

Immigration, Diversity and Social Capital in Spain. A Longitudinal Perspective

Laura Morales

(Institute for Social Change, University of Manchester)

Alfonso Echazarra

(Cathie Marsh Centre for Census and Survey
Research, University of Manchester)

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Research Questions

- Is immigration-related ethnic diversity detrimental for social cohesion and the sustaining of a democratic political culture in Spain?
- Does the diversity that results from increasing migration inflows hinder social trust and cooperative behaviours?
- Do citizens – autochthonous and immigrant alike – ‘hunker down’ and retreat from the public sphere when their communities become ethnically more heterogeneous?
- More precisely, is ethnic diversity associated with generalised and localised trust, associational membership, and democratic civic norms?

Empirical analyses of these questions so far...

- Several cross-national studies (Knack & Keefer 1997, Delhey & Newton 2005, Anderson & Paskeviciute 2006, Paxton 2007, Bjornskov 2008, Hooghe et al. 2009).
- Fewer studies using smaller units of aggregation and limited to a relatively reduced number of western societies (Alesina & La Ferrara 2002, Soroka, Banting and Johnston 2002, Marschall & Stolle 2004, Pennant 2005, Leigh 2006, Putnam 2007, Stolle, Soroka & Johnston 2008, Laurence & Heath 2008, Letki 2008, Lancee & Dronkers 2008, Gustavsson & Jordahl 2008).
- To our knowledge, no study of “new” immigration countries (such as Italy, Ireland or Spain).

Main findings of past scholarship

Ethnic and racial diversity might reduce social cohesion in various of its dimensions, most prominently generalised social trust, but also trust in neighbours, associational membership and other cooperative attitudes and behaviours.

Some exceptions:

- Marshall & Stolle (2004): Positive effect in Detroit.
- Putnam (2007): Mixed results, depending on dependent variable.
- Letki (2008) and Laurence & Heath (2008): No effect when controlling for socio-economic factors.
- Lancee & Dronkers (2008): No effect for inter-ethnic trust

Potential causal mechanisms in the link between diversity and trust (I)

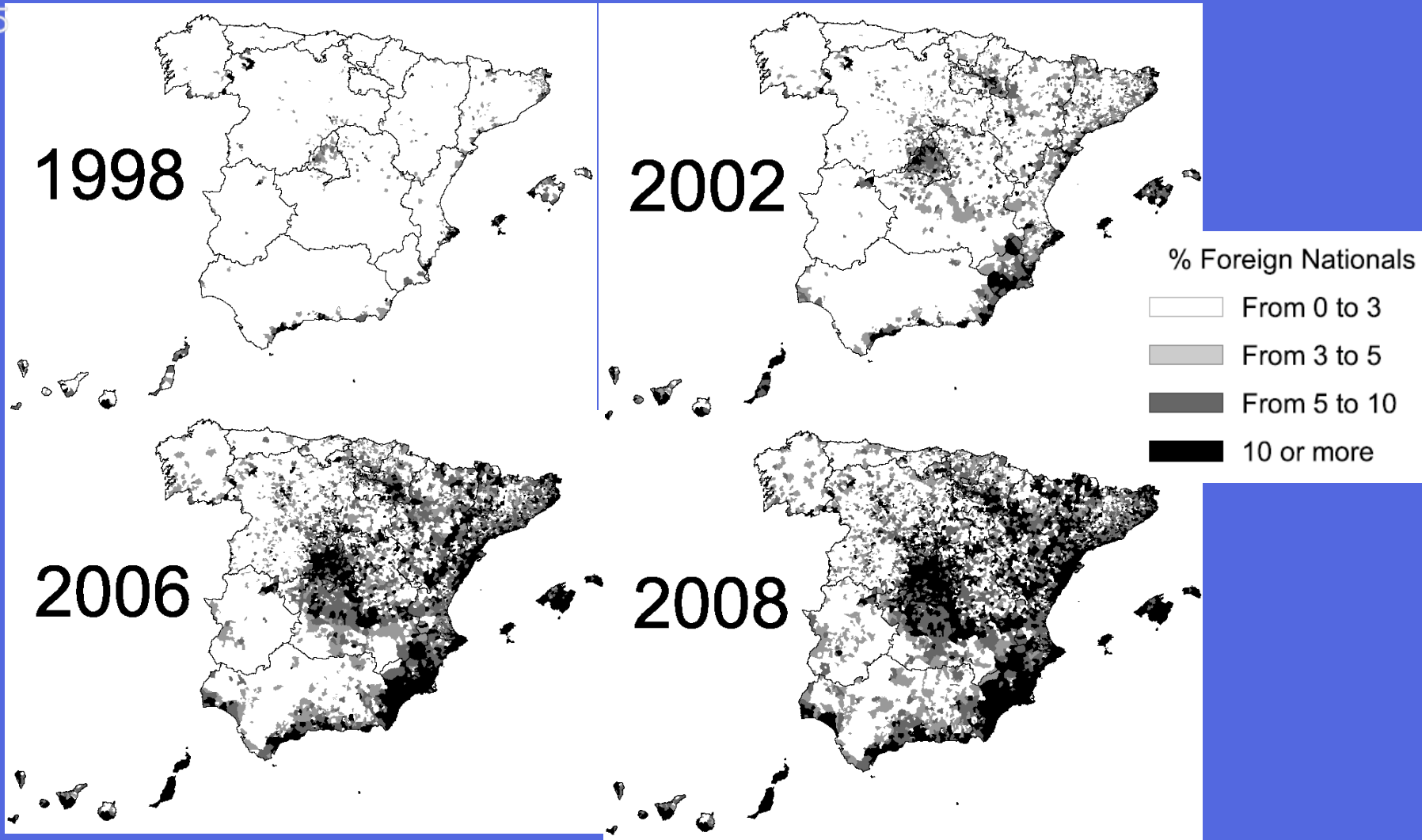
1. Homogenous communities are more likely to draw on a reservoir of common cultural material (Habyarimana et al. 2007), share similar preferences, and share (pre-existing) common social networks.
2. Social interaction tends to be driven by patterns of homophily (McPherson 2001).
3. Interaction is the cornerstone of the generation of social trust.
4. Immigration increases ethnic diversity.
5. (As a result of 2, 3 and 4) Immigration may reduce levels of social trust.

Potential causal mechanisms (II)

1. Immigration increases residential turnover.
2. Residential turnover hampers social interaction, social cohesion and social capital.
3. (As a result of 1 and 2) Immigration may reduce levels of social capital accumulation.

