

**QUESTION MODULE DESIGN TEAM (ESS ROUND 8) APPLICATION FORM FOR
REPEAT MODULES¹**

Please return this form by email to:	Mary Keane ess@city.ac.uk (PDF files only)
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CLOSING DATE FOR APPLICATIONS: 17:00 hours UK Time on 12th May 2014

USE THE ARROW KEYS TO NAVIGATE ROUND THE FORM

1. Principal Applicant (*person to whom all correspondence will be sent*):

Forename: Wim	Surname: van Oorschot
Position: Full Professor	
Department: Centre for Sociological Research	
Institution: University of Leuven	
Full Address: Parkstraat 45 box 3601 B-3000 Leuven Belgium	
Tel No: + 3216323038	Email: w.v.oorschot@gmail.com

2. Co-Applicants (*up to 4*):

(i) Forename: Christian	Surname: Staerklé
Department: Institute of Psychology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences	
Institution: University of Lausanne	
Country: Switzerland	Email: christian.staerke@unil.ch

(ii) Forename: Staffan	Surname: Kumlin
Department: Department of Political Science	
Institution: University of Gothenburg	
Country: Sweden	Email: staffan.kumlin@pol.gu.se

(iii) Forename: Tim	Surname: Reeskens
Department: Sociology Department	
Institution: Tilburg University	
Country: the Netherlands	Email: T.Reeskens@uvt.nl

(iv) Forename: Bart	Surname: Meuleman
Department: Centre for Sociological Research	
Institution: University of Leuven	
Country: Belgium	Email: bart.meuleman@soc.kuleuven.be

¹ A repeat of a topic previously included on the ESS where at least 66% of questions are administered in an identical format to those in the earlier module.

3. Proposed title of module (max 80 characters):

Welfare Attitudes in a Changing Europe: Solidarities under Pressure

4. Abstract (max 200 words)

This proposal is for a repeat of the Round 4 module „Welfare Attitudes in a Changing Europe“. It draws primarily on a themed selection from this multi-dimensional welfare attitude module, providing additional items concerning “the activating welfare state” and “the future of the welfare state”. A leading perspective is that the recent recession and its longer lasting institutional and social effects further challenge the already problematic fundamental relations of solidarity in European welfare states (e.g. between generations, genders, rich and poor, working and non-working, natives and migrants, and, increasingly relevant, between fellow Europeans). Knowledge about how public welfare attitudes react to these challenges, and thus how and why solidarity relations are problematic, shifting or eroding, will be important input for understanding future roads for the (in a global perspective) still comprehensive welfare states of Europe. Thus, a repeat of the module will not only allow examining how the core welfare attitudes about ‘who should get what, and why’ have reacted to the altered economic, institutional and social realities, thereby increasing our theoretical comprehension of how such attitudes are formed and changed; It also allows mapping changing solidarity patterns to the benefit of policy making.

5. Curriculum vitae

(Please provide a brief CV for each applicant, including subject expertise, questionnaire design and analysis experience, relevant publications and record of joint working – maximum one page per applicant.)

Principal Applicant:

Wim van Oorschot is Professor of Social Policy at KU Leuven (BE), and was co-applicant of the previous ESS module on welfare attitudes and member of its questionnaire design team. As a social policy expert Wim van Oorschot has published widely on national and cross-national studies into poverty, unemployment, disability, and ageing, as well as on the related institutional welfare arrangements. He is particularly interested in the social and cultural values that shape, and are affected by, welfare policies in the fields mentioned. He studies the relationships between culture en welfare mainly through analyses of public opinion data. He has organised and conducted two national welfare attitudes surveys in the Netherlands, and was coordinator of the 'solidarity' module of the European Values Study surveys. Wim van Oorschot is founder and Honorary President of the Network for European Social Policy Analysis ESPAnet; initiator and host of the 2004 ESPAnet Expert Seminar on 'Public Opinion and Social Policy in Europe: Towards Academic Networking and an Extension of International Comparable Data', as well as of the 2014 EDAC-ESPAnet Winter School on "The Social Legitimacy of the Welfare State: Welfare, work and care attitudes in cross-national and longitudinal perspective"; he is initiator and coordinator of the European Data Centre for Work and Welfare (EDAC); and Honorary Professor at the Centre for Comparative Welfare State Research (CCWS) of Aalborg Univeristy (DK).

Selected publications

Oorschot, W. van and B. Meuleman (2014) 'Popular Deservingness of the Unemployed in the Context of Welfare State Policies, Economic Conditions and Cultural Climate'. In: S. Kumlin and I. Stadelmann-Steffen (eds.) *How Welfare States Shape The Democratic Public: Policy Feedback, Participation, Voting, and Attitudes*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, chapter 12, pp. 244-268

Oorschot, W. van and B. Meuleman (2012) 'Welfare performance and welfare support'. In: S. Svallfors (ed.) *Contested welfare states: Welfare attitudes in Europe and beyond*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 25-57

Roosma, F., W. van Oorschot and J. Gelissen (2014), 'The Preferred Role and Perceived Performance of the Welfare State: European Welfare Attitudes from a Multidimensional Perspective', *Social Science Research*, 44 (March): 200-210. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2013.12.005>

Van der Waal, J., De Koster, W., & Van Oorschot, W. (2013), 'Three Worlds of Welfare Chauvinism? How Welfare Regimes Affect Support for Distributing Welfare to Immigrants in Europe', *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13876988.2013.785147>

Reeskens, T. and W. van Oorschot (2013), 'Equity, equality, or need? A study of popular preferences for welfare redistribution principles across 24 European countries', in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, DOI:10.1080/13501763.2012.752064

Reeskens, T. and W. van Oorschot (2012), 'Disentangling the 'New Liberal Dilemma': On the relation between general welfare redistribution preferences and welfare chauvinism', in: *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, vol.53, Issue 2, pp. 120-139

Reeskens, T. and W. van Oorschot (2012), 'Those who are in the gutter look at the stars? Explaining perceptions of labour market opportunities among European young adults', in: *Work, Employment and Society*, vol. 26, nr. 3, pp. 379-395, DOI: 0.1177/0950017012438575

Roosma, F., J. Gelissen and W. van Oorschot (2012), 'The Multidimensionality of Welfare State Attitudes: A European Cross-National Study', in: *Social Indicators Research*, vol. 113, nr. 1, pp 235-255

Oorschot, W. van, T. Reeskens and B. Meuleman (2012), 'Popular perceptions of welfare state consequences. A multi/level, cross/national analysis of 25 European countries', in: *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol. 22, nr. 2, pp. 181-197

Co-applicant 1:

Christian Staerklé is Associate Professor of social psychology at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland and docent of social psychology at the University of Helsinki in Finland. He was co-applicant of the previous ESS module on welfare attitudes and member of its questionnaire design team. He received his PhD in Psychology at the University of Geneva, followed by a post-doctoral stay at the University of California, Los Angeles. His research interests concern the social psychological processes involved in issues of social justice, political legitimacy and intergroup relations. Adopting an interdisciplinary perspective, his research studies beliefs and opinions in the domains of social welfare, social control, institutional legitimacy and multiculturalism, both from a comparative perspective and within countries. He also investigates national and ethnic identities in a cross-cultural context and the psychological regulation of life course transitions in various youth populations in Switzerland. His research is based on national and international survey data as well as on experimental and qualitative methods. Staerklé has obtained extensive funding from the Swiss National Science Foundation (for example to conduct a survey on welfare attitudes in Switzerland) and was team leader of an individual project in the HumVIB programme coordinated by the European Science Foundation. Staerklé is co-director of the social psychology graduate school of the universities of Geneva and Lausanne. He has widely published in international journals in social and political psychology as well as in edited books. He is currently associate editor of the *British Journal of Social Psychology*.

Selected publications

Likki, T., & Staerklé, C. (2014a, published online). A typology of ideological attitudes towards social solidarity and social control. *Journal of Community and Applied Psychology*.

Likki, T., & Staerklé, C. (2014b, in press). Welfare support in Europe: Interplay of dependency culture beliefs and meritocratic contexts. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*.

Staerklé, C., Likki, T., & Scheidegger, R. (2012). A normative approach to welfare attitudes. In S. Svallfors (Ed.) *Contested Welfare States: Welfare Attitudes in Europe and Beyond* (pp. 81-118). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sarrasin, O., Green, E. G. T., & Fasel, N., Christ, O., Staerklé, C., & Clémence, A. (2012). Opposition to anti-racism laws across Swiss municipalities: A multilevel analysis. *Political Psychology*, 33, 659-681.

Green, E.G.T., Sarrasin, O., Fasel, N., & Staerklé, C. (2011). Nationalism and patriotism as predictors of immigration attitudes in Switzerland: A municipality-level analysis. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 17, 369-393.

Scheidegger, R., & Staerklé, C. (2011). Political trust and distrust in Switzerland: A normative analysis. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 17, 164-187.

Staerklé, C., Sidanius, J., Green, E.G.T., & Molina, L. E. (2010). Ethnic minority-majority asymmetry in national attitudes around the world: A multilevel analysis. *Political Psychology*, 29, 491-519.

Staerklé C. (2009). Policy attitudes, ideological values and social representations. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 3, 1096-1112.

