

The logo for WISERD, featuring the letters 'W/SERD' in a white serif font on a dark purple rectangular background. The 'W' and 'S' are connected by a diagonal slash.

W/SERD

**Wales Institute of Social & Economic
Research, Data & Methods**

Sefydliad Ymchwil Gymdeithasol ac
Economaid, Data a Dulliau Cymru

Public Sentiments Towards Immigration in Wales

New Ideas Social Research Fund

Final Report to the Welsh Government

WISERD RESEARCH REPORTS SERIES

WISERD/RRS/009

Robin Mann

Yvonne Tommis

July 2012



Authors:

Dr Robin Mann, Bangor University
Dr Yvonne Tommis, Bangor University

Address for Correspondence:

School of Social Sciences
Bangor University
Neuadd Ogwen
Bangor
LL57 2DG

Email: r.mann@bangor.ac.uk

WISERD Hub Contact:

Cardiff University
46 Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3BB

Tel: +44 (0) 2920879338

Email: wiserd@cardiff.ac.uk

Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	2
List of Tables	3
1. Introduction and Key Objectives.....	4
2. Contribution to Welsh Government Policy Areas.....	4
3. Research Background.....	5
4. Data Sets	8
5. Results from the European Social Survey	9
5.1 Attitudes toward different types of immigrants	10
5.2 Attitudes regarding the impact of immigration	17
6. Results from the Citizenship Survey.....	22
6.1 Regional differences across England and Wales.....	22
6.2 Nationality and attitudes toward immigration	25
6.3 Other findings.....	28
7. Conclusions	29
8. List of References	31

List of Tables

1: Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority (2008)	11
2: Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group as majority (2008).....	12
3: Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (2008)	13
4: Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority (2010)	14
5: Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group as majority (2010).....	15
6: Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (2010)	16
7: Immigration bad or good for country's economy (2008).....	18
8: Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants (2008)	18
9: Immigrants make country worse or better place to live (2008).....	19
10: Immigration bad or good for country's economy (2010).....	20
11: Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants (2010).....	21
12: Immigrants make country worse or better place to live (2010).....	21
13: Views on immigration by region in England and Wales (2008)	23
14: Views on immigration by region in England and Wales (2009)	24
15: Views on immigration and national identity: Living in Wales (2008).....	25
16: Views on immigration and national identity: Living in England (2008).....	26
17: Views on immigration and national identity: Living in Wales (2009).....	27
18: Views on immigration and national identity: Living in England (2009).....	27
19: Immigration "Reduced by a lot" and national identity	28

1. Introduction and Key Objectives

This is a final report for the Welsh Government New Ideas Social Research Fund project entitled '*Public Sentiments Towards Immigrants and Minorities: The Difference Wales Makes?*' The aim of this project was to investigate public sentiments in Wales towards immigrants and minorities. The monitoring of what people think about immigrants and minorities has come to feature regularly within numerous national and cross-national surveys and opinion polls. But there has been little or no attempt to consider the nature of these sentiments at the devolved or sub-state level in which there are a distinct set of national identities; and in which the devolved national governments are adopting progressive political agendas.

In order to address these sentiments in Wales, the project presents a secondary analysis of the European Social Survey and Citizenship Survey. Using a number of questions asked in successive waves in these surveys, we examined whether and how sentiments towards immigration are different in Wales; how these sentiments relate to different national identifications; as well as how sentiments in Wales compared to the other nations and regions of the United Kingdom. In doing so we have provided, and make available, a unique data set on attitudes towards immigrants at the sub-state level.

The main objectives of the project were stated in the original proposal as follows:

- To describe the patterns in sentiments in Wales towards immigrants and minorities in relation to a range of demographic and socio-economic variables;
- To investigate whether and how sentiments in Wales are distinct when compared to other regions and nations both in the UK and across Europe;
- To explore how sentiments interact with different national identifications (e.g. Welsh, British, English etc.);
- To explore the difference in attitudes between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers;
- To provide a unique and integrated data set on public sentiments in Wales, and to make this available to WAG and other policy actors.

2. Contribution to Welsh Government Policy Areas

This research will provide an overall picture of attitudes in Wales towards immigrants and immigration as well as how attitudes in Wales compare with other parts of the United Kingdom. We believe this baseline knowledge would help to establish and revise what kinds

of inclusion and cohesion policies are needed in Wales. In its *One Wales* (WAG 2007a) and *Getting on Together: A Community Cohesion Strategy for Wales* (WAG 2009) documents, the Welsh Government has set out its aim to promote Wales as a bilingual and multicultural society. Achieving this aim will depend, at least in part, on whether the promotion of a 'multicultural nation' also receives support from the general public in Wales. To the extent that public attitudes can impact on the inclusion and exclusion of both new migrants (including refugees and asylum seekers) and settled minority communities, then this study also makes a direct link to the New Ideas policy areas of equality and inclusion. Providing information on the broader context of immigration attitudes, the findings from this research aims to link closely to evaluation and monitoring work done as part of Welsh Government's community cohesion strategy. This will accordingly help to clarify how this might differ from UK-level initiatives such as the Report of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion.

3. Research Background

There is growing quantitative evidence of people exhibiting increasingly tough and assimilationist attitudes towards migrants and minorities in Britain (MORI 2009, ZACAT Eurobarometer 2003). In the context of a global economic recession, it is likely that popular sentiments towards immigration will harden, particularly within old working class, now de-industrialised, areas. There are fears this may translate into support for Far Right political parties. An important, yet to date unexplored, dimension to this literature is whether and how public attitudes are different in devolved or sub-state nations (although see Hopkins 2008, Hussain and Miller 2006), in which there are different national identifications; and in which the devolved governments appear to be pursuing more progressive agendas. Put simply, we know very little about what people in Wales think about immigration or about post-immigration minorities at the UK level. This begs the following key question: *are these sentiments different in Wales, and in what ways?*

Considerable academic and policy endeavours have gone into describing and understanding neo-nationalist, racist or xenophobic sentiments across Western Europe and the way these vary between countries (Card *et al* 2005, Leong and Ward 2006). While regional differences within Britain are often remarked upon (Department for Communities and Local Government 2009) there has been little focus on whether these sentiments are different in nature within Wales, or on how sentiments in Wales compare with other devolved nations and regions. A 2011 survey undertaken by Ipsos MORI on behalf of the Migration Observatory, University of Oxford, examined the question of regional variation in attitudes towards immigration in Britain. Whilst the sample sizes for some regions were small (the survey itself being a

representative sample of 1000 people), the results did show notable regional variations. In particular, the areas of London and Scotland reported less opposition to immigration than other parts of Britain; whilst Wales and the Midlands reported the highest levels of support for reducing immigration levels.

