What Motivates You? The Relationship between Preferences for Redistribution and Attitudes towards Immigration

Abstract: The tension between immigration and redistribution has attracted increased attention in recent years. Many authors argue, based on economic self-interest theory, that there is a negative relationship between support for redistribution and preferred levels of immigration. Although we acknowledge the role of economic self-interest, we argue that there is in fact a multitude of motivations that moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. Extending a model of preferences for immigration, we show empirically that self-interested and strongly reciprocal individuals experience a tension between immigration and redistribution, while egalitarians do not experience this tension. Humanitarians express a general willingness to help those who are worse off, immigrants included, but this motivation does not affect their preferences for redistribution.

Key words: welfare state, immigration, welfare chauvinism, self-interest, strong reciprocity, egalitarianism, humanitarianism, public opinion data

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Introduction

Immigration has been called one of the most important challenges for Western democracies in the 21st century,[1] and this is most certainly true for Western European welfare states. Many contributions state that there is a tension between immigration and redistribution and emphasize competition over scarce resources as one of the main driving forces behind this tension.[2] Given that immigrants are more often dependent on social benefits than the native population,[3] self-interested citizens are expected to either stop supporting redistribution or to start opposing immigration. For self-interested and especially low-skilled citizens redistribution *and* free immigration seem incompatible.

In this article, we analyze the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. Given the increasing levels of immigration to Western Europe, self-interested voters have reason to experience a tension between immigration and redistribution. In particular, if voters support redistribution out of self-interested motives, they are likely to stop supporting redistribution or start opposing immigration. These voters are likely to expect fewer social benefits because they expect the newly arrived immigrants to lower the mean income and divert scarce economic resources away from the native population.

However, not all voters support the welfare state out of self-interested motives. Some voters might be characterized by 'social preferences' such as egalitarianism, humanitarianism, or strong reciprocity.[4] Just like self-interest, these social preferences might moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. Even more importantly, strongly egalitarian, humanitarian or reciprocal voters might not experience a tension between immigration and redistribution. Whether there is a tension

between immigration and redistribution at the population level depends on the distribution of these four motivations within a given population.

We expect that strongly reciprocal voters, just like self-interested voters, experience a tension between immigration and redistribution; however we expect them to do so for different reasons. Strongly reciprocal individuals judge the deservingness of societal groups by evaluating the legitimacy of these groups' intentions, actions, and entitlements. If they consider these groups' intentions and actions illegitimate, they are willing to punish them even at personal cost.[5] In fact, many Europeans are very suspicious of immigrants' intentions and actions. According to survey data, a majority of Europeans think that minority groups in their countries abuse the social benefit system, that the availability of social benefits attracts immigration in the first place and that most refugee applicants are not in real fear of persecution in their home countries.[6] Thus, strongly reciprocal individuals who support redistribution are unlikely to support high levels of immigration because many of them question immigrants' intentions and actions.

Both self-interest and strong reciprocity explain the tension between redistribution and immigration. However, other motivations might not lead to such a tension. An obvious candidate is humanitarianism, i.e. the sense of obligation to help those in need regardless of deservingness.[7] Considering the socio-economic conditions of immigrants and refugees in particular, there is an obvious need for help, independent of the distributional outcomes of such humanitarian interventions.

The final motivation, egalitarianism, considers social welfare a social right. While humanitarians focus on the truly disadvantaged, immigrant or not, and are not concerned with

the distribution of wealth in a society, egalitarians want to help the worse off precisely because they care about redistribution. Put differently, a more egalitarian distribution of wealth is a goal in itself and is best achieved by redistribution and extensive state involvement.[8] If egalitarianism is understood in global terms, as for instance suggested by Gunnar Myrdal,[9] and given that many immigrants to Western Europe tend to be poorer than Western Europeans, then egalitarians are unlikely to experience a tension between redistribution and high levels of immigration.

In the empirical part, we demonstrate that these four motivations moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. Using Sides and Citrin's[10] important study on the determinants of immigration policy preferences as a starting point, we show that the negative relationship between support for redistribution and support for high levels of immigration grows stronger, the more respondents are characterized by high levels of self-interest and the more respondents stress moral behavior. In contrast, this negative relationship grows weaker, and eventually disappears, if respondents are very supportive of egalitarianism. Finally, as expected, humanitarianism has a strong effect on support for immigration, but it does not moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration.

This article makes two contributions to the literature. First, by demonstrating that four different motivations moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration, it shows that motivations other than self-interest drive voters in Western Europe when they gauge the relationship between immigration and redistribution. This is an important theoretical finding because the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration is a least likely scenario for observing

motivations other than self-interest. Respondents are unlikely to know the immigrants in question, to identify with them, or to see them again. Thus, we can expect self-interest to be a particularly important motivation.[11] Nevertheless, we observe all four motivations in this anonymous one-shot interaction. Moreover, we observe this heterogeneity in the realm of motivations in a context that is identical for all respondents (a computer-assisted telephone interview). This provides strong evidence that heterogeneous preferences are not only the result of repeated interactions[12] or the institutional context,[13] but also a fundamental feature of human societies.[14]

Second, we add to the literature on the relationship between immigration and redistribution by providing empirical evidence on the different motivations that moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. Our results show that there is not necessarily a tension between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. Rather, there are alternative motivations that lead some individuals to support (or reject) both immigration and redistribution.

In the next section, we contrast four types of motivations and show how they can be analyzed and compared using the example of immigration and redistribution. After presenting the data and the operationalization, we discuss the empirical results. A final section concludes.

Four motivations moderating the relationship between redistribution and immigration

Why does immigration endanger European welfare states? Alesina and Glaeser[15] argue that "when there are significant numbers of minorities among the poor, then the majority population can be roused against transferring money to people who are different from themselves". Broadly speaking, two strands in the literature explain why the majority

population opposes transferring money to immigrants[16]: the first strand emphasizes the role of economic self-interest, while the second strand emphasizes ethnic prejudice and xenophobia. Although we acknowledge the role of ethnic prejudice and xenophobia, this article focuses on the role of socio-economic motivations because we want to demonstrate that a multitude of socio-economic motivations moderate the relationship between immigration and redistribution. However, we control in the empirical analysis for the effects of ethnic prejudice and xenophobia through a battery of control variables.

Among the studies focusing on socio-economic motivations, most have stressed the role of self-interest. According to van Oorschot and Uunk[17], economic self-interest theory postulates that "hostile attitudes between members of two racial or ethnic groups reflect an underlying clash of personal self-interests. Individuals develop negative attitudes towards individual with whom they are in direct competition." Crepaz and Damron[18] add that "the more comprehensive the welfare state is, the more tolerant natives are of immigrants" because "welfare chauvinism is connected to the competition over scarce resources." Although we acknowledge the important role economic self-interest plays in the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration, we believe that due to the dominant focus on economic self-interest, authors have ignored the fact that there is considerable heterogeneity in the realm of socio-economic motivations. More concretely, the literature on welfare state support has clearly shown that economic self-interest is not the only reason voters support redistribution. Other motivations like egalitarianism and reciprocity also matter. However, if voters support redistribution because they believe that all people in the world should be treated as equals on dimensions such as economic and social status, why would they experience a tension between immigration and redistribution?

