

The effect of immigration on support for redistribution re-examined: survey experiments in three European countries

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In times of increased globalization and 'europeanization' scholars put considerable effort into understanding the consequences of immigration for the welfare state. We argue that groups within a society react quite differently to increasing immigration. Citizens with high income are especially likely to withdraw their support for redistribution because they want to prevent higher redistribution to the "out group" of new immigrants. Other parts of the society ask for stronger compensation due to the increased (labour market) risks of immigration. Based on a new survey experiment in three countries, we show that both income as well as labour competition moderate the overall negative effect of increasing migration. While respondents with high income withdraw their support, respondents who face strong labour competition increase their support.

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One of Aesop's fables nicely contrasts two basic concepts of redistribution. The starving grasshopper refers to her need when she asks for some food in autumn, whereas the hardworking ants refer to the basic principle of merit when they refuse to give some of their food to the grasshopper that has not worked for the whole summer (see also Kangas 2003). Walt Disney's film *A Bug's life* is a retelling of this fable. By 1998 when the film was released, Aesop's lazy and friendly grasshopper has turned into a gang of Mexican grasshoppers that spend the summer drinking and dancing at the beach. Every autumn the grasshoppers come to the ants' island claiming a share of the ants' food stock. Under these circumstances the ants strongly oppose any redistribution of their food to the grasshoppers.

The racialization of redistribution and welfare is a topical issue in times of globalization and increasing migration flows. There is an ongoing scholarly debate questioning whether the support for redistribution and the welfare state is linked to migration and migrants as welfare recipients. The racialization of welfare is most evident in the US (Bobo and Kluegel 1993, Gilens 2009), but studies from other countries confirm that rising social diversity may be eroding welfare state support (Alesina and Glaeser 2004, Luttmer 2001, Eger 2010, Larsen 2011). In contrast more recent contributions raise doubt whether migration only has negative effects on welfare state support (Finseraas 2008, Burgoon et al. 2012, Brady and Finnigan 2014). One reason for the inconclusive findings is that they are based on macro relationships: scholars base their conclusions on the analysis of cross-sectional data, in essence comparing redistribution attitudes of countries (or regions) with lower shares (or inflows) of migrants to those with higher shares (or inflows) of migrants.

What is actually missing in the current scientific debate is a causal understanding of the mechanisms of individual attitude formation: How do individuals change their support for redistribution with increasing immigration? Moreover, most prior studies have mainly been concerned with identifying a main effect of migration, and neglect that such an effect might be heterogeneous (for notable exceptions see Burgoon et al. 2012 or Finseraas 2012). This is somewhat surprising since the "polarization regarding social policies may well be as pivotal as overall public support in explaining policy reforms" (Rehm et al. 2012: 387). For example, some groups within society might withdraw their

welfare state support when faced with increasing numbers of migrants whereas others might be unaffected or even increase their welfare state support.

In this article we draw on a unique survey experiment embedded in representative online panels in three European countries (Norway, Germany, and the Netherlands) in 2014 and 2015 to examine whether and how individuals change their redistribution preferences when faced with immigration. Results reveal a overall negative effect of increased immigration on redistribution preference. Additionally, we find interesting heterogeneity between social groups. The negative effect is moderated by high income and labour market competition. We argue that the mechanism of the two contrasting hypothesis depends on individual predispositions. Because citizens with high income as net-payers of the welfare state fear the increasing financial burden of arriving immigrants, they decrease their support for redistribution. On the other hand, citizens for whom increasing immigration causes more labor market risks, ask for more compensation and increase their support for redistributive policy.

Our paper offers two contributions to the comparative welfare attitudes literature on race and welfare. First, our research design allows us to randomly ‘manipulate’ the individual perception of migration. Compared to cross-sectional studies such a design strengthens the causal link between migration and welfare state attitudes since unobservable or difficult-to-measure country characteristics are controlled for. Second, we argue that the effect of migration on welfare state attitudes is possibly not constant across all groups within society. In this we extend prior research on the overall level of welfare state support with the examination of the reaction of subgroups of society (for a similar argument along these lines, see Burgoon et al. 2012, Federico 2004).