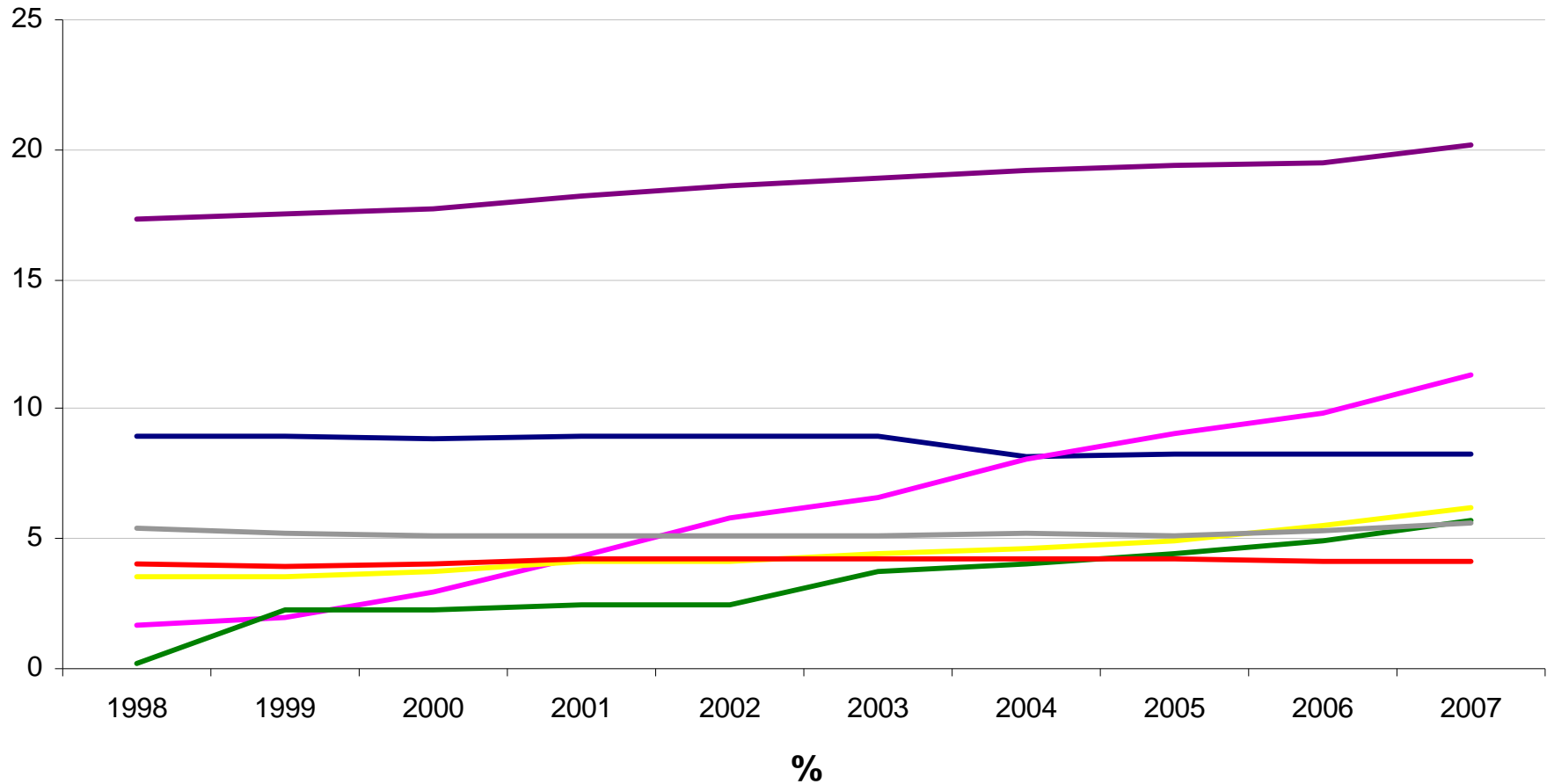
Why Spain? (I)

1. Massive and sudden immigration during the last decade.



Sharp increase also in comparative perspective

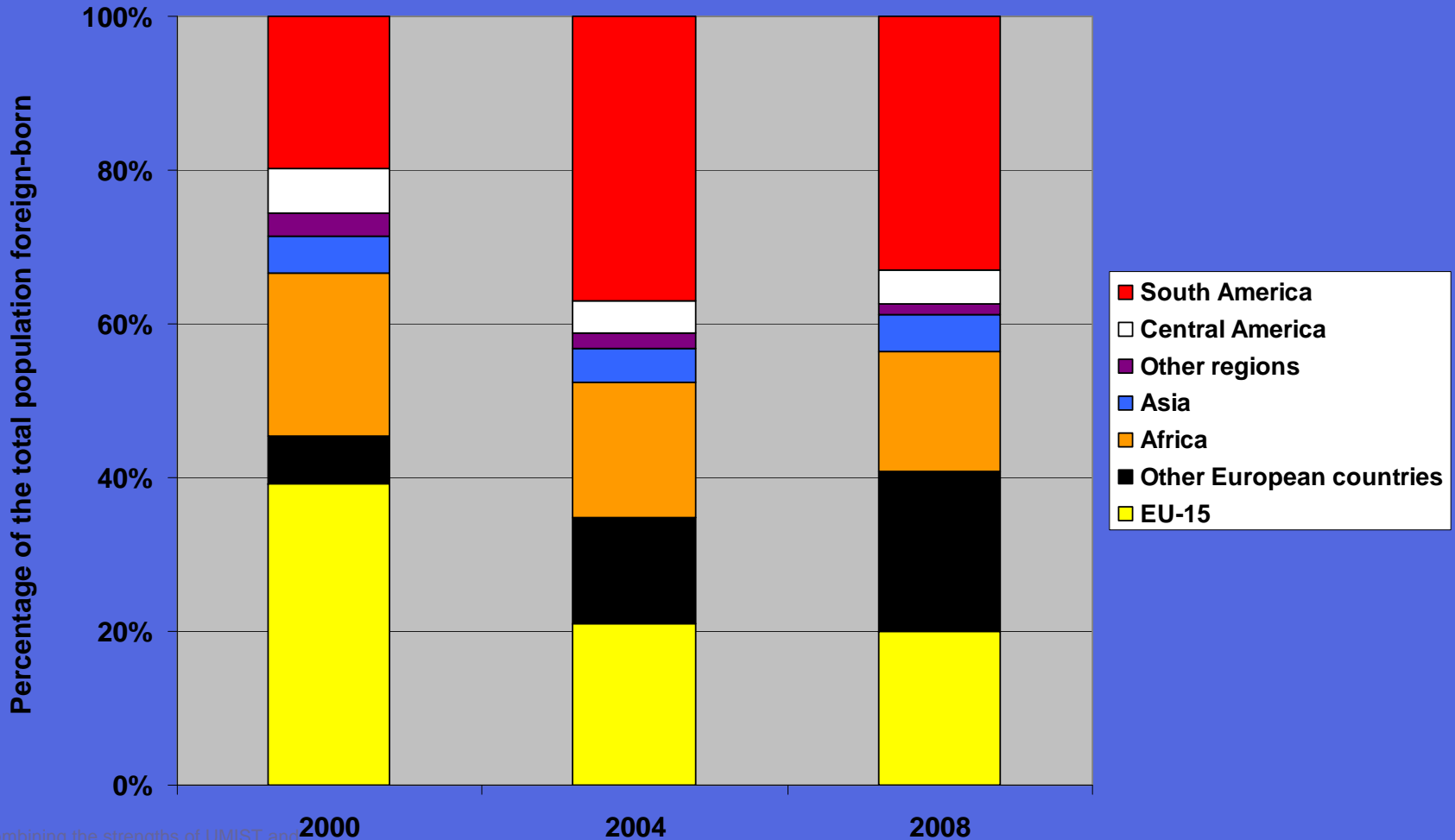
Trends in the percentage of the foreign population in Europe, 1998-2007



