

The Upside of Accents: The Spanish Language and Attitudes toward Immigration

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Diversifying Democracies

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Foreign-born population in U.S.: 12.5% in 2000

Diversifying Democracies

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Foreign-born population in U.S.: 12.5% in 2000
- Foreign-born population in Britain: 8.3% in 2001

Diversifying Democracies

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Foreign-born population in U.S.: 12.5% in 2000
- Foreign-born population in Britain: 8.3% in 2001
- Both numbers: twice as high as 1950

Diversifying Democracies

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Foreign-born population in U.S.: 12.5% in 2000
- Foreign-born population in Britain: 8.3% in 2001
- Both numbers: twice as high as 1950
- Initial research question: impact of ethnic and racial diversity on politics, public good provision

Diversifying Democracies

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Foreign-born population in U.S.: 12.5% in 2000
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- Initial research question: impact of ethnic and racial diversity on politics, public good provision
- Core claim of earlier work: local ethnic/racial divisions must be **politicized**; national rhetoric on immigration = one politicizing agent

Language Threat

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- 38 million immigrants in U.S.; 24.9 million U.S. residents not English proficient

Language Threat

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- 38 million immigrants in U.S.; 24.9 million U.S. residents not English proficient
- Focus group participant in L.A. complains of ordering a hamburger, receiving eight

Language Threat

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- 38 million immigrants in U.S.; 24.9 million U.S. residents not English proficient
- Focus group participant in L.A. complains of ordering a hamburger, receiving eight
- “If a single source of conflict stands out, it involves the use of different languages” –1993 Ford Foundation Report

Language Threat

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- 38 million immigrants in U.S.; 24.9 million U.S. residents not English proficient
- Focus group participant in L.A. complains of ordering a hamburger, receiving eight
- “If a single source of conflict stands out, it involves the use of different languages” –1993 Ford Foundation Report
- Research goal: identify role of language in generating immigrant-native tension in the U.S.

Language Threat

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- 38 million immigrants in U.S.; 24.9 million U.S. residents not English proficient
- Focus group participant in L.A. complains of ordering a hamburger, receiving eight
- “If a single source of conflict stands out, it involves the use of different languages” –1993 Ford Foundation Report
- Research goal: identify role of language in generating immigrant-native tension in the U.S.
- Broader goal: understand responses to immigrants in polities with pre-existing ethnic/racial cleavage

Outline

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

■ Introduction

Outline

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Introduction
- Theoretical Discussion: Language as Source of Immigrant-Native Tension

Outline

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Introduction
- Theoretical Discussion: Language as Source of Immigrant-Native Tension
- Initial Evidence: California's Proposition 227

Outline

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Introduction
- Theoretical Discussion: Language as Source of Immigrant-Native Tension
- Initial Evidence: California's Proposition 227
- Confirmatory Evidence: 2010, 2011 Survey Experiments

Outline

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Introduction
- Theoretical Discussion: Language as Source of Immigrant-Native Tension
- Initial Evidence: California's Proposition 227
- Confirmatory Evidence: 2010, 2011 Survey Experiments
- Conclusion and Next Steps

Outline

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Introduction
- Theoretical Discussion: Language as Source of Immigrant-Native Tension
- Initial Evidence: California's Proposition 227
- Confirmatory Evidence: 2010, 2011 Survey Experiments
- Conclusion and Next Steps
- Spanish → cultural and political symbol

Outline

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Introduction
- Theoretical Discussion: Language as Source of Immigrant-Native Tension
- Initial Evidence: California's Proposition 227
- Confirmatory Evidence: 2010, 2011 Survey Experiments
- Conclusion and Next Steps
- **Spanish → cultural and political symbol**
 - Not triggering reflexive out-group aversion

Outline

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Introduction
- Theoretical Discussion: Language as Source of Immigrant-Native Tension
- Initial Evidence: California's Proposition 227
- Confirmatory Evidence: 2010, 2011 Survey Experiments
- Conclusion and Next Steps
- **Spanish → cultural and political symbol**
 - Not triggering reflexive out-group aversion
 - Instead, signal of desire to assimilate

Theoretical Background

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Debates about role of economics vs. culture in shaping immigration attitudes

Theoretical Background

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Debates about role of economics vs. culture in shaping immigration attitudes
- Examples: Dancygier (2010), Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010), Sides and Citrin (2007), Mayda (2006), Sniderman et al. (2004), Scève and Slaughter (2001)

Theoretical Background

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Debates about role of economics vs. culture in shaping immigration attitudes
- Examples: Dancygier (2010), Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010), Sides and Citrin (2007), Mayda (2006), Sniderman et al. (2004), Scheve and Slaughter (2001)
- But which **cultural** factors are influential? Is immigration simply an extension of racial cleavages?

Theorizing Language Differences

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Language differences:

- Significant cleavage outside U.S. (e.g. Laitin 1992)

Theorizing Language Differences

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Language differences:

- Significant cleavage outside U.S. (e.g. Laitin 1992)
- In U.S., contention over language appears in case studies (Hopkins et al. 2010)

Theorizing Language Differences

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Language differences:

- Significant cleavage outside U.S. (e.g. Laitin 1992)
- In U.S., contention over language appears in case studies (Hopkins et al. 2010)
- Typically ignored in American politics (but see Schildkraut 2001, 2005)

Theorizing Language Differences

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Language differences:

- Significant cleavage outside U.S. (e.g. Laitin 1992)
- In U.S., contention over language appears in case studies (Hopkins et al. 2010)
- Typically ignored in American politics (but see Schildkraut 2001, 2005)
- Spanish as potent symbol of immigration's cultural impacts (e.g. Schildkraut 2005, Huntington 2004)

Theorizing Language Differences

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Language differences:

- Significant cleavage outside U.S. (e.g. Laitin 1992)
- In U.S., contention over language appears in case studies (Hopkins et al. 2010)
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- Survey experiments → Spanish threatens non-Hispanic subgroups (Bareto et al. 2008, Hopkins et al. 2010)

Theorizing Language Differences

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Language differences:

- Significant cleavage outside U.S. (e.g. Laitin 1992)
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- Spanish as potent symbol of immigration's cultural impacts (e.g. Schildkraut 2005, Huntington 2004)
- Survey experiments → Spanish threatens non-Hispanic subgroups (Bareto et al. 2008, Hopkins et al. 2010)
- Goal: probe generality, mechanisms of this finding

Case Studies in Contention

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- “There’s Armando’s Grocery Store... Signs used to be English, ‘Potatoes–79 cents a pound,’ and down below it would be in Spanish. Now the big sign is in Spanish and the little sign is in English... It’s frightening to see that it’s just kind of been dominated.” –Elgin, IL

Case Studies in Contention

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

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- “I pick up the telephone and call the local garage. I can’t understand the person on the other side of the line... They’re all over the place, and they don’t speak English. Do we want more of this?”

