The Politics of Immigrant Policy in the Fifty U.S. States from 2005-2011

James E. Monogan III

Online Appendices

A.1 Data and Analysis Notes

Table A.1: Descriptive Statistics of Continuous Variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Logged ratio of welcoming to hostile laws	0.09	0.89	-1.78	1.98
Citizen ideology	-12.76	9.38	-30.07	11.46
Unified Republican government	1.78	2.67	0.00	7.00
Unified Democratic government	1.78	2.44	0.00	7.00
Per capita Gross State Product*	44.49	8.41	31.23	67.64
Term limits†	0.30	0.46	0.00	1.00
Change in foreign born	88.72	60.49	1.10	273.70
Legislative professionalism (Squire)	0.19	0.12	0.03	0.61

Notes: $N = 50$. †Dichotomous. *In thousands. Estimates computed with R 2.14.0.

Table A.1 offers the descriptive statistics of the variables used in the analysis. Table A.2 lists the multi-provision laws adopted in this time frame and enumerates how many separate provisions were coded. Table A.3 displays the number of laws in each tone and scope category adopted by each state. Table A.4 is an alternate specification of the model from the paper that replaces institutional partisanship with Shor and McCarty's (2011) measure of state legislative ideology, averaged from 2000-2009. Figure A.1 shows a density plot of the outcome measure defined in Equation 1 from the article, and a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of the outcome measure did not reject the null hypothesis

