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Perceptions of Security Report

Changing cultural,
economic, and personal
security in diversified Malta

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0.0 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report contains the findings of two studies that investigated perceptions of security (economic, cultural, and personal) and how such perceptions are related to attitudes towards foreigners. The studies were carried out with Maltese people aged 18 and over. The following are the key findings of the two studies.

0.1 KEY FINDINGS STUDY 1

Perceptions of security

1. Respondents generally had low levels of personal security (e.g., being assaulted & theft). Conversely, they perceived themselves to have higher levels of cultural security (e.g., loss of cultural identity & cultural traditions) and economic security (e.g., unemployment).

2. Age differences were identified in relation to perceptions of personal security such that 18-30-year olds reported significantly better perceptions of personal security than 31-50-year olds.

3. Education differences were identified in relation to perceptions of cultural security. Specifically, respondents with a secondary or tertiary level of education reported significantly better perceptions of cultural security than those with a primary level of education

4. Perceptions of security in all three domains (personal, cultural, economic) in this study (carried out in late 2019) were significantly lower than those measured in a similar study carried out in 2010.

Multiculturalism and attitudes towards foreigners

1. Respondents were generally more likely to hold anti-multiculturalist views (55.3%) than pro-multiculturalist views (36.7%) and open views (8.0%)

2. The percentage of respondents who held anti-multiculturalist views increased between 2010 (41.1%) and 2019 (55.3%), whereas those with open/neutral views decreased significantly from 2010 (29.1%) to 2019 (8.0%).

3. Western Europeans were the only socio-ethnic group to be rated more favourably than the midpoint (50) in a socio-ethnic "thermometer" (76.56). They received the highest

favourable attitudes followed by Africans (40.80), Eastern Europeans (38.42), and lastly, Arabs (30.70) who were all rated below the midpoint.

4. Eastern Europeans and Arabs were rated significantly less favourably in 2019 when compared to 2010. There was also a trend for Africans to be rated less favourably in 2019 when compared to 2010. Western Europeans were the only socio-ethnic group to experience a significantly improved rating between 2010 and 2019.

5. Respondents generally indicated higher levels of tolerance towards practices related to: work; friendship; marriage; and rent for Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Africans.

6. Low levels of tolerance were found for all socio-ethnic groups (Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, Africans, and Arabs) for the following cultural activities; having places of worship; having own retail shops; cultural clothing; cultural customs; and own cultural quarters. Arabs were the only group to receive low tolerance across all cultural practices and activities

0.2 KEY FINDINGS STUDY 2

General attitudes towards foreigners

1. Findings from the first study which revealed negative attitudes towards foreigners were supported by the points of view expressed during the focus group discussions of the second study.

2. The prevailing negative attitudes towards foreigners were based on issues related to overcrowding, competition for jobs, exploitation of the foreign worker, and the depression of wages for Maltese workers.

3. The focus group discussions highlighted a struggle between two polarities: adaptation vs. breaking point. On the one hand, participants expressed an awareness of the need to adapt to the changes as a result of foreigners in Malta. On the other hand, participants admitted to reaching breaking-point levels of tolerance due to the perceived rapid disruptions in the economic, personal, and cultural domains that are seen to have impacted quality of life for present and future generations.

Age, education, and pro-immigration sentiment

1. During the focus groups, tertiary educated participants reported being generally more accepting of change and willing to adapt to the presence of foreigners.

2. During the focus groups, participants aged 18-25 generally reported more positive attitudes towards foreigners than older aged participants.

Perceptions of security: Economic security concerns driving opposition towards foreigners

1. The rapid and ever-increasing number of foreigners is perceived as impacting demographic and lifestyle factors, and perceptions of low economic security appear to drive the opinions expressed during the focus groups against foreigners.

2. Participants expressed more concern over economic issues than personal and cultural domains, this was especially the case amongst non-tertiary educated participants.

3. Participants perceived those with lower formal education and lower-skilled workers as not benefitting from economic growth as a result of foreigners.

4. Participants tend to overestimate criminality amongst foreigners.

5. Generally, all participants voiced disappointment in local government and the EU, which are perceived to not be doing enough to mitigate issues arising from the influx of foreigners.

0.3 METHODOLOGIES

1. The first study adopted a quantitative approach. Measures of multiculturalism, tolerance, perceptions of security (personal, economic, and cultural), socio-ethnic "thermometers", and open-ended replies were collected by means of a questionnaire.

2. The second study adopted a qualitative approach in order to gain a deeper understanding of the interplay between perceptions of security and the presence of foreigners in Malta. This was achieved by organising a series of focus group discussions characterised by specific age and education criteria.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The historical narrative of Malta has substantially changed over time, most especially with entry into the European Union in 2004, such that Malta has shifted from a country of emigration into a country of immigration. Nowadays, Malta enjoys a mix of people from different cultures and nationalities, where the influx of migrants remains steadily increasing. Like the rest of the EU, immigration in Malta is ranking amongst the most salient issues. In recent decades, debates about the merits of cultural diversity and multiculturalism have grown ever more heated. Western societies are witnessing the rise in support of populist parties disrupting democracy and threatening social cohesion. In 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the EU, partly as a result of reaching breaking point levels in attitudes towards immigrants. Malta has recently seen its own rise in anti-immigration sentiment, the worst case of which was the allegedly racially-motivated murder of a migrant in 2019. These events have further highlighted the need to investigate why and how attitudes towards foreigners are formed and change in Malta. Research has identified several factors that are instrumental in driving opposition towards foreigners. These range from social-psychological factors (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979) to perceived economic, personal, and culture threats (e.g., Bernat, 2017; Fonseca, Lukosch, & Brazier, 2018; Gerber, Huber, Biggers, & Hendry, 2017). We explore these in further depth hereunder.

Threats to social order stem from economic, personal, and cultural domains. Economic factors are well-cited in literature as predictors of the view on immigration one may hold. Theories related to lack of resources and labour market competition predict that those experiencing lower economic security are more likely to oppose foreign workers (Gerber et al., 2017). With respect to factors of personal threat, these have been found to be tied to perceptions of criminality. Research indicates that crime rates tend to be perceived as higher amongst foreigners than locals, thus, moderating immigration attitudes (Bernat, 2017). Lastly, fear of cultural loss and cultural threat have been noted as legitimizing factors that instil intercultural tensions and reduce social cohesion (Fonseca et al., 2018).

The aim of this project is to explore the role that attitudes towards foreigners have on perceptions of security within economic, personal, and cultural domains. This project is split into two studies. To begin with, the first study gathers and investigates data regarding perceptions of security, multiculturalism, tolerance, and general attitudes towards specific socio-ethnic groups. A longitudinal analysis is then implemented to explore how such

measures have shifted within the last decade. Findings from the first study are then used to inform the direction of the second study that aims at identifying the justifications and arguments surrounding people's perceptions of security related to foreigners.

The following will firstly present the methodology and findings from the first study. It will then proceed to do the same for the second study. Lastly, it will conclude with a general discussion that integrates all findings. A background of literature informing both studies may be found in Appendix A.

STUDY 1

2.0 METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to investigate perceptions of security (economic, cultural, and personal) and how such perceptions are related to attitudes towards foreigners amongst the Maltese population. This study adopted a quantitative approach by utilising a series of questions administered through a questionnaire.

2.2 SAMPLE

The sample for this study consisted of 238 participants (111 males; 126 females), all of whom identified as being of Maltese nationality, were over the age of 18 ($M = 34.50$, $SD = 18.32$), and varied in level of education; primary ($n = 5$), secondary ($n = 31$), post-secondary ($n = 64$), and tertiary ($n=138$) (see Appendix C for demographics). Participants were recruited through convenience sampling by means of an online link that was distributed via the University of Malta social media account, and the researchers' own Facebook accounts. All respondents gave their consent by choosing to fill in the questionnaire.

2.3 RESEARCH TOOLS AND PROCEDURE

The questionnaire was built using Qualtrics software version August 2019 (Copyright © 2019 Qualtrics). It comprised of 48 questions grouped into 5 different sections and another 8 questions dedicated to demographics (see Appendix B). Questions within each of the sections were presented in random order to avoid any confounding influence of order effects. The sections are outlined in the following:

The first section comprised a series of statements in which participants had to rate the extent to which they agree on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Table 1 shows these statements and the respective view on multiculturalism that each is related to (see also Q3 and Q4 in questionnaire Appendix B).

Table 1

List of statements with respective view on multiculturalism being measured

Statement	View on Multiculturalism
The Maltese must stand up for Maltese culture. We must never allow foreigners to change our way of life because they will soon take over our country.	Closed anti-multiculturalism
Whatever people say, multiculturalism is necessary in today's world and there's no reason why different people shouldn't learn to co-exist in one way or another.	Closed for-multiculturalism
Immigrants have a right to their own way of life, but they do not have the right to impinge on the rights of others. Extreme tolerance should not be accepted.	Dialogical anti-multiculturalism
Immigration may be a challenge for people who are not accustomed to different ways of life. But the real problem of immigration is the intolerance of certain Maltese individuals towards other cultures, and not the immigrants themselves. Immigrants in Malta need our support not our hate.	Dialogical for-multiculturalism
Our way is not the only way, and to be free is to allow others to be free too. Everyone has a right to their own way of life. Similarly, everyone is free to take a view on the practices of another culture and has the liberty to express those thoughts. These rights are fundamental whether we agree with others or not.	Open/Neutral

The second section sought to measure perceptions of security. Respondents were required to indicate the extent to which they agree on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with a series of statements related to three security domains (personal, cultural, economic). Table 2 lists each of the statements with the respective security domain that it is related to (may also refer to Q5 in questionnaire Appendix B).

Table 2

List of statements with respective security domain being measured

Statement	Security Domain
Unemployment in Malta worries me.	Economic
The reports of immoral and degenerate people in our society are grossly exaggerated.	Personal
Learning other languages makes us forget our own cultural traditions.	Cultural
People spend too much time fretting about economic matters.	Economic
I am concerned about losing my cultural identity.	Cultural
This country is prosperous and wealthy enough for everyone to feel secure.	Economic
Our society is going from bad to worse.	Personal
I feel culturally secure as Maltese.	Cultural
The cost of living in Malta makes it difficult to have enough money for essentials.	Economic
A person's chances of living a safe, untroubled life are better today than ever before	Personal
There is room for a variety of languages and cultures in this society.	Cultural
We have to take steps to protect our cultural traditions from outside influences.	Cultural
People's chances of being robbed, assaulted, and even murdered are getting higher and higher.	Personal

In the third section, that focused on socio-ethnic thermometers, participants were asked to rate their attitude towards each of the four socio-ethnic groups on a scale from 0 (not favourable at all) to 100 (completely favourable) (see Q9 in questionnaire Appendix B).

The fourth and fifth sections aimed at establishing perceptions of four social groups living in Malta: Arabs, Africans, Eastern Europeans, and Western Europeans. The social groups were assigned randomly between participants, however, no randomization was done within the questionnaires such that each participant was only asked questions related to a single social group. In the fourth section participants were asked to rate their levels of tolerance towards certain practices (see Table 3) on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 10 (strongly agree) (for more details see Q10 in questionnaire Appendix B).

Table 3
List of practices related to a randomly assigned social group to which respondents had to rate their level of tolerance

<Social Group> should be given legal permits to have more places of worship of their own in Malta.

I do not mind working with <Social Group> at work.

<Social Group> should be allowed to adopt their own cultural customs in Malta (e.g., football rivalries, segregation between women and men, liberal sexuality, etc.).

If I were a landlord, I would not like to rent out my property to <Social Group>.

Even though we live in the same country, I would not want to see my kids marrying <Social Group>.

I have no problem being friends with <Social Group>.

<Social Group> should be allowed to have their own cultural quarters in Malta (e.g., 'Chinatown', 'Little Italy', etc.).

<Social Group> should be allowed to adopt their own cultural clothing style in Malta (e.g., topless, burkas, etc.).

<Social Group> should be given legal permits to hold public cultural activities in Malta.

<Social Group> should be given legal permits to have their own cultural retail shops in Malta (e.g., food items, clothing, etc.).

In the fifth section participants were invited to use free-form text to express their views regarding the social group they were assigned. Respondents were presented with three

statements and two questions designed to elicit participant attitudes towards foreigners (See Table 4; more details may be viewed in Q11-Q15 in questionnaire Appendix B).

Table 4
List of statements and questions related to a randomly assigned social group to which participants gave a free-form text response

1. Some people say that foreigners will end up telling us what to do in our country. Please give an example of when <Social Group> might tell us what to do.

2. Some people argue that cultural diversity strengthens us as a nation, so the presence of foreigners is desirable. Please give an example of when <Social Group> strengthen the country.

3. Some people, on the other hand, argue that foreigners weaken Maltese communities. Please give an example of when <Social Group> weaken Maltese communities.

4. As Maltese nationals, what should we never tolerate from <Social Group>?

5. Imagine that whilst you were walking down the street, you see a Maltese woman going up to some <Social Group> and telling them, "Here we don't do these things. A little respect, please!" What do you think could have caused the Maltese woman to respond to <Social Group> in this way?

The questionnaire was provided in both English and Maltese, and some questions were reverse coded (i.e., reworded negatively such they had to be rescored) to ensure response validity. Additionally, the questionnaire was piloted in order to check for participant understanding. Data collected from the pilot was not used for analysis.

3.0 RESULTS

3.1 VIEWS ON MULTICULTURALISM

Respondents were provided with a list of five statements and asked to rate the extent to which they agreed with each statement on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Figure 1.1 represents the average rating for each of these statements.

Figure 1.1

Rating for each multiculturalism-related statement (mean)

Respondents were asked to select which one statement they felt best represented their own views. Each statement was associated with a view on multiculturalism, as detailed above (see Table 1). Figure 1.2 represents the percentage of respondents that related most closely to each view of multiculturalism. Respondents tended to be more likely to adopt an anti-multiculturalism view (55.3%) than either an open/neutral view (8.0%) or a pro-multiculturalism view (36.7%).

Figure 1.2

Change in attitude to multiculturalism between 2010 and 2019
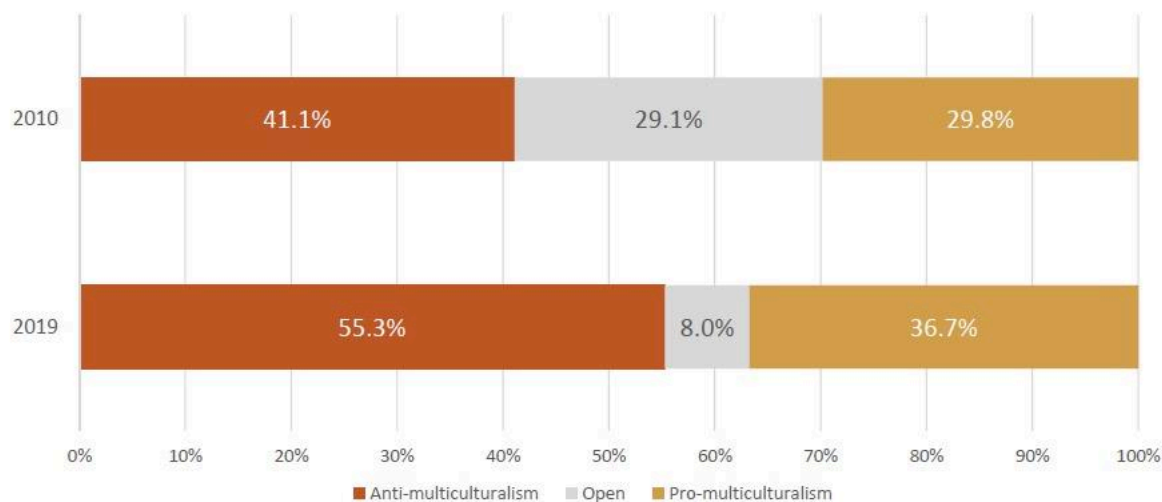
Note: Increase in anti-multiculturalism & decrease in open views from 2010 to 2019 were significant to p < .001

Data regarding views on multiculturalism was compared to data collected in 2010. This data was gathered as part of a broader international inquiry concerning mutual intercultural relations in pluralistic societies that was carried out in seventeen countries worldwide. The 2010 data for Malta provided a benchmark to chart changes in attitudes towards foreigners in Malta over time. Figure 1.2 provides an illustration of the comparisons. Results showed a significant increase in anti-multiculturalism views from 2010 (41.1%) to 2019 (55.3%). Furthermore, there was a significant decrease in open/neutral views from 2010 (29.1%) to 2019 (8.0%). The pro-multiculturalism views tended to increase from 2010 (29.8%) to 2019 (36.7%), however, there were no statistically significant differences in the percentage of respondents who adopted this view between the two years (see Appendix C for more detailed analysis).

In summary, results indicated that perceptions of multiculturalism in Malta have become more polarised between 2010 and 2019. Both anti-multiculturalism and pro-multiculturalism attitudes tended to increase from 2010 to 2019, however, only changes in anti-multiculturalism demonstrated a significant increase. Furthermore, neutral attitudes decreased significantly between 2010 and 2019. Overall, these findings are concerning because they reveal a rise in anti-migrant sentiments and attitudes towards culturally different others in general.

3.2 SOCIO-ETHNIC THERMOMETERS

Participants rated their attitude towards each of the four socio-ethnic groups on a scale from 0 (not favourable at all) to 100 (completely favourable). Overall, Western Europeans were rated the most favourably, followed by Africans, Eastern Europeans, and lastly, Arabs. Figure 2 provides an illustration of these ratings and more detailed analyses may be viewed in Appendix C.

Data regarding the socio-ethnic thermometers was compared to data collected in 2010. Results showed a statistically significant decrease in favourable attitudes towards Eastern Europeans from positive territory in 2010 to negative territory in 2019. Similarly, favourable attitudes towards Arabs decreased further from 2010 to 2019 . Western Europeans were rated significantly more positively in 2019 than in 2010. Even though Africans tended to be rated less poorly in 2010 relative to 2019, the difference in ratings between these two years was not statistically significant (see Appendix C for full results). Overall the results show that Western Europeans were the only socio-ethnic group to experience an increase in favourable ratings between 2010 and 2019.

Figure 2

Means of favourable attitudes to each of the four socio-ethnic groups
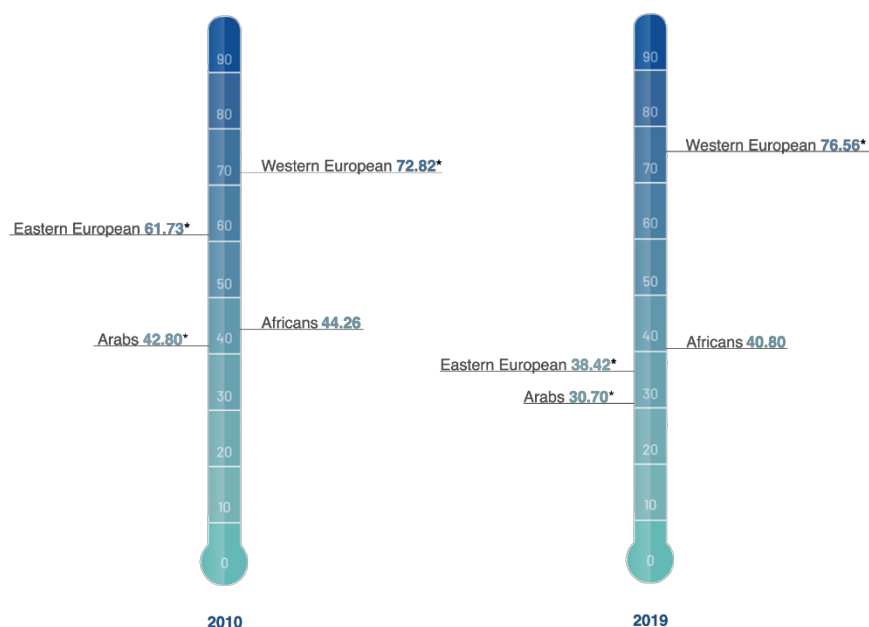
*Notes: * Statistically significant difference between 2010 and 2019, p < .05*

3.3 PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY

        Scores on items related to perceptions of security were recorded under three categories: personal, cultural, and economic security. As depicted by Figure 3.1, cultural security ($M = 13.91$, $SD = 4.20$) tended to be rated the highest, followed by economic security ($M = 11.49$, $SD = 2.57$) and personal security ($M = 10.05$, $SD = 2.96$).

Figure 3.1

Perceptions of security (mean)

Economic Security	Cultural Security	Personal Security
57	56	50
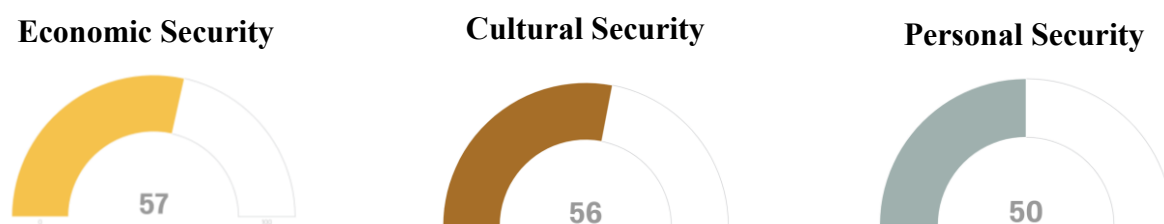
Notes:
1. Generally respondents reported better perceptions of economic security and cultural security than personal security.
2. Values have been rescaled by percentile.

        3.3.1 Perceptions of security by age. Age differences in perceptions of security were found (see Figure 3.2 for illustration). Results revealed statistically significant age differences in perceptions of personal security. Specifically, those aged 18-30 reported significantly better perceptions of personal security than those aged 31-50 years old. No significant age differences were found for perceptions of cultural and economic security (see Appendix C for full results).

        The effect of age is well documented in the literature (e.g., Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; McLaren & Paterson, 2019). The relationship between younger age and better perceptions of personal security could be attributed to the fact that younger individuals are more likely to share social contact with foreigners. For this reason, they are less likely to report feelings of insecurity, hostility, or general negative attitudes towards foreigners (Hewstone & Swart, 2011). Furthermore, younger individuals might feel less physically

vulnerable than older individuals, therefore they may not feel they experience as much threat to personal safety (Cossman & Rader, 2011).

3.3.2 Perceptions of security by education. Education differences in perceptions of security were found (see Figure 3.3 for illustration). Results revealed statistically significant differences between education levels in perceptions of cultural security. Specifically, those with a primary level of education reported significantly worse perceptions of cultural security than those with a secondary or tertiary level education. No significant differences between the different educational levels were found for personal and economic security (see Appendix C for full results).

Similarly to age, the effect of education on perceptions of security is also well documented in the literature (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). The relationship between further education and better perceptions of cultural security could be attributed to the fact that further education instils a more inquisitive and open mind-set in individuals that in turn could make one more open to diverse cultures (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Consequently, one might feel more secure in one's own cultural identity and less threatened by the idea of losing it.

