# Can narratives of white identity reduce opposition to immigration and support for Hard Brexit?: a survey experiment*

**Abstract.** Britain's vote to leave the European Union highlights the importance of white majority opposition to immigration. This article presents the results of a survey experiment examining whether priming an open form of ethno-nationalism based on immigrant assimilation reduces hostility to immigration and support for right-wing populism in Britain. Results show that drawing attention to the idea that assimilation leaves the ethnic majority unchanged significantly reduces hostility to immigration and support for Hard Brexit in the UK. Treatment effects are strongest among UKIP, Brexit and white working-class voters. This is arguably the first example of an experimental treatment leading to more liberal immigration policy preferences.

The politics of immigration has become increasingly prominent in the West. The 2015 Paris attacks and European Migrant Crisis was accompanied by a surge in populist right party support across much of western Europe. On June 23, 2016, in a vote driven by opposition to EU immigration (Evans and Mellon 2016a), Britain voted to leave the European Union. A month later, on July 19, Donald Trump won the Republican presidential nomination, campaigning on a platform which included constructing a wall on the border with Mexico and freezing immigration from Muslim countries. He subsequently stunned pollsters by winning the presidential election on November 9. This paper is a survey experiment conducted in Britain two months after the Referendum on EU membership in the midst of a debate over whether the country should opt for a 'Soft Brexit', accepting freedom of movement from the EU in exchange for access to the Single Market, or 'Hard Brexit,' restricting freedom of movement at the expense of losing market access.

National Identity and Immigration Policy Preferences

This article contributes to scholarship on the relationship between national identity and immigration policy preferences. A considerable body of work locates an association between 'ethnic' or exclusive definitions of the nation and opposition to immigration (Citrin et al., 1990; Coenders 2001; Citrin et al., 2001; Citrin and Wright 2009; Pehrsson 2009; Wong 2010; Schildkraut 2014). Another set of studies seeks to establish causal links between national identity and attitudes to immigration using survey experiments which prime national identity. Few of these have been able to manipulate anti-immigration *policy* preferences, as opposed to perceptions of immigrants or the number of immigrants. One study does however find that attitudes to minorities can be improved by priming civic nationalism (Charnysh et. al. 2015). Louis et. al. (2013: 131) uncover an indirect relationship among Australian and

Canadian respondents between reading a prime on national identification and opposing immigration, but no unmediated effect. Wright and Citrin (2010) find that white American respondents respond less negatively to images of Latino protests when the protestors wave American rather than Mexican flags, though this does not prompt individuals to accept higher immigration levels. Breton (2015) shows in the Canadian case that reminding respondents of their national identity also has no significant effect on immigration attitudes. An important exception is the classic study by Sniderman et. al. (2004:44-5), who report that priming Dutch rather than personal identity increases anti-immigration sentiment - but this is true only among those with low prior hostility to immigration.

The aforementioned experimental studies treat national identity as an ordinal variable, but as Breton (2015:375) notes, national identity is unlikely to be unidimensional when multiple traditions (i.e. Smith 1997) of nationhood coexist. Recent theoretical and qualitative advances point to the importance of peer-to-peer emergence 'from below' rather than elite diffusion in constructing national identity (Fox 2014). If national identity is in large measure a complex system emerging from the disparate constructions of a pluralistic mass public, the content of this identity will vary between individuals and groups (Kaufmann 2016). Thus a nation may be 'ethnic' and 'civic' at once, with competing conceptions of nationhood in the population (Hutchinson 2005). In Britain in 2013, for instance, 51 percent of the population answered that having British ancestry is an important aspect of being 'truly British' (Park et. al. 2014). Among British whites the figure is 60 percent, versus only 18 percent for non-whites. 73 percent of British whites who want immigration reduced a lot, and 74 percent of those scoring above the 75th percentile on authoritarianism, say ancestry is important for being truly British compared to 36 percent of whites who are comfortable with current or higher immigration levels and 33 percent below the 25th percentile for authoritarianism (NatCen 2016).

Thus I focus on the more ethnic conception of the nation held by the conservative section of the White British majority, which differs in its symbolic-affective content from the civic or multicultural variants imagined by many minorities or white liberals. A national story of rising diversity may appeal to high-identifying ethnic minorities and white liberals with a weak sense of linked fate with other whites, but would be predicted to alienate authoritarian or conservative whites who identify strongly with their racial group (Stenner 2005; Feldman 1997: 762).