Germany Spain United Kingdom Italy Switzerland Netherlands Sweden

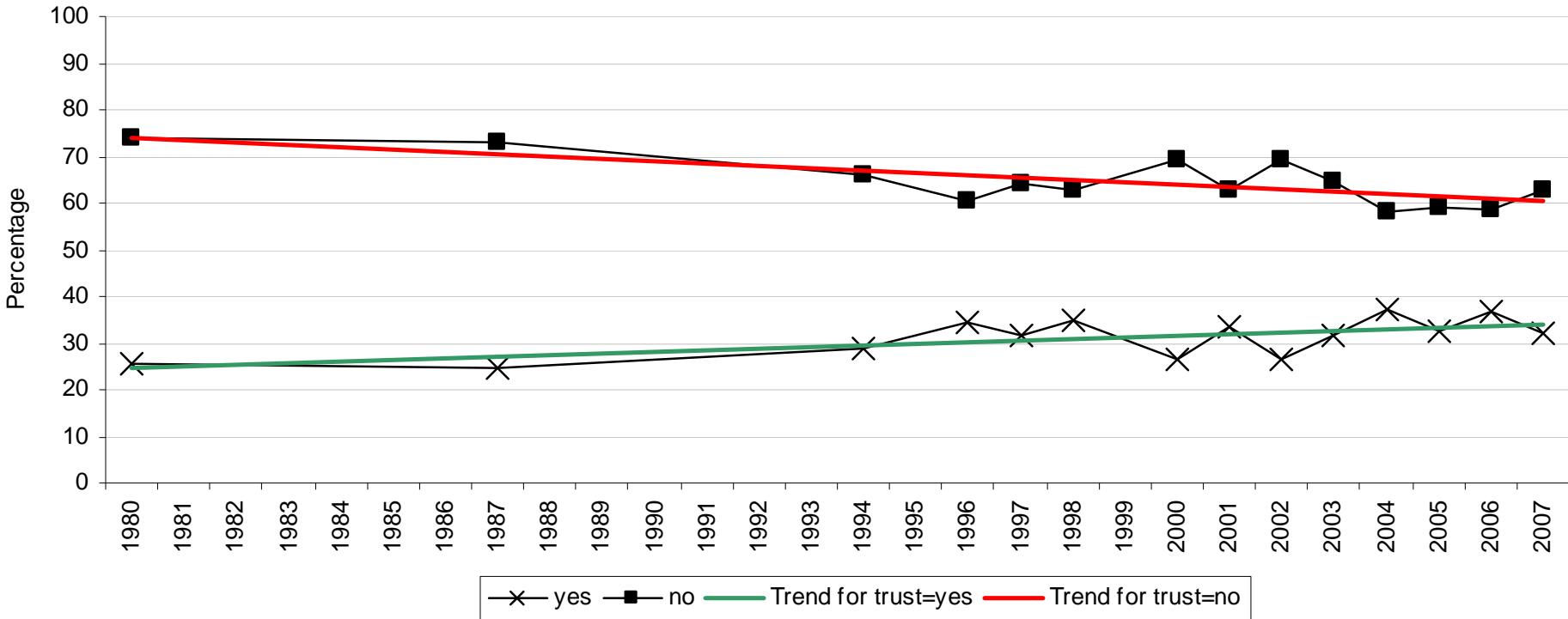
Why Spain? (II)

2. Internal composition of immigrant population very heterogeneous.



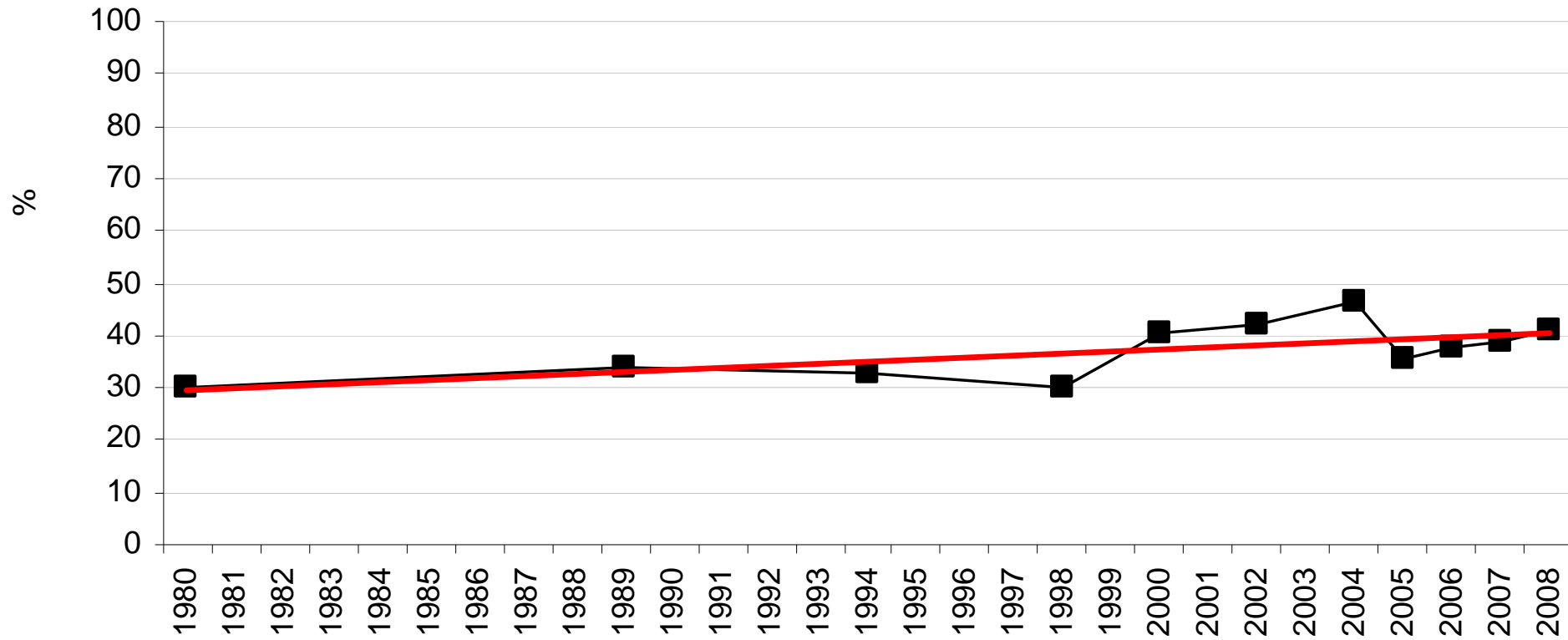
3. Good statistics: Local population registers and CIS geo-coded surveys since the early 2000s.
4. Unlike some other European and Western democracies, social capital levels would seem to be increasing in Spain since the 1980s.