Figure 3.2

Perceptions of security across age groups (mean)
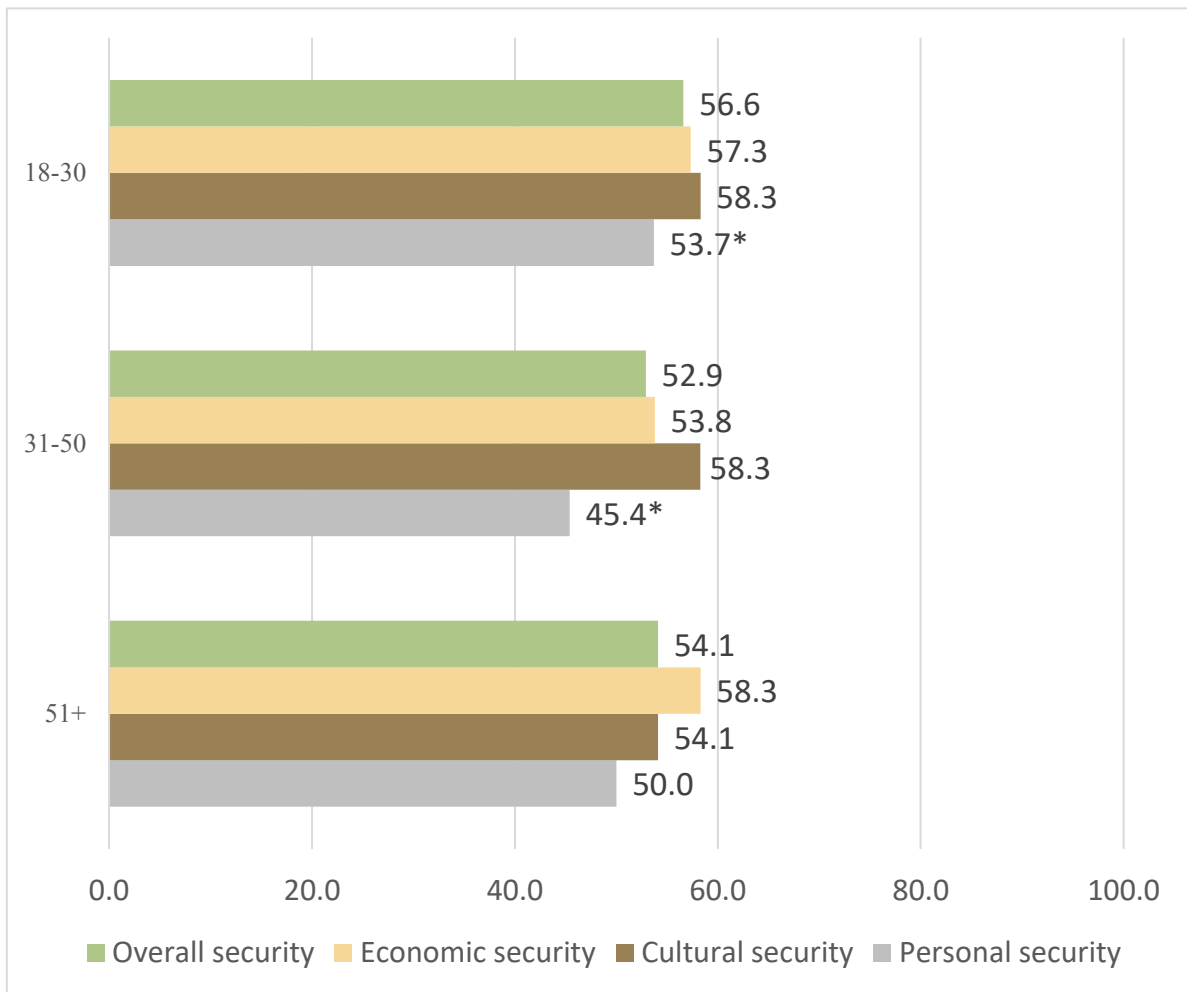
Notes: * 18-30 year olds report significantly better perceptions of personal security than 31-50 year olds, $p < 0.05$.

Figure 3.3

Perceptions of security across education level (mean)
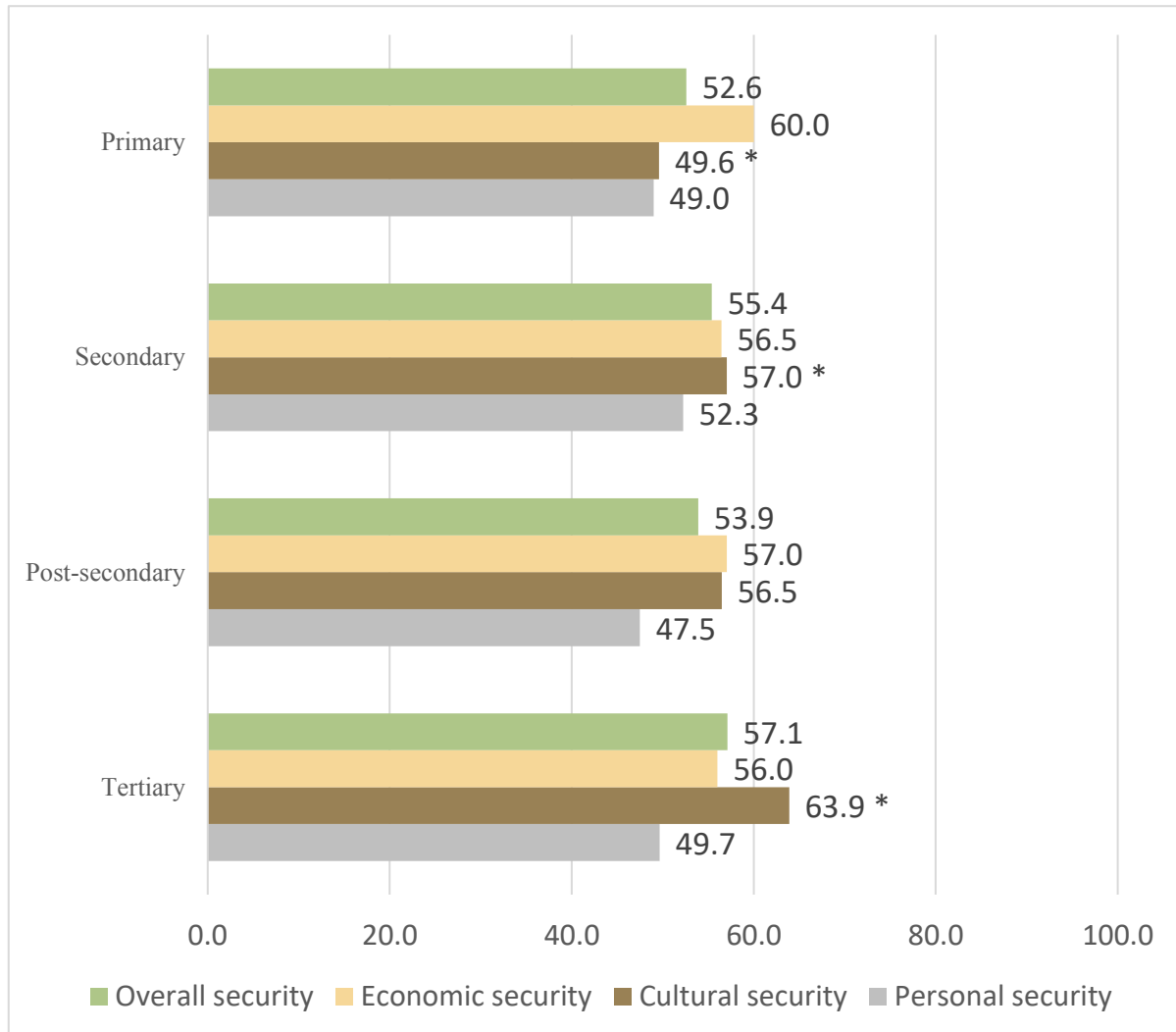
Notes: * Respondents with a Secondary level of education and those with a Tertiary level of education report significantly better perceptions of cultural security than those with a Primary level of education, p < 0.05.

3.3.3 Changes in perceptions of security. Data regarding perceptions of security from this study was compared to data collected in 2010. On the one hand, results revealed a statistically significant decrease for personal security from 2010 ($M = 17.04$, $SD = 2.99$) to 2019 ($M = 10.05$, $SD = 2.96$). On the other hand, perceptions of cultural security increased from 2010 ($M = 13.05$, $SD = 2.54$) to 2019 ($M = 13.92$, $SD = 4.20$). There were no significant differences in perceptions of economic security between 2010 and 2019 (see Appendix C for full results).

Figure 3.4

Changes in perceptions of security (mean) between 2010 and 2019
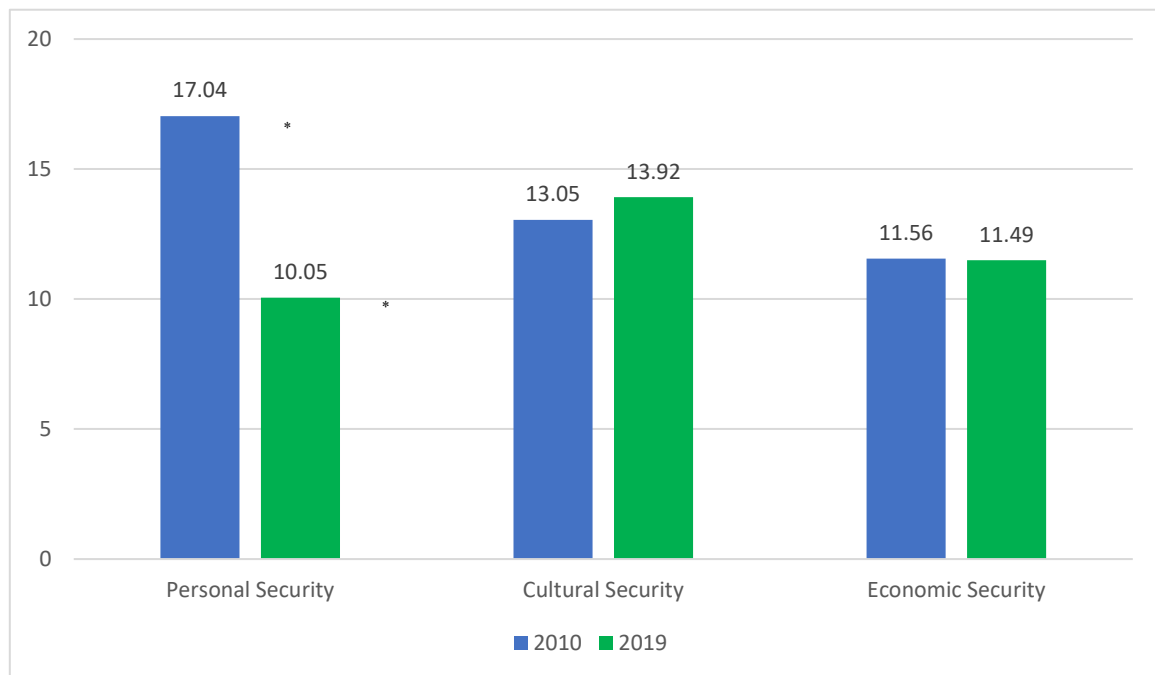
Notes: * *There was a significant decrease in personal security from 2010 to 2019*, $p < 0.05$.

3.3.4 Economic security. In contrast with previous findings reported in the literature, the increasing presence of foreigners did not result in a considerably low perception of economic security in Malta between 2010 and 2019. Previous studies have highlighted that economic threat carries a substantial role in shaping people's attitude towards foreigners (Gerber et al., 2017). The higher the perceived economic threat, the more likely individuals typically are to adopt anti-immigration attitudes (Gerber et al., 2017). Findings in this current study suggest that in Malta, economic security plays less of a role in shaping people's attitudes when compared to cultural security and personal security.

3.3.5 Cultural security. Perceptions of cultural security tended to be higher than perceptions of personal security but slightly lower than perceptions of economic security. However, there has been a decrease in perceived cultural security between 2010 and 2019. Previous studies reported in the literature have found that cultural identity is impacted by increases in social diversity (Fonseca et al., 2018). As Malta has experienced a significant increase in number of foreigners within the last decade (NSO, 2019), the larger cultural

diversity could be one of the reasons why some perceive that cultural security has decreased over the past ten years.

3.3.6 Personal security. Personal security was the poorest perceived security domain of the three examined in this study. Furthermore, it was the only security domain to experience a significant decrease between 2010 and 2019. In this study we did not measure the perceived crime rates; however, the literature suggests that perceptions of personal security may be low because individuals associate migrants with a higher crime rate (Bernat, 2017). Another factor that may influence perceptions of personal security could be the perception of poorer social ties due to the increasing numbers of foreigners that may lead to reduced feeling of security in the community (Jiang & Erez, 2018).

3.4 TOLERANCE OF SOCIO-ETHNIC GROUPS

This section reports participants levels of tolerance towards certain practices and activities (see Table 5.1 and Table 5.2) for each of four socio-ethnic groups: Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Africans. Tolerance scores for each practice and activity were computed by taking the average of agreement ratings given by participants to each of the ten statements (see Table 5.1). In the case of two statements (Marriage, Renting Property) the agreement ratings were reversed so that higher tolerance scores indicate more tolerance.

Tolerance of Western European, Eastern European, and African practices relating to work, friends, marriage, and renting property was above the midpoint. Furthermore, Eastern Europeans and Africans received above midpoint tolerance scores for retail shops. All other categories were rated below the midpoint, with Arabs being rated below the midpoint in all categories. Overall tolerance towards culturally related activities tended to be lower when compared to personal or economic-related categories.

Table 5.1
Tolerance of specific practices (mean)

Practice	Western Europeans (WE)	Eastern Europeans (EE)	Africans (AF)	Arabs (AR)
Work I do not mind working with…at work.	6.45	5.83	5.64	4.83
Friends I have no problem being friends with…	6.39	6.07	5.23	3.88
ʳ Marriage Even though we live in the same country, I would not want to see my kids marrying…	7.32	6.29	6.35	4.71
ʳ Renting Property If I were a landlord, I would not like to rent out my property to…	6.63	5.46	5.48	3.22
Cultural Activities …should be given legal permits to hold public cultural activities in Malta.	3.73	4.27	4.65	3.31
Places of Worship …should be given legal permits to have more places of worship of their own in Malta.	3.90	3.13	4.28	1.99
Retail Shops …should be given legal permits to have their own cultural retail shops in Malta (e.g., food items, clothing, etc.).	3.89	5.24	5.11	3.60
Cultural Clothing …should be allowed to adopt their own cultural clothing style in Malta (e.g., topless, burkas, etc.).	3.78	2.51	3.58	4.29
Cultural Customs …should be allowed to adopt their own cultural customs in Malta (e.g., football rivalries, segregation between women and men, liberal sexuality, etc.).	2.75	2.61	2.52	1.58
Cultural Quarters …should be allowed to have their own cultural quarters in Malta (e.g., 'Chinatown', 'Little Italy', etc.).	3.50	3.48	3.53	2.16

Notes: Highlighted cells indicate a value over the midpoint of the scale (1=low tolerance, 10=high tolerance) Statements indicated with "r" have been reversed scored so that higher tolerance levels indicate more tolerance.)

Table 5.2
Main findings on Tolerance of specific practices

| Practice	Findings
Work I do not mind working with…	Higher tolerance for working with WE than with AR*
Friends I have no problem being friends with…	Higher tolerance for befriending any group more than AR*
Marriage Even though we live in the same country, I would not want to see my kids marrying…	Higher tolerance for kids marrying WE than AR*
Renting Property If I were a landlord, I would not like to rent out my property to…	Higher tolerance for renting property to any group more than AR*
Cultural Activities …should be given legal permits to hold public cultural activities in Malta.	Higher tolerance for AF cultural activities than AR*
Places of Worship …should be given legal permits to have more places of worship of their own in Malta.	Higher tolerance for permits for more places of worship of any group more than AR*
Retail Shops …should be given legal permits to have their own cultural retail shops in Malta (e.g., food items, clothing, etc.).	Higher tolerance for permits for EE and AF shops than WE and AR*
Cultural Clothing …should be allowed to adopt their own cultural clothing style in Malta (e.g., topless, burkas, etc.).	Higher tolerance for AR clothing than EE*
Cultural Customs …should be allowed to adopt their own cultural customs in Malta (e.g., football rivalries, segregation between women and men, liberal sexuality, etc.).	Higher tolerance for WE and AF customs than AR*
Cultural Quarters …should be allowed to have their own cultural quarters in Malta (e.g., 'Chinatown', 'Little Italy', etc.).	Higher tolerance for cultural quarters of any group more than AR*

*Notes: *Findings are statistically significant, p < .05*

Global tolerance scores for all four socio-ethnic groups (see Figure 4) were computed by taking the overall average of tolerance scores for each socio-ethnic group. There was little difference between overall tolerance towards Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Africans, however, overall tolerance towards Arabs was significantly lower than for the other socio-ethnic groups(see Appendix C for full results).

Figure 4

Global tolerance scores (mean)
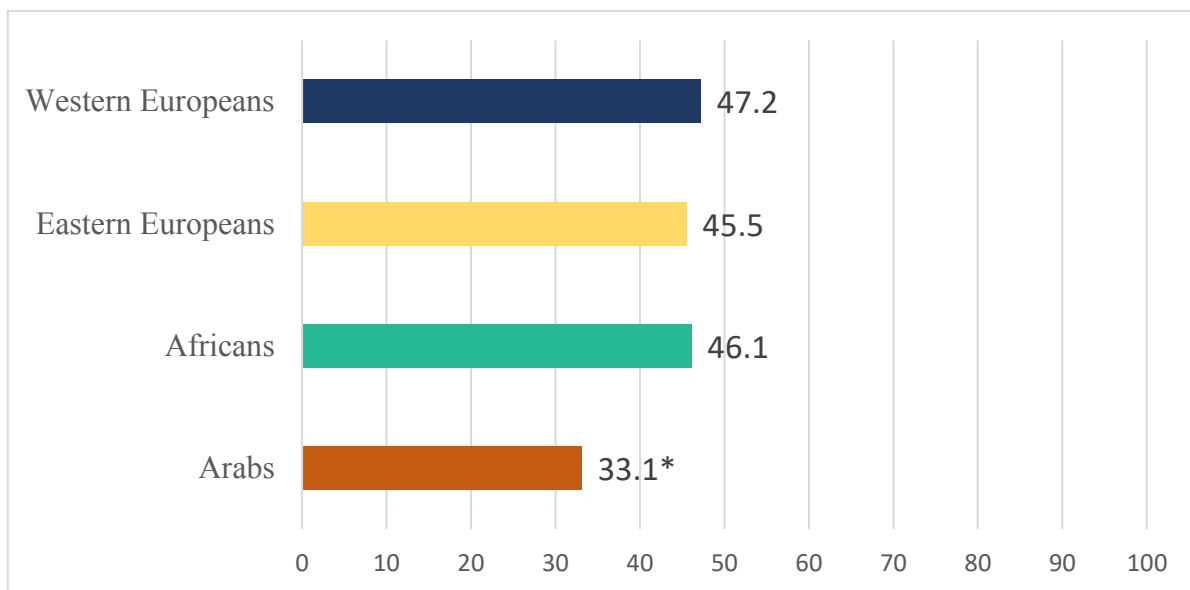
Notes: *Respondents were significantly less tolerant to Arabs when compared to Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Africans, $p < .05$.*

3.5 REACTIONS TO MULTICULTURALISM: RESPONSES TO SCENARIO INVOLVING MIGRANT

Respondents were presented with a scenario involving a Maltese woman and a foreigner that could be interpreted in a number of ways. The scenario involved an elderly Maltese woman, who tells a foreign individual: *Here we don't do these things, a little respect please!* Respondents were asked to write what they think could have led to this reaction from the Maltese woman.

The free-text responses directed towards each socio-ethnic group were counted and categorised as either relating to personal security, cultural security, or economic security. Figure 5 illustrates the main themes that emerged. Overall, concerns with issues related to personal security were the most frequently mentioned, followed by issues related to cultural

security. Issues related to economic security did not emerge in the analysis of responses to this scenario. Whilst, on the one hand social disrespect was the prominent theme with regards to Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Arabs; on the other hand, environmental harm was the prominent theme with regards to Africans and Arabs. Disrespect to women was also a frequently mentioned with regards to Arabs.

Figure 5

Summary of emergent themes and frequency and percentages of mentions

for each socio-ethnic group

Western Europeans

Theme	Frequency (Count)	Frequency (%)
Social disrespect (e.g. sexual indecency, verbal abuse, drinking, etc.)	20	42.6
Clothing	14	29.8
Cultural disrespect (e.g. ignoring customs, insulting Christianity, etc.)	6	12.8
Environmental harm (e.g. littering, public urination, etc.)	5	10.6
Physical abuse (e.g. fighting, physical threats, etc.)	2	4.3

— Personal security
— Cultural security

Eastern Europeans

Theme	Frequency (Count)	Frequency (%)
Social disrespect (e.g. sexual indecency, verbal abuse, drinking, etc.)	17	31.5
Environmental harm (e.g. littering, public urination, etc.)	15	27.8
Physical abuse (e.g. fighting, physical threats, etc.)	8	14.8
Clothing	5	9.3
Cultural disrespect (e.g. ignoring customs, insulting Christianity, etc.)	5	9.3
Disrespect to women	2	3.7
Breaking the law (e.g. theft, etc.)	2	3.7

Africans

Theme	Frequency (Count)	Frequency (%)
Environmental harm (e.g. littering, public urination, etc.)	15	45.5
Social disrespect (e.g. sexual indecency, verbal abuse, drinking, etc.)	6	18.2
Physical abuse (e.g. fighting, physical threats, etc.)	5	15.2
Disrespect to women (including abuse and threat)	4	12.1
Cultural disrespect (e.g. ignoring customs, insulting Christianity, etc.)	2	6.1
Breaking the law (e.g. theft, etc.)	1	3.0

Arabs

Theme	Frequency (Count)	Frequency (%)
Disrespect to women (including abuse and threat)	7	21.2
Social disrespect (e.g. sexual indecency, verbal abuse, drinking, etc.)	7	21.2
Environmental harm (e.g. littering, public urination, etc.)	7	21.2
Cultural disrespect (e.g. ignoring customs, insulting Christianity, etc.)	6	18.2
Physical abuse (e.g. fighting, physical threats, etc.)	3	9.1
Religious issue	2	6.1
Breaking the law (e.g. theft, etc.)	1	3.0

3.6   REACTIONS TO MULTICULTURALISM: ANALYSIS OF FREE-TEXT RESONSES TO STATEMENTS

This section reports on respondents' free-text reactions to multiculturalism as outlined in three statements ('*foreigners will end up telling us what to do*'; '*cultural diversity strengthens us*'; '*foreigners weaken Maltese communities*') and one question, '*The Maltese should never tolerate…*'). The number of responses that mentioned issues related to personal security, cultural security, and economic factors, were counted and categorised as either positive, negative, or mixed**.**

3.6.1 Examples of how foreigners impact culture. Responses related to cultural factors expressed mostly negative views for all socio-ethnic groups (see Figure 6.1). Arabs received the most culturally-related negative views whereas Western Europeans and Eastern Europeans received the most culturally-related positive views. Some illustrative excerpts related to positive and negative views are provided below:

Positive

"*Diversity, openness, cuisine, thoughts & ideas*" [Western Europeans]

"*Different cultures bring different ways to solve problems*" [Western Europeans]

Negative

"*First the culture* becomes mixed *and then it takes over*" [Western Europeans]

"*When they* [Africans] *get all their rights and we become minority, they breed and they vote*"

Figure 6.1

Percentage of types of mentions related to impact of foreigners on cultural security

