

Copyright
by
Mercedes Shannon Martinez
2014

**The Dissertation Committee for Mercedes Shannon Martinez Certifies that this is
the approved version of the following dissertation:**

Stranger in a Strange Land: A study of the effect of foreignness on
perceptions of Latinos

Committee:

Germine Awad, Supervisor

Kevin Cokley

Ricardo Ainslie

Alissa Sherry

Pauline Strong

**Stranger in a Strange Land: A study of the effect of
foreignness on perceptions of Latinos**

by

Mercedes Shannon Martinez, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2014

Acknowledgements

An unimaginable amount of thanks is owed to the following people:
My mentors at the University of Texas: Dr. Germine Awad, Dr. Kevin Cokley, Dr. Ricardo Ainslie, Dr. Alissa Sherry, and Dr. Pauline Strong for their support and wisdom. To my supervisors: Dr. Carolyn Bates, Dr. Mark Adams, Gena Minnix, Dr. Scott Hammel, Dave Braham, Dr. Jenny Bivona and Dr. Jeffrey Wilson-Reese for helping me to learn this very difficult art. To Dr. Nancy Daley for always being honest and always caring. To Alicia Enciso for not giving up on our canoe. To Kevin Garry for sharing a cubicle with me for all those years. To Joe Rodriguez, without our conversations I never would have had the idea that led to this work. To Epoch and its community for existing. To Matt Tyler, for his support, computer related and otherwise. To Zachary Kent for finding a way for us not to lose each other. To Jack Darling for a well-deserved and timely kick in the pants. To Bob Buford for his pride in me, and his willingness to remind people that I am training to be a doctor, not a nurse. To Leslie Herrington for her 4:30 phone calls. To Vanessa Compono-Staples for her support and authenticity in the face of the Captain. And to Shane Briggs for sanctuary when it was needed.

A huge thanks goes to my mom, Dorothy Martinez, and Myra Bradley, for always being there, always reading for me, and always providing a home-away-from-home for me and the girls, where we could always find nurturance, physical and spiritual. To my Dad, Mack Martinez, for his unwavering belief in me, our weekly phone calls and his willingness to drive IH35 too many times.

Finally and most profoundly, thank you to Shannon and Izzy, for being exactly who they are in every way.

Stranger in a Strange Land: A study of the effect of foreignness on perceptions of Latinos

Mercedes Shannon Martinez, PhD

The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

Supervisor: Germine Awad

September 11th 2001 led to an increase in the intensity of the already existing discourses surrounding what it means to be an American, with a particular focus on the Southern border of the United States and Mexican immigration as a perceived threat to national security. This study seeks to address the how prejudice towards undocumented Mexican immigrants generalizes to Mexican Americans. This relationship was theorized by Chavez (2008), and is what he calls the Latino threat narrative. Experimental methods will be used to measure how perceptions of Latinos differ as a function of foreignness using a 2 (positive vs. negative scenario) x 4 (Mexican American, undocumented immigrant, Latino and Anglo) X 2 (Group Process: SDO or RWA) between-subjects design. Participants were asked to read scenarios that describes a man (either Mexican American, an undocumented Mexican immigrant, a Latino or White) accidentally hitting another car while parking and either leaving a note or not. The results demonstrate that when the immigration status of the man described is unknown, and he does not leave a note, participants high in Social Dominance Orientation attitudes are more likely to identify them as an undocumented Mexican immigrant. The findings of this study

contribute to the literature of prejudice through further exploring the mechanisms of prejudice towards immigrant populations.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Introduction.....	1
Integrative Analysis	5
The Psychology of Prejudice	5
Cognitive Factors of Prejudice.....	6
Motivational Factors of Prejudice.....	11
Ideological Factors that Influence Prejudice.....	16
Contemporary Forms of Racism.....	22
Valence	24
A History of Prejudice Towards Mexicans.....	25
What it Means to be American	32
The Latino Threat Narrative	33
Proposed Research Study.....	37
Study Hypotheses.....	38
Method	41
Participants.....	41
Procedure	42
Measures & Stimulus Materials.....	43
Data Analysis	45
Statistical Analysis.....	45
Results.....	48
Bivariate Analysis	48
Primary Analysis.....	49
Affable Attributions	49
Effective Attributions.....	50

Manipulation Check	53
Tables	55
Figures.....	59
Discussion	67
Implications.....	76
Limitations	77
Future Directions	79
Conclusion	80
Appendix A	81
Mexican American/Negative	81
Undocumented Mexican Immigrant/Negative.....	82
Latino/Negative.....	83
White/Negative	84
Mexican American/Positive.....	85
Undocumented Mexican Immigrant/Positive	86
Latino/Positive	87
White/Positive	88
Appendix B	89
“Well-written” Scale	89
Impressions Scale.....	90
RWA SCALE	92
Social Dominance Orientation.....	96
References.....	98

List of Tables

Table 1: Pearson Correlation of Measures	55
Table 2: ANOVA results for Affable subscale with SDO as the Group Process variable.....	55
Table 3: ANOVA results for Affable subscale with RWA as the Group Process variable.....	55
Table 4 : ANOVA results for Effective subscale with SDO as the Group Process variable.....	56
Table 5: ANOVA results for Effective subscale with RWA as the Group Process variable.....	56
Table 6: ANOVA results for Negative subscale with RWA as the Group Process variable.....	56
Table 7: ANOVA results for Negative subscale with RWA as the Group Process variable when all minority groups are combined.....	57
Table 8: ANOVA results for Negative subscale with SDO as the Group Process variable.....	57
Table 9: Percentage of correct responses to manipulation check	58

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1.</i> Means scores demonstrating the interaction between level of SDO attitude endorsement and valence.	59
<i>Figure 2.</i> Mean scores demonstrating Foreignness by level of RWA interaction on the Negative subscale.....	60
<i>Figure 3.</i> Means scores demonstrating valence by level of RWA by Race interaction in the negative condition.....	61
<i>Figure 4.</i> Mean scores representing valence by level of RWA by race interaction in the positive condition.....	62
<i>Figure 5.</i> Means demonstrating the interaction of Race and level of RWA attitudes on the Negative subscale.....	63
<i>Figure 6.</i> Mean scores demonstrating valence by level of SDO interaction on the Negative subscale.....	64

Introduction

The literature surrounding prejudice in the United States has historically focused on Whites' prejudice towards African Americans (Devine, 1989; Jones, 1997; Martinez, 2001; Smith, Dijksterhuis & Chaiken 2008). However, it is clear that prejudice is a more complicated issue, which is not limited to Black and White in American society.

Although other ethnic groups have been relegated to minor side points in the discussion, the events of September 11th, 2001 heightened America's awareness of previously perceived threats, which brought into effect policies that have highlighted prior existing prejudices towards other ethnic and racial groups. This led to frantic discussions about the country's borders and security. In particular, it resulted in drawing more attention to illegal border crossings in the Southwest. Specifically, in the case of Latinos¹, it focused the spotlight on individuals who have immigrated to the U.S. illegally; this focus is a cyclical issue that has historically occurred during times of economic depression (Chavez, 2008; Hitlan et al. 2007, Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa 1998; Zárate, Garcia, Garza & Hitlan, 2004). More recently, the immigration debate has become heightened due to the most stringent legislation to date being passed, and then partially repealed, in Arizona. This bill (Arizona SB 1070) required that people carry immigration documentation at all times, and increased the power of police officers to

¹The question of labels with which to describe the population of people who are of Mexican citizenship and/or decent within U.S. borders has never been an easy one and individual choice and identity play a vital role in the day to day ways that people speak of themselves and others; given this, the literature has not taken a clear stance on this issue (Yankauer 1987, Oboler 1995). In this work, the term Mexican American will refer to individuals who are citizens of the United States and whose families were at one time Mexican citizens. An undocumented Mexican immigrant refers to a person who has knowingly entered the United States without going through the legal immigration process. The term Latino has historically referred to individuals whose families, or themselves, were once citizens of a country in Central America and are now living in the United States. Chavez (2008) acknowledges this distinction, but uses the term Latino to refer to both Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants, documented or undocumented, the same distinction will be used in this work.

detain individuals thought to be in the country illegally. Opponents of the legislation feared the violation of individual's rights, both immigrants and American citizens, based on "looking" Mexican (Archibold, 2010). Arizona SB1070 is a clear example of the way in which prejudice towards undocumented immigrants may affect the lives of Mexican-Americans. The literature concerning attitudes toward "illegal" immigration has been studied extensively (Lee, Ottati & Hussain 2010; Short & Magaña, 2002; Zárte & Shaw 2010). However, the experimental psychological literature on prejudice towards Mexican Americans is quite limited and does not address the ways in which attitudes toward undocumented immigration affect prejudice towards Mexican Americans.

This paper seeks to review how the history of immigration between the United States and Mexico has created a context within which the development of American perceptions about undocumented Mexican immigrants, Latinos and Mexican Americans has occurred. Public discourse has historically placed Latinos at the source of many of America's economic problems, particularly during times of economic distress. Social construction theory, which refers to the ways in which stereotypes of groups are socially created, provides a framework for considering how the current stereotypes about what it means to be a Mexican immigrant or Mexican-American in the United States have developed (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). Integrated threat theory states that when an ingroup feels that they are threatened by an outgroup, in terms of access to resources (perceived realistic threat) or in terms of group identity (perceived symbolic threat), prejudice towards the outgroup will increase (Stephan et al., 1999). Chavez (2008) applies this theory in his description of the Latino Threat narrative, which he argues is created by conservative media, in which Latinos are thought of as an invading force,

taking jobs and changing what it means to be American. It is important to note that for Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans to be constructed as an “invading force,” or as changing what it means to be American, they must be thought of as something other than American. Research has shown that the prototypical American is thought of as being White and that other ethnic groups are seen as less American in comparison (Devos & Banaji, 2005). These ideas affect the ways in which Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans are perceived and treated in the United States.

As one looks at the history of immigration policy in America, the way that prejudice has changed across time becomes evident. Immigration policy was at one time titled something as offensive as “Operation Wetback,” but now we see bills with titles such as “Support our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act,” although the intent of the bills is arguably not that different. Contemporary theories of prejudice posit that although explicit racial prejudice is generally decreasing, it is also true that respondents are less willing to voice their true opinions, as it is no longer socially acceptable to express prejudiced attitudes, even on an anonymous survey. In many cases these negative views of minority groups have become unconscious, so that the respondent is unaware of their own prejudice (Zárate, et al, 2010). Research has found that respondents are more likely to express prejudice when provided with a non-ethnic based reason for doing so, such as criminal activity (Short & Magaña, 2002).

Current theories of prejudice will be used to ascertain whether modern negative perceptions of undocumented Mexican immigrants do, in fact, generalize to Mexican Americans and, as Chavez (2008) has theorized, making them into “alien citizens” in their own land. This study will determine the ways in which perceptions of Latinos

change utilizing a 2 (scenario: positive or negative) by 4 (foreignness: Latino, Undocumented Mexican Immigrant, Mexican American or White) by 2 (group process: RWA or SDO) between groups experimental design. The positive and negative scenarios include the description of a man (with differing immigration statuses based on condition) who has bumped into another car while attempting to parallel park. The negative condition, in which he does not leave a note, provides a non-ethnic based reason for respondents to express prejudices. The foreignness condition manipulates the perceived foreignness of the individual through immigration status. The four conditions include individuals who are described as either Mexican American, an undocumented Mexican immigrant, Latino or White. The Latino condition leaves the immigration status of the individual ambiguous, allowing the researcher to examine how Latinos are perceived considering that their immigration statuses go mostly unknown in day-to-day interactions.

Integrative Analysis

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PREJUDICE

The definition of prejudice has changed over the life of this relatively young field of study. In Allport's (1954) seminal work *The Nature of Prejudice*, he defines prejudice as an "antipathy or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group" (p.7). Stangor defines prejudice as simply, "a negative attitude toward a group or toward members of a group." Allport's definition further includes that the prejudices are inaccurate, negative and overgeneralize, all of which are aspects of stereotypes. Stereotypes have generally been defined as "knowledge structures that serve as mental 'pictures' of the group in question" (Stangor, 2009, p.2). One important way in which prejudice may influence stereotyping is through the attention and encoding process concerning stereotype-consistent and -inconsistent behavior. There is considerable literature supporting the idea that individuals are likely to attend to and encode information that is congruent with their current belief system (see Frey, 1986 for a review). This framework would argue that high-prejudice individuals are likely to attend to information in their environment which validates their existing prejudices, while low-prejudice individuals would be more likely to attend to information that is counter to known stereotypes. However, while this argument makes common sense, the relationship between the attention and encoding of information from the environment and known stereotypes is not this simple. For example, both high- and low-prejudice individuals are likely to attend to information that is counter to their belief system in an attempt to explain it away (Ditto & Lopez, 1992). Information that is in congruence with their belief system is likely to be encoded without the need for validation.

The relationship between stereotypes and prejudice continues to be an area of research (Sherman, Stroessner, Conrey & Azam 2005). A premise within the study of prejudice has been that the use of stereotypes promotes prejudice and that prejudice can be reduced through decreasing the use of stereotypes. However, prejudice reduction has been shown to be deeply more complex (Devine, 1989). This work will review cognitive, motivational and ideological factors that contribute to prejudice and their relationships to stereotyping.

Cognitive Factors of Prejudice

The mechanisms that underlie prejudices can be conceptualized as cognitive, motivational and ideological (Plous, 2003). Cognitive factors concern the way in which the human mind deals with any type of data and how this affects how an individual thinks about groups of people. Cognitive factors that underlie prejudice include categorical thinking, assimilation and contrast, outgroup homogeneity and automatic and controlled processing.

Categorical thinking. The human brain is asked to respond to a great deal of stimuli on a moment to moment basis, for the brain to do this optimally there are two complimentary cognitive skill sets. The first is the internal representation of the types of stimuli that we are likely to encounter on a given day. These representations are what render the world meaningful, understandable and predictable (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). The use of this cognitive skill—called categorical thinking—is why when confronted with a young person with a backpack, we think “student.” Allport (1954) argued, “the human mind must think with the aid of categories...We cannot possibly avoid the process. Orderly living depends upon it...Every event has certain marks that

serve as a cue to bring category or prejudgment into action” (p.21). The second cognitive skill described by Macrar and Bodenhausen (2000) allows us to incorporate unique information that does not fit our internal representations and respond accordingly. This balance created between aptly anticipating and appropriately responding to the unique stimulus allows an individual to respond to their environment in the most optimal manner. Our inherent cognitive limitations combined with the demands of a stimulus rich world require the use of this cognitive skill to simplify the data that bombards us. However, this also leads individuals to thinking of others in terms of purportedly meaningful categories (such as race, age and gender) as opposed to thinking of them as unique individuals. This can affect our perceptions of others in two critical ways: First, the activation of a category can lead one to create specific evaluations and impressions of a “target” individual based on the category, which creates stereotype-based cognitions. Secondly, these stereotype-based cognitions can greatly influence the ways in which the target is remembered and increase the likelihood that the stereotype-based cognition will be utilized in the future (Macrar & Bodenhausen, 2000; Power, Murphy & Coover, 1996). Dovidio, Evans and Tyler (1986) presented subjects with positive and negative stereotypes of Blacks and Whites and asked them to decide if the stereotypic-trait was “always true,” “ever true” or “always false” about the given category while recording individual response times. It was found that subjects much more easily matched the stereotypic trait with the group to which is it commonly attributed (Black with Musical, for example). This finding demonstrated the similarities between the information processing of categories and the representation and use of social categories.

Assimilation and contrast effects. An additional cognitive factor that helps us to interpret the world around us, and yet has the possibility of leading to prejudice, is known as assimilation and contrast—simply put, that within group differences are likely to be understated while between group differences are likely to be exaggerated. In terms of perception of the environment, the assimilation and contrast effects can be seen in misperception of line length, speech sounds, and color perceptions. For example, although a letter and number may be the same color, the letter will be perceived as being more similar in color to other letters, and significantly different in color from the number (Plous, 2003). This is further complicated if the presumed between group differences are based on well-known stereotypes that are particularly resistant to change (Plous, 2003). Schwarz and Bless (1992) argue that when we begin to make a judgment about some target stimulus, we first retrieve some cognitive representation of it and then we must determine a standard of comparison. Biernat (2009) writes that assimilation to stereotypes is more likely when judgments are made in reference to confirmatory standards (when individuals ask themselves what they would need to feel *confident* in the target's ability, as opposed to meeting a minimum standard), and when the situation is considered zero-sum, such as having to hire one job candidate over all others. Contrast effects are more likely when judgments are not related to minimum standards, and when the situation is not considered zero-sum, such as cheering for someone at a game. This finding suggests that when the decision maker deems a judgment important, they are likely to exaggerate group differences.

Attributional theory examines the cognitive process through which we make decisions about the meaning of the behaviors of others and ourselves. Heider (1958)

suggested that all individuals are naïve psychologists, who try to make sense of a complicated social world by creating causal relationships where none may actually exist. He argued that when we look to explain the actions and behaviors of others we look for internal attributions, like personality traits; while if we want to explain our own actions we are more likely to make external attributions, so that our behavior is attributed to a situation or environmental cause. An example of this “ultimate attribution error” is when prejudiced individuals perceive what they judge as a negative act performed by an outgroup member as attributable to an internal and stable factor such as disposition (Allport, 1954). When a prejudiced individual witnesses what they perceive to be a positive act by an outgroup member (as opposed to a member of in-group), they are more likely to attribute it to one or more of the following factors: the exceptional case, luck or special advantage, high motivation and effort, or situational context (Pettigrew, 1982). A literature review conducted by Hewstone (1990) confirmed that there is a tendency for the observer to attribute negative outgroup behavior to factors internal to the actor, as well as a tendency to attribute outgroup failure to lack of ability when compared to an ingroup member. Generally, while ingroup-serving attributions are more likely to be made, this is more likely to be true of prejudiced individuals. Further, these attributions are stronger when the two groups have a history of intense conflict, hold negative stereotypes of one another or when group differences are reinforced by national or socioeconomic difference (Hewstone, 1990).

Outgroup homogeneity. Wilder (1981) found that the perception of a person as either an individual or a member of a group changes attributions about their beliefs and behaviors. This effect, called outgroup homogeneity, refers to the predisposition for

individuals to perceive members of an outgroup to be more similar than non-outgroup members, which also reflects ingroup bias (Judd, Park, Yzerbyt, Gordjin & Muller, 2005; Simon, Mlicki, Johnston & Caetano, 1990). Outgroup homogeneity can affect intergroup interactions from the level of facial recognition (facial recognition among outgroup members is significantly lower than facial recognition of ingroup members), to perceptions of threat (when an outgroup is stereotyped as being violent, African Americans for example, ingroup members are more likely to perceive them as a threat, regardless of the accuracy of this belief) (Wilson & Hugenberg, 2010). In short, outgroup members are perceived as less diverse and varied than ingroup members; this can lead to pronounced stereotyping and misperceptions of an individual, particularly in terms of their adherence to perceived group beliefs (Simon et al, 1990). For example, all Mexican Americans may be assumed to be Roman Catholic regardless of individual religious beliefs.