Based on the literature on welfare state support, especially contributions by behavioral economists and political psychologists, we argue that at least four motivations moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration and need to be clearly delineated: (1) self-interest, (2) egalitarianism, (3) humanitarianism, and (4) strong reciprocity. These four motivations vary along two dimensions (see Table 1). Humanitarians and egalitarians are characterized by a *general willingness to help the needy* by either targeting social benefits at the needy (humanitarianism) or by fundamentally redistributing economic resources within a society (egalitarianism). In contrast, self-interested individuals only support redistribution if it is for their own good, while strongly reciprocal individuals only support redistribution if the underlying intentions for redistribution are considered fair.[19] The second dimension measures the *general willingness to punish 'deviant' behavior at personal cost*. Egalitarians and strongly reciprocal individuals punish 'deviant' behavior if the behavior is considered unfair, i.e. if initial actions have caused an overly unequal distribution of economic resources (egalitarianism) or if initial actions have violated norms of fairness (strong reciprocity). In contrast, humanitarians and self-interested individuals do not punish at their own expense either because their altruism is unconditional (humanitarians) or because their utility is solely a function of their own economic payoff (self-interested individuals). Below we discuss these four motivations in detail and explain how they link preferences for redistribution to attitudes towards immigration.[20]

[Table 1]

There are two main reasons why a *self-interested* individual might support redistribution. First, given that the median voter's income is lower than the mean income, redistribution will

benefit the median voter if taxes are linear and benefits are paid as lump sum transfers.[21] Second, redistribution can function as insurance for risk-averse citizens or citizens with special skill investments.[22] Thus, individuals motivated by self-interest support redistribution as long as it is for their good.

How does this relate to immigration? Self-interested individuals are likely to observe a tension between preferences for redistribution and liberal immigration policies. This is best illustrated by Okun's[23] 'leaky bucket' metaphor. Okun argues that due to inefficiencies caused by taxation and administrative costs, the net benefit to the recipient is likely to be smaller than the cost to those footing the bill. That is, part of the money is lost in the redistributive process. The 'leaky bucket' problem is likely to become more important in a globalized world as the internationally mobile factors of production tend to be owned by the rich, enabling them to evade taxation. This is what Bowles[24] refers to as the 'generalized leaky bucket problem'. However, the leaky bucket metaphor also applies to immigration. In the presence of immigration, low-income natives may receive fewer benefits as a result of redistribution because newly arrived immigrants are likely to decrease the mean income. Consequently, some low-income natives may find that they are net contributors rather than net beneficiaries of redistribution and if redistribution is supported out of self-interested motives, these individuals cannot be expected to support liberal immigration policies.[25]

Self-interested motivations stand in sharp contrast to *egalitarian* motivations, or what behavioral economists refer to as 'inequity aversion'.[26] Egalitarians want to achieve a more egalitarian distribution of economic resources by increasing other persons' economic payoff if these persons' economic pay is below a certain threshold value. Similarly, egalitarians want to decrease other persons' economic payoff if it is above a certain threshold value. This has

two important implications: First, egalitarians show a general willingness to help the poor because this coincides with their general preference for a more egalitarian distribution of resources. Second, egalitarians are willing to punish 'deviant' behavior, in this case claiming a disproportionate amount of the economic payoff, even at personal cost.[27] Both stand in sharp contrast to self-interested motivations, which are characterized by a general *un*willingness to help those worse off *and* a general *un*willingness to punish deviant behavior if the punishment promises no future reward.

We expect 'true' egalitarians to consider the living conditions of immigrants. Otherwise, it would be difficult to distinguish egalitarianism from self-interest as the likelihood of being a beneficiary of egalitarian policies increases with restrictive immigration policies. Moreover, such an individual would simply support egalitarianism within certain closed groups, while disregarding inequality between these groups. Such a social preference could hardly be called 'true' egalitarianism.[28] Put differently, in an increasingly globalized world, egalitarians have to consider the world beyond the national welfare state. The famous social democrat Gunnar Myrdal formulated this egalitarian position more than 50 years ago, when he wrote about the 'international class conflict':

> [We] know that mere political independence, without equal opportunity, economic progress, and the right to share wealth and power, will not be enough. In the end there is, in these world-wide problems, no practical alternative to international disintegration other than to initiate the development towards the democratic Welfare World [...]. We thus know that, if a new stability is to exist in the world, rich nations will have to be prepared to modify their economic policies in the interest of a broader sharing of opportunities.[29]

Thus, for 'true' egalitarians, the answer to globalization must be redistribution on the international level. Only this solution would be consistent with the ideals of liberty, equality, and brotherhood as already expressed in national welfare states.[30]

The egalitarians' position might seem far-fetched, or even utopian, at first sight. However, there is evidence of a positive correlation between equality at home and global redistribution. For instance, Noël and Thérien[31] observe a positive correlation between spending on social security and official development assistance. Thus, there seems to be a certain consistency in terms of institutionalized values and principles. For the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration, this implies that egalitarians are unlikely to observe a tension between redistribution and immigration. Rather, egalitarians can be expected to support both redistribution and immigration, as immigrants are likely to be very poor.

Humanitarianism, or what behavioral economists refer to as 'unconditional altruism', is a third possible motivation. Feldman and Steenbergen[32] define humanitarianism as a sense of obligation to help those in need. As Fehr and Fischbacher[33] note, humanitarians value the economic resources allocated to a relevant reference agent positively. Moreover, humanitarians, or unconditional altruists, do not condition their behavior on the deservingness of others.[34] Consequently, humanitarians do not punish 'deviant' behavior.[35] Note that unconditional altruism should not be confused with self-abandonment: 'Altruism' refers to the willingness to help those in need even at personal cost, while 'unconditional' refers to the absence of conditions attached to such help. Thus, humanitarians want to help

the needy, but they do not have strong feelings about redistribution in general (in contrast to egalitarians).

Egalitarianism and humanitarianism are thus two different motivations. As Feldman and Steenbergen note, egalitarianism is "associated with support for social welfare policies that involve extensive *market intervention* by the government."[36] In contrast, humanitarianism generates "support for a much more limited set of policies, namely policies that redress immediate *needs* that arise in *limited* sections of the population". This also implies that humanitarianism is compatible with values such as the principle that people should take responsibility for solving their own problems. Humanitarians advocate interventions only when problems become too large for a single individual to solve.[37]

With regard to immigration, we expect humanitarians to stress the neediness of (some) immigrants. Thus, humanitarians might think of overloaded boats headed for the Mediterranean shores of Spain or Italy, or of hunger and misery in food-strapped Third World countries. Humanitarians are the opposite of Simmelian[38] 'metropolitan residents' who protect themselves through intellectual processes against uninterrupted bombardment by outside stimuli. Humanitarians feel compassion with those in need and instead of thinking in terms of self-interest or equality feel obliged to help the needy wherever they come from.