Co-applicant 2:

Dr. Staffan Kumlin is Professor of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden and Research Professor at Institute for Social Research in Oslo, Norway. He is also associated with Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in Uppsala as "Pro Futura Fellow", a cutting-edge research programme for especially promising researchers in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Kumlin was the first political scientist to receive such a grant. His research concerns comparative political behaviour and public opinion in European welfare states. He is the author of "The Personal and the Political: How Personal Welfare State Experiences Affect Political Trust and Ideology" (Palgrave-Macmillan 2004) and co-editor of "How Welfare States Shape the Democratic Public: Policy Feedback, Participation, Voting, and Attitudes" (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014). He has published in scientific journals such as British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, European Journal of Political Research, European Union Politics, Journal of European Social Policy, and Journal of Public Policy. He authored the chapter on the welfare state in The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior, and will do so also in Handbook of Political Trust (forthcoming 2015, Edward Elgar). Several of his publications engage with ESS data. Kumlin has been Visiting Fellow at Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence.

Selected publications

Kumlin, S. & Stadelmann-Steffen, I. (eds.) (2014). How Welfare States Shape the Democratic Public: Policy Feedback, Participation, Voting, and Political Attitudes. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. 352 pages.

Kumlin, S. (2011) "Blame Claiming and Credit-Giving: Unintended Effects of How Government and Opposition Frame the Europeanization of Welfare" European Union Politics 12(4): 575-595.

Kumlin, S. (2011) "Dissatisfied Democrats, Policy Feedback, and European Welfare States, 1976-2001." Pp. 163-185 in Political Trust: Why Context matters. Causes and Consequences of a Relational Concept, edited by M. Hooghe and S. Zmerli. Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.

Kumlin, S. & Rothstein, B. (2010) "Questioning the New Liberal Dilemma: Immigrants, Social Networks, and Institutional Fairness." Comparative Politics 43: 63-80.

Kumlin, S. (2009). "Blaming Europe? Exploring the Variable Impact of National Public Service Dissatisfaction on EU Trust." Journal of European Social Policy 19: 408-420.

Kumlin, S. (2007). "The Welfare State: Values, Policy Preferences, and Performance Evaluations", Pp. 363-382 in Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior, edited by R. Dalton and H.-D. Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kumlin, S & Svallfors, S. (2007). "Social Stratification and Political Articulation: Why Attitudinal Class Differences Vary Across Countries" Pp. 19-46 in The Welfare State, Legitimacy, and Social Justice edited by S. Mau and B. Veghte. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Kumlin, S. (2007). "Overloaded or Undermined? European Welfare States in the Face of Performance Dissatisfaction" Pp. 80-116 in The Political Sociology of the Welfare State, edited by S. Svallfors. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kumlin, S. (2006). "Learning from Politics: The Causal Interplay between Government Performance and Political Ideology." Journal of Public Policy 26:89-114.

Kumlin, S. & Rothstein, B. (2005). "Making and Breaking Social Capital: The Impact of Welfare State Institutions." Comparative Political Studies 38: 339-365.

Kumlin, S. (2004). The Personal and the Political: How Personal Welfare State Experiences Affect Political Trust and Ideology. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan. 260 pages.

Kumlin, S. (2002). "Institutions-Experiences-Preferences: Welfare State Design Affects Political Trust and Ideology." Pp. 20-50 in Restructuring the Welfare State: Political Institutions and Policy Change, edited by B. Rothstein and S. Steinmo. New York: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Co-applicant 3 (if applicable):

Tim Reeskens is Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology at Tilburg University (the Netherlands). He obtained his doctoral degree in Social Sciences from the University of Leuven (Belgium) on a study on the impact of immigration on generalized trust across Europe. He held visiting fellowships at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and the Department of Government. Tim is member of the Editorial Board of the *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. His research to date is predominantly concerned with the cross-national study of the social consequences of immigration and ethno-cultural diversity in European welfare state contexts, i.e. the question whether and how immigration would weaken social solidarity. As an outstanding young scholar he was awarded research fellowships by the Flemish Research Council (FWO) and the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) on "The Ties that Bind"-project to study the relationships between national identity and social solidarity. Tim's expertise specifically focuses on social capital and generalized trust, national identity, social cohesion, and welfare state legitimacy. Tim has wide experience in the analysis of comparative cross-national data sources using a wide range of analysis techniques, leading to an already large number of publications in academic journals.

Selected publications

Wright, M., & Reeskens, T. (2013). Of What Cloth Are the Ties that Bind? A Multilevel Analysis of the Relation between National Identity and Support for the Welfare State across 29 European Countries. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20(10), pp. 1443-1463.

Reeskens, T., & van Oorschot, W. (2013). Equity, Equality, or Need? A Multilevel Analysis of Preferences for Principles of Redistributive Justice in 24 European Welfare States. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20(8), pp. 1174-1195.

Reeskens, T., & van Oorschot, W. (2012). Disentangling the 'New Liberal Dilemma': On the Relation between General Welfare Redistribution Preferences and Welfare Chauvinism. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 53(2), pp. 120-139.

Reeskens, T., & van Oorschot, W. (2012). Those Who're in the Gutter Look at the Stars? Explaining Perceptions of Labour Market Opportunities among European Young Adults. *Work, Employment & Society*, 26(3), pp. 379-395.

van Oorschot, W., Reeskens, T., & Meuleman, B. (2012). Popular Perceptions of Welfare State Consequences. A Multi-Level, Cross-National Analysis of 25 European Countries. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(2), pp. 181-197.

Hooghe, M., Reeskens, T., Stolle, D., & Trappers, A. (2009). Ethnic Diversity and Generalized Trust in Europe. A Cross-National Multilevel Study. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(2), pp. 198-223.

Reeskens, T., & Hooghe, M. (2008). Cross-Cultural Measurement Equivalence of Generalized Trust. Evidence from the European Social Survey (2002 and 2004). *Social Indicators Research*, 85(3), pp. 515-532.

Curriculum vitae (continued)

Co-applicant 4 (if applicable):

Bart Meuleman is Assistant Professor at the Centre for Sociological Research of the University of Leuven, where he teaches social science research methodology and statistics. In 2009, he obtained his PhD degree with a thesis on the contextual determinants of anti-immigration attitudes, using data from the European Social Survey (round 1). His current research focuses on cross-national comparisons of welfare support, solidarity and egalitarianism. He is supervisor of the project 'Solidarity in times of crisis' that is funded by the Flemish Research Council (FWO). Besides this substantive focus, he also has developed a strong interest in the methodology of cross-national research (more specifically the detection of measurement inequivalence and the application of multilevel models in cross-national research). He developed a module for ESS EduNet explaining how to test measurement equivalence by means of MGCFA, and has taught introductory as well as advanced courses on structural equation modeling and multilevel modeling at various academic institutions throughout Europe. He (co-) organized the ESF-funded QMSS2 Summer School on 'Cross-national Comparisons' (2011 in Leuven, together with Joop Hox) and the EDAC-ESPAnet Winter School on "The Social Legitimacy of the Welfare State: Welfare, work and care attitudes in cross-national and longitudinal perspective" (2014 in Leuven, together with Wim van Oorschot). He is member of the EVS methodology group and is president of the organizing committee of the 2015 conference of the European Survey Research Association (ESRA). His work has been published in high-ranked international journals, such as *Annual Review of Sociology*, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *Social Science Research*, *Journal of European Social Policy* and *European Sociological Review*.

Selected publications

Davidov, E., Meuleman, B., Cieciuch, J., Schmidt, P., Billiet, J. (2014). Measurement Equivalence in Cross-National Research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40.

van Oorschot, W., Meuleman, B. (2014). Popular Deservingness of the Unemployed in the Context of Welfare State Policies, Economic Conditions and Cultural Climate. In: Kumlin S., Stadelmann-Steffen I. (Eds.), *How Welfare States Shape The Democratic Public: Policy Feedback, Participation, Voting, and Attitudes*, Chapt. 12 Edward Elgar, 244-268.

Davidov, E., Duellmer, H., Schlueter, E., Schmidt, P., Meuleman, B. (2013). Using a Multilevel Structural Equation Modeling Approach to Explain Cross-Cultural Measurement Noninvariance. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 43 (4), 558-575.

Missinne, S., Meuleman, B., Bracke, P. (2013). The popular legitimacy of European health care systems: a multilevel analysis of 24 countries. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 23 (3), 231-247.

Schlueter, E., Meuleman, B., Davidov, E. (2013). Immigrant Integration Policies and Perceived Group Threat: A Multilevel Study of 27 Western and Eastern European Countries. *Social Science Research*, 42 (3), 670-682.

van Oorschot, W., Meuleman, B. (2012). Welfarism and the multidimensionality of welfare state legitimacy: evidence from The Netherlands, 2006. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 21 (1), 79-93.

Meuleman, B., Chung, H. (2012). Who should care for the children? Support for government intervention in childcare. In: Ervasti H., Goul Andersen J., Fridberg T., Ringdal K. (Eds.), *The future of the welfare state. Social policy analysis and social capital in Europe*, Chapt. 6 Edward Elgar, 107-133.

van Oorschot, W., Meuleman, B. (2012). Welfare performance and welfare support. In: Svallfors S. (Eds.), *Contested welfare states: Welfare attitudes in Europe and beyond*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 25-57.

Meuleman, B. (2011). Perceived economic threat and anti-immigration attitudes: Effects of immigrant group size and economic conditions revisited. In: Davidov E., Schmidt P., Billiet J. (Eds.), *Cross-cultural analysis: methods and applications*. London: Routledge, 283-312.

