

REMINDER Work Package 10: Drivers of opinions and norms

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Horizon 2020 REMINDER PROJECT

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WORK PACKAGE 10: DRIVERS OF OPINIONS AND NORMS

The team

- Oxford
 - Scott Blinder, WP lead
 - Post-doc (interviews this week)
- Vienna
 - PhD student (shared with WP9)
 - Coordination with WP8,9 through student and Hajo Boomgarden

Coordination with other WPs

- Integrated data set, with contextual variables
 - Immigration stocks, flows
 - Impacts
 - Policies
 - Media narratives (content analysis)
 - Normative climate (survey)

Aims

- “add to our understanding of the micro- and macro-level antecedents of EU mobility perceptions, and thereby add to more realistic assessments of the potential for politicising EU mobility across countries and over time”
- Examine:
 1. Public perceptions of intra-EU mobility
 2. Perceptions of impact of mobility on national welfare programs
 3. Individual- and aggregate-level variation

How?

1. Create an integrated data set
 - Extant public opinion (European Social Survey)
 - plus contextual data on flows (WP2), impacts (WP4, 5), policies (WP7), media (WP8)
 - Link to REMINDER public opinion survey (WP9)
2. Mapping of individual and country level variation in:
 - Perceptions
 - Relationships between perceptions and reality
 - E.g. fiscal impacts
3. Analysis of correlates (causes?) of opinions and norms
 - Individual and aggregate factors → multilevel modeling

Data

- European Social Survey
- Contextual data from other WPs
- Media, survey data from other WPs
- Scope: all EU member states

Relevant ESS data

- Policy preferences
 - ‘poorer countries in Europe’
 - Professionals/unskilled labourers from poor European/non-European country (experiment)
- Perceptions of impacts
 - jobs, fiscal impact, crime, economy, ‘cultural life,’ general
- Perceptions of foreign born population share
 - National
 - Local area
- Moderator variables
 - Media use, political interest, political efficacy, trust in institutions, ideology, party ID/preference

Key questions

- Do Europeans perceive EU and non-EU movement differently?
 - Perceived impact
 - Perceptions of migrants themselves
- What is the relationship between perceptions and 'realities' of impacts?
- What are the determinants of these perceptions?

Significance: crucial for the EU as a political project

- As we have seen...public perceptions of intra-EU mobility can be a political game changer!
 - Can political actors mobilize anti-immigrant sentiment, applied to intra-EU mobility, to gain power? (Not necessarily more Brexits, but are similar movements likely?)

Individual differences

- Does more informed citizens more likely to have different perceptions?
 - Make EU/nonEU distinctions?
 - More realistic perceptions of impact?
- If so, why?
 - Individual knowledge
 - Ideology
 - Media consumption
 - Interactions among these

Contextual effects

- Population context
 - Share of EU citizens
 - Share of new member state nationals
- Policy impact context
 - Fiscal costs of benefits to mobile EU citizens
- Policy context
 - Rights granted to mobile EU citizens (welfare access)
- Normative context
 - Perceptions of others' attitudes; support for anti-prejudice norms (survey)
 - Extent and legitimacy of xenophobic discourse, especially anti-EU (media)
- Interactions across levels: Individual characteristics such as political knowledge as moderators of these impacts, or v.v.

Why normative context matters

- If we are talking about the potential to mobilize anti-immigrant sentiment against EU mobility or the EU itself...
- ...normative constraints on political behavior are key

WP OUTPUTS

Outputs

- 3 journal articles, 3 report, 1 integrated multi-level data set

Prospects and challenges

- Coordination with other WPs
 - Timing
 - Aligning intellectual aims
- Making theoretical contribution as well as generating data and empirical results
- Integrating data sets

Coordination

- Contextual variables from WP2, 4, 7
- Further variables from WP 8, 9
 - WP8 media analyses as more contextual variables
 - WP9 for assessments of norms?
- Robust coordination with WP9 survey if the integrated data set is to work as described

Integrated data set

- Straightforward to add contextual variables
- Difficult to use ESS data to create proxies for measures in WP9 survey that are not in ESS (or other pre-existing public opinion data sets)
- For this to work, WP9 survey must be constructed with this end in mind – e.g. by asking a lot of related ESS questions
- If this is too restrictive, we need to rethink how these data sets will work together

NOTES

- Brexit as key case – what happened to perceptions? Why? How did it get politicized? What forces worked against it?
- WPs 8/9 need to take into account our work & Rob's w/Kootstra

Dual attitudes: from two types of mental activity

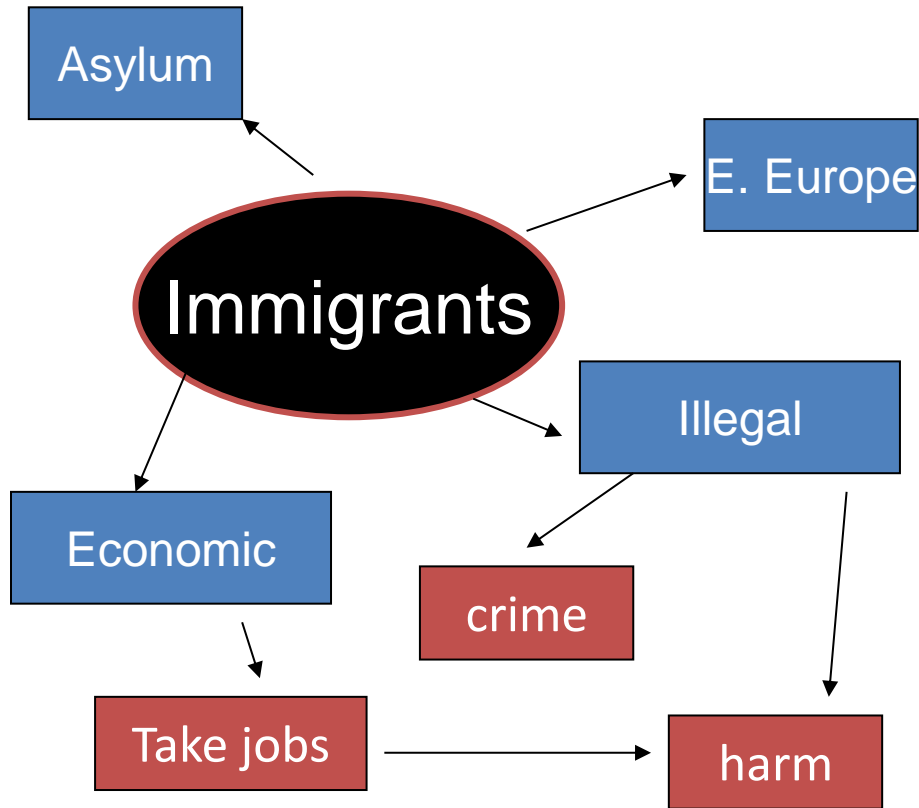
Automatic Cognition

- “Gut” reaction
- Instantaneous
- Effortless
- Unintentional (though can be trained)
- Reflects past experience and exposure
- Evaluative (affect) or schematic (stereotypes, scripts)

Controlled Cognition

- More reflective
- Takes time
- Effortful
- Intentional
- Reflects impression management goals
- Evaluative (goals/values) or schematic (beliefs)

Associations with “Immigrant”

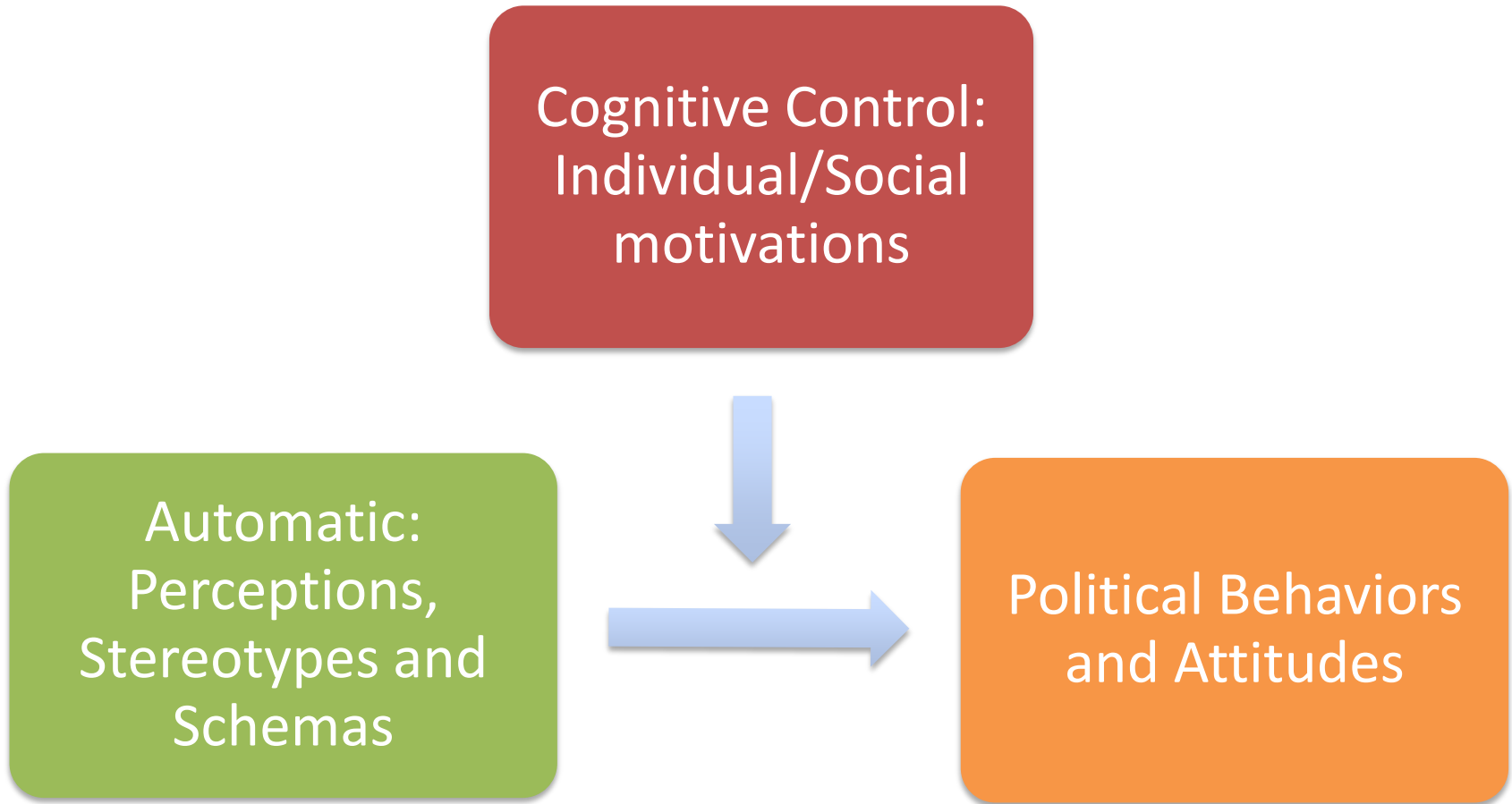


Motivation to Control Prejudice

Anti-Prejudice Norm

- All people are created equal
- Don't discriminate against people because of race (ethnicity, religion, etc.)

