

**Together in Good Times and Bad?:  
How Economic Triggers Condition the Effects of Interactions Between Groups**

**Alexandra Filindra, Ph.D.  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
William Paterson University  
Email: [filindraa@wpunj.edu](mailto:filindraa@wpunj.edu)**

**Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, Ph.D.  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Rhode Island  
Email: [shannapearsonuri@gmail.com](mailto:shannapearsonuri@gmail.com)**

**Abstract**

*Studies of prejudice and inter-group relations have resulted in conflicting findings: exposure to minority groups has been shown to produce both increased prejudicial and nativist attitudes and tolerance and inclusionary attitudes. This study seeks to reconcile these contradictory findings by developing a theory of inter-group relations that is conditioned on the economic context. We argue that people's responses to others are not static, but rather can change in response to material changes at the macro level. Our results show that the increased presence of immigrants in the community is an important factor in shaping restrictionist policy preferences (in this case support for Arizona's anti-immigration law), but only when people are pessimistic about the future of the state's economy.*

**Introduction**

Social science has explained attitudes toward "others" (those who are phenotypically, culturally or behaviorally different) and related policy preferences as the result of interactions between majority and minority groups. However, there are conflicting findings and results. One well-substantiated theoretical paradigm developed mostly in social psychology argues that opportunities for contact and communication between individuals from different groups fosters tolerance and supportive policies (Allport 1954; Pettigrew et al. 2011; Pettigrew 1971, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Pettigrew and Tropp 2008; Turner et al. 2007; Turner, Hewstone, and Voci 2007; Pearson-Merkowitz and Dyck 2011; Wright et al. 1997; Bornstein 1989; Crisp et al. 2008). A second equally well-researched paradigm with supporters in political science and sociology argues that intergroup contact leads to competition,

conflict, resentment and hostile policy preferences (Key 1949; Sherif et al. 1961; Sherif 1966; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Baughn and Yaprak 1996; Kaiser and Wilkins 2010; Bobo 1983; Bobo and Kluegel 1993; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Bobo and Massagli 2001). The conflict thesis has been extensively tested in relationships between white majorities, racial minorities and immigrant groups (Bobo 1983; Bobo and Kluegel 1993; Giles 1977; Giles and Evans 1985; Quillian 1995; Tolbert and Hero 1996; Gilens 1999) and in recent years the same theory has been used as a lens to understand black-Latino relations (Gay 2006; McClain et al. 2006).

The analysis of these two literatures leads to a key theoretical question: why is intergroup contact associated with both tolerance and intolerance? Unfortunately, existing theory does not have the tools to explain this discrepancy. The “intergroup conflict” thesis is similar to the “intergroup contact” theory in one key dimension: both are static interpretations of group relations without any room for contextual elements. The relationship between intergroup contact and individual behavior is assumed to be linear and unidirectional: interaction with other groups either makes one more tolerant or more intolerant. As a result, neither approach has room for context-induced change in preferences and behaviors.

This study seeks to resolve the theoretical tension between “contact” and “conflict” hypotheses, by introducing the role of material triggers in activating inter-group competition and nativist sentiment (Gay 2006; Jackson 1993; King, Knight, and Hebl 2010). We argue that the effects of inter-group interactions are conditional upon the material context within which these interactions take place. Individuals are self-referential and loss-averse (Kahneman 2011; Kahneman and Tversky 1979). As such, they interpret their situation as a zero-sum gain only when they are economically vulnerable and their social context provides a ready out-group to scapegoat. We argue, therefore, that when people are optimistic about the economy, contact should decrease support for restrictive or nativist policies aimed

at ethnic minorities. However, when confidence in the economy is in decline, greater contact with out-groups should produce prejudicial attitudes and restrictive policy preferences.