I. EFFICIENCY OR COMPENSATION: INCONCLUSIVE FINDINGS

The dominant view in the literature is that immigration undermines public support for social policy and redistribution. In one of the core contributions to the debate, Alesina and Glaeser (2004) argue that increasing diversity leads to ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity, and that such heterogeneity undermines one’s sense of community and reduces solidarity

within a society. Experimental evidence supports this claim: in heterogeneous groups, people are less willing to contribute to public goods and social trust is reduced (e.g. Habyarimana et al. 2007). These findings even hold for so called minimal groups, where group membership is based on some arbitrary characteristics such as the preference for a particular painter (Tajfel et al. 1971). Trust is an important precondition of the deservingness of welfare recipients. Consequently, a common finding is that people rank foreigners' deservingness to receive public assistance below natives' deservingness (van Oorschot 2006). Another line of argument refers to people's self-interest when explaining why immigration reduces support for redistribution. Migrants are usually lower educated than the native population and face a higher risk to be unemployed. These socio-economic characteristics make them more likely to rely on state welfare (Boeri et al. 2002). As a result migrants are often seen as a net fiscal burden (Gilens 1995, Luttmer 2001). Assuming that people have a fixed preference for (welfare) spending (Soroka and Wlezien 1995), an increased budgetary burden should thus lead to an adaption of redistribution preferences, i.e. lower support for government redistribution. Recent studies support these theoretical expectations and show that immigration is negatively associated with the preference for welfare spending in the US (Fox 2004), UK (Ford 2006), Denmark (Larsen 2011) and Sweden (Eger 2010). Comparing 17 European countries Mau and Burghardt (2009) also find a negative association between migration and redistribution preferences. Such evidence together with the arguments referring to solidarity and self-interest suggest a first hypothesis, usually called 'efficiency hypothesis' or 'heterogeneity/redistribution tradeoff' (Banting and Kymlicka 2006):

Efficiency hypothesis: Higher levels of immigration into a country decrease the support for redistribution and state welfare.

In contrast to this standard hypothesis an alternative hypothesis suggests that immigration might also increase support for redistribution since people demand protection against the risks associated with immigration. Immigration increases the perception of greater unemployment and competition for jobs among the wider population (Kunovich 2004). Moreover, for some parts of the population, competition and the risk of becoming unem-

ployed actually increases. Welfare attitude research shows that the expectation to rely on the welfare state and more specifically a higher probability of becoming unemployed increases individual's support for redistribution and state welfare (Cusack et al. 2006, Svallfors 1997). Recent comparative studies examining the US and European countries provide evidence for a positive effect of migration on welfare attitudes (Finseraas 2008, Brady and Finnigan 2014, Burgoon et al. 2012) and support the compensation hypothesis:

Compensation hypothesis: Higher levels of immigration into a country increases the support for redistribution and state welfare.

This summary of existing theoretical and empirical research shows that the jury is still out on how migration affects welfare attitudes and redistribution preferences. We propose two explanations for the inconclusiveness of existing research. The first is theoretical; previous research was mainly interested in the main effect of migration on attitudes and assumed a homogenous effect across countries (for exception see Larsen 2011) and, in particular, across social groups within a country (for exceptions see Burgoon et al. 2012 or Federico 2004). Instead increasing immigration might increase the support for redistribution among some social groups, whereas others withdraw their support. Both hypotheses can thus be true even within the same country. "There is no universal tradeoff between diversity and redistribution" (Fox 2012: 293). The second is methodological, comparative welfare attitudes research has difficulties to establish causality between immigration and welfare attitudes and struggles to rule out alternative explanations since the research mainly relies on cross-sectional data of few countries at one point in time. In the following we will first present our theoretical expectations on possible moderating effects. Do all social groups within a country react in the same way? We will then briefly summarize the methodological challenges of comparative cross-country research and will argue how a survey experiment can help to overcome some of these challenges.

II. CAUSAL HETEROGENEITY ACROSS SOCIAL GROUPS

The efficiency and compensation hypotheses are usually presented as alternative hypotheses. It is somewhat neglected that "the implicit null hypothesis, of course, is that

the pressures highlighted by the compensation and efficiency hypotheses negate one another such that higher numbers of foreign-born people tend to have no significant net effect on support for redistribution" (Burgoon et al. 2012: 292). Moreover, the mechanisms proposed by the hypotheses possibly vary over different social groups. Based on our theoretical argument we propose two individual characteristics that moderate how immigration affects support for redistribution: income and the position on the labor market.