Open Ethnic Nationalism and Immigration Preferences

It is vital to unpack the idea of national identity to concentrate explicitly on *dominant ethnic groups*, which in most western countries consist of a white ethnic majority which considers itself to have founded the nation-state (Kaufmann 2004). Conservative dominant ethnic group members assert a proprietary claim to national membership which may shape their attitudes to the boundaries of 'we', and, by extension, toward immigration. A number of studies prime American dominant ethnicity. For instance, Brader, Valentino and Suhay (2008), and Hopkins and Hainmueller (2015) find that white respondents reduce their opposition to immigrants when immigrant profiles are European rather than non-European.

Yet even majority ethnicity contains its 'open' and 'closed' variants: ethnic boundaries vary in exclusivity. In some locales, such as northern India or Northern Ireland, ethnic boundaries are tight, with strong sanctions against intermarriage. Elsewhere - notably in the Caribbean or Latin America where typologies of race are fluid, or in sub-Saharan Africa where minorities often assimilate into dominant groups such as the Wolof, Baganda or Kikuyu - boundaries are more permeable (Wimmer 2007). The definition of who is included may also vary over time and place (Barth 1969; Brubaker 2006). Ethnicity is defined by a

belief in common ancestry (Francis 1976: 2-9; Smith 1991), but those who trace shared ancestry along one line may nevertheless embody considerable admixture on other lines through intermarriage. As a result, they may differ internally in 'racial' appearance (i.e. Jews, Uighurs, Native Americans or Pashtuns).

Accordingly we may speak of open and closed forms of ethnic majoritarianism, with open ethnic majorities secure about their capacity to assimilate immigrants while closed majorities insist on exclusion. A classic example of an ethnic group which oscillated between open and closed self-conceptions are American White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs). As John Higham notes of the period from 1865-1890, 'the Anglo-Saxonists were pro rather than con. During an age of confidence almost no race-thinker directly challenged a tolerant and eclectic attitude toward other European groups. Instead, Anglo-Saxon and cosmopolitan nationalisms merged in a happy belief that the Anglo-Saxon has a marvellous capacity for assimilating kindred races, absorbing their valuable qualities, yet remaining essentially unchanged' (Higham 1955: 33). Only when this confidence flagged, Higham writes, did immigration restriction rise up the political agenda. Note that open ethnic majoritarianism is distinct from civic nationalism in that it seeks to preserve an *ethnic* majority, or descent community, rather than accept a multi-ethnic form of nationhood based solely on state institutions and values. For open ethnic nationalists, majority ethnicity remains a key component of nationhood, but its boundaries are maintained in whole or in part through what Gordon (1964) calls marital and 'identificational' assimilation.

Thus the strategy of this paper is to variously prime civic nationalism and open ethnic nationalism to see if this distinction has meaningfully different effects on immigration attitudes and right-wing populism. A narrative of growing ethnic diversity coupled with economic strength should be endorsed by civic nationalists but not by ethnic nationalists, whether of the open or closed variety. A vignette about successful assimilation into the ethnic

majority should reassure open but not closed ethnic nationalists. Vignettes involve drawing the attention of white respondents to processes of continuity – maintaining boundaries through assimilation - or, alternatively, change - immigration causing group decline. From a distance, a river is timeless, but up close it is constantly changing: you cannot put your foot in the same water twice. Directing a conservative individual to step back and appreciate ethnic continuity through assimilation should reassure while drawing their focus to fast-flowing changes and white decline should prompt insecurity.

A psychological study which partly embodies this approach, by Craig and Richeson (2014), finds that priming white Americans about the impending demise of the white majority moves opinion in a more conservative direction across both 'race-related' and race-neutral issues. Major et. al. (2016) show that high-identifying whites who read an article about America losing its white majority in 2042 become more opposed to immigration and more supportive of Donald Trump. Low-identifying whites had the opposite response, becoming less supportive of Trump when primed.

In addition to testing threat responses to diversification vignettes, this paper tries to determine whether a reassuring narrative of assimilation can liberalize attitudes among white conservatives. As noted, I could find no studies showing a liberalising effect on conservative white immigration policy preferences. This may be because immigration preferences represent hard-to-shift 'strong attitudes' which lead respondents to avoid or ignore information which fails to confirm prior opinions (Druckman and Leeper 2012: 877). In line with this 'motivated reasoning' perspective, several studies which test whether correcting respondents' misperceptions about the actual number of immigrants affects their immigration policy preferences report no significant effects (Lawrence and Sides 2014; Hopkins, Sides and Citrin 2016).