Case Studies in Contention

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- “There’s Armando’s Grocery Store... Signs used to be English, ‘Potatoes–79 cents a pound,’ and down below it would be in Spanish. Now the big sign is in Spanish and the little sign is in English... It’s frightening to see that it’s just kind of been dominated.” –Elgin, IL
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Case Studies in Contention

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- “There’s Armando’s Grocery Store... Signs used to be English, ‘Potatoes–79 cents a pound,’ and down below it would be in Spanish. Now the big sign is in Spanish and the little sign is in English... It’s frightening to see that it’s just kind of been dominated.” –Elgin, IL
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- “I think that when you are out in public and you want to be here in America, speak English and also work towards U.S. citizenship.” – Columbus, OH

Case Studies in Contention

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- “There’s Armando’s Grocery Store... Signs used to be English, ‘Potatoes–79 cents a pound,’ and down below it would be in Spanish. Now the big sign is in Spanish and the little sign is in English... It’s frightening to see that it’s just kind of been dominated.” –Elgin, IL
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- “I think that when you are out in public and you want to be here in America, speak English and also work towards U.S. citizenship.” – Columbus, OH
- Research question: **Is Spanish an independent influence on immigration attitudes? How does it operate? Who is influenced?**

Spanish Words and English Speakers

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

How might Spanish influence attitudes?

- 1 By signaling **out-group membership** (e.g. Tajfel 1981, Sniderman et al. 2000)

Spanish Words and English Speakers

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

How might Spanish influence attitudes?

- 1 By signaling **out-group membership** (e.g. Tajfel 1981, Sniderman et al. 2000)
- 2 By priming **partisanship** (e.g. Hopkins et al. 2010, Sniderman et al. 2004)

Spanish Words and English Speakers

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

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- 2 By priming **partisanship** (e.g. Hopkins et al. 2010, Sniderman et al. 2004)
- 3 By enabling **communication** (e.g. Gluszek and Dovidio 2010)

Spanish Words and English Speakers

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

How might Spanish influence attitudes?

- 1 By signaling **out-group membership** (e.g. Tajfel 1981, Sniderman et al. 2000)
- 2 By priming **partisanship** (e.g. Hopkins et al. 2010, Sniderman et al. 2004)
- 3 By enabling **communication** (e.g. Gluszek and Dovidio 2010)
- 4 By signaling **desire to assimilate** (e.g. Gilens 1999, Citrin et al. 2001)

Spanish Words and English Speakers

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

How might Spanish influence attitudes?

- 1 By signaling **out-group membership** (e.g. Tajfel 1981, Sniderman et al. 2000); expectation of negative attitudes toward speakers of accented English or Spanish
- 2 By priming **partisanship** (e.g. Hopkins et al. 2010, Sniderman et al. 2004); expectation is differential impact by party
- 3 By enabling **communication** (e.g. Gluszek and Dovidio 2010); negative attitudes toward Spanish speakers
- 4 By signaling **desire to assimilate** (e.g. Gilens 1999, Citrin et al. 2001); expectation of positive attitudes toward speakers of accented English

Study 2: California's Proposition 227

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Question: does use of Spanish influence political behaviors?

Study 2: California's Proposition 227

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Question: does use of Spanish influence political behaviors?
- Challenge: self-selection in exposure

Study 2: California's Proposition 227

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Question: does use of Spanish influence political behaviors?
- Challenge: self-selection in exposure
- Priming can occur through ballot, polling place (e.g. Berger et al. 2008, Ho and Imai 2006)

Study 2: California's Proposition 227

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- **Question: does use of Spanish influence political behaviors?**
- **Challenge: self-selection in exposure**
- **Priming can occur through ballot, polling place (e.g. Berger et al. 2008, Ho and Imai 2006)**
- **Analyze impact of bilingual ballots in California's 1998 Proposition 227**

Study 2: California's Proposition 227

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- **Question: does use of Spanish influence political behaviors?**
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- Priming can occur through ballot, polling place (e.g. Berger et al. 2008, Ho and Imai 2006)
- Analyze impact of bilingual ballots in California's 1998 Proposition 227
- On ballot in June primary; passes with 61% support

Study 2: California's Proposition 227

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Question: does use of Spanish influence political behaviors?
- Challenge: self-selection in exposure
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- Analyze impact of bilingual ballots in California's 1998 Proposition 227
- On ballot in June primary; passes with 61% support
- Prop. 227 restricted bilingual ed. → clear predictions of impact

Study 2: California's Proposition 227

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- **Question: does use of Spanish influence political behaviors?**
- Challenge: self-selection in exposure
- Priming can occur through ballot, polling place (e.g. Berger et al. 2008, Ho and Imai 2006)
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- Arguments in support: link English to American Dream, success in U.S., assimilationist

Study 2: California's Proposition 227

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- **Question: does use of Spanish influence political behaviors?**
- Challenge: self-selection in exposure
- Priming can occur through ballot, polling place (e.g. Berger et al. 2008, Ho and Imai 2006)
- Analyze impact of bilingual ballots in California's 1998 Proposition 227
- On ballot in June primary; passes with 61% support
- Prop. 227 restricted bilingual ed. → clear predictions of impact
- Arguments in support: link English to American Dream, success in U.S., assimilationist
- Hard test: exposure to Spanish was minimal

Section 203

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

10 OFFICIAL BALLOT ELECTION PRIMARY ELECTION JUNE 2, 1998, Fresno County		BOLETA OFICIAL ELECCION PRIMARIA ELECTION 2 de junio de 1998, Condado de Fresno		10
225	LIMITING CONGRESSIONAL TERMS. PROPOSED U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. INITIATIVE STATUTE. Resolves California's official problem that state and federal legislators support U.S. Congressional amendments establishing Congressional term limits and requires those in our state parties to amend Congressional term limits. Final Report: Relatively minor costs to the state and to counties.	YES 235	NO 236	225
226	POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY EMPLOYERS, UNIONS MEMBERS, FOREIGN ENTITIES. INITIATIVE STATUTE. Proposes regulation of certain members' permission to solicit funds or make them for political contributions. Prohibits foreign contributions to state and local candidates. Final Report: Unknown, probably not major state referendum costs. Additional state costs up to \$2 million annually for administrative activities, probably offset by fees.	YES 230	NO 240	226
227	ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS. INITIATIVE STATUTE. Requires all public school instruction be in English, unless parents request otherwise and show certain circumstances. Prohibits short-term English immersion programs for children learning English. Funds mandatory English instruction. Final Report: Impact on individual school districts would depend on how schools, parents, and the state respond to the proposition's changes. These impacts could vary significantly by district. Total state spending on education, however, probably would not change.	YES 243	NO 244	227

END OF OPEN PRIMARY BALLOT

Continued on next page
Continúa en la página siguiente

FIN DE LA BOLETA PRELIMINAR ABIERTA

Continued on next page
Continúa en la página siguiente

Figure: 1998 Ballot in Fresno County

Section 203 of Voting Rights Act mandates Spanish-language ballots, sample ballots, interpreters, and signs (Tucker and Espino 2007, GAO 2008)

