

ESS Round 7 Question Module Design Template¹

Module Title: Attitudes towards immigration and their antecedents

Module Authors: Anthony Heath, Peter Schmidt, Eva Green, Alice Ramos, Eldad Davidov and Robert Ford

Contents

SECTION A: Theoretical background.....	3
SECTION B. Brief description of all the concepts	9
SECTION C: Complex Concepts	10
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Opposition towards immigration	10
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrants make country worse or better place to live	10
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to people of the same race/ethnic group.....	10
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to people of different race/ethnic group.....	11
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to people from poorer countries in Europe	11
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to people from poorer countries outside.....	12
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to refugees	12
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to Jewish people	13
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to Muslim people.....	13
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to gypsies.....	13
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for entry / exclusion	14
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: good educational qualifications.....	14
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: speak country's official language.....	15
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: Christian background.....	15
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: be white.....	15
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: work skills needed in.....	16
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: committed to way of life in country	16
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Impact of Origin and Skill Level on Attitudes to Migrants	16
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Impact of skill level and specific origins on attitudes to migrants	17
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Integration policies.....	18
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Better if everyone shares customs and traditions.....	18
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Law against: racial discrimination at workplace	19
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Social distance	19
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrant different race/ethnic group majority: your boss	20
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrant different race/ethnic group majority: married close relative.	20
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Realistic threat: Economic threat, security threat	20
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrants: impact on jobs	21
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrants: impact on welfare services	21
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrants: impact on economy.....	21
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Security Threat: Immigrants impact on crime problems	22
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Symbolic Threat.....	22
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants	22
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Symbolic Threat	23
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Contact with out-group members	23
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opportunity for contact.....	24
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Quantity of everyday encounters with outgroup members	24

¹ Citation reference: European Social Survey (2015) *Round 7 Module on Attitudes towards Immigration and their Antecedents - Question Design Final Module in Template*. London: Centre for Comparative Social Surveys, City University London.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Quality of brief everyday encounters with outgroup members	25
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Number of migrant friends	25
COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Biological racism	26
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Human essentialization – intelligence	26
SUB CONCEPT NAME: Human essentialization – work ethic	27
SECTION D: Simple Concepts.....	28
SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Fraternal relative deprivation	28
SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: National Attachment.....	28
SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Cultural racism	29
SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Perception of group size in country	29
SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Ancestry of respondent.....	29
SECTION E. Items NOT repeated.....	30
References.....	37

SECTION A: Theoretical background

Describe the theoretical background of the module, its aims and objectives

This module is a repeat of the Immigration module included in the first wave of the ESS (Preston et al, 2001). It is now a decade since the original module was fielded in 2002/3. The political and academic relevance of this topic area has continued to increase as a result of a number of political, economic and demographic trends, including continuing large migration flows into and across Europe, the Great Recession of 2008, and the continuing strength of radical right political parties focused on mobilizing public opposition to migration.

Since 2009 almost 60 new publications per year have used data from the Round 1 immigration module, including ones in highly-ranked journals such as the American Sociological Review, British Journal of Political Science, European Journal of Political Research, European Sociological Review, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Public Opinion Quarterly, Political Psychology, Economics Letters, European Journal of Political Economy and European Journal of Social Psychology demonstrate that the ESS 2002/2003 module has been effectively used in the fields of sociology, political science, social psychology and economics as well as in research methodology. It has been used to study substantive topics such as social distance from immigrants (eg Schlueter & Wagner, 2008), symbolic boundaries (Bail, 2008), entry and exclusion criteria for immigrants (Citrin & Sides, 2008; Gorodzeisky, 2011; Green, 2007, 2009; Green et al., 2010), values and immigration (Davidov et al., 2008), anti-racism laws (Sarrasin et al., 2012), contact with immigrants (Semyonov & Glickman, 2009), perceptions of threat and negative consequences of immigration (Hjerm, 2009; Pereira et al., 2010; Semyonov & Glickman, 2009; Sides & Citrin, 2007), effects of education on immigration attitudes (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007), foreign-born population innumeracy (Herda, 2010), and right-wing populism (Iversflaten, 2007; Oesch, 2008; Rydgren, 2008).

While the module has been used for studies of attitudes in individual countries, a large proportion of this research has had a multi-level design as the 22 country sample was one of the first datasets allowing a comprehensive analysis of both individual and country-level factors underlying immigration attitudes (see Coenders et al., 2005). Moreover, the replication of three of the immigration items in the core module have permitted over-time studies (eg Meulemann et al., 2009).

The repeat module has the following three key elements:

1. Replication of the key questions which have been the most extensively used by secondary analysts and which measure central theoretical concepts. Our experience working with national repeated cross-sections (such as the British Election Surveys and British Social Attitudes surveys) is that, although the meaning of items may change over time as the context changes, the wider scientific community has a strong preference for maintaining key items unchanged. We agree with this preference and the bulk of the module therefore consists of replications of this sort.
2. A small number of additional questions to supplement existing batteries where there are doubts about the extent to which existing batteries satisfactorily measure the theoretical concepts that scholars have wished to measure, or where there are doubts about equivalence of meaning between countries;
3. Addition of a small number of questions reflecting changes in the policy agenda (for example the increasing concerns about the integration of Roma migrants and migrants from Muslim countries), the context of immigration and new theoretical developments. On the theoretical side we continue the focus of the previous module on the explanatory concepts of realistic and symbolic threat, social distance and intergroup contact. We also introduce new measures of racism, nationalism and fraternal relative deprivation

Theoretical summary

The central outcome (or dependent variable) explored by the module consists of attitudes to immigration. As in the original 2002/3 module, we distinguish between opposition to, or support for, immigration by different types of migrant (OPOSIM), attitudes towards different criteria for accepting or excluding migrants (QFIMLIVE), and attitudes towards policies for integrating migrants into the new country of residence (IMINTPOL).

The key concepts developed in the existing literature for explaining attitudes towards immigration are perceptions of economic threat (ECONTHR), symbolic threat (RLGUEIM), and intergroup contact (OGCONT). The major focus is therefore on elucidating the relationship between these concepts and various aspects of support for or opposition to immigration. We expect economic threat and symbolic threat to have relatively larger or smaller impacts on attitudes towards different types of migrants and different criteria for entry. Thus feelings of symbolic threat might be more strongly associated with opposition to culturally distinct groups, such as Muslims migrating to a non-Muslim country. Feelings of economic threat in contrast might have a greater impact on attitudes towards economic migrants who might not necessarily be culturally-different but who might be seen as competing for jobs and housing (eg East European migrants from Poland migrating to another Christian country).

Perceived group size (NOIMBRO) might be expected to moderate the impact of both realistic and symbolic threat. Thus there might be greater opposition to larger groups of migrants than to smaller ones as larger groups might be thought to constitute a greater economic threat and also to be more difficult to integrate into the country's way of life.

Subjective feeling of social distance (SOCDIST) is another of the classic concepts in the study of racial prejudice and is a powerful predictor of attitudes towards migrants and minorities. The concept and measure was first developed by Bogardus (1947) and has been widely used ever since as an indicator of prejudice towards out-groups. Theoretically we see it as acting as a mediator between perceptions of threat and attitudes to immigration.

While feelings of threat, whether economic or symbolic, are expected to generate opposition to immigration, contact with immigrants or their descendants might be expected to ameliorate opposition. In particular positive forms of contact might lead to greater social acceptance of outgroup members and hence might reduce opposition to immigration, especially opposition towards culturally-dissimilar groups.

We also need to consider the antecedents of feelings of economic and symbolic threat and of intergroup contact. Firstly, we expect demographic factors to shape these perceptions, for example with higher education tending to reduce sentiments of symbolic threat and unemployment increasing perceptions of economic threat. Another important demographic factor is the ethnicity of the respondent, ethnic minorities (particularly those with an immigration background themselves) being more likely to support immigration. Secondly we expect opportunities for contact (ACETALV) to be an important determinant of actual contact. Thirdly, we expect deeper and more enduring values and identities to shape perceptions of realistic and symbolic threat. We focus in particular on fraternal relative deprivation (GVTRIMG), on national attachment (FCLCNTR) and on forms of racism (BIORACM and SMCTMBE) which we postulate will influence perceptions of threat and engagement in contact.

The theory underlying the use of these concepts in the literature argues that perceptions of realistic and symbolic threat are the main drivers of preferences for more restrictive immigration and for restricting immigration from certain countries of origin more than others (Ford, 2011; see Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010 for an overview), while racism itself, nationalism, and fraternal relative deprivation are main drivers of threat perceptions and of attitudes to integration policies. A large and continually developing theoretical literature has articulated and developed these theoretical concepts (Green & Staerklé, 2013; Raijman, Davidov et al., 2008; Smith, Pettigrew et al., 2012).

We next turn to a more detailed commentary on the main dependent and explanatory concepts and the rationale for the changes from the round 1 module.

Dependent variables

We expect the different items measuring opposition to or support for immigration and the criteria for entry or exclusion to load onto a single main dimension. However, we expect there to be differing levels of support for particular groups of immigrants, with greatest support for culturally similar groups from developed countries and greatest opposition to culturally distinct groups from less-developed countries. In contrast we do not expect attitudes to integration policies to be correlated highly with overall support or opposition to immigration.

We also anticipate that there will be various sub-dimensions (albeit correlated with the main for/against dimension). In particular we expect to find sub-dimensions reflecting ascribed and acquired criteria for entry or exclusion. These sub-dimensions might in turn be related to support for assimilationist or liberal integration policies respectively.

In the immigration module of ESS 2002, many questions used a generic target group “people who came to live here from other countries”. This is unsatisfying as researchers do not know whom the respondents had in mind and the most salient target groups driving responses are likely to vary systematically between respondents and between countries. In the current module we address this shortcoming head on in two ways by including 1) questions on specific contentious out-groups found in many European countries. We focus on Muslims, Jews and Roma (Gypsies) as these are three of the most stigmatised groups, albeit in different ways and to different degrees, encountered in many European societies, and because these groups should be familiar to respondents in all ESS countries; 2) a question with an experimental design where a country-specific target group varies in economic status (IMMEXP). The great advantage of the experimental design is that it gives specific target groups for respondents to consider rather than the vague and hard-to-interpret categories used in other parts of the module. This should therefore reduce noise and strengthen relationships with other variables. It also has the advantage that it explores the interaction between central elements of OPOSIM and QFIMLIVE (namely cultural similarity and qualifications for entry).

