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Foreigners, Immigrants, Elections and Violence: Contextual Effects in Switzerland, California and Germany

Molly C. (Molly Cervinia) Laster
Western Washington University

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Date Sept. 18, 1995
Foreigners, Immigrants,
Elections and Violence:
Contextual Effects in Switzerland,
California and
Germany

by

Molly C. Laster

Political Science
Senior Project
We like to boast what immigrants have done for our country. Then, when a problem arises with one or another group of recent arrivals, like now, we tend to start having doubts and start asking all kinds of questions, a lot of them unwarranted and tinged with political opportunism, racism, xenophobia, the whole nasty thing.¹

Charles Wheeler  
Executive Director  
National Center on Immigrant Rights

Throughout history the relationship between immigrants and native inhabitants in various parts of the world has proven to be complex and often difficult. In different places at different times immigrants have been accepted, scorned, despised, welcomed, or misunderstood.

There are two main streams of thought on how majority groups interact with and feel about minority groups. Conflicting theories on this topic have been proposed: a theory based on racial animosity and the contextual theory, which states that majority groups will be more supportive of minority groups with more contact. The theory of increased animosity with increased contact was laid out by V.O. Key in his work *Southern Politics* (1949). He noted that Southern white voters living in black-belt areas were more likely to participate in elections than whites living in whiter areas.

Several elections and events in the past few years have brought the issues of immigration into the forefront of social discussion. Both Switzerland and California have recently held referendums that directly examined the relations and responsibilities between immigrants and the state. The results of these votes and racially motivated violence in Germany all show marked differences in the feelings toward foreigners in the various cantons, counties, and states. In all three cases higher percentages of foreigners correlated positively with increased support for foreigners and negatively with anti-foreigner sentiment. Consequently, these examples are useful for examining social
interaction and questioning the two theories.

V.O. Key

In his 1949 work on politics in the South, V.O. Key measured the effect of higher densities of blacks on white voter-turnout. He noted that the highest rates of white voter participation in gubernatorial elections in the South occurred in Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina, all states with high proportions of blacks. He went on to look at the county-level results, finding that the highest participation rates coincided closely with those areas with the highest proportions of blacks. He attributed this to the fact that "whites of the black belt have the most pressing and most intimate concern with the maintenance of the established pattern of racial and economic conditions." (Key 1949 p. 513) Consequently, those whites that participated in greater numbers were more supportive of conservative or reactionary candidates.

The "Official English" Movement

In their work on the "Official English" movement, Citrin, Reinhold, Walters and Green (1990) track the success of measures and initiatives in states with much different proportions of foreigners or non-English speakers. They found that in States where "Official English" measures were approved by the legislature, only an average of 3% of the population spoke a language other than English at home, compared to an average of 10% in the states where the measures did not pass. They reasoned that in these states the question was not controversial thus allowing for
legislative action. In contrast, the four states where "Official English" laws were established by initiative have the highest proportion of non-English speakers, immigrants, Hispanics, and Asians. Citrin, et al., go on to note that "these four states also experienced the highest rate of growth in their Hispanic and foreign-born populations between 1970 and 1980." (Citrin et al. 1990 p. 511)

Citrin notes that the supporters of "Official English" movements felt that new immigrants posed a threat to American culture and the place of the English language within it.

"Since a majority (53 percent) of the sample felt that the influx of Hispanics into California was likely to endanger the status of English as 'our common language' and 38 percent thought that the increase in the Asian population would have this effect, it seems plausible that for many voters supporting "official English" represented the affirmation of a deeply held conception of nationhood." (Citrin et al. 1990 p. 551)

The Contextual Effect

In contrast to the findings of Key and Citrin, Thomas Carsey (1995) identified a contextual effect in white voting behavior in the 1989 New York City mayoral election. In that election, whites living in neighborhoods with high proportions of African American residents were more likely to vote for David Dinkins, an African American mayoral candidate, than whites in predominantly white neighborhoods. Unlike other studies that focussed on the county or state level, Carsey looked at neighborhood level data, where he was able to measure a positive contextual effect. Carsey
gives a possible reason for this effect stating, "the underlying assumption [is that] when individuals interact with people from a different party, ethnic group, or social class, the probability that those individuals will adopt political attitudes and behaviors similar to those with whom they interact increases." (Carsey 1994, 222-223)