Meuleman, B., Davidov, E., Billiet, J. (2009). Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: a dynamic group conflict theory approach. *Social Science Research*, 38 (2), 352-365.

Meuleman, B., Billiet, J. (2009). A Monte Carlo sample size study: how many countries are needed for accurate multilevel SEM?. *Survey Research Methods*, 3 (1), 45-58.

Davidov, E., Meuleman, B., Billiet, J., Schmidt, P. (2008). Values and support for immigration: a cross-country comparison. *European sociological review*, 24 (5), 583-599.

Module proposal – for REPEAT Modules

This should be in 4 parts. Please ensure that each of the parts described below are addressed in the following pages. You may use as many pages as necessary but please keep to the word limits.

PART 1: Theory behind proposed module (max 6000 words)

PART 1 should be theory and evidence driven, demonstrating the team's expertise in the topic (citing relevant literature, past studies and publications in the field). It should explain the relevance of the topic to key academic or policy concerns within the European arena. It should also outline the conceptual framework of the proposed module relating this to the design of the previous ESS module on this topic, noting and explaining differences. Evidence of the relevance of data from the previous module should be included, as well as a summary of salient findings and examples of applicants' engagement with the data.

PART 2: Advantages & Disadvantages of the timing of the module (max 1000 words)

PART 2 should outline the advantages and disadvantages of running the repeat module at this juncture rather than later in the ESS cycle.

PART 3: Proposed module design for 30 items (max 3000 words)

PART 3 should outline which concepts and dimensions (including specific items from the previous module) are provisionally earmarked to be repeated and the reasons for these choices. Evidence of the measurement quality of these items cross-nationally should be included. The measurement objectives of new items or dimensions should be outlined, together with plans for how to operationalise them. Drafts of any proposed new questions should NOT be included in this section. **However, applicants who plan to base all or a large part of their new items on questions that have previously been fielded in national or multinational surveys, should include those questions, describe their origins, and outline any anticipated problems with exporting these.** In any event applicants should note that **ALL** items will be subject to further detailed assessment and possible amendment before being adopted.

PART 4: Methodological or Practical difficulties (max 2000 words)

PART 4 should reflect on any methodological or practical difficulties envisaged in bringing these ideas to fruition in the ESS. Where appropriate applicants should describe any difficulties they encountered in using data from the prior module. Thought should also be given to the geographic expansion of the ESS since the prior module was fielded and any added problems this may cause in terms of translation and equivalence. Teams should comment on how such methodological issues would be handled, reflect on whether they would be addressed during the developmental and / or main stages and discuss how they might contribute to the substantive field and / or survey research in general.

PART 1: Theory behind proposed module

1.1 The relevance of the topic

Policy relevance

While the welfare state, as a modern social institution taking responsibility for the fair re-distribution of life chances, is regarded as a European invention, and the existence of an encompassing welfare state has often been depicted as one of the defining criteria of Europe, the concept of the welfare state and its concrete manifestations in specific social policies became substantially challenged in the past two decades.

At least four crucial challenges can be distinguished. First, intensified international economic competition threatens the redistributive capacity of national welfare states (Korpi & Palme, 2003). Second, demographic aging, new family arrangements and labour market developments confront the welfare state with 'new social risks' associated with postindustrial society (Taylor-Gooby, 2004). Third, a double bind of rising social benefit expenditures combined with declining government revenues and increased fiscal pressure results in an era of relative austerity (Hemerijck, 2013). Fourth, the European Union is becoming a critical intervening level in domestic processes of welfare state change, leading to an era of semi-sovereign welfare states (Ferrera, 2003). The combination of these challenges results in a precarious political context marked by intensified discussions about the generosity, universalism and scope of welfare state, as well as about the criteria for who deserves what and why.

As a result, substantial welfare reforms are visible in European countries, taking various forms (of retrenchment, recalibration, and partly extension as well), and leading to new perspectives on the welfare state goals and approaches governments should adopt (notably: activation and social investment). Clearly, welfare states are changing all over Europe, but in different speeds and directions (Palier, 2010; Hemerijck, 2013).

However, the welfare state is not only challenged by structural factors and processes, increasingly it is subjected to more ideologically grounded accusations of undermining individual autonomy and responsibility, of damaging traditional social ties and of weakening private forms of solidarity and self-help. Ideas of collective, public responsibilities for the contingencies of modern life, which are at the base of the solidaristic welfare state 'European style', are giving in to a perspective that emphasizes the value of individual responsibility and, related to this, of private and informal welfare arrangements. All this contributes to rising concerns on the future sustainability of the European welfare state, in economic and political terms, as well as in terms of social legitimacy (Taylor-Gooby, 2011).

Importantly, at the level of individual citizens, new forms of social risk have grown out of increasingly precarious and insecure life-courses, and old balances and social contracts between social classes and groups are disturbed, while in the post-industrial context there is uncertainty about which new balances, if at all, will be established (Taylor-Gooby, 2004; Standing, 2011).

As a reaction to these developments, what we witness in most European welfare states is an intensification of critical social and political debates about the necessity and fairness of redistributive, solidaristic relationships that have been organised through existing welfare

arrangements, or that, with a view on social and economic challenges, should be organised anew (Schubert et al., 2009). The following solidarity debates are apparent:

- The intense pension debate we see in many European countries is a manifestation of changing interests and views regarding the solidarity between the generations (EU, 2004; Kohli, 2005)
- New policies and debates about work-care reconciliation centre around solidarity between the genders, which will remain an issue now single earner or one-and-a-half earner incomes are increasingly insufficient for households to get by (Knijn & Komter, 2004; OECD, 2007)
- Solidarity of the rich with the poor is pivotal to many of the welfare retrenchment measures of the past decades, especially regarding the increased use of means-testing, and it will be central for the time to come now many European welfare states are looking for ways for further welfare retrenchment (Fraser et al., 2011)
- The increase in work-record requirements for benefits, as well as an increase in job seeking obligations for unemployed people reflect a renewed positioning of ideas on the distribution of rights and obligations between employed and unemployed persons (Houtman, 1997; Van Oorschot & Meuleman, 2014), which will stay an issue in many European countries where unemployment has become a permanent risk for large segments of the middle classes as well (Dallinger, 2013)
- The debate about the integration of migrants in European societies hinges to a large degree on ideas about their welfare deservingness (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006; Van Oorschot, 2008)
- An on-going supra-national European debate, ignited substantially by the recent economic crisis and the unequal degree to which it has hit the different countries in Europe, regards the solidarity between Europeans, addressing the question whether a re-distribution of welfare from richer to poorer European countries, in e.g. the form of a European minimum benefit scheme, would be necessary from the perspective of creating cross-European social cohesion, and whether it would be politically and economically feasible (Ferrera, 2003; Mau, 2005).

What we witness is a rise in fundamental normative debates about the deservingness or undeservingness of specific categories of (potential) benefit claimants, like younger and elderly people, female workers, households in poverty, unemployed people, migrants and fellow Europeans. With this, the welfare state debate seems to have made a full circle, in the sense that the basic welfare question of 'who should get what, and why', which dominated the debate in the early times of welfare state formation, is back to the fore again, now with an extra emphasis on the 'group membership' dimension, that is, on who belongs to the 'imagined community' of fellow citizens one feels responsible for.

Clearly, the recent economic and financial crisis has intensified the structural, ideological and social pressures that were already put on the shoulders of the European welfare states for some time. Intensification to a degree that the debate about necessary adaptations of welfare provision is increasingly less about the organisation, instruments and levels of social protection, but has shifted to a debate inspired by worries about social cohesion as the fundamental backbone of social order itself. Concerns about social cohesion were at the cradle of the European welfare state, when Bismarck introduced the first social insurance schemes in Germany at the end of the 19th century. Today as well social cohesion is defined as a prime policy goal within the European Union (Michalski,

2006; Andor, 2013), and it is becoming a major concern for many countries that have to struggle hard in the face of the solidarity challenges mentioned to keep various social conflicts under control. Increasingly, these challenges are not perceived as just periodic hurdles that European welfare states have to go through before they can restore their usual relatively comprehensive and encompassing approach to welfare provision (Hemerijck, 2013). Instead, especially in the context of further economic globalisation and the re-structuring of the global economy and growing inequality that goes with it, the question of who should get what, and why can be expected to be back on European welfare agendas for many years to come (Van Oorschot, 2013). This longer-term perspective on the need for welfare reform makes that it has become important to know not only what people's attitudes are to present-day welfare issues, that is, to know how public opinion has reacted to the major reforms and to the economic shock of the recession since the first round of the Welfare Attitudes module (2008), but also what the public feels about the future of their welfare states.

So, knowledge about how solidarity relations and deservingness ideas are shifting, and what citizens' perspectives on the future of their welfare states are, is important input for the design of the future welfare states of Europe. As we will explain in more detail later, in terms of 'old' and 'new' concepts and questionnaire items, the repeat module we propose will follow the shift in the welfare state debate from a focus on matters of institutional reforms in reaction to challenges towards a more fundamental focus on essential issues of the fairness, direction and degree of solidaristic redistributions, which are closely entangled with questions of the (un)deservingness of specific groups of needy citizens, migrants and fellow Europeans. The data we aim to produce through the repeat module will help to elucidate citizens' attitudes towards welfare solidarity and deservingness, now and in the future, and in this way contribute to a more enlightened debate about policy options and choices.

