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XENOPHOBIA TOWARDS PALESTINIAN CITIZENS OF ISRAEL AMONG RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS IN ISRAEL: HEIGHTENED BY FAILURE TO MAKE GAINS IN A NEW DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY*

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* This study was made possible in part by a grant from the Ohio Board of Regents, by a fellowship from the Helen Kellogg Institute of International Studies, and by the support of the National Security Studies Center at the University of Haifa. The authors would like to thank John Duckitt, Brian Frederick, Semion Lyandres, Assaf Meydani, Stephen Nuno, Oren Shapira, and the anonymous referees for their helpful comments. All remaining errors and faults are the sole responsibility of the authors. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Midwest Political Science Association meeting Chicago, April 2006 and at the Association for Israel Studies meeting, Banff, May 2006.

ABSTRACT

This study advances a comprehensive analysis of the antecedents of xenophobia towards Palestinian citizens of Israel among Israeli immigrants from the former Soviet Union in comparison to nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis. We conducted a large-scale study of xenophobia in the face of terrorism in Israel by means of telephone surveys in September 2003 and analyzed a sample of 641 nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis and 131 immigrants. Findings obtained via interaction analyses and structural equation modeling show that a) immigrants are more xenophobic than nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis ; b) authoritarianism predicts xenophobia both among immigrants and non-immigrants; c) support for extreme right-wing political tendencies, as well as perceived psychosocial loss in response to terror, account for a significant portion of the variance in xenophobia, but only among nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis; and, finally, d) failure to undergo posttraumatic growth in response to terrorism (e.g., finding meaning in life, becoming closer to others) is a significant predictor of xenophobia only among immigrants. Results suggest that immigrant xenophobia is more a product of their experience of being immigrants, whereas nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis are more impacted by personal and social characteristics and their experiences when facing terrorism.

RESUME

Este estudio presenta un análisis comprehensivo de los antecedentes de la xenofobia hacia los ciudadanos israelíes de origen palestino que manifiestan los inmigrantes israelíes provenientes de la ex Unión Soviética en comparación con los ciudadanos israelíes judíos y no inmigrantes. Llevamos adelante un estudio de gran escala acerca de la xenofobia en un contexto de terrorismo en Israel a través de encuestas telefónicas realizadas en Septiembre de 2003. Analizamos una muestra de 641 israelíes judíos no inmigrantes y 131 inmigrantes. Los hallazgos de análisis de interacciones y de modelos de ecuaciones estructurales muestran que: a) los inmigrantes son más xenófobos que los judíos israelíes no inmigrantes; b) el autoritarismo predice la xenofobia tanto entre los inmigrantes como entre los no inmigrantes; c) el apoyo a las tendencias políticas de extrema derecha, así como la percepción de pérdida psico-social en respuesta al terror, dan cuenta de una porción importante de la varianza en la xenofobia, pero solamente entre los israelíes judíos y no inmigrantes; finalmente, d) el fracaso en experimentar crecimiento post-traumático (por ejemplo, encontrar sentido en la vida, acercarse a los otros) es un predictor significativo de la xenofobia solamente entre los inmigrantes. Los resultados sugieren que la xenofobia de los inmigrantes es más un producto de su experiencia de "ser inmigrantes," mientras que los israelíes judíos no inmigrantes están más afectados por sus características personales y sociales y por sus experiencias cuando se enfrentan con el terrorismo.

Key words: xenophobia, democratic norms and ideas, Palestinian citizens of Israel, immigrants from the former Soviet Union, authoritarianism, conservation of resources theory, terrorism.

INTRODUCTION

Negative attitudes towards foreigners and minorities have been one of the main challenges facing democratic societies (Sullivan and Transue, 1999). This phenomenon has become even more critical due to massive waves of immigration into Western countries (Bohenke, Hagan, and Hefler, 1998; Mudde, 1999; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders, 2002). Unfortunately, these new immigrants may also carry prejudices with them and, furthermore, adopt prejudices in their new homelands. During times of social conflict, this process may be particularly pronounced. A historical example is the Irish immigrants who rebelled in New York when required to fight during the American Civil War, both to maintain the rights of the national government over the states and also for the liberation of blacks—a minority they considered both inferior and a threat to them (Harris, 2003). We set out to study this phenomenon in Israel and investigate if immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) might in fact adopt xenophobic reactions towards Arabs.

X*enophobia* is a "*negative attitude toward, or fear of, individuals or groups of individuals that are in some sense different (real or imagined) from oneself or the group to which one belongs"* (Hjrem, 1998: 341). Xenophobia is further elaborated in a perspective that considers hostile attitudes among in-groups as deriving mainly from the challenges posed by out-groups toward the values, identity, culture, and even socioeconomic status of in-group members (e.g., Lubbers and Scheepers, 2001; Mudde, 1995; Quillian, 1995; Watts, 1996).

Recent studies have demonstrated the negative psychological effects of terrorism, such as Israel has been subject to in recent years (Bleich, Gelkopf, and Solomon, 2003; Galea, Ahern, Resnick, Kilpatrick, Bucuvalas, and Gold, 2002; Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, and Johnson, 2005). One of the most common results for groups subject to or living under the threat of terrorism is the strengthening of in-group ties, and the enhancing of

hostility towards out-groups (Bar-Tal and Labin, 2001; Coryn, Beale and Myers, 2004; Huddy, Feldman, Lahav and Taber, 2003). The growth of xenophobia in Western societies, combined with the increased threat of terrorism, calls for an investigation of xenophobic evolution from within theoretical frameworks associated with psychological responses to terrorism.

