

Surveying Immigrants and Immigration 2

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BIMI Summer Institute



Survey Primer

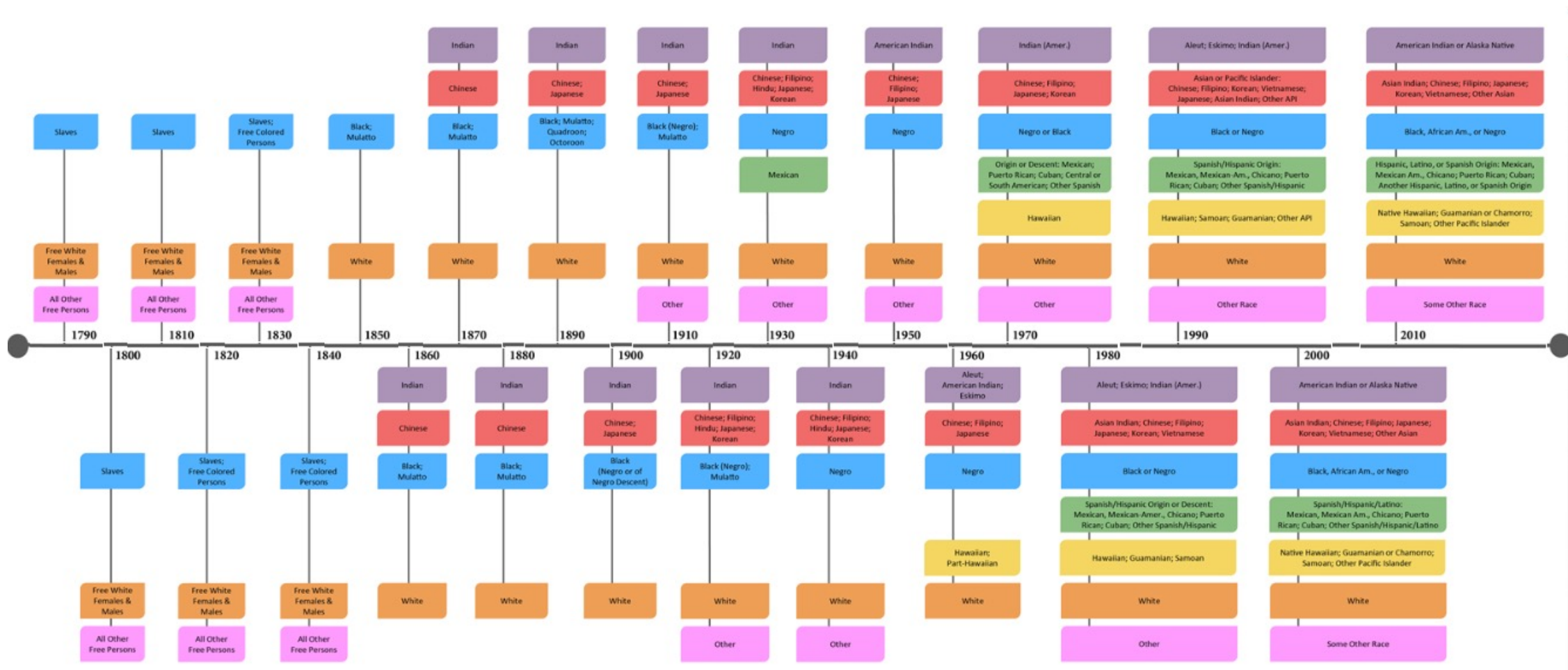
Sampling:
Polling AAPIs

Polling and
Immigration

Sampling: Wild Wild
West of Online Polling

Measurement:
Race / Ethnicity

Racial Classification, 1790-2010



Classification Past and Present

[The Census Bureau should be] the greatest statistical laboratory of the United States government, worth to rank with the best statistical offices maintained by European governments

Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1902)

“By 2050, today’s racial and ethnic categories may no longer be in use.”

Migration News (2006)

[Census racial classification is] “less well grounded in science than any other population characteristic measured by the nation's statistical agencies ...”

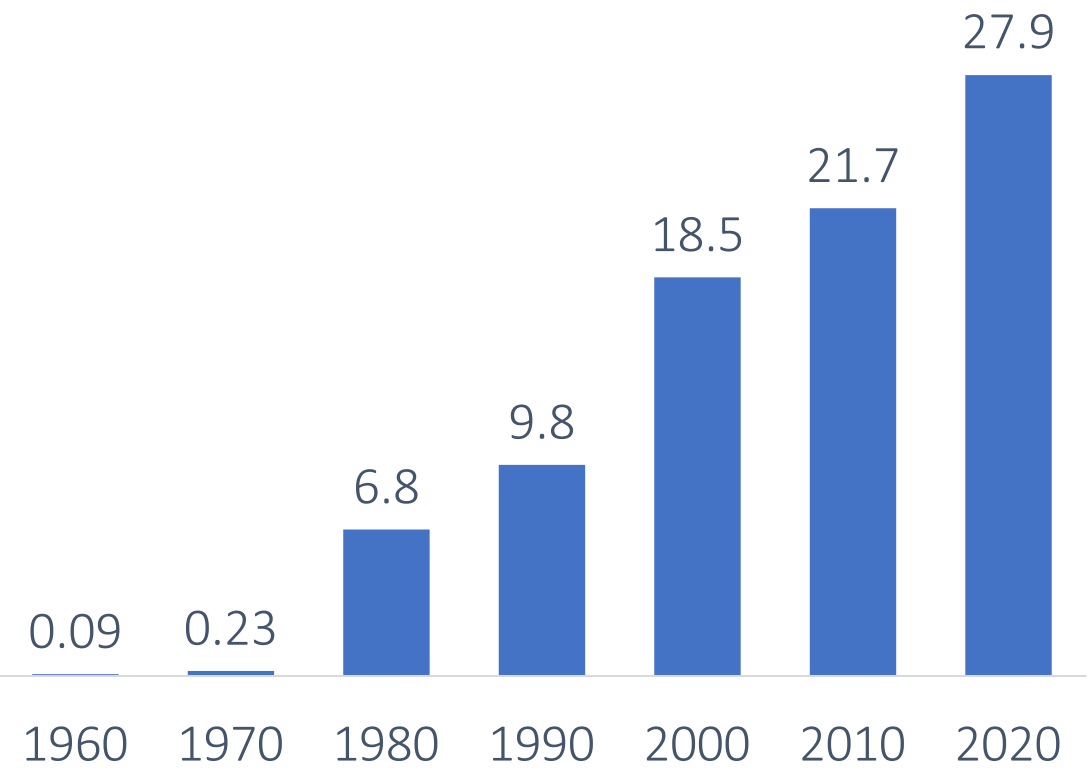
Kenneth Prewitt (2003)

Competing Constraints in Classification

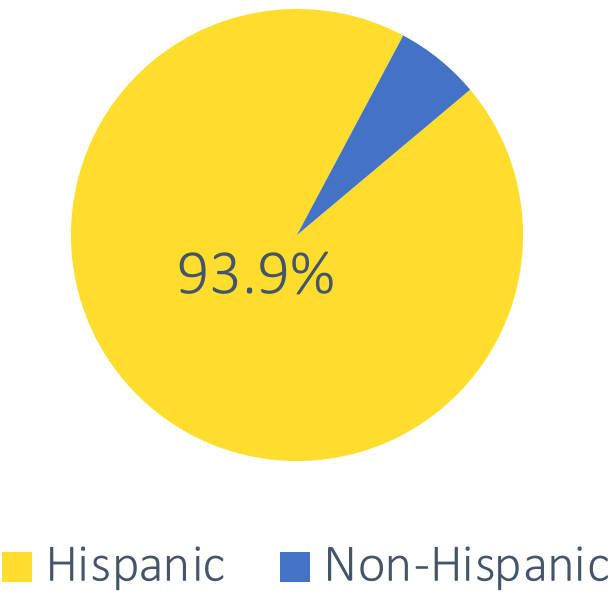
- Accurate enumeration (instrumental, objective)
 - Race and census undercounts, disaggregation, "other race"
- Full representation (intrinsic, subjective)
 - Movement activism and multiracial identity, MENA, race/ethnicity

Measurement Validity: “Some Other Race”

“Some other race” in millions



“Other race” by ethnicity (2020)



Parallel Tension in Social Surveys

“What is your race?” (ANES 1948)

Q. 2. RACE OF RESPONDENT
.....
585 1. WHITE
60 2. NEGRO
0 3. OTHER

“What racial or ethnic groups best describes you?” (ANES 2008)

10	10. Black	176
20	20. Asian	29
30	30. Native American	12
40	40. Hispanic	75
50	50. White (no mention of other race)	861
70	70. Other	51

“How close do you feel to ... [COUNTRY]” ISSP National Identity Survey

What is your nationality? (Eurobarometer)

Which of the following best describes you? (World Values)

Competing Constraints in Classification

- Accurate enumeration (instrumental, objective)
 - Race and census undercounts, disaggregation, "other race"
- Full representation (intrinsic, subjective)
 - Movement activism and multiracial identity, MENA, race/ethnicity

Is the current state of ethno-racial classification and measurement bad science or good politics, or something else? Are these aims incommensurable or can we have both?

Multiple Measurement Approaches

- **Self-classified race:** "What do you consider your race or ethnicity?" [Mark one or more boxes.] [IF MORE THAN ONE] "Even if they are all important, which of these would you consider your primary race or ethnicity, if you had to choose one?"
- **Visible race:** "As you know, human beings display a wide variety of physical characteristics, one of these is skin color. Displayed in the image is a skin color scale that ranges from 1 (representing the lightest skin color) to 10 (representing the darkest skin color). The 10 shades of skin color are represented by a hand of identical form but differing in color. Please indicate which hand depicted comes closest to your own skin color. "



Source: Agadjanian,
Davenport, Lee

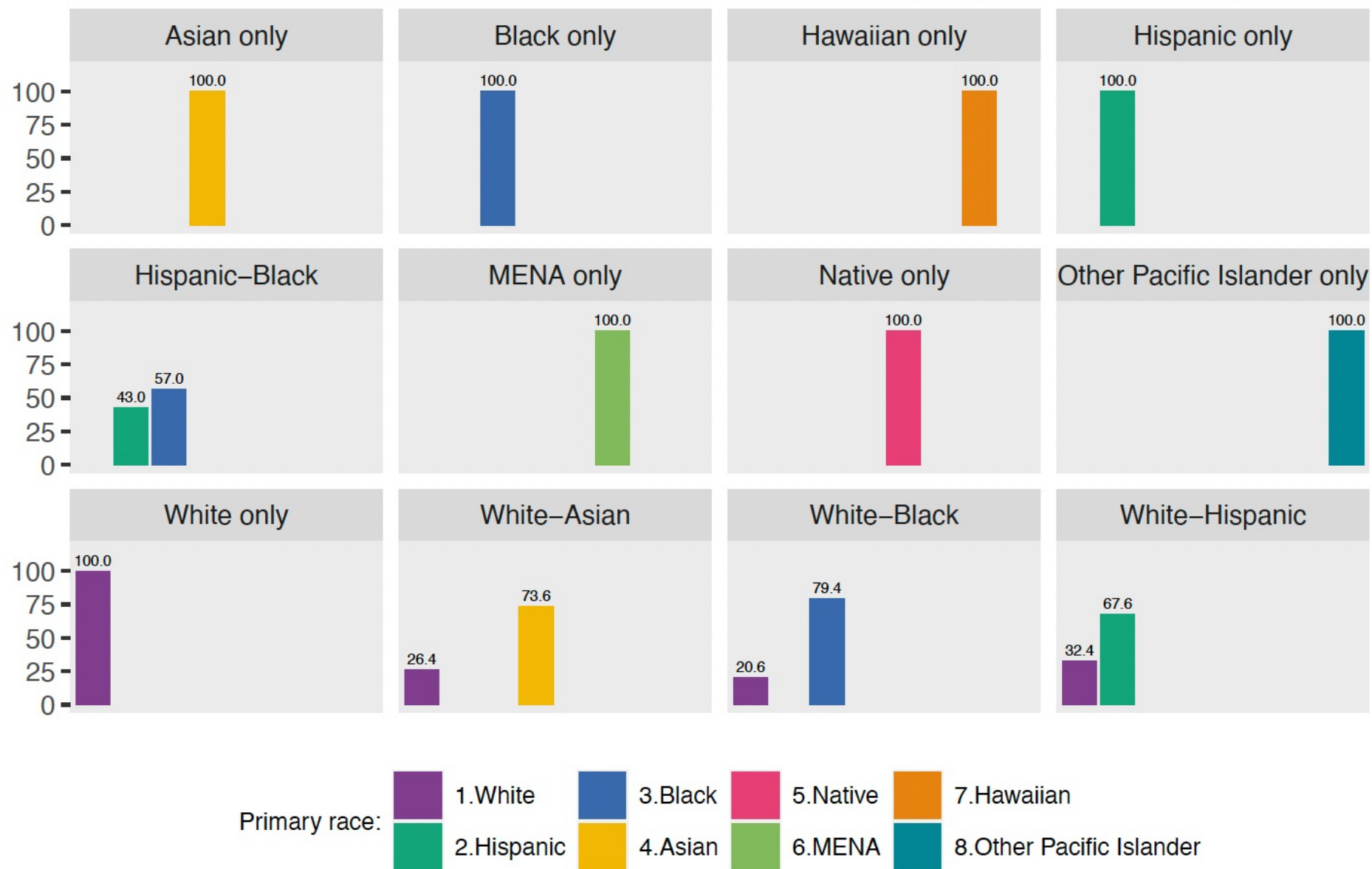
Multiple Measurement Approaches

- **Ascribed race:** "If you were walking down the street, what race do you think other Americans who do not know you personally would assume you were based on what you look like?"
- **Familial race:** "What is the race of your biological mother?" [Mark one or more boxes.]
"What is the race of your biological father?" [Mark one or more boxes.]
- **Allocational race:** "When we think of people in racial or ethnic terms, we usually use the labels White, Black Latino, Asian American Indian, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander or Middle Eastern. Sometimes one label is sufficient and sometimes we use more than one racial or ethnic label. Imagine if we used a 10 point system to define our race and ethnicity, where the 10 points are assigned to whichever racial or ethnic groups we think accurately describes a person. [SPLIT SAMPLE SCENARIOS] Now think of yourself in racial and ethnic terms. How would you describe your race and ethnicity using this 10-point system?"

A Different Measurement Approach

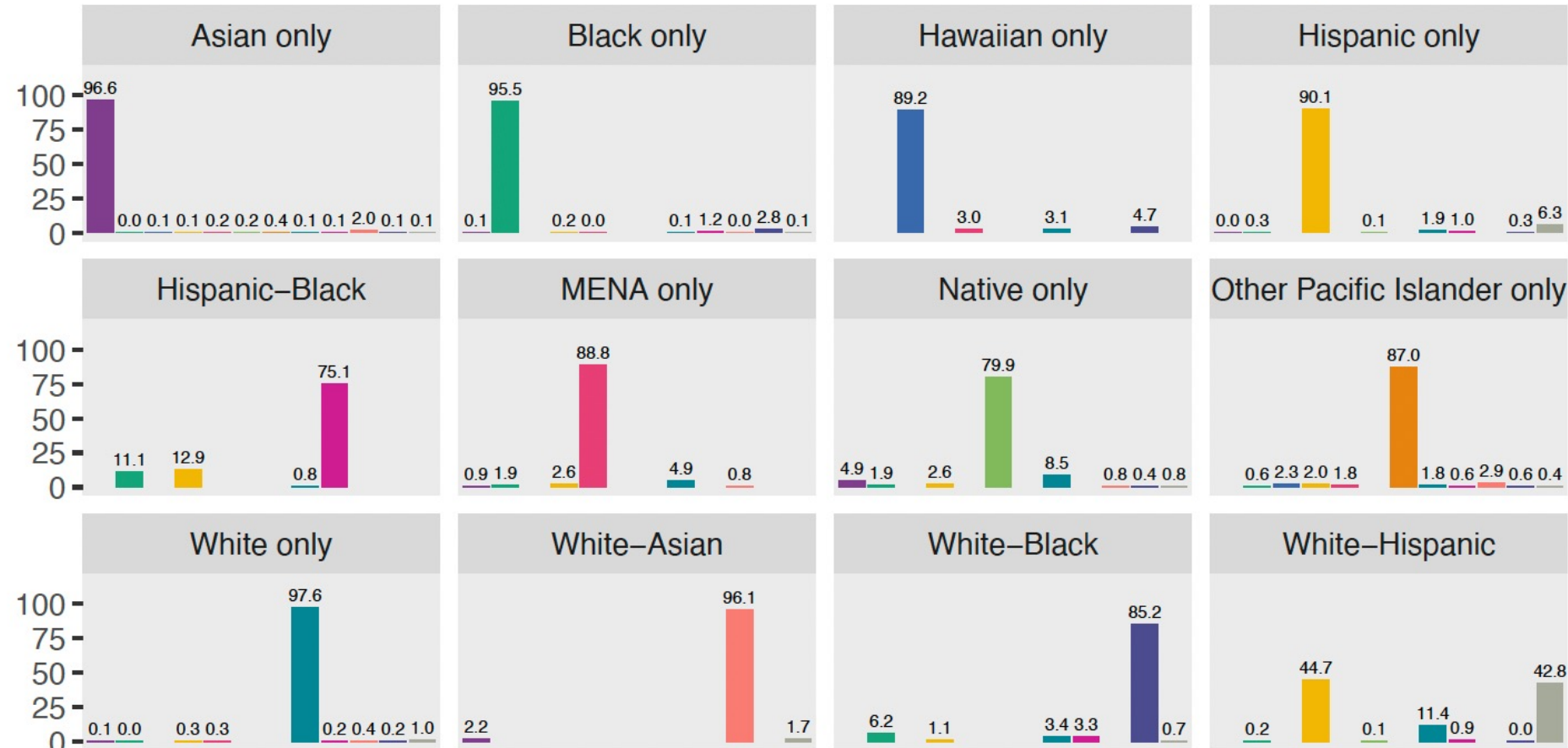
- **Singularity constraint**
 - Assumes all i can choose just one.
 - Shifts from “choose one” to “mark one or more”
- **Equivalency constraint**
 - Assumes “Black_A” and “Black_B” equal w.r.t. identification
 - Assumes “Black_A” and “White_B” opposite w.r.t. identification
 - Allows individuals to weight the strength of their identification
- **Alternative solution:** cumulative voting, or weighted balloting
 - Allows individual choice to be multiple and weighted between candidates or racial/ethnic groups.

Primary race distribution, by self-classified race (weighted averages)



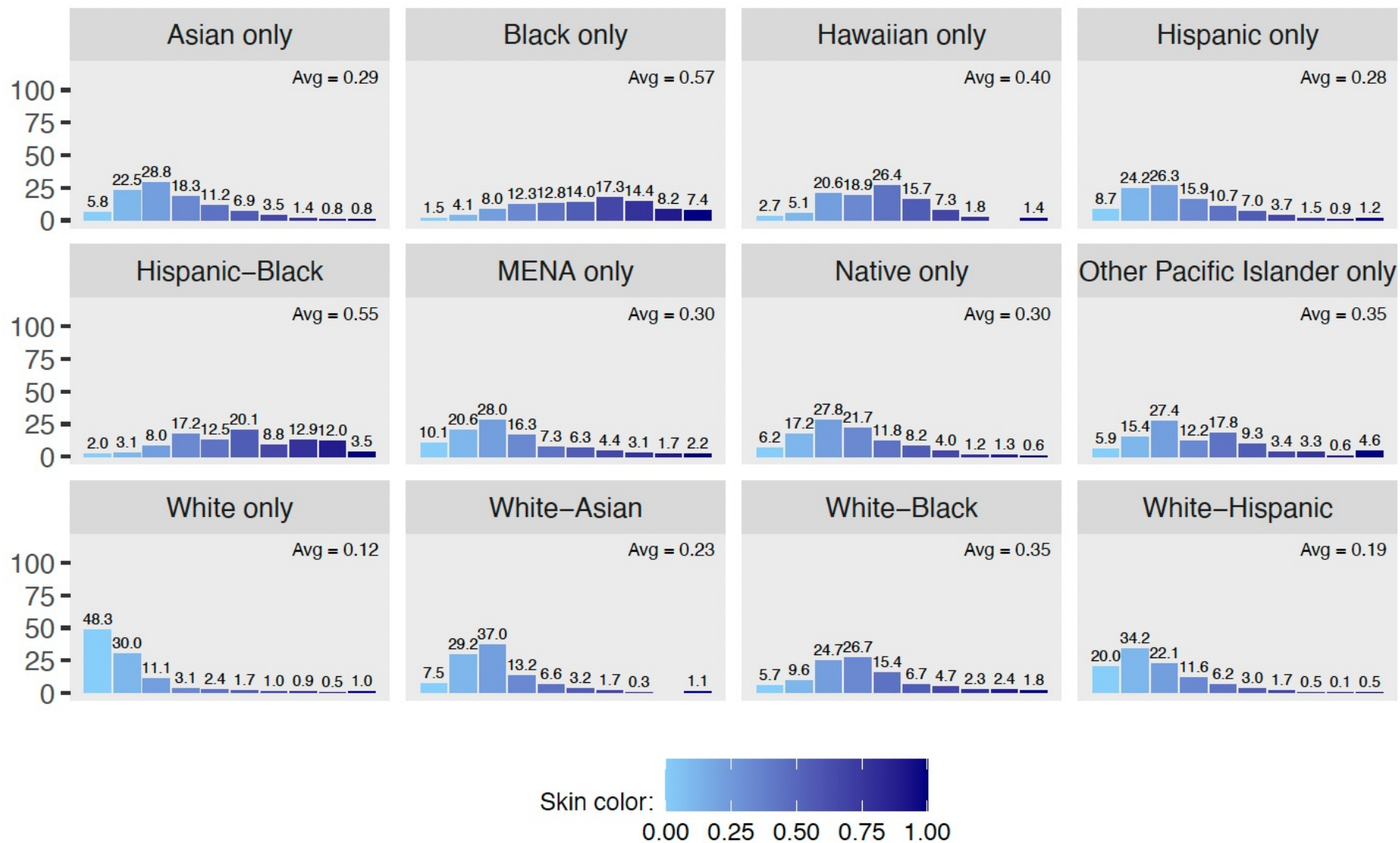
Source: Agadjanian,
Davenport, Lee

Parent race distribution, by self-classified race (weighted averages)