A Dual Process Model of Political Expressions



Impact of controlled cognition is conditional

- Individual differences
 - Motivation to follow the norm
- Situational differences in normative context
 - Is the norm clearly at stake? Or is there ambiguity?

Differences between Individuals

High Commitment
to Anti-Littering Norm



Low Commitment
to Anti-Littering Norm



Differences between Situations

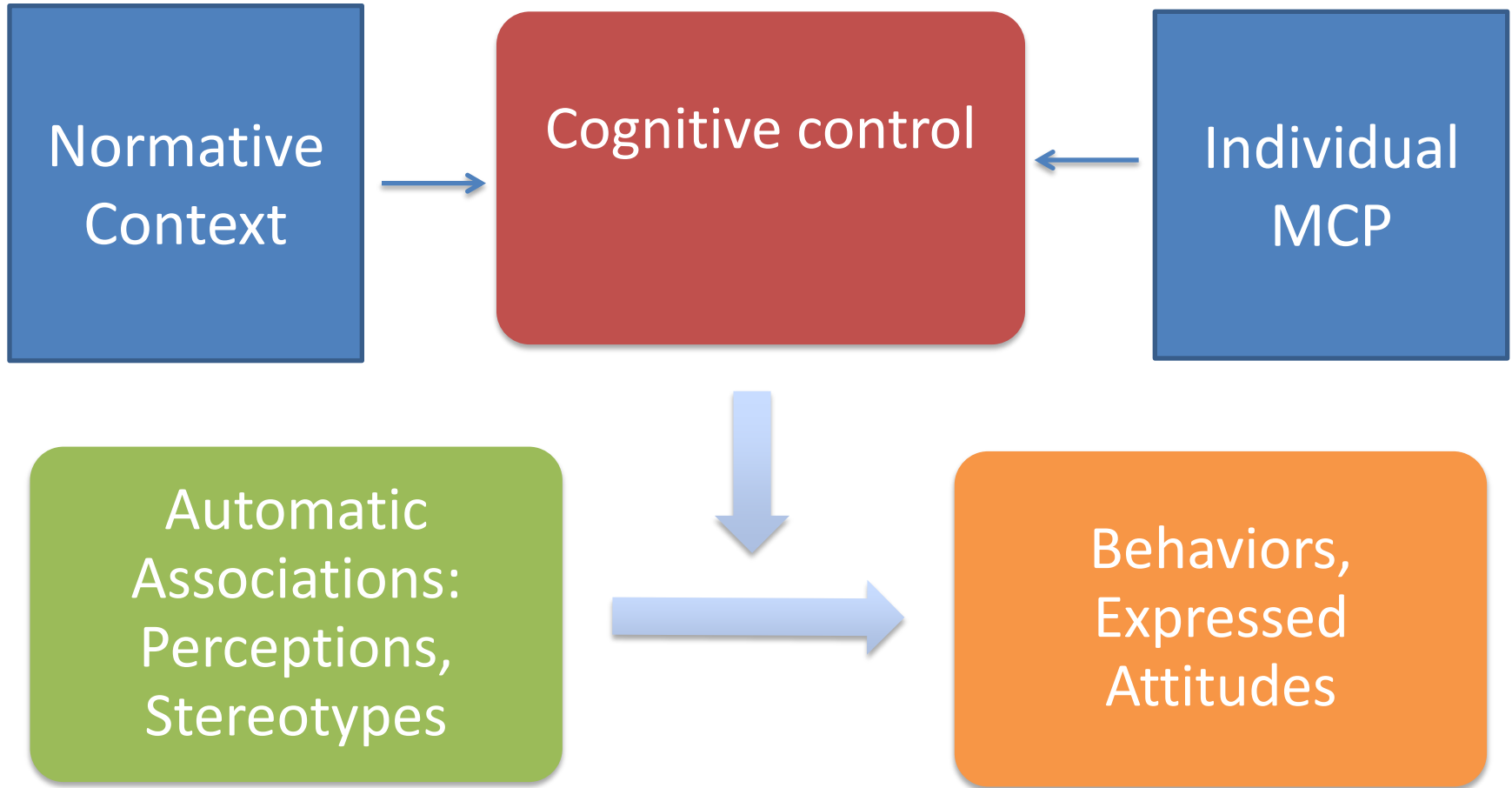
Anti-Littering norm
is clearly at stake



Anti-Littering Norm
is ambiguously at stake



A Dual Process Model of Attitudes to Immigrants



**WHY DOES OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION
COEXIST WITH NORMS AGAINST PREJUDICE?**

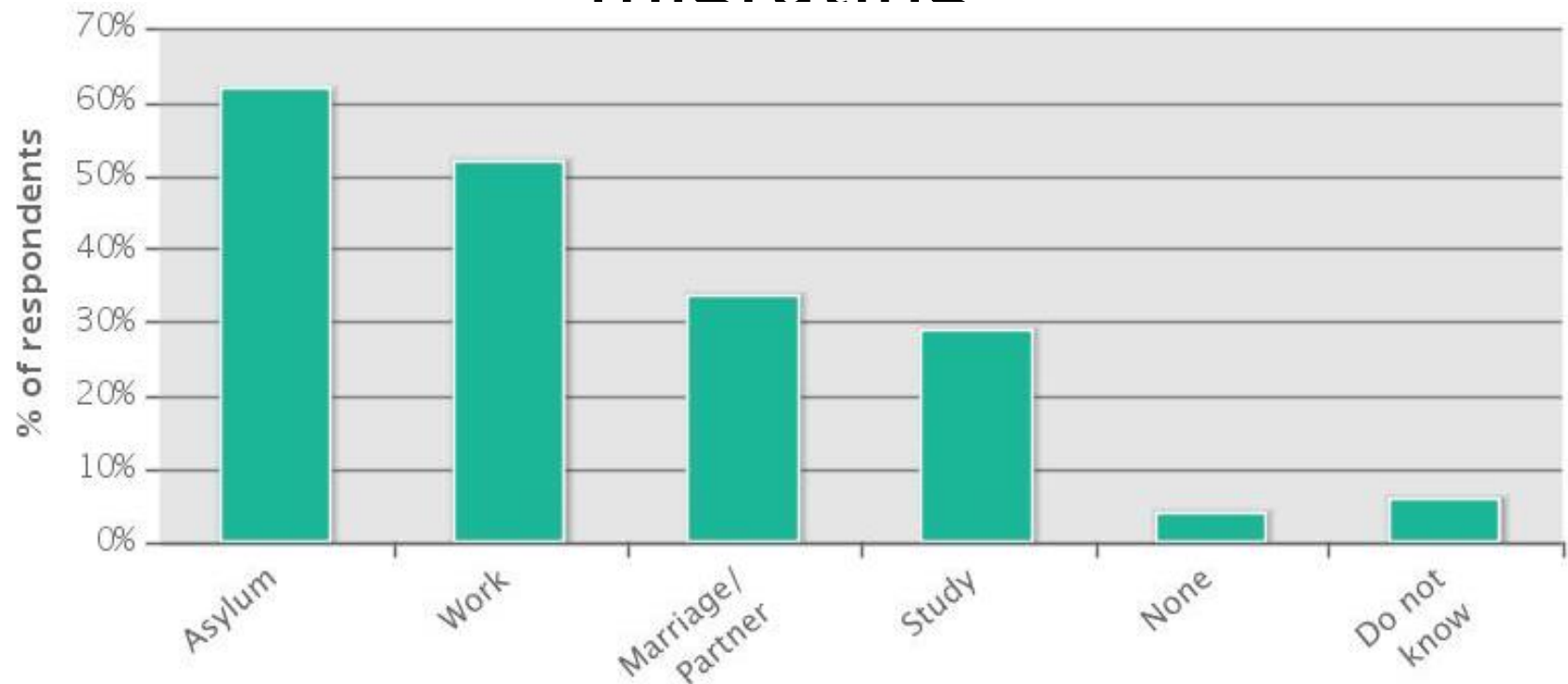
Elements of a Dual Process Explanation

- What does “immigration” bring to mind for members of the public?
 - Random sample survey
 - Linguistic analysis of media coverage
- How does this shape attitudes?
 - Prediction: Individuals with negative associations for “immigrants” most likely to oppose immigration

“Imagined Immigration” in public perceptions (Blinder 2013)

- 1000-person survey, Sept 2011, Migration Observatory/Ipsos MORI
- New set of Qs: When you think about immigrants coming to and living in Britain, which of these groups would you normally think about?
- Three dimensions for categorizing immigrants:
 - Q1: Citizenship/birthplace
 - Q2: Reason for immigration
 - Q3: Length of stay in UK
- Format: choose all that apply

