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“Do Foreigners Deserve Rights?”—Revisited: The Role of Familiarity and Satisfaction with Foreign Home Care Services

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Abstract

The present study examines the role of familiarity and satisfaction with foreign vs. Israeli home care as predictors of attitudes towards social rights to foreigners. A random stratified sample of home care recipients in the center of Israel was drawn. A total of 388 older adults and 686 family members were interviewed. Of these 666 relied on foreign home care services and the remaining sample relied on Israeli home care services.

Satisfaction with services was a stronger predictor of one's willingness to grant rights to foreigners among those who employ foreign home care workers than among those who employ Israeli workers. The findings are discussed within the frameworks of the contact theory and in relation to the global trend of foreign home care services to older adults.

The present study examines potential determinants of attitudes towards the entitlement of foreign workers to social rights in Israel. In particular, the study examines the role of familiarity and satisfaction with an Israeli vs. a foreign home care worker as potential predictors. The study also examines whether experiences with a particular type of foreign workers, e.g., home care workers are generalizable to attitudes towards foreigners in general.

Foreign Workers In Israel

Israel is defined as an ethno-national state (Smoocha, 1990). On the one hand, it is widely open to all Jews who are automatically entitled to become citizens in the country based on the law of return (1950) and the law of nationality (1952). On the other hand, Israel is tightly closed in the face of any non-Jewish immigrant who wishes to live in the country.

Nevertheless, starting in the early 90's, Israel has been absorbing increasingly larger numbers of foreign workers from the Far East and East Europe. These workers capture positions within the service, agriculture, construction, and home care industries; positions which have been broadly described as the three D-jobs: degrading, dangerous and dirty. Whereas in 1996, there were only 8,187 foreign workers in the country (Nathan, 2009), by 2010, there were about 116,000 documented workers and almost as many undocumented workers (Nathan, 2011b). The distribution of foreign workers within the different industries has also changed over the years. In 1996, the majority of foreign workers served in the construction industry. In 2011, on the other hand, the majority of foreign workers worked in the home care industry (Nathan, 2011b). This shift is partially attributed to the fact that the Israeli government has been actively working towards restricting the number of foreign workers in the country. However, the one industry, which is not subject to a-priori restrictions, is the home care industry, as care is supplied solely based on demand. Hence, given the ongoing increase in the number of older adults in the country, the number of foreign home care workers in the country is expected to continue to increase.

Currently, there are almost 55,000 documented foreign home care workers in the country and over 10,000 undocumented home care workers. Foreign home care workers are expected to provide live-in home care services to older adults and frail individuals. To be eligible to a live-in home care worker, the individual has to be severely impaired in activities of daily living or require ongoing supervision (Nathan, 2011a).

The reliance on foreign home care workers for the care of older adults and people with disability is not unique to Israel, but rather reflects a global phenomenon (Browne & Braun, 2008). Among the demographic trends responsible for this are the increase in lifespan, decrease in child birth, the entrance of women into the work force and the transition to nuclear families of various shapes and forms (Ayalon, Kaniel, & Rosenberg, 2008). Given the prevalence of this caregiving arrangement worldwide, the Israeli case study likely has broad implications for the study of attitudes towards foreign workers.

Discrimination And Prejudice In Israel

In this paper, discrimination is defined as a behavioral component, whereas prejudice is defined as an attitudinal component, directed towards an individual or group of people because of some arbitrary characteristics (Fiske, Gilbert, Fiske, & Lindzey, 1998).

Although discrimination and prejudice are highly related, they are not synonymous (Pereira, Vala, & Costa-Lopes, 2010).

Israel was portrayed in past research as the home of the “hated people” as it represents a direct effort to ensure a safe haven free of discrimination and prejudice for Jews all over the world (Pedahzur & Yishai, 1999). Nevertheless, discrimination, prejudice and hatred towards out-group members in Israel have been well-documented in past research. A study comparing the attitudes of Israelis towards three minority groups in the country (e.g., foreign workers, Ethiopian Jews, and Israeli Arabs) found that Israelis report hatred towards all three groups, with hatred towards foreign workers being primarily motivated by financial rivalry (Pedahzur & Yishai, 1999). A different contemporary study has argued that the impact of citizenship status (e.g., foreign status) on discrimination is greater than the impact of ethnic origin (e.g., Arab ethnicity) (Raijman, 2009). Whereas among Jews, discrimination is primarily fueled by threat to the Jewish character of the state, among Arabs, discrimination is primarily fueled by economic threat (Raijman, 2013). A different study compared attitudes towards foreign workers in Israel vs. Germany. That study found that Israelis are less favorable towards foreign workers relative to Germans. The authors attributed the findings to the fact that foreign workers represent a relatively new phenomenon in Israel, whereas Germany has a more established tradition of absorbing foreign workers. The authors also argued that preserving the Jewish character of the country is highly important for Israeli Jews (Raijman, Semyonov, & Schmidt, 2003). A different study found that Israelis are more willing to allow migrants social rights compared to political rights (Gorodzeisky, 2013).

