ON THE ORIGINS AND EFFECTS OF CONTEMPORARY IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY IN WESTERN EUROPE

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INTEGRATION POLICY IN WESTERN EUROPE

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In recent years, several European countries have adopted mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. This dissertation examines why and to what effect this particular integration policy has spread across large parts of Europe. To do so, it is divided into three empirical chapters. The first chapter addresses the question why European countries have adopted mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants at different times and to different extents. To answer this question, I analyze country-level data on 25 EU member states between 2005 and 2014. I find that a country's integration policy is strongly influenced by its past policy as well as the policies of the countries most successful at integrating their immigrant communities. In addition, I find that immigrants' level of economic integration is positively related to the strictness of a country's integration requirements; models with endogeneity correction suggest that the causal arrow runs exclusively from the latter to the former.

The second empirical chapter evaluates whether mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants have been successful at achieving their intended goals. It uses data provided by the European Social Survey (2002-2015) to examine the effect of different integration policies in 15 EU member states on immigrants' levels of social, political, and economic integration. I find that mandatory integration requirements have a strong and positive effect on immigrants' level of economic integration, but no impact on their degree of social and political integration. In the final chapter, I posit that integration policies not only affect the

immigrants targeted by them but also have broader impacts on the host society. Specifically, I argue that public opinion toward immigrants is more favorable in countries with mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants than it is in countries without. Analyzing public opinion data in 15 EU member states provided by the European Social Survey (2002-2015) as well as evidence from two original survey experiments in the United Kingdom, I find support for my argument. Therefore, the results presented in this dissertation make a reasonable case for the adoption of stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants.

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PREFACE

No dissertation is possible without the support of others. While I will inevitably leave some important people out of these acknowledgements, due to both my own faulty memory and my desire for brevity, there are a few who deserve special mention. First and foremost, I owe a huge debt of gratitude to my committee chair, advisor, and mentor, Steven Finkel. Without his constant support, it is doubtful that my graduate career would have had such a happy ending. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Daniela Donno, Jude Hays, and Najeeb Shafiq, whose feedback greatly improved the quality of this dissertation. Important institutional support for this dissertation came from the Department of Political Science, the Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences, and the European Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh. I am grateful to three of my former professors, Ryan Hendrickson, Steven Roper, and Klaus Stüwe, for their commitment to my development as a young scholar, which helped sustain me on this long journey. I could have never even dreamed of reaching this significant milestone without the financial and emotional support of my parents. To my wife Ellen, thank you for giving me courage and strength every single day; I love you. Lastly, I wish to thank my son Landric, whose love has always been my greatest motivation.

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Policies designed to integrate immigrants[1] into their host societies are high up on the political

agenda in several European countries, and have been for years. For example, in October 2010,

German Chancellor Angela Merkel proclaimed that multiculturalism had "utterly failed" in

Germany (Wright and Bloemraad 2012, 77), signaling a move away from Germany's traditional

approach to immigrant integration. Her remarks represented the culmination of months, if not

years, of political and public debates about the failures of past German integration policies as

well as the feasibility of alternative approaches (Hawley 2004). In April of 2016, France's

Minister for Families, Children, and Women's Rights, Laurence Rossignol, caused public

outrage when she compared Muslim women who choose to wear the veil to "American negroes

who were for slavery" (Zerofsky 2016). Her comments came against the backdrop of months of

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[1] The most widely used definition of "immigrants" is that of the United Nations, which defines immigrants
as "people living outside their country of birth for at least a year" (Castles et al. 2014, 7; see also Anderson and
Blinder 2017). Simply put, immigrants are foreign-born individuals, regardless of their citizenship status. The caveat
of "at least a year" is added to distinguish migration from short-term population movements such as tourism. Note
that this definition does not exclude individuals based on their motive for migrating or the (il)legality of their
presence. Some scholars use a broader definition of "immigrants" which includes the children and grandchildren of
the original immigrants; these are generally referred to as second- and third-generation immigrants, respectively.
While this broader definition is useful for certain research contexts, here I use the narrow definition of immigrants as
foreign-born individuals.

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intense discussions about French identity and the integration of Muslim immigrants. In the United Kingdom, the public reacted with shock and anger to the release of the "Casey Review" in December 2016, an official government report which detailed the dire state of immigrant integration in the country (Ashtana and Walker 2016; Taylor 2016).

Despite the ubiquity of integration in current political discourse, there is still a great deal of confusion as to what the terms "immigrant integration" and "integration policy" actually mean (Favell 2001; Murphy 2016, 11-50; Spencer 2011). On a very general level, "integration" refers to the process of "adding single elements or partial structures to an existing structure and joining these to an interconnected 'whole'" (Heckmann 2005, 8). The term is used to describe a variety of diverse phenomena, such as linking together different computing systems and software applications (Summers 2013) or forming close friendship ties with new members of a social group (Lakon and Valente 2012). In the context of migration, "integration" characterizes the process of immigrants adapting to their new host society. In other words, integration can be broadly defined as a series of actions that render immigrants close to or indistinguishable from natives in terms of behavior and values (Goodman and Wright 2015). Any such action undertaken by government institutions at the federal, state, or local level fall under the banner of "integration policy" (Murphy 2016; Penninx 2003). Differently put, integration policy can be defined as government efforts aimed at ensuring that immigrants become accepted and functional members of their new host society (Spencer 2011).

This broad definition includes a multitude of different policies. For example, the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), one of the most widely used comparative measures of integration policy in migration research, currently lists 167 individual integration policies that fall into eight policy areas (MIPEX 2015). These policies represent a wide variety of laws and

government actions, such as providing job training to immigrants, giving them access to healthcare, and creating safeguards against discrimination in the workplace. While these measures technically all fall under the banner of "integration policies", recent public, political, and scholarly debates on the subject have primarily focused on one particular class of integration policies, that is, mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants (Arribas Lozano et al. 2014; Goodman 2014; Mulcahy 2011; Sobolewska et al. 2017; Wiesbrock 2011).

These requirements include integration courses, contracts, and tests with the goal of promoting "basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions" as well as "respect for the basic values of the EU" (Mulcahy 2011, 34). They are mandatory in the sense that migrants who refuse to participate in integration courses or repeatedly fail to pass certain tests, particularly language tests, can be fined/denied social benefits, refused citizenship, or otherwise sanctioned, thereby providing them with a strong incentive to acquire the host society's language and otherwise integrate (Murphy 2006; Schrep 2013). Language acquisition is seen as being of primary importance, since it helps with achieving further steps in the integration process such as finding a job, navigating bureaucratic procedures, and connecting with members of the host society. Ultimately, then, the goal of these mandatory language and civic education requirements is to promote economic self-sufficiency and improvement among immigrants, and to render them close to natives in terms of their social and political attitudes and behavior (Goodman and Wright 2015).

Despite the increasing visibility and importance of these requirements, scholars know relatively little about their causes as well as their consequences. This is mainly due to the fact that (a) mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants are a relatively new phenomenon, and (b) previous research suffers from a number of methodological

shortcomings which hamper our ability to draw sound inferences. The overarching goal of this dissertation is to apply a more rigorous methodological approach to the study of immigrant integration policy in Europe, thereby providing more robust answers to the following set of interconnected questions: (1) What explains cross-national and temporal variation in immigrant integration policies? In other words, why did some European countries adopt mandatory language and civic education requirements later or to a lesser extent than others, and why did some countries refrain from adopting them altogether? (2) Do mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants actually work? Are they effective at achieving their intended purpose, that is, do they lead to improved integration outcomes? (3) Do integration policies have effects that go beyond the immigrants who are targeted by them? Do mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants have an impact on members of the host society, specifically their attitudes toward immigrants and immigration?

The remainder of this introductory chapter proceeds as follows. First, I briefly describe the extent of migration into Europe over the past half century, and how this recent wave of immigration has fundamentally transformed European societies. I also outline the challenges that have arisen from this transformation, which illustrates the importance of immigrant integration in contemporary Europe. Second, I provide important background information on contemporary immigrant integration policy in Europe. Specifically, I explain how mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants work in practice, how they have proliferated over the past two decades, and how they are being promoted by the European Union (EU). Third, I provide a brief summary of my argument, and outline how this argument is developed throughout the course of this dissertation.

1.1   WHY IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION MATTERS

Since the end of World War II, international migration patterns have changed significantly in both character and direction: "While for centuries Europeans have been moving outward through conquering, colonizing, and settling in lands elsewhere on the globe, these patterns were reversed in the second half of the twentieth century. Under the influence of decolonization, demographic change, rapid economic growth and the creation of the European Union as a free trade and migration zone, Europe has emerged as a major global migration destination" (Castles et al. 2014, 102). Between 1945 and 1970, virtually all countries in Northern and Western Europe utilized some kind of guest worker program to recruit migrant workers. These programs brought millions of immigrants into Europe, mainly from North Africa and the Middle East but also from Asia and Latin America. Germany alone recruited 2.6 million migrant workers between 1956 and 1973 (Castles et al. 2014, 107). These recruitment programs were based on the idea of "sectoral exclusion", meaning that migrants were allowed to participate in some sectors of society, primarily the economic sector, but were barred or discouraged from participating in other sectors such as politics and cultural life. European governments hoped that sectoral exclusion would prevent migrants from becoming attached to their new host societies so that they would return to their home countries once their labor was no longer needed.

However, this hope turned out to be in vain. Despite the curbing of organized recruitment schemes for migrant workers due to economic stagnation in the mid-1970s, immigration into Europe continued at high rates. This new wave of immigrants consisted mainly of family members of migrant workers who had been previously recruited. By the late 1970s, family migration had become the most significant source of immigration for many European countries (Castles et al. 2014, 112-114). Migration movements steadied for a while in the mid-1990s but at

the beginning of the new millennium, immigration again increased sharply. Until 2008, Europe experienced renewed economic growth as economic globalization created new employment opportunities for migrants, especially for the highly skilled. Many governments introduced preferential entry rules for this category as well as student migrants (Castles et al. 2014, 116). Beginning in 2015, Europe experienced yet another spike in immigration, which was caused by unprecedented numbers of humanitarian migrants originating mainly from Syria and Afghanistan. In 2015 alone, a record number of over 1.2 million asylum seekers entered the European Union, a number more than double that of the previous year (Connor 2016).

The massive influx of immigrants into Europe over the past half century has fundamentally transformed many European societies. Today, foreign-born individuals make up more than 15% of the total population in several European countries, including Austria, Belgium, and Sweden.[2] Countries that were once ethnically homogenous, such as Germany, had to adjust to now being home to a substantial ethnic minority population. Germany and other European countries, such as France, have had a difficult time grappling with the new reality of being "immigration countries". These countries have had to reevaluate their national identities and, in some cases, fundamentally change their ideas about what it means to be German, French, etc. (Castles et al. 2014, 55-83; El-Menouar 2017; Hawley 2004; Danisman 2011).

To be sure, immigration has been very beneficial for Europe, for multiple reasons. The most obvious reason are the economic benefits associated with immigration: Steady, moderate immigration has been shown to boost GDP per capita, increase average wages, and lower consumer prices (Collier 2013, 111-134). In addition, immigration has ameliorated some of the

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[2] For comparison, in the United States, which is often considered *the* immigration country, foreign-born individuals currently account for 14% of the total population.

demographic issues – low birth rates, ageing populations, etc. – which have recently put pressure on Europe's social security systems. A recent estimate suggests that without migration, the EU-27 population would decrease from 501 million to 414 million by 2061; keeping migration at its current level would likely lead to a population increase of 4 million during the same period (Castles et al. 2014, 123). Lastly, immigration has numerous social, cultural, and personal benefits for both immigrants and members of the host society that are difficult to quantify but nevertheless exist. For example, immigrants' contributions to sports, sciences, and the arts have been well-documented for various European societies (European Migration Network 2006).

At the same time, immigration has posed several challenges for Europe. For example, immigration is associated with increased unemployment among native-born Europeans with low education levels as well as increased housing costs. A recent estimate for Great Britain by the Office of Budgetary Responsibility suggests that housing costs have increased by 10% due to immigration (Collier 2013, 116). In addition, immigrants in Europe are more likely to be unemployed than native-born Europeans, and they receive more social assistance per capita. Moreover, foreign-born individuals commit crimes at higher rates than native-born Europeans. For example, in Germany immigrants account for 30% of all criminal suspects even though they only make up 15% of the population (Chazan 2017).[3] Lastly, some European societies have

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[3] While crime statistics and incarceration rates are imperfect measures of actual crimes committed (not all crimes are solved, immigrants might receiver harsher sentences due to racism, etc.), they are widely used and generally accepted proxies in research on migration and crime (see Smith and Edmonston 1997; Bernat 2017). Migration scholars largely agree that immigrants in the United States are less likely to commit crimes than the native-born population while those in Europe are more likely to do so; possible reasons for this difference include cultural differences between immigrants in the U.S. and Europe, different incentive structures resulting from distinct social security systems, and immigrants in Europe being younger and predominantly male (e.g. Higgins 2015).

witnessed increased radicalization among their immigrant communities as well as rising numbers of terrorist attacks committed by some of their members (Rotella 2016).

Interestingly, the challenges that immigration poses for Europe are not experienced by all immigrant-receiving societies, at least not to the same extent. For example, immigrants in the United States are less likely to commit a crime, and have higher average levels of employment and education, than members of the host society (Bernal 2017; Luhby 2013). It is often said that this difference between Europe and the United States is due to the latter's immigrant population being relatively well integrated (Jimenez 2011; Porter 2015). Conversely, Europe has failed to integrate significant parts of its immigrant communities, with some observers going so far as to refer to this issue as an "integration crisis" (Caponio and Cappiali 2016). This suggests that the extent to which immigration poses challenges for a host society is partly a function of how well immigrants are being integrated. In other words, successful integration, which can be facilitated through sound integration policy, allows a country to reap the benefits of immigration while simultaneously avoiding many of its drawbacks. Therefore, immigrant integration policy can be vital to the well-being of a country's population, including the host population as well as the immigrants themselves. In the following section, I provide a brief historical overview of immigrant integration policy in Europe.

1.2   IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY IN EUROPE

As pointed out in the previous section, Europe has been a popular destination for immigrants since the end of World War II. For about 50 years, there was little coordination among European countries in how to deal with the massive influx of migrants (Mouritsen 2008). Distinct national

models of integration policy were developed, many of them rooted in multiculturalist ideals and practices.[4] Beginning in the late 1990s, however, an increasing number of policymakers across Europe became dissatisfied with the national policies that were set up to accommodate immigrants (Goodman 2012a; Koopmans et al. 2012). Tensions between immigrants and members of the host society had arisen in a number of European countries, and a significant part of the immigrant community was plagued by increasing unemployment, criminal activity, and radicalization (Adida et al. 2014; Koopmans 2010). These problems were in part attributed to the lack of a coherent and effective integration regime in Europe.

Several national investigations were launched, many of which arrived at devastating results (Joppke 2007a). For example, a 2004 parliamentary inquiry in France came to the conclusion that the country's integration policy was "badly defined in its objectives and principles, incoherent, contradictory and insufficient" (Joppke 2007b, 1). As a result, the European Commission developed *The Hague Programme*, which was formally adopted by the European Council on November 4/5, 2004. *The Hague Programme* represents a revolutionary legal document in the sense that for the first time, an official body of the European Union had identified insufficient immigrant integration as one of the most pressing challenges facing the

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[4] Note that there is no single, universally agreed upon definition of "multiculturalism". Here, I use the term in the sense of "laissez-faire multiculturalism" as a distinct approach to integration policy (Koopmans 2010; Goodman and Wright 2015). More specifically, the term "multiculturalism" describes policies which "grant immigrants easy access to equal rights and do not provide strong incentives for host-country language acquisition and interethnic contacts", based on the belief that immigrants will integrate better the more they can retain and develop their own cultural identities and practices (Koopmans 2010, 1; see also Koopmans 2013). This definition is different from other common conceptions and measures of multiculturalism (see, for example, Banting and Kymlicka 2006; Kymlicka 2012; Wright and Bloemraad 2012).

EU (Collett 2014; Van Wolleghem 2017). To address this challenge, *The Hague Programme* identifies a set of common basic principles (CBPs), i.e. concrete measures aimed at providing guidance for the restructuring of EU members' national integration policy regimes. These measures include mandatory integration courses, contracts, and tests with the goal of promoting "basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions" as well as "respect for the basic values of the EU" (Mulcahy 2011, 34).

The CBPs are non-binding policy recommendations, meaning that EU member states are not required to implement the integration measures outlined in the CBPs, and will not be formally sanctioned if they refuse to do so. However, the EU does actively try to facilitate the implementation of the CBPs in its member states, primarily through the European Integration Forum (EIF). The EIF is a dialogue platform with the official aim of encouraging civil society participation, in the interests of it having a role in the definition, evaluation, and implementation of EU integration policies. The meetings of the EIF are mainly centered around the exchange of information and "best practices" as well as the organization of working groups to tackle specific aspects of integration and more technical questions (Arribas Lozano et al. 2014). The EIF also produces reports, whether under its own initiative or at the request of other EU institutions, in both cases with a consultative role. However, while the stated goal of the EIF is to encourage civil society participation and the exchange of information, the underlying intention is quite clearly to channel the debate within the limits defined by the EU's political agenda, and to promote the integration measures outlined in the CBPs. In fact, the official mandate of the EIF explicitly states that the "Common Basic Principles on Integration will be the guide for the Forum's activities" (Arribas Lozano et al. 2014, 563).

The EIF does not only help EU member states implement the CBPs by providing expertise and facilitating the exchange of best practices, but also through the provision of funds. As Van Wolleghem explains, "the EIF operates on the principle of co-financing and programming: the [m]ember [s]tate financially commits to objectives announced in a multiannual [program], which is in turn further broken down into annual [programs]; this commitment is then supplemented by the EU fund. But, unlike most EU funds that provide a sound partnership principle […], the EIF places governments at the [center] of its implementation. There is a programming phase in coordination with the Commission, but the definition of the substantive content of the [programs] remains largely dominated by the state […]. There is a partnership principle here too but it is very weak since governments may or may not open the programming phase to other actors […]. Unlike other funds, no principle of additionality is provided for. The entire process therefore remains in the hands of governments, which have the option to neglect the fund's purposes and pursue their own" (2017, 4). Since its inception, the EIF has provided member states with almost 1 billion Euros in funding.

Prior to 2004, only a few EU member states – Austria, Denmark, and the Netherlands – had significant integration requirements for immigrants in place. In the years following the adoption of *The Hague Programme*, several Western European countries, including France, Germany, Greece, Italy, and the United Kingdom, began to implement stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants. By 2015, a majority of Western European countries had adopted thorough language and civic education requirements for immigrants (Goodman 2014; Joppke 2007a). At the same time, several EU member states have resisted this trend toward stricter integration policies. In fact, there are a handful of European countries, most

notably Ireland, Portugal, and Sweden, which do not require immigrants to participate in any kind of integration course or test (Devitt 2014; Peixoto 2014; Wiesbrock 2011).

It should be noted that the European countries which adopted mandatory language and civic education requirements have done so to different degrees. In other words, integration requirements come in gradations: some countries have stricter requirements than others, while yet others have no requirements at all. One dimension on which such a gradation occurs is the intensity of the language and civic education classes as well as the level of difficulty of the tests. For example, to obtain long-term residence in Greece, third-country nationals are required to take 175 hours of Greek language classes, while in Germany the requirement is 600 hours (Goodman 2009). Accordingly, the required language level to pass also differs; it is A2[5] in Greece and B1 in Germany (Goodman 2014). Similarly, to acquire Austrian citizenship, immigrants must complete 75 hours of civic education classes and pass an accompanying exam, while Luxembourg requires participation in civic education classes but no test (Goodman 2014).

Another dimension on which the intensity of mandatory integration requirements for immigrants varies across countries is the number of stages in the migration process during which these requirements occur. For example, Denmark requires language certification for entry, permanent residence, and naturalization, Greece for permanent residence and naturalization, and

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[5] The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) is a guideline used to describe achievements of learners of foreign languages. Developed by the Council of Europe with the goal of standardizing the learning, teaching, and assessing of foreign language skills across Europe, the CEFR describes foreign language proficiency at six levels: A1 (beginner), A2 (elementary), B1 (intermediate), B2 (upper intermediate), C1 (advanced), and C2 (proficient). For a more detailed description of the CEFR and its categories, see Council of Europe (2018).

Spain only for naturalization (Goodman 2014). Countries also differ regarding whether and to what extent immigrants have to pay for these language and civic education classes. In Luxembourg, for example, mandatory language courses for naturalization are free of charge, while in the Netherlands only 70% of the total costs (~ 4,000 Euros) are covered (Goodman 2009). A last dimension of gradation is the severity of the punishment should immigrants refuse to participate in mandatory language and/or civic education classes. In Germany, for example, refusal to participate in language classes can result in having one's benefits cut by up to 30%; for welfare recipients, a 30% deduction amounts to approximately 100 Euros per month (Schrep 2013). In addition, such a refusal can negatively affect an immigrant's application for long-term residence. In Belgium, immigrants who refuse to participate in mandatory language classes can be fined, but their residence and citizenship applications remain unaffected (Goodman 2009).

To further illustrate how this particular integration policy works, it might be helpful to compare two countries with vastly different language and civic education requirements for immigrants, Germany and Sweden. In 2004, the German legislature passed *the Immigration Act* (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*), which was amended in 2007. The *Immigration Act* fundamentally transformed several aspects of Germany's immigration policies, including its immigrant integration policy (Bendel 2014; Klusmeyer and Papademitriou 2009). Germany now requires third-country nationals to provide proof of basic German language skills (A1-level) in order to enter the country.[6] To obtain permanent residency, third-country nationals are required to pass a language test (B1-level) as well as a civic test. If they are unable to pass these tests, they are required to participate in language and/or civic education classes (Goodman 2014, 50). These

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[6] Certain categories of immigrants, such as humanitarian migrants and foreign military personnel stationed in Germany, are exempt from this rule (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2014).

courses are carried out by private organizations which have to be certified and are monitored by the federal government. If immigrants refuse to participate in the language courses or repeatedly fail the test, they not only run the risk of having their request for residency denied but also incur cuts to their social benefits (Schrep 2013). To obtain citizenship, third-country nationals are required to take an additional civic test, participate in an interview with a government official, and take a ceremonial oath during which they pledge allegiance to the Federal Republic of Germany and its values.

The Swedish approach to immigrant integration differs quite markedly from that of Germany. At no point during the immigration process (entry, residence, citizenship) are immigrants required to take a language or civic test (Goodman 2014, 51). All that immigrants have to do to become a permanent resident of Sweden is to have lived there for five years, provide proof that they have the financial means to support their family, and file the proper paperwork. Language and civic education classes are available to immigrants, but participation is entirely voluntary; immigrants are in no way sanctioned if they refuse to participate (Wiesbrock 2011). In addition, unlike in Germany, integration courses in Sweden are free of charge.[7] One last difference is that all immigrants who have entered the country legally have access to social benefits and public services, regardless of whether they participate in integration requirements (Borevi 2014).

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[7] While integration courses in Germany are generally not free of charge, immigrants can have these charges waived if they can claim financial hardship.

1.3   PLAN FOR THIS DISSERTATION

Why do countries like Germany and Sweden have such fundamentally different integration requirements for immigrants? And what are the effects of these policies, both on the immigrants targeted by them as well as society at large? Since mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants are a somewhat new phenomenon, the literature aimed at explaining their origins and effects is relatively sparse, and as such suffers from a number of methodological shortcomings. As a result, we know surprisingly little about the causes of different integration policies as well as their consequences (Goodman 2015). The overarching goal of this dissertation is to use novel perspectives, data, and methods in order to provide more robust and nuanced answers about the origins and effects of mandatory integration requirements than previous studies.

To do so, the remainder of this dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first of these chapters, Chapter 2, provides an overview of previous research on immigrant integration policies, with a particular focus on mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. More specifically, this literature review is divided into five sections. The first section provides a general overview of the current state of research on integration policy, that is, it describes the data used by quantitative migration scholars as well as the methodological conventions and limitations of the field. In Section 2.2, I review the recent literature on the determinants of immigrant integration policy. Among other things, this review finds that a significant part of the previous literature has focused on public opinion and prior levels of integration as predictors of integration policy, though methodological limitations have kept these studies from convincingly establishing a systematic effect of these covariates.

Section 2.3 provides on overview of the research on the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants on integration outcomes. It illustrates that scholars are far from a consensus regarding the effects of these policies, which is in part due to methodological issues with this research. In the fourth section, I review the research on other effects of mandatory integration requirements, that is, their impact on individuals other than the immigrants who are specifically targeted by them. I find that almost no such studies exist, which is an unfortunate omission given that there are good reasons to suspect that integration policy also has broader effects on society at large, particularly on the attitudes of native-born individuals toward immigrants. Lastly, based on the extensive body of research reviewed throughout Chapter 2, Section 2.5 lays out the overarching framework of this dissertation which ties together the various empirical chapters.

In a nutshell, this framework posits that there is a complex interplay between integration policy, immigrants' level of integration (i.e. integration outcomes), and public attitudes toward immigrants. A condensed version of this central argument is outlined in Figure 1. I argue that whether and to what extent a country adopts mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants depends, among other factors, on its public opinion on immigration (see arrow *a* in Figure 1) as well as its immigrant community's prior level of integration (see arrow *b*). As for the former, I expect that governments' propensity to introduce or tighten existing integration requirements for immigrants increases as their voters show greater concern about immigrant integration. As for the latter, it seems reasonable to expect that a country with a poorly integrated immigrant community will be more likely to adopt stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants than one in which the majority of immigrants is well-

integrated, since there is a greater incentive to change a poorly performing approach to immigrant integration than a successful one.

These relationships, as well as other potential determinants of mandatory integration requirements for immigrants, are explored in greater detail in Chapter 3. Using country-level data on a sample of 15 Western European countries between 2005 and 2014 as well as a sample of 25 EU member states between 2007 and 2014, I find that public opinion is not a reliable predictor of a country's integration requirements for immigrants. Prior levels of integration, measured as unemployment among immigrants, are negatively and significantly associated with integration policy. However, this effect appears to be driven by reverse causality: stricter integration requirements cause lower unemployment among immigrants, not the other way around. Once this reverse causality is accounted for, prior levels of integration have no significant effect on the intensity of a country's language and civic education requirements for immigrants.

Figure 1. Outline of Argument
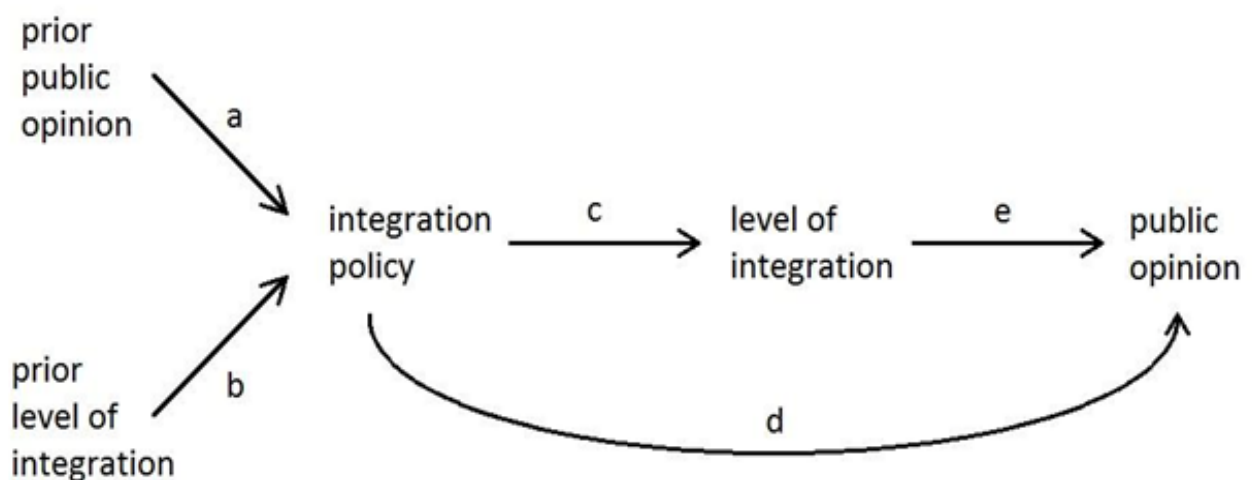
Once mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants have been adopted, they presumably increase immigrants' level of integration; after all, that is their intended purpose. Chapter 4 evaluates the effect of these integration requirements on three different dimensions of immigrant integration: social, political, and economic (see arrow *c* in Figure 1). Analyzing immigrants' responses to the European Social Survey (2002-2015) in 15 EU member states, I find that mandatory integration requirements have a strong and positive effect on immigrants' level of economic integration, measured as unemployment and subjective financial well-being, but no impact on their degree of social and political integration. Supplemental data, which include 23 original, open-ended interviews with practitioners of and experts on integration courses in Germany, suggest that the positive relationship between mandatory integration requirements and immigrants' level of economic integration is indicative of a true treatment effect rather than selection processes. Therefore, this chapter suggests a differential impact of integration policy across different dimensions of immigrant integration, but overall supports the notion that mandatory integration requirements produce better integration results than laissez-faire integration policies.

Furthermore, I posit that integration policies not only affect the immigrants targeted by them but also have effects on society at large. Specifically, I argue that mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants can improve public attitudes toward immigrants. They do so indirectly and directly. The indirect effect (see arrow *e* in Figure 1) is perhaps more obvious, with mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants increasing immigrants' level of integration; a more well-integrated immigrant community, in turn, improves public perceptions of immigrants. In addition, I argue that there is also a direct effect (see arrow *d* in Figure 1) in the sense that the mere presence of mandatory integration requirements leads to

more positive public attitudes toward immigrants, regardless of these policies' effect on integration outcomes. This direct effect operates through two mechanisms. First, members of the host society presume that language and civic education requirements help immigrants acquire the host country's language and adopt its values, which reduces cultural distance and makes immigrants appear less threatening. Second, mandatory integration requirements are a way for governments to signal the extent of immigrants' obligations and responsibilities, and thereby mitigate concerns about fairness and deservingness among native-born individuals.

This argument is laid out in greater detail in Chapter 5, and tested against two different sets of evidence: public opinion data in 15 EU member states provided by the European Social Survey (2002-2015) and two original survey experiments conducted in the United Kingdom in 2017. Across both sets of evidence, I find that mandatory language and civic education requirements have a direct and positive effect on public attitudes toward immigrants. In addition, I find support for the first mechanism described above, that is, mandatory integration requirements reduce perceptions of cultural threat among members of the host society. The second mechanism, however, is not borne out by the evidence. In addition, I do not find evidence for the presence of an indirect effect of language and civic education requirements on attitudes toward immigrants, primarily because integration deficits do not significantly affect public opinion. Rather than being impacted by objective immigration conditions, i.e. the level of integration of the immigrant community, public attitudes toward immigrants appear to be primarily a function of integration policy, macroeconomic conditions (especially national unemployment rates), immigrants' race/religion and access to the welfare state, and individual characteristics of the host society member. Chapter 6 provides a more detailed summary of this dissertation and discusses ways forward in the study of integration policy.

2.0   LITERATURE REVIEW AND CENTRAL ARGUMENT

2.1   A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF INTEGRATION RESEARCH

In this section, I provide an overview of the scholarship on mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants and, to a lesser extent, integration policy in general. To be sure, this overview is not intended to be a substantive literature review in the sense that I identify the causes and effects of mandatory integration requirements found by previous research; that comes later in this chapter. Rather, the purpose of this section is to review how previous research has approached the study of integration policy methodologically. This is a useful exercise because it situates my dissertation within the broader literature and familiarizes the reader with the methodological conventions in the field of integration research. It also serves to outline some of the general issues with and limitations of previous scholarship as well as the data currently available to researchers in this field.

Broadly speaking, scholarship on mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants has mainly approached the subject in two ways: case study research and quantitative analysis. Here, I want to focus primarily on the latter, though some of the issues I identify in this section also pertain to the former. The field of integration research has witnessed some exciting developments over the past two decades, one of them being the development of

several comparative indices aimed at measuring various integration policies.[8] Mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants are no exception here, as there are currently six comparative indices available for this particular class of integration policies. Below, I describe three of these indices in greater detail.[9]

First, there is the Civic Integration Policy Index (CIVIX) developed by Goodman (2010; 2012b; 2014, 37-64; 2015), which captures the extent to which countries demand acculturation programs for immigrants, that is, language training and civic education. More specifically, CIVIX looks at integration requirements across the three different stages of the immigration process (entry, settlement, and citizenship) and assigns points according to the stringency of the requirements at each stage. The composite index ranges from 0 to 9, with higher values representing stricter integration requirements. To briefly summarize the coding rules of CIVIX: "first, obligatory civic requirements at entry, settlement, and citizenship receive one point per criterion. […] Second, there are compounding and ameliorating factors that can make a requirement more or less arduous, respectively; quarter-point weights are added for increasing levels of language assessment or if a significant financial cost is incurred by the individual while deductions are factored in where, for example, a course is recommended but not required or

[8] For helpful overviews of these indices see Gest et al. (2014); Goodman (2015); and Helbling and Michalowski (2017).

[9] The other three indices – the Nationalist Immigration and Integration Policy (NIIP) Index, the Citizenship Policy Index (CPI), and the International Migration Policy and Law Analysis (IMPALA) Database – are omitted from this section due to the fact that they are not publicly available. In addition, the former two suffer from a very limited data coverage, which makes them less useful for the purpose of this dissertation. For more information on these indices, see Akkerman (2012), Howard (2010), and Beine et al. (2016), respectively.

completion of a requirement for permanent residence 'double counts' for citizenship" (Goodman and Wright 2015, 1892).

Table 1. CIVIX Scores for EU-15 Countries, 1997-2013

Country	1997	2004	2009	2013
Austria	1	3	4	5.5
Belgium	1	1	1	1.25
Denmark	1	4	8.75	8.25
Finland	1	1.5	2.5	2.5
France	1	2	4	5
Germany	2	2.5	7	7
Great Britain	2	2.5	5	5.5
Greece	2	2	5.25	5.25
Ireland	1	1	1	1
Italy	1	1	1	4.25
Luxembourg	1	1	2.5	2.5
Netherlands	1	3.25	5.75	6.25
Portugal	1	1	1.25	1.25
Spain	2	2	2.5	2.5
Sweden	0	0	0	0
Average	1.20	1.85	3.43	3.87

Sources: Goodman (2014); Goodman and Wright (2015)

CIVIX data are currently available for the "EU-15" countries[10] at four different points in time (1997, 2004, 2009, and 2013), for a total of 60 observations. Table 1 illustrates the CIVIX scores for all available countries and years. The information shown in the table reinforces several of the points I made in the previous section. First, in 1997, mandatory language and civic education requirements were virtually non-existent in Europe. Second, by 2004, only three countries – Austria, Denmark, and the Netherlands – had implemented meaningful reforms

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[10] The EU-15 countries include: Austria, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden.

toward stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants.[11] Third, by 2009, a majority of the EU-15 countries had adopted robust language and civic education requirements for immigrants, and this trend continued further in 2013. Fourth, several European states – most notably Belgium, Ireland, Portugal, and Sweden – have resisted the trend toward stricter integration policies.

A second comparative index on mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants is the aforementioned Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). MIPEX provides annual data on 38 developed countries in Europe, North America, and East Asia between 2007 and 2014. These data include information on 167 individual integration policies that fall into eight broader policy areas: access to nationality, anti-discrimination, education, family reunion, health, labor market mobility, permanent residence, and political participation (MIPEX 2015). Each of these 167 variables is coded on a scale from 0 to 100, with 100 representing the "most inclusive" integration policy possible. More specifically, "MIPEX assigns scores to policy based on whether or not it is in compliance with its normative framework of best practices to 'promote societal integration in practice', which in turn depends on whether or not requirements 'facilitate or hinder participation' and the 'extent to which all residents are legally entitled to equal rights and responsibilities'" (Goodman 2012b, 176). MIPEX then takes the mean of the individual policies to create an average score for each of the eight policy areas, as well as an overall integration policy score for each country.

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[11] Goodman herself suggests that a value of 2.5 constitutes the cut-off point between low and high CIVIX scores (see Goodman and Wright 2015). In other words, CIVIX scores of 2.5 and below represent "weak" or "lax" integration requirements, while those above 2.5 signify "robust" or "thorough" policies.

Out of the 167 individual integration policies included in MIPEX, five capture the extent of a country's language and civic integration requirements for immigrants at a given point in time: "pre-entry integration requirements" (*variable 28*), "post-entry integration requirements" (*variable 29*), "language requirements for long-term residence" (*variable 84*), "naturalization language requirements" (*variable 104*), and "naturalization integration requirements" (*variable 105*). Given the coding scheme of MIPEX, a value of 100 on these five variables represents the complete absence of mandatory requirements, whereas a value of 0 signifies the most stringent integration requirements possible (Goodman 2012b). For illustrative and analytical purposes, I take the inverse mean of these five variables so that the resulting variable ranges from 0 to 100, with higher values representing more stringent language and civic education requirements for immigrants.[12] Throughout the remainder of this dissertation, I will refer to this index variable as the "MIPEX Integration Requirements Scale", or MIPEX-IRS for short.

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[12] The index constructed by combining the five individual MIPEX variables and CIVIX have a correlation of .79, which speaks to the validity of this index. The alpha value for the index is .74 and its average interitem correlation is .36; both figures are within the respective range of values recommended by the literature on scale construction (DeVellis 2003, 94-96; Netemeyer et al. 2003, 57-59).

