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### **Tolerance toward Immigrants as a Dimension of Cosmopolitanism: Explaining Attitudes toward Immigrants in Houston**

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Explaining Attitudes toward Immigrants in Houston**

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## **Tolerance toward Immigrants as a Dimension of Cosmopolitanism: Explaining Attitudes toward Immigrants in Houston**

### **ABSTRACT**

In this study, I argue that attitudes toward immigrants in the U.S. are particularly different in metropolitan areas characterized by ethno-racial diversity brought about by immigration in order to explain tolerance toward immigrants as a dimension of cosmopolitanism. I further examine whether the influences of individual and contextual characteristics on attitudes toward immigrants in Houston, the metropolitan research setting, reveal how its inhabitants have gradually been accepting their complex foreign diversity as normal. Using data from the Houston Area Survey, I found that the proportion of immigrants in communities is directly associated with tolerance, that white-collar workers are not more tolerant than non-white-collar workers, and that the effect of education on tolerance toward immigrants is not always positive. The conceptualization of tolerance toward immigrants as a dimension of cosmopolitanism serves to explain tolerance not only as a reflection of public opinion, but as a disposition toward the acceptance of diversity in receiving societies.

### **KEYWORDS**

Attitudes toward immigrants; Cosmopolitanism; Threat; Urban studies; Houston

## **Tolerance toward Immigrants as a Dimension of Cosmopolitanism:**

### **Explaining Attitudes toward Immigrants in Houston**

Immigration and race and ethnicity scholars have been interested in investigating what –and why– several social characteristics and trends significantly influence attitudes toward immigrants in receiving societies. Haubert and Fussell (2006) explained national-level pro-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. using cosmopolitanism as a competing perspective of threat frameworks. They conceptualized cosmopolitanism following new class theory (e.g., Gouldner 1979), which explains the rise of a new class of liberal knowledge workers who have a distinctive cultural orientation that assess traditional conventions in more critical ways. New class members have sociocultural resources to develop positive attitudes toward foreigners, and gain prestige among their peers by proving that they are tolerant and non-racist. Although Haubert and Fussell (2006) acknowledged identification of new class members as an analytic problem, they relied on consensus among new class scholars, who suggested that membership is determined by occupation and education. Accordingly, they operationalized cosmopolitanism with white-collar occupation and college or higher educational attainment, as well as with other characteristics attributed to new class members: liberal political ideology, having lived abroad, and rejection of ethnocentrism.

In this study, I relax the theoretical assumption of a new class boundary in order to alternatively explain tolerance toward immigrants as a dimension of cosmopolitanism in receiving societies. Cosmopolitanism is not merely an orientation toward the appreciation of foreign cultures in contrast with the solely local interests of parochial residents (see Merton [1949] 1968). Instead, I explain cosmopolitanism as a construct that encompass several dimensions –ideals, actions, dispositions, and beliefs that favor transnationalism and

inclusiveness— in settings where individuals are indeed able to appreciate foreign cultures. Tolerance toward immigrants as a dimension of cosmopolitanism represents a necessary but not sufficient characteristic of cosmopolitanism in established destinations. I argue that attitudes toward immigrants are particularly different in metropolitan areas with a significant ethnically/racially diverse presence of immigrants who embody and perform foreign cultures. In these cities, tolerance toward immigrants is not only influenced by the growing presence of immigrants and their descendants, but also by how their inhabitants —U.S.-born individuals and immigrants— have gradually been accepting this complex diversity as normal influenced by individual and environmental characteristics.

Using this alternative perspective, I analyze attitudes toward immigrants in Houston. Due to its complex, maybe unique ethnic diversity brought about by immigration, Houston serves as a genuine laboratory for sociological research on attitudes toward immigrants and cosmopolitanism. To begin with, I examine whether multicultural contexts, captured by the proportion of immigrants in communities, are directly associated with tolerance toward immigrants. In this way, I test the main argument suggested below: in metropolitan areas characterized by a complex ethno-racial diversity such as Houston, the more multicultural the context is, the greater the tolerance toward immigrants will be. Then, I relax the assumption of a new class boundary by examining whether non-white-collar workers and poorly educated individuals could have developed favorable attitudes toward immigrants.

#### IMMIGRANTS AS A THREAT

Prejudice against minorities refers to the pervasiveness of antipathetic attitudes toward ethnic populations that are normally supported by stereotypes (Quillian 2006; Allport [1954] 1958). Attitudes toward minorities have been extensively explained by threat theories,

which posit that ethnic and racial prejudice is the consequence of the fear that subordinate ethnic populations represent for the average mainstream citizen, who is commonly depicted as a member of the dominant race. Threat frameworks have offered several individual- and contextual-level explanations of prejudice that are complementary, rather than mutually exclusive or contradictory. Individual-level threat is caused by socioeconomic competition or by sociocultural differences that are reinforced by learned, unchallenged stereotypes (Bobo and Hutchings 1996). Group threat explanations emphasize that the collective identity, the resources, and the prerogatives of the dominant group are challenged by the growing presence of other ethnicities (Quillian 1996; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Blumer 1958). Perceptions of threat are collectively defined either as abstract moralistic resentments (symbolic racism) or as a threat to real resources (realistic conflict) that cannot be reduced to individual-level threat (Bobo 1983).

The empirical analysis of group threat is founded on the power-threat hypothesis, thoroughly developed by Blalock (1967), which suggests that the larger the size of the minority group, the greater the threat to the majority group will be. Blalock (1967) emphasized that a larger size of the minority group could increase competition for resources as well as the potential for political mobilization against the dominant group. Several studies present evidence of the national-level positive association between the proportion of African-Americans in contextual environments and whites' anti-black prejudice (Taylor and Mateyka 2011; Dixon 2006; Quillian 1996). In contrast, Dixon (2006) found no national-level evidence of a significant association between the proportion of Latinos in counties and whites' anti-Latino prejudice.

Threat frameworks are also used to explain attitudes toward immigrants (Kunovich 2013; Hawley 2011; Ayers et al. 2009; Espenshade and Hempstead 1996; Espenshade and Calhoun 1993). Espenshade and Hempstead (1996) found that sociocultural and economic sources of threat (cultural affinity, labor market competition, utilitarian realistic conflict) influenced a preference for lower levels of immigration at the national level. They found that Latinos were not significantly more inclined to accept higher levels of immigration compared with whites, and pointed to the cultural divide between Mexican-Americans and Mexicans and other ethnic differences among Latinos as possible causes of the lack of cultural affinity. This finding contrasts with the metropolitan-level differences in attitudes toward illegal immigration between Hispanics and non-Hispanics found by Espenshade and Calhoun (1993).

Moreover, Hood and Morris (1997) found no national-level evidence of a direct association between the presence of Hispanics (percentage in counties) and Anglos' views about immigration. However, Ayers et al. (2009) found metropolitan-level evidence of the negative impact of percentage of Latino in census tracts on Anglos' support for amnesty to undocumented immigrants and Anglos' support for legal immigration. They also found that Anglo aversion to Latinos has a negative effect on Anglos' support for legal and Mexican immigration. Based on this evidence, Ayers et al. (2009) explained whites' negative attitudes toward immigration as a problem caused by racial resentments.

