The Multi-dimensions of Aporophobia

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1. **Introduction**

The poverty literature is fertile ground for controversies. Different ethical frameworks have produced distinct conceptualisations of poverty that on their turn have generated a wide range of often-conflicting measurement strategies (Ravallion, 2016; Anand et al, 2010). From the earlier contemporary debates between Townsend (1979) and Sen (1983) about relative vs absolute poverty to more recent arguments generated by the multi-dimensional poverty index (Alkire and Foster, 2011), it is possible to find a rich history of divergences about dimensions, variables and indicators that are used to unveil the characteristics of the poor. And yet, despite all differences and controversies, it can be noted that all discordant approaches to poverty have a common foundation, namely, they all seem to follow Sen's (1981) suggested identification strategy under which poverty analysis must be only about the well-being of the poor. The so called 'focus on the poor axiom' is normally considered uncontroversial (Duclos, 2009). Nevertheless, it invites a certain kind of analysis involving a 'narrow focus on attributes' of the poor that has dominated poverty studies (Dasandi, 2014).

This does not mean that we should dispute the necessity and usefulness of this identification exercise, whenever it proves valid. Rather, it argues that it needs to be broadened to encompass the impressions, beliefs, attitudes and actions of the non-poor, in particular what Cortina (2017) defined as 'aporophobia', or simply, 'rejection of the poor'. The argument is that the way that the non-poor imagine, understand and act towards the poor is part of poverty phenomena, independently of how one decides to conceptualise or measure it (Sherman, 2001). This should not be confused with psychosocial implications of poverty (Ximenes et al, 2019) nor with social exclusion (Pierson, 2016), because these measures both focus on the suffering of the poor. On the other hand, aporophobia focuses on what the non-poor think and do about the poor. Of course, who is or not poor will depend on the chosen

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references (poverty thresholds) that are adopted. It is even possible that those who are poor may reject the extremely poor (Narayan et al, 2000).

The need for examining the concept of aporophobia can be justified on three main grounds. First, it names a phenomenon that already exists and that has never been properly investigated. Secondly, it provides a 'missing link' between poverty and inequality because aporophobia can connect and explain their underlying processes. Thirdly, it addresses 'the other side of the coin' in the poverty debate because without the understanding and commitment of the non-poor, it is difficult to find alternatives for the reduction of the hardest forms of multidimensional and chronic poverty. Or even worse, because when the non-poor's beliefs about the poor involve misconceptions about the nature of their poverty, policy-reduction policies tend to become irrelevant or do the poor more harm than good (Williamson, 1976).

Thus, building on Cortina's (2017) ground-breaking work, the key contribution of this paper is to offer the first analytical framework to tackle the multi-dimensions of aporophobia as a preliminary step towards a fully-fledged theory of aporophobia. More specifically, i) it provides a conceptual analysis of the aporophobia phenomena, suggesting that there are three dimensions of aporophobia, namely, macro, meso and micro aporophobia, ii) it introduces conceptual and measurement models to increase the theoretical density of the concept that add corresponding sub-dimensions and iii) it examines preliminary evidence of the existence of aporophobia at an aggregate level. In doing so, it introduces a new measure of aporophobia, such as the Global Aporophobia Index. It concludes by putting forward a policy agenda for reducing poverty focused on the responsibilities and the role of the non-poor. The main message of this paper is clear: the non-poor are part of the (poverty) problem and therefore need to be part of its solution.

2. What is aporophobia?

Aporophobia is a neologism originally created by Cortina (1995) that comes from the union of two Greek words, 'aporos' (the poor) and 'phobia' (rejection, fear, aversion). It refers to a range of situations and circumstances in which the non-poor discriminate against the poor. Cortina (2017) has fully developed this concept. She used 17 different expressions to characterise a list of aporophobia phenomena (see Table 1). Three features of this rich portrait should be noted: first, the various expressions used by Cortina seem to belong to different psychological categories (impressions, attitudes, beliefs and actions, as categorised by

Ekkekakis, 2013)); secondly, they appear to convey distinct levels of intensity. For instance, attitudes such as 'disregard' do not seem to be as intense as 'hate acts'. Thirdly, they represent forms of rejection grounded on asymmetric relations. It is interesting to observe that asymmetric relations *per se* would not be enough to produce aporophobia. As Roemer (2000) has argued, there are forms of inequality and asymmetric relations that are not intrinsically negative (for instance, if justified as outcomes of different levels of individual effort). Therefore, aporophobia depends on the existence of asymmetric relations that are characterised by a certain *corruption of our moral sentiments*, as Smith (1976 [1759]) would put it.

Table 1 – List of expressions associated with aporophobia and corresponding categories

Original expression in Spanish	Translation into English	Categories
Antipatía	Antipathy	Attitude
Relación asimétrica	Asymmetric relation	Beliefs, actions
Aversión	Aversion	Beliefs, attitude
Desprecio	Contempt	Feelings/impressions, attitude
Trato vejatorio	Degrading treatment	Actions
Repugnancia	Disgust	Feelings/impressions, attitude
Desatención generalizada	Disregard	Action
Temor, Miedo	Fear	Imagination/feelings, attitude
Odio	Hate	Imagination/feelings, attitude
Incidentes de odio	Hate acts	Actions
Hate speech	Hate speech	Actions
Hostilidad	Hostility	Attitude, actions
Insulto	Insult	Actions
Impaciencia	Impatience	Attitude
No reconocimiento recíproco	No reciprocal acknowledgement	Attitude, actions
Agresión física	Physical aggression	Actions
Rechazo	Rejection	Attitude, actions

Source: Authors' elaboration based on Cortina (2017).

The key issue for Cortina (2017) is the narrowness of a contractualist view of society (understood as a social contract based on mutual advantage). According to this perspective, the 'aporoi' are those people who have nothing good to offer to society. This means that they cannot generate an expectation of reciprocation. For this reason, the non-poor do not recognise them (Honneth, 1995). In other words, for the non-poor it is not worth entering into

dialogue with the poor and consequently the poor does not deserve their respect. At one extreme, it might induce 'only' a certain lack of recognition (and a sense that the poor are recognised as concrete creatures of need). At the other extreme, it might produce aggression and hate crimes. The broader picture here is a vision of society based on a narrow form of social contract that is usually justified on the principle of mutual advantage. According to this view, if the only thing that the poor can bring to the non-poor is a list of problems, then better to ignore or reject them.

At the end, Cortina's (2017) characterisation of aporophobia is a sharp critique of Rawlsian societies based on instrumental reciprocity, joining forces with Nussbaum (2006) who also criticised the principle of mutual advantage as a proper foundation for social cooperation. Esquembre (2019) notes that the theme of aporophobia can be understood as a 'normative disruption' in this standard (Rawlsian) anthropology of reciprocity, because there is a group of people that do not have any possibility of reciprocation.

For Cortina, aporophobia is at the root of several other kinds of discrimination, such as xenophobia, racism, religious and gender discrimination. In her view, not all foreigners are equally discriminated (e.g. tourists are always welcomed) but mainly those poor immigrants and refugees. Similarly, the homeless are condemned to be insulted or (in the best case scenario) to become invisible to the non-poor (Hatento, 2015). Not all people are discriminated merely by their race and colour but again mostly those that are for instance 'black and poor'. This does not mean that people who are not poor cannot be equally discriminated, but that often aporophobia goes hand-in-hand with other kinds of discrimination. In addition, we should mention the following features of aporophobia for Cortina (2017):

1. It is the rejection of a group, not of an individual. In other words, it is not the individuality of a poor person that raises the phobia but the fact that there is an understanding by the non-poor that poor people belong to a group that should be avoided or rejected;

2. It is not a phobia based on an identity because involuntary poverty is not part of one's identity. With rare exceptions, people do not choose to be poor;

3. All human beings are aporophobic due to neural, evolutionary and social causes. The non-poor indulge into interpretations of their superiority because this sends a calming message to them;

4. It is a problem of moral motivation of individuals;

5. It is a daily issue that manifests itself at several different levels (with considerable gaps between speech and action);

6. It is a problem that also affects the institutional life of societies, including their habits and cultures that shape their inter-subjective agreements;

7. It is a social pathology.

Altogether, these features provide an alternative narrative to the mainstream discourse that claims that the poor are the only ones responsible for their poverty ("if they are lazy, dirty and do not wish to work, they are their own cause of poverty and therefore deserve it"). Instead, the aporophobia narrative allows us to consider that 'the poverty issue' is also about how the media, the relevant institutions and the non-poor relate to the poor (Garcia-Granero, 2017). There is a link between fear and rejection that is produced by alarmist narratives. Indeed, it is frequent to find in the press headlines that relate the poor to a wide range of social problems that threaten the peace and stability of western societies (despite any corroborating systematic evidence, for an interesting discussion see Bullock et al (2001) about how the poor are portrayed on TV).

