

## Attitudes towards "Foreigners" in Vienna and Western German Cities—A Comparative Analysis

### 1. Introduction

Xenophobia is a phenomenon which in recent years gained increasing scientific interest all over Europe. National differences in the extent and quality of xenophobic attitudes are obvious but were only rarely investigated. This analysis compares the general attitudes towards foreigners in cities of Western Germany and in Vienna. Resentments of a discriminatory kind are caused by a wide range of interrelated determinants of which some may be of greater importance in Vienna, and others in German cities. Thus, the role of a number of socio-demographic and socio-psychological factors is explored. The goal is to identify the main factors, which are responsible for xenophobic sentiments.

The central questions are: Who is more fraught with xenophobia, the urban population of Vienna or that of German cities? Is it possible to identify a specific "nature" of Viennese versus German resentments? What are the differences between German and Austrian sentiments, and which are the causal factors underlying them?

Strictly speaking attitudes in German cities are compared with Viennese prejudices. In the following text we often speak about "Germany" versus "Austria". Though this indeed constitutes a generalization, it is used to avoid repetitions and to make the text more readable.

A survey carried out in Vienna during the spring of 1998 provided the unique opportunity to work along the lines of such a comparative perspective. The Viennese questionnaire, compiled in cooperation with ZUMA-experts, included some questions which were adapted from the German ALLBUS 1996.<sup>1</sup> This concept was the basis of the following study.

Xenophobia as a research topic gained increasing interest in social science on a national as well as on a supra-national level, particularly since the late 1980s, when immigration flows became a frequently discussed issue all over Europe and many European countries were con-

---

<sup>1</sup> The data and documentation are available at the Zentralarchiv (Central Archive, Cologne). Of course these institutions are not responsible for the use of the data made in this article.

fronted with an increasing amount of prejudice and even violence against outgroups. One outcome was a first representative EC-wide survey in the then twelve member countries, conducted in 1988 (Commission of the European Community 1989). This survey testifies to the quite different degrees of racist prejudices in European countries. A second European Union-wide Opinion Poll was carried out in the spring of 1997 (European Commission, Directorate General 1997) in 15 countries including Austria as a new member state of the EU. An interesting outcome was that in Austria the level of racism was significantly higher than in Germany. Thus, 14% of the Austrian but only 8% of the German respondents classified their own feelings as "very racist". By contrast, the proportion of "not at all racists" ranged at 32% in Germany but only at 26% in Austria. Within the whole EU Belgium led the racist scale with a large 22% openly stating they were "very racist", followed by France (16%) and Austria (14%).

It must be explicitly emphasized that the data available enable us to compare only the attitudes. Therefore whenever we speak about xenophobia, the sphere of sentiments and not of actions is meant. There is a certain amount of "Babylonian language confusion" as to the exact usage of the terms xenophobia, heterophobia, racism and ethnocentrism which signify very similar phenomena. As the aims of this study are empirical rather than theoretical, the authors of the same do not attempt to provide a meticulous terminological classification of the data gathered. All that is actually attempted is an empirically based contribution to the ongoing discussion that displays differences in xenophobic attitudes prevalent in the cities of two nations during the latter part of the 1990s. Austria and Germany were chosen not only on account of the availability of data but also because the two are neighbouring countries having a very similar history of migration, migrants coming more or less from the same countries of origin and having lived there for the same period of time.

### 2. Data basis

The data pool consists of two sets. In the Viennese case the sample was an outcome of a two-step random sampling. The basis comprised 5,824 tenement houses in the whole urban area which were categorized according to two criteria (level of education and proportion of foreign inhabitants) into nine groups. On account of some practical problems in sampling 97 instead of 90 tenement houses were drawn out. In each of these ten individuals were questioned. The sampling in

the tenement houses was done by a mixed random route quota method. 914 persons (age 15+) were interviewed by the public opinion research institute Fessel GfK during February and March 1998. The survey was embedded in a broad national research program of the Austrian Ministry of Research called „Forschungsschwerpunkt Fremdenfeindlichkeit“. The questionnaire covered a big variety of questions. For German cities our source was ALLBUS '96 (Wasmer et al. 1996).

For the comparison of both data sets the following points had been taken into consideration:

The binational comparison had to be centered around metropolitan regions, as in the Austrian case only data for Vienna are available. The reason for is that the main interest of our primary research lay in xenophobia in the urban context. Therefore, the German data set only takes into consideration the inhabitants of urban regions with a population of at least 500,000. In the analysis, inhabitants of Berlin, Bremen, Dortmund, Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Essen, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Hannover and Munich were included.

The urban regions in the former German Democratic Republic were excluded because of their – from the Austrian point of view – quite different political socialization and economic structures. Western Germany and Austria share a considerable number of similarities concerning their history of immigration since the early days of the guestworker migration of the 1960s and up to recent days. A lot of migration-specific phenomena can first be observed in German cities, and after some delay they emerge in the Austrian urban contexts too.

As in Vienna only Austrian citizens were questioned, therefore the foreigners were eliminated from the German data pool, too.

After the data clearing process, 615 respondents of the original number of 3,518 individuals questioned by the ALLBUS were left over.

### 3. Theoretical approach

There is a long tradition of scientific debate about the factors determining sentiments of a discriminatory nature. A "classical" study was carried out by Allport in 1954, his conclusions wielding immense influence on a vast number of following studies until today. The theoretical approaches explaining xenophobic attitudes are quite different in their starting positions (Jäger 1995). The main question is whether the sources of xenophobic attitudes are either more psychological than sociological by nature or vice-versa? Resentments may be determined by individual factors (e. g. authoritarianism or cognitive abilities) or by

structural determinants (e. g. anomia, "scapegoat-theory"). The structurally oriented theories (e. g. ethnocentrism, racism) are based upon social structure and social conditions. Some theories of a socio-psychological orientation stress the contingency of xenophobic resentments (Flohr 1994).

