Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration: A narrative review

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Abstract

The primary objective of this research is to investigate the factors that shape, form or influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Through a narrative review methodology the thesis draws upon 144 publications in order to identify the key findings across economic and psychological literature, as well as a focus on individual and national differences in attitudes. While the study incorporates broad international literature, it is contextualised in relation to three traditional countries of immigration with similar colonial-settler histories; Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The study has identified that this area of research is characterised by inconsistent, contradictory and inconclusive findings resulting from the application of very different disciplines, data sources and methodologies. The variety of scholarly opinions found in the literature has led to a rigorous and continuing debate regarding the key determinants of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration – whether they be positive or negative and under what circumstances. More specifically, the thesis has identified that economic and social psychological theory offer quite divergent views on the matter of attitudes to immigrants and immigration. Economic theory tends to suggest that native-born populations prefer immigrants who are dissimilar to themselves (largely in socio-economic status), whilst social psychological theory suggests that native-born populations prefer immigrants who are similar to themselves (in terms of cultural identity). Furthermore, positive attitudes are found amongst those who hold a sociotropic view towards society in general. Overall, the thesis asserts that there is room for improvement in the way that questions around attitudes are formulated and theorised, and ways to improve data collection and analysis methods that can more seriously take into account wider historical, social, economic and political processes.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration serve as an important impetus for (re)formulating immigrant integration policies in many Western countries (J. Collins, 2013). Indeed, the extent to which negative attitudes are held by the native-born population towards those who are foreign-born is concerning for many Governments, communities and individuals alike (Ueffing, Rowe, & Mulder, 2015). Racism, discrimination, prejudice, xenophobia are words which pervade the social lexicon around immigration which are not conducive to positive social interactions and overall societal wellbeing. This thesis attempts to understand why and/or how such responses are shaped, formed or influenced.

The topic of attitudes to immigrants and immigration has attracted interest, and has been written about from a range of disciplines. Each disciplinary approach is distinct and as a result stories researchers tell are often inconsistent, contradictory or inconclusive. These irregularities, this thesis will argue, is compounded but many other technical and contextual problems. The role of this thesis therefore, is to signal the wide variety of disciplines, data sources, methodologies, countries under investigation, units of analysis, factors, and variables which contribute to the lack of consensus on this topic.

To assist in trying to find out what is known about and make sense of this complex topic, a narrative review methodology was employed for this thesis. A narrative review is a process that helps navigate multiple conceptual, theoretical and methodological boundaries to consolidate the findings to provide a more integrated and digestible understanding of a complex topic (Kitson, Marshall, Bassett, & Zeitz, 2013). The research presented herein includes a synthesis of 144 journal articles, books and book chapters, and official government statistics and

publications which have been influential locally and internationally in understanding attitude formation and variations. The remainder of this chapter introduces the purpose of this research, how it was undertaken and why it is important to individuals and policy makers alike.

1.2 Objectives

The overarching objective of this thesis is to provide a review and analysis of the international literature on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is a phenomenon that consciously or subconsciously permeates our social existence due to rising numbers of immigrants worldwide. Discrimination, stereotyping and socially exclusive practices do not assist in developing inclusive societies and communities, therefore my primary aim in writing this thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of why and how these practices occur.

By writing about this topic, my hope is that it is read by anyone who can make positive change in this area. The crucial outcome would be for it to utilised and operationalised by settler-colonial societies such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, to help inform immigration policy and more importantly immigrant integration policy. Ultimately it will enhance the wellbeing of many groups and individuals that reside in any country that may use this research.

1.3 Scope

Undertaking this topic has been a daunting endeavour. By bridging economics, sociology, psychology and social policy this thesis examines a myriad of theoretical foundations from which the concept of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration have been argued. This thesis will show the numerous arguments for the ways in which attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are shaped, formed and influenced.

Initially I intended to cover the three disciplines of economics, sociology and psychology independently, however I struggled to separate sociology and psychology. Therefore the final product has incorporated and explored the theoretical foundations of two key disciplines; economics and social psychology.

Many scholars include multiple theories in their publications on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, or contrast one theory against another, or simply explore the topic through a singular theoretical lens. This thesis disentangles the theories offering a nuanced and individualised approach to each.

This thesis does not include attitudes towards refugees or asylum seekers. This is not to say that these groups are irrelevant to this topic, however attitudes towards these groups are shaped, formed and influenced often by different reasons than for those who have made the decision to emigrate voluntarily. All the same it is important to recognise that there is slippage between the terms 'immigrant' and 'refugee' in some contexts, so research on attitudes to immigration may actually capture attitudes to refugees as well. Additionally, this thesis will not include how the media can influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. There is extensive literature worldwide on this topic because it actually engages with attitudes as expressed in, or influenced by, mainstream media. These factors do not exhaust the omissions of this thesis, as it also will not include a review of Visa types or entry requirements - quite simply because there was limited scope.

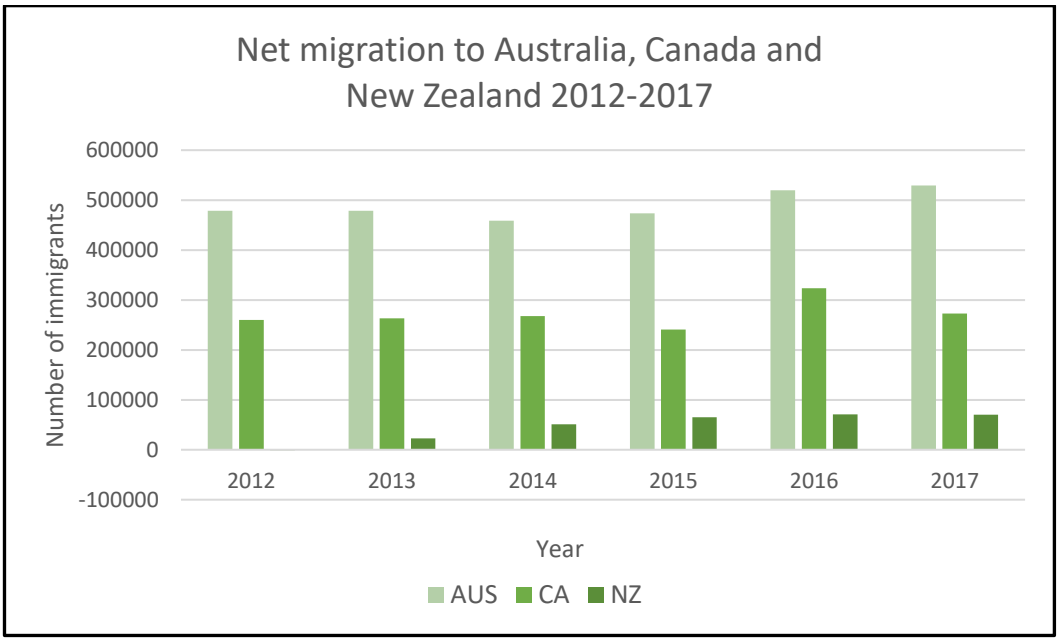
1.4 Background

Immigration is not a new phenomenon. People have been crossing international borders for centuries to seek new opportunities and living conditions. There are now an estimated 258 million people living in a country other than their country of birth — an increase of 49% since 2000 (UN DESA, 2017). The result being an unprecedented quantity of immigrants in many developed countries (Poot & Cochrane, 2005). This has been argued to be the result of two revolutions; the transport revolution which began in the early 19th century, which reflects the ease and low cost of travel, and in recent decades the telecommunication revolution where rapid information flows across national borders have enabled better access to resources in other countries to overcome the issue of distance (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2013; IOM, 2018b; Martin, 2013). It is now common-place to communicate and encounter cultural differences through travel, relocation and international trade. Hence, the world is becoming increasingly interconnected, and this interconnectivity is commonly known as 'globalisation'. The combination

of the transport and telecommunication revolutions, spurring globalisation has enabled and encouraged much of the rise in numbers of cross-border movements (IOM, 2018b).

Australia, Canada and New Zealand are considered 'classical countries of immigration' and 'traditional immigrant settler colonies' where the current face of their population are a result of histories of large-scale immigration. Highlighting the present significance of immigration, these countries have seen substantial net migration gains over the last five years which are illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Net migration to Australia, Canada and New Zealand 2012-2017



Sources: (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018b; Statistics Canada, 2018b; Statistics New Zealand, 2018b).

New Zealand in particular has experienced the largest increase of new immigrants from -1,125 immigrants in 2012, to 70,016 in 2017. Australia have experienced an increase of 11% and Canada 5%, but their net migration levels, as demonstrated in Figure 1 are already very substantial. These relatively high levels of net migration highlight the importance of research on the kinds of attitudes that different populations express towards immigration and immigrants.

This considerable growth in numbers of immigrants has contributed to growing cultural and ethnic diversity in high immigrant receiving countries. With the rapid increase in the number of immigrants worldwide, established populations have

experienced a new complexity in the diversity of their nations. These factors have also been a catalyst for lively public debate about the impacts of immigration (Ueffing et al., 2015) often igniting polarising opinions, often with little middle-ground.

On one end of the spectrum, immigration is welcomed as a source of labour and cultural diversity, and a possible means of overcoming modern demographic processes such as an ageing population and decreasing fertility patterns in many developed countries (Goldin, Pitt, Nabarro, & Boyle, 2018; Ueffing et al., 2015). At the other end of the spectrum, immigration is discouraged due to the perceived negative impacts such as the threat imposed due to the limited demand for labour, the fiscal burden imposed by increased welfare and other spending, and the preservation of national and cultural identity. With the former perspective in mind, it could be expected that the public would be open to higher levels of immigration, yet public attitudes towards immigrants have been reported as being increasingly negative in some contexts (OECD, 2010). In order to investigate why this is the case, I seek to understand how these attitudes are shaped, formed and influenced to be better informed about how to promote positive attitudes, ultimately through reflexive social integration and immigration policy.

A great deal of research exists about the causes and impacts of immigration (Carling and Collins 2018; Castles 2010). However, this thesis will focus on an important topic in this literature, namely the attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, and the factors that have contributed to the formation of these attitudes. More specifically, it will focus on the contributing factors that influence attitudes held by native-born towards those who are foreign-born. Explanations for the reasons why people support or fear immigration vary greatly, and many social groups are divided on their attitudes on this matter (Grbic, 2010).

1.5 Methodology

For the purpose of this research I have chosen to employ a narrative review method. A narrative review is useful since it pulls many pieces of information together into an easily digestible format and provides the reader with a

comprehensive narrative synthesis of previously published information (Green, Johnson, & Adams, 2006) to examine important and/or controversial topics (Rumrill & Fitzgerald, 2001). Narrative review can also describe the current state-of-art in a particular area of research in order to elucidate existing theory, and seek new theories not yet investigated. This inductive technique contrasts findings through comparison which can help to establish the circumstances in which a theory will or will not hold true (Bryman, 2012). An alternative method to narrative review is meta-analysis, which is a hypothesis testing technique which analyses results across multiple studies using statistical tests. While suitable in contexts where there is sufficient homogeneity in studies, the study of attitudes to immigration and immigrants is characterised by considerable methodological, data source and terminological diversity (as discussed in Chapter 6) meaning that a more inductive approach is necessary.

A narrative review is helpful in presenting a broad theoretical prospective on a complex or multi-faceted topic. Therefore, in taking this approach I am not attempting to 're-invent the wheel'. Rather, I am attempting to provide a synthesis of the common (and over-looked) theories that have been or could be used to explain attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. I established there was a need for such a review due to the abundance of literature available, the divergent views, and lack of consensus on the topic of attitudes of immigrants and immigration. Similar sentiments are shared by Dixon-Woods et al. (2005, p.52) who suggest that "there is an urgent need for rigorous methods for synthesising evidence of diverse types generated by diverse methodologies…which are important scriptures for policy makers who would benefit from this form of research".

Narrative reviews do not come without limitations. Rumrill and Fitzgerald (2001) critique narrative reviews for being too subjective and that many biases may be at play. For example, the author of a narrative review decides inclusion criteria and the methods of analysis employed, therefore conclusions can be subjective. These authors also note that there may be problems with determining and integrating complex interactions when substantial numbers of studies are involved in the

review. It is not uncommon for a number of researchers reviewing the same literature and research question to reach different conclusions. These are biases that I have been readily aware of throughout the process of writing this thesis and am satisfied that the systematic approach I have employed will minimise such an issue.

The narrative review method undertaken in this research involved identifying recent (published post- 2000) journal articles, books and government publications that refer to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, immigration policy, and successful integration strategies. As indicated above, literature on this topic is prolific. There are more researchers, journals and other publications, university papers, research institutes, research projects than ever before who are interested in immigration (Castles, 2016).

To begin my research I conducted a database search for relevant studies to be included in this narrative review. Firstly, I searched *'Scopus'* with the terms "immigration" AND "attitudes". I filtered the date range to include only publications published from 2000 – present. This search generated 3298 records. During my search I excluded anything that was refined in its scope such as publications that focused on youth, Brexit, fertility, terror attacks or similarly disparate topics such as health and education to ensure that the content of this thesis covered subjects that were universally applicable across all countries included in this thesis. 'Brexit' for example, may not impact attitudes towards immigrants in countries that are not affected by this referendum, and 'health' in the case of this thesis also was not applicable to the subject under investigation. I then experimented with other keywords including "immigrants", "immigration policy", and "integration" to extend my search.

Once I had exhausted the options provided in *Scopus*, I turned to the *'Sociological Abstracts'* database to search for more references. "Immigration" AND "attitudes" were entered into the search engine within this database, filtering for results of publications published after 2000, which returned 1363 results – most of these items had also been identified in *Scopus*. Using the same exclusions as above, this search technique provided me with a total of 50 publications to work from. As I

read through each of the articles to determine their appropriateness, the reference lists were probed to look for further articles that would help answer my research question. This snowball technique uncovered several more articles that I would not have found otherwise.

Publications for this thesis were further selected on the basis of the proposed theory of the author(s), the country in which the research was conducted, and the year of publication. The theory component was important as the scope of this thesis allowed for only two major theories to be explored, so there was a need to limit the theoretical scope. The country (or countries) that the research was conducted in and for, was another important criteria to keep in mind due to the highly contextual nature of this topic. There is an overrepresentation of European countries and their related data in recent research on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, reflecting the significant debate on these issues in Europe over the last two decades (as presented in this thesis).

Of the publications used in this thesis, the vast majority were from high immigrant receiving countries that have similar immigration histories. I decided to exclude literature published pre-2000 to reflect contemporary attitudes as attitudes change over time, as does the volume, composition and demographics of those who immigrate. Some exceptions have been made for renowned authors on key topics which (for the purpose of this thesis) have been included. Such examples are Gordon Allport – *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), who remains very influential in recent scholarship for his writings on prejudice, and Henry Tajfel and John Turner who are well-known for their work on social identity theory and group psychology by their widely-cited article *An Integrative theory of Intergroup Conflict* (1979). When I felt I had reached saturation point I ended my search. In total, combining this technique and snowballing (which continued until I had finished writing) I ended up with 144 publications to work with.

What became apparent over the course of my research is the near-exclusive use of quantitative data, drawn from an extensive range of national and international sources. Further research on this topic could benefit from the inclusion of qualitative data to draw upon narratives from a diverse range of individuals and

groups within these countries (a point that I return to in the conclusion). A further methodological limitation uncovered was that the vast majority of the literature employed pre-existing data for their research. Using pre-existing data can have its merits, however I argue that when researching such a complex concept that precise survey questions and methodologies must be employed to obtain relevant and accurate accounts of the nature of the concept under investigation. Additionally, pre-existing data suggests that the data could be outdated and therefore not valid nor reliable as a measure of the very dynamic character of attitudes to immigrants and immigration.

A list of the literature used in this thesis that used survey and other types of data to illustrate the diversity of discipline, countries researched, data sources used and method of analysis, is provided in Appendix 1.

1.6 Organisation of Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters which are informed by existing studies. From a policy perspective Chapter 2 introduces the history of immigrant integration policies focusing on three traditional countries of immigration—Australia, Canada and New Zealand—to provide an overview of the historical trajectories of immigration and integration policy in these countries. Embedded in these policies are reflections of similar colonial-settler ideologies, which have witnessed some favourable changes in respect to who is, and who is not accepted for admission. In addition, these countries have similar integration policies, some which have proved to be more successful than others which will be the foci of this chapter.

Chapter 3 considers the literature on the theoretically-based determinants of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration from micro and macro-level economic perspectives. By examining concepts of labour market competition and the national economy, among others, it will inform the reader of the role of economic factors which shape, form or influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. In response to the findings being mixed and inconclusive,

Chapter 3 will critique the overuse of quantitative data, and the vast array of data sources and methodology employed to study this phenomenon.

From a social psychological perspective Chapter 4 highlights 'contact' and 'identity' theories used within this discipline to understand attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, before moving on to a discussion and critique of acculturation theory. Central to this chapter are the differences between groups, and the identities that are operating within these groups.

Chapter 5 offers evidence from the literature on two broad ideas; individual and country level characteristics which have been argued to influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. This chapter will offer a detailed debate on these characteristics and the ambiguity and diversity of the data sources, methodologies and findings which permeate the literature on this topic.

Chapter 6 brings together a synthesis of the terminological and methodological diversity that is evident across the literature cited throughout this thesis. It critiques the many theories, lexica and methodologies used and argues that it is largely this heterogeneity that explains the lack of consensus around this topic.

Lastly, Chapter 7 brings together and identifies key conclusions, and further synthesises the main themes. Based on the findings, it has been identified that of particular importance to the study of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is the social, economic, political and historical ramifications especially within colonial-settler discourses as noted in earlier chapters. These factors are highly diverse and country-specific - as are most of the other variables tested in the literature - therefore context is of crucial importance when studying attitudes to immigrants and immigration. The final chapter also considers the limitations of this research and offers areas for possible future research.

2 Immigrant Integration Policy

2.1 Introduction

The focus of immigration policy in most countries is on border controls – or how many immigrants should be granted admission. This is important, but just as important is what happens to these people once they arrive. Ensuring the wellbeing of immigrants by providing settlement and integration strategies are critical policy routes (Goldin et al., 2018). One trend which has recently emerged in academic literature on immigration and settlement is a focus on the connection between attitudes towards immigrants and immigration and the development of immigrant integration policies (Callens, 2015). Government immigrant integration policies are also used as a tool to foster positive and hospitable attitudes of both members of the receiving country and immigrants themselves (Reitz, 2012). An overarching objective of integration and multiculturalism policies is to provide positive social, economic and cultural opportunities and outcomes for both native-born and immigrant populations.

Through a policy lens this chapter will firstly explore the wellbeing aspect of social policy to provide an overview of some of the social and economic intentions of such policy. Secondly, it will address some elements of theoretical explanation, namely national identity and civic identity theories and how these influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Thirdly, this chapter will briefly explore the trajectory of immigrant selection policies in the three "traditional countries of immigration": Australia, Canada and New Zealand, (Koopmans, 2013; MIPEX, 2015; Reitz, 2012) to set the scene for why and how countries have arrived at contemporary integration policy settings. The nexus between historical factors and how they influence immigration policy in any given country is frequently referred to in the literature (Bedford & Spoonley, 2014; Johnston, Gendall, Trlin,

& Spoonley, 2010; McAllister, 2018; Simon-Kumar, 2014), and partly informs the development of specific immigration policies which will also be addressed later in this section.

A notable pattern across these three countries of immigration is that alongside increasing levels of immigration, there has been a growing diversity of countries of origin with very different ethnic, cultural, and political backgrounds than that of the receiving country (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014). While throughout most of the 20th century these countries experienced a homogenous immigration stream as admission was granted on the basis of nationality or race, changes in immigration policy which shifted the focus to economic capital as being more important for admission has changed the homogenous composition of populations to be more heterogeneous. Acknowledging this changing population, and ensuring that immigrants integrate into their new societies has become a major focus for governments of these countries. The focus on integration has ensured that governments place much emphasis on ensuring a smooth process of integration by means of reflecting on specific historical and political configurations. This is specifically salient in the context of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, as the global extent of the literature reiterates the influence of colonialism on the outcomes of immigrants and their respective indigenous cultures (Noiriel, 2006; Winkelmann, 2001; Wise & Noble, 2016). In order to address the character of integration, the chapter draws on Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)[1] scores as indicators of how well each country is doing to promote integration. Finally, the chapter concludes with areas of future research.

[1] MIPEX is a tool which measures the immigrant integration policies of 38 developed countries around the world. It is useful to evaluate and compare integration outcomes and know what different governments are doing in this policy area. It has become the most frequently used integration policy measurement tool for empirical comparative research in studying attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Callens, 2015). For the purpose of this chapter I use three indicators; the 'overall' score which denotes how well the country is doing to encourage national identity (as this score measures integration), and the scores for political participation and access to nationality which are indicative of civic identity. For more information, please visit http://www.mipex.eu/

2.2 Wellbeing for All

Social policy in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, as well as many other Western democratic societies, is built upon a foundational aspiration of achieving social wellbeing, and a concern for how this wellbeing is influenced by the distribution of opportunities and resources (Cheyne, O'Brien, & Belgrave, 2008). Theoretically speaking, wellbeing is a subjective term (Dodge, Daly, Huyton, & Sanders, 2012) which is interpreted and experienced differently by different people and groups, therefore is hard to define and even harder to measure. It is near impossible to formulate a universal definition of wellbeing because people come from different backgrounds and cultures hence what constitutes wellbeing to one person, may not constitute wellbeing to the next. For example, to a member of the receiving country, an important aspect of wellbeing may be to have a healthy work-life balance, whereas to an immigrant an important aspect of wellbeing may be to have a forecasted legal pathway to permanent residency. Therefore, a current and relevant understanding of wellbeing in the existing context is of critical importance to immigration policy.

There are however, counter claims to the overarching "wellbeing for all" rhetoric of these Governments that deserves some attention here. While most social, immigration and integration policies focus on including most of the population under the wellbeing umbrella, in the policy arena this is probably not achievable due the highly stratified immigration systems in place in Western democratic societies. Take for example the large number of people on working visas in New Zealand, a pattern echoed in Australia and Canada (Wulff, Carter, Vineberg, & Ward, 2008). Temporary visa holders are legally allowed to reside in a country for a selected period of time, but have limited agency to exercise the normative rights that we associate with citizenship. Non-citizenship functions as a tool for sanctioning different treatment for immigrants depending on their immigration status (F. L. Collins, 2017) – rather than being a mechanism for promoting inclusiveness. To offer an example from Australia, Robertson (2015) explains how immigrants in Australia can spend many protracted and uncertain years on temporary visas with precarious status, with no certainty of achieving permanent

residency. Similarly, in the Canadian context Rajkumar, Berkowitz, Vosko, Preston, and Latham (2012) discuss the implications of temporary visas and how they are being institutionalised, producing a hierarchy of categories of immigrants which is privileging the high skilled and restricting legal rights to low skilled immigrants. While policies aimed at encouraging settlement may have a focus on wellbeing, these examples of exclusionary policy practices demonstrate immigration policy does not necessarily offer wellbeing for all.

