What makes a well-integrated immigrant? Immigrant agency, a public consensus and a policy preference divergence.[1]

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Abstract: We all want well integrated immigrants. Yet, we rarely ask what this may mean, instead assessing integration successes or failure against arbitrary criteria. We asked the public of the host countries what kind of integration they want and which aspects of integration are more important than others. Using a survey-embedded conjoint experiment in the Netherlands and the UK, we show a stable hierarchy of preference of integration outcomes, with immigrant agency dimensions of integration dominating other understandings of integration. This hierarchy is a matter of wide spread consensus among different social groups and people with different ideologies and views on immigration. We also find that the public opinion on integration is divergent from opinion on immigration restrictions. While the public focuses on occupations and economic contribution in deciding what kinds of immigrants their country should welcome, these attributes are not seen as helpful in achieving integration success.

Introduction

We know very little about how the public understands integration success. We can infer what it is from what is often presented as lacking. Hence, from the recent criticisms of the alleged failures of multiculturalism as a model of immigrant integration we can assume that the public perceives three main problems: perceived lack of cultural integration (based on commonality of values and lifestyle), lack of immigrant loyalty to their new countries (arising from the incidences of 'home-grown' terrorists) and self-segregation of migrants (involving spatial segregation and lack of contact with host country's population). All of these issues rely heavily on what the immigrants need to and may be failing to do according to the host population- i.e. immigrant agency is a dominant facet of integration success in public debate. This is in clear contrast with the classic academic studies of integration, where immigrant success in the host country is measured with outcomes such as educational achievement, equality in the labour market or electoral success, which largely depend on the integration opportunities 'given' to immigrants by the host societies (Bean, Brown, Bachmeier, Fokkema, & Lessard-Phillips, 2012). Although the research on adoption of the host country's identity and values is fast growing (Maxwell, 2012), there is also little focus on the immigrant agency as a mechanism for cultural and value integration. As a result, while politicians decry the failings of multiculturalism, and while many academics defend its successes, both base their assumptions on different, and often arbitrarily argued, understandings of integration. While views about immigration restrictions have been intensively measured and we know from existing studies who the most and least desirable immigrants are (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014), we know very little about what the residents of host countries really think it means for immigrants to be well integrated into their society. So what is the public understanding of immigrant integration? What can immigrants do to integrate better? Are all the criteria present in the public debate used by the public in their calculus, or does the public debate

over integration miss the factors that concern the host population? We also do not know whether there is an overlap in how the public reasons about who should be given preference when entering the country and who will then make a well-integrated immigrant. Given that the immigration policy is much more politically salient than integration policy and that political parties rarely include integration policies in their election manifestos, it seems that the assumption mong policy makers is that simply limiting the numbers of immigrants to those who are seen as most desirable will solve the public dissatisfaction with the levels of immigrant integration as well. But does the public use the same for immigrant admissions criteria and integration? Do immigrants facing great opposition to admission also face tougher criteria when being judged on their integration? Can the desirable immigrant appear better integrated even if they meet fewer criteria of integration?

We use the cutting edge survey-embedded conjoint experiments in two countries- UK and the Netherlands- to deliver three important findings, all of which open new lines of inquiry and contribute to the policy debates around immigrant integration. First, we show that there is a clear and remarkably stable hierarchy of preference for integration outcomes. Second, we show that this hierarchy is not hugely sensitive to the usual demographic and ideological divisions. Third, we discover that there is a policy-relevant divergence between the public preferences on immigrant restriction and immigrant integration: not only are the attributes that make the immigrant welcome in the host country largely irrelevant for how well they are thought to be integrated, but also the desirable immigrants are given no preferential treatment by the public in what they are expected to do in order to integrate. We argue that these findings have far-reaching policy consequences.

The changing understanding of integration: from immigrant attainment to immigrant agency

Initially, the scholarly literature on integration has focused almost exclusively on immigrant attainment, with a one-dimensional and one-directional understanding of immigrant integration in which success in one domain is expected to necessarily and inevitably lead to success in other domains, from socio-economic to cultural and civic integration (Gordon, 1964; Park & Burgess, 1969). With time, this perspective fell out of favour, as research has moved its interest into the relationship betwe en the different dimensions of integration. This came at a cost of discussing immigrant agency in integration. Thus the later theories of integration, such as the segmented assimilation theory, argue that upward socio-economic integration into the white middle-class group may not necessarily be followed by cultural integration, with some minorities maintaining close links with their ethnic, cultural or religious communities and identities (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008; Fokkema & de Haas, 2011; Kymlicka, 1995; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

More recent research also argues that in fact there may be a trade-off between some aspects of integration. For instance, Maxwell (2012, 2013) has found that ethnic communities that are better socio-culturally integrated can be less successful in the political and economic realms. Others have argued that spatial segregation of ethnic minorities in specific urban areas could foster economic (Balakrishnan & Hou, 1999; Portes, 1987) and political integration (Leighley, 2001) or coexist with positive results in these and other dimensions (Musterd, 2003; Phillips, 2007). Yet, the literature that focuses on cultural and civic integration, usually classifies them with other organic and non-agency dimensions like identity, thus removing the focus on immigrants' agency which is clearly visible in the integration policy arena (Fokkema & de

Haas, 2011). We will argue that treating the cultural and civic integration as functions of immigrants' agency opens up new possibilities in studying public opinion on immigration.

The academic focus on agency dimensions of integration sprang from the literature documenting policy changes and dissecting the fall-out from the widely perceived failures of multiculturalism. In this context, the idea has emerged that immigrant attainment should certainly be a crucial but not necessarily dominant dimension of integration. The focus on overcoming discrimination to allow migrant populations to achieve success in education and employment (Koopmans & Statham, 2001; Vasta, 2007) have to be accompanied by what some scholars have defined as 'civic integration' (Goodman, 2010; Joppke, 2007). This refers to the expectation that immigrant populations will be willing to actively and directly contribute to the process of integration by adapting to the receiving society's culture and norms. More specifically, the civic element of integration entails crucial cultural integration, from the acquisition of language proficiency to the adherence to shared values and responsibilities.

Although the definition of these shared values and norms is still subject to heated debate at the national and European levels (Joppke, 2007), in the civic integration perspective, the acquisition of citizenship becomes, as explained by Goodman, "a *reward* – not a mechanism – for integration" (2010, p. 766, italics in the original). The implementation of civic integration is particularly problematic for multiculturalist countries like Britain and the Netherlands, as it requires them to move away from the ethnic, religious and linguistic identities previously encouraged and converge into a more assimilationist perspective, where migrants are expected to deliberately become more civically and culturally similar to the

mainstream (Brubaker, 2001). In this framework the emphasis is evidently on the responsibility of immigrants to integrate – and thus immigrant agency– rather than on the actions taken by the receiving society to facilitate the process of socio-economic integration (i.e. immigrant attainment).

Similarly to this scholarly literature, policy understanding of integration in Britain and the Netherlands also moved away from focussing on immigrant attainment, as it increasingly became centred on immigrant agency. Both Britain and the Netherlands are historically the examples of multicultural systems where immigrants are encouraged to maintain cultural and religious practices as well as create ethnic and religious institutions through which they can voice their collective needs and claims (Helbling, 2012). Despite these commonalities, there were always some significant differences (Joppke, 2007; Statham, Koopmans, Giugni, & Passy, 2005, p. 435). The Dutch approach has always been more orthodox, with a more institutionalised recognition of minority religious and ethnic groups stemming from the tradition of 'pillarisation' (Duyvendak, Pels, & Rijkschroeff, 2009; Uitermark, 2012, Chapter 4). In contrast, the UK has predominantly used 'race', and until recently not religion, as the main category used to identify and prevent discrimination and facilitate immigrant attainment (Joppke, 2007; Statham et al., 2005, p. 435). Ultimately, both countries have experienced a very similar shift from this 'multiculturalist' approach to more restrictive measures based on the idea of an immigrant-led integration and shared national values and identity (Saggar & Somerville, 2012). This shift had its roots in the 1980s, but a series of crucial events can be seen as the catalysts for policy change: the 2001 race riots and 2005 London bombings in the UK, the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004 in the Netherlands. Thus both countries moved towards focussing on the impact of ethnic diversity and international migrations on national

identity, sense of belonging, solidarity and community cohesion (Cantle, 2001; Duyvendak et al., 2009; McGhee, 2009).

This shift to the agency driven understanding of integration, in which the immigrant is expected to make an active and intentional effort to fit in, has become increasingly visible in the citizenship policies implemented in the UK and the Netherlands since the early 2000s (Duyvendak et al., 2009; van Oers, 2010, pp. 58–70). The Dutch government imposed the passing of an 'integration test' to prove Dutch language proficiency and knowledge of Dutch institutions and culture for the acquisition of citizenship in 2003 and for permanent residence in 2007 (OECD, 2008). Prospective immigrants have to pass this test abroad to be allowed to join family members already resident in the Netherlands (Fischler, 2014; Goodman, 2010; Joppke, 2007). Similarly, in the UK, those applying for British citizenship (since 2005) or indefinite leave to remain (since 2007) are required to pass the 'Life in the UK' test, which includes country-knowledge, and provide proof of proficiency in English. The language requirement was extended to family reunion applicants residing abroad, as in the Netherlands, in 2007 (Sawyer & Wray, 2014).

Public opinion on immigrants and integration: a policy-preference divergence?

Against this shift in policy and academic literature, the developments of public opinion on the issue of integration are less well known, since the majority of research into public opinion focuses on attitudes towards the levels of immigration, paying less attention to integration and integration policies. This is evident especially in the past, before the alleged failures of multiculturalism have made this a pertinent area of study, with existing literature primarily

focussing on relative popularity of multicultural and assimilations models of integration, usually offered as broadly sketched as pre-packaged alternatives with no possibility for overlap or interaction between the different dimensions of integration. From this research it emerges that the host populations in most countries hold a strong preference for cultural assimilation over multiculturalism (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2003; Breugelmans & Van De Vijver, 2004; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). There seems to be a linear understanding of assimilation in the eyes of the public: losing one's own ethnic culture and values is perceived as inevitable as one adopt s those of the majority culture (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2003). Looking at studies conducted in various national contexts, the public perceives the various group rights and law exemptions that form a backbone of multicultural policy as a gateway to separate ethnic rather than common national loyalty, which they mostly see as mutually exclusive (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2003; Breugelmans & Van De Vijver, 2004; Ho, 1990; Zick, Wagner, Van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). Although these studies usually present a pre-packaged or simply labelled options, rather than multi-dimensional and 'messy' combinations to choose from, it is clear that despite the many articles arguing that multiculturalism has on the whole been a successful integration policy (Duyvendak et al., 2009; Heath & Demireva, 2013) and the support for it as a means of integration by immigrants themselves (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2003; Zick et al., 2001), the native-born public of the destination countries seems to have reached a consensus that multiculturalism is not conducive to successful immigrant integration. As a result, our first hypothesis follows this logic.

H1: The public will support the agency dimensions for immigrant integration in contrast to their preference for economic dimensions for immigrant admissions.