Various reasons can be put forward as to why such sentiments should be examined from a Welsh perspective. Firstly, anti-immigration and other xenophobic sentiments often rest on a view of immigrants or minorities as presenting a crisis of national identities, for example, as diluting the English or British 'way of life'. There is an established literature which links state legislations on immigration control to the defence of the nation (Anthias *et al* 1996, Balibar and Wallerstein 1991). In their analysis of British Social Attitudes data, Heath and Tilley (2005) find that anti-immigration attitudes are more prominent amongst those who express higher levels of national pride. In Wales, however, we might not expect xenophobic attitudes to be as strongly linked to Welsh nationalism. This is because Welsh nationalism, like Scottish nationalism, has been predominantly defined in opposition to a dominant English culture. Also both Scottish and Welsh national parties are underlined by civic and inclusive conceptions of the nation. In contrast, English national parties appear only at the margins of mainstream politics, and as narrowly resentful and oppositional to multiculturalism (Copus 2009). Research by Hussain and Miller (2006) on islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiment in Scotland has pointed to the extent to which Scottish nationalist elites are able to soak up these sentiments at the ordinary level. They state:

We find that Islamophobia is significantly lower in Scotland than in England and though Islamophobia is clearly tied to English nationalism within England, it is almost uncorrelated with Scottish nationalism. This may imply...that English nationalism is more 'ethnic' while Scottish nationalism is more 'civic' and 'benign'...our findings show that street-level nationalists are not in fact particularly pro-Muslim. But a multicultural elite may have exerted sufficient influence on the street to at least control and moderate the level of street-level antipathy between Muslims and local nationalists that exist within England...The tendency for Scots to define themselves negatively as 'not-English' may simply provide some shelter for other 'non-English' groups within Scotland (2006: 49).

In other words how xenophobic attitudes interact with nationalism is likely to be different in Wales than it is in England. Of interest, then, would be to examine how these sentiments inter-relate with different national identifications in Wales (e.g. Welsh, British, English etc.).

In addition, are there significant differences between Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers, or by country of birth?

A second motivation is that post-war Wales has not been subject to the same mass immigration waves as post-war England (Williams 2007). On the one hand, Wales is the home to one of oldest Black communities in Europe. Cardiff has ethnic minority representation equivalent to the UK figure (8.4%) and there are also minority concentrations in Swansea (4.8%) and Newport (6.6%). Outside of these cities, however, Wales remains very much a 'white' country with 20 of its 22 unitary authorities having an ethnic minority presence of less than 2%. Concomitantly, research on migration to Wales has focused predominantly on internal migration with England (WAG 2007b) or specifically on English in-migrants (Day *et al* 2006), with only scant attention paid to international migrants to Wales, although this does appear to be changing (Bauere *et al* 2009, Threadgold *et al* 2008, WAG 2007c). It could be wrongly presumed then, anti-English sentiments aside, that racism and xenophobia are less prominent issues in Wales. In fact recent accounts of the experiences of ethnic minorities, migrants and refugees call into question the notion of Wales as a 'tolerant nation' (Williams *et al* 2003; see also Crawley and Crimes 2009; Scourfield and Davies 2005). Furthermore, the overwhelming evidence is that xenophobic sentiments are less prominent amongst those *with* local experience of ethnic minorities and are more prominent in 'nearly all-white' communities (Department for Communities and Local Government 2009).

A third motivation concerns the socio-economic basis for neo-nationalist sentiments. We know from the previous research of one of the authors of this report in England (Mann and Fenton 2009, 2010) that there is a substantial section of the population expressing resentful sentiments towards British multiculturalism and that this antagonism is most prominent in deprived areas, particularly in the north of England. The way these sentiments translate into support for Far Right political parties within old working class, now de-industrialised areas, is a major issue for community cohesion in England. In this study we are not looking at support for political parties. But we are interested in whether these antagonisms evident in parts of England are also to be found in comparable de-industrialised/high-unemployment areas in Wales. Overall, then, the analysis of a devolved context such as Wales would make a significant contribution to understanding and explaining neo-nationalist sentiments.

4. Data Sets

The Wales Institute of Social and Economic Research, Data and Methods (WISERD) has conducted a comprehensive review of the principal statistical data sources for Wales. There is a notable absence of data sources for examining social attitudes in Wales, such as attitudes towards immigration and ethnic diversity. A principal data source for examining attitudes is the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey, but the sample size in Wales is small, with an overall Great Britain sample size of approximately 3,600. However, there appear to be two other surveys which offer potential on the question attitudes.

European Social Survey

The first is the European Social Survey (ESS) which is a cross-sectional survey of 30 countries in Europe. To date, the survey has five rounds conducted biennially between 2002 and 2010. The questionnaire consists of a core module which has remained constant from round to round and includes a wide range of variables on political and social attitudes. This includes several questions which ask what people think about immigration. From the survey we are able to link attitudes to national identity as well as to other socio-demographic variables. Moreover, as a European survey it allows for comparisons to be made between different countries (e.g. between UK, Ireland and Sweden). But it also provides a regional breakdown within each country, thus allowing comparisons to be made between Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and regions in England.

Meaningful comparisons can also be made with other countries where regional breakdowns correspond with sub-state nations, such as Cataluña and Galicia in Spain.

The sample size for 'Wales' varies between 120-150 respondents, depending on the question being asked. This forms part of an overall UK sample size of approximately 2000-2500. As stated, this is a cross-sectional survey in which the exact same questions have been posed in each round to different people. Furthermore, while attitudes can vary over time, our initial scrutiny of the data suggests that attitudes have been stable over the period of the survey. Thus while the Welsh sample is small, it does allow comparisons between regions in the UK and elsewhere, as well as over a period of time.