Automatic and controlled processing. Devine (1989) argues that knowledge of a stereotype and belief in that stereotype are cognitively distinct structures and processes (automatic as opposed to controlled processing); and due to this distinction, prejudice is not an inevitable consequence of categorical thinking. Automatic processing involves the unintentional and spontaneous activation of information learned through socialization that is then brought to mind through repeated activation in memory. This information can be triggered through stimulus in the environment despite attempts to ignore or bypass it. When this is applied to racial stereotypes, it indicates that stereotypes are well-learned pieces of information that will be brought to mind, at times against the will of the observer, by information in the environment. Controlled processing, however, is an

intentional activity that requires the active attention of the observer, and although it is limited by the observer's ability to attend to the stimulus, it can be particularly helpful in decision making, problem solving and the initiation of new behaviors.

An assumption of this model is that high- and low-prejudice people have, through the experience of socialization, learned the same stereotypes of minority groups, but that low-prejudice people have made a conscious decision not to believe the stereotype. Although it is argued that the culturally created stereotype is activated in the low-prejudice individual through automatic processing, it is controlled processing which activates the low-prejudice individual belief in egalitarian values, rejecting the stereotype (Devine, 1989). Blair and Banaji (1996) found that under conditions of low cognitive constraint, conditions in which the individual's cognitive processes were not taken up by other tasks (such as remembering a string of random numbers), participants were capable of complete reversal of stereotype priming when a counter stereotype intention was formed.

Motivational Factors of Prejudice

Motivational factors of prejudice are based on the idea that individuals who are striving for success in their chosen arena develop ways of thinking about competitors and access to resources that are based on ingroups and outgroups. Motivational factors that contribute to prejudice include: ingroup bias, self-esteem, and symbolic and realistic threat.

Ingroup bias is any tendency to favor ingroup members over outgroup members in terms of perception, attitude or behavior, which serves as a strategy for self-enhancement through social identity (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988). Social identity

is the portion of an individual's identity that is derived from the knowledge that they are a member of a social group, as well as the emotional significance and value that is attributed to that membership. (Tajfel, 1982) Allport (1954) recognized that ingroup bias does not necessitate outgroup antipathy, and that feelings toward outgroups could range from tolerance to indifference to hate. Given this, what then are the factors that lead to prejudice between groups? Brewer (1999) argues that moral superiority, perceived threat, common goals, common values, social comparison and power politics all contribute to ingroup prejudice towards outgroups. Brewer suggests that as ingroups become larger, and inherently depersonalized, the institution's rules and customs (which create and maintain ingroup loyalty) take on the voice of moral authority. When this moral authority is seen as absolute, as opposed to relative, acceptance of diversity decreases. When outgroups appear to differ in moral values, tolerance and indifference is replaced with contempt. This moral authority can provide justification for the oppression and domination of outgroups. Perceived threat, which will be discussed in more detail later, refers to the idea that ingroup hostility increases when ingroup and outgroup members compete for limited resources. Common goals, such as the desire for social ties or the desire to gain and maintain social status, are generally perceived as uniting two differentiated groups; however, if feelings of contempt and distrust are present between the groups, ingroup members may fear being taken advantage of or scapegoated, which can lead to intergroup hostility. For example, if members of two different groups both desire to gain social status at the workplace and there is existing intergroup conflict, each individual may fear that the other will use them to achieve their own goal. Common goals can also threaten ingroup identity, causing ingroup members to fear losing that identity

by an absorption by the outgroup, which can also lead to hostility towards the outgroup. An example of this might be a Spanish speaking, Mexican American parent considering the education of their child. The parent is attempting to achieve the common goal of gaining status through education but fears that, as their child is educated in a primarily English speaking school, they may lose their Mexican American identity. Another point of conflict may arise when members of two groups are pursuing similar goals and feelings of competition may become enhanced. Ingroup members may not only strive to be perceived as different from the outgroup but more positively, in an attempt to enhance their chance of success. Finally, when groups are in political conflict, all of these forms of increasing intergroup bias may be manipulated to further political purposes. It is important to note that the amount of ingroup bias expressed by an individual is dependent upon the level at which they identify with the group (Smurda, Wittig & Gokalp, 2006).

Self-esteem. Another motivational factor that is related to prejudice is self-esteem. Self-esteem is defined as the amount value that one places on the self; high self-esteem then refers to global, positive feelings about the self, while low self-esteem is defined as unfavorable opinion of the self, regardless of whether or not these assessments are accurate (Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger & Vohs, 2003). Research has shown that when a member of a non-stigmatized group's self-image is threatened, they are more likely to activate stereotypes and express prejudices (Spencer, Fein, Wolfe, Fong & Dunn, 1998; Shapiro, Mistler & Neurberg, 2010). For example, Shapiro et al. (2010) found that when a White individual is evaluated negatively by a White evaluator, they are more likely to express prejudice towards stigmatized groups. The same study showed that Black participants, when evaluated negatively by a White evaluator did not express prejudice

towards other low-status groups, but when negatively evaluated by a Black evaluator demonstrated prejudice toward high-status Whites. Research concerning self-esteem has recognized the heterogeneous nature of self-evaluation by differentiating between explicit and implicit measures of self-esteem. Explicit measures of self-esteem are based on self-report measures, while implicit self-esteem refers to self-evaluations that occur largely outside of the individual's awareness (Jordan, Spencer & Zanna, 2009). In a study of how these two types of self-esteem discriminated among a likelihood to participate in prejudice, it was found that individuals who expressed high explicit self-esteem, but low implicit self-esteem were more likely to recommend a more severe punishment for a Native, but not White, student who had participated in a fight, when they had received negative performance feedback. This finding implies that an individual with low implicit self-esteem may be more likely to enact prejudice as a defensive mechanism when their sense of self-worth is threatened (Jordan, Spencer & Zanna, 2010).

Integrated threat theory. Integrated threat theory suggests that members of an ingroup expect outgroups, and individuals who belong to the outgroup, to act in ways that are detrimental to the ingroup. These acts are interpreted as threats to the ingroup (Stephan, et al. 2000). The theory consists of four types of threats: those that are realistic, those that are symbolic, those that stem from intergroup anxiety and those that are based in negative stereotypes. Stephan, et al. (2000) argue that the more an ingroup feels threatened by an outgroup, the more likely the ingroup will exhibit prejudice towards the outgroup. The existing literature and history concerning prejudice towards Mexican immigrants supports the idea that Latinos are perceived as a threat (Stephan et al. 1999). Realistic threat theory suggests that perceived competition for resources, such as jobs,

social welfare programs or healthcare, will increase conflict between groups, and measures of realistic threat have been connected to prejudice against Mexican immigrants (Esses et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 1999; Lu & Nicholson-Crotty, 2010). Hitlan (2007) found a significant increase in the amount of perceived realistic threat directed towards Mexican immigrants post September 11, 2001. Feelings of perceived realistic threat are particularly activated when similarities in work-related traits between Americans and Mexican immigrants are emphasized, such as similar levels of skill and competency in certain fields. (Zárate et al. 2004.

Perceived symbolic threat suggests that an outgroup can be seen as dangerous if they are thought to threaten the existing culture, through adherence to distinct cultural norms, morals and language. Zárate et al. (2004) found that symbolic threats are activated when differences in interpersonal traits between Mexican immigrants and Americans are emphasized. This could include religious beliefs or family structure. Dovidio, et al. (2010) demonstrated that Mexican Americans are seen as differing significantly from the prototypical American (who is thought of as being White) in the terms of language and culture, leading to an increase in perceived symbolic threat.

Negative stereotypes of the outgroup can lead to avoidance of outgroup members, particularly when these stereotypes include that members of the outgroup are lazy, drunk, hostile or unintelligent (Stephan et al. 1999; Collado-Proctor 1999). Americans perceive the impact of stereotypes as significantly greater when participants were prompted with information specifically about Latin American immigration, rather than overall levels of immigration from all countries (Lu & Nicholson-Crotty 2010). Burns and Gimpel (2000) found that White Americans, who perceived Mexicans as lazy, as opposed to

hardworking, were likely to favor immigration policies that limited the number of immigrants admitted to the nation. There is a race/gender interaction in the stereotyping of Latino/as, in that Latinas are seen as either domestic and submissive or exotic and promiscuous, while Latinos are stereotyped as violent gangsters and villains (Buriel & Vasquez 2010). Generally, research has shown that Hispanics are thought to be aggressive, lazy, cruel, pugnacious and ignorant, as well as being more traditional than an ethnically nondescript person (Fairchild & Cozens, 1981; Guichard & Connolly, 1977; Jones 1991; Marin, 1984).

The Latino Threat Narrative addresses the ways in which Latinos are thought to threaten America, particularly through realistic and symbolic threat (Chavez 2008). Latinos are perceived as posing a realistic threat in that immigrants will take jobs from American citizens, and the immigrants and their children will tax the existing social welfare programs. Symbolically, Latinos are seen as threatening American language and cultural norms due to their perceived resistance to assimilation (Chavez, 2008).

Ideological Factors that Influence Prejudice

Although originally described as personality factors that highly predicted prejudice, two ideological factors, right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO) have been found to consistently predict prejudice and racial attitudes. Most recently, Kreindler (2005) has discussed these constructs in terms of expressions of group processes. Both RWA and SDO will be measured in this study to investigate intergroup processes and their relationship to prejudice towards Latinos.

Right-wing authoritarianism. In the historical shadow of World War II, Adorno et al (1950) found a correlation between conservatism, militarism, nationalism and

religiosity that they labeled the Authoritarian Personality. The study of the Authoritarian personality was born out of anxiety among Liberal Americans that anti-Semitic, fascist attitudes were not limited to Nazi Germany. Originally theorized from a psychoanalytic perspective, an individual who has an authoritarian personality would have high scores on the following nine traits: conventionalism (a tendency to follow existing cultural conventions), authoritarian submission (a proclivity towards submitting to culturally acknowledged authorities), authoritarian aggression (a general aggressiveness towards those perceived as deviants and outgroup members), anti-intraception (an opposition to relative or imaginative tendencies), superstition and stereotypy (a tendency to believe in mystic determination and as well as a tendency to think in terms of rigid categories) , power and "toughness" (a preoccupation with dimensions of power, weak vs. strong for example, and identification with powerful figures), destructiveness and cynicism (a generalized hostility and vilification of humans), projectivity (a tendency to project one's unconscious onto the world, including a belief that wild, evil and dangerous things go on in the world), and exaggerated concerns over sexuality (sexual repression, in particular). It was theorized that this personality was brought about by a child displacing his anger at cold and inattentive parents onto unfamiliar others (Adorno et al., 1950).

In 1981, following extensive survey research using the University of Manitoba subject pool, Altemeyer (1988) discovered that only three of these traits correlated highly with one another: authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression and conventionalism; Altemeyer named this trait constellation Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and created what he described as a unidimensional measure. Authoritarian submission refers to submissiveness to authorities that are perceived as legitimate by the

society in which one lives (example item: *Obedience is the most important virtue children should learn*). Individuals who are high in RWA tend to believe that those in authority, such as police officers, should be respected and obeyed without question. They view criticism of authorities as destructive and motivated by sinister goals. However, it is important to note that most individuals high in RWA do not blindly follow authority, but are more likely than others to submit to an authority, whether they approve of them or not (Altemeyer, 1996).

Authoritarian aggression refers to a general aggression toward those that are seen as deviants, or outgroups according to recognized authorities (example item: *The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back on the true path*). Individuals who are high in RWA perceive socially deviant groups, such as minority groups, as threatening the social order. This perceived threat then justifies their aggression toward the group. Altemeyer (1996) argues that those high in RWA are likely to endorse the use of punishment as a means of control, these punishments may include physical injury, psychological suffering, social isolation or financial loss.

Conventionalism refers to an adherence to traditional norms and values coupled with the belief that others should also be required to adhere to these values (example item: *Some of the worst people in our country today are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders and the normal way things are supposed to be done*) (Altemeyer, 1988). Individuals who score high in RWA are likely to have an edenic view of the past and to think of the traditional views of a culture as being moral when compared to modern ways.

This can include an adherence to traditional gender roles, homophobic attitudes and the tenets of Christianity (Altemeyer, 1996).

Altemeyer (1994) refers to people who are high in RWA as “equal opportunity bigots.” RWA has been shown to be correlated with prejudice toward homosexuals, Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, aboriginal peoples, Sikhs, Japanese, Chinese, Pakistanis, Filipinos, Africans, Arabs and feminists. Altemeyer’s (1994) work has supported that those high in RWA are also ethnocentric, focus on social identity, fear a dangerous world and are self-righteous. Altemeyer (1994) gave two of his introductory psychology classes a logical reasoning test and then asked the students to indicate if they believed their section would score better, worse, or the same as the other section. Most students stated that there would be no difference between the two classes, but those high in RWA were twice as likely as those in the low RWA group to indicate that their own section would score higher. Altemeyer (1994) also demonstrated a correlation of .49 between RWA and Duckitt’s Group Cohesiveness scale, demonstrating those high in RWA place a high value on their social identity. This ethnocentrism and focus on social identity leads them to have tight social circles, the consequence of which is that they are not often confronted with people who do not share their worldview. Further, Altemeyer (1988) found that high RWA scores correlated with high scores on scales measuring self-righteousness (item: *How good, how moral is this student?* $r = .55$) and perceiving the world as a dangerous place (item: *Any day now, chaos and anarchy could erupt around us. All the signs are pointing to it.* $r = .5$). Altemeyer (1994) writes that for those high in RWA, “fear thus seems to tighten the finger on the trigger, whereas self-righteousness releases the safety on the gun” (p. 137). Altemeyer (1994) argues that most children are

authoritarian, but that during adolescence they have negative interactions with authorities, meet minorities and have rewarding experiences with unconventional behavior, these interactions allow most adolescents to see the world in a different way, meaning that they generally move away from authoritarianism. Altemeyer's (1988) measure of life experiences is one of the highest negative predictors of high RWA in college (item: *I have learned from my contact with lots of different kinds of people that no one group has "the truth" or knows "the one right way to live."*).

High scores on Altemeyer's RWA measure have been related to an orientation toward endorsement of established authority and law. Using a version of the infamous Milgram studies, Dambrun and Vatine (2010) found that RWA was a strong predictor of the participant's level of obedience. Thirty-one undergraduates were asked to fill out questionnaires concerning RWA, state anxiety, state- and trait-anger, and depression. Both the visibility of the "learner" (visible vs. hidden) and the learner's ethnicity (French vs. Northern African, a group against which there is significant prejudice in France) were manipulated. The researchers corroborated Milgram's findings in the hidden condition (53% of participants obeyed instructions to the point of giving a toxic level of shock); however significant fewer participants (13%) would give the toxic shock when the "learner" was visible. Participants posing as "teachers" also reported less distress when the "learner" was North African. While RWA was found to predict obedience, the authors note that the current work could not determine if this was out of a need to be obedient to authority or the desire to hurt the "learner" (Dambrun & Vatine, 2010).

Social dominance orientation (SDO) is a general attitudinal orientation that is a part of a larger Social Dominance Theory. Pratto et al. (1994) developed this theory to

explain the oppression, brutality, and discrimination that exist in many human societies. Social Dominance Theory is based on the empirical observation that surplus-producing societies create three types of hierarchies: those based on age, those based on gender and those based on what the researchers call “arbitrary set” hierarchies, that include race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation or religious affiliation. SDO can be defined as the degree to which an individual supports group-based hierarchy and inequality. SDO is the psychosocial basis for the development and maintaining of hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths, such as social Darwinism or meritocracy, that provide moral and intellectual justifications for practices that result in the unequal allocation of resources among social groups (Pratto et al., 1994).

SDO and RWA reflect two ideological attitudes that demonstrate different motivation goals that both lead to prejudicial attitudes. Duckitt et al. (2005) found that different motivational goals were likely to predict different values, both of which were related to prejudice. Using structural equation modeling and path analysis Duckitt (2005) found that RWA is fostered by living in an environment that is perceived to be unsafe, which might influence an individual to create a sense of safety by supporting the threatened social order; thus, RWA is a strong predictor of prejudice towards groups that threaten the social order. SDO, on the other hand, is fostered in competitive contexts where the status quo is at risk and is more likely to predict prejudice against groups that are low in status and power.

Group process model. Kreindler (2005) argues that rather than thinking of SDO and RWA in terms of individual traits, they should be thought of as expressions of group processes. Within this Dual Group Processes (DGP) Model, SDO is a group process that

structures conflict in *intergroup* settings, also called category differentiation, this allows the individual to evaluate others on the basis of membership in an ingroup or outgroup. SDO would then contribute to a positive social identity by establishing the ingroup's superiority over other groups. In contrast, RWA would be explained as a group process that structures *intragroup* conflict, also known as normative differentiation. RWA would involve evaluating group members concerning their prototypicality in reference to salient attributes of the group; this group process promotes the continuance of ingroup norms.

Thomsen et al. (2008) found results supporting Kreindler's DGP Model. When given identical scenarios describing an immigrant who was either eager to assimilate or reluctant to give up their cultural norms, social dominants and right-wing authoritarians both reacted aggressively, but to different conditions—Social dominants reacted aggressively to the eager to assimilate condition because it was perceived as a threat to the existing group hierarchy (intragroup conflict), while right-wing authoritarians reacted aggressively to the non-assimilation scenario because the immigrant is seen as not conforming (intergroup conflict).

Contemporary Forms of Racism

The theory of modern, or symbolic, racism posits that while “old-fashioned,” or overt, racism is on the decline and that prejudice towards racial and ethnic minorities persists in a different form. Symbolic racism consists of a mixture of negative feelings and beliefs towards ethnic minorities coupled with an adherence to traditional American values, such as the Protestant work ethic. This creates a resistance to the change in the racial hierarchy based on the feeling that ethnic minorities disregard traditional American values such as individualism, self-reliance, work ethic and obedience (Sears, 1988). This

form of racism can be measured through the belief that ethnic minorities are pushing too hard and too fast for change, resentment towards perceived special treatment of ethnic minorities, and a denial of the continuation of racism (Sears, 1998).