Figure 3. Generalised Trust in Spain, 1980-2007 (dichotomous wording)

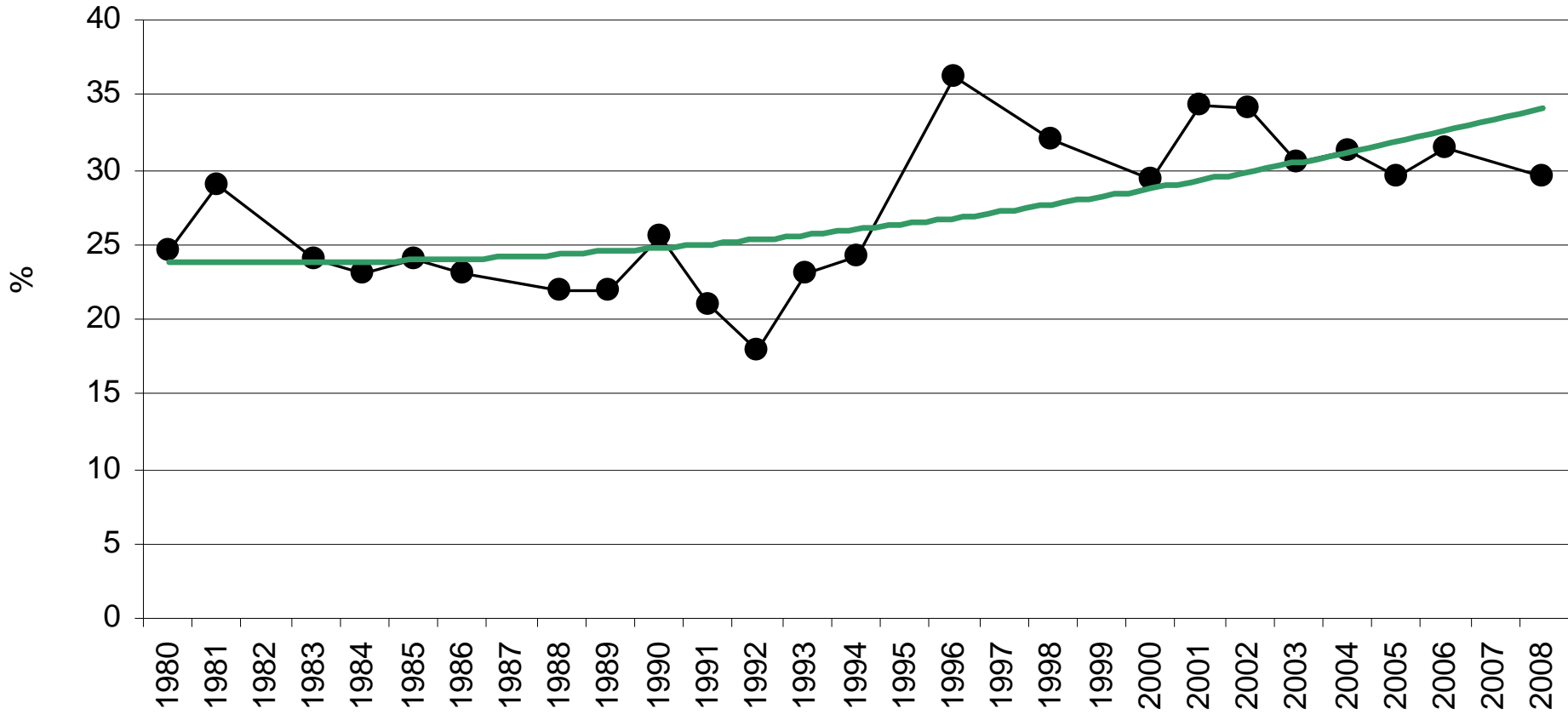


Source: CIS surveys 1237, 1987, 2105-2107, 2218, 2270, 2312, 2380, 2417, 2450, 2476, 2571, 2620, 2663, 2701.

Associational membership in Spain, 1980-2008 (member of any association)



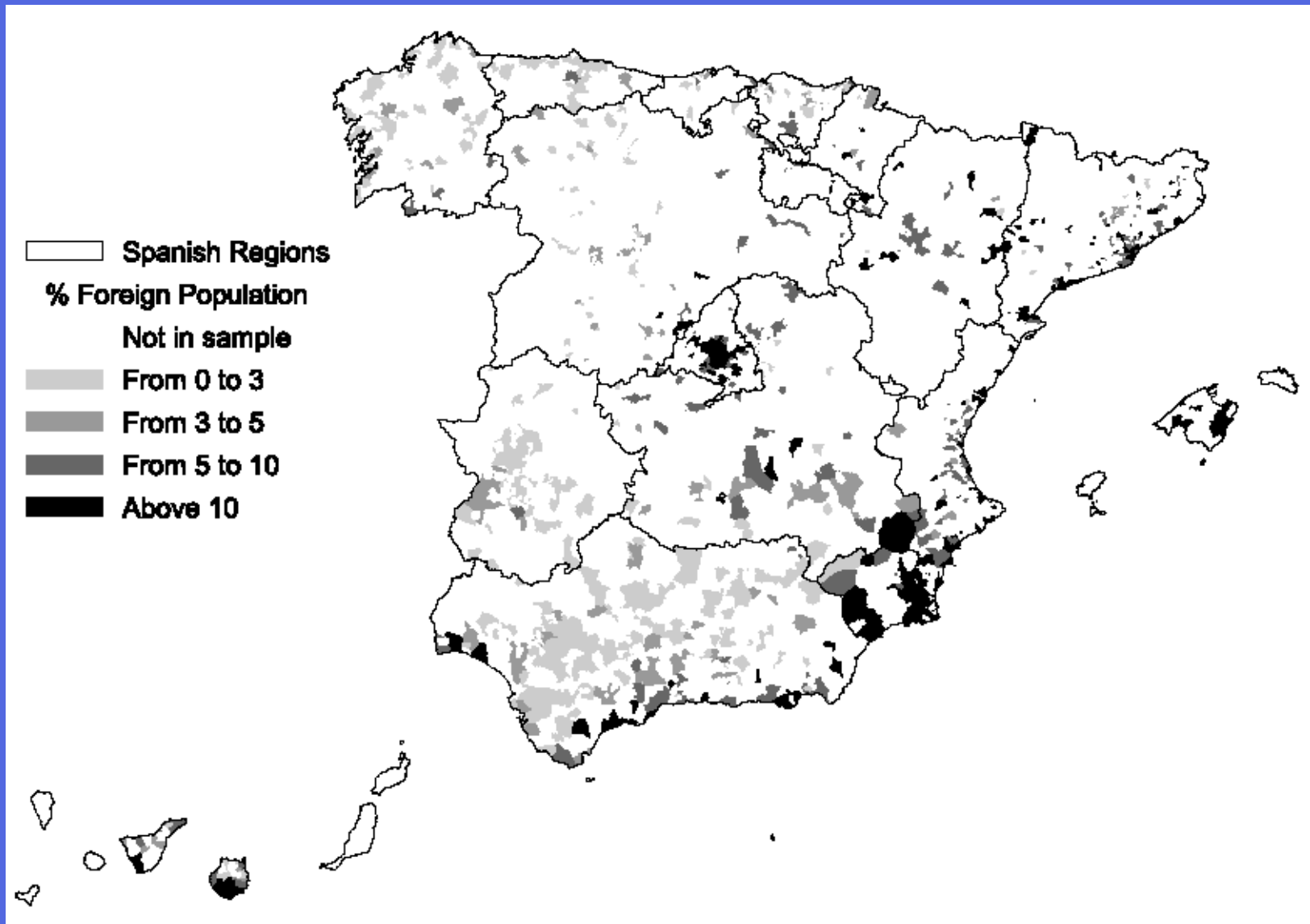
Interest in politics, very or quite



Data and methods (I)

- At this stage, detailed analyses for year 2006, and preliminary longitudinal information for the 2000s decade.
- Individual level variables from CIS surveys (several studies, and in more detailed for surveys 2632 & 2634 of year 2006).
- Contextual-level data from various sources: Local population registers (updated on a rolling basis), National Statistics Office (INE) 2001 Census, and La Caixa Foundation Municipal Statistical Yearbook.

