

Social identity and attitudes toward U.S. immigration

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Outline

- Question and hypothesis
- Background
- Data and methods
- Multivariate analysis
 - Odds ratios
 - Predicted probabilities
- Final considerations



Importance

- We aim to understand what factors are shaping anti-immigration and pro-immigration feelings
- This topic has become more prominent in the public sphere since the 2016 U.S. presidential election
 - Recent data captures social context of that election
- Inform the public about overall migration attitudes of the population

Question and hypothesis

- Do correlations of immigrant generation (1st, 2nd, 3+) with immigrant attitudes vary by race/ethnicity (White, Black, Hispanic, Other)?
- There is an interaction of immigrant generation with race/ethnicity regarding migration attitudes
 - 2nd Black and 2nd Hispanic are more pro-immigration than 3+ Whites
 - 2nd Whites have same views as 3+ Whites due to less social identity and anti-immigration attitudes



Strategies

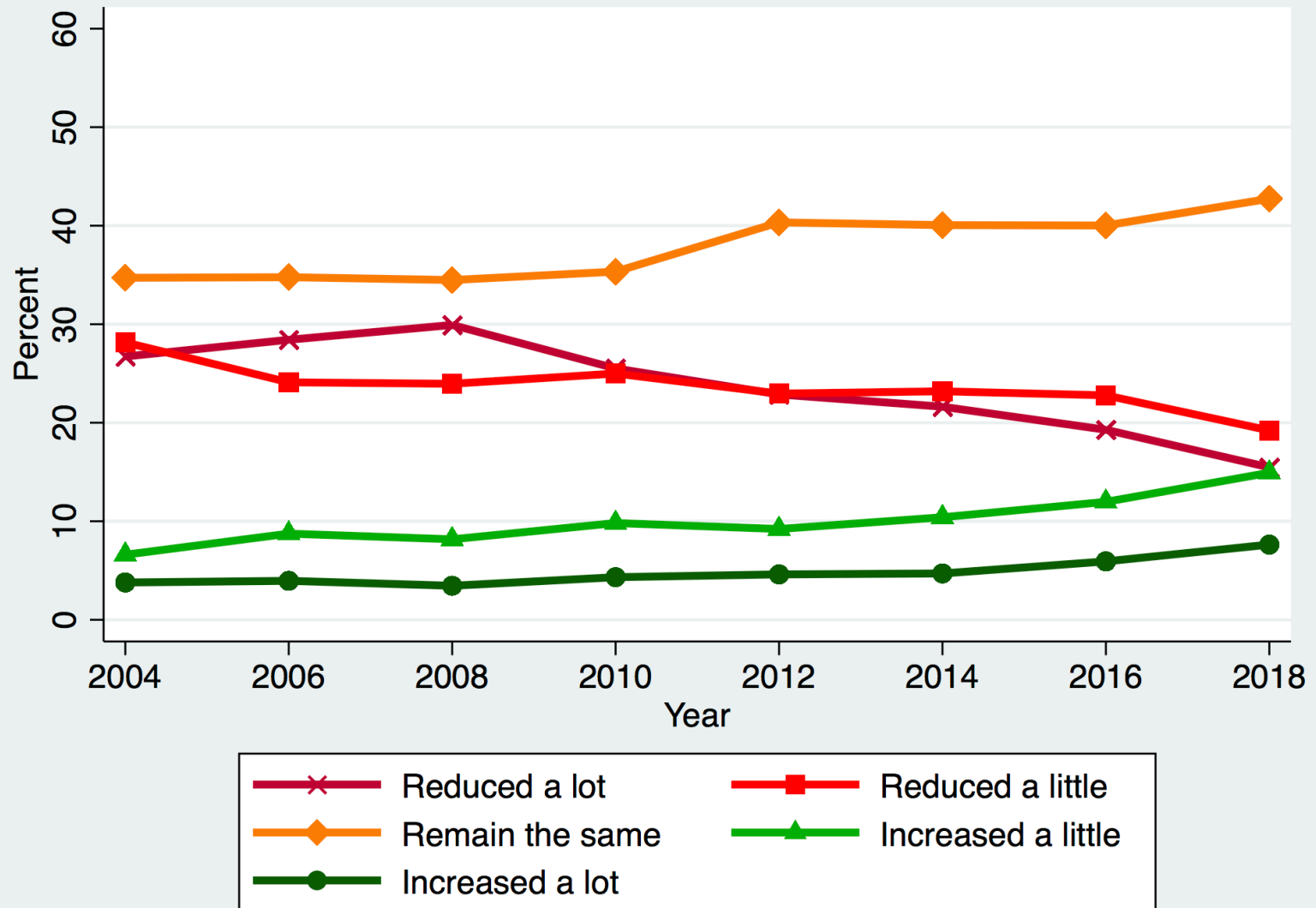
- Strategies to better understand factors associated with immigration attitudes
 - Include a 12-category variable for the interaction between generation of immigrants and race/ethnicity, which was not explored in detail in previous studies
 - Several years of data: 2004–2018
 - Disaggregated categories for independent variables
 - Models more appropriate to deal with an ordinal variable about immigration attitudes

Variable about migration attitude

- This variable was organized in a way that higher values indicate more positive views toward immigration (pro-immigration scale)
- Do you think the number of immigrants to America nowadays should be...
 1. Reduced a lot
 2. Reduced a little
 3. Remain the same as it is
 4. Increased a little
 5. Increased a lot



Opinion about immigration



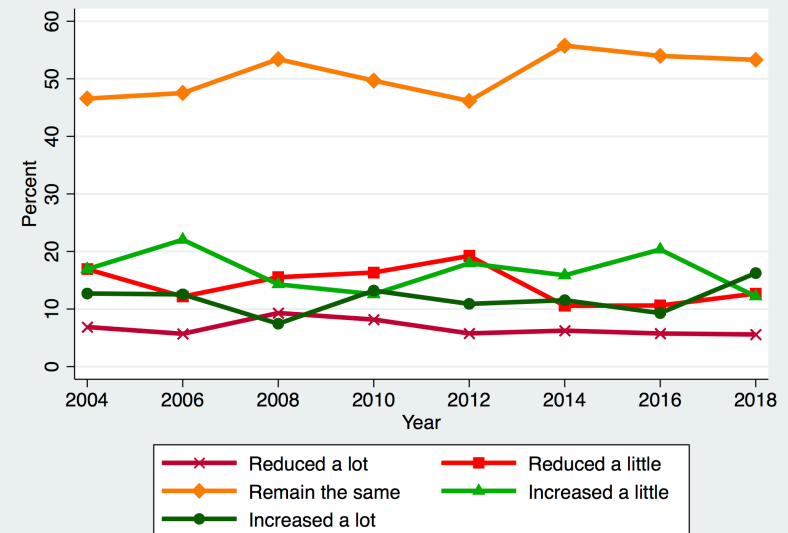
Social identity

- Formation of social identities is strongly related to attitudes toward immigration (Fussell 2014; Stets, Burke 2000)
 - Immigrants are more pro-immigration, compared to White natives (Haubert, Fussell 2006)
- Latinos tend to be pro-immigrant and are more prone to engage in political activism (Sanchez 2006, 2008)
- Majority groups may have negative immigrant attitudes due to perception that minorities are challenging their standing in society (Berg 2015)