Relevance for Public Policy

Models of reported Brexit vote, shown in table 1, confirm findings from the academic literature which claim that education, values and cultural issues are more important than personal economic circumstances in accounting for opposition to immigration and support for the populist right (Sniderman et. al. 2004; Mudde 2007; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014, 2015; Norris and Inglehart 2016).[1]

[table 1 here]

In view of the association between cultural attitudes and populist right support, economic policies, such as Britain's Controlling Migration Fund – designed to provide resources to locales such as Boston in Lincolnshire which are coping with a large influx - may prove ineffective (DCLG 2016). Likewise, Centre-Left parties may have difficulty addressing the immigration question with economic policy proposals. This paper therefore asks whether political communications which reframe the relationship between immigration and national identity stand a better chance of addressing the cultural grievances driving the populist right. It is the first survey experiment I am aware of in any country which shifts white attitudes to immigration in a liberal direction – and is certainly the first to do so by manipulating the content of white majority identity.

Hypotheses

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[1] See table 1 for models of Brexit support.

The literature on ethnic boundaries and the cultural sources of immigration opinion leads to the following expectations:

H1 Those reading a diversification story should become more opposed to immigration because it primes anxiety about group decline. Immigration should increase in salience and support for right-wing populism should rise in popularity.

H2 Those reading the assimilation story should become more relaxed about immigration because they perceive that majority ethnic boundaries can be maintained through assimilating immigrants. The salience of immigration and right-wing populist views should decrease in popularity.

Given the literature on authoritarianism, conservatism and open ethnic nationalism, we should also expect that:

H3 Conservatives, authoritarians and ethnic nationalists will respond more strongly to both primes in the directions given in H1 and H2.

It could be the case that conservatives and authoritarians are closed rather than open ethnic nationalists, in which case:

H4 The diversity treatment will increase conservative and authoritarian anti-immigration sentiment, salience and populist right support but the assimilation treatment will have no effect

Data and Method

Data come from two surveys fielded by the survey firm YouGov. The survey took place on August 16-17, 2016 and consisted of 1677 adults, of which 1485 were from the White British ethnic majority. Question wording is provided in Appendix 3, and survey methodology in Appendices 4 and 5.

Independent variables

Participants were first asked a series of standard items, including demographics, party identification, past voting behaviour (including EU referendum vote in Britain), and self-placement on a left-right scale. This was followed by two items tapping authoritarianism, and one measuring conservatism. The first is a relatively unobtrusive authoritarianism question, part of a longstanding 4-item childrearing authoritarianism scale (Feldman and Stenner 1997; Stenner 2005; Perez and Hetherington 2014): 'Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child: 1) To be considerate; 2) To be well-behaved.' The second is more explicit, drawing on another long-used item deployed by the survey firm Cultural Dynamics (Rose 2011): 'How well does this describe the REAL you? : "I believe that sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment. I think that such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse." 'Answers range from 1-Not at all like me, to 6-Very much like me. A third item focuses on conservatism, as distinct from authoritarianism (Stenner 2005), asking respondents to indicate their views on the statement 'Things in Britain were better in the past.' Response categories run from 1-Strongly agree to 5-Strongly disagree.

Treatments

Thereafter, respondents are randomly allocated into three groups: two treatments and a control condition. Treatment groups read one of the two vignettes in Appendix 3 before answering three questions on immigration. The vignettes are designed to be realistic alternative national identity narratives which political parties or media commentators could potentially adopt. As such, treatments are designed to convey a holistic, positive message rather than merely maximising the manipulation of the outcome variable or deploying a conjoint strategy. The two narratives tell very different stories about the relationship between immigration and majority ethnic boundaries. The first treatment, the 'diversity prime,' stresses change, urging ethnic majority respondents to embrace it, accept their group's ethnic decline, and focus instead on the ethnically-neutral civic nation-state as the embodiment of their collective identity:

> 'Britain is changing, becoming increasingly diverse. The 2011 census shows that White British people are already a minority in four British cities, including London. Over a quarter of births in England and Wales are to foreign-born mothers. Young Britons are also much more diverse than older Britons. Just 4.5% of those older than 65 are nonwhite but more than 20% of those under 25 are. Minorities' younger average age, somewhat higher birth rate and continued immigration mean that late this century, according to Professor XXXX of XXXX University, White British people will be in the minority nationwide. We should embrace our diversity, which gives Britain an advantage in the global economy. Together, we can build a stronger, more inclusive Britain.'