The module also addresses a number of ‘real world’ developments that any new module ought to cover. Firstly, there has been great policy concern, and academic research (eg the so-called ‘Clash of Civilizations’) on the difficulties of incorporating Muslims in European societies, and their risks to security (cf the ‘War on Terror’). This is one of the major concerns fuelling the backlash against multiculturalism (see Helbling, 2012). Indeed, some authors have argued that Islamophobia is becoming a more salient driver of radical right support than anti-immigrant sentiment (Betz & Meret, 2009; Williams, 2010; Ford & Goodwin, 2010). We clearly need to measure whether there is greater, or targeted, opposition to Muslim immigration than to other forms of immigration (see Strabac & Listhaug, 2008).

There has also been a great increase of within-EU migration especially from accession countries, which has been claimed to put great strain on existing infrastructures (eg schools and housing). And there has been great pressure on a number of countries (eg Greece, Malta, Spain, and Cyprus) with the increasing number of refugees from conflict-torn states in the middle east and North Africa. Thus, it is crucial to assess the acceptance of receiving refugees. To tap the current debates regarding ethnic minorities and immigration in Europe, we therefore include questions assessing attitudes towards specific ethnic or migrant out-groups, support for various qualifications for entry and integration policies.

Symbolic and Realistic Threat

Broadly defined, threat perceptions refer to the anticipation of negative consequences related to the arrival and presence of immigrants in a country. Threat research has differentiated two main

dimensions of threat that relate to anti-immigration attitudes: material or realistic threats on the one hand, and value or symbolic threats on the other (e.g., Riek et al., 2006; Scheepers et al., 2002; Sears & Funk, 1990; Sniderman et al., 2004; Stephan & Renfro, 2002). A related aspect is the feeling of fraternal relative deprivation (Smith et al., 2012).

Competition over scarce resources between national majority and minority groups and perceptions of such competition denote material threat (Esses et al., 2001; Quillian, 1995; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Scarce tangible resources include the economic assets, political power and physical well-being of majority members within a nation. Symbolic threats encompass the perception that immigrants have differing belief systems, worldviews, and moral values which pose a threat to the values and symbols of the majority group (Stephan & Renfro, 2003; see also Sears & Henry, 2003).

One weakness that secondary analysts have found with the ESS 2002 module is that items were heavily weighted towards measures of realistic (ie economic) threat and that there was only a single item that could be used for measuring symbolic threat. To remedy this flaw, researchers have attempted to create symbolic threat scores with proxy items that are closer to normative multiculturalism than symbolic threat (e.g., D40 "It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions", Citrin & Sides 2008, Green 2009). This is clearly sub-optimal. We therefore explored a range of options for constructing a more direct measure of symbolic threat. In practice it proved difficult to find items that were understandable to respondents and which worked well in different national contexts. We have however been able to add one new item (to complement the symbolic threat item in the core questionnaire) tapping the extent of perceived threats arising from migrants belonging to different religious beliefs and traditions from those of the majority group.

Intergroup contact

In addition to theories of symbolic and realistic threat, contact theory is crucial for understanding prejudice, including threat perceptions and negative attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities more generally (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; McLaren, 2003). Contact, or at least opportunity for contact, is also likely to be increasing substantially in many countries as the proportion of second and third generation children of immigrants (who will have gone through European school systems, speak the majority-group language fluently etc) increases.

Contact research has provided substantial evidence that direct contact with out-group members reduces prejudice. Successful intergroup contact between the national majority and immigrant and ethnic minorities reduces prejudice and discrimination towards these out-groups among the majority population (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) have shown that the conditions (i.e. equal intergroup status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and institutional support) for contact effects initially suggested by Allport (1954) increase the positive effects of contact but are not necessary for them to occur.

In ESS 2002 intergroup contact was assessed with two items: having immigrant friends and having immigrant colleagues at work (D47 and D48). Research with the data from this wave of ESS has shown that contact is negatively related to threat perceptions and anti-immigration stances (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Green, 2007; Green et al. 2010; Schlueter & Wagner, 2008; Schneider, 2008; Sides & Citrin, 2007). Moreover, this data has demonstrated that contact is greater in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods compared to homogenous neighbourhoods (Semyonov & Glikman, 2009) and municipalities with high rather than low proportions of immigrants (Sarrasin et al. 2012).

As not all survey respondents were employed (28% of the entire sample were not employed at the time of the interview), the item assessing contact at the work place is less useful, leaving researchers with a single-item measure of contact. Focusing solely on cross-group friendships (i.e., majority/immigrant friendships) leaves aside other interactions involving intergroup contact. For example, whether mundane contacts occurring in one's neighbourhood/every-day context reduce

prejudice remains unclear (Dixon et al., 2005). Moreover, a measure of number of intergroup friendships does not allow one to disentangle the quality and quantity of contact (Barlow et al., 2012). Both quality and quantity of contact with immigrants and ethnic minorities may affect attitudes of majority members though the impact of quality is usually stronger (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). However, negative contact increases prejudice more than positive contact reduces it (Barlow et al., 2012)

First, therefore, it is important for the module to understand the opportunity for out-group contact in order to contextualise actual contact. Opportunity for contact may be a key driver of actual contact, and it may also affect perceptions of threat. Perceived local cultural diversity is also important for understanding opportunities for contact and it is frequently a stronger predictor of attitudes than actual diversity (Semyonov et al., 2004). People probably have better knowledge about the situation in their locality (neighbourhood) than about the national situation. Moreover, it is on this level that everyday contacts take place.

Second, while friendship with out-group members is a particularly effective way of reducing prejudice (e.g., Pettigrew, 1997), a more fine-grained cross-national analysis of different facets of intergroup contact is called for differentiating brief and superficial mundane interactions (e.g., Dixon et al., 2005) from more intimate contacts, such as friendships (Christ et al., 2010; Turner et al., 2008).

Items measuring the perceived diversity of the area one lives in, distinguishing everyday contacts from close contacts and whether the contact was positive or negative are thus included in the module.

National attachment

There is a debate in the study of attitudes towards immigration concerning the degree to which positive perceptions of one's national in-group, that is different forms of national attachment, are linked to negative attitudes towards migrants (Blank & Schmidt 2003; Kosterman & Feshbach 1989). It is customary to divide the notion of national attachment into two distinct concepts, nationalism and constructive patriotism. Nationalism refers to an uncritical attachment to the nation and a sense of national superiority with respect to other countries. Nationalism has repeatedly been associated with negative attitudes towards immigration (Blank & Schmidt 2003; Coenders & Scheepers 2004; Raijman et al. 2008; Wagner et al. 2012). Constructive patriotism, in turn, refers to having a critical view of the nation and taking pride of its constructive aspects such as democracy.

The distinction between nationalism and constructive patriotism overlaps with the distinction between ethnic and civic conceptions of the nation (albeit measured with different items). In addition it is theoretically expected to be related to the distinction between ascribed and acquired criteria for entry or exclusion described above.

In this module we focus on national attachment, "an emotional bond of the individual with the nation" (Wagner et al., 2012: 320), that is part of both nationalism and constructive patriotism. The degree to which national attachment relates to negative immigration attitudes depends on ethnic vs. civic conception of the nation.

Fraternal Relative Deprivation

The concept of fraternal relative deprivation (developed by Runciman, 1966) has proved to be a powerful influence on people's feelings of threat. The key focus is not on whether the individual himself or herself feels that his or her opportunities are threatened by immigration but instead on whether the group with which the individual identifies is at risk of losing opportunities or privileges to which they are rightly entitled. The focus then is on the extent to which respondents feel that their group is relatively deprived, and hence the use of the adjective 'fraternal'. These feelings are

expected to correlate strongly with the general concept of opposition to immigration. Pettigrew has shown in a meta-analysis that fraternal deprivation had a robust effect on attitudes toward immigration of around .30. A similar finding was observed in a study on group-related enmity in Germany (Schmidt et al., 2006).

Racism

In contemporary societies diverse modalities of racism coexist, but it is possible to identify some theoretical principles underlying the diversity of the phenomenon and, simultaneously, to distinguish it from racial prejudice. In fact, with very few exceptions (e.g., Operario & Fiske, 1998), most studies have conceptualised and operationalised racism as a set of negative beliefs and attitudes against Black people (or other racialised out-groups), i.e., racism has been studied as a particular example of prejudice (a negative evaluation against a specific target). However, it is possible to operationalise a distinction between racism and racial prejudice, specifying that the former is not a simple negative evaluation of a specific target-group, although it may be related to negative attitudes (racial prejudice) toward out-groups. Racism can be measured as a general representation about the nature of humanity based on the following core aspects (see Fredrickson, 2002, for an historical approach): categorisation (belief that humanity is organised into racial or ethnic groups); differentiation (belief that the people categorised into groups are deeply different); hierarchy (belief that some groups perceived as different are better than others); essentialisation (belief that perceived difference between people categorised into groups are fixed, natural and immutable); “radical-alterity” (belief that not all groups have the typical “human essences”).

Recent theoretical work has also suggested that, rather than seeing racial prejudice as a unitary phenomenon, racism can instead be conceptualised as comprising two distinct dimensions: biological racism - when people organise their representation of humanity based on the idea of “race”, i.e., that human beings can be categorised into racial groups; cultural racism (or ethnicism) - when people organise their representation of humanity based on the idea of “ethnicity”, i.e., that human beings can be categorised into ethnic groups.

In the 1990s Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) revealed that Europeans had rearranged their beliefs concerning immigrants. These beliefs were structured into a pattern that opposed traditional or blatant racial prejudice (i.e. attribution of racial inferiority and expression of the feeling that the purity of the groups is being threatened) to subtle prejudice (i.e. the belief in the cultural inferiority of immigrants belonging to groups perceived as racially or ethnically different, with a particular focus on cultural differences). The first type of racism (blatant) corresponds to the so-called scientific or biological racism, whereas the second one is also identified as cultural racism. Findings reported by Vala et al (2012) show that in seven European countries (Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal and Poland), the principles of cultural racism are more readily expressed than those of biological racism, and that both are important correlates of opposition towards immigration. Introducing items to measure both concepts of biological and cultural racism permits a richer theoretical study of the bases of attitudes towards immigration.

