

Variations in the Impact of Racial Attitudes on State-Level Policy Diffusion

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Abstract

Policy diffusion studies have traditionally concentrated on factors such as geographical proximity, ideological alignment, and political similarity in influencing the adoption of policies across states. However, the role of racial attitudes, especially in the realm of immigration policies, remains under examined. This gap is critical given the dynamics of policies that are favorable to immigrants versus those perceived as detrimental. This study uniquely positions itself in this lacuna, exploring the depth to which racial sentiments shape the adoption and spread of immigration policies across U.S. states. Employing a robust case study methodology specifically designed around immigration policies, coupled with the rigors of event history analysis, the research aims to validate the hypothesis that racial attitudes play a determinant role in the policy adoption landscape. Preliminary findings not only reinforce this hypothesis but also underscore the profound effects racial perspectives can have on the trajectories of immigration policy adoptions. With immigration being a contentious issue, understanding these underpinnings is essential for policymakers and stakeholders alike. In sum, this study endeavors to illuminate the intricate interplay between racial attitudes and immigration policy diffusion, advocating for a more nuanced approach to policy formulation and adoption.

Keywords: Policy Diffusion, Racial Attitudes, Immigration Policy and Partisanship

Introduction

The responsibility for safeguarding federal borders in the United States has traditionally rested with the federal government (Nielsen 2009). The Supreme Court has consistently affirmed that immigration policy falls squarely within the federal government's jurisdiction (Jacobson 2008), encompassing immigration, citizenship policy, and related laws. Under federal law, crossing the US border without proper documentation is classified as an administrative violation, similar in nature to not filing taxes on time. Nonetheless, certain states have sought to assume control over immigration policy and law, striving to reclassify this violation from administrative to criminal in an effort to curb undocumented immigration. This transition does not involve making mere residence within a state illegal, thus respecting federal policy, but instead focuses on criminalizing specific aspects of the lives of undocumented immigrants (Ackerman and Furman 2013).

Recent data released by the Department of Homeland Security has unveiled a significant decline in the number of legal immigrants admitted to the United States between 2016 and 2018. This decline, amounting to over 87,000 individuals or approximately 7%, represents the first substantial reduction in legal immigration numbers in decades. Simultaneously, the admission of immediate family members of US citizens, including spouses, children, and parents, decreased by more than 15% during this period (Department of Homeland Security Yearbook 2018). Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, the detention of undocumented immigrants has surged, with national security and undocumented status becoming increasingly intertwined (Ackerman and Furman 2013). The subsequent years witnessed a substantial surge in the introduction of immigration-related bills in state legislatures, escalating from 300 bills in 2005 to 1500 bills in 44 states by 2009 (Immigration Policy Center 2011). Additionally, in 2020, President Trump renewed Proclamations 10014 and 10052, aimed at safeguarding American workers during the economic

challenges posed by COVID-19. As each state grapples with population growth, new laws are introduced in state legislatures in response to the increasing numbers of both legal and illegal immigrants.

Within the realm of politics, diffusion refers to a process whereby decision-makers draw inspiration from other cities, states, or nations as models to either emulate or reject (Karch et al. 2016). This process is influenced by the likelihood of a public policy being implemented in other jurisdictions and has gained particular significance in the 21st century due to rapid technological progress and immediate communication connecting people and nations worldwide (Karch, 2012). Existing research on policy diffusion suggests that various factors, including competition among states, learning, shared preferences, and ideological alignment, can shape the spread of policies across states (Case, Rosen, and Hines 1993; de Paula, Rasul, and Souza 2020; Berry and Berry 2007; Volden, Ting, and Carpenter 2008). Most diffusion studies have explored policy adoptions both as independent and dependent variables, examining how early policy adoptions can impact the likelihood of subsequent policy adoptions (Berry and Berry 1990; Boehmke and Witmer 2004).

Scholars have also highlighted that the adoption of new policies enables politicians to claim credit (Keefer and Khemani 2003, 2005) and that electoral incentives play a crucial role, with politicians being more motivated to adopt innovations when they can positively influence voters in conjunction with elections (Kiewiet and McCubbins 1985; Berry and Berry 1992). Furthermore, a broad body of literature has explored the impact of political parties on policy innovation, investigating how party characteristics influence policy diffusion (Berry et al. 1998; Coêlho et al. 2016).

Existing research has extensively examined the impact of geographical proximity and political similarity on policy adoption across states (Boushey 2010, Karch 2012, Karch 2016, Berry and Berry 2018). However, there has been a noticeable gap in research concerning the influence of racial attitudes on the adoption of immigration policies, especially those that either support or hinder immigrants. This study aimed to address this gap by investigating how racial attitudes impacted the adoption of immigration policies among states. It was argued that the level of racial resentment within a state was directly associated with the likelihood of that state adopting progressive immigration policies. States with lower levels of racial resentment were more inclined to adopt progressive policies, whereas states with higher levels of racial resentment were less likely to do so.

In the course of a comprehensive study delving into state-level policymaking within the United States, an exploration was undertaken into the intricate interplay between societal attitudes and legislative outcomes. This research, in particular, honed in on the impact of racial attitudes on the adoption of policies related to sanctuary cities, in-state tuition provisions, and Medicaid/CHIP programs. Discrete-time survival analysis was employed to scrutinize binary policy adoption data, revealing compelling insights that underscored the profound sway of societal perspectives on policy determinations. The ensuing discoveries cast a revealing light on a discernible and inverse relationship between negative racial attitudes and the probability of states enacting these policies.

Policy Diffusion Dynamics: Exploring the Patterns of Policy Adoption

Rogers (1995) defines policy diffusion as the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system. More generally, we can say policy diffusion occurs if the probability of adoption of a policy by one governmental jurisdiction is influenced by the policy choices of other governments in the system. Several different ways for policies to spread have been found by theorists (Shipan and Volden 2008; Maggetti and Gilardi 2016; Berry and Berry 2018): learning, imitation, competition, coercion, and normative pressure. The concept of diffusion highlights the interactions and prioritizes the interdependencies that conventional quantitative methods largely assume away (Mooney 2020). Jack Walker (1969, 881–882) describes the history of the California fair trade statute of 1931 in his fundamental article on the dissemination of policy ideas across American states. The "two severe typographical flaws" that were present in the California Act were reproduced by ten of the twenty states that passed their own versions of the law. These mistakes are clear evidence of a "diffusion episode" in which changes in other places had an effect on the law.

Other mechanisms that drive policy spread that have received consistent attention include learning, emulation, competition, and coercion (Karch, 2007; Shipan and Volden, 2008; Gilardi, 2010; Gilardi and Wasserfallen, 2019). When there is a duplication of instrument constituencies and states recognize that they could benefit, the learning mechanism happens (Volden, Ting, and Carpenter, 2008). Emulation occurs when ideas are borrowed because some states follow the lead of other states and adjust policies to local realities. There is a conflict between the allure of economic investment and the fiscal adjustments required for stability and prosperity. Nonetheless, as Boehmke and Witmer (2004) demonstrate, it can result in either positive or negative cycles.

Coercion implies that governments are compelled to implement a policy through a counterpart with limited room for bargaining.

In a relatively short period of time, policy diffusion studies place broad emphasis on multiple agenda-setting processes. As previously demonstrated by Berry and Berry (1990), when analyzing the state lottery adoption, and by Mintrom (1997), regarding the case of school choice, innovations change the trajectory of policies, and innovative states influence non-creative states. These influential studies, as previously discussed, are linked by the same theoretical-methodological construct factors associated with internal and external determinants. The application of the survival analysis statistical model grouped internal factors, such as political competition, ideology, institutional capacity, and economic indicators, with external factors, such as the network, geographic proximity, and intergovernmental competition. Some states are influenced by the structure of the system in the way that the innovation is adopted (Pacheco and Boushey, 2014). Scholars have shown that the governor plays a crucial role when he or she deems health to be important. Similarly, it is expected that states paying more attention to health issues will adopt more progressive policies, especially drug laws.