On a more positive note, typically, settlement-oriented immigration policy (particularly in Australia, Canada and New Zealand) focuses on successful integration of immigrants accepted for long term residence in the country. It is important to note that a positive outcome of the integration process is at times referred to as social cohesion (Spoonley, Peace, Butcher, & O'Neill, 2005) and that successful integration requires input from both immigrants and native-born to form relationships and a shared understanding and respect for their individual and societal characteristics and cultures (John W. Berry & Hou, 2016). Much of the success of such policies relies on the attitudes of both the immigrant and native-born to accept and integrate into each other's "way of life". Mapping the attitudes of the native-born is important for identifying policy challenges (Spoonley, Gendall, & Trlin, 2007). On the one hand, the New Zealand government holds an interest in policy that encourages immigrants to obtain a sense of belonging and pride in their wider communities and participate fully in all aspects of social and civic life, and to feel safe and accepted. On the other hand, there is an obligation from the citizens of the receiving country to "have confidence that their ways of life will not be compromised or jeopardised by the arrival of new immigrants" (Spoonley et al., 2005, p. 86).

This "way of life" rhetoric is obvious, particularly in the New Zealand context, yet is evident covertly in other similar immigrant-receiving countries to New Zealand, such as Australia and Canada. To illustrate this, the key outcome of the New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy (NZMSIS) (2016) is for immigrants to "Make New Zealand their home, participate fully and contribute to all aspects of New Zealand life" (p.1). However, in Australian policy the emphasis

is on “shared values” such as respect, equality and freedom and a “shared vision for the future” (Australian Government, 2017, p. 2). Rhetorical statements such as the above make reference to what may be considered to be the dominant national or civic identity in a country and something that a new immigrant should strive to achieve, which I will turn to in the next section.

2.3 National and Civic Identities

What countries have experienced through recent migration patterns is an increasing diversity of many of the characteristics of immigrants (Vertovec, 2007) such age ethnicity, age, education and religion. The world no longer consists of homogeneous societies (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014), if indeed it ever did. Rather, cultural heterogeneity has become more commonplace in many developed countries, and as a result, immigration policy needs to acknowledge the ‘new’ heterogeneity of countries in response to immigrants coming from a range of sending countries, whom have very different, cultural, social, economic and political experiences and expectations (Castles, 2016). Thus, pre-existing identities of immigrants are challenged by political and social structures in the receiving country and new identities are formed by means of negotiating these structures.

Identity theory commonly distinguishes between two identity constructs; national identity and civic identity (Grbic, 2010). In brief, national identity involves feelings of belonging to, and attitudes towards, larger societies constructed around nations (J. Berry & Sam, 2006), while civic identity assumes a common patriotism toward historical and political standing of a nation and to adopt the common political culture and ideology of that nation.

Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, and Ethier (1995) argue that identities are created for stratification purposes and are often placed on a continuum of *ascribed – achieved*. An identity is ascribed if a person does not have to do anything to gain membership to a group, for example an *ascribed* identity is one that you are born into. An *achieved* identity is something that you must attain, for example speaking another language.

Individuals can be said to have a particular national identity if they share some or all of a set of group characteristics: a common genealogy and ancestry, and share languages, customs, values and traditions (Grbic, 2010). In this case, genealogy and ancestry relates to where one is born, or where one's ancestors were born, and how one is raised and is *ascribed* to us (Deaux et al., 1995). Such supposedly fixed attributes are sometimes claimed to pose challenges to integrate immigrants into a shared national identity (McAllister, 2018). However, the remainder of the sentence referring to sharing languages, customs, values and traditions of members of a group, are features that can be learnt or *achieved* (Deaux et al., 1995). So, can an immigrant *become* a New Zealander, or an Australian, or a Canadian? Hart, Richardson, and Wilkenfeld (2011) claim that immigrants can self-ascribe a national identity through links to geographical place or place or origin, or alternatively a sense of belonging to a particular nation suggesting that it is possible claim a national identity or become an Australian, Canadian or New Zealander.

National identity becomes evident in the extent to which people can participate fully in the social processes and groups of the receiving country. For example, one indication of national identity could be the extent to which an individual can generate a sense of belonging and assert their attitudes or values by means of joining a national body, or participating in Nation-based celebrations (i.e Waitangi Day or Australia Day) (Meuleman & Lubbers, 2013).

National immigration policies can help define what constitutes a localised national identity, as argued by Peter Skilling (2012: 365):

> An analysis of national identity discourses offers rich insights into how widely shared values, ideas and logics serve to define what is accepted as valid and reasonable… Immigration policy, is the area in which policy actors are constrained to be most explicit about who (and what) is valued within the nation.

McAllister (2018) comments that sharing a common sense of national identity is typically the cornerstone for inclusive immigration policy. McAllister continues, "A shared national identity provides the social cohesion that enables the community to overcome any crisis that may pose an existential threat to its long-

term political stability" (p.157). Then again, is a shared identity plausible? How can policy alone achieve such a task? Compton-Lilly, Papoi, Venegas, Hamman, and Schwabenbauer (2017) suggest that an identity, rather than being shared, should be negotiated as identities are perpetually evolving – identity is a process not a thing. Something worth considering for future research and should also be a priority for all countries with a concern for the wellbeing of immigrants as they integrate into their new society.

Unlike national identity, which can be either ascribed or achieved, civic identity is readily achieved, mainly based on the level of political engagement, but can also include volunteering, belonging to a school, sporting or community organisation or religious group (Hodgetts et al., 2010). Civic identity is more malleable to new members of a society and therefore should be of critical importance when formulating integration policy. To this end, the current chapter will align civic identity with political participation. It should be of critical importance for governments to integrate as many immigrants as possible through membership, rights and participation in civil laws and society (Hart et al., 2011). When immigrants express motivation to participate in civic behaviour then they are viewed more positively by members of the receiving country (McAllister, 2018).

A key debate in immigration policy is around immigrants' access to citizenship and whether or not this helps facilitate successful integration (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015). At one extreme, it has been argued that naturalisation should be endorsed as it encourages rapid integration (by means of legitimate patriotism) and a propensity to invest (socially and economically) in the future of the receiving country (Hainmueller, Hangartner, et al., 2015). Whilst at the other extreme it is argued that naturalisation should be restricted as this provides automatic access to the benefits that come with citizenship (Facchini & Mayda, 2008) which I will demonstrate further in Chapter 3. This in turn could restrict the desire of the immigrant to integrate (Hainmueller, Hangartner, et al., 2015). Hainmueller, Hangartner, et al. (2015) also found that naturalisation had positive effects on integration, as immigrants were then more likely to vote and be propelled to gain higher levels of political efficacy and knowledge. To

compliment this, Koopmans (2013) notes that the political power of immigrants as (potential) voters augments and extends their rights as citizens which would enhance their chances of successful integration.

The above arguments have been summarised by Tan (2014, p. 3) who states; "Natives with civic conceptions of identity tend to hold less restrictionist attitudes towards immigration than those who emphasise national theory of identity". It could be said that perceived threat to one's national identity stems from the desire to maintain a distinct and positive identity (Ben-Nun Bloom, Arikan, & Lahav, 2015). The distinction between national and civic identity has considerable importance to discussions of attitudes to immigrants and immigration. In short, it is presumed that concepts of national identity typically stimulate negative attitudes (Grbic, 2010; McAllister, 2018; Ueffing et al., 2015). This is because immigration can create a perceived threat to national identity that stimulates natives to prefer immigrants who are similar to themselves while being less accepting of those with divergent identities. In contrast, concepts of civic identity typically promote positive attitudes to immigrants because there is no threat involved. Therefore, should policy makers want to promote positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, creating space for immigrants to achieve a positive civic identity would be a step in the right direction. The next section will discuss how the concepts of national and civic identity inform the development of integrative immigration policy.

2.4 Why Integrative Immigration Policy?

Immigration policy is reaffirmed in attitudes towards immigration (Bauer, Lofstrom, & Zimmermann, 2000; Elmar Schlueter, Bart Meuleman, & Eldad Davidov, 2013; Ueffing et al., 2015), but the causal effect goes both ways and the direction of this relationship is difficult to disentangle (Bauer et al., 2000; Callens, 2015; Ueffing et al., 2015). On one hand, governments seek to respond to public opinion in order to gain political support – hence attitudes can influence policy (re)formation. While on the other, immigration policy influences patterns, conditions and outcomes of immigration, which then has an influence on the perceived impact of immigration – hence policy can influence attitudes. Although

results remain inconclusive and further research is needed to confirm findings, Callens (2015) and Ueffing et al. (2015) assert from their studies that the causality runs from immigration policy to attitudes, rather than attitudes informing policy decisions. Therefore, governments should have integration at the forefront of immigration policy formation should they want to retain public support and infer positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

Previous research has shown that support for immigration is shaped by differences in beliefs about social integration (Grbic, 2010). When diverse societies do not promote integration and inclusion, this can result in isolation, marginalisation, racism, and heightened levels of xenophobia, all of which can foster anti-immigrant and immigration attitudes (Gendall, Spoonley, & Trlin, 2007). Countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, have acknowledged the need to be open and accepting of diversity, and as a result have introduced strategies to reduce these negative outcomes and ultimately attempt to provide wellbeing for all members of their respective communities (Australian Government, 2015; Reitz, 2012). There is a counter case to this, for instance in relation to immigration policy and access to residency. As was discussed in the previous section those immigrants on temporary visa have a precarious pathway to residency therefore do not necessarily experience social inclusion nor successful integration.

Policies based on multiculturalism have been argued to be beneficial in helping immigrants to integrate. As described by J. Berry and Sam (2006), multiculturalism is achieved when the maintenance of culture and heritage across diverse groups is encouraged, coupled by promoting positive intergroup contact and participation in the wider society. Australia and Canada both have integration and multicultural policies in place, New Zealand does not. It has been argued however, that New Zealand has a de-facto multicultural policy (Fleras, 2009; Simon-Kumar, 2014; Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

In the past immigration policy had typically focussed on attracting immigrants based on their race, country of origin, or intrinsic personal characteristics. More recently (post-1962 in Canada, post-1973 in Australia, and post-1986 in New Zealand), immigration policy has focussed predominantly on skills and economic

value, coupled with integration and wellbeing (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014; Bedford & Spoonley, 2014; Gendall et al., 2007; Simon-Kumar, 2014). To illustrate this the following section will assess the integration policies of the three similar immigrant-receiving countries of Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

2.5 Contemporary Integration and Multicultural Policies

Several common trajectories are apparent within these three countries' immigration policy since the start of the 20th century (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014). Firstly, in the earlier part of the 20th century the central concern for all three countries was to admit immigrants on the basis of race and/or country of origin to preserve societal culture in the receiving country – thus the emphasis was on cultural homogeneity over other characteristics. Secondly, in the latter part of the 20th century (post World War Two), immigration policy observed a shift from admission based on race and ethnicity toward a more targeted selection based on specific labour market needs. Accompanying this was a rise in the importance accorded to diversity and the benefits which cultural heterogeneity brings to a nation. Such shifts in attitudes and ideology brought about the need for successful immigrant integration and multicultural policies which have produced benefits for both immigrants and members of the receiving country (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014; Bedford & Spoonley, 2014; Simon-Kumar, 2014). For a more nuanced look at how these policies are operationalised, this chapter will provide a brief summary of the history of immigration policy in each of the three countries under investigation and how MIPEX rates them on the Migrant Integration Policy Index.

2.5.1 Australia.

Much like New Zealand, early 20th century immigration policy in Australia focussed on favouring applicants based on their racial roots or country of origin, resulting in what was termed the "White Australia Policy" (Australian Government, 2015; Ueffing et al., 2015). Essentially, the Australian Government banned people of non-European ancestry from immigrating to Australia. The 1940s saw the introduction of the "Assimilation Policy" where immigrants were expected to learn English, adopt Australian cultural practices, and become indistinguishable from the Australian-born - there was no foci on a 'shared' national identity. This policy

was followed by the “Integration Policy” in the 1960s when the Australian Government began to recognise that; ‘older’ Australians could learn from immigrants and vice-versa; and that immigrants should be recognised for their contribution to the overall development of the Australian economy. This is not too distinct from the “Multicultural Australia: United, Strong, Successful” policy currently in place in Australia. This policy recognises that individuals and their communities should maintain their cultural/ethnic and religious identities; that the Australian society should be tolerant and welcoming of diversity; that barriers to full participation in Australian society should be mitigated; and that immigrants should have equal access to programmes and services (Australian Government, 2017).

Such a multicultural policy encourages shared values of respect, equality and freedom. It recognises the mutual responsibility of both the immigrant and receiving country to ensure a stable, resilient and harmonious society. Ueffing et al. (2015) found that Australia’s integrative immigration policy influences the formation of more positives attitudes towards immigrants and immigration by means of fostering perceptions of equality and inclusion of all members of their society.

In addition to the Multicultural policy, Australia also established the National Settlement Framework. This framework recognises nine priority areas for successful integration. The priority areas are: Education and training, Employment, Health and Wellbeing, Housing, Language services, Transport, Civic participation, Family and social support, and Justice.

Through their Multicultural policy and National Settlement Framework, Australia sets clear intentions about notions of national and civic identity. For example, Australians hold optimistic views that it is possible to integrate several cultures successfully by means of shared values, rights and responsibilities, whilst still maintaining strong allegiance to the liberal-democratic governance of Australia (J. Collins, 2013). Hence, there are strong national identity connotations, yet weak recognition of the importance of a civic identity. McAllister (2018) suggests that only partial progress has been made in fostering a strong sense of civic identity

and there is more work to be done in this area. These facts are reflected in Australia's MIPEX political participation score of 64, compared to 74 for New Zealand and 48 for Canada. Australia's overall integration score was 66, compared to New Zealand's 70 and Canada's 68.

MIPEX Scores - Australia		
Indicator	**Score**	**Rank**
Overall	66	8/38
Political Participation	64	9/38
Access to Nationality	69	5/38

2.5.2 Canada.

During the early 20th century, immigration policy in Canada concentrated on excluding certain groups from admission, in particular those who held contradictory religious beliefs to 'mainstream' Canadians based on anglophone and francophone culture, and those whose country of origin had fought against Canada during the First World War. These restrictive policies morphed into something more generic which excluded admission of non-European and non-American immigrants (Troper, 2018). However, in 1967 a new eligibility regime was introduced; race, colour and nationality no longer held sway, and much like Australia and New Zealand, skills, education, and language ability were the main considerations when decided who, and who should not be admitted (Triadafilopoulos & Troper, 2013). Canada was the first of many countries who entered the competition for the most talented, skilful and resourceful immigrants (Guo & Guo, 2016).

Shortly after, in 1971, the Canadian Multicultural Policy was implemented, which recognised and celebrated diversity and remains in place today. This policy seeks to recognise the contribution to Canada that is provided by the many cultures who have made Canada their home. The main goal was to nurture a warm, welcoming and inclusive environment, and to maximise the economic, social, cultural and political integration of immigrants (Guo & Guo, 2016). It also encourages a shared vision based on the values of mutual respect and equality no matter your race, religion, ethnicity or country of origin. In addition, this policy confirmed both the rights of the indigenous (Aboriginal) peoples and the prestige of Canada's two

official languages; English and French. Canadians regard multiculturalism as a key feature of the national identity of their country (Reitz, 2012).

According to Hyman, Meinhard, & Shields (2011) Canada's Multicultural policy emphasises "...the right of Canada's ethnic, racial and religious minorities to preserve and share their unique cultural heritage…" (p.6). Thus, Canada's approach provides a strong indication that national identity can be achieved and shared much like that of Australia's integration and multicultural policies.

The Canadian model of immigrant integration is based on rational immigration selection, settlement, citizenship and multicultural policies, which have been fundamentally successful in their efforts to integrate immigrants to Canada (Troper, 2018). Citizenship policies in Canada function as a mechanism to support integration based on the assumption that most permanent residents will become citizens and integrate into civic society. Access to citizenship varies between two and five years of permanent residency as provincial governments vary in their approaches to naturalisation (Griffith, 2017).

Canada encourages immigrants to participate in civil society by means of citizenship, however Canada scores low on the MIPEX access to nationality scale. This is argued by MIPEX (2015) to be a result of permanent residents facing greater waits, restrictions and documentation barriers to becoming citizens. Canada's over all integration score was 68, lower than New Zealand (70) and higher than Australia (66).

MIPEX Scores – Canada		
Indicator	**Score**	**Rank**
Overall	68	6/38
Political Participation	48	20/38
Access to Nationality	67	8/38

2.5.3 New Zealand.

For much of the 20th century New Zealand's immigration policy centred on admission based on their racial background and potential economic contribution. An unofficial 'white New Zealand policy' was practiced until 1945 with preference given to immigrants from traditional source countries of Britain and Ireland and

other nationalities, while the Chinese were actively excluded from immigration. Between 1945 and 1986 New Zealand relaxed immigration policy allowing selected Asian students and Pacific Islanders to migrate to New Zealand. However, since 1986 changes were made to New Zealand's immigration policy, most notably a shift to selecting immigrants based on their skills and personal merit rather than their ethnic or racial background (Bedford & Spoonley, 2014; Blewden, Carroll, & Witten, 2010; Simon-Kumar, 2014). New Zealand discarded the traditional country of origin preference and signalled new and complementary policy objectives in favour of social and cultural diversity to enhance New Zealand's multicultural society (Bedford & Spoonley, 2014; Johnston et al., 2010). This was made evident in the 1986 White Paper on Immigration, authored by the Hon. Kerry Burke, which claimed the purpose of immigration policy was "….to enrich the multicultural and social fabric of New Zealand society through the selection of new settlers principally on the strength of their potential contribution to the wellbeing of New Zealand" (Johnston et al., 2010, p. 344). Hence, prior to 1986 attitudes towards immigrants and immigration were not so prevalent as immigrants were typically from similar racial backgrounds, therefore the population was relatively homogeneous which did not disrupt national identity. Since the changes to immigration policy in 1987, which based admission on economic benefit to New Zealand, ethnic and cultural heterogeneity became apparent in New Zealand society. This new heterogeneity was interpreted by some as posing a threat to national identity which has spurred the interest in attitudes towards acculturation and integration of newly arriving immigrants.

As a result, in the early 1990s the first steps were taken to form a policy which had an implicit focus on the integration of New Zealand's immigrant population: namely the New Zealand Settlement Strategy (NZSS) (Immigration New Zealand, 2014). The NZSS aimed to improve immigrant settlement by addressing basic issues such as access to housing, health, education and employment. Upon analysis and subsequent revision of this policy, the more comprehensive New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy (NZMSIS) was introduced in 2014. The overarching objective of this strategy was to "seek to mitigate as many

potential integration barriers as possible so that immigrants have the opportunity to...make New Zealand their home, participate fully, and contribute to all aspects of New Zealand life" (Immigration New Zealand, 2014, p. 1). This whole-of-government strategy sets out settlement objectives for collaboration across many government service agencies. The five measureable settlement and integration outcomes are; Employment, Education and Training, English language, Inclusion, and Health and Wellbeing.

As is evident in these objectives and preferred outcomes, the New Zealand government seeks to mitigate any social barriers through access to social services that immigrants may face when integrating into New Zealand. However, it could be debated that overall the government devolve responsibility to the immigrant themselves rather than societal obstacles to integration, which is a prominent discourse of the right-wing National Government which enacted this policy.

Discourse of national identity in New Zealand policy is very strong (Lyons, Madden, Chamberlain, & Carr, 2011; Simon-Kumar, 2014; Skilling, 2012). Lyons et al. (2011, p. 14) offer that "Notions of New Zealand as 'one society', as English speaking, and as English looking participants constructed New Zealand and New Zealand identity in particular ways". This is supported by Skilling (2012) who quotes "Constructions of national identity are not descriptions of fact but political arguments in which political actors present their particular interests as constitutive of the goals and values of 'the nation'" (p. 365).

New Zealand is distinctive among the three traditional countries of immigration in that emphasis is placed on biculturalism (rather than multiculturalism) despite increasing ethnic and cultural diversity. Among the three countries, New Zealand's indigenous population comprises the largest share of the total population (16%), (Statistics New Zealand, 2018a), compared to 3.3% in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018a), and 0.06% in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2018a) and has the most prominent role in debates about the salience of indigenous populations and immigration policy (Bedford, 2003).

National identity is based on bi-culturalism in respect of The Treaty of Waitangi (1840), signed between indigenous Maori and the British Colonists (Sibley & Ward, 2013). Accordingly, and despite the fact that New Zealand is demographically multicultural, it's political and policy foundations are framed with the aid of its commitments to biculturalism (Simon-Kumar, 2014). New Zealand does not have an official legislative multicultural policy, however Fleras (2009) and Ward and Masgoret (2008) suggest that New Zealand is a 'de facto' multicultural nation. MIPEX (2015) suggests that New Zealand could be more ambitious on multiculturalism and that New Zealand's standards on multiculturalism and non-discrimination could be better targeted to the requirements of immigrant groups.

There is a lack of academic or political literature on civic identity in New Zealand[2]. The literature is dominated by writing on national and cultural identity; it appears, at the expense of civic identity. This is somewhat perplexing as New Zealand rates very highly on the MIPEX scale for access to nationality (71) and political participation (74), both of which are indicators of a strong sense of civic identity. For more comparisons of these indicators refer to Appendix 2. For more information about civic integration, refer to Appendix 3.

MIPEX Scores – New Zealand		
Indicator	**Score**	**Rank**
Overall	70	3/38
Political Participation	74	4/38
Access to Nationality	71	4/38

2.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to introduce the immigration and integration policy perspective into the discussion of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Based on theories of national and civic identity using exemplars from the three traditional immigrant receiving countries of Australia, Canada and New Zealand it has highlighted how these theories play out in immigration policy formation. An overarching conclusion could be argued to be that countries that

[2] There are of course some who write about civic identity in New Zealand cf. Kate McMillan, but not as prolific as publications on national identity.

promote a civic identity over national identity will have better success in integrating immigrants in the short-term.

National identity involves feelings of belonging to, and attitudes towards, the larger society and is overtly referred to in immigration and integration policies. This can be problematic as concepts of national identity can promote negative attitudes towards people who are not ascribed that identity, including immigrants. Civic identity assumes a common patriotism toward historical and political standing of a nation and adoption of a common political culture and ideology of that nation which is often a core part of immigration policy.

Several common policy changes have been noted in Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014). Earlier forms of immigration policy focussed on admitting immigrants based on characteristics of their race or country of origin. In contemporary immigration policy admittance into a country is no longer influenced by a migrants' race or country of origin, more so by the contribution their education and skillset can assist in labour market shortages. There are of course differences in these broader trends depending on policy levers and national economic conditions. For example in New Zealand policy is centralised, whereas in Australia and Canada have divested some authority to their states and provinces, respectively (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014).

