

Intergroup contact and interethnic attitudes and relations of young people in England

Lucinda Platt

London School of Economics and Political Science

Joint work with Simon Burgess, University of Bristol

Overview: long-term integration outcomes: intergroup relations

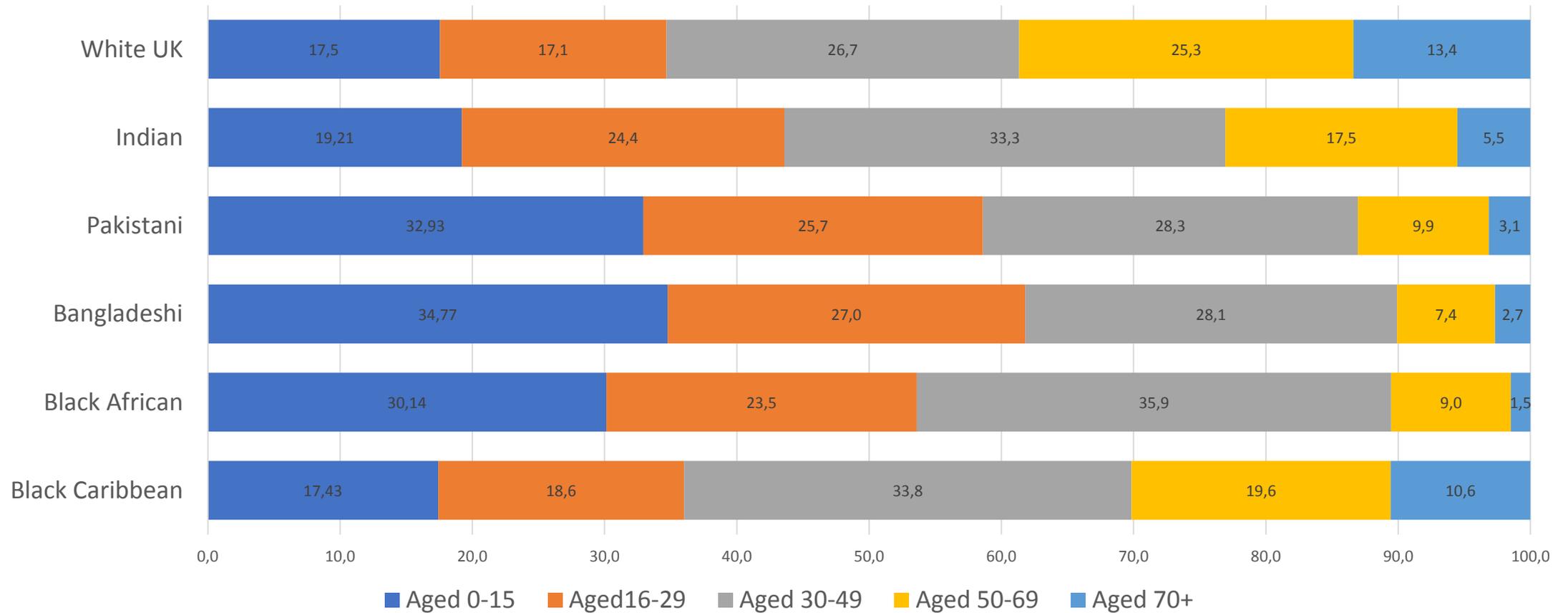
- The UK context and background
 - Intergroup relations and youth
- Homophily and contact in multicultural contexts
- This study: teenagers in schools in England and interethnic relations orientations
- Extensions
- Conclusions

The UK context and background

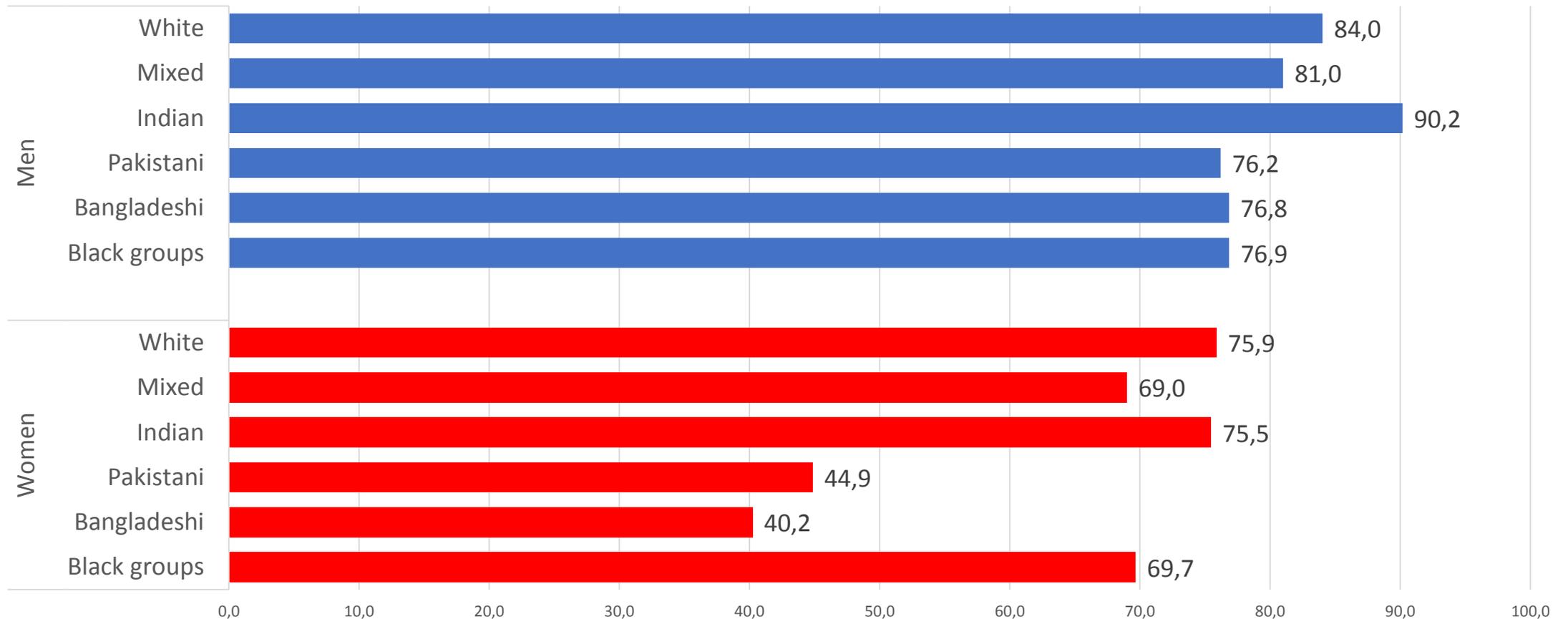
Key features of ethnic minorities in the UK