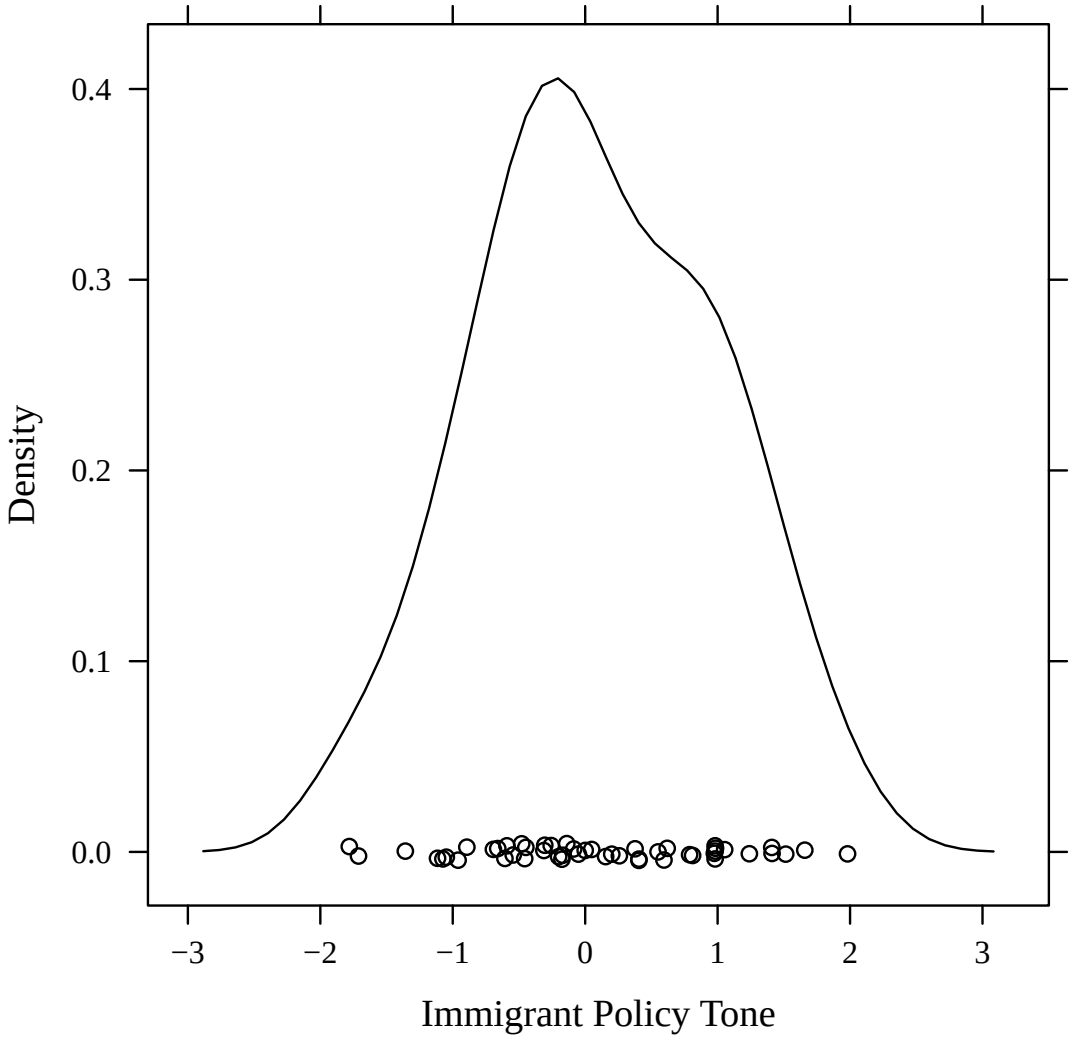

Figure A.1: Density plot of immigrant policy tone in 2005-2011

Table A.2: Omnibus Laws Enacted by States from 2005-2011

Year	State	Bill	Provisions
2006	Georgia	S 529	8
2007	Oklahoma	H 1804	6
2008	North Carolina	H 2436	2
2008	Missouri	H 1529	9
2008	South Carolina	H 4400	16
2008	Utah	S 81	9
2009	Connecticut	H 7007d	2
2009	Georgia	H 2	3
2009	Missouri	H 390	4
2009	Nebraska	L 403	5
2010	Arizona	S 1070	4
2010	Arizona	H 2100b	2
2010	Arizona	H 2162	4
2010	Iowa	H 2522	2
2011	Alabama	H 56	9
2011	Georgia	H 87	6
2011	Indiana	S 590	8
2011	South Carolina	S 20	7
2011	Utah	H 497	4

that policy tone is normally distributed ($D = 0.0805$, $p = 0.9023$). The sources of all of these variables are listed as follows:

- Immigration laws enacted by states: The National Conference of State Legislatures

  2005: http://www.ncsl.org/programs/immig/IMMIGStateLegisJuly06.htm (Accessed 28 September 2007)

  2006: http://www.ncsl.org/programs/immig/6ImmigEnactedLegis3.htm (Accessed 27 March 2007)

  2007: http://www.ncsl.org/programs/immig/2007immigrationfinal.htm (Accessed 1 October 2008)

  2008: http://www.ncsl.org/programs/immig/2008StateLegislationImmigration.htm (Accessed 1 February 2009)

2009: http://www.ncsl.org/documents/immig/2009ImmigLaws.pdf (Accessed 22 June 2010)

2010: http://www.ncsl.org/default.aspx?TabId=21857 (Accessed 30 May 2011)

2011: http://www.ncsl.org/issues-research/immigration/state-immigration-legislation-report-dec-2011.aspx (Accessed 24 January 2012)

- Change in state foreign born population from 2000-2008: U.S. Census Bureau (2007, Table 40)

- State population for 2005-2010: U.S. Census Bureau, http://www.census.gov/popest/data/ (Accessed 7 May 2012)

- GDP by state for 2005-2010 (2011 dollars, per capita calculated, then averaged): Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, http://www.bea.gov/regional/ (Accessed 7 May 2012)

- Squire's index of legislative professionalism in 2009: Squire (2012)

- Term limits for state legislators: National Conference of State Legislatures, http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/legisdata/chart-of-term-limits-states.aspx (Accessed 8 May 2012)

- Party control of state government for 2005-2011: An update of Klarner (2003), http://www.indstate.edu/polisci/klarnerpolitics.htm (Accessed 8 May 2012)

- Self-reported citizen ideology in 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2010:

  - Stephen Ansolabehere, 2006, "CCES Common Content, 2006", http://hdl.handle.net/1902.1/14002 UNF:5:e8T5hyF5eIr9EdyZvaqQWw== V3 [Version].

  - Stephen Ansolabehere (PI), 2007, "CCES Common Content, 2007", http://hdl.handle.net/1902.1/14078 V3 [Version].

– Stephen Ansolabehere, 2011-4-13, "CCES Common Content, 2008", http://hdl.handle.net/1902.1/14003 V4 [Version].

