creates unity and a shared identity. Immigrants and individuals do not share the burden of carrying this collective guilt, and thus may not be accepted into Germany. This lack of commonality may inform a respondents' desire for homogeneity, as immigrants fail to be legitimately integrated into society without directly experiencing this shared guilt. On the other hand, the collective guilt that defines German culture stems from a history of exclusion and persecution of outsiders which creates a general fear. Germany constantly tries to break from the Nazi stereotype which has remained a part of the culture for so long, and being viewed as open and accepting of refugees and immigrants subverts the discourse in a way which frames Germany as a moral leader.

This paradox demonstrates that the concept of country homogeneity is vital in connecting the refugee crisis to the Holocaust. The complicated relationship Germany has with the idea of homogeneity makes it a key factor in the analysis of attitudes towards refugees. While much of the homogeneity literature perceives overall trends to correspond with those present throughout the rest of Europe, this majority of this research was conducted prior to the 2015 refugee crisis. The discourse surrounding this event focused on Germany being a "moral leader" (BBC, 2015). I predict that a German respondent placing less importance on their country's homogeneity will lead to an increase in tolerance for refugees because of the contemporary political context. The following hypotheses correspond to the three different phases of my research as detailed above.

Hypotheses

H₁: Age and APS in Germany will have a positive relationship, whereas this relationship will be negative for the other countries in the sample

H₂: There will be significant relationships between other demographic variables (gender and economic security) and APS in Germany

H₃: Age and homogeneity scores will have a stronger and more positive relationship in Germany than in the Netherlands

Data

I conduct my research by analyzing portions of the 2016 Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Dataset. During the early stages of my research, I found a lack of data on collective guilt and its effect on the German public today. To combat this issue, my initial research design included a survey I had written with an emotional newspaper article to operationalize the concept of collective guilt. Due to time and financial constraints, I chose to utilize an existing dataset. In addition to the aforementioned constraints, it was difficult to find respondents over the age of 65 to participate in an online survey I fielded independently. I selected the Pew dataset for a variety of reasons, but most importantly because it was conducted in 2016. The focus of my study is to analyze attitudes in the wake of the refugee crisis, which began in 2015. Although the focus of the Global Attitudes Dataset is not the refugee crisis, it included a battery of questions which allow me to operationalize collective guilt using age as a proxy. Additionally, the sample size is representative and includes enough countries for me to conduct a holistic comparison.² I acknowledge the shortcomings of the data, but the concept of homogeneity is central to the idea

² The biggest shortcoming of the sample is my inability to analyze the construction of proximity. Because I did not collect my own data, it was impossible for me to combine the existing theory on proximity and collective guilt to create a holistic measure of proximity.

of collective guilt. With the existing time and resource constraints, the Pew data provided a good alternative to the creation of my own data, but leaves room for more holistic measures to be created in future studies.

The Pew researchers surveyed a total of 23,462 individuals in nineteen countries across the globe. The participants answered total of 132 questions. The survey asks a variety of questions about world trends but focuses heavily on current global issues such as the rise of China, nationalism, and immigration. For the purpose of my analysis, I cleaned the data to include only countries surveyed relevant to this analysis. Countries outside of Europe were excluded, as well as the United Kingdom and Spain.³ The final dataset included data from seven different countries: Germany, Italy, France, Hungary, Poland, Sweden and the Netherlands. I then identified the four question sets in the survey that I found to be most applicable to the research question. These included questions that asked (a) explicitly about refugee admittance and immigration (b) framed the refugee crisis as a religious issue or (c) provided insight into the respondents' desire for homogeneity in their country (Appendix A). The idea of the refugee crisis as a religious issue is important to the operationalization of collective guilt because it explicitly mentions the religiosity of immigrants and creates a more apparent connection between the refugee crisis and the religious-based discrimination of the Holocaust. I also include the questions focusing on homogeneity because of how central the idea is to immigration in Germany.

³ The Global Attitudes Dataset Survey was collected in the Spring of 2016, immediately prior to the UK Brexit Referendum of 2016. The results of the vote identified that the majority of UK citizens wanted to withdraw from the European Union, contrary to the wishes of the central government. The widespread upheaval and disenfranchisement of the people led me to exclude the country because of a potential break from the EU and its refugee admittance policies. As indicated in the introduction, Spain has not seen a rise in far-right parties, as other European countries have because of the large Muslim population. The difference in demography here also led me to exclude the Spain data from the analysis.

I also include demographic information in the final dataset. The final dataset included responses from 5,319 participants; 813 from Germany, 895 from France, 648 from Hungary, 758 from Italy, 857 from the Netherlands, 458 from Poland, and 890 from Sweden. Table 1 (below) demonstrates the results of this initial data cleaning and preliminary mean APS calculation. Table 1 speaks to the first dependent variable I test: APS. As I predict, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Germany have the most positive APS and Poland and Hungary have the most negative scores. These trends mirror the 2016 political trends and climates of these countries and thus provide a reliable sample for the age-level data analysis.