Research Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Section 203: covers county if:

Research Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Section 203: covers county if:
 - 1 > 5% of voting age citizens from language group don't speak English

Research Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Section 203: covers county if:
 - 1 > 5% of voting age citizens from language group don't speak English
 - 2 > 10,000 voting age citizens from language group don't speak English

Research Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Section 203: covers county if:
 - 1 > 5% of voting age citizens from language group don't speak English
 - 2 > 10,000 voting age citizens from language group don't speak English
- Allows for regression discontinuity design (Green et al. 2009, Imbens and Lemieux 2008, Hahn et al. 2001)

Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote For 227

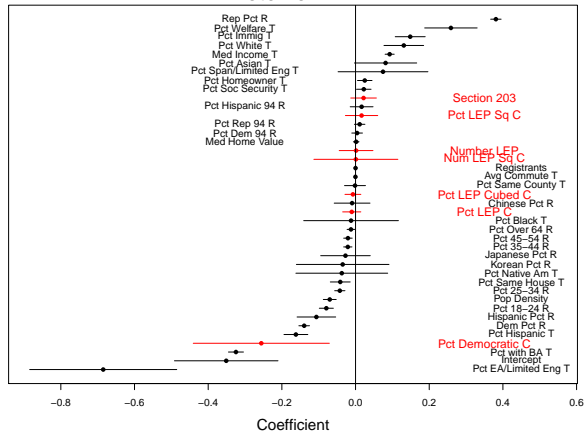


Figure: Multilevel model of Prop. 227 vote; 27,787 neighborhoods

Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

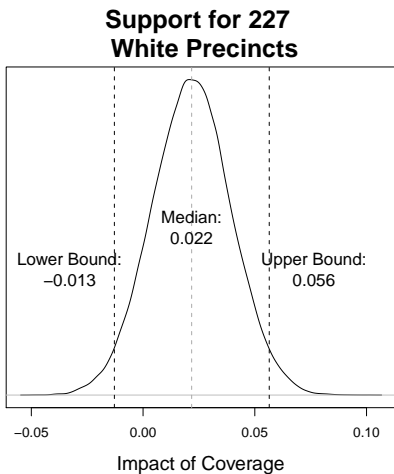


Figure: Predicted share of support for Prop. 227 under the model

Study 2: Results, Non-Hispanic White Precincts

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Some evidence of backlash overall → but not statistically significant (one-sided p -value=.11)

Study 2: Results, Non-Hispanic White Precincts

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Some evidence of backlash overall → but not statistically significant (one-sided p -value=.11)
- Strongest evidence in Republican precincts

Study 2: Results, Non-Hispanic White Precincts

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Some evidence of backlash overall → but not statistically significant (one-sided p -value=.11)
- Strongest evidence in Republican precincts
- Core results hold using matching (and different assumptions)

Study 2: Results, Non-Hispanic White Precincts

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Some evidence of backlash overall → but not statistically significant (one-sided p -value=.11)
- Strongest evidence in Republican precincts
- Core results hold using matching (and different assumptions)
 - Genetic matching (Diamond and Sekhon 2008)

Study 2: Results, Non-Hispanic White Precincts

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Some evidence of backlash overall → but not statistically significant (one-sided p -value=.11)
- Strongest evidence in Republican precincts
- Core results hold using matching (and different assumptions)
 - Genetic matching (Diamond and Sekhon 2008)
 - Coarsened exact matching (Iacus et al. 2009)

Study 2: Results, Non-Hispanic White Precincts

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Some evidence of backlash overall → but not statistically significant (one-sided p -value=.11)
- Strongest evidence in Republican precincts
- Core results hold using matching (and different assumptions)
 - Genetic matching (Diamond and Sekhon 2008)
 - Coarsened exact matching (Iacus et al. 2009)
- Spanish → political symbol

Study 2: Results, Non-Hispanic White Precincts

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Some evidence of backlash overall → but not statistically significant (one-sided p -value=.11)
- Strongest evidence in Republican precincts
- Core results hold using matching (and different assumptions)
 - Genetic matching (Diamond and Sekhon 2008)
 - Coarsened exact matching (Iacus et al. 2009)
- Spanish → political symbol
- Still, mechanisms, generality unclear

Experiment 1 Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Why does the use of Spanish influence political attitudes/behaviors?

Experiment 1 Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Why does the use of Spanish influence political attitudes/behaviors?
- Survey conducted via Knowledge Networks (August 6th-23rd, 2010)

Experiment 1 Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Why does the use of Spanish influence political attitudes/behaviors?
- Survey conducted via Knowledge Networks (August 6th-23rd, 2010)
- N=2,063 American adults

Experiment 1 Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Why does the use of Spanish influence political attitudes/behaviors?
- Survey conducted via Knowledge Networks (August 6th-23rd, 2010)
- N=2,063 American adults
- News clip; exploit practice of not revealing undocumented immigrants

Experiment 1 Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Why does the use of Spanish influence political attitudes/behaviors?
- Survey conducted via Knowledge Networks (August 6th-23rd, 2010)
- N=2,063 American adults
- News clip; exploit practice of not revealing undocumented immigrants
- Randomly vary immigrant's language (accented English, fluent English, fluent Spanish)

Experiment 1 Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Why does the use of Spanish influence political attitudes/behaviors?
- Survey conducted via Knowledge Networks (August 6th-23rd, 2010)
- N=2,063 American adults
- News clip; exploit practice of not revealing undocumented immigrants
- Randomly vary immigrant's language (accented English, fluent English, fluent Spanish)
- Randomly vary immigrant's skin tone (darker or lighter)

Experiment 1 Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Why does the use of Spanish influence political attitudes/behaviors?
- Survey conducted via Knowledge Networks (August 6th-23rd, 2010)
- N=2,063 American adults
- News clip; exploit practice of not revealing undocumented immigrants
- Randomly vary immigrant's language (accented English, fluent English, fluent Spanish)
- Randomly vary immigrant's skin tone (darker or lighter)
- Then ask 8 questions about immigrants, immigration policy

Experiment 1 Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Why does the use of Spanish influence political attitudes/behaviors?
- Survey conducted via Knowledge Networks (August 6th-23rd, 2010)
- N=2,063 American adults
- News clip; exploit practice of not revealing undocumented immigrants
- Randomly vary immigrant's language (accented English, fluent English, fluent Spanish)
- Randomly vary immigrant's skin tone (darker or lighter)
- Then ask 8 questions about immigrants, immigration policy
- Two manipulation checks

Lighter Immigrant

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



Please watch the entire 30-second video before pressing the "Next" button to continue your survey.

Next

Figure: Immigrant with light skin tone

Darker Immigrant

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



Please watch the entire 30-second video before pressing the "Next" button to continue your survey.

Next

Figure: Immigrant with dark skin tone

From Central America

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

“If you had to guess, where does the immigrant featured in the news clip come from?”

From Central America?