One method of establishing the determinants of xenophobic attitudes is to identify subgroups within a society that exhibit differing levels of xenophobia towards a target minority group, and to examine the roots of those differences (Halperin, Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, n.d.). Employing a more multifaceted and therefore more comprehensive theory of xenophobia, in the present study we examine the differences between nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis (old Israeli Jews—OIJ) and immigrants from the former Soviet Union (new Israeli Jews—NIJ) in levels of xenophobia towards Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCIs) during a period of ongoing terror attacks.[1]

In spite of the number of other minority groups, PCIs (19 percent of Israel's population) have always been the main target of bigotry within Israel (Shamir and Sullivan, 1985; Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, 2003; Pedahzur and Yishai, 1999). The profound schism between Jews and Arabs in Israel is inevitably related to the ongoing conflict between Israel and the entire Arab world; subsequently, Jews tend to perceive PCIs as a "hostile minority" and a "security risk" (Smooha, 1989, 1990). Clearly, in the face of ongoing terrorism, levels of xenophobia are likely to increase (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim and Johnson, 2005; Bar-Tal and Sharvit, 2004.

Although xenophobia towards PCIs is widespread (Pedahzur and Yishai, 1999; Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, 2003; Halperin, Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, n.d.), studies show that, by and large, immigrants from the FSU exhibit exceptional levels of intolerance towards PCIs (Al-Haj and Leshem, 2000; Al-Haj, 2004; Ben-David and Biderman, 1997; Gitelman, 1995; Horowitz, 2001). Nevertheless, to the knowledge of the authors, no empirical study has compared xenophobia and its antecedents among OIJs and NIJs. In this study we hope to bridge these gaps.

Studies on the negative attitudes of immigrants towards minority groups were carried out in North America (Goldenberg and Saxe, 1996; Hing, 1997) as well as in Western Europe (Zick, Wagner, van-Dick and van-Dick, 2001). It appears that a pivotal

part of the acculturation process of newcomers to a particular country seems to be the adoption of the host society's "core" culture and values (Gordon, 1964; Parker, 2004; Hing, 1997), which in some cases includes xenophobic attitudes towards different local minority groups (Zick et al., 2001). Hence, in many cases immigrants tend to present even higher levels of xenophobia than locals (Goldenberg and Saxe, 1996).

Today, FSU immigrants make up about 17% of the total population in Israel (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005). Generally speaking, they are highly educated and mostly secular (Al-Haj, 2004). With its relatively unique characteristics, this wave of NIJs has managed to rapidly create a quite successful, distinct, and proud community (Leshem and Lisak, 2000). Yet, like other immigrants (Gold, 1989; Janes and Pawson, 1986; Warren, 1970; Yick, 2001), they commonly experience symptoms of status inconsistency[2] (Lev-Weisel and Kaufman, 2004; Shuval, 2001). Although some were rather well off in their countries of origin, the host society offers limited employment opportunities. In political terms, the NIJs tend to espouse clear hawkish attitudes, support "strong leaders," and vote for right-wing parties and candidates[3] (Goldstein and Gitelman, 2004; Horowitz, 2003).

In our view, this group's distinctiveness and high self-esteem may result in high levels of xenophobia, particularly towards PCIs (Horowitz, 2001). Immigrants may be motivated by negative sentiments towards the Islamic religion well-rooted in Russia (e.g., towards Chechens, Tatars, or Kazakhs) and by the Israeli socialization process through which they learn that this is the "right thing" (Gitelman, 1995). It is worth noting, however, that the data at hand cannot determine whether they became less or more xenophobic following emigration from the Soviet Union. We hypothesize that, compared to OIJs, NIJs should exhibit higher levels of xenophobia towards PCIs (*H1*).

THREE EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORKS FOR XENOPHOBIA

The basic explanation given above for the differences in levels of xenophobia displayed by OIJs and NIJs is the most acknowledged and common one. Yet, in this study, we seek to establish a more comprehensive understanding of these differences—one that is more suitable to the unique Israeli circumstances. Hence, this study evaluates

antecedents of xenophobia in the framework of three complementary explanations—all applicable to the study of xenophobia towards PCIs in Israel. *First*, Hobfoll's conservation of resources (COR) theory (1988, 1989) is a relevant explanation because Israel, even more than other Western nations, lives under the shadow of the continuous threat of terrorism. *Second*, the theory of authoritarianism (Adorno Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, 1950; Altemeyer, 1996; Hunsberger, 1995; McFarland, Ageyev, and Abalakina-Paap, 1992; Reisinger, Miller, Hesli, and Hill Maher, 1994; Duckitt, 1993) is also appropriate because Israeli society includes a sizable minority of FSU immigrants and they frequently hold authoritarian worldviews. *Third*, Israeli society is also marked by broad social, political, and religious schisms, thus justifying the inclusion of the classic sociopolitical explanation (Quillian, 1995; Esses, Dovido, Jackson and Armstrong, 2001; Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, 2003). With the benefit of these explanations, we hope to unravel the key antecedents of xenophobia among NIJs and OIJs.

Conservation of Resources (COR) Explanation

The COR theory suggests that the psychological impact of stress is dependent on the threat of loss and/or the actual loss of resources that people suffer from, especially in circumstances of major stress, such as terrorism (Hobfoll, 1988; 1998). Resources are defined as things that people directly value (e.g., self-esteem, shelter, intimacy with significant others) or things that foster or protect that which they directly value (e.g., money is a secondary resource that can ensure primary resources such as health and shelter). Dozens of studies using the COR-Evaluation (COR-E) show that resource *loss* was the single best predictor of psychological distress (see Hobfoll, 2001, for a review).