Studies that examined contextual effects on national-level attitudes toward immigration suggest that individuals who live closer to larger proportions of foreign-born individuals are not necessarily more prejudiced against immigrants. Hopkins (2010) found evidence to support his politicized places hypothesis. Individuals who neighbor large

proportions of immigrants (in counties and zip codes) are not consistently more prejudiced against immigrants unless they experience unexpected changes in local demographics while political discourses against immigration have significant media coverage. Hawley (2011) also found that the contextual effect of percentage foreign-born in counties did not have a significant impact on the support of immigration restrictions. However, the impact of the interaction of being Republican and percentage foreign-born on the support was positive and significant. Republicans are more likely to support immigration restrictions when their community has a sizable immigrant population.

#### THREAT VERSUS COSMOPOLITANISM

I define cosmopolitanism as a multidimensional construct that encompasses progressive actions and beliefs, as well as humanistic ideals of ethnic inclusiveness and transnational integration that influence several norms in a society (Kendall, Woodward, and Skrbis 2009). Some of its dimensions can be differentiated from more abstract components as attitudes and behaviors that can be empirically measured and examined (Beck and Sznajder 2006; Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2008; Woodward, Skrbis, and Bean 2008). For instance, Mau et al. (2008) identified attitudinal dimensions of cosmopolitanism in Germany such as the acknowledgment of the increasing interconnectedness between local and global communities, and the local celebration of difference, diversity, and hybridity. These dimensions correspond to latent dispositions toward openness to foreign cultures that exist in a particular society. From this perspective, tolerance toward immigrants represents an attitudinal dimension of cosmopolitanism in receiving societies.

I argue that *tolerance toward immigrants as a dimension of cosmopolitanism* should be distinguished from general ethnic tolerance toward immigrants because the former chiefly

exists in areas with a high level of urbanization. A cosmopolitan setting is characterized by the local organization of cultural plurality rather than by the normal replication of traditional uniformity (Hannerz 1990). The complexity and relevance of cultural plurality is greater in metropolitan areas, where the presence of immigrants has been notably greater over time compared with non-metropolitan areas (see Figure 1a). Tolerance toward immigrants in non-metropolitan areas is only associated with the local presence of foreign diversity, which may be scarce or not as complex as the diversity found in urban areas. An example could be tolerance toward immigrants in a small U.S. town with an overwhelmingly presence of Mexican immigrants. Local individuals could have learned to tolerate Mexicans and their descendants in this town, but they are not necessarily disposed to welcome other foreigners.

In contrast, individuals who live in metropolitan areas become familiar with a visible, more ethnically diverse foreign presence that allows them to better appreciate the benefits of cultural plurality. This foreign presence is not only composed of the stock of “international elements” present in a society, but also of “its flow in and around it that enables individuals and ideas to circulate throughout urban society” (Savitch 2010: 43). Therefore, *tolerance toward immigrants as a dimension of cosmopolitanism* is defined as the consequence of overcoming perceptions of immigrants as a threat by the development of a disposition toward the acceptance of foreigners as locals in metropolitan areas. This disposition represents a necessary but not sufficient characteristic of cosmopolitanism keeping in mind that cosmopolitanism is also composed of other dimensions (Mau et al. 2008).

#### *Conceptual Caveats*

Haubert and Fussell (2006) found that white-collar workers and individuals with a college degree or more were indeed more tolerant toward immigrants. However, I do not

analyze whether individuals who are classified as cosmopolitans based on socioeconomic status (education and occupation) have positive attitudes toward immigrants. Alternatively I suggest that, *regardless of their socioeconomic status*, individuals who are tolerant toward immigrants in metropolitan areas have developed a disposition toward the acceptance of foreigners as locals *influenced by their multicultural contexts*. From this perspective, tolerance as a dimension of cosmopolitanism is the opposite of power-threat: the more multicultural the context is, the greater the tolerance toward immigrants will be. In this study, I relax the theoretical assumption of a new class boundary (see Szelenyi and Martin 1988) in order to examine whether non-white-collar workers and poorly educated individuals could have developed positive attitudes toward immigrants.

Furthermore, I relax the assumptions of social closure among immigrants, and social closure within ethnic and racial populations in order to avoid the reification of ethnic and racial characteristics and the immigrant condition as real groups (Brubaker 2004). Immigrants with access to legal status may not necessarily empathize with undocumented immigrants. Immigrants also may be prejudiced against immigrants and U.S.-born individuals of other ethnicities (Roth and Kim 2013). Similarly, local Hispanics may feel threatened by the growing presence of immigrant Hispanics because the latter could be directly competing against the former in the labor market, or because the former could be prejudiced against Hispanics of other countries or ethnicities (Rodriguez 1987).

**\*\*FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE\*\***

#### *Tolerance toward Immigrants beyond Public Opinion: Education and Cosmopolitanism*

Education has a positive impact on favorable attitudes toward immigration according to national-level studies (Kunovich 2013; Hawley 2011; Hopkins 2010; Haubert and Fussell

2006), metropolitan-level studies (O’Neil and Tienda 2010; Ayers et al. 2009; Espenshade and Calhoun 1993), and studies in other developed countries (Borgonovi 2012; Mau et al. 2008). However, the role of education is unclear with respect to “the exact pathways through which education operates” and to “what educators and policy makers could do to enhance the role of education in promoting (...) social cohesion” (Borgonovi 2012: 163). It has been commonly assumed that education offers greater exposure to individuals with different racial/ethnic backgrounds, contributes to inhibit the manifestation of prejudice, and provides knowledge that counteracts the fear caused by strangers (Schaefer 1996). The relevance of the content of schooling is highlighted by Quillian (1996), who points out the role of social science courses in education by suggesting that the effect of education have evolved over birth cohorts as the social sciences became more prominent, especially in college and possibly at the school level. This interpretation is consistent with the significant, negative effects of birth year, education, and their interaction on prejudice against African-Americans in his analysis.

Nevertheless, Jackman and Muha (1984) cast doubt on the significance of the positive effect of education on tolerance by arguing that the abstract democratic principles of the well-educated individual are superficial. Educated individuals better learn to avoid expressing intolerant views, but they may not behave differently with respect to less educated individuals. From this perspective, educational institutions provide the intellectual training to offer socially appropriate, politically correct opinions –ideological sophistication– rather than moral concern, and inculcate a mainstream ideology that legitimizes values and norms that mainly benefit dominant groups (Schaefer 1996; Carnoy 1989).

Consequently, tolerance toward immigrants should not be understood as the result of a highly analytic/moral stance. Individuals who have developed attitudes of tolerance toward immigrants may not distinguish several stereotypes of immigrants or understand their relevance as determinants of prejudice. Moreover, tolerance toward immigrants should not be unequivocally interpreted as the appreciation of immigrants. Individuals who have developed attitudes of tolerance toward immigrants do not necessarily behave in ways that reflect their appreciation of immigrants. Although tolerance toward immigrants is merely a disposition toward the acceptance of immigrants in a society, it may precede lower levels of discrimination and higher levels of integration by the promotion of diversity as a value that constrains the proliferation of prejudice to a certain extent. In other words, tolerance toward immigrants is, beyond a reflection of public opinion, a cultural resource (Swidler 1986) that helps individuals to behave more tolerantly.

As the foundation of cosmopolitanism (a necessary but not sufficient characteristic of cosmopolitanism), tolerance toward immigrants is a cultural resource that should be officially fostered in multicultural societies. Education should inculcate this resource, at minimum, because of its value as pragmatic knowledge that allows individuals to productively engage with foreign people in multicultural realms (Weenink 2008). This resource should be useful for successfully dealing with the forthcoming ethno-racial complexity in the U.S. (Lichter 2013); a complexity that already characterizes Houston as a receiving society.

## ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS IN HOUSTON

Houston is ranked as the fourth largest city in the U.S. This metropolitan area stands out as a prosperous world oil-technology distribution center with corporate

organizations that participate in national and global networks, and that are characterized by well-established international ties (Feagin 1985). Due to the strength and stability of Houston's economic activity, this city is attractive for companies as well as for individuals who come from other states as well as from different countries (see Badenhausen 2012; Fry and Taylor 2012). The great ethnic diversity represented by Middle Eastern, Asian, Latino, and African expat professionals and their descendants is conspicuous for white-collar workers at work, and for everybody else, in several public spaces (Perrottet 2013). Nevertheless, Houston is also a Southern city relatively close to the Mexican border with the highest level of income segregation among major U.S. metropolitan areas, and a large presence of poorly educated Latino manual workers, many of whom are undocumented immigrants (Fry and Taylor 2012). Local frames of prejudice have targeted Latinos of Mexican origin since the 1900s (Esparza 2012).

Figure 1b depicts percentages of foreign-born and Hispanic population in Houston over time. It shows that the Hispanic presence was already significant before the immigrant influx began in the 1980s. Moreover, it also depicts the immigrant influx over the last decades. Currently, about 28 percent of Houstonians are foreign-born, which is notably higher than the national-level percentage of foreign-born in metropolitan areas (about 12 percent; see Figure 1a). Figure 1c indicates that about 71 percent of foreign-born individuals in Houston are of Hispanic origin, and about 22 percent of foreign-born individuals are neither white nor Hispanic. Currently, about 44 percent of Houstonians are Hispanics (see Figure 1b); a presence that, according to the power-threat hypothesis, could be threatening for African-Americans (24 percent), Asians (six percent), and non-Hispanic whites (26

percent; see U.S. Census Bureau 2014b). Non-Hispanics may feel inclined to dislike not only Latinos, but immigrants in general.

### *Research Questions*

I intend to contextualize this analysis in Houston by answering the first three questions, which explore relevant characteristics in the literature of attitudes toward immigrants. Question 4 is central to the main argument in this study: in metropolitan areas characterized by a complex ethno-racial diversity, the more multicultural the context is, the greater the tolerance toward immigrants will be. Questions 5 and 6 serve to relax the theoretical assumption of a new class boundary.

1. *Are individuals in Houston, on average, tolerant toward immigrants?* Haubert and Fussell (2006) found that, at the national level, there is neither an outstandingly positive nor negative perception of immigrants. I investigate whether this balanced perception of immigrants also exists in a metropolitan area with a complex and influential presence of foreigners, and with a significant presence of Latinos.
2. *Are younger individuals more tolerant toward immigrants?* I expect that younger individuals are more tolerant toward immigrants (Hawley 2011; Espenshade and Calhoun 1993). However, the effect of age on attitudes toward immigrants may not be significant (Haubert and Fussell 2006; Espenshade and Hempstead 1996).
3. *Are Hispanics more tolerant toward immigrants than non-Hispanics?* In Houston, Anglos' sentiments toward Hispanics are not favorable (Lewis, Emerson, and Klineberg 2011). Moreover, perceived threat explains why the feelings of African-Americans with lower socioeconomic status toward immigrants tend to be negative, which contrast with the overall positive feelings toward immigrants of Hispanics in Houston (Rodriguez and

Mindiola 2011). Therefore, I expect that Hispanics are more tolerant toward immigrants than non-Hispanics. However, it is possible that Hispanics are not necessarily more tolerant toward immigrants than non-Hispanics due to ethnic differences within the Hispanic population (Espenshade and Hempstead 1996).

4. *Is the proportion of immigrants in communities directly associated with tolerance toward immigrants?* I expect that the proportion of immigrants in communities is not significantly associated with attitudes toward immigrants (Hawley 2011; Hopkins 2010). However, I investigate whether this association is different in Houston.
5. *Are white-collar workers more tolerant toward immigrants than non-white-collar workers?* I expect that white-collar workers are more tolerant toward immigrants than non-white-collar workers (Haubert and Fussell 2006). However, I investigate whether this association is different in Houston.
6. *Is educational attainment directly associated with tolerance toward immigrants?* I expect that educational attainment is positively associated with tolerance toward immigrants (Hawley 2011; Hopkins 2010; Haubert and Fussell 2006). However, I investigate whether this association is different in Houston.

## DATA AND METHODS

The data used in this analysis below come from the 2012 round of the Houston Area Survey (HAS), an annual telephone survey of public opinion that began in 1982, and that is currently conducted by the Kinder Institute for Urban Research at Rice University (Klineberg 2013). Beginning with the 2012 survey, the HAS included respondents from all

the counties that define the Houston metropolitan area.<sup>1</sup> Respondents are annually selected through a two-stage random-digit-dialing procedure aiming to ensure that every adult living in a household with a telephone (either landline or cellular phone) has an equal probability of being interviewed. In each accessed household, the respondent is randomly selected from all members aged 18 or older. Interviews were made in English and Spanish. Supplementary interviews are annually conducted using identical random-selection processes to oversample black and Hispanic respondents. The total sample consists of 1,610 respondents. Moreover, information from the 2006-10 American Community Survey (ACS) about the communities where the HAS respondents live was linked to the HAS. Response and cooperation rates were about 30 and 45 percent, respectively (Klineberg 2013).<sup>2</sup>

#### *Dependent Variable*

I computed an additive scale with six questions that targeted attitudes toward immigrants available in the 2012 round of the HAS after recoding their original values (Cronbach Alpha=0.73). Negative values indicate prejudice against immigrants whereas positive values indicate tolerance toward immigrants (see Table 1 below). These questions are: (1) What about granting illegal immigrants in the U.S. a path to legal citizenship? (2) What about allowing the children of undocumented immigrants who have graduated from college or served in the military to be granted permanent residency and the opportunity to become U.S. citizens? (3) We should take action to reduce the number of immigrants coming to America. (4) Do you think that the increasing ethnic diversity in Houston will eventually become a source of great strength for the city or a growing problem for the city?

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<sup>1</sup> Past rounds of the HAS only included respondents from Harris County.

<sup>2</sup> Although response and cooperation rates were overall low, these rates are relatively high for current telephone survey data (e.g., see O'Neil and Tienda 2010). However, the sample distributions support the confidence in the reliability of the data (Klineberg 2013).

(5) Large numbers of undocumented immigrants have been coming to Houston in recent years. How much of a problem do you think this is for the city? (6) Do immigrants/undocumented immigrants generally take more from the American economy than they contribute, or do they contribute more than they take? Using the polychoric correlation matrix of the items, I performed a factor analysis, which confirmed that the responses to these questions revealed an underlying single dimension according to the eigenvalue criterion (Kim and Mueller 1978). Observations with missing values on these items were discarded.<sup>3</sup>

### *Independent Variables*

I use categorical dummy variables for age (30-44, 45-59, and 60 and over) and ethno-racial self-identification (Hispanic, Anglo, black, and other [in which I included Asians]). I only include in the analytic sample individuals who are aged 30 and over under the assumption that younger individuals are still in the process of attaining an educational degree.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, contextual dynamics can occur in small geographic areas such as neighborhoods as well as in large areas such as counties and cities (Oliver and Wong 2003). I underline the relevance of immediate surroundings as influential on everyday perceptions. Therefore, I choose a small contextual unit like Hopkins (2010). I use the 2006-10 ACS estimates of the percentage of foreign-born individuals in census tracts.

