Social factors influencing the immigration policy preferences of European Americans

by

Francine Segovia

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Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Denise J. Sekaquaptewa, Chair
Professor Silvia Pedraza
Professor Robert M. Sellers
Associate Professor Ramaswami Mahalingam

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mom, to my siblings, in order of birth order, Carla,

Frances, Mikey, Alberto, and Irene, my friends, my childhood teachers, and to my

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Figure

Abstract

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Francine Segovia

Chair: Denise Sekaquaptewa

Polemic debates among social and political scientists as to what drives Whites to favor certain policies and oppose others have suggested commitment to obedience principles and aversive racism theories (Dovidio, & Gaertner, 1996; Short, 2004). Commitment to obedience theory posits that White Americans are bothered by all illegal immigrants, regardless of nationality, because they broke the law to enter the U.S. Aversive racism theories, however, posit that use of issues of legality to explain anti-immigrant attitudes is a strategic technique to avoid being labeled racist. Study 1 uses an experimental design to manipulate the nationality (Mexican vs. Polish) and the legal status of the immigrant group that individuals bring to mind when thinking about immigrants and policy preferences. European American undergraduates (N=145) participated in this study. Hierarchical linear regression and simple-slope analyses showed that (1)high-commitment-to-the-law people are more anti-immigrant than low-commitment-to-the-law people ($\beta = -.14$, $p < .04$); (2) people were more anti-immigrant after seeing the picture of Mexicans ($\beta = .20$, $p < .001$); and (3) that the commitment-to-law theory is not supported, because those expected to respond negatively to illegal

immigrants regardless of nationality (high-commitment-to-the-law people) are actually

responding positively to illegal Polish immigrants (β = .39, p < .02).

In Study 1, when explicit racism was controlled for, immigrant nationality, in

conjunction with legal status and commitment to law, predicted immigration attitudes.

This suggests that other factors beyond people's explicit prejudiced attitudes may be

influencing their attitudes about immigration. It is possible that implicit prejudice, rather

than explicit racism, could be acting as this other factor. According to aversive racism

theory, people can hold implicit attitudes that are different from their explicitly stated

attitudes. Study 2 explored the possible additive or interactive effects of implicit racism

on explicit racism. It used a priming procedure introduced by Fazio, Sanbonmatsu,

Powell and Kardes (1986) for examining the automatic activation of attitudes on memory

to assess implicit racism. European American undergraduates (N=81) participated in this

study. In the first model, immigration policy attitudes were analyzed in a hierarchical

linear regression in which implicit racism (toward Latino males and female targets),

explicit racism and their two-way interaction were predictor variables. No significant

main effect of implicit racism or two-way interaction emerged, (β = -.04, p < .70). In the

second model, immigration policy attitudes were analyzed in a hierarchical linear

regression in which implicit racism regarding only female targets, explicit racism and

their two-way interaction were predictor variables. No significant main effect of implicit

racism or the two-way interaction emerged, (β = .13, p<.25). In the third model,

immigration policy attitudes were analyzed in a hierarchical linear regression in which

implicit racism regarding only male targets, explicit racism and their two-way interaction

were predictor variables. Simple slope analysis revealed that the immigration attitudes of

those high in implicit racism regarding male targets were more negative if they were also high in explicit racism ($ß = -.33, p < .03$), whereas the immigration attitudes of those low in implicit racism did not significantly differ depending on whether they were high or low in explicit prejudice ($ß = -.28, p = .055$). In other words, being high in both implicit and explicit racism predicted the most negative immigration policy attitudes, but being low in both implicit and explicit racism did not predict the most positive immigration policy attitudes. Together the two studies show that hidden themes can underlie people's feelings and willingness to support or participate in policies that might otherwise not seem to be related to diversity. These findings can be used to develop programs and guide language and themes as people seek to engage diverse communities.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The United States experienced a continuous rise in the number of immigrants in

the last decade. Between 1990 and 2000, the foreign-born population grew by more than

11 million. By 2006, estimates indicate that 37.5 million foreign-born residents were

living in the country accounting for nearly 12.5 percent of the population.[1] More than

half of these immigrants came to the U.S. in the nineties and their share in the population

is at an all-time high since the 1930's.

Debates over how best to handle this increasingly large immigrant population

reflect Americans' concerns about immigrants. Highlighted in these dialogues are

concerns over the necessity to decrease the number of immigrants already in the U.S.

along with the desire to more strictly secure the border between the U.S. and Mexico.

Policy makers have suggested a variety of possible solutions: more strictly enforcing the

borders, penalizing individuals who aid illegal immigrants, making illegal immigration a

crime, prohibiting public services to children of illegal immigrants, and strictly enforcing

legal-status verification through the creation of databases or new forms of identification

cards.

Public opinion on immigration policy varies and at times seems divided on how

best to handle immigration (Segovia & DeFever, in press). What drives the public to

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[1] Estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau (2006).

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favor certain policies and oppose others has produced polemic debates among social and political scientists. One key issue arising in these debates is whether and how race plays a role in shaping people's immigration policy attitudes. Because 80% of the illegal immigrant population is of Latino descent, the majority (56%) being from Mexico (Johnson, 1996), the concept of immigration may automatically bring to mind Latinos, and more specifically, Mexicans. Thus, researchers have proposed that racial attitudes, particularly those regarding Mexicans, may be influential in attitudes about immigration. In support of this, Jackson, Brown, Brown & Marks (2002) in a study of immigration policy attitudes, found that dominant member's self-reported racism towards outgroups contributed independently and significantly to immigration policy preferences. Therefore, it can be predicted that explicitly stated attitudes about Mexicans may be strong predictors of attitudes about immigration and immigration policies, as the concept of immigration is so closely connected with Mexicans as a social group.

Although there is a strong relationship between explicitly stated racial attitudes and immigration attitudes, research indicates that self-reports or explicit measures of racism may not always capture an individual's true attitudes. White people may be unwilling to express negative racial attitudes (i.e., racist attitudes) due to perceived social pressures to be non-prejudiced. Moreover recent research indicates that a new form of racism has evolved. This new form of racism manifests itself in a different manner for which measures of explicit racism may be problematic. Within psychology, racism has been divided into two broad categories. The first, has been referred to as the racism of the past; this is the "old racism," "old fashioned racism," "redneck racism," or "Jim Crow" racism (Henry & Sears, 2002). To mind may come images from the 1950's of signs

stating "colored people not allowed," or of the Ku Klux Klan. This is the type of racism that is poignantly vivid. It is an explicit type of racism that is expressed openly. And often times when people think of racism they think of this form of racism, one that is manifested in a very clear manner and in which the perpetrator without a doubt holds racially negative views towards people of other races which he/she can openly express. The few studies that have examined issues of racism in relation to immigration attitudes have tended to focus on this form of racism.

Recent research, however, indicates that among Whites, there now exists a new form of prejudice which embodies their negative feelings towards non-White historically stigmatized racial and ethnic group members. This new form of racism has been given different labels: symbolic racism (Sears, 1988), modern racism (McConahay, 1986), racial resentment (Kinder & Sanders, 1996), and subtle racism (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). These terms and their respective theories, by and large, share the primary supposition that this new form of prejudice embodies negative feelings towards historically stigmatized racial and ethnic groups. However, this negativity is expressed indirectly, based on a set of beliefs including the assertion that for minority groups discrimination is no longer a serious obstacle for upward social mobilization; that their continued societal disadvantage is due to their refusal to take responsibility for their lives. Because of this, it is believed that their continued anger regarding their treatment, the special attention given to them, and their demands for better treatment are not justified.

One form of "new racism" makes direct connections between racial attitudes and endorsement of social policies, while acknowledging current societal norm of egalitarianism. The theory of aversive racism specifies that many Whites today believe

that equal treatments of historically stigmatized groups is very important, i.e. they explicitly hold egalitarian values, but nevertheless have negative underlying attitudes towards these groups. As a consequence aversive racism manifests itself in ambiguous situations when bias against people of color can be justified in nonracial terms such as when voting on policies that will negatively affect groups of color (i.e. immigration laws, affirmative action policies). Making evaluative judgments on the issue of immigration may be seen as a situation in which one's negative attitudes toward immigrants can be expressed indirectly (i.e., in opposition to immigration). Therefore, aversive racism theory will be examined in this study (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996; Short, 2004; Short & Magana, 2002).

Also of interest is one widely studied, non-racial explanation for opposition to immigration, the commitment to legal obedience (Babocel, Hing, Davey, Stanley & Zanna, 1998; O. de la Garza, 2006). Commitment to legal obedience theory argues that the disproportionate amount of anti-immigrant sentiments towards particular stigmatized ethnic immigrant groups is merely a coincidence. Americans are bothered by illegal immigrants because they broke the law to enter the United States; nationality is irrelevant, it does not matter. Aversive racism theory, on the other hand, posits that using issues of legality to explain anti-immigrant attitudes is a strategic technique to avoid being labeled racist. For Americans bothered by illegal immigrants, nationality does matter, as prejudice toward non-European groups is indirectly expressed through anti-immigration attitudes. In the current research I examine these hypotheses in an attempt to

create a better understanding of the factors that influence immigrant policy preferences and attitudes beyond explicit racism.

Current political climate

The topic of immigration appears to be centered on the migration of Latinos to the U.S. In support of this, research indicates that the Americans most bothered by immigrants are native Whites[3] (Center for Immigration Studies, 2006) who are over-represented in the electoral pool. Current research also indicates that the Latino[4] community (Hispanic/Latino immigrants and non-immigrants) is disproportionately affected by immigration laws as compared to any other racial/ethnic or nationality group (Short & Magana, 2002; O. de la Garza, 2006). Native born Latinos have more favorable attitudes towards immigrants as compared to native Whites. Lastly, Latinos have low voter representation (Pew Research Center, 2005). Together these findings point to a phenomenon that is especially interesting and which some would consider troubling: Whites prefer, vote, and pass immigration initiatives which disproportionably affect the Latino community, and on which Latino opinions noticeably diverge from that of Whites (Pew Research Center, 2006). Thus, the current research is focused on the attitudes of native Whites toward Latino immigration.

The importance of the issue of Latino immigration to White Americans provides a unique and empirically ideal situation in which to examine or test the two previously mentioned major hypotheses social scientists believe help explain attitudes towards immigrants: the commitment to legal obedience and the aversive racism hypotheses.

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[3] In this paper, the use of the term "native" will be defined as born in the United States. The terms *White(s), native White(s)*, and *European American(s)* are used interchangeably in this paper.
[4] The terms Latino(s) and Hispanic(s) will be used interchangeably.

Specific to the immigration debate, the commitment to legal obedience hypothesis posits that if White American public opinion on illegal immigrants is driven by justice concerns, then immigrant nationality should not matter. One should expect that across different illegal immigrant groups (e.g., Mexican, Polish, etc.) attitudes towards illegal immigrants remain the same regardless of nationality. After all, from a strict justice perspective, all illegal immigrant groups tax American services and break the law to get into the country. European immigrant groups should be seen as negatively as non-European immigrant groups. The aversive racism hypothesis, on the other hand, posits that non-European groups will be viewed more negatively than European groups by White Americans. Across different illegal immigrant groups, attitudes towards illegal immigrants should vary as a function of nationality. White Americans will more likely harbor anti-immigrant attitudes when thinking of an illegal stigmatized group (e.g., Mexican illegal immigrants) than a non-stigmatized group (e.g., Polish illegal immigrants).

In the next sections, I describe in greater detail the two theories that have been proposed as explanations for immigration attitudes: commitment to legal obedience, and the aversive racism hypothesis.

Commitment to Legal Obedience: Immigrants and Crime

For some Americans, principles of justice impact immigration attitudes (Short, 2004). This is especially so for individuals high in commitment to legal obedience, an ideology that places great importance on following stated laws. People possessing this trait express dislike of illegal immigrants based on principles of legality. Legality arguments espoused by individuals high in commitment to legal obedience use

immigrant's contribution to increase in crime and immigrant illegal residency status as two fundamental reasons for anti-immigrant attitudes and policy preferences.

Individuals high in commitment to legal obedience make clear distinctions between law-breaking and law-abiding individuals (Bibler, 2005). According to strict law-breaking and law-abiding distinctions, illegal immigrants are criminals. By definition, a criminal is someone who breaks a law. Because immigrants broke U.S. immigration laws and entered the country illegally without following the appropriate legal procedures they engaged in criminal behavior and are therefore criminals. The categorization of illegal immigrants as law-breakers has led to their inclusion in the larger more general category of criminals.

For many, this line of reasoning is logical and follows principles of justice. This has led some Americans to believe that because illegal immigrants broke U.S. immigration law they are very likely to break other types of laws. The commitment to legal obedience explanation is often accepted by a general public that strongly believes in its validity. Pubic opinion research, for instance, indicates that about 7 in 10 Americans believe that illegal immigrants increase the amount of crime (Lapinski, Peltola, Shaw, & Yang, 1997). Consider the following individual's response to queries about illegal immigrants on immigration reform forums.

One individual categorizes illegal immigrants amongst several other types of dangerous and destructive criminals.

There comes a time in everyone's life where they have to decide... Which do you hate most?:
Illegal Immigrants
Evil people (Murder, rape, etc.)
Racist people (Like REALLY BAD people like Hitler)
People who spread diseases (Like AIDS or HIV)

7

All of the above
None of the above….
    Some other type of person
    I have to say illegal immigrants. They're ruining the USA…
    (Magyard, 2007)

    Another individual sees the crime of entering the country illegally as a gateway for participating in other unlawful activities

    We are Saying STAY OUT AND GET OUT ILLEGALS...which we have a right to do....respect our laws, heck if you can't respect those why would you respect any of our laws???? Don't make this a racist issue when it is a LAW BREAKING ISSUE! Deceivers always twist the FACTS...
    (Stymie, 2007)

Policies regarding punishment of illegal immigrant status additionally reflect commitment to legal obedience. Consider the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437). This law passed on December 16, 2005 in the House of Representatives. Also known as the "Sensenbrenner Bill" for its sponsor in the House of Representatives, the bill, among other things, would have made living illegally in the United States a felony, when it had previously only been a civil infraction. Proponents of this conservative law argued that illegal immigrants broke the law to get to the U.S. and thus should be punished.

