

# The Politics of American Immigration

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# An Initial Question

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
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Methods

Language  
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Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Pop Quiz: what major demographic factors (e.g. race, income, partisanship, education) predict whether someone believes that **immigrants strengthen American society?**
- Education, income (+); conservative ideology (-)

# A Second Question

## Immigration Attitudes

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- Pop Quiz: what major demographic factors (e.g. race, income, partisanship, education) predict whether someone believes that **immigrants take jobs from native-born Americans?**
- Pct. immigrant in county, change in percent Black, education, income (+); change in percent immigrant, unemployment (-)

# The Complexities of Immigration Politics

## Immigration Attitudes

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- Immigration → complicated issue in U.S. politics
  - 1 Pits labor against some civil rights groups
  - 2 Generates tensions within black community (e.g. NAACP, Chavez)
  - 3 Pits social, business conservatives against one another (e.g. Bush's 2006 reforms)
- Typically low-salience, with occasional eruptions

# Goals of Today's Seminar

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- Understand complexity of US opinions on immigration; different questions, different time-periods evoke different responses
  - Role of locality
  - Role of subtle cues/political correctness
  - Role of language
- Introduce core research methods (experiment, regression discontinuity)

# Immigrant Reception

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- 1993: Journalist wrote that in California, “immigrants are now widely perceived as an economic drag on taxpayers, sucking up health, school, police, and other services while spreading crime, dirt, and disease” (Reinhold 1993)
- Today’s immigration: to a wider range of US communities
- Raises question: how has this influenced Americans’ immigration attitudes?

# Where are Today's Immigrants?

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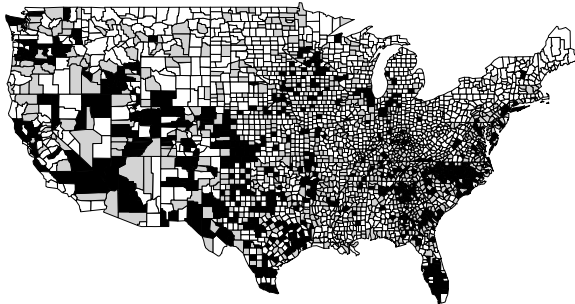
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# Traditional Explanation: Racial Threat

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- Racial Threat: members of one group view other groups as competitors for resources
- Long empirical tradition emphasizing black-white conflict (e.g. Key 1949, Blalock 1967, Glaser 1994, Taylor 1998)
- Conflicting empirical results when applied to contemporary U.S., immigrants (e.g. Gay 2006, Fox 2004, Dustmann and Preston 2001, Cain, Citrin, and Wong 2000, Taylor 1998, Voss 1996)
- Observable implication: inter-group hostility rises as size of out-group grows



# A New Approach to Context

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Local ethnic and racial divisions become political cleavages when:

- 1 sudden influxes of people from different groups (Green et al. 1998) **and**
- 2 broader information environment connects newcomers to political issues (Kinder 1998, Mutz 1994)
  - Frame: way of speaking about issue that emphasizes subset of relevant considerations (Chong and Druckman 2007)
  - Salience: relative attention paid to issue by those active in politics

# Politicized Places: Observable Implications

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- Fast demographic shifts → attitude changes
- Responses to ethnic/racial outsiders hinge on available frames
- Neighborhood divisions originate outside neighborhood
- Contextual effects are dynamic

# Evidence from Recent Immigrants

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- **Theoretical expectation: contextual effect varies with salience of immigration issue**
- Trace effect of living near growing immigrant population over time
- Estimate identical models using national cross-sections in various years
- General Social Survey is conducted face-to-face in late winter (n=2,803 in 2000; used 1994, 1996, 2000)
- National Election Study is conducted face-to-face in fall (n=1,212 in 2004; used 1992-2000, 2004)

# Evidence from Recent Immigrants (cont.)

## Immigration Attitudes

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- Dependent variable: “Do you think the number of immigrants to America nowadays should be increased a lot, increased a little, remain the same as it is, reduced a little, or reduced a lot?”
- Aggregate-level independent variables: % immigrant, % with BA, % Black, Population Density, Log of Median Household Income
- Individual-level independent variables: Age, Education, Hispanic, Ideology, Income, Party ID, Race, Sex
- Model: Ordered probit
- Measure salience through count of mentions of “immigration” in *USA Today*

# Changing Contextual Effects

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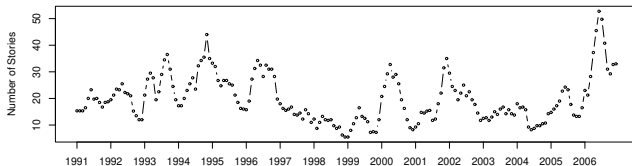
Methods

Language  
Assistance

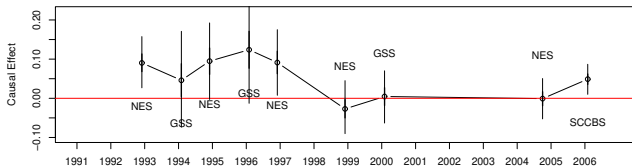
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The Salience of Immigration



Contextual Effect on Supporting Decreased Immigration



# Changing Contextual Effects

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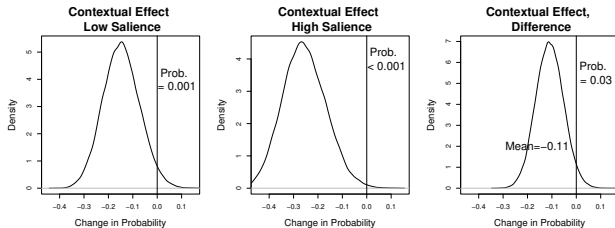
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# Evidence from Recent Immigrants (cont.)