Table 2. MIPEX-IRS Scores for EU-25 Countries, 2007-2014

Country	2007	2014
Austria	40.8	54.2
Belgium	0	24.6
Denmark	48.6	38
Finland	10	10
France	53.4	58
Germany	42.4	38
Greece	50.6	44.6
Ireland	0	0
Italy	32	45
Luxembourg	10	10
Netherlands	64.2	78.2
Portugal	11.2	13.2
Spain	32	32
Sweden	0	0
United Kingdom	26.6	73
EU-15 Average	*28.12*	*34.59*
Cyprus	16	31.8
Czech Republic	16	28.8
Estonia	23.2	17.2
Hungary	24	28
Latvia	28.6	28.6
Lithuania	45.8	45.8
Malta	24.6	37.4
Poland	16	14
Slovak Republic	47.8	47.8
Slovenia	6	6
EU-N10 Average	*24.80*	*28.54*
EU-25 Average	*26.79*	*32.17*

Source: Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)

Table 2 illustrates the MIPEX-IRS scores for the EU-25 countries[13] at two points in time, 2007 and 2014. The information shown in the table leads to several important conclusions. First, much like the CIVIX scores, the MIPEX-IRS scores suggest that language and civic education

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[13] The EU-25 countries include the EU-15 plus the ten countries which joined the EU in 2004, which are sometimes referred to as the "EU-N10". The EU-N10 are: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia.

requirements for immigrants in the EU-15 countries have become stricter over time. In 2014, the average MIPEX-IRS score for the EU-15 was 34.59, which is almost six and a half points higher than the average score in 2007. Second, the EU-N10 countries have also tightened their language and civic education requirements for immigrants between 2007 and 2014, though to a somewhat lesser extent than the EU-15. Third, while the CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS scores are generally consistent (as pointed out above, they are correlated at .79), there are some significant discrepancies between the two indices. For example, CIVIX suggests that among the EU-15 countries, Denmark currently has by far the strictest integration requirements. According to the MIPEX-IRS scores, however, Denmark's language and civic education requirements are only slightly tougher than the average, with the Netherlands and Great Britain ranking highest.

The third comparative index on mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants examined here is the Indicators of Citizenship Rights for Immigrants (ICRI) Index by Koopmans et al. (2012; see also Koopmans and Michalowski 2017). The ICRI Index provides data on 44 countries at four points in time (1980, 1990, 2002, 2008), though only a subset of the data is publicly available. The ICRI Index "ranks countries on the degree to which [certain rights] are granted to immigrant groups in order to determine both the inclusiveness of a country's understanding of citizenship and the degree to which countries give official recognition to specific groups" (Dancygier and Laitin 2014, 55). More specifically, these data include information on 41 individual indicators which fall into eight types of migrant rights: nationality acquisition, expulsion, marriage migration, access to public service employment, anti-discrimination, political rights, educational rights, and other cultural/religious rights (Koopmans et al. 2012). Each of the 41 indicators is coded on a scale from -1 to 1, with higher values representing more inclusive integration policies (i.e. easier access to rights). The ICRI Index then

takes the mean of the individual indicators to create an average score for each of the eight types of rights, as well as an overall inclusiveness score for each country.

Table 3. ICRI-IRS Scores for Eight EU Member States, 1980-2008

Country	1980	1990	2002	2008
Austria	-.83	-.83	-.67	.33
Belgium	-.33	-.33	-1	-.33
Denmark	-.83	-.83	.67	.83
France	-.33	-.33	-.33	.67
Germany	.33	.33	-.33	.5
Great Britain	-.83	-.67	-.5	.17
Netherlands	-.33	-.83	-.83	.5
Sweden	-1	-1	-1	-1
Average	-.52	-.56	-.50	.21

Source: Koopmans et al. (2012)

Out of the 41 individual indicators included in the ICRI Index, three capture the extent of a country's language and civic integration requirements for immigrants at a given point in time: "cultural requirements for naturalization" (*indicator 1.5*), "cultural requirements for family reunification" (*indicator 3.4*), and "cultural requirements for granting of residence permit" (*indicator 8.1*). As with MIPEX, I take the inverse mean of these variables so that the resulting variable ranges from -1 to 1, with higher values representing more stringent language and civic education requirements for immigrants.[14] I refer to this index variable as the "ICRI Integration Requirements Scale", or IRCI-IRS for short. Table 3 illustrates the ICRI-IRS scores for all EU

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[14] The correlation between ICRI-IRS and CIVIX is .85, and the correlation between ICRI-IRS and MIPEX-IRS is .83. The alpha value for the composite index is .64 and its average interitem correlation is .37. This alpha value is slightly below the recommended minimum of .70, but since the average interitem correlation is within the recommended range and the index correlates well with conceptually similar measures, I still consider this index to be sufficiently valid (DeVellis 2003, 94-96; Netemeyer et al. 2003, 57-59).

member states for which data are publicly available in all four years. The information shown in the table suggests that before 2002, language and civic education requirements for immigrants were a rarity. Since 2002, however, there has been a strong trend toward more thorough integration requirements.

The development of these indices has greatly advanced the field of integration research, as they "allow researchers to examine more cases (both across space and time) and, thus, generate more generalizable inferences through rigorous hypothesis testing (more than even the most adroit qualitative research could manage)" (Goodman 2015, 1906). However, a major issue with these indices is their limited comparability. In a recent methodological piece, Goodman (2015) replicated several quantitative analyses of immigrant integration policy. She found that despite the relatively high correlation among the indices, the main results of most analyses do not hold when a different index is used. Goodman (2015) further points out that these divergent results are due to two factors, that is, measurement issues and sample selection (i.e. each index covers different countries and time periods). Another limitation of existing indices is that while they span relatively long time periods, they measure policies only at a limited number of time points. For example, ICRI measures immigrant rights at four points in time: 1980, 1990, 2002, and 2008. Not only does this lead to a small number of observations,[15] it also makes it impossible to locate the exact point in time during which the change in policy occurred. Locating the exact point in time, however, is necessary to convincingly match the change in policy with potential explanatory variables.

Aside from the limited data coverage and comparability of existing indices, there is one additional methodological issue in integration research that I wish to elaborate on here.

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[15] For example, the number of observations in Koopmans et al.'s (2012) main models is 30.

Quantitative research on the determinants of integration policy lacks a "standard model", meaning there is no generally agreed upon set of predictors and measures for said predictors. Examples for such standard models are the "gravity model" in research on bilateral trade (Burger et al. 2009) and the "standard repression model" in the literature on human rights violations (Haschke 2014). Standard models are vital for progress in a particular research area, as they allow for comparisons of results across studies, thereby making it possible to develop more refined theories and, eventually, a generally agreed upon body of knowledge. Even worse, there is no clear consensus as to which factors should be considered "outcomes" (i.e. measures of successful integration) and which should be treated as determinants of integration (i.e. factors which make successful integration more or less likely). For example, some view immigrants' level of education as an integration outcome (Eurostat 2017a), while others treat it as an independent variable (Banting and Soroka 2012; Burgoon 2014; De Vroome et al. 2014; Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011; Ten Teije et al. 2013). Similarly, citizenship (nationality acquisition) is sometimes used as an outcome variable, other times as a driver of integration (Eurostat 2017a; Hainmueller et al. 2017).

How are we to address these issues in integration research? Most importantly, given the limited comparability and limitations of existing indices on integration requirements, which of them should be used to measure mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants? Integration researchers have debated whether CIVIX or MIPEX data are more useful in this context (Goodman 2012b; Michalowski and van Oers 2012). I am inclined to agree with Goodman, who argues that CIVIX is a more valid measure of the intensity of a country's language and civic education requirements for immigrants than MIPEX: "MIPEX scores produce a sense of whether states provide more or less of an opportunity for immigrants to achieve full

inclusion, where integration requirements are one facet among many. CIVIX scores produce a sense of which states have more or fewer civic integration requirements" (2012b, 178).[16] Therefore, throughout this dissertation, I will use CIVIX as the primary measure of mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants, and MIPEX-IRS as a secondary measure/robustness check. I elect to not utilize ICRI-IRS due to the relatively limited coverage of the data subset that is publicly available.

Regarding the issue of CIVIX only covering four distinct points in time, I impute the years for which no CIVIX scores are provided with the CIVIX value for the closest year in which data are available. While this solution is not perfect, it has the advantage of retaining observations that would otherwise have been dropped, and it has become convention in quantitative analyses of mandatory integration requirements (see Goodman and Wright 2015). Lastly, there is no easy answer regarding the question whether certain factors such as immigrants' level of education should be considered as outcomes or determinants. These decisions will have to be pondered and justified in the context of each individual analysis. With these methodological conventions and limitations in mind, I now turn my attention to the substantive findings of the literatures on the causes and effects of integration policies, particularly mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants.

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[16] For example, one problem with MIPEX is that its variables capturing the intensity of language and civic education requirements for immigrants give equal weight to course fees and sanctions for noncompliance. Therefore, a country with voluntary integration courses that cost money to attend can receive the same score as a country with mandatory integration courses that are free of charge. Issues like this lead MIPEX to assign a number of values that many country experts disagree with (Goodman 2012b, 176). For example, looking back at Table 2, it seems problematic that in 2014, Spain's MIPEX-IRS score is almost as high as those of Denmark and Germany.

2.2   DETERMINANTS OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY

What explains cross-national and temporal variation in immigrant integration policies? Numerous studies have attempted to answer this question; interestingly, their focus and methodological approach has somewhat changed over time. Early scholarship aimed to explain variation in policy regimes[17] (i.e. why certain countries became multiculturalist, assimilationist, etc.), and they used comparative historical methods to do so (see Goodman 2015, 2). For example, Brubaker (1992) examines differences in how France and Germany approach the issue of naturalization. According to Brubaker, France's assimilationist and expansive regime poses a stark contrast to Germany's exclusionary and ethnicity-centric policy model; the former defines citizenship in terms of territory whereas the latter defines it in terms of ancestry. This difference, Brubaker argues, stems from deep-rooted notions of national identity and self-understanding that can be traced back to events in the late 18th century (the French Revolution and the Prussian

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[17] A combination of individual integration policies is often referred to as an "integration policy regime" or "integration policy model" (Ersanilli 2012). While a seemingly endless number of such combinations is possible, it is conceptually useful to categorize them into ideal types. Several typologies of integration policy models have been proposed (e.g. Brubaker 1992; Castles 1995; Koopmans et al. 2005), with the most enduring distinction being the one between multiculturalist and assimilationist regimes (Bloemraad et al. 2008; Rodriguez-Garcia 2010). Multiculturalism, as previously stated, refers to a combination of policies which "grant immigrants easy access to equal rights and do not provide strong incentives for host-country language acquisition and interethnic contacts", based on the belief that immigrants will integrate better the more they can retain and develop their own cultural identities and practices (Koopmans 2010, 1; see also Koopmans 2013). Assimilationism describes a policy model which emphasizes responsibilities over rights based on the idea that integration can best be achieved through the full adoption of the rules and values of the dominant society (Rodriguez-Garcia 2010).

Partition, respectively). Castles (1995) examines the origins of exclusionary (Germany), assimilationist (France), and pluralist (the Netherlands) policy models. Similar to Brubaker, Castles argues that these models are linked to different historical patterns of nation-state formation.

Beginning in the mid-2000s, the focus of this scholarship became narrower; instead of explaining policy regimes, the focus was now on individual integration policies or groups of policies. In addition, comparative historical methods were largely replaced by qualitative case studies and quantitative approaches, which was made possible by the increasing availability of comparative data on integration policies. An overview of these studies is provided in Table 4. The table includes studies which (a) explicitly use immigrant integration policy as their outcome variable, (b) were published after the year 2000, and (c) are cross-national (i.e. examine at least two different countries). This selection process leads to a total of twelve studies, though I do not claim that these constitute an exhaustive list of all available scholarship on the subject. For each of these twelve studies, Table 4 shows (1) the name(s) of the author(s) and the year in which it was published, (2) the specific type of integration policy that was used as the outcome measure, (3) the methodology (quantitative approaches or case studies), (4) the sample/cases that were examined, (5) the index that was used to measure integration policy (for quantitative studies only), and (6) the main finding(s).

As Table 4 illustrates, recent scholarship has mostly focused on five explanations for variation in immigrant integration policies: partisanship/ideology, public opinion, issue salience, Europeanization, and policy legacies/path dependency. As for the former, right-leaning parties are more likely to adopt integration measures such as mandatory language classes and tests but less likely to adopt policies related to antidiscrimination and the like. Immigrant integration

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appears to be an issue of genuine ideological concern (Akkerman 2012; Bale 2008). Center-right and center-left parties largely agree that successful integration is an important goal, yet they seem to disagree on how to best achieve this goal: right-leaning parties prefer integration policies that bestow obligations and responsibilities (such as integration courses and tests) upon immigrants, while left-leaning parties emphasize opportunities and rights (such as antidiscrimination measures) as the main channel toward successful integration.

As for public opinion, research suggests that negative attitudes toward immigration and immigrants can prompt governments to adopt certain integration policies such as mandatory language classes and tests but also prevent the adoption of certain policies such as antidiscrimination measures (Facchini and Mayda 2010; Howard 2010). In addition, an increasing salience of immigration and immigrant integration has been shown to have a positive effect on the adoption of various kinds of integration policy, particularly on the adoption of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. Increasing salience, in turn, is associated with various events and developments, such as integration deficits (high welfare dependency among immigrants, immigrant crime, residential segregation, etc.), rising numbers of immigrants and asylum seekers, and acts of terrorism committed by immigrants (Green 2007; Joppke 2007b).

Table 4. Recent Literature on the Determinants of Integration Policy

Study	Type of Policy	Methodology	Sample/Cases	Measure(s)	Main Finding(s)
Akkerman (2012)	language and civic education requirements	quantitative	9 European countries, 1996-2010	Nationalist Immigration and Integration Policy Index (NIIP)	center-right parties more likely to adopt than center and center-left parties
Bale (2008)	mandatory language courses and tests	case studies	France, Germany, Netherlands, UK	---	right-leaning parties are more likely to adopt
Facchini and Mayda (2010)	unspecified (any kind of policy aimed at integrating immigrants)	quantitative	UN member states; 1976-2013	UN World Population Policies Database	public opinion and interest groups drive policy adoption
Givens and Luedtke (2005)	access to citizenship, antidiscrimination measures	quantitative	3 EU member states, 1990-2002	original dataset on integration laws	issue salience and party ideology drive policy adoption
Goodman (2014)	language and civic education requirements	case studies	Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Netherlands, UK	---	existing policies and party ideology drive policy adoption
Green (2007)	language and civic integration requirements	case studies	Germany, UK	---	issue salience and Europeanization drive policy adoption
Hix and Noury (2007)	antidiscrimination measures	quantitative	15 EU member states, 1999-2004	voting patterns in European Parliament	partisanship of EU legislators and issue salience drive policy adoption

Table 4. Recent Literature on the Determinants of Integration Policy (Continued)

Study	Type of Policy	Methodology	Sample/Cases	Measure(s)	Main Finding(s)
Howard (2010)	access to citizenship	quantitative	11 EU member states, 1980-2008	Citizenship Policy Index (CPI)	left parties more likely to liberalize, but constrained by strong far-right parties and public opinion
Joppke (2007a)	antidiscrimination measures and civic education requirements	case studies	France, Germany, Netherlands	---	Europeanization drives policy adoption
Joppke (2007b)	antidiscrimination measures and civic education requirements	case studies	France, Germany, Netherlands	---	issue salience drives policy adoption
Koopmans et al. (2012)	immigrant rights, e.g. antidiscrimination and cultural rights	quantitative	10 European states, 1980-2008	Indicators of Citizenship Rights for Immigrants (ICRI)	size of immigrant electorate has positive effect on policy adoption, mobilization by right-wing parties has negative effect
Koopmans and Michalowski (2017)	immigrant rights, e.g. antidiscrimination and cultural rights	quantitative	29 states, 1980-2008 (ICRI); 35 states, 2007-2014 (MIPEX)	ICRI; Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)	colonial powers, settler countries, and democracies are more likely to adopt

Moreover, supranational actors and processes appear to have been driving the adoption of certain integration measures, particularly antidiscrimination measures as well as mandatory language and civic education requirements (Green 2007; Joppke 2007a). Over the past 15 years, a common European framework on immigrant integration has been developed "through soft law tools, aiming to create a common understanding of the concept and promoting the coordination, funding, and exchange of best practices among states, local administrations, and nongovernmental actors" (Arribas Lozano et al. 2014, 556; see also Section 1.2 in this dissertation). Lastly, past policies can create a "situation of path dependence that limits the available choices for policymakers to make future policy decisions. Such policy lock in is often a result of 'policy legacies' that actively generate institutional routines and procedures that force decision-making in particular directions by eliminating or distorting the range of policy options available" (Nair and Howlett 2016, 911; see also Goodman 2014).

From a methodological standpoint, the existing literature on the determinants of integration policy leaves much to be desired. In addition to the broader issues in integration research outlined in the previous section, the studies mentioned above suffer from a number of additional shortcomings. For example, several of the studies utilizing case study methods select their cases on the dependent variable (Bale 2008; Green 2007; Joppke 2007a; 2007b), meaning they only analyze countries which have adopted a particular integration policy without also examining non-adopters. This (unfortunately quite common) practice in comparative research can lead to biased results (Geddes 1990; 2003). For example, consider the study by Green (2007), in which the author argues that the adoption of stricter language and civic education requirements in Germany and Great Britain was in large part driven by an increasing salience of immigrant integration due to the influx of asylum seekers and rising numbers of terrorist attacks

committed by immigrants in these two countries. However, by only looking at policy adopters, it is impossible to say to what extent asylum seekers and immigrant terrorism were also present in countries which did not adopt stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants. Therefore, the author cannot say with confidence that it was issue salience which led to the adoption of these policies.

Another methodological issue is that the number of observations is alarmingly small for some of the quantitative analyses mentioned above; it is 33 for Givens and Luedtke (2005), 30 for Koopmans et al. (2012), and 20 for Howard (2010). With that few observations, it is virtually impossible to draw robust inferences. In addition, the measure of integration policy used by Facchini and Mayda (2010) is problematic. While the UN World Population Policies Database is advantageous in terms of its data coverage (all UN member states between 1976 and 2013), it codes integration policy on a binary scale where 1 indicates the presence of any policies or programs aimed at integrating non-nationals, and 0 represents the absence of such policies or programs. This is troublesome in the sense that the umbrella term "integration policy" includes a diverse range of measures (such as antidiscrimination measures and mandatory language requirements) that do not necessarily share the same determinants. Moreover, the studies arguing that supranational factors/Europeanization has been responsible for the adoption of certain integration policies (Green 2007; Joppke 2007a) have failed to identify the exact mechanisms through which the EU might have had an effect on policy adoption in its member states. All EU member states are subject to the CBPs and the EIF, so we are left wondering why these supranational instruments would affect the adoption of stricter language and civic education requirements in some of them but not in others.

Lastly, the existing literature has paid insufficient attention to potential relationships between the various determinants of integration policy as well as the possibility of reverse causality. For example, previous studies have argued that both integration deficits (as a form of salience) and public opinion affect policy adoption; however, the potential effect of integration deficits on public opinion remains largely unexplored in this context. It seems plausible that public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration are more favorable in countries where immigrants are well-integrated than they are in a society where this is not the case. Similarly, while it is intuitively convincing that public opinion influences the adoption of certain integration policies, it seems equally plausible that the policies themselves affect public opinion (see Chapter 5). Failing to address these issues of multicollinearity and simultaneity can potentially bias the results of previous analyses. In Chapter 3, I aim to create a research design that mitigates some of these issues and thereby allows for more robust inferences about the determinants of mandatory integration requirements for immigrants.

2.3   EFFECTS OF POLICY ON INTEGRATION OUTCOMES

Only recently have scholars begun to systematically examine the effects of different integration policies on immigrant integration in Europe. As Goodman and Wright (2015, 1888) point out, since mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants are a relatively new phenomenon, there are only few studies that empirically examine their effects on integration outcomes (see also Boecker and Strik 2011, 173). I was able to locate seven original, English-language studies on the subject. For each of these seven studies, Table 5 shows (1) the name(s) of the author(s) and the year in which it was published, (2) the methodology, (3) the

sample/cases that were examined, (4) the integration outcomes that were examined (economic, political, social, and/or cultural), (5) the specific metrics used to measure said outcomes, and (6) the main finding(s). I do not claim that these seven studies constitute an exhaustive list of all available scholarship on the subject, but they do provide at the very least a representative snapshot of available research in this research area.

Based on qualitative interviews with 127 immigrants as well as 87 public officials/staff involved with integration policy in eight EU member states (Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Latvia, and the Netherlands), Boecker and Strik (2011) conclude that language and knowledge-of-society requirements are largely ineffective at helping immigrants acquire the host country's language and improving their access to the labor market. Even worse, standardized tests to control access to permanent residence appear to be counterproductive to some of the integration aims stated by the EU. Specifically, several immigrants reported feeling alienated by these tests, which in turn reduced their level of identification with the host country. Similarly, in a qualitative examination of the citizenship tests applied in Germany, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, van Oers (2013, 269-274) finds that such tests hinder integration and create exclusion by alienating the immigrant community, especially those immigrants that had already integrated well before taking the test.

Table 5. Literature on the Effects of Mandatory Integration Requirements

Study	Methodology	Sample/Cases	Integration Outcome(s)	Outcome Measure(s)	Main Finding(s)
Boecker and Strik (2011)	Qualitative interviews	214 interviews in 8 EU member states	Social; economic	Language proficiency; identification with host country; employment status	Requirements hindered integration in several countries (e.g. Denmark, UK)
Ersanilli and Koopmans (2010)	Quantitative analysis (standard OLS) of original survey data	1,000 Turkish immigrants in 3 EU member states	Social; cultural	Identification with host country; host country language proficiency; host country language use; social contacts	Requirements have a positive effect
Ersanilli and Koopmans (2011)	Quantitative analysis (standard OLS) of original survey data	1,000 Turkish immigrants in 3 EU member states	Social; cultural	Identification with origin country; origin country language proficiency; Muslim identification; religious observance	Requirements have no effect on social and cultural outcomes
Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (2011)	Quantitative analysis (experimental design) of original survey data	9,000 immigrants in Germany, 2007-2011	Social; economic	Host country language proficiency; social contacts; identification with host country; employment status	Requirements have a positive effect
Goodman and Wright (2015)	Quantitative analysis (standard logit and OLS) of ESS data	4,482 immigrants in 15 EU member states, 2002-2012	Political; economic; social	Political interest; political efficacy; employment status; financial well-being; social trust; perceived discrimination	Requirements have a positive effect on political integration, no effect on others
Koopmans (2010)	Correlation analysis of country-level data	8 European countries	Economic; social	Employment status; residential segregation; crime levels	Requirements have a positive effect
Van Oers (2013)	Qualitative interviews	213 interviews in 3 EU member states	Social	Language proficiency; identification with host country	Requirements hindered integration

Other studies arrive at more optimistic conclusion regarding the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements of immigrants. Examining original survey data on Turkish immigrants in France, Germany, and the Netherlands, Ersanilli and Koopmans (2011) find that mandatory integration requirements have no significant effect on immigrants' level of social and cultural integration, measured as ethnic and religious retention (identification with origin country, etc.). However, using the same survey data, Ersanilli and Koopmans (2010) find that when successful integration is measured as increased identification with the host society rather than decreased identification with the origin country, these requirements do have a significant and positive effect on immigrants' level of social and cultural integration. Koopmans (2010) compares the labor market participation, spatial segregation from the host population, and incarceration rates of immigrants across eight Western European countries. He finds that countries which have combined multicultural policies with a relatively strong welfare state (Sweden, Belgium, and the Netherlands) exhibit relatively poor integration outcomes. Conversely, states with stricter integration policies (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France) or a comparatively weak welfare state (the UK) have achieved better integration results.

Goodman and Wright's (2015) impressive analysis of 15 EU member states suggests that mandatory integration requirements are positively associated with political integration (that is, political interest and efficacy) but have no significant impact on economic (employment and subjective financial well-being) and social (general trust and perceived discrimination) integration. In addition, Goodman and Wright argue that robust language and civic education requirements serve an important gate-keeping role by discouraging migrants unwilling to integrate from entering the country in the first place. In other words, the authors claim that rather than changing the attitudes and behavior of the immigrants that actually participate, mandatory

integration requirements lead to improved integration outcomes by keeping out immigrants who would likely not have integrated well. Lastly, in the largest examination of language and civic education requirements to date, the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (2011) analyzed the effects of these requirements on various integration outcomes using a sample of 9,000 immigrants in Germany. The study shows that mandatory language and civic education requirement led to improved outcomes on several integration measures, including host country language proficiency, identification with the host country, social contacts among host society members, and labor market participation.

This brief review of the recent literature on the relationship between integration policy and immigrants' attitudes and behavior illustrates two important points. First, scholars are far from a consensus regarding the direction and strength of this relationship. Some studies find a positive effect of restrictive policies on immigrant integration, others a negative effect, and yet others no effect at all. Among those studies that do find a positive effect, some find a stronger effect than others, and yet others suggest that the positive effect of mandatory integration requirements is restricted to certain dimensions of integration. These divergent findings are likely due to differences outcome measures, sample selection, and/or methodology. This goes back to the lack of a standard model in integration research which I elaborated on in Section 2.1; there are simply no agreed upon measures of successful integration that are consistently used across studies. This is particularly true for the social dimension of integration, which has been measured in a variety of ways, including host country language proficiency, identification with the host country, contact with members of the host society, and social trust.

Second, while generally insightful, from a methodological perspective the existing literature leaves much to be desired. Issues include small sample sizes, the absence of important

control variables, poor operationalization and measurement of key concepts, and little variation, both temporally and cross-nationally, on the explanatory variable. For example, Koopman's (2010) conclusions are based on correlation analyses involving a relatively short timeframe and number of countries; there is no regression design that would allow him to control for other observables, much less unobervables. In addition, mandatory integration requirements are conceived as binary (present vs. absent), which means that a significant amount of information about policy differences between countries is lost. Similarly, the studies by Ersanilli and Koopmans (2010; 2011) involve a small number of countries as well as a binary measure of integration requirements. In addition, they are based on a one-shot survey, i.e. the data are purely cross-sectional, which further hampers their potential for causal inference.

The study by Goodman and Wright (2015) represents an improvement over previous research on the subject, as the authors utilize the European Social Survey (ESS), a representative survey which includes information on several thousand immigrants. This allows the authors to match country's integration requirements with integration outcomes over time while controlling for a number of observables. That being said, Goodman and Wright's analysis exhibits some serious limitations. Rather than use the full range of CIVIX, the authors collapse this scale into a binary variable, which leads to a significant loss of information. Even worse, the set of control variables is quite small, and the analytical approach employed by the authors does not in any way control for unobservables. For example, the composition of the sample countries' immigrant populations (in terms of their religion and region of origin) as well as the potential presence of variable trends in the data are completely unaccounted for. The methodologically most sophisticated study on the subject is that by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (2011) in Germany, as it involves the analysis of immigrants who have participated in mandatory

integration requirements (treatment group) as well as those who have not (control group) over time. However, it is unclear to what extent the results of this study apply to other European countries, as they may be unique to Germany due to the composition of its immigrant community and other factors. As Sections 4.1 and 4.2 will show, the data and analytical approach utilized in this dissertation possess a number of properties that allow me to obtain estimates of the effect of integration requirements on various measures of integration that are more generalizable and lend themselves more to a causal interpretation than those of previous studies

2.4   OTHER EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION POLICY

While mandatory language and civic education requirements are targeted at specific groups of immigrants, it seems a bit naïve to assume that they are entirely inconsequential for the rest of society. In fact, there is a long line of research arguing that policies and programs often have effects on individuals and groups who are not their intended targets; these are generally referred to as "unintended", "indirect", or "spillover" effects. For example, analyzing the impact of civic education programs in Kenya, Finkel and Smith (2011) find that the individuals who participated in these programs often became opinion leaders, communicating their new orientations to others within their social networks and thereby spreading democratic knowledge, norms, and values throughout their communities. Therefore, if we were to only look at the individuals who participated in civic education programs, we would fail to fully appreciate their effects. Similarly, Miguel and Kremer (2004) show that studies in which medical treatment is randomized at the individual level may substantially underestimate the effect of the treatment by missing externality benefits to the comparison group from reduced disease transmission. One last

example elaborated on here is a recent study by Angelucci and De Giorgi (2009), which finds that cash transfers not only increase the consumption of eligible households but also that of ineligible households because the latter benefit from the transfers by receiving more gifts and loans and by reducing their savings. Therefore, cash transfers benefit the economy at large, and looking only at the effect on the eligible households underestimates their overall impact.

In the specific context of immigrant integration policy, empirical examinations of potential spillover effects are virtually nonexistent. I was able to locate only two studies which analyze the impact of integration policies on outcomes other than immigrant integration. The specific outcome these two studies explore is public opinion. Schlueter et al. (2013) analyze the effect of immigrant integration policy on public attitudes toward immigrants using a sample of 27 Western and Eastern European countries. Their results suggest that more laissez-faire integration policies are associated with decreased perceptions of group threat from immigrants. Similarly, in their analysis of 20 European countries, Hooghe and de Vroome (2015a) find that multiculturalist policies reduce anti-immigrant prejudice.

While they deserve praise for pioneering this important research area, both studies suffer from serious methodological limitations that cast doubt on their ability to draw sound inferences. Two such limitations stand out in particular. First, the data utilized in both studies are purely cross-sectional, meaning there is no within-country variation over time. Compared to longitudinal data, which offer multiple ways to overcome endogeneity biases (such as panel fixed effects which control for stable unobservables), cross-sectional data exhibit a strong likelihood that some or all of the independent variables are endogenous in that they are correlated with the error term. This, in turn, violates the OLS assumption of exogeneity of the independent variables, and thus casts serious doubts on the validity of their inferences. Second,

both studies measure their key independent variable – integration policy – via countries' overall MIPEX score (see Section 2.1). This score is obtained by combining indices for 167 individual integration policies, which makes it impossible to discern which particular policy has what kind of effect on public attitudes toward immigrants. In Chapter 5, I aim to create a research design that mitigates these issues and thereby allows for more robust inferences about the relationship between mandatory integration requirements and public attitudes toward immigrants.

2.4.1 Determinants of Attitudes toward Immigrants

Since scholars have largely ignored immigrant integration policy as a potential determinant of attitudes toward immigrants, the question becomes: how do existing studies explain variation in public opinion on this issue? Explanations of public attitudes toward immigration and immigrants can be categorized into three broad groups: (a) characteristics of the individual host society member; (b) characteristics of the immigrant (population); and (c) characteristics of the host society at large.[18] Studies within the first category have shown that several demographic, socioeconomic, and psychological factors affect an individual's attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. For example, several studies suggest that males and older individuals are generally less accepting of immigrants and immigration (Bohman 2011; Byrne 2011). Education and income have been shown to be strongly and positively correlated with attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Creighton and Jamal 2015; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010). Contact and personal relationships with immigrants also lead to more positive attitudes (McLaren 2003; Ellison et al. 2011). Partisanship and ideology are also important predictors in

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[18] For an excellent overview of this literature, see Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014).

this context, with conservatives being more negative toward immigrants and immigration than their liberal counterparts (Knoll et al. 2011; Merolla et al. 2013). Lastly, research in the social psychology tradition identifies certain psychological and emotional traits as predictors of negative attitudes toward immigration and immigrants, such as anxiety (Brader et al. 2008; Gadarian and Albertson 2014) and lack of general trust (Hooghe and de Vroome 2015b).

Research within the second category suggests that host society members are more likely to support or oppose certain groups of immigrants depending on their origin, level of skill, and size. In a seminal study of U.S. public opinion on immigration, Hainmueller and Hopkins find that "Americans view educated immigrants in high-status jobs favorably, whereas they view those who lack plans to work, entered without authorization, are Iraqi, or do not speak English unfavorably" (2015, 529). Several other studies support the notion that public opinion toward immigration is least favorable when the immigrants in question are low-skill (Hainmueller et al. 2015) and do not speak the host society's language (Chandler and Tsai 2001). In addition, it has been suggested that the size of the immigrant population relative to the native-born population negatively affects public attitudes toward immigration and immigrants (Hainmueller and Hangartner 2013), particularly in communities without significant prior exposure to immigrants (Newman 2013). Research within the third category suggests that certain characteristics of the host society at large influence public perceptions of immigration and immigrants. For example, it has been shown that nativism and hostility toward immigrants increase during economic downturns/recessions (Alvarez and Butterfield 2000; Kehrberg 2007; Wilkes et al. 2008). In addition, national identity and norms emphasizing the importance of cultural homogeneity, such as in Japan in South Korea, are associated with negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Burgess 2014; Castles et al. 2014, 156-157; Hockstader 2010).

2.5   CENTRAL ARGUMENT

As Section 2.2 has illustrated, migration scholars have explained variation in integration policies in various ways. One common thread that runs through these studies – and research on policy origins in general – is the distinction between technocratic explanations of policymaking and approaches that view policy as the results of the preferences of key stakeholders (Fischer 2003). Technocratic explanations conceive policy primarily as the result of complex processes, the goal of which is to find the optimal solution to a particular problem. In this view, policymakers are mostly neutral agents who assess a particular problem and rely on objective conditions, evidence, and observations to find the best possible policy to address the problem at hand (e.g. de Vries 1994; Erlandson 2017; Kawar 2014). According to this perspective, deviations from optimal policy are not primarily due to the self-interest of policymakers or the interference of outside actors, but rather the result of difficulties that are inherent to the process of policymaking such as imperfect or incomplete information.[19]

A second approach to policymaking argues that policy is the result of key stakeholders translating their preferences into public policy. Two stakeholders have received particular attention in this context: special interest groups and voters/the public. As for the former, special interest groups can influence the political process in various ways, for example by providing issue expertise to elected officials, financing electoral campaigns, or mobilizing their constituent base (De Figueiredo and Richter 2014). Various studies have shown that special interest groups use their considerable resources to lobby elected officials and translate their private agenda into

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[19] A synonym for the term "technocratic" in this context would be "rational", though I avoid using the latter because it invokes associations with formal theory, which will not be used throughout this dissertation.

public policy, including policy areas such as trade (Gawande et al. 2012), immigration (Facchini et al. 2011), economic sanctions (McLean and Whang 2014), and even nuclear proliferation (Kirk 2008). As for the latter, a large body of research argues that voters evaluate the policies put in place by their elected officials and base their electoral decisions in part on these evaluations. For example, it has long been argued that individuals have rather strong preferences regarding trade policy and vote accordingly (Hainmueller and Hiscox 2006; Mansfield and Mutz 2009; Scheve and Slaughter 2001). And since parties and politicians are at least in part motivated by office-seeking rationales (i.e. interested in maximizing their vote share), they are somewhat responsive to the public's preferences, at least in democracies (Kono 2008).

As Figure 1 illustrated, I draw on both technocratic and stakeholder approaches to explain variation in immigrant integration policies. In other words, I argue that in designing their country's integration requirements, policymakers take objective conditions as well as the preferences of key stakeholders into account. I focus particularly on one such condition and one stakeholder: immigrants' prior level of integration and voters/the public. As for the former, it seems reasonable to expect that prior levels of integration affect subsequent policy adoption. Governments in countries with large integration deficits (i.e. low levels of immigrant integration) have a stronger incentive to adopt alternative policy approaches to integrating immigrants, especially mandatory language and civic education requirements, since these have been promoted by the EU as avenues toward successful immigrant integration since 2004. Integration deficits are objective conditions in the sense that they are quantifiable and can be measured. In fact, since 2004, the EU has expended great effort to collect data on integration outcomes in all of its member states, and to disseminate these data among European governments (Eurostat 2017a).

As for the stakeholder perspective, it seems quite plausible that in designing immigrant integration policy, governments take the preferences of their constituents into account. Stricter integration requirements are a way for governments to mitigate public concerns about immigration without having to take on the more difficult task of controlling migration flows.[20] Therefore, in countries where the public is wary of immigration, policymakers who wish to get reelected will strongly consider the adoption of stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants. In fact, mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants have proliferated throughout Europe over the past two decades (see Section 1.2) while during the same period public attitudes toward immigrants have become somewhat more negative (Castles et al. 2014, 1-24), so there may very well be a causal relationship between the two.

In addition, I posit that the relationship between integration deficits and public opinion on the one hand and immigrant integration requirements on the other is not a causal one-way street. More specifically, I argue that mandatory language and civic education requirements positively affect integration outcomes as well as public attitudes toward immigrants. As for the effect of integration requirements on integration outcomes, mandatory language and civic education requirements can improve immigrant integration in various ways. For example, by helping

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[20] Migration scholars generally agree that relative to integration policies, immigration policies are difficult to change as a response to negative public opinion. Despite tough rhetoric on immigration by some elected officials and political parties, many developed countries rely on immigrant labor and therefore lack the will to enact stricter immigration policies. Companies in economic sectors that employ a disproportionately large number of immigrants expend great efforts to lobby their governments for liberal immigration laws. In addition, countries are restricted by international treaties such as the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as well as the fact that human smuggling and irregular migration are particularly difficult to control (Castles et al. 2014, 215-239).

immigrants acquire the host country's language, mandatory integration requirements enable immigrants to find better jobs and connect with members of the host society. Similarly, civic education courses are designed to improve social and political integration by familiarizing immigrants with the local political system, laws, and culture. I also argue that mandatory integration requirements positively affect public attitudes toward immigrants. They do so directly and indirectly. The direct effect operates through two mechanisms: first, immigrants are perceived as less of a threat when they are required to learn about the local language and culture; second, these requirements are a way to mitigate concerns about fairness and deservingness. In addition, by improving immigrant integration, mandatory integration requirements indirectly lead to more positive attitudes toward immigrants, since it is reasonable to assume that publics are more accepting of immigrant communities who are well-integrated.

This argument is developed in greater detail and tested over the course of three empirical chapters. The first of these chapters, Chapter 3, examines the effects of integration deficits and public opinion (as well as other covariates) on mandatory integration requirements while controlling for the reciprocal nature of these relationships via an instrumental variable approach. The second empirical chapter, Chapter 4, evaluates the impact of language and civic education requirements for immigrants on various integration outcomes, employing a research design that mitigates concerns about stable unobservables and trending in the variables. In the final empirical chapter, Chapter 5, I analyze the direct and indirect effects of mandatory integration requirements on public attitudes toward immigrants, again using a research design that controls for a range of confounding factors. As a result, I am able to obtain estimates of both the causes and the effect of mandatory integration requirements that are more generalizable and lend themselves more to a causal interpretation than those of previous research on the subject.

3.0   ANALYSIS OF POLICY ORIGINS

The goal of this chapter is to examine the determinants of one particular integration policy, that is, mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. I formulate nine hypotheses about the determinants of these requirements and test them against a sample of 25 EU member states between 2005 and 2014. By doing so, this chapter makes two important contributions, one theoretical and one empirical. As for the former, it draws on previous studies on the determinants of immigrant integration policies as well as long-standing literatures on policy origins, policy diffusion, and socialization to detail the conditions under which countries are more or less likely to adopt stricter integration requirements for immigrants, and translates these conditions into testable hypotheses. As for the latter, it adds to our understanding of why and when different countries adopt certain integration policies. These insights might not be limited to immigrant integration policy but can possibly extend to other policy areas as well, and therefore be of interests to a wide range of scholars.

