

BEHAVIORS AND FEELINGS TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how people behave and feel toward immigrants, specifically Mexican immigrants, predicted by a number of independent variables. The independent variables of interest are (1) people's perception of immigrants' competence and warmth, (2) two factors of personality from the Big Five, Openness to experience and Agreeableness, (3) Attitudes toward immigrants, and (4) the variable Acculturation among Hispanic participants. Each of these variables is addressed below. The four hypotheses were proposed: 1: The more warm and competent an immigrant is perceived to be, the more positive participants will feel and behave towards an immigrant. 2: The more open to experience and agreeable a participant is, the more positive he or she will feel and behave towards an immigrant. 3: Regarding attitudes towards immigrants, the more positive the emotion response is toward interacting with immigrants, the more positive participants will feel and behave toward an immigrant. 4: Within the Hispanic sample, the less acculturated the Hispanic participant is, the more positive the participant will feel and behave toward an immigrant. Based on the results addressed below, significant correlations and statistical significance were found when a MANOVA, correlations, and correlation matrix were conducted. The first two hypotheses were partially supported, whereas the other two hypotheses were supported.

# **1. LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **Introduction**

The United States is a country that attracts people from different regions of the world for different reasons. As a result, the United States is a melting pot of people from diverse backgrounds with diverse values, ideals, and customs. People come to the United States to attend school, for leisure, to reunite with family members, for political reasons, or in search of better jobs to support their family. Immigrants also bring different skills with them. Mexicans make up most of the immigrant population in the United States (Zong & Batalova, 2016), constituting more than 11.7 million immigrants by 2014 (Zong & Batalova, 2016). And, this thesis proposes that immigrants face different discrimination and exploitation as a function of the different skills they bring to this country.

Due to the fact that many immigrants may not speak English, are not fluent enough to communicate, or not able to assimilate well, they may face discrimination and exploitation. However, the immigration of Mexicans to the U.S. has significantly decreased and is below its peak since 2000; between 1995 and 2000, about 3 million Mexican-born immigrants immigrated to the U.S.; between 2005 and 2010, the number decreased by about a half to about 1.4 million; between 2009 and 2014 the number of Mexican immigrants heading to the U.S. was 870,000 (Gonzalez, 2015). The population of unauthorized Mexican immigrants has continuously declined since reaching a peak of 6.9 million in 2007 within the U.S. (Gonzalez, 2015).

Immigrants are drawn to the U.S. for different reasons. Immigrants arrive in the U.S. to visit family or are on vacation and may decide to stay. Some immigrants are smuggled, transported, and have an arranged job that requires them to overcome border enforcement and thus enter the United States illegally (Josiah, 1998). Some come on student visas and may end up staying in the U.S.

Immigrants also bring different skills. Those that come as students may be bilingual (being able to communicate fluently in English and Spanish), hold technical and writing skills, as well as communication skills. Others may bring different types of skills to the United States, such as carpentry, farming, and fluency in different languages. According to Moore (2017), 16.7 percent of immigrants are employed in America. About 9 percent of foreign-born workers held construction jobs, such as electricians, roofers, and carpenters. Additionally, 8.1 percent of foreign-born workers held positions as managers, including CEOs, lawmakers or sales managers. About 5.2 percent of foreign-born workers held positions in the health care field, such as physicians, paramedics, dentists, therapists and pharmacists (Moore, 2017). The varied skills reflect the varied education and training immigrants received in schools in their home country ranging from working in fields and the trades to attending technical schools and universities. Thus, not all immigrants are the same in terms of their abilities, and immigrants may be less or more welcomed by Americans in the U.S. depending on their skills. Thus, how people feel and act toward immigrants may be a function of their different skills and their perceived ability to compete for American jobs.

Immigrants continue to be discriminated against, stigmatized, and exploited (Josiah, 1998). For example, undocumented Mexican immigrants may have their stay in the United States used against them in the workplace where an employer can threaten them to report their stay as illegal (Josiah, 1998).

This thesis examines how people behave and feel toward Mexican immigrants, specifically Mexican immigrants, as predicted by a number of variables. Because immigrants bring varied skills with them that may increase their competitiveness for jobs, chief among the variables of interest are people's perception of immigrants' competence and warmth (Lee & Fiske, 2006). Equally important are two factors of personality from the Big Five, Openness to experience and Agreeableness, which together or independently predict whether people of different personality characteristics are more receptive and accepting of immigrants. Moreover, Attitudes toward immigrants gives us a framework of how behaviors and feelings may be explained by prejudices that favor or disfavor immigrants. Lastly, the variable Acculturation will examine how Hispanic participants with varied levels of acculturation would feel about and behave towards immigrants. Each of these variables is addressed below.

### **Stereotype Content Model**

The Stereotypic Content Model (SCM) has been proposed to explain why people hold stereotypes about others, are prejudiced toward others and discriminate against others. The SCM has been used to explain stereotypes toward different groups of people such as college students, the elderly, housewives, and professionals, such as doctors or professors, the homeless, and immigrants (Lee &

Fiske, 2006). According to this model, stereotypes and prejudice toward others are based on two criteria: perceptions of others' competence and warmth (Lee & Fiske, 2006). For example, the model predicts that the degree of competence perceived in others will elicit whether we feel admiration or contempt toward them. The degree of warmth will elicit whether we feel threatened by another and react welcoming or unwelcoming and cold towards them. For example, previous research has shown that the homeless are perceived as low on both warmth and competence, and thus people are likely to feel contempt and disgust towards them (Lee & Fiske, 2006). Housewives and the elderly are perceived as high in warmth and low in competence and thus elicit feelings of warmth and pity. Professors and doctors are perceived as low in warmth and high in competence and elicit feelings of envy. College students are perceived as high in warmth and competence and evoke feelings of admiration.

The Model also predicts behaviors. For instance, the Model has predicted that people are more willing to demean the homeless, help housewives and the elderly, and associate with professors, doctors, and college students. The model may prove useful in testing whether we will act in favor or against an immigrant, such as helping, assisting, and defending an immigrant or acting against and hurting an immigrant and his/her interests by attacking and bullying (Cuddy, Glick, & Fiske, 2007).

