

ESS Round 8 Question Module Design Template¹

Module Title: Welfare Attitudes in a Changing Europe: Solidarities under Pressure

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¹ Citation reference: European Social Survey (2016). *ESS Round 8 Module on Welfare Attitudes – Question Design Final Module in Template*. London: ESS ERIC Headquarters c/o City University London.

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SECTION A: Theoretical background

The European welfare state became substantially challenged in the past two decades. Among the major challenges are intensified international economic competition that threatens their redistributive capacity; demographic aging, new family arrangements and labour market developments confront them with 'new social risks'; 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. The combination of these challenges results in a precarious political context marked by intensified discussions about the generosity and scope of the welfare state, with a focus on the criteria for who deserves what and why.

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's goals and approaches. Welfare states are changing all over Europe, but in different speeds and directions.

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 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.

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.

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. 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;
- 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;
- 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;
- 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, 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;
- The debate about the integration of migrants in European societies hinges to a large degree on ideas about their welfare deservingness;
- 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.

In essence the solidarity debates are about the deservingness or undeservingness of specific categories of (potential) benefit and services claimants like working parents, households in poverty, unemployed people, migrants and fellow Europeans, and they reflect worries about social cohesion as the fundamental backbone of social order itself. 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.

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 in 2008/9, but also what the public feels about the future of their welfare states.

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 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.

In this way, 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. Importantly, it will enable researchers to address a series of new research questions.

As for these new questions, firstly, analyses of the first module have delivered many really new insights to the field. The repeat enables to answer the question of how robust these findings are. 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. Thirdly, the repeat module allows analysing in more detail the relationships between welfare attitudes and the national contexts people are living in. And, fourthly, the repeat module will be an important opportunity to include new concepts that extend our knowledge about pivotal solidarities in European welfare states.

The first of these new concepts 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. 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: working parents, unemployed people, the poor 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. However, there are differences in actual welfare state efforts among European regions, which makes it important as well to see how differently Europeans value EU impact on their welfare states.

In sum, the aims of the repeat module are:

- to deliver new data that allow analysing and understanding changes and differences in people's preferences for welfare and welfare reforms that would affect rights and obligations of social groups;
- and thus to deliver inputs for important debates about the (future of the) solidarity with unemployed people, with working parents, with the poor', with migrant newcomers, as well as with fellow Europeans.

As we explain in more detail in *section B* below, our theoretical framework is an adapted continuation of the framework of the previous module, and assumes that individual welfare attitudes can be explained either directly, or indirectly, by influences from people's *risks and resources* that are related to their position in the social hierarchy; by their *predispositions* regarding specific beliefs, experiences and perceptions; and by their *evaluations* of the functioning of the welfare state. The framework assumes furthermore that, as has been shown in a series of empirical studies on the data of the round 4 module, various aspects of the national *context* in which live may influence each of these central concepts, as well as their interrelations.

SECTION B. Brief description of all the concepts to be measured in the module and their expected relationships

The conceptual framework (in relation to that of the previous module)

The conceptual model underlying this repeat module is depicted in the *Figure 1* below.

It takes as a point of departure the model used for the round 4 module, which functioned well to distinguish main concepts and indicators for the multi-dimensional analysis of welfare attitudes and their antecedents. 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. Compared to the previous model we now assume that it is not only people's risks and resources and their predispositions that could be affected by features of the country people live in, but other beliefs and attitudes as well. And where we assumed in the previous model that context would affect individual level variables in terms of differences in institutional setup of welfare systems, we now assume that social, political, cultural 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 include three new concepts: one on 'activation' policy, one on preferred 'welfare futures' and one on opinions towards the involvement of the EU in social policy.
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 *section E* below. Here we note that from the previous concepts those regarding authoritarianism, beliefs in the sustainability of the welfare state, 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 well the proposal for the ESS 4 welfare attitude module. The new model ensures sufficient conceptual continuity. Below, all concepts in the model are given. Note that due to our specific focus on welfare *attitudes*, the nature of most concepts is complex.