Finally, *strong reciprocity* is probably the most complex of the four motivations. Gintis et al. define strong reciprocity as "a predisposition to cooperate with others, and to punish (at personal cost, if necessary) those who violate the norms of cooperation."[39] A strongly reciprocal individual responds kindly to actions perceived as kind and adversely to actions perceived as hostile. Whether an action is perceived as kind or hostile depends on the

intentions underlying the action. If the action is considered ‘fair’ or ‘legitimate’, strongly reciprocal individuals respond with cooperation. In contrast, ‘unfair’ or ‘illegitimate’ action is punished. Experimental studies have shown that the behavior of a considerable number of participants deviated from self-interest. These participants behaved altruistically as long as others did so as well, but punished those who behaved unfairly according to prevalent norms of cooperation. Although some participants always behave in a purely self-interested manner, strongly reciprocal participants generally outnumbered these self-interested individuals.[40]

It is important to distinguish ‘strong reciprocity’ from ‘weak reciprocity’. Weak reciprocity denotes reciprocal behavior due to expected future repayments and can therefore be difficult to distinguish from self-interested behavior. In contrast, strong reciprocity denotes reciprocal or cooperative behavior even at personal cost and in the absence of future repayment, that is, as long as the action is considered fair. Note that strong reciprocity also comprises costly punishment, i.e. strongly reciprocal individuals are willing to punish deviant behavior even at personal cost.

Strong reciprocity helps us understand why some groups are considered more deserving than others.[41] A strongly reciprocal individual responds to needs as a function of actions preceding these needs. If a need is considered ‘legitimate’, for instance because physical incapacity renders gainful labor market participation impossible or because the needy person has a long history of contributing to common goods, strongly reciprocal individuals respond with cooperation (i.e. social support), otherwise they refuse to support. Evaluating fairness and legitimacy is easiest in small and local groups, but public policies such as immigration and social policies are the opposite. Public policies are national and anonymous and individuals have to rely on ‘mental maps’ or ‘the recent history’ to evaluate actions and intentions.[42] This

puts immigrants in a difficult spot when they face strongly reciprocal individuals because trust and cooperation are highest in small and homogeneous communities.[43] In addition, the public perception of motives for immigration is very negative. Survey data shows that a clear majority of Europeans thinks that the welfare state is the cause of immigration, that minority groups abuse the welfare state, and that most refugee applicants are 'bogus', that is, in no real fear of persecution in their home countries.[44] As a result, strongly reciprocal individuals are likely to oppose liberal immigration policies. At the same time though, strongly reciprocal individuals are likely to support redistribution, but only as long as redistribution is restricted to the deserving needy.[45] Thus, strongly reciprocal individuals are likely to experience a tension between immigration and redistribution because they want to prevent that 'undeserving' immigrants receive social benefits that should be reserved for the 'deserving' poor.

In total, we argue that these four motivations moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration in very different ways (see Table 1). We expect to observe a tension between preferences for redistribution and immigration in the case of self-interested and strongly reciprocal individuals. In contrast, we expect egalitarianism to attenuate this tension. Finally, we expect humanitarianism to *not* moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration because humanitarianism is only related to attitudes towards immigration, but not preferences for redistribution.

Data and operationalization

The empirical analysis takes Sides and Citrin's seminal study as a starting point. Sides and Citrin use the first wave of the European Social Survey (2002-03) to assess the influence of

material interests and cultural identities on public opinion about immigration in 20 European countries.[46] They show that cultural and national identity, economic interests as well as the level of information about immigration are important determinants of attitudes towards immigration. We rely on their study in order to safeguard our analysis from allegations of model misspecification and omitted variable bias.[47] A second advantage of Sides and Citrin's specification is that the authors use a continuous dependent variable. Since our theoretical argument is based on interaction effects between preferences for redistribution and the four motivations that moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration, the usage of a continuous dependent simplifies the interpretation of the results of the statistical analysis considerably.

The dependent variable, preferred level of immigration, is operationalized using a series of questions that refer to different kinds of immigrant populations. Respondents were first asked the following question: "To what extent do you think [country] should allow people of the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people to come and live here?" Subsequently, they were asked the same question about immigrants of a different race or ethnic group. Finally, respondents were asked about people from richer countries in Europe, poorer countries in Europe, richer countries outside Europe and poorer countries outside Europe. Respondents were given the following options: allow many, allow some, allow a few or allow none. The six survey items are almost perfectly correlated (Cronbach's alpha = 0.94), which shows that respondents rarely differentiate between different groups of immigrants. Rather, the stereotypical perception of immigrants seems to be one of individuals who abuse the welfare state, cost extra tax money, and take jobs from natives.[48] We scale each item to range from 0 to 1 and then calculate the average for each respondent. The resulting dependent

variable ranges from 0 to 1 with a mean of 0.48 and a standard deviation of 0.24 (N=32'886). Higher values indicate opposition to liberal immigration policies.

Preferences for redistribution have been operationalized using the following question: "Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels." Respondents were given the following five options: agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and disagree strongly. Higher values indicate support for redistribution.

We measure the four moderator variables using very general operationalizations that do not refer explicitly to immigration or redistribution.[49] Self-interest is operationalized using the following survey question (emphasis added): "To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to *support* people who are worse off than themselves?" Respondents were given the choice among eleven possible responses, ranging from 0 (extremely unimportant) to 10 (extremely important). We expect self-interested individuals to consider supporting those worse off as unimportant.[50] The other three moderator variables are operationalized using short descriptions of fictitious persons. After hearing this short description, respondents were asked how much this fictitious person was or was not like them. We use the following three descriptions (emphasis added): (1) "It is important to her/him always to *behave* properly. S/he wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong" (strong reciprocity). (2) "S/he thinks it is important that every person in the world is treated *equally.* S/he believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life" (egalitarianism). (3) "It is very important to her/him to *help* the people around her/him. S/he wants to care for their well-being" (humanitarianism). Table 2 displays the distribution of responses.[51] We are aware that some of the measures we use are imperfect operationalizations

of the underlying concept. However we do believe that we capture relevant variation in the underlying motivations by using the specified items.

The pair wise correlations between the four motivations are generally modest indicating that they do in fact measure different underlying concepts. As expected, egalitarianism and self-interest correlate negatively, however, at -0.192 the bivariate correlation is not problematic. In fact, the correlation between self-interest and humanitarianism is stronger (at -0.266). We observe the strongest pair wise correlation between egalitarianism and humanitarianism (at 0.310). However, note that we have different expectations for the moderating effects of egalitarianism and humanitarianism. While increasing levels of egalitarianism are supposed to weaken the tension between immigration and redistribution, humanitarianism is expected to have no moderating effect.

Finally, most individuals are simultaneously characterized by different, potentially contradictory social preferences. This phenomenon is called 'ambivalence' and implies that individuals have to choose between competing values when making decisions.[52] For instance, among the 10'934 respondents who think that it is very important to treat every person in the world equally (32.34 percent of all respondents), 3'087 consider it very important to always behave properly, 3'287 consider it very important to support people who are worse off, and 4'301 consider it very important to help the people around you. Thus, it could be that on the individual level several motivations simultaneously moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and preferred levels of immigration.