Immigration policy provides a framework for immigration pathways and also provides support for the process of social and economic settlement. This is an important mechanism for managing the perceived impact of immigration on the local economy and culture. Therefore, policy not only sets the legal requirements for admission and settling into a country, but also plays an important role in influencing positive environment for immigration. This is important to acknowledge because shifts in policy change the social and cultural make up of any given society and therefore the attitudes held by the native-born population.

Of the countries examined in this chapter, all have previously acknowledged that in order for immigration to be a positive experience, the immigrant must be able to successfully integrate into the receiving country. This acknowledgement has

influenced the formulation of modern integration and multicultural policies in these countries - which have been argued to lead to positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

This chapter signalled the salience of MIPEX data in this field of attitudes towards immigrant's and immigration. MIPEX measures and compares the outcomes of immigrant integration across 38 developed countries. The investigation conducted for the purpose of this chapter used MIPEX scores to evaluate the success of integration policies. Immigrants' political opportunities differ enormously from country-to-country. Generally in Australia and New Zealand, immigrants enjoy greater voting rights, and a greater propensity for naturalisation – promoting a civic identity. Political participation policies are further ahead in Australia and New Zealand than in Canada. It was also revealed that of the three countries examined, New Zealand rates very favourably in overall integration scores. New Zealand ranks 3rd out of 38 countries (score 70) in the world for successful integration policy, Canada 6th (68), Australia 8th (66). With these countries all sharing similar immigration policy (admission based on potential economic contribution to the receiving economy), and integration policy (the salience of mutual respect and responsibility between the immigrant and native-born) it could be timely to understand what has, and what has not worked in their respective policies and to encourage cross-country conversations about methods for improving integration policy.

This current chapter has focused on discussing immigration and integration policy in order to set the backdrop for the subsequent study of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The proceeding two chapters will introduce the reader to two prominent bodies of theory which relate to this topic: economic threat and social psychological (or cultural threat) theories. Proponents of these two theories often claim that one is more salient than the other when referring to the formation of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Following these two chapters the thesis moves to a discussion of the terminological and methodological diversity in research on attitudes to immigrants and immigration and then a conclusion on the key findings of this research.

3 Economic Threat Theory

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the implications of immigrant integration and multicultural policy on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. This is one of a multitude of factors which have shaped, formed or influenced attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. This current chapter will provide a narrative review of one of the most influential and widely held assumptions about the impacts of immigration – economic threat theory.

Many studies argue that there is a complex interaction between economic and cultural factors and that they must be considered in unison for accurate results when studying attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015; Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Dancygier & Donnelly, 2013; Mayda, 2006; Sides & Citrin, 2007). These studies suggest that attitudes are often formed on the basis of ethnocentrism and sociotropic concerns (Dancygier & Donnelly, 2013; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010), and that isolating individual economic circumstances alone are not sufficient. Whilst others argue that solely economic concerns are central to anti-immigrant attitudes, therefore they must be studied in isolation (Dustmann & Preston, 2004; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). This chapter will follow this latter line of thought to interrogate the economic factors that influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Matters of cultural concern will be addressed in Chapter 4.

There are common questions about the economic threat that immigration presents on native-born populations which is common across societies: Do individuals feel economically threatened by the presence of immigrants in the labour force? Do individuals perceive that immigrants reduce the wages of native-born populations due to labour market competition? Or are anxieties more about

sociotropic factors such as the effect that immigration has on GDP or the welfare system that stimulate anti-immigrant attitudes? In Australia the common perception of economic threat are fears about the competition for resources such as employment, crime, education and the tax burden that immigrants are perceived to evoke - and threat to political and economic power (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Mughan & Paxton, 2006). Similarly, in the Canadian context threat to economic (e.g., "When immigrants make economic gains, Canadians already living here lose out economically") and political power (e.g., "The more power immigrants obtain in Canada, the more difficult it is for Canadians already living here") were found to be highly influential in determining attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001).

These questions posed above about economic threats will be addressed in this chapter to assist in a deeper understanding of the economic drivers of negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. There are many claims about the economic value of immigration; for example, Canadians are reported to support immigration primarily due to the belief that immigration contributes positively to the economy, not only for meeting labour shortfalls, but as a source of economic stimulus (Reitz, 2012). Hodgson and Poot (2010) found in their synthesis of New Zealand research on the economic impacts of immigration that immigration has made a positive contribution to the economic environment in New Zealand and found very little support for perceived economic threats such as how net fiscal costs, lower wages, and increasing unemployment can affect attitudes. However, this chapter will offer findings from theory which generates anti-immigrant attitudes as this is more helpful to make positive political and social change.

A number of recent studies have failed to generate any form of consensus regarding the questions posed above. As the following chapters will outline, some researchers claim that micro-level (individual) factors are more central to the process of attitude formation whilst others claim that macro-level (national) threats are more pertinent. This chapter will isolate and expand upon economic accounts that address these micro and macro-level factors, providing evidence from recent literature based on a range of data sets and methodology.

Arguments about the economic dimensions of immigration are often framed in opposing ways as having either negative or positive labour market consequences, for example that immigrants provide competition for a given number of jobs or that immigration creates jobs. Similar negative versus positive consequences have been found in previous literature about the effects of immigration on the national economy by means of GDP and taxes, welfare and social services. Such contentions have been extensively explored in the economic literature (Dustmann & Preston, 2004; Longhi, Nijkamp, & Poot, 2010; Mayda, 2006) and will also be investigated in this chapter.

What is not contested, is that immigration has an economic effect on individuals, regions and countries – whether positive or negative. The economic effect is primarily due to the impact that immigration has on the size and composition of the labour force of the receiving country (Facchini & Mayda, 2008; Longhi et al., 2010; Malhotra, Margalit, & Mo, 2013; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). For decades, the role of economic factors influencing, shaping and forming attitudes towards immigrants and immigration have been subject of debate in public, political and academic domains (cf. Macarthur, 1909; Tosti, 1905). The fact that this has been a subject of interest for many decades and that there appears to be no consensus to date makes it a salient subject in need of attention. Whilst this chapter is not designed to provide any definitive answers, it will attempt to provide a narrative review of the common theory and discourse surrounding the economic threat perspective on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Finally, this chapter will attend to the lack of consensus by critiquing the variety of cross-country surveys and the dominance of quantitative data used in the economic dimensions of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

3.2 Micro-level Analysis

To provide further clarity, for the purpose of this chapter economic threat theory has been categorised into micro and macro-level factors to mirror individual (personal) and situational (national) determinants of attitude formation. Any attempt to arrive at a consensus on the economic determinants of anti-immigrant attitudes requires an isolation of the different constructs of labour market

competition theory (O'Rourke & Sinnot, 2006). This section will discuss the different constructs of labour market competition theory by separating the key micro-level constructs of wages and skill level, in order to attain insights, and associations with what has been found in previous studies.

3.2.1 Wages.

A large body of public opinion holds that immigrants take jobs from native-born populations and suppress their wages (Card, Dustmann, & Preston, 2005; Citrin, Green, Muste, & Wong, 1997), yet many economists disagree (Fuller & Geide-Stevenson, 2014). Although it may seem logical to make assumptions about supply and demand, such as that increased levels of immigration will affect the supply of labour (therefore there may be an oversupply of labour increasing unemployment rates and a decrease in wages) there are alternative views to this argument. One differing view is that the economy responds to immigration by increasing the demand for labour by means of increased demand for goods and services consumed by immigrants (Dustmann & Preston, 2004). On an individual level, public perception of this impact can be very polarising and can be seen as a result of current (and increasing) levels of international immigration, and a perceived economic threat as a result of these levels.

In addition, the law of supply and demand asserts that increasing the supply of labour in any given economy will reduce wages of workers (Citrin et al., 1997; Longhi et al., 2010). This too has been contested by economists and other scholars, who interrogate attitudes towards immigrants and immigration from an economic perspective. It is commonly noted in the literature that the effect of immigration on the wages of native-born populations varies widely between studies, and at times within studies (Longhi et al., 2010; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). In their summary of previous meta-analyses[3] (of many countries) of the labour market impacts of immigration, Longhi et al. (2010) found that the consequences of immigration have an adverse effect on wages and unemployment. Whilst (Hainmueller, Hiscox, et al., 2015) conclude via their own survey experiment, using

[3] For descriptions of methods of analysis used throughout this thesis, refer to Appendix 6

Specific Factor (SP) and Factor Proportion (FP) modes, that the impacts are very negligible or inconclusive. According to Poot and Cochrane (2005), who reviewed 18 international papers on the economic effects of immigration, fears that immigration may lower wages are overestimated, and the reality is that while small, effects actually cluster around zero. This claim is supported by Card et al. (2005) and Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010) who used simple regression analysis methodologies to examine European Social Survey (ESS)[4] and American survey data respectively[5]. Analysing these arguments I assert that due to methodological modelling differences and the variety of cross-country data sources used, there is uncertainty about the causal relationships involved. Should the cross-country comparisons and variation in modelling continue, there will always be relational uncertainty around the link between wages and attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

The lack of synergy in the findings presented in this section makes the establishment of conclusive claims challenging. The impacts of immigration on wages has been found to be a) adverse[6] b) negligible or inconclusive and c) overestimated and the effects cluster around zero. This is not surprising however when considering that the literature cited has been generated from over 50 countries, using over 12 vastly different data sets and countless modes of economic analysis. For a more details of data sources cited in the literature, refer to Appendix 4.

3.2.2 Skills.

Some researchers have argued that the effect of labour market competition on wages will in fact depend on the skill composition of both native-born populations and immigrants. Therefore, one could assume that competition for employment and consequently a higher wage will depend on individual skill level. Card et al. (2005) claim that lower skilled workers oppose immigration based on the assumption that more immigrants would pose a threat to the opportunity for

[4] For a description of data sources used in the literature refer to Appendix 4
[5] No further explanation of what American survey data was used in this article
[6] Even when they are adverse, these impacts tend to be small, short-lived and localised (Goldin et al., 2018)

higher wages. They make this claim based on ESS data. This is echoed by Facchini and Mayda (2008) whom use ESS data and multilevel regression analysis (MRA) to claim that "Analysing the size and skill composition of the immigrant population is crucial to explaining the preferences of natives towards immigration" (p.6).

When operationalising labour market competition theory, it is alleged that when immigrants and native-born populations are perfect complements for each other in the labour market, then the perceived threat can be less than if they were competing for the same jobs. If on average, immigrants are less skilled than native-born populations, then there should be less competition for labour, however conversely, should the skill levels of immigrants be higher than that of the native-born, then there may be a perceived threat. The former is found by Ben-Nun Bloom et al. (2015) who use ESS data and multi-level equation modelling assert that "Those who are materially threatened prefer immigrants who are different from themselves who can be expected not to compete for the same resources" (p.1760). This claim is also supported by Malhotra et al. (2013) who, using survey data from America and multivariate analysis, found that native-born populations will be most opposed to immigrants with skills levels similar to their own. In regard to the situation whereby skill levels of immigrants are higher, Facchini and Mayda (2008) assert that this is the perfect environment for negative attitudes to manifest. In stark contrast to both of these arguments, Dustmann and Preston (2004), based on British Social Attitudes Survey data and using multiple factor analysis, find no evidence that labour market competition amongst low skilled native-born workers, leads to opposition to immigration.

Mayda (2006) proposes that labour market competition plays a key and robust role in studying attitudes towards immigrants and immigration based on survey data from 21 developed countries. The key finding in Mayda's (2006) paper is that native-born populations will be more favourable to immigrants who have a skill set dissimilar to their own, whilst the converse also applies – natives who have similar skill sets to immigrants will present less favourable attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. O'Rourke and Sinnot (2006) take this argument one-step further claiming that high skilled native-born populations are less opposed to

immigrants and immigration in general than low skilled native-born populations, and add that the effect is greater in richer countries than poorer countries. They do so using survey data from 24 (undisclosed) developed countries and Heckscher-Ohlin model of analysis.

Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010) have studied American attitudes towards both high skilled and low skilled immigrants. These authors argue that this has been a critical omission in this labour market competition debate. These authors challenge the widely held view that native-born populations will mostly be opposed to immigrants with a skill set similar to their own. In contrast, they found that both high skilled and low skilled natives prefer high skilled over low skilled immigrants. These authors also note that these responses do not change according to employment status (i.e full-time/part-time/casual).

In opposition to this argument, Scheve and Slaughter (2001) (also using American data and a mix of FP, Heckscher-Ohlin and area-analysis models) find no evidence of a strong relationship between anti-immigrant attitudes and the level of skill of native-born populations. Thus said, they found that less skilled native-born populations are more likely to hold anti-immigration attitudes.

The skill set argument is further broken down by Dancygier and Donnelly (2013) and Malhotra et al., (2013) who claim that the skill set of either group is not important, and that a more comprehensive analysis of skills would need to include a focus on particular industries or sectors rather than a general sweep of skills. These studies found that when analysis was further broken down into industry or sectors, rather than a blanket observation of any type of job, that the results are quite different. For example, if the sector in which the respondent belongs to is a growing sector (IT is a good example of this), then attitudes towards immigrants and immigration will be more favourable, whilst if the respondent is employed in a shrinking sector, then fear of labour market competition is heightened and attitudes will be less favourable.

3.2 Macro-level Analysis

The theories presented above represent attitudes towards immigrants and immigration from a micro-level analysis or self-interest perspective. However, moving away from the labour market competition theory toward a macro-level sociotropic approach, this section breaks down the effects of the national economy and GDP, taxes, welfare and social services on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration - which are equally important and generate a similar level of contention in the findings.

3.2.1 National economy and GDP.

It remains unclear whether immigration affects the GDP of a country positively, negatively, or if it has no impact at all (OECD/ILO, 2018). Despite this lack of clarity, several authors make connections with the level of GDP in the country under investigation and attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Barcelo, 2016; Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Mayda, 2006). These authors comment that the current economic conditions of the country in question will play a pivotal role in determining attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The claim advanced by these authors is that if GDP is high, then attitudes towards immigrants and immigration will be more positive than if GDP is low. This illuminates the individual versus sociotropic debate. In this instance, the research suggests that individuals hold more concern for the macro-level economic status (sociotropic) of a country rather than an individual micro-level concern (Sides & Citrin, 2007).

Moreover, Dancygier and Donnelly (2013); (OECD, 2010) and OECD (2010) claim that the national economic context matters immensely. They assert that large exogenous financial shocks such as the 2008 Global Financial Crisis have an effect on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration at the macro-level. They demonstrate this pattern through analysis that at the sector-level; inflows of immigrants have little effect on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration when economies are expanding, but this changes rather rapidly when economic conditions deteriorate and confidence in the economy wanes. This argument is partly supported by (Burns & Gimpel, 2000), who agree that anti-immigrant attitudes are expressed less intensely during times of national economic

prosperity yet claim that cultural motivations are more important than economic motivations in explaining attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, which will be explored further in Chapter 4.

3.2.2 Taxes, welfare and social services.

Of critical concern when exploring macro-level economic theory and its relationship with attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, is the debate about immigrants' contribution to tax revenue (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010; Sides & Citrin, 2007) and use of public services (such as education, health or welfare assistance) (Poot & Cochrane, 2005).

Some researchers make the claim that immigrants place a burden on the tax system (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010). This argument is based on the view that immigrants consume many of the social service provisions made available to the public, yet have not contributed equally for the provision of such service by means of paying taxes. For example, if we consider a 45 year old native-born person who has been paying income tax for 30 years, this person may express anti-immigrant sentiments when they observe newly arrived immigrants consuming these services - which essentially have been paid for by the native-born population. Sides and Citrin (2007) look at the results from the 2002-03 ESS and in particular the perceived economic impact of immigration. The question asked was "Most people who come to live here work and pay taxes. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, do you think people who come here take out more than they put in or put in more than they take out?" The results showed that 47% of respondents believed that immigrants took out more (social services) than were put into (taxes). There is a pejorative element to this question and consequent result, which may induce negative attitudes towards those whom are perceived to 'draw out' more than is 'put into' the system.

Hainmueller and Hopkins (2010) dispute this using American and European survey data respectively. Both claim that there is no evidence that immigration poses a taxes-based fiscal threat to the economy. They prefer the view that native-born populations should be more concerned about an immigration-induced erosion of

spending. This tax debate has been summarised in an OECD report on "Public Opinions and Immigration" (2010) claiming that:

> "On the one hand, the impact of low-skilled immigration on the funding of social protection will be felt more by high earners, who are most likely to be paying higher income taxes. On the other hand, if the level of funding remains the same, low-skilled immigration is liable to result in reduced benefits for native-born workers with low incomes" p. 124.

Card et al. (2005) argue that such a self-interest argument suggests that native-born residents could be expected to oppose inflows of immigrant groups who pay less in taxes than they receive in benefits, and support immigration by groups who will pay more in taxes than they will receive in benefits. On the other hand, natives may resent the claims made on health and social services by immigrants who are not seen to have contributed adequately to their funding, fuelling anti-immigrant sentiment. But as the OECD (2010) claims, hostile attitudes may still reign regardless whether or not the immigrant has adequately contributed toward these social benefits:

> Preferences about immigrants' right to benefit from a social protection system can generally be put down to individual characteristics. Table II.5 [not illustrated] first of all shows, quite logically, that people who think that immigrants are net beneficiaries of the social protection system are more hostile to the idea of them receiving social benefits, whether as a matter of course or even after they have worked and paid taxes for a year (p. 134).

Similarly, Mayda (2005) agrees that an important economic factor shaping people's stance on immigration is the perceived impact immigration has on the welfare state. In some receiving countries immigrants are likely to be at the bottom of the income distribution, which makes them probable beneficiaries of costly welfare programmes and small contributors to taxes. This in turn will affect native-born people's individual contributions to, and benefits from, the welfare state and therefore their attitudes toward immigrants.

As highlighted above, there is much contention about the perceived economic determinants of anti-immigrant attitudes. I argue that much of the contention could be a result of the variety of data sets and methodologies used to conclude the above arguments. One can't help but wonder if similar data sets and

methodology were employed to study the same phenomenon, would the results be more conclusive. The following section discusses this line of thought in more depth.

3.3 Discussion of Data Sources Used

Many studies cast doubt over economic threat theory as a result of the uncertainty around the interpretation of the evidence used to support its key claims, or the weak relationship between attitudes towards immigrants and immigration and economic threat theory (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Hainmueller, Hiscox, et al., 2015).

One explanation for the inconclusive evidence surrounding economic theory can be attributed to the methods of data collection and analysis which will also be discussed in a more specific manner in Chapter 6. Studies which examine economic concerns about attitudes towards immigrants and immigration typically use cross-country administrative data. Cross-country analysis does not come without its flaws (Card et al., 2005; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). It is not easy to measure, and even more difficult to compare attitudes towards immigrants and immigration across countries and cultures as the underlying concepts may differ across countries (Rother, 2005). Aggregation of individual items may produce ambiguous results when conducting cross-country comparisons of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

The majority of the literature cited in this chapter has used cross-country survey data that asks questions about attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in very ambiguous terms. In these surveys respondents are asked questions such as "Do you think the levels of immigration in your country are; too high, too low, or about right?" or "Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?" These questions are very vague and pose many problems. For example, do the respondents have sufficient knowledge about current levels of immigration or the national economy to suitably answer such a question? In addition, due to differing patterns of immigration and historical, political and social contexts of each country, when

asking the same question across different countries, are the responses valid? Whilst the use of cross-country data is not uncommon nor discreditable, I argue, that it does afford questionability of the application of its use.

One final critique that I would like to make is the overuse of quantitative data to explore perceptions of threat, relating these directly from fixed survey responses. While qualitative inquiry is uncommon in economic research, a deeper investigation into the nuanced understanding and beliefs about the perceived economic threat could reveal some otherwise unrevealed responses.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented current debate around economic theory relating to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The findings have been mixed and inconclusive. Against those studies who find support for economic threat theory (Mayda, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001), other studies refute this theory claiming that economic threat theory casts only weak (or non-existent) relationships between attitudes towards immigrants and immigration and economic threat (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Dustmann & Preston, 2004; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Hainmueller, Hiscox, et al., 2015; Sides & Citrin, 2007).

There appears to be no definitive answers to the questions posed at the start of this chapter. Some authors argue that immigration has negative consequences for the labour market as the mere presence of immigrants elicits concerns for raising unemployment and lowering of wages, yet others argue that immigration has a positive effect on the labour market as immigration creates jobs through the law of supply and demand. Others suggest that the size and skill composition of the immigrant population is crucial to this argument, while others contend that if immigrants have complementary skill sets then the perceived threat by their presence is lessened, and attitudes are more favourable. Another argument contends that the native-born prefer immigrants who possess very different skill sets than their own, so are not seen to be competing for the same resources, while others contend that native-born populations simply prefer high skilled over low skilled immigrants regardless of perceived threat.

According to the literature, the effects of GDP and the state of the national economy on attitudes remains undecided. Economic threat is turbulent due to the prevailing effects and changing nature of the national economy (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015; Burns & Gimpel, 2000). A common finding in the literature was that when the state of the national economy is positive, then so are attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. It is not advisable here to make general conclusions as so many of the economic impacts of immigration are specific to time and place.

The economic drivers of anti-immigrant attitudes cannot be explained by a singular or undisputable claim. The outcomes depend on a range of immigrant and country specific variables, and the data and methodology used to explore them (Goldin et al., 2018). Much of the ambiguity in the findings could be explained by the variations in data collection and analysis methods. Many of the studies cited employ the use of pre-existing cross-country administrative data. This data contains generic questions not specifically designed to draw upon attitudes towards immigrants and immigration per se. This can be problematic as the questions are not designed for the specific purpose at hand, rather for very general social survey purposes. Furthermore, the variance in analysis techniques compound the effects of inconclusive findings. Finally, the inclusion of in-depth qualitative methods could substantially advance understandings of this phenomena.

Future research could benefit from researchers constructing their own fit-for-purpose, single country, mixed-method (qualitative and quantitative) methodology as opposed to utilising very general and ambiguous nationally and internationally representative social surveys, potentially advancing our knowledge base considerably. As will become clear in the next chapter, similar issues are apparent in accounts of cultural threats which have been argued to influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration from a social psychological perspective.

4 Social Psychological Theory

4.1 Introduction

Today, diversity is an increasing characteristic of many societies. Living in diverse societies frequently requires the ability to understand and traverse across difference. Diversity can relate to country of birth, language, religion, class, gender, education, and employment among other social differences. How do we make sense of these social differences? And what impact do these social differences have on the way in which feelings of threat to the preservation, strength or status of any of these differences are induced? Do such threats influence whether immigrants are either welcomed or rejected by the native-born population - or ultimately how does prejudice affect our attitudes towards immigrants and immigration? These questions will be explored in this chapter and will be supported by the theoretical frameworks of contact and identity theories.

As identified in the previous chapter, economic threat theory posits one main causal factor of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. In contrast to economic theory, socio-psychological theory is more complex in that it contains many mid-range theories under the larger umbrella of social psychological theory. While multifaceted by nature, the theory and findings in relation to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration from a socio-psychological orientation are less contradictory than economic threat theory. Also worthy of note is that any contradictions are not necessarily about the methods applied in social-psychology, rather the theory.

