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# Changing The Face Of American Culture: A New Perspective On Immigration

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CHANGING THE FACE OF AMERICAN CULTURE:  
A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON  
IMMIGRATION

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2013

CHANGING THE FACE OF AMERICAN CULTURE:  
A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON  
IMMIGRATION

by

STEPHANIE ANN QUEZADA, M.A.

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
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## **Abstract**

Immigration in the United States is currently a focal political and social issue. The nation's support for restricting immigration stems in part from the cultural threats made salient after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and from the recent influx of immigrants. The present research investigated the implications of perceiving immigration as voluntary or involuntary and permanent or temporary. Experiment 1, a pilot study, showed that U.S. citizens expect voluntary and permanent immigrants to assimilate to mainstream American culture. Experiment 1 also showed that U.S. citizens expressed greater anger toward immigrants who were permanently staying in the U.S., and greater sympathy toward involuntary immigrants and immigrants who were temporarily staying in the U.S. Experiment 2 extended the findings of Experiment 1 with a controlled experimental design to test the political implications of perceiving immigration as voluntary or involuntary and permanent or temporary. Experiment 2 showed that U.S. citizens expect permanent immigrants to assimilate to mainstream American culture. Experiment 2 also showed that U.S. citizens expressed greater sympathy toward involuntary immigrants and immigrants who were temporarily staying in the U.S. Participants' endorsement of assimilation, American identity, and ethnic identity were differentially associated with sympathy toward immigrants, perceptions of cultural change, realistic threat, and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation. This line of research extends previous research investigating voluntary and involuntary immigration, and introduces the distinctions of permanent and temporary immigration in the context of cultural inertia.

Word count: 233

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The influx of immigrants into the United States has increased the cultural diversity in the country. Approximately 40 million foreign-born individuals were living in the U.S. in 2010, comprising approximately 13 percent of the total population (Grieco et al., 2012). The data further showed that 44 percent of the foreign-born population became naturalized citizens, while 56 percent did not obtain citizenship (Grieco et al., 2012). The extent to which immigrants become incorporated into mainstream American culture has critical implications for the way members of the majority culture respond to immigration. Over the past few years, states have implemented different immigration policies to encourage immigrants' incorporation with mainstream American culture. The most recent U.S. presidential election focused on key topics related to immigration, which heightened the ethnic minority vote in the country. A deeper understanding of the reasons why members of mainstream American culture oppose or support immigration is essential to the development and implementation of future immigration policies.

The following literature review begins with an introduction to how the majority culture experiences immigration threats. Assimilation and multiculturalism are defined to introduce the conditions under which immigrants are expected to become incorporated with the mainstream culture. Cultural inertia is discussed from the majority perspective to understand how perceptions of cultural change influence attitudes toward immigration. A brief introduction exploring immigrants' duration of stay in the host country, and immigrants' reason for migration provides the foundation necessary to understand the extent to which immigration may be perceived as permanent or temporary and voluntary or involuntary. Cultural inertia is further discussed to introduce individual difference variables that predict perceptions of cultural change. Collectively, this literature led to the formulation of the hypotheses that were tested in the present research investigating the majority perspective: (1) expectations of assimilation to mainstream American culture, (2) feelings of anger and sympathy, (3) perceptions of cultural change, (4) realistic threat, and (5) endorsement of anti-immigration legislation

will differ as a function of whether immigration is perceived as voluntary or involuntary and permanent or temporary.

### **Threats to the Majority Culture Caused by Immigration**

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks negatively influenced American attitudes toward immigration (Esses, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2002). The threats induced by September 11<sup>th</sup> strengthened the unity of the national ingroup, and simultaneously heightened negative attitudes toward immigrant outgroups (Esses et al., 2002). Consequently, realistic threat (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999) is currently a strong predictor of negative attitudes toward immigrant groups in the United States. Realistic threat is defined as the threats to the economic, political, and social resources of the host country. For example, realistic threat is experienced by the majority culture when competition for economic resources increases with the influx of immigrants. Realistic threats include competition for employment, natural resources, and wealth. One study found that members of mainstream American culture experienced greater realistic threat with the influx of Cuban and Mexican immigrants (Stephan et al., 1999).