Carsey's study is at the neighborhood level. He speculates that the contextual effect may hold for data at a local level where it does not hold for county or state level data, where the racial dimension produces a negative effect. This constraint on the effectiveness of the contextual theory to explain behavior allows for compatibility with the findings of V.O. Key and Citrin. Carsey states, "at [the neighborhood] level of aggregation, it is easy to visualize an environment in which direct social interaction takes place on a daily basis." (Carsey 1995 p. 227)

Methods

The analysis in this study was done with a simple regression model. For the Swiss and California cases, the dependent variables were the percent of support for the respective initiatives in each canton or county. In the German case, the dependent variable was the ratio of violent attacks on foreigners per 100,000 habitants in each state. The data came from a number of sources, including the Swiss Federal Office for Foreigner Questions, the California Secretary of State's Office, and the office of the German Federal Commissioner for Foreigner's Affairs.
Switzerland: Naturalization Vote of June 12, 1994

Background of Vote

The Swiss held a national constitutional referendum to ease naturalization procedures for young foreigners in June 1994. The initiative would have simplified procedures for the naturalization of second generation, integrated foreigners raised in Switzerland. Had the initiative been successful, about 140,000 young foreigners, aged 14 to 24 years, would have been affected.

Voting Results

Despite the fact that the measure was approved by 52.9% of the popular vote, it was defeated in the majority of cantons and half-cantons. Because the measure involved a constitutional change, a double majority was needed for approval. Consequently, the initiative was defeated. The popular vote ranged from 67.7% voting no in Appenzell-Innerrhoden to 70.5% voting yes in Geneva.

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The Effect of Foreigners

Switzerland, generally, has a very high percentage of foreigners (18.4%) compared to the rest of Western Europe (Belgium and Denmark rank 2nd and 3rd with 9.1% and 8.5% respectively, Spain and Finland are lowest with 1.2% and 1.1%).^ Within Switzerland, the percent of foreigners in each canton ranges from 8% in Nidwalden and Uri to 34.4% in Geneva. Of the 26 whole and half cantons, only 3 have fewer than 10% of their population made up of foreigners, and 6 have greater than 20%.^5

A comparison of the referendum results in each canton and the percentage of foreigners shows that support for the initiative increased as the percentage of foreigners increased. In fact, the four cantons that together account for 47.8% of the total foreign population in Switzerland, Zürich, Vaud, Geneva and Berne, all supported the measure.6 Regression analysis reveals that a 1% change in proportion of foreigners in a canton matched a .75% change in the support for the measure. The model explains 23% of the variation in the vote. (see table 1)

^ Daten und Fakten zur Ausländersituation [Data and Facts on the Situation of Foreigners]. (Bonn, Germany: Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer, October 1994), p. 60.
6 Ibid.
Table 1. Coefficient Estimate for Swiss Naturalization Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Foreigners in Canton</td>
<td>.750</td>
<td>2.709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>37.814</td>
<td>7.723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Contextual Effects

In contrast to the findings of V.O. Key and Citrin, the election results in Switzerland show a marked increase in support for foreigners in areas with a higher percentage of foreigners in the population. The Contextual Theory would speculate that with greater contact between social groups, fears and stereotypes decrease and greater understanding is achieved.
Political and Regional Implications

Consistent with other recent results, the vote on the naturalization issue showed a contrast between the various language areas of Switzerland. Although the measure was approved in five of the six French-speaking cantons, it was defeated in 13 of the 18 German-speaking cantons and half-cantons (the two Appenzell cantons and the two Basle cantons are termed "half-cantons"). Notably, both Zürich and Berne, the two largest German-speaking cantons, which account for 18.4% and 7.8% of the total foreign population respectively and rank first and fourth overall, approved the

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7 For further examples of recent votes where the French-speaking cantons were out voted, see the Alpeninitiative of February 1994, the Blue-Helmeta (United Nations Peace Keeping Participation) vote of June 1994, and the Culture vote of June 1994.