Ethnicity

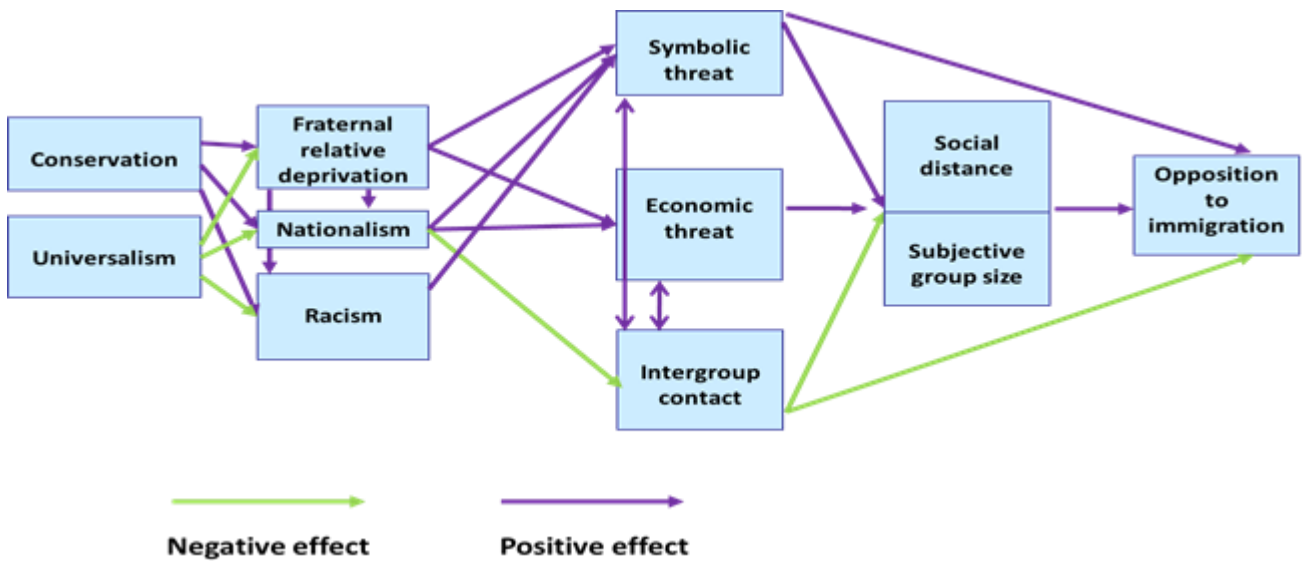
Ethnic minorities with an ‘immigration background’ are known to have rather different attitudes towards immigration from members of the majority group. Furthermore, attitudes differ between minority groups, reflecting the minority’s own history and channels of migration (Heath et al. 2013). It is not known whether indigenous ‘national’ minorities also differ from the majority group, or in what direction although one could hypothesize that they will be more supportive towards subordinate groups than will members of the dominant majority group.

In European research it has been usual to measure ethnicity with proxies based on country of birth and parents’ country of birth. While in many contexts this has, up to now, provided a reasonable

proxy for ethnicity, it fails to identify the growing number of 'third generation' members of minorities; it fails to identify members of the majority group who happened to be born abroad; it also ignores ethnic differences within national groups and in particular fails to identify indigenous national minorities. All these problems are likely to be exacerbated over time, and it was therefore agreed that the time had come to develop a new measure (based on ancestry or origins) directly tapping membership of ethno-national groups (thus capturing both indigenous national minorities as well as ethnic minorities with an immigration background).

SECTION B. Brief description of all the concepts to be measured in the module and their expected relationships, either verbally or diagrammatically.

- Top level concept: Opposition towards immigration (C)
- Top level concept: Qualification for entry / exclusion (C)
- Top level concept: Impact of Origin and Skill Level on Attitudes to Migrants (C)
- Top level concept: Integration policies (C)
- Top level concept: Social distance (C)
- Top level concept: Realistic threat: Economic threat, security threat (C)
- Top level concept: Contact with out-group members (C)
- Top level concept: Biological racism (C)
- Top level concept: Fraternal relative deprivation (S)
- Top level concept: Symbolic Threat (S)
- Top level concept: Nationalism (S)
- Top level concept: Cultural racism (S)
- Top level concept: Perception of group size in country (S)
- Top level concept: Ancestry of respondent (S)



SECTION C: Complex Concepts. For each complex concept listed in Section B, describe it in detail and specify the sub concepts as appropriate.

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Opposition towards immigration [OPOSIM]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

Opposition to immigration is central to the module. We expect the level of opposition to vary according to the similarity of the potential migrants to the individual respondent's characteristics and to those of the groups to which he or she belongs. As in the original 2002/3 module, we distinguish migrants according to the region from which they come. We also, in order to reflect current debates and concerns, have added further types of migrants to the list distinguishing them according to salient aspects of their ethnicity or religion.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We expect overall levels of opposition to immigration to depend on respondents' perceptions of economic and symbolic threat, their feelings of social distance from out-groups, their level of intergroup contact and their perceptions of group size. In addition we expect perceptions of symbolic threat to be more strongly related to opposition to culturally-dissimilar groups (such as Muslims migrating to non-Muslim countries); in contrast perceptions of economic threat might be more strongly related to opposition to larger groups of migrants from poorer countries, while social distance and racism might be more strongly related to opposition to black, Jewish or Roma migrants.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrants make country worse or better place to live [IMWBCNT] [CORE]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This sub-concept (replicated from the first round and also part of the core) provides an overall measure of support for, or opposition to, immigration.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

This sub-concept is expected to be central to the main dimension underlying the complex concept.

Final wording (core item B34):

B34 CARD 20 Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries? Please use this card.

Worse place to live					Better place to live					(Don't know)	
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to people of the same race/ethnic group [IMSMETN] [CORE]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This sub-concept (replicated from the first round) asks about opposition to immigrants who are basically similar to the respondents in the given country.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

The nine sub-concepts are expected to be strongly correlated with each other and to load onto a single main dimension, although the frequency distributions are expected to differ with least opposition to people of the same race or ethnic group. However, there may be possible sub-dimensions (reflecting for example the distinction between realistic and symbolic threat discussed).

Final wording (core item B29):

B29 CARD 17 Now, using this card, to what extent do you think [country] should allow² people of the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people to come and live here³?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Allow many to come and live here | 1 |
| Allow some | 2 |
| Allow a few | 3 |
| Allow none | 4 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to people of different race/ethnic group [IMDFETN] [CORE]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This item considers migrants from dissimilar groups.

Final wording (core item B30):

B30 STILL CARD 17 How about people of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people? Still use this card.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Allow many to come and live here | 1 |
| Allow some | 2 |
| Allow a few | 3 |
| Allow none | 4 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to people from poorer countries in Europe [EIMPCNT] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D7)

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This item now varies the conditions and looks at migrants from poorer countries in Europe, thus varying economic development but holding cultural similarity (at least as indicated by European origins) constant.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

See above

Final wording (repeat item D7 from ESS1):

B30a STILL CARD 17 And how about people from the poorer countries in Europe? Still use this card.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Allow many to come and live here | 1 |
| Allow some | 2 |
| Allow a few | 3 |
| Allow none | 4 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

² 'Should' in the sense of 'ought to'; not in the sense of 'must'.

³ 'Here' = country throughout these questions.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to people from poorer countries outside Europe [IMPCNTR] [CORE]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This sub-concept now turns to one of the most contentious sources of migration, namely migrants from less-developed countries outside Europe. Essentially this aims to uncover attitudes towards migrants from third world countries.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

See above

Final wording (core item B31):

B31 STILL CARD 17 How about people from poorer countries outside Europe? Use the same card.

Allow many to come and live here	1
Allow some	2
Allow a few	3
Allow none	4
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to refugees [GVRFGAP] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D51)

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Refugees are a particular subset of migrants, typically from poorer countries outside Europe which have experienced internal conflict. Acceptance of refugees and asylum seekers has been a particular source of public controversy and we expect this item to elicit particularly high levels of opposition (except from members of the relevant ethnic communities).

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

Again, we expect this to load on the same main dimension as the other items, but to have a more extreme (negatively skewed) distribution. We expect attitudes to refugees also to be related to other broader social values (eg liberal values).

Final wording (repeat item D8 from ESS1):

D15 CARD 35 Some people come to this country and apply for refugee status on the grounds⁴ that they fear persecution in their own country. Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree that:

‘the government should be generous⁵ in judging people’s applications for refugee status’.

Agree strongly	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Disagree strongly	5
(Don't know)	8

⁴ “on the grounds” in the sense of both ‘because’ and ‘stating that’

⁵ “Generous”: ‘liberal’.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to Jewish people [ALJEWLV] NEW

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This is a classic marker of ethnocentrism. However, we expect this to be less salient nowadays in more developed and civic societies but to remain important in countries which have retained ethnic conceptions of the nation.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect that among some more ethno-centric respondents this item will load on a sub-dimension alongside the items on Muslims and gypsies. However, among less ethnocentric respondents, we expect that these items will be only weakly related to each other.

Final wording: (first item in the battery of three)

CARD 42 I am going to ask you about different groups of people who might come to live in [country] from other countries. Using this card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow...**READ OUT...**

D26...Jewish people from other countries to come and live in [country]?

- | | |
|---|---|
| Allow many to come and live here ⁶ | 1 |
| Allow some | 2 |
| Allow a few | 3 |
| Allow none | 4 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to Muslim people [ALMUSLV] NEW

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

A particular issue in public debate, and in academic controversies over the clash of civilizations, concerns the alleged difficulty of integrating Muslims into non-Muslim countries. We therefore need an item tackling this important issue.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect attitudes to Muslim immigrants, while loading on the main pro/anti-immigrant dimension, to also be somewhat distinctive and to be especially strongly related to the concepts of symbolic threat and cultural racism.

