

Direct and Spillover Effects of US State Integration Policies on Political Behavior and Attitudes among Immigrants and their Children

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Research gaps

Research on outcomes of integration policy

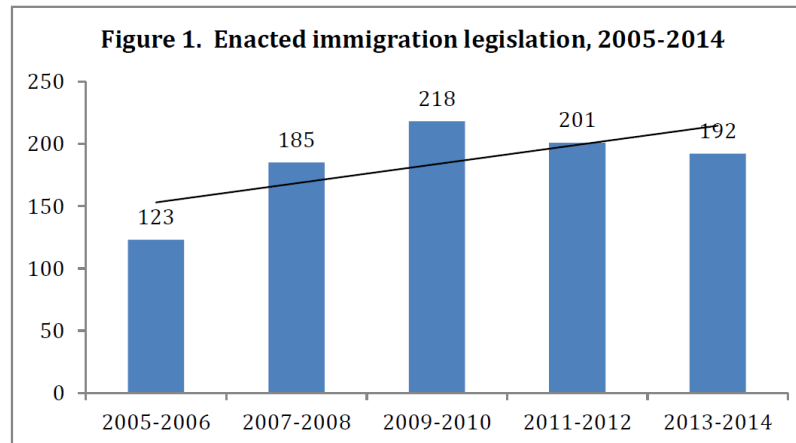
- Overall scarce, focus on national (e.g. Bloemraad 2006), or local level of governance (Fennema und Tillie 2004)
- **Gap I:** Neglect of the regional level of integration policy making (but see Manatschal und Stadelmann-Steffen 2014)

Research on immigrant political behavior/attitudes

- Focus on non-electoral participation/naturalization (Bloemraad 2006, Eggert und Giugni 2010)
- Scarce literature on electoral behavior and attitudes (but see Ruedin 2017, Strijbis 2014)
- **Gap II:** limited knowledge about mechanisms (direct/spillover) behind policy effects

Research question

How do changes in US state integration policies affect voter turnout and governor approval among individuals with immigrant background?



Note: Number of enacted pieces of immigration and integration legislation in US States between 2005 and 2014. *Data Source:* Filindra and Pearson-Merkowitz (2016).

Theoretical background

1. Policy feedback theory

(Re-)distributive policies create clients among groups that directly benefit from these programs. To protect/expand these material gains, clients are more likely to become politically active (Pierson 1993, Mettler 2002)

2. Spillover of policy feedback effects

Policies have material *and* symbolic effects (inclusion or exclusion/threat) that can *spillover* across broader communities and peer networks (Condon et al. 2016, Gelatt et al. 2017)

Hypotheses

Political attitudes: **state governor approval**

| | |
|---|--|
| H1 & 2 (positive/negative Feedback) | Governor approval increases/decreases among individuals with immigrant background (spillover) relative to natives, if state integration policies become more inclusive/exclusive |
|---|--|

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|---|--|

Political behavior: **voter registration and - turnout**

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| H3 & 4 (threat/no threat) | Registration and turnout propensity among individuals with immigrant background (spillover)increases relative to natives when state integration policies become more exclusive ...decreases relative to natives when state integration policies become more inclusive |
|------------------------------|---|

Data and method

State level

- 4 integration policy indices (change) extracted from *immigration policy data base* of Filindra und Pearson-Merkowitz (2016)
- State controls (robustness checks): UKCPR National Welfare Data, US Census, ACS, US government spending etc.

Individual level

- *Cooperative Congressional Election Study* (2006 & 2008, 2012 & 2014)

Method

- Difference-in-Differences approach (DiD)

Measurement integration policy indices

4 indices expressing policy change between 2005 and 2011:

Policy dimension 1: regulation of cultural diversity

- Index 1: inclusive policy change. Example: requirement that voting materials be available in foreign languages
- Index 2: exclusive policy change. Example: «English first» policies

Policy dimension 2: immigrant access to social benefits

- Index 3: inclusive policy change. Example: undocumented eligible for unemployment assistance
- Index 4: exclusive policy change. Example: Restriction of eligibility of undocumented for unemployment assistance