Complex concepts and their working names

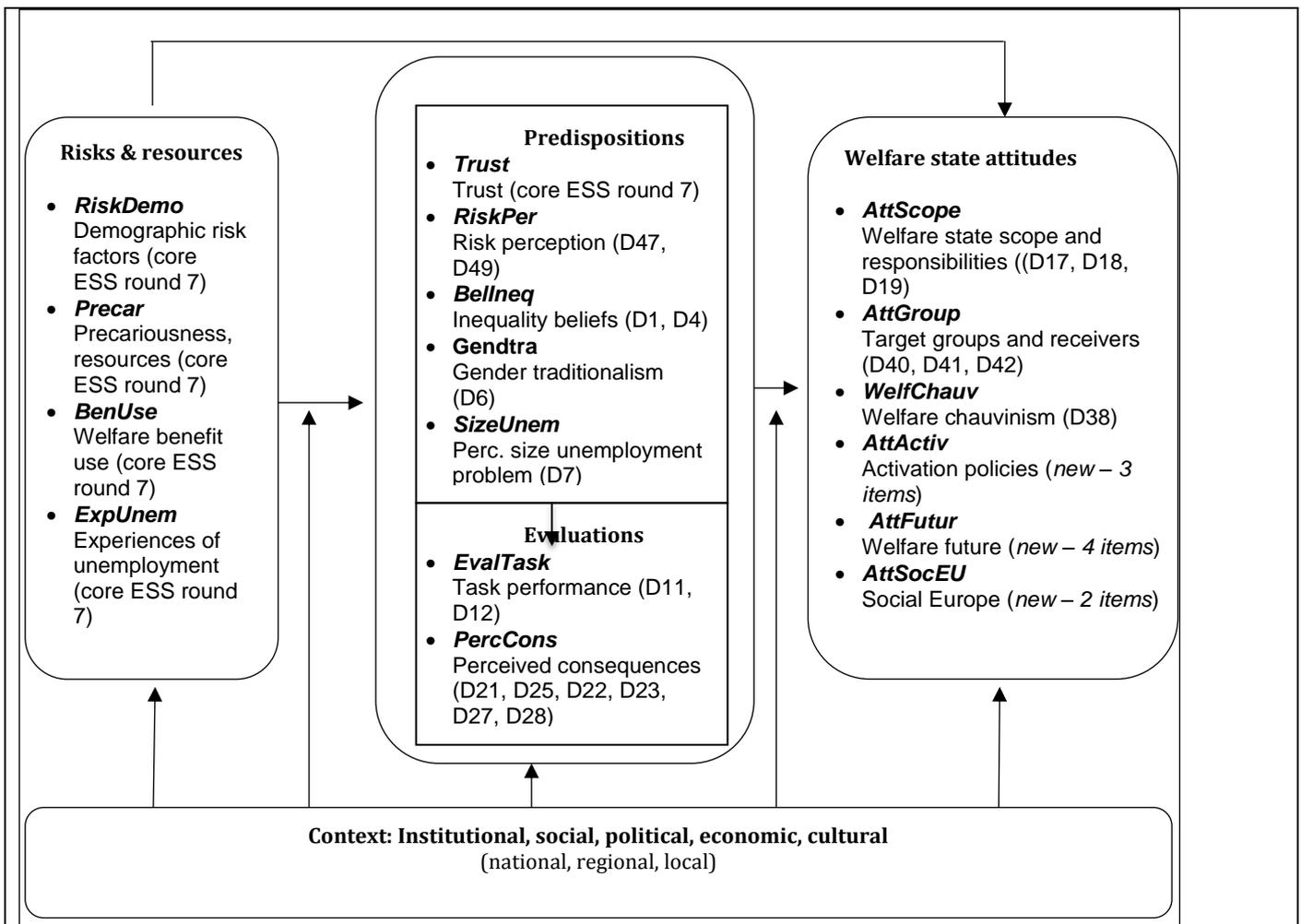
1. Attitudes towards welfare state scope and responsibilities (AttScope, 3 items)
2. Attitudes towards target groups and receivers of benefits and service (AttGroup, 3 items)
3. Attitudes towards activation (AttActiv, 3 items)
4. Attitudes towards welfare future (AttFutur, 4 items)
5. Attitudes towards social Europe (AttSocEU, 2 items)
6. Trust (Trust, 6 items)
7. Risk perception (RiskPer, 2 items)
8. Beliefs about inequality (Bellneq, 3 items)
9. Evaluation of task performance (EvalTask, 2 items)
10. Perceived consequences of social policies (PercCons, 6 items)

Simple concepts and their working names

11. Welfare chauvinism (WelChauv)
12. Gender traditionalism (GendTra)
13. Perceived size of unemployment problem (SizeUnem)
14. Demographic risk factors (RiskDemo)
15. Precariousness, resources (Precar)
16. Benefit Use (BenUse)
17. Experience of unemployment (ExpUnem)

Figure 1. Model of the antecedents of welfare state attitudes

(Numbers refer to item numbers in the questionnaire of the previous welfare attitudes module of round 4; *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 predispositions and evaluations, which in turn may affect the way individuals form their welfare attitudes. At the same time, direct effects from social-structural variables (risks and resources) to welfare attitudes 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), cultural (e.g., dominant religion) 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 have a context effect on people's risk perception (e.g., perceived employment insecurity), their inequality beliefs (e.g., perceived fairness of differences in living standards), and attitudes towards activation as an approach to welfare provision by the state. Interactive effects are evidenced when, for example, 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.

Section C: Complex Concepts

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Attitudes towards welfare state scope and responsibilities

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises
The concept <i>Attitudes towards welfare state scope and responsibilities (AttScope)</i> is an absolute key concept in the welfare attitudes literature, and refers to citizens' preferences regarding the legitimate scope of government activities. Concretely, we focus on attitudes towards government intervention in the domain of pensions, unemployment benefits and child care.
Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts
AttScope is one of the key dependent variables in our conceptual models. We hypothesize it to be dependent on individual structural positions (risks and resources), predispositions and evaluations as well national and regional context. A very robust finding in the literature is for example the relationship between low resources, high risk and support for government responsibility.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Welfare state responsibility to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the old [REPEAT: GVSLVOL]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly																													
The first sub dimension, <i>Welfare state responsibility to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the old (GVSLVOL)</i> , indicates the belief that the economic well-being of the elderly is a responsibility of the government.																													
Expected relationship with other sub concepts																													
We expect positive relationships between GVSLVOL, GVSLVUE and GVSLVCR, as these sub dimensions together indicate the overarching construct AttScope.																													
Final Question Wording:																													
CARD 48 People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments ² should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to... READ OUT...																													
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 20%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Should not be governments' responsibility at all</th> <th style="width: 10%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Should be entirely governments' responsibility</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">(Refusal)</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">(Don't know)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>E6 ...ensure a reasonable standard of living³ for the old⁴?</td> <td style="text-align: center;">00</td> <td style="text-align: center;">01</td> <td style="text-align: center;">02</td> <td style="text-align: center;">03</td> <td style="text-align: center;">04</td> <td style="text-align: center;">05</td> <td style="text-align: center;">06</td> <td style="text-align: center;">07</td> <td style="text-align: center;">08</td> <td style="text-align: center;">09</td> <td style="text-align: center;">10</td> <td style="text-align: center;">77</td> <td style="text-align: center;">88</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Should not be governments' responsibility at all											Should be entirely governments' responsibility	(Refusal)	(Don't know)	E6 ...ensure a reasonable standard of living ³ for the old ⁴ ?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	77	88
	Should not be governments' responsibility at all											Should be entirely governments' responsibility	(Refusal)	(Don't know)															
E6 ...ensure a reasonable standard of living ³ for the old ⁴ ?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	77	88																

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Welfare state responsibility to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed [REPEAT: GVSLVUE]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly
The second sub dimension, <i>Welfare state responsibility to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed (GVSLVUE)</i> , indicates the belief that the economic well-being of the unemployed is a responsibility of the government.
Expected relationship with other sub concepts

² 'governments' in the sense of all governments and NOT only the people now governing / present regime. The 'state' can be used instead of governments if appropriate.

³ 'standard of living': people's material circumstances.