Independent Variable

The next portion of the data cleaning involves the creation of age groups. This step is vital to the creation of the independent variable. The most important group is the oldest German age group because of their direct experiences with the aftermath of World War II and collective guilt. I sort the survey respondents into six different age groups: 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, and ≥ 65 . I break each country-level dataset down into these age groups and create subset aggregate perception scores for each group in each country. Table 2 demonstrates the perception scores broken down by both age group and country. The youngest respondents are 18, and the oldest included in the dataset are 97 years old. The oldest age group has a variance which may affect their relationship with collective guilt. A respondent born in 1920 and a respondent born in 1948 will have different memories of the war and its aftermath. The selection as 65 as a cutoff date creates a uniform justification for individuals included in the oldest data subset and generates a sample large enough to compare reliably.

The third portion of my data cleaning is vital to establishing the connection between age and APS within the data. In my analysis and results section, I conduct a battery of statistical tests to analyze gender and economic security and create a more nuanced model of the role of age when intersected with these different demographics. I recode the variable of numerically (male=0, female=1). The Pew Global Attitudes Dataset does not include a question asking for a numerical measure of income but instead asks respondents to report three measures related to their economic security over the past year (Appendix A). The questions focus on the respondents' ability to afford certain commodities (food, healthcare, clothing). This method of measuring income is more applicable to the examination of immigrant attitudes because of the geographic variance in cost of living. Economic insecurity and income are both used in the literature to explain attitudes towards immigration, but the central idea is economic insecurity and a fear of immigrants filling low-wage positions (Sheve & Slaughter, 2001). To create numeric measures of economic security, I give the respondents a score based on their yes or no responses to the three questions (0=no, 1=yes). The respondents have economic security scores ranging from zero to three. A score of zero indicates that the respondent has not had trouble affording food, clothing, or medical care for themselves or their families within the past year, and each added numerical value indicates difficulty affording an item in one of those three categories. A score of three indicates that the respondent has had difficulty affording food, clothing, and medical care within the past year. I later use these scores to determine the effect economic security has on respondents' overall attitudes (APS).

Dependent Variable

To create my first dependent variable, I re-code the responses to these questions on a numerical four-point scale to create an aggregate measure of opinion towards refugees

(Appendix B). Throughout the remainder of this paper, I will refer to these scores as APS (aggregate perception scores). To create these scores, I rank the answer choices to my selected survey questions from most positive to least positive and give each answer choice a corresponding number (i.e. very unfavorable=1, mostly unfavorable=2, mostly favorable=3, very favorable=4 or in regards to questions gauging the importance of different aspects of homogeneity 1=very important, 2=somewhat important, 3=not very important, 4=not at all important). Within the four different question sets, there are eight questions which I calculate into the participants' final APS. The scores range from eight to thirty-one with a higher score indicating a more positive attitude towards refugees. I remove survey participants who responded to one of the questions with "I don't know" or who declined to answer, from the final dataset.

Mean APS by Country		
<i>Country</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Mean APS</i>
Germany	813	20.134
France	895	19.904
Hungary	648	14.741
Italy	758	15.955
Netherlands	857	19.810
Poland	458	15.989
Sweden	890	21.331

Table 1. Preliminary APS statistics by country and age group

While the religiosity aspect of the aggregate perception score is important, homogeneity underpins this idea as well. Homogeneity of religious beliefs was a platform of the Nazi party, so an analysis of homogeneity can speak to the role of religion in collective guilt. (Hatton, 2015). The survey questions about homogeneity also prompt the respondent to respond about the perceived importance of a shared religion in their country.

To isolate the role of the desire for homogeneity in a country, I create homogeneity scores for each individual. This score is a subset of the aggregate perception score (Table 1), but

I isolate the questions which focus on the respondent's desire for homogeneity (Appendix A, q85a-d). The consistency of the two measures allows me to compare the desire for homogeneity with the other factors which may affect a participant's overall aggregate perception score. These questions focus on the importance of four different factors the literature often discusses in regards to homogeneity: shared religion, shared language, common customs and traditions, and a common birthplace. The homogeneity scores follow the same coding schema as the aggregate perception scores, but scores range from four to sixteen instead of from eight to thirty-one. Lower scores indicate that the participants feel very strongly about homogeneity in their country, and believe that all four measures of homogeneity are important for an individual's integration into their country. Higher scores demonstrate that a participant does not believe that these measures of homogeneity are important for membership.

Mean Homogeneity Scores by Country		
<i>Country</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Mean HS</i>
Germany	813	9.02
France	895	8.66
Hungary	648	6.43
Italy	758	6.96
Netherlands	857	8.80
Poland	458	6.85
Sweden	890	9.98

Table 2. Mean Homogeneity Scores Broken Down by Country

Table 2 portrays the mean calculated homogeneity scores for all countries. They follow the overall trends present in the APS scores. In this measure, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden believe that homogeneity is not central to the integration of an individual into society. The homogeneity scores follow the same trends as the average APS (Table 3). From these descriptive statistics, there is no indicator that German participants view homogeneity differently

than participants from other countries. I further analyze the homogeneity scores in the same way as the aggregate perception scores and break them down by both country and age group.