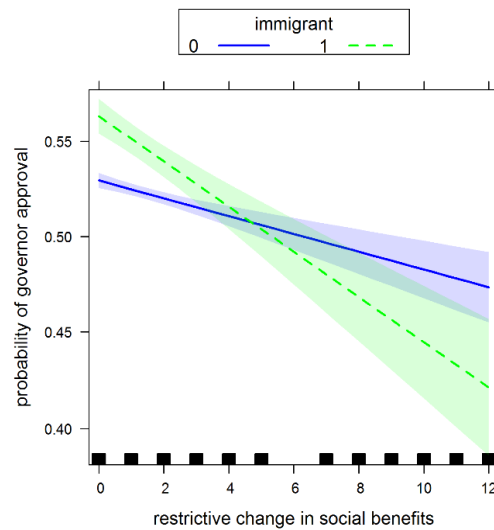
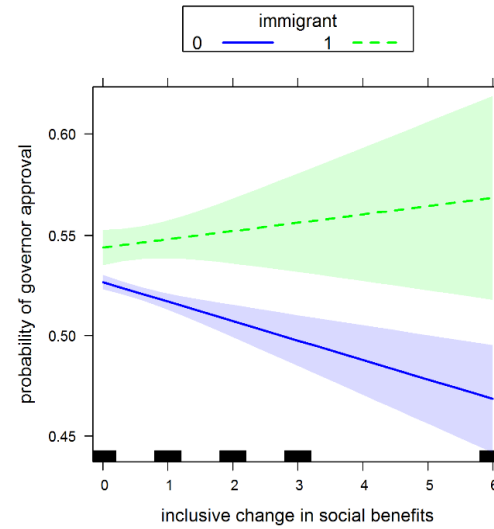
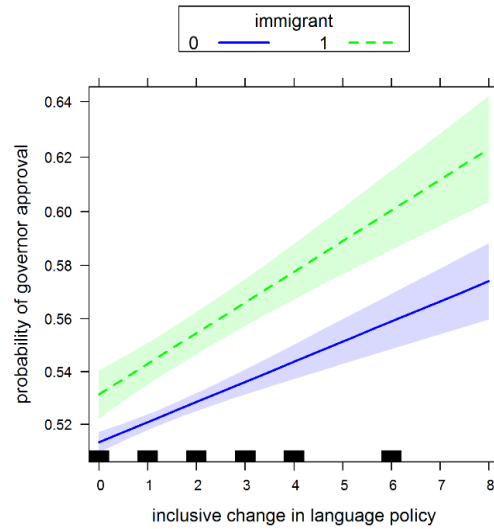
Results

Definition of «immigrant background»:

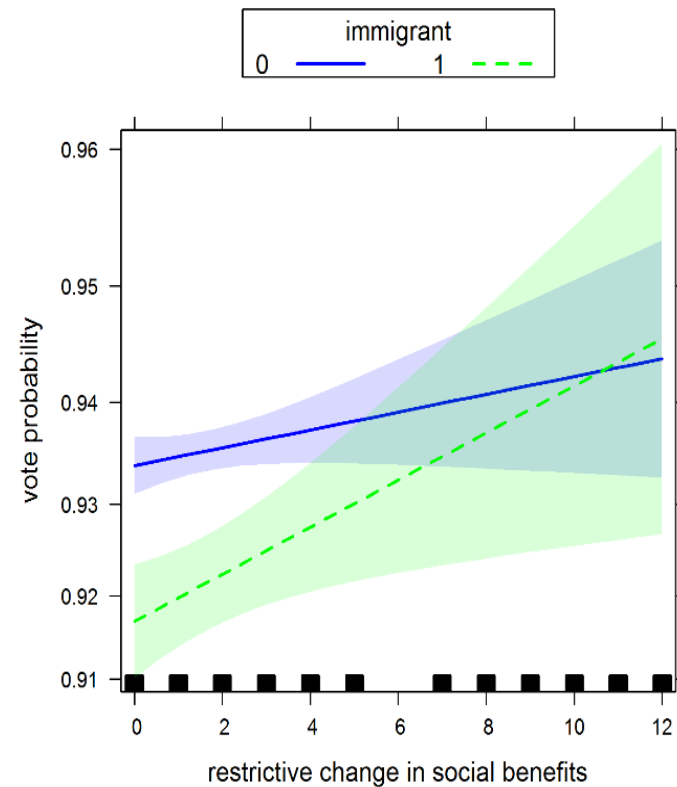
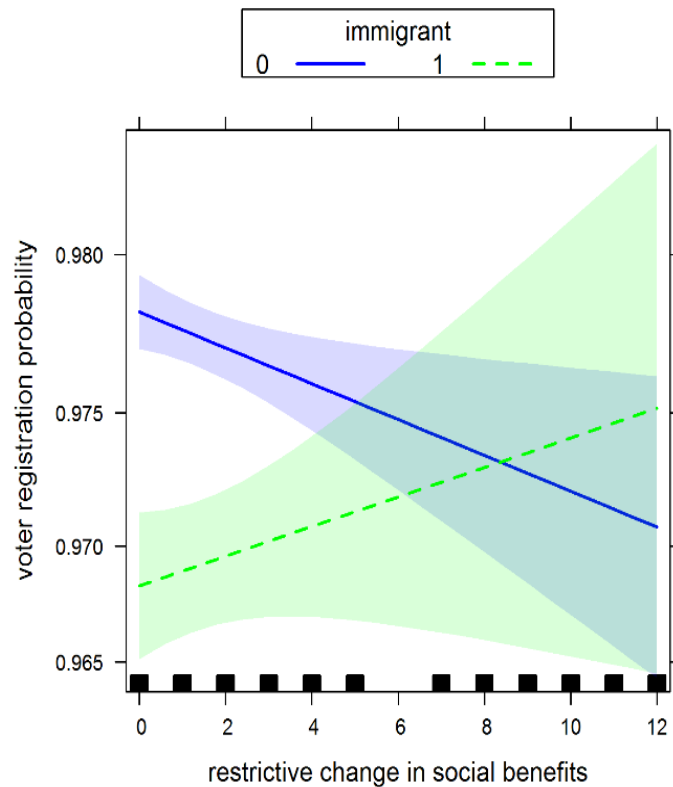
- Model 1: 1st & 2nd gen. immigrants
- Models 2 & 3: dito, but immig. citizens only

| | <i>Model 1</i> | <i>Model 2</i> | <i>Model 3</i> |
|--|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| | Governor approval | Voter registration | Voting |
| Immigrant background (ref.cat.: natives [third generation+]) | 0.06*** (0.01) | -0.16*** (0.03) | -0.11*** (0.03) |
| Inclusive language policy change (ILP) | 0.02*** (0.00) | -0.01+ (0.00) | -0.01 (0.00) |
| Exclusionary language policy change (ELP) | -0.35*** (0.04) | 0.01 (0.07) | 0.02 (0.1) |
| Inclusive social benefits change (ISBP) | -0.02*** (0.01) | 0.03** (0.01) | 0.01 (0.01) |
| Exclusionary social benefits change (ESBP) | -0.01*** (0.00) | -0.01* (0.00) | 0.01 (0.00) |
| <i>Individual controls</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>State FEs</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Year FEs</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Immigrant * ILP Incl. lang. | 0.01** (0.00) | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.01) |
| Immigrant * ELP Excl. lang. | -0.09 (0.11) | 0.04 (0.17) | 0.17 (0.18) |
| Immigrant * ISBP Incl. soc.ben. | 0.03** (0.01) | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.03 (0.02) |
| Immigrant * ESBP Excl. soc.ben. | -0.02*** (0.00) | 0.02** (0.01) | 0.01+ (0.00) |
| Constant | 0.27*** (0.05) | 0.68*** (0.08) | -0.49*** (0.10) |
| Observations | 134,002 | 140,110 | 93,997 |
| AIC | 181232 | 42944 | 52562 |