[Table 2]

Following Sides and Citrin, we add a long list of control variables to our models: satisfaction with personal finances, satisfaction with income, income, employment status, preference for cultural unity, preference for national authority, comparative estimate of the level of immigration (more or less than other European countries of same size), the difference between the actual share of foreign-born residents and the respondent's estimate as well as the interaction between these two variables, presence of immigrant friends, level of social trust, satisfaction with life, frequency of political discussion, self-placement on a left-right scale as well as the interaction between these two variables, self-identification as member of a minority group plus dummy variables for second generation individuals, naturalized individuals (more or less than ten years in country), non-citizens (more or less than ten years in country) plus control variables (age, education and gender). We have followed the documentation in Sides and Citrin and crosschecked with the authors (see the appendix for a discussion of the operationalization and theoretical expectations).[53]

In the empirical analysis, we use both the full set and a restricted set of control variables (age, education, gender, income, labor market status, and political orientation). Both model specifications lead to the same conclusions. We thus only present the models with the full list of control variables because this is the more conservative specification. The results of the estimations with fewer control variables can be obtained on request.

The models are estimated using weighted OLS regressions with country fixed effects to control for cross-national differences and clustered standard errors. This is a particularly conservative estimation strategy, which maximizes our confidence in the robustness of our results[54] and reflects the fact that we are primarily interested in how the four motivations moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards

immigration. Interaction effects are analyzed using graphical visualizations as recommended by Brambor et al.[55] Thus, the specification adopted in the empirical analysis is

$$\text{IMMIGRATION} = \beta_0 + \beta_1*\text{REDISTRIBUTE} + \beta_2*\text{MOTIVATION} + \beta_3*\text{REDISTRIBUTE}*\text{MOTIVATION} + \beta_4*X_1 + ... + \beta_n*X_n + \varepsilon,$$

with the marginal effect being

$$(\delta\text{IMMIGRATION}/\delta\text{REDISTRIBUTE} \mid \text{MOTIVATION}) = b_1 + b_3*\text{MOTIVATION},$$

and the variance being

$$\sigma^2 = \text{var}(b_1) + \text{MOTIVATION}^2*\text{var}(b_3) + 2*\text{MOTIVATION}*\text{cov}(b_1,b_3).$$

IMMIGRATION refers to the preferred level of immigration, REDISTRIBUTE refers to preferences for redistribution and MOTIVATION refers to the four social preferences discussed in the theoretical part. X_1 to X_n are the control variables as specified by Sides and Citrin. β_0 refers to the general intercept, β_1 to β_n are the slopes of the explanatory variables and ε is the error term.

Empirical analysis

Table 3 provides the results of OLS regressions of preferred levels of immigration (high values indicating opposition to immigration) on preferences for redistribution, the motivations expected to moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration, and control variables. Model 1 shows the unconditional effect of preferences for redistribution on preferred levels of immigration, i.e. our dependent variable. Models 2 to 5 each contain one of the four moderator variables and its interaction with preferences for redistribution. Finally, Model 6 contains all four moderator variables and their interaction with preferences for redistribution. In all six models, we observe – as far as

the control variables are concerned – the same relationships as documented by Sides and Citrin. Thus, we are confident that our models are well specified. However, as our main focus is on the moderating effects of the four discussed motivations, we restrict our discussion of the empirical evidence to the interaction effects between preferences for redistribution and the four motivations.

[Table 3]

Model 1 in Table 3 shows that preferences for redistribution do not have a significant unconditional effect on preferred levels of immigration. This finding, however, does not rule out that there is in fact a systematic relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration because if there are several motivations moderating this relationship, then some of these motivations might offset each other.[56] We therefore turn to a systematic analysis of these four motivations. We are primarily interested in the moderating effects of the four motivations and not the unconditional effects of these variables. The most convenient way to analyze interaction effects is by using graphical representations. Figures 1a to 1d show, based on Model 6 in Table 4, the marginal effects of preferences for redistribution on the preferred level of immigration as the moderating variables change. Figure 1a displays the moderating effect of self-interest, Figure 1b shows the moderating effect of strong reciprocity, Figure 1c shows the moderating effect of egalitarianism, and, finally, Figure 1d shows the moderating effect of humanitarianism. In all graphical representations, the y-axis displays the marginal effect of the indicator for redistribution preferences, while the x-axis displays the motivations. The higher the score on the x-axis, the more the respondent exhibits a given motivation.

Figure 1a shows that the perceived tension between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration grows stronger, although not significant, the more respondents consider it *un*important to help those worse off (self-interest). Similarly, the perceived tension between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration grows stronger, as Figure 1b shows, the more respondents consider it *un*important to always behave properly (strong reciprocity). For respondents who believe that it is *not* important to always behave properly, the marginal effect of preferences for redistribution is significantly different from zero. Conversely, the perceived tension between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration grows weaker the more respondents consider it important to treat everybody equally (egalitarianism). As Figure 1c shows, the marginal effect of preferences for redistribution is negative and significantly different from zero for highly egalitarian respondents, thereby indicating that egalitarian respondents do not experience a tension between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration at all. Finally, the extent to which respondents think that it is important to help people around you (humanitarianism) does not moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and preferring lower levels of immigration. The coefficient of the interaction term in Model 5 in Table 3 is essentially zero. Adding the other three moderator variables leads to an increase of the coefficient of the interaction term (see Model 6). However, neither the coefficient of the interaction term in Model 6 in Table 3 nor the marginal effect of preferences for redistribution displayed in Figure 1d is significantly different from zero.

[Figure 1]

Figures 1a to 1d thus display the expected patterns. Self-interested and strongly reciprocal individuals experience a tension between immigration and redistribution (although the effect narrowly ceases to be significantly different from zero in the case of self-interest), while egalitarians detect none. Finally, humanitarians do not oppose immigration (see Models 5 and 6 in Table 3). However, humanitarianism does not moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and opposition to immigration. For humanitarians, immigration and redistribution do not have much bearing on each other. Thus, the empirical evidence supports our claim that there are at least four motivations that moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. Moreover, we observe these differences independent of an explicit link to immigration in the conceptualization of the four motivations. At the same time, we cannot observe an unconditional effect of redistribution preferences on preferred levels of immigration (see Model 1 in Table 3). However, as we have shown above, there *is* a systematic relationship between redistribution preferences and attitudes towards immigration, but this relationship is moderated by different and partly conflicting motivations.

Conclusions

Is there an insurmountable tension between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration? Well, that depends on your point of view! The main goal of this contribution is to show that motivations matter. More precisely, we argue that there are four motivations that moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. We observe that self-interested (if they consider their interests hurt by immigration) and strongly reciprocal individuals (if they have a negative perception of immigrants' morality) experience a tension between immigration and redistribution, while egalitarians do not experience such a tension. Finally, humanitarians express a general

willingness to help those worse off, immigrants included, but this motivation does not affect their preferences for redistribution. Whether there is tension between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration is a function of an individual's motivation.

