

Author accepted manuscript. Publication:

Manatschal, Anita. 2022. "Framing matters: Pathways between policies, immigrant integration, and native attitudes." In *Handbook on Migration and Welfare*, edited by Markus M.L. Crepaz, 195-209. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Framing Matters: Pathways between Policies, Immigrant Integration, and Native Attitudes

Anita Manatschal

1. Introduction

Integration policy is a multidimensional policy field, comprising policies that regulate immigrants' integration in the socioeconomic, political, and cultural–religious realms of society. Policy measures can range, thus, from granting immigrants' access to state employment (as a teacher or police officer, for example), to allowing for non-citizen voting provisions, to authorizing religious minority rights (such as the right to Islamic burial), or, respectively, demanding cultural or linguistic adaptation (Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel 2012; Manatschal, Wisthaler, and Zuber 2020; Boswell 2003; Rosenberger 2020). With the increasing interest in policies regulating cultural diversity and immigrant integration, a host of studies have started to assess policy outcomes—how these policies affect natives' and immigrants' attitudes and behavior. No matter whether these studies are based on neo-institutional premises (Pierson 2006; Schlicht-Schmälzle and Möller 2012), adhere to the “political opportunities structure” framework (Cinalli and Giugni 2011; Ireland 2006), or relate to policy feedback effects (Filindra and Manatschal 2020; Pierson 1993), they all start from the basic assumption that integration policies embody societal norms of inclusion or exclusion, which can influence natives' in- or exclusive attitudes toward immigrants, as well as immigrants' attitudes and behavior. Studies assessing policy effects capture natives' inclusive attitudes typically via their levels of social or political trust or different manifestations of tolerance, such as being supportive of granting immigrants access to social, political, or cultural rights, or pro-diversity beliefs more broadly (Weldon 2006; Kauff et al. 2013; Bloemraad and Wright 2014). Conversely, exclusive attitudes comprise prejudices against particular groups such as foreigners

(xenophobia) or Muslims, which entail a rejection of others based merely on their place of origin or religious affiliation (Green et al. 2020; Guimond et al. 2013).

A large body of comparative and experimental evidence suggests that inclusive policies lead to higher levels of inclusive native attitudes, and, conversely, lower levels of exclusive attitudes toward immigrants. At the same time, we still find enough evidence of the exact opposite: that inclusive or multiculturalist policies coincide with more exclusive attitudes, or that the integration policy context does not make much difference at all. Besides this inconclusive evidence, existing research suffers from certain methodological limitations. To start with, observational studies are challenged by endogeneity issues, as they cannot provide a clear answer to the famous chicken-and-egg question of whether policy shapes attitudes, or whether attitudes translate into more inclusive or exclusive policies. While existing research suggests the causal arrow goes both ways, and that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between policies and attitudes (Weldon 2006), experimental and quasi-experimental research designs can provide more convincing empirical evidence for causal effects of policies on attitudes (e.g. Morrison, Plaut, and Ybarra 2010; Plaut et al. 2011). To date, however, there are hardly any experimental studies outside of laboratory settings to document how a real-world integration policy or policy change causes an immediate attitudinal change among the majority population. The paucity of natural experiments on this particular question may relate to the fact that reality is much more complex than a simple policy-attitudes change link would suggest.

Related to this point, studies scrutinizing integration policy outcomes on natives tend to blend out the side of immigrants, even though they are the primary target population of these policies. In spite of some mixed findings, a large body of research substantiates a link between more inclusive policies and immigrants' sense of belonging, naturalization (intentions and behavior), school and labor market integration, as well as their political and civic engagement (Bennour 2020; Cinalli and Giugni 2011; Koopmans 2010; Celeste et al. 2019; Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen 2014; Bloemraad 2006). Occasionally, even exclusive integration policies can trigger immigrant political engagement, e.g. through mobilization via threat (Filindra and Manatschal 2020). More successful integration in terms of psychological wellbeing, language skills, and labor market, civic,

and political participation implies, in turn, lower dependency of immigrants on state supports such as social benefits.

The chapter brings these so-far unconnected literatures on integration policy outcomes on native majority attitudes on the one hand, and on immigrant integration on the other hand, into dialog. It postulates that to fully understand how integration policies affect majority attitudes towards immigrants, we must also take into account the effect these policies yield on immigrant integration.

2. What Is Integration Policy, and Why Should It Matter?

“Integration is a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most”
(Robinson 1998, 167)

Robinson’s statement, although formulated more than 20 years ago, still has some validity today. In public and scholarly discourses, integration is frequently related to a diverse range of behavioral and attitudinal outcomes. In spite of the fact that public and political discourses conceive of integration as a mutual process involving immigrants and natives, integration is typically “measured” on immigrants only. If immigrants speak the host country’s language, have a job, engage in the civic and political realm and cultivate friendly and cooperative exchanges with the native population, meaning if they dispose of so-called *bridging social capital* (Nannestad, Haase Svendsen, and Tinggaard Svendsen 2008), they are considered “well integrated” (Ager and Strang 2008; Harder et al. 2018).¹ Further indicators of immigrant integration include good mental and physical health as well as security, e.g. in terms of a stable legal status (Ager and Strang 2008). At the same time, a multiculturalist understanding of integration includes the maintenance of linguistic, cultural–religious, social, and emotional ties to the country of origin via contacts

¹ One might correctly object that bridging social capital between immigrants and natives describes a two-way process. However, the argument made here is that it counts only as an indicator for integration for immigrants, not for natives.

with co-ethnics—so-called *bonding social capital* (Nannestad, Haase Svendsen, and Tinggaard Svendsen 2008).

