11-2015

Construction of an Anti-Mexican American Bias Scale and Its Validation

Leslie N. Martinez
University of Nebraska-Lincoln, LMartinez520@gmail.com

CONSTRUCTION OF AN ANTI-MEXICAN AMERICAN BIAS SCALE AND ITS VALIDATION

by

Leslie N. Martinez

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of

The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major: Psychology

Under the Supervision of Professor Cynthia Willis Esqueda

Lincoln, Nebraska

November, 2015

CONSTRUCTION OF AN ANTI-MEXICAN AMERICAN BIAS SCALE AND ITS VALIDATION

Leslie N. Martinez, Ph.D.

University of Nebraska, 2015

Adviser: Cynthia Willis Esqueda

The purpose of the dissertation is to develop a meaningful measure of Anti-Mexican American attitudes and to test that measure for its utility in predicting biased attributions for Mexican Americans. Attention has mainly focused on bias against Blacks, and this has produced important gaps in the understanding of race/ethnic bias that must be addressed. For the past few decades, the number of racial minorities, especially the number of Latinos/Hispanics, has been on the rise. The psychometric properties and validation of the new Anti-Mexican American Attitude Scale (AMAAS) were investigated through study 1 and study 2. The principal components analysis pulled six factors (study 1), and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) refined the scale to three viable factors (study 2). Using structural equation modeling (SEM; study 2), the final scale was found to be a reflection of cultural stereotypes and attitudes about Mexican Americans (construct validity). The relationship amongst the Mexican American bias scale with anti-Black and anti-immigrant scales supported hypotheses that AMAAS was indicative of cognitive bias (*Model Level 2*). Although the patterns of results were similar, the predictive validity of AMAAS was independent of the other group bias scales. The results of the study indicated that measures of individual differences (CSE, SDO, RWA-ACT) predicted bias against Mexican Americans, and the bias, in turn, predicted opposition to racial policies. The “real world” effect of having the ability to measure

prejudice against Mexican Americans was one of the first steps in recognizing the ramifications of experiencing bias in the Latino community. In future studies, the exploration of perceived threat will add another level of depth to the understanding of anti-Mexican American bias.

Acknowledgements

To Cynthia, my advisor and mentor. I have always appreciated our time together over all these years. You provided a sanctuary when things got tough, and you always knew when to get me back in line! Thank you for your unwavering confidence in my abilities. Your advice has been invaluable in this very long and untraditional journey. A very special thank you to my Supervisory Committee members: Dr. Rich Wiener, Dr. Calvin Garbin, and Dr. Sergio Wals. I could not have survived this process without your support and feedback!

As I worked on the final steps of this dissertation, I kept thinking about whom in my life had made this possible. This degree belongs first and foremost to my husband and my kids. Stan, you never stopped believing in me, and I owe this success to you always being willing to sacrifice for me. I am so in love with you. Thank you for being you and thank you for everything you do for our family.

Tanis, Millie, and Esai, you three *are* my world. You continue to give me everything I could ever want out of life. Thank you for teaching me how to live. Mama is "done with her homework"! Let's play!

To Ma and Pops, who told me "Just do it already!" Well, I did it!! Ma, it's your voice in my head that has always carried me through my toughest times. You have never given up on me. You'll always be my partner, and I love you with all my heart. Pops, thank you for our talks. I always know that I can depend on you to lift me up. Thank you for reminding me to put my faith in God. I love you, Pops. Thank you for <u>all</u> the sacrifices you and Mom made so that I could meet my potential. To Stephie, I love you so much. Thank you for having my back. I always know I can count on you to go to bat for me. I want you to know that I believe with my whole being that you are meant for greatness in every way. I will always be here for you to lean on. I love you.

To Mother-in-Law who unconditionally puts her family first. Thank you for being such a beautiful example of the type of mother I aim to be. I am privileged to have my children experience a love like yours. Thank you Father-in-Law for making me laugh, even when I try so hard not to! Matt, thank you for being such a generous and loving soul. You are one of my favorite people in the world! Sarah, I miss you every day. I know that you are still with my babies every day. I love you all with all my heart.

To my friends who lent their unending support over the course of this journey; Laurie, Kate, Roman, and Jess—I love you! To my academic sister, Hazel, who has grown into her own skin as a researcher and mentor. I am so proud to be your friend! Thank you for your contributions to making this process such a success. I can only hope that I am able to express how much you truly helped me or how much I appreciate you. Love you always!

Love,
nik

Grant Information

This research was funded in part by the Carl John Warden Graduate Fellowship in Psychology.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of the dissertation is to develop a meaningful measure of Anti-Mexican American Bias and to test that measure for its utility in predicting biased attributions for Mexican Americans. This research focus is important. Of the 308.7 million people living in the United States in 2010, Hispanics (*those whose ethnic origins reside in Spain or any of the countries with cultural and colonial links to Spain*) made up 50.7 million of the population, an increase of over 15 million from 2000 (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). For the past few decades, the number of racial minorities, especially the number of Latinos/Hispanics, has been on the rise. Latinos (*those whose ethnic origins are in a country colonized by Spain*) are the largest minority group in U.S., with 16.3% of the total population (Passel, Cohn, & Lopez, 2011), and Mexican Americans (*those of Mexican descent residing on the U.S. side of the United States/Mexican border*) make up 63% of the Latino subgroup (Lopez & Dockterman, 2011). As the social and political climates shift with increases in diversity, so does the content, strength, and power of stereotypes for various minority groups (Martinez, 2010).

With the rise in population numbers and increased presence in White majority communities, Mexican Americans and Mexican Nationals have reemerged as focal groups for stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination. In addition, the perceived immigration crisis of the "invading" undocumented Mexicans has given way to the overt expression of anti-Mexican bias, and Mexican Americans have subsequently dealt with public backlash (Hernández, 2008; Martinez, 2010). It is now "acceptable" to discriminate against Mexicans (Hernández, 2008), and in turn, Mexican Americans.

Proof of this phenomenon can be found in the news reports of intergroup bias that continue to plague U. S. society, even as Americans maintain that they hold and express egalitarian beliefs and values. Controversy over laws to stop and search those who "look illegal," are also indicators of the increased bias, since the targeted population are those who fit a profile which contains a Mexican "appearance" (Chin & Miller, 2011; Martinez, 2010).

In the state of Nebraska, just within the span of a year, two key events targeted the Mexican and Mexican American community. At the end of a championship soccer game between a predominantly White high school and another school with a large Mexican American student population, fake "green cards" were thrown onto the field by students from the predominantly White school, as a statement about immigration (Reist, 2010). On a political level, a recent ordinance banning the hiring or renting to undocumented individuals in Fremont, Nebraska (Ordinance, 2010) received national attention because of the implications for racial profiling and immigration reform (e.g., Hornick, 2010). Although there was support for the courts to strike down the ordinance on the basis of being unconstitutional (Varley & Snow, 2012), the ordinance was upheld by the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit in *Keller v. City of Fremont* (Perez et al., 2012). While these are two examples of local actions against Latinos, these occurrences are being experienced at the national level, regardless of immigration status (Benjamin-Alvarado, DeSipio, & Montoya, 2009; Hernández, 2008; Martinez, 2010).

These dramatic shifts in the United States' demographics have influenced social and interpersonal relationships across multiple domains, ranging from work and education to social and health contexts. Some White Americans who had never

experienced diversity in their communities are now likely to have at least some direct contact with outgroup members, especially in rural areas. For example, an increase in the number of racial and ethnic minorities has been documented in predominantly White rural areas in the Great Plains (Dalla, Ellis, & Cramer, 2005). This is outside of the rural regions that are traditionally known to have concentrated numbers of minorities, such as Blacks in the rural South and Latinos in the rural Southwest (Probst, Samuels, Jespersen, Willert, Swann, & McDuffie, 2002). Thus, these communities have experienced large amounts of population change in a very short time. This type of increased diversity in predominantly White communities has taken place because of a multitude of factors, whether it was from the relocation of Katrina victims in 2005 or from the growing immigrant workforce. This context has provided the opportunity for more direct exposure to non-White cultures, outside of secondary experiences, such as through the media. The new atmosphere that features diversity has created the right conditions for increased stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination.

As a result of the evolving social and political atmosphere, the growing population of people of Mexican descent, and the impact of anti-Mexican bias, Mexican Americans and Mexican Nationals are at a higher risk for perceiving discrimination (Dovidio, Gluszek, John, Ditlmann, & Lagunes, 2010), as well as the negative mental outcomes that arise from experiencing frequent bias (Richman, Kohn-Wood, & Williams, 2007; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). From the perspective of White Americans, there is an acknowledgement that Hispanics are more often the targets of discrimination (23%) than African Americans (18%), White Americans (10%), and Asian Americans (8%) (Pew, 2010). It is a critical time for research on biases against Mexican

Americans, due to the increasing awareness of the ramifications for being an ethnic minority in the U.S. (Crocker & Garcia, 2009; Major & O'Brien, 2005).

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review of Prejudice and Stereotypes

Researchers have used a variety of definitions in their discussions of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination (Gardner, 1994; Schneider, 2004). At times, scholars have been in disagreement about the exact definitions of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination, but they have had an even larger discussion about the complex relationship between the three concepts (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1997; Fiske, 2000). In terms of the ABC Model of Attitudes (Katz, 1960; Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960), the affective component of prejudice conveys "the feelings or emotions that people have in relation to the attitude object" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 10). "People's actions with respect to the attitude object" refers to the behavioral component (discrimination) of prejudiced attitudes, while the cognitive component (stereotypes) "contains thoughts that people have about the attitude object" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 10). An attitude object in the context of prejudice implies a reference to targeted or stigmatized social groups and the members. The details of this model in regards to prejudice and stereotyping are further discussed in the following subsections.

Prejudice as an Attitude

Debate has surrounded the definition of prejudice, with some defining it as affect and others referring to it as having the traditional components of an attitude—affect, behavior, and cognition. Most social psychologists have agreed that affect plays a role in the experience of prejudice (e.g., Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996), but the "prejudgment" and "judgment" aspects of prejudice are more complicated.

From the affect approach, prejudice has been defined as "an affective or emotional response to a group of people or an individual from that group" (Schneider, 2004, p. 266). Fiske (1998) defined prejudice as an intergroup attitude and the affective component of an attitude. To make the case for prejudice as affect, it is often reported that stereotypes and prejudice are reliably (but weakly) correlated because they are both evaluations of the same attitude object (Sinclair & Kunda, 2000). The affect attached to prejudice and stereotypes becomes engrained through one's social context and environment during socialization (Devine, 1989). Yet, until they are activated, beliefs, such as stereotypes, are "stored in memory in a dormant state" (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991, p. 509). "According to [Devine's] model, high and low prejudiced persons are equally knowledgeable of the culturally shared stereotype" (Neumann, 2001, p. 609), and, once activated, the stereotypes have the potential to be applied by influencing subsequent responses and interactions (Devine, 1989).

However, when prejudice is defined with solely affective properties, the definition does not account for the other complexities of prejudice as an attitude. An attitude is defined as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 1). Therefore, prejudice is "a negative attitude toward a group or toward members of the group" (Stangor, 2009, p. 4) or a "judgment about something before a fact (a prejudgment)…a preconceived notion about something, often a social object or class of objects" (Gardner, 1994, p. 1).

Prejudiced attitudes toward racial outgroups develop early in children (Devine, 1989; Katz, 1973; Katz, Sohn, & Zalk, 1975). School environments have been found to

influence children's perceptions of their ingroup and outgroup, in relation to their majority-minority status (McGlothlin & Killen, 2005); majority children in homogenous schools were less likely to see friendship potential in cross-race dyads. Yet, children grow older and gain a sense of cultural norms, which motivates them to suppress many of their prejudices (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Crandall and Eshleman's (2003) justification-suppression model of prejudice explains that a variety of factors contribute to "genuine prejudice," meaning "pure, unadulterated, original, unmanaged, and unambivalently negative feelings toward members of a devalued group" (p. 418). Suppression factors aid people to maintain a non-prejudiced appearance, since people are prevented from publicly expressing prejudice. Yet, justification processes can allow for guiltless expression of prejudice. The complexities of the measurement of prejudice and stereotypes will be further discussed in the next section.

Stereotypes as Cognitions

The most important aspect of stereotypes is that they are cognitively-based (Katz & Braly, 1933), and they represent the "pictures in our heads" (Lippmann, 1922). They are cognitive conceptualizations, such as "cognitions, knowledge, opinions, information, and inferences," of groups and their members (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 11). Beliefs about the outgroup become the content of the stereotype, and this represents the link between the outgroup members and prejudiced attitudes (Fishbein & Azjen, 1975).

In their simplest form, stereotypes are qualities that are perceived to be associated with particular groups or categories of people (Schneider, 2004). Many of the definitions revolve around traits (e.g., Stephan, 1985; Stangor, 2009) and/or have a specific valence (e.g., Allport, 1954). Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind, and Rosselli (1996) provided a more

specific definition than that of Schneider (2004); a stereotype is "a cognitive structure containing the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human social group" (p. 42). Although the Mackie et al. (1996) definition seems to refer exclusively to individual stereotypes, this definition could also be utilized when exploring cultural level stereotypes, because it is assumed that individuals in a society or culture hold similar stereotypes (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979; Gardner, 1994). Jussim and colleagues clarify the difference between cultural and individual (personal) stereotypes in the following manner:

> "Cultural stereotypes refer to the extent to which a stereotype is shared by the members of a culture…usually assessed by sample mean" and "personal stereotypes are simply any individual's beliefs about a group, regardless of whether the belief is shared by others" (Jussim, Cain, Crawford, Harber, & Cohen, 2009, p. 203).

In addition, it is suggested that the valence of stereotypes should not be included in the definition, because declaring that all stereotypes are negative or positive would limit the definition (Schneider, 2004). If stereotypes as "beliefs" are evaluative in nature, it does not mean it is necessary for them to be positive *or* negative. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) regard a belief located at the neutral point on a negative-positive continuum as expressing an evaluation that falls between positive and negative values. Yet, valence does play an important role in understanding the information carried through stereotypes. People who express negative attitudes (prejudice) toward a social group would also most likely assign negative attributes as the content of the stereotype (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). In turn, they might also associate negative affect toward that social group, as another

separate component of the prejudiced attitudes. The intensity of the prejudiced attitudes is labeled as the affective component of the attitude (Katz, 1960), even though the intensity *is* closely linked to the stereotypic beliefs.

Although there is no one definition used ubiquitously, agreement does exist in the stereotype literature. For example, researchers would not advocate that all stereotypes are inaccurate, because it is argued that stereotypes can be based on a kernel-of-truth (LeVine & Campbell, 1972). Stereotypes, in essence, are consensual beliefs within a society that are related to expressed individual attitudes (Gardner, 1994). Researchers continue in their efforts to measure stereotype content, motivation, and processing.

Stereotypes develop and evolve, both through individual and societal processes. Several approaches have been taken to understand the development and origins of bias, such as the social learning, cognitive, and evolutionary approaches (Levy & Hughes, 2009). However, the focus here will be on the theories that refer to the social-cognitive approach. The formation of a stereotype begins with social categorization. In regards to stereotyping and person perception, "the term *category* is used to describe the totality of information that perceivers have in mind about various groups of individuals" (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2001, p. 243).

Other Relevant Stereotype Background: Automaticity

Stereotype inhibition is an aspect of controlled processing, in which motivated reasoning plays a role (Fein, von Hippel, & Spencer, 1999; Kunda & Sinclair, 1999). To overcome deep-rooted, automatic bias, it requires "(a) motivation to respond without bias; (b) awareness that the stereotype has been activated; and (c) cognitive resources (i.e., attention and working memory capacity) to inhibit the influence of stereotypes and

to replace any race-biased response tendencies with an intentional nonprejudiced response" (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998 in Devine & Sharp, 2009, p. 63). Even if a category associated with a stereotype is activated, competing (but chronic) goals (conscious or unconscious) can inhibit the application of that stereotype, which has been deemed as a proactive technique for stereotype control (Moskowitz & Li, 2011). Through a series of four studies, Moskowitz and Li (2011) induced egalitarian goals and primed participants using African American and White faces, followed by the presentation of African American stereotype-relevant and irrelevant words. Results showed that stereotype activation and inhibition varied based on the interaction goal type by face prime by word type. Simply put, participants primed with egalitarian-based goals were able to inhibit stereotype activation as long as the concept of egalitarian was present (i.e., having not yet achieved egalitarian success).

The mechanism to avoid prejudiced or biased processing operates differently in low-prejudice and high-prejudice people. Low-prejudice persons are "characterized by a large difference between their personal beliefs and the cultural stereotype"; therefore, they have a higher motivation to avoid the automatic cultural stereotypes than high-prejudice persons (Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, Wasel, & Schaal, 1999, p. 167). Low-prejudice individuals, in particular, have been found to successfully avoid automatic activation and application processes through stereotype suppression and control (Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Moskowitz et al., 1999; Moskowitz & Li, 2011). Chronic egalitarian goals operated to derail the automatic activation of stereotypes at the implicit level (Moskowitz et al., 1999). Amongst other studies from Moskowitz, the Moskowitz and Li (2011) studies provide a strong demonstration of the ability to control

and prevent stereotype activation. As the work of Moskowitz and colleagues is summarized by Devine and Sharp (2009), “low prejudice people learn from their mistakes and become effective in regulating future prejudiced responses” (p. 75).

The cognitive act of thought-suppression will, at times, be followed by a rebound of the thoughts (or stereotypes) previously suppressed (Liberman & Förster, 2000; Macrae, Bodenhausen, & Milne, 1998; Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Jetten, 1994; Wegner, Schneider, Carter, & White, 1987). After the act of suppression, the construct that had been consciously suppressed would now be more accessible than if no suppression had taken place. The need to use the activated, but suppressed, construct acts as motivation for the post-suppressional rebound (Liberman & Förster, 2000).

CHAPTER 3

The Theoretical Model

The continued exploration of stereotyping and prejudice has gained renewed importance, specifically for researching the impact these concepts, acts, and beliefs have on stigmatized group members, such as Mexican Nationals and Mexican Americans. The current research here is supported by a theoretical framework rooted in motivated cognition as the main source of biases against Mexican Americans (see Figure 1). The model presented has four basic levels: 1) Social Identity and Individual Difference variables and Ideologies and 2)Cognitive Biases, 3) Perceived Threat, and 4) Societal and Personal Outcomes.

The following subsections provide a discussion and justification of each level of the model, using Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephen, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999) as major theoretical components to explain the content and outcomes of bias against Mexican Americans. As shown in Figure 1, a combination of social identity, individual differences, and ideologies (*Model Level 1*) contribute to cognitive biases (*Model Level 2*), such as stereotyping and stereotype content. In turn, psychological feelings of threat are experienced (*Model Level 3*), and negative outcomes (i.e., discriminatory policies) are expressed, felt, or carried out (*Model Level 4*).

Multiple theories have been developed for the purpose of explaining the motivation for White Americans' biases toward African Americans. Though researchers have applied theories originally developed to assess Black-White intergroup dynamics, a handful of theories have been tested for Latinos as actors and targets: Social Dominance

Orientation (Danso, Sedlovskaya, & Suanda, 2007; Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008; Thomsen et al., 2010), Symbolic Racism (SR2K-Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears, Citrin, Cheledon, & van Laar, 1999), Modern Racism (Adad-Merino, Newheiser, Dovidio, Tabernero, & González, 2013), Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Stephen et al., 1999; Zárate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2003), and Aversive Racism (Espinoza & Willis-Esqueda, 2008; Willis Esqueda, Espinoza, & Culhane, 2008). These theories will be discussed in more detail as appropriate within the relevant model level.

Each level of the model will be discussed in light of previous literature regarding biases toward Mexican Americans and other ethnic minorities, as needed. The subsequent section will address research gaps in racial/ethnic measurement and other challenges to creating good measures of bias.

Model Level 1: Social Identity and Individual Difference Variables

As a primary component of *Model Level 1*, the degree to which an individual identifies and relates to the ingroup and the amount of importance of the group membership are pivotal elements to ingroup biases (Brown & Zagefka, 2005). From this perspective, stereotypes, as overgeneralizations, are influenced by social identity and other individual differences and are likely to be applied to outgroup members, although stereotypes, in general, are well-learned early in life through social consensus (Fiske, 2005). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) explains the root of outgroup and ingroup bias, as it develops through a need for a positive ingroup identity.

In the 1970s, the social-cognitive paradigm gave new life to the slowing stereotype literature (See Sherman, Judd, & Park, 1989 for review). Research was

intensely focused on the processes and motivation leading to stereotyping and the cognitive structure behind them (Veroff, 1978). Theories, such as Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971) and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1987), aimed to explain the motivations leading to intergroup conflict. Researchers were able to view stereotyping with new eyes; the root of stereotyping was linked to social-cognitive processing. "The essence of the cognitive approach is that stereotyping is a functional, adaptive process that plays a central role in human social cognition" (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994, p. 44). The revelation that cognitive and social representation of stereotypes play a role in social cognition opened the door to examining many aspects of stereotypes beyond content analyses (Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986; Hewstone, Jaspars, & Lalljee, 1982).

Social Identity Theory. The causal sequence of the current theoretical framework begins with the motivation to maintain a positive sense of ingroup identity and a positive sense of who the ingroup is. Therefore, the major motivation to maintain stereotypes is strongly related to ingroup-outgroup dynamics and, hence, is based on social identity (Stangor, 2009). Social identity theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) has been used as a framework for understanding motivations for racism since its inception (Zarate, 2009). The theory posits that social identity is derived from one's group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1986); in turn, a positive sense of personal self-esteem and collective self-esteem is felt by group members (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

A person is motivated to maintain a positive social identity, which is typically associated with a pro-ingroup orientation and boosts to self-esteem, rather than only reflecting an anti-outgroup orientation (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Gaertner & Dovidio,

2009; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Instead, the need for outgroup derogation typically derives from threats to the positive ingroup identity and self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1988), as explained in subsequent levels of the current framework.

Even with arbitrary ingroups and outgroups (using the minimal group paradigm), participants consistently favored their ingroup over the members of the outgroup, showing an ingroup favoritism bias (Tajfel et al., 1971). When one's social identity is threatened, the reaction is based on the salient ingroup/outgroup dynamics; ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation are expressed (Aronson & McGlone, 2009).Yet, according to the current theoretical model, the intermediate step between the existence of one's social identity and the expression and outcome of threat to that identity is the creation and maintenance of ideologies and cognitive biases.

According to the theories about the utility of social identity (i.e., Collective Self Esteem- Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992 and Realistic Group Conflict Theory-Sherif & Sherif, 1953), it could be expected that the patterns of growing ethnic diversity will strengthen perceptions of group boundaries. When the relevant identity is threatened, the reaction is based on the salient ingroup/outgroup dynamics. Gonsalkorale, Carlisle, and von Hipple (2007) reported an increase in implicit stereotyping after introducing a threat to the ingroup status. Collective self-esteem seems to provide a buffer when negative information about the outgroup is processed. The participants who experienced a threat against their ingroup also reported being more identified and more positive about being a member of their racial group than those who did not receive the threat (Gonsalkorale, et al., 2007).SIT represents the source of the motivation for feeling and expressing bias

against outgroup members, but the cognitive process leading to the creation of bias is also influenced by a range of individual differences (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014).

Individual Difference Variables. In addition to elements of social identity, other individual difference variables are expected to influence the creation and expression of ethnic bias. Recently, the Big 5 personality traits (Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness), social dominance orientation (SDO), and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) have been linked to negative attitudes toward ethnic minorities (Duckitt & Sibley, 2014) and immigrants (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014; Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2013; Oyamot, Fisher, Deason, & Borgida, 2012; Varela, Gonzalez, Clark, Cramer, & Crosby, 2013). Although other measures of individual differences may be supported within the model, such as the Big 5, only SDO will be discussed at length. A discussion of the strong link between SDO and RWA, in terms of political ideologies, will follow within the *Model Level 2* subsection (i.e., Crawford & Pilanski, 2014).

SDO reflects the degree to which one desires that one's ingroup dominate and be superior above other social groups (Pratto et al., 1994), and this provides motivation to maintain existing social hierarchies (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014). An individual's level of SDO can predict support or rejection of ideologies (*Model Level 2*), cognitive biases (*Model Level 2*), and policies (*Model Level 4*) relating to intergroup relations (Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011; Pratto et al., 1994). Even with egalitarian social norms, support for racial policies, such as affirmative action, has not increased (Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Sears, 1988). Federico and Sidanius (2002) found support showing this phenomenon was driven, instead, by the level of sophistication of political knowledge and beliefs of superiority and social hierarchy (e.g., SDO). A significant positive

relationship between conservatism and opposition to affirmative action was found for those participants with better political knowledge; this relationship was not found for those with less political knowledge (Federico & Sidanius, 2002).

Ho et al. (2012) have continued to refine the conceptualization of SDO as a two-dimensional construct, resulting in the revised SDO_7 measure (Ho et al., in press). The SDO-Dominance (SDO-D) dimension represents the desire to maintain group-based hierarchies where subordinate groups are oppressed, and SDO-Egalitarianism (SDO-E) reflects opposition to group-based equality (Ho et al., 2012). For example, SDO-D is predictive of overt oppression to maintain group dominance, while SDO-E is predictive of ideologies that more subtly justify group inequality (Ho et al., in press). In the second study, it is expected that SDO-D will predict negative attitudes towards Mexican Americans, immigrants, and symbolic racism. SDO-E will be a better predictor of the components of RWA, such as conservatism, and opposition to equal opportunity-based racial policies.

Researchers have an ongoing discussion of whether SDO is more appropriately studied as an “upstream” individual difference variable or as an ideology “downstream” in the model. Upstream implies a temporal relationship between the variables that are first in a model, such as SDO, and variables that would potentially be impacted downstream, such as racial attitudes. Even though SDO has been examined as an individual difference variable (Ho et al., 2014; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington, Ho, Sibley, & Duriez, 2013; Stephan, 2014), Duckitt and Sibley (2010) make the case for SDO as an ideology alongside RWA in their dual process of motivation (DPM) model of ideology and prejudice.

Duckitt and colleagues have extensively studied the DPM model, which is based on “two basic dimensions of ideological attitudes,” best represented as SDO and RWA (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010, p. 1885). They have “different motivational goals and values,” which are influenced by personality dispositions and worldviews (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010, p. 1885). Within the DPM model, SDO and RWA are characterized as ideological variables that mediate the relationship between personality dispositions and racial attitudes and outcomes. Through a meta-analysis, Sibley and Duckitt (2008) found strong support for the personality factors that are important determinants of SDO and RWA. SDO was predicted by low agreeableness, and RWA was predicted by low openness to experience and high conscientiousness (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008).

Of interest to the current study, the DPM model also focuses on the impact of SDO and RWA on their relationships with prejudice, via situational or contextual factors (Sibley et al., 2013). Sibley et al. (2013) tested the effects of two contextual motivations that moderate the relationship between SDO and RWA with prejudice—competitive and threat-driven (dangerous world) motivations. The researchers found that both competitive and dangerous worldviews were associated with negative attitudes to local immigration, but the results were differentially affected by the interaction of worldview with situational and contextual factors of participants’ neighborhoods (Sibley et al., 2013). Those participants in more affluent neighborhoods had more negative attitudes towards immigration into the local neighborhood than those in more impoverished neighborhoods, consistent with the competitive worldview. The belief that the world is dangerous combined with the effect of immigrant concentration in the local

neighborhood provided the motivation for negative attitudes toward immigrants, as a social group (Sibley et al., 2013).

More recently, Sidanius et al. (2013) found support for SDO as an "upstream" variable in the model, as opposed to “downstream” as predicted by the DPM. In a longitudinal demonstration of the relationships between SDO and empathic concern at time 1 and time 2, a significant effect of SDO’s time 1 on empathic concern at time 2 was present and more significant than the effect of empathic concern (time 1) on SDO (time 2). This is interpreted to mean that SDO as an ideology “downstream,” as predicted by DPM, would not be able to impact an “upstream” personality variable, such as empathic concern. The effect was replicated for SDO and empathic concern, but the effect was not present for other political ideologies (political conservatism, belief in colorblindness, and system justification). Further, in an earlier comparison of Social Dominance (SD) Theory and Symbolic Racism (SR) Theory, Sidanius, Devereux, and Pratto (1992) compared the differences in the causal models as predicted by each theory. Stronger support was found for the SD model reflecting SDO as a causal factor to SR, which is accounted for within *Model Level 2* in the model.

In regards to the impact of SDO on attitudes toward Mexican Americans, no studies have been published. One study has examined SDO with U.S. Latinos as participants, but SDO and RWA have been linked more often to Whites’ negative attitudes toward immigrants. Peña and Sidanius (2002) conducted a comparison study between Whites and Latinos in California looking at the effect of the two dimensions of SDO (group anti-egalitarianism and group dominance) on U.S. patriotism. Although no relationship was found between group anti-egalitarianism and patriotism for either

Whites or Latinos, Whites' group dominance was associated with higher levels of U.S. patriotism (Peña & Sidanius, 2002). For Latinos, the opposite result was found: the greater the group dominance level, the lower the level of U.S. patriotism. Latinos who do not adhere to the desire to subordinate inferior groups will reportedly express a greater sense of patriotism, even though they are members of a subordinate group.

One's needs to maintain a positive view of the ingroup is derived through motivated cognition, and this cuts across every level of the model. The motivation to hold prejudice has direct and indirect effects on behavior, whether it means expressing tendencies to support societal hierarchies, as in the theory of social dominance orientation (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), or harboring feelings of threat, as in the integrated threat theory (*Model Level 3*) (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Ideologies. There have been several ideologies found to be associated with the expression of racial prejudice, cognitive biases, and perceived threat. For purposes of the current studies, only a brief overview will be provided, as this is not the central focus while testing the theoretical model.

The history of right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) as an individual difference/personality variable, authoritarianism, began with Adorno, Frenkel-Bruswick, Levinson, & Sanford (1950). Initial characterizing of the authoritarian personality led to the development of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988). RWA refers to a "predisposition towards social conformity and the experience of threat or danger in the environment" (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014, p. 558). Since then, researchers have made the case that RWA should be considered a social value and

attitude, as opposed to a personality trait (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014; Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010). For the current study, it is suspected that RWA contributes or is related to bias against Mexican Americans because social conformity may serve as a foundation for anti-Mexican American bias.

Multiple psychometric issues surround the RWA scale, leading to revised, shortened, and new versions of the scale (i.e., Duckitt et al., 2010; Zakrisson, 2005). Even though Altemeyer (1988) had maintained that the RWA scale was unidimensional, multiple researchers have consistently found RWA to be multidimensional (Duckitt et al., 2010; Manganelli Rattazzi, Bobbio, & Canova, 2007). Amongst other psychometric properties of the RWA Scale, Duckitt et al. (2010) challenged the unidimensionality and set out to reevaluate and distinguish between the three contributing factors of RWA: authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission, and conventionalism. The resulting scale accounted for these three factors, relabeled, respectively, as Authoritarianism, Conservatism, and Traditionalism (Duckitt et al., 2010).

In this most recent conceptualization of RWA, the three attitudinal dimensions were found to collectively represent the RWA concept: Authoritarianism, Conservatism, and Traditionalism (ACT Model) (Duckitt et al., 2010). Each of the concepts has traditionally been examined in regards to racial bias. The “authoritarian aggression” RWA dimension is represented in the *Authoritarianism Subscale*. It is defined as “expressing attitudinal beliefs favouring the use of strict, tough, harsh, punitive, coercive social control” (p. 690). The *Conservatism Subscale* stands for the “authoritarian submission” dimension of RWA, expressing “attitudes favouring uncritical, respectful, obedient, submissive support for existing societal or group authorities and institutions”

(p.690). “Conventionalism” is represented by the *Traditionalism Subscale*, expressing “attitudes favouring traditional, old fashioned social norms, values, and morality” (p. 691).

Conservatism has been examined in regards to racial bias (Ray & Furnham, 1984; Sears, 1988), and it is a known predictor of prejudice against Blacks (Sears, 1988) and against immigrants (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014; Quinton, Cowan, & Watson, 1996). In regard to negative attitudes toward immigrants, Crawford and Pilanski (2014) examined the effects of perceived outgroup threat on political intolerance, exploring SDO and RWA as motivational moderators. When the immigrant rights group threatened the hierarchical status of the dominant group, the relationship was moderated by SDO. Yet, when the immigrant rights group threatened to impact the status quo of social norms, the relationship was moderated by RWA. Even though these results are in regards to immigrant attitudes, the relationship between SDO, attitudes toward Mexican Americans, and threat should be similar. SDO is accounted for in *Model Level 1* of the model, but its effects will carry through and have an impact at each level of the model.

Along these same lines, national identity, as a predictor of bias against immigrants, has received a fair amount of attention in the literature. For example, defining an American national identity is difficult because it is a multidimensional concept that covers a broad range of norms (Byrne & Dixon, 2013), not to mention the complexity added by its dynamic nature (Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013). Bloodlines, ancestry, and cultural traits appear to be central to defining the American national identity, which Byrne and Dixon (2013) label as the “ethnocultural dimension.” High levels of national identity, along with high levels of group narcissism, predicted negative

sentiment toward undocumented Latino immigrants (Lyons, Coursey, & Kenworthy, 2013). Dovidio et al. (2010) suggest that national identity is related to the unique Latino experience that separates them from other ethnic minorities. The further Latinos are perceived to be from the American prototype, the more psychological impact and strain will be felt in intergroup relationships and perceptions. Yet, Schildkraut (2005) asserts that the impact of perceived discrimination on Latinos' national identity impacts their political engagement, just as the *imported ideologies* and past experiences of immigrants present in the U.S. play a role in *their* political engagement (Wals, 2013).

Model Level 2: Cognitive Biases

Model Level 2 reflects cognitive biases, such as ethnic stereotypes and prejudice. The basis for holding particular stereotypes can guide people into particular beliefs (Lu & Nicholson-Crotty, 2010). Ideologies and anti-Mexican American biases at times may have reciprocating effects on one another, but it is expected that ideologies will play a role in the degree of cognitive biases that will be exhibited. Ideologies influence attitudes (Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010) and the basis for holding particular stereotypes can guide people into particular beliefs (Lu & Nicholson-Crotty, 2010). Although various ideologies have been associated with the expression of racial bias (Livi, Leone, Falgares, & Lombardo, 2014; Skitka, Mullen, Griffin, Hutchinson, & Chamberlin, 2002), cognitive biases are the main interest for the current studies.

Cognitive biases. As a result of social identification, cognitive biases are created. "Cognitive biases" is a term used here to recognize racial attitudes, such as anti-Mexican American attitudes, anti-black attitudes, and anti-immigrant attitudes. Therefore, in the case of ethnic minorities, these cognitive biases are manifested as racial stereotypes and

prejudice. A distinction can be made between cognitive biases such as these and cognitive processes (i.e., socialization) that lead to the development of the biases through learning the content of the biases. For example, the development of symbolic racism, labeled here as a cognitive bias, is based on the "acquisition of conservative morals, values, and ideology" during childhood socialization processes (Henry & Sears, 2009, p. 571).

Cultural stereotypes and implications of skin color are also learned early in childhood (Katz, 1976, 1981). The development of these ingroup and outgroup distinctions are present in children as young as three or four (Katz, 1976, 1981). The content of the biases are not crystallized as prejudice until the biases have meaning. Crystallization is defined as "the extent to which an attitude is psychologically well-formed and meaningful to an individual" (Henry & Sears, 2009, p. 570). Therefore, ingroup-outgroup distinctions, via the process of social identification (*Model Level 1*), occur before personal meaning is attached to create cognitive biases (*Model Level 2*). The focus for the current studies is on adults who already have a social identity established.

As previously discussed, prejudice has all of the properties of an attitude, and stereotypes are cognitive representations of social groups. Emphasis will be placed on this level of the model because the new measure is considered a part of this group of assessments. After a literature review of the relevant work on stereotypes of Mexican Americans, a discussion of racism theories and bias against immigrants will be presented.

Mexican American stereotype literature. Current research on stereotyping is important for understanding modern bias against stigmatized ethnic groups. For over a century, Mexican Americans have been racialized in the United States, which "requires a

historically specific and comparative approach to be understood" (Rodriguez, 2005, p. 73). The exploration of stereotyping and prejudice has focused on researching the impact these concepts, beliefs, and attitudes have on Mexican Nationals and Mexican Americans. For example, although stereotypes are often harmless, the mere activation of a stereotype impacts intergroup relationships and interactions (Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000), and the positive or negative outcome of these interactions depends on the goals, motivations, and prejudices of the perceiver (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Thus, the anger incited by the stereotype of the Mexican "illegal" immigrant can be enough to produce a hate crime that results in the death of a documented, legal Ecuadorian (Kessler, 2009). This subsection of Model Level 2 will address the important characteristics of Mexican American stereotypes that will influence the properties of the new measure of anti-Mexican American attitudes.

An early investigation of Mexican stereotypes described multiple "social types" of Mexican boys in Detroit, which diverged from the common "law-breaking zoot-suiter" stereotype (Humphrey, 1945). Instead, Mexican and Mexican American social types were defined by personality, which was viewed as a consequence of "differing degrees and kinds of participation in culture" (Humphrey, 1945, p. 78). For example, one social type for children was categorized by adherence to respect for parental authority, and another was for the "assimilated" child who intentionally separated himself from family and Mexican culture. In general, Mexican children were seen as docile, generous, courteous, and modest. Humphrey (1955) described two other Mexican social types held by middle-class Americans: the Mexican peasant personality and the upper class Mexican personality. On one hand, Mexican peasants were conceived with mostly negative traits

(e.g., being dirty, cruel, violent, hot tempered, unambitious, sexual, uneducated, and superstitious). On the other hand, upper class Mexicans were regarded as being charming, educated, romantic, and "Spanish." Humphrey (1955) noted the insensitivity of being labeled as "Spanish": "An American who was labeled as British would resent the designation as much as an upper class Mexican does being called Spanish" (p. 306).

Contributing to what was known about Whites' beliefs of Mexican Americans, the minority perspective was eventually considered within stereotyping literature, by looking at Mexican American stereotypes of the dominant group and of Mexican Americans (e.g., Buriel & Vasquez, 1982; Casas, Ponterotto, & Sweeney, 1987; Triandis, Lisansky, Setiadi, Chang, Marín, & Bentancourt, 1982). For example, Triandis et al. (1982) asked Hispanic and Anglo U.S. Navy recruits to assign attributes from a checklist to six target ethnic groups: Black Americans, White Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, Chicanos, and Mexican Americans. By the Anglo participants, Hispanics were labeled as educated, friendly, ambitious, and hardworking, and, specifically, Chicanos were viewed as family oriented, ethical, and dependent (Triandis, et al, 1982). According to Hispanic respondents in the study, White Americans were found to be educated, ethical, competitive, cooperative, independent and hardworking.

A trait approach to understand dominant group stereotypes about Latinos has been prevalent. Although Mexican Americans have been discriminated against in the United States for hundreds of years (Arredondo, 2004; Rodriguez, 2005), Niemann (2001) revealed consistent patterns of negative images and stereotypes throughout several decades. However, the content of current stereotypes has expanded (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994), as was the case with the content of Black stereotypes

(Devine & Elliot, 1995). Based on characteristics in trait clusters found by Niemann et al. (1994), Mexican American men were labeled as being hard workers, alcohol users, chauvinistic, and family-oriented and as having short, dark hair. Mexican American women were characterized as being good cooks, promiscuous, and passive and as having long hair and dark eyes. More recently, Martinez, Estrada, and Willis-Esqueda (2008) confirmed the stereotype clusters reported in Niemann et al. (1994). Examining the relationship between race and gender on the basis of the traits revealed more positive trait associations for White women and men than for Mexican American women and men. White women were viewed as being less selfish and more considerate, intelligent, likable and sensitive than Mexican American women. White men were viewed as being less aggressive, cold, insensitive, lazy, and selfish than Mexican American men. White men were also rated as being more attractive, competent, ethical, intelligent, likable, trustworthy, and upper class. Although there was trait-overlap with traits assigned between the ethnic groups, it was assumed that the motivation underlying the trait assignment for each group was different.

Stereotype valence is indicative of the direction of the relationship with other bias-related constructs. Triandis et al. (1982) provided insight into ingroup-outgroup motivations for trait content. When a trait is favorable, ingroups tend to see themselves as having more of it than outgroups have, and the opposite is true for negative traits. Ingroups see themselves as having less of it and outgroups as having more. Interestingly, the stereotypes about Anglos were stable from the ingroup and outgroup perspective; yet, the stereotypes about Hispanics were inconsistent because of the heterogeneity of the group. For example, Triandis et al. (1982) found varying Anglo stereotype content

patterns when comparing Mexican Americans, Chicanos, Cuban Americans, and Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans were rated as friendly, but Cuban Americans, Chicanos and Mexican Americans were rated as unfriendly. All four groups were seen as having four common traits, though: family oriented, lazy, hardworking, and ethical. Casas et al. (1987) reported that ethnic self-identification mattered in intensity and direction of perceived stereotypes about the ingroup. Meaning, those respondents who identified themselves as "Mexican American" or "Chicano" reported less negative perceptions about Anglo American attitudes for Mexican Americans (Casas et al., 1987).

Additionally, from a list of 92 descriptive characteristics, Tomkiewicz and Adeyemi-Bello (1997) asked Euro-American graduating MBA students to indicate whether the characteristics were positive, negative, or neutral when applied to Euro-Americans and to Hispanics. Positive and negative traits were assigned to both groups, but at differing rates. As expected, Euro-Americans were listed as having 42 of the 53 positive items, while Hispanics were given 16. Yet, Hispanics were said to be characterized by all 18 of the negative traits in comparison to 10 negative for Euro-Americans. Interestingly, of the positive traits, only one positive trait was unique to Hispanics, but Euro-Americans had 25 characteristics that were unique to their group; meanwhile, eight of the negative traits were unique for Hispanics as compared to none for Euro-Americans.

Phenotypic features, including skin color, are often the basis for stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination in the majority-minority intergroup dynamic, but they also play a major role in intragroup perceptions. Mexican Americans have the genetic mixture of Spanish and indigenous ancestors (*mestizos*) (Buriel, 1987), resulting in a wide range

of phenotypic features (McNeill, Prieto, Niemann, Pizarro, Vera, & Gomez, 2001; Pryce, 1999; Vásquez, García-Vásquez, Bauman, & Sierra, 1997). Because the effects of social stigma are often based on the concealment of the stigma (Schneider, 2004), one's skin color is associated with experiences with bias and with stereotypes connected to social class. This hierarchy has been seen in Spanish media, when examining Latina perceptions (Rojas, 2004):

> Race and skin color also are used as a class marker in the shows. This is best represented by the symbolic Whiteness of the hosts of the shows and the distance they establish from others such as the less fluent Spanish, the darker, the U.S.-born and those from certain nationalities…Women's attire, make-up and the correct use of the Spanish language are used as markers of class to symbolically separate the good from the bad Latina. (Rojas, 2004, p. 138)

Expressions of colorism account for much of the intragroup bias amongst Mexican Americans. "Latino expressions of color bias are intimately connected with assessments of phenotype, hair texture, size and shape of nose and lips, and socioeconomic class standing" (Hernández, 2009, p.240).

Unlike Mexican Americans, the case of bias against immigrants and Mexican Nationals has been well-established through recent literature (e.g., Cowan, Martinez, & Mendiola, 1997), even though researchers are reporting similar results internationally (e.g., Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2013). This was one reason that sets the study of Mexican American bias apart from bias toward other ethnic minorities, especially in the Southwest. Mexicans have a long history of movement within the North American continent. Yet, not all Mexican Americans have been immigrants in the U.S., and not all

immigrants in the U.S. are Mexican. An estimated 11.5 million undocumented immigrants (6.8 million Mexicans) are living in the U.S. as of 2011, according to the Department of Homeland Security (Hoefer, Rytina, & Baker, 2012). This recent group of immigrants is living in states across the nation, and they are even responsible for the revival of several towns in the Southeast (Odem & Lacy, 2009) and the growth of towns in the Midwest (Benjamin-Alvarado, DeSipio, & Montoya, 2009; Cantarero & Potter, 2014).

Many Mexican American families have lived on the same land before it was American territory, making them "former" Mexican citizens and long-time U.S. citizens. Yet, with recent policies, publicity, and attention affecting immigrants, Mexican Americans are on the receiving end of much prejudice and discrimination. The motivation for cognitive bias toward Mexican Americans stems from biases held against a minority group, characterized as immigrants, and with phenotypic differences to the White ideal. This bias against Mexican Americans becomes salient, especially when the target phenotypically fits the prototype consistent with the Mexican stereotypes (Niemann, Pollak, Rogers, & O'Connor, 1998). In the future, this could be tested with the prototypicality stereotype paradigm. It is expected that patterns of biased attitudes toward immigrants would differ from the patterns of bias toward Mexican Americans on the basis of context (e.g., explicit citizenship, job status, etc.), unless the notion of Mexican Americans and immigrants is so intertwined that invoking one construct invokes the other. In this case, the intricacies each level of the model can be examined in light of the findings.

The process of person perception is especially vulnerable to manipulation through context. Phenotypic prototypicality, the degree to which the physical appearance of a targeted individual resembles a prototypic member of the group (Wilkins, Kaiser, & Rieck, 2010), influences whether a perceiver will rely on context, stereotypes, or both in person perception . For instance, when a target exhibits a low degree of prototypic phenotypicality, the relevant context cues will be taken into account (Niemann, et al., 1998). Niemann and colleagues (1998) demonstrated that contextual cues were important in attributions of atypical, ambiguous Mexican American male targets, such that the context was used in conjunction with stereotypes to interpret personality traits and physical attributes. As expected, attributions about prototypical targets were similar across contexts because stereotypes and previously held biases guided the perceptions, instead of context cues (Niemann et al., 1998).

During early psychological research on Mexican Americans, most stereotypes of Mexican Americans included the phenotype-related traits (e.g., dark-skin), but this only further contributed to the love-hate theme in the U.S. Just as the lighter complexions of the upper class Mexican social type elicited more positive descriptions than the darker peasant Mexican social type with Indian features (Humphrey, 1955), Mexican Americans' skin color was found to be important in attribution and perception processes. For dominant group members, "…usually their skin is the rich brown that blonds so often cultivate on the beach and sneer at on the street, when it is natural" (Sutherland, 1952, p. 63).

Intergroup and intragroup preferences toward light-skinned individuals extends to the role that skin color plays in Latino community interest (Vásquez et al., 1997) and in

employment issues (Espino & Franz, 2002; Hersch, 2011; Jones, 2001). Vásquez et al. (1997) reported that Mexican Americans with dark skin were less acculturated, on average, than lighter-skinned Mexican Americans, but skin color and acculturation together influenced the level of interest in the Latino community. Highly acculturated, dark-skinned Mexican Americans showed more interest in the Latino community than light- or intermediate-skinned individuals. Yet, the dark-skinned individuals displayed the least amount of community interest when they were acculturated to Anglo culture.

It is not an accident that Latinas perceived the darker individuals to be of lower socioeconomic status because skin color has been linked to employment and wage discrimination and to intragroup preferences (Rojas, 2004). Productivity, labor market characteristics, visa status, and the length of time in the U.S. are not likely to be the source of this inequity. Instead, "skin color continues to have a direct effect on wages as those with darker skin appear to be on a permanently lower wage profile" (Hersch, 2011, p. 22).

A societal preference for *blancos* has developed because of the advantages that are attached to lighter-skinned individuals. Using implicit measures, such as the IAT, Hispanics' preferences for complexion were confirmed. Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald, and Swanson (2002) found support for an implicit preference based on skin color, using a Blanco-Moreno Hispanic IAT with a sample of American Hispanics. American Hispanics showed a significant implicit preference for the lighter complexion of Blanco subgroup over the darker complexion of the Moreno subgroup. Explicit measures hid this Blanco preference when participants rated their attitudes on a feeling thermometer. An explicit preference for Hispanics over 'Caucasians' was found, although

no implicit preference was found on the Hispanic-Caucasian IAT. Although subgroup prejudice based on skin color was found with American Hispanics, this implicit prejudice was found more predominantly amongst Chilean participants (Uhlmann et al., 2002).