Citizenship Survey

The second is the Citizenship Survey which is a survey of England and Wales. This has been running since 2001, but the last three waves contain questions pertaining to immigration and ethnic diversity. The Citizenship Survey has been conducted on a biennial basis since 2001 with subsequent waves in 2003, 2005, 2007-8 and 2008-9. Covering a

range of themes to do with race relations, citizenship and community cohesion, the 2007-8 wave also introduced a set of questions on immigration and diversity which were then repeated in 2008-9. Since 2007 the survey has had a total sample of approximately 14,000 people aged 16 and over resident in England and Wales and which includes a minority ethnic boost of over 5,000. The sample size for Wales varies between 500-600 respondents depending on particular questions in each wave. Along with a range of socio-demographic variables, it provides a breakdown by government office region. The dataset also has a number of relevant variables to do with country of birth, strength of national identity and Welsh language use.

Of course, for both surveys, the 'country' reference point is Britain rather than Wales. Therefore what we will be examining is the differences in attitudes at the sub-state or regional level. While these surveys also have limitations, they have the potential to add value to existing knowledge, and to provide broad insights which can be followed up via purposive qualitative or mixed method investigations. For example, we envisage that the results from this study will inform a larger mixed-method project which can interrogate how terms such as 'country' or 'immigrants' might be interpreted differently in Wales than in parts of England.

5. Results from the European Social Survey

We use two waves (2008 and 2010) of the European Social Survey in order to examine and compare UK regional differences across a number of questions regarding immigration and its perceived impact on the country. There are 12 geographical units within the UK section of the ESS data. These are: (1). North East; (2.) North West; (3). Yorkshire and Humberside; (4). East Midlands; (5). West Midlands; (6). East of England; (7). London; (8). South East; (9). South West; (10). Wales; (11). Scotland; (12). Northern Ireland.

In conducting our analysis, we have grouped these into the following 7 regional categories:

- North (North East, North West, Yorkshire and Humberside)
- Mid (East Midlands, West Midlands)
- London and South East (London, South East)
- Other South (East of England; South West)
- Scotland
- Wales
- Northern Ireland

Of course, this procedure still leaves the less densely populated regions with smaller sample sizes, including Wales and Northern Ireland. Another issue is that the units of 'London' and 'South East' have been combined in order to create comparable sample sizes across the English regions. In doing so, it should be recognised that, for each of the questions, a stand-alone London region would have reported far more favourable attitudes towards immigration and its impact compared to our use of the London/South East category. Thus, our category of 'London/South East', whilst still one of the regions most favourable towards immigration, does not reflect the degree to which London is different to the other English regions in this regard.

The tables below have been weighted using the Design Weight which is recommended within the ESS guidelines for weighting data when only examining one country within the survey.

5.1 Attitudes to different kinds of immigrants

In this section we examine UK regional variations in attitudes to different kinds of immigrants, as posed within the following questions. In each case the [country] is "Britain".

- To what extent do you think [country] should allow people of the same race or ethnic group as most [country]'s people to come and live here?
- How about people of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people?
- How about people from the poorer countries outside Europe?

Table 1: Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority (2008)

		Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority				
		<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	<i>Allow some</i>	<i>Allow few</i>	<i>Allow none</i>	Total
North	Count	49	292	176	67	584
	%	8.4%	50%	30.1%	11.5%	100.0%
Mid	Count	30	183	109	47	369
	%	8.1%	49.6%	29.5%	12.7%	100.0%
London/ South East	Count	86	285	141	35	547
	%	15.7%	52.1%	25.8%	6.4%	100.0%
Other South	Count	39	237	138	34	448
	%	8.7%	52.9%	30.8%	7.6%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	24	82	36	9	151
	%	15.9%	54.3%	23.8%	6.0%	100.0%
Wales	Count	12	62	42	11	127
	%	9.4%	48.8%	33.1%	8.7%	100.0%
Northern Ireland	Count	11	53	19	3	86
	%	12.8%	61.1%	22.1%	3.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	251	1194	661	206	2312
	%	10.9%	51.6%	28.6%	8.9%	100.0%

Table 2: Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group as majority (2008)

		Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group as majority				
		<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	<i>Allow some</i>	<i>Allow few</i>	<i>Allow none</i>	Total
North	Count	39	262	177	109	607
	%	6.4%	43.2%	29.4%	18%	100.0%
Mid	Count	23	142	146	55	366
	%	6.3%	38.8%	39.9%	15%	100.0%
London/ South East	Count	68	263	172	48	551
	%	12.3%	47.8%	31.2%	8.7%	100.0%
Other South	Count	30	199	155	64	448
	%	6.7%	44.4%	34.6%	14.3%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	18	76	43	13	150
	%	12%	50.7%	28.7%	8.7%	100.0%
Wales	Count	12	49	45	18	124
	%	9.7%	39.5%	36.3%	14.5%	100.0%
Northern Ireland	Count	8	43	26	8	85
	%	9.4%	50.6%	30.6%	9.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	198	1034	764	315	2311
	%	8.6%	44.7%	33.1%	13.6%	100.0%

Table 3: Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (2008)

		Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe				
		<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	<i>Allow some</i>	<i>Allow few</i>	<i>Allow none</i>	Total
North	Count	33	249	182	120	584
	%	5.7%	42.6%	31.2%	20.5%	100.0%
Mid	Count	19	134	139	77	369
	%	51.5%	36.3%	37.7%	20.9%	100.0%
London/ South East	Count	66	246	178	63	553
	%	11.9%	44.5%	32.2%	11.4%	100.0%
Other South	Count	27	165	173	83	448
	%	6	36.8	38.6	18.5	100.0%
Scotland	Count	19	70	44	16	151
	%	12.8%	47%	29.5%	10.7%	100.0%
Wales	Count	10	52	41	23	127
	%	7.9%	41.3%	32.5%	18.3%	100.0%
Northern Ireland	Count	12	40	29	5	86
	%	14%	46.5%	33.7%	5.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	186	956	786	387	2315
	%	8%	41.3%	34%	16.7%	100.0%

Tables 1 to 3 present results from the 2008 wave. In each of the tables we find a tendency for responses to converge around the two more moderate responses of allowing some or few immigrants. Consistently, less than 25% of respondents chose the more 'polarised' options of either allowing many to come live here or, conversely, allowing none. However, as might be expected, there is a pattern whereby support for restricted immigration levels to only a few or none is greater for immigrants from poorer countries (50.7% in table 3) compared to immigrants from the same ethnic group/race as the majority (37.5% in table 1).