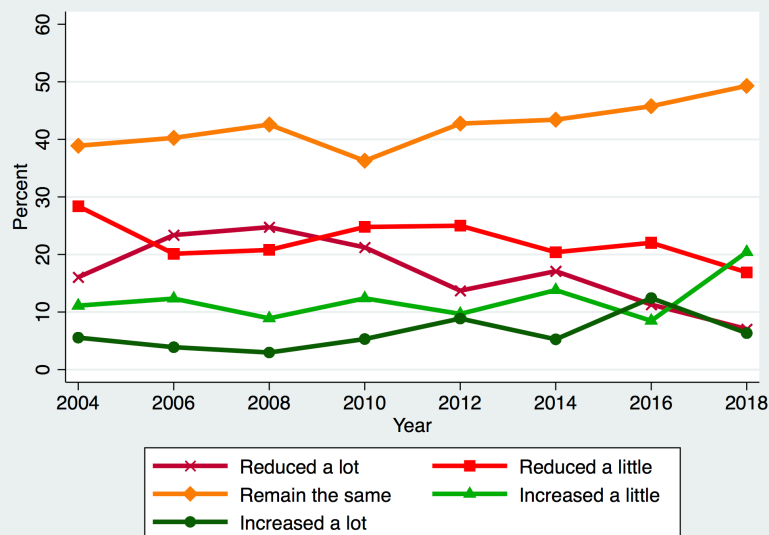


Opinion about immigration by generation of immigrants

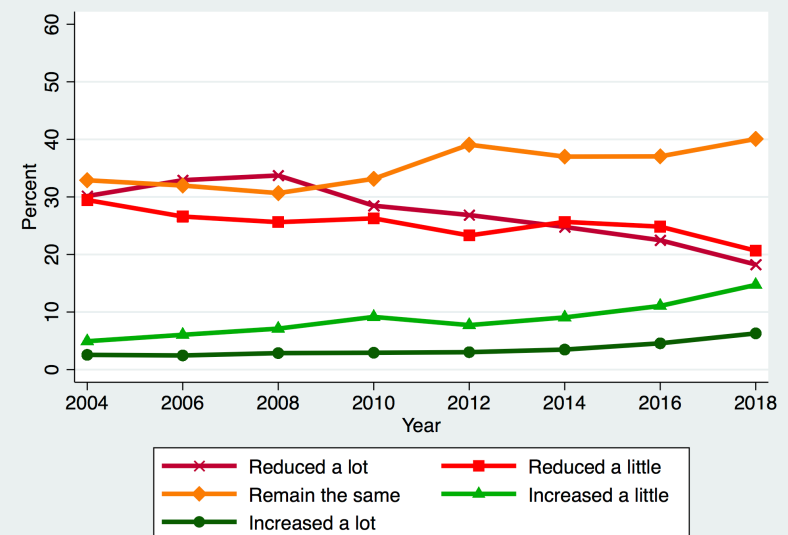
1st generation immigrants



2nd generation immigrants



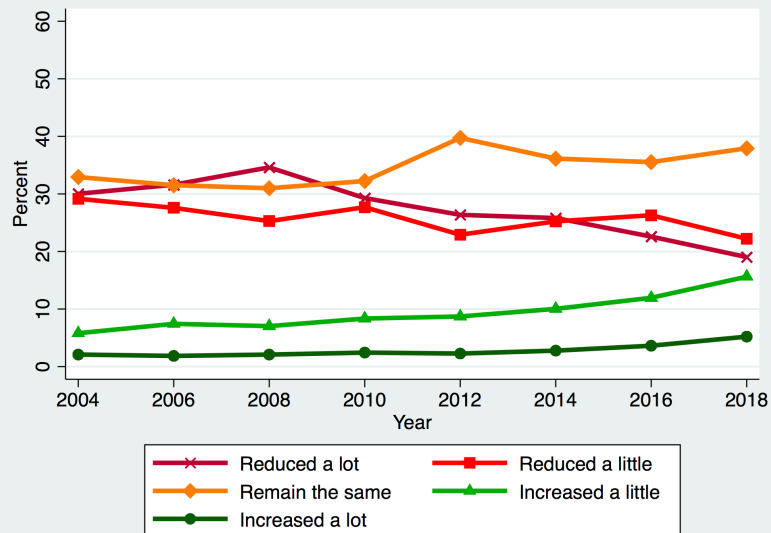
3+ generation immigrants



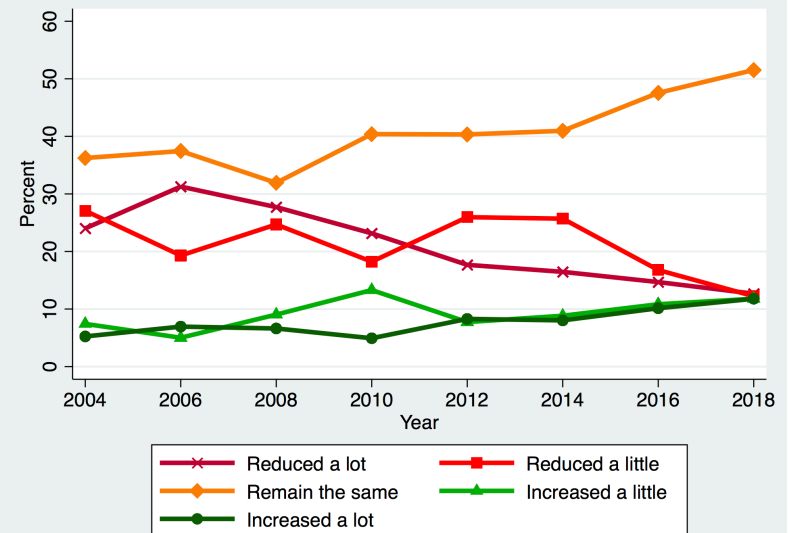
Racial anxiety

- When the majority race believes that minorities are intentionally taking advantage of society resources, anti-minority attitudes increase (Blalock 1970)
- Immigration attitudes have stronger correlations with racial resentment than economic anxiety (Miller 2018)
 - Those with negative opinions towards Black people also tend to have anti-immigration attitudes
 - These opinions are related to a broader perspective of Whites toward minorities