The new scale: The Anti-Mexican American Attitude Scale (AMAAS). The Anti-Mexican American Attitude Scale (AMAAS) will tap into the content of Mexican American stereotypes, treading carefully away from unintentionally assessing attitudes toward immigrants. Three assumptions can be made at this point. First, White Americans' stereotypes and attitudes about Mexican Americans and Mexican Nationals are very closely tied because of perceived cultural and phenotypic similarities. Second, AMAAS will be highly correlated with measures of immigrant attitudes, but the models will diverge when motivations for bias are explored and exposed. Third, Mexican Americans and Mexican Nationals may be synonymous to White Americans in many parts of the United States; therefore, strict definitions must be presented to participants. Even when defining one's population as "persons of Mexican descent," it is unclear who the participant is referencing in their self-identification (Buriel & Vasquez, 1982).Therefore, research on the content of stereotypes would be dependent on the target's label and subgroup (Niemann et al., 1994).White Americans have recognized differences between Latino subgroups in regards to stereotype content (Triandis et al., 1982), but in light of recent immigration events in the U.S., there is a chance of pan-ethnic generalizability.

Based on prior research and theorizing, there are five factors thought to be at the root cause of anti-Mexican American attitudes (Martinez, Estrada, & Willis-Esqueda, 2008; Martinez, Willis Esqueda, & Lopez, 2009). As an initial attempt to assess the

motivational components of biases towards Mexican, Martinez et al. (2008) utilized qualitative and quantitative methods to examine whether participants were able to describe their notions of unfair advantages and unfair disadvantages that Mexican Americans or White Americans receive. In addition, the four CSE subscales were used as predictors of social distance from Mexican Americans and European Americans. In general, high CSE scores were associated with an individual's desire for more social distance from Mexican Americans and less social distance from European Americans. Attachment to one's social groups appeared to differentially impact the perceptions of the ingroup or outgroup, as expected.

The open-ended responses were coded and analyzed, resulting in five overarching themes: 1) Targets of Discrimination, 2) Unfair Resource Allocation, 3) Cultural Beliefs, 4) Educational Opportunities, and 5) Trait Stereotypes (Martinez et al., 2008). White American participants named more unfair disadvantages of Mexican American (n = 210) than unfair advantages (n = 168), and the opposite pattern was true for White American targets (unfair disadvantages, n = 185; unfair advantages = 272). Interestingly, the most responses were provided for *unfair* advantages that their own ingroup receives. Responses had the most variation within Mexican American unfair disadvantages and European American unfair advantages.

In addition, those evaluating Mexican Americans reported multiple conflicting notions about unfair advantages and unfair disadvantages received by the group. This may indicate sensitivity to the social situation that Mexican Americans are facing (i.e., "Targets of Discrimination"). At the same time, there was a perception that competition for the same social and financial resources was negatively affecting one's own group

(i.e., “Unfair Resource Allocation”). It should be noted that the majority of the AMAAS scale items were taken directly from the qualitative data. The following background contains details about each of the themes of the scale.

The *Targets of Discrimination* (TD) subscale deals with whether Whites believed that Mexican Americans experience discrimination, as well as whether or not Mexican Americans are welcome in the U.S. A low score could indicate that Whites believe discrimination no longer exists (as in system justification). Some items would be reverse-scored to avoid response bias. Theoretically, participants could acknowledge discrimination against Mexican Americans, but still hold negative stereotypes, as measured by the fifth subscale. The TD subscale would possibly support justification for other beliefs.

The *Unfair Resource Allocation* (URA) subscale represents beliefs about resources being unfairly distributed, typically surrounding economic concerns. The unifying theme in this subscale is that Mexican Americans unfairly take more than they put in to common resources, whether it is welfare, taxes, or getting jobs they do not deserve. Respondents reported that Mexican Americans take jobs that most Americans do not want, but they also say that Mexican Americans get preferences in hiring over whites just because of skin color (Martinez et al., 2008). Thus, the general issue is resource allocation whether positive or negative. Typically, Mexican immigrants are the ones taking the hard labor jobs and are exploited. Mexican Americans are benefitting from affirmative action programs that are perceived to “give preference” to minorities over Whites. It makes sense that Mexican Americans fit the “taking jobs from Americans” more than immigrants who are getting the “jobs that no one wants to do.” The analyses

for the new scale will help to sort this out by finding which items tap into each concept. The relationship between the AMAAS and the Negative Attitudes Toward Immigrants Scale (NATIS) will be utilized as a means to determine to what degree there is overlap between Mexican Americans and immigrants. It should also be noted that this scale could have face validity as a "realistic threat scale," but endorsement of these beliefs could be the source of threat, not the actual expression or perception of threat represented in *Model Level 3*.

The *Cultural Stereotypes* (CS) subscale taps into beliefs about Mexican American culture and lifestyle that induce bias. Mexican Americans were seen as having a tight-knit community, but participants also see this as Mexican Americans not wanting to assimilate to be true Americans (Martinez et al., 2008). Language played a big role in this thought process, among other concepts such as ideas about patriotism and community. Language is another convoluted aspect of separating Whites' stereotypes about immigrants and citizens. It may be thought that Mexican immigrants do not want to learn English, but it is also thought that Mexican Americans get jobs because they are bilingual.

The *Educational Opportunities* (EO) subscale represents the sense that Mexican Americans have unfair access to higher education because of scholarships that only ethnic minorities can get. Many of the responses were biased beliefs about affirmative action type programs (i.e., quotas, preferential treatment), as well as threats to financial aid and scholarships (Martinez et al., 2008). This is the one area where respondents did not report conflicting beliefs, but the respondents were college students, making this a very clear and present threat. For that reason, this was a very prevalent area of bias in the

sample. It was clear that students held negative views of “special opportunities” for scholarships based on ethnicity. Within the national sample of adults in the current studies, this subscale may not be as pronounced as it would be in a college student sample.

The *Trait Stereotypes* (TS) subscale contains items that assess the typical traits that have been found to consistently describe Mexican American stereotypes (i.e., Dworkin, 1965; Niemann et al., 1994; Triandis et al., 1982). Many responses listed trait stereotypes as unfair disadvantages that Mexican Americans have, such as “being lazy” and “not having an education” (Martinez et al., 2008). Much of the previous research has utilized college samples; yet, the current studies are expected to mirror these results.

The new scale is intended to assess the source of biases against Mexican Americans. AMAAS should be tapping into personally held stereotypes and attitudes about Mexican Americans. High scores will reflect higher degrees of endorsement of negative attitudes toward Mexican Americans. Higher personal endorsement should be predictive of perceived threat (*Model Level 3*). For example, if someone has a high subscale score for UR, they will, in turn, report higher levels of realistic threat. Based on the endorsement of these stereotypes, threat will be high and, in turn, they will not endorse race equality policies, such as affirmative action or school desegregation (*Model Level 4*).

The composition of this scale is different than scales developed for other ethnicities. The items here make the most sense for Hispanic targets. Other scales might be used to assess negative attitudes toward Mexican Americans, such as the SR2K, but the approach would be incomplete. It may not be the case that Blacks are seen as taking

jobs no one else wants, and Whites' may not immediately try to send Blacks to their "homeland" as a response to prejudice. In a sense, Blacks may be seen as more "American" than Mexican Americans. Blacks may not be welcome either, but it is for different reasons. Perhaps Asians would be more similar to Hispanics than to Blacks because of the immigration stigma (Schildkraut, 2012), but Asians are considered to be a "model minority," holding them to different academic and work standards than Hispanics (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). There could be more economic threat from Asians taking mid- to high-level American jobs than Hispanics taking "hard labor," blue-collar jobs. This can be explored based on the reported income and socioeconomic status (SES) of respondents in the current study. Respondents would be expected to express more prejudice towards those individuals seen as a direct threat to their own social standing. Low SES Whites are more concerned about the low SES minorities taking their jobs or benefitting from hiring "preferences." The economic threat from Hispanics derives from the perspective that Hispanics are a "drain on the system." Asians and Hispanics might be similar on the language/accent issue, but this would not apply for Blacks.

Attitudes toward immigrants. For the sake of clarity in distinguishing between Mexican Americans and Mexican Nationals, a brief discussion of research about negative attitudes toward immigrants is warranted. The contentiousness of immigration beliefs has occurred in waves throughout U.S. history, and immigration as a research topic is no exception (Diaz, Saenz, & Kwan, 2011; Hoover, 1929; Reyna, Dobria, & Wetherell, 2013). Although immigration is a social concern internationally (Deaux, 2006), there are specific implications for Mexican Americans within the context of immigration in the United States. Ongoing racial and political tension caused by immigration in the United

States has led to cognitively tying immigration to the evaluation of Mexican American citizens.

As previously mentioned, one challenge, when examining biases against Mexican Americans, refers to the confusion associated with assuming that Mexican Nationals and Mexican Americans are the same ethnic group, even though nativity (i.e., country of birth) is an important determinant for the social and ethnic identities for those of Mexican descent (Gurin, Hurtado, & Peng, 1994). Immigration plays a large role in the systematic association between U.S. citizens and non-citizens. It is true that Mexican Nationals and Mexican Americans are very closely linked and may not be recognized as two separate groups. In fact, Dovidio et al. (2010) state that "negative attitudes toward undocumented immigrants extend to Latino immigrants in general because of how closely associated these two groups are," which in turn impacts bias toward Latino citizens (p. 63). Nevertheless, a thorough assessment about the local population from where data is collected is important for interpretation of the results (Walker, 2014). It is expected that, the further that the sample is located from high density Latino populations, the more that Mexican Nationals and Mexican Americans will be viewed as one group. Less intergroup contact will be related to more inaccurate stereotypes (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967). Having extended length of high quality contact, via volunteer missionary work with Mexicans, was related to decreased levels of intergroup anxiety toward Mexicans, as well as decreased endorsement of negative stereotypes (Ridge & Montoya, 2013). At the same time, the intricacies of the attitudes towards Latinos in the U.S. cannot be fully accounted for by contact theory (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004) or by current theories of prejudice against Blacks (Dovidio et al., 2010). In the end, participants (or researchers) may

erroneously lump all Latinos into one group, regardless of immigration status. The current studies intend to account for regional location to counteract the effects of local population and contact with Latinos as a potential confound or explanation of results.

Furthermore, immigration research has focused on the source of bias (de Zuniga, Correa, & Valenzuela, 2012; Hersch, 2011; Rustenbach, 2010), measurement of attitudes towards immigrants (Ommundsen, van der Veer, Le, Krumov, & Larsen, 2007; van der Veer, Higler, Woelders, Ommundsen, & Pernice, 2013; Varela, Gonzalez, Clark, Cramer, & Crosby, 2013), and the interaction and relationship between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans (De la Garza, Polinard, Wrinkle, & Longoria, 1991). Varela, et al. (2013) developed the Negative Attitude Toward Immigrants Scale (NATIS) as a general measure of attitudes, as opposed to the widely used "gold standard" by Ommundsen, et al. (2007). The NATIS will be used in conjunction with the AMAAS for construct validity.

Theories of racism. Multiple theories of racism have been used as frameworks to explore the "new," "post-Civil Rights" racism, such as modern racism (McConahay, 1986), symbolic racism (Sears, 1988), and aversive racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). The current studies will focus on the symbolic racism theory. Symbolic Racism (SR) represents a blend of anti-Black prejudice and general conservatism (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears, 1988). Motivation to protect Whites' privileged status by rationalizing their opposition to racial policies that would improve racial equality, such as denying discrimination or other obstacles to racial equality via SR (Sears & Jessor, 1996).

Henry and Sears (2002) updated the original Symbolic Racism Scale (Sears, 1988) to include statements reflecting contemporary content in the Symbolic Racism

2000 Scale (SR2K; see Appendix D). This process achieved a reliable and valid blend of racial prejudice and political conservatism. Extra care was taken to address previous psychometric and content issues with the SR scale, such as eliminating items with "government" language as to avoid confounding the prediction of racial policy preferences. Items were retained or modified around four themes: 1) "work ethic and responsibility for outcomes" for Blacks, 2) "excessive demands" of Blacks, 3) "excessive demands" from Blacks, and 4) "undeserved advantage" given to Blacks (Henry & Sears, 2002). The researchers used multiple data sets to test their hypotheses about the improved scale, including a comparison of SR between Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians. Blacks reported significantly lower levels of SR than Whites, Asians, and Latinos; Whites, Asians and Latinos were not significantly different from each other. Of paramount importance, these results provided evidence that symbolic racism specifically addresses anti-Black prejudice, not just "general political conservatism or general ethnocentrism" (Henry & Sears, 2002, p. 272). Also, Henry and Sears (2002) found no significant differences of racism levels (old-fashioned and symbolic) between White adult and White college student samples. The current studies will utilize a national sample of adults; therefore, it is noteworthy that the SR2K operates similarly among both populations. To further avoid these systematic issues, other aspects of the sample will be taken into account for the current studies.

Not surprisingly, local racial composition plays an important role in the development and expression of prejudice and bias against ethnic minorities. After controlling for the local racial composition, the significant relationship between traditional prejudice toward Blacks in South versus non-South Anglo respondents was no

longer present (Taylor, 1998). The local percentage of Blacks was more important for non-Southern Whites than for Southern Whites in predicting prejudice, which supports the notion that vulnerability to context is less powerful in regions that are historically racialized. Yet, Anglos' prejudice against Latinos was not significantly related to the local percentage of Latinos, but, as the Latino population increased, the denial of discrimination toward Latinos also increased (Taylor, 1998).

This effect is not limited to regional differences. In a line of research based on context, group relations are often influenced by neighborhood ethnic composition. People's attitudes are taken from their context. For instance, Oliver and Wong (2003) report evidence that the context in people's racial environments influenced their racial attitudes. As the composition of a neighborhood becomes more racially diverse, Blacks, Latinos, and Whites expressed fewer negative stereotypes and competition toward outgroups. Meanwhile, living in a neighborhood with one's own racial group was associated with more negative outgroup perceptions. This effect for neighborhood-type (heterogeneous or homogenous) and attitudes was further amplified when living in multiethnic metropolitan areas, as opposed to predominantly White areas (Oliver & Wong, 2003). For example, individuals were more likely to exhibit this neighborhood effect to a greater degree in Los Angeles than in Boston because of the relative difference of minority presence and intergroup competition. Walker (2014) revealed the impact of local immigrant concentration on negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Low immigrant concentration in respondents' local community was related to expressing financial concerns about immigrants at a national level. Yet, high immigrant concentration was related to concerns about immigration policies at a local level.

The current theories of prejudice, which were developed using the White-Black paradigm, do not fit the Mexican American or Latino experience (Dovidio, et al., 2010). During the search for relevant literature, all the studies that include Latinos or Mexican Americans examined biases against immigrants or used Latinos as participants. Nothing was found to denote the connection between Latino bias and Modern Racism Theory, SDO, or RWA, but one Political Science conference paper examined prejudice against Latinos using the SR framework (Karl, 2011). According to Karl (2011), the SRS is compatible with assessing prejudice against the Hispanic population. Using archival 1995 and 1998 telephone survey data from California, Karl (2011) tested the four SRS themes: 1) Blacks/Hispanic-Americans no longer face much prejudice or discrimination, 2) Blacks'/Hispanic-Americans' failure to progress is due to their unwillingness to work hard enough, 3) Blacks/Hispanic-Americans are demanding too much, and 4) Blacks/Hispanic-Americans have gotten more than they deserve. She concluded that the SRS is valid as a measure of prejudice toward Hispanics, but several notable statistical and psychometric issues surrounded the study (i.e., underpowered exploratory factor analysis), which may be the reason it has not been published. Research must continue revealing the unique underlying factors for prejudice directed toward Latinos and immigrant Latinos (Dovidio, et al., 2010; Zarate & Quezada, 2012).

Model Level 3: Perceived Threat

The manifestation of anti-Mexican American bias via attitudes is the basis for perceived threat experienced by the dominant group, *Model Level 3*. Threats to the members of an ingroup, and in turn to their social identity, can cause a major cognitive crisis that will eventually lead to the expression of prejudiced attitudes toward the target

outgroup (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). This section focuses on an explanation of the Integrated Threat Theory, as well as the updated version called Intergroup Threat Theory.

Stephan and colleagues have established a program of research detailing the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), where four distinguishable types of threats are linked to increased prejudice (Stephan et al., 2002). Realistic threats most often refer to physical, political, and economic threats to the well-being of the ingroup, and symbolic threats "involve perceived group differences in morals, values, standards, beliefs, and attitudes" (p. 1243). Intergroup anxiety refers to threats that stem from intergroup interactions "because people are concerned about negative outcomes for self, such as being embarrassed, rejected, or ridiculed" (p. 1243). Lastly, negative outgroup stereotypes create feelings of threat when "these stereotypes serve as a basis for negative expectations concerning outgroup members" (p. 1244).

In an international comparison of the validity of the Integrated Threat Theory, Stephan et al. (2000) modeled the four types of threat as predictors of attitudes between Americans and Mexicans. With a history of strained relations between the U.S. and Mexico, Stephan and colleagues aimed to evaluate perceived threat from each side of the conflict. Americans and Mexicans were given measures of realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety. In addition to the frequency and quality of self-reported intergroup interaction, stereotypes were evaluated using a trait assessment, assigning a percentage to citizens of the other country who possessed each trait. The American and Mexican models revealed that anxiety about intergroup contact and negative outgroup stereotypes were significantly related to prejudiced attitudes toward each other (Stephan et al., 2000). In contrast to each other, realistic threats predicted negative attitudes of

Americans toward Mexicans, and symbolic threats predicted negative attitudes of Mexicans toward Americans. For both groups, the quality of intergroup contact was associated with less prejudice, but the quantity of contact was important for Mexicans.

The Intergroup Threat Theory, the newest and revised version of Integrated Threat Theory, focuses on only two main types of threat: realistic threat and symbolic threat (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009; Stephan & Renfro, 2002). Intergroup threat is when "members of one group perceive that another group is in a position to cause them harm" (Stephan et al., 2009, p. 43). The traditional definitions of realistic ("physical welfare of resources") and symbolic ("system of meaning") threats were adapted in the revised theory (p.43-44). Intergroup anxiety is now considered to be a subtype of threat, and negative outgroup stereotypes, as a concept, is modeled as a causal factor of threat because it is a predictor of both realistic and symbolic threats, which is reflected in *Model Levels 2* and *3*.

Most recently, Stephan (2014) presented a theoretical model of intergroup anxiety through reviewing the relationships of antecedents (personality variables, attitudes/cognitions, personal experiences, and situational factors) and outcomes (affective, cognitive, and behavioral outcomes) to intergroup anxiety, whose causal relationships are actually reciprocal. The reciprocal nature of the model allows for intergroup anxiety to be understood as an integral part of intergroup interactions. For example, the lack of personal experiences with outgroups may be an antecedent of intergroup anxiety, or intergroup anxiety has led to avoidance of these experiences.

According to this revised theory, the actual threat posed by the outgroup is not as important as the degree of perceived threat. For example, Latinos often face

discrimination on the basis of language, which would be considered a symbolic threat to the dominant culture. Until the early 1960s, "school principals in the Southwest often pointed proudly to the fact that the speaking of Spanish by Mexican-American children was prohibited on their school grounds, English being the only permissible language in which to receive an education" (Holtzman, 1971, p. 551). Although perceived threat is an important and ongoing influence within the theoretical model being presented, future studies will address the complexities of perceived threat within the model.

In summary, when one's social identity is threatened, the reaction is based on the salient ingroup/outgroup dynamic (*Model Level 1*). As mental capacity and human cognition rely on the ability to categorize and recategorize, the utilization of heuristics, such as stereotypes, influences the perception of stimuli in the environment, both physical and abstract (*Model Level 2*). This process becomes the basis of the impact of one's stereotypes on perceived threat, creating *Model Level 3*. Although perceived threat is not directly assessed within the current studies, a discussion of realistic and symbolic threat literature is warranted. Perceived threat is a critical piece of biases against Mexican Americans, and there is a dedicated level in the model to account for this. Before further investigating the link between perceived threat and cognitive biases held about Mexican Americans, the psychometric properties of the new scale, AMAAS, will be refined, and future studies will certainly utilize the AMAAS to examine this relationship in great depth.

Realistic threat. The perceived flood of Mexican emigrants has created a sense of realistic threat based on claims that Americans' resources are at risk (Gutierrez, 1999). The flow of immigrants, authorized and unauthorized, has gained negative media

attention (Jiménez, 2007), “provoking the dominant Whites to protect their own privileges and inciting the subordinate ethnic minority groups to demand more resources in satisfaction of their own groups’ interests” (Sears, Fu, Henry, & Bui, 2003, p. 421). Economic factors and competition for jobs often play a substantial role explaining attitudes toward immigrants (Esses, Bronchu, & Dickson, 2012; Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003; Goldstein & Peters, 2014).

Judgments about immigration policies rely on stereotypes and overarching worldviews, especially during economic down times (Diaz, et al., 2011; Eagly & Diekman, 2005; Goldstein & Peters, 2014). During the recession, high-skill respondents were more likely to oppose high-skill immigration than low-skill respondents. Interestingly, low-skill respondents equally opposed high- and low-skill immigration (Goldstein & Peters, 2014). Challenges to the state enforcement of federal immigration laws have been taken to a new level since the passage of the controversial SB1070 in Arizona (Chin & Miller, 2010; Chin & Miller, 2011; Diaz, et al., 2011; Esses, et al., 2012; Mártinez, 2010). Gutiérrez (1999) commented that Mexicans are seen as a problem or as an asset. When Mexicans are a “problem,” they threaten “the racial, hygienic, and economic basis of American life,” and those with this belief are most likely to demand “severe immigration restrictions” (p. 210). When Mexicans are believed to be an “asset,” they are seen as “contributing to U.S. prosperity both by performing indispensable tasks at wages that citizen workers will not accept and by paying taxes from which they rarely benefit” (p. 210). Those who subscribe to the latter “have generally favored open doors and less governmental regulation, particularly in times of prosperity” (p. 210). In light of the most recent economic recession, the political interest in the perceived fiscal burden of

undocumented immigrants continues to support this sentiment (i.e., Varley & Snow, 2012).

Intragroup threat has also developed as a result of the increased presence of Mexican Nationals in the United States. The immigration of Mexicans and other Hispanics has impacted the ethnic identity of U.S.-born Mexican Americans and Chicanas/os. Chicanas/os "often express the belief that Mexican immigrants are keeping them from advancing, and they often blame negative stereotypes on these immigrants" (Niemann, Romero, Arredondo, & Rodriguez, 1999, p. 57). At least in the minds of the dominant group, "Latino citizens also become fixed to Latino immigrants through their widespread and centuries-old criminalization as 'illegals'" (Hernández, 2008, p. 38). These feelings of threat are based on social, economic, and cultural concerns (Zarate et al., 2003; Zarate & Shaw, 2010). In an effort to gain distance from foreign-born Mexicans, Mexican Americans have reshaped their identity under the pressure of immigration as a "social problem" (Murata, 2001). In one assessment of Mexican Americans' perceptions of costs and benefits of Mexican immigration, Jiménez (2007) revealed ambivalence about how Mexicans affect the lives of Mexican Americans. On one hand, Mexican Americans drew a costly link between Mexican immigration and the degradation of all people of Mexican origin. On the other hand, Mexican Americans also saw the benefits of Mexican immigrations in relation to increasing Mexican cultural strength in the U.S. Not surprisingly, immigration attitudes were driven by context; middle-class Mexican Americans, who were not in competition for low-wage jobs, weighed the costs of group image instead of focusing on losing job opportunities (Jiménez, 2007).

Symbolic threat. A changing society is a precursor to feelings of symbolic threat, especially when the changes are perceived to be influenced by an outgroup. Although symbolic threat is based on morals, values, and beliefs, the outgroup's culture represents these dimensions. White Americans experience symbolic threat based on the presence of immigrants, it has been related to the belief of assimilation and acculturation (Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer, & Perzig, 2003). Goldstein & Peters (2014) stated,

> "There is no question that there is a nativist impulse in the American public. Cultural factors influence attitudes on immigration, and in particular, the public finds immigration from Mexico deeply problematic. These attitudes intensify when economic growth slows…" (Goldstein & Peters, 2014, p. 399).

In the case of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans, White Americans interpret acculturation level as being indicative of national identity, a failure to assimilate (Paxton & Mughan, 2006). On one hand, national symbols indicate a uniqueness, which sets the nation apart from other nations, providing a source of national pride (Finell, Olakivi, Liebkind, & Lipsanen, 2013). The perceived rejection the American national identity and national symbols is interpreted as a lack of assimilation, and thus the immigrants are not wanting to be an American (Paxton & Mughan, 2006). One's own level of national identification is associated with perceptions of threatening zero-sum competition and is indirectly associated with dehumanizing beliefs and emotions (Louis, et al., 2013). On the other hand, the limits of assimilation tend to "allow" immigrants the opportunity to keep their religion, way of dress, and food (Paxton & Mughan, 2006). Through qualitative data collected during focus groups, Paxton & Mughan (2006) found that American

"respondents wanted some indication from immigrants that they were committed to a particular idea of America" (p. 557).

The importance of language assimilation has been recognized as another cultural threat and proxy of being un-American (Paxton & Mughan, 2006). Language came to be viewed as a threat to non-Spanish speakers. Using non-English languages, especially Spanish, in the classroom and workplace had become a contentious issue in the past. Since the English language is one symbol of what it means to be an American, controversy over bilingual education has been on the political and psychological research scene (Fiske, 1985;Huddy & Sears, 1995; Mack, 1986; Yzaguirre, 1987). When Anglos who experienced realistic threat based on access to educational resources opposed bilingual education programs and policies (Huddy & Sears, 1995). Spanish language is still widely ingrained as a part Hispanic culture, and this has been evident through the development of several language-based acculturation scales (e.g., Deyo, Diehl, Hazuda, & Stern, 1985).

From an intragroup perspective, having to compete for scarce resources is one major factor in how Mexican Americans evaluate Mexican immigration; yet, cultural considerations play an even bigger role during the evaluations of recent immigrants (Jiménez, 2007). Language has also often been a contentious issue amongst Mexican Americans. Speaking Spanish was labeled as being a major source of conflict between Mexican Nationals and Mexican Americans, where "some [Mexican Americans] speak Spanish, some do not, and some pretend not to speak Spanish" (Niemann et al., 1999, p. 55). For Mexican Americans, there are many issues that further divide the ingroup into subgroups, such as language, skin color, region, immigration status, and generation

status, and nativity. For example, having a nonnative accent, for Latinos, is related to feelings of exclusion and lower feelings of belonging in the U.S. (Dovidio et al., 2010). Based on their findings that nonnative accents were used as cues to "outgroupness" by the dominant group, Dovidio et al. (2010) also found that discrimination related to distance from being prototypical Americans extends to physical appearance (e.g., skin color).

As means to regulate the emotional wound left by perceived threat, outgroup derogation is a means to restore self-esteem at a collective level (Gonsalkorale, et al., 2007). Personal and collective self-esteem are damaged through the process of perceiving threat (*Model Level 3*), and outgroup discrimination (*Model Level 4*) occurs in a way that helps one maintain a positive ingroup social identity (Gonsalkorale, et al., 2007). Although Gonsalkorale et al. (2007) found a relationship between perceived threat and implicit stereotyping, when individuals are motivated to justify the outgroup derogation and discrimination, as well as preserve their positive social identity, reliance on stereotypes is a cognitive shortcut to achieve this. Yet, stereotypes contribute in the first place to creating the threat (*Model Level 2*). It is expected that stereotypes would still be present during the attempts to salvage the positive social identity and collective self-esteem (Chin & McClintock, 1993). Then, stereotypes are used to justify the discriminatory acts.

Model Level 4: Impact on Racial Policy and Ramifications for Mexican Americans

Discrimination exists against Latinos at the individual and institutional level in the United States. In one demonstration of contemporary discrimination, Dovidio et al (Study 1, 2010) staged a field experiment assessing biases against Latinos shoppers. A

White or Latino confederate requested to purchase a ten dollar gift certificate, and the confederate was instructed to write a check for the purchase. Overall, salespeople treated Latinos less favorably than Anglo confederates (Dovidio et al., 2010). The Latino confederates were quoted a higher minimum dollar amount for the gift certificate and were asked for identification more often than the Anglo confederate. In reality, "Latinos may experience discrimination today as much as Blacks do" and "subtle expressions of bias can have negative consequences as insidious as blatant discrimination" (Dovidio et al., 2010, p. 63). *Model Level 4* explains the link between the previous *Model Levels* and experiences of bias and the resulting influence on racial policy decisions, specifically immigration policy and affirmative action. Ramifications for Mexican Americans will also be discussed. Note the distinction between societal and personal level outcomes in *Model Level 4* as depicted in Figure 1. For the current research, societal level outcomes will be the focus.

First, a brief examination of attitudes toward immigrants demonstrates the flow of consciousness through the model to this point. In the U.S., the motivation and justification for the expression of negative attitudes (genuine prejudice) toward undocumented immigrants (Mexican immigrants, in particular) has been publicly supported through multiple acts of legislation in the political arena (*Model Level 4*) and through frequent references in the media to perceived negative attributes of immigrants (*Model Level 2*) (Hernández, 2008; Mártinez, 2010). In turn, this has enhanced the already existing stereotype that Hispanics are criminals by specifically drawing attention to the illegal act of crossing the border (*Model Level 2*), increasing realistic threat (*Model Level 3*) (MacLin & Herrera, 2006). Therefore, the motivation to treat this population as

criminals is manifested through tough legislation and policies (*Model Level 4*; Hernández, 2008). This shift in social norms, regarding Mexican immigrants of various statuses and Mexican Americans of various generational statuses, has produced a peak in perceived institutional and personal discrimination (*Model Level 4*; Dovidio et al., 2010).

Influence on immigration policy. U.S. society's struggle to address the "problem" of Mexican immigration at the policy level is not a new or unprecedented occurrence (Diaz et al., 2011). In the 1920s and 30s, Mexican immigration was perceived as a national problem, but, mirroring modern popular beliefs, research focused on the love-hate relationship American people had with Mexico. They even echoed beliefs that the agriculture industry's need for migratory labor had created a "vicious circle," which calls "for unending supplies of fresh immigrants" (Hoover, 1929, p. 101). On one hand, Congress discussed the pros and cons and the implications of creating a Mexican immigration quota law (McKemy, 1928). On the other hand, Redfield (1929) used a Mexican perspective report from Dr. Manuel Gamio, a renowned Mexican Anthropologist and Sociologist chosen by the Social Science Research Council, to discuss the antecedents for immigration to the United States. In most cases, Gambio stated that "although the immigrant may be worse off in the United States than other ethnic groups, he is better off than he was in Mexico" (p. 436). L. C. Brite, president of the National Livestock Association, stated that Mexican farmers are "filling an important place that nobody wants" in the agriculture industry (McKemy, 1928, p. 2).

The attitudes that people hold toward Mexican immigrants are likely to influence the expression of biases (*Model Level 2*) and the support or opposition of immigration-related policies (*Model Level 4*) (Esses et al., 2012). Someone who harbors generally

negative attitudes toward undocumented Mexican immigrants is likely to also have negative attitudes about Mexican Americans (Cowan et al., 1997) and to express intentions to discriminate against Mexican immigrants when a non-ethnic justification is available (Short & Magaña, 2002). Most recently, the criminalization of Mexican immigrants has been linked to the unlawful detention of non-citizens during the post-9/11 "war on terror" initiatives (Hernández, 2008) and to creation of anti-immigrant laws and ordinances during unstable economic times (Mártinez, 2010). Stereotypes about immigrant criminality mount and detention rates reflect societal fears. Nevertheless, analyses of data from the United States Sentencing Commission's (USSC) Monitoring of Federal Criminal Sentences data series revealed that illegal aliens are less likely to be convicted of a drug-related offense than U.S. citizens and resident legal aliens (Wolfe, Pyrooz, & Spohn, 2011). Within the USSC data, Wolfe et al. (2011) used citizenship status (U.S. citizen, illegal alien, resident-legal alien) as a predictor of receiving a sentence (yes, no) and sentencing (length in months). Illegal aliens and resident legal aliens were significantly more likely to receive a sentence, but illegal aliens received significantly shorter sentences than citizens. Yet, when they partitioned the models by citizenship status, education reversed these findings; instead, illegal aliens without a high school degree received longer sentences than U.S. citizens.

Additionally, immigration policy judgments have been found to be influenced by explicit (Lu & Nicholson-Crotty, 2010) and implicit attitudes about immigrants (Pérez, 2010). Lu and Nicholson-Crotty (2010) found that White *general* attitudes about the negative impact of immigrants on the U.S. economy (i.e., taking native-born residents' jobs) and crime significantly predicted whether respondents would favor decreasing the

number of immigrants coming into the country. Even though these same results were found to be true about White attitudes about Latino immigrants, the effect of endorsing negative Hispanic stereotypes intensified the anti-Latino immigrant attitudes. Using an immigration implicit attitudes test (IAT), Pérez (2010) examined factors that play a role in opposition to undocumented immigration. Gender and socioeconomic concerns about immigration were related to an increase in opposition to undocumented immigration, but education was related to a decrease in opposition (Pérez, 2010). In conjunction with the findings of Gutiérrez (1999), Pérez (2010) and Lu and Nicholson-Crotty (2010) imply that context and attitude matter in the decisions of people who rely on their Latino or immigrant stereotypes when supporting or opposing laws such as SB1070. In summary, attitudes expressed toward an outgroup are related to beliefs about how that outgroup should be treated (Cowan et al., 1997).

Model Level 4 is a culmination of upstream factors and variables that lead to support for certain policies that have been judged to have racist implications, such as California's Proposition 187 (Quinton, et al., 1996) or Arizona SB1070 (Esses, et al., 2012). Diaz et al. (2011) explained that the economic recession (*Model Level 3*) ultimately contributed to the passing of Arizona's SB1070, which allowed law enforcement to detain individuals on the basis of questionable immigration status. Quinton et al. (1996) found it was both ideologies and stereotypes (*Model Level 2*) that characterized people who supported and passed Proposition 187 in 1994, a policy restricting illegal immigrants from receiving "public health care, social services, education, and welfare benefits" (Quinton et al., 1996). They stated,

> "Although a majority of both Latinos and Caucasians thought of Hispanic-Latinos as the primary ethnic group comprising illegal immigrants, it was not beliefs about legal and illegal immigrants alike or beliefs about Latinos in general that predicted Proposition 187 support, but rather negative stereotypical beliefs specifically about illegal immigrants relative to legal immigrants" (Quinton et al., 1996, p. 2217).

Even more concerning is the additional stress placed on immigrants as a result of these policies (Esses, et al., 2012), which will be addressed in *Model Level 4*.

Impact on support for affirmative action. Much of the affirmative action policy research has used Blacks as the target ethnic group (e.g., Bobo, 1988; Bobo, 1998; Rabinowitz, Sears, Sidanius, & Krosnick, 2009). Affirmative action programs aim "to improve opportunities for nondominant groups" (Shorey, Cowan, & Sullivan, 2002, p. 3) and to actively create equal opportunity (Crosby, Iyer, Clayton, & Downing, 2003). Several factors have been examined as predictors of opposition to this type of racial policy, such as political sophistication (Federico & Sidanius, 2002), SDO (Ho et al., in press; Sidanius et al., 1992), and symbolic racism (Rabinowitz et al., 2009).

O'Brien, Garcia, Crandall, and Kordys (2010) make the distinction between Whites' who oppose affirmative action out of true concern for the beneficiaries and those who use this concern as a cover for their own group interests. On one hand, the perception that one's own or group resources (i.e., job opportunities) are being minimized, realistic threat increases, leading to opposition to affirmative action (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006). On the other hand, a frequent reason given for opposing affirmative action is concern about harm to the beneficiaries. O'Brien et al.

(2010) further explored this notion and found that Whites were more likely to express concern for the targets' (Blacks and Latinos) well-being when the affirmative action program was framed as being harmful to Whites than when the program was helpful to Whites. This was interpreted to mean that Whites used this reasoning as a means to protect their group interest from the impending threat.

Study 2 will provide a test of the predictive utility of the new anti-Mexican American attitude scale (AMAAS) by assessing its relationship to racial policy attitudes, defined as opposition to affirmative action programs (Appendix H) and opposition to racial policies (Appendix I). Sidanius et al. (1992) presented the original Racial Policy Attitudes measure as having two dimensions: 1) attitudes toward equal opportunity and 2) preferential treatment of racial minorities, but a new measure was recently revised and tested (Ho et al., in press). It should be noted that wording within the items is intentionally biased. Using the phrase "preferential treatment" within the items does not take into account court rulings, which make the items obsolete or inaccurate. For example, quotas have been unconstitutional since the 1970s (*Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 1978) and the courts (via *Grutter v. Bollinger* and *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 2003) have since clarified strict guidelines on how admissions may use characteristics of underrepresented minority groups (i.e., compelling interest and narrowly tailored policy) (Crosby et al., 2003). Therefore, the interpretation of data will take the wording into account regarding racial policies.

Ramifications for Mexican Americans. As a result of the identified individual differences, cognitive biases, ideologies, and perceived threat, ramifications exist for ethnic minorities living in the United States, especially for Mexican Americans. Many of

these consequences are a result of perceived discrimination in their daily lives—at work, at school, and in many other settings. It is just as important to acknowledge the subjective experience of perceiving oneself as a target of discrimination as it is to acknowledge the objective interpretation of encountering discrimination (Schmitt et al., 2014). Researchers are still attempting to understand the root of attitudes toward Latinos and immigrants, but only a few others are exploring ways to improve intergroup relations (Stephan, 2014; Zarate & Quezada, 2012). For individuals high in social dominance orientation, a de-emphasis on group identity (i.e., being American) was crucial in decreasing negative attitudes toward immigrants (Danso et al., 2007).The basis for this discrimination, as well as the effects and buffers, will be discussed.

A meta-analysis by Schmitt et al. (2014) provided strong evidence of the consequences of perceived discrimination on well-being. An overall negative correlation between perceived discrimination and well-being was found, but the strength of the relationship varied by moderator. For instance, having a concealable stigma produced more negative effects on well-being than having a nonconcealable stigma. Along these lines, perceived discrimination based on race and sex were found to have weaker effects on well-being than sexual orientation, mental illness, physical disability, HIV + status, or weight (Schmitt et al, 2014).

For the dominant group, people of color are phenotypically stigmatized. The further distance that people are perceived to be from the prototypical American (synonymous with White American), the more likely they are to experience discrimination (Dovidio et al, 2010). It is often assumed that those who appear to fit the Mexican American phenotypic prototype are also going to identify more highly with

being Mexican American (Wilkins et al., 2010), intensifying the distance between the ingroup and outgroup. For Latinos, having a nonnative accent is related to feelings of exclusion and lower feelings of belonging in the U.S. (Dovidio et al., 2010). Based on their findings that nonnative accents were used as cues to "outgroupness" by the dominant group, Dovidio et al. (2010) also found that discrimination related to distance from being prototypical Americans extends to physical appearance (e.g., skin color).

Hersch (2011) hypothesized that dark-skinned immigrants (with legal status) in the U.S. workforce are penalized through receiving lower wages than light-skinned immigrants and native born workers. Productivity, labor market characteristics, visa status, and the length of time in the U.S. are not likely to be the source of this inequity. Instead, "skin color continues to have a direct effect on wages as those with darker skin appear to be on a permanently lower wage profile" (Hersch, 2011, p. 22). Telles and Murguía (1990) also found that dark Mexican Americans earn less than their White counterparts. Bohara and Davila (1992) disputed those findings as an artifact of a less stringent analysis when compared to their own model, which did not yield significant results. They offer a warning about the importance of not accidentally masking labor market discrimination, while maintaining high standards of research and analysis. Otherwise, policymakers will continue to be influenced by the belief that "the Mexican American population is homogenous in terms of its labor market experience" (Bohara & Davila, 1992, p. 119).

As a result of perceived discrimination, the targets of discrimination have experienced health concerns, such as sleep disturbance (Grandner, Hale, Jackson, Patel, Gooneratne, & Troxel, 2012) and social stress (Goodkind, Gonzales, Malcoe, &

Espinosa, 2008). In today's society, health disparities continue to plague the Latino community (see Carlo, Crockett, & Carranza, 2011 for in-depth overview). Evidence of health disparities for ethnic minorities has been found to be related to experiencing perceived discrimination (Williams & Mohammed, 2009), having a lack of culturally sensitive substance use prevention programs (Resnicow, Soler, Braithwaite, Ahluwalia, & Butler, 2000), and having a low socioeconomic status (Williams, 1990). The concepts of cultural awareness, sensitivity, and competence among conventional practitioners continued to be researched and new frameworks to address these inequities are being explored (Betancourt, Green, Carillo, & Ananeh-Firempong, 2003).

Research indicates a common need to highlight that cultural knowledge and awareness influences providers' cultural competency (Keegan, 2000; Reimann, Talavera, Salmon, Nunez, & Velasquez, 2004). Counseling Psychology has made great strides to appreciate the influence of stereotypes and bias in the treatment of Mexican Americans (McNeill et al., 2001; Neimann, 2001). Improvement to provider sensitivity to acculturation, language, and immigration in mental healthcare would increase the likelihood of having more Mexican Americans seeking and being successfully treated for mental illness (Gonzalez, 1997; Moreno & Morales, 2010). Two-way communication becomes even more important in multicultural settings. Physicians have been more likely to understand patient health beliefs when the patient has actively participated in consultations (Street & Haidet, 2011). Special concerns, such as those related to folk beliefs about illness and treatment of illness, may be better understood by healthcare professionals through the realization that concerns are tied to cultural worth and identity (Belliard & Ramírez-Johnson, 2005; Clark, Bunik, & Johnson, 2010; Martinez, 2009).

The other side of the health-related and psychological wounds from experiencing discrimination is the protection found in ethnic identification. When choosing to ethnically identity as “Hispanic” or “Mexican American,” the individual most likely also acknowledges the negative stereotypes and beliefs about their group by the dominant group (Pérez, Fortuna, & Alegría, 2008). Therefore, labels are conscious decisions that help to avoid perceived costs or to engage in the perceived benefits (Doan & Stephan, 2006). Regardless of the negative associations known about one’s group, ethnic identities serve important functions, such as acting as a buffer to protect one’s psychological well-being (Fuligni, 2011; Pérez, et al., 2008). Ethnic identity offers protection against acculturative stress (Iturbide, Raffaelli, & Carlo, 2009) and drug use (Marsiglia, Kulls, Hecht, & Sills, S., 2004). Specifically, Iturbide et al. (2009) found that ethnic identity moderated the relationship between acculturative stress and psychological adjustment (depression and self-esteem), but the gender by acculturative stress interaction only showed this buffering effect for females with low levels of stress. Interestingly, the strength of one’s ethnic identity has also been found to be predictive of the amount of perceived discrimination one experiences (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009).

Multiple factors contribute to the ethnic self-identification of Mexican Americans. Adolescents of Mexican origin (i.e., Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano) who chose multiple labels (e.g., Mexican origin and White) for their ethnicity were more likely to speak mostly English at home and to be from higher income homes than those who chose a single Mexican origin label (Holley, Salas, Marsiglia, Yabiku, Fitzharris, & Jackson, 2009). In an attempt to avoid perceived stigma with a particular ethnic label, multiple

labels were used strategically, depending on the situation and context (Doan & Stephan, 2006).

CHAPTER 4

Challenges to Measurement of Bias

In regards to Mexican Americans, psychological inquiry can be divided into two categories: measures that assess Mexican Americans' attitudes and measures that assess other groups' attitudes about Mexican Americans. Each perspective faces unique sets of challenges; both perspectives are valuable in the exploration of biases toward Mexican Americans. The new measure will assess White American attitudes about Mexican Americans. Researchers face many challenges when trying to structure measures, surveys, or scales that capture accurate representations of the dominant groups' attitude and beliefs about Mexican Americans, beginning with operating outside of the traditional Black-White racism paradigm.

The Inevitable Ethnic Research Gap: The Black/White Research Paradigm

With each new paradigm, measurement technique, and perspective, the stereotyping content and process continue to be investigated in social psychological research. The continual process of adjusting and recreating stereotype content is a function of time and population. The content has been found to be dynamic across various periods of social and political change, but the existence of ethnic stereotypes has been consistent (Devine & Elliot, 1995). Therefore, the field has needed to move beyond Black/White relationships as the standard for intergroup conflict, and it has, indeed, begun to explore and understand Latino/Hispanic psychological issues, such as stereotypes of Latinos. In the next section, the Latino/Hispanic population is discussed, and a thorough review of existing Latino/Hispanic bias research will be discussed.

The Black-White paradigm has substantially influenced race/ethnicity scholarship, but it has, in turn, limited the scope of current theories to the study of the African Americans (Luna, 2003). Theories, such as Modern and Symbolic Racism (McConahay, 1983; Sears, 1988), Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), Realistic Group Conflict (Bobo, 1983), and Aversive Racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), have generally aimed to understand prejudice against African Americans. Dixon and Rosenbaum (2004) found that Contact Theory, Group Threat Theory and Cultural Theory offered better explanations for anti-Black stereotypes than for anti-Hispanic stereotypes. No support was found for people in the West being likely to hold more anti-Hispanic stereotypes, as would be predicted by cultural theory, but people living in the South were more likely to hold anti-Black stereotypes than those living in non-southern regions, as expected (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004).The results of the tests of these theories indicate a need for more particularized theories of racial/ethnic attitudes.

The theories that are developed using data regarding specific ethnic populations may not be directly applicable to other ethnic groups because each group in the U. S. has experienced varying types and degrees of bias, both historically and currently. Therefore, current theories consistently fail to explain or predict reliable results for non-Blacks (Luna, 2003). Along those lines, the same stereotypical trait (e.g., aggressiveness) could be assigned to two stereotyped groups (e.g., lawyers and construction workers), but the trait would have very different meanings in each group (Kunda, Sinclair, & Griffin, 1997). Although stereotypes are held about African Americans and Latinos, the content of stereotypes and the motivation for holding those stereotypes is different for each group

because of the social history of each group in the United States (Kunda et al., 1997; Snyder & Miene, 1994).

Overall, the Latino American experience is different than that of African Americans, but similarities can be found on the basis of immigration models. For example, the Black discrimination immigration model, associated with a "powerful sense of racial identity and common fate," fit the experiences of *recent* Latino immigrant college students more closely than they fit the European assimilation model of immigration, which has a focus on the recent nature of the immigration experience (Sears et al., 2003, p. 433). More specifically, when Latino subgroups are examined separately, the experience of Mexican Americans and their ethnic identity more closely resembles that of a colonialism model, not one of immigration (Saldana-Portillo, 2008; Ogbu, 1990; Urrieta, 2004). These are just two examples of how the Mexican American experience is not synonymous with that of African Americans. Hence, the understanding and measurement of the Mexican American stereotypes is noteworthy.

Nevertheless, there is a dearth of research on Mexican Americans in comparison to research about African American bias. In a survey of 17 social psychology textbook chapters about stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination, Ramirez (1988) found only four textbooks that mentioned Hispanics as being victims of social biases. Much of the research about Mexican Americans that had been done in the 1950s and 1960s was from a middle-class Anglo perspective, which was likely to be offensive at times to Chicanos (Glenn, 1970). Despite the long history of Mexican Americans on this continent, psychological theories, research, and literature about Latinos has only recently begun (Ramirez, 1988). Although a recent study has not documented the current status of

Latino discrimination in social psychology textbooks, laws such as Arizona House Bill 2281 (Arizona, 2010), have implemented state-wide bans of ethnic studies programs, specifically targeting the Tucson Unified School District Chicano studies program. Literature on the plight and history of Mexican Americans has gained steam since the 1980s, but racialized policies, such as HB 2281, create barriers to increasing awareness and reducing prejudice (Bean & Stone, 2012; Stephan, 2011).

Simply put: "The reliance on a dichotomy of White and Black is simplistic, and the experiences of Mexicans underscore the complexity" (Arredondo, 2004, p. 400). Specific challenges to measurement of racial and ethnic bias will be discussed in a separate section. The remainder of this section will review general guidelines of what makes a "good" measure of racial/ethnic bias, as well as specific challenges researchers face in the creation of these types of measures.

Definition of a Good Measure

Negative stereotypes about Mexican Americans are contributing to prejudice and discrimination, even though today much of the anxiety and negative attitudes potentially stem from immigration concerns. Yet, nationwide, Latinos have become an important component of American life (Cavalcanti & Schleef, 2001). Prejudice measurement in this area has been impacted because of a lack of attention to specific challenges. For example, misunderstandings about Mexican Americans and attempts to apply measures of prejudice toward African Americans to measures for Mexican Americans have hindered measurement accuracy. It cannot be assumed that Blacks and Latinos are conceptualized in the same manner, because there are different cognitive and motivational bases underlying biases against the two groups (Dovidio et al., 2010; Oliver & Wong, 2003;

Taylor, 1998). Overall, there are fewer measures that could be used to assess White views about Asian Americans and Latinos (Taylor, 1998). The current research moves beyond status quo through rigorous psychometric testing of new measurements of bias.