Western Europeans

■ Positive	■ Negative ■ Mixed

18.5
35.2
46.3

Eastern Europeans

20.8
54.2
25

■ Positive	■ Negative ■ Mixed

Africans

8.7
60.9
30.4

■ Positive	■ Negative ■ Mixed

Arabs

1.4
4.5
75

■ Positive	■ Negative ■ Mixed
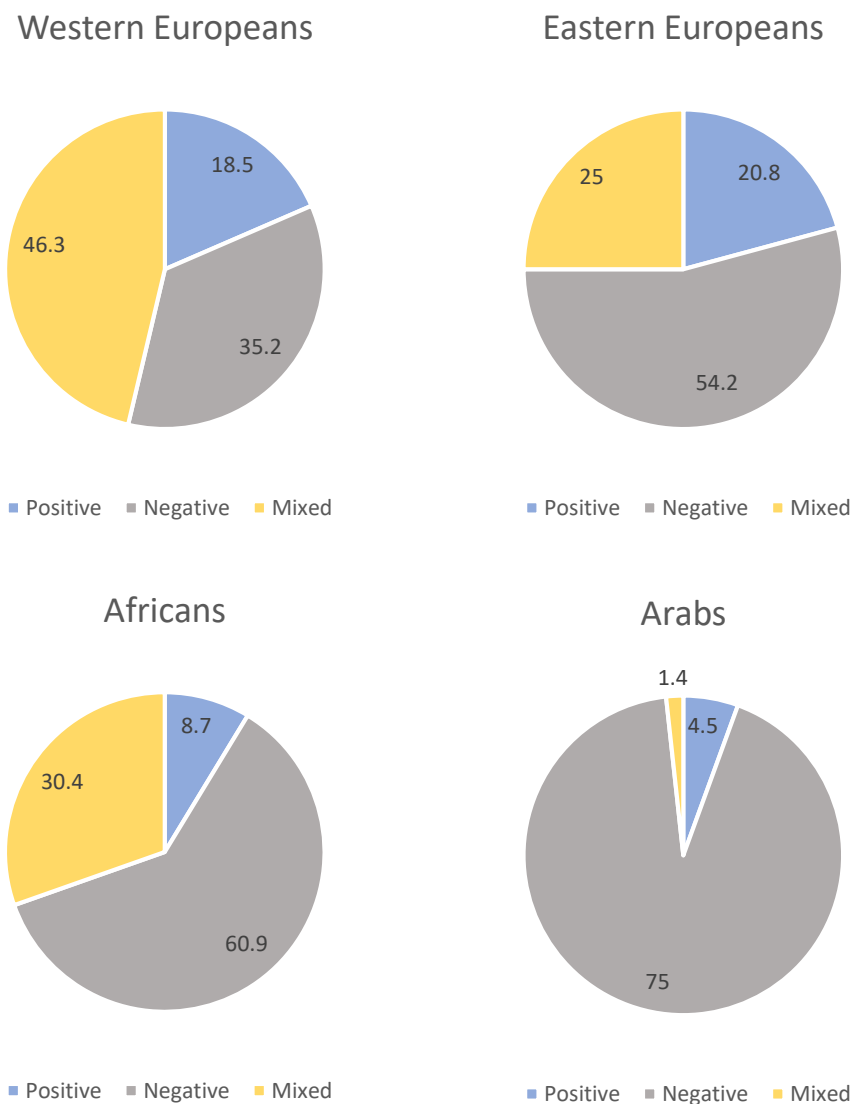
3.6.2 Examples of how foreigners impact the economy. Responses related to economic effects mostly expressed negative views for all socio-ethnic groups apart from Arabs (see Figure 6.2). Arabs were associated with the largest number of economic-related positive views whereas Western Europeans received the largest number of economic-related negative views. Some examples of positive and negative views are provided in the following:

Positive

"*They* [Africans] *do the jobs that the Maltese don't do*"

"*They* [Arabs] *provide more of a hardworking, labour intensive work force, ultimately they aid the economy*"

Negative

"*They* [Eastern Europeans] *have too many children, which increases the burden on the country*"

"*They* [Western Europeans] *sold the country's culture, identity, and values for money*"

Figure 6.2

Percentage of types of mentions related to impact of foreigners on economic security
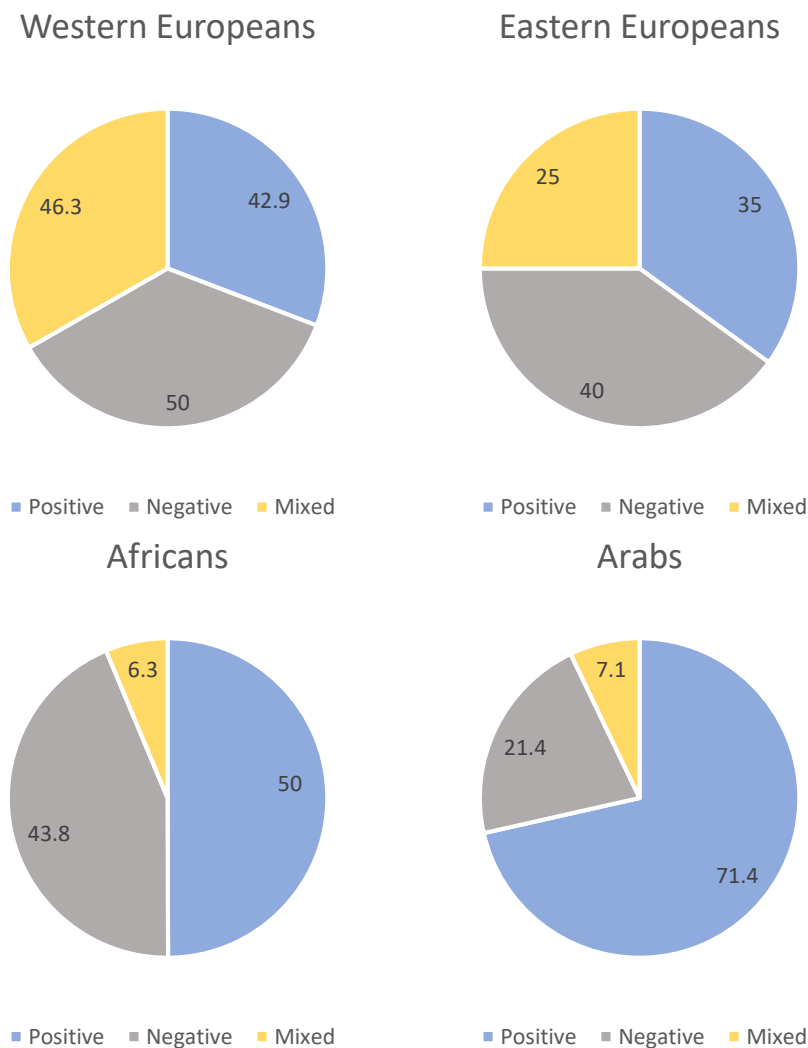
3.6.3 Examples of how foreigners impact personal security. Responses related to personal security were largely negative for all socio-ethnic groups except Western Europeans (see Figure 6.3). Eastern Europeans were associated with the highest number of personal-related negative views followed by Africans and Arabs. Analysis revealed fewer personal-related positive views. Western Europeans received the highest number of personal-related positive views. Some examples of positive and negative views about personal security are provided in the following:

Positive

"*When they* [Eastern Europeans] *are part of the community and their presence helps others learn the values of openness and diversity*"

"[Africans] *teach us to live together and that we are all humans*"

Negative

"[Africans], *by their nature: dirt, fighting, destruction, and they do not obey the law that much*"

"*Theft and* [Western Europeans] *worsen our country. A Maltese should feel safe in their own country*"

Figure 6.3

Percentage of mentions related to impact of foreigners on Personal Security

Western Europeans

Positive 50 · Negative 35.5 · Mixed 15

Eastern Europeans

Positive 23.5 · Negative 67.6 · Mixed 8.9

Africans

Positive 23.3 · Negative 63.3 · Mixed 13.3

Arabs

Positive 27.8 · Negative 61.1 · Mixed 11.1
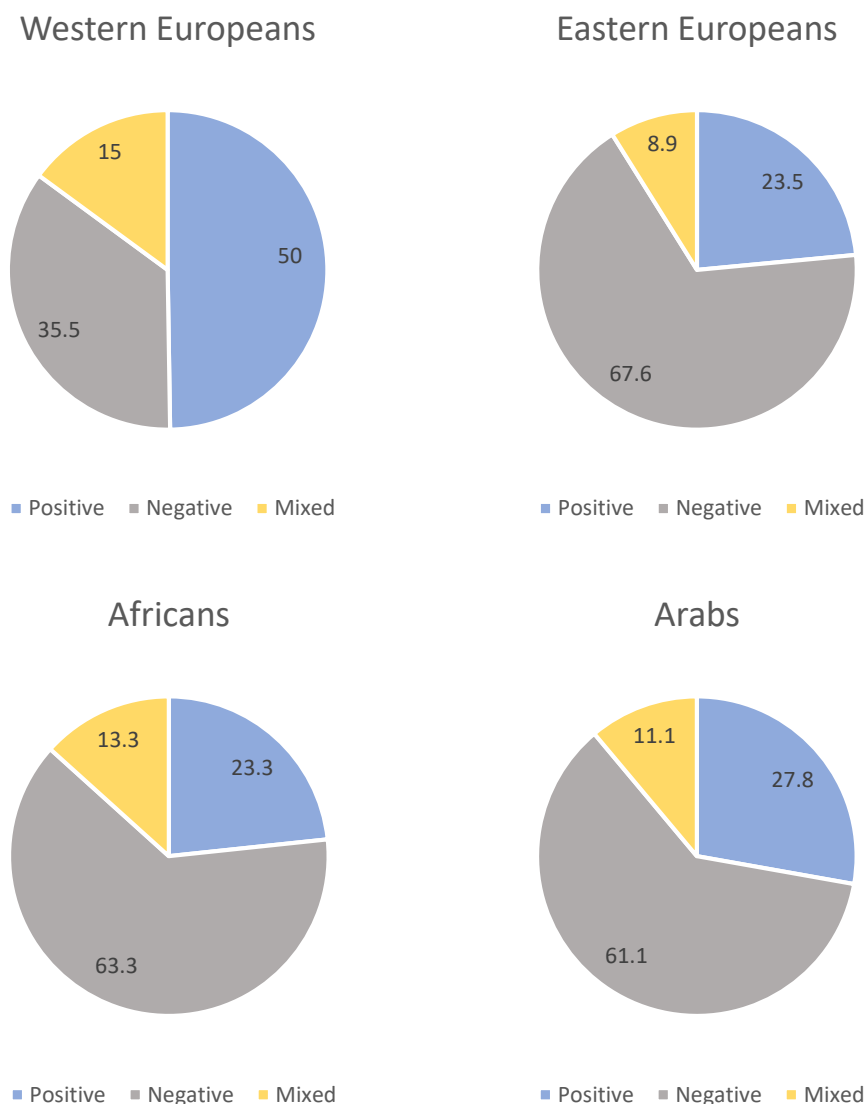
3.8 CONCLUSION

In summary, this study has identified a number of findings relating to multiculturalism, tolerance towards four ethnic groups (Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, Africans, Arabs), and perceptions of personal, economic, and cultural security. From 2010 to 2019 there has been a significant increase in both pro-multiculturalism and anti-multiculturalism attitudes that points to more polarization. Furthermore, there has been a decrease in overall favourable attitudes towards some ethnic groups (Eastern Europeans, Africans, Arabs). Particularly, Arabs have been rated the lowest amongst the socio-ethnic groups, in terms and both tolerance of, and favourable attitudes towards. These findings are

in line with previous studies reported in the literature that claim that increased presence of foreigners in a country is likely to correlate with less social cohesion and generally more negative attitudes. Perceptions of economic security were found to be high, whereas there were generally low levels of personal domain. Younger age and higher education correlated with higher levels of perceived personal security and cultural security respectively. Overall, this study has highlighted the interplay between perceptions of security and attitudes towards foreigners as measured by levels of multiculturalism and tolerance.

STUDY 2

4.0 METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to explore qualitatively the perceptions of security of Maltese nationals with regards to foreigners living in Malta. Through the implementation of a series of focus groups, this study followed on the previous study by seeking a thorough understanding of the findings related to personal, economic, and cultural security with reference to individuals' direct experiences.

4.2 SAMPLE

A total of 29 participants were recruited and divided into five independent focus groups. Each focus group had no less than 5 and no more than 7 participants. Participants were recruited through the use of social media accounts (Facebook), and by word of mouth. All participants were paid €20 for their participation, and all recruiters who assisted in successfully recruiting participants were paid €5 per recruitment.

The sample in each focus group contained roughly an equal split in gender. The focus groups were organised according to age and level of education, as follows (see Appendix F for full list of participant details per group):

1. Ages 18-24 – Mixed level of education
2. Ages 25-40 – Non-tertiary level of education
3. Ages 40-59 – Non-tertiary level of education
4. Ages 25-59 – Tertiary level of education
5. Ages 60+ – Mixed level of education

Due to recruitment difficulties, individuals who were +/- 2 years of the designated age group were still accepted for participation.

4.2.1 Rationale for sampling criteria. Age was identified as a sampling criterion due to findings in Study 1 that revealed differing perceptions of security across the age groups. Respondents aged 18-30 reported significantly better perceptions of personal security than respondents aged 31-50. Conversely, education was identified as a sampling criterion due to findings in Study 1 that revealed differing perception of security across levels of education. Respondents with either a secondary or tertiary level of education reported significantly better perceptions of cultural security when compared to respondents with a primary level of education.

4.3 FOCUS GROUPS

4.3.1 Focus group topic guide. The topic guide was developed with reference to the findings in Study 1 (see Appendix D for topic guide). A semi-structured topic guide was used to ensure that all areas relevant to perceptions of security (personal, economic, and cultural security) were covered, whilst also allowing participants the opportunity to elaborate on their opinions, concerns, or personal experiences. Furthermore, towards the end of the focus group, all participants were given the opportunity to provide feedback to the researchers or add anything else they might have not mentioned.

4.3.2 Focus group procedure. Prior to starting the focus group, participants were provided with a demographic sheet, information sheet, and a consent form stating their rights as participants. All were reminded that the focus groups were recorded through a digital audio-recording device. Each focus group session lasted around 90 minutes and started with some time dedicated to allow participants the opportunity to familiarise themselves with both the researchers as well as other participants. Following this, a quick word association task in the form of a round robin was carried out in order to gather top-of-mind associations. Once a number of word association rounds were completed, participants were presented with a drawing depicting a scenario involving a Maltese woman and a foreigner that could be interpreted in a number of ways (see Appendix D). The drawing portrayed an elderly Maltese woman, who tells a foreign individual: *If you don't like it, go back to your own country!* At this point thoughts related to this scenario were explored and participants invited to focus on issues related to personal security This was followed by a discussion of issues related to economic security and to cultural security. Nonetheless, despite this structure, participants

were allowed to freely move from one area of discussion to any other as they wished, in order to allow for natural progression of discussion whilst still ensuring that all areas of security were explored.

      4.3.3 Focus group setting. All focus groups were conducted in a conference room at the LEAP centre Msida, located inside the Msida Local Council building. The focus groups took place at the end of November 2019 over a period of two weeks and were scheduled at 18:00, except for the focus group consisting of participants aged 60+, which was scheduled at 10:00.

4.4 THEMATIC DATA ANALYSIS

      All data was analysed through Thematic Analysis and was brought together through a Thematic Network, thus allowing the possibility to identify, analyse, and bridge prominent themes and underlying patterns within the data.

      4.4.1 Familiarising with data. Prior to the data analyses and in order to enable thematic analysis, all focus groups were transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were then reviewed a couple of times by the researchers in order to develop a general understanding of the data collected.

      4.4.2 Coding and identifying themes. The transcripts were imported into NVivo qualitative data analysis software; (QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 12, 2019). Data was coded at three levels: Basic Themes, Organizing Themes, and Global Themes. Based on the prior literature guiding the research, findings from Study 1, and an initial review carried out when familiarising with the data, a preliminary coding framework was established. It was applied and updated with each focus group, allowing for a more refined framework. Using the coding framework, transcripts were examined thoroughly, and meaningful excerpts, short paragraphs, sentences, and phrases were extracted. After all transcripts were coded, prevailing and common low-level themes were derived from the coded segments.

4.4.3 Constructing the thematic network. The thematic network was built by establishing the Basic Themes, Organizing Themes, and Global Themes respectively (see Appendix F). The first level of analysis was carried out by grouping the previously identified low-level codes under Basic Themes. These Basic Themes summarised main points and established patterns identified through the initial coding exercise. All the coded data was shaped into a manageable set, revealing sixty-two Basic Themes that summarised the transcripts. Basic Themes highlighting the same issues were then clustered together under meaningful Organizing Themes that were distinct enough to avoid redundancy. A total set of eight Organizing Themes emerged from this level of analysis. The final level of analysis was carried out by reviewing the Basic Themes and Organizing Themes and extracting the principal theme that supported the core of the participant's views and the data as a whole. One global theme was identified in this concluding stage of analysis.

4.4.4 Exploring and interpreting the thematic network. In order to address the research question (perceptions of security) arguments were built based on the established literature and patterns that emerged through the analysis.

5.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The findings are reported and discussed through the themes that emerged from the analysis. A thematic network was produced, made up of 3 levels: Basic Themes, Organizing Themes, and the Global Theme. An overview of findings from each level of analysis is described and discussed with relevant extracts from the transcripts and reference to previous studies.

5.2 OVERVIEW OF THEMATIC NETWORK

The overarching theme obtained from the data with regards to perceptions of security in light of foreigners in Malta is the notion of struggle between two polarities: adaptation vs. breaking point (see Figure 7; see Appendix F for full thematic network). On the one hand, there is an acknowledgement of the need to adapt to the presence of foreigners in Malta especially with reference to personal security, cultural secrurity, and the economic benefits or drawbacks immigration may bring. On the other hand, tolerance of foreigners and the changes they may bring is reaching a breaking point, such that individuals are starting to perceive the influx of foreigners as an alarming issue that must be addressed, especially to safeguard the quality of life of future generations.

Particularly of interest was that participants perceived economic security as a more salient issue than personal or cultural security. This finding contrasted with that of Study 1, which revealed that participants felt less personal security when compared to economic and cultural security. Indeed, the findings from the thematic analysis indicate that economic security appeared to be the most troubling issue, especially amongst the less educated and lower-skilled workers. Overall the findings were categorised into sixty-one Basic Themes, eight Organizing Themes, and one Global Theme. The following will discuss these findings by elaborating on each of the nine Organizing Themes.

Figure 7

Overview of thematic analysis – Organizing themes and global theme
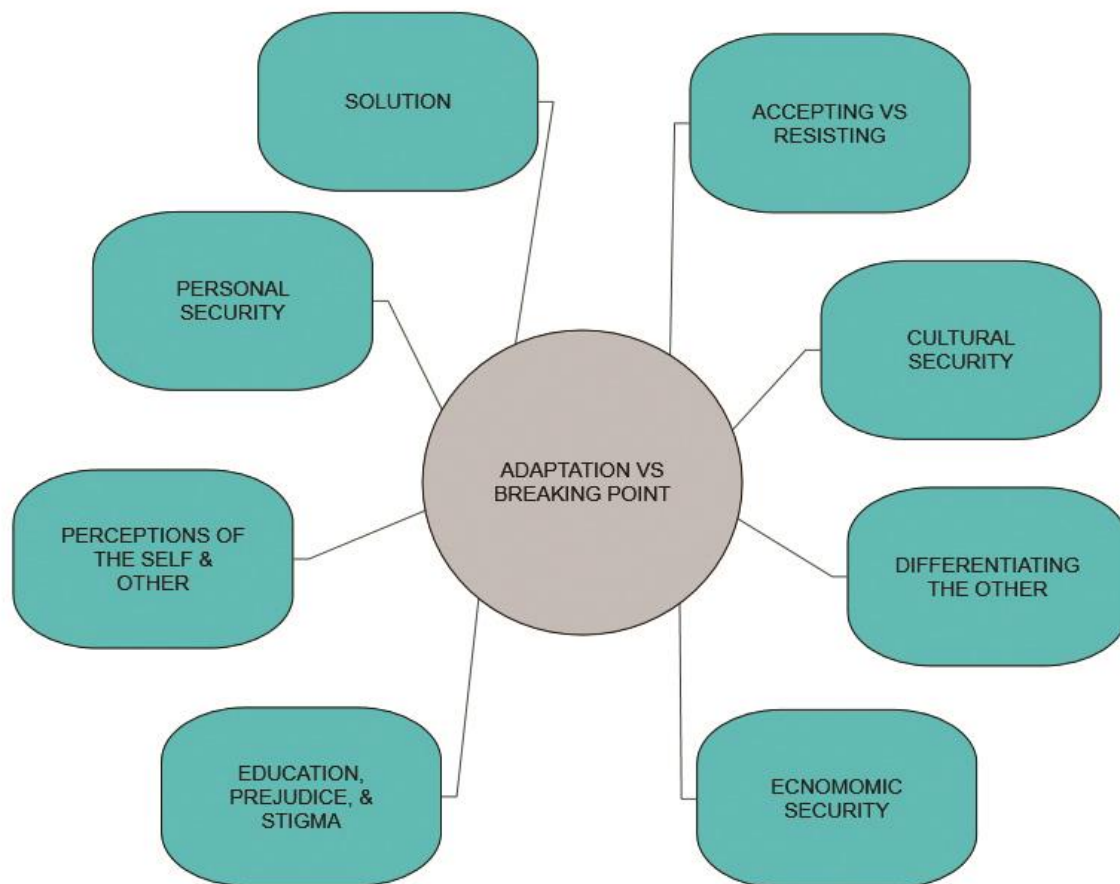
5.3 ORGANIZING THEME 1: ACCEPTING VS RESISTING CHANGE

This theme was characterised by the struggle between accepting change and resisting change (see figure 8). Age and education seemed to influence whether participants argued in favour of accepting or resisting change. Participants in the 25-59, tertiary educated focus group tended to be more vocal about the necessity of change especially in light of current events in Europe related to the refugee crisis. Additionally, participants in the 18-24, mixed education focus group argued about uncertainty regarding foreigners in the present, and that Maltese individuals should leave their comfort zone and embrace change. In contrast with the younger participants, participants in the 40-59, non-tertiary educated and those in the 60+, mixed education focus groups tended to be more concerned about uncertainty in the future due to rapid changes in the present perceived as being a result of foreigners. Unsurprisingly, , they were more nostalgic of the past ways of life and expressed the view that Malta is trying

to compete with bigger countries. Indeed, some participants even referred to the current demographic and lifestyle status of Malta as a "big city".

"*And when I make a comparison with the Maltese, today Malta has become fast-paced – it's like we are living in one big city*"

Particularly, participants expressed the view that the present infrastructure and small size of Malta cannot keep up with the rapid demographic changes as a result of the sudden influx of foreigners. Some localities are even perceived to be more populated with foreigners than Maltese citizens. A noteworthy finding is that rather than the increasing numbers of foreigners, it is the rapid and sudden influx that is mostly echoed in the participants' statements and opinions.