 High commitment to legal obedience individuals offer immigrant residency status as the second issue of concern. These individuals argue that many immigrants are here illegally. Anti-immigrant attitudes come about precisely because of the illegal status of the individual's residency. This commitment to legal obedience explanation is often times supported and likely fueled by a general public that believes the majority of immigrants have entered the country illegally. In fact, in 2007 nearly 8 in 10 Americans reported believing that people who recently moved to the U.S. did so illegally (Segovia &

Defever, in press).   Poll data additionally supports this view; negative sentiment is directed primarily at illegal immigrants (Segovia & Defever, in press). It is apparently illegal, not legal, immigration that concerns Americans. Americans report that illegal immigration is a bigger problem (60%) for the U.S. as compared to legal (4%) immigration (Lapinski et al, 1997). For these two reasons, individuals high in commitment to legal obedience are more likely to have anti-illegal immigrant attitudes and support anti-illegal immigrant policies (Lee, Ottati & Hussain, 2001).

The argument of commitment to legal obedience is complicated by other findings that have shown the heightened concern between illegal immigration and crime to be inaccurate. There is much research to date that clearly illustrates the weak link between illegal immigrants and crime. For instance, research on crime in the late 20th century has consistently shown that despite the public rhetoric, immigrants have lower rates of involvement in criminal activity than natives (Moehling & Piehl, 2007). As Butcher and Piehl note (1997) appealing to the public's fears about criminal activity due to immigration has been a political strategy through which some critics have sought to curtail illegal immigration.

Bibler (2005) notes that immigration attitudes defined from a purely criminological obedience to law perspective fail to acknowledge the societal processes through which distinctions between legal and illegal behavior become confounded. She notes the following: *An analysis of undocumented immigrants' efforts to redefine themselves as legal residents highlights ways that the category of the criminal is rendered unstable, which suggests that logics of social control create opportunities to challenge exclusion, and shows how law and illegality are entangled* (p.2).

This has led some researchers to argue that the role of commitment to legal obedience is informative but limited (Bibler, 2005). This theory has been unable to fully explain away critiques that the labeling of immigrants who come to the U.S. illegally as criminals makes it easier to rally against ethnic groups without having to be labeled a racist. Indeed, Short & Magana (2002) brought forth aversive racism theories as an alternative and opposing theory for explaining anti-immigrant attitudes.

Aversive Racism

The commitment to legal obedience argument is weakened when considering Dovidio & Gaertner's (1996) notion of aversive racism. The fundamental premise of research in this area is that aversive racism exists among many Whites. Such individuals "consciously, explicitly, and sincerely support egalitarian principles and … believe themselves to be non-prejudiced [yet] harbor negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks and other historically disadvantaged groups*" (p. 25). These researchers contend that aversive racists will not discriminate in situations when it would be very obvious to others and to themselves that they discriminated against someone. In such blatant circumstances, aversive racists will be motivated to avoid "feelings, beliefs, and behaviors" that could be associated with racist intents. Aversive racists do discriminate but they do so in "subtle, indirect, and rationalized ways" (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996, p. 25). They do so in situations in which the normative structure is weak: when the guidelines for appropriate behavior are unclear or ambiguous. Aversive racists will discriminate especially when they can justify or rationalize a negative response on the.

basis of some factor other than race (e. g., a dislike for those who break the law).
Dovidio & Gaertner (1996) argue that under such circumstances aversive racists act in
ways that can be harmful to the other individual but they will only act in ways which can
allow them to justify their behavior while being sure to maintain their self-image as non-
prejudiced

Dovidio and colleagues (1996) additionally argue that aversive racism is
especially pertinent in the legal context because such contexts may offer nonracial
justifications for action. For instance, Babocel, et al. (1998) note that when matters of
race and ethnicity become entangled with political initiatives, opposition to them can give
individuals an opportunity to discriminate against specific populations. The authors note
that this may be so because such acts give individuals an opportunity to discriminate
against and put certain ethnic and racial group members at a disadvantage without having
to deal with the societal reprimands for being racists.

Research on aversive racism helps explain the belief that opposition to public
policies impacting the lives of disadvantaged racial and ethnic group members (e. g.,
affirmative action, bilingual education, immigration laws, etc.) may not be solely driven
by perceived justice; opposition to these policies may be a matter of rationalized
prejudice. A number of scholars noting a link between anti-immigrant and racist rhetoric
(Johnson, 1996) have argued that aversive racism applies to the immigration debate. The
debate on immigration has been described as an anti-Latino movement in which anti-
immigrant opponents have been denounced as racist (O. de la Garza, 2006).

There is a body of research supporting the idea that anti-immigration attitudes

may be a reflection of negative attitudes about Latinos. For instance, in his piece, *Fear of an 'Alien Nation': Race, Immigration, and Immigrants,* Johnson (1996) discusses the role of race in the immigration debates. He especially notes the manner in which certain immigration critics have singled out the Latino community as an all encompassing reference group, citizens as well as immigrants.

He notes that in immigration debates the term "Hispanic(s)" is consistently equated with immigrant(s) and immigration. This anti-Latino tilt gives rise to a concerned Latino community: Latinos, citizens and immigrants alike, are especially attentive to the immigration debates as immigration restrictions and increased enforcement measures disproportionably affect them (Johnson, 1996). Indeed Latino activists are especially vigilant of the immigration initiatives for fear that that such laws open the door to discrimination against groups of people considered to be foreign and different, a group among which Latinos are placed (Johnson, 1996). As it stands, the shaping of these discussions has led to an overall public perception of the immigration issue as intricately intertwined with perceptions of Latino immigration in particular.

Empirical research additionally provides support linking immigration attitudes to aversive racism. Short & Magana (2002), for instance, provide support for this hypothesis using an experimental design. Participants were administered 1 of 4 scenarios describing an illegal immigrant of Mexican vs. English Canadian descent and with or without several parking tickets. As predicted, and consistent with contemporary theories of aversive racism, participants indicated the greatest agreement with pejorative

immigration themes when the immigrant described was of Mexican descent and had accumulated parking tickets as compared to when the immigrant described was English Canadian and had accumulated parking tickets. Short and Magana (2002) argue that psychologically the parking tickets served as a non-ethnic rationale for discriminating against that ethnic group. If agreement with pejorative immigration themes had indeed simply been an issue against crime then there should have been no differences between the Mexican and the English Canadian crime scenarios. In other words, participants should have rated the Mexican and the English Canadian immigrants equally.

The strong association between the Latino community and the country's immigration issue has led pro-immigrant advocates to argue that immigration public policy orientations may not be solely driven by perceived justice. This observation has led some researchers, political strategists, and immigrant advocates (Short & Magana, 2002) to believe that attitudes toward immigration may not be completely explained by commitment to legal obedience because the concept of immigration is connected to Latinos in particular. When White Americans think of immigration, they tend to think particularly about Mexican immigrants who are here illegally. Thus, the presumed illegality of Mexican immigrants becomes a "non-racial" excuse to express negative attitudes about Latinos indirectly in the form of anti-immigration attitudes (Short & Magana, 2002). Thus, to the extent that people are not always able to or willing to admit negative racial attitudes, it becomes important to examine indirect expressions of racism.

Chapter 2

Study 1

The aversive racism and the commitment to legal obedience hypotheses predict different outcomes. From a strict legal obedience perspective, one could predict immigration attitudes based strictly on justice principles: legal immigration is good, illegal is bad (Short, 2004). In other words, immigration scenarios, especially those of illegal immigration status, violate commitment to legal obedience principles regardless of nationality. However, aversive racism perspectives predict that different groups are held in unequal esteem. Americans are more likely to harbor anti-immigrant attitudes towards illegal stigmatized immigrant group members (i.e. a Mexican American illegal immigrant) than non-stigmatized immigrant group members (i.e. a Polish illegal immigrant). Given previous findings demonstrating a correlation between explicit racism and immigration attitudes it is predicted that explicit racism towards Latinos will emerge as a significant predictor of immigration attitudes. When this influence is controlled for, however, we should still see an effect of race, to the extent that aversive racism plays a role. This study will examine the validity of these predictions.

Measuring Aversive Racism

In Study 1, the two hypotheses are examined in an experiment in which the legal status and nationality of the immigrant group are primed, and the effect of these factors on immigration attitudes is assessed.

14

Because research suggests an automatic link between the concepts of immigration and illegal Latino immigrants, it will be important in this study to assess immigration attitudes without redirecting respondents to a particular attitude object (e.g., illegal Polish immigrants). A priming procedure would be an efficient way to measure aversive racism as it would temporarily manipulate automatic associations of immigrant legal status and nationality. This will ensure that participants are made to think of legal Mexicans, illegal Mexicans, legal Polish, and illegal Polish immigrants rather then automatically thinking only about illegal Mexicans.

Furthermore, in examining aversive racism, when operationalizing how best to measure this variable, explicit measures of racial attitudes cannot be used. Aversive racists will not admit that they are racist, and as such to test such a variable the use of policy preference measures can be used to assist in examining such an attitude. In choosing certain policy preferences in particular ones that have become entangled with issues of race (i.e. immigration, bilingual programs, affirmative action laws, etc.) individuals can put a group at a disadvantage by arguing that their choices were based on political ideologies rather then issues of race.

It might indeed be that immigrant policy preferences are based on political ideologies, thus the priming procedure used in this first study is necessary. To test whether immigrant policy preferences are indeed due to racist attitudes, it is important to test participant preferences as a function of immigrant nationality group. Evidence of aversive racism will emerge if participants report positive immigrant policy preferences when considering European immigrants, but not when considering Mexican immigrants. Thus this priming technique is necessary in the measurement of this variable as it allows

one to examine if and how policy preferences vary as a function of these immigrant nationality groups. Unlike an explicit racism measure where participants would be clearly aware that they were answering questions regarding their racial beliefs and in which they would be able to tell that they were being asked whether their immigration policy preferences are dependent on the national origin of the immigrant group this priming procedure circumvents the necessity to directly ask participants questions in this manner.

The study's priming technique allows the researcher to manipulate the participant's current image of immigrant nationality and legality, allowing better understanding of how these factors contribute to immigrant policy preferences while reducing worry about issues of social desirability or participants discovering the purpose of the study, two methodological issues that would bias how participants respond. The priming technique allows an opportunity to tease apart beliefs about immigrants in regards to legality and race, promoting a more nuanced understanding of the conditions under which issues of legality and race contribute and interact with one another to influence immigrant policy preferences. By isolating the legal residency status and race of the immigrant group, the study provides empirical evidence of the validity of the racism and the legal theories regarding opinions on immigrants. In doing so the study provides documentation which can help provide a more accurate and nuanced view of opinions on immigrants and immigration policy preferences.

Study 1 will therefore use a priming manipulation in order to test the commitment to legal obedience hypothesis; if the commitment to legal obedience hypothesis is correct and American public opinion on illegal immigrants is driven by justice concerns, then immigrant nationality will not matter. Participants high on commitment to legal

obedience whether primed to think about Mexican or Polish immigrants will rate these two groups of immigrants equally showing low scores on the pro-immigrant policy preference scale if primed to think about illegal immigrants or high scores on this same scale when primed to think of legal immigrants. If the aversive racism hypothesis, on the other hand, is correct, non-European groups will be viewed more negatively regardless of whether these high commitment to legal obedience individuals were primed to think of either legal or illegal residency status immigrants. Those primed to think of Mexican as compared to Polish immigrants will show lower scores on the pro-immigrant policy preference scale.

Study 1 Method

Participants

One hundred and forty undergraduates of European American descent participated in this study in return for course credit. There were a total of 60 men and 62 women (no significant interactions with participant gender were observed). Participants ranged in age from 18-22 years of age ($M = 19.18$, $SD = 1.09$). Participants came from predominantly middle to upper income bracket families ($100,000 or more annual family income). The average level of schooling for participants' parents was "some college" to a "4-year college degree."

Measures

Commitment to Obedience to Law

Lee and Ottati's (2002) Commitment to Obedience to Law Scale (5 items) assessed participants' commitment to legal obedience. Participants responded on a 7 point

Likert scale anchored by 1 (*Strongly Disagree) and* 7 (*Strongly Agree)*. Higher scores reflect greater commitment to obedience to law. Sample items include "It is the duty of all citizens to follow the law, right or wrong" and "I am in favor of very strict enforcement of the law no matter what the consequences are." The five items formed a reliable scale, α = .89.

Explicit Measure of Racism

Henry and Sears' (2002) Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K; eight items) was used to measure participant racist attitudes toward individuals of Mexican descent. The original scale was created to assess attitudes towards Blacks in the United States. The scale was adapted to assess racist attitudes towards Mexicans/Mexican Americans. Participants responded on a 7 point Likert scale anchored by 1 (*Strongly Disagre*e) and 7 (*Strongly Agree)*. Sample items include "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Mexican Americans would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites," and "Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Mexican Americans should do the same." The eight items formed a reliable scale, α = .85.

Immigration Public Policy Questionnaire

Segovia and Defever's (in press) review of American public opinion on immigrants and immigration issues and policies was used to identify relevant policies on immigration. These immigration policies were used to create an 18 item measure assessing participants' immigration/immigrant policy preferences. Participants responded on a 7 point Likert scale anchored by 1 (*Do not at all favor* or *Do not at all support*) and 7 (*Very much favor* or *Very much support*). In the final scoring of the items, some items

were reverse coded to maintain a valence of disapproval or disfavor to approval or support for policies that benefited immigrants. Higher scores indicate support for policies that benefit immigrants. Sample items include "How strongly do you favor or oppose allowing children of immigrants who are in the U.S. to be permitted to attend public schools?" and "How strongly do you believe that a child born in the U.S. to immigrants should automatically be considered a U.S. citizen?" The eighteen items formed a reliable scale, $\alpha = .89$.