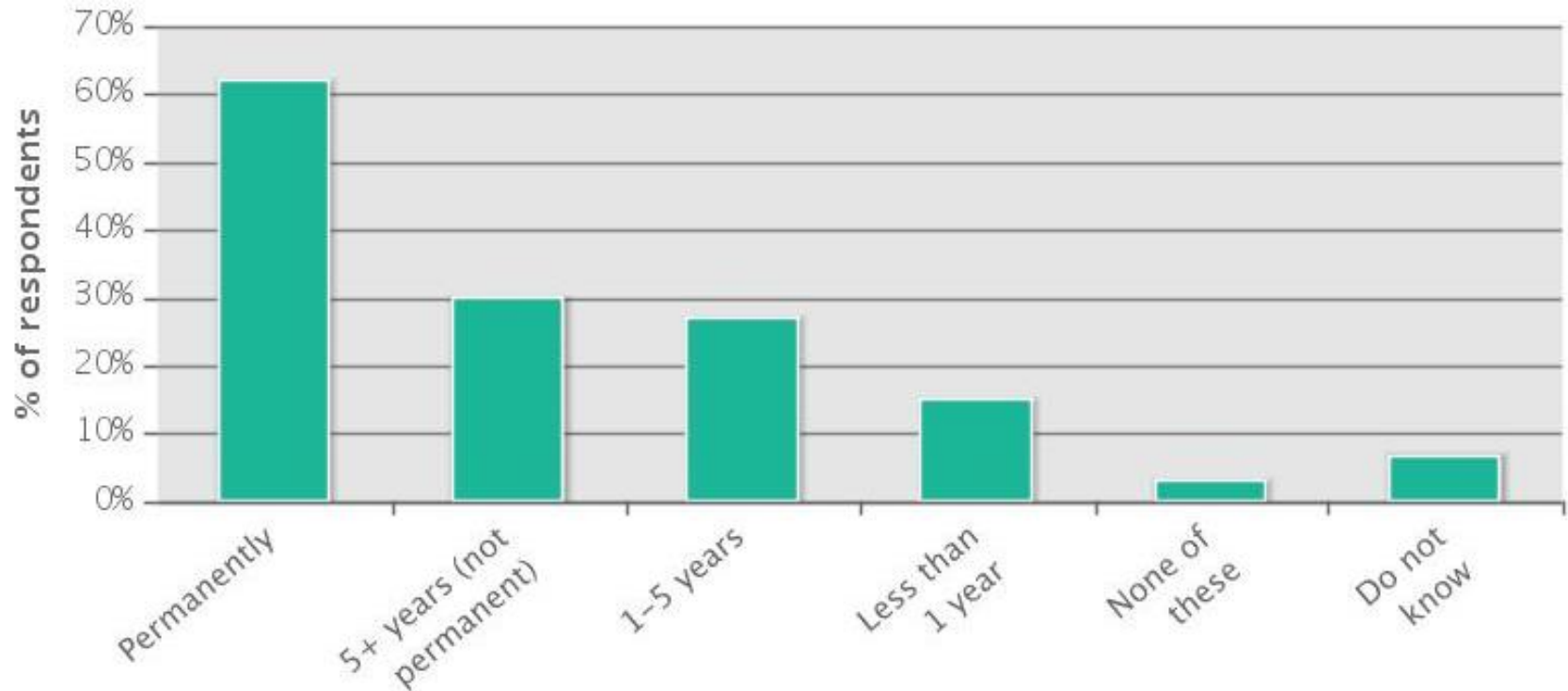
Majority think of asylum, work, not family or study as reasons for migrating



"When you think about immigrants coming to and living in Britain, which of these groups would you normally think about? Please select all the groups that apply"



Majority think of permanent migrants, not temporary



"When you think about immigrants coming to and living in Britain, which of these groups would you normally think about? Please select all the groups that apply"

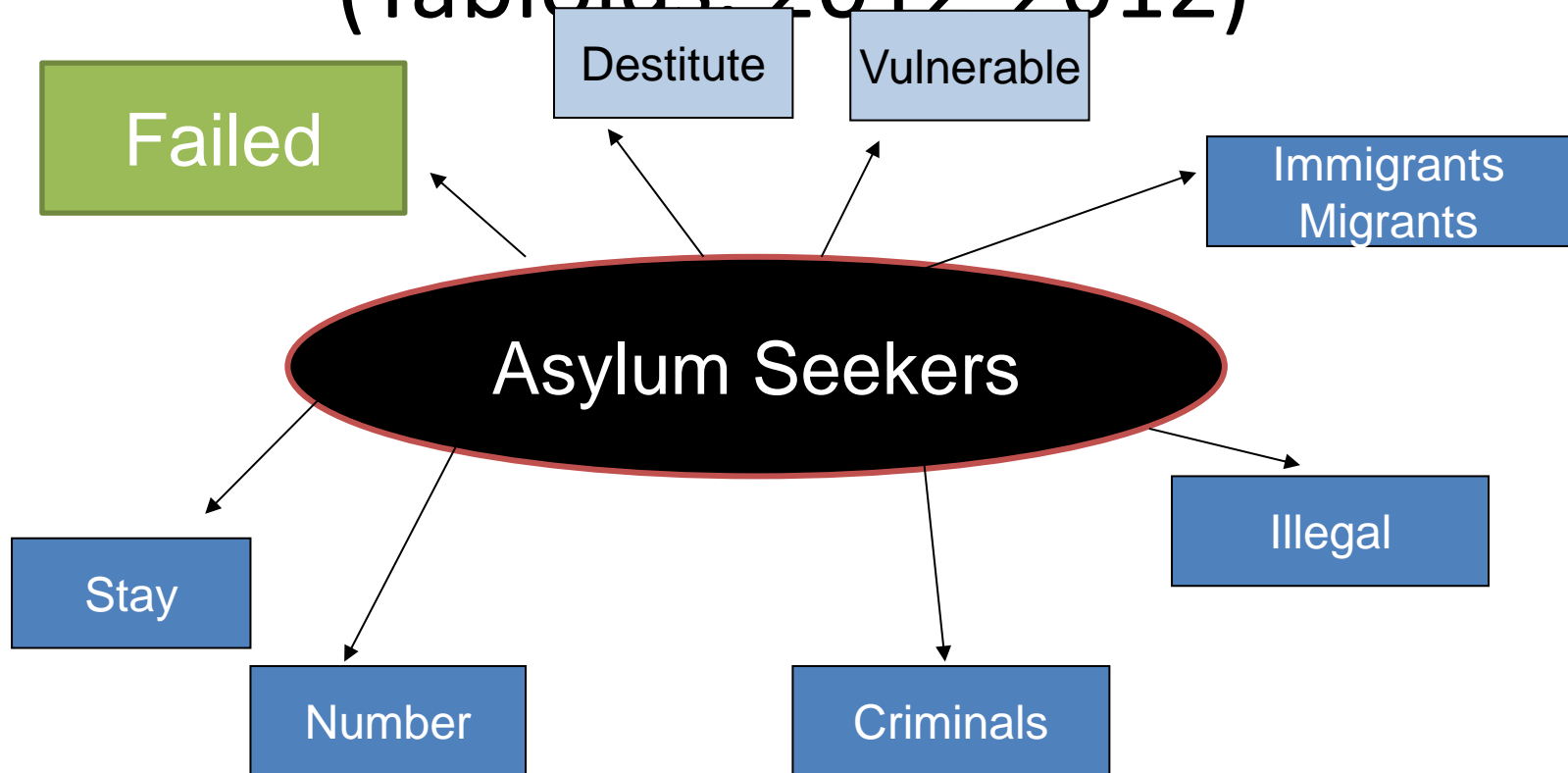


Similar associations in media coverage (Blinder and Allen 2013)

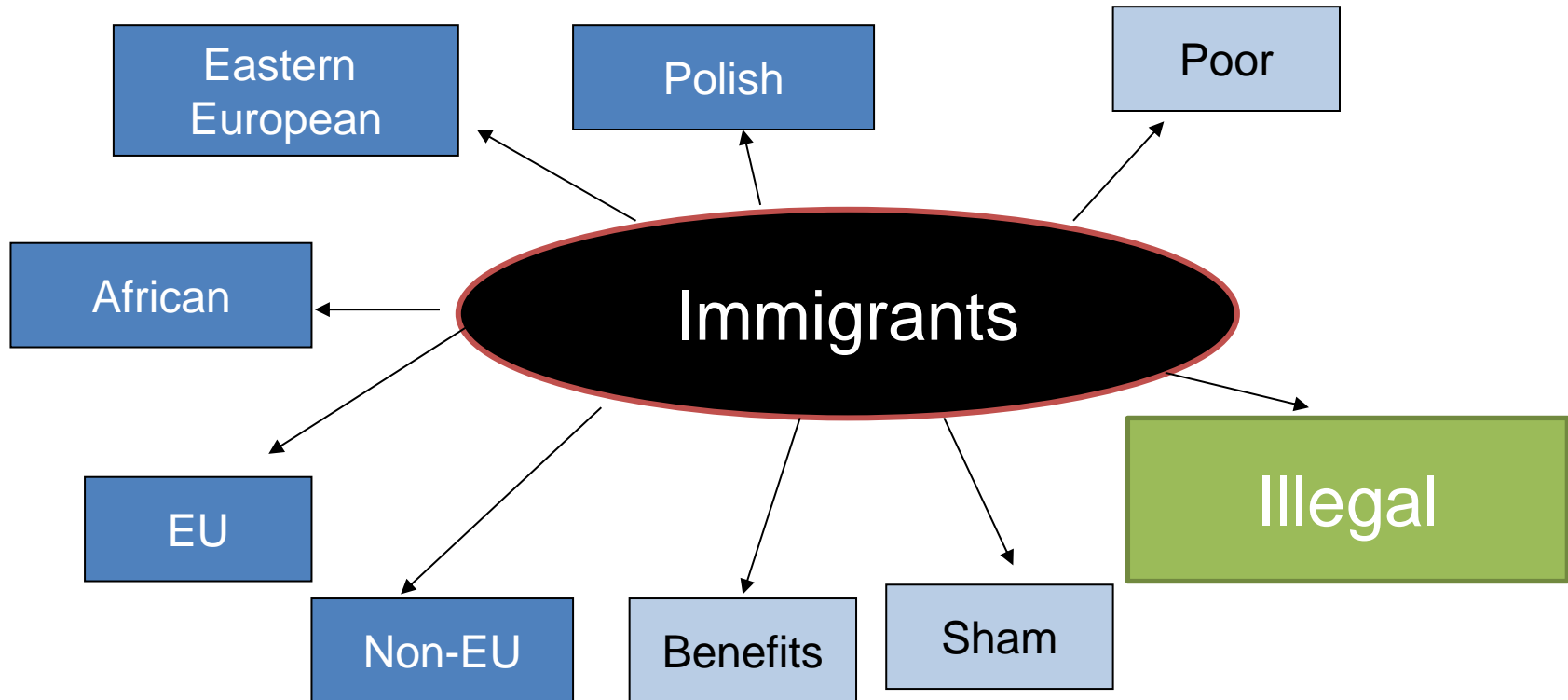
- Migration Observatory Corpus: “Migration in the Media”
 - 20 British national newspapers
 - 1 January 2010—31 December 2012
 - 58,000 items (43 million words)
 - From NexisUK: any article mentioning *immigrants*, *migrants*, *refugees*, *asylum seekers*
 - Based on work of Baker et al. (U of Lancaster linguists)
- Analysis: most frequent co-occurrences of words