Warmth is measured based on the perceived competition or threat an immigrant poses, whereas competence is measured based on the perceived skills of an immigrant. More specifically, previous experiments have operationalized

warmth as the ability of foreigners to take away jobs from nationals. Results show that foreigners who are perceived as being highly competitive elicit greater discrimination than foreigners who are perceived as low in competition (Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009). For example, highly skilled immigrants, such as foreign entrepreneurs, who would be seeking good, prestigious jobs, are stereotyped as people who are competent but cold (not warm) (Fiske, 2012). Thus, they evoke feelings of envy. By contrast, low-status immigrants with low skills would be perceived as not competent but less of a threat because they are not competing for jobs (Fiske, 2012). Previous findings have also found that undocumented immigrant groups of low status elicit low competence and low warmth attributions. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the American public currently views low status migrants with much more contempt and disgust, seeking to exclude them from the country (Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009).

Warmth is also associated with how much an out group is perceived willing to assimilate or adopt an in group's culture as their own. When an out group cooperates or does not hinder the in group and is willing to cooperate with and accept the in group, their intent is seen as friendly and trustworthy (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). For example, immigrants who integrate into the U.S. are more likely to be perceived as "American" over time. Thus, the willingness to assimilate by the out group is seen as warm by the in group. By contrast, when an out group competes with an in group, negative traits and emotions are ascribed to the out group, and their intent is seen as unfriendly and untrustworthy (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). Social psychological research demonstrates that out

group threats, such as the actions, beliefs, or characteristics that challenge or threaten the goal attainment or well-being of an in group exacerbate prejudice toward the out group (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006, p.336). Thus, if an immigrant's values and beliefs are the opposite or completely different from what the majority values or believes in, they may be perceived as a threat because they would be challenging the majority's way of thinking.

By contrast, the competence dimension is also associated with judged status and measured based on the perceived skills of an immigrant. Assumptions of high status versus low status groups are based upon how competent a group is (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). For example, if an out group is known or associated with low paying jobs, the out group is perceived as less competent. If an out group is known or associated with high paying jobs, the out group is perceived as more competent. Interestingly, those with varying competence are judged to deserve their status. For example, the homeless are generally perceived as deserving their homelessness due to the fact that they are generally perceived as incompetent. Thus, people justify hierarchical systems or social status by believing they live in a just world and that groups get what they deserve (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006).

### **Big Five Personality Traits**

The SCM is not the only model that has been used to measure prejudice and stereotypes toward immigrants. The Big Five personality traits, specifically openness to experience and agreeableness, have also been explored to measure racial biases and prejudice toward others. Openness to experience has been

defined as a personality trait that includes being actively imaginative, attentive to one's inner feelings, prefers variety, and intellectual curiosity. Agreeableness has been defined as a personality trait that includes being warm, friendly, tactful, holding an optimistic view of human nature, and getting along well with others. Previous findings have suggested that stereotypical beliefs and prejudicial attitudes can be explained by factors within the individual rather than by characteristics of social context (Ekkehamar & Akrami, 2003). One idea that can be taken as evidence for the personality explanation is the empirical findings of Adorno et al. (1950) and Allport (1954), and recently Altemeyer (1998) (Ekkehamar & Akrami, 2003). They found that attitudes toward various out-groups can be seen as stemming from one or more personality basic traits (Ekkeman & Akmari, 2003).

Ekkeman & Akmari (2003) used The Modern and Classical Racial Prejudice scale in their study to measure how Openness and Agreeableness correlated with generalized prejudice. Findings show that Openness to Experience and Agreeableness were highly significant and negatively correlated with generalized prejudice. Hodson, Hogg, & MacInnis (2009) found that Openness to experience negatively predicted prejudice even when statistically controlling for other Big Five factors. In this study the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA) and the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) were negatively correlated with Openness whereas SDO was negatively correlated with Agreeableness (Hodson, Hogg, & MacInnis, 2009). Thus, this suggests that people who score high on openness to experience and agreeableness will be more welcoming and



accepting toward immigrants compared to those who score low on both personality traits.

### **Attitudes towards Immigrants**

Perceptions of warmth and competence play a key role in the way people judge others, but also in the way we stereotype or are prejudiced in favor or against others. An important source of error in warmth and competence judgments stems from pre-existing stereotypes and prejudices held based on others' race, gender, nationality, religion, profession, socioeconomic status, and similar social categories (Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011). Thus, it is possible that people not only respond emotionally, but also make decisions about who to trust, doubt, defend, attack, hire, avoid or fire based on existing stereotypes and prejudices (Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011). Thus, it is important to assess people's attitudes toward interethnic interactions to determine how they might react emotionally and behaviorally toward others of an out group.

Plant, Butz, and Tartakovsky (2008) proposed some explanations for prejudices between groups. They found that participants with more reported anger and anxiety toward out groups had more negative behavioral expectations about intergroup interactions, avoided interethnic interactions and blamed the out group if the interactions were negative, specifically anger in White participants was linked with avoidance of Hispanics, while anxiety in Hispanic participants was associated with avoidance of Whites (Plant, Butz, and Tartakovsky, 2008). By contrast, if Hispanics and Whites had more positive expectations about interacting with each other, then levels of anger and anxiety and behavioral

avoidance towards the out group were lower. (Plant, Butz, and Tartakovsky, 2008). These findings suggest that the more positive attitudes people have toward immigrants, the more welcoming they will be towards an immigrant.

### **Acculturation**

Binder, Polinard, and Wrinkle (1997) conducted a study that measured Mexican-American and Anglo attitudes toward immigration reform. The study conducted in the Rio Grande Valley, and bordering Mexico, involved a large Latino population. This study found that Latino attitudes toward immigration policies can be characterized as presenting “two competing views, which involves the cultural perspective and the socio-economic status (SES) perspective” (Binder, Polinard, & Wrinkle, 1997). The former suggests that Latinos, because of their cultural affinity with nations south of the U.S. border, are more likely than Anglos to oppose restrictions imposed by immigration policies (Binder, Polinard, & Wrinkle, 1997). The latter, on the other hand, suggests that differences between Latino and Anglo immigration attitudes are less a function of national origin than how integrated Latinos are into American society, such as how much Latinos’ attitudes and beliefs resemble those of Anglos. In other words, the more integrated the Latino populations are into American society, the more the Latino attitudes will resemble Anglo attitudes toward immigration (Binder, Polinard, & Wrinkle, 1997). Anglos tended to support more restrictive immigration policies, while those Latinos who identified themselves as Mexican (identified more with the Mexican culture regardless of whether or not they were Mexican American or first generation) showed greater, more benign support for the same policies

(Binder, Polinard, & Wrinkle, 1997). Thus, the more Mexican a respondent identified him or herself to be, the less restrictive was their stance toward immigration policies (Binder, Polinard, & Wrinkle, 1997). Thus, these findings suggest that the more acculturated a Hispanic is, the less welcoming they will be towards an immigrant.