Academic relevance – previous research

Having outlined the social and policy relevance of the repeat module, its academic relevance lies in various arguments. The data from the repeat module will provide essential new input to the interdisciplinary field of cross-European comparative studies of welfare state attitudes, both in terms of an update of data from the previous module as in terms of data on newly introduced issues and concepts.

The previous module had a substantial impact in the field, because for the first time it offered a series of detailed measures of attitudes towards a broader range of dimensions of the welfare state. Comparative surveys that existed at the time, such as the World Values Study, the International Social Survey Program and the International Social Justice Project, cover a broad range of countries with widely different cultural and historical traditions, and huge differences in institutional conditions. But they are not explicitly designed for measuring welfare attitudes, implying that they contain fairly broad and general items only (mainly addressing attitudes to government responsibility for reducing income inequality and provision of services). These surveys therefore do not capture fully the various welfare state dimensions, to which people have clearly different attitudes.

True, existing national data sets often cover a much more specific range of issues, dealing with issues such as risk perception, trust in the welfare state, beliefs about sustainability, views about target groups and claimants, attitudes to financing and service delivery, views about alternative welfare arrangements etc. However, only few countries in Europe have such national surveys, and their data can often not be compared across countries due to differences in data collection strategies, framing and question wording.

The 2008 ESS module on Welfare Attitudes changed this situation in one stroke, making available cross-national, comparative data on a range of welfare attitudes for the first time, leading to a surge of studies and projects in the field, supported by a range of themed sessions, workshops and seminars for senior and junior colleagues, with a large output in terms of journal articles and edited volumes as a result. We performed a bibliographical study (available upon request from the applicants) and identified no less than 51 studies published in journals or as book chapters that have made use of the previous module on Welfare Attitudes. While this study is probably not complete, the impressive number of studies in a short period (2010-2014) gives a clear indication of the module's impact on the field.

The impact of the module also shows from several crucial findings that were hitherto unknown. The main lines of the innovative findings based on the module are:

- Research with the ESS 4 data has allowed researchers to take full stock of the complexity and multi-dimensionality of welfare attitudes in contemporary European societies. While earlier welfare state research was limited to rather general measures of welfare state support, the ESS 4 data includes fine-grained measures that differentiate various dimensions of welfare attitudes (Roosma et al., 2012).
- Welfare regime types differ in Europe, but welfare attitudes do not closely follow Esping-Andersen's three worlds of welfare capitalism. Instead, in terms of welfare attitudes, there seem to be two worlds: the Northern-Western part of Europe, and the Eastern-Southern part. In the Northwest people generally endorse the principle of redistribution and welfare state responsibility for citizen's well-being and they evaluate positively the way in which these principles are implemented. In the South and East, however, people as well endorse the principles, but are much more critical about practical implementation. In other words, they are strongly in favour of welfare provision by the state, but they are disappointed about what their states actually deliver (Roosma et al., 2012; Roosma et al., 2014b).
- Apart from this divide, context factors do play a role in moulding welfare attitudes of people. Differences in institutional welfare design of specific social policies affect specific attitudes regarding these policies, while especially economic circumstances affect more general and abstract attitudes, as well as attitudes to the deservingness of welfare target groups. The better the economy fares, the more welfare minded and solidaristic Europeans tend to be (Van Oorschot & Meuleman, 2012; 2014).
- People's support for specific welfare services and benefits strongly depends on their beliefs about the deservingness of target groups: various deservingness criteria play a role here, especially identity, control and reciprocity (Van Oorschot, 2014; Van Oorschot & Meuleman, 2014).
- There is welfare chauvinism among a considerable part of the European public, but there is no clear sign that cross-national differences are related to a 'welfare magnet effect', that is, to institutional design or degree of social spending. More important seems to be economic

context and degree of income inequality (Reeskens & Van Oorschot, 2012; Van der Waal et al., 2013; Mewes & Mau, 2012). It was also found that ethnic prejudice is associated with negative attitudes towards welfare provision in West-European contexts with extensive welfare states, but not in East and Central European contexts where the immigration-welfare nexus is less politically prominent (Staerklé, Likki & Scheidegger, 2012).

- Europeans do see moral and economic problematic consequences of welfare provision by the state (e.g. that welfare would make people less responsible for each other and themselves, welfare would be bad for people's work ethic and for economic competitiveness). This neo-conservative belief of a culture of dependency allegedly created by welfare states is a key factor shaping welfare attitudes, in particular in liberal welfare states where meritocratic attitudes are prevalent (Likki & Staerklé, 2014). However, Europeans even more so see the social advantages of welfare provision (welfare reduces inequality and stimulates social order, leads to better quality of life for many). In the most developed welfare states of Europe people are most critical about problematic consequences, but they also have a clearer eye for the positive consequences (Van Oorschot et al., 2012).
- While people's personal stake in welfare provision (related to their age, household type, educational level, profession, income level, perceived social insecurity, and such like) has expected effects on their welfare attitudes, often their ideological position (values, beliefs, target group images) have a stronger influence. That is, European welfare attitudes seem to be shaped more by ideas than by interests (Roosma et al., 2012; Van Oorschot & Meuleman, 2012).
- On the other hand, there are sizeable differences in class effects on welfare attitudes between European countries and types of welfare state, for which no successful explanations are found as yet (Svallfors et al., 2012).
- Overuse of benefits and services (fraud, misuse) is seen as an important problem by larger sections of European populations, but no less so is underuse (non-take-up). The latter is especially prevalent in the Eastern and Southern countries, which is another sign that the public in lesser developed European welfare states is disappointed in what their welfare states deliver (Roosma et al., 2014a).

Academic relevance – new research questions

At present, 5 years after the first release, the field has extensively analysed the 2008 data and is eagerly waiting for a second round. The second round, to be fielded 8 years after the first round, would enable colleagues to address a series of new research questions.

Firstly, analyses of the first module have delivered many really new insights to the field. The repeat module would enable to answer the question of how robust these findings are. Robustness means that a second round would show similar results regarding the main lines of findings, allowing, of course, for changes in more concrete and specific attitudes.

Secondly, and essentially with a view on monitoring welfare attitudes over a longer period of time, repetition allows to detect and analyse changes in attitudes, as well as changes in relationships with determining factors at individual and context level. Such over-time comparison is especially relevant now that Europe is experiencing the consequences of one of the most severe economic crises since the Great Depression. As we argue in part 2 of this application (timing of the module), a comparison of welfare attitudes in 2008 (pre-crisis or initial stage of the crisis) and 2016 (when the impact of the crisis as well as the policy makers' reactions have become clear) opens up a wide range of opportunities.

Note that we are careful not to suggest that general or major attitude shifts are to be expected. That is, the (rather few) existing longitudinal studies in the field tend to find remarkable stability of opinions over time (Ringen, 1987; Borre & Scarbrough, 1995; Brooks & Manza, 2007), suggesting that the welfare state as such remains highly popular regardless of economic and political circumstances. However, these studies have various shortcomings. Most of them are national studies and thus uninformative about welfare attitude change in Europe as a whole. They are also limited in their measures of welfare attitudes, focusing on preferred welfare responsibilities of the government for the reduction of income inequality and the provision of specific services. These items refer to general principles people easily agree with. As explained above, a key rationale of the first module was that the welfare state has various other dimensions towards which people have specific attitudes. One of the main findings from the 2008 data was that there are important differences between what people prefer to have from the welfare state versus what they feel it is actually delivering. Repetition of the module would contribute significantly to our knowledge about welfare attitude change in European countries. Repeating the key items of the 2008 module would allow the creation of a detailed and nuanced picture of evolving popular welfare support during the recent decade across European countries. Repetition for analysing changes in attitudes is also warranted by the fact that some national longitudinal surveys show considerable overall stability when it comes to the general principles and aims of the welfare state, but that strong fluctuations are found with respect to attitudes towards more concrete policies, practices and welfare target groups (Raven, 2012; Duffy et al., 2013; Jeene et al., 2013). In addition, relative stability at the surface does not mean that nothing has changed. Underlying structural conflicts between groups might be changing due to increased competition for scarce resources, for example. Furthermore, there is strong cross-national variation in the extent to which countries were hit by the crisis and in the reactions of policy makers.

Hence, repetition of the module is an important opportunity to address questions like:

- What is the general tendency in welfare attitude change in Europe over the past decade? Is there increasing support for the welfare state as a reaction to the increased socio-economic uncertainty in many countries? Or do we face increased general disappointment in what the welfare states actually deliver, given that retrenchment is a general tendency in welfare reform? Or still, is attitude change country-specific, reflecting differences in for example the degree to which the national economy is affected by the financial crisis, or in levels and types of social policy reforms?
- Do we witness consistency in changes in solidarity with target groups (elderly, the young, unemployed, etc.), for example a general increase in solidarity given that economic hardship has increased among many target groups? Or do we see a general decrease in solidarity when larger socio-economic insecurity translates into greater worries about one's own living

standard? If so, would this create a more self- or group-interested democracy? Or are changes in solidarities target group specific, expressing a kind of ‘deservingness-competition’ fuelled by political claims of unavoidable austerity? For instance, does the European public target its solidarity more strongly on the elderly as a traditionally deserving group, while becoming more conditional with regard to the unemployed and migrants? Such changing patterns of solidarity might also be country-specific, depending for example on actual developments in youth and long-term unemployment, on the degree of population ageing, on shifts in migration, on trends in income inequality, and on types and intensity of welfare reforms?