Results and Discussion

Country Trends

Average Aggregate Perception Score by Country							
Age Group	Germany	Sweden	Netherlands	France	Italy	Hungary	Poland
18-24	22.68	22.68	20.55	21.21	17.56	15.68	15.63
25-34	20.92	23.39	20.98	20.60	16.13	15.11	16.20
35-44	20.84	22.99	20.76	20.72	16.69	14.75	16.90
45-54	20.55	22.10	20.00	20.65	16.04	15.02	15.65
55-64	20.12	20.83	20.01	19.63	15.63	14.58	16.48
≥65	18.98	19.74	18.45	18.49	14.94	14.20	14.83

Table 3. Aggregate Perception Scores Broken Down by Age Group and Country

The trends for all countries mirror the trends discussed in the literature, with the ≥ 65 age group having the most negative APS and the youngest age groups having the highest APS scores. The average scores decline steadily with an increase in age, indicating that the linear relationship described in literature may exist in some form for the countries included in my sample. Similar to the results in Table 1, Germany, Sweden, and the Netherlands uniformly have the highest APS across age groups. France and Italy remain in the middle while Hungary and Poland have the lowest. In Figure 1 (below), I present these results graphically to demonstrate the differences in the linearity of the age-APS relationships for each country. It is interesting to note that Poland is the only country that does not appear to follow the linear trend. Despite the fact that Poland and Hungary have many similar political and cultural characteristics, their corresponding trends in Figure 1 differ. Overall, there is a visible downward trend, but very little variation throughout the countries surveyed.

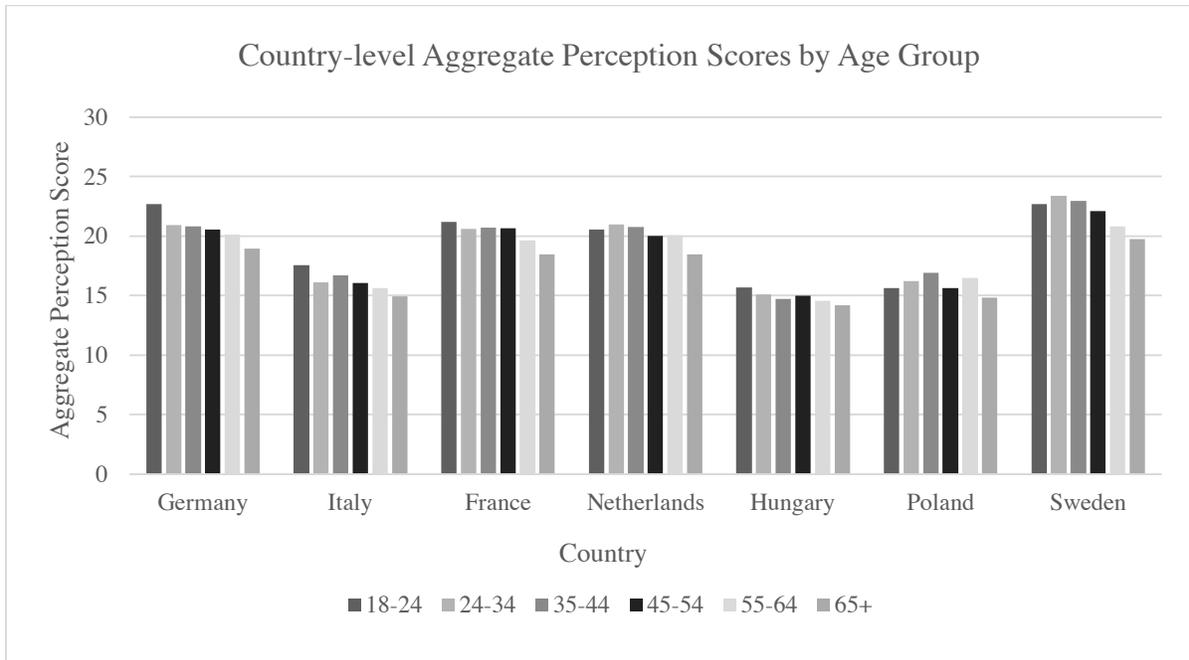


Figure 1. Country level APS broken down by age groups

When exploring overall relationships between age and aggregate perception scores, I use a Pearson correlation test to determine the relationship between age and aggregate perception scores establish a baseline measure of the strength of the relationship for each of the countries in my sample. The individual trend lines for each of the countries demonstrate a negative linear relationship between age and APS score, overall. I display r squared values for each country in Table 4. These values are low for all countries surveyed, demonstrating that less than ten percent of the dataset's variability can be explained by the model. It is interesting to note, however that these trends are the strongest for the countries with the highest average APS scores (Table 1). The r-squared values for all countries demonstrate that age is not a reliable indicator of aggregate perception score, despite there being a negative linear trend. In Figure 2, I plot the individual perception scores for the German sample. The graph demonstrates the same trend as the table. The linear model does not account for variability in data points.