"*Now suddenly we are like London, fast-paced with this change! Maybe if this happened gradually we might have gotten used to it a little.*"

Figure 8

Basic themes that are categorised under the Organizing theme of Accepting vs Resisting change.
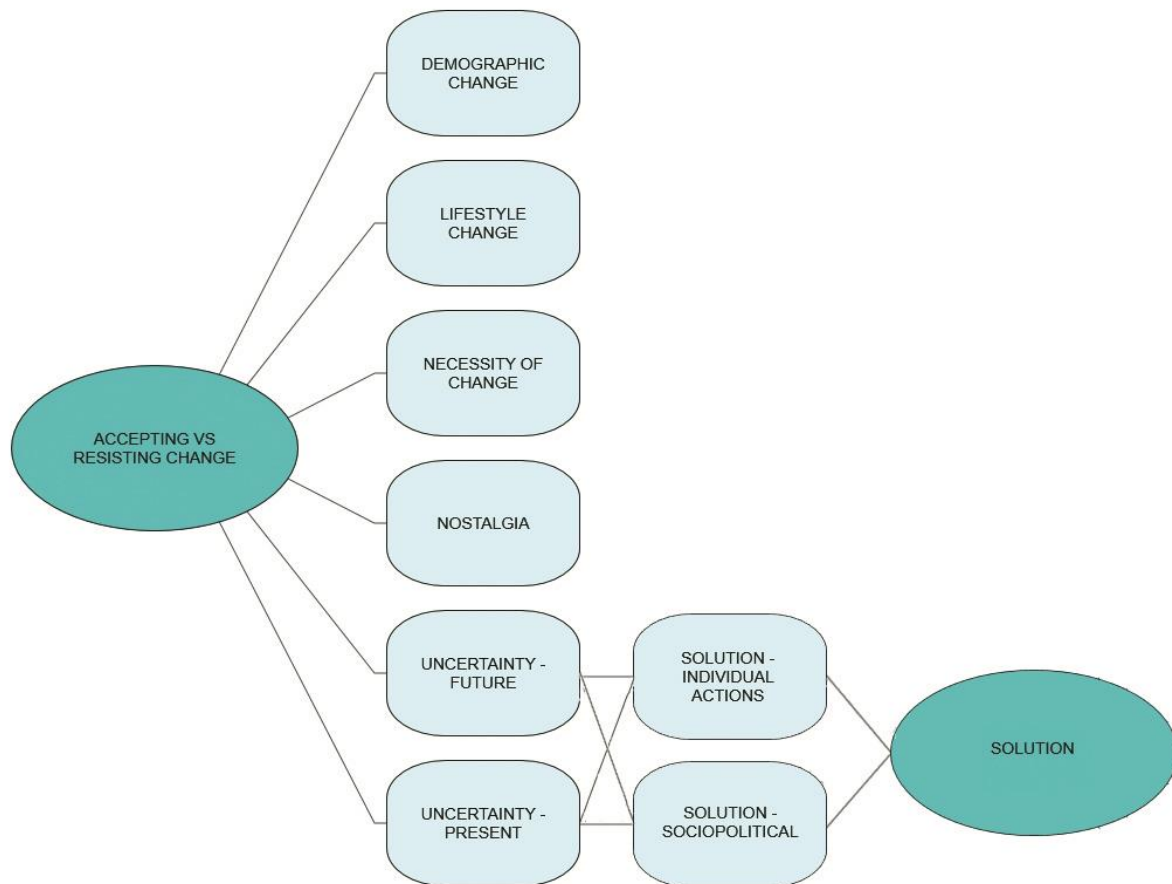
5.4 ORGANIZING THEME 2: CULTURAL SECURITY

Cultural security encompasses all attitudes and opinions related to culture (including language and religion) that emerged during the discussions(see figure 9). Overall there was the acknowledgement that cultural differences are present when interacting with foreigners. Participants expressed awareness that foreigners hold certain beliefs and behave in a certain way because of differences in cultures. Some perceived cultural differences as acting as a barrier, preventing foreigners from living the Maltese way of life in Malta. Frustration was mostly felt amongst 60+ participants and 25-40, non-tertiary educated participants who interacted with foreigners who refused to mix with the Maltese culture.

"*And I feel irritated when I meet foreigners who refuse to mix with our culture*"

Concern of a cultural takeover by foreigners was also expressed, especially amongst 25-40, non-tertiary educated participants. Participants felt that they must sacrifice too much of their own culture in order to accommodate others. This was especially voiced in relation to religion and language. On the one hand, the issue of religion was mentioned by the older participants with respect to the removal of crosses in public spaces. On the other hand, the issue of language appeared to be a concern for all participants. There is a unanimous perception that Maltese is not spoken much anymore because of the need to be understood by foreigners. Participants felt that this is the case most especially when it comes to employment, where Maltese speakers are restricted to speaking English when asking or receiving a service such as at restaurants or hospitals. This particular issue was felt mostly amongst the 60+ and 40-59, non-tertiary educated participants who experienced, or knew someone who had experienced, situations in which communication difficulties arose due to the language barrier. The lack of knowledge of the Maltese language amongst foreigners was felt as a significant issue that must be addressed in order to ease the difficulty in adjusting attitudes towards foreigners in Malta.

"I feel hurt. A Maltese person speaking Maltese at a restaurant, I'm not understood"

Figure 9

Basic themes that are categorised under the Organizing theme of Cultural Security
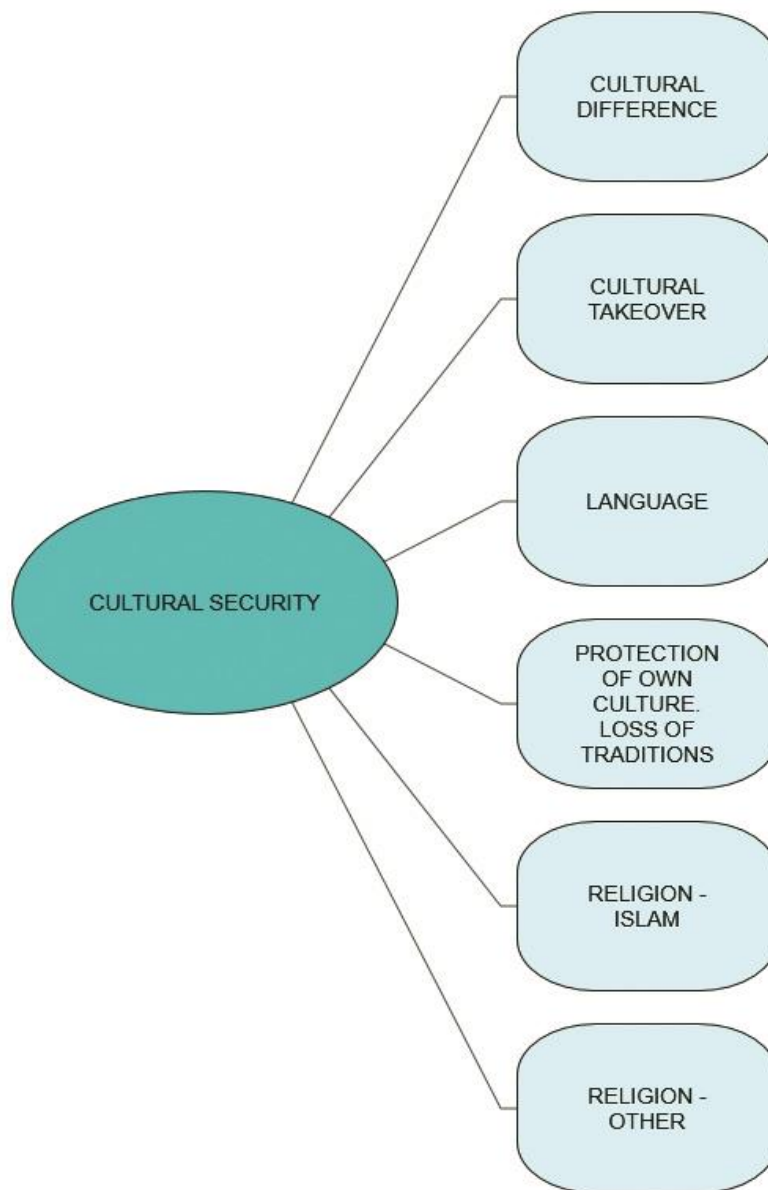
5.5 ORGANIZING THEME 3: DIFFERENTIATING THE OTHER

There was a consensus that foreigners cannot be grouped into one category and so must be differentiated from one another (see figure 10). In the discussions differences were drawn between Africans, Arabs, Asians, Eastern Europeans, and Europeans in general. Distinctions were made in terms of skin colour. Furthermore, difference were also drawn between immigrants that come to Malta to seek work, and refugees who come to Malta because they are fleeing their country. Negative sentiments relating to refugees centred

around the fear that such individuals arrive in Malta undocumented. Some participants voiced the perceived need to turn refugees away, however, others noted the duty that Malta has with respect to the rest of the EU in taking them in.

The different socio-ethnic groups were overall categorised the same across participants. Issues related to hygiene were mentioned in relation to Africans and Arabs. Beside hygiene, issues of aggression arose when discussing Africans, Arabs, and, especially, Eastern Europeans. The link between Arabs and aggression mostly centred around the Islamic religion and Islamic cultures. Some participants expressed the view that the Islamic religion spread a culture of disrespect against women, and promoted killing of non-believers. However, participants in the 18-25, tertiary educated focus group, were aware of influences from the media, particularly misinformation and fake news, and the stigma that may arise out of it. For instance, the association of Eastern Europeans, particularly Serbians, with aggression mostly stemmed from the perception that Serbians typically hang out in gangs and in large numbers.

"The Serbs, those are worst! The majority of times when trouble is caused you hear "Serbs!"
- at Paceville and such, that is the case the majority of the time"

Asians were largely brought up in discussion by participants in the 25-40, non-tertiary educated focus group. The major negative attitude towards Asians was based on the issue of employment. Participants held the view that most blue-collar work nowadays is being taken up by Asians and that their numbers are increasing because Malta-based employers are exploiting them for work. Indeed, opinions regarding Asians were also found to be linked to economic security.

Differences in attitudes towards different socio-ethnic groups arose such that attitudes towards Arabs, Africans, Asians, and Eastern Europeans tended to be more negative, whereas attitudes towards Indians and Europeans in general tended to be more positive. Positive attitudes were based on a good work ethic and the respect that some show to their employers. Nonetheless, praise-based points of view were in the minority and the differences drawn between socio-ethnic groups mostly stemmed from negative perceptions.

Figure 10

Basic themes that are categorised under the Organizing theme of Differentiating the Other
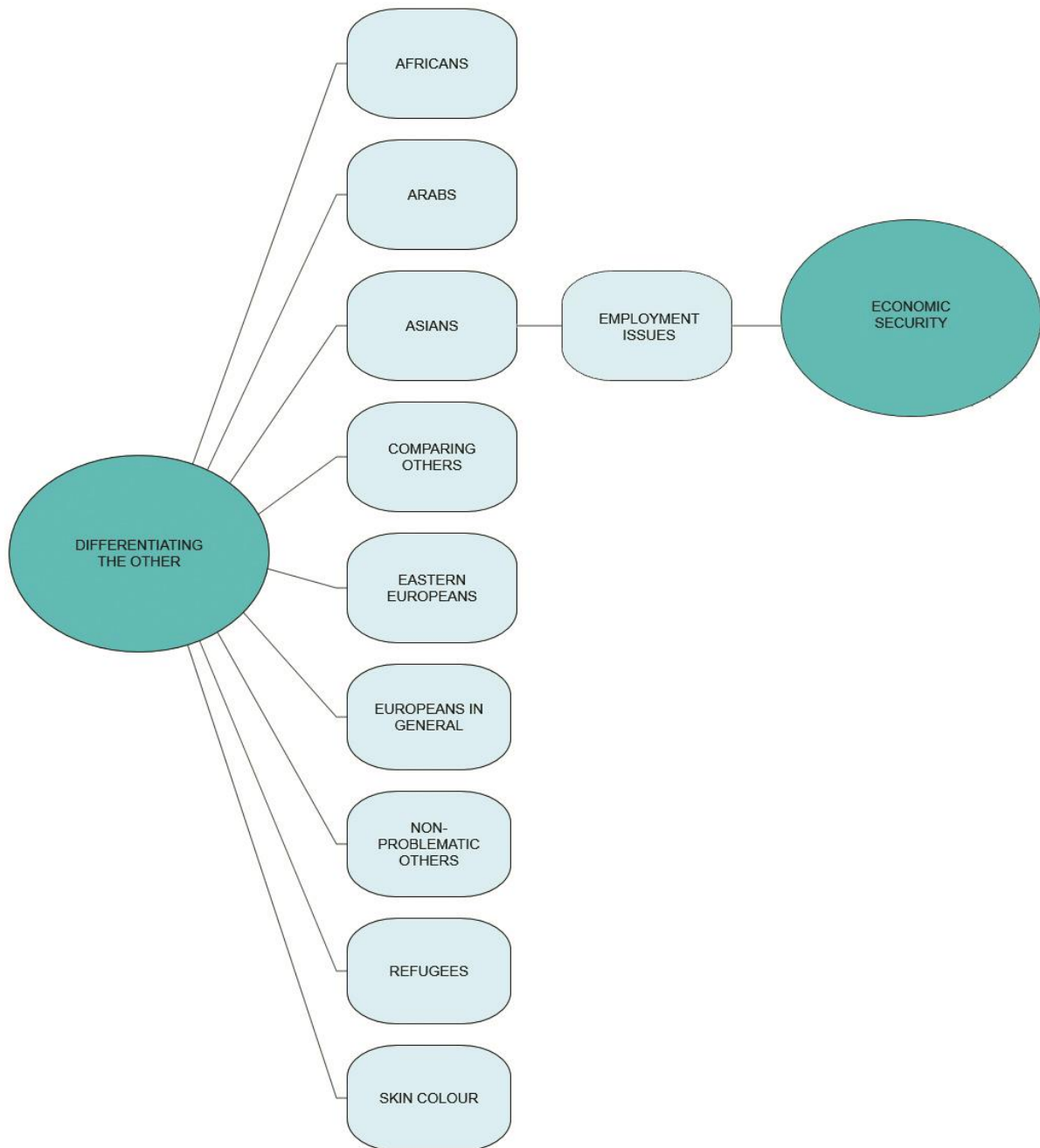
5.6 ORGANIZING THEME 4: ECONOMIC SECURITY

Economic security contained one of the largest and most networked set of themes as the Basic Theme of employment issues was further sub-divided into additional themes (see figure 11.1). All participants other than those in the 18-24, mixed education focus group were concerned about the economic drawbacks of having foreign workers. In particular, non-

tertiary educated participants perceived themselves to having been negatively impacted. These participants argued that even though there is a need for foreign workers and the country's economy has improved, the Maltese worker is not benefitting from the stronger economy. Rather, they feel that the economy has become stronger at their own personal cost.

"I think the bosses are benefiting from the gains…the smaller worker…we are losing because the pay cannot increase."

Another negative attitude related to economic security was based on the perception that foreigners are not contributing enough to the Maltese economy as they are using their salaries to support their families abroad.

Employment issues were further subdivided into six themes. All focus groups raised issues and gave opinions regarding the employment situation in Malta. Generally, participants in the 18-24, mixed education and those in the 25-59 tertiary educated focus group were the least concerned about the current employment situation in relation to the larger number of foreign workers. Rather, these participants had a positive attitude to foreign workers, noting that such workers are doing jobs that the Maltese do not wish to do anymore. Additionally, the 18-24 cohort were more concerned for foreign than Maltese workers, because foreign workers are becoming increasingly exploited by the Maltese. One participant even stated that Maltese employers are two-faced because they argue against foreigners yet exploit them for personal benefit. This self-critical attitude towards the Maltese was fairly common amongst this cohort and tied very strongly with another organizing theme, perceptions of the self (see Figure 11.2)..

"Maltese employers choose foreign workers because they most probably know how to do their work as much as the Maltese worker, and they will take advantage of the situation. This very same Maltese employer will then go home and complain about foreigners taking over the country"

The 18-24 cohort believes that employment is perceived as an issue by others because the Maltese themselves are letting foreigners take their work. Participants in non-tertiary educated focus groups also debated this, however, they largely argued that the reason that Maltese workers refuse to do certain jobs is because they cannot sustain a family on the low wage that these jobs offer. Indeed, the issue of low wages is perceived by many participants to be a consequence of foreign workers who are willing to work for less pay. This argument appears to be based on two beliefs: Firstly, the belief that foreigners have less social ties in Malta so they can survive on a lower wage. Secondly, the belief that the low wage that foreigners earn here in Malta is sufficiently high for the family they are supporting abroad. Another central issue raised by the lower educated participants was the lack of job security. According to the younger participants, Maltese employers are exploiting foreign workers. This view was also held amongst the non-tertiary educated participants, however, they further elaborated by saying that as a result of this exploitation, Maltese workers themselves are also being exploited. Some participants brought up experiences where they felt they could not speak up and defend their rights as employees due to fear of losing their job to a foreign worker willing to work more for less pay. One participant said that she lost her job as a result of asking for a promotion after years of loyalty to her company.

"The problem is there – we have become what we have become because they are using these people for cheap labour"

The lack of job opportunities was also used as the basis of negative attitudes to foreign workers amongst the non-tertiary educated cohorts. Participants with children felt concerned for future generations due to the perception that jobs are becoming increasingly occupied by foreigners. Some stressed the need to pursue further education in order to combat this, whilst others claimed that some sort of capping in number of foreign workers should be put in place.

Similarly to employment issues, participants in the 18-24, mixed education focus group argued that problems with property are being caused by the Maltese themselves. One participant described the difficulty they had in finding a property to live in because landlords only wanted to rent to foreigners. This was backed up by the perception that Maltese landlords can exploit foreigners and make more profit. The older cohorts did not share this

view but rather expressed the view that the rising property market is a significant issue in economic security as Maltese themselves are being priced out of the market. Coupled with the issue of cheap labour, participants felt that this is an alarming matter that must be addressed better by the authorities.

Figure 11.1

Basic and sub themes that are categorised under the Organizing theme of Economic Security
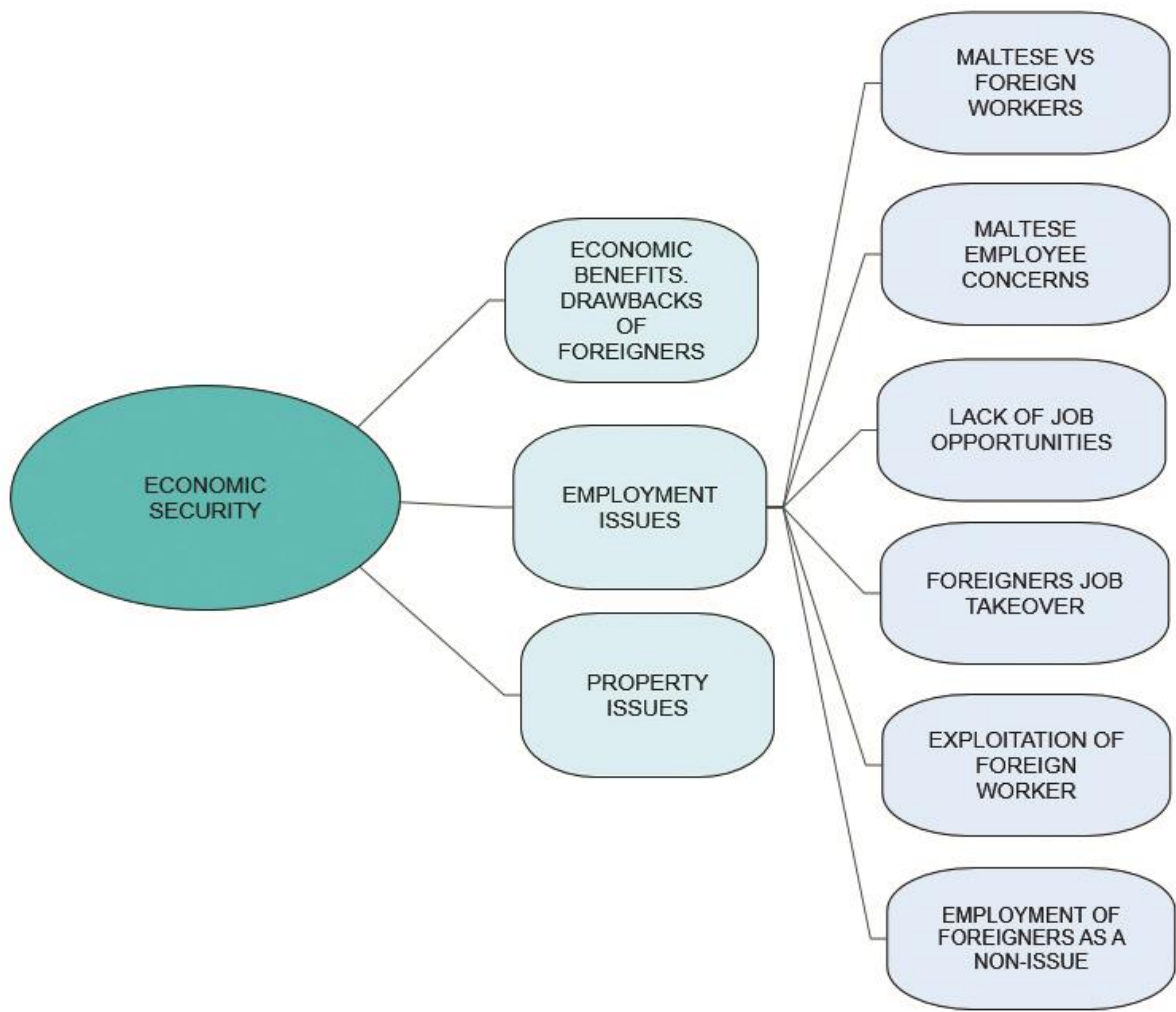
Figure 11.2

Relationship between basic theme of Employment Issues and basic theme of

Maltese Self-Critical
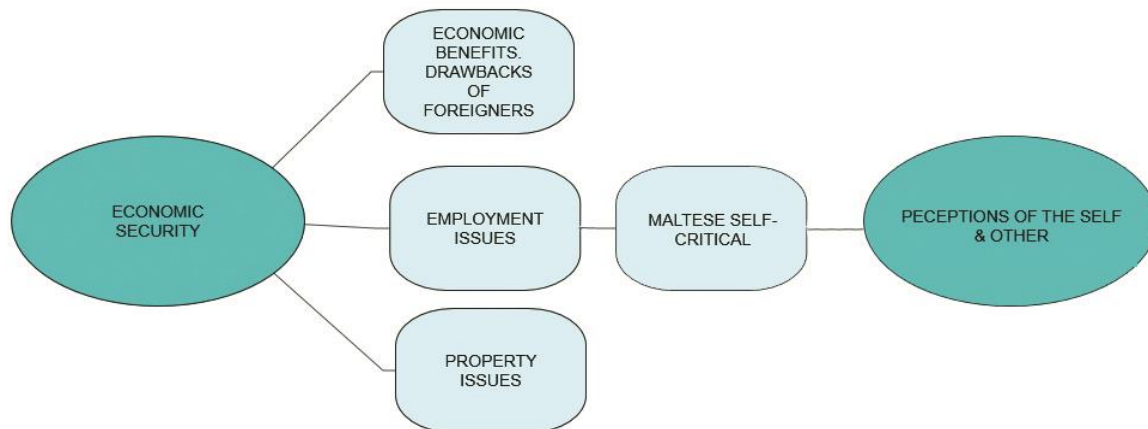
5.7 ORGANIZING THEME 5: EDUCATION, PREJUDICE, AND STIGMA

This theme emerged out of opinions related to the importance of education, the negative effects the media has in shaping our beliefs about foreigners, and the stigma that surrounds foreigners living in Malta (see figure 12). Issues related to the media were brought up by participants in the 18-24, mixed and 25-50, tertiary educated focus groups. Such participants showed awareness regarding how the media portrays and stereotypes particular foreigners and how this negatively impacts the attitude of the general public, especially the older generation. In particular, they point to the media and the uncritical consumption of information by older generations as a reason for the prejudiced attitudes that Maltese people generally tend to adopt when encountering foreigners:

"The media just manipulates it because it has a certain agenda. It could be political or partisan, whatever…but it's the fear – sometimes it is being instigates for the wrong reasons."

Even though older cohorts did not raise the issue of the role of media in perpetuating stereotypes, they expressed the belief that education is crucial to alleviate stigma surrounding

certain foreigners. Furthermore, they also added that foreigners themselves must be educated in order to help them integrate into Maltese society and the Maltese way of life.