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

From Central America
Mean=0.1, SD=0.3

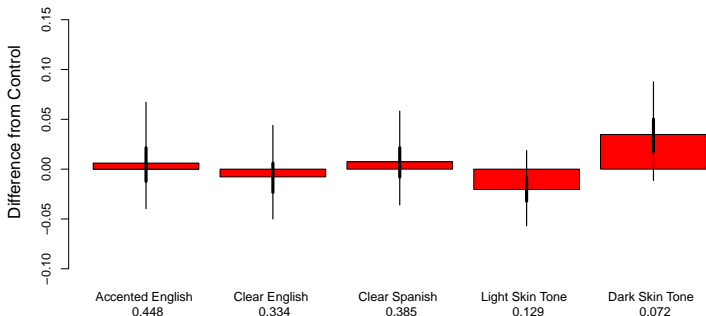


Figure:

Length of Residence

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

“If you had to guess, how long do you think the immigrant in the news clip has lived in the United States?”

Length of Residence

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Length of Time in US
Mean=3, SD=1

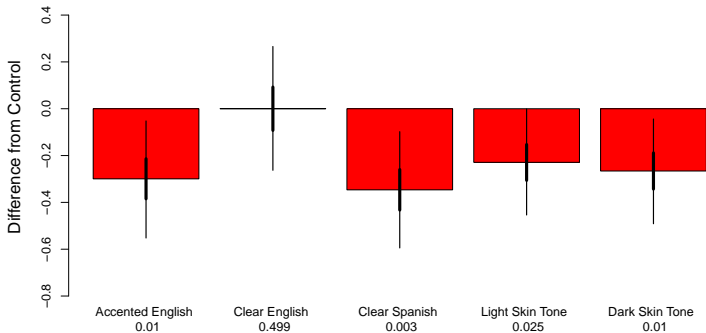


Figure:

Pathway To Citizenship

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

“Do you support or oppose a national policy of allowing illegal immigrants already living in the United States for a number of years to stay in this country permanently and earn U.S. citizenship?”

Pathway to Citizenship

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

Support Pathway to Citizenship Mean=2.5, SD=1

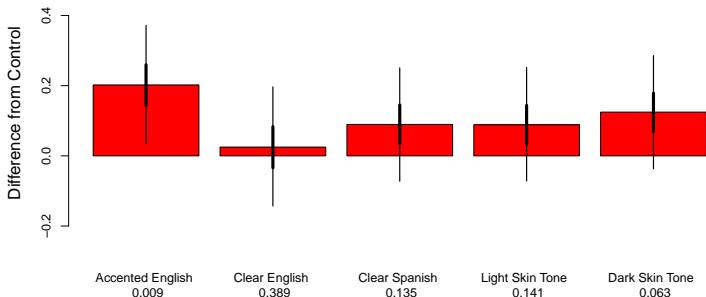


Figure: Support for Creating Pathway to Citizenship

Strengthen American Society

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Please tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statements: “the growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society.”

Strengthen American Society

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Strengthen American Society
Mean=2.3, SD=0.9

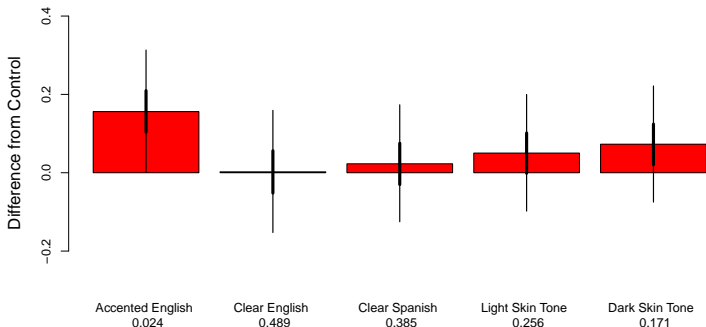


Figure: Believe Immigrants Strengthen American Society

Increased Immigration

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

“Now thinking about legal immigration, do you think the number of immigrants who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be decreased a lot, decreased a little, left the same, increased a little, or increased a lot?”

Increased Immigration

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

Support Increased Immigration
Mean=2.4, SD=1.1

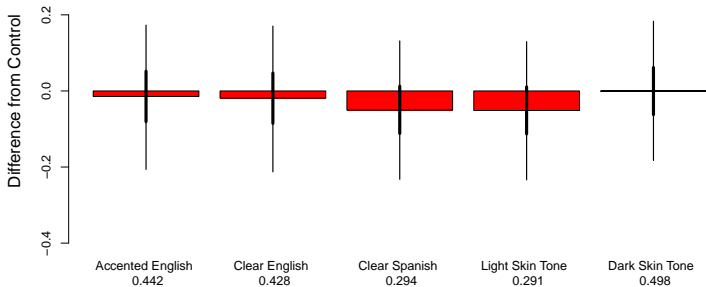


Figure:

Threaten American Way of Life

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Please tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statements: “These days, I am afraid that the American way of life is threatened.”

Threaten American Way of Life

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

Don't Feel Threatened
Mean=2, SD=1

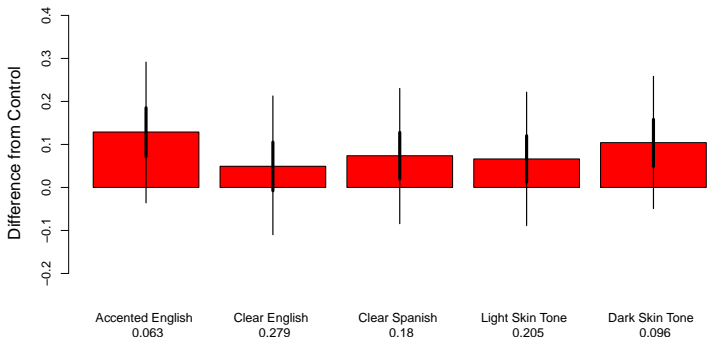


Figure:

Take Jobs

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

“How likely is it that the immigrants currently coming into the U.S. will take jobs away from people already here?”

Take Jobs

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Don't Take Jobs
Mean=2.5, SD=1

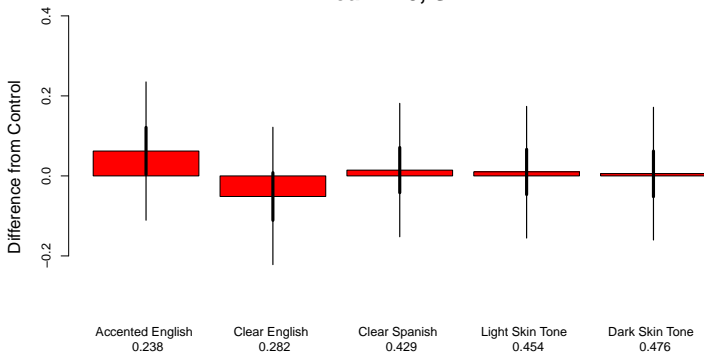


Figure:

Experimental Results

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Language: No impact on support for legal immigration, job threat

Experimental Results

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Language: No impact on support for legal immigration, job threat
- Skin tone: little impact on immigration attitudes