The key concern for social psychology is to develop an understanding of everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2010), and in the context of this thesis, the challenges of living in increasingly diverse societies. When using this framework to understand determinants of anti-immigrant attitudes, typical questions include: Are

immigrants perceived to pose a threat to the national, social or cultural identities of the receiving country? Do they diminish the strength of the dominant culture and the accompanying ideologies, diluting the social make-up which has been created over the course of multiple generations? Or do they enhance the culture of the receiving country, offering the addition of new cultural norms, values, cuisine, religion, and ways of life? Individual responses to such questions may be key manifestations of attitudinal outcomes, however it is how these individual responses relate to a greater social psychological vision that is more pertinent within this unified theory.

This chapter will pay attention to several of the major theories referred to in contemporary social psychological literature; contact theory and its derivatives, and identity theory and its derivatives that focus on national, social and ethnic identities. Contact theory is helpful to explain the numerous attitudinal outcomes associated with contact with an out-group - or in this case, immigrants. For example, contact theory holds that if contact with immigrants is voluntary then attitudes are likely to more positive, whilst if the contact is involuntary, the outcomes are more likely to be negative. In addition, identity theory assists in understanding the importance of how, and with whom, one identifies themselves with as this can have an impact on who is and is not accepted into particular groups and larger society.

For example, perceptions about immigrants' impact on aspects of national identity and culture - especially those related to language - have proven influential (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). For instance, if immigrants who speak the native language are preferred for admission, is that because of their perceived ability to acculturate readily, or the reduction in the cultural threat they pose? Conversely, are immigrants who have little desire to adopt the norms, customs and values of the receiving country a concern because they possibly erode the dominant culture, or is it because of cultural conceptions about the centrality and importance of knowing how to be a native?

Firstly, this chapter will begin with and explanation of how prejudice is formed which provides a foundation for the following sections. Secondly, this chapter will

cover contact and identity theories and derivatives of each to help understand how attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are shaped, formed or influenced. Thirdly, it will provide an introduction to acculturation strategies to gain a broader understanding about the choices immigrants make regarding retaining or surrendering their identities in order to integrate into the receiving country, along with a critique of acculturation theory. Finally, the chapter finishes with a discussion of how these theories come together to conclude the narrative review from a social-psychological perspective.

4.2 Prejudice – An Extreme Stereotype

"No corner of the world is free from scorn. Being fettered to our respective cultures, we……are bundles of prejudice" (Allport, 1954, p. 4).

Gordon Allport's book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), has been one of the most influential accounts of the characteristics of prejudice. Allport suggests that a prejudicial thought must contain three elements; Firstly, one makes rational decisions based on their inherent *values*. Therefore, prejudice will inherently be based on our values. Secondly, there must be an *attitude* - whether it be positive or negative, and thirdly, this attitude must be related to an overgeneralised *belief*. Therefore, it can be said that prejudice arises from our values (what we hold dear), beliefs (what we perceive as true) and attitudes (the product of the accumulation of values and beliefs). For more information on what is an attitude, refer to Appendix 5.

Allport (1954) continues that prejudice is formed due to association with an in-group, and its separation from the out-group. Basically, people prefer to associate with their own kind or as Allport calls it a "conscious of kind". People tend to associate with, and live in, homogeneous groups, unconsciously forming an in-group for which the term 'we' holds a collective significance (Allport, 1954). Allport further suggests that under appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact is one of the best ways to improve relationships between the in-group and out-group(s). Appropriate conditions include: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, authority sanction, and personal interaction. Rather than viewing

each of these conditions independently, these should be conceived as interrelated factors that operate jointly to promote positive intergroup relations.

Many of the facets of prejudice have nothing to do with hostility, rather convenience or human laziness (Allport, 1954). According to Allport (1954), it is simply easier to associate with those who are similar to us as it requires less effort to do so. Take the use of language for example. If there are two groups of people in the room whom speak different languages, it will be much easier to communicate with those whom speak the same language as you, and to exclude the other group as this requires less effort. The foreign-language speakers often prefer to remain separate so that they do not have to speak the 'other' language. Hence, prejudice is a two-way street. It is not always the in-group that force the out-group to remain separate; it can be generated from both groups. At this point we must be conscious of who is accountable for the presence of negative attitudes.

As noted, Allport (1954) asserts that individuals or groups seek the comfort of confining themselves to the close relationships of their own kind, hence, by default and often unconsciously, groups tend to remain separate. This notion can be explained by the value of ease, least effort, congeniality, and pride in one's own culture. According to Allport, these notions exaggerate the degree of difference between groups which consequently creates a misunderstanding for the separateness, leading to prejudice.

When we hold prejudicial thoughts, they often manifest in relation to a real or perceived threat (Quillian, 1995). Due to the fear of threat, these thoughts are often over-generalised and intensified, and are often not the product of an actual event or reality. Such thoughts could include claims that 'All Muslims are terrorists'. This type of prejudicial thought or articulation can be enduring and long-lasting (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015; Burns & Gimpel, 2000). We can become resistant to change as these prejudicial thoughts can stimulate our values, beliefs and attitudes, some of which have been entrenched from a young age by means of familial association, socialisation and identity formation.

Interestingly, one may not have had physical contact with a person or group to have already formed an opinion or preconception before meeting them (Allport, 1954). Allport provides an example of children who live in Guatemala. In Guatemala there are no Jewish people so the children had never come into contact with a person who identifies as Jewish, but the notion that Jewish people were "Christ-killers" was indoctrinated into the students' psyche so much so that they all formed a prejudice against Jews (Allport, 1954). This confirms the notion that prejudice can be formed on a *belief* or perception, as opposed to actual experience.

Prejudice builds the foundations for attitudes towards people or groups, however, it has been argued that prejudice is largely a function of group position (Quillian, 1995). Group position, or how groups perceive themselves in comparison to other groups (particularly in-group versus out-groups) is central to social psychology theory. The socio-psychological theoretical explanations of how attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are shaped, formed or influenced will be addressed in the next section.

4.3 Contact Theory

Contributions from the socio-psychological field suggest that the level and type of contact with immigrants plays a pivotal role in determining attitudes. However, it is not reliant on just contact itself – it is the nature and quality of the contact that is most important (Crawley, 2005). Some scholars argue that those who are in frequent and voluntary contact with immigrants report reduced prejudice and diminished perceptions of threat and therefore tend to be more accepting of immigration (Barcelo, 2016; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011; Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Leong and Ward (2010) and Nijkamp & Poot (2012) take this one step further suggesting that frequent contact can foster tolerance for diversity and social solidarity. In addition, these authors claim that acceptance of diversity reduces ethnocentric attitudes and nurtures trust. Coupled with higher levels of trust, and lower perception of threat an association with more positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration was found in these studies.

Attitudes and contact recursively influence each other. On one hand, positive contact can lead to positive attitudes. On the other hand negative attitudes can affect the quality of the contact. Pettigrew et al. (2011) examined the causal direction of the link between contact and attitudes. They explore how contact can lead to attitudes, and how negative attitudes can be reduced with contact. They found that both links were significant and operate at roughly equal strength and that contact is routinely associated with less prejudice. Thereby, proposing (akin to Masgoret & Ward, 2008) that increased contact leads to more favourable outcomes of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

4.3.1 Intergroup contact theory.

Intergroup contact theory can be defined as "face-to-face interaction between members of clearly defined groups" (Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010, p. 287). At its core is group contact, and how contact between members of different groups may elicit more positive intergroup attitudes. The basic tenets are that under the appropriate conditions (as avowed by Allport, 1954), interaction between two groups should lead to more favourable attitudes between the groups. Therefore, intergroup contact is one of the most effective means of reducing prejudice.

Rustenbach (2010) calls intergroup contact theory into doubt claiming that many natives do not know enough about the ethnic roots of the immigrant population, nor do they have an accurate account of the volume of immigrants in their country to uphold their perceived threat hypothesis – emphasising the notion of type versus level (quantity). However, as discussed in the previous section, there can be contrasting effects of contact – at times reducing prejudicial thoughts, whilst under some conditions heightening prejudicial thought. Thus, the inverse, or negative version of contact theory is group threat theory (Barcelo, 2016; Quillian, 1995).

4.3.2 Group threat theory.

Group threat theory has proven to be beneficial in seeking to explain how negative attitudes of members of both in and out-groups can be shaped, formed or influenced. Put simply, group threat theory emphasises the perception of threat posed to the in-group, by the presence of an out-group. It is useful in explaining

the real and perceived (experienced or imagined) threats and competition and how these may manifest into negative attitudes (Barcelo, 2016; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Group threat theory highlights the crucial importance of a notion of 'our' race or nationality, and the 'other' race or nationality in the formation of prejudice (Quillian, 2006) – to put simply – 'us' versus 'them'.

Johnston et al. (2010) and Ward and Masgoret (2006) find Allport's former speculation that contact reduces prejudice to be less than helpful in explaining attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Instead, these authors argue that inter-group contact in workplaces, social situations and communities reduces perceptions of threat as opposed to prejudicial thought.

Theorising from a New Zealand perspective, Ward and Masgoret (2006) take a personal level versus a situational level approach to group threat theory. They argue that at the personal level, those who have a positive attitude toward diversity infer a sense of decreased threat by contact and therefore more favourable attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. At the situational level, they found that increased contact with immigrants led to less intergroup anxiety and in turn a lessened perception of threat.

The group threat theory hypothesises that the quantity of contact between different groups will have an impact on the attitudes held by each of these groups. This has been the subject of debate for many decades with some scholars arguing that frequent contact with immigrants reduces negative attitudes (Barcelo, 2016; Pettigrew et al., 2011), while others argue that no matter how frequent the contact between groups, contact still magnifies the social and cultural differences between groups (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Nijkamp & Poot, 2012) thus influencing negative attitudes.

Similarly, Johnston et al. (2010) find that those who live in regions of New Zealand with a high density of immigrants hold more positive immigration attitudes, than those who live in areas that have low density of immigration. Correspondingly, anti-immigrant sentiments are believed to be stronger amongst those who have little or infrequent contact with immigrants.

Allport (1954) speculated that;

> Migration of a visibly different group into any given area increases the likelihood of conflict; the probability of conflict is the greater if a) the ratio of the incoming minority is larger than the resident population, and (b) the more rapid the influx. (p. 227).

This is supported by Barcelo (2016) who found that as the size of the out-group increases (and especially if this happens swiftly), then the cultural hegemony of the in-group will be perceived to be under threat, thus producing unfavourable attitudes. However, Barcelo also argues that when the influx occurs gradually, and the out-group has sufficient time to integrate, then group tensions will be lessened.

4.3.3 Critique of contact theories.

As has been reiterated throughout this thesis, there are conflicting findings when studying theory relating to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, and variations of the contact theory are no exception to this rule. The difference in this theory to others highlighted in this thesis is that the complex findings are not an outcome of data source or methodology, rather the theoretical foundation from which the phenomenon has been studied from. For example, as noted above in group threat theory, Barcelo (2016) and Allport (1954) discuss how positive attitudes can be influenced by the ratio and speed of immigrants entering the population. However this does not hold true in all instances. Take for example the work from the Chicago School of urban sociology on invasion and succession in the ethnic makeup of neighbourhoods (Park and Burgess 1925), and literature on segregation and white flight (Crowder & South, 2008) which highlight that regardless of size of a newly arriving group, people (especially majority-ethnic middle class) do not necessarily remain in an area to form intimate group relationships.

Contact has been shown to be of great importance in facilitating the reduction of prejudice and promotion of more positive intergroup attitudes. There is a paradox however with intergroup contact and group threat theories: prejudice is at times explained as an outcome of lack of contact with the out-group and sometimes explained as the result of the presence of contact. The apparent contradiction

between intergroup contact theory and group conflict theory deserve attention here. Rather than contradict, Callens (2015) prefers to suggest that the theories complement each other, although on different levels. Group conflict theory operates at a more abstract level, while intergroup contact theory can counter negative attitudes at a more concrete or personal level. For example, the presence of large immigrant groups may elicit negative attitudes (group threat), but this negative effect is reduced or negated when natives had more contact with immigrants (intergroup contact).

It is worth noting here that there are scholars who are not entirely satisfied with the contact hypothesis claiming that is requires a 'reality check' (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005; Pettigrew et al., 2011). This claim is based on the idea that optimal contact is a utopian vision due to the point that all conditions of optimal contact rarely occur simultaneously, and that optimal contact glosses over the stark realities of everyday life, which is characterised by a range of social hierarchies and inequalities as well as impediments to contact. Furthermore, it has been argued that contact is often fleeting and superficial, meaning it is unlikely that long-term sustained attitudes and friendships will prevail (Chirkov, 2009; Pettigrew et al., 2011). The final limitation of contact theory which has been cited in the literature is that in societies with collections of entrenched prejudice, conditions for intergroup harmony have been difficult to create (Dixon et al., 2005) and the difficulty lies in the specific nature and consequences of a given set of historical, social and political contexts. In essence, proposers of contact theory need to lend more attention to the less-than-optimal conditions and to consider the wider social structures which influence prejudicial thought to overcome the prevalent utopian ideals of contact theory.

4.4 Identity Theories

Past social psychological and integration policy (as discussed in Chapter 2) research has strongly supported the view that attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are influenced by individuals' differences in their conception of social and national identity (Card et al., 2005; Grbic, 2010; Lyons et al., 2011; McAllister, 2018). This section will briefly discuss the theoretical underpinnings of three key

identity theory constructs: Social identity, national identity and ethnic identity when addressing attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

4.4.1 Social identity theory.

Social identity theory (from a social psychological perspective) asserts that people seek to maintain aspects of self-image, a positive personal identity, and social identity which is reinforced by comparing the favourable characteristics of the in-group against that of the out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Consequently, social identity theory hypothesises that a person's sense of who they are and how they fit into society is based on their group membership(s). Groups can be associated with family linkages, a team of people (for example work colleagues, or members of the same sports team), or social status which people belong to. These groups provide a sense of who we are and how we fit into the social world, and consequently provide an image or status with which one can identify with. This self-identity perpetuates the status of in-group (us) versus out-group (them).

Social identity theory postulates that the in-group will be hostile toward the out-group in order to enhance their own identity and maintain social dominance (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Furthermore, according to social identity theory, there is an innate tendency to favour the in-group and this is intensified when a strong emotional attachment to the in-group is present (Sides & Citrin, 2007). When discussing attitudes, it is often the case that a strong emotional attachment to the in-group is an inherent means of preserving social identities, not dissimilar to the facets of contact or national identity theories. Van Oudenhoven, Ward, and Masgoret (2006) argue that societies that support the maintenance of national identities while at the same time promoting a social identity report higher levels of tolerance for diversity and positive attitudes. Herein, a discussion on national identity follows.

4.4.2 National identity theory.

In all societies, creating and maintaining a shared sense of national identity is often deemed important, especially in societies with large proportions of immigrants (McAllister, 2018). According to social psychological theory, in its simplest form,

national identity involves feelings of belonging to, and attitudes towards, a larger society (Berry & Sam, 2006). This is slightly different to the national identity theory proposed in Chapter 2 where the theory is derived from a political science perspective. From a social psychological perspective, national identity is formed when a group of people share similar attributes relating to the nation-state and distinguishes between those who share these attributes and those who do not. National identity therefore, is based on certain individual aspects such as country of birth, ethnicity, language spoken and traditional values.

It is clear that such effects would impact the out-group negatively. The out-group (or immigrants) would be seen as not being able to share the same characteristics of the in-group and therefore hostility against the out-group arises reflexively. One would expect then, those who deem national identity to be of great importance to the wellbeing of the in-group to hold more negative attitudes toward the out-group.

Since the mere presence of the those from different countries of birth or ethnic backgrounds generates pressure for the maintenance of the identity of the in-group, it can be argued that perceived threat to one's national identity stems from the desire to maintain a distinct and positive national identity (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015).

4.4.3 Ethnic identity theory.

Broadly speaking, ethnic identity refers to a conception of oneself in relation to membership of a particular ethnic group (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). This ethnic group will share common characteristics such as histories, beliefs, traditions, language, and pertinent to this work; attitudes towards one's own ethnic group compared with other ethnic groups. Our ethnic identification influences our behaviour as it exemplifies the group meanings and expectations for that culture. The salience of this ethnic identity effects how much effort one exerts into maintaining that identity, and is of particular importance when addressing methods of acculturation - or not. A common concern about

immigration is that increasing ethnic diversity could threaten the strength and composition of a receiving country's culture (Nijkamp & Poot, 2012).

4.4.4 Critique of identity theories.

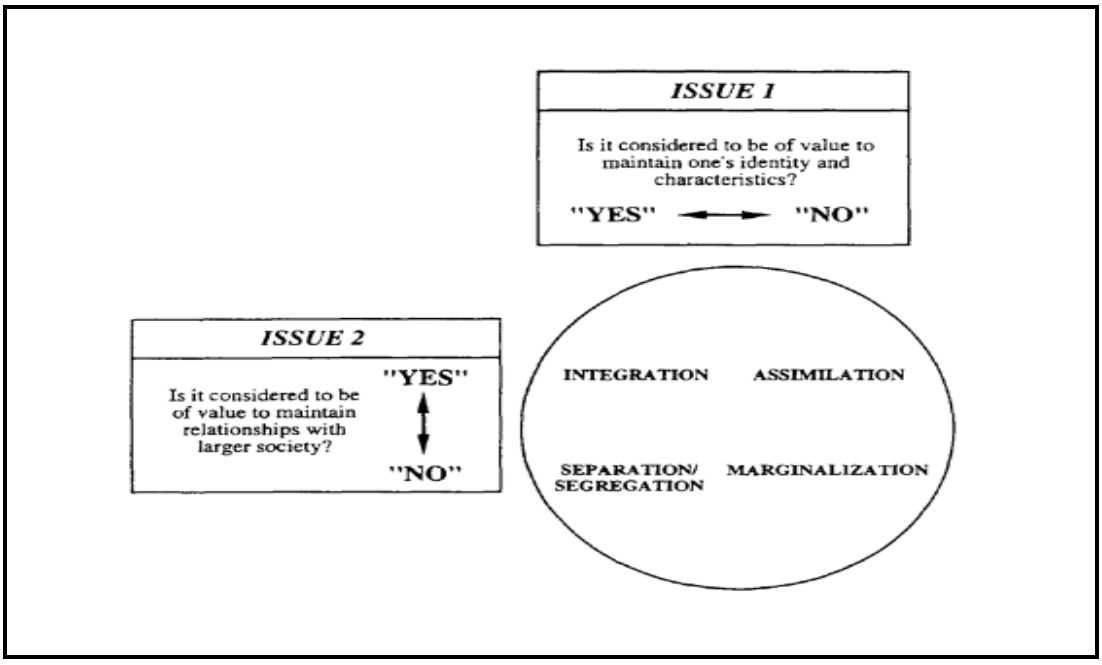
In the above descriptions of identity theories a pattern has emerged which is somewhat problematic – the idea that identities are fixed or ascribed. Howard (2000) contends that identities are malleable and fluid as well as being socially constructed. Howard continues that historically, identities were more stable and to a greater extent, assigned rather than adopted, but such identities ascriptions occurred in more stable and socially homogenous collectives. Today, with our ever-increasing societal diversity, the concept of identity concurs with an "overwhelming pace of change in surrounding social contexts" (Howard, 2000, p. 367). Herein changes in groups and networks, and societal practices and structures in which our identities are embedded in are in a constant state of construction and reconstruction as these modes influence how we identify ourselves within, and against the wider society. This sentiment is shared by Chirkov (2009) who argues that it is necessary "to define identity not in terms of fixed, absolute essences but rather as creations of cultural discourses, history and the power" (p.91). We need to acknowledge identity as an actively and continuously (re)produced social reality not only as a cumulative effect of pre-existing individual characteristics. To give a seminal example of this in the national identity space see Benedict Andersons work titled *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Anderson, 1991).

4.5 Acculturation Theory

Following the above discussion on predominant socio-psychological theory, noting the prominent work of Allport (1954) and Tajfel and Turner (1979), this chapter would not be complete without acknowledging the work of John W. Berry who has been influential since the early 1990s in the study of acculturation. The term "acculturation strategy" refers to the question of whether one should retain one's culture and identity of country of origin, or relinquish it and embrace the culture and identities of the receiving country.

Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies as illustrated in Figure 3, are a useful starting point for understanding socio-psychological theory (Phinney et al., 2001). The model suggests four methods of acculturation. The first is *separation (or segregation)*. Separation suggests that immigrants prefer to retain their cultural identity, opting not to adopt that of the receiving country. In contrast, the second method of acculturation has been termed *marginalisation*. This strategy involves immigrants neither retaining their own cultural identity nor that of the receiving country, therefore side-lining themselves with no affiliation with either group. Those who choose to retain their cultural identity whilst seeking regular contact with members of the receiving country prefer *integration* as a form of acculturation, whilst those who completely blend in with the culture of the receiving country and abandon their original identity prefer *assimilation*.

Figure 2: Acculturation strategies



Source: Berry (2001).

It is well documented that integration is the preferred method of acculturation from the perspective of New Zealand authors (Sibley & Ward, 2013; Spoonley et al., 2005). As was referred to in Chapter 2 integration policy endorses that when an immigrant embraces the culture of the receiving country whilst maintaining the elements of their own, this promotes multiculturalism and calls forth the most positive attitudes toward immigrants by members of the receiving country (J. W.

Berry, 2001; Grbic, 2010; Johnston et al., 2010; Phinney et al., 2001; Sibley & Ward, 2013; Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). There are however scholars who find that acculturation theory has its limitations and will be discussed below.

4.5.1 Critique of acculturation theory.

Social psychology has been criticised for its quest to discover universal and fundamental regularities of social behaviour without taking into consideration the complexities and diversities of time and place (Chirkov, 2009). This generic comment can be readily applied to Berry's theory of acculturation - which has come under substantial scrutiny since he began publishing on the topic in the late 1980s. There is no doubt that Berry has his supporters (Phinney et al., 2001; Sibley & Ward, 2013; Ward & Kagitcibasi, 2010), but there are others who have questioned the fixed, universal and linear nature of the 2x2 acculturation model (Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Chirkov, 2009; Rudmin, 2009). Chirkov (2009, p. 89), for example, argues that Berry's acculturation model is "closed to the inevitable diversity of variables involved in such a diverse area of study as immigration." The point here is that when taking the four acculturation possibilities they are alienated from, and not reflexive to, the historical and political contexts in which this phenomena may be enacted, especially when identity theories are applied alongside. Bhatia and Ram (2009, p. 142) make the claim "to abandon a linear and mechanistic idea of various 'strategies of acculturation' and have a more sophisticated look into the fabric of real lives, identity dynamics…through investigating respectful descriptions of their experiences, their meanings and identity negotiating processes".