Consistent Collocates of “Asylum Seekers”

(Tabloids, 2012-2012)



Consistent Collocates of “Immigrants” (Tabloids, 2012-2012)



Elements of a Dual Process Explanation

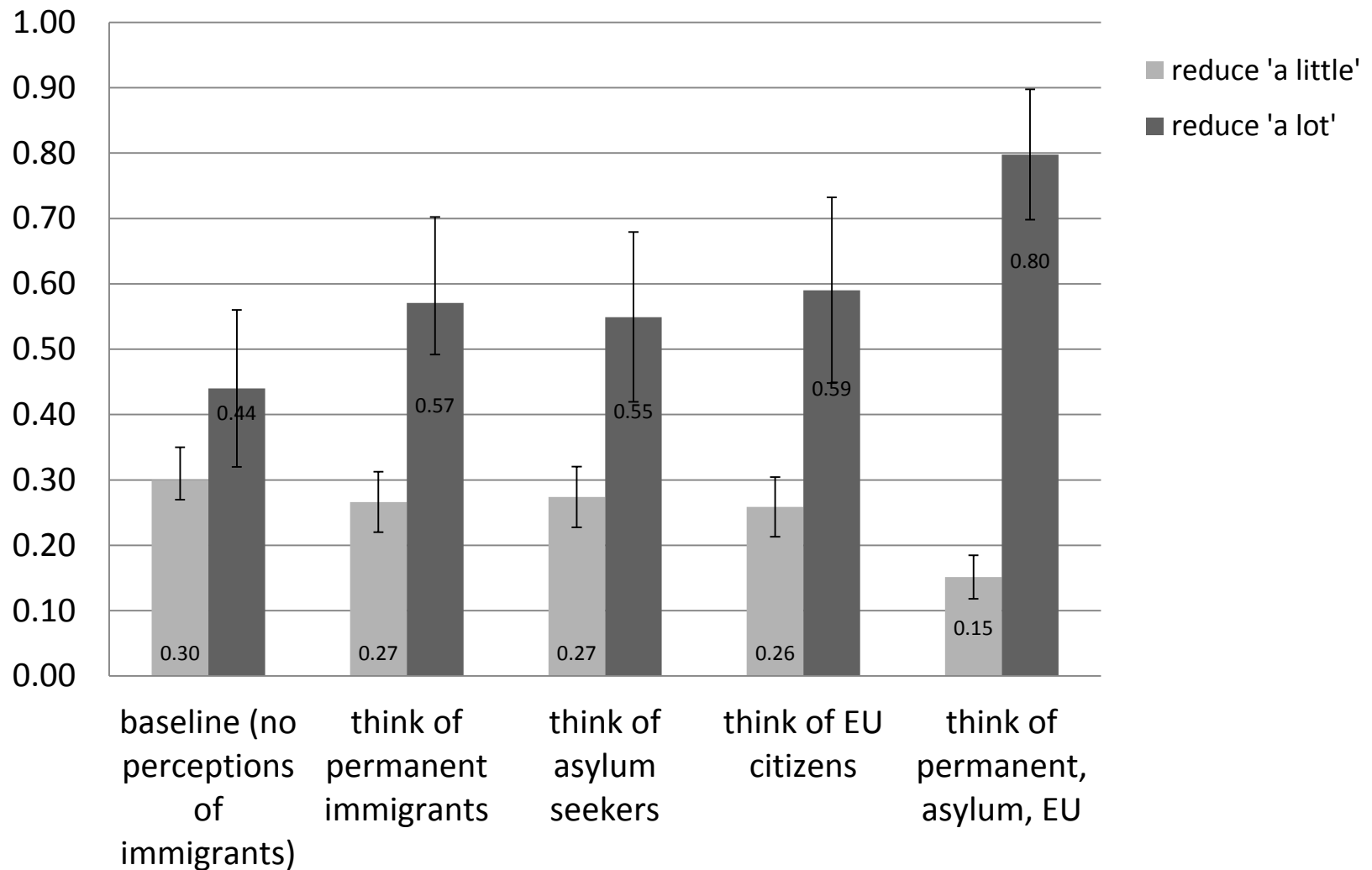
- Who does the public “bring to mind” when they think about immigration?
 - Random sample survey
 - Media analysis of immigration coverage
- How does this shape attitudes?
 - Prediction: Individuals with negative associations for “immigrants” most likely to oppose immigration

Estimated relationship of “imagined immigration” with preference for less immigration

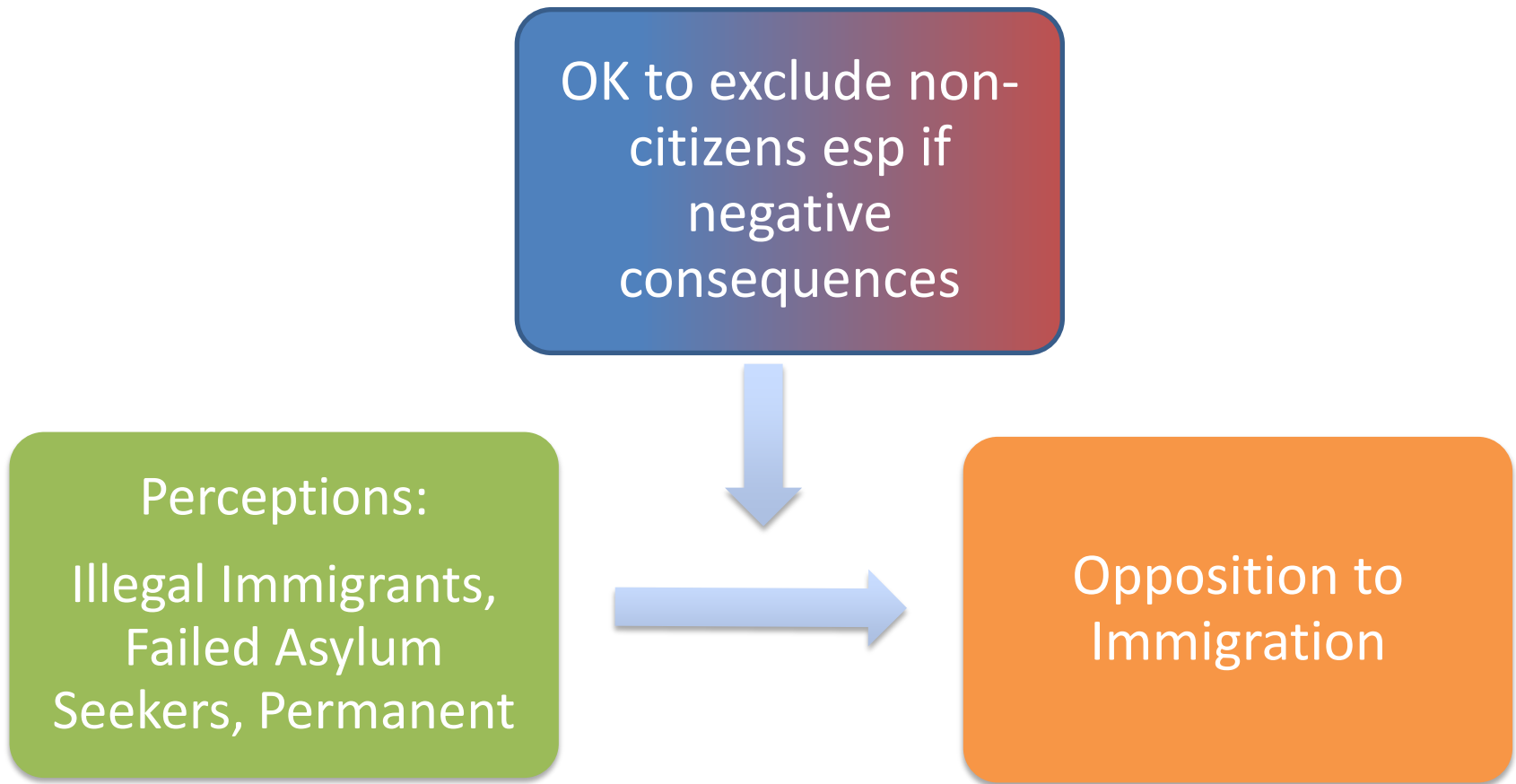
	DV = (“immigration should be reduced, increased, or kept the same” – 5 pt scale)	Ordered Probit Coef. (Robust S.E.)	
Perceptions of immigrants:	Asylum	0.28*	(0.12)
	Work	-0.29*	(0.11)
	Spouse/Partner	-0.20	(0.11)
	Student	-0.06	(0.12)
	Permanent	0.33*	(0.12)
n = 728 Log-likelihood = -761.32 Wald chi-sq = 160.43*	EU citizens	0.38*	(0.11)

Full estimated model includes controls and structural parameters.