Aversive racism refers to the paradox in which White individuals sincerely support egalitarianism and consider themselves to be nonprejudiced, while still holding unconscious negative beliefs and feelings about historically marginalized groups (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). This means that although aversive racist individuals would not endorse items measuring racism toward minority groups, their behavior toward minority groups will be influenced by these unconscious negative beliefs. Dovidio and Garcia (2004) argue that these beliefs are the consequence of seemingly unavoidable cognitive, motivational and socio-cultural processes. Cognitively, people categorize others into groups, which can, in and of itself, create bias. However, Dovidio and Garcia (2004) further note that having the potential for bias is not an excuse for bias. In the United States, White individuals are likely to divide people into groups based on race, creating racial bias and stereotypes. In terms of motivation, individuals are influenced by their need for access to resources and opportunities, not only for themselves but also for the group with whom they identify. These needs cause Whites to be biased against those who are recognized as belonging to an ethnic minority group, whom they perceive as blocking access to resources and opportunities. Socio-cultural influences, such as education or media created by the dominant culture, present stereotypes that are often unconsciously adopted by those within a culture and can serve to reinforce existing group hierarchies (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004).

Valence

As discussed above the theory of aversive racism posits that while White American individuals will endorse egalitarian values, they continue to hold prejudice towards minority groups due to American culture and their own cognitive biases. Modern American culture finds the overt expression of prejudice to be abhorrent, and thus the prejudice held by these White individuals is aversive even to themselves. These individuals are highly concerned with their egalitarian and non-prejudiced self-image and so will not behave in overtly discriminatory ways. However if an opportunity arises in which discriminatory behavior can be explained by factors other than race or when the situation is ambiguous or confusing (when right and wrong are less clear), aversive racists are likely to discriminate against minority groups because they can do so while maintaining their nonracist and egalitarian self-concept (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Fiske, 1998). For example, if a group has immigrated to the United States illegally from Mexico, they have broken a law and thus participated in criminal behavior. This allows the ingroup to rally against the lawbreakers, constructing them as “invaders of America’s sovereignty,” without having to be labeled anti-Latino, or prejudiced. Instead, the ingroup can see themselves as “tough on crime” (Short and Magaña, 2002). Based on this theory, experimental prejudice literature has used “positive” and “negative” scenarios to tap into the aversive racist’s willingness to express prejudiced attitudes when provided a non-ethnic rationale for doing so. The “negative” scenario will include the targets, a member of a minority group, participating in some activity that is not within socially acceptable norms. The participant is then asked to rate the target on key dimensions. This can then be compared to a participant’s ratings of a White target in an identical negative

scenario. The difference in the way the two targets are rated can then be attributed to the participant's willingness to discriminate against the minority target.

Short and Magaña (2002) argue that there exists a “Mexican American dilemma”: individuals are more willing to discriminate against Mexican Americans because they cannot be physically distinguished from a stigmatized other, undocumented immigrants, who have committed a crime and thus are allowable targets of prejudice. Cowan et al. (1997) found that prejudices toward undocumented immigrants and Mexican Americans are significantly correlated, leading the researchers to suggest that it is ethnicity, rather than crime, that leads to prejudice. Positive and negative scenarios will be utilized in this study to best measure more subtle forms of racism.

A HISTORY OF PREJUDICE TOWARDS MEXICANS

Mexican immigration: A porous border. The history of immigration between Mexico and the United States has been one of push-and-pull based upon economic forces, specifically labor needs and surpluses. This began with the U.S.'s annexation of Northern Mexico, including what are the modern states of California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. This annexation was the result of the Treaty of Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War in 1848 and created a substantial population of American citizens of Mexican descent within the United States. However, the border that was created by this treaty was much more porous than today. Then Mexican citizens and Mexican-Americans moved easily across the border, at times daily, to work or visit family and friends. While a small force, known as the “mounted watchmen” was put in place as early as 1904 to prevent illegal immigration, it was too small to have any significant effect on the individuals desiring to cross the border (Samora & Simon, 1993).

During the 1910 Mexican Revolution many people fled North from Mexico in an attempt to escape the violence of war and conscription by either army. This pattern of Northern movement continued as Anglo men in the Southwest left the United States to fight WWI in Europe. The deployment of Anglo men created an unmet demand for labor at home, which was filled by Mexican immigrants. Mexican immigrants in the Southwest worked on ranches and made an essential contribution to the building of the railroads and development of the West. Between 1917 and 1921 approximately 73,000 Mexican citizens entered the U.S. under the Immigration Act of 1917. This same act banned many “undesirables” from entering the country, including any immigrant from Eastern Asia or the Pacific Islands, but kept the borders open to those from the Western Hemisphere (Samora & Simon, 1993).

Possibly due to the isolationist policies following WWI (Boyle, 1972), the Border Patrol was established in 1924 and was intended to guard against illegal immigration from both Mexico and Canada, although it should be noted that the focus was clearly on the Southern Border. For the first time, the need for documentation of legal immigration became necessary and many Mexican citizens chose to participate in this legal process. Nevertheless, many others chose to bypass the new legal process (Samora & Simon, 1993).

Roots of exploitation. The Great Depression was disastrous for the U.S., and for the Mexican and Mexican-American populations, in particular. The large amount of unemployment in the United States combined with aggressive anti-immigrant discourse led the government to begin encouraging, and then physically enforcing, the deportation of Mexican workers (Hoffman, 1974). Known as The Repatriation, as many as two

million individuals of Mexican descent were deported to Mexico, most of them legal residents of the United States and some of them American citizens, in the belief that this would free jobs for Americans, lowering unemployment and bringing an end to the depression. The Repatriation of the 1930s is a clear example of Scapegoat theory, which argues that ingroup frustration over the lack of access to the fulfillment of goals, or feelings of low status or moral inadequacy, can be expressed through aggression and prejudice towards an outgroup (Stangor, 2009). Historically, this has been consistently seen in times of economic crisis, when an outgroup is blamed for the “downfall,” economic and otherwise, of the ingroup; the archetypal example being Nazi Germany’s treatment of German Jews (Stangor, 2009). Through the process of being scapegoated, the outgroup becomes constructed as less than human, which makes it allowable to treat them inhumanely—they can then be hated, feared, and removed from society for the sake of the ingroup. In 2006, Senator Joe Dunn, arguing for a formal apology from the American government for the forced repatriation, reported that as many as 60% of those deported were American citizens (Koch, 2006). Individuals were taken from their homes at gunpoint, or from the fields where they were working, leaving their families to wonder what had happened to them. Many of the repatriated chose to return to their homes in the U.S., legally or illegally, in the coming decades; however, their return was accompanied by feelings of bitterness and hostility towards a country that had made them scapegoats (Hoffman, 1974).

The Bracero agreement. In reaction to The Repatriation, the Mexican government was wary of the treatment of Mexican citizens working in the United States. The *Bracero* Agreement was an accord made in 1942 between the Mexican and U.S.

governments intended to protect the rights of Mexican workers so that they could fill the employment gap left when American men left to fight in WWII. The Mexican government stipulated as part of the agreement that there would be no discrimination against the Mexican Nationals working in the United States (Samora & Simon, 1993). Along with this, the two governments agreed upon methods of recruitment, means of transportation, standards for health care, wages, housing food and working hours, all of which were generally disregarded in practice. Discrimination against Mexican Nationals was so prevalent in Texas in particular that the Mexican government forbade individuals who worked in the *Bracero* program to work there. Growers in Texas circumvented this by employing Mexican Nationals who had come into the United States illegally, meaning that they had no rights (Samora & Simon, 1993). The *Bracero* agreement was extremely profitable for the U.S. growers as they were not required to pay the same wages or housing that they would have to pay migrant workers who were American citizens. This led to a prolongment of the Bracero program until 1968--long after WWII had ended. During this time over 5 million *Braceros*, and an unknown number of undocumented workers, were employed in the U.S. (Samora & Simon, 1993).

In July 1954, even before the end of the *Bracero* agreement, the United States government began "Operation Wetback," which was put in place to remove 1 million undocumented Mexican immigrants from the United States. The effort began in the Southwest and moved northward, with an arrest average of 1,100 per day through September of 1954. This sweep resulted in the harassment of "Mexican-looking" people in agricultural areas and "Mexican" neighborhoods. Like the Repatriation in the 1930s,

many children, who were U.S. citizens, were deported to Mexico with their parents (Samora & Simon, 1993).

Recent immigration policy. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 required that employers verify their employee's immigration status and granted amnesty to undocumented immigrants who had resided in the U.S. since January 1, 1982. This legislation included penalties to be paid by employers who did not make a reasonable attempt to verify their employee's ability to work legally in the United States. It has been argued that this legislation led to an increase in discrimination against Latinos seeking work, as employers feared being fined for unknowingly employing individuals who had immigrated illegally (Lowell, Teachmen & Jing, 1995).

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 specified drastic changes to the existing system: Title I called for the doubling of the size of the border patrol over the next five years and the creation of a fourteen-mile long fence on the Mexican-US border. Title II strengthened the penalties for smuggling undocumented individuals into the U.S.; and, Title III created a new structure for exclusion and deportation dependent upon how long the individual had resided in the United States (Fragomen, 1997). The changes came in conjunction with widespread welfare reform (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996) that also affected the lives of immigrants. Up until this time, immigrants who had entered the country legally were not expressly exempt from some social programs (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and Medicaid, for example), as were those who had entered illegally. Further, this bill gave states the right to make decisions as to which social programs immigrants, who had entered the country legally, would be

eligible (Fix & Tumlin, 1997). The titles of these bills reflects the discourse surrounding immigration at the time, legislators wanted to be seen as being tough on illegal immigration and pro-personal responsibility (Hines, 2006).

California's infamous Proposition 187, a 1994 ballot initiative also known as "Save Our State," was designed to deny those who had immigrated to the U.S. illegally access to drivers licenses, health care, public services and public education for their children, even if those children were born in the U.S.. The proposition passed with an unexpected 59% supporting, many of these voters feeling that they were communicating the burden that they perceived "illegal" immigrants placed on the taxpayers. Opponents of the proposition argued that the core issue behind the proposition was racial discrimination towards Latinos, rather than the economic rhetoric in which it was couched (Quinton, Cowan & Watson, 1996). Support of Proposition 187 has been correlated with right-wing authoritarianism and negative stereotypes of "illegal" immigrants across ethnic groups. Low collective self-esteem and high levels of acculturation predicted support of the proposition among Latinos, while support for the proposition among Anglos was predicted by high collective self-esteem (Quinton, Cowan & Watson, 1996).

The events of September 11, 2001. Six weeks after the events of September 11, 2001, Congress introduced the "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001" (USA PATRIOT Act), which would have broad effects on immigration policy in the name of protecting American from exterior threats. The PATRIOT Act increased the government's power to detain and deport suspected terrorists and increased funding for

immigration law enforcement and manpower for the Border Patrol. The PATRIOT Act also significantly expanded the definition of what could be considered terrorism. When immigrants are arrested, they are held in “detention centers” administrated by the Department of Homeland Security, county jails, state prisons and private prisons that operate for profit. Reports of mistreatment, abuse and mental health issues are common (Hines, 2006). These policies also led to the detainment and interrogation of Mexican-Americans who were thought to be undocumented immigrants (Johnson, 2004).

As mentioned above, more recently the Arizona senate passed the “Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act” (commonly referred to as Arizona SB 1070). This act made it a misdemeanor for any non-citizen to be in Arizona without carrying documents to prove their legal status. This law would allow for law enforcement officials to require proof of legal immigration status if they had reasonable suspicion to believe that the individual had immigrated illegally. Opponents of the act questioned whether “reasonable suspicion” would come to mean race or ethnicity, leading to American citizens of Mexican descent being detained and interrogated. The bill included statuettes prohibiting “sanctuary” policies, which allow local police to limit information given to immigration authorities, as well as another placing restrictions on day labor centers. The legislation endeavored to: streamline the system to place undocumented immigrants into federal custody, allow individual citizens to sue the state government for failure to enforce immigration laws and increased penalties against gang members who had immigrated illegally (Social Contract Editors, 2010). The sponsor of the bill, State Senator Russell Pearce, was known for supporting legislation aimed at those who he referred to as “invaders of American sovereignty” (Robbins, 2008). Again, as with other

immigration legislation, the name of this act gives an idea of the context in which it was created. In this case, the name, “Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act,” socially constructs illegal immigration as a threat to safety. Senator Russell’s use of the term “invaders” to refer to undocumented immigrants, and his description of them as invading “American sovereignty” casts the immigration debate in terms of a war in which he has clearly identified the enemy (Robins, 2008).

Reviewing the history of American immigration policy demonstrates the ways in which conceptions of undocumented Mexican immigrants and, by association, Mexican Americans have been constructed over time. Social construction theory posits that impressions of target populations are constructed through social processes such as politics, culture, socialization, the media, literature and history. These impressions become stereotypes of populations, generally valence-oriented values--images and symbols, which can be either positive or negative (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). These conceptualizations of populations can fluctuate and change through time, coming to reflect the cultural Zeitgeist (Short & Magaña, 2002). Throughout American history, in times of economic depression, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have been constructed as something other than American, and at times, less than human. The type of rhetoric used in immigration policy creates a context within which people experience both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans on a day-to-day basis.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AMERICAN

For a law enforcement officer to have some “reasonable suspicion” that an individual is an undocumented immigrant, they must have some concept of what “American” is, as well as some idea of “foreign.” Devos and Banaji (2005) looked to

distinguish explicit and implicit ideas of what it means to be “American.” When asked explicitly to define who is “American,” participants responded with answers that matched their ideas of egalitarianism and equality. It was found that as researchers manipulated the qualities defined as “American,” distinctions between ethnic groups also varied. However, when using an implicit attitudinal measurement tool the researchers found that both Whites and members of racial and ethnic minority groups unequivocally paired “American” with being White. Citrin, Reingold and Green (1990) found that the most crucial aspects of “Americanness” to respondents were the ability to speak English and a belief in God. When describing the typical American in a qualitative study, Rodriquez, Schwartz and Whitbourne (2010) found that a sizable number of both White and Latino respondents used terms such as “White,” “blonde” and “blue-eyed.” Dovidio et al. (2010) measured “Americanness” using two dimensions: an ethnic dimension, which was defined as shared ancestry, physical appearance and language, and also a civic dimension which focused on a perceived commitment to the ideals and standards of the nation. Latinos were found to deviate modestly from both White and Black Americans on the civic dimension (in terms of perception of language and culture), but differed significantly from White Americans on the ethnicity dimension. As the reader will see, who is defined as American directly affects the lives of those who are conversely defined as “less American” or “foreign” in comparison.

THE LATINO THREAT NARRATIVE

The Latino Threat Narrative, as described by Chavez (2008), demonstrates the way in which Latino immigrants, particularly Mexican immigrants, and Mexican Americans are the objects of a discourse that names both groups as threats to America—

to its culture, wealth and sovereignty. The Latino Threat Narrative states that illegal immigration from Mexico will result in a subpopulation of Latinos who identify as Mexican, not American, and who have no wish to assimilate into American culture or learn English. According to this narrative, Latinos, who are thought to reproduce at higher rates than “Americans” (due to their adherence to Catholic doctrine), will then begin to take over the American Southwest, eventually leading to what Chavez refers to as the “Quebec Model,” a culturally and linguistically isolated subculture attempting to separate from the country. Latinos are perceived as leading the *reconquista*, literally a reconquest, in which Latinos “take back” the Southwest and recreate historic Northern Mexico. Chavez (2008) provides the following example of the Latino Threat Narrative from Patrick Buchanan’s book, *The Death of the West*:

Unlike the immigrants of old...Millions of [Mexicans] have no desire to learn English or become citizen[s]. America is not their home; Mexico is; and they wish to remain proud Mexicans. They have come here to work. Rather than assimilate they create little Tijuanas in US cities...with their own radio and TV stations, films, and magazines. The Mexican Americans are creating a Hispanic culture separate and apart from American’s larger culture. They are becoming a nation within a nation (pp. 125-126).

This narrative is particularly interesting in the study of prejudice against Mexican Americans because it casts Mexican Americans as “alien-citizens, perpetual foreigners with divided allegiances despite being U.S. citizens by birth, even after many generations” (Chavez 2008, p. 31). Latinos, both undocumented Mexican immigrants and their Mexican American children are seen as a threat to an “American” way of life—an

idea that defines them as inherently not American, or at least less American, than others (Chavez, 2008; Dovidio et al. 2010). Short and Magaña (2002) demonstrate the effect that this narrative has on Mexican-Americans:

Joshua Ramirez is a fourth generation American of Mexican decent. His family didn't immigrate, illegally or otherwise. Yet people assume that is how he got here. 'I get wetback comments...I'm asked to produce proof of citizenship when I apply for a job—and I don't even speak Spanish.'...Ramirez remembers the night he was kicked and punched by a gang of boys who swore at him and told him they didn't like 'illegal aliens.'...'I was leaving a restaurant...it was closing time and I was walking to my car at the far end of the parking lot. They jumped me, I never called the police. I just thought it would be too much of a hassle' (p. 708).

When considering prejudice against Mexican Americans, the literature is complicated due to what Chavez (2008) refers to as Mexican American's construction as "alien-citizens." Mexican Americans are seen in relationship to "illegal" Mexican immigrants. Short and Magaña (2002) refer to this relationship as the "Mexican American Dilemma"; however, they construct this relationship as biological—that is, the fact that Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants share a phenotype that renders Mexican Americans susceptible to prejudice. Short and Magaña (2002) sought to test this hypothesis by examining the ways in which prejudice differs between immigrant groups. They found significant differences in prejudice when the immigrant was Mexican as opposed to Canadian, particularly when the Mexican immigrant was shown to be breaking the law (in the form of having accrued parking tickets). The authors suggest that the phenotype of the Canadian immigrant (presumably White) clues the subject to their ethnic

similarity, as opposed to the phenotype of the Mexican immigrant that implies ethnic difference. Short and Magaña (2002) seem to be arguing for a case of mistaken identity due to a shared phenotype between Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants, but they do not offer a suggestion of how target impressions might change if the Latino's immigration status, or lack thereof, was known—would evaluations of the target be less negative? Chavez (2008) argues that it is not a case of mistaken identity, but rather that Mexican Americans are seen in relationship to undocumented Mexican immigrants, even when the fact that they are American is known. The Latino Threat Narrative provides a framework for psychological theories pertaining to perceived threat and prejudice that may help explain attitudes towards Mexican Americans, Latinos, and undocumented Mexican immigrants.

Proposed Research Study

It has been demonstrated that, historically, prejudice towards Mexican immigrants increases during times of economic depression, a situation that America is currently experiencing, and that this prejudice has historically generalized to some groups of Mexican Americans. Chavez (2008) has created a strong theoretical base to explain the ways in which prejudice towards undocumented Mexican immigrants is related to prejudice towards Mexican Americans. The current study seeks to use contemporary theories of prejudice to determine if these relationships can be experimentally demonstrated. Kreindler's (2005) theory would suggest that if an individual is known to be an undocumented Mexican citizen, those with high SDO scores would rate the person more negatively due to the perceived intragroup conflict; but if the person is known to be Mexican American, those high in RWA would be more likely to rate the person more negatively due to their perceived difference from the prototypical American (intergroup conflict).

