Attitudes toward immigrants

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Migration (SOCI 647)

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Outline

- Contemporary American attitudes toward immigration
  - Espenshade, Hempstead 1996
  - Chandler, Tsai 2001
  - Haubert, Fussell 2006

- Opinion on legal/illegal immigrants
  - Chandler, Tsai 2001

- Crime, economy, jobs, ideas
  - Haubert, Fussell 2006

- Number of immigrants
  - Amaral, Marquez-Velarde, Mitchell 2019

Background

- Social identity
  - Immigration attitudes are developed when a person mentally puts their race in an "in-group" while placing other races in the "out-group" (Stets, Burke 2000)

- The development of these groups can be measured with political party, age, gender, occupation, religion, and region (Espenshade, Hempstead 1996; Fennelly, Federico 2008; Ha 2010; Knoll 2009; Wilson 1996)
  - However, there is not a direct correlation of these variables to "in-groups" and "out-groups"

Group consciousness

- Some individuals self-identify with a group and desire to engage in collective activity to improve the group's situation

- They are more likely to participate in pro-immigrant activities and express their support for immigrant's rights (Sanchez 2006, 2008)

Self and group interest

- Labor market competition hypothesis

  - Some individuals believe that immigrants affect their job status or standard of living

  - This is especially expressed by people of lower socioeconomic status (Burns, Gimpel 2000; Espenshade 1995; Espenshade, Hempstead 1996)

- When majority race believes that minorities are purposely taking advantage of society resources, anti-minority attitudes increase (Blalock 1970)

Cultural values and beliefs

- Values and beliefs are developed at a young age through the influence of the community, family, and culture (Espenshade, Calhoun 1993; Sears 1997; Sears et al. 1997)

  - Anti-immigration attitudes are developed in areas with strong conservative politicians (Semyonov et al. 2006)

- Religion seems to play a role in defining a person's attitudes toward immigration (Knoll 2009)

  - Positive attitudes are developed by religious groups that welcome minorities or support specific minority groups

Social interactions

- People tend to dismiss negative thoughts about minority groups through interaction (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)

- Interactions are more successful when (Pettigrew 1998)
  - People have similar class ranking
  - Local agencies stimulate contact
  - People have similar goals for the community
  - Both want to experience one another

Stereotypes

- Political and stereotypical beliefs play an important role in the development of immigration attitudes (Berg 2015)
  - Subtle prejudice can be the main factor in developing stereotypes against minority groups, which shapes attitudes toward immigrants (Pettigrew, Meertens 1995)

- Prejudice against Latinos shapes (Shin, Leal, Ellison 2015)
  - Views on number of immigrants who should be allowed to the United States
  - Opinions about consequences of immigration in relation to
    - Higher crime rates
    - Job losses for the native-born population
    - Opening up to new ideas and cultures

Political ideology

- Conservatives tend to hold more negative views toward immigration than liberals (Chandler, Tsai 2001; Haubert, Fussell 2006)

- The relationship between political partisanship and attitudes toward immigrants is not always straightforward (Neiman, Johnson, Bowler 2006)

  - In California, Republicans are more likely to think that immigration has negative effects on social and policy outcomes, but Democrats shared the same concerns

Age and sex

- Age is positively related to anti-legal immigration attitudes (Chandler, Tsai 2001)

  - Older respondents are more likely to want to decrease the number of legal immigrants

- Women are more likely to be more anti-legal immigration than males

  - But this relationship is not statistically significant for anti-illegal immigration

- Overall, age and sex have not been consistent significant predictors of attitudes toward immigrants (Espenshade, Hempstead 1996; Fetzer 2000; Chandler, Tsai 2001)

Race

- Race did not have a statistically significant relationship with anti-legal or illegal immigration (Chandler, Tsai 2001)

- Nativity and immigrant background do play a role in immigration attitudes (Haubert, Fussell 2006)

  - White immigrants and non-white immigrants are more likely to have favorable perceptions of immigrants, compared to white natives

Education

- Level of education influences an individual's pro-immigrant attitude (Berg 2010; Burns, Gimpel 2000; Chandler, Tsai 2001; Espenshade 1995; Haubert, Fussell 2006; Hood, Morris 1997)

  - Individuals tend to form a positive response toward immigrant groups and beneficial government policies

- Disagreement about whether education defines an individual's immigration attitude or only teaches politically correct principles (Jackman, Muha 1984; Janus 2010)

  - This issue could be investigated with longitudinal data

Income and occupation

- Income did not have a statistically significant relationship with anti-legal or illegal immigration (Chandler, Tsai 2001)

- Occupation significantly predicted negative perceptions of immigrants (Haubert, Fussell 2006)

  – Blue-collar and service workers are more likely to hold negative perceptions

  – Immigrants are perceived as competitors in the labor market for low-skilled jobs
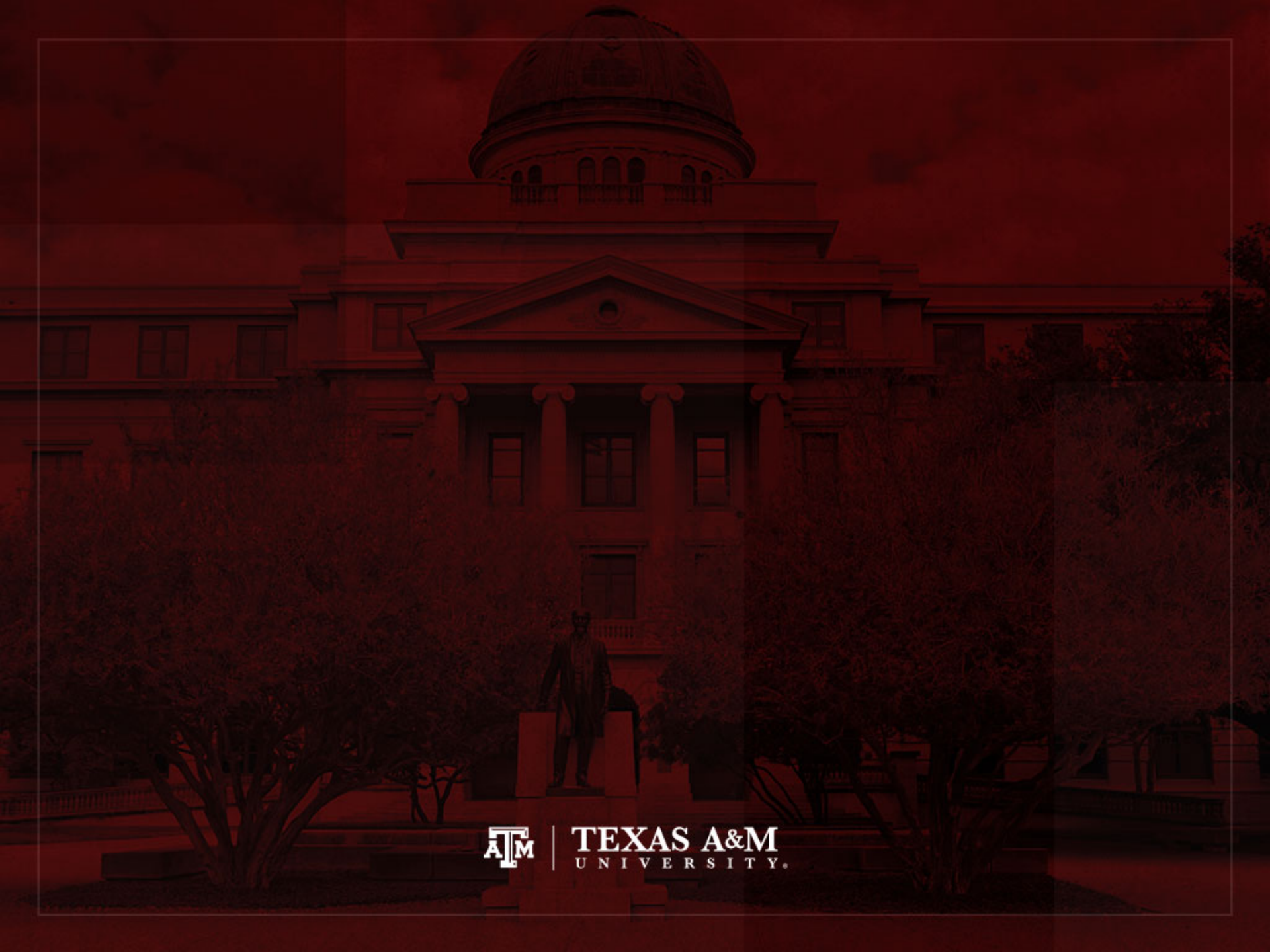
Opinion on legal/illegal immigrant

- 1st dependent variable from General Social Survey (GSS)
  - "Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot"
  - The categories are usually reported collapsed into "increased," "decreased," and "kept at present levels"

Table 1
Attitude toward immigration: post war trends
Question: Should immigration be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?

	1946	1953	1965	1977	1981	1982	1986	1993[a]	1994[b]
More/increased	5%	13%	8%	7%	5%	4%	7%	6%	6.4%
Same/present level	32%	37%	39%	37%	22%	23%	35%	27%	28%
Fewer/decreased	37%	39%	33%	42%	65%	66%	49%	65%	65.6%

Note. 1946–1986, these trends data are taken from Simon (1987), Table 1. Columns may not add up to 100 due to "don't know" responses. Also, in 1946, a "none" category was included.
[a] CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll, 1993, p. 127
[b] These are the data used in the present study. Note: N = 1379.

Source: Chandler, Tsai 2001.

Table 2
Effects of theoretical variables on attitude toward immigration: frequency distribution by percentage

Theoretical variables		Increased	Decreased	N
Personal social attributes:				
A.	Sex			
	male	6.6%	64.6%	635
	female	6.0	66.1	762
B.	Race			
	white	4.9%	66.6%	1,160
	nonwhite	13.1	59.9	237
	black	11.0	65.4	182
c.	Age			
	18–29	7.6%	58.6%	251
	30–49	6.5%	65.9%	645
	50–64	5.2%	65.9%	270
	65 & over	5.7%	70.9%	230
Economic threat:				
A.	Perceived national economy			
	getting better	6.7%	58.9%	360
	about the same	5.7	67.2	613
	getting worse	7.1	69.2	406
B.	Income			
	$10,00 or less	12.9%	64.4%	163
	$10,000–19,999	4.9	68.2	223
	$20,000 or more	5.5	64.6	876
Fear of crime:				
A.	Any area around here or within a mile you would be afraid to walk alone?			
	no	5.2%	67.6%	497
	yes	7.8%	65.8%	436
B.	Do you happen to have in your home or garage any guns or revolvers?			
	yes	4.6%	72.6%	394
	no	7.9	62.3	530
Political conservatism:				
Where would you place yourself on the scale from extremely liberal to extremely conservative?				
	liberal	8.0%	58.0%	374
	moderate	4.6	68.5	496
	conservative	6.0	68.2	485
Cultural threat:				
A.	English language used in school			
	in native language	10.2%	58.6%	215
	native lang 1–2 yrs	5.8	62.9	660
	English only	5.3	71.3	491
B.	English language used in ballots			
	printed in some other	7.0%	61.5%	857
	printed in English only	5.3	72.4	508
C.	English language as official language			
	oppose	8.5%	53.7%	378
	neither	9.7	54.0	24
	favor	5.0	71.8	859
D.	Bilingual education			
	strongly favor	9.3%	58.5%	364
	somewhat favor	5.7	66.3	540
	somewhat oppose	4.7	69.9	236
	strongly oppose	4.3	71.3	209

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Theoretical variables		Increased	Decreased	N
Education:				
A.	Whether graduated from college			
	not college graduated	6.3%	70.3%	1,024
	graduated from college	6.2	52.0	369
B.	Level of education:			
	grade school only	3.7%	66.7%	27
	high school	6.9	71.8	656
	college	5.8	59.6	710

Note. Rows do not add up to 100 due to omission of "same/present level."