### **Intergroup Contact Breeds Tolerance**

“Social contact” theory posits that inter-group communication and engagement is beneficial to inter-group relations because it helps reduce prejudicial attitudes toward out-groups. The first systematic development of contact theory was by Allport (1954) who specified that for contact to reduce prejudice, several conditions were necessary—specifically that the social conditions of the contact happened on even terms and under inclusive, not hostile conditions. Early tests of the theory found positive effects of intimate communication and personal friendships with out-group members in reducing prejudice (Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Pettigrew and Tropp 2008; Pettigrew et al. 2011). A second conceptualization posited that even “extended contact,” operationalized not as direct personal interactions, but rather awareness that others within one’s in-group network have positive personal friendships with out-group members (friends of friends) is also positively correlated with out-group tolerance and accommodation (Wright et al. 1997). More recently, the theory has been extended to argue that mere casual geosocial exposure to out-group members can also produce positive attitudes towards out-groups (Bornstein 1989; Harmon-Jones and Allen 2001; Pearson-Merkowitz and Dyck 2011; Morris 2000; Hood and Morris 2000, 1998, 1997). Other experiments have shown that even imagining scenarios of positive inter-personal interactions with out-group members can have a positive effect on people’s attitudes toward out-groups and reduce prejudice (Crisp et al. 2008).

Several reviews and meta-analyses of the contact hypothesis have concluded that there is strong evidentiary support for the intergroup contact theory (Cook 1984; Harrington and Miller 1992; Jackson 1993; Patchen 1999; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Pettigrew and Tropp 2008; Pettigrew et al. 2011). .

### **Intergroup Contact Breeds Conflict**

A large number of studies in political science and sociology have associated inter-group proximity with intensified conflict rather than accommodation, especially when the demographic and political dynamics within a community are in flux (Key 1949). In essence, the “intergroup conflict” school recognizes the importance of contextual change on intergroup relations but does not explicitly theorize it, preferring to attribute tension to intergroup contact rather than to environmental change. This approach argues that geographic proximity between groups leads to higher competition for political and economic resources. Thus even though people may harbor positive attitudes toward individuals of other groups and endorse a social justice agenda, they adopt a far more competitive, zero-sum attitude on issues of public policy (Bobo 1983; Bobo and Kluegel 1993).

Allport’s (1954) initial formulation of the social contact theory posited that parity between groups was a necessary precondition for contact to produce positive effects. Political scientists have seized on the political and socioeconomic disparities between America’s racial communities to argue that contact under conditions of inequality breeds competition and threat. First articulated by V.O Key (1949), the “group threat” hypothesis stipulates that the larger the minority community the more the majority white community will feel politically and economically threatened (Giles 1977; Giles and Evans 1985). A number of subsequent studies have associated group proximity with racial hostility (Fossett and Kiecolt 1989; Frisbie and Neidert 1977; Giles 1977; Giles and Buckner 1993); however, most have assumed away the source of this lack of comity and have not tried to determine the role of the economic or political context in activating these attitudes.

### **Realistic Group Conflict Theory**

Realistic group conflict theory (RGCT) grounds the conflict hypothesis in group competition over material resources (Campbell 1965; Sherif et al. 1961; Sherif 1966; Bobo 1983; Bobo and Kluegel 1993; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967). According to RGCT, competition over material resources results in a zero-sum game because gains made by one group are viewed as a loss by other

groups. According to Sidanius and Pratto, this dynamic “translated into perceptions of group threat, which in turn causes prejudice” (Sidanius and Pratto 1999, 17). Experiments have shown that competition over material resources can lead to inter-group hostility even between groups that have very minimal cohesion and no common identity (Sherif 1966; Sherif et al. 1961; Tajfel and Turner 1979).

In early work on realistic group conflict, Bobo (1983) studied whites’ attitudes towards busing policies. The study argued that whites viewed busing in zero-sum terms, as a policy that took away cherished resources and threatened established privileges. According to Bobo, “in so far as whites view blacks as challenging goals and resources they possess and value, they are not likely to translate their favorable attitudes toward the principle of racial justice into support for specific policies like busing” (1983:1208). Subsequent work has shown that not only *actual* but also *perceived* threats to a group’s material well-being can elicit negative responses toward the out-group and support for policies that disadvantage out-groups (Baughn and Yaprak 1996; Green and Cowden 1992; Kaiser and Wilkins 2010).