Regional variations are also apparent. In each of the above tables, the view that only a few or no immigrants should be allowed to come to Britain receives its least support in the areas of London and South East, Scotland and Northern Ireland; whilst receiving its most support in areas such as North, Mid and Wales. Looking at immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (table 3) in particular, it can be suggested that there are two camps with between 50.8% to 58.8% of people in North, Mid, Other South and Wales supporting the notion that

only few or none should be allowed to come to Britain; compared to between 39.5% to 43.7% in London and South East, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

Comparing Scotland and Wales, views on immigration appear to be more one of divergence rather than convergence. In particular, with the view that no immigrants from poorer countries should be allowed to come to Britain, whilst clearly a minority view, gains 18.7% of support in Wales compared to 10.7% in Scotland. Again, and throughout, small sample sizes, particularly for Wales and Northern Ireland, limit the degree of confidence and increases the level of caution. However the results are consistent with other surveys, such as the aforementioned poll carried about the Migration Observatory. Tables 4 to 6 below repeat these results but for the 2010 wave.

Table 4: Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority (2010)

		Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority				
		<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	<i>Allow some</i>	<i>Allow few</i>	<i>Allow none</i>	Total
North	Count %	52 8.7%	293 49.2%	174 29.2%	77 12.9%	596 100.0%
Mid	Count %	28 7.2%	143 36.8%	155 39.7%	63 16.2%	389 100.0%
London/ South East	Count %	70 13%	289 53.5%	134 24.8%	47 8.7%	540 100.0%
Other South	Count %	43 10.8%	201 50.5%	107 26.9%	47 11.8%	398 100.0%
Scotland	Count %	46 20.4%	106 47.1%	58 25.8%	15 6.7%	225 100.0%
Wales	Count %	13 10.4%	67 53.6%	26 20.8%	19 15.2%	125 100.0%
Northern Ireland	Count %	12 19.4%	28 45.2%	17 27.4%	5 8.1%	62 100.0%
Total	Count %	264 11.3%	1127 48.3%	671 28.7%	273 11.7%	2335 100.0%

Table 5: Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group as majority (2010)

		Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group as majority				
		<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	<i>Allow some</i>	<i>Allow few</i>	<i>Allow none</i>	Total
North	Count	42	240	210	109	601
	%	7%	40%	34.9%	18.1%	100.0%
Mid	Count	23	132	158	82	395
	%	5.8%	33.4%	40%	20.8%	100.0%
London/ South East	Count	62	256	149	65	532
	%	11.7%	48.1%	28%	12.2%	100.0%
Other South	Count	31	156	151	70	408
	%	7.6%	38.2%	37.0%	17.2%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	30	102	67	28	227
	%	13.2%	44.9%	29.5%	12.3%	100.0%
Wales	Count	9	61	40	22	132
	%	6.8%	46.2%	30.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Northern Ireland	Count	8	29	16	8	61
	%	13.1%	47.5%	26.2%	13.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	205	976	791	384	2356
	%	8.7%	41.4%	33.6%	16.3%	100.0%

Table 6: Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (2010)

		Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe				
		<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	<i>Allow some</i>	<i>Allow few</i>	<i>Allow none</i>	Total
North	Count	44	201	209	144	598
	%	73.5%	33.6%	34.9%	24%	100.0%
Mid	Count	21	141	130	101	393
	%	5.3%	35.9%	33.1%	25.7%	100.0%
London/ South East	Count	63	208	173	93	537
	%	11.7%	38.7%	32.2%	17.3%	100.0%
Other South	Count	25	132	157	94	408
	%	6.1%	32.3%	38.5%	23.0%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	28	88	74	37	227
	%	12.3%	38.8%	32.6%	16.3%	100.0%
Wales	Count	3	59	44	26	132
	%	2.3%	44.7%	33.3%	19.7%	100.0%
Northern Ireland	Count	7	27	19	9	62
	%	11.3%	43.5%	30.6%	14.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	191	856	806	504	2357
	%	8.1%	36.3%	34.2%	21.4%	100.0%

As in 2008, in the above tables, we find the same tendency of responses to converge to the more moderate views of allowing either some or a few. Overall, however, there are slightly higher proportions for the view that immigrants should be restricted to allowing only a few or none. In fact, just over one-fifth (21.4%) of all UK respondents agree with the view that no immigrants from poorer countries should be allowed (table 10). Compared with 2008, regional variations are evident, but perhaps not to the same extent. As previously, the North, Other South and particularly the Mid English regions show the highest support for allowing only few or no immigrants. In the Mid region, this is as high as between 57.9% and 60.6% for the three tables. For Wales, in each table, there is an increase between 2008 and 2010 in support for the view to allow no immigrants to come and live in the country. However the comparisons between Wales and other regions are less clear. There are less similarities between the pattern Wales and the English regions outside London and South East compared to 2008. There is a notable increase in Scotland in the view to allow only a few or

no immigrants, particularly in table 6 (from 40.2% to 48.9%) As a result there appears less divergence between Wales and Scotland. However there does remain a pattern in each of the tables whereby Wales is 4-5% more supportive of the view to allow only few or no immigrants than Scotland.

5.2 Attitudes regarding the impact of immigration on the country

In this section we examine UK regional variations in attitudes to questions regarding the impact of immigration on economy; cultural life; and quality of life. The questions that were answered are:

- Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?
- Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?
- Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?