Surprising as it may sound, trauma may have positive implications as well as negative ones. Resource *gain* (posttraumatic growth)[4] is the "positive psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life circumstances" (Tedeschi and Calhoun, 1995: 1). Using the terminology of COR theory, resource gains are the psychological benefits of posttraumatic growth (Hobfoll et al., 2005). COR theory originally posited that resource gains act to offset the negative impact of resource losses

(Hobfoll, 1989; 1998; Wells, Hobfoll, and Lavin, 1999). However, recent studies that examined the impact of posttraumatic growth on long-term psychological reactions to terror yielded mixed results (for a review, see Hall, Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, Johnson, and Galea, n.d.).

In terms of the COR theory, xenophobia may be a psychological coping mechanism (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, and Johnson, 2005). Although people utilize coping behaviors in attempts to adapt to and limit psychological distress, some of the behaviors are in fact counterproductive. Holahan, Moos, Holahan, and Cronkite (1999, 2000) posit that coping behavior works in tandem with personal and social stress resistance resources. Those who lack personal and social resources are more likely to employ unproductive and even harmful coping behaviors like xenophobia. In line with this, a study recently conducted in Israel revealed that xenophobia was more prevalent among those individuals who believed that terror caused them substantial damage (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, and Johnson, 2005).

Research on the impact of 9/11 (Galea et al., 2002; Galea, Vlahov, Resnick, Ahern, Susser, Gold, 2003) and other disasters (Kaniasty and Norris, 1995) showed that minority status is a risk factor for the negative psychological impact of traumatic events. (See also Bleich, Gelkopf, and Solomon, 2003; Perilla, Norris, and Lavizzo, 2002; De Bocanegra and Brickman, 2004.) From the seminal work of the Chicago School of Sociology (Park, Burgess, and MacKenzie, 1925) to more current research (e.g., Hobfoll, Johnson, Ennis, and Jackson, 2003), findings have shown that those who are socially marginalized have less access to resources and less ability to translate resources into positive life circumstances and are therefore much more psychologically vulnerable. (For examples, see Zilber and Lerner, 1996; Ritsner, Ponizovsky and Ginath, 1997; Lev-Weisel and Kaufman, 2004.)

Hence, we expect that resource gain resulting from terror will reduce levels of xenophobia towards PCIs (*H2*). Likewise, resource loss is expected to augment xenophobia (*H3*). Further, as immigrants tend to be more sensitive to either resource gain or loss, when facing threats or actual terrorism, resources are expected to play a crucial role in any attempt to predict xenophobia among immigrants in comparison to nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis (*H4*).

Authoritarianism Explanation

Altemeyer (1981, 1988, 1996), following the idea of the *authoritarian personality* first presented by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950), has argued that authoritarianism is a worldview emphasizing conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression. Authoritarian attitudes can create a public climate that promotes undemocratic movements, intimidates liberal politicians, and may result in the democratic election of a dictator, as in Germany in 1933. These claims are supported by studies carried out in the US (e.g., Altemeyer, 1988; Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990), in ex-communist countries (e.g., Reisinger, et al., 1994; McFarland, Ageyev and Abalakina-Paap, 1992), in South Africa (Duckitt, 1993; Duckitt and Farre, 1994), and in Israel (Rubinstein, 1997; Canetti-Nisim, 2004). Similarly, numerous studies (e.g., Adorno et al., 1950; Hunsberger, 1995; Wylie and Forest, 1992; Altemeyer and Hunsberger, 1992) have found that authoritarians tend to be intolerant towards out-groups and to view themselves as superior.

Specifically, studies show that American authoritarians are generally susceptible to anti-black prejudice (Lambert and Chasteen, 1997) and support ethnocentric legislation (Quinton, Cowan, and Watson, 1996). South African white authoritarians were found to espouse high levels of anti-black prejudice (Duckitt, 1993), and Canadian authoritarians presented generalized ethnic prejudice (Altemeyer, 1996, 1998). Authoritarian Israelis were found to be highly prejudiced (Rubinstein, 1996), less supportive of democratic norms (Canetti-Nisim, 2004), and highly xenophobic towards a variety of groups (Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, 2003). Furthermore, today (Perrin, 2005), as well as decades ago (Fromm, 1941), scholars have claimed that the role of authoritarianism in shaping people's views and attitudes becomes more central during periods of collective threat and distress (e.g., terrorism). Authoritarianism is thus expected to be strongly and positively correlated with xenophobia towards PCIs (*H5*).

Nonetheless, the extent to which authoritarianism predicts xenophobia may vary among different social groups. Studies examining the impact of authoritarianism on xenophobia during periods of extreme social unrest—and terrorism in particular—are limited. Having said that, assumptions are extrapolated based on the integration of three

types of empirical findings. First, authoritarianism is a prominent predictor of xenophobia (Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, 2003). Added to this, citizens of so-called emerging democracies who were brought up in authoritarian regimes—including the former Soviet Union—are highly inclined to submit to authoritarian values and politicians (Gibson and Duch, 1993; McFarland, 2000; McFarland, Ageyev, and Abalakina-Paap, 1992; Rubinstein, 1995). Third, high levels of intolerance and xenophobia are widespread among immigrants, particularly those coming from former Soviet societies (Al-Haj, 2004; Ben-David and Biderman, 1997; Horowitz, 2001). We thus expect authoritarianism to serve as a major contributory explanation to xenophobia among NIJs in comparison to OIJs (*H6*).

Sociopolitical Explanation

The argument that many of an individual's negative attitudes towards minorities are embedded in his or her sociopolitical stance is well established (Quillian, 1995). Accordingly, the prism through which individuals view the world in general and other groups in particular is highly influenced by their socioeconomic status (SES) and political and/or religious orientations. By and large, the extant literature reveals that low SES, rightist political stands, and orthodox religious orientation are positively related to intolerance and xenophobic attitudes towards minorities (Hjrem, 2001; Shamir and Sullivan, 1985; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders, 2002). We thus adhere to a multidimensional theoretical approach.