Experimental Results

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Language: No impact on support for legal immigration, job threat
- Skin tone: little impact on immigration attitudes
- Accented English: makes Americans more likely to support pathway to citizenship; say immigrants strengthen American society

Experimental Results

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Language: No impact on support for legal immigration, job threat
- Skin tone: little impact on immigration attitudes
- Accented English: makes Americans more likely to support pathway to citizenship; say immigrants strengthen American society
- Mechanism: not communication; fluent English speaker does not produce same effect

Experimental Results

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Language: No impact on support for legal immigration, job threat
- Skin tone: little impact on immigration attitudes
- Accented English: makes Americans more likely to support pathway to citizenship; say immigrants strengthen American society
- Mechanism: not communication; fluent English speaker does not produce same effect
- Suggests importance of perceived willingness to assimilate

Confirmatory Experiment

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- January 2011, $N = 804$

Confirmatory Experiment

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- January 2011, $N = 804$
- Remove Hispanics, those who do not watch video, those who do not complete survey within half hour

Confirmatory Experiment

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- January 2011, $N = 804$
- Remove Hispanics, those who do not watch video, those who do not complete survey within half hour
- Expose respondents to new photo, same voice-overs, no skin tone manipulation

Confirmatory Experiment

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- January 2011, $N = 804$
- Remove Hispanics, those who do not watch video, those who do not complete survey within half hour
- Expose respondents to new photo, same voice-overs, no skin tone manipulation
- “He came here ten years ago from Mexico.”

Confirmatory Experiment

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- January 2011, $N = 804$
- Remove Hispanics, those who do not watch video, those who do not complete survey within half hour
- Expose respondents to new photo, same voice-overs, no skin tone manipulation
- “He came here ten years ago from Mexico.”
- 97.8% of those who heard accented English said speaker had accent

Confirmatory Experiment

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

- January 2011, $N = 804$
- Remove Hispanics, those who do not watch video, those who do not complete survey within half hour
- Expose respondents to new photo, same voice-overs, no skin tone manipulation
- “He came here ten years ago from Mexico.”
- 97.8% of those who heard accented English said speaker had accent
- 63.6% of those who heard clear English said speaker had accent

Confirmatory Experiment Image

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

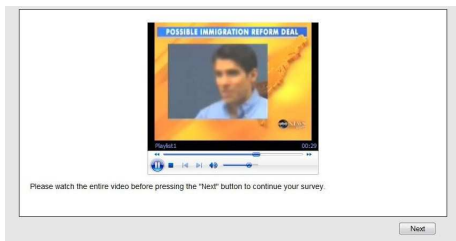


Figure: January 2011: Image of Immigrant

Confirmatory Experiment Results

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Support Pathway to Citizenship Mean=2.5, SD=1

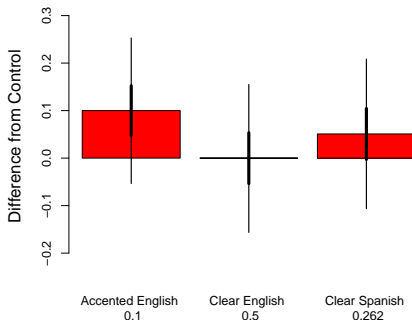


Figure: January 2011: Pathway to Citizenship

Returning to Hypotheses

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

How might Spanish influence attitudes?

- 1 ~~By signaling out-group membership~~
- 2 By priming partisanship
- 3 ~~By enabling communication~~
- 4 By signaling desire to assimilate

Conclusion

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Use of language influences Americans' attitudes toward immigration policy, bilingual education

Conclusion

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Use of language influences Americans' attitudes toward immigration policy, bilingual education
- Not simply ethnocentrism/rejection of out-group

Conclusion

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Use of language influences Americans' attitudes toward immigration policy, bilingual education
- Not simply ethnocentrism/rejection of out-group
 - Republican precincts with Spanish ballots → less support for Proposition 227

Conclusion

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

- Use of language influences Americans' attitudes toward immigration policy, bilingual education
- Not simply ethnocentrism/rejection of out-group
 - Republican precincts with Spanish ballots → less support for Proposition 227
 - Respondents who heard accented English → more supportive of pathway to citizenship

Conclusion

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

- Use of language influences Americans' attitudes toward immigration policy, bilingual education
- Not simply ethnocentrism/rejection of out-group
 - Republican precincts with Spanish ballots → less support for Proposition 227
 - Respondents who heard accented English → more supportive of pathway to citizenship
- Political context is central; use of language communicates politically relevant information; symbol of assimilation

Conclusion

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

- Use of language influences Americans' attitudes toward immigration policy, bilingual education
- Not simply ethnocentrism/rejection of out-group
 - Republican precincts with Spanish ballots → less support for Proposition 227
 - Respondents who heard accented English → more supportive of pathway to citizenship
- Political context is central; use of language communicates politically relevant information; symbol of assimilation
- Policy implications: information, integration

Next Steps

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Additional survey experiments varying language, message, immigrant appearance

Next Steps

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Additional survey experiments varying language, message, immigrant appearance
- Content analysis of focus groups

Next Steps

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Additional survey experiments varying language, message, immigrant appearance
- Content analysis of focus groups
- Cross-national comparisons (e.g. Quebec; Urdu in northern England)

Next Steps

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Additional survey experiments varying language, message, immigrant appearance
- Content analysis of focus groups
- Cross-national comparisons (e.g. Quebec; Urdu in northern England)
- Your suggestions?

Design Effects and Effective Sample Size

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Design effect: function of intra-class correlation (ICC; share of variance explained at county level)
- $ICC = 0.11$
- Effective sample size: 4,872
- Rich set of covariates can improve efficiency

Multilevel Model

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

The neighborhood-level model for observation i in county j is:

$$y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_1 x_{ij} + \dots + \epsilon_{ij}$$

where y_{ij} is turnout and where ϵ_{ij} is mean zero with a normal distribution. At the level of counties, we model:

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_1 w_j + \dots + \delta_j$$

where δ_j is similarly mean zero and normally distributed.

Regression Discontinuity

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

**Additional
Material**

Related
Research

- Compare those arbitrarily close to threshold

Regression Discontinuity

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Compare those arbitrarily close to threshold
- No reason counties with 4.99%, 5.01% should differ except for treatment

Regression Discontinuity

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Compare those arbitrarily close to threshold
- No reason counties with 4.99%, 5.01% should differ except for treatment
- In theory: **significantly reduces** omitted variable bias

Regression Discontinuity

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Compare those arbitrarily close to threshold
- No reason counties with 4.99%, 5.01% should differ except for treatment
- In theory: **significantly reduces** omitted variable bias
- In practice: not enough observations to estimate treatment effect without modeling

Regression Discontinuity (cont.)

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Challenges in analyzing these data:

- 1 Multiple forcing variables \rightarrow condition on both (and higher order terms)

Regression Discontinuity (cont.)