Design

The experiment took the form of a 2x2 between subjects design. Nationality of the immigrant group (Polish or Mexican) and immigrant residency status (legal or illegal status) served as the independent variables. The dependent variables were immigrant policy preferences.

Procedure

The study was conducted on-line. All survey materials were put on the UMlessons system. All participants saw the consent form, the questionnaire, and the debriefing sheet on a computer screen. Participants were told that the questionnaire was meant to assess their opinion on "modern social issues."

To prime immigrant legal status and immigrant nationality group, after reading the consent form on the first screen, participants were directed to one of four "test screens." The test screen served to prime immigrant legal status and nationality. The screen showed one of two photographs accompanied by one of two statements. To manipulate nationality, participants saw either a group of "Mexican" immigrants (four Hispanic adults, two men and two women) or a group of "Polish" immigrants (four

European American adults, two men and two women). Both photographs showed the group of adults sitting in what appears to be a waiting room. To manipulate immigrant legal status, each of the photos was accompanied by one of two captions: *Illegal [Mexican/Polish] immigrants awaiting deportation* or *Legal [Mexican/Polish] immigrants awaiting processing* (See figure 2.1)*.* Note that the policy questions on immigration did not make reference to any particular group or to the immigrants' legal status. Questions across conditions were identical.

Participants were led to believe that the purpose of the photos and captions shown on their screen was to "test" computer settings. The photo appeared on top of the screen, the caption was below it, and it was followed by a cover story. The cover story introduced the students to the photos with captions that read as follows: "Before you begin, we must take care of some technical issues. Screen images and text on this survey are from a Microsoft Windows XP PC computer running Mozilla Firefox 2.0.0.11. Because computer settings and browser settings can cause variations between images and fonts, we wanted to make sure you could see the images clearly on your screen. View the image and caption then answer the two questions below."

To ensure participants examined the photo and read the caption, participants were not allowed to continue onto the next screen until they answered two questions. The two questions, asked in a "true/false" format were as follows: "On my screen I feel I am able to clearly see the image" and "In the above image, the picture's corresponding caption [condition corresponding caption inserted here] appeared in bold."

Summary statistics were computed for all variables. Scores for the immigration public policy questionnaire ranged from 2.06 to 6.39 ($M = 4.44$, $SD = .92$). Commitment to obedience to law scores ranged from 1 to 7 ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.28$). Scores for the explicit racism scale ranged from 1 to 5.38 ($M = 3.18$, $SD = .99$). See table 2.1 for a summary of descriptive statistics.

Immigration policy attitudes were analyzed in a hierarchical linear regression analysis in which the immigrant race condition (Polish vs. Mexican), immigrant legality condition (legal vs. illegal), commitment to legal obedience, and their interactions were the predictor variables. Explicit racism scores were entered first as a covariate, to control for the expected effect of explicit racism.

Results of the hierarchical linear regression analysis showed that the covariate, explicit racism, was a significant predictor of immigration policy attitudes, ($\beta = -.61$, $p < .001$), such that support for immigration policies was reduced for participants high in explicit racism. A significant main effect of race condition emerged, ($\beta = -.20$, $p < .001$), such that support for immigration policies was reduced when participants were shown Mexican immigrants. A significant main effect of commitment to legal obedience emerged, ($\beta = -.14$, $p < .04$), such that support for immigrant policies was reduced for participants high in commitment to legal obedience. Immigrant legal status was not a significant predictor, ($\beta = .07$, $p > .28$). See table 2.2.

The interaction of immigrant legal status and commitment to legal obedience was statistically significant, ($\beta = -.13$, $p < .05$); no other significant two-way interactions emerged. Simple slope analysis revealed that individuals high in commitment to legal

obedience were more likely to favor pro-immigrant policies if they were primed to think about legal immigrants and less likely to be pro-immigrant if they were primed to think about illegal immigrants ($\beta = -.37$, $p < .002$). Immigration policy attitudes were not influenced by immigrant legal status among those low in commitment to legal obedience ($\beta = -.13$, $p < .32$). See table 2.3.

The three way interaction of immigrant nationality, immigrant legal status, and commitment to legal obedience was statistically significant, $\beta = .14$, $p < .05$). Simple slope analyses revealed that when primed to think about illegal immigrants, pro-immigrant policy preferences were preferred only for individuals high in commitment to legal obedience who were primed to think about Polish immigrants not Mexican immigrants ($\beta = .39$, $p < .02$). No significant effects emerged in the analysis for participants low in commitment to legal obedience. Simple slope analysis revealed that when primed to think about legal immigrants, pro-immigrant policy preferences were preferred only for individuals low in commitment to legal obedience who were primed to think about Polish, not Mexican immigrants, $\beta = .44$, $p < .01$; see table 2.4 and 2.5). No significant effects emerged in the analysis for participants high in commitment to legal obedience (see figures 2.2a and 2.2b).

Immigration policy attitudes were also analyzed in a hierarchical linear regression analysis in which explicit racist attitude scores and their interaction with immigrant race condition (Polish vs. Mexican) and immigrant legality condition (legal vs. illegal) were examined. Commitment to obedience to law scores were entered as a covariate. Results showed that the covariate was a significant predictor of immigration policy attitudes,

(β = -.19, p < .006), such that support for immigration policies was reduced for participants high in commitment to legal obedience. A significant main effect of race condition emerged, (β = -.21, p < .002), such that support for immigration policies was reduced when participants were shown Mexican immigrants. A significant main effect of explicit racist attitudes, (β = -.585, p < .000), such that support for immigrant policies was reduced for participants high in explicit racism. Immigrant legal status was not a significant predictor, (β = .057, p > .396). No significant two or three-way interactions emerged. See table 2.6.

Study 1 Discussion

The goal of study 1 was to examine attitudes toward immigration in accordance to two theories: commitment to legal obedience and aversive racism theory. If commitment to legal obedience explains anti-immigration attitudes, then people high in commitment to legal obedience should have had more negative immigration attitudes when primed to think about illegal immigrants regardless of the nationality of the immigrants. However, results showed that this was not so. People high in commitment to legal obedience were more anti-immigrant after seeing a picture of Mexican immigrants, regardless of whether they were described as legal or illegal. Thus, the commitment to legal obedience hypothesis was not supported because people high on this trait, those whom one would expect to respond negatively to illegal immigrants regardless of nationality, actually responded positively to illegal Polish immigrants.

In Study 1, explicit racism predicted immigration attitudes, consistent with previous findings. However, when the influence of explicit racism was accounted for, there was still an effect of immigrant nationality, such that, regardless of whether they held explicit negative racial attitudes or not, respondents reported more anti-immigration attitudes when primed with illegal Mexican as compared to illegal Polish immigrants. This suggests that people may respond differently to European and non-European immigrant groups regardless of their explicitly stated racial attitudes, evidence of aversive racism. In fact, in this study when explicit racism was controlled for, immigrant nationality, in conjunction with legal status and commitment to law, predicted immigration attitudes. This is consistent with aversive racist theory which postulates that regardless of what individuals report explicitly, they can still discriminate against another through a different form of racism. This is because aversive racism, unlike explicit racism, is manifested in an indirect manner.

Past research on aversive racism has shown that when it comes to policy, aversive racism is especially pertinent in legal settings because such contexts may offer non-racial justifications for discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996). Babocel et al. (1998), for instance, note that when matters of race and ethnicity become entangled with political initiatives, opposition to them can give individuals an opportunity to discriminate against specific populations. The authors note that this may be so because such acts give individuals an opportunity to discriminate against and put certain ethnic and racial group members at a disadvantage without having to deal with societal reprimands for being racists. As Short (2004) observes, opposition to public policies impacting the lives of certain racial and ethnic group members (e. g., affirmative action, bilingual education,

immigration laws, etc.) may not be solely driven by perceived justice. Opposition to certain policies may be a matter of rationalized prejudice.

Evidence of aversive racism emerged. Regardless of explicit racism, participant policy preferences varied as a function of the immigrant's nationality group. Participants high in commitment to law reported positive immigrant policy preferences when considering European immigrants, but not when considering Mexican immigrants. This was consistent with aversive racism theory which posits that using issues of legality to explain anti-immigrant attitudes is a strategic technique to avoid being labeled racist. As was evidenced individuals are bothered by illegal immigrants not just because they broke the law to enter the United States; nationality is relevant and it does matter. Study 1 provides evidence to indicate that other factors beyond people's explicit prejudiced attitudes can influence their attitudes about immigration.

While study 1 provides researchers with a clearer understanding of aversive racism's influence on immigration policy preferences, it was necessary to rely on a pattern of results providing suggestive evidence of this type of racism. However, new methods have been developed that have led researchers (Greenwald et al., 2003; Dovidio et al., 1996) to propose that aversive racists can now be identified by their pattern of showing strong implicit prejudice but weak explicit prejudice attitudes. Implicit attitudes, are defined as the positive or negative associations that are automatically and spontaneously activated in memory after perceiving some stimulus (Banaji & Greenwald, 1995). The area of social psychology known as *automaticity* examines the ways in which people process information about their social environment in a relatively nonconscious or unintentional fashion and the influence of that processing on their behavior (Bargh &

Pietromonaco, 1982; Bargh, 1994; Kunda, 2000). Many studies using implicit measures have found a pervasive and robust implicit favoritism for one's own groups and socially dominant groups, implicit negative bias attitudes towards minorities, dissociation between implicit and explicit cognitions, and the ability to predict behavior especially on issues related to minorities (Lane, Kang, & Banaji, 2007). This evidence indicates that thoughts, feelings, and actions can be shaped outside conscious awareness, control, and intention (Lane et al, 2007).

The work on implicit and explicit racism suggests that these two forms of prejudice tend to be weakly related to one another (Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton & Zanna, 2007; Fazio, 1990; Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler, 2000). In regards to socially sensitive issues, such as race, explicit and implicit attitudes can diverge. Banaji & Greenwald (1995) found no differences in implicit and explicit gender stereotyping between individuals high and low in this stereotype. Akrami, Ekehammar & Araya (2006) additionally found that explicit prejudice did not affect automatic stereotyping and prejudice. Devine (1989), additionally, found that participants rated African American targets in accordance with activated stereotypes regardless of their explicit racial prejudice level. Thus, people may be low in explicit and high in implicit prejudice. This particular combination, low explicit, high implicit racist attitudes is believed to reflect aversive racism, as although these are individuals profess being without prejudice, automatic measures indicate that they hold spontaneous generally negative stereotypes of particular groups.

Those studying policy have considered the relevance of implicit attitudes as a different measure through which to study aversive racism's influence on policy

preferences. In one such study, implicit associations indicated that conservatives showed higher levels of bias against gays, Blacks and Arabs than liberals (Vedantam, 2006). The bias predicted policy preferences on race-related issues such as affirmative action and racial profiling (Vedantam, 2006). Neither liberals nor conservatives reported any type of explicit bias, however, illustrating how explicit beliefs may be quite different from automatic, less conscious ones. Additionally, Ferguson (2008) showed that people's implicit attitudes toward the abstract concept of equality significantly predicted their degree of prejudice. In her study the individuals with the highest levels of implicit beliefs in equality were the individuals more likely to support a program known for helping the elderly. Research demonstrates that implicit attitudes apply to policy suggesting that implicit racial biases may play a role in positions that people feel they have arrived at after careful consideration (Ferguson, 2008).

Target gender as an influence on prejudiced attitudes

Racial attitudes may additionally be influenced by target factors such as gender. Past research has indicated that both women and men tend to evaluate women more favorably than men, a phenomenon known as the "women are wonderful" effect (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). If women are evaluated more favorably in general than men, it seems likely that stereotypes about racial groups may be more negative for male than female targets. Haley, Sidanius, Lowery & Malamuth (2004), for instance, found that discrimination against arbitrary-set groups (e.g., ethnic groups, national groups) was primarily directed at men rather than women within those groups. In their study, neither Black nor White respondents showed ingroup bias following female primes; bias only emerged following male primes. This work suggests that perceptions of Latinos may be

27

more negative regarding Latino males versus females. In light of this work, study 2 will examine implicit attitudes toward men and women separately.

Study 1 showed that explicit attitudes have a strong relationship to immigration attitudes. Study 2 will examine the relationship between implicit and explicit racism as predictors of immigration attitudes. It is predicted that the relationship between explicit racism and immigrant policy preferences is moderated by level of implicit attitudes. This can emerge as two additive effects, as having both implicit and explicit racism predicts more negative immigration attitudes than having only one form of racism; being low in both forms of prejudice should predict the most pro-immigration attitudes (see table 2.2). Alternatively, explicit and implicit racism may have a multiplicative effect, or interaction, wherein those with very negative explicit racial attitudes (high explicit) are least likely to be affected by their implicit attitudes, while those who do not explicitly report racist attitudes yet show evidence of implicit racism (aversive racists), may show more negative immigration attitudes than those who are low in both implicit and explicit racism (see table 2.3).

Chapter 3

Study 2 Method

Participants

Eighty-one undergraduates of European American descent participated in this study in return for course credit. There were a total of 37 men and 44 women (no significant interactions with participant gender were observed). Approximately 90% of the participants were between the ages of 18 to 20; the remaining 10% were between 21-23 ($M = 19.18$, $SD = 1.09$). Participants came from predominantly middle to upper income bracket families ($150,000 or more annual family income). The average level of schooling for participants' parents was college graduate to having a post-graduate training or professional schooling (e.g. Master's, Ph.D., law or medical school).

Measures

Explicit Measure of Racism

Henry and Sears' (2002) Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K) was used, as in Experiment 1. Unlike experiment 1 in which attitudes towards Mexican Americans were assessed, in this experiment, participants were asked to report their attitudes towards Latinos/Hispanics. This measure used Latinos as a target group to match the implicit measure, which presented faces of Latino origin, not specifically of Mexican origin. Therefore in this study pictures of Latinos were used instead of pictures of Mexican Americans.

Sample items included "Generations of discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Latinos/Hispanics to work their way out of the lower class" and "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Latinos/Hispanics would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites." The eight items again formed a reliable scale, α = .83.