2nd set of dependent variables

- **Factor analysis** included several variables
  - **Seven questions** about opinion related to **legal immigrants**: (1) item about numbers of immigrants admitted; (2) eligibility for welfare; (3) demands for immigrant rights; (4) whether immigrants should "work their way up" without special favors; and effects of immigration upon (5) economic growth, (6) unemployment, and (7) problems of keeping the country united
  - **Three questions** about opinion related to **illegal immigrants**: (1) whether illegal immigrants should be entitled to work permits; (2) allowed to attend public universities at the same cost as other students; and (3) whether their children should continue to qualify as citizens when born in the U.S.

- It generated **two distinguishable factors**

    1. Variables concerning legal immigrants (anti-legal)

    2. Variables having to do with illegal immigrants (anti-illegal)

Multiple regression models

Table 3

Attitude toward legal and illegal immigrants: The full multiple regression models

Independent variables	Legal immigrants b (beta)	Illegal immigrants b (beta)
age (actual age)	.005* (.078)*	−.003 (−.043)
race (white = 1, else = 0)	.047 (0.18)	.094 (.035)
sex (male = 1, female = 2)	.185* (.092)*	−.097 (−.043)
national economy	.139* (.104)*	−.075 (−.056)
college graduated	−.557* (−.248)*	.021 (.009)
cultural threat	.293* (.292)*	.150* (.150)*
political conservatism	.076* (.108)*	.048* (.068)*
Constant	−.987	.136
R Square	.218	.041
N	1.061	1.061

Note. Unless otherwise noted, all the independent variable (s) except college graduation are expected to have a positive effect on the dependent variables: attitude toward legal immigrant and illegal immigration.

* Statistically significant at .05 level.

Crime, economy, jobs, ideas

- Data from the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS)

- The dependent variable is an additive scale that estimates respondent's perceptions of immigrants' impact on the national economy and society

- Haubert and Fussell (2006) recoded the items so that higher scores consistently represent more favorable perceptions of immigrants

TABLE 1
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Variable	Description	Mean	S.D.
Dependent Variables			
Additive scale	Scale of following four questions	12.37	3.13
Crime	Immigrants increase crime rates	3.03	0.03
Economy	Immigrants are generally good for the nation's economy	3.02	0.03
Jobs	Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in America	2.74	0.03
Ideas & culture	Immigrants make America more open to new ideas and cultures	3.58	0.03
Independent Variables			
Age	Age of respondent	42.79	15.56
Male	Respondent is male	0.48	–
Northeast	Lives in the Northeast	0.19	–
South	Lives in the South	0.32	–
Midwest	Lives in the Midwest	0.26	–
West	Lives in the West	0.23	–
White native	White and not of immigrant origin	0.73	–
White immigrant	White and of immigrant origin	0.12	–
Non-white immigrant	Non-white and of immigrant origin	0.04	–
Non-white native	Non-white and not of immigrant origin	0.11	–
White-collar	Works in a white-collar occupation	0.57	–
Blue-collar	Works in a blue-collar occupation	0.24	–
Service	Works in a service occupation	0.16	–
Not working	Retired, student, unemployed, or keeps house	0.03	–
No (4yr) college	No college degree	0.73	–
College	College degree (4yr)	0.19	–
Graduate school	Graduate degree	0.08	–
Liberal	Liberal or extremely liberal	0.15	–
Neutral	Slightly liberal or conservative, middle of the road	0.65	–
Conservative	Conservative or extremely conservative	0.20	–
Ethnocentric ideology	The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the Americans	2.78	1.07
Ever lived abroad	A non-immigrant who has ever lived abroad	0.15	–

Note: Dashes indicate that the variable is not included in the model.

Source: Haubert, Fussell 2006.

TABLE 2

REGRESSION OF THE SCALE OF PERCEPTIONS OF IMMIGRANTS ON INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Control Variables						
Age	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	−0.00
Male	0.24 (0.19)	0.10 (0.18)	0.48 (0.20)	0.33 (0.19)	0.42 (19)	0.07
Northeast	−0.42 (0.29)	−0.46 (0.29)	−0.37 (0.28)	−0.36 (0.27)	−0.28 (0.27)	−0.04
South	−10.24[b] (0.26)	−0.92[b] (0.26)	−0.87[b] (0.25)	−0.75[a] (0.24)	−0.49 (0.24)	−0.08
Midwest	−0.75[a] (0.27)	−0.44 (0.27)	−0.35 (0.26)	−0.30 (0.26)	−0.15 (0.25)	−0.02
West	–	–	–	–	–	–
Group Threat						
White native	–	–	–	–	–	–
White immigrant	–	1.57[b] (0.29)	1.58[b] (0.29)	1.53[b] (0.28)	1.59[b] (0.27)	0.17[b]
Non-white immigrant	–	2.50[b] (0.47)	2.67[b] (0.46)	2.67[b] (0.45)	2.83[b] (0.43)	0.19[b]
Non-white native	–	−0.34 (0.28)	−0.15 (0.28)	−0.09 (0.27)	−0.11 (0.26)	−0.01
Labor Market Competition						
White-collar	–	–	–	–	–	–
Blue-collar	–	–	−10.48[b] (0.23)	−0.78[b] (0.25)	−0.69[a] (0.24)	−0.10[a]
Service	–	–	−0.76[a] (0.25)	−0.17 (0.26)	−0.09 (0.25)	−0.01
Not working	–	–	−1.32 (0.54)	−0.65 (0.53)	−0.51 (0.51)	−0.03
Education						
No college	–	–	–	−1.36[b] (0.25)	−1.04[b] (0.25)	−0.15[b]
College	–	–	–	–	–	–
Graduate school	–	–	–	0.92 (0.37)	0.88 (0.36)	0.08[a]
Cosmopolitanism/Parochialism						
Liberal	–	–	–	–	0.62 (0.25)	0.07
Neutral	–	–	–	–	–	–
Conservative	–	–	–	–	0.24 (0.22)	0.03
Reject ethnocentrism	–	–	–	–	0.62[b] (0.08)	0.21[b]
Ever lived abroad (Natives)	–	–	–	–	0.65[a] (0.25)	0.08[a]
Intercept	13.18[b]	12.86[b]	13.13[b]	13.74[b]	11.09[b]	–
Number of cases	1,083	1,083	1,083	1,083	1,083	–
Adjusted R^2	0.02	0.07	0.11	0.15	0.21	–

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations. Dashes indicate that the variable is not included in the model.
[a] $p < 0.01$.
[b] $p < 0.001$.

TABLE 3

REGRESSION OF INDIVIDUAL SCALE ITEMS ON THE FINAL MODEL

	Crime	Econ	Jobs	Ideas
Control Variables				
Age	−0.00	0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Male	−0.02	0.16[a]	0.14	0.14
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Northeast	0.02	−0.17	−0.14	0.02
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.09)
South	−0.08	−0.19	−0.19	−0.04
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Midwest	0.11	−0.48	−0.12	−0.09
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
West	–	–	–	–
Group Threat				
White native	–	–	–	–
White immigrant	0.33[b]	0.52[b]	0.35[b]	0.39[b]
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Non-white immigrant	0.61[b]	0.81[b]	0.87[b]	0.55[b]
	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.14)
Non-white native	−0.05	0.18	−0.18	−0.06
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Labor Market Competition				
White-collar	–	–	–	–
Blue-collar	−0.10	−0.20	−0.23[a]	−0.16
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Service	0.00	0.00	−0.14	0.05
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Not working	−0.15	−0.09	−0.12	−0.16
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.17)
Education				
No college	−0.30[b]	−0.22[a]	−0.27[a]	−0.26[b]
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
College	–	–	–	–
Graduate school	0.31	0.18	0.23	0.15
	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.12)
Cosmopolitanism/Parochialism				
Liberal	0.12	0.17	0.12	0.22[a]
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Neutral	–	–	–	–
Conservative	0.03	0.12	0.11	−0.02
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.07)
Reject ethnocentrism	0.22[b]	0.07[a]	0.20[b]	0.12[b]
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Ever lived abroad	0.00	0.30[b]	0.09	0.26[b]
(Natives)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Intercept	2.62[b]	2.69[b]	2.45[b]	3.33[b]
Number of cases	1,083	1,083	1,083	1,083
Adjusted R^2	0.13	0.12	0.14	0.11

Notes: Dashes indicate that the variable is not included in the model.
[a] $p < 0.01$.
[b] $p < 0.001$.