Validity. The worth of a racial/ethnic bias scale can be determined by its predictive validity (Henry & Sears, 2002), especially for predicting policy preferences (Rabinowitz, et al., 2009; Schuman, 2000). For the development of the scale's predictive utility, those who are low in bias should think and behave differently from those who are high in bias. This would, in turn, have implications for the interpretation of the findings. For example, the results for low prejudiced people with a high motivation to be unprejudiced should be distinguishable (significantly different) from low prejudiced people with a low motivation to be unprejudiced because the "awareness" of the bias is different in each group. Interestingly, those with true, low-prejudiced responses would be motivated to maintain an awareness of their own prejudice and stereotypes. Therefore, on the bias scale, this pattern could resemble the responses of "high prejudice" respondents (Moskowitz et al, 1999; Moskowitz & Li, 2011).

The creation of a new scale for bias against a racial/ethnic group is not an easy undertaking. In general, measurement of stereotypes has been an issue, since LaPiere's classic work with Chinese prejudice in the 1930s (LaPiere, 1934). LaPiere was one of the first researchers to recognize that questionnaires do not necessarily measure actual attitudes or expressed behaviors. More recently, implicit and explicit measures have been found to be more unrelated than previously reported (Blanton, Jaccard, Klick, Mellers, Mitchell, & Tetlock, 2009), but data from explicit measures are limited to what is on the instrument itself (DeVellis, 2012; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997).

Ethnic labeling in research. Seemingly a mundane point, appropriate labeling of the target ethnic population is crucial to analyze and interpret data correctly. At times, "Hispanic-" or "Latino-level" research tends to neglect the diversity and subtleties amongst the various subgroups (Garcia & Bayer, 2005). As is true with other pan-ethnic labels, "Latino" and "Hispanic" are not associated with any particular nationality. As a result, these terms have been seen as a way toward Latino/Hispanic group unification and as an offensive means of ignoring the uniqueness of the subgroups (Rodriguez, 1998; Sommers, 1991).Because of uncritical or undefined use of these labels in research, a challenge is posed upon the review of such research that would in fact specifically address Mexican Americans (Niemann, 2001). For example, the literature tends to rely on broad terms such as Latinos and Hispanics, but in reality the research is mostly based on the Mexican American experience (Torres, 2004).

Researchers have not been consistent in their labeling of Mexican Americans in the past, although through time they have gained respect for complexities amongst Latino subgroups (Mason, 2004). The terminology of the pre-1940s era typically named those of Mexican descent as being "Mexican," and Whites were the standard for intelligence (Garth & Johnson, 1934; Garth, Elson, & Morton, 1936). The terms "Mexican" and "Mexican American" were commonly used throughout the 1940s and 50s, but the emergence of the generalized term "Latin American" was also seen. During the 1970s, two new labels were introduced: Chicana/o and Hispanic ("Hispanic" did not appear until the 1970s). The ethnic labels continued to include "Mexican American" and "Hispanic" in the 1980s, but the Latino community was struggling with finding the appropriate nomenclature for the heterogeneous group to which Mexican Americans belong

(Yankauer, 1987). Hayes-Bautista and colleagues (1980, 1983, 1987) discussed the implications of improper labels in research, but "the monolithic view of Mexican Americans is subsequently reinforced" (Casas & Atkinson, 1981, p. 473). Currently, "Hispanic," "Latino" and "Mexican American" have been routinely used throughout the literature, and scholars eventually learned to operationally define their population of interest and explain why they chose a particular term and/or label within a particular study. In an attempt to avoid perceived stigma with a particular ethnic label, multiple labels can be used strategically, depending on the situation and context (Doan & Stephan, 2006; Ommundsen, Van der veer, Larsen, Eilertsen, 2014).

It is important to note that the labels, themselves, carry strong connotations to the perceiver and to the targets. Stereotype content and racial attitudes are attached to racial labels (Fairchild & Cozens, 1981; Niemann et al., 1994), especially within Latin America (Solaun & Velez 1985). Using the Katz and Braly (1933) stereotype trait list, Fairchild and Cozens (1981) reported that White subjects labeled Chicanos as ignorant and cruel, while Mexican Americans were seen as faithful. Hispanics were described as talkative and tradition-loving. Latino immigrants are often unfamiliar with the connotations and historical context of the labels assigned pan-ethnically and to the subgroups in the U.S. (Torres, 2004). Although the terms Hispanic and Latino are native to the United States, other racial and ethnic labels and terminology matter in Latin America (Solaun & Velez 1985). For example, Colombians designated over 120 racial labels that contributed to their complex racial terminology (Solaun & Velez, 1985). Each term carried a different connotation and was used in very specific ways. Because of the nature of these ethnic

labels, the terminology used to refer to previous research and findings will mimic that of the respective published research work.

A practical implication of ethnic labeling can be found within legal contexts. As summarized by Saldaña-Portillo (2008) and Olivas (2006, 2010), *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954) represented a Supreme Court decision that recognized discrimination toward a Mexican American during his trial on the basis of being "other white," and not "white." Saldaña-Portillo commented that by being legally forced into the "other white" racial category "Mexican *Americans* are stripped of their national character by the law in order to assume their tenuous position before the law: if citizen, then white" (p. 821, emphasis by author). In fact, in older cases involving claims of racial discrimination against Mexican Americans, many legal scholars have commented that the courts have not known how to respond to or how to categorize Mexican Americans, since they are neither White nor Black (Hernandez, 2009; Jones, 2010; Saldaña-Portillo, 2008). These reviews are a strong reminder of the potential for interdisciplinary research opportunities to improve the treatment and understanding of Latinos within the legal system.

Most recently, the frequent and unjustified criminalization of a specific group of immigrants continues with undocumented, Mexican National immigrants being referred to as "illegal immigrants" in the media (Laurence, 2010). As the term "illegal" usually refers to Mexican immigrants, the use of this term is considered offensive by many Latinos, because a person cannot be "illegal"—a person can only commit an illegal act. This is not to say that immigrants from other countries, such as those people from Canada and Ireland, are in the U.S. illegally, but they are not a part of the negative immigrant stereotype. Therefore, the movement to stop the usage of the "illegal immigrant" phrase

is important in order to avoid further justifications of bias (Laurence, 2010), especially when a crime as inane as accumulated parking tickets was justification enough to elicit anti-Mexican immigrant attitudes (Cowan et al., 1997).

For Mexican Americans, multiple factors contribute to the ethnic self-identification. One's preference for any of the terms mentioned varies not only by individual, but can also differ by region. The Pew Hispanic Center reported that "a 2008 Center survey found that 36% of respondents prefer the term 'Hispanic,' 21% prefer the term 'Latino' and the rest have no preference" (Passel & Taylor, 2009, p. 4). A study in the Southwest revealed that the majority of respondents (70%) preferred "Hispanic," and the "Mexican American" label was preferred by over half of respondents (53%), as well (Doan & Stephan, 2006). Similarly, Schildkraut (2005) found that 44% of respondents reported a preference for an ethnic label referring to their national origin, while 22% preferred "Latino." While 34% self-identified as "American," the implication is on the importance of the connection to one's country of origin (Schildkraut, 2005). Other factors, such as acculturation, income level, immigration status, and generation status impact one's preferences of identity (Holley et al., 2009). When asked what it means to be a U. S. Mexican, low-acculturated, first- and second- generation respondents mentioned their ethnicity was mainly defined by Mexican culture and values, such as familialism, work ethic, food, and celebration (Niemann et al., 1999). Adolescents of Mexican origin (i.e., Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano) who chose multiple labels (e.g., Mexican origin and White) for their ethnicity were more likely to speak mostly English at home and to be from higher income homes than those who chose a single Mexican origin label (Holley et al., 2009).

Addressing Racial/Ethnic Measurement Challenges

Attention to three specific challenges will assist investigators in the development of new instruments: 1) Individual-cultural distinction, 2) Sensitivity of the measure, and 3) Acknowledge Black-White Paradigm.

Individual-cultural distinctions. Another consideration during the creation and validation of a scale is to consider the level of analysis (individual, cultural, or societal) when assessing attitudes or stereotypes (Gardner, 1994). Caution should be taken to structure a measure or scale to capture the appropriate content, including beliefs, affect, and behavioral predispositions (Gardner, 1994). When examining the cognitive process of stereotyping, researchers must account for accuracy and valence, as well as whether stereotypes are acquired from individual or cultural experiences and whether they are shared or individual (Schneider, 2004).

In regards to successful collection and analysis of data about racial/ethnic stereotypes, researchers should include clear instructions about whether participants should be relying on personal or cultural beliefs in their ratings. After examining the Princeton Trilogy results more closely (*Are stereotypes really fading?*—Gilbert, 1951; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Katz & Braly, 1933), Devine and Elliott (1995) determined that the trilogy actually measured personal beliefs instead of knowledge of cultural stereotypes. In addition to using an adjective trait checklist, Devine and Elliott (1995) explicitly stated instructions for the assessment of cultural stereotypes (which may not reflect their personal beliefs) and of personal beliefs about Blacks. By using the detailed instructions, participants were more likely to view the task as unambiguous. Krueger (1996) specifically examined the relationship between personal and cultural

stereotypes. Participants were instructed to "think about cultural stereotypes" or to respond based on personal beliefs about the target ethnic group (Blacks). Although there was a reliable correlation between personal and cultural stereotypes, White participants' personal beliefs about White stereotypes influenced their beliefs about Black ratings of White cultural stereotypes. Interestingly, this pattern did not hold true for Black participants in thinking about White attributions about Blacks.

Instrument sensitivity: Social desirability. Researchers had to account for social desirability in the measurement of racial bias once American society made a shift toward egalitarian norms and equal opportunity. After the Civil Rights Movement, decreasing levels of overt bias led researchers to debate the prevalence of stereotypes. Negative attitudes held about minorities still existed, but the expression of the bias was less obvious (Schuman & Krysan, 1999). For example, aversive racists expressed their prejudices, whether consciously or unconsciously, under circumstances that allowed them to explain away any potential bias, and, otherwise, they conveyed an egalitarian attitude (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Work by Karlins et al. (1969) found support for the trend of fading stereotypes, but they recognized that the social attitude measures may not be sensitive to the shifting norms. However, Gaertner and McLaughlin (1983) asserted that "stereotypes have changed but have not faded from existence" (p. 29). These findings were significant in the development of more sensitive instruments that could still assess the evolving modern racism (McConahay, 1986).

When developing new instruments to measure racial/ethnic bias, there is a delicate balance between achieving construct validity and giving special attention to the sensitivity of the new measure. Sensitivity in this context refers to the need to present a

construct through materials to participants in a way that produces the least reactance, which would interfere with gauging actual prejudice or bias. Respondents may misrepresent themselves on self-report measures as a means of social desirability (Kreuter, Presser, & Tourangeau, 2008). Hence, new measurement techniques were developed (e.g., McCauley & Stitt, 1978; Sigal & Page, 1971) to get beyond socially desirable answers; unobtrusive measures were also common (e.g., Weinstein, 1972; Gaertner & Bickman, 1971). Of interest for the current studies, reporting of socially undesirable behavior is more likely through an online survey than through telephone or self-administered surveys (Kreuter et al., 2008).

Paradigm shifts. In terms of bias and its measurement, the measures and theories that are developed for a specific ethnic population may not be directly applicable to other ethnic groups, because each group in the U. S. has experienced different types and degrees of bias, both historically and currently. The psychological discipline has mainly focused attention on bias against African Americans, and this has produced important gaps in our understanding of race/ethnic bias that must be addressed. Surprisingly, this tendency to focus on bias toward Blacks has been present in explicit, as well as implicit research. In a meta-analysis of studies that utilized IAT studies, Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, and Banaji (2009) included 32 studies of interracial White-Black behavior and 15 studies in the “other intergroup” category, lumping non-White-Black ethnicity, age and weight together. Fazio and Olsen’s (2003) review of implicit measures in social cognition also included only studies that examined interracial IATs that used Black-White stimuli.

Reiterating points made in a previous section, relying mostly on a Black/White paradigm in racial research is a disservice to other communities of color, but that is not to discount the uniqueness of Black American psychology (Dovidio et al., 2010; Pettigrew, 1988). Dominant group members are also affected because this pattern does not allow attention to be given to intergroup similarities, and, more importantly, to the differences. Simply put: “The reliance on a dichotomy of White and Black is simplistic, and the experiences of Mexicans underscore the complexity” (Arredondo, 2004, p. 400).

Therefore, current theories consistently fail to explain or provide reliable results for non-Blacks when addressing bias (Luna, 2003). Researchers have realized that racial and ethnic groups have a variety of issues that they are facing; therefore, the content of stereotypes against a specific group varies between groups and is a topic worthy of study. This implies that research conducted about one group is not necessarily applicable across groups. For example, the Symbolic Racism Scale (Sears, 1988) was developed to assess anti-Black sentiment; therefore it is not immediately appropriate to use this scale to assess biases about other groups (Henry & Sears, 2002). Along these same lines, the Integrated Threat Theory was found to predict attitudes toward the outgroup for both Whites and Blacks, but the type of threat that represented the strongest predictor varied by group (Stephan et al., 2002).The effort to understand the minority perspective continues to expand into several realms of stereotyping research (Dovidio et al., 2010; Shelton, 2000). After first verifying the content of the cognitive biases held about Mexican Americans, new theories about the process can be developed to complexity of this particular ethnic group. The theoretical model represents the beginning of a program

of research that will piece together all that can be learned about anti-Mexican American bias.

CHAPTER 5

Study 1: Create and Mass Test the Measure

Overview of Study 1 and Study 2

The method by which stereotypes have been measured has been largely in response to the shifts between research paradigms, as well as changing social norms. This influence can be seen in the full range of stereotyping research, from the assessment of stereotype content to the development of new measures. Each of the trends is responsible for a unique contribution to what is known about stereotypes today. However, each approach has costs and benefits. The development and use of new measurement techniques has given researchers points of view to examine stereotypes and biases, but the depth at which various processes can be explained may not be much improved between the methods (Brigham, 1971; Stangor, 2009). The most valuable information, instead, has potentially come from the examination of the different ethnic groups, such as African Americans and Latinos (Brigham, 1971, 1973). Yet, when the field mainly focused attention on African Americans, this led to important gaps and limitations that must be addressed within the stereotyping literature.

The existing measurement of bias against Mexican Americans, Scale for Measurement of Attitude toward Chicanos (SMAC), was created using attitudinal statements ranging from students and faculty to community organizers and public servants (Carranza, 1992). It is suspected that the scale has not been widely used because of two key issues surrounding this scale. First, the scale has not undergone any rigorous reliability and validity testing. Carranza (1992) has only reported one test of the parallel forms using 30 participants. Much of the current literature mentioning Latino bias has

relied on an immigration, non-citizen or "illegal" immigrant framework (see Zarate & Quezada, 2012 for review), making the Chicano scale less relevant in those studies. One study has utilized the attitudes toward Chicano scale. Even though their attention was on attitudes toward illegal immigration, Cowan et al. (1997) found that those with more negative attitudes toward illegal immigrants were less positive toward legal Mexican Americans, via a revised version of the Carranza (1992) scale. The new measure will be created from five research-supported domains of stereotype content, followed by testing of the underlying latent structure.

Although following a strict protocol, the item creation was based on opinions from questionnaires. Each of the participants was asked to provide "ten statements that were descriptive of perceptions or feelings about Chicanos," avoiding seemingly "factual" statements (Carranza, 1992, p. 279).

Second, Carranza (1992) recognized Mexican American men and women as "Chicanos." Depending on region and exposure, the term "Chicano" may be politically charged (as in California) or it may be a relatively unknown term. For example, in Texas, "Hispanic" might refer to Mexican Americans but not Mexican Nationals, but in Nebraska, "Hispanic" might refer to Spanish-speaking people more broadly because of the lower density of the Latino population. Chicana/o is "a term coined as a means of self-identification for U.S.-born Americans of Mexican descent, and it is associated with sociopolitical and civil rights movements of the late 1960s, thus connoting an important political awareness reflective of resistance, defiance, and ethnic pride" (McNeill et al., 2001, p. 7). The new instrument should, therefore, reflect the appropriate nomenclature of the region and/or provide an operational definition of the target population, "Mexican

Americans," within the instructions. The current studies intend to address this gap in measurement of bias towards Mexican Americans through a motivated cognition framework.

The current studies address the assessment of White American racial attitudes about Mexican Americans. The overarching purpose will be to develop (study 1) and test an instrument (study 2). After exploratory analyses and modifications are run on the new bias scale, the predictive utility of the final scale will be tested. In terms of the theoretical model and framework, these studies focus on an examination of *Model Levels 2 and 4*.

Purpose

A psychologically sound measure will be developed to assess attitudes about Mexican Americans and to verify the content of stereotypes and affect about Mexican Americans. A scale that measures anti-Mexican American bias could be utilized as a predictor of other characteristics, philosophies, ideologies, and legal biases that could help to prevent unnecessary discrimination. U.S. stereotypes of Mexican Americans have become more pronounced in recent times. Therefore, the contact between Mexican Americans and other groups has produced conflict. A bias scale could inform about cultural stereotypes and attitudes concerning Mexican Americans and will eventually lead to better informed methods of reducing erroneous beliefs about Latinos through a deeper understanding of motivational antecedents. Just as extensive research of symbolic racism has led to meaningful conclusions about the "stable and consistent" effects on racial policies (Sears & Henry, 2005, p. 95), the continued exploration of prejudice against Mexican Americans will solidify the link between ideology, cognitive biases, and negative outcomes.

Research design. The construction and initial test of the anti-Mexican American Bias Scale will involve a series of psychometric steps. The first phase (pilot) of the study was a qualitative exploration of White American attitudes about Mexican Americans, which was part of a larger study (Martinez et al., 2008). Study 1 will follow up on the qualitative phase for the purpose of developing an attitudinal measure. The themes derived from the content analysis serve as the initial five content areas for the new scale. Data will be collected using a series of self-report measures from an online national sample of White Americans.

Research hypotheses. It was expected that the Anti-Mexican American Bias Scale will reflect five factors relating to the intended subscale content areas (content validity), as confirmed through factor analysis: Targets of Discrimination, Unfair Resource Allocation, Cultural Stereotypes, Educational Opportunities, and Traits. The internal reliability of the subscales will be dependent on the strength of inter-item correlations and Cronbach's alpha. It was expected that the Cronbach's alpha will be at least .70 to be considered a viable subscale.

Validity tests will provide evidence that the new scale is accurately portraying bias against Mexican Americans (construct validity), but it will be related to, yet not duplicating, previously existing "gold standards" in race/ethnic bias research, such as the Symbolic Racism Scale (discriminant validity). AMAAS and SMAC (convergent validity) will be more strongly correlated than AMAAS and SR2K (discriminant validity). It is expected that the AMAAS and NATIS will be moderately correlated (discriminant validity) because of the linked bias between Latinos and immigrants (Dovidio et al., 2010).

Method

Participants. Participants were recruited through Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online research site. The MTurk adult participants are generally more representative and diverse than college student samples (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). All data was gathered through the Qualtrics survey web site. Participants were financially compensated 20 cents for participation.

Five hundred fourteen participants (M_{age} = 33.4, SD = 12.2) completed the study. All participants were U.S. citizens, and there were 59% females (*n* = 303) and 41% males (*n* = 211). Table 1 contains the descriptive statistics for the whole sample. The majority of participants were "single, never married" (*n* = 277, 53%), followed by those who reported being "married" (*n* = 172, 34%). The remainder of the sample was "divorced" (*n* = 47, 9%), "separated" (*n* = 8, 2%), or "widowed" (*n* = 10, 2%). Most of the sample had "some college" (*n* = 199, 39%) or had "graduated college" (*n* = 189, 37%). About 11% (*n* = 54) received less than a college education, and 13% (*n* = 69) had a post-graduate degree. Nearly two-thirds of the participants reported an income of less than $40,000 (*n* = 310, 60%). Twenty percent (*n* = 103) had an annual income between $40,000 to $59,999, and twenty percent (*n* = 101) made over $60,000.

Participants reported their state of residence. From this data, regions were created based on the U.S. Embassy categorical system: New England, Middle Atlantic, South, Midwest, Southwest, and West (U.S.A. Embassy, 2008). Refer to Appendix K for a list of which states have been assigned to each of the regions. Participants were represented in each of the six regions, but three participants failed to report their state of residence. The largest number of participants were from the South (*n* = 145, 28%), and the New

England region had the fewest participants (*n* = 21, 4%). Refer to Table 1 for more details about the region frequencies.

Participants were asked to self-report their preferred race/ethnicity. The sample was 75% (*n* = 384) White American, 12% (*n* = 60) Black or African American, 5% (*n* = 28) Hispanic/Latino, 5% (*n* = 23) Asian, and 2% (*n* = 8) American Indian or Alaskan Native. Two participants (.4%) self-identified as Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Nine participants (1.8%) identified as "Other," mainly describing themselves as "mixed" or defining themselves using more than one category (i.e., "Black and Hispanic").

All subsequent statistical analyses in study 1 will use only data from White American participants, warranting a detailed description of this part of the sample. Table 2 contains the White American descriptive statistics. The White American sample was 60% females (*n* = 230) and 40% male (*n* = 154), with a mean age of 33.4 (SD = 12.8).

The White American marital status, education, and annual income reflected the same patterns as the total sample. The majority of participants were "single, never married" (*n* = 190, 50%) or "married" (*n* = 136, 35%). The remainder of the sample was "divorced" (*n* = 43, 11%), "separated" (*n* = 6, 2%), or "widowed" (*n* = 9, 2%). Most of the sample had "some college" (*n*= 144, 38%) or had "graduated college" (*n* = 145, 38%). Ten percent (*n* = 37) had less than a college education, and 14% (*n* = 55) had a post-graduate degree. Two participants (0.5%) marked the "other" category specifying an associate's degree. Nearly two-thirds of the participants reported an income of less than $40,000 (*n* = 231, 60%). Twenty percent (*n* = 78) had an annual income between $40,000 to $59,999, and twenty percent (*n* = 75) made over $60,000. The majority of the White

American participants were from the South (*n* = 98, 26%), Midwest (*n* = 85, 22%), and West (*n* = 60, 16%). The Middle Atlantic had 19% (*n* = 74), and the Southwest had 12% (*n* = 47). The New England region was the least represented region (*n* = 18, 5%). Two participants did not disclose their state of residence; therefore, they are not represented in the region data.

Measures. The following measures were used in Study 1: Anti-Mexican American Attitude Scale, Scale for Measurement of Attitude toward Chicanos, Negative Attitude Toward Immigration Scale, and the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale.

Anti-Mexican American Attitude Scale (AMAAS). Martinez et al. (2008) found that beliefs about discrimination (i.e., job discrimination), unfair resource allocation (i.e., taking jobs), cultural beliefs (i.e., sense of community), educational opportunities (i.e., minority scholarships), and trait stereotypes (i.e., criminals) were the underlying motivations that contributed to biases against Mexican Americans. Thus, there is some evidence of the underlying components of anti-Mexican American attitudes. Based on the motivational content that drives stereotypes (Martinez et al., 2008; Martinez et al., 2009), multiple items were generated for each of the five subscales: Targets of Discrimination (TD; α = .499), Unfair Resource Allocation (UR; α = .901), Cultural Stereotypes (CS; α = .850), Educational Opportunities (EO; α = .700), and Trait Stereotypes (TR; α = .795) (Appendix A). All items were rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). A mean index score was calculated for each revised subscale, as dictated by an exploratory factor analysis. The version of the subscales which will be used for subsequent validation analyses were derived through the results of reliability

analyses and factor analyses. The series of Cronbach's alphas will be reported in the next section of the results section due to the complicated nature of developing the new scale.

Scale for Measurement of Attitude toward Chicanos (SMAC). Carranza (1992) developed two forms of the Scale for Measurement of Attitude toward Chicanos (SMAC) using the Thurstone and Chave (1929) method of equal-appearing intervals. This instrument aims to represent a continuum of attitude toward Chicanos (Carranza, 1992). Each of the parallel forms includes 20 statements; form A will be used in the current study. Two modifications were made for the current study. First, the "Chicanos" label was replaced by "Mexican Americans" to make it accessible to a wider audience. Second, in lieu of "yes/no" endorsement of each item, the respondents were asked to rate each statement using a Likert-type scale, 1 – Strongly Disagree to 7 – Strongly Agree. Refer to Appendix B for the complete list of items. A mean index score was created, where higher score indicated more negative attitudes toward Mexican Americans. The scale's reliability was considered acceptable ($\alpha = .754$).

Negative Attitude Toward Immigration Scale (NATIS). The Negative Attitude Toward Immigrants Scale (NATIS) provides a general measure of attitudes toward immigrants (Varela et al., 2013). The NATIS does not use the word "illegal" or immediately imply unlawful entry, in contrast to the current gold standard called "Attitudes Toward Illegal Immigration Scale" (Ommundsen & Larsen, 1999; van der Veer, Ommundsen, Krumov, Le, & Larsen, 2008). Each of the 12 items was rated on a Likert-type response scale, 1- Completely Disagree to 5- Completely Agree. The scale was scored by averaging across all items. The Cronbach's alpha was .944. Refer to Appendix C for the full list of items.

Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K). As described in an earlier section, Henry and Sears (2002) created a modernized version of the original Symbolic Racism Scale (Sears, 1988) called the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K). SR2K has eight items, and the response alternatives varied by item (see Appendix D). The raw scores were summed, where high scores reflect more prejudice. Cronbach's alpha was .890. It is noteworthy that items 3, 5, 7 and 8 are also reflective of the concept of modern racism (McConahay, 1986), but the new SR2K has helped to overcome several measurement issues with the Modern Racism Scale. The SR2K is only intended to measure racial prejudice against Blacks (Dovidio et al., 2010; Henry & Sears, 2002), and it is being included as a "gold standard" measure of racial prejudice against Blacks. Using the SR2K as the "self-report benchmark for comparing all other forms of contemporary racial prejudice" (Fiske, 2014, p. 693) will contribute to supporting the claim that "different dimensions may underlie prejudice and discrimination against different racial and ethnic groups" (Dovidio et al., 2010, p. 63).

Procedure

IRB approval was submitted describing study 1, and participant recruitment (Mturk) and data collection (Qualitrics) began once IRB approval was received. The presentation of all instruments was administered online on a web site hosted by Qualitrics. The responses were anonymous; therefore, each participant was assigned a random identification code in order to received compensation. All procedures were standardized, and the data entered online was sent directly into a database on Qualitrics. After being recruited to participate, participants were given the survey web site link. The link took them to the informed consent form. Each participant provided responses to each

of the scales and a brief demographic form (Appendix J). The order of the scales was randomly ordered, with the demographics page at the end. Participants were given an identification code, which they entered into the Mturk site for compensation. They exited the web site.

Results

After data was cleaned and organized, descriptive statistics (i.e., mean, standard deviation, etc.) were run to explore the sample by age, gender, race, marital status, education, annual income, and U.S. region. As detailed above, Table 1 displayed the descriptive statistics for all participants in the sample, and Table 2 represented the same descriptive variables for White Americans only.

Results in Table 3 described the political variables that are relevant to the prejudice variables (Webster, Burns, Pickering, & Saucier, 2014). The majority of the participants were registered voters (85% registered). Most of the participants were politically moderate or liberal and labeled themselves as democrats or moderate. While 25% considered themselves politically moderate, about 44% were liberal and 27% were conservative. Another 3% were unsure or did not know how to describe themselves on most political or social issues. The mean rating was 3.60 (*SD* = 1.84), placing the majority of the sample as politically liberal. In regards to party identification (*M* = 3.57, *SD* = 1.75), 28% were moderate, and 43% identified themselves as democrats. In line with the self-identified conservatives, 24% were republican, but a little over 5% did not identify strongly with any party on the democrat-republican continuum, marking “unsure, don’t know.”

Participants were also asked to rate how they feel on a feeling thermometer towards Democratic Party, Republican Party, and the Tea Party. A rating of 100 degrees meant they feel as warm and positive as possible, and zero degrees meant they feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 50 degrees meant they did not feel particularly positive or negative towards the target group. Based on the means, participants felt the most negative about the Tea Party (M = 26.86, SD = 27.01) and the Republican Party (M = 35.30, SD = 28.07). On average, they did not feel positive or negative towards the Democratic Party (M = 3.57, SD = 1.75). According to the feeling thermometer means, no currently popular political party received positive support, even though Democrats were the most liked of the three parties.

AMAAS reliability and factor structure. Before the exploratory factor analysis, an in-depth series of descriptive analyses was run for the AMAAS. The item means and standard deviations were examined. Refer to the full list of item statistics in Table 4 and the item correlation matrix in Table 5. The means and correlations will be discussed, as needed, when relevant to the reliability analysis of each subscale.

Initial reliability. The reliability of each subscale was examined individually. For each subscale, the analysis began with all items entered into the reliability analysis, and the Cronbach's alpha was noted. Table 6 contains the list of subscales with the original Cronbach alpha level. In addition to the alpha level associated with the original group of items, the Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted (an item-total statistic) was utilized as a gauge of each item's contribution to the total subscale. If the Cronbach's alpha was shown to increase from the current level, the item was deleted from the subscale, and the reliability analysis was run again. The process of deleting items from the subscale

continued until the deletion of items no longer showed a significant increase in the alpha level. The final revised subscales were then used during the factor analyses, as a method of developing a more complete picture of each subscale and where they fall with the factor structure. Table 6 also displays the final list of items for each subscale, with the improved alpha level. This process will be detailed for each subscale.

Targets of Discrimination (TD) subscale had eight items (items 1, 6, 11, 16, 21, 26, 31, and 36) with a Cronbach's alpha of .499, which was the lowest reliability coefficient of all five original subscales. Item 36 was deleted and the alpha was improved to .611. The deletion of items 31 (α = .687) and 26 (α = .789) continued to increase the alpha level. A sufficient Cronbach's alpha (α = .855) was found after the final deletion of item 21. Three of the four deleted items attempted to approach Mexican Americans symbolically being targets of discrimination by means of not being welcomed, whether it was in the U.S. or in one's neighborhood. The final items more directly assessed Mexican Americans as targets of bias, such as in the work place.

Unfair Allocation of Resources (UR) began with 13 items (items 2, 7, 12, 17, 22, 27, 32, 37, 40, 43, 46, 49, and 51; α = .901). Although the Cronbach's alpha was initially strong, the examination of the impact item deletion greatly improved the reliability of the subscale. Three items were deleted in succession (item 46, α = .917; item 49, α = .933; item 51, α = .945), arriving at a final Cronbach's alpha of .945. The three deleted items were poor fitting because they referred to the common immigration myth that Mexican immigrants were given hard labor jobs that Americans "don't want to do." These items had been included as a means to identify overlap in attitudes towards Mexican

immigrants and Mexican American citizens. Otherwise, the final set of UR items had the strongest reliability of all original five subscales.

Cultural Stereotypes subscale (CS) had 14 items (items 3, 8, 13, 18, 23, 28, 33, 38, 41, 44, 47, 50, 52, and 53; α = .850). Similar to UR, the Cronbach's alpha was strong, but deleting items 53 (α = .852), 8 (α = .853), 38 (α = .855), 47 (α = .858), 41 (α = .864), 18 (α = .867), 3 (α = .870), 52 (α = .871), and 50 (α = .872) incrementally increased Cronbach's alpha. The final items addressed the place of Mexican American culture in the U.S. All language items (38, 41, 47, 50, 52, and 53) were deleted from the CS, with the exception of item 44, "*I am tired of trying to understand the accents of Mexican Americans*." The other three deleted items did not share a common reason for not being included in the revised subscale.

Educational opportunities subscale (EO) had 11 items (items 4, 9, 14, 19, 24, 29, 34, 39, 42, 45, and 48; α = .700). Items 29 (α = .732), 34 (α = .779), 14 (α = .791), 9 (α = .813), and 19 (α = .835) were deleted. The items that make up the revised EO were based on the perceived unfair educational opportunities that Mexican Americans received because of their ethnicity (i.e., items 24, 39, 45, 48). Yet, the deleted items had been worded positively, in a way that fairly promoted the ability of Mexican Americans to receive assistance in gaining a college education. For example, "*Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more qualified*," as opposed to the deleted item "*Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without financial aid*."

The Traits subscale (TR) had seven items (items 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35; α = .795). Items 5 (α = .808), 15 (α = .810), 35 (α = .812), and 10 (α = .865) were deleted. Similar to EO, TS retained the negatively worded trait items, such as Mexican Americans

being uneducated, lazy, and dirty, but the positive trait items (e.g., hard-working, family-oriented, and friendly) were deleted to increase the reliability of the subscale. The only item that was deleted that was negatively worded described Mexican Americans as being stereotyped as criminals. The five revised subscales, as listed on Table 6, will be considered during the factor analysis stage.

AMAAS factor analysis. To estimate the underlying latent construct, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was run on the AMAAS items. Although preliminary data indicated the five AMAAS subscales, this was the first attempt to analyze the latent structure using factor analysis. It was expected that the subscale items for each subscale would load onto individual factors, reliably extracting five factors that corresponded to the thematic content areas: targets of discrimination, unfair allocation of resources, cultural stereotypes, educational opportunities, and traits. Items were considered to have good fit when the following conditions were met: 1) There was limited cross-loading ($\lambda <$ .60) on all factors but one; 2) The item contributed substantial variance to the main factor to which it loads; 3) The internal reliability (Cronbach's Alpha) for the given factor/subscale was substantially reduced if the item is deleted; and 4) There were no wording, construct, or semantic issues. It was expected that several items would be dropped from the initial version of the AMAAS for not meeting these criteria. It was noted that dropping items impacted measures of internal reliability; therefore, changes to the scale were done incrementally. While analyzing the varimax and oblimin results, the revised subscales were compared and matched to the extracted factors in the EFA. Similarities were examined for both the items creating each factor, as well as the label for each factor, in comparison with the original subscale labels.

The items were run through a principal components analysis with varimax (orthogonal) rotation. Eight factors were extracted, accounting for 65% of the variance. Table 7 displays all loadings greater than .60. In the table, the items were grouped by subscale. The items were subsequently run with oblimin (oblique) rotation, also capturing 65% of the variance with eight factors. Table 8 reflected similar findings to the orthogonal loadings, except factors 1 and 7 had multiple cross-loadings. The structure of the two EFA results were compared, as well as the reliability results of the original subscales, resulting in the final revised AMAAS.

The most prominent factor (Factor 1) for the orthogonal rotation (referred to as FA1) and for the oblique rotation (FA2) contained a majority of the items from the UR subscale. Interestingly, factor 7 of FA2 had several cross-loadings with the factor 1 items, although FA1 had no corresponding factor such as this. Table 9 displayed a comparison of factor 1 of FA1 and factors 1 and 7 of FA2. Even though there was no strong factor for FA1, the FA2 factor 7 showed a compilation of items from other factors: Factor 1 revised UR (items 2, 7, 12, 22, 28, 40, 44, 45, and 48), factor 3 revised TR (item 20), factor 2 revised TD (item 21), and four unique items (8, 13, 25, and 30) that did not load onto any other factors. When looking at the strength of the loading for these items with multiple "strong" loadings across factors (λ greater than or equal to .600), items 2, 7, 12, 22, 28, 44, and 48 loaded more strongly onto factor 7 than onto factor 1 (UR). Items 40 and 45 loaded more strongly onto factor 1 than onto factor 7. Although items 17, 27, 37, 39, and 43 moderately loaded onto the FA2 factor 7, these items were strongly loaded onto factor 1 for FA1 and FA2. Based on the comparison of the three similar factors, the best match of factors was FA1 factor 1 and FA2 factor 7. Since there was considerable overlap

between FA2 factors 1 and 7, the factor structure for the final UR subscale was further investigated by examining the content of the items themselves. The reliability was reassessed to determine the final set of items for UR.

In addition, the initial reliability results also clearly supported the findings in the three factors; UR had the highest reliability of all five subscales, just as UR was the strongest factor of the eight that emerged. The main difference between the reliability analysis of the original subscale items and the results of FA1 and FA2 was the addition of items from the other subscales: TD item 21; CS items 13, 28, and 44; EO items 24, 39, 45, and 48; and TR items 20, 25, and 30. With the exception of the TD item, all of the other items had contributed to their respective revised subscales (see Table 6). Yet, in the context of the unfair allocation of resources content, these ten items presented a good fit.

The second strongest factor for FA1 and FA2 (factor 2) was based on four common TD items (1, 6, 11, and 16) with EO item 9 and TR item 5. The revised TD subscale items from the initial reliability analysis loaded onto FA1 and FA2 (1, 6, and 11). As expected for the factor, each item addressed Mexican Americans being targets of discrimination. According to responses on this particular set of items, participants agreed that Mexican Americans were targets of discrimination, which would indicate less anti-Mexican American attitudes. Refer to Table 4 for specific item statistics. Based on the FA1 and FA2 results, items 5, 9 and 16 may be added to the revised TD for the final reliability test.

Factor 3 for FA2 was composed of TR items (items 10, 15, and 35), along with item 3 from CS. FA1 had a similar pattern, but item 35 was not included. Interestingly, none of the items with strong loadings in either FA1 or FA2 matched the reliability

testing of the revised subscale (items 20, 25, and 30). For further reliability testing, the factor-supported items 3, 10, 15, and 35 were used. Although item 3 was originally listed in the CS subscale, it was reassigned to the TS subscale.

Next, FA1 and FA2 both reflected a clear factor that was not labeled as an original subscale. This factor was labeled as "Place in Society." The factor emerged as factor 5 for FA1 and factor 4 for FA2. Items 18 (λ = .701/ λ = .748) from CS and 26 (λ = .688/ λ = .672) from TD loaded strongly onto this new factor within each FA, respectively. The items "*Mexican Americans relate easily to American society*" and "*Mexican Americans are generally welcome in the United States*" now represented a subscale labeled "Place in US Society." The reliability was tested.

In a similar way, the FA1 factor 4 and FA2 factor 6 reflected a more specified Educational Opportunities subscale, which focuses on obtaining money or financial help to pay for higher education. Items 29 (λ = .811/ λ = .852) and 34 (λ = .809/ λ = .853) loaded sufficiently onto their respective factors. "*Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without financial aid*," and "*Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without scholarships*" now represented a new subscale labeled "Money for Education." Although the reliability of these items was tested, it was considered that these items may be redundant, with such similar wording in both items.

The FA1 factor 6 and FA2 factor 5 isolated two items from the original UR subscale, focusing on "Mexican Americans having jobs that other Americans don't want to do" (item 46) and having "hard labor jobs" (item 49). These "labor status" items supported the idea that there was an acknowledgement that Mexican Americans have jobs that other Americans do not want, but this item may have captured ideas about

immigrants more than citizens. Item 51 ("*Mexican Americans are exploited by labor companies to work long hours for low wages.*") was moderately loading onto both factors. Interestingly, item 36 ("*Many people assume that MA are immigrants.*") only had a weak loading (λ = .438) onto the FA2 factor. In the subsequent analyses of all the measures, the correlation between these items and the NATIS assisted in knowing whether these items should be retained as a subscale.

The eighth, final factor for FA1 was singularly defined by item 53 (λ = .704), and FA2 had three items (45, 48, and 53). Item 48 loaded equally onto FA2 factors 1 (λ = .641), 7 (λ = -.653), and 8 (λ = .652). Item 45 loaded most strongly onto factor 1 (λ = .700) and 7 (λ = -.646), with a lower, yet moderate loading (λ = .612) onto factor 8. Since these items had multiple cross loadings for FA2, they were absorbed into the UR subscale. Although item 53 only loaded onto factor 8 of FA1 and FA2, the item content (e.g., Mexican American accents) did not fit into the revised subscales. With additional insight from the reliability analysis, it was decided whether these items contributed strongly to the UR subscale.

Revised AMAAS reliability. It was expected that the final AMAAS scale would have five subscales (α > .70 per subscale), based on factor analysis. The final scale was expected to have between 20 to 25 items total. Table 10 displayed the item statistics for the final AMAAS subscales based on reliability analyses. For the AMAAS, all subsequent reliability and validity testing was performed using the resulting subscales from the initial CFA, and the final scale went through more rigorous testing in Study 2.

The items contributing to the UR subscale were the items that overlapped all three common factors (FA1 factor 1, FA2 factor 1, and FA2 factor 7). The final UR subscale

(α = .953) contained items 2, 7, 12, 22, 28, 40, 44, 45, and 48. This subscale was clearly defined by items stating that Mexican Americans unfairly receive benefits that were undeserved. Refer to Appendix L for the list of all final AMAAS subscales and items that were used in study 2.

The six TD items (1, 5, 6, 9, 11, and 16) from FA1 and FA2 had a good reliability (α = .865), but the reliability was improved to .875 when item 9 was deleted. The final TD subscale had five items that described Mexican Americans as targets of discriminatory behavior, such as being treated unfairly in the workplace and because of their skin color.

The TR subscale, as extracted within the factor analysis, had four items (3, 10, 15, and 35) had decent reliability (α = .812). According to the reliability analysis, deleting any of the four items would bring Cronbach's alpha below .800. This final TR subscale was based on positive traits attributed to Mexican Americans, such as being hardworking, family-oriented, and friendly.

The next three subscales remained exploratory for study 2, since they may not be theoretically meaningful. FA1 and FA2 extracted these factors, but the content of the three debatable subscales must be considered in the presence of the three strongest factors/subscales. First, the Money for Education (ME) subscale consisted of three items (14, 29, and 34), but the reliability fell apart with the inclusion of item 14 (α = .138). After dropping item 14, the reliability was acceptable (α = .869). When examining the content of the items, item 14 states that ethnic-based scholarships helped Mexican Americans get a college education. The two stronger items seemed to address the financial status of Mexican Americans as a barrier to higher education. The intricacies of

the verbiage indicated that this subscale may address an issue beyond the original intent to assess bias within perceived educational opportunities of Mexican Americans. This explains why these three items were deleted from the original EO subscale during initial reliability analyses.

Second, the Labor Status (LS) subscale was also derived based on the factor analysis results. Although item 51 was not as strongly loaded on the factor as items 46 and 49, the reliability was greatly improved from .663 to .714 when item 51 was included in the subscale. Trusting face validity, these three items considered the immigrant stereotypes about Mexican laborers in the context of evaluating attitudes about Mexican Americans. Like ME, these three items were initially deleted from the reliability analyses of the UR subscale. Throughout all analyses, these three items stuck together, apart from the UR original, revised, or final scale. It was expected that this subscale would reflect the highest correlation to the NATIS. Since the relationship with immigrant attitudes may be strong, this subscale may be dropped or revised after study 2 analyses.

Lastly, the Place in Society (PS) subscale (items 18 and 26) was also a result of the factor analyses that remained exploratory. This subscale in particular had a very weak, unacceptable Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .562$). The scale was further examined within study 2 because of the saliency of the factor. It was expected that PS may be excluded from the AMAAS at that point.

Reliability and structure of SMAC, NATIS, and SR2K. A brief examination of SMAC, NATIS, and SR2K was conducted. The following paragraphs will describe the scales individually.

The SMAC had not been widely used in psychological literature since its inception (Appendix B). Although it was intended as a unidimensional instrument (α = .754), the confirmatory factor analysis extracted four factors (λ cutoff = .600), which explained about 58% of the variance. The first component was defined by negative traits that impact society (Items 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 19; λ range from .682 to .827). One of the defining items was "Mexican Americans are likely to prove disloyal to our government." The second component reflected positive traits in the context of relationships with others (Items 6, 8, 12, 14, and 18; λ range from .605 to .714). For example, "*Mexican Americans are loyal to their superiors*." The third component had only item 17 (λ = .764), which was "*Mexican Americans prefer large families*." The final component had two items (13 and 20) that focus on perceived discrimination that Mexican Americans feel. "*Mexican Americans feel that their color causes others to discriminate against them*" (λ =.853) and "*Mexican Americans think of themselves as a rejected race*" (λ =.739) were the only two items in this factor. Although the SMAC seemed multidimensional, the main difference between the factors was a matter of valence, rather than content itself, and six of the items did not strongly load onto any of the dimensions. Therefore, the SMAC was used as it was intended, averaging across the 20 items (*M* = 4.08, *SD* = .584).

A confirmatory factor analysis supported previous findings that only one component was extracted (58% variance accounted for), making the NATIS a unidimensional scale (Appendix C). Factor loadings ranged from .582 to .886. The reliability was higher than in previous research (*α* = .944 versus *α* = .86). The item means were positively skewed, revealing a generally low level of bias toward immigrants (*M* =

2.40, *SD* = .919). As expected, attitudes toward immigrants had significant positive correlations with the following political demographic items: political and social issues (*r* = .557, *p* < .001), political party (*r* = .392, *p* < .001), republican feeling thermometer (*r* = .423, *p* < .001), and tea party feeling thermometer (*r* = .360, *p* < .001). There was a negative correlation between NATIS and the democrat feeling thermometer (*r* = -.360, *p* < .001).

The SR2K was a widely used scale to assess prejudice against Blacks (Appendix D). The internal consistency in the current study (α = .89) was better than previous findings (i.e., 1999 UCLA Study, α = .79, Henry & Sears, 2002). The confirmatory factor analysis also supports previous findings (e.g., Henry & Sears, 2002) that the SR2K was unidimensional, with 57% of the variance accounted for. The loadings ranged from .716 to .845, with the exception of item 3 (λ = .484). The raw scores were averaged to create the index score for SR2K (*M* = 2.24, *SD* = .689).

Validity assessment. The performance of the AMAAS was assessed through its relationships with related instruments. Extensive validity testing was done because reliability could determine that a single construct was being represented, but validity confirmed that the construct present was the intended construct. The FA1 and FA2 results, in conjunction with assessment of internal consistency, evidence was found that the new scale accurately portrayed bias against Mexican Americans (construct validity). Further, the intercorrelation matrix of all scales with AMAAS was examined closely as a primary indicator of construct validity (Table 11).

It was hypothesized that the AMAAS subscales would be related to, yet not duplicating, previously existing “gold standards” in race/ethnic bias research, such as the

Symbolic Racism Scale (discriminant validity). All six AMAAS subscales were significantly related to SR2K. SR2K had positive correlations with UR (r = .648, p < .001), TD (r = .671, p < .001), TR (r = .285, p < .001), and PS (r = .106, p = .038). There was a negative correlation between SR2K and ME (r = -.179, p < .001) and LS (r = -.301, p < .001). SR2K was also more significantly correlated with NATIS (r = .665, p < .001) than the SMAC (r = .206, p < .001), Z = -10.11, p < .001.

These results pointed to similarities amongst the three attitude bias scales, AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS. NATIS and SRS had the same pattern of correlations with the other scales, with few exceptions. They have significant positive correlations (p <.001) with UR, TD, TR, and SMAC, which includes the three strongest AMAAS dimensions. They had a significant negative correlation (p < .001) with LS. They had a significant correlation with PS, but it was not at the p < .001 level. The main difference was that SRS significantly negatively correlated with ME (r = -.179, p < .001) but NATIS did not have a significant correlation.

In addition, it was also hypothesized that AMAAS and SMAC (convergent validity) would be more strongly correlated than AMAAS and SR2K (discriminant validity). This hypothesis was not supported; instead, the opposite was found to be true for four of the six AMAAS subscales. Table 12 showed the results of Steiger's Z Test, significance test of correlated correlations for 1) SR2K and SMAC with AMAAS, 2) NATIS and SMAC with AMAAS, and 3) NATIS and SR2K. This test was used to find which scale was more highly correlated which each AMAAS subscale. SR2K had a stronger correlation with UR (r = .648, p < .001), TD (r = .671, p < .001), TR (r = .285, p < .001), and LS (r = -.301, p < .001) than SMAC with UR (r = .523, p < .001, Z = -2.69,

p = .007), TD (r = -.078, p =.128, Z = -12.87, p < .001), TR (r = -.166, p = .001, Z = -7.00, p < .001), and LS (r = .197, p < .001, Z = 7.73, p < .001). SMAC was more strongly associated with ME (r = .262, p < .001) and PS (r = -.161, p = .002) than SR2K with ME (r = .523, p < .001, Z = -2.69, p < .001) and PS (r = .106, p = .038, Z = -4.13, p < .001).