That the public focuses on cultural issues in achieving integration is not at all counter-intuitive, but since it stands in stark contrast to their own broader immigration-related attitudes, which tend to focus on immigrants' socio-economic status and economic contribution (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Harell, Soroka, Iyengar, & Valentino, 2012; Helbling & Kriesi, 2014), it raises an interesting and policy relevant question about the relationship between the two attitudes. We argue that this represents a certain divergence, a separation in the public mind, of these two policies on immigration. However, it does not follow that such divergence must be total. The question that presents itself is whether the immigrants who have been deemed more desirable at the point of entry are judged on their integration success any differently than those who were less welcome to start with. Perhaps they are assumed to be easier to integrate and as such this could be partially behind their being more welcome in the first place? It is not inconceivable that more highly skilled individuals who get better jobs and earn more might have more resources to learn the language and culture. Perhaps, on the other hand, since they have been more desirable to start with they face fewer demands on them to integrate. It is a strong possibility that the public perceives the process of integration as multi-dimensional and weighs all the dimensions against each other: an immigrant who is seen as contributing to society may be valued simply for this contribution and thus not required to make as much effort with integration. These possibilities would indicate that there is a congruence between the public attitudes towards immigration admissions and integration. Therefore, we hypothesise that desirable immigrants will be asked to 'do less' in order to integrate than immigrants who are less desirable to start with.

H2: The policy congruence hypothesis: the public will demand more effort in terms of integration from the immigrants who were less desirable in the first place.

Public opinion on integration: explanatory hypotheses

Thus far we have focussed on what attributes of immigrants would contribute to them being perceived as more or less successfully integrated, but not by whom and why. The literature on attitudes towards immigration identifies however that certain sub-groups of populations may have different perceptions, and proposes a few explanatory hypotheses to explain how these attitudes are distributed. These can be broadly grouped into two related categories. The first one represents economic threat (Dancygier & Donnelly, 2011), which broadly overlaps with the realistic threat theories (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) and predicts that economic worries will result in in-group preference for access to scarce resources such as jobs, welfare and similar. Previous research found that the economic threat arguments (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001) applied differently for different socio-economic groups within the public. While individuals with lower socio-economic status (SES) were found to be more worried about employment competition with immigrants, individuals with higher SES were more worried about their tax burden and thus more concerned with fair distribution of this burden - i.e. showed a clear preference for immigrants paying more taxes and receiving fewer benefits (Hanson, Scheve, & Slaughter, 2007; Helbling & Kriesi, 2014). However, some argue that a more generalised, or sociotropic economic attitude matters more for immigration opposition (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Since the subject of this concern is still economic, we will include this in the economic explanations, but dub it 'economic ethnocentrism': a generalised economic preference for co-ethnics.

The existing research on attitudes towards multiculturalism finds that the economic based theories do not contribute much to the public opinion on integration (Ho, 1990), but we believe this is because most of this research presented multiculturalist model for public evaluation, and often in direct contrast with assimilation, and therefore did not explicitly tackle the socio-economic attainment dimensions of integration. In line with research on immigration attitudes, which puts particular weigh on these dimensions, we will therefore expect that both the generalised economic attitudes and individuals' economic position will explain their preference for socio-economic dimensions of integration.

H3: Preference for socio-economic dimensions of integration will correlate with economic position and economic ethnocentrism of the individual respondent.

H3a: More importance being placed on the tax/benefits contribution dimension of integration will correlate with higher SES of the respondent.

We dub the second category of theoretical explanations 'cultural ethnocentrism' (Kinder & Kam, 2010), although we do understand it to include related notions of symbolic threats (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) such as national belonging and identity, culture and values. According to these theories, individuals perceiving high level of symbolic threat are predicted to have negative attitudes towards members of the out-group (McLaren & Johnson, 2007). Unsurprisingly research on attitudes towards immigrant integration found that ethnocentric beliefs in particular explain the preference for cultural assimilation as a way of achieving integration and negative attitudes towards multiculturalism (Ho, 1990; Zick et al., 2001). However, since the support for assimilation and the immigrant-attainment dimensions of

integration has not actually been compared, we can add to this body of literature by hypothesising that cultural ethnocentrism will explain the preference for agency dimensions - and cultural and identity dimensions in particular - over immigrant attainment. On the other side of the coin, those with lower levels of cultural ethnocentrism will also be less insistent on cultural assimilation and perhaps even less demanding of the immigrants altogether. Since we expect those who are more educated to be less culturally ethnocentric (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003), we will also find this pattern for those with university degree.

H4: Preference for agency dimensions will correlate with cultural ethnocentrism attitudes of respondents more strongly than their preference for socio-economic dimensions.

H4a: Those with lower levels of cultural ethnocentrism will be less 'demanding' of immigrants and more open to them maintaining their own culture.

H4b. Those with university degree will be less 'demanding' of immigrants and more open to them maintaining their own culture.

Differing national contexts and the role of religion

The role of religion in the integration of immigrants is one of the most fundamental differences between the two national contexts considered. In the Netherlands following the religious pillarisation of the Dutch society, politics was explicitly organised around denominationally defined institutions (Statham et al., 2005). In contrast, in the UK religion has been long perceived as the source of political violence (first in Northern Ireland and now Islamic). As a result, religion in the UK is a politically contentious issue and has been largely removed from political narratives, despite few attempts to reinvigorate its role by the most

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recent Conservative government. In addition, the public in Britain is highly critical of religion (Voas & Ling, 2009). As we outlined earlier, in the British model of multiculturalism it was race and ethnicity that formed the bases for multicultural group rights. Religious discrimination was only included in Britain's equality legislation in 2003 in order to comply with EU legislation (Employment Equality [Religion and Belief] Regulations 2003). A similarity however is that in both countries a lot of the debate of the integration of immigrants revolves around Muslims. Both in Britain and the Netherlands, Muslim minorities are generally perceived as the 'problem' minorities (Cantle, 2001). Since in both countries anti-prejudice norms in public debate are quite strong (Blinder, Ford, & Ivarsflaten, 2013), narratives of anti-Muslim prejudice are rejected in favour of opposition to those facets of Islam which are deemed incompatible with Western values of gender equality, tolerance for alternative lifestyles and individual liberty (Shadid, 2006; Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). Far right parties and politicians in both countries often underline 'I am not anti-Muslim, I'm anti-Islam' (BBC, 2010), but mainstream politicians also employ similar rhetoric. Moosavi (2014), for instance, analysed ministerial speeches in the UK and found that ministers often drew a line between 'good' and 'bad' Muslims, with the 'good' Muslims defined as moderate. In turn, "a moderate Muslim is [one who keeps] one's faith private which insinuates that any Muslim who allows their Islamic beliefs to influence their political activity is extreme" (Moosavi, 2014, p. 6).

As a result of the prominence of Muslims and critiques of Islam in both countries' debates about integration- and in the UK the more negative overall attitude to religion, we hypothesise that:

H5: Religious Muslims will be required to do more in order to integrate.

H5a: Religion will be a more salient dimension of integration in the UK.

Data and methods

The data used in our analyses comes from online surveys conducted in the Netherlands and the UK. All our questions were fielded in the UK by YouGov and in the Netherlands by CentERdata online; but pollsters used a different methodology (see online appendix). Our data collection in the two countries varied in time due to funding constraints: our Dutch data was collected in 2013, while our British data in 2014. However, there has been little change in the general thrust of policy and debate in either country during this period. A total sample is 1,101 respondents in the Netherlands and 1,894 in Britain. The surveys included the same attitudinal controls such as the general anti-immigrant sentiment and perception of cultural and economic ethnocentrism, and the usual demographic controls such as education, socio-economic status, age and gender. Weights, only available in the UK data, were used.

We use an experimental approach to measure respondents' views on integration. The use of experimental design has in the past added nuance to the picture of public opinion on immigration, allowing making causal inferences, and is becoming increasingly popular, especially in online formats (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010; Harell et al., 2012; Iyengar et al., 2013; Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004). Experimental methods have been shown to overcome many problems of causality and measuring potentially complex attitudes with many interacting factors. The vignette approach is particularly well suited to this type of measurement as they are thought to be relatively unobtrusive - for the most comprehensive discussion see Mutz (2011). In our first experiment, following the work of Hainmueller,

Hopkins and Yamamoto (2014), we use the conjoint experiment method, based on a choice and direct comparison between pairs of immigrants, which allows us to identify the relative impact of the immigrant's attributes in the judgement that the public makes about their levels of integration. In this experiment, we present each respondent with six vignettes of an immigrant, in pairs of two and ask them to choose the one who they think is more integrated. As a robustness check, in our second experiment on the other hand, we show each respondent separately three vignettes of immigrants, which we ask them to rank on a 0-10 scale on how well integrated they are (with 10 being the best integrated), which reflects the classic vignette experiment approach. In our question design, we have departed from the original method as described by Hainmueller and colleagues (2014), who presented attributes of immigrants in tables, by embedding out varying attributes within a traditional vignette look, thus losing the ability to randomly vary attribute order, but we feel making our measurement more unobtrusive and thus more in line with the classic vignette treatments.

In the first set of profiles presented to respondents, all our immigrants were Muslim-origin men, but in the Netherlands they were from Morocco and in the UK they were from Pakistan - as these are the two main sources of what is perceived as 'problem' minority in each country (Field, 2007; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2009). Selecting Muslims only for the first treatment allowed us to test the importance of more cultural and value-based dimensions of integration - namely the role of religion and attitudes towards women - in a way that would be very difficult if we also varied immigrant origin (as some of the options relating to religion or values may not map onto debates surrounding other immigrant origins). All our immigrants were in full time employment and law-obeying as we felt this would be the 'common-sense' minimum requirement for a well-integrated immigrant. We also described them all as having arrived into their new country as children, to make sure all our immigrants

would be eligible for citizenship (both the Netherlands and Britain have a five year residence requirement) and they would be expected to have a basic knowledge of the language as this is also traditionally perceived as a minimum requirement of integration and often also immigrant admission (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Then we added nine attributes, which we varied randomly between each immigrant vignette we have shown: citizenship, intermarriage, voting habits, occupation, tax status, cross-ethnic friendship, language spoken at home, attitude towards women and finally level of religiosity. To maximise statistical power we offer two variants of each of these attributes.

Our immigrants were either Moroccan and Pakistani (in the Netherlands and Britain respectively) or Dutch and British citizens. All our immigrants were eligible for citizenship since they arrived as children. In both countries the procedures to obtain citizenship are costly and work intensive (as they involve passing language and country-knowledge tests), so we used it as a measure of commitment to the country of destination and including it as an agency dimension of integration. The citizenship ceremonies in both countries also involve a pledge of loyalty, so commitment is quite clearly an important dimension to citizenship in both countries. Continuing the theme of civic integration, each profile shown either voted at every election or not at all (in both countries our immigrant would be eligible to vote in at least one election: in Holland the non-citizen resident of at least five years would be eligible to vote in municipal elections, in the UK Pakistani citizens resident in the UK are eligible to vote in all elections). Voting is again a classic measure of political integration used by scholars, but hardly ever appears as a matter of public concern. Since voting is not obligatory in either country, but shows engagement with the political system of the host country, we include this as an agency dimension.

Gauging the immigrant's status as a desirable or undesirable immigrant, we either presented our immigrants as builders or working in IT. Builders were ideal 'lower status' job that could nevertheless be fairly well paid (which then allowed us to vary the tax contribution) and IT was selected as an example of a high status occupation, which nonetheless could be believable as an occupation that also includes some entry-level jobs where some tax rebates/tax credits could be possible, especially as all our immigrants had children. Occupation status is one of the strongest predictors of preference for immigrant admission, so we wanted to see if it mattered for integration. Since social position is rarely perceived as an agency dimension, we consider it an attainment dimension. Our immigrants also either paid a higher rate of taxes, or were receiving tax rebates/tax working credits. This tax status was our proxy for whether the immigrant contributes to the society economically or not. Economic contribution matters when preferences for admission are measured, but also when deservingness for welfare is discussed. Again, economic position is usually considered an attainment dimension.