In order to explain ethnocentrism as well as authoritarianism and patriotism the theoretical ideas put forward by Adorno et al. (1950) influenced a lot of further studies. Srole (1956) was the first sociologist, to analyze the relevance of anomia and authoritarianism as causal factors generating the rejection of outgroups. Merton (1957) made a broad analysis of the causes and consequences of anomia. Hoffmann-Nowotny (1973) used this concept in his investigation of the "Fremdarbeiterproblem". For the influence of patriotism on attitudes see Kosterman/Feshbach (1989), Herrmann/Schmidt (1995, 293f), Habermehl (1990), Taussig (1997) and Füchtner 1996). There is a close connection between the scapegoat theory (Dollard et al. (1939) and the concept of deprivation (Walker/Pettigrew 1984).

Among the range of socio-demographic determinants of xenophobic attitudes formal education and age were identified as factors of special importance (Allerbeck/Hoag 1986; Gehring/Böltken 1985; Kühnel/Terwey 1994; Mielke/Mummendey 1995; Wagner 1982).

The determinants mentioned above will be put into the focus of our analysis. Others, more interactive by nature (e. g. frequency of interethnic contacts in different social fields, intensity of contacts, presence of migrants as neighbours and/or colleagues, personal experiences) would be of interest too, but cannot be analyzed within the scope of this binational comparison owing to a lack of data.

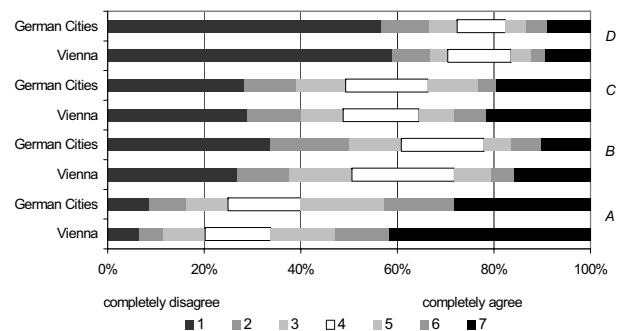
## 4. Empirical Results

### 4.1 Discriminatory attitudes

ALLBUS 1996 measured the extent of discriminatory attitudes on the basis of four items, which were adapted for the purposes of the Viennese inquiry. These items range from a very general demand for immigrants to adapt their individual life styles to the one prevailing in the host country to the demands for repatriating labour migrants redundant on the domestic labour market and for debarring foreigners from

political activities.<sup>2</sup> The non-acceptance of interethnic marriage mirrors an extreme manifestation of xenophobic disparagement. The extent of consent or refusal to each item was measured by a 7-step interval scale ranging from complete disagreement to complete agreement.

**Figure 1:** Discriminatory attitudes in German cities and in Vienna (in % of the answers)



Item A:  $\chi^2 = 33,575^{**}$  (df = 6, n = 1,526); Item B:  $\chi^2 = 30,263^{**}$  (df = 6, n = 1,522); Item C:  $\chi^2 = 12,311$  (df = 6, sig = 0,055, n = 1,522); Item D:  $\chi^2 = 11,729$  (df = 6, sig = 0,068, n = 1,516).

Remark: In the Viennese case a weight factor was applied, because as a consequence of random sampling the population of some types of tenement houses was overrepresented whereas other types of these were underrepresented.

Source: authors' own calculations on the basis of own survey data (Fessel-GfK, spring 1998), and ALLBUS 1996.

A very general finding of the comparison is that Austrians show a somewhat stronger tendency to support claims which discriminate against foreigners. However, this basic impression needs some more analytical differentiation. The demand for increased adaptation of foreign life-style to local manners is obviously more widespread in Vienna than in German cities. About two thirds of the Viennese and 60% of the Germans agree with this item. It is worth noting, that the share of full consent (7 on the 7-step scale) is 41.8% in Vienna whereas it is significantly lower (28.2%) among the Germans. This difference may pos-

<sup>2</sup> The items are as follows: (A) "Foreigners living in Austria (Germany) should adapt their way of life a little more closely to the Austrian (German) way of life." (B) "When jobs get scarce, the foreigners living in Austria (Germany) should be sent home again." (C) "Foreigners living in Austria (Germany) should be prohibited from taking part in any kind of political activity". (D) "Foreigners living in Austria (Germany) should choose to marry people of their own nationality."

sibly be explained by the clearly greater extent of nationalism among the Viennese respondents (compare section 5.6).

The demand for repatriation of foreigners in times of job-shortage finds more consent in Vienna than in Germany. 28.2% of the Viennese respondents agree with this item, thus defining labour migrants as a handling mass on the labour market. Only 22% of the Germans express this opinion, whereas this item is totally repudiated by more than one third of them. With 26.9% the extent of complete rejection in Vienna is clearly lower. Should migrants have the legal right to engage in political activities? The corresponding item experiences total rejection amongst a slightly higher percentage of Viennese (28.9%) than amongst Germans (28.4%). The gap between the proportions of consent in both samples (35.5% in Vienna and 33.6% in Germany) is minimal. The most radical demand among the four above-mentioned items denoting a discriminative attitude towards foreigners concerns the practice of inter-marriage. This interference into the private sphere of the individual is obviously too rigorous for the respondents in both countries. Among the Viennese the share of complete refusal is 58.9% compared with 56.7% in the ALLBUS sample. The proportion of consent is 17.6% amongst the Germans and 16.4% in Austria.

The differences are significant for the life style-item and the job shortage-item but insignificant in the case of the political activity-item as well as the intermarriage-item. On the more general level of differences in life style and in the labour market context, the Austrians are somewhat more xenophobic. With increasing radicalism of the claims against foreigners the gap between the Viennese and the German sample disappears.

For the following comparison of influencing factors, some simplifications were necessary. Therefore a threefold classification on the basis of the index of discrimination against foreigners was created. Three groups were defined: xenophiliacs, indifferents and xenophobics.<sup>3</sup> 41% of the German urbanites can be classified as xenophiliacs, 38% are indifferents and 21% express reserved or even extremely negative attitudes towards foreigners. The corresponding proportions for Vienna

<sup>3</sup> The index of discrimination against foreigners is computed by an addition of the individual answers to the four items measuring the attitudes. It ranges among xenophiliacs between 4 and 11, among the indifferent between 12 and 19, and among the xenophobics between 20 and 28.

are 34%, 42% and 24%. This is a hint that the Austrians to some extent show a higher tendency towards xenophobic attitudes.