Martínez (2002) argues that mediatic phenomena might give rise to a 'vicious circle of aporophobia', that starts with the underprivileged groups being accused of crimes, such as stealing, drug dealing, prostitution, etc. Later, these accounts create a perception that makes it much harder for the poor to be integrated into society, increasing the probability that some of them might consider doing an illegal act, in such a way that the original stereotype ends up being reinforced. Andrade (2008) remarks that the rejection of the poor *per se* is not a sociological novelty but that its use as a key analytical category for understanding the processes that generate poverty provides a refreshing perspective that might serve as a reminder for the non-poor about their responsibilities towards the poor.

One interesting development is that if poverty is multidimensional, then we can experience multidimensional ways in which the poor can be rejected. In other words, for each kind of poverty we should expect a corresponding kind of aporophobia. In fact, Cortina (2000) argues that there are multiple dimensions of aporophobia. Because a person can be deprived, for instance, of his or her political community, security, health, social protection (unemployment benefit, pensions), education, political power, etc., he or she might not have much to offer and might be a victim of aporophobia in diverse ways. Aporophobia then is the 'insult to injury' to the poor.

But how can we advance Cortina's agenda towards a broader understanding of the multi-dimensions of aporophobia? One of the difficulties to be faced is that aporophobia is described by her through the use of 17 different expressions or situations that need to be harmonised as part of a common framework to achieve a certain theoretical standing. Moreover, aporophobia does not emerge simply out of a social vacuum but it is influenced by objective conditions that shape the social environment of different societies such as their levels of poverty and inequality. It is important that we tackle not simply the micro dimensions of aporophobia but also its broader dimensions.
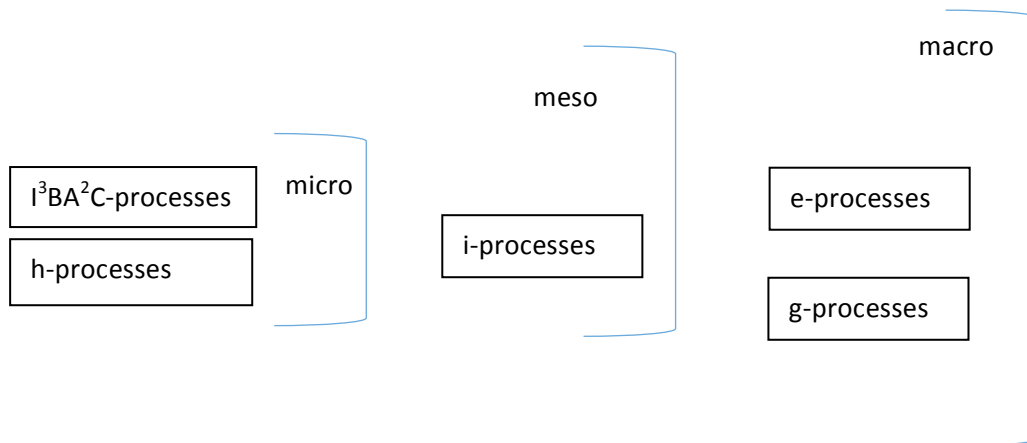
3. Framing Aporophobia

Aporophobia is not merely an individual phenomenon. Rather, it is also a social phenomenon. This means that aporophobia has at the very least a macro (systemic) as well as a micro (individual) dimension. If it is true that non-poor people can be aporophobic, it should also be considered that governments can be aporophobic, for instance in their fiscal policy (WDR 2004), given that the non-poor can influence redistributive politics (McCarty and Pontusson, 2011). Aporophobia can also be a feature of certain institutions that constitute a particular class of phenomena.

Within this context, a complete account of aporophobia must consider it as a multi-dimension phenomena that could include three distinct levels, namely: i) a *micro dimension*, based on psychological features and actions of non-poor individuals; ii) a *meso dimension*, whenever aporophobia is manifested as a result of particular institutions (for instance, schools and hospitals can have aporophobic cultures) and iii) a *macro dimension*, based on factors, such as the non-poor's power to appropriate a considerable share of national income and influence the distributive role of governments.

Each dimension corresponds to specific processes that can be considered in isolation for analytical purposes only. These processes will be described in detail in the following subsections. We can name them according to Figure 1 that suggests a general conceptual model for aporophobia:

Figure 1 – Main aporophobic dimensions and processes
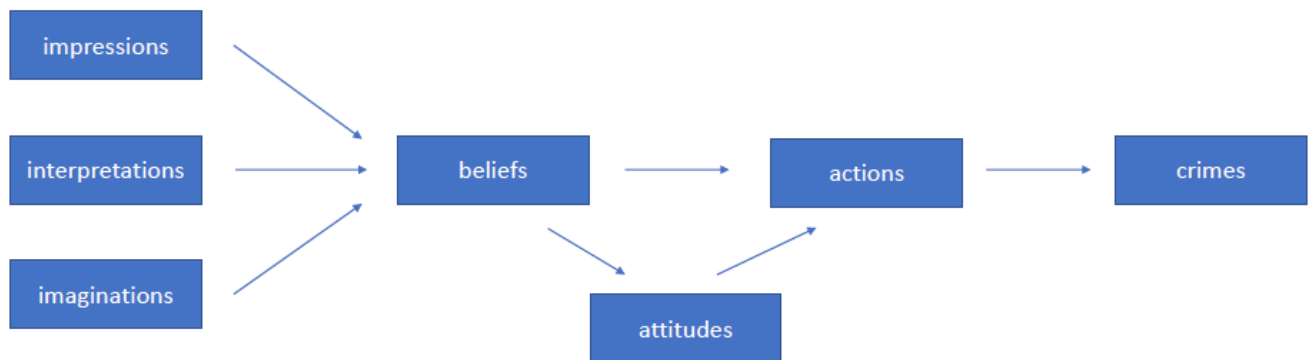

Source: Authors' creation.

3.1 Micro dimension

Micro aporophobic processes can be represented by those psychological-emotional trajectories that explain how individuals grow into being aporophobic in different ways and to different degrees. They involve responses, not always fully coordinated, between individuals' information-processing cognitive skills, neurophysiological reactions, expressions and emotion sensitivities and executive functions that prepare individuals to act (Scherer, 2005). What can be named I^3BA^2C-processes (or IBAC, for short) represents a static linear process in which individuals compose their impressions, interpretations and imaginations (I^3) of the 'stories' about the poor that -when consolidated- inform their beliefs about them. On their turn, beliefs (B) may influence individuals' attitudes and actions (A^2). Some of them might result in crimes (C).

Of course, processes need time to develop and with the analytical inclusion of time, these static linear processes become full trajectories that might produce or not feedback loops. Indeed, aporophobia might start very early in life when children start forming their early perceptions of different traits between the rich and the poor. These are processes, well-known in the literature (e.g. Sigelman, 2012) but so far not fully characterised as aporophobic. By articulating them in a single framework we allow a full understanding of their overall impact. In what follows, Figure 2 provides a simple illustration of IBAC static processes, for analytical purposes.