Age-APS correlation	
Country	Correlation Coefficient
Germany	-0.289
France	-0.236
Hungary	-0.116
Italy	-0.194
Netherlands	-0.269
Poland	-0.090
Sweden	-0.336

Table 4. Pearson correlation coefficients for the relationship between age and APS

The relationship between age and APS in Germany without controlling for gender, income, or desire for homogeneity is not different than that of the other countries in the dataset. To isolate the independent variable and operationalize collective guilt, I compare the Netherlands and Germany for the remainder of the analysis. These two countries demonstrate similar trends throughout the initial analysis. They Pearson correlation resulted in similar correlation coefficients for both countries. Additionally, APS and homogeneity scores are relatively consistent across all age groups. These similarities allow me to analyze gender and income in two very similar populations to control for their effects and isolate the variable of age.

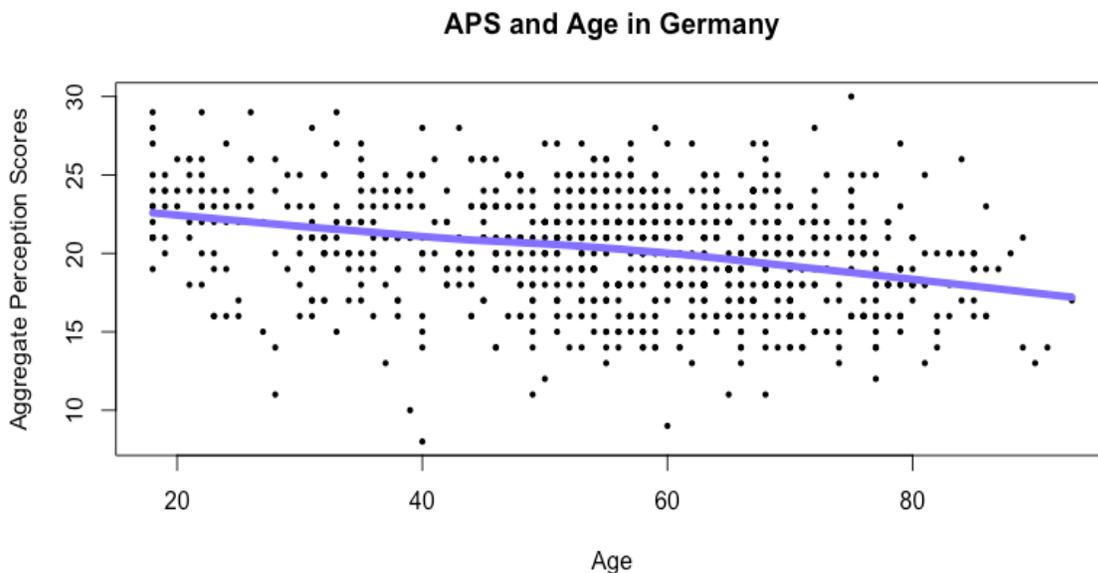


Figure 2. Scatterplot with regression indicating the relationship between APS and age in Germany (r-squared=0.08)

Netherlands and Germany Comparison

The three demographic variables central to the analysis of both APS and homogeneity are age, gender, and economic security. Each demographic indicator is on a different scale, because of the nature of the variables. To combat this issue, I recode the variables to conduct a binary analysis. I break the economic security scores back down into the three original categories: the ability to afford food, the ability to afford medical care, and the ability to afford clothing. This allows me to more robustly analyze the different aspects of economic security within the sample and attribute for the differences in social programs for the two countries that may significantly affect measures of economic insecurity. I break age down into a binary score as well. In accordance with my age group breakdown from the initial data cleaning, I create two different age groups. I code the individuals under the age of 65 as zero, and individuals over the age of 65 as one. This coding schema allows me to analyze the variable of age in accordance with the cut-off age I established. It also allows for a larger sample size for the age groups and a more robust analysis. Gender remains coded as zero and one as well. The uniform binary nature of the variables allows for a comparable statistical analysis of the different demographic variables and creates a more uniform sample for comparison. I conduct a linear regression for the relationship between each of the demographic variables and APS for the Netherlands and Germany. To further isolate the importance of homogeneity, I conduct a linear regression with each of the demographic variables and the homogeneity scores.

Aggregate Perception Score (APS)

To analyze the relationship between the three demographic variables and aggregate perception score (APS), I utilize a linear regression with the three binary variables and APS.

Figure 3 (below) contains the summary output of this regression for the Netherlands. Figure 4 (below) contains the regression output for Germany.