One of the main arguments of the efficiency hypothesis refers to people's self-interest to explain attitude change. As migrants are perceived as a fiscal burden people withdraw their support for redistribution and the welfare state to prevent redistribution to the out-group of migrants but also to prevent rising public deficits. The strength of this mechanism should vary over different income groups. The fear to pay more taxes due to the inflow of welfare-dependent migrants is possibly stronger among those that have to pay (more) taxes i.e. those with high incomes. In this people with a higher income should be more likely to withdraw their support for redistribution compared to low income respondents that pay less or no taxes.

In contrast, people in a lower socio-economic position, in particular those with a low education, are more vulnerable on the labor market and have to face increased competition due to the inflow of, on average, lower educated migrants. Increased competition on the labour market puts downward pressure on wages in these occupations. Competition also increases the risk to become unemployed and to rely on the welfare state. We expect, that people working in occupations with a high share of migrants should increase their support for redistribution since their demand for (risk-)compensation should outweigh the anticipated 'loss' due to increased taxes. This expectation is supported by findings from Burgoon et al. (2012) that show that increasing shares of foreign-borns in respondents' occupation increases support for redistribution.

Heterogeneous effects across social groups: The heterogeneity-redistribution tradeoff is stronger among respondents with high income, i.e. higher levels of immigration into a country will decrease the support for redistribution among people with high

income but not necessarily among people with low income. The compensation mechanism is stronger among people that are affected by increased competition, i.e. people that work in occupations with a high share of migrants increase their support for redistribution.

III. METHODS

The main limitation of existing research is that it mainly relies on cross-sectional data, but longitudinal or experimental data would be necessary to move from rather static analysis to a more dynamic understanding of how socio-economic changes and attitude changes are linked. Moreover, the methodological challenges of macro-sociological comparative research (e.g. small N and convenience samples of countries) cast some doubt about the robustness of findings.

The main problems of comparative macro-sociological research are the small N problem and the Galton problem (Goldthorpe 1997). They are most apparent in variable-oriented quantitative approaches since they violate the basic assumptions of these models. First, the limited number of countries restricts the number of independent variables. With usually around 20-30 countries one could reasonably test one or two alternative explanations at the same time without running the risk to have “more inferences than implications observed” (King et al. 1994: 119). Statistically, models become “over-determined” when there are too few degrees of freedom and in particular inter-correlations among independent variables cannot be adequately captured. As a consequence results may not be robust. And this is exactly what we find in the research on migration and welfare attitudes¹. A second problem, usually referred to as the Galton problem, is the lack of independence of observations. The assumption of regression models is that nations can be treated as units

¹In addition to migration also welfare regimes (Sachweh and Olafsdottir 2012), welfare effort (Brooks and Manza 2006), the labor market situation (Blekesaune and Quadagno 2003) and the economic situation (Blekesaune 2007) influences the support for redistribution. Moreover, these indicators can be correlated with each other. For example, migration is negatively related with the unemployment rate (Brücker 2012) which might be one reason why the effect of migration on welfare attitudes is not robust to the inclusion of the unemployment rate (Mau and Burghardt 2009).

of analysis unrelated to each other over time and space. This is a very strong assumption in a globalized (or europeanized) world where countries do not develop independently from one another but are affected by what happens in other countries²

When thinking about alternative research designs, “it is essential that we always keep in mind the model of a controlled experiment, even if in practice we may have to deviate from an ideal model” (Stouffer 1950: 356). An ideal design to answer our research question would be to randomly assign migrants to some countries and have other, non-treated countries as a control group. Alternatively we would like to randomly assign migrants to one half of a country. The comparison with the counterfactual, i.e. the non-treated half of the country or the non-treated group, would then tell us the causal effect that migration has on attitudes (Morgan & Winship 2007). Such an experiment is obviously not possible.