The study of policy diffusion in the U.S. is theoretically driven by political incentives, structure, and networks (Karck, 2007; Boushey, 2010). Based on Walker's (1969) work, I assume that states adopt policies to address local public policy issues and also to become part of a group of adopters to compete with other states for fiscal resources. Previous studies have explored why some states have adopted anti-smoking bans sooner, while other states have done this at a later date and when the governor deems health important (Shipan and Volden, 2006; Pacheco, 2012). Geographic proximity is a common theme in diffusion research. Many studies assume that developments in

nearby jurisdictions provide models on which officials can draw and that these models make the adoption of an innovation more likely. A common statistical proxy for this effect is the percentage of a jurisdiction's neighbors in which an innovation has been enacted prior to the year of measurement (Mallinson 2020). Geographic proximity can generate interdependencies in multiple ways. It can facilitate the development of communications networks through which information travels among decision-makers (Crain, 1966; Foster, 1978). Similarly, overlapping media markets can alert residents and public officials to the existence of innovations in nearby jurisdictions (Pacheco 2012; Mitchell 2016). Officials might also be drawn to models in nearby jurisdictions because they believe that their neighbors are culturally and demographically similar. Lastly, being close geographically can lead to economic competition. This happens when an innovation in a nearby area creates positive or negative externalities that cause officials to act in response (Boehmke and Witmer 2004; Baybeck, Berry, and Siegel 2011).

Racial Attitudes and Immigration: Navigating the Crossroads of Policy and Perception

Prior studies on race and racial attitudes demonstrate that race has shaped political attitudes in the United States throughout history and has played a central role in American politics (Hutchings and Valentino 2004; Weaver 2012; Jacobsmeier 2015; Ostfeld 2017). Few researchers studying American politics would argue that race no longer plays a role in how white people form opinions about racialized public policy (DeSante 2013). Gilens (1999) and DeSante (2013) have shown that racial animus affects how whites feel about traditionally racialized programs like welfare and affirmative action. However, the literature is split on what exactly these measures of modern racism show. Since the late nineteenth century, when immigration restrictions were first imposed,

the history of US immigration policies has been infused with racial meanings and the intent to discriminate through exclusion and segregation (Aranda and Vaquera 2015). Therefore, the growing number of foreign-born residents is no longer confined to a few regional pockets but has infiltrated communities across the country (Frey 2006; Wilson and Svajlenka 2014). Long-term residents have historically harbored prejudice, hatred, and resentment toward immigrant groups as a result of immigration (Bennet 1988; Higham 2002; Schrag 2010). This demonstrates how public attitudes toward immigration and preferences for certain immigration policies are based on historical beliefs about immigrants and their negative effects on the country's development and growth. The social sciences are doing a lot of research on the causes of these negative reactions to immigration. For example, Newman (2012) has put together a body of public opinion research that looks at where anti-immigrant feelings and policy support come from among the American people.

One influential study by Schuman and colleagues (1997) revealed a significant decrease in overt, Jim Crow-style racism since the 1940s. At that time, very few Americans believed in the inherent inferiority of blacks compared to whites, expressed a desire to avoid black neighbors, or rejected the pursuit of racial equality. Traditional forms of racism have indeed declined over recent decades. However, other scholars have presented evidence that the underlying structure of contemporary racial attitudes has evolved since the civil rights era, perpetuating racial inequality over time (Bonilla-Silva 2017; DeSante and Smith; Mayorga-Gallo 2019; Smith et al. 2019).

Many researchers argue that Americans' racial attitudes can be better understood through newer, subtler forms of racism and have developed theories and measurements to capture these elusive manifestations. Examples include laissez-faire racism (Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith 1997), racial resentment (Kinder and Sanders 1996), and color-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2017). Among these,

racial resentment has become central to political science scholarship, especially in understanding White Americans' racial attitudes. Racial resentment is rooted in a reservoir of anti-Black sentiment combined with the belief that the civil rights movement has leveled the racial playing field, leading to the idea that "Blacks violate such traditional American values as individualism and self-reliance, the work ethic, obedience, and discipline" (Kinder and Sears 1981, 416).

Recent research has shown that individuals, both white and black, who score high on the racial resentment scale tend to attribute ongoing racial inequality to individual behavior. In contrast, those scoring lower on the scale tend to focus on structural inequalities (Kam and Burge 2018). This demonstrates that, while overt racism may have declined, the evolution of racial attitudes continues to impact American society and contribute to racial disparities in various ways. Many surveys suggest that those who look different from the majority of white Americans, that is, those with darker skin and fewer European characteristics, have less support for immigration (Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008; Burns and Gimpel 2000; Citrin and Green 1997). White Americans are more likely to oppose immigration than African Americans. For example, African Americans appear to be far more accepting of immigrants than Whites (Brader, Valentino, Ryan, and Jardina 2010; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997). Those who despise Blacks are more likely to support immigration restrictions, believing that those who do enter should not be eligible for government benefits (Kinder and Sanders 1996). Donald Trump ran a surprisingly successful presidential campaign, with white voters, including self-described white nationalists and white supremacists, overwhelmingly supporting him (Jardina 2020). Many people have said that racial resentment and prejudice were the main reasons why people voted for Trump (Ingraham, 2016), but it looks like he appealed to more than just white voters' overt anti-racial and anti-ethnic bias.

Studies argue that current immigration policies, particularly the mass detention and deportation regime (Dreby 2014; Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013) and interior enforcement policies (Donato and Armenta 2011), are based on racist structural foundations and sustained by discursive practices (Bonilla-Silva 2009; Feagin 2010). Examining immigration and enforcement policies as parts of the racial social system in the United States indicates that historical examples of immigration policies that are now considered racist and "irrational" still exist in the twenty-first century but have changed from overt to covert and thus wear the "colorblind mask" (Bonilla-Silva 2009). This type of change shows how racism or individual racial attitudes have become very modernized to fit with people's beliefs as a way for them to express their views on some negative effects of immigration without being directly racist but communicating in a racist way to confuse people about their racial behavior toward minorities in the country.

Racial attitudes about immigration policy may be influenced by racial views, particularly when immigrant groups differ in race from the host nation's dominant demography (Hood and Morris 1997). In the past, Americans have favored limiting immigration, either by imposing qualitative restrictions on the types of immigrants who are allowed to enter the country or by imposing quantitative restrictions on the number of immigrants who are allowed to enter (Simon and Alexander 1993; Simon and Lynch 1999). These kinds of restrictions are based on the idea that bad feelings about immigrants are the cause of many public problems in the country. The goal is to stop bad people from coming into the country by making immigration rules and policies stricter.

When looking at the previous administration of the United States, it can be seen that immigration was a defining issue of Trump's campaign, and he received significant support from whites who were fiercely opposed to it (Tesler 2016). Immigration, which has contributed to the loss of white

Americans' numerical majority, arguably poses an exceptional threat to white dominance because it introduces foreigners with unfamiliar cultures and languages that may be perceived as threatening to the nation's dominant Anglo-Saxon traditions (Tesler 2016). Trump may have used whites' worries about their status in a country where they are quickly becoming a minority to show whites with higher levels of racial solidarity that he was looking out for their best interests (Jardina 2020).

Hypothesis: It is predicted that the racial attitudes of states will be associated with the adoption of some specific immigration policies.

Exploring Key Policy Domains: Sanctuary Cities, In-State Tuition, and Medicaid/CHIP

Building on the significant advancements made in 2021, a number of states are exploring implementing measures to increase immigrants' rights and opportunity to prosper. Immigration has a significant impact on regional and state economies as well as the health and well-being of communities all over the nation. States can make significant efforts to be more welcoming and equitable to immigrants and their families, even though federal legislation offering a pathway to citizenship is what individuals without a documented status most need. States can remove systemic barriers for those without a legal immigration status and provide them more opportunities to contribute to their states by implementing laws that establish paths to success in areas like college tuition, driver's licenses, and access to health care (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities 2022). For instance, Virginia lawmakers recently passed a bill in 2021 to prevent the use of drivers' private

information for immigration enforcement after acting in 2020 to permit undocumented individuals to get a driving privilege card, which is equivalent to a driver's license. Virginia also made state-issued IDs more widely available without regard to immigration status. At the moment, residents of 16 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico can get driver's licenses regardless of their immigration status.