### **Purpose of the Current Study and Hypotheses**

In this study, the SCM variables of perceived Warmth and Competence, Openness to experience, Agreeableness, Attitudes toward Hispanics and Hispanic acculturation (the level of integration in American society) will comprise the predictor variables that will be used to predict how welcoming and accepting participants will be toward immigrants. Research Question: Is how people feel and behave towards a Mexican immigrant a function of how the immigrant is perceived to be, how agreeable and open their experience is of others, what attitudes they hold toward Hispanics, and for Hispanics, how acculturated they are? I proposed the following hypotheses based on the review of the literature:

Hypothesis 1: The more warm and competent an immigrant is perceived to be, the more positive participants will feel and behave towards an immigrant.

Hypothesis 2: The more open to experience and agreeable a participant is, the more positive he or she will feel and behave towards an immigrant.

Hypothesis 3: Regarding attitudes toward immigrants, the more positive the emotion response is toward interacting with immigrants, the more positive participants will feel and behave toward an immigrant.

Hypothesis 4: Within the Hispanic sample, the less acculturated the Hispanic

participant is, the more positive the participant will feel and behave toward an immigrant.

## **2. METHODS**

### **Participants**

The participants in the study were undergraduate students who were recruited from Texas State University and enrolled in a Statistics course, Research Methods course and lab, Introduction to Psychology course, and Abnormal Psychology course. Students were granted extra credit at the instructor's discretion.

### **Design and Procedure**

Participants were asked to agree to a consent form (IRB approved: 2016J5922) and if they agreed, they conducted a survey via Qualtrics in which they were introduced to one of four vignettes, which were randomized.

A 2 x 2 between-subjects factorial design was used to test the Stereotype Content Model (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Participants were randomly assigned to read one of four vignettes/stories. Condition 1 (LC, LW) described an immigrant who is low in competence (not perceived as skilled and being able to obtain a prestigious job) and low in warmth (not perceived as trustworthy and seen as a competitor). Condition 2 (HC, HW) depicted an immigrant as being high in warmth and high in competence. Condition 3 (LC, HW) described another immigrant as high in warmth and low in competence, and finally, condition 4 (HC, LW) described an immigrant that was low in warmth and high in competence (see Appendix B).

*Dependent Variables.* Immediately following the manipulation, participants answered 4 questions about how they felt towards the immigrant and

4 questions about how they would behave towards the immigrant in the story. Specifically, four questions asked whether they would admire, envy, feel disgust towards, and sympathize with the immigrant. Four questions asked whether they would exclude, help, associate with, and fight with the immigrant. These questions were rated on a 7 point Likert scale from Very Unlikely to Very Likely (see Appendix C).

*Manipulation Checks.* Four questions served as manipulation checks. Two asked participants about how warm the immigrant was. And, two questions asked participants about how competent the immigrant was. These items were rated on a 5 point Likert scale from Extremely to Not at all (see Appendix C).

Afterwards, participants filled out additional measures, which included the Big Five personality trait questions and the Attitudes toward Immigrants scale. Hispanic participants were additionally administered the Acculturation scale. Finally, participants were directed to answer 5 demographic questions about their gender, education level, socio-economic status, age, and race/ethnicity, asked to provide their name, ID, course, and course instructor in order to receive extra credit.

### **Additional Measures**

*Big Five.* The brief measure of the Big Five personality domains developed by Samuel Gosling, Peter Rentfrow, and William Swann Jr. (2003) was used as a predictor. It is a revised and shortened version adapted from the original initially developed by Paul Costa Jr. and Robert R. McCrae in 1992. Ten questions asked participants how much they agreed and disagreed with the ten

personality traits provided. Openness to experience and agreeableness were each measured with two items. The four items, written as statements, were Likert scaled on 7 points ranging from disagree strongly to strongly agree. Examples of items measuring Openness to Experience were: “Open to new experiences, complex” and “Conventional.” Examples of items measuring Agreeableness are: “Sympathize” and “Quarrelsome.” The participants rated how much they agreed or disagreed with the description of statement (see Appendix D).

Convergent and discriminant validity and the reliability of this scale has been assessed with various populations. Test-retest reliability had a mean correlation of  $r = .80$  for extraversion,  $r = .58$  for agreeableness,  $r = .65$  for conscientiousness,  $r = .69$  for emotional stability, and  $r = .48$  for openness to experience (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003). Inter item reliability measurement, alpha with these populations, and measurement conversion was not reported.

*Attitudes toward Immigrants.* Ashby Plant, David Butz, and Margarta Tartakovsky (2008) developed a scale to measure attitudes toward Hispanics. Inter item reliability tests of these developed scales are quite robust with alpha of .94 for White participants and .90 for Hispanic participants. Six questions were adapted from this questionnaire to measure Attitudes toward Immigrants (see Appendix E). An example of a question is: “Many Americans are unable to get jobs because so many Hispanic immigrants are taking them.” Participants rated these statements on a 7 point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7) on how much they agree. 10 items from the Attitudes toward

Hispanics scale were not included

*Acculturation Scale.* Participants who identified themselves as Hispanic/Latina (o) on the survey, were prompted to answer questions about their social and language preferences. The acculturation measure developed by Gerardo Marin, Fabio Sabogal, Barbara Marin, Regina Otero-Sabogal, and Eliseo Perez-Stable in 1987 was used with Hispanic participants. The scale consists of thirteen questions that asked participants about their preferred racial/ethnic group as well as their preferred usage of language (see Appendix G). Twelve items Likert scaled on 5 points measured how acculturated or how integrated a Latino was based on questions of language, media, and ethnic social relations preferences. In regards to language use and media preference items, participants were asked to choose within a range from Only Spanish to Only English. In regards to ethnic social relations preference, participants were asked to choose within a range from Only Latinos/Hispanics to Only Americans. An example of a question was: “What was the language you used as a child?” Participants rated the questions on a scale from “Only Spanish” to “Only English.” For this study, Hispanic participants were asked nine questions about their language preferences and four questions about their social preferences. This scale’s inter item reliability has been shown to be quite robust with the reliability alpha coefficient at .92 (Marin, et al., 1987).



