Immigration and Redistribution

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Well, I live in Atlanta, but I guess you are asking where I am from originally?

A Sample of Recent Newspaper Titles in the U.S...

Puerto Rico immigrants may be wildcard in US elections [*Reuters, 03/28/2018*]

What does immigration actually cost us? [*NYT, 09/29/2016*]

Trump's false claim that undocumented immigrants collect Social Security benefits [*The Washington Post, 08/20/2016*]

Illegal immigrants are bolstering Social Security with billions [*NYT, 04/05/2005*]

... and in Germany...

Election tests German compassion for migrants [*Financial Times, 09/19/2017*]

What the stunning success of AfD means for Germany and Europe [*The Guardian Opinion, 09/24/2017*]

... and in Italy...

Italian election dominated by immigration debate [*BBC, 02/26/2018*]

Italy's right wing takes aim at immigrants in election campaign [*Los Angeles Times, 02/21/2018*]

... and in France...

Are immigrants abusing our system? [*Capital*, *04/07/2015*]

The migration crisis has changed Europe's public opinion [*Le Monde*, *03/07/2018*]

We Study Two Broader Questions

Perceptions of Immigration?

Are perceptions of immigration, about the number, origin, religion, unemployment, education, poverty, correct amongst natives of the host countries?

What are natives' views on immigration policies?

What are perceptions of and views on immigration correlated with?

Link between immigration and redistribution?

Are perceptions of immigration and views about redistribution correlated? And do perceptions of immigrants "cause" preferences for redistribution?

Method and Setting

Large-scale surveys in 6 countries: France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, UK, and US:

Done through commercial survey companies

In the US in Jan-Feb 2018; In Europe Feb-Mar 2018.

Sample sizes: 4,000 in FR, DE, IT, UK and UK, 2,000 in SE;

Total of $\approx$ 22,000 respondents.

Survey components:

Background info, perception of immigrants (number, origin, religion, hard work, economic conditions, support), policy preferences (redistribution + immigration).

Randomized treatments:

"Order" treatment where people simply asked about immigration before being asked about redistributive policies.

Information on 1) number, 2) origins, 3) hard work of immigrants.

Main Findings: Perceptions

Perceptions of immigrants are substantially and systematically wrong (across countries and respondent characteristics):

Stark overestimation of the number of immigrants

Stark overestimation of share of Muslim (underestimate Christians)

Underestimation of immigrants education, level of income, stable employment, contribution to welfare state.

Larger misperceptions for respondents who are: i) in immigrant intensive, low-skill jobs, ii) without college, iii) right wing.

Left-wing and right-wing misperceive % of immigrants to the same extent, but right-wing believe immigrants have "less desirable" in their views characteristics.

Support for redistribution and immigration strongly correlated.

Correlation with view that immigrants are poor because lazy and with "racism." Not with number of immigrants per se.

Main Findings: Effects of Information

Just making people think about immigrants ("order treatment") generates a strongly negative reaction in terms of redistribution.

Recall negative baseline perceptions about immigrants.

Information treatments significantly move perceptions closer to reality (which is more positive according to people's criteria)

$$\underbrace{\text{Info Treatments}}_{0 \quad \text{or} \quad (+)} = \underbrace{\substack{\text{Making people} \\ \text{think about immigrants}}}_{(-)} + \underbrace{\text{"Good" Info content}}_{(+)}$$

Good info (according to people's criteria) on number, origin and hard work of immigrants can counter negativity (even overturn it for the hard work treatment).

Especially strong is effect of perceived attitude of immigrants toward work effort.

Related Literature (Political Science, Sociology and some Economics) I

Perceptions of Immigrants Hanson, Scheve, and Slaughter (2007) (fiscal pressure reduces support for immigration); Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010) (economic self-interest doesn't explain anti immigration); Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) (sociotropic rather than econ concerns); Hainmueller and Hopkins (2015) (conjoint analysis of what characteristics "desirable" for Americans); Card, Dustmann and Preston (2012) (compositional concerns about local amenities and public goods, ESS data); Hansak, Hainmueller, and Hangartner (2016) (conjoint analysis in Europe on asylum seekers)

Immigration and Redistribution: Luttmer (2001); Hansen (2003); Finseraas (2008); Senik et al. (2009); Luttmer and Singhal (2011) (cultural taste for redistribution among immigrants persists and is important); Dahlberg, Edmark, and Lundqvist (2012) (causal impact of refugees on reduced redistribution support in Swende); Emmenegger and Klemmensen (2013); Magni-Berton (2014); Chevalier et al. (2017) (inflow of poor immigrants with voting rights in West DE post WWII $\rightarrow$ $\uparrow$ redistribution); Bisin and

Related Literature (Political Science, Sociology and some Economics) II

Verdier (2017) (theory of public good provision and integration by minorities);

Information and Support for immigration: Grigorieff, Roth, and Ubfal (2016) (on number of immigrants); Facchini, Margalit and Nakata (2016) (informational campaign in Japan on econ contribution of immigrants).

Information Experiments: Kuziemko, Norton, Saez, and Stantcheva (2015), Perez-Truglia and Cruces (2016), Karadja, Mollerstrom and Seim (2016), Cruces *et al.* (2013), Newman *et al.* (2014), Alesina, Stantcheva and Teso (2018).

Our contributions: 1) Cross-country, standardized survey plus experiment; 2) Three controlled aspects of immigration (number, origin, economic contribution); 3) Detailed perceptions; 4) Redistribution policy as related to immigration policies and perceptions.
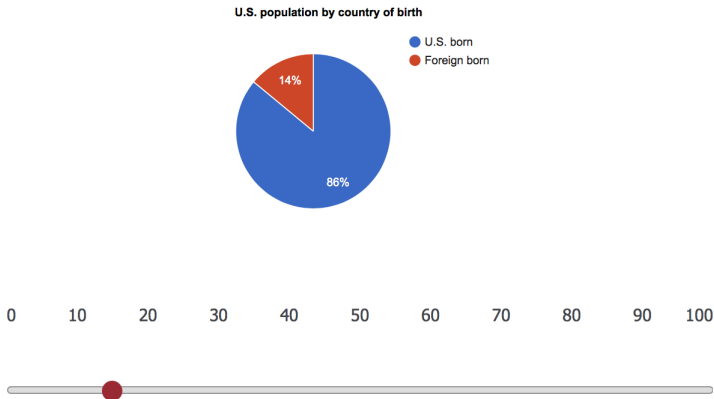
Data Collection: Surveys and Experiments

Survey Structure

- **Background** socio-economic questions, sector, immigrant parents, political experience.

- **Information treatments** about immigration. [Randomized]
  - ▸ T1: Number, T2: Origin, T3: Hard work of immigrants.

- **Immigration Block:** [Randomized]
  - ▸ **Perceptions of Immigrants**. Number, origin, effort, "Free Riding", economic conditions (education, poverty, unemployment, transfers).
  - ▸ **Immigration Policies:** Citizenship, when to receive benefits, whether govt should care equally, when are immigrants "truly" American.

- **Redistribution Block:** [Randomized]
  - ▸ **Redistributive Policies:** Overall involvement, income support policies, income taxes, budget + Donation question.
  - ▸ **Role of Government:** Trust, tools to reduce inequality, is inequality a problem, scope for government to intervene in redistribution.
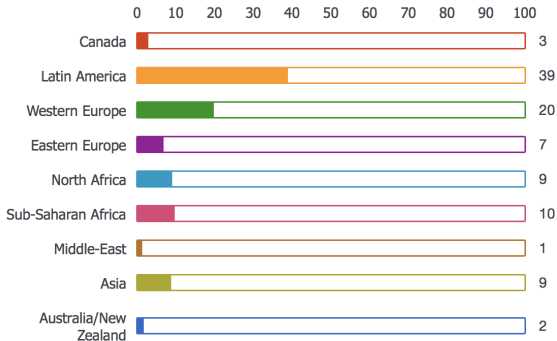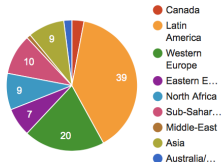
Eliciting Perceptions on Number of Immigrants

The pie chart below represents all the people currently living in the U.S. Out of all these people currently living in the U.S., how many do you think are legal immigrants? Move the slider to indicate how many out of every 100 people you think are legal immigrants.

U.S. population by country of birth

- U.S. born
- Foreign born

14%

86%

| 0 | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 | 100 |

Eliciting perceptions on Origin of Immigrants

U.S. immigrant population by origin

Legend:
- Canada
- Latin America
- Western Europe
- Eastern E…
- North Africa
- Sub-Sahar…
- Middle-East
- Asia
- Australia/…

Origin	Value
Canada	3
Latin America	39
Western Europe	20
Eastern Europe	7
North Africa	9
Sub-Saharan Africa	10
Middle-East	1
Asia	9
Australia/New Zealand	2

Eliciting Perceptions on Effort of Immigrants

Which has more to do with why an immigrant living in the U.S. is poor? [Lack of effort on his or her own part; Circumstances beyond his or her control]

Which has more to do with why an immigrant living in the U.S. is rich? [Because she or he worked harder than others; Because she or he had more advantages than others]

Economic Conditions of immigrants

Out of every 100 people born in the U.S. how many are currently unemployed? By "unemployed" we mean people who are currently not working but searching for a job (and maybe unable to find one).

