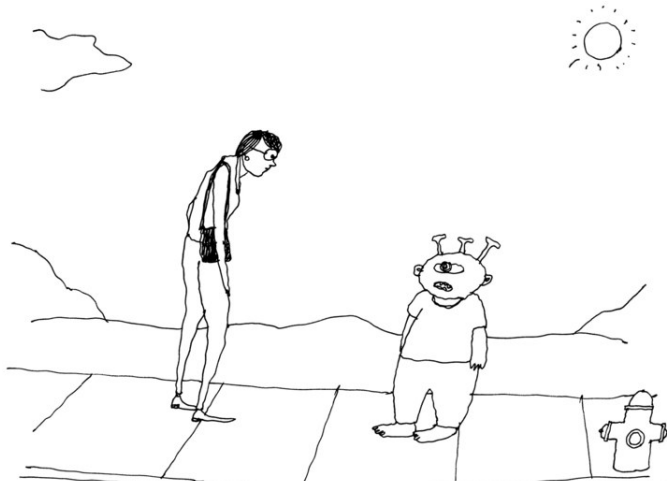# Immigration and Redistribution

Alberto Alesina, Armando Miano, and Stefanie Stantcheva

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

You're Fired.

"Give me your tired, your poor..."

WELCOME!

DON'T WELCOME!

55% DES FRANÇAIS OPPOSÉS À L'ACCUEIL DES MIGRANTS

STOP INVASIONE

FRANCE

TOUCHE PAS À MA PORTE

We Study Two Broad Questions

How do people (mis)perceive 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?

What is the 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, total of ≈ 22,500 respondents.

Done through commercial survey companies in Nov 2017-Feb 2018.

Sample sizes: 4,500 in US, 4,000 in FR, DE, IT, and UK, 2,000 in SE;

Survey components:

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

Randomized treatments:

Priming: "Order" treatment asks about immigration before redistributive policies.

Information (Facts) on 1) number, 2) origins of immigrants.

Anecdote on "hard-working" immigrant.

Main Findings: Perceptions of Immigration 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, employment, contribution to welfare state.

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

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

Support for redistribution and immigration strongly correlated.

Number of immigrants per se does not matter: perceived composition of immigrants (origin, work effort..) does.

Main Findings: Effects of Information, Anecdotes and Priming

Factual information on share and origins has no effect.

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

Recall negative baseline perceptions about immigrants.

Anecdotes work somewhat too: "Hard work" on its own can generate some more support for redistribution.

However, if people are also prompted to think in detail about immigrants' characteristics (which they are wrong about), priming effect dominates.

Related Literature (Political Science, Sociology, some Econ) I

Perceptions of Immigrants   Hanson, Scheve, and Slaughter (2007); Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010); Hainmueller and Hopkins (2010); Hainmueller and Hopkins (2015); Card, Dustmann and Preston (2012); Bansak, Hainmueller, and Hangartner (2016), Naumann (2018); Herda (2010, 2013); Mayda and Facchini (2009, 2012).

Immigration and Redistribution: Luttmer (2001); Hansen (2003); Finseraas (2008); Senik et al. (2009); Luttmer and Singhal (2011); Dahlberg, Edmark, and Lundqvist (2012); Emmenegger and Klemmensen (2013); Magni-Berton (2014); Chevalier et al. (2017); Bisin and Verdier (2017); Eger and Breznau (2017);

Information and Support for immigration: Grigorieff, Roth, and Ubfal (2018); 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 (2017), Cruces *et al.* (2013), Newman *et al.* (2014), Alesina, Stantcheva and Teso (2018).

Related Literature (Political Science, Sociology, some Econ) II

Our contributions:
1. Cross-country, large-scale, standardized survey plus experiment;
2. Elicit detailed perceptions of immigrants along many dimensions (more relevant than % of immigrants);
3. Study link between these perceptions and redistribution policy (in addition to immigration policy).
4. Shift experimentally 3 distinct aspects of immigration (number, origin, economic contribution) in isolation;

# Data Collection: Surveys and Experiments

Survey Structure

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

- **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.
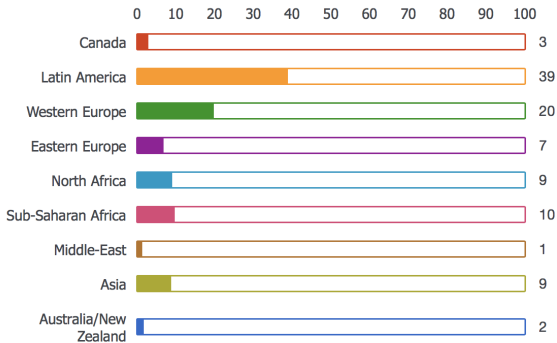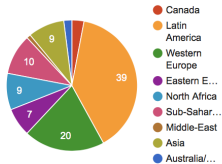
U.S. population by country of birth

- U.S. born
- Foreign born

14%

86%
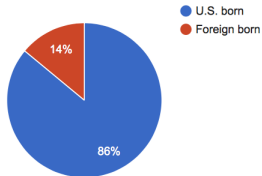
```
0    10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100
```

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 questions (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%).

Check careless response patterns (clicking same "middle" answer).

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

Data Sources

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

- Religion: Pew Research Center

- Unemployment: Pew Research Center (US); OECD, International Migration Outlook (UK, Italy, France, Germany, Sweden)

- Poverty and Education: Current Population Survey, Pew Research Center and Center for Migration Studies (US); 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. 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)

Share of Immigrants

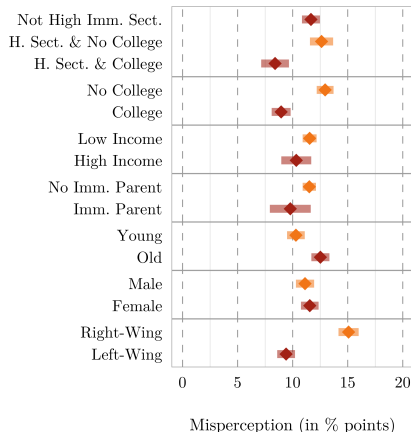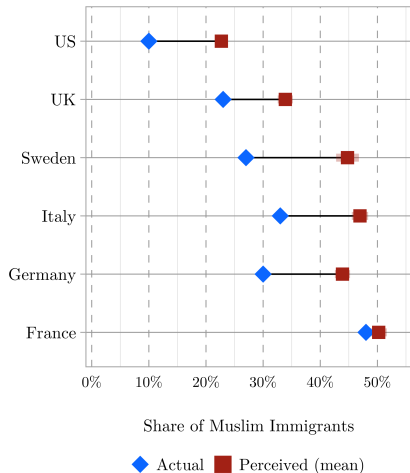◆ Actual   ■ Perceived (mean)
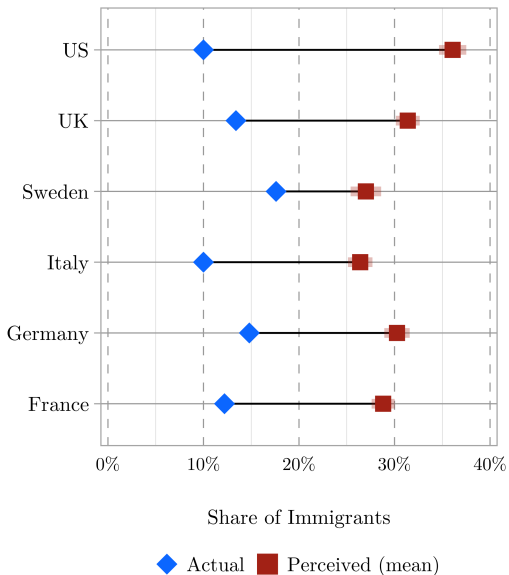
Misperception of Number of Immigrants

Misperception (in % points)
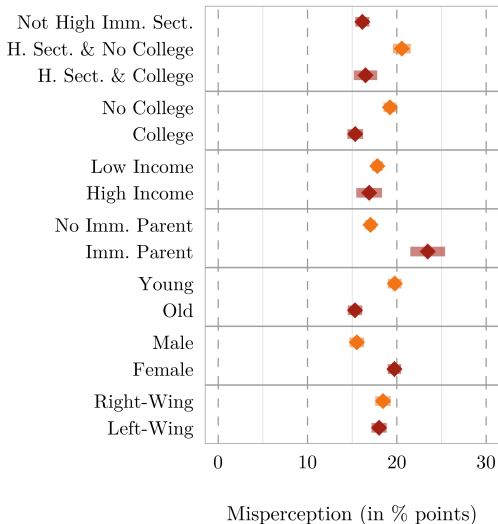
Who misperceives more? Those 1) in high immigration sectors with low education, 2) without college, 3) who are young, 4) who have an immigrant parent, 5) women. ▸ US Sectors

