

HOST SOCIETIES' VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRATION: EVIDENCE FROM TWO SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEYS IN BULGARIA

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Abstract

Theories which focus on the role of values in shaping individual attitudes towards immigrants, are particularly relevant in the context of the immigrant wave in Europe in recent years. Despite the increased interest in the challenges posed by immigration, research on the relationship between Bulgarians' values and their attitude towards immigrants is currently lacking in Bulgarian scientific literature. This publication presents the results of two studies designed to help fill this gap. The first one is a nationally representative sociological survey conducted by a team at the Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in November 2017. The second examines the dependencies between the values of party members in Bulgaria, their ideological and political orientation, and their attitudes towards immigrants. It continues at the moment, so preliminary results of 60 in-depth interviews with members of left, right, nationalist and liberal political parties are presented. The main conclusions from the study of party members demonstrate a strong dependence of attitudes towards immigrants on political affiliation and an insignificant one on individual values. The representative study largely confirms the hypotheses about the relationship between some of the value categories of Schwarz's theoretical model and attitudes towards immigrants.

Keywords: values, immigration, value system, ethnic exclusionism, ethnic distance, party members

1. INTRODUCTION

Although immigrants' values play a major role in the research on acculturation, less attention is paid to the relationship between the values of host societies and the attitude towards immigration. In the scientific literature, there are a number of theories trying to explain why individuals have positive or negative attitudes towards certain immigrant groups and immigration policies. They can be summarized in two main strands: "rational" theories that embrace material interests as a major source of attitudes towards immigrants, and "symbolic" theories that assume identities as such. By focusing on one or the other motivation base, the two types of theories give rise to differing hypotheses about the role of the factors, and the interaction between them, in shaping public opinion at both the individual and social level. Individual differences in the tendency for social contact with external groups can be explained by many variables – previous contact with members of such groups, personal experiences, individual psychological features, etc. Among these, individual differences in basic value priorities seem to have the greatest importance (Davidov, et al. 2008). A given value influences the attitudes towards an object if it has relevant consequences for the attainment of the motivational goals associated with the respective value (Schwartz & Sagiv 1995). In this sense, human values, whose motivational goals are supported or blocked by the arrival of immigrants, will influence the attitudes towards immigration (Davidov, et al. 2008).

In the first part of this publication I present in brief Schwarz's leading theoretical concept of the nature and structure of human values. Subject of the second part are some of the "symbolic" theories that focus on values as key determinants of attitudes toward immigrants, along with the manifold manifestations of ethnic exclusion. Both strands could contribute to the developing of a theoretical framework for the study of negative attitudes towards immigrants in Bulgaria. The third part summarizes the results of two recent empirical studies of the relationship between some of the values of the Schwarz theory model and the attitudes towards immigration in Bulgaria.

2. VALUES – NATURE, CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

2.1. Nature and content

In the last century, a number of theorists in the fields of sociology, philosophy, psychology and anthropology have devoted a great deal of scientific work to exploring the role of values in the lives of individuals and societies, and highlighting the importance of value priorities in attitudes and behavioral decisions. Both Durkheim and Weber emphasize the importance of values for social and personal organization (Дюркем 1999, 2002; Вебер 1993). At the very introduction of his founding study of values M. Rokeach contends that it would be difficult for him to point out a problem of potential interest for social scientists in which values are not deeply involved (Rokeach 1973).

Another founder of the theoretical study of values, G. Allport, affirms that they are the dominant force in life, as they direct the whole life activity of the individual towards their realization (Allport 1961). Apart from being subjective expressions of individual or group aspirations and desires, values also function as objective norms and regulators of social behavior (Гарванова 2013). In this role, they form the nucleus of each culture (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010).

Values are a significant category for the research fields of various scientific disciplines, and have many dimensions, but according to M. Paunov the leading and the most fundamental of them is that they provide the necessary axiological basis in each cognitive process and contain a criterion system for assessment of objects, people and events (Паунов 2010). As aggregated standards, values are considered as the criteria individuals use to select and justify actions, and to evaluate people (including themselves) and events (Schwartz 1992).