Estimated Probability of Opposing Immigration based on “Who Comes to Mind”



Why no brakes?



Even a majority of 'non-reducers' want less 'illegal' immigration



"You have said that you would not like to see immigration reduced, but perhaps you would make a distinction between legal and illegal immigration. Which of these statements comes closest to your view about illegal immigration?"

■ All respondents who did not want immigration reduced

Based on Blinder, Ford and Ivarsflaten (2013)

**WHY DO SO FEW VOTE FOR RIGHT-WING ANTI-
IMMIGRATION PARTIES, GIVEN WIDESPREAD
OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION?**

Elements of a Dual Process Explanation

- Individual variation: motivation to control prejudice (MCP)
- Variation in normative context
 - Asylum vs. citizenship study
 - Muslim schools party messenger study
 - Right wing voting study
- Prediction: Willingness to restrict minority rights will vary across normative contexts
- Prediction: The impact of normative context is moderated by individual MCP
- Prediction: Low MCP individuals will be more willing to restrict minority rights

Motivation to Control Prejudice (MCP)

(Ivarsflaten, Blinder & Ford 2010)

- Scale tapping into internal motivation
- Sample item: “I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways towards immigrants because it is **personally important to me.**”

Elements of a Dual Process Explanation

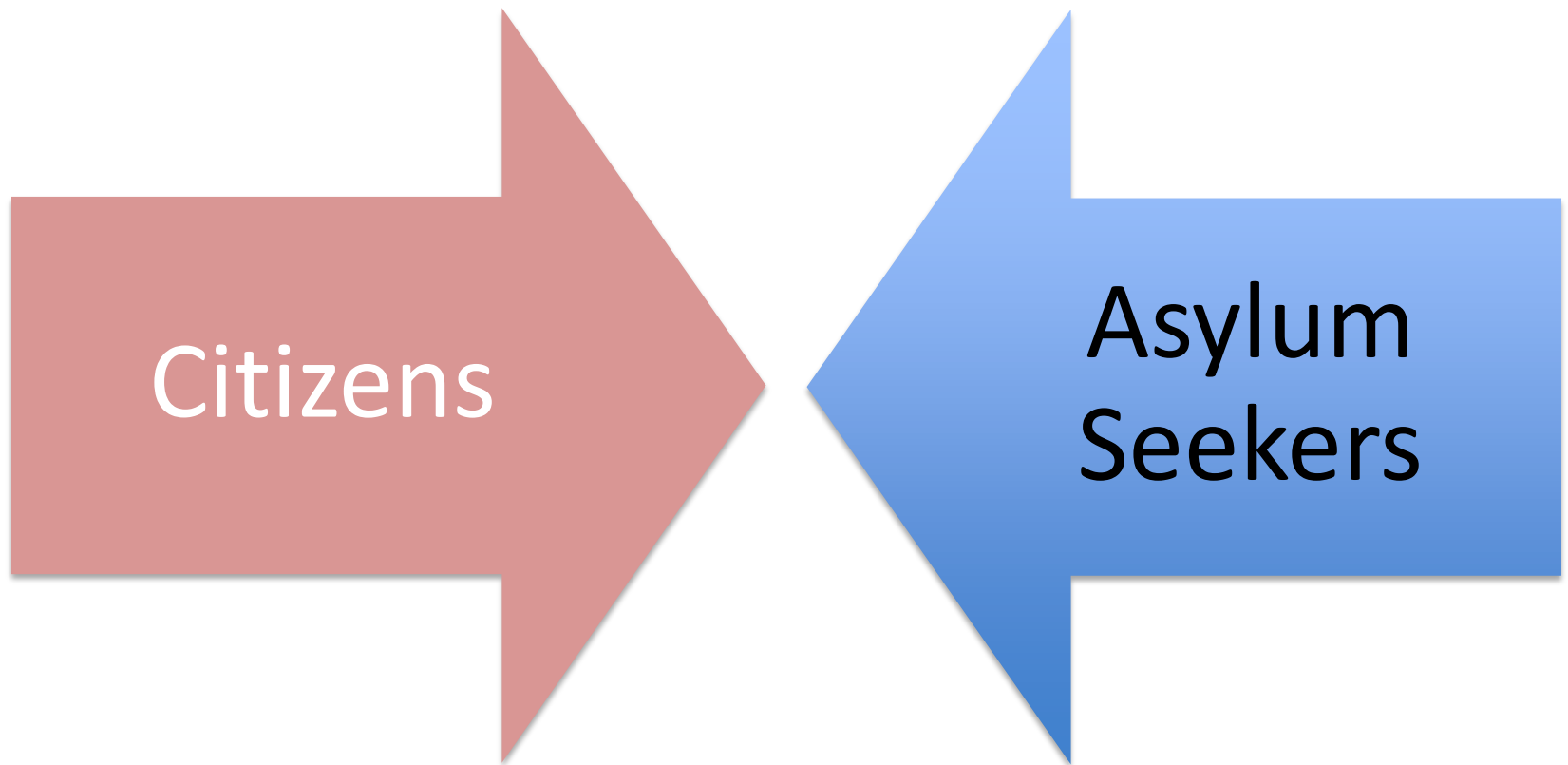
- Variation in individual motivation to control prejudice (MCP)
- Variation in normative context
 - Asylum and Citizenship experiment
 - Muslim Schools Message/Messenger experiment
 - Vote choice study
- Predictions:
 - Changing normative contexts (from ambiguous to clear) → reduce willingness to restrict minority rights
 - High MCP individuals → less willing to restrict minority rights
 - Interaction: change in normative context → more impact on people with high MCP

Data

- British and German Cooperative Campaign Analysis Projects (B-CCAP, De-CCAP), 2008-2010
 - Experiments in wave 3, $n = 813$
 - Key variables in last, post-election wave of each (Wave 6 British ($n=825$); Wave 4 German ($n=2155$))
- Continuous Monitoring Survey (CMS) of British Election Study (Jan 2010; $n=945$)
- All with original questions on anti-prejudice norms
- Two embedded experiments

Study 1: Asylum & Citizenship

B/CCAP Split Ballot Experiment



Asylum & Citizenship

B/CCAP Split Ballot Experiment

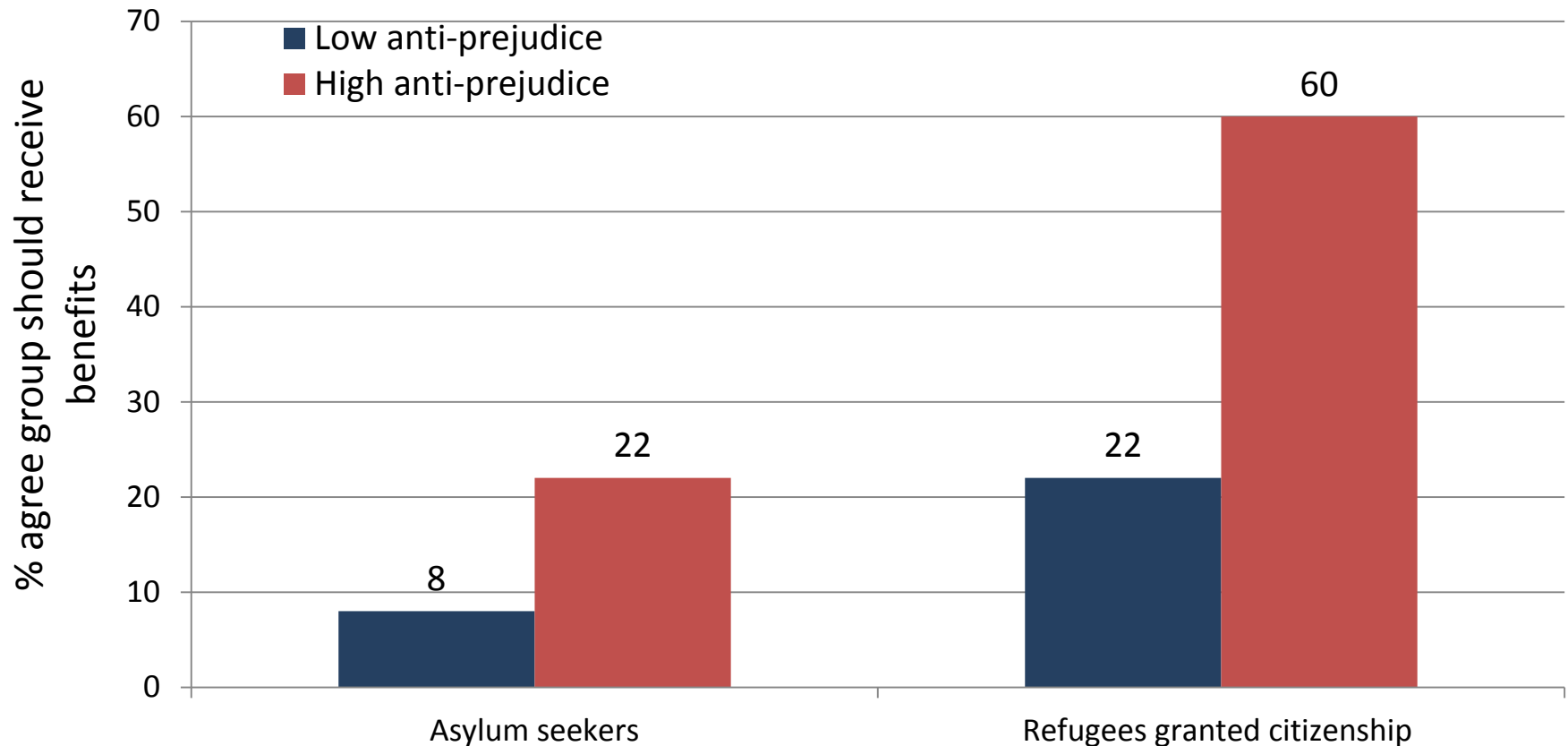
Asylum seekers should have the same access to jobs and benefits as everyone else.