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- Core take-home point: living in a changing community matters *more* when immigration is a nationally salient issue
- Additional test: *change* in salience over September 11th

# The September 11th Test

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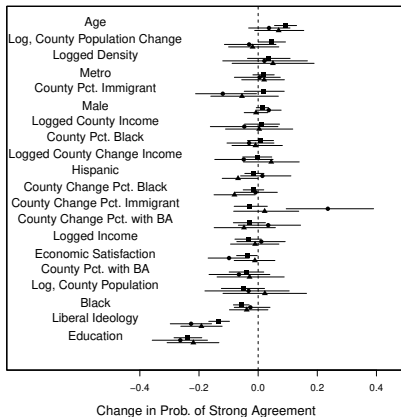
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## Agreeing Immigrants Too Demanding





# The September 11th Test

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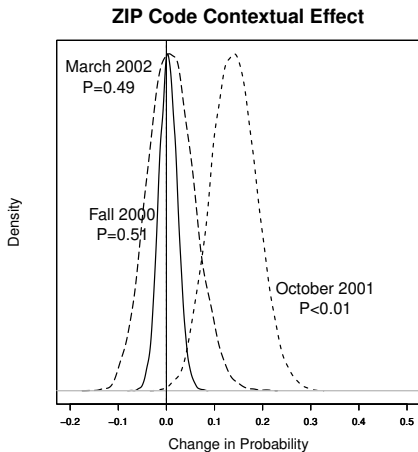
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# Evidence from September 11th

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- Core take-home point: living in a changing community matters *more* when immigration is a nationally salient issue
- Effect disappears quickly when salience of immigration issue subsides
- Additional test: local anti-immigrant ordinances
- Many examples: Fremont, NE; Hazleton, PA

# Local Ordinances

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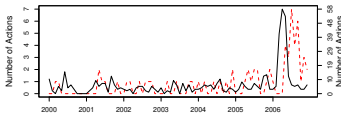
Methods

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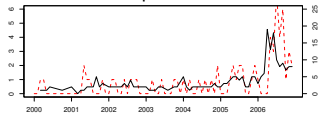
Bilingual  
Education

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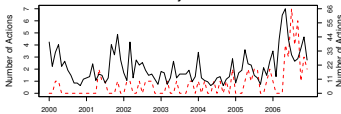
**National Salience and Local Action:  
Vanderbilt Archive Mentions**



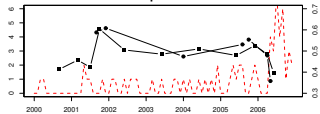
**National Salience and Local Action:  
Most Important Problem**



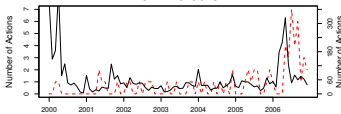
**National Salience and Local Action:  
USA Today Mentions**



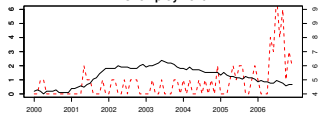
**Immigration Attitudes and Local Action:  
Gallup and CBS**



**National Salience and Local Action:  
CNN Mentions**



**Economics and Local Action:  
Unemployment**



# Evidence from Local Ordinances

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Conclusion

- Local ordinances → follow national salience of immigration
- National discussions catalyze local politics
- Next questions:
  - How does immigration politics play out locally?
  - What are the sources of anti-immigrant attitudes?

# Spanish: A Source of Contention?

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## Conclusion

- “There’s Armando’s Grocery Store up there. Signs used to be English, ‘Potatoes–79 cents a pound,’ and down below it would be in Spanish. Now the big sign is in Spanish and the little sign is in English... It’s frightening to see that it’s just kind of been dominated.” –Elgin, IL
- “Are you tired of having to press one for English?” –Flyer in local election, Carpentersville, IL
- “If a single source of conflict stands out, it involves the use of different languages” –Ford Foundation Report,
- Research question today: **Is Spanish an independent influence on immigration attitudes? Who is influenced?**

# Where Past Work Leaves Us

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- Past work on immigration emphasizes economic vs. cultural origins of anti-immigrant attitudes (e.g. Dancygier 2009, Sides and Citrin 2007, Schildkraut 2005, Scheve and Slaughter 2001, Citrin et al. 1997)
  - But what manifestations of culture are threatening?
- Recent experimental work on immigration attitudes (e.g. Schildkraut 2009, Baretto et al. 2008, Brader et al. 2008, Barreto et al. 2007, Junn and Masuoka 2007)
  - mixed empirical results
  - No patterns with respect to Spanish language
  - No consideration of anti-racist norms

# Goals of this Research

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- Use case studies in new immigrant destinations to build hypotheses about impact of Spanish
- Use several experiments ( $n > 2,500$ ) to gauge impact of Spanish on immigration attitudes
- (Test differential impact of implicit, explicit cues)

# Key Results

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- **Seeing Spanish: marked impact among key subgroups**
- Explicit appeals backfire (echoes of implicit/explicit distinction)
- Personal experience moderates both responses → **those who hear Spanish, talk to immigrants more influenced**
- Cues  $\neq$  alternative to personal experience; cues **interact** with personal experience



# Section Outline

Immigration  
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- Theory: Cues and Personal Experience
- Methods: Experimental Analysis
- Implicit Experiments: Seeing Spanish
- Explicit Experiments: Overt Appeals
- Conclusion

# Past Work

## Immigration Attitudes

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Conclusion

- Past immigration work: emphasizes cultural vs. economic roots of attitudes
- e.g. Hanson et al. 2007, Sides and Citrin 2007, Sniderman et al. 2004
- Experimental literature → mixed on impacts (Brader et al. 2008, Junn and Masuoka 2007)
- Case study research: suggests 1) language concerns paramount; 2) anti-racist norms at work

# Spanish as Implicit Cue

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- Spanish → potent symbol (e.g. Schildkraut 2005, Huntington 2004)
- Complaints about Spanish very common in field research
- “I pick up the telephone and call the local garage... I can’t understand the person on the other side of the line... They’re all over the place, and they don’t speak English. Do we want more of this?” – U.S. Senator Robert C. Byrd