– Stephen Ansolabehere, 2010, "CCES Common Content, 2010", http://hdl.handle.net/1902.1/17705 V2 [Version].

– Notes: The electoral ideology measure replicates the measure from Erikson, Wright and McIver (1993), which subtracts the percentage of self-identified conservatives from the percentage of self-identified liberals across both the 2006 & 2008 surveys. I use the survey weights of the CCES in constructing this measure.

Table A.3: Counts of Immigration Laws by Tone and Scope, 2005-2011

	Welcoming				Hostile				
State	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	Tone
Alabama	5	2	1	0	7	17	2	6	-1.71
Alaska	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0.15
Arizona	9	8	6	1	5	9	15	17	-1.05
Arkansas	3	5	0	0	0	3	6	4	-1.07
California	49	21	13	1	2	10	2	1	1.41
Colorado	7	20	5	1	4	11	10	5	-0.14
Connecticut	1	6	5	0	0	0	1	0	1.98
Delaware	0	3	3	0	2	0	1	0	0.98
Florida	11	13	3	1	1	7	1	4	0.37
Georgia	32	8	4	1	1	7	12	8	-0.25
Hawaii	50	3	2	0	3	6	4	0	0.81
Idaho	3	4	1	1	2	4	5	1	-0.46
Illinois	43	12	14	1	1	7	5	3	0.97
Indiana	7	8	4	0	1	3	4	6	-0.20
Iowa	0	4	4	0	0	3	3	1	0.05
Kansas	0	7	1	0	1	5	5	1	-0.54
Kentucky	2	2	0	1	0	4	1	0	-0.09
Louisiana	7	6	1	1	2	5	5	1	-0.16
Maine	2	7	3	0	1	4	3	3	-0.18
Maryland	4	11	7	0	1	6	0	1	0.98
Massachusetts	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0.41
Michigan	12	9	7	0	2	5	3	2	0.55
Minnesota	2	3	2	1	0	2	5	0	-0.05
Mississippi	4	2	0	0	3	2	5	3	-1.36
Missouri	2	8	6	1	0	8	5	6	-0.31
Montana	0	3	1	1	1	3	1	2	-0.31
Nebraska	3	4	2	0	0	6	10	1	-0.96
Nevada	3	9	0	0	1	2	1	2	0.26
New Hampshire	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	1	0.20
New Jersey	3	4	3	0	0	0	1	0	1.66
New Mexico	10	4	2	1	4	2	1	1	0.59
New York	1	14	3	1	0	4	2	0	1.05
North Carolina	2	3	1	0	4	2	3	1	-0.61
North Dakota	2	8	1	1	2	2	1	1	0.62
Ohio	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.79
Oklahoma	5	4	2	0	2	8	6	6	-1.12
Oregon	4	7	0	1	0	6	5	2	-0.45
Pennsylvania	19	6	2	0	0	2	2	0	1.24
Rhode Island	35	7	0	0	0	2	2	0	1.51
South Carolina	7	2	0	1	3	5	11	12	-1.78
South Dakota	7	1	1	0	1	4	1	2	-0.48
Tennessee	8	3	4	1	4	7	7	5	-0.66
Texas	67	15	3	0	1	8	6	1	0.98
Utah	9	12	7	3	3	19	13	10	-0.59
Vermont	4	2	2	0	0	0	3	0	0.41
Virginia	23	17	7	2	2	15	10	6	0.00
Washington	23	15	8	1	0	3	3	1	1.41
West Virginia	2	3	0	0	0	5	1	2	-0.89
Wisconsin	10	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0.98
Wyoming	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	-0.69

Table A.4: Model of Net Immigrant Policy Tone, Substituting Legislative Ideology for Partisan Control (Posterior Summaries)

Input variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	[90% Cred. Int.]
Citizen ideology	0.039	0.016	[0.013, 0.065]
Legislative ideology	0.001	0.280	[-0.459, 0.461]
Per capita Gross State Product	0.026	0.012	[0.007, 0.045]
Term limits	-0.233	0.204	[-0.568, 0.103]
Change in foreign born population	-0.003	0.002	[-0.006,-0.001]
Legislative professionalism (square root)	1.446	0.843	[0.061, 2.826]
Intercept	-0.822	0.711	[-1.990, 0.344]
σ_c	0.261	0.106	[0.129, 0.477]
σ_h	0.533	0.102	[0.373, 0.675]
ψ	0.326	0.123	[0.181, 0.546]

Notes: $N = 50$, $DIC = 85.511$. Estimates computed with WinBUGS 1.4.3. Results based on a post burn-in MCMC sample of 270,000. The burn-in period was 10,000 iterations each on three chains. σ_c represents the standard deviation of clustering effects. σ_h represents the standard deviation of heterogeneous error.