15% (Strongly) agree
17% Neither agree nor disagree
69% (Strongly) Disagree

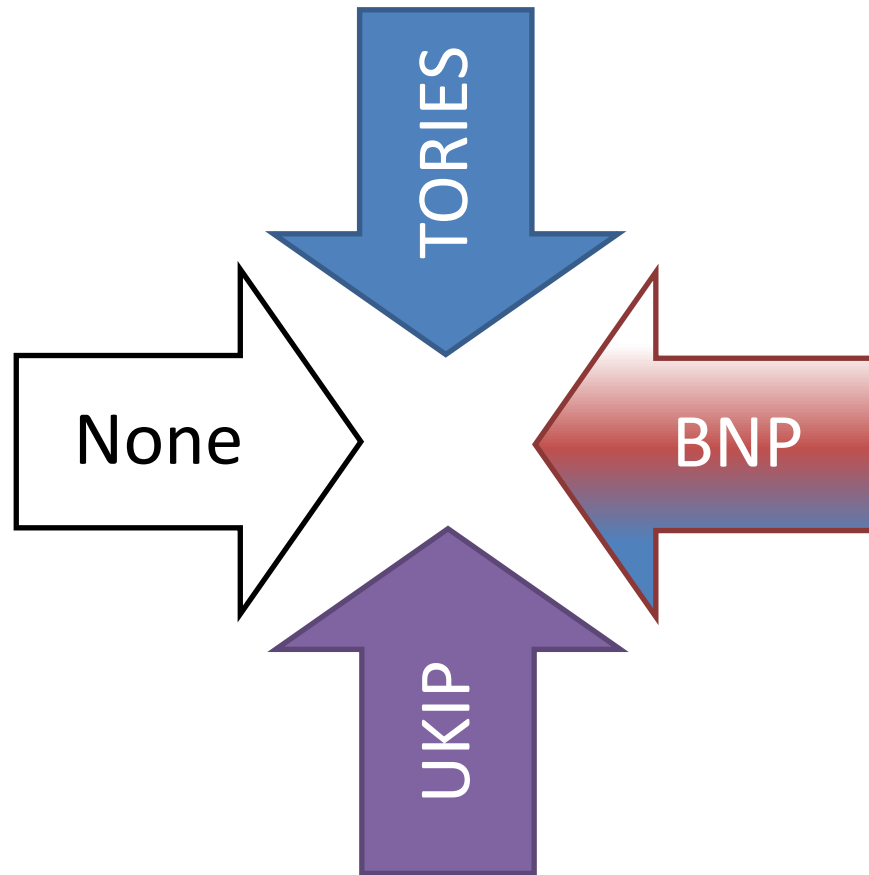
Asylum seekers **who have been granted citizenship** should have the same access to jobs and benefits as everyone else.

42% (Strongly) agree
20% Neither agree nor disagree
38% (Strongly) Disagree

Citizenship has a bigger impact on those committed to anti-prejudice norms



Study 2: Muslim Schools Party Messenger Experiment



Study 2: The Muslim Schools Message/Messenger Experiment

Control condition

“Some Muslims in Britain would like to send their children to Islamic schools, which teach the same subjects as the national curriculum but only take Muslim students.”

Dependent Variable

“Do you agree that Muslims in Britain should be allowed to send their children to Islamic schools?” (*Response options: 5 point scale, strongly agree to strongly disagree*)

(British Election Study Continuous Monitoring Survey, Jan 2010)

Study 2: The Muslim Schools

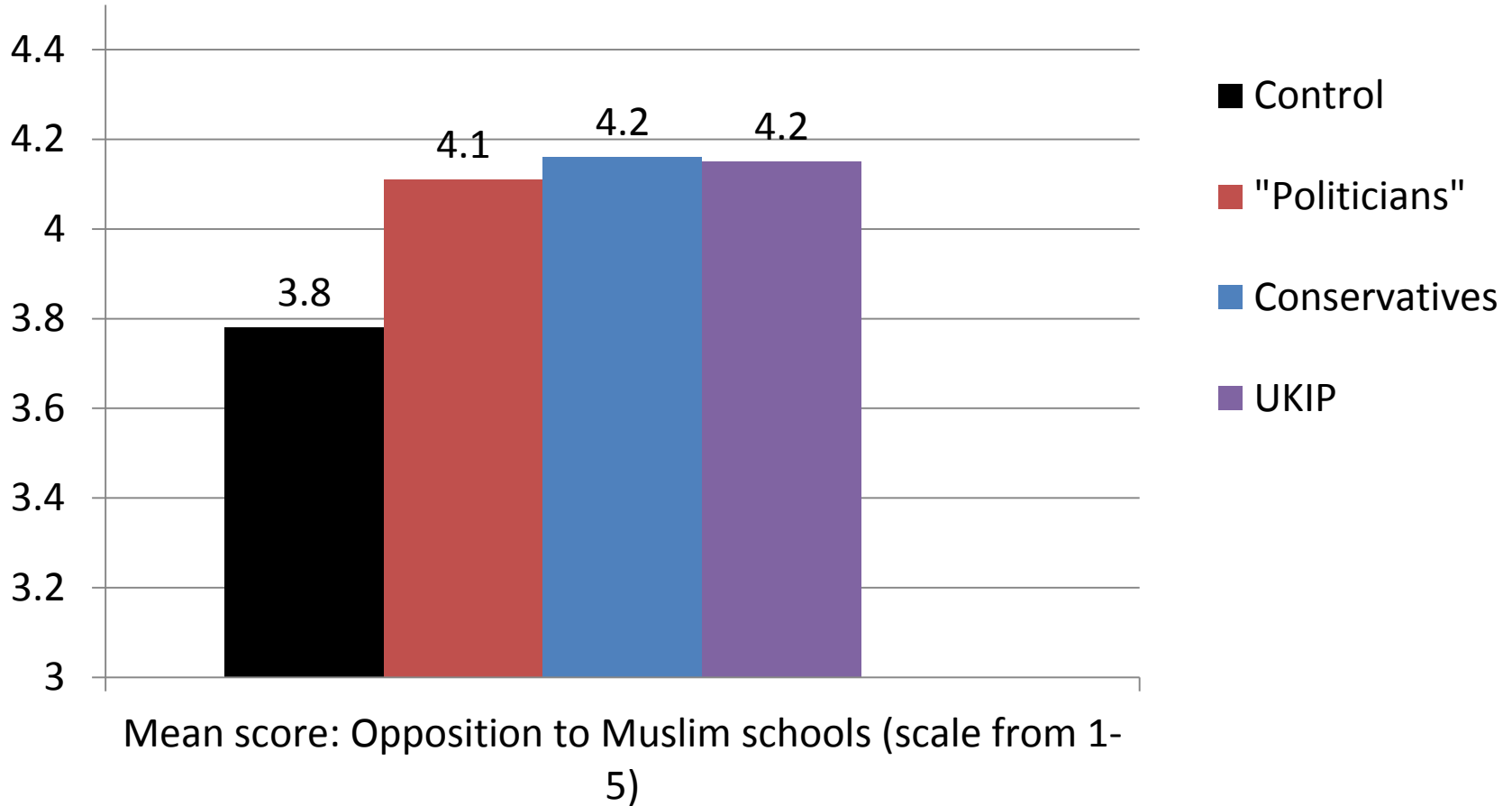
Message/Messenger Experiment

- “Some Muslims in Britain would like to send their children to Islamic schools, which teach the same subjects as the national curriculum but only take Muslim students.”
- “Some **[Conservative/UKIP/BNP/<no party>]** politicians have opposed the foundation of such schools, arguing that they encourage the segregation of Muslims from mainstream British society and that many teachers in such schools promote extremist views”

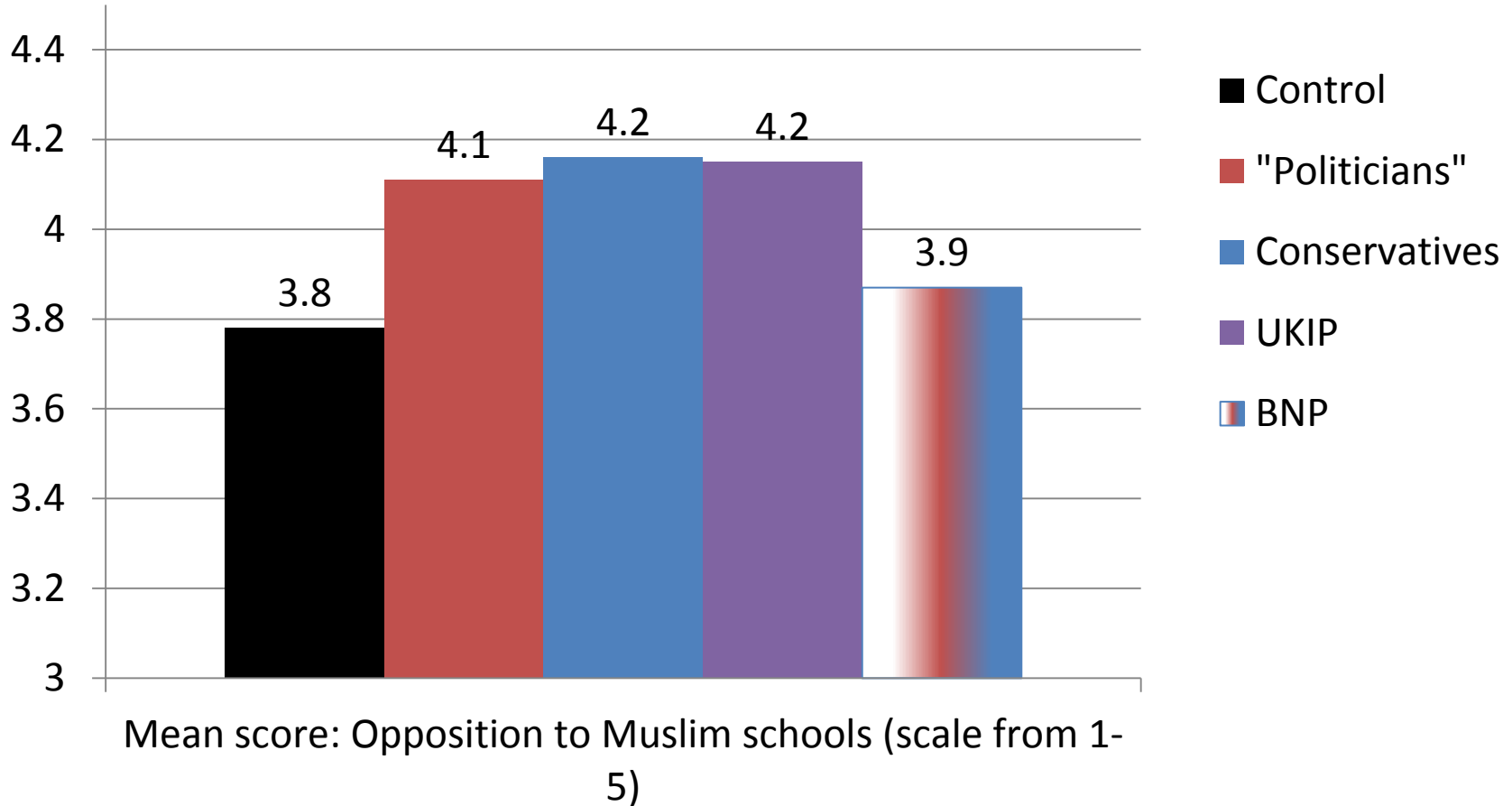
Experimental Treatments and Party Reputations

