

# Low xenophobia despite high immigrant presence? A call for inclusive integration policies

Judit Kende<sup>1</sup>, Eva Green<sup>1</sup> , Anita Manatschal<sup>2</sup>, Oriane Sarrasin<sup>1</sup> & Karen

Phalet<sup>2</sup>

1. University of Lausanne, 2. University of Neuchâtel, 3. University of Leuven

---

# Politicians often argue that

- “When immigration is too high, when the pace of change is too fast, it’s impossible to build a cohesive society.”

News > UK > UK Politics

## Theresa May’s speech to the Conservative Party Conference – in full

May was speaking on the third day of the Conservative Party Conference in Manchester

Staff | Tuesday 6 October 2015 12:21 | 13 comments



# Some social scientists also argue that higher diversity harms social cohesion

---

## ***E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century*** The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture

[RD Putnam](#) - Scandinavian political studies, 2007 - Wiley Online Library

Ethnic diversity is increasing in most advanced countries, driven mostly by sharp increases in immigration. In the long run immigration and diversity are likely to have important cultural, economic, fiscal, and developmental benefits. In the short run, however, immigration and ...

☆  Cited by 5400 [Related articles](#) [All 28 versions](#)

Ethnic diversity is increasing in most advanced countries, driven mostly by sharp increases in immigration. In the long run immigration and diversity are likely to have important cultural, economic, fiscal, and developmental benefits. In the short run, however, immigration and ethnic diversity tend to reduce social solidarity and social capital. New evidence from the US suggests that in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods residents of all races tend to 'hunker down'. Trust (even of one's own race) is lower, altruism and community cooperation rarer, friends fewer. In the long run, however, successful immigrant societies have overcome such fragmentation by creating new, cross-cutting forms of social solidarity and more encompassing identities. Illustrations of becoming comfortable with diversity are drawn from the US military, religious institutions, and earlier waves of American immigration.

# In other words...

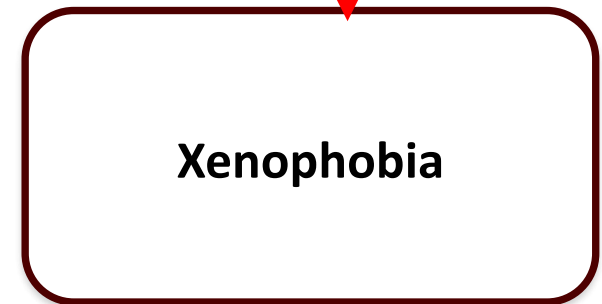
Theresa May and Putnam suggest that higher diversity or immigrant presence is inherently threatening



**Immigrant presence**

*Contextual level*

*Individual level*



# BUT INCONSISTENT RESULTS

Hundreds of studies  
Both positive and negative link  
between immigrant presence  
and xenophobia



Immigrant presence



**Xenophobia**

*Contextual level*

*Individual level*

# IMMIGRANT PRESENCE AND INEQUALITY: POLICIES MIGHT PLAY A ROLE



## **Policies**

Portes & Vickstrom: ‘Studies suggest that it is not diversity per se but unequal diversity that makes a difference’

Integration policies (especially socioeconomic and legal-political) regulate immigrants’ economic, social and political rights

*Contextual level*

*Individual level*

**Xenophobia**

# IMMIGRANT PRESENCE AND INEQUALITY : POLICIES MIGHT PLAY A ROLE



## Policies

More inclusive policies result in more equal status of immigrants relative to native citizens

- more equal educational qualifications,
- more equal occupations and earnings
- higher political participation

*Contextual level*

*Individual level*

**Xenophobia**

# IMMIGRANT PRESENCE AND INEQUALITY : POLICIES MIGHT PLAY A ROLE



**Policies**



**Immigrant presence**

Indirect evidence on other measures of social cohesion

- Higher diversity is only negatively related to political and organizational participation in countries with less inclusive policies
- Higher diversity is only negatively related to trust in Swiss cantons with less inclusive labour policies

More inclusive policies lead to less xenophobia





# Why would inclusive policies and high immigrant presence predict low xenophobia?



**Inclusive Policies**



**Immigrant presence**

More contact with immigrants

More extended contact with immigrants

More contact with immigrants as equals

See immigrants more often in counterstereotypic positions

# Hypothesis



**Policies**



Immigrant presence

*Contextual level*

*Individual level*

Least xenophobia in highly diverse countries, regions and institutions with more inclusive integration policies

Most xenophobia in highly diverse countries, regions and institutions with less inclusive integration policies