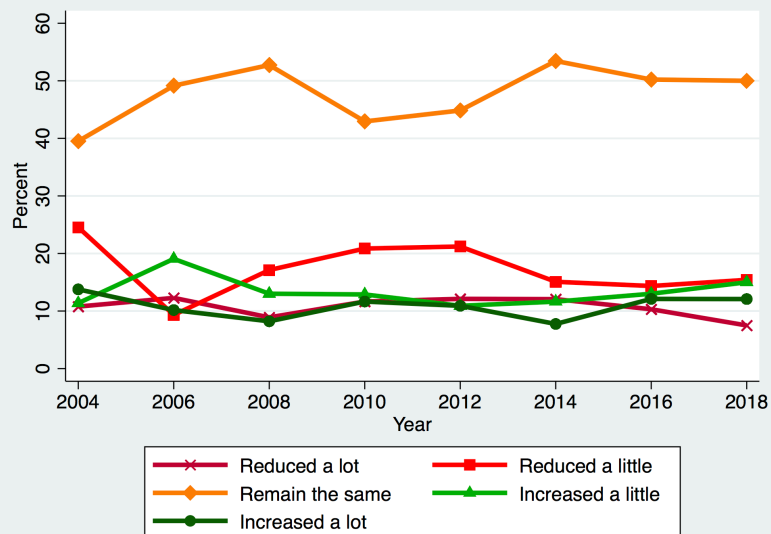
Non-Hispanic White



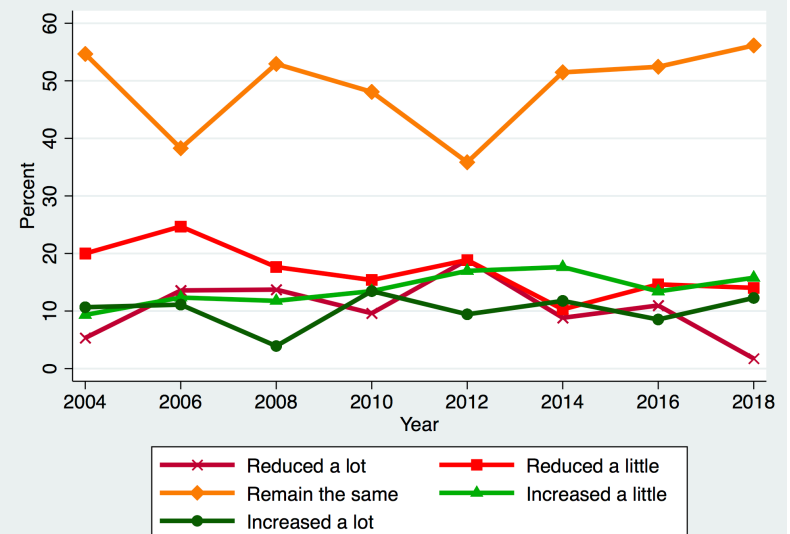
Non-Hispanic Black



Hispanic



Non-Hispanic other

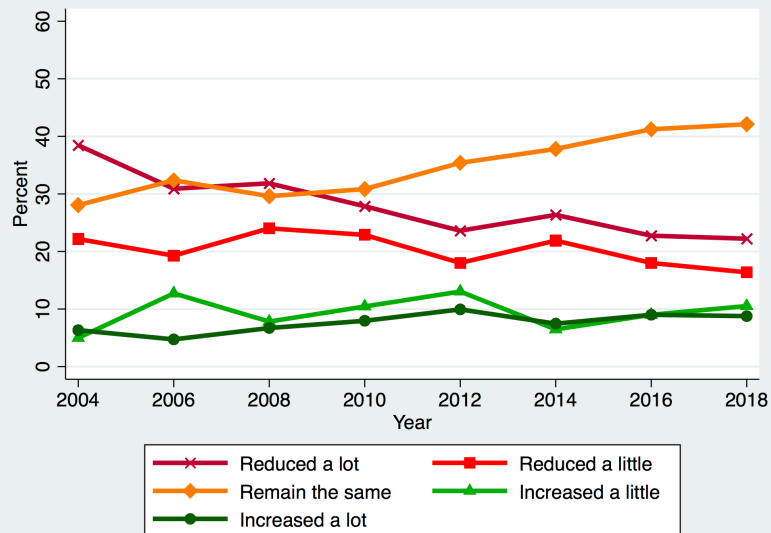


Education

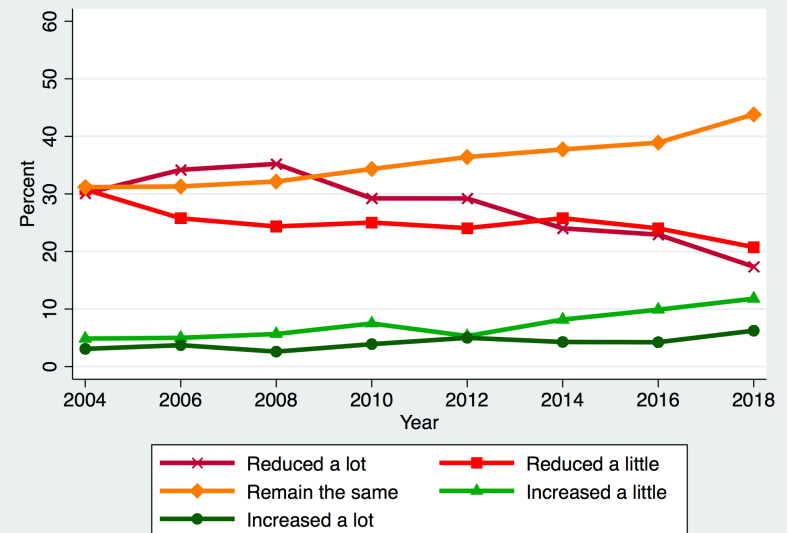
- **Higher educated are more pro-immigration** (Berg 2010, 2015; Burns, Gimpel 2000; Chandler, Tsai 2001; Espenshade 1995; Haubert, Fussell 2006; Hood, Morris 1997)
 - They do not perceive an economic threat from immigrants (Fussell 2014)
 - Exposure to diversity through higher education makes them more tolerant; they have “a cosmopolitan worldview” (Cote and Erickson 2009; Haubert and Fussell 2006:2)
- People who live in areas that are predominantly occupied by college graduates have higher individual levels of tolerance (Bobo and Licari 1989, Moore and Ovadia 2006)



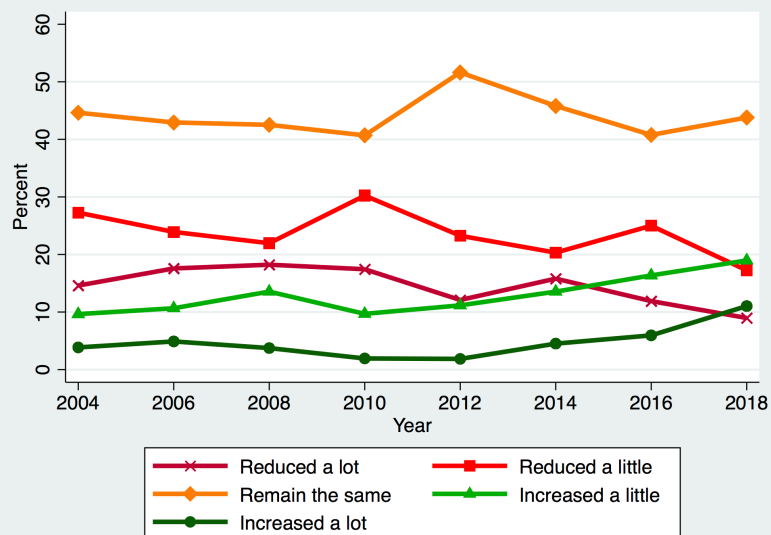
Less than high school



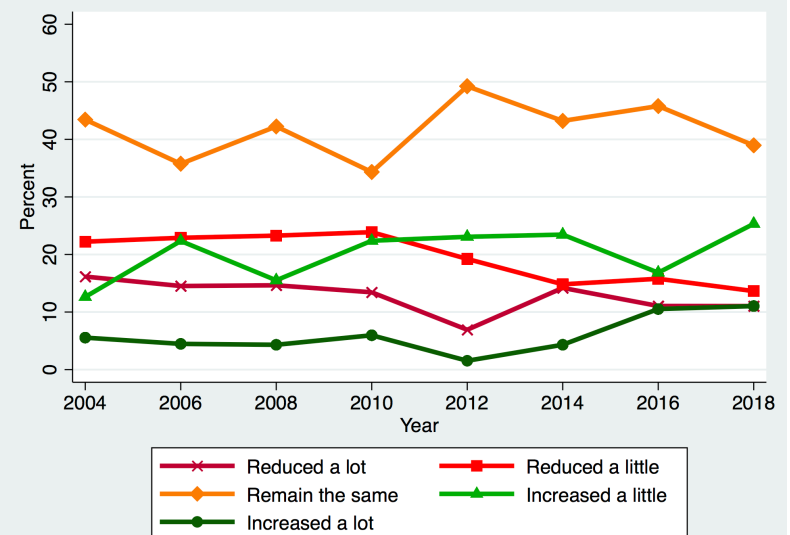
High school



Bachelor



Graduate

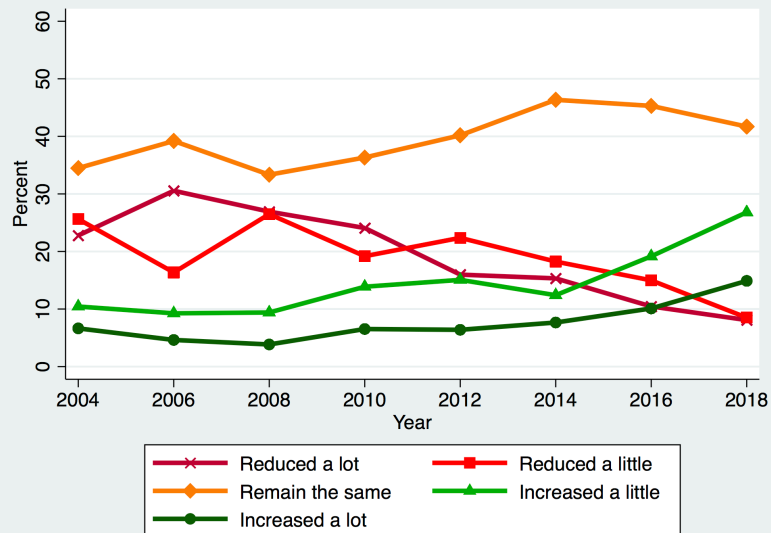


Political ideology

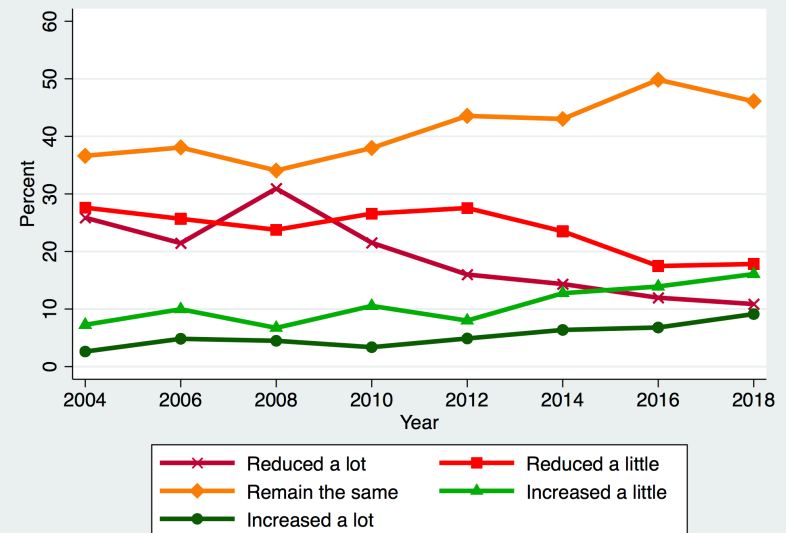
- Liberals are more pro-immigration than conservatives (Berg 2015; Chandler, Tsai 2001; Haubert, Fussell 2006)
- Positive views of conservative candidates are correlated with
 - Resentment towards Black people, association of Muslims with violence, and belief that former President Obama is a Muslim (Klinkner 2016)
 - Belief that immigrants pose a threat to U.S. values, and notion that Blacks, Latinos and Asians will become the majority (Jones, Kiley 2016)