Although RGCT does bring the material dimension into the study of group relations, the assumption of a constant zero-sum game make it difficult to understand why tolerance does emerge and why some time periods and some locales tend to be associated with more tolerance than others. RGCT makes it especially difficult to explain recent contradictory findings associated with immigration. A number of studies in this domain have shown that in some instances, a larger immigrant community is associated with tolerance and in others with nativism. Specifically, Huddy and Sears (1995) find that living in a heavily Latino area is strongly associated with increased opposition to bilingual education, a finding they attributed to the “realistic” threat of redistribution of educational resources to Latino students. But Hood and Morris (1997) find that the level of support for more immigration was positively associated with the size of the Hispanic population and in a separate study (2000) find that Anglo support for California’s Proposition 187 which limited services, including education, for undocumented immigrants waned as the Hispanic population in their neighborhood increased. These authors also find

that the relationship depended upon the immigration status of Latinos in the community (Hood and Morris 1998). Berg (2009) also found evidence that intergroup contact between whites and minorities increased rather than decreased support for undocumented immigrants among whites.

### **Economic Motivations of Prejudice**

A separate strain of research has focused on economic conditions as the motivation for social prejudice, inter-group competition and nativist preferences. In this view, it is not so much group interaction or the proximity to out-groups that produces prejudice; rather, prejudice comes as a response to economic vulnerability regardless of where one lives or with whom she interacts socially. At an aggregate level, studies have descriptively associated the economic context and specifically unemployment rates, with stronger preferences for immigration restriction (Espenshade and Hempstead 1996; Harwood 1986; Simon and Alexander 1993). The rate of unemployment could be interpreted as a measure of individual vulnerability –the likelihood of losing one’s job- or as a measure of group-level insecurity- jobs available to the in-group. Subsequent studies have examined the role of individual economic vulnerability, theorizing that heightened threat directed at out-groups may be a rational response to a loss or projected loss of personal economic resources (Citrin et al. 1997). In other words, the citizen who is faced with the prospect of unemployment or higher taxes may respond by “scapegoating” immigrants and supporting immigration restrictions (Quillian 1995; Citrin et al. 1997). Results of the effects of individual-level vulnerability on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policy preferences vary substantially. Sides and Citrin (2007) find that in Europe, dissatisfaction with one’s personal economic situation is correlated with support for immigration restrictions. Earlier, Citrin, et.al. (1997) showed that in the U.S., the prospect of higher taxes can trigger a nativist response.

Theories that privilege economic motivations of prejudice do not typically take into account the social context.<sup>1</sup> As such, it is not immediately obvious why individuals who are economically insecure

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<sup>1</sup> For an exception, see Quillian (1995).

will respond with anti-immigrant or anti-minority policy preferences and whether any economically threatened individual, regardless of his/her social environment will be expected to advocate for restriction. The lack of attention to social context may be a key reason why findings from this research are inconclusive with some studies finding that economic conditions act as a trigger of prejudicial preferences and others finding null effects.

### **The Conditional Relationship of Economic Vulnerability and Social Context**

Individuals are inherently self-referential; although they often seek to compare themselves to others, for the most part, a person's reference point is her status quo (Kahneman 2011; Levy 2003). People are also loss-averse, that is they are sensitive to negative changes from their status quo (Kahneman and Tversky 1979). A positive deviation from the status quo is interpreted as a gain and a negative deviation from the status quo is seen as a loss. This loss aversion makes them very vulnerable to negative change in the economic context because these contextual changes could translate to negative personal change. Some people may (and do) set aspirational endowment levels (what they wished they had) or competitive differences between themselves and others as their reference point but experimental evidence shows that most people care primarily about changes in their own assets not that of their neighbors' (Levy 2003; Jervis 2004). Therefore, people do not necessarily see others gains as their own losses as RGCT would have it, but they may very well see their own losses as somebody else's gains. Of course, they may also seek to recover their losses by placing access limitations on others.

