

Appendix

Appendix A1 – Respondents per state and nativity status

	"First generation" (noncitizens in parentheses)	"Second generation"	"Third generation plus"
Alabama	94 (20)	94	2853
Alaska	20 (2)	34	511
Arizona	309 (55)	599	5276
Arkansas	54 (15)	87	2105
California	2389 (506)	3708	16466
Colorado	188 (34)	286	3703
Connecticut	194 (46)	382	2299
Delaware	36 (6)	66	786
Florida	2060 (368)	1897	13004
Georgia	454 (98)	427	6502
Hawaii	61 (11)	89	575
Idaho	44 (9)	86	1265
Illinois	549 (102)	888	8256
Indiana	129 (28)	210	4840
Iowa	79 (19)	79	2427
Kansas	77 (15)	94	2451
Kentucky	73 (16)	100	3103
Louisiana	84 (16)	90	2551
Maine	34 (9)	116	1398
Maryland	299 (69)	354	3662
Massachusetts	315 (69)	579	3595
Michigan	254 (46)	561	7310
Minnesota	166 (47)	203	3878
Mississippi	37 (6)	39	1607
Missouri	127 (24)	188	4955
Montana	18 (3)	63	853
Nebraska	37 (9)	60	1387
Nevada	154 (31)	275	2284
New Hampshire	42 (8)	111	1301
New Jersey	619 (98)	830	4761
New Mexico	59 (11)	138	1618
New York	1318 (249)	1870	9389
North Carolina	304 (79)	336	6211
North Dakota	17 (9)	33	504
Ohio	299 (58)	490	8966
Oklahoma	72 (14)	85	2340
Oregon	165 (28)	362	3676

Pennsylvania	378 (71)	717	9947
Rhode Island	43 (10)	96	754
South Carolina	108 (22)	141	3029
South Dakota	9 (2)	24	678
Tennessee	118 (19)	147	4161
Texas	1091 (232)	1374	13547
Utah	96 (22)	155	1812
Vermont	12 (3)	52	521
Virginia	349 (78)	405	5260
Washington	346 (90)	502	5287
West Virginia	28 (5)	35	1485
Wisconsin	140 (20)	286	4594
Wyoming	10 (4)	40	437

Note: CCES data from 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014.

Appendix A2 – codebook CCES

Variable	Summary statistics	Operationalization/source*
<i>Dependent variables</i>		
Governor approval	<i>Share (strongly or somewhat approve): 50%</i>	Dummy: 1 = strongly or somewhat approve, 0 = strongly or somewhat disapprove
Voter registration	<i>Share (registered to vote): 93%</i>	Dummy: 1 = registered to vote, 0 = not registered to vote
Vote	<i>Share (voted): 86%</i>	Dummy: 1 = voted, 0 = did not vote in most recent election
<i>Individual covariates</i>		
Immigrant	<i>Shares</i> All: 14.5% 1 st generation: 6% 2 nd generation: 8.5%	Dummy: 1 = immigrant, 0 = native since three generations or longer
Noncitizen	<i>Share (noncit.): 1.2%</i>	Dummy: 1 = citizen, 0 = noncitizen
Age	Mean: 50.8 SD: 15.9 Min.: 18 Max: 100	Age (in years) of respondent
Gender	<i>Share (Male): 47.5%</i>	Dummy: 1 = male, 0 = female
Race	<i>Shares</i> White: 76% Black: 11% Hispanic: 7% Asian: 2% Other: 4%	5 categories
Education	<i>Shares</i> Primary education: 3% Secondary education: 53% Tertiary education: 44%	Highest completed level of education, 3 categories: (1) no or primary education; (2) secondary education; (3) tertiary education
Employment	<i>Shares</i> Full-time: 41% Part-time: 10% Unemployed: 7%	4 categories