Determinants Of Discrimination And Prejudice

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A prominent theory to explain discrimination and prejudice towards out group members is the *social contact theory*. This theory suggests that greater contact with out-group members results in more favourable attitudes towards them and thus, lower levels of discrimination (Allport, 1954). Initially, researchers have argued that several specific conditions should exist in order to bring groups together and to decrease between-group hostility and discrimination (Williams, 1947). These include the equal status of the groups, the work towards a common goal, the opportunity of members of the two groups to become friends, and norms that promote contact between groups (Allport, 1954). Others suggested that the frequent contact between group members in a variety of social settings, the perception of the minority group members as typical of their cultural group, and the engagement of the minority group members in behaviours which are inconsistent with their stereotypes are potential mechanisms that reduce discrimination and prejudice (Rothbart & John, 1985). Nevertheless, in a comprehensive meta-analysis of 515 studies with 713 independent samples, the authors concluded that these various conditions are not necessary for a reduction of discrimination and prejudice to take place, concluding that intergroup contact reduces discrimination and prejudice across a broad range of settings and targets (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

A more contemporary addition to the contact theory, suggests that it is not mere contact, but rather the quality of the contact that matters. Specifically, several studies have shown that mere contact is not enough, but rather positive contact is required in order to reduce prejudice towards minorities (Raijman, 2013). Support for this argument can be derived from experimental research that has shown that negative interactions make intergroup

categories more salient (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010). Consistently, researchers have shown that negative contact is related to negative attitudes towards minorities (Stephan, Stephan, Demitrakis, Yamada, & Clason, 2000; Stephan et al., 2002). Moreover, a recent study has shown that negative contact predicts increased prejudice even more than positive contact does (Barlow et al., 2012).

The Present Study

The present study adds to existing knowledgebase by examining the contact theory within a unique context of home care users. It is expected that the reliance on live-in foreign home care services provides ample opportunities to establish relationships with one type of foreigners, namely foreign home care workers. Although contact is important, it is expected that the quality of the contact also plays a role. In the present study, satisfaction with the work performed by the foreign home care worker serves as an indicator of the quality of the relationship with the worker. Using this indicator, I examine whether satisfaction with the relationship with the home care worker serves as a predictor of discrimination among those who rely on foreign home care services, but not among those who rely on Israeli care. The study provides an opportunity to differentiate between actual contact and the quality of the contact. The study also examines whether generalization takes place, namely whether positive relations with foreign home care workers generalize to positive attitudes towards foreigners in general. Given the high prevalence of foreign home care worldwide (Browne & Braun, 2008), the study has important implications for the wellbeing and quality of life of foreign home care workers.

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METHODS

Sample And Procedure

The present study is based on a larger study of home care workers, older care recipients and their family members funded by the National Insurance Institute of Israel. The study was approved by the ethics committee of an Israeli University and represents collaboration between this University and the National Insurance Institute of Israel. A random stratified sample of older adults over the age of 70 who live in the center of Israel was drawn from the list of older adults who receive financial assistance from the National Insurance Institute of Israel in order to support their stay in the community. Eligibility criteria for care recipients included: over the age of 70, live in center of Israel, cognitively able to participate in the study based on family members' reports and meet the eligibility criteria for employing a foreign home care worker (as only the most impaired older adults are eligible to employ a foreign home care worker). All family members of older adults who were randomized to the study were eligible to participate, provided they were identified as primary caregivers based on the records of the National Insurance Institute of Israel or based on the reports of the older adults. Interviews were conducted in Hebrew or Russian. A total of 388 older adults and 686 family members were interviewed. Of these 666 relied on foreign home care services and the remaining sample relied on Israeli home care services. Figure 1 outlines the sample flow and Table 1 outlines the demographic characteristics of the sample.

MEASURES

Attitudes Towards Social Rights To Foreigners

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This measure was based on past research conducted in Israel which evaluated attitudes towards social rights to foreigners (Raijman et al., 2003). The measure includes five items on a seven-point scale. Respondents were asked whether the county should give foreigners social rights in terms of health, education and welfare services as well as appropriate living arrangements and minimum wage. A mean score was calculated to reflect overall attitudes, with a higher score indicating greater approval of social rights to foreigners. Cronbach's alpha in the present study was .89.