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<sup>3</sup> Past rounds of the HAS only included a few of these questions (usually as binary variables rather than the four-level Likert items included in the 2012 round) that did not lead to a reliable scale. Question 6 was randomly asked as “immigrants” or as “undocumented immigrants” to a respective half of the sample (I grouped all answers as one item). I also worked with a scale of the factor analysis scores, and with a Cronbach Alpha scale that included observations with missing values in any of the scale items. I chose to present the additive scale because its values can be straightforwardly interpreted, and because the findings were consistent using any of the dependent variables.

<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, I also ran regression models including the total sample size, and categorical variables for the missing values of age and education (not presented here). The coefficients of these alternative regression models are consistent with the results presented in this study.

Furthermore, I classified occupations by status and created four categorical dummy variables comparable to those used by Haubert and Fussell (2006): white-collar workers, service workers and technicians, blue-collar workers, and individuals who did not answer the question grouped as other in the last category. I included the last category in the analyses due to the significant number of missing values. I assumed that the category other was composed not only of unemployed respondents, but also of respondents who worked in lower-ranked occupational activities such as the informally employed. To support my assumption, I examined the association between logged household income (with inputted averages according to educational attainment for missing values) and occupational status, and found that the four occupational categories are ranked according to the average income of individuals in each occupational category.

Additionally, I use categorical dummy variables for educational attainment, which may better capture attainment compared with years of schooling, and may better deal with potential non-linearity (Jackman and Muha 1984): less than high school, high school, some college or associate degree, and bachelor's degree or more. I discarded observations with missing values of educational attainment.

#### *Control Variables*

Following the study by Taylor and Mateyka (2011), I control for the educational and economic composition of the contextual unit. I use the 2006-10 ACS estimates of the percentage of individuals who attained high school or less (by adding estimates of percent high school and percent less than high school in census tracts), and estimates of the percentage of individuals who are unemployed in census tracts. Moreover, I control for

national origins (dummy variables for U.S.-born with U.S.-born parents, foreign-born with foreign parents, and U.S.-born with [at least one] foreign parent[s]).

Furthermore, I control for female, political party (Democrat, Republican, and Independent [and others]), political ideology (conservative, moderate [and others], and liberal), and importance of religion, which distinguishes individuals who believe that religion is somewhat or very important from those who believe that religion is not very important. Politically conservative views are directly associated with prejudice, and consequently with the support of exclusionary policies toward immigrants (Castles and Miller 2009). Following the study by Hawley (2011), I distinguished partisanship from conservative ideology. Religious individuals may be more inclined to be conservative, and therefore less prone to tolerate the presence of immigrants (Moore and Ovadia 2006). Importance of religion may have a direct effect on prejudice beyond ideology.

### *Analytic Plan*

I analyze attitudes toward immigrants using random-intercept hierarchical linear regression models in which respondents are nested within census tracts. These models capture unmodeled heterogeneity at the respondent and census tracts levels with separate error terms (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002). I include weights at level 1 (observation-level weights), and assume equal probability sampling of census tracts at level 2 given that census tracts were not a primary sampling unit.<sup>5</sup> I include in the baseline model variables for age,

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<sup>5</sup> I compared the coefficients of an OLS regression with all independent variables (as in Model 4a) with the coefficients of a weighted OLS regression, and they produced different estimates. Then I ran an OLS regression with all independent variables (as in Model 4a) plus the variable weights plus the interaction terms of the independent variables and weights. An *F*-test indicated that weights and the interaction terms were collectively significant. Therefore, I opted to use weights in the analysis (Winship and Radbill 1994). I also performed unconditional subclass analyses using weighted OLS regression models adjusted for census tract clustering (not presented here), which deal with the weight of subsamples (Heeringa, West, and Berlung 2010).

ethno-racial self-identification, female, and national origins, as well as the contextual variables percentage foreign-born, percentage high school or less, and percentage unemployed in census tracts all centered at their means. Then, I sequentially incorporate in the regression models variables for educational attainment (Model 2a), occupational status (Model 3a), and a set of variables that control for partisanship, ideology, and religion (Model 4a).<sup>6</sup>

The total analytic sample consists of 1,042 observations. It includes immigrants (like in the analysis by Haubert and Fussell [2006]) and Hispanics because I examine whether immigrants and Hispanics have empathy with immigrants in general after relaxing the assumptions of social closure among immigrants and social closure within ethnic and racial populations. Immigrants also learn to be tolerant toward other immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds in receiving societies. In this study, differences in attitudes toward immigrants are examined not only by ethno-racial characteristics, but also by national origins.

I supplement the main analysis with a regression calculated with a subsample of U.S.-born individuals who live in Houston in order to examine the contextual effect of the percentage of foreign-born individuals in census tracts on attitudes toward immigrants (Model 4b). I also calculate another regression using a subsample of U.S.-born individuals

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The coefficients of these models that pertain to the research questions were consistent in direction and significance with the results presented in this study (with the exception of the positive effect of bachelor's degree or more on attitudes toward immigrants in Model 4a using OLS, which was positive but only marginally significant).

<sup>6</sup> I included logged household income as another independent variable with educational attainment and occupational status in separate regression models not presented here. The effects of logged household income on the scale were statistically insignificant, and did not alter the significance or the estimates of the rest of the variables in the regression models. Therefore, I did not include this variable in the regression models presented in this analysis. Moreover, variance inflation factors of independent variables in the regression analyses presented in this study suggest that multicollinearity is not a problem.

who lived *out of Houston* fifteen years or less (by subtracting the years that respondents have lived in Houston from their age) in order to analyze the coefficients of educational attainment (Model 4c).<sup>7</sup> My premise is that this subsample informs about U.S.-born respondents who were exposed to school education in Houston assuming that those who were not born in Houston have lived in Houston since they arrived to the city.

## RESULTS

Table 1 presents the weighted percentages of the items used in the scale of attitudes toward immigrants, and the means for the analytic sample and for the subsamples.<sup>8</sup> Table 2 presents the regression coefficients of random-intercept hierarchical linear regression models predicting attitudes toward immigrants. The weighted percentages in Table 1 depict a balanced sentiment toward immigrants. While the percentages of the first, second and fourth items suggest a tolerant stance favoring immigrants, the percentages of the third, fifth and sixth items reveal a prevalent anti-immigrant sentiment. The positive items suggest that Houstonians favorably acknowledge the presence of immigrants as a reality that already characterizes the city. Conversely, the negative items suggest that prejudice is fuelled by the perceived presence of undocumented immigrants. This balanced sentiment is reflected in the scale mean estimated with the analytic sample: 0.27. Nonetheless, the means estimated with the subsamples that do not include immigrants are negative, yet not too large in magnitude: -

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<sup>7</sup> To support my choice of individuals exposed to school education in Houston, I ran another regression model (not presented here) with an alternative subsample that also consists of individuals who likely attended school in Houston: respondents who lived *out of Houston* five years or less. Net of other effects (the same variables included in Model 4c), the coefficient of high school compared with less than high school was still negative and significant as the findings presented in this study (-3.28;  $p$ -value=0.025).

<sup>8</sup> For clarity, I did not include in Table 1 the weighted percentages or the unweighted observations of the items included in each version of the dependent variable. Differences in these percentages, however, do not change the idea of a balanced sentiment as it is reflected in Table 1. The scale is also a reliable and valid outcome variable in the subsample analyses.

0.07 (b) and -1.44 (c). Differences between the mean estimated with the total analytic sample and the means estimated with the subsamples suggest that the local presence of immigrants positively influences the average pro-immigrant sentiment.