Source: Haubert, Fussell 2006.
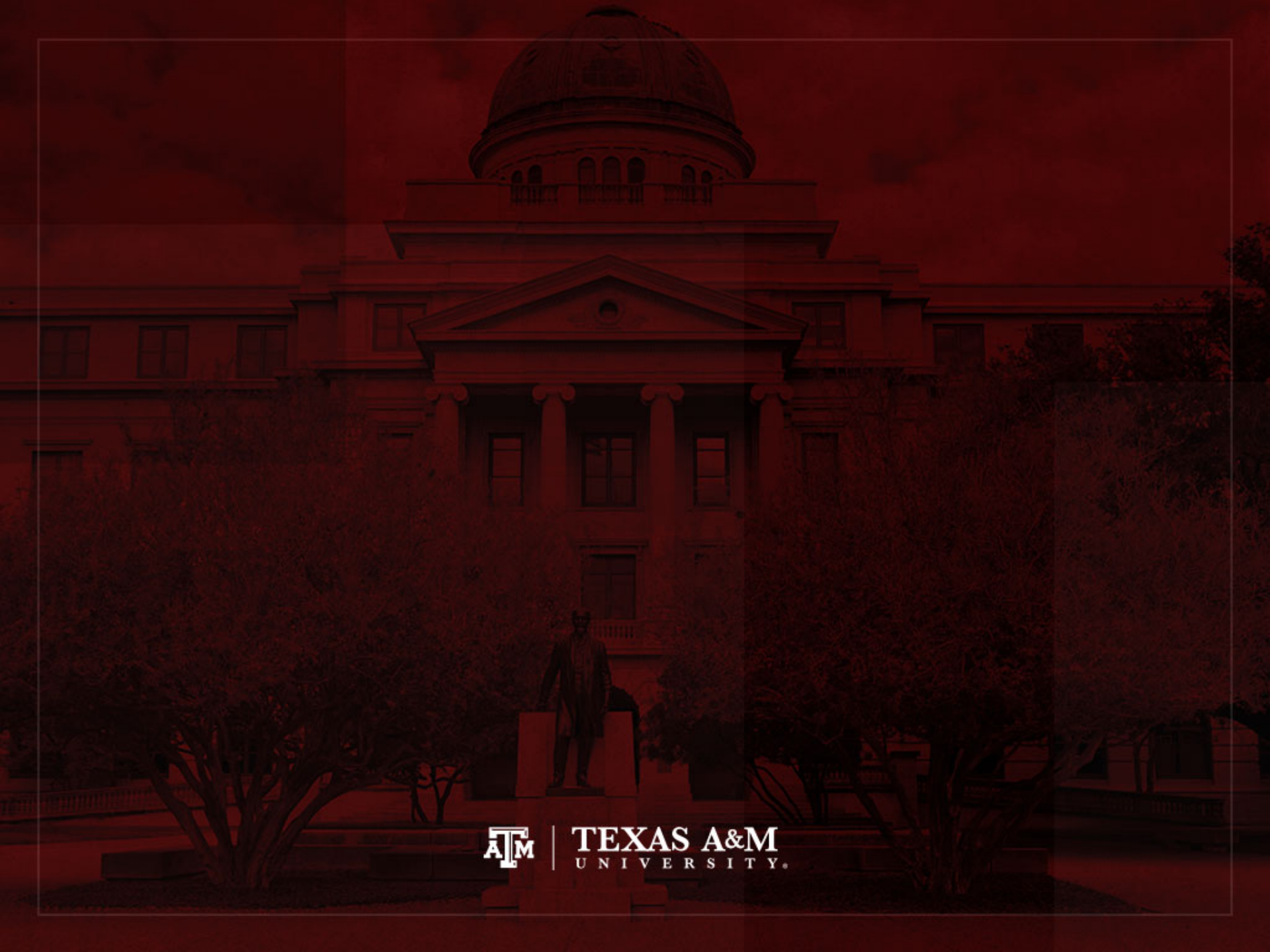
Texas A&M University

Opinion about number of immigrants

- 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
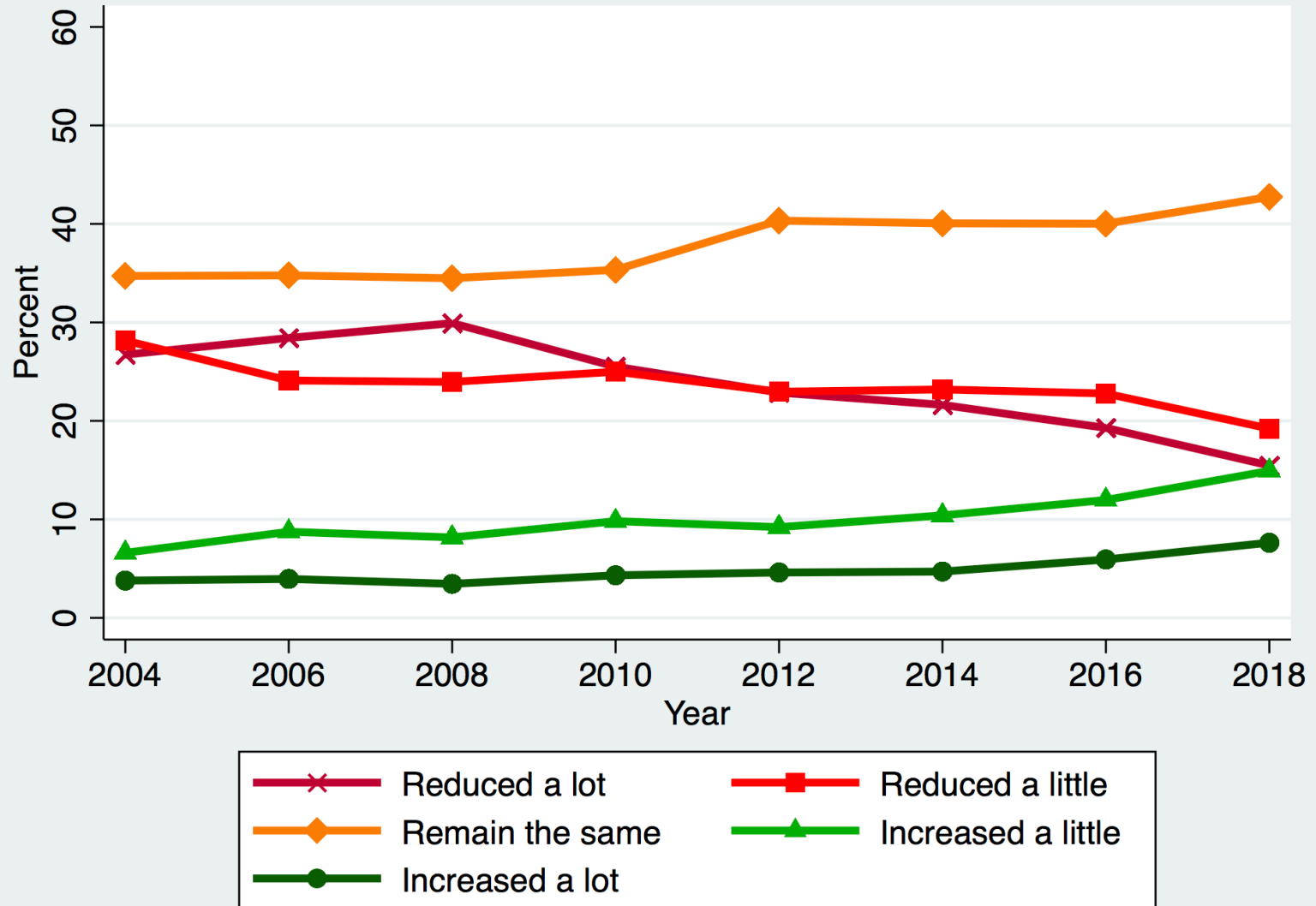
Social identity

- 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
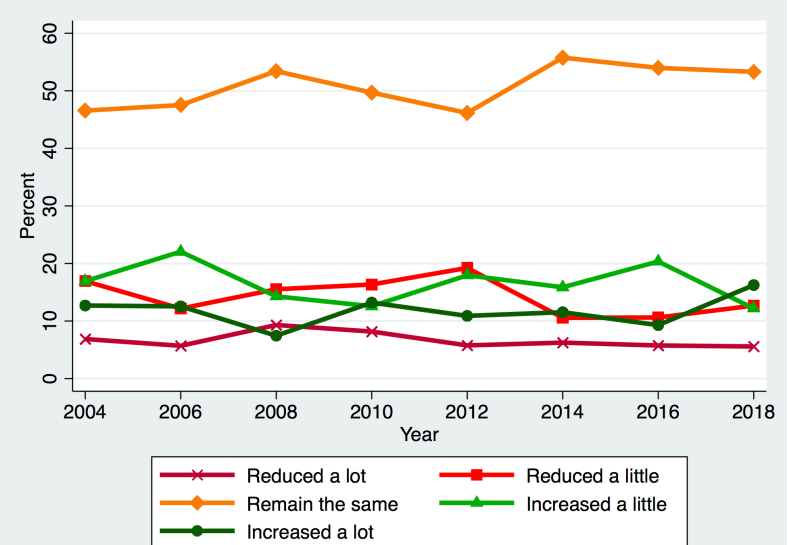
2nd generation immigrants
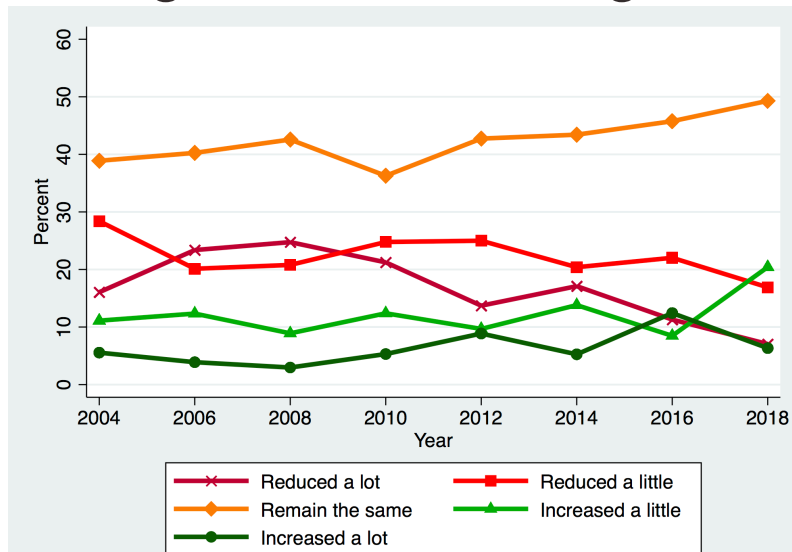
3+ generation immigrants
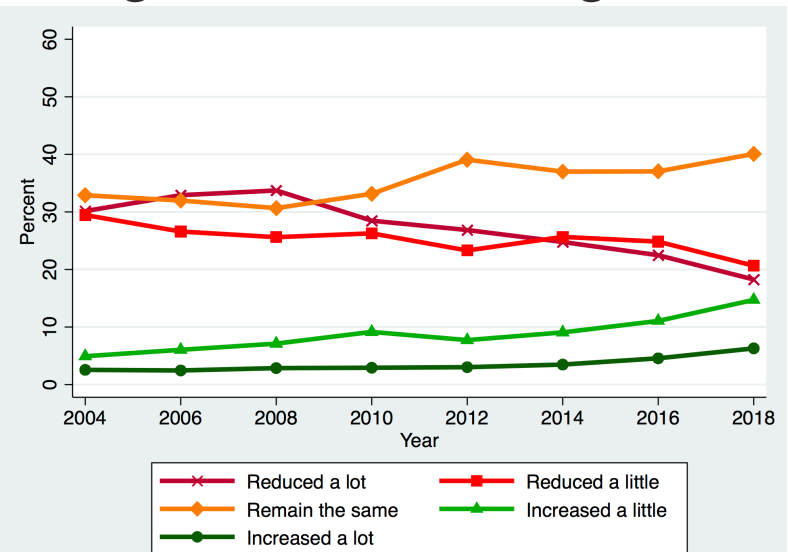
Racial anxiety