Now let's compare this to the number of unemployed among legal immigrants. Out of every 100 legal immigrants how many do you think are currently unemployed?

Out of every 100 people born in the U.S., how many live below the poverty line? The poverty line is the estimated minimum level of income needed to secure the necessities of life.

Let's compare this to poverty among legal immigrants. Out of every 100 legal immigrants in the U.S. today, how many do you think live below the poverty line?

U.S. born residents receive government transfers in the form of public assistance, Medicaid, child credits, unemployment benefits, free school lunches, food stamps or housing subsidies when needed. How much do you think each legal immigrant receives on average from such government transfers? An average immigrant receives... [No transfers/.../More than ten times as much as a US born resident]

Are people "Biased" Against Immigrants?

Imagine two people, John and Mohammad, currently living in the U.S. with their families. John is born in the U.S., while Mohammad legally moved to the U.S. five years ago. They are both 35, have three children, and earn the same low income from their jobs.

In your opinion does Mohammad pay more, the same, or less in income taxes than John? [A lot more; more; the same; less; a lot less]

In your opinion does Mohammad, who is an immigrant, receive more, the same, or less government transfers (such as public assistance, Medicaid, child credits, unemployment benefits during unemployment spells, free school lunches, food stamps or housing subsidies) than John? [A lot more; more; the same; less; a lot less]

Questions on Policies

Logic: Split desired policies into components

    i) government involvement and intervention in redistribution,

    ii) how to share a given tax burden,

    iii) how to allocate a given budget.

Support for policies to reduce inequality: schooling, housing, income support. Subject to other policies being reduced. ▶ Detail

Income taxes on top 1%, next 9%, next 40%, bottom 50%. ▶ Detail

Budget allocation on 1) Defense/ Security, 2) Infrastructure, 3) Education, 4) SS, Medicare, DI, and SSI, 5) Social Insurance and Income Support Programs, 6) Health, 7) Affordable housing. ▶ Detail

Questions on Role and Capacities of Government

Are income differences between rich and poor people a problem?

Tools of the government to reduce income inequality?

Scope of government to reduce income inequality, from 1 to 7.

Trust in government ▸ Detail

Donation Question

*By taking this survey, you are automatically enrolled in a **lottery to win $1000**. In a few days you will know whether you won the $1000. The payment will be made to you in the same way as your regular survey pay, so no further action is required on your part. In case you won, would you be willing to **donate part or all of your $1000 gain for a good cause**? Below you will find 2 charities which help people in the U.S. deal with the hurdles of everyday life. You can enter how many dollars out of your $1000 gain you would like to donate to each of them. If you are one of the lottery winners, you will be paid, in addition to your regular survey pay, $1000 minus the amount you donated to charity. We will directly pay your desired donation amount to the charity or charities of your choosing.*

Charities:

- ▸ US: Feeding America, The Salvation Army
- ▸ France: Les restos du cœur, Emmaüs
- ▸ Germany: SOS Kinderdorf, Tafel
- ▸ Italy: Caritas, Save the Children Italia
- ▸ Sweden: Frälsningsarmén, Majblomman
- ▸ UK: Save the Children U.K., The Salvation Army

Ensuring reasonable answers

Appeal to people's social responsibility. ▸ Detail

Warn that "careless answers" will be flagged.

Constrain answers to add up to 100. Tabulating answers – few strange patterns. ▸ Detail

Attention check question (99.5%), Meade and Craig (2012).

Time spent on separate questions' pages and overall survey time.

Ask for feedback post survey, whether felt survey was biased (16%).

Interactive answer menu ("Did you vote...?")

Order of immigration and policy questions (treatment per se).

Data Sources

- Number of immigrants and origin: UN, Trends in Interational Migrant Stock (UK, Italy, France, Germany) and OECD, International Migration Database (US and Sweden)

- Religion: Pew Reseach center

- Unemployment: OECD, International Migration Outlook

- Poverty and Education: Current Population Survey (US) and Eurostat (UK, Italy, France, Germany and Sweden)

OUTLINE OF THE DESCRIPTIVE PART

1. Perceptions of immigrants (number, origin, economic circumstances) by country and by respondent characteristics.

2. Correlations with exposure, considering first i) knowing an immigrant personally and ii) being exposed to immigrants in your commuting zone, as well as iii) at other local factors.

3. Views on policies – about immigration and redistribution.

    1. General pattern of support for immigration and redistribution across countries and respondent characteristics.

    2. Correlations of immigrant perceptions, support for immigration and support for redistribution.

Perception of Immigrants

Perceived vs. Actual Number of Immigrants (By Country)

Perceived vs. Actual Share of Immigrants

Perceived ■   Actual ■

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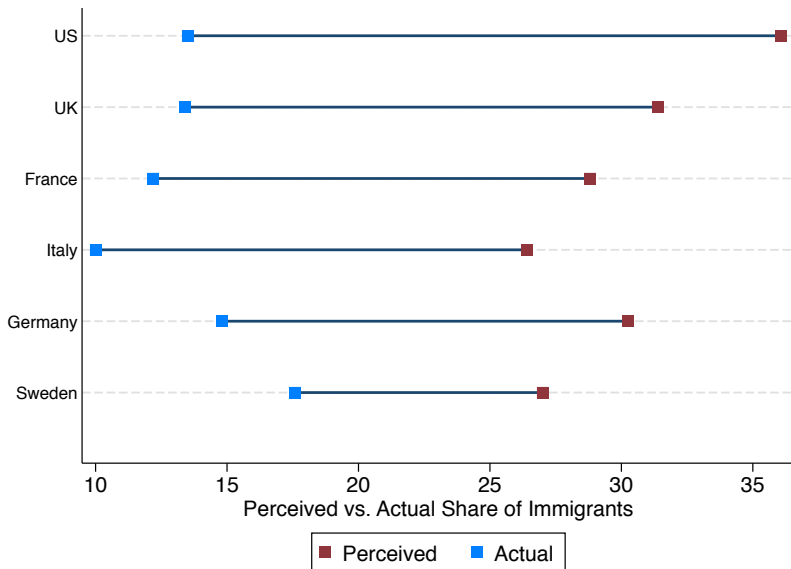
Misperception of Number of Immigrants
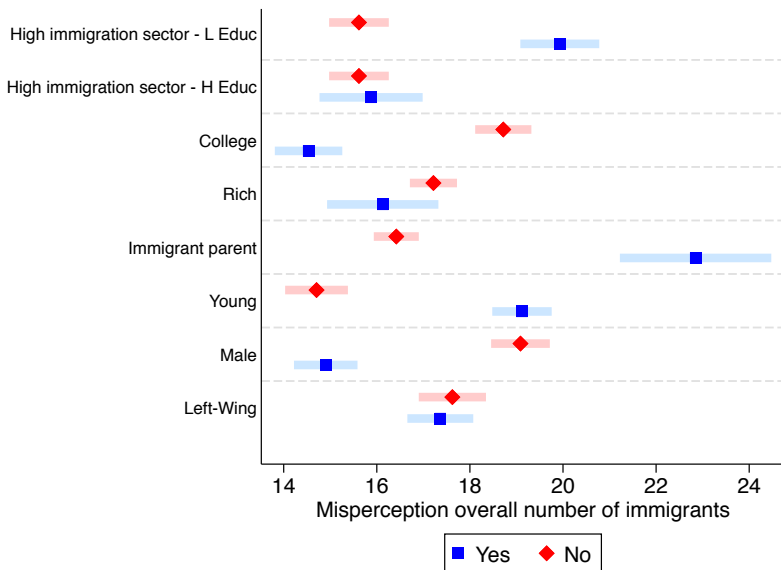
Who misperceives more? Those 1) in high immigration sectors with low education, 2) without college, 3) who are young, 4) who have an immigrant parent, 5) women.

