



RE M I N D E R

ROLE OF EUROPEAN MOBILITY AND ITS IMPACTS
IN NARRATIVES, DEBATES AND EU REFORMS

Europeans' Attitudes To Immigration From Within And Outside Europe: A Role For Perceived Welfare Impacts?

WORKING PAPER

Authors: Scott Blinder
Yvonne Markaki

Published: July 2018





REMINDER

ROLE OF EUROPEAN MOBILITY AND ITS IMPACTS
IN NARRATIVES, DEBATES AND EU REFORMS

Deliverable 10.1: Europeans' Attitudes To Immigration From Within And Outside Europe: A Role For Perceived Welfare Impacts?

Authors: Scott Blinder & Yvonne Markaki

Submitted: March 2018

Paper prepared as part of the REMINDER project

www.reminder-project.eu

Correspondence address:

Scott Blinder, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford
scott.blinder@compas.ox.ac.uk



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 727072

Executive Summary

- This report explores how EU nationals evaluate migration, and its impacts on the welfare state. In particular, we ask whether these evaluations distinguish between intra-EU mobility and immigration from outside the EU, and whether perceptions of welfare impacts play a role in any evaluative differences.
- We analyse public opinion data from over 30,000 nationals/citizens across 18 EU countries in 2002, and 19 EU countries in 2014. Descriptive statistics are used to highlight variation across countries, over time, and by type of immigration (EU/non-EU).
- EU nationals who think that immigrants have a negative fiscal impact on the welfare state (i.e. consume more in services than they contribute in taxes) are much more likely to support restrictions to immigration inflows, by a margin of 30 percentage points.
- Among people who favour restrictions of future immigration inflows, approximately 90% do not distinguish substantially between immigrants of non-European or European origins.
- The relationship between negative perceptions of the welfare impacts of immigration and immigration preferences is of the same magnitude for movement within Europe as for immigration from outside Europe.
- Negative evaluations of the impact of immigration on services are related more strongly to preferences for restriction of inflows in the case of unskilled immigrant workers than for inflows of professionals.
- These dynamics have not changed over time since the first available data was collected in 2002.



Table of Contents

A. INTRODUCTION	4
B. PRIOR RESEARCH.....	5
B1. Attitudes Towards Immigrants From Within Versus Outside The EU.....	5
B2. Perceived Impacts of Immigration on Welfare.....	6
C. DATA	10
C1. Relevant Questions in the European Social Survey	11
C2. Countries & Samples	13
D. ANALYSIS.....	15
D1. Attitudes To Immigration From Within And Outside Europe	15
D2. Attitudes To Immigrants Of Different Skill Levels From Within And Outside Europe ..	19
D3. Attitudes To Immigration And Perceptions Of Welfare Impacts	23
E. EVIDENCE LIMITATIONS.....	32
BIBLIOGRAPHY	34
APPENDIX.....	36

Europeans' Attitudes To Immigration From Within And Outside Europe: A Role For Perceived Welfare Impacts?

Scott Blinder & Yvonne Markaki

Abstract

This report explores how EU nationals evaluate migration, and its impacts on the welfare state. In particular, we ask whether these evaluations distinguish between intra-EU mobility and immigration from outside the EU, and whether perceptions of welfare impacts play a role in any evaluative differences. We analyse public opinion data from over 30,000 nationals/citizens across 18 EU countries in 2002, and 19 EU countries in 2014. Descriptive statistics are used to highlight variation across countries, over time, and by type of immigration (EU/non-EU).

A. INTRODUCTION

This report is the first stage in a larger project that aims to explain EU citizens' perceptions of the 'welfare impacts' of intra-EU mobility and non-EU immigration, as a key element in public opinion toward these forms of migration.¹ As a first step, this report explores EU citizens' attitudes toward immigration from within and outside Europe, and the links between these attitudes and public perceptions of the welfare effects of immigration. Our analysis reveals the extent to which EU nationals distinguish between intra-EU mobility and immigration from outside the EU, and investigates whether perceptions of welfare impacts plays a role in these evaluative differences. We also examine variation across countries and over time.

We begin with a brief review of existing evidence on immigration attitudes and their relationship to perceptions about the impact of immigration on welfare. The report continues with a brief section on data sources, list of available countries, and survey sample sizes,

¹ This report is deliverable D10.1 of Work Package 10 of the REMINDER project (EU Horizon 2020 Grant No 727072). The previous title was "Intra-EU vs. non-EU welfare impact perceptions across countries and time."



followed by the empirical results. We conclude with a discussion of implications and of limitations of the evidence.

The empirical analysis relies on survey microdata from rounds 1 (2002) and 7 (2014) of the European Social Survey (ESS). We consider nationals/citizens who are resident across 18 EU countries in 2002, and 19 EU countries in 2014. Descriptive statistics are used to highlight variation across countries, over time, and by type of immigration (EU/non-EU). Individual and contextual factors contributing to this variation are explored in subsequent project reports.

B. PRIOR RESEARCH

Social scientists have studied the sources of public attitudes towards immigration for many decades (see Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014 for review). Determinants of reactions to immigration come in several types, including predisposing characteristics of people as well as the social and economic contexts in which citizens are embedded. At the individual level, citizens who see immigrants as threatening to the dominant culture or as bad for the national economy are more likely to want to restrict immigration (Ceobanu and Escandell 2010; Riek, Mania, and Gaertner 2006). At the contextual level, scholarly attention has focused on the impact of immigrants on labour markets or on the racial, ethnic, or religious composition of national or local populations (e.g. Scheve and Slaughter 2001; Mayda 2006; O'Rourke and Sinnott 2006; Malchow-Møller et al. 2008; Chandler and Tsai 2001; Quillian 1995).

B1. Attitudes Towards Immigrants From Within Versus Outside The EU

This project is concerned with welfare impact perceptions in general, but more specifically, with perceptions of intra-EU mobility, and whether they differ from non-EU migration in the nature of these perceptions or in their relationship with attitudes toward mobility/migration.

The literature on public opinion toward EU vs. non-EU migration is sparse, despite the political importance of this distinction (Ruhs 2017). The earliest work that explicitly addresses the question of whether people differentiate between immigration within and from outside Europe precedes the major EU expansions of the early 2000s. Using Eurobarometer data for



1993 and 1997, it cross-references responses to different questions to distinguish those who are more favourable to EU/EC immigrants from those who have identical views regardless of origin. The author uses descriptive statistics to show that most people view the two types of immigration as identical (McLaren 2001).

A more recent study using ESS data looks at individual drivers of attitudes towards EU and non-EU immigrants with special focus on education and income (Butkus et al. 2016). While they do not form differential hypotheses by origin, they agree with McLaren (2001) in the expectation that public opinion will tend to be more positive towards EU immigration compared to non-EU inflows.

Gorodzeisky compares EU countries using data from the first round of the ESS and cross-references attitudes towards immigrants from poorer versus richer countries in Europe (Gorodzeisky 2011). The author identifies four categories (pro-admissionists, total exclusionists, poor country exclusionists, rich country exclusionists) and corroborates previous evidence that the majority of people do not distinguish. Our analysis builds on this article as a method of identifying differentiating views on inflow restrictions with the ESS data. However our analysis diverges from this point on to address the EU and non-EU distinction, and the role immigration impact perceptions play in shaping this distinction.

B2. Perceived Impacts of Immigration on Welfare

With a few notable exceptions, little existing research examines what drives people's evaluations of the impacts of immigration on welfare. Moreover, no study has attempted to distinguish between the perceived welfare impacts of different types of inflows. However, there is good reason to think that people's perceptions of welfare impacts are formed in ways similar to other kinds of impact evaluations related to immigration.

Research drawing on *realistic group conflict theory* argues that negative attitudes are a result of resource competition and a person's evaluation will be based on a rational calculation of the costs and benefits of immigration (Quillian 1995). Under this framework attitudes are studied as a function of 'real' conditions and a person's perception of the impacts of immigration will reflect the reality of those impacts. For instance, Markaki and Longhi (2013)



show that Europeans' evaluations of the impacts of immigration on the economy and quality of life are influenced by the demographic and labour market make-up of the person's region of residence. Native-born citizens are more likely to perceive the impacts of immigration as negative in regions where more immigrants are unskilled and where the share of non-EU born immigrants is larger relative to EU-born immigrants.

Consistent with this perspective, some studies aim to explain attitudes to immigration by employing the framework developed in economics for estimating the objective impacts of immigration (Hanson, Scheve, and Slaughter 2007; Facchini and Mayda 2009; Huber and Oberdabernig 2016). They posit that attitudes mirror the individual and macro-economic effects that immigration exerts on welfare and the labour market of the host country. Depending on the generosity and capacity of a nation's welfare system and the skill match in the labour market between existing and immigrant workers, policies will work to balance out the impacts of immigration, by adjusting tax rates and/or welfare expenditure (Facchini and Mayda 2009; Ortega 2004).

Since economic models predict immigration impacts to vary for different levels of skill and income, the specific effects of these mechanisms on attitudes will also vary for different groups of the population. In the end, a person's attitude depends on the ways that the changes caused by immigration inflows will likely affect their own income, labour market outcomes, and accessibility to public assistance. Broadly speaking, however, negative perceptions of impacts are expected to be more acute for citizens in generous welfare states, if citizens view new immigrants as compromising the nation's financial balance sheet, or perhaps leading to an inability to maintain the same level of generosity in provision of public benefits and services.

Hanson, Scheve, and Slaughter (2007) focus on the US and find that fiscal pressures from immigration are associated with opposition to immigration among natives. Facchini and Mayda (2009) provide an extensive framework and formulate a variety of differential hypotheses. Their analysis suggests that,

“high-income individuals are worse hit by unskilled immigration only if taxes are raised to maintain per capita transfers unchanged (tax adjustment model). At the same time, agents at the bottom of the income distribution will suffer



more with unskilled immigration if tax rates are kept constant and the adjustment is carried out through a reduction in the per capita transfers (benefit adjustment model). These relationships are reversed in the case of skilled migration.” (Facchini and Mayda 2009: 312)

Huber and Oberdabernig (2016), finally, compare European countries using ESS data and show that natives are more likely to oppose inflows of immigrants from a different race/ethnic group, if they live in countries with higher benefit take-up rates among immigrants relative to natives.

Pointing towards an important limitation of this literature, a growing school of thought suggests it is perceptions rather than the reality that shape citizens' responses to immigration inflows (Strabac 2011). While acknowledging that perceptions themselves may be shaped by prior attitudes or emotional responses to immigration, Cornelius and Rosenblum (2005) note that, “... *“real or perceived” is an important distinction, as public attitudes about immigration reflect substantial misconceptions*” (Cornelius and Rosenblum 2005: 102). Previous evidence also shows that innumeracy related to the perceived share of immigrants is widespread among citizens of European countries and strongly associated with negative views on immigration (Semyonov et al. 2004; Sides and Citrin 2007; Citrin and Sides 2008; Herda 2010, 2013; Markaki and Longhi 2013).

On the opposite theoretical spectrum from *realistic conflict*, studies drawing on *contact theory* argue that negative attitudes to immigration are a result of group distance, brought about by a lack of intergroup familiarity and rigidly demarcated identities. Contact between immigrants and natives is expected to facilitate increased familiarity, ameliorating feelings of competition and driving more positive attitudes (Allport 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp 2013). Somewhere in the middle, some versions of group conflict theory stress symbolic rather than realistic threats (Stephan and Stephan 2000), in which opposition to immigration stems from perceived threats to identity and culture rather than economic competition.

Identity-based theories do not often incorporate consideration of welfare impacts, but an exception comes from Crepaz and Damron (2009), who expect that more universal and generous welfare systems promote inclusion and therefore positively predispose citizens to immigrants. They hypothesise that different welfare systems inculcate different sets of beliefs



and values among citizens which in turn lead to different perceptions about the relationship between immigrants and welfare. They link welfare extensiveness and structure of social programs to ‘welfare chauvinism,’ the view that welfare access belongs exclusively to natives. They find that more comprehensive welfare states are associated with more tolerant natives.

Thus, the relationship between welfare systems and impacts, and attitudes toward immigration remains an unsettled question in the existing evidence. In the absence of prior research on the role of perceived welfare impacts on attitudes that differentiate between EU and non-EU inflows, we form alternative expectations based on the two overarching explanatory theories.

If we were to follow the realistic conflict framework, we would expect more negative perceptions of welfare impacts from within-EU mobility rather non-EU migration. EU citizens are not subject to immigration controls when moving between EU member states, and they have immediate access to the labour market and welfare state on the same terms as native-born citizens. Furthermore, movement of EU workers cannot be restricted on grounds of skills. Thereby, the level of competition over resources would be more pronounced in reference to intra-EU mobility, and therefore we might expect stronger opposition to those specific inflows (i.e. EU-only restrictionists).

On the other hand, identity-based views, such as symbolic threat approaches or intergroup contact theory, would make the opposite prediction. A shared EU identity and cultural affinity would predict perceptions of threat to be less prominent towards intra-EU inflows and more negative in reference to non-EU immigrants (EU-only inclusionists).

This report examines public opinion data to assess the relationship between perceptions of welfare impacts and attitudes toward immigration. We focus at this stage of the research on perceptions rather than realities, as this approach better fits the (limited) available data. However, future steps, drawing on the work of other aspects of the REMINDER project, will compare perceptions of welfare impacts to the reality of these impacts, and will then explore the sources of gaps between perceptions and reality, as welfare context may influence how the welfare impacts of immigration are being perceived (Senik, Stichnoth, and Straeten 2009; Bay and Pedersen 2006; Facchini and Mayda 2009). Future work will also ask whether

perceptions or reality are more consequential for shaping citizens' attitudes toward immigration and mobility.

C. DATA

Our analysis began with a review of cross-national surveys to identify questions that capture evaluations of the impact of immigration on welfare. The European Social Survey (ESS) is the only source of comparative microdata that meets the specific requirements of this report, namely explicit reference to intra-EU mobility and non-EU immigration, in addition to perceived welfare impacts. The ESS is a biennial cross-sectional survey of individuals conducted in more than 33 countries in Europe and currently spanning seven rounds of data collection, between 2002 and 2014. It represents an official and established source of an extensive range of harmonised nationally representative information on people's characteristics, behaviours, attitudes, and socioeconomic outcomes.

Over the course of its currently available seven rounds, between 2002 and 2014, the ESS has included more than 80 different questions that, in one way or another, require people to express their views on immigrants and other ethnic minority communities. Some refer to conditions that immigrants ought to meet to get access to the same rights as country nationals, to get permission to immigrate, and/or stay in the country. There are also questions related to preferences over immigration policies, perceptions of the impacts of immigration, stereotypes, or views on discrimination, and human rights obligations. Some of the questions distinguish between immigrants of different origin countries, ethnicities, or religions. Others differentiate between low or high qualifications, or immigrants' primary reasons for migrating. The majority are available as part of the 'immigration' dedicated survey module in rounds 1 (2002) and 7 (2014).