Economic competition between members of mainstream American culture and immigrant groups stems from the perception that resources are limited and immigrant groups are highly skilled (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). Negative attitudes toward immigrants groups are heightened when members of the majority culture feel threatened economically. The association between realistic threat and negative attitudes toward immigration is consistent across multiple studies. Research conducted in the Netherlands indicated that Dutch respondents are supportive of discrimination toward immigrants if immigrant groups enter the country when unemployment is high. In this case, the Dutch experience realistic threat because immigrants become competitors for limited employment opportunities (Coenders, Lubbers, Scheepers, & Verkuyten, 2008). Additional research conducted in the U.S. has demonstrated how prejudice toward immigrants is heightened when economic resources are threatened. Findings from one study showed that members of mainstream American culture expressed

greater prejudice toward immigrants when intergroup similarities among economic skills were made salient (Zárate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004). In both the Netherlands and U.S., members of the majority culture experienced greater realistic threat when immigrant groups were perceived as competitors for economic resources. Collectively, these findings suggest that negative attitudes toward different immigrant groups stem from experiencing threat, especially realistic threat.

### **Cultural Ideologies and Immigration**

The majority culture may alleviate such threats by expecting immigrants to become incorporated into the mainstream culture. Berry (1984) introduced cultural ideologies to better understand different approaches to cultural integration. The present research focuses on the opposing implications of assimilation and multiculturalism from the majority perspective. Assimilation is defined as relinquishing a heritage identity to assimilate and adapt to the mainstream culture (Berry, 1984). In an assimilation framework, immigrants are expected to relinquish their heritage culture to adapt to the norms of values of the mainstream culture. The Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996) suggests that assimilation reduces intergroup tensions between groups because rather than differentiating between “us” versus “them,” an inclusive “we” identity is formed. Across a series of studies, Gaertner et al. (1996) showed that intergroup biases were reduced when individuals perceived one aggregate group, rather than multiple groups. In a multi-ethnic high school, for example, students expressed less negative bias when they perceived the student population as one aggregate group (e.g. high school students), rather than a composition of different ethnic groups. Bank executives experiencing a corporate merger also expressed less negative bias when their former competition was perceived as the ingroup (Gaertner et al., 1996). In an assimilation framework, negative attitudes toward immigrants may be reduced because immigrants are perceived as part the mainstream ingroup, rather than the minority outgroup.

Multiculturalism is defined as allowing minorities to retain their heritage identity, and ethnic diversity in the mainstream culture is tolerated (Berry, 1984). In a multicultural framework, immigrants

are encouraged to retain their heritage culture, and the majority group tolerates increased cultural diversity. The Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model (Hewstone & Brown, 1986) suggests that multiculturalism reduces intergroup tensions between the majority group and minority groups because minorities are allowed to retain their heritage culture. Hornsey and Hogg (2000) showed support for the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model in an experiment where students expressed less intergroup bias when their subordinate identity (humanities or math-science students) was made salient. The *multiculturalism assumption* (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977) supports these findings because it argues that individuals perceive other groups positively when they are encouraged to retain their cultural distinctiveness. A direct application of multicultural policies in Canada continues to demonstrate the reduction of prejudice when contact between different ethnic groups is increased (Berry & Kalin, 1979). In a multicultural framework, negative attitudes toward immigrants are reduced because immigrant groups retain their heritage culture and the majority group is tolerant of cultural diversity.

### **Cultural Inertia and Immigration**

Cultural inertia makes specific predictions about the implications of assimilation and multiculturalism for the majority culture. Cultural inertia is defined as a resistance to cultural change, unless the cultural change is already occurring (Zárate & Shaw, 2010; Zárate, Shaw, Marquez, & Biagas, 2012). The concept of cultural inertia parallels the understanding of inertia in physics: an object at rest remains at rest; and an object in motion remains in motion. Cultural inertia can be understood as a process that unifies the opposing implications of assimilation and multiculturalism. Assimilation culturally affirms the majority group because the majority culture remains stable while immigrant groups change to adapt to the mainstream culture. Immigrant groups who do not assimilate threaten the stability of the mainstream culture. In a recent study, White Americans read an article and answered questions with differing endpoints that biased them to believe that mainstream American culture was changing or remaining stable because of an influx of documented or undocumented Latino immigrants.

The results indicated that White Americans experienced greater realistic threat, greater symbolic threat, greater extinction threat and anxiety for the future of their ingroup (Wohl, Branscombe, & Reysen, 2010), and greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation, when biased to believe mainstream American culture was changing because of an influx of undocumented Latino immigrants (Quezada, Hitlan, Shenberger, & Zárate, 2011). These findings indicated that negative attitudes toward Latino immigrants were driven by perceptions of cultural change.