The remainder of this chapter proceeds in several steps. First, based on the findings of previous research on the determinants of immigrant integration policy (see Section 2.2), I develop nine testable hypotheses about the causes of variation in mandatory integration requirements. Next, I lay out the data and analytical approach I use to test these hypotheses. Section 3.3 describes the results, which can be summarized in four points. First, which predictors are found to be significant is fairly dependent on model specification. Second, language and civic

education requirements for immigrants are highly path-dependent, meaning that a country's current integration policy is in large part a function of its previous policy. Third, countries appear to take policy cues from those which are most successful at integrating their immigrant communities. Fourth, unemployment among immigrants is negatively associated with the intensity of a country's integration requirements, but this relationship appears to be driven by reverse causality: it is policy that affects levels of integration, not the other way around. A concluding section then discusses the implications of these findings, connects them with the broader literature, and describes potential avenues for future research on the subject.

3.1 FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

In Section 2.2, I have outlined the causes of variation in immigrant integration policies identified by previous studies, as well as issues with these studies. Building on these insights, this section develops a theoretical framework which outlines the factors that potentially affect a country's propensity to adopt (stricter) language and civic education requirements for immigrants and, for some of these factors, identifies possible mechanisms through which they do so. First, a long line of research has been arguing that governmental decision-making is largely a function of political ideology (e.g. Jackson and Kingdon 1992; Poole and Rosenthal 2001). In other words, legislators make decisions based on their political beliefs, convictions, and values. In the context of immigrant integration policy, I expect conservative governments to be more likely to adopt mandatory integration requirements for immigrants than their left-leaning counterparts due to tradition, order, and personal responsibility being central tenants of conservatism. In addition, previous research suggests that widespread public concern about immigration and immigrant

integration can lead to the adoption of stricter language and civic education requirements, as governments can use these measures to mitigate such concerns and appease the public. This goes back to the stakeholder perspective on policymaking elaborated on in Section 2.5. Moreover, it has been suggested that past adoptions of mandatory integration requirements make future adoptions of such policies more likely due to "policy legacies", meaning that strict integration requirements beget stricter requirements.[21] These policy legacies work through institutional routines, national identity considerations, etc. and force decision-making in particular directions by eliminating or distorting the range of policy options available (Nair and Howlett 2016). From these insights, three testable hypotheses can be derived:

H1 (party ideology): The more conservative a government, the more likely it is to adopt stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants.

H2 (public opinion): The more negative a country's public opinion toward immigrants, the more likely it is to adopt stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants.

H3 (policy legacies): Countries with preexisting integration requirements are more likely to adopt stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants.

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[21] It seems equally plausible that rather than increase the likelihood of future policy adoptions, past adoptions decrease it due to ceiling effects. Mandatory integration requirements can only become so strict before no further reforms are possible. Therefore, while I hypothesize that existing integration requirements have a positive effect on the adoption of stricter policies, I am ultimately agnostic about the direction of this relationship.

According to technocratic theories, policy is primarily the result of complex processes, the goal of which is to find the optimal solution to a particular problem. In this view, policymakers are mostly neutral agents who assess a particular problem and rely on objective conditions, evidence, and observations to find the best possible policy to address the problem at hand (see Section 2.5). I argue that in the context of immigrant integration, one of the most important objective conditions is immigrants' prior level of integration. Governments in countries with large integration deficits (i.e. low levels of immigrant integration) have a stronger incentive to adopt alternative policy approaches to integrating immigrants, especially mandatory language and civic education requirements, since these have been promoted by the EU as avenues toward successful immigrant integration since 2004. Another objective immigration condition that policymakers potentially take into consideration is the size of the immigrant population, since a small number of immigrants is relatively inconsequential for a host society regardless of their level of integration. Conversely, in a country with a sizeable immigrant community, immigrant integration is more likely to be a salient issue, that is, to occupy a prominent position in the country's political discourse.

> *H4 (prior integration): The less integrated a country's immigrant population, the more likely it is to adopt stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants.*

> *H5 (immigrant population): The greater the size of a country's immigrant population, the more likely it is to adopt stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants.*

In the specific context of the European Union, a prominent theoretical approach to explaining policymaking has been neo-functionalism. According to neo-functionalism, supranational actors and processes influence the adoption of certain national policies in EU member states. Neo-functionalist theory comes in different variants, one of them being (elite) socialization theory (e.g. Haas 1958; Stone Sweet and Brunell 2004). Socialization refers to "the processes by which the newcomer – the infant, rookie, or trainee, for example – becomes incorporated into organized patterns of interaction" (Stryker and Statham 1985, 325). In other words, socialization consists of patterns of interaction through which a new member of a group – in this case, a country which has joined the European Union – internalizes the norms and values of the group and acts accordingly. Over time, by regularly being involved in the supranational policy process, national policymakers will tend to develop a "European identity" and shift their loyalty to the European Union.

Differently put, once a country has joined the European Union, it experiences more frequent and intense interactions with existing members, thus promoting a greater sense of "we-ness" (Checkel 2005). New members are increasingly exposed to the principles and values espoused by the EU, and the forums provided by this organization provide an opportunity for new members to be persuaded by the old ones. The outcome of these processes is a state in which new members have truly internalized the principles and values of the Union, and they act in accordance with them because they perceive it as "the right thing to do" (Johnston 2001; Checkel 2005). In other words, countries which have been fully socialized into the EU adopt its policy recommendations because they genuinely believe in the European project and its goals, not because of selfish or opportunistic reasons. From this common conception of socialization, it follows that EU member states which have interacted more frequently with other members

should be more fully socialized, and therefore be more likely to adopt policy recommendations such as the CBPs.

> *H6 (socialization): The longer a country has been a member of the European Union, the more likely it is to adopt mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants.*

In addition to socialization, a second mechanism through which the European Union can potentially influence policy adoption in its member states is learning. Learning-related arguments have been quite popular in the literature on policy diffusion, particularly economic policies (e.g. Simmons and Elkins 2004; Quinn and Toyoda 2007). According to one line of argument within this literature, governments are unsure about the outcomes of a particular policy and seek available information in a rational fashion to maximize the chances of their own policy success. One way of obtaining such information is to look at the countries deemed most successful in a particular policy area. In the context of immigrant integration, this means that governments will take policy cues from the countries with the most well-integrated immigrant communities.

Such learning-based arguments are intuitively convincing in the context of immigrant integration policy in Europe, since there is still a great deal of uncertainty regarding the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements and since the EIF was specifically designed facilitate the exchange of information and "best practices". In addition, the European Ministerial Conference in Zaragoza adopted the *Declaration of the European Ministerial Conference on Integration* in 2010. This declaration further facilitated information sharing among EU members by standardizing and centralizing the collection of data on immigrant

integration across the EU. The EU now collects data on integration policies and integration outcomes in all of its members; these data are housed at and maintained by Eurostat, the statistical arm of the Commission (Eurostat 2017a). Given these extensive efforts to share information, it seems reasonable to expect that Europe's national governments know a great deal about integration policies and outcomes in other EU member states.

H7 (learning): Countries are likely to be influenced by the integration policies of those countries deemed most successful in this policy area.

An additional determinant of policy adoption identified by previous research is administrative capacity (e.g. Feiock and West 1993; Meckling and Nahm 2018; Van Wolleghem 2017). The implementation of certain policies, such as climate policy, military policy, and welfare policy, requires substantial resources (money, labor, expertise, etc.). Governments that lack these resources may be unable to adopt such policies, regardless of their political will. Like the aforementioned types of policy, mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants consume considerable government resources. Consider the case of Germany, where these requirements are currently executed by more than 8,500 private organizations (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2016). Every single one of these organizations has to be certified by, report to, and is regularly monitored by the federal government. Given the substantial effort that is required to execute these requirements, countries which lack the necessary administrative capacity might be deterred from adopting them, even though they might be inclined to adopt them for other reasons.

H8 (capacity): The greater a country's administrative capacity, the more likely it is to adopt mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants.

Lastly, it is no secret that many European countries have been struggling with low birth rates and ageing populations, which in some cases has led to labor shortages and put pressure on Europe's social security systems. Many scholars and policymakers have pointed to migration as a possible way to offset some of these negative trends (Collier 2013, 123-125). As a result, several European countries now have policies in place that aim at recruiting immigrants, effectively putting these countries in competition with each other (UNDESA 2013). Migrants have information, though incomplete, about countries' immigration policies, including their integration policies, and partly base their choice of destination on a comparison of these policies (Mayda 2010; Robinson and Segrott 2002; Schaeffer 2010). Many immigrants find mandatory language and civic education requirements to be arduous (Boecker and Strik 2011; Groenendijk 2011; Van Oers 2013), and when faced with the decision of which country to settle in will prefer a destination with more lenient integration policies over a country with stricter requirements. Therefore, EU member states which seek to recruit immigrants to offset negative demographic and economic trends have a strong incentive to refrain from implementing stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants.

H9 (competition): Countries are less likely to adopt mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants if they depend on migration to offset negative demographic trends.

3.2 DATA AND METHODS

In the previous section, I formulated nine hypotheses about the relationships between mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants and their determinants. I test these expectations against a sample of 15 EU member states between 2005 and 2014 as well as a sample of 25 EU members between 2007 and 2014. The outcome of interest is the intensity of a country's language and civic education requirements for immigrants, which is measured via CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS (see Section 2.1). As for the determinants, to code government ideology I rely on data provided by the Parliaments and Governments Database (ParlGov). ParlGov places parties on a continuous scale ranging from 0 to 10, with higher values indicating a more conservative ideology. My measure of government ideology takes the same value as the party that has been in government for the majority of a given year; in cases where there are coalition governments, I take the average of the coalition partners' ParlGov scores weighted by their respective number of seats in parliament.

Measuring public opinion in this context is challenging, as there are no cross-national public opinion data specifically on immigrant integration. As a proxy of a country's public attitudes toward immigrant integration, I use the Eurobarometer item "What do you think are the most important issues facing your country at the moment?". Higher percentages of respondents who answer the question with "migration" are taken to represent greater public concern about immigrant integration. Since the Eurobarometer surveys are conducted twice a year, I average the two to obtain a yearly value. To account for the possibility of policy legacies (or,

alternatively, ceiling effects), I include an independent variable that takes the starting value of the outcome variable for each country.[22]

To measure integration deficits, I use the national unemployment rate among the foreign-born population. Positive values indicate higher unemployment among immigrants and, therefore, greater integration deficits. Data on this variable are retrieved via Eurostat. (Un)employment is preferable to two other indicators of immigrant integration provided by Eurostat (2017) – education and citizenship acquisition – because there is no controversy among migration scholars whether it is really an indicator or rather an antecedent/determinant of integration. A fourth and final indicator of immigrant integration provided by Eurostat, the share of a country's foreign-born population who is at risk of poverty or social exclusion (AROPE), will be used in the robustness section as an alternative measure of integration deficits.

Finding comprehensive information on the size of Europe's immigrant populations is challenging. Multiple sources, including Eurostat and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), provide cross-national data on the number of foreign-born individuals, but the data coverage for each of these sources is limited. Therefore, to maximize data coverage, I combine the data series provided by Eurostat and the OECD. This combination is justified by the fact that the two data sources are highly consistent (they are correlated at .966). For country-years where only Eurostat or OECD data are available, the combined series reports the available values from any source. For country-years where both sources are available, I take the mean value of the two. I then multiply the resulting variable by 100 and divide it by the total population. Therefore, the size of a country's immigrant population is measured as the number of foreign-born individuals in percent of the overall population.

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[22] Note that this means the variable is time-invariant.

I have argued that there are two factors at the supranational level which can affect EU member states' integration policies: socialization and learning. To measure the former, I generate a variable which captures for how many years a particular country has been a member of the European Union. As for the latter, I have argued that countries might emulate the integration policies of countries which have been relatively successful at integrating their immigrant communities. I consider countries with an immigrant unemployment rate below the 25th percentile for a given year to be successful at integrating their immigrants (lower values indicate less unemployment, and therefore greater success). I then take the mean of these countries' integration policy scores for that year to measure the effect of learning processes on integration policy in the EU member states.[23]

To measure administrative capacity, I rely on the government effectiveness estimates provided by the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI). To code government effectiveness, the World Bank uses a combination of enterprise, citizen, and expert surveys; the resulting index ranges from -2.5 to 2.5, with higher values indicating greater government effectiveness.[24] Lastly, I have argued that EU member states now compete with each other over

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[23] This measure of learning is similar to the one Simmons and Elkins use in their study on the determinants of liberal financial policies: "Our first set of information indicators taps learning from apparent success (rational Bayesian updating). Many complex measures of success could be devised, but we opt for a highly visible and well-publicized bottom line: growth rates. Our measure is the proportion of liberal (or restrictive) policies of the top growth decile. The higher this proportion, the clearer the message that liberalization 'works'" (2004, 179).

[24] The World Bank evaluates government effectiveness on an annual basis, which means that this index is time-variant. In fact, government effectiveness can change quite markedly over time. For example, Spain had a score of 1.507 in 2005; within one year, this value dropped to .837. For a more detailed overview of the WGI methodology, see Kaufmann et al. (2010).

third-country nationals, which are needed to ameliorate negative demographic and economic trends. Countries in which these negative trends are particularly pronounced have a strong incentive to refrain from implementing strict integration requirements for immigrants. I follow a recommendation by Eurostat (2017b) and measure labor demand via changes in a country's employment rate between years (increased employment signals higher aggregate demand, and therefore greater need for immigrant labor). Data on this measure is provided by Eurostat.

I estimate the models with random country effects rather than fixed effects. There are two justifications for this, one substantive and one statistical. The statistical reason for random effects is that the Hausmann test failed to reject the null hypothesis of no systematic difference between random and fixed effects. As a result, random effects take precedence given their efficiency (Clark and Linzer 2015). The substantive reason is that immigrant integration requirements, as well as many of their drivers, rarely change. For example, national governments are not reconfigured on a yearly basis. As a result, there is very little within-country variation to draw from, especially given the shortness of the time series (Clark and Linzer 2015).[25] All models include year fixed effects. These are particularly important because they absorb any atypical year-to-year variation, i.e. they capture common shocks such as changes in EU leadership. Standard errors are heteroskedastic-robust and clustered by country. Lastly, all time-varying independent variables are lagged by one year.

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[25] In the robustness section, I also estimate the models as OLS regressions with a lagged dependent variable.

3.3   RESULTS

Table 6 shows the descriptive statistics for the sample. It illustrates that despite a general trend toward more robust language and civic education requirements for immigrants, the mean values for both CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS are still relatively low (3.27 and 29.56, respectively). The average government ideology score is 5.66 on a scale ranging from 0 (far-left) to 10 (far-right), and the mean value for public opinion is 10.34. This means that on average, around 10% of Europeans view immigration (and immigrant integration) as the most pressing issue facing their country. The average starting value, which is supposed to measure policy legacies, is somewhat higher for CIVIX than it is for MIPEX-IRS, which reflects the fact that the starting year for CIVIX in the sample is 2005 whereas MIPEX data is only available for 2007 onward. Several EU members adopted stricter integration requirements in 2005 or 2006, including Austria, Denmark, Germany, Greece, and the Netherlands. These policy reforms are therefore captured in the starting value for MIPEX-IRS but not in the one for CIVIX.

Foreign-born individuals account for an average of 12 percent of the total population, and the mean unemployment rate among immigrants is around 12 percent. The average length of EU membership is 25 years, and the mean administrative capacity is 1.25. The countries most successful at integrating their immigrant communities (defined as countries with an immigrant unemployment rate below the 25th percentile) have average CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS scores of 4.17 and 32.21, respectively. Lastly, the average change in countries' annual employment rates is close to 0. This is because some countries in some years experienced a drop in their employment rate while others saw an increase. Therefore, the negative and positive values largely cancel each other out and lead to a mean value close to 0.

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics I

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
CIVIX	150	3.268	2.336	0	8.75
MIPEX-IRS	200	29.558	19.932	0	78.2
Government ideology	250	5.657	1.472	2.436	8.440
Public opinion	250	10.34	9.765	0	60.5
Starting point (CIVIX)	150	1.85	1.035	0	4
Starting point (MIPEX)	250	26.792	18.166	0	64.2
Immigrant population	220	11.818	7.516	1.188	43.270
Integration deficits	235	12.015	5.703	4.4	37.8
Years in EU	250	24.74	19.459	1	57
Learning (CIVIX)	250	4.170	1.243	1.9	5.5
Learning (MIPEX)	200	32.211	4.520	26.4	39.967
Capacity	250	1.250	.510	.198	2.354
Δ Employment rate	250	.094	1.571	-8.8	4.1

Table 7 shows the means for several variables of interest by country. Some interesting insights emerge from this table. For example, public attitudes toward immigrants vary considerably across countries. In Eastern Europe, immigration is not a main concern for the vast majority of the population. Conversely, in Malta and the United Kingdom, around a third of the population views immigration as the most pressing issue facing their country. Similarly, the relative size of and unemployment rate among the immigrant population vary substantially across countries. Luxembourg has both the largest immigrant population (almost 40% of the total population) as well as the most well-integrated one, as the unemployment rate among foreign-born individuals is only 6.18%. In contrast, most Eastern European countries have relatively small immigrant communities with comparatively high unemployment.

Table 7. Country-by-Country Means I

Country	Government ideology	Public opinion	Immigrant population	Integration deficits	EU Membership	State capacity	Difference employment
Austria	5.389	16.5	15.433	9.35	14.5	1.703	.47
Belgium	5.120	17.95	14.037	16.34	52.5	1.585	.17
Cyprus	3.859	9.9	22.298	9.19	5.5	1.379	-.75
Czech Rep.	6.230	4.05	5.333	8.83	5.5	.949	.34
Denmark	6.239	17.85	8.061	10.47	36.5	2.118	-.17
Estonia	7.284	2.05	15.598	11.66	5.5	1.044	.40
Finland	5.519	7.7	4.414	14.75	14.5	2.142	.09
France	6.164	10	11.517	13.9	52.5	1.485	.02
Germany	5.324	10.15	12.361	11.8	52.5	1.589	.95
Great Britain	5.645	30	11.046	7.68	36.5	1.604	.12
Greece	6.197	5.85	10.527	18.92	28.5	.536	-1.06
Hungary	4.798	1.55	4.030	7.36	5.5	.689	.46
Ireland	5.800	7.8	15.759	12.67	36.5	1.510	-.48
Italy	5.712	12.1	9.614	11.18	52.5	.390	-.17
Lithuania	5.570	7.7	5.014	14.429	5.5	.761	.25
Luxembourg	5.339	11.85	38.090	6.18	52.5	1.674	.44
Latvia	7.020	5.95	14.459	13.19	5.5	.701	.28
Malta	5.414	34.7	8.581	8.19	5.5	1.143	.85
Netherlands	5.828	10.5	11.089	9.14	52.5	1.783	.05
Poland	5.892	3.55	1.587	11.75	5.5	.573	.92
Portugal	5.073	1.8	7.720	13.95	33.5	1.029	-.49
Slovakia	5.172	1.25	4.106	14.7	5.5	.845	.22
Slovenia	5.062	1.4	12.323	9.2	5.5	1.020	-.27
Spain	5.281	15.6	13.140	23.41	33.5	1.066	-.55
Sweden	6.498	10.75	14.313	14.11	14.5	1.936	.26

In Section 2.2, I pointed out that previous research on the determinants of integration policy has largely failed to explore potential relationships between the individual determinants. To address this possibility, I create a correlation matrix including the nine independent variables described above. Several pairs of variables exhibit correlation values large enough for concern; for example, in the CIVIX sample, the unemployment rate among immigrants correlates fairly strongly with public opinion (-.382), state capacity (-.377), and annual changes in employment rates (-.342). In large samples, correlation values of this magnitude would likely not pose an issue, but in a sample as small as the one at hand, they can potentially lead to highly sensitive parameter estimators with inflated variances and improper model selection (Kroll and Song 2013). Therefore, I estimate a series of reduced models with different combinations of predictors before estimating the full model including all independent variables.

Table 8 shows the results for four different model specifications. In Model 1, CIVIX is regressed on the lagged value of public opinion as well as the year dummies. The coefficient is insignificant, which indicates that public attitudes toward immigration do not systematically affect the intensity of a country's integration requirements. In Model 2, CIVIX is regressed on the lagged value of immigrant population as well as the year dummies. Contrary to expectations, the coefficient is significant and negative, meaning that countries with larger immigrant populations have less stringent integration requirements. In Model 3, CIVIX is regressed on the lagged value of integration deficits as well as the year dummies. Again, contrary to expectations, the coefficient is significant and negative, which suggests that language and civic education requirements for immigrants are weaker in countries with greater integration deficits.

In the full model (Model 4), the negative coefficient for public opinion becomes larger and significant, but since the coefficient was insignificant in Model 1, this effect appears to be

indicative of multicollinearity rather than a true relationship. The coefficient for integration deficits remains significant, which provides additional support for the presence of a negative relationship between unemployment among immigrants and mandatory integration requirements. Two additional covariates, starting point and learning, have a positive and significant effect on the level of a country's integration requirements. For every additional point on a country's CIVIX score in 2005, its subsequent CIVIX score increases by almost two points. Similarly, for every additional point on the most successful countries' average CIVIX score, EU-15 countries' CIVIX values increase by more than half a point.

Table 9 shows the results for the same models as in Table 8 but with MIPEX-IRS as the outcome variable instead of CIVIX. The results for the two dependent variables are quite similar. Integration deficits have a significant and negative effect on a country's level of integration requirements for immigrants in both the reduced and the full model. The impact of both starting point and learning on MIPEX-IRS is positive and significant. For every additional point on a country's MIPEX-IRS score in 2007, its subsequent MIPEX-IRS score increases by one point. Similarly, for every additional point on the most successful countries' average MIPEX-IRS score, EU-25 countries' MIPEX-IRS values increase by more than half a point. One difference between the two full models is that in the MIPEX-IRS model, changes in employment rate are negatively and significantly associated with the adoption of stricter integration requirements, although substantively this effect is fairly weak: as a country's employment rate increases by 1%, its MIPEX-IRS score goes up by half a point.

Table 8. Determinants of Integration Requirements (CIVIX)

	Model 1 (RE)	Model 2 (RE)	Model 3 (RE)	Model 4 (RE)
Government ideology				-0.070
				(0.050)
Public opinion	-0.003			-0.027[**]
	(0.014)			(0.013)
Starting point				1.854[***]
				(0.223)
Immigrant population		-0.136[*]		-0.050
		(0.079)		(0.034)
Integration deficits			-0.026[*]	-0.050[**]
			(0.014)	(0.023)
Years in EU				0.028
				(0.019)
Learning				0.637[***]
				(0.133)
Capacity				0.204
				(0.687)
Δ *Employment rate*				-0.019
				(0.045)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Constant	1.899[***]	3.559[***]	2.022[***]	-2.117
	(0.337)	(0.838)	(0.391)	(1.481)
N	135	128	134	127
Within R^2	.485	.489	.526	.556
Between R^2	.061	.053	.020	.845
Overall R^2	.057	.086	.079	.830
Rho	.922	.940	.923	.761

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 9. Determinants of Integration Requirements (MIPEX-IRS)

	Model 1 (RE)	Model 2 (RE)	Model 3 (RE)	Model 4 (RE)
Government ideology				1.211 (0.922)
Public opinion	-0.122 (0.130)			0.258*** (0.086)
Starting point				0.980*** (0.040)
Immigrant population		0.365 (0.509)		-0.062 (0.194)
Integration deficits			-0.277* (0.161)	-0.429** (0.204)
Years in EU				0.054 (0.080)
Learning				0.515* (0.274)
Capacity				0.257 (1.859)
Δ Employment rate				-0.546** (0.250)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Constant	28.40*** (4.34)	22.89*** (6.48)	29.10*** (3.856)	-18.87* (11.10)
N	200	178	187	153
Within R^2	.110	.103	.133	.091
Between R^2	.057	.048	.004	.934
Overall R^2	.001	.018	.020	.867
Rho	.922	.916	.910	.205

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

In terms of goodness of fit, the full models perform quite well. The overall R^2 is .830 for CIVIX and .867 for MIPEX-IRS, though both models are much better at explaining variation in integration requirements between countries than they are at explaining variation within countries. The relatively large rho values suggest that a substantial part of the variation in integration requirements is between countries. This is particularly true for the full model with CIVIX as the outcome variable, where more than three quarters of the variance of the dependent variable is between subjects; this leads further credence to the use of random effects models rather than a fixed effects specification.

Overall, some of the results emerging from these analyses are puzzling. First, predictors which one would intuitively suspect to have a sizeable effect on the adoption of stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants – primarily government ideology, public opinion, and size of the immigrant population – are not or only inconsistently associated with CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS. Second, contrary to expectations, countries with larger integration deficits (i.e. a relatively poorly integrated immigrant community) are less likely to adopt stricter integration requirements for immigrants. There is no theoretically compelling reason why this might be the case. One possibility is that this effect is indicative of simultaneity (reverse causality), meaning that stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants cause lower unemployment rates among immigrants rather than the other way around. The standard random effects model is unable to account for this possibility. To explore the issue of reverse causality and probe the results reported in this section, I conduct a series of robustness tests.

3.3.1 Robustness

I conduct a total of four robustness checks. First, I estimate the models as OLS regressions with a lagged dependent variable (LDV) rather than random effects. The variables in the LDV models are the same as in the random effects models except the former do not include the starting point variable; since the lagged dependent variable captures the effect of past policies, including the starting point variable would be redundant. The LDV models are estimated as AR(1) specifications, meaning that they include a one-year lag of the dependent variable on the right-hand side. The results for these models are shown in Tables 10 and 11. One result that jumps out is that the coefficient for the lagged dependent variable is quite large and significant across all models, meaning that mandatory integration requirements are highly stable. Therefore, like the random effects models, the LDV models support the notion that a country's current integration policy is largely a function of its past policy.

Aside from this one common finding, the results of the LDV models differ markedly from those of the random effects models. First, in the LDV models, government ideology is positively and significantly associated with both CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS, which suggests that more conservative governments are more likely to adopt stricter integration requirements for immigrants. Second, public opinion now has a significant and positive effect across all MIPEX-IRS models, meaning that negative public attitudes toward immigration lead governments to implement more robust language and civic education requirements for immigrants. Third, the positive effect of learning on CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS is no longer significant. Fourth, the positive relationship between changes in employment rates and mandatory integration rates for MIPEX-IRS disappears but socialization is now a significant predictor. Fifth, the negative relationship between unemployment among immigrants and CIVIX becomes insignificant.

Table 10. Determinants of Integration Requirements – LDV Models (CIVIX)

	Model 1 (OLS)	Model 2 (OLS)	Model 3 (OLS)	Model 4 (OLS)
Government ideology				0.076**
				(0.035)
Public opinion	0.003			0.006
	(0.009)			(0.008)
Immigrant population		-0.002		-0.007
		(0.004)		(0.005)
Integration deficits			-0.004	-0.001
			(0.008)	(0.013)
Years in EU				0.006
				(0.005)
Learning				0.001
				(0.040)
Capacity				-0.022
				(0.142)
Δ *Employment rate*				0.041
				(0.042)
Lagged CIVIX	1.019***	1.017***	1.019***	0.998***
	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.020)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Constant	-0.075	-0.003	0.011	-0.581
	(0.116)	(0.065)	(0.101)	(0.413)
N	135	128	134	127
R^2	.945	.949	.944	.952

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 11. Determinants of Integration Requirements – LDV Models (MIPEX-IRS)

	Model 1 (OLS)	Model 2 (OLS)	Model 3 (OLS)	Model 4 (OLS)
Government ideology				0.480[*]
				(0.281)
Public opinion	0.116[***]			0.151[***]
	(0.036)			(0.039)
Immigrant population		-0.015		-0.084[***]
		(0.023)		(0.026)
Integration deficits			-0.099[*]	-0.118[*]
			(0.054)	(0.061)
Years in EU				0.036[**]
				(0.016)
Learning				0.048
				(0.074)
Capacity				-0.720
				(0.630)
Δ *Employment rate*				-0.181
				(0.131)
Lagged MIPEX-IRS	0.983[***]	0.992[***]	0.988[***]	0.962[***]
	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.022)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Constant	-0.360	1.329	1.821[*]	-1.724
	(0.820)	(1.020)	(0.957)	(2.817)
N	175	161	164	153
R^2	.951	.950	.947	.953

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Second, I use a series of alternative measures of integration deficits. While the unemployment rate among immigrants is a conceptually convincing measure of immigrant integration, one practical problem with this variable is that it is highly correlated with the overall unemployment rate (.873). Therefore, rather than measuring integration deficits, the unemployment rate among immigrants might capture general economic trends and the economic mood in a country. As stated in Section 3.2, I use the share of a country's foreign-born population who is at risk of poverty or social exclusion as an alternative measure. The term "at risk of poverty or social exclusion" – abbreviated AROPE – refers to a situation where people "are either at risk of poverty, or severely materially deprived or living in a household with a very low work intensity" (Eurostat 2017a). Data on the share of a country's foreign-born population AROPE are retrieved from Eurostat. Higher values on this variable indicate greater poverty and exclusion among a country's immigrant population, and therefore larger integration deficits. In my sample, this variable exhibits a mean of 31.312, with a minimum value of 16 and a maximum value of 62.7. It correlates quite strongly with the unemployment rate among immigrants (.602) and somewhat less strongly with the overall unemployment rate (.488).

I estimate four models with CIVIX as the outcome variable: a random effects model which includes the lagged value of AROPE and the year dummies; a random effects model which includes the lagged value of AROPE, the year dummies, and the other covariates; an LDV model which includes the lagged value of AROPE, the lagged dependent variable, and the year dummies; and an LDV model which includes the lagged value of AROPE, the lagged dependent variable, the year dummies, and the other covariates. The results for these models are shown in Table 12. The effect of AROPE on mandatory integration requirements for immigrants is consistently insignificant, which is different from the results of the previous random effects

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models which used unemployment among immigrants as a measure of integration deficits. Using MIPEX-IRS as the outcome variable yields the same results (see Table 13): whether a country's immigrant population is poorly integrated has no bearing on the intensity of its integration requirements for immigrants. In addition, replacing the unemployment rate among immigrants with AROPE alters some of the other covariates' effects. For example, the positive coefficient for learning is no longer significant in the random effects model using MIPEX-IRS as the outcome variable. Similarly, government ideology is no longer significant in the LDV using MIPEX-IRS as the outcome variable. The fact that changing the measure for one particular covariate is that consequential for the other covariates further illustrates the volatility of the models, which likely goes back to Kroll and Song's (2013) argument about the severity of multicollinearity in small samples.

Table 12. Determinants of Integration Requirements – AROPE (CIVIX)

	Random Effects		**Lagged DV**	
	Reduced	*Full*	*Reduced*	*Full*
Integration deficits	0.012	0.004	-0.001	-0.003
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Other covariates (not reported)				
Constant	1.460	-3.035[*]	-0.006	-0.487
	(0.888)	(1.800)	(0.123)	(0.444)
N	135	128	135	128
Within R^2	.487	.493		
Between R^2	.004	.857		
(Overall) R^2	.056	.830	.944	.953
Rho	.927	.585		

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 13. Determinants of Integration Requirements – AROPE (MIPEX-IRS)

	Random Effects		**Lagged DV**	
	Reduced	*Full*	*Reduced*	*Full*
Integration deficits	0.078	0.006	0.000	-0.028
	(0.166)	(0.151)	(0.034)	(0.032)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Other covariates (not reported)				
Constant	24.445	-18.698[*]	0.850	-0.916
	(6.309)	(1.800)	(0.873)	(2.565)
N	200	161	175	161
Within R^2	.098	.094		
Between R^2	.026	.906		
(Overall) R^2	.018	.845	.948	.954
Rho	.909	.376		

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Recently, some integration scholars have suggested that immigrant integration should be measured in a different way. According to these scholars (e.g. Burgoon 2014; Goodman and Wright 2015), rather than using the level of a particular outcome variable, a more valid way of measuring integration is to use the difference between the immigrant community and native-born population for the same outcome. The rationale behind this new approach is that integration is a relational concept, meaning that whether integration is successful can only be judged when comparing a country's immigrants to its native-born population. For example, it seems questionable to refer to a materially deprived immigrant community as poorly integrated when the native-born population in the same country is equally or more materially deprived. Therefore, I create two new measures of integration deficits. First, I subtract the unemployment rate for the native-born population from that of the foreign-born population. The resulting variable has a mean of 4.050, meaning that on average, the unemployment rate among immigrants is four

percentage points higher than it is among the natives. Second, I subtract the share of the native-born population AROPE from that of the foreign-born population. The mean of the resulting variable is 9.902, meaning that on average, the poverty rate among immigrants is almost ten percentage points higher than it is among immigrants. These variables have the added benefit that they correlate only weakly with the overall unemployment rate ($< .200$ for both).

Tables 14 through 17 show the results for the models using the two new outcome variables. They illustrate that when integration deficits are measured as the difference in unemployment rates among immigrants and natives, integration deficits are negatively and significantly associated with mandatory integration requirements in two of the eight models. Again, there is no theoretically compelling reason why countries with a well-integrated immigrant community would be more likely to adopt stricter integration requirements for immigrants. Therefore, this relationship appears to be due to simultaneity, meaning that stricter integration requirements cause lower unemployment among immigrants, not the other way around. The variable capturing the difference in poverty rates among foreign-born and native-born individuals is insignificant in all eight models. Overall, then, these results suggest that mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants are significantly associated with unemployment among immigrants but not with other measures of integration, though this relationship is not entirely robust to alternative model specifications.

Table 14. Determinants of Integration Requirements – Δ Unemployment (CIVIX)

	Random Effects		Lagged DV	
	Reduced	*Full*	*Reduced*	*Full*
Integration deficits	-0.062[*]	-0.118[**]	-0.011	-0.009
	(0.032)	(0.053)	(0.016)	(0.023)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Other covariates (not reported)				
Constant	2.027[***]	-2.342	0.019	-0.572[*]
	(0.401)	(1.476)	(0.097)	(0.311)
N	134	127	134	127
Within R^2	.527	.560		
Between R^2	.008	.854		
(Overall) R^2	.076	.835	.944	.953
Rho	.924	.686		

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 15. Determinants of Integration Requirements – Δ Unemployment (MIPEX-IRS)

	Random Effects		Lagged DV	
	Reduced	*Full*	*Reduced*	*Full*
Integration deficits	-0.555	-0.585	-0.054	-0.229
	(0.388)	(0.393)	(0.134)	(0.163)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Other covariates (not reported)				
Constant	28.299[***]	-20.845[*]	1.135	-2.748
	(3.853)	(11.929)	(0.982)	(2.930)
N	187	153	164	153
Within R^2	.128	.095		
Between R^2	.012	.922		
(Overall) R^2	.021	.858	.946	.953
Rho	.910	.306		

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 16. Determinants of Integration Requirements – Δ AROPE (CIVIX)

	Random Effects		Lagged DV	
	Reduced	*Full*	*Reduced*	*Full*
Integration deficits	0.014	-0.001	-0.003	-0.002
	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Other covariates (not reported)				
Constant	1.685***	-3.035*	-0.007	-0.595*
	(0.478)	(1.800)	(0.077)	(0.314)
N	135	128	135	128
Within R^2	.487	.492		
Between R^2	.001	.859		
(Overall) R^2	.059	.832	.945	.953
Rho	.927	.563		

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 17. Determinants of Integration Requirements – Δ AROPE (MIPEX-IRS)

	Random Effects		Lagged DV	
	Reduced	*Full*	*Reduced*	*Full*
Integration deficits	0.094	0.066	0.030	0.002
	(0.168)	(0.145)	(0.035)	(0.038)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Other covariates (not reported)				
Constant	26.046***	-18.127	0.628	-1.450
	(4.000)	(11.018)	(0.726)	(2.795)
N	200	161	175	161
Within R^2	.099	.106		
Between R^2	.020	.901		
(Overall) R^2	.018	.844	.948	.954
Rho	.909	.423		

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Third, I add additional variables to my baseline models to further explore the effects of public opinion and salience. The first addition is an interaction term between public opinion and a binary variable coded 1 for election years and 0 otherwise. [26] It seems plausible that governments are responsive to public opinion when they are up for reelection, but during normal times are inclined to ignore the public's policy preferences. Tables 18 and 19 show the results for these interaction models. The interaction term is insignificant across models, meaning that governments are no more (or less) responsive to their constituents' concerns about immigrant integration during election years than they are during other times.

The second set of models adds a dummy variable for Luxembourg to my baseline models. Luxembourg represents a special case in Europe in the sense that a) the relative size of its immigrant population is much greater than that of other European countries, and b) the vast majority of its immigrant population consists of individuals from other EU member states rather than third-country nationals. In 2007, immigrants made up almost 40% of Luxembourg's population; less than 14% of these immigrants were not from the EU (Kollwelter 2007). Thus, Luxembourg represents an outlier that could potentially distort some of my findings, particularly the coefficient for the variable that captures the relative size of a country's immigrant population. The results for these models are shown in Tables 18 and 19. The inclusion of the Luxembourg dummy wipes out the effect of integration deficits in the random effects model with MIPEX-IRS as the outcome variable.

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[26] Data for this variable comes from the ParlGov database.

Table 18. Determinants of Integration Requirements – Additional Models (CIVIX)

	Random Effects		Lagged DV	
	Interaction	*Luxembourg*	*Interaction*	*Luxembourg*
Public opinion	-0.001		-0.001	
	(0.016)		(0.008)	
Election year	0.293		-0.259	
	(0.230)		(0.367)	
*Opinion * election*	-0.016		0.023	
	(0.018)		(0.033)	
Immigrant population		-0.185[*]		-0.007
		(0.099)		(0.016)
Luxembourg		3.841		0.141
		(2.744)		(0.411)
Lagged DV			1.021[***]	1.016[***]
			(0.010)	(0.016)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Constant	1.84[***]	3.88[***]	-0.02	0.04
	(0.36)	(1.02)	(0.12)	(0.19)
N	135	128	135	128
Within R^2	.491	.492		
Between R^2	.059	.079		
(Overall) R^2	.057	.120	.945	.949
Rho	.932	.943		

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 19. Determinants of Integration Requirements – Additional Models (MIPEX-IRS)

	Random Effects		Lagged DV	
	Interaction	*Luxembourg*	*Interaction*	*Luxembourg*
Public opinion	-0.112		0.122***	
	(0.129)		(0.129)	
Election year	1.058		-0.567	
	(0.793)		(0.827)	
*Opinion * election*	-0.078		-0.029	
	(0.055)		(0.085)	
Immigrant population		0.716		0.013
		(0.518)		(0.051)
Luxembourg		-40.57**		-1.30
		(15.68)		(1.67)
Lagged DV			0.983***	0.992***
			(0.018)	(0.020)
Year dummies (not reported)				
Constant	28.21***	20.67***	-0.16	1.09
	(4.38)	(6.69)	(0.85)	(1.10)
N	200	178	175	161
Within R^2	.113	.112		
Between R^2	.058	.011		
(Overall) R^2	.001	.018	.951	.950
Rho	.912	.919		

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Lastly, I have argued that the negative relationship between unemployment among immigrants and the intensity of a country's integration requirements that has emerged from some of the models is likely due to reverse causality, i.e. the latter causing the former. Testing (and correcting) for simultaneity is a very challenging enterprise that requires the estimation of an instrumental variable model (Shepherd 2010). Since good external instruments are incredibly difficult to find, scholars have resorted to a number of alternative approaches to dealing with reverse causality. One such approach is the Arellano-Bond dynamic panel estimator (Arellano and Bond 1991). Arellano–Bond estimation starts by transforming all regressors, usually by differencing, and uses the generalized method of moments (GMM); it is therefore also referred to as difference GMM (Roodman 2009).