Perceived vs. Actual Share of Muslim Immigrants

Left panel — Share of Muslim Immigrants (by country):

Country	Actual	Perceived (mean)
US	~10%	~23%
UK	~23%	~33%
Sweden	~27%	~44%
Italy	~33%	~46%
Germany	~30%	~43%
France	~48%	~50%

Legend: ◆ Actual   ■ Perceived (mean)

Right panel — Misperception (in % points):

Not High Imm. Sect.
H. Sect. & No College
H. Sect. & College

No College
College

Low Income
High Income

No Imm. Parent
Imm. Parent

Young
Old

Male
Female

Right-Wing
Left-Wing

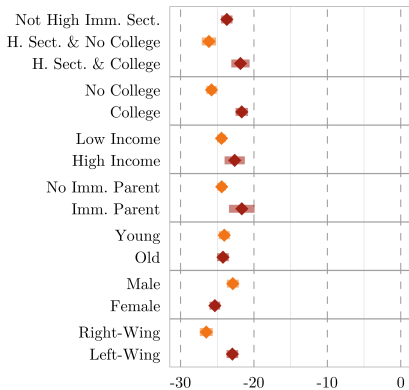▸ Middle East   ▸ North Africa

Perceived vs. Actual Share of Christian Immigrants
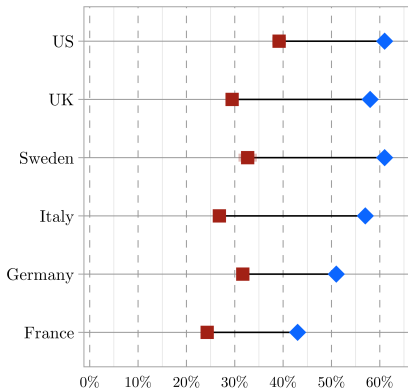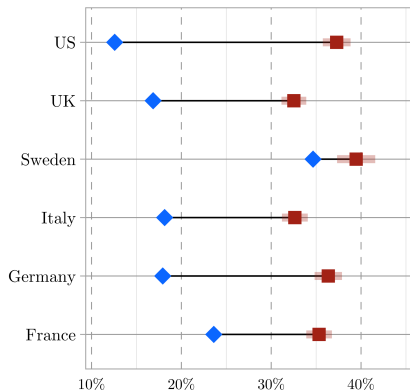

Share of Christian Immigrants

◆ Actual   ■ Perceived (mean)

Misperception (in % points)

▸ Latin America

Perceived vs Actual Representation of Immigrants among Poor and Low-Educated

% of Poor who are Immigrants

◆ Actual ■ Perceived (mean)
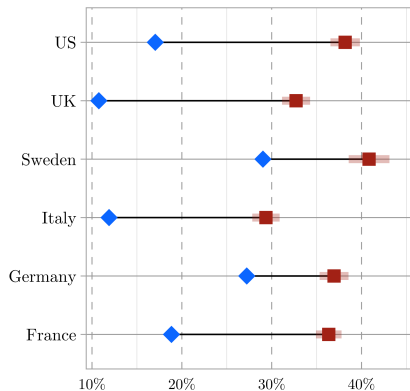
% of Low Educated who are Immigrants

◆ Actual ■ Perceived (mean)

Misperception of Unemployment - Immigrants vs. Natives

Misperception (in % points)

◆ Natives   ■ Immigrants

Not High Imm. Sect.
H. Sect. & No College
H. Sect. & College
No College
College
Low Income
High Income
No Imm. Parent
Imm. Parent
Young
Old
Male
Female
Right-Wing
Left-Wing

Misperception (in % points)

■ Immigrants   ◆ Natives
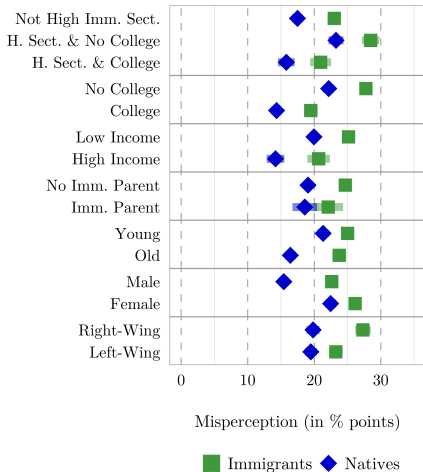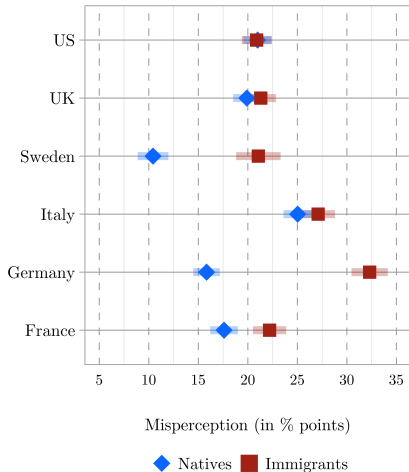
Misperceptions of Share of High-Educated - Immigrants vs. Natives

Misperception (in % points)

◆ Natives   ■ Immigrants

■ Immigrants   ◆ Natives
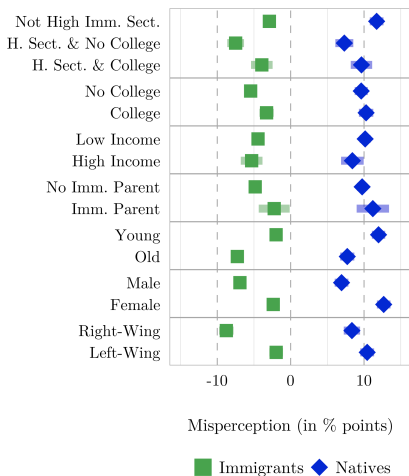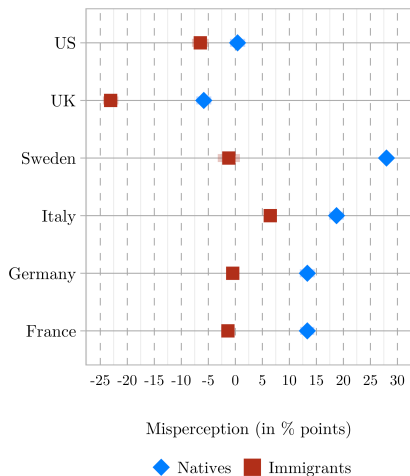
Share of Respondents who believe average immigrant gets twice the amount of transfers of natives

Share of Respondents

Share of Respondents
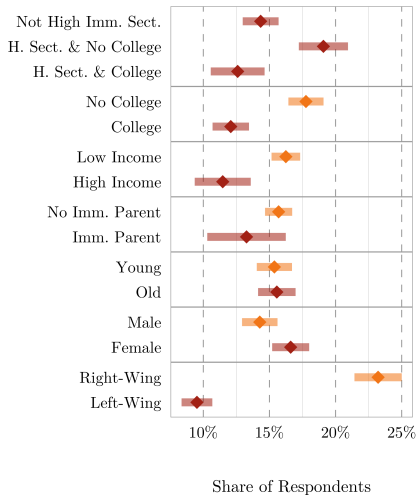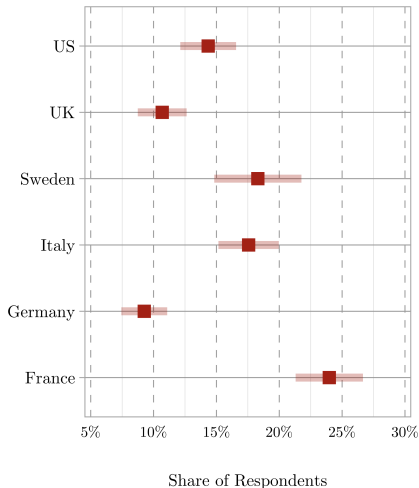
▸ Relative Transfers

"Bias": Does Mohammad Get More Transfers and Pay Less Taxes all Else Equal?

Share of Respondents
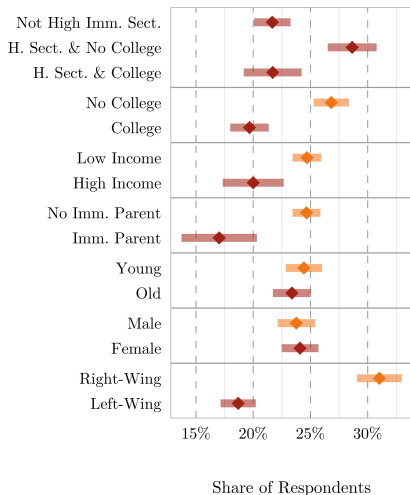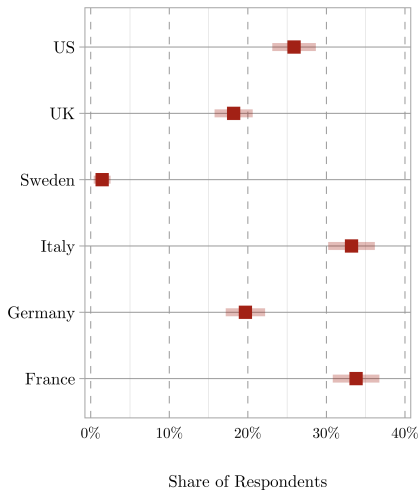
Across all countries, and respondent characteristics, a non trivial share think all else equal Mohammad gets more transfers and pays less taxes. France and Italy are most "biased." Low educated in high immigrant sectors, non college educated, the poor, and right wing are most biased.