Figure 2 – I³BA²C static processes

Source: Authors' creation.

The categories of impressions, interpretations and imaginations combine cognitive and non-cognitive (psychological-sociological-emotional) elements (Damasio, 2006). Altogether, they inform beliefs that can naturally reinforce a new round of impressions, interpretations and imaginations. But they are far from being able to avoid cognitive and non-cognitive shortcomings and for this reason we need to consider what we have named h-processes where 'h' stands for 'heuristics'. In real life, people make mistakes and their judgements are often biased because they are informed by a wide variety of heuristics.

Kahneman (2012) offers a systematic account of several kinds of heuristics (named here 'h-processes'), based on Stanovich and West's (2000) terminology of System 1 (S1) and System 2 (S2) to describe the cognitive ease with which individuals process information (S1) compared to their more articulated judgments (S2). The interesting point is that it seems that aporophobia is shaped largely by the workings of S1. It is within S1 that we find a 'model of the world' that individuals use to evaluate events as normal or surprising; it is S1 the source of our intuitive judgments. The main objective of S1 is to provide coherent stories so that we can decide how to act in the world. S1 extrapolates, generalises, detects simple relations (e.g. "all poor are alike").

As such, S1 is biased to believe and confirm the things that we already know rather than learn about new evidence. S1 feeds on stereotypes and it is designed to jump to conclusions. As Kahneman (2012: 209) puts it, "The amount of evidence and its quality do not count for much, because poor evidence can make a very good story. For some of our most important beliefs we have no evidence at all, except that people we love and trust hold these beliefs". To make

things worse, there is evidence that suggests that our brains are more influenced by bad events than by good events (Baumeister et al, 2001).

This means that emotionally loaded words normally used to describe the poor attract more attention than positive words that can produce a feeling of happiness. Even without a real threat, the mere mention of a possibility of threat can be understood by S1 as a real threat. An application of some of these heuristics to aporophobia (see Table 2) illustrate how complex some of these processes can be.

Table 2 –Illustrations of heuristics applied to aporophobia

Heuristic	Aporophobia situations
Substitution heuristics: when faced with a difficult question, instead of trying to answer it individuals answer a different, but easier one	The non-poor prefer to ask questions about the harm that refugees can cause to their societies rather than consider the complex causes that explain why they left their places of origin
Associative activation heuristics: simple conjunction of two words establishes an association of ideas	When the non-poor watch news about the poor and bad events, they might subsequently associate the poor with negative memories and negative emotions
Priming and reciprocal-priming heuristics: some words, actions or emotions that came first to mind shape individuals' interpretation of future events (without them being conscious about them)	Because the non-poor are primed about negative features of the poor, they will express aporophobic thoughts that might lead them towards aporophobic actions that might reinforce their original information
Familiarity heuristics: the impression of familiarity gives individuals an impression of truth; repetition induces cognitive easing	For the non-poor, information about the poor are often scarce or inaccurate. Because they are unfamiliar to the poor's world, there is no cognitive easing about them
Confirmation heuristics: people seek information that are compatible with their beliefs	The non-poor search *ex-post* for arguments to confirm their previously-held beliefs about the poor
Halo heuristics: individuals tend to like (or dislike) everything about things or a person	Because the non-poor dislike something about the poor, they tend to attribute other negative things to the poor that go altogether ("they are poor, lazy and dangerous")
Affect heuristics: individuals' likes and dislikes determine their beliefs about the world	The non-poor's emotional attitudes towards the poor drive their beliefs; thus some legitimate arguments about the poor are totally ignored
Stereotyping heuristics: the costs of paying attention to individual realities might be high, so individuals build their reasoning around stereotypes (that are easier to fit into a causal story)	The non-poor think about the poor based on stereotypes that are suggested to them by the media
Possibility heuristics: individuals pay more attention to elements that they (emotionally) worry about	The non-poor's worries spark in their minds a vivid image of threats by the poor. They react with more focus against the poor, even considering that objectively the probability of such a threat is low

Source: Author's creation.

It is important to note that a heuristic is not something bad *per se*. It is only a simple procedure or approach that is used by individuals to handle difficult situations by appealing to imperfect but adequate solutions. The problem is that as much as heuristics can be useful in our daily lives, they can bias our normative judgments. As a result, the non-poor end up with a view of the world about the poor that it is much simpler and more perverse (but –paradoxically- more coherent in their minds) than facts and data can justify, leading to a 'blaming-the-victim' morality that justifies the disenfranchisement of the poor from human development (Chafel, 1997).

Together, IBAC and h-processes produce complex patterns of individual aporophobia. They are responsible not only by the valence of aporophobia but also by its activation and intensity (these terms will be explained in what follows). They offer a much more detailed model of formation of beliefs and their impacts on attitudes and actions than for instance the general models directly derived from the World Values Survey that try to explain political views and behaviour based directly on the category of beliefs (e.g. Alesina and Glaeser, 2004).

3.2 Meso dimension

In real life, these IBAC processes and their corresponding heuristics are embedded within meso and macro realities (as described by Figure 1). There is relevant literature about how certain institutions, such as schools or hospitals (meso category), can also reject the poor in their activities (Hart, 1971; Watt, 2002 and Mercer et al, 2012, to mention just a few). Teachers might dedicate less attention to their poorest students, doctors might try less expensive procedures with poorer patients, judges can systematically deliberate against the poor plaintiffs, local government officials (in their daily affairs) can ignore the urgent demands of the poor whereas can be accountable to medium class claims. Aporophobia is not simply about individual beliefs and actions against the poor but also about collective and institutional biases against them. In concrete terms, 'institutional or meso' aporophobia is about public or private institutions (formal or informal) rejecting the poor (i-processes).

It is true that in practice it might be difficult to explain and disentangle an aporophobic act from an individual motivation or as an outcome of certain institutional features. It is most likely that such acts will result from a combination of factors, such as formal rules, institutional norms, local cultures, among others and it does not seem much productive to try to analytically separate the influence of these factors when they in fact are jointly produced. Instead, a more interesting and productive procedure seems to be the identification of formal

and informal institutional features, protocols, norms and biases against the poor. Sometimes, equality would entail different protocols for different groups, for instance, to take into account the fact that the poor might have more difficulty to understand certain explanations from their doctors and might need more attention from them (as discussed by Hart in his famous 'inverse care law' of 1971). Institutions' rules and laws can create mechanisms that shape individuals' understanding and actions towards the other (Ahn and Ostrom, 2008).

3.3 Macro dimension

At a higher level, there are processes that can be grouped under the title of macro aporophobia. They take place when economic structures (that can be named e-processes) and/or government policies (called g-processes) reject the poor in the social struggle for defining the distribution of resources in society. Our main argument here is that in aporophobic societies the rich have a higher capacity to appropriate a larger share of their gross economic product. This is substantiated by Palma's 2016 findings. These societies produce social organisms, market structures and economic ideologies that boost the non-poor's (in particular the rich's) achievements (Piketty, 2014). The main outcome of the interaction of these complex factors can be seen in the proportion of the national income appropriated by the 1% or 10% richest. This is not to dismiss individual merits but to acknowledge that there are societies in which their economic processes are more conducive to higher levels of income and wealth concentration and polarisation. In the pro-poor measurement debate not much attention is given to the role of the non-poor in explaining different distributive patterns (Kakwani and Pernia, 2000).

One could however mention that there are societies in which their non-poor are very generous, actively sharing the fruits of their endeavours with the poor. For this reason, it is relevant to take into account how different e-processes can socially impact on the poor through 'giving' of the non-poor. The fact that some e-process reject the poor do not constitute the ultimate evidence of how the economy as a whole condemn them if one does not take into account private redistribution processes.