In the Netherlands sample regression output, the variable of age has a p-value of less than 0.000, indicates that age is statistically significant at $p < .05$. This significance demonstrates that older individuals' (coded as 1, age ≥ 65) have significantly different scores than those in the younger age bracket (coded as 0, age < 65). Given the trend illustrated by the linear regression (Table 4), this significance demonstrates that the ≥ 65 age group has significantly lower aggregate perceptions scores than those in the younger age group. Gender and all three economic security p-values were all greater than 0.1, indicating that none of these variables are statistically significant.

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.2731
R Square	0.0746
Adjusted R Square	0.0692
Standard Error	3.2722
Observations	858.0000

<i>ANOVA</i>					
	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Significance F</i>
Regression	5.0000	735.4225	147.0845	13.7369	0.0000**
Residual	852.0000	9122.6113	10.7073		
Total	857.0000	9858.0338			

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>Upper 95%</i>	<i>Lower 95.0%</i>	<i>Upper 95.0%</i>
Intercept	20.4472	0.1750	116.8238	0.0000	20.1037	20.7908	20.1037	20.7908
Age	-2.0027	0.2494	-8.0314	0.000**	-2.4921	-1.5133	-2.4921	-1.5133
Gender	0.1017	0.2242	0.4534	0.6504	-0.3384	0.5418	-0.3384	0.5418
Food	-0.8300	0.6384	-1.3001	0.1939	-2.0830	0.4230	-2.0830	0.4230
Medical	-0.0286	0.5289	-0.0541	0.9569	-1.0668	1.0096	-1.0668	1.0096
Clothing	-0.5822	0.4613	-1.2622	0.2072	-1.4876	0.3232	-1.4876	0.3232

Figure 3. Regression statistics for relationship between age, gender, economic security and APS in the Netherlands, * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$ (n=857)

The strength of the relationship between the three measures of economic security and APS vary, indicating that the breakdown of the economic security score is vital in understanding the nuances of economic insecurity and its effect on perceptions. The inability to afford medical

care has a p-value of 0.956, which is the highest of the three indicators of economic security. This p-value varies substantially from those of the other two indicators, with the inability to afford food almost reaching the threshold for significance at $p < .1$. The analysis of the gender variable points to a similar trend. The p-value is .065, which demonstrates that there is no significant correlation between gender and APS in the Netherlands sample. The regression demonstrates that the majority of these demographic measures do not play a significant role in determining APS, indicating that age, along with other factors must be central to the formulation of perception.

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.1098
R Square	0.0121
Adjusted R Square	0.0059
Standard Error	3.4926
Observations	814.0000

<i>ANOVA</i>					
	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Significance F</i>
Regression	5.0000	120.3345	24.0669	1.9730	0.0804*
Residual	808.0000	9856.0697	12.1981		
Total	813.0000	9976.4042			

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>Upper 95%</i>	<i>Lower 95.0%</i>	<i>Upper 95.0%</i>
Intercept	20.0281	0.1709	117.1671	0.0000	19.6926	20.3637	19.6926	20.3637
Age	-0.0124	0.0349	-0.3555	0.7223	-0.0808	0.0560	-0.0808	0.0560
Gender	0.4314	0.2467	1.7485	0.0808*	-0.0529	0.9157	-0.0529	0.9157
Food	-0.6767	0.8811	-0.7680	0.4427	-2.4063	1.0528	-2.4063	1.0528
Medical	-1.0021	0.7151	-1.4013	0.1615	-2.4057	0.4016	-2.4057	0.4016
Clothing	-0.1707	0.6565	-0.2599	0.7950	-1.4594	1.1181	-1.4594	1.1181

Figure 4. Regression statistics for relationship between age, gender, economic security and APS in the Germany sample, * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$ (n=813)

Figure 4 demonstrates the results of the correlation between the three demographic variables and APS in Germany. I choose to compare the Netherlands and Germany in the statistical analysis because of the similarity in trends of the other measures. Prior to the binary coding of the age variable, the relationship between age and APS appeared identical for Germany and the Netherlands, as both had r-squared values of 0.08. In comparing all three

demographic measures for Germany and the Netherlands, the differences in the samples are apparent. In Germany, the p-value for gender is 0.808, indicating that this variable is significant at the $p < .10$ level. The p-value for gender in the Netherlands is 0.654. In the Netherlands, age is the most significant determinant of APS (p-value=0.000), whereas the relationship between age and APS in Germany is very insignificant (p-value=0.723). The relationships between the three measures of economic security and APS vary largely across the two analyses indicating that different types of economic insecurity influence respondents in the two countries very differently.

Homogeneity Scores

To further isolate the idea of homogeneity and its importance in establishing overall opinions towards refugees, I analyze the same demographic variables of gender, age and, economic security, using the calculated homogeneity scores as the dependent variable. I conduct this analysis for both Germany and the Netherlands to see if the desire for homogeneity affects German respondents differently. Figure 5 portrays the results of this analysis. The demographic indicators are not significant in the establishment of the homogeneity scores in Germany, despite there being a significant relationship between gender and APS in the previous regression analysis. Age remains very insignificant in the establishment of the homogeneity score, with a similar p-value as in the APS regression analysis. The p-values for the three values of economic security also remain insignificant but are more uniform than in the analysis of APS.