Perceived vs. Actual Share of Muslim Immigrants

Legend: Perceived (dark red), Actual (blue) — left panel. Yes (blue square), No (red diamond) — right panel.
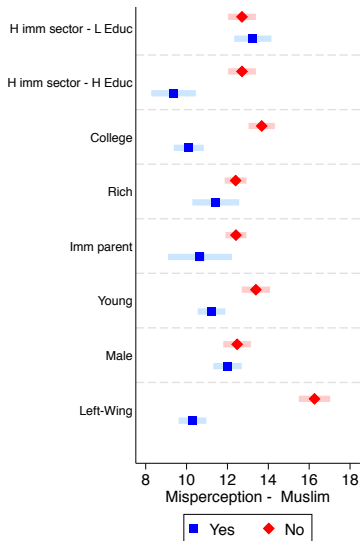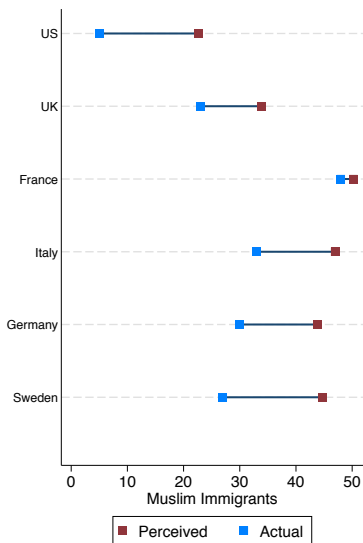
▸ More ▸ More In all countries, respondents vastly overestimate the number of Muslim immigrants. Those who have lowest misperception are 1) high immigration sector high educated, 2) college educated, 3) the young, 4) the left-wing.
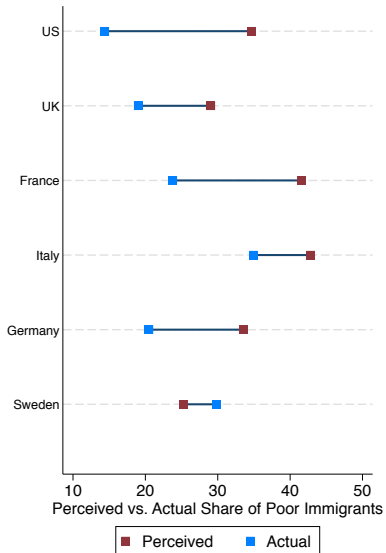
28|91

Perceived vs. Actual Share of Christian Immigrants
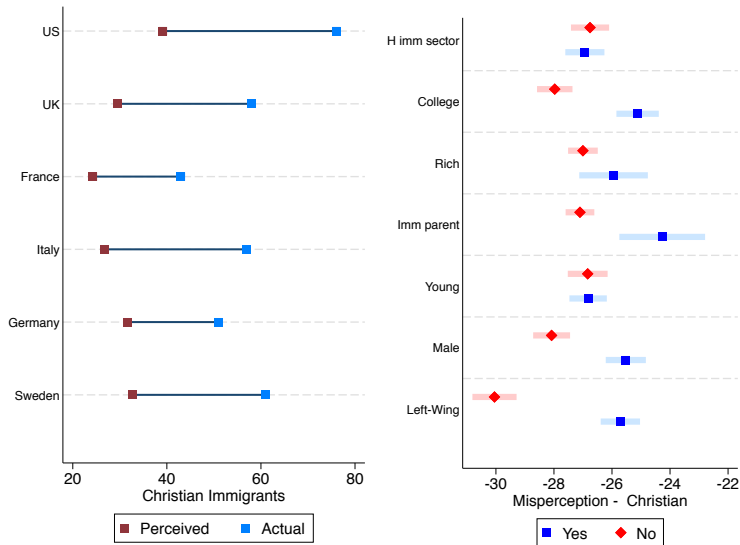
In all countries, respondents vastly underestimate the number of Christian immigrants. Those who have smallest misperception (smallest negative number) are 1) college educated, 2) those with immigrant parent, 3) women, 4) left-wing.
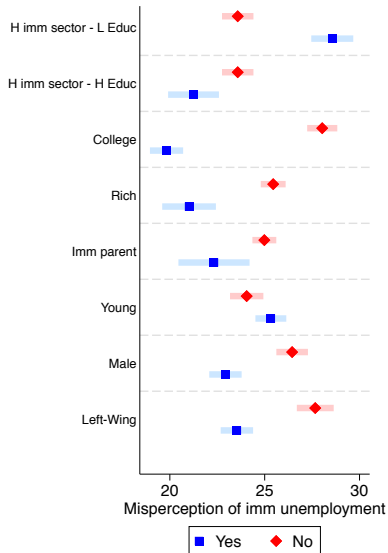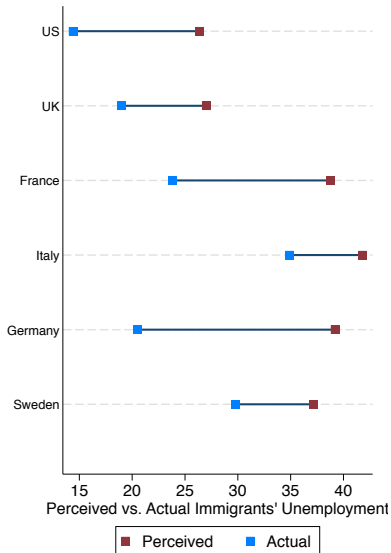
# Perceived vs. Actual Share of Immigrants with Low Education

Left panel — Perceived vs. Actual Share of Low Educated Immigrants (y-axis: US, UK, France, Italy, Germany, Sweden; x-axis: 20, 30, 40, 50). Legend: Perceived, Actual

Right panel — Misperception of share of low educated imm (y-axis: H imm sector - L Educ, H imm sector - H Educ, College, Rich, Imm parent, Young, Male, Left-Wing; x-axis: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10). Legend: Yes, No

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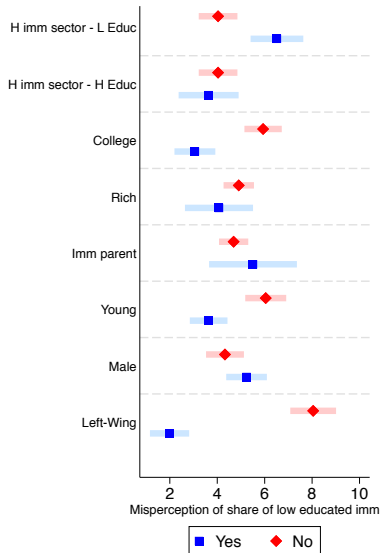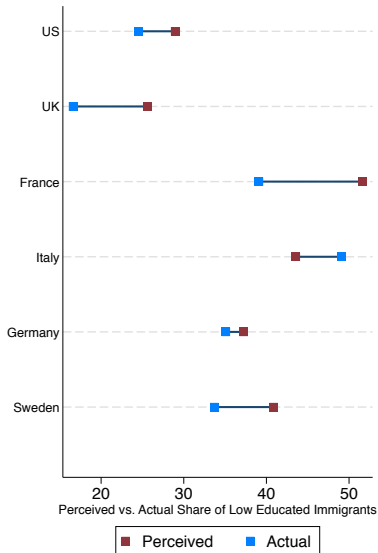
Perceived vs. Actual Poverty of Immigrants

Left panel x-axis: Perceived vs. Actual Share of Poor Immigrants (10, 20, 30, 40, 50)
Left panel categories: US, UK, France, Italy, Germany, Sweden
Legend: ■ Perceived ■ Actual

Right panel x-axis: Misperception of immigrants' poverty (8, 10, 12, 14, 16)
Right panel categories: H imm sector - L Educ, H imm sector - H Educ, College, Rich, Imm parent, Young, Male, Left-Wing
Legend: ■ Yes ◆ No
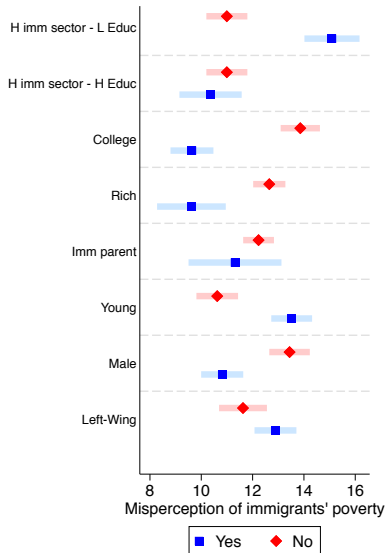
Perceived vs Actual Unemployment of Immigrants

Share of Respondents who believe average immigrant gets twice the amount of transfers of natives.
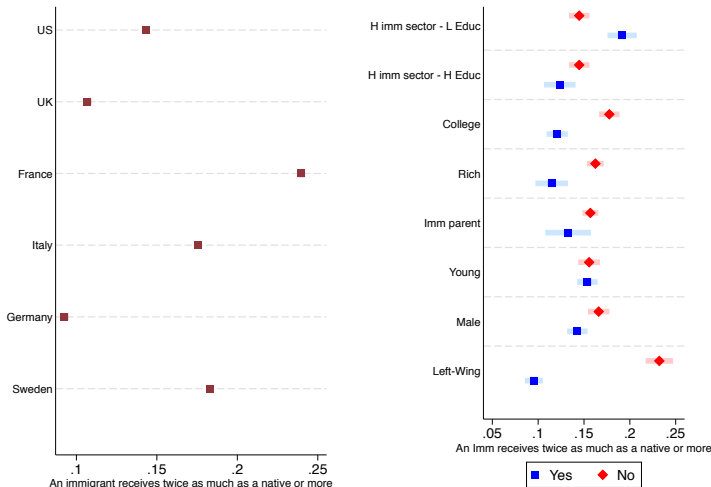
In all countries and across all respondent characteristics, people think "the average immigrant" gets many more transfers than average native. In reality: in no country do immigrants get more than twice the transfers of natives! Those who thing immigrants get many transfers are 1) low educ in high immigration sectors, 2) non college educated, 3) the poor (!) 4) right wing respondents.