Aside these laws there are several immigrant policies that has been implemented by several states as a progressive policy to protect the welfare and wellbeing of immigrants in the country, but some states have adopted these progressive immigrant policies while other states has not adopted yet. This study focuses on three of these policies which are Medicaid for pregnant women immigrant policy, In-state tuition immigrant policy and Sanctuary cities immigrant policy as the most crucial immigrant policies on interest for the purpose of this study. These three policies have provided vital protections and services to immigrants in the US, but my concern is why some states in the country has not adopted yet. My major reason for selecting these policies is that they were all enacted before my expected timeframe, and they are the policies that benefit and protect the fundamental rights and health of vulnerable immigrants in the country who want access to healthcare, education, and security.

lawfully residing children, including documented immigrants and refugees, ensuring access to essential healthcare services. Additionally, pregnant individuals who are lawfully residing in the U.S. may be eligible for Medicaid during their pregnancy and postpartum period, ensuring proper prenatal and postnatal care. Eligibility and benefits can vary by state, as these programs are administered at the state level within federal guidelines. It's important for eligible individuals and families to check their state's specific Medicaid and CHIP programs for detailed information on how to apply and the scope of coverage available to lawfully residing children and pregnant individuals in their state.

This policy is designed to ensure that pregnant immigrants have access to healthcare throughout their pregnancy, regardless of their immigration status. It allows pregnant immigrants to receive healthcare coverage through Medicaid, providing them with pre- and post-natal care, as well as other necessary medical services. This policy was implemented in 2000 and has been in effect since then and has been adopted by 36 states.

H(b) It is predicted that states adoption of in-states tuition policies is associated with the racial attitudes of states.

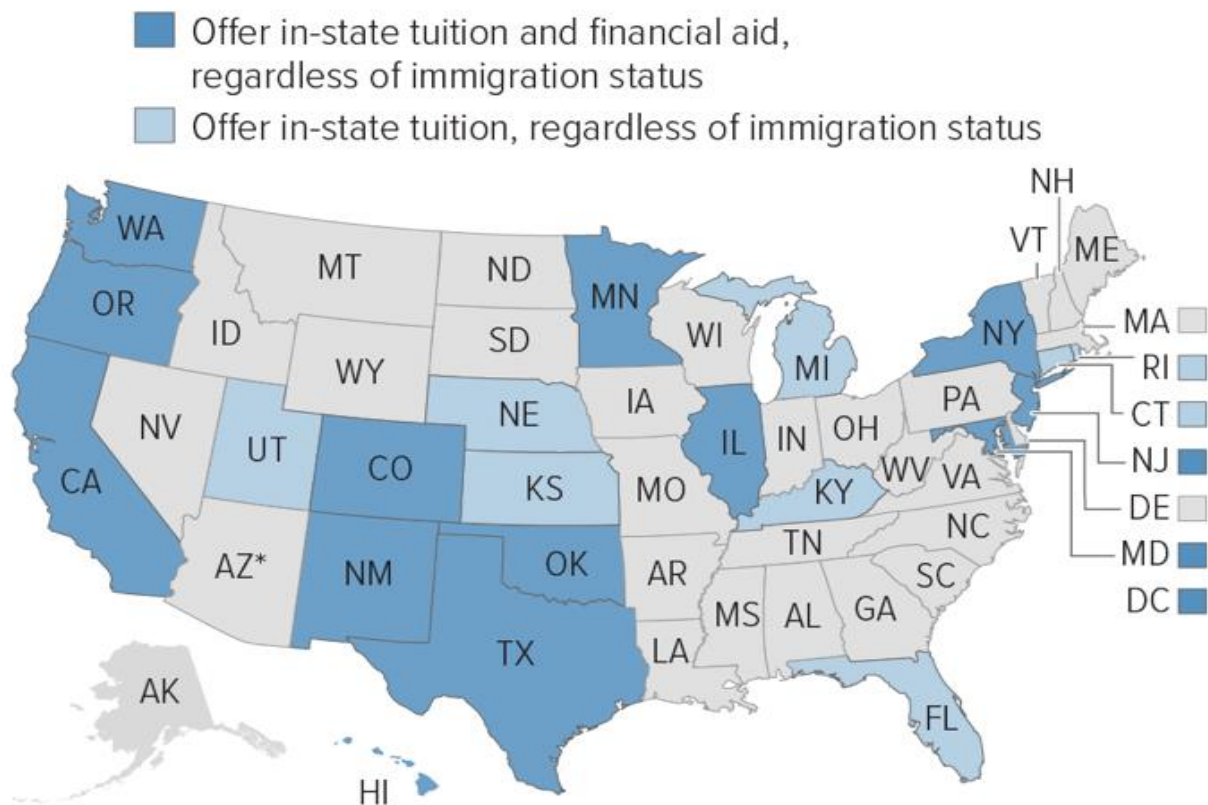


Figure 2. In-state tuition and financial aid regardless of immigration status. *Source:* National Immigration Law Center

The "In-State Tuition Immigrant Policy" is a state-level education policy in the United States that allows certain immigrant students, particularly undocumented immigrants, or those with specific immigration statuses, to pay in-state tuition rates at public colleges and universities within a particular state. Typically, in-state tuition rates are significantly lower than out-of-state rates, making higher education more affordable for eligible immigrant students who meet the state's criteria. This policy varies from state to state, as each state has the authority to determine its own

rules and eligibility requirements for providing in-state tuition to immigrant students. Some states have implemented more inclusive policies, while others have more restrictive criteria. This policy is designed to provide access to higher education for undocumented immigrants. It allows undocumented immigrants to pay in-state tuition at public universities, regardless of their immigration status. This policy was implemented in 2000 and has been in effect since then. It has been challenged in court but remains in effect and has been adopted by 20 states.

H(c) It is predicted that states adoption of sanctuary policies will be associated with the racial attitudes of states.