- UK longstanding migration context
- Youthful profile of most groups, though with variation: large proportions of 2nd generation are now reaching adulthood, but large proportions are also still children
- Labour market disadvantage:
 - still persists but second generation increasingly well qualified: different issues to the first generation
- Reversal of educational disadvantage
- In schools: high educational aspirations, fostering high participation
- Intergroup relations (still) crucial for 'cohesion' and for legitimacy
- The youth of today will be the adults of tomorrow, and increasing shares of them will be from immigrant origins
 - White majority is 86% of the population but only 79% of 0-15s

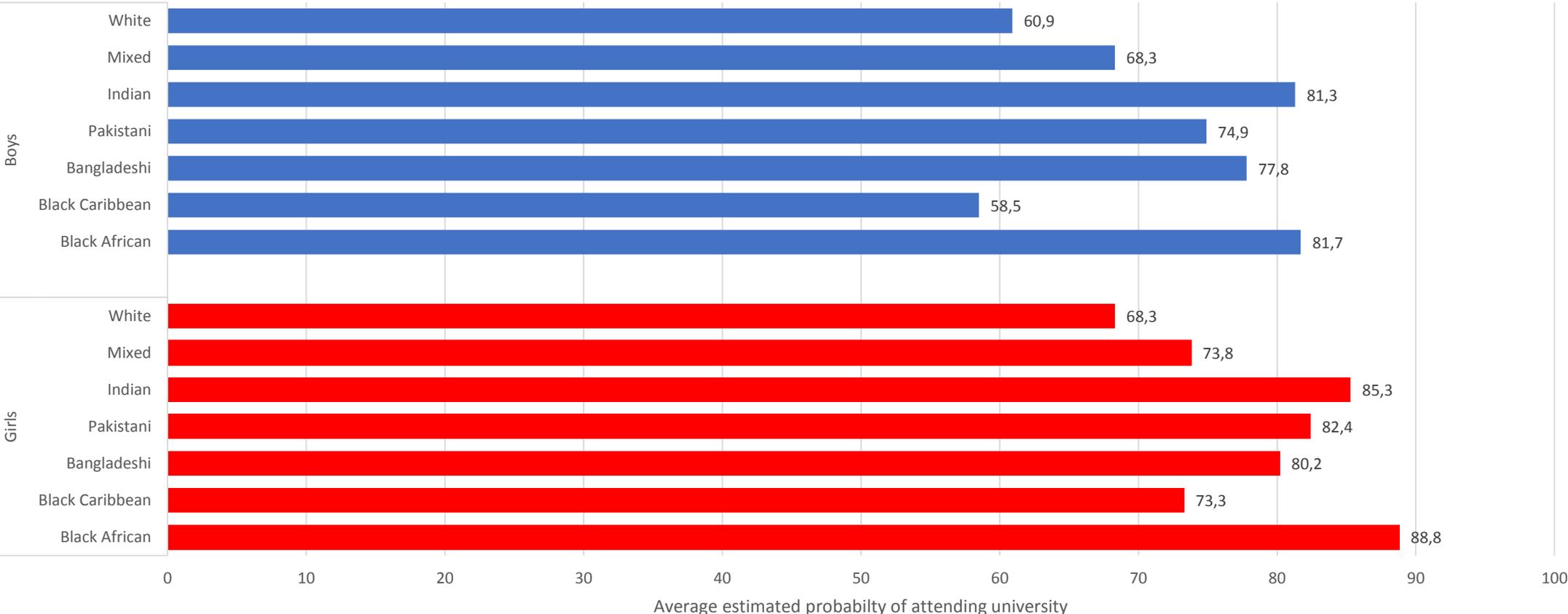
Age profile of UK's main ethnic groups



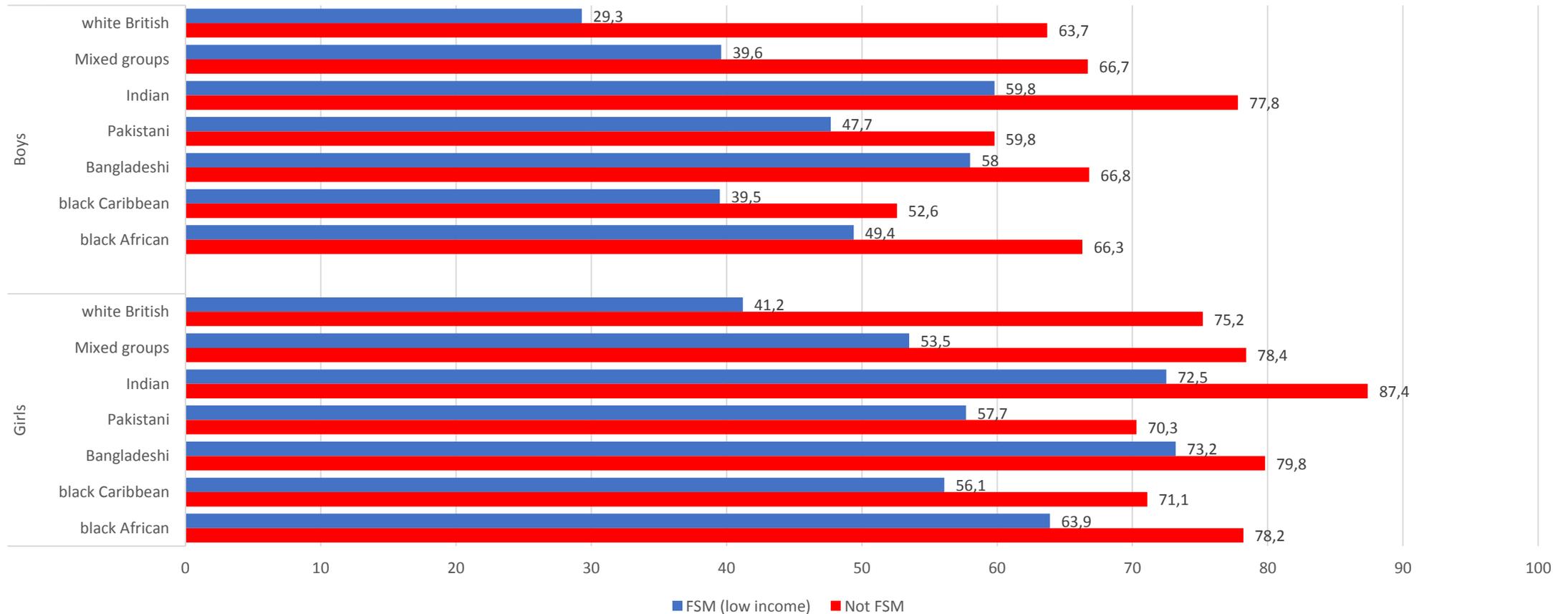
Economic activity rates among those aged 16-64, 2018, by ethnic group



Average probability of “how likely to go to university”, asked at age 14



Attainment higher for many minority groups than white British and less sensitive to SES



Source: Department for Education, Statistical First Release, 2016, % attaining 5+ A*-C at GCSE