The second, 'assimilation prime,' stresses continuity over change, seeking to reassure white respondents that immigration will leave the boundaries and size of the majority group unaffected. This is intended to prime an open ethnic nationalism rather than either civic nationalism or exclusive ethnic nationalism.

'Immigration has risen and fallen over time, but, like the English language, Britain's culture is only superficially affected by foreign influence. According to Professor XXXX of the University of XXXX, a large share of the children of European immigrants have become White British. Historians tell us that French, Irish, Jews and pre-war black immigrants largely melted into the white majority. Those of mixed race, who share common ancestors with White British people, are growing faster than all minority groups and 8 in 10 of them marry whites. In the long run, today's minorities will be absorbed into the majority and foreign identities will fade, as they have for public figures with immigrant ancestors like Boris Johnson or Peter Mandelson. Britain shapes its migrants, migration doesn't shape Britain.'

Notice that the treatments are based on the view that national identity is a complex system in which different actors perceive the nation differently. This means testing for disparate impacts of the vignettes across a fine-grained set of group characteristics. Given the need for a realistic set of national/policy narratives, and the importance of achieving adequate degrees of freedom to test small groups (i.e. UKIP voters, tabloid readers), this paper does not adopt a conjoint technique nor does it test fragments of the narratives - though this is a potential route for future researchers to follow. Randomisation tests in Appendix 2 show that treatment

groups do not differ from control groups across key demographic or attitudinal characteristics.[2]

Dependent variables

The first outcome measure is a standard policy preference item which asks 'Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain nowadays should be increased, reduced or should it remain the same?' Answers are arrayed on a 1-5 Likert scale from 'increase a lot' to 'reduce a lot' with 'don't know' responses removed. The second, measuring the *salience* of immigration reads: 'What do you see as the most important issue facing Britain today?' Respondents select from ten options. One of these is immigration. Those selecting immigration as their most important concern are coded 1 and all others 0 to create an immigration salience dummy.

To get at more current expressions of anti-immigration populism, British respondents are asked a Contingent Valuation (CV) question designed to probe their willingness to trade access to the economic benefits of the European Single Market against openness to the free movement of people from the EU to Britain. As one is currently viewed by the EU as a condition for the other, there is a debate between proponents of 'Hard Brexit,' who prefer border control and sharply reduced EU immigration even if this means losing Single Market access – and thus revenue, and 'Soft Brexit,' whereby access to the Single Market is retained in exchange for permitting the free movement of people from the EU. This is, for example, the relationship Norway has with the EU.

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[2] The one partial exception is the 'better in the past' variable for the diversity treatment. However, the null result I find for H1 in figures 1-4 is robust to the inclusion of this predictor.

Rather than a more abstract policy question, this item is designed to probe people's willingness to make sacrifices in the event of a costly Brexit. This said, the question pertains to immigration and thus is expected to overlap with previous immigration questions given that nearly half the UK inflow stems from the European Union. The CV question reads: 'Roughly 185,000 more people entered Britain last year from the EU than went the other way. Imagine there was a cost to reduce the inflow. How much would you be willing to pay to reduce the number of Europeans entering Britain?' Respondents are asked what proportion of their income they would be willing to pay, from nothing, in which case numbers remain at 185,000, to 5%, which would reduce numbers to zero. Each additional percentage of income foregone reduces EU migration by 35,000.

For all questions, a 'don't know' option is provided. For the authoritarianism, conservatism and immigration questions, the order of responses is randomized to prevent response-order bias. Unless indicated, I use logistic regression to analyse immigration salience and ordered logistic regression for the immigration attitudes and CV measures.

Results

I begin by examining the effect of the assimilation and diversity primes on immigration opinion, salience and the  CV (EU immigration tradeoff) question in Britain. The focus is on the White British ethnic majority as the vignettes are designed around the assumption that conservative and authoritarian members of the ethnic majority are concerned about maintaining symbolic boundaries and numerical preponderance. Figure 1 shows that the White British mean score on the immigration levels question is 4.06 for the control group, 4.09 for the diversity prime and 3.99 for the assimilation prime. A chi-squared test of the three conditions cross-tabulated with immigration attitudes is significant at the p<.01 level.