C1. Relevant Questions in the European Social Survey

This report concentrates on providing a preliminary assessment of the divergence in people's perceived welfare impacts between EU mobility and non-EU immigration. However, data are not yet available that address precisely this question; collecting and integrating appropriate new data are among the aims of the REMINDER project. While we await new survey data, we generate a first cut at this question by combining responses to questions about the welfare impact of migration generally with responses to questions that distinguish European and non-European immigration. Thus, we begin reviewing the available data by examining these two distinct elements: perceptions of welfare impacts of migration, and attitudes toward European and non-European immigration.

Perceptions on EU vs non-EU origins of immigrants

We take advantage of eight questions in total, with reference to immigrants' origins from within and outside Europe ('EU' wording unavailable). The items that explicitly mention immigration from within and outside Europe are related to preferences over immigration restrictions. Specifically, respondents are asked how many immigrants should be allowed to immigrate: many, some, a few, or none.

We use a set of four items included in rounds 1 and 7, that cover immigrants from either (a) richer / poorer countries, and (b) in Europe / outside Europe. There are arguably better ways of operationalising differentiating attitudes to immigration inflows. However, combining answers to multiple ESS questions is currently our best option for obtaining comparative individual-level data across most EU countries. The purpose of combining respondents' answers to multiple questions is to isolate occasions of dissonance in preferred levels of restriction depending on the origin (Europe/outside) of immigrants referenced in each question (for details on coding see Table 1). Example: if respondent i said they prefer many/some in the question about inflows from outside Europe, but few/none in the question about inflows from within Europe, then our analysis will identify this person as supporting restriction of inflows from Europe only (outside Europe inclusionists). See Appendix for a complete breakdown of original questions and response options.

Table 1Identifying distinguishing views by European/non-European *Origin*

		Total Inclusionists	Total restrictionists	Europe inclusionists	Outside Europe inclusionists
How many from poorer[richer] countries in Europe	many/some	1	0	1	0
	few/none	0	1	0	1
How many from poorer[richer] countries outside Europe	many/some	1	0	0	1
	few/none	0	1	1	0

Another set of experimental questions was introduced in round 7, which address origins and skills of immigrants at the same time, while adapting to each respondent's country of residence to reference solely the poor European/non-European country that provides the largest number of migrants (see Table 2 for countries referenced in experimental questions and Appendix for a complete breakdown of original questions and response options). The benefit of this design is that respondents do not feel any pressure toward providing a consistent answer on questions tapping support for immigrants of different types or from different places. This question format, therefore, offered the possibility of revealing differentiation in attitudes that may have been suppressed in other batteries that ask the same respondent consecutive questions about European and non-European immigrants.

Another design feature is that the question asks not about European or non-European immigration in general, but is altered to ask about migration from the specific countries-of-origin that send the most migrants to the given receiving country. For example, British respondents were asked about immigrants from India and from Poland. In Spain, the question references Morocco and Romania. In Sweden, Somalia is stated as outside Europe, whereas Turkey is mentioned in Germany; both of these countries also have Poland as the most common country of origin within Europe. The specific country of origin remains the same across the two skill-level iterations (unskilled labourers / professionals).



Perceptions of the impacts of immigration on welfare

A number of questions address people's views on the effects of immigration, including nine that broadly relate to economic, employment, fiscal, and welfare impacts. One item in particular which is available in rounds 1 (2002) and 7 (2014) includes explicit reference to welfare and social programs. The original item asks respondents to answer the following question on an 11-point scale which ranges from 0 to 10:

"Most people who come to live here work and pay taxes. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, do you think people who come here take out more than they put in or put in more than they take out?"

(Generally take out more) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (Generally put in more)

Although the question mentions benefits and services directly, respondents are asked to state whether they think immigrants take out more in social welfare and services than they contribute in taxes. Effectively, the question is designed in such a way that requires people to evaluate, not only impacts on welfare programs, but on the total net fiscal costs or benefits from immigration. Unfortunately, the question does not differentiate between EU and non-EU immigration. We group responses to the original 11-point scale into three distinct categories; negative (0, 1, 2, 3, 4), neutral (5), and positive (6,7,8,9,10) impact perceptions. See Appendix for a complete breakdown of original questions and response options.

C2. Countries & Samples

Table 2 shows the list of EU28 countries that participated in each round of the ESS alongside sample sizes and the largest sending countries of immigrants from within and outside Europe. The mix of countries available differs depending on the survey round; Greece, Italy, and Luxembourg are missing in 2014, whereas Estonia and Lithuania are unavailable in 2002. See Table 3 for a summary of countries members of EU28 that are excluded from our analysis due to unavailability of data.



Table 2

Sample sizes and immigration questions, by country and ESS round

Country	ESS1 2002 Sample size	ESS7 2014 Sample size	Largest poor imm. sending country in Europe	Largest poor imm. sending country outside Europe
Austria	2,162	1,671	Serbia	Turkey
Belgium	1,803	1,618	Poland	Turkey
Czech Republic	1,352	2,128	Ukraine	Vietnam
Germany	2,799	2,894	Poland	Turkey
Denmark	1,464	1,438	Poland	Turkey
Estonia	-	1,630	Belarus	Vietnam
Spain	1,682	1,818	Romania	Morocco
Finland	1,969	2,039	Estonia	Somalia
France	1,447	1,820	Portugal	Algeria
UK	1,992	2,135	Poland	India
Greece	2,430	-	-	-
Hungary	1,682	1,698	Romania	China
Ireland	1,978	2,193	Poland	Nigeria
Italy	1,205	-	-	-
Lithuania	-	2,242	Belarus	Turkey
Luxembourg	1,079	-	-	-
Netherlands	2,318	1,856	Poland	Turkey
Poland	2,110	1,614	Belarus	Vietnam
Portugal	1,479	1,234	Ukraine	Brazil
Sweden	1,941	1,720	Poland	Somalia
Slovenia	1,514	1,209	Bosnia-Herzegovina	China
Total	34,406	32,957		

Notes: samples for countries members of EU28; non-nationals excluded; sending countries providing largest number of immigrants follow the classification used in the design of four experimental questions in ESS7, hence missing for countries excluded in that round.

Table 3

Summary of EU28 countries missing in each survey round

Survey and wave	Countries part of EU28 missing from sample
European Social Survey (ESS) 1 2002	BG HR CY EE LV LT MT RO SK
European Social Survey (ESS) 7 2014	BG HR CY GR IT LV LU MT RO SK



D. ANALYSIS

In this section, we analyse ESS survey data relevant for understanding the perceived welfare impacts of intra-EU mobility compared with non-EU immigration. The discussion begins with an overview of attitudes to immigration from poorer and richer countries within and outside Europe between 2002 and 2014. It continues with attitudes to immigrants of different skill levels from within and outside Europe (available only in 2014). Finally, we analyse how these attitudes vary with respect to perceptions of welfare impacts. Individual and contextual factors contributing to this variation will be explored in subsequent project reports. The analysis is based on citizens/nationals only, and highlights variation across countries and years.

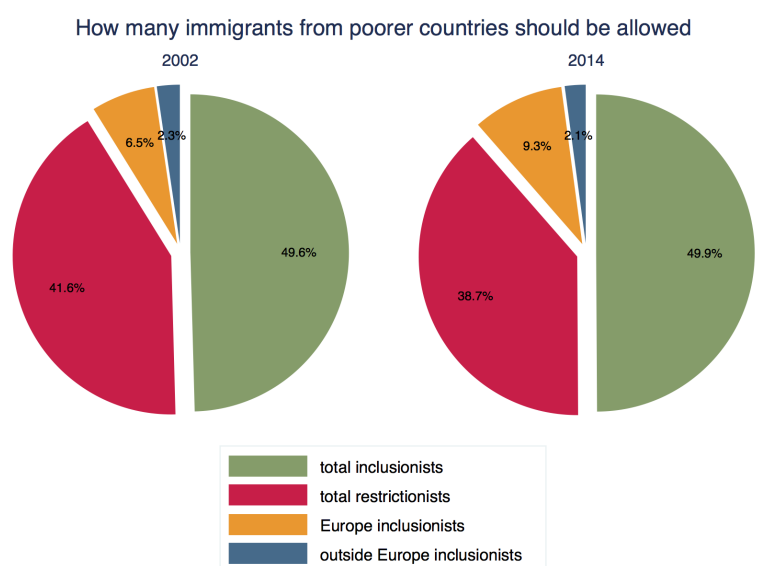
D1. Attitudes To Immigration From Within And Outside Europe

A preliminary question is whether Europeans have different attitudes toward EU mobility versus non-EU immigration. By combining each ESS respondents' answers to two survey items, we can contrast people whose views differ on immigration restrictions depending on immigrants' origin from within or outside Europe, from those who would support (or oppose) restrictions regardless of immigrants' European or non-European origins.

As Figure 1 shows, it turns out that few Europeans make a distinction when it comes to immigrants' origin from within or outside Europe, and that this pattern has not changed significantly over time. Respondents were asked whether they would allow 'many', 'some', 'few', or no immigrants from poorer countries within Europe, and from poorer countries outside Europe. In both 2002 and 2014, about half of respondents supported allowing many or some immigrants from poorer countries, irrespective of European or non-European origin. Another four out of ten respondents supported limiting immigration to few or no immigrants, also regardless of European origin.



Figure 1



Notes: weighted sample of 32,588 respondents in 2002 and 29,710 respondents in 2014

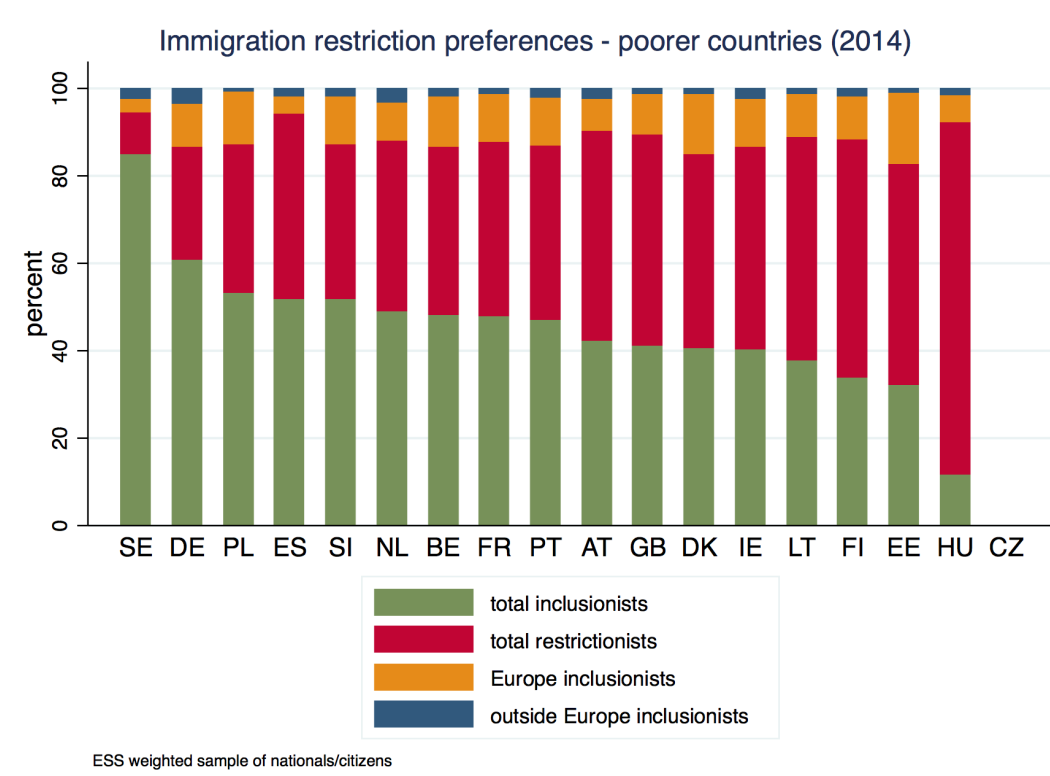
Thus, only approximately one in ten respondents (9% in 2002, 11% in 2014) differed in their immigration restriction preferences depending on whether immigrants from poor countries come from within or outside Europe. By contrast, nine out of every ten EU nationals makes no distinction between immigrants of European and non-European origin, at least when asked about immigration from poorer countries.

Furthermore, among those who distinguished between European and non-European origins, a very small portion were Europe-only restrictionists (2.3% in 2002, 2.1% in 2014). Note that change across the two years in support for less immigration from outside Europe is too small to reliably conclude that there is meaningful increase over time. Moreover, variation could be partly driven by differences in the number and mix of countries included in each round (see Table 2 for list of countries).

Therefore, before we even address the issue of perceived impacts on welfare, our analysis suggests significant political difficulties for acceptance of intra-EU mobility as free movement. The vast majority of Europeans who support relatively high levels of immigration from Europe do so as part of a general acceptance of immigrants, and are therefore not necessarily aligned with the preference for fellow EU nationals that is implied in EU regulations and indeed in the EU's foundational 'four freedoms.'

Additional analysis shows differences across member states in these patterns of responses.

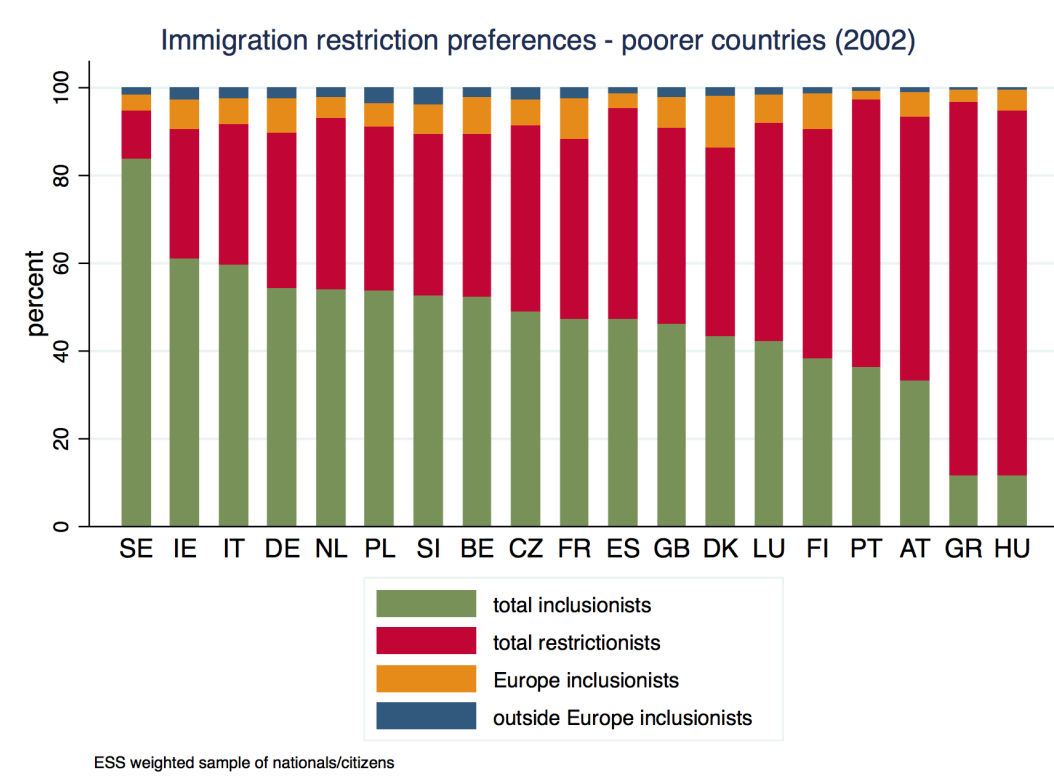
Figure 2



Cross-national comparisons in Figures 2 and 3 show substantial variation across EU members states. Support for restricting immigration from poor countries both within and outside Europe was highest in Hungary (80% 2014), Greece (85% 2002; 2014 data not available), and Estonia (68% 2014). Germany (26% 2014) and especially Sweden (9% 2014) showed the least support for restrictions.