First, we rely on the "realistic group conflict theory," associated with Sherif (1967) and Bobo (1983), which puts forward the claim that competition over scarce resources and socioeconomic pressure posed by one group toward another are substantial determinants of negative attitudes (Olzak, 1993; Quillian, 1995). Empirical studies (Dustmann, 2000; Espenshade and Hampstead, 1996; Palmer, 1996; Raijman and Semyonov, 2004; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders, 2002) indeed support this assumption.

Second, tolerance and equal rights reflect a liberal democratic perspective and therefore are commonly associated with a particular political ideology (Shamir and

Sullivan, 1985). Political attitudes become even more crucial when examining xenophobic attitudes towards PCIs in the Israeli context. The right-left continuum applies primarily to the Arab-Israeli conflict, mainly with respect to the question of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories (Arian and Shamir, 2004; Peled, 1990; Shamir and Arian, 1999). Israeli right-wing voters are inclined to support xenophobia towards PCIs (Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, 2003; Pedahzur and Yishai, 1999; Halperin, Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, n.d.).

Third, there are scholars who argue that there is a substantial conflict between strong religious convictions and some democratic values, as religion is clearly a non-democratic idea but rather a hierarchical one (Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle, 1997; Hunsberger, 1995). This argument may be explained by high conformity, which may be related to religious beliefs (Nunn, Crockett and Allen, 1978; Stouffer, 1955). Studies carried out in Israel (Arian, Nachmias, Navot, and Shani, 2003; Canetti-Nisim, 2004; Peres, 1995) and in other countries (Schwartz and Huismans, 1995; Herek, 1987; Shamir and Sullivan, 1985; Stouffer, 1955; Sullivan and Transue, 1999; Nelson, 1988; Wald, Owen, and Hill, 1988) indicate that religiosity is highly related to intolerance and undemocratic norms. In Israel, the relation between religiosity and xenophobia towards PCIs is amplified by the symbiotic connection between the nationalistic and religious dimensions of Judaism (Liebman and Don-Yehiya, 1983; Peled, 1990). Hence, we expect to find higher levels of xenophobia among people with low SES and among those with rightist political views and highly religious orientations (*H7*).

Yet the connection between sociodemographic factors and xenophobia might be different for NIJs. First, the rather limited variance of political and religious orientations among NIJs statistically restricts their potential impact on the development of xenophobic attitudes. Second, resources such as education or income, which commonly assist nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis in producing an inner sense of controllability and comfort, will not necessarily help immigrants. Moreover, Birman, Trickett and Persky (2004) found that NIJs who had prestigious jobs in their home countries suffered from psychological distress following their immigration to the United States. It seems that, in some cases, immigrants with higher education and high positions prior to migration may be at greater risk for psychological difficulties in relocation (Lev-Weisel and Kaufman,

2004). In those cases, xenophobia towards other minority groups can be attributed to symptoms of status inconsistencies (e.g., high education vis-à-vis low income) prevalent among immigrants (Yick, 2001). Education usually augurs against xenophobia (Hjrem, 1998). However, for immigrants from the former Soviet Union, the tolerance that typically accompanies education is cancelled out by the frustration of not being able to translate their education into higher-status positions. We thus assume that the relation between sociodemographic variables would be negligible among NIJs (*H8*).

METHODS

Sampling

We used random-digit dialing of land lines to obtain a representative sample of persons living in Israel at the time of the surveys. The response rate among eligible responders was 54 percent (1012). Analyses were based on 772 persons (83% OIJs and 17% NIJs). As PCIs are the subject of the study, we removed those who indicated they were not Jews from the sample (e.g., Muslims, foreign workers, mixed ethnicity). The sample consisted of 360 men (46.6%) and 412 women (53.4%). Ages ranged from 18 to 83 years with a mean age of 41.06 (15.41). The sample represented the distribution in the Israeli population of sex, age, place of residence, and voting behavior (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002). This compared favorably with studies in the US, especially since the dialing methods in Israel, unlike in the US, include business phones which must then be treated as a failed attempt (Galea et al., 2002; Schuster, Stein, Jaycox, Collins, Marshall, and Elliott, 2001). Initial contact was made by a Hebrew, Russian, or Arabic speaker.

A closer look at the sociopolitical characteristics of the sample lends support to our preliminary assumptions—NIJs feature many sociodemographic inconsistencies. They are highly educated yet have smaller incomes; they are more secular yet lean towards the extreme right politically (see Table I). Of the NIJs, 55.8% reported some type of academic education (vis-à-vis 40.4 percent of OIJs) and 33.6% had some post–high school education (vis-à-vis 21.8% of OIJs); 63.3% of the NIJs earn less than the average wage (vis-à-vis 37.8% of OIJs). The absolute majority of NIJs (83.7%) define themselves as secular (vis-à-vis 44.2% of OIJs); 66.3% of the NIJs consider themselves right-wing—

either moderately or extremely—whereas only 4.3 percent describe their attitudes as left-wing (vis-à-vis 53.3% and 18.5% of the OIJs, respectively).

Data Collection

Interviews were conducted by a survey institute in Israel using structured questionnaires. Interviewers were trained in telephone survey methodology and conducted interviews in their native languages (Hebrew, Arabic, or Russian). Contact was initiated by a Hebrew/Arabic speaker in Jewish/Arab geographic areas. Russian speakers were available if individuals did not speak Hebrew, and callbacks were arranged within 24 hours if a Russian speaker was not immediately available. Mental health referrals were made if interviewees requested such a referral or became upset during the interview. At the onset of each interview, oral informed consent was obtained. The research ethics committees of the University of Haifa and Kent State University approved this study.

Instruments

We used a structured questionnaire that was completed by most participants in 20–30 minutes. The questionnaire included measures of xenophobia towards PCIs, resource loss and gain, and authoritarianism. Sociopolitical information was obtained regarding participants' income, educational attainment, political stand, and religiosity.