Satisfaction With The Services Provided By The Home Care Worker

The Home Care Satisfaction Measure (HCSM; Geron et al., 2000) was designed specifically for the assessment of home care services. The original measure consists of 13 questions concerning satisfaction with the home health aide or homemaker (e.g., my home care worker arrives late). Four additional questions, such as my "home care worker is like a family member" or "my home care worker communicates easily" deemed relevant based on qualitative interviews with the involved parties (BLIND REVIEW), and were added in the present study. The revised measure consisted of 17 items, ranging on a 0 to 10 scale. A mean score was calculated, with a higher score indicating greater satisfaction. Chronbach's alpha in the present study is .90.

Background Information

Age, gender, marital status, level of education, income, number of years in the country and place of birth were gathered based on self-report.

ANALYSIS

Descriptive statistics were conducted and t-tests were employed to evaluate differences between those who rely on foreign home care workers vs. those who rely on Israeli home care workers. Finally, a regression analysis was conducted with attitudes towards rights to foreigners as the outcome variable. The interaction between type of home care services and satisfaction with services was examined. In order to account for missing values, multiple imputations were employed. I conducted 20 imputations, using Monte Carlo Markov Chain data augmentation to impute values. Stata/SE11.0 was used for data analysis. The significant level criterion for all statistical tests was set at .05.

RESULTS

Table 1 summarizes the bivariate results, comparing those who rely on foreign home care services to those who rely on Israeli home care services. The two groups differed on several demographic variables. Those who relied on foreign home care services enjoyed higher income. They were more likely to be born in Israel and reported higher levels of satisfaction with the home care worker. In addition, those who relied on foreign home care services were more likely to support rights to foreigners compared with those who relied on Israeli home care services. The two groups did not differ in terms of age, gender, marital status, education and number of years in the country.

Table 2 summarizes the multivariate regression results. Those who had a migrant home care worker were more willing to grant rights to foreigners. In addition, those of higher levels of income were more likely to grant rights to foreigners. There was a significant

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interaction between type of home care and satisfaction with services. Based on Figure 2, it appears that the relationships between satisfaction with services and attitudes towards granting rights to foreign workers was stronger for those employing a migrant home care workers than for those relying on Israeli care. Hence, satisfaction with services was a stronger predictor of one's willingness to grant rights to foreigners among those who employ foreign home care workers than among those who employ Israeli workers. This is particularly true as level of satisfaction with home care services increases.

DISCUSSION

The present study provides a fresh look at the roles that familiarity and satisfaction with one type of foreign workers, namely, foreign home care workers, have on attitudes towards foreigners in general. The most notable finding of the present study is the interaction between type of home care services used and satisfaction with these services. The relationships between satisfaction with services and attitudes towards rights to foreigners among those who relied on foreign home care workers is stronger than among those who relied on Israeli home care.

The findings suggest that it is not merely whether or not contact with foreigners takes place. Instead, the quality of the relationship is important in determining attitudes towards foreigners. In contrast to past research, which argued that negative relationships have a more pronounced effect on discrimination than positive ones (Barlow et al., 2012), I found that it is positive relationships that contributed to more favourable attitudes. Possibly, the use of a continuous scale, rather than categorical indicators of relationship

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quality are responsible for this discrepancy. The findings also provide support to arguments concerning the generalizability of positive experiences with one type of foreigners to overall attitudes towards foreigners. This is particularly notable, given the fact that in the present study, the quality of the relationship was represented as satisfaction with the work performed by the foreign home care worker, rather than satisfaction with interpersonal relations with the worker. Possibly, worldwide, the reliance on foreign home care services for the care of older adults will result in shifts in attitudes towards foreigners, depending on the quality of the care they provide.

The study also demonstrates that one's financial status is a direct predictor of attitudes towards granting rights to foreigners. This is consistent with past research which has shown that higher levels of income are often associated with less prejudice (Carvacho et al., 2013). This finding can be partially attributed to the fact that migrant home care workers usually compete for lower status jobs. Hence, they do not pose a direct financial threat to people of higher levels of income.

In interpreting the results of this study, it is important to acknowledge its limitations. This is a cross sectional design that evaluates respondents after they have already selected the type of home care services they wish to rely on. Hence, it is quite possible that those who had more positive attitudes towards foreigners to begin with, were the ones who chose to rely on foreign home care workers. In addition, there is a well-documented distinction between attitudes and behaviours. Hence, it is quite possible that the attitudes reported in this study would not predict future behaviours towards foreigners. Finally, the direct

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assessment of prejudice and discrimination has likely become more challenging given current atmosphere which condemns direct manifestation of prejudice and discrimination (Krumpal, 2012). Nevertheless, the present study has several strengths that outweigh its weaknesses. The reliance on a representative sample of home care users and the relative large sample represent strengths of this study and help place the study in context. A major strength of this study is the comparison of Israeli vs. foreign home care users. This allows examining whether experiences with one type of foreigners (e.g., home care workers) generalize to attitudes towards foreigners in general. The study also examines the potential role of the quality of the relationship with foreigners rather than mere contact with foreigners. Our findings demonstrate that when it comes to attitudes towards social rights to foreigners, satisfaction with foreign home care workers' performance has an important role in determining one's attitudes. Given the high prevalence of foreign home care worldwide (Browne & Braun, 2008), this study has important implications concerning attitudes towards foreigners in those countries that heavily rely on foreign home care.