# Case Study Evidence

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- “Two years ago there was just a hell of a hullabaloo in this town. A fellow that I know wrote a beautiful version of the *Star Spangled Banner* that slips from English into Spanish, back into English and to Spanish... All hell broke loose. Instead of celebrating, [people said] ‘what are they doing? I mean now they’re even changing our sacred national anthem, and profaning it by putting it in another language’.” –Informant, Yakima WA

# Personal Experience

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- Personal experience → commonly weak as predictor of political attitudes (e.g. Mutz 1992)
- Yet framing research suggests cues require pre-existing considerations (e.g. Chong and Druckman 2007, Zaller 1992)
- Cues: influence those with personal experience (Kinder 1998, Iyengar and Kinder 1987)
- **Prediction: more influential on those who encounter immigrants daily**
- Cues, experience → not alternatives; interact to shift attitudes

# A Common Sight

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# Anti-racist Norms

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- Illinois anti-immigration activist: “I thought long and hard about whether or not to use the ‘H word.’ Do we talk about Hispanic or don’t we? And that’s really where the numbers are, that’s where the demographics are, but the label of racist is gonna come into play”
- Lewiston, Maine mother: “I just hate it ‘cause I don’t want people to think I’m racist or anything like that, but I definitely, definitely feel as though they’re making a huge mistake by financially helping these people as much as they do.”

# “No race in illegal”

## Immigration Attitudes

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- “Roll up your sleeves. I want to inoculate each of you against politically correct paralysis. It’s okay to say ‘illegal alien,’ like you say ‘bank robber’.”
- “There is no race in illegal. Illegal is illegal.”
- Anti-immigration activists attentive to anti-racist norms



# Racial Attitudes and Anti-racist Norms

## Immigration Attitudes

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- Research on racial attitudes: developed distinction between implicit, explicit (Huber and Lapinski 2006; White 2007; Valentino et al. 2002; Mendelberg 2001)
- Implicit cues: processed automatically, without awareness
- Explicit cues: trigger norms; fail or even backfire
- Debate continues (Lapinski and Huber 2008; Mendelberg 2008)
- **Prediction: explicit, implicit immigration appeals differ in impact**

# Methods

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- Strength of survey experiments: allows for causal inference
- Use randomization checks, parametric models to ensure balance
- Potential weakness: external validity
  - Use subtle, realistic interventions
  - Confirm key results in separate experiments
- Analyze *moderators* but not *mediators* (see Bullock et al. 2008, Glynn 2008)

# First Experiment: Spanish

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- Conducted February 2008 via Knowledge Networks
- $n = 351$
- Control: “We are eager to learn what you think about various issues facing America today” (214)
- Bilingual Treatment: “Estamos conduciendo una encuesta publica acerca de la opinion de personas como usted acerca de asuntos importantes” (n=137)
- Imbalance: Democrats more likely to see Spanish

# First Experiment: Spanish (cont.)

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- Dependent variables:
  - Generic threat to American way of life
  - Immigrants threaten American way of life
  - Number of immigrants permitted to come to U.S. to live
  - Immigrants raise crime
  - Immigrants raise taxes
  - Additive anti-immigration index
- No main effects

# Impact: Seeing Spanish

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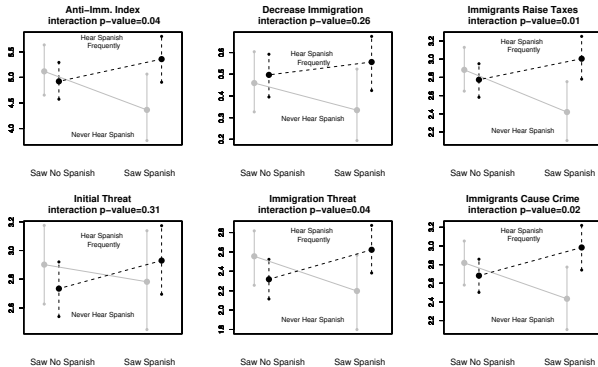


Figure: Each figure depicts interaction between hearing Spanish in day-to-day life, seeing the Spanish cue at the beginning of the survey.

# Personal Experience?

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- Personal experience *not* randomized; moderator might be anything correlated with personal experience
- Contact *not* correlated with Democratic party ID (-0.05), conservative ideology (-0.05)
- In control group, hearing Spanish *not* correlated with anti-immigration index (-0.02)
- Measures of personal experience—highly correlated with one another ( $> 0.59$ ); moderately correlated with ZIP pct. Hispanic (0.26)

# Second Experiment

## Immigration Attitudes

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- Conduct confirmatory experiment embedded in exit poll, November 2008
- 902 respondents at four polling sites in Everett, Somerville MA
- Chosen based on partisan diversity, **large immigrant communities**, accessibility
- Every other exit poll contained Spanish line at top
- Imbalance: Race, education
- Dependent variable: generic threat, decrease immigration

# Exit Poll Survey

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## NOVEMBER 2008 POLL BY RESEARCHERS AT HARVARD AND MIT

*Por favor, fíjense que uds. pueden contestar en español al otro lado*

This is a voluntary and anonymous exit poll about current events and the election conducted by researchers at a local university. Please do not write your name on this survey, this poll is not official, and is not affiliated with the Cities of Everett or Somerville or the Board of Elections. Your effort in answering these questions will make sure that the views of residents from (insert town name) are represented in this research. You may decline to answer any or all questions at any point in the survey.