The complex and multifaceted meanings of integration must, and do, inform our understanding of integration policy as a multidimensional policy field. In line with the notion that immigrants need to find their place in the *market*, the *nation* and the *state*, respectively (Entzinger 2000), many scholars identify three principal dimensions of integration policy (Manatschal, Wisthaler, and Zuber 2020; Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel 2012; Boswell 2003): *Socioeconomic* integration policies regulate aspects such as immigrants' access to the labor market or social benefits. *Legal-political policies* govern immigrants' political rights, e.g. in terms of non-citizen voting rights or access to citizenship. Finally, *cultural-religious policies* address questions of cultural assimilation or adaptation (e.g. language acquisition) and diversity (e.g. religious minority rights), and are often also referred to as “multiculturalist policies” (Bloemraad and Wright 2014). Integration policies can thus be defined as policies regulating processes of immigrant integration in the socioeconomic, legal-political and cultural-religious domains. Legal-political and socioeconomic policies can render access to social benefits or citizenship easy (inclusive) or difficult (exclusive). Cultural-religious policies, in turn, can demand a high degree of cultural assimilation (cultural monism) or be more permissive in terms of cultural or religious minority rights (cultural pluralism).

The multidimensional nature of integration policy implies that it cuts across policy areas that are normally dealt with in separate disciplines and literatures, such as political science, economics, or social psychology. Different disciplinary backgrounds notwithstanding, existing research postulates that integration policies trigger reactions in both, natives and immigrants. These policies can influence individual affect, attitudes, and behavior among the native majority population—discussed in the following section—but even more so among immigrants themselves, who are the primary targets of these policies.

2.1 Integration Policy and Natives' In- and Exclusive Attitudes

A host of studies investigate how integration policies affect the attitudes of native majority populations. Many of them test the central premise that more inclusive integration policies coincide with more inclusive, or less exclusive, attitudes toward immigrants. The assumption is that if immigrant integration policies express inclusive and permissive societal norms, these norms will also reflect in majority attitudes (e.g. Schlueter, Meuleman, and Davidov 2013).

There are four major research strands on how integration policies relate to attitudes and behaviors of the majority population. The first deals largely with the relationship between policies and interpersonal trust. Only a few studies report a direct relationship between inclusive policies and higher levels of generalized trust (Reeskens 2010), with more research focusing on the conditional effects of integration policy. Qualifying the often-cited proposition that diversity hampers trust (Putnam 2007), Zimdars and Tampubolon (2012) show that more inclusive integration policies can counterbalance the potential negative effects of increasing diversity on trust. Accounting for attitudinal and behavioral aspects of social capital, Kesler and Bloemraad (2010) further observe that trust, civic engagement, and political participation are not negatively influenced by cultural diversity, nor by policies promoting individual equality and cultural recognition. Furthermore, analyses of integration policies at the subnational level bring the literature closer to individual realities and provide more nuanced findings. They suggest that the negative impact of immigrant presence on social trust is significantly reduced in regions with inclusive socioeconomic integration policies (Gundelach and Manatschal 2017). However, inclusive civic-political rights and family reunification policies at the regional level seem to increase the negative effect of diversity on social trust (*ibid*). Beyond interpersonal trust, studies have shown that multiculturalist policies coincide with higher levels of trust in political institutions and government support, especially among respondents with higher education levels (Hooghe and de Vroome 2015). Looking at the interplay of policies, national identity, and political trust, McLaren (2017) finds relatively high trust levels when both individual identity and immigrant incorporation policies are inclusive. While several studies suggest a link between more inclusive policies and higher trust, others point to more mixed results, and empirical evidence may still be “too thin to draw strong conclusions” (Bloemraad and Wright 2014, 315).

The second literature strand looks at the relationship between integration policies and another type of inclusive attitude, namely tolerance. Starting with the study by Wright et al. (2017) on religious tolerance in the US and Canada, their contextual comparison across different multicultural policy regimes lends credence to a fairly subdued role for policy and a much larger role for political culture. In contrast, Guimond et al. (2013) suggest that anti-Muslim prejudice is significantly reduced in multicultural policy contexts. This finding resonates with the study by Kauff et al. (2013), who find that more liberal migrant integration policies can increase pro-diversity beliefs among the population. In a similar vein, a comparative analysis of Western European countries observes that social and political tolerance toward ethnic minorities is highest in those countries with the most liberal and inclusive citizenship policies (Weldon 2006). Adding more nuance to this picture, Reeskens and van Oorschot (2017) show that inclusive opinions in the fields of political and civil rights coincide with increased tolerance toward newcomers. Conversely, they find a negative correlation between a strong commitment to social rights and tolerance (ibid), which, according to the authors, may help to understand the rise of welfare chauvinism (Kitschelt 1997; Crepaz 2008). The picture emerging from the tolerance literature is thus mixed. While some studies show that inclusive policies coincide with more tolerant attitudes, it would be too far-fetched to speak of a unanimous consensus on this question.

A third strand of research focuses on how integration policy shapes social identities and intergroup attitudes, such as natives' attitudes toward immigrant outgroups, or their perception of the national ingroup, e.g. their understanding of national identity (Tajfel and Turner 2004). Xenophobia—the fear of foreigners—represents one of the clearest exclusive attitudes toward immigrants. Triggered by feelings of cultural threat or competition over scarce resources (Ceobanu and Escandell 2010; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014), xenophobia demarcates the “us” from the foreign “others” via exclusive and protectionist attitudes. With respect to the policy – intergroup attitudes link, several studies report a direct relationship, showing, for instance, that inclusive or permissive integration policies are associated with reduced feelings of perceived threat and more pro-diversity beliefs (Hooghe and de Vroome 2015; Schlueter, Meuleman, and Davidov 2013; Kauff et al. 2013). According to Schlueter et al. (2013), this shows that integration

policies can convey dominant group norms to which citizens conform, and that such policies can function as a political socialization mechanism. Beyond this, research examines indirect policy effects building on the prominent contact theory, which stipulates that contact with foreigners reduces intergroup prejudice and xenophobia (Pettigrew 2016), and increases trust (Uslaner 2011). Green et al. (2020) document such a moderating effect of integration policies on the contact–xenophobia link across 20 European countries. They show that the decreasing effect of natives’ contact with immigrants on cultural threat perceptions is strongest in countries with inclusive integration policies.