\*\* TABLE 1, TABLE 2 AND FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE \*\*

Figure 2a presents the estimated grand means (intercepts) of predicted attitudes toward immigrants using random-intercept hierarchical linear regression models with an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) formulation. Both dummy-regression and ANCOVA formulations lead to the same predicted values, but the effects of independent variables using the ANCOVA formulation are deviations from grand means, not deviations with respect to reference categories as the dummy-regression approach (Table 2) used in the main analysis (Fox 2008). The estimated intercepts using the ANCOVA formulation refer to these grand means, which are average estimates of attitudes toward immigrants in Houston taking into account the independent variables included in each regression model. While the grand means in Model 1a and 4a are positive and significant, the rest of the estimated grand means are positive, but statistically insignificant, even those from the regression models estimated with the subsamples that do not include immigrants (Models 4b and 4c). Overall, these estimates reinforce the idea of a balanced sentiment toward immigrants as suggested by Haubert and Fussell (2006) at the national level. On average, Houstonians are neither exceptionally tolerant toward immigrants nor exceptionally prejudiced against immigrants.

Age is significantly associated with the scale of attitudes toward immigrants. In every regression model, individuals aged 30 to 44 years are more tolerant toward immigrants with respect to individuals aged 45 to 59 years. Unexpectedly, individuals aged 60 and over are more tolerant toward immigrants than individuals aged 45 to 59 years. Moreover, as

expected, individuals who self-identify as Hispanic are, on average, more tolerant toward immigrants than Anglos, African-Americans, and individuals in the category other.

Immigrants are, on average, more tolerant toward immigrants than U.S.-born individuals with U.S.-born parents. However, U.S.-born individuals with foreign parents are not necessarily more tolerant toward immigrants than U.S.-born individuals with U.S.-born parents. I found that this positive association is only marginally significant in Model 4b.

The coefficients of percentage foreign-born in census tract in Models 1a, 2a, 3a, and 4a unexpectedly suggest that the proportion of immigrants in communities is positively associated with the scale of attitudes toward immigrants. This coefficient is also positive in Model 4b, calculated with a subsample of U.S.-born individuals who live in Houston.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 2b depicts average predicted values by percentage foreign-born: a solid line for Model 4a (total analytic sample) and a dashed line for Model 4b (U.S.-born individuals subsample).

Average values are negative in communities with 10 percent of foreign-born people or less, and are still negative among U.S.-born respondents in communities where the presence of foreign-born people is greater than 10 percent and less than or equal than 20 percent.

However, these numbers are small in magnitude.

Additionally, I unexpectedly found no evidence to suggest that white-collar workers are more tolerant toward immigrants compared with non-white-collar workers in any regression model.<sup>10</sup> Figure 2c depicts predicted values by occupational status with box plots (Models 4a, 4b, and 4c). Overall, this figure suggests a balanced sentiment toward

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<sup>9</sup> Due to the proportion of foreign-born Latinos in Houston, I ran a regression model without Hispanics in the analytic sample (not presented here), and still found evidence of a positive association between percent foreign-born and tolerance.

<sup>10</sup> I ran a regression model (not presented here) without other (not working, unanswered) in the analytic sample, and still found no significant differences between white-collar and non-white-collar.

immigrants across occupational categories. White-collar workers, service workers and technicians, and blue-collar workers are neither especially tolerant toward immigrants nor especially prejudiced toward immigrants. Predicted values in Models 4b and 4c (U.S.-born respondents only) are lower, but the medians are still close to zero.

Furthermore, contrary to my expectations, educational attainment is not always positively associated with pro-immigrant sentiment. While the coefficients of bachelor's degree or more compared with less than high school are positive and significant in Models 2a, 3a, and 4a, the coefficients of high school compared with less than high school are negative after controlling for environmental variables for educational and unemployment composition (Model 2a), for occupational status (Model 3a), and other individual characteristics (Model 4a). This coefficient is negative and greater in magnitude in Model 4c, calculated with a subsample of U.S.-born individuals who were exposed to school education in Houston: those who completed high school compared with those who did not. The statistically insignificant coefficients of some college or associate degree also suggest that educational attainment does not necessarily make individuals more tolerant toward immigrants.

These results are only generalizable to Houston, and only may serve as a reference to other cities in Texas and in the South with similar characteristics. Higher external validity would require replicating this study beyond Houston in other metropolitan areas with a significant presence of immigrants. Moreover, nonresponse could have biased the estimates presented in this study to some extent due to the low response rate of the HAS. However, I have included in the regression models several independent variables to account for the potential influence of unobserved confounding variables. The data do not suggest

contradictory answers to the research questions, and the sample distributions support the confidence in the reliability of the data (Klineberg 2013).

## DISCUSSION

The average balanced sentiment toward immigrants suggests that tolerance exists in Houston as a social force that counters perceived threat caused by immigration. Prejudice against immigrants prevails in Houston. Based on the magnitude and significance of the coefficients of ethno-racial self-identification, differences in pro-immigrant sentiment by race and ethnicity are important. Latino individuals sympathize with immigrants, many of whom are Latino, and non-Latino individuals are, on average, more prejudiced against immigrants (Rodriguez and Mindiola 2011; Lewis et al. 2011). In contrast, tolerance is also positively influenced by the presence of immigrants. Houston's complex and plural diversity already characterizes the city, and many Houstonians already acknowledge this diversity as positive. This acknowledgment is reflected in differences in pro-immigrant sentiment by age cohorts. Individuals aged 45 to 59 years grew as adults witnessing the fast growth of the presence of immigrants in Houston between the 1980s and 1990s, which likely aggravated the public perception of immigrants as a threat (see Figure 1b). Conversely, the younger cohort grew as adults being more familiar with the diverse presence of immigrants, many of whom were already well-established in the city.

This familiarity is also reflected in the unexpected positive association between percentage of foreign-born and tolerance toward immigrants. This is evidence of the acceptance of foreigners as locals influenced by their multicultural contexts as the opposite of the power-threat perspective applied to immigrants. The growing presence of immigrants has contributed to recursively instill the acceptance of immigrants as normal by fostering,

developing, and updating cultural connections –the circulation of ideas throughout urban society (Savitch 2010)– that gradually become local mainstream manifestations regardless of their strong transnational symbolic meaning. A local mainstream that incorporates and showcases cultural manifestations that are symbolically associated with foreign cultures is a sign of the local organization of cultural plurality (Hannerz 1990).

White-collar workers are not more tolerant toward immigrants than non-white-collar workers in Houston. The medians of box plots in Figure 2c are fairly close to zero, which reinforce the idea of a balanced sentiment toward immigrants across occupational categories. While several white-collar workers are tolerant toward immigrants possibly because of their greater contact with foreign professionals, other white-collar workers are prejudiced against immigrants for several reasons. Well-educated foreign professionals could be locally “raising the bar” at work pushing U.S.-born professionals to continually improve their skills (e.g., postgraduate specializations, professional certifications, learning new languages) for competing in the labor market. Foreign professionals also could be challenging local business norms by importing updated global rules into local businesses transmitted by foreign managers (see Kamoche 2000).

Similarly, while some blue-collar workers are prejudiced against immigrants possibly because the latter make the labor market more competitive, other blue-collar workers may be tolerant toward immigrants because they also have positive contact with foreign manual workers. This contact could have motivated local blue-collar workers to accept the inexorable presence of immigrants as normal, and even to appreciate their working skills. Workers in lower-ranked occupations are more threatened by immigrants at the national level (Haubert and Fussell 2006; Kunovich 2013), but this difference may not exist in

metropolitan areas with a complex and influential ethno-racial diversity. This finding may serve to reconsider views that uncritically attribute “openness to difference” to workers in higher-ranked occupations (e.g., Florida 2002). Not only can white-collar workers be prejudiced against immigrants, but blue-collar workers also can feel tolerant toward immigrants.