A.2 Coding Rules for Significance of Laws

(4) Impacts residence: Laws designed to directly affect the number of foreign-born residents in a state, typically illegal immigrants. This category includes laws that either commission state and local authorities to enforce federal immigration law or specifically snub federal law by refusing to report immigration status to federal authorities. Also, laws that open or close a choke point such as eligibility for driving licenses or employability. Should driving licenses be granted regardless of immigration status or should these be restricted? Can a worker or employer be severely punished, via jail or revocation of business license, if an illegal immigrant is hired? Is the state recruiting outside workers?

(3) Large-scale effect: Laws that create general incentives or disincentives for any immigrant who may enter a state. These include providing or restricting benefits for legal or illegal immigrants, including legislation regarding naturalization programs, worker's comp coverage, retirement, higher education funding, or bilingual provisions. This also includes smaller provisions in deportation, employment or licensing laws. Such smaller provisions may include requiring or restricting immigration status verification by employers, making small changes in ease of getting a driving license, and screening arrested persons for immigration status.

(2) Small-scale effect: Laws that create incentives or disincentives, but which likely will apply only to a small subgroup of potential immigrants, such as professionals from a specific field, those who may work for a public contractor, asylees, or trafficking victims. These laws might speak to job eligibility or benefit eligibility for the people in these small groups, or may penalize non-immigrants whose behavior on behalf of these groups is outlawed (i.e., employers of illegal immigrants, traffickers, or smugglers). Also, laws related to matters less central to immigrants' lives, such as

voting, professional licenses, gun licenses, property rights, and specified immigrant protection (such as regulating matchmaking services or notarios) fit here. Implementing laws also belong here (i.e., delivering federal funds or developing protocols to deliver services).

(1) Symbolic: Symbolic laws that make an issue statement to Congress, request another branch of government to take action, launch a study or task force, or affirm a principle (such as a commitment to cultural heritage, requesting that employers hire legal persons, or declaring English as a state's official language). Many of these symbolic measures are joint resolutions.

A.3 WinBUGS Replication Code

The following code was used to estimate the model reported in Table 2 in the article:

```
#MODEL
model {
for (i in 1:N) {
immig0511[i]~dnorm(muY[i],tau.h)
muY[i]<-constant+beta[1]*pubIdeolCCES[i]+beta[2]*repUnif[i]+beta[3]*demUnif[i]+
     beta[4]*pcgsp1000[i]+beta[5]*termLimits[i]+beta[6]*changeForeign[i]+
     beta[7]*sqrtProf[i]+phi[i]
sqrtProf[i]<-sqrt(squireProfess[i])
unused[i]<-ID[i]+multicultural[i]+demhouse0511[i]+demsen0511[i]+demgov0511[i]+
     immig0508[i]+unemployment[i]+pctForeign[i]+bilingual[i]+immlicense[i]+
     tuition[i]+verify[i]+immOpin[i]+pubIdeolEWM[i]+legIdeol[i]
}

phi[1:N]~car.normal(adj[], weights[], num[], tau.c)

for (i in 1:7) {beta[i] ~ dnorm(0.0,0.001)}
constant~dnorm(0.0,0.001)

tau.h~dgamma(1.0E-3,1.0E-3)
tau.c~dgamma(1.0E-1,1.0E-1)

sd.h <- 1 / sqrt(tau.h) #marginal SD of heterogeneity effects
sd.c <- sd(phi[])   #marginal SD of clustering (spatial) effects

alpha <- sd.c / (sd.h + sd.c) #relative clustering
}

#INITIAL VALUES AND DATA ARE AVAILABLE ON THE AUTHOR'S DATAVERSE
```