Although there is a broad consensus on the key role of values in the social sphere, no such agreement has been achieved among researchers as to the meaning of the term, not only in the social sciences as a whole, but in any particular discipline as well (Van Deth & Scarbrough 1995). Given the large number of heterogeneous definitions of the notion of values, Schwartz (1992) attempts to point out those key characteristics that major researchers' definitions have in common (Kluckhohn 1951, Allport 1961, Rokeach 1973; Schwartz & Bilsky 1987; Inglehart 1997):

- a. Values are convictions inextricably linked to affection and emotion;
- b. They are intended purposes that motivate action;
- c. Unlike norms and attitudes that usually refer to specific actions, objects, and situations, values are abstract and transcend specific situations;
- d. Values act as standards or criteria. They guide the choice or evaluation of actions, policies, people and events.
- e. They are ranked in relation to each other and build a hierarchical system of value priorities, which also distinguishes them from norms and attitudes;
- f. The relative importance of different values guides action. Every attitude or behavior usually affects more than one value. Compromise between rival values guides actions or behaviors.

The above features refer to all values. What distinguishes one value from another is the type of purpose or motivation that the given value expresses.

2.2. Structure – Schwarz's theory of basic human values and the dynamic structure of value relations

Schwarz's theory of the universal content and structure of human values was proposed in 1987 (Schwartz & Bilsky 1987) and quickly became the leading theoretical concept in the field of cross-cultural research and psychological research of values (Rohan 2000). Both the theory itself and the methodology for the empirical study of values undergo several modifications (Schwartz 1992; Schwartz & Bardi 2001; Schwartz 2003; Schwartz, et al. 2012). The theory has been verified and confirmed in a large-scale cross-cultural value survey, conducted between 1988 and 2002, that covered over 64,000 people from 67 countries on all continents (Schwartz 2005). The study, which includes Bulgaria (Байчинска 1996), provides evidence in favor of the author's claim that the human value

system has universal content and structure in all individuals and cultures around the world, and people differ only in the relative importance they attach to each of the universal human values (Schwartz & Rubel 2005).

According to Schwartz, values are desirable, trans-situational goals that vary in importance and act as guiding principles in the lives of people or groups. This definition is close to the definitions of Kluckhohn (1951) and Rokeach (1973). Schwartz considers values as cognitive representations of three types of universal human needs: biological needs, needs for coordination of social interaction, and requirements of public institutions for the preservation and welfare of the social group. The typology that Schwarz and Bilsky offer is based on these three types of universal human needs and hence – on the differences in the motivational content of the values. Thus, there are two fundamental types of relations between the different categories of motivation – mutual exclusion (conflict) and complementarity (compatibility) (Schwartz & Bilsky 1987; Schwartz 1992). The essence of Schwarz's theory is that the values form a circular motivational continuum. Individual value items occupy their positions on the circular continuum based on the two fundamental types of relationships – compatibility or conflict – between the motivations they express (Schwartz 2017).

One of the most significant contributions of the Schwarz theory is that it differentiates two levels of analysis of the organization of values – individual and cultural, but within a single empirical instrument. The organization of values on an individual level results mainly from the psychological dynamics of conflict and compatibility that the individual experiences in the pursuit of various goals in everyday life (Schwartz & Bilsky 1987; Schwartz 1992). On the other hand, the structure of the value system at a cultural level reflects the different models used by societies to solve problems stemming from the regulation of human activity (Schwartz 1994).

The results from empirical studies, conducted by Schwartz, show that the content and structure of the value system at the individual level include 10 key value categories, with each of them combining values with the same motivational purpose (Schwartz 1992; Schwartz & Sagiv 1995). The following have an empirically confirmed impact on attitudes towards immigration:

- a. Security – the motivational objectives of such values are safety, harmony and stability of society, relationships and personality;
- b. Conformity – values that limit actions, tendencies, and impulses that can upset or injure others and violate social expectations or norms (self-discipline, politeness, respect – respecting parents and the elderly);
- c. Tradition – the motivational goals of the values of the category Tradition are respect, dedication and acceptance of the customs and ideas that a culture or a religion impose on the individual (respect for tradition, modesty, moderation, acceptance of one's fate, etc.);
- d. Benevolence – values aimed at the well-being of people with whom we have frequent personal contacts (generosity, devotion, responsiveness, responsibility, loyalty, true friendship, true love);
- e. Universalism – values of understanding, tolerance and preservation of the well-being of all people and nature (social justice, equality, unity with nature, wisdom, environmental protection, a world at peace, etc.)