In the survey, these questions are answered on an 11 point scale (from 0-10). Following the procedure adopted by Card *et al* (2005: 30), responses to these questions have been grouped into 5 classes: 0-2 into 'Very bad'; 3-4 into 'Bad'; 6-7 into 'Good'; 8-10 into 'Very Good'; with 5 corresponding to 'Neither' as a neutral response. Tables 7 to 9 present the results from these three questions by UK region for 2008

Table 7: Immigration bad or good for country's economy (2008)

		Immigration bad or good for country's economy					Total
		<i>Very bad</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	
North	Count	148	121	129	116	73	587
	%	25.2%	20.6%	22%	19.8%	12.4%	100.0%
Mid	Count	87	97	87	57	42	370
	%	23.4%	26.2%	23.4%	15.5%	11.4%	100.0%
London/ S East	Count	82	103	114	145	109	553
	%	14.8%	18.6%	20.6%	26.2%	19.7%	100.0%
Other South	Count	99	99	103	107	40	448
	%	22.1%	22.1%	23%	23.9%	8.9%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	18	29	43	40	21	151
	%	11.9%	19.2%	28.5%	26.5%	13.9%	100.0%
Wales	Count	26	31	36	18	14	125
	%	20.8%	24.8%	28.8%	14.4%	11.2%	100.0
Northern Ireland	Count	10	25	19	22	10	86
	%	11.6%	29.1%	22.1%	25.6%	11.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	470	505	531	505	309	2320
	%	20.3%	21.8%	22.9%	21.8%	13.3%	100.0%

Table 8: Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants (2008)

		Country's cultural life undermined/enriched by immigrants					Total
		<i>Very bad</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	
North	Count	135	134	103	115	99	586
	%	23%	22.9%	17.6%	19.6%	16.9%	100.0%
Mid	Count	94	87	76	69	45	371
	%	25.3%	23.5%	20.5%	18.6%	12.1%	100.0%
London/ S East	Count	85	99	72	132	166	554
	%	15.3%	17.9%	13%	23.8%	30%	100.0%
Other South	Count	99	104	74	98	74	449
	%	22%	23.1%	16.5%	21.8%	16.5%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	21	36	28	45	21	151
	%	13.9%	23.8%	18.5%	29.8%	13.9%	100.0%
Wales	Count	33	31	25	15	19	125
	%	26.8%	25.2%	20.3%	12.2%	15.4%	100.0
Northern Ireland	Count	11	16	20	23	16	86
	%	12.8%	18.6%	23.3%	26.7%	18.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	478	507	398	497	440	2320
	%	20.6%	21.9%	17.2%	21.4%	19%	100.0%

Table 9: Immigrants make country worse or better place to live (2008)

		Immigrants make country better or worse place to live					Total
		<i>Very bad</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	
North	Count	158	134	119	107	76	594
	%	26.6%	22.6%	20%	18%	12.8%	100.0%
Mid	Count	101	104	75	63	39	382
	%	26.4%	27.2%	19.6%	16.5%	10.2%	100.0%
London/ S East	Count	90	111	118	138	97	554
	%	16.2%	20%	21.3%	24.9%	17.5%	100.0%
Other South	Count	107	105	87	110	39	448
	%	23.9%	23.4%	19.4%	24.6%	8.7%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	20	31	48	33	18	150
	%	13.3%	20.7%	32%	22%	12%	100.0%
Wales	Count	28	37	30	16	14	125
	%	22.4%	29.6%	24%	12.8%	11.2%	100.0
Northern Ireland	Count	9	25	23	19	9	86
	%	10.6%	29.4%	27.1%	22.4%	10.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	512	547	500	486	292	2339
	%	21.9%	23.4%	21.4%	20.8%	12.5%	100.0%

The tables above show a relatively equal distribution of views from very bad to very good. Although in each of the tables there is less support for viewing immigration as very good. Overall viewing immigration as very bad or bad gains more support than viewing immigration as good or very good, but with less of a difference regarding the impact of immigrants on 'cultural life' (Table 8).

Regional differences in the patterns are also clearly evident. In Table 7, viewing immigration as bad or very bad for the economy receives above UK average support in the North (45.8%), Mid (49.6%), Other South (44.2%) and Wales (45.6%). Conversely, viewing immigration as good or very good for the economy receives most support in London and South East (45.9%) and Scotland (40.4), compared for example to Wales (35.6%). In Table 8, viewing immigration as undermining cultural life receives its most support in Wales (52%) with only 27.6% in Wales viewing immigrants as enriching cultural life. In Table 9, there is a similar pattern for Wales with 52% (Very bad or bad) viewing immigrants as making the country a worse place to live compared to only 24% (Very good or good) considering immigrants as making the country as better place to live. For 2008 at least therefore it is in relation to culture and quality of life, less so for economy, that the view of immigration as bad or very bad gains its most support in Wales. This can be compared to Scotland and

London/South East, where viewing immigration as good or very good consistently gains more support than immigration as bad or very bad.

Table 10: Immigration bad or good for country's economy (2010)

		Immigration bad or good for country's economy					Total
		<i>Very bad</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	
North	Count	147	143	137	107	61	595
	%	24.7%	24%	23.0%	18.0%	10.3%	100.0%
Mid	Count	112	100	88	65	34	399
	%	28.1%	25.1%	22.1%	16.3%	8.5%	100.0%
London/ S East	Count	97	87	124	144	86	538
	%	18%	16.2%	23%	26.8%	16%	100.0%
Other South	Count	82	88	111	98	30	409
	%	20%	21.2%	27.1%	24%	7.3%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	40	40	62	58	25	225
	%	17.8%	17.8%	27.6%	25.8%	11.1%	100.0%
Wales	Count	29	27	29	35	13	125
	%	21.8%	20.3%	21.8%	26.3%	9.8%	100.0
Northern Ireland	Count	11	22	4	14	11	62
	%	17.7%	35.5%	6.5%	22.6%	17.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	518	509	555	521	260	2353
	%	22.0%	21.6%	23.6%	22.1%	11.0%	100.0%

Table 11: Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants (2010)

		Country's cultural life undermined/enriched by immigrants					Total
		<i>Very bad</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	
North	Count	134	127	135	109	85	590
	%	22.7%	21.5%	22.9%	18.5%	14.4%	100.0%
Mid	Count	88	94	64	90	64	400
	%	22.0%	23.5%	16%	22.5%	16%	100.0%
London/ S East	Count	85	92	97	146	113	533
	%	15.9%	17.2%	18.2%	27.4%	21.2%	100.0%
Other South	Count	79	84	73	108	67	409
	%	19.3%	20.5%	17.8%	26.4%	16.4%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	22	54	39	63	44	222
	%	9.9%	24.3%	17.6%	28.4%	19.8%	100.0%
Wales	Count	30	21	31	27	18	127
	%	23.6%	16.5%	24.4%	21.3%	14.2%	100.0
Northern Ireland	Count	5	16	10	15	18	64
	%	7.8%	25%	15.6%	23.4%	28.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	443	448	449	558	407	2345
	%	18.9%	20.8%	19.1%	23.8%	17.4%	100.0%

