# Immigration and Immigrants

The Extreme Right in Western Europe

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# Last week

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  - ▶ Works mostly via encapsualtion
  - ▶ No direct effect of religious beliefs on vote or immigration attitudes
- ▶ But many parties ditch their traditional anti-semitism to focus on Islam/Muslims
- ▶ Attacks on (problematic aspects of) religion more acceptable than traditional racism/xenophobia?!?

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## Immigration fears

▶ Immigration of Non-West-Europeans became central issue for
  all parties of the Extreme Right from ca. 1980
▶ Extreme Right vote closely correlated with
  ▶ Support for anti-immigration policies
  ▶ Negative attitudes towards immigrants
▶ But what is behind it?

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# Immigration fears

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- ▶ Extreme Right vote closely correlated with
    - ▶ Support for anti-immigration policies
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- ▶ But what is behind it?
    - ▶ Fear?
    - ▶ Hate?
    - ▶ Competition?
    - ▶ Economic considerations
    - ▶ A realistic view of state capacities?
- ▶ Are all the Extreme Right parties equally xenophobic (e. g. Vlaams Blok vs. Norwegian Progress Party)?

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# Theoretical positions on group conflict

- ▶ Very broad spectrum of explanations ranging from the visceral to the rational
- ▶ Examples:
    - ▶ Scapegoating: "Others" as target for unrelated frustration
    - ▶ Varieties of (relative) deprivation theory: Debase "others" to feel better about position of own group
    - ▶ Varieties of social identity theory: hostility towards "others" helps to create (random) collective identity
    - ▶ Mobilisation against "others" to improve access to resources, status, benefits for in-group
- ▶ Negative reaction to out-group over-determined
- ▶ But conflict between "natives" and "immigrants" framed & politicised, not random

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# Two hypotheses: ethnic competition vs. contact

▶ Two *very* prominent approaches
  1. (Perceived) competition/threat from out-group creates hostility
  2. (Positive) contacts with out-group members reduce hostility

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# Two hypotheses: ethnic competition vs. contact

► Two *very* prominent approaches
  1. (Perceived) competition/threat from out-group creates hostility
  2. (Positive) contacts with out-group members reduce hostility
► Mixed evidence
  ► Levels and interactions
  ► Patterns of segregation

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# Four immigration frames

▶ Remember: Frames = intellectual devices for interpreting/defining social/political problems

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# Four immigration frames

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▶ Four prominent immigration frames:
  1. Immigrants as a threat to national identity/culture
  2. Immigration fostering crime and social unrest

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- ▶ Four prominent immigration frames:
    1. Immigrants as a threat to national identity/culture
    2. Immigration fostering crime and social unrest
    3. Immigration as a cause of unemployment
    4. Immigrants as welfare cheats

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# Four immigration frames

- ▶ Remember: Frames = intellectual devices for interpreting/defining social/political problems
- ▶ Four prominent immigration frames:
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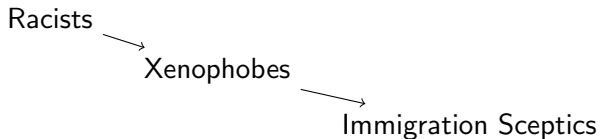    4. Immigrants as welfare cheats
- ▶ First two frames: ethnopluralism
- ▶ Frames 3&4: welfare chauvinism
- ▶ Diverging use/appeal in different countries

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# Types of anti-immigrant attitudes

- ▶ Very strong link between anti-immigrant attitudes and Extreme Right vote
    - ▶ Less than 3 per cent of the voters of the Extreme Right want "many immigrants"
    - ▶ 90%+ of the Extreme Right voters want "only a few" immigrants
- ▶ But: different type of anti-immigrant attitudes/immigration critics
    - ▶ Racists
    - ▶ Xenophobes
    - ▶ Immigration sceptics
- ▶ Non-symmetric overlap between categories

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# Types of anti-immigrant attitudes

Racists

    ↘

        Xenophobes

            ↘

                Immigration Sceptics

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## Say what?

Xenophobia: "Fear of strangers or guests"

- ▶ All people should live amongst their own kind
- ▶ Hostility/fear towards strangers
- ▶ But only if they come too close to own group and threaten identity

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Racism:  Fundamental inequality of groups

- ▶ Traditional (biological) racism: hierarchy based on genetic makeup
- ▶ Modern (cultural) racism: based on culture, formal equality (but intermingling still dangerous/evil)

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Immigration Sceptics: Simply want to stop/limit immigration

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# Data

- ▶ First round of ESS (2002/3), same as last week
- ▶ Six countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Norway
- ▶ Information
  - ▶ Vote for RRP
  - ▶ Socio-demographics
  - ▶ *Many* attitudes on immigrants/immigration
  - ▶ Also: Perceptions of ethnic heterogeneity & contacts with immigrants

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## Methods

- ▶ Multivariate logistic regressions
- ▶ Run in parallel on data from six countries
- ▶ Comparison of various models (I counted 13)
- ▶ Not necessarily the most lucid exposition

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# (Limited) evidence: scepticism or xenophobia

▶ Simple model of voting for the Extreme Right (table 1)

▶ Immigration scepticism: allow no/few immigrants

▶ Xenophobia: Immigrant as boss/spouse

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# (Limited) evidence: scepticism or xenophobia

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- ▶ Immigration scepticism: allow no/few immigrants
- ▶ Xenophobia: Immigrant as boss/spouse
- ▶ Boss/spouse indicator has (often) no significant effect once immigration scepticism is controlled for
- ▶ Xenophobia less crucial than expected?
- ▶ Problems?

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- ▶ Xenophobia less crucial than expected?
- ▶ Problems?
  - ▶ Two indicators for xenophobia
  - ▶ Multicollinearity, high degree of overlap

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## Frames and the RRP vote

- ▶ Table 2 tries to relate the (many) ESS indicators to frames
- ▶ Tested in various permutations
- ▶ Again: problems with multicollinearity
- ▶ Arguments based on (in)significance of effects, but estimated effects quite large

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## Which frames do work?

- ▶ Immigration and crime (works everywhere)
- ▶ National identity (does not work in France)
- ▶ Less success with welfare chauvinist frames (doe not work in Belgium, Norway; dodgy in Austria, Denmark Netherlands)
- ▶ Is that really the question we are interested in?

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# Competition or contact?

- ▶ Consequences of competition hypothesis:
  - ▶ RRP more successful in areas with more immigrants
  - ▶ RRP more successful with voters who face competition from immigrants: unskilled, low levels of education, male
- ▶ Contact hypothesis:
  - ▶ Less support for RRP in areas with more immigrants
  - ▶ Really that simple?
  - ▶ *Personal (positive) contacts*

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## Findings: competition vs. contact

- ▶ Table 3
- ▶ Perceived number of immigrants in local area has weak & inconsistent effect – why?
- ▶ Similarly, having immigrant friends does not really play (does not differentiate between European and other immigrants)

# Summary/class questions

► Can you summarise, in your own words, the core findings?
   Where do you see potential problems/shortcomings?

► Which of the four frames (national identity, crime,
   unemployment, welfare) is particularly relevant for which
   country/party? Has the situation changed recently, and how
   does "Europe" fit in?