Multiculturalism culturally affirms immigrants because immigrant groups remain stable while the majority group changes to accommodate immigrants and become more tolerant of cultural diversity. In one study, Mexican Americans completed an experimental manipulation that biased them to believe that mainstream American culture was changing to accommodate Mexican culture, or Mexican culture was changing to assimilate to mainstream American culture. The results indicated that Mexican Americans expressed less prejudice toward Mexican immigrants when biased to believe that mainstream American culture was changing to accommodate Mexican culture (Zárate et al., 2012). Another study showed that Mexican Americans positively interacted with American society when they believed the U.S. was changing to accommodate Mexican culture. Collectively, these findings indicated that continual change for the majority culture, in the context of multiculturalism, is culturally affirming for minority groups.

From the majority perspective, multiculturalism is threatening, unless the majority culture is already experiencing cultural change. A survey study conducted in Australia indicated that endorsement of multiculturalism was strongly associated with positive attitudes toward immigration (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). Furthermore, members of the majority culture who felt greater cultural, economic, and personal security held more positive attitudes toward immigration. Members of the majority culture who supported cultural diversity were more tolerant of immigration (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). These findings showed that the majority culture endorses multiculturalism when the mainstream culture is not

threatened by cultural change. The security associated with a static culture, or a culture that is already changing, makes it easier for the majority culture to accept immigration. The present research continues to extend the cultural inertia research to better understand how perceptions of cultural change are influenced by immigrants' duration of stay in the host country and immigrants' reason for migration.

### **Permanent vs. Temporary Immigration**

The extent to which the majority culture feels threatened by immigration can be associated with immigrants' duration of stay in the host country. Permanent immigrants stay in the host country indefinitely without returning to their heritage country. Temporary immigrants stay in the host country temporarily and return to their heritage country when the opportunity arises. The present research tests the prediction that members of mainstream American culture have a greater tolerance for temporary immigration, relative to permanent immigration in the United States.

Theoretically, we hypothesized that host country individuals perceive that permanent immigrants produce greater cultural change than temporary immigrants. Perceptions of cultural change lead to greater perceived threat. Permanent immigrants want to stay in the U.S. without returning to their heritage country, and this responsibility is perceived negatively by the majority culture. Conversely, it is hypothesized that temporary immigrants are motivated to return to their heritage country. Temporary immigrants influence the majority culture for a shorter period of time, and their motivation to leave the host country alleviates negative attitudes expressed by the majority culture.

Cultural inertia reconciles the different expectations for permanent and temporary immigrants with respect to assimilation and multiculturalism. Permanent immigrants are in a constant state of cultural change as they become incorporated with the mainstream culture. The majority culture expects permanent immigrants to assimilate to the mainstream culture because permanent immigrants will never return to their heritage country. If permanent immigrants remain in the host country without assimilating, the majority culture has to change to accommodate them. Temporary immigrants

eventually return to their heritage country. The majority culture does not expect temporary immigrants to assimilate because temporary immigrants do not threaten the majority culture if they leave. Thus, we hypothesized that immigrants who permanently stay in the U.S. have a greater responsibility toward the majority culture than immigrants who temporarily stay in the U.S. This application of cultural inertia provides the initial investigation of permanent and temporary immigration that is currently missing from the literature.

### **Voluntary vs. Involuntary Immigration**

The extent to which the majority culture feels threatened by immigration can also be associated with the reasons immigrants migrate to the host country. Verkuyten (2005) argues that immigrants migrate because of “personal choice” (i.e. seeking greater economic opportunities) or “lack of choice” (i.e. refugees or asylum seekers). The two reasons for migration highlighted by Verkuyten (2005) are used to classify immigrants as voluntary or involuntary, respectively (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). The present research tests the prediction that members of mainstream American culture have a greater tolerance for involuntary immigration, relative to voluntary immigration in the United States. Voluntary and involuntary immigration have differential implications for the majority culture, so it becomes important to understand the extent to which the majority culture responds differently to immigrants because of their reasons for migration.

Theoretically, we hypothesized that voluntary immigrants migrate to the United States willingly to seek better opportunities. Voluntary immigrants control their decision to freely migrate and this responsibility is perceived negatively by the majority culture. Conversely, it is hypothesized that involuntary immigrants do not choose to migrate to the United States, but rather, are forced to migrate against their will. Involuntary immigrants do not control their migration, and their lack of responsibility for their migration alleviates negative attitudes expressed by the majority culture.

Cultural inertia reconciles the implications of voluntary and involuntary immigrants with respect to assimilation and multiculturalism. Voluntary immigrants willingly initiate their migration to another country, and therefore, consistent with cultural inertia, the majority culture expects that voluntary immigrants will continue that movement and assimilate to the mainstream culture. Conversely, involuntary immigrants oppose cultural change. The majority culture does not expect involuntary immigrants to assimilate because their state of movement was forced upon them. This application of cultural inertia provides the deeper understanding of voluntary and involuntary immigration that is currently missing from the literature.