Table 12: Immigrants make country worse or better place to live (2010)

		Immigrants make country better or worse place to live					Total
		<i>Very bad</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	
North	Count	142	143	135	105	66	591
	%	24%	24.2%	22.8%	17.8%	11.2%	100.0%
Mid	Count	104	103	88	66	36	397
	%	26.2%	26%	22.2%	16.6%	9.1%	100.0%
London/ S East	Count	99	88	135	139	80	541
	%	18.3%	16.3%	25%	25.7%	14.8%	100.0%
Other South	Count	94	82	115	76	42	409
	%	23%	20%	28.1%	18.6%	10.3%	100.0%
Scotland	Count	27	46	62	53	38	226
	%	11.9%	20.4%	27.4%	23.5%	16.8%	100.0%
Wales	Count	28	31	26	34	12	131
	%	21.4%	23.7%	19.8%	26.0%	9.2%	100.0
Northern Ireland	Count	7	15	14	16	10	62
	%	11.3%	24.2%	22.6%	25.8%	16.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	501	508	575	489	284	2357
	%	21.3%	21.6%	24.4%	20.7%	12.0%	100.0%

Tables 10-12 repeat the results by UK region for the 2010 wave. Overall the responses are very similar to 2008. There is a general tendency to for viewing immigration as bad or very bad to gain more support than immigration as good or very good. As usual, viewing immigration as bad or very bad is particularly prominent in the Mid and North regions of England. Also, viewing immigration as good or very good receives greater support in Scotland and London and South East. It should be noted, however, that the sample for Northern Ireland in the 2010 wave is only 62. The position of Wales compared to other regions is less clear than in the 2008 wave. For example, in table 10 there is a similar level of support between Wales and Scotland for the view that immigration is either good or very good for the economy. The greatest differences between Scotland and Wales are in the 'very bad' and 'very good' columns for tables 11 and 12.

6. Results from the Citizenship Survey

In this section we concentrate on the analysis of the Citizenship Survey of England and Wales. The findings presented below are based on the analysis of responses to the following question asked within two waves of this survey – 2007/8 and 2008/9:

- Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain nowadays should be increased?

Two sets of results are presented: Firstly, regional differences in attitudes to immigration across regions in England and Wales (5.1); Secondly, (5.2) relationships between national identification and attitudes to immigration between Wales and England.

6.1 Regional differences across England and Wales

The following two tables present views on the number of immigrants coming Britain by UK region for 2007-8 (Table 13) and 2008-9 (Table 14).

Table 13: Views on Immigration by UK Region (2007-8)

		View on number of immigrants coming to Britain					Total
		<i>Increased a lot</i>	<i>Increased a little</i>	<i>Remain the same as it is</i>	<i>Reduced a little</i>	<i>Reduced a lot</i>	
North	Count	7	9	65	101	257	439
East	%	1.6%	2.1%	14.8%	23.0%	58.5%	100.0%
North	Count	30	29	172	282	638	1151
West	%	2.6%	2.5%	14.9%	24.5%	55.4%	100.0%
Yorkshire and the Humber	Count	15	21	114	249	455	854
	%	1.8%	2.5%	13.3%	29.2%	53.3%	100.0%
East	Count	7	9	117	182	423	738
Midlands	%	0.9%	1.2%	15.9%	24.7%	57.3%	100.0%
West	Count	7	21	124	227	527	906
Midlands	%	0.8%	2.3%	13.7%	25.1%	58.2%	100.0%
East of England	Count	6	14	125	242	560	947
	%	0.6%	1.5%	13.2%	25.6%	59.1%	100.0
London	Count	52	87	310	309	492	1250
	%	4.2%	7.0%	24.8%	24.7%	39.4%	100.0%
South	Count	17	43	241	352	706	1359
East	%	1.3%	3.2%	17.7%	25.9%	51.9%	100.0%
South	Count	6	24	124	210	480	850
West	%	1.4%	2.8%	14.6%	24.7%	56.5%	100.0%
Wales	Count	6	14	62	96	333	511
	%	1.2%	2.7%	12.1%	18.8%	65.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	159	271	1454	2250	4871	9005
	%	1.8%	3.0%	16.1%	25.0%	54.1%	100.0%

Table 14: Views on Immigration by UK region (2008-9)

		View on number of immigrants coming to Britain					Total
		<i>Increased a lot</i>	<i>Increased a little</i>	<i>Remain the same as it is</i>	<i>Reduced a little</i>	<i>Reduced a lot</i>	
North	Count	9	11	90	88	241	439
East	%	2.1%	2.5%	20.5%	20.0%	54.9%	100.0%
North	Count	16	33	198	306	590	1143
West	%	1.4%	2.9%	17.3%	26.8%	51.6%	100.0%
Yorkshire and the Humber	Count	10	21	157	205	472	865
	%	1.2%	2.4%	18.2%	23.7%	54.6%	100.0%
East Midlands	Count	2	10	115	184	422	733
	%	0.3%	1.4%	15.7%	25.1%	57.6%	100.0%
West Midlands	Count	17	13	121	193	563	907
	%	1.9%	1.4%	13.3%	21.3%	62.1%	100.0%
East of England	Count	12	21	170	239	502	944
	%	1.3%	2.2%	18.0%	25.3%	53.2%	100.0%
London	Count	79	59	337	287	444	1206
	%	6.6%	4.9%	27.9%	23.8%	36.8%	100.0%
South East	Count	17	35	262	405	658	1377
	%	1.2%	2.5%	19.0%	29.4%	47.8%	100.0%
South West	Count	1	16	149	240	463	869
	%	0.1%	1.8%	17.1%	27.6%	53.3%	100.0%
Wales	Count	4	15	79	113	289	500
	%	0.8%	3.0%	15.8%	22.6%	57.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	167	234	1678	2260	4644	8983
	%	1.9%	2.6%	18.7%	25.2%	51.7%	100.0%

In the two tables above, there is evidence of significant regional differences in attitudes towards immigration across England and Wales. The pattern across all regions is of a majority view that immigration should be significantly reduced. The exceptions to this are London and South East where this remains prominent but to a lesser degree. In fact, Wales reports one of the highest proportions of respondents agreeing with the view that immigration should be reduced a lot. The pattern in Wales is similar to that of many regions in England, particularly those in the Midlands and the North. The figures for the view that immigration be reduced a lot are notably higher when compared to results from the European Social Survey and indeed other attitudinal surveys. This could be because the question is asking about views on the level of immigration rather than on whether

immigration is good or bad. This said, the fact that most respondents were of the view that the number of immigrants should be reduced a lot would imply that immigration is being viewed in a negative light. Overall, the general trend towards wanting to reduce levels of immigration is one that is consistent with other survey questions on immigration.