However, further comparisons reveal that the only statistically significant difference is between those receiving the assimilation prime and the rest. Those reading the story about ethnic assimilation are six points less likely than those reading the diversity vignette and four points less likely than those in the control group to want lower levels of immigration. Across the full 5-point immigration levels variable, the difference between those receiving the assimilation and diversity primes is highly significant (p=.001) as is the difference between the assimilation treatment group and the control group (p=.006). This appears to be one of the first cases of where an experimental treatment has resulted in a significant liberal shift in whites' immigration policy attitudes (for discussion, see Hopkins, Sides and Citrin 2016).

[Figure 1 here]

This offers weak confirmation of H1 regarding the diversity prime, but strong confirmation for H2 – that assimilation primes will shift attitudes in a liberal direction - thereby refuting the null hypothesis that strong beliefs cannot be experimentally manipulated. Yet the effect does not significantly vary between white liberals, conservatives, libertarians or authoritarians. This thereby fails to disprove the null hypothesis for H3 and H4.

I next consider the question of Hard versus Soft Brexit through the CV measure for Hard Brexit support. The Hard Brexit proxy question is phrased as a tradeoff between European immigration and personal prosperity, with each 1 percent of income 'purchasing' a decline in European immigration of 35,000. Figure 2 shows the distribution of responses within the White British sample. This reveals that 60 percent of White British respondents who

answered the question would rather accept the current level of 185,000 EU (net) immigrants per year than sacrifice any of their income to reduce EU immigration.

Including minorities, who were more likely to vote to remain in the EU, raises the figure to 62 percent. Past research using the CV method suggests the share willing to pay should be considered an upper bound, with participants often unwilling to contribute as much in reality as they state on surveys (Loomis et. al. 1996). Even taking into account the underrepresentation of Leave voters in the survey, this indicates that the centre of gravity of British opinion leans closer to the Soft Brexit position.[3] Even among White British respondents who voted Leave, nearly 30 percent indicated they would not be willing to sacrifice any of their income to reduce European immigration. Again, this suggests a considerable 'soft' component to the Brexit vote.

[Figure 2 here]

At the other end of the spectrum, however, 26 percent of the sample indicated they would contribute at least 3 percent of their income to reduce European migration, rising to 54 percent among those voting Leave. Indeed, 35 percent of Leave voters said they were willing to pay 5 percent of their income to cut EU immigration to zero. Coding responses from 1, unwilling to pay anything, through 6, willing to pay 5 percent, yields an ordinal variable for analysis. Given the non-normally distributed nature of this measure, I have also transformed it into a dummy variable, with the willingness to pay a full 5 percent of income coded 1 and other responses 0.

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[3] This may overstate the case somewhat because 41% of Leave voters gave a 'don't know' answer to the tradeoff question as against 27% of those who reported voting Remain.

I find White British respondents who read the assimilation prime become about a half standard deviation less likely to endorse the hard Brexit proxy than those in the control or diversity treatment groups. As figure 3 shows, the share willing to pay 5 percent falls from 18.8 percent in the control group to 11.8 percent with the assimilation treatment, which is significant in a chi-squared test at the $p<.05$ level. This again confirms H2 – regarding the predicted response to the assimilation vignette - while H1 and H4 (which predict the diversity prime will enhance opposition to immigration) is refuted.

However, most liberal-minded people are already unwilling to pay any of their income to reduce EU migration. Indeed, as figure 3 shows, it is conservative and authoritarian respondents who respond most to the assimilation prime by softening their willingness to pay to halt EU migration. For each comparison pair, the more conservative, authoritarian or lower class category is more affected by the assimilation prime than the more liberal, libertarian or elite group. This backs H3, contrary to the results for immigration levels in figure 2 where there were no differences between liberals and conservatives.

[Figure 3 here]

For instance, of the 108 White British people who voted for the UK Independence Party in 2015, a majority - 55.3 percent - of the control group are willing to pay 5 percent, but just 32.4 percent of the assimilation treatment group are. Figure 4 shows that among White Britons, UKIP voters are predicted to be 25 points more likely than non-UKIP voters to pay 5 percent of their income to reduce EU immigration to zero. However, within the assimilation treatment group, UKIP and non-UKIP white voters differ very little, suggesting that priming open ethnic nationalism brings UKIP voters more in line with the mainstream of White British opinion on immigration and Hard Brexit.