Voluntary and involuntary immigration are strongly associated with the mainstream culture's expectations of assimilation and multiculturalism (Verkuyten, 2005). An interview study conducted with Dutch natives in the Netherlands provided insight into the conditions under which assimilation or multiculturalism may be expected of immigrants. When immigrants choose to migrate to another country, the majority culture expected immigrants to assimilate to the norms and values of the host country. In this case, voluntary immigration is strongly associated with assimilation – immigrants made the decision to migrate and should be responsible for becoming a part of the mainstream culture. When immigrants are forced to migrate to another country, however, the majority culture expected multiculturalism to be implemented so that immigrants may retain their heritage culture. In this case, involuntary immigration is strongly associated with multiculturalism – immigrants were forced to migrate and should not be expected to become incorporated with the mainstream culture (Verkuyten, 2005). The association between involuntary immigration and multiculturalism is consistent across multiple studies (Verkuyten, 2005; Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2011).

**Political implications of voluntary and involuntary immigration.** The implications of voluntary and involuntary immigration extend beyond assimilation and multiculturalism. Research conducted in the Netherlands showed that members of the majority culture are more positive toward



involuntary immigrants, relative to voluntary immigrants. Members of the majority culture in the Netherlands expressed anger toward voluntary immigrants and sympathy toward involuntary immigrants (Verkuyten, 2004). Moreover, feelings of anger were associated with less support of immigration policies and feelings of sympathy were associated with more support of immigration policies. If immigrants choose to migrate, their rights and privileges in the new country are limited and policies should not be implemented to accommodate them. If immigrants are forced to migrate, however, their rights and privileges in the new country should be supported by policies aimed to accommodate them (Verkuyten, 2004). These findings are consistent with cultural inertia. Members of the majority culture expressed greater anger toward voluntary immigrants because voluntary immigration is associated with greater cultural change. The majority culture feels threatened by voluntary immigration, and thus, less support is given for immigration policies developed for voluntary immigrants. Conversely, the majority culture expressed greater sympathy toward involuntary immigrants because the majority culture understands the uncontrollable circumstances experienced by involuntary immigrants. When the majority culture is not threatened by cultural change, greater support is given for immigration policies developed for involuntary immigrants. The present research extends these findings by testing whether anger and sympathy differ as a function of whether immigrants permanently or temporarily stay in the U.S.

### **Important Variables in Cultural Inertia**

The extent to which individuals identify with the majority group or a minority group is an important factor in cultural inertia (Zarate & Shaw, 2010). Cultural change is resisted if it threatens one's cultural identity, and accepted if it affirms one's cultural identity. In one study, Latinos who highly identified with Latino culture were assigned to one of three conditions where they read an article and answered questions with differing endpoints that biased them to believe: (1) Latinos had to change to accommodate mainstream culture, (2) White Americans were changing to accommodate Latinos, or

(3) a control. The findings showed that Latinos who highly identified with Latino culture expressed greater prejudice toward White Americans when biased to believe that Latinos had to change to accommodate mainstream American culture (Quezada, Shaw, & Zárate, 2012). This study explains how threatening a group's identity is associated with negative reactions to cultural change.

Openness to cultural change is another important factor in cultural inertia (Zárate & Shaw, 2010). One pivotal study, conducted along the U.S./Mexico border, found that Mexican Americans expressed less prejudice toward Mexican immigrants when biased to believe the influx of immigrants was contributing to ongoing cultural change in the U.S. Furthermore, Mexican Americans who were higher in openness to change expressed less prejudice toward Mexican immigrants (Zárate et al., 2012). These findings provided initial support for understanding the extent to which perceptions of cultural change predict attitudes toward immigrant groups.