One advantage of the Arellano-Bond estimator is that it does not require the specification of external instruments because it makes use of the lagged explanatory variables in level and in difference. Because of this advantage, I re-estimate the full model shown in Table 11 using the Arellano-Bond dynamic panel estimator.[27] The results indicate that when the reverse effect of mandatory integration requirements on unemployment among immigrants is accounted for, integration deficits do not have a significant effect on a country's MIPEX-IRS score. This supports my previous argument that mandatory language and civic education requirements affect immigrants' level of integration, not the other way around. The model fails to reject the null hypotheses for both the Sargan test and the Arellano-Bond test for AR(2) in first differences, which suggests that the assumptions for the validity of the difference GMM are met (Roodman 2009).

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[27] This is done by using the *xtabond2* command in Stata v15 (see Roodman 2009).

3.4 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I have examined the determinants of mandatory integration requirements for immigrants in Europe. Analyzing data on 25 EU member states between 2005 and 2014, I found that which covariates are significantly associated with the adoption of stricter language and civic integration requirements for immigrants is highly dependent on model specification. Table 20 summarizes the results for the various model specifications used throughout this chapter. More specifically, it shows the direction of the effect and significance level for each of the nine covariates by model specification.[28] The results vary considerably across three dimensions: analytical approach (random effects model vs. LDV model), dependent variable (CIVIX vs. MIPEX-IRS), and measure of integration (unemployment vs. AROPE). For example, one major difference between the random effects models and the LDV models is that in the former, learning generally has a positive effect on the adoption of stricter integration requirements for immigrants while in the latter it has not. Similarly, public opinion has a strong and positive effect on a country's MIPEX-IRS score in the LDV models, whereas the random effects models suggest that public opinion has no bearing on the intensity of a country's integration requirements for immigrants.

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[28] For public opinion, immigrant population, and integration deficits to be marked as significant, they have to exhibit a significant effect in both the reduced and the full model. If they are significant in both models but the significance levels differ between reduced and full model, I use the significance level of the reduced model. Note that in the random effects models, policy legacies are measured via a time-invariant starting point variable, whereas in the LDV models they are captured by a one-year lag of the dependent variable.

Table 20. Summary of Results

	Random Effects Model Immigrant Unemployment		LDV Model Immigrant Unemployment		Random Effects Model AROPE	
	CIVIX	**MIPEX-IRS**	**CIVIX**	**MIPEX-IRS**	**CIVIX**	**MIPEX-IRS**
Gov. ideology			positive **	positive *		
Public opinion				positive ***		
Policy legacies	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***
Immigrant pop.						
Integration deficits	negative *	negative *		negative *		
Socialization				positive **		
Learning	positive ***	positive *			positive ***	
State capacity						
Δ Employment rate		negative *			positive *	

* $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$

Table 20. Summary of Results (Continued)

	LDV Model AROPE		Random Effects Model Difference Unemployment		LDV Model Difference Unemployment	
	CIVIX	MIPEX-IRS	CIVIX	MIPEX-IRS	CIVIX	MIPEX-IRS
Gov. ideology	positive **				positive **	
Public opinion		positive ***				positive ***
Policy legacies	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***
Immigrant pop.						
Integration deficits			negative *	negative *		
Socialization		positive *				positive *
Learning			positive ***	positive *		
State capacity						
Δ Employment rate				negative **		

* p < 0.10 ** p < 0.05 *** p < 0.01

Table 20. Summary of Results (Continued)

	Random Effects Model Difference AROPE		LDV Model Difference AROPE		Random Effects Model Immigrant Unemployment Opinion * Election Year	
	CIVIX	**MIPEX-IRS**	**CIVIX**	**MIPEX-IRS**	**CIVIX**	**MIPEX-IRS**
Gov. ideology			positive *			
Public opinion				positive ***		
Policy legacies	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***
Immigrant pop.						
Integration deficits					negative *	negative *
Socialization				positive *		
Learning	positive ***				positive ***	positive *
State capacity						
Δ Employment rate	positive *					

* $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$

Table 20. Summary of Results (Continued)

	LDV Model Immigrant Unemployment Opinion * Election Year		Random Effects Model Immigrant Unemployment Luxembourg Dummy		LDV Model Immigrant Unemployment Luxembourg Dummy	
	CIVIX	**MIPEX-IRS**	**CIVIX**	**MIPEX-IRS**	**CIVIX**	**MIPEX-IRS**
Gov. ideology	positive *				positive **	
Public opinion		positive ***				positive ***
Policy legacies	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***	positive ***
Immigrant pop.						
Integration deficits		negative *	negative *	negative *		negative *
Socialization		positive **				positive **
Learning			positive ***	positive *		
State capacity						
Δ Employment rate				negative **		

* p < 0.10 ** p < 0.05 *** p < 0.01

The results also differ based on which measure of language and civic education requirements for immigrants is used, CIVIX or MIPEX-IRS. For example, socialization is positively and significantly associated with MIPEX-IRS in several models but never with CIVIX. This goes back to Goodman's (2015) study, which showed that index-dependency is a common phenomenon in the field of integration research.[29] Lastly, it matters whether integration and, by extension, integration deficits are measured via unemployment or AROPE. When integration is captured via the unemployment rate among immigrants, it has a negative and significant effect in a number of models; AROPE, however, is never a significant predictor of mandatory integration requirements. In addition, the choice of integration measure has consequences for the effects of some of the other covariates. For example, in the random effects model using MIPEX-IRS as the outcome and unemployment among immigrants as the measure of integration, learning has a positive and significant impact; however, when unemployment is replaced with AROPE, the positive coefficient of learning is no longer significant.[30] These discrepancies are likely the result of multicollinearity, which poses a serious challenge for inference with small samples (Kroll and Song 2013).

Despite this lack of robustness across model specifications, four important inferences can be (cautiously) drawn from the results. First, they suggest that government ideology and public

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[29] To further investigate this difference in results, I restrict the sample to cases common to CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS, that is, the EU-15 countries between 2007 and 2014. This, however, did not cause the results to become more consistent across indices, which suggests that the divergent findings between CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS are due to measurement issues (i.e. the two indices do not measure the same exact concept) rather than differences in sample selection (Goodman 2012b; 2015).

[30] I also estimate a bivariate random effects model, using MIPEX-IRS as the outcome and learning as the predictor (plus the year dummies). In this model, the coefficient for learning is positive and significant.

opinion are only inconsistently associated with mandatory integration requirements, thereby calling into question conventional wisdom in integration research (Akkerman 2012; Bale 2008; Facchini and Mayda 2010; Givens and Luedtke 2005; Hix and Noury 2007; Howard 2010). On second thought, it might not be all that surprising that these two variables are not reliable predictors of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. In recent years, several left-leaning parties have warmed up to the idea of language and civic integration requirements for immigrants, including the social democrats (*Parti Socialiste*) in France (Morin 2017), the social democrats (*SPD*) in Germany (Abadi 2017), and even the socialists (*Syriza*) in Greece (Maronitis 2017). Examining when, why, and how parts of the European center-left came to embrace mandatory integration requirements promises to be an interesting avenue for future research. As for public opinion, governments routinely ignore the preferences of their constituents in other policy areas, and publics often fail to translate their preferences into policy due to a lack of political participation (Lutz et al. 2014).

That being said, it is possible that party politics and public opinion affect the adoption of stricter integration requirements in more complex ways than I hypothesized in this chapter. For example, it might be that policy adoption is driven by the presence of strong far-right parties, which forces the established parties – both center-right and center-left – to appear "tough" on immigration by implementing stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants. It could also be the case that the effect of party politics and/or public opinion varies by electoral system (see Wlezien and Soroka 2015). Lastly, my measure of public opinion is potentially problematic in that it captures the level of public concern about immigration rather than the public's feelings toward immigrants. It is possible that societies which are relatively welcoming toward immigrants adopt stricter integration requirements with the goal of helping immigrants,

but even without mandatory integration requirements immigrants would have likely fared well in these societies. This, if true, could introduce endogeneity in analyses of the requirements' effects. I leave it to future research to address these possibilities and issues more systematically and in greater detail.

Second, the only variable significantly affecting language and civic education requirements for immigrants across all model specifications is past policy. Goodman appears to be correct when she argues that existing integration policies define "the parameters of the debate in which policy actors propose and implement change" (2014, 6). In other words, policy options which deviate too far from previous integration policies are somewhat unimaginable and fall outside of the mainstream political discourse. For example, Swedish national identity involves a strong notion of multiculturalism, which has led most parties – both center-left and center-right – to firmly resist the European trend toward stricter integration requirements (Borevi 2014).

Third, though not entirely robust to alternative model specifications, learning appears to have a positive and significant effect on the adoption of stricter integration requirements for immigrants. EU member states seem to emulate the integration policies of those members most successful at integrating their immigrant communities. As countries with relatively well integrated immigrant communities adopt language and civic education requirements (or, alternatively, immigrants in countries with these requirements become more integrated), other EU members are likely to adopt them as well. This suggests that policy diffusion through learning is not limited to economic policies where it is most often applied (e.g. Simmons and Elkins 2004; Quinn and Toyoda 2007) but operates in other policy areas as well. While this finding is consistent with efforts by the European Union to promote mandatory integration requirements through information sharing and "best practices", I cannot ascertain the extent to

which the common EU framework for immigrant integration (see Section 1.2. on the EIF) is actually responsible for these learning processes. In other words, it might be possible that absent the EU/EIF, these learning processes would still have taken place. I leave it to future research to disentangle the specific impact of the EU/EIF from general learning processes that take place outside of the EU framework for immigrant integration.

Fourth, one of the more consistent relationships uncovered in this chapter is that between unemployment among immigrants and mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. Using difference GMM, I found that the negative effect of unemployment among immigrants on the intensity of a country's integration requirements is due to reverse causality. It is not the case that successful integration prompts countries to implement tougher integration policies; rather, stricter language and civic education requirements lead to lower unemployment among immigrants. The fact that integration deficits do not have a significant effect on policy adoption casts doubt on technocratic explanations of integration policy, since governments do not appear to respond to such objective immigration conditions in their country. Moreover, this finding is important in that it suggests that mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants work, that is, they lead to improved integration outcomes. It should be noted, however, that this positive effect of mandatory integration requirements on integration outcomes appears to be exclusive to the realm of economic integration, as I did not find a significant relationship between immigrants' level of social integration (measured via the share of the foreign-born population AROPE) and integration policy. In the next chapter, I further examine the effect of stricter integration requirements on immigrants' level of integration.

4.0   EVALUATING THE EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION POLICIES

As the introductory chapter illustrated, immigrant integration and integration policy have been important and controversial issues in contemporary Europe. Over the past two decades, several European countries drastically altered their immigrant integration policies due to an acute and widespread sense that European states and societies had failed to integrate their migrant and ethnic minority populations. In response to this (perceived) integration crisis, distinct national policy models, which were in many cases rooted in multicultural ideals and practices, gave way to more restrictive integration policies based on language acquisition, civic training, and liberal value commitment (Goodman 2014; Joppke 2007a; 2007b). While the majority of Europe's leaders seem convinced that these mandatory integration requirements are beneficial for the immigrant community as well as their host societies, this new approach has been subject to two kinds of criticism. First, scholars have criticized these new policy models on normative grounds (Kostakopoulou 2010; Schinkel 2013). Second, it has been suggested that restrictive integration policies based on language acquisition, civic training, and liberal value commitment do more harm than good, i.e. they actually hinder integration (Boecker and Strik 2011; Groenendijk 2011; Van Oers 2013).

This chapter addresses the second kind of criticism by examining the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements on immigrant integration: Are mandatory integration requirements effective, that is, do they lead to improved integration outcomes? By

answering this question, I make two contributions to the ongoing debate on the subject. First, I bring new and improved evidence to bear on the question of whether mandatory integration matters. By using a large dataset that is rich in temporal and cross-national variation as well as a sophisticated analytical approach, I am able to obtain estimates of the effect of restrictive integration policy on various outcome measures of integration that are more generalizable and lend themselves more to a causal interpretation than those of previous studies. Second, this chapter combines a number of recent advances in the econometrics of policy evaluation into a robust analytical approach. This approach can not only serve as a guideline for the analysis of other policy areas, but also serves as a reminder on the importance of proper research design and methodological rigor in the analysis of observational data.

The remainder of this chapter proceeds as follows. First, I lay out the data and measures employed in this chapter. I use data from the seven waves of the European Social Survey (2002-2015) to assess the impact of restrictive integration policies on three different dimensions of integration: social, political, and economic integration. The fact that some European countries substantially altered their approach to immigrant integration during the time period under investigation while others did not allows me to use a difference-in-differences design; the specifics and advantages of this analytical approach are discussed in Section 4.2. Using this approach, I find that mandatory integration policies are positively associated with measures of economic integration. These results, which are reasonably robust across various alternative model specifications, are reported in Section 4.3. Next, I discuss different mechanisms through which restrictive integration policies could potentially lead to improved economic integration, and provide suggestive evidence regarding the plausibility of each of these mechanisms, including original interviews with practitioners of and experts on integration policy in Germany.

A concluding section then summarizes the main findings of this chapter, connects them with the broader literature, and indicates possible directions for future research on the subject.

4.1   DATA AND MEASURES

To examine the effect of integration policy on immigrants' attitudes and behavior in Europe, I generate a dataset using the seven waves of the European Social Survey (ESS) conducted between 2002 and 2015. The ESS contains several relevant social, political, and economic integration outcome measures, and has been used by a number of recent studies examining immigrants' attitudes and behavior (Burgoon 2014; Goodman and Wright 2015; Just and Anderson 2015). Given the purpose of this chapter as well as issues with data availability, I restrict the dataset to respondents who identify as foreign-born and reside in one of the 23 EU member states that regularly participate in the ESS.[31] In addition, to ensure that the dataset only includes relevant cases, i.e. immigrants who have been exposed to the treatment (mandatory integration requirements), I also restrict the sample to immigrants with residence of ten years or fewer. Ten years is around the average time in which an immigrant would apply for either permanent residence or citizenship, and therefore be exposed to the bulk of a host country's language and civic integration requirements (see Goodman and Wright 2015). This process leads to a total of 5,621 observations, which are the unit of analysis for all subsequent models.

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[31] The 23 sample countries are the EU-25 (see footnote 13) minus Latvia and Malta.

The dependent variable is integration, which is broadly defined as the process of dismantling all barriers to full participation in society (Kymlicka 2012). As pointed out in Section 2.3, scholars have measured integration in various ways,[32] but usually tend to distinguish between three different dimensions of integration: social/cultural, political, and economic integration (Akresh et al. 2014; Dancygier and Laitin 2014; Goodman and Wright 2015). Since there are no universally agreed upon measures of integration, it is at my own discretion to find suitable outcome variables. To identify these outcomes, I rely on previous operationalizations of immigrant integration, not just in the literature on the effects of mandatory integration requirements but in integration research more generally. In identifying these outcomes, I am constrained by data availability issues. For example, while host country language proficiency, identification with the host country, and contacts with members of the host society are intuitively convincing and somewhat widely used measures of social integration, the ESS does not include information on any of them.

Therefore, I use the following two measures of social integration. First, I take the average of three eleven-point ordinal scales to generate a measure of respondents' level of social trust (Goodman and Wright 2015). Each of these ordinal scales ranges from 0 to 10, with higher values representing higher levels of trust. They are based on the following three questions: (1) "Would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" (2) "Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?" (3) "Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?" Second, I use tolerance of

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[32] The literature on social, political, and economic integration is too vast to review in its entirety. For excellent overviews, see Massey 1981; Waters and Jimenez 2005; and Dancygier and Laitin 2014.

homosexuals as a proxy for respondents' strength of identification with Western European values (Burgoon 2014). This variable is coded as a five-point ordinal scale ranging from disagreeing strongly with the statement that gays and lesbians are free to live as they wish to strongly agreeing with it.

As for political integration, I examine two measures which are intended to tap into the educative overtones of civic integration courses and tests. First, political interest is measured via a four-point ordinal scale that captures respondents' level of interest in politics, ranging from "not at all interested" to "very interested" (Goodman and Wright 2015). Second, I take the average of five eleven-point ordinal scales to create a measure of respondents' level of institutional trust (Adman and Stromblad 2015; Gidron and Superti 2016). These scales range from 0 (no trust at all) to 10 (complete trust) and capture respondents' feelings toward the following political and legal institutions: the parliament, the legal system, the police, political parties, and politicians in general. As one of the stated goals of integration policy is to promote economic self-sufficiency and improvement for immigrants, I examine two measures of economic integration. First, I use a four-point ordinal scale that captures respondents' subjective financial well-being and ranges from "very difficult to get by on present income" to "living comfortably on present income" (Goodman and Wright 2015; Kislev 2014). Second, I use a dummy variable which measures respondents' employment status; it is coded 0 if a respondent was actively looking for employment during the last seven days and 1 otherwise (Burgoon 2014; Goodman and Wright 2015).

The key explanatory variable are mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants, which, as in the previous chapter, are measured via CIVIX[33] and MIPEX-IRS.[34] Of course, integration policy is not the only factor potentially influencing immigrants' levels of integration. Therefore, I include a number of individual-level and country-level controls in my models. As for the individual-level controls, research suggests that immigrants' religious affiliation affects their willingness to integrate, with Muslims on average being less willing than immigrants belonging to other denominations (Adida et al. 2014; Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011). To account for this, I include a battery of dummy variables in my models that represent whether or not a particular immigrant identifies with one of the following: Catholicism, Protestantism, other types of Christianity, Islam, other religions (such as Judaism and Eastern religions), and no religion (the latter being the omitted category). Similarly, scholars have argued that immigrants' region of origin impacts their level of integration, even when controlling for a variety of other determinants such as religion. For example, looking at immigrants in the United States, Akresh

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[33] Since CIVIX data are only available for certain years, I impute the years for which no CIVIX scores are provided with the CIVIX value for the closest year in which data are available (see Section 2.1). Combining the ESS sample with CIVIX data yields 154 discrete country-years for analysis. The seven waves of the ESS were conducted over the course of 14 years (2002-2015). Thus, if every country were surveyed in every year, it would lead to a total of 210 discrete country-years (15 sample countries times 14 years). However, this is not the case, as some countries did not participate in all seven waves of the ESS. For example, Greece did not participate in waves three, six, and seven. As a result, there are 154 discrete country-years instead of 210.

[34] Combining the ESS sample with MIPEX data yields 124 discrete country-years for analysis. If every country were surveyed in every year for which MIPEX data are available (2007-2014), it would lead to a total of 184 discrete country-years (23 sample countries times 8 years). However, for the reasons elaborated on in the previous footnote, this is not the case.

et al. (2014) find that Western Europeans and Australasians are much more likely to integrate than immigrants from other regions. Therefore, my analysis includes a battery of dummy variables, one for each of the following regions: Western hemisphere (North America, Australasia, and Western Europe), Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and North Africa and the Middle East (the latter being the omitted category).

In addition, I control for immigrants' level of education, as previous research has shown that more educated immigrants exhibit higher levels of integration (Banting and Soroka 2012; Burgoon 2014; De Vroome et al. 2014; Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011; Ten Teije et al. 2013). As previously stated, some migration scholars view education as an integration outcome rather than a driver of integration, but given that a) the majority of studies on the subject use it as an independent variable, and b) I examine only newly arriving immigrants that have most likely acquired the majority of their education in their home country, I opt to treat education as a predictor. Respondents' level of education is measured via a five-point ordinal scale ranging from "less than lower secondary education" to "tertiary education completed". The ESS provides similar scales for the education of respondents' mothers and fathers. I take the average of these two scales to create a measure of the average educational attainment of respondents' parents, which is supposed to account for relevant pre-migration characteristics that potentially affect integration (Akresh et al. 2014).

I also control for immigrants' family status, as existing research suggests that immigrants who were married by the time of their entry integrate less well on certain dimensions, particularly language acquisition (Akresh et al. 2014). Family status is measured via a binary variable coded 0 for respondents who live alone and 1 for respondents who live with a spouse and/or children. Previous studies also show that certain demographic characteristics are related

with a number of relevant outcome measures, with females and younger immigrants exhibiting lower levels of integration (Akresh et al. 2014). Therefore, I include respondents' gender and age in my analysis, the former being coded as a binary variable that takes the value 1 for male respondents and 0 for female ones, and the latter being coded as a count variable that captures respondents' age in years.

As a final individual-level control, I include respondents' domicile in my analyses. It has been suggested that when given the opportunity to exclusively interact with other immigrants and/or individuals from the same ethnicity, immigrants are less likely to integrate on a number of dimensions, such as acquiring the host country language and forming social relationships with members of the host society. In rural areas, there are generally less immigrants relative to the native-born population, which increases their incentive to integrate (De Vroome et al. 2014; Ten Teije et al. 2013). Therefore, I include a binary variable in my models that is coded 1 for respondents who describe their domicile as a big city and 0 for those who describe it as a suburb, small city/town, country village, or farm/home in countryside. As for the country-level controls, states which suffer from poor macroeconomic conditions might find it more difficult to integrate their immigrant population economically. I control for two such conditions: the national GDP per capita (in thousands of US dollars) and national unemployment rate; I expect the former to be positively related and the latter to be negatively associated with my measures of economic integration. Data for these two variables are retrieved from the World Bank and Eurostat respectively.

4.2   ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Determining if and to what extent integration policy affects immigrants' attitudes and behavior is challenging. As I have described in Section 2.3, a number of insightful studies on the subject exist, yet their potential for causal inference is limited due to various methodological issues. Estimating the causal effects of integration policy requires comparing immigrants subject to a particular set of policy measures with a similar group of immigrants not subject to it. The fact that some European states substantially altered their approach to immigrant integration during the past ten to fifteen years while others did not allows me to use a difference-in-differences approach and compare the policy exposure and integration rates of these two groups. Difference-in-differences, or DID for short, has been a popular approach to estimate the effects of macro-level policy (changes) on individual-level outcomes (Angrist and Pischke 2015; Imbens and Wooldridge 2009).

DID models come in different variants, with the most popular one being a specification that Imbens and Wooldridge refer to as "repeated cross sections with multiple time periods and multiple groups" (2009, 67). In this particular version of the DID approach, which is expressed in equation (1), individuals are nested within groups G_i (such as countries), some of which have received the "treatment" (i.e. the policy or program) while others did not (Imbens and Wooldridge 2009, 68). At each time period T_i, random samples are drawn from the populations for each group. Therefore, individual i's group identity and time period can be treated as random variables. The β coefficient represents the impact of time common to both groups (i.e. a series of time dummies), γ represents the effect of time-invariant unobervables idiosyncratic to each group/country (i.e. a series of group/country dummies), and ε represents unobservable characteristics of the individual.

$$Y_i = \alpha + \sum_{t=1}^{T} \beta_t \times 1[T_i = t] + \sum_{g=1}^{G} \gamma_g \times 1[G_i = g] + \tau_{DID} \times I_i + \varepsilon_i \qquad (1)$$

The τ_{DID} term in equation (1) represents the effect of the treatment on Y:[35] The average change in outcome over time in the non-exposed (control) group is subtracted from the change over time in the exposed (treatment) group. "This double differencing removes biases in second period comparisons between the treatment and control group that could be the result from permanent differences between those groups, as well as biases from comparisons over time in the treatment group that could be the result of time trends unrelated to the treatment" (Imbens and Wooldridge 2009, 67; see also Angrist and Pischke 2015, 178-208). Therefore, the DID approach provides us with considerable leverage for estimating the causal effect of integration policy on immigrant's attitudes and behavior. It should be noted, however, that a causal interpretation of the results of a DID model depends crucially on the assumption of common trends. In other words, the DID approach presumes that "the average change in the outcome variable for the treated in the absence of the treatment is equal to the observed average change in the outcome variable for the controls" (Mora and Reggio 2012, 2). This assumption implies that differences between the controls and the treated if untreated are time-invariant. Therefore, the common trends assumption is consistent with unobservable group-specific time-invariant heterogeneity. If the common trends assumption is violated, the result will be biased parameter estimates.

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[35] For ease of presentation, the equation ignores the presence of other covariates, which introduce no special complication.

Unfortunately, there is no statistical test that would provide a definitive assessment of whether the common trends assumption is violated. Scholars therefore generally resort to inspecting trends in the outcome variable(s) prior to the implementation of the policy (Angrist and Pischke 2015, 183-187; Friedman 2013). Figure 2 plots the unemployment rate among immigrants for six EU member states between 1995 and 2004.[36] It suggests that European countries did not follow a common trend in immigrant integration during this time period. In Belgium, France, and Spain, unemployment among foreign-born individuals generally declined between 1995 and 2004, which can be interpreted as a movement toward improved integration. In Denmark, however, unemployment among immigrants first declined but then rose again, while in Germany and Luxembourg there was a general trend toward higher unemployment. Therefore, the assumption of common trends seems implausible in the context of my analysis, and needs to be addressed moving forward.

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[36] These data are obtained via Eurostat.

Figure 2. Immigrant Unemployment Rates in Six EU Member States, 1995-2004
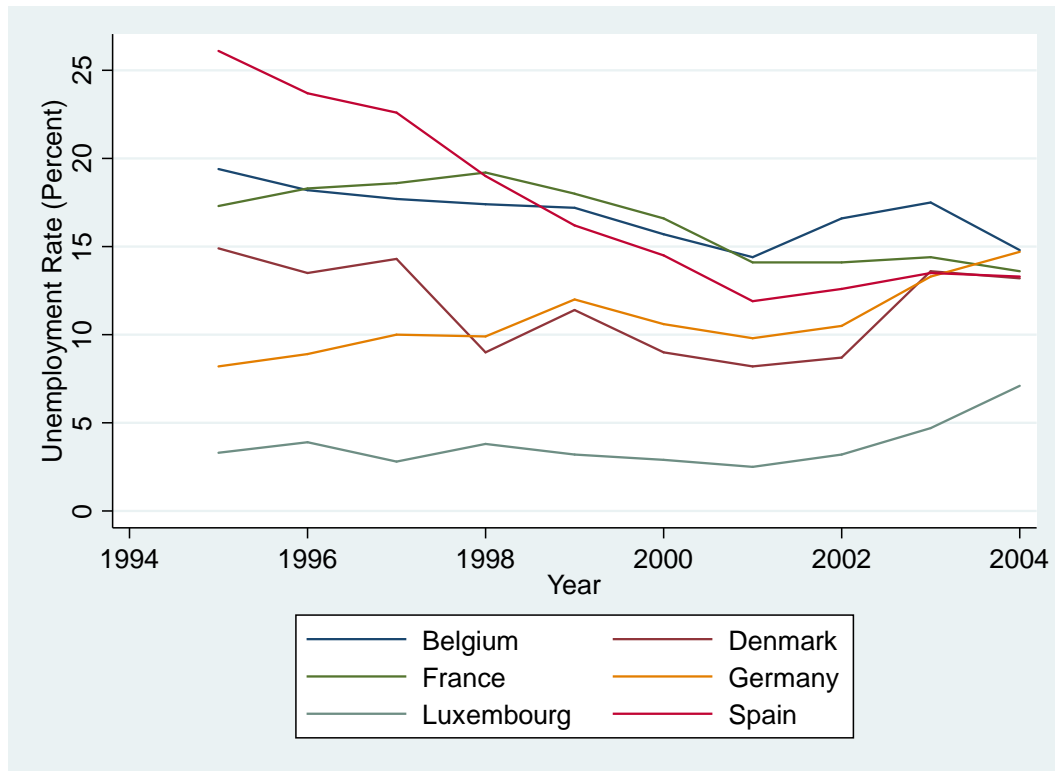
Source: Eurostat

A number of methodological innovations have been proposed that are intended to address this type of confounding (e.g. Abadie et al. 2010; Autor 2003; Ryan et al. 2015; Stuart et al. 2014; Waldinger 2010). One relatively easy-to-implement innovation that has gained increasing popularity among scholars using DID models are unit-specific time trends (Angrist and Pischke 2015; Bertrand et al. 2004; Carpenter and Dobkin 2011). Researchers sometimes supplement the DID specification with a time trend of some parametric form such as a state- or country-specific linear trend. In the context of my analysis, the inclusion of country dummies in combination with the country-specific time trends means that the model will return estimates of how mandatory integration programs affect immigrants' attitudes and behavior in a typical country, while adjusting for any country-specific trends in outcomes that preceded the change in immigrant

integration policy (Carpenter and Dobkin 2011, 140). Simply put, the inclusion of the country-specific time trends allows me to relax the common trends assumption. Adding country-specific linear trends to the previous specification leads to the model expressed in equation (2). This model presumes that in the absence of a treatment effect, integration levels in country g deviate from common year effects by following the linear trend captured by the coefficient θ_g (Angrist and Pischke 2015, 197).

$$Y_i = \alpha + \sum_{t=1}^{T} \beta_t \times 1[T_i = t] + \sum_{g=1}^{G} \gamma_g \times 1[G_i = g] + \sum_{g=1}^{G} \theta_g \times 1[(G_i = g) \times t] + \tau_{DID} \times I_i + \varepsilon_i \qquad (2)$$

For each of the six outcome variables/measures of integration, I estimate two DID models: a baseline model which includes the treatment (CIVIX or MIPEX-IRS), the country dummies, the year dummies, and the country-specific linear time trends; and an extended model which includes all the variables included in the baseline model plus the individual-level and country-level controls described in the previous section. All models are estimated using robust standard errors clustered by country-year to account for any heteroskedasticity of observation (Beck et al. 1998). Additionally, all analyses are conducted using the ESS post-stratification and population size weights in order to maximize the representativeness of the sample (Angrist and Pischke 2015, 201-203). The post-stratification weights are a sophisticated weighting strategy that uses auxiliary information to reduce the sampling error and potential non-response bias. In other words, the post-stratification weights correct for the fact that in some countries respondents have different probabilities to be part of the sample due to the sampling design used. Similarly, the population size weights correct for the fact that countries taking part in the ESS have different population sizes but similar sample sizes.

Aside from the issue of parallel trends and bias in difference-in-differences models discussed above, two additional objections to my analytical approach are worth addressing. First, immigrants responding to the ESS might be more likely to exhibit high levels of integration than a country's overall immigrant population because the questionnaire is conducted in the host country's official language. This raises concerns about the extent to which the ESS sample of immigrants is representative of its constituent countries' immigrant populations, since migrants have to be able to speak the host country's official language to make it into the sample. As a result, sample respondents may have higher average levels of integration than the immigrant population at large. Therefore, one might argue that this chapter is an analysis of the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements on immigrants with a certain base level of integration rather than their effects on immigrants in general.

While it is impossible to fully address this concern, this type of sampling bias does likely not pose an impediment to causal inference here. Research has repeatedly shown that language learning – and skill acquisition in general – follow a logic of diminishing returns (Ericsson 1996; Foer 2011; Fredrick and Walberg 1980; Walberg et al. 1978). This means that in the early stages of learning a foreign language, a small amount of effort leads to relatively large skill gains. In the later stages, the same amount of effort produces smaller gains in skill. In other words, the closer one gets to mastering a foreign language, the more difficult it becomes to progress. Therefore, it stands to reason to expect that mandatory language requirements have a greater positive effect on language acquisition among immigrants with no knowledge of the host country's language than among those with some knowledge of it. Since the ESS data and, by extension, my sample only contain responses from immigrants with enough knowledge of the host society's language to

answer a survey, I would argue that my research design likely underestimates the effect of mandatory integration requirements on immigrant integration.[37]

Second, as with most policy evaluations, there is the issue of non-random treatment assignment. The European states that have adopted stricter immigrant integration policies might have done so for reasons that are related to one or more of the outcome measures of integration, which might lead us to overestimate the effects of the policy treatment. While this concern cannot be ruled out completely, it does likely not bias the estimates here. The extensive set of control variables in combination with the country dummies and country-specific linear time trends takes care of a wide range of potential confounding factors. In addition, as suggested by the discussion in Section 1.2 of this dissertation, the EU members which have adopted more restrictive integration policies are the ones which previously had difficulties in integrating their comparatively large immigrant populations. Therefore, if anything, the analytical approach employed here will bias the results downwards, that is, produce more conservative estimates of the effect of mandatory integration requirements on integration outcomes.

4.3 RESULTS

Table 21 illustrates the descriptive statistics for the sample respondents. The average sample respondent exhibits a moderate level of social trust ($\bar{x} = 5.262$). In terms of values, the immigrants in the sample seem rather well-integrated, with tolerance having a mean score of 3.765 on a scale ranging from 1 to 5. Politically, the sample respondents appear somewhat less

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[37] For a supporting viewpoint, see Goodman and Wright (2015, 1893-1894).

integrated: they are marginally interested in politics ($\bar{x}$ = 2.181 on a 4-point scale) and exhibit a moderate level of institutional trust ($\bar{x}$ = 5.374). Nine out of ten immigrants in the sample are not actively seeking work, and they seem rather content with their financial situation ($\bar{x}$ = 2.810 on a 4-point scale). Sample respondents primarily have their origins in Eastern Europe and the Balkans (34%), the Western hemisphere (24%), and the Middle East and North Africa (13%). Relatively few immigrants come from Latin America (12%), sub-Saharan Africa (10%), and Asia (8%). A large number of immigrants report they do not belong to any particular religion or denomination (31%); those who do identify primarily as Catholic (27%) or Muslim (15%).

Table 21. Descriptive Statistics II					
Variable	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Minimum**	**Maximum**
CIVIX	5,295	2.516	1.960	0	8.75
MIPEX-IRS	3,367	23.587	23.189	0	78.2
Social trust	5,604	5.262	1.868	0	10
Tolerance	5,345	3.765	1.209	1	5
Political interest	5,594	2.181	.983	1	4
Institutional trust	5,522	5.374	2.060	0	10
Employment	5,621	.892	.310	0	1
Income	5,505	2.810	.905	1	4
Western	5,396	.243	.429	0	1
East European	5,396	.336	.472	0	1
Latin American	5,396	.117	.322	0	1
Sub-Saharan	5,396	.096	.295	0	1
Mid Eastern	5,396	.129	.335	0	1
Asian	5,396	.078	.269	0	1
Catholic	5,377	.269	.444	0	1
Protestant	5,377	.070	.256	0	1
Other Christian	5,377	.168	.374	0	1
Muslim	5,377	.147	.354	0	1
Other religion	5,377	.036	.186	0	1
No religion	5,377	.309	.462	0	1
Education migrant	5,527	3.364	1.450	1	5
Education parents	5,211	2.575	1.455	1	5
Family status	5,584	.655	.475	0	1
Male gender	5,614	.472	.499	0	1
Age	5,572	34.171	11.356	15	93
Domicile	5,593	.307	.461	0	1
GDP per capita	5,621	40.806	12.636	16.606	88.610
Unemployment	5,621	9.378	4.626	3.4	26.1

The average sample respondent is quite educated ($\bar{x}$ = 3.354 on a 5-point scale), more so than their parents. Two thirds of the immigrants in the sample share their household with at least one other person. The sample is almost evenly divided between males (47.2%) and females (52.8%), and the average respondent is 34 years of age. About a third of the immigrants in the

sample report living in a big city. As for the country-level variables, the average scores for both CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS are rather low, which reflects the fact that at the beginning of the time period under investigation, almost none of the sample countries had implemented mandatory integration requirements. With $40.806, the average GDP per capita is relatively high. This mean, however, masks considerable variation, with GDP values ranging from $16,606 to $88,610. National unemployment rates also vary substantially across countries and time, with values ranging from 3.4% to 26.1%.

Given the structure of the data, it might be informative to provide additional descriptive statistics for each country. Table 22 shows the mean value for each variable by country. It illustrates a number of interesting differences between immigrant communities in different European countries. For example, Portugal and Spain are the only two countries in the sample with a sizeable number of immigrants from Latin America. For most countries in the sample, the majority of immigrants come from Western countries, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, or the Middle East and North Africa. Immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Balkans account for a particularly large portion of the overall immigrant population in the EU-N10 countries. For most of the EU-15 countries, the mean values suggest that the sample respondents are reasonably representative of the larger immigrant community in their country. For example, 18.4% of the sample respondents in Germany come from the Middle East and North Africa, which is consistent with the overall figures for the country. For the EU-N10 countries in the sample, the mean values suggest that the respondents are less representative of the overall immigrant population, likely due to the relatively low number of respondents living in these countries.