## 5. Factors influencing the attitudes

### 5.1 Age

The age of individuals is one of the most important socio-demographic factors influencing attitudes towards "outgroups" in general and xenophobic attitudes in particular. A higher age often implies that the sentiments towards marginalised groups become increasingly negative. This was empirically proved for Germany by the findings of Gehring/Böltken (1985, 27) and Kühnel/Terwey (1994), for Austria by the surveys of Dornmayr (1999) as well as of Lebhart/Münz (1999, 17). There are two approaches for explaining this phenomenon (Kühnel/Terwey 1994, 76). One stresses the influence of socialization and the quite different ideological standards older people were subject to (cohort effect). The other starts from the assumption that a rising age implies reduced flexibility (age effect). Therefore unfamiliar incidents, phenomena or persons may evoke fear or rejection.

**Table 1:** Attitudes towards foreigners and age\*

age (years)	German cities				Vienna	
	xenophil- iacs	indif- ferents	xeno- phobics	xeno- philiacs	indiffe- rents	xeno- phobics
under 30	59.0	29.9	11.1	62.0	29.3	8.7
30 up to 44	53.0	38.1	8.9	42.1	46.3	11.6
45 to 59	35.8	42.4	21.8	23.5	49.2	27.3
60 and older	19.5	37.7	42.9	13.2	40.6	46.1
total	40.9	37.6	21.5	34.2	42.2	23.6

\* Percentage of xenophiliacs, indifferents and xenophobics in four age groups.

German cities: n = 604,  $\bullet^2 = 87.401^{**}$  (df = 6); Pearson's r = 0,352\*\*.

Vienna: n = 900,  $\bullet^2 = 175.023^{**}$  (df = 6); Pearson's r = 0.419\*\*.

Source: authors' own calculations on the basis of own survey data (Fessel-GfK, spring 1998) and ALLBUS 1996.

The interrelation between age and xenophobia is mirrored in the results of the German as well as of the Austrian survey. The older the respondents are, the higher the proportions of xenophobics and the lower the presence of xenophiliacs. One exception from this rule are the younger Germans. The proportion of xenophobics is somewhat higher among the youngest generation under 30 than among the mid-

dle-aged people up to 44. Whereas the middle aged (older than 30) as well as the older generation aged 60+ show a higher prevalence of xenophobics in Vienna (46% compared to about 43% in German cities for the seniors), the proportion of xenophobics among young people (under the age of 30) is somewhat higher in Germany (11%) than in Vienna (9%). In Vienna the connection between age and intolerance is closer. This is proved by a comparison of Pearson's r. For the connection between age and the index of discrimination against foreigners this coefficient is 0.353\*\* in German agglomerations but 0.419\*\* in the Austrian capital.

Concerning some specific attitudes the German seniors are characterised by exhibiting slightly more tolerance with regard to the demand for adaptation of the individual life-style, the demands for repatriation and enforced exclusion from political activities. The repatriation item, for example, receives full consent among 16.7% of the German but one third of the Austrian seniors and is completely repudiated by 17.3% (Germany) respectively 12.9% (Austria) of the respondents in the same age group. In the case of the intermarriage-item the „typical“ Austrian rejection of this kind of interference in the intimate sphere is mirrored in the attitudes of even the old aged. About one fourth of the German seniors but 39% of the older Viennese completely reject a regulation in the selection of spouses.

A trend towards reduced xenophobia in the younger generation is reflected in both national samples. Teens and twens express the least readiness for discrimination against foreigners. The youngest respondents in both samples show very similar attitudes in the case of the items adaptation of life-style, repatriation and coerced political abstention. Once again, the intermarriage-item divides the two national groups. About 77% of the young Viennese, but 68% of the Germans completely refuse a marriage interdiction, the proportion of consent is more than eight times higher in Germany than in Vienna.

### 5.2 Level of education

There is a lot of empirical evidence substantiating the notion that education constitutes an important factor in the contingent generation of xenophobic attitudes. Educated people usually express more tolerance towards marginalized groups and their way of life in general. Lower education is often to a larger extent bound up with the refusal of strangers and people in general who show some deviant behavior or belong to marginalized strata of the society.

**Table 2:** Attitudes towards foreigners and level of education\*

level of education	German cities			Vienna		
	xenophiliacs	indifferents	xenophobics	xenophiliacs	indifferents	xenophobics
low	24.7	28.4	46.9	27.6	41.0	31.3
medium	31.3	45.6	23.1	23.3	47.1	29.6
high	62.0	29.0	9.0	50.7	36.2	13.1
total	40.6	37.8	21.6	34.2	42.1	23.7

\* Percentage of xenophiliacs, indifferents and xenophobics on three levels of education.

German cities:  $n = 601$ ,  $\bullet^2 = 84.703^{**}$  ( $df = 4$ ); Tau  $b = -0.312^{**}$ .

Vienna:  $n = 900$ ,  $\bullet^2 = 74.620^{**}$  ( $df = 4$ ); Tau  $b = -0.229^{**}$ .

Source: authors' own calculations on the basis of own survey data (Fessel-GfK, spring 1998) and ALLBUS 1996.

The higher the level of education is the lower the proportion of xenophobics. The analysis shows that though education has a strong influence on the attitudes in both national samples there are differences too. With a Kendall's Tau  $b$  of  $-0.312$  the connection between formal education and xenophobic sentiments is obviously closer in the German case. Inseparably connected with the mentality of the Austrians in general is a certain unwillingness to subscribe wholeheartedly to clear-cut radical notions (compare Anonymus 2000, 6; Bretschneider et al. 1999). This is mirrored in the higher proportion of indifferent respondents over all Viennese age groups. Very interesting are the sharp variations within one and the same category of educational level in both national contexts. Xenophobic attitudes are significantly more widespread among the lower educated Germans of whom almost one half (47%) are oriented in a xenophobic manner, whereas in Vienna the proportion is about one third only (31%). In this category xenophiliacs constitute a smaller proportion in Germany than in Vienna. From medium education upward the national pattern turns around. Among the medium and higher educated people xenophobia is obviously to a higher degree a Viennese than a German problem. More than 60% of the German academics but only one half of the Austrian university graduates belong to the sub-category of the xenophiliacs.