In the following we will present a survey experiment that gets very close to the idea of such an ideal research design. Originally, survey experiments were aimed at examining methodological questions like question-ordering or question-wording-effects. But they can also be used to examine substantive research questions and have become quite popular in the field of political psychology and political communication (Hainmueller & Hiscox 2007, Hainmueller & Hopkins 2014, Mutz 2011). The survey experiment mimics an experiment where one group of people is randomly assigned to a condition in which the perception of migration is higher than in the control condition. The treatment consists of information describing the real share of foreign-borns living in the country. By comparing responses to manipulated questions we can identify causal relationships that should also exist in the real world: If mentioning migration lead to changed preferences in the context of a survey, then increased awareness of migration in the real world presumably will do the

²The problem is even aggravated since most research has to rely on convenience samples (usually European countries and the US) and countries are not randomly drawn from a sample (Ebbinghaus 2005). “In this way the threat is created that the small N and Galton problems run together, as we do indeed enter into a world in which $N=1$ ” (Goldthorpe 1997: 7)..The dominant approach in welfare attitudes research to test causal relationships is the estimation of multilevel regression models that condition on other potential variables that could affect the outcome. As we have just argued this approach very quickly reaches its analytical limits when the number of cases is small.

same. Migrants will be increasingly present and visible in the daily environment and the media and parties will broach the issue.

IV. DATA AND EXPERIMENTAL SET-UP

In 2014 and 2015 the survey experiment was part of the Norwegian Citizen Panel, the German Internet Panel and the Dutch LISS panel. All three panels are based on true probability samples of households. Households that could not otherwise participate are provided with a computer and Internet connection. Panel members complete online questionnaires on a variety of topics bi-annually in Norway, every second month in Germany and every month in the Netherlands (Blom et al. 2015; Scherpenzeel and Das 2010). Data collection took place in March 2014 in Norway (n=837), in July 2014 in Germany (n=861), and in January 2015 in the Netherlands (n=801)³.

Within each panel our survey experiment followed the same set-up. Our design divides the sample into three groups. One group serves as a control group and is solely asked about their attitude towards redistribution. A second group receives the correct percentage of immigrants on the national level as a treatment, before answering the attitude question. E.g. in Norway the question read "Did you know that out of 100 people living in Norway, 12 are not born here.". Respondents in the third group are asked about their perceived level of immigration ("How many of 100 people that live in Norway are not born here?") instead of confronting them with the correct percentage. We add this variation of the treatment to our experimental design for two reasons. First, the two varying treatment conditions allow use to avoid experimental artifacts and increase the external validity. Only if both treatment groups differ from the control group, we are confident that increased awareness effects welfare state attitudes. Second, additionally to priming immigration, our second treatment still allows for varying perceptions of immigration. It might be that these work differently.

We measure support for redistribution with a widely used item that is also part of the

³Because the theoretical expectations are tailored towards natives and do not necessarily apply to migrants, we focus our analysis on the sub-samples of respondents with a respective citizenship. This decreases sample-size in the Netherlands by 120 cases; 72 cases in Norway and 45 cases in Germany

European Social Survey (from where we also took the translation of the question text). Respondents are asked to indicate their agreement with the following statement: “Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement. The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels.” on a five-point scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”. We recode the item so that higher values indicate stronger support for redistribution⁴.

To test our argumentation regarding the heterogeneous treatment effect across social groups we need a measurement for our two moderating variables, income and competition on the labour market. For income we use self-reported, individual net income, based on which we group respondents into income-quintiles taken from official national statistics. In the analysis, we will compare the reaction of the two highest quintiles with the rest of income distribution. We employ this dichotomy as according to economic redistribution theories (Meltzer& Richard 1981, Romer 1975) especially individuals clearly above median income could consider themselves as the net payers of the increased fiscal burden due to immigration and as result withdraw their support for redistribution. For labor market competition we distinguish between respondents that work in occupations where migrants are underrepresented (low competition) from those respondents that work in occupations where migrants are overrepresented (high competition). Numbers for the labor market participation of migrants and natives come from official national statistics. The analysis of this manuscript relies on a preliminary coding of the labor market competition in the Netherlands and Germany only.

We include some further controls that are known to be linked to attitudes towards migrants and redistribution preferences. In addition to age and gender we also control for education (no or primary education, secondary education, tertiary education) and political ideology (11-point left-right-self placement). These two will be of special concern in modeling the heterogeneous treatment effect, as they affect the moderating factors as well as the dependent redistribution attitudes. Education is known to be not only

⁴The survey item in Norway asked respondents to indicate their agreement with the statement on a seven point scale. To make the comparison between the countries possible, we recoded the 7-point scale to 5-points, merging “agree” with the “strongly agree” category and “disagree” with the “strongly disagree” category.