In the context of a strong economy, individuals who expect further gains or at least economic stability are less likely to perceive out-groups as a threat regardless of how well or badly these groups are doing. When the pie is growing, people are content with their share of the pie and the relative gains of their group. Thus, other groups are less important to them. In this situation, tolerance is more likely to be the preferred response regardless of the social context in which one lives. Intolerance has costs

associated with it and in a growing economic context in-groups may assess the costs of intolerance to be higher than the gains of restriction. However, when the economy is shrinking individuals are faced with the prospect of real economic loss from their current status quo. Loss aversion makes people more likely to perceive out-groups as a threat. In the context of a shrinking pie, the game is transformed into a zero-sum one. In-groups that are in close contact with out-groups may perceive restriction as the best strategy for recovering their losses. Restriction of access or exclusion of out-groups from the polity is now viewed as an acceptable solution to restoring the in-group to its previous level of assets.

Psychologists have found that fears about the status of the economy can elicit strong negative responses in people (Doty, Peterson, and Winter 1991; Conover and Feldman 1986). The effects of the economic context on how people make decisions about distribution of resources is best demonstrated in recent experiments (King, Knight, and Hebl 2010). As King, et.al. stress, “economic decline may have important implications for stigmatization and intergroup relations, as competition for resources [across groups] may engender frustration and aggression toward out-groups” (King, Knight, and Hebl 2010, 446). This competition does not have to be actual and objectively measurable; it can be perceived or expected and attributable to a general sense that a negative change in the economy will harm the group. Research has also shown that economic conditions can produce strong emotional reactions in people and these reactions are independent of cognitive responses to the same phenomena or to the level of information that individuals possess (Conover and Feldman 1986; Doty, Peterson, and Winter 1991).

In the case of immigration, the material loss that is experienced or expected in times of economic decline can affect citizens’ views of immigrants and also citizens’ immigration policy preferences. When the economy is growing and citizens expect strong job prospects and expanding state services, they are not as concerned with immigrants. In fact, they may associate immigration with economic growth and the need of companies to hire workers that do not currently live in the home



country. In good economic times, the presence of a growing number of immigrants in the community may be viewed as a neutral or even as a positive development. However, when the overall pie is shrinking, citizens are faced with actual or expected losses. The experience of loss combined with the growing number of immigrants in the community, can elicit negative attitudinal responses and intensify support for restrictionist policies.

In summary, existing theories have focused either on the effects of inter-group contact or on the effects of the economic climate on people's attitudes toward out-groups and their preferences for restrictive or nativist policies. However, the findings in both camps are inconsistent and variable across space and time which has prompted Kinder and Kam to note that "in-group solidarity and out-group hostility appear to be bundled together less tightly than... originally believed" (2009, 22) . Our theory seeks to reconcile these two literatures by suggesting that prejudice flourishes only at the interaction of economic vulnerability and social diversity. By not incorporating these interactive effects, earlier research was bound to result in inconsistent findings because the economic context is variable over time and across space.

## **Hypotheses**

In the spring of 2010, the state of Arizona enacted a new immigration law, entitled "Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act" (SB 1070), which has since been the subject of much debate, mass protests, and federal litigation. As specified in the preamble of the bill, the purpose of the new legislation was to "make attrition through law enforcement the public policy of all state and local government agencies in Arizona" (State of Arizona 2010). Given the discourse surrounding this law and the express intent of the legislation to produce "attrition," we seek to understand the factors that influence Americans' support for this approach outside of Arizona. Clearly, this legislation is anti-

immigrant in nature and aimed at getting rid of an unwanted presence. The academic and popular press has pointed out since its passage that the legislation also has an implicit racial component. Specifically, opponents of the bill have said they object to the way in which the bill would be enforced which could not be conducted randomly or based on anything but ethnic profiling (ACLU of Arizona 2010, 2010). The bill, opponents argue, is aimed not at all undocumented immigrants—but at Mexican immigrants.

This article tests five inter-related hypotheses, two derived from the dominant theories of social contact and conflict and two derived from prospect theory. First, in accordance with the “contact hypothesis,” we hypothesize that intergroup contact leads to more tolerance and therefore less support for restrictionist policies such as the Arizona law. Second, in accordance with the “conflict hypothesis,” we expect the exact opposite: intergroup contact leads to less tolerance and therefore more support for restrictionism. Third, in accordance with work on economic threat (Citrin et al. 1997; Sides and Citrin 2007; Gay 2006), we expect that the more concerned one is about the economy, the more likely they are to support restrictionist policies.