Figure 12

Basic themes that are categorised under the Organizing theme of Education, Prejudice, and Stigma
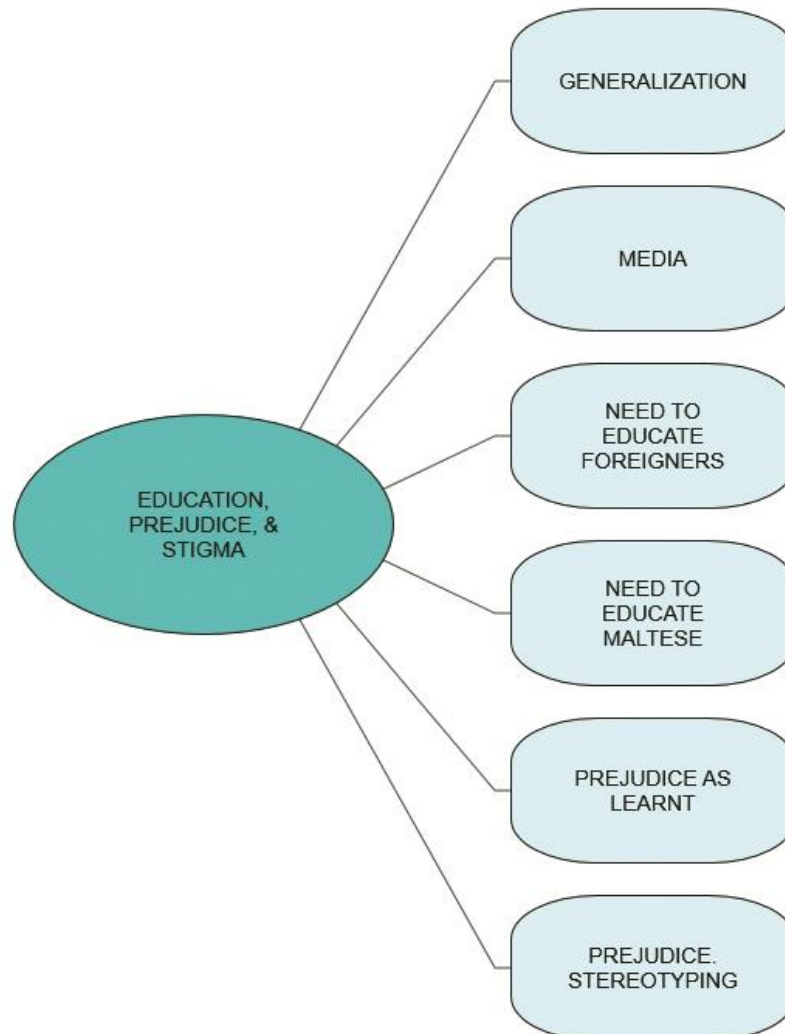
5.8 ORGANIZING THEME 6: PERCEPTIONS OF THE SELF AND OTHER

This theme encapsulates both positive and negative perceptions towards the self and other people (see figure 13). The top themes that emerged from the discussion that related to perceptions of the self and others were disrespect, institutional double standards, self-critical attitude of Maltese, and zero-sum view, that is, the view that personally-held beliefs are correct whilst others' beliefs are incorrect. The theme of disrespect emerged out of the focus

groups with participants who have a non-tertiary level of education. Some participants drew comparisons with foreigners living in Malta and their own personal experience living abroad. They felt that just like they had to abide by the host country's way of life, foreigners here in Malta should do the same. Indeed, because of this, participants in these cohorts appear to be irritated that because Malta is perceived to receive foreigners with great hospitality, respect is not reciprocated. Moreover, they feel that as foreigners gain more power, by occupying better paying jobs, they are adopting a superior stance against the Maltese and further using this to gain more power.

"Over here we welcome these people, we welcome them and feed them, then they become over powerful."

The perception that foreigners disrespect the Maltese way of life and Maltese people in general appears to be influential in shaping attitudes towards foreigners. The view here is that the less respect shown by foreigners, the more intolerant Maltese people get. This was prevalent largely amongst the older cohorts.

"Yes when certain things start happening to you, you start becoming racist. I'm sorry, I know it's not something nice, but yes, I become racist"

Institutional double standards emerged as a theme in all groups other than the 18-24, mixed education focus groups. The primary issue in relation to this theme was the belief that foreigners are being looked after better than Maltese people. Some participants perceived foreigners to possess better rights than the Maltese, and some even went so far as to state that refugees who are sent to prison for breaking the law are better off than certain Maltese people. Amongst these participants there is the belief that because of poor finances, some Maltese individuals are being forced to live in certain areas under certain conditions because they are struggling to make ends meet as a consequence of foreign workers. Such beliefs lead to the perception amongst these cohorts that Maltese institutions are not doing enough to look after their own.

"And then the Maltese, we ourselves say that charity begins at home. Maltese people living in garages, and these refugees…we are giving them a place to sleep."

The theme of Maltese as being self-critical contrasts with that of patriotism/praise of the Maltese. These two themes are worth exploring because they reveal inter-generational differences in perceptions of the Maltese people. On the one hand, participants in the 18-24, mixed education focus group were largely critical of the Maltese people. Through comparisons with foreigners, participants depicted Maltese people as being their own worst enemy, possessing a number of traits that leaves them lagging behind. Such participants also expressed the wish to actively combat any racial prejudice they feel as a result of influences from the media and older generations. On the other hand, older participants voiced a considerable amount of praise for the Maltese people especially in relation to the hard work ethic and hospitable nature.

"You may ask me "Why aren't Maltese people good?" That's not true! The Maltese people are good and smart. They are even smarter than other people."

The zero-sum view theme was observed across all cohorts and it emerged from views related to the perception that different socio-ethnic group can never live together without any issues. Younger participants acknowledged that even though there is a certain level of inclusion, total integration would be difficult to achieve because Maltese people and foreigners are not the same on many levels. One older participant expressed the view that since they are different, it is impossible for Maltese and foreigners to ever be the same.

"I believe that there is no solution. There is no solution because birds of the same feathers, fly together"

Figure 13

Basic themes that are categorised under the Organizing theme of Perceptions of Self and Other
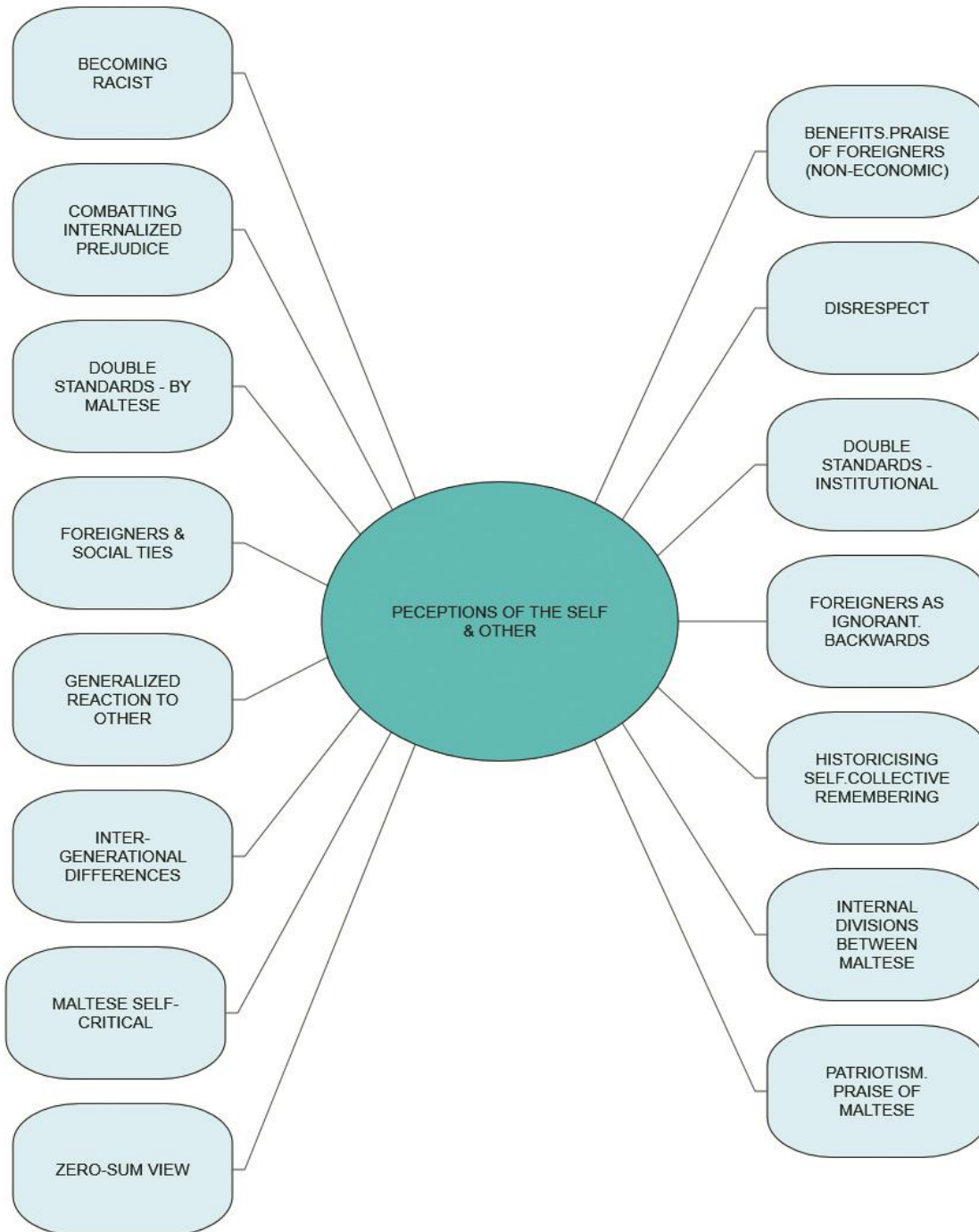
5.9 ORGANIZING THEME 7: PERSONAL SECURITY

Personal security related to all aspects concerning the physical self. Issues were raised on aggression, criminality, and theft. The themes of heightened tensions between Maltese people and foreigners as well as the theme of fear of group behaviour also emerged (see figure 14). Concerns for personal security were voiced by all participants, however, they were most prevalent amongst participants in the 25-59, tertiary educated focus groups and the non-tertiary educated focus groups. Fear of aggression was perhaps the most salient theme as it strongly tied with various basic themes under the organizing theme of differentiating the other. Generally, fear of aggression arose from differences in culture as well as the fear of the unknown, that is, not knowing how the foreigner behaves or reacts. Many participants recounted personal experiences where they felt fear of aggression because of the way foreigners were behaving, particularly, when in groups. This was especially the case amongst female participants. One participant even claimed that just like she would fear a pack of dogs, she would also fear a pack of foreigners. Others even reasoned that they fear aggression because foreigners are unpredictable, they hang out in large gangs, and often times are in the majority in certain public spaces.

"They all stick together, you know? All of them, and they are a pack and I personal think that when there is a pack I am afraid."

Criminality and theft emerged as themes because participants expressed the view that criminality has increased in Malta as a result of the growing number of foreigners. Some also claimed to be concerned about the growing number of crimes because there is no knowledge of the criminal past of certain foreigners such as refugees. Overall, themes related to personal security are characterised by uncertainty of who the foreigner is and what they are capable of doing.

Figure 14

Basic themes that are categorised under the Organizing theme of Personal Security
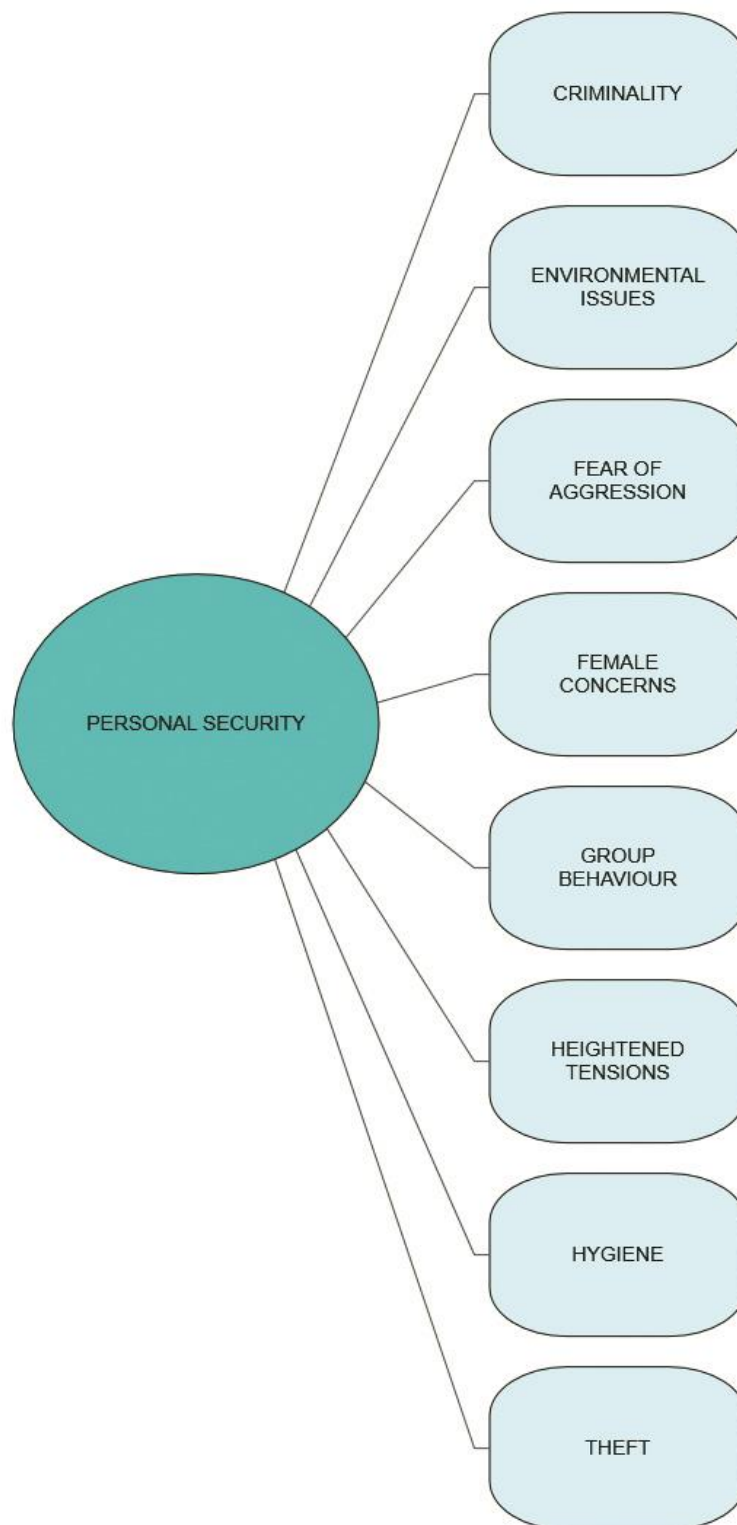
5.10 ORGANIZING THEME 8: SOLUTIONS

Solutions were mainly directed towards the individual and government-level institutions (see figure 15). Solutions related to the individual were largely provided by the tertiary educated participants. Conversely, those that involved government-level institutions were expressed across all groups, however, the non-tertiary participants appeared to be most concerned about the lack of socio-political aid. With reference to the former, participants put forth suggestions centring around the idea of increasing empathy and tolerance amongst both Maltese people and foreigners in the hope that by adopting a more inquisitive and open mind, different others can learn to live together in more harmony.

"So if we are a little bit mindful to where they've come from, the situations they've had to pass through and them for us as well being in the country that's receiving them, I think that would help for cultures to live together"

Regarding socio-political actions, non-tertiary educated participants voiced their disappointment with police, governments, and even the European Union, for not doing enough in tackling the issue of mass migration. Participants felt that negative effects on their personal life are being ignored and this is resulting in a loss of social bonds. They proposed that such institutions should make more of an effort to listen to citizens, and particularly Maltese workers who are suffering because of the cheap labour of foreigners. One participant recommended a form of whistle-blower program in order to allow employees to report unfair conditions. Others proposed a capping on the number of foreigners allowed in Malta. With respect to the other cohorts, some solutions were aimed at overcoming the issue of media influences with more education, whereas others suggested that a form of crash course on Maltese is provided to foreigners in order to assist them to integrate better within Maltese society. Perhaps what is also noteworthy is that the basic theme of extreme solutions emerged amongst non-tertiary educated participants. Such participants felt that they have tolerated too much and that only extreme solutions such as deporting foreigners who break the law, leaving the country, or even leaving the EU, can fix the issues faced in Malta.

"So that's why it has come to the extent that, yes, I will leave the country because it's too much! They take everything! Whatever they wish!"

[On Brexit] *"How could we not copy them? When are we going to copy them? When we sink? When we become overcrowded? When we are unable to speak up?"*

Figure 15

Basic themes that are categorised under the Organizing theme of Solution
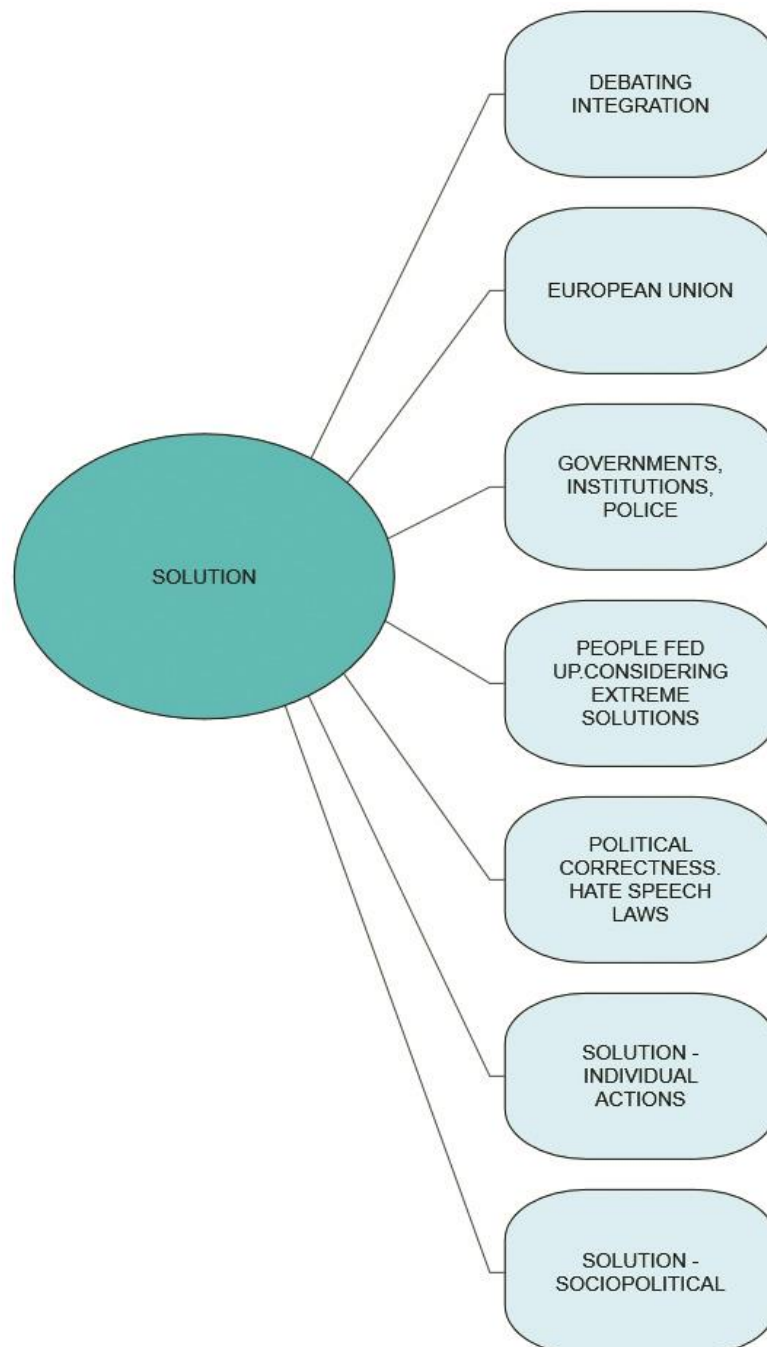
6.0 GENERAL DISCUSSION

The aim of this project was to seek an understanding of current attitudes towards foreigners as well as perceived impact that the presence of foreigners has on perceptions of security in the personal, economic, and cultural domain. This was achieved by carrying out two studies. The first study utilised measures administered through a survey to investigate the current state of attitudes towards foreigners, through measures of multiculturalism, tolerance, perceptions of security (personal, economic, and cultural), and socio-ethnic "thermometers". Some measures were compared with similar ones collected in 2010. The level of favourable attitudes towards specific socio-ethnic groups (as measured by the socio-ethnic thermometers) decreased across most of the socio-ethnic groups (Eastern Europeans, Africans, and Arabs) between 2010 and 2019. Western Europeans, who were rated the highest followed by Eastern Europeans, Africans, and Arabs, experienced an increase in favourable attitudes between 2010 and 2019. Findings regarding multiculturalism revealed that respondents became more polarised such that anti-immigration and pro-immigration views increased, whilst open views decreased between 2010 and 2019. Lastly, perceptions of security were also found to decrease over the last decade.

With respect to the present data, findings suggested that overall respondents were not tolerant to most practices for any of the socio-ethnic groups (e.g., cultural activities, places of worship etc.). Most especially, there was low tolerance of Arabs across all practices. Perception of security was highest for economic security followed by cultural security and economic security. A younger age was found to correlate with higher perceptions of personal security, whereas a higher education level was found to correlate with higher perceptions of cultural security. The qualitative component of the survey revealed that perceptions of cultural and personal security tended to be negative. Conversely, those for economic security tended to be positive. Findings from the first study were used to inform the direction of the second study.

The second study was carried out through focus groups and aimed at exploring how perceptions of security in the economic, personal, and cultural domain are influenced by the presence of foreigners in Malta. Findings from the first study indicated somewhat negative attitudes towards foreigners and this was confirmed in the findings from the focus groups. However, in contrast to the findings from the first study, participants did not perceive themselves to have high economic security. Rather, participants expressed more concern over

economic issues than cultural and personal domains. This was especially the case amongst the non-tertiary educated participants. Moreover, cultural security appeared to be more salient than issues of personal security. Generally, participants voiced disappointment in government and EU level institutions which are not doing enough to mitigate issues arising from migration. They were also aware that even though Malta appears to have benefitted from the influx of foreigners, the profits and benefits are not being experienced by the population at large, especially the less educated and lower-skilled workers. Other than differences in perceptions based on education level, intergenerational differences were also found such that younger participants had positive attitudes towards foreigners. Such participants felt that the issue was not due to higher institutions but rather the Maltese mentality that does not allow for peaceful interactions with foreigners. In summary, a thematic analysis of such findings resulted in one global theme that encapsulated eight organising themes. The global theme of "Adaptation vs Breaking Point" characterizes the polarity observed in the issues raised by participants. On the one hand, there seemed to be the view that individuals and society need to adapt to changes due to foreigners because this change is not something that one can have control over. On the other hand, there seemed to be the view of having reached a breaking point where one has become intolerant to any more changes. The dichotomy between the two will be explored in further detail in the following by combining findings from the second study with those of the first and referring to relevant literature.

6.1 ECONOMIC GROWTH: A DOUBLE EDGED-SWORD

The justification for allowing ever increasing numbers of foreigners to live in Malta largely rests on the presumed beneficial impact on the economy. Nevertheless, a primary finding from the two studies carried out is that individuals are nowadays feeling less economically secure than they did a decade ago. Indeed, the thematic analysis of data gathered from the focus groups revealed that the advantages of an improved economy are not being perceptibly enjoyed by some members of the working class. A plausible rationale to such findings is that the depression in wages and rise in profits have become a double-edged sword affecting people in Malta. Higher profits have allowed businesses to flourish but at the cost of lower wages. Cheap labour has become readily available with the influx of migrant workers and both Maltese citizens and foreigners have become vulnerable to exploitation for economic success. The issue does not seem capable of being resolved easily as an effect of

economic success has been the reduction of unemployment and the rise in unfilled vacancies (NSO, 2020). Hence, a larger population of workers is needed to sustain economic growth.

Overcrowding, competition of jobs, and the depression of wages have all been found to impact quality of life in Europe (Eurostat, 2019). The present findings suggest that individuals perceive that the rising rate of the cost of living does not match the rate of personal economic growth. In the background section (see Appendix A), it is noted that economic-self-interest is highly influential in shaping people's attitude towards foreigners (e.g., Gerber et al., 2017). Indeed, the role of this factor has emerged from data analysed in the present studies. It is possible to reason that individuals are adopting an anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism attitude due to the perception of poor economic security. This could especially be the case amongst the lower educated individuals. Findings are also in line with realistic conflict theory, since the scarcer the resources and opportunities were perceived to be, the more likely individuals are to adopt an anti-immigration attitude. In fact, controlling and surveying the level of immigration was one of the prevailing policy choices that participants expressed. Immigration can strongly impact demographic and lifestyle factors (e.g., Fratczak, 2016), and economic security concerns appear to be instrumental in edging the public (particularly amongst the lower educated) into reaching breaking point levels of tolerance.