Final wording: (second item in the battery of three)

D27 ...Muslims⁷ from other countries to come and live in [country]?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Allow many to come and live here | 1 |
| Allow some | 2 |
| Allow a few | 3 |
| Allow none | 4 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opposition to gypsies [ALGYPLV] -NEW

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

⁶ This response scale is also used at core items B29-B31. The same translation of the scale should be used.

⁷ Muslim: 'People who hold the Muslim faith'

Attitudes towards gypsies have long been highly salient in many Eastern European countries. Following EU enlargement and increased migration from Eastern European countries, attitudes have become more salient in the west too.										
Expected relationship with other sub concepts Again we expect this to be related to attitudes to culturally-different minorities. It might have an even more extreme distribution given the classic 'outsider' status of gypsies.										
Final wording: (final item in the battery of three) D28... Gypsies ⁸ from other countries to come and live in [country]? <table style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td>Allow many to come and live here</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Allow some</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Allow a few</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Allow none</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(Don't know)</td> <td>8</td> </tr> </table>	Allow many to come and live here	1	Allow some	2	Allow a few	3	Allow none	4	(Don't know)	8
Allow many to come and live here	1									
Allow some	2									
Allow a few	3									
Allow none	4									
(Don't know)	8									

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for entry / exclusion [QFIMLIVE]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises
This concept engages with policy debates about criteria for entry, such as debates about the introduction of points systems which privilege potential migrants with higher skills and language skills. Qualifications for entry can also be conceptualised as varying according to acquired and ascribed immigration criteria. Acquired immigration criteria consist of those individual competencies and attitudes (such as commitment to the way of life of the destination country) that in principle immigrants could attain if they wish. Ascribed immigration criteria, in turn, are categorical qualities related to inherent, collective characteristics of a social category (such as being white). This distinction between ascribed and acquired characteristics mirrors the classic distinction made in the literature between ethnic and civic conceptions of the nation.
Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts This concept is expected to correlate highly with the general concept of opposition to immigration. More specifically we expect the sub-dimension tapping ascribed characteristics to be strongly related to nationalism and to racism.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: good educational qualifications [QFIMEDU] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D10)

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly
The migrant's level of qualifications is a key focus of current policy debates, for example over the introduction of points systems for regulating immigration flows.
Expected relationship with other sub concepts We expect this to tap a sub-dimension of acquired characteristics and to be correlated with the sub-concepts of speaking the official language and being committed to the way of life of the destination country.
Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D10) CARD 27 Please tell me how important you think each of these things should be in deciding whether someone born, brought up and living outside [country] should be able to come and live here. Please use this card. Firstly, how important should it be for them to... READ OUT... D1... have good educational qualifications?

⁸ Gypsies' in the sense of 'people who come from ethnic communities who have traditionally led a travelling lifestyle'. Please use the term most commonly used in everyday language.

Extremely unimportant										Extremely important	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: speak country's official language [QFIMLNG] (REPEAT ITEM FROM ESS1: D12)

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Speaking the country's official language is a key focus of current policy debate.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect this to tap a sub-dimension of acquired characteristics and to be correlated with the sub-concepts of educational qualifications and commitment to way of life.

Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D12)

D2... be able to speak [country's official language(s)]?⁹

Extremely unimportant										Extremely important	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: Christian background [QFIMCHR] (REPEAT ITEM FROM ESS1: D13)

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Given the Christian heritage of most European countries, Christian background is potentially an important criterion for immigration according to theories of symbolic threat.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect this to tap a sub-dimension of ascribed characteristics and to be correlated with the sub-concept of being white.

Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D13):

D3....come from a Christian¹⁰ background?

Extremely unimportant										Extremely important	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: be white [QFIMWHT] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D14)

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

⁹ Where countries have more than one official language, the question should ask whether someone should 'be able' to speak at least one of them (e.g. Switzerland 'be able to speak German, French or Italian')

¹⁰ Israel changes 'Christian' in this item.

This is a classic theme in the literature on xenophobia and taps respondents' adherence to a racial account of social groups.												
Expected relationship with other sub concepts We expect this to tap the sub-dimension of ascribed criteria. We also expect it to be strongly correlated with measures of biological racism.												
Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D14):												
D4... be white?												
Extremely unimportant									Extremely important		(Don't know)	
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88	

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: work skills needed in country [QFIMWSK] (REPEAT ITEM FROM ESS1: D16)

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly												
A key topic in political debates.												
Expected relationship with other sub concepts We expect this to be strongly related to the sub-concepts tapping acquired characteristics, especially to the sub-concept of educational qualifications.												
Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D16):												
D5...have work skills that [country] needs?												
Extremely unimportant									Extremely important		(Don't know)	
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88	

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Qualification for immigration: committed to way of life in country [QFIMCMT] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D17)

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly												
A classic indicator of acquired criteria for entry.												
Expected relationship with other sub concepts We expect this to tap the sub-dimension of acquired criteria and to be strongly correlated with the sub-concepts of educational qualifications and speaking the official language.												
Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D17):												
D6...be committed ¹¹ to the way of life in [country]?												
Extremely unimportant									Extremely important		(Don't know)	
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88	

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Impact of Origin and Skill Level on Attitudes to Migrants [IMMEXP] NEW

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

¹¹ 'Committed' in the sense of embracing, fully accepting the way of life.

The rationale behind this experimental item is to test how the ethnic origins and the economic status of migrants interact with each other. Varying both of these enables us to test the impact of each separately and to examine how they interact. We can also employ a consistent rule for deciding which origin groups are used in each case. This will accomplish several goals:

1. Enable us to test the relative contributions of economic threat and cultural/identity threat to opposition to migrants comparatively and within individual nations
2. Test the impact of origin regions in a way which is robustly comparable across nations while remaining relevant within nations
3. Enable us to develop a multilevel model of the relative impact of economic and cultural/identity threat, and how this interacts with national political and social context across the ESS countries by employing a robust and consistent design across a wide range of different contexts.
4. Provide a mechanism for testing the impact of ethnic origin which addresses the sensitivities of some of the teams implementing the survey
5. Enables us to probe attitudes to four different immigrant groups in a single item.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

The experiment allows us to disaggregate generalised opposition to immigration to test the impact of migrant economic status (social class) and origin region on attitudes. We anticipate that the effects of many of the factors predicting opposition to migration will vary depending on the treatment condition while the overall pattern of relations may also vary in different national contexts.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Impact of skill level and specific origins on attitudes to migrants (NEW)
[ALPFPE / ALFPNE / ALLBPE / ALLBPNE]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The item employs a 2x2 design varying the economic status (social class) and origin nation of a migrant group, and asking respondents whether they would regard the admission of the migrant group as a good or bad thing. The social classes are defined as two poles of the social class hierarchy - "professionals" and "unskilled labourers".

In every country the origin nation is defined as the one that provides the largest inflows of migrants from within Europe (origin nation 1) and from outside Europe (origin nation 2) This way we ensure that the immigrant group used is consistently the most locally salient and representative nation from within each broader category (more culturally-similar European migrants; more culturally-distant non-European migrants). This will ensure relevance within each nation, but by employing a unified logic will also allow for sensible comparison of reactions across nations.

Summary 2x2 table illustrating design

	Less different ethnic origin	More different ethnic origin
Higher economic status	Professional migrants from [European country providing largest number of migrants]	Professional migrants from [poor country outside Europe providing largest number of migrants]
Lower economic status	Unskilled labourers from [European country providing largest number of migrants]	Unskilled labourers from [poor country outside Europe providing largest number of migrants].

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect the measures derived from this experiment to correlate highly with a measure of opposition to immigration based on OPOSIM and QFIMLIVE.

Final wording:

[Respondents randomly assigned to one of the four conditions]

- D30 STILL CARD 42** Using the same card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow professionals¹² from [poor European country providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?
- D31 STILL CARD 42** Using the same card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow professionals from [poor country outside Europe providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?
- D32 STILL CARD 42** Using the same card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow unskilled labourers from [poor European country providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?
- D33 STILL CARD 42** Using the same card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow unskilled labourers from [poor country outside Europe providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?

- Allow many to come and live here 1
 Allow some 2
 Allow a few 3
 Allow none 4
 (Don't know) 8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Integration policies [IMINTPOL]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

A particularly controversial issue in recent years has been whether the kinds of multicultural policies that were designed to help minorities feel at home have provoked a backlash and resentment among members of the majority group, thus paradoxically creating a more hostile environment for migrants.

Within the broad category of integration policy it is helpful to distinguish those aimed primarily at encouraging migrants and minorities to adopt the culture of the majority group (typically regarded as assimilationist policies), those aimed at enabling minorities to retain their own cultures (typically referred to as multicultural policies), and those that focus on ensuring equality of opportunity for migrants and minorities rather than tackling cultural issues (the classic approach of western liberalism deriving from John Stuart Mill).

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We do not expect there to be any straightforward relationship between overall support for or opposition towards immigration and support for different types of integration policy. However, we might expect to see some correlation between the subdimension prioritizing ascribed criteria for entry and support for assimilationist policies, while the sub-dimension prioritizing acquired criteria might be more strongly related to support for liberal policies.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Better if everyone shares customs and traditions [PPLSTRD] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D40)

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This is a repeat item. We assume that the original item was designed to measure support for or opposition to assimilationist policies, although strictly speaking the item is not actually dealing with policies at all.