- At the individual level, does heightened competition over scarce resources between classes intensify class differences in welfare attitudes, or do they on the contrary blur, now that in some countries the life of larger sections of the middle class has become more precarious as well? In other words, do we see the squeezing of the middle class reflected in welfare attitudes?
- What is the effect of the crisis and increased competition on welfare chauvinism, that is, the degree to which natives oppose welfare provision for migrants?

Thirdly, the repeat module will allow analysing in more detail the relationships between welfare attitudes and the national contexts people are living in. As mentioned, findings from the first round showed important context effects for welfare attitudes. New data would allow increasing the variation in context measures by pooling the rounds of 2008 and 2016, a procedure that would give more information on and better tests of context effects than was possible with the 2008 data only. While *levels* of institutional, cultural, economic, political factors have been analysed with the data of the first module (e.g. Van Oorschot & Meuleman, 2014), the repeat module would specifically allow better testing of *changes* in those factors that have a more volatile nature, such as economic conditions, unemployment size, welfare spending and welfare institutional design. In this way, repetition would allow to substantially extend the knowledge about feedback effects on welfare attitudes (Kumlin & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2014).

Fourthly, the repeat module will be an important opportunity to include new concepts that extend our knowledge about pivotal solidarities in European welfare states. One regards a new solidarity dimension that has become salient in many European welfare states as a result of the broad and sustained trend towards emphasizing work (re-)insertion above income protection as the gold standard for good social policy (Carcillo & Grubb, 2006). Institutionally, this ‘welfare-to-work’ or ‘*activation*’ trend goes beyond an increase in active labour market policies to include stronger work-record requirements for access to benefits as well as job seeking obligations for benefit claimants. In terms of solidarity and deservingness, the trend hinges around the reciprocity-aspect that underlies notions of fair re-distribution between ‘the active’ or employed and ‘the non-active’ or not employed citizens of European populations.

The second new concept regards people’s preferences for *future directions of welfare policies* and re-distributions that are considered by European governments, some of which are (partly) introduced in some countries already. We focus on substantial policy reforms that refer to the core issue of the repeat module, concerning people’s solidarity with specific social categories:

young and elderly people, female workers, households in poverty, unemployed people, and migrants. As a pressing question for future welfare policies, we also include transnational solidarity towards fellow Europeans. The question whether and to what degree Europeans from more affluent countries and classes should actively support intra-European redistribution of welfare (e.g., through a European minimum income scheme) gained strong momentum through the recent economic crisis and the unequal degree to which it has hit the different countries across Europe.

In sum, the repeat module allows analysing people's preferences for welfare reforms that would affect rights and obligations for these groups, and delivering inputs for important debates about the (future of the) solidarity between the generations, between working and unemployed people, between the genders, 'the rich' and 'the poor', between natives and newcomers as well as between fellow Europeans.

1.2 The conceptual framework in relation to that of the previous module

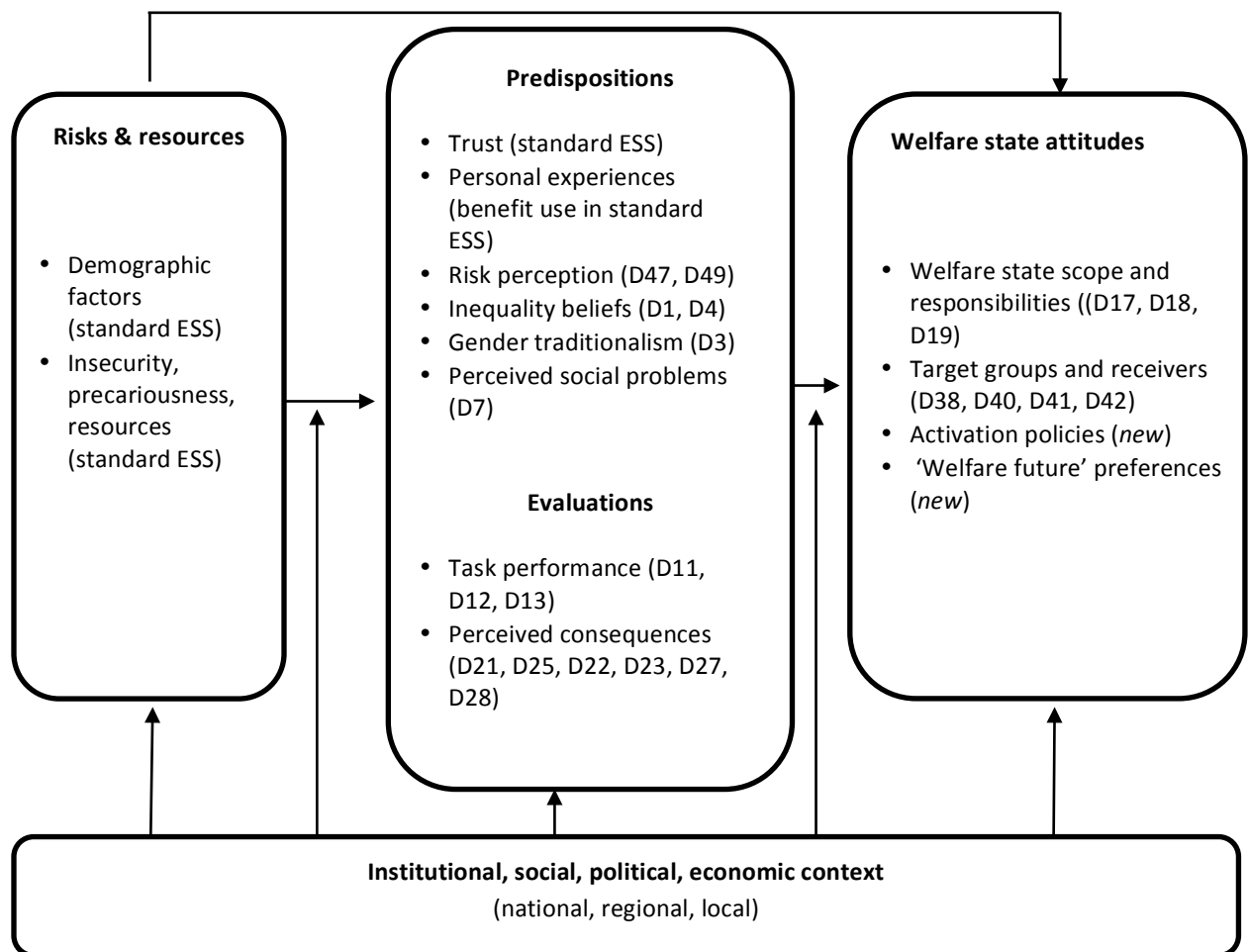
The conceptual model underlying the repeat module takes as a point of departure the model used for the first module, which functioned well to distinguish main concepts and indicators for the multi-dimensional analysis of welfare attitudes and their antecedents (for a more detailed elaboration of the main concepts, we refer to the application of the previous module). In the light of the findings of previous research and the new research questions several adaptations to the original model are made:

1. More emphasis is given to the role of context factors, which in analyses of data from the first module were shown to play an important role in understanding cross-national differences in welfare attitudes. Firstly, compared to the previous model we now assume that it is not only people's predispositions that could be affected by features of the country people live in, but other beliefs and attitudes as well. Also risk and resources of people may be affected by context, and there may be cross-level interaction effects. And secondly, where we assumed in the previous model that context would affect predispositions in terms of differences in institutional setup of welfare systems, we now assume that social, political and economic factors may play a role as well.
2. In the category of 'welfare state attitudes' – which covers the main dependent variables of interest – we included two new concepts: one on activation policy and one on 'welfare futures' that replaces the previous concept of 'alternative welfare models'. The previous concept of 'multi-level governance / Europeanisation of social policy' was mentioned in this category in the proposal for the first module, but it was but not actually measured: we now propose to include an item on this and regard it as one of the indicators for the concept of 'welfare futures'. (For details see part 3.)
3. Given the requested stark reduction of questionnaire items from 50 in the previous module to 30 in the repeat module, we have excluded several concepts and items, the details of which are explained in the part 3 of this proposal. Here we note that from the previous concepts those regarding beliefs in the sustainability of the welfare state, the knowledge base, taxes and financing, and service delivery have been removed.

So, the proposed conceptual model is a somewhat adapted version of the original model that organised the proposal for the ESS4 welfare attitude module. The new model ensures sufficient conceptual continuity as it is shown in figure 1.

Figure 1. Model of dimensions of welfare state attitudes and their antecedents

(Numbers refer to item numbers in the questionnaire of the previous welfare attitudes module; *new* refers to newly proposed items)



As the first model, the new model is helpful in developing testable models of direct and indirect relationships between variables. The risks and resources that individuals are exposed to and endowed with may for example give rise to specific perceptions and beliefs, which in turn may affect the way individuals form their welfare attitudes. At the same time, direct effects from social-structural variables (risks & resources) to welfare legitimacy can also be analysed. Moreover, the model takes heed of contextual data at the national, regional and local level by specifying the impact of institutional (e.g., pension policies), social (e.g., migration), political (e.g., coalition types) and economic (e.g., unemployment) context factors on any of the three sets of variables (direct effects)

and their relationships (interactive effects). For example, level of unemployment can impact risk perception (context effect on social inclusion), on inequality beliefs (context effect on social cohesion) and on activation policy attitudes (context effect on welfare state attitude). Interactive effects are evidenced when countries' level of unemployment impacts the way social class affects perceptions of inequality, or when unemployment levels alter the relationship between inequality beliefs and activation attitudes.