% of Respondents who Think Poor Immigrants Don't Put in Effort and that Rich Immigrants Worked Hard
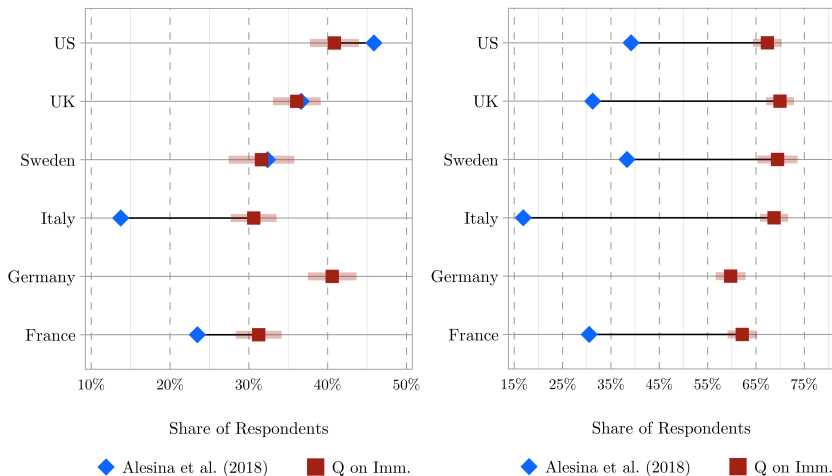
Countries vary on whether they think poor immigrants or poor natives are most likely to be lazy. U.S. is an outlier (also thinks poor are lazy in general). All countries agree that IF an immigrant got rich, they must have worked hard (IT & FR – sticky social classes, inherited advantages?)

Willingness to Pay to Receive Correct Info about Immigrants

	Willing To Pay (1)
Misperception Index	-0.101***
	(0.0322)
Republican	-0.0741**
	(0.0333)
Female	-0.0615*
	(0.0322)
H. Imm. Sector and No College	0.0770
	(0.0502)
H. Imm. Sector and College	0.0722*
	(0.0419)
No College	-0.106**
	(0.0445)
Rich	-0.0253
	(0.0405)
Young	-0.0767**
	(0.0323)
Immigrant parent	0.0896*
	(0.0524)
Constant	0.595***
	(0.0512)
Observations	956

▸ Question

Willingness to Pay to Receive Correct Info about Immigrants

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# Willingness to Pay to Receive Correct Info about Immigrants

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▸ Extended Misperceptions

The Impact of Local Factors on Perceptions

Perceptions across the U.S.
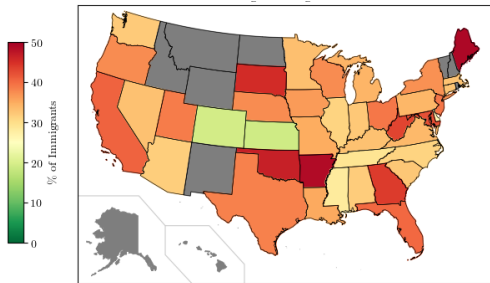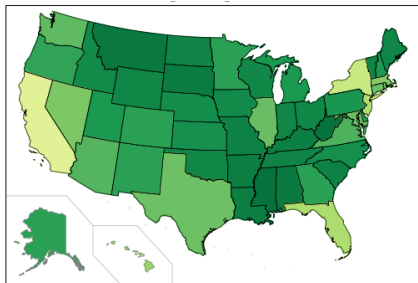
Actual share of legal immigrants in each state in 2014 (left) vs. average perception of national share of legal immigrants by state (right)
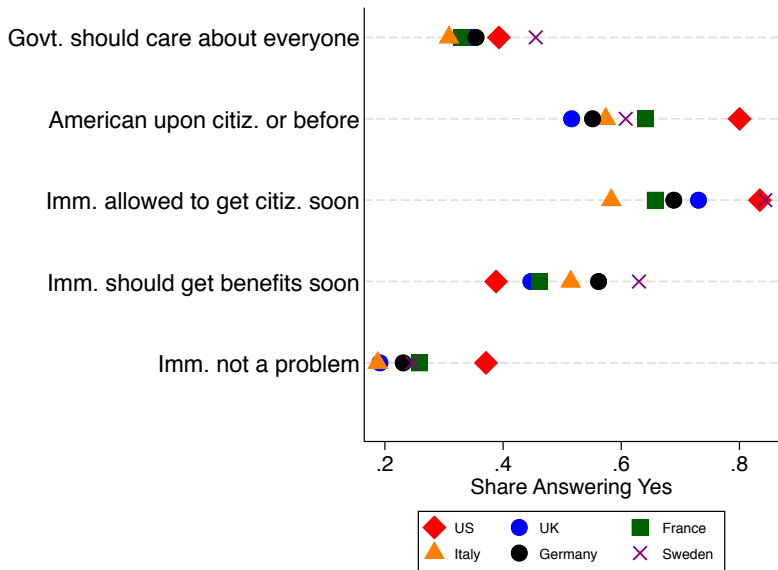
CZ Level Characteristics and Perceived % of Immigrants (U.S.)
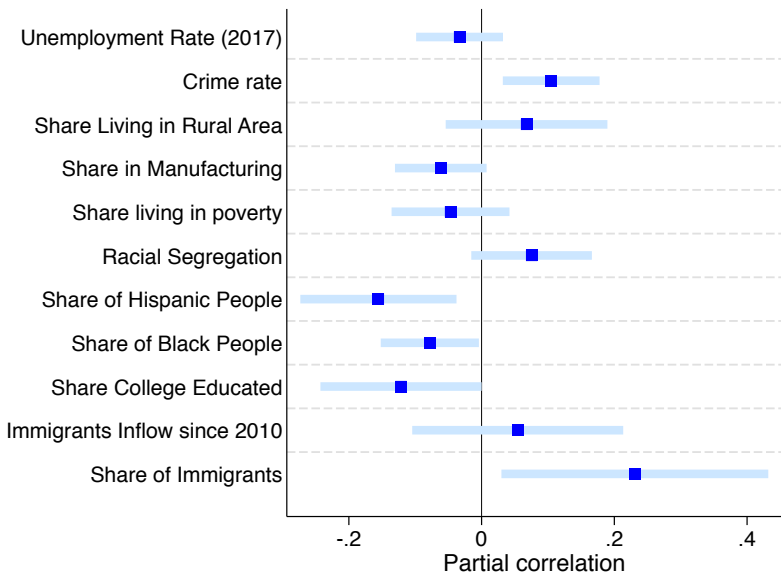
Regression of "Perceived number % of Immigrants" on the variables listed to the left and personal characteristics (jointly).

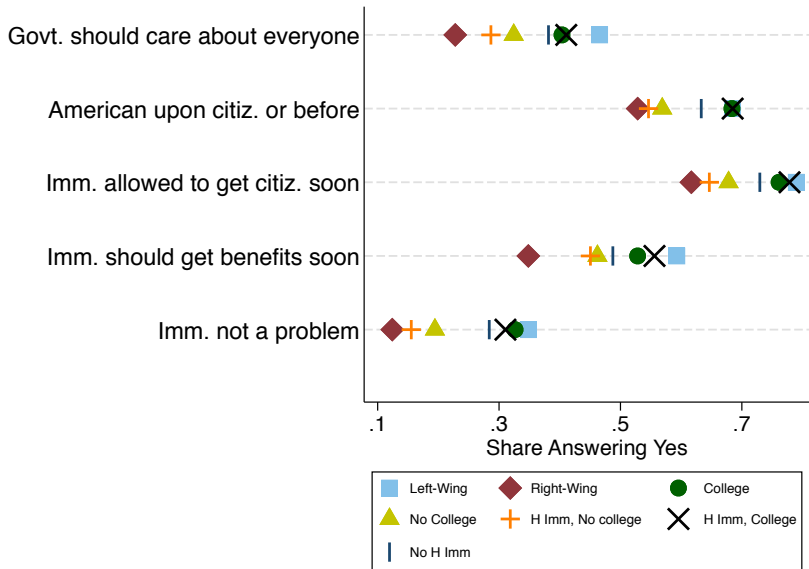# Descriptive Part about Support for Redistribution and Immigration

Support for Immigration (By Country)

Different dimensions of support for immigration are important.
U.S. most supportive of immigration, but not of benefits for immigrants (or in general).