**Xenophobia**

Aim: Test the relation between Immigrant presence, policies and xenophobia



Different levels of context

- 
- Country
  - Region
  - Institution

Xenophobia

Focus on socioeconomic and legal-political policies

Altogether 6 studies with 96,000 participants  
51 different countries, 20 regions and 64 institutions

## 4 cross-national studies

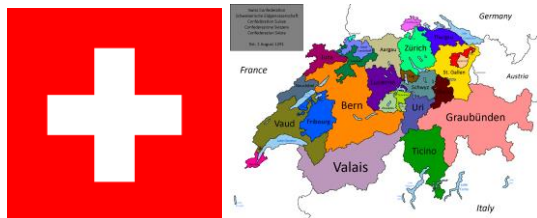


**x 2**



- Some measure of xenophobia
- Identify native citizens
- Survey data corresponds to policy measures (2 years)
- Use most recent if there are similar datasets

## 2 studies at the subnational level (less policy data available)



Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study Belgium



<b>Study</b>	<b>Dataset</b>	<b>Number of participants</b>	<b>Number of contextual units</b>	<b>Type of contextual units</b>	<b>Policy measure</b>	<b>Xenophobia measure</b>
<b>1</b>	European Social Survey, 2014	28.161	20	Country	Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)	Realistic threat
<b>2</b>	World Values Survey, 2010	15.533	12	Country	MIPEX	Social distance
<b>3</b>	International Social Survey Program, 2013	19.712	20	Country	MIPEX	Realistic threat
<b>4</b>	World Values Survey, 2010	46.036	35	Country	UNDESA	Social distance
<b>5</b>	Swiss European Values Study 2008	908	20	Swiss cantons	Cantonal integration policies	Realistic threat
<b>6</b>	Leuven Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study, 2012	1472	64	Schools in Flanders, Belgium	School policy of equal treatment	Bias

# Country-level predictor: MIPEX

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) *for all EU Member States, Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the US*  
([www.mipex.eu](http://www.mipex.eu); Huddleston et al., 2017)