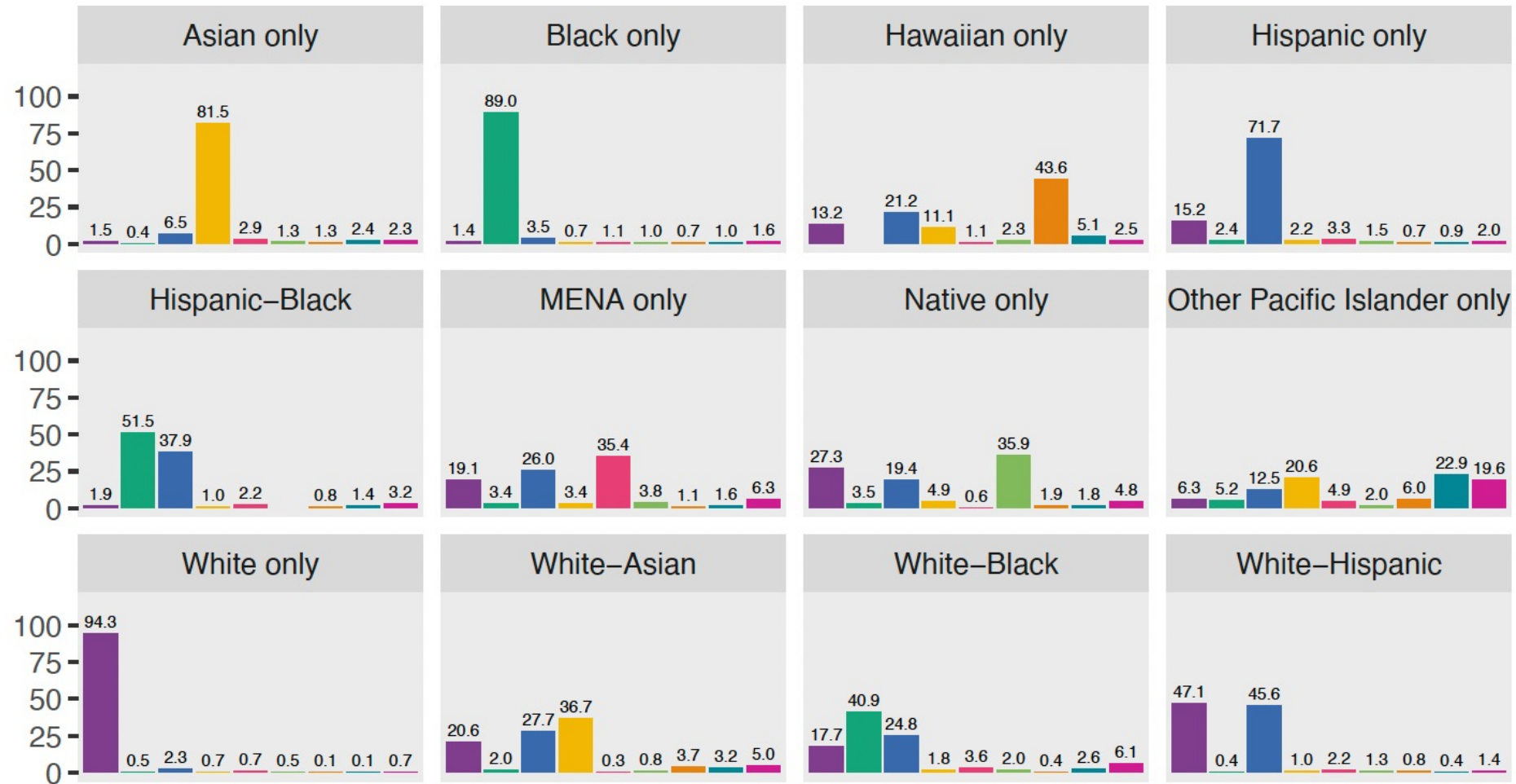


Source: Agadjanian, Davenport, Lee

Phenotype distribution (light to dark skin), by self-classified race (weighted averages)

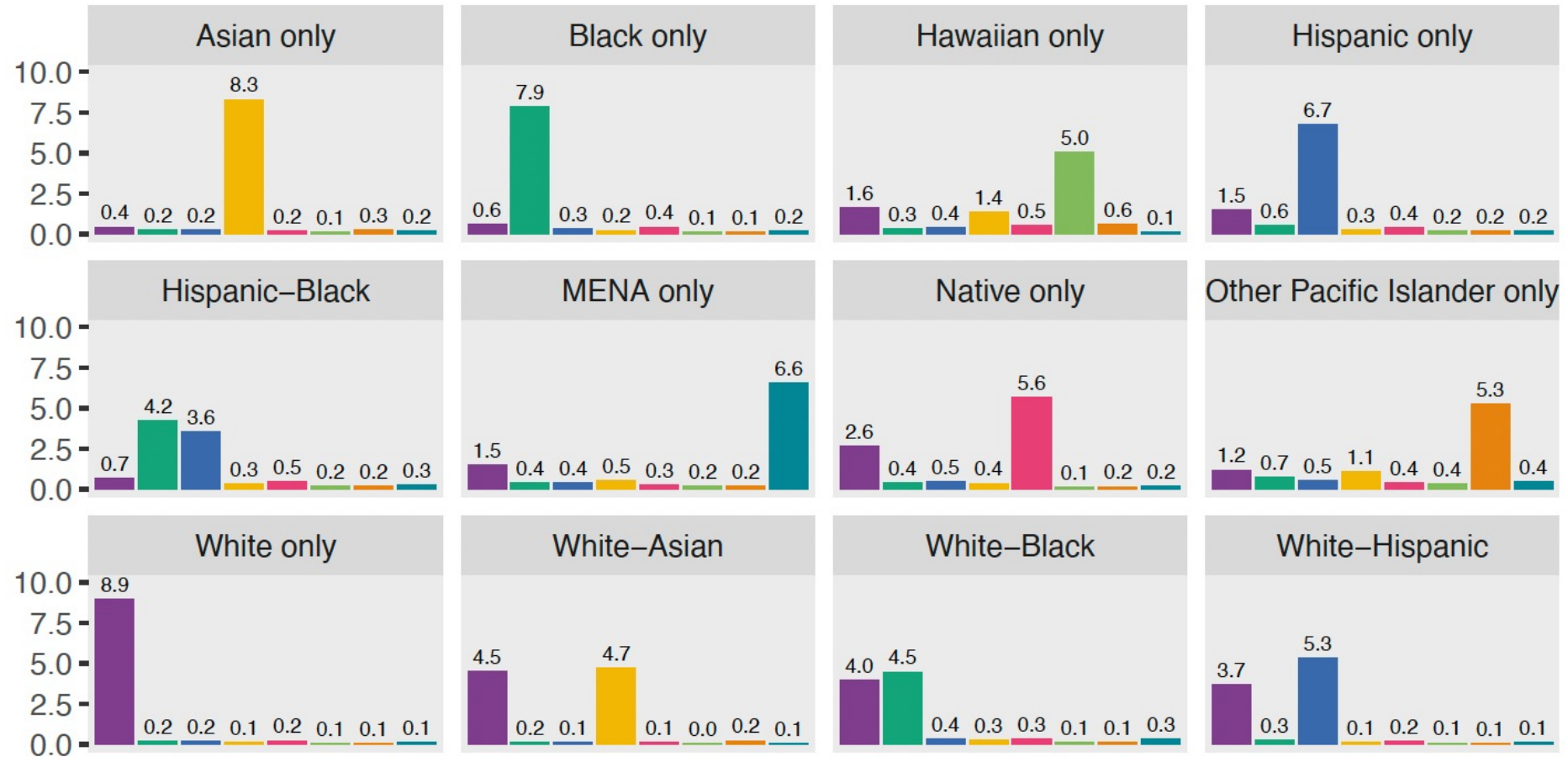


Reflected race distribution, by self-classified race (weighted averages)



Source: Agadjanian,
Davenport, Lee

Identity point allocations, by self-classified race (weighted averages)

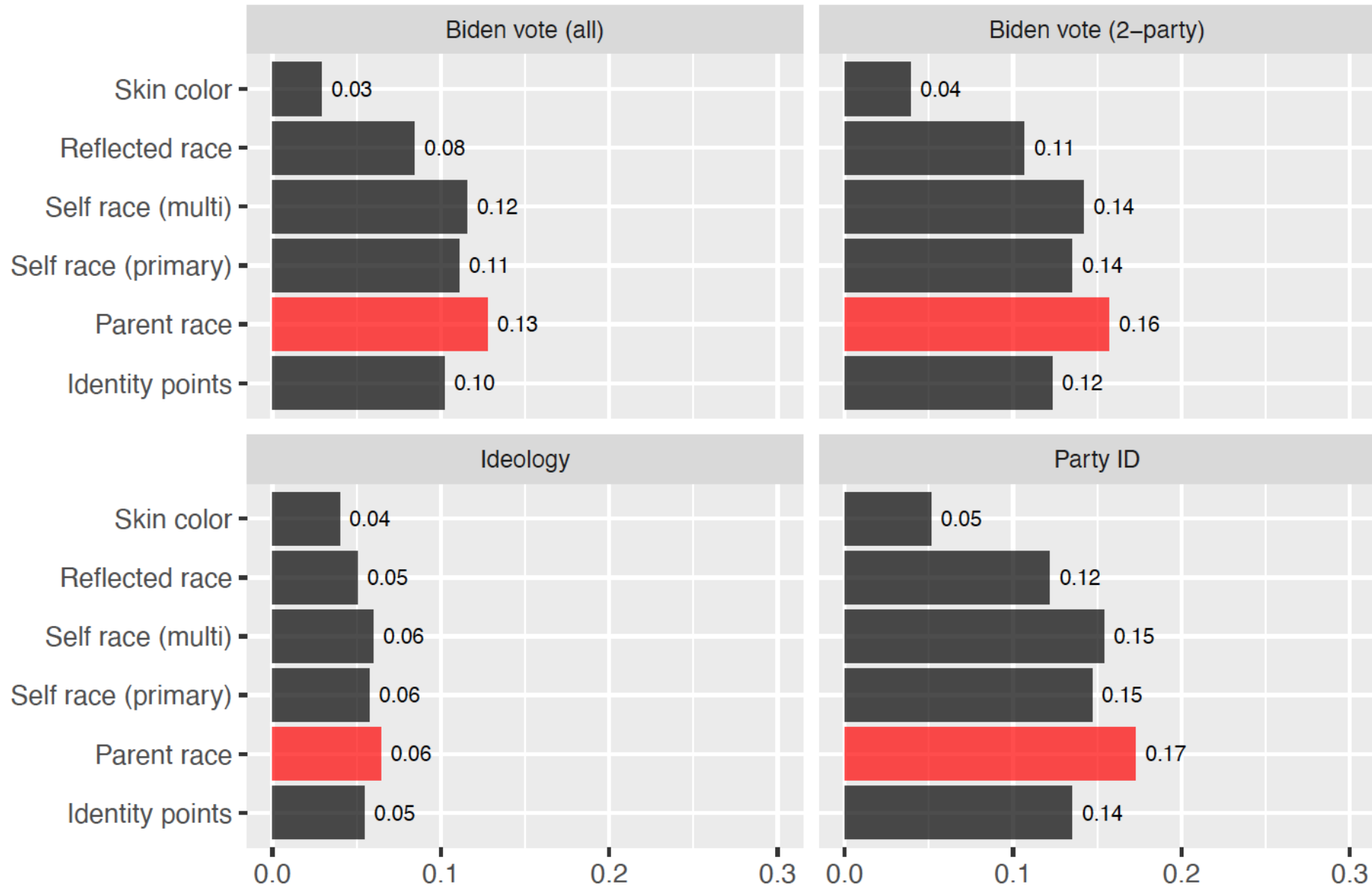


Point average for:



Source: Agadjanian,
Davenport, Lee

R-squared values by measure and outcome



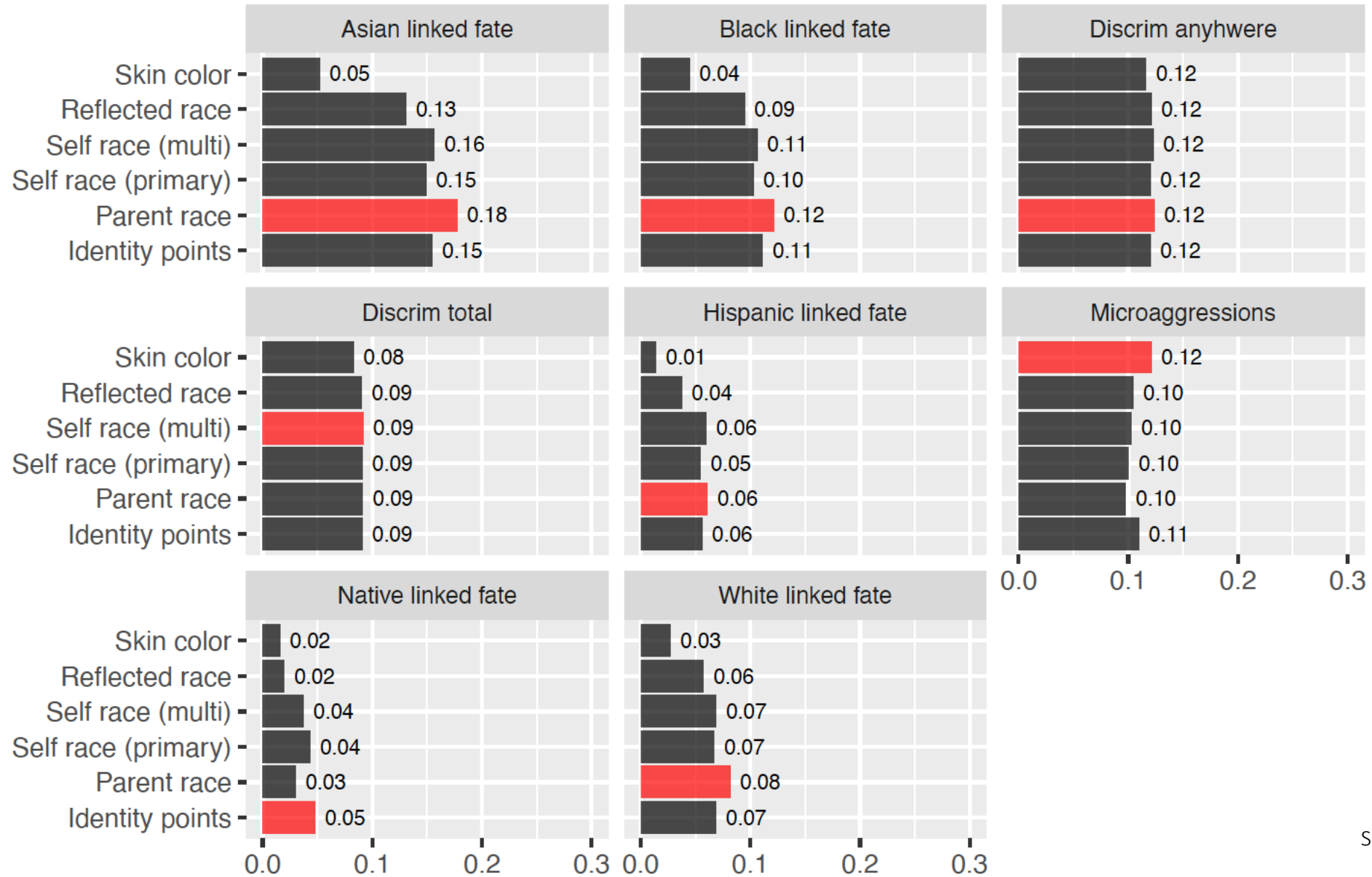
Source: Agadjanian,
Davenport, Lee

R-squared values by measure and outcome



Source: Agadjanian,
Davenport, Lee

R-squared values by measure and outcome



Source: Agadjanian,
Davenport, Lee

An aerial photograph of a steep, green mountain slope. A light-colored, paved road winds through the landscape in a series of sharp, hairpin turns. The road is bordered by low stone walls. The surrounding terrain is covered in dense green vegetation, with some rocky patches visible. The lighting suggests a bright, sunny day, with shadows cast across the mountain's surface. Overlaid on the image are several red, rounded rectangular callouts with white text, and one yellow callout with black text. The callouts are arranged in a vertical sequence from top to bottom, following the curve of the road. The yellow callout is on the left side, while the others are on the right side.

Survey Primer

**Sampling:
Polling AAPIs**

**Polling and
Immigration**

**Sampling: Wild Wild
West of Online Polling**

**Measurement:
Discrimination**

**Measurement:
Race / Ethnicity**

Motivation

→ What is "Asian American"?

- Answer 1: Yellow = White. Model minority, assimilationist view.
- Answer 2: Yellow = Black. Racialized minority, racial formation view.

→ Empirical implications: everyday experience of race

- Racial invisibility + upward mobility → self-identification as "American"
- Racial salience + segmented assimilation → self-ID as hyphenated-American
- Variants: racial triangulation, middleman minority

→ Standard measure of racial salience:

- Self-report of experience of discrimination

Theory

- Self-reports of discrimination are open to measurement error:
 - General issues with self-report
 - Inter-group comparison of "yes" and "no"
 - Specific to AAPIs: immigrant incorporation as source of error
- Self-reports also often used to instrument for everyday experience
- Self-report as exogenous shock vs as proxy are observationally equivalent.
- Implication: compare self-reported discrimination to alternative, more direct measures of everyday experiences.

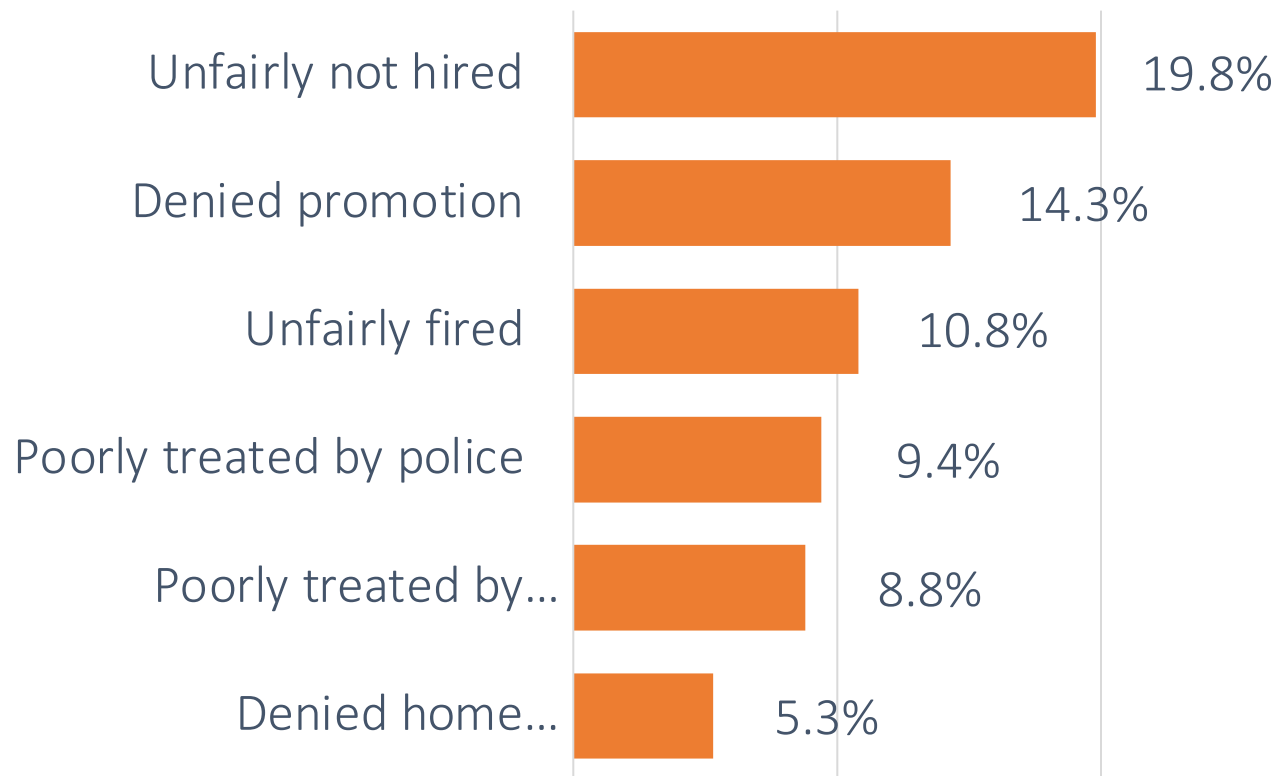
Multiple Indicators of Racial Salience

- **Major discrimination events:** focal events that mark difference and structural barriers to mobility
- **Micro-aggression:** daily reminders of difference and group boundaries (micro-assaults, micro-insults, micro-invalidations)
- **Intra-racial and inter-racial social contact:** daily reminders of commonality or difference, shared experiences and narratives
- **Everyday experience of hardship:** non-racial stressors that may cumulatively contribute to a sense of difference

Major Discrimination Events

Q: "Next we would like to ask you about some important ways that some people have been treated poorly or unfairly. Have you ever been ..."

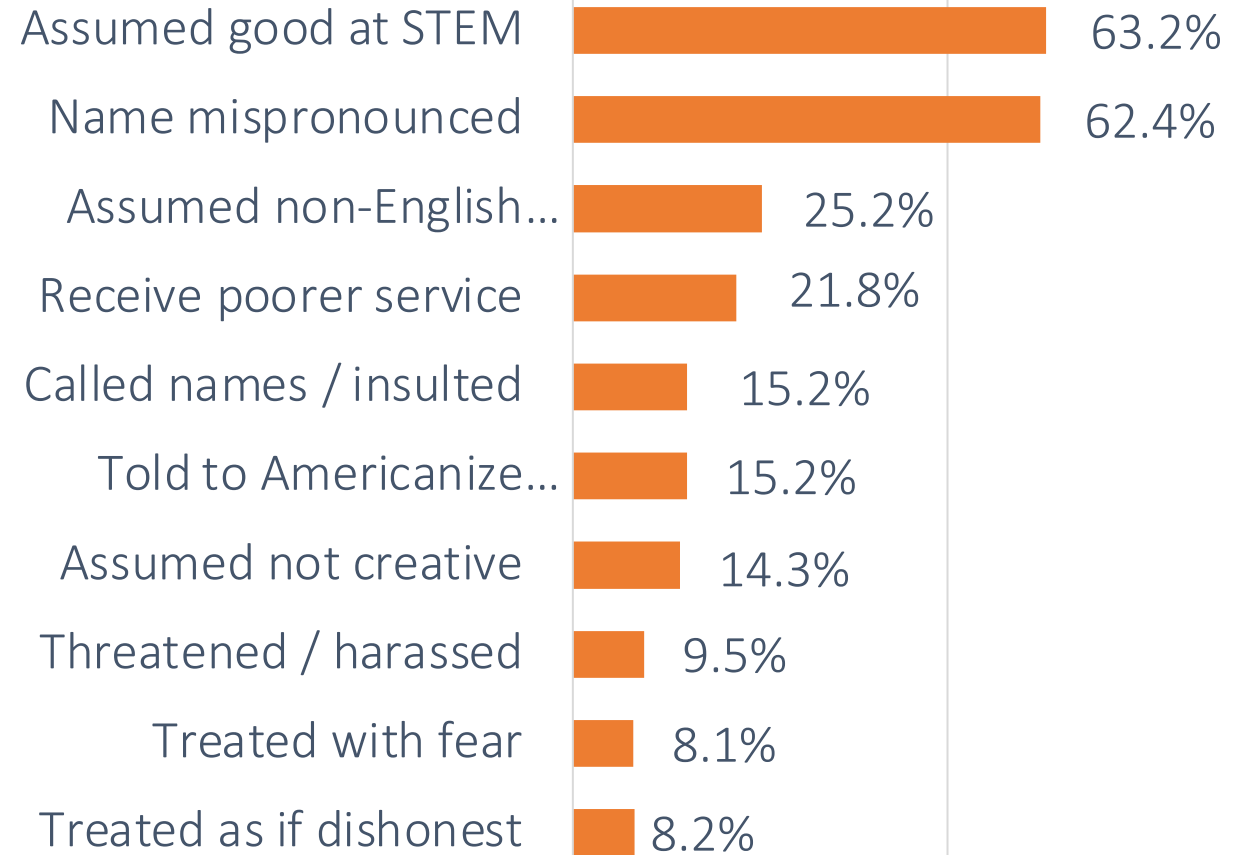
37% of Asian Americans experienced at least one major discrimination event.