33191

"Bias": Does Mohammad Get More Transfers and Pay Less Taxes all Else Equal?
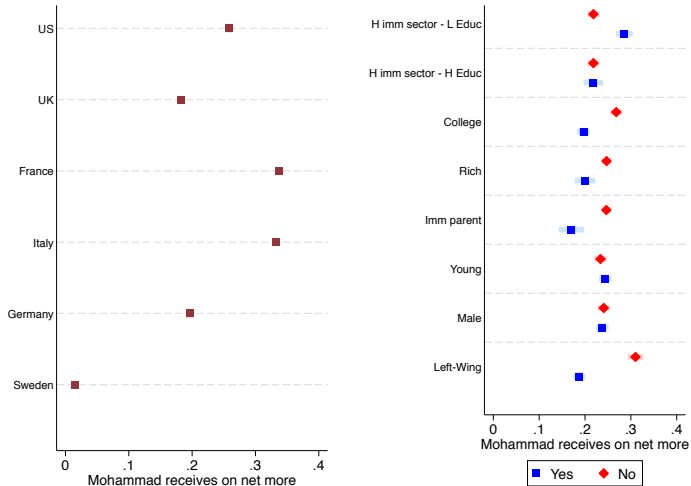
Across all countries, and respondent characteristics, a non trivial share think all else equal Mohammad gets more transfers and pays less taxes. France and Italy are most "biased." Low educated in high immigrant sectors, non college educated, the poor, and right wing are most biased.

% of Respondents who Think Poor Immigrants Don't Put in Effort and that Rich Immigrants Worked Hard
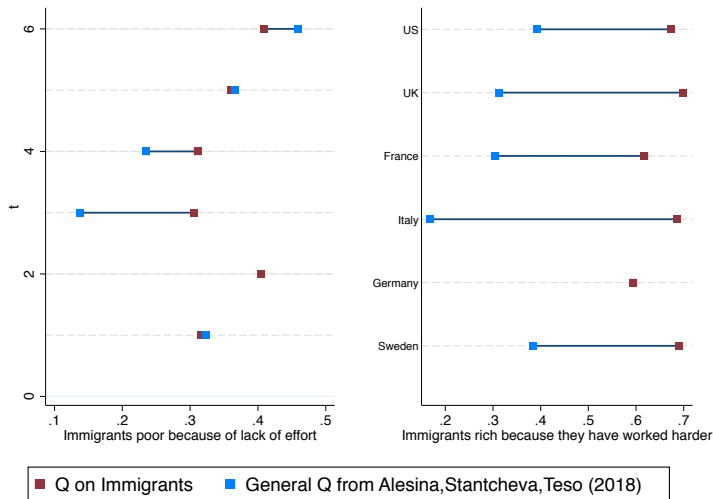
Countries vary on whether they think poor immigrants or poor natives are most likely to be lazy. U.S. is an outlier in terms of levels (think mostly that poor people are lazy in general). All countries agree that IF an immigrant got rich, they must have worked hard.

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The Impact of Local Factors on Perceptions

Impact of Local Factors: Outline

We consider two aspects of exposure to immigrants.

1. Knowing an immigrant personally

2. Living in an area with a high share of immigrants.

We show that these two types of exposure have completely opposite effects!

Endogeneity problem: of course, these are correlations, but we control for many respondent characteristics in the regressions.

For now, we focus on the U.S. because it has very detailed local data (data on immigrants is too aggregated in Europe, until we find better sources?)

Effect of Knowing an Immigrant
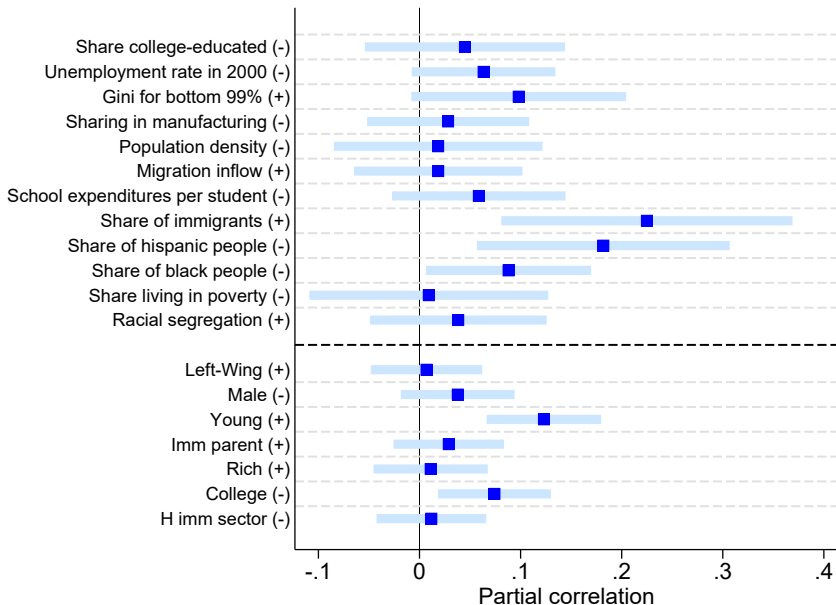Dependent variables:
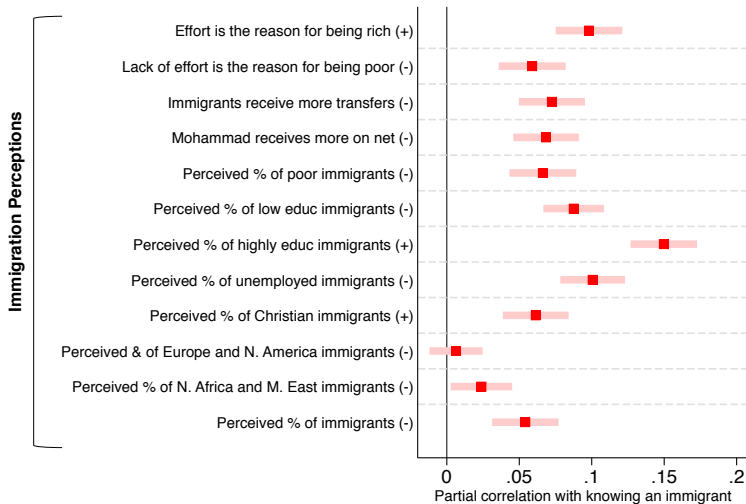
All LHS variables are standardized (z-scores) regressed separately on dummy for "knowing and immigrant", core characteristics and country FE. Coefficients represent partial correlations

38191

Perceptions across the U.S.

Average misperception overall number of immigrants

Legend:
- 28.69 – 35.70
- 24.50 – 28.69
- 21.53 – 24.50
- 19.17 – 21.53
- 16.50 – 19.17
- 5.61 – 16.50
- No data
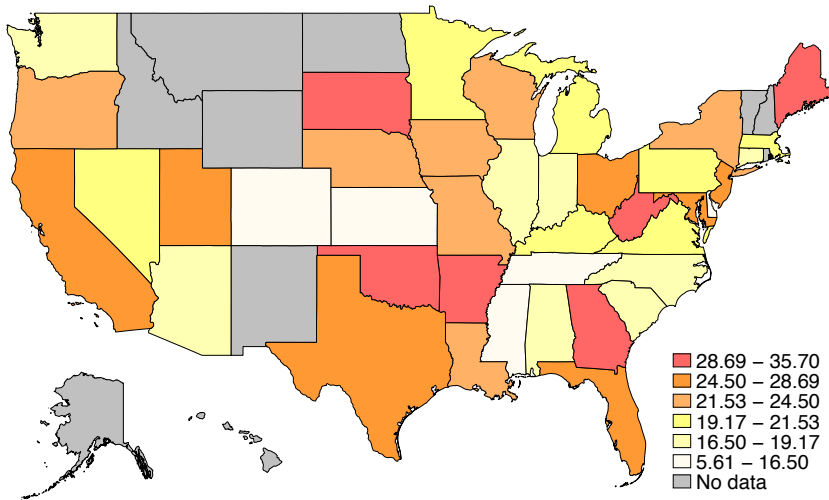
# CZ Level Characteristics and Perceived % of Immigrants (U.S.)

Regression of "Perceived number % of Immigrants" on the variables listed to the left. (jointly)

40191

# Descriptive Part about support for Redistribution and Immigration

Measuring Support for Immigration and Redistribution

- **Immigration support index**: standardized z-score index, combines
  - Immigration is not a problem (Dummy).
  - Immigrants should get benefits 3 years after arrival or sooner (Dummy).
  - Immigrants should be allowed to apply for citizenship 5 years after arrival or sooner (Dummy).
  - Immigrants truly "American" when get citizenship or sooner (Dummy).
  - Should the government care about everybody? (1 = only care about natives to 7 = care equally about all).

- **Redistribution index**: standardized z-score index, combines
  - Tax rates on top 1% (+) and retention rate $(1 - \tau)$ on bottom 50%.
  - Budget allocated to Heath, Education, Safety Net and Pensions.
  - Support spending on schooling, housing, income support (Dummy).
  - Income inequality is a big problem (Dummy).