⁴ This question refers to things like pensions, other benefits or facilities for retired people.

We expect positive relationships between GVSLVOL, GVSLVUE and GVSLVCR, as these sub dimensions together indicate the overarching construct AttScope.

Final Question Wording:

(CARD 48 People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments⁵ should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to... **READ OUT...**)

		Should not be governments' responsibility at all										Should be entirely governments' responsibility		(Refusal)	(Don't know)
		00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	77	88	
E7	...ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed ⁶ ?														

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Welfare state responsibility to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents [REPEAT: GVSLVCR]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The third sub dimension, *Welfare state responsibility to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents (GVSLVCR)*, indicates the belief that organizing or providing affordable child care is a responsibility of the government.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect positive relationships between GVSLVOL, GVSLVUE and GVSLVCR, as these sub dimensions together indicate the overarching construct AttScope.

Final Question Wording:

(CARD 48 People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments⁷ should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to... **READ OUT...**)

		Should not be governments' responsibility at all										Should be entirely governments' responsibility		(Refusal)	(Do not know)
		00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	77	88	
E8	...ensure sufficient child care services ⁸ for working parents?														

⁵ 'governments' in the sense of all governments and NOT only the people now governing / present regime. The 'state' can be used instead of governments if appropriate.

⁶ 'unemployed': people who cannot find paid work.

⁷ 'governments' in the sense of all governments and NOT only the people now governing / present regime. The 'state' can be used instead of governments if appropriate.

⁸ 'child care services': refers to things like day care centres, playgroups and paid childminders but not relatives.

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Attitudes towards target groups and receivers of benefits and service

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

The concept *Attitudes towards target groups and receivers of benefits and service (AttGroup)* intends to capture attitudes towards recipients of public benefits and services. We focus on attitudes towards a group for which social benefits and services are heavily debated, namely the unemployed. Furthermore, this concept includes perceptions that claimants make over- or underuse of benefit systems.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

AttGroup is one of the key dependent variables in our conceptual models. As such, we hypothesize it to be dependent on individual structural positions (risks and resources), predispositions and evaluations as well on national and regional context.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Attitudes towards unemployed [REPEAT: UENTRJB]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The concept *Attitudes towards unemployed (UENTRJB)* refers to evaluative beliefs about the unemployed as welfare beneficiaries, and more specifically to the assumed efforts unemployed persons undertake to find a job.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect that UENTRJB and BENNENT are positively related since both measure negative images of unemployed/benefit claimants, while both are expected to relate negatively to LBENENT since this measures a positive stance towards the social rights of low income people

Final Question Wording:

CARD 51 Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about people in [country].

READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND CODE IN GRID

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E16 Most unemployed ⁹ people do not really try to find a job.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Perception of benefit overuse [REPEAT: BENNENT]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Perception of benefit overuse (BENNENT) refers to the idea that certain welfare recipients are receiving more benefits than they are entitled to (i.e. social fraud).

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect that UENTRJB and BENNENT are positively related since both measure negative images of unemployed/benefit claimants, while both are expected to relate negatively to LBENENT since this measures a positive stance towards the social rights of low income people

Final Question Wording:

(CARD 51) Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about people in [country].

⁹ 'unemployed': people who cannot find paid work.

READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND CODE IN GRID)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E18 Many people manage to obtain benefits and services to which they are not entitled.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Perception of benefit underuse [REPEAT: LBENENT]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Perception of benefit underuse (LBENENT) refers to the idea that certain welfare recipients are actually receiving less benefits than they are entitled to (i.e. slip through the net).

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect that UENTRJB and BENNENT are positively related since both measure negative images of unemployed/benefit claimants, while both are expected to relate negatively to LBENENT since this measures a positive stance towards the social rights of low income people

Final Question Wording:

(CARD 51 Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about people in [country].

READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND CODE IN GRID)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E17 Many people with very low incomes get less benefit than they are legally entitled to.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Attitudes towards activation

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

Attitudes towards activation (AttActiv) – 3 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, for which space 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 public is more 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).

Regarding this concept we suggest a survey experiment, where there is variation in the type of unemployed person described to respondents. We suggest as control ‘unemployed person’ and as types ‘older unemployed person’, ‘younger unemployed person’, and ‘single parent unemployed person’.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

A negative relationship with the other constructs that figure as dependent variables in our conceptual scheme (AttScope, AttGroup and AttFutur). Negative views of recipients and preferences for a small scope of government activity, for example, logically coincide with support for strict activation policies. We do expect AttActiv to be dependent on risks and resources –especially benefit use and unemployment risk- as well as the predispositions included in our model.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Conditions of job acceptance – educational level [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Conditions of job acceptance – educational level (JCondEdu) refers to the question whether unemployed people should be obliged to accept a job even when this job is below their educational level.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

The three sub concepts are expected to correlate strongly and form a scale.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Conditions of job acceptance – low wage [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Conditions of job acceptance – low wage (JCondWag) refers to the question whether unemployed people should be obliged to accept a job even if the salary gained is very low.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

The three sub concepts are expected to correlate strongly and form a scale.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Obligation of community service [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Obligation of community service (ObComSrv) refers to the question whether unemployed persons should be obliged to carry out some unpaid or ‘voluntary’ work in service of the community (‘public work’) in order to be entitled to unemployment benefits.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

The three sub concepts are expected to correlate strongly and form a scale.