### **3. RESULTS**

#### **Participants**

There were originally 507 college students in this study. Participants were eliminated for not completing the survey. The data for 429 participants was left to analyze in this study.

Eighty-six male participants took part in the study. Out of those 86 male participants, 2.3 % identified as Asian, 8.1% as African American/Black, 33.7% as Hispanic/Latino, 46.5 % as White, 8.1 % as Mixed, and 1.2% as Other. Three-hundred and forty-three female participants were involved in the study. Out of those 343 female participants, 3.5 % identified as Asian, 14 % as African-American/Black, 30.6% as Hispanic/Latina, 42.6% as White, 9% as Mixed, and 3 % as Other.

#### **Preliminary Analysis**

Of the Big Five personality trait items, two measured Openness and two measured Agreeableness. First “critical, quarrelsome”, an Agreeableness item and “conventional, not creative”, an Openness item were reversed coded before a correlation analysis was performed. I correlated the two items for each of the traits, Openness and Agreeableness, with each other to determine if composite scores for each trait should be created. However, the two items measuring openness were not strongly correlated ( $r = .104, p < .05$ ) with each other. Moreover, the two items measuring agreeableness were also not strongly correlated ( $r = .208, p < .001$ ) with each other. Thus, the two Competence and two Warmth items were analyzed separately.

A reliability analysis was performed on six items for the Attitudes toward Immigrants scale. There was a high reliability for the 6 items ( $\alpha = .93$ ).

The Acculturation scale consisting of thirteen items was made into a composite. A reliability analysis was done in order to test the Acculturation scale. There was a high reliability for the 13 items ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

An independent sample t-test was conducted in order to check whether the manipulations worked. The manipulation checks for the two competence items were both statistically significant. Competence was statistically significant, ( $M = 2.67$ ,  $SD = .962$  for high competence,  $M = 2.30$ ,  $SD = 1.01$  for low competence),  $t(426) = 3.893$ ,  $p < .001$ . Capability was statistically significant, ( $M = 2.78$ ,  $SD = .848$  for high capability,  $M = 2.00$ ,  $SD = .936$  for low capability),  $t(425) = 9.010$ ,  $p < .001$ . The manipulation checks for the two warmth items were not statistically significant.

### **Tests of Hypotheses**

The hypotheses were: Hypothesis 1: The more warm and competent an immigrant is perceived to be, the more positive participants will feel and behave towards an immigrant. Hypothesis 2: The more open to experience and agreeable a participant is, the more positive he or she will feel and behave towards an immigrant. Hypothesis 3: Regarding attitudes toward immigrants, the more positive the emotion response is toward interacting with immigrants, the more positive participants will feel and behave toward immigrants. Hypothesis 4: Within the Hispanic sample, the less acculturated the Hispanic participant is, the more positive the participant will feel and behave toward immigrants.

The first three hypotheses were tested using a MANOVA. The MANOVA allowed dichotomous and continuous independent variables to be regressed on 8 (4 emotional and 4 behavioral) dependent variables. The MANOVA statistical analysis was used in order to test whether the DVs (4 emotions: disgust, sympathize, admire, envy and 4 behaviors: help, fight, associate, exclude) were predicted by the IVs (Stereotype Content Model vignettes, Openness to experience and Agreeableness, and Attitudes toward Hispanics). The multivariate tests of this model using Wilks' Lambda criteria showed that both Warmth ( $F(8, 398) = 2.21, p < .05$ ) and Competence ( $F(8, 398) = 15.51, p < .001$ ), but not their interaction, were significant. Additionally, two Agreeableness items, Agreeableness 1 ( $F(8, 398) = 3.70, p < .001$ ) and Agreeableness 2 ( $F(8, 398) = 1.98, p < .05$ ) were significant. The two Openness items were not significant. Finally, Positive Attitudes toward Immigrants was significant ( $F(8, 398) = 26.19, p < .001$ ).

Then, I examined the **Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**, only if the Multivariate tests using the Wilks' Lambda criteria showed significance. The Warmth manipulation elicited main differences between Low and High Warmth conditions in two emotions: Disgust ( $F(1, 405) = 125.93, p < .05$ ) and Admiration ( $F(1, 405) = 75.69, p < .05$ ). Disgust was far more likely to be elicited in the Low warmth condition,  $M = 2.54, SD = 1.69$ , than in the High warmth condition,  $M = 2.15, SD = 1.44$ , as Admiration was far less in the Low warmth,  $M = 4.48, SD = 1.77$ , condition than in the High warmth,  $M = 4.88, SD = 1.50$ , condition.

The Competence manipulation elicited differences between Low and High

Competence conditions in three emotions and three behaviors. Specifically main differences were found for Disgust ( $F(1, 13.57) = 7.68, p < .05$ ), Admiration ( $F(1, 129.60) = 68.60, p < .001$ ), Envy ( $F(1, 107.78) = 55.53, p < .001$ ), Helping ( $F(1, 6.02) = 4.36, p < .05$ ), Associate ( $F(1, 55.08) = 33.65, p < .001$ ) and Exclude ( $F(1, 17.99) = 12.84, p < .001$ ).