### 5.3 Anomia

The concept of anomia was introduced into sociology by Durkheim. Generally spoken, anomia means strained relations and a crisis on the individual level or within the socio-cultural structure of a society. These

in turn arise from the perceived discrepancies subsisting between culturally determined behavioral standards and aspirations and the opportunities a given society actually accords an individual or (sub)group to behave according to these standards respectively realize the goals aspired to. During the 1950s a classical debate, hinging on the issue of whether attitudes towards minorities could be explained sociologically rather than psychologically or vice versa, started. Within this controversy anomia played an important role (Srole 1956). Merton (1957) picked up the term broadly analyzing the causes and consequences of it. Criticised by Elias/Scotson (1990, 273ff) Srole (1956) was the first sociologist, who analyzed the relevance of anomia and authoritarianism as causal factors underlying the rejection of outgroups. He came to the result that anomia is the more important factor determining rejection. Anomia may cause authoritarianism, thus having an indirect effect on xenophobia (Herrmann/Schmidt 1995, 297). Hoffmann-Nowotny (1973) was one of the very first German-speaking sociologists who focussed his attention on anomia as a causal factor in relation to attitudes towards "Fremdarbeiter" in Switzerland. An outcome of this study was the appreciation of the fact that it is mainly social tensions which produce individual anomia and negative reactions against immigrants.

**Table 3:** Attitudes towards foreigners and anomia\*

Anomia	German cities			Vienna		
	xenophiliacs	indifferents	xenophobics	xenophiliacs	indifferents	xenophobics
strong	34.6	40.8	24.5	27.8	41.6	30.5
medium	55.6	32.1	12.3	44.3	37.2	18.6
weak	62.5	25.0	12.5	41.1	42.8	16.1
total	41.3	37.6	21.1	35.2	40.8	24.0

\* Percentage of xenophiliacs, indifferents and xenophobics on three levels of anomia.

Remarks: Anomia was measured through four items, with the "yes", "no" and "don't know" as possible answers. The classification into strong, medium and weak was made as follows: strong: 4 or 3 times "yes", medium: 2 times "yes", 2 times "no", weak: 3 or 4 times "no".

German cities:  $n = 492$ ,  $\bullet^2 = 24.752^{**}$  ( $df = 4$ ); Tau  $b = -0.199^{**}$ .

Vienna:  $n = 734$ ,  $\bullet^2 = 26.080^{**}$  ( $df = 4$ ); Tau  $b = -0.153^{**}$ .

Source: authors' own calculations on the basis of own survey data (Fessel-GfK, spring 1998) and ALLBUS 1996.

According to our analysis, the Viennese exhibit a greater inclination towards anomic feelings than German urbanites do.<sup>4</sup> About 30% of the Germans complied with all the four items measuring anomia. In Vienna the corresponding proportion was 21.4% with 8.5% of the respondents answering these questions rejecting each of the items (in Germany 4.6% only). The higher indicator of opinion about the institutions and political establishment based on 8 questions and incorporating anomia-like items, in Germany compared to Austria was proved by an EU-wide survey in 1997 (European Commission, Directorate General V 1997).

The main finding of a comparative (Tau b based) correlation analysis is that the relation between discrimination against foreigners and anomia is somewhat more intense in German cities than in Vienna. Even strong anomia in the German context means a higher proportion of xenophiliacs and less xenophobics than in Vienna. This pattern is visible in the categories of medium and weak anomia too. Throughout all three categories the German sample shows a higher prevalence of xenophiliacs and less xenophobics.

One may raise the objection, that not anomia but rather age or education may be responsible for this outcome. In the case of age this objection can easily be refuted by the computation of the partial correlation coefficients. Concerning age these coefficients are  $-0.1408^{**}$  for Vienna and  $-0.1741^{**}$  for German agglomerations, concerning education the values were  $-0.1233^*$  and  $-0.1210^*$ . Obviously education plays a rather important role in the context of anomia. In eliminating its influence, the correlation coefficient is even a bit higher in Vienna than in Germany and the error probability rises.

#### 5.4 Authoritarianism

The concept of authoritarianism was introduced by Adorno et al. (1950) and the "Frankfurter Schule" who embarked upon a broad study of the interrelations of the individual personality and the inclination towards fascism. Adorno was of the opinion that authoritarianism

<sup>4</sup> The practical operationalization of anomia was made by four "classical" items adapted from ALLBUS '96: 1) "No matter what some people say, life for ordinary people is getting worse rather than better." 2) "With the future looking as it does, it's almost irresponsible to bring children into the world." 3) "Most politicians are not really interested at all in the problems of ordinary people." 4) "Most people don't really care in the slightest what happens to others."

determines not only prejudice but more generally spoken, an ethnocentric ideology. The psychoanalytical orientation of the concept was often criticised and led to a continuous vivid discussion within the scientific community about its usefulness (Herrmann/Schmidt 1995; Schmidt et al. 1995). That authoritarianism is an important and valid predictor of ethnocentrism was proved for example by the study of Scheepers et al. (1990). A comparative empirical analysis of authoritarianism and ethnocentrism among German and Austrian adolescents was carried out by Weiss (1992). The main finding of this study was, that the level of authoritarianism among Austrian juveniles slightly decreased between 1980 and 1992. Thus the differences between Austrian and German youths, the latter having been less inclined to authoritarianism in 1980, more or less disappeared.

**Table 4:** Attitudes towards foreigners and authoritarianism\*

inclination towards authoritarianism	German cities				Vienna	
	xeno- philiacs	indif- ferents	xeno- phobics	xeno- philiacs	indif- ferents	xeno- phobics
weak	47.3	37.3	15.4	42.4	42.7	14.9
indifferent	27.3	38.0	34.7	20.0	51.6	28.4
strong	11.9	42.0	45.2	11.7	28.9	59.4
total	40.8	37.9	21.3	34.1	42.3	23.7

\* Percentage of xenophiliacs, indifferents and xenophobics on three levels of authoritarianism.

German cities:  $n = 605$ ,  $\bullet^2 = 47.623^{**}$  ( $df = 4$ ); Tau b =  $0.250^{**}$ .

Vienna:  $n = 892$ ,  $\bullet^2 = 138.748^{**}$  ( $df = 4$ ); Tau b =  $0.322^{**}$ .

Source: authors' own calculations on the basis of own survey data (Fessel-GfK, spring 1998) and ALLBUS 1996.