	Other: 42%	
Marital status	<i>Shares</i>	5 categories
	Married: 58%	
	Domestic partnership: 5%	
	Separated/divorced: 13%	
	Single: 19%	
	Widowed: 5%	
Family income	Mean: 6.3	12 categories, numerical order :
	SD: 3.1	1) less than \$10,000
	Min.: 1	2) \$10,000 - \$19,999
	Max.: 12	3) \$20,000 - \$29,999
		4) \$30,000 - \$39,999
		5) \$40,000 - \$49,999
		6) \$50,000 - \$59,999
		7) \$60,000 - \$69,999
		8) \$70,000 - \$79,999
		9) \$80,000 - \$99,999
		10) \$100,000 - \$119,999
		11) \$120,000 - \$149,999
		12) \$150,000 or more
Homeowner	<i>Shares</i>	3 categories
	Own: 69%	
	Rent: 27%	
	Other: 4%	
Political ideology	<i>Shares</i>	5 categories
	Very liberal: 8%	
	Liberal: 18%	
	Moderate: 34%	
	Conservative: 26%	
	Very conservative: 14%	
Party identification	<i>Shares</i>	7 categories
	Strong democrat: 24%	
	Not very strong dem.: 12%	
	Lean dem.: 11%	
	Independent: 12%	
	Lean republican: 12%	
	Not very strong rep.: 10%	
	Strong rep.: 19%	
<i>Year covariate</i>		

Presidential election year	Share (presid.): 37.1%	Dummy: 1 = presidential election year, 0 = no presidential election year
State covariates**		
Organizat. density	Mean: 1.4 SD: 2.2 Min.: 0.11 Max.: 37.8	Number of 501(c)3 organizations in a state per 1000 residents Sources: National Center for Charitable Statistics, Population Division of the US Census Bureau, own calculation
% unemployed	Mean: 7.5 SD: 2.3 Min.: 2.6 Max.: 13.7	Average unemployment rate per state (in %) Source: UKCPR National Welfare Data
% urban	Mean: 79.8 SD: 12 Min.: 38.2 Max.: 100	Share of population living in an urban area (in %) Source: Decennial Census, U.S. Census Bureau
% Bachelor degree or higher	Mean: 28.4 SD: 4.5 Min.: 15.1 Max.: 55.1	Share of the population over 25 years with bachelor's degree or higher (in %)
% foreign born	Mean: 12.2 SD: 7.6 Min.: 1.2 Max.: 27.4	Share of foreign born immigrants (in %) Source: American Community Survey
% Hispanics	Mean: 15.1% SD: 12.3 Min.: 0.5% Max.: 47.3%	Share of Hispanics (in %) Source: American Community Survey
% Black	Mean: 12.1% SD: 7.9 Min.: 0.3% Max.: 56.8%	Share of African Americans (in %) Source: United States Census Bureau
GDP	Mean: 48103 SD: 9718 Min.: 28348 Max.: 178660	Gross domestic product per capita (in USD) Source: UKCPR National Welfare Data

Democratic governor	<i>Share (dem. gov.): 48%</i>	Dummy: 1 = Democrat, 0 = Republican Source: UKCPR National Welfare Data
Democrats in Senate	Mean: 0.48 SD: 0.15 Min.: 0.13 Max.: 0.96	Fraction of the State Senate that is Democrat Source: UKCPR National Welfare Data
Democrats in House	Mean: 0.51 SD: 0.14 Min.: 0.13 Max.: 0.92	Fraction of the State House that is Democrat Source: UKCPR National Welfare Data
Education spending	Mean: 2691 SD: 429 Min.: 1744 Max.: 4986	Local and State education spending (in USD) per capita Source: US Government Spending
Welfare spending	Mean: 736 SD: 314 Min.: 267 Max.: 2959	Local and State welfare spending in \$ per capita Source: US Government Spending
Protection spending	Mean: 691 SD: 185 Min.: 327 Max.: 1928	Local and State protection spending in \$ per capita Source: US Government Spending

* All individual variables stem from the Cooperative Congressional Election Studies (CCES) surveys 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014

** For robustness check in Appendix A7. All state controls are measured with a one-year time lag with regard to the individual outcomes governor approval and voting propensity.