Micro-Aggressions

Q: "We are interested in the way you have been treated in day to day encounters with strangers in the United States. In an average month, do any of the following things happen to you?"

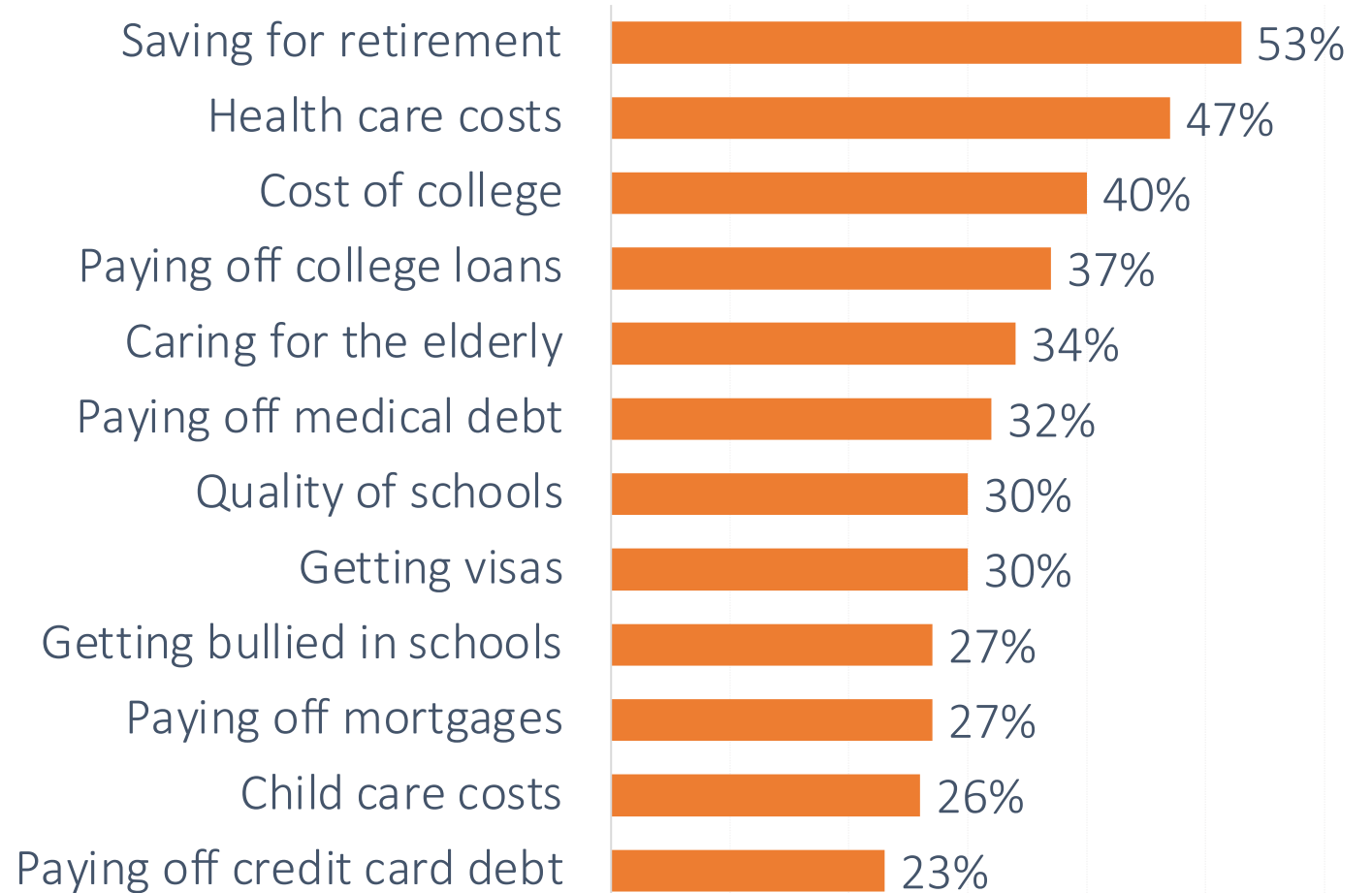
86% of Asian Americans report at least one experience of micro-aggression monthly.



Non-Racial Hardships

Q: “Here are some issues that other people have mentioned as challenges they face. Please tell me how serious each is for you and your family” (% “fairly” or “very” serious reported)

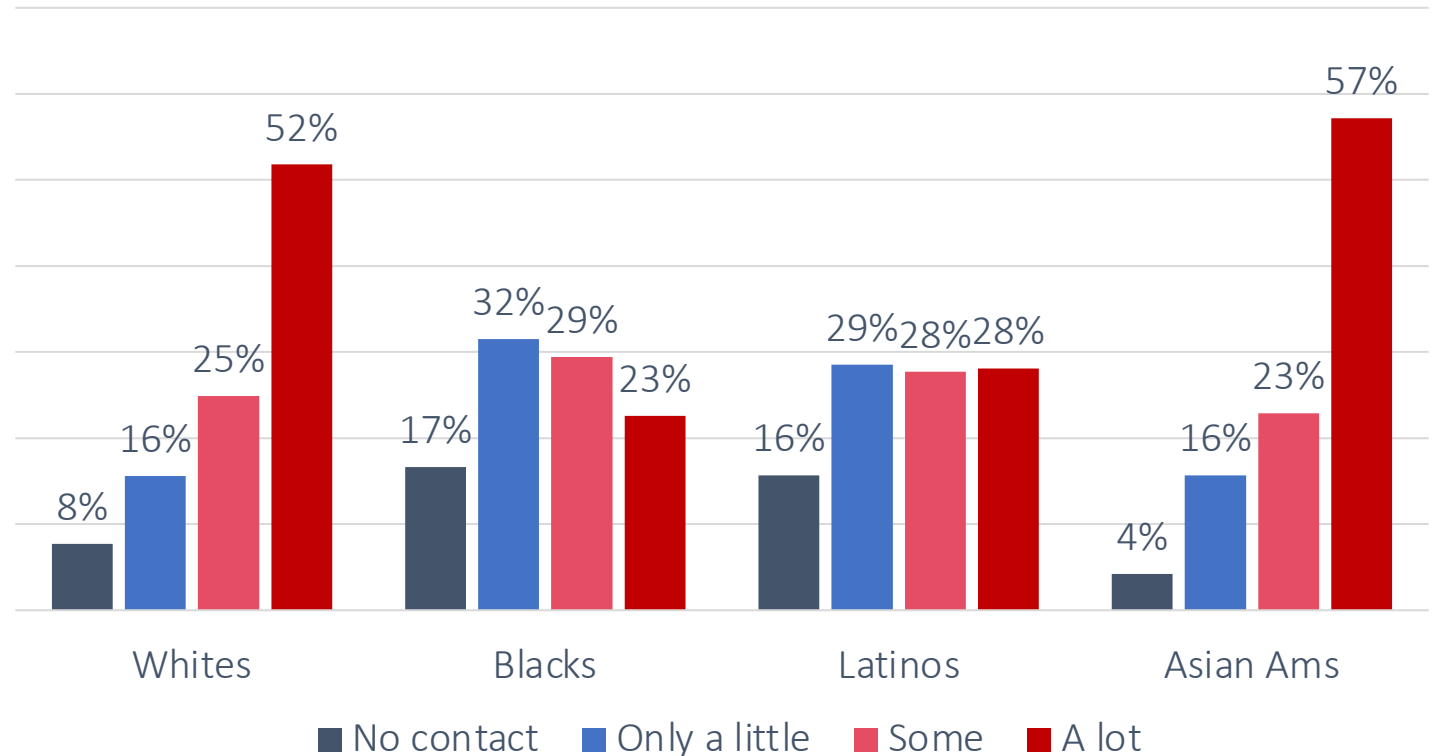
Among Asian Americans, 80% experienced at least one “fairly” or “very” serious challenge.



Social Contact

Q: "In your daily life, how much contact do you, personally, have with people who are... White, Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Asian or Asian-American."

Contact highest with other Asian Americans; next highest with Whites.



Model Specification

"Asian American" = α +

$\beta_1 \times$ age +

$\beta_2 \times$ education +

$\beta_3 \times$ income +

$\beta_4 \times$ gender +

$\beta_5 \times$ nativity +

$\beta_6 \times$ years in the US if foreign-born +

$\beta_7 \times$ ethnic/national origin sub-groups +

$\beta_8 \times$ major discrimination events scale +

$\beta_9 \times$ micro-aggression scale +

$\beta_{10} \times$ everyday hardship scale +

$\beta_{11} \times$ social contact

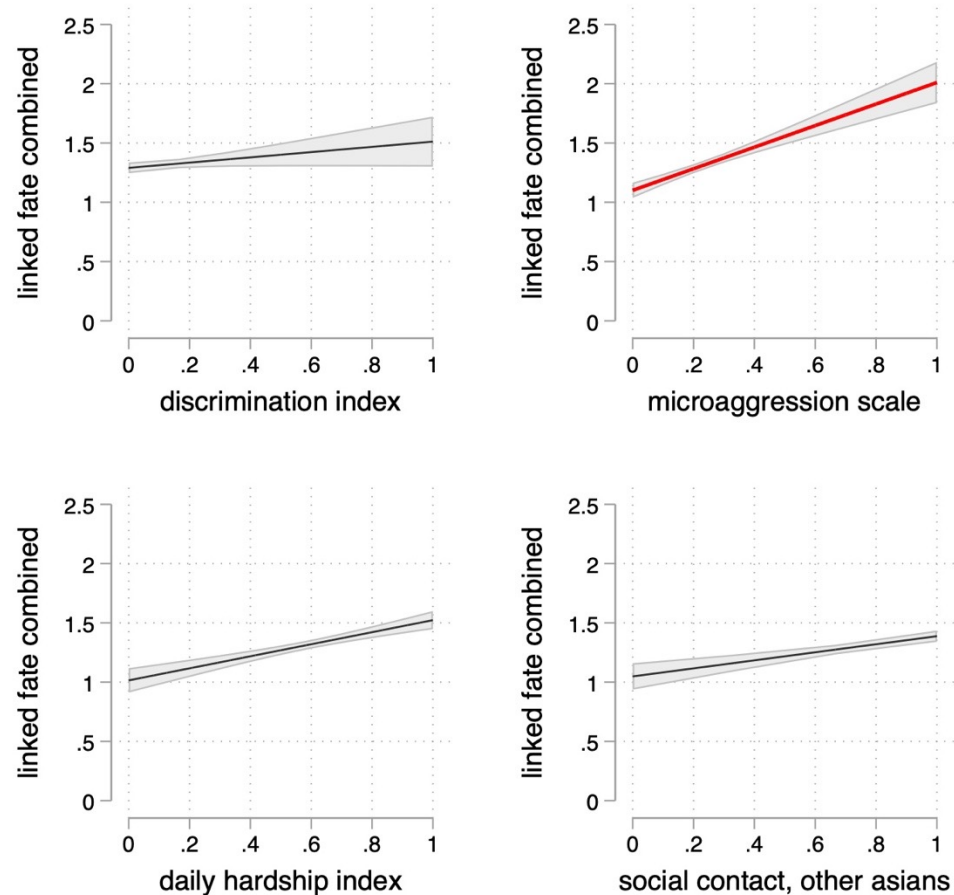
measures of "Asian American"*

- ID labels: "Asian American," "American," ethnic, ethnic-American
- ID salience: panethnic and ethnic
- Linked fate: panethnic and ethnic
- In-group commonality: race, culture, economics, politics
- Out-group political commonality: Latinx, African Americans

* all RHS variables scaled to 0-1

Linked Fate

Linked Fate Orientation and Everyday Experiences, Asians

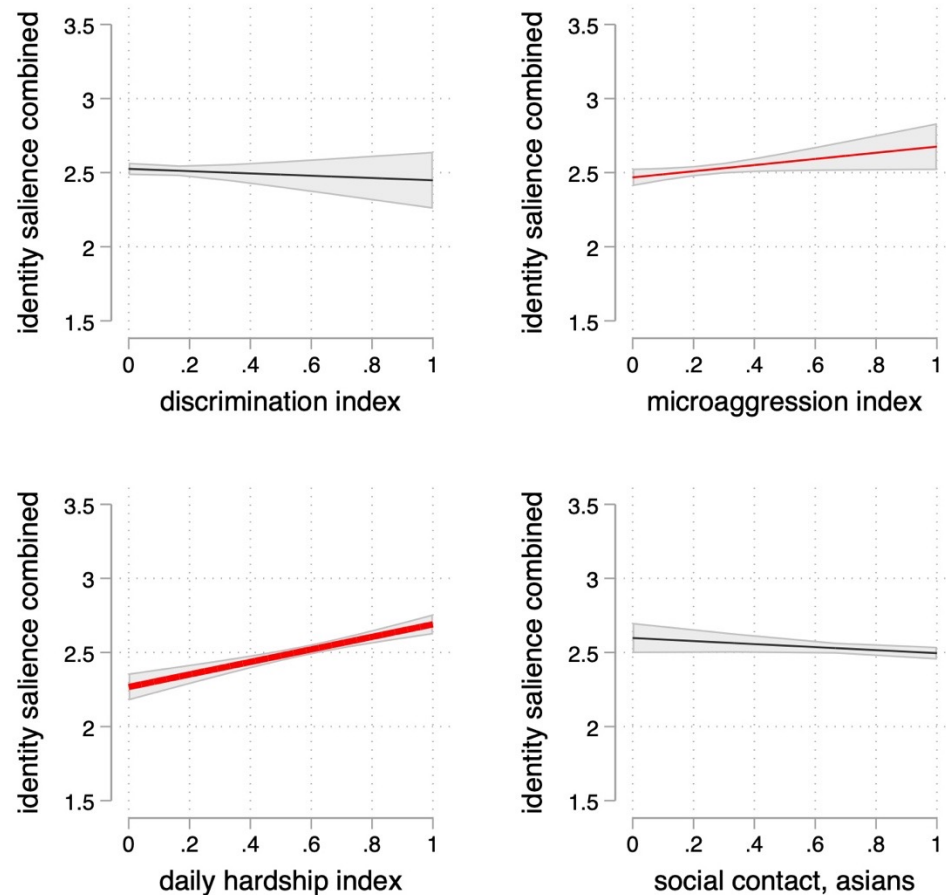


Do you think what happens generally to other [Asian Americans / R-Ethnic-Americans] in this country affects what happens in your life?

For Asian Americans reported experiences of being microaggressed are the single strongest association with a high linked fate orientation.

Identity Salience

Racial Identity Salience and Everyday Experiences, Asians

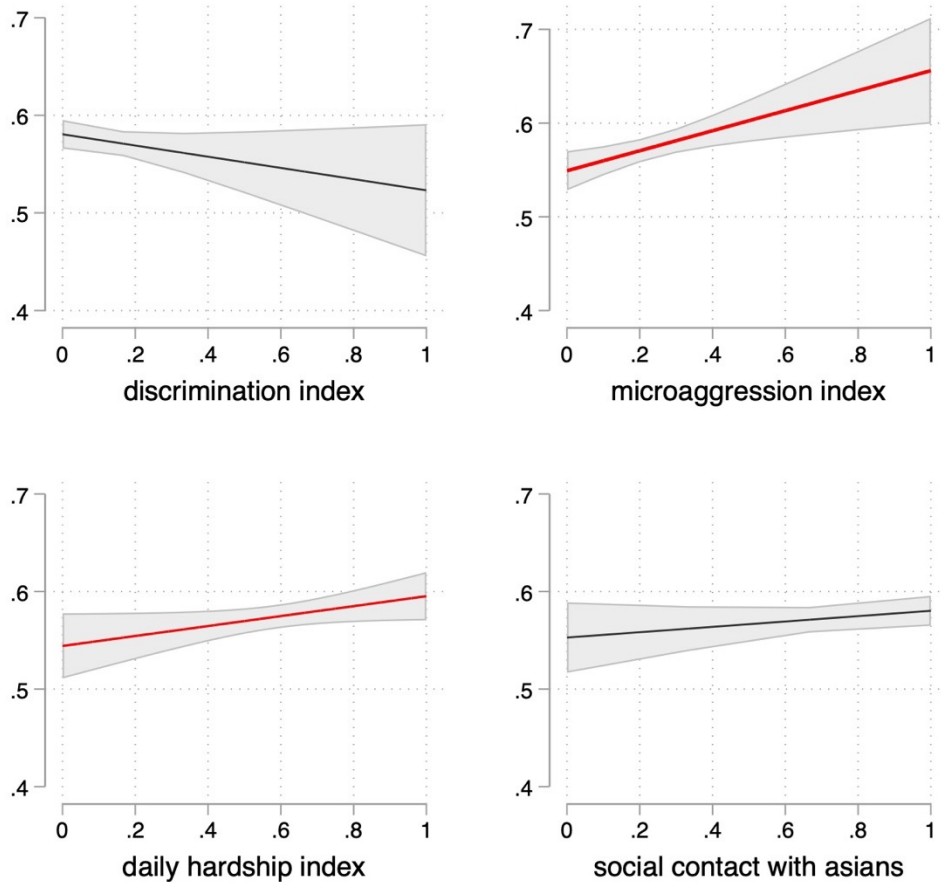


How important is being [Asian Americans / R-Ethnic-Americans] to your identity?

Daily challenges and reported experiences of being microaggressed are significantly associated with the salience of ethnicity and race to one's identity.

In-group Commonality

Basis of Commonality and Everyday Experiences

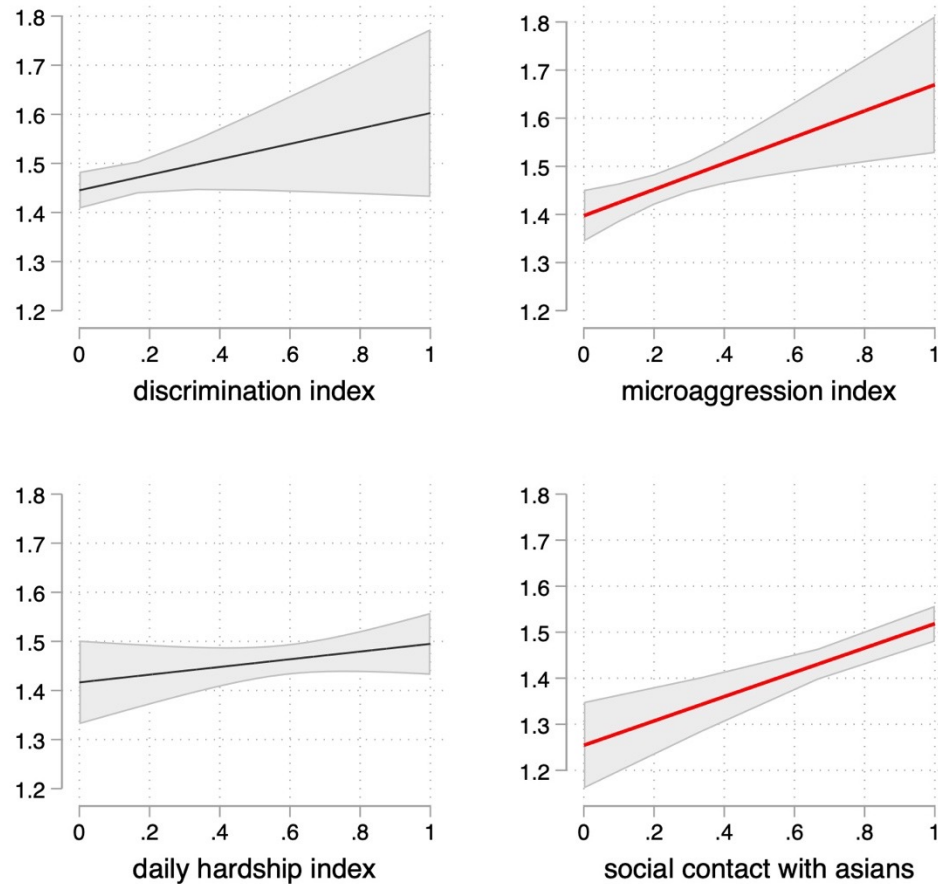


What, if anything, do Asian Americans share with one another? Would you say they share ... a common race ... a common culture ... common economic interests ... common political interests?