Support for Immigration (By Group)

Legend:
- Left-Wing
- Right-Wing
- College
- No College
- H Imm, No college
- H Imm, College
- No H Imm

Ranked by immigration support: Left wing > High immigration sector + college ≥ college > No high immigration sector > No college > No college in high immigration sector > Right-wing.

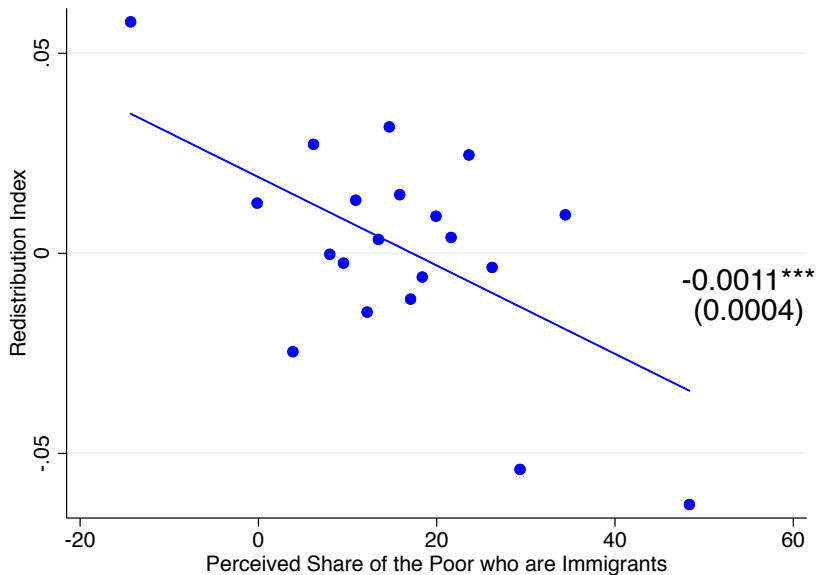# Immigration Perceptions and Redistribution: Correlations

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).
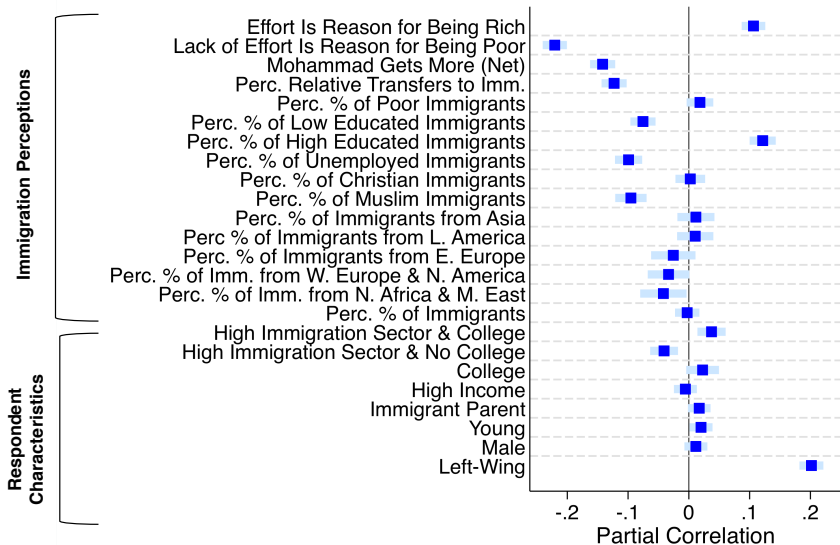 - Income inequality is a serious problem (Dummy).

Support for Immigration and for Redistribution are Very Strongly Correlated

47|110
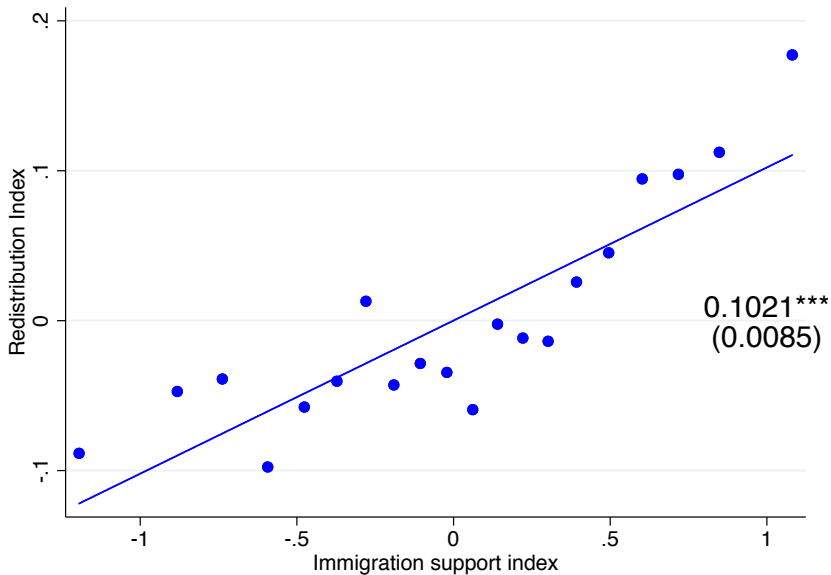
Perceived Share of Poor Who Are Immigrants and Support for Redistribution

-0.0011***
(0.0004)

What Predicts Support for Immigration?

Immigration Perceptions
- Effort Is Reason for Being Rich
- Lack of Effort Is Reason for Being Poor
- Mohammad Gets More (Net)
- Perc. Relative Transfers to Imm.
- Perc. % of Poor Immigrants
- Perc. % of Low Educated Immigrants
- Perc. % of High Educated Immigrants
- Perc. % of Unemployed Immigrants
- Perc. % of Christian Immigrants
- Perc. % of Muslim Immigrants
- Perc. % of Immigrants from Asia
- Perc % of Immigrants from L. America
- Perc. % of Immigrants from E. Europe
- Perc. % of Imm. from W. Europe & N. America
- Perc. % of Imm. from N. Africa & M. East
- Perc. % of Immigrants

Respondent Characteristics
- High Immigration Sector & College
- High Immigration Sector & No College
- College
- High Income
- Immigrant Parent
- Young
- Male
- Left-Wing

Partial Correlation

-.2   -.1   0   .1   .2

Support for immigration index regressed jointly on z-scores of all variables on the left + country FE.
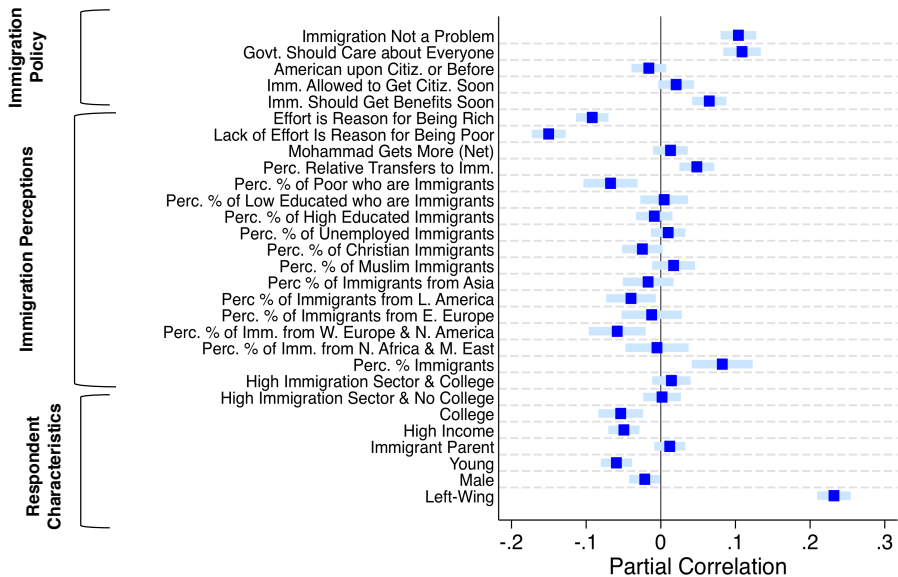
49|110

What Predicts Support for Redistribution?

Support for redistribution index regressed jointly on z-scores of all variables on the left + country FE.