### **Present Research**

The present research provides a deeper understanding about attitudes toward immigration in the United States. Previous research investigating immigration is sparse, with most research conducted outside of the U.S. Currently, research investigating voluntary and involuntary immigration is limited because the implications of categorizing immigrants as voluntary or involuntary has been investigated only in the context of multiculturalism in the Netherlands. The present research extends previous research and makes a novel contribution to the literature in four notable ways: (1) the present research is the first series of studies to experimentally manipulate voluntary and involuntary immigration for U.S. citizens in the United States; (2) the present research introduces the implications of perceiving immigrants' stay as permanent or temporary, which has not been investigated; (3) the present research is the first series of studies to apply cultural inertia as a dependent measure, rather than an experimental manipulation; and (4) the present research investigates voluntary and involuntary immigration in the context of assimilation, rather than multiculturalism. Previous research has focused on the initial reason

for migration (i.e. voluntary or involuntary), and the present research introduces a novel element to this dichotomy by investigating the duration of immigrants' stay in the United States. Cultural change may initially be driven by whether immigration is voluntary or involuntary, but the persistent attitudes toward different immigrant groups may differ as a function of whether immigrants remain permanently or temporarily in the United States. The present research applied cultural inertia to understand the association between immigrants' permanent or temporary stay in the U.S. and the majority culture's perceptions of cultural change.

The present research focuses on attitudes toward Mexican immigrants along the U.S./Mexico border because 28 percent of the total foreign-born population in the U.S. was born in Mexico. The U.S. Census Bureau reports that the largest foreign-born population has migrated from Latin American countries (Grieco et al., 2012). The focus on Mexican immigrants gives a deeper meaning to this research because the individuals who participated in the present research live along the U.S./Mexico border. Participants understand the implications of immigration because they experience contact with Mexican immigrants on a daily basis. Moreover, the recent violence in Juárez, Mexico has motivated individuals from Mexico to spend more time in the U.S. Thus, given the predominantly Latino population along the U.S./Mexico border, and their continual experience with immigration from Mexico, the participants in the present research offer a unique perspective to understanding attitudes toward immigration in the U.S.

Two experiments were conducted to provide a theory driven investigation of immigration in the United States. Experiment 1, provides a preliminary test of U.S. citizens' expectations of assimilation and feelings of anger and sympathy toward voluntary and involuntary Mexican immigrants who were permanently or temporarily staying in the U.S. Experiment 2 extended Experiment 1 through a controlled design that includes the political implications of perceiving immigrants as voluntary or involuntary and permanent or temporary. Collectively, the present research extends previous research

investigating voluntary and involuntary immigration in the context of multiculturalism to include an investigation of permanent and temporary immigration in the context of assimilation.

## **EXPERIMENT 1**

Experiment 1 provided a preliminary test of the experimental materials developed to test attitudes toward voluntary and involuntary Mexican immigrants who would permanently or temporarily stay in the United States. Experiment 1 had multiple purposes: (1) stimuli were pretested, (2) the extent to which U.S. citizens expected Mexican immigrants to assimilate to mainstream American culture was tested, (3) the extent to which U.S. citizens expressed anger and sympathy toward Mexican immigrants was tested, (4) the reliability of realistic threat, endorsement of assimilation, American identity, and ethnic identity measures were tested. The reliability analyses determined whether these measures would be used in Experiment 2.

First, we predicted that participants would accurately identify each immigrant as voluntary or involuntary, and permanent or temporary. Second, we predicted that reasons for migration and duration of stay in the U.S. would be associated with expectations of assimilation, with U.S. citizens expecting voluntary and permanent immigrants to assimilate. Third, we predicted that participants would express more anger toward Mexican immigrants who voluntarily migrated and were staying in the U.S. permanently, and more sympathy toward Mexican immigrants who involuntarily migrated and were staying in the U.S. temporarily.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

A power analysis was conducted with G\*Power 3.1.6 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). The power analysis was conducted for the Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA): Repeated measures, between factors statistical test. The analysis included a medium effect size ( $f = 0.25$ ), where  $\alpha = 0.05$  and  $\beta = 0.80$ . Four groups and five dependent measures were included in the analysis. These parameters indicated that forty ( $N = 40$ ) participants were needed to achieve the predicted effects.

Sixty-four ( $N = 64$ ) students who self-identified as U.S. citizens participated in the present study. Participants were students attending the University of Texas at El Paso and were compensated with one credit for the research participation requirement in Introductory Psychology courses. Eighty-two percent ( $N = 53$ ) of students self-identified as Latino, and lived in the U.S. for an average of 18 years ( $M = 18.85$ ,  $SD = 5.29$ ). The final sample included 39 females (60.94%) and 25 males (39.06%) with an average age of 20 years ( $M = 20.02$ ,  $SD = 4.25$ ).

## **Design**

The present study was a 2 x 2 within-subjects design. The two independent variables were immigrants' reason for migration (voluntary or involuntary) and immigrants' duration of stay in the U.S. (temporary or permanent). The dependent variables included expectations for immigrants to assimilate, and feelings of anger and sympathy toward immigrants. The study was completed in the laboratory with Qualtrics (Qualtrics Labs, Inc., 2005).

