

# Competing for Jobs or Welfare? Anti-immigrant Sentiment as a Material Threat in Belgium and Spain

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# Structure

- Anti-immigrant sentiment as an object of study
- A cross-regional approach
- Research design
- Findings
- Conclusion

# Anti-immigrant sentiment as an object of study (1/2)

- Hostility towards the out-group.
- Manifestations:
  - Material: Threat to natives' socio-economic conditions.
  - Cultural: Threat to natives' cultural symbols and practices.
- Focus on material manifestation only.

# Anti-immigrant sentiment as an object of study (2/2)

- Centrality of the labor market (see the review by Ceobanu and Escandell 2010).
- Zero-sum game.
- Many studies have demonstrated that immigrants complement the native labor force (Piore 1979; Sassen 1988).
- Goal: Examine the extent to which the labor market drives the material manifestation of anti-immigrant sentiment in Belgium and Spain.

# A cross-regional approach (1/5)

- “Studying within-country variation in immigrant conflict outcomes allows us to better isolate the variables that cause these clashes.” (Dancygier 2010: 11)
- 6 regions:
  - Belgium: Brussels, Flanders, and Wallonia; and
  - Spain: Andalusia, Catalonia, and Madrid.
- Dependent variable: “Is immigration bad or good for the country’s economy?” (European Social Survey).
- Andalusia and Wallonia exhibit the strongest manifestation of anti-immigrant sentiment as a material threat.

Manifestation of anti-immigrant sentiment as a material threat in Belgium, 2002-2010

Attitudes:	
Material threat = Bad	-.907 ***
Material threat = Neutral	1.397 ***
Material threat = Good	0 <sup>a</sup>
Socio-demographics:	
Age	-.002
Female	-.313 ***
Education	.114 ***
Income:	
Working class	-.341 ***
Middle class	-.159 **
Upper-middle class	0 <sup>a</sup>
Regions:	
Flanders	-.255 **
Wallonia	-.410 ***
Brussels	0 <sup>a</sup>
Year:	
2002	.134
2004	.045
2006	.287 ***
2008	.256 **
2010	0 <sup>a</sup>

Source: European Social Survey, waves I-V.  $p \leq 0.10$  \* $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$ .

Manifestation of anti-immigrant sentiment as a material threat in Spain, 2002-2010

Attitudes:	
Material threat = Bad	-.860 ***
Material threat = Neutral	1.279 ***
Material threat = Good	0 <sup>a</sup>
Socio-demographics:	
Age	.002
Female	-.396 ***
Education	.189 ***
Income:	
Working class	-.160
Middle class	-.010
Upper-middle class	0 <sup>a</sup>
Region:	
Catalonia	-.374 ***
Andalusia	-.443 ***
Madrid	0 <sup>a</sup>
Year:	
2002	.631 ***
2004	.730 ***
2006	.708 ***
2008	.122
2010	0 <sup>a</sup>

Source: European Social Survey, waves I-V.  $p \leq 0.10$  \* $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$ .

# A cross-regional approach (4/5)

- Relatively high unemployment:

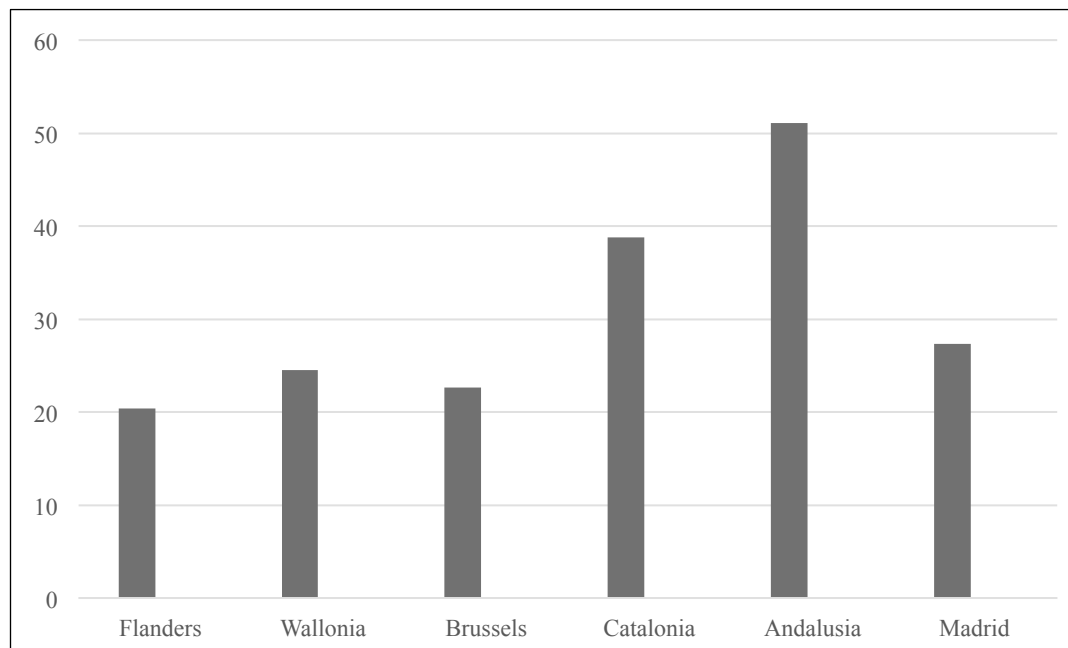
	National	Immigrants: EU	Immigrants: non-EU
<b>Belgium</b>			
Brussels	15.6	12.5	35.6
Flanders	3.8	8.2	19.9
Wallonia	9.1	10.3	29.4
<b>Spain</b>			
Andalusia	29.4	35.4	39.8
Catalonia	15.8	22.8	37.4
Madrid	14.6	24.5	24.7

Source: For Belgium, Conseil Supérieur de l'Emploi [Council of Labor], Rapport 2012, <[www.emploi.belgique.be](http://www.emploi.belgique.be)> For Spain, Encuesta de Poblacion Activa [Survey of Active Population], published by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística [National Statistics Institute], <[www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es)>



# A cross-regional approach (5/5)

- The highest percentage of low-income households:



Source: European Social Survey, waves I-V, accessed on January 2013.

# Research design

- Mixed methods:
  - European Social Survey:
    - Immigrants take jobs away or create new jobs (2002).
    - Immigrants are greater recipients than contributors to the welfare state (2008).
    - Social benefits encourage people from other countries to come live in your country (2008).
  - *Opiniones y Actitudes de la Población Andaluza ante la Inmigración* [Opinions and Attitudes of the Andalusian Population toward Immigration].
  - Interviews with immigration experts; scholars, former politicians, and representatives of immigrant associations.

# Findings (1/9)

- Immigrants take jobs away or create new jobs in Belgium, 2002

		Belgian regions			
		Flanders	Wallonia	Brussels	Total
Competitors	Count	445	285	31	761
	%	38	51	37	42
Indifferent	Count	476	187	33	696
	%	40	34	39	38
Creators	Count	262	82	20	364
	%	22	15	24	20
Total	Count	1183	554	84	1821
	%	100	100	100	100

Source: European Social Survey, wave I (2002). Pearson X (4) = 10.2, p-value = .037