Immigration perceptions and Redistribution: Experimental Evidence

Salience 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)	Tax Top 1 (2)	Tax Bottom 50 (3)	Social Budget (4)	Govt. Should Care about Inequality (5)	Donation Above Median (6)
Salience - Imm Questions First		-1.680*** (0.429)	0.904*** (0.276)	0.119 (0.323)	0.0312 (0.0429)	-0.0479*** (0.0138)
Information - Share of Immigrants	0.0238** (0.0119)	-0.557 (0.432)	0.178 (0.278)	0.102 (0.325)	0.00577 (0.0434)	-0.0165 (0.0140)
Information - Origins of Immigrants	0.00573 (0.0119)	-0.101 (0.431)	0.168 (0.278)	-0.155 (0.325)	0.0249 (0.0434)	0.00208 (0.0140)
Anecdote - Hard Work of Immigrants	0.0463*** (0.0119)	0.0276 (0.429)	0.0764 (0.276)	0.746** (0.323)	0.114*** (0.0433)	0.00910 (0.0139)
Share of Immigrants X Imm. Q. First		0.536 (0.613)	-0.130 (0.395)	-0.425 (0.462)	0.0360 (0.0611)	0.0173 (0.0197)
Origins of Immigrants X Imm. Q. First		0.352 (0.613)	-0.543 (0.395)	0.00797 (0.462)	-0.00529 (0.0611)	-0.0115 (0.0197)
Hard Work of Immigrants X Imm. Q. First		0.282 (0.610)	-0.246 (0.393)	-0.958** (0.460)	-0.107* (0.0611)	0.00165 (0.0197)
Observations	19765	17752	17752	17739	19761	19765
Control mean	0.00	36.91	10.88	56.43	5.06	0.45

Tax rate on Top 1% decreases by 1.7 which is 5% of the control mean and 60% of the left-right wing gap. Tax rate on Bottom 50% increases by 0.9, which is 8% of the control mean and 70% of the left-right wing gap.
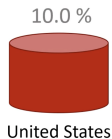
Information Treatment: Number of Immigrants

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

Link to video: https://youtu.be/2bVzfv0a-fE

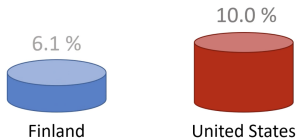# Information Treatment: Number of Immigrants

Today, legal immigrants make up 10.0 % of all people in the United States.

10.0 %

United States

Information Treatment: Number of Immigrants

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

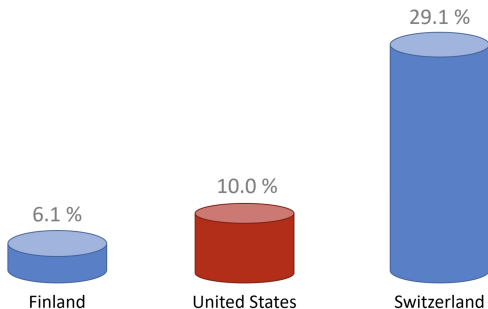# Information Treatment: Number of Immigrants

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

Information Treatment: Origin of Immigrants

Think about all the immigrants legally
residing in the U.S. today
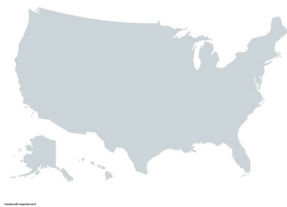
Link to video: https://youtu.be/-603kdm_GkA

Information Treatment: Origin of Immigrants

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

Where do they come from?

Information Treatment: Origin of Immigrants

Latin America

Information Treatment: Origin of Immigrants

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

Latin America

Information Treatment: Origin of Immigrants

Asia
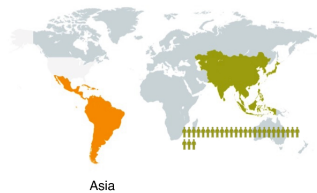
Latin America

Information Treatment: Origin of Immigrants
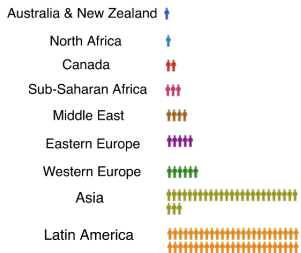
"Anecdote" Treatment: Hard Work of Immigrants

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

"Anecdote" Treatment: 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.

"Anecdote" Treatment: 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.

"Anecdote" Treatment: Hard Work of Immigrants

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

"Anecdote" Treatment: Hard Work of Immigrants

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

"Anecdote" Treatment: 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.

"Anecdote" Treatment: 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 in US
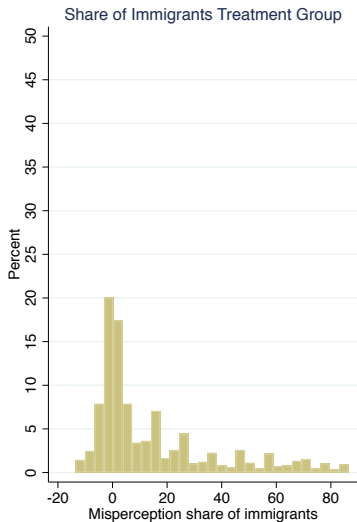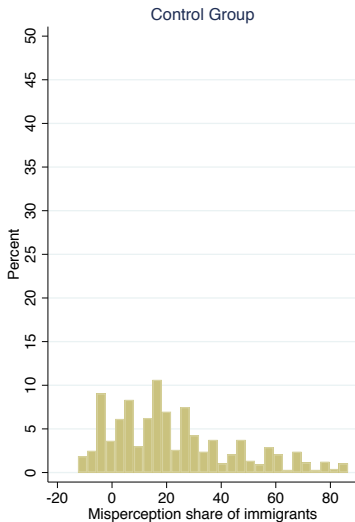
Italy ▸ UK ▸ Frace ▸ Germany ▸ Sweden

First Stage: (Mis)perceptions Not Very Responsive to Facts

	All Immigrants (misp.) (1)	Accurate Perception All Immigrants (2)	M. East and N. Africa (misp.) (3)	N. America, W. and E. Europe (misp.) (4)	Muslim (misp.) (5)	Christian (misp.) (6)	Lack of Effort Reason Poor (7)
Information - Share of Immigrants	-5.509*** (0.426)	0.241*** (0.00602)	-0.0757 (0.298)	-0.152 (0.352)	-0.394 (0.394)	-0.0538 (0.395)	0.000297 (0.00912)
Information - Origins of Immigrants	1.918*** (0.428)	0.00276 (0.00605)	-4.721*** (0.298)	1.500*** (0.352)	-1.803*** (0.393)	2.486*** (0.394)	-0.000234 (0.00913)
Anecdote - Hard Work of Immigrants	0.522 (0.427)	-0.00465 (0.00603)	-0.306 (0.298)	0.257 (0.351)	-0.606 (0.392)	0.588 (0.394)	-0.0535*** (0.00912)
Observations	17659	17659	17741	17731	17627	17695	19721
Control mean	16.29	0.04	12.88	-6.12	10.50	-23.90	0.36

Info treatment - Share of immigrants:
Misperception of number ↓ 5.5% relative; share of respondents who are accurate is 28% vs. 4.3% in control group.

Info treatment - Origins of immigrants:
↓ misperception from Middle East & North Africa by 36% relative to control; ↓ Muslim by 17%. Still very off!

Anecdote treatment - Hard work of immigrants:

5% less likely to say that lack of effort is reason why immigrants poor; 14% reduction relative to control.

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

	All immigrants (misp.)	Accurate Perception All immigrants	M. East and N. Africa (misp.)	L. America (misp.)	Muslim (misp.)	Christian (misp.)	Lack of Effort reason poor
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Panel A: First survey who took the follow-up							
Information - Share of Immigrants	-7.045***	0.230***	1.515	-1.016	0.578	3.745*	0.0110
	(2.051)	(0.0217)	(1.032)	(1.574)	(1.302)	(2.048)	(0.0405)
Information - Origins of Immigrants	1.671	-0.0214	-7.220***	15.12***	-3.436**	5.457***	-0.0418
	(2.107)	(0.0223)	(1.060)	(1.617)	(1.338)	(2.105)	(0.0417)
Anecdote - Hard Work of Immigrants	1.035	0.00854	1.889*	0.278	1.008	0.336	-0.0889**
	(2.030)	(0.0215)	(1.020)	(1.556)	(1.287)	(2.025)	(0.0400)
Control mean	21.29	0.02	14.86	-16.85	12.08	-22.66	0.45
Panel B: Follow-up respondents							
Information - Share of Immigrants	-1.369	0.0201	0.853	-1.303	0.539	3.411*	-0.0124
	(1.851)	(0.0161)	(1.023)	(1.420)	(1.229)	(1.947)	(0.0401)
Information - Origins of Immigrants	-1.301	-0.0177	-2.808***	7.234***	-0.566	2.148	-0.0370
	(1.902)	(0.0165)	(1.051)	(1.459)	(1.263)	(2.001)	(0.0413)
Anecdote - Hard Work of Immigrants	-1.246	-0.00130	1.057	0.640	1.102	-1.584	-0.0822**
	(1.832)	(0.0159)	(1.012)	(1.403)	(1.215)	(1.925)	(0.0396)
Observations	1032	1032	1033	1034	1034	1034	1032
Control mean	21.08	0.03	15.95	-18.61	11.05	-21.85	0.47

Some persistence, but large decay of an already weak effect. "Origins of Immigrants" on Middle East+ North Africa. "Hard work" treatment most persistent.