1. For President, who did you vote for? (check one)
- John McCain (Rep.)       Someone else
- Barack Obama (Dem.)       Did not vote
2. On Ballot Question 1, which proposed to end the Massachusetts state personal income tax, how did you vote? (Please answer even if you did not vote)
- Did not vote       Voted "No" (not to end the tax)
- Voted "Yes" (to end the tax)
3. Which is the worst tax—that is, the one that is the least fair? (check one)
- State sales tax       Federal income tax
- Local property tax       State income tax
- Social Security tax

Regardless of how you voted on Ballot Question 1, please tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statements:

4. "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts can reduce its annual spending by 4% without a major impact on schools, roads, parks, policing, or other services."
- Strongly agree       Somewhat disagree
- Somewhat agree       Strongly disagree
5. "Eliminating the Massachusetts state income tax would lead to large increases in other taxes."
- Strongly agree       Somewhat disagree
- Somewhat agree       Strongly disagree
6. Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has been (check one)
- Much better than normal       Worse than normal
- Better than normal       Much worse than normal
7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy over the last year? (check one)
- Strongly approve       Disapprove
- Approve       Strongly disapprove
8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? (check one)
- Strongly approve       Disapprove
- Approve       Strongly disapprove

9. Please tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statement: "These days, I am afraid that the American way of life is threatened." (check one)
- Disagree strongly       Agree somewhat
- Disagree somewhat       Agree strongly

10. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be (check one)
- Increased a lot       Left the same
- Increased a little       Decreased a little
- Decreased a lot

11. In your day-to-day life, how frequently do you have conversations with immigrants?
- Never or almost never       1-2 times per month
- Less than once a month       At least once a week
- Every day

12. In your day-to-day life, how frequently do you hear Spanish or Portuguese spoken?
- Never or almost never       1-2 times per month
- Less than once a month       At least once a week
- Every day

13. How long have you lived in this community?
- Less than one year       11 to 20 years
- 1 to 5 years       More than 20 years
- 6 to 10 years

14. Are you Hispanic or Latino? (check one)
- Yes       No

15. Your race: (check all that apply)
- Asian       White
- Black/African American       Other

16. Your gender: (circle one)      M      F

17. Year you were born:      19\_\_\_\_\_

18. Highest educational level completed: (check one)
- Some grade school       2-year college
- 8th grade       4-year college
- High school diploma/GED       Post-graduate

19. Your total yearly household income is: (check one)
- Less than \$20,000       \$40,000 - \$80,000
- \$20,000 - \$40,000       Above \$80,000



# Exit Poll Population

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	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Introduction					
McCain Voter	0.17		0	1	149
Female	0.58		0	1	860
Role of					
Localities					
Non-Hispanic White	0.65		0	1	587
Non-Hispanic Black	0.12		0	1	108
Hispanic	0.08		0	1	76
Political					
Correctness					
Other Race/Ethnicity	0.15		0	1	131
Age	41	14	18	88	818
Education	14.81	2.80	5	19	873
Methods					
Income	2.80	0.95	1	4	835
Language					
Assistance					
Talk with imm. (5=Everyday)	4.11	1.23	1	5	866
Hear Spanish (5=Everyday)	4.47	0.97	1	5	871
American life threatened	2.95	0.97	1	4	861
Bilingual					
Education					
Decrease immig.	0.35		0	1	854

Table: Descriptive statistics for the exit poll.

Conclusion

# Logit Model, Exit Poll

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	All Respondents		Obama Voters	
	$\beta$	SE	$\beta$	SE
Intercept	1.51	0.47	1.19	0.56
Site 2	-1.57	0.20	-1.56	0.25
Site 3	-1.55	0.34	-1.18	0.39
Site 4	-0.42	0.21	-0.34	0.25
Black	-1.34	0.27	-1.12	0.30
Education	-0.08	0.03	-0.10	0.04
Saw Spanish	0.20	0.16	0.48	0.19
df	844		659	

**Table:** Two logistic regressions predicting wanting to decrease immigration.

# Impact of Exit Poll

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
Localities

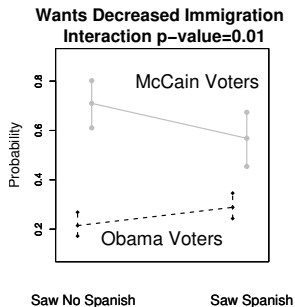
Political  
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Education

Conclusion



**Figure:** This figure illustrates the interaction of Presidential vote choice and the effect of seeing Spanish on the exit poll.

# Results: Implicit Cues

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Education

Conclusion

- Seeing Spanish: different impacts based on previous exposure
- Seeing Spanish → 7.1 percentage point increase in Obama voters wanting to decrease immigration
- No such effect for McCain voters (ceiling effect; Huddy et al. 2005, Sniderman et al. 2004)

# First Explicit Experiment

## Immigration Attitudes

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Hopkins

## Introduction

## Role of Localities

## Political Correctness

## Methods

## Language Assistance

## Bilingual Education

## Conclusion

- Knowledge Networks February 2008 survey; n=429
- Pro-Immigration Frame: “some people believe that the growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society. They argue that America is a nation of immigrants, and that immigrants make America more open to new ideas and cultures.” (n=72)
- Anti-Immigration Frame: “some people believe that the growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens American society. They argue that immigrants are not incorporating into American life, making it harder for the country to stay united” (n=68)
- Both frames (n=75); Chong and Druckman (2007)
- Dependent variable: generic threat measure

# Explicit Experiment 1

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

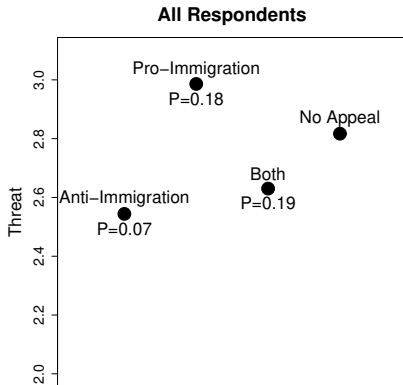


Figure: First experiment with explicit appeals (n=429).