According to their purpose, these value categories are in a relationship of compatibility or conflict. Value categories are mutually complementary when the realization of one does not obstruct the realization of the other, i. e. when they have similar goals. Otherwise, they are conflicting. Schwarz presents these structural relations in a circular diagram that reflects the idea of the integral nature of the value system (Figure 1). The categories next to each other are complementary, and those that are positioned opposite each other are conflicting (Schwartz 1992).

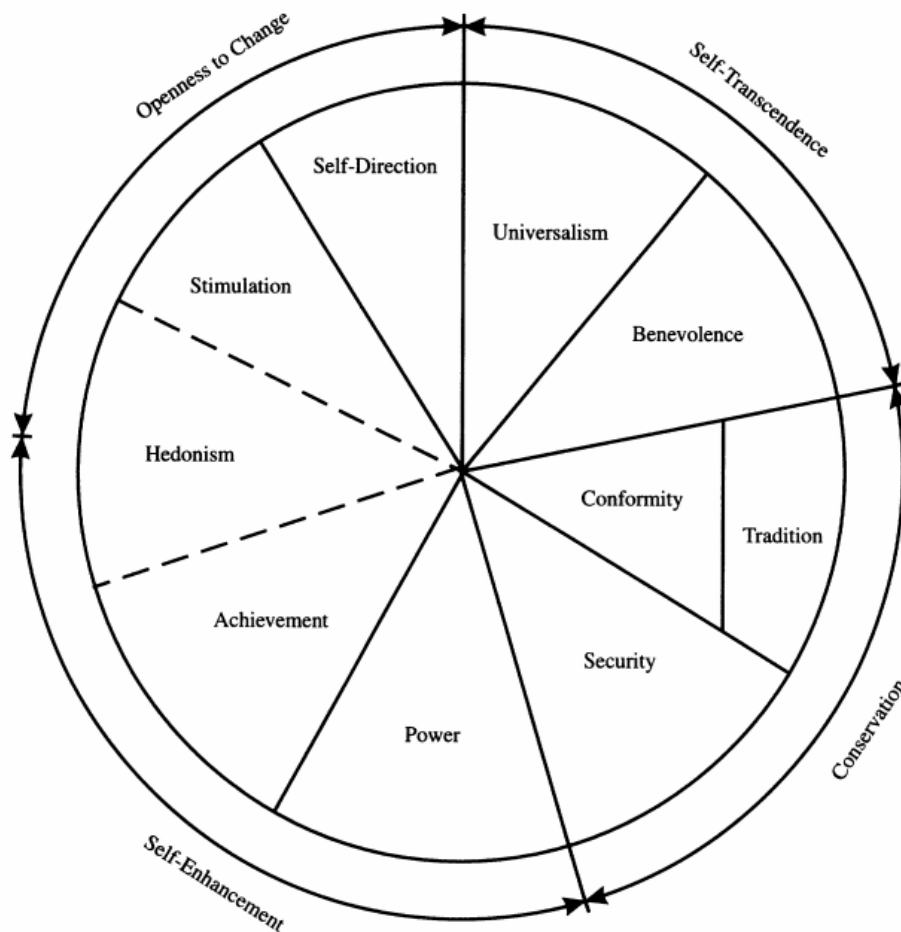


Figure 1. Structural relations among ten motivational types of values.

Source: (Barnea & Schwartz 1998)

The ten value categories can be organized into four higher-level value types:

- Self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) values that underline the acceptance of others as equals and concern for their well-being;
- Self-enhancement (power and achievement) values that emphasize personal success and domination over others;
- Openness to change (self-direction and stimulation) values that focus on independence of thought and action and positive attitude towards change;
- Conservation (security, compliance and tradition) values with an emphasis on self-restraint and status quo preservation.

These four types in turn form two bipolar dimensions, which describe the conflicting relationship between them. The first dimension – Self-transcendence versus Self-enhancement, characterizes the attitude of the individual to other people. Here, values centered on accepting others as equals and caring for their well-being, oppose values that emphasize personal success and dominance over others.

The second dimension – openness to change vs. conservation – describes the attitude of the individual to risk. The opposition is between the values of independent thought and action and the desire for change on one side, and the conservative values of self-restraint along with the maintenance of tradition and stability, on the other. The hedonism value category includes elements from both openness to change and self-enhancement (Schwartz 1992; Schwartz & Sagiv 1995).