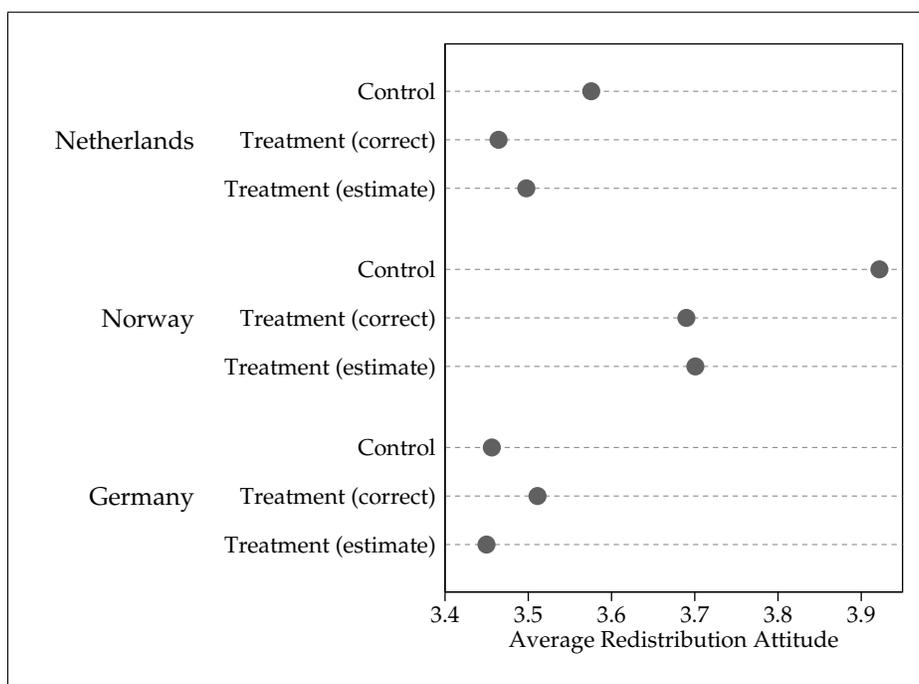


Figure 1: Average Redistribution Attitude by treatment for different countries

correlated with socio-economic position but also with increased racial tolerance and more positive attitudes towards migrants (Sniderman and Piazza 1993, Hainmueller and Hiscox 2007, Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014, McClosky and Zaller 1984, Bobo and Licari 1989, Federico 2004). Political ideology is linked to attitudes towards migrants and to redistribution preferences. People with a left political stance are usually found to be more in favor of migration and also show stronger preferences for redistribution (Lodge and Taber 2000, Redlawsk 2002). Descriptive summary tables can be found in the appendix.

V. ANALYSES & RESULTS

The average treatment effect supports the efficiency hypothesis. Respondents slightly withdraw their support for redistribution when primed with immigration. Figure 1 shows the mean redistribution attitudes by treatment groups. The strongest effect is found in Norway, where the control group has an average attitude of 3.9. This decreases for both treatment groups to around 3.7. Thus, independent of giving respondents the correct

	Model 1	Model 2
rdb		
Treatment (correct)	-0.16*	
	(0.09)	
Treatment (estimate)	-0.17*	
	(0.09)	
Combined Treatment		-0.16**
		(0.08)
Norway	0.71**	0.71**
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Germany	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.09)	(0.09)
Observations	2291	2291
Standard errors in parentheses		
Threshold estimates excluded from table		
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$		

Table 1: Results from Ordered Logit Model with Homogeneous Treatment Effect

information about the immigration level, or asking them about the perceived immigration level, both groups show lower support for immigration. A similar decrease is found in the Netherlands where support decreases around 0.1 scale points for both groups. Although the effect size is rather small, for these two datasets the effect is statistically significant when comparing the control group to the combined treatment groups (p -value 0.05 in Norway and 0.08 in Netherlands). In Germany, we observe no systematic decrease due to the treatment, but also no increase.

In the following we will rely on ordered logit models, that define attitudes on a latent trait and account for the uneven spacing between item categories. We further pool the data to obtain an overall treatment effect. Our primary theoretical interest is independent of country specific aspects. Especially, for our argumentation regarding the heterogeneous treatment effect it should not matter if a respondent is located in Norway or Germany. Thus, we will control for country specific attitude levels, but assume that our treatment works in the same way across country context. Only if we find support for the hypothesis

in a pooled data-set we can be confident that these findings represents our theoretical reasoning.

