

ФАКТОРЫ НЕГАТИВНОГО ОТНОШЕНИЯ К ИММИГРАНТАМ В РОССИИ

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Аннотация: Статья посвящена анализу влияния социальных факторов на негативные установки по отношению к иммигрантам в современной России. В материалах массовых опросов населения имеются различные характеристики респондентов, которые можно рассматривать в качестве причин, обуславливающих позитивный или негативный характер отношения к иммигрантам. В научных публикациях, посвященных этой проблематике, отмечается, что экономические факторы влияют на негативное отношение к иммигрантам сильнее, чем социально-демографические факторы. В то же время в этих публикациях отмечается, что на формирование негативного отношения к иммигрантам, наряду с экономическими факторами, сопоставимое влияние оказывают культурные факторы. Поэтому при изучении факторов негативного отношения к иммигрантам необходимо использовать теоретические модели, основанные на принципах как экономического, так и культурного подходов. В рамках этих подходов негативное отношение к иммигрантам связывается с их восприятием коренным населением страны как экономической и культурной угрозы, способствующей ухудшению состояния экономики страны, разрушающей культуру страны и снижающей качество жизни в стране. В качестве эмпирической основы изучения факторов негативного отношения к иммигрантам в статье используется база данных Российского социального исследования, проведенного в 2018 году. На основе обработки этих данных с помощью различных статистических методов, в статье выявляется взаимосвязь некоторых экономических, социальных, политических и культурных характеристик опрошенных с их негативными оценками влияния иммигрантов на экономику, культуру России и жизнь в стране. Результаты микроанализа таблиц сопряженности, факторного анализа, многомерного шкалирования и кластерного анализа переменных-факторов и переменных-показателей негативного отношения к иммигрантам в целом согласуются друг с другом. Среди факторов, оказывавших наибольшее влияние на негативное отношение населения страны в 2018 году, выделяются недоверие политическим институтам и большинству людей, а также субъективное неблагополучие.

Ключевые слова: иммигранты, негативные социальные установки, отношение к иммигрантам, социокультурные факторы, Российское социальное исследование.

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FACTORS OF NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS IN RUSSIA

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Abstract: The article is devoted to the analysis of the social factors influence on negative attitudes towards immigrants in modern Russia. The materials of mass population surveys contain various characteristics of respondents, which can be considered as reasons determining the positive or negative nature of the attitude towards immigrants. It is noted in scientific publications devoted to this issue that economic factors influence the negative attitude towards immigrants more strongly than social-demographic one. At the same time, these publications notes that along with economic factors, cultural factors have a comparable influence on the formation of a negative attitude towards immigrants. Therefore, when studying the factors of negative attitude towards immigrants, it is necessary to use theoretical models based on the principles of both economic and cultural approaches. Within the framework of these approaches, a negative attitude towards immigrants is associated with their perception by the indigenous population of the country as an economic and cultural threat that contributes to the degradation of the country's economy, destroying the country's culture and reducing the quality of life in the country. The article uses the Russian Social Survey database conducted in 2018 as an empirical basis for studying the factors of negative attitudes towards immigrants. Based on the processing of these data using various statistical methods, the article reveals the relationship between some economic, social, political and cultural characteristics of respondents and their negative assessments of the influence of immigrants on the economy, culture of Russia and life in the country. The results of microanalysis of contingency tables, factor analysis, multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis of the factor variables and indicator variables of negative attitudes towards immigrants are generally consistent with each other. Among the factors that had the greatest impact on

the negative attitude of the country's population in 2018, distrust of political institutions and most people, as well as subjective ill-being, stand out.

Keywords: immigrants, negative social attitudes towards immigrants, social-cultural factors, Russian Social Research.

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In articles devoted to the study of attitudes towards immigrants based on the analysis of data from mass population surveys [1; 2; 3], economic, social-demographic and social-cultural characteristics of respondents are usually considered as factors influencing the nature of their attitudes. A number of works devoted to this issue note that the influence of economic factors "significantly exceeds the influence of social-demographic factors" [4, p. 16]. This conclusion generally coincides with the results of our studies. At the same time, the experience of these studies indicates that in the conditions of modern Russia, cultural factors, along with economic factors, influence the formation of a negative attitude towards immigrants [5, p. 46]. Therefore, when studying the factors of a negative attitude towards immigrants, it is necessary to use theoretical models based on the principles of both economic and cultural approaches [6, p. 226–227]. Within the framework of these approaches, a negative attitude towards immigrants is associated with their perception by the indigenous population of the country as an economic and cultural threat [5, p. 50, 60], which contributes to a decrease in the standard of living in the country, destroys the culture of the country and worsens the quality of life in the country. At the same time, it should be taken into account that the results of the study of empirical data obtained during the processing of the European Social Survey databases made it possible to identify the influence of political factors in the attitude towards immigrants — trust in government institutions and public activity [4, p. 181]. The statement that attitudes towards immigrants are associated «with various subjective assessments (such as the level