## **Materials and Procedure**

**Immigration stories.** Participants read a series of twelve stories, each about one male individual who migrated from Mexico to the United States (Appendix A). The reason for the migration and the duration of the immigrants' stay in the U.S. were manipulated in each story. Six stories described the migration as *voluntary* (e.g., pursuing the "American Dream"), where three individuals *temporarily* stayed in the U.S. and three individuals *permanently* stayed in the U.S. Six additional stories described the migration as *involuntary* (e.g., escaping the violence in Mexico), where three individuals *temporarily* stayed in the U.S. and three individuals *permanently* stayed in the U.S. The stories were developed systematically, each containing about four to five sentences and averaging about seventy-seven words. The first sentence implied the voluntary or involuntary reason for migration, and the last sentence implied the permanent or temporary stay in the U.S. The order in which the stories were presented was

randomized and counterbalanced across participants. After reading each story, participants answered a series of questions about the immigrant in the story.

**Manipulation check.** A manipulation check was conducted to determine the extent to which participants perceived each immigrant's migration as voluntary or involuntary. Participants completed the item, "Rate the reason for [*immigrant's name*] migration:" along a seven-point scale (*1 = [Immigrant's name] was forced to move to the U.S., 7 = [Immigrant's name] freely chose to move to the U.S.*). Lower ratings on this item indicated involuntary migration and higher ratings indicated voluntary migration.

The extent to which participants perceived each immigrant's stay as temporary or permanent was also measured after each story. Participants completed the item, "Rate the duration of [*immigrant's name*] stay in the United States:" along a seven-point scale (*1 = [Immigrant's name] is staying for a short period of time, 7 = [Immigrant's name] is staying for a long period of time*). Lower ratings on this item indicated a temporary stay in the U.S. and higher ratings indicated a permanent stay in the U.S.

**Expectations of assimilation.** After the two manipulation check items, participants completed a series of four items that measured the extent to which they expected each immigrant to assimilate to mainstream American culture (Appendix B). Participants completed items such as, "Rate the extent to which [*immigrant's name*] should assimilate to mainstream American culture." along a seven-point scale (*1 = [Immigrant's name] should not assimilate at all, 7 = [Immigrant's name] should completely assimilate*). An average composite was created such that higher numbers reflected greater expectations of assimilation.

**Anger and sympathy.** Participants' emotional reactions toward each immigrant were measured with two items that assessed anger and sympathy. Participants completed an anger item which stated, "Rate the extent to which you feel anger toward [*immigrant's name*]:" along a seven-point scale (*1 = No Anger at all, 7 = Extreme Anger*). Participants also completed a sympathy item which stated, "Rate the

extent to which you feel sympathy toward [*immigrant's name*]:” along a seven-point scale (*1 = No Sympathy at all, 7 = Extreme Sympathy*).

**Realistic threat.** After reading the twelve stories and answering the questions for each story, participants completed an adapted measure of realistic threat (Stephan et al., 1999). The scale included a series of nine items ( $\alpha = 0.88$ ), such as, “Social services have become less available to Americans because of immigration.” along a seven-point scale (*1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree*). The responses to four items were reverse-scored to create an average composite of realistic threat so that higher numbers reflected greater threat.

A Principal Components Analysis with a Parallel Analysis in SAS was conducted for the realistic threat scale (O'Connor, 2000). A parallel analysis determines the number of components that should be retained by comparing the observed eigenvalues to a set of eigenvalues generated from a random data set. Components are retained when the observed eigenvalues are greater than the 95<sup>th</sup> percentile of the eigenvalues generated from 100 random data sets (O'Connor, 2000; Ledesma & Valero-Mora, 2007). The parallel analysis was used in the present research because it is the preferred method for determining the number of components that should be retained in a Principal Components Analysis (Ledesma & Valero-Mora, 2007). The comparison between the Principal Components Analysis and the parallel analysis eigenvalues indicated that one component can be retained for this scale (Table 1).

**Endorsement of assimilation.** The extent to which participants personally endorse assimilation was measured with a scale developed by Wolsko et al. (2006). Participants completed a series of six items, such as, “We should have a single unified language in this country – Standard English.” along a seven point scale (*1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree*). An average composite was created for the six items so that higher numbers reflected greater endorsement of assimilation. The Cronbach's alpha for this measure was ( $\alpha = 0.64$ ) in this sample. The deletion of the item, “People from all ethnic backgrounds should embrace the American dream of hard work and success,” improved the reliability of



this measure for Experiment 2. The Cronbach's alpha for this measure was ( $\alpha = 0.70$ ) after this item was deleted.