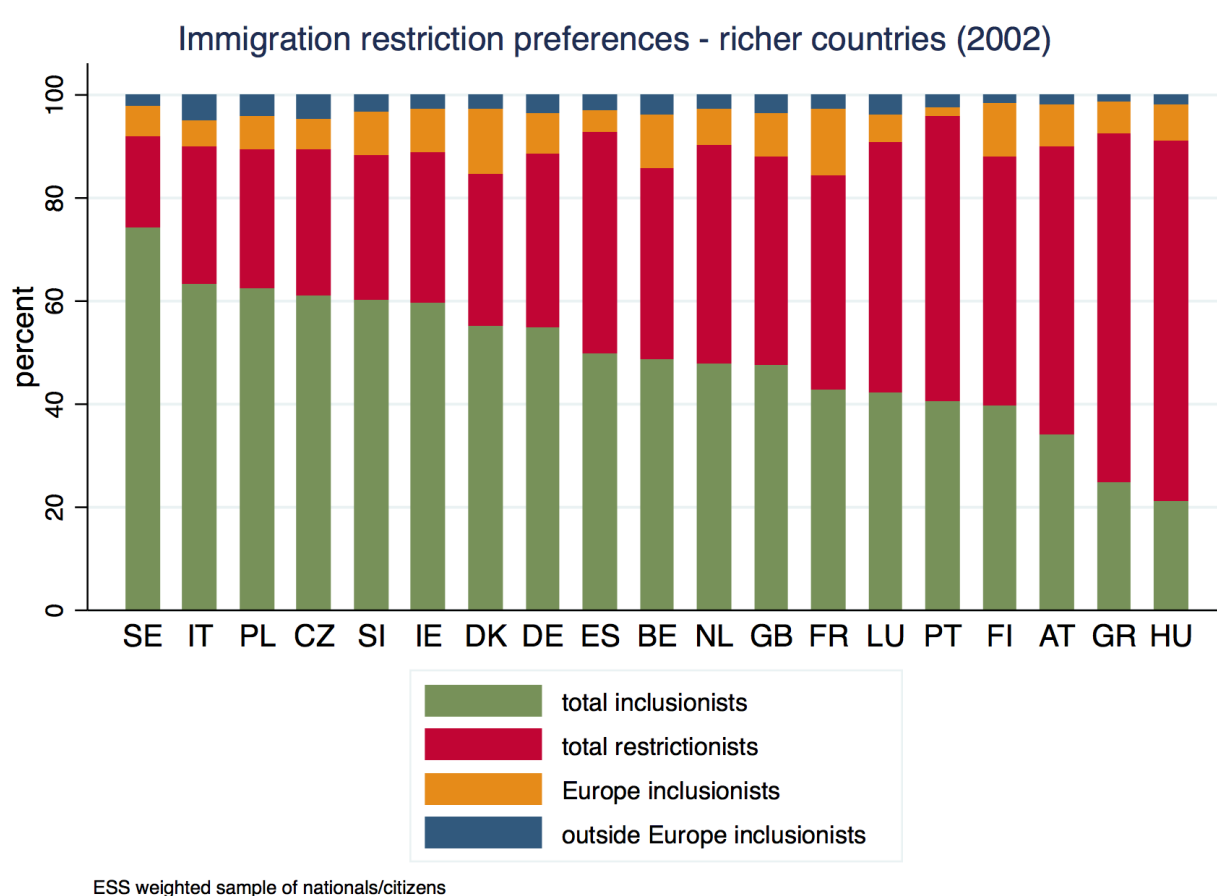
Figure 3



Similar patterns hold for immigration from richer countries (2002 only, Figure 4). While support for restriction of immigration from richer countries is generally lower compared to poorer countries, the relative country ranking in favour of restrictions mirrors that for poorer sending countries. In 2002, 70% of respondents in Hungary and 68% in Greece were pro-restriction of any immigration from richer countries, compared to Sweden at 18%. Sweden appears to be an outlier not only in its general support for immigration, but also in its greater support for immigration from poor countries than from rich countries, at least in 2002 data. (The item on rich countries has not been asked in more recent surveys.)



Figure 4



Notes: based on combined responses to two questions; unavailable in later rounds.

D2. Attitudes To Immigrants Of Different Skill Levels From Within And Outside Europe

The 2014 European Social Survey—the most recent with a module dedicated to immigration attitudes—introduced a controlled experiment that allows researchers to determine the independent effects of national origins and skill levels of prospective migrants on EU citizens’ desire to restrict immigration. Rather than a series of questions, each respondent in the 2014 module was asked a single question about support for immigration from poor countries; the question was randomly varied on two dimensions: country of origin (European or non-European) and skill level (unskilled labourers or professionals).



Despite its rotational design and variation in wording across countries, average responses confirm that most Europeans do not differ in their views depending on immigrant origins. By contrast, we see much greater differentiation in support for immigration restrictions based on immigrants' job skills.

Table 4
Percentage support of restricting inflows from poorer country providing the largest number of immigrants (origin/skill)

<i>Origin</i>	<i>Skill</i>		Pro-skilled difference
	If unskilled	If skilled	
Allow a few/none from Europe	55	27	28
Allow a few/none from outside Europe	63	30	33
Pro-Europe difference	8	3	

Notes: Weighted ESS7 sample of nationals/citizens; values represent the % of respondents who chose few/none as opposed to many/some in the respective experimental rotational question (each respondent gets one of the four iterations)

As Table 4 shows, at either skill level, attitudes toward intra-European mobility are only slightly less negative than attitudes toward non-European immigration. For unskilled labourers, around 63% of respondents preferred to allow few or no migrants from the relevant poor non-European country. Within Europe, this level of restriction was still preferred by a majority, and only eight percentage points less (55%) than the figure for non-European migration. For professionals, the gap was even smaller: pro-restriction stood at 30% when asked about outside Europe and 27% when asked about within Europe.

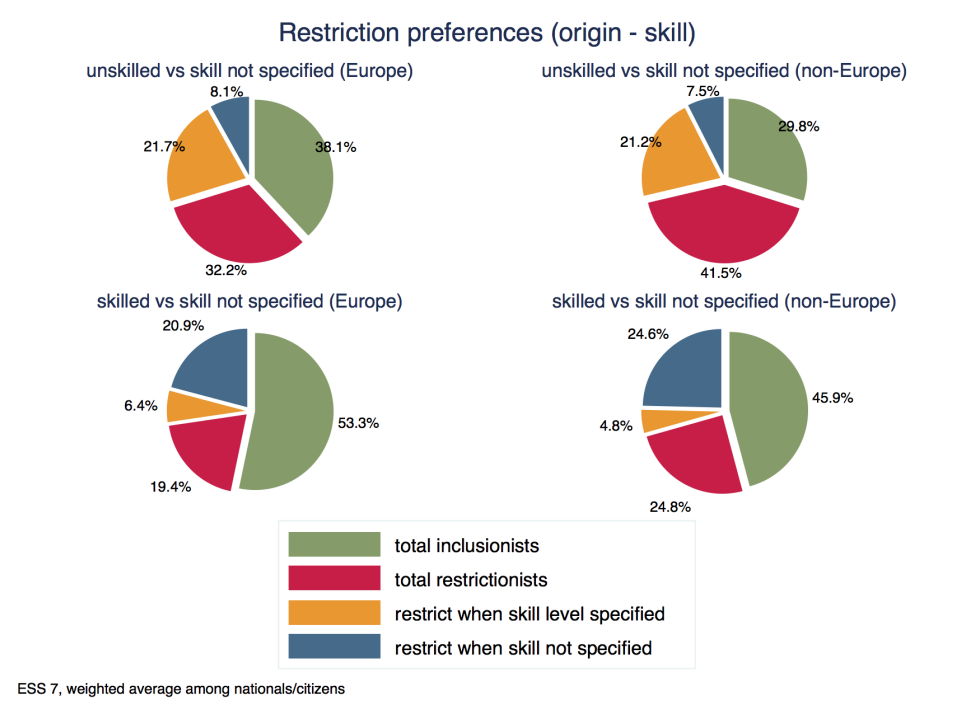
By contrast, skill levels had a large impact on support for immigration. Within Europe, shifting from unskilled labourers to professionals led to a 28-percentage point drop in support for restrictions. For immigration from outside Europe, this change was even larger, at 33-percentage points.

In addition, we can contrast answers to the experimental skill-origin questions with those in the general restriction preferences. Doing so shows further evidence of the importance of



skills. In particular, some respondents respond differently to questions about immigrants of a specified skill level, compared to responses to questions about immigrants in general. For example, asking respondents specifically about unskilled labourers increases support for restrictions.

Figure 5



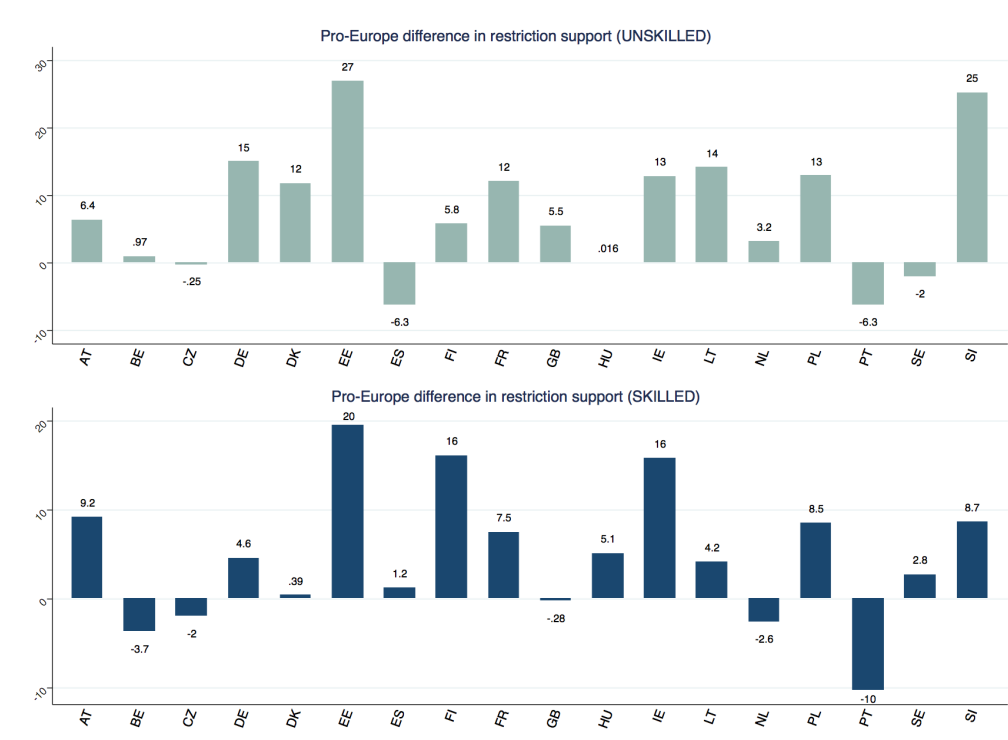
As Figure 5 shows (top left panel, orange category) about 21% of respondents who supported immigration from within Europe switched to support restrictions when asked specifically about unskilled labourers, while only 8% (shown in blue) moved in the other direction from more restrictive in general to less restrictive for unskilled European labourers.

On the other hand, shifting from general immigration to professionals led respondents to become less restrictive. Within Europe, only 6.4% support high levels of immigration in general but low levels of professionals (Figure 5, bottom left panel, orange category); by contrast, 20.9% (blue category) were restrictive toward immigration generally but permissive toward professionals). Patterns were similar within and outside Europe, as seen by moving from left to right in Figure 5.

Substantial variation emerges when comparing patterns of support across countries. With a few exceptions (discussed below), professionals are preferred to unskilled labourers across most countries, and again regardless of migrants' European origins. Within this general pattern, however, there is considerable cross-national variation in levels of support, and in the difference made by specifying skill levels.

Figure 6

Pro Europe difference in % support for restrictions within skill-level



For example, when looking at inflows of unskilled labourers, Hungary again shows the most restrictive attitudes, with 91% favouring limiting immigration of unskilled labourers, irrespective of sending region. Similarly, 79% of people in the Czech Republic were in support of allowing few or no unskilled labourers in both Europe/outside Europe iterations. Sweden, Germany, and France remain on the lower end of pro-restriction views.

While aggregate attitudes are similar regardless of national origins of inflows, there are some countries that show notable gaps in restriction preferences associated with European versus non-European origins. These include Estonia, Slovenia, Portugal, Germany, and the Republic

of Ireland, as shown in Figure 6. For both low and highly skilled immigration in Estonia, average support for restriction is over 20-percentage points higher for those from outside Europe (74% for unskilled, 51% for skilled), compared to those from within Europe (47% for unskilled, 31% for skilled). In Slovenia on the other hand, the gap between European and non-European immigration restrictions is notable with regards to unskilled labourers, but not for professionals. Around 72% of those asked about labourers from outside Europe preferred restriction, while 47% of those asked about labourers from Europe chose the same. On the opposite side is Portugal, where support for restriction of professionals coming from Europe was higher (38%) than for those coming from outside (27%).

D3. Attitudes To Immigration And Perceptions Of Welfare Impacts

This section explores the relationship between people's evaluations of the welfare impacts of immigration and their preferred levels of immigration from within and outside Europe. Recall that the ESS measure of perceived welfare impact asks respondents to choose whether they think that, on balance, immigrants contribute more in taxes or take out more in services (i.e. benefits, healthcare, or other welfare services).