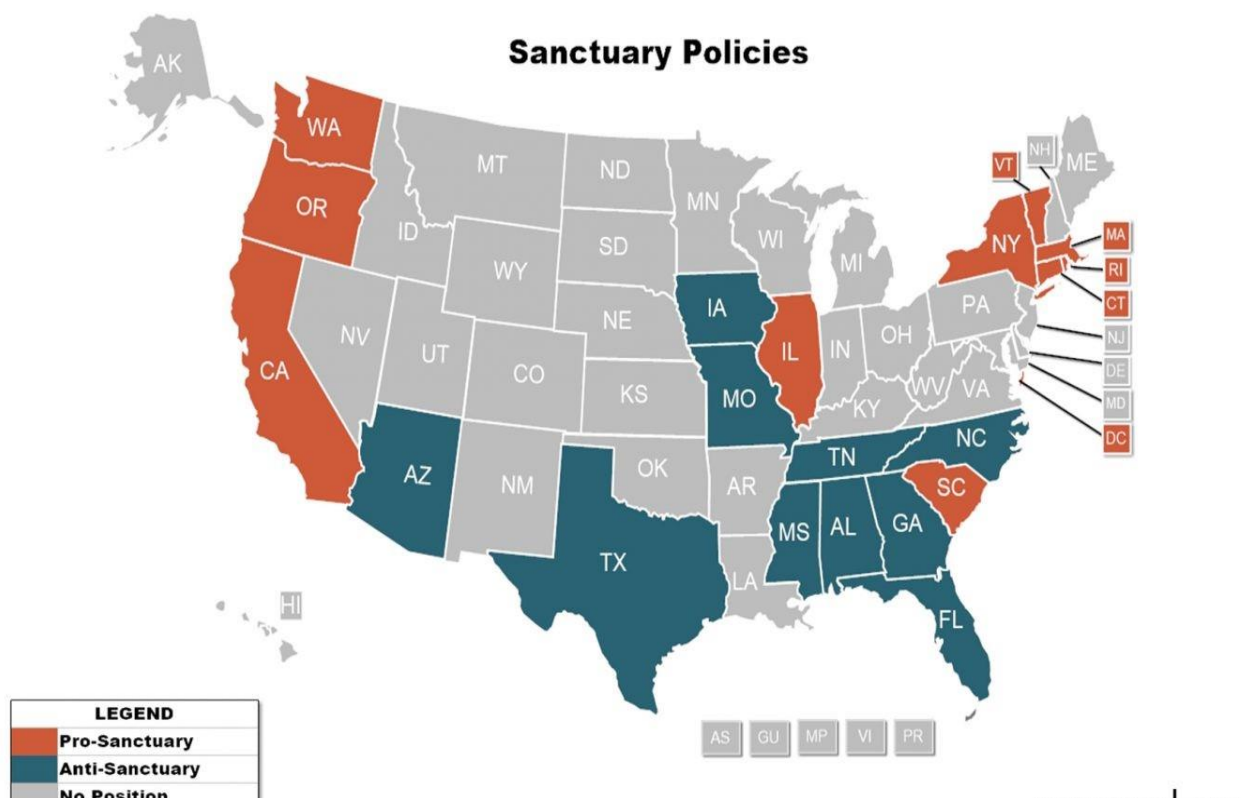


Figure 3. Sanctuary Cities Policy. *Source:* National Immigration Law Center

Sanctuary cities are local jurisdictions in the United States that adopt policies limiting cooperation with federal immigration authorities, such as U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), in order to protect and support undocumented immigrants within their communities. These policies typically include restrictions on sharing immigration status information, refusing to detain individuals solely for immigration reasons, and not honoring ICE detainer requests without a judicial warrant. Advocates argue that these policies build trust between local law enforcement and immigrant communities, encouraging immigrant cooperation with law enforcement, while critics contend that they hinder federal immigration enforcement efforts and raise legal and political debates.

This policy was designed to protect vulnerable immigrants by preventing local law enforcement from cooperating with federal immigration authorities. It prohibits law enforcement from inquiring about immigration status and limits the circumstances in which they can turn over undocumented immigrants to federal authorities. This policy was implemented before 2000, and while it has been challenged in court, it remains in effect today and has been adopted by 11 states.

Data and Methods

In order to explore the influence of policy diffusion on the adoption of innovative immigration policies, a comprehensive and meticulously curated database was crafted. This database, which encompasses the timeframe from 2000 to 2020, meticulously tracks the adoption status of the selected immigration policy studies across a multitude of states. The rationale behind the selection of these specific policies and this particular timeframe stems from the fact that all three policies under scrutiny were introduced and implemented within this precise window of time.

Dependent Variables

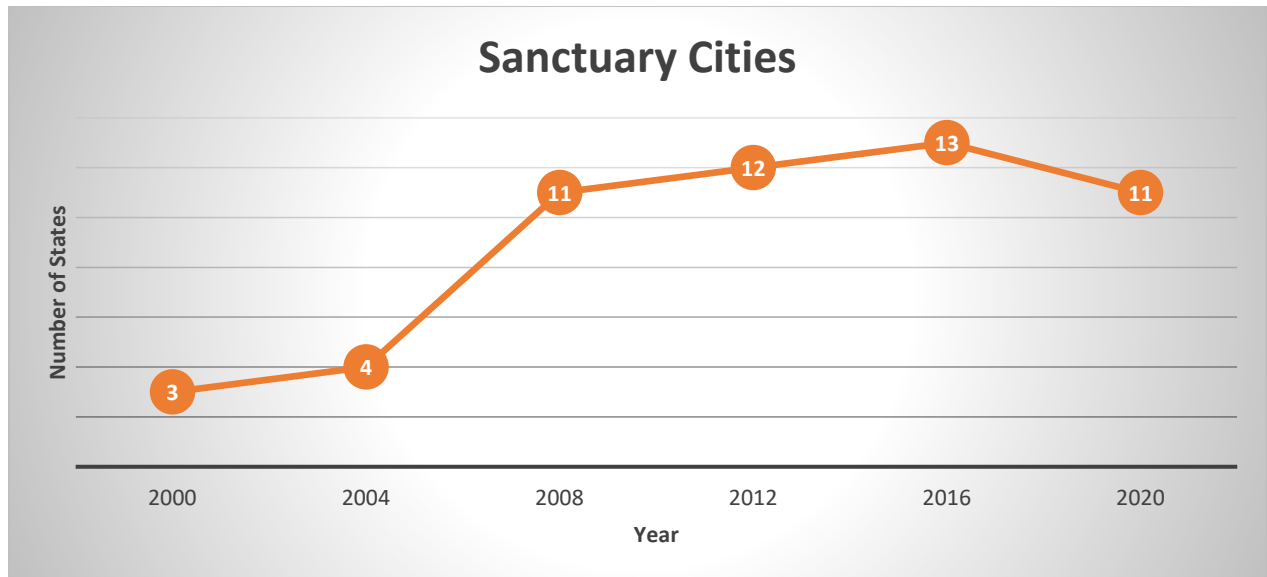


Figure 4. depicts the number of states that have implemented sanctuary policies.

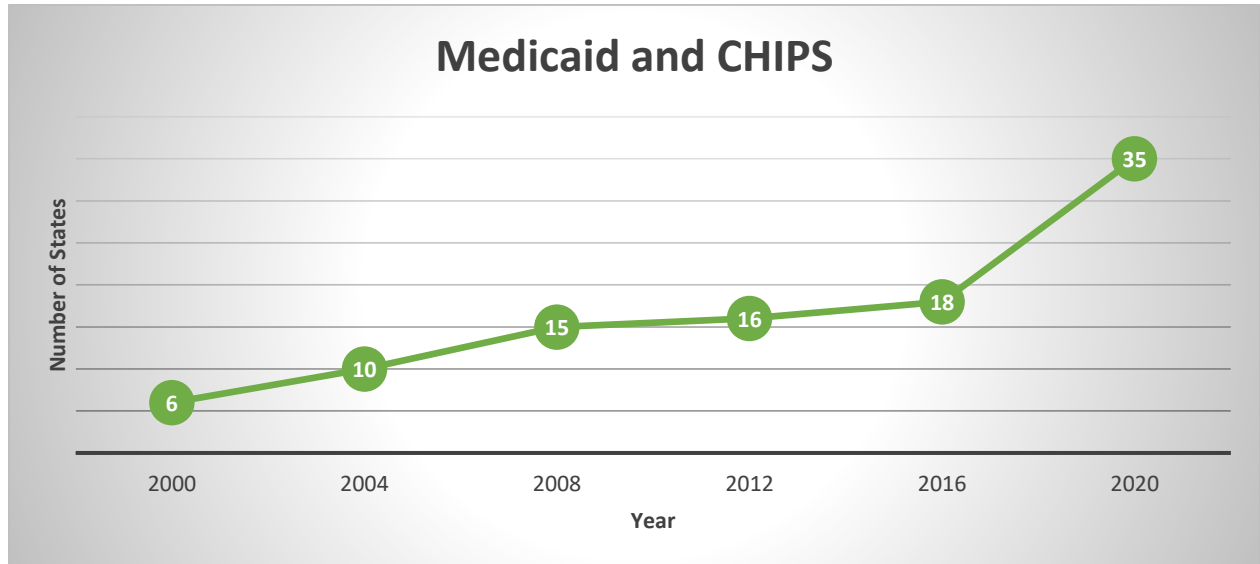


Figure 5. depicts the number of states that have implemented Medicaid and CHIPS policies.