6.2 Nationality and attitudes toward immigration

This section presents findings on views towards immigration by national identity in England and Wales. In the survey, respondents were asked the following question:

What do you consider your national identity to be? Please choose your answer from this card. Please choose as many or as few as apply.

The question includes the possibility for single and multiple national identifications (e.g. Welsh only, Welsh and British). In the tables below we distinguish between people living in Wales (Tables 15 and 17) and people living in England (Tables 16 and 18).

Table 15: Views on immigration and national identity: Living in Wales (2007-8)

		Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain nowadays should be increased?					
		Increased a lot	Increased a little	Remain the same as it is	Reduced a little	Reduced a lot	Total
Welsh	Count	2	9	41	66	230	348
	%	0.6%	2.6%	11.8%	19.0%	66.1%	100.0%
British	Count	2	2	12	19	51	86
	%	2.3%	2.3%	14.0%	22.1%	59.3%	100.0%
Welsh and British	Count	0	1	2	3	19	25
	%	0%	4.0%	8.0%	12.0%	76.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	4	12	55	88	300	459
	%	0.9%	2.6%	12.0%	19.2%	65.4%	100.0%

Table 16: Views on immigration and national identity: Living in England (2007-8)

		Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain nowadays should be increased?					
		Increased a lot	Increased a little	Remain the same as it is	Reduced a little	Reduced a lot	Total
English	Count	40	67	433	905	2547	3992
	%	1.0%	1.7%	10.8%	22.7%	63.8%	100.0%
British	Count	54	106	554	730	1141	2585
	%	2.1%	4.1%	21.4%	28.2%	44.1%	100.0%
English and British	Count	12	18	165	326	643	1164
	%	1.0%	1.5%	14.2%	28.0%	55.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	106	191	1152	1961	4331	7741
	%	1.4%	2.5%	14.9%	25.3%	55.9%	100.0%

The figures in the tables above indicate that expressing the view that the number of people coming into Britain should be reduced is linked to identifying nationality with one of the constituent nations of Britain (being Welsh or English), rather than with Britain as a whole (being British). In Wales (Table 3), 66.1% of those considering themselves to be 'Welsh' considered the number of immigrants should be 'reduced a lot', compared to 59.3% of those considering themselves to be 'British'. Figures in England (Table 4) were similar - 63.8% of those stating themselves to be 'English' compared to 44.1% of those considering themselves 'British'. It is interesting that while the figures for 'Welsh' and 'English' are very similar, more people living in Wales and considering themselves 'British' considered that immigration should be reduced than in the corresponding group in England (59.3% compared to 44.1%).

This pattern is repeated in 2009 (Tables 17 and 18), although the overall percentage of people living in Wales and considering immigration should be reduced by a lot is lower (59.0% as opposed to 65.4% in 2008).

Table 17: Views on immigration and national identity: Living in Wales (2008-9)

		Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain nowadays should be increased?					
		Increased a lot	Increased a little	Remain the same as it is	Reduced a little	Reduced a lot	Total
Welsh	Count	2	4	36	50	169	261
	%	0.8%	1.5%	13.8%	19.2%	64.8%	100.0%
British	Count	1	2	19	24	44	90
	%	1.1%	2.2%	21.1%	26.7%	48.9%	100.0%
Welsh and British	Count	0	4	8	15	24	51
	%	0%	7.8%	15.7%	29.4%	47.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	3	10	63	89	237	402
	%	0.7%	2.5%	15.7%	22.1%	59.0%	100.0%

Table 18: Views on immigration and national identity: Living in England (2008-9)

		Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain nowadays should be increased?					
		Increased a lot	Increased a little	Remain the same as it is	Reduced a little	Reduced a lot	Total
English	Count	42	62	529	895	2417	3945
	%	1.1%	1.6%	13.4%	22.7%	61.3%	100.0%
British	Count	67	83	615	744	1172	2681
	%	2.5%	3.1%	22.9%	27.8%	43.7%	100.0%
English and British	Count	6	10	196	332	587	1131
	%	.5%	.9%	17.3%	29.4%	51.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	115	155	1340	1971	4176	7757
	%	1.5%	2.0%	17.3%	25.4%	53.8%	100.0%

Table 19 extrapolates from the data presented above, focusing on the relationship between national identity reportage and the view that number of immigrants coming to Britain should be reduced a lot. The table points to differences between people identifying as Welsh only and British only in Wales; and between English only and British only in England. In both Wales and England there is a evidence of a relationship between narrow national identities

(e.g. Welsh, English) and the view that immigration should be reduced by a lot. Although in Wales, the distinction between Welsh and British identification is less prominent than the respective distinction between English and British in England.

Table 19: Immigration “Reduced by a lot” and National Identity

Living in Wales		
2008	Welsh (66.1%)	British (59.3%)
2009	Welsh (64.8%)	British (48.9%)
Living in England		
2008	English (63.8%)	British (44.1%)
2009	English (61.3%)	British (43.7%)

6.3 Other findings

In addition to looking nationality, we also compared responses to the above question about age, gender and level of education. None of the findings from the Welsh sample provided us with any surprises. In both waves for age there was a general trend whereby as age increases so a larger percentage of respondents report the view that immigration should be greatly reduced. No real gender differences were found. There are notable differences by level of education where by respondents in Wales with first and higher degrees were markedly less likely than others to express the opinion that immigration should be greatly reduced. In contrast, this opinion was proportionally higher for those who did not report a university level education. It was not possible to explore these results further by main language spoken in the home. In 2008, only 22 respondents stated that Welsh was the main language, and in 2009 the question was ‘Is either English or Welsh one of the main languages spoken in the home’. The over-preponderance of those considering that immigration should be reduced by a lot also limits any comparisons based on respondents’ backgrounds.