4.6 Discussion

The socio-psychological theoretical paradigm draws upon sociological and psychological concepts and frameworks. In the context of this thesis, this set of theories focus on two fundamental issues; individual and group characteristics, and contact between groups (J. W. Berry, 2001), and addresses how the intersection between the two form, shape and influence attitudes. Much of the literature argues that by understanding the differing approaches to the constructs

of ethnic, social and national identities, this may assist in understanding determinants of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Socio-psychological theory also considers preference toward particular acculturation strategies of both the members of the receiving country and the immigrants themselves, and the quantity and quality of contact with immigrants.

As described above, prior research demonstrates only a weak link between threat to groups and prejudice. It has been argued that prejudicial thoughts can be lessened through contact, but only when all favourable conditions are met, being; equal status between groups, common goals, intergroup cooperation, authority sanction, and personal interaction. However, as has been suggested, often these conditions are not always met simultaneously therefore can be problematic when assessing determinants of attitudes. Furthermore, prejudicial thought exaggerates fear of threat to the in-group, which is further amplified by the degree of difference between groups.

Contact theory can be more useful to explain attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. This theory suggests that frequent and voluntary contact reduces prejudice and therefore members of the in-group are more accepting of the out-group. When members of the in-group are more accepting of diversity and promote social solidarity, then this nurtures trust toward the out-group, lower perceptions of threat, and consequently produces more positive attitudes. Similar conclusions can be made for intergroup contact theory, however there has been some doubt cast over this theory offering that there is insufficient evidence of the quality or quantity of immigrants in any given country, therefore a perception of threat posed by immigrants can be speculative.

Group threat theory has been useful at both the individual and situational level to support the hypothesis that contact between groups lessens intergroup anxiety and therefore lessens the perception of threat posed by the out-group. Conversely, it has been argued that closeness fosters polarisation between groups and is compounded by the size of the out-group.

Such negative sentiments are problematic for the process of acculturation. The most successful form of acculturation according to the literature is for the immigrant to integrate into the receiving country. In order to do this, the immigrant will embrace the culture of the receiving country, whilst maintaining the elements of their own culture. But there are also opponents to this theory claiming that is too a-cultural, a-contextual, a-historical, linear and universalistic (Chirkov, 2009).

Notions of ethnic identity are well-documented in the literature. With respect to immigration, this is a highly salient component due to the choices and preferences made by the immigrant about whether to retain or surrender their ethnic (or cultural) identity when integrating into the receiving country.

The perception that immigrants pose a threat to the national identity of the receiving country is regularly argued to be a determinant of attitudes (Johnston et al., 2010; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). A corollary to that is that immigrants who are culturally similar as those in the receiving country are welcomed more than those who are very different. These notions therefore stimulate positive attitudes (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Johnston et al., 2010).

Further investigation found that ethnic identity can be best maintained when there is a desire from the newcomer to retain their identity and the receiving country accepts notions of cultural diversity. This is the optimal outcome for both groups and may lead to a stronger sense of national identity. Should the newcomer face hostility or marginalisation, then they may either reject their own ethnicity in order to assimilate in the receiving country, or conversely maintain their ethnicity and be subjected to marginalisation, which inevitably may lead to feelings of frustration, anger and possibly violence. Ultimately their well-being may be hindered by these actions. It is important to note however, that individuals and groups perceive and interpret their circumstances in a variety of ways, therefore outcomes are highly variable.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have set out to review theory and evidence derived from the field of social psychology when employed to explain how attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are shaped, formed or influenced. Central to this topic and discipline are the differences between groups, and the identities that are operating within these groups. How we make sense of social difference can be explained by prejudice, and contact and identity theories.

According to the literature reviewed, perceptions of threat to prevailing identities have been argued to be important factors in determining attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. This is supported by contact theory which identifies that threat is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is in a position which may harm features of their own group. Anti-immigrant sentiments are often felt by those who have a strong sense of national identity, and who fear that immigrants may diminish some aspects of their own identity. Future research could investigate which aspects of identity are most salient when forming attitudes. It is important to keep in mind however, that these aspects may differ from group to group, and within different contexts.

In summary, threat to group norms and identity leads individuals to prefer immigrants more like themselves, as opposed to those from vastly different societies and cultures as they are perceived to be of less threat to national, social and cultural identities (Bloom et al 2015).

This chapter concludes the theoretically-based arguments about what shapes, forms or influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The following chapters will provide the reader with a narrative review of the individual (such as age, gender and education) and country level (such as current immigration policy and immigration level) determinants of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration as commented in recent literature.

5 Individual and Country Level Characteristics

5.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have provided a narrative review of prominent theories that have been used to understand how attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are shaped, formed or influenced. This thesis will now turn to arguments which explore the evidence on individual and country level characteristics that can shape, form or influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, and offer some insight into why such a diverse collection of findings may have emerged. It will offer a schematic overview of two broad ideas; individual and country level characteristics which have been argued to influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The former will cover the variables of education, labour force status and skill set, political affiliation, age, gender and geographical location, while the latter will address current immigration policy, levels of immigration and economic status.

Immigrants are characterised by a high degree of heterogeneity with respect to skills, education, age, gender, cultural background, and ethnicity (Nijkamp & Poot, 2012). Therefore, it is unsurprising that stereotypical and prejudicial attitudes also vary as they are formed based upon perceptions of immigrant characteristics. When observing the attitudes of native-born populations towards immigrants, past research has found patterns of heterogeneity in the individual and country level characteristics that are likely to influence attitudes. The purpose of this chapter is to set the foundations for a lengthy debate that will be undertaken throughout this thesis about the ambiguity, heterogeneity, and diversity that permeates the literature on how attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are shaped, formed or influenced. Particular emphasis is paid to the country or

countries in which research was conducted, the data and methodologies employed, and ultimately the varying conclusions that have been formed in the vast array of literature reviewed. Whilst there are many powerful and productive findings within the literature, an array of alternative factors are overlooked which makes the findings constrictive.

Many of my arguments originate from the following question; How can researchers possibly reach a consensus when the findings come from such a wide range of theoretical foundations, assessing large samples from enormously different datasets, from an assortment of (predominantly) developed Western countries, and employing dissimilar methods of analysis? Alongside the dissimilar methods of analysis lies the overuse quantitative data at the expense of rich case-specific qualitative data. This chapter will respond to this question by citing numerous studies from which an abundance of contradictory findings are found throughout this, and proceeding chapters and offering personal insights into why this may possibly be the case.

5.2 Individual Level Characteristics

> In a thought-provoking assessment of the (mis)fortunes and future of the Australian Labor Party, La Trobe political scientist, Robert Manne (2002: 15) commented that: The most important social division in Australia is one that separates the prosperous, well-educated, cosmopolitan "elites", who are at ease in the globalising world, from the less-educated, struggling lower middle class, manual workers or welfare dependents, whose economic anxieties are easily displaced on to a xenophobic politics of downward envy and of hostility to outsiders such as Asian or Muslim migrants or to refugees. (Bedford, 2002, p. 9)

The above quote sets the scene for my first section in this chapter: What are the individual level characteristics that determine attitudes toward immigrants and immigration? This section will provide narratives to illustrate the lack of convergence in the key findings related to; *education* - how level of education can alter attitudes towards diversity; *labour force status* and how this can influence attitudes by means of being employed or unemployed; *political affiliation* - depending on where one may sit on the political spectrum may affect their tolerance for immigration; *age* - how the age of the respondent can reflect

personal values relating to tradition and change; *gender* - the vast differences in attitudes of males and females; and lastly how the *geographical location* of respondents can affect attitudinal responses. Combined with the controversies and debates over such characteristics, this section will offer the reader a contextually refined narrative review of individual level characteristics.

5.2.1 Education.

Education has been the most researched, and the most agreed-upon characteristic of all of the individual level determinants of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Rustenbach, 2010). Although with varying levels of agreement, research suggests it is irrefutable that the more educated an individual is, the more positive their attitudes are towards immigrants and immigration will be. Some scholars prefer to break this idea down further by suggesting that having a university degree is the key factor rather than being simply being 'more educated' (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Gendall et al., 2007; Rustenbach, 2010; Ueffing et al., 2015). Whether in fact pro-immigration attitudes are a by-product of a university degree or that our attitudes improve with years of education, the matter to keep in mind is that education to date, has been found to be the most important of any independent individual level variable (Brenner & Fertig, 2006).

Findings on the role of education are none-the-less diverse. Whilst the overall results are consistent, the correlational factors, or what relationships variables have with one another, are not. Brenner and Fertig (2006) use data from the ESS in a structural latent variable (SLV) model which found that educational attainment as well as the level of parental education were the primary driving forces behind attitude formation. Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) come to a similar conclusion using ESS data in an open-economy Heckscher-Ohlin (H-O) model suggesting that natives who are more educated are significantly less racist than those who are not, and place greater value on cultural diversity than do their counterparts. They continue that the link between education and attitudes is that education increases racial and ethnic tolerance which in turn leads to social attitudes that are more cosmopolitan. This tolerance is argued to be a result of the capital that is created in educational settings; knowledge of foreign cultures,

critical thinking and forming a variety of social networks. The link between education and positive attitudes is endorsed by Barcelo (2016), who, by using MR to analyse data from the Word Values Survey (WVS) found that being educated increases open-mindedness and tolerance towards racially and culturally different people. Ceobanu and Escandell (2010) add that education is liberating and that through education, individuals show increasing levels of reflexivity due to continual exposure to other cultures. However, they also note that the degree of correlation varies across educational settings, owing to the differences in systems of education and socialisation modes. Another finding from Burns and Gimpel (2000), using data from the American National Election Studies (ANES) and employing weighted least squares (WLS) methodology, is that educational institutions are regarded as crucial propagators of democratic principles, therefore graduates are more tolerant of diversity due to a desire for equality and equity.

Another key education related finding that emerges from Burns and Gimpel (2000) research is that education is also related to economic position, such that the better educated an individual is, the higher their skill level and potential earnings are. The result being that these individuals are generally less threatened by immigrants economically because immigrants tend to be disproportionately less educated and located in low skilled occupations than native-born, particularly in Western societies (Burns & Gimpel, 2000). Further, Rustenbach (2010) claims (based on ESS data) that because education provides an individual with higher skill levels, then they are less likely to compete with low skilled immigrants for jobs. In contrast, Markaki and Longhi (2013), and Grbic (2010), using ESS and International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) data respectively contend that the more educated individuals are, the more likely they are to express favourable attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, regardless of their individual skill levels. This finding suggests that the primary role of education in relation to attitudes is to foster open-mindedness and acceptance of diversity, even if the explanations for such findings are highly variable and contested. This is interesting considering that several studies used ESS data, but coupled with the fact that the data chosen

depended on the country under investigation and the range of analysis methods were vast, it is not surprising there is not an overarching consensus here.

It would be timely now to explore the relationship between labour force status and skills as these are two indicators that have shown some consistency in understanding what shapes, forms, and influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010).

5.2.2 Labour force status and skill set.

It is generally accepted in the literature that the higher skilled a native-born individual is, the more likely that they are to hold positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Constant, Kahanec, & Zimmermann, 2009; Ueffing et al., 2015), and that higher skill sets are associated with greater support for all types of immigration (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007). These relationships have been found to be nearly identical among those in the labour force and those who are not (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007). Counter to this argument, based on their mixed-method study in three Australian states, Dandy and Pe-Pua (2010) claim that those native-born who are unemployed hold stronger negative attitudes towards immigrants than those who are employed. However, this relationship can also be potentially misleading as those not in the labour force also include students and retired people, those caring for children at home, or people with disabilities which would prevent them from working (Card et al., 2005).

The inverse of this argument is that low skilled native-born populations hold more negative attitudes, which is ostensibly related to the fact that most immigrants are low skilled as well (Brenner & Fertig, 2006; Mayda, 2006; O'Rourke & Sinnot, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). Researchers have argued that this is a response to competition for low skilled jobs in the labour market, and can be applied to labour market competition theory, which was discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Scheve and Slaughter (2001) who conducted their research in America (analysed by Factor Proportion (F-P) and H-O analysis models) report that there is a robust link between skill sets and immigration preferences. In particular, the less skilled prefer more restrictive immigration policy than those who are highly skilled.

Mayda (2006), came to a similar conclusion using the same analysis technique but with international data from the ISSP, as did O'Rourke and Sinnot (2006). Further, Brenner and Fertig (2006) came to corresponding conclusions by utilising an alternative source, the ESS and used SLV modelling. This is one of few occasions where scholars have used differing data sets and methods of analysis and still arrived at the same conclusion.

This link strongly supports the contention that people's position in the labour force influences their opinions on immigrants and immigration. Recent research has responded to this by investigating the relationships between political affiliation and attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

5.2.3 Political affiliation.

Many studies suggest that there is a relationship between a person's political ideology and their attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Sides & Citrin, 2007). Such preferences are typically influenced by left-right political orientations. This claim is made by McAllister (2018) who used survey data from Australian National University to claim that; those who hold more social-democratic and left-wing political views regarding wellbeing and equality tend to be significantly more likely to view immigration positively than those on the political right. This was supported from an international perspective provided by the Ipsos International Immigration, Refugee and Brexit Poll (2016); In general, right-wing voters are less tolerant of immigration and see immigrants as a burden on public services and the economy in general. Facchini and Mayda (2008) who used data from the ESS and MR analysis found that affiliation with a right-wing party is associated with negative views on immigration. As people move from the political right to the political left, attitudes become more positive towards immigrants, but not necessarily towards increasing the level of immigration. The effect of ideology appears to be sustained after being controlled for several attitudinal and non-attitudinal predictors (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). My search within the literature on political affiliation which spanned Australia, Europe and other regions, did not find rebuttal to any of the above arguments.

Here, the diversity within the data set and methodology did not lead to contradictory findings.

5.2.4 Age.

The effects of age on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration produces mixed results. The general consensus appears to be that older people tend to hold more negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration than the young (Brenner & Fertig, 2006; Card et al., 2005; Constant et al., 2009; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; O'Rourke & Sinnot, 2006). A supplementary idea offered by Ueffing et al. (2015) and Grbic (2010) is that increasing age has been positively correlated to negative attitudes. On the one hand, based on data from the New Zealand module of ISSP, it has been argued that older people are less tolerant of diversity because they believe in the preservation of cultural differences (Grbic, 2010). On the other hand Ueffing et al. (2015), using data from the Australian and German modules of the ISSP, assert that older people tend to be more traditional and sceptical about change. Hereby, two not incongruent but nonetheless differing arguments have been formed using similar data and analysis techniques, yet from different countries. It is possible then, that equivalence can be found between data sources and findings. The need for findings to be highly contextually focused has been, and will continue to be reiterated throughout this thesis, and this is a prime example. Another remark on the effect of age on attitudes comes from Card et al. (2005) who agree that older people hold stronger anti-immigrant attitudes, but find the causation to be less conclusive. Sourcing their data from the first wave of ESS and using regression analysis, they cannot assert whether the cause is associated with ageing per se, or differences in birth cohorts. This could be a topic of further research.

The above claims are refuted by Markaki and Longhi (2013) and Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) who both use ESS data and H-O and Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) modelling respectively to claim that age appears to have a statistically insignificant effect when all other variables are accounted for. It is difficult to declare that differences in findings are a result of the use of different data sets, however is worthy of further investigation. Alas, a conclusion cannot be formed unanimously

regarding age - much like the divergence in the effect of political affiliation as above and gender below.

5.2.5 Gender.

The effect that gender has on individual attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is less clear (Ueffing et al., 2015), and a rather varied picture is found (Brenner & Fertig, 2006). Both using ESS data, Markaki and Longhi (2013) and Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) agree that females are more opposed to immigration than men, which is supported by Mayda (2006) who found that males are more likely to be pro-immigration than women. The support by Mayda (2006) is encouraging due to the fact that she used both ISSP and WVS data, providing similar results from different datasets. This claim however, is contested by Bauer et al. (2000) who, exercising their own individual data from 12 OECD countries offer that males hold more negative attitudes than women. Meanwhile Brenner and Fertig (2006) (using SLV modelling) and Ward and Masgoret (2008) (using SEM) applying data from ESS and their own independent New Zealand-based survey respectively report that they found no empirical evidence that supported differences in attitudes between men and women; i.e gender is not important.

Johansson (2018) responded to this research by studying the relationship between anti-immigrant attitudes and intra-sexual competition using his own survey based in Finland. Johanssen found that men reported more negative attitudes towards immigrants than women. Furthermore, men exhibited more negative attitudes towards male immigrants (a possible link to group threat theory as discussed in Chapter 4) compared to female immigrants. This was argued to be a result of intra-sexual competition which was found to be higher among males than females. Interestingly, Johanssen also found that women reported more positive attitudes towards female immigrants which was argued to be a result of women being suspicious of male immigrants as they were perceived to be potential threats to their safety, and that women immigrants are perceived as “fragile, sensitive and in need of protection” (p.16).

With such contrary findings, one should be cautious of data collection and analysis techniques and methodology used to investigate why there are such larger divergences in the findings.

5.2.6 Geographical location.

While geographical location contributes to a better understanding of what shapes, forms or influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, there is again a lack of consistency within the findings.

In line with intergroup contact and group threat theory several authors have suggested that where you live will have an effect on your attitudes towards immigrants (Barcelo, 2016; Card et al., 2005; Markaki & Longhi, 2013; Rustenbach, 2010). Proposers of intergroup contact theory (which was explored in detail in Chapter 4) hypothesise that areas with higher numbers of immigrants, and therefore exposure to cultural diversity will provide an environment for contact, and consequently foster more positive attitudes between the groups. Whereas, group threat theory hypothesises that negative attitudes among the native-born could be expected to be intensified in areas where there are high concentrations of immigrants (Markaki & Longhi, 2013). Markaki and Longhi (2013) outline how a larger immigrant population increases both intergroup contact and perceived group threat, but also that intergroup contact has been found to reduce threat within smaller geographical areas. Thus, initially group threat could indeed be a foundation for negative attitudes, but when the contact occurs in a limited space or location then attitudes become more positive.

Several authors offer a simpler overarching conclusion that those who live in an urban area will hold more favourable attitudes than those living in rural areas (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Dustmann & Preston, 2004; Malchow - Moller, 2009; Ueffing et al., 2015) which again supports intergroup contact theory. On the contrary, Brenner and Fertig (2006) contend that even after controlling for individual characteristics (as well as labour market circumstances) higher concentrations of immigrants tend to increase the hostility of natives towards the immigrants in favour of group threat theory. Martinez i Coma and Smith (2018) found in the Australian context using MR that native-born living in geographical

regions with higher percentages of immigrants are more likely to want lower immigrant numbers than those living in areas with fewer immigrants.

A broad conclusion to geographical location here could be that a larger immigrant population decreases feelings of threat from that of the native-born. In such a case, those who are in frequent contact with immigrants because of where they live are more likely to hold more positive attitudes towards immigrants.

This section has highlighted the leading individual level characteristics which shape, form or influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. It has uncovered a diverse range of findings and explanations of the variables that affect outcomes. Regrettably, aside from being 'more educated' there does not appear to be any common ground or explanation upon which these individual level characteristics coalesce. This can most likely be accounted for by acknowledging the diversity in the country under investigation, and the data and modes of analysis employed.

5.3 Country Level Characteristics.

In the existing literature, varying attitudes towards immigrants and immigration have been largely explained by individual characteristics, with particular emphasis on those factors discussed above: education, labour force status, politics, age, gender and geography. In addition to these individual level characteristics, a smaller number of studies have also noted country level characteristics that can influence attitudes. These characteristics include current immigration policy, perceived type and volume of immigrants, and the economic situation of the country under investigation.

5.3.1 Current immigration policy.

It has been argued that current immigration policy can shape, form or influence the public's attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Bauer et al., 2000; Callens, 2015; Card et al., 2005; E. Schlueter, B. Meuleman, & E. Davidov, 2013). Immigration policy can be viewed as a spectrum that ranges from tight to liberal (Card et al., 2005), conservative to liberal (Burns & Gimpel, 2000), or restrictive to permissive (E. Schlueter et al., 2013). It has been argued that pre-existing

immigration policies that are more liberal or permissive can have positive and negative effects on the attitudes of native-born populations (Bedford, 2002).

Building upon intergroup contact theory (as discussed in Chapter 4), it has been argued that immigration policies that are more permissive would increase perceptions of threat to members of the host country, thus promoting negative attitudes (Burns & Gimpel, 2000). The inverse can be argued however from the lens of contact theory, permissive policy would create situations for increased contact between immigrants and native-born and therefore more positive attitudes amongst the latter. In a comprehensive study of 27 countries conducted by E. Schlueter et al. (2013), where contact and group threat theories were studied in unison, their conclusion was that immigration policies that are more permissive are associated with decreased levels of perceived threat and thereby promote more positive attitudes. This is supported by Card et al. (2005) who in their study using data from the ESS in 2002, found that those who prefer a more restrictive policy display negative views about the impact of immigration on the country as a whole. These findings advocate that immigration policies are of utmost importance in influencing the attitudes of members of the host country either positively or negatively, therefore policy makers should take into account public opinions or attitudes when formulating immigration policy.

5.3.2 Level of immigration.

Previous immigration policies, amongst many other factors, also contribute to different compositions and levels of immigrants (Bauer et al., 2000). A recurring finding in the literature is that native-born populations frequently and consistently overestimate the quantity of immigrants in their country (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Sides & Citrin, 2007). This is what Blinder (2015) calls 'imagined immigration' and has been argued to have a negative effect on the responses collected to survey questions on levels of immigration. Therefore judgements about levels of immigration will be imperfect due to incorrect assumptions about the level of immigration occurring in any given country.

Administrative and social surveys regularly ask the question: Are there too many immigrants coming into your country? And, should this number be reduced?

(Blinder, 2015). The vast majority tend to express concerns over there being too many immigrants and that this number needs to be reduced (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Mayda, 2006; Ueffing et al., 2015; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). These surveys, and other sources of information such as direct experiences, social interaction or media sources influence these perceptions and therefore provide inadequate interpretations of immigrants and immigration. Blinder (2015) explains how media coverage often work through agenda setting or framing influencing what to think and how to think about immigration - often in a pejorative sense. These interpretations are embedded in the schema of respondents and are not factually based. For example, if different types of immigrants prompt different attitudinal responses, then the survey response will be reliant on the mental picture (or personal interpretation) that has manifested in the mind of the respondent - and this will be dependent on previous representations and social interactions.

Such imperfect judgements as described above can be problematic as attitudes may depend on the incorrect perception that immigrant groups are different or larger than they actually are and such an imperfect judgement also exaggerates the perception of threat which leads to negative attitudes towards immigrants (Hopkins, Sides, & Citrin, 2016).

Governments' view and measure immigration through high-level national statistics. Policy implications arise from the influence of misperceptions about the levels of immigration. Several studies show that providing respondents with up to date, factual information can have profound impacts on individual opinions (Blinder, 2015; Grigorieff, Roth, & Ubfal, 2017; Hopkins et al., 2016). It could be useful therefore, when asking such questions in surveys to provide high-level statistical measures to assist the respondents in answering the question "Are there too many immigrants coming into your country?" Furthermore, to provide clarity to these questions it is important to make the distinction between preferred levels of immigration and perceived levels of immigration (Sides & Citrin, 2007). Individual attitudes of voters can have considerable influence in democratic societies so it is very important to ensure that the public are well

informed about the realities of the quantity of immigrants residing in any given country (Grbic, 2010).