Effects on Policy Preferences

	Imm Support Index (1)	Tax Top 1 (2)	Tax Bottom 50 (3)	Social Budget (4)	Govt. Should Care about Inequality (5)	Donation Above Median (6)
Salience - Imm Questions First		-1.680*** (0.429)	0.904*** (0.276)	0.119 (0.323)	0.0312 (0.0429)	-0.0479*** (0.0138)
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Observations	19765	17752	17752	17739	19761	19765
Control mean	0.00	36.91	10.88	56.43	5.06	0.45

Info treatment - Share of immigrants: ↑ support for immigration by 5% of left-right wing gap.
Anecdote treatment - Hard Work of immigrants: ↑ support for immigration by 10% of left-right wing gap; ↑ social spending by 1.5% relative to control group and by 15% of left-right wing gap; ↑ government should care about inequality by 2% of control group and 10% of left-right wing gap.

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Understanding the Treatment Effects on Redistribution Preferences

Order treatment has negative effect because of the very negative baseline views that people have of immigrants.

Info treatments don't move perceptions or policy preferences much:

So, does info not matter?

Share of immigrants per se was not *correlated* with support for redistribution, conditional on other immigrant characteristics.

Origin of immigrants may be less straightforward and hard to understand (could have told people share of different religions directly).

Also: Each info treatment in itself contains a "mini" order treatment.

"Anecdote" about hard work has positive effect on its own.

But even that positive effects disappear when making people think about detailed characteristics of immigrants.

Heterogeneous Treatment Effects: Order Treatment

	Tax Top 1 (1)	Tax Bottom 50 (2)	Social Budget (3)	Govt. Should Care about Inequality (4)	Donation Above Median (5)
Imm. Q First X Right	-2.091***	1.024**	-0.604	0.0328	-0.0526**
	(0.652)	(0.420)	(0.491)	(0.0664)	(0.0212)
Imm. Q First X Left	-1.428**	0.801**	0.384	0.0644	-0.0480**
	(0.611)	(0.394)	(0.459)	(0.0622)	(0.0199)
p-value diff.	0.458	0.699	0.142	0.729	0.875
Imm. Q First X College	-1.354**	0.457	0.332	0.0175	-0.0575***
	(0.668)	(0.431)	(0.505)	(0.0678)	(0.0217)
Imm. Q First X No College	-1.938***	1.227***	-0.0376	0.0414	-0.0406**
	(0.548)	(0.353)	(0.411)	(0.0559)	(0.0179)
p-value diff.	0.499	0.167	0.571	0.786	0.547
Imm. Q First x Male	-1.542**	0.870**	0.0958	0.00192	-0.0717***
	(0.605)	(0.390)	(0.460)	(0.0615)	(0.0197)
Imm. Q First x Female	-1.858***	0.964**	0.123	0.0605	-0.0240
	(0.593)	(0.383)	(0.443)	(0.0605)	(0.0193)
p-value diff.	0.709	0.864	0.966	0.498	0.084
Imm. Q First x H imm	-2.335***	1.141**	-0.208	0.0290	-0.0814***
	(0.747)	(0.482)	(0.560)	(0.0759)	(0.0242)
Imm. Q First x Not H imm	-1.425***	0.820**	0.262	0.0334	-0.0316*
	(0.514)	(0.332)	(0.388)	(0.0525)	(0.0168)
p-value diff.	0.316	0.583	0.490	0.962	0.091
Control mean	37.73	10.40	56.40	5.04	0.47
Observations	4561	4561	4562	5063	5064

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Imm. Q First x Not H imm	-1.425***	0.820**	0.262	0.0334	-0.0316*
	(0.514)	(0.332)	(0.388)	(0.0525)	(0.0168)
p-value diff.	0.316	0.583	0.490	0.962	0.091
Control mean	37.73	10.40	56.40	5.04	0.47
Observations	4561	4561	4562	5063	5064

Heterogeneous Treatment Effects: Order Treatment

	Tax Top 1 (1)	Tax Bottom 50 (2)	Social Budget (3)	Govt. Should Care about Inequality (4)	Donation Above Median (5)
Imm. Q First X Right	-2.091***	1.024**	-0.604	0.0328	-0.0526**
	(0.652)	(0.420)	(0.491)	(0.0664)	(0.0212)
Imm. Q First X Left	-1.428**	0.801**	0.384	0.0644	-0.0480**
	(0.611)	(0.394)	(0.459)	(0.0622)	(0.0199)
p-value diff.	0.458	0.699	0.142	0.729	0.875
Imm. Q First X College	-1.354**	0.457	0.332	0.0175	-0.0575***
	(0.668)	(0.431)	(0.505)	(0.0678)	(0.0217)
Imm. Q First X No College	-1.938***	1.227***	-0.0376	0.0414	-0.0406**
	(0.548)	(0.353)	(0.411)	(0.0559)	(0.0179)
p-value diff.	0.499	0.167	0.571	0.786	0.547
Imm. Q First x Male	-1.542**	0.870**	0.0958	0.00192	-0.0717***
	(0.605)	(0.390)	(0.460)	(0.0615)	(0.0197)
Imm. Q First x Female	-1.858***	0.964**	0.123	0.0605	-0.0240
	(0.593)	(0.383)	(0.443)	(0.0605)	(0.0193)
p-value diff.	0.709	0.864	0.966	0.498	0.084
Imm. Q First x H imm	-2.335***	1.141**	-0.208	0.0290	-0.0814***
	(0.747)	(0.482)	(0.560)	(0.0759)	(0.0242)
Imm. Q First x Not H imm	-1.425***	0.820**	0.262	0.0334	-0.0316*
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Heterogeneous Treatment Effects: Hard Work of Immigrants Treatment

	Imm Support Index (1)	Tax Top 1 (2)	Tax Bottom 50 (3)	Social Budget (4)	Govt. Should Care about Inequality (5)	Donation Above Median (6)
Hard Work of Imm. X Right	0.0751***	-1.192*	0.554	0.281	0.105	-0.00840
	(0.0259)	(0.659)	(0.429)	(0.494)	(0.0662)	(0.0216)
Hard Work of Imm. X Left	0.00678	0.447	-0.114	0.785*	0.136**	0.0235
	(0.0240)	(0.608)	(0.396)	(0.457)	(0.0614)	(0.0200)
p-value diff.	0.053	0.068	0.252	0.454	0.729	0.279
Hard Work of Imm. X College	0.0423	-0.894	0.239	0.816	0.0892	0.0396*
	(0.0264)	(0.670)	(0.436)	(0.506)	(0.0674)	(0.0220)
Hard Work of Imm. X No College	0.0408*	0.638	-0.0188	0.683*	0.129**	-0.00998
	(0.0217)	(0.550)	(0.358)	(0.412)	(0.0555)	(0.0181)
p-value diff.	0.964	0.078	0.648	0.838	0.644	0.082
Hard Work of Imm. X Male	0.0622***	0.531	-0.175	0.236	0.0547	0.000926
	(0.0239)	(0.606)	(0.394)	(0.456)	(0.0610)	(0.0199)
Hard Work of Imm. X Female	0.0210	-0.473	0.335	1.230***	0.170***	0.0188
	(0.0236)	(0.596)	(0.388)	(0.447)	(0.0602)	(0.0196)
p-value diff.	0.219	0.238	0.357	0.120	0.178	0.523
Hard Work of Imm. X H Imm.	0.0660**	0.930	-0.531	0.168	0.117	-0.0177
	(0.0293)	(0.745)	(0.484)	(0.557)	(0.0748)	(0.0244)
Hard Work of Imm. X Not H Imm.	0.0285	-0.417	0.378	1.015***	0.110**	0.0234
	(0.0205)	(0.518)	(0.337)	(0.390)	(0.0523)	(0.0170)
p-value diff.	0.293	0.138	0.123	0.213	0.945	0.168
Control mean	0.00	37.73	10.40	56.40	5.04	0.47

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Summary of Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

We look at heterogeneous treatment effects of the three groups with most different ex ante perceptions of immigrants:

1. Left vs. right wing
2. College vs. non college-educated
3. Low-skilled in immigration intensive sectors vs. others.

Two main findings:

All previously described effects hold, but groups with are anti-government redistribution (right wing) react in terms of charity donations only.