of interpersonal trust, various social fears, and life satisfaction» [7, p. 442] is of particular significance. An important factor in negative attitudes towards immigrants is people’s assessment of their financial situation [8, p. 59].

A summary of the European Social Survey data for the period from 2006 to 2016 shows that «in Russia, the number of people who have a negative attitude towards migrants has been steadily increasing over the decade in various categories» and that immigrants are perceived by the country’s population as a cultural and economic threat [5, p. 46, 60]. A comparison of data from all-Russian surveys conducted by CESSI under the ESS program in 2006, 2016 and 2018 confirms the conclusion about the growth of the proportion of respondents who negatively assess the influence of immigrants on the economy, culture of Russia and on life in the country (Table 1).

Table 1

Dynamics of negative assessments of the immigrants influence on the economy, culture of Russia and on life in the country in 2006-2016-2018 (%.)¹

Negative alternative of the variables*	2006	2016	2018
The relocation of people from other countries to Russia worsens the state of the country’s economy	36,9	38,4	46,3
The influx of people from other countries is destroying Russia’s culture	30,4	38,7	50,7
With the influx of people from other countries, life in Russia is getting worse	37,2	40,1	54,8

Source: Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI).

Databases: 2006 Datafile-intern-08-08-rus lab.sav; 2016 — data_ESS wave8_rus labels.sav; 2018 — data_RSS_wave9-Russia_rus_labels_international_ver_01.sav;
 URL: <http://www.ess-ru.ru>

This article uses the results of statistical processing of data from the Russian Social Survey-2018, conducted by the Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI). As indicators of negative attitudes towards immigrants, we consider

¹ The answers to questions about the impact of immigrants on the economy, culture and life in the country are given in the range from 0 to 4 points on a scale from 0 to 10 points. See: questions: b41, b42, b43 on p. 7 of the Russian Social Survey Questionnaire–2018. CESSI document c18101 URL: http://www.ess-ru.ru/fileadmin/templates/doc/Wave_9_2018/Anketa_RSS_volna_9_Rossija.pdf.

alternative answers to questions in which the influence of immigrants on the economy, culture of Russia and life in Russia was assessed on an 11-point scale (from 0 to 10) (see: questions b41, b42 and b43 of the RSS-2018 Questionnaire). In this case, the following questions were used:

- b41 — «Do you think that the fact that people from other countries move to our country has an overall good or bad effect on the country's economy?»;
- b42 — «Tell me, do you think the influx of people from other countries rather destroys or rather enriches the country's culture?»;
- b42 — «Do you think that with the influx of people from other countries our country as a place to live is becoming better or worse?»

There were used point scales to record the answers to these questions in which “0” means the most negative assessment and “10” means the most positive assessment of the influence of immigrants on the corresponding aspects of life.

In order to identify the factors that determine a negative assessment of the immigrants influence on the economy, culture and quality of life in the country, this article uses negative questions alternatives reflecting various characteristics of the respondents. These include:

1. Lack of income to live on;
2. Dissatisfaction with life in general;
3. Feeling unhappiness;
4. Distrust of political institutions;
6. Distrust of most people;
7. Confidence that people often only care about themselves.

The following questions were used to collect data on the variables that include these alternatives. Insufficient income to live on is revealed by taking into account the negative alternatives (3 and 4) of the answer to question f42: «Which of the statements on this card most accurately describes the level of income of your family at present?»

1. We live on this income without experiencing financial difficulties;
2. This income is basically enough for us;
3. It is quite difficult to live on this income;
4. It is very difficult to live on this income.»

Dissatisfaction with life in general was assessed using question b27: “Taking into account all aspects of your life, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole at the present time?” Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, where “0” means you

are not at all satisfied with your life and “10” means you are completely satisfied.”