# Findings (2/9)

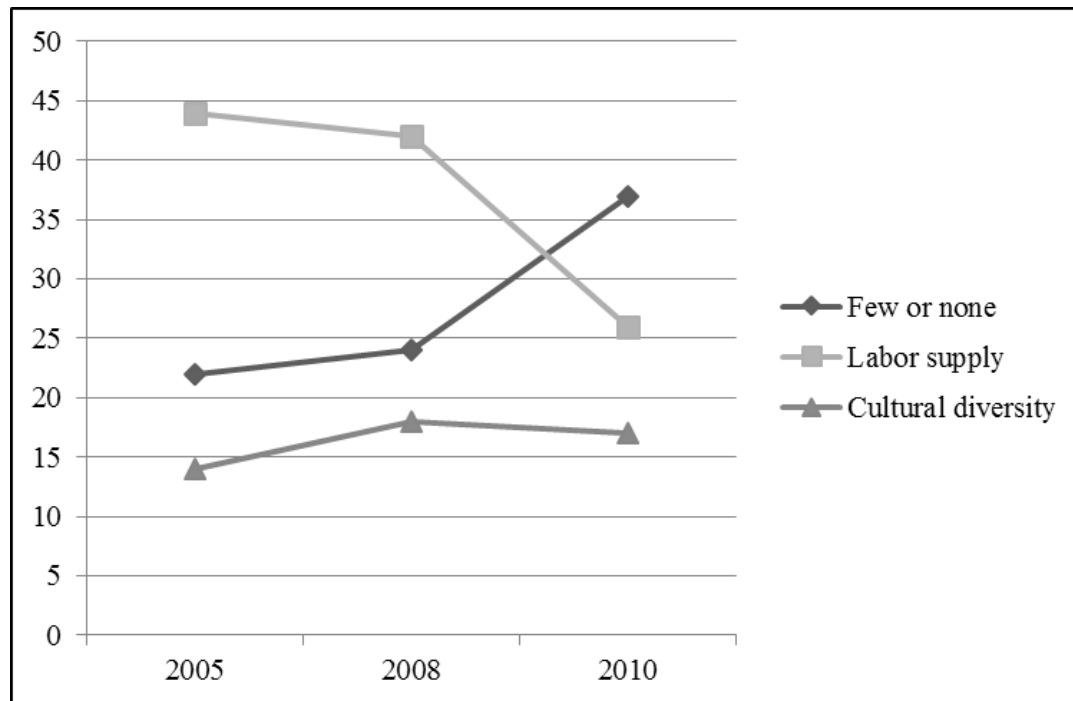
- Immigrants take jobs away or create new jobs in Spain, 2002

		Spanish regions			
		Catalonia	Andalusia	Madrid	Total
Competitors	Count	67	63	64	194
	%	24	23	27	24
Indifferent	Count	163	138	117	418
	%	58	50	49	52
Creators	Count	51	78	60	189
	%	18	28	25	24
Total	Count	281	279	241	801
	%	100	100	100	100

Source: European Social Survey, wave I (2002). Pearson X (4) = 9.7, p-value = .047

# Findings (3/9)

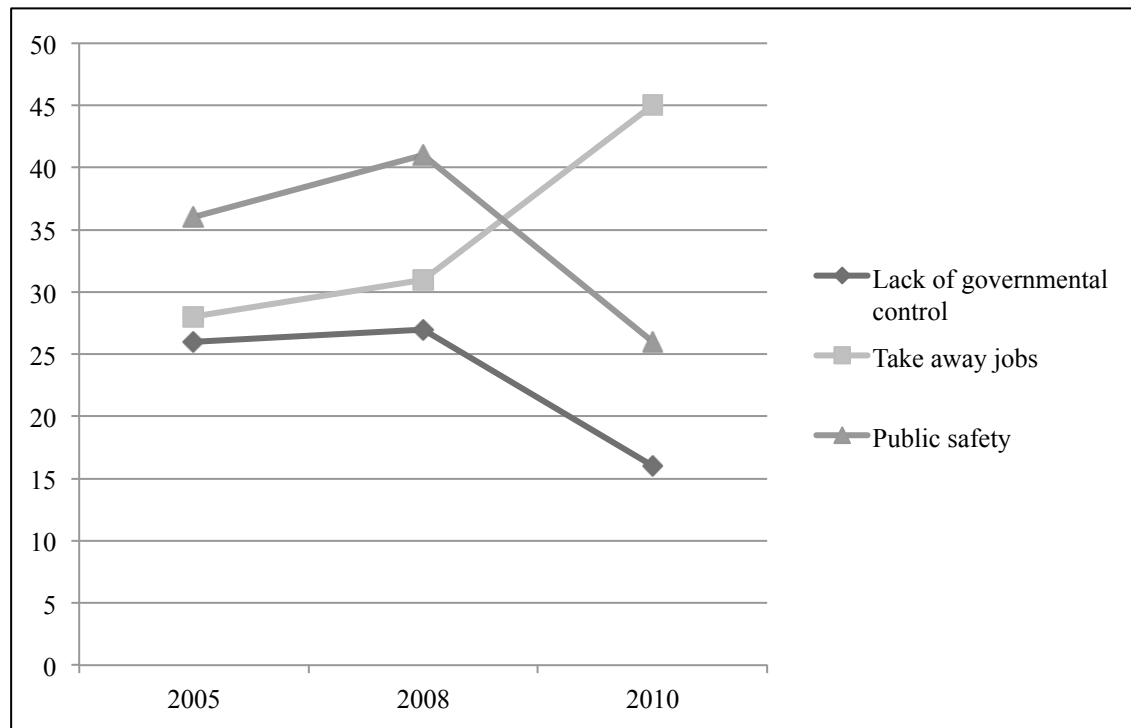
- Positive effects of immigration in Andalusia, 2005-2010