Research Questions

- 1) How will the manipulation of foreignness affect target impressions; specifically, in what ways do evaluations of the target differ when an individual is introduced as Mexican American, an undocumented immigrant, Latino or White?
- 2) How do evaluations of targets change as a function of scenario valence (positive or negative)? Specifically, does the negative scenario provide an excuse for prejudice as suggested by the contemporary theories of prejudice (Dovidio 2004; Short & Magaña, 2002), resulting in higher prejudice scores in the negative valence conditions for the non-White targets?

3) As hypothesized by Kreindler (2005), will individuals high in RWA demonstrate more negative evaluations in the Mexican-American condition and will individual with high scores in SDO have more negative evaluations in the undocumented Mexican immigrant condition?

4) In the Latino condition (when the citizenship status of the individual is left purposefully ambiguous), are the outcome variables more similar to that of the Mexican-American condition or the undocumented immigrant condition? Does this differ based upon positive or negative scenario? Further, are negative evaluations in the Latino condition more likely for individuals high in RWA or SDO?

STUDY HYPOTHESES

H₁: Target impressions will show a main effect for valence.

H_{1a}: Participants who receive the positive scenario will evaluate the targets more favorably than those who receive the negative scenario.

H₂: Target impressions will show a main effect for both group process variables: SDO and RWA.

H_{2A}: Individuals high in SDO attitudes will rate the target more negatively than individuals low in SDO attitudes.

H_{3A}: Individuals high in RWA attitudes will rate the target more negatively than individuals low in RWA attitudes.

H₃: Target impressions will show a main effect for foreignness.

H_{3a}: The White target will be evaluated more favorably than the Mexican American, Latino, and undocumented Mexican immigrant targets. The Mexican American will be perceived more favorably than the Latino target that will, in turn, be evaluated

more favorably than the undocumented Mexican immigrant target.

H₄: Group process will interact with valence.

H_{4a}: SDO will interact with valence such that those participants who endorsed high levels of SDO attitudes will rate the target in the negative valence condition more negatively than those participants who endorsed low levels of SDO attitudes.

H_{4b}: There will be a two-way interaction between RWA and valence such that those in high in RWA attitudes will rate the target in the negative valence condition more negatively than those participants low in RWA attitudes.

H₅: Group process will moderate rating of the target in the Mexican American and Undocumented Mexican Immigrant conditions.

H_{5a}: RWA will interact with foreignness such that the negative association between RWA and target ratings will be stronger in the Mexican American condition than in the Undocumented Mexican Immigrant condition.

H_{5b}: SDO will interact with foreignness such that the negative association between SDO and target ratings will be stronger in the Undocumented Mexican Immigrant condition than in the Mexican American condition.

H₆: There will be a three-way interaction between group process, foreignness and valence such that participants high in RWA and/or SDO will perceive the Latino target differently based upon the valence of the scenario.

H_{6a}: Ratings of the Latino target will be more similar to the Mexican American condition, when compared to the Undocumented Immigrant condition, in the positive valence scenario, for those high in RWA.

H_{6b}: Ratings of the Latino target will be more similar to the Undocumented Mexican American condition, when compared to the Mexican American condition, in the negative valence scenario, for those high in SDO.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Participants were undergraduates over the age of 18 who are enrolled at the University of Texas and who chose to participate in the Educational Psychology (EDP) Subject Pool. The Education Subject Pool (ESP) is composed of students from four classes: EDP 310 (Individual Learning Skills), EDP 363 (Human Sexuality), EDP 363M (Adolescent Development), and EDP 371 (Introduction to Statistics). Students were given the option to participate in the subject pool or complete an assignment for class credit.

A total of 400 participants were requested from the undergraduate Educational Psychology Subject Pool at the University of Texas at Austin. Computation of sample size was based on two 4 x 2 analysis of variance (ANOVA). For a one-tailed test of significance, with an (α) of .05, the assumption of a small effect size (Cohen's d) of 0.25, and a power ($1-\beta$) of .95, the sample required 20 cases per cell in a balanced design, for a total of 160 participants. However, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) used to determine where the significant difference lies, requires 30 participants per each IV and DV to protect against a violation of normality. This required a sample of 240 participants. Thus, in the ANOVA analysis, a main effect analysis using an effect size of 0.20, 200 participants per news story scenario yielded power of 0.9. One hundred and twenty participants per foreignness category yielded power of 0.9. For interaction analysis using an effect size of 0.20, these sample sizes yielded a power of 0.9.

Study participants were 451 students (220 females, 230 males) from the University of Texas Educational Psychology subject pool. Participant's ages ranged from 18 to 56 years ($M=21.45$). In terms of ethnicity, 277 reported being European American, 136 were Asian American, 15 were multiracial, 12 described themselves as "other," 8 as

Middle Eastern, and 2 African-American. Sixteen Latino/a participants were removed. In addition, 62 defined themselves as working class, 188 middle class, 176 upper middle class, 21 upper class and 3 responded as “other,” 2 students did not report their SES. In terms of religious affiliation, 249 reported being Christian, 63 non-religious, 41 agnostic, 27 atheist, 18 Hindu, 17 Jewish, 15 Buddhists, 11 Muslim, 9 “other” and 1 did not report religion. Political identification was as follows: 147 students reported that they were Republican, 123 Democrats, 129 Independents, 51 “other” and 1 student did not respond.

Procedure

Two, 2 (type of news article: positive or negative) by 4 (perceived foreignness: undocumented Mexican immigrant, Mexican American, Latino, or White) by 2 (Group Process variable: RWA or SDO) between-subjects design was implemented. The first ANOVA used High RWA and Low RWA as additional dichotomous variables; the second used High SDO and Low SDO in the same manner. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the eight conditions and completed the procedures on a computer. First, the students were given the news articles under the guise of evaluating the writing quality of an undergraduate journalism. Students were asked to fill out RWA (Duckitt, 2010) and SDO (Pratto, 1994) measures. The articles were written by the author and are identical except for the manipulated characteristics, which include name, place of birth, and whether or not the person left a note after having a small parking accident. After reading the article, participants were asked questions regarding how well written the article was and for their impressions of the person in the news article.

MEASURES & STIMULUS MATERIALS

The data for this study was collected by survey, using Likert item questions, and was administered through the internet using Qualtrics.

Each student was provided with a scenario (Appendix A) and the following measures (Appendix B):

The electronic questionnaire consisted of 33 items related to the scenario. The first ten items ask the participant to assess how well-written the articles were (e.g., “The story was unbiased” and “The author brought the story to life.”) The rating scale ranges from 1 = not at all to 9 = very much. One summary item asks participants to rate the overall quality of the article on a scale from 1= very low to 9 = very high.

The *Impressions Scale* consisted of 23 items, made of three subscales: The *Affable Subscale* consists of six items (friendly, trustworthy, openminded, humorous, outgoing, and easy going). This scale has a possible range of 6-54 and is intended to measure how likeable the target was perceived as being. The current sample’s Cronbach alpha reliability was .86. The *Effective Subscale* consists of five items: intelligent, fearless, hardworking, self-disciplined, and serious. This subscale has a range of 5-45 and is intended to measure how agential the responder perceived the target to be. The rating scale ranges from 1 = not at all, to 9 = very much. The current sample’s Cronbach alpha reliability was .82. The *Negative Subscale* consists of eight items: hostile, menacing, lazy, spineless, unintelligent, narrowminded, threatening, and undisciplined. The rating scale range from 1 = not at all to 9 = very much. This subscale is intended to measure how negatively the responder perceives the target. The current sample’s Cronbach alpha reliability was .93.

As mentioned above, the *RWA Scale* uses 22 items to measure three constructs: authoritarian submission (Item: *It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds*), adherence to social conventions and norms (Item: *The "old-fashioned ways" and the "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live*), and authoritarian aggression (Item: *God's laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished*). The rating scale ranges from 1 (Completely Disagree) to 9 (Completely Agree). Cronbach's alphas for RWA items have been found to range from .81 to .96 (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009). Goodman and Moradi (2008) report that RWA validity scores were correlated positively with other measures of authoritarian personality (the F scale, the Dogmatism scale, the Conservatism scale, and the Balanced F scale), as well as with theoretically related variables (acceptance of the law as the basis of morality, punitiveness toward sanctioned targets, and orientation to established authority and the law) (Altemeyer, 1988, 1996). The current sample's Cronbach alpha is .93.

The SDO scale uses 16 items to measure the degree to which an individual supports group-based hierarchy and inequality (Item: *Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups*) (Pratto et al., 1994). Cronbach's alpha has been measured as .91. The scale also correlated significantly with attitudes toward affirmative action, civil rights, gay rights, the military, decreased immigration, equal pay for women, and the death penalty (Pratto et al, 1994). The Cronbach's alpha of the current sample is .91.

A manipulation check was administered at the end of the survey asking the

participant to respond to multiple choice items concerning the man in the scenario (e.g., “Was the man in the scenario: a. An American Citizen, b. An undocumented Mexican immigrant” c. Latino or d. White”) and the nature of his actions (e.g., “After the man hit the other car, he: a. left a note, b. did not leave note). When the participant has completed the final measures, a debriefing document will be provided concerning the true nature of the study.

Data Analysis

Scores for each of the impressions subscales were determined by calculating means from the individual Likert items. In this study, the dependent variables are the means calculated from the scores on each of the impressions scales: Affable, Effective and Negative (DV’s); while foreignness (Mexican American, undocumented immigrant, Latino, and White) and scenario (positive or negative) are the independent variables (IV’s).

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Two, 2 (Scenario: positive or negative) x 4 (Foreignness: Mexican American, Undocumented Immigrant, Latino and White) x 2 (Group Process: RWA or SDO) between subjects ANOVA were utilized in this design. Further, multivariate normality of the variables and multivariate homogeneity of variance was examined. Violations of normality are not usually a problem in sample sizes greater than 30 (Field, 2005). A violation of this assumption was not expected since both the IV’s and DV’s have N’s over 30, and a violation of normality was not found. Homogeneity of variance was assessed using Levine’s test and homogeneity of variance was not violated.

After assessing the data for normality and homogeneity of variance and assuring a low correlation between DV's, two omnibus ANOVAs were performed, one using high SDO and low SDO as the group process factor, the other using high RWA and low RWA as the group process factor, each defined as an individual scoring one standard deviation above or below the mean score on the relevant scale. If the results of either of the ANOVA are found to be significant for any DV, ANOVAS were performed to determine where the significant difference lies. When the difference was located, a post-hoc test (Tukey) was used to determine the nature of the difference, which could include main effects or interactions for each DV. A significant omnibus F-test indicated that there is a significant difference in the means of at least two groups within each DV. It was hypothesized that each DV would be statistically significant. Assuming a significant omnibus F-test, the main effects and interaction of foreignness and scenario were tested for significance within each DV.

A significant main effect for valence among any of the DV's indicated a significant difference in the outcome variable (affable subscale, effective subscale, negative subscale) between the positive and negative scenarios. A significant main effect for foreignness indicated a significant difference in the outcome variable, between at least two foreignness conditions (Mexican American, undocumented immigrant, Latino, and White). A main effect for group process indicated a significant difference in the outcome variable, between either high SDO and low SDO participants or high RWA and low RWA participants. The interaction between scenario and foreignness was assessed within all DV's. It was hypothesized that the effect of foreignness on all DV's was greater in the negative scenario conditions. When a main effect for foreignness was found,

contrasts were performed to further understand the relationship between foreignness and the outcome variable(s). A three way interaction analysis between scenario valence, foreignness and group process was hypothesized to result in significant differences in terms of more negative evaluations of the target in the negative valence, undocumented Mexican immigrant condition rated by those high in SDO, as well as more negative evaluations of the target in the negative valence, Mexican American condition when rated by those high in RWA. Interactions were probed using the method proposed by Aiken and West (1991).

Results

BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Pearson and Spearman's correlational analyses were conducted to assess the association between demographic variables, group process factors, and outcome variables. The correlation coefficient between each pair of variables allows for evaluation of the degree of association between each variable pair. Table 1 presents relationships between variables; only statistically significant relationships will be discussed here. Age was negatively correlated with sex ($r = -.125, p < .01$), which indicates that the females in the sample were younger than the males. Sex also correlated with Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO), which measures an individual's preference for group-based hierarchies within social groups and the oppression of lower groups ($r = -.198, p < .01$), as well as with the Negative subscale ($r = -.102, p < .05$). These results indicate that men endorse higher levels of SDO attitudes and that they rate the target more negatively. Age also correlated with SES ($r = -.116, p < .05$) indicating that younger respondents report a higher SES background. Responses on the SDO scale also correlated with the Negative subscale ($r = .214, p < .01$), which indicates that those who endorsed high SDO attitudes also rated the target more negatively. The Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale, which measures an individual's preference for adhering to socially sanctioned authority and norms as well as their punitive attitudes for those who do not, also correlated with the Negative subscale ($r = .212, p < .01$) indicating that those who endorsed high RWA attitudes rated the target more negatively. The RWA scale also correlated with the Effective subscale ($r = .197, p < .01$) and the Affable subscale ($r = .110, p < .05$), which indicates that those who endorsed high levels of RWA attitudes rated the target as more affable and more effective. The Effective and Affable subscales correlated with one

another ($r = .781, p < .01$) indicating that individuals who rated the target as affable also rated them as effective. The Negative subscale correlated with both the Effective subscale ($r = -.308, p < .05$) and the Affable subscale ($r = .329, p < .05$), indicating that individuals who rated the target less negatively, also rated the target as more affable and affective.

PRIMARY ANALYSIS

Two 2 (valence: positive or negative) X 4 (Foreignness: Mexican American, Undocumented Immigrant, Latino and White) X 2 (Group Processes: High RWA or High SDO vs. Low RWA or Low SDO) ANOVAS were performed on three outcome variables (Affable, Effective and Negative). The Affable subscale measured how likeable the target was considered to be, asking participants to rate the target on items such as: friendly, humorous and easy-going. The Effective subscale measured how agential the respondent perceived the target to be, it included items such as hard working, serious and self-disciplined. The Negative subscale measured unfavorable perceptions of the target using items such as: hostile, menacing and lazy.

The first ANOVA used a 2 (valence: positive vs. negative) \times 4 (Mexican American, Undocumented Immigrant, Latino and White) \times 2 (RWA: high vs. low) between subjects ANOVA, while the second used a 2 (valence: positive vs. negative) \times 4 (Mexican American, Undocumented Immigrant, Latino and White) \times 2 (SDO: high vs. low) between subjects ANOVA.

Affable Attributions

There was a significant main effect for valence on the Affable subscale in the Valence X Foreignness X SDO ANOVA $F(1,385) = 101.42, p < .00, \eta^2 = .21$ (see Table 2).

Participants rated the target less affable when the target did not leave a note (negative valence condition) ($M=3.95$, $SD=1.5$) than when the target did leave a note (positive valence condition) ($M=5.47$, $SD=1.51$). The Affable subscale also demonstrated a significant interaction of valence and SDO (see Figure 1). When the target left a note, participants who endorsed high SDO attitudes rated the target as less affable ($M=5.20$, $SD=1.31$) than those who did not endorse SDO attitudes ($M=5.70$, $SD=1.26$); However, when the target did not leave a note, both participants who endorsed a high level of SDO attitudes and those who did not endorse SDO attitudes rated the target as similarly affable (High SDO attitudes: $M=4.09$, $SD=1.63$; Low SDO attitudes: $M=3.80$, $SD=1.71$).

The Affable subscale showed a similar main effect for valence in the Valence X Foreignness X RWA ANOVA $F(1,398) = 105.44$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.21$ (see Table 3). Participants rated the target less affable when they did not leave a note ($M=3.95$, $SD=1.5$) than when they did leave a note ($M=5.47$, $SD=1.51$). The main effect for foreignness and RWA did not emerge as significant. In addition, there were no significant interaction effects (Table 3).

Effective Attributions

There was a significant main effect for valence on the Effective (e.g., agency) subscale in both the Valence X Foreignness X SDO ($F(1,385) = 87.45$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.19$) (see table 4) and Valence X Foreignness X RWA ($F(1,398) = 98.23$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.20$) ANOVAS (see Table 5). In the Valence X Foreignness X SDO ANOVA the target was rated as more effective when they left a note ($M=5.53$, $SD=1.45$) than when they did not ($M=4.18$, $SD=1.44$); this was also true in the Valence X Foreignness X RWA ANOVA (left a note: $M=5.54$, $SD=1.44$; did not leave a note: $M=4.14$, $SD=1.44$) (see Table 5). The

Valence X Foreignness X RWA ANOVA also showed a main effect for level of RWA attitudes $F(1, 398) = 6.90, p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$ (see table 5). Participants who highly endorsed RWA attitudes rated the target as more effective ($M=5.02, SD=1.44$) than those who did not endorse RWA attitudes ($M=4.65, SD=1.42$). The main effect for foreignness did not emerge as significant. In addition, there were no significant interaction effects (Table 5).

Negative Attributions

A significant main effect for valence emerged on the Negative subscale in the Valence X Foreignness X RWA ANOVA $F(1, 398) = 116.65, p < .01, \eta^2 = .23$ (see table 6). Participants rated the target more negatively when they did not leave a note ($M = 4.51, SD = 1.59$) than when they did leave a note ($M = 2.82, SD = 1.59$). There was also a significant main effect for level of RWA attitudes on the Negative subscale $F(1, 498) = 6.37, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$. Participants who highly endorsed RWA attitudes rated the target more negatively ($M = 3.86, SD = 1.59$) than those who did not endorse RWA attitudes ($M = 3.47, SD = 1.58$). The Foreignness X RWA interaction approached significance $F(3,398) = 2.604, p = .052, \eta^2 = .02$. (see Figure 2). White individuals were perceived less negatively by those high in RWA attitudes ($M=3.41, SD=1.77$) as compared to individuals who did not endorse RWA attitudes ($M=3.75, SD=1.54$). Furthermore, those who highly endorsed RWA attitudes perceived Mexican Americans ($M=4.29, SD=1.13$) more negatively than Whites ($M=3.43, SD=1.54$), Undocumented Immigrants ($M=3.75, SD=1.67$) and Latinos ($M=4.01, SD=1.63$). Those participants who did not endorse RWA attitudes, perceived Whites most negatively of the foreignness groups (see Figure 2).