The feeling of unhappiness was assessed using question c1: “Taking into account all aspects of your life, how happy are you? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, where “0” means “very unhappy” and “10” means “very happy.”

Negative attitude toward political institutions was determined by taking into account answer alternatives to the questions: “Please tell me how much you personally trust the different groups of people or organizations that I will name for you? To answer, use the scale from 0 to 10 presented on this card. “0” means that you do not trust this group of people or organization at all, and “10” means that you trust them completely.” There is a list of institutions:

1. the State Duma of Russia (b6),
2. the judicial and legal system,
3. the police,
4. politicians,
5. political parties (b10), etc.

A negative attitude towards most people is studied using question a4: «Do you think that most people can be trusted, or are you inclined to think that even excessive caution in relationships with people will not hurt? Answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where «0» means « Even being too careful won't hurt» and «10» means «Most people can be trusted.»

A negative assessment of relationships between people around you is studied using alternative answers to question a6: «In your opinion, in most cases do people try to help others or do they most often only care about themselves?» Please answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means “Most often people only care about themselves” and 10 means “Most often people try to help others.”

In the process of data analysis, all scoring variables were transformed from the original scales into scales in which alternative 1 corresponded to values from 0 to 4 points, alternative 2 corresponded to a value of 5 points, and alternative 3 corresponded to values from 6 to 10 points.

To identify the presence or absence of a relationship between the factor variables and the variables-indicators of negative attitudes towards immigrants, it is advisable to use microanalysis of cross tables. This method is based on comparing the values and signs of standardized residuals — quantities characterizing the degree and direction of the difference between the observed frequencies and the expected frequencies. In this case, residuals $\geq \pm 1.65$ they are considered

as significant. Significant positive residuals indicate the prevalence of the observed frequency over the expected frequency, and negative residuals indicate the prevalence of the expected frequency over the observed frequency. It should be taken into account that significant standardized residuals indicate the presence of a relationship between the alternatives of the variables. The absence of such a relationship is indicated by insignificant standardized residuals.

The results of the microanalysis of the cross tables of the variables characterizing the polar alternatives of all factor variables and all variables-indicators of attitudes towards immigrants are given in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that the proportion of respondents who choose negative assessments of the influence of immigrants on the economy, culture and quality of life in Russia for each of the socio-cultural factors is several times (from 1.9 to 4.5) higher than the proportion of respondents who choose positive assessments of this influence. Almost all cells of Table 2 at the intersection of the alternatives of the factor variables and the alternatives of the variable indicators of attitudes towards immigrants have significant standardized residuals. The only exceptions are the alternatives: “Experiencing financial difficulties” and “The influx of people from other countries enriches the culture of Russia” (this cell of the table is marked in italics). In this case, the value of the standardized residual is -1.3, which is considered an indicator of the absence of a relationship between these alternatives. The presence of significant positive standardized residuals at the intersection of the alternatives of the factor variables and the alternatives of the indicator variables indicates that respondents who choose these alternatives are more inclined than respondents who choose the opposite alternatives to negatively assess the influence of immigrants on the economy, culture, and life in the country. For example, respondents who are dissatisfied with their lives in general are more inclined to negatively (the standardized residual is +4.0) than positively (the standardized residual is -4.0) assess the influence of immigrants on the country’s economy. The assessments of the influence of immigrants on the country’s culture (the standardized residuals are +3.8 and -2.3, respectively) and on life in the country (the standardized residuals are +3.1 and -3.9, respectively) look similar. Microanalysis of contingency tables does not allow us to identify the hierarchy of dependence of the indicator variables on the factor variables of the negative attitude toward immigrants. This task can be accomplished using factor analysis. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 3–5.

Table 2

The nature of the relationship between factors and indicators of attitudes towards immigrants in Russia (percentages (rounded)/standardized residuals)^{2,3}