**American identity.** Participants completed a series of nine items ( $\alpha = 0.90$ ) that measured the extent to which they identified with mainstream American culture. These items, such as, "Being American is central to my identity." were adapted from Garza Caballero (2003). Participants responded to each item along a seven-point scale ( $1 = Strongly Disagree$ ,  $7 = Strongly Agree$ ). The response to one item was reverse-scored to create an average composite of American identity so that higher numbers reflected greater identification with mainstream American culture.

A Principal Components Analysis with a Parallel Analysis in SAS was conducted for the American identity scale (O'Connor, 2000). The comparison between the Principal Components Analysis and the parallel analysis eigenvalues indicated that one component can be retained for this scale (Table 2).

**Ethnic identity.** The extent to which participants identified with their ethnic group was measured with a series of ten items ( $\alpha = 0.82$ ) that were also adapted from Garza Caballero (2003). Participants responded to items, such as, "I like being a member of my ethnic group." along a seven-point scale ( $1 = Strongly Disagree$ ,  $7 = Strongly Agree$ ). The responses to two items were reverse-scored to create an average composite of ethnic identity so that higher numbers reflected greater identification with an ethnic group.

A Principal Components Analysis with a Parallel Analysis in SAS was conducted for the Ethnic identity scale (O'Connor, 2000). The comparison between the Principal Components Analysis and the parallel analysis eigenvalues indicated that one component can be retained for this scale (Table 3). The descriptive statistics for the scales completed after the experimental manipulation in Experiment 1 are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics for Scales used in Experiment 1

Descriptive Statistics					
	Number of items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Actual Minimum	Actual Maximum
Realistic Threat	9	3.87	1.40	1.44	6.89
Endorsement of Assimilation	6	4.65	1.05	2.50	7.00
American Identity	9	5.28	1.24	1.67	7.00
Ethnic Identity	10	4.97	0.99	2.50	7.00

*Note:* All scales were rated on a seven-point scale.

**Demographics.** At the end of the study, participants reported demographic information that included their age, sex, whether they are a U.S. citizen, and ethnicity. Afterward, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## Results

The primary goal of Experiment 1 was to determine whether the experimental materials tested valid for use in Experiment 2. Thus, the analyses for Experiment 1 focused on participants' responses for each immigrant story. First, participants' responses to the two items measuring the immigrants' reason for migration and duration of stay in the U.S. were used to assess whether participants accurately identified each Mexican immigrant as voluntary or involuntary, and permanent or temporary. Second, expectations of assimilation, and feelings of anger and sympathy toward immigrants were tested to determine whether participants' responses differed across the different type of immigrant stories. A series of 2 x 2 repeated-measures Multivariate Analysis of Variances (MANOVAs) were conducted because the questions following each immigrant story were used as dependent measures according to whether immigrants were voluntary or involuntary, and permanent or temporary. The two independent variables were immigrants' reason for migration (voluntary or involuntary) and immigrants' duration of stay in the U.S. (permanent or temporary). The analyses were conducted with the General Linear Model (GLM) in SAS (Table 5).

Table 5: Summary of MANOVA analyses

	Voluntary Immigration				Involuntary Immigration			
	Permanent		Temporary		Permanent		Temporary	
	$M (SE)$	$\eta^2$	$M (SE)$	$\eta^2$	$M (SE)$	$\eta^2$	$M (SE)$	$\eta^2$
Reason for Migration Check	6.39 (0.15)	0.97	5.86 (0.12)	0.97	3.65 (0.19)	0.85	2.77 (0.21)	0.73
Duration of Stay Check	6.81 (0.05)	1.00	4.85 (0.12)	0.96	5.70 (0.13)	0.97	4.26 (0.14)	0.93
Expectations of Assimilation	4.50 (0.18)	0.91	3.70 (0.15)	0.91	3.96 (0.15)	0.91	3.43 (0.19)	0.84
Anger	1.52 (0.11)	0.76	1.29 (0.07)	0.85	1.46 (0.10)	0.76	1.35 (0.11)	0.70
Sympathy	2.67 (0.22)	0.70	3.35 (0.20)	0.81	3.64 (0.19)	0.86	4.06 (0.22)	0.85