Table 5 reports the point estimates of the homogeneous treatment effect model. Model 1 includes the correct information treatment and the estimate of immigration treatment separately. Both show a negative effect yielding support for the efficient hypothesis. On average increased awareness of immigration decreases support for redistribution. Because the two treatment effects are very similar, it is sensible to analyze them in one combined treatment. Model 2 reports the estimate for the combined treatment. The negative effect can be interpreted using simulation techniques. We simulate the predicted probability to either “strongly agree” or “agree” to the redistribution item, once with treatment status on and once with treatment status off⁵. The simulated first difference between the two predicted probabilities provide a meaningful interpretation of treatment effect and allows to construct confidence intervals (King 2000). In our case the probability increases by 3 percentage points (with 90% CI’s ranging from 0.006 to 0.05). This rather small effect size corresponds with our theoretical expectations. First of all, there are many potential factors that affect redistribution attitudes which are not entirely erased by the reference towards immigration levels. Additionally, respondents in the control group potentially took immigration consideration into account when forming their attitude. We would rather argue that it is the ongoing confrontation with immigration that has the potential to strongly shape attitudes. Increased immigration levels in a country multiply the small effect size we estimate here. Thus, we will interpret the effects in qualitative rather than quantitative terms: We observe a systematic decrease due to priming immigration, yielding support for the efficiency hypothesis.

Is the negative effect moderated by income and/or labour competition? Table 2 reports the point estimates of the heterogeneous treatment effect model in which we interact the treatment effect with our dichotomous measurement of high income (Model 3 and Model 4) and with our measurement of labour competition (Model 5 and Model 6). In these specifications we further control for other covariates. While the treatment is randomly assigned and all possible confounding factors are blocked since they should be balanced

⁵We set all country specific effect dummies to zero.

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	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
rdb				
Combined Treatment	-0.06 (0.10)	0.01 (0.12)	-0.17 (0.12)	-0.10 (0.14)
Treatment × High Income	-0.22 (0.16)	-0.27 (0.18)		
Treatment × Labour Competition			0.36 (0.26)	0.51* (0.31)
High Income	-0.45** (0.14)	-0.39** (0.16)		
Labour Competition			0.11 (0.22)	-0.06 (0.25)
Norway	0.82** (0.10)	0.86** (0.11)		
Germany	-0.00 (0.09)	-0.35** (0.11)	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.35** (0.13)
Female		0.04 (0.09)		-0.08 (0.12)
Age		0.10** (0.03)		0.11** (0.04)
Education		-0.18** (0.07)		-0.40** (0.11)
Ideology		-0.40** (0.02)		-0.35** (0.03)
Observations	2291	1875	1283	993
Standard errors in parentheses				
Threshold estimates excluded from table				
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$				

Table 2: Results from Ordered Logit Model with Homogeneous Treatment Effect

between the three experimental groups, this assumption is not met if we are interested effects across different social groups. For example, we know that high income is correlated with education. Also occupations are linked to education but also to political ideology. To make sure that the effects we find are indeed linked to occupations and/or income we