Participants reported more disgust toward Low Competence ( $M = 2.59, SD = 1.57$ ) than High Competence ( $M = 2.13, SD = 1.56$ ) immigrants. Immigrants in the stories were more likely to be Admired in the High Competence ( $M = 5.24, SD = 1.54$ ) than in the Low Competence ( $M = 4.03, SD = 1.54$ ) conditions. The High Competence condition ( $M = 3.14, SD = 1.54$ ) elicited greater Envy in participants than the Low Competence ( $M = 2.15, SD = 1.22$ ) condition. High Competence ( $M = 5.28, SD = 1.32$ ) immigrants were more likely to be Helped than Low Competence ( $M = 4.91, SD = 1.40$ ) immigrants. The High Competence condition ( $M = 5.18, SD = 1.52$ ) elicited greater Association in participants than the Low Competence ( $M = 4.33, SD = 1.55$ ). The High Competence condition ( $M = 2.05, SD = 1.22$ ) elicited less exclusion than the Low Competence condition ( $M = 2.55, SD = 1.40$ ).

The contributions of the two Agreeable items were examined. Only one Agreeable item (Q69) significantly predicted two emotions and two behaviors. Specifically, Agreeableness predicted Admiration ( $F(1, 405) = 8.06, p < .05$ ), Sympathize ( $F(1, 405) = 17.69, p < .001$ ), Help ( $F(1, 405) = 19.51, p < .001$ ) and Exclude ( $F(1, 405) = 5.57, p < .05$ ). Correlation analyses examining the relationships between this predictor and these four criteria (two emotions and two

behaviors) show that Agreeableness (Q69) was positively related to Admiration ( $r(427) = .207, p < .001$ ), Sympathize ( $r(426) = .263, p < .001$ ) and Help ( $r(428) = .290, p < .001$ ) and negatively related to Exclude ( $r(427) = -.194, p < .001$ ). The more Agreeable (Q69) the participant was, the more likely they were to admire, sympathize, and help the immigrant in the vignette. Moreover, the more Agreeable (Q69) the participant was, the less likely they were to exclude the immigrant in the vignette.

Attitudes toward Immigrants significantly predicted three emotions and four behaviors. Specifically, Att. Immigrants predicted Disgust ( $F(1, 405) = 125.93, p < .001$ ), Admiration ( $F(1, 405) = p < .001$ ), Sympathize ( $F(1, 405) = 79.48, p < .001$ ), Help ( $F(1, 405) = 88.63, p < .001$ ), Fight ( $F(1, 405) = 18.51, p < .001$ ), Associate ( $F(1, 405) = 108.81, p < .001$ ) and Exclude ( $F(1, 405) = 66.08, p < .001$ ). Correlation analyses examining the relationships between this predictor (Att Immig) and the seven criteria (three emotions and four behaviors) show Attitudes toward Immigrants (Q69) correlated positively with Admiration ( $r(424) = .410, p < .001$ ), Sympathize ( $r(423) = .433, p < .001$ ), Help ( $r(425) = .456, p < .001$ ) and Associate ( $r(423) = .490, p < .001$ ), negatively related to Disgust ( $r(424) = -.518, p < .001$ ), Fight ( $r(424) = -.251, p < .001$ ), and Exclude ( $r(424) = -.407, p < .001$ ). Thus, the more positive attitudes toward immigrants the participant had, the more likely they were to admire, sympathize, help, and associate with the immigrant in the vignette. Also, the more positive attitudes toward immigrants the participant had, the less likely they were to feel disgust, fight, and exclude the immigrant in the vignette.

A correlation analysis was used to test the fourth hypothesis. Hypothesis 4 stated that within the Hispanic sample, the less acculturated the Hispanic participant is, the more positive the participant will feel and behave toward immigrants. The analysis showed that Acculturation correlated significantly with one emotion and two behaviors. Specifically, Acculturation correlated negatively with Admire ( $r(129) = -.260, p < .001$ ), Help ( $r(129) = -.314, p < .001$ ), and Associate ( $r(129) = -.306, p < .001$ ). Thus, the more acculturated the participant, the less likely they were to admire, help and associate with the immigrant in the vignette.

**Table 1. MANOVA**

IV	DV	MANOVA			ANOVA				
		Wilk's <i>k</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Sym.Agr.		.931	3.696	398.00	.000				
	Admire					15.233	8.063	1	.005
	Sympa.					26.782	17.686	1	.000
	Help					26.949	19.507	1	.000
	Exclude					7.809	5.570	1	.019
Crit. Agree		.962	1.977	398.00	.048				
Pos.Att.		.655	26.190	398.00	.000				
	Disgust					222.456	125.933	1	.000
	Admire					143.004	75.689	1	.000
	Sympa.					120.360	79.483	1	.000
	Help					122.436	88.627	1	.000
	Fight					25.759	18.151	1	.000
	Assoc.					178.146	108.812	1	.000
	Exclude					92.637	66.082	1	.000
Warm		.957	2.212	398.00	.026				
	Disgust					16.851	9.539	1	.002
	Admire					15.401	8.151	1	.005
Compete.		.762	15.514	398.00	.000				
	Disgust					13.569	7.681	1	.006
	Admire					129.604	68.596	1	.000
	Envy					107.783	55.533	1	.000
	Help					6.020	4.358	1	.037
	Assoc.					55.083	33.645	1	.000
	Exclude					17.992	12.835	1	.000

**Table 2. Correlation Matrix**

DV	Warm	Competent	Sym.Agree	Pos.Att.
Disgust	-.124**	-.148**		-.518**
Admire	.121*	.367**	.207**	.410**
Sympathize			.263**	.433**
Envy		.336**		
Help		.134**	.290**	.456**
Fight				-.251**
Associate		.277**		.490**
Exclude		-.187**	-.194**	.407**

**Table 3. Descriptive Statistics Warmth**

	Warm	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Likelihood disgust	Low	219	2.54	1.687
	High	211	2.15	1.438
Likelihood admire	Low	220	4.48	1.766
	High	210	4.88	1.494