Municipalities included in the 2006 year surveys analyzed



Data and methods (II)

Measuring Democratic Civic Culture (Underlying notion in our variables)

With the CIS surveys, at the individual level we measure (mostly for autochthonous Spaniards:

1. Trust in neighbours (Dichotomous from a 4-point scale).
2. Generalised social trust (11-point scale, 0-10).
3. Associational engagement (Dichotomous: involvement in any association vs no involvement).
4. Electoral turnout (Dichotomous: voted in last national elections, 2004).
5. Citizenship norms (3 additive indices).

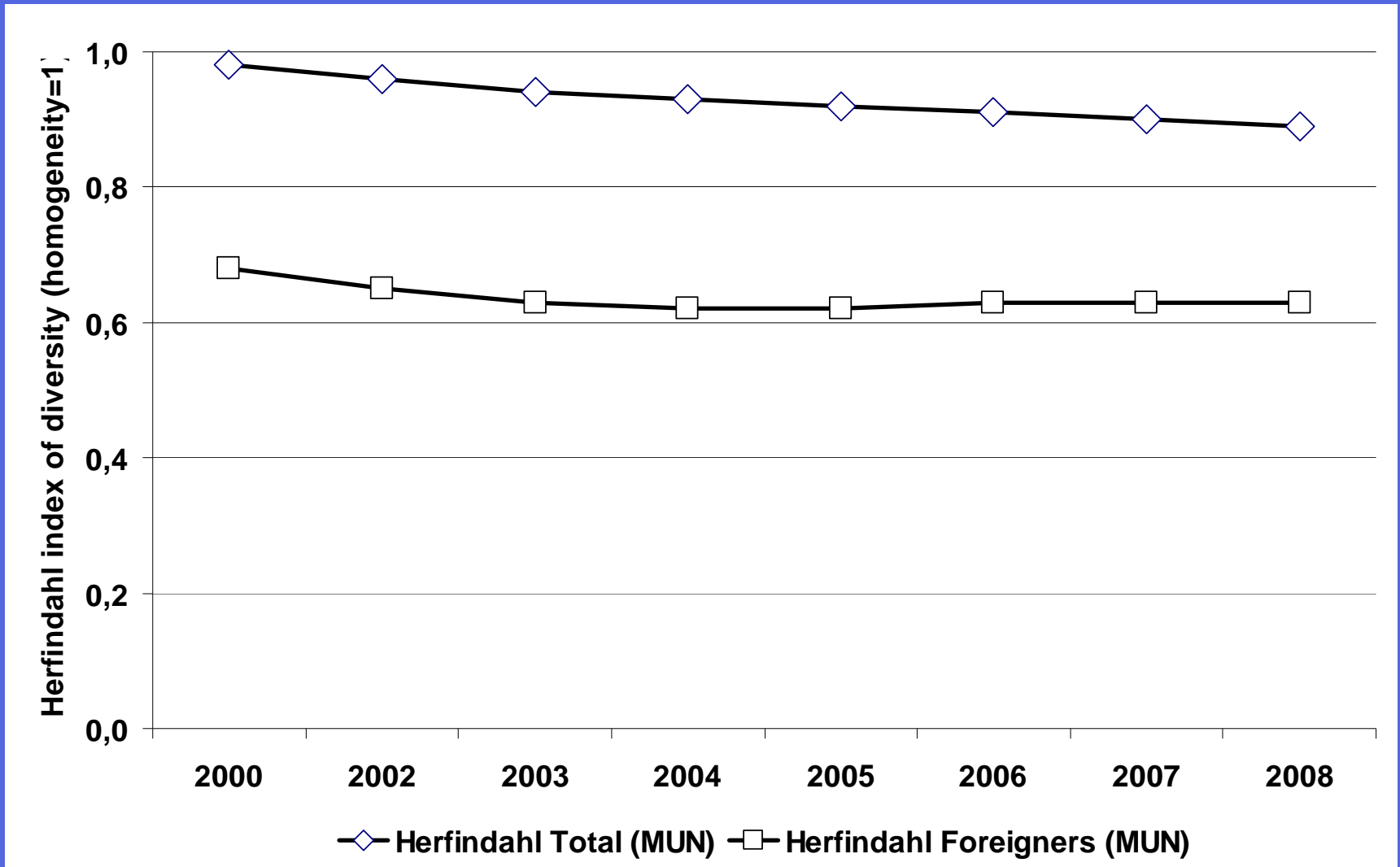
Data and methods (III)

Measuring Immigration-Related Diversity

With the information from the local population registers, both at the municipality and census section level:

1. Herfindahl Index (calculated with 9 groups based on nationality).

Evolution of Herfindah index (municipality level)



Data and methods (III)