3. SYMBOLIC THEORIES ABOUT THE IMPACT OF VALUES ON ATTITUDES TO IMMIGRATION. ETHNIC EXCLUSION

A number of recent studies have shown that in a given country cultural and value-based predispositions are stronger predictors of hostility towards immigrants than socio-economic conditions (Sides and Citrin 2007; Semyonov, et al. 2006). As mentioned in the introductory words, there are two main theoretical trends about the sources of negative attitudes towards migrants:

- “rational” theories focusing on material interests as the prime source of hostility;
- “symbolic” theories that assume identities as such.

In both types of theories the perception of threat is a precondition for hostility towards immigrants. The difference is in the nature of this threat and in its roots – whether it originates from objective socio-economic conditions or from cultural and psychological predispositions (Sides and Citrin 2007).

3.1. *Material interests*

In interest-based theories of immigration ethnic competition for scarce resources is the motivational basis for opposing immigration. From this perspective, antagonism to immigrants is based on the threat they pose to the material well-being of the individual. Political debate in the public domain usually focuses on this issue, weighing the threat to jobs and salaries against the need for people to do dangerous or hard work. The debate on material costs and benefits also concerns the alleged influence of immigration on crime, schools and social programs (Sides and Citrin 2007).

3.2. *Identities*

In most modern societies the nation is subject to strong attachment, so groups believed to be threatening its identity often causes hostility. Immigrants are by definition outsiders in contexts where national identity is the basis of self-categorization and emotional attachment (Sides and Citrin 2007). According to the theory of social identity, the innate tendency to in-group favoritism is more intense when the group in question has a great emotional significance.

3.2.1. *Symbolic politics theory*

Symbolic politics theory emphasizes the power of values and identities in public opinion formation, claiming that the role of these “ideal interests” is often more important than the influence of the material factor. In the case of immigration, beliefs concerning the nation and its culture are particularly salient. According to this theoretical paradigm, people develop latent political values in their early socialization. These values are activated in adulthood at certain times under the influence of political symbols (Espenshade and Calhoun 1993; Sears 1997). Political symbols trigger an emotional response of individuals to immigrants and immigration policies instead of stimulating a rational response (Fussell 2014). Concerning European countries, Bohman (2011) found that the messages of political parties have a statistically significant effect on the development of individual immigration attitudes. There is evidence that for Europeans, in some cases, this effect is stronger than economic dissatisfaction (Sides and Citrin 2007). It has been empirically found that in European countries political ideology has had a stronger impact on immigration attitudes of people over time, and that anti-immigrant sentiment is more prevalent in areas expressing support for right-wing extremist parties (Semyonov, et al. 2006). Sides and Citrin (2007) also found that in European countries the symbolic predispositions that arise in terms of cultural values along with the overestimation of the number of immigrants in a given country predict immigration attitudes better than economic problems. Thus, viewed through the prism of symbolic policy theory, political ideologies play a more prominent role in Europe when political parties express negative views about immigrants, reflecting a symbolic process that activates the latent political values of local citizens with respect to foreigners and immigration as a whole (Wilkes, et al. 2007).

At the same time, cultural values and beliefs can also inspire pro-immigrant attitudes. Haubert and Fussell (2006), for example, argue that the cosmopolitan worldview, which is most common among people with higher education who have lived abroad and deny ethnocentrism, largely explains pro-immigrant sentiments.

3.2.2. *Ethnic exclusionism and its many manifestations*

The influx and presence of immigrants from non-European ethnic groups give rise to heated debates in all European societies. The immigration crisis of the past few years has brought to the forefront certain phenomena that were muted in the postwar years of economic prosperity and a dominant liberal consensus in Western Europe. The perception of a threat to the culture, lifestyle, and security of the indigenous peoples of Europe is bringing ethnic prejudices and discrimination against migrants and minorities back with renewed vigor into the public discourse and leading to the ethnization of European politics (Махратова 2018). Social distance from immigrants is growing, and the meaning of the immigrant term itself is changing as it is increasingly associated with the negative images of the economic and illegal one, and even with the image of the terrorist (Spasova 2018).