- 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
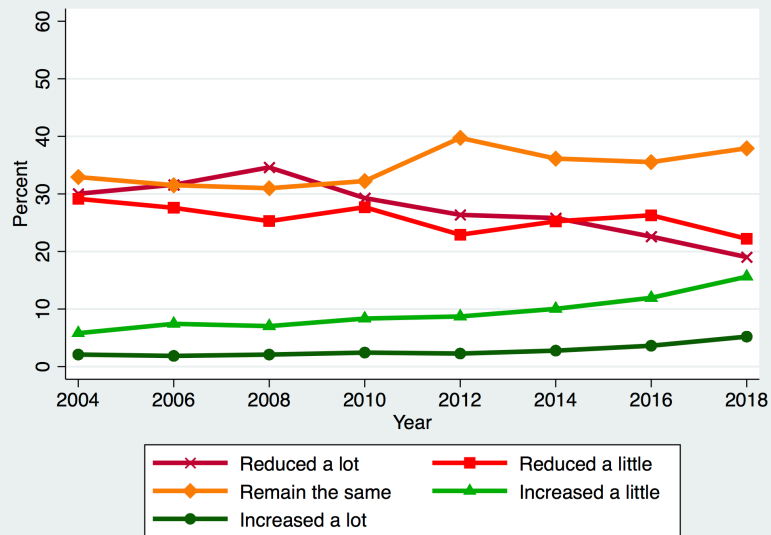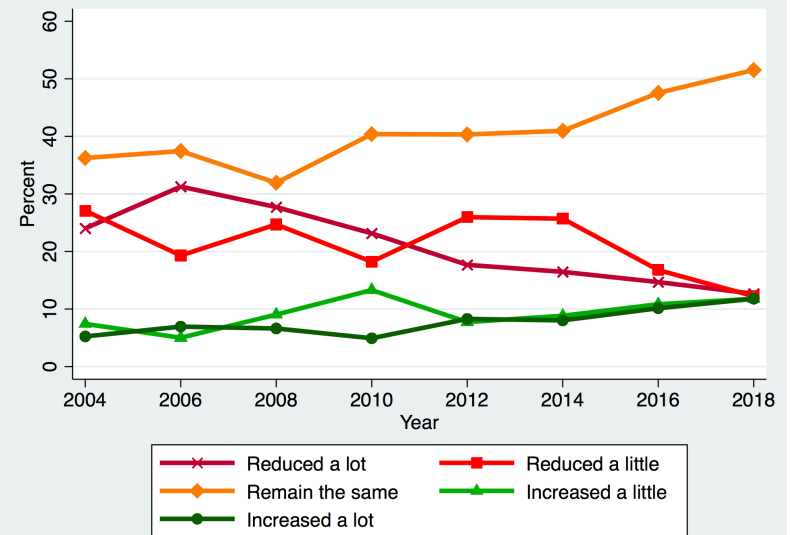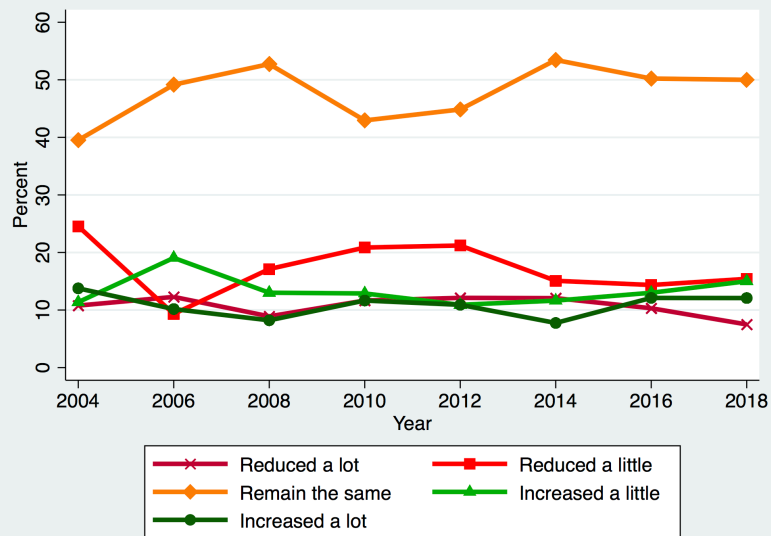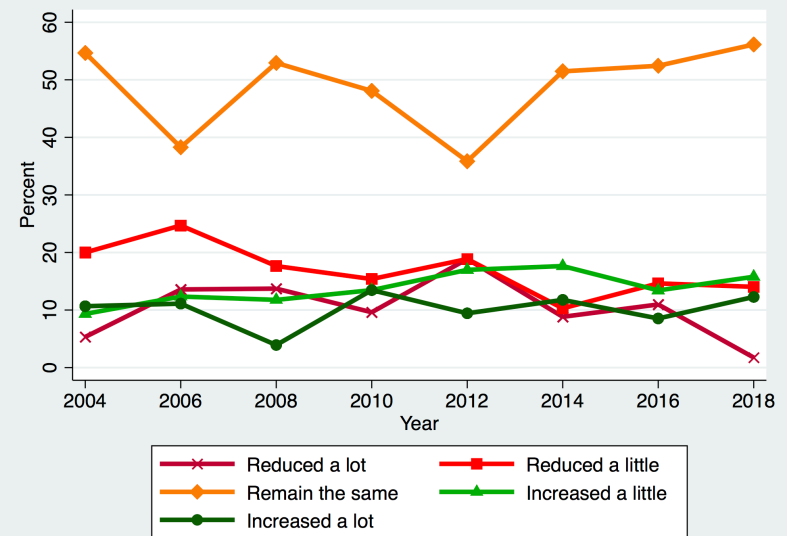
Education

- 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 Fusell 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)
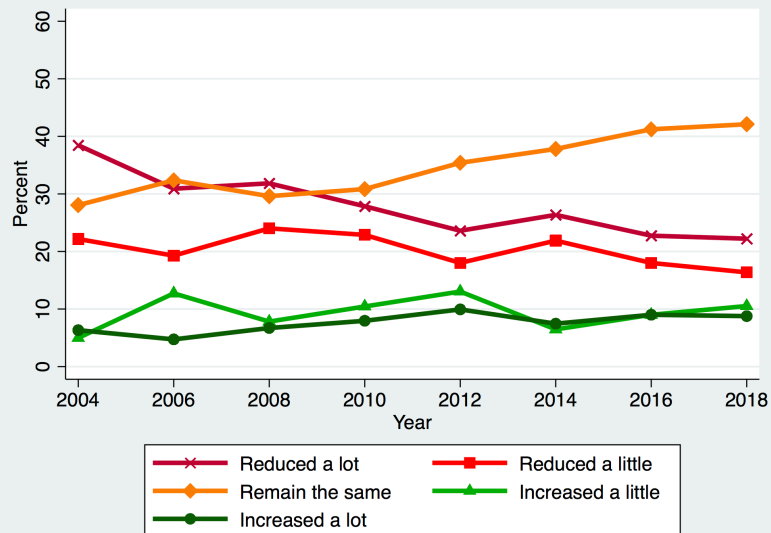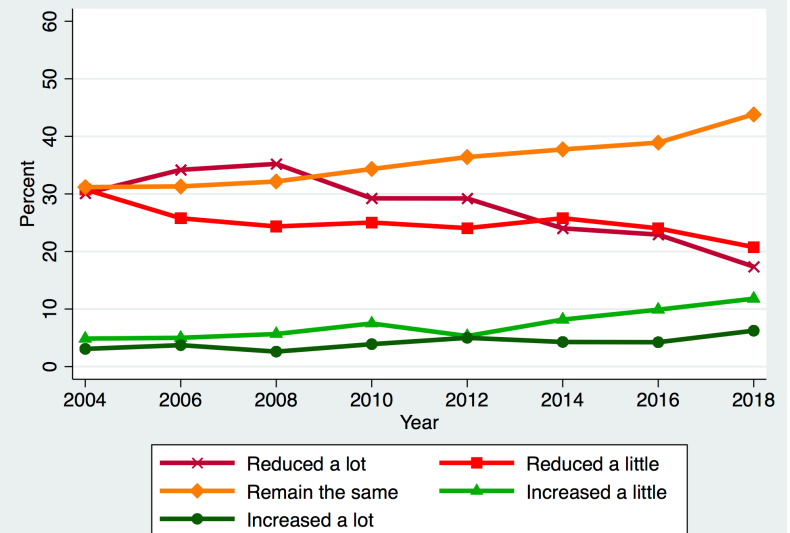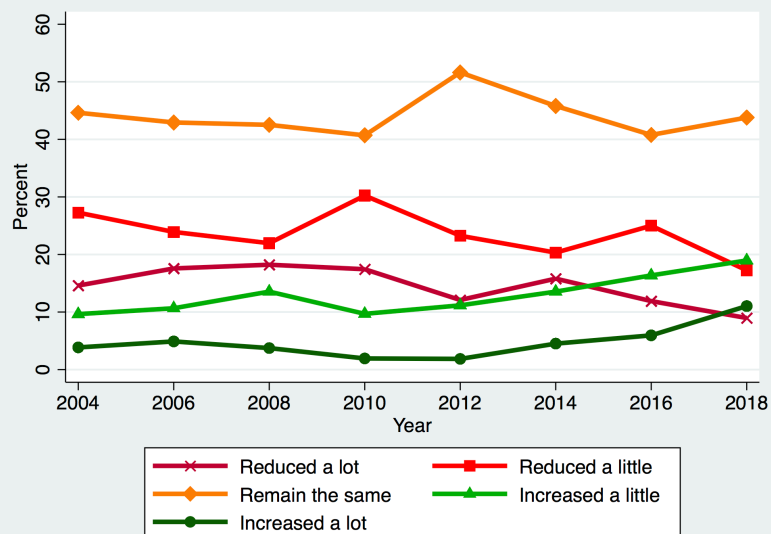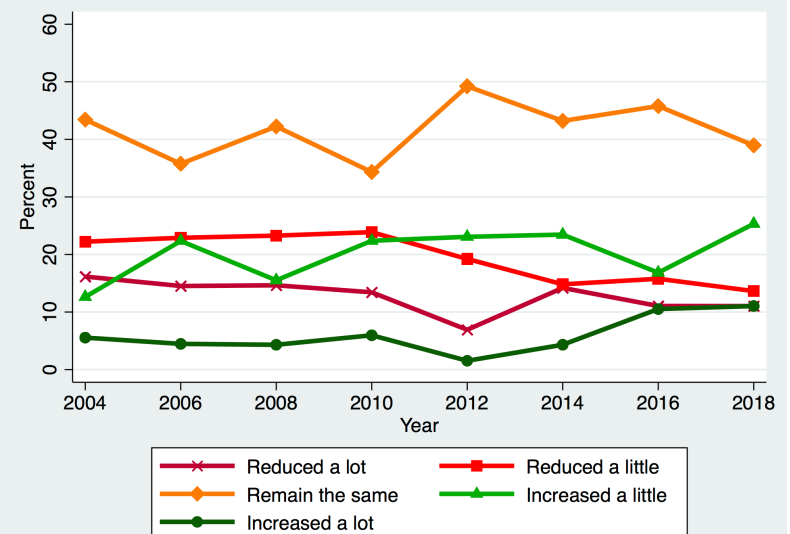
Political ideology