One might think however that governments exist to fix this problem (Stiglitz and Rosengard, 2015) but in fact governments are often themselves aporophobic when their (regressive) taxes represent more of a burden to the poor than to the non-poor and when their services benefit the non-poor relatively more than the poor. So, governments that, instead of correcting the excesses of primary income distribution and lack of private giving (charity) of the non-poor,

actually magnify this problem with regressing taxes and public spending can also be considered aporophobic (g-processes). In the global history of social spending in the past three centuries, there is a noticeable trend to find lower levels of redistribution from the rich to the poor when and where they are most needed, what has been named by Lindert (2004), 'the Robin Hood paradox'. Thus, in countries with higher income inequality and higher poverty, where the poor could benefit most from progressive interventions, is precisely when they are not present due to the underlying political forces. The imbalance of earning-power endowments between the poor and the non-poor that is characterised by e-processes is thus transmitted to g-processes.

Even when governments try to introduce pro-poor policies such as Conditional Cash Transfer programs (CCTs), they might face difficulties in implementing these interventions because of the negative criticism of the public opinion (of the non-poor). There is an interesting literature on 'the political economy of inequality' that shows how economic and social inequalities affect politics and government redistributive policies (McCarty and Pontusson, 2011). It seems that most mechanisms of governments' redistribution depend on the ability of 'the organised poor', also called 'labour market insiders' (e.g. those gathered in unions and left parties) to politically convey their demands. This might leave behind the poorest of the poor, those who might be involuntarily rejected by the other poor.

E-processes and g-processes are surely not blinded to distinct levels of poverty and inequality faced by different societies. Societies with a high inequality environment do experiment higher social distance among the non-poor and the poor, what might be conducive to stratification (Bottero, 2005), and that on its turn promotes more stereotypes and aporophobia. But often, what matters most is not the real concrete inequality conditions but the beliefs or ideologies that the non-poor develop about them. Alesina and Glaeser (2004) show how different European and American images about the poor cannot be explained by their objectively small historical differences. As a result, the European view that the poor are trapped and unlucky and the American view that the poor are lazy and unworthy seem to be explained more by political ideologies.

Do underlying economic realities, such as the level of poverty and inequality, influence aporophobia? Or is aporophobia a result of political ideologies and indoctrination? These are issues to be empirically examined because they can have different answers for different countries. In what follows, we explore the macro aporophobia-poverty-inequality hypothesis according to which there are joint impacts of poverty and inequality over e- and g-processes.

Thus, whenever poverty and inequality are high, there is fertile ground for the flourishing of all kinds of aporophobia behaviour.

Combining all these influences, it is possible to suggest the existence of an Aporophobia-Poverty-Inequality triangle, as illustrated by Figure 3.

Figure 3 – The macro Aporophobia-Poverty-Inequality Triangle
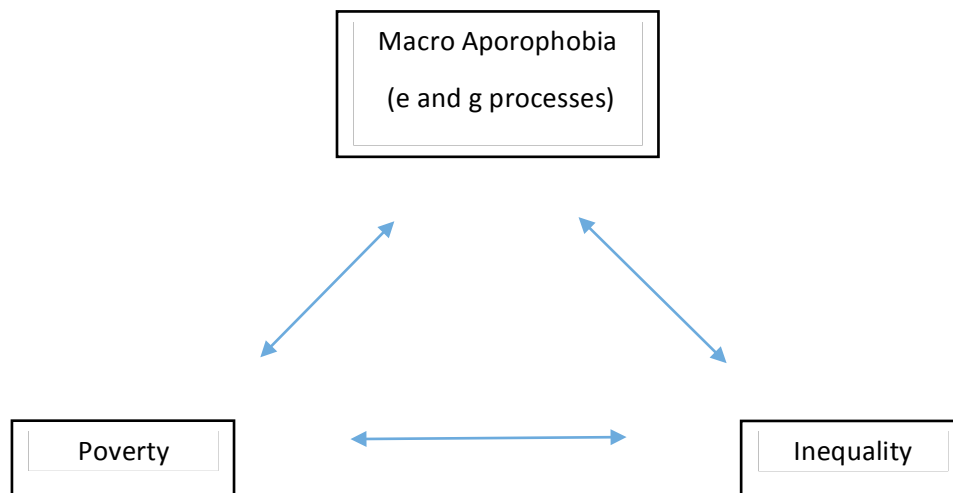
Source: Authors' creation.

This triangle greatly simplifies the linkages between these processes but allows us to think about the main implications of their interactions. Moreover, it puts at the centre-stage of this discussion the non-poor (or if one wishes to be more analytically ambitious, 'the rich') as a key category for understanding the persistence of poverty and inequality dynamics in all three levels mentioned above. In this scenario, governments have an important normative role as political expressions of the views and voice of the non-poor and implementers of social policy and welfare reforms (Cozzarelli et al, 2001).

The main hypothesis raised by this triangle is that poverty and inequality fuel macro aporophobia (understood here as e-processes and g-processes), that on their turn reinforces the mechanisms that produce further poverty and inequality. There is no assumption of causality *per se* here because ultimately there is a micro dimension of analysis that seems more determining for explaining the processes of individual aporophobia. We are aware that this suggestion for framing aporophobia, based on the general scheme put forward in Figure 1, raises all kinds of conceptual, theoretical, measurement and empirical matters, including its practical implications for policy-making. All these issues are however too complex to try to

solve in a single paper. For this reason, instead of tackling all of them at once, we decided to focus on a theoretical question that is key for assessing the possibilities of measuring aporophobia, namely, whether it is possible to structure the 17 expressions used by Cortina (2017) to characterise aporophobia under a single framework.

4. Measuring aporophobia: multi-dimensional illustrations

The aporophobia research agenda is disruptive; it provides new lenses to redefine how traditional phenomena, such as poverty and inequality, can be understood and measured. Cortina's (2017) theory, centred on ethics and individuals' decision-making processes, can be cleared used to characterise and measure the micro dimension of aporophobia. There is a natural synergy to be explored between ethics and psychology in developing micro aporophobia measurement tools here. However, when it comes to the macro dimension of aporophobia, we have to expand her framework to dialogue with a literature on beliefs and political economy, as described earlier. To demonstrate the conceptual and empirical potential of aporophobia as an organising and structuring concept for measurement, we offer here two illustrations: first, a micro illustration, focusing on the development of a conceptual measurement framework and secondly, a macro illustration, centred on the creation of a new indicator for empirical research.

4.1 A micro dimension conceptual illustration

A question of central importance in measuring constructs with affective components, as it is the case of aporophobia, is to evaluate whether its elements can be considered as distinct entities or whether they can be positioned along dimensions. To consider them as distinct entities, would mean that people can be simultaneously classified as aporophobic and non-aporophobic (in the analogy of being happy and sad at the same time for different aspects of a particular situation). It is difficult to see how this could apply to aporophobia. However, the truth of the matter is that there does not seem to exist a single answer to this question. Following Ekkekakis (2013), the 17 expressions used by Cortina (2017) are categorised here as 17 kinds of aporophobia that are represented by their categories (as portrayed by the IBAC model) conceived as combinations of two basic ingredients in different degrees. There is undoubtedly more in the richness and diversity of aporophobia than these two basic ingredients might suggest, but they appear to be foundational towards a more systemic view

of aporophobia. In other words, this dimensional approach might not capture the totality of all content domains involved in aporophobia phenomena, but it seems that they can capture key aspects of this construct. Thus, the main dimensions operating mostly at a micro level would be:

a) Valence: an evaluative factor, registering how positive or negative or good or bad is a central construct;

b) Activation: an activity factor, showing whether a construct is fast or slow, active or passive.

In order to make sense of the valence factor for aporophobia it is important to introduce the term 'aporophilia' (the opposite of aporophobia). This is necessary for balancing the measurement in relation to the valence of the construct. By doing so, respondents can have an equal chance to report that they have experienced one of these states, protecting the whole assessment from bias. This means that each kind of aporophobia should have a corresponding bipolar opposite in terms of aporophilia (table 3).