1.3 Summary of salient findings from the previous module and applicant's engagement with these data

For information on salient findings from the previous module we refer to the text in section 1.1. on relevance of the topic of welfare attitudes, where we discussed a number of new findings on such attitudes brought forward by analyses of the round 4 data. Here we will elaborate on the team's expertise and engagements.

In addition to the five people listed at the application form, the application team includes the following three members:

Christian Albrekt Larsen is professor at Centre for Comparative Welfare Studies at Aalborg University. One of his major research topics has been public support for welfare policies in various welfare regimes. In 2006 he published the book "The institutional logic of welfare attitudes: How welfare regimes influence public support" (Ashgate). The book was followed by a number of international review articles on public support, public perceptions of poor and unemployed and the link between welfare regimes and trust. In 2013 he published the book "The Rise and Fall of Social Cohesion. Constructing and De-constructing Social Trust in the US, UK, Sweden and Denmark" (Oxford University Press). From 2012 to 2015, Christian Albrekt Larsen leads a research team, which studies the stability and change in Nordic dispositions towards the state, the labour market and the family (financed by a Sapera Aude elite young research-leader grant).

Inés Calzada (PhD in Sociology) is Research Fellow in the Institute of Public Goods and Policies of the Spanish National Research Council and Senior Lecturer of Sociology in the University of Linköping (Sweden). She has carried out several studies on comparative welfare policies, with a special focus on citizens' attitudes to social policies. Among her recent publications, we can mention: "It's not only about equality. A study on the (other) values that ground attitudes to the Welfare State" (International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 2013); "The Myth of Mediterranean Familism: family values, family structure and public preferences for state intervention in care" (European Societies, 2013, together with Clem Brooks); "Welfare programs organisation and legitimacy" (RIS, 2012); "Are Spaniards Different? European convergence and regional divergence in the evaluation of Welfare State" (Ashgate, 2011. With Eloísa del Pino).

Koen Abts is postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for Sociological Research of the University of Leuven. His current research focuses on the comparison of the discourses of radical right about economy and welfare state in France, the Netherlands and Belgium as well as on the transformation of the socio-economic cleavage and its effects on resentment, welfare opinions and the structure of national electoral space. He has initiated a new project 'the transformation of the left-right divide: changing socio-economic attitudes and voting behavior', co-supervised by Bart Meuleman and

honored by a Research Grant of the University of Leuven. Besides, he is research coordinator of the Belgium General Election Study (2007; 2010; and 2014) and supervisor of a PhD project about poverty attributions in Guyana as well as response styles in non-Western countries. His work has been published in international journals, such as *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *Psychological Measurement*, *Social Indicators Research*, *Electoral Studies*, *Political Studies* and *Acta Politica*.

The team is comprised of scholars from several social science disciplines (sociology, political science, social policy, social psychology, social science methods and statistics), they have all published widely in the field and are experienced in organizing and implementing social surveys (see CV summaries). Two of them (van Oorschot, Staerklé) are members of the application and questionnaire design team of the previous module. The other previous applicants (Stefan Svallfors, Peter Taylor-Gooby, Jørgen Goul-Andersen) have opted for allowing reputed younger scholars to enter the team (Kumlin, Albrekt Larsen, Calzada, Reeskens, Meuleman, Abts) so as to guarantee longer-term commitment to and expertise in the field of welfare attitudes research. The previous applicants support the proposal for the repeat module.

The team has an extensive history of cooperation. The core of it was formed as an outcome of a conference at Tilburg University in 2004 on “Public Opinion and Social Policy in Europe”. The aim of this conference was to take stock of existing national and comparative datasets regarding attitudes to welfare policies and discuss possibilities for future cooperation. An important outcome of the meeting was the decision to set up a smaller team that would apply for the previous module in the European Social Survey. This was realized with good success. Both before and after the meeting and the release of the data from the previous module, participants in the team have collaborated intensively on numerous occasions.

The previous module has been the basis of various successful grant applications by the team or its members. Most importantly, a joint project of the team has been a three year study on contextual drivers of welfare attitudes using data from the previous ESS welfare attitudes module, financed by the European Science Foundation under the EUROCORES HUMvib program on “Understanding European Diversity: Cross-National Analysis of Human Values, Attitudes and Behaviour”. The ESF support allowed for extending the team with several phd’s and post-docs (some of which are now among the co-applicants), and led to a series of journal publications, as well as to an edited volume on “Contested welfare states: Welfare attitudes in Europe and beyond” (Svallfors, S., ed., 2012, Stanford University Press). Apart from this European grant, various national grant proposals have been honored:

- Project ‘The ties that bind’ – Tim Reeskens (honored with a Veni-scholarship by the Dutch NWO)
- Project ‘Solidarity in times of crisis’ – Bart Meuleman (honored with a grant of the Flemish Research Council – FWO)
- The Research project "Support for the affluent welfare state: fairness, interests, and social capital"(funded by the Research Council of Norway) is directed by Staffan Kumlin, and

comprises five senior researchers. Based on the ESS round 4 questionnaire, new data are being collected by means of web surveys in Norway, Sweden and Germany.

- Project ‘The transformation of the left-right cleavage’ – co-supervised by Bart Meuleman and Koen Abts (honored with a grant by the Research Council of the University of Leuven)
- Project “The multi-dimensionality of welfare attitudes” - Wim van Oorschot (honored with a grant from the Dutch Research Council-NWO)
- Christian Albrekt Larsen leads a research team, which studies the stability and change in Nordic dispositions towards the state, the labour market and the family (financed by a Sapera Aude elite young research-leader grant). The European Social Survey from 2008 has especially is used in one of the subproject that links responses to the ESS 2008 survey with 120 qualitative interviews in Sweden and Denmark.

An important strength of our team is that it has direct personal links to the Network for European Social Policy Analysis (ESPAnet, www.espanet.org), which has more than 1000 members among academics and European policy-makers. ESPAnet runs a newsletter and organizes seminars on topics related to social policies in Europe, including an annual conference, annual young researchers’ workshops, and annual summer/winter schools. This wider network provides access for dissemination, publicity and critical scrutiny of results, exemplified e.g. by the fact that since 2008 welfare attitudes has been a subject of streams at all ESPAnet’s annual conferences, on the occasions of which most papers presented analyses of the previous module. Most recently, one of ESPAnet’s Winter Schools was organized by the applicant team members under the theme of “The Social Legitimacy of the Welfare State: Welfare, work and care attitudes in cross-national and longitudinal perspective” (3-7 February 2014, University of Leuven, Belgium), which attracted more than 20 phd’s and post-docs from all over Europe. The link with ESPAnet has been and will continue to be a strong vehicle for increasing usage of the module far beyond the group of scholars who are currently working in the field, as well as for increasing further the international visibility and reputation of the European Social Survey as a whole.

Other activities / networks using the welfare attitudes module in which group members are involved include:

- van Oorschot and Meuleman contributed to the book project headed by Ervasti and colleagues (H. Ervasti, J.G. Andersen, T. Fridberg, & K. Ringdal (eds.), *The Future of the Welfare State: Social Policy Attitudes and Social Capital in Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- ESS4 data have been extensively used and analysed in social psychology Master level courses at the University of Lausanne and the University of Helsinki, on topics of social justice and political opinion formation (Staerklé)

We feel confident that we will continue to work well as a team, and will fully oblige to the ESS procedures, rules and deadlines.

PART 2: Advantages & Disadvantages of the timing of the module

By coincidence, the previous welfare attitudes module of ESS was fielded precisely when the 2008 financial crisis was about to initiate. Seven countries (Denmark, Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Norway Spain and Switzerland) entered the field in the weeks before September 15th 2008, the day the global crisis broke loose (i.e. the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers). Cyprus, Finland, France, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden and the UK started data collection in the second half of September and October, i.e. in the period when the financial crisis fully hit the European continent. Belgium, Croatia, Estonia, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia and Turkey entered the field shortly after (November or December), and the remaining countries in 2009.

While this specific timing of events might have been felt as a bit unlucky back in 2008, we are now convinced that it offers a unique opportunity for welfare attitudes research. Over the past six years, Europe went through three interconnected crises: a banking crisis in 2008, followed by an economic recession in 2009, which invoked a fiscal crisis of different states, exemplified by the debt crises in Greece, Ireland, and Portugal. In the aftermath of the fiscal crisis, Greece together with Ireland, Portugal and Spain implemented impressive fiscal consolidation programs, including significant welfare retrenchment and labour market reform. Besides, conservative governments in Germany, France, Italy, the UK, and the Netherlands launched austerity programs. This profound multilayered economic crisis can be seen as a natural experiment: An exogenous shock – to wit plummeting economic growth and staggering unemployment, with a variety of policy responses and steeply increasing economic insecurity as a consequence - was administered to European countries that are characterized by very different institutional setups and social realities. Although the intensity of the shock shows variation over European countries, in most countries the current crisis cuts much deeper than usual downward business cycles, and could have set off a qualitatively different dynamic in the development of welfare attitudes.