Xenophobia

Xenophobia towards PCIs was assessed using a 4-item scale adapted from Scheepers, Gijsberts, and Coenders' (2002) scale, which was found to have broad, cross-cultural applicability across 15 countries (Cronbach's alpha of .70 for all tested countries). The following items were evaluated using a scale from 1 (very strongly disagree) to 6 (very strongly agree): "PCIs shouldn't have the same social rights as Israeli citizens"; "PCIs shouldn't have the right to bring members of their immediate family to Israel"; "PCIs should all be sent back to their country of origin"; "PCIs shouldn't receive

citizenship, even if they are legal immigrants." Internal reliability (α = .78) was quite good for such a brief measure.

COR Variables

Two variables were assessed. 1. *Loss of resources* was assessed using a 10-item scale based on COR theory (Hobfoll, 1998), developed for research with respect to September 11th, and generalizable to other terrorist attacks (Norris, 2001). The scale was the single instrument recommended by the National Institute of Mental Health for all September 11th-related research and renders our study comparable to others. Items were answered from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely) (e.g., "Compared to how you felt before the Intifada, you feel less able to control the forces that affect your life." "Have you suffered economically as a result of terrorism and war since the Intifada began?" "There is at least one person whom you know that you like less than you used to because of things that occurred between the two of you since the Intifada began."). Two scores were calculated—one for loss of economic/work resources (2 items, α not calculated for 2 items) and one for loss of psychosocial resources (8 items, α = .63). 2. *Psychosocial resource gain*. Seven items rated from 1 (not at all) to 4 (extremely), from the COR-Evaluation (Hobfoll and Lilly, 1993), were used to assess resource gain (α = .82). Items were all prefaced with: "Since the Intifada began, to what extent have you gained…" (hope, feeling that my life has purpose, intimacy with one or more family members, intimacy with spouse/partner, intimacy with at least one friend).

Authoritarianism

Because of the limited time for telephone survey, an abbreviated 10-item version of Altemeyer's original scale (1996) was used. It was adopted from McFarland (2001; 2005) and consisted of 5 protrait and 5 contrait items that loaded most strongly on the total scale of earlier samples. Items were answered on a scale from 1 (very strongly disagree) to 6 (very strongly agree); e.g., "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues that children can learn" (α = .73).

Sociopolitical variables

These included participants' self-evaluation of income compared to the average in Israel (1=much below average, to 5=much above average), educational attainment (1=elementary, 2=high-school, 3=post–high school, 4=student, 5=academic education), self-definition of political stand (1=extreme left, to 5=extreme right), and self-definition regarding the level of religiosity (1=secular, 2=traditional, 3=religious, 4=ultra-orthodox).

Overview of Data Analysis Strategy

Means and standard deviations for all variables regarding NIJs versus OIJs were calculated. Variance analyses (t-tests) were performed to determine if there were significant differences in the mean levels of these variables according to immigrant status. Second, we examined whether NIJs espoused greater levels of xenophobia than OIJs, controlling for all other demographic variables. Third, regression analyses were advanced to uncover the main and interaction effects of the explanatory factors according to immigrant status. Main effects and plausible interaction effects—with immigrant status as a moderator—were tested. In addition, a multi-group path analysis was conducted to further test the findings of the regression analyses. A test of the hypothesized model was conducted to see how it would work for both groups and if at all there was a need for two separate models—OIJs and NIJs—to explain xenophobia towards another minority group.

RESULTS

Differences between Immigrants and Non-immigrant Israeli Jews

The general goal of the statistical analysis was to gradually confirm, or otherwise refute, the specified effects proposed in the hypotheses. The first step was thus a comparison of NIJs and OIJs in terms of the variables studied. Hence, means, standard deviations and CVs are reported in Table I. As predicted in *H1*, NIJs exhibited much higher levels of xenophobia towards PCIs than OIJs. Rather unexpectedly, there were no significant differences between the two groups in authoritarianism scores and in resource

gain. Yet, while OIJs demonstrated a clearer sense of economic loss, NIJs demonstrated a deeper sense of psychological loss.

TABLE I

Means, Standard Deviations, CVs, and T-tests for Comparing NIJ and OIJ

	NIJ (N=131)		OIJ (N=641)		*T*
	MEAN (SD)	CV	MEAN (SD)	CV	
Income	2.20 (1.22)	0.55	2.93 (1.26)	0.43	**6.02*** **
Education	3.97 (1.16)	0.29	3.35 (1.35)	0.40	**-5.38*** **
Religiosity	1.19 (.49)	0.41	2.06 (1.14)	0.55	**13.90*** **
Political Stand	2.26 (.72)	0.32	2.60 (.88)	0.34	**3.98*** **
Authoritarianism	3.72 (.72)	0.19	3.70 (1.05)	0.28	-.35
Economic Loss	3.32 (.59)	0.18	3.49 (.60)	0.17	**3.00** **
Psychological Loss	15.63 (4.60)	0.29	14.54 (4.43)	0.30	**-2.36***
Resource Gain	10.56 (3.50)	0.33	9.83 (3.86)	0.39	-1.90
Xenophobia – PCIs	4.64 (1.44)	0.31	4.04 (1.53)	0.38	**-4.17*** **

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Bold entries are significant coefficients.

Regression Analysis for Both Groups

Separate regression analyses for NIJs and for OIJs were advanced (see Table II). The analyses show that NIJs who (in descending order) gained fewer resources, and were more authoritarian, and OIJs who (in descending order) were hawkish, authoritarian, and suffered greater loss of resources, tended to be more xenophobic. Hence, while the authoritarianism explanation is relevant for both groups, gain of resources predicted xenophobia only among NIJs, and hawkish political stands and loss of resources predicted xenophobia only among OIJs.