In general, the readiness to submit one's individuality to authorities is more widespread in the Austrian capital than in German cities. The mean values of both items measuring authoritarianism are higher in Vienna than in Germany.<sup>5</sup> Basically, the correlation coefficient based analysis (Tau b) points to the closer connection of authoritarian orientations and xenophobia in the Austrian case. In the category of strong authoritarianism the proportion of xenophobics is significantly higher (60%) in Vienna. Concerning age, the partial correlation coefficients were  $0.2728^{**}$  for Vienna versus  $0.1955^{**}$  for Germany. As far as the

<sup>5</sup> The mean values are 2,74 (Vienna) versus 2,61 (German Cities) for item 1 and 2,54 (Vienna) versus 2,34 (Germany) for item 2.

level of education is concerned the values were 0.3529\*\* in the case of Vienna and 0.2179\*\* for German cities. These results not only confirm the influence of authoritarianism on xenophobic resentments but also its greater importance in Austria.

### 5.5 Deprivation

Generally defined, deprivation<sup>6</sup> in social psychology means a more or less diffuse sentiment of withdrawal, lack or shortness. Relative deprivation is a consequence resulting from a felt discrepancy between the things which are really at one's disposal and the resources one believes to be entitled to. This assumed discrepancy frequently results from making a comparison between different social groups. It is extremely widespread among the members of minorities discriminated against, but is not confined to marginalised groups only (Walker/Pettigrew 1984). According to Ganter, (1997, 10) a close cohesion between the scapegoat theory and the concept of relative deprivation exists. The scapegoat theory is based on the frustration-aggression-hypothesis of Dollard et al. (1939), implying that in the case of crisis with unknown creators members of an (autochthonous) majority are usually in search of scapegoats. These scapegoats are frequently found in ethnic minorities and/or immigrants.

**Table 5:** Attitudes towards foreigners and relative deprivation\*

feeling of deprivation	German cities				Vienna	
	xeno-philiacs	indif-ferents	xeno-phobics	xeno-philiacs	indif-ferents	xeno-phobics
yes	44.5	35.7	19.8	36.5	42.3	21.2
no	29.6	44.1	26.3	31.1	36.5	32.3
total	39.7	38.4	21.9	35.4	41.2	23.4

\* Percentage of xenophiliacs, indifferents and xenophobics on two levels of relative deprivation.

German cities: n = 575,  $\bullet^2 = 11.796^*$  (df = 2); Tau b = 0.128\*.

Vienna: n = 833,  $\bullet^2 = 9.284^*$  (df = 2); Tau b = 0.079\*.

Source: authors' own calculations on the basis of own survey data (Fessel-GfK, spring 1998) and ALLBUS 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Measuring the extent of relative deprivation the ALLBUS '96 included the following question: "Compared with how others live in Germany: Do you think you get your fair share, more than your fair share, somewhat less or very much less than your fair share?"

According to our data the individual feeling of "not getting one's fair share" is more widespread among the German than among the Viennese respondents (as to the extent of deprivation in Austria see Zwislner 1991). This is mirrored in divergent mean values (Germany: 1.32; Vienna: 1.20). About three fourths of the Viennese but less than two thirds (64.1%) of the Germans feel sure of getting their fair share of all the resources available. It is only 3.2% of the Viennese respondents but 5.5% of the Germans who expressed an individual feeling of getting far less than their fair share. 15.3% of the Austrians are of the opinion that they get slightly less than is their do while this ranges at a proportion of more than one fourth of the respondents in German agglomerations.

It is obvious that in both samples relative deprivation plays an important role. The variations between the xenophilic, xenophobic, and indifferent subgroups are more pronounced in German cities. As we learn from a comparison of the correlation coefficients in Vienna the influence of one's feeling of not getting enough is obviously less important for explaining the existence of discriminative attitudes.

As a last step of analysis partial correlation coefficients are used. In controlling the variable age these are 0.0928\* for Vienna and 0.1603\*\* for German cities confirming the importance of deprivation. In eliminating the influence of education the partial correlation coefficients are 0.0534 in the case of Vienna and 0.0746 for German cities, but one has to pay attention to the small coefficients and the rising error probability.

### 5.6 Patriotism

National pride as an expression of affinity towards one's own group must not automatically be estimated as negative. There is no fundamental or natural contradiction between harbouring patriotic sentiments and tolerance towards cultural diversity. Adorno et al. (1950) already differentiated between patriotism and pseudo-patriotism, the latter characterised by a blind and uncritical conformity to one's own society. Kosterman/Feshbach (1989) created a threefold classification of patriotism, nationalism (pseudo-patriotism) and internationalism. Herrmann/Schmidt (1995, 293f) stress the fact that „true" patriotism may embrace good value orientations. Pseudo-patriotism on the other side implies a close affinity to cultural symbols, standards, and values and as a further consequence a specific group behavior and is connected with the discrimination of outgroups.

The existence of a close relation between (pseudo-)patriotism and the rejection of "strangers" was often proved historically. In periods of diffusing, nationalistic ideologies and xenophobic attitudes were usually on the uprise too, frequently becoming even a mass phenomenon. The doubtless best proved example is the era of National Socialism in Germany. Broad general analyses of the causal factors and structural characteristics of nationalism and patriotism are furnished in Habermehl (1990) and Taussig (1997). Studies in social psychology analyzed the psychological conditions for patriotism on an individual, personal level, finding a clear connection between xenophobia and patriotic attitudes (Füchtner 1996). Detailed studies on German nationalism were made by Birtsch (1993) and Krimm/Zirbs (1997). Concerning Austrian patriotism see Haller (1996).

**Table 6:** Attitudes towards foreigners and patriotism\*

national pride	German cities				Vienna	
	xeno- philiacs	indif- ferents	xeno- phobics	xeno- philiacs	indif- ferents	xeno- phobics
yes	27.7	43.3	29.0	28.1	45.8	26.1
no	55.4	31.6	13.0	58.4	28.1	13.5
total	40.8	37.8	21.5	34.3	42.2	23.5

\* Percentage of xenophiliacs, indifferent and xenophobics on two levels of national pride.

German cities: n = 606,  $\bullet^2 = 51.928^{**}$  (df = 2); Tau b =  $-0.275^{**}$ .

Vienna: n = 901,  $\bullet^2 = 60.220^{**}$  (df = 2); Tau b =  $-0.223^{**}$ .