When the three Hispanic groups are considered together and compared to the White group, a significant three-way interaction emerged for 2(Valence: positive or negative) \times 2(RWA: low RWA vs. high RWA) \times 2(Race: Hispanic vs. White groups) $F(1,406) = 4.181, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01$ (see table 7). Individuals high in RWA attitudes perceive minority targets significantly more negatively when they did not leave a note ($M = 4.86, SD = 1.53$) than when they did leave a note ($M = 3.13, SD = 1.80$). The White target was rated in a similar manner, although slightly less negatively, to minorities by those high in RWA attitudes (Left a note: $M = 2.73, SD = 1.25$; Did not leave a note: $M = 4.07, SD = 1.77$). Individuals who did not endorse RWA attitudes rated the minority targets much less negatively ($M = 4.11, SD = 1.58$) than the White target ($M = 5.02, SD = 1.54$) when the target did not leave a note, while all targets were rated similarly when the target did leave a note (Minority: $M = 2.64, SD = 1.51$; White: $M = 2.46, SD = 1.31$) (see Figures 3 and 4). Additionally, there was a main effect for valence: targets who did not leave a note were perceived more negatively ($M = 4.51, SD = 1.62$) than those targets who did leave a note ($M = 2.74, SD = 1.58$). A significant interaction of race and level of RWA attitudes emerged as well. Participants who endorsed high levels of RWA attitudes rated the minority target much more negatively ($M = 4.00, SD = 1.73$) than the White target ($M = 3.34, SD = 1.59$), while those participants who did not endorse SDO attitudes rated the White target much more negatively ($M = 3.75, SD = 1.85$) than the Minority target ($M = 3.34, SD = 1.73$) (see Figure 5).

A main effect for valence emerged in the 2 (valence: positive vs. negative) \times 4 (foreignness: Mexican American, Undocumented Immigrant, Latino and White) \times 2 (SDO: high vs. low) ANOVA on the Negative subscale, $F(1, 385) = 126.86, p < .00, \eta^2 =$

.25 (see table 8); participants rated targets that did not leave a note ($M= 4.53$, $SD=1.54$) significantly more negatively than targets that did leave a note ($M= 2.78$, $SD=1.55$). There was also a significant main effect for level of SDO attitudes on the negative subscale $F(1, 385) = 30.99$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2= .07$; participants who did not endorse SDO attitudes rated the target significantly less negatively ($M=3.23$, $SD=1.55$) than those who highly endorsed SDO attitudes ($M=4.09$, $SD=1.56$). There was a significant interaction of Valence \times SDO on the negative subscale $F(1, 385)=5.12$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2= .01$. (See Figure 6) Participants rated the target more similarly when the target did not leave a note (High SDO attitudes: $M=4.78$, $SD=1.55$; Low SDO attitudes: $M=4.27$, $SD=1.54$), than when the target did leave a note (High SDO attitudes: $M=3.39$, $SD=1.55$; Low SDO attitudes: $M=2.18$, $SD=1.56$). Those participants who highly endorsed SDO attitudes rated the target more similarly and more negatively, whether or not they left a note (Positive: $M=3.39$, $SD=1.55$; Negative: $M=4.78$, $SD=1.53$), than those who did not endorse SDO attitudes (Positive: $M=2.18$, $SD=1.54$; Negative: $M=4.27$, $SD=1.56$)

Manipulation Check

As a manipulation check, participants were asked to identify where the scenario had taken place. Respondents that correctly identified that the event had taken place outside of a coffee shop made of 65.9% of responses, while 8.6% reported that it had taken place outside of a bar, 4.9% said a library, and 20% did not respond to the question. Additionally, participants were asked to identify the immigration status of the target in the scenario and whether or not the target had left a note. The percentage of correct responses to both questions, meaning that the participant correctly identified both the immigration status of the target and the valence of the condition are listed in Table 9.

As mentioned above, the immigration status of the Latino condition was intentionally left ambiguous, so that attributions of foreignness could be explored. Participants were asked to identify the immigration status of the target, which was not provided in the Latino condition. Figure 7 shows the immigration status attributed to the Latino condition by valence. When the target left a note they were more likely to identify the target correctly as Latino. When the target did not leave a note participants were more likely to identify the target as an undocumented immigrant.

Given the results of the manipulation check, a chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between high scores on the Group Process variables and answering the manipulation check incorrectly. The relationship between scores on the SDO scale and answering the manipulation check incorrectly was significant $\chi^2(2, N=401) = p < .05$. Participants who endorsed high SDO attitudes were more likely to get the manipulation check incorrect, than those who did not endorse SDO attitudes (see Figure 8). The chi-square test of independence of the relationship between scores on the RWA scale and incorrect answers of the manipulation check was not significant.

Tables

Table 1: Pearson Correlation of Measures

	Sex	Age	SES	SDO	RWA	Negative	Effective	Affable
Sex	-							
Age	-.125**	-						
SES	.066	-.116*	-					
SDO	-.198**	-.097	-.002	(.91)				
RWA	-.019	-.066	.091	.052	(.93)			
Negative	-.102*	-.023	.025	.214**	.212**	(.93)		
Effective	-.003	-.024	-.051	.002	.197**	-.308**	(.82)	
Affable	-.017	-.019	-.029	-.017	.110*	-.329**	.781**	(.86)

Note: Internal consistency estimates presented in the diagonal.

** . Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

* . Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Table 2: ANOVA results for Affable subscale with SDO as the Group Process variable

Source	<i>df</i>	F	η^2	<i>p</i>
Valence	1	101.42	.21	.000**
Foreignness	3	.869	.007	.457
SDO	1	.639	.002	.425
Valence X Foreignness	3	1.16	.009	.324
Valence X SDO	1	7.47	.019	.007**
Foreignness X SDO	3	.124	.001	.946
Foreignness X SDO X Valence	3	1.18	.009	.319
Error	385			

Note: ** *p* < .00

Table 3: ANOVA results for Affable subscale with RWA as the Group Process variable

Source	<i>df</i>	F	η^2	<i>p</i>
Valence	1	105.44	.209	.000**
Foreignness	3	1.06	.008	.377
RWA	1	.419	.001	.518
Valence X Foreignness	3	1.20	.009	.309
Valence X RWA	1	.771	.002	.381
Foreignness X RWA	3	.030	.000	.993
Foreignness X RWA X Valence	3	1.641	.012	.179
Error	398			

Note: ** *p* < .00

Table 4 : ANOVA results for Effective subscale with SDO as the Group Process variable

Source	<i>df</i>	F	η^2	<i>p</i>
Valence	1	87.45	.185	.000**
Foreignness	3	.458	.004	.712
SDO	1	.034	.000	.854
Valence X Foreignness	3	.953	.001	.953
Valence X SDO	1	.184	.005	.184
Foreignness X SDO	3	.972	.001	.972
Foreignness X SDO X Valence	3	.088	.017	.088
Error	385			

Note: ***p* < .00

Table 5: ANOVA results for Effective subscale with RWA as the Group Process variable

Source	<i>df</i>	F	η^2	<i>p</i>
Valence	1	98.23	.198	.000**
Foreignness	3	.846	.006	.469
RWA	1	6.90	.017	.009**
Valence X Foreignness	3	.127	.001	.944
Valence X RWA	1	.061	.000	.805
Foreignness X RWA	3	1.31	.010	.271
Foreignness X RWA X Valence	3	.481	.004	.696
Error	398			

Note: ** *p* < .00

Table 6: ANOVA results for Negative subscale with RWA as the Group Process variable

Source	<i>df</i>	F	η^2	<i>p</i>
Valence	1	116.65	.227	.000**
Foreignness	3	1.225	.009	.300
RWA	1	6.374	.016	.012*
Valence X Foreignness	3	.578	.004	.629
Valence X RWA	1	.135	.000	.714
Foreignness X RWA	3	2.60	.019	.052
Foreignness X RWA X Valence	3	1.69	.013	.168
Error	398			

Note: **p* < .05

** *p* < .00

Table 7: ANOVA results for Negative subscale with RWA as the Group Process variable when all minority groups are combined

Source	<i>df</i>	F	η^2	<i>p</i>
Valence	1	97.683	.194	.000**
Minority	1	.433	.001	.511
RWA	1	.600	.001	.439
Valence X Race	1	.969	.002	.325
Valence X RWA	1	1.87	.005	.172
Race X RWA	1	7.32	.018	.007*
Race X RWA X Valence	1	4.18	.010	.042*
Error	406			

Note: **p* < .05

** *p* < .00

Table 8: ANOVA results for Negative subscale with SDO as the Group Process variable

Source	<i>df</i>	F	η^2	<i>p</i>
Valence	1	126.86	.248	.000**
Foreignness	3	1.383	.011	.247
SDO	1	30.99	.074	.000**
Valence X Foreignness	3	.572	.004	.634
Valence X SDO	1	5.119	.013	.024*
Foreignness X SDO	3	.815	.006	.486
Foreignness X SDO X Valence	3	.584	.005	.626
Error	385			

Note: **p* < .05

** *p* < .00

Table 9: Percentage of correct responses to manipulation check

Valence	Target Group	N	% Correct
Left a note	Mexican American	55	72.72
	Undocumented Immigrant	61	49.18
	Latino	60	45
	White	58	58.62
Did not leave a note	Mexican American	49	30.61
	Undocumented Immigrant	62	43.54
	Latino	59	15
	White	62	54.83

Figures

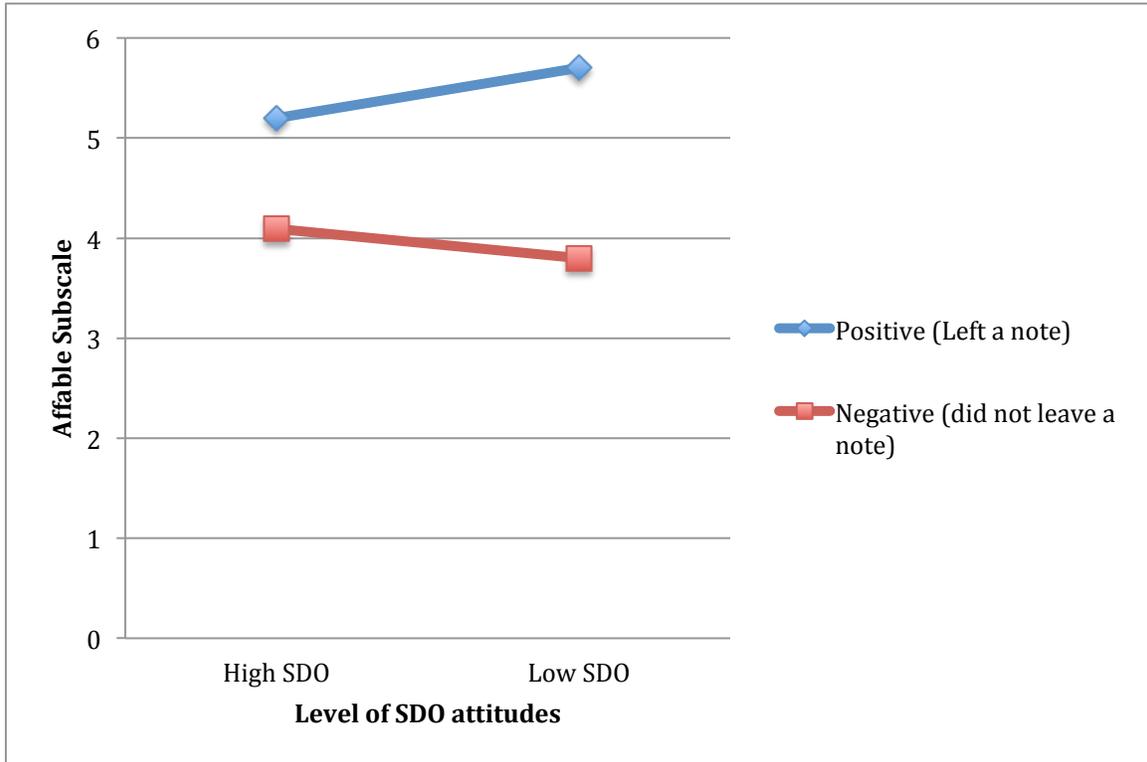


Figure 1. Means scores demonstrating the interaction between level of SDO attitude endorsement and valence.

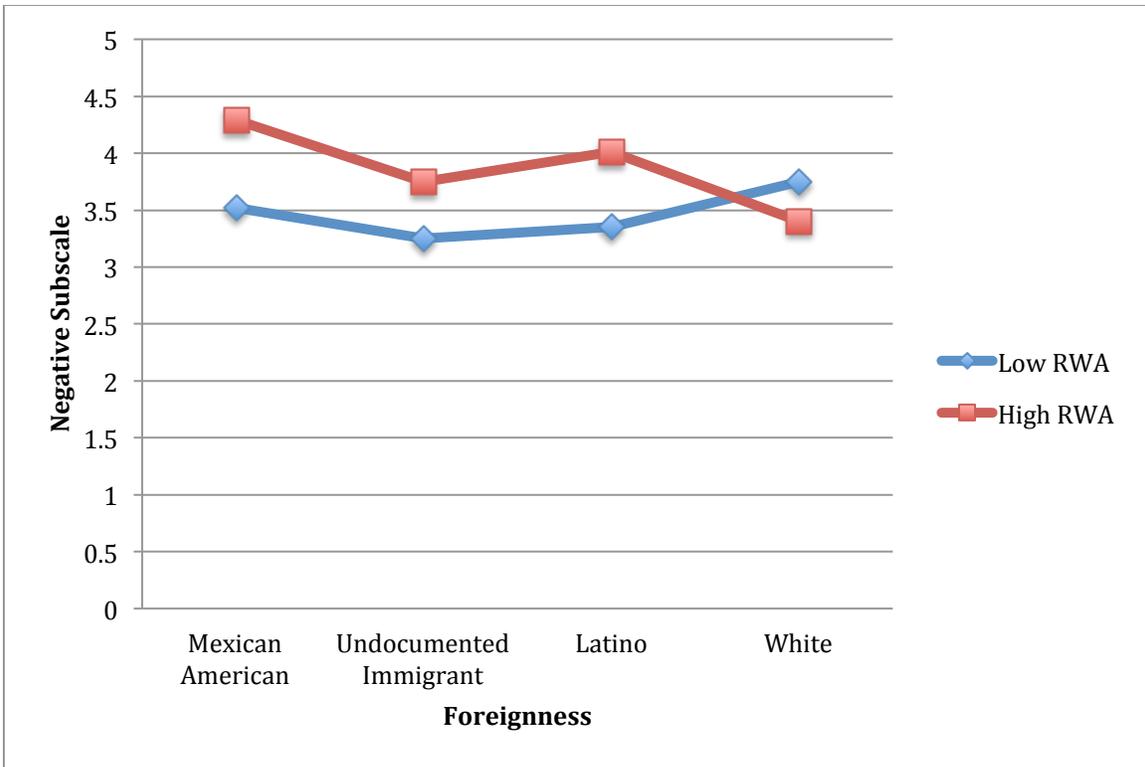


Figure 2. Mean scores demonstrating Foreignness by level of RWA interaction on the Negative subscale

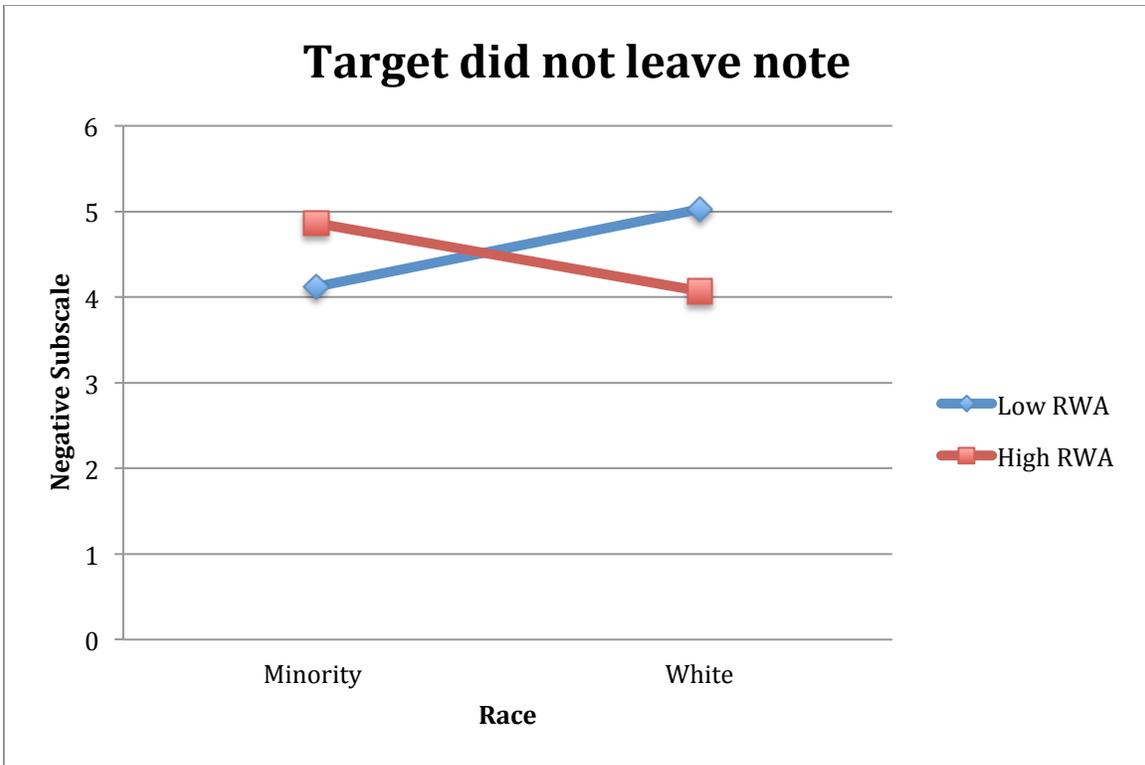


Figure 3. Means scores demonstrating valence by level of RWA by Race interaction in the negative condition.