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Challenges in analyzing these data:

- 1 Multiple forcing variables \rightarrow condition on both (and higher order terms)
- 2 Treatment at county level \rightarrow multi-level model (Schochet 2009); neighborhoods nested in counties

Study 2: Research Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

**Additional
Material**

Related
Research

- Data: Statewide Database (University of California-Berkeley)

Study 2: Research Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Data: Statewide Database (University of California-Berkeley)
- Eliminate mountainous north, Southern California

Study 2: Research Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Data: Statewide Database (University of California-Berkeley)
- Eliminate mountainous north, Southern California
- 41 counties; 27,547 precincts where more than 90% of residents are non-Hispanic white

Study 2: Research Design

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Data: Statewide Database (University of California-Berkeley)
- Eliminate mountainous north, Southern California
- 41 counties; 27,547 precincts where more than 90% of residents are non-Hispanic white
- Multilevel model: 34 tract- or precinct-level variables; 7 county-level variables including forcing variables, treatment indicator

Counties Included in Study

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

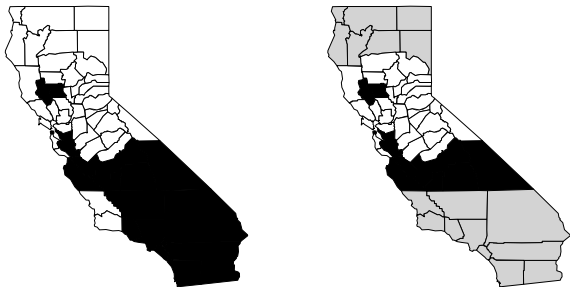


Figure: Counties in study

A Partisanship Interaction?

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Sniderman et al. (2004): distinguish between mobilizing cues (e.g. influence people already anti-immigration), galvanizing cues (e.g. previously pro-immigration)

A Partisanship Interaction?

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Sniderman et al. (2004): distinguish between mobilizing cues (e.g. influence people already anti-immigration), galvanizing cues (e.g. previously pro-immigration)
- Does Spanish as symbol operate differently for Republicans, Democrats?

Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote For 227

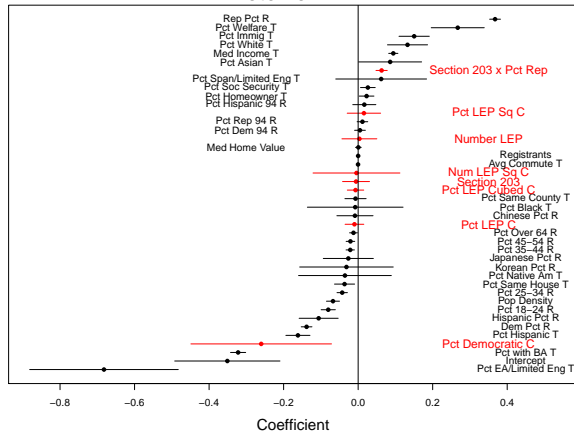


Figure: Multilevel model of Prop. 227 vote; 27,787 neighborhoods

Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

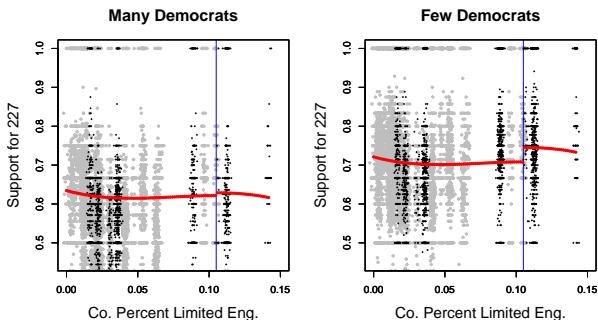


Figure: RDD analysis of Proposition 227

Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

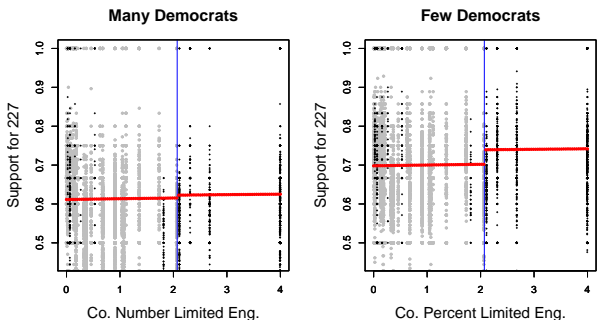


Figure: RDD analysis of Proposition 227

Impact on Non-Hispanic White Precincts: Vote

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

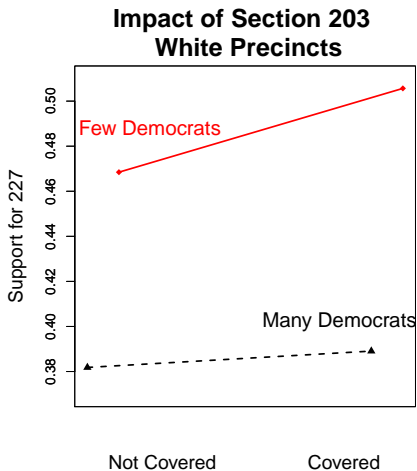


Figure: Predicted share of support for Prop. 227 under the model

Introductory Screen

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



A video player interface is centered on the screen. The video shows a woman with blonde hair wearing a white shirt, speaking. The video player has a progress bar at the bottom with a play/pause button, a volume icon, and a full-screen icon. The text "Playlist 10" and "00:24" are visible in the player's control area. Below the video player, the text "Please watch the entire 30-second video before pressing the 'Next' button to continue your survey." is displayed. A "Next" button is located at the bottom right of the video player's frame.

Figure:

Provisions

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



POSSIBLE IMMIGRATION REFORM DEAL

PROVISIONS:
Must pay \$5,000 fine
Must return to native
country to get visa stamp
Must pass
background check

Playlist11 00:21

Please watch the entire 30-second video before pressing the "Next" button to continue your survey.

Next

Figure:

Back to Desk

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



The video player displays a woman with blonde hair wearing a white shirt, speaking in a news studio setting. The video player interface includes a progress bar, a play/pause button, and a volume icon. The video title is 'Playlist11' and the duration is '00:05'. Below the video player, there is a text instruction: 'Please watch the entire 30-second video before pressing the "Next" button to continue your survey.' A 'Next' button is located at the bottom right of the video player frame.

Figure:

Introduce Immigrant

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



Please watch the entire 30-second video before pressing the "Next" button to continue your survey.

Next

Figure:

With Subtitles

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



POSSIBLE IMMIGRATION REFORM DEAL

to be an American citizen.

NBC NEWS

PlayList15 00:39

Next

Please watch the entire 30-second video before pressing the "Next" button to continue your survey.