Final Question Wording:

CODE ALL¹⁰

E19 INTERVIEWER ENTER MONTH OF RESPONDENT BIRTHDAY (e.g. where January = 01 and December = 12) (SEE C31):

--	--

(Refusal) 77
(Don't know) 88

E20 INTERVIEWER CODE: INTERVIEWER REFER TO MONTH OF RESPONDENT BIRTHDAY AND CODE:

MONTH OF BIRTHDAY = 01, 05, 09 OR Code 77	1	GO TO INTRO BEFORE E21
MONTH OF BIRTHDAY = 02, 06, 10 OR Code 88	2	GO TO INTRO BEFORE E24
MONTH OF BIRTHDAY = 03, 07 OR 11	3	GO TO INTRO BEFORE E27
MONTH OF BIRTHDAY = 04, 08 OR 12	4	GO TO INTRO BEFORE E30

ASK IF CODE 1 AT E20

CARD 52 Imagine someone who is unemployed and looking for work. This person was previously working but lost their¹¹ job and is now receiving unemployment benefit. What do you think should happen to this person's unemployment benefit if... **READ OUT...**

	This person should <u>lose</u> <u>all</u> their unemployment benefit	This person should <u>lose</u> <u>about half</u> of their unemployment benefit	This person should <u>lose</u> a <u>small part</u> of their unemployment benefit	This person should be able to <u>keep</u> ¹² <u>all</u> their unemployment benefit	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E21 ...they turn down a job because it pays a lot less than they earned previously?	1	2	3	4	7	8

¹⁰ CAPI countries should replace this method with automated random allocation to Group 1 (E21-E23), Group 2 (E24-E26), Group 3 (E27-E29) or Group 4 (E30-E32).

¹¹ 'their' meaning a gender neutral term for a single person.

¹² 'keep' in the sense of 'be able to keep receiving'.

E22 ...they turn down a job because it needs a much lower level of education¹³ than the person has?

1	2	3	4	7	8
---	---	---	---	---	---

E23 ...they refuse to regularly carry out unpaid work in the area where they live in return for unemployment benefit?

1	2	3	4	7	8
---	---	---	---	---	---

GO TO INTRODUCTION BEFORE E33

ASK IF CODE 2 AT E20

CARD 52 Imagine someone in their¹⁴ 50s who is unemployed and looking for work. This person was previously working but lost their¹⁵ job and is now receiving unemployment benefit. What do you think should happen to this person's unemployment benefit if... **READ OUT...**

	This person should <u>lose</u> <u>all</u> their unemployment benefit	This person should <u>lose</u> <u>about half</u> of their unemployment benefit	This person should <u>lose a small part</u> of their unemployment benefit	This person should be able to <u>keep</u>¹⁶ <u>all</u> their unemployment benefit	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E24 ...they turn down a job because it pays a lot less than they earned previously?	1	2	3	4	7	8
E25 ...they turn down a job because it needs a much lower level of education ¹⁷ than the person has?	1	2	3	4	7	8

¹³ A general word for 'education' should be used here, NOT qualification.

¹⁴ 'Their' meaning a gender neutral term for a single person.

¹⁵ 'Their' meaning a gender neutral term for a single person.

¹⁶ 'Keep' in the sense of 'be able to keep receiving'.

¹⁷ A general word for 'education' should be used here, NOT qualification.

E2 6	...they refuse to regularly carry out unpaid work in the area where they live in return for unemployment benefit?	1	2	3	4	7	8
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

GO TO INTRODUCTION BEFORE E33

ASK IF CODE 3 AT E20

CARD 52 Imagine someone aged 20-25 who is unemployed and looking for work. This person was previously working but lost their¹⁸ job and is now receiving unemployment benefit. What do you think should happen to this person's unemployment benefit if... **READ OUT...**

		This person should <u>lose</u> <u>all</u> their unemployment benefit	This person should <u>lose</u> <u>about half</u> of their unemployment benefit	This person should <u>lose</u> a <u>small part</u> of their unemployment benefit	This person should be able to <u>keep</u>¹⁹ <u>all</u> their unemployment benefit	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E2 7	...they turn down a job because it pays a lot less than they earned previously?	1	2	3	4	7	8
E28	...they turn down a job because it needs a much lower level of education ²⁰ than the person has?	1	2	3	4	7	8
E2 9	...they refuse to regularly carry out unpaid work in the area where they live in return for unemployment benefit?	1	2	3	4	7	8

GO TO INTRODUCTION BEFORE E33

ASK IF CODE 4 AT E20

¹⁸ 'their' meaning a gender neutral term for a single person.

¹⁹ 'keep' in the sense of 'be able to keep receiving'.

²⁰ A general word for 'education' should be used here, NOT qualification.

CARD 52 Imagine a single parent with a 3-year-old child who is unemployed and looking for work. This person was previously working but lost their²¹ job and is now receiving unemployment benefit. What do you think should happen to this person's unemployment benefit if... **READ OUT...**

	This person should <u>lose all</u> their unemployment benefit	This person should <u>lose about half</u> of their unemployment benefit	This person should <u>lose a small part</u> of their unemployment benefit	This person should be able to <u>keep</u> ²² all their unemployment benefit	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E30 ...they turn down a job because it pays a lot less than they earned previously?	1	2	3	4	7	8
E31 ...they turn down a job because it needs a much lower level of education ²³ than the person has?	1	2	3	4	7	8
E32 ...they refuse to regularly carry out unpaid work in the area where they live in return for unemployment benefit?	1	2	3	4	7	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Attitudes towards welfare future

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

Attitudes towards welfare future (AttFutur) - 4 items

The academic and policy relevance of the repeat module gains strongly from including 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.

There are various modalities and directions for future welfare reform under discussion in the academic and socio-political welfare state debate. Activation is one of them, as discussed above, along with a stronger focus: on personal responsibility instead of on governments being in charge of welfare provision; on selectivism, that is, on retrenchment and cutbacks so that welfare is directed more at the poorest only and less at the middle classes; 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 through

²¹ 'their' meaning a gender neutral term for a single person.

²² 'keep' in the sense of 'be able to keep receiving'.

²³ A general word for 'education' should be used here, NOT qualification.

establishing/extending work-care reconciliation policies; and, most recently, after the economic crisis that led to large employment losses in some countries, as well as in the context of a possible jobless future society due to further automatization and robotization of work, there is a discussion on cutting the link between work and redistribution of welfare (e.g. through basic income schemes). 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.

Given the strong restriction on the number of items we can include, we propose to focus on those kinds of substantial reforms that refer to what we identified above as core issues in the debate on how to reform the European welfare states with a view on actual and future challenges.

