

## Online Appendix A- Survey Items from Immigration Politics in the Trump Era Survey (ITES)

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**Age** Variable constructed using year survey was administered (2019) and response to “What year were you born?”. Answer choices were from 1920-2002 and were presented in a dropdown menu. A six-point scale of age categories where a value of 1 is 18-24 years, 2 is 25-34 years, 3 is 35-44 years, 4 is 45-54 years, 5 is 55-64 years, and 6 is 65 years or older.

**Male**- Binary Variable with male respondents assigned a value of 1 and all other respondents assigned a 0. Created using the answer choice “Male” from the question “Which gender do you identify as?” Answer choices were (Male, Female, and Other).

**Republican**- Binary variable with Republican respondents assigned a value of 1 and all non-Republicans are assigned a value of 0. Created using the answer choice from two items: “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent”. Follow-up question asked people who selected to Independent, “Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?”. All people who identified themselves as Republican in the first question were coded as 1, as were Independents who identified themselves as closer to the Republican Party. All other respondents were coded as 0.

**Democrat**- Binary variable created using the answer choice from two items: “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent”. Follow-up question asked people who selected to Independent, “Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?”. All people who identified themselves as Democrats in the first question were coded as 1, as were Independents who identified themselves as closer to the Democratic Party. All other respondents were coded as 0.

**Independent**- Binary variable created using the answer choice from two items: “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent”. Follow-up question asked people who selected to Independent, “Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?”. All people who identified themselves as Independents or marked Other in the first question were coded as 1, as were Independents who identified themselves as neither closer to the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. All other respondents were coded as 0.

**Education**- 7-point scale. Item asks, “What is the highest level of education you have completed”. Answer choices are Grades 1-8(1), Some High School (2), High School/GED (3), Some College (4), 2-year College Degrees (5), 4-year College Degree (6), and Post Graduate Degree (MA, MBA, MD, PhD, etc.) (7).

**Ideology**- 7-point scale ranging from Liberal to Conservative. Respondents were asked “In general, do you think of yourself as Extremely Liberal (1), Liberal (2) Slightly Liberal (3), Moderate/ middle of the road (4), Slightly conservative (5), Conservative (6), Extremely Conservative (7).

**Income**- 7-point scale constructed using the respondent’s self-reported income. Respondent’s income level is coded as 1 if less than \$20,000, 2 if between \$20,000-\$29,999, 3 if \$30,000-\$49,999, 4 if \$50,000-\$79,999, 5 if \$80,000-\$99,999, 6 if \$100,000- \$124,999, and 7 if \$125,000 or more.

**Border State-** Binary variable created using the state the respondent identified as the state they live in. If a respondent lives in a state that shares a geographical border with the U.S-Mexico Border (California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas), then they were coded as 1 and coded. All other respondents were coded as 0.

**Economic Perceptions-** “Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?” Answer choices were Gotten Better (3), Stayed about the Same (2), and Gotten Worse (1).

**Fox News Viewer-** “How frequently would you say you watch Fox News? Would it be daily, most days, only once or twice a week, rarely, or never?” Answer choices were Daily (5), Most Days (4), Once or twice a week (3), Rarely (2), Never (1).

**Trump Voter-** Binary variable for respondents who indicated they voted for Trump in 2016. Trump voters were assigned a value of 1 and all others a value of 0. The question asked “In the 2016 Presidential election, which candidate did you vote for or did you not vote?”. Answer choices were Hilary Clinton, Donald Trump, Other, and Did not vote.

#### *Racial Attitude Variables*

**Cultural Threat** -How concerned are you that immigration from Latin America is changing American culture? Answer choices ranged from Extremely concerned (5), Very Concerned, (4), Somewhat concerned (3), Slightly concerned (2), Not at all Concerned (1). In some analyses, where noted, these were collapsed into two categories of High and Low Cultural Threat. High included Extremely, Very, and Somewhat and Low included Slightly and Not at All.

**Demographic Threat-** The Census Bureau estimates that by 2045 racial minorities will compose the majority of the United States population. How concerned are you about this demographic change? Answer choices included Extremely Concerned (4), Very Concerned (3), Somewhat Concerned (2), Not at all Concerned (1).

**Perceptions of Discrimination Latinos Face, Perceptions of Discrimination Immigrants Face, and Perceptions of Discrimination Whites Face** - Created using a grid question that asked “How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups?” Then various racial and ethnic groups were listed. Answer choices included A great deal (5), A lot (4), A moderate amount (3), A little (2), None at all (1). In this book, we use the questions for Latinos, immigrants, and whites.

**White Racial Advantage-** Do you agree or disagree that white people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. Answer choices ranged from Strongly Agree (4), Somewhat Agree (3), Somewhat Disagree (2), and Strongly Disagree (1).