Appendix A3 – Four policy indices and their measurement

<i>Language policy</i>		<i>Social benefits policy</i>	
<i>Inclusive</i>	<i>Restrictive</i>	<i>Inclusive</i>	<i>Restrictive</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Requirement of state agencies to provide foreign language information on websites Requirement of provision of services or information in the person's language Establishment of Office for New Americans Provision of funding for non-profits working with non-English speaking populations Allowance of exams in other languages Provision for court translators/interpreters Provision for translators/interpreters for other essential services (e.g., hospitals) Appropriate funding for translators/interpreters Increase in funding for translators/interpreters Establishment of right to interpreting services in court Creation of program for citizenship/naturalization services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English as official language of the state Requirement for jurors to be citizens Requirement of English fluency for benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legal Permanent Residents (LPRs) eligible for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) Expansion of LPR eligibility for TANF Refugee/asylees eligible for TANF Non-citizen victims of domestic abuse or human trafficking eligible for TANF LPRs eligible for General Assistance Expansion of LPR eligibility for General Assistance Refugee/asylees eligible for General Assistance Non-citizen victims of domestic abuse or human trafficking eligible for General Assistance Inclusion of TPs, PRUCOL, and other categories of legal residents in TANF LPRs eligible for Food Stamps (SNAP) Expansion of LPR eligibility for Food Stamps (SNAP) Undocumented eligible for Food Stamps (SNAP) Refugee/asylees eligible for Food Stamps (SNAP) Expansion of refugee/asylee eligibility for Food Stamps (SNAP) Non-citizen victims of domestic abuse or human trafficking eligible for Food Stamps (SNAP) LPRs eligible for unemployment assistance Undocumented eligible for unemployment assistance LPRs eligible for disability benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Requirement that state agencies collect data and report on the number of ineligible non-citizens applying for benefits Requirement that state agencies collect data and report on the number of LPRs/refugees applying for benefits Restriction of LPR eligibility for TANF Restriction of undocumented eligibility for TANF Requirement of verification of status for TANF Restriction of LPR eligibility for General Assistance Exclusion of LPRs in the 5 year gap from general Assistance Restriction of undocumented eligibility for General Assistance Requirement of verification of status for General Assistance Restriction of LPR eligibility for Food Stamps (SNAP) Restriction of undocumented eligibility for Food Stamps (SNAP) Requirement of verification of status for food stamps Restriction of LPR eligibility for unemployment assistance Restriction of undocumented eligibility for unemployment assistance Requirement of verification of status for unemployment assistance Restriction of LPR eligibility for disability benefits Restriction of undocumented eligibility for disability benefits Restriction of refugee/asylee eligibility for disability benefits Requirement of verification of status for disability benefits Restriction of LPR eligibility for pensions Restriction of undocumented eligibility for pensions Discussion of SAVE program Requirement that eligibility for benefits be verified through use of SAVE Imposition of new identification requirements for social/health benefits Search for implementation of new identification requirements for social/health benefits

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requirement that voting materials be available in foreign languages • No requirement of English proficiency for social services, healthcare, or housing 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expansion of LPR eligibility for disability benefits • Refugee/asylees eligible for disability benefits • LPRs eligible for pensions • Refugee/asylees eligible for pensions • No requirement of state identification for disaster relief assistance • No requirement of state identification for public health assistance for immunizations • No requirement of state identification for community-based food assistance (e.g., soup kitchens) • Requirement that only the immigrant's income be used in determining an immigrant's eligibility for benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imposition of criminal penalties for obtaining social services for unqualified individuals • Requirement that the sponsor's income be included in determination of an immigrant's eligibility for benefits • Requirement that state agencies/service providers turn over undocumented immigrant applicants to federal authorities
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Notes: Indices extracted from database constructed by Filindra and Pearson-Merkowitz (2016)