Concerns with issues of integration and interaction

- Multicultural model being questioned (Koopmans 2013).
- Current policy focus on ‘integration’ – expressed as two-way street, but target is largely minorities
 - Casey review 2016; Integration Strategy Green Paper 2018
- ‘Hostile environment’ also extends to minorities more generally, as also ‘anti-immigrant’ Brexit sentiment
- Evidence on interaction and intergroup relations partial and somewhat mixed
 - Often research on attitudes focus on majority attitudes to minorities; but policy emphasis on the need for minorities to integrate

Homophily and contact

Homophily

- Homophily: people tend to like those who are like themselves. This is a general principle that has been shown in a wide range of contexts
 - (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 2001)
- What is 'like' can mean different things to different people and in different contexts. But strong evidence that individuals recognise ethnicity as a basis of in-group identification (even if it is not always the most important aspect of identity).
- People orient themselves by recognition of in- and therefore out-groups – they identify with ingroups and recognise others as outgroups (Tajfel).
 - Identity theory

Identity theory

- Abrams (2010) developing Tajfel and Turner (1981): public (social identities) and private realisation of identity – and shifts between the two
- Identities tend to develop in typical ways with age and life stage, but interruptions, such as immigration or political change can shift that progression
- Prejudice against outgroup members requires identification with ‘own’ group as precondition for recognition of ‘outgroups’ (Tajfel – and ‘minimal experiments’)
 - Tajfel 1981, Hogg and Abrams 1999
- Contexts that highlight group differences increase the salience of social identity
 - Tajfel 1981, Oaks, Turner and Haslam 1991, Turner et al 1994
- Thus context likely to be relevant for maintenance and patterns of ethnic identity and hence more negative views and beliefs about the outgroup (prejudice, discrimination etc.)
 - But it is possible to hold more as well as less positive views about outgroups

Contact

- Contact theory, suggests contact results in positive intergroup attitudes under certain conditions (Allport 1954)
- Empirical support for positive effects of contact, and conditions can to some extent be relaxed
 - (Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Hewstone 2015)
- But positive effects of contact may be reduced by ‘resegregation’ and ‘negatively valenced’ contact
 - (Laurence 2018; Hewstone 2015)
- Neighbourhood context (‘diversity’) more studied in terms of trust than outgroup attitudes, but shows some negative impacts
 - (Putnam 2007; Alesina and La Ferrara 2000; Dinesen and Sønderskov 2015)
- ‘Diversity’ (exposure) maybe have negative effects but is pre-condition for positive effects of contact
 - (Schmid, Al Ramiah and Hewstone 2014)
- Causal studies of contact and neighbourhood effects limited but seem to indicate positive effects of closer contact and negative effects of ‘context’ when it doesn’t include close contact or is competitive
 - E.g. Finseraas, Hanson, Johnsen, Kotsadam and Torsvik (2016); Enos (2014); Lowe 2018
- Asymmetries across majorities and minorities in the way contact influences identities – important to explore both together

This study

Introduction

- How might school segregation affect inter-ethnic attitudes?
- Is 'contact' good or bad?
 - Bad: "contact between the races would only breed "suspicion, fear, resentment, disturbance, and at times open conflict"" (Baker, 1934)
 - Good: "interracial experiences could lead to "mutual understanding and regard" (Lett, 1945): "when groups "are isolated from one another, prejudice and conflict grow like a disease"" (Brameld, 1946)
- Do mixed schools enhance contact anyway?
 - No: pupils just stay with their friends in their own ethnic groups.
 - Yes: Small-scale contact is inevitable, leading to more significant contact.

Evidence on school contact and mixing

- Size of outgroup generally positively related to inter-ethnic attitudes, but not a simple relationship
 - (Bubritzki et al. 2018):
- Increase in outgroup can work in either way depending on initial 'liking' of outgroup
 - (Stark et al. 2015)
- Exclusion greater where concentration of immigrants lower
 - (Plenty and Jonsson 2017)
- 'Resegregation' in schools
 - (Al Ramiah et al. 2015)
- Lack of connection between neighbourhood context and school (group-based) friendships
 - (Kruse et al. 2016)
- Causality?
 - Rao (forthcoming): private schools in Delhi taking poor students
 - Positive for attitudes and for prosociality more generally

Argument / framework

- Contact that reduces intergroup differences (i.e., highlights individual rather than group-based differences)
 - weakens social identity
 - *increases positive outgroup orientations*
- But exposure that highlights intergroup differences
 - heightens social identity
 - *decreases positive outgroup orientations*

We focus on school contact which we argue should on balance offer improve intergroup relations

- *but also consider area (local authority), which, without contact, may decrease positive outgroup orientations*

Data - CILS4EU

- UK (England) sample a longitudinal study of adolescents across four European countries: Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and England.
- Design: sample of schools from NPD stratified by ethnic composition, plus independent schools sampled from DFE list. 140 schools targeted (sampled with replacement), ultimately 65% response: 107 schools
- 14 year olds, year 10, surveyed (W1) in 2010/11 with PAPI questionnaire. Questionnaires also administered to teachers and consenting parents
- Schools were asked to provide two representative classes/forms – worth of pupils to the survey, roughly 60 pupils per school: total sample of pupils: 4,315, of whom, 3,958 in state schools.

Data – National Pupil Dataset (NPD)

- Administrative dataset, schools providing data for the Department for Education
- Census dataset of all pupils in all state schools in England
- Demographics including detailed ethnicity, and more
- Full history of test scores

Data – Matching

- The 107 CILS4EU schools include 11 private(fee-paying) schools which are not in NPD
- The others we were able to match.
- We used an average of school ethnic composition over 5 years to:
 - Try to measure the environment that the survey pupils were in over their time in secondary school.
 - Smooth things and avoid an unrepresentative year
- Comparing the survey data and the census admin data (which were used to sample the schools) we can evaluate how representative the chosen classes were
- Interestingly the distribution of respondents was more to minorities than the composition of the school would imply.