The fourth literature analyzes multiculturalist policies and cultural diversity, revealing a more inconclusive picture. Morrison et al. (2010) demonstrate that, in the US context, White American respondents primed with multiculturalist messages show higher levels of threat to group values and higher levels of prejudice. Plaut et al. (2011) further document, via experimental studies among White Americans, that majority group members tend to associate multiculturalism with exclusion rather than inclusion—what they call the “What about me?” effect. Building on these critical approaches to multiculturalism, Citrin and colleagues (2014) reveal that strong multicultural policies magnify the degree to which hostility to immigration is negatively associated with political support across Europe. Relating this discussion to national identity, Wright’s (2011) longitudinal cross-country study shows how respondents become much more exclusive in their understanding of national identity in the most politically multicultural countries, whereas their notions of national identity become more inclusive in countries with liberal citizenship regimes. Overall, these studies seem to support the popular argument of a “backlash” toward multiculturalist policies in public opinion (Bloemraad and Wright 2014; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). Conversely, Hooghe and de Vroome (2015) find no evidence for the backlash thesis in the context of Western Europe, and conclude that public concerns about multiculturalist policies are overestimated. Ward and Masgoret (2008) even show how multicultural ideology coincides with diminished threat perception and more positive attitudes toward immigrants in New Zealand.

2.2 Critique and the Missing Link

As the preceding section revealed, a host of studies analyze how integration policies, or specific aspects thereof, relate to natives' attitudes toward immigrants. Although many studies find a direct or indirect link between policies and trust, tolerance, or xenophobia in the majority population, the evidence on the nature of this relationship is mixed. While studies suggesting a positive link between inclusive policies and inclusive attitudes seem to prevail, we still find enough studies postulating the exact opposite, or suggesting that integration policies do not make much of a difference. It seems that, in and of themselves, integration policies do not convey strong enough group norms to which citizens simply conform. Rather, the framing of these policies in a given society plays an important role too (Hooghe and de Vroome 2015). As Plaut et al. (2011) argue, multiculturalism can be framed as a more exclusive or inclusive concept from the perspective of White majority members; if multiculturalism is also framed as an inclusive concept, it is associated with more positive majority attitudes (ibid). Relatedly, Guimond and colleagues (2013) suggest that the relationship between prejudice and support for multiculturalism much depends on the national context and on local norms associated with policies that support diversity. In other words, it is not enough to just look at the policy-attitudes link; we must also consider the larger societal or political context in which these policies operate.

Another challenge to these studies relates to the inherent endogeneity of policies and attitudes (Coleman 1990; Weldon 2006). Following the simple policy cycle heuristics (Jann and Wegrich 2007), each of the studies discussed above should ask whether integration policy really affects attitudes, or whether it is the other way around. The causal arrow could go either way, as documented by research analyzing how societal norms, in terms of aggregated attitudes, translate via policy inputs into policy outputs (Favell 2001; Butz and Kehrberg 2019; Crepaz 2008, 252; Manatschal 2012). While it seems most likely that the causal arrows do in fact go both ways, and that there is a reciprocal and mutually reinforcing relationship between policies and attitudes (Weldon 2006), the mechanisms through which policies affect majority attitudes remain obscure. From a methodological perspective, (quasi-)experimental studies outperform correlational research in providing convincing evidence that it is indeed the policy that affects attitudes, rather than the other way round. So far, however, experimental research has been based in laboratories and has largely tested the impact of policies on attitudes

via hypothetical manipulations of societal norms (Morrison, Plaut, and Ybarra 2010; Plaut et al. 2011). Natural experiments exploiting real-world policies or policy changes and their impact on majority attitudes remain scarce. One reason for this paucity of studies may relate to the fact that experiments adopt a too-simplistic view on policy outcomes. Hypothetical experiments cannot fully capture the complex and multifaceted ways in which real-world policy outputs, in concert with particular societal and political contexts and discourses, shape majority attitudes.

More importantly, with the exception of research relating to contact theory (Pettigrew 2016; Green et al. 2020; Uslaner 2011), the studies discussed above completely neglect the side of immigrants, even though they are the actual target group of integration policies. It seems reasonable to assume that the impact of integration policy on natives' attitudes toward immigrants depends on whether immigrants themselves profit from a given integration policy, and whether this, in turn, alters their role and representation in society. It makes a difference whether immigrants are perceived as a needy and marginalized outgroup or as successful colleagues at work. The remainder of this chapter will therefore try to shed light on this neglected perspective: how policies may indirectly affect the attitudes of the native majority population via their impact on immigrant integration. To elaborate on potential mechanisms, the following section first examines existing evidence on integration policy outcomes on immigrants.

2.3 Integration Policy and Immigrant Integration

Given that integration policies target immigrant inclusion in the three respective domains, it seems straightforward to assume that these policies affect immigrants' structural integration into schools and labor markets, their political and cultural inclusion, as well as their social and psychological integration into society (Condon, Filindra, and Wichowsky 2016; Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen 2014; Green and Staerklé 2013). But which policies are most effective? Are inclusive integration policies more "successful" in supporting and fostering immigrant inclusion than exclusive ones? And is it more beneficial for individual integration processes if policies make concessions toward cultural diversity—e.g. via bilingual education or religious minority rights—than if they demand strict cultural assimilation?