Figure:

Impact: Seeing Spanish

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

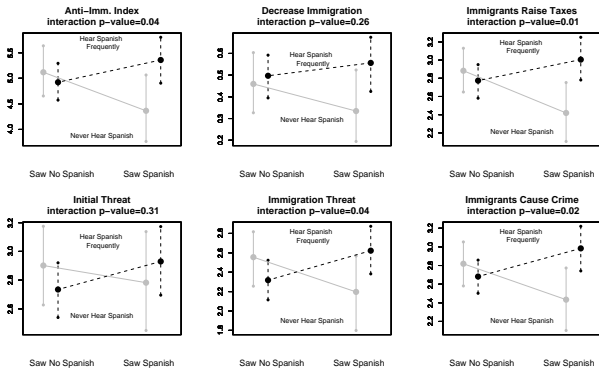


Figure: Each figure depicts interaction between hearing Spanish in day-to-day life, seeing the Spanish cue at the beginning of the survey.

Personal Experience?

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Personal experience not randomized; moderator might be anything correlated with personal experience
- Contact not correlated with Democratic party ID (-0.05), conservative ideology (-0.05)
- In control group, hearing Spanish not correlated with anti-immigration index (-0.02)
- Measures of personal experience—highly correlated with one another (> 0.59); moderately correlated with ZIP pct. Hispanic (0.26)

Second Experiment

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Conduct confirmatory experiment embedded in exit poll, November 2008
- 902 respondents at four polling sites in Everett, Somerville MA
- Chosen based on partisan diversity, **large immigrant communities**, accessibility
- Every other exit poll contained Spanish line at top
- Imbalance: Race, education
- Dependent variable: generic threat, decrease immigration

Exit Poll Survey

NOVEMBER 2008 POLL BY RESEARCHERS AT HARVARD AND MIT

Por favor, fíjense que uds. pueden contestar en español al otro lado

This is a voluntary and anonymous exit poll about current events and the election conducted by researchers at a local university. Please do not write your name on this survey. This poll is not official, and is not affiliated with the Cities of Everett or Somerville or the Board of Elections. Your effort in answering these questions will make sure that the views of residents from Insetown (name) are represented in this research. You may decline to answer any or all questions at any point in the survey.

1. For President, who did you vote for? (check one)

- John McCain (Rep.) Someone else
 Barack Obama (Dem.) Did not vote

2. On Ballot Question 1, which proposed to end the Massachusetts state personal income tax, how did you vote? (Please answer even if you did not vote)

- Did not vote Voted "No" (not to end the tax)
 Voted "Yes" (to end the tax)

3. Which is the worst tax—that is, the one that is the least fair? (check one)

- State sales tax Federal income tax
 Local property tax State income tax
 Social Security tax

Regardless of how you voted on Ballot Question 1, please tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statements:

4. "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts can reduce its annual spending by 40% without a major impact on schools, roads, parks, policing, or other services."

- Strongly agree Somewhat disagree
 Somewhat agree Strongly disagree

5. "Eliminating the Massachusetts state income tax would lead to large increases in other taxes."

- Strongly agree Somewhat disagree
 Somewhat agree Strongly disagree

6. Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has been (check one)

- Much better than normal Worse than normal
 Better than normal Much worse than normal

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy over the last year? (check one)

- Strongly approve Disapprove
 Approve Strongly disapprove

8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? (check one)

- Strongly approve Disapprove
 Approve Strongly disapprove

9. Please tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statement: "These days, I am afraid that the American way of life is threatened." (check one)

- Disagree strongly Agree somewhat
 Disagree somewhat Agree strongly

10. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be (check one)

- Increased a lot Left the same
 Increased a little Decreased a little
 Decreased a lot

11. In your day-to-day life, how frequently do you have conversations with immigrants?

- Never or almost never 10 times per month
 Less than once a month At least once a week
 Every day

12. In your day-to-day life, how frequently do you hear Spanish or Portuguese spoken?

- Never or almost never 10 times per month
 Less than once a month At least once a week
 Every day

13. How long have you lived in this community?

- Less than one year 11 to 20 years
 1 to 5 years More than 20 years
 6 to 10 years

14. Are you Hispanic or Latino? (check one)

- Yes No

15. Your race: (check all that apply)

- Asian White
 Black/African American Other

16. Your gender: (circle one) M F

17. Year you were born: 19_____

18. Highest educational level completed: (check one)

- Some grade school 2-year college
 8th grade 4-year college
 High school diploma/GED Post-graduate

19. Your total yearly household income is: (check one)

- Less than \$20,000 \$40,000 + \$90,000
 \$20,000 + \$40,000 Above \$80,000

Exit Poll Population

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
McCain Voter	0.17		0	1	149
Female	0.58		0	1	860
Non-Hispanic White	0.65		0	1	587
Non-Hispanic Black	0.12		0	1	108
Hispanic	0.08		0	1	76
Other Race/Ethnicity	0.15		0	1	131
Age	41	14	18	88	818
Education	14.81	2.80	5	19	873
Income	2.80	0.95	1	4	835
Talk with imm. (5=Everyday)	4.11	1.23	1	5	866
Hear Spanish (5=Everyday)	4.47	0.97	1	5	871
American life threatened	2.95	0.97	1	4	861
Decrease immigr.	0.35		0	1	854

Table: Descriptive statistics for the exit poll.

Logit Model, Exit Poll

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

	All Respondents		Obama Voters	
	β	SE	β	SE
Intercept	1.51	0.47	1.19	0.56
Site 2	-1.57	0.20	-1.56	0.25
Site 3	-1.55	0.34	-1.18	0.39
Site 4	-0.42	0.21	-0.34	0.25
Black	-1.34	0.27	-1.12	0.30
Education	-0.08	0.03	-0.10	0.04
Saw Spanish	0.20	0.16	0.48	0.19
df	844		659	

Table: Two logistic regressions predicting wanting to decrease immigration.

Impact of Exit Poll

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

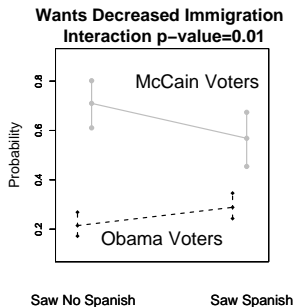


Figure: Interaction of Presidential vote choice and the effect of seeing Spanish on the 2008 exit poll.

Where are Today's Immigrants?

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

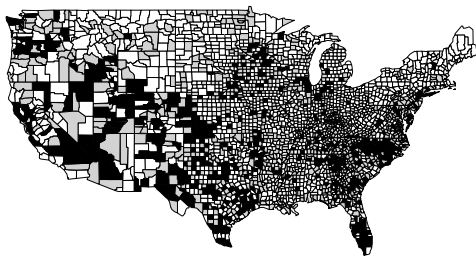


Figure: This figure compares coverage of immigration in USA Today with county-level contextual effects.