Our findings have important policy implications because the motivation 'strong reciprocity' gives governments the possibility to diminish the perceived tension between immigration and redistribution. As we have shown, the widespread negative perception of immigrants' morality matters. If individuals consider immigrants' motives amoral, they experience a tension between immigration and redistribution. However, the popular image of societal groups is not set in stone. If governments manage to improve the popular image of immigrants as a societal group, the public perception of tension between immigration and redistribution is likely to attenuate.

Of course, this also implies that opponents of redistribution (or immigration) have an interest in communicating a negative image of immigrants' morality. If strongly reciprocal believe that immigrants abuse the system, they will either respond with less support for redistribution or less support for immigration. Thus, whether a political agent who consciously portrays immigrants as amoral individuals wants to stop immigration or redistribution is not per se clear. However, our empirical evidence can explain why most right-wing populist parties in Europe have attempted to link these two policy issues.

We have demonstrated that there are in fact four socio-economic motivations that moderate the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration. We have argued that this is a least likely scenario for observing a multitude of motivations because the interaction between a respondent in a computer-assisted telephone interview and

a virtual immigrant is anonymous, non-recurring, and between individuals that are likely to consider themselves to be very different. Nevertheless, we observe all four motivations. As a consequence, our analysis provides strong evidence for the existence of considerable heterogeneity in the realm of motivations. This, however, has often been ignored by the empirical literature on what motivates people to support redistribution. Rather, most contributions have focused on only one motivation (self-interest) or at best two motivations (self-interest and some variant of a sociological model based on group adherence, norm compliance and values). In contrast, we suggest that the heterogeneity in the realm of motivations should always be taken seriously and modeled explicitly.

Table 1: *Four motivations moderating the relationship between preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration*

		General willingness to punish 'deviant' behavior even at personal cost?	
		No	*Yes*
General willingness to help those worse off?	*No*	Self-interest → **Tension**	Strong reciprocity → **Tension likely**
	Yes	Humanitarianism → **No moderation**	Egalitarianism → **No tension**

Table 2: *Four motivations: Frequencies (percent)*

	Self-interest	*Strong reciprocity*	*Egalitarianism*	*Humanitarianism*
	*It is **not** important to support people who are worse off*	*It is **not** important to always behave properly*	*It is important to treat every person in the world equally*	*It is very important to help the people around you*
Very much like me	1.08	2.24	32.34	21.40
Like me	2.65	8.66	41.24	41.26
Somewhat like me	12.80	14.40	16.78	25.74
A little like me	28.32	23.76	6.34	8.95
Not like me	35.72	34.62	2.45	2.14
Not like me at all	19.43	16.32	0.83	0.51
N	35’083	33’677	33’808	33’792

Note: We have inverted the operationalization of self-interest and strong reciprocity for presentational purposes.

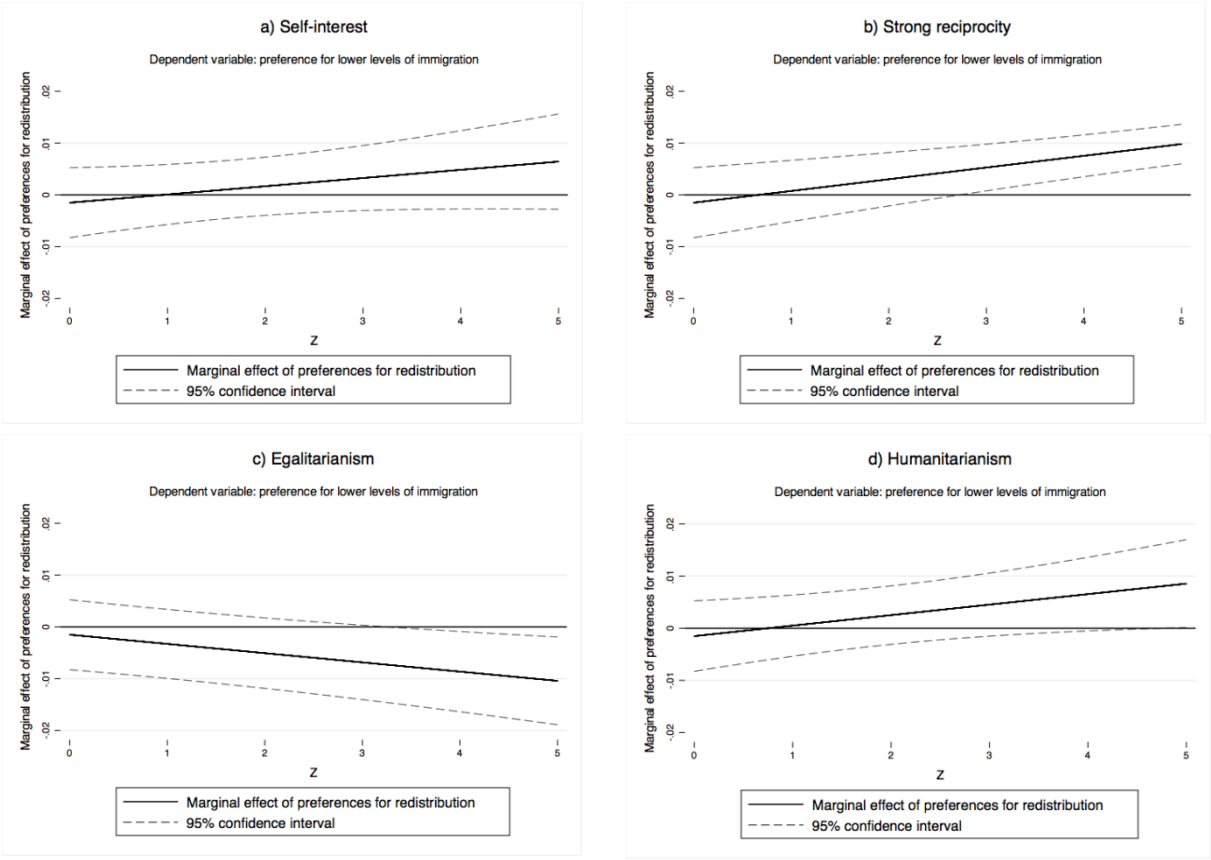
Table 3: *Determinants of preferred level of immigration*