Table 3 – Kinds of aporophobia and aporophilia

Kinds of aporophobia	Kinds of aporophilia
Antipathy	Sympathy
Asymmetric relation	Symmetric relation
Aversion	Fondness
Contempt/despised	Deference
Degrading treatment	Honouring
Disgust	Attraction
Disregard	Consideration
Fear	Confidence/fearlessness
Hate	Love
Hate acts	Love acts
Hate speech	Love speech
Hostility	Kindness
Insult	Praise
Impatience	Patience
No reciprocal acknowledgement	Recognition
Physical aggression	Physical security/protection
Rejection	Acceptance

Source: Authors' creation.

Once these opposites are defined, it is possible to present them in a model, that for sake of simplicity could be named the 3A measurement model of aporophobia, after their initials ('A'porophobia, 'A'porophilia and 'A'ctivation), as displayed in Figure 4. The main purpose of

this model is to map out the informational spaces related to aporophobia (on impressions, interpretations and imaginations; beliefs; attitudes and actions). It is within these informational spaces that all different spaces of aporophobia discussed by Cortina (2017) can be found. But what do they mean? In very general terms it can be argued that:

i)   impressions, interpretations and imaginations: if restricted to what they mean (without becoming beliefs, attitudes or actions), they represent a low activation of kinds of aporophobia that have a lower valence. We are talking about early negative ideas about the poor or instinctive reactions such as contempt, disgust or fear of the poor. They are normally the inputs for individuals' motivational systems and as such they represent a merge between cognitive and affective ideas. Non-poor individuals might be lead to feel, understand or conjecture through their S1 certain things about the poor but that are not validated by their S2. As such this informational space can be described by lower valence and lower activation;

ii)   beliefs: they might represent a higher level of valence and activation in comparison to the previous informational space, once they consist of impressions, interpretations and imaginations accepted by individuals' S2 system. If after some effortful mental activity the individual is still aporophobic and earlier impressions, interpretations and imaginations are endorsed rather than changed, then there is a higher probability that they can be turned into attitudes and actions. This happens when beliefs about the poor can generate simple causal theories about how they are and what they want, establishing beliefs of superiority of the non-poor, asymmetric relation, together with more elaborated thoughts of aversion;

iii)   attitudes: they consist in a predisposition to act that not always are translated into behaviour or actions, but represent a higher activation that often emerges associated with higher valences of aporophobia. Here, impatience with the poor, or attitudes of antipathy and rejection are representative of these tendencies. However, it is logically possible that some kinds of aporophobia belong to more than one of these informational spaces. Thus, feelings of contempt can be translated into attitudes of contempt; ideas of fear can be translated into attitudes of fear, and so on. Even when the valence is the same, it happens that attitudes have a higher activation in relation to beliefs;

iv)   actions: they are often an outcome of individuals' executive functions and offer an extra filter (after the cognitive and emotional filters of S2) for the non-poor. However, it is expected that attitudes will be translated into actions. This is when

we see aporophobia becoming degrading treatment, disregard, hate acts, hostility, insults and even physical aggression. At the extreme, aporophobia can become crimes such as hate speech and acts and full physical aggression.

It is assumed here, following the IBAC model, that early impressions, imaginations and interpretations will feed individuals' belief systems that on their turn will provide motivational grounds for people's attitudes and actions. This scheme, as previously portrayed by Figure 2, is naturally an analytical simplification of processes that are also shaped by particular life events and social-historical events. As such, it is in itself a heuristic for understanding phenomena of very high level of complexity such as aporophobia. Figure 4 presents the main informational spaces involved in most micro aporophobia phenomena. A more detailed account with the different kinds of aporophobia can be seen on Figure 5.

Figure 4 – The 3A Micro Measurement Model of aporophobia: info spaces
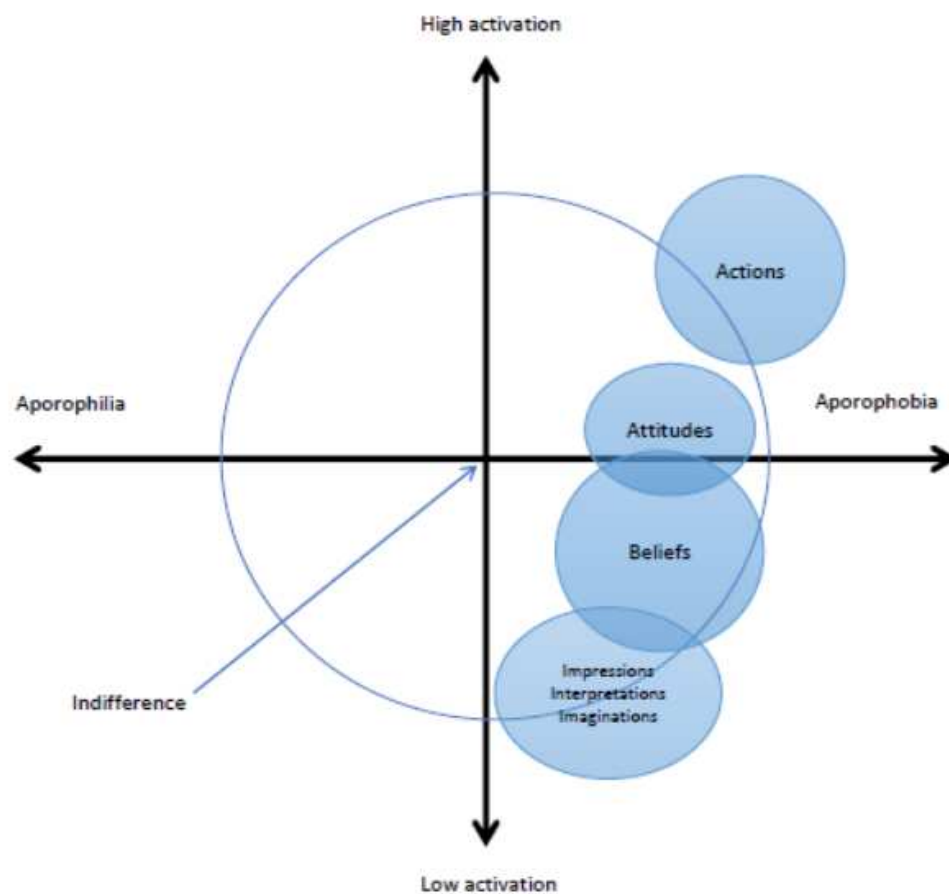
Source: Authors' creation.