TABLE II

Regression Analysis on Xenophobia for the Two Groups

-	NIJ		OIJ	
Variable Name	**B**	**t**	**β**	**t**
Income	-.03	-.30	.03	.86
Education	.00	-.04	-.07	-1.84
Religiosity	.09	.88	.04	.93
Political Stand	-.17	-1.60	-.35	-7.83***
Authoritarianism	.30	2.82**	.33	6.11***
Economic Loss	.12	1.18	.00	-.04
Psychological Loss	.05	.50	.09	2.22*
Resource Gain	-.37	-3.42**	.00	-.01
R^2 (adjusted)	.29 (.21)		.43 (.42)	
F	3.58**		42.49***	
N	78		453	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Analyses are based on available N.

In the next stage, in order to establish a comprehensive model that includes only significant main and interaction effects, another series of regressions was performed. In eight different models (each containing all main effects and one interaction effect as

predictors), the only significant negative interaction effect was the confluence of resource gain and immigrant status. When xenophobia was regressed on all main effects, only a hawkish political stand, authoritarianism, immigrant status, and resource loss were significant predictors of xenophobia.

On the basis of these regressions, as seen in Table III, a hierarchical linear regression analysis was conducted. Variables were entered in two blocks: first, main effects that were significant in the former procedure;[5] second, the interaction of immigrant status and resource gain. Results show that a hawkish political stand and authoritarianism are the most consistent and salient predictors of xenophobia. Resource loss had a minor effect on xenophobia in the first step. This effect turned out to be non-significant when the interaction of immigrant status and resource gain was entered into the equation (step 2). Although the insertion of the interaction effect did not dramatically increase the explanatory capability of the model (ΔR^2=.01), it still plays an important role in entailing the distinct effect of resource gain on xenophobia among NIJs vis-à-vis OIJs.

TABLE III

Two-Step Hierarchical Linear Regression—Significant Effects from Previous Analyses Entered

Variable Name	***Step 1***		***Step 2***	
	β	**t**	**β**	**t**
Immigrants Status	.10	2.90**	.45	4.44***
Resource Gain	-.05	-1.36	.00	-.03
Dovish Political Stand	-.33	-8.46**	-.32	-8.28***
Authoritarianism	.37	9.34**	.37	9.40***
Psychological Loss	.07	2.05*	.07	1.93
Immigrants Status* Resource Gain			-.38	-3.69***
R^2 (adjusted)	.40 (.39)		.41 (.40)	
ΔR^2			.01	
F	73.20***		65.65***	
N	564		564	

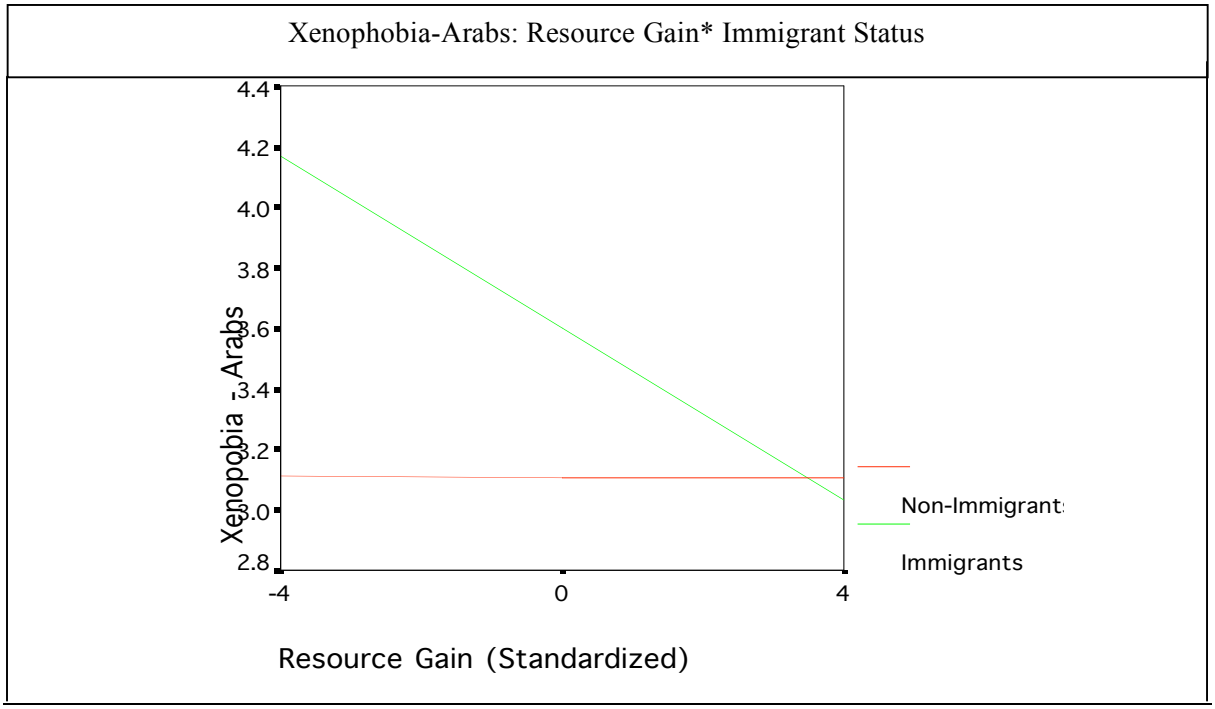
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Analyses are based on available N.

To unravel the meaning of the interaction effect of resource gain (posttraumatic growth) and immigrant status, we created an interaction graph and controlled for previously significant covariates (hawkish political stand, authoritarianism, immigrant status, and resource loss) plus resource gain. As seen in Figure 1, immigrants experiencing little posttraumatic growth were substantially more xenophobic than nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis. Nevertheless, as levels of posttraumatic growth increased, immigrants became less xenophobic, to the extent of being as non-xenophobic as nonimmigrants. Conversely, no relationship was found between xenophobia and posttraumatic growth among nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis.