Dependent variable	Preferred Level of Immigration					
Model	1	2	3	4	5	6
Support for redistribution	0.002	0.002	-0.002	0.011**	0.002	-0.002
	(0.557)	(0.665)	(-0.957)	(3.715)	(0.373)	(-0.366)
Self-interest	-	0.011(*)	-	-	-	0.006
		(1.884)				(0.996)
Redistribution x self-interest	-	0.001	-	-	-	0.002
		(0.531)				(1.171)
Strong reciprocity	-	-	-0.015***	-	-	-0.018***
			(-5.073)			(-6.448)
Redistribution x strong reciprocity	-	-	0.002***	-	-	0.002**
			(3.995)			(3.506)
Egalitarianism	-	-	-	-0.016**	-	-0.016**
				(-3.501)		(-3.167)
Redistribution x egalitarianism	-	-	-	-0.002*	-	-0.002*
				(-2.811)		(-2.291)
Humanitarianism	-	-	-	-	-0.005	-0.006
					(-1.072)	(-1.109)
Redistribution x humanitarianism	-	-	-	-	0.000	0.002
					(0.187)	(1.636)
Satisfaction with personal finances	-0.024*	-0.024(*)	-0.022(*)	-0.023(*)	-0.023(*)	-0.021(*)
	(-2.173)	(-2.078)	(-1.981)	(-1.995)	(-2.073)	(-1.888)
Satisfaction with economy	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***
	(-5.725)	(-6.233)	(-5.970)	(-6.735)	(-6.037)	(-7.418)
Income	-0.039*	-0.042*	-0.044*	-0.047**	-0.045*	-0.049**
	(-2.281)	(-2.491)	(-2.839)	(-3.007)	(-2.855)	(-3.268)
Employment: unemployed	-0.010	-0.011	-0.012	-0.011	-0.012	-0.010
	(-0.923)	(-0.893)	(-1.005)	(-0.891)	(-0.946)	(-0.833)
Employment: student	-0.042***	-0.041***	-0.043***	-0.039***	-0.042***	-0.038***
	(-7.654)	(-7.429)	(-7.146)	(-7.250)	(-7.450)	(-6.507)
Employment: retired etc.	-0.003	-0.002	-0.003	-0.002	-0.003	-0.002
	(-0.721)	(-0.517)	(-0.709)	(-0.372)	(-0.532)	(-0.353)
Preference for cultural unity	0.182***	0.181***	0.177***	0.174***	0.180***	0.168***
	(18.792)	(18.436)	(17.534)	(15.107)	(16.675)	(14.804)
Preference for national authority	0.008***	0.007***	0.008***	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(5.868)	(5.680)	(5.359)	(5.220)	(5.354)	(5.068)
Comparative estimate (immigration)	0.026***	0.026***	0.026***	0.025***	0.026***	0.024***
	(5.013)	(5.127)	(4.636)	(4.510)	(4.605)	(4.427)
Absolute misperception (immigration)	-0.107	-0.106	-0.107	-0.110	-0.109	-0.119
	(-1.613)	(-1.664)	(-1.385)	(-1.322)	(-1.392)	(-1.508)
Comparative x absolute estimate	0.052**	0.052**	0.051*	0.051*	0.052*	0.052*
	(3.469)	(3.654)	(2.690)	(2.475)	(2.680)	(2.719)
Have immigrant friends	-0.084***	-0.081***	-0.084***	-0.081***	-0.085***	-0.078***
	(-12.022)	(-11.567)	(-11.209)	(-11.096)	(-11.027)	(-10.630)
Social trust	-0.140***	-0.135***	-0.141***	-0.139***	-0.139***	-0.133***
	(-17.929)	(-16.874)	(-16.577)	(-18.716)	(-18.507)	(-16.957)
Life satisfaction	-0.021**	-0.020**	-0.021*	-0.019*	-0.021**	-0.016*
	(-3.250)	(-3.368)	(-2.893)	(-2.611)	(-2.972)	(-2.284)

Frequency of political discussion	-0.044**	-0.035*	-0.042*	-0.036*	-0.041*	-0.025
	(-3.257)	(-2.526)	(-2.729)	(-2.262)	(-2.461)	(-1.576)
Conservatism	0.061**	0.065**	0.062**	0.053*	0.060*	0.057*
	(3.085)	(3.307)	(2.934)	(2.595)	(2.808)	(2.709)
Conservatism x political discussion	0.030*	0.020(*)	0.024	0.024	0.027(*)	0.010
	(2.520)	(1.762)	(1.687)	(1.705)	(1.835)	(0.644)
Self-identified minority	-0.013	-0.010	-0.008	-0.004	-0.007	-0.003
	(-1.331)	(-1.110)	(-0.661)	(-0.318)	(-0.565)	(-0.300)
Second generation	-0.054**	-0.054**	-0.053**	-0.049**	-0.052**	-0.051**
	(-3.050)	(-3.124)	(-3.157)	(-2.960)	(-3.061)	(-3.088)
Naturalized (> 10 yrs in country)	-0.001	0.001	-0.001	0.003	-0.001	0.003
	(-0.057)	(0.072)	(-0.059)	(0.119)	(-0.042)	(0.170)
Naturalized (< 10 yrs in country)	-0.021	-0.020	-0.008	0.001	-0.006	-0.001
	(-0.716)	(-0.670)	(-0.305)	(0.033)	(-0.212)	(-0.033)
Non-citizen (> 10 yrs in country)	-0.020*	-0.020*	-0.023**	-0.021*	-0.022*	-0.023*
	(-2.590)	(-2.400)	(-2.900)	(-2.301)	(-2.707)	(-2.405)
Non-citizen (< 10 yrs in country)	-0.089***	-0.086***	-0.094***	-0.090***	-0.091***	-0.091***
	(-6.631)	(-6.743)	(-6.908)	(-6.915)	(-7.331)	(-6.581)
Education	-0.084***	-0.086***	-0.082***	-0.082***	-0.083***	-0.083***
	(-5.417)	(-5.577)	(-5.006)	(-5.400)	(-5.218)	(-5.319)
Age	0.042*	0.048**	0.036*	0.042*	0.042*	0.041*
	(2.807)	(3.201)	(2.351)	(2.715)	(2.641)	(2.645)
Female	0.003	0.005	0.002	0.004	0.003	0.006
	(0.653)	(1.126)	(0.394)	(1.073)	(0.714)	(1.657)
Constant	0.438***	0.405***	0.470***	0.499***	0.455***	0.538***
	(19.430)	(24.946)	(21.393)	(21.923)	(15.083)	(30.395)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adj. R^2	0.304	0.308	0.301	0.309	0.301	0.314
N	27645	27537	26350	26432	26425	26140

Notes: Weighted OLS regressions (population weights) with country fixed effects and robust standard errors (clustered sandwich estimator). Country dummies are not reported due to space restrictions. t-values in parentheses. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, (*) $p < 0.1$. Data source: 2002-03 European Social Survey.

Figure 1: *Marginal effect of preferences for redistribution on preferred level of immigration*



Note: Marginal effects based on Model 6 in Table 3. Dotted lines are 95% confidence intervals (one-sided).