Such phenomena can be defined as ethnic exclusionism – a generalized term covering multiple aspects related to the majority's desire to exclude minorities (Coenders, et al. 2004). The following empirically established manifestations of ethnic exclusion can serve as a theoretical basis for studying the attitude of the majority towards immigrants and ethnic minorities in Bulgaria as well:

- a. Ethnic prejudice and ethnocentrism. Documented in a number of classical studies (Sumner 1906; Adorno et al. 1950; Allport 1954), they are generalized unfavorable attitudes towards one or more ethnic groups;
- b. Resistance to immigrants and the related debate on resistance to asylum seekers as a consequence of the growing number of people wishing to settle in Western European countries (Pettigrew 1998);
- c. Resistance to multicultural society. In many European countries, politicians and citizens take a stand against multicultural society, highlighting the problems that arise as a result of the presence of minorities with different religions and cultures that would ultimately undermine the stability of traditional culture.
- d. Limits to multicultural society. This position highlights the unfavorable consequences of the long-term immigration process and the public boundaries to which the admission of new minority groups may extend;
- e. Ethnic distance (Bogardus 1933). This aspect refers to the presence of immigrants in European societies and denotes the process whereby the more minority groups approach the majority, the more the latter tries to keep them at a distance and to avoid real inter-ethnic contact;
- f. Opposition to civil rights for legally resident migrants;
- g. Support for repatriation policies for legally resident immigrants;
- h. Insistence on conformity of migrants to law.

3.2.3. *Prejudice and immigration – symbolic racism and subtle prejudice*

The main argument of symbolic racism theory is that white people have been socialized to have latent negative perceptions of racial minorities, and when confronted with certain politically charged symbols, their negative feelings come to the surface and make them oppose public policies that support immigrants (Berg, 2013).

The theory of subtle prejudice is based on a combination of feelings: a strong desire to defend traditional values, a tendency to exaggerate cultural differences between the majority and minority groups, and a cool to absent emotional reaction to minorities and immigrants (Pettigrew & Meertens 1995). The concept of subtle prejudice is opposite to that of blatant prejudice, the latter being open and filled with threat. Researchers find that subtle prejudice is a strong predictor of Europeans' negative attitudes towards immigrants (Pettigrew & Meertens 1995).

4. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON THE RELATION BETWEEN VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS IN BULGARIA – HYPOTHESES AND METHOD

At the end of 2017 and the beginning of 2018, research teams from the Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (ISSK – BAS) conducted two field empirical studies of the relationship between value orientation and attitudes towards immigrants:

Study 1: National Representative Empirical Sociological Study "Social Aspects of Modern Migration Processes", conducted by a team headed by Prof. A. Mantarova. The survey is representative of the Bulgarian adult population and was conducted with a two-stage nest sample of 800 people with the data used here being weighted by sex and age;

Study 2: "Values and ideo-political orientation – relations and dependencies" – an ongoing research project, aiming to establish through in-depth interviews with members of political parties in Bulgaria the dependence of their political orientation on their value priorities. The study employs an empirical toolbox integrating the PVQ 21 questionnaire (Schwartz, & Bardi, 2001) with questions about some of Hofstede's value categories and an original questionnaire on political values and ideological orientation. The project envisages the development of an empirical instrument to measure the Index of political values and political orientation (IPVPO).

The study consists of in-depth interviews with members of left, right, nationalist and liberal Bulgarian parties in 10 provinces of the country. It is ongoing at the time of publication, which is why preliminary results of 60 interviews are presented.

The following research hypotheses on the relationship between values and attitudes towards immigrants were subjected to empirical testing during the two studies:

1. The values of self-transcendence (universalism and, to a lesser extent, benevolence) are related to higher levels of acceptance of immigrants and concern for their rights. People for whom these values are a priority also express fewer fears about the immigrants' presence and are less inclined to express ethnic prejudices, resistance to immigrants and ethnic distance;
2. The value categories of the conservation dimension (conformity, tradition and security) show a strong correlation with resistance to immigrants, fears of their presence and ethnic distance;
3. Unlike Western countries, in Bulgaria people of right-wing economic orientation are liberal in the social sphere and are expected to show greater acceptance and concern to immigrants;
4. Members of nationalist and left-wing parties will be more resentful against immigrants and more fearful of their presence, keeping them at a greater distance.

5. RESULTS

Survey 1. In order to establish whether there is a link between values and attitudes towards immigrants, the answers to questions on the value categories security, tradition, self-direction and universalism were compared with respondents' opinions on various issues concerning immigration.