A comparison of correlation strength between NATIS and SMAC with AMAAS was assessed next. NATIS was more highly correlated with UR (r = .869, p < .001), TD (r = .442, p < .001), and TR (r = .353, p < .001) than SMAC with UR (r = .523, p < .001, Z = 11.56, p < .001), TD (r = -.078, p =.128, Z = 9.97, p < .001), and TR (r = -.166, p = .001, Z = 9.77, p < .001). Yet, SMAC was more highly correlated with ME (r = .262, p < .001), LS (r = .197, p = .002) and PS (r = -.161, p = .002) than NATIS with ME (r = -.021, p = .686, Z = -7.32, p < .001), LS (r = -.182, p < .001, Z = -7.09, p < .001), and PS (r = .131, p = .01, Z = 5.46, p < .001). All the differences between the correlations were highly significant, meaning there was a big spread between the relationship of NATIS and SMAC with AMAAS. NATIS was more correlated with the main three AMAAS subscales (UR, TD, and TR) than SMAC was. This signified that SMAC was not a strong measure of biased attitudes towards Mexican Americans. Although NATIS was targeting negative immigrant attitudes, it was expected that there would be a significant correlation with AMAAS, anti-Mexican American attitudes.

The final correlation comparisons were between NATIS and SR2K with each of the AMAAS subscales. NATIS was more correlated with UR (r = .869, p < .001) than SR2K with UR (r = .648, p < .001, Z = 9.75, p < .001). SR2K was more correlated with TD (r = .671, p < .001), ME (r = -.179, p < .001), and LS (r = -.301, p < .001) than NATIS with TD (r = .442, p < .001, Z = -6.89, p < .001), ME (r = -.021, p = .686, Z =

3.78, $p < .001$), and LS ($r = -.182$, $p < .001$, $Z = 2.93$, $p = .003$). There were no correlational significant differences for TR ($Z = 1.72$, $p = .085$) and PS ($Z = .560$, $p = .55$) with NATIS ($r_{TR} = .353$, $p < .001$; $r_{PS} = .131$, $p = .01$) and with SR2K ($r_{TR} = .285$, $p < .001$; $r_{PS} = .106$, $p = .038$).

The final hypothesis expected that the AMAAS subscales and NATIS would be moderately correlated (discriminant validity) because of the linked bias between Latinos and immigrants (Dovidio et al., 2010). The hypothesis was supported, and the NATIS pattern of associations with the AMAAS subscales was remarkably similar to that of the SR2K. NATIS was positively correlated with UR ($r = .869$, $p < .001$), TD ($r = .442$, $p < .001$), TR ($r = .353$, $p < .001$), and PS ($r = .131$, $p = .01$) and negatively correlated with LS ($r = -.182$, $p < .001$). The main difference between NATIS and SR2K was that NATIS was not correlated with ME ($r = -.021$, *ns*). The strong relationship between NATIS and UR indicated a possible overlap between the constructs. It had been expected that AMAAS and NATIS would be related, but the relationship with UR, the strongest factor, was further investigated in study 2.

Discussion

Although existing qualitative data was the basis for the pool of items and subscale labels in the AMAAS (Martinez et al., 2008), the items had not been formally analyzed before study 1. Therefore, the underlying structure of the AMAAS was examined using exploratory factor analysis for the White American data. The extracted factors and the reliability analysis of the original subscales were taken together to finalize the revised AMAAS list of items (Appendix L).

The reliabilities of the original subscales appeared to support the original subscale labels, but the factor analysis revealed a slightly different structure of the underlying dimensions. Basically, the subscales that were strong in the reliability analysis were also strong in the FA; the relationships between the items shifted the subscales a little bit. For example, UR continued to be the strongest dimension/subscale, and the majority of the original items (9 of 13) remained significant to the factor. As a factor it attracted six additional items from EO and CS. The content of the items that moved to UR were theoretically appropriate in the context of the other UR items. For this reason, EO and CS subscales did not exist as independent dimensions in the final revised scale.

TD was the second strongest and meaningful dimension/subscale. Half (4 of 8) of the original items remained significant to the factor, but two additional items were pulled in from EO and TR. The final revised subscale included only items which were original assigned to this subscale, making TD the only subscale that remained intact. TR, the third strongest dimension/subscale, also closely mirrored the items in the original subscale, but it had the addition of an item from CS. Along with the UR subscale, TD and TR were critical components of the AMAAS.

Three new dimensions/subscales emerged (ME, LS, and PS) in the factor analysis, but they were not strong conceptual factors. They were included in the study 2 revised AMAAS in order to get a second analysis of how these items related to the full revised scale. PS was the weakest dimension/subscale, with low internal consistency. On one hand, the PS subscale was appropriate when considering the importance of how White Americans perceived Mexican Americans fitting into U.S. society. On the other hand, the AMAAS ultimately intended to assess attitudes toward Mexican Americans. PS was

included in study 2 as a means to further explore its relationship to the scale as a whole. It was expected that PS may not be extracted as a factor in the company of the revised scale.

In summary, some of the original subscale items stayed intact, such as UR, TD, and TR, while other items were pulled into other factors/dimensions of attitudes toward Mexican Americans (e.g., EO and CS). Even though the results of the factor analyses were not a direct repetition of the five content areas of the initial AMAAS, the reliability analyses and factor analyses using the original five AMAAS subscales consistently supported the revised AMAAS. The final scale had 25 items, which was the expected number of items for the revised version.

The intention of study 1 was to begin with a large pool of items related to the five content areas, and, through the analysis process, the revised AMAAS would be derived. Items were deleted from the original 53-item AMAAS for three reasons: 1.The item did not contribute to a satisfactory reliability of the original subscale; 2. The item did not load sufficiently onto one of the extracted factors; and/or 3. The item was considered outside the theoretical framework of bias against Mexican Americans. The four deleted UR items (17, 27, 32, and 37) directly referenced special treatment related to ethnicity in the workplace environment, which may not be considered an "unfair resource" in the same way as unfairly receiving "welfare" (items 7 and 12) or "college admission" (items 45 and 48).

The deleted TD items were not worded in a manner consistent with the theme. Specifically, item 31 ("*Many people don't want Mexican Americans in the United States.*") was the negatively worded version of item 26 that contributed to the "place in

society" subscale ("*Mexican Americans are generally welcome in the United States.*"). The final TD subscale items focused on Mexican Americans being the recipients of discriminatory behavior, such as being treated unfairly because of their skin color (item 16) and being stereotyped as criminals (item 5).

CS had ten deleted items (8, 13, 23, 33, 38, 41, 47, 50, 52, 53), six of which referred to language, speech, or accents of Mexican Americans. The Spanish-speaking aspect of Mexican American culture was consistently mentioned as a source of unfair advantages for Mexican Americans and unfair disadvantages of White Americans in the pilot data (Martinez et al., 2008); therefore, it was surprising that the six language items did not hang together in the factor analysis. Otherwise, the CS subscale fell apart during analyses because only 4 of the 14 items loaded onto any of the eight extracted factors. There was not a subscale in the final revised AMAAS labeled as CS because the "cultural stereotype" content was more appropriately contributing to UR, TR, and PS.

Like CS, most (7 of 11) of the EO items were deleted during analyses (4, 9, 14, 19, 24, 39, 42). Four of the deleted items (9, 14, 24, and 39) implied that ethnicity is associated with Mexican Americans getting educational opportunities. The purpose of these "ethnicity" items was to establish a sense of how negative attitudes were related to Mexican Americans having a defined culture, but the ethnicity aspect of getting access to a college education was not related to bias against Mexican Americans. For the other deleted EO items, the wording may have been confusing or they were double-barreled (addressing more than one concept within one item). A "strongly agree" response to item 4, "Mexican Americans would go to college if they could afford it," could be interpreted to mean that one believes that Mexican Americans would go to college, but, at the same

time, Mexican Americans were too poor to attend college otherwise. There was not a clear direction of bias in a response to this item. Item 42 faced the same response bias as item 4. The other four items were split into the final revised UR (items 45 and 48) and ME (items 29 and 34) subscales.

The deleted items from the TR original subscale (items 20, 25, and 30) were all negative traits (i.e., uneducated, lazy, and dirty). In the reliability analysis, these three items had the best internal consistency, but the factor analysis showed that the other three TR items (10, 15, and 35) contributed to the strongest dimension/subscale. Examining the TR items amongst the full AMAAS set of items could be the source of this inconsistency between the reliability analysis and the factor analysis. Item 3 from CS was an additional positive trait that contributed to the final revised TR.

Another goal of study 1 was to begin assessing content and construct validity of the AMAAS. It was found that the AMAAS items accurately portrayed the intended themes and results from the previous pilot content analysis (Content Validity), even though the subscale labels and items shifted. Bias toward Mexican Americans (the intended construct) as measured by AMAAS was more strongly correlated with SR2K and NATIS than with the SMAC. It was expected that the AMAAS and SMAC would be more related on the basis of targeting the same population, but AMAAS was correlated more highly with the other two prejudice scales.

For the three most important subscales (UR, TD, and TR), SR2K and NATIS were more strongly correlated with AMAAS than the SMAC (Table 13). Since the SR2K was more strongly associated with the NATIS than the SMAC, the SMAC may not be a bias scale. Instead, it may represent a group of cultural traits that are associated with

Chicanos, the original target group. The SMAC was not a strong scale to begin with; therefore, it was not unusual that SR2K was more strongly associated with AMAAS than SMAC. The components of the AMAAS had a medium positive correlation with the SMAC (Convergent Validity). SMAC had small, but significant, correlations with TR, ME, LS, and PS, but it had a large correlation with UR (convergent validity).

The AMAAS and SR2K were strongly correlated, meaning that AMAAS was likely a good measure of prejudice. It was important to be certain that the prejudice against Mexican Americans (per the AMAAS) was discernable from prejudice against Blacks (per the SR2K). The intricacies of the AMAAS were investigated in study 2. It was expected that the AMAAS and SR2K may had different patterns of prediction.

It was expected that AMAAS and NATIS will have a correlation less than .80 for purposes of discriminant validity (Brown, 2006). NATIS had small correlations with LS and PS, medium correlations with TD and TR, and a large correlation with UR. NATIS had no significant correlation with ME. NATIS and UR shared the most variance of the AMAAS subscales. The relationship between attitudes toward immigrants and towards Mexican Americans was linked (Dovidio et al., 2010).

Three limitations were evident in the context of the current study. First, the number of participants needed to do the factor analyses was sufficient for the data set, but a larger number of participants could have strengthened or clarified the dimensional patterns within the data. Yet, the factors that emerged were consistent and strong. The structure of the subscales was reorganized and simplified based on the results; therefore, the results present adequate construct validity. It was expected that study 2 would utilize

a larger number of participants (N = 500) in order to successfully run the required structural equation model.

Second, establishing the full range of validity was limited in the beginning stages of the development of the new scale. It was expected the data from study 2 would provide a more in depth analysis about the relationship between bias against Mexican Americans and biases against other social groups.

Third, anti-Mexican American bias was found to be highly related to the construct of immigration and to prejudice against Blacks. Although the instructions on the AMAAS deliberately defined Mexican Americans as citizens of the U.S., confusion may have inhibited participants from providing responses regarding the appropriate target population, Mexican Americans, instead of immigrants. The instructions for the AMAAS will continue to include a bolded definition of "Mexican Americans."

Besides addressing the limitations of study 1 (e.g., sample size and instruction clarification), study 2 began the process of investigating the predictive utility of the AMAAS. Study 2 also addressed the position of anti-Mexican Americans within the theoretical model. The final revised version of the AMAAS was used in study 2. It was noteworthy that three subscales (ME, LS, and PS) were retained, although the evidence for these factors was moderate, and the relationship of these three subscales to the main three was small to medium with the exception of one large correlation. The second test of this new scale should indicate whether the additional items in these two subscales were important in the factor structure or were redundant in the company of the other items.

CHAPTER 6

Study 2: Test the Utility of the Measure as a Predictor of Bias

Purpose

The purpose of study 2 is to explore the predictive utility (criterion-related validity) of the AMAAS as an outcome of other characteristics, philosophies, ideologies, and as a predictor of policy preferences, as guided by the theoretical model in Figure 1. The worth of a scale can be determined by its predictive validity, especially for understanding the nuances of bias (Henry & Sears, 2002), discriminatory practices (Dovidio et al., 2010), and predicting policy preferences (Rabinowitz, et al., 2009; Schuman, 2000). For the development of the AMAAS's predictive utility, it is expected that those who are relatively low in bias should think and behave differently from those who are higher in bias, as influenced by individual differences. In the future, the new scale should account for how White Americans view Mexican Americans as assets or threats (Gutierrez, 1999).

Research design. A structural equation model (SEM) was be used for purposes of construct validation through path analysis modeling (Kline, 2005; Raykov & Marcoulides, 2006). The ultimate goal of study 2 was for the final version of the AMAAS from study 1 to be utilized as a predictor for opposition to racial policy, and it would eventually be utilized as a predictor of level and type of threat as well as social behavior. Study 2 will begin the process of confirming the pathways within the proposed model (See Figure 2), which represented only a sample of the global model pathways in Figure 1.

Research hypotheses. Five research hypotheses will be examined within the SEM path analysis. First, CSE, SDO, and RWA (*Model Level 1*) will significantly predict (a) AMAAS, (b) SR2K, and (c) NATIS. (Construct validity; *Model Level 2*). Second, higher scores on AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS will predict higher levels of opposition to racial policy (Predictive validity). White American attitudes about Mexican Americans as measured by the new instrument will be predictive of racial policy attitudes. Higher levels of bias toward Mexican Americans will predict higher levels opposition to affirmative action and opposition to racial policy. Third, AMAAS will mediate the relationship between SDO and the components of RWA with (a) racial policy attitudes and (b) opposition to affirmative action policies. Fourth, higher levels of CSE will predict higher scores on SDO-D and SDO-E. Fifth, higher levels of SDO-D will predict higher levels of RWA. SDO-E will predict three components of RWA. SDO-E will be most related to the Traditionalism subscale of the RWA construct.

Method

Participants. Recruitment for study 2 participants was similar to that of study 1. White American participants (N = 520, M_{age} = 36.07, *SD* = 13.07) were recruited and compensated 40 cents through MTurk. All participants were White American U.S. citizens residing in the United States. The sample had 64% women (*n* = 332) and 36% men (*n* = 188). Data was gathered through the Qualtrics survey web site. Table 13 contains participant descriptive statistics.

The majority of participants were “single, never married” (43%, *n* = 222) or “married” (41%, *n* = 213). The other participants were “divorced” (12%, *n* = 63),

"separated" (12%, *n* = 63), or "widowed" (12%, *n* = 63). About 2% (*n* = 12) of participants considered themselves "cohabitating" (*n* = 7) or "engaged" (*n* = 5).

The sample demographics were very consistent with the study 1 sample. Most of the study 2 sample had "some college" (*n* = 173, 33%) or had "graduated college" (*n* = 205, 39%). About 12% (*n* = 63) received less than a college education and 14% (*n* = 75) had a post-graduate degree. Four participants (1%) reported having an associate's degree. Nearly two-thirds of the participants reported an income of less than $40,000 (*n* = 310, 60%). Nineteen percent (*n* = 98) had an annual income between $40,000 to $59,999, and twenty-one percent (*n* = 108) made over $60,000.

The national representation of participants was also very similar to the study 1 sample. Using the U.S. Embassy categories for U.S. regions (U.S. Embassy, 2008), the majority of the White American participants were from the South (*n* = 164, 32%), Midwest (*n* = 111, 21%), and West (*n* = 94, 18%). The Middle Atlantic had 15% (*n* = 79), and the Southwest had 9% (*n* = 47). The New England region was the least represented region (*n* = 25, 5%).

Measures. The final version of the AMAAS from study 1 was used (Appendix L). The final revised scale had six subscales, with 25 Likert-type items: Unfair Allocation of Resources (UR; α = .942), Targets of Discrimination (TD; α = .890), Traits (TR; α = .832), Money for Education (ME; α = .971), Labor Status (LS; α = .759), and Place in Society (PS; α = .498). The SR2K (α = .909) and NATIS (α = .942) will also be used, as in study 1. Refer to Table 17 for a complete list of scale and subscale means, standard deviations, and reliability coefficients.

Authoritarian-Conservatism-Traditionalism (ACT) Scale. Duckitt et al. (2010) addressed several psychometric weaknesses of the original version of the Altemeyer (1981, 1988) Right Wing Authoritarianism scale. The Authoritarian-Conservatism-Traditionalism (ACT) Scale represents the three dimensions of RWA (Appendix E). A strong positive correlation between the RWA scale and the ACT showed that these two scales are measuring the same construct (Duckitt et al., 2010). The validated short form of the ACT will be used, using the first six items from each subscale. All items will be measured on a seven-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7= *Strongly agree*). A sample item from the *Authoritarianism Subscale* (α = .789) is "The way things are going in this country, it's going to take a lot of 'strong medicine' to straighten out the troublemakers, criminals, and perverts." The *Conservatism Subscale* (α =.880) stands for items such as "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn." The *Traditionalism Subscale* (α = .896) has items such as "The 'old-fashioned ways' and 'old-fashioned values' still show the best way to live." A separate mean score for each subscale, was created. Higher scores indicate higher presence of the specific dimension.

Social Dominance Orientation$_7$ (SDO$_7$) Scale. After data supporting the multidimensionality of SDO (Ho et al., 2012; Peña & Sidanius, 2002), Ho et al. (in press) officially revised the SDO scale to include two subscales, which represent the two dimensions of SDO (Appendix F). SDO-Dominance (SDO-D; α = .893) is characterized by the "desire for maintaining group-based dominance hierarchies, in which dominant groups actively oppress subordinate groups" (Ho et al., in press, p. 6). SDO-Egalitarianism (SDO-E; α = .926) "represented opposition to equality between groups,

but not support for outright domination" (Ho et al., in press, p. 6). Each dimension has eight items with balanced pro-trait and con-trait wording. A mean score was computed for each dimension separately. High scores reflect greater adherence toward that dimension.

Collective Self Esteem (CSE) Scale. The CSE scale consisted of four subscales—Membership (CSE-M), Private (CSE-PR), Public (CSE-PU), and Importance to Identity (CSE-ID)—for a total of 16 items rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1-strongly disagree to 7-strongly agree) (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The current study used the race-specific form of the CSE scale (Appendix G). This version of the scale predicted behaviors concerning one's racial group membership more successfully than the general form of the CSE scale (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994).

All four subscales were included in the scale given to participants, and all subscales were used in analyses. The CSE-M (items 1, 5, 9, 13; $\alpha = .745$) was an evaluation of oneself as a good member of the social groups to which one belongs. A sample item was "*I am a worthy member of the racial group I belong to.*" CSE-PR (items 2, 6, 10, 14; $\alpha = .825$) was an evaluation of the extent to which one evaluates one's social groups positively. A sample item was "*In general, I'm glad to be a member of the racial group I belong to.*" CSE-PU (items 3, 7, 11, 15; $\alpha = .777$) was how others evaluate one's social group. A sample item was "*Overall, my racial group is considered good by others.*" CSE-ID (items 4, 8, 12, 16; $\alpha = .875$) was how important one's memberships in the social groups are to one's self-concept. A sample item was "*The racial group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.*" Refer to Appendix G for a complete list of

CSES items. A mean index score was created for each subscale. Higher scores reflected a stronger sense of collective self-esteem in that dimension.

Affirmative Action and Racial Policy Attitude Measures. Items for measures for opposition to affirmative action and opposition to racial policy were adapted from Ho et al. (in press). Appendix H listed the items for affirmative action on the basis of race (α = .849) and of gender (α = .842). Appendix I listed the items for attitudes toward various racial policies (α = .947). Items were rated on a scale of 1 (strongly support the policy) to 7 (strongly oppose the policy). Mean scores were computed for each of the measures and were used as the criterion variable representing *Model Level 4*. Higher scores reflected more opposition to that type of policy.

Procedure

An IRB change of protocol was submitted that reflected the changes to the new scale and additional instruments (i.e., ACT, $SDO_{7,}$ CSE, and Policy measures). Participants were recruited through MTurk, and all data was collected through Qualtrics. All measures were administered online. After consenting, participants were asked to fill out the AMAAS, SR2K, NATIS, ACT (RWA), SDO, CSE, RP, and AA (random order). At the end, the participants filled out a brief demographic form, and they were given a code to redeem in Mturk for their compensation.

Results

The participant demographic variables of the sample were examined, as reported in the previous section. The political orientation of the sample was also important to address. Table 14 included details about the political nature of the sample. A large majority of the sample were registered voters (*n* = 451, 87%). When asked to choose

where they fall on the "liberal-conservative" continuum for political and social issues, 51% (*n* = 264) self-identified as liberal, about 18% (*n* = 91) were "moderate," and about 30% were conservative (*n* = 155). Almost 2% (*n* = 10) were unsure or didn't know how to answer the item. About 47% (*n* = 246) labeled themselves as being a democrat. Almost 21% (*n* = 108) were "moderate," and 28% were republican. Four percent (*n* = 21) choose "unsure, don't know." Based on the political party feeling thermometer, the mean temperature for democrats was 51.80 (*SD* = 30.41), which was the highest of all three parties. Feelings toward Republicans were less warm than the Democrats (M_{temp} = 36.70, *SD* = 29.19), and participants were the coldest towards the Tea Party (M_{temp} = 26.38, *SD* = 28.48). Table 15 listed the item means and standard deviations by subscale.

Reliability. The internal consistency of the AMAAS subscales was examined. Table 16 displays the subscale descriptive statistics and Cronbach alpha level. Overall, the subscales had strong reliability, with the exception of PS. The CFA was used to further validate and verify the content of the subscales.

The reliability coefficients for each of the three main AMAAS subscales were strong and no items were removed. The UR scale had nine items (α = .942). All items were retained for subsequent analyses. Based on the item-total correlation (r = .618) and the alpha if item deleted (α = .944), the subscale would be slightly improved if item 2 ("*Mexican Americans do not pay as much taxes as most Americans*.") was deleted. The five-item TD subscale had good internal consistency (α = .890). Item 5 ("*Mexican Americans are targets of discrimination.*") was the cornerstone item for the subscale. The item-total correlation was .829, with other correlations ranging from .657 to .777. No items were removed from the scale. The four TR items had good reliability (α = .832).

No items were dropped from the subscale. All four items had large significant inter-item correlations, ranging from .512 to .669.

The following three subscales were still in the exploratory phase. The reliability was used to assess whether the subscales would be retained as a part of the full scale.

The two ME items had a very strong reliability (α = .971), but the items were redundant, as expected in study 1. The study 1 reliability (α = .869) allowed the ME subscale to be examined further, but with an inter-item correlation of .944 ($p < .001$), the items were not distinctive enough to retain them as a subscale. In addition, ME was not correlated with UR ($r = .074$, $p = .092$). ME was not be used in subsequent analyses.

LS (α = .759) was more stable as a subscale than ME. All three LS items contributed equally to the subscale, and no items were removed. Since the subscale had good internal consistency and it was significantly correlated with UR ($r = .210$, $p < .001$), TD ($r = .510$, $p < .001$), and TR ($r = .489$, $p < .001$), LS continued to be examined in an exploratory nature in subsequent analyses.

The PS had a Cronbach alpha of .498. As suspected in study 1, this was not a viable AMAAS subscale in the presence of the other subscales. As with ME, the alpha level decreased from study 1 (α = .562) to the current .498. The PS items ("*Mexican Americans relate easily to American society*" and "*Mexican Americans are generally welcome in the United States*.") did not adequately address biased attitudes toward Mexican Americans in this sample. When the subscale reliability was analyzed by political party identification, the reliability improved for those who reported being "strong democrat" (α = .573), "slightly democrat" (α = .658), "slightly republican" (α = .619), "somewhat republican" (α = .603), and "strongly republican" (α = .630). The

reliability was not improved for those who were “somewhat democrat” (α = .277) or “moderate” (α = .429).

The reliabilities of all other measures indicated good to strong internal reliability. Table 17 compiled all means, standard deviations, and Cronbach alphas for SR2K, NATIS, ACT (RWA), SDO, CSE, RP, and AA.

Discriminant validity. The inter-correlations between the scales was used as a determinant of convergent and discriminant validity. It was expected that AMAAS would be distinguishable from other constructs. As the strength of the correlation increases, there was more shared variance between the two constructs. It was expected that AMAAS would be most related to the other constructs in Model Level 2, SR2K and NATIS, since they were measures of racial attitudes.

Discriminant validity was judged by examining the correlations between the composite representations of AMAAS with the remaining constructs (SR2K, NATIS, SDO, RWA, and CSE). A correlation of .80 was established as a cut-off for discriminant validity; a correlation greater than .80 would indicate that the two latent factors were likely not distinct constructs (Brown, 2006). Small and non-significant correlations were not considered problematic, and the constructs remained in the model (Brown, 2006). Smaller correlations were expected between constructs which were on different levels of the theoretical model, contributing to construct validity and discriminant validity.

Discriminant validity was established for SR2K and NATIS with AMAAS. SR2K had significant correlations ($p < .001$) with UR ($r = .659$), TD ($r = .659$), and TR ($r = .246$). As expected, the correlation between anti-Black and anti-Mexican American prejudice was large, but the traits subscale had a small effect size. NATIS also had strong

correlations ($p < .001$) with UR ($r = .780$), TD ($r = .580$), and TR ($r = .389$). Even though the NATIS correlation with UR was approaching the upper limit of discriminant validity, it was not excessively large, and the NATIS correlation with TD and TR were more appropriate.

Discriminant validity was also found between AMAAS and CSE, SDO, and ACT (RWA). The majority of the significant correlations between the four CSE subscales with AMAAS were small to medium size (range $r = .181$ to $.354$). CSE-PU was not significantly correlated with UR ($r = -.010$, $p = .824$) and TD ($r = .046$, $p = .294$), and TR was not significantly related to CSE-M ($r = -.050$, $p = .254$) and CSE-PR ($r = .015$, $p = .736$). SDO-D had small correlations with UR ($r = .288$, $p < .001$) and TD ($r = .143$, $p = .001$), but was not related to TR ($r = .076$, $p = .083$). SDO-E was significantly correlated to UR ($r = .141$, $p < .001$), and there was no correlation with TD ($r = .045$, $p = .300$) and TR ($r = -.041$, $p = .348$). All components of ACT (RWA) were significantly correlated ($p < .001$) with the UR and TD, ranging from .382 to .530. TR had small, but significant ($p < .001$), correlations with RWA-A ($r = .175$), RWA-C ($r = .177$), and RWA-T ($r = .226$).

Within analyses for hypothesis testing, the measurement models will include CFAs on all other measures: SR2K, NATIS, ACT, SDO_7, and CSES. It was expected that the items for each scale and subscale would respectively load onto factors, in accordance with previous findings of each scale.

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Mplus statistical software was used to run the confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the revised AMAAS. The first step was to run a CFA on each remaining subscale (UR, TD, and TR) independently (Table 18). Then the final scale was derived through a series of CFAs (Table 19). All analyses utilized ML

estimation. The goodness-of-fit assessment of the models relied on the following statistics and acceptable cut-offs: Chi-square goodness of fit statistic (χ^2; significance greater than .05); Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; statistic less than .08 for acceptable fit and .05 for good fit); Comparative Fit Index (CFI; statistic greater than .90 for acceptable fit and .95 for good fit); Tucker Lewis Index (TLI; statistic greater than .90 for acceptable fit and .95 for good fit); and Standardized Square Root Mean Residual (SRMR; statistic less than .08 for acceptable fit and .05 for good fit). It must be noted that since the χ^2 was sensitive to sample size, the statistic should not be the single indicator of good fit.

The UR subscale had been one of the most stable AMAAS subscale. Upon a deeper examination into the structure of the subscale, CFA revealed that the nine-item subscale (items 2, 6, 9, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, and 23) did not have good fit (χ^2 (27) = 414.39, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .166, $p < .001$; CFI = .902; TLI = .869; SRMR = .042). The modification indices listed the addition of multiple error covariances, suggesting that items 6, 9, 21, and 23 were problematic. When examining the wording of the items, item 6 and 9 both referred to Mexican Americans using welfare, and items 21 and 23 both referred to Mexican Americans taking other students' places in college. Items 6 and 23 were deleted from the subscale, improving the model fit (χ^2 (14) = 55.40, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .075, $p = .021$; CFI = .983; TLI = .975; SRMR = .022). The final model for the UR subscale included items 2, 9, 13, 15, 19, 20, and 21 ($\alpha = .920$), with an error covariance between item 2 and 9 (χ^2 (13) = 34.92, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .057, $p = .279$; CFI = .991; TLI = .985; SRMR = .016).

The TD subscale began with items 1, 4, 5, 8, and 11. The model fit was

acceptable (χ^2 (5) = 27.10, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .092, $p = .017$; CFI = .985; TLI = .970; SRMR = .018). Modification indices called attention to item 4, "*Mexican Americans are often stereotyped as criminals*." It appeared that this was the only item in the subscale that referred to a specific trait stereotype; the other items addressed situational factors of being targets of discrimination. After removing item 4 (α = .878), the model fit was very good (χ^2 (2) = .84, $p = .656$; RMSEA = .000, $p = .880$; CFI = 1.000; TLI = 1.003; SRMR = .004).

The TR subscale had four items (3, 7, 10, and 18). The model fit was acceptable by CFI, TLI, and SRMR (CFI = .981; TLI = .944; SRMR = .023), but chi-square and RMSEA did not show good fit (χ^2 (2) = 16.59, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .118, $p = .012$). Per the modification indices, an error covariance was added between items 3 and 10. Both of these items referred to the communal aspect of Mexican American culture; therefore, the error covariance was appropriate. The final model had very good fit (χ^2 (1) = .894, $p = .344$; RMSEA = .000, $p = .596$; CFI = 1.000; TLI = 1.001; SRMR = .004). The TR subscale had a Cronbach alpha of .832.

Using these final three subscales, the overall unidimensional CFA did not show good fit by any of the statistical standards (χ^2 (88) = 1238.16, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .159, $p < .001$; CFI = .763; TLI = .717; SRMR = .106). Modification indices, naturally, had several suggestions for error covariances were listed, indicating the need for a multidimensional assessment. Table 19 showed a list of the CFA models being tested. The next model tested was the three-factor CFA.

The three-factor model showed acceptable fit (χ^2 (85) = 280.50, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .067, $p = .001$; CFI = .960; TLI = .950; SRMR = .048), and a nested model

comparison supported that this three-factor model had significantly better fit than the unidimensional model (χ^2_{diff} (3) = 957.65, p < .001). The loadings between the indicators and factors were also within acceptable range (> .60). The pattern within the modification indices pointed to removing item 8 ("*The negative media coverage of the U.S.-Mexico border makes life more difficult for Mexican Americans*.") because it had a cross-loading with all three subscales. Item 2 ("*Mexican Americans do not pay as much taxes as most Americans*.") was also be removed from subsequent models because of the extraneous unexplained variance. The wording of the item might be interpreted to mean that the target was not a U.S. citizen, which was in direct conflict with the instructions to define Mexican Americans as U.S. citizens. This would have led to confusion in the interpretation of the item. The three-factor CFA was improved by the deletion of items 8 and 2 (χ^2 (72) = 183.89, p < .001; RMSEA = .062, p = .025; CFI = .971; TLI = .963; SRMR = .041). With the exception of chi-square, the statistics showed the model had acceptable fit, but modification indices consistently implicated item 10 ("*Mexican Americans are family-oriented*.") with shared error covariance with multiple items, as well as having a suggested cross-loading with UR. A suggested shared error covariance between items 1 and 19 was added, as both items refer to the work place. After removing item 10, the CFA model has very good fit (χ^2 (50) = 111.11, p < .001; RMSEA = .048, p = .562; CFI = .984; TLI = .979; SRMR = .029).

The final AMAAS scale had three subscales, UR (6 items, α = .923), TD (3 items, α = .878), and TR (3 items, α = .767). The content validity of the new scale had been verified through the series of CFAs. Each of the subscales had good internal consistency, and the items continued to be reflective of the intended themes and results from the

previous pilot content analysis. All item correlations within each subscale were large and significant. The item correlations between subscales ranged from low to medium size; all correlations were significant at the $p < .001$ level.

Hypothesis 1. It was hypothesized that the components of collective self-esteem (CSE: CSE-M, CSE-PR, CSE-PU, CSE-ID), social dominance orientation (SDO: SDO-D, SDO-E), and the RWA measure, Authoritarianism-Conservatism-Traditionalism (ACT: RWA-A, RWA-C, RWA-T) would predict symbolic racism, the components of the new anti-Mexican American attitude scale (AMAAS: UR, TD, TR), and negative attitudes toward immigrants (NATIS). Mplus was used to run a fully latent hybrid model, which contains a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with a structural equation model (SEM) (Kline, 2005). Relying on composite scores for observed variables (i.e., mean scores) to estimate the measurement model would not take measurement error into account. Therefore, using latent factors as representations of the observed constructs within the structural model was associated with less biased estimates of the regression coefficients (Kline, 2005). The measurement model "specifies the number of factors, how the various indicators are related to the latent factors, and the relationships among indicator errors," and the structural model "specifies how the various latent factors are related to one another" (Brown, 2006, p. 51).The fit of the model was tested amongst all other variables. Figure 4 showed the full final model for hypothesis 1, and Table 20 shows the bivariate correlations amongst the AMAAS subscales, SR2K, and NATIS.

Measurement model. The initial fit indices for the measurement model were acceptable in terms of RMSEA and SRMR (χ^2 (2267) = 5484.48, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .054, $p = .001$; CFI = .861; TLI = .852; SRMR = .055), but several modification indices

were reviewed and implemented for the subsequent analyses. A brief explanation of the factor loadings and inter-item correlations within each scale will be discussed, including modifications that were made to improve the model.

CSE. The correlations between the subscales were all highly significant ($p <$ .001), except for CSE public subscale (CSE-PU) with CSE importance to identity (CSE-ID) ($r = .084$, $p = .056$). The correlations between CSE membership (CSE-M) with CSE private (CSE-PR) (r = .679) was strong. CSE-PU had large correlations with CSE-M (r = .538) and with CSE-PR (r = .549). CSE-ID had medium correlations with CSE-M (r = .326) and with CSE-PR (r = .333), but the correlation between CSE-ID and CSE-PU was marginally significant ($r = .084$, $p = .056$).

The factor loadings for the CSE membership subscale (CSE-M) ranged from .610 to .678. Although the loadings were consistent throughout the items, the loading strength was moderate; no loading surpassed a .700. The items were significantly correlated, but the items were only moderately correlated ($r = .318$ to .561). It should be expected that items within a subscale are more highly correlated.

The factor loadings for CSE private subscale (CSE-PR) ranged from .623 to .862. The inter-item correlations ranged from .427 to .742, which were all significant at the $p <$ .001 level. Based on the modification indices, item 10 ("*Overall, I often feel that the racial group of which I am a member is not worthwhile.*") had a list of suggested cross-loadings to the other three CSE subscales, as well as multiple correlated errors to other CSE items. For this reason, item 10 was removed from the CSE-PR subscale.

The factor loadings for CSE-PU were strong for items 3 (λ = .674), 11 (λ = .715), 15 (λ = .753). Item 7 had a factor loading of .599. The inter-item correlations were medium to large and highly significant ($p < .001$), ranging from $r = .328$ to .610.

Items for the CSE importance to identity subscale (CSE-ID) highly loaded onto the CSE-ID factor (range λ = .669 to .930). All inter-item correlations in the CSE identity subscale were large and significant ($p < .001$). The correlations ranged from .547 to .823. CSE-ID was the most stable subscale of the CSE scale, but a correlation between the error terms of items 4 and 12 was added. Both items were reverse coded and referred to one's racial group's lack of importance to a sense of self.

Examining the cross-subscale item correlations, inter-item correlations between CSE-ID to CSE-M and CSE-PR are generally weak ($r < .300$) but significant. The majority of the correlations between CSE-ID items with CSE-PU items were non-significant. CSE-PU with CSE-M and CSE-PR were generally significant ($p < .001$) small to medium correlations (range $r = .181$ to .449).

SDO. The factor loadings for SDO-D ranged from .432 to .921, and the factor loading for SDO-E ranged from .682 to .852. SDO-D and SDO-E have a moderate correlation ($r = .360$, $p < .001$). All inter-item correlations for SDO-D were highly significant at $p < .001$. The lowest correlation was between items 9 and 10 ($r = .285$). Items 10 and 14 only had medium size correlations with all other items in SDO D, ranging from .335 to .492.The remainder of the correlations were large, ranging from .505 to .830. The largest correlation was between items 9 ("*An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.*") and 5 ("*It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.*") ($r = .830$),

which is most likely a measurement effect; the wording of the two items was very similar. All inter-items correlations for SDO-E were also highly significant at $p < .001$. All correlations were large, ranging from .520 to .750. The two exceptions were the correlations between items 4 and 7 ($r = .449$) and items 4 and 15 ($r = .420$), which were considered medium size correlations. Correlated error terms were added to the SDO model based on modification indices were added to the model for the follow SDO item pairs: 4 with 12, 5 with 9, and 1 with 9. Items 4 and 12 both referred to making an effort towards equality. Items 5 and 9 had very similar wording about groups belonging on the top and bottom of society. Items 1 and 9 referred to society needing to keep groups of people in their place.

RWA. The RWA-A subscale had sufficient factor loadings (range $\lambda = .430$ to .849). Item 1 did not have a strong loading ($\lambda = .278$). The factor loadings for RWA-C and RWA-T were good and consistent (range $\lambda_{RWA\text{-}C} = .657$ to .795; range $\lambda_{RWA\text{-}T} = .650$ to .870). The ACT subscales were strongly correlated ($p < .001$) with each other, $r_{A,C} = .765$, $r_{A,T} = .648$, and $r_{C,T} = .724$. The inter-item significant correlations ($p < .001$) amongst the Authoritarianism subscale were inconsistent in size, ranging from .180 to .699. Items 1 and 4 were not significantly correlated ($r = .055$, $p = .207$). All inter-item correlations for the Conservatism subscale were highly significant at $p < .001$. Four of the fifteen inter-item correlations were medium to large, ranging from .464 to .489. All other correlations were large, ranging from $r = .512$ to .678. The Traditional subscale had a very strong pattern of correlations with significance at $p < .001$. All inter-item correlations were large (range, $r = .508$ to .749), except for the medium correlations between items 3 and 9 ($r = .499$) and items 3 and 12 ($r = .458$). All cross-subscale item

correlations were significant, except of item 1 ("*Strong, tough government will harm, not help, our country*."). In particular, item 1 consistently had low, yet significant correlations with all other items in the SDO scale, with the exception of medium correlations with items 2 (r = .316) and 7 (r = .482) and no correlation with item 9 (r = .070, p = .111) and item 4 (r = .055, p = .207). Item 1 was deleted from future analyses. In addition, the following modifications were made by correlating the error terms of the following pairs of items: Item 9 with 18, 15 with 16, and 2 with 8.

SR2K. The SR2K was unidimensional; the factor loadings ranged from .517 to .829. All inter-item correlations were medium to large (range r = .303 to .781) and highly significant at the $p < .001$ level. The modification indices suggested an error term be added between item 1 and 2; both items referred to overcoming prejudice.

NATIS. The negative attitudes toward immigrants scale (NATIS) was also a unidimensional measure. Factor loadings ranged from .602 to .848. The inter-item correlations were highly significant ($p < .001$) and were medium to large, range r = .344 to .742. Item 7 ("*Immigrants never want to return to their native/home country*") had the lowest correlations (medium) with all other items, with the exception of items 8 (r = .517) and 12 (r = .527).

AMAAS. The AMAAS subscales were significantly correlated with each other ($r_{UR,TD}$ = .542, $r_{UR,TR}$ = .410, $r_{TD,TR}$ = .451). The relationships amongst the items were consistent with the CFA previously presented. A correlated error modification was added between items 1 and 19; both items referred to the work force.

When the analysis was run with the additional modifications for each measure, the goodness of fit was improved, χ^2 (2123) = 4604.70, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .049, p =

.885; CFI = .890; TLI = .882; SRMR = .051. The RMSEA and SRMR reflected good fit of the model. CFI and TLI were just under the threshold for acceptable fit, but the indices were improved from the previous, unmodified model. The chi-square was considered a biased statistic because of the large sample size, although the chi-square did show a decrease from the original full model.

Structural model. The SEM was run amongst the latent factors created through the CFA. The path analysis of the relationship between CSE, SDO, RWA and AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS was analyzed in the SEM. CSE, SDO, and RWA (*Model Level 1*) will significantly predict AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS (*Model Level 2*) (hypothesis 1, predictive validity). The patterns of significant predictors were expected to vary between AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS (discriminant validity).

Overall, the hypothesis was supported. The subscales for each of the three constructs, CSE, SDO, and RWA, significantly predicted AMAAS, SR2K, NATIS. There were differences between what the significant predictors were for each criterion. As expected, though, the patterns for AMAAS and NATIS shared some similarities.

The AMAAS subscales were differentially predicted by the components of CSE, SDO, and RWA. UR was significantly predicted by CSE-ID ($\beta = .147$, $SE = .050$, $p = .003$), SDO-D ($\beta = .291$, $SE = .100$, $p = .003$), RWA-A ($\beta = .597$, $SE = .147$, $p < .001$), RWA-C ($\beta = -.432$, $SE = .146$, $p = .003$), and RWA-T ($\beta = .306$, $SE = .113$, $p = .007$). When being white was important to self-concept (CSE-ID), preferring to maintain a system of group dominance in society (SDO-D), favoring more authoritarian methods of social control (RWA-A), and holding traditional, old fashioned values (RWA-T), one was most likely to endorse beliefs that Mexican Americans unfairly receive communal

resources. Surprisingly, expressing more authoritarian submissive values (RWA-C) was related to a lower degree of bias towards Mexican Americans. In other words, having uncritical and submissive support of existing societal authority meant less Mexican American prejudice.

TD was significantly predicted by SDO-E (β = .495, *SE* = .105, $p < .001$) and RWA-T (β = .316, *SE* = .125, $p = .011$). The relationship between RWA-C and TD was marginally significant (β = -.305, *SE* = .157, $p = .052$). When participants had a high sense of anti-egalitarian and traditional values, they were significantly more likely to not believe Mexican Americans were targets of discrimination. Approaching significance, expressing less traditional, old-fashioned values was predictive of denying that Mexican Americans were targets of discrimination.

TR was significantly predicted by CSE-ID (β = .253, *SE* = .069, $p < .001$) and marginally predicted by RWA-T (β = .308, *SE* = .158, $p = .051$). Endorsing positive stereotypical Mexican Americans traits was predicted by having less importance of being white as a part of one's self-concept. The marginal effect meant that having less traditional, old-fashioned values approached significance in predicting endorsing positive stereotypical Mexican American traits.

SR2K was significantly predicted by CSE-PU (β = -.138, *SE* = .064, $p = .031$), CSE-ID (β = -.085, *SE* = .042, $p = .045$), SDO-E (β = .303, *SE* = .081, $p < .001$), and RWA-A (β = .665, *SE* = .126, $p < .001$). On one hand, the less positive one's racial group was perceived to be judged by others and the less important being White is to one's self-concept, greater levels of bias against Blacks were expressed. On the other hand, expressing opposition to social group equality and supporting more aggressive means of

maintaining social control meant more anti-black sentiment. SR2K was marginally predicted by CSE-M (β = .191, *SE* = .099, *p* = .053). Although it was a marginal effect, as the feeling of being a worthy member of the racial group increased, the level of Black prejudice also increased.

NATIS was significantly predicted by CSE-ID (β = .154, *SE* = .048, *p* = .001), SDO-D (β = .193, *SE* = .095, *p* = .043), and RWA-A (β = .394, *SE* = .137, *p* = .004). Negative attitudes toward immigrants increased when 1) racial group membership was important to one's self concept, 2) there was a greater desire to maintain social hierarchies, and 3) attitudes favoring tough and coercive social control increased.

CSE-PR did not significantly predict AMAAS (β = -.063, *SE* = .150, *p* = .677), SR2K (β = .147, *SE* = .090, *p* = .103), or NATIS (β = .125, *SE* = .102, *p* = .222). The evaluation of one's own racial group as being positive or negative was not related to negative attitudes towards any of the three target groups.

Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 intended to test the second half of the model. It was hypothesized that AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS (*Model Level 2*) would predict opposition to affirmative action and racial policies (*Model Level 4*), a demonstration of criterion-related (predictive) validity. Since AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS assessed bias against different ethnic/social groups, the pattern of each finding would be important in explaining the outcomes of bias. Figure5 displayed the full model results for hypothesis 2. A fully latent hybrid model was run using Mplus. The measurement and structural models are described below.

Measurement model. Amongst the other modifications previously added, correlated error terms were added between the corresponding items on the affirmative

action race and gender measures; the correlated error accounts for the measurement error derived from the similar wording. The measurement model had acceptable to good fit, χ^2 (1054) = 2520.66, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .052, $p = .135$; CFI = .928; TLI = .923; SRMR = .069.

Racial policy scale. The racial policy (RP) items loaded strongly onto the RP unidimensional latent factor (range $\lambda = .680 - .928$). All inter-item correlations were highly significant ($p < .001$) and large (range $r = .568 - .861$), with the exception of the correlation between items 3 and 8 ($r = .496$). No modifications were added to the measure.

Affirmative action measures. The affirmative action measures were based on race (AA-R) and gender (AA-G). The factor loadings for the AA-R latent factor ranged from .710 to .865. The AA-R inter-item correlations were highly significant ($p < .001$) and the correlations ranged from .448 to .709. The AA-G factor loadings were also very strong, ranging from .698 to .813. The inter-item correlations were highly significant ($p < .001$), and the correlations ranged from .423 to .682. As mentioned, one correlated error term was added for each of the four items with the corresponding item. For example, a correlation was added between item 1 of the AA-R and item 1 of AA-G.

Structural model. RP, AA-R, and AA-G were regressed on the components of AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS. Overall, the hypothesis was supported; the significance and meaning of the patterns between the three constructs with the outcome variables were different, establishing predictive validity.

TD ($\beta = .187$, $SE = .066$, $p = .005$) and SR2K ($\beta = .353$, $SE = .077$, $p < .001$) significantly predicted RP. Denying that Mexican Americans were the targets of

discrimination and having anti-Black prejudice predicted more opposition to racial policies aimed at decreasing inequality.

UR (β = .167, *SE* = .079, *p* = .034), TR (β = -.140, *SE* = .055, *p* = .011), SR2K (β = .784, *SE* = .067, *p* < .001), and NATIS (β = -.209, *SE* = .074, *p* = .005) significantly predicted AA-R. Stronger beliefs that Mexican American unfairly obtained resources and higher levels of anti-Black prejudice meant more opposition to affirmative action based on race. Traits and negative attitudes toward immigrants were inversely related to opposition to racial affirmative action. The less belief that Mexican Americans have positive traits and the more negative attitude towards immigrants were related to less opposition to affirmative action based on race.

TR (β = -.204, *SE* = .061, *p* = .001), SR2K (β = .833, *SE* = .076, *p* < .001), and NATIS (β = -.282, *SE* = .081, *p* < .001) significantly predicted AA-G. Having more anti-black prejudice meant more opposition to affirmative action based on gender. As with racial affirmative action, less expression of Mexican Americans having positive traits and more negative attitude towards immigrants were related to less opposition to affirmative action based on race.

Hypothesis 3. The relationship between SDO and RWA (*Model Level 1*) and opposition to racial policy (Model Level 4) will be mediated by AMAAS (*Model Level 2*). Likewise, the relationship between SDO and RWA and opposition to affirmative action policy (race and gender) would be mediated by AMAAS. More specifically, it was hypothesized that the strength of the relationship between SDO-E and Traditionalism (subcomponent of RWA) and racial policy preferences would most significantly be affected by the expressed levels of AMAAS. The mediation analyses were expected to

contribute to the ongoing assessment of the predictive utility of AMAAS as a predictor of policy preferences.

The Baron and Kenny (1986) method of mediation was implemented, utilizing SEM path analysis in Mplus. The composite scores of each measure were used in the analysis. Each of the policy measures, RP, RR-Race, and RR-Gender, was represented as a model. Each policy measure (criterion) was regressed on the components of SDO and RWA (ACT) (predictors), with the AMAAS subscales as mediators. Refer to Figure 6 (RP), Figure 7 (AA-Race), and Figure 8 (AA-Gender) for a visual display of each model. The solid colored lines represented significant pathways within the mediation analyses. The dashed lines represent significant pathways, but the pathway is inappropriate for the mediation analysis because 1) the mediator did not have a significant relationship with the criterion or 2) the predictor did not have a significant relationship with the criterion.