Variables	The relocation of people from other countries to Russia make worse the state of the country's economy	The relocation of people from other countries to Russia worsens the state of the country's economy	The influx of people from other countries destroys Russia's culture	The influx of people from other countries enriches Russia's culture	With the influx of people from other countries, life in Russia is getting worse	With the influx of people from other countries, life in Russia is getting better
Experiencing financial difficulties	52 +2,8	27 -2,2	55 +1,9	25 -1,3	59 +2,0	19 -2,2
Not satisfied with their life in general	59 +4,5	21 -4,0	62 +3,8	22 -2,2	64 +3,1	14 -3,9
Most often, people only care about themselves	53 +2,9	25 -2,3	59 +3,8	21 -3,3	63 +3,4	15 -3,9
Do not trust the Russian State Duma	54 +4,0	23 -4,3	57 +3,0	23 -2,8	59 +2,3	16 -4,2
Do not trust political parties	51 +2,8	24 -4,1	56 +2,7	23 -2,8	60 +2,5	17 -2,4
Feel unhappy	64 +4,7	17 -4,1	65 +3,8	21 -2,3	67 +3,1	15 -2,5
Even excessive caution will not hurt	57 +5,1	22 -4,5	58 +3,1	23 -2,8	63 +3,8	16 -3,4

² The significance level in all cross tables is not lower than 0.05.

³ Source: Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI). Russian Social Survey 2018. Database: data_RSS_wave9-Russia_rus_labels_international_ver_01. URL: <http://www.ess-ru.ru> (19.05.2020).

Factors of negative assessment of the influence of immigrants on the country's economy^{4,5}

Table 3.1. Total explained variance

Components	Sum of rotation of loads squares		
	Total	% Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,447	17,478	17,478
2	2,439	17,421	34,899
3	2,169	15,490	50,390
4	1,977	14,122	64,512

Table 3.2. Component matrix after rotation

Variables	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Do not experience financial difficulties	-,099	,004	,052	,985
Experiencing financial difficulties	,097	,002	-,052	-,985
Not satisfied with their life in general	,726	,074	-,091	,040
Satisfied with their life in general	-,791	-,055	,108	,080
Feel unhappy	,760	,076	-,071	-,084
Feel happy	-,798	-,089	,046	,100
Even excessive caution in relationships with people will not hurt	,029	,033	-,716	-,029
Most people can be trusted	-,035	-,063	,728	,085
Most often people only care about themselves	,111	-,008	-,718	,016
Most people try to help each other	-,126	-,026	,757	,010
Do not trust Parliament	,089	,815	-,015	,049
Trust Parliament	-,025	-,772	,045	-,005
Do not trust parties	,142	,784	-,016	-,016
Trust parties	-,041	-,733	,041	,037
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. ^{a,b}				
a. The rotation converged in 5 iterations.				
b. In the analysis only those observations are used for which: Assessing the impact of immigrants on a country's economy = Immigrants have a bad impact on the economy.				

⁴ In all three cases, factor analysis was performed using the principal component analysis method, using the Varimax rotation method.

⁵ Source: Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI). Russian Social Survey 2018. Database: data_RSS_wave9-Russia_rus_labels_international_ver_01. URL: <http://www.ess-ru.ru> (19.05.2020).

Table 3.1 shows that as a result of factor analysis, were identified 4 explaining more than 64% of the variation. The first two factors (components 1 and 2) have a relatively greater and almost equal impact on the negative assessment of the influence of immigrants on the Russian economy. Analysis of Table 3.2 shows that the first factor includes variables that characterize the subjective unhappiness of respondents (negative assessment of living conditions in general and a feeling of unhappiness). The second factor characterizes the negative political attitudes of respondents (mistrust of the State Duma and political parties). Negative moral attitudes (mistrust of most people and the belief that most people only care about themselves) are third in terms of their impact on the negative assessment of the influence of immigrants on the country's economy. The last place belongs to the objective unhappiness of respondents (insufficient income for living). The results of the analysis of the factors characterizing the negative assessment of the influence of immigrants on the country's culture are presented in Table 4.

Table 4.1 shows that the factor analysis resulted in 4 components explaining more than 64% of the changes, and that the first two factors (components 1 and 2), as in the previous case, have a relatively greater and almost equal influence on the negative assessment of the influence of immigrants on the Russian culture. However, the analysis of Table 4.2 shows that these factors have changed places: the first factor includes negative political attitudes, and the second factor — subjective ill-being. As in the previous case, negative moral attitudes occupy the third place in terms of the impact on the negative assessment of the influence of immigrants on the country's culture. The last place belongs to the objective ill-being of respondents (insufficient income for living). The results of the analysis of the factors characterizing the negative assessment of the influence of immigrants on the quality of life in the country are given in Table 5.