Reported experiences of being microaggressed and daily challenges AAPs face are significantly associated with perceptions of in-group commonality as Asian American. (composite in-group commonality index)

Out-group Commonality

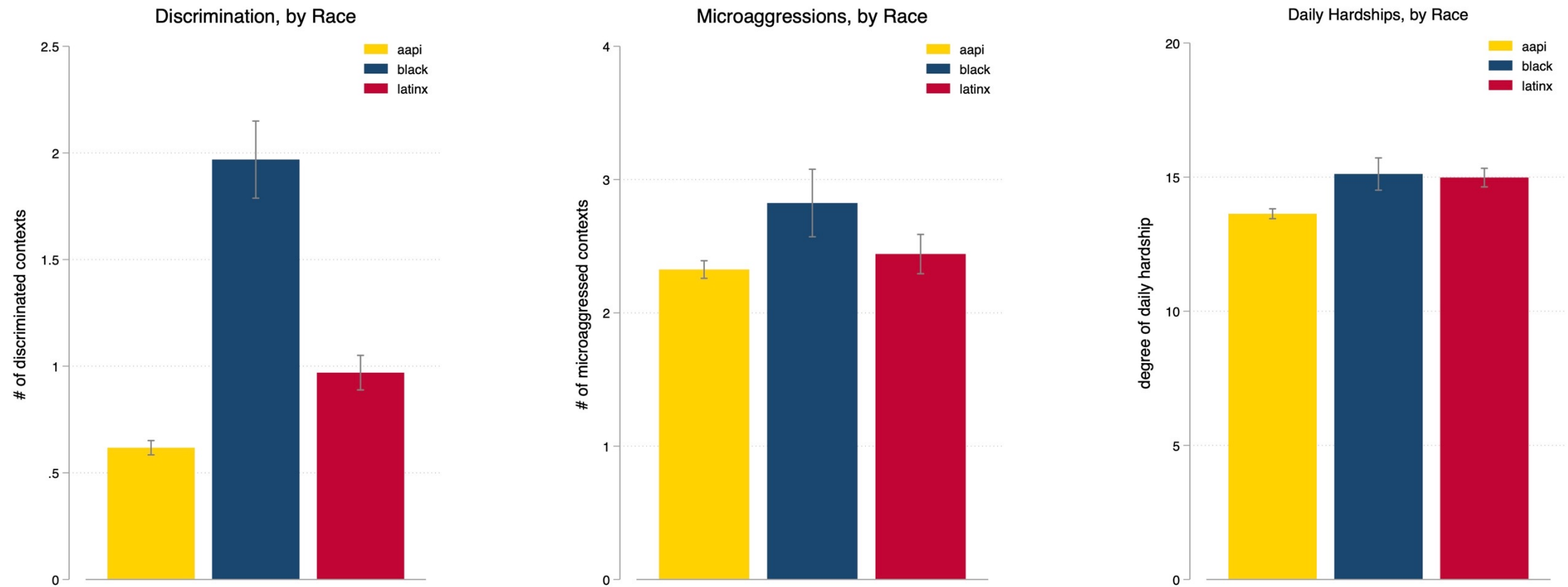
BIPOC Political Commonality and Everyday Experiences



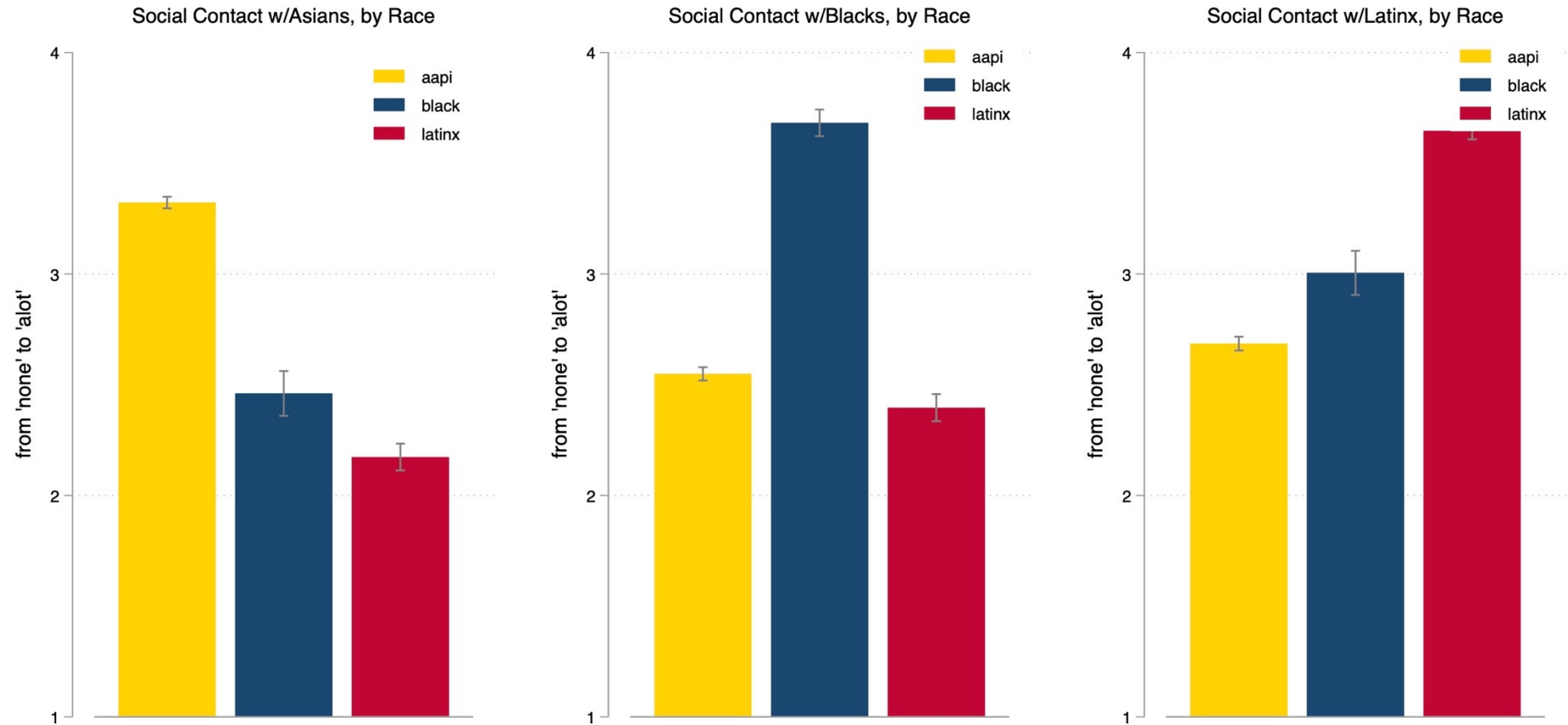
Thinking about government services, political power and representation, would you say Asian Americans have a lot in common, some, little, or nothing at all in common with ... ?

Reported experiences of being microaggressed and social contact *with other Asian Americans* are significantly associated with perceived political commonality with African Americans and Latinx.

Descriptive Comparisons



Descriptive Comparisons

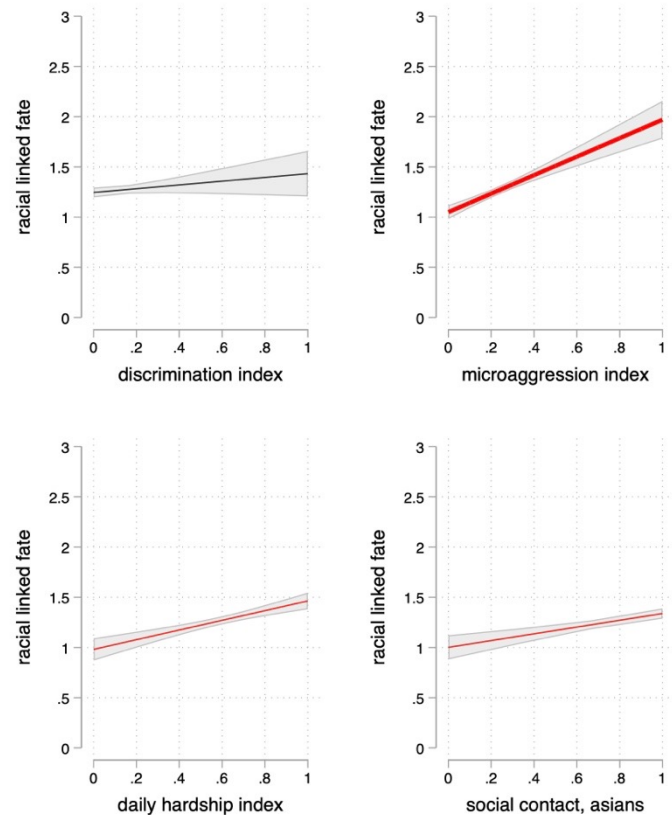


Linked Fate

Microaggression experiences are especially important for AAPI linked fate, whereas discrimination experiences are especially key for Blacks and Latinx linked fate. (Daily hardships important for all three groups.

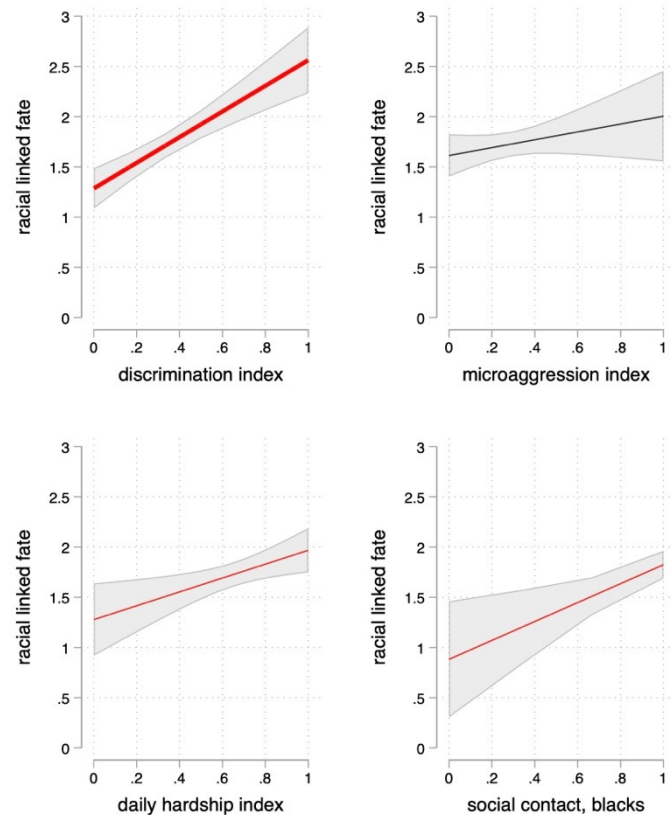
Asian Americans

Racial Linked Fate and Everyday Experiences, Asians



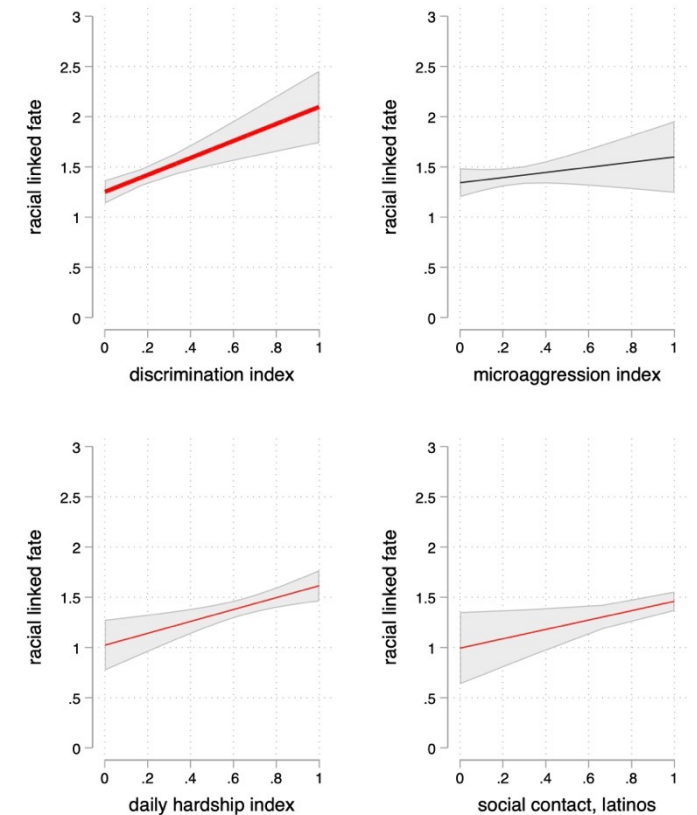
African Americans

Racial Linked Fate and Everyday Experiences, Blacks



Latinx Americans

Racial Linked Fate and Everyday Experiences, Latinx

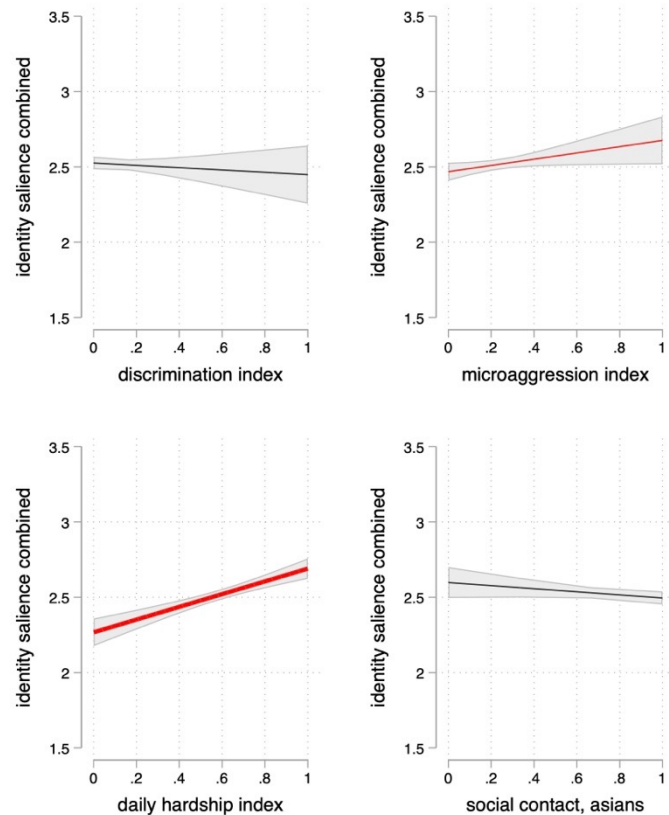


Identity Salience

Daily hardships are especially important for AAPIs' identity salience, whereas in-group social contact is especially key for Blacks and Latinx.

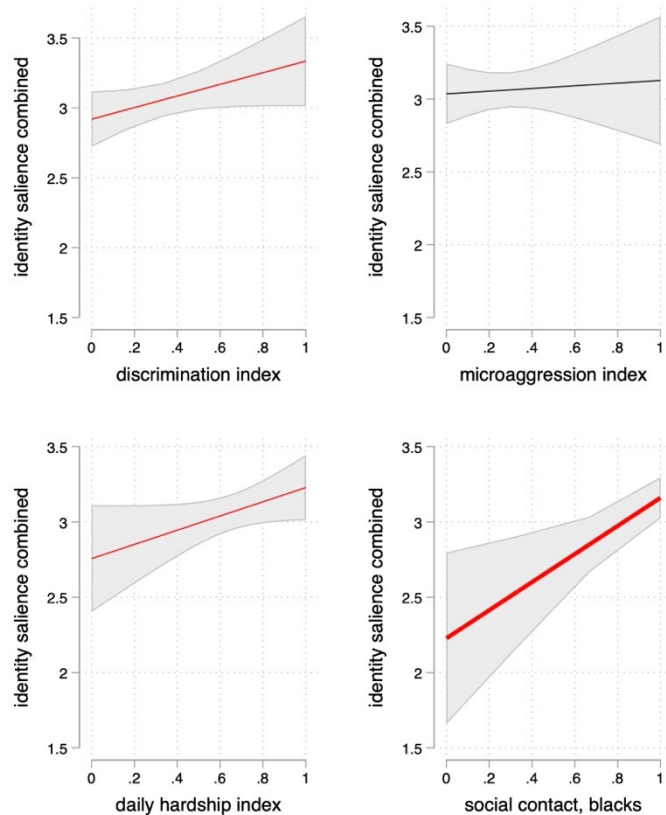
Asian Americans

Racial Identity Salience and Everyday Experiences, Asians



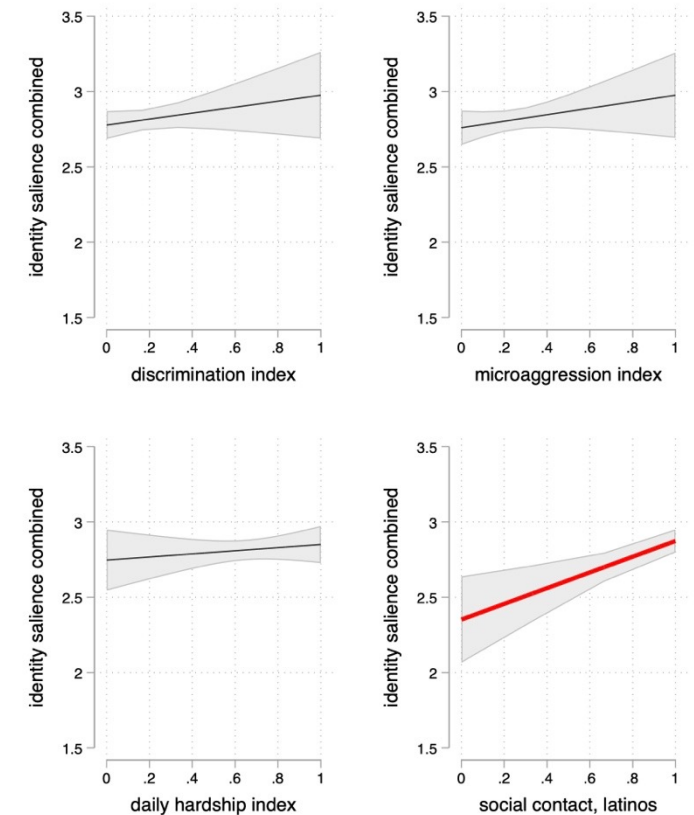
African Americans

Racial Identity Salience and Everyday Experiences, Blacks



Latinx Americans

Racial Identity Salience and Everyday Experiences, Latinx





Survey Primer

**Measurement:
Resentment**

**Sampling:
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Racial Resentment at 50

- Continued contestation:
 - Is it really a measure of prejudice?
 - Racial attitudes on both sides of the equation?
 - Does it really measure *resentment*?
 - Not resentment, but sympathy doing the work
 - Why does it do so much explanatory heavy lifting?
- Do we still need an observational measure of bias in an era of experiments and Big Data?
- 50 years of social and political transformation: demographic change, ideological polarization, income inequality, authoritarian populism, new social movements.
- **Motivating question:** is resentment ready for retirement? Or still a valid measure of bias?

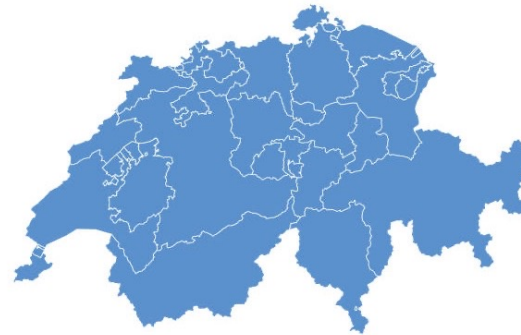
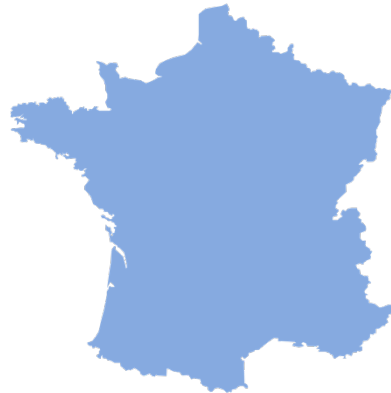
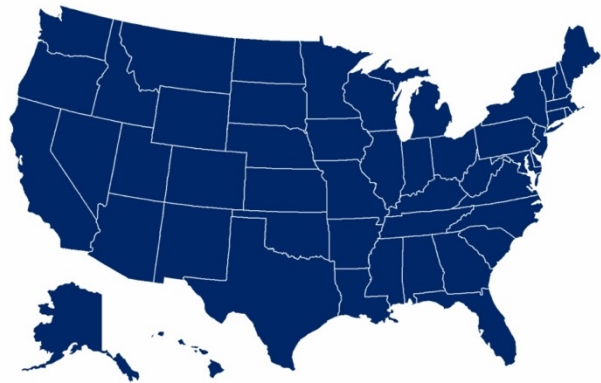
Empirical Strategy

- Compare racial resentment as a predictor of attitudes on outcomes that are not explicitly racial: policy views on redistribution and regulation; voting behavior.
- Compare outgroup resentment in the United States to resentment in other advanced Western democracies: 3 Anglophone democracies (US, UK, Australia) and 3 continental democracies (France, Germany, Switzerland).
 - Opportunity to revisit how "exceptional" the US is with respect to inter-racial/inter-ethnic attitudes today (CITES here).
- + 1: racial resentment as a mediator / moderator for a "structural racism" treatment.

Racial Resentment Scale (c. 1996)

- “Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.”
- “Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.”
- “It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.”
- “Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.”
- “Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried.”
- “Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complain from a black person than from a white person.”

Racial Resentment in Comparative Context



Source: Culpepper and Lee

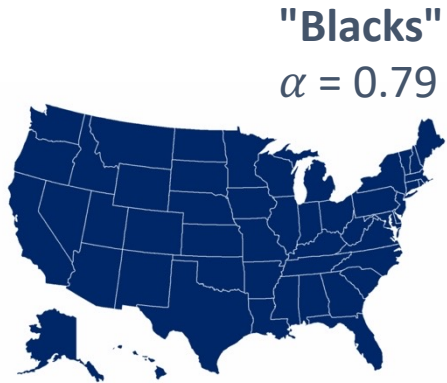
Data and Design

Wave		Australia	France	Germany	UK	US	Switzerland
1	N	4,827	4,862	4,719	4,829	4,992	3,444
	Dates	1-3/2020	2-3/2020	2-3/2020	1-3/2020	1-3/2020	1-2/2020
2	N	2,958	3,026	2,898	3,217	2,870	2,505
	Dates	3-5/2020	3-5/2020	3-5/2020	2-5/2020	3-5/2020	2/2020
	Attrition	0.61	0.62	0.61	0.67	0.57	0.73
3	N	2,895	3,334	3,114	3,226	2,977	2,417
	Dates	8-10/20	8-9/20	8-9/20	8-9/20	8-9/20	8-9/20
	Attrition	0.60	0.69	0.66	0.67	0.60	0.70

Resentment Scale in the United States

- "Past generations of Americans have overcome prejudice and worked their way up. **Blacks** should do the same without any special favours."
- "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if **Blacks** would only try harder they would get their fair share."
- "Discrimination against **Blacks** is still a major problem in America."
- "Over the past few years, **Blacks** in the US have received less than they deserve economically."
- α reliability = **0.79**