In terms of social investment one could ask people about their position on what would be best for unemployed people, to offer them good quality of benefits or to offer them good education and training (one item). This issue of welfare-to-work relates to the shift from collective to personal responsibility as well, because participating in training and education asks more personal effort and motivation than receiving a benefit. Investing in work-care reconciliation policies is seen as social investment as well, since it might lead to higher work participation among the labour force, but people's opinions on these policies as such is an important aspect in welfare reform debates since it gives information on how people think about the preferred balance between work and family life (one item). In the framework of retrenchment and the economic and fiscally induced necessity of cutting back on welfare a general trend towards increased use of means-testing is observed in many EU countries, to a degree that some see an 'Americanization' of the EU social model arising. This would imply a shift from more universal types of welfare provision, to more selective types. As a consequence welfare efforts would shift from middle and higher incomes to the lower incomes or the poorest only. One item will address people's preference for such a trend, with explicit mentioning of the consequences for the middle classes. With these three items we cover important debates about the (future of) solidarity with the unemployed, working parents and the lower and middle-income classes.

In addition, we plan to include a fourth item that refers to the idea of a basic income as a means of providing people with an income to cover a minimum living standard, which is independent of their other income, and of their work participation. The basic income idea as such has a rather long history in the welfare state debate, and is seen as a means of reducing the complexity of benefit systems and to address the often troublesome relationship between work (opportunities) and welfare redistribution. The idea is being brought forward regularly, especially in times and countries with high unemployment (as e.g. now Spain, Greece, Portugal), but also more recently in the context of fears of the structural negative employment effects of robotization and automatization. Some regard a basic income a leftist utopia, others see it as an economically (but perhaps not so much culturally) viable and transparent alternative for existing complexities. It is especially with a view on a possible strong future challenge to distribute wealth and welfare through other mechanisms than through involvement in (paid) labour that we propose to have an item on the basic income idea.

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, so, contrary to the concept of *AttActiv* we cannot give examples of items for *AttFutur* from other surveys.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We do not expect strong relationships with the other constructs that figure as dependent variables in our conceptual scheme (*AttScope*, *AttGroup* and *AttActiv*). We do expect *AttFutur* to be dependent on risks and resources, predispositions, evaluations as well as contextual factors.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Policy future – increased selectivism [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Policy future – selectivism refers to the respondent's stance on welfare state reform in the direction of more selectivism (as opposed to universalism), i.e. a residual welfare state that provides for the poorest in society only. This policy option touches upon the key solidarity between the poor and the middle classes.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We do not hypothesize that the sub concepts are interrelated in a linear way (e.g. constituting a single factor). Instead, we do expect that a typology can be constructed, consisting of specific combinations of preferred policy options. How these combinations look like precisely, is an empirical question.

Final Question Wording:**ASK ALL**²⁴

In the next 10 years the government may change the way it provides social benefits and services in response to changing economic and social circumstances.

E33 CARD 53 Would you be against or in favour of the government providing social benefits and services only for people with the lowest incomes, while people with middle and higher incomes are responsible for themselves²⁵?

Strongly against	1
Against	2
In favour	3
Strongly in favour	4
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Policy future – welfare-to-work [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Policy future – welfare to work refers to the respondent's stance on a welfare-to-work reform strategy, i.e. stimulating and enabling people to find a job rather than providing welfare benefits and services. This strategy can be seen as part of a social investment approach, and touches upon the key solidarity between the active and the inactive.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We do not hypothesize that the sub concepts are interrelated in a linear way (e.g. constituting a single factor). Instead, we do expect that a typology can be constructed, consisting of specific combinations of preferred policy options. How these combinations look like precisely, is an empirical question.

Final Question Wording:

E34 STILL CARD 53 Now imagine there is a fixed amount²⁶ of money that can be spent on tackling unemployment. Would you be against or in favour of the government spending more on education and training programs for the unemployed at the cost of reducing unemployment benefit?

Strongly against	1
Against	2
In favour	3
Strongly in favour	4

²⁴ Due to complex routing at E19-E32, National Coordinators should carefully check routing to ensure that ALL respondents are asked the rest of section E (E33-E40).

²⁵ 'responsible for themselves' in the sense of 'not being provided for by the government'.

²⁶ 'fixed amount' in the sense of 'a given or set amount'.

(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Policy future – work-family reconciliation [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Policy future – work-family reconciliation refers to the respondent's stance on a welfare reform that attempts to facilitate the reconciliation of work and family. Concretely, this item measures support for spending more on parental care leaves. This strategy can be seen as part of a social investment approach, and touches upon the key solidarity between the genders (although no explicit reference to gender is made).

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We do not hypothesize that the sub concepts are interrelated in a linear way (e.g. constituting a single factor). Instead, we do expect that a typology can be constructed, consisting of specific combinations of preferred policy options. How these combinations look like precisely, is an empirical question.

Final Question Wording:

E35 STILL CARD 53 Would you be against or in favour of the government introducing extra social benefits and services²⁷ to make it easier for working parents to combine work and family life even if it means much higher taxes for all?

Strongly against	1
Against	2
In favour	3
Strongly in favour	4
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Policy future – basic income [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Policy future – basic income refers to the respondent's stance towards the implementation of a basic income scheme, i.e. an income that is provided to all citizens, regardless of their employment status or financial resources. (more info on the concept of a basic income can be obtained from: <http://www.basicincome.org/>)

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We do not hypothesize that the sub concepts are interrelated in a linear way (e.g. constituting a single factor). Instead, we do expect that a typology can be constructed, consisting of specific combinations of preferred policy options. How these combinations look like precisely, is an empirical question.

Final Question Wording:

E36 CARD 54 Some countries are currently talking about introducing a basic income scheme²⁸. In a moment I will ask you to tell me whether you are against or in favour of this scheme. First, I will give you some more details. The highlighted box at the top of this card shows the main features of the scheme. A basic income scheme includes all of the following:

²⁷ The same phrase for 'social benefits and services' must be used here as elsewhere in the module.

²⁸ Country-specific terms should not be used here.

...READ OUT...

- The government pays everyone a monthly income to cover essential living costs.
- It replaces many other social benefits.
- The purpose is to guarantee everyone a minimum standard of living.
- Everyone receives the same amount regardless of whether or not they are working.
- People also keep²⁹ the money they earn from work or other sources.
- This scheme is paid for by taxes.