Support for Immigration Index by Country and Respondent Characteristics
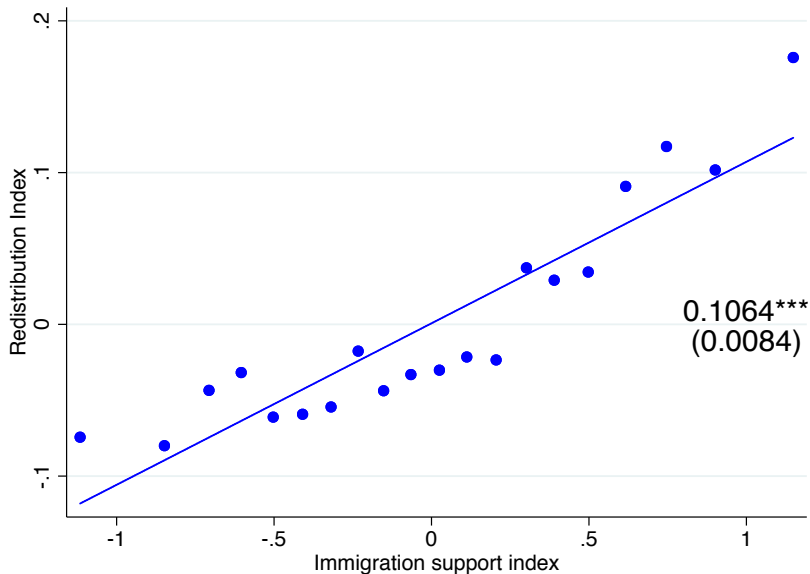

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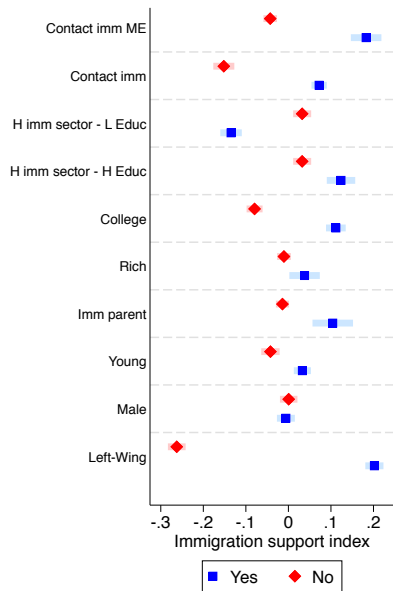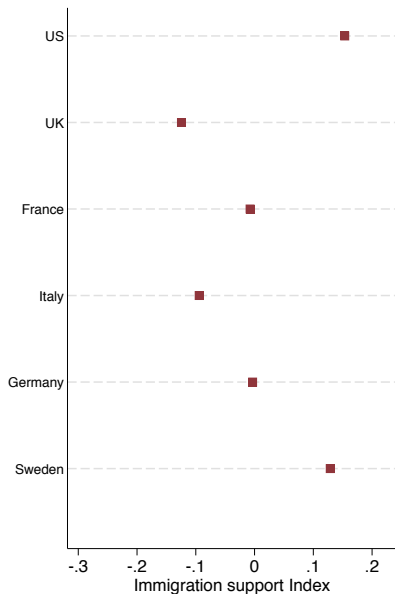
Support for Immigration and Support for Redistribution: Partial correlations
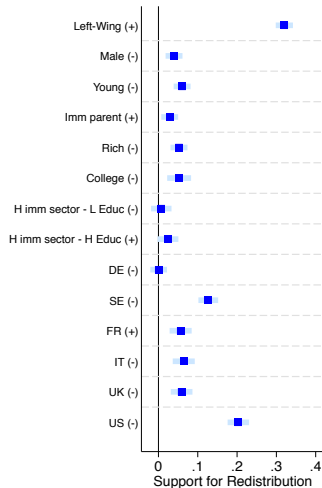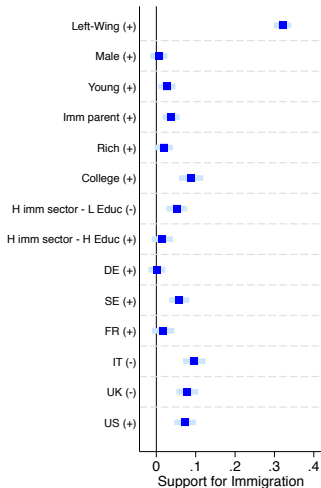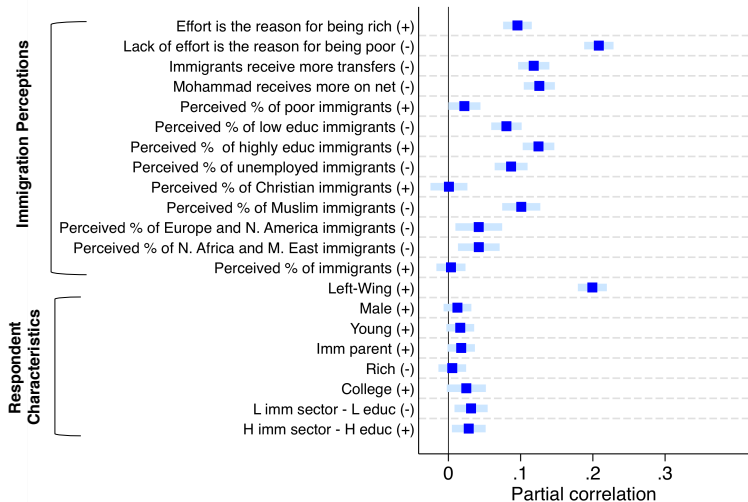

Left graph: Support for immigration index regressed on z-scores of all variables listed to the left at the same time, including country FE. Right graph: Same for support for redistribution index.

Immigration perceptions and Redistribution: Correlations

Support for Immigration and support for redistribution are very strongly correlated
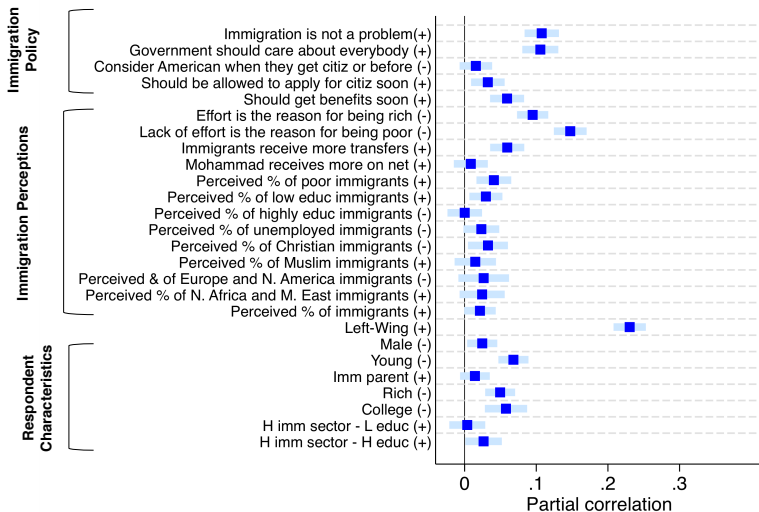

0.1064***
(0.0084)

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Predicting support for Immigration

Support for immigration index regressed on z-scores of all variables listed to the left (all at the same time) and including country FE.
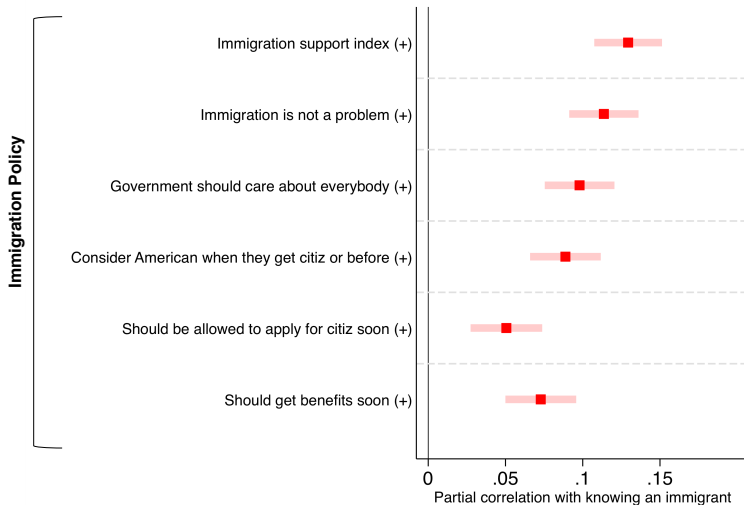
Predicting support for redistribution

Support for redistribution index regressed on z-scores of all variables listed to the left (all at the same time) and including country FE.

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Effect of Knowing an Immigrant on Immigration Support
Left hand side variables:

Each variable listed at the left is regressed, separately on a dummy for "knowing and immigrant", respondent characteristics and country FE.