We measured social contact dimensions of integration with two attributes. Our respondents were either married to a co-ethnic (as suggested by name) or a Dutch and British woman respectively (again, as suggested by name), as inter-marriage is one of the classic measures of immigrant-attainment outcome in the scholarly literature of integration. In terms of our argument about immigrant's agency this indicator contains a strong agency component, but since intermarriage also relies on the majority member willing to marry a minority group, it is not a clear cut agency dimension. Most of our immigrants' friends were either Dutch/English or of Moroccan/Pakistani origin (in the Netherlands and Britain respectively). This was a

proxy for contact versus self-segregation, which is both used in scholarly literature and very often in public debate. Since friends are much easier to choose than a neighbourhood in which one lives, and should be somewhat less sensitive to the host population attitudes than marriage, which is a more intense form of social contact, this is treated as an immigrant agency attribute.

In terms of cultural dimensions if integration, we chose three attributes. Since we assumed that some level of language competency will be a common sense minimum requirement, we varied whether the origin country or destination country language was spoken at home to the immigrants' children. This we felt was a good proxy for cultural integration: keeping one's own culture versus assimilating fully into the host society. As such it is a typical agency attribute. Our immigrants were either of the opinion that women should stay at home or work full-time. This was our proxy for integration through assimilation of 'western' values (although we acknowledge that this attitude varies in the UK and the Netherlands, and generally in the population, however Muslim immigrants in both countries are ostracised for their conservative attitudes to women). The value choice is also an agency dimension of integration. Finally, while all our immigrants were implicitly Muslim by origin, we varied whether they were religious or not to test the role of religion. Since Muslim immigrants are usually under attack on the grounds of their religion, we felt that a non-religious Muslim may seem more assimilated and less different than an active adherent to Islam (particularly in the UK). Although religion by birth is not a matter of choice, a level of religiosity is, and as such this attribute measures in our eyes an agency dimension of integration.

In the UK survey we were also able to run an additional, shorter experiment, where we varied the origin of the immigrants to see how well our findings generalise to other immigrant groups. To test the robustness of our findings we designed this question in a different format and with different attributes measuring the desirability of immigrants and the agency dimensions of integration. The experiment presented each respondent with three randomly generated, non-identical, vignettes of female immigrants and asked them to rank them on a scale of 1 to 10 on how well each was integrated. Since we included different origins, we excluded religiosity as an attribute; also because our immigrants were female we removed gender attitudes. We were also forced to abandon voting as an attribute as some of these immigrants were not eligible to vote at all unless they were citizens. Because of the pressure for space, we also dropped intermarriage, and replaced our two socio-economic attributes that relate to the ideal image of less and more desirable immigrants with one: route of migration. As a result we varied randomly six attributes: origin, reason for immigration, social contact in neighbourhoods and a place for socialising, citizenship and cooking British food.

In terms of initial desirability of our immigrants, we varied the origin of the immigrants from the least to the most desirable. Our immigrants were either from Poland (for an unpopular white economic immigrant), Ghana (for a black immigrant, from a country not considered problematic), Bangladesh (for a Muslim immigrant), France (for a popular white immigrant) and China (for a culturally most distant immigrant). Another proxy for desirability we used was reason for immigration: improve their living standards /to get an education/ to join her family in Britain. Education is the most popular route for migration among the host population in the UK with generally very low opposition to foreign students and joining family as the most disapproved reason for immigration (Ford & Heath, 2014). To test the importance of civic integration in this vignette we again used citizenship. However, to

strengthen the agency aspect of this attribute we reframed this as an active (applying for) rather than passive (having) status. Thus we had two variants: the immigrant recently applied for citizenship, or had no plans to apply.

We used two measures of social contact. Firstly, we changed the wording of this attribute from having English friends in the first experiment to living in a locality with English or immigrant neighbours. Secondly, to further test this influential aspect we had our immigrant socialise either in the neutral local community centre, with fellow immigrants, or in a pub (which is perceived as a mainstay of English culture). Finally, for cultural integration we have abandoned language, to test the importance of cultural integration outside of this dominant attribute. We varied the immigrant's efforts to maintain her own culture or learn about the English one, and to make it more realistic we added as evidence that they either cooked their own food, or tried to cook English dishes. We felt that giving an example of the expressed commitment was important, but we wanted to keep it fairly trivial to see how much the expression of agency alone mattered (in the case of experiment one the example of speaking English or Dutch at home was non-trivial).

In our analysis we reshape the data to increase statistical power. Since such data reshaping produces clustering across respondents (i.e. 6 or 3 lines of data per respondent in the two experiments) we account in our analysis for the possibility that the results may be correlated across respondents. We then estimate the average marginal components effects (AMCEs) of the different attributes in a given vignette via a linear probability model (running a linear regression on a dichotomous variable using data in long format, with each line representing a profile given to respondents) where the dependent variable is the profile choice (0= not

chosen, 1= chosen) for the first experiment and the profile ranking (using the 0-10 score on a 0-1 scale) for the second, UK only experiments; and the independent variables are the attributes in the shown immigrant profiles in dummy variable format, in order to estimate the relative importance of the various attributes. The AMCEs produced with this method represent the "average change in the probability that a profile will win support when it includes the listed attribute values instead of the baseline" (Hainmueller et al., 2014, p. 19) and thus show which attributes of the profile lead respondents to choose who is the most integrated immigrant, or rank more highly as better integrated in the second experiment. This method works under specific assumptions, such as that of (1) the stability of the outcomes and the lack of carryover effect; (2) the lack of profile order effect; (3) the randomisation of attributes within profiles; and, as in our case, (4) the completely independent randomisation. These assumptions are tested in our analyses and presented in the online appendix. Even though some of the assumptions have been narrowly missed, as we show in detail in our online appendix, these effects were very small and did not change any of our substantive findings. The results also allow for looking at differences across attributes of the profiles (via interaction effects) or across attributes of the respondents (by analysing specific sub-groups).

Results

A quick look at the two samples from the UK and Netherlands (see table 1) reveals a number of differences between the two countries in some relevant controls. Firstly, our Dutch respondents were more likely to be men, have a degree, and were on average older. Secondly, the Dutch sample was a lot more liberal in their attitudes towards immigrants: they were a lot less likely to think immigrants posed no cultural threat or economic threat; and they were more willing to let imprisoned immigrants stay in the Netherlands and practise their religion

freely, which is likely a result of underlying differences in attitudes in the two countries. This has to be taken into account when interpreting the results and comparing the two countries, and perhaps adds further element of surprise to how little difference we found in the two countries in terms of how the public understands integration.

Table 1 about here

Immigrant attainment versus immigrant agency: policy congruence or policy divergence?

In our results, the size of the coefficients shows the relative importance of the indicators in the public's mind (these indicators were chosen more often, in relation to our other indicators, as decisive in indicating integration success). Looking at figure 1, we can see that it is clear that most of the dimensions we included in our model of a well-integrated immigrant have a positive relationship with integration: i.e. were chosen as decisive indicators of integration at least some of the time. The only exceptions are occupation, which is insignificant in both countries and in the Netherlands intermarriage and religiosity.

Figure 1 about here

Testing our first hypothesis, that unlike in the case of attitudes towards immigration, immigrant agency will dominate the public's conceptualisation of successful integration, we see that evidence from both countries confirm our prediction. The type of job, which the immigrant does- a dominant predictor of immigrant's desirability at admission, does not matter for this immigrant's integration. Surprisingly, given the huge debate over the

economic contribution of immigrants and the worries over their benefit entitlements, whether an immigrant pays taxes or receives benefits matters very little (in terms of substantive size of the coefficient) for public perceptions about their integration. The most important predictors for both countries are the classic agency dimensions: speaking the host nation's language to their own children, attitudes towards women, having friends among natives and voting in elections. One surprising agency dimension, so often used in academic studies as a measure of social integration- intermarriage- matters only very little to the public's perception of a successful integration in either country. Another popular indicator used by academics- citizenship- also matters relatively little. While the general pattern between the two countries is almost identical, there are two small differences between countries: speaking Dutch to one's children matters more to the Dutch public, and as we hypothesised, non-religious immigrants are perceived as more integrated in Britain.

Figure 2 about here

Testing our next hypothesis, which proposed that as a result of policy coherence between the two aspects if immigration policy – desirability at point of entry and subsequent integration – the more desirable immigrant will have an easier job integrating, we find an almost universal policy divergence. We envisage that immigrants who are asked to 'do less' to integrate will have fewer dimensions of integration significant that immigrants who are expected to 'do more' to integrate. Also, those dimensions in which immigrants are asked to 'do less' on will have smaller coefficient sizes, and those dimensions 'more important' for their integration, or on which they need to 'do more' will have larger coefficient sizes.

Not only, as we showed earlier, are the dimensions associated with anti-immigrant attitudes almost universally not significant for integration attitudes, but also those immigrants who arrive as more desirable immigrants do not reap any benefits from their more 'welcome' reception. If anything, in the case of the Netherlands, the increased importance of language acquisition among the more high status immigrant goes in the opposite to expected direction. This may reflect an expectation that a more highly educated immigrant will have more resources to learn the language and thus it is more 'expected' of them to make this effort. This rather undermines the tendency to discuss these two aspects of immigration policy together: in the public's mind they seem unrelated.

Explanatory theories

Now turning to the explanatory hypotheses, we first examine the impact of economic ethnocentrism on the conceptualisation of integration. In keeping with the existing literature we predicted that those who reported high levels of economic ethnocentrism will prioritise socio-economic dimensions over agency dimensions of integration. As a measure of economic ethnocentrism we use a question 'If there are not enough jobs, employers should employ Dutch/British workers ahead of immigrants'. Responses were grouped in 3 categories: whether respondents totally disagreed/disagreed with that statement (low ethnocentrism); whether respondents totally agreed/agreed with the statement (high ethnocentrism); and whether respondents neither agreed or disagreed with the statement or did not know/did not provide an answer (neutral ethnocentrism). Our expectation was not fulfilled as we show in table 2. Instead, in the UK, having English friends, speaking English at home and holding liberal attitudes towards women's place, all of which are cultural and value aspects of integration, were the preferred dimensions among those expressing economic ethnocentrism.

In Holland, on the other hand the only significant effect of economic ethnocentrism was on voting: those who scored low put more weight on voting.

Another popular explanatory theory for immigration attitudes is cultural ethnocentrism, which we measure with a question 'Immigration is a threat to British/Dutch culture'. We hypothesised that it will explain high levels of support for agency, and specifically cultural dimensions. Since we do see that all members of the public have a preference for agency dimensions of integration, we already know that this preference is largely consensual, and our analysis presented in table 2 confirms this. There were few significant differences between those who expressed cultural ethnocentrism and those who did not. In fact, the picture closely resembled that of the effects of economic ethnocentrism. In the UK the only significant difference between those who were culturally ethnocentric was the increased salience of English spoken at home and attitude towards women (which were also salient for economically ethnocentric respondents) and religion. In the Netherlands, as in the case of economic ethnocentrism, those who scored low on cultural ethnocentrism put more weight on voting.

Table 2 about here

Considering again a variant of the economic threat argument, one suggesting that more well off people will be more concerned with tax/benefit balance of immigrants' contributions as they contribute more taxes themselves, we present the break-down of the importance of immigrant attributes by the socio-economic position of the respondents in table 3. This hypothesis can also be rejected. There are no significant differences between what matters for

those of higher and lower SES in the Netherlands, and in Britain the only significant exception is voting, which is more important for high SES respondents in Britain.

The picture is equally flat when we look at any possible differences between highly educated and those less educated in their perceptions of integration. Education matters little for perception of integration. Again voting matters a little more to educated Dutch respondents and attitude towards women is a little more important to educated British respondents. This strengthens the message of consensus even further, as education is a strong predictor for tolerance and more pro-immigrant attitudes.

While we cannot say that pre-existing attitudes or the social profile of respondent do not matter at all, the impact is not consistent with existing theoretical expectations or particularly large. Against our expectations drawn from the literature on economic and cultural threat, we find that both economic and cultural ethnocentrism raised the importance of cultural and value dimensions of integration. However, none of the attitudinal or demographic measures used change the order of preferred outcomes of integration. There is a huge amount of consensus over what integration involves, and it is hierarchical with agency dimensions trumping the socio-economic attainment.

Table 3 about here

The 'problem' with religion

We expected that since so much of the integration debate in both countries revolves around Islam as a religion incompatible with Dutch and British values, religious Muslim immigrants will be 'asked to do more' to integrate. We also predicted that this will be more pronounced in Britain, where the position of religion in public life is more controversial. Already looking

at Figure 1 we saw that in Britain, but not in the Netherlands, non-religious Muslim immigrants were perceived as better integrated. In Figure 3 we show the interaction effects between being religious and other indicators of integration. We see that in both countries the hierarchy of integration indicators remains unchanged regardless of religiosity, with no significant interaction effects.

Figure 3 about here

Testing robustness and generalising from Muslims to other immigrants

The first experiment focussed mostly on Muslim immigrants as in both countries these are regarded as the primary 'problem' minorities, and are predominantly the subject of the debates about integration and its failures. However, given that we found a far-reaching public consensus on immigrant integration we were now curious whether this consensus extended over to other, non-Muslim immigrants. Perhaps Muslim immigrants were perceived as more culturally distant than other immigrants and therefore needed to show more agency in integrating to persuade the public, while for the more culturally proximate immigrants the economic dimensions will matter more or just as much as the agency dimensions. As a result we run an additional experiment- sadly only in the UK- to test this proposition. We also wanted to use this additional experiment to see whether the hierarchy of integration outcomes which we found in the first experiment were not a function of the design and wording. As a result, as we discussed in the methods section, we designed it to be quite different from the first experiment.

The results showed in figure 4 indicate that the origin of the immigrant was not inconsequential to the perception that this immigrant was successfully integrated. While the

French and Chinese immigrants were not significantly different, the three other groups all received a small penalty, with the Muslim immigrant being perceived as less well integrated on average. However, similarly to what we found in our first experiment, being a more desirable immigrant did not matter for how well integrated the immigrant was deemed to be: our most desirable route- through education- did not differ from our least desirable route: through family reunification. Also similarly to what we found before, the cultural dimension of integration proved dominant in people's minds. Exploring English culture and cooking English food was the most influential attribute for judging immigrant integration, despite its seemingly trivial nature. Contact, also again, mattered a lot, with immigrants living among English people and socialising in a pub deemed better integrated than those who lived among and socialised with fellow immigrants (socialising in a neutral local community centre was also positive, but less so than in a pub). The one difference between the two experiments run in the UK lies in the value people put on British citizenship. As we said earlier, the second UK experiment made having citizenship more explicitly an immigrant-agency dimension through mentioning the application process and making it optional for the immigrant. We worried- it seems rightly- that since the immigrant in our first experiment arrived in the UK in childhood, their citizenship status could have been either automatic or decided for the immigrant by his parents, thus it was not efficiently testing the agency dimension of seeking citizenship. In the second experiment, in which citizenship is clearly agency-driven, it does impact positively on the public perception of integration success. What is worth underlying again is that despite a different format and wording as well as selection of attributes, the hierarchy of integration outcomes remained the same between the two experiments.

Figure 4 about here

Looking at the different social groups and pre-existing attitudes towards immigration, as we did in the first experiment, we also found the public consensus: the hierarchy of the different dimensions of integration did not change whatever the breakdown of our sample (shown in table 4). However, similarly to what we found in the first experiment the economic and cultural ethnocentrism increased the importance of cultural integration. We also found that immigrant's origin as a factor in their integration success was greater among those who expressed these attitudes: they found the Ghanaian immigrant particularly less well integrated than the otherwise identical French immigrant. Social attributes of the respondents were not significant for how they perceived integration success.

Table 4 about here

Discussion and conclusions

Our results can be effectively summarised as delivering five important findings. First, that public opinion on immigrant integration focuses on agency dimensions more than economic dimensions, setting it apart from public views on immigration control, and also mapping onto the recent trends in integration policies in the Netherlands and the UK. Second, that the desired immigrants get no 'discounts' in their efforts to integrate: they need to comply with the same criteria when integrating as the less desirable migrants- thus creating a divergence between these two areas of immigration policy in the public's mind. Third, there is a very broad public consensus over what successful integration means; and education, class, and existing immigration attitudes matter very little to how it is understood. Four, the existing explanatory theories used to explain anti-immigrant attitudes: economic and cultural ethnocentrism did not influence public attitudes to immigrant integration in the predicted way, as both increased the importance of cultural dimensions of integration. Five, we found that

although much of the public debate about Muslim immigrants and their difficulties in integrating revolve around the idea that Islam as a religion is the problem, it made little difference for our survey respondents whether the immigrant in question was religious or not. This raises the question whether it is not in fact the exercising of Islam as a religion that lies behind the concerns with the Muslim minorities' integration. Finally, we found that while the immigrants' origin did matter with a French immigrant being perceived as more integrated than an otherwise identical immigrant from other countries (with Muslims being worst off as a result), it still mattered less than agency dimensions of integration.

The finding that the public perception of immigrant integration is a matter of consensus across people with different socio-economic backgrounds and with varying pre-existing attitudes- as well as its seeming incongruence with attitudes on immigration admission- carries an interesting implication for politics of immigration. The similar consensus over who is a desirable immigrant at the stage of admission into the country has redirected the politics of immigration into the discussion of levels of immigration and overall benefits of immigration while making the issue of who is admitted a secondary matter with most of the political forces agreeing on highly skilled immigrant who will contribute actively to the economy as the preferred immigrant. Our paper highlights that while this immigrant may be considered desirable to the public at the point of entry; he or she may not be guaranteed a successful integration and thus may not be an 'unproblematic' immigrant- from the public perspective- in the long run. With some of the debates about integration raging across Europe fuelled by the perceived failings of integration and even alleged self-segregation of the immigrants, the policy response of limiting immigration may not be the correct one. Our findings suggest that letting in fewer and more desirable immigrants may limit the scale of

the problem, but not solve it. There is clearly a need for separating the debate about immigration control from one on immigration integration.

However, it is not an argument for the debate or any policy to focus exclusively on immigrant- agency aspects of integration. While the immigrant-driven integration may be what the public demands of immigrants, we do not argue that we should adopt it as the only valid understanding of integration. While we believe in the importance of the public perceptions, we believe integration must be a two way process if it is to succeed. A disgruntled immigrant who has to overcome poverty, disadvantage and discrimination may be also less likely to commit so much effort to their cultural and value integration. This creates further tension that must be resolved in policy. Given the research showing that social and cultural integration, so much preferred by the native population, has little to offer immigrants in terms of their own educational and economic success (Maxwell, 2012), one has to question whether this discrepancy forms an unresolvable social conflict in immigration countries. Perhaps the public debate must move on from debating whether immigrants are willing or not to adopt their new nations' culture and values, to how to make it worth their while to do so. If citizenship is to become a 'reward' and not a 'means' for integration (Goodman, 2010) then it should follow that citizenship will be of value to the immigrants. This is not impossible as some research shows that citizenship may work as a signal to natives to suppress prejudice (Blinder et al., 2013) thus helping to overcome discrimination, which immigrant-origin minorities still experience (Heath & Cheung, 2007). We also show that if presented as an agency dimension that requires the choice and effort to apply rather than an automatic right, it also brings benefits to how the immigrant is perceived.

Therefore, while our research suggests that any successful integration policy will have to take into account a strong and uniform public preference for an immigrant-agency focussed integration policy, looking more like the classic acculturation than the more liberal political sides would want to acknowledge, the shift towards immigrant agency in policy must not be made at a cost to the immigrant-attainment oriented policy making, so that both the host society and immigrants themselves perceive the process as fair. Speaking the same language of integration may be a more successful way of persuading the general public that immigrants are on the whole integrating well into our societies.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1: Sample demographics and distributions of pre-existing attitudes

	Netherlands	UK
Sample size	1,096	1,894
Mean age	52.9	47.2
% Male	51.7	48.5
% with degree	42.3	26.1
% High SES	56.8	57.0
% agree		
Immigrants threat to culture	25.6	51.1
Job preference to native workers	21.1	55.0

Table 2: Dimensions of integration and pre-existing attitudes: in Britain and the Netherlands

	Citizenship	Intermarriage	Voting	IT job	High tax	Dutch/English friends	Dutch/English spoken at home	Women's place at work	Not religious
Economic ethnocentrism-Britain	0.07	0.03	0.13	0.01	0.08	**0.16**	**0.26**	**0.16**	0.09
Not ethnocentric-Britain	0.06	0.02	0.15	0.03	0.03	**0.10**	**0.19**	**0.23**	0.05
Economically ethnocentric- NL	0.09	-0.01	**0.07**	0.01	0.04	0.14	0.34	0.18	0.01
Not ethnocentric-NL	0.06	0.01	**0.18**	0.01	0.06	0.14	0.29	0.20	0.00
Cultural ethnocentrism-Britain	0.08	0.02	0.11	0.01	0.08	0.16	**0.26**	**0.16**	**0.09**
Not ethnocentric-Britain	0.04	0.03	0.15	0.03	0.03	0.12	**0.20**	**0.23**	**0.04**
Cultural ethnocentrism- NL	0.10	-0.02	**0.07**	0.02	0.03	0.16	0.31	0.17	0.05
Not ethnocentric-NL	0.06	0.01	**0.16**	-0.01	0.04	0.16	0.29	0.21	0.00

*Effects in bold highlight differences that are statistically significant

Table 3: Dimensions of integration among different social groups: in Britain and the Netherlands

	Citizenship	Intermarriage	Voting	IT job	High tax	Dutch/English friends	Dutch/English spoken at home	Women's place at work	Not religious
Degree-Britain	0.03	0.05	0.13	0.01	0.04	0.17	0.21	**0.21**	0.05
Below degree-Britain	0.08	0.02	0.13	0.01	0.07	0.14	0.24	**0.16**	0.08
Degree- NL	0.05	0.01	**0.16**	-0.01	0.04	0.15	0.30	0.18	0.01
Below degree- NL	0.06	0.00	**0.09**	0.01	0.04	0.16	0.30	0.20	0.01
High SES- Britain	0.05	0.04	**0.15**	0.01	0.07	0.15	0.22	0.18	0.06
Low SES- Britain	0.08	0.01	**0.11**	0.00	0.06	0.14	0.25	0.16	0.09
High SES-NL	0.05	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.03	0.16	0.31	0.19	0.00
Low SES- NL	0.07	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.05	0.14	0.29	0.19	0.02

*Effects in bold highlight differences that are statistically significant

Table 4. Immigrants' origins and dimensions of integration: UK only

	Polish	Ghanaian	Bangla deshi	Chinese	Reason for migration: education	Reason for migration: improve living standards
Economic ethnocentrism	-0.04	**-0.05**	-0.05	-0.02	0.02	0.00
Not ethnocentric	0.03	**0.03**	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	0.02
Cultural ethnocentrism	-0.03	**-0.05**	-0.05	-0.02	0.01	0.00
Not ethnocentric	-0.01	**0.02**	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.02
Degree	-0.01	-0.03	-0.05	-0.02	0.01	0.02
Below degree	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	-0.01	0.00	0.00
Low SES	-0.03	-0.02	-0.04	-0.01	-0.01	0.00
High SES	-0.01	-0.03	-0.04	-0.02	0.02	0.01

	Recently applied for citizenship	Lives with English people	Socialises at the local community centre	Socialises at the pub	Cooks English food
Economic ethnocentrism	0.11	0.17	0.11	0.14	**0.20**
Not ethnocentric	0.11	0.16	0.08	0.12	**0.15**
Cultural ethnocentrism	0.11	0.17	0.12	0.15	**0.20**
Not ethnocentric	0.13	0.16	0.08	0.12	**0.17**
Degree	0.10	0.15	0.07	0.13	0.16
Below degree	0.12	0.17	0.11	0.13	0.19
Low SES	0.12	0.17	0.11	0.15	0.19
High SES	0.11	0.16	0.09	0.12	0.18

*Effects in bold highlight differences that are statistically significant

Figure 1: Support for agency and attainment dimensions of integration, NL and UK
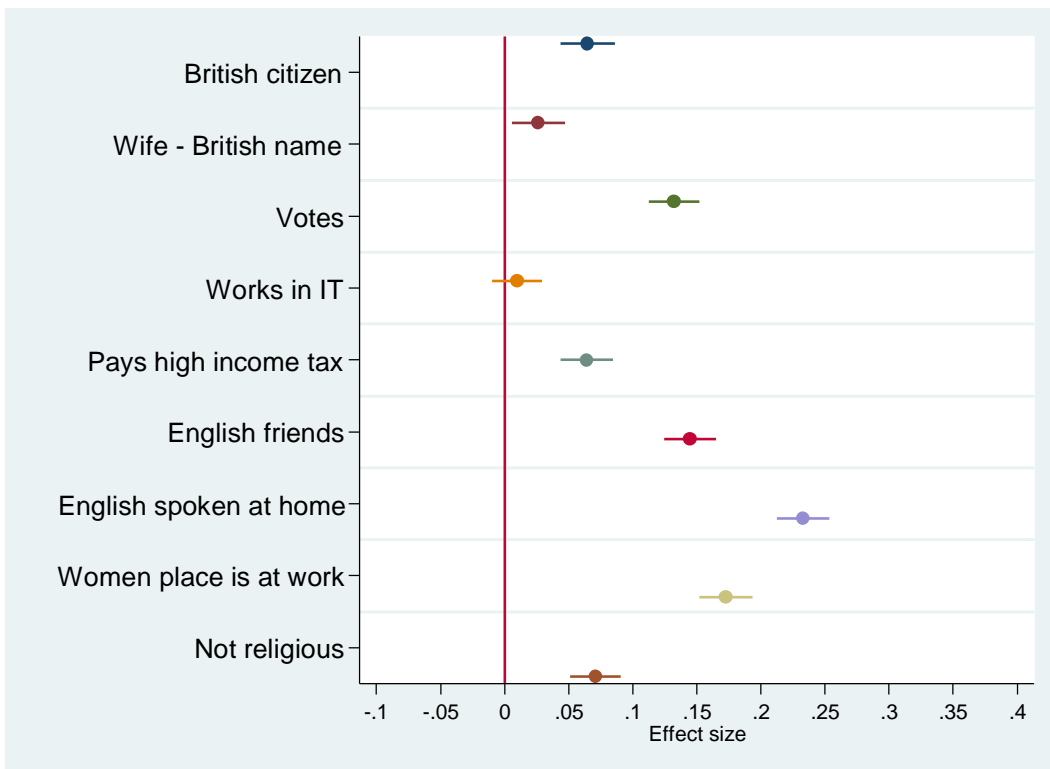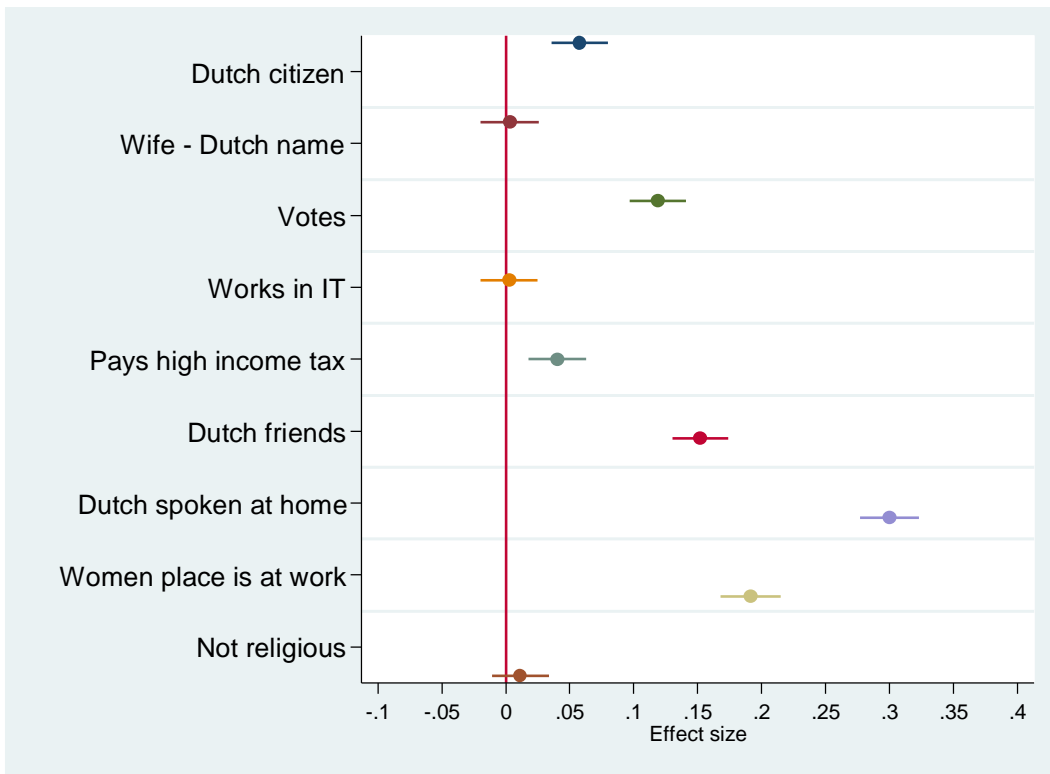
Figure 2: The immigrants' desirability and integration dimensions (interaction effects), NL and UK
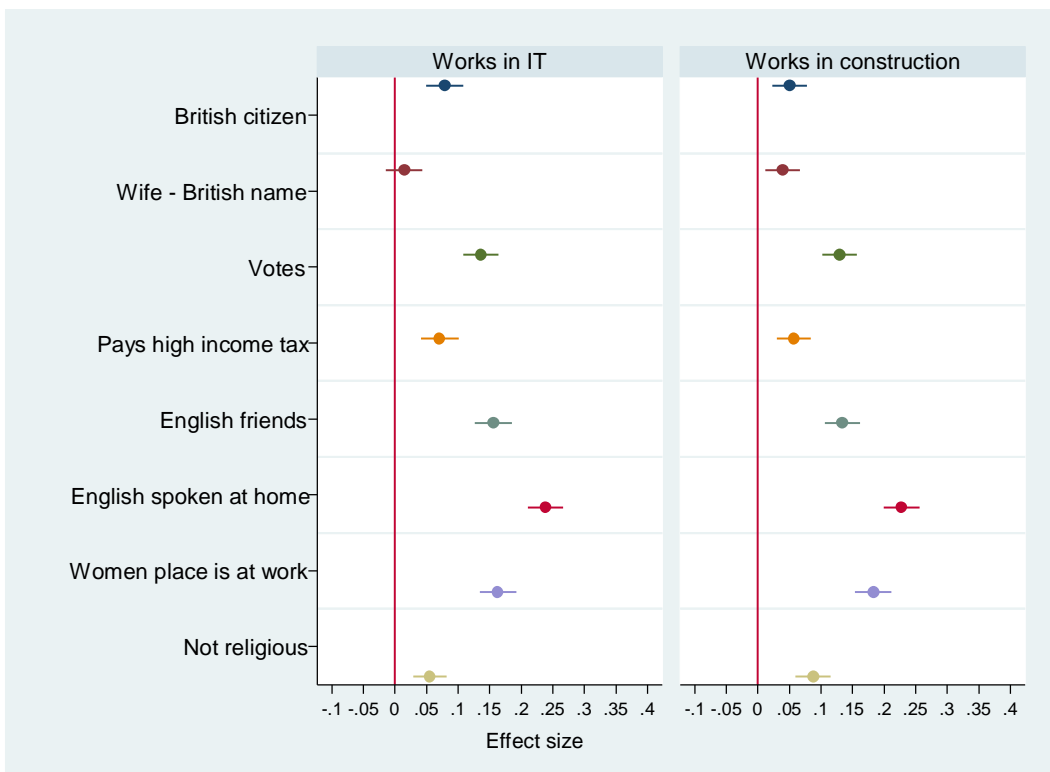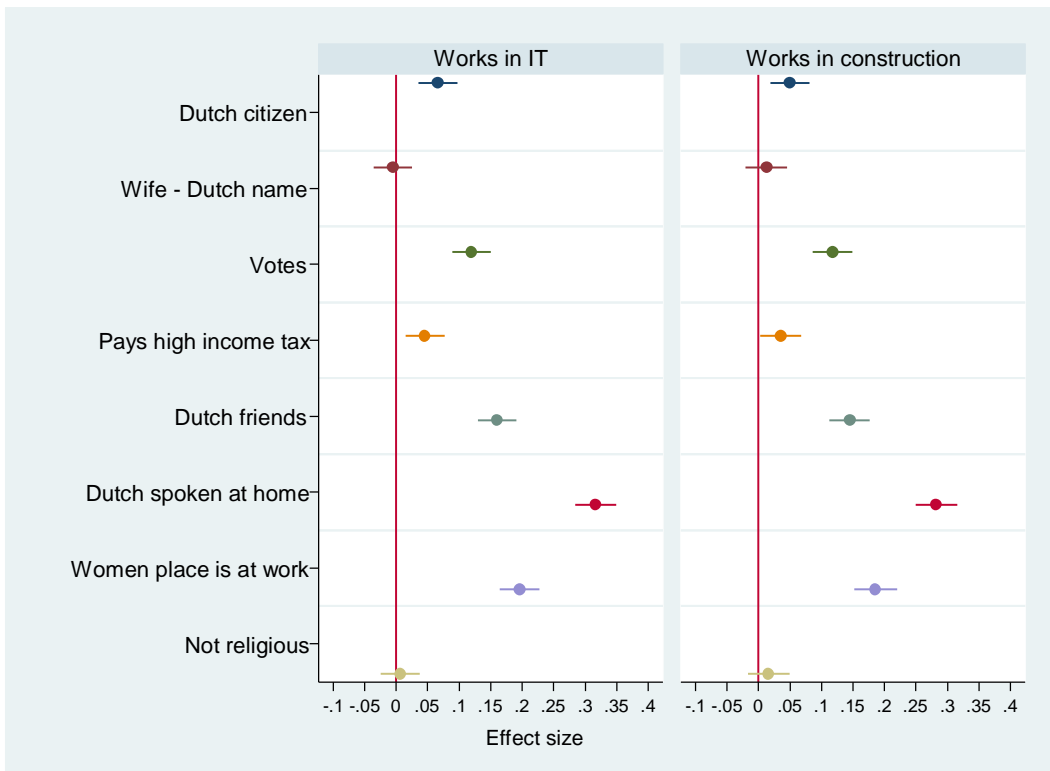
Figure 3: Impact of religiosity on integration dimensions (interaction effects), NL and UK
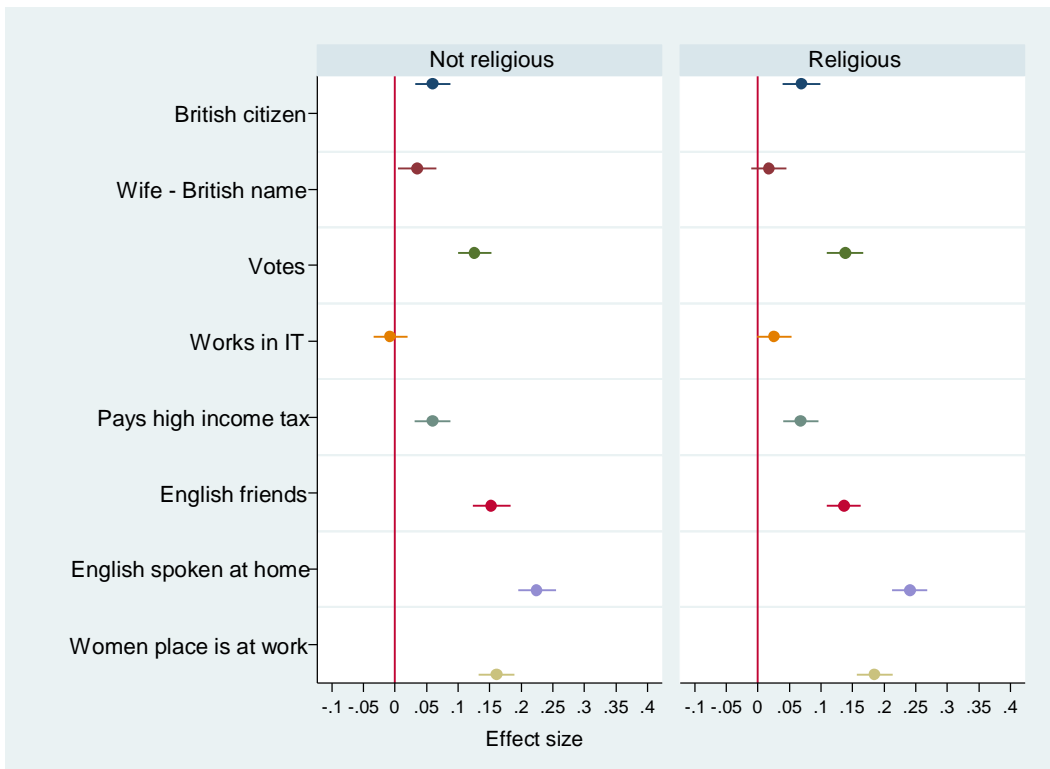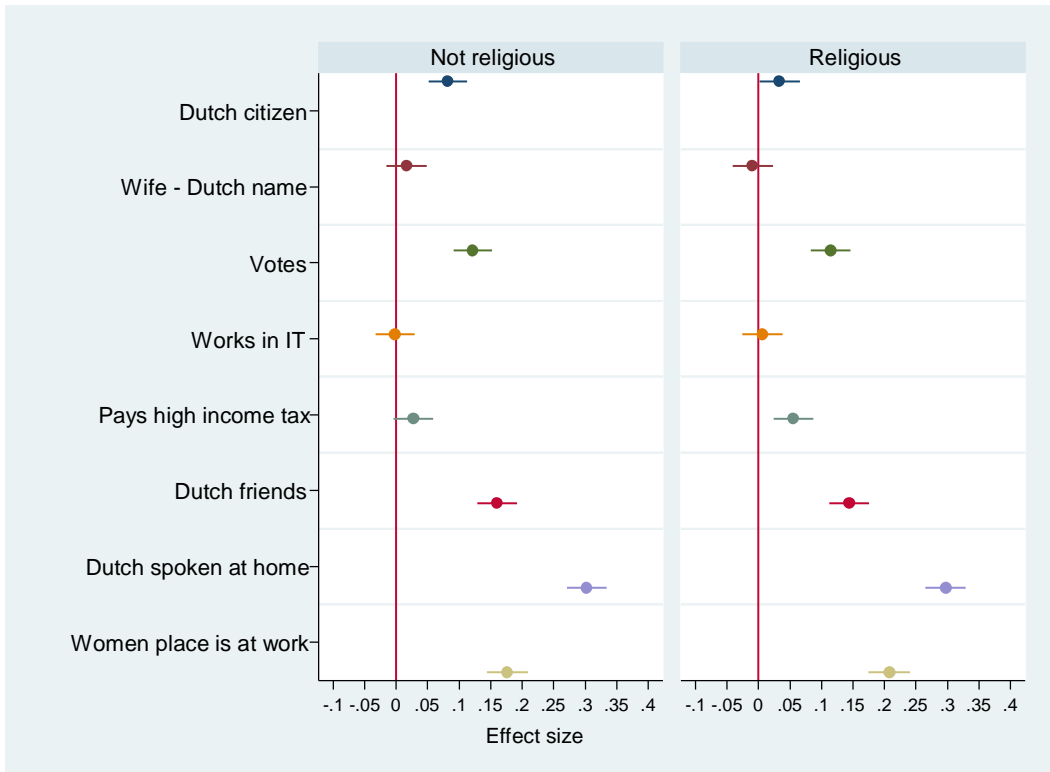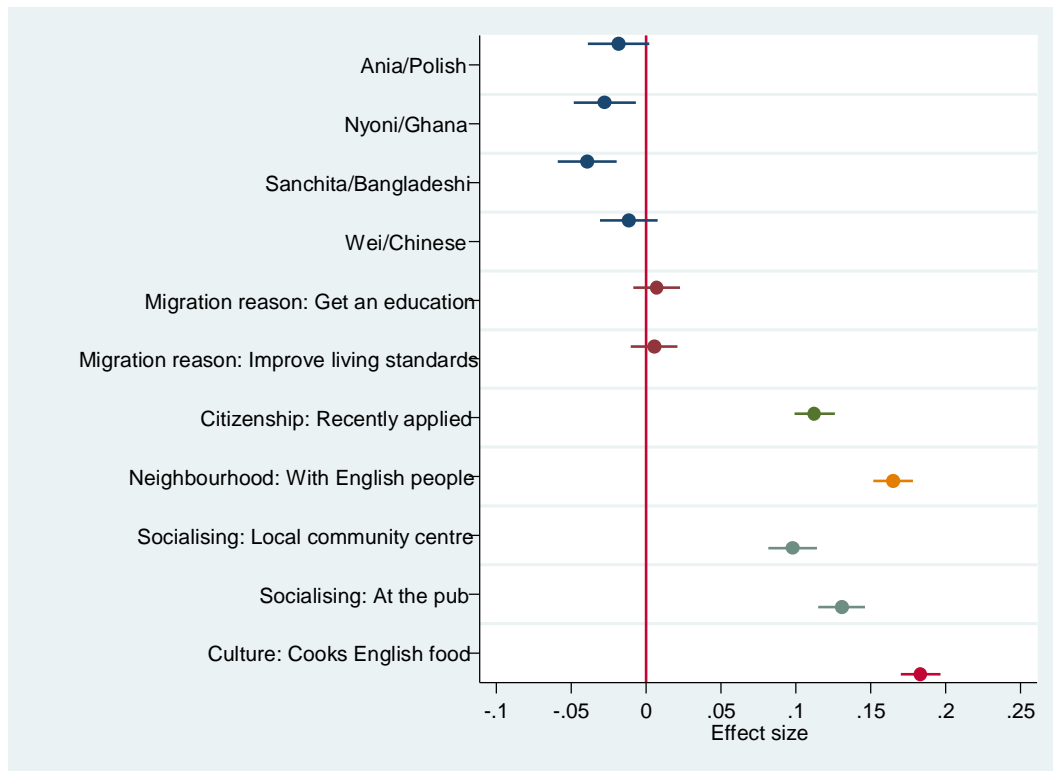
Figure 4. Immigrant origins and the dimensions of integration, UK only

Online Appendix:

Appendix 1: Data background and information

The data from the UK is a YouGov online sample, which has a non-standard methodology, but one which was successfully validated against other sampling methods. YouGov uses 'Active Sampling', which means that YouGov draws a sub-sample of a panel of registered users (over 360,000 British adults) that is representative of British adults in terms of age, gender, social class and type of newspaper readership (upmarket, mid-market, red-top, no newspaper), and invites this sub-sample to complete a survey. As a result of this non-standard sampling mechanism, YouGov does not calculate response rates and simply closes the survey once a certain number of responses from the nationally representative sample are achieved. YouGov recruitment of panel members is proprietary, but they recruit in multiple ways: via advertising and partnerships with a broad range of websites. Socio-demographic data on each new panel member is then collected to enable respondents' inclusion in any sub-samples. The resultant data is nationally representative when weighted with proprietary weights. The weights provided are based on: UK Census data, including demographics such as age, gender, social class and region; newspaper readership, and past vote; and information about people without internet access. Further details can be accessed on the YouGov website: https://yougov.co.uk/about/panel-methodology/.

Our questionnaire with YouGov was fielded in June 2014.

The data we collected for the Netherlands comes from the LISS (Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences) panel. This panel has been created by the CentERdata Research Institute and is the core component of the Measurement and Experimentation in the Social Sciences (MESS) project funded by the Dutch NWO (Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research). The panel consists of 5,000 households, comprising 8,000 individuals. Households that could not otherwise participate are provided with a computer and Internet connection. The sample is based on a true probability sample of households drawn from the population register by Statistics Netherlands and it is routinely topped up to sustain a good level of representativeness. The CentERdata maintains that this representativeness is achieved without the need for additional weighting- a significant difference from the UK data provider. As a result they do not provide weights for their data. The response rate at the stage of recruitment was 48%, but the response rate for questionnaires was (based on the 2009 calculations) very high at an average 73%. More details can be found on the dedicated website: http://www.lissdata.nl/lissdata/.

Our experimental question was fielded in January 2013.

Respondents in both countries received incentives from the pollsters to complete the questionnaire.

CONJOINT EXPERIMENT 1

All respondents were shown 3 pairs of immigrant vignettes on separate pages and had to select the profile of the immigrant they felt was better integrated to British/Dutch society.

On the next few screens, you will see the profiles of six different immigrants, in sets of two. Please read through each of these profiles.

[We generated all the possible pairings ahead of time and excluded identical pairs]

[One vignette shown here with all possible name options]

Vignettes 1, 3, 5.

(1) Amir // (3) Mustafa // (5) Abdullah is a man of Pakistani origin, who immigrated to Britain as a child. He now works full time and obeys the British law. He is a [British/Pakistani] citizen. He is married to [(1) Susan/Tehmina; (3) Angie/Parveen; (5) Natalie/Asma]. He [votes at every election/does not vote]. He is a [builder/works in IT] and [receives tax working credits/pays a higher tax rate]. Most of his friends are [English/of Pakistani origin]. He speaks [English/Urdu] at home to his children. He believes the place of the woman is [at home/in full time employment]. He is [religious/not religious].

Vignettes 2, 4, 6.

(2) Zeyen // (4) Omar // (6) Usman is a man of Pakistani origin, who immigrated to Britain as a child. He now works full time and obeys the British law. He is a [British/Pakistani] citizen. He is married to [(2) Lucy/Ayesha; (4) Nancy/Khadijah; (6) Ann/Shireen]. He [votes at every election/does not vote]. He is a [builder/works in IT] and [receives tax working credits/pays a higher tax rate]. Most of his friends are [English/of Pakistani origin]. He speaks [English/Urdu] at home to his children. He believes the place of the woman is [at home/in full time employment]. He is [religious/not religious].

Q1-Q3 (appearing after each pair of vignettes). Which of these two immigrants do you think is better integrated into British society?

Amir/Mustafa/Abdullah

Zeyen/Omar/Usman

[For the Dutch version the following names with Moroccan, rather than Pakistani, origin were used: Ahmed, Kamal, Yousef, Umar, Abdul and Jamal; Arabic was the language]

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ETHNOCENTRISM

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (Please tick one option per row)

> **(1) If there are not enough jobs, employers should employ British [Dutch] workers ahead of immigrants**
> **(2) Immigration is a threat to British/Dutch culture**

Strongly agree

Tend to agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Tend to disagree

Strongly disagree

Don't know

CONJOINT EXPERIMENT 2- UK ONLY

All respondents were shown 3 immigrant profiles (with characteristics in squared brackets generated through randomization) on separate pages and had to rate the level of integration of each profile.

On the next few screens, you will see the profiles of three different immigrants. Please read through each of these profiles.

[Ania // Nyoni // Sanchita/ // Marie // Wei] a [Polish/Ghana/Bangladeshi/French/Chinese] immigrant came to Britain to [improve their living standards /to get an education/ to join [her] family in Britain]. She [recently applied for British citizenship/has no plans to apply for British citizenship at present]. She lives in a neighbourhood with [other migrants/predominantly English people] and enjoys socialising [in a pub/ in a local community centre/with people from her home country]. She tries to [maintain their home culture and cooks Polish/African/Bangladeshi/French/Chinese food at home/explore what the English culture has to offer and tries to cook English recipes at home].

[The following were grouped together: Ania-Polish-Polish food; Nyoni-Ghana – African food; Sanchita- Bangladesh – Bangladeshi food; Marie- French – French food; Wei-Chinese – Chinese food]

Q1-Q3 (appearing below each profile shown). On a scale from 0 to 10 in which 0 means 'Not integrated well at all' and 10 means 'Very well integrated', how well, if at all, do you think this person has integrated into British society?

0 – Not integrated well at all

1

2

3

4

5 – Neither

6

7

8

9

10 – Very well integrated

Don't know

Appendix 3: Assumption testing

The assumptions behind the approach of Hainmueller et al (2014) are (1) the *stability and no carry-over effects assumption* (e.g., if presented with the same two profiles, the choice of the most integrated immigrant would be the same regardless of the timing of presentation of these profiles); (2) the *profile order assumption* (e.g., the order in which profiles are presented within a specific vignette do not influence the choice of the most integrated migrant); (3) the *randomisation assumption* (e.g., groups of vignette attributes or respondents are well-balanced); (4) the *attribute order effect assumption* (e.g., lack of primacy effect); and (5) the *atypical profiles assumption* (e.g., external validity of the profiles). In addition to present the assumptions, they also suggest specific diagnostic tests that are good practice to run in order to assess the plausibility of their estimation assumptions and the validity of conjoint experiments (pp.22-27). In this section we present the results of our diagnostic tests.

Stability, no carry-over effects assumption

In order to test this assumption, we run separate regression by task number (i.e. the number of pairs of profiles presented to the respondents, 3 in our case) and observe the magnitude of the AMCEs and examine interaction effects between task number and immigrants' attributes.
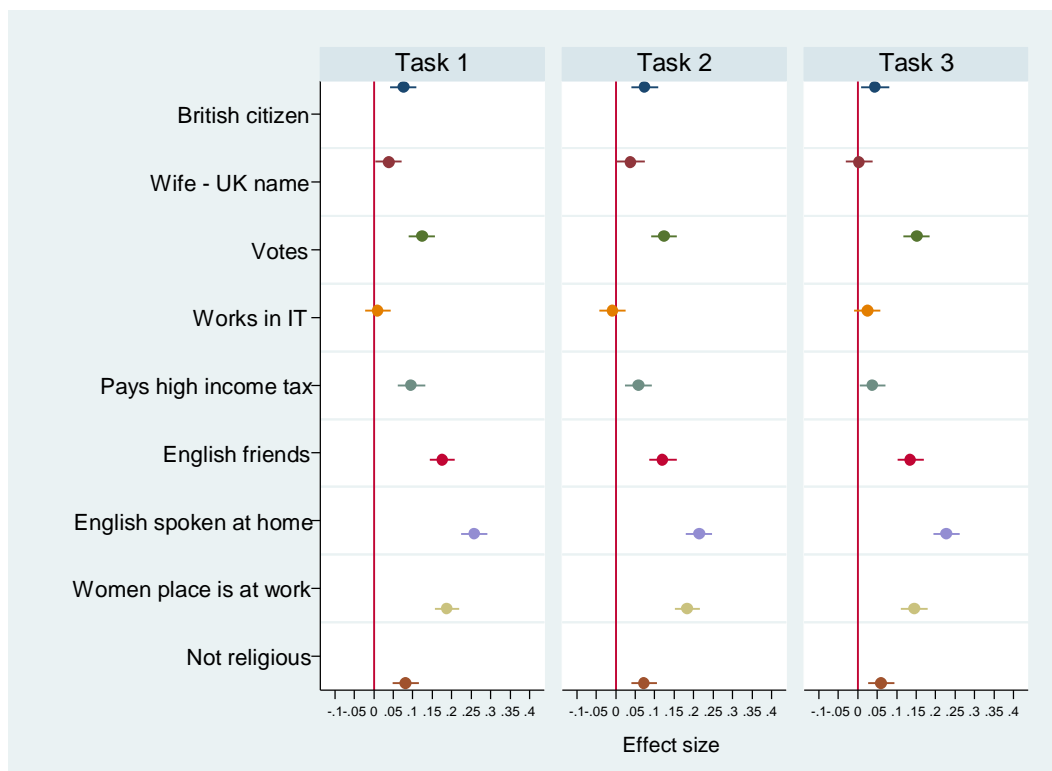

Figure A3.1a: Diagnostic check for the no carryover effect assumption, UK

If we look at the distribution of the AMCEs by task number in the UK (Figure A3.1), we see that they are generally not significantly different from one another across task number. Having English friends, however, appears to have different AMCEs across tasks (p=0.0455 in test of differences between interaction coefficients). In the Netherlands (Figure A3.2), the

distribution of AMCEs is also similar across tasks, with the exception of the attitudes toward women, where the AMCE is different across task number (p=0.0228 for testing differences between interaction terms). Despite these differences (which are only significant at the 95% level of significance), the general picture of the relationship remains unchanged, as the differences are substantively very small.
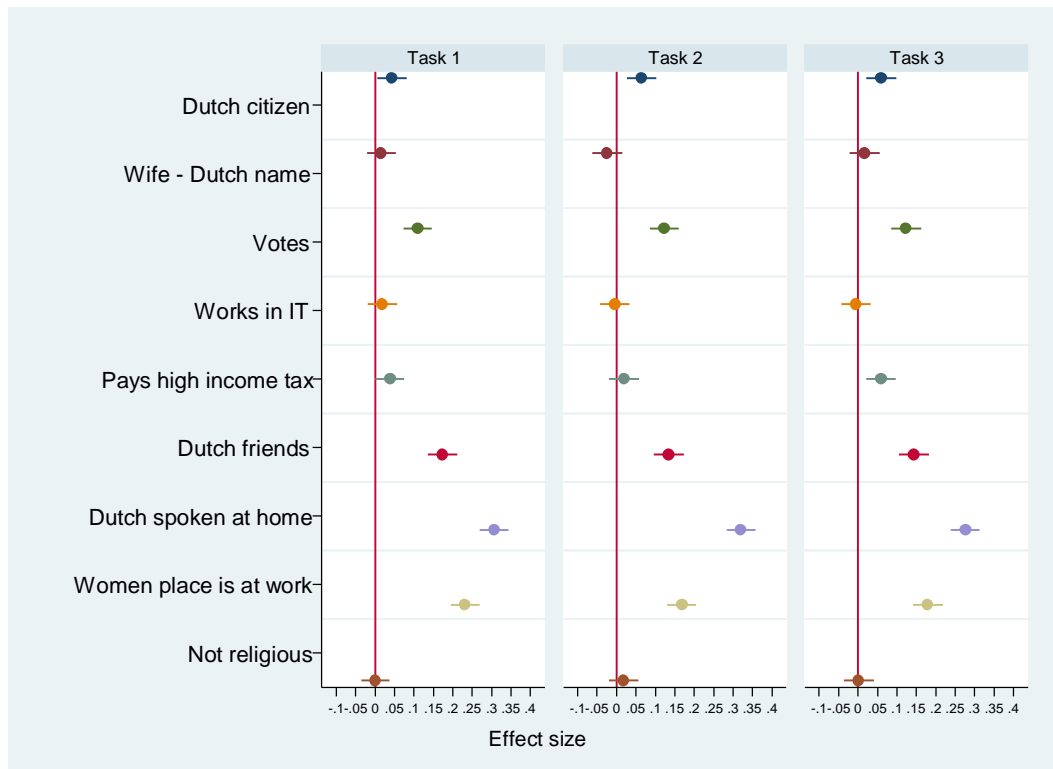

Figure A3.1b: Diagnostic check for the no carryover effect assumption, NL

Profile order assumption

To test the assumption that the order of presentation of profiles in each task is ignored by respondents, we run separate regressions according to the order in which respondents have seen the profiles in a given task (first vs. second) and examine the AMCEs as well as looking at interaction effects between attributes and profile order.
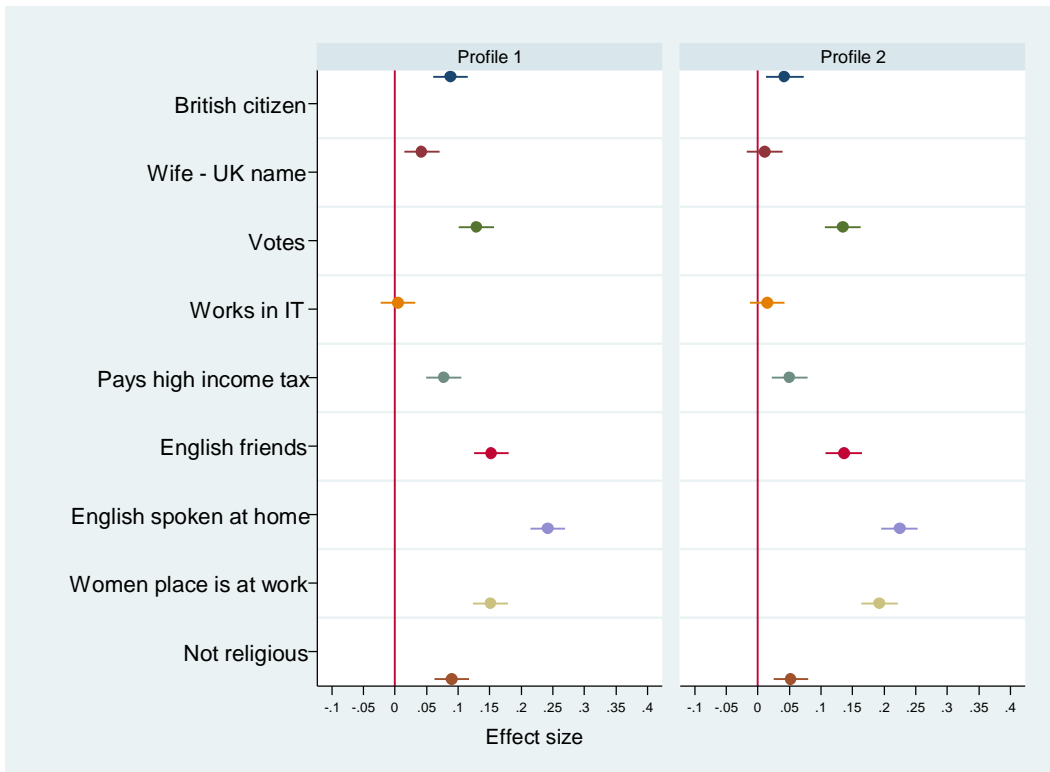
Figure A3.2a: Diagnostic check for the no carryover effect assumption, UK