INTERVIEWER: PAUSE TO GIVE THE RESPONDENT TIME TO READ CARD.

Overall, would you be against or in favour of having this scheme in [country]?
Please choose your answer from the options at the bottom of the card.

Strongly against	1
Against	2
In favour	3
Strongly in favour	4
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: attitudes towards Social Europe

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

The recent economic crisis, and the differential impact this crisis had on European countries, has ignited the debate on transnational solidarity between Europeans. We plan to include two items that measure cross-border intra-European solidarity, related to the debate whether the EU should take responsibility for the living standards of all poor people in its Member States. This debate is e.g. related to worries about flows of migrant workers /cheap labour from poorer EU countries to richer ones. Increasing the living standards in the poorer countries is seen as a possible way to contain such flows, while at the same time it would be a symbolic and practical strengthening of the mutual solidarity that the European Social Model stands for. One way to measure the social legitimacy of such a solidarity policy would be to ask 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 social budget. Alternatively, support for an EU unemployment benefit scheme –as proposed by the current European Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion- could be measured. More specifically, we would like to implement a survey experiment for this item, investigating how different deservingness frames (e.g. stress on European identity, on strong needs in certain countries, on the presumed control / bad economic policy in certain countries) affects the support for intra-European solidarity.

Crucial questions are whether solidarity should be organized at a supra-national level, whether the European Union should play a greater role in social policy and whether this would be politically, socially and economically feasible.

The concept **attitudes towards Social Europe (AttSocEU)** refers to citizens' opinions regarding the involvement of Europe in social policy. In our operationalization, this concept contains several sub dimensions:

- Citizens' perceptions on whether the involvement of Europe is an opportunity or rather a threat for social protection in their country.

²⁹ 'keep' in the sense of 'continue receiving'.

- Support for a European-wide, transnational solidarity arrangements, such as a minimum income benefit scheme.

A possible issue mentioned by the CST is that several ESS countries are not EU members. Therefore, we propose to use the term Europe rather European Union as much as possible. If possible, pre-tests will be carried out to investigate what the impact of this question wording is in both EU and non-EU countries.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

Attitudes towards social Europe are expected to be positively related to other aspects of welfare support. Strong differences between poorer (net-receiver) and richer (net-contributor) EU countries are expected.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Evaluation of the impact of European integration on social policy [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The evaluation of the impact of European integration on social policy (EvEUSP) refers to the perceived impact that Europeanization has on the quality of the national welfare states.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

This sub concept is expected to be strongly related with the item measuring support for European wide social policy measures (ConSocEU). It is also expected that it correlates negatively with perceived moral consequences (SBLAZY, SBLWCOA), and with evaluations of standards of living of unemployed and elderly (SLVPENS, SLVUEMP), and that it correlates positively with perceived social consequences of welfare provision (SBPRVPV, SEBQSOC)

Final Question Wording:

E38³⁰ CARD 56 If more decisions were made by the European Union rather than by national governments, do you think the level of social benefits and services provided in [country] would become higher or lower?

Much higher	1
Higher	2
Neither higher nor lower	3
Lower	4
Much lower	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Support for European-wide social policy [NEW ITEM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Support for European-wide social policy (ConSocEU) refers to the question whether citizens support social policy that is organized at the European level and installs solidarity with citizens from other EU countries. As a concrete measure, we propose to mention a the possibility of a European-wide minimum income benefit scheme, paid from a common European budget and dependent on the standard of living in the respective countries.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect this sub concept to be positively related to EvEUSP. It is also expected that it correlates negatively with perceived moral consequences (SBLAZY, SBLWCOA), and with evaluations of standards

³⁰ This question is mandatory in EU countries.

of living of unemployed and elderly (SLVPENS, SLVUEMP), and that it correlates positively with perceived social consequences of welfare provision (SBPRVPV, SEBQSOC)

Final Question Wording:

E37³¹ CARD 55 It has been proposed that there should be a European Union-wide social benefit scheme for all poor people. In a moment I will ask you to tell me whether you are against or in favour of this scheme. First, look at the highlighted box at the top of this card, which shows the main features of the scheme. A European Union-wide social benefit scheme includes all of the following:
...**READ OUT**...

- The purpose is to guarantee a minimum standard of living for all poor people in the European Union.
- The level of social benefit people receive will be adjusted to reflect the cost of living in their country.
- The scheme would require richer European Union countries to pay more into such a scheme than poorer European Union countries.

INTERVIEWER: PAUSE TO GIVE THE RESPONDENT TIME TO READ CARD.

Overall, would you be against or in favour of having such a European Union-wide social benefit scheme? Please choose your answer from the options at the bottom of the card.

Strongly against	1
Against	2
In favour	3
Strongly in favour	4
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Risk perceptions

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

Risk perceptions (RiskPerc) refers to the perceived risk of experiencing major welfare problems in the near future. We focus on two dimensions that are crucial in the light of the current economic crisis, namely the risk of becoming unemployed and the risk of lacking necessary financial resources.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

On the one hand, risk perceptions are hypothesized to be influenced by objective social-structural variables, such as current job and income. On the other hand, risk perceptions are expected to influence the various dimensions of attitudes towards the welfare state.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Risk of becoming unemployed [REPEAT: LKUEMP]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Risk of becoming unemployed (LKUEMP) refers to the subjective assessment of the probability of becoming unemployed in the near future. Vulnerability could on the one hand increase support for collective welfare policies (as a response to increased levels of collective risk), but may on the other hand also give rise to exclusionary attitudes restricting welfare provision to certain categories of citizens.

³¹ This question is mandatory in EU countries.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

A moderate, positive relationship between LKUEMP and LKNEMNY

Final question wording:

In the next few questions, we would like you to think about what might happen during the next 12 months.

E39 CARD 57 Using this card, please tell me how likely it is that during the next 12 months you will be unemployed³² and looking for work for at least four consecutive weeks?