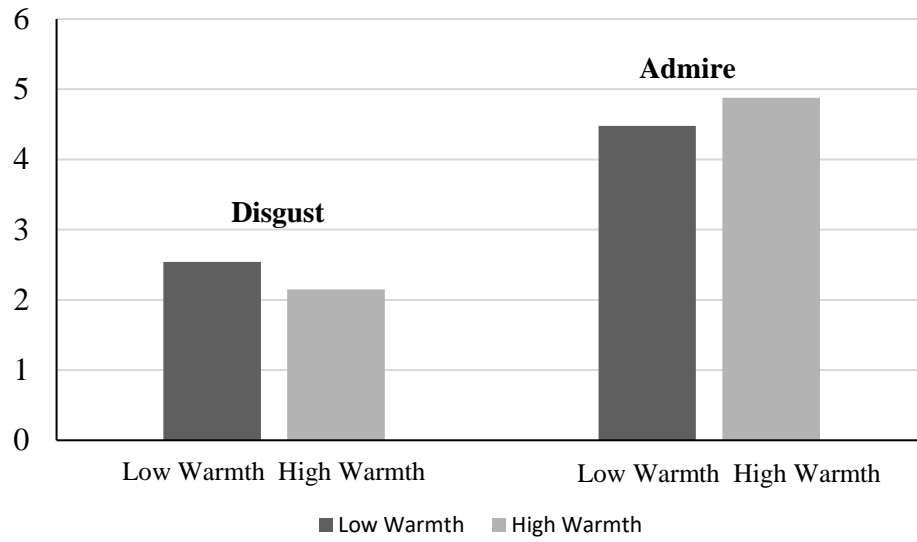
**Table 4. Descriptive Statistics Competence**

	Competent	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Likelihood disgust	Low	202	2.59	1.566
	High	228	2.13	1.564
Likelihood admire	Low	202	4.03	1.535
	High	228	5.24	1.536
Likelihood envy	Low	202	2.15	1.217
	High	228	3.14	1.537
Likelihood help	Low	202	4.91	1.404
	High	229	5.28	1.321
Likelihood associate	Low	202	4.33	1.553
	High	229	5.18	1.418
Likelihood exclude	Low	202	2.55	1.385
	High	229	2.05	1.216

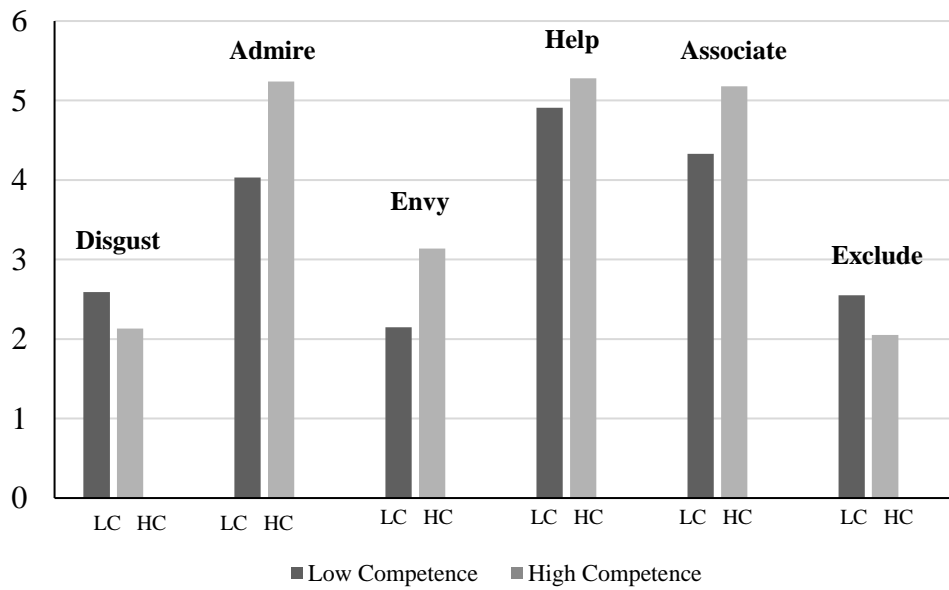


**Table 5. Correlation Acculturation**

	Acc.Gen	Disgust	Admire	Sympath.	Envy	Help	Fight	Associate
Acc.Gen.								
Disgust	.105							
Admire	-.260**	-.564**						
Sympathize	-.160	-.443**	.516**					
Envy	.064	.256**	.114	.048				
Help	-.314**	-.500**	.614**	.443**	-.045			
Fight	.030	.573**	-.296**	-.309**	.407*	-.272**		
Associate	-.306**	-.443**	.708**	.371**	.053	.669**	-.293**	
Exclude	.122	.699**	-.640**	-.415**	.179*	-.577**	.520**	-.655**



**Figure 1. Significant Mean Differences between Warmth Conditions**



**Figure 2. Significant Mean Differences between Competence Conditions**

## **4. DISCUSSION**

### **Summary**

This thesis examined how people behave and feel toward immigrants, specifically Mexican immigrants, as predicted by a number of dependent variables: Stereotype Content Model, Big Five Personality Traits, Attitudes toward Hispanics scale, and Acculturation (for Hispanic participants only). Although hypotheses 3 and 4 were supported, the hypotheses 1 and 2 were only partially supported. For example, for hypothesis 1, only the emotional factors Admiration and Disgust were found to be significant between high and low warmth factors. By contrast, only two factors Sympathize and Fight were found to be non-significant between high and low Competence.

It seems that the term Warmth did not evoke as many emotional and behavioral outcomes as Competence. Why this difference between these concepts? The differences in findings between the two factors may be due to Competence being considered a more important a construct than warmth because it is perceived and interpreted as more stable (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Ability is perceived as a fixed construct. A person who is capable today is capable tomorrow. Warmth, by contrast, can change. A person can be warm one day and cold the next. An immigrant's intentions (warmth) may be less reliable and open to change than an immigrant's competence. Something that is perceived to be fixed may elicit more reactions than something perceived as ever-changing. Thus, an immigrant's Competence, or the lack of, may evoke more emotions and

behaviors than an immigrant's Warmth.

In addition, the factor Agreeableness was significant but Openness to experience was not. Agreeableness was linked with two emotions and two behaviors: Admiration, Sympathy, Helping and negatively related to Exclusion, respectively. The variable openness to experience may have not predicted any emotions and behaviors because people may not have understood what Openness meant. The characteristic "open to new experiences, complex" may have been too ambiguous or general for participants. For example, participants may not have understood that being complex is related to being open to new experiences. Participants may have interpreted complex as someone who is problematic.

### **Limitations**

In regards to limitations, there were methodological issues in the current study. For instance, the vignettes presented to participants were hypothetical, and their responses to these hypothetical vignettes were kept confidential. In person, participants may have more time to think about how they would behave and feel towards an immigrant in person and not act so openly. People may control or check their prejudice in person compared to a hypothetical scenario, especially if the study is anonymous and confidential. Therefore, responding to a vignette about an immigrant can be different than actually interacting with a real immigrant.