167 indicators, 8 policy domains, M = 56.9 [38 – 80] SD = 12.26



LABOUR MARKET MOBILITY



FAMILY REUNION



EDUCATION



HEALTH



POLITICAL PARTICIPATION



PERMANENT RESIDENCE

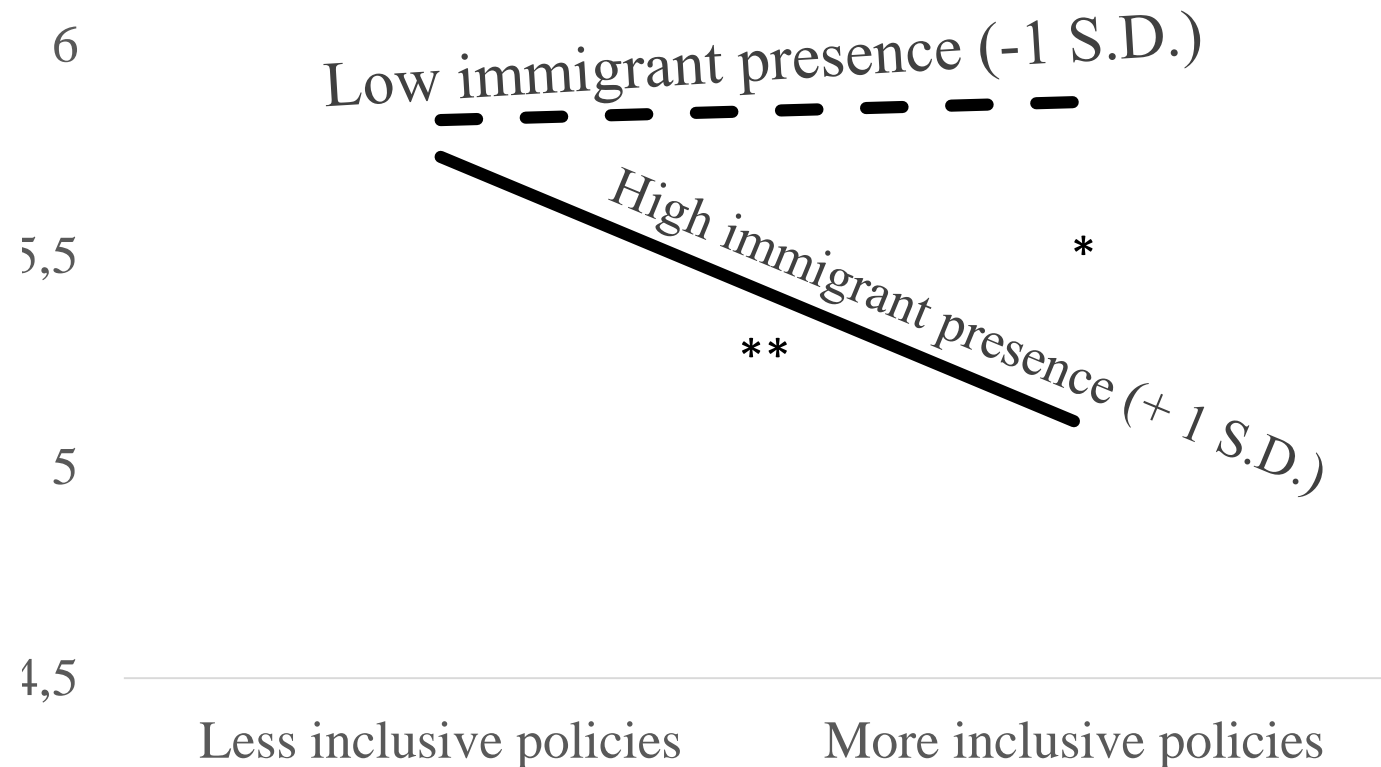


ACCESS TO NATIONALITY

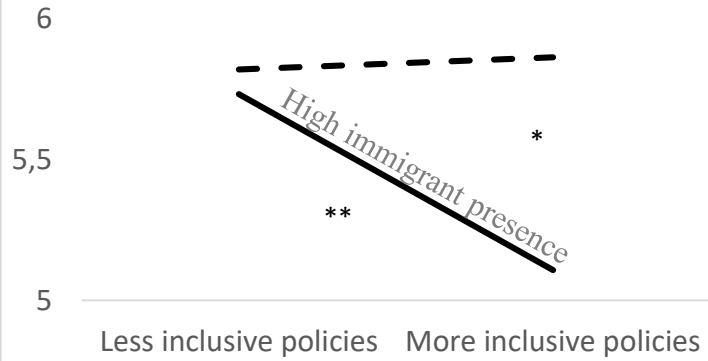


ANTI-DISCRIMINATION

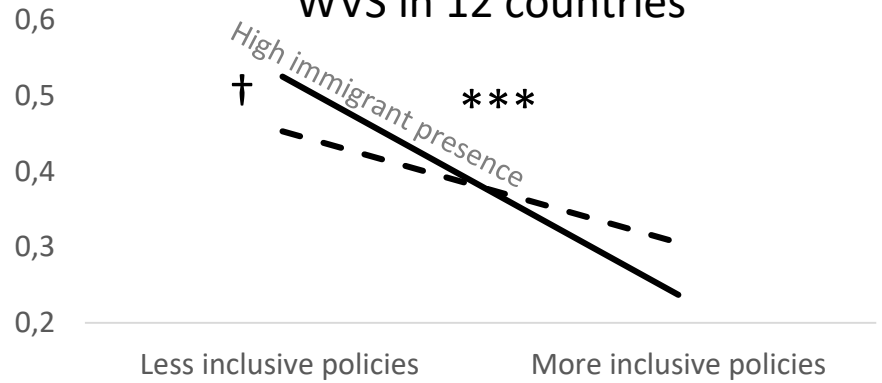
# Study 1: Natives' perceptions of realistic threat across 20 European countries (using ESS and MIPEX)