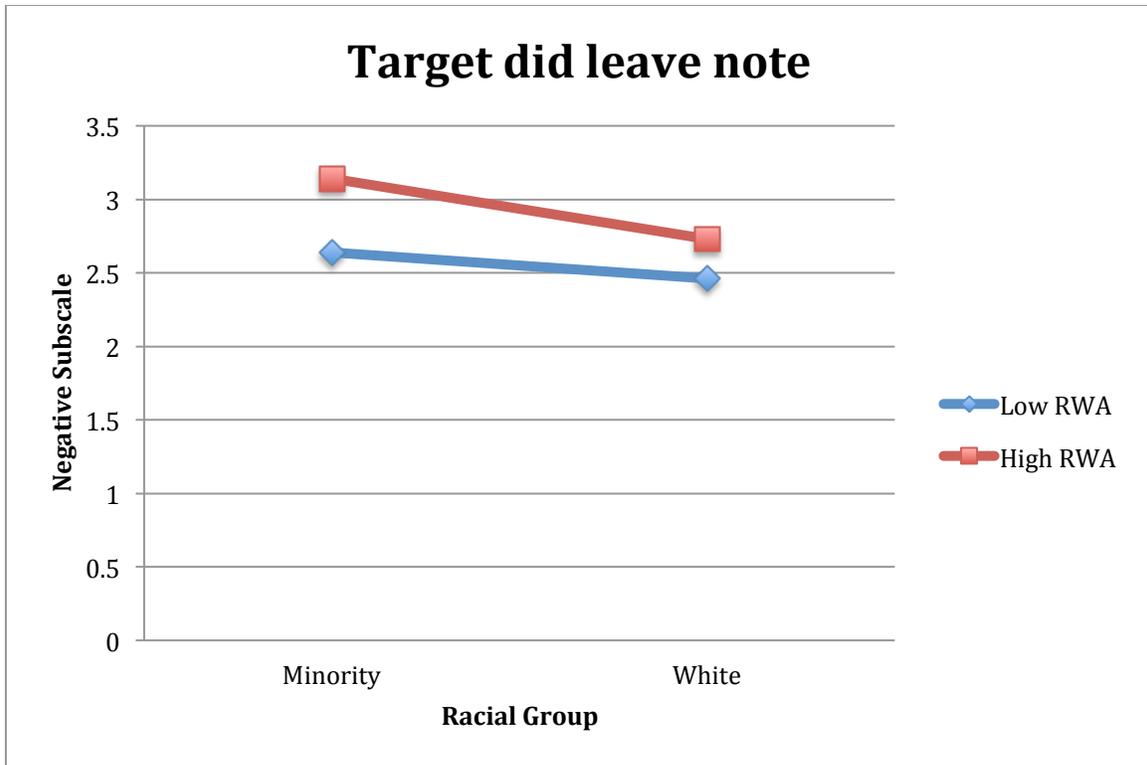


Figure 4. Mean scores representing valence by level of RWA by race interaction in the positive condition.

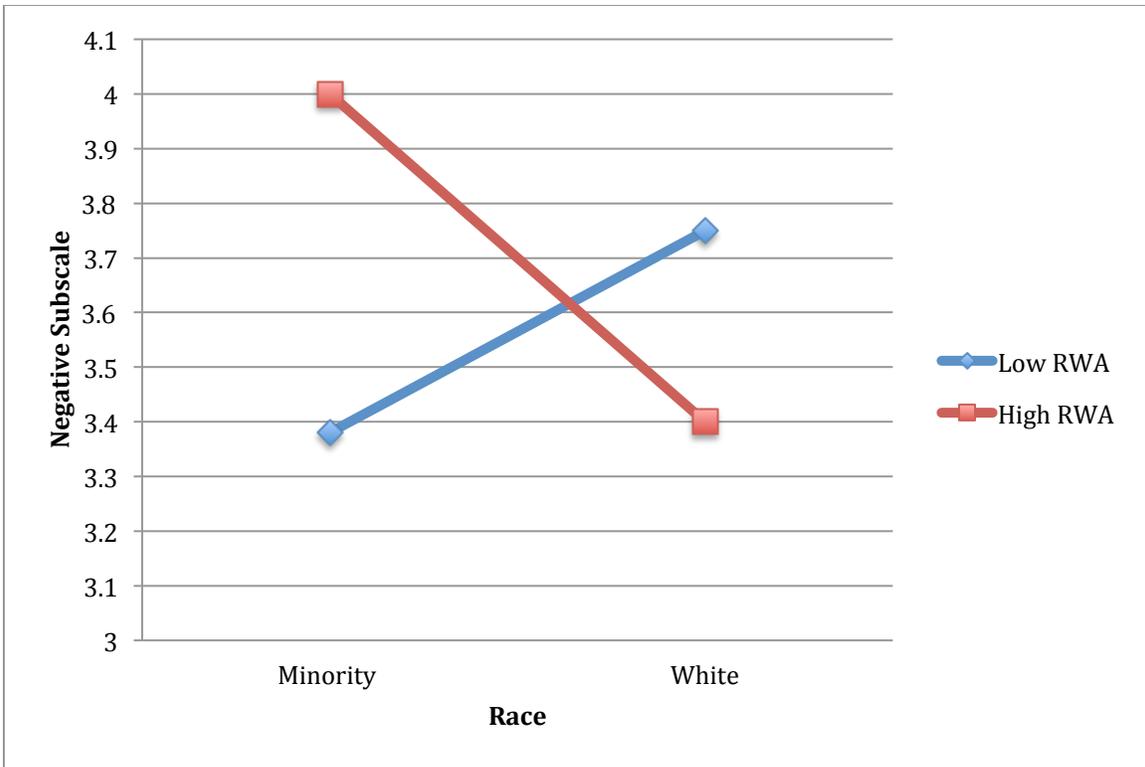


Figure 5. Means demonstrating the interaction of Race and level of RWA attitudes on the Negative subscale.

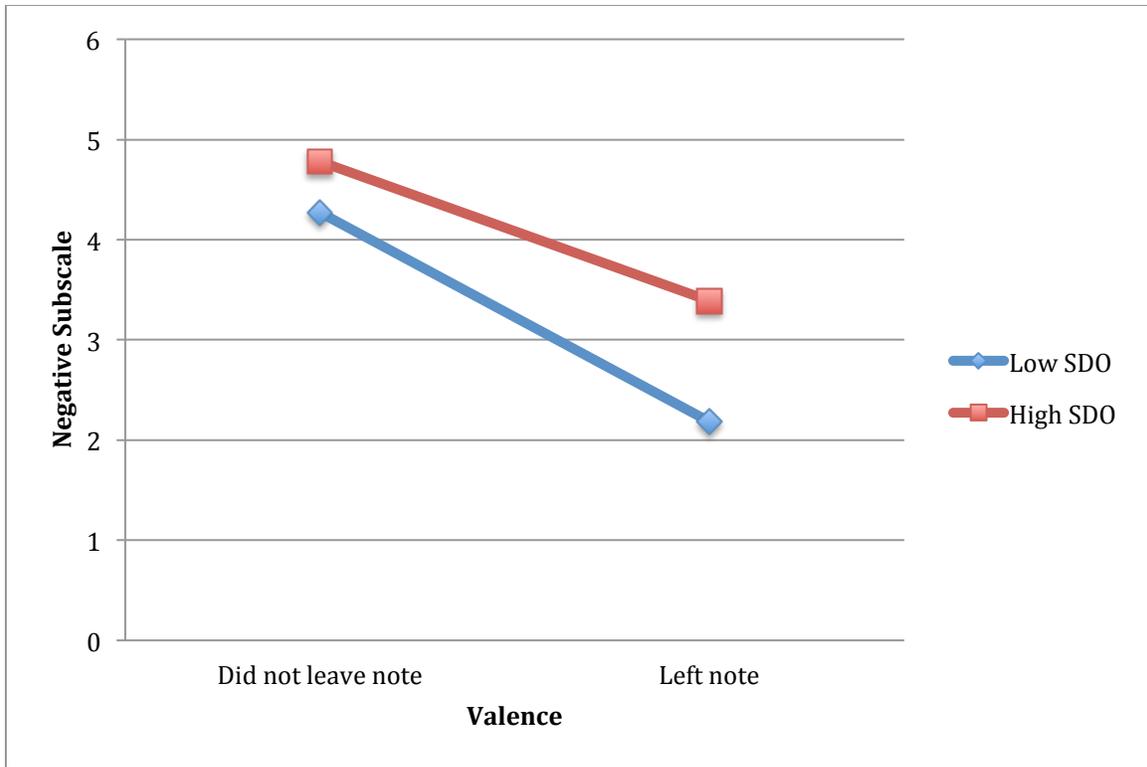


Figure 6. Mean scores demonstrating valence by level of SDO interaction on the Negative subscale.

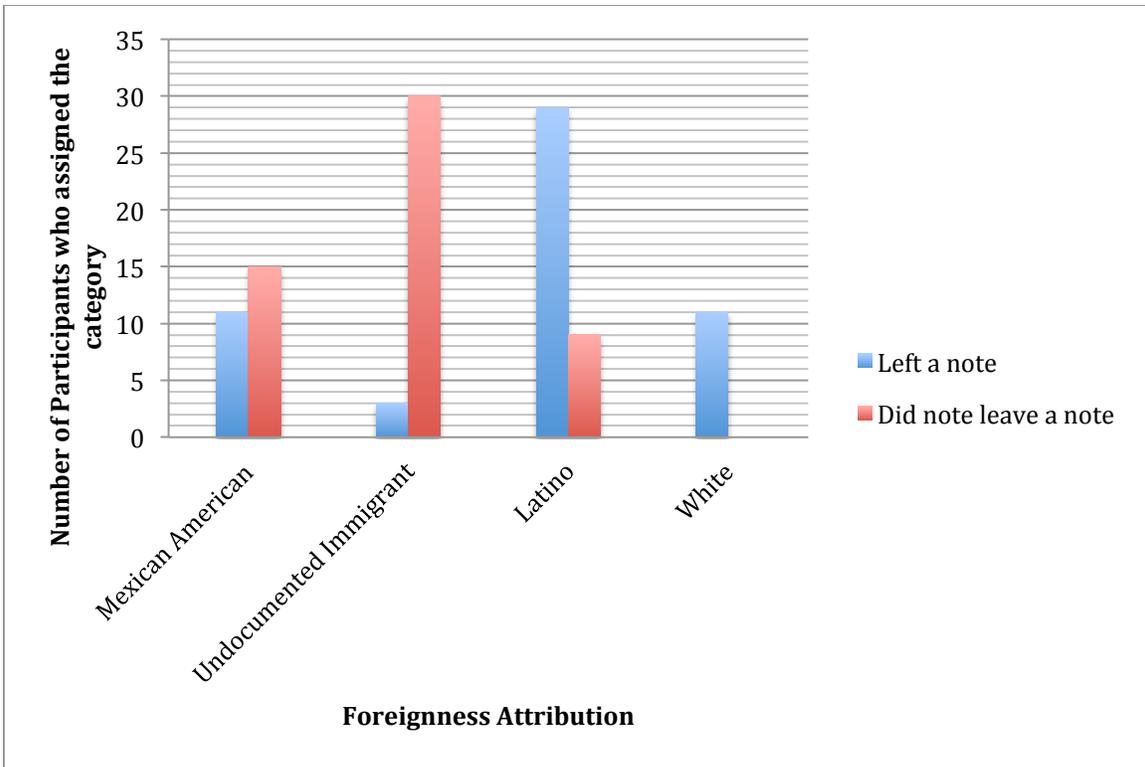


Figure 7. Foreignness category identified by participants in the manipulation check for the ambiguous Latino condition, shown by valence condition.

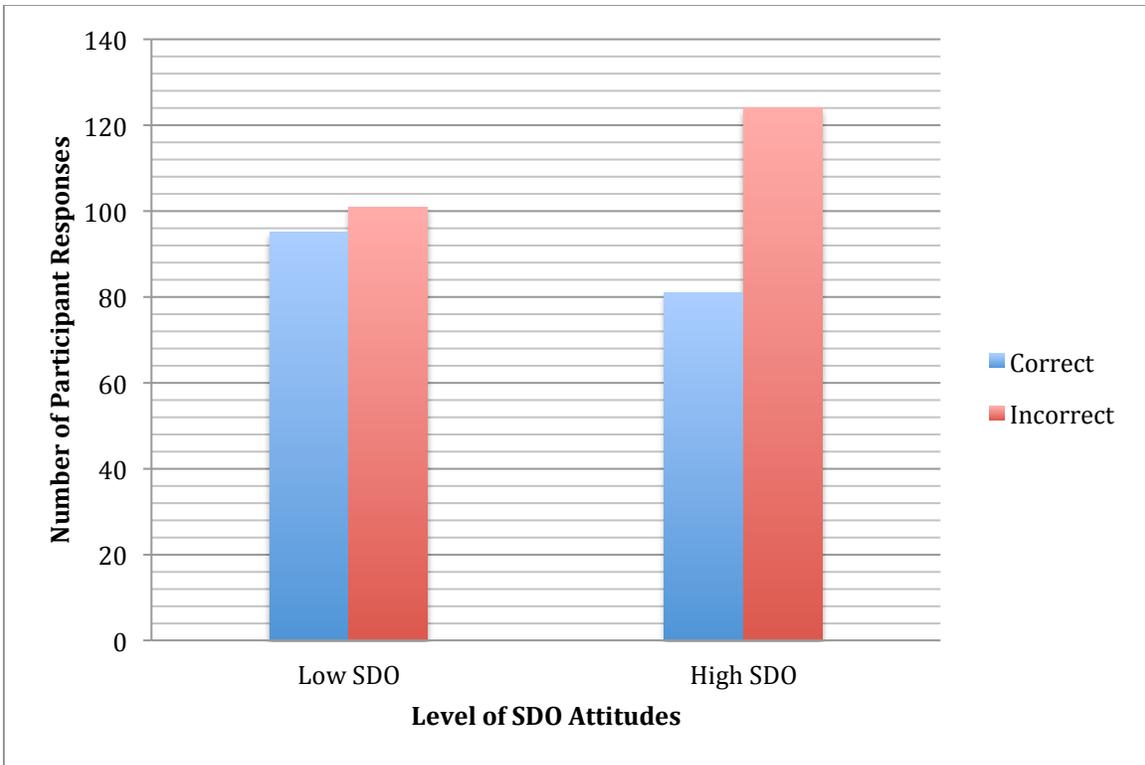


Figure 8. Chi Square results demonstrating correct vs. incorrect responses to the manipulation check by level of SDO.

Discussion

As we move into a time of changing immigration legislation, it seems particularly apt to look at the relationship between prejudice towards undocumented Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans (Obama, 2014). The current work utilized experimental methods to explore this relationship, based on contemporary theories of prejudice and the work of Latino studies theorists. Santos (2012) reported on an incident in the Arizona legislature in which the rhetoric of some of the legislators did not discriminate between Mexicans, “illegal immigrants” and Hispanics, generally. If individuals in power, such as legislators, do not differentiate between Mexicans, “illegal immigrants” or Hispanics, then the actions of undocumented immigrants will provide them, and others, with a non-racial excuse for expressing their pre-existing prejudice towards all Hispanics. The results from this study provide some support for the hypothesis that prejudiced perceptions of Hispanics are related to cues of immigration status (name and place of birth), particularly for those participants who reported high RWA and SDO attitudes. Further, it addresses the ways in which Hispanics’ immigration status is constructed when it is unknown, as it is in most day-to-day cases. The following will discuss the results as they relate to the hypotheses of the proposed study.

Hypothesis 1 predicted a main effect for valence on all subscales. A consistent main effect for valence emerged on all outcome variables in both ANOVAs using RWA or SDO as the group process variable. Participants consistently rated targets that did not leave a note as less affable, less effective and attributed more negative traits to them than to those targets that did leave a note. The findings support the strength of the valence

manipulation, demonstrating that the target's post-accident choice, of either leaving or not leaving a note, was enough to create a significant and consistent difference in the way they were perceived, regardless of race or immigration status. In general, this finding suggests that participants showed little compassion or tolerance for the target when they did not leave a note, and were willing to judge the target on many different aspects of their personality with very little context.

Hypothesis 2 predicted main effects for both group process variables on all subscales. Main effects for the group process variables (e.g., SDO & RWA) emerged on both the Effective and Negative subscales. A significant main effect for RWA was found on the Effective subscale. Participants who highly endorsed RWA attitudes rated the target as more effective than those who did not endorse RWA attitudes, which means that those who endorsed high levels of RWA attitudes found the target to be more agential and endorsed items such as: hard-working, serious and self-disciplined. These items are all attributes consistent with the Protestant work ethic. Christopher et al. (2008) found that those individuals who highly endorsed RWA attitudes also reported a strong support for the Protestant work ethic. It is possible that those high in RWA attitudes, if they were trying to express a positive opinion of the target, might be more likely to highly endorse items consistent with the Protestant work ethic, as opposed to those on the Affable subscale, such as humorous or friendly (which they may value less).

Additionally, a main effect for RWA emerged on the Negative subscale. Participants who highly endorsed RWA attitudes rated the target more negatively than those who did not endorse RWA attitudes. A study correlating the Big Five personality traits with RWA and SDO found that those participants who endorsed high RWA

attitudes were also likely to endorse items related to Conscientiousness, such as: “I am always prepared,” “I pay attention to details,” and “I am exacting in my work” (Sibley & Duckitt, 2009). This attention to detail and rigidity around responsibility might increase the likelihood that those high in RWA attitudes would be unforgiving of the target backing into someone else’s car, regardless of whether or not they left a note.

A main effect for SDO also emerged on the Negative subscale; participants who highly endorsed SDO attitudes rated the target more negatively than those who did not endorse SDO attitudes. Pratto et al (1994) found that while SDO attitudes primarily relate to an endorsement of group-based hierarchies, they also correlate negatively with empathy and tolerance. This finding suggests that those high in SDO attitudes might have little empathy or tolerance for individuals who could make the mistake of hitting another’s car, regardless of whether or not they left a note. Main effects for SDO did not emerge on either the Affable or Effective subscales, which implies that those high in SDO attitudes show no strong distinction in their ratings of the target when it comes to their perceptions of likeability and ability to act effectively, respectively. This finding suggests that those participants high in SDO attitudes may focus more on negative traits and therefore be more willing to rate the target on negative traits.

Hypothesis 3 predicted a main effect for Foreignness on all three subscales. In the current study, there was no statistically significant difference in the way the target was perceived based purely upon their immigration status. It is possible that the manipulation of foreignness (name, immigration status and place of birth) was not strong enough to trigger different levels of prejudice. However, as suggested by Short & Magaña (2002) and referenced by Santos (2012), some individuals may not see a difference between

immigration categories when it comes to expressing prejudice—they may see all immigration statuses (or those that appear to have Latino or Mexican ancestry) as equally worthy of prejudice. This idea is supported by the findings of the manipulation check, discussed in depth below.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that there would be two-way interactions between the group process variables and valence. **Hypothesis 4a** predicted that SDO would interact with valence such that those participants who endorsed high levels of SDO attitudes would rate the target in the negative valence condition, more negatively than those participants who endorsed low levels of SDO attitudes. Significant two-way interactions emerged between SDO and valence on both the Affable and Negative subscale.

Interestingly, these results may say more about those low in SDO attitudes than those who endorse them highly. On the Affable subscale, those low in SDO attitudes found targets who did not leave a note less affable than those who left a note. Additionally, those who did not endorse SDO attitudes found targets that did leave a note more affable than those who did endorse SDO attitudes. Whether or not someone left a note did not make a large difference for individuals high in SDO attitudes, they rated both targets that did leave a note and those who did not leave a note similarly. On the negative subscale, those participants who highly endorsed SDO attitudes rated the target more similarly whether or not they left a note, when compared to those who did not endorse SDO attitudes. Those participants who did not endorse SDO attitudes rated the target much less negatively when the target did leave a note, as compared to when the target did not leave a note. As mentioned above, it is possible that due to low levels of empathy and tolerance those participants who highly endorse SDO attitudes do not have a large discrepancy in

their scores across valence conditions because they are punishing the target for hitting another car, regardless of leaving a note or not. Those participants who were lower in SDO endorsement are those who highly endorsed items such as “we would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally,” “we should strive to make incomes as equal as possible,” and “no group should dominate in society.” Their endorsement of items related to equality and fairness may lead them to punish those who do not leave a note by rating them as less friendly and more negative, as well as rewarding those that do leave a note due to their willingness to do the “right” or “fair” thing, even at the risk of financial loss.