- 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)
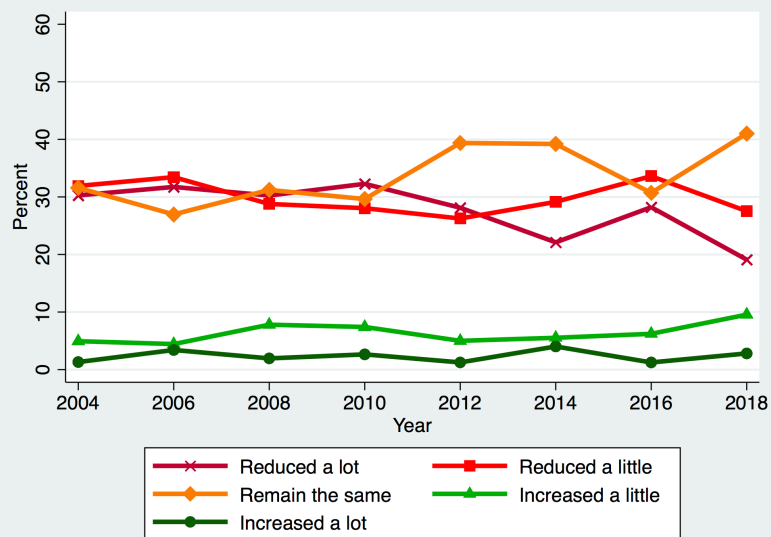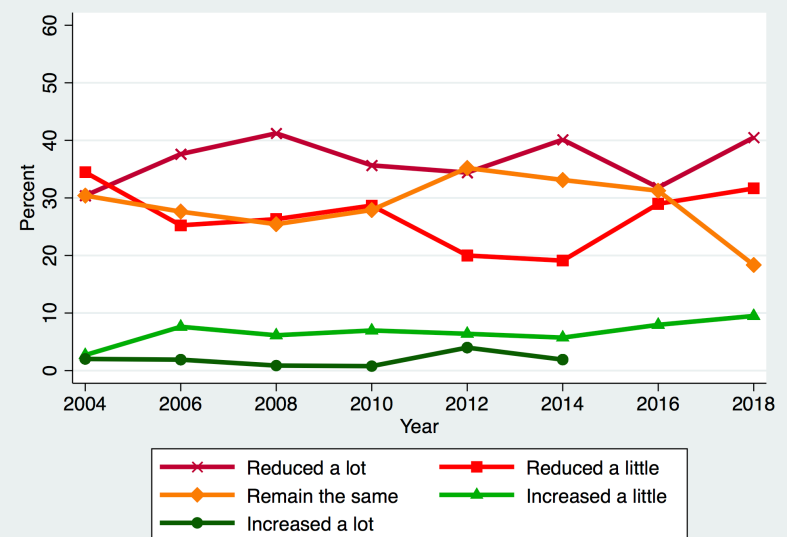
Strong Democrats
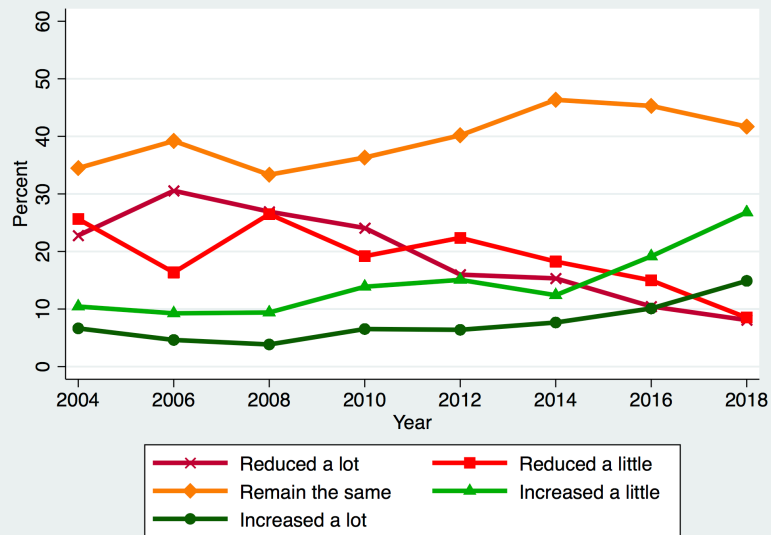
Democrats
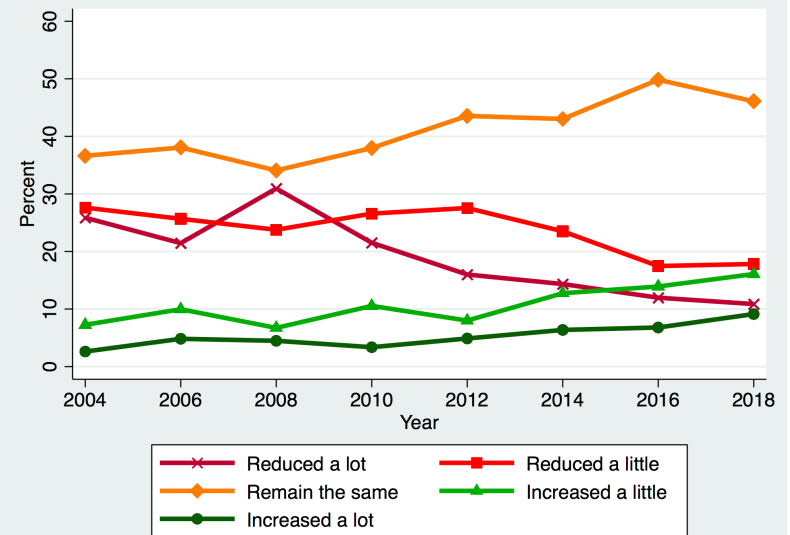
Republicans

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**

Source: Amaral, Marquez-Velarde, Mitchell 2019.

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

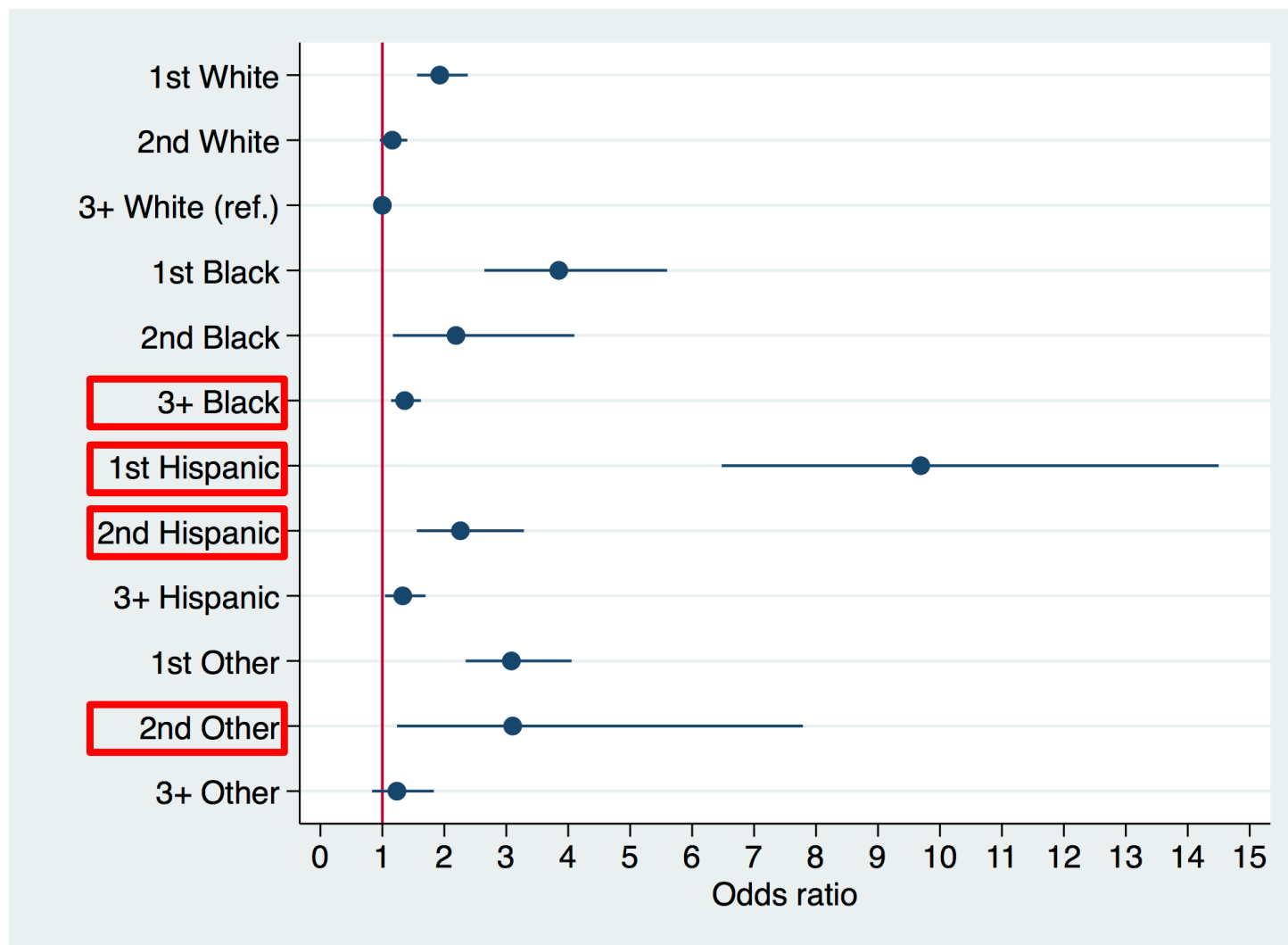# Odds ratios of wanting more vs. less immigration
Education
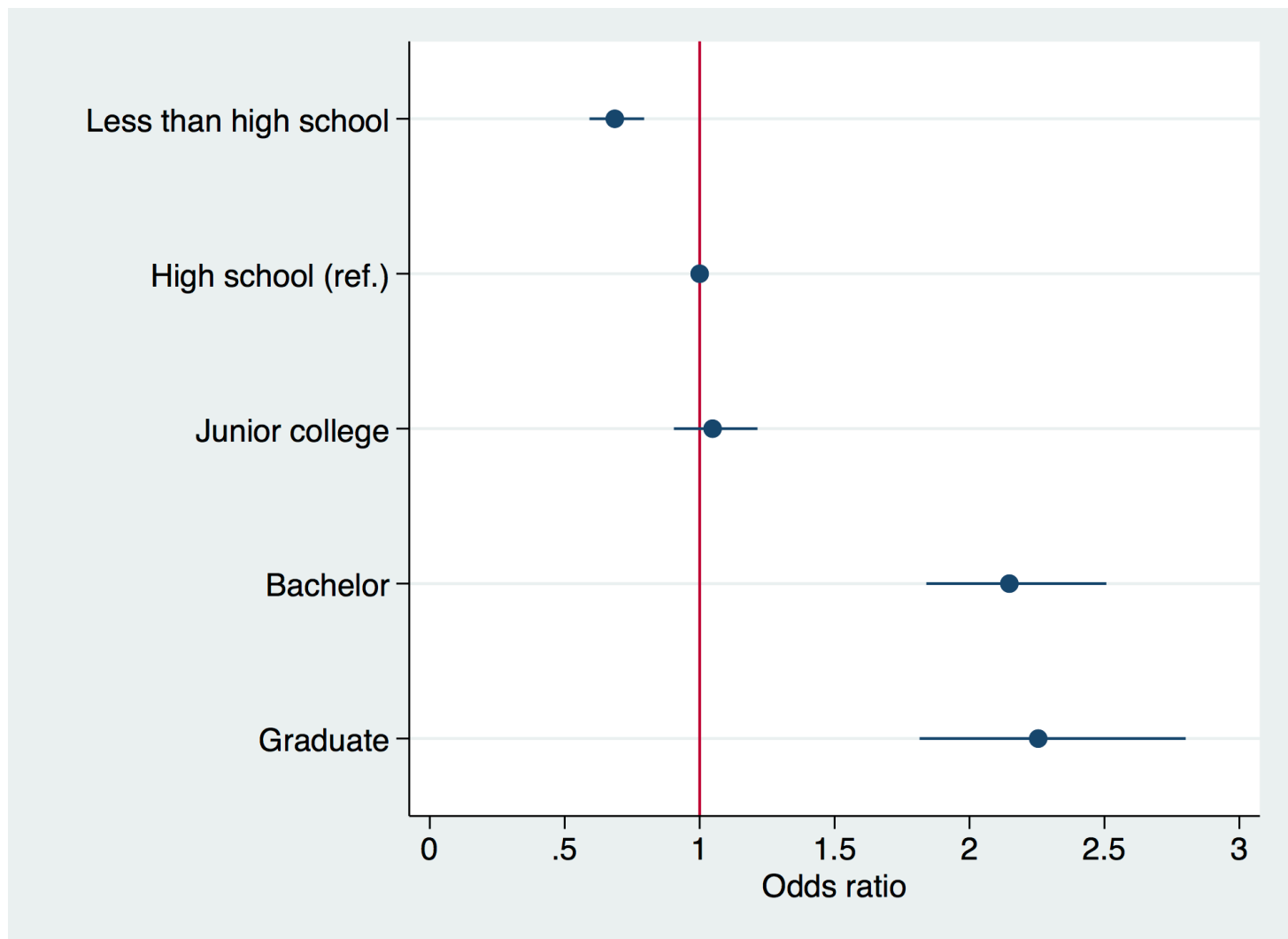
Odds ratios of wanting more vs. less immigration
Political party
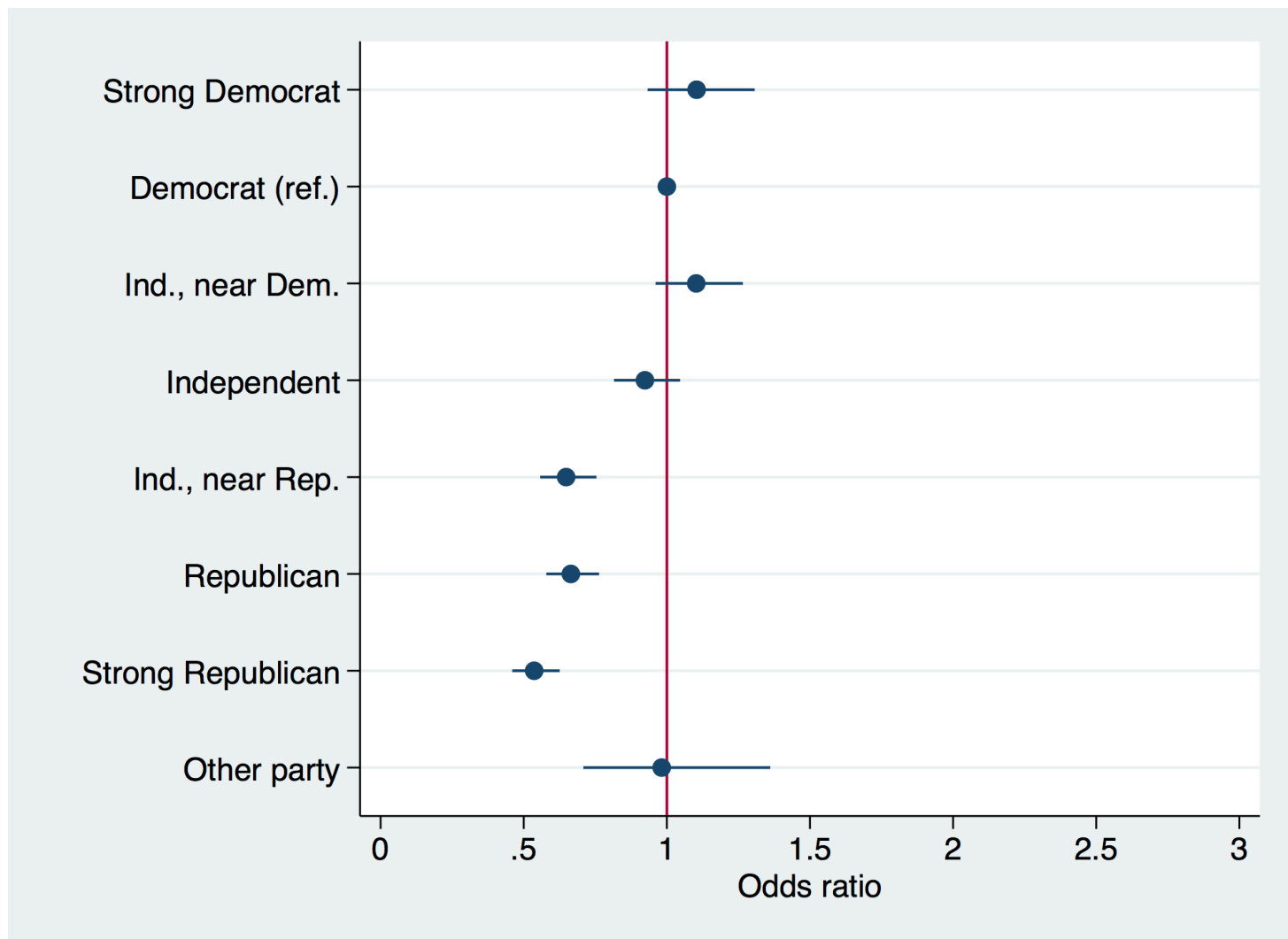
Odds ratios of wanting more vs. less immigration
Generation of immigrant & race/ethnicity