Immigration Public Policy Questionnaire

The immigration policy scale, based on Segovia and Defever's (in press) review of immigration public opinion, was used as in Experiment 1. The twenty four items again formed a reliable scale, α = .87.

Implicit Racism Measure

A procedure introduced by Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell and Kardes (1986) for examining the automatic activation of attitudes on memory was used to assess implicit racism. The procedure involves priming and permits assessment of the extent to which the presentation of an attitude object automatically activates an associated evaluation from memory. On each trial, the prime that is presented is the name or a picture of an attitude object. Traditionally, its presentation is followed by the display of a positive or negative evaluative adjective. The participants' task is to indicate the connotation of the target word as quickly as possible: Is the attitude object "good" or "bad?" The latency (response time) with which this judgment is made constitutes the dependent measure. Quicker response times indicate facilitated associations. In other words, if an individual sees an attitude object that is evaluated negatively by the individual (e.g., a gun), researchers posit that this object automatically activates a negative evaluation. If the participant is then exposed to a target adjective that is also considered negative (e. g.,

"horrible") then the individual is more quickly able to categorize the target adjective as bad. Hence, the previously presented "attitude object" facilitates responding to the presented "target adjective".

Fazio et al.'s (1986) procedure was modified for use in the present study. In accordance with Fazio's procedure positive and negative stereotypes of the target ethnic group in question (i.e. Latinos) were used to assess the extent to which these stereotypic attributes are automatically activated by exposure to Latino as compared to White faces. Participants were exposed to two different types of Latino related stereotypes: positive (e.g., "ambitious") and negative (e.g., "dirty") stereotypes presented as negative or positive "target words." The words were paired with photographs of faces of Latino and White individuals (photographs of Black and Asian faces were included as fillers to distract participants from focusing on Latinos.) 120 photographs of White, Latino, Black and Asian males and females were used. Photographs were collected from high school yearbooks, scanned, and digitized as 256-color, 640x480 resolution image files. Due to the fact that ethnicities vary in phenotype (Segovia, 2006), the photos of the groups of interest (i.e. Latino and Whites) were pilot-tested for ethnic group appearance typicality.

Procedures used to assess implicit attitudes towards Latinos/Hispanics were consistent with Fazio et al.'s (1986) five-step procedure. E-prime software was used to present the materials on computer. The five-step procedure was as follows:
Phase 1: Participants categorized words as positive or negative. The words were selected to be stereotypic of Latinos. A row of asterisks appeared before each word and served as a warning sign that the target adjective was about to appear. Participants were asked to

press a key labeled positive or negative as quickly as possible to indicate their judgment of each word.

Phase 2: The second and third phases were presented to participants as face learning and detection tasks. Their task was to attend to the faces (targets) presented on the computer screen. They were told that they were going to need to remember the faces in the next task. Participants viewed 120 photographs of Latino and White faces, 50% of which were male.

Phase 3: The third phase involved a recognition task. The photographs from phase 2 were presented in the third phase. Participants were informed that their task was to specify if they had previously seen the picture. They were asked to press the key labeled "yes" if they had seen it or "no" if they had not. Each face remained on the screen for a maximum of 5 seconds with a 2.5 second interval separation between each picture. Students were asked to make judgments for 32 faces, 16 "target" faces that had appeared in phase 2 and 16 filler faces which students had not previously seen.

Phase 4: The fourth task was the actual priming task. Participants were informed that the previous tasks would now be combined. They were led to believe that this task involved remembering faces while simultaneously categorizing words. Students were asked to attend to the faces because they would be presented later and would need to specify whether they had previously seen the face or not. The row of asterisks in this task was replaced by 48 colored photographs. The photos served as the primes. Each picture prime was presented for 315 ms followed by a 135 ms interval before the onset of the target adjective; 2.5s intervals separated each trial, consistent with Fazio et al. (1986). The interval between prime onset and target onset, stimulus onset, was 450 ms.

After an initial practice block involving different faces and words, four blocks of critical trials were presented. Each block consisted of 48 trials in which each of the primes appeared once, followed by one of the 24 target words. Over the course of the four blocks, each prime (face) was paired with two positive and two negative stereotype words. Each Latino face and each "other" face were randomly paired with a same-sex White face. The paired faces followed identical sets of stereotype-target adjectives. Trials involving the 12 matched pairs of Latino and White faces constituted the actual trials of the experiment. The trials involving the 12 "other" faces and their 12 matched White faces served as fillers. These trials were included to reduce the overall proportion of Latino faces to which the participants were exposed and thus minimized the likelihood that participants would become aware that the race of the person shown in the photograph was of interest.

Phase 5: Because students were led to believe that they would perform a detection task after the presentation of the pictures in phase 4, they were informed that this phase of the experiment involved remembering whether they had previously seen the photograph. Participants were exposed to the 48 photos they had been exposed to in the priming task along with another 48 photos not previously viewed. Students were then asked to press the key labeled "yes" if they had previously seen it or to press the key labeled "no" if they had not. The prime was presented for 315ms followed by a 135 ms interval before the onset of the target adjective. A 2.5s interval separated each trial. The reaction time component, the modern racism scale, and the public policy preference questionnaire were counterbalanced.

Study 2 Results

In this study the general pattern of facilitation scores were analyzed for evidence of implicit racism within the sample. An individual index of implicit racism for each participant was then created.

Computing facilitation scores

Participant baseline latency scores (reaction times) for each word was computed from the average of the presentations of the words during the initial asterisk task. The reaction time for any given target word when preceded by a given face was subtracted from the baseline for that word to arrive at a facilitation score. Average facilitation scores on the list of positive and negative words were computed for each face. For each student, mean facilitation scores on the two different types of words were computed within each cell for the (Race of face) X (Sex of face) design.

Computing individual implicit racism scores

To examine the relationship between immigration policy attitudes and implicit racism facilitation scores, Fazio et al.'s procedure for computing a single index served as an estimate of each participant's level of implicit racist attitudes towards Latinos. The multiple observations available for each student (i.e., facilitation data for White faces and Latino faces), were used to examine the Race of Photo X Type of Word interaction for each participant. The effect size of this interaction for each student was computed and used as the estimate of the student's level of implicit attitudes towards Latinos. To do this, as noted in Rosenthal's article (1991) (1) researchers computed the difference between the average facilitation scores for negative and positive words. In addition, the difference of the average facilitation score for the negative and positive word (i.e. asterisks) for each

face were computed, (2) a pairwise *t* test comparing the difference scores for the White

faces and their matched Latino counterparts were then computed, (3) *t* values were

transformed to a correlation coefficient, and (4) for the last transformation the coefficient

in step 3 was transformed using Fisher's r-to-z transformation. This resulted in a score for

each participant in which higher scores reflected a pattern of facilitation indicating

greater facilitation of negative associations linked to Latinos.

Descriptives

See table 3.1 through 3.2 for means and standard deviations of measured variables.

Findings

Analyses of overall patterns of facilitation in the sample.

A 2 (stereotypic trait word valence)X2(target gender)X2(target ethnicity) within

subjects ANOVA was conducted on participants' reaction time to White and Latino

pictures paired with stereotypic trait words. Main effects for trait word, $F(1, 80) = 37.80$,

$p < .00$ and target ethnicity $F(1, 80) = 6.17$, $p < .02$, emerged. No significant main effect

occurred for target gender. A two-way interaction emerged between target gender and

trait word valence, $F(1, 80) = 4.30$, $p < .04$. Contrast analyses showed that response

times for female faces were faster for positive trait words (both Latino and White faces)

($M = 65.0062$ ms) than for negative trait words ($M = 136.25$ ms), $F(1, 80) = 7.53$, p <

.007. Similarly, response times for male faces were faster for positive trait words (both

Latino and White faces) ($M = 58.42$ ms) than for negative trait words (202.24 ms), F(1,

80)=37.61, p < .000. In addition, a two-way interaction emerged between target gender

and ethnicity, $F (1, 80) = 6.86$, $p < .01$. Contrast analyses showed that average response

times for Latino male faces ($M = 113.24$ ms) (both negative and positive words) were

faster than for White male faces (M = 147.41 ms), F (1, 80) = 10.16, p < .002. Response times were not significantly different for Latina faces (both negative and positive traits words) (M = 99.30 ms) as compared to White women faces (M = 101.96 ms) (both negative and positive trait words), F(1, 80) = .10, p < .74. No other significant two-way or three way interactions emerged (F(1, 80) = 6.86, p > .84). Thus, the predicted three-way interaction between trait word valence, target gender and ethnicity did not emerge.

Analyses of total implicit racist attitude scores (male and female targets combined)

In the first model, immigration policy attitudes were analyzed in a hierarchical linear regression in which implicit racism, explicit racism and their two-way interaction were predictor variables. A significant main effect of explicit racism emerged, (ß = -.30, p < .01) such that support for immigration policies was reduced for participants high in explicit racism. No significant main effect of implicit racism or two-way interaction emerged, (ß = -.04, p < .70). See table. 3.3.

Analyses of implicit racist attitude scores regarding only female targets

In the second model, immigration policy attitudes were analyzed in a hierarchical linear regression in which implicit racism regarding only female targets, explicit racism and their two-way interaction were predictor variables. A significant main effect of explicit racism emerged (ß = -.34, p<.003) such that support for immigration policies was reduced for participants high in explicit racism. No significant main effect of implicit racism or the two-way interaction emerged, (ß = .13, p < .25). See table 3.4.

<u>Analyses of implicit racist attitude scores regarding only male targets</u>

In the third model, immigration policy attitudes were analyzed in a hierarchical linear regression in which implicit racism regarding only male targets, explicit racism and their two-way interaction were predictor variables. A significant main effect of explicit racism emerged ($\beta = -.33$, $p < .002$) such that support for immigration policies was reduced for participants high in explicit racism. See table 3.5 and table 3.6.

The two way interaction of implicit racism regarding male targets and explicit racism was statistically significant ($\beta = .22$, $p < .04$). Simple slope analysis revealed that the immigration attitudes of those high in implicit racism regarding male targets were more negative if they were also high in explicit racism ($\beta = -.33$, $p < .03$), whereas the immigration attitudes of those low in implicit racism did not significantly differ depending on whether they were high or low in explicit prejudice ($\beta = -.28$, $p = .055$). In other words, being high in both implicit and explicit racism predicted the most negative immigration policy attitudes, but being low in both implicit and explicit racism did not predict the most positive immigration policy attitudes (see table 3.7.; figure 3.3).

<u>Correlations between variables</u>

The zero-order correlation analysis indicated that total implicit racism was correlated with implicit racism towards men and implicit racism towards women, however the latter two forms of racism are not correlated with one another. Explicit racism was negatively correlated with immigration attitudes. No other significant correlations emerged (see table 3.8).

<u>Study 2 Discussion</u>

The predicted three-way interaction between trait word valence, target gender and ethnicity did not emerge. Response times were not significantly different for Latino faces as compared to White. This was inconsistent with Fazio et al.'s (1996) previous findings that showed significantly shorter response times for Black faces as compared to White faces, indicative of a negative attitude towards Blacks. It is not entirely clear why similar findings confirming the emergence of implicit racism towards Latinos did not emerge. However, it might be that the participants in this study, many of them from Midwestern states and middle to upper class communities, simply are not as familiar with negative attitudes towards Latinos whom represent a small fraction of the community of color in these areas and whom tend to live in lower-income communities (Aponte & Marcelo, 1994), as they may be of stereotypes towards Blacks, a group whom historically has represented a larger portion of the community of color.

It was expected that the relationship between explicit racism and immigrant policy preferences would be moderated by level of implicit attitudes emerging as either one of two different types of additive effects. Either having both implicit and explicit racism predicts more negative immigration attitudes than having only one form of racism; being low in both forms of prejudice should predict the most pro-immigration attitudes. Alternatively, it may be a second type of additive effect wherein those with very negative explicit racial attitudes (high explicit) are least likely to be affected by their implicit attitudes, while those who do not explicitly report racist attitudes yet show evidence of implicit racism (aversive racists) may show more negative immigration attitudes than those who are low in both implicit and explicit racism

38

Results indicate the emergence of a partial additive effect, such that people high on both implicit racism (regarding male targets) and explicit racism reported the lowest support for pro-immigrant attitudes. People low on both implicit and explicit racism, however, did not report the highest pro-immigrant attitudes. People low on both implicit and explicit racism were just as likely to report pro-immigrant attitudes as people low on explicit but high on implicit racism. This indicates that implicit racism does not appear to significantly decrease pro-immigrant scores; in fact it appears they are not affected. The interactive effect found did not support predictions derived from aversive racism theory, which would have predicted more negative immigration attitudes among those who do not explicitly report racist attitudes yet harbor implicit racism toward Latinos compared to those who do not. Rather, the results suggest that being without implicit prejudice attenuates the relationship between explicit racism and immigration attitudes.

The results bring forth an issue of interest regarding the unique effect of how racial attitudes work to influence people's immigrant policy preferences. If people are willing to report explicit racist attitudes, these attitudes are likely to be strong and to be strongly correlated with immigrant policy preferences, as in Study 1. Study 2 furthers our understanding of this finding by showing that being high in implicit and explicit racist attitudes predicts high levels of support for anti-immigrant policy preferences. Implicit racial attitudes, however, appear to have no such effect on low explicit racism as support for immigrant policies was equal to that of people low on explicit but high on implicit racism.

These outcomes only emerged for Latino male targets but not for Latina targets nor for a combination the male and female targets. This is consistent with previous work such as Haley et al. (2004), for instance, that found discrimination against arbitrary-set groups (e.g., ethnic groups, national groups) to be primarily directed at men rather than women within those groups. This study suggests that perceptions of Latinos may be more negative regarding Latino males.