Regression Statistics	
Multiple R	0.0861
R Square	0.0074
Adjusted R Square	0.0013
Standard Error	2.1819
Observations	814.0000

ANOVA					
	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Significance F</i>
Regression	5.0000	28.7380	5.7476	1.2073	0.3038
Residual	808.0000	3846.7706	4.7609		
Total	813.0000	3875.5086			

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>Upper 95%</i>	<i>Lower 95.0%</i>	<i>Upper 95.0%</i>
Intercept	8.9760	0.1068	84.0523	0.0000	8.7663	9.1856	8.7663	9.1856
Age	-0.0109	0.0218	-0.4988	0.6181	-0.0536	0.0319	-0.0536	0.0319
Gender	0.1857	0.1541	1.2045	0.2288	-0.1169	0.4882	-0.1169	0.4882
Food	-0.6107	0.5505	-1.1094	0.2676	-1.6912	0.4698	-1.6912	0.4698
Medical	-0.5136	0.4467	-1.1497	0.2506	-1.3905	0.3633	-1.3905	0.3633
Clothing	0.2977	0.4102	0.7259	0.4681	-0.5074	1.1029	-0.5074	1.1029

Figure 5. Regression statistics for relationship between age, gender, economic security and homogeneity scores in Germany, *p<.10, **p<.05 (n=813)

In the Netherlands, the relationship between demographic measures and homogeneity scores is also different than the relationship between demographic measures and APS. In this analysis, age is significant at the p<.05 level. The other demographic indicators become insignificant with the introduction of homogeneity as the dependent variable. The fact that age remains significant at the p>.05 level for both scores in the Netherlands, but is insignificant for both scores in Germany, indicates that age is a more accurate predictor of perception in the Netherlands, no matter which method is used to frame the issue. The relationship between age and each of the two dependent variables is insignificant in Germany. The lack of significance in either regression demonstrates that asking the respondent to self-report on their ideas about the importance of homogeneity in their country does not capture the differences in the relationship between age and perception.

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.2852
R Square	0.0813
Adjusted R Square	0.0759
Standard Error	2.0945
Observations	858.0000

<i>ANOVA</i>					
	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Significance F</i>
Regression	5.0000	330.9158	66.1832	15.0868	0.0000**
Residual	852.0000	3737.5795	4.3868		
Total	857.0000	4068.4953			

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>Upper 95%</i>	<i>Lower 95.0%</i>	<i>Upper 95.0%</i>
Intercept	9.3189	0.1120	83.1812	0.0000	9.0990	9.5388	9.0990	9.5388
Age	-1.3392	0.1596	-8.3903	0.0000**	-1.6525	-1.0259	-1.6525	-1.0259
Gender	-0.2079	0.1435	-1.4487	0.1478	-0.4896	0.0738	-0.4896	0.0738
Food	-0.6119	0.4086	-1.4974	0.1347	-1.4139	0.1902	-1.4139	0.1902
Medical	-0.1346	0.3386	-0.3975	0.6911	-0.7991	0.5299	-0.7991	0.5299
Clothing	0.0864	0.2953	0.2926	0.7699	-0.4931	0.6659	-0.4931	0.6659

Figure 6. Regression statistics for relationship between age, gender, economic security and homogeneity scores in the Netherlands, * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$ (n=857)

The differences in the regression analyses of the two countries demonstrate that age is a more significant indicator of perception across the board for the Netherlands. In both the APS and the homogeneity score analysis, age was insignificant in the determination of results in Germany. This difference indicates that age is not a strong determinant of perception towards refugees in Germany when compared to the Netherlands. However, this trend is only illustrated in the regression analysis when I reconstruct age as a binary variable. The average perception scores calculated for each of the age groups do not demonstrate that older individuals in Germany have less negative opinions of refugees. The average aggregate perception scores for Germany mirror those of the other countries, when I present the variable categorically. These similarities lead me to conclude that the data do not support my first hypothesis. Despite this, the regression analysis of APS in Germany indicates that age cannot be used to accurately determine what a respondent's APS will be.

The relationship between age and APS for Germany is one of the least significant demographic variables of the five included in the regression analysis, meaning that gender, income, and two of the measures of economic security are better predictors of APS. In Germany, gender is the most significant indicator of APS, corresponding to discussed trends in the literature about the effect of gender on immigration. The values of economic security are not significant indicators of APS, but the inability to afford medical care and food are the two with relatively low p-values when compared with the inability to afford clothing variable. This relationship leads me to conclude that the data supports my second hypothesis. Gender is a strong indicator of APS, and two of three measures of economic insecurity better explain APS than the variable of age does. The strength of the relationship between gender and APS in Germany is interesting when compared to the weakness of the same relationship in the Netherlands. While gender is an insignificant predictor in the Netherlands, age is a significant one.