Predicted probability plots, M1



Predicted probability plots, M2&3



Concluding remarks

- Even small changes in policy outputs over time reflect in diverging reactions among immigrants and their extended groups when compared to natives (3rd gen.+):
 - Inclusive policy change (social benefits and culture)
 - *higher* relative governor approval
 - Exclusive policy change (social benefits)
 - *lower* relative governor approval
 - but *higher* relative voter registration and turnout
- Findings challenge notion of immigrants as passive or isolated individuals, showing that immigrant (non-)citizens are (re-)active political members of society

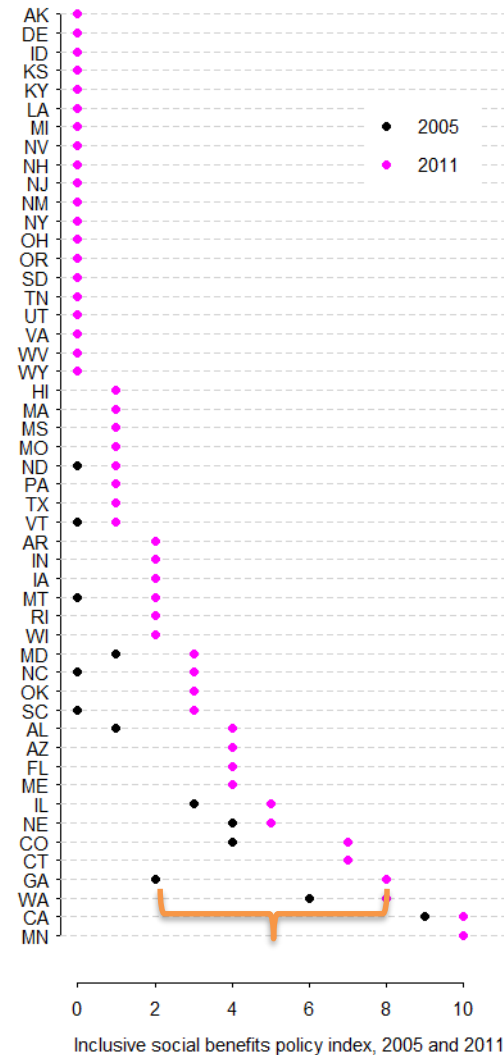
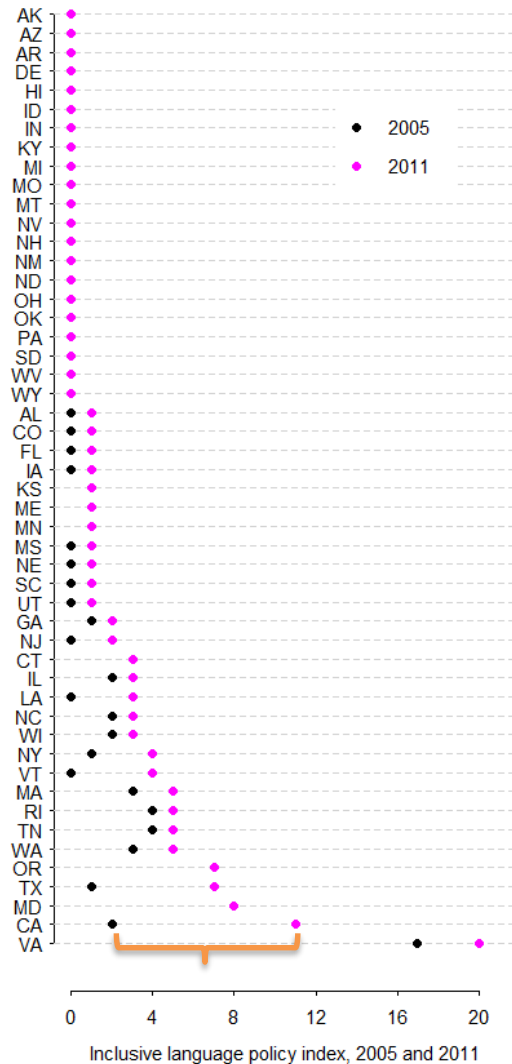
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Descriptive evidence inclusive integration policy indices




= policy change