Racial policy (RP). For the relationship with RP, full mediation was found through SDO-D and UR, RWA-A and UR, RWA-T and UR, RWA-A and TD, and RWA-T and TD.

SDO-D was fully mediated by UR. Refer to Figure 6. Desiring to maintain societal hierarchy significantly predicted RP ($\beta_{RP,SDO\text{-}D}$ = .092, SE = .044, p = .035), but the relationship of UR to RP ($\beta_{RP,UR}$ = .298, *SE* = .048, *p* < .001) decreased the effect to be non-significant ($\beta'_{RP,SDO\text{-}D}$ = .017, *SE* = .039, *p* = .659; $Sobel_{RP,SDO\text{-}D,UR}$ = 3.68, *SE* = .036, *p* < .001). Against expectations, SDO-E did not have a significant relationship with the AMAAS subscales, but there was a direct effect on RP ($\beta_{RP,\ SDO\text{-}E}$ = .098, *SE* = .043, *p* = .023) (Ho et al., in press). When AMAAS was added into the multiple regression analysis, the effect was not impacted ($\beta'_{RP,\ SDO\text{-}E}$ = .096, *SE* = .038, *p* = .012).

The relationship between RWA-A and RP ($\beta_{RP,RWA\text{-}A}$ = .163, SE = .064, p = .011; $\beta'_{RP,RWA\text{-}A}$ = .044, SE = .057, p = .449) was fully mediated by UR ($\beta_{UR,RP}$ = .298, SE = .048, p < .001; $Sobel_{RP,RWA\text{-}A,UR}$ = 3.31, SE = .024, p < .001) and TD ($\beta_{TD,RP}$ = .350, SE = .044, p < .001; $Sobel_{RP,RWA\text{-}A,TD}$ = 2.42, SE = .026, p = .016). In support of the hypothesis, RWA-T-RP ($\beta_{RP,RWA\text{-}T}$ = .244, SE = .059, p < .001; $\beta'_{RP,RWA\text{-}T}$ = .031, SE = .055, p = .578) was also fully mediated by UR ($\beta_{UR,RWA\text{-}T}$ = .317, SE = .051, p < .001; $\beta_{RP,UR}$ = .298, SE = .048, p < .001; $Sobel_{RP,RWA\text{-}T,UR}$ = 4.29, SE = .021, p < .001) and TD ($\beta_{TD,RWA\text{-}T}$ = .211, SE = .063, p = .001; $\beta_{RP,TD}$ = .350, SE = .044, p < .001; $Sobel_{RP,RWA\text{-}T,TD}$ = 4.93, SE = .025, p < .001). The mediational patterns for the relationship of RP on RWA-A and RWA-T were similar. Having harsh authoritarian tendencies and holding more traditional, old-fashioned values ceased to predict opposition to racial policies when prejudice against Mexican Americans, via unfair resource allocation and denial of discrimination, was entered into the model.

Affirmative action based on race (AA-Race). Support for one significant mediation pathway was found for SDO-D predicting AA-Race ($\beta_{AAR,SDO\text{-}D}$ = .085, SE = .043, p = .048; $\beta'_{AAR,SDO\text{-}D}$ = .027, SE = .040, p = .503; $Sobel_{AAR,SDO\text{-}D,UR}$ = 3.57, SE = .034, p < .001), when the relationship between SDO-D and UR ($\beta_{UR,SDO\text{-}D}$ = .177, SE = .038, p < .001) and UR and AA-Race were taken into account ($\beta_{AAR,UR}$ = .277, SE = .049, p < .001). Social dominance affected opposition to racial policies through perceived unfair allocation of resources.

Although the criteria were met for testing a mediation analysis, only partial mediation was supported for the RWA-A relationship with AA-Race, based on the Sobel test of the indirect effects. RWA-A significantly predicted AA-Race ($\beta_{AAR,RWA\text{-}A}$= .333,

SE = .062, $p < .001$). Yet, there was only a slight decrease in the relationship with AA-Race ($\beta'_{AAR,RWA\text{-}A} = .228$, SE = .058, $p < .001$) when UR ($\beta_{UR,RWA\text{-}A} = .222$, SE = .056, $p < .001$; $\beta_{AAR,UR} = .277$, SE = .049, $p < .001$; $Sobel_{AAR,RWA\text{-}A,UR} = 3.22$, $SE = .021$, $p = .001$) and TD ($\beta_{RWA\text{-}A,TD} = .155$, SE = .061, $p = .011$; $\beta_{TD,AAR} = .322$, SE = .045, $p < .001$; ($Sobel_{AAR,RWA\text{-}A,TD} = 2.39$, $SE = .024$, $p = .017$) were taken into account. Therefore, the direct effect of RWA-A with AA-Race was not affected by prejudice against Mexican Americans, even though the indirect effect through the AMAAS subscales remained highly predictive of AA-Race.

Affirmative action based on gender (AA-Gender). Although UR ($\beta_{AAG,UR} = .163$, SE = .053, $p = .002$), TD ($\beta_{AAG,TD} = .261$, SE = .048, $p < .001$), and TR ($\beta_{AAG,TR} = -.221$, SE = .044, $p < .001$) significantly predicted AA-Gender, RWA-A was the single predictor of AA-Gender ($\beta_{AAG,RWA\text{-}A} = .227$, SE = .063, $p < .001$). After also taking the significant relationships with UR ($\beta_{UR,RWA\text{-}A} = .222$, SE = .056, $p < .001$) and TD ($\beta_{TD,RWA\text{-}A} = .155$, SE = .061, $p = .011$) into account, RWA-A maintained a significant relationship with RR-Gender ($\beta'_{AAG,RWA\text{-}A} = .209$, SE = .062, $p = .001$). Partial mediation was present for AA-Gender.

Hypothesis 4. CSE (*Model Level 1*) was expected to predict high levels of SDO-D and SDO-E. A strong sense of dedication to the ingroup, via a sense of belonging, may be necessary to fuel the desire to maintain social hierarchies. A fully latent hybrid model was run using Mplus. The measurement model had near acceptable fit, χ^2 (415) = 1341.37, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .067, $p < .001$; CFI = .899; TLI = .887; SRMR = .055. Refer to Figure 7.

Within the structural model, the hypothesis was partially supported. Three of the four CSE factors significantly predicted SDO-D. CSE-M (β = -.331, *SE* = .145, p = .023), CSE-PR (β = .524, *SE* = .125, $p < .001$), and CSE-ID (β = .256, *SE* = .057, $p < .001$) significantly predicted SDO-D. Feeling like a good member of their racial group was inversely related to having a desire for group-based dominance; the less they felt like a good racial group member, the more they desired group-based dominance and social hierarchy. Evaluating the racial group more positively and the more important being a racial group member was to their self-concept predicted a greater desire to maintain social dominance through group status and social hierarchy. Others' evaluation of the racial group did not impact the desire to maintain dominance (β = -.144, *SE* = .088, p = .101).

SDO-E was only significantly predicted by two of the four CSE factors. Similar to SDO-D, one of the relationships was negative. CSE-PR (β = .598, *SE* = .126, $p < .001$) and CSE-PU (β = -.340, *SE* = .088, $p < .001$) significantly predicted SDO-E. The more positive they evaluated their own racial group and the more negatively one's racial group was evaluated by others, the more they are opposed to equality between groups. Their evaluation of themselves as good members as their racial group (β = -.164, *SE* = .146, p = .262) and the importance of being a member of their racial group (β = .053, *SE* = .059, p = .366) were not related to their opposition to group equality.

Hypothesis 5. Hypothesis 5 stated that SDO-E will predict the three components of RWA, and it would be the most related to the traditionalism subscale. The impact of the two components of SDO_7 was examined through a fully latent hybrid model using Mplus. Figure 8 displays the final model. The measurement model had near acceptable

fit, χ^2 (479) = 1607.82, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .069, $p < .001$; CFI = .899; TLI = .888; SRMR = .057.

The structural model showed support for the hypothesis that SDO-E would predict the traditionalism component of the RWA construct (represented by the ACT Scale), but SDO-D was also a strong predictor of authoritarianism and conservatism. Authoritarianism subscale ("authoritarian aggressive") was significantly predicted by SDO-D (β = .413, *SE* = .093, $p < .001$) and marginally predicted by SDO-E (β = .182, *SE* = .094, $p = .052$). The more desire to maintain group-based dominance, the more attitudes favored the use of harsh and coercive social control. Expressing an opposition to group equality was marginally related to favoring harsh social control through aggressive authoritarianism.

The conservatism subscale ("authoritarian submissive") and traditionalism subscale ("conventionalism") were each predicted by only one SDO component. SDO-D significantly predicted conservatism subscale ($\beta = .430$, *SE* = .097, $p < .001$), and SDO-E significantly predicted traditionalism subscale ($\beta = .423$, *SE* = .094, $p < .001$). SDO-E was not related to changes in conservatism ($\beta = .067$, *SE* = .099, $p = .495$), and SDO-D was not related to changes in traditionalism ($\beta = .100$, *SE* = .096, $p = .297$). Greater desires to maintain group-based hierarchies in society meant having a more favorable attitude of having uncritical, submissive support for the existing societal authorities and institutions. As expected, supporting group inequality predicted higher levels of attitudes favoring traditional, old-fashioned social norms and values.

Discussion

Study 2 began the formal examination of the theoretical framework for prejudice against Mexican Americans. Aspects of collective self-esteem, social dominance, and

right-wing authoritarianism were predictive of bias toward Mexican Americans (criterion-related validity), and the new bias scale was found to significantly predict racial policy preferences (predictive validity).

Hypotheses 1 tested the relationship between Model Level 1 and Model Level 2 variables (Figure 4). Although there were similarities, the pattern asserts that bias against Mexican Americans and bias against Blacks were predicted by a different structure of constructs (discriminant validity). Both measures assess racial bias, yet the pattern of traits and ideologies that predict prejudice varied by racial group.

Social identity and having a sense of belonging played an important role in the creation and motivation to hold and express outgroup prejudice (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Ruttenberg, Zea, & Sigelman, 1996). People's sense of self-esteem, called collective self-esteem (CSE), can derive from the social and racial groups that they belong to. Four dimensions of CSE formed the whole sense of CSE: Membership (M) was feeling like a worthy member of your racial group; Private (PR) was feeling positive about the group one belongs to; Public (PU) was the belief that others feel positive toward one’s racial group; and Identity (ID) was how important membership in one’s racial group was to their identity and self-concept (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

The ID subscale had the most number of significant relationships in the model; there was a significant relationship with every outcome, except for the AMAAS TR subscale. The importance of being White to one's self-concept was positively related to bias against Mexican Americans, in regards to unfair resources and traits, and bias against immigrants, but it was negatively related to bias against Blacks. The more important that being "White American" was to them, the more likely they expressed bias

towards Mexican Americans. This could be explained by the “American = White” association (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2010), in which the White American was considered the prototypical exemplars of being “American.” In a series of studies, Asian Americans were found to be less American than White Americans and African Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005), and White Americans and African Americans were seen as having stronger ties to American culture than Asian Americans, even when considering U.S. citizens to mean those who were born in this country. Similar to the current study, participants had been instructed to specifically consider U.S. citizens when evaluating Mexican Americans. Therefore, a sense of nationalism may explain the difference in the direction of the effect. When thinking about Mexican Americans and immigrants, national identity became more salient than when thinking about Blacks as a result of the reference group (Devos & Banaji, 2005). In the current study, it would be difficult to know if responses to the CSE scale were influenced by their nationality (“being American”) or racial group (“being White American”). Future research should include ideological measures of nationalism and patriotism as mediators of the direct pathway between collective identity and interracial biases.

Additionally, there was an association of Mexican Americans threatening what it means to be "American" (symbolic threat from invading culture and language; realistic threat from taking our jobs), which was measured via the unfair allocation of resources subscale (Stephan, 2011). This specific blend of threats was not perceived from the presence of Black Americans in the same way it was experienced with Mexican Americans (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Dovidio et al., 2010).

Along the lines of White Americans not having to think about racial identity, the CSE PR subscale was not a significant predictor of bias toward any of the target groups. One explanation for the lack of relationship between feeling positive about White Americans as a racial group and level of prejudice was that racial identity for White Americans did not operate in the same manner as ethnic identity for people of color (Wong & Cho, 2005). People of color have the opportunity in society to think about their own ethnicity and racial standing. In the literature, unlike racial identity, ethnic identity has become optional amongst whites (McDermott & Samson, 2005). "Whiteness has developed over time as a system that holds privilege and superiority," as opposed to Black racial identity that connected "through a history of slavery and oppression that exists to this very day" (Tran-Adams, 2007, p. 16). White privilege generally protected White Americans from experiencing the same sources of bias that people of color were familiar with; hence, the opportunity for the development of a deeper sense of what it means to be white, culturally and societally, was impacted (Dwyer & Jones, 2000; Wong & Cho, 2005). White racial identity was distinguishable from studies of ethnic identity in that it does not focus on cultural factors, such as food and language. Instead, it was based on advantages and privilege (Wong & Cho, 2005).

PU was only predictive of SR2K, and CSE-M did not have significant relationships with any criterion other than a marginal relationship with SR2K. The less one believed that the White racial group was considered good by others, their level of prejudice against Blacks increased (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Verkuyten, 2007). The perceived negative evaluation of White Americans had been linked to an increase in the expression of prejudice (Ruttenberg et al., 1996). A sense of collective identity for Jewish

students did not significantly predict prejudice against Arabs. Arab students with low PU who were highly invested in the Arab community (e.g., membership in Arab organizations) predicted that the Jewish jokes were funny, but did not predict Arab jokes. There was a motivation to improve the image of the ingroup via disparaging humor based on ethnic stereotypes of the outgroup.

Yet, feeling like a worthy member of the White American race approached significance for predicting prejudice against Blacks, but neither component was predictive of prejudice towards Mexican Americans or immigrants. Feeling that society did not approve or value White Americans as a racial group increased the likelihood of bias towards Blacks. This feeling may be preempted by accusations of being racist or feeling that society holds them to a higher standard (Martinez et al., 2008). Within the pilot data, two of the themes that emerged for unfair disadvantages that White Americans received involved how society evaluates their group. PU's null relationship with Mexican American and immigrant bias may again be associated with a feeling of nationalism. The ingroup-outgroup mentality switched from White-Black for Black prejudice to American-non-American for Mexican Americans, regardless of citizenship status.

In addition to CSE, social dominance orientation (SDO) and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA-ACT) were also considered especially important as individual differences that have an (upstream) impact on Mexican American prejudice. The two dimensions of social dominance differentially predicted the racial biases. SDO-Dominance (a desire to maintain social hierarchy; SDO-D) had an effect on Mexican American bias and immigrant bias. Holding a dominance-based hierarchy ideology was related to negative attitudes toward immigrants and holding bias against Mexican

Americans based on the belief that they unfairly receive resources. Proactively maintaining a society where the dominant group oppresses the subordinate groups was not related to anti-Black attitudes.

In conjunction with objections to unfair allocation of resources, there appeared to be motivation to maintain the societal hierarchies between White Americans and Mexican Americans, when this motivation was not present in the current data for Blacks. Kahn, Ho, Sidanius, and Pratto (2009) examined the moderation of SDO on the relationship between perceived status differences and perceived societal fairness for White Americans, Asians, Latinos, and Blacks. White Americans rated Latinos and Blacks as having a significantly lower status than White Americans and Asians. The interaction between societal fairness and SDO revealed significant differences only for low societal fairness. For those with low levels of SDO, less perceived societal fairness was related to greater perceived status differences. For those with high levels of SDO, less perceived societal fairness predicted smaller perceived status differences between groups (Kahn et al., 2009). When one's SDO was low, the motivation to perceive status equality amongst the groups decreased, leading to greater perceptions of unfairness. Current results revealed contrasting support for this phenomenon in that White Americans perceiving more unfairness benefitting the outgroup was related to greater levels of SDO-D. For those who hold anti-egalitarian values (i.e., SDO-E), there was not expected to be an impact of fairness (Kahn et al., 2009), which was supported in the current data. Kahn and colleagues did not use the two-subscale updated version of SDO scale; therefore, their ability to examine dominance and anti-egalitarian beliefs was more limited than the current study.

SDO-E (opposition to equality between groups in society), on the other hand, did significantly predict bias towards Blacks and Mexican Americans (TD). Higher levels of anti-egalitarian values were predictive of more bias toward Mexican Americans in terms of being targets of discrimination and more bias towards Blacks. The more one holds an anti-egalitarian worldview, the more likely they were to hold anti-Black attitudes. In addition, more anti-egalitarian worldviews were associated with less belief that Mexican Americans face discrimination. It is possible that supporting a system where maintaining group inequality was used to justify Mexican Americans' position in society (Brandt. & Reyna, 2012). Therefore, there would be a denial of Mexican Americans being targets of discrimination justified by where their status in society (Webster et al., 2014). Instead, it was believed that all groups receive equal opportunities to succeed regardless of social status (i.e., protestant work ethic). Webster et al. (2014) demonstrated the mediational role of the motivation for suppression and justification of prejudice on the relationship between political orientation (Conservative-Liberal) and prejudice, using internal and external motivation to suppress prejudice and RWA and SDO to justify prejudice. Relevant to the current study, higher levels of SDO were used as a means to justify prejudice; yet, SDO no longer predicted prejudice when the sense of internal motivation to suppress prejudice was accounted for (Webster et al., 2014).

RWA was assessed in the study using a refined measure that takes a tripartite (Authoritarianism-Conservatism-Traditionalism) approach to gain a fuller understanding of the construct. The authoritarian subscale (RWA-A; "authoritarian aggression") described means of maintaining social order by using strict, harsh social control, which most closely resembles authoritarianism ideology. The conservatism subscale (RWA-C;

"authoritarian submission") was defined as being driven by the motivation to maintain social order and harmony as a means to not disrupt status quo. RWA-C most closely related to the concept of "conservatism" as an ideology. The traditionalism subscale (RWA-T; "conventionalism") expressed the value to maintain traditional norms and morality.

RWA-A predicted bias against all three racial/social groups: UR, SR2K, and NATIS. Being more authoritarian was related to believing Mexican Americans unfairly take resources and to holding anti-Black and anti-immigrant prejudice (Ho et al., in press; Quinton et al., 1996). UR and NATIS were both predicted by RWA-A, but UR also had unique relationships to RWA-C and RWA-T. It was suspected that UR, NATIS, and SR2K shared variance with RWA-A dealing with the perception of unjust distribution of community resources as it related to expressing strong beliefs about coercive social control.

Against previous literature, RWA-C and RWA-T were solely predictors of AMAAS. Although RWA-C was not predictive of SR2K, as expected, it did have significant inverse relationships with bias toward Mexican Americans in terms of resources and targets of discrimination (marginal). RWA-T was the most consistent predictor of AMAAS, predicting UR, TD, and TR (marginal), but it was not predictive of Black prejudice. Although aggressive social control was highly related to higher levels of prejudice towards all three groups, having a low desire to be uncritical and submissive to societal authorities meant more prejudice against Mexican Americans.

Hypothesis 2 was the first test of predictive utility of the new Mexican American bias scale. Using the three prejudice scales represented in *Model Level 2*, it was expected

that more negative attitudes would significantly predict higher levels of opposition to policy preferences, especially race-based policies. Partial support was found for this hypothesis, based on target group.

The effects were in the hypothesized direction for SR2K, UR, and TD. Prejudice against Blacks was the strongest predictor of opposition to racial policies, affirmative action based on race, and affirmative action based on gender (Brandt & Reyna, 2012; Sears & Henry, 2005). The more one believes Mexican Americans unfairly received resources, the greater the opposition to racial affirmative action, and opposition to racial policies was predicted by the denial of discrimination against Mexican Americans. Without the presence of discrimination, policies focused on enforcing equality do not need to be created or enforced for Mexican Americans. The convergence of results for AMAAS and the well-established SR2K (e.g., Rabinowitz et al., 2009) stands to reason that AMAAS was a racial bias scale with predictive utility for racial policy outcomes.

Contrary to the hypothesized valence of the effect, TR and NATIS had negative relationships with racial affirmative action, as well as gender affirmation action. The less negative attitudes one has toward Mexican Americans and immigrants, the more opposition there would be for both types of affirmative action. The perceived effect of affirmative action programs on one's group status can influence support or opposition to such programs (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In the specific context of Mexican American traits and attitudes toward immigrants, realistic threat, such as losing financial opportunities, may be playing a role in policy decisions about affirmative action. If the affirmative action program was viewed as harmful to White Americans' employment opportunities, the motivation to oppose the racial- or gender-based policies would be

present; instead, they would oppose the policies on the basis that it was harmful to the beneficiaries (O'Brien et al., 2010). Future research should further investigate the specific conditions that produce realistic threats, negatively impacting support for racial policies.

Previous literature has found that those with higher levels of SDO and RWA were more likely to oppose affirmative action and similar policies (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014; Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Rabinowitz et al., 2009; Sidanius et al., 1992). With the addition of the Mexican American bias scale, it was expected that some of those direct effects to policy opposition would be accounted for by the new scale. Mexican Americans receiving resources unfairly fully accounted for the relationship between SDO-D, RWA-A, and RWA-T and racial policies. Mexican Americans being targets of discrimination also fully mediated RWA-A and RWA-T with racial policies. The effects of dominance, authoritarianism, and traditionalism indirectly impact racial policies through cognitive biases against Mexican Americans.

Partial mediation was found for racial (Figure 7) and gender (Figure 8) affirmative action regressed on RWA-A. The indirect effects of RWA-A predicting racial affirmative action, as mediated by UR and TD, were significant, but the direct effect only slightly decreased and maintained significance (partial mediation). The relationships between one's level of authoritarianism and opposition to racial and gender affirmative action were prominent, yet the decrease in the direct effect was accounted for through unfair resources and targets of discrimination. After accounting for participants' level of racism against Blacks, Federico and Sidanius (2002) consistently reported a significant relationship between conservatism and attitudes towards equal opportunity for Blacks. In the current study, components of prejudice against Mexican Americans also did not fully

account for the relationship between authoritarianism and opposition to racial policies. Authoritarians have been found to be predisposed to intolerance based on normative threat (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014). Crawford and Pilanski (2014) found that those high in authoritarianism were more intolerant of an immigrant rights group who posed a normative threat (e.g., violence at an immigration policy demonstration) than a similar group who posed a threat to power and status (e.g., political and financial influence over immigration policy).

Even though full mediation was found for SDO-D predicting racial affirmative action, no such relationship was supported for gender affirmative action. Converging with previous literature, the relationship between maintaining social hierarchy through opposition to racial policies was clear in the data (e.g., Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Ho et al., in press; Sidanius et al., 1992), especially since it did not significantly predict gender-based affirmative action. In addition, Crawford and Pilanski (2014) demonstrated the relationship between the need for intergroup social dominance with the motivation for political intolerance; being high on social dominance meant less tolerance for the immigrant-rights group who posed a threat to power and status.

In explaining the inter-level pathways in the theoretical framework, the intra-level pathways also revealed interesting patterns. Although no causality can be assumed using the current data, hypotheses 4 and 5 contributed to the process of teasing apart the causal model pathways that can be tested in future studies. The ongoing debate about whether SDO should temporally appear before RWA had continued in recent research (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Ho et al., 2012). Hypotheses 4 and 5 were performed as a means to investigate directionality of the theoretical framework.

In conjunction, the results lend support to the flow of the model. The strength of the relationship between CSE and SDO (hypothesis 4) provided support to the idea that SDO was a step in the model beyond identity formation (downstream). Then, SDO was predictive of the components of RWA (hypothesis 5).

The level of social dominance was dependent on the ways in which White Americans evaluated their racial group. Even when PR did not play a role in predicting prejudice directly, it was important for both SDO-D and SDO-E. Evaluating one's own racial group more positively was related to a greater desire to maintain a system of dominance through oppression of subordinate groups, as well as greater preferences for social group inequality. CSE-M (negative) and ID was only predictive of SDO-D. PU (negative) was only predictive of SDO-E. The less one felt like a worthy member of the racial group and the more being White was important to one's self-concept, the more likely one supports proactively maintaining group status through social hierarchies. Anti-egalitarianism was predicted by greater feelings that one's racial group is negatively evaluated by others.

In turn, the components of social dominance significantly predicted authoritarianism, conservatism, and traditionalism, as expected (Figure 10). SDO-D was highly predictive of authoritarianism and conservatism, but SDO-E was predictive of traditionalism. The differential pattern of pathways between SDO and RWA was predicted (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014; Ho et al., 2012). The results were reassuring that the constructs were placed in the theoretical model appropriately.

Limitations. Two main limitations were found within study 2. White racial identity was not independently assessed, yet a measure, such as collective self-esteem

scale, assumes that a White person has spent time thinking about their membership in the White American racial group. When it has been shown that being white means not having to actively think about racial group identity (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Dwyer & Jones, 2000), the interpretation of the results depended on who the target group was. There may be a strong sense of ingroup-outgroup dynamic across groups, but the manner in which the ingroup was categorized may have varied across the group comparisons. Even though they know who was in their own racial group, thinking about Mexican Americans and immigrants expanded the scope of their ingroup to include Americans, versus focusing on a White-Black categorization for prejudice against Blacks. Future studies should include measures of national identity and patriotism (Lyons et al., 2013) and White racial identity (Helms, 1999; Knowles & Peng, 2005) to further confirm the current pattern of results. Issues of national identity (Byrne & Dixon, 2013; Lyons et al., 2013), national symbols (Finell et al., 2013), and patriotism (Spry & Hornsey, 2007) had unique contributions and motivations for the maintenance of prejudice towards Mexican Americans (and Hispanics in general) and for perceptions of symbolic threat.

Second, a current limitation concerns the measurement error (extraneous noise) associated with the NATIS. Since there was a cognitive link between Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants (Dovidio et al., 2010), there were concerns that the participants would potentially equate “immigrant” to “Mexican immigrant” or to “Mexican American” as they answered items on the scale. On one hand, it may not be possible to assess attitudes toward “immigrants” when the modern day schema for immigrants includes the common distinction between “documented” and “undocumented.” The portrayal of immigrants in the media tends to reinforce the negative stereotypes about

Mexican immigrants as being undocumented. On the other hand, in using an ethnically undefined immigrant as a control during their experiments, Hartman, Newman, and Bell (2014) found significant differences of seriousness across various offenses committed by "Mexican immigrants" (ethnic specific) and "someone immigrating" (ethnically neutral); this is interpreted to mean that participants differentiated their responses based on immigrant nationality (known or unknown). Therefore, it was possible to rule out the generalizations of "Mexican immigrants" to all other immigrants. Future research should consider including a manipulation check by which the participants have an opportunity to describe the target immigrant that they thought of while responding to the items.

In a similar way that the AMAAS target group had to be clarified, the NATIS instructions should have stated that the participant was to think about "immigrants as a whole." A definitive illustration came from a comment received from one participant explaining that there was confusion about the category of immigrant that should be used when responding to the NATIS survey. The participant mentioned that he or she used "illegal aliens from Mexico that have broken our laws to be here" as the reference group when providing responses. Yet, he or she mentioned that he was "for legal immigration." Any effort to more clearly state the target group (or reference group) that the participants are asked to evaluate will help eliminate noise in the data. In a future study, the NATIS could be analyzed by examining which items may be problematic when participants have multiple reference groups. The NATIS was a relatively new scale (Varela et al., 2012), and it must continue to be validated to more fully understand its role in the theoretical model.

CHAPTER 7

General Discussion

Stereotypes are the cognitive component of prejudiced attitudes (Fishbein & Azjen, 1975) that stem from the drive to categorize the social world (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2001). The stereotype literature had been derived from multiple perspectives, and different eras and paradigms conceptualize bias in different ways (Fiske, 2000). The dearth of research about biases toward Mexican Americans has impeded social psychologists' understanding of Hispanic psychology (Niemann, 2001; Padilla, 2002). However, biases will continue to influence and affect intergroup interactions involving Mexican Americans, especially with the rapid growth of the Mexican American community (Passel, 2010).

The psychometric properties and validation of the new anti-Mexican American attitude scale (AMAAS) were investigated through study 1 and study 2. The principal components analysis pulled six factors (study 1), and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) refined the scale to three viable factors (study 2). Using structural equation modeling (SEM; study 2), the final scale was found to be a reflection of cultural stereotypes and attitudes about Mexican Americans (construct validity). The relationship amongst the Mexican American bias scale with anti-Black and anti-immigrant scales supported hypotheses that AMAAS was indicative of cognitive bias (*Model Level 2*). Although the patterns of results were similar, the predictive validity of AMAAS was independent of the other group bias scales.

The results of the current studies offer insight into White American-Mexican American intergroup psychology in many respects. White American psychology was a

cornerstone for the current studies. The theoretical and societal implications will be discussed below.

Theoretical Implications

The Black-White paradigm within race and ethnicity psychological research has successfully theorized about the sources of motivation for bias against Blacks (McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988). The differences between the origins of anti-Black and anti-Hispanic biases required specialized theories of racial attitudes (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004). Even though there was an awareness of the context-based identity process, 'white' had been invisible and static within multiple disciplines. In most cases, 'white' had become the standard of comparison for all other groups in research (Shaw, 2000; Dwyer & Jones, 2000). In other words, theories about a specific group of people exist without an understanding of their own racial identity. The current studies focused on the psychological processes of White Americans.

The theoretical framework (Figure 1) was specifically geared to model the pathways leading into and out of bias toward Mexican Americans, and these two studies attempted to start validating the relationships. Based on the theoretical model presented for the current studies, the assessment of racial biases was found in *Model Level 2*. The results of the study indicated that measures of individual differences (CSE, SDO, RWA-ACT) predicted bias against Mexican Americans, and the bias, in turn, predicted opposition to racial policies.

Several aspects of the current research uniquely contributed to the Latino psychology literature. First, the overall pattern of results indicated that the biases towards Mexican Americans, Blacks, and immigrants do share common relationships with

individual difference variables, as well as outcome variables, but there were differences also. Importance of racial identity and authoritarianism were the only constructs which significantly predicted bias towards each of the social groups. Dominance predicted Mexican Americans and immigrants. Anti-egalitarianism predicted Mexican Americans and Blacks. Racial group membership and public collective self-esteem only predicted Blacks. Conservatism and traditionalism only predicted Mexican Americans. Racism toward immigrants most likely did not smear onto Blacks, but this may not be the case for Mexican Americans. Mexican Americans were linked phenotypically to Latino immigrants, even if the immigrants were not of Mexican descent. The current results support the need for a new theory of prejudice specifically for Mexican Americans and/or for Latinos (Ho et al., in press).

Second, the results were applied specifically to Mexican Americans, as opposed to a broader pan-ethnic generalization. For the benefit of shifting U.S. demographics and appreciation of cultural distinctiveness, future research should continue to distinguish between pan-Latino and ethnicity-specific biases. Third, the timing of the current research took advantage of the new multidimensional iterations of both the SDO_7 scale and RWA scale (A-C-T; Duckitt et al. 2010), making it possible to extrapolate beyond the previous unidimensional measures. Each of these scale revealed a more conceptually refined picture of the construct. For example, the effects related to social dominance were examined through one's desire to maintain social hierarchies and one's desire to maintain anti-egalitarianism (Ho et al., 2012; Ho et al., in press). Duckitt and colleagues developed the tripartite approach to RWA, which revealed a different pattern of results depending on the target group.

The intricacies of the connections between White American threats perceived from Mexican Americans and immigrants remained relatively uncharted. Perceptions, misunderstandings, and myths surrounding who is a "rightful" citizen of the U.S. and who is "invading" the country contributes to the unclear nature of this relationship, but this was the driving force for the expression of subtle bias towards Latinos (Adad-Merino et al., 2013). When tangible resources (realistic threat) or one's cultural norms (symbolic threat) were threatened, retaliation seems unavoidable as a means to defend the ingroup's status. Latinos were perceived to create both types of threats (Dovidio et al., 2010). The future directions of Mexican American bias measurement will continue the investigation of the relationships between the bias with the antecedent variables and outcomes. The exploration of *Model Level 3*, perceived threat will add another level of depth to the understanding of Mexican American bias.

Societal Implications

The "real world" effect of having the ability to measure prejudice against Mexican Americans was one of the first steps in recognizing the ramifications of experiencing bias in the Latino community. In addition, at the societal level, the policies which were perceived as racist or biased in nature, as well as the solutions, can be addressed with empirical data. These topics will be discussed in more detail below.

Arizona-style laws (i.e., SB1040) were not going to solve the perceived problems of undocumented immigration in the U.S. On the contrary, discriminatory laws such as this further contributed to the psychological health and stress of Mexican Americans, and Latinos overall. When legalized systems of discrimination against certain racial groups are perpetuated, people of color lived in a situation where one was fearful of being

persecuted even when no law had been broken (Bean & Stone, 2012). Specifically, Mexican Americans continued to experience biases in the form of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination based on racist policies being enforced (i.e., SB2010). The "anti-bilingual, anti-immigrant, and anti-affirmative action initiatives that exist across the country are further signs of continued societal biases toward Mexicans and Mexican Americans" (Armendariz, 2000, p. 59-60). The anti-immigrant sentiment fueled the support for restrictive immigration policies (Hartman et al., 2014), which seeped into beliefs about Mexican Americans. One commentary described the effects of the Arizona policies in the following way: "SB 1070 attacks the body. HB 2281attacks the mind. Both attack the spirit" (Rodriguez, 2013, p. 23).

Reducing prejudice. Motivations drive stereotype activation and application, but also inhibit stereotype usage (Kunda & Sinclair, 1999). As racial prejudice continues in society, proactive approaches to rectify its effects are necessary (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Sears & Henry, 2003). Dixon and Rosenbaum (2004) not only found support that the process by which anti-Hispanic stereotypes were formed was different than for anti-Black stereotypes, but having contact with Hispanics in the community and at school helped to disconfirm stereotypes. Manipulating the salient reference group of one's social identity had been successful in reducing outgroup homogeneity (Dovidio, Gaertner, Isen, Rust, & Guerra, 1998). Relying on one's individual social identity, as opposed to racial group identity, tended to increase outgroup heterogeneity (Stephan, 2011).

The colorblind approach is no longer an appropriate response as a means to reduce prejudice (Zárate & Shaw, 2010). Instead, society must begin to embrace the unique culture and history of Mexican Americans in order to have an accurate

understanding of a Mexican American psychology. In order to adequately address social concerns of undocumented immigration in the U.S., the issues of "illegality" versus "ethnic prejudice" would dictate separate strategies for prejudice reduction and the passing of more appropriate policies (Hartman et al., 2014).

Another way to reduce the motivation for opposition to minority-friendly policies is to recognize the role that prejudice and other cognitive biases play in social and political decisions (Quinton et al., 1996). As mentioned, reducing prejudice becomes a complicated process when accounting for the many precursors that contribute to the support or opposition of racial policies. As an example, support for Proposition 187 in California (*a measure to restrict "illegal immigrants'" access to public services*) was found to be based on the combination of CSE, RWA, and negative stereotypes about immigrants. Yet, having low RWA and low negative stereotypes was the only combination that significantly reduced support for the proposition; low RWA with high stereotypes or high RWA with low stereotypes did not significantly reduce support for Proposition 187 (Quinton et al., 1996). In this regard, the structure of the theoretical framework was reinforced by the results of the current studies, showing the underlying factors and implications of biases against Mexican Americans. More than one construct uniquely accounted for prejudice against Mexican Americans.

A challenge to implementing strategies to reduce prejudice is the reception and acceptance of the message. According to Tatum (1994) and the model of the white ally, there has been a history of anti-racism protests held by whites in an effort to be allies to people of color. Learning about other white anti-racism activists can be an efficient manner of showing students, or white people in general, that other whites have become

aware of minority situations. Whites who can accept the anti-racist ideology can take steps to identify themselves as white while maintaining beliefs in equality and social justice (Eichstedt, 2001). This continues to be a challenging topic to research and to teach because of white reactance to the information being presented. With care in defining and explaining the concept of white racial identity, whites may be able to subscribe to be "the non-racist." It was important to understand how racial identity of all racial groups works in order to thoroughly understand intergroup comparisons (Wong & Cho, 2005). It was also likely that unless whites were willing to deal with how their own lack of knowledge about their white racism prevents cross-racial solidarity, there would be limited impact on social and economic changes (Allen, 2004). Until then, whiteness will continue to shape the racial politics of the United States.

A second barrier to implementation of solutions to reducing prejudice are often intercepted by racist policies: "The problem in Arizona, however, is that just after SB1070 was ratified by the legislature, another bill, HB2281, was passed to prevent the implementation of many of the strategies discussed by Stephan that were effective for reducing prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination" (Bean & Stone, 2012, p. 147). This was interpreted as a cycle that feeds back on itself. The racist laws and policies were passed as a result of perceived threat. Reducing prejudice involved contact and learning about the realities of the other group perceived as threatening (Stephan, 2011). Instead, the same legislature passed another law that prohibited the potential ways of addressing the bias and threat (Bean & Stone, 2012; Stephan, 2011).

Addressing opposition to racial policies. Misinformation accounted for some of the opposition for racial policies that proactively strive for equal opportunity and equality

of the distribution of resources. Yet, others used non-racist reasons for why they supported racist policies (i.e., SB 1070) or oppose racial equality policies (i.e., affirmative action). Bias against immigrants and beliefs about Mexican Americans unfairly receiving resources were likely driven by anti-Hispanic sentiment (Hartman, Newman, & Bell, 2014). White American opponents to immigration policies said that they have race-neutral reasons (i.e., residing in the U.S. without proper documentation) for their opposition, but part of the reason was also due to anti-Hispanic prejudice, a phenomenon called "coded prejudice" (Hartman et al., 2014). For example, in their "under the table" experiment, Hartman et al. (2014) posed a paradigm to tease apart the race-neutral justifications for opposition to immigration policies from anti-Hispanic sentiment. Participants were asked to judge the seriousness of a scenario where "a person with an expired visa (from Mexico/Britain) is working 'under the table' and does not pay taxes on this income" (p. 150). Interestingly, even though no difference in seriousness was found between the British and Mexican or the British and non-specific immigrant, the offense of working and not paying taxes was deemed more serious when it was a Mexican immigrant than a non-specific immigrant.

As a means of intervention and prevention of opposition to racial policies on the basis of misunderstanding, future studies should address the need for clarification of the policy. Common reasons for opposing affirmative action programs have been inaccurate beliefs about the policy. For example, believing that quotas were used to fill open slots is an invalid argument, since quotas in this sense have been outlawed since the 1970s (Crosby, 2006). Future research could focus on clarification strategies (i.e., define bounds and justification of the legal policy) to help eliminate rejection of these policies because

of false information. Those who are informed about the actual definition may show more support regardless of other ideologies, to a point. In addition, framing the racial policies as “preferential treatment” will bias the white respondents to perhaps feeling that their ingroup will lose out if someone else was given preference over someone from their ingroup (O’Brien et al., 2010).

When properly educated, the opportunity to gain support will increase. Federico and Sidanius (2002) found that the role of political sophistication improves the chances of increasing support for affirmative action. It was expected that there would be differential patterns of support for affirmative action depending on the level of accurate understanding of the policy. Even though those who are informed about AA policies will support the ones that follow the law, those with high levels of racism towards Mexican Americans and Blacks will oppose all racial policies, regardless of policy definition.

Limitations

When studying White American psychology, the invisibility of white racial identity poses a potential challenge to participants in responding and to researchers in interpreting the impact of identity on other variables. White racial identity (WRI) continues to influence interracial interactions. While it maintains its invisibility, white individuals may not, in fact, be able to identify how they experience their own white identity or acknowledge what being White means to them (Abrams & Gibson, 2007). This phenomenon implies that without an acknowledged racial identity, it was difficult to know exactly how the mechanisms of “being white” were related to the other measures of individual difference and cognitive biases. White racial identity was contained with other aspects of social identity within the theoretical Model Level 1. The treatment of WRI is

different than assessing identities of people of color or other people with a minority group status. It is distinguishable from studies of ethnic identity in that it does not focus on cultural factors, such as food and language (Wong & Cho, 2005). Instead, it is based on advantages and privilege. There has not been "an examination of the racial identity of average White Americans, as a phenomenon comparable to the racial identity of African American or Asian Americans" (Wong & Cho, 2005, p. 700).

Future studies should include a measure of WRI. Whiteness is not a static, unchangeable, easily definable identity, according to McDermott and Samson (2005), because it is based on context. Therefore, it is the context that surrounds whites that will influence their perceptions and experiences of what it means to be white, creating a sense of white racial identity. They also note that "white racial identity is more of a process than a descriptive" (McDermott & Samson, 2005, p. 255). Through the process of assimilation amongst nineteenth and twentieth century European immigrants, the lines between different European ethnicities became blurred and "ethnic identity has become optional" (McDermott & Samson, 2005, p. 251). The measurement aspect of WRI has also proven to pose challenges to clarifying the development and implications (Helms, 2007).

A second limitation was that the majority of the data socially represented liberals to moderates and politically represented democrats and moderates. Even with a generally less-than-conservative sample, the results remained highly significant. It is expected that the patterns in an all conservative sample would yield similar patterns, but the regression coefficients may be significantly larger. The marginal results would be given a boost to become significant, especially since they were in the correct direction.

Conclusion

In closing, it was hoped this research will inform educators and policy makers concerning the issues that foment ethnic discord and resentment. This has implications for future social policies regarding equity in treatment and outcomes for Mexican Americans, and the findings may inform a reasoned means of identifying and eliminating bias.

The psychological exploration of the Mexican American experience continues to gain momentum. The results of studies investigating beliefs about Mexican Americans carry important implications, whether the respondents were counselors in training (i.e., Niemann, 2001) or future members of management teams (i.e., Tomkiewicz & Adeyemi-Bello, 1997). A 25-year-old statement by a Hispanic scholar stated it best then, and it still rings true in modern society: “Stereotyping of Hispanics continues: we have only begun to grasp its significance” (Ramírez Berg, 1990, p. 299). Thus, continued attention to Mexican American psychology is imperative.

References

Adad-Merino, S., Newheiser, A. K., Dovidio, J. F., Tabernero, C., & González, I. (2013). The dynamics of intergroup helping: The case of subtle bias against Latinos. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 19(4),* 445-452. doi: 10.1037/a0032658

Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (1988). Comments on the motivational status of self-esteem in social identity and intergroup discrimination. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 18,* 317-334. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2420180403

Abrams, L. S., & Gibson, P. (2007). Reframing multicultural education: Teaching white privilege in the social work curriculum. *Journal of Social Work Education, 43(1),* 147-160.

Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik,E., Levenson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The Authoritarian Personality.* New York: Harper & Row.

Allen, R. L. (2004). Whiteness and critical pedagogy. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 36(2),* 121-136.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor.

Altemeyer, B. (1981). *Right-wing authoritarianism*. Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press.

Altemeyer, B. (1988). *Enemies of freedom: Understanding right-wing authoritarianism*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Arizona (2010, May). House Bill 2281. Retrieved from http://www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/hb2281p.pdf

Armendariz, A. L. (2000). The impact of racial prejudice on the socialization of Mexican

American students in the public schools. *Equality & Excellence in Education, 33(3),* 59-63. doi: 10.1080/1066568000330310

Aronson, J., & McGlone, M. S. (2009). Stereotype and social identity threat. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 153-178). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Arredondo, G. F. (2004). Navigating ethno-racial currents: Mexicans in Chicago, 1919-1939. *Journal of Urban History, 30(3),* 399-427. doi: 10.1177/0096144203262815

Ashmore, R. D., & Del Boca, F. K. (1979). Sex stereotypes and implicit personality theory: Toward a cognitive-social psychological conceptualization. *Sex Roles, 5,* 219-248. doi: 10.1007/BF00287932

Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51,* 1173-1182.

Bean, M. G., & Stone, J. (2012). Another view from the ground: How laws like SB1070 and HB2281 erode the intergroup fabric of our community. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 12(1),* 144-150. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01267.x

Belliard, J. C., & Ramírez-Johnson, J. (2005). Medical pluralism in the life of a Mexican immigrant woman. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27(3),* 267-285. doi: 10.1177/0739986305278130

Benjamin-Alvarado, J., DeSipio, L., & Montoya, C. (2009). Latino mobilization in new immigrant destinations: The Anti-H.R. 4437 protest in Nebraska's cities. *Urban Affairs Review, 44(5),* 718-735. doi: 10.1177/1078087408323380

Betancourt, J. R., Green, A. R., Carillo, J. E., & Ananeh-Firepong, O. (2003). Defining cultural competence: A practical framework for addressing racial/ethnic disparities in health and health care. *Public Health Reports, 118*, 293-318. doi: 10.1016/S0033-3549(04)50253-4

Blanton, H., Jaccard, J., Klick, J., Mellers, B., Mitchell, G., & Tetlock, P. E. (2009). Strong claims and weak evidence: Reassessing the predictive validity of the IAT. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94(3)*, 567-582. doi: 10.1037/a0014665

Bobo, L. (1983). Whites opposition to busing: Symbolic racism or realistic group conflict. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45(6)*, 1196-1210. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.45.6.1196

Bobo, L. (1988). Attitudes toward the Black political movement: Trends, Meaning, and effects on racial preferences. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 51(4)*, 287-302. doi: 10.2307/2786757

Bobo, L. (1998). Race, interests, and beliefs about affirmative action: Unanswered questions and new directions. *American Behavioral Scientist, 41(7)*, 985-1003. doi: 10.1177/0002764298041007009

Bodenhausen, G. V., & Macrae, C. N. (1998). Stereotype activation and inhibition. In R. Wyer, Jr. (Ed.), *Stereotype activation and inhibition* (pp. 1-52). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bohara, A. K., & Davila, A. (1992). A reassessment of the phenotypic discrimination and income differences among Mexican Americans. *Social Science Quarterly, 73(1)*, 114-119.

Brandt, M. J., & Reyna, C. (2012). The functions of symbolic racism. *Social Justice Research, 25(1),* 41-60. doi: 10.1007/s11211-012-0146-y

Brigham, J. C. (1971). Ethnic stereotypes. *Psychological Bulletin, 76,* 15-38. doi: 10.1037/h0031446

Brigham, J. C. (1973). Ethnic stereotypes and attitudes: A different mode of analysis. *Journal of Personality, 41,* 206-233. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1973.tb00089.x

Brown, R., & Zagefka, H. (2005). Ingroup affiliations and prejudice. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. A. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of Prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp.54-70). Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. doi: 10.1002/9780470773963.ch4

Brown, T. A. (2006). *Confirmatory factor analysis for applied research*. New York: Guilford Press.

Buhrmester, M., Kwang, T., & Gosling, S. D. (2011). Amazon's Mechanical Turk: A new source of inexpensive, yet high-quality, data? *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 6(1),* 3-5. doi: 10.1177/1745691610393980

Buriel, R. (1987). Ethnic labeling and identity among Mexican Americans. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotheram (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 134-152). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Buriel, R., & Vasquez, R. (1982). Stereotypes of Mexican descent persons: Attitudes of three generations of Mexican Americans and Anglo-American adolescents. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 13(1),* 59-70. doi: 10.1177/0022022182131006

Byrne, J. & Dixon, G. C. (2013). Reevaluating American attitudes toward immigrants in the twenty-first century: The role of a multicreedal national identity. *Politics & Policy, 41(1),* 83-116. doi: 10.1111/polp.12002.

Cantarero, R., & Potter, J. (2014). Quality of life, perceptions of change, and psychological well-bring of the elderly population in small rural towns in the Midwest. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 78(4),* 299-322. doi: 10.2190/AG.78.4.a.

Carlo, G., Crockett, L. J., & Carranza, M. A. (2011). *Health disparities in youth and families: Research and applications*. New York: Springer Science + Business Media.

Carranza, E. L. (1992). Scale for the measurement of attitude toward Chicanos: A research note. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 14(2),* 277-285. doi: 10.1177/073998639201 42007

Casas, J. M., & Atkinson, D. R. (1981). The Mexican American in higher education: An example of subtle stereotyping. *Personnel & Guidance Journal, 59(7),* 473-476.

Casas, J. M., Ponterotto, J. G., & Sweeney, M. (1987). Stereotyping the stereotyper: A Mexican American perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 18(1),* 45-57. doi: 10.1177/0022002187018001006

Cavalcanti, H. B., & Schleef, D. (2001). The melting pot revisited: Hispanic density and economic achievement in Americans metropolitan regions. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 23(2),* 115-135. doi: 10.1177/0739986301232001

Chin, M. G. & McClintock, C. G. (1993). The effects of intergroup discrimination and social values on level of self-esteem in the minimal group paradigm. European Journal of Social Psychology, 23, 63-75.