Starting with policy effects on labor market integration, large-N cross-national studies present mixed evidence on these policies' effectiveness. Using, for instance, policy data from the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, see Huddleston et al. 2015), Aleksynska and Tritah (2013) report a positive association between MIPEX and labor market outcomes, whereas other studies find no significant correlation between integration policy and immigrants' unemployment propensity, labor force participation, or occupational class (Pichler 2011). Summarizing multilevel studies examining the impact of the MIPEX, Bilgili et al. (2015) further reveal that there is no systematic link between general integration policies and immigrants' individual labor market inclusion. Koopmans (2010) suggests, in turn, that assimilationist integration regimes outperform multiculturalist policies when it comes to immigrants' labor market inclusion. Besides the limitation that broad integration policy indices often represent too-rough instruments to identify policy effects on very distinct groups (such as refugees or highly skilled immigrants), these studies can only detect correlations, not causation. Small-scale experimental or quasi-experimental policy evaluations can sidestep these shortcomings, allowing for a more precise identification of the causal effect of specific labor market integration policies on particular immigrant groups. Although the verdict on policy performance is once again mixed, and not all policies seem to work as intended, these studies reveal that inclusive programs that are closely linked to the labor market (e.g. specific types of active labor market policies), or procedural aspects related to specific groups (e.g. long waiting periods for asylum seekers) (Hainmueller, Hangartner, and Lawrence 2016), do affect immigrants' economic inclusion. As Hainmueller et al. (2019) show, even apparently unrelated integration policies, such as citizenship regulations, can catalyze immigrants' long-term economic integration.

Education scholars focus in turn on the cultural and political integration context of schools and educational curricula (Hansen and Wenning 2003; Dupriez and Dumay 2006; Fossati 2011). However, empirical evidence on the effect of integration policy on immigrant pupils' school inclusion is scarce, and studies using national integration policy indices find no relevant effects on immigrants' performance in school (Fossati 2011; Schlicht-Schmälzle and Möller 2012). Research on integration policies across the subnational units of Swiss cantons suggests, in turn, that inclusive cantonal integration policies significantly

improve the school performance of students with an immigrant background relative to natives (Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen 2013). Refining the analysis all the way down to the level of individual schools, Celeste et al. (2019) document that multicultural school policies predict smaller achievement and belonging gaps between immigrant and native pupils in Belgium.

Turning to the effects of integration policy on immigrants' political attitudes and behavior, scholarly work can be aligned with the classical policy feedback literature (Pierson 1993). According to this theory, public policies can influence individuals' attitudes about governments and toward societal groups, or enhance or decrease rates of political participation of groups that are targeted by a specific policy (Condon, Filindra, and Wichowsky 2016; Mettler 2002; Pierson 1993). Supporting the argument of policy feedback effects on political engagement, inclusive integration or citizenship policies and practices have been shown to alter both the intention to naturalize and the likelihood of doing so (Bloemraad 2006; Bennour 2020; Hainmueller and Hangartner 2013). A more nuanced picture emerges from studies simultaneously analyzing different dimensions of integration policy. When combined with policies balancing the demand for cultural assimilation with concessions toward cultural diversity, integration policies facilitating immigrants' political or labor market inclusion are conducive to civic and political engagement (Cinalli and Giugni 2011; Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen 2014). Research further suggests that inclusive integration policies are perceived of as welcoming signals. Studies document that these policies can increase immigrants' attachment to the place or country of residence (Bennour and Manatschal 2019), generalized trust (Wright and Bloemraad 2012), psychological wellbeing (Pecoraro et al. 2019) and even governor approval ratings in the US context (Filindra and Manatschal 2020). It therefore seems to make an important difference whether the receiving policy context gives immigrants "a warm handshake" or shows them a "cold shoulder" (Reeskens and Wright 2014).

However, research on symbolic or psychological effects suggests that even restrictive policies can trigger immigrant engagement. Besides material effects, which explain political reactions as a response to impending material losses or desired gains, policies can act symbolically as signals of inclusion or exclusion (Bloemraad 2013). Symbolic or

psychological policy effects are not restricted to the immigrant group targeted by the policy, but may spill over to their offspring and co-ethnics (Condon, Filindra, and Wichowsky 2016; Bloemraad, Voss, and Lee 2011). Filindra and Manatschal (2020) document such spillover effects in the US, showing that restrictive integration policy changes at the state level coincide with higher voter turnout among first- and second generation immigrants, as well as Hispanics in general. The authors explain this finding with symbolic mobilization via the threat emanating from exclusive policies (A.D. Pantoja and Segura 2003; Zepeda-Millán 2017).

Summing up, the literature on integration policy outcomes on immigrants clearly suggests that these policies matter, and that they affect immigrants' socioeconomic, political, as well as cultural or psychological adaptation processes. Research observes that inclusive policies, in particular, coincide with better educational performance, labor market outcomes, higher political and civic engagement, and increased psychological wellbeing. At the same time, research suggests that even restrictive policy measures can trigger immigrant action in terms of heightened political engagement.

3. Connecting the Dots: The Interplay of Policies, Immigrant Integration, and Native Attitudes

Existing research documents how integration policies can affect both immigrant and native attitudes and behaviors. At the same time, these literatures clearly reveal that there is no simple link between policy and individual reactions. Some policies may be more effective than others in certain contexts, and depending on the outcome of interest, different levels of analysis may be more appropriate than others. Research focusing on the subnational level of regions documents for instance how regional integration policies “make regional citizens” (Manatschal, Wisthaler, and Zuber 2020), by altering for instance immigrants' political engagement (Filindra and Manatschal 2020), their national attachment to the host country (Bennour and Manatschal 2019), as well as their intention to naturalize (Bennour 2020). Regional or local policies may also be the more relevant analytic unit when interested in policy effects on interpersonal or -group attitudes such as trust or xenophobia (Gundelach and Manatschal 2017; Kesler and Bloemraad 2010). Existing research acknowledges further the relevance of the larger societal and political

context for policy outcomes. They highlight, for instance, the relevance of the political framing of these policies, the larger societal context and predominant norms and discourses, as well as the socio-demographic context, pointing in particular to the important role of interpersonal contact with immigrants in reducing prejudice (Plaut et al. 2011; Uslaner 2011; Green et al. 2020; Pettigrew 2016).

Yet, given that these policies are designed to foster immigrant integration, what if policy effects on majority attitudes depend on how integration policies shape immigrant integration and thus, their representation in society, in the first place? What if policies unfold their effect on native attitudes primarily via the impact they yield on immigrant integration, given that improved inclusion also alters immigrants' role and representation in society? While it is up to future research to test this moderating or mediating expectation empirically, the remainder of this chapter will elaborate on possible mechanisms through which integration policy may alter majority attitudes via improved immigrant integration. I will focus on three possible and interrelated mechanisms through which this process may unfold: improved agency, increased visibility, and altered representation.