5.3.3 Economic status.

Multiple scholars have argued that the pathway to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is partly dependent on prevailing economic conditions. For example Scheve and Slaughter (2001) argue that personal economic circumstances are the main contributor based on FP analysis of ANES, whilst Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) contend, based on evidence from a literature review of 104 studies, that the public hold more sociotropic views and are more concerned with the economic circumstances of a country as a whole. Although personal and national economic providences are usually related, there are people who are in a favourable economic situation but are fearful for the economy of a nation (Burns & Gimpel, 2000). These authors found in their study using ANES data that negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration were partly based on prevailing economic conditions, but not solely, as even when the national economy is good, one cannot count on attitudes being positive. Quite simply put, on the individual level, those who are confronted with personal economic strain are more likely to display negative attitudes and vice versa.

Dancygier and Donnelly (2013) offered their findings on an industry or sectorial level suggesting that when sectors are expanding and immigrant inflows are occurring during prosperous economic times, then support for immigration rises. Conversely, when economies contract, an increase of immigrants into a particular sector is likely to be associated with negative attitudes towards immigration and therefore support for restrictive immigration policies.

On the national level Brenner and Fertig (2006) and Mayda (2006) contend that per capita GDP or the health of the national economy is the key contributing factor to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Thus being that when per capita GDP is high (or growing), then attitudes are more positive, and vice versa. These two studies used different data sets (ESS and ISSP) and methods of analysis (FP, H-O, and SLV) yet came to a similar conclusion. While Card et al. (2005) also using ESS data and basic quantitative analysis found that GDP of any given country

has no correlation with attitudes. While there is no general consensus on this matter, it does appear that when the economy is doing well, then attitudes towards immigrants and immigration will be more positive. The rebuttal resides in whether or not individuals are concerned with the status of individual or country level economic status. Once again, there is no definitive answer to yet another complex influence on the varying attitudes of native-born populations to immigrants and immigration. For more information on economic status refer to Chapter 3.

5.4 Conclusion

A large number of recent studies have documented that attitudes vary according to individual and country level characteristics. The findings in this chapter have provided insights to both characteristics. On the individual level it is irrefutable that education levels plays the most important role and is the most conclusive of all of the characteristics highlighted in this chapter. The key argument in this chapter is that those who are more educated hold less negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration due to placing greater value on diversity, acceptance of different cultural values and beliefs, and are crucial propagators of democratic values. This finding was consistent across all of the literature cited.

Education also relates to labour force status and skill set meaning that those who are educated are more likely to be employed and have higher skills. The result is that educated individuals are generally less threatened by immigrants economically, and by and large this also appears true for the employed and more skilled. Low skilled native-born populations hold less favourable attitudes than immigrants who are highly skilled, and those who are unemployed will also hold less favourable attitudes than those who are employed. Similarly, right-wing voters were found less accepting of immigrants and immigration than their left-wing counterparts.

The effect that age has on attitudes is less clear. In general, older individuals are found to be less accepting of immigrants and immigration due to a predisposition for preserving cultural differences and are more traditional and less accepting of

change. It is unclear whether this pattern is a result of ageing per se or cohort effects and is worth considering for further research.

The findings on the effects of gender have also proved to be inconclusive, with some scholars suggesting that gender is very important, whilst others contend that it has no statistical effect, and others arguing inconclusively whether males or females hold more favourable attitudes. The ambiguous findings prevail on geographical location characteristics as well. It is difficult - if not impossible to decipher why this occurs based on current research. The contention in this characteristic can be explained initially from whether contact or group threat theory is the preferred theoretical lens to view the phenomenon from and the leads into the diversity of countries studied, and data and measurements utilised in the analysis. An overarching summary would depend on the preferred theoretical stance, but from my review I conclude that those living in urban or areas with high levels of immigrants are more accepting due to the premise of contact theory.

In respect to country level characteristics current immigration policy in the country under investigation is very important. This review found that permissive policies are associated with decreased levels of perceived threat and therefore positive attitudes. This could be because restrictive policy infers negative views about the impact of immigration on the country. Public perceptions of levels of immigration diverge dramatically from immigration as empirically measured by national governments. For policy making, there are implications for the general public's demand for reduced immigration as it is not founded on credible evidence.

A broad conclusion if I were to base on the findings of this narrative review could be that those who are educated, highly skilled, older men, who live in cities or urban areas and hold a political left-leaning ideology, whose country is wealthy and provide transparency about levels of immigration in their country while maintaining restrictive immigration policy, will be more in favour of immigration and have more favourable attitudes towards immigrants. This caricature of potentially tolerant subjects, highlights the risks of oversimplification of certain variables when the matter of investigation is very complex and which the blunt

surveys used in the literature do not critically address. A more nuanced approach to each variable and consistency of data source and analytical method is required in order to find an accurate representation of the individual and country level determinants of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

As with much of the diversity that has been emphasised throughout this thesis, my argument lies in that due to the diversity of the theory, and data set(s) and methodology employed and the degree of cross-national variation it is no surprise that the evidence reviewed is inconclusive. The following chapter will take the reader deeper into this journey by unpacking the diverse ways in which this topic is approached and analysed through examining the terminological and methodological diversity which has been uncovered during this narrative review.

6 Terminological and Methodological Diversity

6.1 Introduction

As has been expressed throughout previous chapters, the study of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is complex by means of competing academic disciplines, theories, data sets and methodologies, and individual, country, situational, historical, economic, social and political levers. The purpose of this chapter is to address the terminological and methodological diversity relating to the study of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, how they add to the complexity of this topic and consider the implications for the incongruent findings.

From the outset the topic of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in itself, has been claimed to be problematic. Some scholars have challenged that immigrants and immigration are two separate phenomena and that attitudes toward each, develop independently and differently (Barcelo, 2016; Callens, 2015; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). These authors claim that the term "immigrants" is about the people, and the term "immigration" is about the policy. Despite this claim, many researchers have opted to study these concepts simultaneously (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Facchini & Mayda, 2008; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Malhotra et al., 2013; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001), while others contend that this may hinder the quality of the data generated due to the fact that they are based on different theoretical constructs (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). This common (mis)association of opting to study the two phenomena at the same time or separately is indicative of a wider set of terminological and methodological diversity in the study of attitudes to immigrants and immigration that play a role in generating the range of opposing, contrasting and incongruous findings.

Individual studies may well attain credibility, reliability or validity for their findings but as we have seen these findings are often contested in studies employing differing methods and terminology. Take for example, the previous chapters which highlight the tension between scholars in terms of their emphasis on whether economic or cultural (social-psychological) threat theories are more influential in determining attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Equally, there is tension within theories (Longhi, Nijkamp, & Poot, 2005) such as with the contact hypothesis – does contact with immigrants promote (Pettigrew et al., 2011) or diminish (Dixon et al., 2005) pro-(anti) immigrant attitudes as discussed in Chapter 4? Or as discussed in Chapter 3, are the estimated effects of immigration on native-born wages positive (Facchini & Mayda, 2008), neutral (Longhi et al., 2010), or negative (Borjas, 1999).

Clearly, there is contention between, and within the related theories, but there are also many other contentious issues in this field of study. An abundance of theories and methodologies have been uncovered that have resulted in a questionable manifestation of evidence that is interpreted, analysed and compared in as many ways as there are studies. Numerous studies have investigated the various modes of attitude formation towards immigrants and immigration, yet to date there is no absolute consensus (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010). The implications of this being; which study do we turn to for answers to this complex question? Should one be chosen for the discipline from which it bases its findings from, the methodology employed, the country in which the research took place or for on the credibility of the author(s)?

Another question then arises; should - or is it possible - for there be one unified theory or methodology addressing attitudes to immigrants and immigration? This has been addressed by Castles (2016) more generally in relation to migration who argues that "….. the quest for a generally accepted theoretical framework for migration studies remains elusive…….we do not have a common conceptual framework that could serve as a starting point for intellectual debates and the formulation of hypotheses and research questions" (p.19). Castles concludes by suggesting that researchers should strive for a mid-range theory that encompasses

the insights of the various disciplines (which are predominantly social science disciplines) that can assist in understanding the "regularities and variations" of the complex topic of migration.

While the unification of cross-disciplinary theory is attractive it is undoubtedly an unwieldy - if not impossible task. This is not to say that cross-disciplinary research does not have has its merits, but a common-ground theory is far from a foreseeable occurrence. How can the disciplines from which this topic is explored possibly talk to each other when they traditionally use varying approaches to research and analysis? For example, some scholars use structural equation modelling to conduct their analysis (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015; Brenner & Fertig, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). While others conduct meta-analysis (Longhi et al., 2010), implicit association test (Malhotra et al., 2013), factor-proportion analysis (Hainmueller, Hiscox, et al., 2015; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Mayda, 2006), weighted least squares regression (Burns & Gimpel, 2000) Heckscher-Ohlin Model (Hainmueller, Hiscox, et al., 2015; Mayda, 2006; O'Rourke & Sinnot, 2006; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001) multilevel regression analysis (Barcelo, 2016; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Quillian, 1995; E. Schlueter et al., 2013) and even hierarchical linear models (Rustenbach, 2010). For further information on methods of analysis, refer to Appendix 6. Can there be a happy medium - is this possible with such a range of analysis methods? If we continue to research attitudes towards immigrants and immigration incorporating the multitude of theory and methodology, will there ever be a consensus?

With the many theories, methodologies and researchers at work, the conceivable outcomes, or the array of findings are infinite. The far-reaching nature of this topic makes this inevitable. One thing that scholars do agree on is the role of context (Constant et al., 2009; Ueffing et al., 2015). Context can include the economic, social, political, historical and cultural contexts in which a particular study builds its perspectives from. The context understandably, will be different across disciplines; the economists emphasise economic concerns at the forefront of their research, whilst social psychologists may dismiss the economic concerns in favour of social theories. A significant undercurrent that is often overlooked is a failure

to understand, acknowledge and build upon the historical context of the country under investigation.

The historical conjuncture of the country being investigated is one commonality that has the potential to create some alignment with these contradictory lines of thought. An historical investigation and understanding of the society in which the research takes place provides a common-ground for associations to be made across disciplines. For instance, no investigation of how attitudes toward immigrants and immigration are shaped, formed or influenced in Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia nor Canada would be complete, or credible, without the acknowledgement of the post-colonial society in which our values, beliefs systems and consequent attitudes towards immigration are formulated (Walia, 2013).

Now having set some context to the discussion on the terminological and methodological diversity on the topic of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration this chapter will turn to a deeper discussion firstly of the terminological and secondly methodological diversity in this field of study, before lastly, a consideration of their implications.

6.2 Terminological Diversity

There is considerable diversity in the terminology used in the research that have been discussed in this thesis. As stated by Ceobanu and Escandell (2010, p. 310) "this can hardly be a palliative for inconsistent conceptualisation and operationalisation". The terminological diversity compounds the difficulty in aligning irregularities in the findings. In this context and much like the argument made in the previous chapter, how can the findings be equally measured when the vocabularies are so vastly different and therefore so the interpretations of them so different. This hinders the quest for solid evidence for the reader to base overall conclusions on when searching the literature.

In the following section I will address three primary examples of the diversity of terminology used in different publications, beginning with the most prevalent and foundational term; 'immigrant', secondly 'public opinion' and lastly, 'integration'

as these are commonly cited words in the literature on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

6.2.1 Immigrant.

Firstly, terminological diversity begins with the word 'immigrant'. The majority of the literature cited in this paper refer to "immigrants" or "immigration", yet there are several authors who use the term "migrant". Which is the correct term to use? Moreover, the term 'immigrant' has different meanings in different countries (Card et al., 2005; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). For example, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM, 2018a), define the term 'migrant' as "any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is". The IOM gives no mention of the term 'immigrant'. By contrast, (Eurostat, 2018) defines 'migrant' as "the number of people changing their residence to or from a given area (usually a country) during a given time period (usually one year)" https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms. The term 'immigrant' is defined by Eurostat as "people arriving or returning from abroad to take up residence in a country for a certain period, having previously been resident elsewhere" http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Glossary:Migration. The last example emanates from the OECD (2018), which opts for a broad definition encompassing both of the terms as follows; "Migration refers to all movements of people into (immigration) or out (emigration) of a specific country or countries. Migrant populations are defined on the ground of the place of birth (foreign-born) or of the citizenship (foreigners)" https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/migration/indicator-group/english_443b6567-en.

A variety of disciplines and publications use the term 'migrant' (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014; Castles, 2016; Constant et al., 2009; Immigration New Zealand, 2014; MIPEX, 2015; Simon-Kumar, 2014), whilst others use 'newcomer' (Guo & Guo, 2016; MIPEX, 2015) or 'out-group' (Longhi et al., 2005, 2010; Quillian, 2006).

Furthermore, some use these terms interchangeably (Bedford & Spoonley, 2014; Facchini & Mayda, 2008; Meyers, 2000; MIPEX, 2015). There appears to be no universal definition of migrant, immigrant, migration or immigration. Moreover, survey questions typically do not define the term 'immigrant' (Blinder, 2015), leaving each respondent to answer questions based on their unstated understanding of who or what an immigrant is. For example, there different ways in which immigrant is used in common parlance. In some cases it could relate to recent immigrants, while in some cases particular racialised groups (e.g. Asians in NZ are consistently regarded as immigrants regardless of their length or individual or generational residence (Spoonley et al., 2007)). On this pretence it is not surprising that the findings are so ambiguous when the foundational definitions cannot be defined. The significance of the diversity of terminology is that in different contexts and different countries these words have different meanings therefore comprehension across survey participants will also be different.

6.2.2 Public opinion.

Secondly, 'public opinion' on immigrants is an umbrella term that is used interchangeably for general or public attitudes toward immigrants (Ceobanu & Escandell 2010; Fetzer 2000), anti-immigrant feelings, prejudice toward immigrants (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman 1999) and attitudes toward outgroups (J. W. Berry, 2001). The fact that authors use different terminology, that are intended to have the same meanings only seems to complicate the issue that is being reiterated throughout this thesis: that there is no consensus about what shapes, forms or influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Another issue is that 'public opinion' is taken as a singular perspective when in fact there is likely to be a diversity of singular or collective views, particularly in those countries where significant diversification through immigration has occurred.

The term public opinion thus, can have very different meanings, often depending on the individual or collective meaning of the term. This leads not only to a problem of comprehension of what public opinion means, but also to a comparability problem (Ceobanu & Escandell 2010). For example, is it possible to compare 'public opinion' when the term is used interchangeably and in different

ways in different countries. So far, little effort has been made to unify the field and come up with a clear definition of public opinion (Callens 2015).

6.2.3 Integration.

Thirdly, 'integration' is a fluid and elusive term which means different things to different people in different contexts which was widely discussed in Chapter 2. Very often integration is referred to as a process, as well as an outcome (Guo & Guo, 2016). Spoonley et al. (2005) argue that integration is the process and social cohesion is the outcome therefore is important to not confuse the two terms. Additionally there are alternative words which have been used in the literature to describe integration such as incorporation (Ueffing et al., 2015), assimilation (Bauer et al., 2000), and adaptation (Phinney et al., 2001). Again the lack of consistency in the terminology used makes it difficult for the reader to make connections or comparisons across the literature.

The variance in the use and comprehension of terminology is not surprising considering the array of disciplines from which this topic speak from including; anthropology, economics, sociology, psychology, geography and history (which has been referred to in previous chapters), all of which have their own semantics and lexicons. However, diverse terminology has drawbacks as it is not conducive to consistent conceptualisation and operationalisation of the theory and methodologies (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). Which brings this chapter to the next point; methodological diversity.

6.3 Methodological Diversity

The previous section has discussed the diversity in the terminology used in the literature in publications relating to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The following sections will take the reader on a narrative review of the literature on the diversity of methodologies used in these studies. Firstly it will address and critique of the use of very general administrative data and the lack of consistency with the methods of analysis of this data – including the omission of qualitative data. It will then discuss the limitations associated with the comprehension and translation of surveys on attitudes to immigrants and

immigration, and the use of cross-country data collection. Finally it will highlight the importance of the term 'imagined immigration' and the implications of this phenomenon.

6.3.1 Administrative data sources.

For the purpose of studying attitudes towards immigrants and immigration an abundance of administrative data sources have been used such as the World Values Survey, European Social Survey and International Social Survey Programme. The problem with administrative data is that it is collected within a specific context and for a specific purpose using terminology and design to satisfy particular tasks, assumptions and pre-occupations (Penninx, Berger, & Kraal, 2006). Moreover, these large surveys collect quantitative data at the expense of in-depth qualitative data.

The choice of data source used is mostly dependent on the country (or countries for cross-country comparisons to be made) under investigation. The problem herein is; does administrative data actually capture attitudes towards immigrants and immigration? And are these data sets representative and suitable for cross-national comparison? Many studies have a strong focus on a singular country, whilst others use this data for cross-country comparisons to be made. Therefore the use of administrative data should be treated with caution as the primary intention is not to capture attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, rather these are unreliable by-products of very general social data and furthermore rendered unsuitable for studying attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, let alone to make cross-country comparison from.

6.3.2 Lack of consistency.

As has been referred to in previous chapters, many scholars have raised questions about the diverse nature of the methodologies employed when studying attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Castles, 2016; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Hainmueller, Hiscox, et al., 2015; McAllister, 2018). Card et al. (2005) argue that there are too many data analysis techniques which create a "lack of consistency", which is reinforced by Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) who comment on the "substantive methodological diversity" which is evident in these types of studies.

Hainmueller et al., (2015) make claims which support the methodological diversity conundrum and how this can hinder the quest for congruent outcomes of research findings on this topic. Much like my frustrations they suggest that "conclusions are not obvious", "the surveys used are blunt instruments that fail to gather detailed data", and "previous studies have been limited to fairly crude and indirect tests" (p.1). With such striking claims one has to wonder, is there an alternative methodology that could span all research on this topic, or more preferably, could a widely applicable framework be developed that would be suitable across contexts to assist in my quest for simplicity? The scope of this thesis does not allow for a deep discussion on this, but certainly warrants a topic of further research.

Some attempts have been made to overcome the limitations of previous studies. The literature on attitudes towards immigrants has recently been characterised by innovation in experimental design as researchers seek to further understand the complexity of findings. These innovative experiments deliver varying results using simultaneous methods. However, researchers use "different manipulations in different contexts to assess different outcomes measured for different populations, meaning that there are frequently multiple explanations for why any two experiments produce different results" (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014, p. 239). When considering this statement it should be no surprise that most findings in this study are so different. To illustrate this point I turn to two studies who used WVS data and ISSP data, and factor proportion analysis and Heckscher-Ohlin modelling methods respectively to understand the effect that skill levels have on attitudes towards immigrants - which returned different results. The first study by Mayda (2006), found that skilled native-born residents hold more pro-immigrant attitudes when they are more skilled than immigrants. Whereas the second study conducted by O'Rourke and Sinnot (2006) found that the skill set of the native-born or the immigrant did not matter, but what was more significant was that high skilled native-born hold more pro-immigrant attitudes than low skilled native-born. The implication being – which study holds more credence? Which one is more credible when policy makers want to make policy decisions?

6.3.3 Unit of analysis.

Another form of fragmentation of the current research is evident in the units of analysis and the lack of integration of these units. Further to previous discussion in Chapter 5, some authors have chosen to present evidence from situational or contextual level determinants (Dancygier & Donnelly, 2013; Malhotra et al., 2013) in order to study attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. In other situations, some scholars prefer to investigate from micro or individual level theory (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015; Dustmann & Preston, 2004), whilst others investigate macro-level or sociotropic theory (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Hainmueller, Hiscox, et al., 2015). The point being made here is that, how can one compare findings when the same phenomena is under investigation, but from different perspectives. One has to be careful when considering findings from studies on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration as there is no direct comparison when one study concentrates on micro-level factors and the other studies macro- levels factors. There can be no correlation as the variables are not equivalent, again, adding to the inconsistency of research findings.

6.4 Comprehension and translation.

Further to this review, there are linguistic and cultural challenges when surveying for complex issues such as attitudes in culturally diverse societies - comprehension being one of them and translation another (Harkness, Pennell, & Schoua-Glusberg, 2004).

6.4.1 Comprehension.

Comprehension is a major obstacle because many respondents may themselves be immigrants for which English is potentially their second language, so both linguistic and cultural challenges are potential pitfalls. These respondents may understand survey questions in different ways to those whom English is their first language. Harkness et al. (2004, p. 456) suggest that “Vocabulary, semantics, and pragmatic meaning of words and utterances do not match up neatly across languages”. Additionally, differing cultural backgrounds may affect understanding or the framing of a question. A fundamental element of this is the interpretation and operationalisation of the word ‘immigrant’. For example, in countries where

citizenship is granted by default to anyone born in the country, immigrants may be considered as anyone who has been born abroad. In countries where citizenship is linked to ethnic origin, however, immigrants may be generally understood to include anyone who is ethnically different to those in the host country, regardless of their country of birth (Card et al., 2005). Moreover, most survey questions typically do not pre-define the term 'immigrant' (Blinder, 2015; Crawley, 2005), leaving each respondent to answer on the basis of his or her own understanding of who and what immigrants are. Another important point to note here is that these studies are asking people to comment on themselves, for example immigrants commenting on their attitudes towards immigrants, which will impact the results of the study. This is often recognised in the study itself (c.f (Spoonley et al., 2007; Ward & Masgoret, 2008) where questions such as "Which country were you born in?" and "When did you come to [country]?" help to differentiate between native-born and immigrant responses.

6.4.2 Translation.

The second linguistic and cultural obstacle to address is when surveys are translated for those that do not speak the language of which the survey is written in, and want to impress that researchers should be cautious of the translation process. In almost all cases, both in single-country and cross-country research routinely begin the translation process after the foundational questionnaire has been finalised, and there is no formal globally-accepted standards or procedures for either translating surveys nor assessing the quality of translation (Harkness et al., 2004). However, when interpreting translated questions, one must acknowledge the inevitability of difference across language and culture, as translation often alters meaning and sentence structure. Vocabulary, semantics and pragmatic meaning of words are often lost in the process of translation. For example, the 2002 the ESS asked the question (answering was by Likert scale) "Most asylum seekers are not in fear of persecution at home". When this survey was translated into Norwegian it produced two possible interpretations; 1) the survey indicated that asylum seekers were not very afraid, and 2) that they were not really under threat of persecution (Harkness et al., 2004). If the translation

results in an ambiguous question, the respondent may simply provide their interpretation of what is meant. Therefore, researchers should be cautious of translations and translated surveys.