Appendix

Table A1: *Operationalization of control variables*

Variable	Operationalization	Theoretical expectation
Satisfaction with personal finances	"Which of these descriptions on this card comes closed to how do you feel about your household's income nowadays" and "If for some reason you were in serious financial difficulties and had to borrow money to make ends meet, how difficult or easy would that be?"	Negative (479)
Satisfaction with economy	"On the whole how satisfied are you with the present state of the economy?"	Negative (479)
Income	"Using this card, if you add up the income from all sources, which letter describes your household's total net income?"	Negative (479)
Employment: unemployed	"Using this card, which of these descriptions applies to what you have been doing for the last 7 days?"	Positive (479)
Employment: student		Negative (488, 493)
Employment: retired etc.		No expectations
Preference for cultural unity	"Using this card, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements: It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions."	Positive (480)
Preference for national authority	"Policies can be decided at different levels. Using this card, at which level do you think the following policies should mainly be decided: protecting the environment; fighting against organized crime; agriculture; defense; social welfare; aid to developing countries; immigration and refugees; and interest rates."	Positive (480)
Comparative estimate (immigration)	"Compared to other European countries of about the size as [country], do you think that more or fewer people come and live here from other countries?"	Positive (480)
Absolute misperception (immigration)	"Out of every 1000 people living in [country], how many do you think were born outside [country]?" (minus the actual number)	Positive (481)
Have immigrant friends	"Do you have any friends who have come to live in [country] from another country?"	Negative (488)
Social trust	"Using this card, generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?", "Using this card, do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?" and "Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?"	Negative (488)
Life satisfaction	"All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?"	Negative (488)
Frequency of political	"Still using this card, how often would you say	Negative (488)

discussion	you discuss politics and current affairs?"	
Conservatism	"In politics people sometimes talk of 'left' and 'right'. Using this card, where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?"	Positive (488-489)
Self-identified minority	"Do you belong to a minority ethnic group in [country]?"	Negative (489)
Second generation	"Are you citizen of [country]?", "How long ago did you first come to live in [country]?", "Were you born in [country]?", "Was your father born in [country]?" and "Was your mother born in [country]?"	Weakly negative (489)
Naturalized (>10 yrs in country)		Weakly negative (489)
Naturalized (<10 yrs in country)		Negative (489)
Non-citizen (>10 yrs in country)		Weakly negative (489)
Non-citizen (<10 yrs in country)		Negative (489)
Education	"What is the highest level of education you have achieved?"	Negative (488)
Age	"And in what year were you born?"	No expectations
Female	Sex of respondent (coded by interviewer)	No expectations

Notes: The third column displays the expected relationship between control variable and dependent variable ('preference for lower levels of immigration'). In parentheses, we indicate the page on which Sides and Citrin (2007) discuss their theoretical expectations.

Notes

[1] Cf. Robert A. Dahl, "From Immigrants to Citizens: A New Yet Old Challenge to Democracies," in Robert A. Dahl, ed., *Toward Democracy: A Journey, Reflections: 1940-1997, vol. 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 229-50.

[2] Cf. Gary P. Freeman, "Migration and the Political Economy of the Welfare State," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 485 (1986), 51-63; Assaf Razin et al, "Tax Burden and Migration: A Political Economy Theory and Evidence," *Journal of Public Economics*, 85 (2002), 167-90; Jørgen D. Hansen, "Immigration and Income Redistribution in Welfare States," *European Journal of Political Economy*, 19 (2003), 735-46; Alberto Alesina and Edward L. Glaeser, *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Wim van Oorschot and Wilfred Uunk, "Welfare Spending and the Public's Concern for Immigrants: Multilevel Evidence for Eighteen European Countries," *Comparative Politics*, 4 (2007), 63-82; Henning Finseraas, "Immigration and Preferences for Redistribution: An Empirical Analysis of European Survey Data," *Comparative European Politics*, 6 (2008), 407-31; Markus Crepaz and Regan Damron, "Constructing Tolerance: How the Welfare State Shapes Attitudes About Immigrants," *Comparative Political Studies*, 42 (2009), 437-63. It should be emphasized that not all these contributions found strong evidence for the hypothesis of a strong tension between immigration and redistribution caused by competition over scarce resources.

[3] Peter Nannestad, "Immigration and Welfare States: A Survey of 15 Years of Research," *European Journal of Political Economy*, 23 (2007), 512-32.

[4] 'Social preferences' is a term used in behavioral economics and social psychology to describe preferences that deviate from pure self-interest. The most prominent examples are unconditional altruism (humanitarianism), inequity aversion (egalitarianism), and strong reciprocity. Cf. Ernst Fehr and Simon Gächter, "Fairness and Retaliation: The Economics of

Reciprocity," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14 (2000), 159-81; Feldman and Steenbergen; Colin Camerer and Ernst Fehr, "When Does "Economic Man" Dominate Social Behavior?," *SCIENCE*, 311 (2006), 47-52). Feldman and Steenbergen refer to 'social preferences' as 'pro-social orientations' (Stanley Feldman and Marco R. Steenbergen, "The Humanitarian Foundation of Public Support for Social Welfare," *American Journal of Political Science*, 45 (2001), 658-77).

[5] Ernst Fehr and Urs Fischbacher, "The Economics of Strong Reciprocity," in Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Robert Boyd and Ernst Fehr, eds., *Moral Sentiments and Material Interests: The Foundations of Cooperation in Economic Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 151-91, at p. 153)

[6] Patrick Emmenegger and Romana Careja, "From Dilemma to Dualization: Social and Migration Policies in the 'Reluctant Countries of Immigration," in Patrick Emmenegger, Silja Häusermann, Bruno Palier and Martin Seeleib-Kaiser, eds., *The Age of Dualization: The Changing Face of Inequality in Deindustrializing Societies* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2011).

[7] Feldman and Steenbergen.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Gunnar Myrdal, *Beyond the Welfare State: Economic Planning and Its International Implications* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

[10] John Sides and Jack Citrin, "European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information," *British Journal of Political Science*, 37 (2007), 477-504.

[11] Herbert Gintis et al, "Moral Sentiments and Material Interests: Origins, Evidence, and Consequences," in Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Robert Boyd and Ernst Fehr, eds., *Moral Sentiments and Material Interests: The Foundation of Cooperation in Economic Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 3-39.

[12] Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

[13] Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[14] Fehr and Fischbacher.

[15] Alesina and Glaeser, p. 134.

[16] van Oorschot and Uunk.

[17] van Oorschot and Uunk, p. 65.

[18] Crepaz and Damron, pp. 437, 439.

[19] Thus, it is possible that actions by a strongly reciprocal individual might lead to higher levels of inequality if higher levels of inequality are considered a fair outcome. In contrast, an egalitarian individual only helps others if these actions lead to lower levels of inequality (Armin Falk and Urs Fischbacher, "Modeling Strong Reciprociy," in Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Robert Boyd and Ernst Fehr, eds., *Moral Sentiments and Material Intersts: The Foundations of Cooperation in Economic Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 193-214, at p. 195).

[20] We would like to emphasize that we are not making any claims about the direction of causality. We do not argue that preferences for redistribution cause attitudes towards immigration or vice versa. We simply argue that preferences for redistribution and attitudes towards immigration interact in a systematic way. Moreover, we argue that four motivations moderate this relationship in a predictable way.

[21] Allan H. Meltzer and Scott F. Richard, "A Rational Theory of the Size of Government," *Journal of Political Economy*, 89 (1981), 914-27.