As documented in the preceding section, inclusive integration policies may improve immigrants' school performance and labor market integration, increasing thereby the chances that immigrants are self-sufficient and independent. This *increased agency* may imply a reduced welfare state dependency and reduced victimization of immigrants. Inclusive policies further coincide with higher political and civic engagement levels among immigrants, and an increased likelihood of naturalization. Symbolic policy effects can reinforce this process, given that more inclusive integration policies convey a stronger feeling of belonging for immigrants, which is conducive to psychological wellbeing. Multicultural policies, which give immigrants a sense of legitimate membership and standing in society, especially increase the likelihood that immigrants will feel they have a stake in society, further motivating them to actively engage in the civic and political realm (Bloemraad 2013). Research and common sense suggest that the relationship between individual integration domains is interdependent and mutually reinforcing (Ager and Strang 2008; Martén, Hainmueller, and Hangartner 2019): social and cultural (e.g. language skills) integration likely benefits labor market integration and vice versa.

Psychological wellbeing, in turn, is an important precondition for partaking in civic, political, or economic activities. The fact that inclusive integration policies foster immigrant integration in different domains makes these policies particularly powerful instruments for fostering immigrant agency.

However, as we have seen, exclusive policies can also foster immigrant agency, especially in the political realm. The example of immigrant political mobilization in the US in the late 1990s and early 2000s illustrates that exclusive legislation, especially toward undocumented migrants, can provoke massive political protests in the streets, translate to higher naturalization rates, shift political ideologies among immigrants, and increase formal political engagement levels (Voss and Bloemraad 2011; Adrian D. Pantoja, Menjívar, and Magaña 2008; Bowler, Nicholson, and Segura 2006). Overall, both inclusive and exclusive policies regulating immigrant integration can thus drastically alter immigrant agency. This transformation from passive and potentially dependent to active and self-sufficient members of society is unlikely to go unnoticed by the majority population.

This is because increased agency also implies *higher visibility*, the second mechanism discussed here. Besides altering immigrants' visibility indirectly via increased agency, integration policies can also directly foster immigrant visibility. Examples include policies that facilitate or even promote immigrant representation in state institutions such as the teaching force, public administration, or the judiciary (Manatschal 2012). Inclusive integration policies and a non-discriminating political context can further encourage immigrants' political and civic engagement and representation via immigrant politicians (Dancygier et al. 2015; Cinalli and Giugni 2011). This increases the likelihood of encountering immigrants in the public realm, be it as teachers, police officers, bureaucrats, or politicians.

In addition, multicultural policies can significantly contribute to the visibility of ethnic diversity in a municipality or region. If a municipality provides Muslim cemeteries or minarets for its Muslim community, this may shape the self-perception of that community as being inclusive and diverse. In contrast to the often heated and highly symbolic debates around multiculturalism and cultural diversity dominating national political arenas

(Bloemraad and Wright 2014; Vasta 2007), local integration policymaking is typically characterized by a more pragmatic and solution-oriented impetus (Manatschal, Wisthaler, and Zuber 2020; Caponio and Borkert 2010, 188-190; Scholten 2016). Inclusive cultural policies and lived diversity at the local level may thereby offset exclusive national narratives around cultural diversity.

As shown by the US immigrant marches of 2006, restrictive immigration and integration policies can also trigger immigrant political engagement, and contribute thereby to greater visibility and representation of immigrants' claims and interests (Adrian D. Pantoja, Menjívar, and Magaña 2008). The successful framing of these struggles around American values around family and work was crucial as it brought to the public mind that immigrants, documented and undocumented, are part of US society (Bloemraad, Voss, and Lee 2011). From invisible noncitizens, who were often treated and seen as deportable criminals, the marches from 2006 rendered them visible as members of families and hard workers. By appealing to their Americanism and to their belonging in US society, the protesters found visibility in public opinion and in mainstream media coverage of the protests (ibid.).

This brings me to the third mechanism—*altered representation*—which is a consequence of both improved agency and increased visibility. As the preceding section showed, exclusive or restrictive integration policies can trigger immigrant political engagement and visibility. In the case of the US immigrant marches, immigrants' political claims not only helped to render their cause visible, but also gave it a human face. Apart from this notable example, existing research suggests that inclusive integration policies, in particular, can alter the representation of immigrants. By treating immigrants on a fair and equal basis, inclusive policies are expected to soften formerly salient differences between the national ingroup and the foreign outgroup, and to engender feelings of general inclusion (Gundelach and Manatschal 2017; Dinesen and Hooghe 2010; Kesler and Bloemraad 2010; Weldon 2006).

In the long run, these processes may also lead to a more inclusive “reconstruction of social identities” (Putnam 2007). For this process to unfold, immigrants must however be broadly and visibly perceived of as equal members of society. Through altering

immigrants' agency and public visibility, integration policies may thus also reshape social identities. A stronger representation of immigrants in the public realm should, for instance, weaken the stereotypical perception of teachers, bureaucrats, judges, the police corps, or politicians as predominantly White and native, thereby diversifying the perception of what is "normal." Rendering the perception of immigrants as public actors more familiar and normal will not only soften the stark distinction between the foreign "them" and the known "us," it will also render immigrants more relatable, be it as coworkers, co-protesters, or fellow citizens. Feeling relatable, being able to identify with immigrants, and seeing immigrants as more similar to oneself should also increase the likelihood of entering into positive intergroup contact (Koopmans, Veit, and Yemane 2019), which is, as we have seen, a particularly powerful instrument for reducing prejudice and xenophobia.