Chapter 4

General Discussion

What drives the public to favor certain policies and oppose others has produced polemic debates among social and political scientists. The current research addressed two of the major hypotheses proposed in these discussions: first, commitment to legal obedience and second, aversive racism theory. The commitment to legal obedience hypothesis explains White American public opinion on illegal immigration as a factor driven by justice concerns. Immigrant nationality does not matter. According to this theory, one should have expected that across different illegal immigrant groups (e.g., Mexican, Polish, etc.) attitudes towards illegal immigrants should have remained the same regardless of nationality. The aversive racism hypothesis, on the other hand, explains immigration preferences as a factor driven by issues of racial prejudice such that non-European groups are viewed more negatively than European groups by White Americans. Accordingly, White Americans should have harbored anti-immigrant attitudes when thinking of an illegal stigmatized group (e.g., Mexican illegal immigrants) but not a non-stigmatized group (e.g., Polish illegal immigrants), as an indirect expression of their underlying prejudice toward the stigmatized group.

The current study provides documentation that helps us understand the role of commitment to law and racist attitudes and in so doing provides a more accurate and nuanced view of opinions on immigrants and immigration policy preferences. If

commitment to legal obedience explains anti-immigration attitudes, then people high in commitment to legal obedience should have had more negative immigration attitudes when primed with illegal immigrants regardless of the nationality of the immigrants. However, results showed that this was not so. People high in commitment to legal obedience were more anti-immigrant after seeing a picture of Mexican immigrants, regardless of whether they were described as legal or illegal. Thus, the commitment to legal obedience hypothesis was not supported because people high on this trait, those whom one would expect to respond negatively to illegal immigrants regardless of nationality, actually responded positively to illegal Polish immigrants.

In Study 1, explicit racism predicted immigration attitudes, consistent with previous findings. However, when the influence of explicit racism was accounted for, there was still an effect of immigrant nationality, such that, regardless of whether they held explicit negative racial attitudes or not, respondents reported more anti-immigration attitudes when primed with illegal Mexican than illegal Polish immigrants. This suggests that people may respond differently to European and non-European immigrant groups regardless of their explicitly stated racial attitudes. In fact, in this study when explicit racism was controlled for, immigrant nationality, in conjunction with legal status and commitment to law, predicted immigration attitudes. Thus, it appears that other factors beyond people's explicit prejudiced attitudes may be influencing their attitudes about immigration.

Study one's findings suggest that the prejudice an individual harbors and for which he/she may not be aware of could very well contribute to immigration attitudes. As a result, implicit prejudice, measured through automatic techniques, was examined to

determine whether this form of racism contributes to immigration attitudes. It was expected that the relationship between explicit racism and immigrant policy preferences would be moderated by level of implicit attitudes emerging as an additive effect. Results, however, indicate only the emergence of a partial additive effect, such that people high on both implicit racism (regarding male targets) and explicit racism reported the lowest support for pro-immigrant attitudes. People low on both implicit and explicit racism, however, did not report the highest pro-immigrant attitudes. People low on both implicit and explicit racism were just as likely to report pro-immigrant attitudes as people low on explicit but high on implicit racism. This indicates that implicit racism does not appear to significantly decrease pro-immigrant scores; in fact it appears they are not affected. The additive effect found did not support predictions derived from aversive racism theory, which would have predicted more negative immigration attitudes among those who do not explicitly report racist attitudes yet harbor implicit racism toward Latinos compared to those who do not. The results suggest that being without implicit prejudice attenuates the relationship between explicit racism and immigration attitudes.

The two studies highlight an issue of interest regarding the unique effect of how racial attitudes work to influence people's immigrant policy preferences. If people are willing to report explicit racist attitudes, these attitudes are likely to be strong and to be strongly correlated with immigrant policy preferences, as was shown in Study 1. Study 2 additionally furthered our understanding of this finding by showing that being high in implicit and explicit racist attitudes predicts high levels of support for anti-immigrant policy preferences. Implicit racial attitudes, however, appear to have no such effect on low explicit racism as support for immigrant policies was equal to that of people low on

43

explicit but high on implicit racism.   Both studies provide evidence that racism can play a role in immigration policy preferences.

General Discussion

Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration and specifically immigration policy preferences have brought about a series of explanations for explaining these choices. Because the issue of immigration is so closely tied to Latinos often times explanations used to explain these choices have been surrounded by much controversy. Whether people explain their immigration policy preferences as a function of commitment to legal obedience principles, a rational, logical non-racial explanation, or whether they do so based on racist attitudes towards Latinos is an inflammatory issue that has permeated the already polemic immigration public debates.

The two studies presented in this paper contribute to our understanding of this debate in that they provide a more informative way to view the issue of racism as it is related to immigration policy preferences. It turns out that neither one is completely wrong, but too that neither one explanation is completely right either. Instead it appears that the factors that contribute to opinions on immigrants and the policies that affect them cannot so easily be explained solely by the commitment to legal obedience principle or solely by the aversive racism theory, but rather by both. In other words both the aversive racism and the commitment to legal obedience explanations are partially correct, illustrating the multitude of factors that can contribute to the perception of immigrants and immigration policy preferences. Factors contributing to policies towards immigrants are complex and involve both issues of legality and issues of race. In accordance with the aversive racism theory, the study indicates that nationality of the immigrant group and

44

racist beliefs about Mexican Americans do contribute to immigrant policy preferences. However, the race of the immigrant group, whether it be a historically stigmatized or non-stigmatized immigrant group, matters only when also considering personal commitment to legal obedience to the law and immigrant legal status. Similarly in accordance with the obedience to the law theory, issues of legality do matter. Personal commitment to the law does contribute to an individual's immigrant policy preferences. However, in regards to immigrant legal status, whether the immigrant is in the U.S. legally or illegally, matters only when also considering the nationality of the immigrant group, after controlling for racist beliefs.

Study 1 contributes to the current literature on immigrants in that it moves away from the examination of this population as a homogenized group and examines the function of race and immigrant residency status. The study's priming technique allows for the researcher to manipulate the participant's current image of immigrant nationality and legality, allowing one to better understand how these factors contribute to immigrant policy preferences without having to worry about issues of social desirability or participants discovering the purpose of the study, two methodological issues that can influence how participants respond. It is able to tease apart beliefs on immigrants in regards to legality and race allowing a more nuanced understanding of the conditions under which issues of legality and race contribute and interact with one another to influence immigrant policy preferences. By isolating the legal residency status and race of the immigrant group, the study provides empirical evidence to examine the validity of the racism and the legal theories regarding opinions on immigrants. In doing so the study provides documentation which can help provide a more accurate and nuanced view of

45

opinions on immigrants and immigration. Its findings suggest that a fusion of the aversive racism and commitment to the obedience to the law theory would serve as a more accurate explanation when attempting to understand immigrant policy preferences.

By using automatic measures in the second study such an approach is better able to help us understand how different manifestations of racism, here being implicit racism, is additionally related to immigrant policy preferences. An implicit racism measurement technique may be a more sensitive assessment for measuring racism. The explicitness of the measure used in the current literature to assess participants' racial attitudes as they are related to immigration policy preferences may produce social desirability issues, driving participants to be less accurate in their reports. Fear of being labeled a racist and an attempt to be politically correct may produce inaccurate and skewed responses or less extreme results. The second study is unique among its kind within the current work on this topic in that it circumvents these limitations with its use of automaticity measures. The findings of this study demonstrate the robust nature of the relationship between racial attitudes and immigrant policy preferences. This was evidenced by the partial additive effect which indicated that in certain situations implicitly racist beliefs can influence people's immigrant policy preferences. This finding in particular supplements the findings in the first study in that it provides us with further evidence that racist attitudes, whether they be explicit or implicit, can influence and be useful variables used to create statistical models for predicting immigration policy preferences. Putting together study one's priming technique and study two's use of an automaticity method provides us with information on immigrant policy preferences not available to researchers who only use survey data.

There are a number of strengths and limitations to consider. First, the current study provides us with a better understanding of the accuracy of the commitment to legal obedience and aversive racism theory for explaining immigrant attitudes. It is important to recognize that there are a number of theories that have been proposed to explain attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policy preferences. Included among them are personality characteristics specifically authoritarian personality (Rickert, 1998), background characteristics such as political ideology and party (Chandler & Tsai, 2001), economic concern (Huddle, 1993; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2002; Lee, & Ottati, 2002), social dominance orientation (Esses et al., 2002; Pratto et. al, 1994), and in-group-out-group bias (Lee & Ottati, 2002), and as examined within this study commitment to legal obedience and aversive racism. In examining the latter two theories without fully controlling for these other possible explaining factors, it is impossible to tell to what extent these other factors may have contributed to the participants' reported immigrant attitudes. Future research should take into account these individual differences in personality.

A strength of study one is its experimental approach, a technique not traditionally used in the study of immigration policy preferences and immigration attitudes. Thus the study provides researchers with a different way to examine immigration policy attitudes not available to researchers using only a survey approach. Related to the experimental aspect of the study is its priming technique traditionally used to effectively manipulate the attitude objects participants bring to mind. Efforts were made to ensure that students were all exposed to the prime in order to ensure that they were aware of the two different

immigrant groups (i.e. Polish and Mexican) and to ensure that they were made to think about these groups' legal status; however whether the prime actually worked in making respondents think about the group and legal status is difficult to tell with full certainty as a thorough manipulation check was not included in the study. Although study one does have a number of limitations, it should be viewed as a first step and initial approach to examining the validity of these academic theories for viewing real world immigration policies using a non-survey approach.

The second study also examined immigration policy preferences using automaticity techniques which few, if any, previous studies have used to examine immigration policy preferences. The study followed Fazio's procedure and to that extent was able to approach the topic using a procedure that has been validated through its use in other studies. The study, however, was limited in terms of its participant demographics, and therefore, like the first study, was restricted in its ability to generalize to the rest of the population. This study's participants were all college students that came from a very specific social class (i.e. an upper to middle class income and well educated strata). In addition, given the university's locations and geographic diversity, the studies had an overwhelming majority of participants from the Midwest. The extent to which the conclusions of the study can be generalized to other social classes and geographically different populations is limited. As with study 1, however, study 2 is among the first of its kind to approach the topic of immigration policy preferences using such techniques and as such should be seen as an initial step towards a better understanding of this phenomenon.

Implications

Study 1

Commitment to legal obedience

That personal beliefs influence how people vote is not necessarily a surprise but that immigrant policy preferences are not driven solely by legality concerns nor solely by explicitly racist beliefs is informative. Of importance is the specific manner in which the variables combine and interact with one another. This study illustrates that a good model for explaining immigrant policy preferences must take into consideration commitment to legal obedience's interaction with nationality of the immigrant group and explicit racism. In fact, in this study, it was only this specific combination that produced the conditions under which these variables influence immigration policy preferences. That no significant interactions emerge when examining explicit racist attitudes' interaction with legal residency of the immigrant group and nationality of the immigrant group after controlling for commitment to legal obedience indicates that only under certain conditions do these variables interact and predict immigrant policy preferences. In fact only when considering the interaction between personal commitment to obedience to the law and its interaction with immigrant nationality after controlling for explicitly reported racist beliefs does low support for policies that benefit immigrants emerge.

This finding can assist researchers in understanding the social tension, conflict, and interactions which arise between immigrant and immigrant advocate communities and their opponents. And it may shed some light in our understanding of certain immigrant related phenomenon like the Minutemen, a group of citizen volunteers whose

49

frustration with the government's inability to properly secure the borders have driven them to take arms and travel to border sites to patrol the U.S./Mexico border in order to personally deter, detain, and apprehend immigrants who are attempting to come across the U.S./Mexico border illegally (Lapinski, et al., 1997). There is no doubt that commitment to legal obedience, especially regarding immigration laws, is of great importance to these individuals. This study, however, suggests that concern over immigrants' lack of legal permission to enter the U.S may not solely be explained by personal commitment to legal obedience principles but that nationality of the group matters and that racists beliefs regarding Mexican/Mexican Americans must be additionally considered.

Race and racism

Precarious and socially volatile situations can occur when commitment to the law enforcers additionally possess racist beliefs towards Mexican immigrants, the group most likely to enter the U.S. illegally. Some have come to appreciate the patriotism of groups like the Minutemen whom have volunteered their time to join the group of self appointed border police noting their high commitment to obeying immigration laws, there are many others that at best describe the 'Minutemen' as vigilantes who should leave patrolling to professional law enforcement. What is of interest is that the issue of the formation of the Minutemen perfectly illustrates what have become ingrained explanations for explaining immigrant attitudes and policy preferences between immigrant/immigrant advocates and anti-immigrant groups. Anti-immigrant groups argue quite ardently that they are frustrated with immigration in general, noting that their vehemence has nothing to do with racist beliefs toward a particular group. Immigrant advocates, however, view the

issue from a different perspective, critiquing such citizens for what they perceive as racist actions, contending that to argue that anti-immigrant actions as the ones the Minutemen display, explained through a purely legality concern ignores the reality of the racial politics of immigration.

To many of these immigrant advocates, anti-immigration acts and Latino racism are not only confounded but inseparable. This is especially so in areas like the Southwest in which there exists a deep history of tension and conflict between mainstream European Americans and Mexican/Mexican Americans. The current studies highlights the genuine concern of immigrant and immigrant advocates as they provide evidence that personal commitment to the law does not alone explain such preferences. It illustrates how the specific nationality of the group in addition to racist attitudes towards Mexican/Mexican Americans can in fact interact with commitment to legal personal beliefs. However, the study also shows that concerns over immigrants can be partially driven by personal commitment to the law. What it additionally indicates, however, is that this concern is only important when additionally considering the nationality of the immigrant group in addition to personally held racists beliefs towards Mexicans. In regards to the popular argument of race versus legality debated often between immigrant advocates and anti-immigrant groups, the study's findings suggests that there are certain people whose combination of personal commitment to the law and racial beliefs regarding specific nationalities may be more likely to approve of stringent and conservative immigrant policies that put immigrants at a disadvantage.

