‘No Blacks!, Foreigners Out, Locals Only!’
- Negativity towards Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in Northern Ireland

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Negativity towards immigrants and ethnic minorities has been a problem in Northern Ireland for a long time.

Northern Ireland has been dubbed the “race-hate capital of Europe”.
So, what are drivers of racism and negativity towards immigrants in Northern Ireland?

Poverty?

Sectarianism?

Educational deprivation?
In this talk we examine negativity towards ethnic minorities and immigrants on the Macro and on the Micro-level:

**Macro-level:**
- Racially motivated hate crimes in electoral Wards in Northern Ireland

**Individual level:**
- Negative Attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities among the Northern Ireland population aged 16 to 65plus.

**Data:**
- Time series of hate crimes reported and archived by the Police (PSNI), 2004 to 2015
- Responses to three Surveys, the Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (NILT), the Young Life and Times Survey (YLT) convened by Researchers at Queen’s University Belfast, and the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSA)
Prior research found negativity towards immigrants & ethnic minorities to be related to:

- Low education (Borgonovi 2012, McKee 2015)
- Deprivation & status anxiety (Hayes & Dowds 2006; McVeigh & Rolston 2007)
- Lack of contact to minority members (Quillian 19995, McKee 2015)
- Sectarian attitudes (Brewer 1992; Knox 2011; Pehrson et al 2012)
- Protestant affiliation (studies found prejudice towards immigrants to be more prevalent among Protestants than Catholics)
Time-Series of Racially Motivated Hate Crimes:

- Homonegative hate crime offences
- Racist hate crime offences
- Sectarian hate crime offences

Data: PSNI, 2016.
Numbers of Immigrants and Numbers of Racially Motivated Hate crimes in Northern Ireland by Electoral Ward:
Numbers of Immigrants and Numbers of Racially Motivated Hate crimes in Northern Ireland by Electoral Ward:
% Change in Immigrant Numbers & Change in N Hate Crimes over Time:
Inner-city Belfast and Derry: Change in Racially Motivated Hate crimes
Levels of Multiple Area-deprivation in Northern Ireland:
Summary of Macro-Level Findings:

• Increases in racially motivated hate crimes in Northern Ireland between 2011 and 2014 (but decrease between 2014 and 2015)

• Different patterns on the Ward-level: Increases (in hate crimes) in urban, deprived & religiously segregated areas of Belfast and Derry

• Proximity to Peace-lines

• These areas have both (relatively) high and increasing numbers of immigrants and above-average levels of deprivation

• Tendency for areas that already had elevated numbers of hate crimes in 2004 to experience an increase by 2015

• Some improvement (decrease in hate crimes) around Craigavon & Cookstown
Individual-level Analysis:

- Development over time: Are younger cohorts more tolerant than older ones?

- What are factors that influence attitudes towards immigrants and minorities in Northern Ireland?

- Is racism ‘the new sectarianism’?
Key Measures:

Three binary variables as measures of Negativity Towards Ethnic Minorities:

• (NILT): ‘Would not accept an Eastern European/Muslim/member of another minority as a relative by marriage” (NILT)
• (BSA): “would mind a lot/a little if a close relative were to marry a person who is Eastern European/Muslim”

Three Item Scale – Negativity towards Immigrants:

• “Immigrant workers are bad for the [Northern Irish/British] economy” (disagreement to “are good for the economy”),
• “Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in [Northern Ireland/Britain]”
• “Britain’s/Northern Ireland’s culture is generally undermined by immigrants”
• Cronbach’s alpha was 0.76
Sectarianism Measure:

Sectarian Attitude Scale:

• “I would prefer to live in a neighbourhood with people of only my own religion”,
• “I would prefer a workplace with people of only my own religion”
• “I would prefer a school with children of only my own religion”
• Cronbach’s alpha was 0.75
Negativity towards Minorities and Immigrants – Comparison between Northern Ireland and GB:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Would object to having as a relative by marriage:...”</th>
<th>Eastern Europeans</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Other Minorities</th>
<th>Anti- Immigrant Attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OR</td>
<td>OR</td>
<td>OR</td>
<td>Beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>1.633**</td>
<td>1.636**</td>
<td>1.277</td>
<td>0.274***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>2.081**</td>
<td>1.209</td>
<td>1.624</td>
<td>0.152*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church attendance</td>
<td>1.029</td>
<td>0.988</td>
<td>1.046</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>0.656*</td>
<td>0.403***</td>
<td>0.610*</td>
<td>-0.178**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-levels</td>
<td>1.001</td>
<td>0.729</td>
<td>0.892</td>
<td>0.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCSE, grades D to G</td>
<td>2.156**</td>
<td>1.776</td>
<td>2.301**</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No qualification</td>
<td>0.795</td>
<td>1.024</td>
<td>0.860</td>
<td>0.197**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1.078</td>
<td>0.907</td>
<td>1.131</td>
<td>0.212*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sectarian Attitude</td>
<td>2.677***</td>
<td>2.566***</td>
<td>2.350***</td>
<td>0.228***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area-segregation (self-reported)</td>
<td>1.861***</td>
<td>1.952***</td>
<td>2.144***</td>
<td>0.043*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has lived abroad</td>
<td>0.786</td>
<td>1.193</td>
<td>0.965</td>
<td>-0.155***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a religiously mixed school</td>
<td>1.371</td>
<td>1.273</td>
<td>1.425</td>
<td>-0.133*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact with the Minority in Question</td>
<td>0.821***</td>
<td>0.869</td>
<td>0.696***</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.133</td>
<td>0.418</td>
<td>0.215</td>
<td>2.891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIC</td>
<td>1355.5</td>
<td>1242.9</td>
<td>1339.2</td>
<td>1740.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of Individual-level Findings:

• **Cohort Differences over time:**

  • worrying increase in negative attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities among young adults aged 18 to 25, between 2010 and 2014

  • However, the youngest cohort of 16 year olds does not exhibit this trend and is consistently more tolerant than all older cohorts.

• The good news: decrease in negativity between 2014 and 2015 (but will this trend persist after Brexit?)

• Younger cohorts are consistently more tolerant towards racial and ethnic minorities and immigrants than older ones.
Increased contact with ethnic minority members and a positive sense of neighbourhood belonging are related to more tolerance towards ethnic minorities.

(Perceived) Area segregation matters

Holding sectarian attitudes is strongly correlated with also endorsing intolerant views towards immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Education matters!

In the adult sample: those who had attended a religiously mixed school were more tolerant towards immigrants.

In the Youth sample (16 year olds): not integrated schooling, but attending a grammar school was related to more tolerance towards minorities.
Conclusion: What can Policy Makers Do?

• Counteract religious segregation
• Facilitate positive contact across religious communities, many positive initiative already exist (e.g. Corrymela, & cross-community third sector projects, but many struggle with funding cuts)
• Improve equal access to higher education across all communities
• Strengthen the inclusion of ethnic minority members in local communities, facilitate positive contacts with minorities.
• Policies should aim at reducing poverty and area-deprivation across Northern Ireland
• Counteracting the concentration of poverty and deprivation in the abovementioned neighbourhoods may help reduce out-group negativity
Thank you for listening!
References:


YLTS and NILTS: “In relation to race and ethnicity, I prefer to stick with people of my own kind”

YLTS and NILTS – “I prefer to live in a neighborhood with people of only my own religion”
Negativity towards Ethnic Minorities among Adults in the NILT - OLS Regression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DV: Negative Feelings toward ethnic minority members</th>
<th>M1</th>
<th>M2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coef.</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Age</td>
<td>0.446**</td>
<td>0.161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: degree</td>
<td>-0.357***</td>
<td>0.101</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education: A-level</td>
<td>-0.288*</td>
<td>0.117</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education: GCSE_low</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: other qualification</td>
<td>-0.590*</td>
<td>0.244</td>
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<tr>
<td>No qualification</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>0.106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.280*</td>
<td>0.121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large city</td>
<td>0.211*</td>
<td>0.087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small-town</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>0.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>0.415***</td>
<td>0.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>0.310**</td>
<td>0.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has ethnic minority friends</td>
<td>-0.095**</td>
<td>0.031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a mixed school (Prot Cat)</td>
<td>-0.375***</td>
<td>0.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative feelings toward religious others (Prot-Cath)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefers neighborhood of own religion only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Area-Segregation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.215***</td>
<td>0.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2-Log-Likelihood</td>
<td>-1017.058</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>766.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>