These exceptional circumstances make it possible for the first time to study the attitudinal consequences of a deep economic downturn, while circumventing the problem of confusion between economic conditions and other contextual variables which limits the analytical possibilities of one-off, single year measurements. For the 'natural experiment' design to function optimally, the second measurement of welfare attitudes (the post-test, so to speak) should ideally be carried out no sooner or later than when the impact of economic change on public opinion had sufficient time to materialize. While the financial crisis started off several years ago, and was relatively quickly under control (for the time being at least), the damage to the real economy (economic production, labor market, consumer demand) is taking years to reveal itself in full extent and has still not played out. According to Eurostat, current unemployment (10.7% in January and 10.6% in February 2014) has still not come from its peak in May 2013 (10.9%) and is considerably larger than in 2007 (below 7.5%). As a result, economic insecurity is still a reality for many Europeans. Furthermore, the crisis has prompted political leaders to undertake action, and has made socio-economic issues, welfare policies and the well-being and precariousness of various groups of citizens highly salient topics in political discourse. In our view, the effects of the welfare policy reforms resulting from this discourse are only becoming clear right now.

In our opinion, the timing of ESS round 8 (2016-17) would be ideal in order to see what the attitudinal consequences of the crisis and the resulting policy reactions are. Postponing the repeat module to a later round would bring along the risk that the crisis effects become diluted and contaminated by other factors.

We do not see practical, theoretical, or policy-related disadvantages of running the repeat module in round 8 of 2016.

PART 3: Proposed module design for 30 items

As outlined in section 1.2 of this proposal (the conceptual framework – see also Figure 1), the strategy of our proposal is to repeat the key concepts of the original module (provided that they show good measurement properties) and to supplement these by a smaller number of new concepts that are highly relevant in the light of the current societal and scholarly debates on the welfare state.

3.1 Items for replication

Since the original module consisted of 50 indicators, while the repeat module should contain 30 items only (including the new concepts), a very steep reduction in the number of items is necessary. During this difficult exercise, we applied the following general principles:

- We focus on key concepts that have been used most often by empirical researchers. We performed a bibliographical study of papers using the original module to get an overview of item usage (available upon request from the applicants). The number of times the retained items have been used is mentioned in the tables below.
- We narrow down the wide variety of policy domains covered by items of the first module to the domains that are most relevant for the current solidarity debates as we discussed above. These regard items concerning unemployment/the unemployed, pensions/the elderly, childcare/female workers, redistribution and equality/the poor, and social rights for newcomers/migrants. (Although there are gender specific research and policy questions involved in unemployment and pensions as well, childcare is a domain where gender issue are most particularly addressed).
- We omit indicators and concepts that were shown to possess poor measurement validity, reliability and/or cross-national comparability. Our assessment is based on several empirical studies that tested the measurement quality of the original module by means of confirmatory factor analysis (see, e.g. Roosma, Gelissen & van Oorschot 2012; van Oorschot, Reeskens & Meuleman, 2012). Where possible, we take information on the cross-national measurement equivalence of the items into account (Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998).
- We reduce long item batteries to scales consisting of the two or three strongest items only, i.e. the absolute minimum to estimate measurement models.

Below, we give an overview of the 21 items that are retaken in this repeat module (70% of the new module).

Belief systems

D1: Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts. (item usage: 8)
D3: A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family. (item usage: 3)
D4: For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small. (item usage: 15)

Together with item B30 of the core module (“Government should reduce differences in income levels”), items D1 and D4 constitute a scale measuring endorsement of one of the core principles of the welfare state, namely egalitarianism. This scale has been used frequently, and was shown to possess good measurement properties by means of factor analysis (van Oorschot, Reeskens & Meuleman 2012: 194). D3 captures an important aspect of gender roles, and is crucial to understand support for childcare provisions (Goerres & Tepe 2012; Meuleman & Chung 2012). A second aspect of attitudes towards female employment that is less central to understand attitudes towards public child care (“when jobs are scarce, men more right to job than women”) is left out. Note that items D2 (“schools must teach children to obey”) and D5 (“break law should be much harsher sentenced”) are not replicated. Together with item C13 (“Terrorist in prison until police satisfied”), these questions were expected to measure authoritarianism. However, they turned out not to tap strongly into the same latent factor as indicated by a low Cronbach’s alpha (0.55; Mewes & Mau 2012).

Knowledge base

D7: Of every 100 people of working age in [country] how many would you say are unemployed and looking for work? (item usage: 6)

The item regarding the number of unemployed allows assessing whether the economic crisis has altered perceptions of the size of the unemployment problem. Since this is a plausible and tested mechanism through which economic crisis impacts welfare attitudes (Mackonyte, 2013), the item is retained. The other knowledge base-items – regarding the sick (D8), the poor (D9) and immigrants (D10) - are left out because they are quite difficult for respondents to answer (leading to high item non-response rates) and have been used less frequently.

Evaluations of task performance

D11: What do you think overall about the standard of living of pensioners? (item usage: 3)
 D12: What do you think overall about the standard of living of people who are unemployed? (item usage: 5)

For two crucial policy domains (namely unemployment and pensions), we retain an indicator of perceived performance. Although these items have not been used very frequently, previous research (van Oorschot & Meuleman 2012; Meuleman & Chung 2012) has led to the interesting finding that perceptions of task performance interfere with welfare support. Roosma et al. (2012) show that the task performance evaluations load strongly on one latent variable, and measure this concept in a cross-culturally comparable way (partial scalar equivalence is reached). D13 (provision of affordable childcare) and D14 (perceived opportunities for young people to find a first job) are excluded.

Welfare scope and responsibilities

How much responsibility you think governments should have to...
D17: ...ensure a reasonable standard of living for the old? (item usage: 25)
D18: ...ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed? (item usage: 26)
D19: ...ensure sufficient childcare services for working parents? (item usage: 20)

Preferences regarding the role of government and the preferred range of domains government should be active in are a staple of welfare attitudes research (Roller, 1995), and the items referring to this concept have been used most frequently (18 to 26 times). As a result, they cannot be omitted from this module. Instead of the original 6-item scale, we opt to reduce the scale to three items that relate to the policy domains of focus. By consequence, the items provision of jobs (D15), health care (D16) and paid leave (D20) are omitted. Previous research has shown that the retained items are reliable and valid indicators. Furthermore, the cross-national measurement equivalence (partial scalar equivalence) of these items was shown by means of multi-group confirmatory factor analyses (Roosma et al., 2012).

Perceived consequences

Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in [country]....
D21: ...place too great a strain on the economy? (item usage: 8)
D22: ...prevent widespread poverty? (item usage: 8)
D23: ...lead to a more equal society? (item usage: 7)
D25: ...cost businesses too much in taxes and charges? (item usage: 9)
D27: ...make people lazy? (item usage: 11)
D28: ...make people less willing to care for one another? (item usage: 11)

The items on perceived consequences have been quite popular in previous research. These studies (Van Oorschot et al., 2012; Roosma et al., 2014b) has shown that the items on the perceived consequences of the welfare state tap into three distinct dimensions: social (D22, D23), economic (D21, D25) and moral consequences (D27, D28). The resulting scales show good measurement properties and have been tested for cross-cultural comparability. Partial scalar equivalence of the measurements was shown, making meaningful cross-national comparisons of means possible. We propose to retain for each dimension the two strongest indicators (as indicated by the standardized factor loading). Item D24 does not belong to any of the three dimensions and has hardly been used (2 times), and is consequently left out.

Target groups and receivers

D38: When social rights for newcomers in country (item usage: 8)
D40: Most unemployed people do not really try to find a job. (item usage: 9)
D41: Many people with very low incomes get less benefit than they are legally entitled to. (item usage: 4)
D42: Many people manage to obtain benefits and services to which they are not entitled. (item usage: 8)

We propose to replicate the item on social rights for newcomers D38, and to replicate 3 out of the 5 original items measuring various attitudes towards and beliefs on benefit recipients. D40 is retained because it's specific focus on popular images of the unemployed, which has shown to be an important determinant of solidarity with unemployed people (Van Oorschot & Meuleman, 2014). D41 and D42 measure perceptions of benefit underuse and overuse, which both play a role in attitudes on welfare targeting and performance towards needy groups generally (Roosma et al. 2012). A second item on underuse (D43 - "Insufficient benefits in country to help people in real need") and the item on abuse of sickness benefits (D44 - "Employees often pretend they are sick to stay at home") are excluded because they have been used less frequently and because they contend with interpretation problems (D43: are there insufficient benefits, or are benefits insufficient; D44: large unit non-response in some countries).

Risk perception

D47: Please tell me how likely it is that during the next 12 months you will be unemployed and looking for work for at least four consecutive weeks? (item usage: 16)
D49: And during the next 12 months how likely is it that there will be some periods when you don't have enough money to cover your household necessities? (item usage: 16)

Individual risk perceptions play pivotal role in the impact economic crisis has on welfare attitudes, and have therefore been used very frequently (namely the most popular concept after welfare scope and responsibilities). Two indicators, one of which refers to becoming unemployed specifically, are retained. Items D48 and D50 (which refer to informal care and health care) have been used less frequently and are omitted.

