Factors associated with attitudes toward U.S. immigration, 2004–2016

#### Ernesto F. L. Amaral

**Texas A&M University** 

**Paige Mitchell** University of Texas at Arlington

Guadalupe Marquez-Velarde Utah State University



## 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 due to the 2016 U.S. presidential election
  - Recent data captures social context of that election
- Inform the public about overall migration attitudes of the population



#### **Previous studies**

- Political ideology
  - Liberals are more pro-immigration (Chandler, Tsai 2001; Haubert, Fussell 2006)
  - Association is not straightforward (Neiman, Johnson, Bowler 2006)
- Age and sex
  - Not always consistent (Espenshade, Hempstead 1996; Fetzer 2000; Chandler, Tsai 2001)
- Race
  - No association with migration attitudes (Chandler, Tsai 2001)
- Nativity and immigrant background
  - Immigrants are more pro-immigration (Haubert, Fussell 2006)
- Education
  - Higher educated are more pro-immigration (Berg 2010; Burns, Gimpel 2000; Chandler, Tsai 2001; Espenshade 1995; Haubert, Fussell 2006; Hood et al. 1997)

#### Occupation

- Blue-collar and service workers are less pro-immigration (Haubert, Fussell 2006)



# Our contribution

- Influence of individual-level and county-level variables
- Estimation of models to better understand an ordinal variable about immigration attitudes
- Associations for disaggregated categories of several independent variables
- Combination of variables on immigrant generation with race/ethnicity



#### Data

 Analyze cross-sectional cumulative data from the General Social Survey (GSS), 2004–2016

Year	Sample size
2004	1,953
2008	1,273
2010	1,364
2012	1,237
2014	1,594
2016	1,801
Total	9,222

 Merged with 2006–2016 American Community Surveys (ACS) to include contextual variables

# Dependent variable

- 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**



Source: 2004–2016 General Social Surveys.

# Independent variables

- Individual-level variables
  - Year
  - Sex
  - Age group
  - Education degree
  - Generation of immigrants
  - Race/ethnicity
  - Religion
  - Occupation
  - Political party affiliation
  - Region of interview

- County-level variables(proportions)
  - Unemployment
  - College graduates
  - Protestants/Catholics
  - Immigrants



#### Immigration opinion and party



#### Republicans









Source: 2004–2016 General Social Surveys.

# Generation of immigrants and race/ethnicity

- 1st generation
  - Born outside the U.S.
- 2nd generation
  - Born in the U.S.
  - Parents' born outside the U.S.
- 3+ generation
  - Born in the U.S.
  - Parents' born in the U.S.
- Combine with race ethnicity
  - White, Black, Hispanic, Other



# Generalized ordered logit model

- 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 immigration versus wanting less 2004 as reference



# Odds ratios of wanting more immigration versus wanting less



#### Odds ratios of wanting more immigration versus wanting less 25-44 as reference



#### Odds ratios of wanting more immigration versus wanting less High school as reference



# Odds ratios of wanting more immigration versus wanting less

**3+ White as reference** 



## **Final considerations**

#### • Race and social class divide in terms of attitudes

- Pro-immigration:
  - Non-whites
  - Higher educational attainment
  - Those living in counties with higher proportions of college graduates
- Anti-immigration
  - Lower end of the occupational stratum

#### • Exposure to immigrants shapes pro-immigration

- Those living in counties with higher proportions of immigrants
- More recent immigrants tend to be more pro-immigration

#### Other factors that increase pro-immigration attitudes

- Support to immigration has been increasing over time
- 18–24 age group
- Non-Protestants
- Those with liberal political inclinations