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Table 1. Characteristics of foreign home care vs. Israeli home care users

	Total (1080)	Foreign home care users (666)	Israeli home care users (414)	t-test/chi-square [df]	p-value
Age	69.2(15.1)	68.7(15.2)	69.9(14.8)	1.2[1,075]	.22
Female gender	740(68.5%)	449(67.8%)	291(71.0%)	1.2[2]	.28
Marital status-married	659(61.8%)	412(62.6%)	247(60.4%)	.53[1]	.25
Education	12.7(4.5)	12.8(4.4)	12.4(4.7)	-1.4[973]	.15
Income				63.1[6]	<.001
1-low	65(7.6%)	32(6.2%)	33(9.8%)		
2	112(13.1%)	42(8.1%)	70(20.8%)		
3	170(19.9%)	97(18.7%)	73(21.7%)		
4	134(15.7%)	73(14.0%)	61(18.2%)		
5	89(10.4%)	58(11.2%)	31(9.2%)		
6	55(6.4%)	38(7.3%)	17(5.1%)		
7-high	231(27.0%)	180(34.6%)	51(15.2%)		
Born in Israel	414(38.5%)	285(43.0%)	129(31.3%)	14.6(1)	<.001
Years in the country	26.13(23.8)	25.9(1.1)	26.4(1.6)	.28[1,078]	.78

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Older adults (vs. family members)	390(36.1%)	224(33.6%)	166(40.1%)	4.62(1)	.03
Satisfaction with the home care worker (1-5)	4.2(.7)	4.4(.7)	3.9(.7)	- 10.3[1,055]	<.001
Foreigners deserve rights (1-7)	5.0(1.9)	5.4(1.7)	4.4(.20)	-7.9[1,031]	<.001

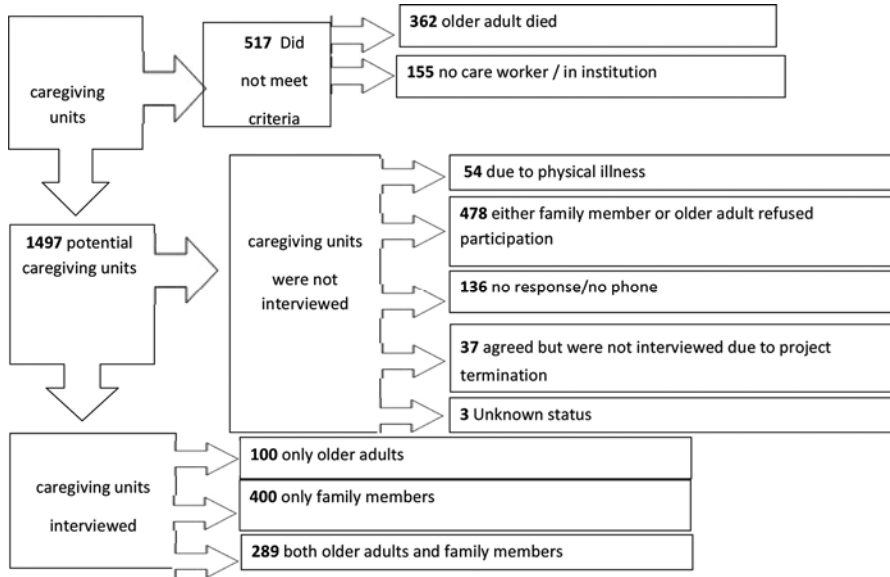
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Table 2. Predictors of attitudes towards rights to foreigners¹

	B	SE	p-value
Age	.006	.006	.35
Gender-women reference group	-.02	.13	.87
Marital status-not married reference group	-.15	.13	.25
Education	.02	.02	.27
Income (1-7)	.08	.04	.02
Born abroad-reference group	.29	.19	.13
Years in the country	.002	.003	.59
Older adult (reference group) vs. family members	-.23	.20	.24
Satisfaction with the relationship with home care worker (1-5)	.11	.13	.39
Type of home care-Israeli reference group	.70	.13	<.001
Type of home care* satisfaction with home care	.34	.13	.04

¹Unstandardized coefficients and Standard errors are reported

Figure 1. Sample flow



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Figure 2. Social rights to foreign workers as a function of satisfaction with the home care worker and type of home care worker