Chin, G. J. & Miller, M. L. (2010). Cracked mirror: SB1070 and other state regulation of immigration through criminal law. Arizona Legal Studies: Discussion Paper No. 10-25, 1-36.

Chin, G. J. & Miller, M. L. (2011). The unconstitutionality of state regulation of immigration through criminal law. *Duke Law Journal, 61(2),* 251-314.

Clark, L., Bunik, M., & Johnson, S. L. (2010). Research opportunities with *curanderos* to address childhood overweight in Latino families. *Qualitative Health Research, 20(1),* 4-14. doi: 10.1177/1049732309355285

Cohrs, J., & Stelzl, M. (2010). How ideological attitudes predict host society members' attitudes toward immigrants: Exploring cross-national differences. J*ournal of Social Issues, 66(4),* 673-694. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01670.x

Cowan, G., Martinez, L., & Mendiola, S. (1997). Predictors of attitudes toward illegal Latino immigrants. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 19(4),* 403-415. doi: 10.1177/07399863970194001

Crandall, C. S., & Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin, 129(3),* 414-446. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.129.3.414

Crawford, J. T., & Pilanski, J. M. (2014). The differential effects of right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation on political intolerance. *Political Psychology, 35(4),* 557-576. doi: 10.1111/pops.12066.

Crocker, J., & Garcia, J. A. (2009). Downward and upward spirals in intergroup interactions: The role of egosystem and ecosystem. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 229-245). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Crocker, J., Luhtanen, R., Blaine, B., & Broadnax, S. (1994). Collective self-esteem and psychological well-being among White, Black, and Asian college students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20(5),* 503-513. doi: 10.1177/0146167294205007

Crosby, F. J., Iyer, A., Clayton, S., & Downing, R. A. (2003). Affirmative action: Psychological data and the policy debates. *American Psychologist, 58(2),* 93-115. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.58.2.93.

Dalla, R. L., Ellis, A., & Cramer, S., C. (2005). Immigration and rural America: Latinos' perceptions of work and residence in three meatpacking communities. *Community, Work and Family, 8(2),* 163-185. doi: 10.1080/136688005000049639

Danso, H., Sedlovskaya, A., & Suanda, S. H. (2007). Perceptions of immigrants: Modifying the attitudes of individuals higher in social dominance. *Personality and Social Psychology, 33(8),* 1113-1123. doi: 10.1177/0146167207301015.

De la Garza, R. O., Polinard, J. L., Wrinkle, R. D., & Longoria, T. Jr. (1991). Understanding intra-ethnic attitude variations: Mexican origin population views of immigration. *Social Science Quarterly, 72(2),* 379-386.

de Zuniga, H. G., Correa, T., & Valenzuela, S. (2012). Selective exposure to cable news and immigration in the U.S.: The relationship between FOX News, CNN, and

attitudes toward Mexican immigrants. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 56(4),* 597-615. doi: 1080/08838151.2012.732138.

Deaux, K. (2006). *To be an immigrant*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

DeVellis, R. F. (2012). *Scale development: Theory applications (3rd ed.)*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled processes.

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56(1), 5-18. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.56.1.5

Devine, P. G., & Elliot, A. J. (1995). Are racial stereotypes *really* fading? The Princeton trilogy revisited. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21(11),* 1139-1150. doi: 10.1177/01461672952111002

Devine, P. G., & Sharp, L. B. (2009). Automaticity and control in stereotyping and prejudice. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 61-87). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Deyo, R. A., Diehl, A. K., Hazuda, H., & Stern, M. P. (1985). A simple language-based acculturation scale for Mexican Americans: Validation and application to health care research. *American Journal of Public Health, 75(1),* 51-55. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.75.1.51

Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88(3),* 447-466.

Diaz, P., Saenz, D. S., Kwan, V. S. Y. (2011). Economic dynamics and changes in attitudes toward undocumented Mexican Immigrants in Arizona. *Analyses of*

Social Issues & Public Policy, 11(1), 300-313. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01255.x.

Dixon, J. C., & Rosenbaum, M. S. (2004). Nice to know you? Testing contact, cultural, and group threat theories of anti-Black and anti-Hispanic stereotypes. *Social Science Quarterly, 85(2),* 257-280. doi: 10.1111/j.0038-4941.2004.08502003.x

Doan, G. O., & Stephan, C. W. (2006). The functions of ethnic identity: A New Mexico Hispanic example. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30*, 229-241. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.009.

Dovidio, J. F., Brigham, J. C., Johnson, B. T., & Gaertner, S. L. (1996). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination: Another look. In C. N. Macrae, C. Stangor, & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Stereotypes & stereotyping* (pp. 276-319). New York: The Guilford Press.

Dovidio, J. F., Evans, N., & Tyler, R. B. (1986). Racial stereotypes: The contents of their cognitive representations. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 22,* 33-37. doi: 10.1016/0022-1031(86)90039-9

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1997). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The causes, consequences, and challenges of aversive racism. In J. Eberhardt & S. T. Fiske (Eds.), *Racism: The problem and the response* (pp. 3-32). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L., Isen, A. M., Rust, M., & Guerra, P. (1998). Positive affect, cognition, and the reduction of intergroup bias. In C. Sedikides, J. Schopler, & C. A. Insko (Eds.), *Intergroup cognition and intergroup behavior* (pp. 337-366). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Dovidio, J. F., Gluszek, A., John, M. S., Ditlmann, R., & Lagunes, P. (2010). Understanding bias toward Latinos: Discrimination, dimensions of difference, and experience of exclusion. *Journal of Social Issues, 66(1),* 59-78.

Duckitt, J., Bizumic, B., Krauss, S. W., & Heled, E. (2010). A tripartite approach to right-wing authoritarianism: The authoritarianism-conservatism-traditionalism model. *Political Psychology, 31(5),* 685-715. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00781.x.

Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2010). Personality, ideology, prejudice, and politics: A dual-process motivational model. *Journal of Personality, 78,* 1861-1893.

Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2014). Personality, ideological attitudes, and group identity as predictors of political behavior in majority and minority ethnic groups. *Political Psychology,* 1-16. doi: 10.1111/pops.12222. *Published online in Early View (Online Version of Record published before inclusion in an issue on July 2, 2014.*

Dworkin, A. G. (1965). Stereotypes and self-images held by native-born and foreign-born Mexican Americans. *Sociology and Social Research, 49,* 214-224.

Dwyer, O. J., & Jones III, J. P. (2000). White socio-spatial epistemology. *Social & Cultural Geography, 1(2),* 209-222. doi: 10.1080/14649360020010211

Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Eagly, A. H., & Diekman, A. B. (2005). What is the problem? Prejudice as an attitude-in-context. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. A. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of Prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp.19-35). Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. doi: 10.1002/9780470773963.ch2

Eichstedt, J. L. (2001). Problematic white identities and a search for racial justice. *Sociological Forum, 16(3),* 445-470. doi: 10.1023/A:1011900514271

Espino, R., & Franz, M. M. (2002). Latino phenotypic discrimination revisited: The impact of skin color on occupational status. *Social Science Quarterly, 83(2),* 612-623. doi: 10.1111/1540-6237.00104

Espinoza, R. K. E., & Willis-Esqueda, C. (2008) Defendant and defense attorney characteristics and their effects on juror decision making and prejudice against Mexican Americans. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 14(4),* 364-371. doi: 10.1037/a0012767

Esses, V. M., Bronchu, P. M., & Dickson, K. R. (2012). Economic costs, economic benefits, and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 12(1),* 133-137. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01269.x.

Esses, V. M., Haddock, G., & Zanna, M. P. (1993). Values, stereotypes, and emotions as determinants of intergroup attitudes. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception* (pp. 137-166). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Esses, V. M., Hodson, G., &Dovidio, J. F. (2003). Public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: Determinants and policy implications. In C. M. Beach, A. G. Green, & J. G. Reitz (Eds.), *Canadian immigration policy for the 21st century* (pp. 507–535). Montreal, Canada: McGill Queen's Press.

Fairchild, H. H., & Cozens, J. A. (1981). Chicano, Hispanic, or Mexican American: What's in a name? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 3(2),* 191-198.

Fazio, R. F., & Olson, M. A. (2003). Implicit measures in social cognition: Their meaning and use. *Annual Review of Psychology, 54,* 297-327. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.54. 101601.145225

Federico, C. M., & Sidanius, J. (2002). Sophistication and the antecedents of Whites' racial policy attitudes: Racism, ideology, and affirmative action in America. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 66(2),* 145-176. doi: 10.1086/339848

Fein, S., von Hippel, W., & Spencer, S. J. (1999). To stereotype or not to stereotype: Motivation and stereotype activation, application, and inhibition. *Psychological Inquiry, 10(1),* 49-54. doi: 10.1207/s15327965pli1001_7

Finell, E., Olakivi, A., Liebkind, K., & Lipsanen, J. (2013). Does it matter how I perceive my nation? National symbols, national identification and attitudes toward immigrants. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 54*, 529-535. doi: 10.1111/sjop.12082.

Fishbein, M., & Azjen, I. (1975). *Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Fiske, E. B. (1985). The controversy over bilingual education in America's schools; one language or two? *New York Times,* 11/10/1985, p1

Fiske, S. T. (1998). Stereotyping, Prejudice, and discrimination. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The Handbook of social psychology (4th ed., Vol. 1),* pp.357-411. New York: McGraw Hill.

Fiske, S. T. (2000). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination at the seam between the centuries: Evolution, culture, mind, and brain. *European Journal of Social*

Psychology, 30, 299-322. doi: 10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(200005/06)30:3<299::AID-EJSP2>3.0.CO;2-F

Fiske, S. T. (2005). Social cognition and the normality of prejudgment. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. A. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of Prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp.36-53). Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

Fiske, S. T. (2014). Measures of stereotyping and prejudice. In G. J. Boyle & D. H. Saklofske (Eds.), *Measures of personality and social psychological constructs* (pp. 684-718). Amsterdam: Academic Press.

Florack, A., Piontkowski, U., Rohmann, A., Balzer, T., & Perzig, S. (2003). Perceived intergroup threat and attitudes of host community members toward immigrant acculturation. *Journal of Social Psychology, 143(5),* 633-648.

Fuligni, A. (2011). Social identity, motivation, and well being among adolescents from Asian and Latin American backgrounds. In G. Carlo, L. J. Crockett, & M. A. Carranza (Eds.), *Health disparities in youth and families: Research and applications* (pp. 97-120). New York: Spring Science + Business Media.

Gaertner, S. L., & Bickman, L. (1971). Effects of race on the elicitation of helping behavior: The wrong number technique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 20,* 218-222.

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 61-89). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2005). Understanding and addressing contemporary racism: From aversive racism to the common ingroup identity model. *Journal of Social Issues, 61(3),* 615-639. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00424.x

Gaertner , S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2009). A common ingroup identity: A categorization-based approach for reducing intergroup bias. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 489-505). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Gaertner, S. L., & McLaughlin, J. P. (1983). Racial stereotypes: Associations and ascriptions of positive and negative characteristics. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 46(1),* 23-30. doi: 10.2307/3033657

Gallego, A., & Pardos-Prado, S. (2013). The big 5 personality traits and attitudes towards immigrants. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 40(1), 79-99. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.826131

Garcia, L. M., & Bayer, A. E. (2005). Variations between Latino groups in US post-secondary educational attainment. *Research in Higher Education, 46(5),* 511-533. doi: 10.1007/s11162-005-3363-5

Gardner, R. C. (1994). Stereotypes as consensual beliefs. In M. P. Zanna & J. M. Olson (Eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario Symposium, Volume 7* (pp. 1-31). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Garth, T. R., Elson, T. H., & Morton, M. M. (1936). The administration of non-language intelligence tests to Mexicans. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 31(1),* 53-58. DOI: 10.1037/h0061449

Garth & Johnson, (1934). The intelligence and achievement of Mexican children in the United States. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 29(2),* 222-229. doi: 10.1037/h0073031

Gilbert, G. M. (1951). Stereotype persistence and change among college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 42(2),* 245-254. doi: 10.1037/h0053696

Gilbert, D. T., & Hixon, J. G. (1991). The trouble of thinking: Activation and application of stereotypic beliefs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60(4),* 509-517. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.60.4.509

Glenn, N. D. (1970). Some reflections on a landmark publication and the literature on Mexican Americans. *Social Science Quarterly, 52(1),* 8-10.

Goldstein, J. L., & Peters, M. E. (2014). Nativism or economic threat: Attitudes toward immigrants during the great recession. *International Interactions, 40,* 376-401. doi: 10.1080/03050629.2014.899219

Gonsalkorale, K., Carlisle, K., & von Hipple, W. (2007). Intergroup threat increases implicit stereotyping. *International Journal of Psychology and Psychological Therapy, 7(2),* 189-200.

Gonzalez, G. M. (1997). The emergence of Chicanos in the Twenty-First Century: Implications for counseling, research, and policy. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling & Development, 25(2),* 94-106.

Goodkind, J. R., Gonzales, M., Malcoe, L. H., & Espinosa, J. (2008). The Hispanic Women's Social Stressor Scale: Understanding the multiple social stressors of

U.S.- and Mexico-born Hispanic women. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 30(2),* 200-229. doi: 10.1177/0739986308316178.

Grandner, M. A., Hale, L., Jackson, N., Patel, N. P., Gooneratne, N. S., & Troxel, W. M. (2012). Perceived racial discrimination as an independent predictor of sleep disturbance and daytime fatigue. *Behavioral Sleep Medicine, 10*, 235-249. doi: 10.1080/15402002.2012.654548.

Greenwald, A. G., Poehlman, T. A., Uhlmann, E. L., Banaji, M. R. (2009). Understanding and using the implicit association test: III. Meta-analysis of predictive validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 97(1),* 17-41. doi: 10.1037/a0015575

Gurin, P., Hurtado, A., & Peng, T. (1994). Group contacts and ethnicity in the social identities of Mexicanos and Chicanos. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20(5),* 521-532. doi: 10.1177/0146167294205009

Gutiérrez, R. A. (1999). Hispanic diaspora and Chicano identity in the United States. *The South Atlantic Quarterly, 98(1/2),* 203-215.

Hartman, T. K., Newman, B. J., & Bell, C. S. (2014). Decoding prejudice toward Hispanics: Group cues and public reactions to threatening immigrant behavior. *Political Behavior, 36*, 143-163. doi: 10.1007/s11109-013-9231-7

Helms, J. E. (1999). Another meta-analysis of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale's Cronbach alphas: Implications for validity. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 32(3),* 122-137.

Helms, J. E. (2007). Some better practices for measuring racial and ethnic identity constructs. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54(3),* 235-246. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.235

Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale. *Political Psychology, 23(2),* 253-283.

Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2009). The crystallization of contemporary racial prejudice across the lifespan. *Political Psychology, 30(4),* 569-590.

Hersch, J. (2011). The persistence of skin color discrimination for immigrants. *Social Science Research, 40(5),* 1337-1349. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.12.006

Hersch, J. (2011). Skin color, physical appearance, and perceived discrimination treatment. *Journal of Socio-Economics, 40,* 671-678. doi:10.1016/j.socec.2011.05.006

Hernández, D. M. (2008). Pursuant to deportation: Latinos and immigrant detention. *Latino Studies, 6,* 35-63.

Hernández, T. K. (2009). Latinos at work: When color discrimination involves more than color. In E. N. Glen (Ed.), *Shades of difference: Why skin color matters* (pp. 236-289). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hewstone, M., Jaspars, J., & Lalljee, M. (1982). Social representations, social attribution and social identity: The intergroup images of ‘public’ and ‘comprehensive’ schoolboys. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 12,* 241-269. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2420120302

Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheeny-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (in press). The nature of social dominance orientation: Introducing the Social Dominance Orientation$_7$ Scale.

Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., Levin, S., Thomsen, L., Kteily, N., & Sheehy-Skeffington, J. (2012). Social dominance orientation: Revisiting the structure and function of a variable predicting social and political attitude. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 38(5),* 583-606. doi: 10.1177/0146167211432765

Hoefer, M., Rytina, N., & Baker, B. C. (2012). Estimates of the unauthorized immigrant population residing in the United States: January 2011. Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics.

Holley, L. C., Salas, L. M., Marsiglia, F. F., Yabiku, S. T., Fitzharris, B., & Jackson, K. F. (2009). Youths of Mexican descent of the Southwest exploring differences in ethnic labels. *Children & Schools, 31(1),* 15-26.

Holtzman, W. (1971). The changing world of mental measurement and its social significance. *American Psychologist, 26(6),* 546-553.

Hoover, G. (1929). Our Mexican Immigrants. *Foreign Affairs, 8(1),* 99-107.

Hornick, M. (2010). The Californian: Tri-county Latino elected officials rally against Arizona immigration law. Retrieved from http://www.thecalifornian.com/article/20100506/NEWS01/5060305/1002/NEWS01/Tri-County-Latino-Elected-Officials-rally-against-Arizona-immigration-law

Huddy, L., & Sears, D. O. (1995). Opposition to bilingual education: Prejudice or the defense of realistic interests? *Social Psychology Quarterly, 58(2),* 133-143. doi: 10.2307/2787151

Humes, K. R., Jones, N. A., & Ramirez, R. R. (2011). Overview of race and Hispanic origin: 2010. *2010 Census Briefs*. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf

Humphrey, N. D. (1945). The stereotypes and the social types of Mexican-American youths. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 22*, 69-78.

Humphrey, N. D. (1955). Ethnic images and stereotypes of Mexicans and Americans. *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 14*, 305-313.

Iturbide, M. I., Raffaelli, M., & Carlo, G. (2009). Protective effects of ethnic identity on Mexican American college students' psychological well-being. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 31(4)*, 536-552. doi: 10.1177/0739986309345992

Jiménez, T. R. (2007). Weighing the costs and benefits of Mexican immigration: The Mexican American perspective. *Social Science Quarterly, 88(3)*, 599-618. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6237.2007.00474.x

Jones, M. (2001). Stereotyping Hispanics and Whites: Perceived differences in social roles as a determinant of ethnic stereotypes. *Journal of Social Psychology, 131(4)*, 469-476.

Jones, T. (2010). Intra-group preferencing: Problems of proof in colorism and identity performance cases. *N.Y.U. Review of Law & Social Change, 34(4)*, 657-707.

Jussim, L., Cain, T. R., Crawford, J. T., Harber, K., & Cohen, F. (2009). The unbearable accuracy of stereotypes. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 199-227). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Kaiser, C. R., & Pratt-Hyatt, J. S. (2009). Distributing prejudice unequally: Do Whites direct their prejudice toward strongly identified minorities? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96(2),* 432-445. doi: 10.1037/a0012877.

Karl, K. L. (2011). Politics & prejudice toward Hispanics: assessing the validity of symbolic measures. *Conference Papers -- American Political Science Association,* 1-37.

Karlins, M., Coffman, T. L., & Walters, G. (1969). On the fading of social stereotypes: Studies in three generations of college students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 13,* 1-16.

Katz, D. (1960). The functional approach to the study of attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 24(2),* 163-204. doi: 10.1086/266945

Katz, P. A. (1973). Perception of racial cues in preschool children: A new look. *Developmental Psychology, 8,* 295-299. doi: 10.1037/h0034146

Katz, P. A. (1976). The acquisition of racial attitudes in children. In P. A. Katz (Ed.), *Towards the elimination of racism* (pp.125-147). New York: Pergamon Press.

Katz, P. A. (1982). Development of children's racial awareness and intergroup attitudes. In L. G. Katz (Ed.), *Current topics in early childhood education, Volume 4* (pp. 17-53). Norwood, NJ: ABLEX.

Katz, D., & Braly, K. (1933). Racial stereotypes in one hundred college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28,* 280-290.

Katz, P. A., Sohn, M., & Zalk, S. (1975). Perceptual concomitants of racial attitudes in urban grade-school children. *Developmental Psychology, 11(2),* 135-144. doi: 10.1037/h0076446

Keegan, L. (2000). A comparison of the use of alternative therapies among Mexican Americans and Anglo-Americans in the Rio Grande Valley. *Journal of Holistic Nursing, 18(3),* 280-295.

Kessler, J. (2009). Man charged with hate crime in Ecuadorian immigrant's death. Retrieved from http://www.cnn.com/2009/CRIME/02/25/hate.crime.arrest/

Kahn, K., Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (2009). The space between us and them: Perceptions of status differences. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 12(5),* 591-604. doi: 10.1177/1368430209338716

Kline, R. B. (2005). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling* (2nd Ed.). New York: Guilford Press.

Knowles, E. D., & Peng, K. (2005). White selves: Conceptualizing and measuring a dominant-group identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89(2),* 223-241.

Krueger, J. (1996). Personal beliefs and cultural stereotypes about racial characteristics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71(3),* 536-548. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.71.3.536

Kreuter, F., Presser, S., & Tourangeau, R. (2008). Social desirability bias in CATI, IVR and Web surveys. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 72(5),* 847–865. doi: 10.1093/poq/nfn063.

Kteily, N. S., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2011). Social dominance orientation: Cause or 'mere effect'? Evidence for SDO as a causal predictor of prejudice and discrimination against ethnic and racial outgroups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47,* 208-214. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2010.09.009.

Kunda, Z., and Sinclair , L. (1999). Motivated reasoning with stereotypes: Activation, application, and inhibition. *Psychological Inquiry, 10(1),* 12-22. doi: 10.1207/s15327965pli1001_2

Kunda, Z., Sinclair, L., & Griffin, D. (1997). Equal ratings but separate meanings: Stereotypes and the construal of traits. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72(4),* 720-734. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.72.4.720

Kunda, Z., & Spencer, S. J. (2003). When do stereotypes come to mind and when do they color judgment? Goal-based theoretical framework for stereotype activation and application. *Psychological Bulletin, 129(4),* 522-544. doi 10.1037/0033-2909.129.4.522

LaPiere, R. T. (1934). Attitudes vs. actions. *Social Forces, 13(2),* 230-237.

Laurence, L. E. (2010). The Constitution and use of 'illegal immigrant.' *Quill, 98(6),* 13-13.

Levin, S., & Sidanius, J. (1999). Social dominance and social identity in the United States and Israel: Ingroup favoritism or outgroup derogation? *Political Psychology, 20(1),* 99-126. doi: 10.1111/0162-895X.00138

LeVine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). *Ethnocentrism*. New York: Wiley.

Levy, S. R., & Hughes, J. M. (2009). Development of racial and ethnic prejudice among children. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 23-42). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Liberman, N., & Förster, J. (2000). Expression after suppression: A motivational explanation of postsuppressional rebound. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79(2),* 190-203. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.79.2.190

Lin, M. H., Kwan, V. S. Y., Cheung, A., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). Stereotype content model explains prejudice for an envied outgroup: Scale of anti-Asian American stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31(1),* 34-47. doi: 10.1177/0146167204271320

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Livi, S., Leone, L., Falgares, G., & Lombardo, F. (2014). Values, ideological attitudes and patriotism. Personality and Individual Differences, 64, 141-146. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2014.02.040

Lopez, M. H., & Dockterman, D. (2011). Hispanics in the U.S. by country of origin, 2010. Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/142.pdf

Louis, W. R., Esses, V. M., & Lalonde, R. N. (2013). National identification, perceived threat, and dehumanization as antecedents of negative attitudes toward immigrants in Australia and Canada. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 43,* E156-E16. doi: 10.1111/jasp.12044.

Lu, L., & Nicholson-Crotty, S. (2010). Reassessing the impact of Hispanic stereotypes on White Americans' immigration preferences. *Social Science Quarterly, 91(5),* 1312-1328. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6237.2010.00733.x

Luna, E. (2003). How the Black/White paradigm renders Mexicans/Mexican Americans and discrimination against them invisible. *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal, 14,* 225-253.

Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's own identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18,* 302-318.

doi: 10.1177/0146167292183006

Lyons, P. A., Coursey, L. E., & Kenworthy, J. B. (2013). National identity and group narcissism as predictors of intergroup attitudes toward undocumented Latino immigrants in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 35(3),* 323-335. doi: 10.1177/0739986313488090.

Mackie, D. M., Hamilton, D. L., Susskind, J., & Rosselli, F. (1996). Social psychological foundations of stereotype formation. In C. N. Macrae, C. Stangor, & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Stereotypes and stereotyping* (pp. 41-78). New York: Guilford Press.

MacLin, M. K., & Herrera, V. (2006). The criminal stereotype. *North American Journal of Psychology, 8(2),* 197-207.

Macrae, C. N., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2001). Social cognition: Categorical person perception. *British Journal of Psychology, 92,* 239-255. doi: 10.1348/000712601162059

Macrae, C. M., Bodenhausen, G. V., & Milne, A. B. (1998). Saying no to unwanted thoughts: Self-focus and the regulation of mental life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72,* 578-589. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.74.3.578

Macrae, C. M., Bodenhausen, G. V., Milne, A. B., & Jetten, J. (1994). Out of mind but back in sight: Stereotypes on the rebound. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67,* 808-817. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.67.5.808

Macrae, C. M., Milne, A. B., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (1994). Stereotypes as energy-saving devices: A peek inside the cognitive toolbox. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 66(1),* 37-47. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.66.1.37

Major, B., & O'Brien, L. T. (2005). The social psychology of stigma. *Annual Review of Psychology, 56,* 393-421. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070137

Manganelli Rattazzi, A. M., Bobbio, A., & Canova, L. (2007). A short version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale. *Personality and Individual Differences, 43,* 1223-1234. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2007.03.013

Marsiglia, F. F., Kulls, S., Hecht, M. L., & Sills, S. (2004). Ethnicity and ethnic identity as predictors of drug norms and drug use among preadolescents in the US Southwest. *Substance Use & Misuse, 39(7),* 1061-1094. doi: 10.1081/JA-120038030

Martinez, L. (2009). South Texas Mexican American use of traditional folk and mainstream alternative therapies. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 31(1),* 128-143. doi: 10.1177/0739986308328513

Martinez, R. (2010). Economic conditions and racial/ethnic variations in violence: Immigration, the Latino paradox, and future research. *Criminology & Public Policy, 9(4),* 707-713. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9133.2010.00663.x

Martinez, L., Estrada, C., & Willis-Esqueda, C. (2008). Unfair advantages and disadvantages: Motivations for prejudice against Mexican Americans. *Poster presented at the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues biennial meeting, Chicago, IL*.

Martinez, L., Willis-Esqueda, C., & Lopez, S. (2009). Motivated bias: A comparison between White Americans in Nebraska and Texas. *Paper presented at the meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association conference, Chicago, IL*.

Mason, P. L. (2004). Annual income, hourly wages, and identity among Mexican – Americans and other Latinos. *Industrial Relations, 43(4),* 817-834. doi: 10.1111/j.0019-8676.2004.00363.x

McCauley, C., & Stitt, C. L. (1978). An individual and quantitative measure of stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36(9),* 929-940. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.36.9.929

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,* 551-558. doi: 10.1177/0146167283094004

McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 91-126). New York: Academic Press.

McDermott, M., & Samson, F. L. (2005). White racial and ethnic identity in the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology, 31*, 245-261.doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.31.041304.122322

McGlothlin, H., & Killen, M. (2005). Children's perceptions of intergroup and intragroup similarity and the role of social experience. *Applied Developmental Psychology, 26*, 680-698. doi:10.1016/j.appdev.2005.08.008

McKemy, C. (1928). Should quota law be applied to Mexico: Pro. *Congressional Digest, 7(5),* 177.

McNeill, B. W., Prieto, L. R., Niemann, Y. F., Pizarro, M., Vera, E. M., & Gomez, S. P. (2001). Current directions in Chicana/o Psychology. *The Counseling Psychologist, 29(1),* 5-17. doi: 10.1177/0011000001291001

Moreno, G., & Morales, L. (2010). *Hablamos juntos* (together we speak): Interpreters, provider communication, and satisfaction with care. *Journal of General Internal Medicine, 25(12),* 1282-1288. doi: 10.1007/s11606-010-1467-x

Moskowitz, G. B., Gollwitzer, P. M., Wasel, W., & Schaal, B. (1999). Preconscious control of stereotype activation through chronic egalitarian goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77(1),* 167-184. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.167

Moskowitz, G. B., & Li, P. (2011). Egalitarian goals trigger stereotype inhibition: A proactive form of stereotype control. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47,* 103-116. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2010.08.014

Murata, K. (2001). The (re)shaping of Latino/Chicano ethnicity through the inclusion/exclusion of undocumented immigrants: The case of LULAC's ethno-politics. *American Studies International, 34(2),* 4-33.

Niemann, Y. F. (2001). Stereotypes about Chicanas and Chicanos: Implications for counseling. *The Counseling Psychologist, 29(1),* 55-90. doi: 10.1177/0011000001291003

Niemann, Y. F., Jennings, L., Rozelle, R. M., Baxter, J. C., & Sullivan, E. (1994). Use of free responses and cluster analysis to determine stereotypes of eight groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20(4),* 379-390.

Niemann, Y. F., Pollak, K. I., Rogers, S., & O'Connor, E. (1998). Effects of physical context on stereotyping of Mexican American males. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 20(3),* 349-362. doi: 10.1177/07399863980203004

Niemann, Y. F., Romero, A. J., Arredondo, J., & Rodriguez, V. (1999). What does it mean to be "Mexican"? Social construction of an ethnic identity. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 21(1),* 47-60. doi: 10.1177/0739986399211004

O'Brien, L. T., Garcia, D., Crandall, C. S., and Kordys, J. (2010). White Americans' opposition to affirmative action: Group interest and the harm to beneficiaries objection. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 49,* 895-903. doi: 10.1348/01446661OXS18062.

Ogbu, J. U. (1990). Cultural model, identity, and literacy. In J. W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder, & G. Herdt (Eds.), *Cultural psychology: Essays on comparative human development* (pp. 520-541). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Odem, E., & Lacy, E. (2009). *Latino Immigrants and the transformation of the U.S. South*. Athens, GA and London: University of Georgia Press.

Olivas, M. A. (2006). *"Colored men" & "hombres aquí":* Hernandez v. Texas *& the rise of Mexican American lawyering*. Houston: Arte Público Press.

Olivas, M. A. (2010). The arc of triumph and the agony of defeat: Mexican Americans and the law. *Journal of Legal Education, 60(2),* 354-367.

Oliver, J. E., & Wong, J. (2003). Intergroup prejudice in multiethnic settings. *American Journal of Political Science, 47(4),* 567-582. doi: 10.2307/3186119

Ommundsen, R., & Larsen, K. S. (1999). Attitudes toward illegal immigration in Scandinavia and United States. *Psychological Reports, 84(3),* 1331-1338. doi: 10.2466/PR0.84.3.1331-1338

Ommundsen, R., Van der veer, K., Larsen, K. S., Eilertsen, D. (2014). Framing unauthorized immigrants: The effects of labels on evaluations. *Psychological*

Reports: Sociocultural Issues in Psychology, 114(2), 461-478. doi: 10.2466/17.PR0.114k20w0

Ommundsen, R., van der Veer, K., Le, H. V., Krumov, K., & Larsen, K. S. (2007). Developing attitude statements toward illegal immigration: Transcultural reliability and utility. *Psychological Reports, 100(3),* 901-914. doi: 10.2466/PR0.100.3.901-914

Ordinance No. 5165. (2010). Ordinance of the City of Fremont, Nebraska.

Oyamot, C. M., Fisher, E. L., Deason, G., & Borgida, E. (2012). Attitudes toward immigrants: The interactive role of authoritarian predisposition, social norms, and humanitarian values. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48,* 97-105. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2011.08.003

Passel, J. S., Cohn, D., & Lopez, M. H. (2011, March). Census 2010: 50 Million Latinos. Retrieved from http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=140

Passel, J., & Taylor, P. (2009, May). Who's Hispanic? Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved from http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/111.pdf.

Paxton, P., & Mughan, A. (2006). What's to fear from immigrants? Creating an Assimilationist Threat Scale. *Political Psychology, 27(4),* 549-568. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2006.00520.x

Peña, Y., & Sidanius, J. (2002). U.S. patriotism and ideologies of group dominance: A tale of asymmetry. *Journal of Social Psychology, 142(6),* 782-790.

Pérez, E. O. (2010). Explicit evidence on the import of implicit attitudes: The IAT and immigration policy judgments. Political Behavior, 32, 517-545. doi: 10.1007/s11109-010-9115-z

Pérez, D. J., Fortuna, L., & Alegría, M. (2008). Prevalence and correlates of everyday discrimination among U.S. Latinos. *Journal of Community Psychology, 34(4),* 421-433. doi: 10.1002/jcop.20221

Perez, T. E., Gross, M. L., Thomas, H. A., Delery, S. F., Gilg, D. R., Brinkmann, B. S.,…Sandberg, J. E. (2013). Keller v. City of Fremont, 719 F. 3d 931 - Court of Appeals, 8th Circuit 2013. Retrieved from http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/app/briefs/kellerbrief.pdf.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1988). Integration and pluralism. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy* (pp. 19-30). New York: Plenum Press.

Pew Social Trends Staff. (2010, January). Blacks upbeat about Black progress, prospects: One year after Obama's election. Retrieved from http://pewsocialtrends.org/2010/01/12/blacks-upbeat-about-black-progress-prospects/

Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67(4),* 741-763. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.67.4.741

Probst, J. C., Samuels, M. E., Jespersen, K. P., Willert, K., Swann, R. S., & McDuffie, J. A. (2002). Minorities in rural America: An overview of population characteristics. *South Carolina Rural Health Research Center*.

Pryce, D. D. (1999, March). Black Latina. *Hispanic*. Retrieved from http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/40/063.html

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. doi: 10.1111/j.1559-1816.1996.tb01796.x

Rabinowitz, J. L., Sears, D. O., Sidanius, J., & Krosnick, J. A. (2009). Why do White Americans oppose race-targeted policies? Clarifying the impact of symbolic racism. *Political Psychology, 30(5),* 805-828. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2009.00726.x

Rahimi, S., & Fisher, R. J. (2002). Collective self-esteem and construal of racism. Transcultural Psychiatry, 39(4), 501-515. doi: http://0-dx.doi.org.library.unl.edu/10.1177/1363461502039004519

Ramirez, A. (1988). Racism toward Hispanics: The culturally monolithic society. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy* (pp. 137-157). New York: Plenum Press.

Ramírez Berg, C. (1990). Stereotyping in films in general and of the Hispanic in particular. *The Howard Journal of Communications, 2(3),* 286-300.

Ray, J. J., & Furnham, A. (1984). Authoritarianism, conservatism and racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 7(3),* 406-412.

Redfield, R. (1929). The antecedents of Mexican immigration to the United States. *American Journal of Sociology, 35(4),* 601-611. doi: 10.1086/215057

Reimann, J. O. F., Talavera, G. A., Salmon, M., Nunez, J. A., & Velasquez, R. J. (2004).

Cultural competence among physicians treating Mexican Americans who have diabetes: A structural model. *Social Science & Medicine, 59(11),* 2195-2205. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.03.025

Renfro, C. L., Duran, A., Stephan, W. G., & Clason, D. L. (2006). The role of threat in attitudes toward affirmative action and its beneficiaries. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36,* 41-74.

Resnicow, K., Soler, R., Braithwaite, R. L., Ahluwalia, J. S., & Butler, J. (2000). Cultural sensitivity in substance use prevention. *Journal of Community Psychology, 28(3),* 271-290. doi: 10.1002/(SICI)1520-6629(200005)28:3<271::AID-JCOP4>3.0.CO;2-I

Reyna, C., Dobria, O., & Wetherell, G. (2013). The complexity and ambivalence of immigration attitudes: Ambivalent stereotypes predict conflicting attitudes towards immigration policies. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 19(3),* 342-356. doi: 10.1037/a0032942

Richman, L. S., Kohn-Wood, L. P., & Williams, D. R. (2007). The role of discrimination and racial identity for mental health service utilization. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 26(8),* 960-981. doi: 10.1521/jscp.2007.26.8.960

Ridge, R. D., & Montoya, J. A. (2013). Favorable contact during volunteer service: Reducing prejudice toward Mexicans in the American Southwest. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 23,* 466-480. doi: 10.1002/casp

Rodriguez, J. A. (1998). Becoming Latinos: Mexican Americans, Chicanos, and the Spanish myth in the urban Southwest. *Western Historical Quarterly, 29,* 165-185. doi: 10.2307/971328

Rodriguez, R. D. C. (2013). Arizona criminalizes indigenous knowledge. *Wicazo Sa Review, 28(1),* 23-25. doi: 10.5749/wicazosareview.28.1.0023

Rojas, V. (2004). The gender of *Latinidad*: Latinas speak about Hispanic television. *The Communication Review, 7,* 125-153.

Rosenberg, M. J., & Hovland, C. I. (1960). Cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of attitudes. In C. I. Hovland & M. J. Rosenberg (Eds.), *Attitude organization and change: An analysis of consistency among attitude components* (pp. 1-14). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Rustenbach, E. (2010). Sources of negative attitudes toward immigrants in Europe: A Multi-Level analysis. *International Migration Review, 44(1),* 53-77. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00798.x

Ruttenberg, J., Zea, M. C., & Sigelman, C. K. (1996). Collective identity and intergroup prejudice among Jewish and Arab students in the United States. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 136(2),* 209-220.

Saldana-Portillo, M. J. (2008). "How many Mexicans [is] a horse worth?" The League of United Latin Americans Citizens, desegregation cases, and Chicano historiography. *South Atlantic Quarterly, 107(4),* 809-831. doi: 10.1215/00382876-2008-018

Schildkraut, D. J. (2005). The rise and fall of political engagement among Latinos: The role of identity and perceptions of discrimination. *Political Behavior, 27(3),* 285-312. doi: 10.1007/s11109-005-4803-9

Schildkraut, D. J. (2012). Which birds of a feather flock together? Assessing attitudes about descriptive representation among Latinos and Asian Americans. *American Politics Research, 41(4),* 699-729. doi: 10.1177/1532673X12466582

Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Postmes, T., & Garcia, A. (2014). The consequences of perceived discrimination for psychological well-being: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin, 140,* 921-948. doi: 10.1037/a0035754.

Schuman, H., & Krysan, M. (1999). A historical note on Whites' beliefs about racial equality. *American Sociological Review, 64(6),* 847-855.

Schuman, H. (2000). The perils of correlation, the lure of labels, and the beauty of negative results. In D. O. Sears, J. Sidanius, & L. Bobo (Eds.), *Racialized politics: The debate about racism in America* (pp. 302-323). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schneider, D. J. (2004). *The psychology of stereotyping*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Sears, D. O. (1988). Symbolic racism. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy* (pp. 53-83). New York: Plenum Press.

Sears, D. O., Citrin, J., Cheleden, S. V., van Laar, C. (1999) Cultural diversity and multicultural politics: Is ethnic balkanization psychologically inevitable? In D. A. Prentice & D. T. Miller (Eds.), *Cultural divides: Understanding and overcoming group conflict* (pp. 35-79). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sears, D. O., & Henry, P. J. (2003). The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85(2),* 259-275. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.85.2.259

Sears, D. O., & Jessor, T. (1996). Whites' racial policy attitudes: The role of White racism. *Social Science Quarterly, 77(4),* 751-759.

Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension.* New York: Harper.

Sherman, S. J., Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (1989). Social cognition. *Annual Review of Psychology, 40,* 281-326.

Shorey, H. S., Cowan, G., & Sullivan, M. P. (2002). Predicting perceptions of discrimination among Hispanics and Anglos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 24(3),* 3-22. doi: 10.1177/0739986302024001001

Short, R., & Magana, L. (2002). Political rhetoric, immigration attitudes, and contemporary prejudice: A Mexican American dilemma. *Journal of Social Psychology, 142(6),* 701-712.

Sibley, C. G., & Duckitt, J. (2008). Personality and prejudice: A meta-analysis and theoretical review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 12(3),* 248-279. doi: http://0-dx.doi.org.library.unl.edu/10.1177/1088868308319226

Sibley, C. G., Duckitt, J., Bergh, R., Osborne, D., Perry, R., Asbrock, F., Robertson, A., Armstrong, G., Wilson, M. C., & Barlow, F. K. (2013). A dual process model of attitudes towards immigration: Person x residential area effects in a national sample. *Political Psychology, 34(4),* 553-572. doi: 10.1111/pops.12009

Sidanius, J., Devereux, E., & Pratto, F. (1992). A comparison of Symbolic Racism Theory and Social Dominance Theory as explanations for racial policy attitudes. *Journal of Social Psychology, 132(3),* 377-395.

Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Sheffington, J., Ho, A. K., Sibley, C., & Duriez, B. (2013). You're inferior and not worth our concern: The interface between

empathy and Social Dominance Orientation. *Journal of Personality, 81(3),* 313-323. doi: 10.1111/jopy.12008

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sigall, H., & Page, R. (1971). Current stereotypes: A little fading, a little faking. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 18(2),* 247-255. doi: 10.1037/h0030839

Sinclair, L., & Kunda, Z. (2000). Motivated stereotyping of women: She's fine if she praised me but incompetent if she criticized me. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 26(11),* 1329-1342. doi: 10.1177/0146167200263002

Shaw, W. S. (2000). Ways of whiteness: Harlemising Sydney's Aboriginal Redfern. *Australian Geographical Studies, 38(3),* 291-305. doi: 10.1111/1467-8470.00117

Shelton, N. (2000). A reconceptualization of how we study issues of racial prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 4(4),* 374-390. doi: 10.1207/S15327957PSPR0404_6

Skitka, L. J., Mullen, E., Griffin, T., Hutchinson, S., & Chamberlin, B. (2002). Dispositions, scripts, or motivated correction? Understanding ideological differences in explanations for social problems. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83(2),* 470-487.
doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.83.2.470

Snyder, M., & Miene, P. (1994). On the functions of stereotypes and prejudice. In M. P. Zanna & J. M. Olson (Eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario Symposium, Volume 7* (pp. 33-54). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Sobel, M. E. (1982). Asymptotic intervals for indirect effects in structural equations models. In S. Leinhart (Ed.), *Sociological methodology* (pp.290-312). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Solaun, M., & Velez, E. (1985). Racial terminology and discriminatory integration in Latin America. *Research in Race and ethnic Relations, 4,* 139-159.

Sommers, L. K. (1991). Inventing Latinismo: The creation of "Hispanic" panethnicity in the United States. *The Journal of American Folklore, 104(411),* 32-53. doi: 10.2307/541132

Sutherland, T. S. (1952, January). Texas tackles the race problem. *Saturday Evening Post,* 22-23, 64-66.

Stangor, C. (2009). The study of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination within social psychology: A quick history of theory and research. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 1-22). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Stephan, W. G. (1985). Intergoup relations. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (3rd ed., Vol. 2, pp. 599-658). New York: Random House.

Stephan, W. G. (2011). Improving relations between residents and immigrants. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 12(1),* 33-48. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01252.x

Stephan, W. G. (2014). Intergroup anxiety: Theory, research, and practice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 18(3),* 239-255. doi: 10.1177/1088868314530518

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A.,... Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of Blacks and Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28(9),* 1242-1254. doi: 10.1177/01461672022812009

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31,* 240-249. doi: 10.1177/0022022100031002006

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23-46). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stephan, W. G., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threats in intergroup relations. In D. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.), *From prejudice to intergroup emotions* (pp. 191-208). New York: Psychology Press.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice toward immigrants. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 29(11),* 2221-2237. doi: 10.1111/j.1559-1816.1999.tb00107.x

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Morrison, K. R. (2009). Intergroup threat theory. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 43-59). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Street, R. L., & Haidet, P. (2011). How well do doctors know their patients? Factors affecting physician understanding of patients' health beliefs. Journal *of General Internal Medicine, 26(1),* 21-27. doi: 10.1007/s11606-010-1453-3

Tajfel, H., Flament, C., Billig, M. G., & Bundy, R. P. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1(2),* 149-178. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2420010202

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Tajfel, H. C., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worshel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Tatum, B. D. (1994). Teaching white students about racism: The search for white allies and the restoration of hope. *Teachers College Record, 95(4),* 462-476.

Taylor, M. C. (1998). How White attitudes vary with the racial composition of local populations: Numbers count. *American Sociological Review, 63(4),* 512-535. doi: 10.2307/2657265

Telles, E. E., & Murguía, E. (1990). Phenotypic discrimination and income differences among Mexican Americans. *Social Science Quarterly, 71*, 682-696.

Thomsen, L., Green, E. G. T., & Sidanius, J. (2008). We will hunt them down: How social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism fuel ethnic persecution of immigrants in fundamentally different ways. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 44*, 1455-1464. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2008.06.011

Thomsen, L., Green, E. G. T., Ho, A. K., Levin, S., van Laar, C., Sinclair, S., & Sidanius, J. (2010). Wolves in sheep's clothing: SDO asymmetrically predicts perceived ethnic victimization among White and Latino students across three years.

Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 36(2), 225-238. doi: 10.1177/0146167209348617

Thurstone, L. L., & Chave, E. J. (1929). *The measurement of attitude*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tomkiewicz, J., & Adeyemi-Bello, T. (1997). Perceptual differences in racial descriptions of Euro-American and Hispanic persons. *Psychological Report, 80,* 1339-1343.

Torres, V. (2004). The diversity among us: Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, Caribbean Americans, and Central and South Americans. *New Directions for Student Services, 105,* 5-16.

Tran-Adams, M. (2007). Miseducation – Re-evaluating music education for all students: Challenging whiteness. *Canadian Music Educator, 48(4),* 16-17.

Triandis, H. C., & Vassiliou, V. (1967). Frequency of contact and stereotyping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 7(3),* 316-328. doi: 10.1037/h0025077

Turner, J. C. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A social categorization theory*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Uhlmann, E., Dasgupta, N., Elgueta, A., Greenwald, A. G., & Swanson, J. (2002). Subgroup prejudice based on skin color among Hispanics in the United States and Latin America. *Social Cognition, 20(3),* 198-225. doi: 10.1521/soco.20.3.198.21104

Urrieta, L. (2004). Dis-connections in 'American' citizenship and the post/neo-colonial: People of Mexican descent and whitestream pedagogy and curriculum. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 34(4),* 433-458.

U.S.A. Embassy (2008). The regions of the United States. Retrieved from http://usa.usembassy.de/travel-regions.htm

van der Veer, K., Higler, L., Woelders, S., Ommundsen, R., & Pernice, R. (2013). Developing and validating a cross-national cumulative scale measuring attitudes toward illegal immigrants. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 16(5),* 429-443. doi: 10.1080/13645579.2012.716998

van der Veer, K., Ommundsen, R., Krumov, K., Le, H. V., & Larsen, K. S. (2008). Scale development to measure attitudes toward unauthorized migration into a foreign country. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 49,* 357-363. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9450.2008.00641.x

Varela, J. G., Gonzalez, E. Jr., Clark, J. W., Cramer, R. J., & Crosby, J. W. (2013). Development and preliminary validation of the Negative Attitude Toward Immigrants Scale. *Journal of Latino/a Psychology, 1(3),* 155-170. doi: 10.1037/a0033707

Varley, A. B., & Snow, M. C. (2012). Don't you dare live here: The constitutionality of the anti-immigrant employment and housing ordinances at issue in *Keller v. Fremont*. *Creighton Law Review, 45(3),* 503-561.