Figure 5 – The 3A Micro Measurement Model of aporophobia
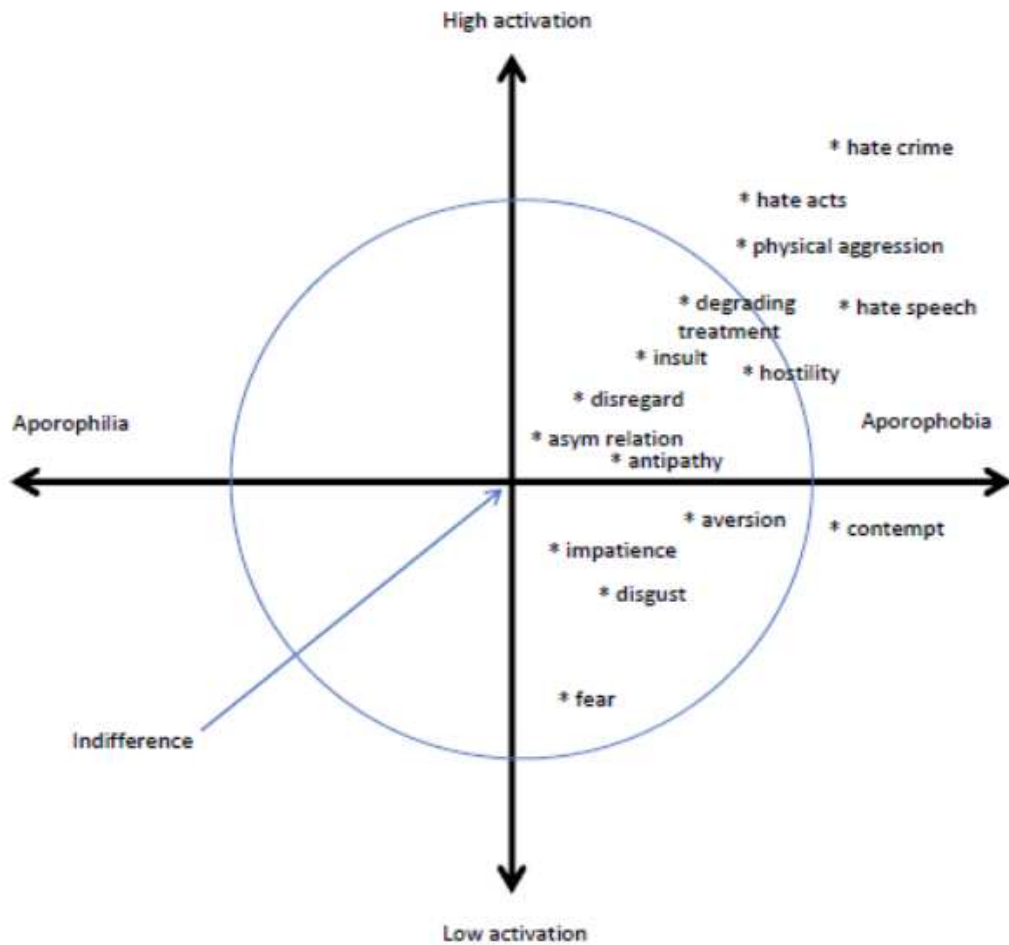
Source: Authors' creation.

It is still early days to know whether these kinds of micro or individual aporophobia can fit a psychometric circumplex model that assumes very unique and highly specific patterns of intercorrelations. It might well be that some of these variables cannot be represented as located along the perimeter of a circle, following certain specification of the angles (that can identify which variables are orthogonal (uncorrelated) to each other). At the moment, there is no available evidence to predict how different kinds of aporophobia can empirically constitute such a model. But the above suggestion constitutes an important first step in this direction.

4.2 A macro dimension empirical illustration

Altogether, micro, meso and macro dimensions constitute different aspects of aporophobia. As discussed above, the micro dimension include IBAC and h-processes. They are about what people feel, believe and do. The meso dimension comprises what institutions do (in terms of their principles, protocols and functionings). The macro dimension focused on how unjust economic and governmental structures produce privileges for the rich and governments that do not care for the welfare of the poor through their fiscal policy, generating more poverty and inequality (as illustrated by the API triangle). As such, the macro dimension constitutes a key aspect of aporophobia that is at the same time intrinsically and instrumentally important. It is intrinsically important because it represents a collective dimension of aporophobia incorporated into economic, societal and governmental structures; it is instrumentally important because it also works as a factory of enabling factors for the meso and micro dimensions of aporophobia.

Each dimension of aporophobia addresses phenomena whose empirical nature is distinct. The micro dimension refers to psychological phenomena that are difficult to observe and to measure and that need to be framed into formal psychometrics models. The elements presented in this paper should facilitate this work by theoretically organising the main components of individual aporophobia. On its turn, the meso dimension tackles empirical evidence that can be mostly observed in schools, hospitals, shops, firms, etc and that depend on how institutions (formal or informal) are structured around (legal and ethical) principles, norms and codes of conduct. Not much has been said here about the empirical nature of this dimension of aporophobia that can be investigated with the use of surveys and focal groups about the workings of different institutions. Finally, the macro dimension focuses on empirical phenomena that only recently have received more systematic attention from scholars and international institutions, such as the degree of progressiveness in public spending and tax systems and the share of the 10% richest of their national income (Piketty, 2020). It is within this context that we can ask whether it is possible to characterise not only individuals but entire countries as aporophobic?

If so, what are the main empirical features of aporophobic countries? The main mechanism for generating aporophobia at a macro level is represented by Figure 6 that puts forward the basis for an new index, introduced here, as the Global Aporophobia Index (GAI). The storylines behind the indicator are simple. In aporophobic countries the non-poor have a strong capacity to appropriate a large share of the national income. In addition, they are not much solidary to

the poor and are very tolerant to inequality. Moreover, governments reinforce these inequalities with their regressive fiscal policies. Alternatively, in non-aporophobic countries the non-poor do not appropriate a large share of the national income and seem to be more generous to distribute to the poor the fruits of their income. Likewise, their governments reduce these primary inequalities with their progressive fiscal policies. Between these two extreme storylines we find the realities of most societies.

Now, not all variables have to harmonically move in the same direction. It might well be that governments of different ideologies try to implement progressive fiscal policies in countries where the social and economic structures are aporophobic, generating tensions and divergent trends. Or vice versa. The important point however is that the GAI provides a simple storyline to characterise the presence or absence of aporophobia. Following the Human Development Index methodology (HDR, 2010), it tries to be i) simple, with few dimensions and variables, ii) easy to communicate, iii) multidimensional, normalising the variables in order to aggregate them and iv) without thresholds, using rankings in order to promote analytical inferences.

Figure 6 – Methodological structure of the Global Aporophobia Index
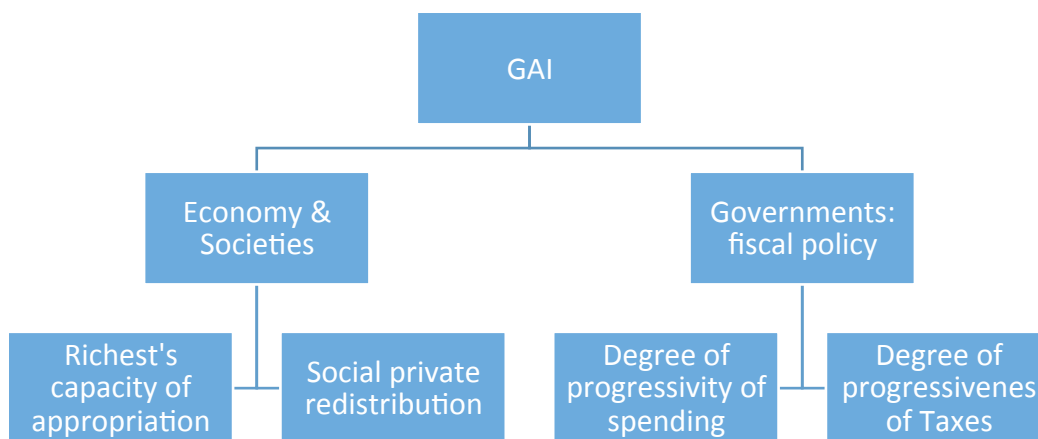
Source: Authors' creation.

The composite index consists of two simple sub-dimensions: 'the economic sub-dimension', representing the social forces that reject the poor as part of national distributional conflicts and the 'governmental sub-dimension' that can also be seen as rejecting the poor if not offering them a good deal in redistributing income. Thus, the logic of distribution-

redistribution offers a simple structure for the GAI. Within each dimension we can find two variables. The first variable of the economic sub-dimension is a measure of the capacity of the richest groups to appropriate a larger share of their national income. The index was built by using the share of the 10% richest but any other threshold could have been used, given that the aim is to address the privileges of the non-poor as an outcome of aporophobic societies. The point is about how economic systems can be aporophobic or aporophilic. This is not simply about pro-poor growth and social inclusion. Growth can be pro-poor in aporophobic economies where the rich (in a given country) still benefit from a more than proportional share of national income, when compared to the rich of other countries. Growth can be pro-poor during a certain period and then revert for another period.

The second sub-dimension of the GAI is centred on the role of governments that might use their fiscal policies (public spending and taxation) to bridge or to enlarge the distance between the poor and the non-poor. The concept of 'progressiveness' is central for understanding the commitment that governments might have with different social groups, regardless of the income level of society and of the governments' capacity to raise resources. If the degree of progressiveness in spending and taxation is high, this means that the level of commitment to the poor is high. In other words, governments ensure that the burden should not fall on the poor.