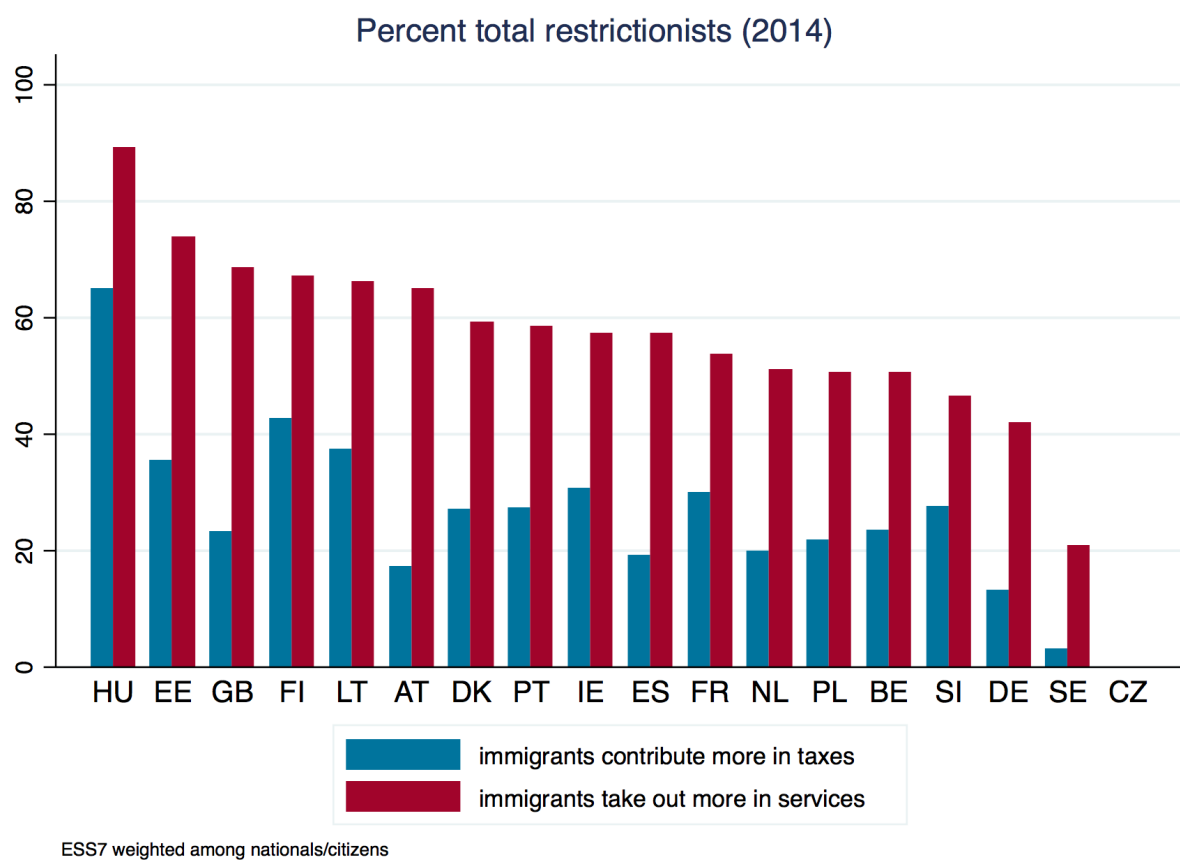
Our analysis classifies those who said that immigrants contribute more in taxes as having positive evaluations of the welfare impacts of immigration. Respondents who said that immigrants take out more in services were classified as expressing negative evaluations of the welfare impacts of immigration. Those in the middle of the original 0-10 scale were classified as having a 'neutral' view of welfare impacts.

Figure 7 compares people with positive and people with negative evaluations of welfare impacts in their support for limiting immigration from poorer countries within as well as outside Europe. There is a substantial relationship in the expected direction: negative evaluations of welfare impacts are associated with more restrictive attitudes. Across all countries included, there is an average 30-percentage point divergence in support for immigration restrictions between those with positive and those with negative perceptions of the welfare effects of immigration. This pattern is consistent across countries, although with variation in level of support and in the differential between views conditional on welfare



impact perception. In Austria for example, 17% of those with positive evaluations preferred immigration restrictions from any poorer country, compared to 65% of those who held negative evaluations.

Figure 7



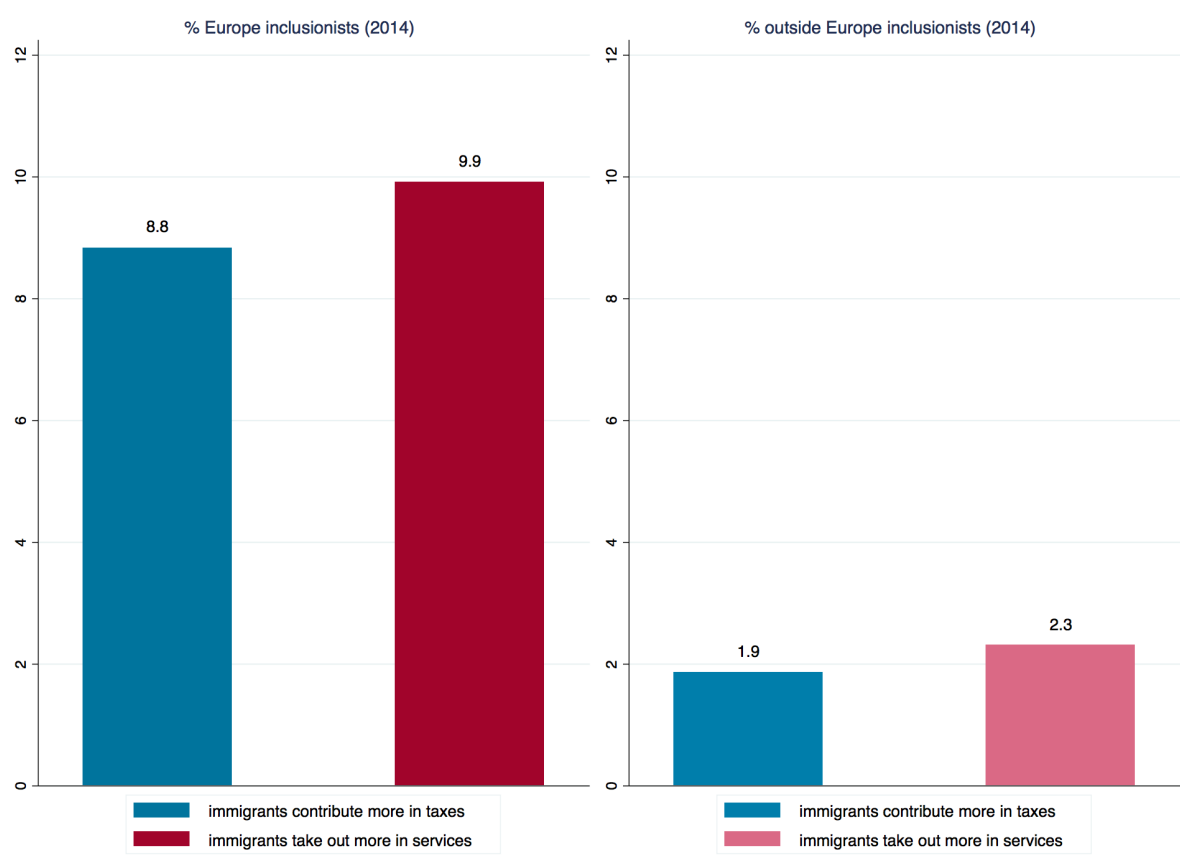
Notes: weighted statistics based on combined responses to two questions. The neither/neutral (5) evaluations of perceived fiscal impacts have been excluded.

Great Britain has the second largest disparity, where 23% of those with positive evaluations supported less immigration, compared to 69% of those who thought that immigrants take out more in services. The gap is comparatively smaller in Sweden, where 3% of those with positive welfare impact evaluations favoured restrictions, compared to 21% of those with negative. Still, even in Sweden the difference is substantial between those with positive and negative perceptions of the welfare impacts of immigration.



Next, we shift from examining overall support for immigration to support conditional of European or non-European immigrant origins. Figure 8 compares level of support for Europe-only inclusionism (left panel) versus Europe-only restrictionism (right panel) across perceived fiscal impacts.

Figure 8

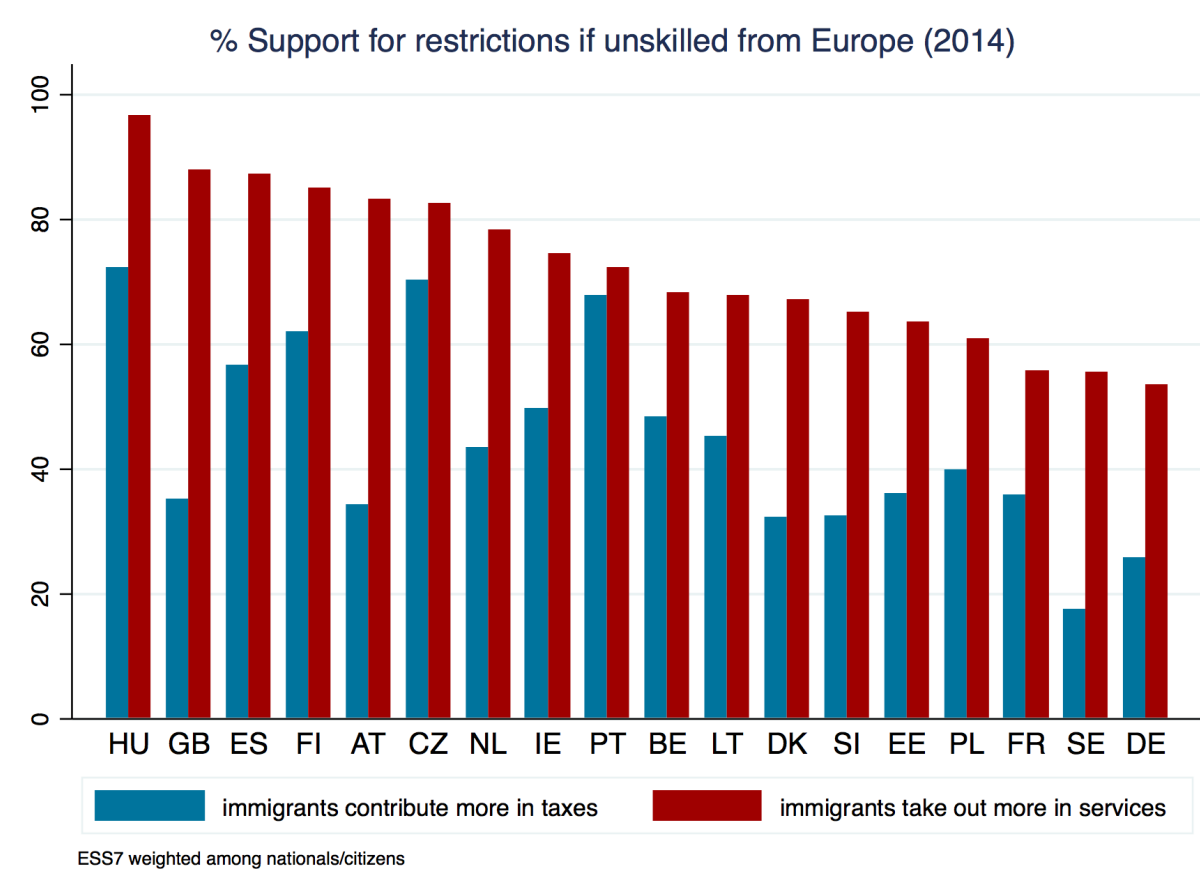


Notes: weighted statistics based on combined responses to two questions. The neither/neutral (5) category of the variable on perceived fiscal impacts has been excluded.

It is possible that the lack of strong differences reflect a reality in which people with negative welfare impact evaluations associate those effects with immigration from within and outside Europe equally. However, it is also possible that the cross-tabulation of answers to a series of diverse questions is not sufficient to appropriately reflect people's perceptions and evaluations of EU versus non-EU immigration welfare impacts. To better address this research gap, the authors of this report have coordinated with other teams in the REMINDER project to design tailored attitudinal questions for use in the collection of new survey data.

Figures 9 to 12 move on to the restriction preferences questions that mention both the skill-level and origin of immigrants. For the most part, negative evaluations of the impact of immigration on services are more strongly associated with support for restrictions in the case of unskilled immigration than for highly skilled immigration, as would be expected.

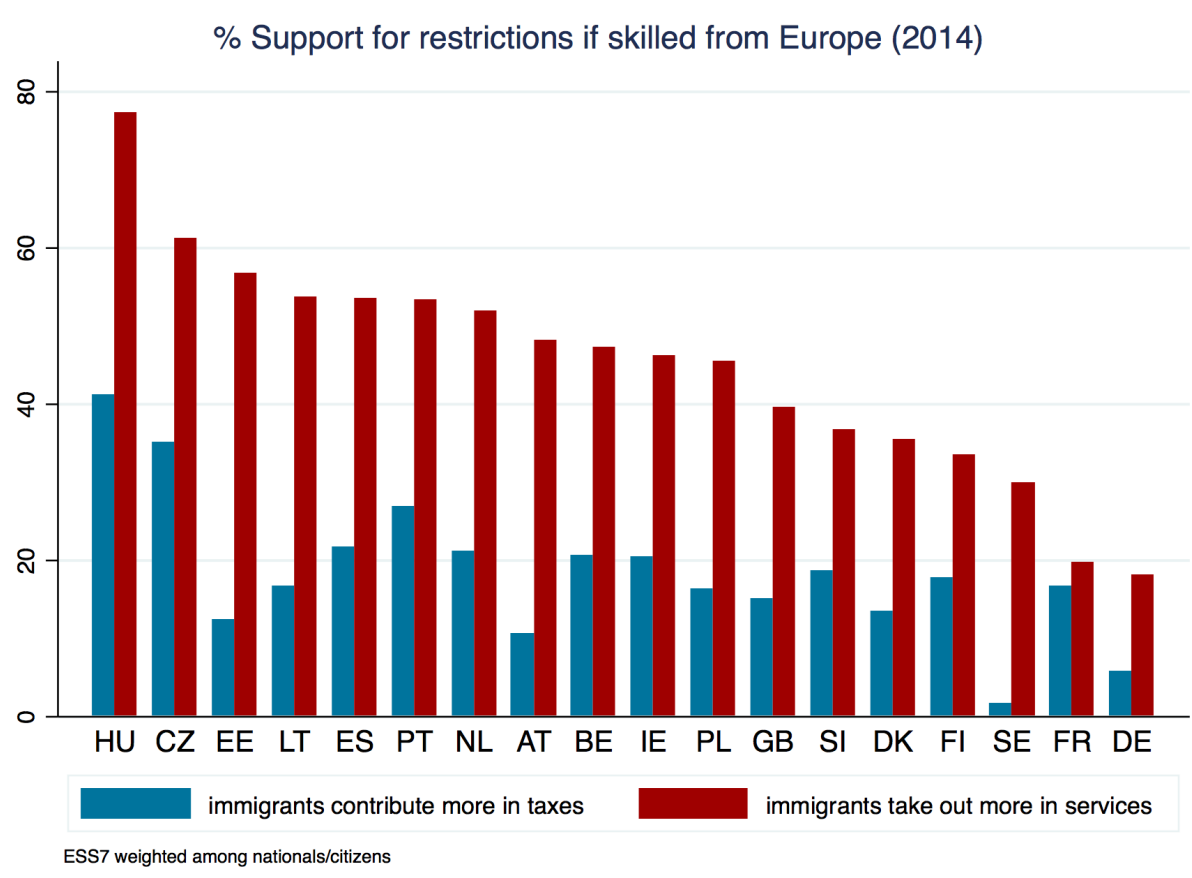
Figure 9



Results show that those with negative perceptions of welfare impacts are always more opposed to immigration than those with positive perceptions. However, there is significant variations in the strength of that relationship across EU countries. For example, in Portugal, the differential is rather small: people with negative and people with positive evaluations of welfare impacts from immigration are about equally likely to support restrictions on unskilled European labourers (Fig 9, 68% with positive-72% with negative). However, the gap between those with positive and those with negative evaluations widens when asked about unskilled labourers from outside Europe (Fig 10) or professionals from either origin region (Fig 11 and Fig 12).