The measures of economic security also vary immensely between the Netherlands and Germany, indicating that outside factors explain the strength of these variables in determining APS. The stark differences in these results led to me compare social programs in Germany and in the Netherlands to determine the prevalence of economic insecurity. While both governments are liberal in their distribution of welfare, the Netherlands' social programs are more robust. With one of the most expensive welfare states in the world, the Dutch government provides a variety of programs which undoubtedly create differences in the way German and Dutch citizens perceive their economic insecurity (government.nl, 2017). While Germany is also very liberal in its welfare policies, the social programs in place are not nearly as extensive as those in the Netherlands. This political structures may explain the differences in the three measures of

insecurity, and may slightly impact the other categories as well. Gender may be more affected than age because of constructions of gender present in the dominant discourse of individual societies. Despite this difference, age and gender remain inherent to a person's existence and cannot be completely shifted or changed by a social welfare program.

The statistical analysis of homogeneity scores resulted in similar trends as the APS scores. The most prominent difference in the analysis of homogeneity across the two countries was the difference in the significance of gender for the German sample. The strength of the demographic variables remained virtually the same for the Netherlands regression. The fact that p-value for the variable of age in the homogeneity regression did not differ from that of the APS regression indicates that the desire for homogeneity, as presented in the survey, does not significantly affect how older German individuals formulate their opinions about immigration. This consistency demonstrates that my third hypothesis regarding the desire for homogeneity is unsupported by the data collected. The fact that age remained consistently significant for the Netherlands indicates that the adapting the APS to include only homogeneity did not change their relationship with age. This also relies largely on the measure of homogeneity I utilized, as there are other aspects of homogeneity which may affect these results. The Pew researchers conducted the survey worldwide and measures of homogeneity may not relate to different countries' current political climate differently and thus elicit different results. A more tailored measure of homogeneity which draws from German current events could affect the respondents differently than the general battery of questions present in this survey. In conclusion, the measure of homogeneity I utilized indicated no relationship between age and desire for homogeneity in Germany, but this does lead me to conclude that age and desire for homogeneity are unrelated.

There are shifts in the other variables however, which may indicate that the desire for homogeneity affects individuals of different genders or economic security levels more than it affects individuals of different ages. For the Netherlands sample, the p-values for gender and one of the economic security variables approach significance at the $p > 0.1$ level. This shift from the APS regression indicates that the homogeneity questions do affect the sample somehow, but the nuances of this relationship are unclear from the data I analyze.

It is important to note that age is not a perfect proxy for collective guilt and that desire for homogeneity may not be the key factor which leads German respondents to draw on their collective guilt in the decision-making process. The subjectivity of both homogeneity and collective guilt makes the operationalization of these two variables difficult. Additionally, the questions in the Pew Global Attitudes Survey do not create an all-encompassing measure of perception towards refugees. It is plausible that the global nature of the questions led to oversights of country-level or cultural factors which influence outcomes of the analysis.

Conclusion

I began my research with the intention of analyzing an idea I had learned about at home and in class for years in the context of a modern phenomenon: The Syrian Refugee Crisis. I hypothesized that older individuals who experienced the aftermath of World War II and the Holocaust more directly would operationalize their collective guilt when formulating their opinions about the 2015 refugee crisis. I elected to use age as a proxy for collective guilt, as no established measures existed for the concept. Due to the lack of established research on this topic, I decided to adapt an existing dataset to fit my research question. Based on my predictions and the dataset I chose, I created three hypotheses which corresponded to the three different phases of my research.

For the first phase of my research, I drew questions from the 2016 Pew Global Attitudes Survey which focused on opinions towards migrants and refugees. I elected to use a battery of seven questions which I deemed relevant to my analysis for seven European countries included in the study. I based the primary analysis for the first phase of my research on the creation of aggregate perception scores (APS) which was a measure for each person which aggregated their responses to the questions I elected to use from the Pew survey. I hypothesized that the APS would be lower for older individuals from German countries than for older individuals from other European countries based on my theory that collective guilt influences decision-making. Overall, the results of this analysis demonstrated no significant difference between Germany and the other countries in my dataset. Differences in results could be attributed to differing political climates, but all of the countries followed the trends outlined in the literature.

The second part of my research question drew on the role of other demographic indicators in the creation of the APS and homogeneity scores. Other variables such as gender, income, proximity to immigrants, and a respondent's heritage were frequently mentioned throughout my research. I chose to analyze measures of gender and economic stability to determine if these variables followed the trends outlined in the literature. I hypothesized that gender and economic stability in Germany would more clearly predict APS than age would. Through my regression analysis, I found that age is not a significant factor in predicting APS or homogeneity, but that gender is a significant factor in predicting APS in Germany. I also compared these trends to those present in the Netherlands data.