Naturalization measure. The core cantons of Switzerland, Schwyz, Uri, Nidwalden, Obwalden, Glarus, and Lucerne, along with the two Appenzell half-cantons, were able to overpower the much larger cantons despite their small size with the double majority requirement. These cantons all have fairly small percentages of foreigners relative to the larger, urban cantons.

The German-speaking portion of Switzerland is home to 63.4% of the foreign population. This high-sounding percentage is a bit misleading, however, in that it does not accurately reflect the proportion of foreigners to native Swiss inhabitants. Although the bulk of foreigners live in the German-speaking areas,
their relative proportion is much smaller than in the other language areas because the German-speaking cantons account for the bulk of the total population. Foreigners make up 16.1% of the population in the German-speaking cantons, significantly smaller than the 22.9% in the French-speaking areas and 26.0% in the Italian-speaking areas (Ticino and the Italian-speaking valleys of Grisons).\footnote{10}

A French-speaking commentator in L'Impartial speculated that the negative vote in the Swiss-German cantons was emotionally driven, influenced by a "mythic" image of Swiss identity.\footnote{11} Conversely, a German-speaking commentator in the Thurgauer Volksfreund speculated that the French-speaking areas are more tolerant of foreigners because the foreigners come from culturally related areas.\footnote{12} These two contrasting opinions demonstrate the perceived differences in perspective of the two linguistic and cultural areas. The French-speaking cantons are regarded as being more outward looking than their German-speaking counterparts, while the Eastern and Central parts of Switzerland are seen to be much more conservative.

While the assessment of the Thurgauer Volksfreund analyst may well explain the overwhelming support (70.6%) for the measure in Geneva, almost completely surrounded by France, with its extremely high percentage of foreigners (34.4%), the other French-speaking cantons have foreign-

\footnote{10}{Ibid.}
\footnote{11}{"Triple déception...," [Triple Deception]. 1994. L'Impartial, June 13, p. 24.}
\footnote{12}{"Romandie erneut überstimmt," [Romandie once again overruled]. 1994. Thurgauer Volksfreund, June 13, p.}
percentage rates that are similar to the German-speaking areas.

The "mythic" image of Switzerland referred to by the L'Impartial analyst, the Switzerland of the Rüttli battles and William Tell, is the subject of much debate in Switzerland. The traditional Swiss national symbols of neutrality and independence have been shaken by the growing isolation of the country in an increasingly united Europe. It is interesting to note that the Swiss electorate rejected both the Naturalization and the "Blue Helmets" referendums on the same day that Austria voted to join the European

13 The "Blue Helmets" initiative would have permitted Swiss troops to be used for United Nations peace-keeping missions.
Community. This coincidence was seen by many Swiss to be very ironic. Like the supporters of the "Official English" movements described by Citrin, the opponents of the Naturalization measure may have been reacting to the perceived threat of "Überfremdung" [over-running by foreigners] and the possible loss of their own cultural identity.

Immigration Effect on Voting

The effect of immigration on the acceptance of foreigners is also demonstrated by the Swiss Naturalization vote. Further regression analysis shows that the areas that voted against easing the procedures for Naturalization had experienced the greatest increase in immigration from 1992 to 1993. Generally, the percentage of foreigners living in Switzerland increased by 3.9% in this period, but several cantons experienced a much greater growth over the previous year. The largest increases occurred in the small, conservative, mountainous cantons of Obwalden (15.1%) and Schwyz (9.3%). Several of the more populous cantons had larger absolute increases in the number of foreigners, but the percentage change was much smaller. For example, Zürich's percentage of the total foreigner-population increased by 5% from 1992 to 1993, but the rise within the canton was only 2.2%. Despite the fact that the total percentage of foreigners in the cantons experiencing the

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large increases was relatively low compared to the areas that supported the measure, the change in immigration was greater. Thus the areas that were more accustomed to having a high percentage of foreigners were more tolerant than areas that were experiencing new or increased immigration.