Source: authors' own calculations on the basis of own survey data (Fessel-GfK, spring 1998) and ALLBUS 1996.

The comparison leads to the result that the feeling of being proud to be an Austrian is by far more widespread among the Viennese respondents of whom about 80% (!) declared themselves as being very patriotic. In the German sample only 53% of the respondents expressed patriotic attitudes.<sup>7</sup> The quite different mean values of patriotism of 1.47 in Germany and 1.20 in Vienna demonstrate the greater importance of nationalistic attitudes in Austria. Examining this outcome by the partial correlation coefficients in the case of controlling the influence of the variable age the values are  $-0.1507^{**}$  for Vienna and

<sup>7</sup> The extent of patriotism was measured by the following item: "Would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud or definitely not at all proud to be an Austrian (a German)?"

$-0.2133^{**}$  for Germany. Concerning education the coefficients are  $-0.2020^{**}$  for the Viennese and  $-0.2324^{**}$  for the German respondents.

Both national samples mirror the important effect of patriotism on xenophobia. Discriminative tendencies are significantly stronger among respondents expressing national pride than among those not proud of their national affiliation. Obviously, national pride plays a more important role in the attitudes of German urbanites than in those of Vienna's inhabitants.

### 5.7 Materialism

Value orientations are a subject of very controversial discussion in social sciences. Inglehart (1971) created an index measuring materialistic and postmaterialistic orientations. It was based on the hypothesis that in prosperous Western societies a change of value orientations took place from a mere satisfaction of materialistic needs to non-materialistic requirements (Inglehart 1989; Kühnel/Terwey 1994, 80; Wasmer et al. 1996, 46ff). There is a lot of empirical evidence that these value orientations are an essential determinant of attitudes (Terwey 1998, 155). The question whether materialism and/or postmaterialism mirrors mere attitudes or a deeper psychological level of orientations remains still unanswered. With regard to xenophobia the basic assumption is that materialists are less interested in the situation of socially marginalised groups. Post-materialists are characterised by a higher degree of solidarity with outgroups of each kind including immigrants.

In both samples the wider distribution of discriminatory orientations among the materialistic sub-group is obvious. The data shows a greater prevalence of post-materialistic orientations in German cities.<sup>8</sup> A comparison indicates a closer correlation of Inglehart-Index to xenophobic attitudes in the German case. There is a nation-specific pronounced difference in the extent of xenophobic antipathy among ma-

<sup>8</sup> The questions measuring the orientations were: "In politics too one can't have everything at once. On this card are four goals which can be pursued in politics. *Only one choice possible for each one!* If you had to choose between these different goals, which one would seem to you personally to be the most important? And which goal would be the second most important to you? And which goal would be the third? *Tick remaining options as "fourth"!* A) To maintain law and order in this country; B) To give citizens more influence on governmental decisions; C) To fight rising prices; D) To protect the right of freedom of speech."



terialists. Within this sub-group the proportion of xenophobics is about one third in German cities against more than one half in Vienna. Among the other sub-groups the national differences are more or less negligible. Once again, the specific importance of the variable materialism under exclusion of age and education was examined. The partial correlation coefficients for the Viennese sample were 0.2493\*\* (age) and 0.2930\*\* (education), 0.3233\*\* (age) and 0.3232\*\* for the ALLBUS respondents, thus proving the closer connexion of materialism and discriminative orientation in Germany.

**Table 7:** Attitudes towards foreigners and materialism\*

	German cities			Vienna		
	xeno-philiacs	indif-ferents	xeno-phobics	xeno-philiacs	indif-ferents	xeno-phobics
post-materialistic	62.0	30.2	7.8	64.6	28.6	6.9
mixed post-materialistic	34.2	46.4	19.4	36.4	45.1	18.5
mixed materialistic	24.5	42.4	33.1	28.9	42.2	28.9
materialistic	16.4	50.7	32.9	13.6	33.9	52.5
total	34.3	41.9	23.8	40.8	37.9	21.3

\* Percentage of xenophiliacs, indifferents and xenophobics on four levels of materialism.

German cities: n = 601,  $\bullet^2 = 102.800^{**}$  (df = 6); Tau b = 0.342\*\*.

Vienna: n = 887,  $\bullet^2 = 118.901^{**}$  (df = 6); Tau b = 0.292\*\*.

Source: authors' own calculations on the basis of own survey data (Fessel-GfK, spring 1998) and ALLBUS 1996.

## 6. Conclusion

What are the main conclusions of the binational analysis? Was it possible to answer the important question touching the specific features of Viennese and German resentments? The answer is not as simple as it seems and therefore cannot be rendered in one sentence. Xenophobic attitudes are determined by a wide range of factors, which could only partially be taken into account in the analytical considerations. The study was neither intended to explain all of the manifold structural determinants of discriminatory sentiments nor to detect a specific "national causality" of xenophobia, but nevertheless the results were interesting.

Starting with the basic results, it was discovered that the specific shaping of discriminatory attitudes in Vienna differs from that of German sentiments against „strangers“. Using the classical four discriminative items of ALLBUS '96 as the main indicators, we have to admit that

the Viennese are somewhat more xenophobic on a subtle level. Attitudes of a more "smooth" type find slightly more consent in Vienna. With the claims' increasing interference in the private sphere the gap between the Viennese and the German sample becomes smaller. An interference in the selection of marital partners is obviously rejected to a higher degree in Vienna than in German cities.

Going on to the determinants of xenophobic attitudes among the socio-demographic factors age and formal education are of essential importance. The correlation between age and those attitudes is closer in Austria, whereas the connection between formal education and xenophobic sentiments is of greater importance in the German case. Xenophobia seems to be a widespread phenomenon among the lower educated strata of German society. This changes however from medium-level education upward as obtaining a diploma of a higher-level school or university seems much less to constitute an effective antidote to xenophobia in the case of the Austrian capital's inhabitants than in that of Germany's city dwellers.