Groups with most negative baseline views of immigrants react most negatively to being prompted to think about immigrants (non college educated, right wing, low skill in immigration intensive sectors).

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.

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%
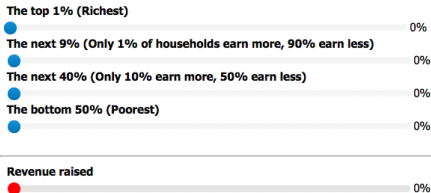
You have not raised enough revenue.

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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 Middle East
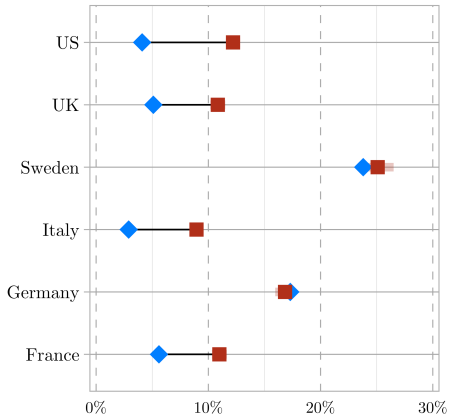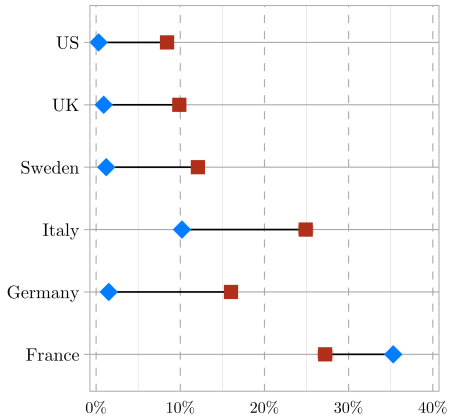

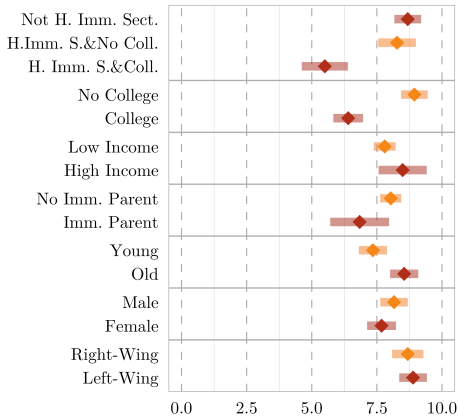Share of Immigrants from Middle East

◆ Actual   ■ Perceived (mean)
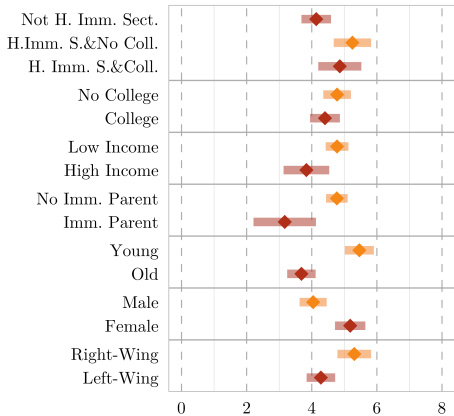
Misperception (in % points)

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Share of Immigrants from North Africa

Share of Immigrants from North Africa

Misperception (in % points)

◆ Actual ■ Perceived (mean)

▸ Back

Share of Immigrants from Latin America

Share of Immigrants from Latin America

◆ Actual   ■ Perceived (mean)

Misperception (in % points)
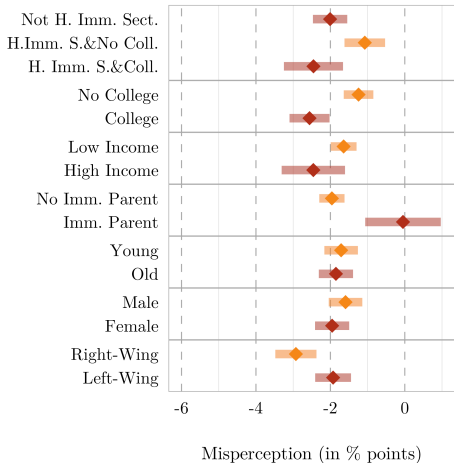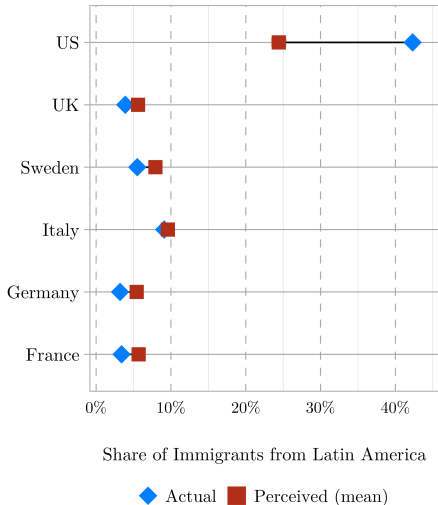
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Perceived vs. Actual Share of High-Educated Immigrants
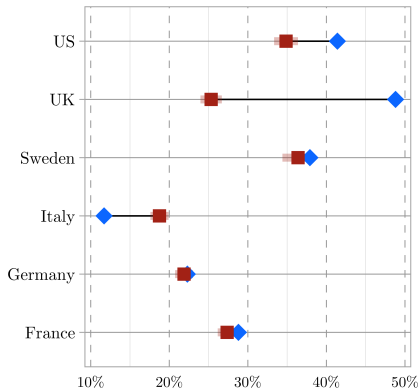
Share of Immigrants with High Education

◆ Actual ■ Perceived (mean)
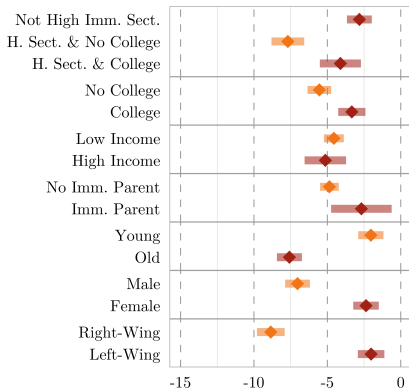
Misperception (in % points)

▸ Back

Perceived Transfers to Immigrants
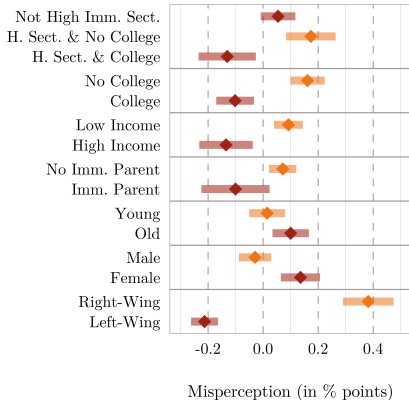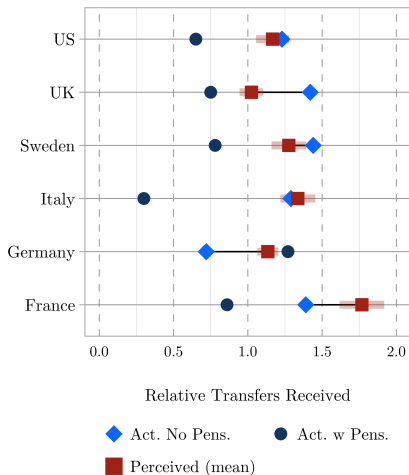
Actual transfers include: social assistance (e.g., social exclusion allowance in E.U., public assistance and Medicaid in the U.S.), unemployment benefits, family allowances, housing benefits and pension benefits (dark circle). ▸ Back

Willingness to Pay to Receive Correct Info about Immigrants - Question

As already mentioned, by taking this survey, you are automatically enrolled in a lottery to win $1,000. Are you are interested in learning the correct answers to all the questions about immigrants in the U.S.? If you are, you can forfeit part of your gain (should you win the lottery) in exchange for the correct answers. If you select that option, you will be given the right answers on the next page. You will only pay the amount selected if you do, in fact, win the lottery. Note: This information would be very hard to find online on your own. It is the result of a lot of careful research and you cannot easily find the correct answers.