Defining key variables, dependent variable 1: warmth

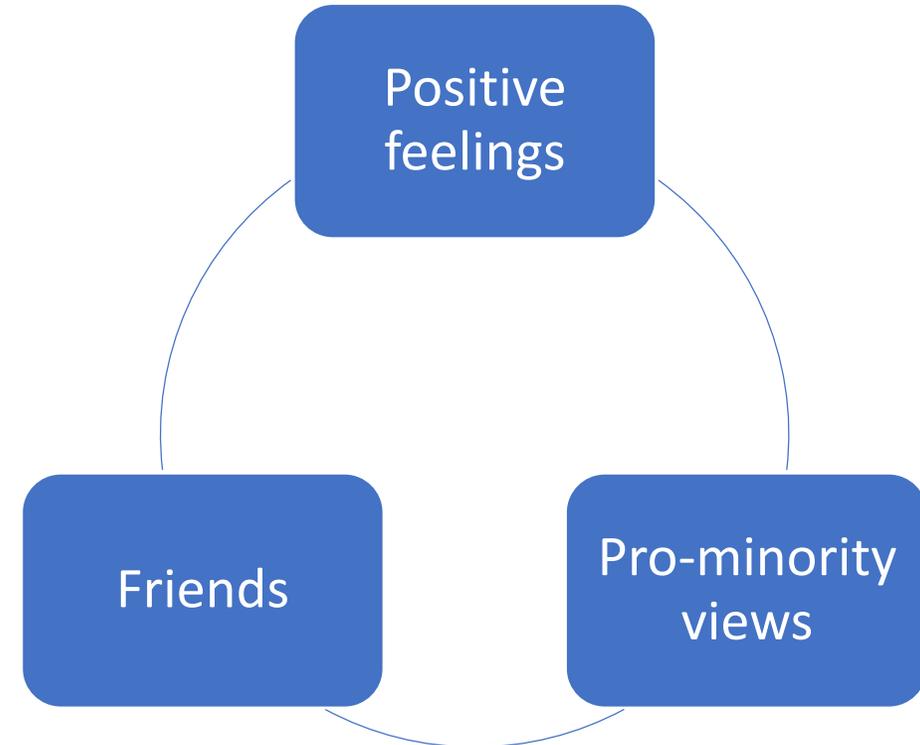
Positive/negative feelings is measured on a 'thermometer' with a scale from 0-100 measuring warmth towards a specified aggregated ethnic group (Asian, Black or White), worded as follows:

- *Please rate how you feel about the following groups on a scale that runs from 0 to 100. The higher the number, the more positive you feel, and the lower the number, the more negative you feel towards this group.*
- Each pupil is asked about all groups, ie including their own group.
- We construct a net measure. For each pupil:
- The measure = [rank for group X] – [rank for own group]
- This purges idiosyncratic differences in sociability, extraversion etc.

Defining key variables: dependent variables 2: Composite orientation

- Different components of inter-ethnic relations:
 - Positive feelings
 - Friends
 - Pro-minority/majority views
- Almost certainly inseparable in senses:
 - Usually found together
 - Impossible to say which causes which
- We create a measure combining all of these

- We consider them to be a package:
 - We can't get inside to say one is "primary"
 - BUT that package as a whole is strongly related to school ethnic composition



Defining key variables: dependent variables 2: Composite orientation

Friends are measured by the question

- *Thinking now about all of your friends. How many of them are from a White British background? Black or Black British background? Asian or Asian British background? any other background,*
- With response options of 'Almost all or all', 'A lot', 'About half', 'A few', 'None or very few' for each group.
- These are fractions not absolute numbers, so again to a degree purged of differences in sociability.

Defining key variables: dependent variables 2: Composite orientation

Attitudes: 4 statements:

1. *White British people should do all they can to keep their customs and traditions.*
 2. *Ethnic minority groups should adapt to British society.*
 3. *White British people should be open to the customs and traditions of ethnic minorities.*
 4. *Ethnic minority groups should do all they can to keep their customs and traditions.*
- Responses: Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree.
 - We group these into two measures : 'pro majority' (1&2) and 'pro minority' (3&4)

Defining key variables: “Composite orientation” and composition

- Example – by Whites for Asians
- We say you are high type if:
 - Your feelings for Asians is in the upper quartile (among non-Asians)
 - Friends: if you report fraction of your friends who are Asian is: half, a lot, or all
 - Attitudes: you report agreement with the (combined) pro-multicultural and pro-openness statement
- We say you are low type if:
 - Your feelings for Asians is in the lower quartile (among non-Asians)
 - Friends: you report fraction of your friends who are Asian is none/ almost none
 - Attitudes: you report disagreement with the (combined) pro-multicultural and pro-openness statement
- We then say you are high type overall if you count as “high” on at least 2 of these 3
- We then say you are low type overall if you count as “low” on at least 2 of these 3
- (we also look at very high/low if you are 3/3)

Defining key variables, school and area composition

- 5-year average of year 11s from 2007-2011 to match CILS4EU (year 10 in 2010/11)
 - Averages for any given year correlate highly with overall mean
- Groups aggregated to match as closely as possible onto CILS4EU ethnic group measure
- Means created for school and LA
 - LA is not a small “neighbourhood” but pros and cons of looking “too” local
 - risk of going “too local” for context effects
 - though ‘negative’ neighbourhood diversity effects tend to be more evident at smaller area levels (Dinesen and Sønderskov 2015) - so our measure likely to be ‘conservative’

Defining key variables, school and area composition

- Construct a four category variable based on ethnic composition:
 - Low school, low neighbourhood (i.e. low contact, low exposure)
 - Low school, high neighbourhood (i.e. low contact, high exposure)
 - High school, low neighbourhood (i.e. high contact, low exposure)
 - High school, high neighbourhood (i.e. high contact, high exposure)
- High and low defined by median

Positive feelings, SCH and LA composition

- Key idea is:
 - “Exposure with no contact” will tend to worsen positive feelings
 - “Exposure with contact” will tend to improve positive feelings
 - We associate LA composition with exposure
 - We associate school composition with contact
 - So in high exposure LAs, we expect positive feelings to be significantly higher in high contact schools
- We characterise both SCH and LA ethnic composition in terms of low/high relative to median:

Defining key variables: other measures

- For individual level analysis
 - Pupil sex
 - Parental education (combined report of parents where have parental responses and child report) – three category measure (primary or less, secondary, higher)
 - Books in the home – proxy for home learning environment (Melhuish 2010) and parental resources (PISA) – may indicate ‘learning’ effect?
 - Academic self-concept (in lieu of direct measures of ‘ability’)

Data – where are the schools?

London	Urban	Rural			
Camden	1	Birmingham	2	Buckinghamshire	5
Greenwich	1	Dudley	1	Milton Keynes	1
Islington	1	Sandwell	2	Derby	1
Lambeth	1	Walsall	1	Dorset	1
Southwark	1	St. Helens	1	Hampshire	2
Wandsworth	1	Wirral	1	Wiltshire	1
Barnet	1	Bolton	1	Reading	1
Brent	1	Manchester	2	Slough	1
Bromley	2	Oldham	1	Peterborough	1
Croydon	3	Rochdale	1	Devon	1
Ealing	1	Salford	1	Kent	2
Harrow	1	Trafford	2	Medway	1
Hillingdon	1	Doncaster	3	Lancashire	2
Hounslow	1	Bradford	1	Nottinghamshire	1
Merton	2	Kirklees	1	Nottingham	2
Newham	1	Leeds	2	Shropshire	1
Sutton	1	North Tyneside	1	Telford & Wrekin	1
Waltham F't	1	Bristol, City of	1	Cumbria	1
		York	1	Gloucestershire	1
		Bedford	2	Hertfordshire	3
				Lincolnshire	2
				Norfolk	2
				Northamptonshire	3
				Oxfordshire	1
				Suffolk	4
				Surrey	3
				Warwickshire	1

- Reasonable coverage of England
- 65 different LAs (out of 150)
- Not intended to be nationally representative
- Not much in NE England

Data – school ethnic composition

Our sample

	Asian	Black	White
Mean	15.9	8.0	67.9
SD	20.3	12.6	28.5
Percentiles:			
p5	0.18	0	12.26
p10	0.42	0.11	22.44
p25	1.52	0.67	45.67
p50	7.57	2.7	78.31
p75	23.29	8.49	91.49
p90	45.04	21.43	96.86
p95	58.67	42.37	97.83

96 schools

These groups are not exhaustive. Students of other ethnicities make up on average 7% of schools, more in some.