Furthermore, the scales used in the current study also had limitations. The items were limited to Hispanic immigrants from Mexico. Participants may have preexisting prejudices about certain racial/ethnic groups and not about others. For

example, had the scenario included an immigrant from Western Europe or another country, different prejudices may have been elicited different responses between the two racial/ethnic groups.

Another limitation to the current study would be the fact that all participants were college students. College students may have a different exposure to immigrants compared to professionals who work with immigrants or others who interact more with immigrants. Thus, even though the sample was somewhat diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, the study cannot be generalized to the rest of the population.

Additionally, one of the limitations of the Big Five Personality Trait scale is its use of short measures (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003). Since it was a ten-item scale that only included two personality characteristics per factor, information per factor may be lacking (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003). For example, participants may have not identified themselves as open to new experiences on the survey because they may not have been able to understand the personality characteristics that correspond with the personality trait. A more detailed description or perhaps having more than two personality characteristics per factor may have provided participants with more information. Thus, responses could vary.

In addition, the Attitudes toward Hispanics scale had limitations including: pre-existing prejudice was not examined (Plant, Butz, & Tartakovsky, 2008). Future research could explore if White participants are more prone to having negative attitudes towards Hispanics if they already have pre-existing prejudice or

bias towards them. Moreover, the Acculturation scale is not exempt from limitations. The participants that took part in the development of this scale were primarily Mexican American and Central American origin and volunteers (Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Sable, 1987). While, the scale may have been applicable to our willing sample of Hispanic college students who are of Mexican origin, future studies could examine whether the scale can be applied and findings generalized other Hispanic subgroups that are not accessed so conveniently (Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable, 1987).

### **Future Directions**

Future studies could use images to elicit prejudice in people instead of having participants read a vignette and answer questions based on the vignette. For instance, Harrison, Johnson, & Chun (2012) conducted a study in which they found that participants, although implicit, had more racial bias towards images of African Americans compared to images of White/Caucasians. Although studies that examine prejudice towards African-Americans have been conducted by using images, not many studies have examined prejudice towards Hispanics. Therefore, perhaps conducting a study in which images of Hispanics are used to examine prejudice could lead to interesting results.

Additionally, future studies with Hispanic participants could also add acculturation to the regression model to predict how a participant will behave and feel towards an immigrant. In this study I simply examined the relationship between acculturation and behaviors and feelings toward an immigrant featured in a vignette. It would be worth considering how acculturation can be a main

predictor to how a participant will behave and feel towards an immigrant.

## **Conclusion**

The current study contributes to the field of psychology by examining prejudice by testing a model and using different scales that have been previously used in previous research. The current study is important because it not only examines how a person will behave and feel towards an immigrant, but it serves to give a sense of the prejudice faced by certain immigrants depending on how they are perceived. In addition, people will feel and behave towards an immigrant is multifactorial. It is a function of how warm and competent an immigrant is perceived to be, how open to experience and agreeable a person is, a person's attitudes toward Hispanics, and how acculturated a person is in regards to Hispanics. This study could be used to inform policymakers of the prejudice that certain immigrants face in order to implement policy options that empower them.

## **APPENDIX SECTION**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### Consent Form

This project [2016J5922] was exempted by the Texas State IRB on 07/21/16. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB Chair, Dr. Jon Lasser 512-245-3413 – (lasser@txstate.edu) or to Monica Gonzales, IRB Regulatory Manager 512-245-2314 - (meg201@txstate.edu).

This research is being supervised by Dr. Roque Mendez in collaboration with Elia Bueno. If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study, you may contact the Principal Investigator, Elia Bueno (512) 938-2213 or via email: eb1314@txstate.edu. You may also contact Dr. Roque Mendez (rm04@txstate.edu) in the Department of Psychology, Texas State University, San Marcos, TX, 78666; (512) 245-3023.

The purpose of the research is to understand behaviors and feelings towards immigrants.

In this study you will be asked to answer questions about hypothetical immigrants based on a scenario.

The completion of the study should take about 25 minutes.

Extra credit will be provided at your instructor's discretion.

The questions are non-threatening and pose no risk beyond what is encountered in daily life.

There will be no direct benefit to you from participating in this study other than the extra credit points if your instructor announced this research participation as a bonus points opportunity. However, the information that you provide will increase our understanding of how people perceive and act toward others.

Reasonable efforts will be made to keep the personal information in your research record private and confidential. Any identifiable information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. The members of the research team and the Texas State University Office of Research Compliance (ORC) may access the data. The ORC monitors research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.



Your name will not be used in any written reports or publications which result from this research. Data will be kept for three years (per federal regulations) after the study is completed and then destroyed.

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw from it at any time without consequences of any kind or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. The participant will be provided the option of an alternate assignment in case he/she elects to withdraw from

**Agreement:** The purpose and nature of this research has been adequately explained to me and I agree to participate in this study.

- I agree
- I do not agree

## **APPENDIX B**

### **PLEASE READ CAREFULLY:**

**You will be reading a scenario below about an immigrant and will be asked to answer questions regarding that scenario. There are no right or wrong answers.**

An immigrant from Mexico, with name initials C.G., arrives to the United States. C.G. can speak, read, and write in English and Spanish, is highly skilled, and has a master's degree from a well-respected university. C.G. will likely compete for the same job positions that Americans will be applying for, and while in the U.S. plans to take advantage of the social services and resources that are available to Americans.

### **PLEASE READ CAREFULLY:**

**You will be reading a scenario below about an immigrant and will be asked to answer questions regarding that scenario. There are no right or wrong answers.**

An immigrant from Mexico, with name initials C.G., arrives to the United States. C.G. can only speak, read, and write in Spanish and only studied up to first grade. C.G. will likely compete and work in low wage jobs that Americans are likely to work in. However, while in the U.S., C.G. plans to take advantage of social services and resources that are available to Americans.