The individual effect of education is not linear. Individuals who only attained high school are, on average, less tolerant toward immigrants than individuals who did not attain high school. These findings underline the importance of examining individual-level educational attainment effects on tolerance not only at the national level, but also at state and regional levels. School education is provided by state government, and state educational policies may significantly vary. Following the labor market competition logic, this significant disparity may partly exist because individuals who attained high school possibly believe that their higher educational status is not useful to compete against immigrants for lower-ranked occupations.

Another possible explanation is that school education has not competently inculcated tolerance as a value over time; thus, individuals who only attained high school do not have sufficient cultural tools to be tolerant, and do not understand the importance of tolerance in a multicultural society. The professionalization and institutionalization of school education in the U.S. evolved without being sufficiently capable of pursuing well-established humanistic objectives as well as acceptable curriculum goals and standards (Ravitch 1983, 2010). Possibly the average individual who only attained high school mainly learned to “be American” as a “superior being who deserves better” with respect to illegal aliens who represent a threat for U.S. interests (Menjívar and Kanstroom 2014). Without a

pedagogical instruction that fostered critical thinking and a well-developed social sciences curriculum, this individual could not develop analytic tools in school to challenge ingrained prejudicial beliefs that unfortunately are still continually reinforced by mainstream channels. This problem is still relevant because, rather than amending their objectives and strategies at the national level, school education in the U.S. currently prioritizes high-stakes testing in basic skills of mathematics and reading without offering well-developed curricula, and disregarding the necessity of pedagogically teaching social science courses (Darling-Hammond 2010; Ravitch 2010). This problem should particularly concern Texas, where the state social studies standards inadequately address issues of race, and are adversely influenced by conservative views (Vasquez Heilig, Brown, and Brown 2012; Callahan and Muller 2013).

## CONCLUSION

Although the perception of undocumented immigrants is still negative (which may affect the overall image of local Latinos), Houstonians are getting used to their diversity. Younger Houstonians are now more tolerant than those in the previous age cohort, who grew threatened by the increasing diversity in earlier years. Moreover, the presence of immigrants in local environments does not threaten Houstonians. On the contrary, in accordance with the conceptualization of tolerance toward immigrants as a dimension of cosmopolitanism, the proportion of immigrants in neighborhoods is positively associated with tolerance toward immigrants. These favorable developments depict Houston's transformation into a multicultural society with a complex diversity that is gradually being accepted as normal.

A central theoretical contribution of this study is the conceptualization of tolerance toward immigrants as a dimension of cosmopolitanism. Regardless of its potential analytic

challenges,<sup>11</sup> cosmopolitanism is a useful analytic tool for explaining tolerance not only as a reflection of public opinion, but as a disposition toward the acceptance of ethnic/cultural diversity in receiving societies. Using the lens of the sociology of culture, this disposition also can be explained as a cultural resource that helps individuals to behave more tolerantly (see Swidler 1986). This disposition links cosmopolitanism and immigrant destinations because immigrants perform and embody foreign cultures in local spaces. Receiving societies are optimal settings for becoming cosmopolitan and for performing cosmopolitanism by appreciating the local organization of cultural plurality (Hannerz 1990). This appreciation is founded on tolerance toward immigrants. In contrast, individuals may develop cosmopolitan dispositions in urban areas with an insignificant proportion of immigrants, but these dispositions only refer to other dimensions of cosmopolitanism such as the local celebration of difference, diversity, and hybridity, and the recognition of the increasing interconnectedness between local and global communities (Mau et al. 2008). In these areas, individuals do not need to become tolerant toward foreign diversity. Foreign cultures are indeed performed beyond their boundaries.

From this perspective, cosmopolitanism serves to problematize the prevalence of prejudice against immigrants in receiving societies taking into account that, as a cultural resource, tolerance toward immigrants should be officially fostered in multicultural societies. Despite the aforementioned developments, Houstonians have not had access to a school education that had inculcated tolerance toward immigrants. In other words, school education in Houston has not adequately prepared Houstonians to live in a multicultural

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<sup>11</sup> For instance, indeterminacy (can cosmopolitanism stand for any ideal or belief?), identification (who is cosmopolitan?), and attribution (what are the determinants of the cosmopolitan disposition?). These challenges are evident when cosmopolitanism, as an analytic tool, is not adequately associated with concrete, measurable dimensions of cosmopolitanism (Kendall et al. 2009).

society, possibly because of its institutional and professional shortcomings, and because of the influence of conservative beliefs on its standards. Not only should school education pedagogically prepare students for mastering basic academic skills. It also should instruct students to develop civic and political analytic skills that allow them to become citizens in multicultural/multiethnic societies like Houston. Citizens should understand that tolerance toward immigrants serves, at minimum, as knowledge for succeeding in a more globally interconnected world (Weenink 2008), and in a gradually more ethnically/racially complex United States of America (Lichter 2013). Beyond tolerance toward immigrants, citizens of multicultural societies should be able to develop more sophisticated dispositions toward the appreciation of foreign individuals and heritages.

While cosmopolitanism is useful to frame issues of tolerance toward immigrants, it does not deal with other relevant dimensions of ethnic/racial diversity such as socioeconomic stratification by race/ethnicity, and discrimination against African-Americans and Latinos. Therefore, the depiction presented above should be interpreted with caution. Cosmopolitanism is useful to analytically deal with the immigrant condition as another dimension of ethnicity beyond ethnic and racial issues that are commonly addressed as local problems. From this perspective, tolerance as a dimension of cosmopolitanism is a useful analytic tool for theorizing the forthcoming ethno-racial complexity that will characterize the U.S. in the future (Lichter 2013). This complexity will require analytic approaches that deal with the multidimensionality of ethnic and racial problems, which should not be solely analyzed with parsimonious, one-dimensional conceptualizations of ethnicity.

It is necessary to underline that a major argument suggested in this analysis –that attitudes toward immigrants are particularly different in metropolitan areas with a significant

ethnic/racially diverse presence of immigrants– cannot be definitely demonstrated based on the analysis of a single city. This analysis should be replicated in other metropolitan areas with a significant presence of immigrants. It is important to examine these questions in other cities not only to identify whether national-level explanations are useful for understanding local metropolitan-level attitudes, but also to identify whether local characteristics are influencing regional beliefs and dispositions in ways that cannot be adequately perceived with national-level perspectives.