¹² professionals' in the sense of 'workers who are typically engaged in highly skilled occupations'

<p>Expected relationship with other sub concepts</p> <p>We do not expect this sub-concept to be closely related to the following sub-concept on discrimination, although we do expect it to be related to the concept of symbolic threat.</p>												
<p>Final wording (repeat from ESS1: D40):</p> <p>D13 CARD 33 Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree that:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">‘It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions’.</p> <table style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 20px;">Agree strongly</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Agree</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Neither agree nor disagree</td> <td style="text-align: right;">3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Disagree</td> <td style="text-align: right;">4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Disagree strongly</td> <td style="text-align: right;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(Don't know)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">8</td> </tr> </table>	Agree strongly	1	Agree	2	Neither agree nor disagree	3	Disagree	4	Disagree strongly	5	(Don't know)	8
Agree strongly	1											
Agree	2											
Neither agree nor disagree	3											
Disagree	4											
Disagree strongly	5											
(Don't know)	8											

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Law against: racial discrimination at workplace [LWDSCWP] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D45)

<p>Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly</p>															
<p>This is a another repeat item and one which could be thought of as tapping support for the liberal principle of ensuring equality of opportunity for migrants and minorities.</p>															
<p>Expected relationship with other sub concepts</p> <p>We do not expect this item to have a strong positive or negative relationship with the previous sub concept (attitudes towards assimilationist policies) but we do expect it to be related to support for achieved criteria for immigration.</p>															
<p>Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D45):</p> <p>D14 CARD 34 How good or bad is it for a country to have a law against racial or ethnic discrimination in the workplace? Please use this card.</p> <table style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Extremely bad</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">00</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">01</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">02</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">03</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">04</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">05</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">06</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">07</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">08</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">09</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">10</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Extremely good</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">(Don't know)</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">88</td> </tr> </table>	Extremely bad	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	Extremely good	(Don't know)	88
Extremely bad	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	Extremely good	(Don't know)	88	

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Social distance [SOCDIST]

<p>Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises</p>
<p>Subjective feeling of social distance is one of the classic concepts in the study of racial prejudice and is a powerful predictor of attitudes towards migrants and minorities. The concept and measure has been widely used ever since it was first developed in 1947 as an indicator of prejudice towards out-groups.</p>
<p>Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts</p> <p>Subjective feelings of social distance are expected to be a key mediator between social contact and attitudes towards immigration. It is also likely to be a mediator between feelings of symbolic and economic threat and attitudes to immigration.</p>

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrant different race/ethnic group majority: your boss [IMDETBS]
(REPEAT FROM ESS1: D36)

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly												
This directly measures one classic aspect of social distance.												
Expected relationship with other sub concepts												
We expect the two social distance measures to be highly correlated with each other and also with the contact measures.												
Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D36):												
CARD 31 Now thinking of people who have come to live in [country] from another country who are of a <u>different</u> race or ethnic group ¹³ from most [country] people. Using this card, please tell me how much you would mind or not mind if someone like this... READ OUT...												
D10...was appointed as your boss?												
Not mind at all										Mind a lot		(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88	

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrant different race/ethnic group majority: married close relative [IMDETMR] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D37)

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly												
A second classic aspect of social distance.												
Expected relationship with other sub concepts												
We expect the two social distance measures to be highly correlated with each other and also with the contact measures												
Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D37):												
D11...married a close relative of yours?												
Not mind at all										Mind a lot		(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88	

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Realistic threat: Economic threat, security threat [ECONTHR]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises												
Broadly defined, threat perceptions refer to the anticipation of negative consequences related to the arrival and presence of immigrants in a country. Threat research has differentiated two main dimensions of threat that relate to anti-immigration attitudes: material or realistic threats on the one hand, and value or symbolic threats on the other. Competition over scarce resources between national majority and minority groups and perceptions of such competition denote material threat.												
Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts												
We expect economic threat to be correlated with symbolic threat and to be a powerful predictor of opposition to immigration, especially among less skilled/qualified members of the majority group. We anticipate that economic threat will be more important than symbolic threat in predicting opposition to labour migrants.												

¹³ for the translation of 'race or ethnic group in all items in the immigration module, please refer to additional guidance in the document 'Question numbering from Round 1 to Round 7 (immigration module)'.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrants: impact on jobs [IMTCJOB] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D25)

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

An indicator of economic threat and the idea that immigration threatens the economic situation of existing residents.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect the sub-concepts of the economic threat complex concept to be correlated positively.

Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D25):

D7 CARD 28 Using this card, would you say that people who come to live here generally take jobs away from workers in [country], or generally help to create new jobs?

Take jobs away										Create new jobs	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrants: impact on welfare services [IMBLECO] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D26)

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Another direct measure of threat although not so narrowly focussed on the economic threat.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

See above

Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D26):

D8 CARD 29 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? Please use this card.

Generally take out more										Generally put in more	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Immigrants: impact on economy [IMBGECO] [CORE]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This is another direct measure of economic threat.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect it to be highly correlated with the other sub-concepts constituting realistic threat.

Final wording (CORE ITEM B32):

B32 CARD 18 Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please use this card.

Bad for the economy										Good for the economy	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Security Threat: Immigrants impact on crime problems [IMWBCRM]
(REPEAT FROM ESS1: D30)

Describe the concept in detail													
This is a repeat item that has been very extensively used by secondary analysts. Fear of crime is empirically a major driver of hostility towards out-groups and taps a distinct dimension of threat (rather than assuming that labour market threat is all that matters).													
Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D30):													
D9 CARD 30 Are [country]'s crime problems made worse or better by people coming to live here from other countries? Please use this card.													
Crime problems made worse									Crime problems made better				(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88		

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Symbolic Threat [SYMBTHR]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises
The concept of symbolic threat encompasses the perception that immigrants have differing belief systems, worldviews, and moral values which pose a threat to the values and symbols of the majority group. To tap symbolic threat, we assess the extent to which respondents think that immigrants undermine the cultural life and religious beliefs of the national in-group.
Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts We expect feelings of symbolic threat to be correlated with economic threat and in turn with social distance and attitudes to immigration. However we expect symbolic threat to be particularly strongly associated with opposition to culturally distinct groups, such as Muslims migrating to a non-Muslim country, and with an emphasis on ascribed rather than achieved criteria for entry. Further back in the causal sequence, we expect feelings of symbolic threat to be predicted by cultural racism.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants [IMUECLT]
[CORE]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly											
This subconcept (replicated from the first round and also part of the core) can be considered a primary indicator of symbolic threat.											
Expected relationship with other sub concepts This subconcept is expected to be highly correlated with the second indicator of symbolic threat.											
Final wording (core item B33):											
B33 CARD 19 And, using this card, would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?											
Cultural life undermined						Cultural life enriched	(Don't know)				
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Symbolic Threat [RLGUEIM]

Describe the concept in detail											
As a second indicator of symbolic threat we focus on feelings about the extent to which religious beliefs and practices are undermined by immigration. This provides a more specific focus than the first more general indicator and taps an aspect which has become particularly politicized in a number of countries.											
Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts											
We expect this indicator to be highly correlated with the first indicator, but also to be distinctive in its greater correlation to opposition to Muslims (in the case of non-Muslim respondents).											
Final wording:											
D18 CARD 37 Using this card, do you think the religious beliefs and practices in [country] are generally undermined or enriched ¹⁴ by people coming to live here from other countries?											
Religious beliefs and practices undermined								Religious beliefs and practices enriched		(Don't know)	
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Contact with out-group members [OGCONT]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises
Contact research has provided substantial evidence that direct contact with out-group members reduces prejudice. Successful intergroup contact between the national majority and immigrant and ethnic minorities reduces prejudice and discrimination towards these out-groups among the majority population.
First, it is important to understand the opportunity for out-group contact in order to contextualise actual contact. The way people perceive their surroundings is one way to get at opportunity for contact.
Second, while friendship with out-group members is a particularly effective way of reducing prejudice, a more fine-grained cross-national analysis of different facets of intergroup contact is called for differentiating brief and superficial mundane interactions from more intimate contacts, such as friendships.
Third, both quality and quantity of contact with immigrants and ethnic minorities affect attitudes of majority members although the impact of quality is usually stronger.
Items measuring the perceived diversity of the area one lives in, distinguishing everyday contacts from close contacts and whether the contact was positive or negative are thus included in the complex concept. We order the sub-concepts/items from more distal (perceived diversity as opportunity for contact) to proximal (friendship as close contact).
While theoretically items focussing on contact with migrants would seem to be the logical focus of the contact items, our preliminary work indicated that respondents often did not know whether a potential interlocutor was actually a migrant or descended from migrants. Hence, to render more

¹⁴ undermined or enriched' should be translated in the same way as in core item B33.

salient the intergroup aspect of contact, we decided to assess contact with people of a different race or ethnic group. In addition the repeat item on opportunity for contact was phrased in terms of race or ethnic group. Continuing this focus with the other contact items thus ensures greater consistency.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Opportunity for contact [ACETALV] [REPEAT FROM ESS1: D39]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Opportunity for contact is a key driver of actual contact, and it may also affect perceptions of threat. Perceived local cultural diversity is important for understanding opportunities for contact and it is frequently a stronger predictor of attitudes than actual diversity. People probably have better knowledge about the situation in their locality (neighbourhood) than about the national situation. Moreover, it is on this level that everyday contacts take place.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

Opportunity for contact is conceptualised as an antecedent of Quantity of contact, especially brief encounters. Note that an alternative prediction is that Opportunity for contact increases threat perceptions.

Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D39):

D12 CARD 32 And now using this card, how would you describe the area where you currently live?

- | | |
|--|---|
| An area where <u>almost nobody</u> is of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people | 1 |
| <u>Some people</u> are of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people | 2 |
| <u>Many people</u> are of a different race or ethnic group | 3 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Quantity of everyday encounters with outgroup members [DFEGCON] NEW

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

While social relationships are the paradigm example of contact, less intimate forms of contact may also take place in everyday life and indeed may well be a more common occurrence. They may also, if they are of a positive kind, have important effects on reducing prejudice. However, it will be important for such contacts to understand whether they involve friction or not.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect this to be correlated with Opportunity for Contact and with Out-group Friendships. The effect of Quantity of everyday encounters on outcome variables will depend upon the Quality of this contact. The item on Quantity of everyday encounters may have a higher frequency than Quantity of friendships, although a weaker effect on outcome variables.

Final wording:

D20 CARD 38 How often do you have any contact with people who are of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people when you are out and about¹⁵? This could be on public transport, in the street, in shops or in the neighbourhood¹⁶? Please use this card

INTERVIEWER: Any contact should be included, whether verbal or non-verbal.

Never ¹⁷	1
Less than once a month	2
Once a month	3
Several times a month	4
Once a week	5
Several times a week	6
Every day	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Quality of brief everyday encounters with outgroup members [DFEGHBG] NEW

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Measures *quality* of everyday encounters

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

Quality of everyday encounters should moderate the effect of Quantity of everyday encounters on outcome variables.