Study 2: Implicit and explicit racism

The second study provides a better understanding of the way explicit and implicit racism influence these policy preferences and the conditions under which the combination of these two forms interact to influence preferential behavior. The study suggests that explicit attitudes might serve as a better predictor of racist attitudes towards Latinos and immigrant policy preferences as compared to implicit racist beliefs. This is supported by the pattern of significant factors in this study. The expected interaction between trait valence and ethnicity did not occur. In other words, response times were not faster for negative stereotypic words when preceded by Latino as compared to White faces. In fact there was no difference indicating that in this sample implicit stereotypes of Latinos do not exist any more than negative stereotypes towards Whites do. Additionally, the study also showed that across the two models (i.e. the model in which the male and female stimuli were collapsed and the female only model) only explicit racism was a significant predictor of policy preference scores. In this case neither the implicit attitude measures nor their interactions with the other variables of interest emerged as significant factors. Significant effects only emerged regarding implicit racism directed toward Latino men.

When viewing pictures of Latino men, implicit and explicit attitudes together produced an interesting pattern of results. In this model the combination of high explicit and implicit racism predicted the most anti-immigrant policy preferences. Those high in implicit and low in explicit racism, however, and those low in implicit and explicit racism were the two groups most likely to favor policies that would benefit immigrants.

This pattern suggests is that it is explicit attitudes that serve as better predictors of immigration preferences then implicit racist ones. It also indicates that in the absence of an implicit measure, an explicit measure of racism can serve just as well, despite its obviousness, to assess racist attitudes towards Latinos for predicting immigration policy preferences.

The study furthers our understanding of explicit racism in that it shows that low explicit racists, whether high or low in implicit racism, are more likely to vote for policies that would benefit immigrants. It might be that explicit attitudes override implicit attitudes. In the context of the two studies at large, study 2 provides a better understanding of the importance of explicit racism as a predictor. It also further validates study 1 in that it indicates that explicit measures of racism can be just as valid measures of racist attitudes as implicit ones. Overall, study 2 provides further evidence of the fact that racist attitudes can play a role in people's immigrant attitudes.

Gender

Study 1 and study 2 showed that men and women do not differ in their perceptions of immigrant policy preferences. However study 2 showed target gender stimuli to be an issue of importance when considering immigration policy preferences. That implicit racism had a relationship to immigration attitudes only when regarding Latinos not Latinas is informative. While work on the different rates of explicit racism experienced by male ethnic group members as compared to their female counterparts has been documented, less is known about the different rates of implicit racism directed towards Latino men vs. Latina females. Past research, for instance, has documented the

overt unjust behavior of police towards Hispanic and Black males noting that these two groups of men are more often targeted as criminals and approached with suspicion as compared to their female counterparts or to male and female Whites (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). Past literature has additionally indicated that Hispanic and Black males are more likely then Hispanic and Black females, respectively, to experience police brutality (Schuck, 2004). In addition, work examining ethnicity and gender on the decision to reject or dismiss felony charges (Spohn, Gruhl, & Welch, 1987) has shown that even after statistically controlling for defendant's age, prior record, offense seriousness, and use of a weapon Hispanic males were the group most likely to be prosecuted, followed by Black males, White males, and then females of all ethnic groups. However, the extent to which these differences are seen in forms of implicit racism is not as well understood. The current study provides evidence indicating that implicit racism may, as a measure, be more adept at picking up racist attitudes towards Latino men than towards Latinas or alternately that individuals are more likely to harbor implicit negative attitudes towards Latinos.

As it stands now one might be logically tempted to say that as far as gender is concerned Latino men bear the burden of their stigmatized group such that people attribute the most negative attitudes towards Latino men and not towards women. However, this is not likely the case. Instead it is likely that both groups experience some form of discrimination but that it is experienced in different ways. And because Latino men and women work in different sectors of the labor industry (i.e. construction versus housekeeping), and are exposed to different parts of society (Latino men are more likely to interact with White men whereas Latina women are more likely to interact with White

women), it is likely that their experiences are qualitatively different. Thus acts of discrimination towards them are manifested in different ways.

Conclusion

Social scientists and policy makers need to make a concentrated effort to better understand the complexity of American public attitudes towards immigrant and immigration related issues and policies. While it is true that there are a variety of issues of importance to the American public, the war and the economy being among the top two, the issue of immigration is certainly near the top of this list (The People's Priorities: Gallup's Top 10, 2007). Scientists and policy makers alike need to be alert to the manner in which immigration will continue to influence the social interaction of communities in this country. American public concern over this topic will likely continue to increase.

First, ironically, as immigration laws become more stringent and strict, and as proposed immigration policies continue to put immigrants, especially illegal ones, at a disadvantage, this population has only increased leaving politicians to ask how best to handle the illegal immigrants already in the country. The massive protests that resulted in 2006 when members of Congress unaware of, or for that matter, disinterested in the welfare of those whom the laws would affect, voted for laws without considering the effect it would have on the Latino immigrant and non-immigrant community should serve as a an example of the great social conflict that can occur. When Congress and citizens alike fail to understand or purposely ignore the effects of immigration policies (Segovia & Defever, in press) social tension is bound to occur.

Second, because individuals from Latin American countries make up the largest portion of immigrants in the country, this increase in immigrant population also means a continued increase in the Latino population. Immigration laws disproportionately affect the Latino community. Understanding how best to implement immigration laws without putting Latino legal American citizens and residents at risk of further discrimination and racial profiling is important in order to avoid the unjust persecution of a group who phenotypically does not differ from its illegal counterparts.

The complexity of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration needs to be better understood. As these two studies show, attitudes towards immigrant and immigration issues and policies can be influenced by implicit and explicit racist attitudes and commitment to legal obedience principles. Social scientists on the one hand, need to make a greater effort to better study the Latino community and its effect on mainstream public opinion on immigrants and immigration. Despite the pressing importance of these issues, immigrant communities in general, and the Latino community in particular, have remained populations confined to demographers whom in their studies track the size and current and projected growth of these communities. There has, however, been less work on applying social psychological theories to understand the cultural shifts and attitudes of the mainstream towards this specific community. Policy makers, on the other hand, accustomed to constituencies of European American descent, have proposed and passed laws that favor or support the values and preferences of this community. As the ethnic diversity of this country increases, however, and more specifically as Latino voters continue to show up at the voting booths, it is going to become increasingly important to better understand how public opinion on certain immigrant issues and immigration

policies differ across groups.

Americans are witnessing the growth of an increasingly diverse country in a period in which immigration has increased to levels not seen since the early 1900's (Segovia & DeFever, in press). When the disproportionate amount of these immigrants are of Latino descent (Passel & Cohn, 2008) and when laws which affect these individuals are decided in an electorate of native Whites, it is important to understand under what conditions Whites' attitudes towards this group influence their immigration attitudes and policy preferences. These findings and research can be used to develop programs and guide language and themes as people seek to engage diverse communities. In developing solutions to problems, it is important to know if there are "hidden" themes that underlie people's feelings and willingness to support or participate in policies that might otherwise not seem to be related to diversity or immigrants.

Table 2.1

Variable Summary Table

Variable	M	SD	Range
Immigration Public Policy Questionnaire	4.44	.92	2.06 - 6.39
Commitment to Obedience to Law	4.05	1.28	1 - 7
Explicit Racism Scale	3.18	.99	1 -5.38

Table 2.2

Study 1 Hierarchical Linear Regression

Model	Adjusted R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1	.502	.535	16.508	.000

Variable	B	SE ß	B
Explicit Racism	-.562	.06	-.605***
Race Condition	.182	.059	.197**
Legal Prime	.064	.059	.069
CL	-.126	.061	-.137*
RaceXLegal Prime	.002	.059	.003
RaceXCL	.069	.061	.074
LegalXCL	-.123	.061	-.133*
LegalXRaceXCL	.128	.061	.138*

Note: CL=commitment to legal obedience; +<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01, ***p<.000

Table 2.3

Interaction of Immigrant Legal Status and Commitment to Legal Obedience

Variable	B	SE ß	B
Individuals high in commitment to legal obedience	-.26	.08	-.37**
Individuals low in commitment to legal obedience	-.09	.09	-.13

Note:+<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01, ***p<.000

60

Table 2.4

Illegal Prime Condition, Study 1

Variable	B	SE ß	B
Group 1	.76	.32	.39*
Group 2	.06	.32	.03

Note: Group 1=Individuals high in commitment to legal obedience primed to think about Polish immigrants not Mexican immigrants; Group 2= No significant effects emerged in the analysis for participants low in commitment to legal obedience primed to think about Polish immigrants not Mexican immigrants.

*p<.05.

Table 2.5

Legal Prime Condition, Study 1

Variable	B	SE ß	ß
Individuals low in commitment to legal obedience	.74	.29	.44**
Individuals high in commitment to legal obedience	.35	.29	.21

Note: Group 1= Simple slope analysis revealed that when primed to think about legal immigrants, pro-immigrant policy preferences were preferred only for individuals low in commitment to legal obedience who were primed to think about Polish, not Mexican immigrants; Group 2= No significant effects emerged in the analysis for participants high in commitment to legal obedience.

**p<.01.

Table 2.6

Hierarchical linear regression analysis in which explicit racist attitude scores and their interaction with immigrant race condition (Polish vs. Mexican) and immigrant legality condition (legal vs. illegal) were examined.

Model	Adjusted R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1	.46	.496	14.154	.000

Variable	B	SE ß	B
CL	-.137	.049	.190**
Race Condition	.192	.061	.209**
Legal Condition	.052	.061	.057
Explicit Racism Scale	-.539	.065	-.585***
RaceXlegal	.000	.062	.000
RaceXRacism	.077	.065	.083
LegalXracism	006	.064	.006
LegalXraceXracism	-.032	.065	-.035

Note:+<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01, ***p<.000

Table 2.7

Sample Additive Effect 1

Variable	Explicit	
Implicit	Low	High
Low	1	5
High	5	10

Note: Higher scores in this table reflect more negative immigration attitudes.

Table 2.8

Sample Additive Effect 2

Variable	Explicit	
Implicit	Low	High
Low	1	5
High	8	10

Note: Higher scores in this table reflect more negative immigration attitudes.

Table 3.1

Reaction Times to Face Photo Stimuli by Race and Target Stereotype Valence

Variable	Min	Max	M	SD
Positive Stereotype				
White men	319.67	977.92	73.76	230.94
Latino men	551.88	974.71	43.08	236.83
White women	579.00	1069.92	66.02	194.30
Latina women	318.00	1078.92	63.99	185.44
Negative Stereotype				
White men	205.58	1270.83	221.07	288.67
Latino men	367.00	1062.88	183.41	256.04
White women	339.92	1337.42	137.89	248.29
Latina women	342.33	1220.17	134.61	253.13

Table 3.2

Implicit and Explicit Racism Attitude Scores

Variable	Min	Max	M	SD
Implicit-total (a)	- .38	.63	.06	.21
Implicit females(b)	-1.5	.82	.02	.34
Implicit men(c)	- .68	1.10	.10	.34
Explicit racism	1.0	5.63	3.23	.92

(a)   Reaction scores to men and women target stimuli (pictures).

(b)   Female target stimuli (pictures) only.

(c)   Male target stimuli (pictures) only.

Table 3.3.

Analyses of total implicit racist attitude scores (male and female targets combined)

Model	Adjusted R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1	.062	.097	2.753	.048

Variable	B	SE ß	B
Implicit Scores	-.062	.425	-.016
Explicit Racism	-.395	.144	-.303**
ImpXExp	-.041	.111	-.041

Note:+<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01, ***p<.000

Table 3.4.

Analyses of implicit racist attitude scores regarding only female targets

Model	Adjusted R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1	.078	.112	3.244	.026

Variable	B	SE ß	B
Implicit Scores	-.213	.382	-.061
Explicit Racism	-.437	.143	-.335
ImpXExp	.151	.129	.129

Note:+<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01, ***p<.000

Table 3.5

Policy Index Measure Scores as a function of Low and High Explicit and Implicit

Racism, Male Targets Only

Variable	*Explicit racism*	
Implicit racism	Low	High
Low	4.25	3.42
High	4.23	3.56

Table 3.6.

Hierarchical Linear Analyses of implicit racist attitude scores regarding only male targets

Model	Adjusted R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1	.111	.144	4.333	.007

Variable	B	SE ß	B
Implicit Scores	-.070	.373	-.020
Explicit Racism	-.435	.139	-.333**
ImpXExp	.288	.137	.223*

Note :+< .10. *p<.05. **p<.01, ***p<.000

Table 3.7

Simple Slope Analyses of implicit racist attitude scores regarding only male targets

Variable	B	SE ß	B
Group 1	-.44	.20	-.33*
Group 2	-.37	.19	-.28+

Note: Group 1: Simple slope analysis revealed that the immigration attitudes of those high in implicit racism regarding male targets were more negative if they were also high in explicit racism; Group 2: whereas the immigration attitudes of those low in implicit racism did not significantly differ depending on whether they were high or low in explicit prejudice.

+<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01, ***p<.000

Table 3.8

Experiment 2: Correlation Table

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Implicit racism men	-				
2. Implicit racism women	.003	-			
3. Implicit racism total	.67**	.56**	-		
4. Explicit racism	.03	-.13	-.07	-	
5. Immigration policy preferences	-.04	-.00	-.002	-.31**	-

+<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01, ***p<.000

Figure 2.1. Experiment 1: Condition Summary Table.