- *Message only* – no party named
- *Messenger 1* – Conservatives – mainstream right, against immigration and ‘multiculturalism’
- *Messenger 2* – UKIP – fringe right (at least at the time!), founded on Euroskepticism, for major restrictions on immigration and multiculturalism
- *Messenger 3* – BNP – fringe extreme right, clear fascist and racist roots

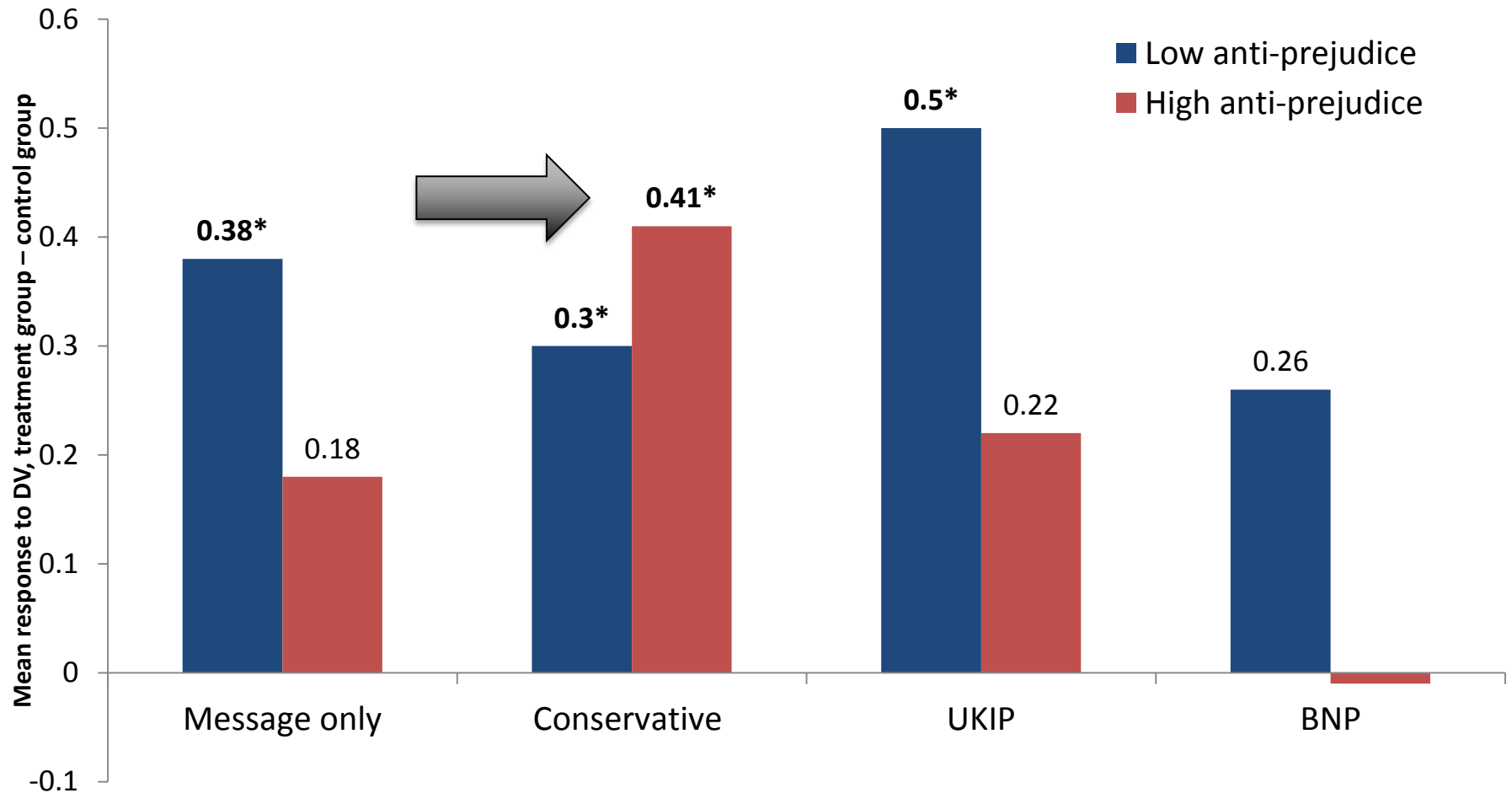
Anti-Muslim-schools message effective...



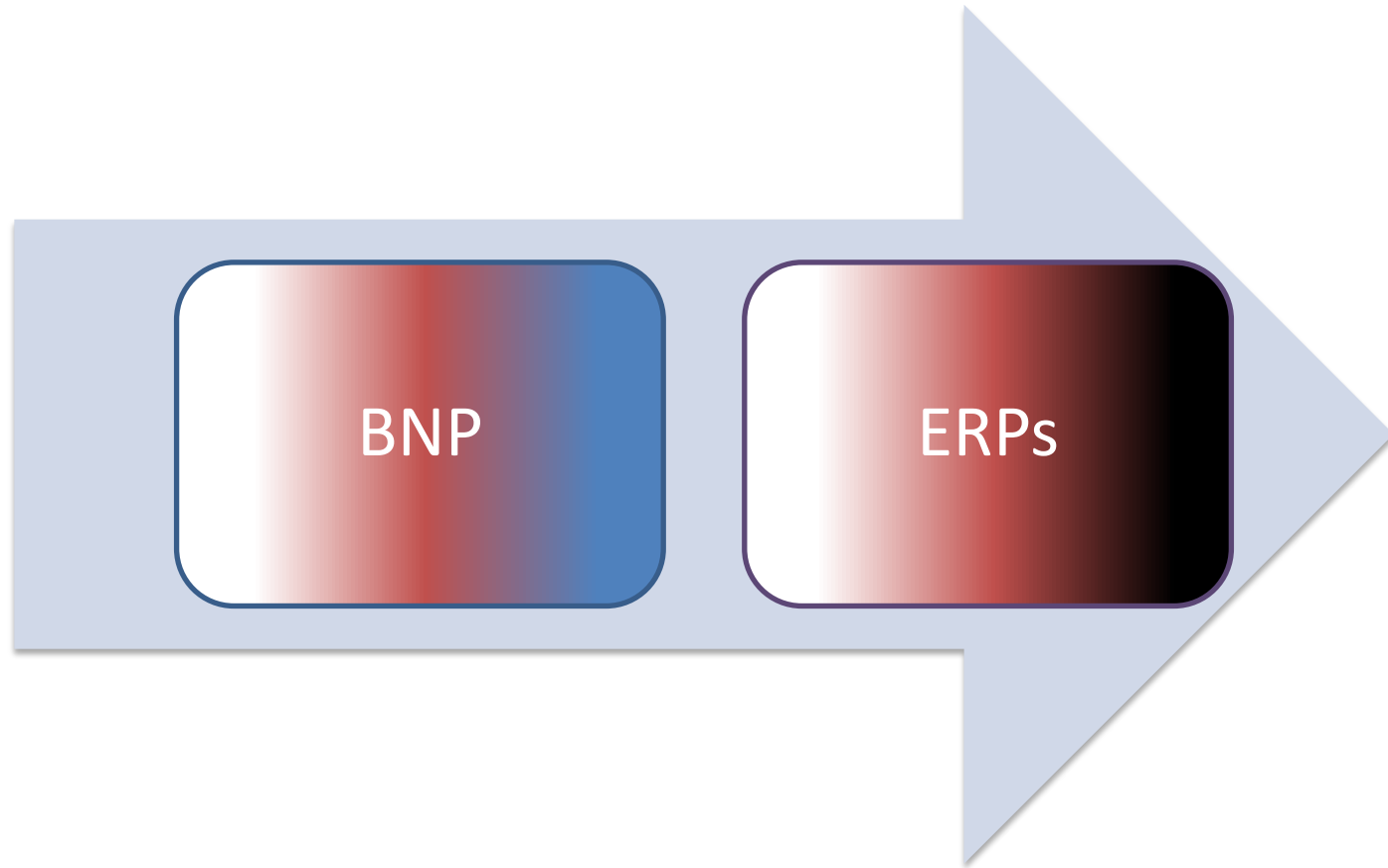
Anti-Muslim-schools message effective, unless BNP delivers it...