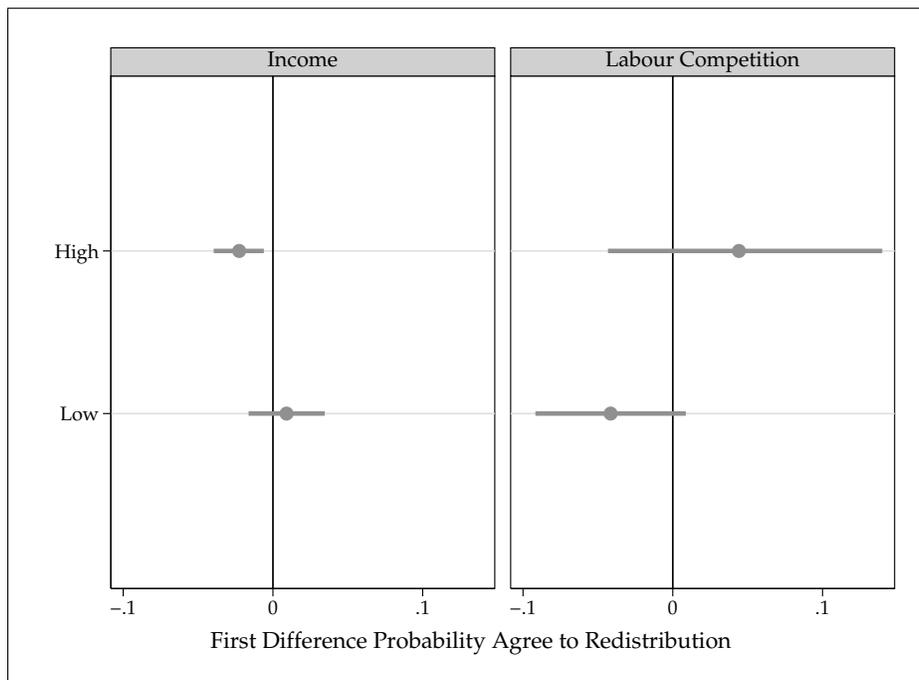


Figure 2: Moderating Treatment Effect of Income and Labour Market Competition on Probability to agree to Redistribution

include them and other covariates as controls in Model 4 and Model 6.

We find that the effect of immigration on redistribution is moderated by income. Only respondents with high income systematically withdraw their support for redistribution. In both Model 3 and 4 the direct effect of the combined treatment is statistically not distinguishable from zero. This coefficient can be interpreted as the treatment effect among respondents with net income below 60 percentile. The interaction effect plus the direct effect constitute the treatment effect for respondents with high income. In both model specifications this sum is negative, supporting the efficiency hypothesis and highlighting the robustness of our findings. Thus, the average treatment effect we identified above seems to be mostly driven by respondents with high income. We can again obtain a direct interpretation of the results employment simulation methods of the first difference in predicted probability to agree to redistribution (and 90% Confidence Intervals). The results from Model 3 are plotted in Figure 2 in the left panel. While we see systematic decrease for respondents with high income, with lower income there is no

decreasing likelihood to be in favor of redistribution as a result of our treatment.

Moreover, our analysis partially confirms that high labour market competition moderates the effect of immigration on redistribution attitudes. The direct effect in Model 5 and Model 6 is negative. The interaction effect positive. In sum, the effect among respondents who face high labour competition is positive in direction of the compensation hypothesis, with low competition it is negative - confirming the efficiency hypothesis. In how far this can be interpreted a systematic relationship depends on a few aspects. Apart from the interaction effect in Model 6 the coefficients and the combined effects themselves are not significantly different from zero. However, as the marginal effect in non-linear model always depends on the other covariates, it deems best to concentrate attention to specific scenarios. The right panel in Figure 2 shows simulate predicted probability from Model 5 for respondents who face low labour competition and those who work in jobs with high competition. This highlights that effect goes in opposite directions, confirming our theorized moderating effect. The analysis so far is restricted to respondents from Germany and the Netherlands. With additional data from Norway we are strongly convinced that this relationship will manifest itself.

To sum up, the analysis presents evidence that the immigration affects redistribution attitudes differently across social groups. Citizens with high income fear the increased burden of redistribution and withdraw their support for the welfare state. To the contrary, citizens with jobs in a competitive segment increase their support for redistribution to be insured against the increased market risks.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

How do individuals change their support for redistribution with increasing immigration? Based on a novel survey experiment we found that increasing respondents awareness of immigration lowers their support for redistribution. The experiment further permitted use to reveal the heterogeneity of this effect. Income as well as labour market competition seem to moderate this effect. Generally, the presented evidence supports the efficiency hypothesis (Alesina and Glaeser 2004, Luttmer 2001, Eger 2010, Larsen 2011), according

to which immigration undermines support for redistribution because citizens want to prevent redistribution to the “out group” of new immigrants. But we clearly show that this relationship might be restricted to specific social groups. We argue that only individuals with high income withdraw their support. Our argumentation further highlights that the contrasting compensation hypothesis (Finseraas 2008, Burgoon et al. 2012, Brady and Finnigan 2014) might work for a different social group. Those who face strong labour competition in their jobs increase their support.