Condition	Immigrant Nationality	
Legal Status	Polish immigrants	Mexican immigrants
Legal [Polish; Mexican] Immigrants awaiting Processing.	Condition 1 	Condition 3
Illegal [Polish; Mexican] Immigrants awaiting Deportation.	Condition 2 	Condition 4

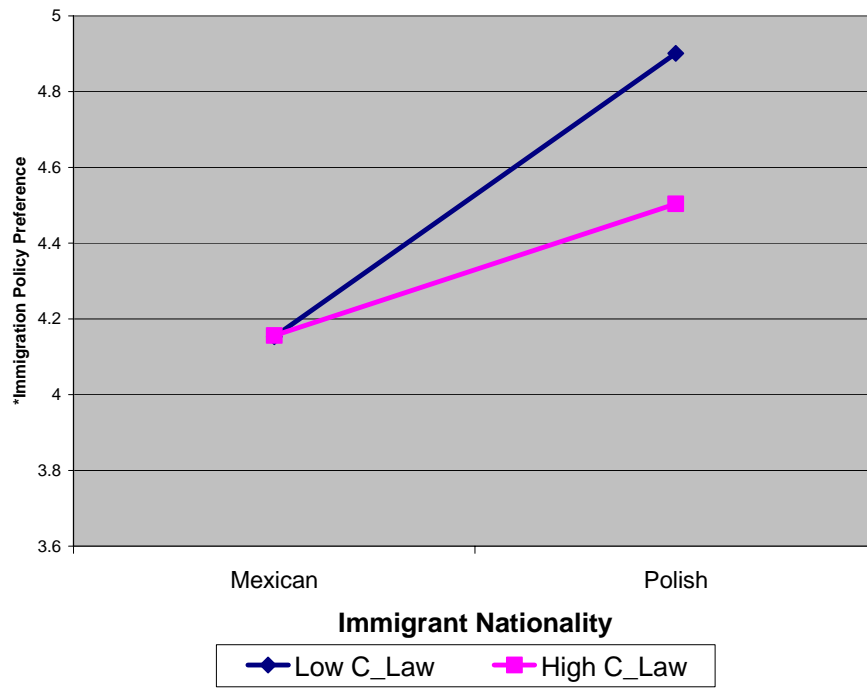*Figure 2.2a.* Experiment 1: Legal Immigrant Prime.

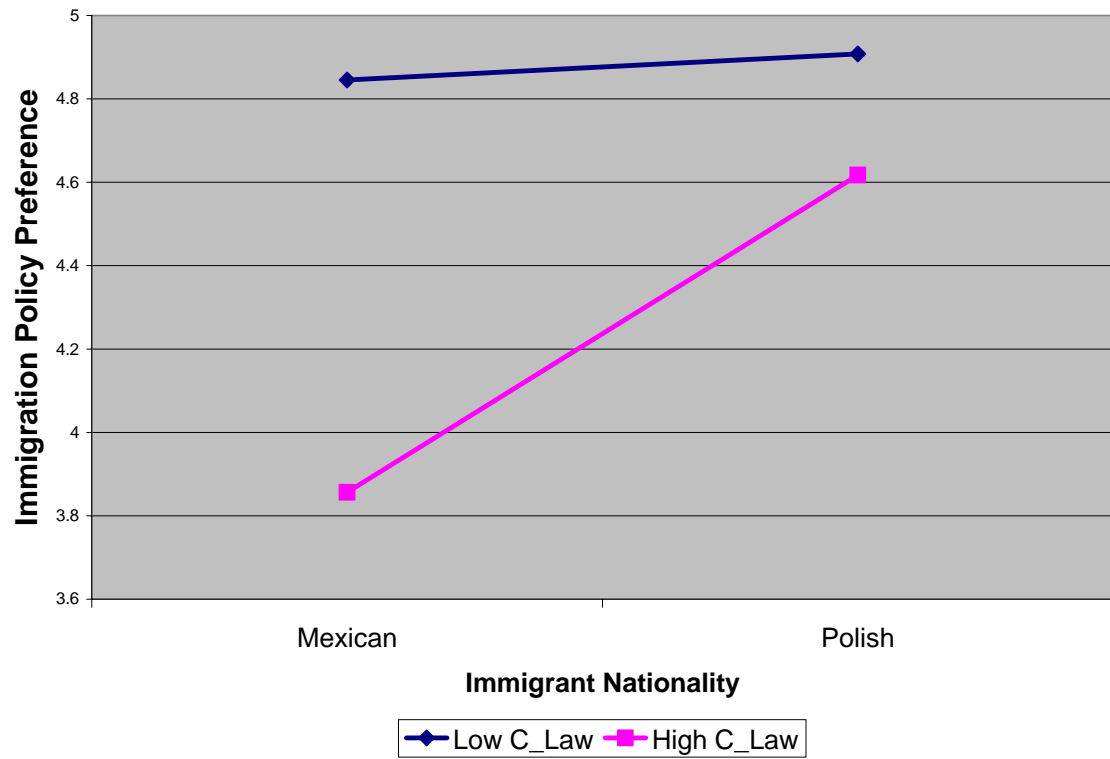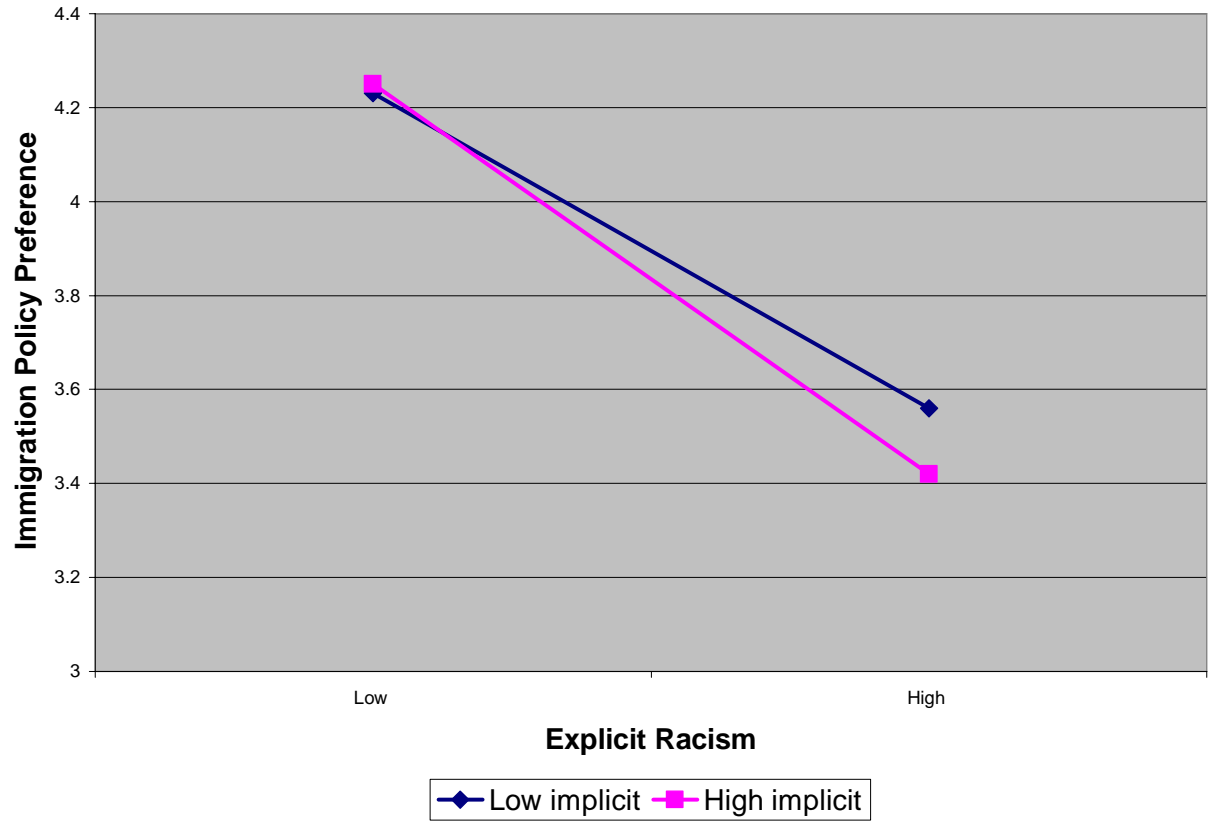*Figure 2.2b*. Experiment 1: Illegal Immigrant Prime.

Figure .3.3. Experiment: Immigration Attitudes as function of Explicit and Implicit

Racism, Male Targets Only.

Appendix

Study Materials

Coding scheme: Themes found in immigrant/immigration related questions from
       nationally
representative randomly sampled survey studies.

 A. General Attitudes Towards Immigration – increased, decreased, should welcome all
immigrants, too many, too few immigrants

B. Attitudes Towards Legal versus Illegal immigrants

C. Attitudes towards Particular Nationalities

Section E –American reasoning for reluctance to admit immigrants
1. Immigrants take jobs away from Americans
Direct competition: Americans believing that they themselves or a family member have
2.lost a job to an immigrant.
3. Concern that there are already too many people in the US
4. Concerned about immigrants and taxes
        (1) They don't pay their fair share of taxes
5. Concerned that immigrants increase the likelihood of terrorism.
6. Concerned that immigrants increase crime
7. Americans culture
        (1) Concerned about immigrants and the English language
        (2) Immigrants disrupt the American way of life
                (1) Melting pot vs. salad bowl (what is it vs. what the US should be).
                (2) Keeping too much of their culture/adapting to the American way of life
                (3) Comparing immigrants to the immigrants of the 1900s
                (4) Immigrants as a threat to the American way of life

F. Evaluating Immigration Policies and public official performance
        F.1.) General questions about how respondents evaluate immigration policies
        F.2.) Questions about how public servants or political parties handle immigration
        F.3.) Guest worker program or temporary worker program
        F.4.) Border fence between the US and Mexico
        F.5.) Minute men
        F.6.) Immigrant right rallies/Protests
        F.7.) Access to social services (health care, education, housing)
        F.8.) Status checking
        F.9.).Driver License
        F.10.) Amnesty
        F.11.) Prison sentences/Felony to be in U.S/Fines/penalties
        F.13.) Deportation

Study 1 Consent Form

Project Title: Opinions on modern social issues

Francine Segovia
University of Michigan
Department of Psychology
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1043
(909)953-1125, segoviaf@umich.edu

Dr. Denise Sekaquaptewa
University of Michigan
Department of Psychology
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1043
(734) 647-9685, dsekaqua@umich.edu

This form allows the participant to give informed consent to participate in this experiment given the following information:

Purpose of the research: This experiment will assess public opinion on modern social issues.

Description of the research project: Participants will answer questions about social issues using the online survey questions found on this site.

Duration of participation: This survey session will take no more than an hour.

Risks and discomforts: This experiment involves no foreseeable levels of undue risk or discomfort. In addition, participation in this experiment is unrelated to the participant's course grade.

Expected benefits to participants or others: Participants will receive 1 hour of subject pool credit for participation in this experiment.

Confidentiality of information collected: The participant will not be identified in any reports on this study. The records will be kept confidential to the extent provided by federal, state and local law. All participant responses will be destroyed after the data are collected and data analysis has been complete.

Voluntary nature of participation. Participation in this project is voluntary and unrelated to course grades. Subsequent to the participant's consent, she/he may refuse to participate in or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which the participant may otherwise be entitled. Alternative assignments are also made available that can be substituted in place of participation to meet course requirements (please see the undergraduate psychology office for more information).

If the participant has any question regarding his/her rights in this research, please contact the : Institutional Review Board, 540 East Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, 734-936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

By clicking continue, the participant agrees to have read [or been informed] of the information given above, and to understand the meaning of this information. The experimenter has offered to answer any questions the participant may have had concerning the study. The participant confirms that he/she is 18 years of age or older and understands that he/she is giving consent to participate in this study.

Instrument Questions

Generation: Family generation in U.S.

To the best of your knowledge, how many generations has your family been in the U.S.?
__ I was born abroad and came to the U.S. after age 5
__ I was born abroad and came to the U.S. at or before age 5
__ I was born in the U.S. but at least one of my parents was not
__ I was born in the U.S. as were both of my parents
__ My parents and I were born in the U.S. as were at least one of my grandparents
__ My grandparents, parents and I were born in the U.S
__ I was the first in my family to be born in the U.S. I lived abroad and then returned after

Commitment to obedience to law

Items are on a 7 point Likert Scale with 1 *Strongly Disagree* to 7, *Strongly Agree*. Higher scale scores reflect greater commitment to obedience to law.
1. It is the duty of all citizens to follow the law, right or wrong.
2. All people should obey and respect the law
3. I am in favor of very strict enforcement of the law no matter what the consequences are
4. Violating the law is never justified and thus should be severely punished
5. Lawbreakers should be always caught and punished

Personal beliefs that immigrants increase the amount of crime

1. How concerned are you that increase the amount of crime?

Explicit Measures of Racial Attitudes

Directions. Below are some questions we'd like you answer about some modern social issues related to Mexican Americans [individuals who are of Mexican descent but who were born in the United States]. Please answer the following questions keeping in mind that the scale runs from 1 *Strongly Disagree* to 7, *Strongly Agree*.
1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Mexican Americans would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and

worked their way up. Mexican Americans should do the same.

3. Mexican Americans are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think Mexican Americans are responsible for creating?

5. How much discrimination against Mexican Americans do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?

6. Generations of discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Mexican Americans to work their way out of the lower class.