Final wording:

ASK IF CODES 2-7 AT D20

D21 CARD 39 Thinking about this contact, in general how bad or good is it? Please use this card

Extremely bad											Extremely good	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88	

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Number of migrant friends [DFEGCF] NEW

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Close friendships come at the other end of the spectrum from brief encounters. Close friendships will be more or less self-selected. They are assumed to be positive by definition due to the nature of friendship involving self-disclosure and interpersonal attraction. Having friends of a different ethnic origin or immigration background is thus likely to be highly influential in reducing negative stances towards the out-group.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect Friendships to be correlated with Opportunity for contact and Quantity of everyday contacts.

¹⁵ 'Out and about' in the sense of 'when in public and not at home'.

¹⁶ 'Neighbourhood' in the sense of 'local area'.

¹⁷ The scale should be translated in the same way as in core item C2

Final wording:

D19 Do you have any close friends who are of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people?

IF YES, is that several or a few?

Yes, several	1
Yes, a few	2
No, none at all	3
(Don't know)	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Biological racism [BIORACM]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

Recent theoretical work has suggested that, rather than seeing racial prejudice as a unitary phenomenon, racism can instead be conceptualised as comprising two distinct dimensions: biological racism - when people organise their representation of humanity based on the idea of "race" - and cultural racism

In contemporary societies therefore diverse modalities of racism may coexist, but it is possible nonetheless to identify theoretical principles underlying the diversity of the phenomena and, simultaneously, to distinguish racism from prejudice.

As measures of biological racism are distinct from measures of prejudice, and should not be confused with attitudes towards immigration, the use of the term 'race', rather than ethnicity is crucial here.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

As noted earlier, we expect biological racism to be strongly predictive of attitudes towards specific groups such as people 'of colour' and towards the use of ascribed criteria for entry such as being 'white'. In contrast, cultural racism is expected to be more strongly related to culturally dissimilar groups such as Muslims and to feelings of symbolic threat.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Human essentialization – intelligence [HESSINT] NEW

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This first sub-concept taps the idea that some groups are by their very nature inherently superior or inferior to other groups. The notion that some individuals or groups are born with different inherited potentialities is likely to be particularly familiar to many respondents in the context of inherited differences in intelligence.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

Together with the next sub-concept, they form the concept of biological racism. We expect the two sub concepts to be closely correlated but to have different distributions.

Final wording:

People often have different views on these next topics

D23 Do you think some races or ethnic groups¹⁸ are born less intelligent than others?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8

¹⁸ It is important that the translation refers to groups rather than to individuals. If at all possible, the word 'people' should not be used.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Human essentialization – work ethic [HESSWE] NEW

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This second sub-concept taps the same ideas of hierarchy and inherited differences as the first sub-concept. However, it moves away from the debates over intelligence in order to explore the generality of the distinctions.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

Together with the previous sub-concept, this forms the concept of biological racism. The two sub-concepts are expected to be highly but not perfectly correlated.

Final wording:

D24 Do you think some races or ethnic groups are born harder working than others?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8

SECTION D: Simple Concepts. For each simple concept listed in Section B, describe it in detail here. Add more boxes to the template as required to describe all of the simple concepts in the module.

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Fraternal relative deprivation [GVTRIMG] [NEW]

Describe the concept in detail

The concept of fraternal relative deprivation has proved to be a powerful influence on people's feelings of threat. The key focus is not on whether the individual himself or herself feels that his or her opportunities are threatened by immigration but instead on whether the group with which the individual identifies is at risk of losing opportunities or privileges to which they are rightly entitled.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts.

Feelings of fraternal relative deprivation are expected to correlate strongly with the general concept of opposition to immigration, their effects being largely mediated by feelings of threat, particularly of realistic threat.

Final wording:

ROUTING: ASK IF BORN IN [COUNTY] (CODE 1 AT D17a)

D17b CARD 36 Compared to people like yourself who were born in [country], how do you think the government treats those who have come to live here recently from other countries? Please use this card.

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Much better | 1 |
| A little better | 2 |
| Both the same | 3 |
| A little worse | 4 |
| Much worse | 5 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: National Attachment [FCLCNTR]

Describe the concept in detail

Nationalism refers to an uncritical attachment to the nation and a sense of national superiority with respect to other countries. The concept overlaps with the notion of an ethnic conception of the nation and has repeatedly been associated with negative attitudes towards immigration.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We expect national attachment to be strongly related to feelings of symbolic threat and to have strong direct and indirect relationships with negative attitudes towards migrants, especially towards those from culturally dissimilar backgrounds. This relationship will vary as function of individuals' conceptions of nationhood.

Final wording:

D22 CARD 40 How close¹⁹ do you feel to [country]? Please use this card.

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| Very close | 1 |
| Close | 2 |
| Not very close | 3 |
| Not close at all | 4 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

¹⁹ "Close" in the sense of "emotionally attached to" or "identifying with".

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Cultural racism [SMCTMBE]

Describe the concept in detail,

Cultural racism differs from biological racism in that it focusses on the cultural inferiority, as opposed to the biological inferiority, of migrants and their descendants belonging to groups perceived as racially or ethnically different. The item is intended to tap the notion of a hierarchy of cultures, which is a characteristic of cultural racism.

Expected relationship with other concepts

This is previewed to be correlated with biological racism, with opposition towards immigration, with social distance and with threat perceptions, particularly symbolic threat.

Final wording:

D25 CARD 41 Thinking about the world today, would you say that some cultures are much better than others or that all cultures are equal²⁰? Please choose your answer from this card.

Some cultures are much better than others 1
All cultures are equal 2
(Don't know) 8

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Perception of group size in country [NOIMBRO] (REPEAT FROM ESS1: D56)

Describe the concept in detail

Knowledge is frequently an important moderator of relationships between variables. In the case of attitudes to immigration, knowledge about the actual numbers is likely to be an important moderator as well as having a direct effect on opposition to immigration in its own right.

Final wording (repeat item from ESS1: D56):

D16 Out of every 100 people living in [country], how many do you think were born outside [country]?

INTERVIEWER: If respondent says 'don't know'; say: 'Please give your best estimate'.²¹

WRITE IN: out of 100
(Don't know) 88

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Ancestry of respondent (NEW)

Describe the concept in detail

Ethnicity is a powerful socio-demographic predictor for a range of attitudes, including attitudes to immigration. Moreover, minorities are not homogeneous in this respect and there are major differences in attitudes (eg towards asylum seekers) between different ethnic groups. It is important therefore to be able to distinguish between different ethnic groups, rather than to treat them as a unitary phenomenon.

The sociological concept of ethnic group is very close to political scientists' concept of a nation. The main distinction is that nations typically (although not invariably) lay claim to, or already have rights over, a particular territory. However, in a world of migration, the distinction can be contingent and contextual. Thus Kurds in the Middle East might think of themselves as a nation with a homeland to which some would make a territorial claim, whereas people of Kurdish background living in, say, Sweden might be regarded as an ethnic minority (though they themselves might continue to think of themselves as members of the Kurdish nation). For

²⁰ 'equal' in the sense that 'no culture is better than another'.

²¹ **New interviewer instruction** added for ESS7

practical purposes, then, it is not helpful to make a hard and fast distinction between the concepts of ethnic group and nation. The chosen measure is therefore designed to tap both ethnic minorities having a 'migration background' and indigenous minorities who might think of themselves as members of a particular nation. Indeed, within a number of European countries a range of national minorities are officially recognized.

The wording chosen therefore does not specifically refer to either nation or ethnic group (concepts which might in any event not be familiar to many respondents). Instead we have chosen an 'ostensive' definition where the kinds of groups which the measure is intended to cover are indicated through country-specific show cards (developed in cooperation with the respective national coordinating teams), designed to illustrate the kinds of ethno-national divisions most salient in the particular country.

The term 'ancestry' (in the sense of descent or origins) was chosen as it proved in the course of piloting to be readily understood by respondents and is in a sense more factual than a formulation in terms of current identification. This wording has also proved workable over a number of years in Australia, where a closely similar question has been employed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

It was agreed that the item would not be considered in the overall item count for the module, since it taps an important demographic concept. Further information about the design of each country specific show card and the common harmonised codeframe can be found here: [xxxxxxx](#)

Final wording:

F61 CARD 77²² How would you describe your ancestry²³? Please use this card to choose up to two ancestries that best apply to you.

INTERVIEWER: code maximum of two ancestries in total.

If more than two are mentioned, ask respondent to select two.

If respondent is unable to do this, code first two ancestries mentioned.

INTERVIEWER PROBE ONCE: Which other?

SECTION E. Items NOT repeated. Using the Round 1 question numbers describe the items being dropped and give reasons why they are not being included in the repeat module.

D1 ImgEtn Thinking of people coming to live in [country] nowadays from other countries, would you say that...

- ...most are of the same race or ethnic group as the majority of [country]²⁴ people, 1
- most are of a different race or ethnic group, 2
- or, is it about half and half? 3

D2 ElmGrpC Now thinking about people coming to live in [country] nowadays from other countries within Europe, would you say that...

- ...most come from the richer countries of Europe, 1
- most come from the poorer countries of Europe, 2

²² Country specific showcard

²³ 'Ancestry' in the sense of 'descent' or 'origins'.

²⁴ "[country]" here requires the adjectival form, e.g. "British people"

or, is it about half and half? 3

D3 ImgRpc And what about people who come to live in [country] nowadays from countries outside Europe, would you say that...

- ...most come from the richer countries outside Europe, 1
- most come from the poorer countries outside Europe, 2
- or, is it about half and half? 3

We do not believe most respondents generally have sufficient understanding of the ethnic mix of migration to answer this question meaningfully, nor is it clear why variation in these responses, either individually or cross-nationally, is likely to be predictive of the dependent variables of interest. These items seem to conflate two goals - to measure respondents' knowledge about migration, and to measure ethnic or economic threat from migrant inflows. We feel it would be much better to focus on items which tap each of these concepts separately. Moreover, these items do not appear to have been used very much, if at all, by secondary analysts.

D6 ElmRcnt STILL CARD 24 Now, still using this card, to what extent do you think [country] should allow people from the richer countries in Europe to come and live here?