Hypothesis 4b predicted that there would be a two-way interaction between RWA and valence such that those in high in RWA attitudes would rate the target in the negative valence condition more negatively than those participants low in RWA attitudes. No two-way interactions of RWA and valence emerged on any of the three subscales. However, when all three Latino groups are combined, there is a two-way interaction of Race and RWA, demonstrating that those participants high in RWA attitudes rate the minority target much more negatively than the White target. This would suggest that, for those high in RWA attitudes, the “excuse” of the negative valence condition is not needed to express prejudice.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that the group process variables would moderate ratings of the target in the Mexican American and Undocumented Mexican Immigrant conditions. **Hypothesis 5a** predicted that RWA will interact with foreignness such that the negative association between RWA and target ratings will be stronger in the Mexican American condition than in the Undocumented Mexican Immigrant condition. The RWA

X Foreignness interaction approached significance. Individuals who endorsed high RWA attitudes rated Mexican Americans most negatively of all of the target groups when they did not leave a note. However, those who scored high on the SDO scale showed no significant difference in their ratings of the targets. Although not statistically significant, the results do lend some support to Kreindler's (2005) hypothesis of group processes. Kreindler (2005) argued that individuals who endorsed high RWA attitudes would be more likely to demonstrate prejudice against Mexican-Americans, rather than undocumented immigrants. He argued that RWA is a group process that regulates interactions within groups. Thus, those high in RWA attitudes would be more likely to express prejudice towards Mexican Americans because they represent a differentiation from the group norms of what it means to be American.

Hypothesis 5b predicted that SDO would interact with foreignness such that the negative association between SDO and target ratings will be stronger in the Undocumented Mexican Immigrant condition than in the Mexican American condition. No significant SDO X Foreignness interaction emerged on any of the three subscales. Individuals who endorsed high levels of SDO attitudes did not rate the targets significantly more affable, effective or negatively based on foreignness group. Kreindler (2005) suggested that those who endorsed high SDO attitudes would be more likely to express prejudice towards undocumented Mexican immigrants, rather than Mexican American because SDO is a group process used to manage intergroup conflict. While this was not supported by the data in this study it may be due to a perceived lack of conflict between groups. Duckitt (2006) suggests that those who endorse high SDO attitudes are most likely to express prejudice when they feel directly threatened by an outgroup.

Those high in SDO attitudes endorse beliefs related to group-based hierarchies, thus if they perceive an outgroup as “staying in their place” in the hierarchy, they are not likely to exhibit prejudice toward them. Future research could explore this relationship by manipulating attitudes expressed by the target concerning obtaining access to American resources that imply upward social mobility (such as education).

Hypothesis 6 predicted that there would be a three-way interaction between group process, foreignness and valence such that participants high in RWA and/or SDO will perceive the Latino target differently based upon the valence of the scenario.

Hypothesis 6a predicted that ratings of the Latino target will be more similar to the Mexican American condition, when compared to the Undocumented Immigrant condition, in the positive valence scenario, for those high in RWA. No significant three-way interactions emerged using RWA as the group process variable. However, an additional exploration demonstrated that when the three Hispanic groups are combined, a significant Race X RWA X Valence result emerges on the Negative subscale. Individuals high in RWA attitudes perceived minority targets significantly more negatively when they did not leave a note than when they did leave a note. The White target was rated in a similar manner to minorities, although slightly less negatively, by those high in RWA attitudes. Individuals who did not endorse RWA attitudes rated the minority targets much less negatively than the White target when the target did not leave a note, while all targets were rated similarly when the target did leave a note. Although comparatively we know significantly less about those who endorse low levels of RWA attitudes, as opposed to those who endorse high levels of RWA attitudes, it is possible that they are more likely to be conscientious concerning race and the expression of racism in the United States. This

knowledge could lead them to acknowledging the existence of privilege or feelings of collective guilt, which could be reflected in these results (Branscombe et al. 2004).

Hypothesis 6b predicted that ratings of the Latino target will be more similar to the Undocumented Mexican American condition, when compared to the Mexican American condition, in the negative valence scenario, for those high in SDO. No significant findings of three-way interactions emerged on any of the three outcome variables when SDO was used as the group process variable (SDO X Valence X Foreignness). Those participants who endorsed high SDO attitudes did not exhibit prejudice differently towards any of the targets based on an interaction of foreignness condition and valence. The Chi-Square test for independence demonstrated that those high in SDO were the most likely to answer the manipulation check incorrectly, meaning that they were unable to accurately identify the immigration status of the target. These results suggest that those participants who endorse high SDO attitudes may be likely to participate in higher levels of cognitive bias, such as outgroup homogeneity. Outgroup homogeneity refers to a cognitive bias in which individuals perceive groups to which they do not belong as being more homogenous and less diverse than their own group (Wilson & Hugenberg, 2010). Due to this, participants who endorse high levels of SDO attitudes may not actually perceive differences in immigration status.

As mentioned above, the results of the manipulation check may have larger implications for the study than originally identified. The results of the manipulation check indicate that when the Latino target left a note, they were more likely to be correctly identified as Latino, as opposed to being identified by the participants as Mexican American or as an undocumented Mexican immigrant. When the Latino target

did not leave a note participants only correctly identified the individual in the scenario as Latino 16.67% of the time. Participants most often mistakenly identified the target as an undocumented Mexican immigrant (55.56%) or a Mexican American (27.78%). When the Latino target did not leave a note they were never misidentified as White, although when the target did leave a note he was misidentified as White 20.37% of the time. This suggests that when participants perceive the target negatively, because he did not leave a note after hitting a car, he is most likely to be identified as an undocumented Mexican immigrant, and never as White.

The results of the manipulation check indicate that when individuals of Hispanic descent are seen on a day-to-day basis, when their immigration status is unknown, and they are in a context in which prejudice can be excused, or more accurately blamed on another cause, they are more likely to be labeled as undocumented immigrants, a group towards which prejudice is much more easily excused in American culture (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Fiske, 1998). This would seem to be consistent with what Short and Magaña (2002) described as the Mexican-American dilemma: individuals are more willing to discriminate against Mexican Americans because they cannot be physically distinguished from a stigmatized other, undocumented immigrants, who have committed a crime and thus are allowable targets of prejudice. Short and Magaña (2002) construct this relationship as biological—it is the fact that Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants share a phenotype that renders Mexican Americans susceptible to prejudice. However, given that there were not visuals of the target used in this study, the results would suggest that the relationship is more than phenotypical—it is ideological. This idea is further explored in the Implications.

IMPLICATIONS

The above finding contributes to the literature concerning prejudice towards Hispanics generally, and Mexican Americans in particular. Short and Magaña (2002) argued for the idea of a Mexican American dilemma, in which Mexican Americans experience prejudice due to their phenotypical resemblance to undocumented Mexican immigrants. This argument is inherently problematic in that it seems to suggest that the prejudicial attitudes towards Mexican Americans are just a simple case of mistaken identity. Additionally, it implies that if undocumented immigration were to stop, prejudicial attitudes towards Mexican Americans would ameliorate. As no visual portrayals of the targets were utilized in this study, it demonstrates that the relationship between prejudice towards Mexican Americans and undocumented Mexican immigrants is not based on biology, but on ideology. This ideology of social dominance orientation creates a cognitive connection between Mexican Americans and undocumented Mexican immigrants allowing for the expression of prejudice towards all Hispanics. This finding reflects the argument of the Latino Threat Narrative (Chavez, 2008), which describes the ways in which Mexican Americans are seen by the Right-Wing media as an extension of an invading force of undocumented Mexican immigrants. Chavez (2008) argues that this rhetoric casts Mexican Americans as “alien-citizens, [and] perpetual foreigners.”

As mentioned in the literature review, there has been a conversation within prejudice research concerning how SDO and RWA attitudes contribute differently to the expression of prejudice. This study contributes to that conversation through providing some support for Kreindler’s (2005) Dual Group Process model by demonstrating that, although individuals who endorse RWA or SDO attitudes react to prejudice priming

stimuli, they react under different conditions. In future research, stronger manipulations, as described below, could further clarify and differentiate this relationship.

Additionally, this research demonstrates a way that empirical research can be used to clarify our understanding of historical events, such as the Zoot Suit Riots, Operation Wetback and more recent immigration legislation following 9/11. For example, critics of Arizona SB 1070 feared that the bill would be enforced based on racial profiling. Sidanius, Liu, Shaw and Pratto (1994) found that law enforcement officials are more likely to express high levels of SDO attitudes than either public defenders or jurors. The research presented here would demonstrate the increased likelihood of law enforcement officials who are high in SDO attitudes to perceive all Latinos as undocumented Mexican immigrants when provided an excuse for prejudice. These findings underline the importance of considering the psychological and cultural mechanisms that underlie these events, particularly in preparing for and preventing them in the future through education that can combat ideologies and common cognitive biases that are connected to the expression of prejudice. Educational interventions could include diversity training, mentoring programs to increase interracial interactions, and programs that encourage law enforcement to live in the communities that they serve.

LIMITATIONS

To manipulate foreignness, the name, place of birth and immigration status of the target were changed between conditions. As mentioned above, there was no main effect for foreignness and it did not interact significantly with any of the other independent variables; the only significant interaction that emerged occurred when all three of the Hispanic groups were combined. It is possible that the manipulation was not strong

enough and could have been strengthened by the inclusion of images of the target. Additionally, it is possible that those who endorse high levels of RWA and SDO attitudes do not differentiate between immigration status when it comes to expressing prejudice towards Hispanics; this argument would be particularly supported by the significant RWA X Race X Valence interaction and the results of the manipulation check.

By comparing groups of participants who scored at extremes of the Group Process variables (one standard deviation below and above the mean), internal validity is threatened by the tendency of scores to regress towards the mean. With multiple tests of a construct, scores are generally more likely to surround the mean, rather than being at the extremes. By comparing extreme scores it is more likely that the results are a one-time aberration, rather than a valid result. This could be protected against in future work by asking participants to complete the Group Process measure on more than one occasion and taking a mean of the scores. Additionally, the use of high and low scores on the Group Process variables excludes the use of regression as a statistical technique. The use of regression in future research could further clarify the specific relationships between the variables.

Limitations should be considered when generalizing the results of the present research. As with all research conducted with subject pools at major universities, the generalizability of the results is limited to college populations. Further, while the demographics of the sample suggest that it was diverse in terms of political affiliation, the sample consisted primarily of White Americans. These characteristics limit the external validity of the findings and should be carefully considered before the results can be generalized to a larger population. Additionally, as the data was collected at the

University of Texas at Austin, the sample may be influenced by its proximity to the Mexican border. Future research may look to replicate this study in more diverse locations to compare the results.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although not directly related to prejudice research, the results for those participants who did not endorse RWA and SDO attitudes were interesting. Future research might look to clarify and expand our knowledge on this population and their conceptualizations of race and race interactions, particularly related to collective guilt and equality.

Following the work of Hewstone (1990), future research might address the perceived perceptions of attributions concerning the actions of the target in the scenarios used here. Hewstone's (1990) research found that there is a tendency for participants to attribute negative outgroup behaviors to something inherent to the individual, when compared to attributions of behavior for ingroup individuals, which were generally seen as based on the context of the situation. There are interesting questions in this area concerning group membership, attributions of negative actions and the strength of the response that could be applied to the scenarios utilized in this study.

Future research concerning prejudice towards Mexican Americans and undocumented Mexican immigrants might strengthen the manipulations used here, such as including images of the targets or having the target express opinions related to upwards social mobility or access to resources, clarifying what is considered a threat by individuals who endorse RWA and SDO attitudes.

CONCLUSION

It is my hope that this research has contributed to the growing literature concerning the long history of prejudice toward Hispanics in the United States. The events in the aftermath of September 11th continue to influence and shape not only legislation and policy on the macro level but also individuals' perceptions of others on a day-to-day basis. I hope that it is through the illumination of the mechanisms behind this prejudice that we can better plan for and prevent macro and micro scale prejudice in the future.

Appendix A

Scenarios

MEXICAN AMERICAN/NEGATIVE

As part of a class assignment for News Media Writing and Editing, a journalism major was asked to write a story about an *everyday* event that he witnessed, word minimum: 150. He was asked to make the story as exciting as possible while not overstating the events. The following is the assignment the student turned in:

Heads looked up from books as studying at a local coffee shop was brought to a halt by the sound of metal scraping against metal. José García, born in Dallas, TX., had made the all too common mistake of trying to parallel park in a space too short for his truck. Now, he sat in the driver seat of his car, watching the students who had been interrupted from their work watching him. He got out of his car and walked to the rear, examining the damage with the age-old car-wreck posture, legs apart, hands on hips, and head bowed. There was no question, the paint on the car he had hit was definitely scratched. Jose looked around, as if waiting for the owner of the car to materialize, but no one identified themselves. Once again he looked at the car. The students around him had returned to their books and his truck was nosing into the street, almost blocking traffic. Jose looked around once again and climbed into his truck, without looking at the students working nearby. He drove away from the scene, not leaving a note.

UNDOCUMENTED MEXICAN IMMIGRANT/NEGATIVE

As part of a class assignment for News Media Writing and Editing, a journalism major was asked to write a story about an *everyday* event that he witnessed, word minimum: 150. He was asked to make the story as exciting as possible while not overstating the events. The following is the assignment the student turned in:

Heads looked up from books as studying at a local coffee shop was brought to a halt by the sound of metal scraping against metal. José García, an undocumented immigrant born in Oaxaca City, Mexico, had made the all too common mistake of trying to parallel park in a space too short for his truck. Now, he sat in the driver seat of his car, watching the students who had been interrupted from their work watching him. He got out of his car and walked to the rear, examining the damage with the age-old car-wreck posture, legs apart, hands on hips, and head bowed. There was no question, the paint on the car he had hit was definitely scratched. Jose looked around, as if waiting for the owner of the car to materialize, but no one identified themselves. Once again he looked at the car. The students around him had returned to their books and his truck was nosing into the street, almost blocking traffic. Jose looked around once again and climbed into his truck, without looking at the students working nearby. He drove away from the scene, not leaving a note.

LATINO/NEGATIVE

As part of a class assignment for News Media Writing and Editing, a journalism major was asked to write a story about an *everyday* event that he witnessed, word minimum: 150. He was asked to make the story as exciting as possible while not overstating the events. The following is the assignment the student turned in:

Heads looked up from books as studying at a local coffee shop was brought to a halt by the sound of metal scraping against metal. José García had made the all too common mistake of trying to parallel park in a space too short for his truck. Now, he sat in the driver seat of his car, watching the students who had been interrupted from their work watching him. He got out of his car and walked to the rear, examining the damage with the age-old car-wreck posture, legs apart, hands on hips, and head bowed. There was no question, the paint on the car he had hit was definitely scratched. Jose looked around, as if waiting for the owner of the car to materialize, but no one identified themselves. Once again he looked at the car. The students around him had returned to their books and his truck was nosing into the street, almost blocking traffic. Jose looked around once again and climbed into his truck, without looking at the students working nearby. He drove away from the scene, not leaving a note.

WHITE/NEGATIVE

As part of a class assignment for News Media Writing and Editing, a journalism major was asked to write a story about an *everyday* event that he witnessed, word minimum: 150. He was asked to make the story as exciting as possible while not overstating the events. The following is the assignment the student turned in:

Heads looked up from books as studying at a local coffee shop was brought to a halt by the sound of metal scraping against metal. Zachary Ballenger, born in Dallas Texas, had made the all too common mistake of trying to parallel park in a space too short for his truck. Now, he sat in the driver seat of his car, watching the students who had been interrupted from their work watching him. He got out of his car and walked to the rear, examining the damage with the age-old car-wreck posture, legs apart, hands on hips, and head bowed. There was no question, the paint on the car he had hit was definitely scratched. Zachary looked around, as if waiting for the owner of the car to materialize, but no one identified themselves. Once again he looked at the car. The students around him had returned to their books and his truck was nosing into the street, almost blocking traffic. Zachary looked around once again and climbed into his truck, without looking at the students working nearby. He drove away from the scene, not leaving a note.

MEXICAN AMERICAN/POSITIVE

As part of a class assignment for News Media Writing and Editing, a journalism major was asked to write a story about an *everyday* event that he had witnessed, word minimum: 150. He was asked to make the story as exciting as possible while not overstating the events. The following is the assignment the student turned in:

Heads looked up from books as studying at a local coffee shop was brought to a halt by the sound of metal scraping against metal. José García, born in Dallas, TX., had made the all too common mistake of trying to parallel park in a space too short for his truck. Now, he sat in the driver seat of his truck, watching the students who had been interrupted from their work watching him. He got out of his car and walked to the rear, examining the damage with the age-old car-wreck posture, legs apart and hands on hips, and head bowed. There was no question, the paint on the car he had hit was definitely scratched. Jose looked around, as if waiting for the owner of the car to materialize, but no one identified themselves. Once again he looked at the car. The students around him had returned to their books and his own truck was nosing into the street, almost blocking traffic. Jose looked around once again and climbed into his car, reaching into his backpack he pulled out a notebook and scribbled a note to the owner of the car. When he finished, he placed it under the car's windshield wiper, his name and phone number clearly visible.

UNDOCUMENTED MEXICAN IMMIGRANT/POSITIVE

As part of a class assignment for News Media Writing and Editing, a journalism major was asked to write a story about an *everyday* event that he had witnessed, word minimum: 150. He was asked to make the story as exciting as possible while not overstating the events. The following is the assignment the student turned in:

Heads looked up from books as studying at a local coffee shop was brought to a halt by the sound of metal scraping against metal. José García, an undocumented immigrant born in Oaxaca Mexico, had made the all too common mistake of trying to parallel park in a space too short for his truck. Now, he sat in the driver seat of his truck, watching the students who had been interrupted from their work watching him. He got out of his car and walked to the rear, examining the damage with the age-old car-wreck posture, legs apart and hands on hips, and head bowed. There was no question, the paint on the car he had hit was definitely scratched. Jose looked around, as if waiting for the owner of the car to materialize, but no one identified themselves. Once again he looked at the car. The students around him had returned to their books and his own truck was nosing into the street, almost blocking traffic. Jose looked around once again and climbed into his car, reaching into his backpack he pulled out a notebook and scribbled a note to the owner of the car. When he finished, he placed it under the car's windshield wiper, his name and phone number clearly visible.