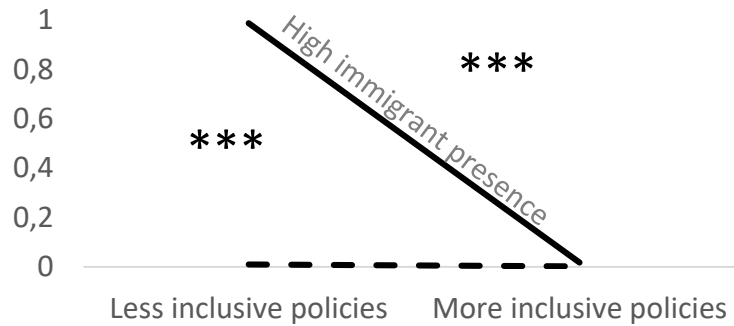
### ESS in 20 countries



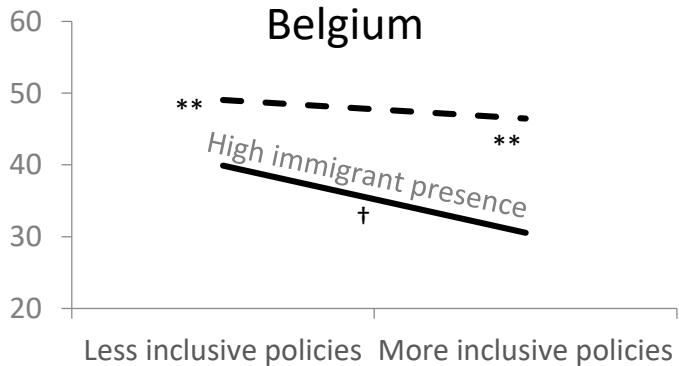
### WVS in 12 countries



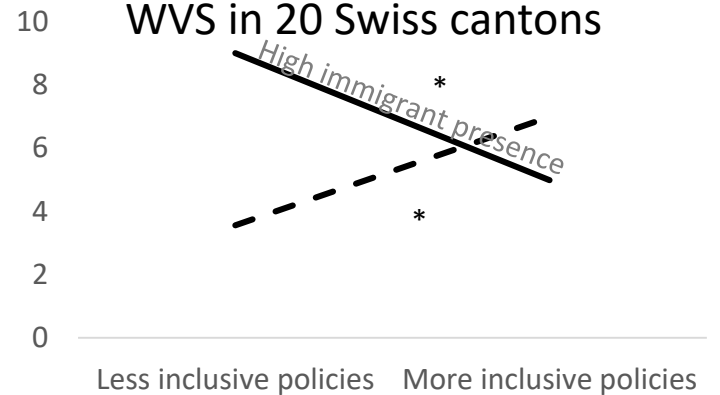
### WVS in 35 countries



### CILS in 64 schools in Flanders-Belgium



### WVS in 20 Swiss cantons





# One failed replication

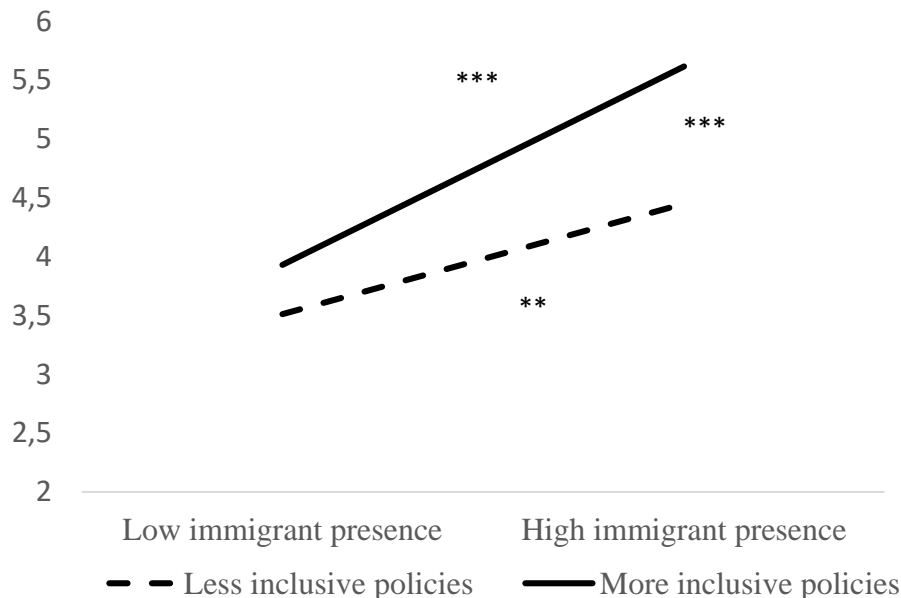
- ISSP with realistic threat
- No significant interaction
- But more inclusive policies related to lower xenophobia

# Do immigrant integration policies matter over other socio-political factors?

- How about wealth? **NO**
  - replicating over GDP
- How about equality? **NO**
  - replicating over GINI
- How about competition for jobs? **NO**
  - replicating over unemployment rate
- How about rights and liberties in general? **NO**
  - replicating over index of rights and liberties
- How about anti-immigrant discourse? **NO**
  - replicating over political parties' discourses
- How about general anti-immigrant climate? **NO**
  - replicating over country level attitudes from other surveys

# Why do immigrant integration policies make a difference?

- Because higher level of immigrant presence and inclusive integration policies predict more contact
- Testing in 2 studies with ESS and CILS data
- No measures to test other proposed mechanisms (equal contact, extended contact, counterstereotypic representations)