The regression in this case yielded a negative coefficient of 0.881. Thus a 1% change in the percent change in immigration from 1992 to 1993 matched a 0.881% decline in the support for the Naturalization initiative. The immigration-model explains almost 28% of the variation in the vote. (see table 2)

History of Immigration

Trends in immigration in Switzerland over the last decade and a half show an increase in political refugees and a decrease in immigrants looking for employment. Since at least 1980, Italians have made up the greatest share of foreigners, but their numbers have been steadily falling as has their share of the total. In 1993, 29.2% of foreigners in Switzerland were of Italian origin. This is in marked contrast to the 56.8% of the total in 1980, 43.7% in 1983, and 34.4% in 1990. On the other hand, the percentage of those from the former Yugoslavia has shown the largest increase in the last decade. In 1993 foreigners from the former Yugoslavia accounted for 19.4% of all foreigners, up from 6.4% in 1983 and 12.8% in 1990.
Table 2. Coefficient Estimates for Swiss Naturalization Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>% Naturalization Vote by Canton</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Change in Immigration (1992 to 1993)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.881</td>
<td>-3.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td></td>
<td>61.195</td>
<td>15.577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td></td>
<td>.278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Unemployment

Contrary to what one might expect, the unemployment rate in each canton did not have a negative impact on the Naturalization vote. In fact, there was a significant positive correlation between the unemployment rate and the vote. Each 1% change in unemployment correlated with a 4.9% increase in support for the measure with the model explaining 43% of the variation in the vote. The unexpected positive correlation between unemployment and the Naturalization vote may be the result of the generally low unemployment rates in Switzerland. Perhaps unemployment was not a factor at all in the vote decision.

A marked contrast in unemployment rates exists between the French and German-speaking cantons. Excluding Grisons,
the trilingual Romansch canton, the German-speaking cantons account for all of the 17 lowest unemployment percentages. In contrast, the French-speaking cantons make up the seven highest ranking cantons for unemployment rates, along with the Italian-speaking Ticino. Unemployment in the German-speaking cantons averages 1.78% and ranges from .8% in Uri and Obwalden to 3.6% in Basle-City. Eleven of the cantons have unemployment rates below 2.0%. Three of the four French cantons have rates over 4%, with Geneva topping the list with 4.7%.15

Criminality

Public opinion in Switzerland with regard to foreigners has been greatly influenced by trends in crime. The drug-infested Lettensteg section of Zürich is often shown by the Swiss media, for example, and it is commonly acknowledged that a large percentage of the drug dealers are foreign, many from the former Yugoslavia. 44.4% of all convicted persons in 1992 were foreigners.16 This is up from 28.5% in 1984.17 On the drug scene the situation is even more extreme. The image of the foreigner-as-dealer is accentuated by the fact that while only 31.2% of those convicted in 1992 for consumption were foreigners, 72.4% of

16 "Verurteilung und Verurteilte Personen 1992 [Convictions and Convicted Persons 1992]."
17 Strafurteilsstatistik 1992 (Bern: Bundesamt für Statistik).
the dealers convicted were foreign. Almost 40%, in fact, were foreigners who did not have official permission to live in Switzerland.  

Table 3. Coefficient Estimates for Swiss Naturalization Vote Related to Unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>% Naturalization Vote by Canton</th>
<th>% Naturalization Vote in German-Speaking Cantons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>t-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Unemployment by Canton</td>
<td>5.215</td>
<td>4.424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>38.185</td>
<td>12.410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>.449</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

California: Proposition 187

The Issue

Proposition 187, the "Illegal Alien Initiative," was adopted in the November 1994 California General Election by a significant margin, 59% to 41%. The measure makes illegal immigrants ineligible to receive non-emergency public health and education services. It requires that educational, social service, public health and law enforcement officials verify residency status of students, patients, and prisoners, denying help to undocumented aliens and reporting them to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the State Attorney General's office.¹⁹

Foreigners in California

Like Switzerland, California has a high percentage of foreign-born residents. Nationally, approximately 8% of the population is foreign-born. In California, the percentage is almost 11%. From 1980 until 1990, 8.3 million people entered the United States, according to the 1990 Census Data. Of those immigrants, 39% of them are in California.²¹ During the last decade approximately 3.5 million people entered illegally from Mexico and elsewhere. 40% of these illegals immigrated into California.²² Currently, an estimated 1.6 million illegal immigrants live in

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²¹ Pristout. 1990 Census of Population and Housing.
California. The sheer scope of the legal and illegal immigration into California has made the issue especially salient.