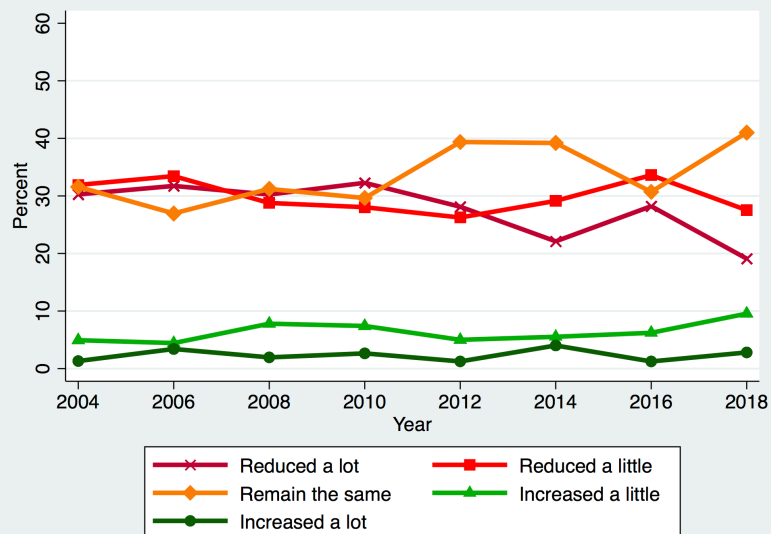
Strong Democrats



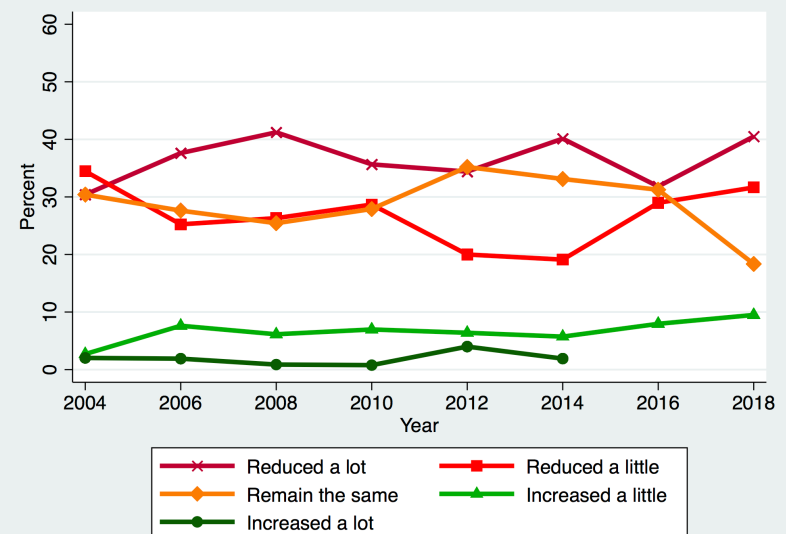
Democrats



Republicans



Strong Republicans



Age and sex

- Younger people have more positive views toward immigration than others (Chandler, Tsai 2001; Ross, Rouse 2015)
- Women's attitudes are not different from men's attitudes (Berg 2009; Espenshade, Calhoun 1993; Espenshade, Hempstead 1996; Haubert, Fussell 2006; Hood, Morris 1997, 1998; Scheve, Slaughter 2001)
- Age and sex have no consistent associations with attitudes toward immigrants (Espenshade, Hempstead 1996; Fetzer 2000)



Labor market competition

- Individuals believe that immigrants take their jobs and depress their wages (Burns, Gimpel 2000; Espenshade 1995; Espenshade, Hempstead 1996; Simon, Sikich 2007)
 - When immigrants have improvements in labor market outcomes, non-immigrants tend to increase negative opinions toward immigrant tolerance (Esses, Dovidio 2011)
- Blue-collar and service workers are less pro-immigration (Haubert, Fussell 2006)



Religion

- Positive attitudes are developed by religious groups that welcome or support minority groups (Knoll 2009)
- Areas with higher proportions of evangelical Protestants have lower individual levels of tolerance (Ellison, Musick 1993; Moore, Ovadia 2006)
 - It is important to consider contextual and individual religious factors (Ellison, Musick 1993)

Social interactions

- People tend to dismiss negative thoughts about minority groups through intergroup relations (Cote, Erickson 2009; Ellison et al. 2011; Hood, Morris 1997; McLaren 2003)
 - A majority group member who lives in an area with many immigrants typically holds a positive attitude toward immigration (Dixon 2006)
 - People with positive attitudes toward immigration are typically wealthier and have more experiences with minority groups (Haubert, Fussell 2006)



Data

- Cross-sectional cumulative data from the General Social Survey (GSS), 2004–2018

Year	GSS sample size
2004	1,953
2006	1,921
2008	1,273
2010	1,364
2012	1,237
2014	1,594
2016	1,804
2018	1,467
Total	12,613



Variables

- Dependent variable
 - Number of immigrants to America nowadays should be...
 - 1. Reduced a lot
 - 2. Reduced a little
 - 3. Remain the same as it is
 - 4. Increased a little
 - 5. Increased a lot
- Independent variables
 - Year
 - Sex
 - Age group
 - Religion
 - Occupation
 - Region of interview
 - Education
 - Political party
 - Generation of immigrants
 - Race/ethnicity



Generalized ordered logit model

- Ordered logit models
 - Categories of independent variables do not violate the proportional odds/parallel lines assumption
 - Odds ratios of going up in the pro-immigration scale (dependent variable) are similar across the categories of this variable
- Generalized ordered logit models
 - Allow us to test whether parallel lines assumption is violated for the association between migration attitude and generation/race/ethnicity
 - These models are more parsimonious than multinomial logistic models



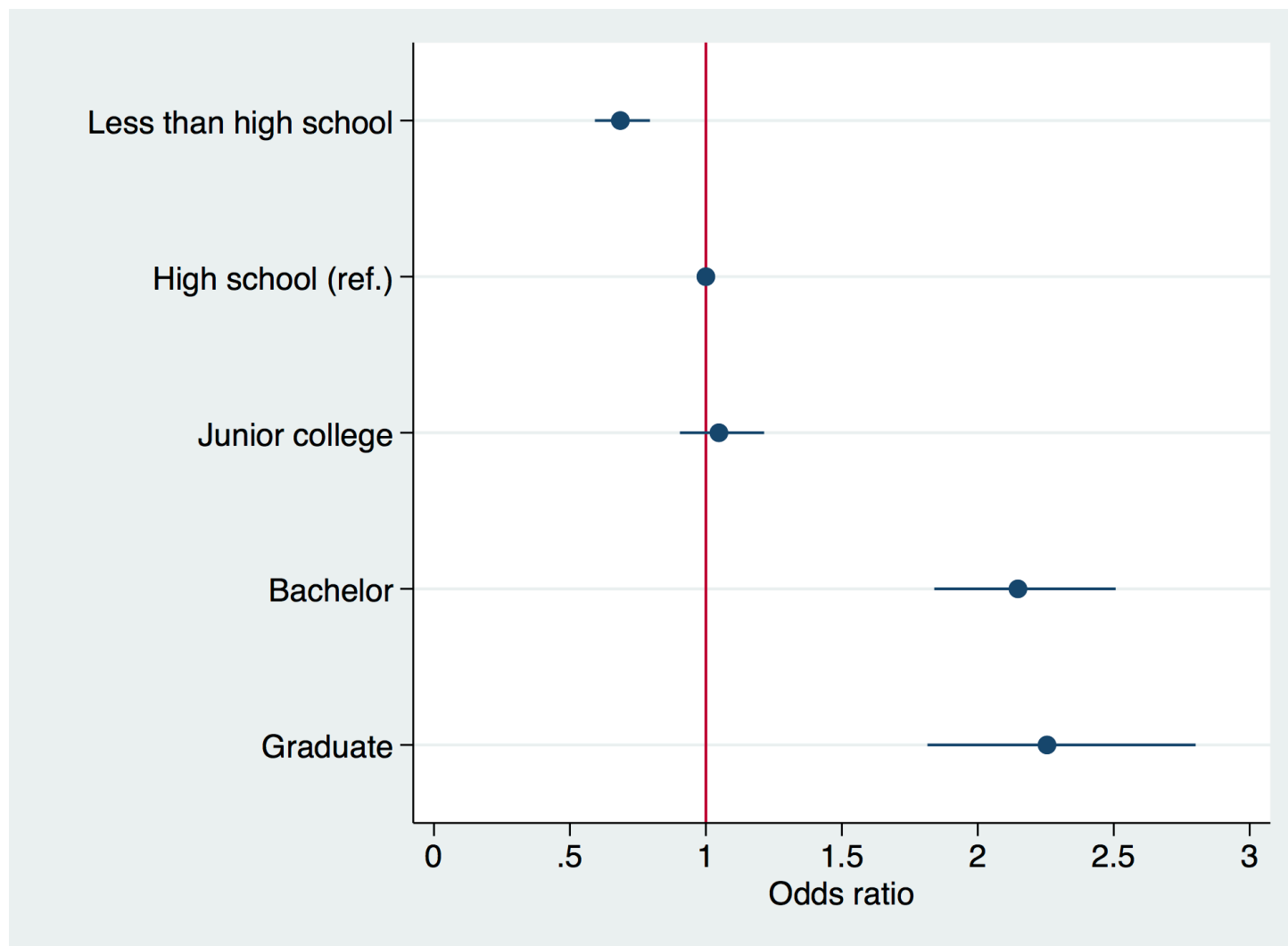
Graphs with odds ratios

- Odds ratios indicate the factor change in odds of
 - Observing values above the specified category
 - Versus observing values at or below the specified category
- For migration attitude
 1. **Above reduced a lot (“wanting more”)**
 2. Above reduced a little
 3. Above remain the same
 4. Above increased a little