The analysis of the data presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 reveals the same factor structure as in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Based on the comparative analysis of Tables 3-5, it can be stated that the degree of negative attitudes toward immigrants depends to a comparable extent on their negative socio-economic, political and moral attitudes. Insufficient income for living has less impact in this case.

The analysis of the data presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 reveals the same factor structure as in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 4

Factors of negative assessment of the immigrants impact on the country's culture⁶

Table 4.1. Total explained variance

Components	Sum of rotation of loads squares		
	Total	% Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,482	17,728	17,728
2	2,437	17,406	35,134
3	2,153	15,380	50,515
4	1,961	14,009	64,524

Table 4.2. Component matrix after rotation

Variables	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Do not experience financial difficulties	,021	-,114	-,045	,983
Experiencing financial difficulties	-,011	,111	,050	-,983
Not satisfied with their life in general	-,076	,738	,077	,001
Satisfied with their life in general	,074	-,774	-,090	,101
Feel unhappy	-,034	,762	,085	-,063
Feel happy	,071	-,805	-,035	,085
Even excessive caution in relationships with people will not hurt	-,023	,044	,718	-,038
Most people can be trusted	,030	-,079	-,721	,068
Most often people only care about themselves	,015	,080	,726	,024
Most people try to help each other	,004	-,064	-,750	,015
Do not trust Parliament	-,801	,100	,017	,007
Trust Parliament	,786	-,045	-,028	,021
Do not trust parties	-,801	,091	,007	-,005
Trust parties	,750	-,021	,006	,017
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. ^{a,b}				
a. The rotation converged in 5 iterations.				
b. In the analysis only those observations are used for which: Assessing of the immigrants impact on the country's culture = Immigrants are destroying the country's culture.				

⁶ Source: Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI). Russian Social Survey 2018. Database: data_RSS_wave9-Russia_rus_labels_international_ver_01. URL: <http://www.ess-ru.ru> (19.05.2020).

Table 5

Factors of negative assessment of the influence of immigrants on life in the country⁷

Table 5.1. Total explained variance

Components	Sum of rotation of loads squares		
	Total	% Variance	Cumulative %
1	2,467	17,623	17,623
2	2,431	17,363	34,986
3	2,129	15,206	50,192
4	1,969	14,063	64,256

Table 5.2. Component matrix after rotation

Variables	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Do not experience financial difficulties	,011	-,127	-,051	,983
Experiencing financial difficulties	-,012	,123	,058	-,983
Not satisfied with their life in general	-,066	,738	,050	,017
Satisfied with their life in general	,087	-,781	-,085	,104
Feel unhappy	-,002	,752	,101	-,084
Feel happy	,068	-,799	-,044	,105
Even excessive caution in relationships with people will not hurt	-,056	,021	,698	-,024
Most people can be trusted	,094	-,050	-,712	,072
Most often people only care about themselves	,035	,092	,739	,007
Most people try to help each other	-,006	-,101	-,745	,023
Do not trust Parliament	-,797	,109	,050	,027
Trust Parliament	,783	-,042	-,052	,029
Do not trust parties	-,804	,073	,016	-,003
Trust parties	,737	-,001	-,001	,022
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. ^{a,b}				
a. The rotation converged in 5 iterations.				
b. In the analysis only those observations are used for which: Assessing of the immigrants impact on the on the life quality in the country= With the influx of immigrants life is getting worse.				

Based on the comparative analysis of Tables 3-5, it can be stated that the degree of negative attitudes toward immigrants depends to a comparable extent on

⁷ Source: Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI). Russian Social Survey 2018. Database: data_RSS_wave9-Russia_rus_labels_international_ver_01. URL: <http://www.ess-ru.ru> (19.05.2020)

their negative socio-economic, political and moral attitudes. Insufficient income for living has less impact in this case.

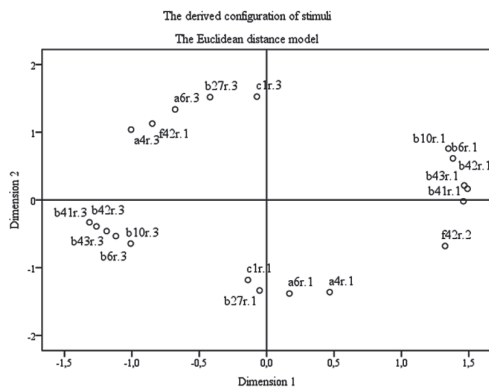
Multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis can also be used to identify the degree of mutual influence of the listed factors on the indicators of negative attitudes toward immigrants. The fact that these methods allow one to determine the degree and nature of the relationship between all variables characterizing negative attitudes toward immigrants and all variables characterizing the factors influencing this attitude is the advantage of these methods.