The representative survey largely confirms the starting hypotheses for some of Schwarz's values. Bulgarian citizens, who attach great importance to security, are much more likely to show resistance to immigrants and ethnic distance. The more important security is as a value priority for them, the more respondents are inclined to support restrictive immigration policies of closed borders to prevent all immigrants for entering the country (Table 1), and less likely to accept an immigrant as a family member (Table 2).

Table 1. Comparison Security – Resistance to immigrants. (Source: Own work)

How important are in your life: Security and peaceful life? (Security)	NO immigrants should be admitted to the country	
	YES	NO
1 Very important	41,05%	58,95%
2	41,27%	58,73%
3	34,55%	65,45%
4	19,34%	80,66%
5 Not important at all	–	–

Table 2. Comparison Security – Ethnic distance. (Source: Own work)

How important are in your life: Security and peaceful life? (Security)	Would you accept an immigrant as a family member?	
	YES	NO
1 Very important	9,72%	90,28%
2	10,26%	89,74%
3	13,75%	86,25%
4	15,32%	84,68%
5 Not important at all	–	–

The results also show that tradition – another value category with a main motivational objective to maintain the existing situation – is also associated with a clear resistance to immigrants. The more significant tradition is as a value, the lower the support for a policy of open borders and acceptance of all immigrants (Table 3).

Table 3. Comparison Tradition – acceptance of immigrants (Source: Own work)

How important are in your life: Bulgarian traditions and culture? (Tradition)	Our country should accept all immigrants	
	YES	NO
1 Very important	10,02%	89,98%
2	12,99%	87,01%
3	12,25%	87,75%
4	23,85%	76,15%
5 Not important at all	24,85%	75,15%

The values of universalism, on the other hand, show a significant correlation with the smaller ethnic distance (Table 4).

Table 4. Comparison Universalism – Ethnic distance. (Source: Own work)

How important are in your life: Caring for others and the common good? (Universalism)	Would you agree to immigrants settling in your neighborhood?	
	YES	NO
1 Very important	29,71%	19,90%
2	20,24%	79,76%
3	17,68%	82,32%
4	9,24%	90,76%
5 Not important at all	6,28%	93,72%

Empirical data also testifies to a relationship that was not present in the hypotheses and which is scarcely mentioned in the research literature on values and immigration. The value category self-direction is associated with a smaller ethnic distance (Table 5).

Table 5. Comparison Self-direction – Ethnic distance. (Source: Own work)

How much do you aim for: Creativity, originality, new ideas? (Self-direction)	Would you agree to immigrants settling in your neighborhood?	
	YES	NO
1 Very much	29,74%	70,26%
2	28,12%	71,88%
3	20,50%	79,50%
4	15,45%	84,55%
5 Not at all	12,31%	87,69%

Apparently, in Bulgaria people, for whom creativity and freedom of thought are a value priority, express fewer fears about the presence of immigrants. It is no coincidence that this value category is part of the openness to change dimension that stands in opposition to the motivational content of the conservation dimension, the latter being associated with a negative attitude towards immigration.

The results of the study correspond with data obtained from a number of international surveys and fit into a common model of relations between values and attitudes towards immigrants where the conservative values of preservation (security, conformity and tradition) correlate negatively with acceptance of immigration, and the values of self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) show a positive correlation across countries and contexts (Davidov & Meuleman 2012; Davidov et al. 2008; Vala & Costa-Lopes 2010).

Study 2. Several major topics were included in the survey questionnaire to find out how respondents assess immigration's impact on different spheres of public life. The hypothesized link between the individual values of party members and their attitudes towards immigrants receives little empirical support at this stage of the survey. The results give reason to assume that the political orientation and party affiliation of the respondents are a much more important factor determining their attitudes towards immigration compared to their values. The analysis of the data shows that members of the right and liberal parties express positive attitude towards immigrants, with weaker perceptions of threat. Nationalists and left party members express the most negative attitudes towards immigrants (Figure 2).