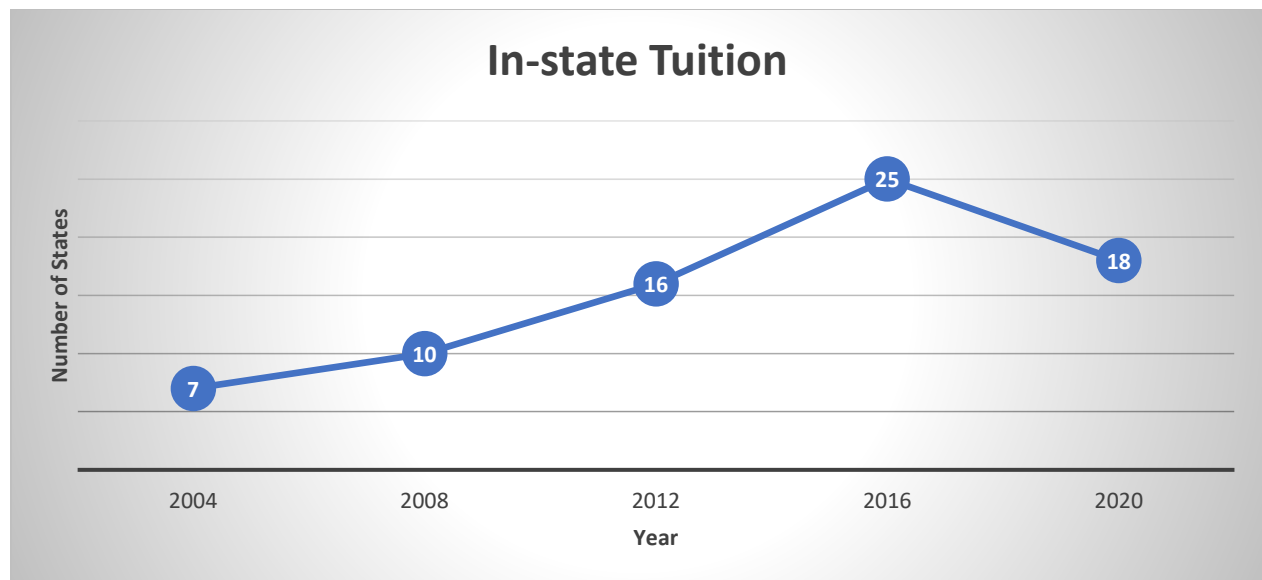


Figure 6. depicts the number of states that have implemented in-state tuition policies.

Data sources for this study encompassed diverse repositories, including the National Immigration Law Center, the Comparative Agendas Project, State Ideology Data (Berry et al., 2010), the U.S. Census Bureau's Population Division, and the American National Election Studies (ANES) data from 2000 to 2020.

Key Measures

The study's dependent variable was centered on the concept of policy adoption, which was evaluated as a binary variable. States were categorized into two distinct groups: those that had embraced the immigration policy were assigned a value of 1, while those that had not adopted it received a value of 0. This binary measurement provided a clear differentiation between states that had implemented the policy under examination and those that had not.

The inclusion of independent variables in this research primarily focused on capturing respondents' racial attitudes. To achieve this objective, replication data from a 2019 study conducted by Candis

Watts Smith, Rebecca J. Kreitzer, and Feiya Suo on the dynamics of racial resentment across the 50 US states was employed. However, since their replication data only extended up to 2016, and the study aimed to encompass the timeframe spanning from 2000 to 2020, the multilevel regression with poststratification weighting (MRP) technique was utilized.

MRP is a methodology employed to estimate public opinion by amalgamating census data, survey data measuring attitudes, and state-level variables. It models public opinion by considering demographics and state-level factors, while also adjusting the results based on census demographics. In this study, MRP was applied to analyze racial resentment survey data from the American National Election Studies (ANES) across multiple years. A multi-level linear regression model was employed to predict levels of racial resentment, taking into account various demographic and state-level factors. This approach facilitated the generation of estimates of racial resentment trends in states over time by consolidating all survey data into a single analysis. To enhance efficiency and precision, year indicator variables were included in the model, extending the analysis to the year 2020.

Another independent variable utilized in the study was State Partisanship, which categorized states as either Republican or Democratic. Additionally, several control variables were incorporated into the analysis to account for potential confounding factors. These control variables encompassed factors such as political ideology, immigration attitudes, and economic conditions. The inclusion of these control variables aimed to mitigate the influence of extraneous factors and isolate the specific impact of racial attitudes and immigration attitudes on policy adoption.

Regression Analysis

To address the research questions in this study, an extensive logistic regression analysis was initially conducted to investigate the direct relationship between racial resentment and the three policies under scrutiny. This analysis was carried out while controlling for other relevant factors. Subsequently, an event history analysis was employed to account for time-dependent aspects. It is noteworthy that event history analysis is a commonly used method for examining the factors influencing policy adoption. However, one common critique of this approach is its binary treatment of policy adoption, which can oversimplify the nuances of policy adoption decisions (Taylor et al., 2012). To overcome this limitation and gain a more comprehensive understanding of how policy diffusion unfolded and affected the adoption of these policies over a two-decade period, an event history analysis was employed. This analytical approach allowed for a more detailed exploration of the intricacies of policy adoptions, including their content and characteristics.

In essence, the study utilized event history analysis, a statistical technique previously outlined by Berry and Berry (1990), to analyze and comprehend the adoption decisions made by states regarding immigration policies. This method enabled the examination of both the timing of policy adoption and the factors that influenced these decisions, all while considering the evolving nature of the adoption process over time. The basic model for state i in time t is: $\Pr[\text{POLICY DIFFUSION}_{i,t} = 1] = \Phi(\beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{RACIAL ATTITUDE}_{i,t-1} + \beta_2 \text{PARTISANSHIP}_{i,t-1} + \beta_3 \text{ECONOMIC}_{i,t-1} + \beta_4 \text{POLITICAL IDEOLOGY}_{i,t} + \beta_5 \text{IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES}_{i,t} + \eta_{i,t})$.

Where $\Pr[\text{POLICY DIFFUSION}_{i,t} = 1]$ is our dependent variable and the probability that the state i will adopt an immigration policy in year t given that the state has not adopted the policy

prior to year t , β_j are parameters to be estimated, $\eta_{i,t}$ denotes an error term, and Φ represents the cumulative normal distribution function.

Results: Logistic Regression Analysis

Regarding the findings from the logistic regression analyses, plots were created to illustrate the effect of racial resentment on the likelihood of each policy being present in a state. Since the logistic regression coefficients represent the log odds, we can use these to show the probability of a policy being present at different levels of racial resentment. For each policy, a plot was created showing the estimated probability of the policy being present (Sanctuary, Medicaid and CHIPS, In-state Tuition) across a range of racial resentment values, while holding other variables at their mean values. This helps in visualizing the impact of racial resentment on policy presence.