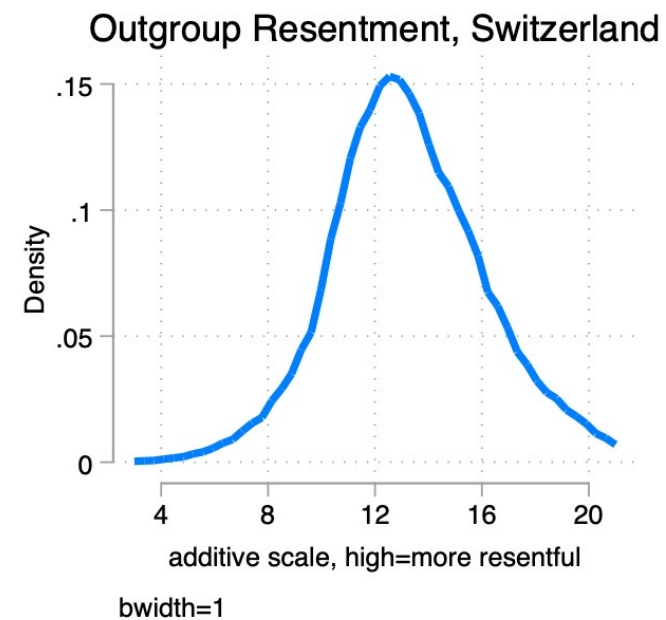
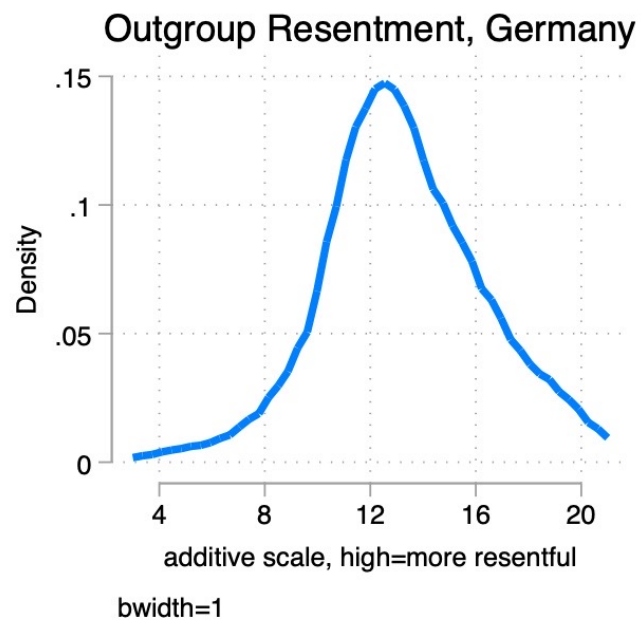
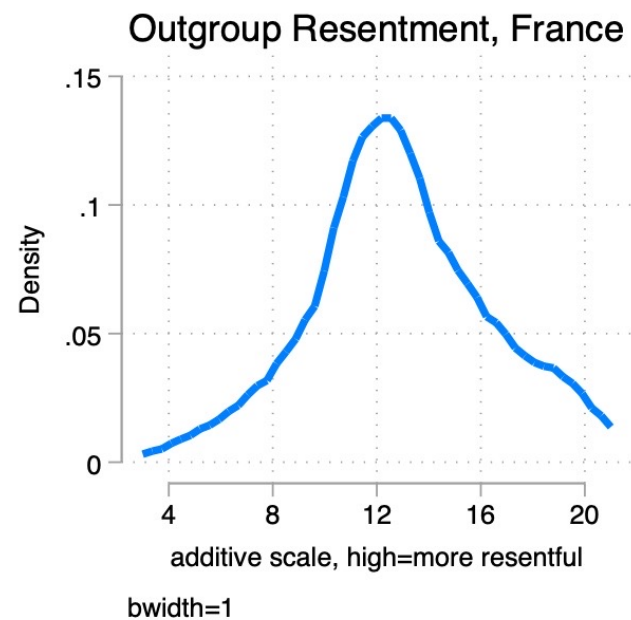
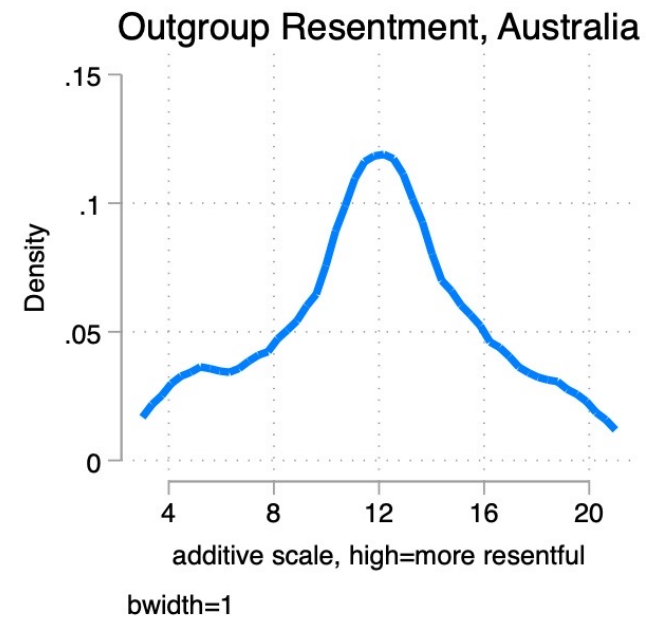
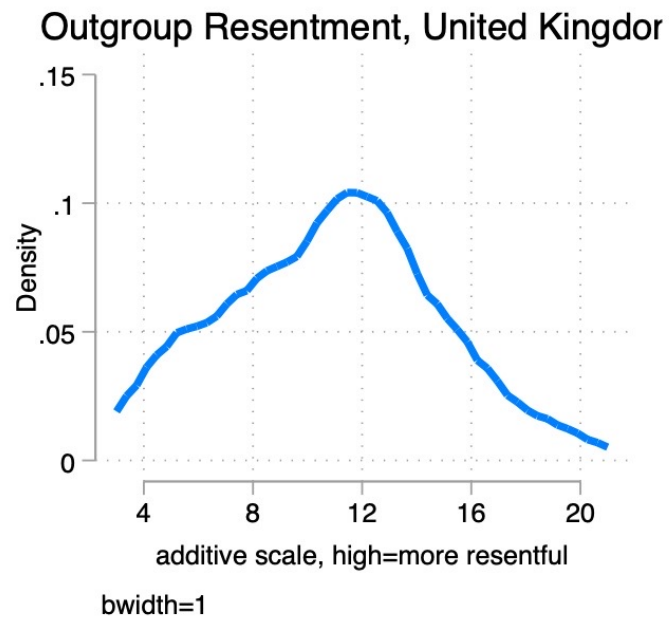
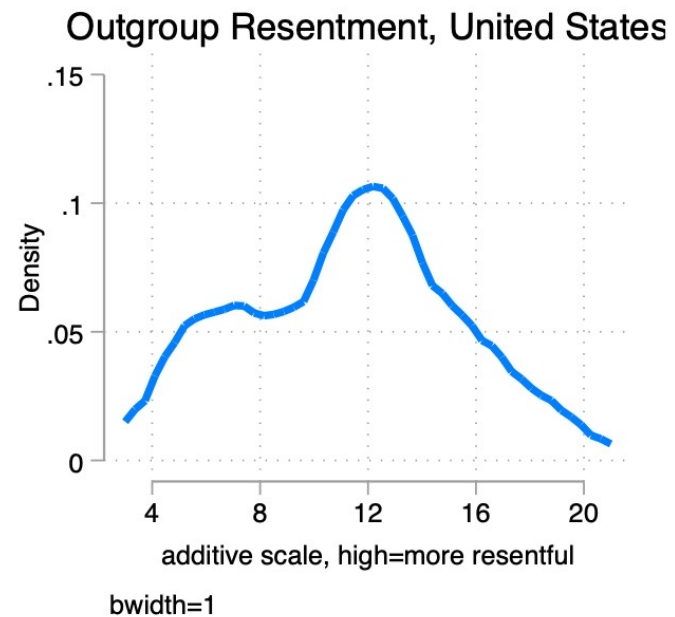
Racial Resentment in Comparative Context

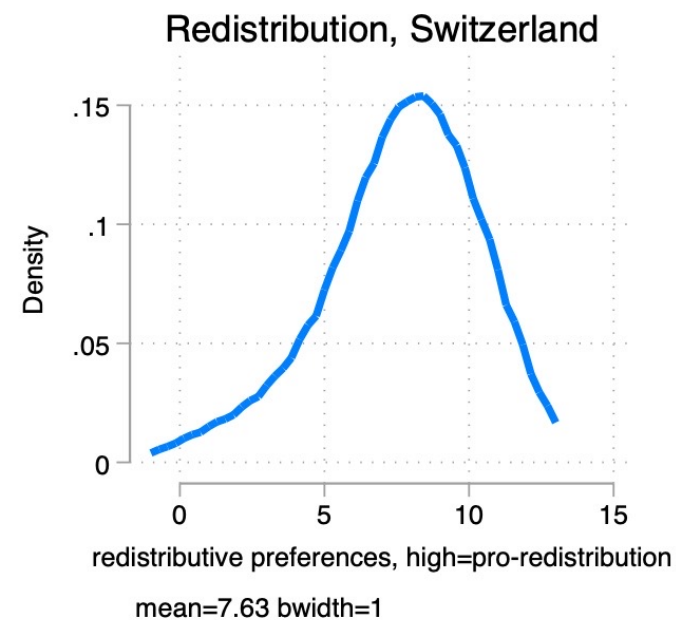
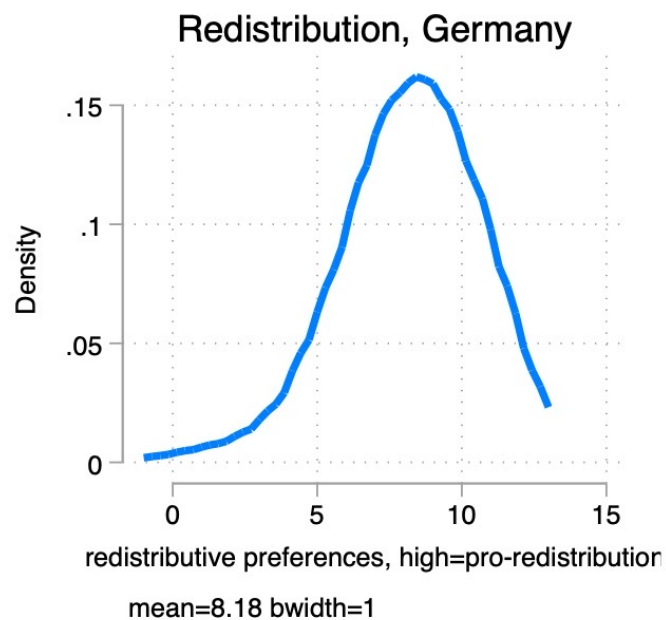
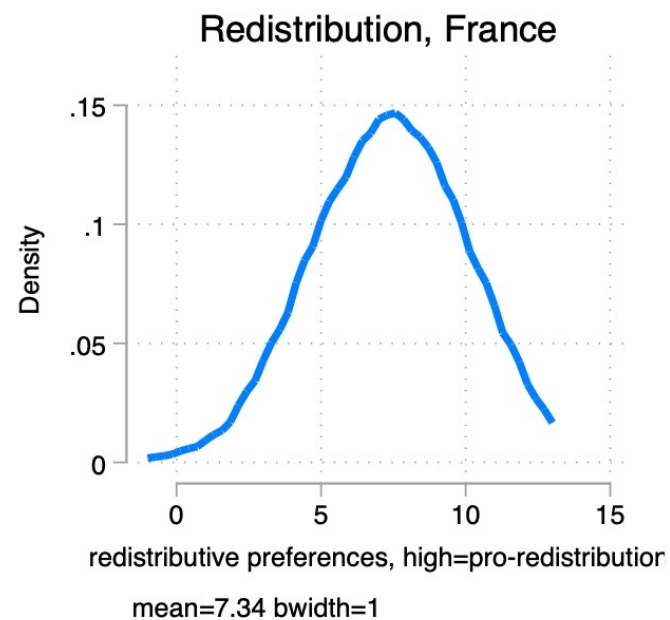
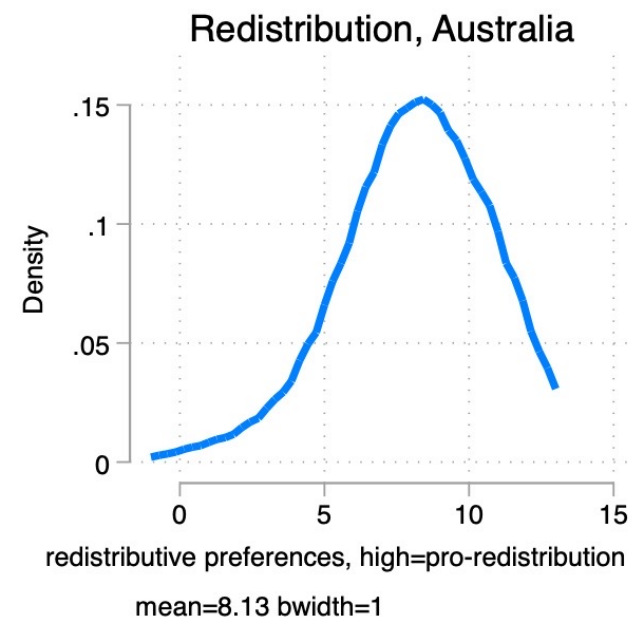
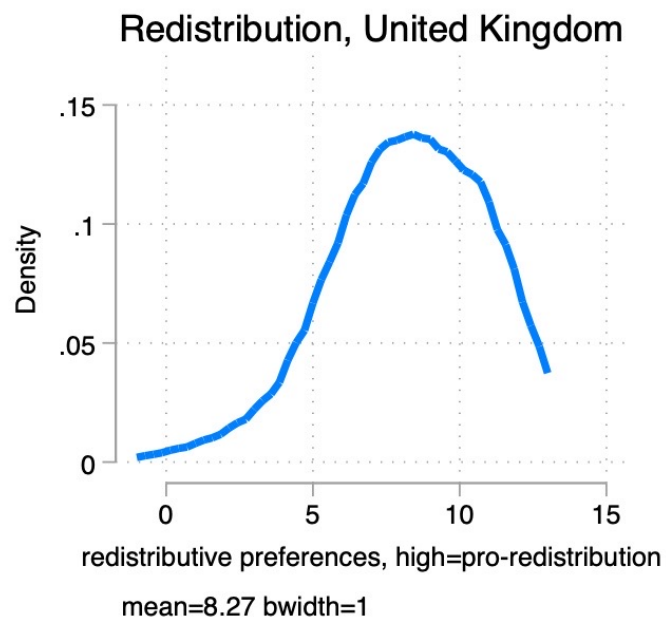
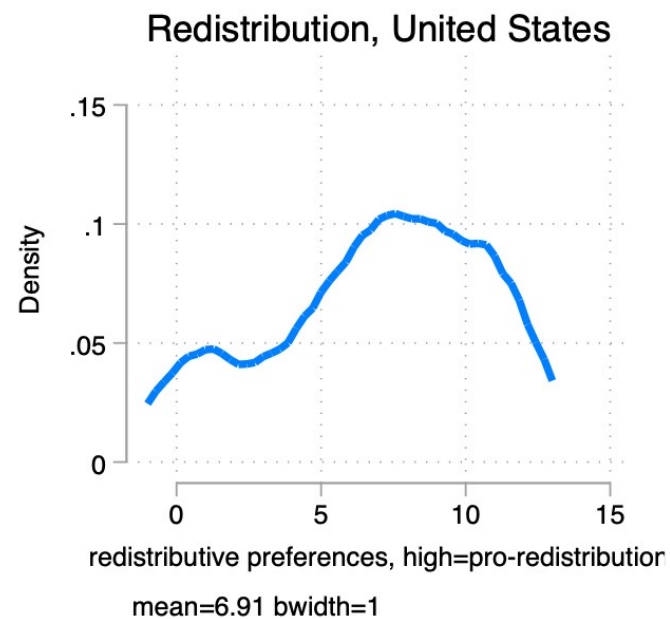


Descriptive Statistics, Racial Resentment Items

	AUS	FRA	GER	CH	UK	US	ALL
Past generations worked their way up	3.28 (1.25)	3.65 (1.09)	3.64 (0.99)	3.45 (0.99)	3.00 (1.22)	3.12 (1.38)	3.35 (1.20)
Some people not trying hard enough	3.06 (1.27)	3.12 (1.24)	3.12 (1.06)	2.78 (1.04)	2.36 (1.16)	2.71 (1.34)	2.86 (1.23)
Still a major problem	3.17 (1.19)	2.70 (1.25)	2.99 (1.17)	2.81 (1.17)	3.44 (1.12)	2.84 (1.41)	3.00 (1.25)
Received less than deserved economically	2.51 (1.24)	2.63 (1.18)	3.00 (1.18)	3.46 (1.03)	2.58 (1.18)	2.56 (1.41)	2.75 (1.26)
Scale mean	11.89 (4.00)	12.91 (3.41)	13.27 (2.96)	13.25 (2.69)	10.89 (3.83)	11.30 (3.99)	12.19 (3.68)
α -reliability	.80	.72	.64	.61	.85	.79	.78
N	4,827	4,862	4,719	3,444	4,829	4,992	27,673

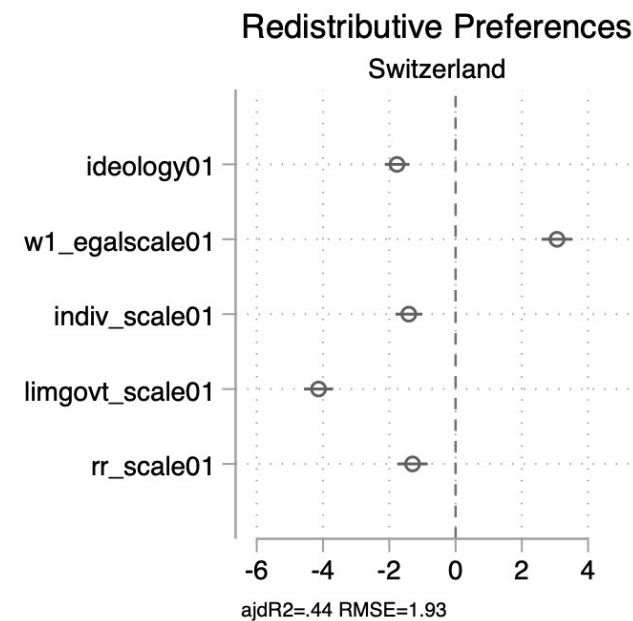
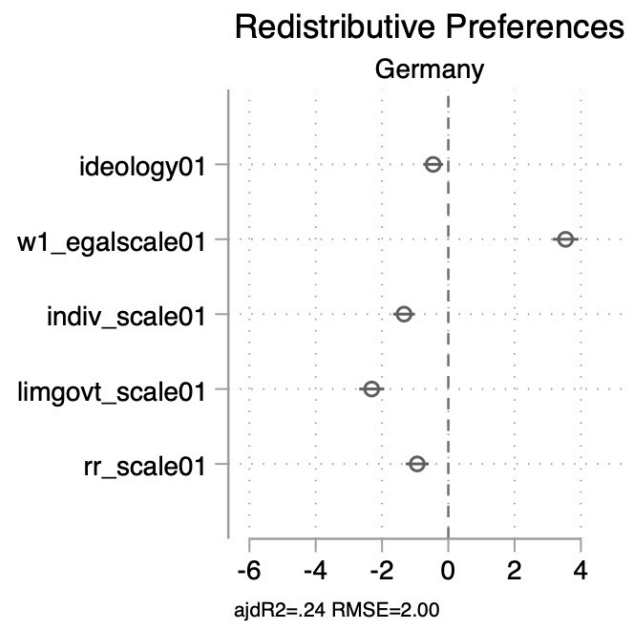
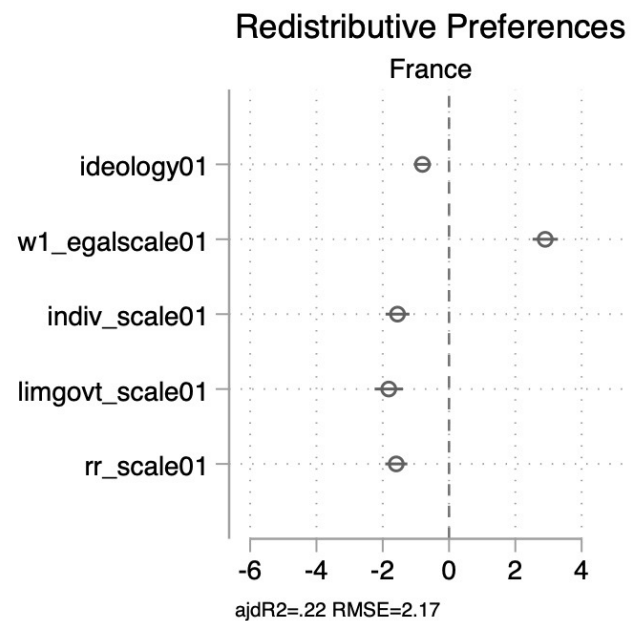
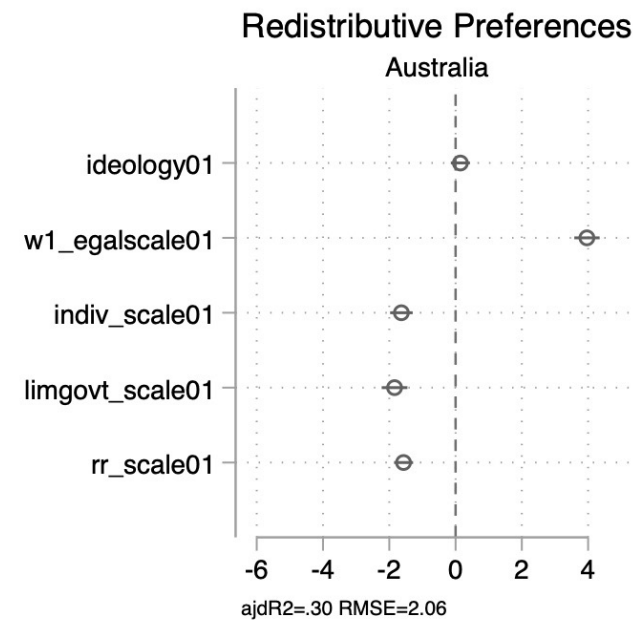
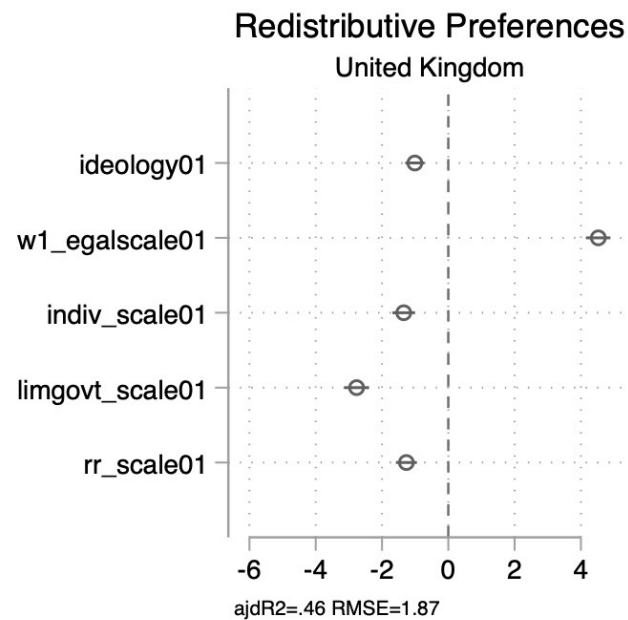
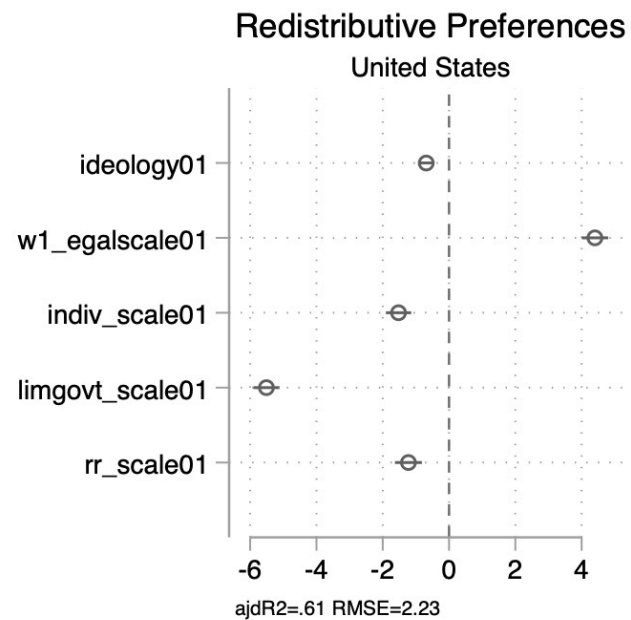
* cell entries are means with standard deviations in parentheses.