Our contextually-based theory yields two additional hypotheses which look at the interaction of the social and economic contexts. First, we hypothesize that when people are optimistic about the economy, their exposure to immigrants will decrease their support for restrictionist policies. Second, we expect that when people are pessimistic about the economy, their exposure to immigrants will increase their support for restrictionist policies. The more exposed they are to immigrants the more likely they will be to support such initiatives.

### **Data and Methods**

We test our theory with data collected in New England in 2010. We conducted a telephone survey among 1,080 New Englanders (Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island residents) in

November of 2010. The telephone numbers were generated through a random digit dialing method. The study was designed to measure individuals' attitudes and beliefs about immigrants and various immigration policy preferences. The questions included in the New England survey were designed with our hypotheses in mind.

#### Dependent Variables

We employ as the dependent variable a question about how much support or opposition the respondent feels toward Arizona's immigration law (commonly referred to by its legislative number, SB 1070). Specifically the survey first asked them if they had heard about the new law. Then, in case they were misinformed or uninformed about the law, it explained to the respondent the content of the Arizona law and then asked them the extent to which they supported/opposed the law. Specifically, the question wording was:

*The Arizona law requires all state and local police to enforce federal immigration laws and arrest people who are in the country without proper authorization. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the Arizona law?*

#### Independent Variables

We measure feelings about the economy through a standard consumer confidence question that asks if people feel optimistic or pessimistic about the economy in their state. The survey also included a question intended to measure people's perceptions of their social environment. Specifically, the question asked respondents to assess whether the immigrant population in their neighborhood had increased, stayed the same, or decreased in the past five years.

We also controlled for several factors that would be evidence of other counter theories. First, we include controls for personal economic situation since people may be responding to personal economic stress instead of their perception of the state's economy. Second, we control for the respondent's level of affect toward government since someone who feels that they have very little "say"

in government operations may be more (or less) inclined to give the government more powers. Third, we control for how much they consider their own fate to be tied to the fate of the Latino community. We hypothesize that those who feel that their own future is strongly tied to the future of Latinos will be less likely to support an Arizona style immigration law. Finally, we also control for how salient the respondent perceives immigration to be. We hypothesize that those who feel that immigration is a very pressing issue are more likely to support the Arizona law.

Our models also control for a number of standard demographic and political factors such as partisanship, ideology, education, age, gender, race, family status, and generational status (whether the respondent is a second generation immigrant). The exact wording for all questions along with descriptive statistics is included in Appendix A.

### **Descriptive Results: Support for Arizona Law and Neighborhood Immigration**

It is of course possible that because our data are generated from the New England States that immigration would not be as pressing an issue; yet, the data indicate that concern with immigration in New England follows national trends.. Table 1 reports the frequency distribution for three variables: support/opposition toward the Arizona law, perception of the future of the state's economy, and the perception of change in the size of the immigrant population in the respondent's neighborhood. About 55 percent of the respondents are either very supportive or supportive of Arizona's law which shows that there is widespread concern among New Englanders about immigration. In fact, support for the Arizona approach in New England is similar to national trends. Between April and November 2010 when the Arizona immigration law dominated the news, more than 50 percent of Americans consistently favored a state enforcement approach to immigration control. The number of Americans who were skeptical of the Arizona law almost never exceeded 40 percent of the total (Appendix B). About 42 percent of respondents reported that immigration in their neighborhood has either increased some or a

lot. Finally, about 30 percent of respondents were optimistic about the future of the state's economy. By comparison, the Pew Center reported that in October 2010, 39 percent of Americans expected the economy to improve (Pew Research Center 2011).

[Table 1 about here]

### **Multivariate Results: Predicting Support for the Arizona Immigration Law**

Before moving to our conditional hypothesis, we first test to see how well our data support the existing theories. Model 1 in Table 1 shows the results of a traditional model testing the hypotheses gathered from the literature. The Model provides clear support for the conflict/group threat theory and not intergroup contact theory: increased immigration to a community is positively correlated with increased support for the Arizona law. The model also shows that expectations about the state's economy have a significant impact on political attitudes. Specifically, optimism about the economy is negatively associated with supporting the law. When people are pessimistic about the future of the economy, they are more likely to support the law. These findings are statistically significant even when controlling for demographic and political factors.