Table 22. Country-by-Country Means II

Country	CIVIX	MIPEX-IRS	Soc. trust	Tolerance	Pol. interest	Inst. Trust	Employment
Austria	3.951	43.480	5.094	3.918	2.267	5.034	.902
Belgium	1.115	6.085	5.187	3.783	2.364	5.596	.926
Cyprus		26.744	4.404	3.705	1.928	5.043	.921
Czech Rep.		21.800	4.702	3.259	1.893	3.788	.929
Denmark	6.783	52.022	6.214	4.014	2.752	6.183	.856
Estonia		18.082	5.041	2.886	2.533	4.856	1
Finland	2.177	10	6.236	3.620	2.398	6.653	.911
France	3.712	58.397	4.878	3.529	2.438	5.159	.850
Germany	4.756	40.251	5.277	3.503	2.294	5.555	.889
Great Britain	4.335	48.958	5.699	3.672	2.433	5.850	.944
Greece	3.054	45.533	4.072	3.562	1.710	5.135	.892
Hungary		26.316	4.658	3.135	2.100	4.280	.950
Ireland	1	0	5.566	3.878	1.997	5.091	.864
Italy	2.806	45.000	4.935	3.833	2.278	4.426	.889
Lithuania		45.800	5.400	2.800	1.200	3.040	1
Luxembourg	1		5.353	4.018	2.168	6.342	.949
Netherlands	4.757	68.568	5.556	3.931	2.256	5.630	.900
Poland		15.500	4.857	3.667	2.857	3.229	1
Portugal	1.170	11.200	4.590	3.917	2.014	3.914	.882
Slovakia		47.800	5.333	3.385	2.231	4.554	.692
Slovenia		6	4.431	3.178	1.694	4.376	.878
Spain	2.348	32	4.939	3.826	1.966	5.036	.831
Sweden	0	0	5.944	3.926	2.574	6.305	.930

Table 22. Country-by-Country Means II (Continued)

Country	Income	Western	E. European	Latin	Sub-Saharan	Mid Eastern	Asian
Austria	2.717	.382	.376	.029	.029	.147	.035
Belgium	2.825	.379	.218	.035	.116	.223	.030
Cyprus	2.540	.328	.518	0	.044	.066	.044
Czech Rep.	2.615	.087	.783	0	0	.043	.087
Denmark	3.171	.326	.268	.022	.029	.239	.116
Estonia	2.864	.089	.822	0	0	.067	.022
Finland	2.866	.145	.552	.023	.076	.099	.105
France	2.838	.221	.088	.080	.252	.319	.040
Germany	2.724	.107	.475	.027	.027	.184	.181
Great Britain	3.101	.205	.222	.031	.191	.121	.230
Greece	2.115	.132	.742	.009	.039	.066	.012
Hungary	2.615	.059	.941	0	0	0	0
Ireland	2.846	.308	.427	.039	.096	.034	.096
Italy	3.167	.222	.333	.194	0	.250	0
Lithuania	3.200	0	1	0	0	0	0
Luxembourg	3.086	.750	.100	.019	.085	.015	.031
Netherlands	2.886	.273	.181	.150	.119	.220	.057
Poland	2.571	.429	.429	0	0	.143	0
Portugal	2.554	.085	.146	.510	.241	.010	.007
Slovakia	2.385	.091	.727	0	.091	.091	0
Slovenia	2.959	.064	.915	0	0	0	.021
Spain	2.677	.094	.213	.446	.047	.167	.034
Sweden	3.161	.263	.223	.072	.076	.299	.068

Table 22. Country-by-Country Means II (Continued)

Country	Catholic	Protestant	Other Christian	Muslim	Other Religion	No Religion	Education Migrant
Austria	.218	.067	.106	.207	.028	.374	3.049
Belgium	.253	.075	.093	.253	.026	.300	3.406
Cyprus	.016	.008	.896	.032	.032	.016	3.630
Czech Rep.	.259	.037	0	0	.074	.630	3.464
Denmark	.139	.139	.097	.236	.049	.340	3.683
Estonia	0	.044	.489	.044	.067	.356	4.133
Finland	.039	.140	.162	.095	.045	.520	3.616
France	.170	.062	.077	.309	.026	.356	3.502
Germany	.157	.177	.118	.165	.044	.339	3.266
Great Britain	.187	.109	.050	.136	.084	.434	3.664
Greece	.060	.021	.610	.202	.009	.097	2.754
Hungary	.382	.294	.088	0	0	.235	3.282
Ireland	.426	.059	.108	.053	.041	.312	3.961
Italy	.389	0	.083	.250	0	.278	3.088
Lithuania	.200	0	.600	0	0	.200	4.600
Luxembourg	.372	.035	.146	.111	.021	.316	3.129
Netherlands	.276	.044	.066	.154	.035	.425	3.261
Poland	.571	0	.143	0	0	.286	3.571
Portugal	.491	.062	.192	.027	.024	.203	2.800
Slovakia	.538	0	.154	.231	0	.077	3.538
Slovenia	.188	.042	.271	.146	0	.354	2.939
Spain	.383	.024	.172	.194	.022	.206	2.755
Sweden	.103	.082	.089	.228	.043	.456	3.433

Table 22. Country-by-Country Means II (Continued)

Country	Education parents	Family status	Male gender	Age	Domicile	GDP per capita	Unemployment
Austria	2.778	.552	.492	35.376	.497	42.233	5.244
Belgium	2.595	.708	.461	34.742	.398	40.652	7.882
Cyprus	2.568	.654	.403	34.388	.381	33.468	8.086
Czech Rep.	3.071	.593	.643	36.889	.286	26.145	7.250
Denmark	3.028	.655	.473	33.973	.308	44.609	5.592
Estonia	3.512	.867	.511	47.386	.489	25.286	8.287
Finland	2.925	.708	.406	34.766	.255	39.337	8.232
France	2.594	.721	.416	34.969	.434	37.101	9.006
Germany	2.999	.690	.423	34.370	.306	39.865	8.095
Great Britain	2.912	.631	.506	32.242	.283	36.911	6.244
Greece	2.032	.669	.405	33.766	.603	28.456	11.404
Hungary	2.528	.725	.400	38.410	.250	22.169	8.553
Ireland	2.890	.662	.517	35.037	.146	47.052	11.885
Italy	2.243	.611	.361	33.444	.250	35.688	10.189
Lithuania	3.200	.600	.400	30.800	.600	25.877	10.720
Luxembourg	2.254	.711	.480	33.990	.221	86.186	4.322
Netherlands	2.484	.626	.461	34.043	.413	44.636	5.215
Poland	3.286	1	.571	41.429	.286	21.126	11.157
Portugal	1.860	.546	.443	31.970	.340	26.723	10.686
Slovakia	3.038	.846	.462	33.167	.077	22.807	14.631
Slovenia	2.734	.714	.449	33.673	.417	28.466	7.518
Spain	1.870	.608	.503	34.147	.287	32.663	15.603
Sweden	3.040	.651	.473	32.535	.223	42.404	7.349

Tables 23 through 25 illustrate the relationship between CIVIX scores and the various outcome measures of immigrant integration. Contrary to my expectations, mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants have no significant impact on social and political integration. Immigrants in countries with stricter integration requirements are no more likely to develop social trust and adopt Western European values (measured as tolerance of homosexuals) than immigrants in countries without such policies. Similarly, mandatory language and civic education requirements are not significantly associated with immigrants' levels of political interest and institutional trust. However, these integration policies do have a strong and positive effect on both measures of economic integration: immigrants in countries with higher CIVIX scores report significantly higher rates of employment as well as greater satisfaction with their financial situations than those in countries with lower scores.

Substantively, these effects are quite large in size. Holding all other variables constant at their mean, immigrants in countries with a low CIVIX score (x = 0) have a .831 probability of being employed. In states with a moderate CIVIX score (x = 4), this probability increases to .934. In countries with a high CIVIX score (x = 8), immigrants have a .980 probability of being employed. Figure 3 plots the predicted probabilities for subjective financial well-being at various levels of the CIVIX scale. The graph illustrates that the probability of immigrants saying they are living comfortably on their present income increases substantially as countries' CIVIX scores go up, while the probability of immigrants saying they find it very difficult or difficult to live on their present income decreases considerably.

Table 23. Determinants of Social Integration (CIVIX)

	Social Trust (OLS)		Tolerance (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	-0.004	0.007	-0.008	-0.009
	(0.067)	(0.063)	(0.051)	(0.066)
Education migrant		0.020		0.083***
		(0.034)		(0.023)
Education parents		0.082**		0.030
		(0.035)		(0.022)
Family status		-0.077		0.085
		(0.083)		(0.065)
Male gender		-0.035		-0.063
		(0.074)		(0.053)
Age		0.006		-0.008***
		(0.004)		(0.003)
Domicile		0.054		0.089
		(0.085)		(0.056)
GDP per capita		-0.032		0.020
		(0.034)		(0.033)
Unemployment		-0.043**		0.017
		(0.019)		(0.015)
Religion dummies (not reported)				
Region dummies (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,281	4,419	5,039	4,237
(Pseudo) R^2	0.076	0.087	0.014	0.077

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 24. Determinants of Political Integration (CIVIX)

	Political Interest (Ordered Probit)		Institutional Trust (OLS)	
	Baseline Model	Full Model	Baseline Model	Full Model
CIVIX	-0.029	-0.039	0.075	0.053
	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.108)	(0.098)
Education migrant		0.168***		0.000
		(0.020)		(0.035)
Education parents		0.051***		0.034
		(0.016)		(0.042)
Family status		0.021		0.041
		(0.050)		(0.109)
Male gender		0.362***		0.005
		(0.052)		(0.092)
Age		0.010***		0.001
		(0.003)		(0.004)
Domicile		0.065		0.071
		(0.059)		(0.091)
GDP per capita		-0.050**		-0.075
		(0.023)		(0.056)
Unemployment		-0.015		-0.137***
		(0.019)		(0.029)
Religion dummies (not reported)				
Region dummies (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,269	4,412	5,205	4,365
(Pseudo) R^2	0.023	0.074	0.079	0.095

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 25. Determinants of Economic Integration (CIVIX)

	Employment Status (Probit)		Income (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	0.151*	0.137*	0.108**	0.149***
	(0.086)	(0.072)	(0.048)	(0.054)
Education migrant		-0.008		0.096***
		(0.030)		(0.026)
Education parents		0.020		0.087***
		(0.038)		(0.025)
Family status		-0.019		-0.047
		(0.094)		(0.062)
Male gender		-0.129		-0.067
		(0.085)		(0.074)
Age		-0.002		-0.002
		(0.004)		(0.003)
Domicile		-0.009		-0.034
		(0.091)		(0.040)
GDP per capita		-0.099***		-0.001
		(0.031)		(0.025)
Unemployment		-0.114***		-0.008
		(0.025)		(0.017)
Religion dummies (not reported)				
Region dummies (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,295	4,429	5,183	4,370
(Pseudo) R^2	0.053	0.080	0.035	0.079

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Figure 3. Effect of CIVIX on Income
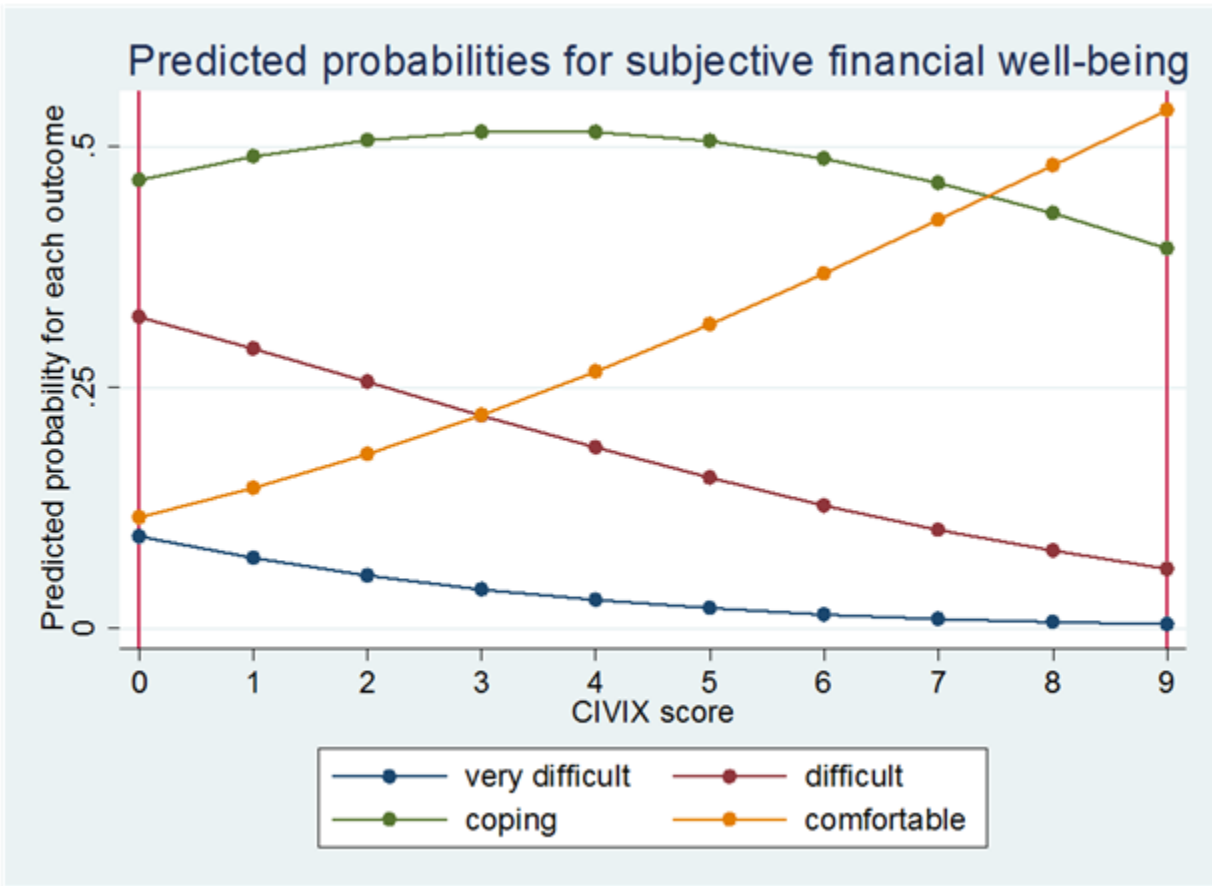
Predicted probabilities for subjective financial well-being

Holding all other variables constant at their mean, immigrants in countries with a low CIVIX score (x = 0) have a .116 probability of saying they are living comfortably on their present income, and a .419 probability of saying they find it difficult or very difficult to live on their present income. In stark contrast, immigrants in countries with a high CIVIX score (x = 8) have a .481 probability of saying they are living comfortably on their present income, and a .088 probability of saying they find it difficult or very difficult to live on their present income. Interestingly, the marginal effects of CIVIX are declining with increasing CIVIX levels: going from no mandatory integration requirements at all to some requirements has a stronger effect on immigrants' income and employment than going from some mandatory integration requirements

to numerous/very stringent requirements. Examining the reasons behind these declining marginal effects promises to be a fruitful avenue for future research.

Several control variables also have a significant impact on certain outcome measures of integration. Younger immigrants are more likely to embrace Western European values (measured as tolerance of homosexuals) than older ones, but they are less likely to show an interest in politics. Male immigrants are more likely to show an interest in politics than female ones. Respondents' level of education and, to a lesser extent, their parents' level of education are positively related to social trust, tolerance of homosexuals, political interest, and subjective financial well-being. As for the country-level controls, high unemployment rates lead to decreased social trust, institutional trust, and employment prospects among immigrants. GDP per capita is negatively associated with immigrants' interest in politics and, surprisingly, employment prospects. However, the negative relationship between GDP per capita and immigrant employment may simply be a statistical artifact due to the high correlation between GDP per capita and national unemployment rates.

Next, I estimate the same models using MIPEX-IRS as a measure of integration requirements instead of CIVIX. The results of these analyses are shown in Tables 26 through 28. The results are similar to my previous analyses in that mandatory integration requirements appear to have no effect on immigrants' level of social and political integration. However, the results are different in regards to economic integration; here, using CIVIX leads to a positive and significant effect of language and civic education requirements on immigrant employment and income, while using MIPEX-IRS suggests the absence of a significant impact. This goes back to Goodman's (2015) discussion of different integration policy indices and their incompatibility (see Section 2.1). To further investigate this difference in results, I restrict the sample to cases

common to CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS, that is, the EU-15 countries between 2007 and 2014. Table 29 shows the results for this reduced sample. The coefficients for CIVIX remain positive but they are no longer statistically significant. In the case of MIPEX-IRS, the coefficients remain negative and insignificant. Similar to the results in Chapter 3, this suggests that the divergent findings between CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS are due to measurement issues (i.e. the two indices do not measure the same exact concept) rather than differences in sample selection (Goodman 2012b; 2015).

Table 26. Determinants of Social Integration (MIPEX-IRS)

	Social Trust (OLS)		**Tolerance (Ordered Probit)**	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
MIPEX-IRS	0.007	0.014	-0.002	0.008
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.010)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	3,359	2,977	3,216	2,862
(Pseudo) R^2	0.077	0.105	0.012	0.077

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 27. Determinants of Political Integration (MIPEX-IRS)

	Political Interest (Ordered Probit)		Institutional Trust (OLS)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
MIPEX-IRS	-0.011	-0.009	-0.010	-0.005
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.019)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	3,353	2,975	3,307	2,938
(Pseudo) R^2	0.023	0.080	0.119	0.131

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 28. Determinants of Economic Integration (MIPEX-IRS)

	Employment Status (Probit)		Income (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
MIPEX-IRS	-0.005	-0.003	-0.003	-0.007
	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	3,367	2,985	3,327	2,955
(Pseudo) R^2	0.086	0.115	0.036	0.086

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 29. Determinants of Economic Integration (CIVIX vs. MIPEX-IRS)

	Employment Status (Probit)				Income (Ordered Probit)			
	Baseline Model		*Full Model*		*Baseline Model*		*Full Model*	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
CIVIX	0.281		0.093		0.363		0.154	
	(0.261)		(0.497)		(0.316)		(0.275)	
MIPEX-IRS		-0.006		-0.004		-0.003		-0.007
		(0.010)		(0.013)		(0.007)		(0.008)
Controls (not reported)								
Constant(s) (not reported)								
Country dum.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dum.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lin. trends	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	2,633	3,124	2,362	2,758	2,599	3,084	2,336	2,728
(Pseudo) R^2	0.105	0.086	0.142	0.116	0.033	0.036	0.088	0.085

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Given these divergent findings, the question becomes: which set of results should be believed? I argue that using the original sample (EU-15, 2002-2015) with CIVIX as the key independent variable is likely to produce the most trustworthy results, for the following three reasons. First, as I have elaborated on in Section 2.1, CIVIX is a more valid measure of the intensity of a country's language and civic education requirements for immigrants than MIPEX-IRS. Second, MIPEX-IRS is not well suited for analyzing immigrants' responses to the ESS. In countries other than the EU-15, the ESS not only skips relatively many waves but also surveys comparatively few respondents. Therefore, compared to the models using CIVIX, the models using MIPEX-IRS have a much smaller number of years, country-years, and observations.[38]

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[38] Of the 5,621 sample respondents, 5,295 (94.2%) reside in one of the EU-15 countries and only 326 (5.8%) in one of the other eight sample countries. For some of these eight countries, the number of respondents is

Third, in the reduced sample (Table 29), half of the initial time period under investigation is being omitted (seven out of 14 years), including the crucial period between 2002 and 2006. The omission of these years represents a substantial loss of information, which stacks the deck against finding a significant effect of mandatory integration requirements. In the following sub-section, I subject the results from the original sample (EU-15, 2002-2015) with CIVIX as the key independent variable to a number of additional robustness checks.

4.3.1 Robustness

I undertake a total of four robustness checks to ensure that my findings are not sensitive to alternative model specifications. First, one might argue that my measure of the treatment variable – language and civic education requirements for immigrants – is somewhat problematic: assignment to these requirements is assumed, and noncompliance is not measured. In other words, it is impossible to rigorously ascertain a given immigrant's "treatment status", i.e. whether, to what extent, and to what kinds of integration requirement a given immigrant was actually exposed to. This concern is already in part mitigated by the fact that I restricted the sample to immigrants who recently arrived (duration < ten years) and were therefore likely exposed to language and/or civic education requirements as they went through the entry, residency, and/or naturalization process (Goodman and Wright 2015). To mitigate this concern even further, I restrict my sample in ways which additionally increase the likelihood that the

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alarmingly low. For example, there are only seven respondents for Poland and five for Lithuania. In the context of this particular analysis, the ESS therefore does not allow for drawing meaningful inferences for countries other than the EU-15.

sample respondents actually received the treatment (i.e. the policy). If I can show that the effect of CIVIX on measures of economic integration is stronger for these reduced samples than it is for the full sample, it would lend additional support to my previous finding that mandatory language requirements improve immigrants' employment prospects and financial well-being.

I restrict the sample in the following two ways: First, I exclude immigrants who were born in another EU member state, since integration requirements are generally less pervasive for them than they are for immigrants from other regions (Goodman and Wright 2015). Tables 30 through 32 report the results for this reduced sample. According to my expectations, the coefficients for the CIVIX variable in the models predicting economic integration become larger and their p-values smaller, while the results for social and political integration remain unchanged. Second, I exclude female immigrants, since male immigrants are overrepresented in integration courses in many European countries. For example, in Germany, two thirds of course participants between 2014 and 2016 were male (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2018). This overrepresentation is due to newly arriving immigrants in Germany being mostly male as well as female immigrants oftentimes being exempt from attending integration courses because they cannot afford to have someone take care of their children while they attend the courses (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2017). Tables 33 through 35 report the results for this reduced sample. Again, the coefficients for the CIVIX variable in the models predicting economic integration become larger and their p-values smaller, while the results for social and political integration remain unchanged. Therefore, these results strengthen my

confidence in the results previously mentioned, namely that mandatory integration requirements have a positive effect on immigrants' level of economic integration.[39]

Table 30. Determinants of Social Integration – No EU Migrants (CIVIX)

	Social Trust (OLS)		Tolerance (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	0.060	0.012	-0.044	-0.029
	(0.066)	(0.072)	(0.067)	(0.079)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	3,132	2,697	2,956	2,557
(Pseudo) R^2	0.082	0.097	0.018	0.060

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

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[39] A more precise test would have been to distinguish sample respondents by immigration category, as mandatory language and civic education requirements most consistently apply to refugees and immigrants that fall under the category of family reunification. Other categories of immigrants, for example foreign military personnel and foreign-born individuals with a student visa, are generally exempt from having to partake in these requirements. Therefore, restricting the sample to respondents within the former immigration categories would increase the precision of my key independent variable, as it would increase the likelihood that a given sample respondent actually received the treatment. Unfortunately, the ESS does not provide information on respondents' immigration category, which makes it impossible to conduct such a test.

Table 31. Determinants of Political Integration – No EU Migrants (CIVIX)

	Political Interest (Ordered Probit)		Institutional Trust (OLS)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	-0.020	-0.041	0.111	0.108
	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.147)	(0.105)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	3,121	2,690	3,089	2,669
(Pseudo) R^2	0.026	0.081	0.077	0.098

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 32. Determinants of Economic Integration – No EU Migrants (CIVIX)

	Employment Status (Probit)		Income (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	0.219*	0.223***	0.144**	0.161**
	(0.128)	(0.086)	(0.070)	(0.066)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	3,137	2,701	3,049	2,657
(Pseudo) R^2	0.061	0.098	0.030	0.074

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 33. Determinants of Social Integration – Male Migrants Only (CIVIX)

	Social Trust (OLS)		Tolerance (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	0.062	-0.001	-0.046	-0.089
	(0.077)	(0.097)	(0.050)	(0.068)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	2,490	2,084	2,382	2,008
(Pseudo) R^2	0.083	0.109	0.019	0.084

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 34. Determinants of Political Integration – Male Migrants Only (CIVIX)

	Political Interest (Ordered Probit)		Institutional Trust (OLS)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	-0.018	-0.062	0.129	0.133
	(0.067)	(0.076)	(0.148)	(0.148)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	2,489	2,084	2,466	2,066
(Pseudo) R^2	0.031	0.083	0.111	0.134

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 35. Determinants of Economic Integration – Male Migrants Only (CIVIX)

	Employment Status (Probit)		Income (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	0.172[*]	0.192[*]	0.094[**]	0.171[**]
	(0.089)	(0.100)	(0.044)	(0.075)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	2,503	2,093	2,460	2,068
(Pseudo) R^2	0.086	0.139	0.042	0.088

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Second, it has been argued that a more valid way for measuring integration is to benchmark an immigrant's score on a particular outcome measure against the host population's average value for the same outcome measure; after all, the goal of integration is to render immigrants close to or indistinguishable from the host population in terms of attitudes and behavior (Burgoon 2014; Goodman and Wright 2015). For example, it would be unfair to expect immigrants to become more tolerant of homosexuals throughout the integration process if the natives themselves are rather intolerant. Similarly, an immigrant having a substantially higher level of institutional trust than the average member of the host population would hardly be indicative of successful integration.

Therefore, I create benchmark values by taking the absolute value (modulus) of the difference between an immigrant's value for a particular outcome measure and natives' average score for the same country-year. This coding process results in six new outcome measures, each of them continuous and censored at 0. A value of 0 represents "perfect integration", i.e. no

difference between an immigrant's score on a particular integration measure and natives' average score for the same outcome. Greater values represent lower levels of integration in the sense that the distance between an immigrant's response and the average native's response becomes larger (Burgoon 2014). Tables 36 through 38 show the results for the models using these benchmark values as the dependent variables. Note that in these models, negative coefficients should be interpreted as decreasing the distance between immigrants' and natives' attitudes and behavior, thereby leading to improved integration outcomes. The results only provide partial support for the existence of a positive relationship between mandatory integration requirements and measures of economic integration, as all four coefficients point in the expected direction but only one of them achieves statistical significance.

Table 36. Determinants of Social Integration – Benchmark Values (CIVIX)

	Social Trust (OLS)		Tolerance (OLS)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	-0.001	-0.013	0.023	0.037
	(0.049)	(0.064)	(0.050)	(0.054)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,281	4,419	5,039	4,237
(Pseudo) R^2	0.031	0.050	0.052	0.132

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 37. Determinants of Political Integration – Benchmark Values (CIVIX)

	Political Interest (OLS)		Institutional Trust (OLS)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	0.003	0.008	0.038	0.026
	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.044)	(0.065)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,269	4,412	5,205	4,365
(Pseudo) R^2	0.032	0.048	0.027	0.049

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 38. Determinants of Economic Integration – Benchmark Values (CIVIX)

	Employment Status (Probit)		Income (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	-0.021	-0.017[*]	-0.042	-0.024
	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.028)	(0.023)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,295	4,429	5,183	4,370
(Pseudo) R^2	0.056	0.076	0.019	0.049

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Third, I conduct a series of "placebo tests" by re-running the baseline models and examining the impact of CIVIX on the native-born population rather than newly arriving immigrants. While mandatory integration requirements can have certain effects on native-born individuals, particularly on their attitudes toward immigrants (see Section 2.4 and Chapter 5), there is no theoretically compelling reason as to why these requirements should affect their employment prospects and financial well-being. Therefore, if I can show that CIVIX has no effect on natives' employment and financial well-being, it would strengthen my argument that the positive impact of mandatory integration requirements on immigrants' level of economic integration that I found in this section is indicative of a true relationship rather than being driven by omitted variables, time trends, or other endogenous processes (i.e. being a false positive). Tables 39 through 41 show the results for these placebo tests. According to my expectations, mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants do not have a significant effect on any of the six outcome measures for the host population.

Table 39. Determinants of Social Integration – Placebo Test (CIVIX)

	Social Trust (OLS)	**Tolerance (Ordered Probit)**
CIVIX	-0.007	-0.001
	(0.018)	(0.013)
Constant(s) (not reported)		
Country dummies	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y
N	164,477	161,064
(Pseudo) R^2	0.096	0.024

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 40. Determinants of Political Integration – Placebo Test (CIVIX)

	Interest (Ordered Probit)	Institutional Trust (OLS)
CIVIX	0.018	0.001
	(0.021)	(0.034)
Constant(s) (not reported)		
Country dummies	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y
N	164,314	164,207
(Pseudo) R^2	.028	.101

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 41. Determinants of Economic Integration – Placebo Test (CIVIX)

	Employment (Probit)	Income (Ordered Probit)
CIVIX	0.027	-0.004
	(0.019)	(0.019)
Constant(s) (not reported)		
Country dummies	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y
N	164,602	160,001
(Pseudo) R^2	.019	.028

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Fourth, in Section 4.2, I have argued that country-specific linear time trends are a way to relax the common trends assumption and reduce bias in DID models. However, one potential problem with this approach is that by including these linear trends, the "identifying assumption shifts from common trends to what can be termed 'common growths', since now deviation from a trend line identifies impact" (Friedman 2013). Differently put, linear time trends require the assumption that absent any treatment, integration outcomes would have developed linearly over time rather than, say, followed a curvilinear trend. Again, it is impossible to definitively test

whether a counterfactual trend would have been linear, curvilinear, etc. (Friedman 2013). Researchers using DID models therefore mostly rely on theoretical justifications for the parametric form (linear, quadratic, cubic) of their unit-specific time trends. Another (admittedly crude) approach is to estimate models with different types of time trends to examine a) whether the effect of the treatment is the same across different specifications, and b) which model specification performs best in terms of goodness of fit.

Given the developments in immigrant integration prior to 2004 illustrated in Figure 2, it seems reasonable to assume that the trends are linear for a majority of the countries in the sample. To further probe this assumption, I re-run my main models but this time include country-specific quadratic time trends in addition to the country-specific linear trends. This specification presumes that in the absence of a treatment effect, integration levels in a given country deviate from common year effects by following curvilinear trend rather than a linear one. Tables 42 through 44 show the results for these analyses. The coefficients for CIVIX in the models predicting economic integration remain positive and – with the exception of the full model predicting employment status – all of them retain their significance. In addition, CIVIX now has a positive and significant effect on social trust as well as institutional trust (at least in the baseline model). In terms of goodness of fit, the quadratic models perform slightly better than the linear models for some of the outcome measures but slightly worse for others. This suggests that whether immigrant integration would have followed a linear or quadratic trend absent the treatment depends on which particular measure of integration is being used. Overall, the relationship between mandatory integration requirements and economic integration appears robust to the inclusion of country-specific quadratic time trends. In conclusion, then, the robustness tests increase my confidence in the validity of the findings outlined in this section.

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Table 42. Determinants of Social Integration – Quadratic Trends (CIVIX)

	Social Trust (OLS)		Tolerance (OLS)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	0.173**	0.163**	-0.041	-0.032
	(0.073)	(0.077)	(0.047)	(0.071)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
Quadratic trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,281	4,419	5,039	4,237
(Pseudo) R^2	0.084	0.091	0.016	0.079

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 43. Determinants of Political Integration – Quadratic Trends (CIVIX)

	Political Interest (OLS)		Institutional Trust (OLS)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	-0.012	0.007	0.249***	0.129
	(0.050)	(0.052)	(0.080)	(0.108)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
Quadratic trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,269	4,412	5,205	4,365
(Pseudo) R^2	0.024	0.076	0.089	0.098

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 44. Determinants of Economic Integration – Quadratic Trends (CIVIX)

	Employment Status (Probit)		Income (Ordered Probit)	
	Baseline Model	*Full Model*	*Baseline Model*	*Full Model*
CIVIX	0.231**	0.126	0.184***	0.229***
	(0.092)	(0.091)	(0.051)	(0.056)
Control variables (not reported)				
Constant(s) (not reported)				
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linear trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
Quadratic trends	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	5,295	4,429	5,183	4,370
(Pseudo) R^2	0.062	0.098	0.036	0.084

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

4.4   TREATMENT OR SELECTION EFFECT?

The previous section has shown that immigrants in countries with higher CIVIX scores are more likely to be employed and satisfied with their financial situation than those in states with lower scores. But the question remains *how exactly* mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants lead to improved economic integration outcomes. Three possible mechanisms come to mind. The first mechanism is a true treatment effect, meaning that immigrants who undergo language courses, civics classes, etc. experience genuine changes in attitudes in behavior which make it easier for them to find well-paying jobs. The second mechanism is a selection effect, meaning that migrants who are unwilling to integrate intentionally avoid countries with restrictive policy regimes and rather choose a host society that does not demand acculturation programs for immigrants, that is, language training and civic

education. Third, there might be another type of selection effect at play where immigrants who are unwilling or unable to integrate fail to pass the mandatory integration tests and subsequently leave the country voluntarily or are ordered to return to their home country by the authorities. Note that these three mechanisms are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

While the research design and analytical approach employed in this chapter are unable to distinguish between the three mechanisms, I provide suggestive evidence regarding the plausibility of each of these mechanisms. This evidence includes original, open-ended interviews with 23 practitioners of and experts on immigrant integration policy in Germany.[40] By and large, the responses from interview participants lend support to the presence of a true treatment effect while simultaneously casting doubt on the plausibility of the two selection mechanisms. Respondents argued that mandatory language courses and tests are quite effective in helping immigrants acquire the host country's language, and that these language skills are vital to their success on the labor market. In addition, respondents stated that newly arriving migrants have not become more willing to integrate over time (as implied by the second mechanism), and that immigrants are generally not ordered to leave as a result of failing to attend integration courses or pass integration tests; rather, they face different kinds of repercussions, most prominently cuts in social benefits.

For example, one practitioner who has taught mandatory language courses since 2005 stated that "course participants have changed little over time" in terms of educational

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[40] A more detailed description of these interviews, including subject recruitment and interview questions, is provided in Appendix A. The anonymized interview transcripts can be requested from the author. The interviews have been approved as exempt research by the University of Pittsburgh's Institutional Review Board (study number PRO16100462).

background and motivation. In addition, she argued that their "graduates have been rather successful on the job market" and that Germany's "post-2005 approach to immigrant integration has been a success story". When asked if she would change anything about Germany's current integration requirements, the respondent stated that she would "raise the required language level to help immigrants be even more successful on the job market". Another practitioner who has owned and led a language school for immigrants since 1984 stated that if anything, "immigrants have become more difficult to integrate over time due to an increasing lack of pre-arrival education and skills", especially since the beginning of the European refugee crisis in 2015. Yet, despite this, mandatory language courses and tests since 2005 have been "quite successful at integrating newly arriving immigrants" and "course graduates were generally able to find a job". Again, when asked if she would change anything about Germany's current integration policy, the respondent stated that "the B1 language level is not sufficient" and raising the requirement to "B2 or even higher would help immigrants find better jobs".

The experts I interviewed spoke about Germany's mandatory integration requirements in a similarly positive manner. One of the interview participants who works in the research division of the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees argued that "every single piece of data and research indicates that immigrants have been better integrated into the labor market since 2005", and that this increased integration is in large part due to the mandatory language requirements for immigrants. He kept referring back to a study carried out by his division (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2011; see also Section 2.3) which found a large and positive effect of these requirements on immigrants' employment status. Another expert argued that during his 20 years as an immigration lawyer, he "has not seen a single immigrant being ordered to leave due to not having passed an integration test or having refused to participate in an

integration course". He also argued that during his countless talks with refugees and other immigrants, he "never got the impression that Germany's integration requirements were deterring any immigrants from coming here". Again, these remarks suggest that a true treatment effect is at play rather than any of the two selection mechanisms described above.

In addition to these interviews, I examine country-year data on the EU-15 countries for the time period 2001-2015 (n = 225). If the second mechanism (i.e. the first of the two selection mechanisms) were at play, we would expect to observe at least some decline in migrant flows to countries which have adopted stricter integration requirements, especially relative to states which did not adopt such policies. However, as Table 45 shows,[41] regressing the annual number of arriving migrants (in absolute numbers and relative to all immigrants coming to the EU-15 that year) on the lagged value of CIVIX does not yield significant results, which suggests the absence of a systematic effect of mandatory integration requirements on migrant flows.

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[41] Data on migrant flows are retrieved from Eurostat. Standard errors are robust and clustered by country. Both models are estimated as LDV models with an AR(1) specification, which means they include the dependent variable lagged by one year on the right-hand side. In addition, I estimate both models as AR(2), AR(3), random effects, and fixed effects specifications. The coefficient for CIVIX remains insignificant across specifications, which provides additional evidence for the absence of a systematic effect of language and civic education requirements on migrant flows.

Table 45. Effect of CIVIX on Number of Incoming Migrants (OLS)

	Total Number (in millions)	In Percent of EU-15
CIVIX	1.242	0.069
	(1.647)	(0.072)
Lagged DV	0.970***	.971***
	(0.016)	(0.014)
Constant	4.283	-0.001
	(5.163)	(0.169)
N	195	195
R^2	0.933	0.956

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

In addition, if the second mechanism were at play, we would expect to observe newly arriving immigrants in countries with stricter integration requirements to become more willing to integrate over time, since those unwilling to integrate should be deterred by these requirements. Since education is sometimes viewed as a proxy for willingness to integrate, I analyze ESS data to compare the education levels of migrants who have arrived within the past year (migrants who arrived less than one year ago likely acquired their education in their country of origin rather than the host country). The ESS data show the opposite of the pattern suggested by this mechanism. The average level of education of immigrants coming to a country with a high CIVIX score (> 2.5) between 2004 and 2009 was 3.8 on a scale ranging from 1 to 5; this value decreases to 3.6 for immigrants arriving between 2011 and 2015. The average education level of immigrants coming to a country with a low CIVIX score (2.5 or below) between 2004 and 2009 was 3.2; this value increases to 4.0 between 2011 and 2015. Therefore, countries which have

adopted stricter integration requirements do not seem to have attracted more educated immigrant cohorts over time, which casts further doubt on the plausibility of the second mechanism.[42]

Similarly, if the third mechanism were at play, we would expect states which adopt more restrictive integration policies to exhibit at least some increase in the number of immigrants who are leaving the country or ordered to return to their home country. The models in Table 46 regress the number of annual emigrants (in absolute numbers and relative to the country's immigrant population) on the lagged value of CIVIX, while those in Table 47 regress the number of migrants ordered to leave (in absolute numbers and relative the country's immigrant population) on the same independent variable.[43] With the exception of a marginally significant effect on the total number of immigrants ordered to leave, the coefficient for CIVIX is insignificant across models. In sum, then, the evidence I have presented in this section provides support for the presence of a true treatment effect while calling into question the plausibility of the two selection mechanisms. I leave it to future research to provide a more definitive assessment of these mechanisms and how exactly stricter integration requirements for immigrants lead to improved economic integration outcomes.

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[42] It should be noted that the number of respondents on which these figures are based is relatively low (n < 200), which casts doubt on the extent to which the information presented in this paragraph is representative of trends. Yet, it is certainly admissible as an additional piece of information in a larger set of suggestive evidence.

[43] Data on migrant stock, emigration, and the number of third country nationals ordered to leave are retrieved from Eurostat. All models are estimated as an AR(1) specification with robust standard errors clustered by country. Again, these models are also estimated as AR(2), AR(3), random effects, and fixed effects specifications. The coefficient for CIVIX remains insignificant across all specifications except the AR(2) and AR(3) specifications for the total number of immigrants ordered to leave, which provides additional evidence for the absence of a systematic effect of language and civic education requirements on emigration.