If the degree of progressiveness in spending and taxation is low, this means that the level of commitment to the poor is low, characterising an unjust situation of macro aporophobia, in which the fiscal burden falls on the poor. Several of the variables mentioned above are already produced by international organisations. For this reason, it is more efficient to use this compiled secondary data rather than try to produce (and redefine) variables from national data. Some other variables, that do not enter directly into the making of the index, are used for analytical purposes. They all come from well-known institutions such as Oxfam, DFI, CAF, World Bank and UNDP. Table 4 specifies the main variables used for the creation of GAI:

Table 4 – Description of GAI variables

Variables	Description
Richest's capacity of appropriation	Income share held by highest 10%. Source: World Bank, 2019
Social private redistribution	Composite index that takes into account i) donation of money to a charity, ii) time volunteered to an organisation and ii) help to a stranger. Source: Charities Aid Foundation, 2019
Degree of progressivity of spending	Composite index that takes into account social spending as % of total spending and incidence of spending on inequality. Source: DFI and Oxfam, 2018
Degree of progressivity of tax	Composite index that considers progressivity of tax structure, incidence of tax on inequality, tax collection and harmful tax practices. Source: DFI and Oxfam, 2018

Note: Some composite indicators use data from different years. Data refers to the most recent years available.

All the scales have been harmonised to produce an index that starts at 0 (suggesting no macro aporophobia) and ends at 1 (suggesting maximum macro aporophobia). Initial calculations were produced for 155 countries. Some examples might be useful to characterise these processes. When we look at countries with very high levels of aporophobia, we find that at the top of the list there are many small countries with incipient spending and tax structures, where the rich appropriate a very high proportion of their national income. The situation of these countries seem to be a bit peculiar, given that some are fiscal paradises and others have their economies dominated by few economic activities (many are islands with small populations) and for this reason we moved towards a shorter list of 127 countries with populations above 1.5 million.

One limitation in using this kind of international data is that not all of the above data is available for the most recent years. Thus, we should consider that whereas most countries will have figures for 2018, others might have only for 2015 or 2012. Be it as it may, this follows the protocols followed by the international organisations mentioned in Table 4. Some basic stylised facts emerge from a simple grouping and classification of countries.

Table 5 - GAI Summary Statistics by subgroup

Sample	Mean GAI	Std. Dev.	Min GAI	Max GAI
All	.5194921	.1379008	.1703766	.7766051
By HDI Level				
Very High	.4021047	.1519143	.1703766	.7322341
High	.5546188	.0665013	.4504590	.7035868
Medium	.5561391	.0741815	.4038277	.7072566
Low	.6231511	.0797195	.4906985	.7766051
Income Group				
High	.4471006	.1543346	.1703766	.7322341
Upper-Middle	.5461468	.0639826	.4125498	.6731802
Lower-Middle	.6038172	.0791610	.4729448	.7517365
Low	.6687723	.0826599	.5660041	.7766051
Inequality				
Very High	.6198746	.1122853	.3464427	.7766051
High	.5779979	.0955561	.2626553	.7517365
Medium	.4868589	.1281209	.1703766	.7235230
Low	.4014900	.1434562	.1831173	.6007898
Expected Years of Education				
Less than primary	.6255447	.	.6255447	.6255447
Primary	.6038667	.0882769	.4977631	.7766051
Middle School	.6052694	.0793849	.4364705	.744146
Secondary	.5447921	.0819978	.4018423	.7517365
College	.3502664	.1470354	.1703766	.7066514
Average Years of Education				
Less than primary	.6195774	.0809483	.4364705	.7766051
Primary	.5634977	.0651734	.4125498	.7332887
Middle School	.5136191	.1071141	.2430909	.7322341
Secondary	.3528538	.1436968	.1703766	.6342195

Notes: 1. HDI and Income Group Categories as defined by the UNDP and World Bank, respectively. 2. Inequality Subgroups are defined using the Gini values (Very High >50; High 40-50; Medium 30-40; Low <30.

Source: Author's calculation using UNDP (2019), World Bank (2019).

These summary statistics are useful to provide an idea of how the index changes according to key development parameters such as the HDI, income and inequality levels, expected years and average years of education. It suggests that macro aporophobia is lower in those societies that are more developed, richer, more equal and more educated. In order to determine whether these differences were statistically significant, a series of one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were conducted for each of the subgroup decompositions as reported in Table 6.

Table 6 - One-Way Analysis of Variance of GAI by subgroups

Source	SS	DF	MS	F
HDI	.98	3	.33	28.59***
Income	.67	3	.22	15.92***
Inequality	.63	3	.21	14.60***
EYS	1.16	4	.30	28.81***
AYS	1.14	3	.38	37.04***
Total	2.40	126	.019	

Notes: ***, **,* indicate significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively. EYS: expected years of schooling and AYS: average years of schooling

Source: Authors' calculation

The results of the ANOVA reveal that the differences in GAI between the various subgroups are indeed statistically significant. These results are further verified through Tukey's HSD tests, shown in Table 7, which compare all possible pairs of means between subgroups and are usually used in conjunction, as post hoc tests, with the one-way ANOVA. (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Table 7 - Summary of Tukey HSD Post-Hoc Analyses

| Pairwise Comparisons	Contrast	Std. Err.	T
HDI			
Very High vs Low	-.2210464	.0254844	-8.67***
Very High vs Medium	-.1540343	.0263052	-5.86***
Very High vs High	-.1525141	.0263052	-5.80***
High vs Low	-.0685323	.0284186	-2.41
Medium vs Low	-.0670121	.0284186	-2.36
High vs Medium	-.0015202	.0291569	-0.05
Income			
High vs Low	-.2216716	.0551742	-4.02***
High vs Lower-middle	-.1567166	.0260062	-6.03***
Upper-middle vs Low	-.1226255	.0570877	-2.15
High vs Upper-middle	-.0990461	.0262767	-3.77***
Lower-middle vs Low	-.0649551	.0569637	-1.14
Upper-middle vs Lower-middle	-.0576704	.0298519	-1.93
Inequality			
Very High vs High	.0418767	.0344443	1.22
Medium vs Low	.0853689	.0320498	2.66**
High vs Medium	.0911389	.0256777	3.55***
Very High vs Medium	.1330156	.0326985	4.07***
High vs Low	.1765078	.033829	5.22***
Very High vs Low	.2183845	.039424	5.54***
Expected Years of Schooling			
College vs Less than primary	-.2752783	.1022168	-2.69*
College vs Middle	-.2550029	.0259631	-9.82***

College vs Primary	-.2536002	.0401345	-6.32***
College vs Secondary	-.1945257	.0228564	-8.51***
Secondary vs Less than primary	-.0807526	.1013614	-0.80
Secondary vs Middle	-.0604772	.0223594	-2.70*
Secondary vs Primary	-.0590745	.037903	-1.56
Primary vs Less than primary	-.021678	.106595	-0.20
Middle vs Less than primary	-.0202754	.1021068	-0.20
Middle vs Primary	.0014027	.0398536	0.04
Average Years of Schooling			
Secondary vs Less than primary	-.2667236	.0264359	-10.09***
Secondary vs Primary	-.2106439	.0260776	-8.08***
Secondary vs Middle	-.1607653	.0260776	-6.16***
Middle vs Less than primary	-.1059583	.0249162	-4.25***
Primary vs Less than primary	-.0560797	.0249162	-2.25
Middle vs Primary	-.0498786	.0245358	-2.03

Notes: ***, **,* indicate significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% confidence levels, respectively.