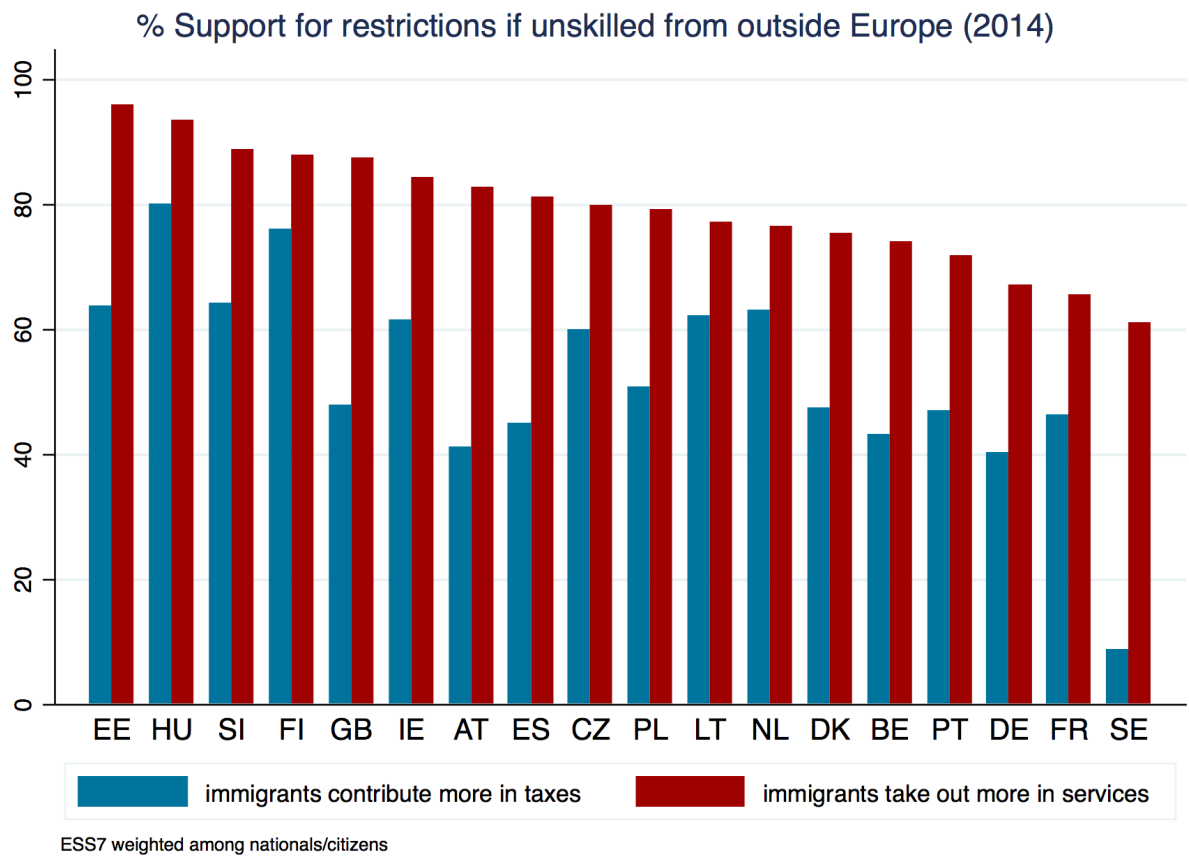
Figure 10



In the UK, low versus high skill is a stronger differentiator in the gap between positive and negative evaluations of welfare impacts, than origin region. Among the respondents who held negative welfare impact evaluations, support for more restrictions on immigration stood at 90%, for unskilled labourers from both within and outside Europe. In contrast, the equivalent stood at 40% when asked about professionals. This supports the idea that Britons associate welfare costs from immigration primarily with unskilled immigration, rather than the issue of intra-EU versus non-EU origins.



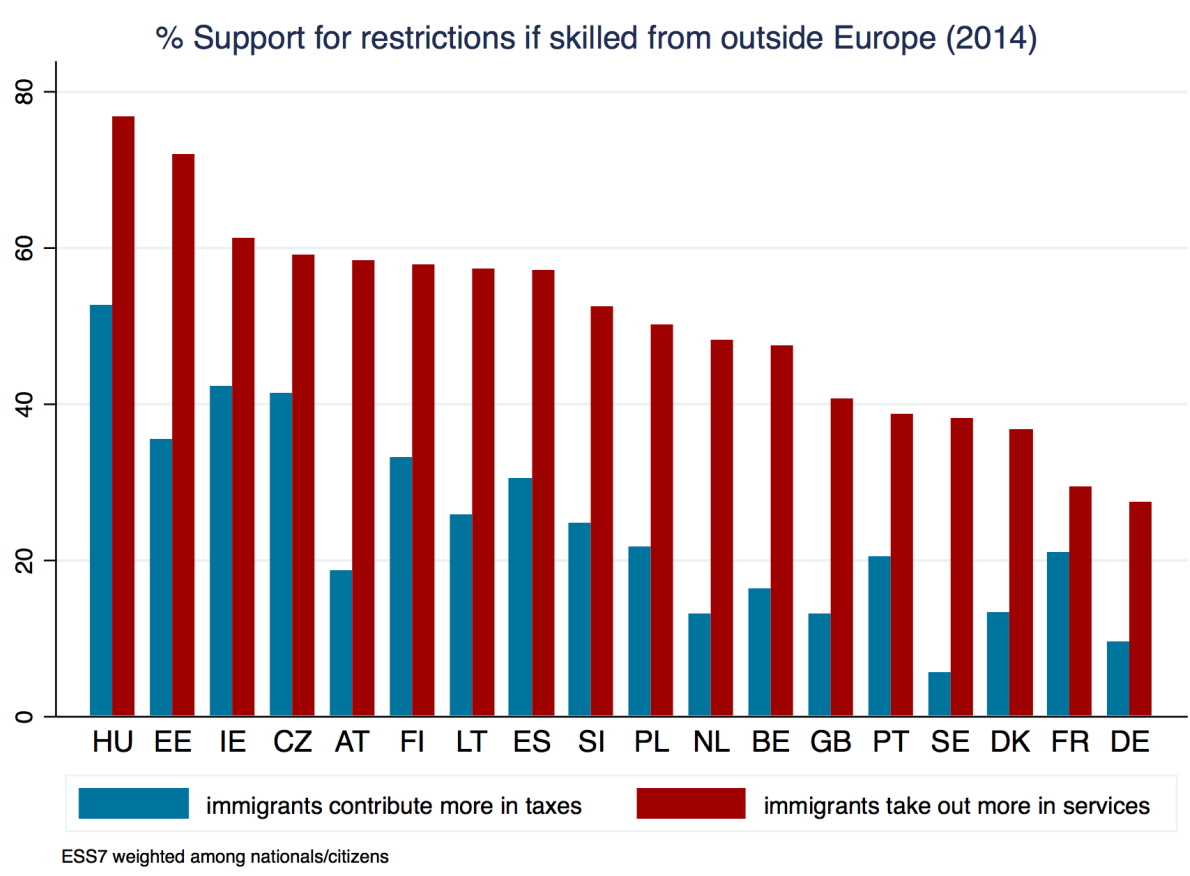
Figure 11



In Austria, the disparity in support for immigration restrictions is similarly large across the board between those with negative and those with positive evaluations. But comparable to Britain, the key distinction is related to unskilled versus skilled immigrants. In Belgium, the gap is not as large but it is very similar across skill-levels and origins. In Sweden, negative evaluations of the welfare impact of immigration show the strongest association with unskilled immigration from outside Europe. On average, 9% of Swedish nationals who held positive perceptions of welfare impacts from immigration supported restrictions, compared to 61% among those with negative.



Figure 12



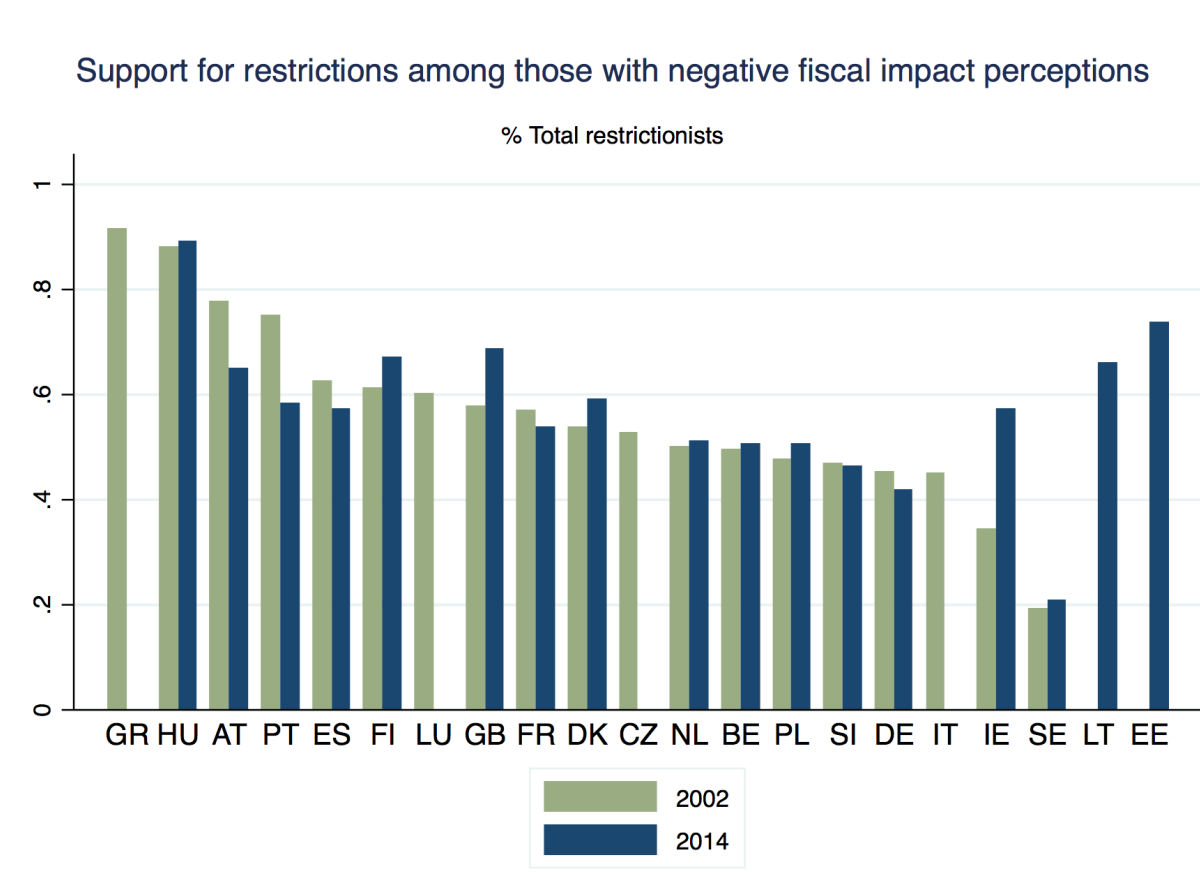
Overall, results suggest that in countries such as the UK, the Netherlands, and Hungary, origin from within or outside Europe does not make a significant difference among people who have negative evaluations of welfare impacts. In Estonia, Slovenia, and Poland, however, pro-restriction is higher for non-European immigrants than for European, among those with negative welfare impact perceptions. Portugal appears as the most against highly skilled European immigration, where support for restriction is 15-percentage points higher when asked about European professionals than when asked about non-European professionals (for those with negative evaluations).

Figures 13 and 14 show average support for restrictions in 2002 and in 2014, among those who evaluated the effects of immigration on services as negative. In the absence of explicitly worded questions and longitudinal data, this contrast can help spot potential changes over time in how people evaluate the welfare impacts of immigration from within and outside the



EU. A comparison between 2002 and 2014 does not show substantial change in average support for allowing only few or no immigrants from poorer countries within and outside Europe.

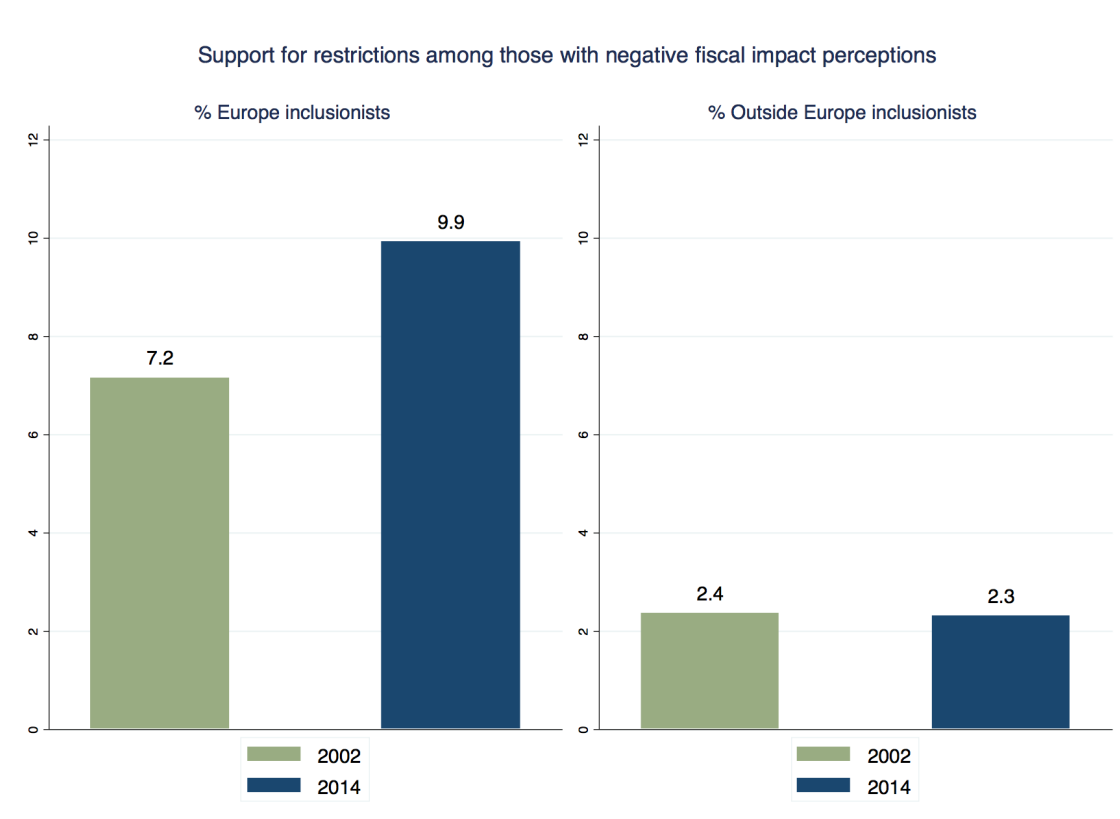
Figure 13



In the Republic of Ireland and in Great Britain, restrictionist views among people who thought that immigrants take out more in services than contribute in taxes were somewhat higher in 2014 compared to 2002. The opposite is the case for Austria and Portugal, where support for restrictions was slightly lower in 2014 compared to 2002.