### **PLEASE READ CAREFULLY:**

**You will be reading a scenario below about an immigrant and will be asked to answer questions regarding that scenario. There are no right or wrong answers.**

An immigrant from Mexico, with name initials C.G., arrives to the United States. C.G. can only speak, read, and write in Spanish and only studied up to first grade. C.G. will likely not compete and work in low wage jobs that Americans are not likely to work in. C.G. is self-sufficient and self-reliable and will not take advantage of social services and resources available to Americans.

**PLEASE READ CAREFULLY:**

**You will be reading a scenario below about an immigrant and will be asked to answer questions regarding that scenario. There are no right or wrong answers.**

An immigrant from Mexico, with name initials C.G., arrives to the United States. C.G. can speak, read, and write in English and Spanish, is highly skilled and has a master's degree from a well-respected university. C.G. will not likely compete for the same job positions that Americans will be applying for, but because C.G. is self-sufficient and self-reliable, will not take advantage of social services and resources available to Americans.

## APPENDIX C

The following questions will pertain to the scenario you just read. Please indicate how likely you are to feel and behave towards the person in the scenario.

Remember that there are no right or wrong answers and your responses will not be tied to you as an individual.

1. How likely are you to feel disgust towards this person?

- Very Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Likely
- Very Likely

2. How likely are you to admire this person?

- Very Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Likely
- Very Likely

3. How likely are you to sympathize with this person?

- Very Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Likely
- Very Likely

4. How likely are you to envy this person?

- Very Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely

- Likely
- Very Likely

5. How likely are you to help this person?

- Very Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Likely
- Very Likely

6. How likely are you to fight this person?

- Very Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Likely
- Very Likely

7. How likely are you to associate with this person?

- Very Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Likely
- Very Likely

8. How likely are you to exclude this person?

- Very Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Likely
- Very Likely

9. How warm do you perceive this person to be?

- Extremely
- Very
- Moderately
- Slightly
- Not at all

10. How friendly do you perceive this person to be?

- Extremely
- Very
- Moderately
- Slightly
- Not at all

11. How competent do you perceive this person to be?

- Extremely
- Very
- Moderately
- Slightly
- Not at all

12. How competent do you perceive this person to be?

- Extremely
- Very
- Moderately
- Slightly
- Not at all

## APPENDIX D

Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please answer based on how much you agree or disagree with the statement. Rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

13. I see myself as: extroverted, enthusiastic.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

14. I see myself as: critical, quarrelsome.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

15. I see myself as: dependable, self-disciplined.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

16. I see myself as: anxious, easily upset.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree

- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

17. I see myself as: open to new experiences, complex.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

18. I see myself as: reserved, quiet.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

19. I see myself as: sympathetic, warm.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

20. I see myself as: disorganized, careless.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

21. I see myself as: calm, emotionally stable.



- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

22. I see myself as: conventional, not creative.

- Disagree strongly
- Disagree moderately
- Disagree a little
- Neither agree or disagree
- Agree a little
- Agree moderately
- Agree strongly

## APPENDIX E

The following questions pertain to attitudes toward Hispanics. Indicate your agreement/disagreement with each of the following statements, using the scale below. Select the choice that best applies to you and remember that your responses will not be associated with you.

23. Stricter laws should be established to control Hispanic immigration.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

24. Hispanic immigrants are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

25. I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or promotion because of preferential treatment given to minority group members.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

26. We shouldn't allow so many Hispanic immigrants to enter the U.S.

- Strongly disagree

- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

27. From my experiences with Hispanics, I find that they uphold they stereotypes for the most part.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

28. It bothers me when Hispanics insist on speaking their own language in public.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

29. Hispanic immigrants are enjoying too many privileges under the U.S. law.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

30. Many Americans are unable to get jobs because so many Hispanic immigrants are taking them.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree

- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

31. Too much tax money is going toward unnecessary funding for Hispanics.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

## APPENDIX F

The following questions are basic demographic questions. Choose the one that best applies to you.

32. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

33. What is your education level?

- High school graduate/GED
- Some college
- College graduate
- Graduate school

34. What is your socio-economic status?

- High class
- Middle high class
- Middle class
- Low middle class
- Lower class

35. What is your age?

- 18-20
- 21-23
- 24-26
- 27-29
- 30+

36. What is your race/ethnicity?

- Asian
- African American/Black
- Hispanic/Latina(o)
- White Caucasian
- Native American
- Mixed

## APPENDIX G

Please select the choice that best describes your social and language preferences.  
**(ONLY applicable to Hispanic/Latina (o) participants)**

37. In general, what language(s) do you read and speak?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish
- Only English

38. What was the language(s) you used as a child?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish
- Only English

39. What language(s) do you usually speak at home?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish
- Only English

40. In which language(s) do you usually think?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish
- Only English

41. What language(s) do you usually speak with your friends?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish

- Only English

42. In what language(s) are the T.V. programs you usually watch?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish
- Only English

43. In what language(s) are the radio programs you usually listen to?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish
- Only English

44. In general, in what language(s) are the movies, T.V., and radio programs you prefer to watch and listen to?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish
- Only English

45. In what language(s) is the music you usually listen to?

- Only Spanish
- Spanish better than English
- Both equally
- English better than Spanish
- Only English

46. Your close friends are:

- All Hispanics
- More Hispanics than Non-Hispanics
- About half & half
- More Non-Hispanics than Hispanics
- All Non-Hispanics

47. You prefer going to social gatherings/parties at which the people are:

- All Hispanics
- More Hispanics than Non-Hispanics
- About half & half
- More Non-Hispanics than Hispanics
- All Non-Hispanics

48. The persons you visit or who you visit are:

- All Hispanics
- More Hispanics than Non-Hispanics
- About half & half
- More Non-Hispanics than Hispanics
- All Non-Hispanics

49. If you could choose your children's friends, you would want them to be:

- All Hispanics
- More Hispanics than Non-Hispanics
- About half & half
- More Non-Hispanics than Hispanics
- All Non-Hispanics



Thank you for participating in the study. If you have any questions regarding the survey please contact Elia Bueno via email: eb1314@txstate.edu or Dr. Roque Mendez via email: rm04@txstate.edu.

**If you wish to receive extra credit, please click on the link below. Remember that your responses will not be associated with your answers.**

[https://txstate.co1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV\\_38jWoTsPyQLpPoN](https://txstate.co1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_38jWoTsPyQLpPoN)

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