Contextual Effects

Despite the strong showing of the measure, certain contextual effects can be measured. A comparison of the foreign-born population of each county with the county voting results revealed a significant positive relationship. Like Switzerland, those areas with the highest proportion of foreigners, here measured as "foreign-born," most supported the pro-immigrant position.

Hispanic vs. Foreign Born

Although Proposition 187 was generally seen to be aimed at immigrants of Hispanic origin, especially Mexicans, there was no significant correlation between the percentage of Hispanics in each county and the vote on 187. As only about 40% of the immigrants coming into California from 1980 to 1990 came from Mexico, it is more useful to look at the statistics on foreign-born residents. Where there was no significant correlation between the percent of Hispanics in each county, a measurable correlation exists between the foreign-born population and the county vote on Proposition 187 (see table 4).

A larger percentage of foreign-born persons in a county correlated with a decrease in support for Proposition 187.

and vice versa. The percentage of the population made up of foreign-born persons in California's 58 counties ranged from 1.62% in Alpine County and 2.14% in Trinity County to 34.0% in San Francisco County and 32.7% in Los Angeles County. Of the 21 counties with 70% or more favoring the initiative, 16 have foreign-born populations that make up less than 5% of their total population. Regression analysis shows that a 1% increase in the percentage of the county population made up of foreign-born persons matched a 0.63% decrease in support for the measure. The model accounts for 23% of the variation in vote. (see table 1)

Table 4. Coefficient Estimates for Proposition 187 Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>% Vote on Proposition 187</th>
<th>% Vote on Proposition 187</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>t-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Hispanic by County</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>-.225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Foreign-born by County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>64.827</td>
<td>27.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voting results: California Secretary of State. 1994. Statement of Vote, Nov. 8 General Election.

% Hispanic and % Foreign-born by county: 1990 Census of Population.

The total foreign-born population includes both immigrants that maintained their alien status and those that became U.S. citizens. To try to limit the effect that
foreign-born citizens voting in support of other immigrants might have, I looked at the percentage of foreign-born people that entered from 1980 to 1990 and those that entered from 1987 to 1990. According to U.S. Census Report data, only 5.36% of this latter group, numbering 1,171,611 in total, had become citizens by 1990. The pattern of decreased support for the initiative with increases in the percentage of foreign-born in the population is further exaggerated, albeit with a smaller percentage of the vote explained by the model. (See table 5)

Among foreign-born people who entered between 1980 and 1990, a 1% increase in the number of foreign-born persons correlated with a decrease of 1.1% for the initiative. The inverse relationship strengthened even further with regards to those who entered from 1987 to 1990. A 1% increase in immigrants during this time period accounted for a 2.92% decrease in support for Proposition 187. (see table )

Ibid.
Table 5. Coefficient Estimates for Proposition 187 Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>% Vote on Proposition 187</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-score</th>
<th>% Vote on Proposition 187</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Foreign-born entered 80-90</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.102</td>
<td>-3.585</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Foreign-born entered 87-90</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.917</td>
<td>-3.426</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td></td>
<td>70.311</td>
<td>33.716</td>
<td>70.157</td>
<td>33.137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td></td>
<td>.187</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voting results: California Secretary of State. 1994. Statement of Vote, Nov. 8 General Election.

% Hispanic and % Foreign-born by county: 1990 Census of Population.

San Francisco County represents an outlier in the data analysis. It rejected Proposition 187 by 70.7%, ten percentage points higher than Alameda who followed with 60.3% voting no. Leaving San Francisco county out of the regression models, the same inverse relationship between foreign-born population and voting results occurred, although the explanatory power of the model was diminished. Excluding San Francisco, a 1% increase in the percentage of the population composed of foreign-born persons correlates with a 0.48% decrease in support for Proposition 187. The inverse relationship also remained looking at those foreign-born persons who entered from 1987 to 1990. (see table 6)
Table 6. Coefficient Estimates for Proposition 187 Vote (excluding San Francisco County)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>% Vote on Proposition 187</th>
<th>% Vote on Proposition 187</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>t-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Foreign-born by County</td>
<td>-.480</td>
<td>-3.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Foreign-born entered 1987-90 by County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>70.498</td>
<td>32.383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>.143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Unemployment