[Table 2 about here]

Of our control variables, it is interesting to note that concerns about one's personal economic situation does not increase support for anti-immigrant policies. It appears that sociotropic evaluations of the economy and not personal economic prospects have a larger impact on attitudes toward anti-immigrant policy. This finding is consistent with Kiewiet's (1983) analysis of the impact of the economy on presidential voting. People who feel less empowered by their government and those who find the immigration issue to be important are also more likely to support the law. Ideology, affiliation with the Democratic Party, immigrant parentage, and age are all negatively correlated with supporting the law.

Model 2 presents the fully specified model to probe for interactive effects. The interaction term indicates there is indeed a conditional relationship between social context and economic concerns.

Since interpreting interaction terms, particularly with a nonlinear dependent variable, can be difficult, we have graphed the conditional effect in Figure 1.

[Figure 1 about here]

Figure 1 demonstrates the effect of the perception of immigration increasing in one's neighborhood on the likelihood of supporting Arizona's law in the three state sample. Effects are modeled by splitting out respondents who said they were pessimistic about the economy from those who said they were optimistic (or indifferent) about the economy. The scale on the immigrant context ranges from the number of immigrants in the neighborhood has decreased a lot (0) to the number of immigrants in the neighborhood has increased a lot (4). Among respondents who said they were optimistic about the future of the state's economy, as the model coefficients suggest, there is no effect from an increase in immigration to the neighborhood on their probability of supporting the Arizona law. However, among those that are pessimistic about the future of the economy, as immigration to their neighborhood increases, the likelihood that they will support Arizona's law goes up drastically. The probability of supporting the law increases by 43 percentage points from .13 to .56, a highly significant effect given that we are controlling for many other relevant political variables.

## **Discussion**

In this study we find evidence that the threat of immigrants is only apparent when the future of the economy is thought to be in peril. This evidence supports our hypothesis only partially. We hypothesized that when people were pessimistic about the economy, a growing presence of immigrants in their neighborhood would increase their support for restrictionist policies. The perception of threat by the growth of immigration, therefore, is conditioned on being pessimistic about the economic prospects of the state. In this regard, the data has supported our hypothesis. However, we also hypothesized that when people were optimistic about the economy, their exposure to immigrants would decrease their support for restrictionist policies, thus lending support for intergroup contact

theory under the correct economic conditions. We do not find support for this element of our hypothesis. Indeed, we found that when people were optimistic about the economy, a change in immigration to their neighborhood had no effect on their attitudes toward the Arizona law. Furthermore, it is important to note, that among those who are optimistic about the economy, the baseline level of support for the Arizona immigration law is quite low (below .30).

One reason we may not have found evidence in support of this element of our hypothesis is that our variable measuring immigration exposure is environmental and not personal. Future analysis should incorporate variables measuring the amount of social exposure that individuals have with immigrants. Unfortunately, our dataset is limited in this regard. Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory clearly lays out that the conditions of intergroup interaction are critical to the likelihood that they will have a positive impact on intergroup relations. The most important of these conditions is that the interactions happen interpersonally. Since we only have a measure asking about geographic exposure, we cannot tell if the respondents had any meaningful interactions with the new immigrants in their neighborhood. However, we find it to be very important to note that even under less than ideal circumstances of geographic exposure, an increase in the number of immigrants in one's neighborhood has no effect on anti-immigrant policy support when the respondent is optimistic about the future of the economy. Certainly this finding calls for more rigorous analysis investigating the conditions under which the economy and immigration interact.

## **Conclusion**

The debate over how inter-group relations develop has centered on the role of individual and group contact. Empirical evidence shows that interactions between members of ethnic/racial groups can produce both tolerance and prejudice. These contradictory findings in the literature led us to an inquiry of the role of the broader context in structuring inter-group interactions and shaping attitudes and policy preferences. Our study offers a strong indication that prejudice and nativism is predicated

not only on the opportunity to interact with members of other groups, but also on the economic conditions under which the interaction takes place. The main implication of these findings is that people's attitudes can change and become more prejudicial when the external conditions are ripe. In turn, this suggests that we need to develop more dynamic models of group interactions that take the economic and possibly the political context into account.