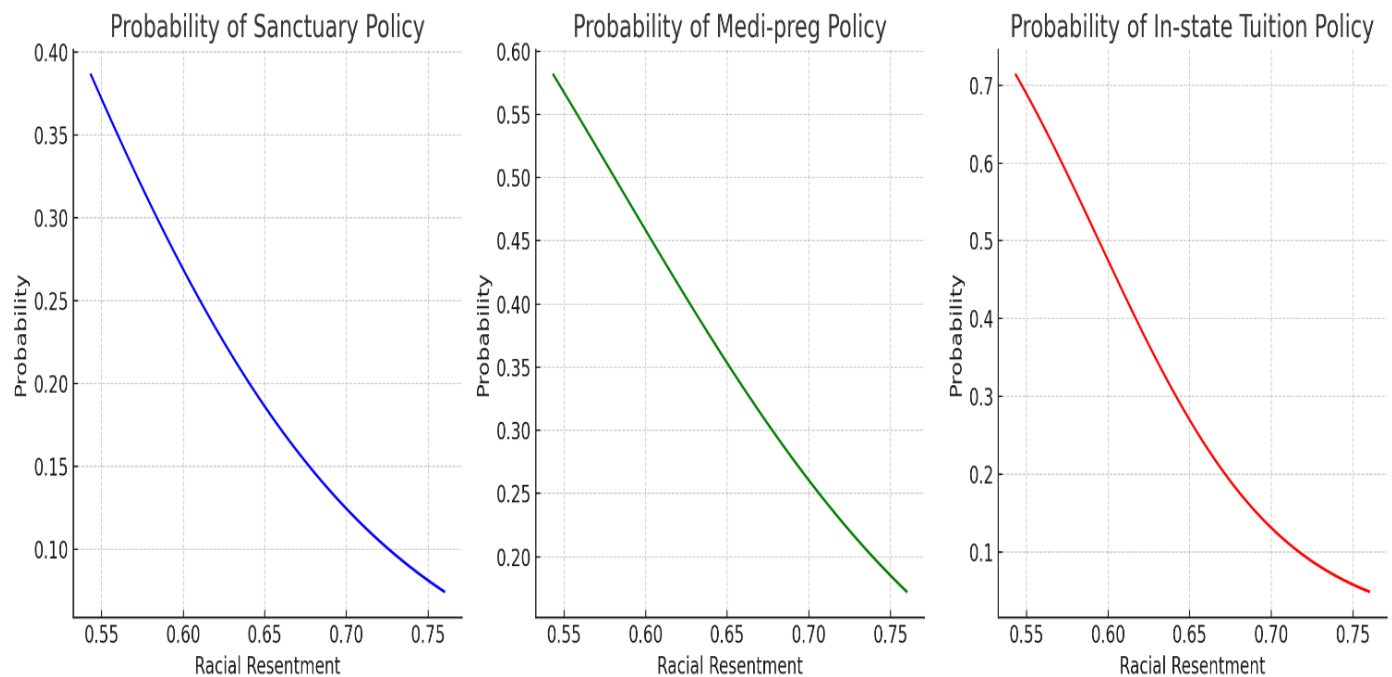


Figure 7. The plots above represent the estimated probabilities of each policy being present in a state across a range of racial resentment values, based on the logistic regression analyses.

Sanctuary Policy: The first plot (blue) shows how the probability of a state having a sanctuary policy varies with racial resentment. As racial resentment increases, the likelihood of the state being a sanctuary decreases.

Medicaid and CHIPS Policy: The second plot (green) illustrates the probability of a state having Medicaid policies. Similar to the sanctuary policy, higher levels of racial resentment are associated with a lower probability of having Medicaid and CHIPS policies.

In-state Tuition Policy: The third plot (red) displays the relationship between racial resentment and the likelihood of a state having in-state tuition policies. The trend is consistent with the other two policies: higher racial resentment correlates with a lower probability of the policy being in place.

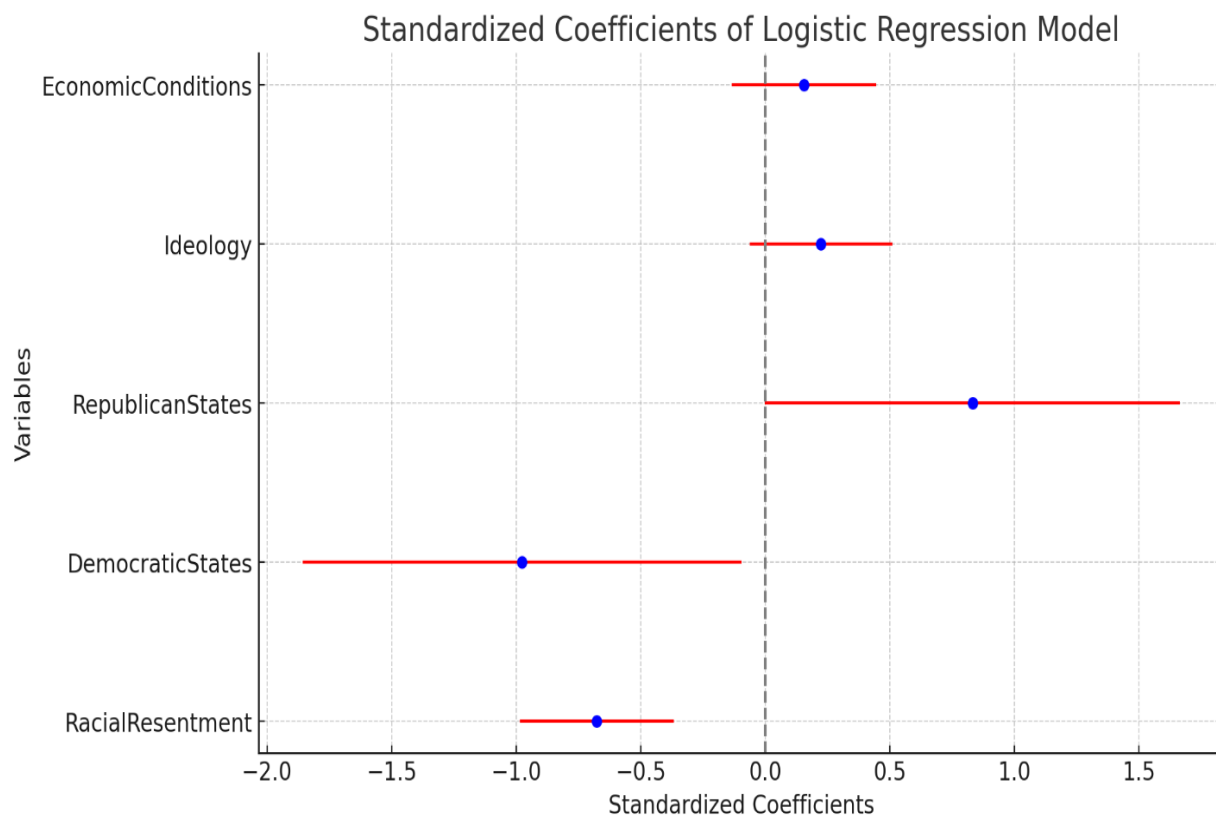


Figure 8. The plot visualizes the standardized coefficients of the logistic regression model for In State Tuition.

In scrutinizing the plot, each data point stands as a vital indicator of a variable's impact, while the accompanying red lines denote the extent of confidence in these findings. Notably, the variable 'Racial Resentment' emerges as a substantial and significantly negative factor, with its position on the plot and the confidence interval distinctly avoiding any overlap with the zero mark. This compelling observation underscores the potent influence of racial sentiment on the outcome in question.

Furthermore, the variable 'Democratic States' presents itself with a significant and negative effect, highlighting the substantial role that states with stronger Democratic affiliations play in shaping the outcome under scrutiny. On the other hand, 'Republican States' appears to exhibit a positive effect, although the confidence interval narrowly touches the zero line, indicating a degree of borderline significance. This implies that while Republican states may have some impact on the outcome, it is not entirely conclusive and may require further investigation to draw definitive conclusions. Meanwhile, the coefficients for 'Ideology' and 'Economic Conditions' fail to attain statistical significance, with their confidence intervals comfortably encompassing the zero point. This suggests that these variables alone may not wield a decisive influence on the outcome being examined. In summary, this analysis of the plot uncovers a nuanced web of influences on the outcome, with racial resentment and the political landscape taking prominent roles. These findings serve as a valuable starting point for understanding the intricate dynamics at play, calling for continued research and exploration to delve deeper into the factors shaping the outcome of interest.

