

# Shaping Tolerant Attitudes towards Immigrants: The Role of Welfare State Expenditures

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**Carolyn Rapp**  
University of Bern

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# Research Question

How does welfare state extensiveness relate to tolerance towards immigrants?

## Relevance of research question

### RQ situated within three research strands

- ① studies on the magnet hypothesis (Nannestad, 2007)
- ② studies on welfare chauvinism (Eger, 2010; Emmenegger and Klemmensen, 2013; van der Waal et al., 2013)
- ③ studies on the direct influence from welfare state institutions on attitudes towards immigrants (Crepaz and Damrom, 2009; Kirchner, Freitag, and Rapp, 2011; Marquart-Pyatt and Paxton, 2007)

## The dependent variable: Tolerance

### Two viewpoints

- ① the acceptance of diversity (see e.g. UN)
- ② Tolerance is the willingness to “put up with” others diverse from oneself (e.g. Sullivan et al., 1993)

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The paper follows the second definition:

- Tolerance is an attitude that is intermediate between wholehearted acceptance and un-restrainable rejection (Scanlon, 2003, 187)
- Therewith tolerance consists of two components: **the rejection component** and **the acceptance component** (Forst, 2003, 2007)
- Tolerance as a sequential concept (Ferrar, 1976; Freitag and Rapp, 2013)

# Why should the welfare state relate to tolerance?\*

## Theoretical considerations

- new institutionalist theory (Hall and Taylor, 1996; Larsen, 2008)
- bridging class divides (Crepaz and Damron, 2009; Kirchner, Freitag, and Rapp, 2011)
- reducing status anxieties/providing feelings of security (Tatalovich and Smith, 2001)

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*H1*: Higher levels of political and/or social tolerance are fostered by more extensive welfare states

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- modern welfare states are challenged by increasing immigration
- rising fears that the welfare state is exploited by immigrants [*welfare chauvinism*] (van Oorschot and Uunk, 2007)
- increasing social categorization (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner, 1979)

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*H2*: The hypothesized positive effect of welfare state expenditures on social and/or political tolerance diminishes with increasing levels of ethnic heterogeneity in a country.

## Data and method\*

### Dataset

Eurobarometer 47.1, 1997 covering 15 Western European countries

### DP: Political and social tolerance

- ① respondent, is first asked whether she feels any objection toward a group within her country that is ethnically, religiously, or culturally diverse from him or herself; only individuals who identify an objectionable group fulfil the necessary condition for tolerance
- ② in a second step the depth of political and social tolerance is captured by asking if the respondent would render this group certain political/social rights and activities (**rejection component**)

## Distribution of tolerance

	<i>mean social tolerance</i>	<i>mean political tolerance</i>
Belgium	1.72	2.58
Ireland	1.83	3.91
Austria	1.86	3.20
Germany	1.91	3.33
Greece	2.06	3.96
Portugal	2.06	3.77
Italy	2.08	3.74
Sweden	2.21	3.89
Denmark	2.28	3.67
France	2.42	3.19
United Kingdom	2.64	3.92
Finland	2.64	4.17
Spain	2.67	4.30
Netherlands	2.75	4.17
Luxembourg	3.02	3.66
<b>overall mean</b>	<b>2.27</b>	<b>3.70</b>

# Data and method

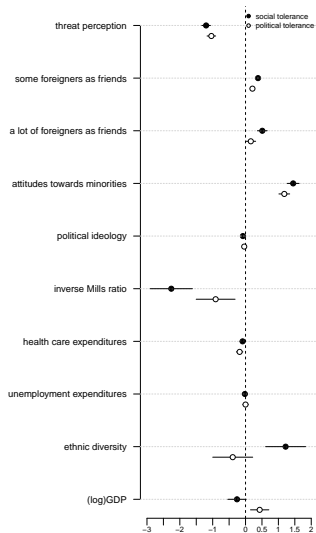
## Main explanatory variables

- Health care expenditures in % of the GDP
- Unemployment expenditures in % of the GDP
- Ethnic diversity according to the Herfindahl index