- Allow many to come and live here 1
- Allow some 2
- Allow a few 3
- Allow none 4

D8 ImRcntr STILL CARD 24 To what extent do you think [country] should allow people from the richer countries outside Europe to come and live here? Use the same card.

- Allow many to come and live here 1
- Allow some 2
- Allow a few 3
- Allow none 4

CARD 25 Please tell me how important you think each of these things should be in deciding whether someone born, brought up and living outside [country] should be able to come and live here. Please use this card.

Firstly, how important should it be for them to **READ OUT**

	<i>Extremely unimportant</i>										<i>Extremely important</i>	
D11# QflmFml												
..have close family living here?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	
D15# QflmWlt ...be wealthy?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	

These items were dropped as these criteria do not tap key theoretical concepts concerning why migrants are accepted or opposed. Given their limited intellectual value, we felt that the space would be better used on other items. They have been little used by secondary analysts.

Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor Disagree strongly

	disagree				
D18 ImWgDwn Average wages and salaries are generally brought down ²⁵ by people coming to live and work here					
D19 ImHEcoP People who come to live and work here generally harm ²⁶ the economic prospects of the poor ²⁷ more than the rich	1	2	3	4	5
D20 ImFIJob People who come to live and work here help to fill jobs where there are shortages of workers	1	2	3	4	5
D21 ImUnpLv If people who have come to live and work here are unemployed for a long period, they should be made to leave	1	2	3	4	5
D22 ImSmRgt People who have come to live here should be given the same rights as everyone else	1	2	3	4	5
D23 ImSCrLv If people who have come to live here commit a serious crime, they should ²⁸ be made to leave	1	2	3	4	5
D24 ImACrLv If people who have come to live here commit <u>any</u> crime, they should be made to leave	1	2	3	4	5
<p>The team see merit in many of these items, but with limited space many of the items from the extended first round module had to be removed to produce a streamlined repeat module. Three of these items tap economic threat concerns (D19-21), and were felt to be redundant as this concept is already measured by several items in the repeat module. Two items here (D23-24) deal with security threat, a concept which the team felt could be adequately captured with a single item dealing with the links between immigration and crime. The additional items tie this to the issue of deportation, which means they conflate two different issues. We do not feel the deportation criteria issue is sufficiently fundamental theoretically or important in policy terms to measure in the new module. Finally, the item concerning giving migrants "the same rights as everyone else" is too vague to be useful as a measure. It is not clear what rights this refers to (political, economic, social, legal) or whether this measures rights which migrants should be granted on arrival or after some period of residence in the country (and if so, how long?). Given these serious difficulties in interpretation, we felt the item was not a good candidate for repetition.</p>					
D31 ImBGHCt CARD 33 When people leave their countries to come to live in [country], do you think it has a bad or good effect on <u>those</u> countries in the long run? Please use this card.					
Bad for those countries in the long run			Good for those countries in the long run		

²⁵ Become lower.

²⁶ Affect negatively.

²⁷ The poor in [country] are intended.

²⁸ "Should" in D23 and D24 have the sense of 'must'.

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

We felt this item was not worth repeating for two reasons. Firstly, what it deals with is essentially a foreign policy issue, of little relevance to the political and social preferences of respondents in each ESS country. It is unlikely, in our view, that respondents' opinions on this issue will have any significant consequences, either for their views about immigration or for politics in general. Secondly, respondents have little enough knowledge/information about the effects of migration in their own countries. They are likely to know virtually nothing about the effects migration is having on the countries sending the migrants, so it is hard to believe the responses being given to this question have any validity. The item has not been used by secondary analysts.

CARD 34 Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Firstly.... **READ OUT**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
D32 CtBfSMv					
All countries benefit if people can move to countries where their skills are most needed	1	2	3	4	5
D33 ImRspRc					
Richer countries have a responsibility to accept people from poorer countries	1	2	3	4	5

These questions once again focus on immigration as an international/foreign policy issue - we feel this framing is not the most relevant to how voters and politician's reason about and debate immigration, which are focussed on the domestic arena. Also, the questions deal in general principles which voters might accept while still supporting strong restrictions in practice. For example, British voters might support limited movement of highly skilled individuals to where their talents are most needed (e.g. footballers to the British Premier League, doctors to the British NHS) while opposing mass movement of people with intermediate or lower skills. Similarly, voters might agree that richer countries have a responsibility to accept some kinds of people from poorer countries but have very large disagreements about what this means in practice. This combination of lower domestic salience and vagueness about how respondents interpret the concepts made these items strong candidates for being dropped. Neither item appears to have been much used by secondary analysts.

CARD 35 Now thinking again of people who have come to live in [country] from another country who are of the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people, how much would you mind or not mind if someone like this.... **READ OUT**

	Not mind at all										Mind a lot
D34 ImSEtBs											
... was appointed as your boss?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
D35 ImSEtMr											
...married a close relative of yours?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10

The team dropped these questions for two reasons. The module already has questions measuring social distance, which is the core concept being tapped here. It is not clear what value

there is in asking about social distance from immigrants with a similar ethnic background (as opposed to migrants with a different ethnic background). The wording also has the capacity to confuse people - does the question mean return migrants (e.g. people with British parents/grandparents migrating to Britain from India or Africa, German "Aussleider" migration, or ethnic Jewish migration to Israel) or does it refer to people from the same broad racial/ethnic category but different nationalities (e.g. European migration to Britain). Different respondents may employ either interpretation or something in between. This makes it hard to know what the questions are tapping, making them poor measures of the core concept.

D38# IdEtALv CARD 36 Suppose you were choosing where to live. Which of the three types of area on this card would you ideally wish to live in?

- An area where almost nobody was of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people 1
- Some people were of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people 2
- Many people were of a different race or ethnic group 3
- It would make no difference 4

These questions deal primarily with perceptions of and attitudes to local diversity which, while it is an interesting issue, is a separate concern to immigration attitudes. The team felt it was not a core concern for an immigration module and, with limited space, therefore decided to drop it.

CARD 38 Using this card, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. Firstly....**READ OUT**...

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
D41 VrtRIg It is better for a country if there are a variety of different religions	1	2	3	4	5
D42 ComnLng It is better for a country if almost everyone is able to speak at least one common language	1	2	3	4	5
D43 AlwSpSc Communities of people who have come to live here should ²⁹ be allowed to educate their children in their own separate schools if they wish	1	2	3	4	5
D44 StlmRdT If a country wants to reduce tensions it should stop immigration	1	2	3	4	5

Two of these questions once again deal with diversity/multiculturalism rather than migration issues. These items are not directly concerned with migration, nor are they likely to be important predictors of attitudes to immigration. Additionally, support for the concept of a common language is almost universal, meaning that this item has very little variance. The last item is dropped because it is too vague to be useful - we do not know what sort of "tensions" respondents have in mind so responses are likely simply to reflect a generalised anxiety about immigration.

CARD 39 How good or bad are each of these things for a country?
Please use this card. Firstly... **READ OUT**

²⁹ "Should" in the sense of 'ought to be'.

D46 LWPETH A law against promoting racial or ethnic hatred

Extremely bad											Extremely good
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10

Item dropped as strongly correlated with D45.

D47 ImgFrnd Do you have any friends who have come to live in [country] from another country?

Yes, several	1
Yes, a few	2
No, none at all	3

D48 ImgClg Do you have any colleagues at work who have come to live in [country] from another country?

Yes, several	1
Yes, a few	2
No, none at all	3

These items measure an important concept - social contact - but the team is concerned that in this formulation they are not likely to be very effective measures for a number of reasons. Firstly, respondents may not have very good knowledge of the migration status of people in their social network. Secondly, the social contact involved here is too broad and non-specific. Thirdly, the use of workplace as a context for social contact is highly problematic, because (a) it excludes more than half of the sample in many countries (b) the category of "colleagues" is vague and could include people that the respondent has no social contact with (people working in other departments of a large firm) or people with whom the respondent has antagonistic social relations (bosses, subordinates) We have therefore dropped these social contact items and instead formulated new items which we feel better capture this important concept.

Some people come to this country and apply for refugee status on the grounds that they fear persecution in their own country.

CARD 40

Using this card, please say how much you agree with the following statements. Firstly...**READ OUT**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
D49 ShrRfg [country] has more than its fair share of people applying for refugee status	1	2	3	4	5
D50 RfgAWrk While their application for refugee status is being considered, people should be allowed to work in [country]	1	2	3	4	5

D52 FrgFrPc Most applicants for refugee status aren't in real fear of persecution in their own countries	1	2	3	4	5
D53 RfgDtCn While their cases are being considered, applicants should be kept in detention centres	1	2	3	4	5
D54 RfgGvFn While their cases are being considered, the [country] government should give financial support to applicants.	1	2	3	4	5
D55 RfgBFml Refugees whose applications are granted should be entitled to bring their close family members	1	2	3	4	5

The original module devoted a lot of space to refugee migration, yet this migration stream accounts for only a small portion of migration to most ESS countries. As such, we did not feel the issue was sufficiently important to warrant an extended battery of questions. These items have been little used by secondary analysts.

D57 CplmPop CARD 41 Compared to other European countries of about the same size as [country], do you think that more or fewer people to come and live here from other countries? Please use this card.

- Far more people come to live in [country] 1
- More people come to live in [country] 2
- About the same number of people come to live in [country] 3
- Fewer people come to live in [country] 4
- Far fewer people come to live in [country] 5

D58 BLnCmlg CARD 42 How do you think the number of people *leaving* [country] nowadays compares to the number *coming to live* in [country]? Please use this card.

- Many more people leaving 1
- More people leaving 2
- About the same arriving and leaving 3
- More people arriving 4
- Many more people arriving 5

The team feels that both of these questions presume a level of knowledge far above what the average respondent has on these issues. It is also not clear why relative migration levels, or the balance of arrivals and departures, should matter for understanding public views of migration. Respondents' reactions to migrant arrivals are not likely to be significantly influenced by judgements about their country's relative openness to migrants, and respondents are much less likely to notice emigrants than immigrants. As such, the concepts these items tap were not felt to be central to the core aims of the module. The two items have scarcely been used by secondary analysts.