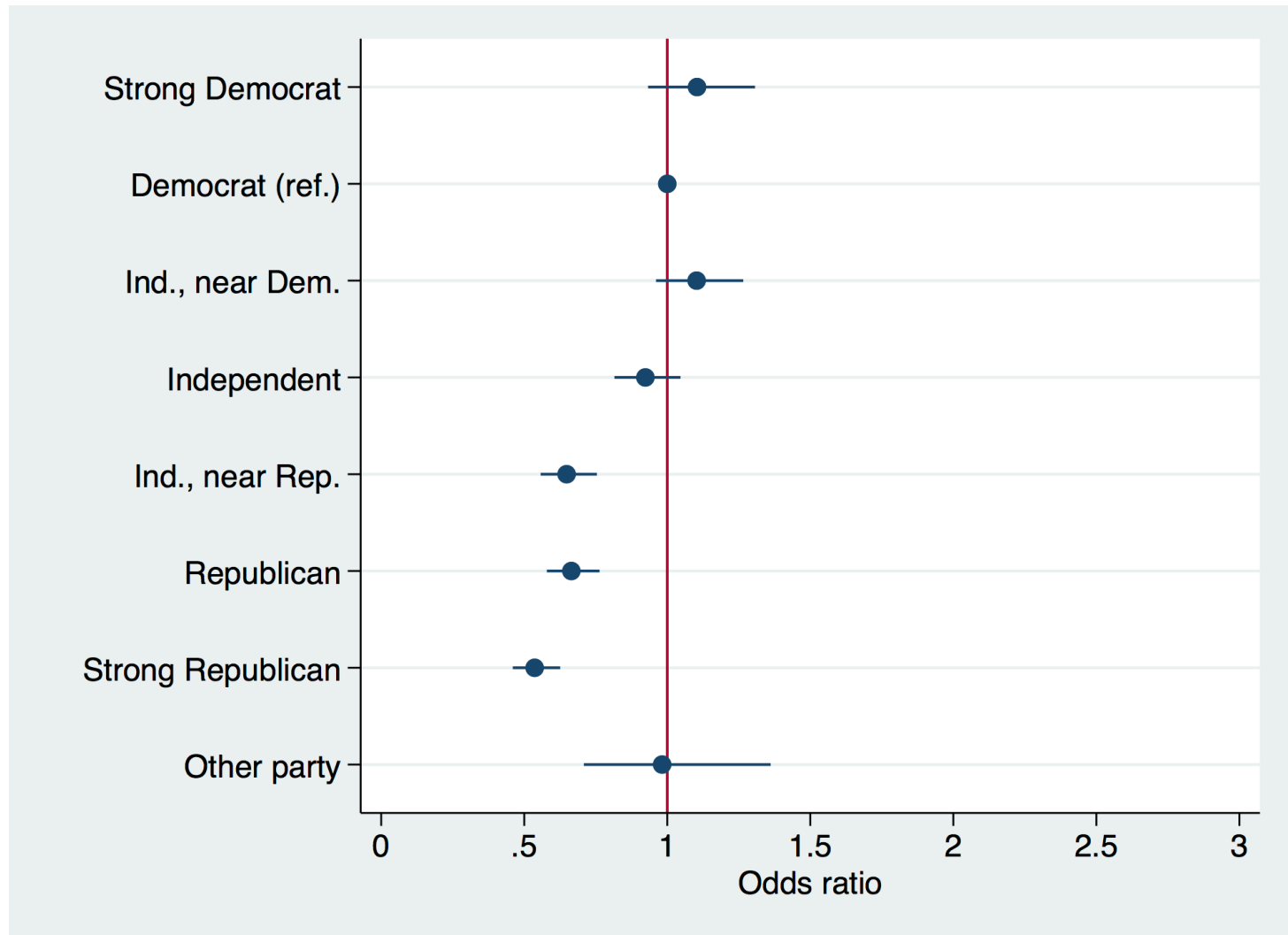
Odds ratios of wanting more vs. less immigration

Education



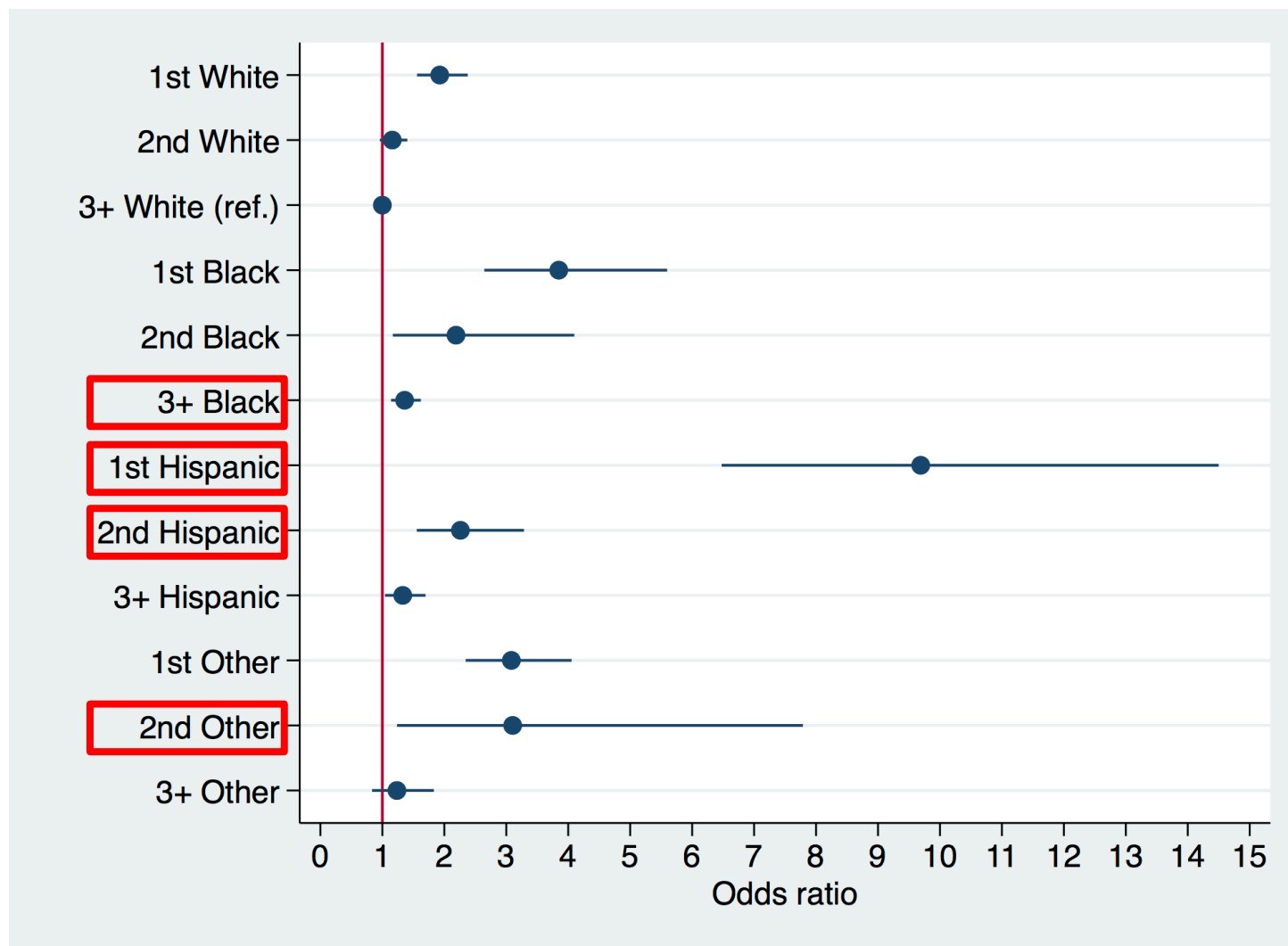
Odds ratios of wanting more vs. less immigration