Model Specification

Redistributive Policy Views = $\alpha + \beta_1 \text{Age} + \beta_2 \text{Gender} +$
 $\beta_3 \text{Education} + \beta_4 \text{Income} + \beta_5 \text{Race} + \beta_6 \text{Nativity} + \beta_7 \text{Ideology} +$
 $\beta_8 \text{Egalitarianism} + \beta_9 \text{Individualism} + \beta_{10} \text{Limited Government} +$
 $\beta_{11} \text{Racial Resentment}$

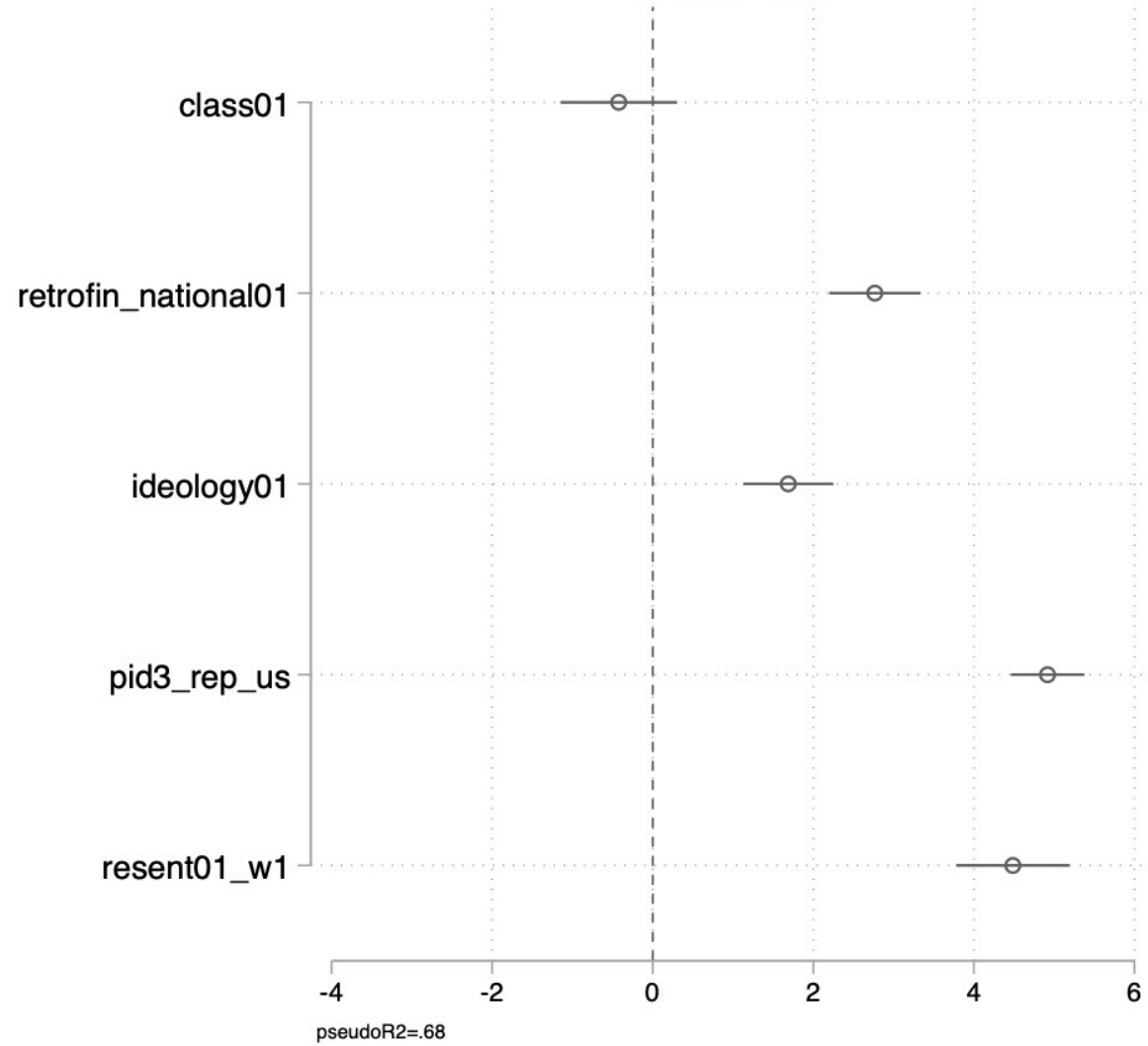


Vote Choice DVs, Past and Projected

- **Australia:** In the Federal election for the House of Representatives on Saturday 18 May 2019, which party did you vote for first in the House of Representatives? (Liberal National, Labor)
- **France:** Pour le candidat de quel parti allez-vous voter aux prochaines élections présidentielles? (La Republique En Marche, Rassemblement National, Républicains, Socialistes)
- **Germany:** Den Kandidaten/die Kandidatin welcher Partei werden Sie bei der nächsten Bundestagswahl wählen? (CDU/CSU, Social Democrats, Alternative für Deutschland, Grüne)
- **Switzerland:** Welche Partei haben Sie bei den Nationalratswahlen 2019 gewählt, das heisst, von welcher Partei haben Sie am meisten Personen gewählt? (Schweizerische Volkspartei, Social Democrats, FDP-The Liberals, Le Centre)
- **United Kingdom:** Which party did you vote for at the General Election in December 2019? (Conservative, Labor)
- **United States:** If the U.S. presidential elections were held tomorrow, who would you vote for? (Democratic, Republican)