As part of a class assignment for News Media Writing and Editing, a journalism major was asked to write a story about an *everyday* event that he had witnessed, word minimum: 150. He was asked to make the story as exciting as possible while not overstating the events. The following is the assignment the student turned in:

Heads looked up from books as studying at a local coffee shop was brought to a halt by the sound of metal scraping against metal. José García, had made the all too common mistake of trying to parallel park in a space too short for his truck. Now, he sat in the driver seat of his truck, watching the students who had been interrupted from their work watching him. He got out of his car and walked to the rear, examining the damage with the age-old car-wreck posture, legs apart and hands on hips, and head bowed. There was no question, the paint on the car he had hit was definitely scratched. Jose looked around, as if waiting for the owner of the car to materialize, but no one identified themselves. Once again he looked at the car. The students around him had returned to their books and his own truck was nosing into the street, almost blocking traffic. Jose looked around once again and climbed into his car, reaching into his backpack he pulled out a notebook and scribbled a note to the owner of the car. When he finished, he placed it under the car's windshield wiper, his name and phone number clearly visible.

WHITE/POSITIVE

As part of a class assignment for News Media Writing and Editing, a journalism major was asked to write a story about an *everyday* event that he had witnessed, word minimum: 150. He was asked to make the story as exciting as possible while not overstating the events. The following is the assignment the student turned in:

Heads looked up from books as studying at a local coffee shop was brought to a halt by the sound of metal scraping against metal. Zachary Ballenger, born in Dallas Texas, had made the all too common mistake of trying to parallel park in a space too short for his truck. Now, he sat in the driver seat of his truck, watching the students who had been interrupted from their work watching him. He got out of his car and walked to the rear, examining the damage with the age-old car-wreck posture, legs apart and hands on hips, and head bowed. There was no question, the paint on the car he had hit was definitely scratched. Zachary looked around, as if waiting for the owner of the car to materialize, but no one identified themselves. Once again he looked at the car. The students around him had returned to their books and his own truck was nosing into the street, almost blocking traffic. Zachary looked around once again and climbed into his car, reaching into his backpack he pulled out a notebook and scribbled a note to the owner of the car. When he finished, he placed it under the car's windshield wiper, his name and phone number clearly visible.

Appendix B

Measures

“WELL-WRITTEN” SCALE

We would like to hear your feedback about the article you have just read. Below are 10 items addressing different aspects of your experience as a reader. Please indicate how true you believe the statements to be by choosing a number between 1 and 9. Please be open and honest in your responding.

1. The story was unbiased.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

2. The author brought the story to life.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

3. The writing level was better than average for a journalism underclassman.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

4. The work flowed well.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

5. The story was a creative telling of an everyday event.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

6. The student made appropriate word choices.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

7. Overall, the student’s use of grammar was correct.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

8. The piece was overly detailed.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

9. The author was clearly enthusiastic about the writing process.

Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

10. The overall quality of this piece of writing.

Very Low 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very High

IMPRESSIONS SCALE

The following statements refer to the ways in which you believe the author presented the man in the story. Please respond with your agreement or disagreement to the statement by choosing a number between 1 and 9. Please be open and honest in your responding.

Friendly
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Trustworthy
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Open-minded
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Humorous
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Outgoing
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Easy going
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Intelligent
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Fearless
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Hard-working
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Self-disciplined
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Serious
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Hostile
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Menacing
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Lazy
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Spineless
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Unintelligent
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Narrow-minded
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Threatening
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Undisciplined
Not at All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

RWA SCALE

* Identifies a reverse coded item.

1. The established authorities usually turn out to be right about things, while the radicals and protestors are usually just “loud mouths” showing off their ignorance.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Completely								Completely
Disagree								Agree

2. Women should have to promise to obey their husbands when they get married.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Completely								Completely
Disagree								Agree

3. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Completely								Completely
Disagree								Agree

4*. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Completely								Completely
Disagree								Agree

5. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people’s minds.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Completely								Completely
Disagree								Agree

6*. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Completely								Completely
Disagree								Agree

7. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Completely								Completely
Disagree								Agree

SOCIAL DOMINANCE ORIENTATION

* Identifies a reverse coded item.

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely						Completely
Disagree						Agree

2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely						Completely
Disagree						Agree

3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely						Completely
Disagree						Agree

4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely						Completely
Disagree						Agree

5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely						Completely
Disagree						Agree

6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely						Completely
Disagree						Agree

7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely						Completely
Disagree						Agree

8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely						Completely
Disagree						Agree

9. It would be good if groups could be equal.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Completely | | | | | | Completely |
| Disagree | | | | | | Agree |
10. Group equality should be our ideal.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Completely | | | | | | Completely |
| Disagree | | | | | | Agree |
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Completely | | | | | | Completely |
| Disagree | | | | | | Agree |
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Completely | | | | | | Completely |
| Disagree | | | | | | Agree |
13. Increased social equality is beneficial to society.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Completely | | | | | | Completely |
| Disagree | | | | | | Agree |
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Completely | | | | | | Completely |
| Disagree | | | | | | Agree |
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Completely | | | | | | Completely |
| Disagree | | | | | | Agree |
16. No group should dominate in society.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Completely | | | | | | Completely |
| Disagree | | | | | | Agree |

References

- Aberson, C. L., & Gaffney, A. M. (2009). An integrated threat model of explicit and implicit attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 39*(5), 808-830.
- Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., and Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*, Harper, New York.
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press.
- Altemeyer, B. (1988). *Enemies of freedom*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Altemeyer, B. (1994). Reducing prejudice in right-wing authoritarians In M. P. Zanna & J. M. Olson (Eds.), *Psychology of Prejudice* (Vol. v 7). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Altemeyer, R. (1996). *The authoritarian specter*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Archibold, R. C. (2010, April, 23). Arizona enacts stringent law on immigration *The New York Times*.
- Awad, G. H., & Hall-Clark, B. N. (2009). The impact of religiosity and right-wing authoritarianism on prejudice toward middle easterners. *Beliefs and Values, 1* (2), 183-192.
- Baumeister, R. F., Campbell, J. D., Krueger, J. I., & Vohs, K. D. (2003). Does high self-esteem cause better performance, interpersonal success, happiness, or healthier life- styles? *Psychological Science in the Public Interest, 4*(Whole No. 1), 1-44.
- Biernat, M. (2009). Stereotypes and shifting standards. In Nelson, T.D. (Ed.), *Handbook*

- of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Blair, I. V., & Banaji, M. (1996). Automatic and controlled processes in stereotype priming. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*, 1142-1163.
- Boyle, P. G. (1972). The roots of isolationism: A case study. *Journal of American Studies*, *6*(1), 41-50.
- Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, *55*(3), 429-444.
- Buriel, R., & Vasquez, R. (1982). Stereotypes of Mexican descent persons: Attitudes of three generations of Mexican Americans and Anglo-American adolescents. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *13*(1), 59-70.
- Burns, P., & Gimpel, J. G. (2000). Economic insecurity, prejudicial stereotypes and public opinion on immigration policy. *Political Science Quarterly*, *115*, 201-225.
- Chavez, L. R. (2008). *The Latino threat: Constructing immigrants, citizens and the nation*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.
- Citrin, J., Reingold, B., & Green, D. P. (1990). American identity and the politics of ethnic change. *The Journal of Politics* *52*, 1124-1154.
- Collado-Proctor, S. M. (1999). The perceived racism scale for Latino/as: A multidimensional assessment of the experience of racism among Latino/as. *Dissertation Abstracts International Part B: Science and Engineering*, *60*(1-B), 361.
- Cowan, G., Martinez, L., & Mendiola, S. (1997). Predictors of attitudes towards illegal immigrants. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *19*(4), 403-415.

- Dambrun, M., & Vatiné, E. (2010). Reopening the study of extreme social behaviors: Obedience to authority within an immersive video environment. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 40*, 760-773.
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*(1), 5-18.
- Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*, 447-466.
- Ditto, P. H., & Lopez, D. L. (1992). Motivated skepticism: Use of differential decision criteria for preferred and nonpreferred conclusions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63*, 568– 584.
- Dovidio, J. F., Evans, N., & Tyler, R. B. (1986). Racial stereotypes: The contents of their cognitive representations. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 22*, 22– 37.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Garcia, S. L. (2004). Aversive racism. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 36*, 1-52.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2004). Aversive racism. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 36, pp. 1-51). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1986). Prejudice, discrimination, and racism: Historical trends and contemporary approaches. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 1-34). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gluszek, A., John, M., Dittmann, R., & Lagunes, P. (2010). Understanding bias toward Latinos: Discrimination, dimensions of difference, and experience of exclusion. *Journal of Social Issues, 66*(1), 59-78.

- Duckitt, J. (1989). Authoritarianism and group identification: A new view of an old construct. *Political Psychology*, 63-84.
- Esses, V. M., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (1998). Intergroup competition and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: An instrumental model of group conflict. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54(4), 699-724.
- Fairchild, H. H., & Cozens, J. A. (1981). Chicano, Hispanic, or Mexican-American: What's in a name? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 3, 191-198.
- Field, A. (2005). *Discovering statistics using SPSS*. London: Sage Publications
- Fiske, S. T. (1998). Goal taxonomies, then and now. In J. Darley & J. Cooper (Eds.), *Attribution and social interaction: The legacy of Edward E. Jones* (pp. 153-161). Washington, D.C.: AP A.
- Fix, M. E., & Tumlin, K. (1997). *Welfare reform and the devolution of immigrant policy*.
- Frey, D. (1986). Recent research on selective exposure to information. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 19 41-80.
- Frogomen, A. T. (1997). The illegal immigration reform and immigrant responsibility act or 1996: An overview. *International Migration Review*, 31(2), 438-460.
- Goodman, M. B., & Moradi, B. (2008). Attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian and gay persons:
Critical correlates and mediated relations. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 55 (3), 371-384.
- Gordon, M. E., Slade, L. A., & Schmitt, N. (1987). Student guinea pigs: Porcine predictors and particularistic phenomena. *Academy of management review*, 12(1), 160-163.

- Guichard, C. P., & Connolly, M. A. (1977). Ethnic group stereotypes: A new look at an old problem. *Journal of Negro Education* 46, 244-257.
- Gutierrez, D. G. (1995). *Walls and mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican immigrants and the politics of ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Hewstone, M. (1990). The "ultimate attribution error": A review of the literature on intergroup causal attribution. *European journal of psychology*, 20(4), 311-335.
- Hines, B. (2006). Overview of US immigration law and policy since 9/11. *Texas Hispanic Journal of Law & Policy*, 12, 9.
- Hitlan, R. T., Carrillo, K., Zarate, M. A., & Aikman, S. N. (2007). Attitudes toward immigrant groups and the September 11 terrorist attacks. *Peace and conflict: Journal of peace psychology* 13(2), 135-152.
- Hodson, G., Hogg, S. M., & MacInnis, C. C. (2009). The role of "dark personalities" (narcissism, Machiavellianism, psychopathy), big five personality factors and ideology in explaining prejudice. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 43(4), 686-690.
- Hoffman, A. (1974). *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation pressures 1929-1939*. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press.
- Johnson, K. R. (2004). *The "huddled masses" myth: Immigration and civil rights*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Jones, J. M. (1991). *Prejudice and racism* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Jordan, C. H., Logel, C., Spencer, S. J., Zanna, M. P., & Whitfield, M. L. (2009). The heterogeneity of self-esteem: Exploring the interplay between implicit and explicit self-esteem. In R. E. Petty, R. H. Fazio, & P. Briñol (Eds.), *Attitudes: Insights from the new implicit measures* (pp. 251-281). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Judd, C. M., Park, B., Yzerbyt, V., Gordijn, E. H., & Muller, D. (2005). Attributions of intergroup bias and outgroup homogeneity to ingroup and outgroup others. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 35*, 377-704.
- Koch, W. (2006, April 5, 2006). U.S. urged to apologize for 1930s deportations. *USA Today*.
- Kreindler, S. A. (2005). A dual group processes model of individual differences in prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology review, 9*(2), 90-107.
- Lee, Y. T., Ottati, V., & Hussain, I. (2001). Attitudes toward "illegal" immigration into the United States: California Proposition 187. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 23*(4), 430-443.
- Lowell, B. L., Teachman, J., & Jing, Z. (1995). Unintended consequences of immigration reform: Discrimination and Hispanic employment. *Demography, 32*(4), 617-628.
- Lu, L., & Nicholson-Crotty, S. (2010). Reassessing the impact of Hispanic stereotypes on White Americans immigration preferences. *Social Science Quarterly, 91*(5), 1312-1328.
- Macrae, C.N., & Bodenhausen, G.V. (2000). Social cognition: Thinking categorically about others. *Annual Reviews of Psychology, 51*, 93-120.

- Marin, G. (1984). Stereotyping Hispanics: The differential efficacy of research method, label and degree of contact. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 8, 17-27.
- Martinez, E. (2001). Seeing more than Black and White. In M. L. Anderson & P. H. Collins (Eds.), *Race, class and gender: an anthology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth publishing.
- Marques, J., Yzerbyt, V.Y., and Leyens, J.P. (1988). The “black sheep effect”: Extremity of judgments towards ingroup members as a function of group identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 18(1), 1-16.
- McCormack, A. S. (1995). The changing nature of racism on college campuses: study of discrimination at a northeastern public university. *College Student Journal*, 29(2), 150-156.
- Obama, B. (2011). Remarks by the President in State of the Union Address. *January, 27*, 200.
- Oboler, S. (1995). *Ethnic labels, Latino lives: identity and the politics of (re)presentation in the United States*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Pettigrew, T.F. (1982). *Prejudice*. Boston, Mass.: Harvard College Press.
- Plous, S. (2003). *Understanding prejudice and discrimination*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Power, J. G., Murphy, S. and Coover, G. (1996). Priming prejudice: How stereotypes and counter-stereotypes influence attribution of responsibility and credibility among ingroups and outgroups. *Human Communication Research* 23(1):36-58.

- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L., & Malle, B. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(4), 741-763.
- Quinton, W. J., Cowan, G., & Watson, B. D. (1996). Personality and attitudinal predictors of support of Proposition 187--California's anti-illegal immigrant initiative. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 26(24), 2204-2223.
- Ramirez, A. (1998). Racism toward Hispanics: The culturally monolithic society. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy* (pp. 137-157). New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Robbins, T. (2008, March 12, 2008). The man behind Arizona's toughest immigrant laws. *National Public Radio*.
- Rodriguez, L., Schwartz, S. J., & Whitbourne, S. K. (2010). American identity revisited: The relation between national, ethnic, and personal identity in a multiethnic sample of emerging adults. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 25(2), 324-349.
- Samora, J., & Simon, P. V. (1993). *A history of the Mexican-American People*. London: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1993). Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy. *The American Political Science Review*, 87(2), 334-347.
- Schwarz, N. and Bless, H. (1992). Constructing reality and its alternatives and inclusion-exclusion model of assimilation and contrast effects in social judgment. In *The construction of social judgment*. Martin, L.L. and Tesser, A. (Eds). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

- Sears, D. O. (1988). Symbolic Racism. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: profiles in controversy* (pp. 53-84). New York: Plenum Press.
- Shapiro, J.R., Mistler, S.A. and Neuberb, S.L., (2010). Threatened selves and differential prejudice expressions by white and black perceivers. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(2), 469-473.
- Short, R., & Magaña, L. (2002). Political rhetoric, immigration attitudes, and contemporary prejudice: A Mexican American dilemma. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 142(6), 701.
- Sibley, C. G., & Duckitt, J. (2008). Personality and prejudice: A meta-analysis and theoretical review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 12(3), 248-279.
- Sidanius, J., Liu, J. H., Shaw, J. S., & Pratto, F. (1994). Social dominance orientation, hierarchy attenuators and hierarchy enhancers: Social dominance theory and the criminal justice system. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 24(4), 338-366.
- Simon, B., Mlicki, P. Johnstong, L., Caetano, A., (1990). The effects of ingroup and outgroup favoritism, stereotyping and overestimation of relative ingroup size. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 20(6), 519-523.
- Sherman, J. W., Stroessner, S. J., Conrey, F. R., & Azam, O. A. (2005). Prejudice and stereotype maintenance processes: attention, attribution, and individuation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(4), 607.
- Smith, P. K., Dijksterhuis, A., & Chaiken, S. (2008). Subliminal exposures to faces and racial attitudes: Exposure to Whites makes Whites like Blacks less. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44, 50-64.

- Smurda, J. D., Wittig, M. A., & Gokalp, G. (2005). Effects of threat to a valued social identity on implicit self-esteem and discrimination. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 9 (2), 181-197.
- Social Contract Editors (2010). Arizona's SB 1070: Fact and fiction-a note from the editors. *The Social Contract Press*. 20(4). www.socialcontract.com.
- Spencer, S. J., Fein, S., Wolfe, C. T., Fong, C., & Dunn, M. A. (1998). Automatic activation of stereotypes: The role of self-image threat. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24, 1139-1152.
- Stangor, C. (2009). The study of stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination within social psychology. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* New York: Taylor & Francis
- Stephan, W.G., Diaz-Loving, R. & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31(2), 240-249.
- Stephan, W. S., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice towards immigrants. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 29, 2221-2237.
- Stephan, W. S., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C. M., Schwarzwald, J., & Tur-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(559-576).
- Stewart, D., & Houtt, T. (1959). A social-psychological theory of authoritarian personality. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 65(3), 274-279.
- Stone, W. F. (1980). The Myth of Left-Wing Authoritarianism. *Political Psychology*, 2(3), 3-19.

- Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. (2007). *Using Multivariate Statistics* (Fifth edition ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). *Social identity and intergroup behavior*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomsen, Lotte, Eva G. T. Green, and Jim Sidanius. 2008. We Will Hunt Them Down: How social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism fuel ethnic persecution of immigrants in fundamentally different ways. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 44: 1455–64.
- Wilder, D.A. (1981). Perceiving persons as a group: Effects on attributions of causality and belief. In *Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior*, (Ed) Hamilton, D.L., 213-58. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Wilson, T. C. (1996). Cohort and prejudice: Whites' attitudes toward Blacks, Hispanics, Jews and Asians. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60(2), 253-274.
- Wilson, J. P., & Hugenberg, K. (2010). When under threat, we all look the same: Distinctiveness threat induces ingroup homogeneity in face memory. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46, 1004-1010.
- Whitely, B. E., Jr. (1999). Right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(1), 126-134.
- Yankauer, A. (1987). Hispanic/Latino--what's in a name? *American Journal of Public Health*, 77(1).
- Zarate, M. A., Garcia, B., Garza, A. A., & Hitlan, R. T. (2004). Cultural threat and perceived realistic group conflict as dual predictors of prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40, 99-105.

Zarate, M. A., & Shaw, M. P. (2010). The role of cultural inertia in reactions to immigration on the U.S./Mexico border. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66(1), 45-5