4. Conclusion

Motivated by the inconclusive evidence emerging from existing research, this chapter is a plea to pay closer attention to the indirect effects of integration policies on native attitudes via their impact on immigrant integration. If, as a result of certain integration policies, immigrants feel that they are more part of, and have more of a stake in, society, and are, as a consequence, less dependent and participate more in labor markets and civic organizations, such outcomes also affect natives' views of immigrants. The chapter showed how by facilitating—or impairing—immigrants' access to socioeconomic, civic-political and cultural rights, integration policies foster immigrant agency and visibility, thereby altering also their representation in society. As a result, these policies have the potential to turn immigrants from passive and dependent strangers into familiar, relatable, and contributing active members of society. While existing research suggest that it is in particular inclusive integration policies that can support processes of immigrant integration, studies show that also exclusive policies can trigger reactions among immigrants. It seems thus that more important whether a given policy has an inclusive or exclusive orientation is the fact that there is a policy at all, which can have feedback-effects on immigrants.

The chapter argued that thanks to immigrants' increased agency, visibility, and representation due to these policies, natives should no longer see them primarily as the unknown "other" or as a potential burden to the welfare state, but as active and equal, or at least more similar, members of society. A decrease in exclusive sentiments such as xenophobia, and an increase in inclusive attitudes such as trust and tolerance, may result from this. At best, future studies examine the mechanisms theorized here empirically in seeking to account for the complexity of how integration policy affects majority attitudes via improved immigrant integration. At the very least, however, research should acknowledge that it is too short-sighted to simply blend out the effect these policies have on immigrants, toward whom they are directed in the first place, when analyzing how these policies may reshape majority attitudes.

References

- Ager, Alastair, and Alison Strang. 2008. "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21 (2): 166-191.
- Aleksynska, Mariya, and Ahmed Tritah. 2013. "Occupation-education mismatch of immigrant workers in Europe: Context and policies." *Economics of Education Review* 36: 229-244.
- Bennour, Salomon. 2020. "Intention to become a citizen: do subnational integration policies have an influence? Empirical evidence from Swiss cantons." *Regional Studies* 54 (11): 1535-1545.
- Bennour, Salomon, and Anita Manatschal. 2019. "Immigrants' Feelings of Attachment to Switzerland: Does the Cantonal Context Matter?" In *Migrants and Expats: The Swiss Migration and Mobility Nexus*, eds. Ilka Steiner and Philippe Wanner, 189-220. Cham: Springer Open.
- Bilgili, Özge, Thomas Huddleston, and Anne-Linde Joki. 2015. *The Dynamics between Integration Policies and Outcomes: Synthesis of the Literature*. Barcelona Centre for International Affairs and the Migration Policy Group.
- Bloemraad, Irene. 2006. "Becoming a Citizen in the United States and Canada: Structured Mobilization and Immigrant Political Incorporation." *Social Forces* 85 (2): 667-695.
- . 2013. "'The Great Concern of Government': Public Policy as Material and Symbolic Resources." In *Outsiders No More? Models Of Immigrant Political Incorporation*, eds. Jennifer Hochschild, Jacqueline Chatiopadhyay, Claudine Gay and Michael Jones-Correa, 195-208. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bloemraad, Irene, Kim Voss, and Taeku Lee. 2011. "The Protests of 2006. What Were They, How Do We Understand Them, Where Do We Go?" In *Rallying for Immigrant Rights. The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America*, eds. Kim Voss and Irene Bloemraad, 3-43. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bloemraad, Irene, and Matthew Wright. 2014. "'Utter Failure' or Unity out of Diversity? Debating and Evaluating Policies of Multiculturalism." *International Migration Review* 48 (1): 292-334.
- Boswell, Christina. 2003. *European migration in flux. Changing patterns of inclusion and exclusion*. Oxford: Blackwell publishing.
- Bowler, Shaun, Stephen P. Nicholson, and Gary M. Segura. 2006. "Earthquakes and Aftershocks: Race, Direct Democracy, and Partisan Change." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 146-159.
- Butz, Adam M., and Jason E. Kehrberg. 2019. "Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Adoption of State Immigration Policy." *Policy Studies Journal* 47 (3): 605-623.
- Caponio, Tiziana, and Maren Borkert. 2010. *The local dimension of migration policymaking*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Celeste, Laura, Gülseli Baysu, Loes Meeussen, and Judit Kende. 2019. "Can School Diversity Policies Reduce Belonging and Achievement Gaps Between Minority and Majority Youth? Multiculturalism, Colorblindness, and Assimilationism Assessed." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* online first.
- Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. 2010. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36: 309-328.
- Cinalli, Manlio, and Marco Giugni. 2011. "Institutional Opportunities, Discursive Opportunities and the Political Participation of Migrants in European Cities." In *Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe. Making*