## Method

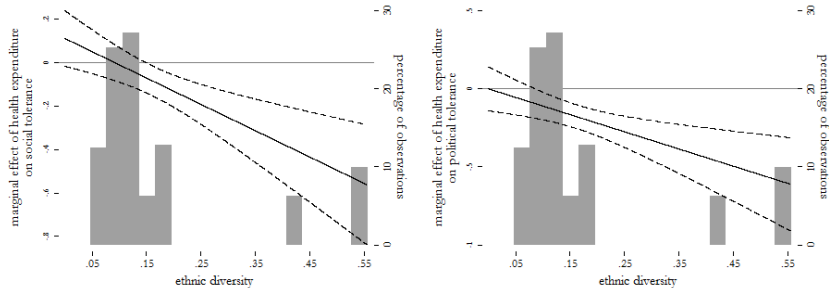
Linear multilevel models controlling for the non-randomly selected sample (two-step Heckman procedure, inverse Mills ratio)

## Results\*



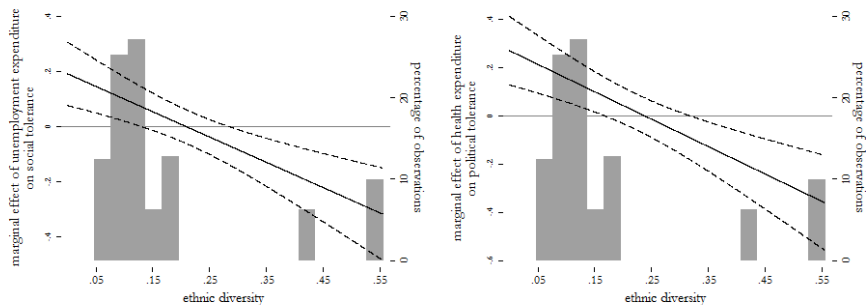
# Results

**Figure 1: The influence of health care expenditures on social and political tolerance for different levels of ethnic heterogeneity**



# Results

**Figure 2: The influence of unemployment expenditures on social and political tolerance for different levels of ethnic heterogeneity**





## Robustness Checks

Problem of low number of cases on level-2 (see Stegmüller, 2013)

- Bayesian re-estimates
- looking for outlier based on dfBetas and CooksD (van der Meer, Te Grotenhuis, and Pelzer, 2010)
- using different control variables (confounders)
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## Conclusion and Remarks

What difference does it make?

- claim of the good and universal welfare state doesn't hold
- welfare states have to react on new challenges
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### Shortcomings

- old dataset
- small number of countries
- welfare state measurements

Thank you for your attention!

# First Stage Regression Results

	selection stage regression est. (se)
<b>individual level</b>	
sex [female=1]	-0.02 (0.06)
age	-0.01*** (0.00)
educational level	0.00 (0.00)
threat perception	0.54*** (0.11)
no. of foreigners among friends (ref.=none)	
some	0.189** (0.07)
a lot	-0.11 (0.12)
attitudes toward minorities	-0.77*** (0.12)
political ideology	0.03* (0.02)
<b>contextual level</b>	
ethnic diversity	-1.52 (1.20)
(log)GDP	0.41 (0.49)
intercept	-2.68 (4.83)
<b>model components</b>	
$\sigma^2 \alpha_j$	0.52
DIC	6520.5
N (indiv./context)	6261/15

# Alternative measures of welfare state: total social expenditures\*

	social tolerance est. (se)	political tolerance est. (se)
<b>individual level</b>		
threat perception	-1.21*** (0.09)	-1.04*** (0.08)
no. of foreigners among friends (ref.=none)		
some	0.28*** (0.05)	0.16*** (0.05)
a lot	0.67*** (0.09)	0.21** (0.09)
attitudes toward minorities	1.47*** (0.11)	1.19*** (0.10)
political ideology	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)
inverse Mills ratio	-2.32*** (0.39)	-0.95** (0.37)
<b>contextual level</b>		
total social exp. in % of GDP	0.04 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
ethnic diversity	8.70*** (2.49)	7.97** (2.84)
(log)GDP	-0.53*** (0.21)	-0.60** (0.23)
<b>interaction effects</b>		
total soc.exp.*	-0.31** (0.10)	-0.36** (0.12)
ethnic div.	7.81*** (1.74)	-0.60** (0.23)
<b>model components</b>		
$\sigma^2_{\alpha_j}$	0.02	0.03
$\sigma^2$	1.94	1.69
DIC	15850.1	15175.4
N (indiv./context)	4520/15	4500/15

# Alternative measures of welfare state: total social expenditures

**Figure A1: The influence of total social expenditures on social and political tolerance for different levels of ethnic heterogeneity**