National

	Asian	Black	White
Mean	7.95	4.54	78.2
SD	15.38	9.86	25.96
Percentiles:			
p5	0	0	13.67
p10	0	0	32.31
p25	0.56	0	73.56
p50	2	0.72	89.52
p75	7.3	3.53	95.08
p90	21.89	13.79	97.52
p95	40.24	25.38	98.44

3084 state secondary schools (omitting schools with <=30 pupils in year 11).

These groups are not exhaustive.

Method

School level

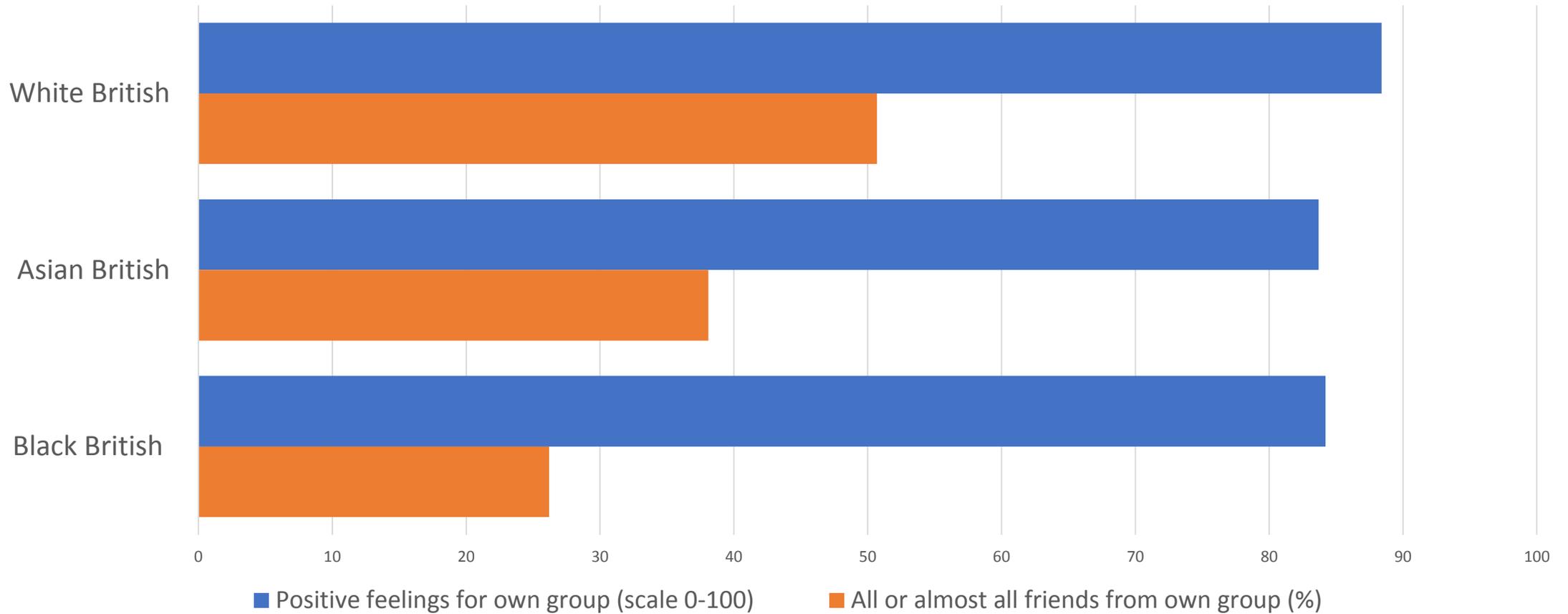
- Means of net measure for each group combination
 - Towards each of Asian and Black by White British, towards White British by each of Asian and Black
- High and low composite orientation
 - Towards each of Asian and Black by White British, towards White British by each of Asian and Black
- Plotted against school ethnic composition
- LOWESS smoother

Individual level

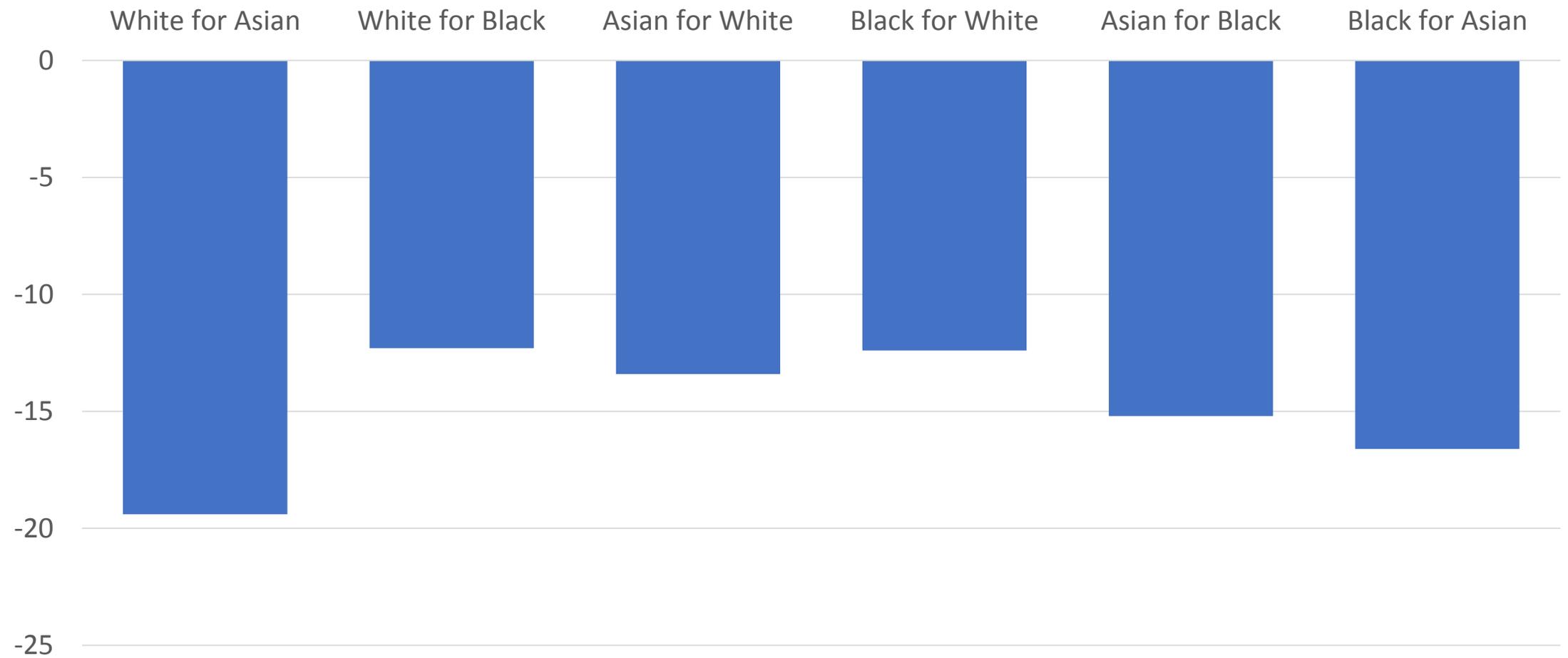
- Regression analysis clustered at school level with individual-level controls