As described in the section on comprehension above with the example of who is regarded as an immigrant, one term may have a dramatically different meaning in one language than another, and it is important to note this can incur the problem of insensitivity to specific cultural contexts (Bryman, 2012). In cross-cultural research, we can expect that incorrect interpretation or translation can lead to respondents not being asked what the researcher intended to ask.

6.4.3 Cross-country comparative data.

The primary aim of comparative research is to identify differences and similarities between social entities (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2004), or in this case, differences and similarities in attitudes towards immigrants and immigration across countries. There are many challenges in the use of cross-country data (Card et al., 2005; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Mayda, 2006; Ueffing et al., 2015) because of differences in underlying concepts (Rother, 2005). Such as, why are some countries different on some characteristics and not on others, for example linguistic or cultural boundaries? Basically because linguistic boundaries are not always the same as cultural boundaries, and cross-country comparisons are not always amenable to singular level measurements (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004). Acknowledgment of these types of underlying concepts carries much importance for those who wish to make comparisons between countries, but as others argue this does not come without methodologically contextual problems (Castles, 2016; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Davidov et al., 2015).

6.4.4 Imagined immigration.

Among these contextual issues, people from different countries also experience differing quantities and types of immigrants, and may understand or interpret the same questions in quite different ways. A common concern when utilising cross-country data is the perceived levels of immigration (or as Blinder (2015) calls it 'imagined immigration' and was referred to in Chapter 5) in any given country. Many surveys ask the question "Do you think there are too many immigrants

coming into your country?" and "should this number be reduced?" The important point here is that respondents to surveys do not have access to reliable information on what actual immigration levels are. Research conducted by the OECD has found that the perceived quantity of immigrants is usually around twice that of the actual quantity and that was found to be higher among those who were lower income earners and less educated (Goldin et al., 2018). Another example, in the case of New Zealand is that over recent years many people, including seemingly well informed commentators have asserted that we have had unprecedently high immigration because net migration rates have been high (NZ Herald, 2018). However this is not true, and in fact the number of people issued residence permits have remained static for two decades. It is also common occurrence for respondents to focus on asylum seekers and permanent arrivals, while mostly ignoring working and student visas (Blinder, 2015; Goldin et al., 2018).

6.4.5 Conclusion on methodological diversity.

The main point being made is that social surveys are not designed specifically to investigate attitudes toward immigrants and immigration, therefore one has to wonder, are they actually capturing the information that is needed to answer this complex question? Furthermore, questions are open to multiple interpretations within and across countries due to the specific context of the economic, societal and political environment in that country or region. So again, these responses will not be justifiably measureable against one another, although they often are. Finally, public perceptions of how many immigrants a country has, and who immigrants are is usually very different to the actual immigrants defined in official government statistics (Blinder, 2015). Therefore the responses in surveys are often ill-informed and incorrect. Should the respondent be correctly informed of the level and characteristics of immigrants prior to responding to surveys then the results could be more factually based and much different to those with imagined levels and characteristics of immigrants.

6.5 Conclusion

Research on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is fragmented. The research to date has offered a lack of complimentary or affirmative findings. Variance has been found between and within disciplines, theory and methodology. There appears to be little consensus about what shapes forms and influences attitudes toward immigrant and immigration. What is apparent is that there is some difficulty surmounting these limitations due to the consistent and continued use of cross-country administrative data.

Furthermore the data sources used and methods of analysis are as diverse as the disciplines of those who write about the topic. Such limitations of the present research calls for detailed endeavour to unite the data sources and methodology of research across disciplines. The hope is that if universal data and methodology was used across disciplines, this could advance our knowledge base considerably. Or in other words, if a consistent or similar methodology was employed across studies, researchers may be able to come to some form of consensus of what actually shapes, forms or influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

The terminology used by the authors included in this study are vastly different, and again is a reflection of the diversity of disciplines which authors writing about the topic work within. A prime example of this is that there is no universal definition of the word immigrant. The way in which the term 'migrant' and 'immigrant' are used concurrently, and interchangeably (sometimes within a single study) by individual disciplines. Such ambiguity in the use of terminology adds to the complexity in findings.

The data utilised in the studies under investigation come from a wide and varied selection of administrative data sources. Some utilising single country data, whilst others utilising cross-country data to allow for comparisons. It is very difficult to craft questions about attitudes towards immigrants that will be understood and interpreted in the same way across different countries. Critical assessment of comparability is a fundamental requirement. The validity of the data is not under

scrutiny here, however the purpose for which the data is collected is. This data is collected for a myriad of social wellbeing purposes, certainly not for the sole purpose of studying immigration nor attitudes to immigration. Coupled with the fact that the data analysis techniques vary from study to study, it is not surprising that the results are so inconclusive.

The importance of this being that if these issues are addressed and operationalised, it could help researchers to find some consensus across and within disciplines in what shapes, forms or influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

Further research in the area of studying attitudes towards immigrants and immigration would benefit from generating data specific for the purpose and the country under investigation, rather than consolidating pre-existing administrative data generated from, and for, many countries into one single study. This would allow for detailed, unambiguous results and would not be compounded by translation and comprehension issues.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

Immigration is not a new phenomenon in many developed Western countries. However, rising levels and diversity of immigration, and changes in immigration policy have led to substantial shifts in the cultural make up of some countries. This is particularly the case for settler colonial countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand that over the last half century have shifted from more culturally homogeneous societies to more culturally heterogeneous societies. The key implications of this change are the societal attitudes towards immigration and immigrants that has been the primary focus of this thesis.

The primary objective of this research was to investigate the *factors that shape, form or influence attitudes towards immigrants and immigration* through a narrative review methodology. The use of the narrative review has allowed me to review an extensive array of (predominantly scholarly) international literature to synthesise this very complex and controversial topic. The findings of this research uncovered a very large number of publications which at times provide contradictory conclusions. This creates challenges for application, perhaps particularly for policy makers who turn to this kind of information to develop immigration and integration policy.

The key argument of the thesis is as follows: While attitudes form our behaviour, they are also an outcome of complex historical, social, economic and political processes. Researchers must be cognisant of these processes when studying and writing about the topic of attitudes to immigrants and immigration. At times, researchers have overlooked these factors, particularly when many studies have been conducted in cross-country settings or in times of social, economic or political instability or conversely, prosperity. Problems then arise that data

collected at a particular point of time and place may not be relevant, or conducive to comparative measurements across contexts. Additionally, the study of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration incorporates diverse, and at times contradictory, theories and methodologies which this thesis argues has resulted in being more additive than integrative to the already abundant body of literature available. The acknowledgement of the need for theoretical clarity and methodological firmness is well overdue.

The following section will offer key findings from each of the chapters presented earlier in this thesis. These findings will be followed by a personal interpretation of theory that has been overlooked in the literature which I believe could be helpful for future research. The next section will summarise the key arguments made throughout this thesis. The chapter will then cover the limitations of this research and conclude with recommendations for future research.

7.2 Key Findings

This thesis has demonstrated how a range of ideas from a range of scholarly disciplines produce a range of very differing results. In what follows I discuss the main points that have been derived from each chapter before I offer gaps that I have identified in the literature.

7.2.1 Immigrant integration policy

Chapter 2 drew upon findings of a recently emerged trend in academic literature on immigration, which is a focus on the connection between attitudes towards immigrants and immigration and the development of immigrant integration policies. Knowing what negatively influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration of the native-born is crucial as it will allow policy makers to mitigate its causes, reduce intergroup tensions and encourage social harmony in the future (Barcelo, 2016).

The insights presented in this research on immigrant integration policies were drawn from three traditional countries of immigration: Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Using these countries as exemplars, Chapter 2 reviewed the political foci of their relative immigrant integration and multicultural policies by means of

reflecting on the specific historical and political configurations while reiterating the influence of colonialism on the outcomes for immigrants and their interactions with established settler and indigenous cultures. It found that these countries had similar policy formation trajectories (a shift from admission based on race and ethnicity toward a more targeted selection based on specific labour market needs). They also share a similar focus on national and civic identities. It was salient to address national and civic identities in this research as it has been argued that promoting a shared sense of national identity provides the social cohesion that enables a society to surmount adversity and promote discourse around the importance of inclusion (McAllister, 2018). Civic identity is relevant and readily achieved by governments promoting the political and societal engagement of immigrants, which in turn fosters positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration by the native-born population. The insights drawn from this chapter concludes that "Natives with civic conceptions of identity tend to hold less restrictionist attitudes towards immigration than those who emphasise national theory of identity" (Tan, 2014, p. 3). The policy implication of this conclusion is that creating more favourable attitudes towards immigrants and immigration may require a reformulation and more prominent address of national and civic identities.

7.2.2 Economic

Economists have a longstanding interest in the effects of immigration on the labour market and the national economy as a whole. It is contended by some economists that the perceived economic threat posed by the presence of immigrants fosters anti-immigrant attitudes, whilst others perceive the economic impacts of immigration on attitudes to be positive or neutral. Herein even when broken down into macro-level factors such as labour market competition, wages and skills debates or macro-level factors such as the national economy, GDP and taxes, welfare and social services, economic threat theory the findings were inconclusive across multiple studies. Against those studies who find support for economic threat theory other studies refute this theory claiming that economic threat theory casts only weak (or non-existent) relationships between attitudes

towards immigrants and immigration and economic threat. Thus an overarching finding could be that economic threat is somewhat of a "zombie theory", being that it is existent, but lacks capacity to function effectively.

Furthermore, the economic literature reviewed in this thesis often made reference to a complex interaction between economic and cultural factors that shape, form or influence attitudes to immigrants and immigration. Many authors argue that they should be studied in unison for accurate results, whilst others argue that solely one or the other is more salient therefore that must be studied in isolation. For the purpose of this thesis I chose to study the theories independently and the next section summarises the findings on cultural factors from a social psychological perspective.

7.2.3 Social psychological

The key concern for many social-psychologists is to develop an understanding of everyday life, and in the context of this thesis, the challenges of living in increasingly diverse societies. The study of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is common-place in social-psychological literature and much of the literature argues that by understanding the differing approaches to the constructs of ethnic, social and national identities, this may assist in understanding determinants of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Socio-psychological theory also considers preference toward particular acculturation strategies of both the members of the receiving country and the immigrants themselves, and the quantity and quality of contact with immigrants.

The theoretical explanations from a social-psychological perspective are less complex than those of economic theory, however the findings are equally complex, and inconsistent. This theory primarily focuses on two fundamental issues: individual and group characteristics, and contact between groups. What is very prevalent in the literature is the importance of contact. Contact theory suggests that frequent and voluntary contact reduces prejudice and therefore members of the in-group are more accepting of the out-group, although it has been contended that attitudes will depend on the circumstances of the contact. The literature revealed that exploring the connections between acculturation strategies and

positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration has its flaws due to the universal and linear nature of Berry's 2x2 acculturation model, however most authors argue that integration is the most preferred method of acculturation.

Strategies and interventions that diminish the sense of threat that is often associated with immigration will contribute to greater support government policy. Integration policy which fosters frequent and voluntary contact under favourable conditions has the potential to offset negative perceptions of, and attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Contact in this context can be generated through experiences of intercultural contact in public spaces (Wise & Noble, 2016) such as cultural festivals and other community-based events.

7.2.4 Diversities and determinants

Immigrants are characterised by a high degree of heterogeneity with respect to skills, education, age, gender, cultural background, and ethnicity (Nijkamp & Poot, 2012) which the literature refers to in a myriad of ways. One element of the heterogeneity of findings concerns individual and country level determinants of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Within this paradigm there are many competing findings and the reviewed studies revealed a diversified picture. Some authors argue that attitudes of the native-born will be a reflection of their age, education, labour force status, skillset, gender or combination of the above characteristics. The need for findings to be highly contextually focused has been reiterated throughout this thesis, and this is a prime example.

There was no overall consensus in the literature on individual level determinants. For example some authors argued that males were more pro-immigration than females, whilst others argued that females were more tolerant of immigration than men. Thankfully there was one factor that found some unanimity and that was that native-born who are more educated are significantly less racist than those who are not, and as a result place greater value on cultural diversity than do their counterparts.

The methodological and terminological diversity of the literature on determinants of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration has contributed to lack of

consistency in the findings. This review uncovered an abundance of methodology and terminology that has been used that has resulted in a questionable manifestation of evidence that is interpreted, analysed and compared in as many ways as there are studies. The significance of the diversity of terminology is that in different contexts and different countries these words have different meanings therefore comprehension across readers will also be different. Furthermore when the terminology is inconsistent across the literature, this compounds the irregularities that saturate this topic.

The research on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is dominated by the use of an abundance of national and international administrative and survey data. Often this data is used to make cross-country comparisons yet this thesis has found this method to be less-than-helpful, especially when keeping in mind the obstacles of comprehension and translation across national borders.

7.3 Gaps in the literature

Chapters throughout this thesis have discussed theories that are commonly associated with attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. This is not an exhaustive list, the scope of this thesis limits such an exercise. It is important to note in conclusion that there are theoretical perspectives that have been largely overlooked and could be very beneficial to gain a wider sociological perspective on what shapes, forms and influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Most notable in this regard are a focus on social construction and encounters.

As cited in Lyons et al. (2011) "…the social constructionist approach…..moves away from static and decontextualized accounts, enabling an exploration of wider socio-political forces and the role of 'the majority' to examine how 'lay theories' of cultural diversity are (re)produced" (p.15). Incorporating social constructionism can assist us to make sense of how everyday knowledge becomes embedded into people's schema. Social constructionism can be defined as "the differing ways that meanings are constructed and reconstructed though peoples' histories in interacting with each other: how people experience the world and make sense of

it is primarily the product of socio-cultural processes" (Lock and Strong (2010, p. 2). Attitudes, from this perspective are not fixed or allocated particular meanings. Attitudes, rather, are constructed in social settings and encounters which morph into ideologies that promote the wellbeing of some, while disempowering others. Inclusive and exclusive diversity become modes of the social organisation of difference in everyday life (Ye, 2016). How this occurs will differ over time, and in different settings and contexts.

The basic tenet of social constructionism is that by utilising this theory it can assist us to understand what people know, and how they come to know it, or alternatively the ways in which people assign meaning to, and interpret, the social world (Hodgetts et al., 2010). Individuals must vie with these individually assigned meanings, many of which may contain imperfect representations, stereotypes and prejudices (Hodgetts et al., 2010). Through communication and interpersonal contact (and more salient in this case intercultural contact) we form an attitude about the 'other' culture or out-group. Therefore, subconsciously, we participate in the production and construction of social phenomena through contact with others. According to this argument, attitudes are socially constructed and are therefore highly variable and have potential to change as a result of encounters and experiences. My argument therefore rests on a claim that social reality is constantly shifting and is actively produced by individuals and communities. Deeper inquiry into how attitudes are formed, shaped or influenced in social encounters is therefore worth exploring.

Another area that may offer scope to extend the study of attitudes to immigrants and immigration comes from geographical and sociological studies of urban encounters (Georgiou, 2008; Valentine, 2008), conviviality (Wise & Noble, 2016), and co-existence (Ye, 2016). These concepts have significant relevance to literature on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration because they draw attention to the sites where attitudes are formed in daily life. Here I offer three examples of where social geography and social constructionism can offer new insights for the study of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

Firstly, referring to contact theory, Valentine (2008) suggests that it is naïve to assume that contact per se creates positive attitudes (as discussed on Chapter 4) or in her words, will transpire into respect or tolerance of diversity. Moreover, she argues that while contact often manifests an awareness of difference it does not necessarily lead to *respect for tolerance*. Valentine (2008) continues through the lens of urban encounters to argue that to acquire respect or tolerance for diversity that mixing, interaction, and shared use of space is paramount. These concepts require something of a mutual or civic exchange. Examples of such exchange include customers and shop keepers, encounters at a bus stop, patrons of restaurants and cafes, riding in a taxi, or even asking for directions on the street. These exchanges, Valentine (2008) argues, are more ascendant to how or why people form attitudes towards strangers - or in line with the rhetoric in this thesis - immigrants than contact per se. Urban encounters help us to understand how contact can lead to socially constructed attitudes that then influences encounters themselves.

The second example where a focus on urban encounters could be applied to existing theory is identity theory. As has been commented by Compton-Lilly et al. (2017), rather than identity being shared, identity should be understood as negotiated as identities are continually evolving – it is an iterative process, not a stagnant 'thing'. Therefore by applying how moments of urban encounter, civic exchange and social interaction, we can better understand how identities will be formed through these forms of encounter (or contact).

The third and final example comes from the work of (Ye, 2016), in which she uses Singapore as an example where (social) co-existence is strongly encouraged. Here she uses an example of "*Gui Ju"*. *Gui Ju* can be described as a local term indicating the social organisation of difference in everyday life (Ye, 2016). Ye argues that "*Gui Ju* creates boundaries between those who adhere to social codes of contact and those who do not. This is most clearly seen in the interactions between new migrants and locals" (p. 97). *Gui Ju* explains the proper code of conduct in public spaces, endorsing approved forms of social behaviours and activities. In these spaces, actions are regulated in certain ways, and scorned upon are those who

transgress the normative rules for public spaces. This is where normative behaviours are learnt and reproduced – and therefore socially constructed.

Should we want to make new pathways to understanding attitudes towards immigrants and immigration it could well be useful to start incorporating some of the ideas to be drawn from studies of urban encounters and co-existence. This type of research can then be used to inform immigration policy. As described in Chapter 2 social integration and cohesion is at the forefront of many an immigration policy agenda and is expressed in an array of rhetorical forms.

7.4 Summary of key arguments

Drawing on these separate findings there are four key arguments that can be made from the material presented in this thesis.

1. The principal findings from this thesis could be applicable to all colonial-settler countries which include, but are not limited to, the traditional immigrant-receiving countries of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, as well as other contexts where immigration remains a significant part of population dynamics. This thesis has pointed to the importance of context in understanding how attitudes towards immigrants and immigration emerge and change over time – particularly in terms of political settings, as well as social and economic conditions. While beyond the scope of this thesis, there is also clearly a need to explore the historical background to present attitudes. This suggests that there is a need for future research in countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand to explore the relevance of colonial ideology and the salience of its social, political and historical dimensions which influence attitudes to immigrants (or any other minority groups).

2. There is a divergence between economic and social psychological perspectives in terms of the ways in which similarities and differences amongst population groups influence attitudes. From the economic perspective, similarities between immigrants and the native-born in terms of skill level, education and job status lead to negative attitudes because

there is a perception that immigrants compete for the same scarce resources. By contrast, from the social psychological lens, differences lead to negative attitudes wherein cultural identities that are quite distinct from dominant norms can be interpreted as a threat that immigrants pose to prevailing identities of the host country. This divergence appears to reveal an underlying tension in attitudes to immigration and immigrants between the disciplines discussed in this thesis and the drivers of attitudes within these disciplines. At the time of completing this thesis, a very recent study was published has been identified that supports this claim. Goldin et al. (2018) argue that attitudes towards immigrants can be distilled down to two factors: solidarity and scarcity. Solidarity reflects social values and identities (social psychological theory), whilst scarcity reflects competition for limited resources (economic threat theory).

3. Positive attitudes toward immigrants are found among the native-born who hold a more sociotropic approach (as opposed to a self-interest approach) toward society in general. Sociotropic-based attitudes are shaped by cultural impacts and to a lesser extent, economic impacts. This could be correlated to education in that more educated the native-born is, the more likely they are to exhibit lower levels of ethnocentrism and place more emphasis on cultural diversity, while also recognising the positive economic impacts of immigration.

4. The quantitative inquiry to date has been the dominant research methodology in the study of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Quantitative inquiry is useful for making objective generalisations across groups of people but does not assist in providing detailed accounts of individual experiences, which according to this thesis is a critical omission in this field of study. The addition of qualitative data will add breadth, depth and rigour to any social science research endeavour and this topic is no exception. If more prominence was placed on personal interpretations of human and social interactions or how people make sense of their world, this could advance our understandings

considerably and potentially provide some congruence to the quantitative-based findings.

7.5 Limitations

The findings presented in this thesis should be treated with caution as the narrative review methodology relies on a subjective representation of the literature as presented by the author. Most importantly, despite the systematic review of these bodies of literature there will always be gaps in the research that are identified, and the handling of different perspectives in the review may influence some of the claims made in this thesis. Additionally, while there is a vast amount of information provided in this thesis and in published literature, there is also information that is unavailable. For instance, it has not been possible to draw evidence from non-Western countries because of a limited range of research or publication in languages other than English.

7.6 Future research

While there are limitations associated with this research, there are also many opportunities for future research endeavours. This thesis concludes with suggestions for further research to assist in a deeper understanding of the nuances of this topic.

1. Anti-immigrant sentiments are often felt by those who have a strong sense of national identity, and who fear that immigrants may diminish aspects of their own identity. Future research could investigate which aspects of ethnic, social, civic or national identity are most salient to native-born populations.
2. It has been suggested in the literature that an identity is not a fixed attribute but rather negotiated as identities are perpetually evolving. There is a need to apply these understandings of identities as fluid to the study of attitudes, perhaps particularly in terms of how particular attitudes form around different national or civic identities.
3. Many studies use very general and ambiguous nationally and internationally representative administrative data when conducting

research on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Future research could benefit from researchers constructing their own independent fit-for-purpose, single country, mixed-method (qualitative and quantitative) methodology to potentially advance on the literature currently published. The task will bring together new approaches and insights that could serve as a coherent framework for future research.

4. An iterative point made throughout this thesis is the lack of qualitative data used in these studies. There is space for more qualitative inquiry to gain a deeper personal level understanding of what shapes, forms or influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

What shapes, forms and influences attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is a contentious issue which will continue to be debated and elaborated well into the future. This thesis concludes that attitudes towards immigrants and immigration will be in a constant state of flux as attitudes will be held sway by current and complex social, economic and political environments of any given country. With the limitations identified and potential future research in mind, it is imperative that researchers be cognisant of the issues of methodological and terminological diversity at the forefront of their endeavour. Although a universal and internationally applicable measurement of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is a euphoric venture, this thesis has perhaps provided some groundwork for further integration.