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
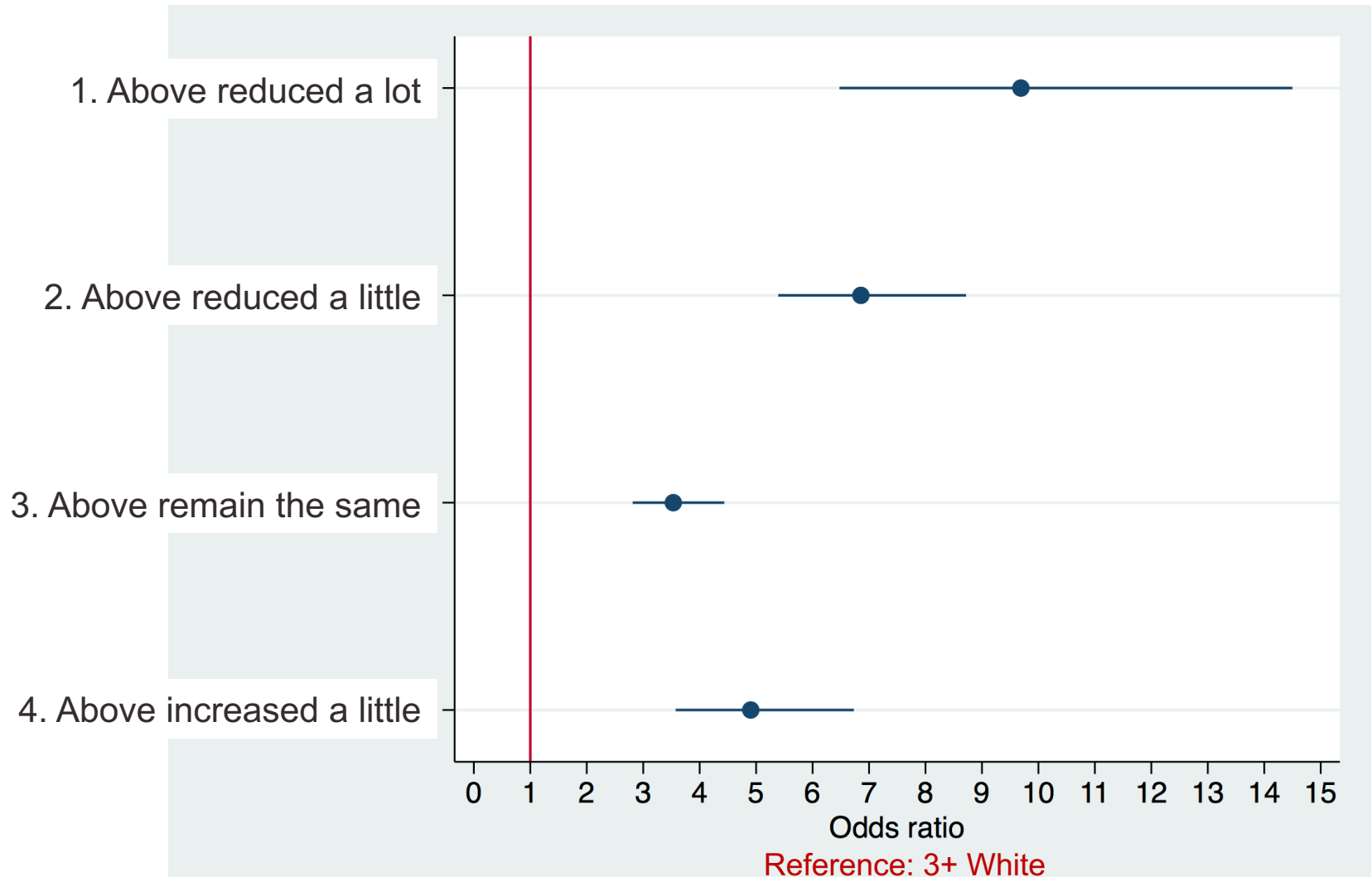   - 2nd Hispanic
    - 2nd Other