Results

Homophily

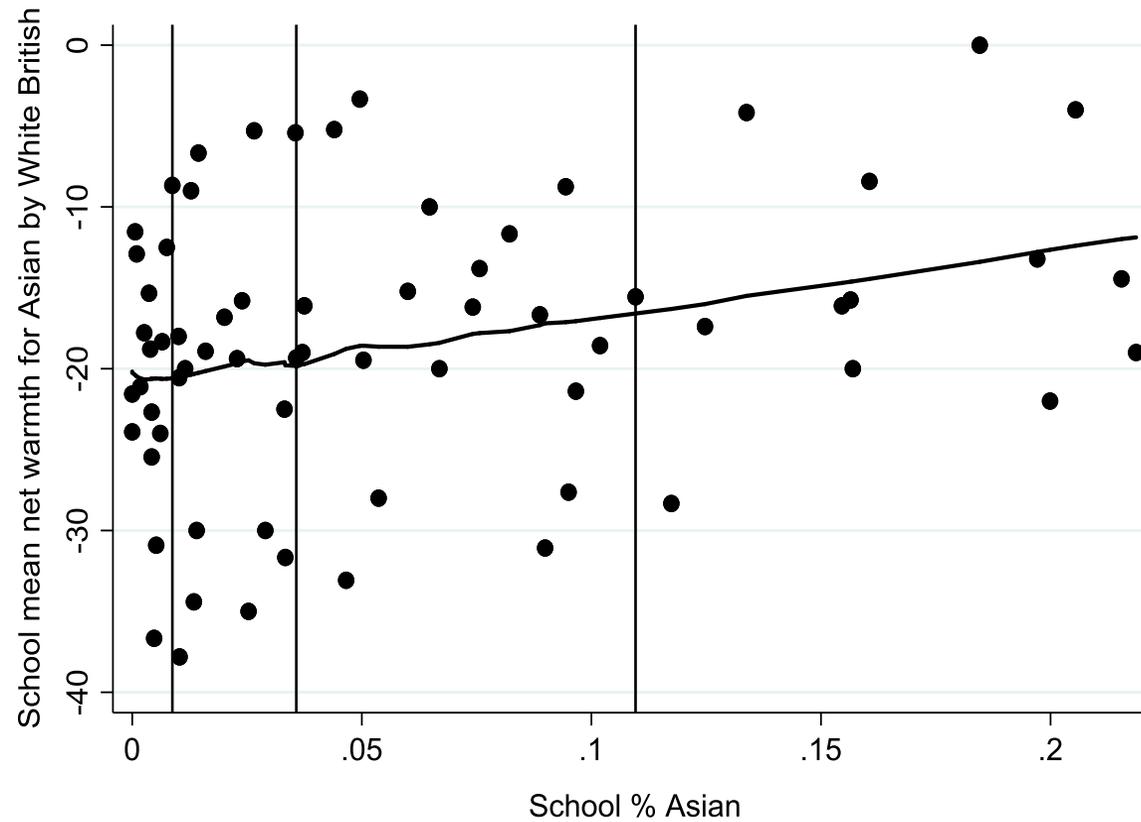


Homophily 'gap'



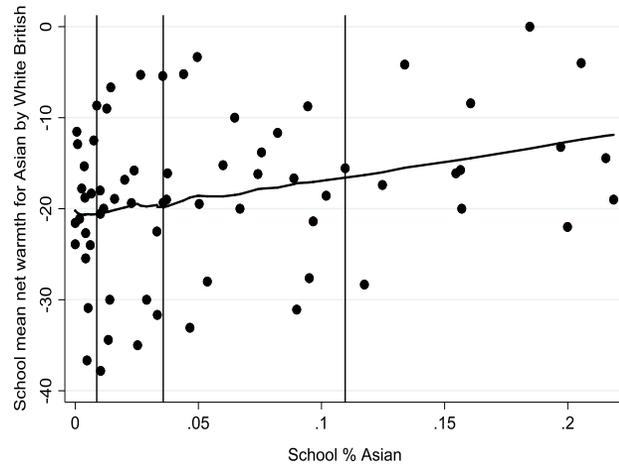
Net warmth (homophily gap)
and school composition

Net warmth: White British for Asian British

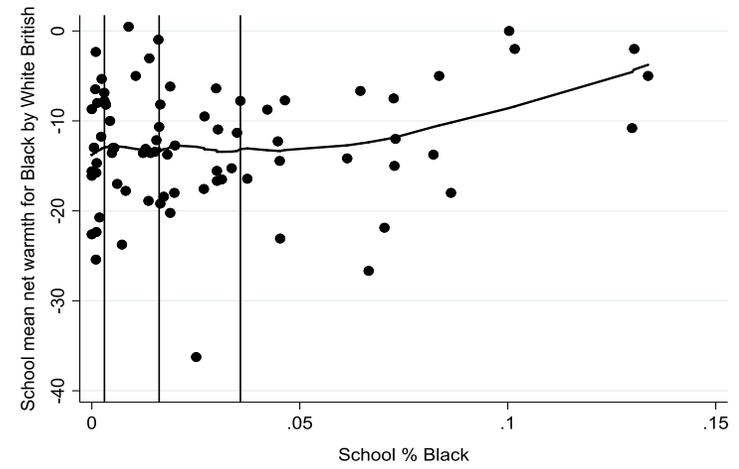


Note: vertical lines at lower and upper quartiles and median of school composition. X-axis range is up to 90th percentile of national distribution

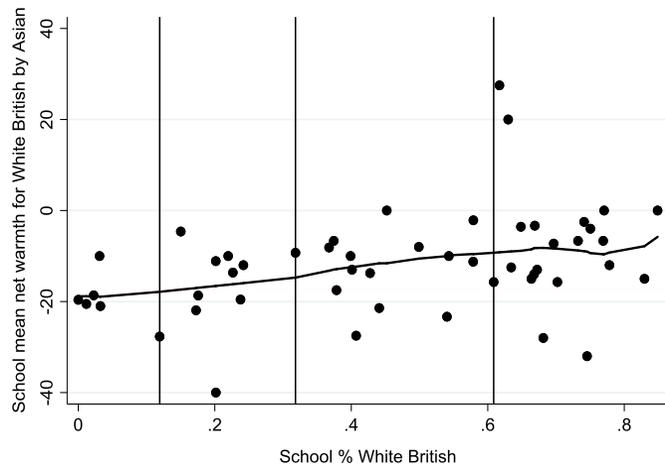
Views of White British for Asian British