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Appendices

Appendix 1- Table of journal articles cited in this thesis that used survey and other types of data for analysis

Table of journal articles cited in this thesis that used survey and other types of data for analysis

NOTE: These sources reflect the diversity of discipline, country that the research was conducted in, and method of analysis - this is not an extensive list

Author	Year	Discipline	Country research conducted in	Data source(s)	Method of Analysis
Akbari, A. H., & MacDonald, M	2014	Social Policy	Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and US	Four papers, one from each country	Comparative analysis
Barcelo, J	2016	Social Policy	Asia-Pacific region	World Values Survey	Multilevel regression analysis
Bauer, T., et al	2000	Social Policy	12 OECD countries	Individual country level data (no further explanation given)	N/A
Bedford, R	2002	Social Policy	Australiasia, Europe and North America	Political speeches and other official docume	Discourse analysis
Bedford, R., & Spoonley, P	2014	Sociology	New Zealand	Immigration statistics	Quantitative analysis
Ben-num Bloom, P., et al	2015	Social Psychology & Economics	Europe	European Social Survey	Multi-level structural equation modelling
Berry, J.W., & Hou, F	2016	Social Psychology	Canada	Statistics Canada General Social Survey	Multivariate analysis
Blewden, M., et al et al	2010	Social Science	New Zealand	Semi-structured interviews	Qualitative analysis
Blinder, S	2015	Social Policy	UK	Ipsos MORI survey	Multilevel regression analysis
Brenner, J., & Fertig, M	2006	Economics	Germany	European Social Survey	Structural latent variable model
Burns, P., & Gimpel, J. G	2000	Economics, Social Psychology & Social Policy	US	American National Election Survey	Weigthed least squares
Card, D., et al	2005	Economics and Sociology	UK	European Social Survey	Quantitative analysis
Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X	2010	Sociology	Europe	104 publications on attitudes towards immigrants	Comparative analysis
Citrin, J., et al et al	1997	Economics	US	American National Election Survey	Multivariate analysis
Compton-Lilly, C., et al	2017	Sociology	US	Collective case study	Qualitative analysis
Dancygier, R., & Donnelly, M	2013	Economics	UK	European Social Survey	Multiple regression analyses
Dandy, J., & Pe-Pua, R	2010	Social Psychology &Social Policy	3 Australian states	International Study of Attitudes toward Immigration and Settlement data	Multivariate analyses of variance
Dustmann, C., & Preston, I	2004	Economics	UK	British Social Attitudes Survey	Multiple factor analysis
Esses, V.M., et al	2001	Psychology	Canada and US	Own survey	Regression analysis
Facchini, G., & Mayda, M	2008	Economics	34 countries	International Social Survey Programme	Multilevel regression analysis
Gendall, P., et al	2007	Sociology	New Zealand	Own surveys (two)	Quantitative analysis

Table of journal articles cited in this thesis that used survey and other types of data for analysis

NOTE: These sources reflect the diversity of discipline, country that the research was conducted in, and method of analysis - this is not an extensive list

Author	Year	Discipline	Country research conducted in	Data source(s)	Method of Analysis
Grbic, D	2010	Social Psychology & Social Policy	New Zealand	NZ portions of International Social Survey Programme	Hierarchical cluster analysis and Multiple correspondence analysis
Guo, S., & Guo, Y	2016	Social Policy	Canada	Case study	Document and quantitative analysis
Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J	2010	Social Policy	US	Original survey experiment embedded into a nationwide US survey	Factor-proportion model
Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J	2007	Economics	22 European countries	European Social Survey	Heckscher-Ohlin
Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D	2014	Social Policy	North America and Western Europe	Review of 100 studies from more than 24 countries	Literautre review
Hainmueller, J., et al	2015	Social Policy & Economics	Switzerland	Own natural experiment	Factor proportion and Specific factors model
Hainmueller, J., et al	2015	Economics	US	Own survey	Multilevel regression analysis
Hopkins, D., et al	2018	Political Science	US	7 original survey experiments	Quantitative analysis
Johansson, L	2018	Social Psychology	Finland	Own survey	Linear multilevel analysis
Johnson, R., et al.	2010	Social Psychology	New Zealand	Own survey	Multinominal regression analysis
Koopmans, R	2013	Social Policy	Europe, NZ, Australia, US and Canada	Immigration policy documents	Quantitative analysis
Leong, C.-H., & Ward, C	2011	Social Psychology	New Zealand	Own survey	Hierarchical regression models
Longhi, S., et al	2005	Economics	the Netherlands and NZ	18 papers	Meta-analysis
Longhi, S., et al	2010	Economics	Worldwide	Existing literature	Multiple economic analyses
Lyons, A.C., et al	2011	Social Psychology	New Zealand	Focus groups	Discourse analysis
Malchow - Moller, N. M.	2009	Social Psychology & Economics	15 EU countries	European Social Survey	Regression analysis
Malhotra, N., et al	2013	Economics	US	Own survey	Multivariate analysis
Markaki, Y., & Longhi, S	2013	Economics	24 European countries	European Social Survey	Ordinary least squares modelling
Martinez I Coma, F., et al	2018	Social Psychology, Economics & Political Science	Australia	Australian Election Study	Multilevel regression analysis
Mayda, A.M	2006	Economics	21 Developed countries	ISSP 1995, WVS 1995-97	Factor-proportion and Heckscher-Ohlin models
McAllister, I	2018	Social Psychology	Australia	ANU Poll on National Identity	Factor analysis
Meyers, E	2000	Social Policy	Western democratically governed countries	Review of pre-exisiting policies	Comparative and quantitiative analysis

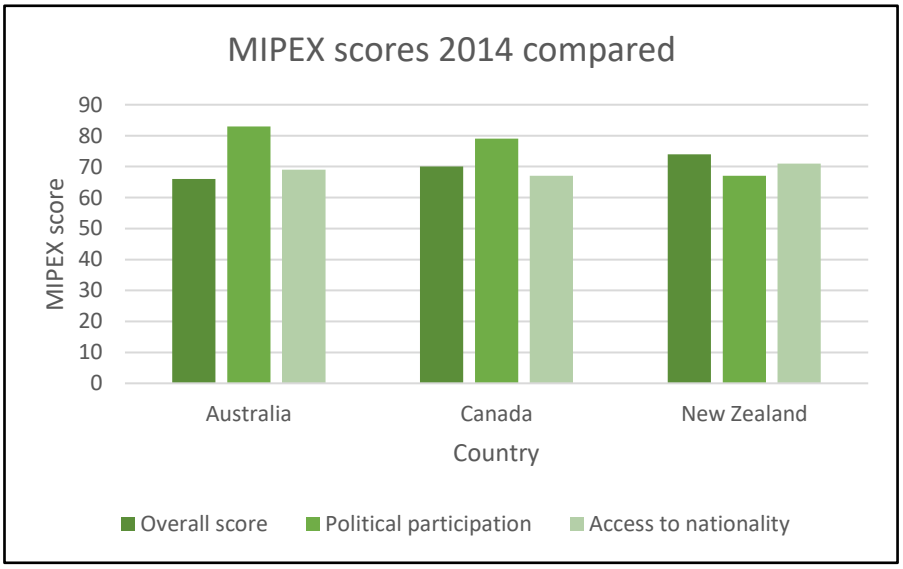
Table of journal articles cited in this thesis that used survey and other types of data for analysis

NOTE: These sources reflect the diversity of discipline, country that the research was conducted in, and method of analysis - this is not an extensive list

Author	Year	Discipline	Country research conducted in	Data source(s)	Method of Analysis
Nijkamp, P., & Poot, J	2012	Economics	the Netherlands	Literature review	Many analysis methods used
O'Rourke, K. H., & Sinnot, R	2005	Economics	24 developed countries	International Social Survey Programme	Heckscher-Ohlin
Pettigrew, T.F., et al	2011	Social Psychology	Worldwide	Meta-analysis of 515 studies	Literautre review
Phinney, J.S., et al	2001	Social Policy & Social Psychology	US, Israel, Finland and the Netherlands	Own surveys	Not stated
Poot, J., & Cochrane, B	2005	Economics	New Zealand	18 papers from international literature	Literautre review
Quillian, L	1995	Social Psychology	12 countries in the EEC	Eurobarometer	Multi-level structural equation modelling
Rother, N	2005	Sociology	5 European countries	European Social Survey	Multifactor analysis
Rustenbach, E	2010	Economics, Social Psychology & Social Policy	European countries	European Social Survey and Eurostat	Hierarchical linear models
Scheve, K. F., & Slaughter, M. J	2001	Economics	US	American National Election Studies	Factor-proportion, Heckscher-Ohlin and Area-analysis models
Schlueter, E., & Scheepers, P	2010	Social Policy & Social Psychology	the Netherlands	Dutch Social Survey	Structural equation modeling
Schlueter, E., et al	2013	Social Policy & Social Psychology	27 Western and Eastern Europe countries	Eurobarometer and European Value Survey	Multilevel regression analysis
Sibley, C. G., & Ward, C	2013	Psychology	New Zealand	New Zealand Attitudes and Values Survey	One-way ANCOVA
Sides, J., & Citrin, J	2007	Social Policy & Economics	20 European countries	European Social Survey	Multivariate analysis
Skilling, P	2013	Management	New Zealand	Political speeches and other official documents	Discourse analysis
Ueffing, P., et al	2015	Social Policy, Economics & Sociology	Australia and Germany	International Social Survey Programme	Several types of regression models
Van Oudenhoven, J. P., et al	2006	Social Psychology	Seven countries in Western Europe, Oceania and North America	Literature review	N/A
Ward, C., & Masgoret, A.-M	2006	Social Psychology	New Zealand	Own survey	Structural equation modeling
Ward, C., & Masgoret, A.-M	2008	Social Psychology	New Zealand	Own survey	Structural equation modeling

Appendix 2 – MIPEX Scores

MIPEX Scores – Canada		
Indicator	**Score**	**Rank**
Overall	68	6/38
Political participation	48	20/38
Access to nationality	67	8/38
MIPEX Scores - Australia		
Indicator	**Score**	**Rank**
Overall	66	8/38
Political participation	64	9/38
Access to nationality	69	5/38
MIPEX Scores – New Zealand		
Indicator	**Score**	**Rank**
Overall	70	3/38
Political participation	74	4/38
Access to nationality	71	4/38



Appendix 3 – Civic Integration

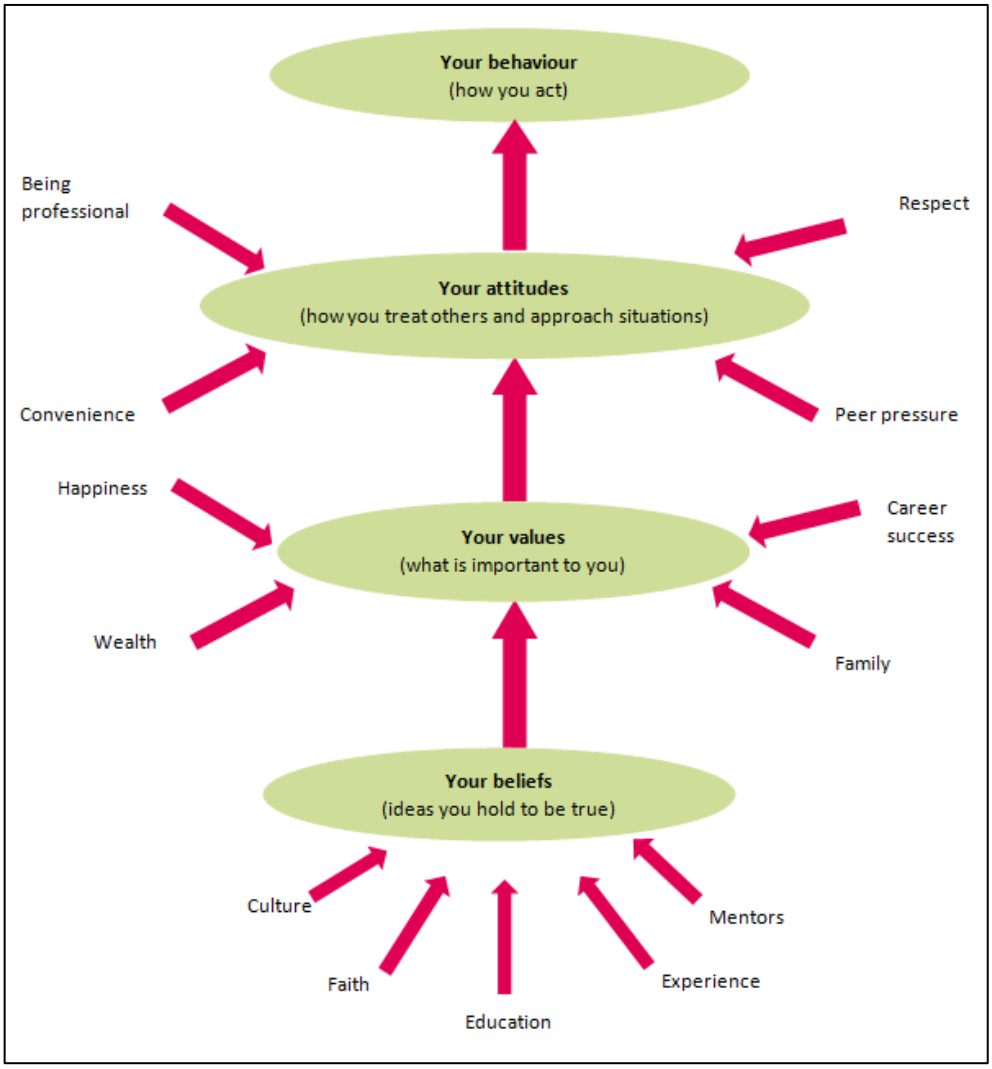
Country	Democratic inclusiveness	Political participation	Citizenship test
New Zealand	Outside of the EU, New Zealand is the most democratically inclusive destination for immigrants in the developed world – or 4th of the 38 countries measured by MIPEX in the world (MPI, 2014).	New Zealand is a world leader in granting equal opportunities for political participation to recent immigrants. Recent immigrants to New Zealand are eligible to vote after one year of permanent residence.	No citizenship 'test'. Rather applicants must sign a form attesting that they have sufficient knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges attached to NZ citizenship
Australia	Australia ranks 8 out of 38 in the world as a democratically inclusive destination for immigrants (MPI, 2014).	Recent immigrants to Australia are eligible to vote after four years of permanent residence.	Citizenship test is mandatory
Canada (Quebec)	Canada ranks 6 out of 38 in the world as a democratically inclusive destination for immigrants (MPI, 2014).	Canada encourages immigrants to contribute to civic life by becoming Canadian citizens which is granted after 3-4 years of permanent residency	Canada does not exert local democracy through voting rights

Appendix 4 – Data Sources Cited in the Literature

Data Source	What is it?	Citation
American National Election Studies (ANES)	The ANES produces high quality data from its own surveys on voting, public opinion, and political participation across America. It now runs surveys every four years	https://electionstudies.org/
ANUpoll	ANUPoll is a quarterly survey of Australian public opinion. It places public opinion in a broad policy context, and by benchmarking Australia against international opinion the ANUpoll is also able to follow trends in opinions over many decades	http://csrm.cass.anu.edu.au/research/surveys/anupoll
British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS)	This annual survey conducted in Britain focuses on people's attitudes towards a wide range of social, political and moral issues, including immigration. It began in 1983 and continues today trying to improve life in the UK	http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/about/about.aspx
Eurobarometer	The Standard Eurobarometer was established in 1974. Each survey consists of approximately 1000 face-to-face interviews per country and reports are published twice yearly.	http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm#p=1&instruments=STANDARD
European Social Survey (ESS)	The ESS is an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted across Europe since its establishment in 2001. Every two years, face-to-face interviews are conducted with newly selected, cross-sectional samples from approximately 38 European countries	https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/
International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)	The ISSP is a cross-national collaboration programme conducting annual surveys on diverse topics relevant to social sciences. 45 countries from North and South America, Africa, Europe,	http://w.issp.org/menu-top/home/

	Asia and Oceania are members of the ISSP which has been operating since 1982	
International Study of Attitudes toward Immigration and Settlement (ISATIS)	Developed by John W Berry and colleagues, the main focus of this study is to examine the views of all members of a society to determine whether backgrounds factors, in particular cultural and economic security predict attitudes	https://ac.els-cdn.com/S0147176706000502/1-s2.0-S0147176706000502-main.pdf?_tid=daa2f176-bdb3-48be-9370-d769ffd05ae6&acdnat=1540848518_e71826ad24792e61554c0e04875cba07
New Zealand Attitudes and Values Survey (NZAVS)	The New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS) is a 20-year longitudinal probability study (2009 to 2029) of social attitudes, personality and health outcomes. The NZAVS is led by Professor Chris Sibley, and is unique to New Zealand	https://www.psych.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/our-research/research-groups/new-zealand-attitudes-and-values-study.html
World Values Survey (WVS)	The WVS is a global network of social scientists studying changing values and their impact on social and political life. The WVS started in 1981 and conducts its research in almost 100 countries worldwide. Studies are conducted in 5 yearly 'waves'	http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp

Appendix 5 – What is an Attitude?



Appendix 6 – Methods of Analysis

Method of analysis	Explanation	Citation
Factor Proportion model	Factor Proportion model is based on a modern concept of production that raises capital to the same level of importance as labour. It is also known as a more generic version of the H-O model	https://owlcation.com/social-sciences/FACTOR-PROPORTIONS-MODEL
Heckscher-Ohlin model	Heckscher-Ohlin model is a general equilibrium mathematical model of international trade. The model in essence states that international trade occurs because countries differ in relative factor endowments (land, labour and capital) and measures the comparative advantages of these goods	http://www.economicsdiscussion.net/articles/the-heckscher-ohlin-h-o-model-with-diagram/6583
Hierarchical Linear Model	Hierarchical linear modeling is an ordinary least square regression-based analysis that takes the hierarchical structure of the data into account	https://www.statisticssolutions.com/hierarchical-linear-modeling/
Hierarchical Regression	Hierarchical Regression, a variant of the basic regression procedure that allows you to specify a fixed order of entry for variables in order to control for the effects of covariates or to test the effects of certain predictors independent of the influence of others	https://www.researchgate.net/file.PostFileLoader.html?id=5551cb715f7f716aa18b45b6&assetKey=AS%3A273775101186049%4014422844791103
Literature Review	Literature reviews provide a critical overview of a range of sources (literature) on a particular topic. This is often done in the context of a larger study, to provide a solid foundation for further research	http://owll.massey.ac.nz/assignment-types/literature-review.php
Meta-analysis	Meta-analysis is a set of techniques used "to combine the results of a number of different reports into one report to create a single, more precise estimate of an effect	https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/neuroscience/meta-analysis
Multilevel Regression analysis	Multilevel Regression analysis is an approach that can be used to manage clustered or grouped data. A multilevel model uses random variables to model the variation between groups	http://www.statstutor.ac.uk/resources/uploaded/multilevelmodelling.pdf
Multivariate analysis	Multivariate analysis is a set of techniques used for analysis of data sets that contain more than one variable, and the techniques are especially valuable when working with correlated variables	https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/biochemistry-genetics-and-molecular-biology/multivariate-analysis
Ordinary Least Squares	Ordinary Least Squares regression model: A regression provides a statistic which is a measure of the goodness of fit of the	https://onlinecourses.science.psu.edu/stat501/node/352/)

regression model	regression line to the data points. Ordinary least squares assumes that there is constant variance in the errors of analysis	
Regression Analysis	Regression Analysis is used to see if there is a statistically significant relationship between sets of variables	http://www.statisticshowto.com/probability-and-statistics/regression-analysis/
Structural Equation modeling	Structural Equation modeling is a multivariate statistical analysis technique that is used to analyse structural relationships. This technique is the combination of factor analysis and multiple regression analysis, and it is used to analyse the structural relationship between measured variables and latent constructs	www.statisticssolutions.com/structural-equation-modeling/
Structural Latent Variable model	A latent variable model is a statistical model that relates a set of observed variables to a set of latent variables. Structural equation modelling emphasises the functional relationships among these variables	https://support.sas.com/documentation/onlinedoc/stat/141/introcalis.pdf
Weighted Least Squares regression model	A regression provides a statistic which is a measure of the goodness of fit of the regression line to the data points. Ordinary least squares assumes that there is constant variance in the errors of analysis. The method of weighted least squares can be used when the ordinary least squares assumption of constant variance in the errors is violated	https://onlinecourses.science.psu.edu/stat501/node/352/

Glossary of Terms

Since many concepts, terminology, and language that are discussed in this thesis are complex constructs that have been used synonymously, interchangeably, and with much contraction, I provide working definitions for clarity and the ability to read this thesis with continuity and regularity in the lexis.

Definitions have been derived mostly on the key theoretical scholars in each area, but where this information is unavailable I turn to my own construction or those of a dictionary or organisation relevant to the discipline.

Acculturation = A series of changes in cultural mores (ideas, words, values, norms, behaviour, institutions) resulting from direct and continuous contact between groups of different cultures, particularly through migratory movements or economic exchanges. Acculturation can occur when one group adopts the traits of the dominant culture of a society in public life while keeping its own culture in the private sphere. Acculturation may also result in the creation of a new culture, one that synthesises elements of the two original cultures
Assimilation = Adaptation of one ethnic or social group – usually a minority – to another. Assimilation involves the subsuming of language, traditions, values, mores and behaviour or even fundamental vital interests. Although the traditional cultural practices of the group are unlikely to be completely abandoned, on the whole assimilation will lead one group to be socially indistinguishable from other members of the society. Assimilation is the most extreme form of acculturation
Attitude = A predisposition of a tendency to respond positively or negatively to a certain idea, object, person or situation. In the context of this thesis it will refer to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration
Biculturalism = Describes the co-existence, to varying degrees, of two originally distinct cultures in the same country or region
Citizenship = The state of being vested with the rights, privileges, and duties of a citizen living in any given country
Discrimination = A failure to treat all persons equally where no objective and reasonable distinction can be found between those favoured and those not favoured
Host country = the country to which an immigrant migrates to for the purpose of settlement. *Also referred to as destination country and receiving country.*
Immigrant = A person who voluntarily relocates to another country (other than their country of birth) for 12 months or more
Inclusion = Opening to the participation of people from all origins to the collective life of society, in accepting their differences and in the respect for democratic values, especially removing the obstacles to equal rights and conditions

In-group = A social group whose members are very loyal to each other and share a lot of interests and who usually try to keep other people out of the group**.** *Also referred to as the dominant group.*
Integration = While the term is used and understood differently in different countries and contexts, "integration" can be defined as the process by which immigrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups. Integration does not necessarily imply permanent settlement. It does, however, imply consideration of the rights and obligations of migrants and host societies, of access to different kinds of services and the labour market, and of identification and respect for a core set of values that bind immigrants and native-born in a common purpose
Low skilled immigrant = There is no internationally agreed definition low skilled worker. In broad terms, a semi-skilled worker is considered to be a person who requires a degree of training or familiarisation with the job before being able to operate at optimal efficiency. A less or low-skilled worker, on the other hand, is considered to be a person who has received less training than a semiskilled worker or, having not received any training, has still acquired his or her competence on the job
Multiculturalism = An Integration approach that recognizes, manages and maximizes the benefits of cultural diversity. Immigrants remain distinguishable from the majority population through their language, culture and social behaviour without jeopardizing national identity
Native – born = A person who was born in the country under consideration
Naturalisation = Granting by a State of its nationality to a non-national through a formal act on the application of the individual concerned. International law does not provide detailed rules for naturalisation, but it recognizes the competence of every State to naturalise those who are not its nationals and who apply to become its nationals
Out-group = Those people who do not belong to a specific in-group, and considered to be inferior or alien to the in-group
Participation = Refers to an ideal of commitment of all members of society in the spheres of life collective. It is the reflection of a conjugation successful individual abilities and aspirations and inclusive practices of society
Sending country = The country that the immigrant departs from. *Also referred to as the country of origin and source country*