Omitted concepts

The strong reduction in number of items necessarily implies that we had to omit several concepts completely. The items referring to the 'welfare magnet'-effect (D24) and to immigrants contribution to society (D39) will not be replicated. Migration has received ample attention in a specific rotating module (first included in round 1 and planned to be repeated in round 7). Item D24, for example, figures (in a slightly modified version; item D26 in round 1) in the immigration module. D39 has 13%

item non-response, indicating a high level of difficulty for substantial numbers of respondents. The items measuring perceived quality of service delivery (D30-D33) have not been used frequently and suffer from high item non-response (over 10% for items D31 and D33). The items regarding taxation and finance (D35-D37) require quite complex and abstract reasoning from the respondents. The nominal measurement level makes these items hard to analyze as dependent variables, and by consequence they have only been used very rarely (2 to 4 times only). Finally, the issue of sustainability (items D45-D46) are omitted as well because of very infrequent use (3 times each).

3.2 New concepts and items

As explained in part 1 of this application, we propose to include two new concepts in the welfare attitudes module. In total, 9 new items (amounting to 30% of the total module) will be included.

'Activation' preferences (4 items)

A general trend in welfare reform that has been introduced in most European countries, although at different times, to different degrees and in different ways, regards a shift away from a focus on providing unemployed people with benefit income to a focus on instruments and policies aimed at their work (re-)insertion. This so-called 'activation' or 'welfare-to-work' trend has many faces. It ranges from an increase in active labour market policies, such as creating opportunities for work-experience jobs, subsidized jobs, job seeking support and mediation, training and educational opportunities, etc., to stronger work-record requirements for access to benefits, and an extension and intensification of (policing of) job seeking obligations. Advocates of the trend tend to emphasize the positive aspects of it, arguing that for individual citizens work is a personally and socially more gratifying, and economically, a more sustainable way of earning a living than being dependent upon benefits. Critical voices, however, warn against practices where activation turns into a type of 'work fare' policy, implying a degrading disciplining of unemployed people by requiring them to do rather senseless work without any perspective on a real improvement of their future living standards. Asking about preferences for the various perspectives on and instruments of activation policies would require a larger number of questionnaire items, which number is not available in the repeat module.

We need a focus and suggest to include preferences for job seeking obligations of unemployed people. The prime reason for this is that an increase in such obligations is common to welfare-to-work reforms in all European countries, while there is more variation in the implementation of other policies. Experience with Dutch and Danish national surveys (unpublished research note: W. van Oorschot) learns that a large majority of the Dutch and Danish population agree with an activation approach of unemployed people generally and supports stringent job seek obligations for them. However, the Dutch and Danish public is nuanced when it comes to the application of obligations to different groups of unemployed (as those of younger and older age, those with or without care obligations for family members, those with or without health problems), and when it comes to conditions under which unemployed should be expected to accept a job offered (should they accept a job with lower salary than they had before, at a lower level of skills, a large distance from home, a short-term job without any future prospect). We consider measuring

people's preferences regarding activation along these lines, possibly replicating the exact question wordings of the Dutch and Danish surveys. These are:

(Figures refer to % of Dutch/Danish populations giving the answer: these figures show that even between two well-developed welfare states there are differences in opinions).

[Application of job seek obligation] Unemployed beneficiaries are obliged to look for a job and accept one if offered. In practice, however, there may be several exceptions to this rule. What is your opinion on this matter? That is, for which of the groups mentioned should the obligation to (look for) work be applied strictly, loosely, or not at all?

(answer categories: 1=strictly; 2=loosely; 3=not at all)

- NEW1. older unemployed people (55+) (NL: 13-64-23 / DK: 5-68-25)
NEW2. parents with young children (<6 years of age) (NL: 21-63-16 / DK: 9-56-31)

[Conditions for job acceptance]

- NEW3. Do you think that an unemployed person should be obliged to accept paid work below his or her educational level?

Answer categories:

- 1= Yes, much lower than his or her educational level (NL: 22/DK: 23)
2= Yes, but not much lower than his or her educational level (NL: 54/ DK: 70)
3= No (NL: 17/DK: 4)

- NEW4. Do you think that an unemployed person should be obliged to accept paid work with a salary lower than one's previous salary?

- 1= Yes, much lower than one's previous salary (NL: 25/ DK: 18)
2= Yes, but not much lower than one's previous salary (NL: 54 / DK: 74)
3= No, never (NL: 15 / DK: 5)

'Welfare future' preferences (5 items)

The academic and policy relevance of the proposed repeat module will be enhanced if we include items that measure people's preferences for substantially new future directions of welfare policies that are considered by European governments, some of which are (partly) introduced in some countries. For countries still debating specific reforms the module would give ex-ante information on the degree to which their population would welcome or reject them, and for countries that have implemented the reforms the module informs ex-post about their social legitimacy.

There are various modalities and directions for future welfare reform under discussion in the academic and socio-political welfare state debate. (Further) activation is one of them, along with a stronger focus on personal responsibility instead of on governments being in charge of welfare provision; on residualization, that is, on retrenchment and cutbacks so that welfare is directed more at the poorest only; on social investment, giving preference to education and labour market policies instead of to income benefits; on adapting the welfare state to dual earner households, etc. (Esping-Andersen et al., 2002; Palier et al., 2011; Hemerijck, 2013). Clearly, welfare reforms and proposals are not only about retrenchment and bringing down the costs of welfare. Framing new items only from this perspective would do little justice to the nuanced welfare reform debates. Debates focus on re-direction of policies, that is, shifting focus and spending from one policy area to another, as much as on abolishing vs. establishing provisions (with decreases or increase of government responsibilities and spending as a result). Given the strong restriction on the number of items we can include, we propose to focus on those kind of substantial reforms that refer to the core issue of the repeat module, concerning people's solidarity with specific social categories. Thus, we aim to measure people's preferences for future welfare reforms that would affect rights and obligations for these groups.

In terms of re-direction of policy emphasis we propose to ask people about their agreement with shifting focus from pension provision for elderly to employment and work-care reconciliation provision for younger people (one item), as well as with shifting focus from paying out income benefits to unemployed people to investment in their work re-insertion opportunities (one item). As for reduction in spending we consider asking about people's agreement with a general downsizing of welfare provision while keeping the social protection of the poorest in society intact (implying an exclusion of the (in some countries) 'squeezed' middle classes from collective provisions) (one item). In terms of increase of spending we consider asking about agreement with extending policies that facilitate labour market participation of women (one item). With these four items we cover important debates about the (future of the) solidarity between the generations, between working and unemployed people, between the genders, 'the rich' and 'the poor'.

In addition, as we explained above, we plan to include an item that measures cross-border intra-European solidarity, asking people about their preference for establishing a European minimum income scheme, to be paid to all poor people living in European countries from a European budget.

As far as we know these kinds of preferences for welfare futures have not been addressed in social surveys previously in ways as we consider them here.

PART 4: Methodological or Practical difficulties

As in any cross-national survey, the cross-national comparability of the measures is a major challenge. The comparison of abstract concepts across countries requires these concepts to be measured in a cross-culturally equivalent way. The idea of measurement equivalence or invariance refers to the question “*whether or not, under different conditions of observing and studying phenomena, measurement operations yield measures of the same attribute.*” (Horn & McArdle, 1992: 117). If measurement equivalence is absent, observed cross-national differences might result from the incomparability of measures rather than from meaningful international variation. Measurement equivalence should thus not be taken for granted in cross-national research, but instead is a hypothesis that needs to be tested empirically.

Measurement inequivalence can stem from various sources of bias (van de Vijver, 1998). First, construct bias refers to the situation that the theoretical concept being measured has a different meaning across groups. A second source, method bias, results from differences in the methodologies used to collect data. International variations in sampling strategies or cultural differences in response patterns (e.g. social desirability bias), for example, can lead to such method biases. Third, item bias refers to anomalies at the item level, such as poor translations or the inclusion of terms that have a culture-specific interpretation.

A questionnaire module that focuses on an inherently context-specific topic such as the institutions of the national welfare state might potentially suffer from measurement inequivalence. Especially construct bias (do citizens of different countries have similar understandings of the concept of a welfare state?) and item biases (does the item refer to specific issues that are country-specific?) could be potential threat. In order to eliminate this threat, we have paid special attention to the issue of cross-national comparability. Members of the questionnaire design team have carried out several studies into the measurement equivalence of the scales of the original modules (Roosma et al., 2012; van Oorschot et al., 2012). The results are re-assuring, and indicate that the scales that are retained in this repeat module are measured in a partially scalar equivalence way. This means that meaningful cross-country mean comparisons are possible, and that the items are well suited for substantive comparative analysis. Since all countries that are expected to participate in ESS round 8 already took part in round 4, we do not foresee additional problems.

A second potential issue might be the abstract character of the theme of the module. For certain strata of the population - especially the lower educated and politically disinterested - answering questions about a rather abstract topic such as the functioning of welfare institutions might be a difficult task. Results from the original module, however, suggest that the level of difficulty of most items was not problematic. All items with more than 10% item non-response have been omitted from the repeat module, except items D7 (Of every 100 people of working age in [country] how many would you say are unemployed and looking for work?). 15 out of 21 repeated items have an item non-response lower than 5%. Because the new items deal with concrete case rather than general and abstract principles, we do not expect major difficulties here either.

The fielding of the previous module did not give rise to major methodological difficulties. Based on our positive experience of collaborating with the ESS team in the past, we are confident that no important practical problems will arise.

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