Concerning the effects of socio-psychological determinants, generally spoken, anomia, deprivation and post-materialistic orientations are more important in Germany's case, authoritarianism and patriotism in Vienna's. German city dwellers not only show a higher inclination towards anomic feelings but these also play a more important role in the context of resentment generation. Relative deprivation too seems to be a German rather than an Austrian problem. The Austrians obviously are more authoritarian. In the category of high authoritarianism the proportion of respondents cultivating discriminatory attitudes is significantly higher (60%) in Vienna than in German agglomerations (45%). Both national samples show the important effects of patriotism on xenophobia. To the extent of about 80% (!) the Viennese respondents expressed pride in being Austrian. Logically, patriotism is a more valid predictor of xenophobic sentiments in Vienna, whereas materialism is closer connected to German attitudes.

This contribution, necessarily modest, could not cover the complex and heterogeneous field of xenophobia's determinants in its entirety. The question „who is more xenophobic in their attitudes, German or Viennese city dwellers?“ was not answered but it was doubtless possible to highlight at least some of the main differences between xenophobic prejudices in German cities and in Vienna. Other interesting questions, for example the one relating to the causal relationship of interethnic social contacts and prejudices in both countries had to be left

unanswered. These questions according to the authors' opinion should be the focus of some future comparative research.

## References

- Adorno, Theodor W./Frenkel-Brunswick, Else/Levinson, Daniel/Sanford, Robert Nevitt (1950): *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Allerbeck, Klaus/Hoag, Wendy J. (1986): *Jugend ohne Zukunft? Einstellungen, Umwelt, Lebensperspektiven*. München: Piper.
- Allport, Gordon Willard (1954): *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- Anonymus (2000): Österreich: Ein Land von meckernden Chauvinisten. *Die Presse*, April 28, S. 6.
- Birtsch, Günter (Hrsg.) (1993): *Patriotismus in Deutschland*. Trier: University of Trier.
- Bretschneider, Rudolf/Hawlik, Johannes/Pauli, Ruth (1999): *Maß genommen. Österreich in der Meinungsforschung*. Wien: Holzhausen.
- Commission of the European Community (Hrsg.) (1989): „EUROBAROMETER“. Sonderausgabe: Rassismus und Ausländerfeindlichkeit. Brüssel: Generaldirektion Information, Kommunikation, Kultur („Umfragen, Forschung, Analysen“). Brüssel: Commission of the European Community.
- Dollard, John/Doob, Leonard W./Miller, Neal E./Mowrer, O. H./Sears, Robert (1939): *Frustration and Aggression*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dormmayr, Helmut (1999): *Soziale Integration/Segregation: Fremdenfeindlichkeit im lokalen Kontext*. Unpublished project report. Linz: Institut für Berufs- und Erwachsenenbildungsforschung.
- Elias, Norbert/Scotson, John L. (Hrsg.) (1990): *Etablierte und Außenseiter*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.
- European Commission, Directorate General V (Ed.) (1997): *Racism and Xenophobia in Europe. First Results Presented at the Closing Conference of the European Year Against Racism, Luxembourg, 18th & 19th Dec. 1997*. Brussels: European Commission, Directorate General.
- Füchtner, Hans (1996): *Vaterlandssyndrom. Zur Sozialpsychologie von Nationalismus, Rechtsradikalismus und Fremdenhaß*. Heidelberg: Asanger.
- Flohr, Annette (1994): *Fremdenfeindlichkeit. Biosoziale Grundlagen von Ethnozentrismus*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Ganter, Stephan (1997): *Determinanten ethnischer Grenzziehung. Mikroanalytische Grundlagen und Erklärungsansätze. Arbeitspapiere Arbeitsbereich III/ Nr. 21*. Mannheim: Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung.
- Gehring, Annetrin/Böltken, Ferdinand (1985): *Einstellungen zu Gastarbeitern 1980 und 1984: Ein Vergleich*. Zentralarchiv für empirische Sozialforschung-Information, 17 (November 1985), S. 23–33.
- Habermehl, Anke (1990): *Nationalstolz und Nationalbewußtsein*. Hamburg: GEWIS.
- Haller, Max (Hrsg.) (1996): *Identität und Nationalstolz der Österreicher. Gesellschaftliche Ursachen und Funktionen, Herausbildung und Transformation seit 1945, internationaler Vergleich*. Vienna et al.: Böhlau.
- Herrmann, Andrea/Schmidt, Peter (1995): *Autoritarismus, Anomie und Ethnozentrismus*, in: Peter Schmidt/Gerda Lederer: *Autoritarismus und Gesellschaft*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich, S. 287–317.
- Hoffmann-Nowotny, Hans-Joachim (1973): *Soziologie des Fremdarbeiterproblems. Eine theoretische und empirische Analyse am Beispiel der Schweiz*. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1971): *The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies*. *American Political Science Review*, 65, pp. 991–1017.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1989): *Kultureller Umbruch. Wertewandel in der westlichen Welt*. Frankfurt a. M./New York: Campus.
- Jäger, Christiane (1995): *Theorie und Messung von Ausländerfeindlichkeit. Eine sozialwissenschaftliche Kritik der Forschungspraxis. (Marburger Beiträge zur sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung 6)* Marburg: Institut für Soziologie.
- Kosterman, Rick/Feshbach, Seymour (1989): *Toward a Measure of Patriotic and Nationalistic Attitudes*. *Political Psychology*, 10, 2, pp. 257–274.
- Krimm, Stefan/Zirbs, Wieland (Hrsg.) (1997): *Die Deutschen und die andern. Patriotismus, Nationalgefühl und Nationalismus in der deutschen Geschichte (Acta Ising, 1996)*. München: Bayer. Schulbuch-Verl.
- Kühnel, Steffen/Terwey, Michael (1994): *Gestörtes Verhältnis? Die Einstellungen der Deutschen zu Ausländern in der Bundesrepublik*, in: Michael Braun/Peter Mohler (Hrsg.): *Einstellungen und Verhalten der Bundesbürger. Blickpunkt Gesellschaft*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, S. 71–106.
- Lehbart, Gustav/Münz, Rainer (1999): *Die Österreicher und ihre „Fremden“*, in: Heinz Fassmann/Helga Matuschek/Elisabeth Menasse (Hrsg.): *Abgrenzen ausgrenzen aufnehmen. Empirische Befunde zu Fremdenfeindlichkeit und Integration (Publikationsreihe des Bundesministeriums für Wissenschaft und Verkehr zum Forschungsschwerpunkt Fremdenfeindlichkeit 1)*. Klagenfurt: Drava-Verlag, S. 15–32.
- Merton, Robert. K. (Ed.) (1957): *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.
- Mielke, Rosemarie/Mummendey, Hans Dieter (1995): *Wenn Normen zu sehr wirken – Ausländerfeindlichkeit, Bildungsgrad und soziale Erwünschtheit. Bielefelder Arbeiten zur Sozialpsychologie 175*. Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld.
- Scheepers, Peer/Felling, Albert/Peters, Jan (1990): *Social Conditions, Authoritarianism and Ethnocentrism: a Theoretical Model of the Early Frankfurt School Updated and Tested*. *European Sociological Review*, 6, 1, pp. 15–29.
- Schmidt, Peter/Stephan, Karsten/Herrmann, Andrea (1995): *Entwicklung einer Kurzskaala zur Messung von Autoritarismus*, in: Peter Schmidt/Gerda Lederer (Hrsg.): *Autoritarismus und Gesellschaft*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich, S. 221–227.
- Srole, Leo (1956): *Social Integration and Certain Corollaries, an Exploratory Study*. *American Sociological Review*, 21, 4, pp. 709–716.
- Taussig, Michael (1997): *The Magic of the State*. New York: Routledge.
- Terwey, Michael (1998): *Ethnocentrism in Present Germany: Some Correlations with Social Integration and Subjective Assessments*. *ZA-Information*, 43, pp. 135–166.
- Wagner, Ulrich (1982): *Soziale Schichtzugehörigkeit, formales Bildungsniveau und ethnische Vorurteile*. Dissertation, Universität Bochum (publ. 1983, Berlin: Express).
- Walker, Iain/Pettigrew, Thomas F. (1984): *Unemployment, relative deprivation and social protest*. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 13, pp. 275–83.
- Wasmer, Martina/Koch., Achim/Harkness, Janet/Gabler, Siegfried (1996): *Konzeption und Durchführung der „Allgemeinen Bevölkerungsumfrage Sozialwissenschaftler“ (ALLBUS) 1996*. ZUMA-Arbeitsbericht 8. Mannheim.
- Weiss, Hilde (1992): *Autoritarismusforschung unter Jugendlichen im internationalen Vergleich: Österreich 1992*. Projektbericht. Wien.
- Zwisler, Gerlinde (1991): *Armut in Österreich. Eine sozialwissenschaftliche Analyse sozialer und ökonomischer Deprivation in der Wohlstandsgesellschaft*. Dissertation, Universität Linz.