Source: Authors' calculation

The results indicate that the differences in GAI between HDI categories, Income groups, Inequality classifications, and educational attainment levels, are all statistically significant at a 1% confidence level. However, the Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that there were statistically significant differences for several, but not all, of the pairwise comparisons between subgroups. This evidence suggests that low human development countries have the highest level of GAI and that it decreases as we move towards countries with a higher level of human development. But this is not a linear process. Much of this difference can be found in relation to very high human development countries in comparison to high, medium and low development countries, but not among these lower groups, indicating that only at higher levels of human development is that societies manage to overcome their macro aporophobia. This happens because we find in very high human development countries more progressive spending and progressive taxes, higher giving capacity and lower share of the 10% richest.

Figure 7 – GAI vs HDI
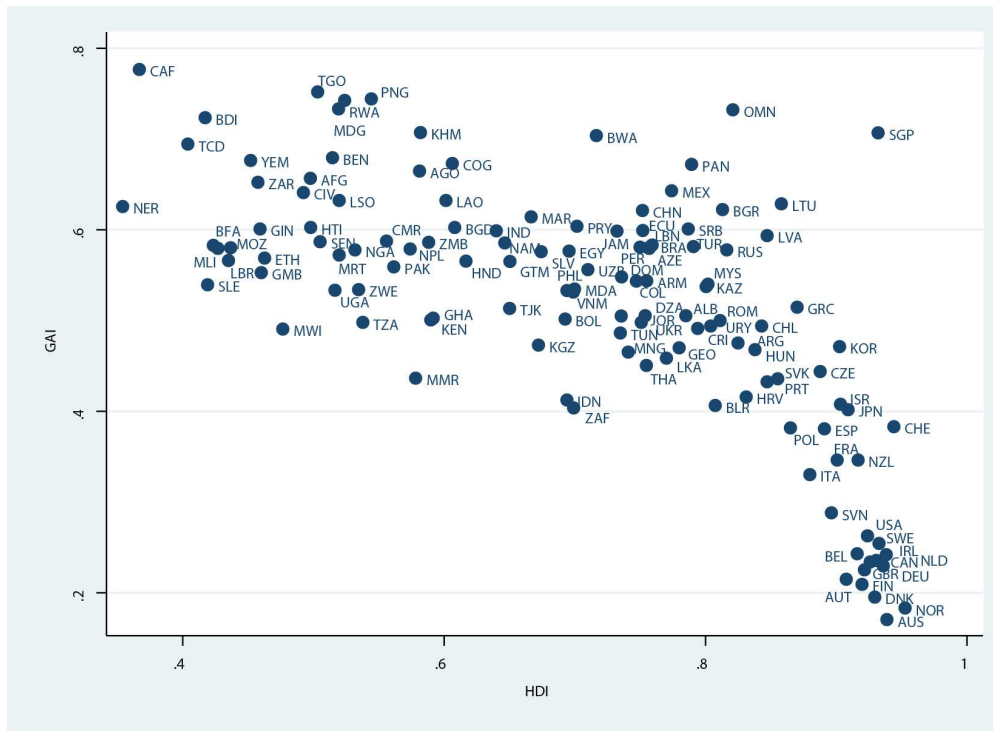
Notes: calculated for 127 countries with populations above 1.5 million people. Whenever available data was used for 2018.
Source: Authors' calculation using UNDP (2019), World Bank (2019), Charities Aid Foundation (2019), and DFI & Oxfam (2018).

We find that at the top of the list is the Central African Republic, with a GAI of 0.777. The degree of progressiveness of their spending and tax system is very low, 0.12 and 0.22 respectively. Their giving index is lower than the respective index in less aporophobic countries. The income share of the 10% richest is 46.2%. Compare it with Panama, with a GAI of 0.672. Its degree of progressiveness of their spending is very similar, 0.11 but the degree of progressiveness of taxes is higher at 0.35. With a similar giving index of 35, the income share of the 10% richest is 39.3%, what explains its position.

At the other extreme, less aporophobic countries such as Germany and Australia, have a very high level of progressiveness of their public spending, 0.71 and 0.56 respectively, followed by even higher progressiveness of taxes of 0.88 and 1.0. Their levels of giving are also higher, 43 and 56 respectively as well as the income share of the 10% richest that are much lower, 24.9 and 26.5, respectively. The picture that emerges from these figures corroborates the simple storylines that are suggested above.

Income seems to be relevant for this analysis between high and low, lower-middle and upper-middle countries but not among them suggesting that the transition from low income countries does not seem to be associated with lower levels of macro aporophobia. On the other hand, macro aporophobia seems to be very sensitive to inequality, but in this case, the only difference that does not seem to be statistically significant is between those with very high and high inequality, suggesting that after a certain inequality threshold, aporophobia is more of a problem. When we consider the education flow, given by expected years of schooling, the differences between college and other degrees is remarkable, although there is also a difference between secondary and middle to report. Finally, when we consider the education stock, the average years of schooling of those above 25 years, we see that only at lower levels we do not find any significant difference.

5. **Conclusion**

Cortina (2017) has named and conceptualised a phenomenon that is at the root of several challenges in promoting human development: aporophobia. The importance of this construct cannot be overestimated. Not only does the concept of aporophobia tackle a very important kind of discrimination but it also addresses issues that can change the way that poverty and inequality are considered as separate phenomena. It is within this context that this paper has put forward a new framework for examining and measuring the different dimensions of aporophobia, namely, the micro, meso, and macro dimensions, each with their own generating processes. Some of these processes are psychological; some are institutional and others are part of economic, cultural and governmental structures that define the ways that societies work against the poor.

Within the micro or psychological domain, IBAC and h-processes unveil some complexities in explaining a wide range of aporophobia phenomena. This paper raises several conceptual issues that might inform empirical agendas related to the formation of aporophobia beliefs, how are they consolidated in attitudes and under what conditions they can trigger aporophobic actions, or ultimately, aporophobic crime. This analytical sequence is static and can be complemented by work that maps out dynamic aporophobia trajectories. Future results in this field might help the development of anti-aporophobia policies, with targeted interventions directed at families, children, adolescents, etc on sensitive and critical periods (that is, taking into account the timing when individuals are more exposed to aporophophic

psychological phenomena). Much can be learned here from studies that examine other forms of phobia and discrimination. But aporophobia idiosyncrasies should not be ignored.

Within the meso or institutional domain of aporophobia, new light can be thrown on the debate about governance structures and codes of conduct of institutions, in particular, but not only, of public institutions. Whenever the poor is rejected by the way that institutions are organised, there is a case of meso aporophobia. This can be the case of how hospitals allocate shorter than necessary appointment times for poor (because poor patients might need more time to understand what their doctors are saying) or when schools do not train their teachers to tackle specific difficulties of students in poor communities or when companies have loose protocols for hiring new personnel or promoting their employees that allow applicants to be discriminated for the simple reason of being poor.

Finally, within the macro dimension this discussion focuses on the role of the non-poor in benefiting from unjust aporophobic structures without showing much sympathy for the poor. And how governments, instead of balancing out these effects, reinforce them through unjust spending and tax structures that allocate a heavier burden to the poor. This discussion suggests that progressiveness is key for making countries less aporophobic. But it is not enough. It is also important to discuss why in some countries the rich appropriate a much larger share of the national income than the rich in other countries. It is also important to talk about how some non-rich do not sympathise enough with the poor.

This paper puts forward two illustrations of this proposed framework: one conceptual and one empirical, with the creation of the Global Aporophobia Index. But much more needs to be said about aporophobia. This is an emerging field and we expect that in the forthcoming years new theories and empirical evidence will illuminate some of the issues raised by Cortina (2017). Some of these issues will be about the psychology of aporophobia. Others will be about how institutions are prepared (or not) to handle different kinds of rejection of the poor as a category of discrimination. Finally, another set of issues will delve into the links between poverty and inequality, broadening the scope of the debate to take into account the role of the non-poor in tolerating and sometimes even benefiting from unjust forms of inequality. Overall, new empirical evidence can inform and shape new public policies and private interventions, addressing a range of problems that have been ignored by so long.

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