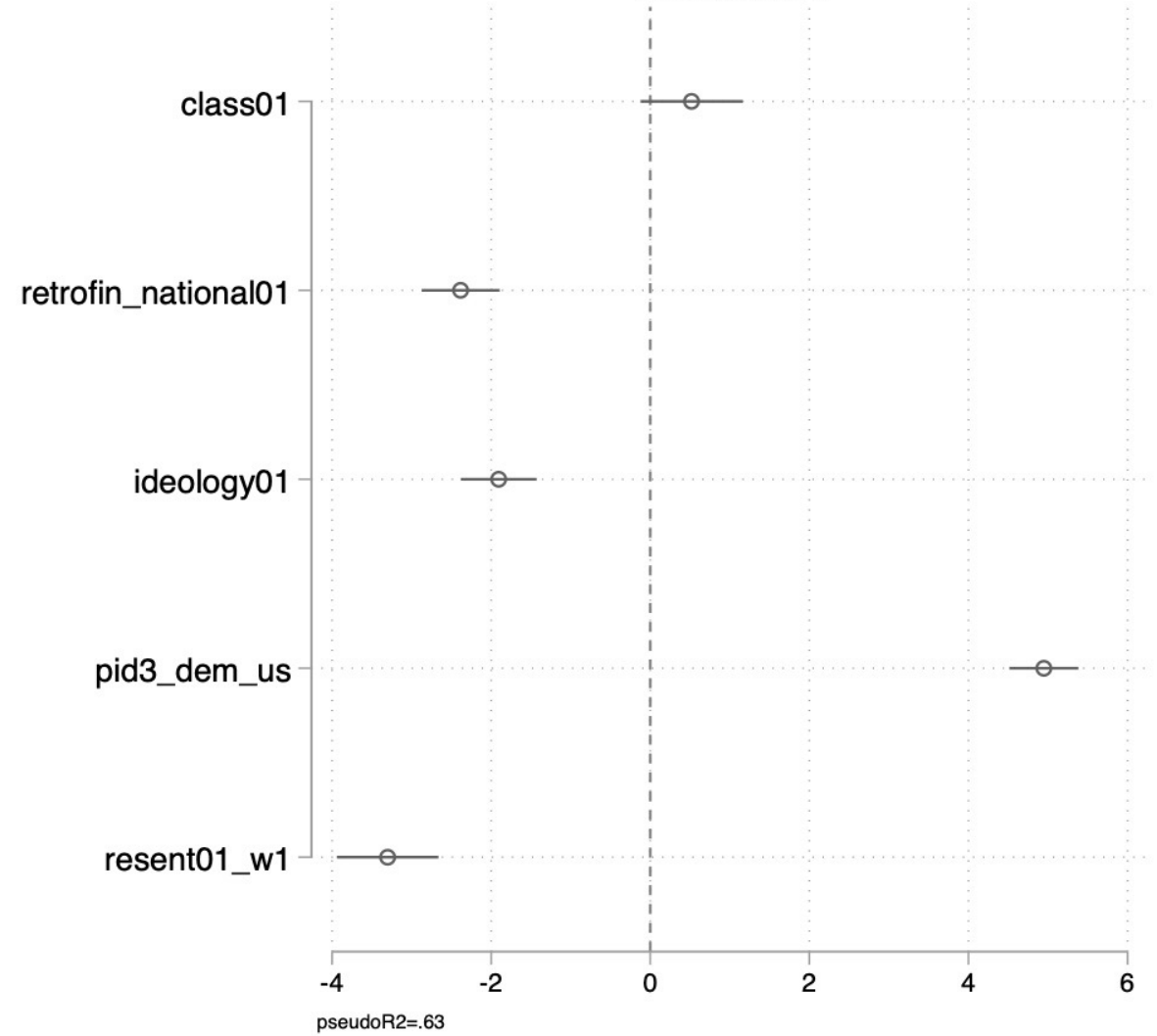
Voting Republican

United States

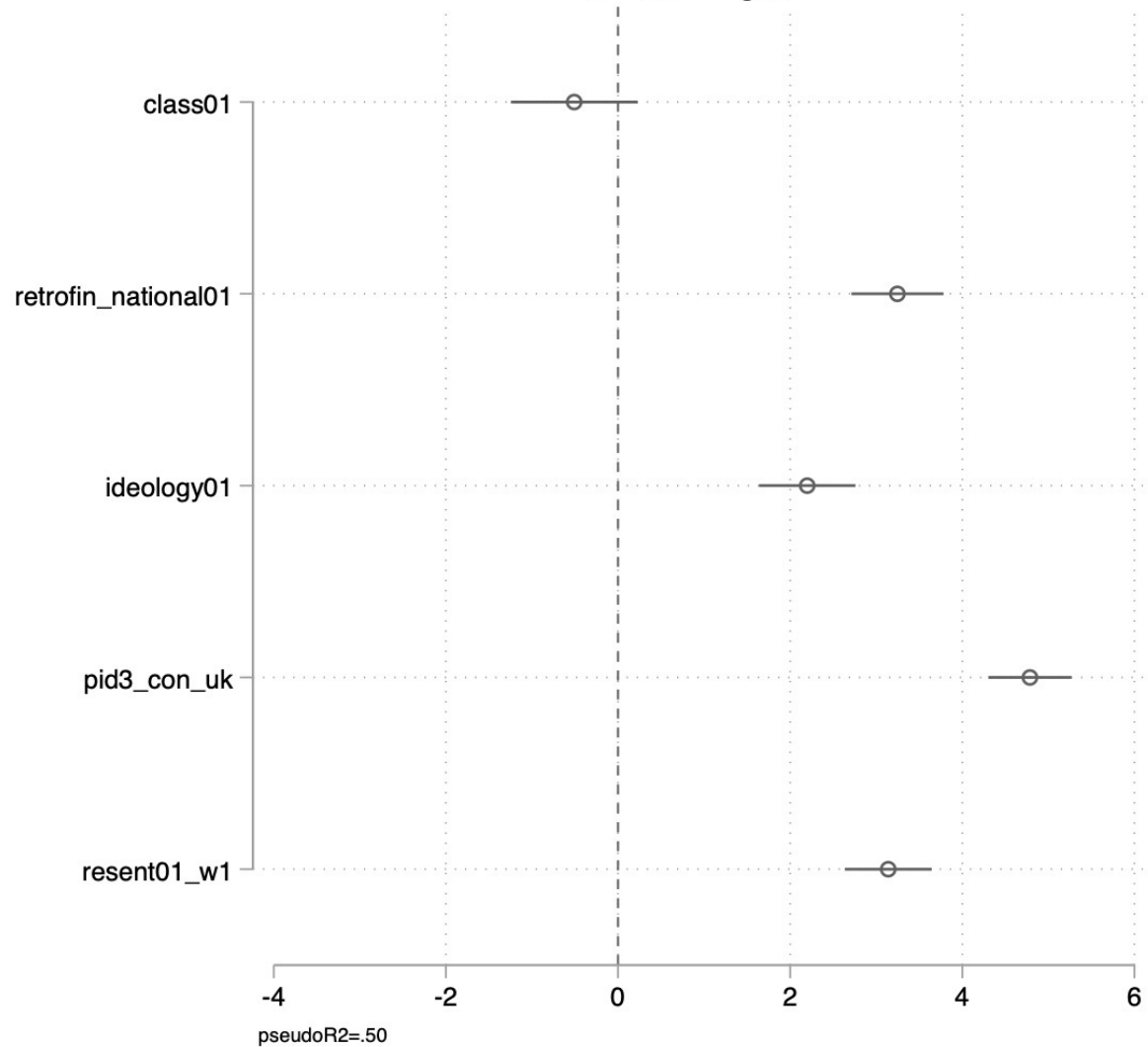


Voting Democratic

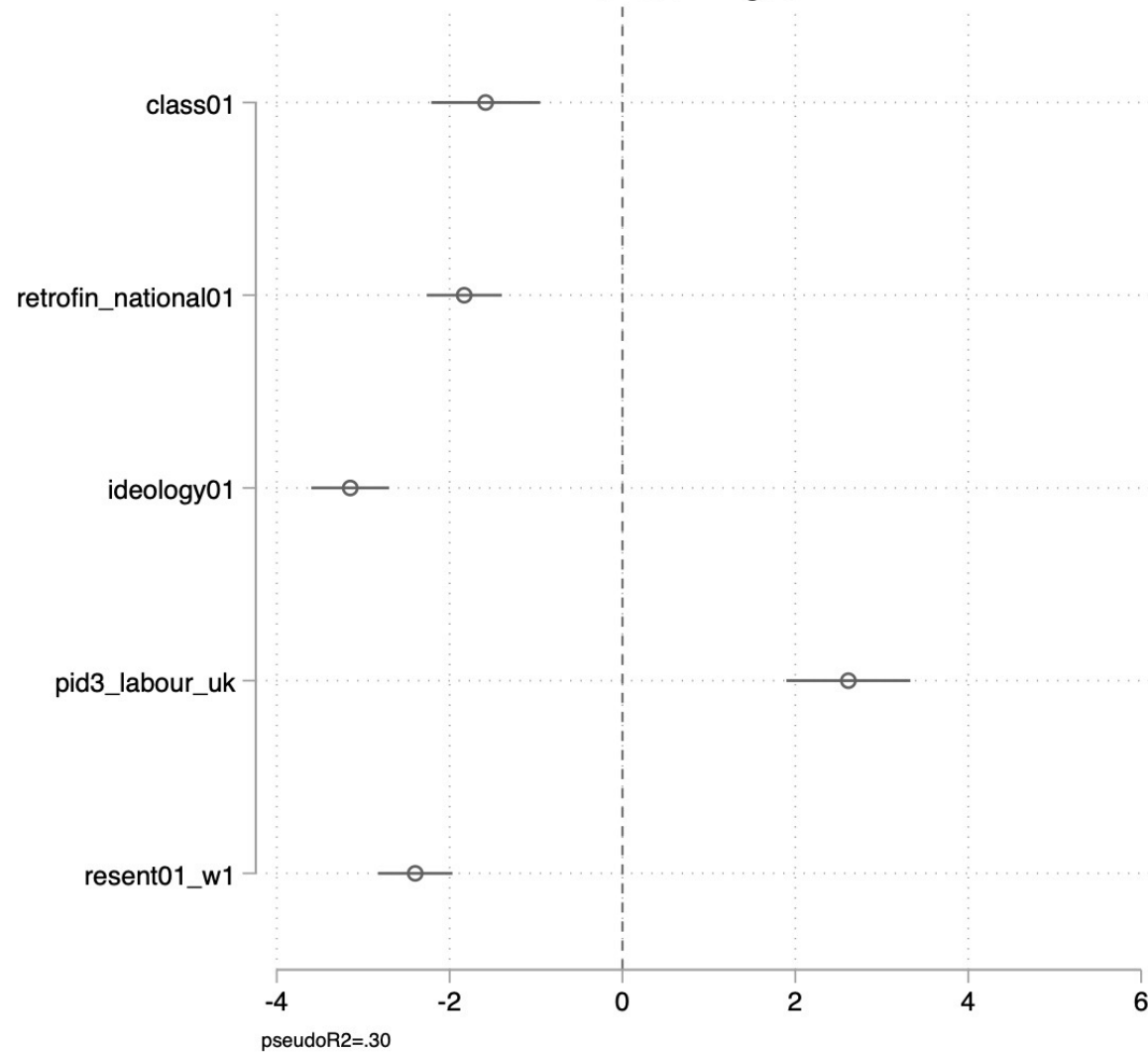
United States



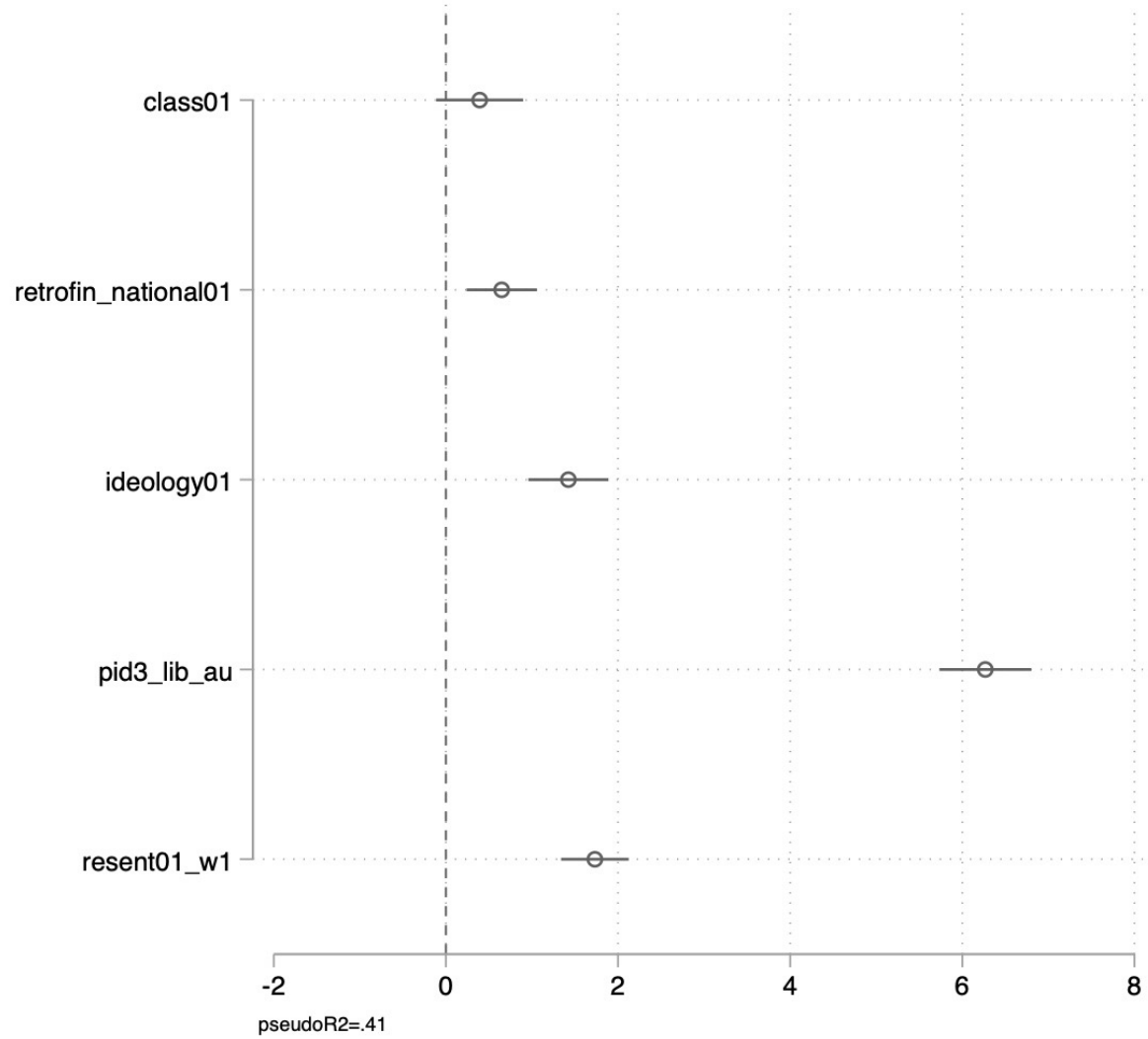
Voting Conservative United Kingdom



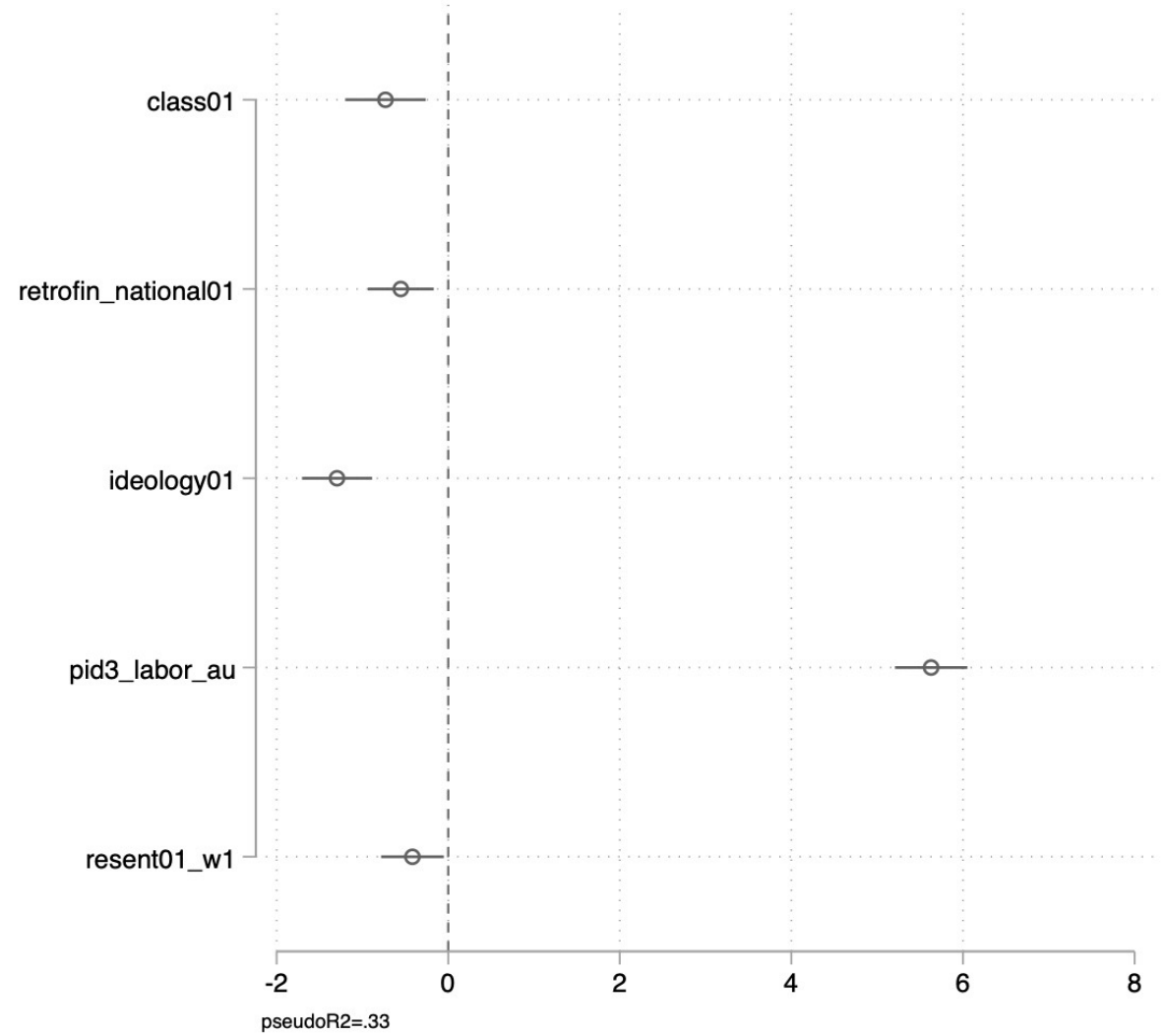
Voting Labor United Kingdom

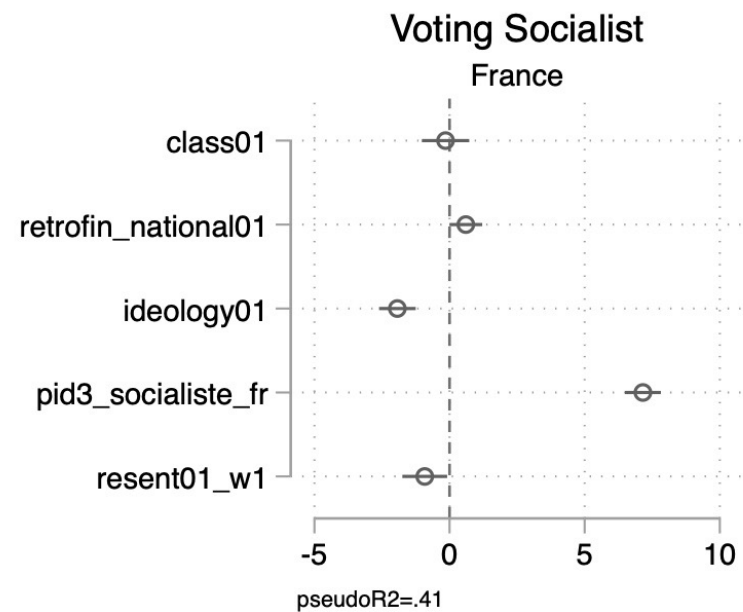
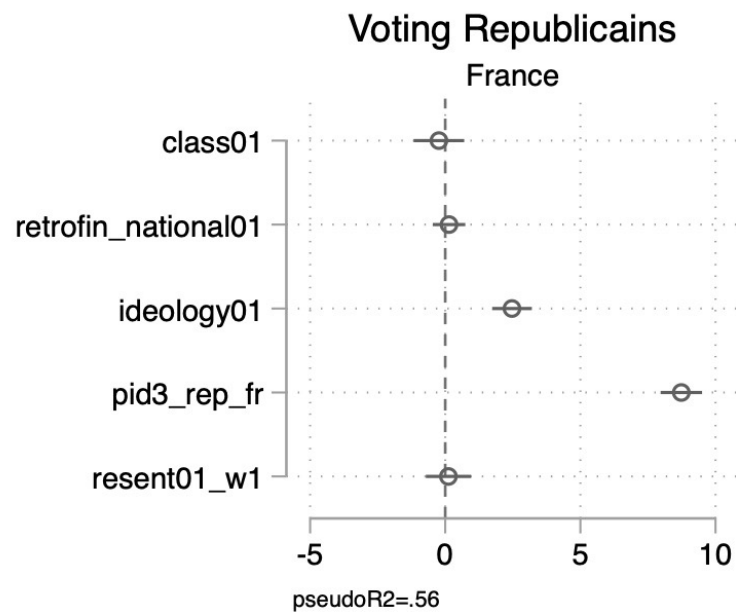
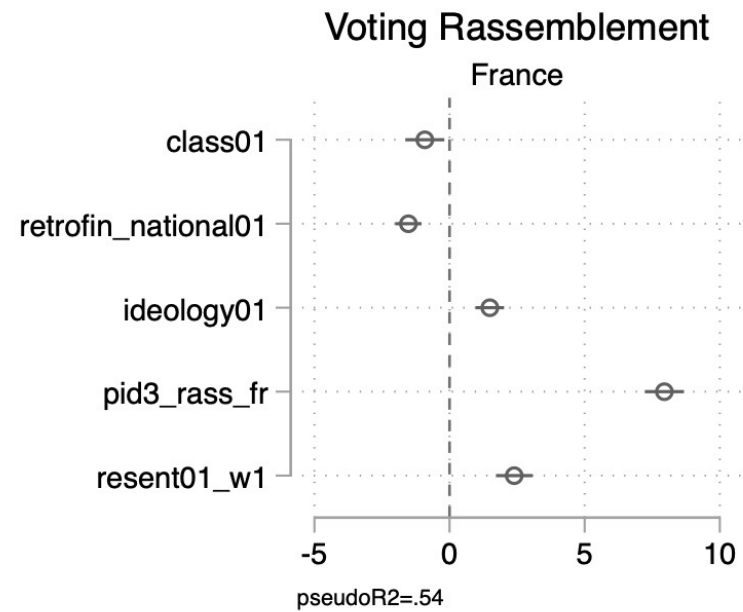
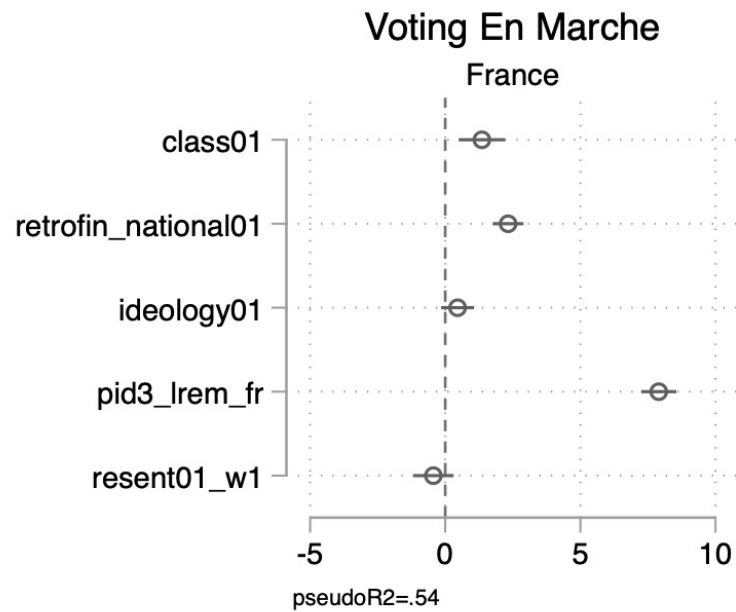


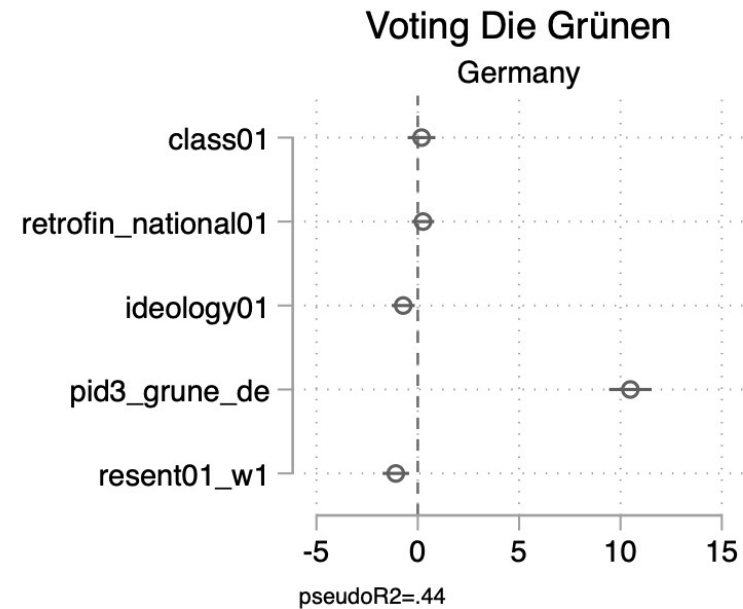
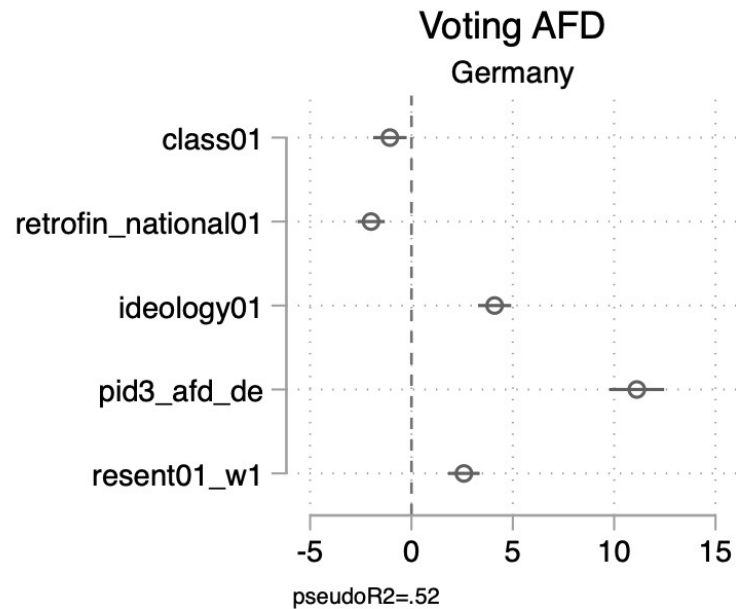
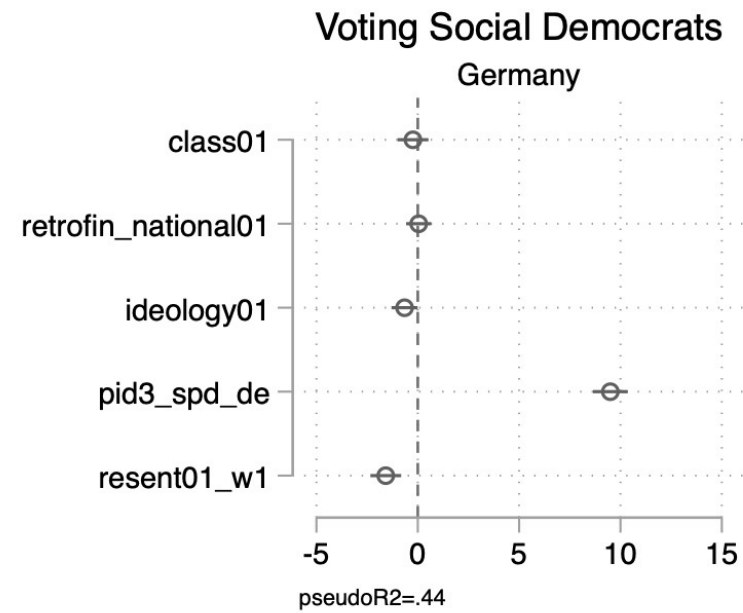
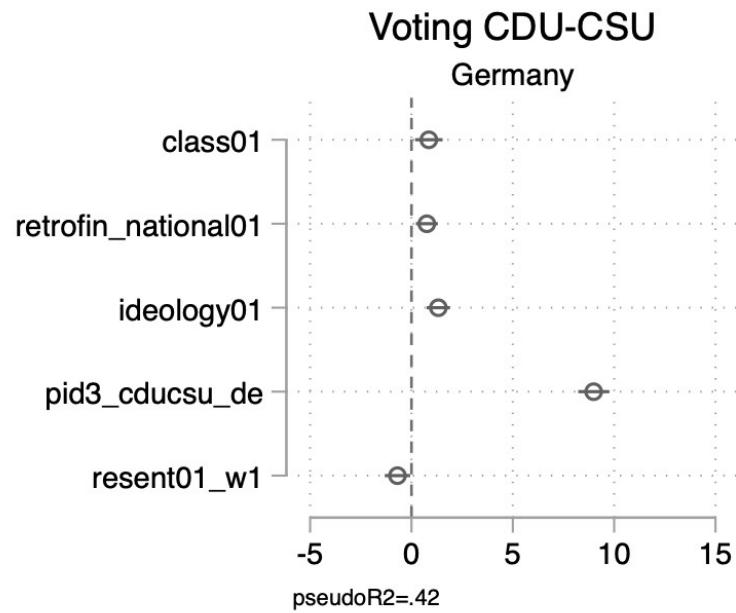
Voting Liberal Nationals Australia

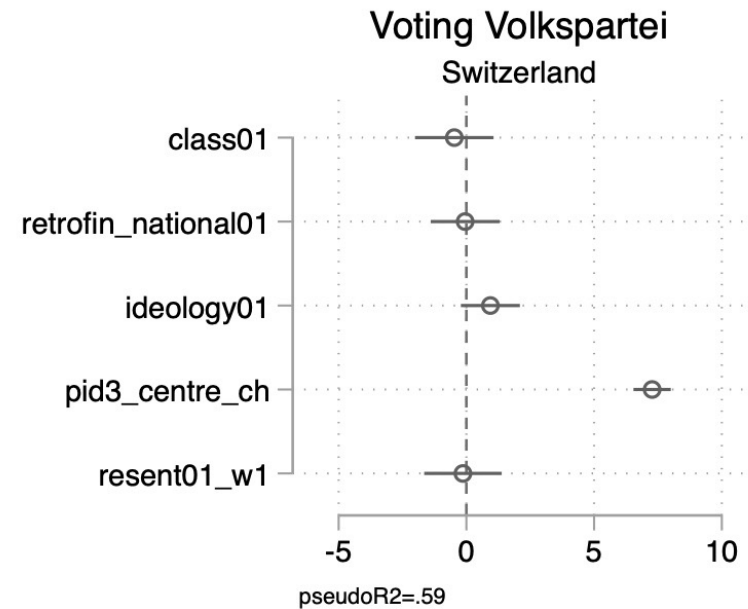
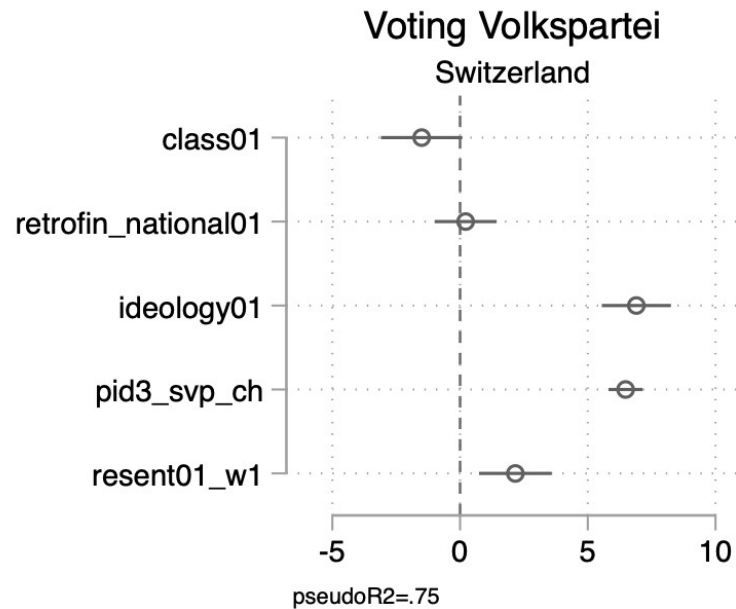
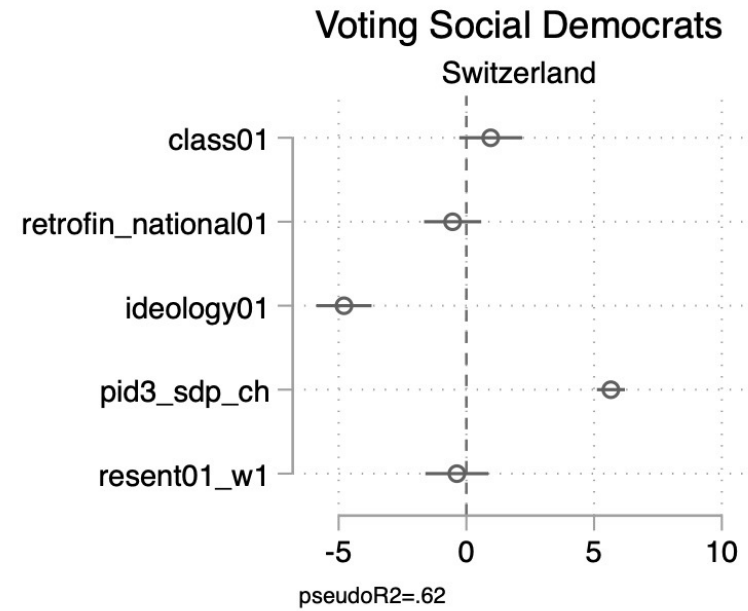
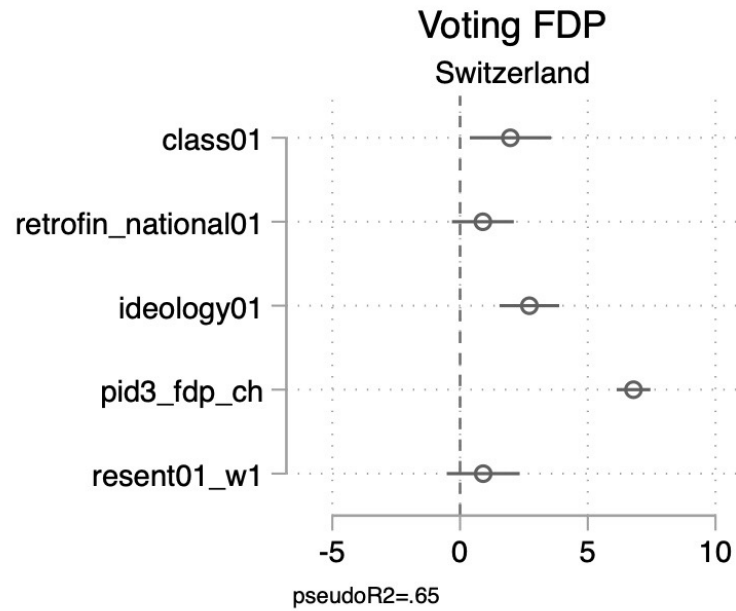


Voting Labor Australia





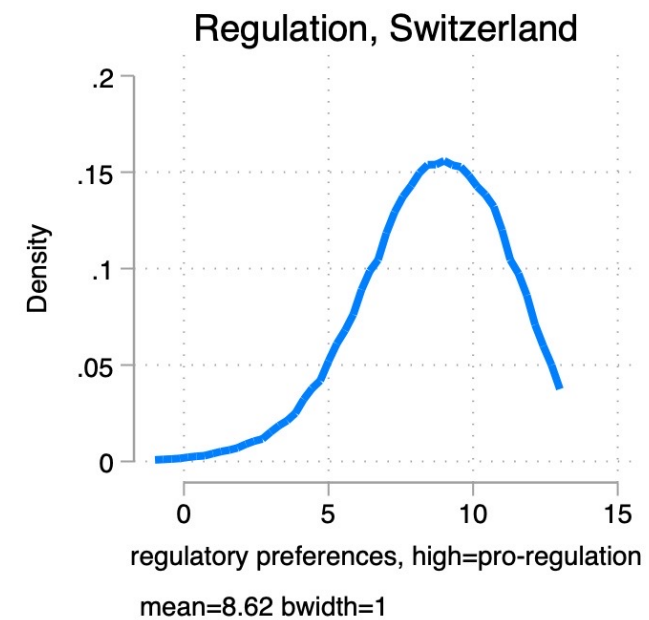
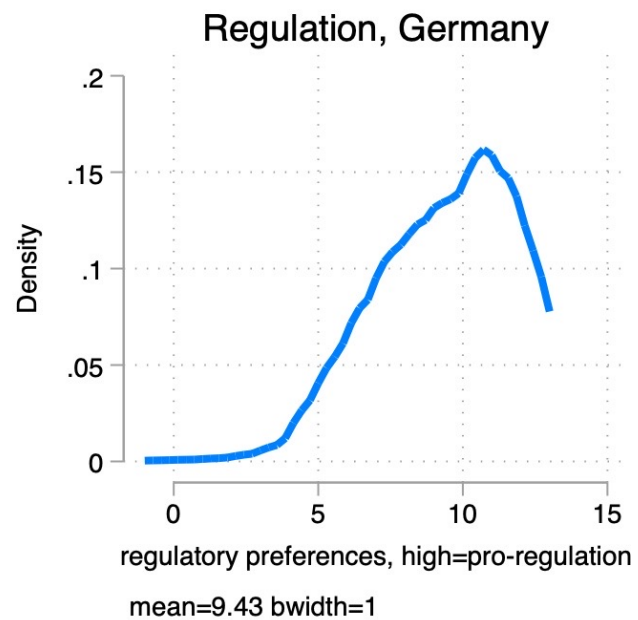
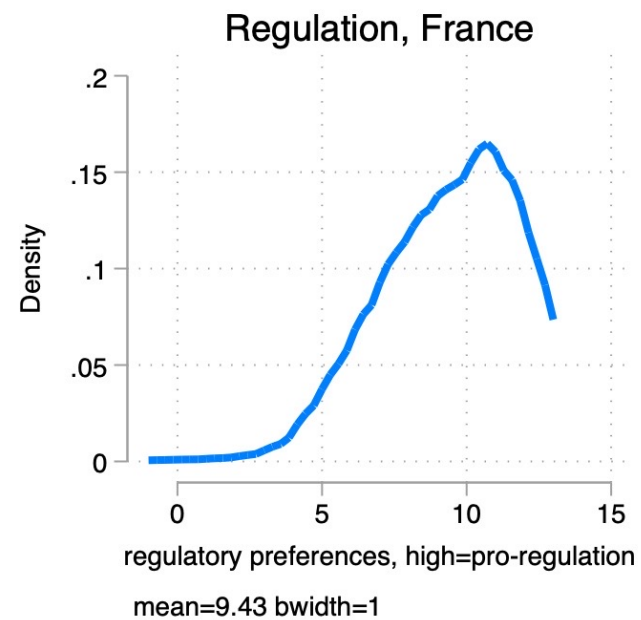
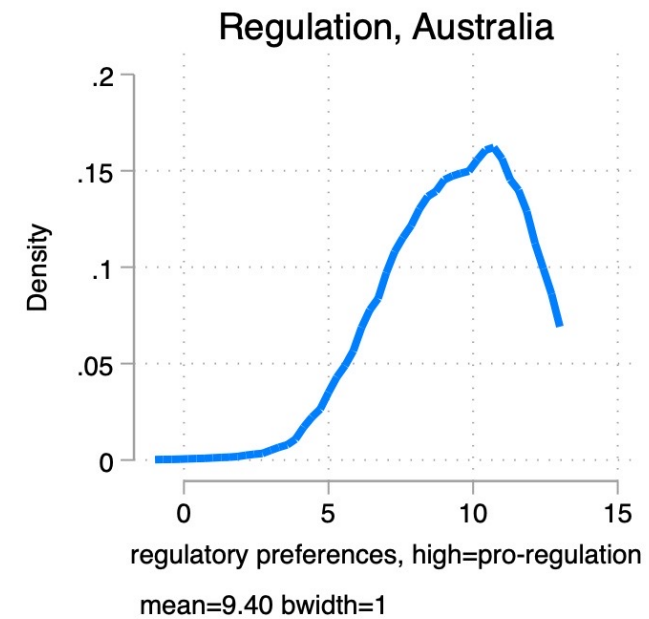
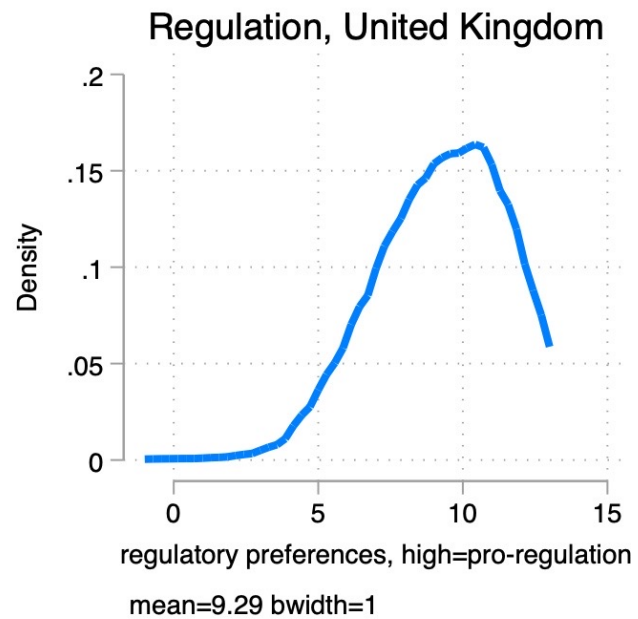
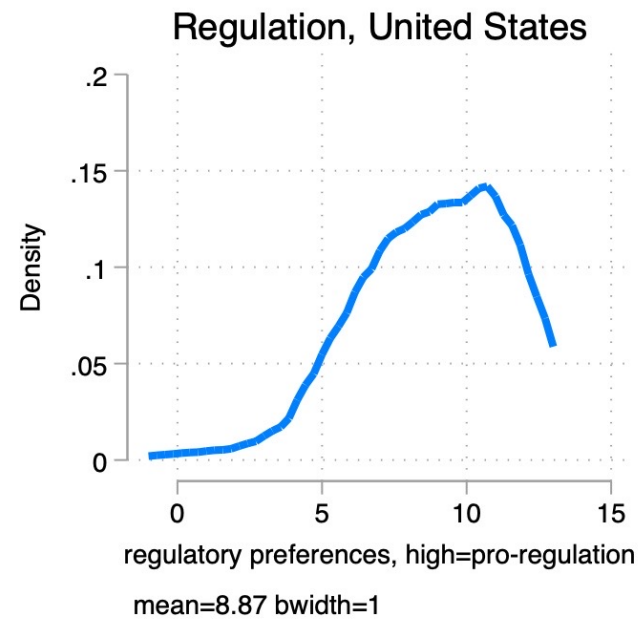