[22] Torben Iversen and David Soskice, "An Asset theory of Social Policy Preferences," *American Political Science Review*, 95 (2001), 875-93; Karl Ove Moene and Michael

Wallerstein, "Inequality, Social Insurance, and Redistribution," *American Political Science Review*, 95 (2001), 859-74.

[23] Arthur M. Okun, *Equality and Efficiency. The Big Tradeoff* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1975).

[24] Samuel Bowles, "Globalization and Redistribution: Feasible Egalitarianism in a Competitive World," in Richard B. Freeman, ed., *Inequality Around the World* (Houndmills/Basingstoke/Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 234-67, at p. 235.

[25] Freeman.

[26] Feldman and Steenbergen; Fehr and Fischbacher.

[27] For instance, high-income egalitarian voters are willing to support more redistribution even though they know that considering their incomes they will be net contributors.

[28] We are certainly aware that some egalitarians might oppose low-skilled immigration because it is likely to increase wage dispersion in their respective home countries. However, in our analysis, we do not consider such individuals to be 'true' egalitarians. Moreover, in the empirical part below we show that 32 percent of all respondents argue that it is very important to treat every person *in the world* equally. Thus, 'true' egalitarianism seems to be widespread.

[29] Myrdal, p. 227.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Alain Noël and Jean-Philippe Thérien, "From Domestic to International Justice: The Welfare State and Foreign Aid," *International Organization*, 48 (1995), 523-53.

[32] Feldman and Steenbergen, p. 658.

[33] Fehr and Fischbacher, p. 154.

[34] Feldman and Steenbergen, p. 667.

[35] Fehr and Fischbacher, p. 154.

[36] Feldman and Steenbergen, p. 661, emphasis in the original.

[37] Ibid., p. 660.

[38] Georg Simmel, "Die Grosstädte und das Geistesleben [The Metropolis and Mental Life]," in Th. Peterman, ed., *Die Grosstadt. Vorträge und Aufsätze zur Städteausstellung* [The Metropolis: Lectures and Essays for the Exhibition on Cities] (Dresden: Jahrbuch der Gehe-Stiftung), pp. 185-206.

[39] Gintis et al, p. 8.

[40] The behavioral propensity for strong reciprocity is often observed in the so-called ultimatum game: Under conditions of anonymity, a proposer is instructed to offer a share of a sum known to both players. The receiver can either accept or reject the offer. If the receiver accepts, the sum is shared accordingly. If the receiver rejects, both players receive nothing. The game is not repeated. Experiments have shown that proposers tend to offer more money than the bare minimum, while receivers tend to reject low offers even though these offers are considerably higher than the possible minimum offer (and receivers would be financially better off accepting the offer).

[41] Christina M. Fong, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "Reciprocity and the Welfare State," in Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Robert Boyd and Ernst Fehr, eds., *Moral Sentiments and Material Interests: The Foundation of Cooperation in Economic Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 277-302.

[42] Bo Rothstein, *Just Institutions Matter: The Moral and Political Logic of the Universalist Welfare State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 137; Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "Social Capital, Moral Sentiments, and Community Governance," in Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Robert Boyd and Ernst Fehr, eds., *Moral Sentiments and Material Interests: The Foundation of Cooperation in Economic Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 390-91.

[43] Ostrom; Rothstein, *Just Institutions Matter*; Hillard Kaplan and Michael Gurven, "The Natural History of Human Food Sharing and Cooperation: A Review and a New Multi-Individual Approach to the Negotiation of Norms," in Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Robert Boyd and Ernst Fehr, eds., *Moral Sentiments and Material Interests: The Foundation of Cooperation in Economic Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 75-113.

[44] Emmenegger and Careja.

[45] Fong et al.

[46] These countries are: Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. For reasons of data availability, we have to omit Italy and Luxembourg from the empirical analysis.

[47] Although we rely on the same model specification and variable operationalization and arrive at the same results, our baseline model is not completely identical with Sides and Citrin's. We observe a difference with regard to the actual percentage of foreign-born residents in the Czech Republic. Using the same source, we calculate a share of 4.38 percent of the total population, which seems to correspond better to other sources (Luca Barbone et al, "The Foreign-born Population in the European Union and Its Contribution to National Tax and Benefit Systems: Some Insights from Recent Household Survey Data," *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* no. 4899, 2009) and is about twice as high as the one documented by Sides and Citrin (p. 487).

[48] See Emmenegger and Careja.

[49] We arrive at similar conclusions when we use operationalizations of the four motivations that make an explicit reference to immigration. Results are available upon request.

[50] We inversed the variable with higher values indicating self-interest and rescaled it into six options to make it more comparable to the other three moderator variables. We recoded 10

(extremely important) into 0, 9 and 8 into 1, 7 and 6 into 2, 5 and 4 into 3, 3 and 2 into 4, and 1 and 0 (extremely unimportant) into 5.

[51] The operationalization of strong reciprocity makes use of two peculiarities of this behavioral propensity. First, strongly reciprocal individuals focus on the behavior and intentions of individuals to determine whether these individuals are deserving of support. We therefore use a survey question that captures whether the respondents consider it important to always behave properly. Second, strongly reciprocal individuals rely on beliefs about the others' behavior and adapt their behavior accordingly. As Fehr and Fischbacher (p. 167) write about strongly reciprocal individuals: "[If] people believe that cheating on taxes, corruption, or abuses of the welfare state are widespread, they themselves are more likely to cheat on taxes, take bribes, or abuse welfare state institutions." Self-conceptions are major determinants of these beliefs. If people do not believe they have very high moral standards, how can they expect others to have them? As Elster notes: "A person who knows himself or herself to be (un)trustworthy will tend to think others are (un)trustworthy too (the so-called false consensus effect) and therefore tend to distrust them" (Jon Elster, *Explaining Social Behavior: More Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), at p. 347). Thus, we use self-conception with regard to morally sound behavior as an indicator for a person's expectations to others' moral behavior. This operationalization implies that we are not measuring whether an individual is strongly reciprocal, but rather whether an individual, if strongly reciprocal, is likely to question immigrants' intentions. Note that for presentational purposes, we have inverted the operationalization of strong reciprocity, that is, high values indicate that it is *not* important to always behave properly.

[52] Stanley Feldman and John Zaller, "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State," *American Journal of Political Science*, 36 (1992), 268-307.

[53] There is one difference: In our version of the dataset, data on the highest level of education is missing for Austria. We measure the highest level of education using data on years of full-time education completed and the description of the Austrian educational system on Wikipedia.

[54] Cora J.M. Mass and Joop J. Hox, "The Influence of Violations of Assumptions on Multilevel Parameter Estimates and their Standard Errors," *Computational Statistics and Data Analysis*, 46 (2003): 427-40.

[55] Note that the constitutive elements of interaction terms cannot be interpreted as unconditional or average effects (Thomas Brambor et al, "Understanding Interaction Models: Improving Empirical Analyses," *Political Analysis*, 14 (2006), 63-82, at p. 71).

[56] This important point is further elaborated in Patrick Emmenegger and Robert Klemmensen, "Immigration and Redistribution Revisited: How Different Mechanisms Can Offset Each Other," mimeo (2011).