Measuring Immigration-Related Diversity

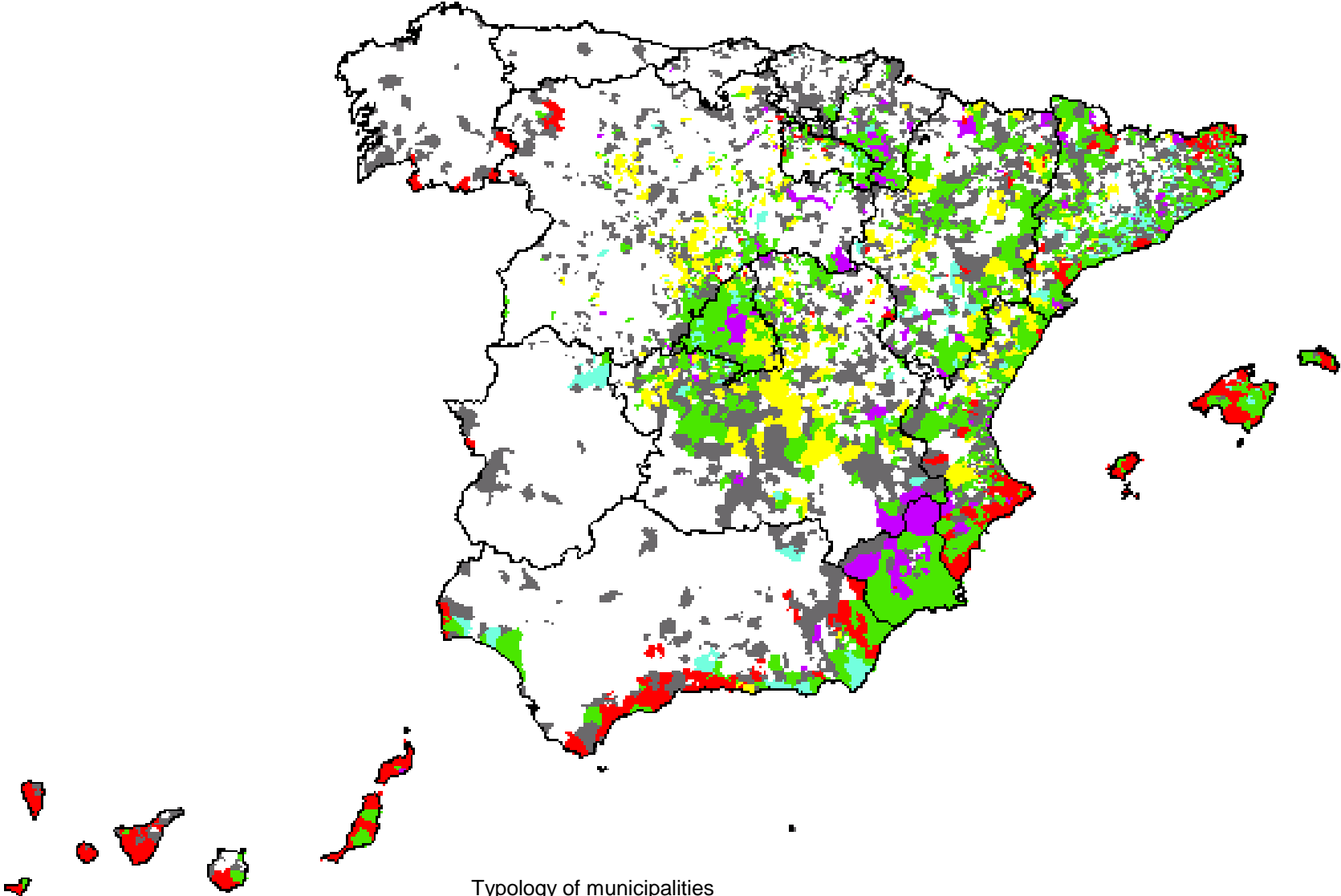
With the information from the local population registers, both at the municipality and census section level:

1. Herfindahl Index (calculated with 9 groups based on nationality).
2. Multi-group classification scheme based on thresholds of the percentage of the foreign population (FP) of various national/regional origins.



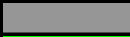



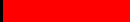
The following classification was chosen:

- Spanish 'citadels' (FP < 3%).
- Non-isolated host communities with low concentration (3% < FP < 6%).
- Diverse mixed areas (FP > 6%, no group significantly larger)
- Significant EU25, East-European, Moroccan and Andean areas (FP > 6% + particular foreign group > 35% of FP).