Figure 14



There is a small two-percentage point increase in support for Europe-only inclusionism between 2002 and 2014, but it could be attributed to sample differences (Figure 14, left panel). Among those who thought that immigrants take out more in services than contribute in taxes, the share of Europe-only restrictionists is almost identical between 2002 and 2014 (Figure 14, right panel). Broadly speaking this does not point towards any notable over time increase in the people who see the impacts of immigration on services as negative, while preferring restriction solely of poorer European immigration. As discussed earlier, the sample size is too small to allow for a reliable breakdown by country.

E. EVIDENCE LIMITATIONS

This report draws on survey microdata from the European Social Survey to explore people's perceptions of the impacts of immigration on welfare services across EU countries, with special focus on the difference between EU and non-EU immigration. Our results show that people who think that, on average, immigrants take out more in services than they contribute in taxes, are also more likely to support restrictions to immigration inflows. However, the relationship between perceived welfare impacts and support for immigration does not appear to be linked to European origins: those who believe that immigration detracts from the welfare state are about equally likely to support restrictions on immigration from within Europe as from outside Europe.

It is worth noting that our findings are subject to a series of limitations, associated primarily with the capacity and availability of data. The principal limitation relates to the current unavailability of a cross-European survey with questions that capture evaluations with explicit distinction between the impacts of EU and non-EU immigration. To bypass this shortfall, we looked for survey data that enable us to cross-reference opinions by asking respondents about both their perceived impacts of immigration on welfare, as well as other questions that differentiate between EU/European and non-EU/non-European countries of origin. The European Social Survey was the only data source that met this criterion, while including most EU countries and some over time variation.

Effectively our analysis explores to what extent negative evaluations of the welfare impacts of immigration are associated with opposition to future inflows from certain origins more than others. We examine whether people who perceive the broader impacts of immigration as negative, are also more likely to oppose mobility from within Europe, than they are to oppose immigration from outside. This approach assumes that in cases when negative perceptions of welfare effects are associated with a certain type of mobility more than another, then this would be reflected in a person's opposition for those future inflows specifically. However, combined responses do not allow us to establish with certainty whether European publics differentiate between EU and non-EU mobility when evaluating the impacts of immigration. Another key limitation of our analysis also stems from the wording of the survey questions which mention Europe, rather than the EU, and likely prompt



respondents to consider a broader geographical region of origin that is not necessarily associated with ‘free movement’. Similarly, our analysis cannot infer on whether people hold views that differentiate on the basis of other specifications of immigrants’ origin, ethnicity, religion, or legal status.

To ensure our findings are as representative as possible at the national level, we apply sampling design, post stratification, and population size weights. However, as with any empirical analyses that rely on cross-sectional survey data, we are comparing different people at different points in time, rather than following the same people over time. Therefore, we can explore whether there were substantial shifts in the distribution of the overall population, but we cannot infer with certainty whether specific people changed their views. Moreover, we do not statistically control for differences between individuals, households, or areas in this report. Future analysis, using data gathered by REMINDER researchers, will allow us to explore the drivers of individual and cross-national variation in welfare impact perceptions, and the relationship between these perceptions and support for EU mobility and non-EU immigration. Notably, these new data will include estimates of the actual welfare impacts of both EU and non-EU inflows, enabling future analysis to examine the gaps between perceptions and realities of welfare impacts.

Finally, we are unable to take account of several EU countries that did not participate in the ESS for those rounds. The ones missing from this report entirely are, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Malta, Romania, and Slovakia. The 2014 round does not include respondents from Greece, Italy, or Luxembourg. The 2002 data excludes Estonia and Lithuania.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allport, Gordon Willard. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Bay, Ann-Helén, and Axel West Pedersen. 2006. "The Limits of Social Solidarity: Basic Income, Immigration and the Legitimacy of the Universal Welfare State." *Acta Sociologica* 49 (4): 419–36.
- Butkus, Mindaugas, Alma Mačiulytė-Šniukienė, Vida Davidavičienė, and Kristina Matuzevičiūtė. 2016. "Factors Influencing Society's Attitudes towards Internal and External EU Immigrants." *Filosofija. Sociologija* 27 (4): 292–303.
- Ceobanu, Alin M., and Xavier Escandell. 2010. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36: 309–328.
- Chandler, Charles R., and Yung-mei Tsai. 2001. "Social Factors Influencing Immigration Attitudes: An Analysis of Data from the General Social Survey." *The Social Science Journal* 38 (2): 177–88.
- Citrin, Jack, and John Sides. 2008. "Immigration and the Imagined Community in Europe and the United States." *Political Studies* 56 (1): 33–56.
- Cornelius, W.A., and M.R. Rosenblum. 2005. "Immigration and Politics." *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 8: 99–119.
- Crepaz, Markus M. L., and Regan Damron. 2009. "Constructing Tolerance: How the Welfare State Shapes Attitudes About Immigrants." *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (3): 437–63.
- Facchini, Giovanni, and Anna Maria Mayda. 2009. "Does the Welfare State Affect Individual Attitudes toward Immigrants? Evidence across Countries." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 91 (2): 295–314.
- Gorodzeisky, Anastasia. 2011. "Who Are the Europeans That Europeans Prefer? Economic Conditions and Exclusionary Views toward European Immigrants." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 52 (1–2): 100–113.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (1)
- Hanson, Gordon H., Kenneth Scheve, and Matthew J. Slaughter. 2007. "Public Finance and Individual Preferences Over Globalization Strategies." *Economics & Politics* 19 (1): 1–33.
- Herda, Daniel. 2010. "How Many Immigrants?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74 (4): 674–95.
- . 2013. "Too Many Immigrants?: Examining Alternative Forms of Immigrant Population Innumeracy." *Sociological Perspectives* 56 (2): 213–40.
- Huber, Peter, and Doris A. Oberdabernig. 2016. "The Impact of Welfare Benefits on Natives' and Immigrants' Attitudes toward Immigration." *European Journal of Political Economy* 44 (Supplement C): 53–78.
- Malchow-Møller, Nikolaj, Jakob Roland Munch, Sanne Schroll, and Jan Rose Skaksen. 2008. "Attitudes towards Immigration—Perceived Consequences and Economic Self-Interest." *Economics Letters* 100 (2): 254–57.
- Markaki, Yvonne, and Simonetta Longhi. 2013. "What Determines Attitudes to Immigration in European Countries? An Analysis at the Regional Level." *Migration Studies* 1 (3): 311–37.



- Mayda, Anna Maria. 2006. "Who Is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 88 (3): 510–30.
- McLaren, Lauren M. 2001. "Immigration and the New Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in the European Union: The Effect of Elites and the EU on Individual-level Opinions Regarding European and Non-European Immigrants." *European Journal of Political Research* 39 (1): 81–108.
- O'Rourke, Kevin H., and Richard Sinnott. 2006. "The Determinants of Individual Attitudes towards Immigration." *European Journal of Political Economy* 22 (4): 838–61.
- Ortega, Francesc. 2004. "Immigration and the Survival of the Welfare State." Economics Working Paper. Department of Economics and Business, Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F., and Linda R. Tropp. 2013. *When Groups Meet: The Dynamics of Intergroup Contact*. Psychology Press.
- Quillian, Lincoln. 1995. "Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe." *American Sociological Review* 60 (4): 586–611.
- Riek, Blake M, Eric W Mania, and Samuel L Gaertner. 2006. "Intergroup Threat and Outgroup Attitudes: A Meta-Analytic Review." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10 (4): 336–53.
- Ruhs, Martin. 2017. "Free Movement in the European Union: National Institutions vs Common Policies?" *International Migration* 55 (December): 22–38.
- Scheve, Kenneth F., and Matthew J. Slaughter. 2001. "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences over Immigration Policy." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 83 (1): 133–45.
- Semyonov, Moshe, Rebeca Raijman, Anat Yom Tov, and Peter Schmidt. 2004. "Population Size, Perceived Threat, and Exclusion: A Multiple-Indicators Analysis of Attitudes toward Foreigners in Germany." *Social Science Research* 33 (4): 681–701.
- Senik, Claudia, Holger Stichnoth, and Karine Van der Straeten. 2009. "Immigration and Natives' Attitudes towards the Welfare State: Evidence from the European Social Survey." *Social Indicators Research* 91 (3): 345–70.
- Sides, John, and Jack Citrin. 2007. "European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." *British Journal of Political Science* 37 (3): 477–504.
- Stephan, Walter G., and Cookie White Stephan. 2000. "An Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice." *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination*, 23–45.
- Strabac, Zan. 2011. "It Is the Eyes and Not the Size That Matter: The Real and the Perceived Size of Immigrant Populations and Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Western Europe." *European Societies* 13 (4): 559–582.



APPENDIX

AC1. Summary Statistics of Original Question Items

<i>Taxes and services: immigrants take out more than they put in or less</i>		
	ESS1-2002	ESS7-2014
<i>Generally take out more</i>	2,433	1,910
1	1,821	1,307
2	3,571	2,809
3	4,870	3,645
4	3,867	3,319
5	10,941	9,967
6	2,526	2,393
7	2,090	2,418
8	1,400	1,597
9	442	375
<i>Generally put in more</i>	580	496
<i>Refusal</i>	16	50
<i>Don't know</i>	2,149	1,363
<i>No answer</i>	14	11

Weighted count of nationals/citizens across EU countries

<i>ESS1-2002</i>	Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries in Europe	Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe	Allow many/few immigrants from richer countries in Europe	Allow many/few immigrants from richer countries outside Europe
<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	4,022	3,596	5,315	4,406
<i>Allow some</i>	15,739	14,640	15,308	14,775
<i>Allow a few</i>	12,226	13,024	10,640	11,698
<i>Allow none</i>	3,293	3,913	3,735	4,099
<i>Refusal</i>	46	64	58	53
<i>Don't know</i>	1,376	1,465	1,646	1,669
<i>No answer</i>	18	18	19	20

Weighted count of nationals/citizens across EU countries



ESS7-2014	Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries in Europe	Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe
<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	4,772	4,208
<i>Allow some</i>	12,957	11,581
<i>Allow a few</i>	8,738	10,004
<i>Allow none</i>	3,530	5,010
<i>Refusal</i>	147	147
<i>Don't know</i>	628	702
<i>No answer</i>	887	7

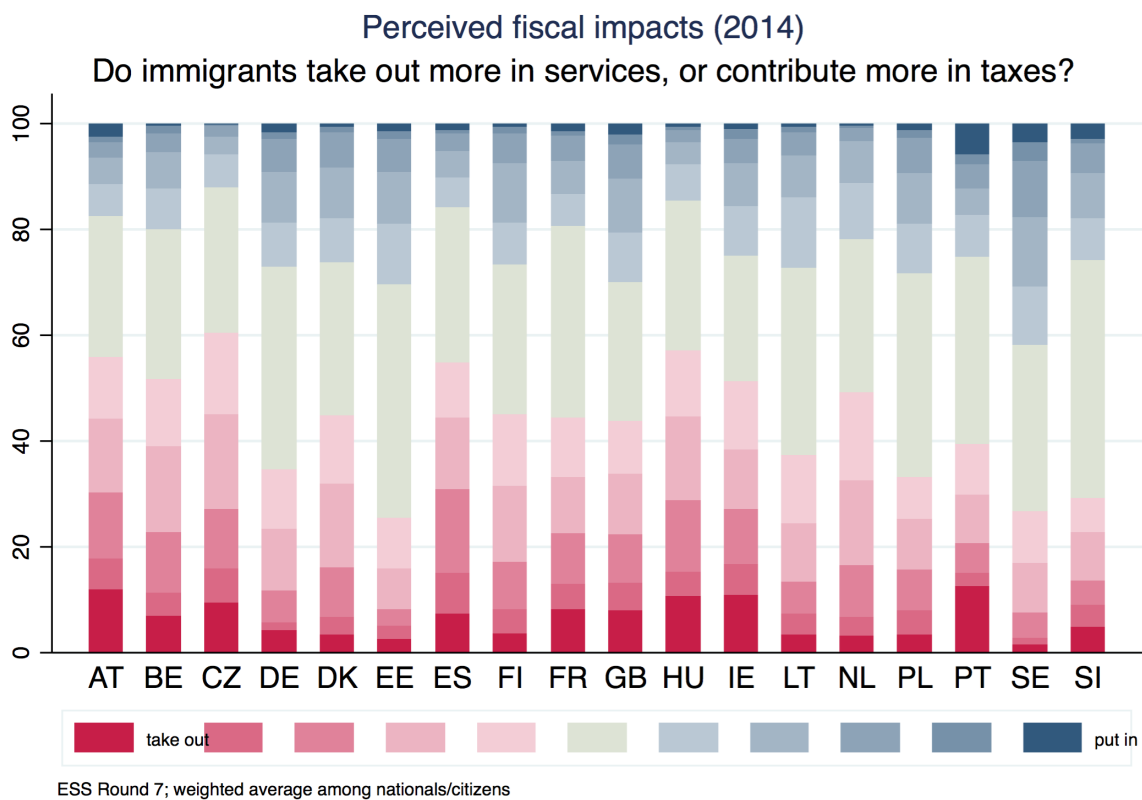
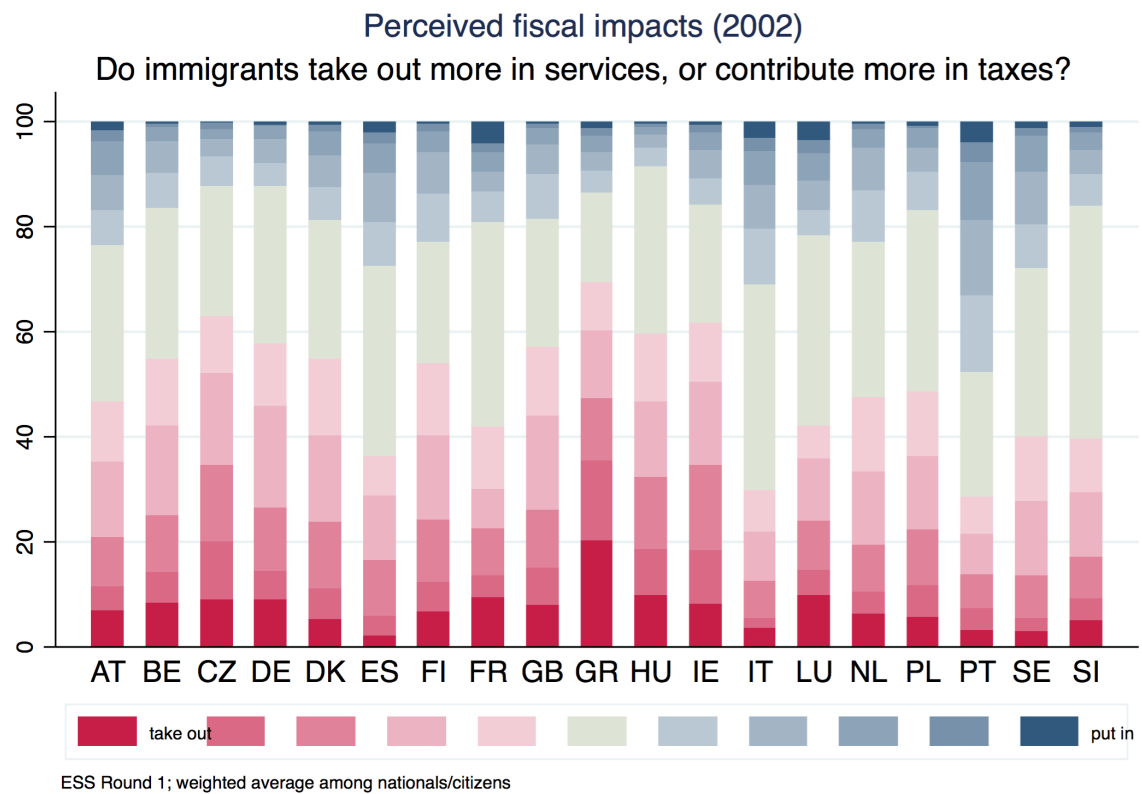
Weighted count of nationals/citizens across EU countries