**The Authors:**

Dr. Josef Kohlbacher  
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW)  
Dr. Ignaz Seipel-Platz 2  
A-1010 Wien

E-Mail: [kohlbacher@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:kohlbacher@oeaw.ac.at)

Dr. Ursula Reeger  
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW)  
Dr. Ignaz Seipel-Platz 2  
A-1010 Wien

E-Mail: [ursula.reeger@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:ursula.reeger@oeaw.ac.at)

**Journal für Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung (JKG), 4. Jg., Heft 2/2002**  
**Journal of Conflict and Violence Research, Vol. 4, 2/2002**

Herausgeber:

Institut für interdisziplinäre Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung der Universität Bielefeld (Vorstand: Günter Albrecht, Otto Backes, Heiner Bielefeldt, Rainer Dollase, Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Filiz Kutluer, Jürgen Mansel, Kurt Salentin).

Wissenschaftlicher Beirat:

Jens Dangschat (Wien); Manuel Eisner (Cambridge); Hartmut Esser (Mannheim); Friedrich Heckmann (Bamberg); Hans-Gerd Jaschke (Berlin); Wolfgang Kühnel (Berlin); Alf Lüdtke (Erfurt/Göttingen); Amélie Mummendey (Jena); Gertrud Nunner-Winkler (München); Karl F. Schumann (Bremen); Helmut Thome (Halle); Michael Vester (Hannover); Peter Waldmann (Augsburg).

Redaktion:

Heiner Bielefeldt; Wilhelm Heitmeyer; Peter Imbusch; Kurt Salentin; Peter Sitzer; Stefanie Würtz.

Koordination:

Johannes Vossen.

Cover:

Doris Voss, Audiovisuelles Zentrum der Universität Bielefeld.

Gesamtherstellung:

Druckerei Hans Gieselmann, Bielefeld

Aboverwaltung/Rechnungswesen:

Sabine Passon, Tel.: 0521/106-3165

Anschrift der Redaktion:

Institut für interdisziplinäre Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung der Universität Bielefeld, Universitätsstr. 25, 33615 Bielefeld, Tel.: 0521/106-3165; Fax: 0521/106-6415, E-Mail: [ikg@uni-bielefeld.de](mailto:ikg@uni-bielefeld.de)

Erscheinungsweise:

Zweimal jährlich (15. April und 15. Oktober).

Bezugsbedingungen:

Jahresabonnement: €20 Euro (ermäßigt für Studierende und Erwerbslose: €15 Euro); Einzelhefte: €12,50 Euro (ermäßigt €7,50 Euro). Preise jeweils zzgl. Versandkosten. Schriftliche Bestellungen bitte an die Redaktionsanschrift oder an den Buchhandel (ISSN 1438-9444).

Das „Journal für Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung“ wird für folgende Referateorgane ausgewertet: SOLIS, Sociological Abstracts, Social Services Abstracts, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts und Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts.

**Themenschwerpunkt: Terrorismus**

Essay

Peter Waldmann

Was war neu an den Anschlägen des 11. September?

7

Analysen

Peter Imbusch

Weltgesellschaft und Terrorismus – Theoretische Perspektiven auf globalisierte Gewalt

16

Hans-Jörg Albrecht

Antworten der Gesetzgeber auf den 11. September – eine Analyse internationaler Entwicklungen

46

Burkhard Brosig/Elmar Brähler

Die Angst vor dem Terror – Daten aus deutschen Repräsentativerhebungen vor und nach dem 11. September

77

Aufsätze

Jörg Neumann/Wolfgang Frindte

Gewaltstraftaten gegen Fremde. Eine situativ-motivationale Analyse

95

Josef Kohlbacher/Ursula Reeger

Attitudes towards „Foreigners“ in Vienna and Western German Cities—A Comparative Analysis

112