Political party



Odds ratios of wanting more vs. less immigration

Generation of immigrant & race/ethnicity

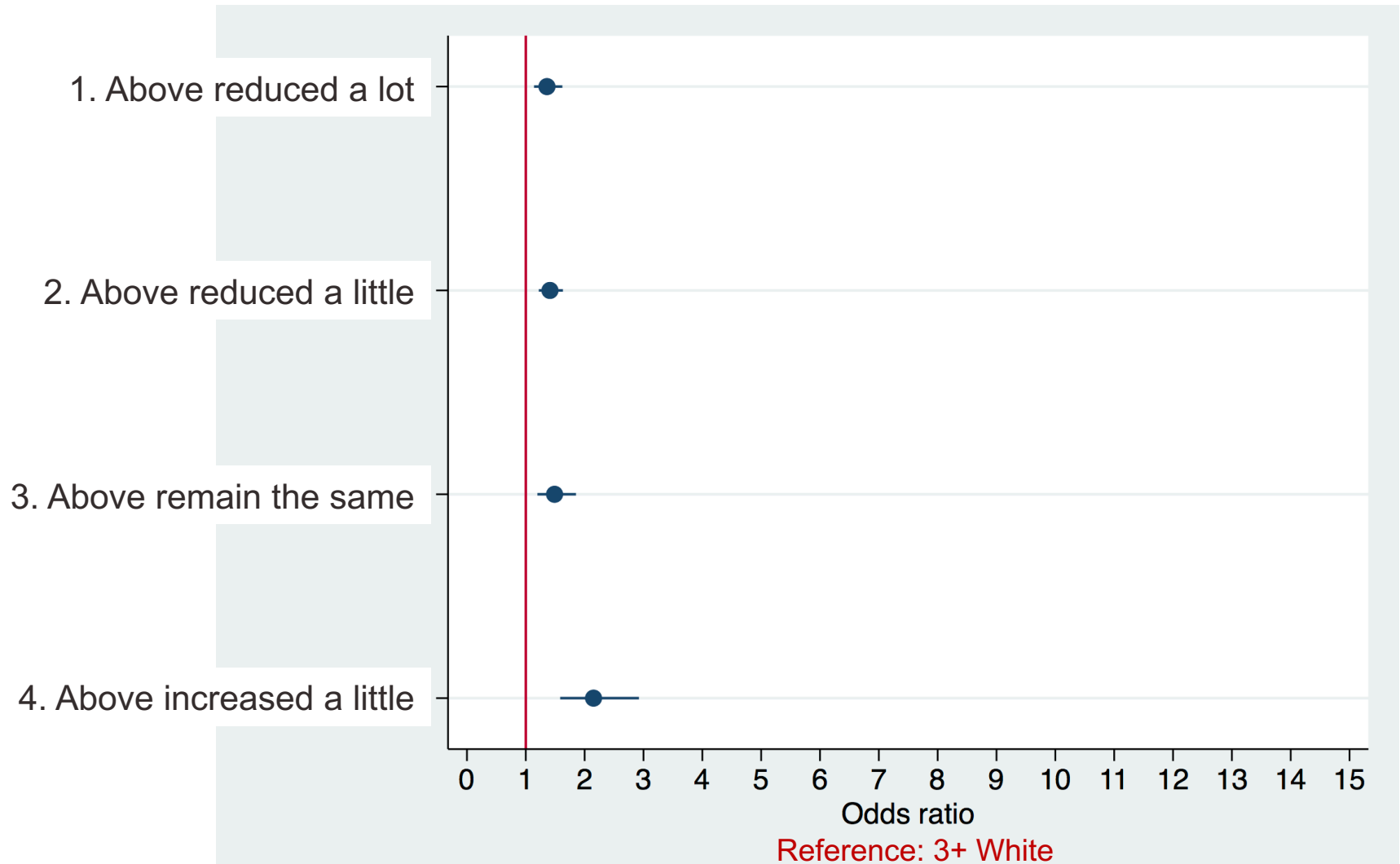


Variations across the scale

- Models identify if independent variables have associations that vary throughout the migration attitude scale
- These categories had different odds ratios across the migration attitude scale compared to 3+ White
 - 3+ Black
 - 1st Hispanic
 - 2nd Hispanic
 - 2nd Other