Multidimensional scaling is a data processing method based on counting the frequencies of joint mentions by respondents of all the variables under consideration and converting these frequencies into Euclidean distance. The results of multidimensional scaling are visualized using a diagram in which the dots representing the variables arranged according to the frequency of their joint mention by the respondents. The higher the frequency of mention, the closer the variables are arranged on the diagram, and vice versa. The variables are grouped into clusters separated by empty space or space in which only individual variables are located. These clusters form two dimensions: horizontal (dimension 1) and vertical (dimension 2). These dimensions divide the entire space into 4 quadrants: lower left and upper left; upper right and lower right. It should be especially noted that the position of each variable on the diagram is determined based on the frequency of its joint mention not only with the adjacent variables, but also with all other variables.

To use this statistical method, it is necessary to transform the polar alternatives of the listed factor variables and variables-indicators of negative attitudes towards immigrants into independent binomial variables that take the value 1 if respondents choose this alternative answer to the question, and the value 0 if respondents do not choose this alternative. Such variables are equated to interval variables those are required for multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis⁸.

The results of multidimensional scaling of all the above-listed factor variables and all variables-indicators of negative attitudes towards immigrants are shown in Fig. 1.

⁸ For a justification of this possibility, see: Tolstova J. N. Analysis of sociological data. Methodology, descriptive statistics, study of connections between nominal scales. Moscow: Scientific World. 2000. P. 308–310.



Variables

a4r.1	Even excessive caution will not hurt
a4r.3	Most people can be trusted
a6r.1	Most often people only care about themselves
a6r.3	Most people try to help each other
b6r.1	Do not trust State Duma
b6r.3	Trust State Duma
b10r.1	Do not trust political parties
b10r.3	Trust political parties
b27r.1	Not satisfied with their life in general
b27r.3	Satisfied with their life in general
b41r.1	The relocation of people from other countries to Russia make worse the state of the country's economy
b41r.3	The relocation of people from other countries to Russia make better the state of the country's economy
b42r.1	The influx of people from other countries is destroying Russia's culture
b42r.3	The influx of people from other countries enriches Russia's culture
b43r.1	With the influx of people from other countries, life in Russia is getting worse
b43r.3	With the influx of people from other countries, life in Russia is getting better
c1r.1	Feel unhappy
c1r.3	Feel happy
f42r.1	Do not experience financial difficulties
f42r.2	Experience financial difficulties

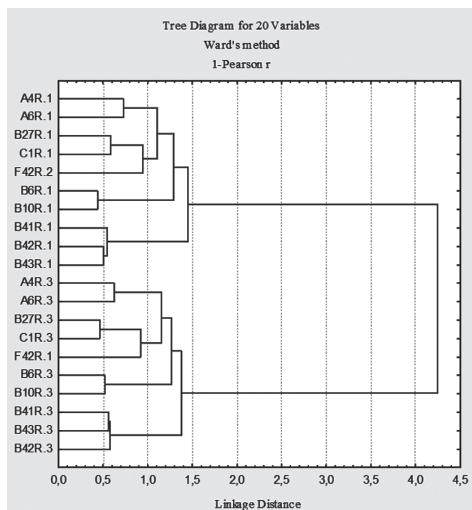
Figure 1. Interrelationship between factors and indicators of attitudes towards immigrants^{9,10}

⁹ The level of significance in all contingency tables is not lower than 0.05.

¹⁰ Source: Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI). Russian Social Survey 2018. Database: data_RSS_wave9-Russia_rus_labels_international_ver_01. URL: <http://www.ess-ru.ru> (19.05.2020).