The third portion of my research focused on the role of homogeneity in the operationalization of collective guilt in decision-making. I created homogeneity scores by selecting a subset of the questions I used in the creation of the APS in attempt to isolate how

desire for homogeneity correlates with the aforementioned demographic variables. I hypothesized that German respondents would be more likely to respond positively when asked about their opinions on the importance of homogeneity in their country. The results of my regression analysis demonstrated that the relationship between age and homogeneity score was insignificant, meaning that age is not a good predictor of the desire for homogeneity in Germany. The significance of other demographic variables shifted, however when I restricted the dependent variable by the respondents' desire for homogeneity.

My research contributes to the literature by demonstrating that some aspect of Germany or German culture makes age less effective as a predictor of perception when compared to other European countries. Such findings have policy implications, as evidenced by the massive influx of refugees to Germany from 2015 onward. Collective guilt of older individuals may have played a role in the liberal platform the country took in regards to the refugee crisis. This idea will continue to have policy implications as time progresses and less German citizens have strong recollections of the postwar period. It is likely that Germany's liberal attitudes towards refugees will continue to shift as memories of the Holocaust and Germany's subjugation in the international system begin to wane. I hope that this research will lead others to continue examining the role collective guilt plays in German culture and politics, as well as teach younger generations about the phenomenon.

In the future, I hope to conduct follow-up research by creating my own battery of questions and conduct the survey with a large sample size of individuals over the age of 65. I hope to utilize a stimulus or primer to operationalize collective guilt more reliably in a controlled setting. I also would like to conduct follow-up interviews with older German individuals to gauge similarities in manifestations of collective guilt. In terms of my analysis, I would like to

compare the trends I found in Germany to trends in other countries. Poland and Hungary have seen a considerable rise in far-right parties, and I am interested to see which one of my variables would be most significant in explaining the most extreme trends in Europe.

Additionally, I would be interested in conducting more analysis on the role of individual-level factors such as proximity to immigrants both geographically and in regards to heritage. Other individual factors unique to Germany would be relatives' direct involvement in World War II or family ties to the Third Reich. As I previously mentioned, the role of geographic location and culture in former East and West Germany also creates new variables which would strengthen my model. I would also be interested in examining the role that education plays in the manifestation of collective guilt in younger Germans. The way that public schools teach the Holocaust and World War II varies by state, as states have control over students and curriculums within their territory. Education is central to the perpetuation of these ideas, and the way that the Holocaust has been taught has changed significantly since the end of World War II.

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Appendix A

Pew 2016 Global Attitudes Survey Questions

Q36 I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in **(survey country)** according to how you feel about them. For each group, please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable. *(included in APS calculation)*

- a. Jews
- b. Roma [**IN UNITED KINGDOM:** Gypsies or Roma]
- c. Muslims

- 1 Very favorable
- 2 Mostly favorable
- 3 Mostly unfavorable
- 4 Very unfavorable
- 8 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 9 Refused (DO NOT READ)

Q71 Do you think most Muslims in our country today want to adopt **(survey country)**'s customs and way of life or do you think that they want to be distinct from the larger **(SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY)** society? *(included in APS calculation)*

- 1 Adopt customs
- 2 Want to be distinct
- 3 Both (DO NOT READ)
- 8 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 9 Refused (DO NOT READ)

Q72 In your opinion, how many Muslims in our country support extremist groups like the Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria known as [ISIS]: would you say most, many, just some or very few? *(included in APS calculation)*

- 1 Most
- 2 Many
- 3 Just some
- 4 Very few
- 8 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 9 Refused (DO NOT READ)

Q85 Some people say that the following things are important for being truly (**SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY**). Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is? [**READ**]* (included in APS and homogeneity score calculations)

RANDOMIZE ITEMS

- a. to have been born in (**survey country**)
- b. to be able to speak (**NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF SURVEY COUNTRY**)
- c. to be a (**INSERT DOMINANT DENOMINATION OF SURVEY COUNTRY**)
- d. to share (**SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY**) customs and traditions

- 1 Very important
- 2 Somewhat important
- 3 Not very important
- 4 Not at all important
- 8 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 9 Refused (DO NOT READ)

Q107 Gender [**RECORD BY OBSERVATION**]

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

Q108 How old were you at your last birthday?

_____ years (RECORD AGE IN YEARS)

- 97 97 or older
- 98 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 99 Refused (DO NOT READ)

Q115 Have there been times during the last year when you did not have enough money (**INSERT**)? (*included in measure of economic security*)

RANDOMIZE ITEMS

- a. to buy food your family needed
- b. to pay for medical and health care your family needed
- c. to buy clothing your family needed

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know (DO NOT READ)
- 9 Refused (DO NOT READ)

Appendix B

Numerical coding scales for survey responses

Survey Response	Recoded Value
Very favorable	4
Mostly favorable	3
Mostly unfavorable	2
Very unfavorable	1
Don't know	excluded
Refused	excluded
Most	1
Many	2
Just some	3
Very few	4
Very important	1
Somewhat important	2
Not very important	3
Not at all important	4
Adopt customs	1
Want to be distinct	2
Both	excluded
Yes	1
No	0
Male	1
Female	2