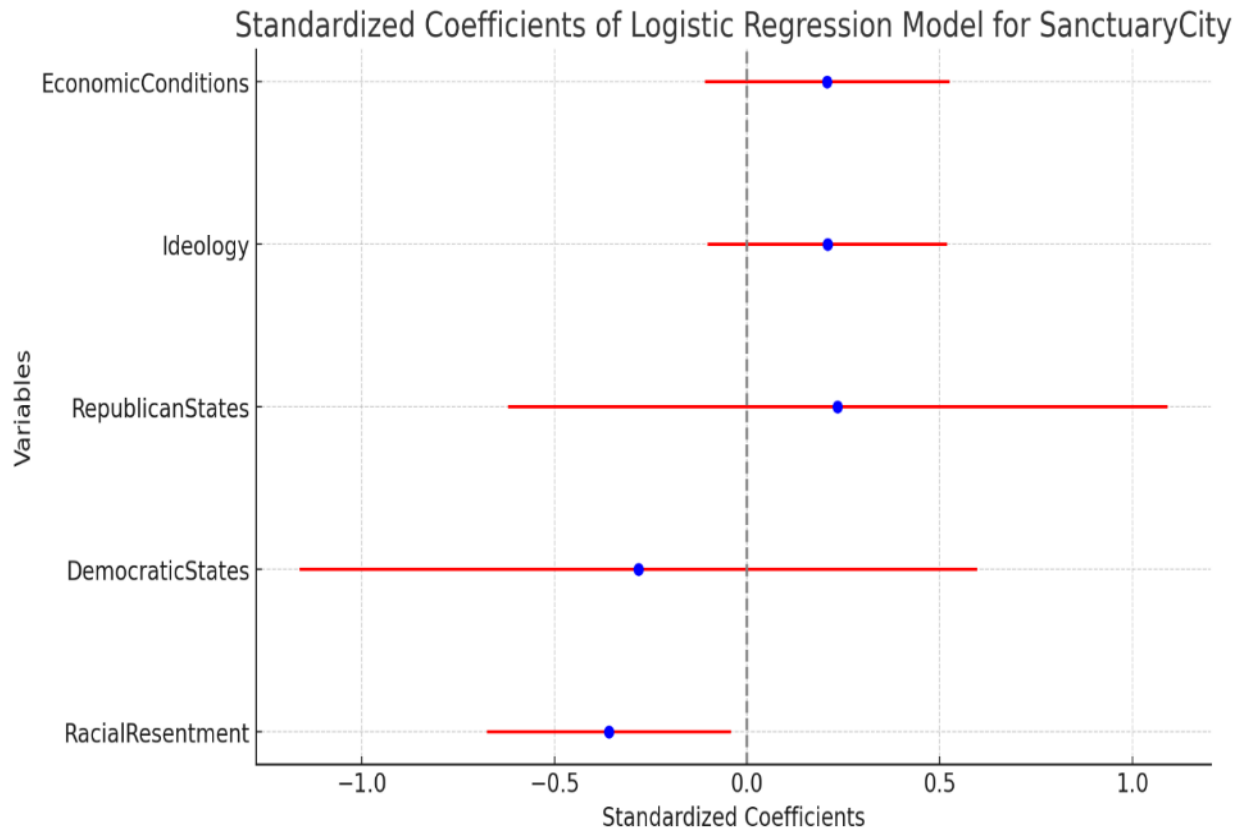


Figure 9. The plot visualizes the standardized coefficients of the logistic regression model for Sanctuary Cities Policy.

The analysis of the 'SanctuaryCity' plot unveils compelling insights into the factors influencing the adoption of sanctuary city policies across states. Much like the findings in the 'MedicaidCHIPS' analysis, racial resentment emerges as a significant factor, with higher levels of racial resentment associated with a decreased likelihood of states implementing sanctuary city policies. This underscores the intricate relationship between attitudes towards race and immigration policy choices, warranting further exploration.

Interestingly, the influence of Democratic states is notably pronounced in the adoption of sanctuary city policies, with a significant positive effect. This suggests that states with a stronger Democratic presence are more inclined to embrace these policies, shedding light on the partisan dynamics that

can shape immigration-related decisions. Conversely, the influence of Republican states appears inconclusive, with a non-significant coefficient indicating that Republican state influence does not seem to have a clear impact on the adoption of sanctuary city policies. This suggests that other factors may play a more pivotal role in shaping the stance of Republican-leaning states towards sanctuary cities. Moreover, the variables related to ideology and economic conditions do not appear to significantly affect the likelihood of adopting sanctuary city policies, as evidenced by their confidence intervals crossing zero. This implies that the political and economic landscape alone may not be the primary drivers behind states' decisions regarding sanctuary city policies.

In summary, the analysis of the 'SanctuaryCity' plot underscores the complex interplay of factors influencing the adoption of sanctuary city policies, with racial resentment and partisan dynamics taking center stage. These findings provide valuable insights into the forces shaping immigration policy at the state level and call for further investigation to unravel the underlying mechanisms at play in this contentious policy arena.

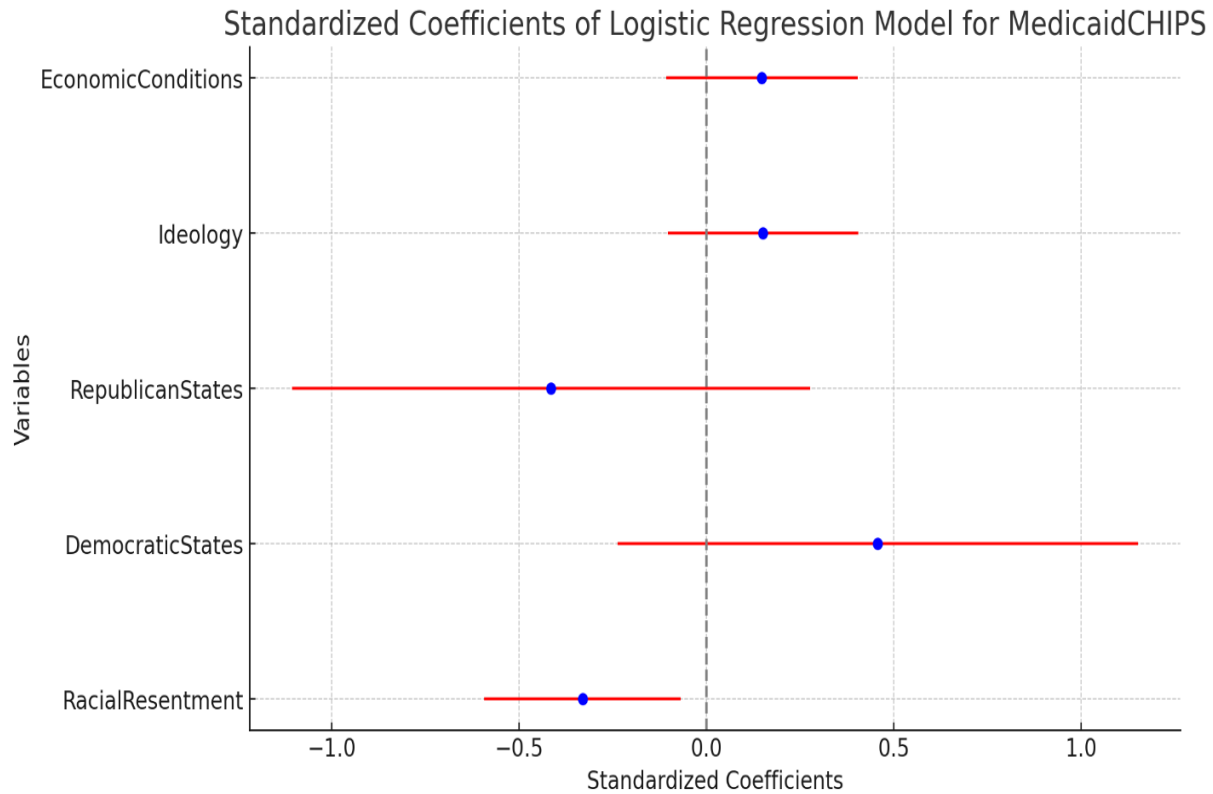


Figure 10. The plot visualizes the standardized coefficients of the logistic regression model for Medicaid and CHIPS Policy.

The analysis of the 'MedicaidCHIPS' plot reveals some intriguing insights into the factors influencing the adoption of Medicaid/CHIP policies at the state level. One noteworthy finding is the negative impact of racial resentment, where higher levels of this sentiment correlate with a decreased likelihood of states embracing Medicaid/CHIP policies. This observation highlights the potential role of racial attitudes in shaping healthcare policy decisions, underscoring the need for further exploration into this relationship.

Surprisingly, the presence of Democratic influence in states also exhibits a negative effect on Medicaid/CHIP policy adoption, which challenges conventional wisdom. This unexpected result

suggests that there may be underlying factors or dynamics within Democratic-leaning states that require closer examination to better understand their influence on healthcare policy decisions.

Conversely, the influence of Republican states does not appear to be a significant determinant in the adoption of Medicaid/CHIP policies, as indicated by non-significant coefficients. This implies that other factors may play a more pivotal role in these states' healthcare policy choices.

Moreover, the variables related to ideology and economic conditions do not exhibit a significant impact on Medicaid/CHIP policy adoption, as their confidence intervals encompass zero. This implies that the political and economic landscape alone may not be the primary drivers behind states' decisions regarding these healthcare policies.