Immigration perceptions and Redistribution: Experimental Evidence

Treatment: "Order of the Questions"

1 Immigration Block: [Randomized]

- ▸ **Perceptions of Immigrants**. Number, origin, effort, "Free Riding", economic conditions (education, poverty, unemployment, transfers).

- ▸ **Immigration Policies:** Citizenship, when to receive benefits, whether govt should care equally, when are immigrants "truly" American.

2 Redistribution Block: [Randomized]

- ▸ **Redistributive Policies:** Overall involvement, income support policies, income taxes, budget + Donation question.

- ▸ **Role of Government:** Trust, tools to reduce inequality, is inequality a problem, scope for government to intervene in redistribution.

Effects on Redistribution Preferences of Thinking of Immigrants

	Imm Support Index (1)	Imm Not A Problem (2)	Redistribution Index (3)	Inequality Serious Problem (4)	Donation Above Median (5)
Panel A: Order Treatment					
Imm Questions First			-0.0183*	-0.0281**	-0.0475***
			(0.0103)	(0.0133)	(0.0138)
Observations	5058	5054	5058	5058	5058
Control mean	0	0.238	0	0.585	0.47
Panel B: T1, T2 and T3					
Treatment 1	0.0203*	0.0238***	-0.00362	0.000952	-0.00606
	(0.0119)	(0.00826)	(0.00724)	(0.00939)	(0.00980)
Treatment 2	0.00660	0.00504	-0.00425	-0.00432	-0.00400
	(0.0119)	(0.00827)	(0.00724)	(0.00939)	(0.00980)
Treatment 3	0.0467***	0.0258***	0.0166**	0.0130	0.00980
	(0.0119)	(0.00826)	(0.00724)	(0.00939)	(0.00980)
Observations	20031	19993	20031	20031	20031
Control mean	0	0.248	0	0.572	0.446

Treatments: Number of Immigrants

Today, what share of the population of the United States
are immigrants?

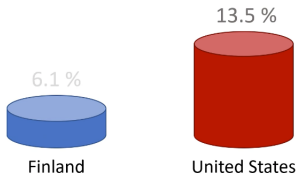Link to video: `https://youtu.be/__6XuIQLSM4`

Treatments: Number of Immigrants

Today, immigrants make up only 13.5 % of all people in the United States.
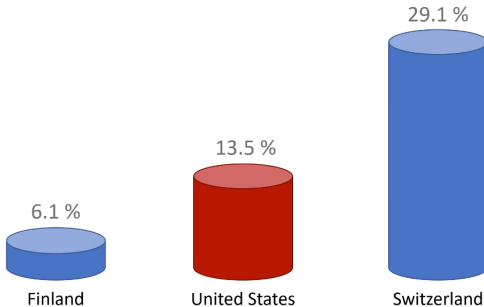
13.5 %

United States

Treatments: Number of Immigrants

For comparison, among rich countries, the lowest share of immigrants is 6.1 %.

Treatments: Number of Immigrants

For comparison, among rich countries, the lowest share of immigrants is 6.1 %. The largest share of immigrants is 29.1 %.

Treatments: Origin of Immigrants

Think about all the immigrants legally
residing in the U.S. today

Link to video: https://youtu.be/-603kdm_GkA

Treatments: Origin of Immigrants

Think about all the immigrants legally
residing in the U.S. today

Where do they come from?

Treatments: Origin of Immigrants

Latin America
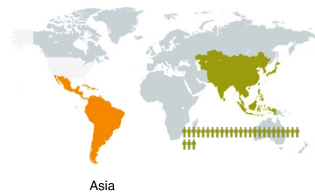
Treatments: Origin of Immigrants

The number of little stick men is
proportional to the true number of
immigrants coming from each region

Latin America

Treatments: Origin of Immigrants

Asia

Latin America

Treatments: Origin of Immigrants

Australia & New Zealand	♦
North Africa	♦
Canada	♦♦
Sub-Saharan Africa	♦♦♦
Middle East	♦♦♦♦
Eastern Europe	♦♦♦♦♦
Western Europe	♦♦♦♦♦♦
Asia	♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦
Latin America	♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦
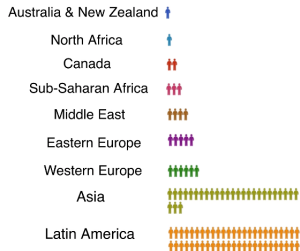
Treatments: Hard Work of Immigrants

Emma legally came to the U.S. at age 25.

She lives with her husband - a construction worker - and two small children in a one-bedroom apartment.

For the past 5 years, she has been working in a retail store.

Link to video: https://youtu.be/_1SoLYX8OyE

Treatments: Hard Work of Immigrants

She starts work at 5 am every day of the week, earning the minimum wage for such tasks as restocking the shelves, helping customers, mopping the floor and cleaning the bathrooms.

Treatments: Hard Work of Immigrants

When her day shift at the store ends at 3 pm, Emma starts her second job as a cleaning lady.

She takes two buses to get to her clients.

Treatments: Hard Work of Immigrants

She finishes around 7 pm and
gets home by 8 pm.

Treatments: Hard Work of Immigrants

She then makes dinner for her family and sometimes helps the children with their homework before they go to bed.

Treatments: Hard Work of Immigrants

Emma takes online courses.
She stays up until midnight to
work on her courses.

She cannot take out a loan to
go to a full-time college.

Treatments: Hard Work of Immigrants

Emma and her husband have
no free time, no weekends,
and haven't taken any holidays
since arriving in the U.S..

Despite working two jobs and
barely making ends meet,
Emma is very happy to be in
the U.S..

She hopes that thanks to her
hard work she will one day be
able to start her own small
business.

Misperception on Number of Immigrants - Control vs. T1

US   UK   Frace   Germany   Sweden

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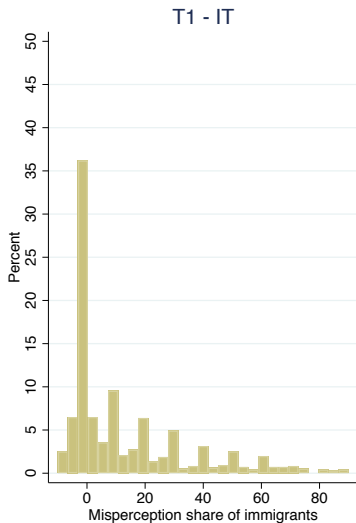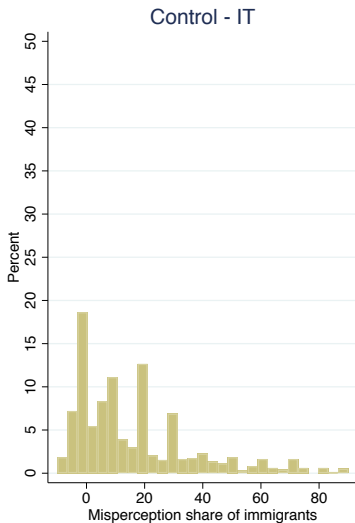
First Stage Effects: Misperceptions and Effort

	All immigrants (1)	Zero Misp All immigrants (2)	M. East and N. Africa (3)	N. America, W. and E. Europe (4)	Muslim (5)	Christian (6)	Lack of Effort reason poor (7)
Treatment 1	-4.746***	0.224***	-0.258	0.200	0.0240	0.177	0.00139
	(0.421)	(0.00560)	(0.304)	(0.355)	(0.407)	(0.395)	(0.00908)
Treatment 2	2.314***	0.00285	-4.780***	1.815***	-1.799***	2.475***	0.000113
	(0.422)	(0.00560)	(0.304)	(0.355)	(0.407)	(0.395)	(0.00908)
Treatment 3	0.756*	-0.00408	-0.445	0.448	-0.835**	0.746*	-0.0525***
	(0.422)	(0.00560)	(0.304)	(0.355)	(0.407)	(0.395)	(0.00908)
Observations	20000	20000	20013	19993	20027	20023	20031
Control mean	17.017	0.043	12.462	-5.229	12.226	-26.829	0.355

First Stage Effects: Persistence in the Follow-Up (US only)

	All immigrants (1)	Zero Misp All immigrants (2)	M. East and N. Africa (3)	L. America (4)	Muslim (5)	Christian (6)	Lack of Effort reason poor (7)
Panel A: First survey who took the follow-up							
Treatment 1	-7.045***	0.230***	1.515	-1.016	0.578	3.745*	0.0109
	(2.051)	(0.0217)	(1.032)	(1.574)	(1.302)	(2.048)	(0.0405)
Treatment 2	1.671	-0.0214	-7.220***	15.12***	-3.436**	5.457***	-0.0470
	(2.107)	(0.0223)	(1.060)	(1.617)	(1.338)	(2.105)	(0.0417)
Treatment 3	1.035	0.00854	1.889*	0.278	1.008	0.336	-0.0888**
	(2.030)	(0.0215)	(1.020)	(1.556)	(1.287)	(2.025)	(0.0401)
Control mean	21.293	0.023	14.256	-24.55	17.08	-37.66	0.45
Panel B: Follow-up respondents							
Treatment 1	-1.369	0.0201	0.853	-1.303	0.539	3.411*	-0.0125
	(1.851)	(0.0161)	(1.023)	(1.420)	(1.229)	(1.947)	(0.0401)
Treatment 2	-1.301	-0.0177	-2.808***	7.234***	-0.566	2.148	-0.0424
	(1.902)	(0.0165)	(1.051)	(1.459)	(1.263)	(2.001)	(0.0412)
Treatment 3	-1.246	-0.00130	1.057	0.640	1.102	-1.584	-0.0821**
	(1.832)	(0.0159)	(1.012)	(1.403)	(1.215)	(1.925)	(0.0397)
Observations	1032	1032	1033	1034	1034	1034	1034
Control mean	21.293	0.023	14.256	-24.55	17.08	-37.66	0.45