References

- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books.
- Bail, C. (2008). The configuration of symbolic boundaries against immigrants in Europe. *American Sociological Review* 73 (1): 37-59
- Barlow, F. K., Paolini, S., Pedersen, A., Hornsey, M. J., Radke, H. R. M., Harwood, J., et al. (2012). The contact caveat: negative contact predicts increased prejudice more than positive contact predicts reduced prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 38(12): 1629-1643.
- Betz, H. & Meret, S. (2009). Revisiting Lepanto: the political mobilization against Islam in contemporary Europe. *Patterns of Prejudice* 43(3): 313-334
- Blank, T., & Schmidt, P. (2003). National identity in a united Germany: nationalism or patriotism? An empirical test with representative data. *Political Psychology* 24: 289–311
- Bogardus, E. S. (1947). Measurement of personal-group relations. *Sociometry* 10 (4): 306–311.
- Brown, R., & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. Pp. 255-343 in M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 37). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X. (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.
- Christ, O., Hewstone, M., Tausch, N., Wagner, U., Voci, A., Hughes, J., & Cairns, E. (2010). Direct contact as a moderator of extended contact effects: cross-sectional and longitudinal impact on outgroup attitudes, behavioral intentions, and attitude certainty. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 36: 1662-1674.
- Citrin, J., & Sides, J. (2008). Immigration and the imagined community in Europe and the United States. *Political Studies* 56 (1): 33-56.
- Coenders, M. & Scheepers, P. (2004). Associations between nationalist attitudes and exclusionist reactions in 22 countries. Pp. 187-207 in M. Gijsberts, L. Hagendoorn, and P. Scheepers (Eds.) *Nationalism and Exclusion of Migrants. Cross-National Comparisons*. Burlington: Ashgate
- Coenders M., Lubbers M., & Scheepers P. (2005). *Majorities' Attitudes towards Minorities: Findings from the Eurobarometer and the European Social Survey*. Vienna: European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- Davidov, E., Meuleman, B., Billiet, J. & Schmidt, P. (2008). Values and support for immigration: a cross-country comparison. *European Sociological Review* 24: 583-599.

- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K. & Tredoux, C. (2005). Beyond the optimal contact strategy: a reality check for the contact hypothesis. *American Psychologist* 60(7): 697-711.
- Esses, V., Dovidio J.F., Jackson, L.A. & Armstrong, T.L. (2001). The immigration dilemma: the role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity. *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (3):389-412.
- Ford, R. & Goodwin, M. (2010). Angry white men: individual and contextual predictors of support for the British National Party. *Political Studies* 58(1):1-25
- Ford, R. (2011). Acceptable and unacceptable immigrants: the ethnic hierarchy in British immigration preferences. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studie* 37(7): 1017-1037
- Fredrickson, G.M. (2002). *Racism: A Short History*. NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gorodzeisky, A. & Semyonov, M. (2009). Terms of exclusion: public views toward admission and allocation of rights to immigrants in European countries. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32: 401–423.
- Gorodzeisky, A. (2011). Who are the Europeans that Europeans prefer? Economic conditions and exclusionary views toward European immigrants. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 52: 100-113.
- Green, E.G.T. (2007). Guarding the gates of Europe: a typological analysis of immigration attitudes across 21 countries. *International Journal of Psychology* 42 (6): 365-79.
- Green, E.G.T. (2009). Who can enter? A multilevel analysis on public support for immigration criteria across 20 European countries. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 12(1): 41-60.
- Green E.G.T., Fasel, N. & Sarrasin, O. (2010). The more the merrier? The effects of type of cultural diversity on exclusionary immigration attitudes in Switzerland. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 4(2): 177-190.
- Green, E.G.T., & Staerklé, C. (2013). Migration and multiculturalism. In L. Huddy, D. O. Sears, & J. Levy (Eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hainmueller J. & Hiscox M.J. (2007). Educated preferences: explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe. *International Organization* 61(2): 399-442
- Heath, A. F., Fisher S., Rosenblatt, G., Sanders, D. & Sobolewska, M. (2013). *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Helbling, M. (ed.) (2012). *Islamophobia in the West. Measuring and Explaining Individual Attitudes*. London: Routledge.
- Herda, D. (2010). How many immigrants? Foreign-born population innumeracy in Europe. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74(4): 674-695

- Hjerm, M. (2009). Anti-immigrant attitudes and cross-municipal variation in the proportion of immigrants. *Acta Sociologica* 52(1): 47-62
- Ivarsflaten, E. (2007). What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases. *Comparative Political Studies* 41(1): 3-23
- Kosterman, R. & Feshbach, S. (1989). Toward a measure of patriotic and nationalistic attitudes. *Political Psychology* 10: 257-274
- McLaren, L.M. (2003). Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception, and preferences for the exclusion of migrants. *Social Force* 81, 909-936.
- Meuleman, B., Davidov, E. & Billiet, J. (2009). Changing attitudes towards immigration in Europe 2001.2007: a dynamic group conflict theory approach. *Social Science Research* 38 (2): 352-65.
- Oesch D. 2008. Explaining workers' support for right-wing populist parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland. *International Political Science Review* 29(3): 349-373.
- Operario, D. & Fiske, S.T. (1998). Racism equals power plus prejudice: a social psychological equation for racial oppression. Pp. 33-54 in J.A. Edberhardt, & S.T. Fiske (Eds.), *Racism: The problem and the response*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pereira, C., Vala, J. & Costa-Lopes, R. (2010). From prejudice to discrimination: the legitimizing role of the perceived threat in discrimination against immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 40: 1231-1250.
- Pettigrew, T. F. & Meertens, R.W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 25: 57-75.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1997). Generalized intergroup contact effects on prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23: 173-185.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90: 751-783
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2011). *When Groups Meet: The dynamics of intergroup contact*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Preston, I., Bauer, T., Card, D., Dustmann, C., & Nazroo, J. (2001). *European Social Survey Round 1 module proposal. Proposal for a Module on Immigration and Attitudes*.
- Quillian, L. (1995). Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review* 60: 586-611.
- Raijman, R., Davidov, E., Schmidt, P. & Hochman, O. (2008). What does a nation owe non-citizens? National attachments, perception of threat and attitudes towards granting citizenship

rights in a comparative perspective. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 49(2-3): 195-220

Riek, B. M., Mania, E.W. & Gaertner, S.L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: a meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10(4): 336-353.

Runciman, W.G. (1966). *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice*. London, UK: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Rydgren J. (2008). Immigration sceptics, xenophobes or racists? Radical right-wing voting in six West European countries. *European Journal of Political Research* 47(6): 737-765

Sarrasin, O., Green, E.G.T., Fasel, N., Christ, O., Staerklé, C., & Clémence, A. (2012). Opposition to anti-racism laws across Swiss municipalities: a multilevel analysis. *Political Psychology* 33 (5): 659-681.

Scheepers, P., Gijsberts, M. & Coenders, M. (2002). Ethnic exclusion in European countries: public opposition to civil rights for legal migrants as a response to perceived ethnic threat. *European Sociological Review* 18: 17-34.

Schlueter, E. & Wagner, U. (2008). Regional differences matter: examining the dual influence of the regional size of the immigrant population on derogation of immigrants in Europe. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 49 (2-3):153-173.

Schmidt, P., Winkelkemper, P., Schlüter, E. & Wolf, C. (2006). Welche Erklärung für Fremdenfeindlichkeit: relative Deprivation oder Autoritarismus? [Which explanation for negative attitudes toward foreigners: relative deprivation or authoritarianism?] Pp. 215-224 in A. Grasse, C. Ludwig and B. Dietz (Eds.): *Soziale Gerechtigkeit [Social justice]*, Wiesbaden : VS, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften

Schneider, S. L. (2008). Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe: out-group size and perceived ethnic threat. *European Sociological Review* 24 (1):53-67.

Sears, D. O. & Funk, C.L. (1990), Self-interest in Americans' political opinions. Pp. 147-170 in J. J. Mansbridge (Ed.), *Beyond Self-Interest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sears, D. O., & Henry, P.J. (2003). The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 85 (2):259-275.

Semyonov, M., Raijman, R., Yom Tov, A. & Schmidt, P. (2004). Population size, perceived threat, and exclusion: a multiple-indicators analysis of attitudes toward foreigners in Germany. *Social Science Research* 33: 681-701.

Semyonov, M. & Glickman, A.. (2009). Ethnic residential segregation, social contacts, and anti-minority attitudes in European societies. *European Sociological Review* 25: 693–708.

Sidanius, J. & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social Dominance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sides, J. & Citrin, J. (2007). European opinion about immigration: the role of identities, interests, and information. *British Journal of Political Science* 37:477-504.

- Smith, H. J., Pettigrew, T.F., Pippin, G.M. & Bialosiewicz, S. (2012). Relative deprivation: a theoretical and meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 16(3): 203–232
- Sniderman, P. M., Hagendoorn, L. & Prior, M. (2004). Predisposing factors and situational triggers: exclusionary reaction to immigrant minorities. *American Political Science Review* 98 (1):35-49.
- Stephan, W. G. & Renfro, C.L. (2003). The role of threat in intergroup relations. Pp. 191-207 in D. M. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.) *From Prejudice to Intergroup Emotions: Differentiated reactions to social groups*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Strabac, Z. & Listhaug, O. (2008). Anti-muslim prejudice in Europe: a multilevel analysis of survey data from 30 countries. *Social Science Research* 37 (1):268-286.
- Turner, R.N., Hewstone, M., Voci, A. & Vonofakou, C. (2008). A test of the extended contact hypothesis: the mediating role of intergroup anxiety, perceived ingroup and outgroup norms, and inclusion of the outgroup in the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 95: 843-860.
- Vala, J. & Pereira, C. (2012). Racism: An evolving virus. In F. Bettencourt (Ed.), *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wagner, U., Becker, J.C., Christ, O., Pettigrew, T.F. & Schmidt, P. (2012). A longitudinal test of the relation between German nationalism, patriotism, and outgroup derogation. *European Sociological Review* 28: 319-332
- Williams, M. (2010). Can leopards change their spots? Between xenophobia and trans-ethnic populism among Western European far right parties. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* (1):11-134