# Second Explicit Experiment

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

Political  
Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Knowledge Networks June 2008 survey (n=1,102)
- Replicated four conditions above
- Four new conditions: three mention Latinos explicitly, one anti-immigration condition mentions illegal immigrants
- **Prediction: Explicit appeals produce backlash to varying degrees**

# Explicit Experiment 2

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Education

Conclusion

	Mean	SD	n	Pro	Anti	Joint	Control
Pro	2.89	0.86	132	1.00	0.66	0.72	0.35
Anti	2.84	0.95	128	0.66	1.00	0.94	0.19
Joint	2.85	0.99	136	0.72	0.94	1.00	0.23
Control	2.99	0.98	130	0.35	0.19	0.23	1.00
Pro, Latino	2.85	0.95	141	0.75	0.90	0.96	0.23
Anti, Latino	2.71	1.05	143	0.14	0.31	0.28	0.02
Joint, Latino	2.83	1.03	137	0.64	0.97	0.90	0.19
Anti, Illegal	2.90	1.02	155	0.92	0.61	0.67	0.42

**Table:** T-tests comparing any two treatment groups in the second experiment (n=1,102).



# Explicit Experiment 2

Immigration  
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Conclusion

	Mean	SD	n	Pro, Latino	Anti, Latino	Joint, Latino	Anti, Illegal
Pro	2.89	0.86	132	0.75	0.14	0.64	0.92
Anti	2.84	0.95	128	0.90	0.31	0.97	0.61
Joint	2.85	0.99	136	0.96	0.28	0.90	0.67
Control	2.99	0.98	130	0.23	0.02	0.19	0.42
Pro, Latino	2.85	0.95	141	1.00	0.25	0.87	0.69
Anti, Latino	2.71	1.05	143	0.25	1.00	0.34	0.13
Joint, Latino	2.83	1.03	137	0.87	0.34	1.00	0.59
Anti, Illegal	2.90	1.02	155	0.69	0.13	0.59	1.00

**Table:** T-tests comparing any two treatment groups in the second experiment (n=1,102).

# Explicit Experiment 2, High Education

Immigration  
Attitudes

Daniel J.  
Hopkins

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Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

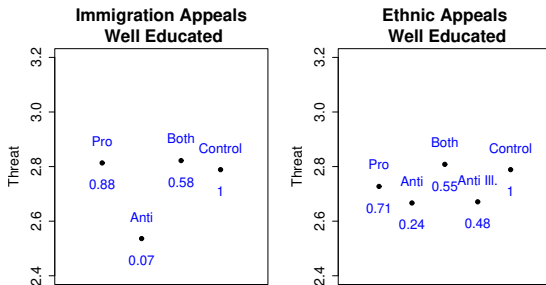


Figure: For highly educated respondents, this figure presents the means for each experimental sub-group.

# Explicit Experiment 2, Low Education

## Immigration Attitudes

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### Introduction

### Role of Localities

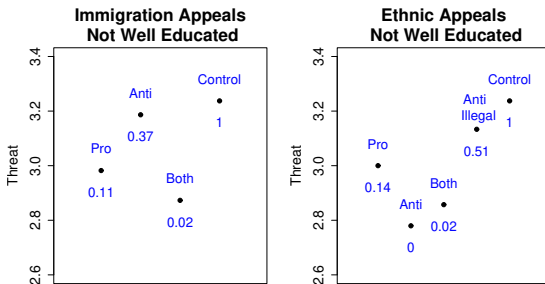
### Political Correctness

### Methods

### Language Assistance

### Bilingual Education

### Conclusion



# Explicit Experiment 1, Personal Experience

Immigration  
Attitudes

Daniel J.  
Hopkins

Introduction

Role of  
Localities

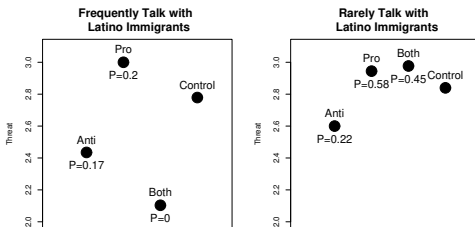
Political  
Correctness

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Education

Conclusion



**Figure:** For the first experiment on explicit appeals (n=429), this figure compares the impact of the treatment among those who frequently talk to Latinos and those who rarely or never do.

# Key Results

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Explicit appeals about immigration do backfire—to varying degrees
- Not well educated—also sensitive to anti-racist norms
- Personal experience: moderates contrast effect

# Segment Conclusion: Personal Experience

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Past scholarship: often thinks of personal experience, mediated cues as opposing influences (e.g. Mutz 1992; see also Iyengar and Kinder 1987)
- Results here: **personal experience, cues interact to shift attitudes**

# Conclusion: Implicit and Explicit Cues

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Correctness

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Assistance

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Education

Conclusion

- Scholars have long noted gap between immigration preferences, US policy (Tichenor 2002; Higham 1955)
- Results here: illustrate challenges for both sides
  - Immigrant organizers risk priming anti-immigration concerns with Spanish
  - Anti-immigration organizers risk priming pro-immigrant norms
- Immigration politics → key similarity with racial politics
- Should not conceptualize implicit/explicit as binary distinction

# Immigrant Incorporation

## Immigration Attitudes

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Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

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Education

Conclusion

- 38 million immigrants in U.S.
- Immigrants → lower levels of political participation even after naturalization (Tam Cho 1999, Ramakrishnan 2005)
- One possible source: language barriers
- 3 million U.S. households contain no English speakers
- 8 million U.S. *citizens* → not proficient in English



# Introduction: Language Threat

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Language  
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Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- “Are you tired of having to punch 1 for English?” – Illinois
- Focus group participant in Los Angeles complains of ordering a hamburger, receiving *eight*
- “If a single source of conflict stands out, it involves the use of different languages” –1993 Ford Foundation Report
- Policymakers’ dilemma: use foreign languages in immigrant incorporation?

# Language Access

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Broad research goal: understand *which aspects* of ethnic difference generate political contention *under what conditions*
- Focus here: impact of language access provisions under Voting Rights Act (Section 203)
  - Ongoing question: Does language access increase turnout among Spanish-speaking voters?
  - New question: Does language access influence election outcomes in Spanish-speaking precincts?
  - New question: Does language access create backlash in non-Hispanic white precincts?
- Jointly consider whites, Hispanics

# Study 1: Turnout Nationwide

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

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Education

Conclusion

- Question: Does language access increase turnout among Spanish-speaking voters?
- Largely **instrumental** question: do Spanish materials facilitate voting?
- de la Garza and DeSipio (1987): no evidence of over-time increase in turnout post-1975
- Why? Most Latino *citizens* speak English
- Jones-Correa (2005), Ramakrishnan (2005): cross-sectional evidence of higher turnout in covered counties
- But ... is it the impact of Section 203 coverage or of living near many Hispanics?