6.2 CRIME AND MISPERCEPTIONS

Findings revealed that people tended to overestimate criminality amongst foreigners. Immigration is a highly charged topic and the media has capitalized on this most especially in the realm of crime. Specific crimes are being associated with specific groups and attitudes towards foreigners differ in this manner. Policies aimed at aligning people's perceptions about crime and foreigners with reality is crucial in bettering public attitudes towards foreigners. Additionally, by fostering a critical-thinking culture, individuals may be less susceptible to inaccurate facts or statistics that are communicated by the media.

6.3 EDUCATION AND PRO-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT

Education was found to have a differential effect on perceptions of security. Individuals with a higher education were more accepting of change, citing adaptation as a necessity. Furthermore, they were less economically, personally, and culturally threatened by

foreigners. Previous studies have attributed similar findings to two reasons: Firstly, that education increases the opportunity to come into contact with foreigners (Hewstone & Swart, 2011); Secondly, that education promotes a more inquisitive and open mentality (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Therefore, besides addressing economic concerns, the direction for future policies does not lie simply in educating the public, but also increasing opportunities of contact where both foreigners and Maltese citizens mutually benefit from the interaction. Micro-level integration policies are beneficial because they improve the quality of contact between diverse others and may help reduce prejudice and discrimination within wider society.

6.4 CONCLUSION

In summary this project has underlined how perceptions of security influence Maltese people's attitudes towards foreigners. Overall, there appears to be an acknowledgement that the country cannot prosper without the presence of foreigners. Nonetheless, such economic growth is perceived to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand the presence of foreign workers has offered a quick pathway to economic success. On the other hand, this has taken place at the cost of (a) increasing negative attitudes towards foreigners, and (b) the perception that more workers (both Maltese and non-Maltese) suffering from exploitation at the hands of certain employers. Policies cannot be purely targeted towards integration and increasing cooperation amongst people, but must also aim to overcome issues arising from perceived personal, cultural, and economic security concerns that are catalysing antagonism between Maltese people and foreigners.

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8.0 LIST OF FIGURES

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APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND

Individuals have long acknowledged the importance of social relations for personal development and societal development. Consequently, it is no doubt that the importance of managing positive social relations has been a predominant challenge, especially within an ever-increasing globalized world. Immigration and the diverse intergroup relations that it brings about have taken central stage within many countries placing immigration as the defining issue of recent decades. Relations between individuals and diverse groups have changed due to the increasing global restructuring as individuals are now transcending international boundaries in search for different opportunities. Societies are now more than ever persistently facing the issue of improving or maintaining social cohesion in the face of cultural, social, and economic challenges that have been arisen out of globalization (Fonseca et al., 2018). Indeed, the failure to improve or maintain successful societal cohesion due to the presence of migrants has posed a threat to varying levels of security. The following review will firstly explore the characteristics of self and group processes in relationships with foreigners. It will then move on to discuss literature relating security to attitudes towards foreigners. Lastly, it will conclude by referring to the differential effects that age and education may have on perceptions of security and attitudes towards foreigners.

A.1 Self and group processes

Self-concept is thought to fundamentally comprise of personal and social identity (for review see, Hogg, Abrams, & Brewer, 2017). This means that one's interaction with wider society entails both oneself as an individual (with one's own personal interests and values), and as a member of a particular group one identifies with. Put simply, personal identity is related to one's own personal interests and values whereas social identity is related with identification to particular groups where such identification it typically dependent on accessibility and fit (Hogg et al., 2017). One of the most prominent theories relating the self to group processes and intergroup relations is social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The underlying premise of the theory is that affiliation with a group affects people's attitude and behaviours towards ingroup and outgroup, thus shaping people's identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People are inherently motivated to derive and maintain a positive image of their social identity by categorizing and comparing against outgroup others. For this reason, as identification with a group serves to establish and secure one's sense of identity, when comparing against others, one is more is likely to favour own's own group as opposed to the outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Beside ingroup favouritism, ingroup/outgroup division is

also driven by stereotyped beliefs shaped by own's one group. Stereotyped beliefs influence perception and behaviour by amplifying differences with the outgroup while down-playing within-group differences. It is a cognitive bias that allows for quick categorization of the other thus founding the view of "us vs them". Ultimately, as social identity theory is fundamentally a theory of conflict and cooperation between groups, it is thought to provide a reasonable explanation as to the appearance of prejudice and discrimination surrounding intergroup relations, thus threatening social cohesion (Hogg et al., 2017; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

A.2 Cultural security

Research analysing the relationship between social diversity and social cohesion has found a negative relationship between diversity and cohesion such that the larger the cultural and ethnic diversity the poorer the social cohesion (Fonseca et al., 2018). Indeed, culture is perhaps one of the various dimensions of social identity most affected by immigration. This is because migration flows often result in the contact of two or more cultures, where beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviours of one group co-exist with those of another. Due to this, some aspects of identity may change, consequently, posing a threat to the individual or group. Thus, cultural cues can be seen to be strongly influential in strengthening anti-immigrant attitudes. For instance early research (e.g., Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004) claims that cultural threat, such as that which arises when immigrants refuse to speak the host's country language, are more influential than economic threats. Other research such as that carried out by Liu (2012) claims that even cultural cues stemming from collective remembering are powerful enough to influence societal belief structures and mobilize public opinion (e.g. a nation's historical recollection of the Crusades, or WWII, etc.). Ultimately such beliefs and motives distinguish the different acculturation approaches that one may take to manage the relationship with culturally different outgroups (Berry, 1997). Indeed, Berry (1997) proposes that such approaches or strategies can range from multiculturalism - the promoting of cultural maintenance amongst immigrant minorities, to cultural assimilation – the imposition of cultural obligations on immigrant minorities. Tertiary-level educated people have been found to be significantly more supportive of cultural diversity and are more likely to be pro-multiculturalism (Margaryan, Paul, & Siedler, 2018). Nevertheless, a prevailing issue amongst policy makers tackling the fear of cultural loss is to choose which strategy to employ in order to respect immigrant minority's culture whilst also safeguarding the nation's

own cultural identity. Therefore, it is pertinent to formulate an understanding of perceptions of cultural security in order to inform measures that policy makers should adopt to ensure social cohesion addressed through cultural domains.

A.3 Economic security

Despite the fact that immigration may result in positive effects on the host country, it is the negative effects on economy that often times attract most attention. Strong evidence points to the role of economic factors in shaping perceptions of immigrants where fear of job loss and competition of salary are often identified as substantial reasons to oppose immigration (Gerber et al., 2017). Indeed, Scheve and Slaughter (2001), claim that belonging to a higher economic class mitigates anti-immigration attitudes. Lower-class individuals and less-skilled workers are more likely to be against the influx of migrants due to higher competition of jobs and perceived depression of economic opportunities (Gerber et al., 2017; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). In addition to this, more opposition surrounds less-skilled migrant workers as they are perceived to be a greater financial burden because they pay less in taxes (Hanson, Scheve, & Slaughter, 2005). Perceived economic threat can be explained by realistic conflict theory (Sherif, 1967). This assumes that intergroup conflict is rooted in material interests that are shared between group, where the more limited the material resource is, the more likely the conflict between groups occurs (Sherif, 1967) due to competition for resources. The economy may be considered one such material interest, such that perceived limited economic resources could shift attitudes towards immigrants. Consequently, with reference to this theory, the lower the economic security one has, the higher the perception that economic resources are limited and thus the higher felt competition for this resource. For this reason, one may be more likely to adopt negative attitudes towards incoming migrants. Essentially, as economic self-interest is instrumental in shaping attitudes towards migrants, it is worthwhile to explore the saliency of this issue amongst public perceptions of foreigners.

A.4 Personal security

An additional impact of immigration on policy debate is the effect of immigrants on crime (Bernat, 2017). Research (e.g., Jiang & Erez, 2018) shows that individuals adopt a negative or fearful attitude towards immigrants because they perceive them as a threat to community cohesion as well as personal safety. Research consistently shows that immigrants

are less likely to commit crime than naturally born citizens (Ferraro, 2016). Yet, the perception that crime rates are higher amongst immigrants may be deeply rooted in public opinion and media. Nonetheless, a number of studies (for review see Rigoni, 2018) also show that some crimes are more common amongst certain immigrants because of cultural traditions deemed as being associated with certain types of crime. That is, values and beliefs about what behaviour is acceptable may differ between different cultures and therefore blur the understanding of what constitutes a crime or not (Rigoni, 2018). Other than cultural conflict, another reason for crime could be due to the weakened social ties that result from residential turnover and increased social disorganization (Ferraro, 2016). Additionally, social ties may also be weakened because immigration may lessen consensual agreement about common values, which becomes more difficult to achieve (Ferraro, 2016; Jiang & Erez, 2018). Ultimately, there appears to be a mismatch between actual rates of crime committed by foreigners, and general public opinion which estimates such rates as being higher than they actually are (Bernat, 2017). For this reason, public perception of fear of crime and personal security as a result of migrant flows are important domains that must be explored to formulate a more comprehensive understanding of ways of increasing cohesion between foreigners and natives.

A.5 Intergenerational differences in perception

Much of the research that has investigated attitudes regarding foreigners has pointed to age as a significant predictor of variation in anti-immigration sentiment (e.g., McLaren & Paterson, 2019). In particular, older individuals appear to be more negative about immigration when compared to younger individuals (McLaren & Paterson, 2019). Cultural threat (e.g., Sniderman et al., 2004) and realistic conflict theory (e.g., Meuleman, Abts, Schmidt, Pettigrew, & Davidov, 2018) have both provided a rationale for this trend. The cultural threat perspective claims that older individuals are more anti-immigrant because they are more fearful of the loss of their culture (Sniderman et al., 2004). Conversely, the realistic conflict theory perspective postulates that younger individuals are less concerned about limited resources and are consequently less likely to adopt an anti-immigrant attitudes because they do not perceive any competition with the foreigner (Meuleman et al., 2018). Another theory cited with respect to age and anti-immigration sentiment is intergroup contact theory that states that younger individuals adopt more positive attitudes towards immigrants because they tend to be in contact with them more often than older individuals (Hewstone &

Swart, 2011). This is based on the concept that intergroup hostility and prejudice is reduced when increasing contact between groups (Hewstone & Swart, 2011). In summary, all these theories can provide a reasonable explanation of the effect of age on immigration attitudes, however, literature has suggested that this relationship may also be mediated by education (Margaryan et al., 2018).

A.5.1 The role of education. Research has found a positive correlation between education and pro-immigration attitudes (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). One factor regarding the association between the two is economic issues (Hanson et al., 2005; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). As discussed above, less skilled individuals and those with a lower level of education are more likely to oppose immigration due to higher perceived economic threat (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). This association has been corroborated by other studies (e.g., Margaryan et al., 2018) and has also been found to be stronger in countries were native citizens are more skilled than immigrants. Nevertheless, besides economic factors, other factors attributed to this association have been hypothesized to include cognitive differences between lower and higher educated individuals (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Individuals who pursue further education may possess more egalitarian values and tolerance because the experience of the educational system has shaped their cognitive repertoires, making them less ethnocentric and more open to others (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). For this reason, they are less likely to fall victim to oversimplification of social reality that could be conveyed by means of media or policy makers. These explanations provide a plausible justification for the role of education in shaping attitudes towards immigration, however, as education is strongly intertwined with intergenerational differences and has become increasingly more common, it is essential to consider the interplay between the two when formulating an understanding of the impact of foreigners on perceptions of security in today's society.

A.6 Conclusion

This review has explored literature related to the differential impact of foreigners on perceptions of security. A brief overview of the self and group processes highlighted the importance of social identity in shaping attitudes towards others. This was followed by a brief discussion of the three main areas of security: cultural, economic, and personal. Cultural

security was deemed an important area of enquiry due to the challenge of policy makers in establishing a mid-point between respecting foreign cultures whilst safeguarding the native culture. Economic security was reviewed as it is mainly a concern that arises out of self-interest rather than group processes. Lastly, personal security was included due to the increase in perceptions of criminality amongst foreigners despite contrary evidence. Following this, the review concluded by drawing on literature related to intergenerational differences that suggested that the younger are more welcoming to foreigners, and that this association may be mediated by education.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Il-Barranin f'Malta

Intro

In this anonymous survey, we are asking Maltese citizens, aged 18+, to tell us what they think of foreigners in Malta. This should take around ten minutes to complete.

Your views are very important to us.

We thank you in advance for your collaboration.

This survey is part of a project conducted by the University of Malta and funded by the Ministry for Home Affairs and National Security. Should you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact the lead researcher Prof Gordon Sammut: gordon.sammut@um.edu.mt

Thanks again😊

English

Q1 **Please read through the following five statements about life in general. Tell us the extent to which you agree or disagree:**

	Strongly disagree			Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5
PY24. The future depends on us and the choices we make. We need to work to fix institutions, laws and policies so that they can cater better to the needs of the people and Maltese society. ()			●		
WZ05. To succeed, we need to adjust to our life situations. Sometimes we have to close an eye to the rules to help our loved ones. ()			●		
KH30. In life, we need to help one another and improve our communities. We need to follow local rules and customs so that there can be order in Maltese society. ()			●		

UL03. In life, we get what we deserve. One needs to make the best of what life offers and if one works hard enough, one will ultimately succeed. ()	
XY20. People are what they are and one has little control over what will turn out in the end. One needs to live day by day and let tomorrow take care of itself. ()	

Q2 **Which one of the 5 statements that you have just read would you say represents your views best?**

○ PY24 (1)

○ WZ05 (2)

○ KH30 (3)

○ UL03 (4)

○ XY20 (5)

Q3 **The following five statements were made by Maltese people. Tell us the extent to which you agree or disagree:**

	Strongly disagree			Strongly agree	
	1	2	3	4	5
BN18. The Maltese must stand up for Maltese culture. We must never allow foreigners to change our way of life because they will soon take over our country. ()					
JW09. Whatever people say, multiculturalism is necessary in today's world and there's no reason why different people shouldn't learn to co-exist in one way or another. ()					
EG47. Immigrants have a right to their own way of life, but they do not have the right to impinge on the rights of others. Extreme tolerance should not be accepted. ()					
DR06. Immigration may be a challenge for people who are not accustomed to different ways of life.					

But the real problem of immigration is the intolerance of certain Maltese individuals towards other cultures, and not the immigrants themselves. Immigrants in Malta need our support not our hate. ()	
CS33. Our way is not the only way, and to be free is to allow others to be free too. Everyone has a right to their own way of life. Similarly, everyone is free to take a view on the practices of another culture and has the liberty to express those thoughts. These rights are fundamental whether we agree with others or not. ()	

Q4 **Which one of the 5 statements that you have just read would you say represents your views best?**

○ BN18 (1)

○ JW09 (2)

○ EG47 (3)

○ DR06 (4)

○ CS33 (5)

Q5 **Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:**

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5
There is room for a variety of languages and cultures in this country. ()					
We have to take steps to protect our cultural traditions from outside influences. ()					
Learning other languages makes us forget our own cultural traditions. ()					
I am concerned about losing my cultural identity. ()					
I feel culturally secure as Maltese. ()					
Unemployment in Malta worries me. ()					
This country is prosperous and wealthy enough for everyone to feel secure. ()					
The cost of living in Malta makes it difficult to have enough money for essentials. ()					
People spend too much time fretting about economic matters. ()					
A person's chances of living a safe, untroubled life are better today than ever before. ()					
Our society is going from bad to worse. ()					
The reports of immoral and degenerate people in our society are grossly exaggerated. ()					
People's chances of being robbed, assaulted, and even murdered are getting higher and higher. ()					

Q7 **How many close friends do you have who are ...**

	None (1)	Only one (2)	A few (3)	Some (4)	Many (5)
Maltese (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Foreigners (2)	○	○	○	○	○

Q8 **And how often do you meet with your close friends who are ...**

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	All the time (5)
Maltese (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Foreigners (2)	○	○	○	○	○

Q9 **How favourable is your attitude towards each of the following groups?**

Not favourable at all   Completely favourable

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

Western Europeans (e.g. English, Germans, French, etc.) ()	
Eastern Europeans (e.g. Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, etc.) ()	
Africans ()	
Arabs ()	

Q10.1 **Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:**

	Strongly disagree	Strongly agree
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

I do not mind working with <SOCIAL GROUP> at work. ()	
I have no problem being friends with <SOCIAL GROUP> ()	
Even though we live in the same country, I would not want to see my kids marrying <SOCIAL GROUP>. ()	
If I were a landlord, I would not like to rent out my property to <SOCIAL GROUP>. ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> should be given legal permits to hold public cultural activities in Malta. ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> should be given legal permits to have more places of worship of their own in Malta. ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> should be given legal permits to have their own cultural retail shops in Malta (e.g. food items, clothing, etc). ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP>should be allowed to adopt their own cultural clothing style in Malta (e.g. topless, burkas, etc). ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> should be allowed to adopt their own cultural customs in Malta (e.g. football rivalries, segregation between women and men, liberal sexuality, etc.). ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> should be allowed to have their own cultural quarters in Malta (e.g. 'Chinatown', 'Little Italy', etc). ()	

We're almost done!

Q11.1 Some people say that foreigners will end up telling us what to do in our own country. Please give an example of when <SOCIAL GROUP> might tell us what to do:

Q12.1 Some people argue that cultural diversity strengthens us as a nation, so the presence of foreigners is desirable. Please give an example of when <SOCIAL GROUP> strengthen the country:

_____

Q13.1 Some people, on the other hand, argue that foreigners weaken Maltese communities. Please give an example of when <SOCIAL GROUP> weaken Maltese communities:

_____

Q14.1 As Maltese nationals, what should we never tolerate from <SOCIAL GROUP>?

_____

 Imagine that whilst you were walking down the street, you see a Maltese woman going up to some <SOCIAL GROUP> and telling them, "Here we don't do these things. A little respect, please!"

Q15.1 What do you think could have caused the Maltese woman to respond to <SOCIAL GROUP> in this way?

_____

Thank you so much! A few quick questions about yourself:

Q133 **Nationality**

▼ Afghanistan (1) ... Zimbabwe (1357)

Q16 **Age (in years):**

▼ 18 (1) … 99 (82)

Q17

○ Male (1)

○ Female (2)

○ Other (3)

Q18 **Highest educational attainment:**

○ Primary (1)

○ Secondary (2)

○ Post-secondary (3)

○ Tertiary (4)

Q19 **Do you identify with an organised religion (e.g. Roman Catholic)?**

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Q19.A **To what extent do you identify with your organised religion on a scale from 1 (lowest identification) to 10 (highest identification)?**

○ 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

○ 5 (5)

○ 6 (6)

○ 7 (7)

○ 8 (8)

○ 9 (9)

○ 10 (10)

Q6 **Which statement is most true about the neighbourhood where you live?**

○ Almost all people are from a different ethnic group than mine. (1)

○ A majority of the people is from a different ethnic group than mine. (2)

○ There is about an equal mix of people from my ethnic group and other groups. (3)

○ A majority of the people is from my ethnic group. (4)

○ Almost all people are from my ethnic group. (5)

Q20 **Town/Village:**

▼ Attard (1) ... Żurrieq (55)

Maltese

F'dan is-servej anonimu, qegħdin nistaqsu ċittadini Maltin, li għandhom 18-il sena jew aktar, sabiex jgħidulna x'jaħsbu fuq il-barranin f'Malta. Dan is-servej għandu jieħu madwar għaxar minuti.

Il-fehmiet tiegħek huma importanti ħafna għalina.

Grazzi bil-quddiem tal-kollaborazzjoni tiegħek.

Dan is-servej huwa parti minn proġett immexxi mill-Universita' ta' Malta, b'fondi mill-Ministeru għall-Intern u s-Sigurta' Nazzjonali. Jekk ikollok xi mistoqsijiet, jekk jogħġbok ikkuntattja lir-riċerkatur ewlieni Prof Gordon Sammut: gordon.sammut@um.edu.mt

Grazzi mill-ġdid☺

Q1_MT **Jekk jogħġbok aqra dawn il-ħames fehmiet li ġejjin dwar il-ħajja b'mod ġenerali. Għidilna kemm taqbel jew ma taqbilx:**

	Ma naqbel xejn		Naqbel kompletament		
	1	2	3	4	5
PY24. Il-futur jiddependi minna u mill-għażliet li nagħmlu. Hemm bżonn nirranġaw l-istituzzjonijiet, il-liġijiet u l-proċeduri sabiex inkunu nistgħu nindirizzaw aħjar l-esiġenzi tan-nies u tas-soċjeta' Maltija. ()			●		
WZ05. Biex wieħed jimxi 'l quddiem irid jadatta ruħu għaċ-ċirkustanzi. Fejn jidħlu r-regoli, xi kultant trid tagħlaq għajn waħda sabiex tgħin lill-għeżież tiegħek. ()			●		
KH30. Fil-ħajja hemm bżonn ngħinu lil xulxin u nrawmu l-komunitajiet tagħna. Irridu nimxu skont il-liġijiet u l-użanzi lokali sabiex ikun hawn ordni fis-soċjeta' Maltija. ()			●		
UL03. Fil-ħajja, tieħu li ħaqqek. Wieħed irid jagħraf jakkwista l-opportunitajiet li toffri l-ħajja u jekk wieħed jaħdem u jistinka biżżejjed, fl-aħħar jirnexxi. ()			●		

XY20. In-nies huma li huma u wieħed ftit għandu kontroll fuq x'jiġri fl-aħħar mill-aħħar. L-aħjar hu li wieħed jgħix ġurnata b'ġurnata għax il-futur ħadd ma rah. ()	

Q2_MT **Liema waħda minn dawn il-ħames fehmiet li għadek kemm qrajt tqarreb l-aktar il-fehma tiegħek?**

○ PY24 (1)

○ WZ05 (2)

○ KH30 (3)

○ UL03 (4)

○ XY20 (5)

Q3_MT **Il-ħames stqarrijiet li ġejjin intqalu minn Maltin. Għidilna kemm taqbel jew ma taqbilx:**

	Ma naqbel xejn		Naqbel kompletament		
	1	2	3	4	5
BN18. Il-Maltin iridu jqumu biex jiddefendu l-kultura Maltija. M'għandna qatt inħallu 'l-barranin ibiddlu l-istil tal-ħajja tagħna għax dalwaqt joħdulna pajjżna. ()					
JW09. Jgħidu x'jgħidu n-nies, il-multikulturaliżmu huwa neċessarju fid-dinja tal-lum u m'hawn l-ebda raġuni għalfejn nies differenti m'għandhomx jitgħallmu jgħixu flimkien mod jew ieħor. ()					
EG47. L-immigranti għandhom dritt għall-istil ta' ħajja tagħhom, iżda m'għandhomx dritt itellfu mid-drittijiet ta' ħaddieħor. M'għandniex naċċettaw tolleranza żejda. ()					
DR06. L-immigrazzjoni hija sfida għal min mhux imdorri b'taħlit ta' kulturi. Iżda l-problema tal-immigrazzjoni hi iktar l-intolleranza ta' ċerti Maltin lejn kulturi oħra milli l-immigranti nfushom. L-immigranti f'Malta għandhom bżonn l-għajnuna tagħna u mhux mibgħeda. ()					
CS33. Il-mod ta' ħajja tagħna l-Maltin mhux l-uniku mod ta' ħajja u li tgħix fil-liberta' jfisser ukoll li tħalli lil ħaddieħor jgħix fil-liberta' tiegħu wkoll. Kulħadd huwa wkoll liberu li jgħix il-mod ta' ħajja tiegħu. Fl-istess nifs, kulħadd huwa liberu li jkollu fehma dwar l-użanzi ta' kultura oħra u li jesprimi dawn il-ħsibijiet. Dawn id-drittijiet huma supremi, kemm jekk naqblu mal-oħrajn kif ukoll jekk ma naqblux. ()					

Q4_MT Liema waħda minn dawn il-ħames fehmiet li għadek kemm qrajt tqarreb l-aktar il-fehma tiegħek?