7. Over the past few years, Mexican Americans have gotten less than they deserve.

8. Over the past few years, Mexican Americans have gotten more economically than they deserve.

Immigration Public Policy Preference Questionnaire

General questions about how respondents evaluate immigration policies
How strongly do you believe that the United States is doing enough to keep immigrants from coming into this country?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

Border fence between the US and Mexico
Now thinking about immigration, would you favor or oppose erecting a fence along the U.S. borders?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Guarding the U.S
Would you favor or oppose stationing 6,000 National Guard troops along the U.S. - borders to try to stop immigration?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Immigrants benefit U.S./Access to social services (health care, education, housing)
How strongly do you believe that immigrants today are a benefit to the U.S. because of their hard work and job skills?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

How strongly do you believe immigrants today are a burden to the U.S. because they use public services?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

How strongly do you believe that immigrants end up on welfare?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

How concerned are you about the following issues concerning immigrants: providing services like schools and health care to immigrants costs taxpayers too much?
Not at all concerned 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Very concerned

How strongly do you favor or oppose allowing immigrants to attend public schools?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

How strongly do you favor or oppose allowing children of immigrants who are in the U.S. to be permitted to attend public schools?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Status checking
How strongly do you favor or oppose creating a new government database of everyone eligible to work - both American citizens and immigrants, and requiring employers to check that database before hiring someone for any kind of work?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

How strongly do you favor or oppose that police should be required to determine whether someone arrested is a U.S. citizen?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Would you oppose or support a law requiring all adults in this country to carry a national identification card that includes information such as their photograph and social security number?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Amnesty
Do you think immigrants who are living and working in the United States now (should be offered a chance to keep their jobs and eventually apply for U.S. citizenship), or do you think they (should be deported back to their native country)?
Offered a chance to keep jobs and apply for legal status
Deported to native country
Don't know

Guest worker program or temporary worker program
Which comes closest to your view about what government policy should be toward immigrants currently residing in the United States? Should the government--deport all immigrants back to their home country, allow immigrants to remain in the United States in order to work, but only for a limited amount of time, or allow immigrants to remain in the United States and become US citizens, but only if they meet certain requirements over a period of time?
Deport all
Remain in the U.S. in order to work but for a fixed period of time
Remain in the U.S. and become a citizen
No opinion

Prison sentences/Felony to be in U.S/Fines/penalties

Another proposal is to toughen immigration laws by establishing mandatory prison sentences for reentering the United States after having already been deported. How strongly do you support or oppose this?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Do you think the government should make it a crime for U.S. Citizens to provide assistance to people they know are immigrants?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

As you may know, President (George W.) Bush has proposed increasing fines against companies that hire immigrants. Do you strongly favor or oppose this proposal?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Deportation
Would you favor or oppose deporting all immigrants back to their home countries?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Study 1 Debriefing Statement

Project Title: Opinions on modern social issues

In this study we wanted to better understand two major theoretical frameworks used when studying immigration attitudes: Principles of commitment to law and aversive racism. The principle of commitment to law hypothesis posits that anti-immigration attitudes are based on the belief that illegal immigrants tax American services and break the law to get into the U.S. Therefore attitudes toward different illegal immigrant groups should not vary depending on the type of immigrant group (i.e. Polish or Mexican illegal immigrants). The Aversive Racism[1] hypothesis, on the other hand, posits that non-European groups will be viewed more negatively. Therefore attitudes towards illegal immigrants should vary as a function of nationality. Given past works, it was hypothesized that evidence to support the aversive racism hypothesis would be confirmed. In other words, that individuals would be more likely to harbor anti-immigrant attitudes towards an illegal stigmatized (i.e. Mexican illegal immigrant) than a non-stigmatized (i.e. Polish illegal immigrant) immigrant group member.

It is important to note that the theory of aversive racism suggests that many biases are unintended and often unknown to the individual. Such biases therefore are often the result of subtle messages we hear from media and other social forces in our daily lives. By becoming aware of how social forces may influence our attitudes without our awareness or intention, we can exercise more control over them.

Thank you very much for your help with this project. If you have any questions, comments, or concerns about the study, or anything you did here today, you may contact the following University of Michigan researcher: Francine Segovia, segoviaf@umich.edu or Dr. Denise Sekaquaptewa at (734) 647-9685; dsekaqua@umich.

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[6] Aversive racism is defined as biased attitudes an individuals has which he/she may not be aware of (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991).

If you should have questions regarding your rights as a participant in research, please contact the Institutional Review Board, 540 East Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, 734-936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

If you would like to discuss any of these issues further, provided is the contact information for the University of Michigan's Counseling and Psychological Services: 3100 Michigan Union, 530 S State Street Ann Arbor, MI 48109; Voice: (734) 764-8312; Fax: (734) 763-0454.

For more information on the topic of this study, the following references may be of interest:

Lee, Y., & Ottati, V. (2002). Attitudes toward U.S. immigration policy: The roles of in-group--out-group bias, economic concern, and obedience to law. *Journal of Social Psychology, 142*(5), 617-634.

McConahay, J. B. (1983). Modern racism and modern discrimination: The effects of race, racial attitudes, and context on simulated hiring decisions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 9*(4), 551-558.

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.

Study 2 Procedure

Below are the actual instructions and procedure for the reaction time component. These are the instructions and the order in which the participants saw the questions. Note that the reaction time component, the modern racism scale and the public policy preference questionnaire were randomized.

Welcome Screen

WELCOME! Thank you for participating in our study.

Informed consent
Researcher Contact Information: Francine Segovia, University of Michigan, Department of Psychology, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, segoviaf@umich.edu

This form allows the participant to give informed consent to participate in this experiment given the following information:

Purpose of the research: This experiment will assess students' cognitive memory and speed of reaction to common words and pictures.

Description of the research project: Participants will complete a series of questionnaires. They will also participate in a categorization and recognition task, categorizing words as positive or negative and will study faces for a memory task.

Duration of participation: This session will take no more than one hour.

Risks and discomforts: This experiment involves no foreseeable levels of undue risk or discomfort. In addition, participation in this experiment is unrelated to the participant's course grade.

Expected benefits to participants or others: The participants will receive 1 hour of subject pool credit for participation in this experiment.

Confidentiality of information collected: The participant will not be identified in any reports on this study. The records will be kept confidential to the extent provided by federal, state and local law. All participant responses will be destroyed after the data are collected and data analysis has been complete.

Voluntary nature of participation. Participation in this project is voluntary. Subsequent to the participant's consent, she/he may refuse to participate in or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which the participant may otherwise be entitled.

If the participant has any question regarding his/her rights in this research, please contact the : Institutional Review Board, 540 East Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, 734-936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

By clicking on any key, you confirm that you are 18 years of age or older and agree to giving consent to participate in this study.

Overall Instructions

This first part is designed to test your ability to perform two different cognitive tasks at once. The first task is classifying words, and the second task is memorizing pictures.

Part 1 is divided into three stages. During the first stage, your task is to categorize words into "good" and "bad" categories. During the second stage, your task is to memorize a series of pictures and then indicate which pictures you saw. During the third stage, your task is to perform the previous tasks at the same time. Thus, you will see pictures as you are categorizing words and then later be asked to indicate which pictures you saw.

Press "Enter" when you are ready to begin.

Phase 1

Instructions

For each item in this stage, an asterisk will appear in the center of the screen, but it will soon be replaced by a word. Please classify this word as either "good" or "bad."

Press "d" if the word is "good."
Press "k" if the word is "bad."

Please answer AS FAST AS YOU CAN without sacrificing accuracy.

Place your fingers on the "d" and "k" keys, and press the spacebar when you are ready to begin.

***** Initial practice block****

Work Stimuli

<u>Block 1</u>

Positive
1. clever
2. great
3. competent
4. healthy
5. intelligent
6. loyal
7. likable
8. optimistic
9. pleasant
10. smart
11. honest
12. responsible

Negative
1. bitter
2. annoying
3. careless
4. cowardly
5. cynical
6. dishonest
7. forgetful
8. gloomy
9. harmful
10. selfish
11. snobbish
12. bossy

<u>Block 2</u>

Positive words
1. ambitious
2. courageous
3. efficient

4. honest
5. intelligent
6. likeable
7. self-confident
8. straightforward
9. patriotic
10. humble
11. hard-working
12. family-oriented

Negative words
1. burden
2. freeloading
3. on welfare
4. dirty
5. pushy
6. simple-minded
7. uncivilized
8. uneducated.
9. Illegal
10. Invade
11. Infest
12. Lazy

Block 3

Positive words
1. ambitious
2. courageous
3. efficient
4. honest
5. intelligent
6. likeable
7. self-confident
8. straightforward
9. patriotic
10. humble
11. hard-working
12. family-oriented

Negative words
1. burden
2. freeloading
3. on welfare
4. dirty
5. pushy
6. simple-minded

7.
8. uncivilized
9. uneducated.
10. Illegal
11. Invade
12. Infest
13. Lazy

Phase 2

<u>Instructions</u>

Now you will see a series of pictures on the screen. Each picture will appear twice. Your job is to memorize the pictures. Press the spacebar when you are ready to begin.

Stimuli **:** 16 photos of White, Black, Latino, and Asian male and female faces.

Phase 3

<u>Instructions</u>
Now identify which of the following pictures you saw previously.

Press "d" if you saw the picture.
Press "k" if you did not see the picture.

Answer AS FAST AS YOU CAN without sacrificing accuracy.

Place your fingers on the "d" and "k" keys, and press the spacebar when you are ready to begin.

Stimuli: 16 (same as in phase 2) and 16 New pictures (fillers)

Phase 4

<u>Instructions</u>

Now you will be tested to see how effectively you can perform both of the previous tasks simultaneously.

For each item, you will first see a picture. You will need to memorize which pictures were shown. Then a word will appear, and your task is to classify that word as either "good" or "bad" as quickly as you can.

Press "d" if the word is "good."
Press "k" if the word is "bad."

Answer AS FAST AS YOU CAN without sacrificing accuracy.

Place your fingers on the "d" and "k" keys, and press the spacebar when you are ready to begin.

Stimuli: Practice Block 1 consists of the words below.

Positive
1. clever
2. great
3. competent
4. healthy
5. intelligent
6. loyal
7. likable
8. optimistic
9. pleasant
10. smart
11. honest
12. responsible

Negative
1. bitter
2. annoying
3. careless
4. cowardly
5. cynical
6. dishonest
7. forgetful
8. gloomy
9. harmful
10. selfish
11. snobbish
12. bossy

Stimuli: 4 trials or blocks were made with the lists below. 48 pictures were used. Each picture got 4 different adjectives (2 positive; 2 negative). The 48 pictures consisted for Asian, Black, Latino, and White male and females.

Positive words:
1. ambitious
2. courageous
3. efficient
4. honest
5. intelligent
6. likeable
7. self-confident
8. straightforward
9. patriotic
10. humble
11. hard-working

12.
13. family-oriented

Negative words:
1. burden
2. freeloading
3. on welfare
4. dirty
5. pushy
6. simple-minded
7. uncivilized
8. uneducated.
9. Illegal
10. Invade
11. Infest
12. Lazy

Phase 5

Instructions

Now identify which of the following pictures you saw while you were classifying the words.

Press "d" if you saw the picture.
Press "k" if you did not see the picture.

Answer AS FAST AS YOU CAN without sacrificing accuracy.

Press the spacebar when you are ready to begin.

Stimuli: 48 photos from phase 4 and 48 filler (Not previously presented)

Instructions (Phase 6,7,8).

Now we have a question and answer part to the study. Please answer the following questions.

Phase 6

Modern racism scale

Directions. Below are some questions we'd like you answer about some modern social issues related to Latinos/Hispanics in the U.S. Please answer the following questions keeping in mind that the scale runs from 1 *Strongly Disagree* to 7, *Strongly Agree*.

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Latinos/Hispanics would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Latinos/Hispanics should do the same.
3. Latinos/Hispanics are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think Latinos/Hispanics are responsible for creating?
5. How much discrimination against Latinos/Hispanics do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?
6. Generations of discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Latinos/Hispanics to work their way out of the lower class.
7. Over the past few years, Latinos/Hispanics have gotten less than they deserve.
8. Over the past few years, Latinos/Hispanics have gotten more economically than they deserve.

Phase 7

Policy Questions

How strongly do you believe that the United States is doing enough to keep immigrants from coming into this country?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

How strongly do you believe that immigrants today are a benefit to the U.S.?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

How strongly do you believe immigrants today are a burden to the U.S.?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

Should immigrants be allowed to obtain government services, such as health care or food stamps?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

How strongly do you believe that a child born in the U.S. to immigrants should be automatically be considered a U.S. citizen?
Do not at all believe 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly believe

Now thinking about immigration, would you favor or oppose erecting a fence along the U.S. borders?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Would you favor or oppose stationing 6,000 National Guard troops along the U.S.-borders to try to stop immigration?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

How strongly do you favor or oppose allowing children of immigrants who are in the U.S. to be permitted to attend public schools?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

How strongly do you favor or oppose creating a new government database of everyone eligible to work - both American citizens and immigrants, and requiring employers to check that database before hiring someone for any kind of work?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

How strongly do you favor or oppose that police should be required to determine whether someone arrested is a U.S. citizen?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Would you oppose or support a law requiring all adults in this country to carry a national identification card that includes information such as their photograph and social security number?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

 Another proposal is to toughen immigration laws by establishing mandatory prison sentences for being in the United States after having already been deported. How strongly do you support or oppose this?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Do you think the government should make it a crime for U.S. Citizens to provide assistance to people they know are immigrants?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Do you strongly favor or oppose increasing fines against companies that hire immigrants?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Would you favor or oppose deporting all immigrants back to their home countries?
Strongly Oppose 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Strongly Favor

Government policy regarding immigrants currently residing in the United States should allow immigrants to remain in the United States in order to work, but only for a limited amount of time.

Government policy regarding immigrants currently residing in the United States should allow immigrants to remain in the United States and become US citizens.

Phase 8

Demographics Questions

Phase 9

The END

Thank you for your participation!

Study 2 Debriefing Statement

Project Title: Cognitive Task Study

In this study we wanted to examine the possibility that individuals may form negative attitudes about immigrants at a non-conscious level. That is, because we see many negative news stories in the media about illegal immigrants, it may be possible that we unconsciously form negative beliefs about immigrants, even though outwardly we don't endorse negative feelings about them. We measured these "implicit attitudes" toward immigrants using a computerized task which asked you to respond to words that were presented along with faces. To the extent that people may have formed an implicit negative attitude, their reactions may be faster when words related to illegal immigration (e.g., "freeloading") were paired with faces of Latinos (who are often shown in the media as being illegal immigrants). We tested whether this pattern of implicit negative attitudes toward immigrants would be related to people's stated attitudes toward immigration policies.

It is important to note that research on implicit attitudes suggests that many attitudinal biases are unintended and often unknown to the individual. Such biases therefore are often the result of subtle messages we hear from media and other social forces in our daily lives. By becoming aware of how social forces may influence our attitudes without our awareness or intention, we can exercise more control over them.

Thank you very much for your help with this project. If you have any questions, comments, or concerns about the study, or anything you did here today, you may contact the following University of Michigan researcher: Francine Segovia, segoviaf@umich.edu or Dr. Denise Sekaquaptewa at (734) 647-9685; dsekaqua@umich.

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