Unemployment rates and support for Proposition 187 in each California county are positively correlated, as one might expect. Unlike Switzerland, where the cantons with the highest unemployment rates most strongly supported the pro-foreigner initiative, in California those counties most suffering from unemployment most strongly supported the anti-foreigner Proposition 187. A 1% rise in a county's rate correlates with a 2.08% increase in support for the measure, with the model explaining 23.6% of the vote. Looking at white, non-Hispanic, unemployment rates by county reveals an even stronger positive relationship. A 1% increase in the white, non-Hispanic, unemployment rate
matches a 2.95% increase in support for Proposition 187, with the model explaining 30% of the variation in vote. This indicates that economic as well as cultural or racial factors played a role in the passage of this measure. Perhaps fear of rising unemployment with the increases in immigrant job-competition was a factor. Or perhaps uncertainty about the future led to unwillingness to continue to pay for benefits to immigrants, especially illegal aliens. (see table 7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>% Vote on Proposition 187</th>
<th>% Vote on Proposition 187</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>t-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Unemployment by County</td>
<td>2.076</td>
<td>4.160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% White, non-Hisp. Unemployment by County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>48.102</td>
<td>11.771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R^2</td>
<td>.254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Political Implications

The political implications of Proposition 187 may be far reaching. On one hand, two-thirds of the electoral
votes needed to win the Presidency can be found in the seven states with the largest immigrant populations. The issues raised by the measure and others like it are becoming more and more salient as various groups compete for resources. Currently $8 billion in government aid is paid annually to support immigrants, half of which is paid for by the states.27

The Republican Party is also split about measures like Proposition 187 and its potential fallout. In opposition to the State Party and Governor Pete Wilson, both Jack Kemp and William Bennett opposed the measure in California. Bennett warned that "the Republican Party helped create a Democratic base in many of America's cities with its hostile stand toward the last generation of immigrants from Italy, Ireland, and Central Europe. Can anyone calculate the political cost this time of turning away Asians and Hispanics?"28

Protection of Culture

Like the "official English" movement described by Citrin, there was a strong element of American nationalism in the campaign for Proposition 187. The issue itself was billed as "Save Our State" by proponents. A huge demonstration and march in Los Angeles in opposition to the initiative had 70,000 participants, but only provided further fuel to supporters. "In terms of the November vote,

27 Ayres.
28 Peter H. King, "The Kept Coming," The Los Angeles Times, 9 November 1994, sec. A.
the march was seen as a mixed blessing - with proponents of Proposition 187 pouncing on the sea of Mexican flags waved by the crowd as evidence of un-Americanism."
Foreigners in Germany

Since German reunification there has been a marked increase in violence against foreigners in Germany. The riots in Hoyerswerda in 1991 and Rostock in 1992 were a shock to most Germans. The single most deadly incidents were the arson attacks in Mölln in 1992 when 3 died and in Solingen in 1993 when 5 Turkish women were murdered.

According to a report written by the German Federal Government's Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs, there were 6.49 million foreigners in Germany in 1992; 1.5 million of those were refugees. Like in the cases of Switzerland and California, the breakdown of the foreign population within the country is very unequal. About 97% of all foreigners live in the former West German states. Three-fourths of these live in the 4 western states of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia. Moreover, while the percentage of the population made up of foreigners is 8.5% throughout Germany, in the former East German states foreigners account for a maximum of 1% of the population (excluding Berlin). Large West German cities often have much higher proportions of foreigners, averaging 15%. The three highest percentages are found in the western cities of Frankfurt/Main with 26%, Munich with 24%, and Stuttgart with 21%. By contrast, the highest percentages in the East rarely exceed an average of 1.8% even in urban areas.

German citizenship is based on ancestry rather than
place of birth. Consequently, there are many people that are still classified as foreigners, despite many years of residence in Germany. At the end of 1991, one quarter of all foreigners had lived in Germany for over 20 years, 40% had lived in Germany for at least 15 years, and 55% had lived in Germany for at least 10 years. Two-thirds of all foreign children had been born in Germany. Currently, there is a move to change the law to grant citizenship to children of foreign parents born in Germany and to persons who have lived in Germany for 5 or 10 years. Estimates are that the proportion of the general population then made up of foreigners would fall from 8.5% to 3-4%, with 5 million current foreigners being affected.