Appendix A4 – The moderating effect of integration policy on immigrant-native gaps in political attitudes and behavior (OLS regression)

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>
	Governor approval	Voting
Immigrant (ref.cat.: natives [third generation+])	0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Inclusive language policy (ILP)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
Exclusionary language policy (ELP)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)
Inclusive social benefits (ISBP)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.0)
Exclusionary social benefits (ESBP)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
<i>Individual controls</i>	✓	✓
<i>State FEs</i>	✓	✓
<i>Presidential election year</i>	✓	✓
Immigrant * ILP	0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Immigrant * ELP	0.05 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.06)
Immigrant * ISBP	0.01 ⁺ (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Immigrant * ESBP	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Constant	0.54*** (0.02)	0.44*** (0.01)
Observations	176,878	131,294
Adjusted R ²	0.03	0.15

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1. Logistic regression (log-odds, standard errors clustered by state in parentheses). State fixed effects and control for presidential years included. Individual controls

omitted to save space include age, gender, race, education, employment, marital status, family income, homeownership, as well as political ideology and party identification. The immigrant dummy in model 1 comprises immigrant citizens and non-citizens, whereas in voting model 2 it includes only immigrant citizens.

Appendix A5 – The moderating effect of integration policy on immigrant-native gaps in voter registration

	Voter registration
Immigrant (ref.cat.: natives [third generation+])	-0.27*** (0.04)
Inclusive language policy (ILP)	0.00 (0.01)
Exclusionary language policy (ELP)	-0.08 (0.19)
Inclusive social benefits (ISBP)	-0.13*** (0.03)
Exclusionary social benefits (ESBP)	-0.01 (0.01)
<i>Individual controls</i>	✓
<i>State FEs</i>	✓
<i>Presidential election year</i>	✓
Immigrant * ILP	-0.01 (0.02)
Immigrant * ELP	1.35 (1.12)
Immigrant * ISBP	-0.10 (0.06)
Immigrant * ESBP	0.02 (0.02)
Constant	0.62*** (0.14)
Observations	184,515
AIC	53254

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. Logistic regression (log-odds, standard errors clustered by state in parentheses). State fixed effects and control for presidential years included. Individual controls omitted to save space include age, gender, race, education, employment, marital status, family income, homeownership, as well as political ideology and party identification. Immigrant dummy comprises immigrant citizens only.

Appendix A6 – The moderating effect of integration policy on Latino-White gaps in political attitudes and behavior

	Model 1	Model 2
	Governor approval	Voting
Latino (ref.cat: White)	-0.04 ⁺ (0.02)	-0.37*** (0.04)
Inclusive language policy (ILP)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
Restrictive language policy (RLP)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.17)
Inclusive social benefits (ISP)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.03)
Restrictive social benefits (RSP)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)
Individual controls	✓	✓
State FEs	✓	✓
Presidential election year	✓	✓
Latinos * ILP	0.07*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
Latino * RLP	1.00 (0.56)	-0.71 (0.61)
Latino * ISP	0.07 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.09)
Latino * RSP	-0.08*** (0.01)	0.06* (0.03)
Constant	0.35*** (0.07)	-2.23*** (0.13)
Observations	149,493	112,441
AIC	201343	63010

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1. Logistic regression (log-odds, standard errors clustered by state in parentheses). State fixed effects and control for presidential years included. Individual controls omitted to save space include age, gender, race, education, employment, marital status, family income, homeownership, as well as political ideology and party identification. Model 2 is restricted to citizens.