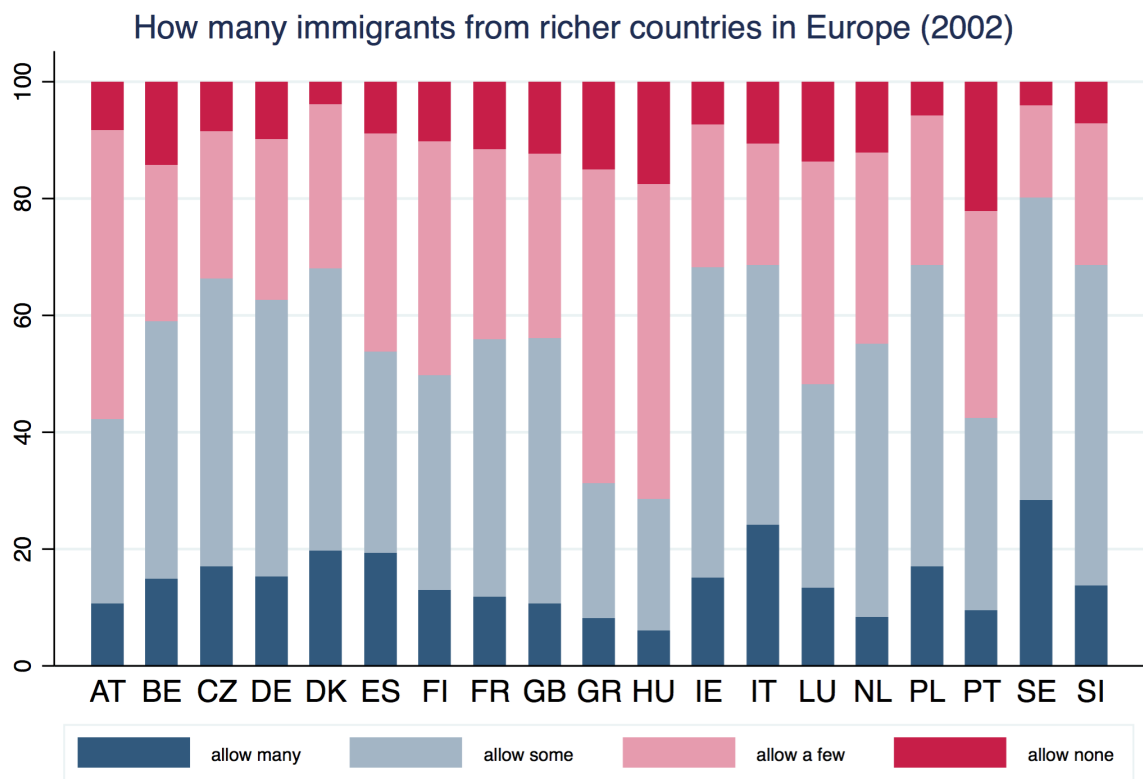
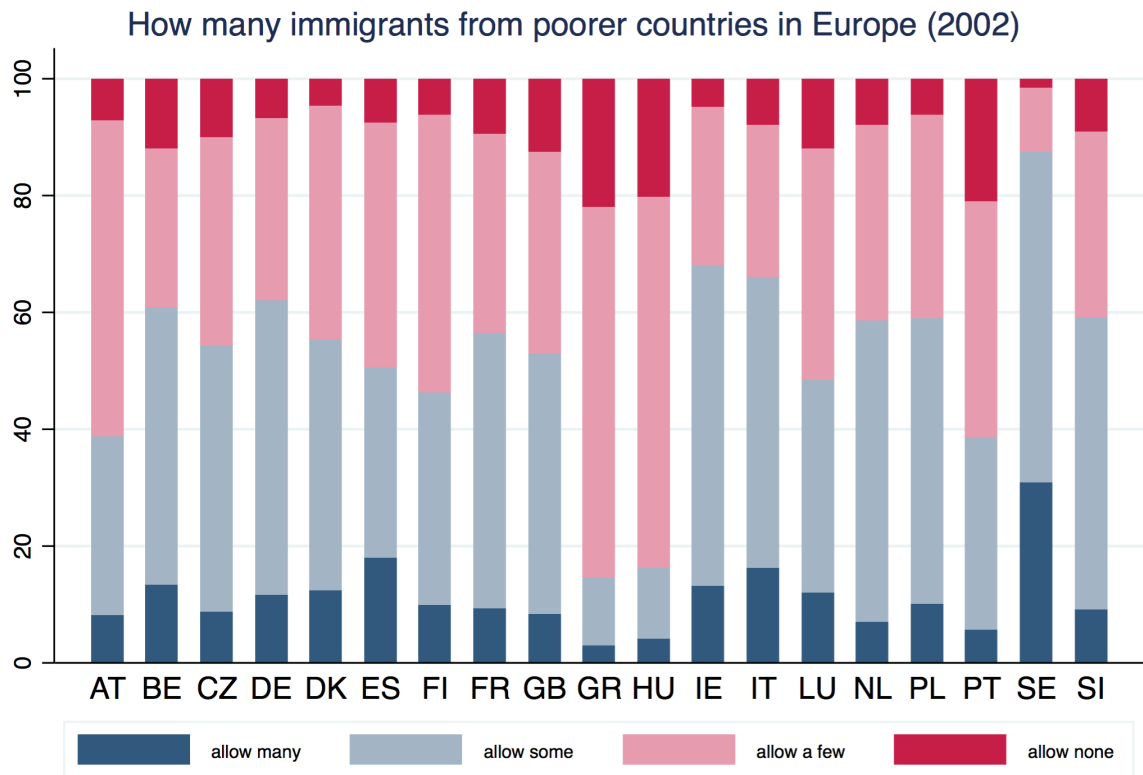
ESS7-2014	Allow professionals from [poor European country providing largest number]	Allow professionals from [poor non- European country providing largest number]	Allow unskilled labourers from [poor European country providing largest number]	Allow unskilled labourers from [poor non-European country providing largest number]
<i>Allow many to come and live here</i>	2,038	1,767	871	680
<i>Allow some</i>	3,600	3,607	2,625	2,173
<i>Allow a few</i>	1,528	1,704	2,445	2,580
<i>Allow none</i>	531	590	1,813	2,246
<i>Not applicable</i>	23,762	23,771	23,659	23,725
<i>Refusal</i>	38	37	49	53
<i>Don't know</i>	142	162	178	181
<i>No answer</i>	21	21	21	21

Weighted count of nationals/citizens across EU countries

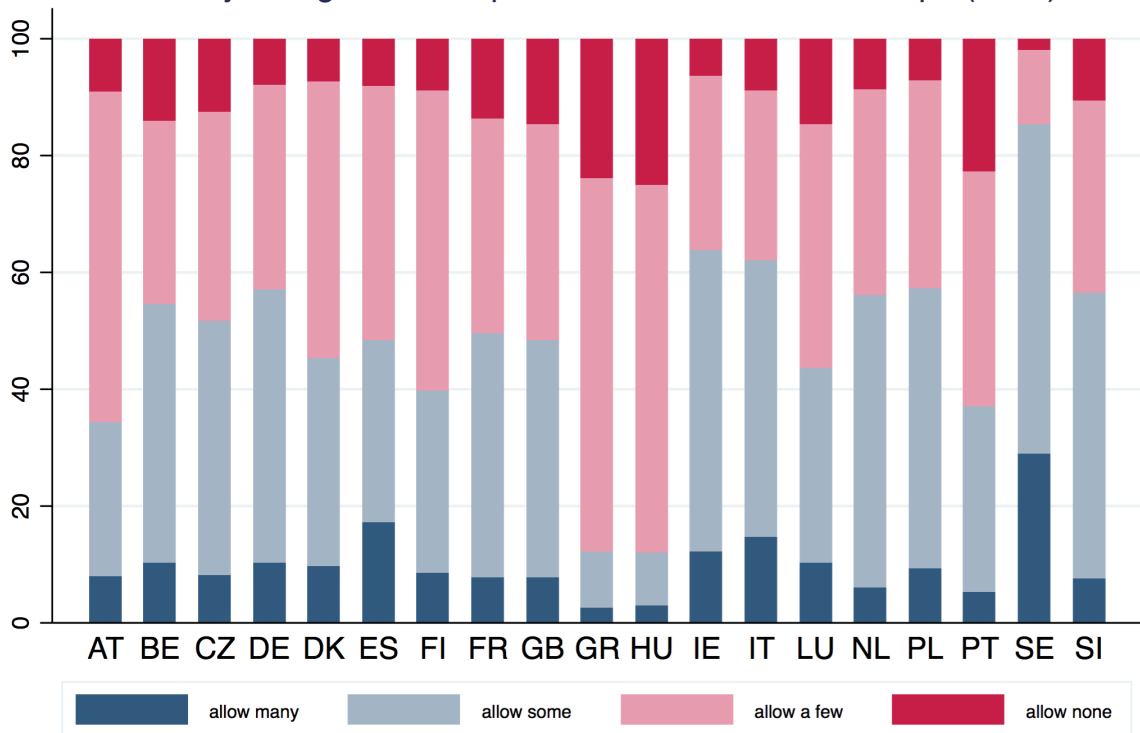


AD1. Breakdown of Responses to Original Questions by Country



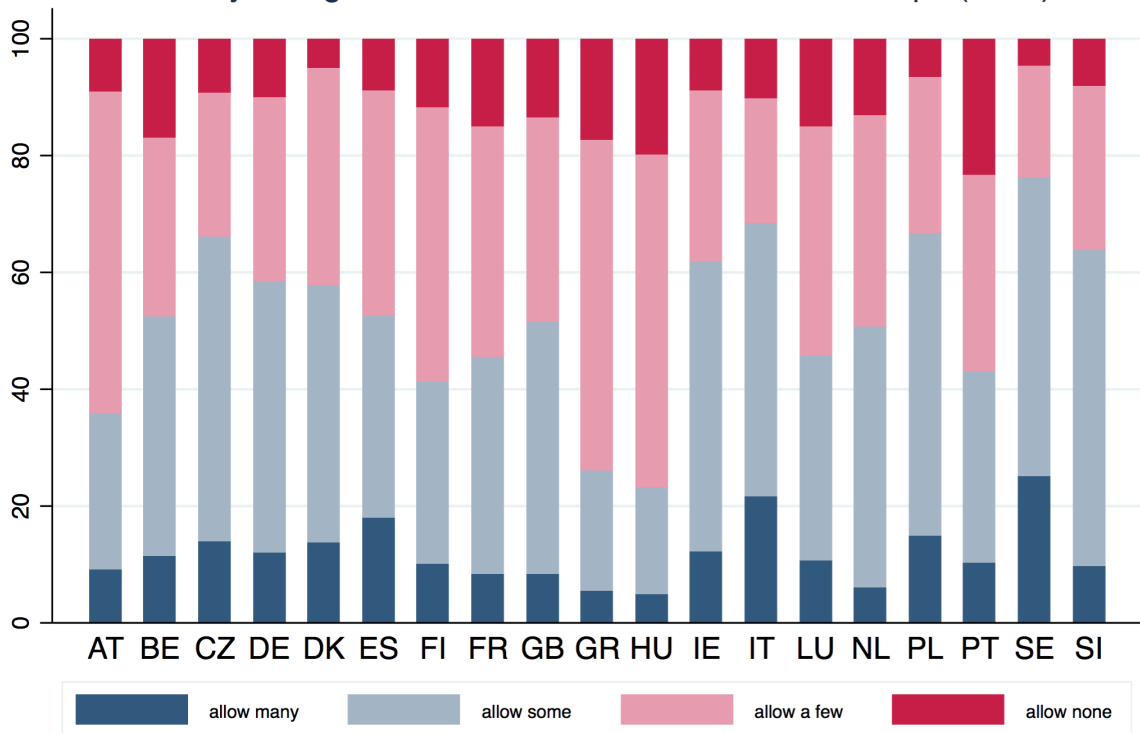


How many immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (2002)