- | | |
|--|---|
| Not at all likely | 1 |
| Not very likely | 2 |
| Likely | 3 |
| Very likely | 4 |
| (Never worked OR no longer working
<u>and</u> not looking for work) | 5 |
| (Refusal) | 7 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Poverty risk [REPEAT: LKNEMNY]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Poverty risk (LKNEMNY) refers to the subjective assessment of the probability that one will experience poverty in the near future. Vulnerability could on the one hand increase support for collective welfare policies (as a response to increased levels of collective risk), but may on the other hand also give rise to exclusionary attitudes restricting welfare provision to certain categories of citizens.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

A moderate, positive relationship between LKUEMP and LKNEMNY.

Final question wording:

E40 STILL CARD 57 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 necessities³³? Use the same card.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| Not at all likely | 1 |
| Not very likely | 2 |
| Likely | 3 |
| Very likely | 4 |
| (Refusal) | 7 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

³² 'unemployed': people who cannot find paid work.

³³ 'household necessities' refers to things like food, rent/mortgage, utilities and clothing.

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Beliefs about inequality

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

The concept *Beliefs about inequality (Bellneq)* captures attitudes towards economic inequality among citizens, redistribution of resources and a general egalitarian orientation.

Beliefs about inequality are expected to be one of the crucial drivers of support for welfare regulations. Moreover, these beliefs are hypothesized to be an intermediate factor between risk and resources and contextual factors on the one hand, and attitudes towards the welfare state on the other.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Belief about the positive functioning of a meritocratic reward system [REPEAT: DFINCAC]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The sub concept regards a meritocratic view on inequality. Intended to capture attitudes towards inequality and redistribution and a general egalitarian orientation.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

The three sub dimensions are expected to form one latent construct, with a negative factor loading for DFINCAC and positive loadings for SMDFSLV and GINCDIF

Final question wording:

CARD 45 Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND CODE IN GRID**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E1 Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Belief about fairness of differences in standards of living [REPEAT: SMDFSLV]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The sub concept regards view on the fairness of inequality. Intended to capture attitudes towards inequality and redistribution and a general egalitarian orientation.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

The three sub dimensions are expected to form one latent construct, with a negative factor loading for DFINCAC and positive loadings for SMDFSLV and GINCDIF

Final question wording:

(CARD 45 Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND CODE IN GRID)**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E2 For a society to be fair ³⁴ , differences in people's standard of living ³⁵ should be small.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Beliefs about the necessity for the government to reduce income differences [CORE: GINCDIF]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The sub concept regards view on the state's role in reducing inequality. Intended to capture attitudes towards inequality and redistribution and a general egalitarian orientation. This is measured by a core ESS item.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

The three sub dimensions are expected to form one latent construct, with a negative factor loading for DFINCAC and positive loadings for SMDFSLV and GINCDIF

Final question wording:

CARD 13 Using this card, please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND CODE IN GRID**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
B33 The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Evaluations of task performance

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

Evaluations of task performance (EvalTask) captures citizen's assessment of the performance of welfare institutions. Besides questions on satisfaction with the current state of health care and the educational system that are included in the ESS core (STFHLTH and STFEDU), we include questions referring to two key welfare domains and their functions: the pension system and unemployment benefit system.

³⁴ 'fair' in the sense of a just society.

³⁵ 'standard of living': people's material circumstances.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

Evaluations of task performance are expected to be an important antecedent of welfare attitudes, in the sense that positive evaluations contribute to higher levels of support for welfare regulations and government intervention. Simultaneously, these performance evaluations are probably informed by experiences with and need of welfare (BenUse and PersNeed). Finally, social-psychological insights suggest that evaluations cannot be seen independently from other belief dimensions, such as trust and beliefs about inequality.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Evaluation of standard of living of pensioners in country [REPEAT: SLVPENS]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The sub concepts regards the evaluation of the outcome of welfare provision for elderly people.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect a moderate positive relationship between SLVPENS and SLVUEMP

Final question wording:

In the next few questions we will be asking you how good or bad certain things are for different groups in [country] nowadays.

E4 CARD 47 Using this card, what do you think overall about the standard of living³⁶ of pensioners³⁷? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means extremely bad and 10 means extremely good.

**Extremely
bad**

**Extremely
good**

(Refusal)

**(Don't
know)**

00

01

02

03

04

05

06

07

08

09

10

77

88

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Evaluation of standard of living of unemployed people in country [REPEAT: SLVUEMP]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The sub concepts regards the evaluation of the outcome of welfare provision for unemployed people.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect a moderate positive relationship between SLVPENS and SLVUEMP

Final question wording:

E5 STILL CARD 47 What do you think overall about the standard of living of people who are unemployed³⁸? Use the same card.

**Extremely
bad**

**Extremely
good**

(Refusal)

**(Don't
know)**

00

01

02

03

04

05

06

07

08

09

10

77

88

³⁶ 'standard of living': people's material circumstances.

³⁷ 'pensioners': those who are older than the official retirement age.

³⁸ 'unemployed': people who cannot find paid work.

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Perceived consequences of social policies

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

The concept *perceived consequences of social policies (PercCons)* concerns citizen's perceptions of the –intended as well as unintended- consequences that welfare regulations have. Three types of consequences are central in the academic as well as public debates: social, moral and economic consequences.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We assume perceptions of welfare consequences to be moderately strongly related to evaluations of task performance. Furthermore, perceptions of welfare consequences are expected to inform attitudes towards the welfare state, and to depend on social-structural variables as well on contextual elements.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Perception of economic consequences [REPEAT: SBSTREC; SBBSNTX]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Perception of economic consequences (PercEcon) refers to the belief that social policy has unintended, harmful effects for a country's economic sector. Because of the abstract nature of this sub-concept, we propose to measure it by means of two different items, so that measurement models can be estimated (the same applies for the other two dimensions).

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

A positive relationship between items for economic and moral consequences, both of which are expected to have a moderate negative relationship with items on social consequences

Final question wording:

I am now going to ask you about the effect of social benefits and services on different areas of life in [country]. By social benefits and services we are thinking about things like health care, pensions and social security^{39 40}.

CARD 49 Using this card, please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in [country]... **READ OUT...**

		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E9	...place too great a strain on the economy?	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
E12	...cost businesses too much in taxes and charges?	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

³⁹ 'social security' meaning cash benefits of one sort or another, such as sick pay, unemployment benefits, child benefits etc.