Appendix A7 – State control variables instead of fixed effects

	Model 1	Model 2
	Governor approval	Voting
Immigrant (ref.cat.: natives [third generation+])	0.10*** (0.02)	-0.18*** (0.03)
Inclusive language policy (ILP)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)
Exclusionary language policy (ELP)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.18 (0.13)
Inclusive social benefits (ISBP)	-0.07*** (0.01)	0.18*** (0.02)
Exclusionary social benefits (ESBP)	0.05*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.01)
<i>Individual controls</i>	✓	✓
<i>Presidential election year</i>	✓	✓
<i>State controls</i>		
Organizational density	0.02*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)
% unemployed	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
% urban	-0.01*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
% Bachelor degree or higher	0.00+ (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
% foreign born	0.01*** (0.00)	-0.04*** (0.00)
% Hispanic	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)
% Black	0.01** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
GDP	0.1*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Democratic governor	0.13*** (0.01)	-0.07** (0.03)
Democrats in Senate	-0.33*** (0.07)	0.14 (0.13)
Democrats in House	-0.02 (0.08)	0.14 (0.17)
Education spending	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)

Welfare spending	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)
Protection spending	0.01+ (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Immigrant * ILP	0.04*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Immigrant * ELP	0.24 (0.30)	-0.09 (0.57)
Immigrant * ISBP	0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.06)
Immigrant * ESBP	-0.05*** (0.01)	0.05* (0.02)
Constant	0.72*** (0.08)	-1.97*** (0.18)
Observations	175,794	130,113
AIC	239450	76390

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1. Logistic regression (log-odds, standard errors clustered by state in parentheses). Year fixed effects and control for presidential years included. Individual controls omitted to save space include age, gender, race, education, employment, marital status, family income, homeownership, as well as political ideology and party identification. The immigrant dummy in model 1 comprises immigrant citizens and non-citizens, whereas in voting model 2 it includes only immigrant citizens.

Appendix A8 – Noncitizens versus citizens

	Governor approval
Noncitizen (ref.cat.: citizen)	0.31*** (0.06)
Inclusive language policy (ILP)	0.09*** (0.00)
Exclusionary language policy (ELP)	-0.07 (0.08)
Inclusive social benefits (ISBP)	0.05*** (0.01)
Exclusionary social benefits (ESBP)	-0.01* (0.00)
<i>Individual controls</i>	✓
<i>State FEs</i>	✓
<i>Presidential election year</i>	✓
Noncitizen * ILP	0.04 (0.03)
Noncitizen * ELP	-0.51 (1.21)
Noncitizen * ISBP	-0.02 (0.09)
Noncitizen * ESBP	-0.12*** (0.04)
Constant	0.18*** (0.06)
Observations	176,878
AIC	239492

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1. Logistic regression (log-odds, standard errors clustered by state in parentheses). State fixed effects and control for presidential years included. Individual controls omitted to save space include age, gender, race, education, employment, marital status, family income, homeownership, as well as political ideology and party identification. Since voting and voter registration require citizenship status, we can only run the governor approval model for noncitizens.

Appendix A9 – Alternative integration policy indices (inclusive minus exclusive)

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>
	Governor approval	Voting
Immigrant (ref.cat.: natives [third generation+])	0.09*** (0.02)	-0.19*** (0.03)
Language policy	0.08*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)
Social benefits	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)
<i>Individual controls</i>	✓	✓
<i>State FEs</i>	✓	✓
<i>Presidential election year</i>	✓	✓
Immigrant * Language policy	0.04*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Immigrant * Social benefits	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.04 ⁺ (0.02)
Constant	0.21*** (0.06)	-2.00*** (0.11)
Observations	176,878	131,294
AIC	239459	76960

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1. Logistic regression (log-odds, standard errors clustered by state in parentheses). State fixed effects and control for presidential years included. Individual controls omitted to save space include age, gender, race, education, employment, marital status, family income, homeownership, as well as political ideology and party identification. The immigrant dummy in model 1 comprises immigrant citizens and non-citizens, whereas in voting model 2 it includes only immigrant citizens.