Violence Against Foreigners

From 1991 to 1992 racially motivated violent acts increased by 62%, up from 2426 to 6336. The rising trend continued in the first six months of 1993 with 3967 attacks reported, a sharp contrast with the 1443 incidents reported during the same period in 1991. The distribution of right-wing violent acts within Germany reveals strong regional affects. The five former East German states account for five out of the seven highest ratios of violent acts per 100,000 inhabitants. (See Table 8).

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31 Harenberg..., p. 170.

32 Report by the Federal Government’s Commissioner for Foreigners’ Affairs..., pp. 75-76.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Foreigners</th>
<th>Violence per 100,000 capita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Mecklenburg W.P.</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>9.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Brandenberg</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>8.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schleswig-Holstein</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saarland</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Sachsen-Anhalt</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Sachsen</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Thuringia</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Rhine/Westphalia</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>2.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>2.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baden-Württemberg</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Saxony</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesse</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhineland-Palatinate</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bavaria</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremen</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Former East German States


The former East German states have high rates of violence directed against foreigners, but low proportions of their population are composed of foreigners. Conversely, the western states generally have higher concentrations of foreigners, but lower rates of right-wing violence. A regression model that includes all 16 states reveals a significant negative correlation between the ratios of violence per 100,000 inhabitants and the percentage of the foreign population. A 1% increase in the percentage of foreigners in the population matches a .321 unit decrease in
the ratio of violence, with the model explaining 33.5% of
the variation. (see Table 9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Violent Acts per 100,000 Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Foreigners in State</td>
<td>-0.316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>5.543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r^2</td>
<td>.335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Coefficient Estimates for German Right-Wing Violence Against Foreigners


The former East German states, particularly the outlyers Mecklenburg-Western-Pomerania and Brandenburg, have much different relations between their foreign populations and right-wing violence than the former West German states. A regression model without the two extreme East German outlyers, reveals an almost-significant correlation between the ratio of violence and the percentage of the population composed of foreigners. A 1% increase in the percentage of foreigners correlates with a .125 unit decrease in the ratio
of violent attacks per 100,000 inhabitants, with the model explaining 23.7% of the variation. (See Table 10). An analysis of just the 10 western states and Berlin shows that the relationship between the two variables is in the same direction as the previous models but no longer significant. In this regression model, a 1% change in the proportion of the population made up of foreigners matches a .142 unit decrease in the ratio of violent acts per 100,000 persons. (See Table 10).

Table 10. Coefficient Estimate for German Right-Wing Violence Against Foreigners in the Former West German States, Berlin, and Three of the Five Eastern States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Violent Acts per 100,000 Inhabitants</th>
<th>Violent Acts per 100,000 Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient t-score</td>
<td>Coefficient t-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Foreigners by State (excluding Mecklenburg W.P. &amp; Brandenburg)</td>
<td>-.125 -1.933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Foreigners by State (Western States &amp; Berlin)</td>
<td>-.142 -1.175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.518 6.333</td>
<td>3.696 3.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.237</td>
<td>.133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schleswig-Holstein and Saarland

Both Schleswig-Holstein and Saarland fall within the range of the eastern states in their ratio of reported violence. These unusually high rates of violence for states in the West may result from their ethnically and politically complex histories. Plebiscite as recent as the end of World War I for Schleswig-Holstein and 1935 for the Saarland finally brought relative stability to areas that had long been in contest. The Prusso-Danish Wars of 1848-1849 and 1865 were fought over Schleswig and Holstein. The same area provided the excuse for the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. The Saar was ceded to Prussia by France in Second Peace of Paris in 1815. The question of whether it belonged to France or Germany was finally resolved by a plebiscite by the League of Nations. (Rodes 1964)