⁴⁰ The same translation for this introduction must be used as in ESS4.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Evaluation of perceived moral consequences [REPEAT: SBLAZY; SBLWCOA]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly								
<i>Evaluation of perceived moral consequences (PercMor)</i> refers to the belief that social protection has detrimental effects for the morality and work ethics of benefit recipients.								
Expected relationship with other sub concepts A positive relationship between items for economic and moral consequences, both of which are expected to have a moderate negative relationship with items on social consequences								
Final question wording:								
STILL CARD 49 And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in [country]... READ OUT...								
		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Don't know)	
E13	...make people lazy?	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
E14	...make people less willing to care for one another?	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Evaluation of perceived social consequences [REPEAT: SBPRVPV; SBEQSOC]

Describe the sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly							
<i>Evaluation of perceived social consequences (PercSoc)</i> refers to the opinion that the welfare state has a positive impact on the well-being of citizens.							
Expected relationship with other sub concepts A positive relationship between items for economic and moral consequences, both of which are expected to have a moderate negative relationship with items on social consequences							
Final question wording:							
(I am now going to ask you about the effect of social benefits and services on different areas of life in [country]. By social benefits and services we are thinking about things like health care, pensions and social security^{41 42}.							
CARD 49 Using this card, please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in [country]... READ OUT...)							

⁴¹ 'social security' meaning cash benefits of one sort or another, such as sick pay, unemployment benefits, child benefits etc.

⁴² The same translation for this introduction must be used as in ESS4.

		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
E10	...prevent widespread poverty?	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
E11	...lead to a more equal society?	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

SECTION D: Simple Concepts

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Welfare Chauvinism [REPEAT: IMSCLBN]

Describe the concept in detail

The concept *Welfare Chauvinism (WelChauv)* refers to the conviction that social rights should be reserved for one's own social group, and that newcomers in society (immigrants) should not be granted access to welfare unconditionally.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

Welfare chauvinism is expected to be higher among people with higher personal risk perceptions and lower trust levels

Final question wording:

E15 CARD 50 Thinking of people coming to live in [country] from other countries, when do you think they should obtain the same rights to social benefits and services as citizens already living here? Please choose the option on this card that comes closest to your view.
CODE ONE ANSWER ONLY

- | | |
|---|---|
| Immediately on arrival | 1 |
| After living in [country] for a year, whether or not they have worked | 2 |
| Only after they have worked and paid taxes for at least a year | 3 |
| Once they have become a [country] citizen | 4 |
| They should never get the same rights | 5 |
| (Refusal) | 7 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Gender traditionalism [REPEAT: MNRGTJB]

Describe the concept in detail

The concept *Gender traditionalism (GendTra)* refers to traditional views on gender roles in terms of male-breadwinner orientations.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

Gender traditionalism is expected to be negatively related to work-care policy preferences.

Final question wording:

(CARD 13 Using this card, please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND CODE IN GRID)**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
B33a⁴³ When jobs are scarce, men should have more right ⁴⁴ to a job than women.	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

⁴³ **NEW QUESTION** as part of the ESS8 module on Welfare; D6 in ESS4.

⁴⁴ 'more right to': should be given preference/priority.

**SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: The perceived size of the unemployment problem
[REPEAT: UEMPLWK]**

Describe the concept in detail

The perceived size of the unemployment problem (SizeUnem) refers to the respondents' subjective estimations of the magnitude of the group of unemployed in the country.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

Perceived size of the unemployment problem is expected to be positively correlated with more strict activation attitudes

Final question wording:

E3 CARD 46 Of every 100 people of working age⁴⁵ in [country] how many would you say are unemployed⁴⁶ and looking for work? Choose your answer from this card. If you are not sure please give your best guess.

0-4	01
5-9	02
10-14	03
15-19	04
20-24	05
25-29	06
30-34	07
35-39	08
40-44	09
45-49	10
50 or more	11
(Refusal)	77
(Don't know)	88

SECTION E: Items NOT repeated

Using the Round 4 question numbers, description of the items being dropped and reasons why they are not included in the repeat module.

Since the original round 4 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. Of the original 50 items we omitted 29, leaving 21 to be repeated.

During the difficult exclusion 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). Little usage is a criterion for exclusion.
- 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. These regard items concerning unemployment/the unemployed, pensions/the elderly, childcare/female workers, redistribution and equality/the poor, and social rights for newcomers/migrants.
- 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 &

⁴⁵ 'working age': the age from which people are legally entitled to work up to retirement age.

⁴⁶ 'unemployed': people who cannot find paid work.

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.

In the selection we omitted the following concepts completely:

Authoritarianism: 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).

The items measuring perceived quality of service delivery (**D30, D31, D32, 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 (**D34, D35, D36, D37**) require quite complex and abstract reasoning from the respondents. The nominal measurement level makes these items hard to analyse as dependent variables, and by consequence they have only been used very rarely (2 to 4 times only).

The issue of sustainability (items **D45, D46**) is omitted as well because of very infrequent use (3 times each).

Within concepts we reduced batteries by omitting the following items:

Risk perception: Items **D48** and **D50** (which refer to reduced labour participation due to informal care tasks and insufficient formal health care, respectively) have been used less frequently and are omitted.

Target groups and receivers: 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 figures in a slightly modified version as 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.

Furthermore, an 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).

Gender traditionalism: **D3** ‘woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of family’ is left out to reduce battery.

Perceived social problems: The perceptions of size of social problems 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.

Task performance: **D13** (perceived provision of affordable child care services) & **D14** (perceived opportunities for young people to find a first job) is excluded because it is rarely used in previous analyses.

Welfare state scope and responsibilities: The items regarding provision of jobs (**D15**), health care (**D16**) and paid leave (**D20**) are omitted, since they are the least used.

Perceived consequences: Items **D24** (“welfare encourages people from other countries to come and live here”), **D26** (“welfare makes it easier for people to combine work and family life”) and **D29** (“welfare makes people less willing to look after themselves and family”) do not belong to any of the three sub-dimensions (perceived economic, moral, social consequences) and are left out.