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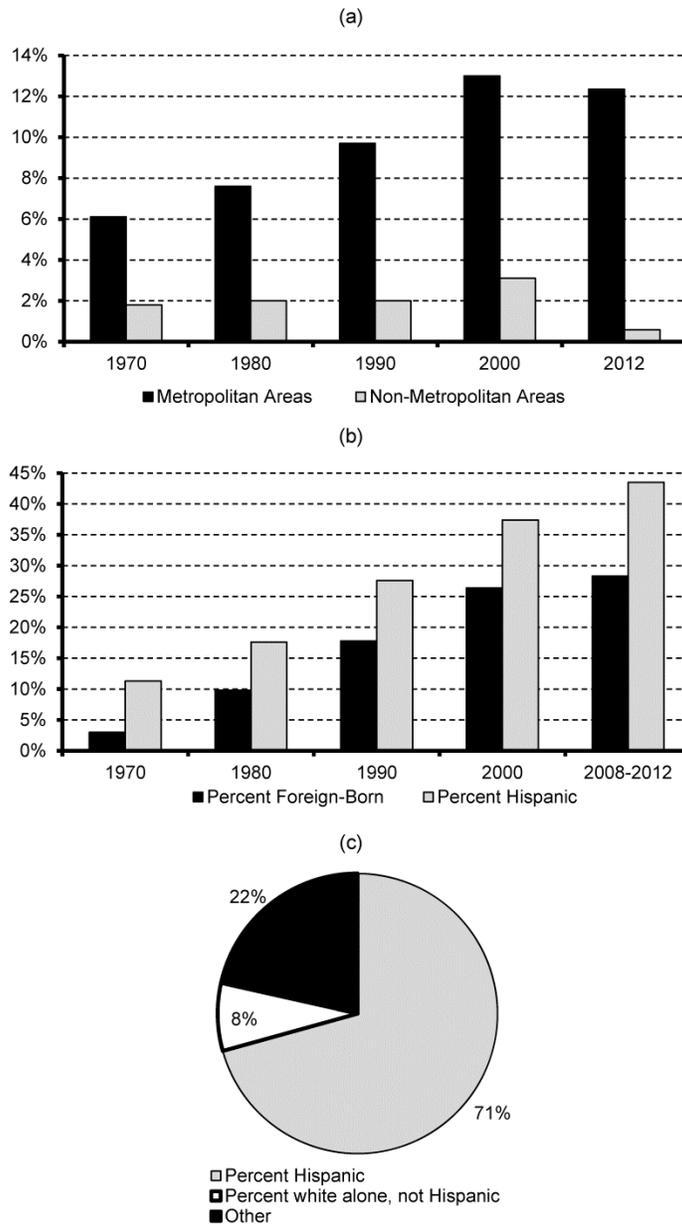
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Sources: Gibson and Jung (2006); U.S. Census Bureau (2005, 2014a, 2014b)

Figure 1 – (a) Percentages of foreign-born population in the U.S. by type of residence; (b) Percentages of foreign-born and Hispanic population in Houston over time; (c) Hispanic origin of the foreign-born population in Houston (2008-2012)

Table 1. Weighted Percentages and Unweighted Observations for the Variables Used in the Scale of Attitudes toward Immigrants

Items	Original Coding = Attitude = New Coding	-2	-1	1	2	N	Correlation with the Scale
Granting illegal immigrants in the U.S. a path to legal citizenship if they speak English and have no criminal record	1 = strongly oppose = -2 2 = somewhat oppose = -1 3 = somewhat favor = 1 4 = strongly favor = 2	23.74%	9.26%	30.20%	36.80%	1158	0.69 ***
Allowing the children of undocumented immigrants who have graduated from college or served in the military to be granted permanent residency and the opportunity to become U.S. citizens	1 = strongly oppose = -2 2 = somewhat oppose = -1 3 = somewhat favor = 1 4 = strongly favor = 2	12.94%	20.91%	25.80%	53.29%	1150	0.62 ***
We should take action to reduce the number of new immigrants coming to America	1 = strongly disagree = 2 2 = slightly disagree = 1 3 = slightly agree = -1 4 = strongly agree = -2	46.84%	22.69%	16.50%	13.98%	1145	0.61 ***
Increasing ethnic diversity in Houston will eventually become a source of great strength for the city or a growing problem for the city	1 = growing problem = -2 2 = great strength = 2	29.62%			70.38%	1106	0.60 ***
Large numbers of undocumented immigrants have been coming to Houston in recent years. How much of a problem do you think this is for the city?	1 = not much of a problem = 1 2 = somewhat serious = -1 3 = very serious = -2	46.88%	30.53%	22.59%		1155	0.66 ***
Do immigrants/undocumented immigrants generally take more from the American economy than they contribute, or do they contribute more than they take?	1 = take more = -2 2 = contribute more = 2	54.26%			45.74%	1167	0.76 ***
							*** <i>p</i> < .001 (two-tailed tests)
Dependent Variable		Mean	S.D.	Minimum	Maximum	N	
a) Scale of Attitudes toward Immigrants		0.27	6.33	-12.00	11.00	1042	
b) Summary for the Subsample of U.S.-Born Individuals		-0.07	6.20	-12.00	11.00	865	
c) Summary for the Subsample of U.S.-Born Individuals Who Lived Out of Houston 15 Years or Less		-1.44	6.19	-12.00	11.00	371	

Table 2. Random-Intercept Hierarchical Linear Regression Models Predicting Attitudes toward Immigrants

Variables	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 4a	Model 4b	Model 4c
Age						
30-44	1.626** (0.62)	1.416* (0.59)	1.360* (0.59)	1.211* (0.56)	1.317* (0.64)	2.064* (0.91)
45-59	—	—	—	—	—	—
60 and over	1.221* (0.58)	1.133* (0.53)	1.262* (0.53)	1.155* (0.54)	1.314* (0.61)	0.69 (0.93)
Female	0.137 (0.46)	0.222 (0.43)	0.286 (0.44)	0.105 (0.43)	-0.170 (0.48)	0.305 (0.81)
Ethno-Racial Self-Identification						
Hispanic	—	—	—	—	—	—
Anglo	-2.832** (0.88)	-3.417*** (0.84)	-3.405*** (0.84)	-3.039*** (0.82)	-2.883** (0.90)	-2.926* (1.15)
Black	-1.712* (0.78)	-2.246** (0.76)	-2.231** (0.76)	-3.060*** (0.77)	-2.742** (0.85)	-1.685 (1.14)
Other	-3.890** (1.36)	-5.216*** (1.31)	-5.192*** (1.33)	-5.322*** (1.36)	-4.601** (1.51)	-2.747 (1.42)
National Origins						
U.S.-Born, U.S.-Born Parents	—	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign-Born, Foreign Parents	3.110*** (0.79)	3.276*** (0.74)	3.205*** (0.75)	2.476*** (0.73)	—	—
U.S. Born, Foreign Parents	1.429 (1.03)	1.523 (0.95)	1.482 (0.95)	1.338 (0.92)	1.620+ (0.92)	0.160 (1.50)
Percentage Foreign-Born in Census Tract	0.066*** (0.02)	0.051** (0.02)	0.053** (0.02)	0.047* (0.02)	0.047* (0.02)	0.050 (0.03)
Percentage High School or Less in Census Tract	-0.017 (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)	0.006 (0.01)	0.000 (0.01)	-0.019 (0.02)
Percentage Unemployed in Census Tract	0.013 (0.10)	0.022 (0.10)	0.029 (0.10)	0.037 (0.11)	0.035 (0.12)	-0.171 (0.17)
Educational Attainment						
Less than High School	—	—	—	—	—	—
High School	—	-1.555* (0.78)	-1.610* (0.79)	-1.840* (0.78)	-1.364 (1.08)	-3.450** (1.26)
Some College, Associate Degree	—	0.338 (0.77)	0.307 (0.77)	0.052 (0.76)	0.779 (1.03)	0.310 (1.25)
Bachelor's Degree or More	—	2.346** (0.82)	2.218** (0.85)	1.887* (0.81)	1.891+ (1.04)	0.611 (1.26)
Occupational Status						
White-Collar	—	—	—	—	—	—
Services, Technicians	—	—	-0.632 (0.75)	-0.758 (0.70)	-1.124 (0.78)	-1.487 (1.30)
Blue-Collar	—	—	-0.316 (0.72)	0.193 (0.67)	-0.372 (0.81)	-0.007 (1.18)
Other (not working, unanswered)	—	—	-0.652 (0.61)	-0.515 (0.56)	-0.673 (0.64)	-0.771 (0.98)
Political Party						
Democrat	—	—	—	—	—	—
Republican	—	—	—	-2.360*** (0.66)	-2.019** (0.75)	-1.481 (1.09)
Independent (and others)	—	—	—	-1.425** (0.51)	-1.028+ (0.59)	-0.737 (0.92)