Vásquez, L. A., García-Vásquez, E., Bauman, S. A., & Sierra, A. S. (1997). Skin color, acculturation, and community interest among Mexican American students: A research note. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 19(3),* 377-386. doi: 10.1177/07399863970193009

Verkuyten, M. (2007). Ethnic in-group favoritism among minority and majority groups: Testing the self-esteem hypothesis among preadolescents. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 37(3),* 486-500. doi: 10.1111/j.1559-1816.2007.00170.x

Veroff, J. (1978). Social motivation. *American Behavioral Scientist, 21*, 709-730. doi: 10.1177/000276427802100506

Vorauer, J. D., Hunter, A. J., Main, K. J., & Roy, S. A. (2000). Meta-stereotype activation: Evidence from indirect measures for specific evaluative concerns experienced by members of dominant groups in intergroup interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78(4),* 690-707. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.78.4.690

Walker, K. E. (2014). The role of geographic context in the local politics of US immigration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 40(7),* 1040-1059. doi: 10.1080/1369183x.2013.831544

Wals, S. C. (2013). Made in the USA? Immigrants' imported ideology and political engagement. *Electoral Studies, 32*, 756-767. doi: 10.1016/j.electstud.2013.05.032

Webster, R. J., Burns, M. D., Pickering, M., & Saucier, D. (2014). *European Journal of Personality, 28,* 44-59. doi: 10.1002/per.1896

Wegner, D. M., Schneider, D. J., Carter, S., & White, L. (1987). Paradoxical effects of thought suppression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53(1),* 5-13. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.53.1.5

Weinstein, A. G. (1972). Predicting behavior from attitudes. Public Opinion Quarterly, 36(3), 355-360. doi: 10.1086/268017

Wilkins, C. L., Kaiser, C. R., & Rieck, H. (2010). Detecting racial identification: The role of phenotypic prototypicality. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46(6),* 1029-1034. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2010.05.017

Williams, D. R. (1990). Socioeconomic differentials in health: A review and redirection. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 53(2),* 81-99. doi: 10.2307/2786672

Williams, D. R., & Mohammed, S. A. (2009). Discrimination and racial disparities in health: Evidence and needed research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 32(1),* 20-47. doi: 10.1007/s10865-008-9185-0

Willis Esqueda, C., Espinoza, R. K. E., & Culhane, S. E. (2008). The effects of ethnicity, SES, and crime status on juror decision making: A cross-cultural examination of European Americans and Mexican American mock jurors. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 30(2),* 181-199. doi: 10.1177/0739986308315319

Wittenbrink, B., Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (1997). Evidence for racial prejudice at the implicit level and its relationship with questionnaire measures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72(2),* 262-274. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.72.2.262

Wolfe, S. E., Pyrooz, D. C., & Spohn, C. C. (2011). Unraveling the effect of offender citizenship status on federal sentencing outcomes. *Social Science Research, 40,* 349-362. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.09.013

Wong, C., & Cho, G. E. (2005). Two-headed coins or Kandinskys: White racial identification. *Political Psychology, 26(5),* 699-720. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00440.x

Yankauer, A. (1987). Hispanic Latino – What's in a name? *American Journal of Public Health, 77(1),* 15-17.

Zárate, M. A. (2009). Racism in the 21st Century. In T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 387-406). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Zárate, M. A., Garcia, B., Garza, A. A., & Hitlan, R. T. (2003). Cultural threat and perceived realistic group conflict as dual predictors of prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 40(1),* 99-105. doi: 10.1016/S0022-1031(03)00067-2

Zárate, M. A., & Quezada, S. A. (2012). Future directions in research regarding attitudes toward immigrants. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 12(1),* 160-166. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01270.x

Zárate, M. A., & Shaw, M. P. (2010). The role of cultural inertia in reactions to immigration on the U.S./Mexico border. *Journal of Social Issues, 66(1),* 45-57.

Zakrisson, I. (2005). Construction of a short version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale. *Personality and Individual Differences, 39,* 863-872. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2005.02.026

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for All Participants

Variable	N	%	*M (SD)*
Age	514		33.41 (12.23)
Gender			
Men	211	41.1	
Women	303	58.9	
Race			
American Indian or Alaskan American	8	1.6	
Asian	23	4.5	
Black or African American	60	11.7	
Hispanic or Latino	28	5.4	
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	2	0.4	
White American	384	74.7	
Other	9	1.8	
Marital Status			
Married	172	33.5	
Single, Never married	277	53.9	
Divorced	47	9.1	
Separated	8	1.6	
Widowed	10	1.9	
Education			
Less than high school	1	0.2	
Some high school	9	1.8	
Graduated high school	44	8.6	
Some college	199	38.7	
Graduated college	189	36.8	
Post-graduate degree	69	13.4	
Other	3	0.6	
Annual Income			
Less than $10,000	93	18.1	
$10,000 to $19,999	59	11.5	
$20,000 to $29,999	72	14.0	
$30,000 to $39,999	86	16.7	
$40,000 to $49,999	50	9.7	
$50,000 to $59,999	53	10.3	
$60,000 to $69,999	19	3.7	

$70,000 to $79,999	35	6.8
$80,000 to $89,999	12	2.3
$90,000 to $99,999	13	2.5
$100,000 to $149,999	18	3.5
$150,000 or more	4	0.8
U.S. Region		
New England	21	4.1
Middle Atlantic	97	19.0
South	145	28.4
Midwest	100	19.6
Southwest	63	12.3
West	85	16.6

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for White American Participants

Variable	N	%	*M (SD)*
Age	384		34.69 (12.81)
Gender			
Men	154	40.1	
Women	230	59.9	
Marital Status			
Married	136	35.4	
Single, Never married	190	49.5	
Divorced	43	11.2	
Separated	6	1.6	
Widowed	9	2.3	
Education			
Less than high school	1	0.3	
Some high school	6	1.6	
Graduated high school	31	8.1	
Some college	144	37.5	
Graduated college	145	37.8	
Post-graduate degree	55	14.3	
Other	2	0.5	
Annual Income			
Less than $10,000	63	16.4	
$10,000 to $19,999	50	13.0	
$20,000 to $29,999	55	14.3	
$30,000 to $39,999	63	16.4	
$40,000 to $49,999	39	10.2	
$50,000 to $59,999	39	10.2	
$60,000 to $69,999	19	4.9	
$70,000 to $79,999	25	6.5	
$80,000 to $89,999	8	2.1	
$90,000 to $99,999	6	1.6	
$100,000 to $149,999	15	3.9	
$150,000 or more	2	0.5	
U.S. Region			
New England	18	4.7	
Middle Atlantic	74	19.4	
South	98	25.7	

Midwest	85	22.3
Southwest	47	12.3
West	60	15.7

Table 3

Frequencies, Means, and Standard Deviation of White American Political Demographics

Variable	N	%	*M (SD)*
Registered voter			
No	56	14.6	
Yes	327	85.4	
Total	383	100.0	
Political and social issues			3.60 (1.84)
Strong Liberal	56	14.1	
Somewhat liberal	73	19.1	
Slightly liberal	43	11.2	
Moderate	96	25.1	
Slightly conservative	33	8.6	
Somewhat conservative	40	10.4	
Strongly conservative	32	8.4	
Unsure, don't know	*10*	*2.6*	
Total	383	100.0	
Political party identification			3.57 (1.75)
Strong democrat	54	14.1	
Somewhat democrat	59	15.4	
Slightly democrat	52	13.5	
Moderate	107	27.8	
Slightly republican	35	9.1	
Somewhat republican	27	7.0	
Strongly republican	29	7.6	
Unsure, don't know	*21*	*5.5*	
Total	384	100.0	
Feeling thermometer			
Democrat			51.40 (28.55)
Republican			35.30 (28.07)
Tea party			26.86 (27.01)

Table 4

Item Statistics for All Original AMAAS Items

Item	Mean (SD)
Targets of Discrimination	
1. Mexican Americans are treated unfairly in the work place.	3.73 (1.51)
6. Mexican Americans are the targets of discrimination.*	2.93 (1.42)
11. The negative media coverage of the U.S.-Mexico border makes life difficult for Mexican Americans.*	2.95 (1.55)
16. Mexican Americans are treated unfairly because of their skin color.*	3.45 (1.56)
*21. It is hard to trust Mexican Americans living in my neighborhood.**	2.70 (1.66)
*26. Mexican Americans are generally welcome in the United States.**	4.02 (1.42)
31. Many people don't want Mexican Americans in the United States	4.81 (1.43)
*36. Many people assume that Mexican Americans are immigrants.**	5.58 (1.25)
Unfair Allocation	
2. Mexican Americans do not pay as much taxes as most Americans.	3.66 (1.70)
7. Mexican Americans drain the economy by using welfare programs.	3.55 (1.78)
12. Mexican Americans tend to abuse welfare programs, such as food stamps.	3.46 (1.76)
17. Mexican Americans often get jobs because of their ethnicity.	3.86 (1.46)
22. Equal Opportunity laws allow jobs to be given to Mexican Americans who don't necessarily deserve it.	3.49 (1.76)
27. Mexican Americans receive special treatment during hiring.	3.36 (1.54)
32. Mexican Americans receive special treatment at work.	3.19 (1.50)
37. Mexican Americans have priority over other Americans when it comes to being hired for a job.	3.30 (1.57)
40. Mexican Americans are unfairly taking jobs from other Americans.	3.14 (1.71)
43. Jobs are taken from other American workers because Mexican Americans agree to be paid less.	3.96 (1.77)
46. Mexican Americans are given jobs that other Americans don't want to do.	4.72 (1.50)
49. Mexican Americans have hard labor jobs.	4.97 (1.21)
*51. Mexican Americans are exploited by labor companies to work long hours for low wages.**	2.94 (1.47)
Cultural Stereotypes	
*3. Mexican Americans have a strong sense of community.**	2.64 (1.24)
8. Mexican Americans cannot afford to live in nice houses.	3.38 (1.54)
13. Mexican Americans are unpatriotic.	3.17 (1.63)
18. Mexican Americans relate easily to American society.	3.91 (1.39)
23. Mexican American culture has a special place in the U.S.*	3.04 (1.35)
28. Mexican American culture has overstepped its place in the U.S.	3.10 (1.68)
33. I would be comfortable with Mexican American culture in my community.*	2.56 (1.42)
38. Oftentimes there is a language barrier from Spanish to English for Mexican Americans.	5.02 (1.38)
41. Americans have to learn two languages because of the increase in the Mexican American population.	3.67 (1.76)

44. I am tired of trying to understand the accents of Mexican Americans.	2.95 (1.79)
47. Mexican Americans are not required to learn English even though they live in America.	4.45 (1.70)
*50. Mexican Americans want to learn and speak English.**	3.34 (1.47)
52. Mexican Americans could be more American if they spoke English.	4.16 (1.64)
53. Mexican Americans would be treated better if they didn't have accents.	3.69 (1.60)
Educational Opportunities	
4. Mexican Americans would go to college if they could afford it.*	2.78 (1.31)
*9. Mexican Americans should get college scholarships based on ethnicity.**	4.71 (1.66)
*14. Scholarships based on ethnicity help Mexican Americans get a college education.**	3.24 (1.37)
*19. Scholarships based on academic performance help Mexican Americans get a college education.**	3.21 (1.45)
24. Mexican Americans get more money for college because of their ethnicity.	4.03 (1.52)
29. Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without financial aid.	4.72 (1.40)
34. Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without scholarships.	4.76 (1.35)
39. Mexican Americans get more educational opportunities because of their ethnicity.	3.64 (1.53)
42. Mexican Americans would go to college if they were intelligent.	3.60 (1.51)
45. When accepted into college, Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more qualified.	3.18 (1.70)
48. When accepted into college, Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more intelligent.	2.99 (1.67)
Traits	
*5. Mexican Americans are often stereotyped as criminals.**	3.01 (1.43)
*10. Mexican Americans are hard working.**	2.57 (1.17)
*15. Mexican Americans are family-oriented.**	2.48 (1.16)
20. Mexican Americans are uneducated.	3.21 (1.57)
25. Mexican Americans are lazy.	2.38 (1.47)
30. Mexican Americans are dirty.	2.33 (1.61)
*35. Mexican Americans are friendly.**	2.97 (1.26)

Note: All items were rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1-Strongly Disagree to 7-Strongly Agree. Italicized items reflect items that were deleted during reliability analyses.

**Item is reverse scored*

Table 5

Item Correlations for AMAAS

Items	Items												
	TD1	TD6	TD11	TD16	TD21	TD26	TD31	TD36	UR2	UR7	UR12	UR17	UR22
TD1	1												
TD6	.589	1											
TD11	.503	.638	1										
TD16	.596	.678	.584	1									
TD21	.138	.175	.279	.204	1								
TD26	ns	-.143	ns	-.128	ns	1							
TD31	-.130	-.229	-.137	-.215	.213	.249	1						
TD36	-.249	-.425	-.439	-.309	-.140	.166	.383	1					
UR2	ns	.203	.270	.184	.524	ns	.174	ns	1				
UR7	.216	.273	.355	.282	.674	ns	.242	ns	.726	1			
UR12	.249	.308	.400	.310	.688	ns	.224	-.115	.682	.867	1		
UR17	.127	.139	.211	.143	.465	-.113	ns	ns	.475	.539	.566	1	
UR22	.229	.254	.371	.261	.680	ns	.185	ns	.565	.677	.728	.492	1
UR27	.249	.251	.350	.278	.609	-.174	.122	-.118	.535	.618	.635	.595	.663
UR32	.240	.232	.330	.258	.648	ns	.183	-.128	.558	.663	.688	.602	.636
UR37	.234	.269	.326	.234	.543	-.109	.137	-.142	.498	.576	.635	.529	.615
UR40	.319	.330	.407	.327	.673	ns	.178	-.126	.612	.757	.771	.544	.706
UR43	.208	.242	.269	.249	.527	ns	.229	ns	.555	.639	.678	.533	.607
UR46	-.271	-.281	-.267	-.267	ns	ns	.315	.281	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
UR49	-.316	-.289	-.280	-.305	ns	ns	.224	.319	.111	ns	ns	ns	ns
UR51	.446	.494	.463	.499	.158	ns	-.245	-.394	-.141	.229	.256	ns	.229
CS3	.233	.281	.361	.281	.318	.153	ns	-.256	.140	.193	.222	ns	.183
CS8	-.141	-.110	ns	-.128	.483	ns	.240	ns	.371	.382	.413	.257	.397
CS13	.179	.235	.374	.274	.698	ns	.193	-.161	.559	.695	.721	.522	.662
CS18	.231	.235	.292	.235	.177	.391	ns	ns	.204	.245	.233	ns	.207
CS23	.401	.412	.538	.431	.386	.133	ns	-.388	.275	.382	.364	.235	.395

Note: The abbreviations next to the item numbers denotes the subscale to which the item belongs: TD = Target of Discrimination, UR = Unfair Allocation of Resources, CS = Cultural Stereotypes, EO = Educational Opportunities, and TR = Traits. All correlations are $p < .05$; non-significant marked with ns.

Table 5 (cont'd)

Item Correlations for AMAAS

Items	UR27	UR32	UR37	UR40	UR43	UR46	Items UR49	UR51	CS3	CS8	CS13	CS18	CS23
TD1													
TD6													
TD11													
TD16													
TD21													
TD26													
TD31													
TD36													
UR2													
UR7													
UR12													
UR17													
UR22													
UR27	1												
UR32	.810	1											
UR37	.699	.723	1										
UR40	.703	.742	.708	1									
UR43	.521	.551	.566	.652	1								
UR46	ns	ns	ns	ns	.208	1							
UR49	ns	ns	ns	ns	.138	.508	1						
UR51	.230	.225	.193	.290	ns	-.418	-.463	1					
CS3	.174	.191	.251	.279	.159	ns	-.259	.232	1				
CS8	.306	.296	.257	.372	.302	.148	.281	ns	ns	1			
CS13	.599	.623	.548	.705	.575	ns	ns	.241	.298	.379	1		
CS18	.139	.168	.138	.278	.181	ns	-.119	.232	.243	ns	.264	1	
CS23	.343	.332	.333	.456	.299	-.173	-.199	.392	.430	.126	.433	.388	1

Note: The abbreviations next to the item numbers denotes the subscale to which the item belongs: TD = Target of Discrimination, UR = Unfair Allocation of Resources, CS = Cultural Stereotypes, EO = Educational Opportunities, and TR = Traits. All correlations are $p < .05$; non-significant marked with ns.

Table 5 (cont'd)
Item Correlations for AMAAS

Items	TD1	TD6	TD11	TD16	TD21	TD26	Items TD31	TD36	UR2	UR7	UR12	UR17	UR22
CS28	.250	.265	.386	.311	.746	ns	.160	-.157	.609	.731	.751	.503	.722
CS33	.359	.410	.489	.408	.596	.161	ns	-.348	.359	.524	.505	.289	.506
CS38	ns	ns	ns	ns	.212	ns	.369	.245	.343	.315	.318	.300	.301
CS41	ns	.106	.146	ns	.360	ns	.155	ns	.336	.404	.382	.383	.363
CS44	.259	.305	.372	.268	.722	ns	.186	-.204	.532	.652	.692	.462	.664
CS47	.121	ns	ns	ns	.258	ns	.168	.130	.293	.300	.372	.288	.409
CS50	.335	.319	.433	.378	.321	.190	ns	-.239	.315	.412	.412	.236	.361
CS52	.224	.221	.285	.296	.437	-.101	.119	ns	.450	.525	.551	.426	.498
CS53	-.109	-.161	ns	-.206	.331	ns	.296	ns	.159	.198	.209	.170	.244
EO4	.303	.422	.474	.390	.391	.129	ns	-.306	.288	.395	.416	.213	.374
EO9	.447	.376	.394	.478	ns	ns	ns	ns	.182	.255	.222	.170	.254
EO14	.236	.338	.345	.330	ns	ns	-.149	-.215	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
EO19	.263	.305	.387	.334	.236	.201	ns	-.235	.188	.259	.294	.125	.198
EO24	.242	.164	.211	.204	.442	ns	.261	ns	.448	.572	.573	.469	.584
EO29	-.170	-.398	-.310	-.334	ns	ns	.297	.336	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
EO34	-.158	-.350	-.321	-.350	ns	ns	.376	.338	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
EO39	.264	.209	.233	.200	.449	ns	.145	ns	.435	.568	.559	.529	.570
EO42	.149	.151	.158	ns	.343	-.151	ns	ns	.264	.318	.340	.299	.357
EO45	.191	.257	.315	.202	.634	ns	.181	-.139	.553	.697	.718	.555	.699
EO48	.189	.248	.294	.201	.649	ns	.152	-.161	.505	.669	.702	.526	.650
TS5	.476	.745	.518	.539	.163	-.121	-.245	-.448	.166	.182	.191	.115	.157
TS10	.257	.301	.403	.265	.315	.106	ns	-.356	.145	.263	.288	ns	.234
TS15	.154	.267	.341	.201	.194	.153	-.116	-.318	ns	ns	.121	ns	ns
TS20	ns	ns	.134	ns	.695	ns	.232	ns	.494	.564	.578	.379	.526
TS25	.125	.228	.337	.218	.738	ns	.157	-.252	.445	.585	.614	.404	.600
TS30	.158	.237	.322	.200	.777	ns	.157	-.206	.467	.630	.672	.392	.623
TS35	.298	.373	.450	.350	.351	.200	ns	-.369	.216	.306	.303	.175	.272

Note: The abbreviations next to the item numbers denotes the subscale to which the item belongs: TD = Target of Discrimination, UR = Unfair Allocation of Resources, CS = Cultural Stereotypes, EO = Educational Opportunities, and TR = Traits. All correlations are $p < .05$; non-significant marked with ns.

Table 5 (cont'd)
Item Correlations for AMAAS

Items	Items												
	UR27	UR32	UR37	UR40	UR43	UR46	UR49	UR51	CS3	CS8	CS13	CS18	CS23
CS28	.698	.699	.657	.757	.586	ns	ns	.214	.270	.397	.729	.239	.448
CS33	.445	.449	.461	.554	.390	ns	-.232	.400	.467	.224	.528	.356	.651
CS38	.240	.274	.266	.295	.358	.228	.308	-.129	ns	.212	.251	.140	ns
CS41	.344	.404	.450	.475	.402	ns	ns	ns	.161	.165	.377	.104	.112
CS44	.640	.689	.632	.756	.574	ns	ns	.295	.293	.344	.633	.196	.458
CS47	.365	.346	.376	.369	.383	.164	.104	ns	ns	.145	.309	.159	.116
CS50	.369	.400	.308	.464	.279	-.185	-.306	.383	.361	ns	.383	.481	.460
CS52	.461	.474	.433	.473	.523	.159	.145	ns	ns	.260	.488	.151	.266
CS53	.236	.277	.236	.207	.193	.180	.149	ns	ns	.289	.303	ns	ns
EO4	.339	.380	.298	.412	.269	-.171	-.278	.402	.519	ns	.437	.373	.467
EO9	.247	.207	.120	.231	.226	-.154	-.153	.279	.111	-.177	.164	.409	.314
EO14	.117	.101	ns	.105	ns	-.124	-.196	.264	.249	ns	.143	.188	.296
EO19	.188	.195	.210	.263	.139	-.126	-.176	.312	.394	ns	.233	.344	.439
EO24	.607	.559	.487	.565	.496	ns	ns	.120	ns	.260	.490	.163	.205
EO29	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	.337	.380	-.327	-.153	.302	ns	-.152	-.258
EO34	ns	ns	ns	ns	.102	.302	.377	-.345	-.157	.285	ns	-.118	-.254
EO39	.638	.656	.599	.646	.504	ns	ns	.153	ns	.305	.463	.143	.246
EO42	.364	.316	.329	.349	.274	ns	ns	.119	ns	.199	.351	ns	.105
EO45	.657	.703	.639	.755	.618	ns	ns	.191	.211	.371	.658	.130	.350
EO48	.640	.694	.615	.715	.540	ns	ns	.231	.218	.383	.658	.137	.304
TS5	.294	.225	.257	.248	.170	-.259	-.326	.464	.285	ns	.205	.214	.415
TS10	.267	.270	.278	.295	.131	-.294	-.393	.301	.459	ns	.322	.234	.440
TS15	.139	.134	.167	.131	ns	-.173	-.328	.261	.607	ns	.208	.132	.337
TS20	.457	.486	.430	.538	.460	.113	.114	ns	.184	.625	.598	ns	.220
TS25	.590	.604	.568	.646	.455	ns	-.105	.214	.320	.437	.670	ns	.347
TS30	.560	.608	.548	.643	.481	ns	ns	.205	.291	.462	.652	.104	.308
TS35	.288	.317	.273	.365	.167	-.255	-.370	.375	.471	ns	.359	.385	.502

Note: The abbreviations next to the item numbers denotes the subscale to which the item belongs: TD = Target of Discrimination, UR = Unfair Allocation of Resources, CS = Cultural Stereotypes, EO = Educational Opportunities, and TR = Traits. All correlations are $p < .05$; non-significant marked with ns.

Table 5 (cont'd)
Item Correlations for AMAAS

Items	CS28	CS33	CS38	CS41	CS44	CS47	CS50	CS52	CS53	EO4	EO9	EO14	EO19
CS28	1												
CS33	.558	1											
CS38	.269	ns	1										
CS41	.396	.194	.199	1									
CS44	.714	.610	.230	.412	1								
CS47	.362	.176	.304	.306	.338	1							
CS50	.416	.478	.119	.205	.434	.211	1						
CS52	.557	.328	.395	.216	.454	.331	.216	1					
CS53	.297	.146	.224	.124	.309	.148	ns	.349	1				
EO4	.430	.516	ns	.189	.423	.107	.527	.182	ns	1			
EO9	.219	.258	.179	ns	.107	.160	.332	.227	-.115	.270	1		
EO14	.180	.244	-.159	ns	.105	ns	.203	ns	-.134	.297	.397	1	
EO19	.241	.488	ns	ns	.306	ns	.436	.124	ns	.467	.266	.361	1
EO24	.565	.287	.220	.307	.466	.366	.268	.460	.329	.264	.143	ns	ns
EO29	ns	-.144	.306	ns	ns	.142	-.212	ns	.231	-.299	-.179	-.313	-.234
EO34	ns	-.169	.312	ns	ns	.113	-.192	ns	.209	-.303	-.171	-.303	-.216
EO39	.550	.331	.286	.367	.487	.317	.286	.424	.189	.233	.183	ns	ns
EO42	.347	.189	.104	.257	.342	.182	ns	.332	.250	ns	ns	ns	ns
EO45	.709	.479	.269	.387	.679	.381	.323	.478	.340	.347	.135	ns	.242
EO48	.690	.503	.194	.385	.648	.349	.307	.490	.351	.337	ns	ns	.257
TS5	.228	.372	-.131	Ns	.251	ns	.251	.156	-.108	.421	.295	.279	.259
TS10	.295	.424	-.112	.113	.208	ns	.363	ns	ns	.478	.120	.260	.315
TS15	.146	.379	-.201	Ns	.182	Ns	.283	ns	ns	.464	ns	.341	.328
TS20	.590	.405	.254	.266	.533	.190	.226	.444	.358	.283	ns	ns	.173
TS25	.695	.522	.108	.384	.648	.245	.328	.381	.314	.378	ns	.120	.203
TS30	.703	.567	.162	.375	.699	.266	.310	.420	.334	.372	ns	ns	.256
TS35	.357	.567	ns	.211	.361	ns	.453	.131	ns	.488	.277	.230	.413

Note: The abbreviations next to the item numbers denotes the subscale to which the item belongs: TD = Target of Discrimination, UR = Unfair Allocation of Resources, CS = Cultural Stereotypes, EO = Educational Opportunities, and TR = Traits. All correlations are $p < .05$; non-significant marked with ns.

Table 5 (cont'd)
Item Correlations for AMAAS

Items	Items													
	EO24	EO29	EO34	EO39	EO42	EO45	EO48	TS5	TS10	TS15	TS20	TS25	TS30	TS35
CS28														
CS33														
CS38														
CS41														
CS44														
CS47														
CS50														
CS52														
CS53														
EO4														
EO9														
EO14														
EO19														
EO24	1													
EO29	ns	1												
EO34	ns	.769	1											
EO39	.641	ns	ns	1										
EO42	.324	ns	ns	.316	1									
EO45	.576	ns	ns	.628	.427	1								
EO48	.567	ns	ns	.613	.451	.857	1							
TS5	.147	-.360	-.340	.160	.141	.224	.238	1						
TS10	.153	-.244	-.183	.149	ns	.269	.325	.301	1					
TS15	ns	-.316	-.292	Ns	ns	.110	.164	.268	.528	1				
TS20	.370	.215	.173	.412	.266	.508	.541	ns	.208	ns	1			
TS25	.453	ns	ns	.428	.348	.631	.654	.224	.434	.285	.615	1		
TS30	.415	ns	ns	.433	.375	.621	.654	.183	.338	.235	.653	.778	1	
TS35	.176	-.256	-.270	.163	ns	.307	.310	.341	.553	.505	.221	.398	.338	1

Note: The abbreviations next to the item numbers denotes the subscale to which the item belongs: TD = Target of Discrimination, UR = Unfair Allocation of Resources, CS = Cultural Stereotypes, EO = Educational Opportunities, and TR = Traits. All correlations are $p < .05$; non-significant marked with ns.

Table 6

Item Statistics for Original and Revised AMAAS Subscales

Subscale	N	Mean (SD)	Cronbach
Targets of Discrimination			
Original: 1, 6, 11, 16, 21, 26, 31, 36	383	3.77 (0.70)	.499
Revised: 1, 6, 11, 16	384	3.26 (1.26)	.855
Unfair Allocation			
Original: 2, 7, 12, 17, 22, 27, 32, 37, 40, 43, 46, 49, 51	383	3.40 (1.10)	.901
Revised: 2, 7, 12, 17, 22, 27, 32, 37, 40, 43	383	3.50 (1.36)	.945
Cultural Stereotypes			
Original: 3, 8, 13, 18, 23, 28, 33, 38, 41, 44, 47, 50, 52, 53	382	3.51 (0.90)	.850
Revised: 13, 23, 28, 33, 44	383	2.97 (1.29)	.872
Educational Opportunities			
Original: 4, 9, 14, 19, 24, 29, 34, 39, 42, 45, 48	383	3.71 (0.75)	.700
Revised: 24, 39, 45, 48	384	3.46 (1.38)	.881
Traits			
Original: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35	383	2.70 (0.93)	.795
Revised: 20, 25, 30	383	2.64 (1.38)	.865

Note: All items were rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1-Strongly Disagree to 7-Strongly Agree.

Table 7

Exploratory Factor Analysis Factor Loadings with Varimax Rotation of AMAAS Subscales

Item No.	Extracted Factors							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1		.754						
6		.784						
11		.639						
16		.774						
21	.763							
26					.688			
2	.725							
7	.835							
12	.850							
17	.722							
22	.794							
27	.804							
32	.837							
37	.759							
40	.848							
43	.724							
46						.781		
49						.651		
3			.768					
13	.765							
18					.701			
28	.822							
44	.761							
53								.704
9		.603						
24	.684							
29				.811				
34				.809				
39	.734							
45	.832							
48	.806							
5		.676						
10			.627					
15			.722					
20	.663							
25	.711							
30	.724							
35		.603						

Note: Items with no loadings greater than .600 were not included in this table.

Table 8

Exploratory Factor Analysis Factor Loadings with Oblimin Rotation of AMAAS Subscales

Item No.	Extracted Factors							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1		.774						
6		.827						
11		.732						
16		.817						
21							-.809	
26				.672				
2	.614						-.653	
7	.697						-.739	
12	.711						-.753	
17	.698							
22	.657						-.681	
27	.713							
32	.754							
37	.757							
40	.770						-.677	
43	.709							
46					.816			
49					.747			
3			.777					
8							-.709	
13							-.722	
18				.748				
28	.648						-.739	
41	.699							
44	.633						-.679	
53								.773
9		.622						
24	.637							.623
29						.852		
34						.853		
39	.715							
45	.700						-.646	.612
48	.641						-.653	.652
5		.715						
10			.641					
15			.782					
20							-.804	
25							-.718	
30							-.770	
35			.613					

Note: Items with no loadings greater than .600 were not included in this table.

Table 9

Comparison of Similar Factors Across Varimax and Oblimin Exploratory Factor Analysis of AMAAS Items

Category	Varimax Factor 1	Oblimin Factor 1	Oblimin Factor 7
UR2	**.725**	**.614**	**-.653**
UR 7	**.835**	**.697**	**-.739**
UR12	**.850**	**.711**	**-.753**
UR22	**.764**	**.657**	**-.681**
CS28	**.822**	**.648**	**-.739**
UR40	**.848**	**.770**	**-.677**
CS44	**.761**	**.633**	**-.679**
EO45	**.832**	**.700**	**-.646**
EO48	**.806**	**.641**	**-.653**
UR17	.722	.698	
EO24	.684	.637	
UR27	.804	.713	
UR32	.837	.754	
UR37	.759	.757	
EO39	.734	.715	
UR43	.724	.709	
CS13	.765		-.722
TD21	.763		-.809
CS8			*-.709*
TS20			*-.804*
TS25			*-.718*
TS30			*-.770*
CS41		*.699*	

Note: Items with no loadings greater than .600 were not included in this table. The bolded items have common items across all three factors. The italicized items are only loaded onto one factor.

Table 10

Item Statistics for Final AMAAS Subscales Based on the Exploratory Factor Analysis

Subscale	N	Mean (SD)	Cronbach
Unfair Allocation of Resources (UR)			
EFA/Final: 2, 7, 12, 22, 28, 40, 44, 45, 48	383	3.28 (1.48)	.953
Targets of Discrimination (TD)			
EFA: 1, 5, 6, 9, 11, 16	384	3.46 (1.18)	.865
Final: 1, 5, 6, 11, 16	384	3.21 (1.22)	.875
Traits (TS)			
EFA/Final: 3, 10, 15, 35	383	2.66 (0.97)	.812
Money for Education (ME)			
EFA: 29, 34, 14	383	4.24 (0.83)	.138
Final: 29, 34	384	3.74 (1.29)	.869
Labor Status (LS)			
EFA/Final: 46, 49, 51	384	4.92 (1.12)	.714
Place in Society (PS)			
EFA/Final: 18, 26	384	3.96 (1.17)	.562

Note: All items were rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1-Strongly Disagree to 7-Strongly Agree.

Table 11

Bivariate Correlations for AMAAS Subscales, SMAC, NATIS, and SR2K

Scale		Scale 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. AMAAS UR	*r*	1								
	p									
2. AMAAS TD	*r*	.378***	1							
	p	.000								
3. AMAAS TR	*r*	.341***	.466***	1						
	p	.000	.000							
4. AMAAS ME	*r*	.024	-.402***	-.310***	1					
	p	ns	.000	.000						
5. AMAAS LS	*r*	-.107*	-.535***	-.423***	.454***	1				
	p	.036	.000	.000	.000					
6. AMAAS PS	*r*	.128*	.106*	.302***	-.078	-.073	1			
	p	.012	.039	.000	ns	ns				
7. SMAC	*r*	.523***	-.078	-.166***	.262***	.197***	-.161**	1		
	p	.000	ns	.001	.000	.000	.002			
8. NATIS	*r*	.869***	.442***	.353***	-.021	-.182***	.131**	.460***	1	
	p	.000	.000	.000	ns	.000	.010	.000		
9. SR2K	*r*	.648***	.671***	.285***	-.179***	-.301***	.106*	.206***	.665***	1
	p	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.038	.000	.000	

Note: The abbreviations are as follows for the AMAAS subscales: UR = Unfair Allocation of Resources, TD = Target of Discrimination, TR = Traits, ME = Money for Education, LS = Labor Status, and PS = Place in Society. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p \leq .01$, $^{***}p \leq .001$

Table 12

Comparison of Correlation between SMAC, NATIS, and SR2K Using Steigler's Z Test

AMAAS Subscale	1		2		3	
	SMAC	SR2K	NATIS	SMAC	NATIS	SR2K
UR						
r (p)	.523 (<.001)	.648 (<.001)	.869 (<.001)	.523 (<.001)	.869 (<.001)	.648 (<.001)
Z (p)	-2.69 (.007)		11.56 (<.001)		9.75 (<.001)	
TD						
r (p)	-.078 (.128)	.671 (<.001)	.442 (<.001)	-.078 (.128)	.442 (<.001)	.671 (<.001)
Z (p)	-12.87 (<.001)		9.97 (<.001)		-6.89 (<.001)	
TR						
r (p)	-.166 (.001)	.285 (<.001)	.353 (<.001)	-.166 (.001)	.353 (<.001)	.285 (<.001)
Z (p)	-7.00 (<.001)		9.77 (<.001)		1.72 (*ns*)	
ME						
r (p)	.262 (<.001)	-.179 (<.001)	-.021 (*ns*)	.262 (<.001)	-.021 (*ns*)	-.179 (<.001)
Z (p)	-6.84 (<.001)		-7.32 (<.001)		3.78 (<.001)	
LS						
r (p)	.197 (<.001)	-.301 (<.001)	-.182 (<.001)	.197 (<.001)	-.182 (<.001)	-.301 (<.001)
Z (p)	-7.73 (<.001)		-7.09 (<.001)		2.93 (.003)	
PS						
r (p)	-.161 (.002)	.106 (.038)	.131 (.01)	-.161 (.002)	.131 (.01)	.106 (.038)
Z (p)	-4.13 (<.001)		5.47 (<.001)		.60 (*ns*)	

Table 13

Participant Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	%	*M (SD)*
Age	520		36.07 (13.07)
Gender			
Men	188	36.2	
Women	332	63.8	
Marital Status			
Single, Never married	222	42.7	
Married	213	41.0	
Divorced	63	12.1	
Separated	4	0.8	
Widowed	5	1.0	
Other	13	2.5	
Education			
Less than high school	1	0.2	
Some high school	6	1.2	
Graduated high school	56	10.8	
Some college	173	33.3	
Graduated college	205	39.4	
Post-graduate degree	75	14.4	
Other	4	0.8	
Annual Income			
Less than $10,000	83	16.1	
$10,000 to $19,999	60	11.6	
$20,000 to $29,999	73	14.1	
$30,000 to $39,999	94	18.2	
$40,000 to $49,999	56	10.9	
$50,000 to $59,999	42	8.1	
$60,000 to $69,999	32	6.2	
$70,000 to $79,999	30	5.8	
$80,000 to $89,999	14	2.7	
$90,000 to $99,999	15	2.9	
$100,000 to $149,999	12	2.3	
$150,000 or more	5	1.0	
U.S. Region			
New England	25	4.8	
Middle Atlantic	79	15.2	
South	164	31.5	
Midwest	111	21.3	
Southwest	47	9.0	
West	94	18.1	

Table 14

Political Demographics Frequencies, Means, and Standard Deviations for Study 2

Variable	N	%	*M (SD)*
Registered voter			
Yes	451	86.7	
No	69	13.3	
Political and social issues			3.54 (1.91)
Strong Liberal	86	16.5	
Somewhat liberal	104	20.0	
Slightly liberal	74	14.2	
Moderate	91	17.5	
Slightly conservative	46	8.8	
Somewhat conservative	66	12.7	
Strongly conservative	43	8.3	
Unsure, don't know	*10*	*1.9*	
Political party identification			3.55 (1.90)
Strong democrat	93	17.9	
Somewhat democrat	82	15.8	
Slightly democrat	71	13.7	
Moderate	108	20.8	
Slightly republican	47	9.0	
Somewhat republican	52	10.0	
Strongly republican	46	8.8	
Unsure, don't know	*21*	*4.0*	
Feeling thermometer			
Democrat			51.80 (30.41)
Republican			36.70 (29.19)
Tea party			26.38 (28.48)

Table 15

Item Statistics for All Original AMAAS Items

Item	Mean (SD)
Unfair Allocation of Resources (UR)	
2. Mexican Americans do not pay as much taxes as most Americans.	3.43 (1.66)
6. Mexican Americans drain the economy by using welfare programs.	3.25 (1.71)
9. Mexican Americans tend to abuse welfare programs, such as food stamps.	3.26 (1.67)
13. Equal Opportunity laws allow jobs to be given to Mexican Americans	3.43 (1.59)
15. Mexican American Culture has overstepped its place in the U.S.	2.99 (1.67)
19. Mexican Americans are unfairly taking jobs from other Americans.	2.94 (1.66)
20. I am tired of trying to understand the accents of Mexican Americans.	2.80 (1.82)
21. When accepted into college, Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more qualified.	2.90 (1.58)
23. When accepted into college, Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more intelligent.	2.71 (1.50)
Targets of Discrimination (TD)	
1. Mexican Americans are treated unfairly in the work place.	3.77 (1.60)
4. Mexican Americans are often stereotyped as criminals.	2.82 (1.38)
5. Mexican Americans are the targets of discrimination.	2.89 (1.48)
8. The negative media coverage of the U.S.-Mexico border makes life more difficult for Mexican Americans.	2.86 (1.55)
11. Mexican Americans are treated unfairly because of their skin color.	3.46 (1.66)
Traits (TR)	
3. Mexican Americans have a strong sense of community.	2.43 (1.27)
7. Mexican Americans are hard working.	2.47 (1.22)
10. Mexican Americans are family-oriented.*	2.26 (1.26)
18. Mexican Americans are friendly.	2.83 (1.24)
Money for Education (ME)	
*16. Mexican Americans would go to college if they could afford it.**	*5.03 (1.32)*
*17. Mexican Americans should get college scholarships based on ethnicity.**	*5.04 (1.30)*
Labor Status (LS)	
22. Mexican Americans are given jobs that other Americans don't want to do.	3.34 (1.52)
24. Mexican Americans have hard labor jobs.	3.03 (1.24)
25. Mexican Americans are exploited by labor companies to work long hours for low wages.	2.92 (1.55)
Place in Society (PS)	
12. Mexican Americans relate easily to American society.	*3.79 (1.42)*
14. Mexican Americans are generally welcome in the United States.	*4.02 (1.44)*

Note: The italicized subscales will not be used in subsequent statistical analyses. *Reverse-coded

Table 16

AMAAS Subscale Statistics for the Revised AMAAS in Study 2

Subscale	N	Mean (SD)	Cronbach
Unfair Allocation of Resources (UR)			
Items: 2, 6, 9, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23	520	3.08 (1.37)	.942
Targets of Discrimination (TD)			
Items: 1, 4, 5, 8, 11	520	3.16 (1.28)	.890
Traits (TR)			
Items: 3, 7, 10, 18	520	2.50 (1.00)	.832
Money for Education (ME)			
Items: 16, 17	520	5.04 (1.29)	.971
Labor Status (LS)			
Items: 22, 24, 25	520	3.10 (1.19)	.759
Place in Society (PS)			
Items: 12, 14	520	3.90 (1.17)	.498

Note: All items were rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1-Strongly Disagree to 7-Strongly Agree. ME and PS will not be retained as a viable AMAAS subscales in subsequent analyses.

Table 17

SR2K, NATIS, ACT, SDO_7, CSE, RP, and AA Scale and Subscale Statistics

Subscale	N	Mean (SD)	Cronbach
Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K)	520	2.20 (0.73)	.909
Negative Attitudes Toward Immigrant Scale (NATIS)	520	2.34 (0.90)	.942
Authoritarianism-Conservatism-Traditionalism (ACT)			
Authoritarianism (ACT-A)	520	3.89 (1.29)	.789
Conservatism (ACT-C)	520	3.55 (1.36)	.880
Traditionalism (ACT-T)	520	3.15 (1.55)	.896
Social Dominance $Scale_7$ (SDO)			
Dominance (SDO-D)	520	4.04 (0.59)	.893
Egalitarianism (SDO-E)	520	4.25 (0.52)	.926
Collective Self Esteem (CSE)			
Membership (CSE-M)	520	5.14 (1.04)	.745
Private (CSE-PR)	519	5.16 (1.22)	.825
Public (CSE-PU)	520	5.18 (1.09)	.777
Importance to Identity (CSE-ID)	518	3.36 (1.51)	.875
Opposition to Affirmative Action (AA)			
Racial Policy (AA-R)	520	4.78 (1.46)	.849
Gender Policy (AA-G)	520	4.63 (1.52)	.842
Opposition to Racial Policy (RP)	520	2.81 (1.51)	.947

Table 18

Fit Indices for AMAAS Subscales

Model	χ^2 (df)	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	SRMR	α
Unfair Allocation of Resources (UR)	34.92 (13), p < .001	.057, p = .279	.991	.985	.016	.920
Targets of Discrimination (TD) Before CFA Final	.84(2), p = .656	.000, p = .880	1.000	1.003	.004	.878
Traits (TR)	.894(1), p = .344	.000, p = .596	1.000	1.001	.004	.832

Note:
χ^2 = chi square goodness of fit statistic; *df* = degrees of freedom; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; TLI = Tucker Lewis Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation; SRMR = Standardized Square Root Mean Residual; AIC = Akaike Information Criterion.

Table 19

Fit Indices for Alternative Factor Models of the AMAAS

Model	X^2(df) *p*	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
1-Factor Model	1238.16(88), $p < .001$	.763	.717	.159, $p < .001$	.106
3-Factor Model	280.50(85), $p < .001$	.960	.950	.067, $p = .001$	.048
3-Factor Model, Drop 2, 8	183.89(72), $p < .001$	.971	.963	.062, $p = .025$	.041
3-Factor Model, Drop 8, 2, 10, error 1-19	111.11(50), $p < .001$	.984	.979	.048, $p = .562$	.029

Note: χ^2 = chi square goodness of fit statistic; *df* = degrees of freedom; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; TLI = Tucker Lewis Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation; SRMR = Standardized Square Root Mean Residual; AIC = Akaike Information Criterion.

Table 20

Bivariate Correlations for AMAAS Subscales, NATIS, and SR2Kfor Study 2 Hypothesis 1

Scale		1	2	3	4	5
1. AMAAS UR	*r*	1				
	p					
2. AMAAS TD	*r*	.549***	1			
	p	.000				
3. AMAAS TR	*r*	.449***	.410***	1		
	p	.000	.000			
4. NATIS	*r*	.783***	.563***	.425***	1	
	p	.000	.000	.000		
5. SR2K	*r*	.675***	.656***	.283***	.646***	1
	p	.000	.000	.000	.000	

Note: The abbreviations are as follows for the AMAAS subscales: UR = Unfair Allocation of Resources, TD = Target of Discrimination, TR = Traits.

*** $p \leq .001$

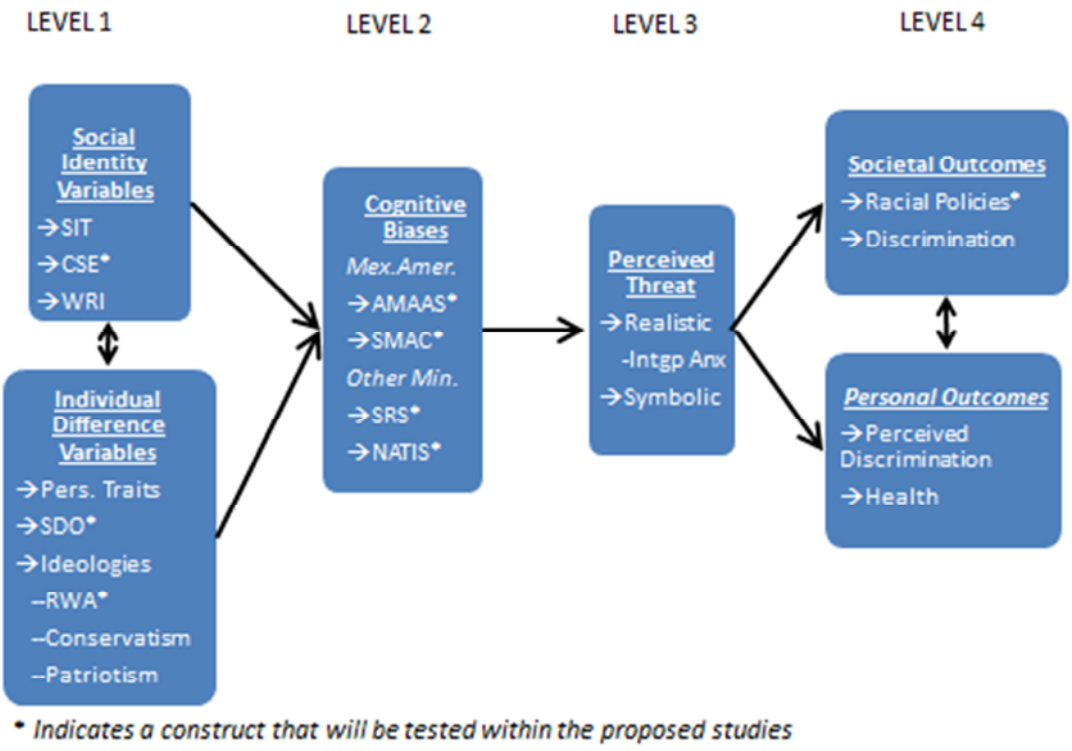


Figure 1. Model for Antecedents and Outcomes of Anti-Mexican American Attitudes

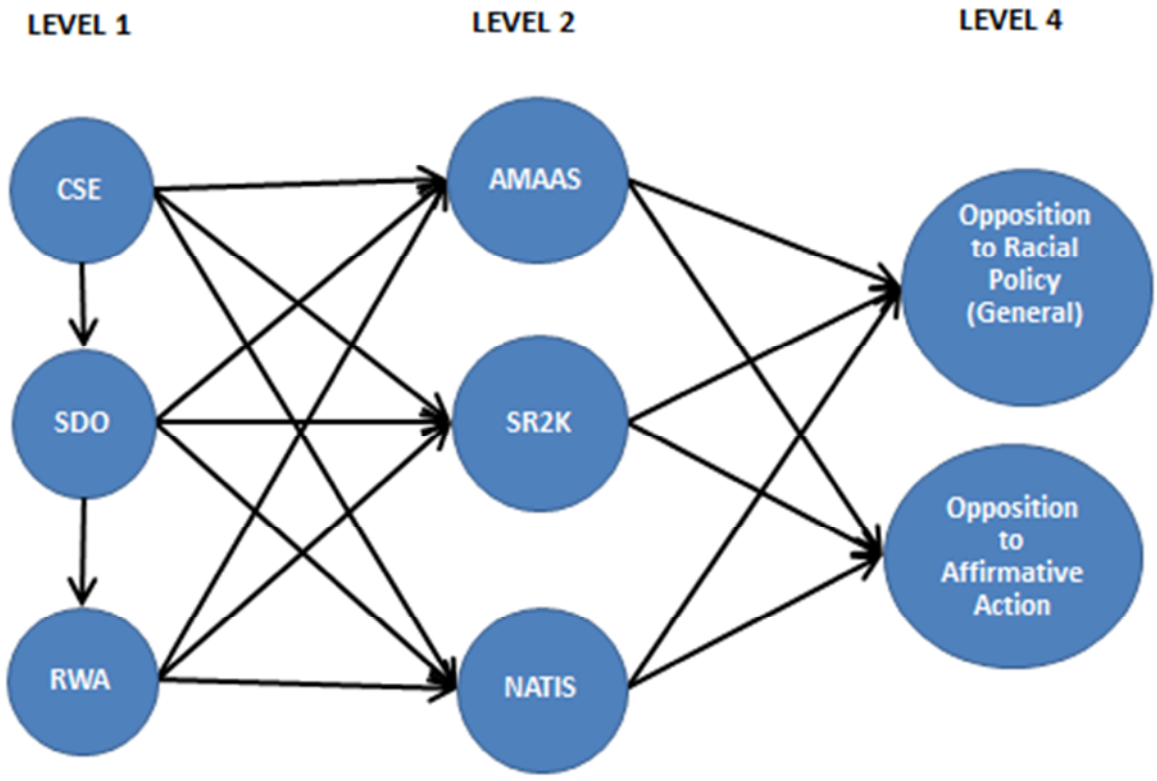
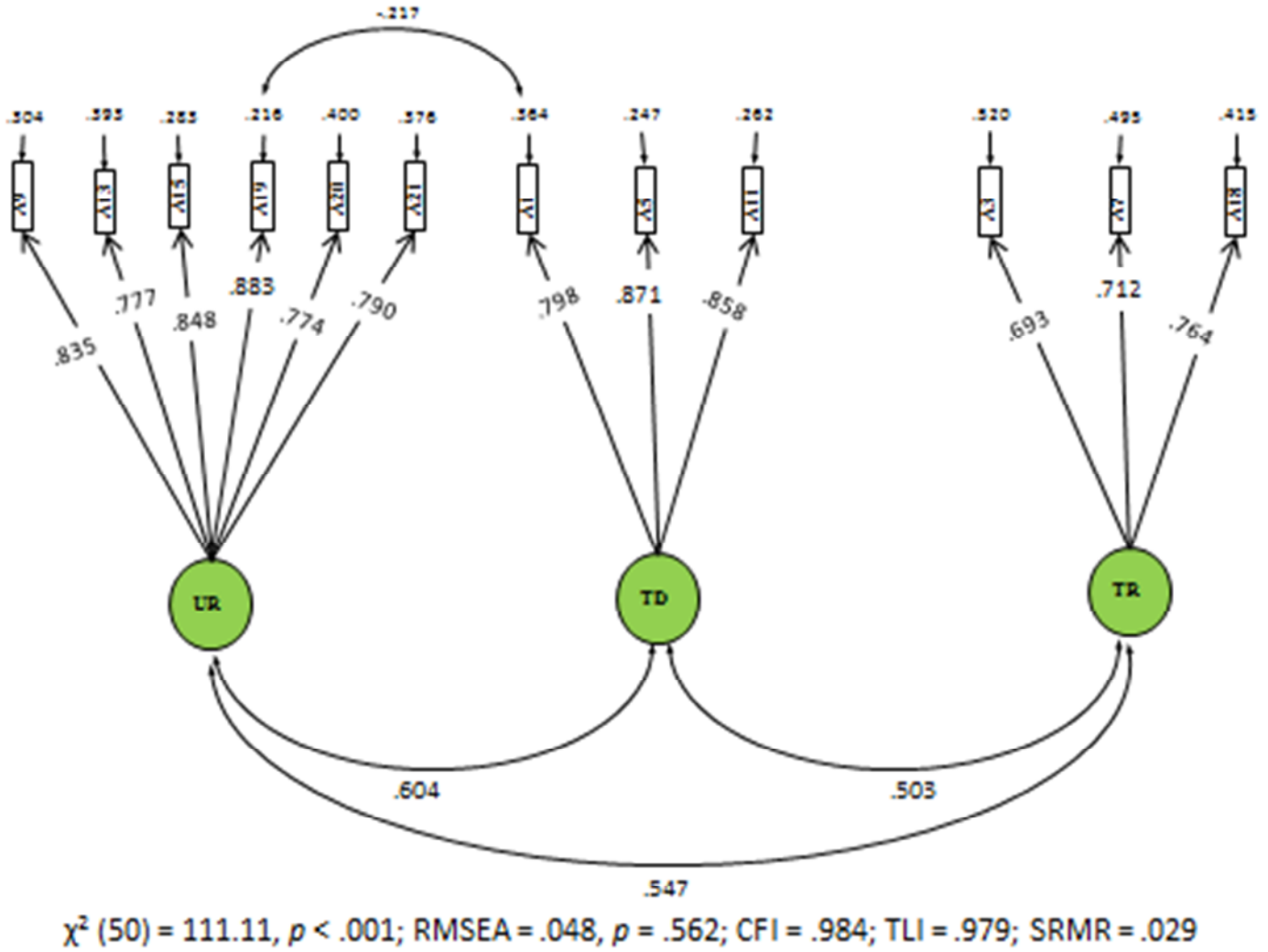


Figure 2. Model for Study 2 SEM Path Analysis.