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Figure 1. Likelihood of Strongly Supporting Arizona’s Immigration Law (SB 1070)

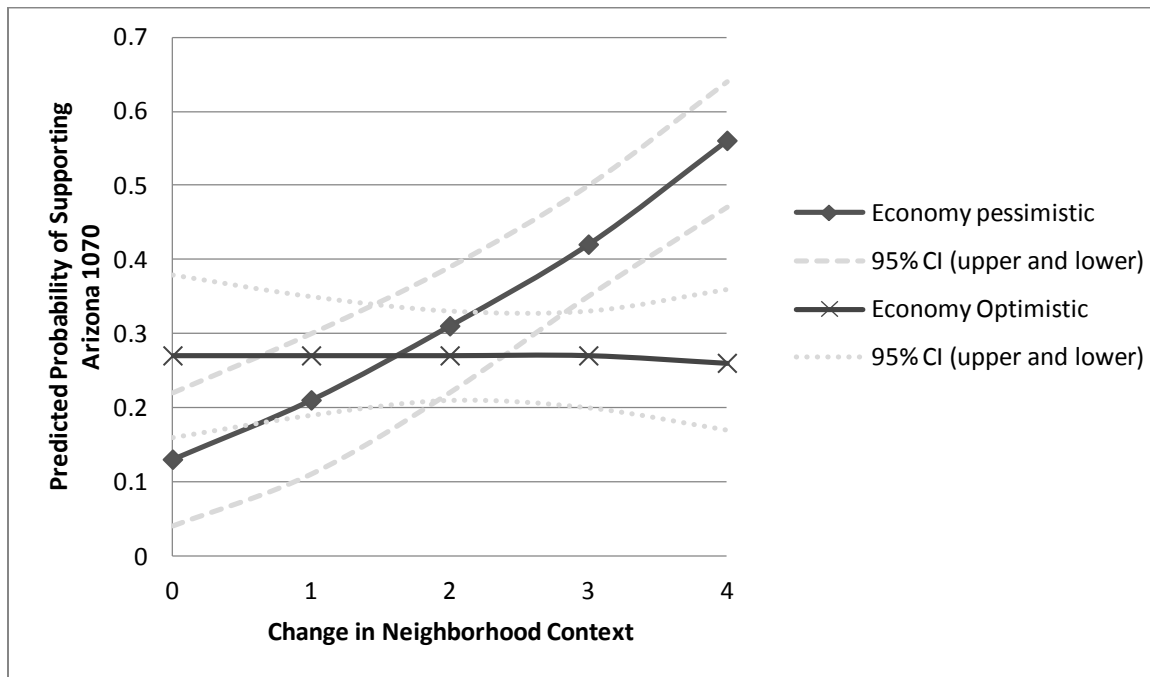


Figure 1. Conditional contextual effects of change in neighborhood immigration. Predicted probabilities and confidence intervals generated using SPOST for STATA (Long and Freese 2003). Predictions are the probability of strongly supporting Arizona’s SB 1070 law and are computed for the average respondent. The x-axis (Change in Neighborhood Context) goes from 0 (immigration decreased a lot) to 4 (immigration increased a lot).

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Arizona Law		Immigration to Neighborhood		State Economic Outlook	
Strongly Support	35.24%	Increased a lot	20.24%	Optimistic	29.8%
Support	20.92	Increased some	22.22	Uncertain	34.1
Neither	11.32	Stayed the same	50.99	Pessimistic	36.1
Oppose	12.03	Decreased some	4.57		
Strongly Oppose	20.49	Decreased a lot	1.98		
Total	100%		100%		100%
N	698		657		698

Table 2. Ordered Logistic Regression Results for Support of Arizona Immigration Law