Source: Observatorio Permanente Andaluz de las Migraciones, accessed in August 2011:  
<<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/justiciaeinterior/opam/>>

# Findings (4/9)

- Negative effects of immigration in Andalusia, 2005-2010



Source: Observatorio Permanente Andaluz de las Migraciones, accessed in August 2011: <<http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/justiciaeinterior/opam/>>

# Findings (5/9)

- Immigrants are greater recipients than contributors to the welfare state in Belgium, 2008

		Belgian regions			
		Flanders	Wallonia	Brussels	Total
<b>Recipients</b>	Count	607	316	55	978
	%	58.7	56.0	44.7	56.8
<b>Undecided</b>	Count	302	172	55	529
	%	29.2	30.5	44.7	30.7
<b>Contributors</b>	Count	125	76	13	214
	%	12.1	13.5	10.6	12.4
<b>Total</b>	Count	1034	564	123	1721
	%	100	100	100	100

Source: European Social Survey, wave IV (2008). Pearson X (4) = 13.4, p-value = .009

# Findings (6/9)

- Immigrants are greater recipients than contributors to the welfare state in Spain, 2008

		Spanish regions			
		Catalonia	Andalusia	Madrid	Total
<b>Recipients</b>	Count	260	209	107	576
	%	53.7	57.9	42.5	52.5
<b>Undecided</b>	Count	113	93	66	272
	%	23.3	25.8	26.2	24.8
<b>Contributors</b>	Count	111	59	79	249
	%	22.9	16.3	31.3	22.7
<b>Total</b>	Count	484	361	252	1097
	%	100	100	100	100

Source: European Social Survey, wave IV (2008). Pearson X (4) = 22.5, p-value = .000



# Findings (7/9)

- Social benefits encourage people from other countries to come to Belgium, 2008

		Belgian regions			
		Flanders	Wallonia	Brussels	Total
<b>Agree strongly</b>	Count	121	191	25	337
	%	11.5	33.5	20.3	19.3
<b>Agree</b>	Count	433	221	45	699
	%	41.2	38.7	36.6	40.0
<b>Neither agree or disagree</b>	Count	164	79	24	267
	%	15.6	13.8	19.5	15.3
<b>Disagree</b>	Count	285	61	22	368
	%	27.1	10.7	17.9	21.1
<b>Strongly disagree</b>	Count	49	19	7	75
	%	4.7	3.3	5.7	4.3
<b>Total</b>	Count	1052	571	123	1746
	%	100	100	100	100

Source: European Social Survey, wave IV (2008). Pearson X (8) = 145.7, p-value .000

# Findings (8/9)

- Social benefits encourage people from other countries to come to Spain, 2008

		Spanish regions			
		Catalonia	Andalusia	Madrid	Total
<b>Agree strongly</b>	Count	101	131	44	276
	%	19.9	35.0	16.4	24.0
<b>Agree</b>	Count	209	153	147	509
	%	41.1	40.9	54.6	44.2
<b>Neither agree or disagree</b>	Count	94	59	33	186
	%	18.5	15.8	12.3	16.2
<b>Disagree</b>	Count	100	29	45	174
	%	19.7	7.8	16.7	15.1
<b>Strongly disagree</b>	Count	4	2	0	6
	%	0.8	0.5	0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	Count	508	374	269	1151
	%	100	100	100	100

Source: European Social Survey, wave IV (2008). Pearson X (8) = 65.0, p-value .000

# Findings (9/9)

- Competing for both jobs and welfare:

“Whatever they [immigrants] do is wrong; if they work, they steal our jobs, but if they don’t, they steal our benefits.”

- Gap between perception and reality:

“Everyone is on the same boat. There are no jobs [in Wallonia], and if immigrants come for labor reasons they are not a threat because there are no jobs.”

# Conclusion

- Two epicenters of anti-immigrant sentiment as a material threat:
  - Labor market, and
  - Welfare state.
- Tension between two different understandings of immigration:
  - Functional part of the national economy.
  - Subjects entitled to rights.
- Disconnect between economic reality and citizens' perception:
  - Information policies.