[Figure 4 here]

For Brexit voters, 40.9 percent of the control group are willing pay 5 percent to end EU immigration, but this falls to just 26.5 percent for the assimilation treatment group. Among the 332 White British respondents in the C2, D and E census social grades (skilled and unskilled working class and unemployed), the assimilation vignette reduces the willingness to pay 5 percent of income from 31.2 percent to 13.9 percent, which is significant at the $p<.01$ level. These are dramatic effects, especially when set in the context of previous survey work on immigration attitudes (i.e. Hopkins, Sides and Citrin 2016; Druckman and Leeper 2012). They offer partial support for the view that primes are operating in the expected – different - directions, insofar as those reading the assimilation prime respond differently from those reading the diversity prime.

However, the diversity vignette does not produce a significant increase in the Hard Brexit proxy, even among conservatives and authoritarians. One possibility is that respondents have already internalized a narrative of demographic decline, hence the diversity vignette adds little to their perceptions. Indeed, the British public believes that EU immigrants make up 15 percent of Britain's population. Leave voters estimate this figure to be as high as 20 percent, compared to the actual figure of 5 percent (Duffy and Menon 2016).[4]

Moving to the salience of immigration, our final dependent variable, it is readily apparent that those who cite immigration as their top concern are drawn almost entirely

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[4] https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/3742/the-perils-of-perception-and-the-eu.aspx

(97%) from among those advocating lower levels. We saw that the assimilation prime reduces opposition to immigration, but does it similarly lower the *salience* of this issue among immigration opponents? Only weakly. Among White British in the sample who want immigration reduced a lot, the share citing immigration as their most important concern is 45 percent for the diversity treatment, 40 percent for the assimilation treatment and 42 percent for the control group. Results are in the right direction but not statistically significant. One possibility is that ceiling effects are limiting the impact of the treatments in raising awareness of immigration among anti-immigration respondents because half of anti-immigration White Britons already rate it as their top issue.

Discussion

This paper finds that priming open ethnic nationalism through an assimilation treatment reduces White British opposition to immigration and lowers white conservatives' willingness to pay for Hard Brexit. The novelty of the assimilation message in Britain and its absence of liberal connotations may also help account for its ability to shift conservative opinion. This suggests that manipulating the content of the ethnonational 'we' is important for addressing the concerns of conservative whites which underpin right-wing populism.

How might the results of this survey experiment inform the policy process? The vignettes are designed as realistic forms of political communication that policymakers, politicians or the media may adopt. Vignettes show that priming a more open form of ethnic nationalism is an effective strategy for reassuring conservative white voters. This means the assimilation narrative has the potential to bring conservative British opinion toward the centre ground, reducing the political divisions that produced the Brexit vote. Liberals, Soft Brexit campaigners and free-market conservatives in Britain should think seriously about changing

their political communications with conservative White British audiences. The current Soft Brexit narrative, which champions the merits of diversity and economic openness as key features of a civic British nationalism is, as Stenner (2005: 331) might have predicted, failing to carry authoritarian and conservative audiences. A more promising approach could be to reserve this account for liberal or minority constituencies while developing an assimilationist 'things remain the same' appeal to conservative 'Middle Britain.' When communicating with the nation more broadly, a 'constructively ambiguous'[5] form of national imagining, which provides room for liberals and conservatives to read their chosen narrative into the script, is preferable.

By subtly altering the boundaries of 'us' to include immigrants who wish to assimilate, this strategy ministers to authoritarian concerns (Stenner 2005: 328). Against this, populist right parties such as the UK Independence Party will no doubt wish to keep the diversity narrative at the centre of their messaging in order to maximize ethnonationalist concerns.

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[5] The term 'constructive ambiguity', coined by Henry Kissinger, was widely used in the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) negotiations to permit both sides to interpret the GFA in their preferred way (Powell 2008).