○ BN18 (1)

○ JW09 (2)

○ EG47 (3)

○ DR06 (4)

○ CS33 (5)

Q5_MT Jekk jogħġbok immarka kemm taqbel jew ma taqbilx ma' dawn l-espressjonijiet li ġejjin:

	Ma naqbel xejn				Naqbel kompletament
	1	2	3	4	5

Hemm spazju għal varjeta' ta' lingwi u kulturi f'dan il-pajjiż. ()					
Hemm bżonn nieħdu passi biex nipproteġu t-tradizzjonijiet kulturali tagħna minn influwenzi li ġejjin minn barra. ()					
It-tagħlim ta' lingwi oħra iġiegħelna ninsew it-tradizzjonijiet kulturali tagħna stess. ()					
Jiena mħasseb/ba dwar it-telf tal-identita' kulturali tiegħi. ()					
Inħossni kulturalment sigur(a) bħala Malti/ja. ()					
Il-qagħad f'Malta jħassibni. ()					
Dan il-pajjiż għandu ġid u prosperita` biżżejjed biex kulħadd iħossu sigur. ()					
L-għoli tal-ħajja hawn Malta jagħmilha diffiċli biex ikollok biżżejjed flus għall-bżonnijiet essenzjali. ()					
In-nies jgħaddu wisq ħin jinkeddu fuq kwistjonijiet ekonomiċi. ()					
Il-possibilitajiet biex tgħix ħajja sigura u trankwilla illum huma aħjar minn qatt qabel. ()					
Is-soċjeta' tagħna sejra mill-ħażin għall-agħar. ()					

| Rapporti dwar nies immorali u bla skrupli fis-soċjeta' tagħna huma esaġerati immens. () | |
| Il-probabbilta' li n-nies isofru minn serq, jiġu aggrediti jew saħansitra maqtula dejjem qed tikber. () | |

Q7_MT **Kemm għandek ħbieb tal-qalba li huma ...**

	Xejn (1)	Wieħed/ Waħda biss (2)	Ftit (3)	Mhux ħażin (4)	Ħafna (5)
Maltin (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Barranin (2)	○	○	○	○	○

Q8_MT **U kemm-il darba tiltaqa' mal-ħbieb tal-qalba li huma ...**

	Qatt (1)	Rari (2)	Xi kultant (3)	Spiss (4)	Il-ħin kollu (5)
Maltin (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Barranin (2)	○	○	○	○	○

Q9_MT **Kemm hi favorevoli l-attitudni tiegħek lejn dawn il-gruppi li ġejjin?**

	Mhi favorevoli xejn	Favorevoli għal kollox

	0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Ewropej tal-Punent (eż. Ingliżi, Ġermaniżi, Franċiżi, eċċ.) ()	
Ewropej tal-Lvant (eż. Rumeni, Bulgari, Serbi, eċċ.) ()	
Afrikani ()	
Għarab ()	
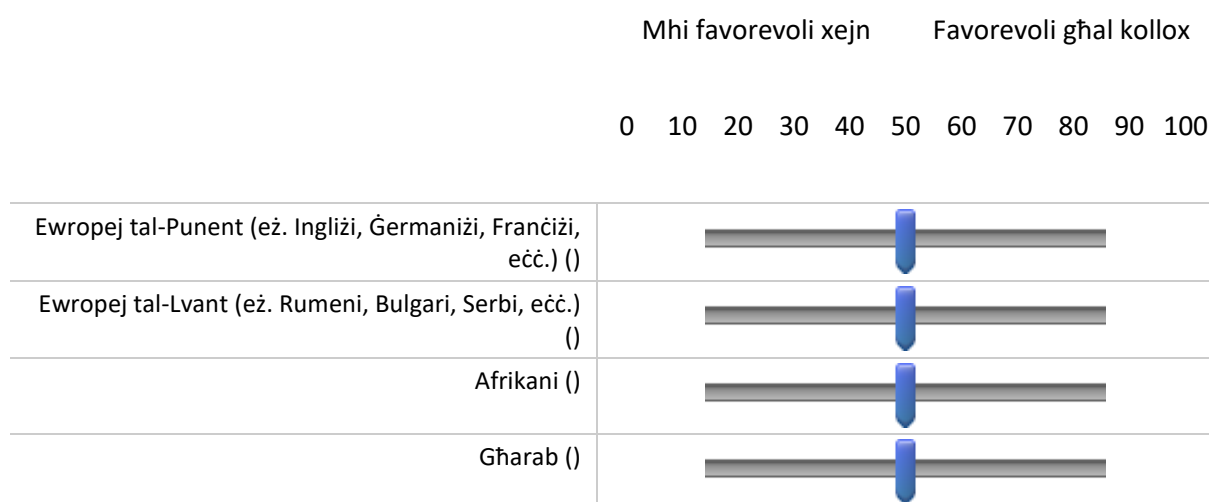
Q10.1_MT **Jekk jogħġbok immarka kemm taqbel jew ma taqbilx ma' dawn l-istqarrijiet li ġejjin:**

	Ma naqbel xejn	Naqbel kompletament

	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Ma niddejjaqx naħdem ma' <SOCIAL GROUP> fuq il-post tax-xogħol. ()	
Ma niddejjaqx nagħmel ħbieb li huma <SOCIAL GROUP>. ()	
Avolja ngħixu flimkien fl-istess pajjiż, ma nixtieqx nara lil uliedi jiżżewġu <SOCIAL GROUP>. ()	
Kieku jkolli propjeta' għall-kiri, nippreferi ma nikrix lill-<SOCIAL GROUP>. ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> għandhom jingħataw permessi biex jorganizzaw attivitatijiet kulturali pubbliċi tagħhom hawn Malta. ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> għandhom jingħataw permessi biex ikollhom aktar postijiet reliġjużi tagħhom hawn Malta. ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> għandhom jingħataw permessi biex ikollhom ħwienet ibigħu il-prodotti tagħhom hawn Malta (eż. affarijiet tal-ikel, ilbies, eċċ.). ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> għandhom jitħallew jilbsu bil-modi tagħhom hawn Malta (eż. topless, burka, eċċ.). ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> għandhom jitħallew iġibu l-użanzi tagħhom hawn Malta (eż. piki fl-isports,	

segregazzjoni bejn in-nisa u l-irġiel, sesswalita' liberali, eċċ.). ()	
<SOCIAL GROUP> għandhom jitħallew ikollhom kwartieri tagħhom hawn Malta (eż. 'Chinatown', 'Little Italy', eċċ.). ()	

Dalwaqt lesti!

- -

Q11.1_MT Hawn min jgħid li l-barranin se jispiċċaw jikkmandawna f'pajjiżna. Jekk jogħġbok agħti eżempju ta' kif <SOCIAL GROUP> jistgħu jikkmandawna f'pajjiżna:

_____

Q12.1_MT Hawn min jgħid li d-diversita' kulturali u l-preżenza tal-barranin fostna jsaħħuna bħala pajjiż. Jekk jogħġbok agħti eżempju ta' kif <SOCIAL GROUP> isaħħuna bħala pajjiż:

_____

- -

Q13.1_MT Hawn min jgħid bil-maqlub, li l-barranin idgħajfu l-komunitajiet Maltin. Jekk jogħġbok agħti eżempju ta' kif <SOCIAL GROUP> idgħajfu l-komunitajiet Maltin:

_____

- -

Q14.1_MT Bħala Maltin, x'taħseb li m'għandna qatt nittolleraw minn <SOCIAL GROUP>?

_____

Immaġina li waqt li kont għaddej(ja) fi triqtek, tara mara Maltija tersaq lejn xi <SOCIAL GROUP> u tgħidilhom, "Hawnhekk ma nagħmlux dawn l-affarijiet. Ftit rispett, jekk jogħġobkom!"

- -

Q15.1_MT X'taħseb li seta' ġara sabiex il-mara Maltija kellmet lill-<SOCIAL GROUP> b'dan il-mod?

Grazzi tassew tal-parteċipazzjoni tiegħek! Wasalna fl-aħħar ftit mistoqsijiet dwar il-karatteristiċi tiegħek:

Q134 **Nazzjonalita'**

▼ Afghanistan (1) ... Zimbabwe (1357)

Q16_MT **Eta' (fi snin):**

▼ 18 (1) ... 99 (82)

Q17_MT

○ Raġel (1)

○ Mara (2)

○ Ieħor (3)

Q18_MT **Edukazzjoni:**

○ Primarja (1)

○ Sekondarja (2)

○ Post-sekondarja (3)

○ Terzjarja (4)

Q19_MT **Tidentifika ma' xi reliġjon organizzata (eż. Knisja Kattolika)?**

○ Iva (1)

○ Le (2)

Q19.A_MT **Kemm tħoss li tidentifika mar-reliġjon tiegħek minn 1 (l-inqas identifikazzjoni) sa 10 (l-ogħla identifikazzjoni)?**

○ 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

○ 5 (5)

○ 6 (6)

○ 7 (7)

○ 8 (8)

○ 9 (9)

○ 10 (10)

Q6_MT **Liema minn dawn l-istqarrijiet hija l-iktar korretta dwar l-inħawi fejn toqgħod?**

○ Kważi n-nies kollha huma ta' nazzjonalita' differenti minn tiegħi. (1)

○ Il-biċċa l-kbira tan-nies huma ta' nazzjonalita' differenti minn tiegħi. (2)

○ Bejn wieħed u ieħor hemm taħlita indaqs ta' nies ta' nazzjonalita' tiegħi u minn gruppi oħrajn. (3)

○ Ħafna min-nies huma tal-istess nazzjonalita' tiegħi. (4)

○ Kważi n-nies kollha huma tal-istess nazzjonalita' tiegħi. (5)

Q20_MT **Post fejn tgħix:**

▼ Attard (1) ... Żurrieq (55)

APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHICS AND QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

C.1 Demographics

Table C.1			
Demographics			
Demographic		*n*	*%*
Gender	Male	111	46.6
	Female	126	52.9
Age	18-30	67	28.2
	31-50	74	31.1
	51-81	94	39.5
District	Northern Harbour	87	36.6
	Southern Harbour	21	8.8
	South Eastern	26	10.9
	Western	39	16.4
	Gozo and Comino	18	7.6
	Primary	5	2.1
	Secondary	31	13.0
	Post-Secondary	64	26.9
	Tertiary	138	58.0
Total		238	100.0

C.2 Quantitative Analysis

C.2.1 Multiculturalism results

Increase in anti-multiculturalist views from 2010 (41.1%) to 2019 (55.3%)

$X^2(2, N = 656) = 12.32$ $p < .001$

Decrease in open views from 2010 (29.1%) to 2019 (8.0%)

$X^2(2, N = 656) = 39.94, p < .001$

Table C.2

Changes in multiculturalism views from 2010 to 2019

| | | | RECENT Which one of the 5 statements that you have just read would you say represents your views best? | | | |
			ANTI	FOR	OPEN	Total
YEAR	2019	Count	131.00	87.00	19.00	237
		% within YEAR	55.27	36.71	8.02	100.0%
		Adjusted Residual	3.51	1.81	-6.32	
	2010	Count	172.00	125.00	122.00	419
		% within YEAR	41.05	29.83	29.12	100.0%
		Adjusted Residual	-3.51	-1.81	6.32	
Total		Count	303.00	212.00	141.00	656
		% within YEAR	46.19	32.32	21.49	100.0%

Notes: Significant increase in anti-multiculturalist views and increase in open views from 2010 to 2019.

C.2.2 Socio-ethic thermometer results

Higher favourable attitudes to Western Europeans rather than Africans

$F(1, 216) = 355.19$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta2 = .622$

Higher favourable attitude to Western Europeans rather than Eastern Europeans

$F(1, 216) = 431.72$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta2 = .667$

Higher favourable attitude to Western Europeans rather than Arabs

$F(1, 216) = 561.51, p < .001$, partial $\eta2 = .722$

Higher favourable attitudes to Eastern Europeans rather than Arabs

$F(1, 216) = 30.08, p < .001$, partial $\eta2 = .122$

Higher favourable attitudes to Africans rather than Arabs

$F(1, 216) = 47.30, p < .001$. partial $\eta2 = .180$.

Decrease in favourable attitudes towards Eastern Europeans from 2010 ($M = 61.73$, $SD = 20.49$) to 2019 ($M = 38.42$, $SD = 26.89$)

$t(394.17) = -11.57, p < .001$

Decrease in favourable attitudes towards Arabs from 2010 ($M = 42.80$, $SD = 28.01$) to 2019 ($M = 30.70$, $SD = 27.08$)

$t(650) = -5.37, p < .001$.

Increase in favourable attitudes towards Western Europeans from 2010 ($M = 72.82$, $SD = 18.22$) to 2019 ($M = 76.56$, $SD = 17.46$)

$t(650) = 2.56, p < .05$.

Table C.3
Changes in socio-ethnic thermometers from 2010 to 2019

Year	Year	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
How favourable is your attitude towards each of the following groups? - Western Europeans (e.g. English, Germans, French, etc.)	2019	237	76.5569	17.46306	1.13388
	2010	415	72.8193	18.22110	.89444

How favourable is your attitude towards each of the following groups? - Eastern Europeans (e.g. Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, etc.)	2019	237	38.4152	26.89188	1.74610
	2010	415	61.7229	20.48878	1.00575
How favourable is your attitude towards each of the following groups? - Africans	2019	237	40.8024	26.81844	1.74133
	2010	415	44.2578	24.88269	1.22144
How favourable is your attitude towards each of the following groups? - Arabs	2019	237	30.6993	27.07621	1.75807
	2010	415	42.8048	28.01204	1.37506

Notes: Significant decrease in favourable attitudes towards Eastern Europeans, Africans, and Arabs from 2010 to 2019. Significant increase in favourable attitudes towards Western Europeans from 2010 to 2019.

C.2.3 Perceptions of security results

Differences in perceptions of security between personal security, economic security, and cultural security

$F(2, 432)= 118.60$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta2 = .562$.

Decrease in personal security between 2010 ($M = 17.04$, $SD = 2.99$) and 2019 ($M = 10.05$, $SD = 2.96$)

$t(656) = -28.91$, $p < .001$.

Increase in cultural security between 2010 ($M = 13.05$, $SD = 2.54$) and 2019 ($M = 13.92$, $SD = 4.20$)

$t(656) = 3.31$, $p < .01$.

Table C.4

Changes in perception of security from 2010 to 2019

	Year	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
PERSONAL_SECURITY	2019	237	10.0500	2.95961	.19217
	2010	421	17.0356	2.98587	.14552
CULTURAL_SECURITY	2019	237	13.9146	4.20406	.27297
	2010	421	13.0451	2.54209	.12389
ECONOMIC_SECURITY	2019	237	11.4892	2.56705	.16668
	2010	421	11.5558	2.85438	.13911

Notes: Decrease in personal security, economic security, and cultural security from 2010 to 2019.

Age differences in perceptions of personal security

$F(2, 214)= 3.33$, *p* < .05, partial η2 = .030.

Table C.5

Age differences in perceptions of personal security

Age_groups	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
18-30	53.6364	16.18798	44
31-50	43.9130	15.22233	23
51+	49.8000	14.15257	150
Total	49.9539	14.85260	217

Notes: Significant differences in perceptions of personal security between 18-30 year olds and 31-50 year olds.

Table C.6
Age differences in perceptions of cultural security

Age_groups	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
18-30	57.3636	16.22959	44
31-50	53.7391	19.40295	23
51+	54.2400	16.87844	150
Total	54.8203	16.99918	217

Table C.7
Age differences in perceptions of economic security

Age_groups	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
18-30	57.0455	15.60107	44
31-50	52.6087	9.75490	23
51+	58.5333	12.43165	150
Total	57.6037	12.96432	217

Education differences in perceptions of cultural security

$F(2, 214)= 4.039$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta2 = .036$

Table C.8
Education differences in perceptions of personal security

Highest educational attainment:	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Primary	49.0000	13.67913	60
Secondary	52.2581	14.82720	93
Post-secondary	47.5000	15.66008	64
Total	49.9539	14.85260	217

Table C.9
Education differences in perceptions of cultural security

Highest educational attainment:	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Primary	49.6000	18.32586	60
Secondary	57.0323	13.51203	93
Post-secondary	56.5000	19.32841	64
Total	54.8203	16.99918	217

Table C.10
Education differences in perceptions of economic security

Highest educational attainment:	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Primary	60.0000	9.56689	60
Secondary	56.4516	13.34290	93
Post-secondary	57.0313	14.92624	64
Total	57.6037	12.96432	217

Notes: Significant differences in perceptions of cultural security between secondary and primary level of education, and between tertiary and primary level of education

C.2.4 Global tolerance scores result

Lower tolerance scores towards Arabs when compared to Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Africans

$F(3, 210) = 8.67, p < .001.$

APPENDIX D

TOPIC GUIDE AND DRAWN SCENARIO

D.1 Topic Guide

Table D
Focus Group Topic Guide

Introduction (5 mins)	Briefing
Welcome	Welcome, u grazzi tal-partecipazzjoni
Signed Consent	taghkom illum. Jien jisimni _____
Start recorder	u se nkun qed immexxi din id-diskussjoni,
Thank respondents for participation	li mistennija tiehu xi siegha u nofs. Billi se
Introduce moderator	nkunu qed nirrekordjaw din id-diskussjoni,
Duration	nistedinkom titkellmu car u b'vuci
Confidentiality	daqsxejn gholja. U importanti hafna li
Ground rules (speaking across)	nitkellmu wiehed wiehed u ma naqbzux
Round Robin	fuq xulxin ghaliex inkella ma jinftiehem
	xejn.
	Importanti nghidilkom li din id-diskussjoni
	titratta biss opinjonijiet – allura m'hemmx
	risposti tajbin jew hziena. Nistedinkom
	tesprimu ruhkom hi x'inhi l-opinjoni
	taghkom, ghaliex hija din id-diversita ta'
	opinjonijiet li nixtiequ nitrattaw. Li kieku
	nafu diga x'inhu l-ahjar, kieku
	m'ghandniex bzonn inkunu hawn illum.
	Qabel nibdew, nixtieq infakkarkom
	tiffirmaw il-consent form jekk ghadkom
	ma ffirmajtux, u nfakkarkom ukoll li dak
	kollu li jinghad f'din id-diskussjoni se
	jinzamm kunfidenzjali – jigifieri l-identita
	taghkom se tigi mistura kompletament u
	wara li niktbu dak li intqal, ir-recording
	jigi mhassar sabiex kull ma jibqa' f'idejn
	ir-ricerkaturi jkun kitba anonimizzata.
	Nitlobkom biex dak li tisimghu hawnhekk
	minghand haddiehor izzommuh
	kunfidenzjali intom ukoll.
	Ghaldaqstant, nixtieq naghmel ftit punti
	zghar sabiex nifthiemu kif se niddiskutu:
	L-ewwelnett, tinterressana l-opinjoni ta'
	kulhadd, hi x'inhi. Nixtiequ nisimghu lil
	kulhadd.

	Kif ghidna, ma hemm l-ebda risposta tajba jew hazina. Ir-realta hi dik li hi u nixtiequ sempliciment nifhmuha.
	Nitkellmu wiehed wiehed.
	U nitfu l-mobiles halli ma jkollniex interruzzjonijiet u nkunu nistghu niddiskutu flimkien bla tfixkil.
	Ghandkom xi mistoqsijiet jew suggerimenti dwar dawn il-punti? [RECORDER]
Round robin (10 min)	Mela, nibdew. Ha nibda billi nintroduci ruhi, imbaghad naghmlu l-istess halli nsiru nafu lil xulxin. Jiena jisimni _____, Ghandi _____ il-sena, nahdem bhala _____, u nhobb hafna _____.
Word Association (10 min) Introduce task Aims: Top-of-mind associations	Biex nibdew se naghmlu ezercizzju ta' malajr. Minghajr ma tahsbu, u minghajr ma niddiskutu, x'inhi l-ewwel kelma li tigi f'rasek meta tisma':

D.2 Drawn Scenario

APPENDIX E

DEMOGRAPHICS AND CODING FRAMEWORK

E.1 Demographics

Table E.1			
Demographics for participant recruited in focus groups			
Group	Gender	Age	Education
1	Male	23	Tertiary
	Male	21	Post-Secondary
	Male	19	Tertiary
	Female	19	Tertiary
	Female	18	Tertiary
2	Male	39	Post-Secondary
	Male	39	Post-Secondary
	Male	23	Secondary
	Female	41	Post-Secondary
	Female	39	Post-Secondary
	Female	38	Post-Secondary
3	Male	50	Secondary
	Male	44	Post-Secondary
	Male	42	Post-Secondary
	Female	57	Post-Secondary
	Female	46	Secondary
4	Male	51	Tertiary
	Male	48	Tertiary
	Male	25	Tertiary
	Female	46	Tertiary
	Female	45	Tertiary
	Female	39	Tertiary
	Female	30	Tertiary
5	Male	70	Primary
	Male	64	Primary
	Female	67	Secondary
	Female	66	Tertiary
	Female	63	Secondary
	Female	59	Tertiary

E.2 Coding Framework

- AFRICANS

Africans.blacks as savage/aggressive/violent

Double standard - Brits vs. Blacks

Fear of black people

Immediate precautions taken when encountering black people

A lot of black people in certain areas (Hamrun)

Africans as hardworking

Africans as dirty

Africans as rapists

Representation of African economies as lacking

South Africans better than Africans who are coming

Africans as beneficial because they do work for us (farming, construction)

Africans as less educated/ lacking culture

Problematic African culture and religion, which are different to ours

Other groups can be differentiated; Africans are one whole

Bad idea to rent to Africans

Debate as to whether Africans are requesting higher wages vs cheap labour

Africans are unpredictable

Africans commit crimes because they are poor

Africans should stay in Africa

Africans are leaving their country to live in worse circumstances (in Hal Far)

Africans should do more to live in better conditions

Africans as loud

Not against Africans but against Africans working illegally

Africans are willing to do cheap labour

Africans are respectful

- SKIN COLOUR

Fear of skin colour - immediate alert

Prejudice based on skin colour

- NON-PROBLEMATIC OTHERS

Maltese have no issues with Indians

No fear from Nordic.Eu people

People from the Philippines have no money

Indians are hardworking

Pakistani are hardworking

- ARABS

Arabs as dirty

Arabs live together is one place - so landowners do not rent to them

Fear of Arabs

Fear of Arabs is ironic because we have a lot of Arabic influences

Fear of Arabs' religion – Islam

Fear mostly directed toward Arabs

Landowners not wanting to rent to Arabs

Fear of Arab men

Arabs have a bad smell

Arabs have a disrespectful mentality towards women

Arab men are capable of killing

Arabs commit crimes because they are poor

Arabs have a lot of children

Arabs accept low wages

Syrians are problematic with regards to drugs

Syrians are problematic with how they treat women

Syrians as thieves

Syrians should behave considering they escaped from war

Syrians accept same pay for riskier work (e.g. construction)

Example of Syrians disrespecting others property

Syrians fight between themselves

Syrians as loud

- EASTERN EUROPEAN

Serbians as savages.violent

Gangs

Serbians are problematic with regards to drugs

Serbians are problematic with how they treat women

Serbians as thieves

Serbians are large in number

Serbians have taken over certain areas

Serbians are a strong group because they are large in number

Serbians have outnumbered Maltese families in certain areas

Serbs are ambitious and want to progress

Serbs don't want to live in Malta

- EUROPEANS IN GENERAL (WESTERN)

A threat in terms of wages, because they are educated

Gaming companies not employing many Maltese in good positions

Foreigners gaining at our expense

Europeans are integrating - their children are learning Maltese

Italians complaining

- POLITICAL CORRECTNESS.HATE SPEECH LAWS

One cannot speak his/her mind

If one speaks his/her mind, they get bombarded

Maltese fearful to speak out

Controlling of speech (e.g. cannot say certain words that used to be said)

Top-down control of speech

Examples of not being allowed to celebrate xmas/ hang cross at work (both abroad and in Malta)

Exclusion of any form of religious symbolism for fear of offending

Fear of institutionalising/ passing legislation for political correctness/

against expression of things like religiosity/ identity

- ASIANS

Astonishment at their presence here

A threat for our children in the future, due to low wages/ taking work

Better to employ Asian for cheap, rather than Maltese

Asians (Koreans) as hard-working

Asians (Koreans) as clean

Filipinos as humble, hard-working

Filipinos & Indians as educated

Asians abused in terms of pay, contract, etc.