Changing Contextual Effects

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

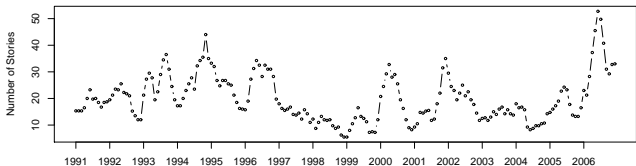
Results

Conclusion

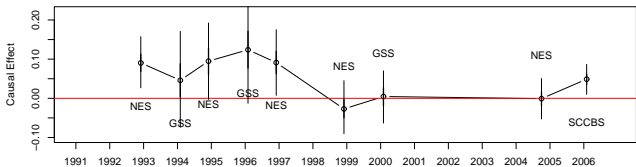
Additional
Material

Related
Research

The Salience of Immigration



Contextual Effect on Supporting Decreased Immigration



Changing Contextual Effects

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

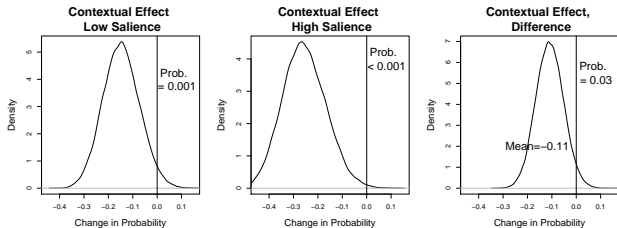
Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



The September 11th Test

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

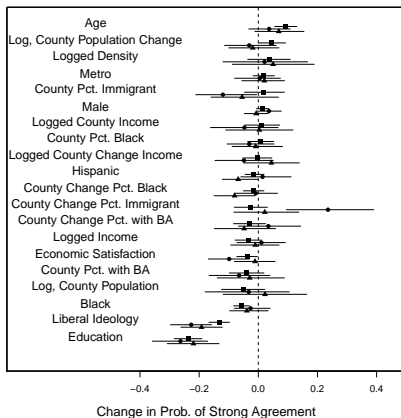
Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Agreeing Immigrants Too Demanding



The September 11th Test

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

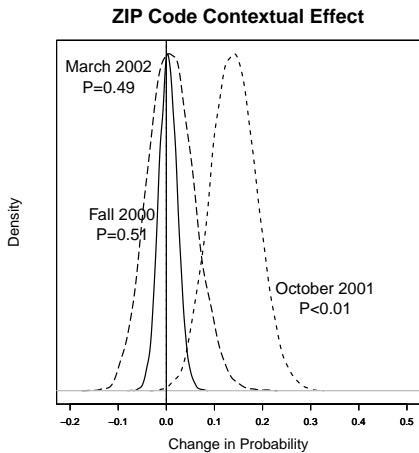
Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research



Evidence from September 11th

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Core take-home point: living in a changing community matters more when immigration is a nationally salient issue

Evidence from September 11th

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

- Core take-home point: living in a changing community matters more when immigration is a nationally salient issue
- Effect disappears quickly when salience of immigration issue subsides

Evidence from September 11th

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research

- Core take-home point: living in a changing community matters more when immigration is a nationally salient issue
- Effect disappears quickly when salience of immigration issue subsides
- Additional test: local anti-immigrant ordinances

Evidence from September 11th

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

- Core take-home point: living in a changing community matters more when immigration is a nationally salient issue
- Effect disappears quickly when salience of immigration issue subsides
- Additional test: local anti-immigrant ordinances
- Many examples: Fremont, NE; Hazleton, PA

Local Ordinances

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

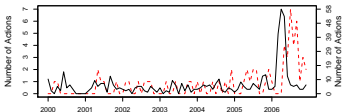
Results

Conclusion

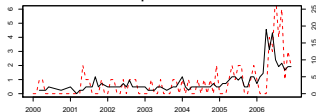
Additional
Material

Related
Research

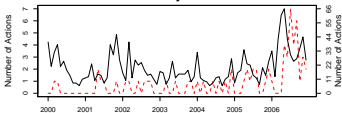
**National Salience and Local Action:
Vanderbilt Archive Mentions**



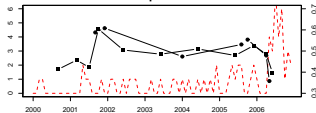
**National Salience and Local Action:
Most Important Problem**



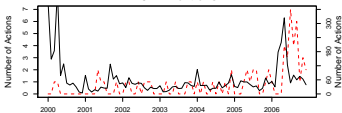
**National Salience and Local Action:
USA Today Mentions**



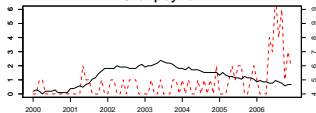
**Immigration Attitudes and Local Action:
Gallup and CBS**



**National Salience and Local Action:
CNN Mentions**



**Economics and Local Action:
Unemployment**



Britain, 2005 Election

The Upside of Accents

Daniel J. Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and Hypotheses

Proposition 227

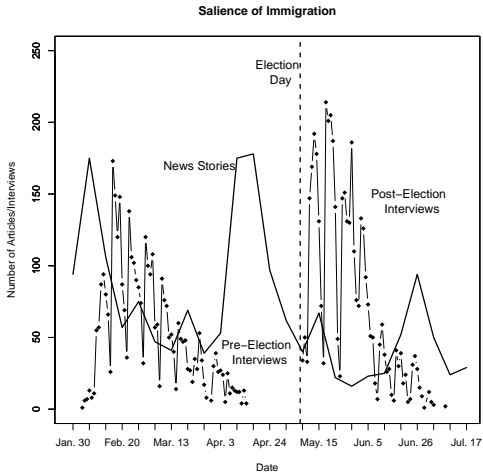
Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional Material

Related Research



Britain, 2005 Election

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

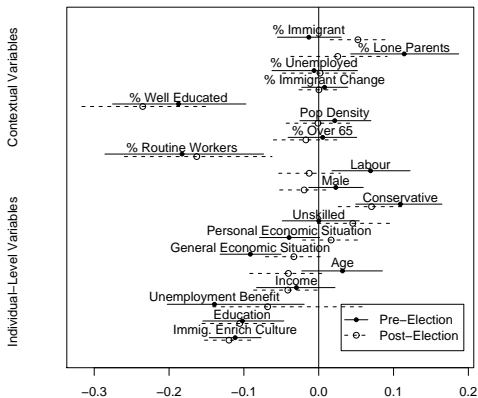
Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

Predicting Immigration as Most Important Problem



An Unsupervised Example: LDA

The Upside of
Accents

Daniel J.
Hopkins

Introduction

Theory and
Hypotheses

Proposition
227

Experiments

Results

Conclusion

Additional
Material

Related
Research

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	don't	know	they	illeg	law	they	about
2	you	you	english	here	the	here	church
3	peopl	differ	languag	fine	we're	and	would
4	there	communiti	speak	pay	enforc	want	you
5	are	american	them	they're	that	their	immigr
6	job	veri	they're	legal	togeth	get	that
7	mani	like	their	tax	about	money	cathol
8	know	more	know	who	was	back	like
9	problem	your	learn	you	this	work	say
10	there	and	our	should	down	lot	i'm
Prop.	0.144	0.122	0.139	0.157	0.142	0.141	0.155

Table: Clustering 836 comments from focus groups on immigration using 165 word stems, LDA.