χ^2 (50) = 111.11, p < .001; RMSEA = .048, p = .562; CFI = .984; TLI = .979; SRMR = .029

Figure 3. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of AMAAS.

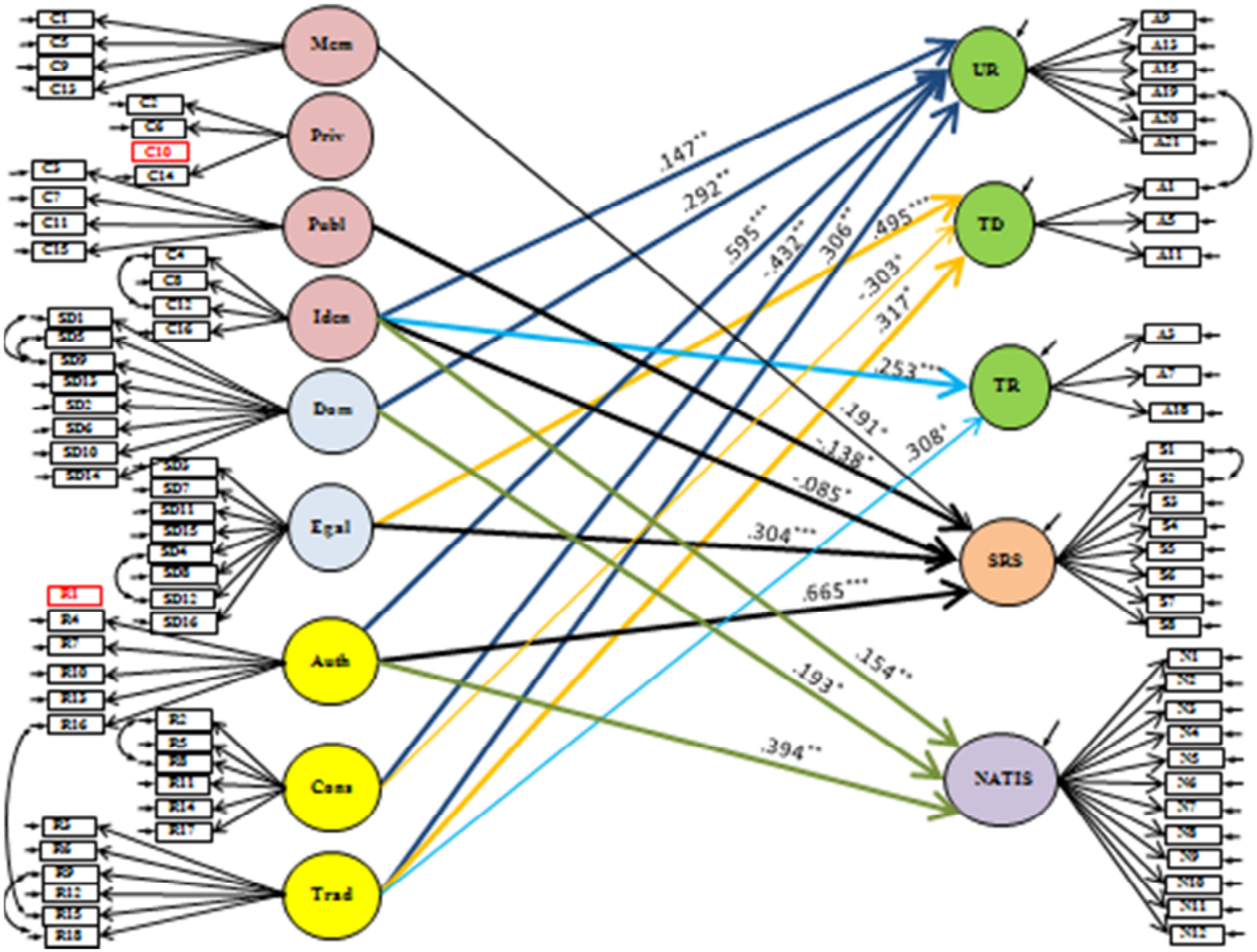


Figure 4. Structural Equation Model of AMAAS, SR2K, and NATIS on CSE, SDO, and RWA (Hypothesis 1).

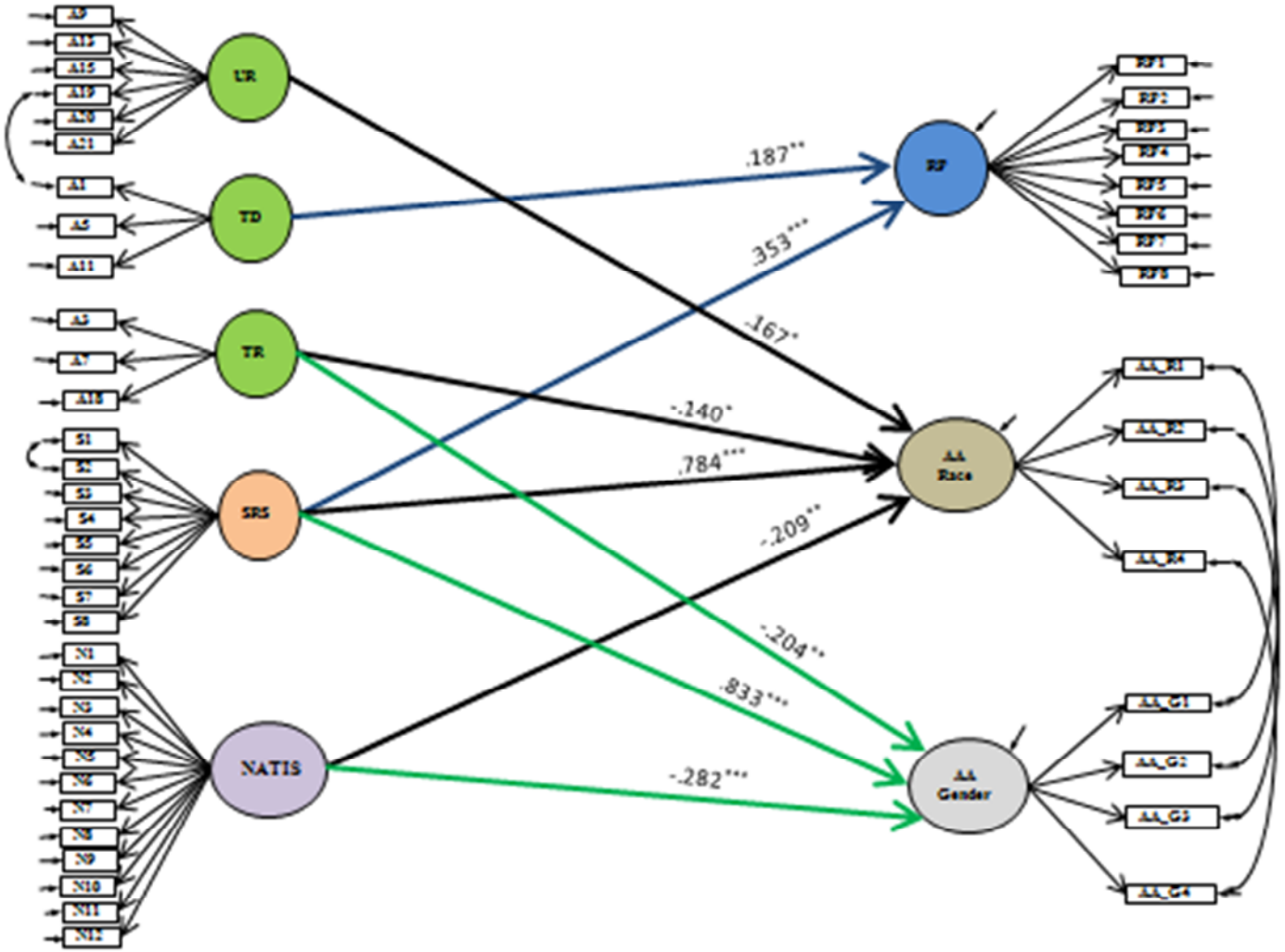


Figure 5. Structural Equation Model of RP, AA_R, and AA_G on AMAAS and SR2K (Hypothesis 2).

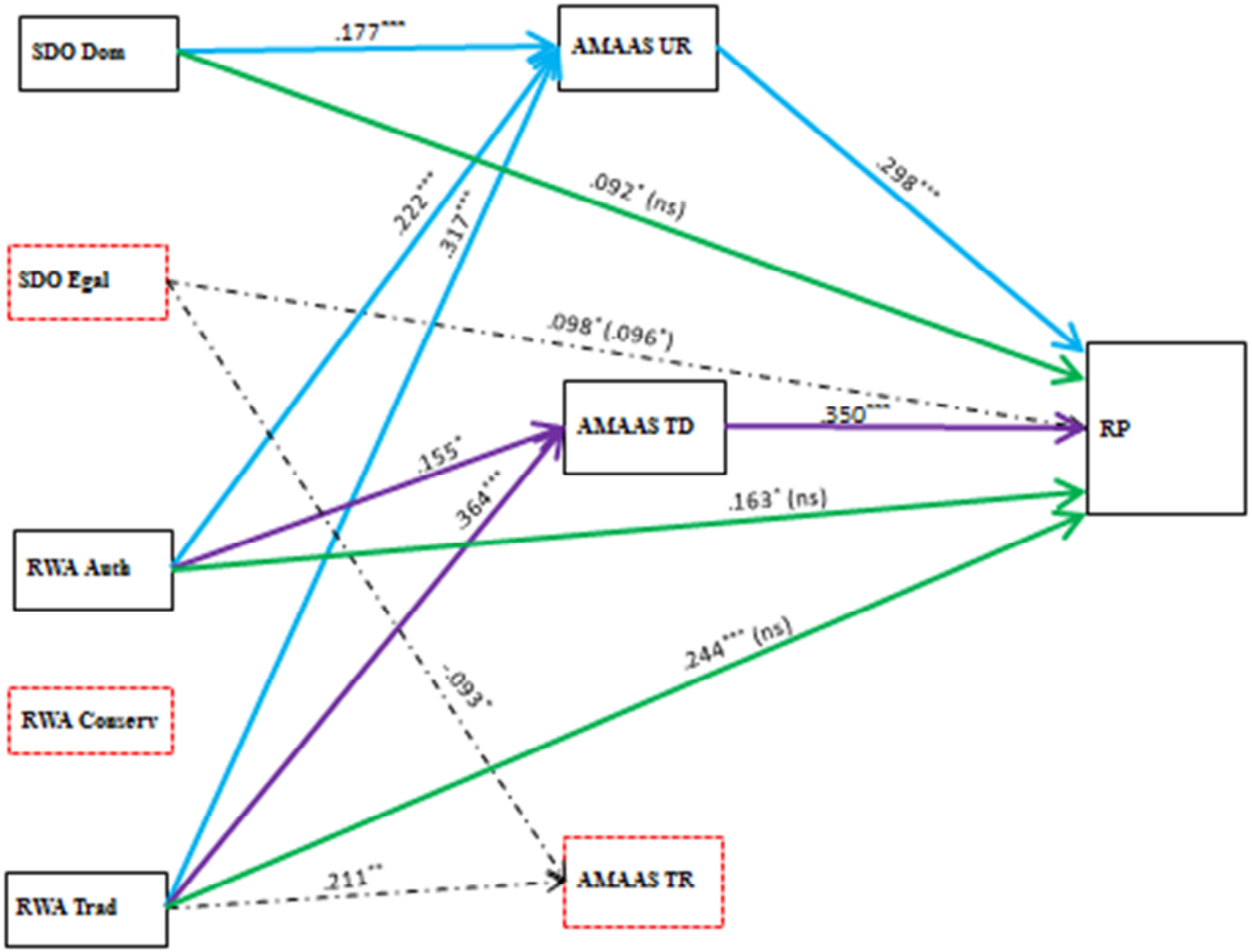


Figure 6. Path Analysis of Opposition to Racial Policy on SDO and RWA as Mediated by AMAAS (Hypothesis 3a)**.**

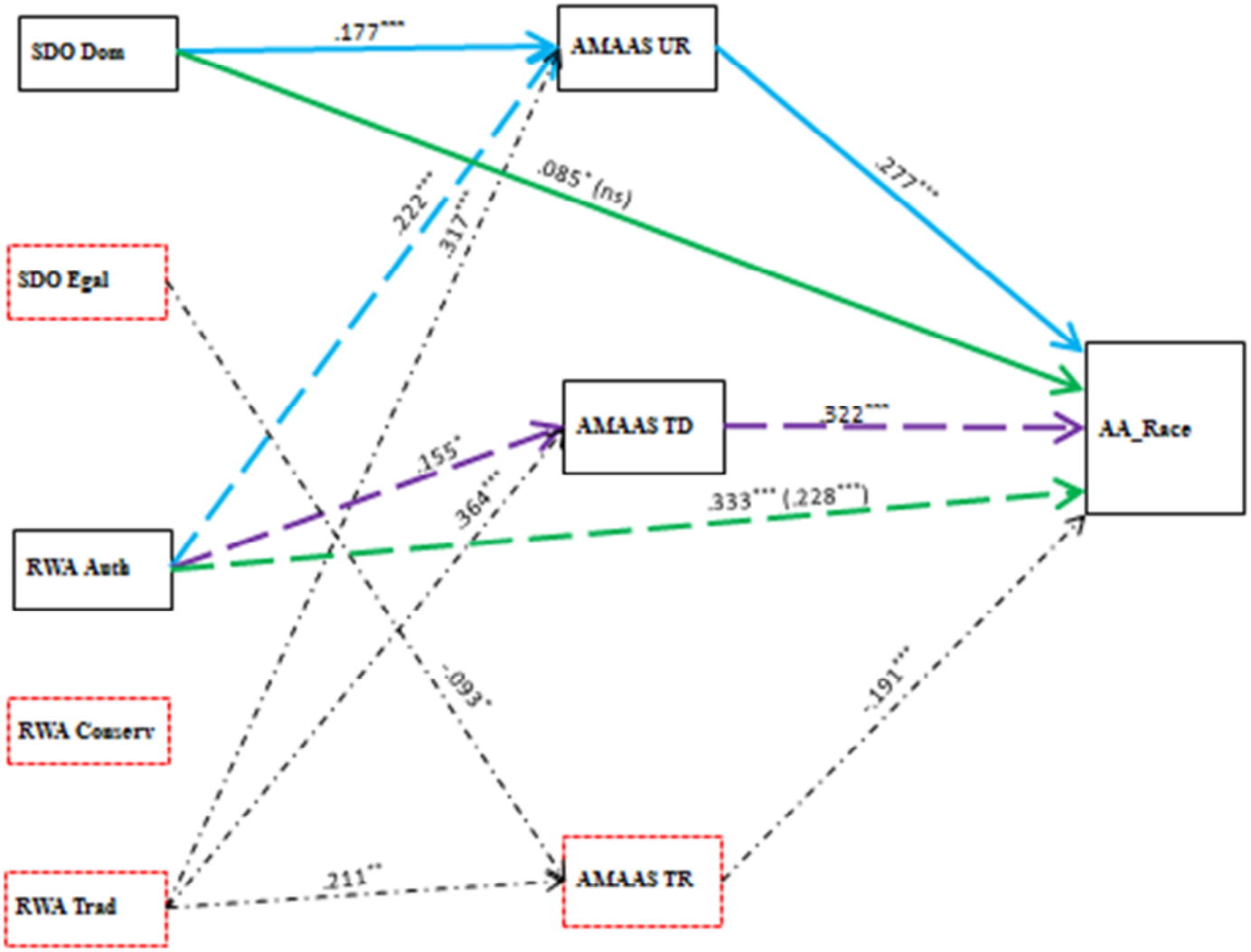


Figure 7. Path Analysis of Affirmative Action Based on Race on SDO and RWA as Mediated by AMAAS (Hypothesis 3b).

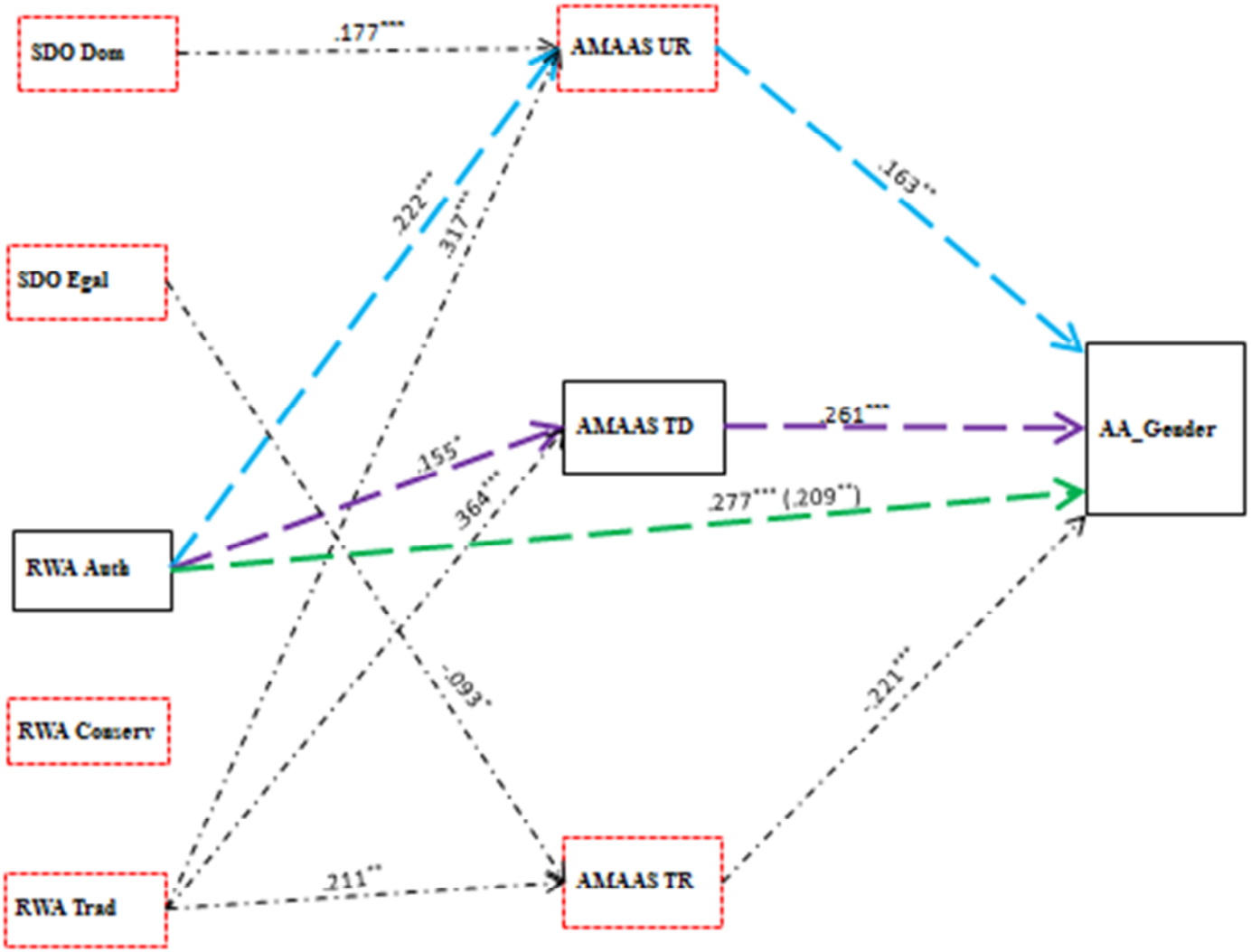


Figure 8. Path Analysis of Affirmative Action Based on Gender on SDO and RWA as Mediated by AMAAS (Hypothesis 3c).

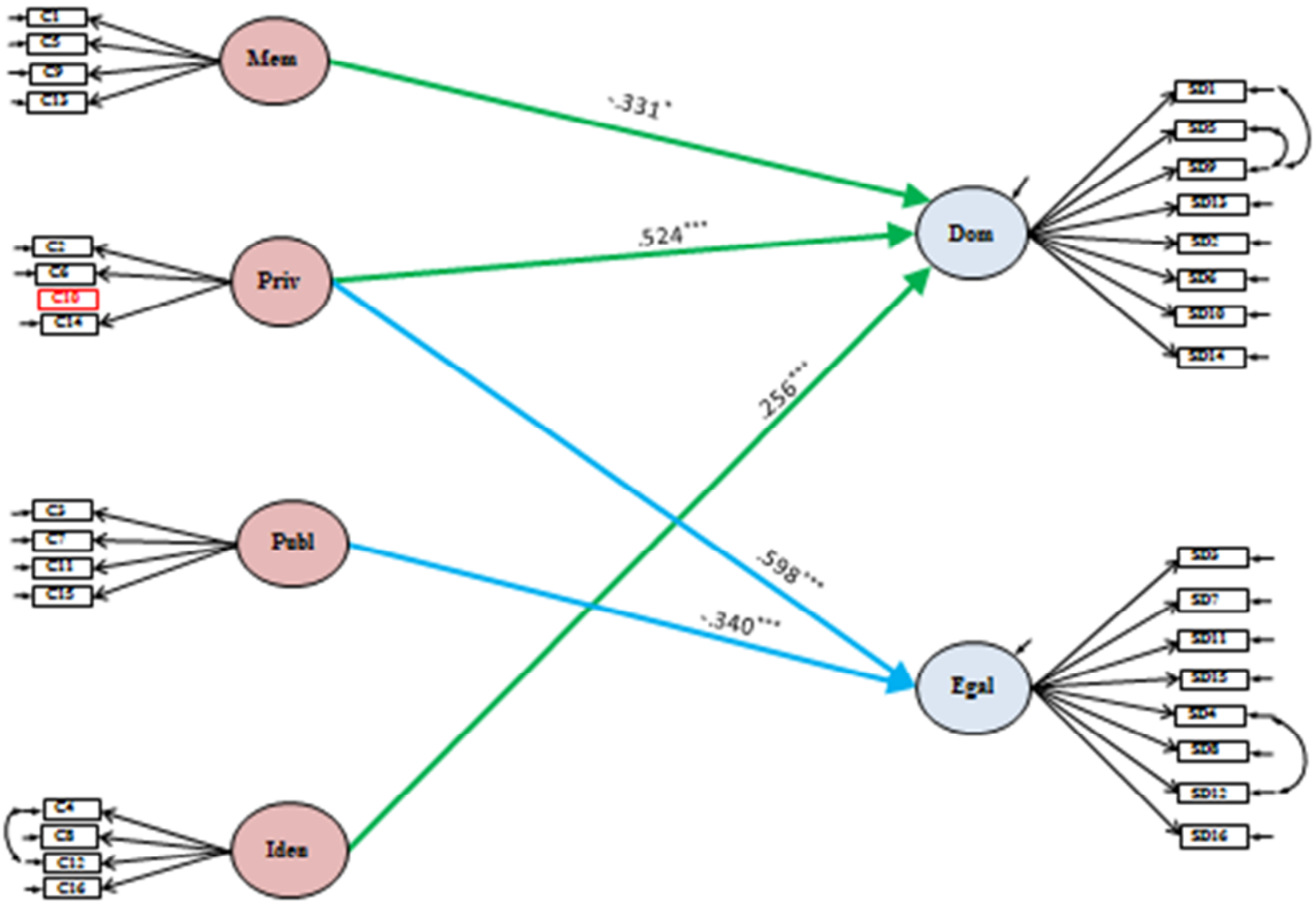


Figure 9. Structural Equation Model of Social Dominance Orientation on Collective Self-Esteem (Hypothesis 4).

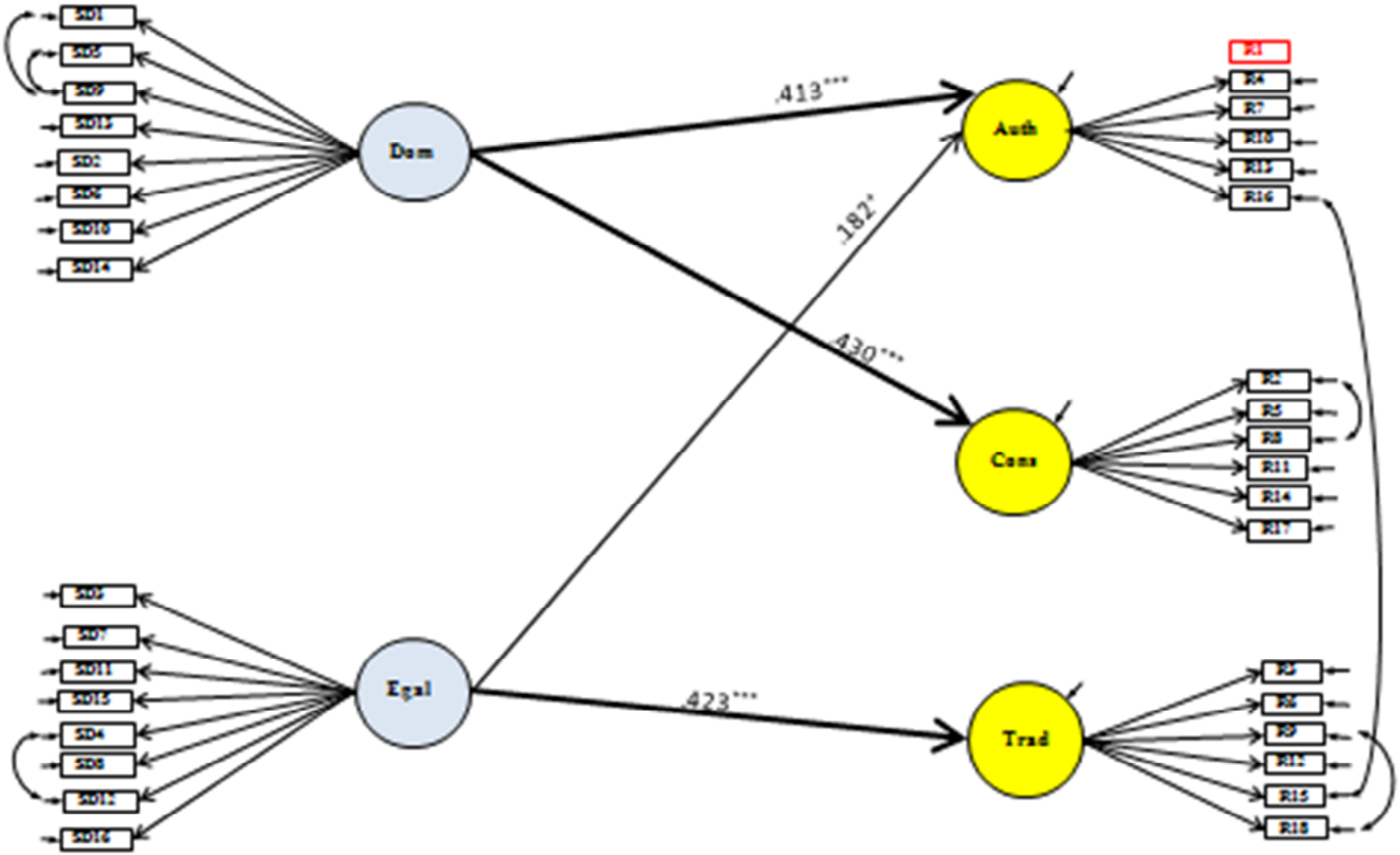


Figure 10. Structural Equation Model of Right Wing Authoritarianism on Social Dominance (Hypothesis 5).

APPENDIX A: Anti-Mexican American Attitude Scale

Please rate the following items on a scale of 1-strongly disagree to 7-strongly agree.

Mexican American is defined as *those of Mexican descent residing on the U.S. side of the United States/Mexican border holding U.S. citizenship*.

There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. We are merely interested in your honest opinions, since we will be trying to predict attitudes. Remember that no identifying information about you will be included with any of the responses. All responses are anonymous.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

NOTE: The items were listed chronologically.

TARGETS OF DISCRIMINATION

1. Mexican Americans are treated unfairly in the work place.*
6. Mexican Americans are the targets of discrimination.*
11. The negative media coverage of the U.S.-Mexico border makes life more difficult for Mexican Americans.*
16. Mexican Americans are treated unfairly because of their skin color.*
21. It is hard to trust Mexican Americans living in my neighborhood.
26. Mexican Americans are generally welcome in the United States.*
31. Many people don't want Mexican Americans in the United States.
36. Many people assume that Mexican Americans are immigrants.

UNFAIR RESOURCE ALLOCATION

2. Mexican Americans do not pay as much taxes as most Americans.
7. Mexican Americans drain the economy by using welfare programs.
12. Mexican Americans tend to abuse welfare programs, such as food stamps.
17. Mexican Americans often get jobs because of their ethnicity.
22. Equal Opportunity laws allow jobs to be given to Mexican Americans who don't necessarily deserve it.
27. Mexican Americans receive special treatment during hiring.
32. Mexican Americans receive special treatment at work.
37. Mexican Americans have priority over other Americans when it comes to being hired for a job.
40. Mexican Americans are unfairly taking jobs from other Americans.
43. Jobs are taken from other American workers because Mexican Americans agree to be paid less.
46. Mexican Americans are given jobs that other Americans don't want to do.*
49. Mexican Americans have hard labor jobs.*

51. Mexican Americans are exploited by labor companies to work long hours for low wages.*

CULTURAL STEREOTYPES

3. Mexican Americans have a strong sense of community.*
8. Mexican Americans cannot afford to live in nice houses.
13. Mexican Americans are unpatriotic.
18. Mexican Americans relate easily to American society.*
23. Mexican American culture has a special place in the U.S.*
28. Mexican American culture has overstepped its place in the U.S.
33. I would be comfortable with Mexican American culture in my community.*
38. Oftentimes there is a language barrier from Spanish to English for Mexican Americans.
41. Americans have to learn two languages because of the increase in the Mexican American population.
44. I am tired of trying to understand the accents of Mexican Americans.
47. Mexican Americans are not required to learn English even though they live in America.
50. Mexican Americans want to learn and speak English.*
53. Mexican Americans would be treated better if they didn't have accents.
52. Mexican Americans could be more American if they spoke English.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

4. Mexican Americans would go to college if they could afford it.*
9. Mexican Americans should get college scholarships based on ethnicity.*
14. Scholarships based on ethnicity help Mexican Americans get a college education.*
19. Scholarships based on academic performance help Mexican Americans get a college education.*
24. Mexican Americans get more money for college because of their ethnicity.
29. Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without financial aid.
34. Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without scholarships.
39. Mexican Americans get more educational opportunities because of their ethnicity.
42. Mexican Americans would go to college if they were intelligent.
45. When accepted into college, Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more qualified.
48. When accepted into college, Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more intelligent.

TRAITS

5. Mexican Americans are often stereotyped as criminals.*
10. Mexican Americans are hard working. *
15. Mexican Americans are family-oriented.*
20. Mexican Americans are uneducated.

25. Mexican Americans are lazy.
30. Mexican Americans are dirty.
35. Mexican Americans are friendly.*

**Intended to be reverse-coded*

APPENDIX B: Modified Scale for Measurement of Attitude toward Chicanos (SMAC) *(Form A, Carranza, 1992)*

Instructions: Please answer each item using the following response scale, 1-strongly disagree to 7-strongly agree. Interpret the statements in accordance with your own experience with Mexican Americans (both men and women).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. Mexican Americans are inferior in every way to the rest of the world.
2. Mexican Americans are rich in culture.
3. Mexican Americans are likely to prove disloyal to our government.
4. Mexican Americans have an air of dignity about them.
5. Mexican Americans as a group tend to be on welfare.
6. Mexican Americans are willing to work for equality.
7. Mexican Americans want to better their economic status at the expense of others.
8. Mexican Americans are a vigorous people.
9. Mexican Americans are disorganized.
10. Mexican Americans stress personal relationships.
11. Mexican Americans are suspicious of outsiders.
12. Mexican Americans favor cooperation over competition.
13. Mexican Americans think of themselves as a rejected race.
14. Mexican Americans are loyal to their superiors.
15. Mexican Americans tend to place short-range goals before long-range goals.
16. Mexican Americans are sensitive about achieving status in North American society.
17. Mexican Americans prefer large families.
18. Mexican Americans are very sentimental.
19. Mexican Americans resist creating their own ethnic identity.
20. Mexican Americans feel that their color causes others to discriminate against them.

APPENDIX C: Negative Attitudes Toward Immigrants Scale (NATIS)
(Varela, Gonzalez, Clark, Cramer, & Crosby, 2013)

Please answer each of the following items using the response scale provided, 1-Completely Disagree to 5-Completely Agree.

Your honesty is appreciated. Remember that no identifying information about you will be included with any of the responses. All responses are anonymous.

1	2	3	4	5
Completely Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neutral**	**Agree**	**Completely Agree**

1. Immigrants should be given the same rights as native citizens.*
2. Immigrants do not have valid reasons for leaving their native country.
3. Immigrants in large groups are dangerous.
4. Immigrants bring the problems of their native country to America.
5. Immigrants are a burden on American tax payers.
6. Allowing people to immigrate to the United States is a bad idea.
7. Immigrants never want to return to their native/home country.
8. Immigrants' culture(s) dilutes American culture.
9. Immigrants are a threat to national security.
10. Immigrants are not as smart as Americans.
11. Immigrants get preferential treatment compared with citizens.
12. There are too many immigrants in the United States.

* *Reverse-scored item.*

APPENDIX D: Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K) *(Henry & Sears, 2002)*

Please answer each of the following items using the response scale provided under each item. The response options will vary according to each item.

Your honesty is appreciated. Remember that no identifying information about you will be included with any of the responses. All responses are anonymous.

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites. *
   1 strongly agree, 2 somewhat agree, 3 somewhat disagree, 4 strongly disagree

2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same. *
   1 strongly agree, 2 somewhat agree, 3 somewhat disagree, 4 strongly disagree

3. Some say that Black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?*
1 trying to push very much too fast, 2 going too slowly, 3 moving at about the right speed

4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think Blacks are responsible for creating?*
   1 all of it, 2 most, 3 some, 4 not much at all

5. How much discrimination against Blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?
   1 a lot, 2 some, 3 just a little, 4 none at all

6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.
   1 strongly agree, 2 somewhat agree, 3 somewhat disagree, 4 strongly disagree

7. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
   1 strongly agree, 2 somewhat agree, 3 somewhat disagree, 4 strongly disagree

8. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.*
   1 strongly agree, 2 somewhat agree, 3 somewhat disagree, 4 strongly disagree

* *Reverse scored*

APPENDIX E: Short-Form Authoritarianism-Conservatism-Traditionalism Scale (ACT) ***(Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010)***

Please answer each of the following items using the response scale provided under each item. The response options will vary according to each item.

Your honesty is appreciated. Remember that no identifying information about you will be included with any of the responses. All responses are anonymous.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

NOTE: The presentation of items will be listed by rotated through subscale.

Authoritarianism ("Authoritarian Aggression")

1. Strong, tough government will harm not help our country. *
2. Being kind to loafers or criminals will only encourage them to take advantage of your weakness, so it's best to use a firm, tough hand when dealing with them.
3. Our society does NOT need tougher government and stricter laws. *
4. The facts on crime and the recent public disorders show we have to crack down harder on troublemakers, if we are going preserve law and order.
5. Our prisons are a shocking disgrace. Criminals are unfortunate people who deserve much better care, instead of so much punishment. *
6. The way things are going in this country, it's going to take a lot of "strong medicine" to straighten out the troublemakers, criminals, and perverts.

Conservatism ("Authoritarian Submission")

1. It's great that many young people today are prepared to defy authority. *
2. What our country needs most is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity.
3. Students at high schools and at university must be encouraged to challenge, criticize, and confront established authorities. *
4. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
5. Our country will be great if we show respect for authority and obey our leaders.
6. People should be ready to protest against and challenge laws they don't agree with.*

Traditionalism ("Conventionalism")

1. Nobody should stick to the "straight and narrow." Instead people should break loose and try out lots of different ideas and experiences. *
2. The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live.

3. God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late.
4. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.*
5. This country will flourish if young people stop experimenting with drugs, alcohol, and sex, and pay more attention to family values.
6. There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse. *

**Reverse coded*

NOTE: The first six items listed for each scale have shown adequate scale reliabilities in New Zealand student and community samples.

APPENDIX F: Social Dominance Orientation Scale$_7$ (SDO$_7$) *(Ho et al., in press)*

Instructions: Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

Your honesty is appreciated. Remember that no identifying information about you will be included with any of the responses. All responses are anonymous.

NOTE: The presentation of items will be listed by rotated through subscale.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor

Pro-trait dominance:

1. Some groups of people must be kept in their place.
5. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
9. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.
13. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

Con-trait dominance:

2.* Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.
6.* No one group should dominate in society.
10.* Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place.
14.* Group dominance is a poor principle.

Pro-trait anti-egalitarianism:

3. We should not push for group equality.
7. We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life.
11. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.
15. Group equality should not be our primary goal.

Con-trait anti-egalitarianism:

4.* We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.
8.* We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
12.* No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life.
16.* Group equality should be our ideal.

*Reverse coded

APPENDIX G: Race-Specific Collective Self Esteem Scale
(Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)

We are all members of different social groups or categories. One of these social groups or categories pertains to race. We would like you to consider your membership in your racial group or category, and respond to the following statements on the basis of how you feel about this group and your membership in it.

There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale: 1-Strongly Agree, 2-Disagree Somewhat, 3-Disagree, 4-Neutral, 5-Agree, 6-Agree Somewhat, 7-Strongly Agree.

Remember that no identifying information about you will be included with any of the responses. All responses are anonymous.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree

Subscale 1 – Membership:

1. I am a worthy member of the racial group I belong to.
5. I feel I don't have much to offer to the racial group I belong to. *
9. I am a cooperative participant in the racial group I belong to.
13. I often feel I'm a useless member of my racial group. *

Subscale 2 – Private:

2. I often regret that I belong to the racial group I do. *
6. In general, I'm glad to be a member of the racial group I belong to.
10. Overall, I often feel that the racial group of which I am a member is not worthwhile. *
14. I feel good about the racial group I belong to.

Subscale 3 – Public:

3. Overall, my racial group is considered good by others.
7. Most people consider racial group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups. *
11. In general, others respect the racial group that I am a member of.
15. In general, others think that the racial group I am a member of is unworthy. *

Subscale 4 – Importance to Identity:

4. Overall, my racial group membership has very little to do with how I feel about myself. *
8. The racial group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
12. The racial group I belong to is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am. *
16. In general, belonging to a racial group is an important part of my self-image.

*Reverse scored

APPENDIX H: Affirmative Action Measure *(Ho et al., in press)*

How do you personally feel about different kinds of affirmative action? For each of the following policies, please indicate the extent to which you support or oppose the policy using the scale below.

1= strongly support the policy to 7= strongly oppose the policy

Affirmative action-race

1. Quotas, that is, setting aside positions for minority ethnic groups.
2. Using membership in certain racial groups as a tie-breaker when applicants are equally qualified.
3. Making a special effort to find and train ethnic minorities for good jobs.
4. Giving preference to minorities, even when they are less qualified than other candidates.

Affirmative action-gender

1. Quotas, that is, setting aside positions for women.
2. Using gender as a tie-breaker when applicants are equally qualified.
3. Making a special effort to find and women for good jobs.
4. Giving preference to women, even when they are less qualified than other candidates.

APPENDIX I: Opposition to Racial Policy Measure (*Ho et al., in press*)

How do you personally feel about different kinds of racial policies? For each of the following policies, please indicate the extent to which you support or oppose the policy using the scale below, using the scale 1 (*strongly disagree/disapprove*) to 7 (*strongly agree/approve*).

1. Society should make sure that minorities get fair treatment in jobs.
2. People in society should do everything that they can to make sure that Whites and minorities go to the same schools.
3. People have no business trying to ensure racial integration in society. *
4. Society should do everything it can to help improve the economic condition of poor ethnic minorities.
5. Society should do more to end the inequality that still exists between members of different social groups.
6. We need to raise more awareness about the social conditions that put certain group members at a fundamental disadvantage.
7. We need to take more action to help stamp out the subtle discrimination that members of certain social groups still face.
8. There should be more research into whether ethnic minorities still face discrimination in the housing market.

*Reverse-scored

APPENDIX J

Demographic Questions

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Race/Ethnicity:
1 = American Indian or Alaskan Native
2 = Asian
3 = Black or African American
4 = Hispanic/Latino
5 = Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
6 = White American
7 = Other_____

Marital Status:
1 = Single, never married
2 = Married
3 = Divorced
4 = Separated
5 = Widowed

Education:
1 =Less than High School
2 = Some High School
3 = Graduated High School
4 = Some College
5 = Graduated College
6 = Post-graduate degree
7 = Other_____

Occupation: _____

Your average yearly income?
1= Less than $10,000
2= $10,000 to $19,999
3= $20,000 to $29,999
4= $30,000 to $39,999
5= $40,000 to $49,999
6= $50,000 to $59,999
7= $60,000 to $69,999
8= $70,000 to $79,999
9= $80,000 to $89,999
10= $90,000 to $99,999

11= $100,000 to $149,999
12= $150,000 or more

In which state do you live? _____

Years of residence in Current State? _____ Years

Are you a registered voter?
2 = No 1 = Yes

On most political and social issues, how do you describe yourself?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Strong Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Slightly Liberal	Moderate	Slightly Conservative	Somewhat Conservative	Strong Conservative	Unsure

How do you best describe your political party identification?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Strong Democrat	Somewhat Democrat	Slightly Democrat	Moderate	Slightly Republican	Somewhat Republican	Strong Republican	Unsure

For each of the following groups, rate how you feel on the "feeling thermometer." A rating of 0 degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the group at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward the group.
Democrats on a scale of 0 to 100: _____
Republicans on a scale of 0 to 100: _____
Tea Party on a scale of 0 to 100: ____

Do you regularly attend a religious or spiritual service?
2 = No 1 = Yes
If yes, which denomination?
_____
How frequently do you attend the religious or spiritual service?
1 = Daily
2 = Twice a Week
3 = Once a Week
4 = Once a Month
5 = Occasionally
6 = Other

Appendix K

Six Regions of the United States of America (U.S.A. Embassy, 2008)

New England
Connecticut
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
Rhode Island
Vermont

Mid-Atlantic
Delaware
Maryland
New Jersey
New York
Pennsylvania
Washington D.C.

The South
Alabama
Arkansas
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
West Virginia

Midwest
Illinois
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas
Michigan
Minnesota
Missouri
Nebraska
North Dakota
Ohio
South Dakota
Wisconsin

The Southwest
Arizona
New Mexico
Oklahoma
Texas

The West
Alaska
Colorado
California
Hawaii
Idaho
Montana
Nevada
Oregon
Utah
Washington
Wyoming

APPENDIX L: Revised Anti-Mexican American Attitude Scale

Please rate the following items on a scale of 1-strongly disagree to 7-strongly agree.

Mexican American is defined as *those of Mexican descent residing on the U.S. side of the United States/Mexican border holding U.S. citizenship*.

There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. We are merely interested in your honest opinions, since we will be trying to predict attitudes.

Remember that no identifying information about you will be included with any of the responses. All responses are anonymous.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

Note: The items were listed chronologically in study 2. The items have been renumbered from the study 1 version.

Unfair Allocation of Resources

2. Mexican Americans do not pay as much taxes as most Americans.
6. Mexican Americans drain the economy by using welfare programs.
9. Mexican Americans tend to abuse welfare programs, such as food stamps.
13. Equal Opportunity laws allow jobs to be given to Mexican Americans who don't necessarily deserve it.
15. Mexican American culture has overstepped its place in the U.S.
19. Mexican Americans are unfairly taking jobs from other Americans.
20. I am tired of trying to understand the accents of Mexican Americans.
21. When accepted into college, Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more qualified.
23. When accepted into college, Mexican Americans take the place of students who are more intelligent.

Targets of Discrimination

1. Mexican Americans are treated unfairly in the work place.*
4. Mexican Americans are often stereotyped as criminals.*
5. Mexican Americans are the targets of discrimination.*
8. The negative media coverage of the U.S.-Mexico border makes life more difficult for Mexican Americans.*
11. Mexican Americans are treated unfairly because of their skin color.*

Traits

3. Mexican Americans have a strong sense of community.*

7. Mexican Americans are hard working.*
10. Mexican Americans are family-oriented.*
18. Mexican Americans are friendly.*

Money for Education

16. Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without financial aid.
17. Mexican Americans may not be able to afford a college education without scholarships.

Labor Status

22. Mexican Americans are given jobs that other Americans don't want to do.*
24. Mexican Americans have hard labor jobs.*
25. Mexican Americans are exploited by labor companies to work long hours for low wages.*

Place in Society:

12. Mexican Americans relate easily to American society.*
14. Mexican Americans are generally welcome in the United States.*

*Reverse coded