- Multicultural Democracy Work?*, eds. Laura Morales and Marco Giugni, 43-62. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Citrin, Jack, Morris Levy, and Matthew Wright. 2014. "Multicultural Policy and Political Support in European Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (11): 1531-1557.
- Coleman, James Samuel. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Condon, Meghan, Alexandra Filindra, and Amber Wichowsky. 2016. "Immigrant Inclusion in the Safety Net: A Framework for Analysis and Effects on Educational Attainment." *Policy Studies Journal* 44 (4): 424-448.
- Crepaz, Markus M. L. 2008. *Trust beyond Borders: Immigration, the Welfare State and Identity in Modern Societies*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Dancygier, Rafaela, Karl-Oskar Lindgren, Sven Oskarsson, and Kare Vernby. 2015. "Why are Immigrants Underrepresented in Politics? Evidence from Sweden." *American Political Science Review* 109 (4): 703-724.
- Dinesen, Peter Thisted, and Marc Hooghe. 2010. "When in Rome, Do as the Romans Do: The Acculturation of Generalized Trust among Immigrants in Western Europe." *International Migration Review* 44 (3): 697-727.
- Dupriez, Vincent, and Xavier Dumay. 2006. "Inequalities in School Systems: Effect of School Structure or of Society Structure?" *Comparative Education* 42 (2): 243-260.
- Entzinger, Han. 2000. "The Dynamics of Integration Policies: A multidimensional Model." In *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics: Comparative European Perspectives*, eds. Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, 97-118. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Favell, Adrian. 2001. *Philosophies of integration. Immigration and the idea of citizenship in France and Britain*. Basingstoke etc.: Macmillan etc.
- Filindra, Alexandra, and Anita Manatschal. 2020. "Coping with a Changing Integration Policy Context: American State Policies and their Effects on Immigrant Political Engagement." *Regional Studies* 54 (11): 1546-1557.
- Fossati, Flavia. 2011. "The effect of integration and social democratic welfare states on immigrants' educational attainment: a multilevel estimate." *Journal of European Social Policy* 21 (5): 391-412.
- Green, Eva G.T., and Christian Staerklé. 2013. "Migration and multiculturalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, eds. Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears and Jack S. Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Green, Eva G.T., Emilio Paolo Visintin, Oriane Sarrasin, and Miles Hewstone. 2020. "When integration policies shape the impact of intergroup contact on threat perceptions: a multilevel study across 20 European countries." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46 (3): 631-648.
- Guimond, Serge, Richard J. Crisp, Pierre De Oliveira, Rodolphe Kamiejski, Nour Kteily, Beate Kuepper, Richard N. Lalonde, Shana Levin, Felicia Pratto, Francine Tougas, Jim Sidanius, and Andreas Zick. 2013. "Diversity policy, social dominance, and intergroup relations: Predicting prejudice in changing social and political contexts." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 104 (6): 941-958.
- Gundelach, Birte, and Anita Manatschal. 2017. "Ethnic Diversity, Social Trust and the Moderating Role of Subnational Integration Policy." *Political Studies* 65 (2): 413-431.

- Hainmueller, Jens, and Dominik Hangartner. 2013. "Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination." *American Political Science Review* 107 (1): 159-187.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Dominik Hangartner, and Duncan Lawrence. 2016. "When lives are put on hold: Lengthy asylum processes decrease employment among refugees." *Science Advances* 2 (8): e1600432.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Dominik Hangartner, and Dalston Ward. 2019. "The effect of citizenship on the long-term earnings of marginalized immigrants: Quasi-experimental evidence from Switzerland." *Science Advances* 5 (12): 1-8.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 225-249.
- Hansen, Georg, and Norbert Wenning. 2003. *Schulpolitik für andere Ethnien in Deutschland. Zwischen Autonomie und Unterdrückung*. Münster, New York, München, Berlin: Waxmann.
- Harder, Niklas, Lucila Figueroa, Rachel M. Gillum, Dominik Hangartner, David. D. Laitin, and Jens Hainmueller. 2018. "Multidimensional measure of immigrant integration." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115 (45): 11483-11488.
- Hooghe, Marc, and Thomas de Vroome. 2015. "How Does the Majority Public React to Multiculturalist Policies? A Comparative Analysis of European Countries." *American Behavioral Scientist* 59 (6): 747-768.
- Huddleston, Thomas, Özge Bilgili, Anne-Linde Joki, and Zvezda Vankova. 2015. *Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015*. Barcelona/Brussels: CIDOB and MPG.
- Ireland, Patrick. 2006. "Institutions, Political Opportunity Structures, and the Shaping of Migration Policies in Western Europe." In *Dialogues on Migration Policy*, eds. Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, 137-155. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Jann, Werner, and Kai Wegrich. 2007. "Theories of the Policy Cycle." In *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics, and Methods*, eds. Frank Fischer, Gerald J. Miller and Mara S. Sidney, 43-62. Boca Raton etc.: CRC Press.
- Kauff, Mathias, Frank Asbrock, Stefan Thörner, and Ulrich Wagner. 2013. "Side effects of multiculturalism: the interaction effect of a multicultural ideology and authoritarianism on prejudice and diversity beliefs." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 39 (3): 305-320.
- Kesler, Christel, and Irene Bloemraad. 2010. "Does Immigration Erode Social Capital? The Conditional Effects of Immigration-Generated Diversity on Trust, Membership, and Participation across 19 Countries, 1981-2000." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43 (2): 319-347.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe – A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 2010. "Tradeoffs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (1): 1-26.
- Koopmans, Ruud, Ines Michalowski, and Stine Waibel. 2012. "Citizenship Rights for Immigrants: National Political Processes and Cross-National Convergence in Western Europe, 1980-2008." *American Journal of Sociology* 117 (4): 1202-1245.
- Koopmans, Ruud, Susanne Veit, and Ruta Yemane. 2019. "Taste or statistics? A correspondence study of ethnic, racial and religious labour market discrimination in Germany." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* online view.