Table 46. Effect of CIVIX on Number of Emigrants (OLS)

	Total Number (in millions)	In Percent of Migrant Stock
CIVIX	-0.939	-0.012
	(0.998)	(0.047)
Lagged DV	0.956***	0.925***
	(0.027)	(0.027)
Constant	11.204*	0.689**
	(5.888)	(0.281)
N	186	174
R^2	0.930	0.901

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * p < 0.10 ** p < 0.05 *** p < 0.01.

Table 47. Effect of CIVIX on Number of Migrants Ordered to Leave (OLS)

	Total Number (in millions)	In Percent of Migrant Stock
CIVIX	0.743*	0.014
	(0.404)	(0.022)
Lagged DV	0.878***	0.891***
	(0.030)	(0.013)
Constant	0.502	0.126
	(1.324)	(0.084)
N	97	96
R^2	0.904	0.880

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; * p < 0.10 ** p < 0.05 *** p < 0.01.

4.5   SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Do mandatory integration requirements matter? The answer is "yes", but only for certain types of integration. The positive effect of these requirements appears to be restricted to economic integration, as immigrants in countries with higher CIVIX scores are more likely to be employed and satisfied with their financial situation. Mandatory language classes and civic training seem to

do a good job at equipping immigrants with the knowledge and skills that make them more attractive to potential employers. Therefore, to the extent that we consider immigrants' access to the labor market a desirable goal, restrictive integration policies perform an important function. In addition, if Alarian (2016) is correct and economic integration serves as a foundation for other forms of integration, then rigid integration requirements may indirectly lead to improved social and political integration outcomes in the long run. Overall, then, this chapter supports the notion that stricter integration requirements produce better integration results than laissez-faire policies (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2010; Goodman and Wright 2015; Koopmans 2010). At the same time, it contradicts studies which have found a detrimental impact of mandatory language training and civics classes on integration (Boecker and Strik 2011; Van Oers 2013), as no negative effects were found in any of the various model specifications.

The findings presented in this chapter raise the interesting question why mandatory integration requirements affect economic integration outcomes but not social and political ones. Several explanations seem plausible. For example, psychologists and other scholars in the Maslowian tradition have long argued that humans will only focus on higher-order goals and needs such as social contacts, cultural life, and political participation when their basic economic needs are met. Therefore, it seems plausible that initially immigrants focus all their energy on integrating economically, and only later turn their attention to other dimensions of integration (Alarian 2016). Alternatively, it could be the case that immigrants are more willing to integrate economically while they are relatively resistant to the idea of social and political integration. Economic integration offers immediate and tangible benefits, primarily in the form of money. Conversely, immigrants' often view their cultural identity as a good and fear that integrating socially and culturally into the host society could potentially diminish that good (Birman and

Trickett 2001). One last possible explanation elaborated on here is that by design, integration courses and tests primarily focus on language acquisition with the goal of promoting economic self-sufficiency and improvement among immigrants. In all European countries that have both language and civic education courses for immigrants, the required course hours for the former far outweigh those of the latter (Goodman 2014). Further exploration of the reasons behind this differential impact of mandatory integration requirements promises to be a fruitful area for future research.

The data, measures, and analytical approach utilized in this chapter possess a number of properties that allow me to draw more robust inferences about the relationship between policy regimes and immigrants' level of integration than previous research on the subject. Therefore, this chapter can not only serve as a guideline for other policy evaluations, but also serves as a reminder on the importance of proper research design and methodological rigor in the analysis of observational data. This is illustrated by the fact that I obtain results that are quite different from those of Goodman and Wright (2015), despite them using similar data. Goodman and Wright argue that restrictive integration policies have a positive effect on political integration but not on economic and social integration, and that this effect is due to selection processes. In stark contrast, I find that the immediate impact of mandatory integration requirements on immigrant integration is confined to the economic sphere, and that this relationship is in fact representative of a true treatment effect.

Why do my results differ that much from those of Goodman and Wright (2015) despite them using similar data? One potential reason is that Goodman and Wright only use the first six waves of the ESS, so it could be that the seventh wave is somewhat driving my results. However, my findings remain unchanged when I exclude the seventh wave from my analyses, so this is not

the reason for the divergent results. Another potential reason is that Goodman and Wright appear to not be using the post-stratification and population size weights provided by the ESS, since they are not mentioned anywhere in their study. However, when re-running my models without the weights, I find that the effect of CIVIX on measures of political integration remains insignificant while its effect on measures of economic integration remains positive.[44] A third obvious culprit could be differences in the control variables used. But even in the baseline models, my results differ markedly from theirs, so it is not the different sets of control variables that are causing these divergent results.

Therefore, since these three explanations do not hold, the divergent results are likely driven by differences in method. Goodman and Wright's methodological approach is to "compare the intercept values produced when outcomes are regressed on the predictors in a baseline individual-level model pooled within each policy regime category" (2015, 1894). This approach, unlike my DID specification, is unable to control for stable unobservables. In addition, Goodman and Wright's design does not account for any temporal dynamics; their models do not include year dummies or time trends, much less country-specific time trends. Therefore, it seems likely that their results are spurious. Conversely, I went to great lengths in this chapter to rule out possible confounding stemming from unobservables and temporal dynamics, and therefore was able to produce more trustworthy results.

However, the research design employed in this chapter is not without its limitations. Most importantly, it is impossible to rigorously ascertain a given immigrant's "treatment status", i.e. whether, to what extent, and to what kinds of integration requirement a given immigrant was

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[44] It should be noted, however, that in the baseline model with employment status as the outcome variable, the coefficient for CIVIX slightly misses conventional levels of significance (p = .136).

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actually exposed to. The question about the relative importance of different types of integration requirements (classes vs. tests, language vs. civics, etc.) also remains. Addressing these remaining issues and questions would require an original, EU-wide survey specifically targeted at immigrants, and while implementing such a survey would pose many logistical challenges, the insights it would provide for both policymakers and academics seem well worth the effort.

5.0   THE EFFECTS OF POLICY ON PUBLIC OPINION

The literature on attitudes toward immigrants and research on the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants have largely developed in isolation.[45] The former has mostly ignored immigrant integration policy as a potential determinant of public attitudes toward immigrants, and the latter has paid little attention to possible effects of integration policy on public opinion on immigrants. This chapter represents one of the first attempts to link these two phenomena, thereby making two important contributions. First, previous research explaining individual attitudes toward immigrants has largely failed to develop practical suggestions on how to mitigate prejudice against immigrants. This chapter does just that by arguing that the introduction of mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants can lead to more positive attitudes toward immigrants. In cases where such requirements already exist, the same result can be achieved by communicating their existence more effectively to the public. Second, the benefits and drawbacks of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants are still subject to much debate among scholars and policymakers alike. As elected officials ponder the tightening or loosening of these requirements, it is important that they are presented with information on all their effects, including a potential reduction of anti-immigrant sentiments.

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[45] For notable exceptions, see Hooghe and de Vroome (2015a) and Schlueter et al. (2013).

The remainder of this chapter proceeds as follows. First, drawing on existing research on the determinants of attitudes toward immigrants (see Section 2.4.1), I develop a theoretical framework which outlines two mechanisms through which mandatory integration requirements can lead to more positive public attitudes toward immigrants Specifically, I argue that these requirements mitigate perceptions of threat as well as concerns about fairness and deservingness among native-born Europeans. In Section 5.2, I test these arguments by examining data from the seven waves of the European Social Survey (2002-2015). According to my theoretical expectations, I find that public attitudes toward immigrants are more favorable in countries with stricter integration requirements, particularly among individuals who are aware of the existence of these requirements.

Next, I examine additional evidence from two original survey experiments in the United Kingdom (n_1 = 1,651; n_2 = 7,732). These data suggest that respondents exhibit more positive attitudes toward immigrants who are culturally closer to them, do not have full access to the welfare state, and are required to participate in integration courses aimed at language acquisition and civic education. Fourth, I estimate a series of additional models using ESS data as well as country-level data (see Section 3.2) to explore the relationship between immigrants' level of integration/integration deficits and public opinion. Contrary to my expectations, I do not find a relationship between the two, which in turn casts doubt on the presence of an indirect effect of mandatory integration requirements on public opinion by increasing immigrants' level of integration. A concluding section then summarizes the main findings of this chapter, connects them with the broader literature, and indicates possible directions for future research on the subject.

5.1   FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

As Section 2.3 has shown, scholars have only recently begun to systematically examine the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. Some studies find a positive effect of these requirements on integration outcomes such as language proficiency, labor market participation, and tolerance values; others find a negative effect; and yet others find no effect at all. While these existing analyses differ in the conclusions they reach, they are similar in the sense that their examination of the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements is limited to the immigrants that are required to participate in them. I make the case for conceiving policy effects more broadly by arguing that the effects of a particular policy are not necessarily confined to the individuals targeted by it. In the context of immigrant integration policy, this means that to fully appreciate mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants, we need to evaluate their effects on immigrants as well as native-born Europeans. Specifically, this chapter aims to show that mandatory integration requirements lead to more positive attitudes toward immigrants among the host population.

Only few studies have attempted to link immigrant integration policies and public attitudes toward immigration (see Section 2.4). In contrast to these studies, I argue that stricter integration policies – particularly mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants – lead to more positive public attitudes toward immigration. They do so directly and indirectly. Mandatory language and civic education requirements have a direct effect in the sense that their mere presence affects public attitudes toward immigrants, regardless of whether these requirements actually lead to improved integration outcomes. This effect works through two distinct and complementary mechanisms. First, research in the cultural threat tradition has long argued that individuals who dislike immigrants often do so because they are afraid that

immigration could potentially erode local customs, morals, and values (e.g. Bloom et al. 2015; Chandler and Tsai 2001; Fasel et al. 2013; Zarate et al. 2004). In short, these individuals perceive immigrants as a threat to their country's culture and, ultimately, their own cultural identity. Certain immigrants are perceived as more threatening than others: the greater the cultural distance between the average host society member and an immigrant, the more negative the host society's attitudes toward that immigrant.

Previous research has shown that the extent of cultural distance between a host society and a particular immigrant is determined by a number of factors, most importantly the immigrant's (in)ability to speak the host country's language (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2015; Newman et al. 2012; Schildkraut 2005) and level of support for the host society's core values and norms (Citrin and Sides 2008; Sobolewska et al. 2017). Simply put, immigrants who speak the local language and are familiar with their host country's history, values, and laws are generally perceived as less of a threat. Based on this research, I argue that mandatory integration requirements can reduce perceptions of threat and lead to more positive attitudes toward immigrants by helping immigrants learn about the local language and culture. Whether language and civic education classes and tests are actually successful at integrating immigrants is only secondary here; more important for public attitudes toward immigrants is whether members of the host society believe them to be effective. From these arguments, it follows that the positive effect of mandatory language and civic education requirements on public attitudes toward immigrants should be greatest for immigrants that are culturally very distant from the host society, since culturally similar migrants should not pose much of a threat to begin with.

H10:   Public attitudes toward immigrants become more positive as language and civic integration requirements for immigrants become more rigorous.

H11a: The greater the cultural distance between a host society and an immigrant, the more negative public attitudes toward that immigrant.

H11b: The greater the cultural distance between a host society and an immigrant, the greater the positive effect of language and civic education requirements on public attitudes toward that immigrant.

As for the second mechanism, studies have repeatedly shown that large numbers of native-born Europeans are opposed to immigrants accessing public assistance and welfare benefits (Osipovich 2015; van Oorschot 2006). Immigrants are often seen as "outsiders" and "newcomers" by members of the host society, and therefore as undeserving of the host society's wealth they feel they worked long and hard to create (Helbling and Kriesi 2014). However, despite significant public opposition, most European countries (and virtually every Western European country) grant immigrants quite generous access to social benefits; certainly more generous than most host societies outside of Europe, including the United States (Horn 2016; Nowrasteh 2016; Porter 2015). This discrepancy between individual preferences and actual government policy can cause a backlash among native-born Europeans who oppose immigrants' access to the welfare state, which leads to negative perceptions of the government that grants immigrants said access as well as the immigrants themselves (Louis et al. 2007).

Previous research suggests that certain immigrants are viewed as more deserving of receiving welfare than others, including those that are educated/highly skilled, law-abiding, and have paid taxes into the host society's welfare system (Helbling and Kriesi 2014; Osipovich 2015). In the same vein, I argue that immigrants who participate in mandatory language and civic education requirements are viewed as more deserving than those who do not. The reason is that by partaking in integration courses and tests, immigrants appear more industrious and committed to integrating in the host society. Mandatory integration requirements signal to the public that immigrants are not just "takers" but also contribute to the host society, and are therefore just as deserving as native-born individuals. Differently put, by introducing mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants and communicating their existence effectively to the public, governments can signal the extent of immigrants' obligations and responsibilities, and thereby mitigate concerns about fairness and deservingness. Therefore, the positive effect of mandatory language and civic education requirements on public attitudes toward immigrants should be greatest for countries in which immigrants have significant access to the welfare state, since in countries without such access there should be little concern about fairness and deservingness to begin with.

> *H12a: The more generous the social benefits provided to immigrants, the more negative public attitudes toward immigrants.*

> *H12b: The more generous the social benefits provided to immigrants, the greater the positive effect of language and civic education requirements on public attitudes toward immigrants.*

For language and civic education requirements to have a direct effect on an individual's attitudes toward immigrants, said individual has to actually be aware of the existence of these requirements. Beyond the two direct mechanisms outlined above, mandatory integration requirements may also have an indirect effect on public attitudes toward immigrants. Previous research suggests that members of the host society view immigrants more positively if they are well integrated, that is, have high levels of employment, speak the host country's language, etc. (Chandler and Tsai 2001; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2015; Hainmueller et al. 2015). In Chapter 4, I found that stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants have a strong and positive effect on economic integration. Therefore, I argue that by increasing immigrants' employment prospects and financial well-being, mandatory integration requirements indirectly improve public perceptions of immigrants.

H13:   The relationships specified in hypotheses H10, H11b, and H12b are stronger for individuals who are aware of their country's integration policy.

H14:   Stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants lead to more positive public attitudes toward immigrants by increasing immigrants' level of integration.

To test these hypotheses, I conduct three sets of analyses. First, I examine cross-national survey data provided by the ESS to test whether public attitudes toward immigrants is more positive in countries with stricter integration requirements (H10), and whether this effect is confined to individuals with knowledge of their country's integration policy (H13). Second, I

analyze data from two original survey experiments in Great Britain, which allow me to test the same relationships as the ESS data plus the two mechanisms for the direct effect outlined in this section (H11a; H11b; H12a; H12b). Lastly, I revisit the ESS data as well as country-level data on 25 EU member states between 2005 and 2014 (see Section 3.2) to test whether mandatory integration requirements have an indirect (H14) effect on public attitudes toward immigrants. In the following sections, I describe each of these analyses in greater detail.

5.2   EVIDENCE FROM THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY

5.2.1   Data and Methods

To examine the direct effect of integration policy on individuals' attitudes toward immigration, I generate a dataset using the seven waves of the European Social Survey (ESS) conducted between 2002 and 2015. Given the purpose of this chapter as well as issues with data availability, I restrict the dataset to respondents who identify as native-born and reside in one of the 23 EU member states that regularly participate in the ESS.[46] This selection process leads to a total of 235,577 observations, which are the unit of analysis for all subsequent models. The ESS, which has been used by a number of recent studies on the subject (e.g. Hainmueller and Hiscox 2007; Meuleman et al. 2009; Rustenbach 2010), contains three questions pertaining to the perceived impact of immigrants on their host society. Specifically, respondents are asked whether immigrants have a positive or negative influence on (a) the economy, (b) local culture,

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[46] For a list of these countries, see footnote 31.

and (c) the country in general. For each of these three questions, respondents can choose a number between 0 and 10, with 0 indicating an entirely negative perception of the effects of immigration and 10 denoting a completely positive perception. These three survey items constitute the dependent variables of the analyses that follow.

The key explanatory variable are mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants, which are again measured via CIVIX[47] and MIPEX-IRS.[48] As Section 2.4.1 has illustrated, there are numerous factors other than integration policy that can potentially influence individuals' attitudes toward immigrants. Therefore, I include a number of country-level and individual-level controls in my models. As for the former, research suggests that public attitudes toward immigrants are more negative during times of economic downturn (Bohman 2011; Checa Olmos and Garrido 2012). I measure macroeconomic conditions via national unemployment rates, data on which are available through Eurostat.

It has also been shown that certain characteristics of a country's immigrant population affect its public opinion on immigration (Bohman 2011; Checa Olmos and Garrido 2012; Jakobsson and Blom 2014; Legewie 2013). I control for two such characteristics: the size of the immigrant population and its prior level of integration. In contrast to Chapter 3, the former is measured as the number of foreign nationals relative to the overall population rather than the

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[47] CIVIX data are available for 15 of the 23 sample countries for all seven waves of the ESS (2002-2015). Therefore, combining the ESS sample with CIVIX data yields 154 discrete country-years for analysis (see footnote 33).

[48] MIPEX-IRS data are available for all 23 sample countries but only for the time period 2007-2014. As a result, combining the ESS sample with MIPEX-IRS data leads to 124 discrete country-years for analysis (see footnote 34).

number of foreign-born individuals relative to the overall population. The reason for this substitution is that data on the number of foreign-born individuals are relatively sparse prior to 2005 (and for some countries even after), while there are no gaps in the data on the number of foreign nationals. The two measures are highly correlated (.950), which justifies this substitution. Similar to Chapter 3, prior levels of integration/integration deficits are measured via unemployment among immigrants. Prior levels of integration are measured via the percentage of immigrants at risk of poverty or social exclusion (AROPE) rather than unemployment among immigrants, since data on the latter are unavailable for several countries prior to 2005.[49] I expect both variables to be negatively associated with attitudes toward immigration. Data for both variables are retrieved from Eurostat.

As for the individual-level controls, previous research suggests that certain demographic characteristics are related to attitudes toward immigration, with females and younger individuals exhibiting more positive attitudes (Bohman 2011; Byrne 2011). Therefore, I include gender and age in my analysis, the former being a binary variable that is coded 1 for male respondents and 0 for female ones, and the latter being a count variable that measures respondents' age in years. Similarly, education and financial well-being have been shown to be positively related to attitudes toward immigration (Checa Olmos and Garrido 2012; Creighton and Jamal 2015; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010). The former is measured via a five-point ordinal scale ranging from "less than lower secondary education" to "tertiary education completed", the latter via a four-point ordinary scale that captures respondents' subjective financial well-being and ranges from "very difficult to get by on present income" to "living comfortably on present income". In addition, I control for respondents' employment status, as individuals without a job can be

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[49] In the results section, I also report results for models with AROPE as the measure of integration deficits.

expected to hold more negative attitudes toward immigration (Bohman 2011). Employment status is measured via a dummy variable which is coded 0 if a respondent was actively looking for employment during the last seven days and 1 otherwise.

Research has also shown that ideology affects attitudes toward immigration, with liberals being more supportive of immigration than their conservative counterparts (Knoll et al. 2011; Merolla et al. 2013). I measure ideology via respondents' self-placement on an eleven-point scale, with 0 indicating far-left political attitudes and 10 indicating far-right ones. In addition, I include a measure of general trust in my models, which has been shown to be positively associated with attitudes toward immigrants (Hooghe and de Vroome 2015b). This variable is the average of three individual indices, each ranging from 0 to 10, with higher values representing greater levels of trust.[50] It has also been suggested that political interest has a positive effect on individual attitudes toward immigration (Bohman 2011); this variable is measured via a four-point ordinal scale ranging from "not at all interested" to "very interested". Lastly, I control for respondents' domicile, as individuals living in urban areas have been shown to exhibit more positive attitudes toward immigration than their rural counterparts, likely as a result of increased interactions with immigrants (Checa Olmos and Garrido 2012). This binary variable is coded 1 if a respondent described his/her domicile as a big city, and 0 otherwise.

To analyze these data, I employ the same analytical approach as in Chapter 4, that is, the DID specification that Imbens and Wooldridge refer to as "repeated cross sections with multiple time periods and multiple groups" (2009, 67-72). Again, it should be noted that a causal interpretation of the results of a difference-in-differences model depends crucially on the assumption of common trends. To examine whether this assumption holds in the context of a

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[50] For a more detailed description of these indices, see Section 4.1.

particular analysis, one has to inspect trends in the outcome variable (public attitudes toward immigrants) prior to the implementation of the policy. There are no systematic data on European public attitudes toward immigrants prior to 2004, though there is some evidence suggesting that public opinion in the 1990s and early 2000s followed divergent paths in different European countries (Lahav 2004). Therefore, the assumption of common trends is likely violated, which leads me to include country-specific linear time trends in all my models. The inclusion of country dummies in combination with the country-specific time trends means that the model will return estimates of how mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants affect individuals' attitudes toward immigrants in a typical country, while adjusting for any country-specific trends in outcomes that preceded the change in immigrant integration policy (Carpenter and Dobkin 2011, 140).

For each of the three outcome measures, I estimate three DID models: a baseline model which includes the treatment variable (CIVIX or MIPEX-IRS), the country dummies, the year dummies, and the country-specific linear time trends; an extended model which includes all the variables included in the baseline model plus the country-level and individual-level controls described in this section; and an interaction model which includes the variables of the extended model plus a multiplicative term consisting of the treatment variable multiplied by political interest. The intuition behind estimating the interaction model is that the direct effect of mandatory language and civic education requirements on attitudes toward immigrants should be exclusive to individuals who are actually aware of the existence of said requirements. Unfortunately, there is no item in the ESS that would allow me to test individuals' awareness of

their country's integration policies directly, so I use political interest as a proxy;[51] individuals

with a greater interest in politics can be expected to pay closer attention to the (integration)

policies implemented by their government. All models are estimated using robust standard errors

clustered by country-year to account for any heteroskedasticity of observation (Beck et al. 1998).

Additionally, all analyses are conducted using the ESS post-stratification and population size

weights in order to maximize the representativeness of the sample (see Section 4.2).

5.2.2   Results

Table 48 illustrates the descriptive statistics for the 235,577 sample respondents. Interestingly,

sample respondents are somewhat warier of immigrants' impact on the economy ($\bar{x} = 4.711$) and

the country in general ($\bar{x} = 4.735$) than they are of their cultural effects ($\bar{x} = 5.471$). The average

value for CIVIX is rather low with 2.992 on a scale ranging from 0 to 9, which is due to the fact

that at the beginning of the time period under investigation, only two countries (Austria and the

Netherlands) had robust language and civic integration requirements for immigrants in place.

Over time, more countries adopted stricter measures; by the early 2010s, eight of the 15 sample

countries had a CIVIX score of 5 or higher. The mean for MIPEX-IRS is similarly low with a

value of 29.046 on a scale ranging from 0 to 100. On average, foreign nationals account for

almost 7% of the population.

Prior levels of integration appear to be somewhat low, with an average immigrant

unemployment rate of almost 12%; this is three percentage points higher than the average overall

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[51] A more accurate proxy would be respondents' political knowledge, but the ESS does not include any

such item.

unemployment rate. The sample is almost evenly divided between men and women (46.5% male), and the average respondent is 48 years old. The average respondent has completed upper secondary education ($\bar{x}$ = 3.012) and is coping on his/her present income ($\bar{x}$ = 2.978). In addition, the average respondent is ideologically moderate ($\bar{x}$ = 5.095), moderately trusting ($\bar{x}$ = 5.123), and somewhat interested in politics ($\bar{x}$ = 2.357). Only 4.3% of respondents describe themselves as unemployed, and 39% describe their domicile as a big city.

Table 48. Descriptive Statistics III

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
CIVIX	164,608	2.992	2.235	0	8.75
MIPEX-IRS	130,134	29.046	21.578	0	78.2
Impact economy	225,209	4.711	2.393	0	10
Impact culture	225,530	5.471	2.505	0	10
Impact overall	225,331	4.735	2.263	0	10
Unemployment	235,577	8.838	3.960	3.4	26.1
Immigrant pop.	213,848	6.894	5.122	.130	39.809
Immi. unemploy.	236,957	11.851	4.844	4.4	35
Age	234,616	48.131	18.664	15	95
Male gender	235,333	.465	.499	0	1
Education	234,328	3.012	1.337	1	5
Income	229,922	2.978	.843	1	4
Ideology	205,303	5.095	2.174	0	10
Employed	235,577	.957	.202	0	1
Social trust	235,341	5.123	1.948	0	10
Political interest	234,955	2.357	.904	1	4
Domicile	234,905	.188	.391	0	1

Table 49. Country-by-Country Means III

Country	CIVIX	MIPEX-IRS	Impact economy	Impact culture	Impact overall	Unemployment
Austria	3.780	42.010	5.062	5.092	4.314	5.213
Belgium	1.079	5.375	4.486	5.663	4.555	7.876
Cyprus		26.142	3.756	3.538	4.007	6.979
Czech Rep.		19.788	4.033	4.244	4.114	6.976
Denmark	6.758	50.819	5.038	5.948	5.681	5.525
Estonia		18.339	4.659	5.156	4.422	8.784
Finland	2.083	10	5.299	7.075	5.435	8.142
France	3.583	58.599	4.653	5.147	4.499	9.032
Germany	5.131	40.003	5.100	5.911	4.874	7.762
Great Britain	4.122	47.879	4.365	4.773	4.383	6.107
Greece	3.612	45.861	3.334	3.303	3.056	12.015
Hungary		26.714	3.757	5.101	4.018	8.521
Ireland	1	0	4.939	5.420	5.229	10.002
Italy	1.809	45	4.977	5.133	4.187	8.650
Lithuania		45.800	5.058	5.015	4.916	11.776
Luxembourg	1		6.211	6.617	5.231	4.414
Netherlands	4.845	68.147	4.985	6.021	5.005	5.218
Poland		15.279	5.127	6.390	5.670	12.778
Portugal	1.170	11.200	4.645	5.147	3.989	10.855
Slovakia		47.800	4.216	5.073	4.478	13.781
Slovenia		6	4.207	5.060	4.467	6.935
Spain	2.319	32	5.120	5.775	4.875	15.784
Sweden	0	0	5.461	7.029	6.210	7.241

Table 49. Country-by-Country Means III (Continued)

Country	Immigrant population	Immigrant unemploy.	Age	Male gender	Education	Income
Austria	10.185	9.608	45.763	.466	2.976	3.177
Belgium	9.519	16.213	46.371	.493	3.193	3.159
Cyprus	17.800	8.558	47.416	.471	3.007	2.782
Czech Rep.	3.973	9.462	47.664	.483	3.160	2.606
Denmark	5.757	10.495	48.477	.508	3.479	3.618
Estonia	16.214	10.878	45.780	.430	3.417	2.715
Finland	2.686	15.919	48.855	.486	3.143	3.073
France	5.900	14.047	49.137	.462	3.073	3.128
Germany	8.866	11.918	48.546	.503	3.461	3.137
Great Britain	6.433	7.437	50.512	.446	2.925	3.176
Greece	8.068	13.477	49.067	.439	2.572	2.366
Hungary	1.646	7.137	47.958	.446	3.030	2.446
Ireland	11.044	12.641	48.279	.456	3.003	3.053
Italy	4.633	11.144	47.470	.478	2.552	3.014
Lithuania	.801	12.190	49.514	.386	3.372	2.587
Luxembourg	38.585	5.908	43.891	.502	2.623	3.517
Netherlands	4.211	8.761	50.009	.448	3.067	3.358
Poland	.194	9.499	44.139	.477	2.994	2.701
Portugal	3.538	12.841	52.339	.401	1.891	2.512
Slovakia	2.290	17.370	47.208	.429	3.107	2.528
Slovenia	3.690	8.671	46.287	.461	3.097	3.215
Spain	9.263	17.973	47.636	.488	2.519	3.052
Sweden	5.970	13.341	47.803	.504	3.159	3.492

Table 49. Country-by-Country Means III (Continued)

Country	Ideology	Employed	Social trust	Political interest	Domicile
Austria	4.706	.975	5.333	2.573	.202
Belgium	4.986	.966	5.144	2.388	.105
Cyprus	5.142	.959	4.170	2.241	.380
Czech Rep.	5.295	.962	4.605	1.943	.244
Denmark	5.413	.970	6.804	2.827	.162
Estonia	5.439	.968	5.391	2.337	.261
Finland	5.692	.969	6.397	2.469	.173
France	4.863	.956	4.946	2.392	.186
Germany	4.512	.953	5.215	2.743	.168
Great Britain	5.064	.966	5.571	2.458	.064
Greece	5.423	.950	3.588	2.068	.435
Hungary	5.370	.955	4.473	2.154	.254
Ireland	5.221	.939	5.725	2.318	.064
Italy	4.765	.941	4.337	2.231	.112
Lithuania	5.014	.959	4.912	2.033	.327
Luxembourg	5.099	.988	5.178	2.454	.087
Netherlands	5.267	.977	5.912	2.682	.191
Poland	5.576	.942	4.100	2.272	.253
Portugal	4.910	.944	4.183	1.984	.239
Slovakia	4.859	.940	4.199	2.260	.161
Slovenia	4.783	.957	4.534	2.300	.093
Spain	4.498	.940	4.921	2.058	.204
Sweden	5.223	.969	6.340	2.651	.121

Given the structure of the data, it might be informative to provide additional descriptive statistics for each country. Table 49 illustrates the mean value for each variable by country. One interesting piece of information gleaned from the table is that attitudes toward immigrants are the most negative in Greece, which, at first glance, might have something to do with the fact that the Greeks have one of the highest average unemployment rates in the sample, they feel the least financially secure, and they exhibit by far the lowest level of social trust. Another interesting pattern that emerges from the table is that the Scandinavian countries in the sample exhibit the highest levels of social trust; aside from Denmark, Finland, and Sweden, no other country in the sample has an average level of social trust greater than 6 on a scale ranging from 0 to 10.

Tables 50 through 52 show the results of the models using CIVIX as the key independent variable. The tables demonstrate that in accordance with my expectations, the coefficient for CIVIX is generally positive but insignificant in the baseline and extended models. However, when CIVIX is interacted with respondents' level of political interest, the coefficient becomes positive and significant for all three outcome variables. This finding suggests that stricter language and civic integration requirements for immigrants are associated with more positive attitudes toward immigrants, but only among politically interested individuals who are aware of the existence of these requirements. The effect is greatest for respondents' perceptions of immigrants' impact on the economy, followed by perceptions of their overall impact on the country, followed by their impact on the local culture.

Table 50. Determinants of Perceptions of Immigrants' Economic Impact (CIVIX)

|	Baseline Model (Ordered Probit)	Full Model (Ordered Probit)	Interaction Model (Ordered Probit)
CIVIX	0.010	-0.012	-0.045***
	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.017)
CIVIX * interest			0.012***
			(0.004)
Political interest		0.194***	0.149***
		(0.009)	(0.019)
Unemployment		-0.053***	-0.052***
		(0.010)	(0.010)
Immigrant population		-0.056***	-0.055***
		(0.019)	(0.019)
Immi. unemployment		0.012***	0.011**
		(0.005)	(0.005)
Age		-0.002***	-0.002***
		(0.000)	(0.000)
Male gender		0.118***	0.118***
		(0.011)	(0.011)
Education		0.118***	0.118***
		(0.006)	(0.006)
Income		0.116***	0.116***
		(0.007)	(0.007)
Employed		-0.062***	-0.062***
		(0.004)	(0.004)
Ideology		0.091***	0.092***
		(0.028)	(0.029)
Social trust		0.144***	0.144***
		(0.004)	(0.004)
Domicile		0.131***	0.131***
		(0.019)	(0.019)
Constants (not reported)			
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y
N	159,104	135,909	135,909
Pseudo R^2	0.008	0.050	0.050

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 51. Determinants of Perceptions of Immigrants' Cultural Impact (CIVIX)

	Baseline Model (Ordered Probit)	Full Model (Ordered Probit)	Interaction Model (Ordered Probit)
CIVIX	0.014	0.015	-0.006
	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.015)
CIVIX * interest			0.008**
			(0.003)
Political interest		0.178***	0.149***
		(0.007)	(0.014)
Unemployment		-0.007	-0.007
		(0.011)	(0.011)
Immigrant population		-0.014	-0.013
		(0.017)	(0.017)
Immi. unemployment		0.005	0.005
		(0.004)	(0.004)
Age		-0.006***	-0.006***
		(0.000)	(0.000)
Male gender		-0.048***	-0.049***
		(0.013)	(0.013)
Education		0.129***	0.129***
		(0.005)	(0.005)
Income		0.077***	0.077***
		(0.006)	(0.006)
Employed		-0.092***	-0.092***
		(0.004)	(0.004)
Ideology		0.024	0.024
		(0.028)	(0.028)
Social trust		0.140***	0.140***
		(0.005)	(0.005)
Domicile		0.128***	0.128***
		(0.020)	(0.020)
Constants (not reported)			
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y
N	159,388	136,425	136,425
Pseudo R^2	0.014	0.058	0.058

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 52. Determinants of Perceptions of Immigrants' Overall Impact (CIVIX)

	Baseline Model (Ordered Probit)	Full Model (Ordered Probit)	Interaction Model (Ordered Probit)
CIVIX	0.021	0.023	-0.003
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
CIVIX * interest			0.009***
			(0.003)
Political interest		0.170***	0.136***
		(0.007)	(0.015)
Unemployment		-0.027***	-0.026***
		(0.010)	(0.010)
Immigrant population		-0.036**	-0.036**
		(0.014)	(0.014)
Immi. unemployment		0.013***	0.012***
		(0.004)	(0.004)
Age		-0.007***	-0.007***
		(0.001)	(0.001)
Male gender		0.000	-0.000
		(0.012)	(0.012)
Education		0.107***	0.107***
		(0.005)	(0.005)
Income		0.100***	0.100***
		(0.007)	(0.007)
Employed		-0.079***	-0.079***
		(0.004)	(0.004)
Ideology		0.058*	0.058*
		(0.032)	(0.032)
Social trust		0.163***	0.163***
		(0.005)	(0.005)
Domicile		0.097***	0.096***
		(0.017)	(0.017)
Constants (not reported)			
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y
N	160,216	136,645	136,645
Pseudo R^2	0.012	0.057	0.058

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * p < 0.10 ** p < 0.05 *** p < 0.01.

Figure 4. Conditional Effect of CIVIX on Attitudes toward Immigrants (95% CIs)
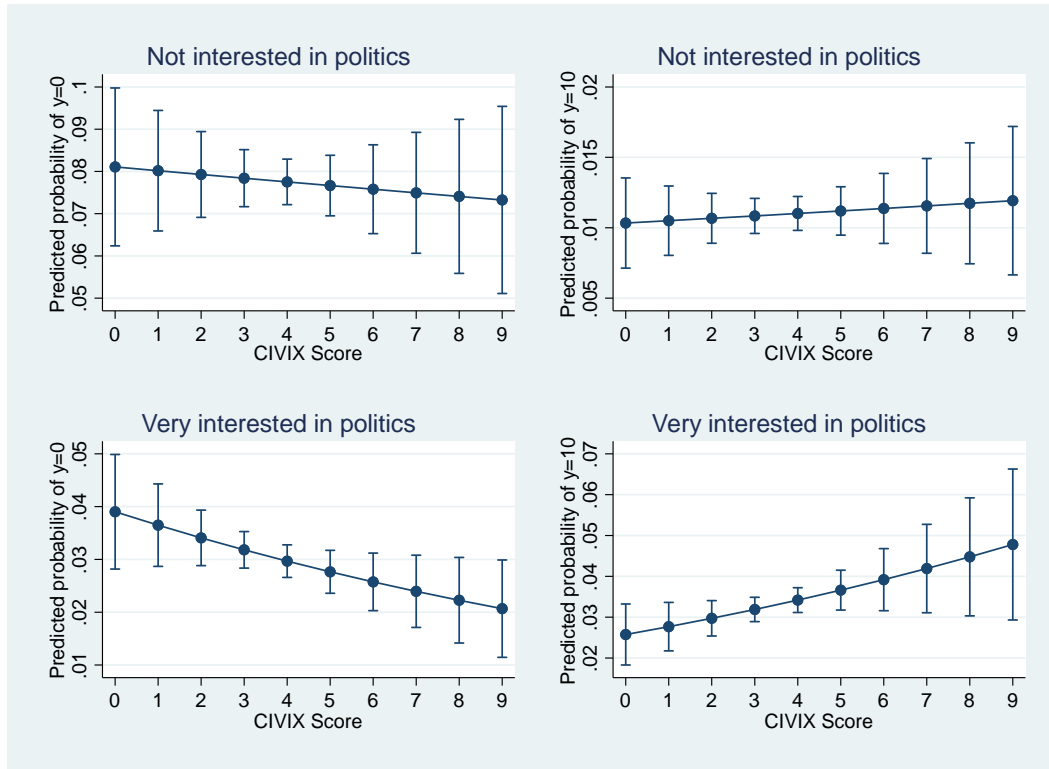
To better illustrate the conditional effect of mandatory integration requirements on public attitudes toward immigrants, Figure 4 plots the predicted probabilities for perceptions of immigrants' overall impact at different levels of CIVIX and political interest. Specifically, the upper left quadrant shows the effect of CIVIX on the probability of saying that immigrants have an entirely negative impact ($y = 0$) for respondents who are not at all interested in politics; the upper right quadrant shows its effect on the probability of saying that immigrants have an entirely positive impact ($y = 10$) for respondents who are not at all interested in politics; the lower left quadrats shows its effect on the probability of saying that immigrants have an entirely negative impact ($y = 0$) for respondents who are very interested in politics; and the lower right quadrant shows its effect on the probability of saying that immigrants have an entirely positive impact ($y = 10$) for respondents who are very interested in politics.

The figure shows that for respondents who are not interested in politics, CIVIX has no significant impact on attitudes toward immigrants. At the lowest possible level of CIVIX (x = 0), respondents who are not at all interested in politics have a probability of .086 of saying that immigrants' overall impact on the country is entirely negative (upper left quadrant). Changing CIVIX to its maximum value (x = 9) reduces this probability to .072. These two figures are not significantly different from one another, meaning they are statistically indistinguishable. The same pattern holds for the probability of saying that immigrants' impact on the country is entirely positive (upper right quadrant). Conversely, for respondents who are very interested in politics, CIVIX has a positive and significant impact on attitudes toward immigrants. At the lowest possible level of CIVIX (x = 0), respondents who are very interested in politics have a probability of .042 of saying that immigrants' overall impact on the country is entirely negative (lower left quadrant). Increasing CIVIX to its maximum value (x = 9) reduces this probability to .020. These two values are significantly different from one another, with the same pattern holding for the probability of saying that immigrants' impact on the country is entirely positive (lower right quadrant). In sum, the graph shows that as CIVIX values increase, the likelihood of perceiving immigrants' impact on the country as negative significantly decreases while the likelihood of perceiving it as positive significantly increases, but only among politically interested respondents. Assuming that political interest is a somewhat valid proxy for knowledge about integration policy, these results suggest that mandatory integration requirements have a positive effect on attitudes toward immigrants but only among individuals who are aware of their existence. Therefore, I consider H13 to be supported by the evidence.