7. Conclusions

Any conclusions drawn from these findings need to be set within the limitations of the available data. This includes issues such as the sample sizes for Wales, but also the difficulties of Wales being treated as one geographical unit. In the Citizenship survey, for example, as the sampling strategy is based on wards, the sample will inevitably be based on the area of Wales with the most wards. More substantively, any data on attitudes towards immigration needs to be interpreted carefully. It is widely acknowledged that the way questions are formulated in interviews can influence responses. Attitudes towards immigration rarely reflect actual migration flows or actual discrimination against particular migrants and minority groups within particular communities. Nor should a relationship between attitudes (what people report in interviews) and action (what people do and how they interact with others in their communities) be assumed. The results from the research are of course of a general nature. Yet, there are suggestions of a pattern in attitudes in both surveys.

Using the 2008 and 2010 waves of the European Social Survey, we have examined regional differences in the UK in people's attitudes towards a range of immigration questions. General attitudes were compared both for different 'types' of immigrants (e.g. from those similar to the ethnic majority of the country to those from poorer countries outside Europe); as well as attitudes toward the different impacts of immigration – on economy, cultural life and Britain as a place to live. In many of the cases, though not always, there was a pattern whereby regions such as the North and Midlands of England show less favourable attitudes to immigrants than regions such as Scotland and London and South East. In many cases, Wales shows a similar pattern to the Mid and North English regions. Certainly comparing Scotland and Wales as devolved nations, the pattern is characterized more by one of difference than similarity between the two. Comparing the 2008 and 2010 waves, one finds an overall increasing tendency for less positive views towards immigrants. However the regional differences between Wales and other regions were of a lesser degree, or at least are less clear, in 2010 compared to 2008.

In the Citizenship Survey there are suggestions of a pattern in attitudes relating to both regional differences and to national identifications. Looking at regional differences across the UK, there appears no less 'opposition' towards immigration amongst people living in Wales compared to people living in England. There appears a similar pattern between Wales and other regions in England. The Citizenship Survey does not include Scotland, but the suggestion is of similarities between Wales and other regions in England, rather than

between Wales and Scotland. This requires further research. There is also the suggestion that opposition toward immigration is linked more to 'narrower' national identities, e.g. amongst those considering themselves Welsh or English only, than to those considering themselves British only or those reporting a combination of national identities. There is no evidence that people considering themselves as Welsh orientate differently to those considering themselves English.

8. References

- Anthias, F., Davis, N. and Cain, H. (1996): *Racialised Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Balibar, E. and Wallerstein, I. (1991) *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso.
- Bauere, V., Densham, P., Millar, J. and Salt, J. (2007) "Migrants from Central and Eastern Europe: Local Geographies", *Population Trends* No. 129 Autumn. Pp. 7-19.
- Card, D., Dustmann, C. and Preston, I. (2005) 'Understanding attitudes to immigration: The migration and minorities module of the first European Social Survey', *Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration, Discussion Paper Series*, No. 03/05.
- Crawley, H. and Crimes, T. (2009) *Refugees Living in Wales: A Survey of Skills, Experiences and Barriers to Inclusion*. Centre for Migration Policy Research, Swansea University.
- Copus, C. (2009) 'English national parties in post-devolution UK', *British Politics* 4: 363-385.
- Day, G., Davis, H. and Drakakis-Smith, A. (2006) 'Being English in North Wales: In-migration and the in-migrant experience', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 12(3-4): 577-598.
- Department for Communities and Local Government (2009) *Citizenship Survey 2007-8: Identity and Values Report* London: Communities and Local Government.
- Department for Communities and Local Government (2010) *Citizenship Survey 2008-9: Technical Report*. London: Communities and Local Government.
- Heath, A. and Tilley, J. (2005) 'British national identity and attitudes to immigration', *International Journal of Multicultural Societies* 7(2): 119-132.
- Hopkins, P. (2008) 'Politics, race and nation: The difference that Scotland makes', in Dwyer, C. and Bressey, C. (eds.) *New Geographies of Race and Racism*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hussain, A. and Miller, W. L. (2006) *Multicultural Nationalism: Islamophobia, Anglophobia and Devolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leong, C-H. and Ward, C. (2006) 'Cultural values and attitudes towards immigrants and multiculturalism: The case of the Eurobarometer survey on racism and xenophobia', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(6): 799-810.
- Mann, R. and Fenton, S. (2009) 'The personal contexts of national sentiments', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(3): 317-334.
- Mann, R. and Fenton, S. (2010) "'Our own people": Ethnic majority orientations to nation and country in Britain', in T. Modood and J. Salt (eds.) *Migration and Citizenship in Britain: Contemporary Perspectives*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Migration Observatory (2011) *Commentary: The Variations Enigma: Regional Differences in Support for Reducing Immigration to the UK*. University of Oxford: The Migration Observatory.

Mori (2009) *Trend Briefing 1: Doubting Multiculturalism* May 2009. London: Ipsos Mori. Accessed at: http://www.ipsos-mori.com/_assets/pdfs/Multiculturalism-Briefing.pdf

Scourfield, J. and Davies, A. (2005) 'Children's accounts of Wales as racialised and inclusive', *Ethnicities* 5(1): 83-107.

Threadgold, T., Clifford, S. and Arwo, A. *et al* (2008) *Immigration and Inclusion in South Wales: Full Report for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Welsh Assembly Government (2007a) *One Wales: A Progressive Agenda for the Government of Wales*. Cardiff: WAG.

Welsh Assembly Government (2007b) *Patterns of Migration in Wales*. Cardiff: WAG.

Welsh Assembly Government (2007c) *Statistics on Migrant Workers*. Cardiff: WAG.

Welsh Assembly Government (2009) *Getting on Together: A Community Cohesion Strategy for Wales*. Cardiff: WAG.

Williams, C. (2007) 'Revisiting the rural/race debates: A view from the Welsh countryside', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(5): 741-65.

Williams, C., *et al* (2003) (eds.) *Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

ZACAT Eurobarometer (2003) *Dataset: International Social Survey Programme 2003: National Identity II (ISSP 2003)*. Identification Number: ZA3910. Accessed at: <http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/index.jsp?object=http://zacat.gesis.org/obj/fStudy/ZA3910>