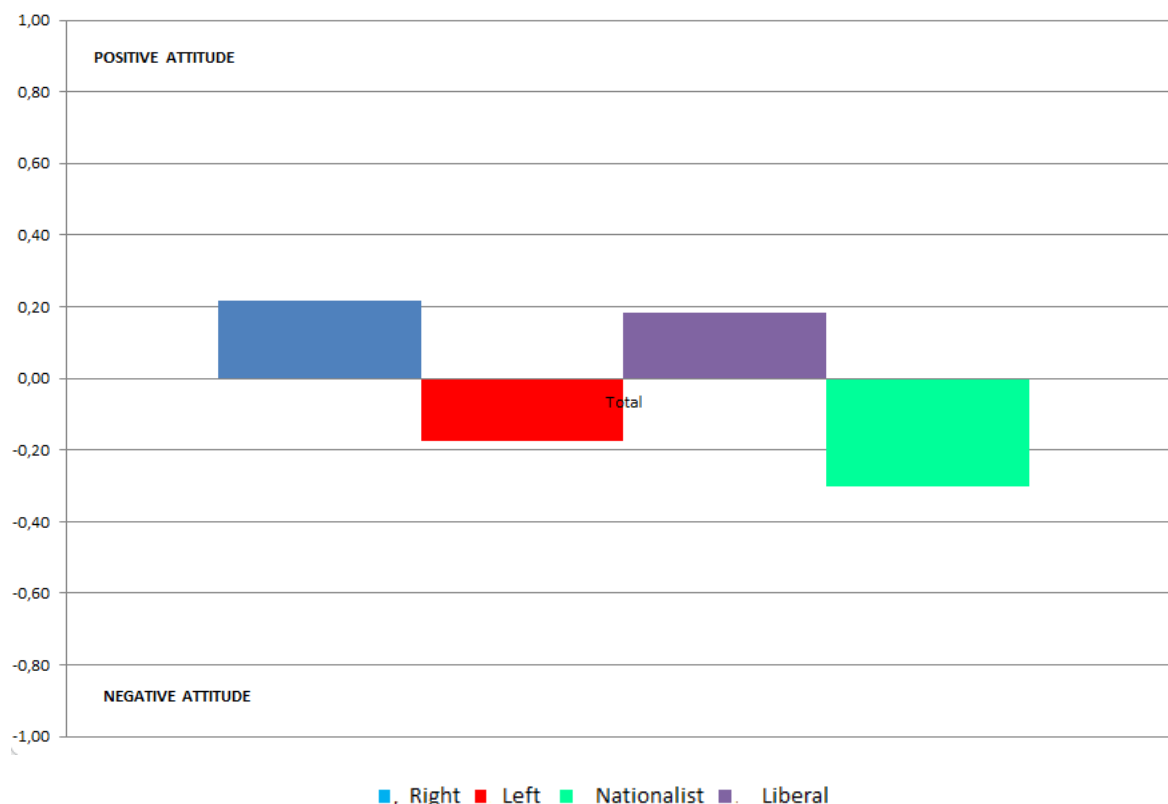


Figure 2. Party affiliation and attitudes towards immigrants – summary results. (Source: own work)

With the exception of right-wingers, all other party members consider immigrants to be above all a threat to security, then to culture, and the smallest percentage of respondents believe they are a threat to natives' jobs (Figure 3). Respondents highlighted three main arguments when they downplayed the threat to jobs: 1. "Today's immigrants are unskilled and cannot compete with Bulgarians on the labor market."; 2. "The immigrants' goal is to settle in Western Europe and they do not intend to stay here." and 3. "Bulgarian economy suffers from a lack of labor force and there is work for everyone who wants to work".

So far the only respondents who gave positive answers to the question of whether immigrants enrich our culture have been right-wing party members. As a whole, right-wingers' views on this issue have been balanced and their attitudes remain neutral. The strongest disagreement with this claim was made by representatives of the nationalist parties. The impact of a demographic factor, namely the age of the respondents, should also be noted – older adults showed a greater ethnic distance than young people, irrespective of their party affiliation. The exception here are the patriots, where anti-immigrant attitudes are ubiquitous.