Several control variables also have a significant impact on public attitudes toward immigrants. In fact, with the exception of gender, all individual-level controls have a significant

effect in the expected direction for most of the models. Interestingly, male respondents are significantly more likely to perceive immigrants' impact on the economy as positive while they simultaneously exhibit significantly more negative perceptions of immigrants' cultural impact. As for the country-level controls, overall unemployment rates and the size of the immigrant population are negatively and significantly associated with two of the three outcome measures. Contrary to expectations, unemployment among immigrants has a positive effect on public attitudes toward immigrants. However, this result is driven by multicollinearity: unemployment among immigrants correlates strongly with the overall unemployment rate (.750); when the models are estimated as a bivariate specification, the relationship between integration deficits and public opinion disappears. Using an alternative measure of integration deficits yields similar results, as the coefficient for AROPE is insignificant across model specifications. Therefore, it appears that individuals do not consider immigrants' prior level of integration when forming opinions about them. This finding casts doubt on the existence of an indirect effect of mandatory integration requirements on public opinion (H14), since for such an effect to exist, public attitudes need to be at least in part a function of immigrants' level of integration.

Tables 53 through 55 replicate the previous models using MIPEX-IRS as the key independent variable instead of CIVIX. As with Chapters 3 and 4, MIPEX-IRS and CIVIX yield dissimilar results. The interaction between MIPEX-IRS and political interest is insignificant for all three measures of attitudes toward immigrants. Again, this is in line with Goodman's (2015) finding that index-dependency is a common occurrence in research on the causes and effects of

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immigrant integration policies.[52] However, given the discussion in Section 2.1, I am more inclined to trust the results of the models using CIVIX as the measure of integration requirements for immigrants. Therefore, the findings presented in this section provide support for the notion that stricter language and civic integration requirements for immigrants are associated with more positive attitudes toward immigrants, but only among politically interested individuals who are aware of the existence of these requirements. In addition, these findings run counter to those of Schlueter et al. (2013) and Hooghe and de Vroome (2015a), who argue that more laissez-faire integration policies are associated with improved perceptions of immigrants.

Table 53. Determinants of Perceptions of Immigrants' Economic Impact (MIPEX-IRS)

	Baseline Model (Ordered Probit)	Full Model (Ordered Probit)	Interaction Model (Ordered Probit)
MIPEX-IRS	0.001	0.004***	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
*MIPEX-IRS * interest*			0.001
			(0.000)
Controls (not reported)			
Constants (not reported)			
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y
N	125,320	101,583	101,583
Pseudo R^2	0.011	0.054	0.054

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

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[52] Again, I restrict the sample to cases common to CIVIX and MIPEX-IRS, that is, the EU-15 countries between 2007 and 2014. This does not lead to the results becoming more similar, which means that the divergent findings are caused by measurement issues rather than sample selection.

Table 54. Determinants of Perceptions of Immigrants' Cultural Impact (MIPEX-IRS)

	Baseline Model (Ordered Probit)	Full Model (Ordered Probit)	Interaction Model (Ordered Probit)
MIPEX-IRS	0.003*	0.003	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
*MIPEX-IRS * interest*			0.000
			(0.000)
Controls (not reported)			
Constants (not reported)			
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y
N	125,470	101,780	101,780
Pseudo R^2	0.017	0.060	0.060

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 55. Determinants of Perceptions of Immigrants' Overall Impact (MIPEX-IRS)

	Baseline Model (Ordered Probit)	Full Model (Ordered Probit)	Interaction Model (Ordered Probit)
MIPEX-IRS	0.002	0.003*	0.003*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
*MIPEX-IRS * interest*			-0.000
			(0.000)
Controls (not reported)			
Constants (not reported)			
Country dummies	Y	Y	Y
Year dummies	Y	Y	Y
Linear time trends	Y	Y	Y
N	125,216	101,583	101,583
Pseudo R^2	0.017	0.057	0.057

Robust SEs clustered by country-year shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

5.3 EVIDENCE FROM TWO SURVEY EXPERIMENTS

The previous section has demonstrated that public opinion toward immigration is more favorable in countries with mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants than it is in countries without. This finding calls into question the results of previous studies, which suggest that multiculturalist policies (i.e. less restrictive integration requirements) lead to more positive attitudes toward immigration (Hooghe and de Vroome 2015a; Schlueter et al. 2013). In addition, it has important implications for the ongoing debate about the merits of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. To the extent that one considers combating anti-immigrant sentiments and improving public perceptions of immigration desirable goals, mandatory language and civic education requirements can perform an important and hitherto overlooked function. However, the evidence presented in the previous section is not without its limitations. While I was able to show that stricter integration requirements are associated with more positive public attitudes toward immigrants, the question remains *why* exactly this is the case. In other words, I am unable to test the mechanisms posited by my theoretical framework with existing public opinion data.

In addition, one might question the validity of the finding presented above due to concerns about non-random treatment assignment. While the extensive set of control variables in combination with the country dummies and country-specific linear time trends takes care of a wide range of potential confounding factors, such concerns cannot be ruled out completely. It is possible that the states which have adopted stricter immigrant integration policies did so for reasons that are related to the outcome measure (i.e. public attitudes toward immigrants), which if true could potentially bias my results. Therefore, to address questions about the mechanism(s) as well as concerns about non-random treatment assignment, I conduct two original survey

experiments in the United Kingdom. Before I elaborate on the set-up and findings of each experiment, I provide important background information on immigration, immigrant integration, and integration policy in the United Kingdom.

5.3.1 The British Context

Like many other European countries, the United Kingdom has been a major migration destination since 1945. Immediately after World War II, the British government brought in 90,000 workers from Italy through the European Voluntary Worker (EVW) scheme. An additional 100,000 workers, mainly from Southern Europe, migrated to Britain between 1946 and 1951 (Castles et al. 2014, 106). Foreign workers continued to enter the United Kingdom in large numbers until the mid-1970s. Due to economic stagnation, immigration to the United Kingdom slowed down between the mid-1970s and 1990. In addition, during this time, family reunification replaced labor migration as the main source of migration to Britain. Beginning in the mid-1990s, immigrant numbers started to pick up again and have remained at relatively high levels since. In 1993, there were 3.2 million foreign-born individuals in the United Kingdom, accounting for 7% of the total population. By 2015, these figures had increased to 8.7 million and 13.5%, respectively (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2017).

A large portion of immigrants in the United Kingdom come from other EU member states. Another major source of immigration are individuals from former British colonies, particularly those in South Asia. In 2015, Polish immigrants represented the largest immigrant community in Britain, accounting for almost 10% of the foreign-born population. The next largest groups were immigrants from India, Pakistan, Ireland, and Germany, making up 9%, 5.9%, 4.5%, and 3.3% of the foreign-born population, respectively (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva

2017). In terms of immigration status, Britain's current foreign-born population consists primarily of foreign workers and individuals who entered under provisions of family reunification. An estimated 123,000 of the 8.7 million immigrants in 2015 were refugees. Despite the absence of shared land borders, irregular ("illegal") migration has become increasingly a concern. Recent estimates suggest that there are about 600,000 over-stayers in the UK, that is, migrants who entered the country legally but overstayed their residence permit (Duevell and Vollmer 2014). This means that irregular migrants account for almost 7% of the foreign-born population in Britain.

Britain's immigration and integration policy has undergone significant changes in the 2000s. British immigration and integration law is currently governed by five major pieces of legislation: the Asylum and Immigration Act of 2004; the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act of 2006; the UK Border Act of 2007; the Criminal Justice and Immigration Act of 2008; and the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act of 2009 (Duevell and Vollmer 2014). As part of Britain's current integration regime, most third-country nationals have to pass a language test (A1 level) in order to enter the country. Preparatory language courses are available to immigrants abroad who are unable to pass the test. To obtain permanent residence, third-country nationals have to pass another language test, this time at the level of B1. In addition, they are required to participate in a civic education class at the end of which there is an exam. The pass rates for these tests vary from year to year; the average is around 80% for the language test and 70% for the civics exam (Goodman 2014, 155-158). Third-country nationals who fail these tests can retake them after participating in the class again; only a very small portion of immigrants fail repeatedly which can negatively affect a potential application for citizenship later on. Once they

have been a resident for five years, immigrants can apply for citizenship, which requires them to participate in an official ceremony during which they pledge allegiance to the United Kingdom.

Immigrant integration has been a major concern in the United Kingdom for the past years. In December 2016, the British government released the "Casey Review", a report which details the state of immigrant integration in the country (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government 2016). The report finds that a significant portion of the British immigrant community is poorly integrated. For example, it estimates that around 760,000 immigrants cannot speak English well or at all; that is 8.7% of the total immigrant population. Lack of language skills is particularly pronounced among immigrants from Poland (25%), Bangladesh (22%), and Pakistan (19%). Integration deficits can be found in other areas as well, including employment, income, educational attainment, and crime rates. Another big difference between immigrants and native-born Britons, according to the Casey Review, is their values: 52% of Muslims in Britain think that homosexuality should be made illegal, compared to 11% among the rest of the population.

The British public has become increasingly concerned about immigration and immigrant integration in recent years. According to a 2016 survey by Ipsos MORI, the second largest market research organization in the United Kingdom, immigration is currently the biggest concern of the British public: 34% of Britons picked immigration as the most important issue facing their country, topping other important issues such as the EU, the economy, and international terrorism (Blinder and Allen 2016). Since the 1990s, a majority of the British public (> 50%) has consistently been of the opinion that migration to Britain should be reduced, rather than increased or kept at its current level. Interestingly (and somewhat surprisingly), Britons are almost as concerned about immigration from other EU member states as they are about

immigration from countries outside of Europe. This distinguishes Britain from a number of other European countries where concerns about immigration from third countries are much greater than those about intra-EU migration (Blinder and Allen 2016). Concerns about immigration played a major role in the British referendum of 2016, in which 52% of votes were cast in favor of leaving the European Union. Gietel-Basten (2016) points out that immigration was featured prominently in the leave campaign, which served to exacerbate fears about immigration among the British public. Similarly, analyzing public opinion data, Hobolt (2016) finds that opposition to immigration is one of the strongest predictors of voting "leave" in the referendum.

In many ways, the United Kingdom is representative of general migration and integration trends in Europe. First, Britain's immigrant population consists to almost equal parts of third-country nationals and migrants from other EU member states. Second, the United Kingdom has been having issues with persistent integration deficits. Third, Britain has implemented stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants during the 2000s. Fourth, public attitudes toward immigration and immigrants have been relatively negative for quite some time. In addition, the fact that the official language in the United Kingdom is English makes it very accessible to Western researchers. As a result, much of the existing case study research on immigrant integration and integration policy has been using Great Britain as a case (e.g. Goodman 2014; Green 2007; van Oers 2013). Therefore, I consider the United Kingdom an ideal case for implementing my survey experiments.

5.3.2 Experiment #1: YouGov

To implement my first survey experiment I hired YouGov, an international Internet-based market research firm. YouGov administered the survey online to a representative sample of

1,651 British adults in March of 2017.[53] Table 56 shows the basic set-up of this experiment. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of eight experimental groups. Respondents in each group were presented with a hypothetical scenario including a particular group of immigrants and type of integration policy, and were then asked about their level of support for admitting said immigrants. Put differently, there are two treatments, the first being the origins of the immigrants (Europe vs. Middle East) and the second being the type of integration policy (no policy vs. language requirements vs. civic requirements vs. language and civic requirements). A template of the experimental items is provided below, and the detailed question wording for each experimental group is available in Appendix B.

Table 56. Set-up of YouGov Survey Experiment

	European Immigrants	**Middle Eastern Immigrants**
No Mention of Policy	1A	1B
Mention of Language	2A	2B
Mention of Civic	3A	3B
Mention of Language + Civic	4A	4B

"There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. **[No policy / Language / Civic / Language + Civic]**. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from **[other European / Middle Eastern]** countries to come and live here?

0   Allow no immigrants from **[other European / Middle Eastern]** countries.
1   Allow some immigrants from **[other European / Middle Eastern]** countries.
2   Allow many immigrants from **[other European / Middle Eastern]** countries."

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[53] For a more detailed description of YouGov's survey methodology, see Twyman (2008) and the official website of YouGov UK (https://yougov.co.uk/find-solutions/omnibus/gb-and-uk-ond/).

To test whether randomization was successful (i.e. whether treatment and control groups are balanced), I examine balance measures for five important respondent characteristics: political interest, age, gender, social class, and political ideology. Political interest is measured via a 4-point ordinal scale ranging from "not at all interested" to "very interested". Age is measured via a continuous variable capturing the number of years since a respondent was born. Gender is measured via a dummy variable coded 1 for male respondents and 0 for females. Social class is captured via respondents' social grade. A social grade is a socio-economic classification produced by the British Office for National Statistics (ONS), which places individuals into one of four categories based on their level of education, income, and type of profession. Therefore, class is a 4-point ordinal scale, with higher values representing greater social status. Lastly, political ideology is measured via a dummy variable coded 1 for respondents who voted "leave" in the British referendum of 2016 ("Brexit") and 0 for those who voted "remain". For each of these five covariates, I examine two balance measures: the weighted difference in means and the weighted variance ratio. Table 57 reports these balance measures for the policy treatment (any integration requirement vs. no requirement) as well as the immigrant origin treatment (Middle Eastern immigrants vs. European immigrants). Since all five covariates exhibit differences in means close to 0 and variance ratios close to 1, the sample appears to be well balanced.

Table 57. Covariate Balance Summary (YouGov)

	Policy Treatment		Immigrant Origin Treatment	
	Difference in Means	*Variance Ratio*	*Difference in Means*	*Variance Ratio*
Pol. interest	-.002	1.121	.000	.938
Age	.004	1.006	-.000	.950
Male gender	-.003	.999	.000	1.000
Social class	.001	1.057	-.000	1.033
Pol. ideology	-.001	1.000	-.000	1.000

This survey experiment allows me to test the first mechanism outlined in Section 5.1. According to cultural threat theory, the greater the cultural distance between a host society and an immigrant, the more negative the host society's attitudes toward that immigrant. I have argued that mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants can improve public perceptions of immigrants by teaching immigrants about the local language, customs, and laws. This, presumably, makes immigrants culturally more similar to the host society, and therefore makes them appear less "threatening". If this argument is correct, I would expect mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants to have a relatively modest effect on respondents' attitudes toward admitting immigrants from other European countries. The reason is that European immigrants are already relatively similar to Britons in terms of culture; therefore, there is no cultural threat which mandatory integration requirements could mitigate to begin with. Conversely, mentioning immigrants from the Middle East is supposed to invoke feelings of cultural threat; therefore, the positive impact of mandatory integration requirements on public attitudes toward said immigrants is supposedly greater for this group.

Figure 5 shows the average response to the question how many immigrants the United Kingdom should admit.[54] In this figure, European and Middle Eastern immigrants are pooled. In addition, the three different policy types (language; civic; language + civic) are pooled into a single group, which allows me to test the effect of any type of integration requirements on public attitudes relative to no requirements at all. The mean value for the baseline group (no policy) is .828, meaning that the average respondent supports admitting "some" immigrants rather than

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[54] Note that while the outcome variable ranges from 0 to 2 (1-point increments), for illustrative purposes the y-axis of the graph only ranges from 0 to 1 (.2-point increments).

"none" or "many".[55] With a value of .841, the value for the pooled treatment group is only slightly higher. The difference between the two values is statistically insignificant, meaning that integration policy has no discernable effect on attitudes toward immigrants in the pooled sample.
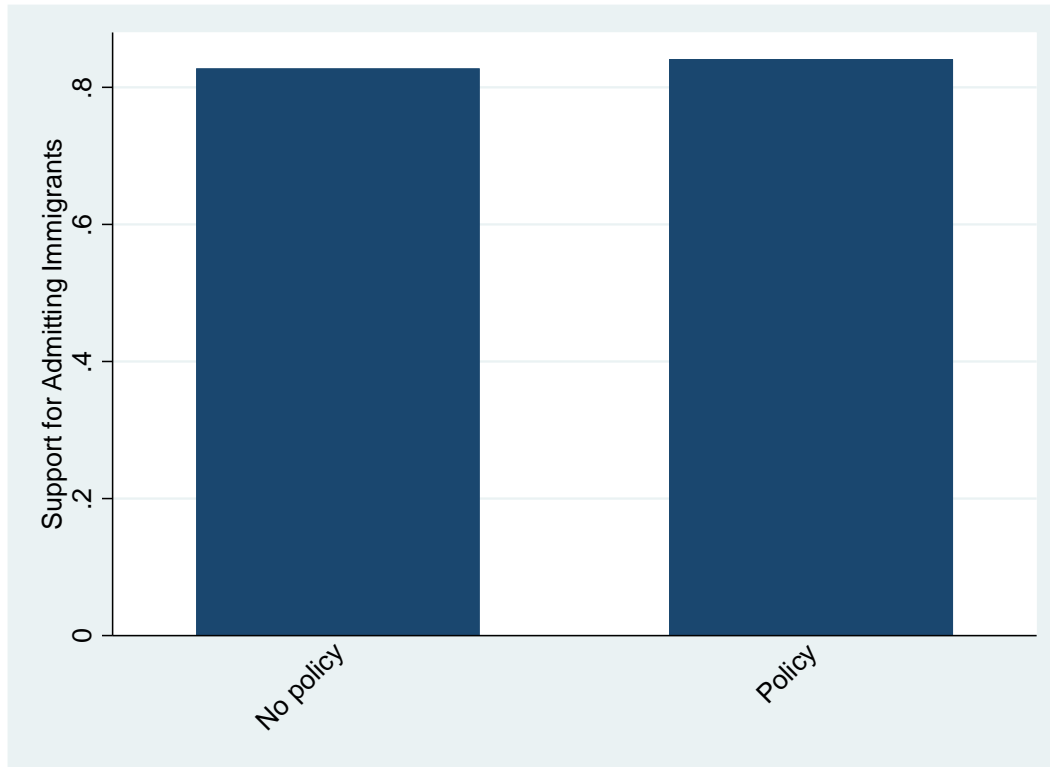
Figure 5. Mean Values (YouGov)

Figure 6 splits the sample into respondents who received the "European immigrants" condition and those who received the "Middle Eastern immigrants" condition. The mean for the "European immigrants, no policy" condition is .958. When integration requirements are introduced, the average level of support for admitting immigrants from other European countries actually decreases slightly ($\bar{x}$ = .936), but this difference is statistically insignificant. The average

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[55] All analyses are conducted using the weighting scheme provided by YouGov.

level of support for admitting immigrants from Middle Eastern countries is .676 in the "no policy" condition and .736 in the "policy" condition. The difference between these two groups is statistically insignificant, meaning that mandatory integration requirements have no effect on attitudes toward immigrants regardless of whether the immigrants in question are from Europe or the Middle East. The average level of support for admitting immigrants from Europe is significantly greater than the mean level of support for admitting immigrants from Middle Eastern countries in both policy conditions. This finding is in line with the predictions of cultural threat theory and provides support for H11a.

Figure 6. Mean Values by Immigrant Origin (YouGov)
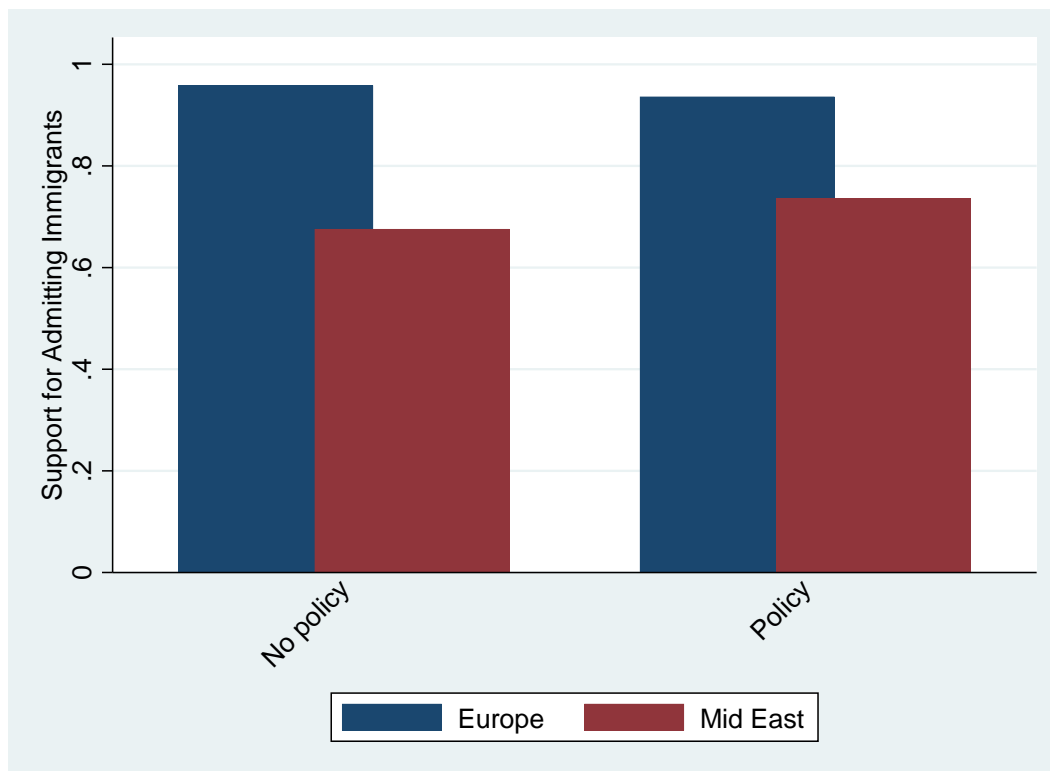
Figure 7 further disaggregates the sample, showing the mean levels of support for admitting immigrants for all eight experimental groups. Across all four policy scenarios,

respondents exhibit significantly ($p < .05$) greater support for admitting immigrants from other European countries than from the Middle East, which provides additional support for H11a. For immigrants from Europe, support is highest in the "civic" condition, followed by "no policy", "language + civic", and "language". It seems counterintuitive that support for admitting immigrants from Europe is greater when they are not required to participate in language courses, though it should be noted that none of these differences reach conventional levels of significance. Support for admitting immigrants from the Middle East is higher when they have to partake in integration requirements (particularly civic education courses), but again, these differences are not statistically significant.

Figure 7. Mean Values by Experimental Group (YouGov)
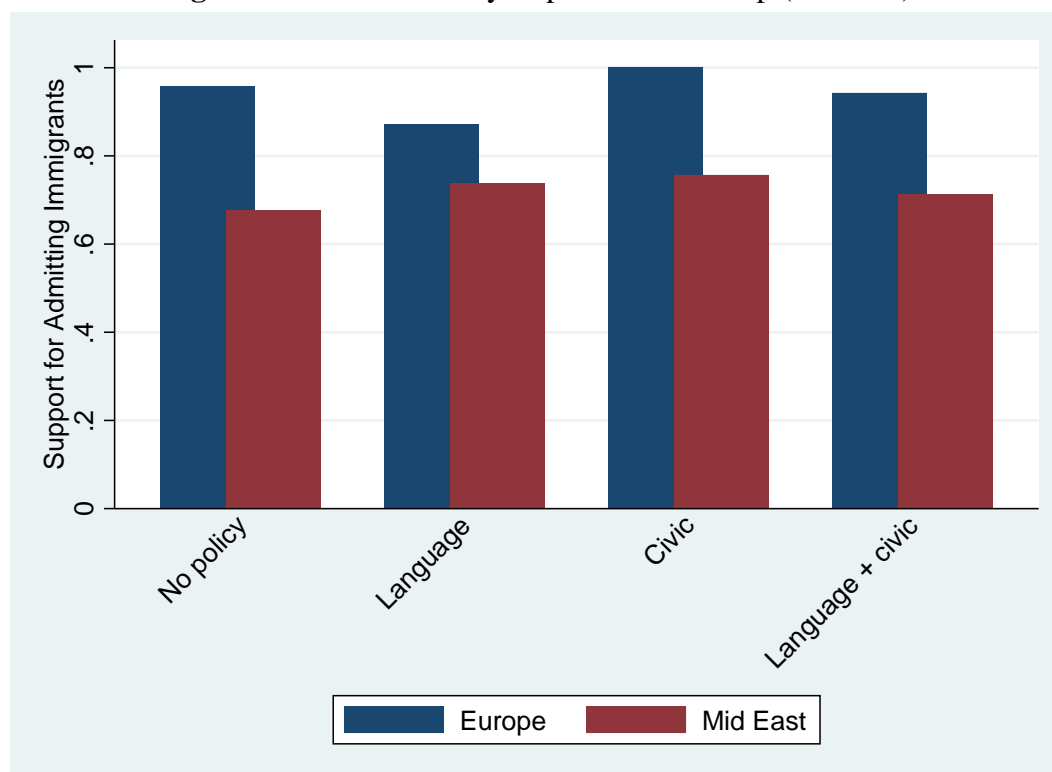
Table 58. Differences between Mean Values (YouGov)

	Means	Differences between Means	Difference in Differences
Europe, no policy (1A)	.958	-.087	.149*
Europe, language (2A)	.871	(2A – 1A)	((2B – 1B) –
Middle East, no policy (1B)	.676	.062	(2A – 1A))
Middle East, language (2B)	.738	(2B – 1B)	
Europe, no policy (1A)	.958	.043	.038
Europe, civic (3A)	1.001	(3A – 1A)	((3B – 1B) –
Middle East, no policy (1B)	.676	.081	(3A – 1A))
Middle East, civic (3B)	.757	(2B – 1B)	
Europe, no policy (1A)	.958	-.016	.053
Europe, lang. + civic (4A)	.942	(4A – 1A)	((4B – 1B) –
Middle East, no policy (1B)	.676	.037	(4A – 1A))
Middle East, lang. + civic (4B)	.713	(4B – 1B)	

Table 58 illustrates the differences between the mean values for the various experimental groups, and whether these differences are statistically significant.[56] For both immigrant origins, the mentioning of any integration policy scenario does not significantly change respondents' level of support for admitting immigrants. All three policy conditions (language; civic; language + civic) increase respondents' willingness to admit immigrants from the Middle East, but none of these effects reach conventional levels of significance. Interestingly, the effect of civic education requirements on respondents' level of support is greater than that of language requirements (although the difference between the two effects is statistically insignificant), which indicates that immigrants' familiarity with the local history, laws, and culture might matter slightly more for public opinion than their ability to speak the host society's language. In accordance with my theoretical expectations, the positive effect of integration policy on support for admitting

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[56] These differences and their significance levels are calculated by regressing the experimental outcome on a set of dummy variables, one for each experimental group, and then using the *lincom* command in Stata v.15 to compute point estimates and p-values for linear combinations of regression coefficients.

immigrants is greater when the immigrants in question are from the Middle East as opposed to Europe, though this difference is only statistically significant in the "language" condition ($p <$ .10). Overall, then, these findings are in line with the predictions of H11a, but provide only partial support for H11b and no significant support for H10.

To further investigate these results, I conduct three multiple regression analyses. In the first model, I regress the experimental outcome on a policy dummy (coded 0 for no policy; 1 for language, civic, and language + civic), an immigrant origin dummy (coded 0 for Europe; 1 for the Middle East), and the interaction of both dummies. In the second model, I include the five covariates previously mentioned (political interest, age, gender, social class, and political ideology). In the third model, I interact respondents' level of political interest with the policy and immigrant origin dummies. This is done to avoid a situation in which politically interested individuals, who presumably have knowledge of Britain's actual integration requirements, ignore the prime in the "no policy" condition. In other words, politically interested respondents in the control condition might overreport their support for admitting immigrants because they know these immigrants will have to partake in mandatory integration requirements. If this were the case, it would artificially diminish the effect of the treatment and bias my results downward.

Table 59. Multiple Regression Analysis of YouGov Experiment (OLS)

	Baseline Model	Full Model	Interaction Model
Integration policy	-0.022	0.044	-0.214
	(0.051)	(0.045)	(0.199)
Middle East	-0.282***	-0.249***	-0.709***
	(0.061)	(0.055)	(0.227)
Policy * Middle East	0.082	0.038	0.537**
	(0.072)	(0.064)	(0.256)
Political interest		0.099***	0.015
		(0.019)	(0.061)
Policy * interest			0.092
			(0.067)
Middle East * interest			0.165**
			(0.079)
Policy * Mid East * interest			-0.179**
			(0.089)
Age		-0.004***	-0.004***
		(0.001)	(0.001)
Male gender		-0.024	-0.025
		(0.028)	(0.028)
Social grade		0.039***	0.038***
		(0.013)	(0.013)
Brexit vote		-0.472***	-0.474***
		(0.030)	(0.030)
Constant	0.958***	1.597***	1.843***
	(0.043)	(0.101)	(0.201)
N	1,651	1,456	1,456
R^2	0.035	0.281	0.284

Standard errors shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 59 shows the results for the three multiple regression analyses. The baseline model replicates the bar graphs shown in Figure 6. The coefficient of the constant is equal to the mean for the "European immigrants, no policy" condition, which is .958. When integration requirements are introduced, the average level of support for admitting immigrants from other European countries actually decreases by .022 points, but this difference is statistically insignificant. Compared to the baseline condition (European immigrants, no policy), the average level of support for admitting immigrants from Middle Eastern countries is significantly lower (.282 points). The full model introduces the five control variables, which do not meaningfully alter the results of the baseline model. Looking at the effects of the control variables themselves, social grade is positively and significantly associated with the outcome, meaning that individuals in higher social classes are more supportive of admitting immigrants to the UK. Age has a negative but small effect, while the coefficient for the Brexit vote variable is negative and fairly large (almost half a point on a scale ranging from 0 to 2). This finding supports scholars who argue that anti-immigrant sentiments played a pivotal role in the British referendum of 2016 (Gietel-Basten 2016; Hobolt 2016).

Regarding the interaction model, the negative coefficient for the three-way interaction between political interest, the policy treatment, and the immigrant origin treatment suggests that lower levels of political interest are in fact associated with a greater positive effect of the policy treatment on respondents' level of support for admitting immigrants from the Middle East. This provides additional support for H11b. To further illustrate the conditional effect of the policy treatment, Figure 8 plots the marginal effects of the policy treatment at different levels of political interest and the policy origin treatment. The figure shows that for immigrants from Europe the marginal effect of the policy increases with political interest (i.e. awareness of the

UK's actual integration requirements), whereas for immigrants from the Middle East the opposite is the case. While the confidence intervals are fairly wide and overlap, this finding is in line with my expectation that the positive effect on the policy treatment is greatest among politically uninterested individuals who likely have little to no knowledge of Britain's actual integration requirements. In addition, this positive effect is confined to immigrants from the Middle East, which supports my argument that mandatory integration requirements are particularly effective at improving public attitudes toward immigrants when the immigrants in question are generally perceived as culturally distant (H11b).

Figure 8. Conditional Effect of Policy Treatment (95% CIs)
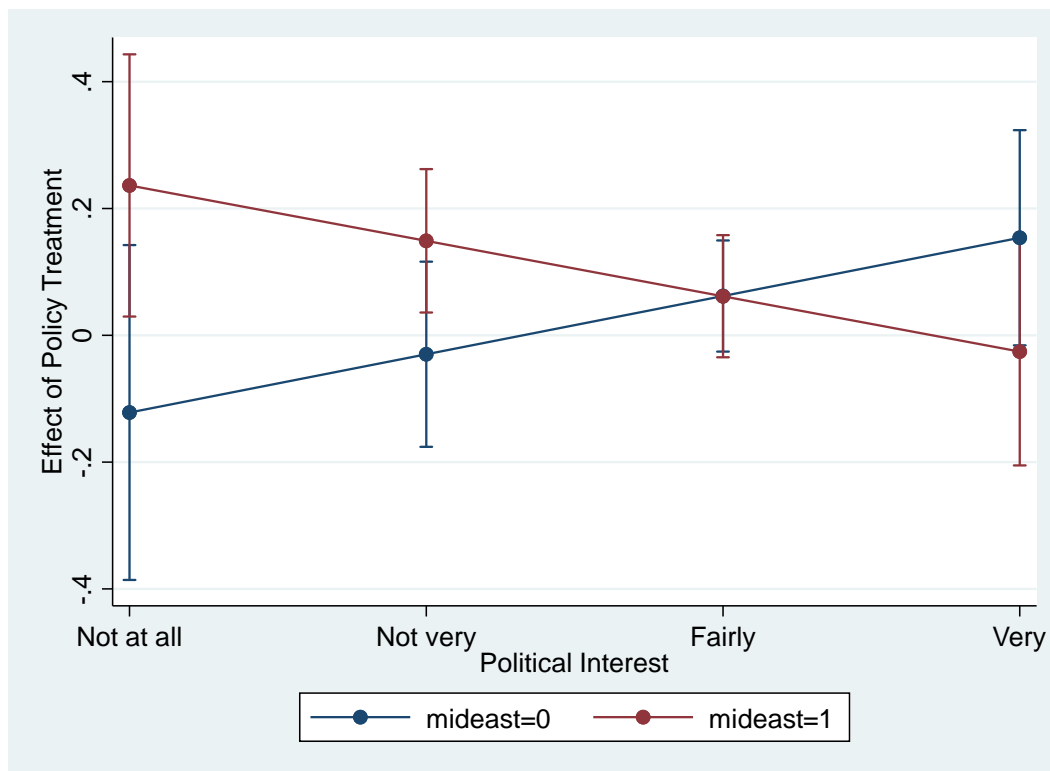
5.3.3 Experiment #2: British Election Studies

My second survey experiment was implemented as an add-on to the 11th wave of the British Election Study (BES) between April and May of 2017; it was administered online to a representative sample of 7,732 British adults.[57] Table 60 illustrates the basic set-up of this experiment. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of five experimental groups, including four treatment groups and one control group. Respondents in each group were presented with a hypothetical scenario involving different policy proposals, and were then asked about their level of support for said proposal. These scenarios varied across two dimensions: (a) whether mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants were mentioned or not, and (b) whether immigrants were described as having full or limited access to social benefits and public assistance. A template of the experimental items is provided below, and the detailed question wording for each experimental group is available in Appendix B.[58]

Table 60. Set-up of BES Survey Experiment

	Full Access to Benefits	Limited Access to Benefits
No Mention of Policy	1C	1D
Mention of Policy	2C	2D

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[57] For a more detailed description of the BES, see Scarbrough (2000) and the official website of the British Election Study (http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/faqs/#.WdaQ-bpFxPY).

[58] In addition to the experimental items, the 11th wave of the BES includes a wealth of other variables. A detailed description of the BES survey questions and variables is available in the official codebook (http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/custom/uploads/2017/07/Bes_wave13Documentation_V1.0.pdf).

"Imagine a policy proposal stating that the United Kingdom will admit an additional 10,000 immigrants from Syria next year. These immigrants will have **[full access to benefits / limited access to benefits]**. **[No mention of policy / mention of policy.]** To what extent would you support such a proposal?

0   I fully oppose it.
1   I somewhat oppose it.
2   I neither oppose nor support it.
3   I somewhat support it.
4   I fully support it."

As with the previous experiment, I test whether randomization was successful, that is, whether treatment and control groups are balanced. I examine balance measures for five important respondent characteristics: political knowledge, age, gender, education, and political ideology. To measure respondents' political knowledge, the BES includes five true-or-false questions about Britain's political system. For every respondent, I generate a variable which counts the number of questions answered correctly; therefore, the resulting variable ranges from 0 to 5, with higher values representing greater political knowledge. Age is measured via a continuous variable capturing the number of years since a respondent was born. Gender is measured via a dummy variable coded 1 for male respondents and 0 for females. Education is captured by a 6-point ordinal scale ranging from "no qualifications" to "postgraduate education completed". Lastly, to measure political ideology, I use respondents' self-placement on a scale ranging from 0 to 10, with higher values representing a more conservative ideology. For each of these five covariates, I again examine the weighted difference in means and the weighted variance ratio. Table 61 reports these balance measures for the policy treatment (integration requirements vs. no requirements) as well as the welfare treatment (limited access vs. full access). As with the previous experiment, all five covariates exhibit differences in means close to 0 and variance ratios close to 1, which means that the sample is balanced.

Table 61. Covariate Balance Summary (BES)

	Policy Treatment		Welfare Treatment	
	Difference in Means	*Variance Ratio*	*Difference in Means*	*Variance Ratio*
Pol. knowledge	-.000	1.040	.001	1.000
Age	.000	1.009	.000	1.030
Male gender	-.000	1.000	.001	1.000
Education	-.000	.977	-.000	.937
Pol. ideology	.001	.956	.000	1.009

This survey experiment is intended to test the second mechanism posited by my theoretical framework. I have argued that negative perceptions of immigrants can arise when individuals' ideas of distributive and procedural fairness are violated. Members of the host society may consider immigrants as "outsiders" and "newcomers", and thus as underserving of the host society's wealth they feel they worked long and hard to create. Therefore, when members of the host society are under the impression that their government is providing immigrants with generous rights and benefits without asking much in return, it will prompt a negative reaction toward said immigrants. Mandatory language and civic education requirements are a way for governments to signal the extent of immigrants' obligations and responsibilities, thereby mitigating concerns about distributive and procedural fairness. If this argument is correct, I would expect mandatory language and civic integration requirements to have a relatively small effect on respondents' attitudes toward admitting immigrants when these immigrants are explicitly denied full access to public assistance. The reason is that under such circumstances, distributive and procedural fairness should not be of great concern. Conversely, describing immigrants as having full access to the welfare state should invoke a negative response in respondents, and therefore open the door for a positive effect of mandatory integration requirements.

Figure 9 shows the mean level of support for admitting 10,000 additional Syrian immigrants.[59] In this figure, the two welfare conditions are pooled which allows me to examine the overall impact of the policy treatment regardless of immigrants' level of access to the welfare state. The mean level of support for admitting 10,000 additional Syrian immigrants in the baseline group is 1.644 on a scale ranging from 0 to 4.[60] Telling respondents that these immigrants will be required to participate in language and civic education classes raises the average level of support to 1.934. The difference between these two values is statistically significant, which means that mandatory language and civic education requirements have a positive effect on attitudes toward immigrants. This finding provides support for H10.