Effects on Policy Preferences

	Imm Support Index (1)	Imm Not A Problem (2)	Redistribution Index (3)	Inequality Serious Problem (4)	Donation Above Median (5)
Panel A: Order Treatment					
Imm Questions First			-0.0183*	-0.0281**	-0.0475***
			(0.0103)	(0.0133)	(0.0138)
Observations	5058	5054	5058	5058	5058
Control mean	0	0.238	0	0.585	0.47
Panel B: T1, T2 and T3					
Treatment 1	0.0203*	0.0238***	-0.00362	0.000952	-0.00606
	(0.0119)	(0.00826)	(0.00724)	(0.00939)	(0.00980)
Treatment 2	0.00660	0.00504	-0.00425	-0.00432	-0.00400
	(0.0119)	(0.00827)	(0.00724)	(0.00939)	(0.00980)
Treatment 3	0.0467***	0.0258***	0.0166**	0.0130	0.00980
	(0.0119)	(0.00826)	(0.00724)	(0.00939)	(0.00980)
Observations	20031	19993	20031	20031	20031
Control mean	0	0.248	0	0.572	0.446

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Understanding the Treatment Effects on Redistribution Preferences

Conditional on seeing T1, T2 or T3, there is no differential effect of the immigration questions or policy questions by order in which they are asked.

> Thus, order treatment does not add additional info relative to these treatments (already makes people think about immigrants).

$$\underbrace{\text{Info Treatments}}_{(-) \quad \text{or} \quad (+)?} = \underbrace{\overset{\text{Making people}}{\underset{(-)}{\text{think about immigrants}}}}_{} + \underbrace{\text{"Good" Info content}}_{(+)}$$

Info on number and origin of immigrants manages to counter negative reaction to thinking about immigrants.

Info on hard work of immigrants manages to generate positive net effect on redistribution.

Conclusion

Perceptions of immigrants systematically very wrong and negative.

Support for redistribution correlated with perceived free riding & lack of hard work of immigrants, not so much with their number.

Just making people think about immigrants brings out baseline (very negative) views and generates negative impact on redistribution.

Negativity can be countered or even over-turned with positive info on immigrants. Most effective: "hard work" treatment.

Natives' views about immigrants can be strategically manipulated by anti-immigration policies.

They can also be manipulated by anti-redistribution parties to gain support for their views about redistribution even when they don't care much about immigration per se.

Next step: Minorities, established for a long time in each country.

APPENDIX

The government raises a certain amount of revenue through the income tax in order to sustain the current level of public spending. In your opinion, what would be the fair split of the tax burden to sustain public spending?
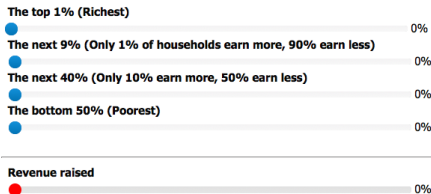
The income tax* rate is the percentage of your income that you pay in federal income tax. For example, if you earn $30,000 and you pay $3,000 in income taxes, your income tax rate is 10%.

Please use the sliders below to tell us how much you think each of the following groups should pay as a percentage of their total income.

While you adjust the four sliders for each group, the fifth bar at the bottom moves in order to show you how much of the current revenue you have been able to raise so far. The bar appears red as long as you have not raised enough revenue, or if you have raised more money than what is needed.

You will only be able to move to the next question when you meet the revenue target and the bar becomes green.

We consider only the Federal income tax, which is a tax on household income. If you receive a regular paycheck, this tax is automatically taken out of your pay. When you file a federal tax return each year, you calculate the exact amount you owe, and you get a tax refund from the federal government if you paid more than you owe. To keep things simple, we do not include other taxes such as social security taxes, state income taxes or sales taxes.

The top 1% (Richest)

| | 0% |

The next 9% (Only 1% of households earn more, 90% earn less)

| | 0% |

The next 40% (Only 10% earn more, 50% earn less)

| | 0% |

The bottom 50% (Poorest)

| | 0% |

Revenue raised

| | 0% |

You have not raised enough revenue.

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https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/preview/SV_8BA97CrZm9rrMWh/BL_bHoYiWmOUapofLD

1) **Defense and National Security**, which refers to the costs of the Defense department and the costs of supporting security operations in the U.S. and in foreign countries.

2) **Public Infrastructure**, which includes, among others, transport infrastructure like roads, bridges and airports, and water infrastructure.

3) **Spending on Schooling and Higher Education**, including help for children from low income families to attend school and university.

4) **Social Security, Medicare, Disability Insurance and Supplemental Security Income (SSI)**, which provide income support and help with health care expenses to the elderly and the disabled.

5) **Social Insurance and Income Support Programs**. This covers help to the unemployed (through unemployment insurance) and help for low income families (such as through Food stamps or the earned income tax credit (EITC), a tax credit for low-income working families)

6) **Public Spending on Health**, such as Medicaid for the poor (a healthcare program for low income families) or tax subsidies to help families buy health insurance.

7) **Affordable Housing.** This includes subsidies to make housing more affordable for low income families and funds to build and manage public housing.

Please enter the percent of the budget you would assign to each spending category (the total must sum to 100):

Defense and National Security	
Public Infrastructure	
Spending on Schooling and Higher Education	
Social Security, Medicare, Disability Insurance and Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	
Social Insurance and Income Support Programs	
Public Spending on Health	
Affordable Housing	
Total	0

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Here are several things that the local, state, or federal government might do to reduce income differences between rich and poor people. Please indicate if you favor or oppose them. Keep in mind that, naturally, to finance an expansion of any of these policies, other types of spending (like spending on infrastructure and defense, for example) would have to be scaled down or taxes would have to be raised.

*Would you say that you strongly favor, favor, neither favor nor oppose, oppose or strongly oppose **spending more money on schools in poor neighborhoods?***

*Would you say that you strongly favor, favor, neither favor nor oppose, oppose or strongly oppose **spending more money to provide decent housing for those who can't afford it?***

*Would you say that you strongly favor, favor, neither favor nor oppose, oppose or strongly oppose **increasing income support programs for the poor?***

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Questions on Inequality and Role of Government

How much of the time do you think you can trust our federal government to do what is right? [Almost always; A lot of the time; Not very often; Almost never]

To reduce income differences between rich and poor people the government (at the local, state and federal level) has the ability and the tools to do: [Nothing at all/ ... / A lot]

Do you think income differences between rich and poor people are: [Not a problem at all/ ... / A very serious problem]

Some people think that the government (at the local, state, or federal level) should not care about income differences between rich and poor people. Others think that the government should do everything in its power to reduce income inequality. Rate on a scale of 1 to 7 on how you feel about this issue, with 1 being the government should not concern itself with income inequality and 7 being the government should do everything in its power to reduce income inequality.

We are a non-partisan group of academic researchers from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. Our goal is to understand how information we see and hear in the media influences views on policies. No matter what your political views are, this is an important matter, and by completing this survey, you are contributing to our knowledge as a society. You might not agree with all the information presented, and that is perfectly fine. If you do not feel comfortable with a question you can skip it. Our survey will give you an opportunity to express your own views.

Please note that it is very important for the success of our research that you **answer honestly** and **read the questions very carefully** before answering. Any time you don't know an answer, just give your best guess. However, please be sure to spend enough time reading and understanding the question. To ensure the quality of survey data, your responses will be subject to sophisticated statistical control methods, which can detect incoherent or rushed answers. **Responding without adequate effort or skipping many questions may result in your responses being flagged for low quality and you may not receive your payment.**

It is also very important for the success of our research project that you **complete the entire survey**, once you have started. This survey should take (on average) about 20 minutes to complete. If you complete the entire survey, you will be invited to take another voluntary paid follow up survey a week from now, if you wish.