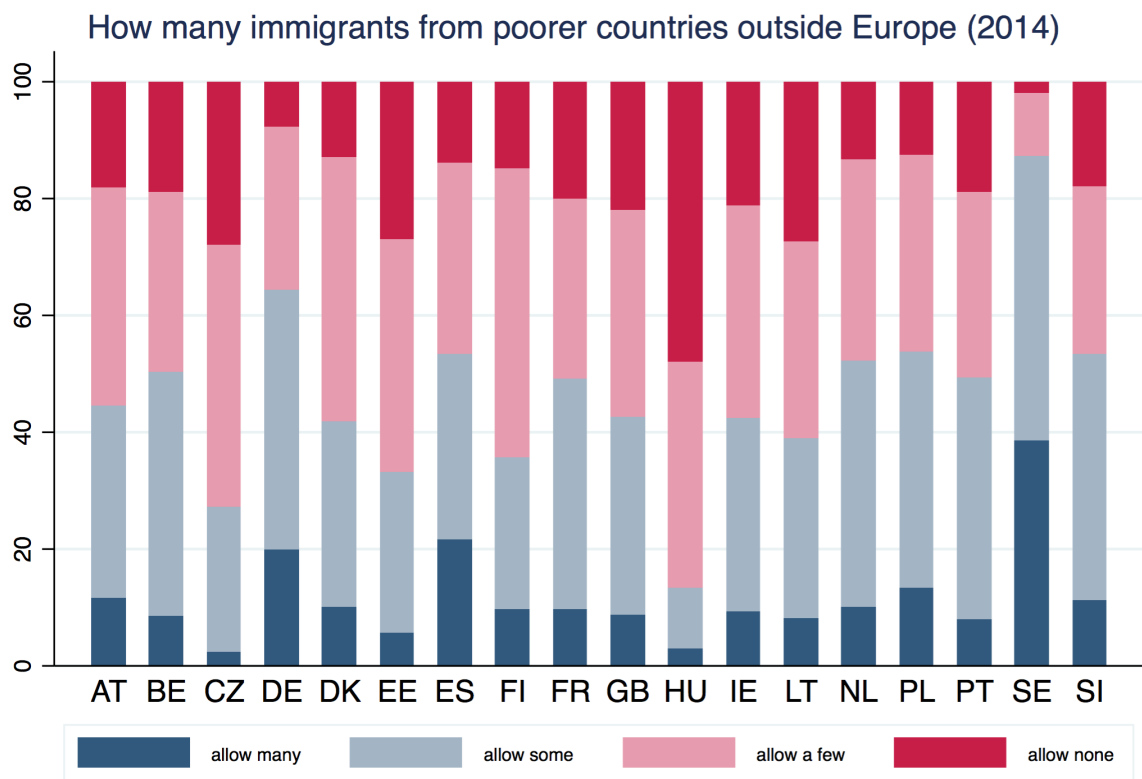
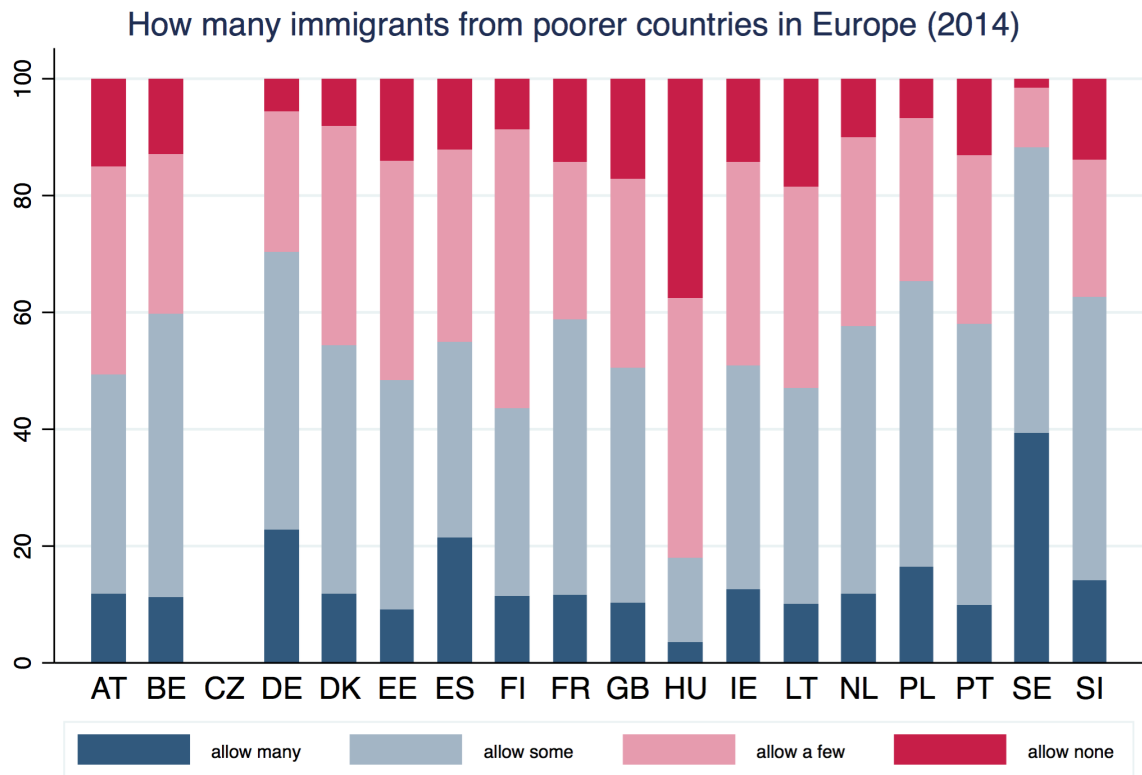
ESS Round 1; weighted average among nationals/citizens

How many immigrants from richer countries outside Europe (2002)

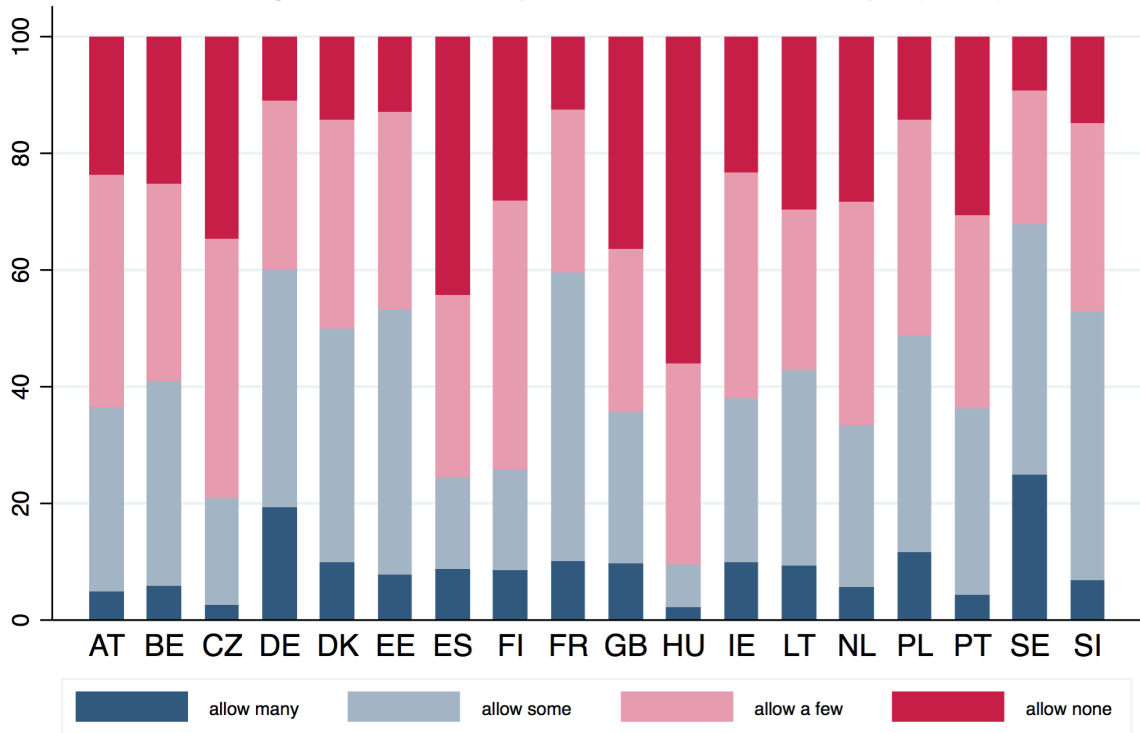


ESS Round 1; weighted average among nationals/citizens

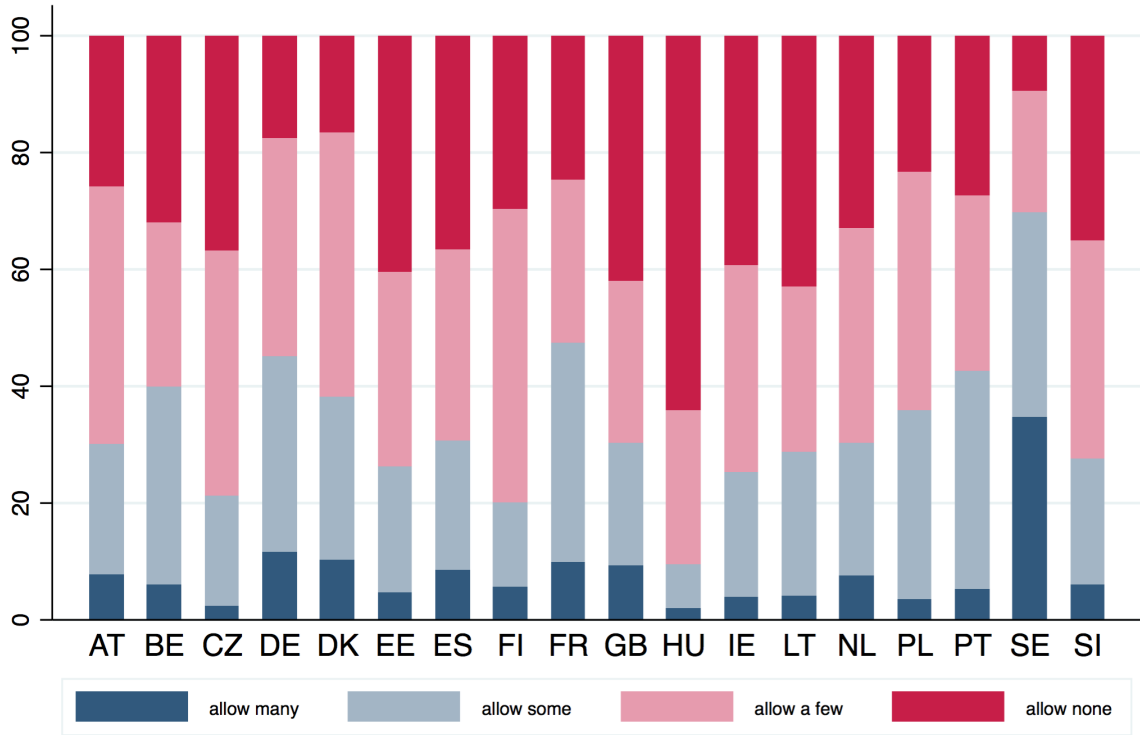


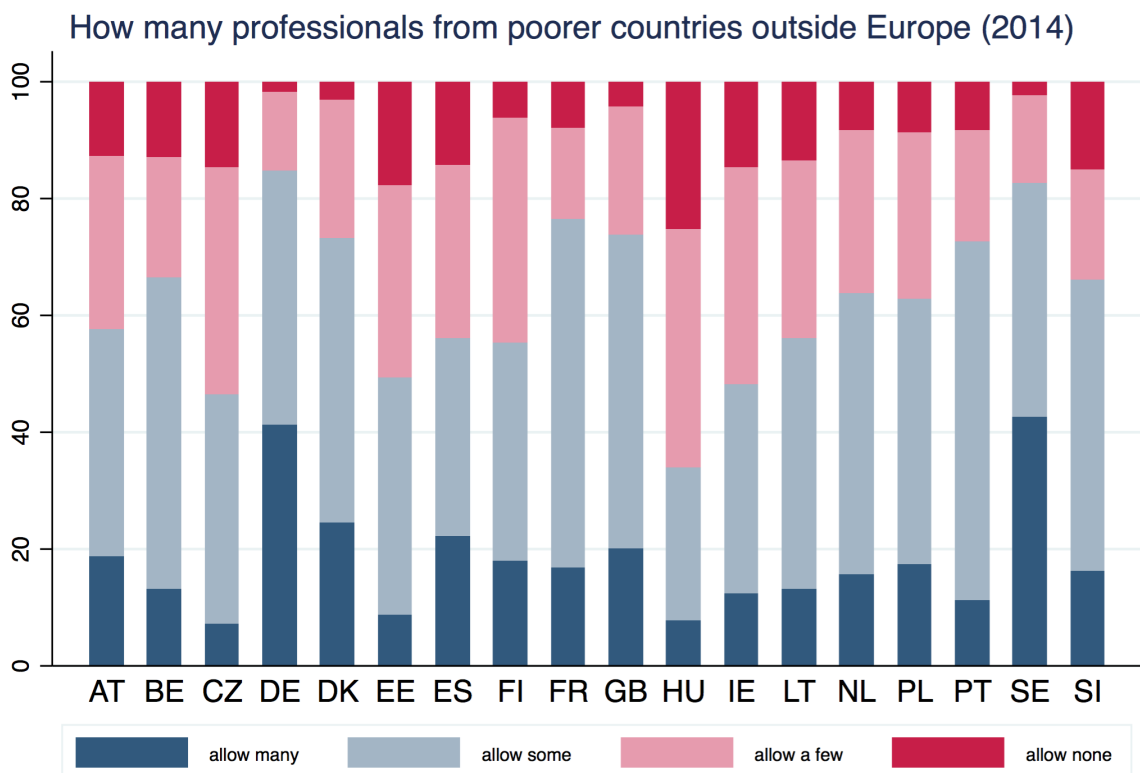
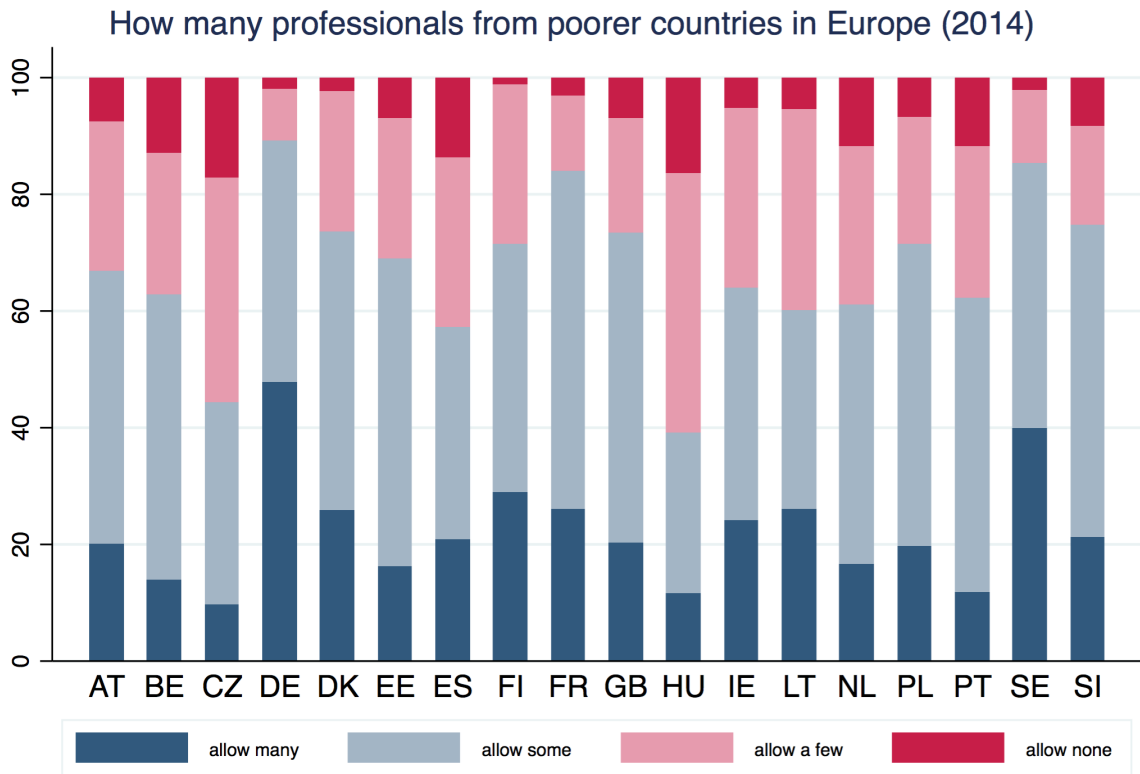


How many labourers from poorer countries in Europe (2014)



How many labourers from poorer countries outside Europe (2014)







REMINDER

ROLE OF EUROPEAN MOBILITY AND ITS IMPACTS
IN NARRATIVES, DEBATES AND EU REFORMS

The REMINDER project is exploring the economic, social, institutional and policy factors that have shaped the impacts of free movement in the EU and public debates about it.

The project is coordinated from COMPAS and includes participation from 14 consortium partners in 9 countries across Europe



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research & innovation programme under grant agreement no 727072