Figure 9. Mean Values (BES)

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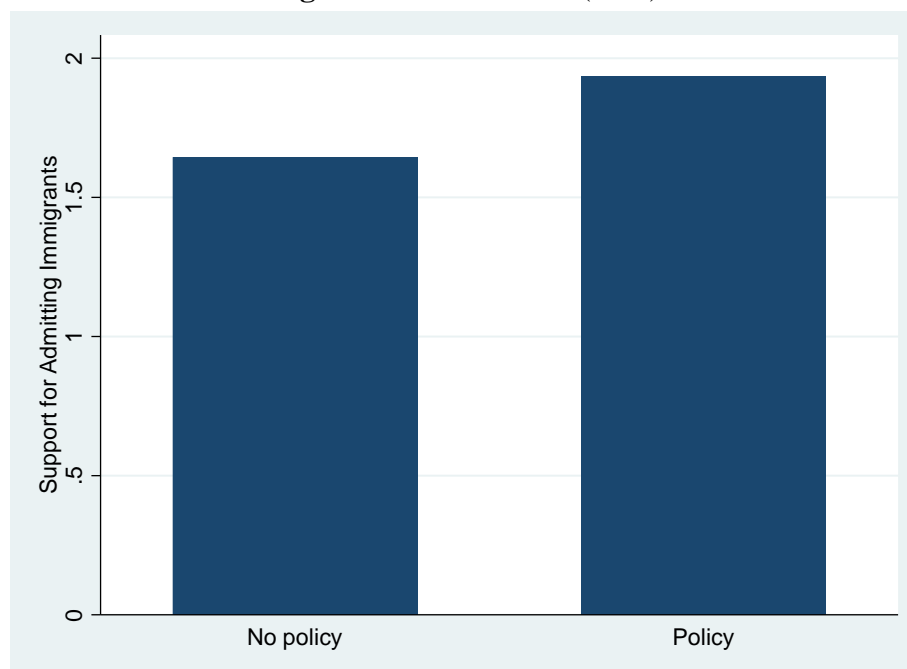
[59] Note that while the outcome variable ranges from 0 to 4 (1-point increments), for illustrative purposes the y-axis of the graph only ranges from 0 to 2 (.5-point increments).

[60] All analyses are conducted using the updated BES weighting schema (variable *wt_new_W11*).

Figure 10 disaggregates the sample, showing mean levels of support by experimental group. The mean level of support in the control group is 1.577. Substantively, this means that the average response in the control group lies between being somewhat opposed to and feeling neutral about admitting an additional 10,000 Syrian immigrants to the United Kingdom. The average level of support in treatment group 1C (no mention of policy, full access to benefits) is 1.569 and statistically indistinguishable from the mean of the control group. The average levels of support in treatment groups 1D (no mention policy, limited access to benefits), 2C (mention of policy, full access to benefits), and 2D (mention of policy, limited access to benefits) are 1.792, 1.787, and 2.080, respectively, with all three being significantly ($p < .01$) higher than the mean of the control group. Two important observations follow from this. First, limiting immigrants' access to public assistance and mentioning that immigrants are required to enroll in language and civic education classes increases respondents' willingness to admit them at similar rates. Second, as expected, support for the policy proposal is by far the highest in the experimental condition where immigrants are both limited in their access to the welfare state and subject to mandatory integration requirements.

Table 62 illustrates the differences between the mean values for the various experimental groups, and whether these differences are statistically significant.[61] The table shows that regardless of whether immigrants are described as having limited or full access to public assistance, mentioning mandatory language and civic integration requirements significantly increases respondents' support for admitting additional immigrants from Syria. However,

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[61] These differences and their significance levels are calculated by regressing the experimental outcome on a set of dummy variables, one for each experimental group, and then using the *lincom* command in Stata v.15 to compute point estimates and p-values for linear combinations of regression coefficients.

contrary to expectations, the increase is greater in the "limited access" condition (.289) than it is in the "full access" condition (.218), although the difference between these two differences is insignificant. According to my theoretical framework, the positive effect of mandatory language and civic education classes for immigrants should have been greater in the "full access" condition, since distributive and procedural fairness should be of greater concern here. Therefore, while these findings support both H10 and H12a, they do not provide support for the second mechanism outlined in the theory section (H12b).

Figure 10. Mean Values by Experimental Group (BES)
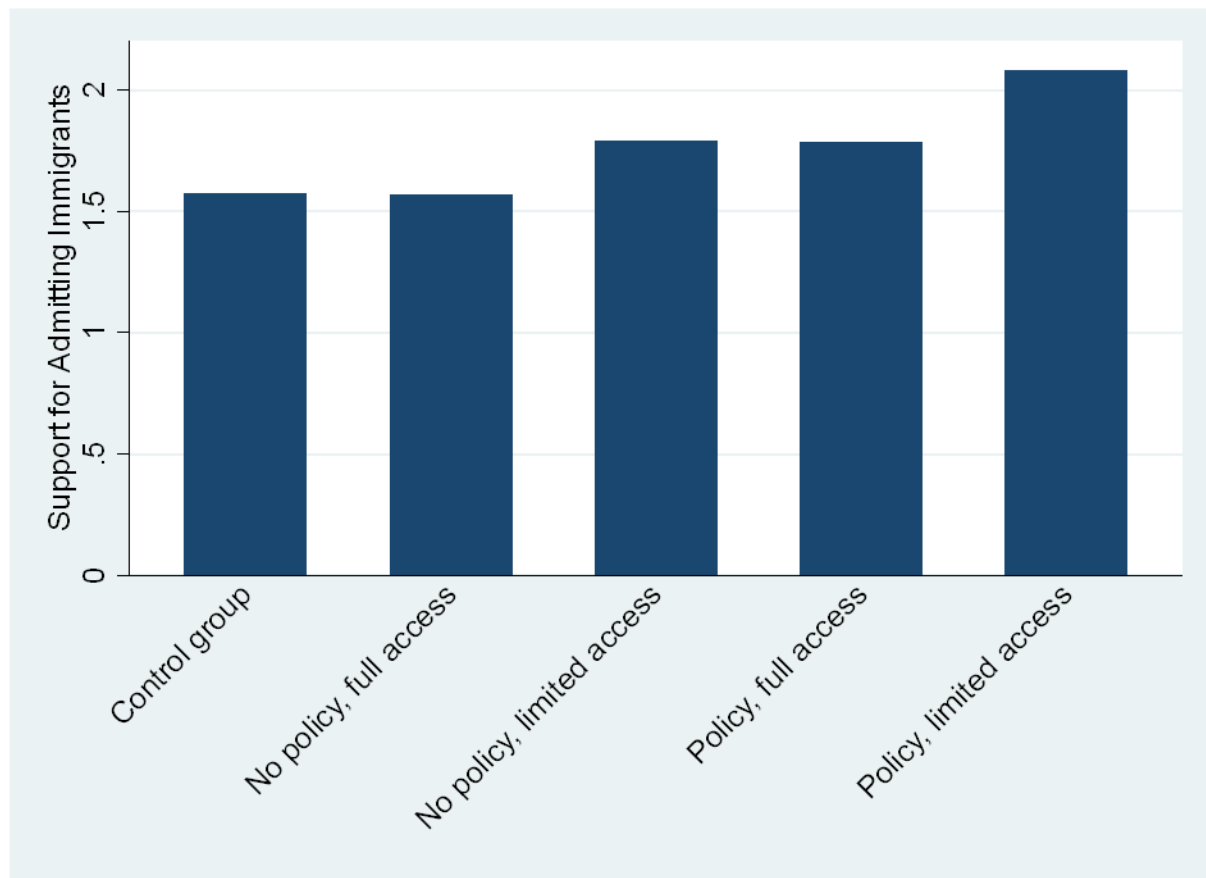
Table 62. Differences between Mean Values (BES)

	Means	Differences between Means	Difference in Differences
No policy, limited access (1D)	1.792	.289***	-.071 ((2C – 1C) – (2D – 1D))
Policy, limited access (2D)	2.080	(2D – 1D)	
No policy, full access (1C)	1.569	.218***	
Policy, full access (2C)	1.787	(2C – 1C)	

To further investigate these results, I conduct three multiple regression analyses. In the first model, I regress the experimental outcome on a policy dummy (coded 0 for treatment groups 1C and 1D as well as the control group; 1 for treatment groups 2C and 2D), a welfare dummy (coded 1 for treatment groups 1D and 2D, 0 for treatment groups 1C and 2C as well as the control group), and the interaction of both dummies. In the second model, I include the five covariates previously mentioned (political knowledge, age, gender, education, and political ideology). In the third model, I interact respondents' level of political knowledge with the policy and welfare dummies. This is done to avoid a situation in which politically knowledgeable individuals, who presumably are aware of Britain's actual integration requirements and welfare provisions for immigrants, ignore the respective primes, which if true would bias my results. Table 63 shows the results for the three multiple regression analyses. The coefficient for the three-way interaction term between political knowledge, the policy treatment, and the welfare treatment is statistically insignificant, meaning that H12b is not supported by the evidence even if respondents' level of political knowledge is accounted for.

Table 63. Multiple Regression Analysis of BES Experiment (OLS)

	Baseline Model	Full Model	Interaction Model
Integration policy	0.214***	0.192***	0.106
	(0.055)	(0.064)	(0.248)
Limited welfare access	0.219***	0.211***	0.199
	(0.052)	(0.058)	(0.229)
Policy * welfare	0.075	0.080	0.179
	(0.081)	(0.094)	(0.366)
Political knowledge		0.148***	0.142***
		(0.026)	(0.037)
Policy * knowledge			0.023
			(0.058)
Welfare * knowledge			0.003
			(0.055)
Policy * welfare * knowledge			-0.026
			(0.087)
Age		-0.015***	-0.015***
		(0.002)	(0.002)
Male gender		-0.250***	-0.249***
		(0.049)	(0.049)
Education		0.139***	0.139***
		(0.019)	(0.020)
Political ideology		-0.181***	-0.181***
		(0.010)	(0.010)
Constant	1.572***	2.494***	2.514***
	(0.030)	(0.117)	(0.155)
N	7,732	5,250	5,250
R^2	0.019	0.211	0.211

Standard errors shown in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$.

5.4   DOES INTEGRATION AFFECT PUBLIC OPINION?

Thus far, the results obtained throughout this dissertation have been relatively consistent (with the exception of the issue of index-dependency, of course). My analyses of country-level data (Chapter 3) and cross-national survey data (Chapter 4) both suggest that mandatory language and civic education requirements have a positive effect on immigrants' level of economic integration but no impact on other dimensions of immigrant integration. The share of the foreign-born population at risk of poverty or social exclusion (AROPE) was not significantly associated with CIVIX or MIPEX-IRS in any of the models in Chapter 3. Similarly, Chapter 4 showed that mandatory integration requirements have no significant impact on measures of social integration (social trust; Western values) and political integration (institutional trust; political interest). In addition, with the exception of the survey experiment implemented by YouGov, the various pieces of evidence presented throughout this chapter indicate that these requirements positively affect public attitudes toward immigrants.

However, when it comes to the effect of immigrants' level of integration/integration deficits on public attitudes toward immigrants, the results from Chapters 3 and 5 seem to somewhat contradict each other. In Chapter 3, I found that unemployment among immigrants is negatively and somewhat strongly correlated (-.382) with public opinion on immigration. In contrast, the analyses in the previous section suggest that unemployment among immigrants is not significantly associated with individual attitudes toward immigrants. To further explore the potential effect of integration deficits on public opinion and, by extension, the possibility of an indirect effect of mandatory integration requirements on attitudes toward immigrants, I first revisit the country-level data used in Chapter 3. Specifically, I estimate a series of bivariate regression models with public opinion as the dependent variable and the difference between the

immigrant and native-born unemployment rate as the predictor.[62] As a reminder, public opinion

is measured via the Eurobarometer item "What do you think are the most important issues facing

your country at the moment?". Higher percentages of respondents who answer the question with

"migration" are taken to represent greater public concern about immigrant integration. Since the

Eurobarometer surveys are conducted twice a year, I average the two to obtain a yearly value.

Table 64. Determinants of Public Opinion

	Model 1 (RE)	Model 2 (FE)	Model 3 (LDV)
Difference unemployment	-0.629	-0.808	-0.066
	(0.543)	(0.596)	(0.094)
Lagged DV			0.945[***]
			(0.051)
Year dummies (not reported)			
Constant	15.373[***]	16.621[***]	3.036[**]
	(4.199)	(3.615)	(1.173)
N	211	211	211
Within R^2	.185	.187	
Between R^2	.095	.094	
(Overall) R^2	.001	.000	.788
Rho	.730	.763	

Robust SEs clustered by country shown in parentheses; $* p < 0.10 ** p < 0.05 *** p < 0.01$.

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[62] I use the difference in unemployment rates rather than the immigrant unemployment rate itself, as the

latter correlates strongly with the overall unemployment rate (.873) while the former does not (.197). Since

macroeconomic conditions – which include the overall unemployment rate – are themselves a significant predictor

of attitudes toward immigrants, this high correlation value is potentially problematic in that the immigrant

unemployment rate may capture macroeconomic conditions rather than the concept it is supposed to capture, that is,

integration deficits.

Table 64 shows the results for three bivariate models: a random effects model, a fixed effects model, and an LDV model with an AR(1) specification. All three models include dummy variables for each year to absorb any atypical year-to-year variation. Across all models, the difference in unemployment rates has a negative but insignificant effect on public opinion. I conduct two sets of robustness checks to ensure that this null finding is consistent across different model specifications. First, using two different measures of integration deficits, namely the share of the foreign-born population AROPE as well as the difference between the share of the foreign-born population AROPE and the share of the native-born population AROPE, I find that immigrants' prior level of integration does not significantly impact public attitudes toward immigrants. Second, I run the same three models with public opinion as the outcome but with two predictors, unemployment among immigrants and the overall unemployment rate. The coefficient for the former is consistently insignificant, while the latter is negatively and significantly associated with public opinion across models. Taken together, these findings strongly suggest the absence of a systematic relationship between integration deficits and public attitudes toward immigrants.

Similarly, my analyses in Section 5.2 have shown that in bivariate DID models, both the unemployment rate among immigrants as well as the share of the foreign-born population AROPE are not significantly related to individual attitudes toward immigrants. Using the difference in unemployment rates and AROPE shares between foreign-born and native-born individuals also yields consistently insignificant results. Therefore, upon closer inspection, the results from Chapters 3 and 5 are actually consistent: both sets of evidence suggest that public opinion is not a function of immigrants' previous level of integration. Since the various models discussed here yield a consistently insignificant effect, it is unnecessary to estimate more

complex (and demanding) mediation models to test H14; instead, the absence of an effect of integration deficits on public opinion lead me consider H14 unsupported by the evidence.

5.5 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I have argued that mandatory language and civic integration requirements for immigrants directly and positively affect public attitudes toward immigrants, because (1) immigrants are perceived as less of a "threat" when they speak the local language and are familiar with local history, laws, and culture, and (2) these requirements are a way for governments to signal the extent of immigrants' obligations and responsibilities and thereby mitigate concerns about fairness and deservingness. To test these arguments, I examined survey data provided by the ESS and found that public attitudes toward immigrants are more favorable in countries with more stringent language and civic education requirements, particularly among those individuals who are most likely to be aware of the existence of these policies. In addition, I analyzed evidence from two original survey experiments in the United Kingdom, the first conducted by YouGov in March of 2017 and the second administered as part of the BES in April-May of the same year. The former provides only limited support, the latter strong support for the notion that individuals are more supportive of immigration and immigrants when they are told that immigrants are subject to mandatory language and civic education requirements.

These findings have three important implications. First, they call into question the results of previous studies which argued that laissez-faire integration policies reduce anti-immigrant prejudice (Hooghe and de Vroome 2015a; Schlueter et al. 2013). Second, these results demonstrate the importance of variables at the country-level on public attitudes toward

immigrants, factors that are often ignored in favor of individual characteristics of the host society members and the immigrant population (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). Future research is well-advised to pay more attention to these kinds of variables. Further examination of the relationship between welfare policies for immigrants and public opinion promises to be a particularly fruitful endeavor in this context.

Third, policymakers interested in combating anti-immigrant prejudice should consider the adoption or tightening of mandatory integration requirements for immigrants, particularly as an emerging body of research has been pointing to other benefits of these requirements as well (see Chapter 4). Countries which already have adopted such requirements are well-advised to expend more effort publicizing them. While there is no systematic data that would allow me to ascertain the exact level of knowledge about integration policies among native-born Europeans, an interviewee who works in the research division of the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (see Section 4.4) argued that the German government – like most European governments – does a poor job at spreading information about its integration policies. The interviewee also suggested that most Germans do not know about their country's integration requirements for immigrants, and that publicizing these requirements could be a way to combat anti-immigrant sentiment in Germany.

While the general notion that public attitudes toward immigrants are more positive in countries with mandatory integration requirements for immigrants was mostly borne out by the evidence, support for the two mechanisms behind this relationship was somewhat weaker. The survey experiment conducted by YouGov showed that Britons are much more supportive of immigrants from other European countries than of those from the Middle East, which is in line with the predictions of cultural threat theory. Interacting the treatment with political interest to

account for the possibility that prior knowledge about the UK's actual integration policies might cause respondents to ignore the prime, I find that the presence of mandatory integration requirements increases support for Middle Eastern immigrants at significantly higher rates than it does for European immigrants. This finding provides support for my argument that mandatory language and civic education requirements improve public perceptions of immigrants by reducing the cultural distance between immigrants and the host population, and therefore are an effective way to make European publics more supportive of immigrant groups that are otherwise often perceived as culturally distant and threatening.

Similarly, the survey experiment administered as part of the BES illustrated that respondents are much more supportive of immigrants when they are denied full access to the welfare state. However, contrary to expectations, the positive effect of mandatory integration requirements on attitudes toward immigrants is strong regardless of whether immigrants are described as having full or only limited access. Therefore, there is no support for H13b. This raises the question why this particular mechanism was not borne out by the evidence. One reason might be that compared to other Western European countries, third-country nationals in the United Kingdom only have limited access to social and employment protection (Wilkinson and Craig 2012). This could lead to overall low concerns among Britons about immigrant deservingness and distributive justice. Another reason might be that by describing the immigrants as Syrian, the experimental item evoked feelings of racial animosity and/or cultural threat, which in turn washes out the effect of the welfare prime. Further examination of this mechanism in a European country where immigrants have greater access to public assistance using a slightly modified survey experiment promises to be an interesting and important avenue for future research.

Lastly, I have posited that mandatory integration requirements indirectly lead to more positive public attitudes toward immigrants by increasing immigrants' level of integration. However, analyzing two different sets of data, I find no evidence for the presence of such an indirect effect. For such an indirect effect to be present, two conditions must be met: first, mandatory integration requirements have to positively and significantly affect immigrants' level of integration; second, immigrants' level of integration has to positively and significantly affect public attitudes toward immigrants. While the first link in this causal chain is consistently supported by the evidence presented throughout this dissertation, the latter is not. In short, integration deficits are not a significant predictor of public attitudes toward immigrants. While these findings do not provide support for H14, they are interesting in their own right. European publics do not seem to be swayed by objective immigration conditions in their country, such as immigrants' prior level of integration. Rather, the results from the various sets of evidence analyzed in this chapter suggest that public attitudes toward immigrants are a function of a diverse set of factors including a country's integration policy and macroeconomic performance, immigrants' origin (regardless of how well/poorly integrated they might be) and access to the welfare state, and certain characteristics of the individual respondent.

6.0   WAYS FORWARD IN THE STUDY OF INTEGRATION POLICY

In this dissertation, I examined both the determinants and the consequences of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants in Europe. As for the determinants, I formulated nine hypotheses and tested them against two sets of data: a sample of 15 EU member states between 2005 and 2014 (CIVIX) and a sample of 25 EU member states between 2007 and 2014 (MIPEX-IRS). Using various alternative model specifications, I found that the results vary considerably across three dimensions: analytical approach (random effects model vs. LDV model), dependent variable (CIVIX vs. MIPEX-IRS), and measure of immigrant integration (unemployment vs. AROPE). This finding is consistent with recent research on methodological issues in integration research, which argues that what scholars know about the causes and effects of integration policy is subject to data and sample selection (Goodman 2015, 1; see also Goodman 2012b).

However, despite this lack of robustness across model specifications, four important inferences can be (cautiously) drawn from my analyses of the determinants of mandatory integration requirements. First, they suggest that government ideology and public opinion are only weakly associated with mandatory integration requirements, thereby calling into question conventional wisdom in integration research (Akkerman 2012; Bale 2008; Facchini and Mayda 2010; Givens and Luedtke 2005; Hix and Noury 2007; Howard 2010). Second, the only variable significantly affecting language and civic education requirements for immigrants across all

model specifications is past policy, which suggests that immigrant integration policy is highly path-dependent. One promising avenue for future research would be to explore the mechanism(s) behind this path dependency, that is, why exactly this type of integration policy is so stable. This policy lock could be the result of national identity considerations, institutional routines and memory, or something else entirely. Third, though not entirely robust to alternative model specifications, learning appears to have a positive and significant effect on the adoption of stricter integration requirements for immigrants. This finding indicates that EU member states' integration requirements are partly a function of the policies of their peers, particularly those that are relatively successful at integrating their immigrant communities.

Fourth, one of the more consistent relationships uncovered Chapter 3 is that between unemployment among immigrants and mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants. Using a methodological approach that mitigates endogeneity issues, I found that the causal arrow runs from immigrant integration requirements to immigrants' level of integration, not the other way around. This finding has three important implications. First, the results of studies which argued that integration requirements are determined by integration deficits but did not account for this reverse causality are likely spurious. Second, the fact that governments do not take objective immigration conditions such as integration deficits into consideration casts doubt on the suitability of technocratic approaches for explaining variation in immigrant integration requirements. Third, this finding is important in that it suggests that mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants work, that is, they lead to improved integration outcomes but only in the realm of economic integration. Unemployment among immigrants, both by itself and relative to unemployment among the native-born population, is

quite consistently associated with the intensity of a country's integration requirements while measures that get more at the concept of social integration (AROPE) are not.

Overall, then, immigrant integration requirements appear to be highly stable phenomena that are largely impervious to fluctuations in government ideology or public opinion. Once countries begin to follow a certain policy trajectory, they rarely stray from the course. Sweden, Ireland, and Portugal have all had conservative parties in government at some point during the past two decades, yet these countries have entirely resisted the trend toward stricter integration requirements. Conversely, France, Greece, and the United Kingdom all had left-leaning governments for part of the past 20 years, yet there has not been a single major reversal of these countries' language and civic education requirements for immigrants. It appears that a break from previous policy requires a major event such as increasing efforts by the EU to harmonize the integration policies of its member states since 2004.

In the second empirical chapter, I examined the effect of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants on several outcome measures of immigrant integration using cross-national survey data provided by the ESS. My findings suggest that these requirements are inconsequential, at least in the short term, for immigrants' levels of political interest, institutional trust, and social trust as well as the degree to which they have adopted Western values (proxied by tolerance of homosexuals). However, mandatory integration requirements do appear to have a positive impact on immigrants' employment prospects and their financial well-being. Evidence from 23 original, open-ended interviews suggests that this relationship is due to mandatory integration requirements being effective at helping immigrants acquire the host country's language, which in turn enables them to find (better) jobs. Though not entirely robust to alternative model specifications, these findings suggest that policymakers

seeking to achieve better economic outcomes for their immigrant communities are well-advised to adopt stricter integration requirements, particularly those aiming at language acquisition. At the very least, my results cast doubt on previous studies which suggest that mandatory integration requirements are detrimental to immigrant integration (e.g. Boecker and Strik 2011; Van Oers 2013), since not a single negative effect was found.

The third and final empirical chapter explored the effects of mandatory language and civic education requirements for immigrants on public attitudes toward immigrants using three different sets of evidence: cross-national survey data provided by the ESS; two original survey experiments conducted in the United Kingdom in 2017; and country-level data on 25 Western European countries between 2007 and 2014. I find that mandatory language and civic education requirements have a direct and positive effect on public attitudes toward immigrants. This effect is direct in the sense that the mere presence of mandatory integration requirements has a positive impact on public opinion, regardless of their potential impact on immigrants' level of integration. Trough the survey experiments, I was able to explore two potential mechanisms behind this effect. I found that mandatory integration requirements are particularly effective at improving attitudes toward immigrants who are culturally distant, which I take to mean that the direct effect described above is due to language and civic education requirements mitigating perceptions of cultural threat. The second mechanism I posited, that mandatory integration requirements ameliorate concerns about deservingness and fairness in host societies where immigrants have relatively generous access to social assistance, was not supported by the evidence.

I argued that in addition to their direct impact, mandatory integration requirements indirectly affect public attitudes toward immigrants by improving immigrants' level of integration, since well-integrated immigrants should be perceived more positively by members of

the host society. However, I did not find any evidence for the presence of such an indirect effect due to immigrants' prior level of integration not having a significant impact on public opinion. Rather than being driven by such objective immigration conditions, public opinion is a complex function of a country's macroeconomic performance, immigrants' race/religion and access to the welfare state, and certain characteristics of the individual respondent. Based on these findings, governments could potentially improve public attitudes toward immigrants by restricting their access to the welfare state, though this course of action seems politically impractical[63] and morally questionable (e.g. Guiraudon 2002). My survey experiments suggest that requiring immigrants to enroll in language and civics classes increases support for immigrants at virtually the same rate as cutting their social benefits, which makes them a viable option for combating anti-immigrant sentiment.

In conclusion, the results presented throughout this dissertation make a compelling case for the adoption of stricter language and civic education requirements for immigrants. My findings suggest that mandatory integration requirements not only improve economic integration and well-being among immigrants but also positively affect public attitudes toward immigrants. Governments in countries where such requirements already exist are well-advised to do a better job at publicizing them, as this would be an effective way to mitigate anti-immigrant sentiments. While these are two important and, from a normative standpoint, welcome effects, current language and civic education requirements for immigrants in Europe are far from perfect. My results suggest that mandatory integration requirements have no impact on immigrants' level of social and political integration, despite a substantial amount of resources being expended on

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[63] For example, in Germany, immigrants' access to a certain level of public assistance is enshrined in the constitution, and changing this constitutional provision would require an unrealistically large political coalition.

civic education courses and tests. Therefore, policymakers may want to consider modifying these requirements. Future research could aid such modification processes by further examining the reasons behind the null effect of current integration requirements on immigrants' level of social and political integration, for example by comparing the content and pedagogical approaches of civic education curricula across countries and time.

Aside from the directions for future research previously mentioned throughout this dissertation, there are several additional research avenues that are worth pursuing. First, terrorist attacks by immigrants and ethnic minorities have been a significant source of concern for European policymakers and publics alike (see Rotella 2016), and as such may be an important determinant of mandatory integration requirements. A second research avenue that seems promising in this context is to look at the effects of mandatory integration requirements on immigrants who were not required to participate in them, particularly second-generation immigrants. It could very well be that language and civic education requirements have spillover effects on these immigrants, for example through social contacts with immigrants who did participate in them. Third, once mandatory integration requirements will have existed for a longer time, it will be possible to examine their long-term effects and distinguish them from short-term effects, which is something that was not possible in this dissertation. Fourth, an important area for future research is the relationship between mandatory language and civic education requirements and other types of immigrant integration policy such as anti-discrimination, access to healthcare, and labor market mobility. It is possible that the adoption of stricter integration requirements is made more or less likely by the presence of certain other types of integration policy, and/or that the effectiveness of mandatory integration requirements is tied to other immigrant integration policies.

How do my results connect with previous research on immigrant integration and integration policy? One important connection is that this dissertation casts doubts on the conclusions of several previous studies on the subject, particularly those who found that party ideology and public opinion drive policy adoption (e.g. Akkerman 2012; Bale 2008), that mandatory integration requirements are detrimental to successful integration (Boecker and Strik 2011; Van Oers 2013), and that laissez-faire integration policies lead to more positive attitudes toward immigrants (Hooghe and de Vroome 2015a; Schlueter et al. 2013). In addition, this dissertation confirms some of the general methodological issues in integration research that scholars have recently started to point out. In accordance with the remarks by Goodman (2015), I found that some of my findings were "index-dependent", i.e. they were sensitive to different measures of mandatory integration requirements. In addition, what we currently know about immigrant integration seems to partly depend on the methods we choose and how we measure integration. Particularly, my findings suggest that economic integration and other dimensions of integration might be fundamentally different, which is something future research should consider when examining the causes and/or effects of immigrant integration.

For integration researchers, it will be important to continue and intensify methodological discussions about how to measure integration, which factors should serve as outcome measures and which as determinants/antecedents of integration, and what a standard set of controls should look like. Finding common ground on these issues would greatly propel the field of integration research forward, as the current multiplicity of models, operationalizations, and outcome measures makes it very difficult to compare results across studies and establish a generally agreed upon body of knowledge. Another important task for immigrant integration researchers will be to expand the data coverage of existing integration policy indices both temporally and

spatially, particularly to countries outside of Western Europe and the EU. Doing so will allow us to conduct more precise tests of theories and hypotheses pertaining to the relationship between supranational actors and processes on the one hand and immigrant integration policy on the other. Some of these efforts are already underway; for example, a recent study by Dumbrava (2007) attempted to expand the Citizenship Policy Index (CPI) to 16 Eastern European states.

Immigrant integration will most likely remain an important topic for the foreseeable future. Recent events such as the 2015 European migrant crisis and the subsequent attempts by European governments to integrate hundreds of thousands of refugees into their societies will only increase the demand for quality scholarship on this subject. The overarching goal of my dissertation was to use novel perspectives, quality data, and advanced methods in order to provide more robust and nuanced answers about the origins and effects of mandatory integration requirements than previous studies. Hopefully, these answers will contribute to the ongoing scholarly endeavor of determining the "optimal" integration policy, that is, the kind of policy that produces the best possible outcome for Europe's host societies as well as the immigrants themselves.

APPENDIX A

SUBJECT RECRUITMENT AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The interviews were conducted in December of 2016. Before the interviews were conducted, I obtained approval from the University of Pittsburgh's Institutional Review Board (study number PRO16100462). I then proceeded to identify suitable subjects for recruitment, that is, practitioners of and experts on immigrant integration policy in Germany. As for the former, the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees provides a list on its website that identifies all private organizations licensed to carry out integration courses (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2016). From this list, I randomly chose 150 organizations and sent them a request for an interview; of these organizations, 18 were willing to participate. As for the experts, I interviewed two tenured faculty at German universities who work on migration and migration policy, one policy advisor for a major political party, one employee in the research division of the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, and one legal expert who advises individuals on matters of asylum, residency, and citizenship. These five subjects were selected based on Google searches for experts on integration policy in Germany or commonly known third parties. Therefore, I conducted a total of 23 interviews, 18 with practitioners and five with experts.

When the subjects were contacted in early December of 2016, they were given the option to conduct the interview via Skype or via email. In addition, subjects located in Berlin were given the option for an in-person interview. Three of the interviews were conducted in person, five via Skype, and 15 via email. The interviews (as well as all prior correspondences) were conducted in German; since I am fluent in German, no translator was required. At the beginning of each interview, the subjects were presented with a standard script which informed them of the purpose of the research, assured them of the anonymity of their responses, etc. Each respondent was then presented with a series of open-ended questions, 15 for the practitioners and between seven and 14 for the experts (all practitioners received the same questionnaire; the experts received individual questionnaires tailor-made for each professional context). For the interviews that were conducted via Skype or in person, extensive notes were taken during the interview. At the end of each interview, these notes were read back to the respondent to make sure that I had captured the essence of his or her answers correctly. The questions that were given to the practitioners are available in this appendix (English translation), and the anonymized transcripts for all 23 interviews can be requested from the author.

The following 15 questions were asked of all practitioners:

Question 1: Please state the name of your employer and your job title.

Question 2: How long have you been employed in this capacity?

Question 3: What kinds of integration courses are being offered by your organization (language, civics, etc.)?

Question 4: How long has your organization been offering these courses?

Question 5: Approximately how many migrants participate in your integration courses each year?

Question 6: What can you tell me about the demographics of the migrants who participate in your integration courses? For example: How old are they on average? Are they mostly male or female? What are their countries of origin? Most importantly: How educated are they, and how willing to integrate are they generally?

Question 7: Did the demographic make-up of your course participants change significantly over the past years, or did it remain mostly the same? In your experience, are today's migrants more willing to integrate than, say, ten years ago, or did only little change in this respect?

Question 8: Can you give me a detailed description of how your integration courses are executed in practice? For example: How long do they last (half a year, a year, etc.)? How many hours per week? What are the qualifications of your teachers, and how are they picked?

Question 9: Did the execution of your integration courses change in certain respects over the past years? Or have they always been executed in more or less the same way? If the execution changed, what were the reasons for this change?

Question 10: How is the effectivity of your integration courses evaluated? Internally, externally, both, or neither? Did previous evaluations lead to changes in your integration courses?

Question 11: What happens to the course participants once the integration courses are over? Do they have to take certain tests, for example language tests? What happens to migrants who fail to pass these tests? Are they potentially ordered to leave? And can you tell me what percentage of your course participants fail to pass these tests?

Question 12: In your experience, how well are your course participants doing on the job market? Do they generally find jobs, and do you know whether they are satisfied with these jobs?

Question 13: Which organization do you have to answer to regarding your integration courses? How would you describe your relationship with this organization?

Question 14: In your opinion, is Germany's current approach to integrating migrants successful? In other words, do the mandatory integration courses and tests achieve their desired outcomes? Based on your experiences, what would you do differently?

Question 15: If possible, please write down the contact information of other organizations and individuals that would also be able and willing to answer these questions.

APPENDIX B

SURVEY EXPERIMENTS

YouGov Survey Experiment

GROUP 1A: NO POLICY, EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from other European countries to come and live here?

(0) Allow no immigrants from European countries.

(1) Allow some immigrants from European countries.

(2) Allow many immigrants from European countries.

GROUP 2A: NO POLICY, MIDDLE EASTERN IMMIGRANTS

There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from Middle Eastern countries to come and live here?

(0) Allow no immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

(1) Allow some immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

(2) Allow many immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

GROUP 1B: LANGUAGE, EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. At the same time, these immigrants will be required to attend mandatory language classes to help them learn English. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from other European countries to come and live here?

(0) Allow no immigrants from European countries.

(1) Allow some immigrants from European countries.

(2) Allow many immigrants from European countries.

GROUP 2B: LANGUAGE, MIDDLE EASTERN IMMIGRANTS

There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. At the same time, these immigrants will be required to attend mandatory language classes to help them learn English. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from Middle Eastern countries to come and live here?

(0) Allow no immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

(1) Allow some immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

(2) Allow many immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

GROUP 3A: CIVIC, EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. At the same time, these immigrants will be required to attend mandatory civic education classes to familiarize them with British history, laws, and culture. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from other European countries to come and live here?

(0) Allow no immigrants from European countries.

(1) Allow some immigrants from European countries.

(2) Allow many immigrants from European countries.

GROUP 3B: CIVIC, MIDDLE EASTERN IMMIGRANTS

There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. At the same time, these immigrants will be required to attend mandatory civic education classes to familiarize them with British history, laws, and culture. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from Middle Eastern countries to come and live here?

(0) Allow no immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

(1) Allow some immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

(2) Allow many immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

GROUP 4A: LANGUAGE + CIVIC, EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. At the same time, these immigrants will be required to attend mandatory language classes to help them learn English. They will also be required to attend mandatory civic education classes to familiarize them with British history, laws, and culture. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from other European countries to come and live here?

(0) Allow no immigrants from European countries.

(1) Allow some immigrants from European countries.

(2) Allow many immigrants from European countries.

GROUP 4B: LANGUAGE + CIVIC, MIDDLE EASTERN IMMIGRANTS

There are several possible immigration laws being discussed. Imagine a policy proposal stating that immigrants coming to the United Kingdom will have similar access to social benefits and public services as other residents of the United Kingdom. At the same time, these immigrants will be required to attend mandatory language classes to help them learn English. They will also be required to attend mandatory civic education classes to familiarize them with British history, laws, and culture. With this policy in mind, to what extent do you think the United Kingdom should allow immigrants from Middle Eastern countries to come and live here?

(0) Allow no immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

(1) Allow some immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

(2) Allow many immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

BES Survey Experiment

CONTROL GROUP

Imagine a policy proposal stating that the United Kingdom will admit an additional 10,000 immigrants from Syria next year. To what extent would you support such a proposal?

(0) I fully oppose it.

(1) I somewhat oppose it.

(2) I neither oppose nor support it.

(3) I somewhat support it.

(4) I fully support it.

GROUP 1C: NO MENTION OF POLICY, FULL ACCESS TO BENEFITS

Imagine a policy proposal stating that the United Kingdom will admit an additional 10,000 immigrants from Syria next year. These immigrants will have similar access to social benefits and public services as British citizens. To what extent would you support such a proposal?

(0) I fully oppose it.

(1) I somewhat oppose it.

(2) I neither oppose nor support it.

(3) I somewhat support it.

(4) I fully support it.

GROUP 1D: NO MENTION OF POLICY, LIMITED ACCESS TO BENEFITS

Imagine a policy proposal stating that the United Kingdom will admit an additional 10,000 immigrants from Syria next year. These immigrants will only have limited access to social benefits and public services. To what extent would you support such a proposal?

(0) I fully oppose it.

(1) I somewhat oppose it.

(2) I neither oppose nor support it.

(3) I somewhat support it.

(4) I fully support it.

GROUP 2C: MENTION OF POLICY, FULL ACCESS TO BENEFITS

Imagine a policy proposal stating that the United Kingdom will admit an additional 10,000 immigrants from Syria next year. These immigrants will have similar access to social benefits and public services as British citizens. In addition, they will be required to enrol [sic] in language and civic education classes. To what extent would you support such a proposal?

(0) I fully oppose it.

(1) I somewhat oppose it.

(2) I neither oppose nor support it.

(3) I somewhat support it.

(4) I fully support it.

GROUP 2D: MENTION OF POLICY, LIMITED ACCESS TO BENEFITS

Imagine a policy proposal stating that the United Kingdom will admit an additional 10,000 immigrants from Syria next year. These immigrants will only have limited access to social benefits and public services. In addition, they will be required to enrol [sic] in language and civic education classes. To what extent would you support such a proposal?

(0) I fully oppose it.

(1) I somewhat oppose it.

(2) I neither oppose nor support it.

(3) I somewhat support it.

(4) I fully support it.

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