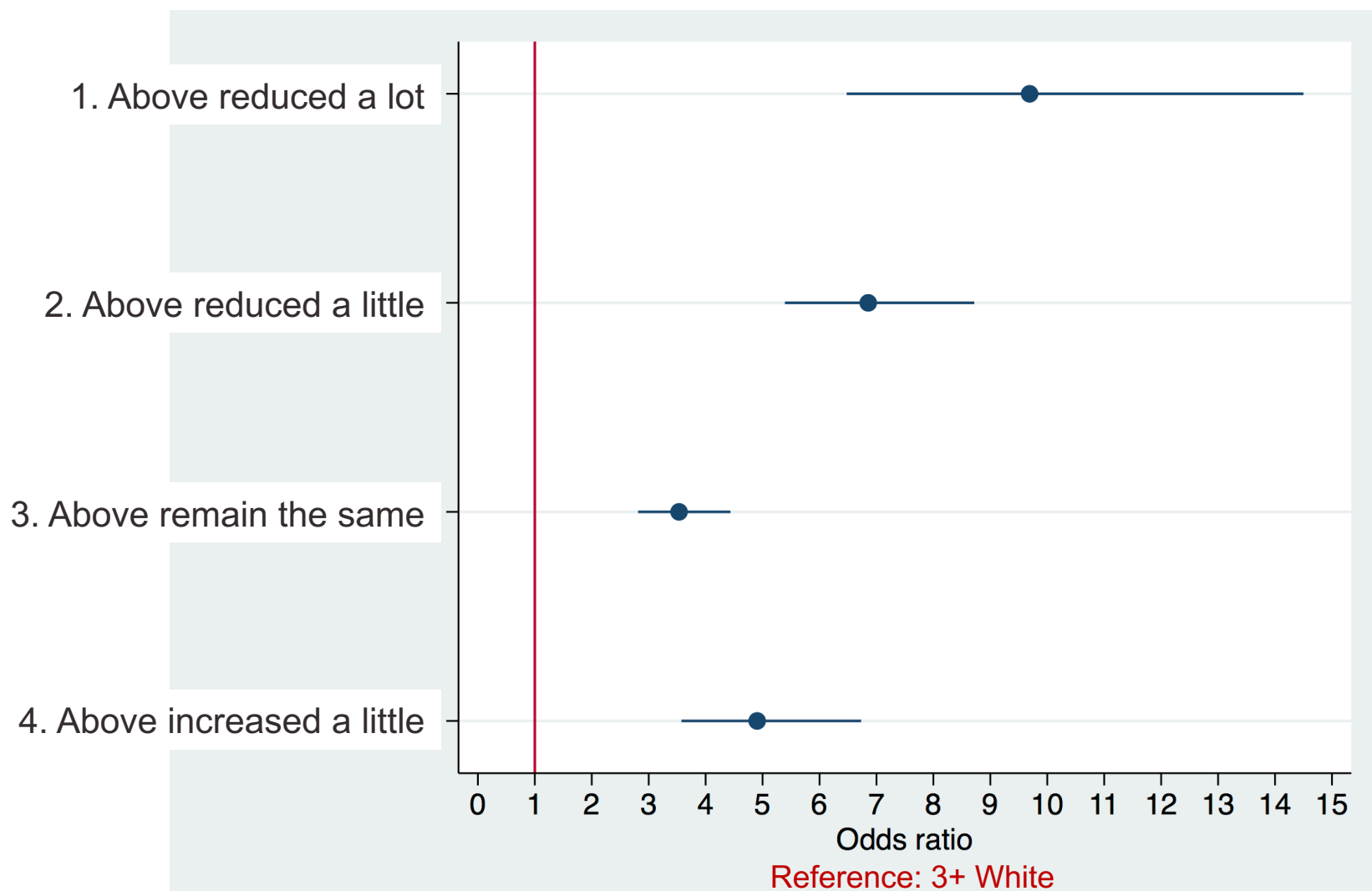
Odds ratios across migration attitude

3+ Black



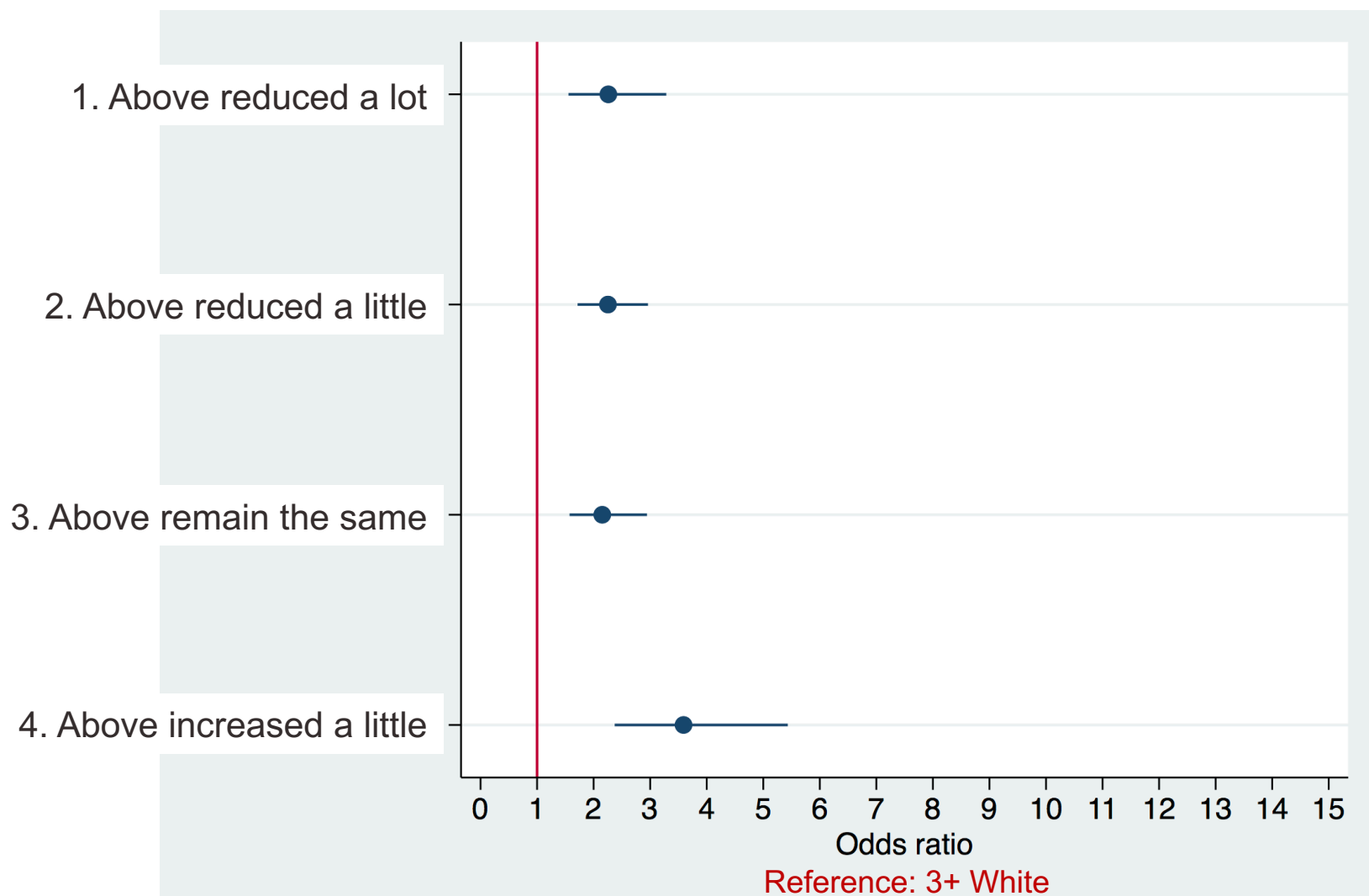
Odds ratios across migration attitude

1st Hispanic



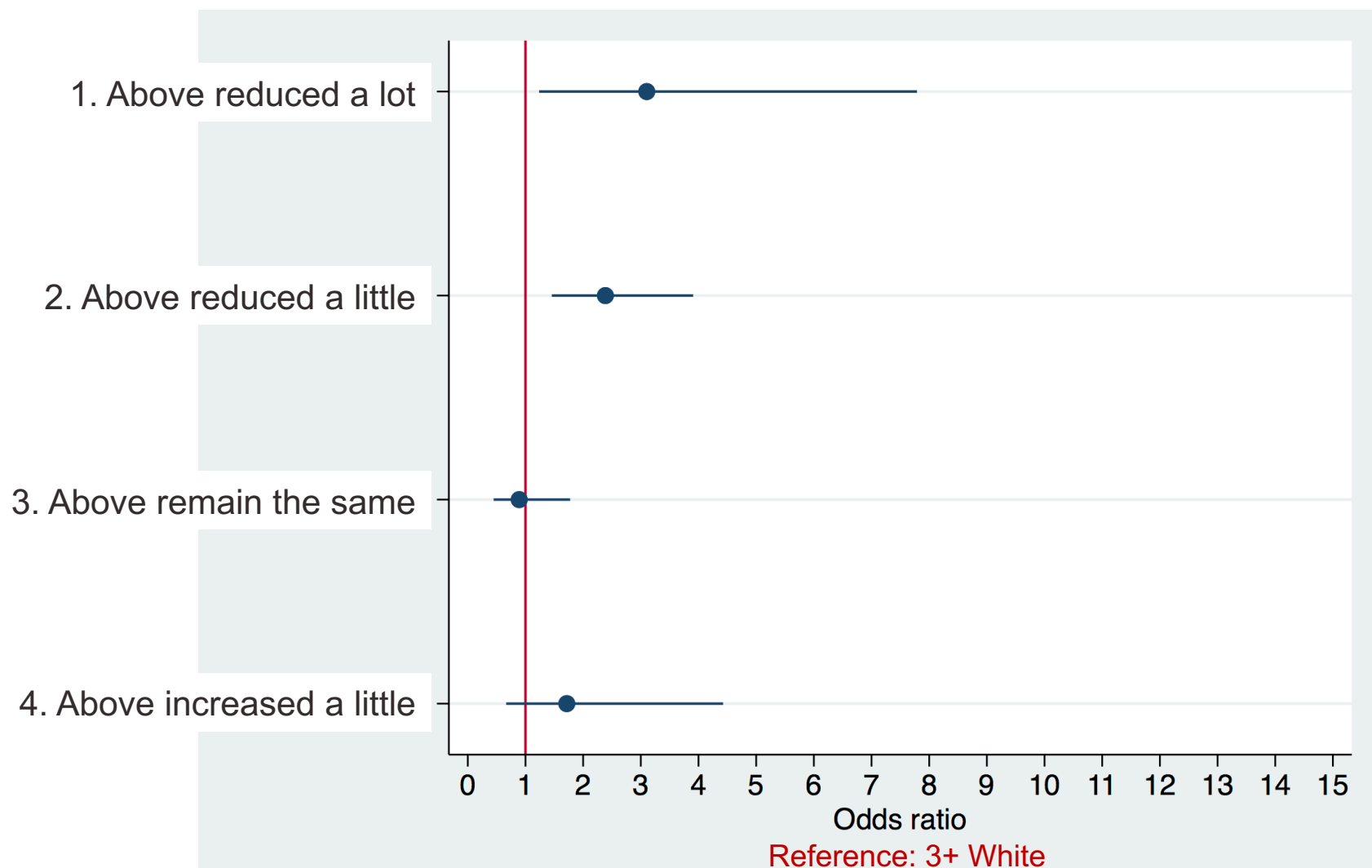
Odds ratios across migration attitude

2nd Hispanic



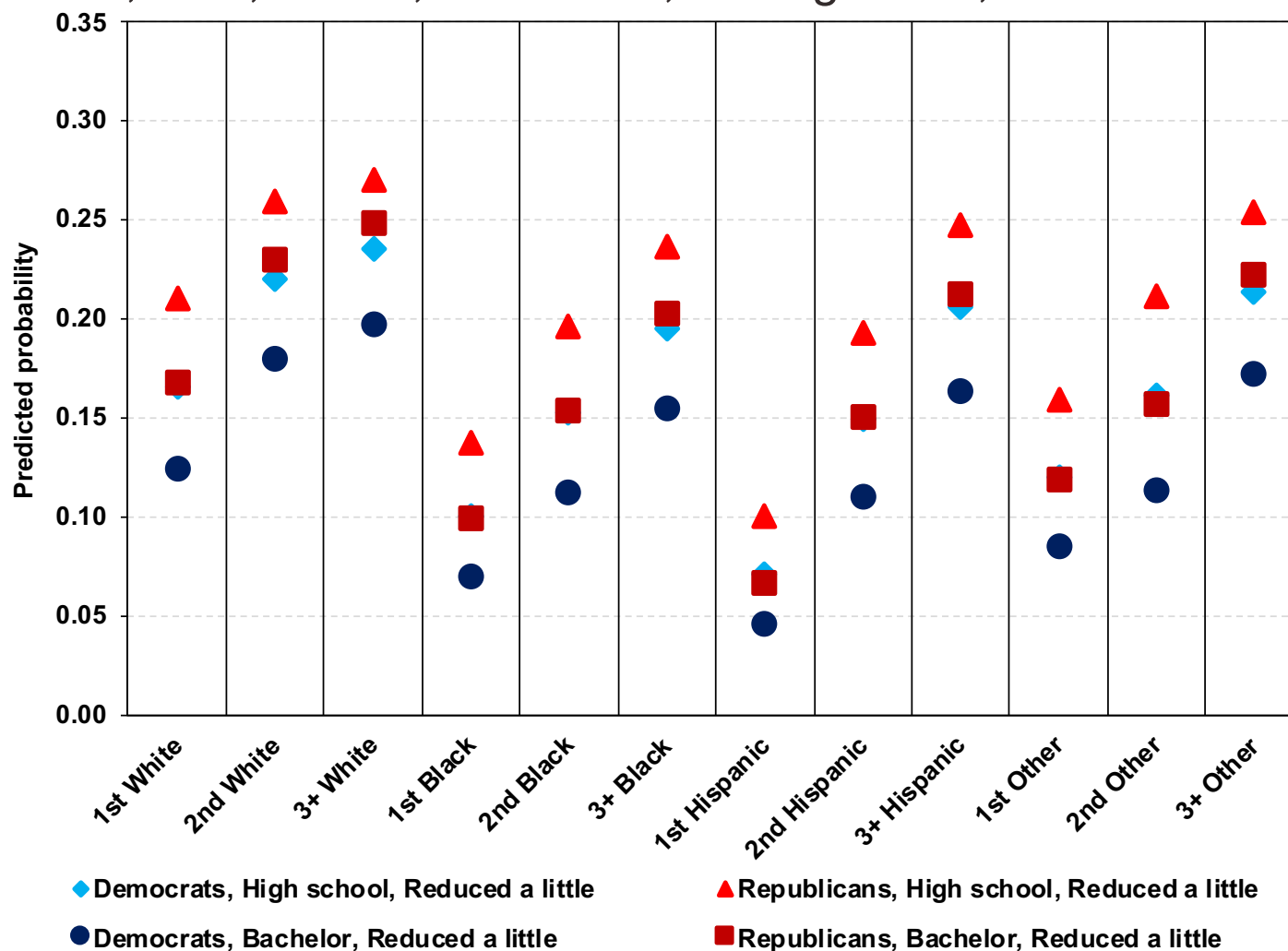
Odds ratios across migration attitude

2nd Other



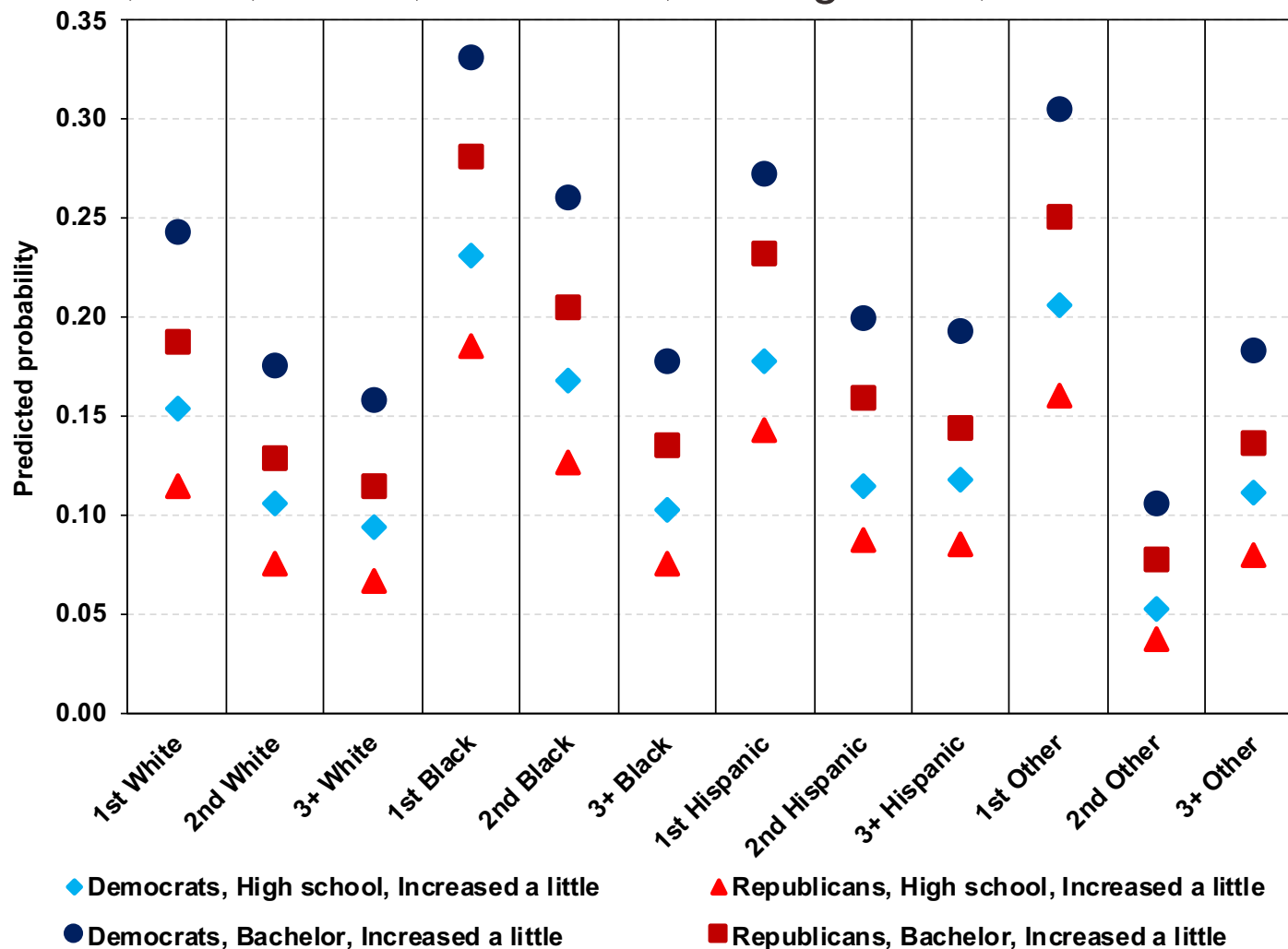
Pred. probabilities: Reduced a little

Probabilities estimated for these categories of independent variables:
2018, Men, 25–44, Protestant, Management, South Atlantic



Pred. probabilities: Increased a little

Probabilities estimated for these categories of independent variables:
2018, Men, 25–44, Protestant, Management, South Atlantic



Final considerations

- ***Social identity seems to be main driver of attitudes***
 - 1st Hispanic tend to be more pro-immigration
 - 2nd Black and 2nd Hispanic are more pro-immigration than 3+ White
 - 3+ Black and 3+ Hispanic tend to be more similar to 3+ White
 - Whites born in the U.S. (2nd and 3+) tend to be more anti-immigrant than other groups
- **In line with previous studies** (Berg 2015; Ellison et al. 2011; Fussell 2014; Haubert, Fussell 2006; Sanchez 2006, 2008; Stets, Burke 2000)
 - 2nd Black and 2nd Hispanics identify themselves more with recent immigrants
 - Whites have less social identity with immigrants even when their parents are immigrants (2nd White)



Other results

- ***Social class difference in terms of attitudes***
 - Pro-immigration
 - Higher educational attainment
 - Counties with higher proportions of college graduates (preliminary)
 - Anti-immigration
 - Lower end of the occupational stratum
- ***Social interactions shape pro-immigration attitudes***
 - Counties with higher proportions of immigrants (preliminary)
- ***Other factors that increase pro-immigration attitudes***
 - Support for immigration has been increasing over time
 - 18–24 age group
 - Non-Protestants
 - Those with liberal political inclinations



Next steps

- Include county-level variables
- 2006–2018 American Community Surveys
 - Proportion of college graduates
 - Proportion of unemployment
 - Proportion of immigrants
- 2000 and 2010 Religion Censuses
 - Proportion of evangelical Protestants
 - Pace of change
- Better explore religious denomination from GSS to separate evangelical Protestants from others





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