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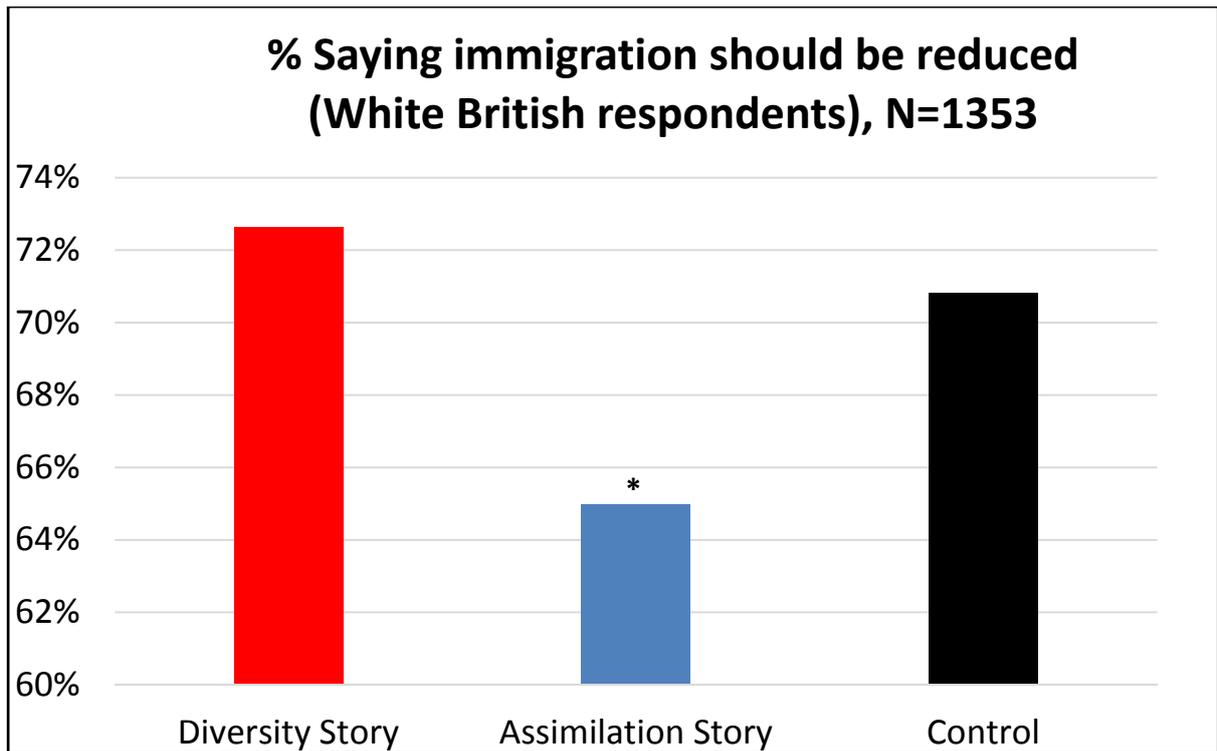
Figure 1

**% Saying immigration should be reduced (White British respondents), N=1353**

Figure 2

**Willingness to pay 5% of income to cut EU migration (White British respondents), N=982**
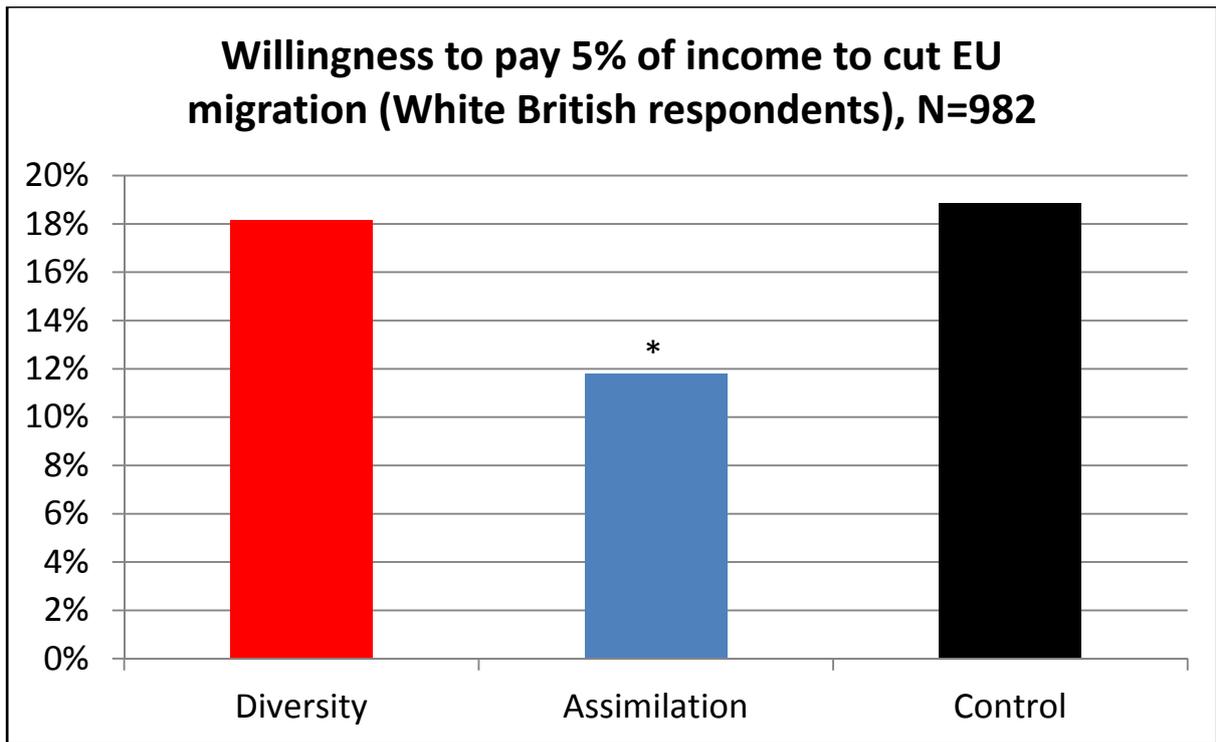
Figure 3