(continues)

Table 2, continued

Variables	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 4a	Model 4b	Model 4c
Political Ideology						
Conservative				—	—	—
Moderate (and others)				2.192*** (0.53)	2.500*** (0.55)	3.166*** (0.84)
Liberal				2.569*** (0.60)	3.071*** (0.70)	3.474** (1.13)
Religion Is Somewhat or Very Important (reference: not very important)				-1.822** (0.68)	-1.935* (0.78)	-2.700+ (1.48)
Intercept	0.814 (0.89)	0.650 (0.96)	1.097 (1.07)	3.070* (1.40)	2.365 (1.63)	2.651 (2.17)
Variance Component for Intercept	7.36***	7.30***	7.28***	6.49***	6.507***	8.38***
Variance Component for Residual	25.99***	24.48***	24.44***	21.98***	23.061***	19.92***
Log Pseudolikelihood	-3024.5	-2999.6	-2998.6	-2947.1	-2401.8	-1011.7
N	1042	1042	1042	1042	865	371

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Dashes indicate reference categories. There are 518 census tracts in Models 1a, 2a, 3a, and 4a; 473 in Model 4b; and 268 in Model 4c

+ $p < .1$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed tests)

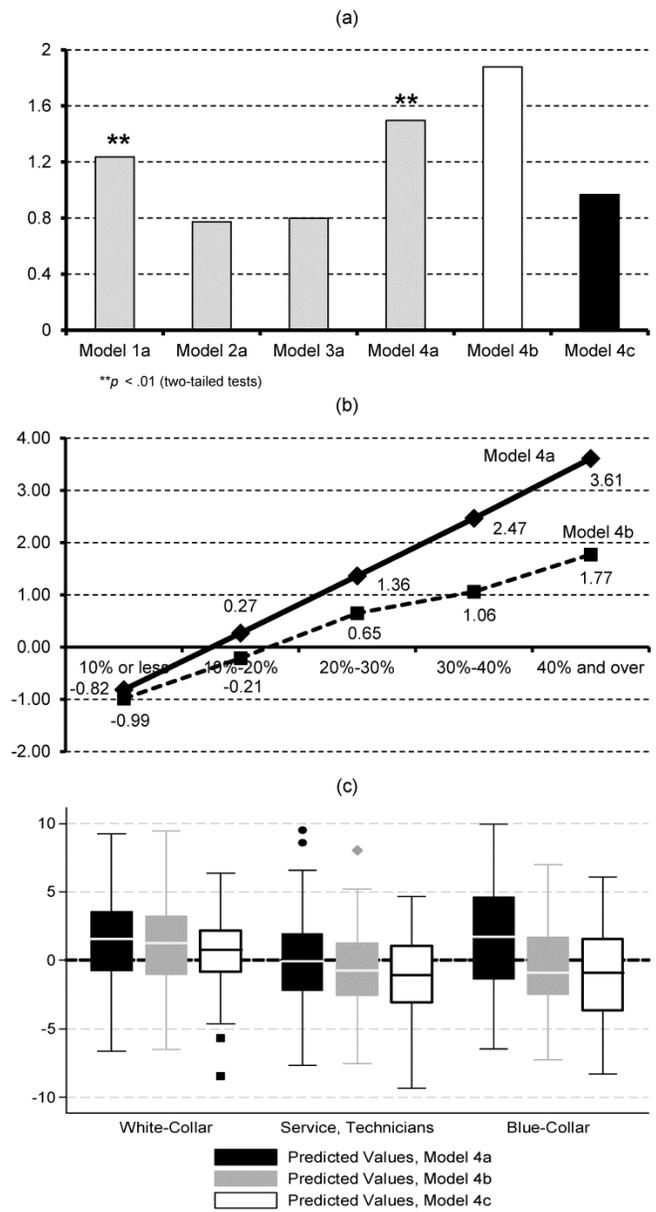


Figure 2 – (a) Estimated grand means (intercepts) of predicted attitudes toward immigrants in regression models using an ANCOVA formulation; (b) Average predicted values by percentage of foreign-born individuals in census tract; (c) Predicted values by occupational status

## Appendix 1. Summary Statistics for the Variables Used in the Analysis

Variables	a) Total Analytic Sample		b) Subsample		c) Subsample	
	<i>Individuals Aged 30 and Over (N=1042)</i>		<i>U.S.-Born Individuals (N=865)</i>		<i>U.S.-Born Individuals Who Lived Out of Houston 15 Years or Less (N=371)</i>	
	Unweighted Observations	Weighted Percentages	Unweighted Observations	Weighted Percentages	Unweighted Observations	Weighted Percentages
<i>Independent Variables</i>						
Age						
30-44	274	27.34%	194	22.13%	105	26.89%
45-59	369	38.39%	308	39.96%	147	45.28%
60 and over	399	34.27%	363	37.91%	119	27.84%
Ethno-Racial Self-Identification						
Hispanic	256	21.49%	140	11.63%	75	14.04%
Anglo	401	55.56%	384	65.46%	128	57.87%
Black	337	17.65%	316	20.62%	158	25.94%
Other	48	5.29%	25	2.29%	10	2.16%
Percentage Foreign-Born in Census Tract (Mean; S.D.)	(20.78; 13.85)		(19.06; 12.23)		(19.18; 12.30)	
Occupational Status						
White-Collar	238	23.25%	201	23.80%	74	23.37%
Services, Technicians	173	16.73%	154	19.03%	68	21.00%
Blue-Collar	164	18.34%	107	13.16%	63	15.82%
Other (not working, unanswered)	467	41.68%	403	44.01%	166	39.80%
Educational Attainment						
Less than High School	102	15.34%	46	9.01%	27	14.49%
High School	182	20.33%	147	21.16%	72	23.18%
Some College, Associate Degree	319	30.60%	289	34.59%	142	34.19%
Bachelor's Degree or More	439	33.73%	383	35.23%	130	28.14%
<i>Control Variables</i>						
Female	547	50.24%	448	49.62%	181	44.29%
Percentage High School or Less in Census Tract (Mean; S.D.)	(46.75; 23.14)		(45.50; 22.74)		(51.85; 21.63)	
Percentage Unemployed in Census Tract (Mean; S.D.)	(5.12; 2.81)		(5.07; 2.83)		(5.57; 2.86)	
National Origins						
U.S.-Born, U.S.-Born Parents	778	73.96%	778	91.45%	334	93.03%
Foreign-Born, Foreign Parents	177	19.12%	—	—	—	—
U.S.-Born, Foreign Parents	87	6.92%	87	8.55%	37	6.97%
Political Party						
Democrat	397	28.09%	338	27.56%	156	31.38%
Republican	241	29.10%	223	32.73%	78	25.26%
Independent (and others)	404	42.81%	304	39.71%	137	43.36%
Political Ideology						
Conservative	455	45.35%	393	47.79%	162	46.15%
Moderate (and others)	351	32.69%	291	32.24%	136	34.57%
Liberal	236	21.96%	181	19.97%	73	19.28%
Religion is somewhat or very important (reference: not very important)	922	86.48%	769	85.97%	341	88.79%