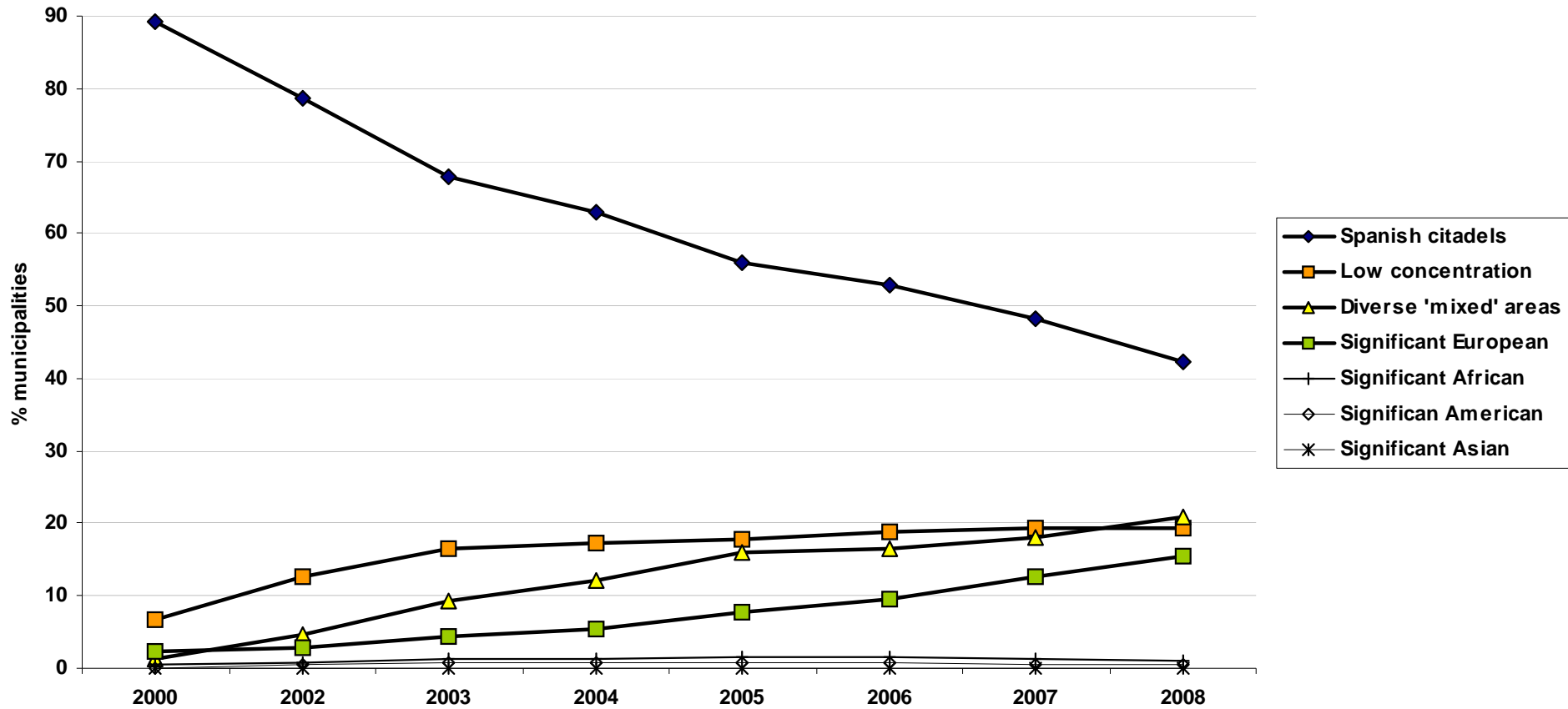
Year 2006



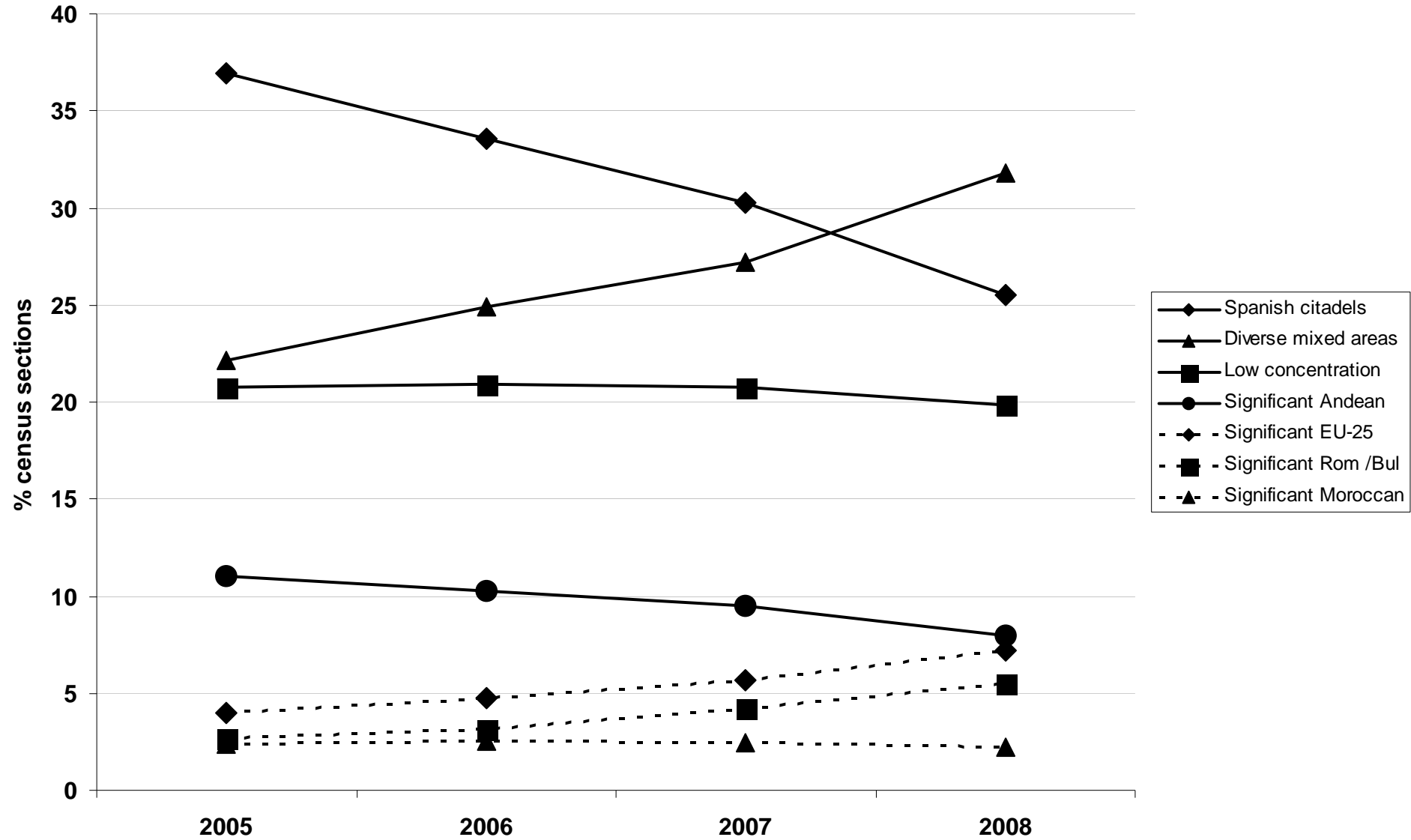
Typology of municipalities

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
|  | 1: Spanish 'citadels' |  | 5: Romanian/Bulgarian enclave |
|  | 2: Low concentration |  | 6: Moroccan enclave |
|  | 3: Diverse 'mixed' areas |  | 7: Andean Latin American enclave |
|  | 4: EU-25 enclave | | |

Evolution of diversity at municipality level



Evolution of diversity at section level



Results (I)

Analyses with multilevel models (still work in progress).

- Multiple controls at the individual level
- Multiple controls at the municipal and census section level.
- Two variables on trust: in neighbours, and generalised social trust.

Although, at the municipal level, *trust in neighbours* is negatively related with *ethnic diversity* (*Herfindahl index* is significant and positive in bivariate analyses and when individual level variables are controlled for) ...

As soon as the population size of the municipality is added to the equation the significant effect disappears... and the coefficient changes signs when the census section level is introduced.

Results (I)

However, the results are different at the census section level:

Regardless of whether we run 2 or 3 level models, and with multiple controls, *trust in neighbours* is negatively related with *ethnic diversity* (*Herfindahl index* is significant and positive) ...

This result seems robust to different model specifications and to controls at the census and municipality levels for:

- Geographical mobility of the population
- Age composition
- Educational attainment composition
- Crime levels
- Unemployment levels
- Housing features
- Commuting time

Results (II)

However, trust in neighbours only available for 1 survey in 2006.

Results for generalised social trust and all other variables of civic-mindedness are quite different.

Analyses on:

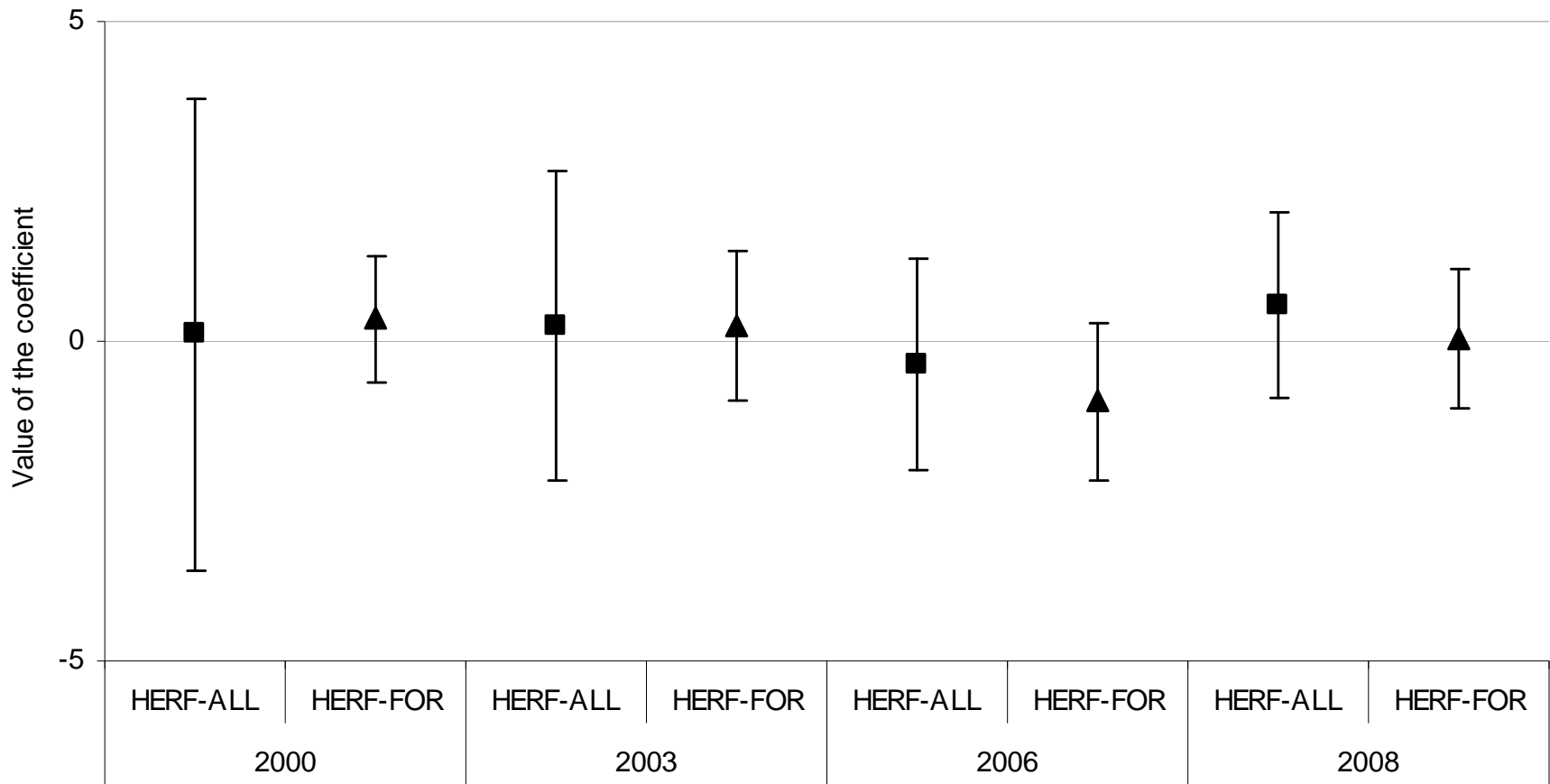
- Generalised social trust
- Interest in politics
- Political discussion
- Associational engagement