# Research Design

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Education

Conclusion

- Section 203: covers county if:
  - 1 > 5% of voting age citizens from language group speak limited English
  - 2 > 10,000 voting age citizens from language group speak limited English
- Allows for regression discontinuity design (Green et al. 2009, Imbens and Lemieux 2008, Cook et al. 2005, Hahn et al. 2001)

# Regression Discontinuity

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Attitudes

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Localities

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Correctness

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Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Compare those arbitrarily close to threshold
- No reason counties with 4.99%, 5.01% should differ *except for treatment*
- In theory: **eliminates** concerns about omitted variables
- In practice: rarely enough observations to estimate treatment effect without modeling
- In practice: conditioning on continuous “forcing” variables → unbiased estimate of treatment effect
- Concern: high correlation between treatment, forcing variable → reduces power (Schochet 2009)

# Regression Discontinuity (cont.)

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

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Methods

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Education

Conclusion

Challenges in analyzing these data:

- 1 Sparseness near discontinuity → model-based approach; multiple data sets
- 2 Multiple forcing variables → condition on both (and higher order terms)
- 3 Treatment at county level → multi-level model; neighborhoods nested in counties

# Latino National Survey

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

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Methods

Language  
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Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

## Does language access increase turnout among Spanish-speaking voters?

- Data: Latino National Survey
- 4,394 citizens eligible to vote in 2004 election
- 67% in counties with language access
- Total number of counties = 496

# (Non-)Impact on Latino Citizens

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Hopkins

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Localities

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Correctness

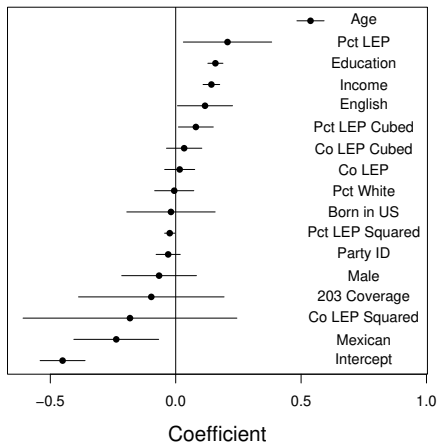
Methods

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Education

Conclusion

## Latino Citizens





# Preliminary Results

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Age, education, income, English → strong positive predictors
- Evidence that % LEP → positive predictor
- But 85% of Latino citizens in survey speak English very well or fluently
- Next step: analyze only those who responded in Spanish

# Impact on Spanish-Only Citizens

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

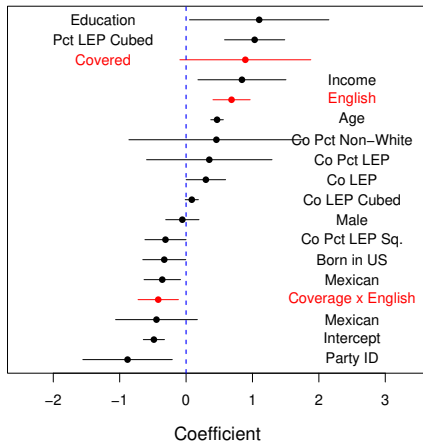
Methods

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Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

## Spanish-Speaking Citizens



# Impact on Spanish-Only Citizens

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Hopkins

Introduction

Role of  
Localities

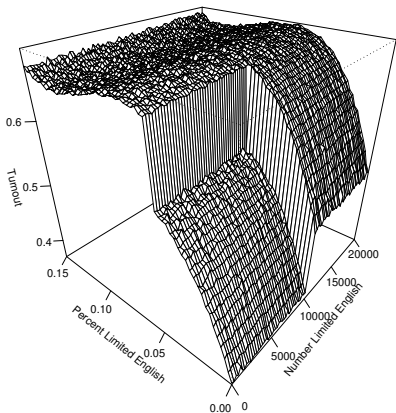
Political  
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Education

Conclusion



# Impact on Spanish-Only Citizens

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Correctness

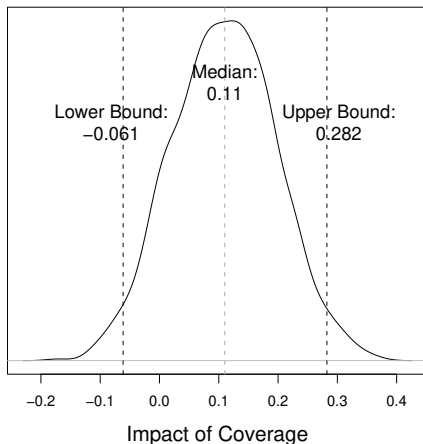
Methods

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## 2004 Turnout



# Turnout: Results

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Question: Does language access increase turnout among Spanish-speaking voters?
- Local Average Treatment Effect for LEP: 11.0 percentage points ( $-6.1, 28.2$ ),  $p = 0.10$ , one-sided test
- Robust to multi-level model with county-level random effects, state fixed effects
- Language access: impacts *minority of Latino citizens with limited English*

# Study 2: Turnout, Outcomes in Prop. 227

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

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Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Here: Analyze impact of Section 203 coverage in California's 1998 Proposition 227
- On ballot in June primary; passes with 61% support
- Prop. 227 restricted bilingual education → clear predictions of impact
- Consider impact on Latino precincts, non-Hispanic white precincts; turnout and election outcomes

# Spanish Ballots and English Speakers

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Role of  
Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Impact on Spanish speakers → instrumental; Spanish might have symbolic impacts too
- Priming can occur through ballot, polling place (e.g. Berger et al. 2008, Ho and Imai 2006)
- Survey experiments → Spanish threatens non-Hispanic subgroups (Bareto et al. 2008, Hopkins et al. 2010)
- Spanish as potent symbol of immigration's cultural impacts (e.g. Schildkraut 2005, Huntington 2004)