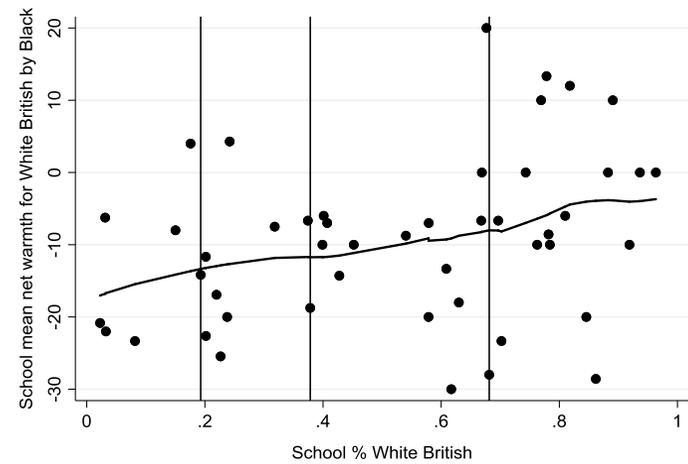
Views of White British for Black British



Views of Asian British for White British



Views of Black British for White British



Warmth and school composition

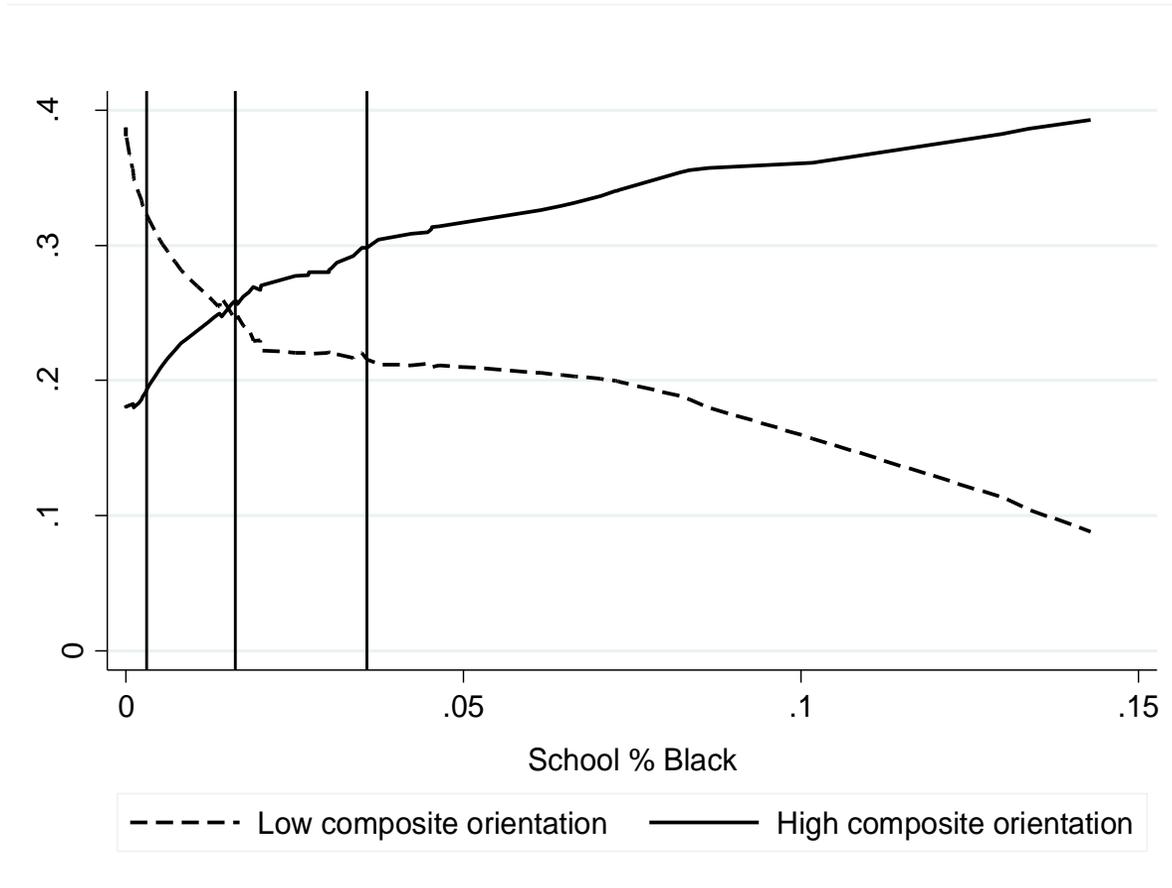
	White for Asian		White for Black		Asian for White		Black for White	
	School level	Individual level	School level	Individual level	School level	Individual level	School level	Individual level
School % White					15.780** (5.973)	13.158*** (3.174)	13.595** (5.757)	10.363* (5.414)
School % Asian	8.067 (6.522)	-2.865 (8.149)						
School % Black			33.457*** (7.339)	17.348** (8.197)				
Personal Chars	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
R ²	0.017	0.057	0.191	0.034	0.125	0.057	0.108	0.034
Obs	90	1743	90	1747	51	510	48	285

SEs clustered at school level in individual regressions. SE in parentheses.

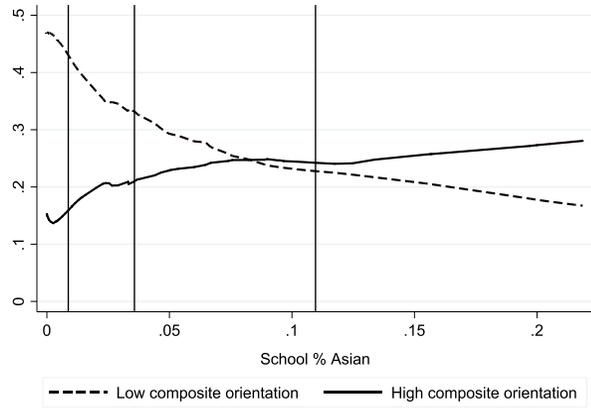
Clear relationship except for White for Asian. But note linear specification – and few small outliers with >50% Asian. If restricted to schools where <50% Asian, significant positive effect at school level. Also significant and positive if quadratic included (inflection point around 30% - NB 90% of England schools have < 22% Asian).