FIGURE I

The Effect on Xenophobia towards PCIs of the Interaction between Immigrant Status and Gain of Resources



Multi-group structural equation modeling (MGSEM) analyses confirm the findings from the OLS regression analyses. Covariance matrices for both OIJs and NIJs are analyzed using LISREL 8.5 (Joreskog and Sorbom, 2001). The models examine the direct effects of all eight independent variables on the dependent variable. In the first

model, the coefficients are specified as equal in both groups, yielding a model with a chi-square value of 13.45 with 8 df attributable to the group of FSU immigrants. Relaxing the assumption that the coefficient for resource gain is equivalent in both groups provides a significant improvement to the fit of the model (chi-square = 10.16, 1 df) and shows that the effect of resource gain among NIJs is significant, and that this effect among OIJs is not significant (and in fact is zero). These findings also correspond with the graph of the two regression equations for these groups derived from the interaction terms. All direct effects (gamma) of the second model are reported in Table IV.

TABLE IV

SEM Analysis of Xenophobia for Two Groups

-	**Immigrants from FSU**		Nonimmigrant Jewish Israelis	
Variable Name	**γ**	**t**	**γ**	**t**
Income†	.028	.776	.028	.776
Education†	-.061	-1.699	-.061	-1.699
Religiosity†	.044	1.013	.044	1.013
Political Stand†	-.325	-8.044	-.325	-8.044
Authoritarianism	.335	6.896	.335	6.896
Economic Loss†	.012	.356	.012	.356
Psychological Loss†	.082	2.263	.082	2.263
Resource Gain	-.378	-3.584	.00	.010
Contribution to χ^2, 8df	13.45		1.248	
Contribution to χ^2, 7 df‡	3.39		.354	
χ^2 Change, 1df	10.16		.894	
RMR	.029		.004	
N	78		453	

Note: Analyses are based on available N.

†Unstandardized Parameter Constrained to be Equal

‡ Unconstrained Model

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to examine the determinants of xenophobia among NIJs and OIJs towards PCIs during a time of ongoing terrorism. A comparative view of both groups shows that, as predicted, immigrants are more xenophobic towards PCIs than OIJs are. By and large, the three explanatory frameworks examined in this study render a greater explanatory potential among OIJs in comparison to NIJs. In particular, the variables employed in this study show as much as twice the variance in xenophobia among OIJs than among NIJs (42% vis-à-vis 21%).

Generally speaking, the most meaningful contributors to xenophobia among the entire population are immigrant status, political position, and authoritarianism. This means that NIJ people with hawkish and rightist political stands and those with high levels of authoritarianism tend to espouse greater levels of xenophobia. These findings lend credence to previous studies that examined contributory factors to xenophobia, bigotry, or tolerance (e. g., Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, 2003). Nevertheless, a closer look at xenophobia and its determinants in each group shows that while authoritarianism served as a major predictor of xenophobia for both NIJs and OIJs, other explanations are related to xenophobia in a more group-specific manner. Namely, hawkish political attitudes and psychological loss of resources affect xenophobia only among OIJs while psychological resource gain mostly has an effect among NIJs.

The innovation in the current study results mainly from the account of xenophobia among NIJs—particularly, regarding the impact of psychological resource gain on xenophobia. Findings show that the greater the perceptions of resource gain resulting from terrorism, the lesser the tendency to espouse xenophobic attitudes. Posttraumatic growth thus acts as a psychological buffer against uncertainty created by terrorism and immigration itself. People may employ xenophobia to cope with the unpredictability of life (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, and Johnson, 2005), yet immigrants who gain sufficient resources may not turn to the xenophobia "coping mechanism."

These findings emphasize the amplified sensitivity of new immigrants to the personal and social implications of terrorism. Some decades ago, Park and his colleagues (1925) first suggested that being an immigrant is a risk factor. It is hence not surprising

that there is a wide array of evidence showing that, in the face of terrorism, immigrants are much more vulnerable to psychological distress (Bleich, Gelkopf and Solomon, 2003; Perilla, Norris and Lavizzo, 2002; De Bocanegra and Brickman, 2004). Psychological distress resulting from ongoing terrorism was found to lead to xenophobia towards minorities (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, and Johnson, 2005). When immigrants are faced with two possible sources of trauma, i.e., immigration and exposure to terrorism, xenophobia may be heightened.

The results are not self-explanatory. Although the COR theory originally posited that resource gains would have a beneficial impact during the stress process (Hobfoll, 1989; 1998), recent studies exhibit a new perspective on the role of resource gain in shaping the reaction to a traumatic event. For example, some scholars have found that perceived resource gains in the sense of meaning and intimacy following trauma (i.e., "posttraumatic growth"; for overview, see Tedeschi and Calhoun, 1995) are closely related to a *greater* burden of psychological distress (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, and Johnson, 2005; Tomich and Helgeson, 2004). This suggests that reports of traumatic growth (i.e., resource gains associated with traumatic events) may be an attempt at emotion-focused coping that might forestall active coping efforts. As noted earlier, these problematic coping attempts may easily lead to xenophobia, particularly towards the group which is often associated with terrorism (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, and Johnson, 2005).

An important question should therefore be raised regarding the reasons for the relatively surprising negative correlation between resource gains and xenophobia among NIJs. A closer look at the contents of the "resource gain" scale followed by an evaluation of immigrants' needs might help provide some potential answers to this question. The first two items on the scale deal with increased feelings of hope and purpose in life following incidents of terror, and the other two items focus on the strengthening of intimate relations with family and friends. These four items represent some of the most basic needs of immigrants arriving in a new country. When confronting the multiple challenges of immigration and terror, such needs become even more crucial and thus immigrants are eager to satisfy these needs in one way or another.