This analysis sheds light on the intricate web of factors influencing the adoption of Medicaid/CHIP policies at the state level, emphasizing the importance of considering racial resentment and the nuances of political influence in shaping healthcare policy outcomes. Further research is warranted to delve deeper into the underlying mechanisms driving these findings and to inform more comprehensive policy discussions.

Racial Resentment's Influence on State-Level Policy and Control Variables

In the analysis conducted, the impact of racial resentment on the adoption of three specific state-level policies was examined: Sanctuary Cities Policy, Medicaid and CHIPS Policy, and In-state Tuition Policy. The results of the study reveal intriguing insights into the influence of racial resentment on policymaking, while also considering several control variables to provide a comprehensive perspective on the relationships at play.

Firstly, let's focus on the impact of racial resentment on these policies. Across the board, a consistent trend is observed higher levels of racial resentment are associated with a decreased

likelihood of a state adopting these policies. This negative correlation is statistically significant for all three policies, as indicated by the coefficients: -0.388 for Sanctuary Cities Policy, -0.355 for Medicaid and CHIPS Policy, and a significant -0.71 for In-state Tuition Policy. This suggests that states with higher levels of racial resentment tend to be less inclined to implement these policies, possibly due to the influence of racial biases or opposition from certain segments of the population.

To provide a more comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing policy decisions, the models include several control variables. The political landscape is considered by accounting for whether a state is Democratic or Republican leaning, the prevailing ideological climate, and economic conditions. These controls help tease apart the specific impact of racial resentment while acknowledging the broader political and economic context within which these policies are formulated.

In summary, the analysis sheds light on the role of racial resentment in shaping state-level policies, demonstrating a consistent negative relationship with the adoption of Sanctuary Cities Policy, Medicaid and CHIPS Policy, and In-state Tuition Policy. While this correlation is significant, it is vital to remember that correlation does not imply causation. The inclusion of control variables underscores the multifaceted nature of policy decisions, emphasizing the need for further analysis to uncover the intricate dynamics at play in the realm of state-level policymaking.

Results: Event History Analysis

Table 1

Impact of Racial Attitudes on State-Level Policy Adoption in the United States

Variables	In-State Tuition	Medicaid/CHIPS	Sanctuary Cities
Racial Attitudes	-0.578** (0.2042)	0.4632* (0.1918)	-0.619** (0.205)
Immigration	0.0978 (0.3368)	0.1408 (0.2917)	0.130 (0.335)
Democratic	-0.6994 (0.4437)	0.5693 (0.3891)	-0.769 (0.450)
Republican	0.5045 (0.4239)	-0.6080 (0.3919)	0.542 (0.429)
Ideology	-0.0005 (0.1542)	-0.1470 (0.1379)	-0.045 (0.154)
Economic	-0.2178 (0.2335)	0.0434 (0.1796)	-0.272 (0.232)
Constant	-3.2732*** (0.7573)	-1.2317*** (0.6227)	-3.384*** (0.7642)
Observations	300	300	300

Standard errors in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. **Duration dependence

Sanctuary Policies

The study uncovered a notable inverse relationship between states' racial attitudes and their likelihood of adopting sanctuary policies. States with more negative racial attitudes are less likely to implement these policies, as indicated by a coefficient of -0.619, which is statistically significant holding all other values constant. This finding is critical, suggesting that in states where racial attitudes are less favorable, there is a tangible reluctance to embrace policies that protect immigrant communities. The significant coefficient underscores the impact of public sentiment on immigration-related policies.

In-State Tuition

The impact of racial attitudes is similarly evident in education policies, particularly regarding in-state tuition rates. The analysis revealed that states with more negative racial attitudes tend to have less inclusive in-state tuition policies, reflected in a significant coefficient of -0.578 holding all other values constant. This trend highlights a potential educational barrier for immigrants and minorities in states where racial attitudes are less favorable, pointing to a crucial intersection between racial perceptions, education policy, and social equality.

Medicaid/CHIP Policies

In a somewhat unexpected finding, the study showed that states with more negative racial attitudes are slightly more inclined to expand Medicaid and CHIPs. The coefficient of 0.4632 indicates that this relationship is statistically significant at a lower level holding other values constant. This result suggests a nuanced interplay between racial attitudes and public health policies, implying that negative racial perceptions do not uniformly lead to a reduction in social welfare programs.

Possible reasons for this variation could include political considerations, differing perspectives on public health, or the influence of unmeasured factors in the study.

Unveiling Complex Dynamics in Immigration, Education, and Healthcare Policies

These findings demonstrate how racial attitudes can significantly shape policy choices in diverse areas such as immigration, education, and public health, affecting them in different and sometimes unexpected ways. The significance and magnitude of these coefficients reveal the varied impact of societal attitudes on the policy-making process. For policymakers, advocates, and researchers, these findings underscore the importance of considering underlying societal attitudes when formulating and implementing public policies, highlighting the complex dynamics at play in state-level decision-making. The state-level analysis uncovered significant insights into how states' racial attitudes, political affiliations, and other socio-political variables influence the adoption of sanctuary policies, in-state tuition policies, and Medicaid/CHIP policies. The study reveals a nuanced landscape of policy decisions across states. States with more negative racial attitudes are less likely to adopt sanctuary policies and offer lenient in-state tuition rates, indicating an inverse relationship between racial attitudes and the inclusivity of these policies. Conversely, these states showed a slight inclination towards expanding Medicaid and CHIPs, a somewhat unexpected finding given the traditional narratives around racial attitudes and social welfare policies.

Political affiliations also emerged as key determinants. Democratic-leaning states, surprisingly, were less likely to have sanctuary cities but more likely to expand Medicaid/CHIPs, aligning with the broader Democratic platform favoring expansive healthcare. Republican-leaning states, conversely, were more likely to have sanctuary cities and less inclined to expand Medicaid/CHIPs, presenting an intriguing counterintuitive trend that warrants further exploration to understand

underlying political dynamics. These policies were not significantly impacted by attitudes towards immigration and economic conditions, indicating that these factors may be overshadowed by more dominant issues like racial attitudes and political affiliations or that their effects are more complex and nuanced. The absence of significant effects from ideological leanings and economic conditions could imply that the drivers of policy adoption in states are more intricately linked to specific socio-political contexts than broad ideological or economic frameworks.

Conclusion: Insights into State-Level Policy Dynamics in the U.S

In the comprehensive examination of state-level policy-making in the United States, the research delves into the intricate relationship between societal attitudes and legislative outcomes. This study specifically concentrates on the impact of racial attitudes on the adoption of sanctuary policies, in-state tuition, and Medicaid/CHIP programs. Employing discrete-time survival analysis to evaluate binary policy adoption data, significant dynamics have been uncovered, emphasizing the profound influence of societal perspectives on policy determinations.

The findings reveal a distinct inverse correlation between negative racial attitudes and the likelihood of states implementing sanctuary policies and offering inclusive in-state tuition rates. This pattern underscores the substantial role of racial perceptions in shaping immigration-related and educational policies. The negative coefficients associated with these policy areas indicate that states with less favorable racial attitudes tend to exhibit less inclusivity, potentially implying barriers to equality and integration in these regions.

Conversely, within the domain of public health policy, particularly in the adoption of Medicaid and CHIP programs, a more intricate relationship emerges. States displaying more negative racial

attitudes demonstrate a slightly higher inclination to expand these health programs, as suggested by the positive coefficient, although with a lower level of statistical significance. This intriguing discovery alludes to a nuanced interplay between racial attitudes and public health initiatives, potentially indicating differentiated perceptions of social welfare programs compared to immigration and education policies.

These insights carry significant implications for policymakers, social advocates, and academic researchers, underscoring the imperative consideration of underlying societal attitudes in the formulation and execution of public policies. This study illuminates the multifaceted nature of policy-making, where social attitudes intertwine with political, economic, and demographic factors in shaping policy determinations.

Looking ahead, this research paves the path for further investigations into the intricate mechanisms of state-level decision-making. It opens new avenues for comprehending how various societal attitudes may influence a broader spectrum of policy determinations. Additionally, it emphasizes the significance of examining the interplay between public sentiment and legislative action, a critical aspect of advancing equitable and effective governance.

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