- Manatschal, Anita. 2012. "Path Dependent or Dynamic? Cantonal Integration Policies between Regional Citizenship Traditions and Right Populist Party Politics." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (2): 281-297.
- Manatschal, Anita, and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen. 2013. "Cantonal variations of integration policy and their impact on immigrant educational inequality." *Comparative European Politics* 11 (5): 671-695.
- . 2014. "Do Integration Policies Affect Immigrants' Voluntary Engagement? An Exploration at Switzerland's Subnational Level." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40 (3): 404-423.
- Manatschal, Anita, Verena Wisthaler, and Christina Zuber. 2020. "Making regional citizens? The political drivers and effects of subnational immigrant integration policies in Europe and North America." *Regional Studies* 54 (11): 1475-1485.
- Martén, Linna, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2019. "Ethnic networks can foster the economic integration of refugees." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116 (33): 16280-16285.
- McLaren, Lauren. 2017. "Immigration, national identity and political trust in European democracies." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (3): 379-399.
- Mettler, Suzanne. 2002. "Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: Policy Feedback Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans." *American Political Science Review* 96 (2): 351-365.
- Morrison, Kimberly Rios, Victoria C. Plaut, and Oscar Ybarra. 2010. "Predicting Whether Multiculturalism Positively or Negatively Influences White Americans' Intergroup Attitudes: The Role of Ethnic Identification." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 36 (10): 1648-1661.
- Nannestad, Peter, Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen, and Gert Tinggaard Svendsen. 2008. "Bridge Over Troubled Water? Migration and Social Capital." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(4): 607-631.
- Pantoja, A.D., and Gary Segura. 2003. "Fear and Loathing in California: Contextual Threat and Political Sophistication Among Latino Voters." *Political Behavior* 25 (3): 265-286.
- Pantoja, Adrian D., Cecilia Menjivar, and Lisa Magaña. 2008. "The Spring Marches of 2006. Latinos, Immigration, and Political Mobilization in the 21st Century." *American Behavioral Scientist* 52 (4): 499-506.
- Pecoraro, Marco, Anita Manatschal, Eva G.T. Green, and Philippe Wanner. 2019. "Does integration policy improve labour market, sociocultural and psychological adaptation of asylum-related immigrants? Evidence from Sri Lankans in Switzerland." *IRENE working paper 19-08*.
<https://ideas.repec.org/p/irn/wpaper/19-08.html>.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. 2016. "In Pursuit of Three Theories: Authoritarianism, Relative Deprivation, and Intergroup Contact." *Annual Review of Psychology* 67 (1): 1-21.
- Pichler, Florian. 2011. "Success on European Labor Markets: A Cross-National Comparison of Attainment between Immigrant and Majority Populations." *International Migration Review* 45 (4): 938-978.
- Pierson, Paul. 1993. "When Effect Becomes Cause. Policy Feedback and Political Change." *World Politics* 45: 595-628.
- . 2006. "Public Policies as Institutions." In *Rethinking Political Institutions. The Art of the State*, eds. Ian Shapiro, Stephen Skowronek and Daniel Galvin, 114-131. New York and London: New York University Press.

- Plaut, Victoria C., Flannery G. Garnet, Laura E. Buffardi, and Jeffrey Sanchez Burks. 2011. "'What About Me?' Perceptions of Exclusion and Whites' Reactions to Multiculturalism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 101 (2): 337-353.
- Putnam, Robert David. 2007. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century. The 2006 Johann Skytte Prize Lecture." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30(2): 137-174.
- Reeskens, Tim. 2010. "Ethnic-Cultural Diversity, Migrant Integration Policies and Social Cohesion in Europe. Investigating the Conditional Effect of Ethnic-Cultural Diversity on Generalized Trust." Paper presented at the international conference 'Migration: A World in Motion', 18-20 February 2010, Maastricht.
- Reeskens, Tim, and W.J.H. van Oorschot. 2017. "Conceptions of citizenship and tolerance towards immigrants: A comparative study of public opinion data." In *The strains of commitment: The political sources of solidarity in diverse societies*, eds. Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, 177-198. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reeskens, Tim, and Matthew Wright. 2014. "Host-country patriotism among European immigrants: A comparative study of its individual and societal roots." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (14): 2493-2511.
- Robinson, Vaughan. 1998. "Defining and Measuring Successful Refugee Integration." ECRE International Conference on Integration of Refugees in Europe, Antwerp, November 1998, Brussels.
- Rosenberger, Sieglinde. 2020. *Integration erwünscht? Österreichs Integrationspolitik zwischen Fördern, Fordern und Verhindern*. Wien: Czernin Verlag.
- Schlicht-Schmälzle, Raphaela, and Sabrina Möller. 2012. "Macro-Political Determinants of Educational Inequality between Migrants and Natives in Western Europe." *West European Politics* 35 (5): 1044-1074.
- Schlueter, Elmar, Bart Meuleman, and Eldad Davidov. 2013. "Immigrant Integration policies and perceived Group Threat: A Multilevel Study of 27 Western and Eastern European Countries." *Social Science Research* 42 (3): 670-682.
- Scholten, Peter. 2016. "Between National Models and Multi-Level Decoupling: The Pursuit of Multi-Level Governance in Dutch and UK Policies Towards Migrant Incorporation." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 17 (4): 973-994.
- Tajfel, Henry, and John C. Turner. 2004. "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior." In *Political Psychology: Key Readings*, eds. John T. Jost and Jim Sidanius, 276-293. New York: Psychology Press.
- Uslaner, Eric M. 2011. "Trust, Diversity and Segregation in the United States and the United Kingdom." *Comparative Sociology* 10 (2): 221-247.
- Vasta, Elie. 2007. "Accommodating diversity: why current critiques of multiculturalism miss the point." *COMPAS Working Paper* 53.
- Vertovec, Steven, and Susanne Wessendorf. 2010. *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European discourses, policies and practices*. New York: Routledge.
- Voss, Kim, and Irene Bloemraad. 2011. *Rallying for Immigrant Rights. The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ward, Colleen, and Anne-Marie Masgoret. 2008. "Attitudes toward Immigrants, Immigration, and Multiculturalism in New Zealand: A Social Psychological Analysis." *International Migration Review* 42 (1): 227-248.
- Weldon, Steve A. 2006. "The Institutional Context of Tolerance for Ethnic Minorities: A Comparative Multilevel Analysis of Western Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 331-349.

- Wright, Matthew. 2011. "Policy Regimes and Normative Conceptions of Nationalism in Mass Public Opinion." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (5): 598-624.
- Wright, Matthew, and Irene Bloemraad. 2012. "Is There a Trade-Off between Multiculturalism and Socio-Political Integration? Policy Regimes and Immigrant Incorporation in Comparative Perspective." *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (1): 77-95.
- Wright, Matthew, Richard Johnston, Jack Citrin, and Stuart Soroka. 2017. "Multiculturalism and Muslim accommodation: Policy and predisposition across three political contexts." *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (1): 102-132.
- Zepeda-Millán, Chris. 2017. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zimdars, Anna, and Gindo Tampubolon. 2012. "Ethnic Diversity and European's Generalised Trust: How Inclusive Immigration Policy Can Aid A Positive Association." *Sociological Research Online* 17 (3): <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/17/3/15.html>.