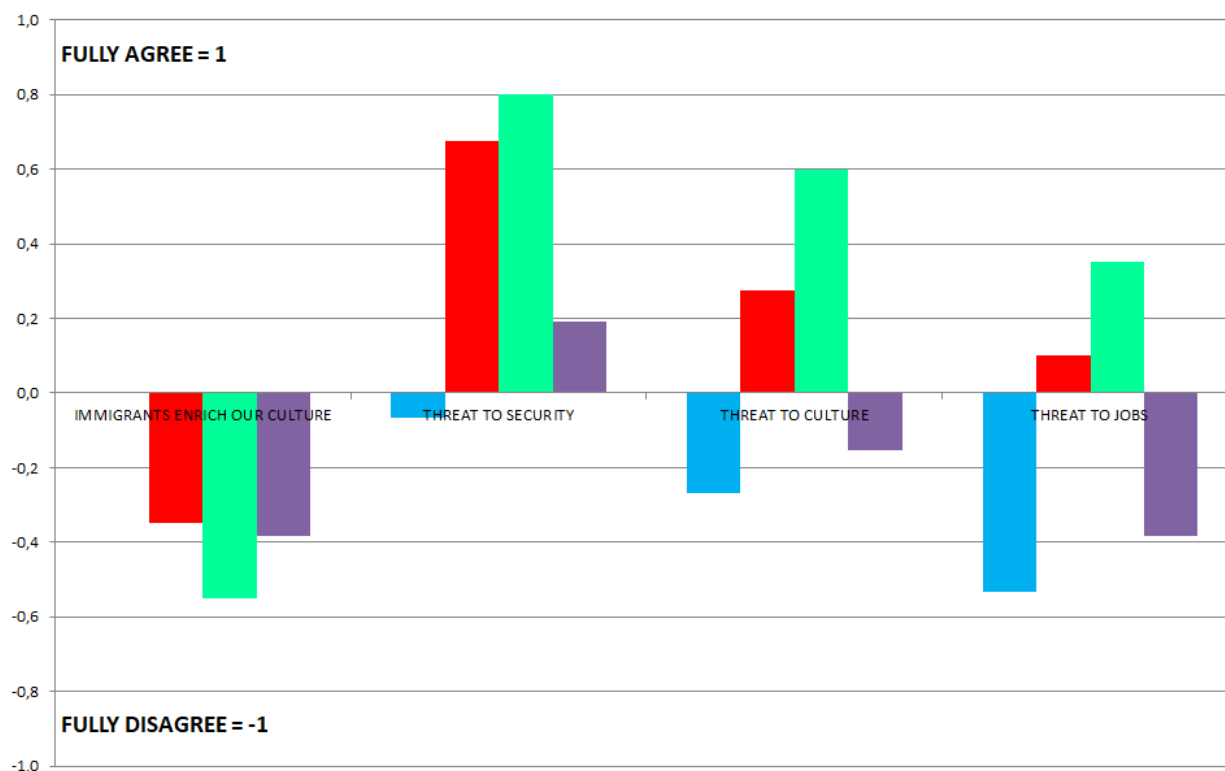


Figure 3. Party affiliation and attitudes towards immigrants – summary results. (Source: own work)

The results at this stage of the study show clear dividing lines in the attitude towards immigrants based on party affiliation. However, the positions are not too far apart – in each of the parties there are both vehement opponents to immigration, and people for whom it is not such a serious problem.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The two empirical studies are part of a complex research project developed by ISSK – BAS. Among the goals it puts forward is also the identification of factors determining the treatment of migrants in the context of increased migration processes. In the deepening process of personalizing politics, the role of old class and socio-economic differences as the main determinants of ideological and political orientation erodes, and the personality of the citizen with his values stands out in the foreground (Caprara 2007). The results of the national representative empirical study confirm this thesis and underline the importance of some of the value categories of Schwarz's theoretical model in forming attitudes towards immigrants in Bulgarian society.

At the same time, interviews with members of Bulgarian political parties demonstrate the importance of ideological political orientation and party affiliation for shaping these attitudes. In accordance with symbolic policy theory, the image of an immigrant as a political symbol activates latent political values and creates opposite emotional attitudes among, from one side, right-wing and liberal parties who emphasize the need for humane treatment of immigrants and tend to downplay the threat to security and jobs in the country. On the other hand, among the left and patriotic organizations, this image gives rise to a sense of threat and the pursuit of ethnic exclusion.

The results confirm the position of values as a useful theoretical construction both in the scientific analysis and the development of value-based crisis management policies resulting from enhanced migration processes. The multidisciplinary theoretical framework for comprehensive analysis of the attitude towards immigration, that both studies contributed to, will serve as a platform for further in-depth studies in this research area.

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