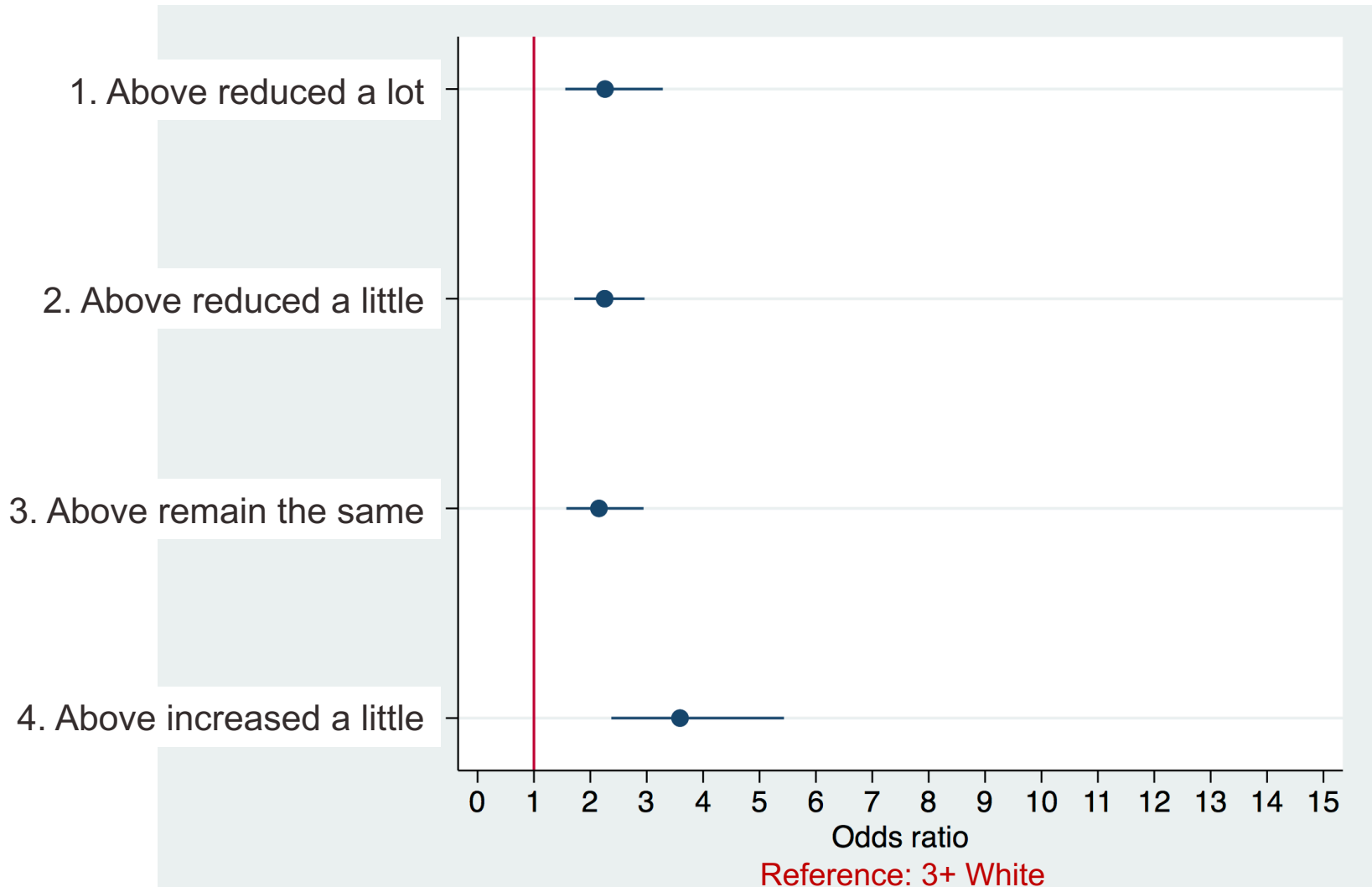# Odds ratios across migration attitude
3+ Black

Reference: 3+ White
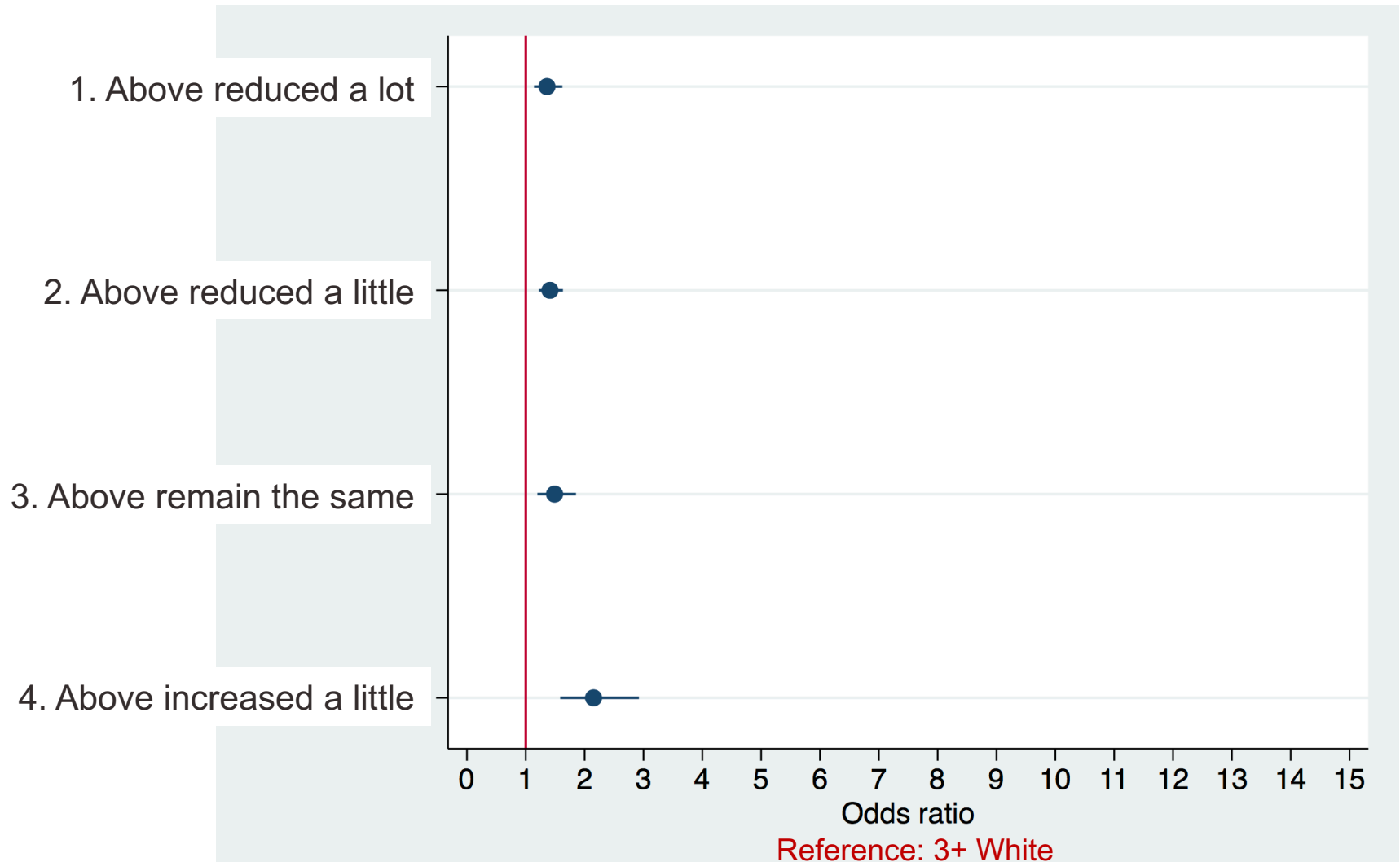
Odds ratios across migration attitude
1st Hispanic

Odds ratio

Reference: 3+ White

Odds ratios across migration attitude
2nd Hispanic

Reference: 3+ White

Odds ratios across migration attitude
2nd Other

Source: 2004–2018 General Social Survey.
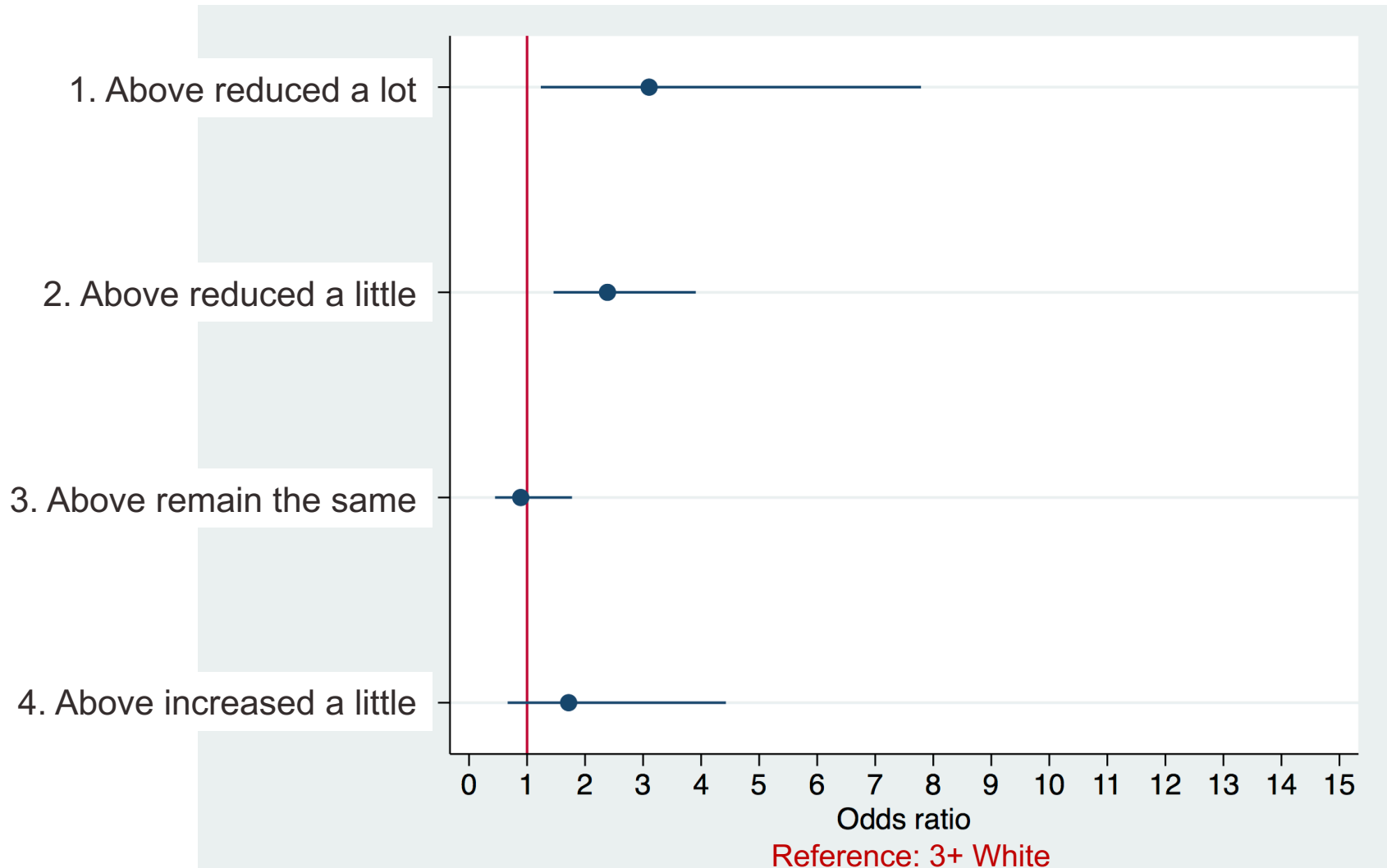
Pred. probabilities: Reduced a little

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

◆ Democrats, High school, Reduced a little   ▲ Republicans, High school, Reduced a little