*In case you win the lottery are you willing to give up **[$0.5, $1, $2, $5, $10, randomized]** to receive all the correct answers to the questions about immigrants in the U.S.?*

1. *No, I am not willing to pay anything (We will not provide you with the correct answers)*

2. *Yes, I am willing to pay [$0.5,$1, $2, $5, $10, randomized] (We will provide you with all the correct answers on the next page. You will only pay this amount out of your lottery earnings if you do win the lottery*
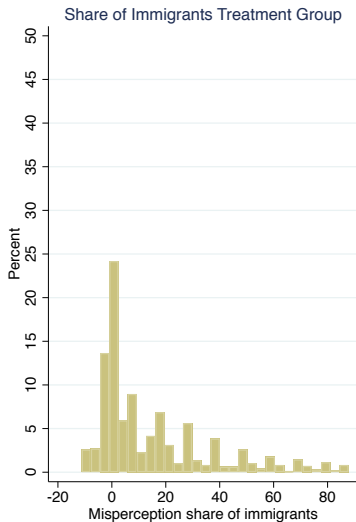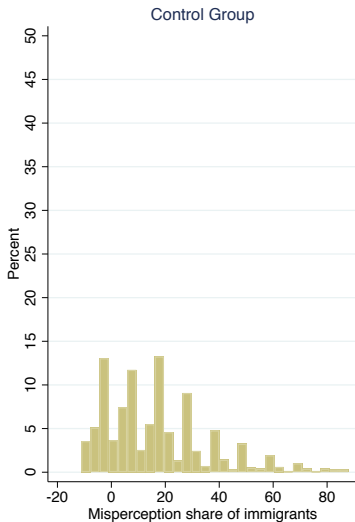
▸ Back

Willingness to Pay to Receive Correct Info about Immigrants - Extended Misperceptions

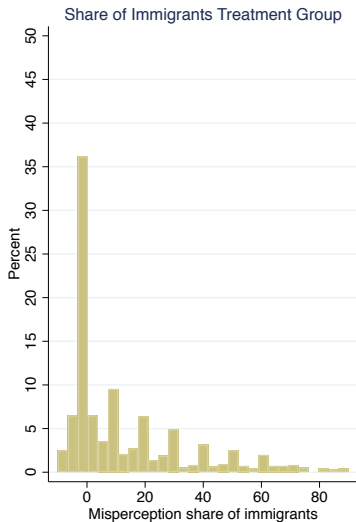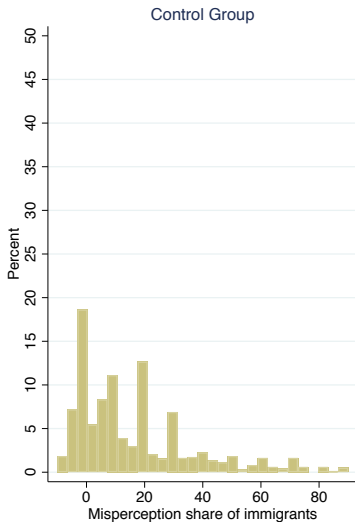|	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Mis. Share Imm	-0.00185** (0.000767)						
Mis. Muslim		-0.000960 (0.00115)					
Mis. Christian			0.00228*** (0.000791)				
Mis. Unemployment				-0.00183** (0.000823)			
Mis. Low-Ed					-0.000248 (0.000734)		
Mis. High-Ed						0.00118* (0.000673)	
Mis. Poverty							-0.000617 (0.000754)
Constant	0.681*** (0.0543)	0.642*** (0.0526)	0.666*** (0.0529)	0.662*** (0.0528)	0.646*** (0.0529)	0.654*** (0.0526)	0.655*** (0.0533)
Observations	904	916	914	896	888	899	903

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Control vs. T1 – UK

Control Group

Share of Immigrants Treatment Group

Back
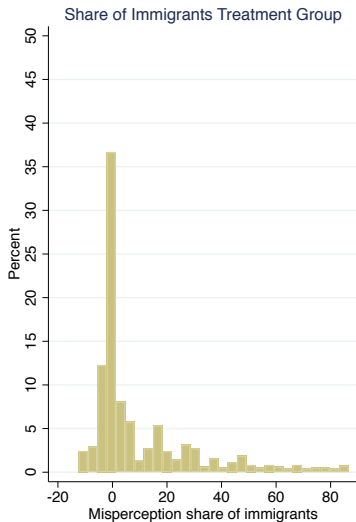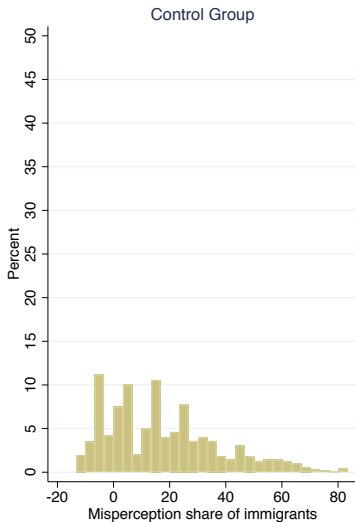
Control vs. T1 – France

Control Group

Share of Immigrants Treatment Group

Control vs. T1 – Italy

Control Group

Share of Immigrants Treatment Group

Back

Control vs. T1 – Germany

Control Group

Share of Immigrants Treatment Group
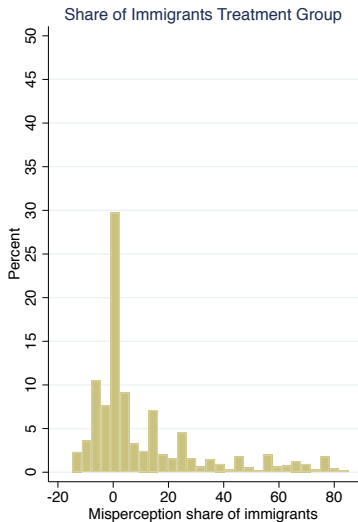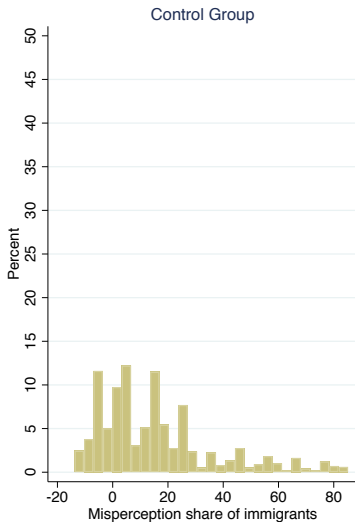
Control vs. T1 – Sweden

▸ Back
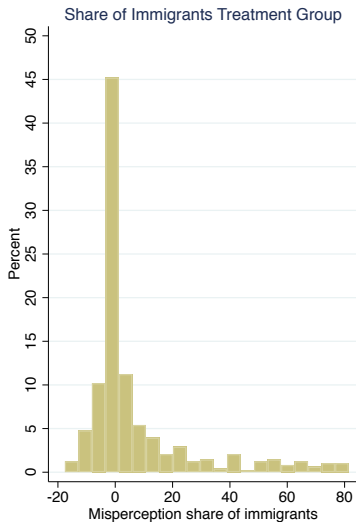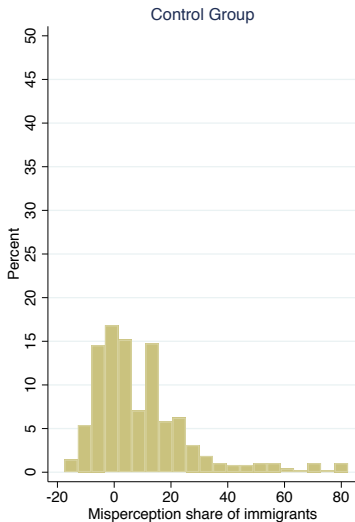
High Immigration Sectors – United States (I)

A sector is defined *High Immigration* if the share of workers who are immigrant in that sector is higher than the country average.

- **Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations:** farmers, fishers, agricultural workers etc.
- **Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations:** maids and housekeeping cleaners, janitors, building cleaning workers, grounds maintenance workers etc.
- **Construction and extraction occupations:** painters, construction and maintenance, plumbers, electricians, extraction workers etc.
- **Computer and mathematical occupations:** occupations related to mathematics, data and IT management, such as statisticians, web developers, computer programmers, actuaries, etc.

High Immigration Sectors – United States (II)

- **Production occupations:** industrial and artisanal production of goods, materials and components of any kind, industrial and artisanal food production, laundry, dry cleaning, sewing and tailoring, shoe making, woodworking, energy, petroleum and gas production, water operation, jewels and metal working etc.

- **Life, physical, and social science occupations:** animal, food, soil and plant scientists, biochemists, medical scientists, physicists, chemists, economists, political scientist, sociologists, psychologists, historians etc.

- **Food preparation and serving related occupations:** chefs and cooks, waiters, fast food workers, dishwashers, food servers etc.

- **Occupations related to transportation and material moving:** truck, bus, train and taxi drivers, pilots, flight attendants, rail transportation workers, movers, delivery workers, gas station operators etc.

- **Occupations related to personal care, childcare and leisure:** hairdressers, barbers and related, makeup artists, cosmetologists and related, personal care aides, childcare workers, all the occupations related to leisure and entertainment, like sport and gaming, cinemas, etc.

- **Healthcare support occupations:** such as home health aides, nursing assistants, physical therapist assistants, dental or medical assistants etc.