# In sum



## Policies

*Contextual level*

*Individual level*



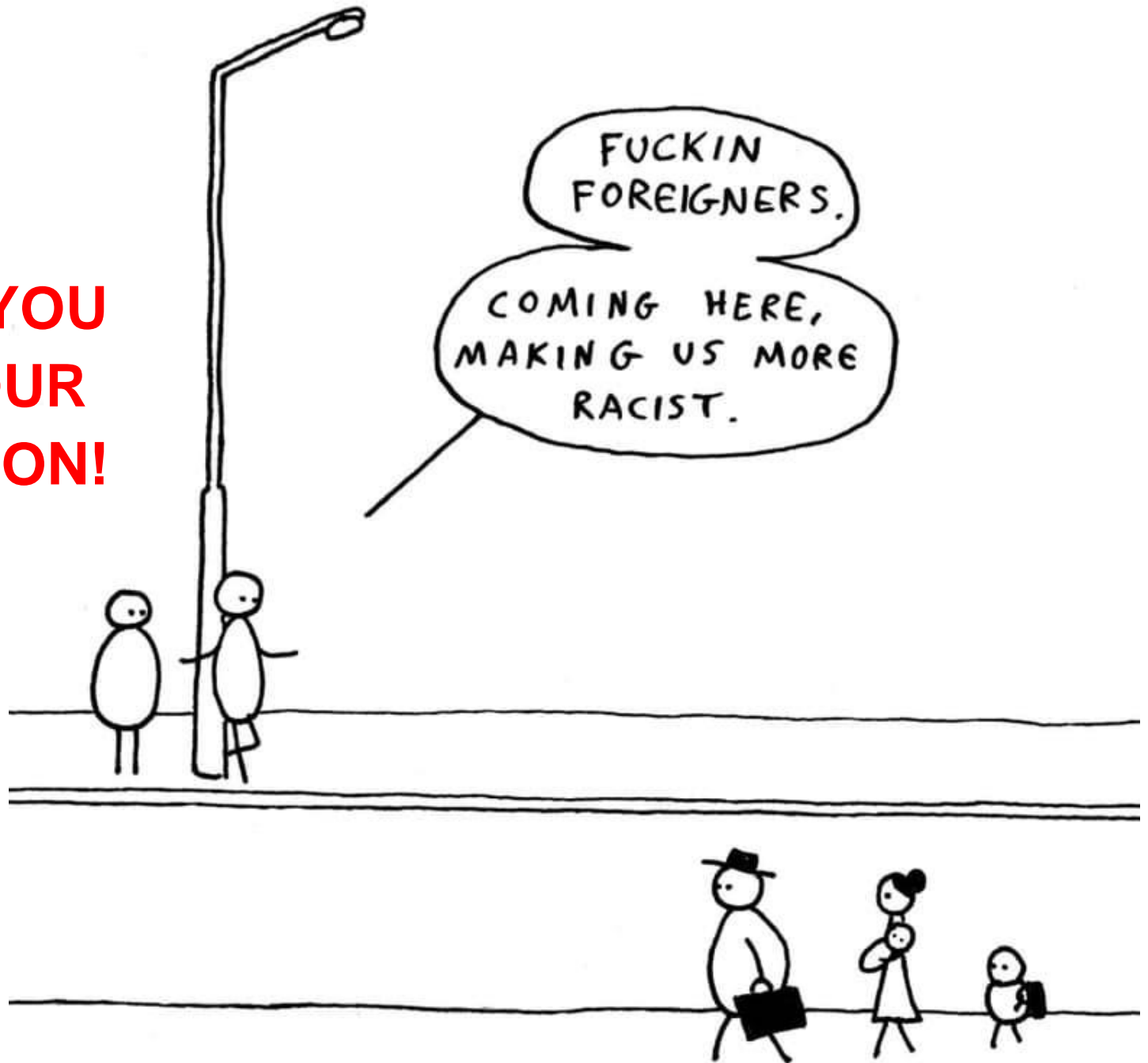
**Immigrant  
presence**

**Xenophobia**

- Consistently across five out of six datasets
- Natives express the least xenophobia in high-immigration contexts when higher immigrant presence is coupled with inclusive immigrant integration policies that render immigrants more equal to natives.
- In contrast, natives are the most xenophobic when immigrant presence is high, but policies are exclusive
- It is not diversity per se but unequal diversity that makes a difference for social cohesion

nccr →  
on the move

**THANK YOU  
FOR YOUR  
ATTENTION!**



# In sum



## Policies

*Contextual level*

*Individual level*

- Consistently across five out of six datasets
- Natives express the least xenophobia in high-immigration contexts when higher immigrant presence is coupled with inclusive immigrant integration policies that render immigrants more equal to natives.
- In contrast, natives are the most xenophobic when immigrant presence is high, but policies are exclusive
- It is not diversity per se but unequal diversity that makes a difference for social cohesion



**Immigrant presence**

**Xenophobia**