All generally not significant at municipal or section level.

Results (II)

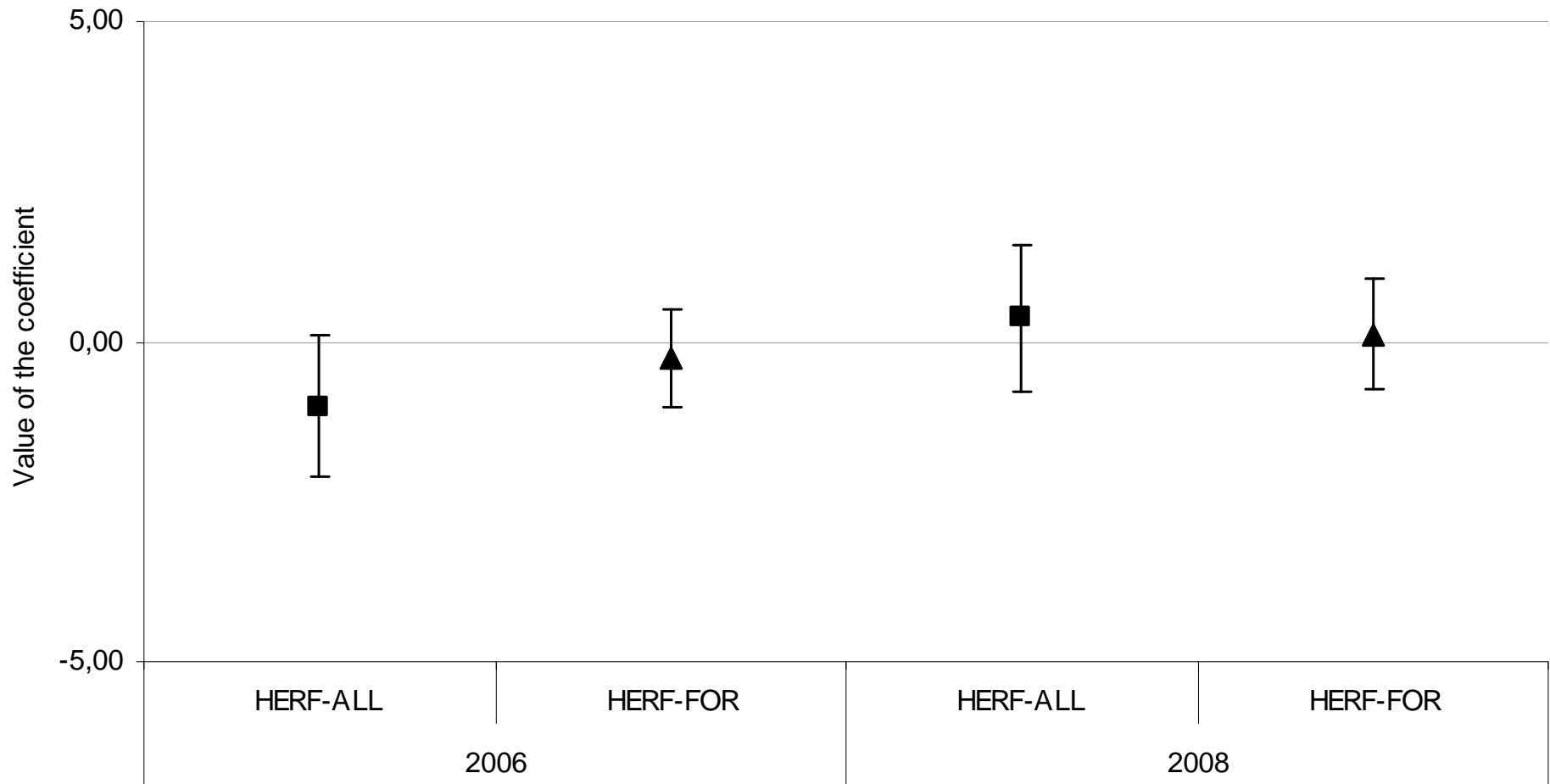
The relation between diversity and trust along time

The effect of diversity on generalised social trust over time, municipality level



Legend: HERF-ALL, Herfindahl index (including Spaniards); HERF-FOR, Herfindahl index (only foreign pop).

The effect of diversity on generalised social trust over time, section level



Legend: HERF-ALL, Herfindahl index (including Spaniards); HERF-FOR, Herfindahl index (only foreign pop).

Results (IV)

Summary of the findings on the effect of immigrant-related diversity (interpreted in reverse direction of the coefficient of the Herfindahl index)

| | Herfindahl-municipality | Herfindahl-census sections | Diversity types-municipality | Diversity types-census sections |
|--------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|--|
| Trust of neighbours | Not sig. if only municipality level. Positive if sections added | Negative | EU25 positive Andean positive Rest not sig. | Highly diverse mixed, negative Rest not sig. |
| Generalised trust | Positive | Not sig. (positive) | Diverse mixed positive Andean positive Rest not sig. | EU25 positive Rest not sig. |
| Associational membership | Positive | Not sig. (negative) | Most groups positive | All positive, several significant |
| Electoral turnout | Not sig. (positive) | Not sig. (negative) | EU25 positive Andean positive Rest not sig. | Not sig. |
| Citizenship norms | Not sig. (positive) | Not sig. (positive) | EU25 positive Rest not sig. | Highly diverse negative East Europeans negative |

(Preliminary) Conclusions

- Diverging results for different forms of trust: trust in neighbours vs generalised social trust? Is it important that diversity has a negative relation with trust in neighbours if not reflected on generalised trust?
- Diversity should not be expected to have negative effects on citizens' public engagement and interaction in all situations.
- The conditions of settlement of immigrant populations, the general views of the receiving societies, and the initiatives and discourses of political elites are very likely to mediate in this relation.
- The results of this research may be partially explained by the fact that Spanish society and governments have been known – at least in the European context – for showing a relatively welcoming and non-polarised attitude towards immigration. However, this might change in the future - and indeed this seems to be the case - but for now there seems to be no real cause for general alarm.

THANK YOU!