Paradoxical as it may sound, for some immigrants, the traumatic event itself may actually help in clarifying the purpose of life. In a sense, it lifts one above everyday troubles and enables a broader perspective of purpose, goals, and general motives. Furthermore, the natural process of congregating into small, supportive, familial communities in reaction to terror may produce a new and relatively convenient environment for immigrants—one they would not have necessarily found under different circumstances.

Yet there exists another alternative in fulfilling these essential needs. Following the line of thought presented in the "terror management theory" (Greenberg, Solomon, and Pyszczynski, 1986), a form of defending oneself from threat and mortality salience is to artificially create intimacy with others on the basis of shared fears, nationalism, and *hatred of out-groups*. In this way, xenophobia towards PCIs helps those immigrants who have not succeeded in satisfying their basic personal and social needs in a constructive manner to find an inferior alternative, a scapegoat. *Hence, we put forward the argument that gain of resources is an important factor in predicting xenophobia among immigrants because it creates a differentiation within the immigrants' group between those who gained "real" social and personal resources as a result of terror (gain of resources—posttraumatic growth), and those who did not and instead succumbed to xenophobia.*

Yet caution is called for. First, since the study is cross-sectional in its design, causality cannot necessarily be inferred. It may be that before emigration Russian Jews were highly xenophobic towards Muslims—Chechens or Tatars or Kazakhs, to name only a few—and transferred these feelings to PCIs upon arrival. Immigration may have made them more xenophobic, as this study implies. Yet, at the same, the data cannot exclude the possibility that they became *less* xenophobic due to their experiences in Israel, especially those who experienced resource gains.

Further studies utilizing longitudinal or prospective designs are necessary in order to elaborate on the causal mechanisms relating to resources and authoritarianism, and their relationships with xenophobia. However, our study does consistently demonstrate a close relationship between immigrant status and gain of resources and the relation of these two factors to xenophobia. As such, even without establishing causal order, the very

associations we found shed a new psychosocial light on a great deal of literature that has been written on xenophobia and its root causes.

In addition, not including terrorism exposure or threat perception variables in our analyses might be a source of concern. Given that virtually all the subjects in our entire sample were constantly threatened by and exposed to terror—as they and their loved ones must use buses, attend schools, eat in restaurants, and shop in markets, all of which are terror targets—essentially all of Israeli society is exposed to a "ground zero" situation. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the psychological effects of terrorism transcend distal and proximal physical exposure and instead affect individuals due to the pervasiveness and unpredictability of terrorism within the culture, or through other indirect pathways, such as images of suicide bombings and other terrorist activities disseminated by the mass media (Ahern, Galea, Resnick, and Vlahov, 2004; Galea and Resnick, 2005; Galea, et al., 2002; Silver, Holman, McIntosh, Poulin, and Gil-Rivas, 2002; Schlenger, Caddell, Ebert, Jordan, Rourke, and Wilson, 2002; Schuster et al., 2001). Hence, we believe that in the current case of investigating reactions to terrorism during ongoing terror attacks in Israel, variables like exposure to terrorism or perceived physical threat are less pivotal.

Notwithstanding these limitations, we believe that this study is both novel and creative in more than one respect. It is unique because of the attempt to explain xenophobia by means of COR theory; the rather rare attempt to study the attitudes of one minority towards another minority; and the particular combination of three explanatory perspectives. We believe it constitutes a genuine contribution to the social sciences and society. In contemporary society, where the threat of ongoing terrorism together with the profusion of immigrant societies in the Western world is not an uncommon set of circumstances, the need for this type of multifaceted research is all the more imperative.

NOTES

[1] From hereon, we refer to Jewish FSU immigrants as new Israeli Jews (NIJ), and to other Israeli Jews as old Israeli Jews (OIJ). In this way, we exclude the Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCIs) because they are the subject of the study. Moreover, it is important to note that the contemporary history of Israel includes two waves of massive immigration from the FSU; the first occurred during the 1970s and the second during the 1990s. Nevertheless, in view of our desire to evaluate the focused effect of *new* immigration on xenophobic attitudes, we refer only to 1990s immigrants as NIJ.

[2] Status inconsistency frequently occurs after immigration when skills, prior employment experiences, and educational backgrounds do not translate into jobs commensurate with actual experience and training (Ong and Azores, 1994). Due to racial discrimination, lack of proficiency in the local language, and different occupational licensing standards in the host country, many immigrants experience downward mobility when they emigrate. This downward mobility is manifested in either unemployment or underemployment (Yick, 2001).

[3] This argument is viable for four out of the six election campaigns in which NIJs took part. In each of the other two elections (1992, 1999), the leftist candidate (Rabin, Barak) was perceived as a "strong leader" or army hero, and hence, the voting pattern of NIJs was more balanced. (For a more elaborate analysis of NIJ voting patterns, see Horowitz, 2003.) Other explanations for the provisional support of large groups of immigrants for leftist candidates are based upon their major disappointment with the absorption policy of right-wing ministers (Gitelman, 1995) and their espousal of social-democratic solutions for their socioeconomic problems (Horowitz, 1996; Rubinstein, 2002).

[4] Posttraumatic growth has been formulated as gaining more than simply a return to baseline functioning following a traumatic event (i.e., resilience), but rather achieving an enhanced level of functioning across different domains that was not present before the traumatic event occurred (Linley, Joseph, Cooper, Harris, and Meyer, 2003).

[5] Although resource gain wasn't found to be a significant predictor of xenophobia on its own, we decided to add it to the first block in the model due to its important role in the interaction model with immigrant status.

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