	Model 1	Model 2
Neighborhood context	.266*** (.071)	.521*** (.115)
Future of the economy	-.228** (.093)	.438* (.216)
Neighborhood context *future of the economy	-	-.266** (.088)
Personal economic situation	.054 (.102)	.068 (.096)
Disaffection with government	.191** (.064)	.191** (.061)
Latino linked-fate	.072 (.044)	.068 (.046)
Salience of immigration issue	.125* (.051)	.123* (.054)
Democrat	-.383* (.202)	-.408* (.202)
Republican	.070 (.312)	.091 (.301)
Ideology	-.824*** (.091)	-.814*** (.091)
White	.378 (.336)	.322 (.369)
Black	-.583 (.417)	-.630 (.428)
Education	-.107 (.079)	-.098 (.080)
Second generation	-.274* (.131)	-.270 (.142)
Age	-.117** (.042)	-.110** (.034)
Married	-.322 (.223)	-.322 (.227)
Female	-.110	-.115

	(.098)	(.100)
N	544	544
Prob > chi <sup>2</sup>	.00	.00
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	.105	.18

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\*\*\* p<.001; \*\*p<.01; \* p<.05

Cells are ordered logit coefficients with standard errors clustered for the state. Analysis includes only non-Latinos and non-immigrants.

**Appendix Table 1. Measurement of Variables**

Variable	Measurement	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation
<b>Independent Variables</b>				
Neighborhood context	In the past five years, do you think that the number of immigrants in your neighborhood has decreased a lot, decreased somewhat, stayed the same, increased somewhat or increased a lot?	0,4	1.92	1.05
Future of the economy	Now how do you feel about the future of <i>the state's economy</i> ? Considering everything, would you say you feel generally optimistic about the future of the state's economy, or generally pessimistic, or that you're uncertain about the future of the state's economy?	0,2	.93	.81
Personal economic situation	Compared to a year ago, has your personal situation improved a lot, improved somewhat, stayed the same, worsened somewhat or worsened a lot?	0,2	1.37	.78
Disaffection with government	How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements. For each statement, please let me know if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. People like me don't have any say in what the government does	0,4	1.78	1.22
Latino linked-fate	Thinking about issues such as job opportunities, educational opportunities or income, how much do you personally have in common with each of the following groups? Would you say you have a lot in common, some in common, little in common, nothing in common?	0,3	1.38	.98
Saliency of immigration issue	For each of the following issues, if a political party or candidate took a position that you disagreed with, how likely would you be to vote against that political party or candidate even if you agreed with that party on most other issues: very unlikely, unlikely, undecided, likely, or very likely?	0,4	2.13	1.21
Democrat	Now I would like to ask a few questions for classification purposes. First, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an independent or a supporter of some other party?	0,1	.38	.48
Republican		0,1	.13	.34
Ideology	In general, would you describe your political views as very conservative, conservative, moderate, liberal, or very liberal?	0,4	2.0	.98
White	Race of respondent	0,1	.79	.40
Black	Race of respondent	0,1	.17	.38
Education	Categories range from less than high school to post graduate.	0,4	2.1	1.2
Second	Mother or Father was not born in the United States	0,1	.16	.37



generation

Age	Categories are: 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66-75, 76 or older.	1,7	4.23	1.73
Married	Currently married or not.	0,1	.47	.5
Female	Sex	0,1	.54	.5

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Appendix B: National Polls on Arizona Law	Favor Arizona law	Oppose Arizona law
Rasmussen Poll (April 2010)	60	31
Gallup Poll (April 2010)	51	39
CBS News Poll (April 2010)	51	36
Fox News Poll (May 2010)	61	27
Pew Center Survey (May 2010)	59	32
Ipsos Poll (May 2010)	61	36
AP-GfK Poll (May 2010)	42	24
Fox News Poll (May 2010)	59	32
Fox NewsPoll (May 2010)	52	31
Quinnipiac Poll (may 2010)	51	31
CBS News Poll (May 2010)	52	28
CNN/ORC Poll (May 2010)	57	37
ABC News/WP Poll (June 2010)	58	41
Fox News Poll ( June 2010)	50	32
Fox News (June 2010)	52	27
CBS News Poll (July 2010)	57	23
Quinnipiac Poll (July 2010)	51	35
CNN/ORC Poll (July 2010)	55	40
Fox News Poll ( July 2010)	50	31
CBS News Poll (August 2010)	59	26
New England Survey (November 2010)	53	36