In a next step of this project we would like to study how migration affects support for redistribution depending on the institutional and socio-economic context. It is possible that under some circumstances migration erodes support for redistribution, but that there are other contexts where migration has not such (or even an opposite) effect. A causal heterogeneity across institutional contexts might be another explanation for the inconclusive findings in the literature. Up to now, two lines of research in this vein developed. First, scholars wondered whether the US experience is replicated in other countries (Larsen 2011) and focused on the moderating effects of welfare regimes, histories of immigration, and the social rights of migrants. Whereas Crepaz (2008) stresses that Europe’s growing diversity will have very different consequences because institutions and normative expectations about government are very different from those in the US, Larsen (2011:332) concludes that “despite indications of American uniqueness and welfare-regime effects, the findings support the position that the in-group/out-group mechanisms found in the United States are being replicated in Europe.” The challenges for this line of research are (1) the low number of observations that restrict the number of alternative explanations that can be controlled for and (2) that some of the mentioned explanations (such as politics, discourse, social rights) are difficult to measure. That is why a second line of research turned to the moderating effect of sub-national contexts such as regions (Finseraas 2012) or occupations (Burgoon et al. 2012). The advantage of comparing local contexts is twofold: first, the local context determines the daily experience of respondents and is thus possibly more relevant for the attitude formation; and, second, some of the difficult-to-measure or unobserved country contexts (such as migration history or social rights of migrants) are kept constant and thus blocked as possible bias. Although we see

the advantage of focusing on regional contexts and the institutional variation within a country the political importance of country context effects deterred us from discarding country effects altogether.

At the country level we might focus on the moderating effect that social rights of migrants have. When countries restrict migrants' access to welfare the main argument of the efficiency hypothesis is weakened since increasing migration will only have a very limited effect on welfare state spending. This argument is very similar to the welfare chauvinism hypothesis that states that immigration will undermine support only for social policies that are perceived to benefit immigrants (van der Waal et al. 2010, Mewes and Mau.2012). A similar reasoning suggests that immigration will undermine support for redistribution only in countries where migrants benefit from migration. Hypothesis: Higher levels of immigration into a country decreases the support for redistribution and state welfare only in countries where migrants have access to welfare benefits and benefit from redistribution.

On the regional level it is rather the socio-economic context (i.e. the economic situation of the region, but also the composition of the migrants) that moderates the effect of migration on attitudes. For example, similar to Burgoon et al.'s (2012) argument the composition of migrants within a region i.e. their skill level but also their unemployment rate are most likely moderators. Moreover, a good labor market situation within a region might lessen the concern that migrants are a threat to natives' jobs and reduce the demand for compensation. We are also convinced about the fruitfulness of this line of research and did not want to drop it altogether.

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A. DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY TABLES

	count	min	max	mean	sd
Redistribution preference	823	1	5	3.51	1.007025
L-R-Scale [0,10]	511	0	10	5.41	2.042622
Sex	823	0	1	0.55	.4982223
Age	823	1	7	4.06	1.807095
Education	820	1	3	2.28	.5972666
Occupation with high share of migrants	584	0	1	0.18	.3843454
Income (in quintiles)	788	1	5	2.47	1.492152
Foreign background	801	0	1	0.15	.3571108
Observations	823				

Table 3: Descriptive Summary Table Netherlands

	count	min	max	mean	sd
Redistribution preference	858	1	5	3.48	1.042973
L-R-Scale [0,10]	765	0	10	4.54	2.018975
Sex	884	0	1	0.50	.5002779
Age	884	1	7	3.83	1.527095
Education	850	1	3	2.14	.5936464
Occupation with high share of migrants	850	0	1	0.27	.4445253
Income (in quintiles)	832	1	5	2.83	1.502397
Foreign background	870	0	1	0.06	.2306748
Observations	884				

Table 4: Descriptive Summary Table Germany

	count	min	max	mean	sd
Redistribution preference	847	1	5	3.79	1.331067
L-R-Scale [0,10]	3329	0	10	5.26	2.148555
Sex	3372	0	1	0.50	.5000741
Age	3372	1	7	3.81	1.601682
Education	3183	1	3	2.46	.6721276
Occupation with high share of migrants	0
Income (in quintiles)	3010	1	5	3.22	1.336882
Foreign background	3272	0	1	0.09	.2920569
Observations	3372				

Table 5: Descriptive Summary Table Norway