Changes in the Percentage of Foreigners from 1992 to 1993

While all of the German states have seen increases in their foreign population, the changes in the eastern states have been quite large. Generally the change in foreigners throughout Germany averaged 9.21% in each state from 1992 to 1993 -- 5.19% in the West and 15.9% in the East. The percent change in the number of foreigners from 1992 to 1993 in each state correlates significantly with the ratio of violent acts per 100,000 persons. Like Switzerland, those areas that experienced the largest growth in their foreign population rates showed the most anti-foreigner sentiment. A 1% change in the percent change from 1992 to 1993 matched
a .264 unit change in the violence-ratio, with 47.6% of the variation explained. A look at the percent change in foreigners in Mecklenburg-Western-Pomerania and Brandenburg from 1991 to 1993 may give some indication of why these areas experienced such high violence rates. The former experienced a 108.6% increase in the number of foreigners during this period, the latter a 216.4% increase. The other eastern states also had higher rates than the West, but they were lower than the two outlyers: Sachsen-Anhalt 93.3%; Thuringia 71.7%; Sachsen 27.7%; and Berlin 20.3%. The western increases averaged 16.8%, also impressive, but significantly lower than in the East.

German Youth and Attitudes Toward Foreigners

Recent studies of German young people suggest that there is a high percentage of understanding and empathy for those who commit acts of violence aimed at foreigners. One study, conducted by the Kölner Institut für empirische Psychologie (1992) [Cologne Institute for Empirical Psychology], found that 1% of young persons aged 16-24 were ready to commit violent acts against foreigners and that almost a third were hostile toward foreigners. A federal study conducted by the Bundesjugendministerium [Federal Youth Ministry], found that 18% of East German youths and 8% of West German youths support violent acts against refugees and asylum seekers. And finally, a study conducted by the University of Bielefeld, found that unemployed young people
were more susceptible to right-wing propaganda than those that were employed. This study found no difference between the right-wing inclinations of youths in the Western or Eastern portions of Germany. The feelings of young people toward foreigners are very relevant in light of the offenders' profile. 92% of all right-wing offenders are under the age of 25. As many as 72% are aged 15-20.

The reasons for this anti-foreigner sentiment are often given as concerns about unemployment and "Orientierungslosigkeit," a lack of orientation. The federal study found that young East Germans often make scapegoats of foreigners and refugees because they are seen to be better supported by the West.34

Right-Wing Parties

Membership in German right-wing parties doubled from 1982 to 1992. The largest party, the Deutsche Volksunion (DVU) has 24,000 members. Nearly as large, Die Republikaner have 20,000 members, 44% of whom are below the age of 30. "Überfremdung," [over-running by foreigners] is listed by 84% of Republikaner members as their greatest worry. In comparison, 41% of the general population lists "Überfremdung" as their primary concern. After the arson attack in Mölln, Schleswig-Holstein, 3 neo-nazi groups were banned, raising the number of banned parties to 13 (1964 through 1992).35

Although most violent crimes against foreigners were committed by people who were not actually

34 Ibid.
35 Harenberg.
right-wing party members but rather on the periphery, these groups continue and encourage the feelings that are often behind the offenses.
Conclusion

Although the three cases are much different in many respects, including culture and immigration history, Switzerland, California, and Germany are all currently experiencing high rates of immigration and have high proportions of their populations composed of foreigners. In all three areas, immigration, the rights of foreigners, and the responsibilities of the state toward foreigners are very salient issues, issues that are in the forefront of political discussion.

This study shows a link in all three jurisdictions between the percentage of the population made up foreigners and the reaction toward foreigners by area within the larger region, measured by election results or violent acts. In Switzerland, California, and Germany a negative correlation was found between the two variables. By contrast to what one might assume, areas with higher proportions of foreigners and immigrants are more supportive to these groups.

These results contrast with the findings of other researchers, V.O. Key and Citrin et al, who measured increased opposition to minority groups as the minority groups represented a higher proportion in society. An inverse relation, as found here, is consistent with the findings of Carsey in his examination of the Dinkins mayoral election in New York City.

The findings of this study suggest other avenues of study. Are there other migration movements where the
attitudes of the earlier inhabitants can be measured? Does this negative correlation also exist in areas that generally have a low percentage of their population composed of foreigners? Do the results found here apply to racial minorities as well, or only to immigrant minorities? At some higher level of representation, does the relationship become positive?

Despite all of these questions, and the uncertainties about the results obtained, it is indeed important that the same negative relationship was found in three very different areas. It appears that a contextual effect is occurring. Increased contact, be it social or business, has led to increased tolerance.
References

Die Ausländer in der Schweiz - Les étrangers en Suisse


Further Readings:


