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CHAPTER 28

MIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

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C28P1 UPON its publication in news outlets around the world, the picture of the body of Alan Kurdi—a three-year-old Syrian refugee boy washed up on a Greek beach in September 2015—instantly led to a global upturn in concern and awareness of the risks and misery of migration. Despite the controversies around the circumstances of the picture and the reactions to it, migration was now on everyone's mind. This is but one tragic event among uncountable others around the world through which migration and multiculturalism forced their way into global consciousness over the last decade. There were terror attacks against migrant minorities, racist incidents, hate speech against immigrant groups, and electoral successes of radical right parties. But there were also powerful reactions against such exclusionary tendencies. In many countries, people mobilized to show solidarity with refugees and organized into collectives to defend the rights and dignity of the ever-growing masses of migrants (de Haas et al., 2020).
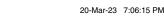
C28P2 Migration and multiculturalism have become key issues over which contemporary societies are increasingly polarized. The negative reactions to migratory flows have become more radical, but supporting movements have also made their voices increasingly heard (Bloemraad & Voss, 2020). Indeed, virtually all countries in the world need to deal with the steady flow of people crossing international borders that have made societies in our globalized world more and more diverse. Despite its contested nature as a normative model for organizing diversity in receiving societies, demographic multiculturalism has become a reality to which countries need to adapt.

C28P3 This chapter focuses on two major questions concerning migration and multiculturalism. First, it looks at the social and psychological processes at work in the migrant experience. Second, it deals with how members of receiving societies react to the increased and diversified immigrant presence in their societies.[1] Our review draws mainly upon research and theory in political and social psychology. Reflecting the diversity of classic and recent empirical work on migration and multiculturalism, we present research covering a wide range of methodological approaches, including survey, experimental, and qualitative studies. The chapter emphasizes how historical and political contexts affect the nature of intergroup relations between migrant groups and receiving societies. It furthermore

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highlights the role of widely shared social representations in processes of migration and multiculturalism, expressed in ideological belief systems, political discourse, and everyday cultural repertoires. We argue that a political psychology perspective to migration and multiculturalism will gain from taking an interdisciplinary approach in which different levels of analysis—including individual, group and societal factors—are combined and articulated (de Haas et al., 2020; Chryssochoou, 2004; Deaux, 2006; Verkuyten, 2018).

C28P4   The chapter is organized in four parts. The first part outlines some historical benchmarks of modern migration and briefly presents two key notions of a psychological approach to migration—assimilation and multiculturalism—in their historical context. In a second part, we summarize empirical research that focuses on the psychological dynamics involved in the migrant experience, in particular the interactionist and complex nature of migrant identities, acculturation in receiving societies, and intergroup approaches to acculturation and multiculturalism. The third part analyzes the role of threat regarding immigrants and immigration in the reactions of majority populations in receiving societies. The fourth part presents multilevel research on the effects of contextual factors on attitudes toward immigration held by national majority groups.

C28P5   Since other chapters in this volume are directly concerned with processes related to historical ethnic minorities within countries (Kinder, Chapter 27, this volume), this chapter specifically analyzes diversity and multiculturalism as the outcome of international migration. Moreover, although migration is a global phenomenon, we focus our discussion mainly on those migration flows which end up in Western countries, since it is mostly in these contexts that empirical research has studied the psychological processes involved in the migrant experience and the public reactions to immigration.

1. Assimilation and Multiculturalism in Context

C28P6   Early works on acculturation and incorporation of immigrants (e.g., Park & Burgess, 1921; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918) reflected questions arising from voluntary and permanent forms of migration, especially to the United States. Incorporation of immigrants in the host society was seen as a one-way street toward the hegemonic White Anglo-Saxon Protestant "WASP" norm in which immigrants gradually lose their ties with their country of origin while picking up the values of the receiving society. In this model of migrant *assimilation*, the identity of origin was to be replaced with the host identity, and ethnic distinctions as well as the cultural and social practices that express it were bound to disappear (see Alba & Nee, 2003, for a more contemporary analysis of assimilation). Assimilation therefore relies on the principle of *similarity* between migrant groups and the receiving society: Such intergroup similarity is deemed to foster successful integration into mainstream society and to promote harmonious intergroup relations within receiving societies. Largely taken for granted in the early times of immigration, it was the sole conceivable form of migrant incorporation. Metaphors such as *melting pot*, *soup*, *stew*, and *salad bowl* have been put forward to figuratively describe variants of assimilation. Their relevance, however, is contested, as their use depends on the (perceived) degree of dissolution of the original ethnic and

national identities and their absorption in mainstream society as well on the (perceived) emergence of new cultural identities.

C28P7   European diversity, in contrast, is historically due to migration from former colonial countries and the presence of different cultural and linguistic groups on national territories, for example Wallonian and Flemish populations in Belgium, or Finnish- and Swedish-speaking and native Sami populations in Finland. In "multi-nation" states where cultural diversity arises from the incorporation of territorially concentrated cultures into a larger state, the political debate has been more concerned with political rights of resident cultures than with their assimilation into receiving societies (Kymlicka, 1995). In these contexts, minority cultures typically claim self-government rights that demand some form of political autonomy (e.g., the province of Quebec in Canada or Catalonia in Spain) or special representation rights in order for the groups' views and interests to be effectively represented in the political process, for example by allocating a predefined number of seats in the legislature for members of minority groups (Azzi, 1992).

C28P8   After WWII, the nature of international migration gradually changed. Migration volume increased drastically, due to armed conflicts and large-scale natural disasters, growing global inequalities pushing people to search for a better life, or new international agreements liberalizing person movements (de Haas et al., 2020). The United States was confronted with new waves of mass immigration from Latin America (especially Mexico), Asia, and the Caribbean after the Immigration Act of 1965. Part of this migration was characterized by large numbers of undocumented "illegal" immigrants, by religious identities different from those of American mainstream society, by a tendency to maintain closer ties with their countries of origin, and often by a reluctance or incapacity to learn the English language. Thus, in the 21st century, migrants originate from increasingly diverse economic, social, and cultural backgrounds, giving rise to differentiated forms of migration in receiving countries, including voluntary and involuntary migration, temporary and permanent labor migration, as well as refugee, asylum seeker, and family reunion migration. Migration has also become increasingly politicized, in particular with respect to domestic politics which are ever more marked by public debates about immigration (in particular Muslim immigrants), by the tendency of political parties in the Western world to define their identity through tough stances toward migration and multiculturalism, and by hostile, racist, and xenophobic attitudes of large segments of national majority populations in receiving societies (de Haas et al., 2020; Staerklé & Green, 2018). The classical understanding of assimilation as a general settlement policy has therefore become ever more questioned. In this context of "new immigration," immigrants can no longer be seen as definitely leaving their country of origin or permanently taking residence in the receiving society, the receiving society cultures have become too heterogeneous to provide a single cultural model toward which immigrants should strive, and in light of the difficult experiences of increasing numbers of immigrants, the notion of inevitable assimilationist progress has become untenable (Bornstein, 2017; Deaux, 2006; Vertovec, 2007).

C28P9   Analyzing policy responses to such criticism, Brubaker (2001), for example, observes the rise of new forms of assimilation policies that no longer expect immigrants to be completely absorbed in the receiving society. These civic integration policies place a stronger emphasis on the progressive process rather than on the desired end-state of becoming similar to the receiving society, for example in the form of proposed or encouraged language courses for immigrants, the acquisition of work-related skills, or the easing of strict naturalization rules

(Joppke, 2017; Lesinska, 2014). These policies focus on individual rights and responsibilities, placing little emphasis on multicultural principles such as cultural recognition and measures to address group-based inequality such as affirmative action. As a result, many countries that formerly had a strong policy emphasis on multiculturalism such as the Netherlands, Sweden, and Australia have shifted to policies that require more "adaptation" and "integration" from immigrants, often under pressure of rising right-wing populist parties (Joppke, 2007; for a related discussion on nationalism see Huddy, Chapter 21, this volume).

C28P10   The more encompassing response to the limitations of an assimilationist view of migrant incorporation was the gradual development of "difference"-based conceptions of citizenship, based on the formal recognition of migrant and other minority identities and legal accommodation of their difference (Isin & Wood, 1999; Taylor, 1992). One of the major models of this differentialist turn (Brubaker, 2001) was *multiculturalism*, a term that covers multiple realities and presents a number of ambiguities (see Berry, 2013; Glazer, 1997; Kymlicka, 2012).

C28P11   Multiculturalism has three components (e.g., Ward et al., 2018). First, in a descriptive, demographic, sense, multiculturalism refers to the diverse ethnic composition of contemporary societies, be they the product of existing ethno-cultural groups within countries or the outcome of international migration. In this sense, virtually all countries in the world are multicultural. Second, in a normative and prescriptive sense, multiculturalism is a desirable way of organizing diversity within a country. Offering a positive view of cultural identity maintenance, it considers that cultural diversity *as such* has positive effects on a society, by contributing fresh perspectives, promoting openness toward others, and preventing discrimination (Kymlicka, 1995). Third, multiculturalism is implemented with specific policies that accommodate claims for the recognition of group-specific identities, for example, rights for political representation, legal protection of cultural practices, or language and educational rights. Such group-differentiated policies formally recognize the legitimacy of differences between ethnic and cultural groups residing in a country and aim at promoting equal treatment and equal rights of these groups (Kymlicka, 1995). The passionate debates about the legitimacy of civil, social, or political rights of specific migrant groups, for example affirmative action policies or group-specific clothing regulations (e.g., concerning headscarves and veils of Muslim women, Joppke, 2009) reveal that the question of group rights is one of the most pressing issues in contemporary societies struggling with multicultural demands (Bloemraad, 2015; 2018; Koopmans et al., 2005).

C28P12   Much like assimilation, the normative model of multiculturalism has come under increasing pressure (Bloemraad et al., 2008; Lesinska, 2014; Joppke, 2014; Kymlicka, 2012). Multiculturalism is accused of undermining national cohesion, exacerbating intergroup divisions rather than overcoming them, essentializing and reifying group boundaries, and ultimately compartmentalizing ethnic groups into segregated urban ghettos (Barry, 2001). As a result, multiculturalism might fuel negative attitudes toward migrant groups rather than alleviate them, as implied by the sweeping declarations from several heads of government over the last 15 years who announced that "multiculturalism has failed" and even suggested that it represents a danger for Western liberal democracies (see Bloemraad, 2015).

C28P13   Negative effects of ethnic diversity on social relations have also been put forward by Putnam (2007) in the context of his developing the advantages of "social capital." His "constrict hypothesis" states that ethnic diversity within a given context results in fewer social relations in general, that is, independently of ingroup and outgroup membership, and thus

in weakened social cohesion (for a related discussion on diversity and authoritarianism, see Feldman & Weber, Chapter 20, this volume). Yet, empirical evidence for the "constrict hypothesis" is far from consistent. In a meta-analysis on the alleged detrimental effects of ethnic diversity on social cohesion, van der Meer and Tolsma (2014) found support for the constrict claim for aspects of social cohesion at the level of neighborhoods only, but no consistent evidence for the hypothesis that ethnic diversity would be related to less interethnic social cohesion at more inclusive levels of categorization. Bloemraad (2015) praises the advantages of multiculturalism, arguing that *"countries with more multicultural policies and a stronger discourse of pluralism and recognition are places where immigrants are more likely to become citizens, more trusting of political institutions, and more attached to a national identity,"* thereby giving them the opportunity *"to shape political discourse and policy to be more inclusive of diversity"* (p. 593).

C28P14 Nevertheless, there is broad consensus that multiculturalism is "on the retreat" (Kymlicka, 2010). However, the exact forms and reasons behind this development are disputed as are the alternatives to multiculturalism. For Joppke (2014), " . . . *[M]ulticulturalism is under attack today for condoning, even reinforcing a stance in which one's primordial group attachment [. . .] ranks above one's civic attachment to the political community"* (p. 293). Multiculturalism's retreat is generally linked to the growing presence of Muslims and Islam in contemporary immigrant integration debates, and the stigma attached to them among more traditional Europeans and North Americans. Putting this development into perspective, Brubaker (2013) argues that *"religion has tended to displace language as the cutting edge of contestation over the political accommodation of cultural difference—a striking reversal of the longer-term historical process through which language had previously displaced religion as the primary focus of contention"* (p. 16). This shift from linguistic to religious lines of demarcation has been accompanied by the increasing securitization of state-minority relations whereby immigrants are primarily perceived as a threat to the security and cultural integrity of destination societies (de Haas et al., 2020, p.11). This process has been most evident with immigrants of Muslim origin.

C28P15 There is, however, debate as to whether the ensuing retreat from multiculturalism is a rhetorical "perception" problem or whether there is actual incompatibility and thus real conflict between Islamic and liberal democratic principles (Joppke, 2014; see also Bloemraad, 2018; Banting & Kymlicka, 2013; Malik, 2015). These concerns are to some extent addressed by the concept of *interculturalism* that has recently been advocated as an ideological and policy alternative to multiculturalism (Yogeeswaran et al., 2021). Interculturalism underscores the importance of dialogue and interactions between people of different origins, recognizes mixed and flexible identities, and focuses on similarities rather than on differences between groups (see also Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2020).

C28P16 The emergence of *transnationalism* and diaspora communities is another key feature of contemporary migration (Faist et al., 2013; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Owing to modes of online communication and decreasing travel costs, migrants now can more easily maintain relationships with their societies of origin across national borders. Transnational social spaces are expressed in political engagement of migrants in their country of origin, as financial support for homeland networks, or as regular travel between the receiving society and the country of origin. Transnationalism thereby de-emphasizes the importance of physical location of migrants in the receiving society and extends multiculturalism and ethnic loyalties across the national borders of the receiving society.

C28P17   In sum, the two major paradigms of migrant incorporation—assimilation and multiculturalism—are both questioned for a variety of reasons. In the following section we will unpack the implications and responses to this development. Focusing on the migrant perspective, we first discuss the formation of contemporary ethnic and cultural identities as well as the strategies deployed to construe migrant identities. We then provide an overview of classical and recent research on acculturation, and finish with a section on contrasting attitudes between minorities and majorities toward cultural diversity and multiculturalism.

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2. The Migrant Experience

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2.1. Contemporary Migrant Identities

C28P18   The concept of *ethnic identity* captures the dynamics that are involved in the negotiation of cultural and ethnic boundaries in receiving societies (see Verkuyten, 2018). Ethnic identities involve beliefs in commonality, or shared kinship or ancestry; they are historically defined and involve a sense of temporality and continuity that sets them apart from other social identities (see Sani, 2008; for more on the development of ethnic identities see Sears and Brown, Chapter 3, this volume). Yet, in contemporary research, ethnic groups are not bounded cultural entities to which people naturally belong but are rather *social constructions* that emerge from continuous social interactions *between* the migrant and the majority group and *within* migrant groups themselves (Barth, 1969). Migrant identities are therefore the product of both "other-definition" and "self-definition." *"Other-definition means ascription of undesirable characteristics and assignment of inferior social positions by dominant groups. Self-definition refers to the consciousness of group members of belonging together on the basis of shared cultural, religious and social characteristics. The relative strength of these processes varies. Some minorities are mainly constructed through processes of marginalization (which may be referred to as racism or xenophobia) by the majority or dominant group. Others are mainly constituted on the basis of cultural and historical consciousness (or ethnic identity) among their members"* (de Haas et al., 2020, pp. 76–77). As a consequence of this interactionist view, ethnic group boundaries may be legitimized and maintained (as in multicultural discourses) or on the contrary challenged and eventually dissolved (as in assimilationist and interculturalist discourses).

C28P19   Reconfigurations of migrant identities are for example contingent upon normative pressures to conform to ingroup obligations (such as the maintenance of cultural traditions) and to outgroup expectations (such as labor market integration). These negotiations may take place between first- and second-generation immigrants, between parents and children, or between high- and low-status group members (Bornstein, 2017). As a result, any characteristics, beliefs, or practices associated with ethnic groups may change over time, for example when longstanding traditions are replaced with modern customs.

C28P20   Discrimination and stigmatization by the majority group has been shown to be one of the key drivers of more and less inclusive ethnic boundaries (Wimmer, 2013). Research on ethnic identification has indeed shown that the subjective importance of membership in

an ethnic group is particularly strong for migrant groups in receiving societies in which the legitimacy of their norms and values—and even their mere presence on national soil—is questioned. In a study on religious identification by Muslim (Sunni) migrants in the Netherlands, Verkuyten (2007) found that over half of the participants had the highest possible score on scales of religious identification. For these "total" identifiers, identification with the receiving Dutch society was lower than for those Muslims with lower levels of religious identification. These findings suggest that Muslim migrants are prone to stress their ethnic identity in a context of increasing tensions with the receiving society. Hence, the degree and nature of ethnic identification by migrant groups is flexible and is moderated by the intergroup context in receiving societies.

C28P21   As a result of this dynamic and interactionist view of the formation of ethnic identities, migrant identities are often "messy" and group boundaries "blurry" (Alba, 2005), especially those of second-generation immigrants (see Lamont & Molnar, 2002). The variety of migration contexts, in terms of countries of origin and receiving societies, of migration history, and of duration of residence and political grievances, gives rise to a wide range of possible migrant identity configurations and forms of interdependence between migrant groups and receiving societies (Bornstein, 2017). Contemporary migrant identities combine cultural origins in different ways and thus give rise to new and complex identities, described as multiple, mixed, hybrid, or hyphenated identities (Deaux, 2006; Chen et al., 2008; Phinney, 1990; Verkuyten; 2018). Increased ethnic mixing and the prevalence of multiethnic identities are also reasons why the rigid split between a White majority and Non-White minorities in the United States is a politically motivated and misleading narrative that aims to mobilize support for the far-right myth that non-White minorities would soon outnumber the White majority (Alba et al., 2021).

C28P22   This emphasis on intergroup mingling and blending stands in stark contrast to classical intergroup research in social psychology that treats social categories as unproblematic and defines them with unambiguous boundaries, possibly reflecting the extensive intergroup research on American race relations where the group boundaries of African Americans are unusually impermeable and fixed. Research on "black exceptionalism" has indeed shown that immigrant groups such as Latinos assimilate more easily into the broader society compared to African Americans (Sears & Savalei, 2006; Citrin & Sears, 2014). More generally, these findings suggest that perceptions of fixed "color lines" of immigrant groups may contribute to maintain minority distinctiveness and to restrict their possibilities for greater assimilation in the receiving society.

C28P23   The issue of category labeling illustrates the often-difficult task of using appropriate names for migrant categories whose status in the receiving society is changing. Category labels are malleable and strategic constructs, they can make a statement about the norms, values, and cultural history of the group, and they can convey a sense of position of the group in the larger society (Pérez and Vicuña, Chapter 25, this volume; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Examples include the continuous debate about the use of "Latino" (or "Latinx"), "Hispanic," or hyphenated category labels (e.g., "Mexican-American") to describe immigrant groups of Spanish and Portuguese descent in the United States (Deaux, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006), or the shift in usage from "Negroes" to "Blacks" to "African-Americans" (Philogène, 1999).

C28S4   ## 2.2. Identity Work and Identity Negotiation

C28P24   One of the striking features of migrant identities is the typically large gap between the way migrant groups are categorized by national majorities and by migrant groups themselves. National majority discourse appeals to inclusive and generalizing categories with often negative connotations such as "foreigners" or "immigrants" (Kosic & Phalet, 2006), while migrants themselves use more fine-grained and less inclusive categories, distinguishing for example between different religious orientations, national and regional origins, or first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants (e.g., Sears et al., 2003).

C28P25   Discursive research examines such identity constructions through the analysis of language and discourse related to the migrant experience (see Hopkins, Chapter 9, this volume). It thereby explores the multiple meanings social actors attempt to convey when talking about their own and other groups. In this approach, migrant experiences are contextualized within particular social settings and migrant identities are analyzed as flexible and dynamic resources that change as a function of the intergroup context and the historical and political conditions of receiving societies. The analysis of situated discursive practices thus enables a nuanced analysis of the subjective understanding of the migrant experience, such as a low-status position within the receiving society or the suffering of discrimination (Deaux, 2006; Verkuyten, 2018).

C28P26   In a study based on a discursive approach to social identity theory, Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2004) illustrate how widespread majority representations of a homogeneous and unified Muslim category are challenged by Muslim activists in Britain: some activists put forward a political understanding of Muslim identity and restrict the boundaries of Muslim identity to those members who conform to central Muslim practices such as the Hajj (the Mecca pilgrimage) or the daily prayers. Others, in contrast, promote a more inclusive and spiritual view of Muslim identity and feel affiliated with "people [throughout the world] who are struggling to have their voices heard" (p. 53, see also Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013 on identity performance). The formation of ethnic minority identities as a function of an ongoing negotiation and opposition to stereotypical understandings on behalf of the majority group has been demonstrated by a study on British mixed-heritage children and adults who flexibly construe their identities in the context of inherent tensions of a multicultural community (Howarth et al., 2014). A study on ethnic category label use before and after migration further illustrates the dynamic and strategic formation of ethnic identities as a function of a changing intergroup context. Ethnic Finnish migrants emigrating from Russia to Finland mostly presented themselves as "Finns" in the (Russian) pre-migration context, whereas after their arrival in Finland, their Finnish identity was problematized as they were often viewed by the receiving Finnish society as the "Russians" (Varjonen et al., 2013).

C28S5   ## 2.3. Acculturation and Multiculturalism

C28P27   Acculturation research focuses on the determinants and consequences of different strategies migrants employ to adapt to new cultural milieus (see Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). It has its roots in cross-cultural psychology and studies the individual- and group-level changes resulting from intercultural contact. The classical definition states that

acculturation refers to *"those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups"* (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149).

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The most influential model of acculturation has been proposed by Berry (1990). His model emphasizes the bi-dimensional nature of acculturation processes where the maintenance of relationships with one's country of origin and the development of new ties with the receiving society are independent of each other and may therefore combine in different ways. Four basic types of acculturation strategies result from crossing these two dimensions: *integration* reflects a desire to simultaneously maintain ties with the country of origin and establish strong contacts with members of the receiving society, whereas *separation* denotes the wish to maintain one's migrant identity while minimizing contacts with the receiving society. *Assimilation* refers to the abandonment of one's original cultural identity and the pursuit of contacts with the receiving society, whereas *marginalization* describes the rejection of both the original culture and the receiving society.

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Due to its important heuristic value, Berry's highly successful model became the starting point of a burgeoning literature on acculturation (see Sam & Berry, 2016). At the same time, various limitations of this initial model have been pointed out over the years, for example that it obscures the wide array of possible forms of interdependence between migrant groups and the receiving society, or that it is not sufficiently sensitive to issues of measurement and operationalization of acculturation orientations (see Bornstein, 2017). Varying operationalizations indeed reflect different degrees of closeness and different levels of involvement with the receiving society, thereby highlighting the difficulty of defining unambiguous criteria of intergroup similarity, an issue already recognized by Gordon (1964) in his classical theory of assimilation. There he differentiated multiple (e.g., cultural, linguistic, behavioral, attitudinal, and identity) dimensions of assimilation. Not surprisingly, then, the rather general measures of endorsement of different acculturation strategies are controversial (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006).

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Flourishing research over the last three decades has amply demonstrated that acculturation is a highly context-dependent, longitudinal, and differentiated process. Based on an extensive overview of the acculturation literature, Bornstein (2017) summarizes these developments of Berry's initial model by developing a "specificity" principle of acculturation science that urges researchers to study the "where, whom, how and when" dimensions of acculturation, that is, to take into account the multiple moderating factors of actual acculturation processes and experiences of migrants. Five moderating terms are identified, *setting* conditions (reasons to migrate, conditions in the cultures of origin and destination, migrants' experience and status), *personal attributes* (gender, individual differences), *time* (age, historical conditions), *process* (socialization, opportunities, participation), and *domain* (multidimensionality of acculturation process). Taken together, the analysis of these factors offers a useful blueprint for a more pluralistic, realistic, and comprehensive perspective than the one-size-fits-all principle of the universalistic taxonomy of individual acculturation choices underlying Berry's initial model.

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Much of more recent acculturation research has developed and extended the initial acculturation model to give rise to new theoretical models that are sensitive to the varying experiences of contemporary migrant groups. A first major extension of Berry's model was the *Interactive acculturation model* (IAM, Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis et al., 2010). This model adds to the acculturation *orientations* adopted by migrant groups the acculturation

expectations held by members of the receiving society toward specific groups of immigrants. At one extreme, members of the receiving society may for example expect immigrants to fully abandon their original culture and follow an assimilation strategy. The IAM further adds *individualism* as an alternative strategy to marginalization, denoting an orientation that stresses personal characteristics rather than group membership in both migrant and receiving society acculturation orientations.

C28P32   The IAM is but one of many acculturation models highlighting the intergroup nature of acculturative processes through *"which majorities and minorities, immigrants and nationals, are engaged in continuous mutual contact and interaction, affecting each other's acculturative choices and acculturative expectations"* (Horenczyk et al., 2013, p. 205). As already implied in the original definition of acculturation by Redfield and colleagues in 1936, these models recognize that not only the immigrants, but also the receiving society undergo transformations as a result of the arrival of immigrants, thereby emphasizing mutuality in attitudes, perceptions, and expectations (for overviews, see Horenczyk et al., 2013; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). That mutuality is the essential insight behind the familiar "melting pot" metaphor.

C28P33   Following the mutuality principle, a large body of research has investigated the individual and social factors that determine the preferences for acculturation strategies by (migrant) minorities and majorities (see Ward & Geeraert, 2016, for the ecological context of acculturation). Early studies have found that integration and separation are the preferred modes of acculturation among minorities, whereas majorities expect migrants to endorse either integration or assimilation strategies, though context-dependent exceptions to these patterns are common (see Brown & Zagefka, 2011). A number of factors have been shown to account for the endorsement of acculturation expectations by majorities, including strength of ethnic and national identification, ethnocentrism, social dominance orientation (henceforth, "SDO"), political orientation, feelings of threat from the presence of migrant groups, individual networks of ethnic contacts, or perceptions of immigrant discrimination (e.g., Bourhis et al., 2009; Montreuil et al., 2004). Furthermore, acculturation expectations adopted by majorities depend on the type of migrant groups: integration is likely to be the preferred strategy for "valued" minorities (in terms of favorable stereotypes associated with them), while assimilation, segregation, and marginalization are more likely to be endorsed for negatively evaluated minorities (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

C28P34   Other research adopting an intergroup perspective has examined the effects of match and mismatch between acculturation orientations held by migrant groups and receiving societies (van Oudenhoven et al., 2006; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2014). Minority and majority attitudes toward acculturation can either be concordant and give rise to consensual relations between majorities and minorities (especially when both groups agree on integration or assimilation as preferred modes of acculturation), or discordant, evidenced by a mismatch between minority preferences and majority expectations, leading to problematic or even conflictual relationships (Bourhis et al., 1997). The relational outcomes of a mismatch of intergroup definitions of acculturation orientations include, for migrants, heightened acculturative stress, and, for members of the receiving society, stereotyping and discriminatory behaviors, for example in educational or health care institutions, at the workplace, in housing decisions, or in encounters with the police.

C28P35   Such mismatch was evidenced in the Netherlands, where Moroccan and Turkish immigrants have been shown to prefer integration, while Dutch nationals believed that

separation, their least liked orientation, was mainly chosen by these migrant groups (van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). In Germany, research has similarly shown that whereas migrant groups preferred strategies implying contact with the receiving society, majorities thought they endorsed strategies implying culture maintenance (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). More importantly, this study revealed that greater perceived mismatch between migrant and majority acculturation orientations at the individual level deteriorated the perceived quality of intergroup relations (in terms of ingroup favoritism and perceived discrimination) for both minorities and majorities.

C28P36   The intergroup nature of migrant incorporation in receiving societies is also evidenced at the level of public opinion about multiculturalism and the policies destined to implement its principles. One of the key findings of this strand of research is that ingroup identification by minority groups is associated with identity affirmation and the support for multicultural, group-differentiated policies, whereas ingroup identification with majority groups strengthens perceptions of the threatening aspects of multiculturalism and thus opposition to group-based claims and policies (see Verkuyten, 2018). This pattern of findings has become known as the "multiculturalism hypothesis." It has received experimental support in studies where multicultural vs. colorblind ideologies have been manipulated (Wolsko et al., 2006; for a general review of cognitive effects of multiculturalism, see Crisp & Turner, 2011).

C28P37   The common finding that support for multicultural policies is higher among migrant groups than among national majorities further suggests that minorities and majorities endorse different justice conceptions. Following early work on minority rights and procedural justice in South Africa by Azzi (1992), recent research has indeed demonstrated that membership in subordinate minority groups generally increases perceived compatibility between individual and collective forms of justice (Gale & Staerklé, 2019). In other words, majority natives are likely to reject multicultural policies when they view society as a space of individual competition, but less so when they question the primacy of individual justice principles. For immigrants, in turn, attitudes toward inequality-reducing multicultural policies do not depend on beliefs in individual responsibility. Indeed, their subordinate position leads them to consider that their successful integration in society requires endorsement of both individual and collective justice principles (Simon, 2011).

C28S6   ## 2.4. Successful and Unsuccessful Acculturation

C28P38   Much work on acculturation has been concerned with the factors that determine whether acculturation is successful or not, that is, whether migrants are able to appropriately negotiate the demands of the receiving society and adapt to a new cultural context (see Nguyen & Benet-Martìnez, 2013). Successful long-term adaptation is multidimensional and evidenced with migrants' sociocultural and political integration, labor market integration, psychological well-being, and physical health. Cultural learning approaches highlight the necessity to learn culture-specific skills in order to successfully adapt to a new cultural milieu, in particular communication competence such as proficiency in the language of the receiving society (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008) and effective social interaction skills (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Extensive social support further increases migrant well-being and adjustment (Safdar et al., 2009), in particular social networks that include members of the receiving society (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Repke & Benet-Martìnez, 2018). Illustrating

the importance of transnational social spaces as determinants of successful adaptation, ethnic networks *abroad* have also been shown to increase migrant well-being (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006).

C28P39   Acculturation is a gendered process, since girls and boys, and women and men, acculturate differently. Notably, women tend to be more distressed by interpersonal difficulties common after migration, but men are more concerned by discrimination, financial worries, and work-related adversities (see Bornstein, 2017). Exposure to majority norms and expectations also has gender-specific implications (Bos and Schneider, Chapter 19, this volume). For example, the confrontation with gender equality norms of Western societies affects girls and boys differently, especially those immigrant children from traditionally gendered societies (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Under such circumstances, sons may experience greater achievement and cultural conformity pressures than daughters. Gender further shapes majority responses to immigrants, for example Dutch girls have been found to be less concerned with ethnic group differences and more likely to consider immigrant children as Dutch than are their male counterparts (Verkuyten et al., 2013).

C28P40   *Acculturative stress*, in turn, may result from unsuccessfully negotiated cultural contact and manifest itself as depressive symptoms, feelings of anxiety, and psychosomatic disorders (Berry, 2006). Following Berry's initial framework, research has generally shown that integration is the most, and marginalization the least, adaptive strategy to deal with acculturative stress. That is, the integration strategy leads to the most positive outcomes in terms of coping, psychological health, and well-being (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Yet, processes of adaptation develop over time, with acculturative stress increasing soon after the arrival of the migrant in the receiving society, followed later by a decrease over time (Berry, 2006).

C28P41   A key factor underlying successful adaptation is the experience and perception of *discrimination* among migrants. There is ample empirical evidence showing that perceiving oneself as a target or victim of majority discrimination is a major acculturative stressor, increasing depressive symptoms, distress, and anxiety, as well as decreasing life satisfaction, well-being, and self-esteem (Cassidy et al., 2004; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; for a meta-analysis, see Schmitt et al., 2014). In a study on the impact of discrimination on the acculturation strategies of international students in the United Kingdom for example, perceived discrimination has been shown to lead to a perceived a lack of permeability of group boundaries, and thus to avoidance of the receiving society and endorsement of one's own cultural background (Ramos et al., 2016). A study examining both pre- and post-migration factors underlying psychological adaptation of ethnic migrants in the receiving society found that pre-acculturative stress and anticipated discrimination (before migration) are associated with subsequent greater stress and discrimination (after migration), which in turn decrease post-migration well-being (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012). These findings suggest that migration expectations predict at least to some extent actual psychological and behavioral adaptation in the receiving society. They thus plead in favor of pre-migration interventions to create positive, though realistic, expectations regarding the intergroup context of the receiving society.

C28P42   Many if not most migrants have to find ways to deal with discrimination in receiving societies, though most often against other members of their group than against them personally. In line with the common finding that threats to the ingroup encourage group identification, perceived discrimination has thus been shown to increase ingroup identification

(Jetten et al., 2001; Craig & Phillps, Chapter 23, this volume; Perez & Vicuna, Chapter 25, this volume). The deleterious effects of perceived discrimination may therefore to some extent be buffered through identification with minority groups (see Schmitt et al., 2014).

C28P43   Subsequently, a more general model of "social cure" has been developed that demonstrates how social identities (and related factors such as social support and a sense of community) are capable of promoting adjustment, coping, and well-being for individuals dealing with migratory stressors such as discrimination, particularly among vulnerable populations such as migrants (Jetten et al., 2012). In a study on Syrian refugees in Turkey, for example, higher perceived ethnic discrimination was associated with poorer physical and mental health, but these effects were weaker or non-existent for refugees who derived a sense of efficacy and meaningfulness from their Syrian identity, thereby also underscoring the importance of differentiating identity needs for understanding the effects of perceived discrimination (Çelebi et al., 2017).

C28P44   The positive effects of social identities on well-being are far from consistent, and critically depend on identity content and the social status of the group. In a study on immigrant detention in the United Kingdom, for example, shared identities were a source of burden and distress, because detainees carried guilt, and interactions with other ingroup members were painful (Kellezi et al., 2019). Another study demonstrating the limits of the social cure paradigm found that while Syrian refugees' poor health conditions after their arrival in the United Kingdom was fully explained by emotional distress, social support did not play any role in accounting for longitudinal health conditions (James et al., 2019). Thus, when identities are threatened and stigmatized, and when individual circumstances cause harm to other ingroup members and lead to ostracism, social cure can become a social curse.

C28P45   Under conditions of successful adaptation, however, individuals may develop dual or bi-cultural identities that represent comfort and proficiency in both the culture of origin and the culture of the receiving society. In an extensive meta-analysis, Nguyen and Benet-Martìnez (2013) have found a strong and positive association between bi-culturalism and both psychological and sociocultural adjustment, suggesting that complex identities have generally clear advantages over single identities. These psychological benefits were however contingent upon the countries of origin, with positive associations for Latin American, Asian, and European immigrants, whereas no or negligible associations were found for African immigrants.

C28P46   Dual identities also have implications for the political integration of migrants into liberal democratic societies. In a longitudinal survey study on Turkish migrants in Germany, Simon and Ruhs (2008) showed that dual identification with the Turkish migrant group and the superordinate German national group uniquely predicted political involvement in the form of support for political claims in favor of Turks living in Germany, while no relation was found between dual identification and radical or violent politicization. These findings suggest that while identification with the aggrieved ingroup is necessary to foster involvement on behalf of the ingroup (Spears et al., 2001), identification with the superordinate group is also required to foster normative collective action, since it reflects the acknowledgement that political action needs to be taken within the limits of general acceptance of the larger polity (see Azzi et al., 2010; Van Stekelenburg & Gaidytė, Chapter 26, this volume, for dynamics of collective action and political mobilization by migrant groups).

C28P47   Political and legal integration of migrants through the granting of national citizenship represents the final phase of the migration process. Demonstrating the benefits of a

multicultural approach to diversity, research has shown that in countries with multicultural policies and pluralistic discourse, migrants are more likely to become national citizens, participate in political decision-making, and identify with the country (Bloemraad, 2015; Politi et al., in press). Yet, for naturalized immigrants this transition from national outsiders to national insiders may paradoxically lead to more negative attitudes toward other, more recent immigrants. Research has indeed demonstrated that recently naturalized citizens in Switzerland who expressed belongingness motives to justify their desire to become national citizens were more likely to support restrictive immigration policies compared to those who wished to naturalize for instrumental motives (Politi et al., 2020).

C28P48   Finally, the socioeconomic position of the migrant is recognized as a key determinant of adaptation as well. "Segmented assimilation" refers to outcomes where migrants are assimilated into different segments of society as a function of social class (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). For low-status migrants this process may lead to "downward assimilation" whereby young migrants join the most disadvantaged minorities at the bottom of society, an outcome squarely at odds with early assimilationist expectations of upward mobility and integration into mainstream society. Migrants in low social positions have also been shown to experience greater acculturative stress and to be prone to unsuccessful adjustment (Jasinskaja et al., 2006). An important driver of unsuccessful and precarious adjustment concerns low educational achievement of children of immigrants. Research has evidenced large achievement gaps between native and immigrant children and adolescents, often associated with school disengagement and feelings of lack of belonging of immigrant youth (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2013). Recent research shows that a contextual multilevel approach that examines the interplay between identity threat, identity protection, and educational achievement at different levels of analysis is required to account for this achievement gap. Minority educational attainment has thus not only been associated with positive interpersonal relations with peers and teachers, but crucially also with schools that explicitly promote and enact identity-protective institutional values and ideologies such as multiculturalism. Educational acculturation is thus contingent upon identity protection and threat at the interpersonal, intergroup, and institutional level (Phalet & Baysu, 2020).

C28S7   3. Majority Attitudes toward Immigration: Threat Perspectives

C28P49   The large migratory flows to Europe, the United States, and other parts of the world over the last decades have impacted receiving societies in many ways. Even though the world has witnessed many heartfelt and welcoming reactions to the arrival of immigrants and refugees (as in Germany following the Syrian refugee "crisis" in 2015, see Voss & Bloemraad, 2020), the public debate in receiving societies has been aligned with the securitization turn in migration policy and migration law (de Haas et al., 2020), dominated by anti-immigrant rhetoric that sees migrants and refugees as a "problem," as a "threat," or as a "danger." Immigrants are thus depicted as "flooding" the country, "taking away" the jobs of citizens, abusing the welfare system, or undermining national values (e.g., Every & Augoustinos, 2007). Such allegations imply that the arrival and presence of immigrants yields various

negative consequences for citizens of receiving countries. The alleged threats are subsequently used as arguments to oppose rights of immigrants and restrict their entry into receiving societies. Oddly, the voices of those perceiving immigrants as solving labor shortages due to low birth rates in more developed countries have usually been more muted. In this section, we present research that examines the role of perceived threat in explaining the psychological processes underlying attitudes toward immigrants by members of receiving societies.

C28P50   The notion of threat is present in a plethora of social psychological theories concerned with understanding the underpinnings of anti-immigration attitudes (see Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2016). Threat is an umbrella term with multiple meanings (Stein, Chapter 11, this volume). Broadly defined, threat appraisals refer to the anticipation of negative consequences related to the arrival and presence of immigrants in a receiving society. Threat research generally differentiates two main routes through which threat relates to anti-immigration attitudes: material or realistic threats on the one hand, and value or symbolic threats on the other (e.g., Riek et al., 2006; Sears & Funk, 1991; Stephan et al., 2016). Material threats anticipate negative consequences with respect to the distribution of valued and usually scarce tangible resources in the receiving society, including economic assets, political power, and physical well-being of national ingroup members. Value-based threats, in turn, foresee perceived non-tangible negative consequences of immigrant presence and are derived from the assimilationist idea that all members of the national ingroup should share the same values and conform to common norms. Threat has also been assessed with intergroup anxiety, involving feelings of uneasiness and awkwardness related to intergroup interactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). The psychological nature of threat thus varies, since threat may refer to the perceived likelihood of negative immigration consequences or to an emotional anticipation involving fear and anxiety (Esses et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 2016).

C28S8   3.1. Material Threats

C28P51   Some theoretical models focus on locating the causes of anti-immigrant attitudes in the competitive intergroup *structure* of the relationships between the national ingroup and immigrant outgroups. Based on *realistic conflict theory* (Sherif, 1967), these models assume that competition over scarce resources between social groups leads to intergroup conflict and, consequently, to negative attitudes toward immigrant outgroups. As a result, individuals who perceive competition with an immigrant outgroup are most likely to experience material threat and develop negative attitudes toward members of the group. *Group position theory* (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1999) and *social dominance theory* (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) take a similar approach, underscoring that societies are structured as group-based hierarchies in which dominant (usually majority) groups have many advantages over subordinate (immigrant minority) groups (see also Esses et al., 2005). Dominant national ingroups propagate "legitimizing myths" that portray the majority-immigrant relationship as competitive in order to justify their higher status, resources, and power.

C28P52   Perceived economic threat has been shown to relate to discriminatory attitudes toward immigrants in Europe (McLaren, 2003; Pereira et al., 2010) and North America (e.g., Citrin et al.,1997; Esses et al., 1998), as well as in Asia (e.g., Singapore Ramsay & Pang, 2017) and Africa (e.g., South Africa; Harris et al., 2018). The perceived share of immigrants of the

overall population and the anticipation of demographic shifts toward a decreasing proportion of native citizens are variants of perceived realistic threat that drive anti-immigration attitudes and support for restrictive migration policies (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2020; Major et al., 2018; Shepherd et al., 2018; see also Craig et al., 2018; Danbold & Huo, 2015, for similar effects related to the perceived declining share of Whites in the United States). Security threats such as anticipated terrorist attacks are also understood as a form of realistic threat, mainly fuelling threat perceptions regarding Muslim immigrants (Canetti-Nisim et al., 2009; Helvig & Simmo, 2017; see Snider et al, Chapter 14, this volume).

C28S9   ## 3.2. Value Threats

C28P53   In current-day Western societies, the worldviews of Muslim immigrants are often represented as threatening the core values of receiving societies. In March 2021, for example, a slight majority of the Swiss electorate voted in favor of banning face coverings in public, including the burka and the niqab worn by Muslim women, thereby illustrating the political consequences of such perceptions of value threat. Perceived value threat originates in presumed differences in belief systems, worldviews, and morality between immigrant groups and national majorities (e.g., Sears & Funk, 1991). Purportedly incompatible values of immigrant communities are portrayed as a menace to an idealized, homogeneous national ingroup whose members share common values (Biernat & Vescio, 2005; Esses et al., 2005). Different lines of value threat research converge in the argument that values and norms of the national majority are used as the frame of reference for judging immigrant outgroups (see Joffe & Staerklé, 2007).

C28P54   Importantly, negative immigration attitudes are often triggered by *perceptions* or *beliefs* about profound value differences rather than by any objective difference. Huntington (2004), for example, argued that the continuing immigration from Latin America threatens the linguistic and Anglo-Protestant cultural identity of the United States, but this culturalist argument is inconsistent with data showing that by the third generation, most Hispanic immigrants identify as Americans and are monolingual in English, and that therefore alleged value differences soon become minimal (Citrin et al., 2007). Yet, exposure to xenophobic threat rhetoric can backfire and make Hispanic immigrants and Latinos in the United States more ethnocentric and less politically trusting, thereby in turn confirming majority threat perceptions (Pérez, 2015).

C28P55   The origins of immigration attitude research on value threat can be found in theories initially developed to understand the continuing racism against Blacks in the United States. This research has demonstrated that the old-fashioned bigotry from the Jim Crow era has been replaced with a more subtle type of prejudice that is socially more acceptable because it is anchored in Blacks' purported lack of conformity with key American values (see Sears & Henry, 2005; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2004; McConahay, 1986). In symbolic racism theory, for example, Blacks are perceived to violate, more than Whites, traditional American values such as self-reliance, the work ethic, and respect for authority (Sears & Henry, 2005). Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) conceptualized similar ideas in the European context, leading them to distinguish between blatant and subtle forms of prejudice against immigrants. Perceived value violation by immigrants is a central component of

subtle prejudice against immigrants, in addition to exaggeration of cultural differences and the denial of positive emotions toward immigrants.

C28P56   Both symbolic racism and subtle prejudice have been shown to underlie support for various restrictive policies such as expulsion of value-violating immigrants in Europe (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) and Whites' opposition to immigration and multilingualism in the United States (Sears et al., 1999; see also Huddy & Sears, 1995). Drawing on this seminal work, value-based threats have been shown to be associated with anti-immigrant prejudice (McLaren, 2003; Sides & Citrin, 2007; Davidov et al., 2020). For example, a study conducted in the Netherlands showed that perceived symbolic, but not material, threat predicted prejudice against Muslim immigrants (Velasco González et al., 2008; see also Sniderman et al., 2004). Moreover, perceived cultural threats are a stronger predictor of far-right support than are perceived economic ethnic threats (Lucassen & Lubbers, 2012).

C28S10   ## 3.3. Beyond Material and Value Threats

C28P57   Although value and material threat are often conceived of as rival explanations of anti-immigrant attitudes, some research suggests that they coexist and are complementary, providing different, but not mutually exclusive, motivational explanations of immigration attitudes (e.g., Riek et al., 2006; Sniderman et al., 2004; Stephan et al., 2016). Empirically, realistic and symbolic threat perceptions are generally strongly correlated (Staerklé & Green, 2018; Stephan et al., 2016) and frequently difficult to disentangle.

C28P58   A case can be made that both the perception of material and value-based threat relate to the fundamental processes of dealing with intergroup similarity and difference, respectively. Material threat implies that *similarity* with immigrants is threatening since "they" are motivated to acquire the same resources "we" want, too. Value threat, in turn, implies that *difference* with immigrants is threatening, since "they" are too different to be integrated into "our" society. This hypothesis is supported by a study that revealed more negative attitudes toward Mexican immigrants in the United States when participants focused either on intergroup *difference* in positive interpersonal traits such as "generous" and "friendly" (supporting value threat predictions) or on intergroup *similarity* on work-related traits such as "competent" and "hardworking" (supporting material threat predictions; Zárate et al., 2004). These "similar" immigrants may thus evoke material threat, related to the job market (e.g., highly qualified Germans in the German-speaking side of Switzerland), in line with the reactive distinctiveness hypothesis based on social identity theory (e.g., Jetten et al., 2004). Across European countries, symbolic threat was also found to relate to preferences for immigrants similar to oneself, whereas material threat was related to preferences for different immigrants who would not compete for the same resources (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015).

C28P59   Ideological orientations have been shown to account for some of these different threat effects by shaping the threat experience that subsequently drives anti-immigration stances (Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010; Duckitt, 2006; Guimond et al., 2003). Research in the United States and Switzerland demonstrated that when immigrants were portrayed as adapting to the values of the receiving society (i.e., becoming similar to the national majority), anti-egalitarian (high-SDO) nationals motivated to enforce status boundaries were more willing than low-SDO nationals to persecute immigrants than when they did not make such integrative

efforts (Thomsen et al., 2008). In contrast, right-wing authoritarian (RWA) nationals concerned with the enforcement of ingroup norms were more willing than nationals low on RWA to persecute immigrants when they did *not* make integrative efforts.

C28P60   The way perceived threat affects intergroup attitudes thus depends on the specific immigrant group under consideration. Indeed, Cottrell and Neuberg (2005) have outlined a sociofunctional approach to prejudice arguing that prejudice toward specific outgroups arises from specific forms of intergroup threat. For example, security fears have been shown to shape attitudes toward Muslim immigrants, but material threat generates views toward eastern Europeans (Hellwig & Sinno, 2017). "Culturally distant" and stigmatized immigrant groups whose members wear visible signs of cultural or religious affiliation, or differ in physical appearance, are the most likely targets of value-based threat rhetoric. This is the case for example for low-skilled Hispanic laborers in the United States or Muslim immigrants, refugees, and Roma people in Europe. Accordingly, immigrants deemed to be "culturally similar" and often originating from wealthier countries are less likely targets of value-based threat rhetoric.

C28P61   Disease threat, in turn, appears to combine both realistic and symbolic threat dimensions. From an evolutionary point of view, protection from disease through the avoidance of potential pathogens and parasites is a functional and adaptive strategy (Schaller, 2006; Petersen, Chapter 7, this volume). Throughout history, however, diseases have been associated with supposedly inferior or "dirty" outgroups and foreign populations (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007), which explains why perceptions of disease threat are related to anti-immigration attitudes (Faulkner et al., 2004; Green et al., 2010). The recent closing of national borders due to the COVID-19 pandemic raised concerns that the fear of the pandemic would fuel restrictive immigration attitudes; in the United States, for example, perceived COVID-19 threat has been found to relate to anti-Asian prejudice (Huo, 2020). In Turkey, perceived COVID-19 threat was simultaneously associated with negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees (through threat perceptions), and to pro-immigrant attitudes and helping intentions (through common ingroup identification) (Adam-Troian & Bagci, 2021; see van Bavel et al., 2020).

C28S11   3.4. Individual or Collective Threat?

C28P62   Negative outcomes of immigrant presence can be anticipated at the individual or the collective level, reflecting motivations of individual vs. collective self-interest (e.g., Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Citrin et al., 1997; Sears & Kinder, 1985; Stephan et al., 2016; Valentino et al., 2017). Individual threat perceptions describe situations where members of the receiving society are concerned that their individual interests are menaced by immigration. Collective threat perceptions refer to conditions where the ingroup as a whole—be it national, ethnic, or regional—is seen as threatened by immigration.

C28P63   As immigrants often occupy low-status positions, low-status majority members are more likely to be confronted with immigrants than high-status members. Low-status members are therefore also more likely to view themselves in competition for similar resources such as affordable housing and jobs, and thus to perceive material threat. Indeed, the relationship between low social positions and negative immigration and cultural diversity attitudes has been amply demonstrated (Carvacho et al., 2013; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Scheepers

et al., 2002; for an overview, Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Similarly, low-status ethnic minorities such as Blacks and Hispanics in the United States are more likely to view themselves in competition with immigrants and thus to be more opposed to immigration (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; see however Citrin & Sears, 2014).

C28P64   However, competition is not the sole explanation for the links between social status, threat perceptions, and anti-immigrant prejudice. Alternative explanations of status differences in the expression of anti-immigration prejudice highlight high-status groups' greater awareness of anti-discrimination norms and more subtle expressions of prejudice (Jackman & Muha, 1984; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Yet another explanation is that the effects of social status are due to differential political socialization experiences at home and at school rather than status per se (see Cavaille & Marshall, 2019; Sears & Funk, 1991; Lancee & Sarrasin, 2015, for selection effects).

C28P65   With respect to collective self-interest, Citrin and colleagues (2001) have shown that although personal economic circumstances played little role in support for reducing immigration, pessimism about the national economy and beliefs about negative labor market consequences of immigration predicted anti-immigration attitudes (see also Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Stephan et al., 2016). While people who see their national ingroup as relatively *disadvantaged* in comparison with immigrant outgroups have been shown to display stronger anti-immigrant attitudes (Pettigrew et al., 2008), somewhat paradoxically, this was also the case for those who see their ingroup as relatively *advantaged* in relation to immigrant outgroups (Guimond & Dambrun, 2001). In this latter case, anti-immigrant prejudice is interpreted as a strategy to maintain the privileges of the high-status ingroup and status quo (see Jetten, 2019). Yet, in general, highly skilled immigrants are preferred over lower-skilled immigrants (Valentino et al., 2019), especially by national majority groups (Gale & Staerklé, 2021).

C28S12   3.5. Threat Rhetoric

C28P66   Many studies have used fictitious newspaper articles, editorials, and research findings as well as policy framings to induce threat perceptions, thereby simulating dissemination of threat-based arguments in the media and the public sphere (Esses et al., 1998; see Rios et al. 2018, for an overview). The differential impact of threat rhetoric as a function of the targeted immigrant group is demonstrated in a study showing that news reports on Latino immigrants emphasizing the costs of immigration (i.e., material threat) instead of its benefits led White US citizens to support reduction of immigration, to prefer English-only laws, and to request information from anti-immigration groups. This was far less the case when European immigrants were featured in the reports (Brader et al., 2008). Similarly, fictitious editorials depicting a highly skilled immigrant group (rather than a vaguely described immigrant group) arriving in a context where jobs are scarce evoked perceptions of competition and resulted in generalized negative attitudes toward immigrants in Canada (Esses et al., 1998). In actual political discourse, arguments put forward by British political leaders regarding Brexit leveraged both on supposed realistic (e.g., terrorism, crime, competition for jobs) and symbolic threats (e.g., value differences; Portice & Reicher, 2018). Content analyses of television news in Flanders (the northern part of Belgium) over a period of 11 years revealed that cultural and safety threats were prevalent in TV news stories regarding North African

immigrants (Van der Linden & Jacobs, 2017). An Austrian study examining the effects of populist advertising found that both value (*"Respect for our culture instead of false tolerance"*) and material threat appeals (*"Protection for our jobs instead of competition and loss of workplaces"*), combined with anti-immigrant visuals (print ads for the right-wing Austrian Freedom Party depicting Muslim immigrants crossing the Austrian borders), increased feelings of symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes, and ultimately led to stronger anti-immigration attitudes (Schmuck & Matthes, 2017).

C28S13   ## 3.6. Group Identification and Threat

C28P67   Because immigrants are often perceived and constructed as threatening historically developed *national* values, national identification plays an important role in anti-immigrant attitudes. Research has shown that ethnic majorities within countries are more likely to see themselves as legitimate representatives of the nation and are therefore more likely to identify with the nation (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Staerklé et al., 2010). This ingroup identification makes members sensitive to matters that may harm the group; therefore, individuals who identify strongly with their country are likely to be more concerned about the national interest than less identified individuals. Accordingly, national identification has been shown to be an antecedent of more intense feelings of threat (e.g., Riek et al., 2006). Threat triggers a motivation to defend the identity of the nation that may lead more strongly identified individuals to hold more negative attitudes toward immigrants (e.g., Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Esses et al., 2005; Mummendey et al., 2001; see Huddy, Chapter 21, this volume). Examining attitudes of Dutch adolescents, Velasco González and colleagues (2008) showed that national identification increased anti-Muslim prejudice, but this relationship was fully mediated by perceived symbolic threat (see also Bilali et al., 2018, for a similar pattern with national identification of Turks predicting negative attitudes toward Kurds through threat perceptions).

C28P68   Religious identification has also been related to negative outgroup attitudes. While the research focus is generally on national majorities in Western countries, Obaidi and colleagues (2018) showed that high identification as Christians as well as Muslims in Europe, Afghanistan, and Turkey was related to greater perceived symbolic threat, and consequently to stronger outgroup hostility. National, religious, and ethnic identification may also influence the way individuals react to threat, by strengthening the link between perceived threats and hostile outgroup attitudes (Stephan et al., 2016). For example, in the US presidential campaign in 2016, exposure to messages anticipating a racial shift increased Whites' support for anti-immigrant policies and for Donald Trump, and decreased support for Bernie Sanders through heightened group status threat (Major et al., 2018). However, this pattern was only found among Whites highest in identification with Whites as a group.

C28P69   Not only the degree of group attachment determines increase of anti-immigration attitudes, but also its form and content. While an uncritical and idealizing attachment to the nation based on a sense of national superiority positively relates to anti-immigration attitudes, the relationship may be negative when attachment implies pride in the nation without intergroup comparisons (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Green et al., 2011; Grigoryan & Ponizovskiy, 2018; Mummendey et al., 2001; see also Yoogeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Falomir-Pichastor and Frederic (2013), in turn, showed that heterogenous conceptions of

national identity were related to perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice, but only among high national identifiers. Thus, it may not be identification per se that drives anti-immigration stances, but rather the meaning individuals and groups attribute to identity (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). For example, some research has shown that national identification was related to prejudice toward asylum seekers in England only to the extent that people endorsed an ethnic conception of the nation, based on ancestry and blood ties (Pehrson et al., 2009; see also Meeus et al., 2010). In a study highlighting the importance of representations of national history, the experimentally emphasized Christian roots of Dutch nationhood led low national identifiers to oppose rights of Muslim immigrants to the same extent as did high identifiers (Smeekes et al., 2011).

C28S14   3.7. Conclusion

C28P70   In this section, we have reviewed the notion of threat and its links to immigration-related attitudes. A potentially confusing issue is the varying use of threat as an explanatory variable in immigration attitude research. Threat has been conceived as a component of prejudice and as an antecedent, as a mediator and as a moderator of the psychological processes underlying anti-immigration stances. In survey research, for example, threat perceptions are typically assessed by explicitly asking respondents the extent to which they feel immigrants threaten values or job opportunities of the national majority. These threat measures are subsequently used to predict anti-immigrant prejudice. Strong semantic overlap between threat and prejudice measures, however, could imply that threat is simply a variant of prejudice (e.g., Sniderman et al., 2004). If reverse causality cannot be excluded, such cross-sectional survey research is therefore at risk of being tautological.

C28P71   The variety of methods used to study the role of threat in anti-immigration attitudes makes it indeed difficult to establish an unequivocal causal order between threat and prejudice. While experimental research (simulating threat via fictitious newspaper articles, editorials, research findings, or policy framings) addresses these critiques by manipulating threat perceptions in various ways (see see Rios et al., 2018, for an overview), controlled experiments remain artificial—frequently using student populations—and thus cannot conclusively show the conditions under which threat shapes immigration policy attitudes among the general population in the real world.

C28P72   Hence, the links between threat and an anti-immigrant stance may be circular. For example, people expressing anti-immigration prejudice might subsequently appeal to threat as a means to justify their prejudices (Bahns, 2017). Similarly, overestimating the size of an immigrant group in a country may be a consequence, rather than a cause, of attitudes toward those groups (Hopkins et al., 2019). The threat—prejudice circularity is also revealed in a study where immigration anxiety was related to seeking out, recalling, and agreeing with news reporting conveying threatening information regarding immigration (Gadarian & Albertson, 2014). Finally, given the widespread presence of threat rhetoric in the public sphere, perceived threat may also reflect endorsement of threat-based political discourse.

C28P73   While any one method alone does not permit unequivocal causal interpretation of the threat-prejudice nexus, the increase of survey experiments embedded in large-scale social surveys can make the best of both worlds (Ford & Mellon, 2020). Yet, despite their

differences in the underlying assumptions and the forms of threats they investigate, the various theories converge in viewing threat as closely related to anti-immigration attitudes.

C28S15

4. Contextual Analyses of Immigration Attitudes

C28P74   In this fourth part, we overview research examining the multiple impacts of contextual (e.g., national, regional, local) determinants on attitudes related to immigration and multiculturalism. This more recent body of research demonstrates that the wider sociocultural and political environment shapes individual immigration attitudes, and that these processes vary over time and across geographic and institutional contexts. The development of high quality international social surveys, such as the *European Social Survey* (ESS; see Heath et al., 2020), the *International Social Survey Programme* (ISSP), and the *World Values Survey* (WVS) has fostered comparative cross-national and cross-regional research that relates contextual factors to individual-level processes and outcomes. The basic rationale for such investigations is that individuals' attitudes toward immigration and multiculturalism are contingent upon the surrounding social contexts in which they develop, over and above individual-level determinants such as threat perceptions, intergroup contact, and ideological orientations (Christ et al., 2017; Pettigrew, 2018). Though the call for integration of different levels of analysis is far from new (Doise, 1986), the necessary multi-level research designs to do so have become common only over the last two decades, as they can now be readily implemented with a number of software packages. Multilevel approaches allow the simultaneous examination of different levels of analysis by combining individual-level predictors with national- or regional-level factors in a single explanatory model (e.g., Hox, 2010). In statistical terminology, the data is hierarchically organized in a multilevel data structure where individuals are nested within one or more higher-level contextual units. Thus, psychological explanations of public opinion toward immigration and immigrants can be complemented with structural, political, historical, and institutional explanations.

C28P75   The contextual units can be *distal*, such as nations or regions, or more *proximal*, such as districts, neighborhoods, schools, or even classrooms. In early multilevel research, the conceptualization of contextual units has mainly relied on intergroup competition and intergroup contact (see Christ et al., 2022, for an overview). The two most commonly studied context-level characteristics relate to national economic conditions (e.g., GDP, unemployment rate) and to national immigration and ethnic diversity patterns (e.g., proportion of immigrants, change in immigrant proportion, ethnic fractionalization) that provide information on the structural and compositional dimensions of the contexts in which individuals develop their attitudes toward immigration and cultural diversity. More recent research has furthermore examined the impact of ideological and normative contexts (e.g., policies, surrounding public opinion) on citizens' views regarding immigration (Guimond et al., 2014). This research has offered innovative approaches to further our understanding of the processes underlying the context–attitude relationship (mediating processes) and demonstrated key boundary conditions of such processes (moderating processes). In the following, we overview and discuss these different bodies of research.

C28S16

4.1. Extending Threat and Contact Approaches to a Contextual Level

C28P76

Drawing on both realistic conflict theory and social identity theory, Scheepers and colleagues (2002) were among the first to theorize and empirically assess threat as a context-level factor in a multi-level perspective, formalized in *ethnic competition theory* (see also Blalock, 1967; Quillian, 1995; see Section 3 of this chapter). On the individual level, ethnic competition theory defines competition in terms of the social conditions (e.g., professional category, income) of members of the receiving society: low-status conditions may elicit perceptions of a competitive relationship with immigrants that in turn may give rise to anti-immigration sentiments. Competition on the contextual level, in turn, is assessed with the economic conditions of a country or a region, assumed to affect competition between members of the receiving society and immigrants. The reasoning is that in a disadvantaged context—indexed by high unemployment rates for example—competition for scarce resources such as jobs is likely to be greater than in an advantaged context (see also Green, 2009; Kunovich, 2004; Kunst et al., 2017; Quillian, 1995).

C28P77

Group (or "fraternal," Runciman, 1966) relative deprivation—understood as a perceived group-level disadvantage in relation to other groups resulting in a sense of ingroup entitlement—is known as a powerful driver of anti-immigrant prejudice (see Smith et al., 2012). Recently, Meuleman et al. (2020) found across 20 European countries that national-level long-term unemployment was not directly related to perceived threat, but that group relative deprivation was higher in high-unemployment countries. Group relative deprivation, in turn, was related to perceived threat. This finding suggests that group relative deprivation explains (i.e., mediates) how disadvantageous labor market conditions translate into anti-immigration attitudes.

C28P78

One of the key recent debates has been whether ethnic diversity resulting from a growing number of immigrants erodes social cohesion and triggers anti-immigrant sentiments (the constrict hypothesis, as discussed in section one, Putnam, 2007), or alternatively fosters more inclusive immigration attitudes. Two contrasting rationales—one extending competition frameworks and the other one intergroup contact theory—have been put forward to examine how migration patterns shape immigration attitudes and political behavior (see Christ et al., 2022). In the following, we overview evidence for both rationales and conclude by discussing potential explanations for contradictory and mixed evidence.

C28P79

Threatening diversity. The threat approach suggests that a high or growing proportion of immigrants elicits both perceived material and value threats. In this view, greater exposure to immigrants increases perceived economic competition (material threat) and reinforces sentiments of alleged challenges to national values and lifestyle (value threat). Across 15 European countries, Scheepers and colleagues (2002) showed that individuals living in similar conditions as immigrants were more likely to endorse threat perceptions, and that a strong presence of non-EU citizens within a country was directly related to ethnic exclusionism (assessed with opposition to the granting of civil and social rights to immigrants). Comparing measures of immigrant presence, another study showed that while the percentage of low-status immigrants in European countries did not affect individual threat perceptions, a higher percentage of non-Western immigrants was associated with greater country average levels of perceived immigration threat (Schneider, 2008;

see Green et al., 2010). Rink et al. (2009), in turn, found, over time across three electoral surveys, that the proportion of immigrants in a municipality was positively related to voting for the Vlaams Belang (a nationalist, right-wing populist party) in Flanders, Belgium.

C28P80   Contextual diversity can also interact with other factors. In an early multilevel study, Quillian (1995) showed that while higher proportions of immigrants from non-European countries was associated with greater racial prejudice, this relationship was more likely to occur in countries with poor economic conditions (see also Green et al., 2018). Individual-level factors such as ideological orientations further moderate the effects of context-level diversity. For example, Van Assche and colleagues (2014, 2016) found that a higher proportion of ethnic minorities was most closely associated with greater prejudice and outgroup distrust among individuals high in RWA (see also Sibley et al., 2013, for the moderating effect of dangerous world beliefs).

C28P81   The threat approach has also been applied to examine the impact of temporal contexts, demonstrating that *changes* in immigration and economic conditions may affect perceived competition. Pooling Dutch surveys over 1979–2002, Coenders and colleagues (2008, study 1) showed that ethnic discrimination was more widespread in times of high levels of immigration and increased unemployment. Moreover, birth cohorts having experienced high immigration and unemployment levels in their formative pre-adult years expressed greater ethnic discrimination. Similar patterns were found across European countries in an examination of a narrower time frame from 2002 to 2007 (Meuleman et al., 2009). This study showed that countries with weaker inflows of immigrants had more tolerant immigration attitudes than those with higher levels of immigration, and that attitudes toward immigration became more tolerant particularly in countries where unemployment rates did not increase. In a natural experiment in the Greek islands, Hangartner and colleagues (2019) recently revealed that large and sudden direct exposure to refugees increased natives' hostility toward refugees and support for restrictive immigration and asylum policies.

C28P82   **Diversity as an opportunity.**   Predictions derived from extensions of intergroup contact theory (Tropp and Dehrone, Chapter 29, this volume), however, are at odds with those derived from threat and competition perspectives: contact theorists have established that living in culturally diverse societal contexts (i.e., with a high proportion of immigrants) provides more contact opportunities, notably through intergroup friendships that decrease rather than increase perceived threat and antagonistic attitudes toward immigrants (Hewstone, 2015; Wagner et al., 2006). The proportion of immigrants within German districts (intermediate administrative levels between states and municipalities), for example, has been shown to be negatively related to immigrant prejudice, and this relationship was mediated by contact at the workplace and in neighborhoods (Wagner et al., 2006). In another study focusing on both the White British majority and ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom, Schmid and colleagues (2014) found that *neighborhood* ethnic diversity was associated with greater intergroup contact. This intergroup contact was related to lower threat perceptions that in turn resulted in higher outgroup, ingroup, and neighborhood trust, respectively, as well as in more positive intergroup attitudes. Across European countries, Schlueter and colleagues (2020) similarly found that higher proportions of Muslims in a country were associated with more positive attitudes toward Muslim immigrants. These results are at odds with Putnam's (2007) "constrict claim" according to which neighborhood diversity erodes

social cohesion, especially because these positive effects have been found to hold also for the presence of stigmatized immigrants in neighborhoods.

C28P83   **Reconciling contact and threat rationales.** Although diversity-based threat and intergroup contact processes appear to contradict each other, it is likely they operate *simultaneously* in explaining the relationship between diversity and immigration-related attitudes and political behavior. For example, Schlueter and Wagner (2008) demonstrated that a greater regional proportion of immigrant populations in Europe increased both intergroup contact *and* perceived threat. Subsequently, Pettigrew and colleagues (2010) showed that the effect of contact is based on direct *experience* with immigrants and is thus affected by the actual size of immigrant populations within German regions, whereas perceived threat is triggered by the *perception* of immigrant presence (see also Hooghe & Vroome, 2015; van Assche et al., 2016). Green and colleagues (2010) in turn found that the presence of western European migrants was related to increased intergroup contact in Swiss municipalities, which in turn was linked to reduced threat perceptions. The presence of stigmatized migrants (mainly from Turkey, Albania, and countries of former Yugoslavia), however, was related to both increased intergroup contact and threat perceptions. Extending this study to political behavior in Switzerland, Green and colleagues (2016) showed that the presence of stigmatized immigrants at the district level was related to threat perceptions, but not to intergroup contact. District-level perceived threat, in turn, was related to actual radical right-wing voting through an increased willingness to vote for right-wing parties. Positive intergroup contact, however, was associated with less radical right-wing voting through lower willingness to vote for right-wing parties and reduced threat. Finally, Laurence and colleagues (2018) showed that neighborhood and workplace ethnic diversity were related to both positive and negative intergroup contact experiences that further relate to positive and negative intergroup attitudes, respectively.

C28P84   Other studies have also shown the *interplay* between threat and intergroup contact processes. In a study across 17 European countries, McLaren (2003) revealed that while a high proportion of foreigners in a country increases perceived threat, immigrant friendships buffer this effect, suggesting that individuals with immigrant friends living in highly diverse contexts feel less threatened by diversity than those without such friendships. Similarly, the proportion of foreign-born in US regions had less impact on Whites' immigration attitudes when their interpersonal networks included non-White members (Berg, 2009; see also Laurence, 2014, for a similar pattern in the United Kingdom). Moreover, the proportion of immigrants in European countries has been shown to moderate the relationship between intergroup contact and anti-immigrant prejudice (Semyonov & Glickman, 2009). Positive contact was related to less negative attitudes toward immigrants to a greater degree in countries with a large number of non-Europeans, compared to countries with a smaller number of non-Europeans. Extended, indirect contact (knowing ingroup members who have immigrant friends), however, has been shown to be more effective in reducing prejudice for individuals living in segregated neighborhoods with few direct contact experiences with immigrants, compared to individuals from mixed neighborhoods with more opportunities for direct contact (Christ et al., 2010).

C28P85   **Navigating mixed evidence.** Although predictions based on threat and contact approaches have both received much empirical support, some studies found no evidence

for the role of context-level factors in explaining immigration attitudes. In a study across 20 European countries, for example, no effects were found of the economic situation and of the proportion of immigrant populations on hostile attitudes toward immigration (Sides & Citrin, 2007). In another study, no effect was found of the proportion of Muslim populations on anti-Muslim attitudes across European countries (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). In yet another cross-European study, the proportion of Muslims in a country was positively related to perceived material threat and negatively to perceived symbolic threat, but unrelated to right-wing voting intentions (Lucassen & Lubbers, 2012). Moreover, comparing attitudes toward foreigners across different regions of Germany, Semyonov and colleagues (2004) revealed that the *actual* proportion of the immigrant populations within regions had no effects on such attitudes, whereas a high *perceived* size of immigrant populations was associated with perceived threat and discriminatory attitudes toward foreigners (see also Craig et al., 2018). Indeed, a recent meta-analysis examining the links between diversity and prejudice conducted by Pottie-Sherman and Wilkes (2017) also revealed either positive or negative relationships, and in over half of the studies no relationship was found.

C28P86   The territorial size of the contextual unit of analysis and the degree of ethnic segregation within those units may explain some of the apparent contradictions between the predictions derived from threat and contact approaches. The positive effects of intergroup contact have been shown to occur predominantly at a proximal and local level (e.g., municipality, neighborhood, or district), where daily interactions between immigrants and members of the receiving society are plausible (see Wagner et al. 2006; Schmid et al., 2008; see also Dinesen & Sønderskov, 2015). A large presence of immigrants at a distal, national level, however, may be more likely to enhance threat perceptions due to an increased political concern with immigration, reflected in widespread anti-immigrant discourse in the media. In line with this argument, a US study examining attitudes of Asian Americans, Blacks, Latinos and Whites found that interethnic diversity reduced perceived threat and prejudice at the neighborhood level but increased it at the city ("metropolitan") level (Oliver & Wong, 2003). Similarly, Biggs and Knauss (2012) showed that in UK *neighborhoods* with greater proportions of non-Whites (South Asians and Muslims in particular), the probability of being a British National Party (BNP) member was lower among white British adults. However, this probability was higher in *cities* (a larger unit of analysis compared to neighborhoods) with a greater proportion of non-Whites, and even more so when minorities were clearly segregated (see also Ford & Goodwin, 2010). In the same vein, Laurence and colleagues (2019) showed that a high proportion of non-whites in UK neighborhoods was associated with reduced prejudice in diverse areas with low levels of segregation, whereas prejudice was heightened in segregated areas. A study across European countries also revealed that living in mixed—as opposed to homogeneous or highly ethnic—neighborhoods was linked to reduced threat perceptions and social distance toward immigrants, whereas the immigrant ratio in the country was related to increased threat perceptions (Semyonov & Glickman, 2009). Finally, a recent meta-analysis demonstrated that social trust (as an indicator for social cohesion) was reduced in ethnically diverse local, proximal levels (i.e., neighborhoods), but this effect was less marked or even reversed at a more distal level (e.g., districts) (Dinesen et al., 2020). The ideological climate reigning in a given context, which we turn to next, may be another way to shine a light on some of the contradictory and mixed effects of diversity.

C28S17 ## 4.2. Ideological Climates and Immigration Attitudes

C28P87 Up to now, we have discussed how individual opinions are affected by structural and compositional features of contexts. We finish this section by examining how ideological characteristics of contexts may provide normative guidance regarding socially acceptable and desirable ways to think about and deal with immigration and cultural diversity (e.g., Guimond et al., 2014; Pettigrew, 2006, 2018). Three types of ideological climates are described: (a) *top-down* ideological climates, institutionalized through legislation and integration policies; (b) ideological climates based on political and media discourse; and (c) *bottom-up* ideological climates based on aggregated individual-level data.

C28P88 **Integration policies as ideological climates.** Several studies have used national integration policies as indicators of positive institutionalized norms that may signal to both immigrants and natives that cultural diversity is valued and that immigrants are treated in fair and welcoming ways. In a study across four countries, Guimond and colleagues (2013) showed that national integration *policies* were linked to perceived integration *norms* of citizens of these countries, which in turn predicted their *attitudes* toward immigrants. In a cross-European study, Schlueter and colleagues (2013) found that inclusive integration policies (as measured by the *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, Niessen et al., 2007) were related to reduced threat perceptions (see also Callens & Meuleman, 2016; Hooghe & Vroome, 2015). Likewise, Green and colleagues (2020) showed that inclusive integration policies, at the national level, were related to lower levels of symbolic threat perceptions and to more extensive intergroup contact. Inclusive integration policies further reinforced the negative relationship between contact and threat perceptions (see also Kende et al., 2020, for a similar pattern for countries endorsing egalitarian as opposed to hierarchical values). In yet another cross-European study, Schlueter and colleagues (2020) found that inclusive immigrant integration policies, and to some degree stronger state support for religious practices, were associated with less negativity toward Muslim immigrants. These studies thus suggest that citizens are at least to some extent aware of and influenced by the surrounding policy contexts that guide citizens' views on immigration.

C28P89 Recent research further revealed that the mixed effects of diversity may also be due to the interaction between immigrant integration policies and immigrant presence. Kende and colleagues (in press) found that across national, regional, and institutional (i.e., school) levels of governance, anti-immigrant prejudice was lower when immigrant presence was coupled with inclusive policies that render immigrants more equal to natives. National policy contexts have also been found to moderate the relationship between ideological beliefs and immigration attitudes. In a cross-European study, Kauff and colleagues (2013) found that the relationship between right-wing authoritarianism and negative diversity beliefs was stronger in more inclusive countries, suggesting that a multicultural ideology and inclusive policies may pose a threat to authoritarian individuals.

C28P90 **Political and media discourse as ideological climates.** The positions of political parties on cultural diversity and immigration are other normative reference points that shape citizens' opinions. Accordingly, the relative strength of political parties within a given context is another indicator of the ideological climate of countries. A strong presence of right-wing parties, for example, has been shown to increase anti-foreigner sentiment across European countries, over and above individuals' political orientation (Semyonov et al., 2006; see also

Lahav, 2004). Yet, the picture is more complex as specific ideological emphases in political party discourse moderate their impact on individuals' attitudes: the presence of extremist parties promoting blatant racism (based on *biological* intergroup differences) did not affect public opinion as a whole, since such views have become increasingly socially unacceptable. Instead, the national prevalence of right-wing parties with a culturalist racist agenda (based on essential *cultural* differences) was shown to relate to anti-immigrant attitudes (Wilkes et al., 2007). Examining the role of media reports as contextual sources of perceived threat, Schlueter and Davidov (2013) showed that negative immigration news reporting shapes national majorities' threat perceptions regarding immigration. Linking repeated cross-sectional survey data from Spain with regional statistics on immigrant presence and a longitudinal content analysis of news reports, they found that negative immigration reporting was related to increased threat perceptions, but this relationship was weaker in regions where the presence of immigrants was higher. These findings suggest that opportunities for contact can buffer the pernicious consequences of negative media portrayals regarding immigration.

C28P91   **Bottom-up ideological climates.** Shared ideological beliefs and values as well as aggregated individual expressions regarding immigration within a given context may be seen as *bottom-up* normative climates (Green & Sarrasin, 2019). Much like policies, these shared ideological beliefs are also broadly situated on a continuum from exclusionary to inclusive. For example, a study using Swiss national referenda results at the level of municipalities provided an indicator of local ideological climates based on actual voting behavior of citizens on a wide range of social issues (Sarrasin et al., 2012). This study evidenced stronger opposition to liberal anti-racism laws in municipalities with conservative, exclusionary ideological climates, after accounting for individual-level ideological orientations. Right-wing ideological climates across countries and regions have further been shown to moderate the relationship between individual right-wing ideologies and negative immigrant attitudes (as well as other outgroup attitudes; see van Assche et al., 2016): in strong right-wing oriented climates, individual outgroup attitudes converge toward prejudice, regardless of personal ideology.

C28P92   Ethnic and civic conceptions of national citizenship, finally, make up ideological climates at both the top-down policy level and the bottom-up individual level of shared values in national populations. Across 15 European countries, Weldon (2006) showed that residents in countries with *ethnic* citizenship regimes—requiring shared ethnicity and ancestry for citizenship—were less willing to grant political rights to ethnic minorities compared to residents in countries with *civic* citizenship regimes (i.e., assimilationist and pluralistic regimes). Individuals in assimilationist regimes, in turn, were less tolerant than individuals in pluralistic regimes. Another study revealed lower levels of anti-immigrant prejudice in countries with a collective representation of *civic* nationhood. Moreover, the relationship between national identification and anti-immigrant prejudice was weaker in these countries, suggesting that national identification defined by shared civic citizenship is less related to the desire to exclude immigrants (Pehrson et al., 2009).

C28P93   This brief overview suggests that ideological climates—be they defined by top-down institutional factors or by bottom-up shared representations—may offer citizens a normative framework of reference on which they rely when making up their minds on immigration and cultural diversity.

C28S18   ## 4.3. Future Avenues for Contextual Research

C28P94   Contextual-level analyses in political psychology have contributed to the understanding of how local, regional, national, and also temporal contexts affect individual opinions regarding immigration. Though in recent years the processes that account for the relationship between context and attitude have been thoroughly examined, there is still a need for more systematic and more nuanced theorizing of these mechanisms occurring at different contextual levels, for example by using varying indicators of ideological climates and multiple outcome variables.

C28P95   An important issue to consider in analyzing the impact of proximal contexts (such as neighborhoods) is the role of self-selection. Indeed, it is possible that a link between immigrant ratio in a given context and more positive immigrant attitudes results from tolerant individuals self-selecting into diverse areas and, conversely, less tolerant individuals leaving these areas. For example, Maxwell (2019) found with Swiss panel data evidence that individuals holding pro-immigrant attitudes moved into urban, typically more ethnically diverse areas, but that individuals with anti-immigrant attitudes were not moving out of such urban areas. Using longitudinal data from England and Wales, Kauffmann and Harris (2015), however, found no evidence for the role of self-selection in explaining the more positive immigration attitudes among British Whites in more diverse local contexts.

C28P96   One must also acknowledge that the bulk of this strand of research examines majority attitudes in receiving countries in the Global North. Indeed, immigrant minorities are under- or misrepresented in national surveys (e.g., Feskens et al., 2006). As a result, multilevel research focusing on the immigrant minority perspective remain scarce (for exceptions, see Schmid et al., 2014; Staerklé et al., 2010). For example, Kauff and colleagues (2016) revealed that national minority members were more likely to support anti-discrimination laws and immigrant rights in social contexts in which majority members had experienced positive intergroup contact. This finding counters the concern that positive intergroup contact may demobilize minorities (Tropp and Dehrone, Chapter 29, this volume). Politi and colleagues (in press), in turn, showed that inclusive integration policies were related to migrants' naturalisation intentions and to the endorsement of integration as an acculturation strategy.

C28P97   Examining how contextual factors shape immigrant minority experiences and attitudes as well as the interplay between majority and minority perspectives is essential for bringing the field forward. The omission of research on the Global South, in turn, is mainly due to the lower coverage of such countries in large-scale social surveys. Insofar as contextual factors driving attitudes toward migration may differ drastically between the Global North and South, sampling of countries in international social surveys should be extended, and scientific and structural collaborations between regional social surveys should be promoted.

C28S19   # 5. Conclusion

C28P98   This chapter proposed an overview of research on migration and multiculturalism from the perspective of political psychology. We started our discussion with a historical framing of the two major modes of migrant incorporation: assimilation and multiculturalism. In the

second section, we presented research studying the perspective of migrant groups, showing the interactionist nature and the complexity of contemporary migrant identities as well as the pros and cons of various acculturation strategies employed by migrants. We also highlighted the intergroup nature of attitudes toward multiculturalism and of acculturation strategies between national majorities and ethnic migrant minorities. In the third section, we focused on research investigating the role of various forms of perceived threat associated with migrant groups by national majorities. The final section featured recent multilevel research on majority attitudes toward migration across national and regional contexts.

C28P99   An important goal of the chapter was to relate the principles of assimilation and multiculturalism to the dialectic processes of intergroup similarity and differentiation, respectively. The research reviewed clearly indicates that migrant experiences, and reactions to immigration by receiving societies, express the complex and dynamic interplay of similarity and difference, at the level of motivations, perceptions, and normative expectations. For migrant groups, qualified and selective *similarity* with the receiving society's majority is an asset for a successful migrant experience, for example through language acquisition and awareness of dominant social norms. At the same time, intergroup *difference* and concomitant identification with their ethnic group is likely to help many migrants to construct positive social identities rooted in the everyday experiences and practices associated with their ethnic group. Importantly, research has also emphasized that such differentiation processes do not only operate *between* migrant groups and receiving majorities, but also *within* migrant categories, in particular between early and recent migrants; between first-, second-, and third generation migrants; between migrant organizations defending contrasting visions of incorporation; and between different ethnic groups.

C28P100   Yet, the demands and practical implications derived from the principle of intergroup similarity may be contradictory: majorities may expect migrants to "adapt" and respect "their values," but when they do so, they may become threatening competitors for jobs and other material resources of the majority group. Intergroup difference can be equally paradoxical: migrants who are portrayed as (too) different from the majority culture allegedly threaten social cohesion and national values. At the same time, majorities may prefer that migrant groups, especially those they dislike, remain apart from them in order to safeguard an imaginary homogeneity of their ingroup. Intergroup difference is furthermore enhanced through majority practices that make integration more difficult, such as unequal treatment by authorities, lack of institutional support for integration, widespread discrimination, or segregated housing. Research therefore needs to carefully spell out the specific meaning and practical implications of intergroup similarity and difference that is implied by political rhetoric and hidden in general attitudes toward immigrants. Research should also more clearly differentiate attitude formation toward contrasting types of immigrants, for example by comparing attitudes toward high- versus low-status immigrants, or toward immigrants from culturally similar versus distant countries. Currently, to maximize cross-national comparability, large international surveys mainly refer to generic immigrants in their item wording. However, additionally assessing attitudes toward immigrants of specific national origin—that may vary from country to country—would allow to paint a more accurate picture of the psychological processes involved in immigration attitude construction.

C28P101   During the last two decades, migration and multiculturalism have become one of the most heavily debated issues in contemporary receiving societies, both at the level of political discourse and in everyday conversations. As illustrated in studies on migrant identity

construction and ideological climates reviewed in this chapter, this societal communication is likely to affect the way citizens think about immigrants. Politicians, migrant group leaders, members of the civil society and other "identity entrepreneurs" (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) participate in the societal immigration debate by strategically communicating specific understandings of assimilation and multiculturalism. In this view, for example, "threat perceptions" are the outcome of social influence processes that deliberately portray certain migrant groups as "different" or "dangerous." These discourses participate in the construction and diffusion of positive and negative meanings of migration, thereby creating socially acceptable, and often simplified, ways of thinking and talking about immigrants and immigration. In future research, political psychology could gain from placing a stronger emphasis on the implications of this ongoing communicative process on how migrants construct their ethnic identities and how majorities ascribe characteristics on migrant groups.

C28P102   Finally, the variety of methodological and theoretical approaches through which political psychology has studied phenomena of migration and multiculturalism is an important asset for making our research relevant to policy makers and practitioners (see Esses et al., 2017; Wills, 2010). Discursive, experimental, and survey research have different stories to tell about migration and immigration. Yet, despite their often conflicting theoretical assumptions, we hope and assume they share the normative goal of making our multicultural societies more inclusive and a better place to live for all citizens. Researchers in political psychology should therefore highlight the implications of their studies on migration and immigration policies. As we have shown in this chapter, political psychology has a great deal to offer to promote the chances for successful migrant experiences as well as positive, enriching, and constructive relationships between migrant groups and national majorities.

Note

1. Throughout the chapter we use the term "receiving society" instead of "host society" in order to avoid connotations of migrants being passively "hosted" by national majorities. The term "migrant" is used when migration is analyzed from the perspective of those who move into new contexts, while the term "immigrant" is employed to describe the perspective of the receiving society into which migrants immigrate.

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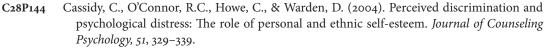
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