# Study 2: What's New?

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
Localities

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Novelty to this study:
  - Regression discontinuity
  - Initiative voting (reading-intensive)
  - Study election outcomes as well as turnout
  - Consider impact on non-Hispanic whites



# Study 2: Research Design

Immigration  
Attitudes

Daniel J.  
Hopkins

Introduction

Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

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Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Data: Statewide Database (University of California-Berkeley)
- Eliminate mountainous north, Southern California
- Initial focus: 35 counties; 6,097 precincts where more than 50% of registered surnames are Hispanic

# Counties Included in Study

Immigration  
Attitudes

Daniel J.  
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Role of  
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Figure: Counties in study

# Study 2: Research Design

Immigration  
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Education

Conclusion

- Challenge: Treatment assigned at **county level**; low power
  - 1 Solution: Regression discontinuity within multi-level model
  - 2 Solution: Matching precincts across counties

# Study 2: Research Design (cont.)

Immigration  
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Education

Conclusion

- Design effect: function of intra-class correlation (ICC; share of variance explained at county level)
- ICC varies from 0.17 to 0.38
- Effective sample size: 442 to 885
- Rich set of covariates can improve efficiency

# Impact on Hispanic Precincts: Turnout

Immigration  
Attitudes

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## Latino Precincts: Turnout

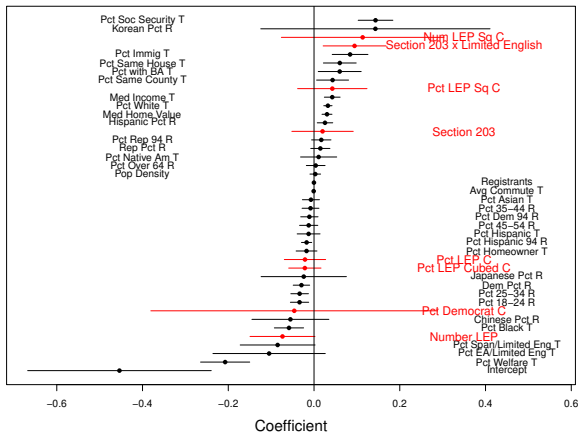


Figure: Multilevel model of voter turnout, 6,097 neighborhoods

# Impact on Hispanic Precincts: Turnout

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Hopkins

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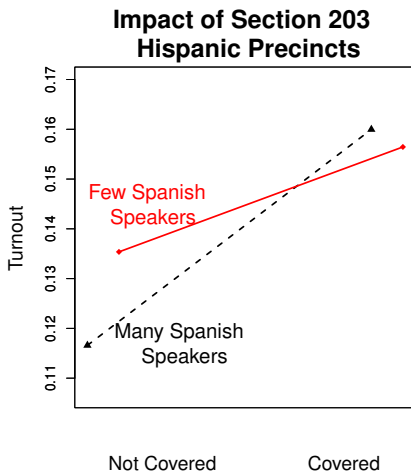


Figure: Changes in turnout with bilingual materials

# Impact on Hispanic Precincts: Turnout

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Conclusion

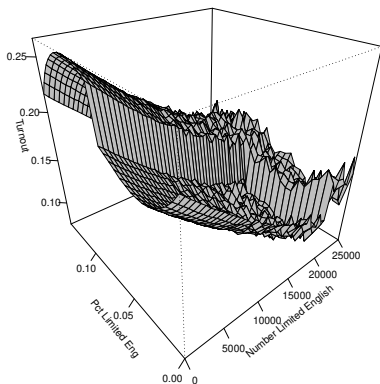


Figure: Predicted turnout in heavily Spanish-speaking neighborhood

# Turnout Impacts

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Overall turnout impact: positive but not significant
- Turnout effect: grows from 2.1 to 4.2 percentage points in heavily Spanish-speaking neighborhoods; **significant interaction**
- Evidence of **instrumental** impact
- Also: evidence of reduced “fall-off” down ballot
- Results hold on **matched subsets of data**



# Impacts on Outcomes

Immigration  
Attitudes

Daniel J.  
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Localities

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Methods

Language  
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Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

That's where past work stops...

- But does Section 203 impact outcomes?
- Surprising disjoint between impacts on turnout, outcomes (e.g. Citrin et al. 2003, Highton and Wolfinger 2001)
- Need to consider **outcomes**

# Impact on Hispanic Precincts: Vote

Immigration  
Attitudes

Daniel J.  
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Conclusion

## Latino Precincts: Vote For 227

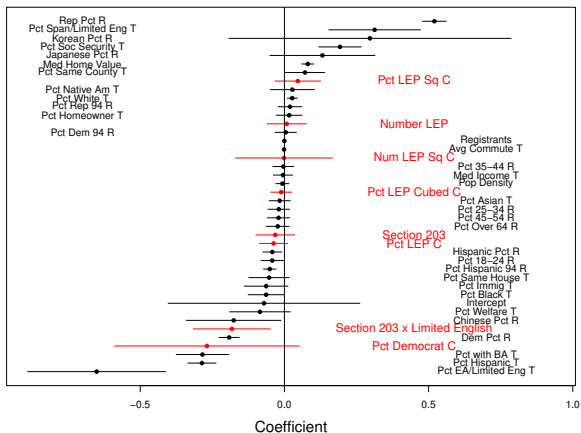


Figure: Multilevel model of vote share for Prop. 227; 6,197 precincts

# Impact on Hispanic Precincts: Vote

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Hopkins

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Conclusion

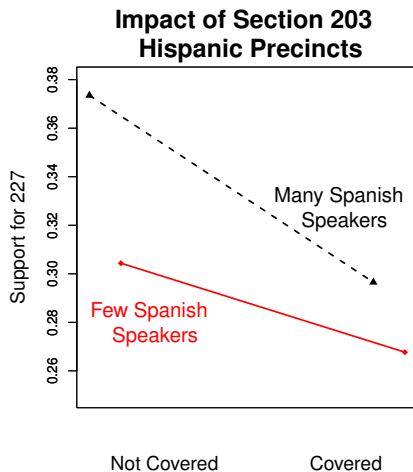


Figure: Predicted vote share for Prop. 227

# Study 2: Results, Hispanic Precincts

Immigration  
Attitudes

Daniel J.  
Hopkins

Introduction

Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Clear results with only  $n = 35$  counties
- Estimated LATE for turnout *in heavily Spanish-speaking precincts*: 9.6 percentage points ( $SE = 4.9$ )
- Estimated LATE for outcome: 9.4 percentage points ( $SE = 4.2$ )
- Mobilization impact on turnout, outcome: only in heavily Spanish-speaking areas
- Placebo trial: no such results for other initiatives