**White Identity Strength-** How important is being White to your identity? Answer choices were Extremely Important (5), Very Important (4), Moderately Important (3), Slightly Important (2), Not at All Important (1).

**Racial Resentment** – An additive index constructed from responses to four survey items with survey responses ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree. The survey items asked respondents if they agree/disagree that 1) blacks should work their way up without any special favors; 2) generations of slavery and discrimination make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class; 3) blacks

have gotten less than they deserve; 4) blacks must try harder to get ahead. The index is scaled to range from 0 (least resentful) to 1 (most resentful).

### *Immigration Policy Variables*

**Immigration Top Issue** -Binary variable constructed using answer choice to “On the whole, what are the three most important issues facing your community that you think the President and Congress should address? (Please select 3). Respondents were presented with a list of sixteen issues. If a respondent selected immigration as one of their top three issues, they were coded as 1 and all other respondents were coded as 0.

**Border Wall**- “Do you support or oppose building a wall along the entire U.S.-Mexico border?” Answer choices were Strongly Support (4), Somewhat Support (3), Somewhat Oppose (2), Strongly Oppose (1).

**Border Wall Effectiveness Drugs**- Do you agree or disagree that the construction of a border wall along the U.S.-Mexico border will stop illegal drugs from entering the U.S? Answer choices were Strongly Agree (4), Somewhat Agree (3), Somewhat Disagree (2), Strongly Disagree (1).

**Border Wall Effectiveness Undocumented Immigrants**- Do you agree or disagree that the construction of a border wall along the U.S.-Mexico border will stop illegal immigration? Answer choices were Strongly Agree (4), Somewhat Agree (3), Somewhat Disagree (2), Strongly Disagree (1).

**Border Wall Effectiveness Terrorism**- Do you agree or disagree that the construction of a border wall along the U.S.-Mexico border will stop terrorists from entering the country? Answer choices were Strongly Agree (4), Somewhat Agree (3), Somewhat Disagree (2), Strongly Disagree (1).

**Child Detention**- What should be done when migrant children are detained by immigration authorities? Put the children in an immigrant detention facility (1), Release the children to a family member or sponsor (2), Deport the children (3)

**Child Detention Rights**- When migrant children are detained and held in child detention facilities without a parent or adult family member, which of the following should they have access to? (Select all that apply)

Medical care (1)

Personal hygiene products (for example: soap, toothbrush, toothpaste, diapers) (2)

Adequate amount of food and water (3)

English courses (4)

Educational courses (5)

Outdoor time for play and exercise (6)

Psychological services (7)

Adequate sleeping accommodations such as a bed or mat (8)

Legal counsel/attorney (9)

Adequate temperature control and ventilation (10)

**Family Separation**- A new policy was recently implemented that says when families are caught crossing illegally into the United States through the U.S-Mexico border, the adults will be referred for criminal prosecution and their minor children will be separated from them and sent to a detention facility. Do you

support or oppose this policy? Answer choices were Strongly Support (4), Somewhat Support (3), Somewhat Oppose (2), Strongly Oppose (1).

**Immigrant Stereotype Crime-** Compared to American citizens, how likely do you think illegal immigrants are to commit crimes – are illegal immigrants more likely, less likely, or about as likely to commit crimes as American citizens? Answer choices were Less Likely (3), About as Likely (2), More Likely (1).

**Immigrant Stereotype Social Services-** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they use too many social services, such as welfare. Answer choices were Strongly Agree (4), Somewhat Agree (3), Somewhat Disagree (2), Strongly Disagree (1).

**Approval of Trump on Immigration-** Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Trump is handling the issue of immigration? Answer choices were Strongly Approve (4), Somewhat approve (3), Somewhat Disapprove (2), and Strongly Disapprove (1).

**Immigration Importance Vote-** How important will the issue of immigration be to your vote for President in the 2020 election? Answer choices were Extremely important (5), Very important (4), Moderately important (3), Slightly important (2), Not at all important (1)

**Trump Racist-** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Donald Trump's actions and rhetoric towards Latino immigrants are racist. Answer choices were Strongly Agree (4), Somewhat Agree (3), Somewhat Disagree (2), Strongly Disagree (1).

#### *Immigration Policy Variables Following the Survey Experiments*

**Border Wall Support/ Experiment** - Do you support or oppose construction of the border wall? Answer choices were Strongly Support (4), Somewhat Support (3), Somewhat Oppose (2), Strongly Oppose (1).

**Child Detention Support/Experiment-** Do you agree or disagree that the federal government should hold migrant children in detention facilities? Answer choices were Strongly Agree (4), Somewhat Agree (3), Somewhat Disagree (2), Strongly Disagree (1).

**Family Separation Support/Experiment** - Do you support or oppose separating immigrant families being held by federal immigration authorities? Answer choices were Strongly Support (4), Somewhat Support (3), Somewhat Oppose (2), Strongly Oppose (1).