It is necessary to identify the main («reference») variables in the data analysis presented in Fig. 1. In this case, these are variables characterizing alternative assessments of the immigrants influence on the economy, culture and life quality. In the lower left quadrant there is a cluster of points corresponding to variables alternatives denoting positive assessments of the influence of immigrants on the country's economy (b41r.3), the country's culture (b42r.3) and on life in the country (b43r.3), as well as trust in the State Duma (b6r.3) and political parties (b10r.3). Closest to this cluster in the upper left quadrant is the cluster of variables characterizing a trusting attitude toward most people (a4r.3), the absence of financial difficulties (f42.1), confidence that most people try to help each other (a6r.3), satisfaction with living conditions in general (b27r.3), a feeling of happiness (clr.2),

In the upper right quadrant is the cluster of variables denoting negative assessments of the influence of immigrants on the country's economy (b41r.1), the country's culture (b42r.1) and on life in the country (b43r.1), as well as distrust of the State Duma (b6r.1) and political parties (b10r.1). Closest to this cluster, in the lower right quadrant, is a cluster of variables characterizing the presence of material difficulties (f42r.2), as well as a cautious attitude towards most people (a4r.1), confidence that most often people only care about themselves (a6r.1), dissatisfaction with life in general (b27r.1) and (clr.1) a feeling of unhappiness. Based on the analysis of the mutual arrangement of variables in the diagram, one can conclude that negative assessments of the influence of immigrants on the economy, culture and quality of life in the country are most often observed among respondents who do not trust political institutions, do not trust most people, believe that most people care only about themselves, are dissatisfied with their living conditions in general, feel unhappy and experience financial difficulties. Positive assessments of the influence of immigrants on the economy, culture and quality of life in the country one can observe among respondents who trust political institutions and most people who believe that most people try to help each other, do not experience financial difficulties, are satisfied with their living conditions in general and feel happy. To check the stability of the obtained dependencies between the factors and indicators of attitudes towards immigrants, we can use cluster analysis of the set of variables. The results of this analysis are presented in Fig. 2.



Variables. Upper cluster

a4r.1	Even excessive caution will not hurt
a6r.1	Most often people only care about themselves
b27r.1	Not satisfied with their life in general
clr.1	Feel unhappy
f42r.2	Experience financial difficulties
b6r.1	Do not trust State Duma
b10r.1	Do not trust political parties
b41r.1	The relocation of people from other countries to Russia make worse the state of the country's economy
b42r.1	The influx of people from other countries is destroying Russia's culture
b43r.1	With the influx of people from other countries, life in Russia is getting worse

Lower cluster

a4r.3	Most people can be trusted
a6r.3	Most people try to help each other
b27r.3	Satisfied with their life in general
clr.3	Feel happy
F42.1	Do not experience financial difficulties
b6r.3	Trust State Duma
b10r.3	Trust political parties
b41r.3	The relocation of people from other countries to Russia make better the state of the country's economy
b42r.3	The influx of people from other countries enriches Russia's culture
b43r.3	With the influx of people from other countries, life in Russia is getting better

Figure 2. The relationship between factors and indicators of attitudes towards immigrants in Russia^{11,12}

¹¹ Cutting of the dendrogram is provided at level 1.5.

¹² Source: Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI). Russian Social Survey 2018. Database: data_RSS_wave9-Russia_rus_labels_international_ver_01. URL: <http://www.ess-ru.ru> (19.05.2020).

In this case, the cluster analysis was made using Ward's method, which allows obtaining groups of variables with approximately the same configuration. «1-r Pearson's» is used as a measure of connection. The results of the cluster analysis are visualized using a dendrogram, in which the points denoting the variables under study are located in accordance with the value of this measure of connection. In Fig. 2, two clusters can be distinguished in accordance with the «cutoff» at the 1.5 level. The upper cluster includes variables denoting a cautious attitude towards most people (A4r.1), confidence that most often people care only about themselves (A6r.1), dissatisfaction with life in general (B27r.1), a feeling of unhappiness (C1r.1), the presence of financial difficulties (f42r.2), distrust of the State Duma (b6r.1) and political parties (b10r.1). These variables form a separate group (subcluster) associated with the group of variables characterizing negative assessments of the influence of immigrants on the country's economy (b41r.1), the country's culture (b42r.1) and life in the country (b43r.1). The dendrogram shows that a negative attitude towards immigrants is observed among respondents who do not trust political institutions and the majority of people who have financial difficulties, are dissatisfied with their living conditions and feel unhappy.

Based on a comparison of the results obtained using various data analysis methods, we can conclude that in 2018, the negative attitude of respondents towards immigrants was associated, first of all, with their negative attitude towards representative authorities and political parties. Secondly, it is associated with the negative attitude of respondents towards the majority of people, as well as with their subjective and objective social disadvantage.

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