Notes: Your participation in this study is purely voluntary. Your name will never be recorded by researchers. Results may include summary data, but you will never be identified. The data will be stored on Harvard servers and will be kept confidential. The collected anonymous data may be made available to other researchers for replication purposes. Please print or make a screen-shoot of this page for your records. If you have any question about this study, you may contact us at socialsciencestudies@gmail.com. For any question about your rights as a research participant you may contact cuhs@harvard.edu.
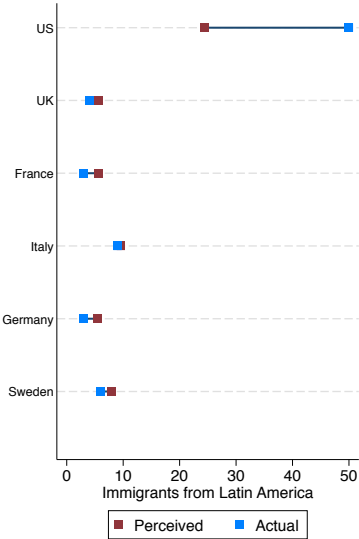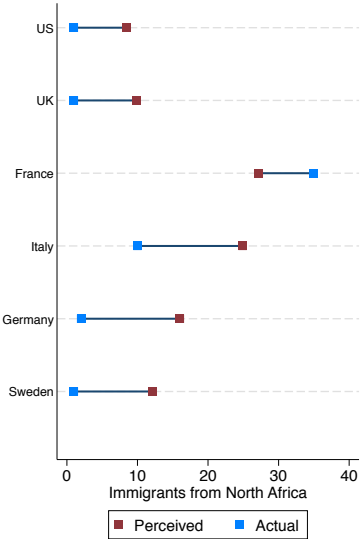
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# Share of respondents with Strange patterns

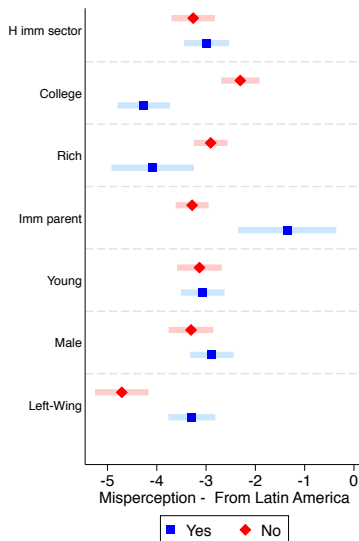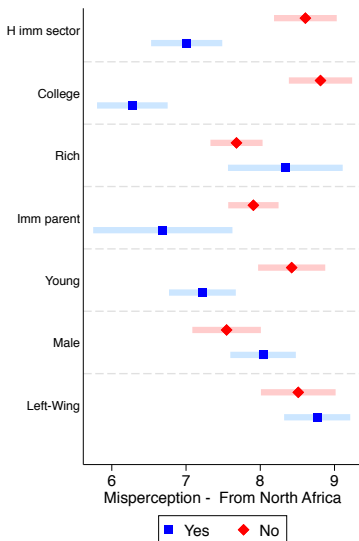|	= 100	= 0
Share of Immigrants	0.004	0.001
Unemployed Immigrants	0.013	0.006
Poor Immigrants	0.011	0.019
Highly Educated Immigrants	0.004	0.017
Low Educated Immigrants	0.012	0.013

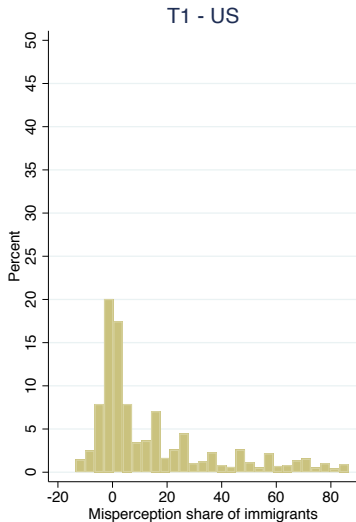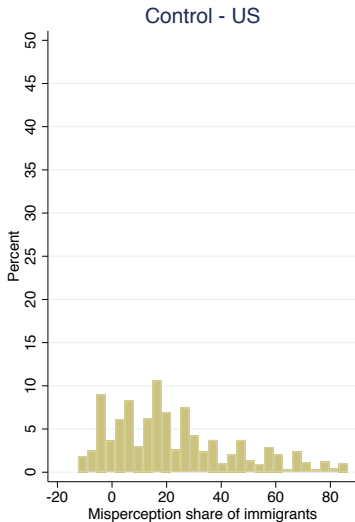# Share of Immigrants from North Africa and Latin America, by country

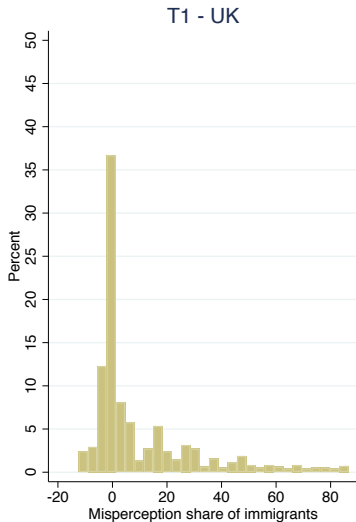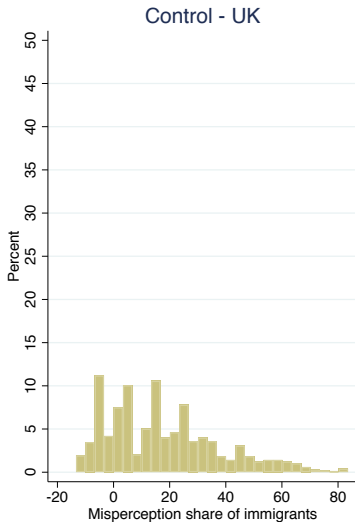# Share of Immigrants from Western Europe and Christian immigrants, by other characteristics
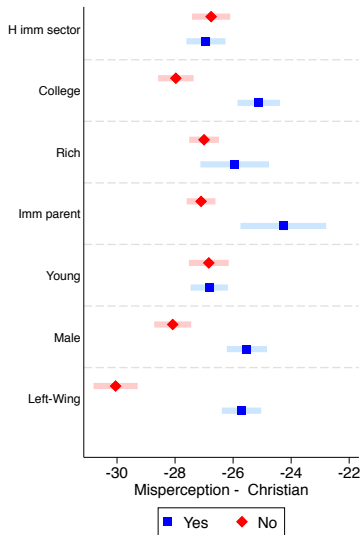
Share of Immigrants from North Africa and Latin America, by other characteristics
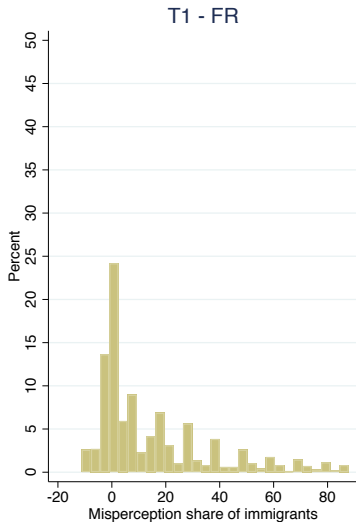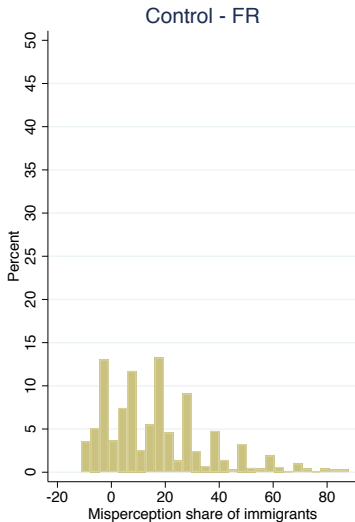
Misperception on Numnber of Immigrants - Control vs. T1
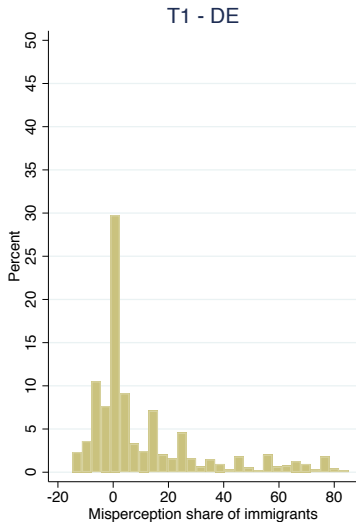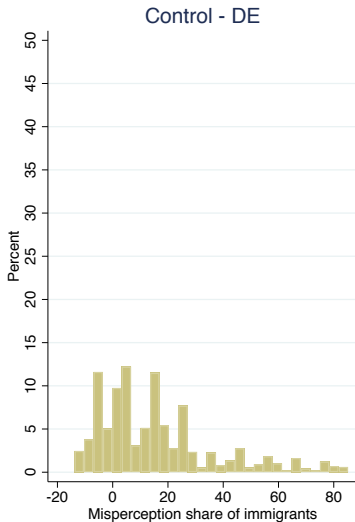

Control - US

T1 - US

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Misperception on Numnber of Immigrants - Control vs. T1

Misperception on Numnber of Immigrants - Control vs. T1

Misperception on Numnber of Immigrants - Control vs. T1

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Misperception on Numnber of Immigrants - Control vs. T1

Control - SE   T1 - SE