...but only a Conservative endorsement convinces high motivation voters



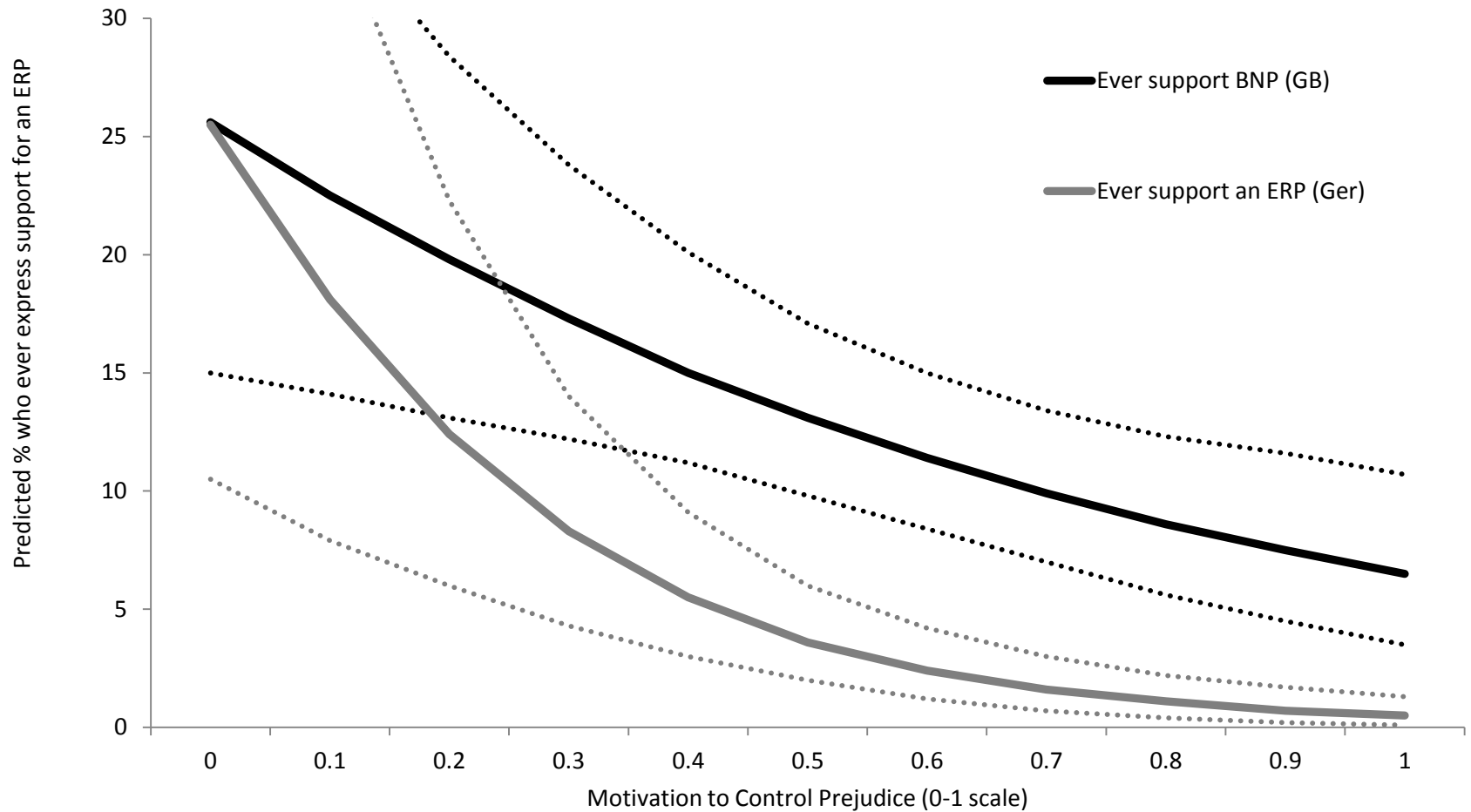
Study 3: Right Wing Voting Study



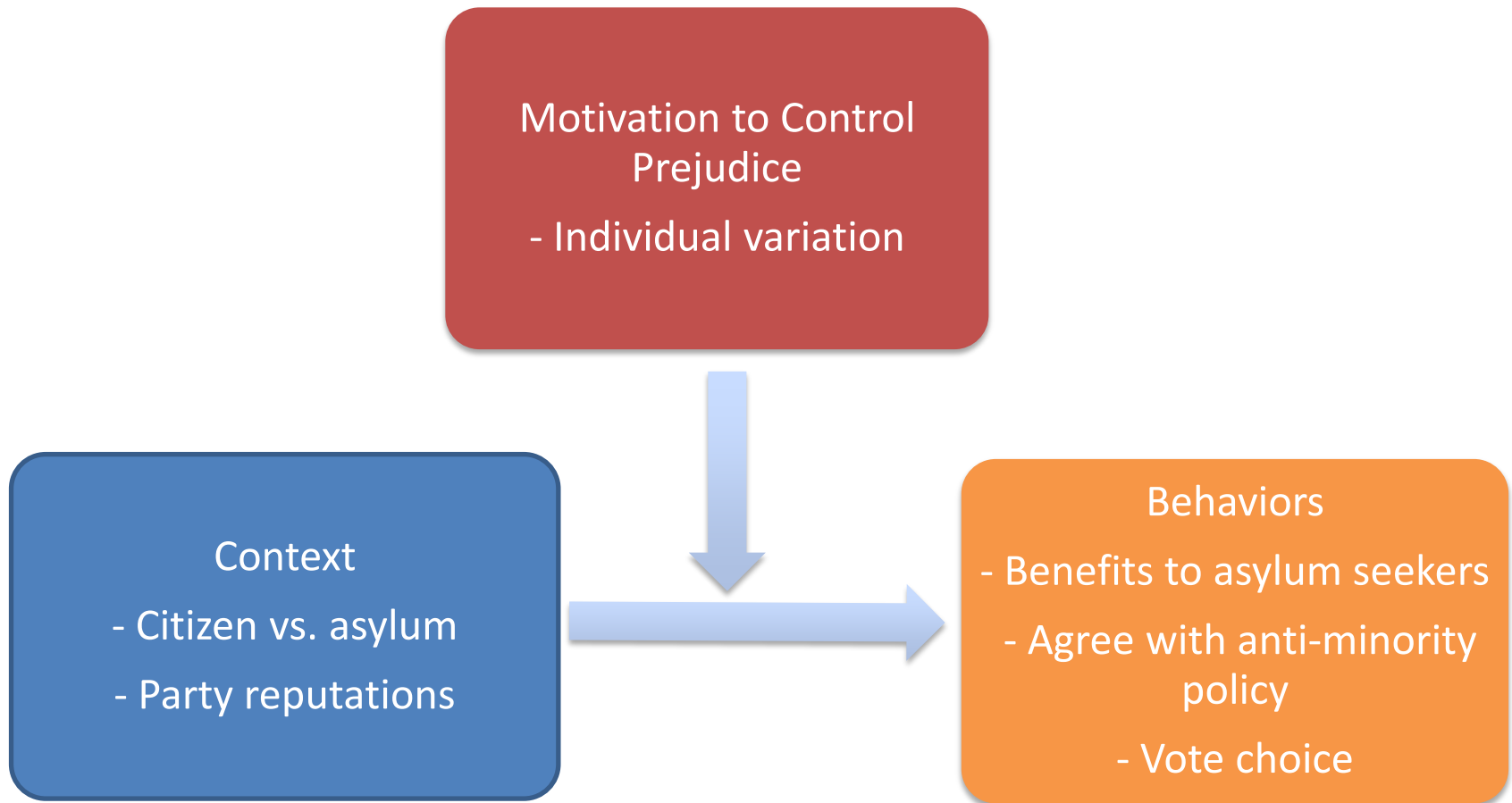
Estimates of Extreme Right Wing Voting

- Predictors of support for an Extreme Right-wing Party (ERP)
 - German and British CCAP respondents
 - Logistic regression
 - Includes controls for immigration attitudes (along with party ID, demographics, etc)
- Prediction: Those with high MCP will be less likely to support an ERP, even controlling for immigration policy attitudes

Predicted Probability of Supporting Right Wing Party, Conditional on MCP



Relationship to Dual Process Model of Opposition to Immigration



Summary

3 facts → 2 questions → 1 answer

- Dual process model explains tensions among
 - anti-prejudice norm
 - anti-immigrant attitudes
 - failure of most anti-immigration parties
- Key points:
 - No single attitude – automatic and controlled responses combine
 - Force of anti-prejudice norm depends on **individual motivation** and **situational clarity**
 - Anti-prejudice norm limits appeal of political arguments and actors that put the norm clearly at stake

Predictive and Political Implications

- **Predictive power**
 - showed why **UKIP** was better positioned than BNP to mobilize anti-immigrant sentiment
- **Party rhetoric matters**
 - mainstream parties can help legitimate discriminatory policies
- **Normative appeals more effective in context of minority rights rather than immigration admissions policy?**
 - Because immigration is ambiguous w.r.t. anti-prejudice norm, unequal treatment can be justified more easily for non-citizens, but not so easily for minority-group citizens
 - Unauthorised immigrants in USA as interesting 'border case' – not citizens or legally resident but normative claims to belonging

Avenues to develop

- Further work on relationship between automatic and controlled responses
 - USA as key case
- Politics of immigration as a threat to European welfare states
- Normative context as a route for ideas, debate and rhetoric to influence politics
 - Relationships among party rhetoric, media coverage, and contestation over normative standards

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Implications

- Implications
 - A portrait of politics in which prejudice or bias can still inform public, parties, policy, but is constrained to avoid overt discrimination or racism
 - Anti-prejudice norm as a contested political resource
- (in other words, a step closer to the contemporary politics of race in the US?)

NOTE:

- A USP is interest is the controlled/normative side; pol sci has run away with the implicit attitudes but not paid attention to the way they work together

Notes on regressions (study 3)

- Main one: likelihood of ever supporting is on any wave of the B or De CCAP
 - Parties = BNP for UK, NDP or two small ones for De
- Key control = immigration attitudes – MCP has an impact even controlling for how you feel about immigration (measure: more/less; econ impact)