School composition and composite orientation

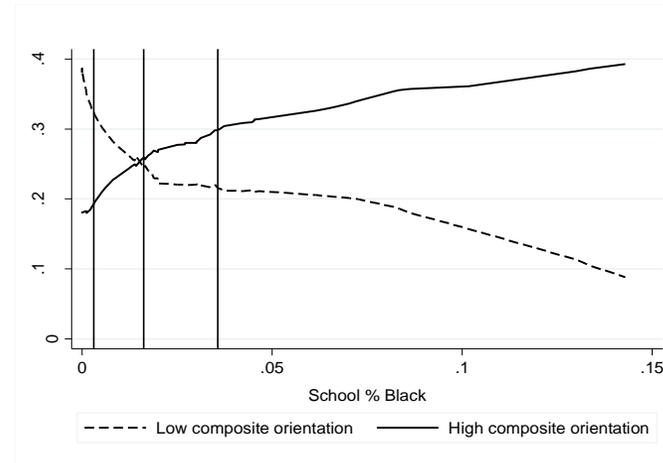
Views for Black British by White British



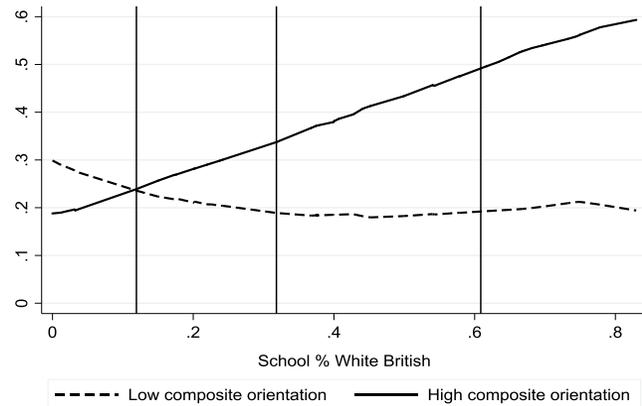
Views of White British for Asian British



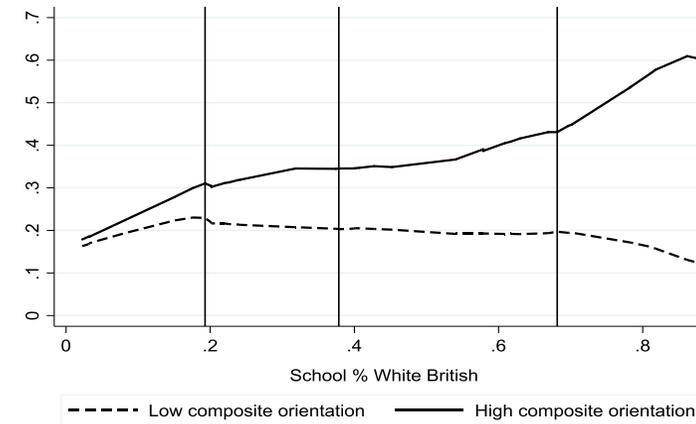
Views of White British for Black British



Views of Asian British for White British



Views of Black British for White British



And individual level regressions

	White British orientation towards Asian British		White British orientation towards Black British		Asian British orientation towards White British		Black British orientation towards White British	
	High orientation	Low orientation	High orientation	Low orientation	High orientation	Low orientation	High orientation	Low orientation
School % Asian British Pupils	0.43*** (0.09)	-0.54*** (0.10)						
School % Black British Pupils			0.91*** (0.15)	-0.80*** (0.14)				
School % White British Pupils					0.58*** (0.09)	-0.19** (0.08)	0.59*** (0.09)	-0.18** (0.08)
Personal Chars	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R²	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.12	0.03	0.12	0.03
Observations	1917	1917	1917	1917	532	532	305	305

School and area composition

For net warmth

	White British warmth for Asian British	White British warmth for Black British	Asian British warmth for White British	Black British warmth for White British
SCH Lo LA Hi	-9.10** (3.61)	-2.65 (2.15)	5.57 (3.61)	-0.11 (6.60)
SCH Hi LA Lo	-3.78 (3.86)	-1.11 (1.95)	5.08** (2.33)	12.25** (5.09)
SCH Hi LA Hi	-1.03 (2.08)	1.73 (1.36)	8.82* (5.03)	9.43* (4.89)
Personal Characteristics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
TEST: SCH Lo LA Hi v. SCH Hi LA Hi	0.04	0.04	0.59	0.23
R ²	0.07	0.04	0.05	0.05
N	1743	1747	510	285

For “Composite orientation”

	White British composite orientation towards Asian British		White British composite orientation towards Black British		Asian British composite orientation towards White British		Black British composite orientation towards White British	
	High orientation	Low orientation	High orientation	Low orientation	High orientation	Low orientation	High orientation	Low orientation
SCH Lo LA Hi	0.02 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.22*** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.18* (0.10)	-0.17*** (0.06)
SCH Hi LA Lo	0.03 (0.03)	-0.10** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)	0.25** (0.10)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.36*** (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)
SCH Hi LA Hi	0.09*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	0.38*** (0.09)	-0.11 (0.08)	0.39*** (0.08)	-0.09 (0.06)
Personal Characteristics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
TEST: SCH Lo LA Hi v. SCH Hi LA Hi	0.24	0.05	0.04	0.08	0.09	0.38	0.06	0.27
R ²	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.08	0.02	0.11	0.03
N	1827	1827	1827	1827	532	532	305	305

The role of individual characteristics

- Gender: boys have more negative feelings than girls for everyone
- Academic self concepts – variable impact but usually associated with more positive feelings
- Non-barking dog: Parental occupation or education is very rarely significant. But not well measured (largely child responses)
- “Books at home” – very powerful (positive) effect in every analysis and whatever else controlled for

Causality?

- We have shown a strong association between school composition and interethnic orientations
- Is this selection or causality? There are plausible stories for both
- How can we tell?
- Analyses so far:
 - Comparing class and school composition, school fixed effects
 - Results not significant (selection) but in positive direction (causality)
 - Role of school academic quality to shift the school preference decision
 - Results in direction of causality rather than selection
 - Importance of small differences in composition for both arguments
 - Indicative of causality?

Conclusions

- A pupil's views of pupils from different ethnic groups becomes much more favourable as that focus pupil encounters more people from the other group.
- Net warmth of a Black pupil for Whites increases by “homophily gap” of 12% of the “homophily gap” for each 10 ppt increase in White pupils in her school.
- Reciprocally, the net warmth of a White British pupil for Black British pupils closes 14% of the gap for each 10ppt increase in Black pupils in her school.
- Even small moves away from largely mono-ethnic schools towards a more integrated system produce positive changes.
- We can see these effects if anything more clear in the measures of composite orientation.
- School composition moderates the (negative) effect of area composition for white majority

Extensions and next steps

- Despite association between composition and more positive outgroup orientations, a lot of variation at school level.
 - What drives the difference?
 - Opportunities to interact, e.g. clubs etc.?
- Using *Understanding Society* data explore adult interactions in terms of 'contact' and 'exposure' and impact on social identities (work with Alita Nandi).
 - Again looking at impact for majority and minorities and not assuming symmetry

That's it!
Thank you!

Lucinda Platt

L.Platt@LSE.ac.uk