● Democrats, Bachelor, Reduced a little   ■ Republicans, Bachelor, Reduced a little
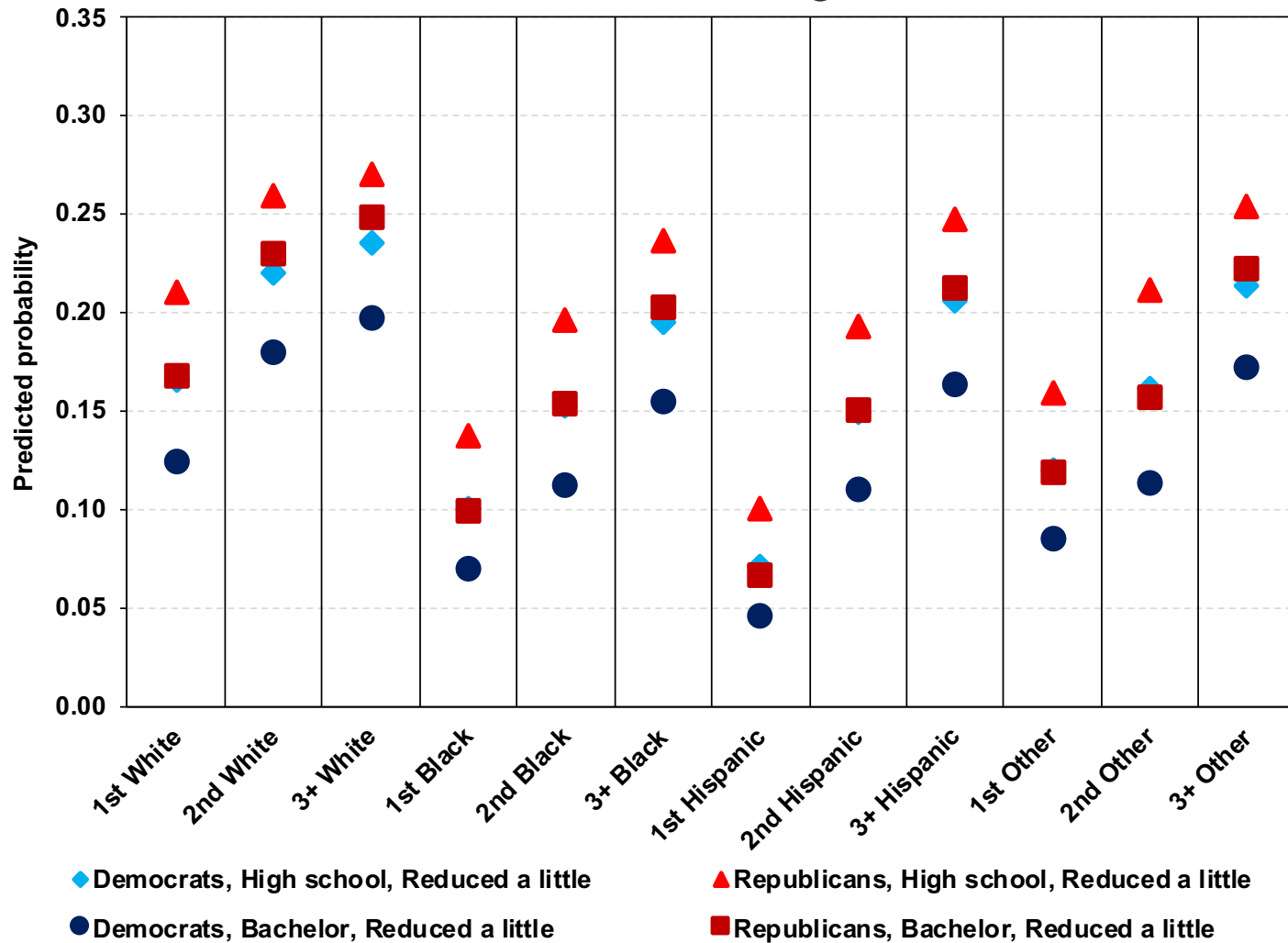
Pred. probabilities: Increased a little

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

Source: 2004–2018 General Social Survey.
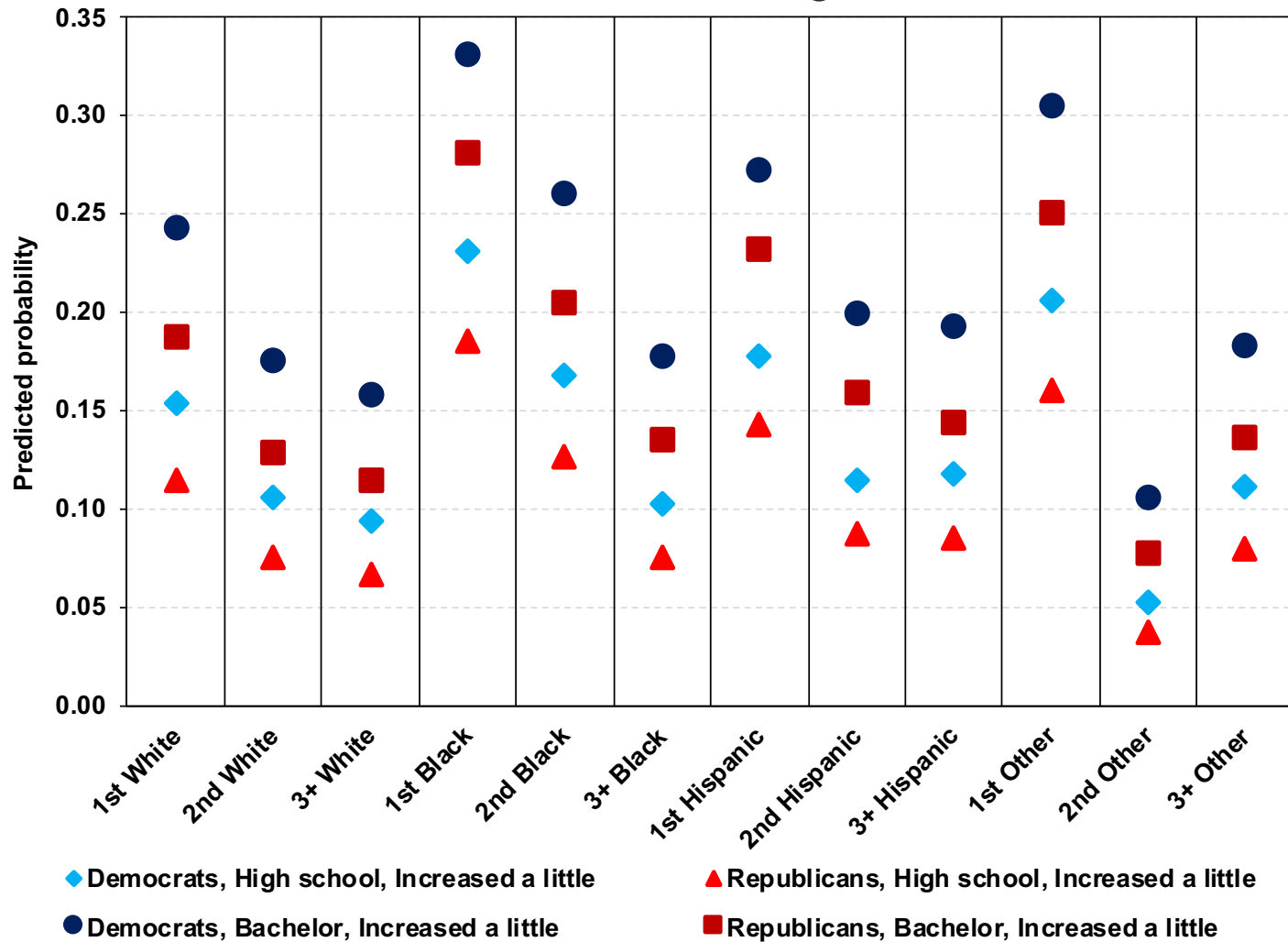
Final considerations

- ***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)
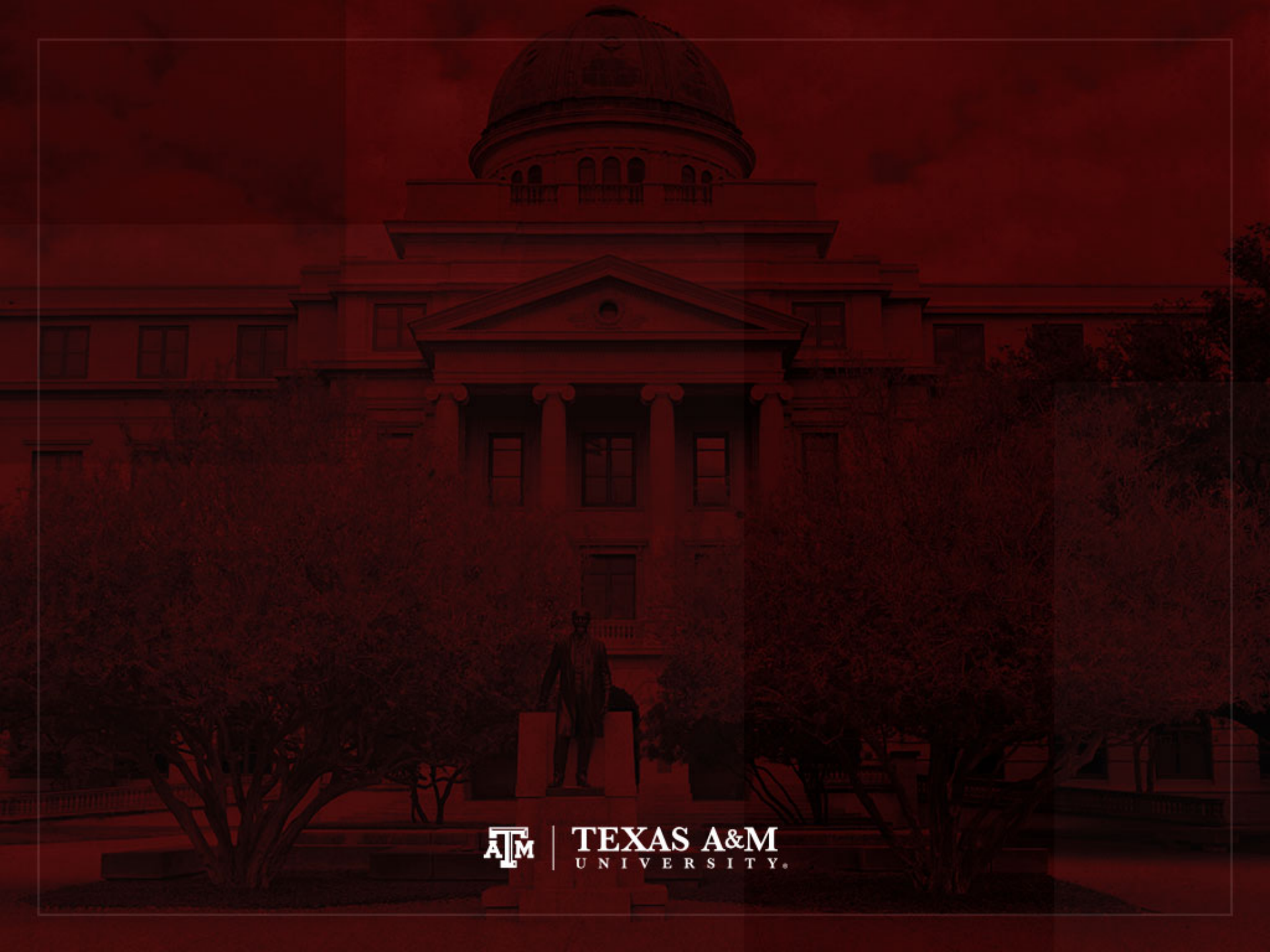
Other results

- ***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