Philippines are large in numbers due to advertised work opportunities

Koreans are quiet but can be loud at times also

- DISRESPECT

The foreigner is disrespectful

The foreigner disrespects our traditions

The foreigner acts superior

The foreigner does not reciprocate respect

Foreigners take advantage of Maltese hospitality

Maltese rejected in foreign countries

Foreigners act superior perhaps as a defence mechanism

Some things (e.g. queues) are basic etiquette, not culturally relative

Disrespect toward our culture and religion

Examples of respect being shown

Bad behaviour on the bus

Examples of disrespect being shown

Foreigners complaining on our country

- NEED TO EDUCATE MALTESE

Need to raise future generation in different manner than one's own

Need to educate older generations as well, so that they become less prejudiced

Education - of both Maltese and foreigners - is key to reduce tensions

Need to educate future generations that we are all the same

Need to push children to pursue further education

Need to educate future generations to integrate

Educate Maltese about their own identity, so that they can have fruitful encounters with foreigners

- NEED TO EDUCATE FOREIGNERS

Need to educate foreigners given their poor backgrounds

Education - of both Maltese and foreigners - is key to reduce tensions

It's the poor foreigners who cause trouble and should be educated

Teach them how to work and give them a job to do

Need for consistency when educating foreigners

Uselessness of educating foreigners - 'they don't learn'

Teach them basic things (e.g. washing everyday, etc.)

- GENERALIZATION

Africa.Arab world is big place - one cannot generalise

All humans are the same at the end of the day

Everyone is capable of good or bad actions

No generalisation

No reason to fear foreigners

No reason to fear foreigners more than Maltese

Individual that counts - Maltese can be as aggressive as foreigners

Need to form one's own opinion

Skin colour is irrelevant

Refugees and immigrants are different - one cannot generalise

Only a minority of foreigners is problematic

- MEDIA

Stigma due to media

International news re terrorism inspires fear in locals

Islam stigmatised by media

Many good examples of relations between Maltese/foreigners not shown

- INTERNAL DIVISIONS BETWEEN MALTESE

Maltese discriminate against themselves with respect to employment

Maltese at risk of losing jobs due to greedy employers

North-South, English-speaking vs Maltese-speaking, etc.

Education / job predicts attitude toward foreigners

Maltese who like feast vs Maltese who don't like feasts

Examples of Maltese rejected in own country for marrying a foreigner

- GENERALIZED REACTION TO OTHER

Collective nationwide fear

The other prompts reaction

Shallow acceptance of the Other – façade

Automatic reaction to other (e.g. walking down the street) to avoid risk

Intolerance toward those who slightly deviate from norms

Not wanting to mix blood

We do not try to understand why they are criticising - we just judge

- COMBATTING INTERNALISED PREJUDICE

Mixed feelings.internal struggle - trying to be non-prejudiced

Very difficult to combat instilled prejudice

Trying one's best to combat instilled prejudice

Even open-minded people call fall victim to racism

- SOLUTION – INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS

Acknowledgement of other

Complexity of the matter - many sides to the issue

More travel and exposure helps Maltese become more accepting

Need for more empathy, less individualism

More tolerance

Keep and open mind - attitude

Treat as normal person - do as done unto you

Mention of spiral of conflict

Important to keep oneself informed

Be more inquisitive - find out about the other

Being more open-minded

- SOLUTION - SOCIOPOLITICAL

Balance between accepting others and sociopolitical solutions

Insignificance of Malta on international level

International agreements, basic responses needed vis-a-vis migration crisis

It is our responsibility to integrate foreigners rather than isolate them

Need for more consistency.proportionality in law courts

Need to improve Maltese system - detention centres as bad

Overpopulation as a problem that govt. must address

Malta as not final destination for many migrants

The government should do more to regulate cheap labour

Need for law enforcement to prevent job exploitation

Capping of number of foreigners

Quotas/Capping in workplace (proportion of foreigners)

Need for timely solution

Providing spaces for cultural mixture between Maltese and foreigners

Downplay divisions (esp. Relating to religion and politics)

Education, embracing different cultures - school as a miniature society

Integration - learning about each other, meeting each other with our own

identity

Controls on social media

Debate concerning top-down control of speech / ideas

Maltese must figure out who they are - to meet the Other sensibly

Strengthen social bonds

Establishing language requirement - foreigners must at least understand English

Need for a whistleblower-like program to allow Maltese employees to report unfair

conditions

Solution is to send them back

More awareness-raising of cultural mixture on TV

More rights for Maltese so that they don't see foreigners as burden

Difficulty of finding solution due to cultural differences

Discussion whether prison is solution when foreigners commit crimes

Consequences should be strict against foreigners who break the law

Regulate vehicles and buildings to control for overpopulation

Deport foreigners

Strengthen our values as Maltese

Provide a crash course about Maltese history, culture, and language to incoming foreigners

Provide more opportunities for integration

Leave the European Union

Accept foreigners for a limited time and then replace with new visiting foreigners - Rotation of foreigners

Solution can never be reached - no other country has managed yet

There should be more opportunities to integrate, both for Maltese and foreigners

- MALTESE SELF-DEPRECATION

Better be careful of Maltese than foreigners

Foreigners as accepting, Maltese as prejudiced

Foreigners as more friendly.respectful than Maltese

Foreigners seize opportunities and Maltese stay in comfort zone

Maltese as lazy

Maltese as more deceptive than foreigners

Maltese as not loving themselves

Maltese as unempathetic (toward migrant Other)

Maltese as beggars

Lack of community/ bond between Maltese

Latest political protests/ happenings show that Maltese still in control

Lack of identity amongst Maltese/ Not knowing who we are

Maltese lack of experience as the cause of fear

Maltese as mild/ fearful/ puppets

Maltese as their own worst enemy

- HEIGHTENED TENSIONS

Actions triggering reactions from both sides

- RELIGION - ISLAM

Conflation of 'black' and 'Muslim'

Fear of Islam

Burka as threatening violence

Halal restaurants are too abundant

Halal is bad – unjust

- RELIGION - OTHER

Religion as the ultimate factor - non-Christians not welcome

Fear of other religions

- NECESSITY OF CHANGE

Necessity of losing some cultural elements

Necessity of mixing together, both here and at EU level

Necessity of respectful speech

Impossibility of cultural takeover because it's an inevitable process

Culture as continually evolving and changing

Necessity of respectful actions

Necessity of considering others POV

Regretful for saying "Go back to your country!"

Other parts of the world are full of non-natives as well (e.g. London)

Necessity of change in languages

Necessity of heightened tensions - many people, small space

Change as normal & necessary VS bad & faced with reluctant attitude

Whether we like it or not, change is already happening

What happened elsewhere (cultural mixture, etc.) will happen here as well

Need for more regulation on whos entering the country

Desire to mix with different cultures

Unable to live in a bubble - change must happen

Change is necessary just like it was necessary in the past

We need to assimilate just like our ancestors assimilated in the past

Change is always fearful as you don't know what it leads to

The whole world is changing

- BENEFITS.PRAISE OF FOREIGNERS (NON-ECONOMIC)

Examples of good deeds by foreigners

Foreigners as hard-working

Foreigners can enrich Maltese culture - we learn from each other

Mutual benefit.embrace of cultures

Some foreigners are appreciative because they make good money in Malta

Refugees are appreciative

- UNCERTAINTY - PRESENT

Fear because you can't tell what type of person the foreigner is

Fear of the unknown

Foreigners as unreliable, unpredictable, risky to deal with

Need for boundaries in interpersonal relations with foreigners

The identity of some foreigners is unknown

Unknown if foreigners were criminals in home country

Issues in relationships with foreigners (e.g., divorce, where kids go, etc.)

They get their problems with them when they seek refuge here

Fear on a daily basis

Uncertainty as natural, whenever we're meeting anyone (Maltese, foreign, etc.)

Less uncertainty with Maltese people - common language, better communication, etc./ May be easier to diffuse dangerous situations

Maltese are not as unpredictable as foreigners

- THEFT

Fear of scams

Fear of theft

Fear of foreigners taking little we have

Need to take precautions to prevent burglary

- FEMALE CONCERNS

Females especially told to be careful

Fear of rape

Incidents of harassment by foreigners

Women are not safe alone at night

Higher chances of rape and prostitution due to larger number of men

Fear of roaming the streets alone without a male friend/relative

- HISTORICISING SELF.COLLECTIVE REMEMBERING

Fear stemming from colonialist past

What we are experiencing now is the same as what we experienced in the past

Maltese had a hard past - there is no reason to fear foreigners

Given our past, we fear a loss of control

- DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

Change in numbers over time

Demographic changes are felt - numbers make a difference

In future, their kids will be Maltese

Malta too small to support all these people

Necessity of heightened tensions - many people, small space

Take over in numbers

Out of control influx of foreigners in recent years

Malta has become like a large city

Malta has become a city because of the large number of foreigners

Malt's infrastructure cannot sustain influx of foreigners

Certain localities have been taken over by foreigners

Discomfort from rapid change

Larger number of foreigners coming here because Italy is refusing them

Malta has grown too quickly in too little time

- LIFESTYLE CHANGE

Nowadays Maltese lifestyle is similar to others

Life has become fast paced

Maltese are becoming like foreigners

We are living a city life

Life has become expensive

Foreigners have taken the little we have

Hurt because of rapid change in Malta

Discomfort from rapid change

Life has become fast paced because Malta is trying to be the best

- INTER-GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Closed minded older generation

Worsening of Maltese mentality

Younger.future generations will get along better with foreigners

Integrating with different foreigners at university

Open minded younger generation

Older people used to being Maltese only

Communication issues between older people and foreigners

Older people struggle more with language barrier

Children nowadays don't want to play outside

- PROPERTY ISSUES

Landowners fear that foreigners will damage property

Some landowners prefer to rent to foreigners rather than Maltese because they make more money that way

Foreigners damaging property

Foreigners are breaking regulation of number of people allowed in property

Rent prices are increasing

Maltese forced to live in localities they don't wish to live in

Landowners are overrenting their property in order to inhabit more foreigners

Maltese do not want to live in localities being overpopulated with foreigners

The government should not have a say as to how landowners rent their property

Too many foreigners living in one property

Foreigners should not be living in stables

Fear of being homeless due to landowners exploiting foreigners

Rise in poverty due to increase in rent prices for foreigners

Rental / cost of living - strain on the Maltese

Maltese renting to foreigners for more money

Neighbours building flats, migrants coming in = lowering own property value

- CULTURAL DIFFERENCE

Cultural barrier between Maltese and foreigners

Cultural differences mean we cannot get along

Some cultures are more hostile than others

Fear of cultural difference

Foreigners lack our sense of family and religion

Foreigners kill for their religion

Differences between Maltese and foreigners (e.g., latter more independent)

Difficulty of teaching culturally mixed classes

Foreigners refuse to mix with our culture

Cultural upbringing influences/determines behaviour

Foreigners do not know any better

'I don't care about your upbringing; when here, behave'

- PROTECTION OF OWN CULTURE. LOSS OF TRADITIONS

Loss of traditions

Protecting Maltese culture

Recognition that culture is changing, but wanting to be agent of own change

Foreigners can practise their beliefs but should not change our customs

Malta is a Catholic country - those customs should remain

Foreigners should learn Maltese

Foreigners should adapt to living here, not change our ways; and vice verse when we're abroad

We used to be very proud that we have our own language/ losing language

Losing our culture

We should work to keep certain traditions

- CULTURAL TAKEOVER

Fear of cultural takeover

Cultural invasion

Removal of crucifix from classrooms

Foreigners in parliament

NGOs helping migrants come in

We respect their traditions but they come and take over

Foreigners will not be in the minority any longer

Riots by foreigners

We are giving them too much power

Letting foreigners do whatever they want

Discomfort from rapid change in culture due to sudden influx of foreigners

More shops selling items specific for foreigners

Loss of traditional Maltese food/cooking

Feeling displaced in own country

- PREJUDICE.STEREOTYPING

Misinformed prejudice.stereotype

Easier to ignore.let go off transgressions by Maltese, but foreigners stick in mind

Some foreigners give a bad image of themselves

Generalised views on the other (e.g., you must wear burka in their country)

Would not fear a person in suit but then people fear migrants

We should focus on individual not cultural baggage

- US VS THEM

Us-vs-them attitude underlies everything

View that foreigners must accept things as they are or leave

View that Maltese in foreign countries must accept things are they are or leave

Obey the law or leave

Integration can never happen because it will always be Us-vs-them

Us-vs-them is only natural

In their countries, foreigners would not reciprocate the help we give here

- PREJUDICE AS LEARNT

Nurture, not nature - natural starting point is one of fear

Parents cautioning kids to be careful

Prejudice transmitted intergenerationally

Influence of upbringing

- EUROPEAN UNION

EU countries should help out in migration crisis

Euroskepticism

EU forces us to take in refugees

Rise of far right in Europe; not so much in Malta

Some matters should be discussed at EU level, not decided by majority

Local government's hands tied by EU

Influx of foreigners was bound to happen with membership to EU

Malta should copy the UK and leave the European Union before it is too late

Membership to the EU has boosted our economy

Membership to the EU has boosted our infrastructure

Membership to the EU has increased tourism

The EU should help us refuse more foreigners due to small space

- GOVERNMENT.INSTITUTIONS.POLICE

Lack of governance/ government letting things happen

Police cannot do anything

Police fearing foreigners

Giving police more resources

Govt. not taking care of Maltese (e.g., teachers with low pay, losing nurses)

Authorities not doing enough to stop issue of foreigners

- DEBATING MALTESE SELF-DETERMINATION

For better or worse, it's us who decide things/ impose on ourselves

Maltese as lacking the courage to decide/ make decisions/ bother about things

- FEAR OF BECOMING A MINORITY

Fear of becoming a minority as natural

Uncertainty whether this will be the case

Minority-majority dynamics

Not minding if Maltese become minority/Not understanding this fear

It depends on the types of majorities there will be

Minority in terms of numbers vs power vs money, etc.

- REFUGEES

Discussion re what to do with refugees

Malta not first preference for refugees

Ulterior motives of refugees

Uncertainty re whether refugees are terrorists

There is a lack of security on who enters the country

Refugees phoning relatives and friends to come to Malta

Refugees should be put to work and not allowed to do nothing

Malta should not be responsible for refugees

Refugees are better off in bigger countries

- FOREIGNERS TAKEOVER

Eventually, more employment for foreigners than Maltese

Foreigners taking jobs because Maltese are staying longer in school

Foreigners taking jobs because Maltese want higher pay.better jobs

Foreigners working same job for less pay

In the future, today's hard working foreigners will grow bigger

Perception that foreigners are stealing our jobs

Some foreigners employ mostly foreigners

Overpowered by foreign workers

Fear of job takeover

Foreign workers outnumber Maltese workers

Foreign workers are getting jobs with no qualifications

Foreign workers are getting jobs with no experience

Overtime is given to foreigners over Maltese so they earn more and remain in Malta

Malta as land of opportunity

The hospital has become full of foreigners

High demand for foreign workers

Job opportunities being advertised outside of EU

We know how this goes: migrants come, they work, get their own company, etc., become Maltese - we've seen it elsewhere

- MALTESE VS FOREIGN WORKERS

Foreigners more friendly.hard-working because they want to be employed

Maltese laziness means that foreigners are taking over the job market

Fault of Maltese- Maltese letting foreigners take jobs

Maltese lacking expertise in certain sectors - igaming, blockchain

Maltese want rights - foreigners "m'ghandhomx nejk"

Debate whether Maltese don't want to work certain jobs

Maltese employees ask for more pay and provide worse service

There aren't enough skilled Maltese to fill jobs

Maltese employers preferring Maltese over foreigners

Foreigners do not provide a good service

Inexperienced foreign workers are to blame for unreliable buildings

Maltese have to redo the bad work done by foreigners

- EXPLOITATION OF FOREIGN WORKER

Maltese employers taking advantage of foreigners

Maltese hypocrisy vis-a-vis foreigners and employment

Maltese employers are discriminating against foreigners to make more profit

Double standards between Maltese and foreigners at workplace

Not fair that foreigners are abused for cheap labour

Abuse at work creates cycle of hate between foreigners and Maltese

Agencies bringing third world migrants who lack expertise in job

Abuse of foreigners at work - long hours, little pay

Better to employ Asian for cheap, rather than Maltese

- MALTESE EMPLOYEE CONCERNS

Maltese should not be forced to seek jobs elsewhere

Maltese cannot complain as easily replaced by foreigners

Older experienced Maltese employees are taken advantage of

Maltese are working for less pay because foreigners settle for less pay

Pay for Maltese will remain low as well

Maltese lost work standards/ bargaining power because of foreigners

Lesser opportunities for Maltese to earn more money due to foreigners working for less

Personal experience of being fired and replaced with foreigner working for less

Cheap labour as major concern

Rise in poverty amongst Maltese due to cheap labour of foreigners

Threats of reporting Maltese for racism at work

Divide-and-rule by employers

Need for capping in employment

- EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGNERS AS A NON ISSUE

What matters is the service provided - not whether employee is foreign or Maltese

What matters ultimately is qualifications for work - not whether Maltese or foreigner

The will to work is more important than education

- LACK OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES

It's better if Maltese gain rather than foreigners (e.g. gaming companies)

If a foreign company opens here to pay less tax, they should at least employ Maltese

Education does not necessarily lead to more work opportunities

There aren't many job opportunities since Malta is small

There are no laws monitoring employment of foreigners

- FEAR OF AGGRESSION

Fear of personal harm

Fear of violence/ physical harm

Fear that foreigner will ask for money

Fear that foreigners take advantage of our kind disposition

Fear of large numbers in public spaces

Fear of not knowing how to react to the foreigner

Fear of kidnap

Examples of violence

Violence on kids (e.g. at paceville, or when they go out)

Foreigners like to cause trouble

Places not as safe anymore

Drunkenness in the open

Fear of what exactly? - Lack of clarity

No fear from foreigners fighting between themselves

Fear of going outside - trapped inside

- HYGIENE

Needs in public

Spread of disease due to unhygienic foreigners/Unhygienic foreigners

- CRIMINALITY

Criminality has increased

Gangs marking homes with symbols

Criminality has become the norm

Gangs marking signs for drug trade

The government doesn't care about the rise in criminality

Gangsters and criminals from foreign countries are coming to Malta

More foreign criminals than Maltese

There is no regulation on criminal history of foreigners

- GROUP BEHAVIOUR

Foreigners act in groups - when foreigners do something, 'in-numru jaghmel hoss'

Foreigners cause fear because they hang out in packs

- ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Littering the environment

Loss of outdoor spaces due to increasing demand for property to accommodate foreigners

Increase in traffic due to increase in foreigners living in Malta - overpopulation

Increase in pollution due to no regulation of cars and buildings

Malta does not have enough space to deal with overpopulation

- PATRIOTISM.PRAISE OF MALTESE

Hurt with criticism towards Malta

Maltese speak many languages

Maltese try to get on level with foreigner

Maltese accept foreigners

Maltese are hardworking

Maltese give many things to foreigners (rights, accommodation, healthcare etc.)

Love for Malta and wanting to look after it for future generation

Maltese as charitable

Maltese are very respectful towards each other

- UNCERTAINTY - FUTURE

Concern for future of children

Future generations will have to go seek jobs elsewhere due to low pay

Future generations will not be safe with larger number of foreigners around

Children cannot play outside anymore as done in the past

Future generations will have limited opportunities

Concern that children in school will be bullied by foreigners

Future generations will eventually find themselves outnumbered by foreigners

Future generations will lose out on current culture and traditions

There will be no Malta in the future

- ECONOMIC BENEFITS.DRAWBACKS OF HAVING FOREIGNERS

Country depends on their work

They do work the Maltese don't want to do

Debating benefits

Good for property market (landlords)

Counter-argument: 'we're just looking at the money'

Benefits only being reaped by those on top; those at the bottom are losing

Pros and cons of economic benefits

They're sending their salary overseas and not contributing to Maltese economy

Foreigners have lowered the wage

Paying taxes for foreigners to get stuff for free

Taxes could benefit our children instead of foreigners

In their countries, foreigners would not reciprocate the help we give here

- PEOPLE FED UP.EXTREME SOLUTIONS

People getting fed up because the situation is extreme

Wanting to leave Malta because of foreigners

'We are tolerating too much'

Foreigners who break the law should be made to leave the country

Dictatorship - you don't like it, leave

- COMPARING OTHERS

Some foreigners are living here, some are on holiday, etc.

Refugees vs economic migrants

Some foreigners come here and work whilst others do nothing

● FOREIGNERS AS IGNORANT.BACKWARD

They don't know how to behave properly

Foreigners can't understand basic instructions

Cultural upbringing influences/determines behaviour

Foreigners do not know any better

'I don't care about your upbringing; when here, behave'

- DEBATING INTEGRATION

Proper integration not happening

Crimes go unreported by media to give impression integration is happening

Europeans are integrating - their children are learning Maltese

Foreigners should try to integrate

Support for reciprocal respect/ meeting each other on common ground

Need for reciprocal respect - mutual compromise

Examples of integration at school

Integration can never happen because it will always be Us-vs-them

Foreigners do not try to integrate

Integration not happening due to sudden influx of foreigners

- FOREIGNERS & SOCIAL TIES

Foreigners who cause trouble have nothing to lose

Maltese have more social ties, putting us at a disadvantage

If you send them to prison, they gain rather than lose

Maltese have family to protect - cannot fight back, take risks, etc.

In case of accidents, useless going to court against foreigners

Foreigners can work on Sunday/long hours because they don't have a family to go out with/take care of

Rotation of foreigners to prevent them from making ties in Malta (and stay longer)

Foreigners getting married to Maltese to establish their roots in Malta

- DOUBLE STANDARDS - INSTITUTIONAL

Rights of Maltese always decreasing, rights of foreigners always increasing

Foreigners can enter a bank with burka; Maltese cannot enter with helmet

We pay taxes, they break stuff

We pay taxes, they have a place for free

They have it better than us - free stuff, while we work

Mobiles, clothing, cars, etc. that migrants have

They went in court not dressed appropriately - something Maltese can't do

Lenient sentences for crimes

Customs regulations make it difficult for certain foreigners to come to Malta but refugees not

Refugees are looked after whilst poor Maltese are not

- DOUBLE STANDARDS - BY MALTESE

We want them here for work but we want to keep our jobs

We hold different standards for foreigners, unfairly

Double-edge sword - Maltese indecision

We want them to leave but we shouldn't deport their children

- NOSTALGIA

Used to play outside in the streets

Used to leave keys in the door

Before, we were just us Maltese

Malta used to be of the Maltese, now it isn't

Malta used to have mostly Maltese people, now it's a mix

- LANGUAGE

Foreigners refuse to speak Maltese language

Language barrier when providing a service

Language used to exclude Maltese

Foreigners only know how to speak Maltese at a superficial level

Younger people do not know how to speak Maltese language

Cannot speak in Maltese in order to be understood by foreigners

Hurt - no one speaking Maltese in restaurant

Maltese sticking to their language even though they know English

- BECOMING RACIST

'I wasn't racist in the past, but now I am'

'They made us racist'

Example of personal experience having said "Go back to your country!"

Desire not to be racist but can't help it

APPENDIX F

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