Willingness to pay for no EU migrants, by subgroup
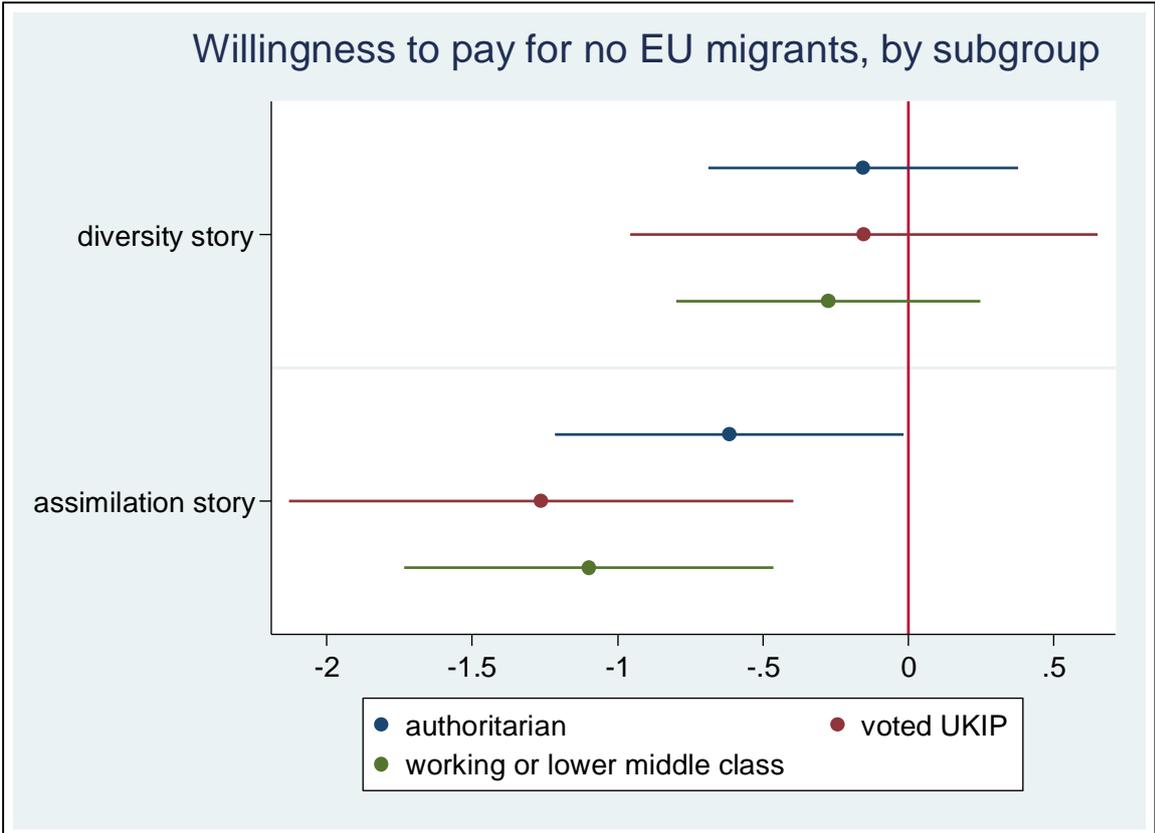
NB: Shift left of line indicates reduced share willing to pay 5 percent to cut EU immigration to zero, right the opposite.

Figure 4.

Assimilation Prime and Hard Brexit support (UKIP v non-UKIP)

0=Did not vote UKIP in 2015          1=Voted UKIP in 2015 (N=145)

Diversity Prime or No Treatment          Assimilation prime

Pred. probability of saying would pay 5% income to cut EU migration