After running the diagnostic check for the UK, we see that the distribution of AMCEs for the attributes is generally similar across profiles. There are, however, two attributes that seem to be affected by profile order (at the 95% level of significance): citizenship is given greater weight in profile seen first (p=0.0235); and attitudes towards women's place are given less weight in the profile seen first (p=0.0440). In the Netherlands (Figure A3.2b), only one coefficient seems to be affected by profile order (at least at the 95% case): working in IT (p=0.0303). Yet, just as for the first assumption, the general pattern of the relationships remains similar across profiles, especially at the 99% level of significance. These differences are substantively small and do not affect the hierarchies of preference between the attributes.
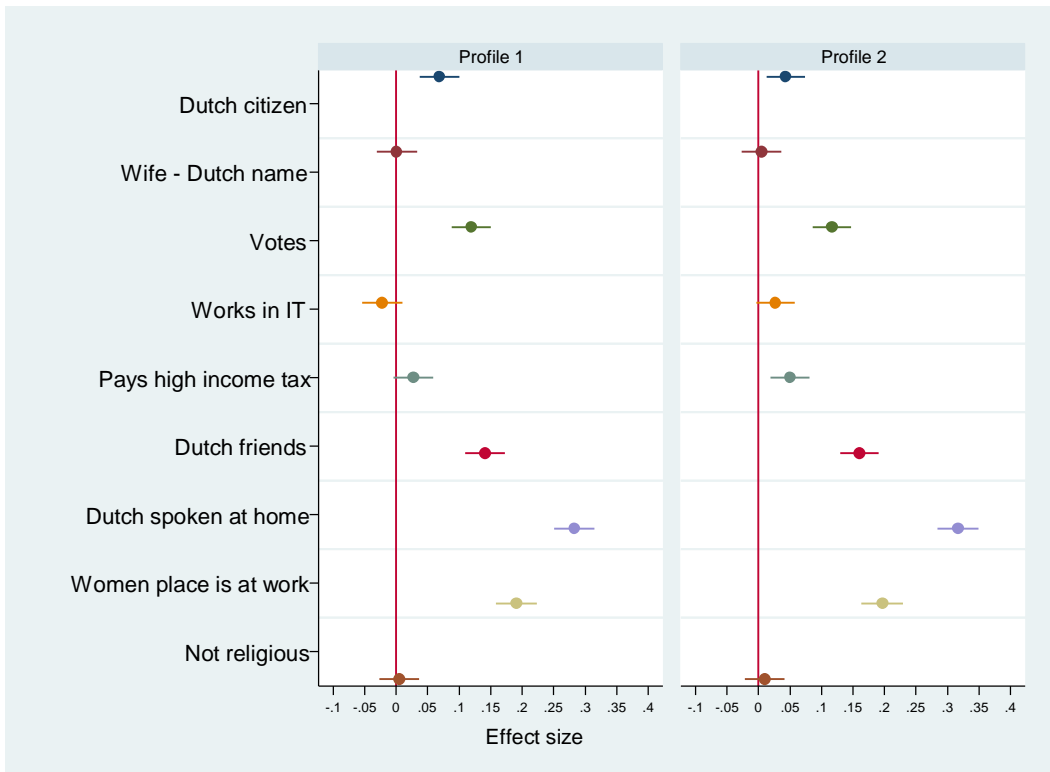
Figure A3.2b: Diagnostic check for the no carryover effect assumption, NL

Randomization

Testing the balance of groups and attributes, above and beyond the randomisation introduced in the design of the experiment, can be tested by running the regressions for separate groups of respondents (e.g. male/female) or by analysing a different outcome using the same independent variables (the attributes) and testing whether the AMCEs are significantly different using an omnibus F-test. We used both checks. Separate regressions for male and female respondents show little difference in AMCEs between the groups. Regression analysis using our variable measuring feelings toward immigrants as a dependent variable shows that the attributes are jointly insignificant (the p-values for the omnibus F-test are 0.20 for the UK; and 0.64 for the Netherlands).

Attribute order effect

Testing for primacy effects requires the randomisation of the order in which the attributes of the immigrants are presented. As we do not do this in our experiment, we cannot test for this. We are, however, using a number of attributes that are within a 'good range' to avoid problematic primacy effects (under 10; see Malhotra 1982, cited in Hainmueller et al (2014 p.26)).

<u>Atypical profiles</u>

We have, at the design stage, avoided designing atypical profiles, but there might be some profiles that may be deemed atypical by respondents. We tested the effect of atypical profiles that include an IT worker claiming tax credits/rebates. Note that this profile is possible, but may be perceived as atypical by respondents.

To test for atypical profile effects, we need to compare the AMCEs according to the number of atypical profiles that respondents are faced with during the experiment (low, medium, or high number), running separate regressions for the number of atypical profiles presented. When testing atypical profiles in this way we see that the presence of atypical profiles have minute negative effects on the AMCEs for certain attributes. This is the case for occupation in the UK (the AMCE in Figure A3.4a is marginally more negative when respondents are presented with higher levels of atypical profiles; this difference is significant at the 99% level); and citizenship in the Netherlands (significance of AMCE disappear in Figure A3.4b when high levels of atypical profiles are presented to respondents; this is only significant at the 95% level). This implies that the more profiles that the respondents perceive as atypical they see, the more they tend to evaluate these attributes less positively (but the number of respondents who were presented atypical profiles was quite small; this only concerns the 4.3% of the sample in the UK and less than 3% in the Netherlands). Again these differences are substantively small and do not impact the hierarchies of preferences between different attributes.
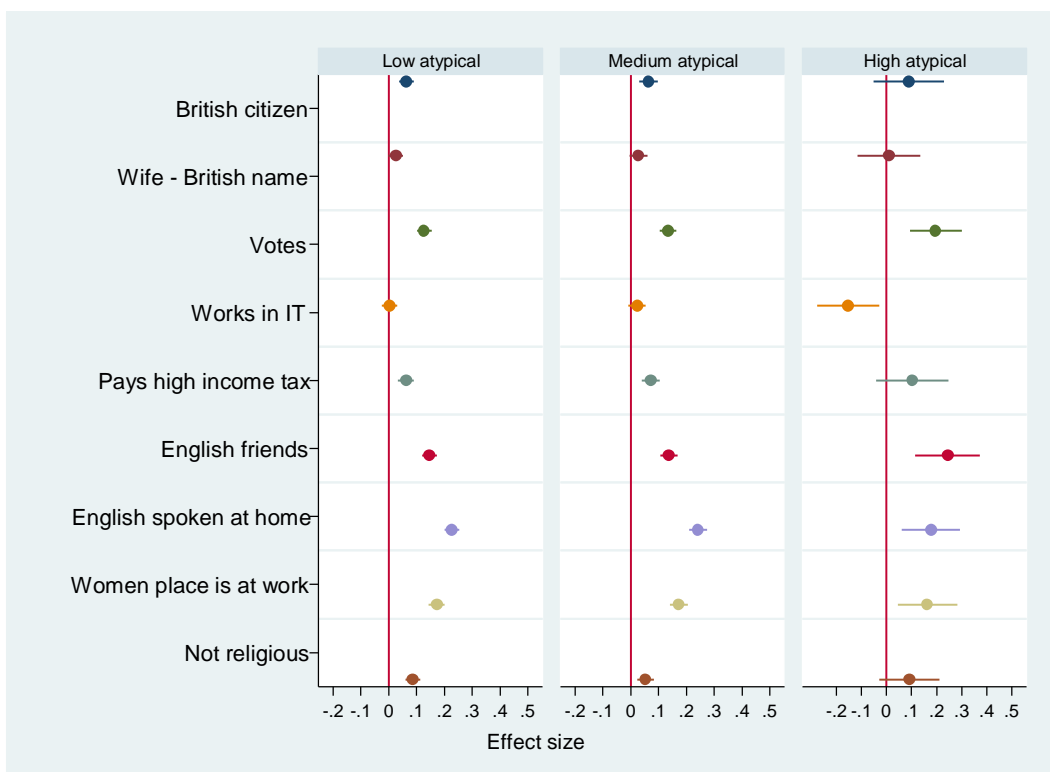

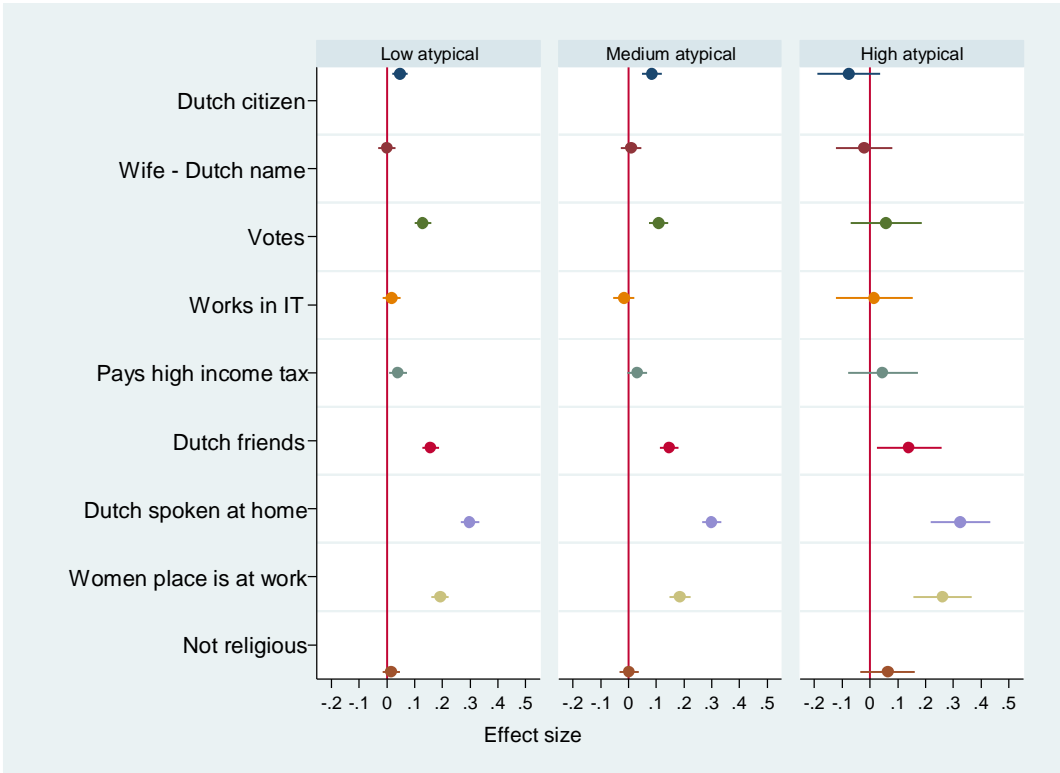Figure A3.3a: Diagnostic check for the atypical profile assumption, UK

Figure A3.3b: Diagnostic check for the atypical profile assumption, NL