# What about non-Hispanic whites?

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Hopkins

Introduction

Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Now: consider possibility of threatened responses by non-Hispanic whites
- Consider 27,787 neighborhoods that are more than 90% non-Hispanic white
- No turnout effects

# Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

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Education

Conclusion

## Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote For 227

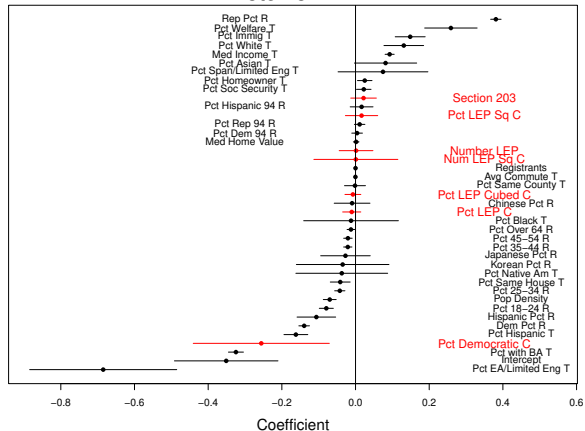


Figure: Multilevel model of Prop. 227 vote; 27,787 neighborhoods

# Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

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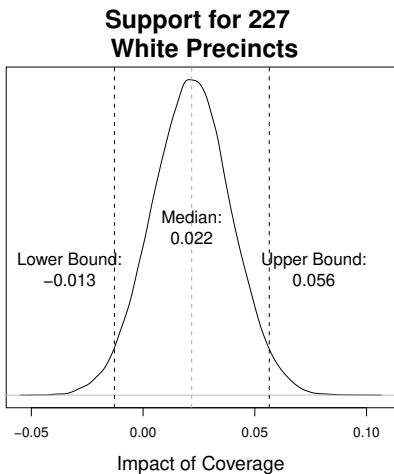


Figure: Predicted share of support for Prop. 227 under the model

# A Partisanship interaction?

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Sniderman et al. (2004: distinguish between mobilizing cues (e.g. influence people who are already anti-immigration), galvanizing cues (e.g. previously pro-immigration)
- Does Spanish as symbol operate differently for Republicans, Democrats?
- Prior evidence: Democrats more influenced in two MA towns (Hopkins et al. 2009)



# Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

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Correctness

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Conclusion

## Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote For 227

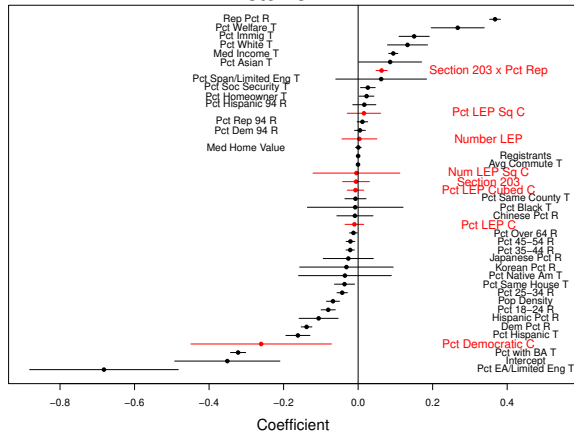


Figure: Multilevel model of Prop. 227 vote; 27,787 neighborhoods

# Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Localities

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Correctness

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Conclusion

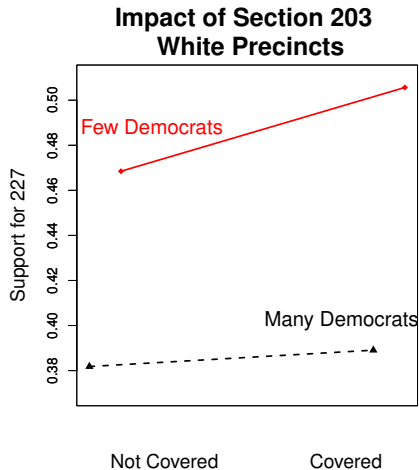


Figure: Predicted share of support for Prop. 227 under the model

# Study 2: Results, Non-Hispanic White Precincts

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Introduction

Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Some evidence of backlash in non-Hispanic white precincts overall → but not statistically significant (one-sided  $p$ -value=.11)
- Strongest evidence in most Republican precincts
- Core results hold using matching (and different assumptions)
  - Genetic matching (Diamond and Sekhon 2008)
  - Coarsened exact matching (Iacus et al. 2009)

# Conclusion

Immigration  
Attitudes

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Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Context → ethnically charged ballot propositions (187, 209, 227; Pantoja and Segura 2003)
- This might reduce impact of Spanish as prime (since attitudes are chronically accessible)

# Conclusion

Immigration  
Attitudes

Daniel J.  
Hopkins

Introduction

Role of  
Localities

Political  
Correctness

Methods

Language  
Assistance

Bilingual  
Education

Conclusion

- Mobilizing impact of language access holds *mostly* for Spanish speakers, heavily Spanish-speaking precincts
- Similar pattern of results nationwide, in California
- Suggestive but incomplete evidence of backlash in Proposition 227
- Symbolic backlash effects could still swamp instrumental impact on Latinos
- At least in this case, dilemma of immigrant incorporation → overstated
- Putting first-order effects first
- Language access can influence outcomes as well as turnout