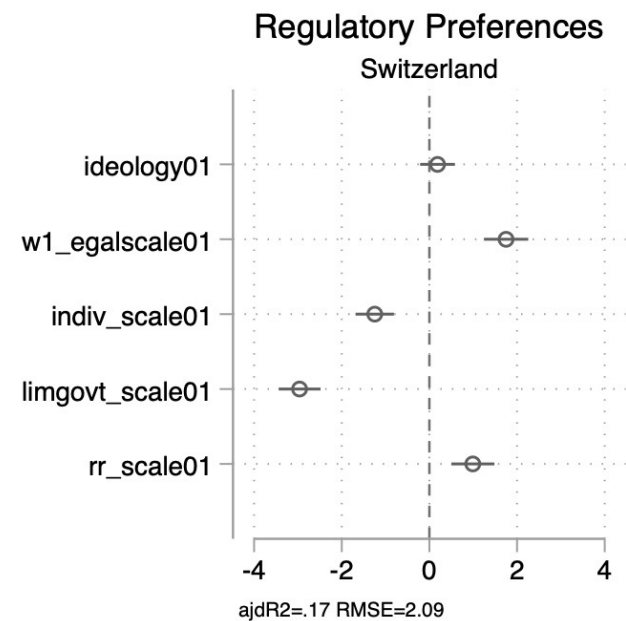
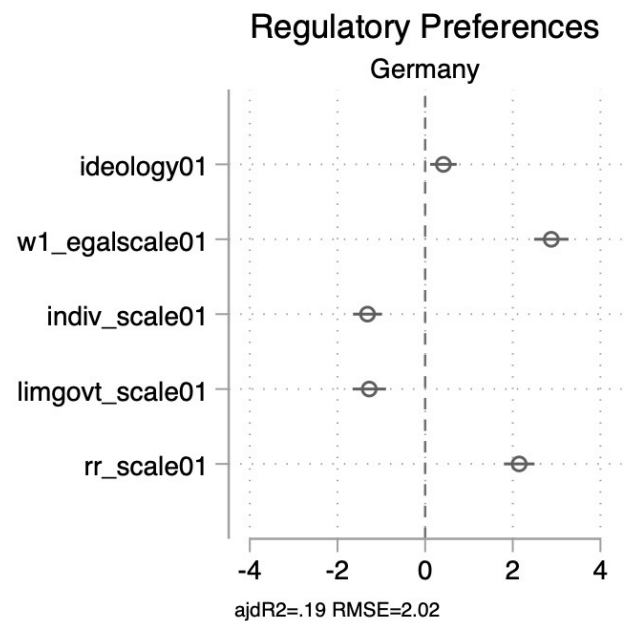
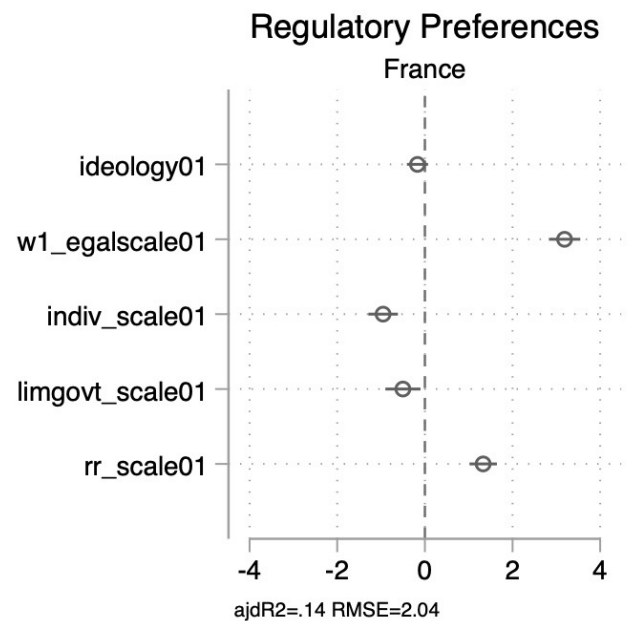
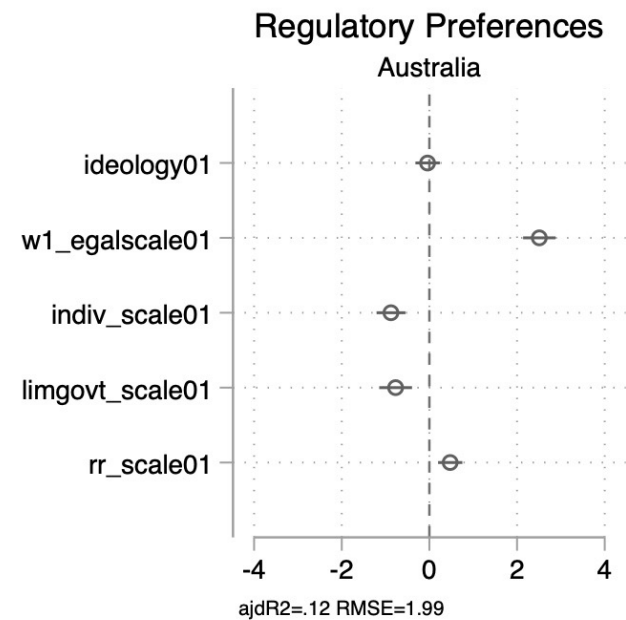
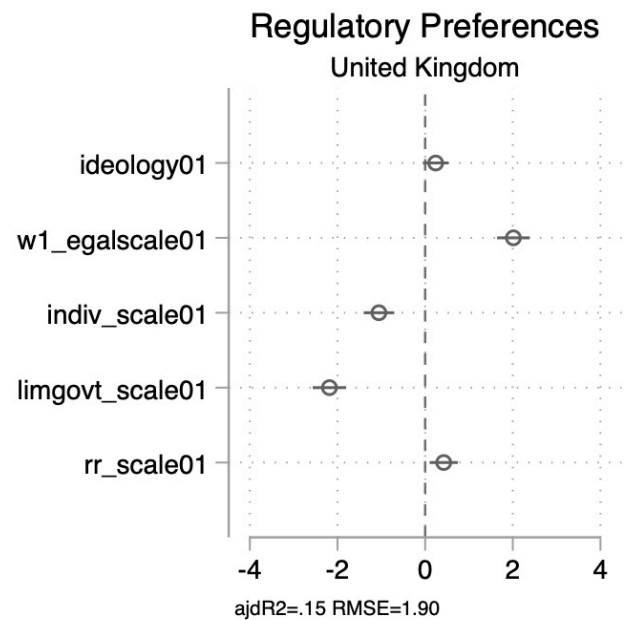
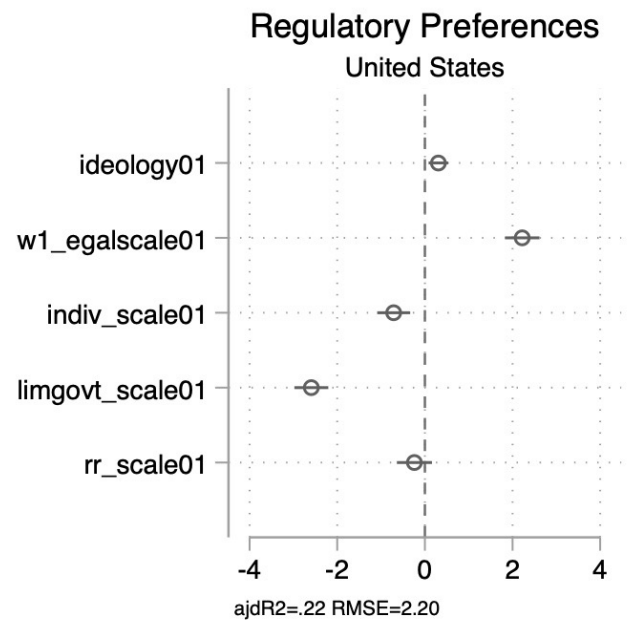


Just one more ...

- "Bank executives who take excessive risks that jeopardize jobs and the economy should face jail time."
- "Government should crack down on big banks to ensure that they cannot exploit loopholes to avoid paying their fair share of taxes."
- "It is unacceptable for former government employees to work as executives for banks they used to regulate."

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics, Financial Regulation Items							
	AUS	FRA	GER	CH	UK	US	ALL
Jail time for bank execs	4.08 (.95)	3.97 (.97)	4.11 (.94)	3.80 (1.1)	4.00 (.96)	3.84 (1.1)	3.98 (1.0)
Crack down on tax loopholes	4.41 (.88)	4.22 (.93)	4.28 (.89)	4.08 (.96)	4.44 (.85)	4.15 (1.1)	4.27 (.94)
Revolving door unacceptable	3.91 (1.1)	4.24 (.98)	4.03 (1.0)	3.73 (1.1)	3.85 (1.0)	3.87 (1.1)	3.95 (1.1)
Scale mean	12.40 (2.13)	12.43 (2.20)	12.43 (2.24)	11.62 (2.29)	12.29 (2.09)	11.87 (2.49)	12.19 (2.26)
a-reliability	.57	.64	.67	.59	.58	.66	.62
N	4,827	4,862	4,719	3,444	4,829	4,992	27,673
* cell entries are means with standard deviations in parentheses.							







Thank you!

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Structural Racism Treatment

Racism Fueled Public Health Crisis Long Before Covid-19

Published August 1, 2020



COVID-19 cases are striking minorities disproportionately around the nation.

Racism – not in its overt, name-calling form, but the kind woven deeply into the nation’s institutions – harms the 44 million Americans who identify as Black and potentially shortens their lives, according to those who study racial inequities in health.

“We have long known racism as a key driver of health,” said Regina Davis Moss, associate executive director of public health policy and practice for the American Public Health Association. “To achieve health equity, you have to address racism as a public health crisis.”

Racism – not in its overt, name-calling form, but the kind woven deeply into the nation’s institutions – harms the 44 million Americans who identify as Black and potentially shortens their lives, according to those who study racial inequities in health.

...

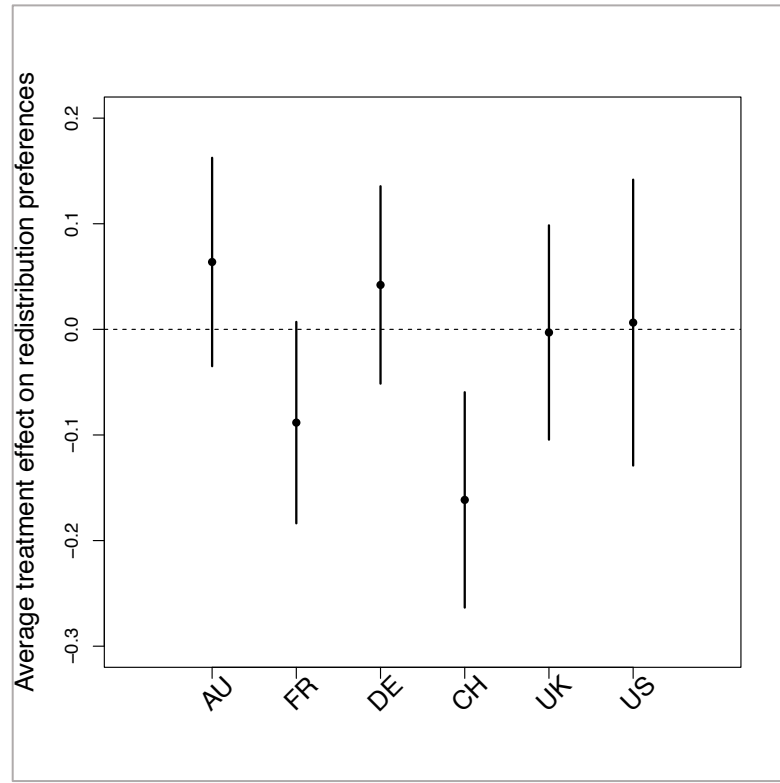
But the pandemic is revealing this crisis so starkly, with COVID-19 cases striking minorities disproportionately around the nation, public health experts hope the problem will at last be addressed, and not explained away as the result of poverty or poor choices.

...

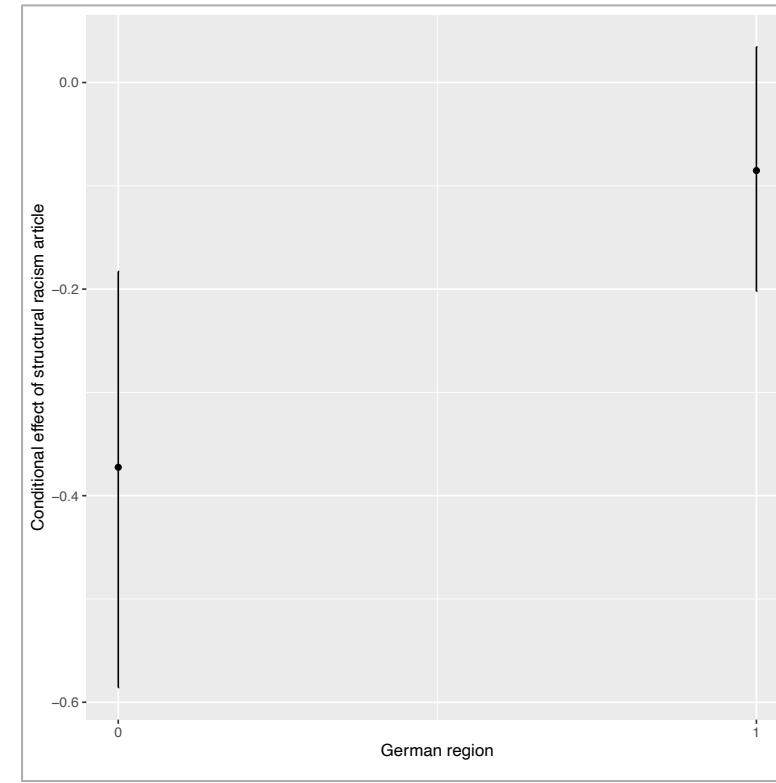
The scourge of COVID-19 will eventually end, but racial disparities in health will persist. The US has needed a trigger to fully address structural racism. COVID-19 may be that bellwether event.

Structural Racism ATE Results

Treatment's effect on redistribution preferences



Treatment's effect for the French and German parts of CH

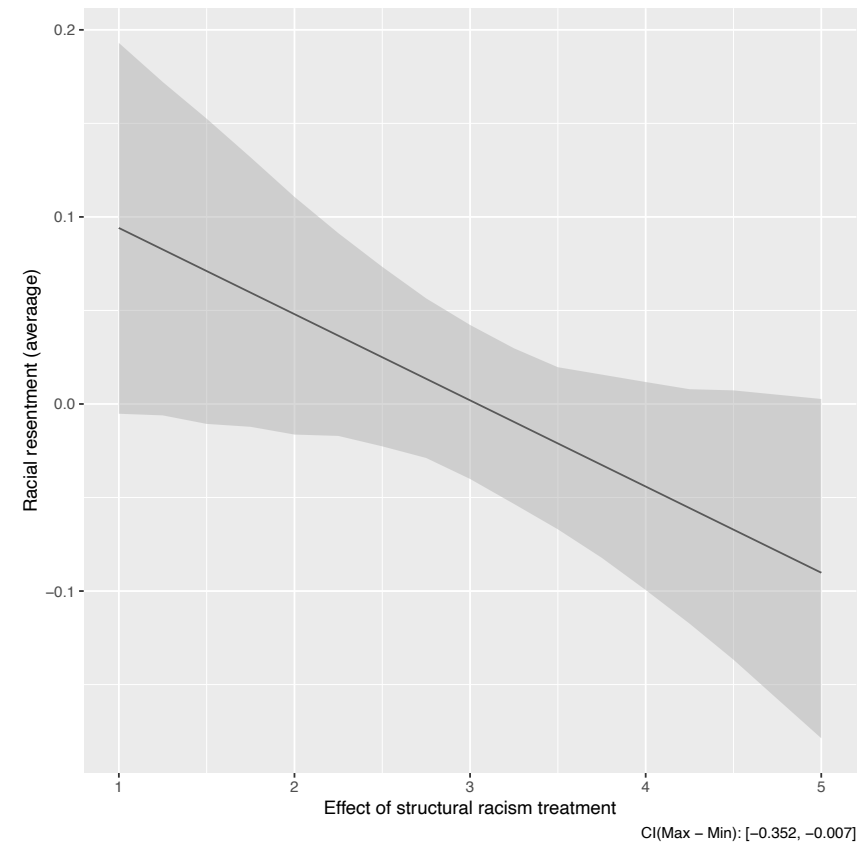


Structural Racism CATE Results

Pooled Results

(Intercept)	5.27 ***
	(0.06)
srac_treat	0.14 *
	(0.07)
rr_avg	-0.47 ***
	(0.02)
srac_treat:rr_avg	-0.05 *
	(0.02)
R^2	0.23
Adj. R^2	0.22
Num. obs.	7385
* with country fixed effects not shown.	

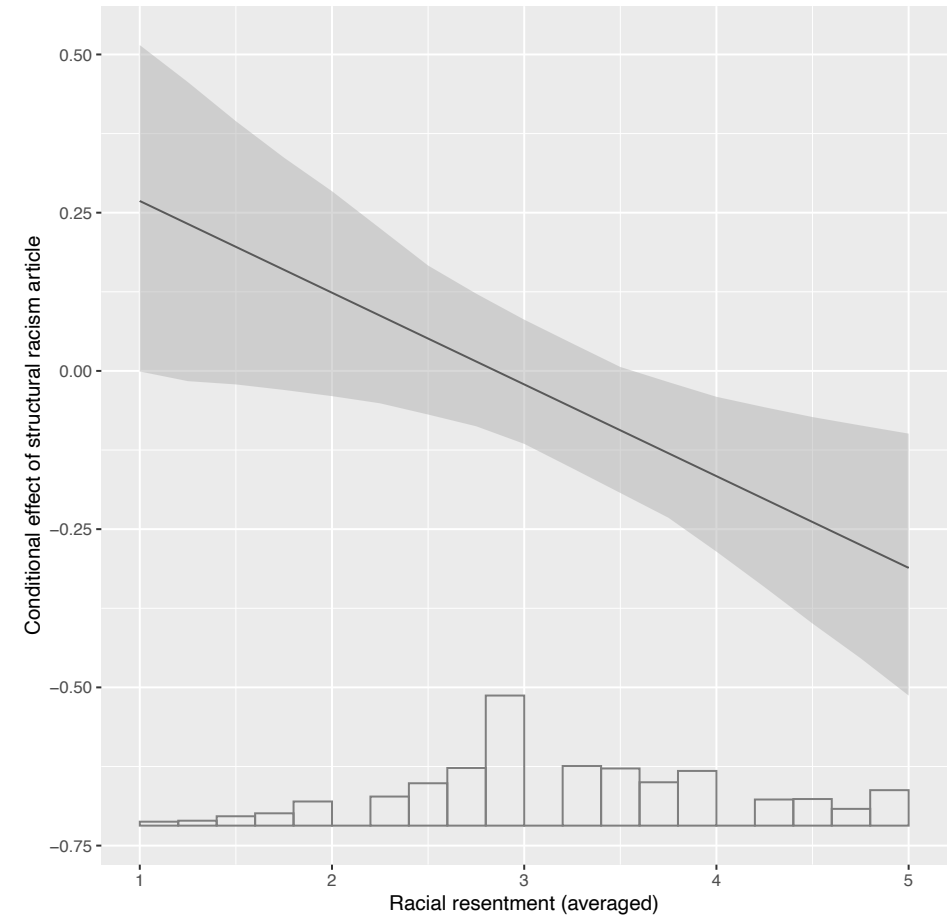
Figure: Interaction between treatment and racial resentment



Structural Racism CATE Results, Disaggregated

Interaction between treatment and racial resentment

	AU	FR	DE	CH	UK	US
(Intercept)	4.76 ***	4.61 ***	4.14 ***	5.15 ***	5.35 ***	5.79 ***
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.09)	(0.11)
srac_treat	0.13	0.41 *	0.23	-0.07	-0.05	0.21
	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.12)	(0.16)
rr_avg	-0.32 ***	-0.23 ***	-0.10	-0.43 ***	-0.57 ***	-0.83 ***
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)
srac_treat: rr_avg	-0.02	-0.14 **	-0.05	-0.03	0.01	-0.04
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.05)
R ²	0.15	0.10	0.01	0.12	0.35	0.46
Adj. R ²	0.14	0.10	0.01	0.12	0.35	0.46
Num. obs.	1159	1286	1245	1209	1290	1196



Treatment effects across resentment levels in France