### Manipulation Check

A 2 x 2 repeated-measures MANOVA was conducted to determine the extent to which participants responded differently to the question, “Rate the reason for [*immigrant’s name*] migration.” The multivariate effect indicated that participants’ responses differed significantly as a function of whether immigrants migrated voluntarily or involuntarily, Pillai’s Trace = 0.78,  $F(1, 63) = 229.18$ ,  $p < .0001$ , and whether immigrants were staying permanently or temporarily in the U.S., Pillai’s Trace = 0.40,  $F(1, 63) = 41.57$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The interaction between the reason for the migration and duration of stay was not statistically significant, Pillai’s Trace = 0.05,  $F(1, 63) = 2.97$ ,  $p = 0.09$ . Participants accurately identified *voluntary* immigrants as freely choosing to move to the U.S., relative to *involuntary* immigrants who were forced to move to the U.S. (Figure 1). These analyses support the prediction that participants would accurately distinguish between voluntary and involuntary immigrants.

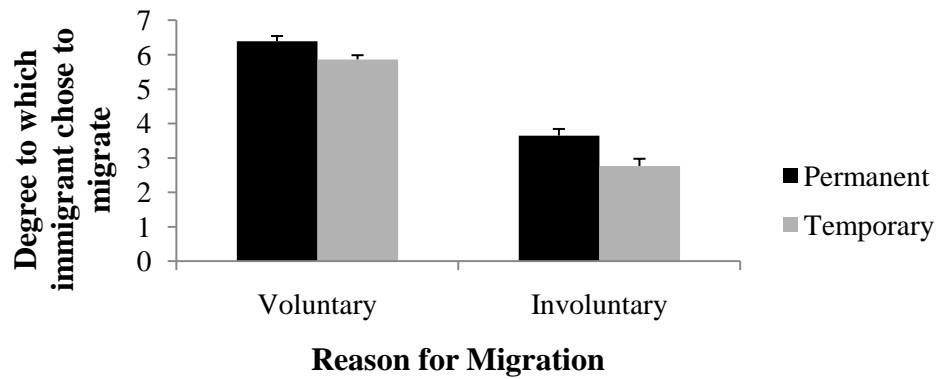


Figure 1: Mean differences in the manipulation check for voluntary and involuntary immigration. The error bars represent the standard errors of the means.

Another 2 x 2 repeated-measures MANOVA was conducted to determine the extent to which participants responded differently to the question, “Rate the duration of [*immigrant’s name*] stay in the United States.” The multivariate effect indicated that participants’ responses differed significantly as a function of whether immigrants migrated voluntarily or involuntarily, Pillai’s Trace = 0.48,  $F(1, 63) = 57.62$ ,  $p < .0001$ , and whether immigrants were staying permanently or temporarily in the U.S., Pillai’s Trace = 0.80,  $F(1, 63) = 248.46$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The interaction between the reason for the migration and duration of stay was statistically significant, Pillai’s Trace = 0.12,  $F(1, 63) = 8.64$ ,  $p = 0.0046$ . As shown in Figure 2, participants accurately identified *permanent* immigrants as staying in the U.S. for a long period of time, relative to *temporary* immigrants who were staying in the U.S. for a short period of time. Post-hoc analyses indicated that participants identified *voluntary* immigrants who were *permanently* staying in the U.S. as staying in the U.S. for a long period of time, relative to *involuntary* immigrants who are *temporarily* staying in the U.S.,  $t(63) = 17.42$ ,  $p < .0001$ . These analyses support the prediction that participants would accurately distinguish between permanent and temporary immigrants.

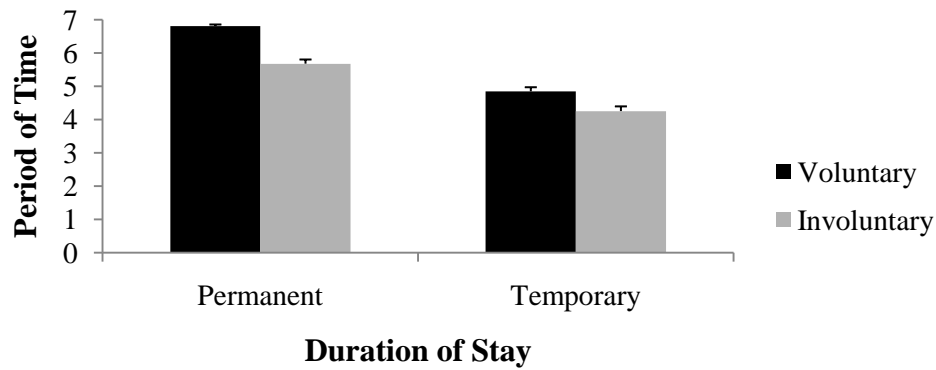


Figure 2: Mean differences in the manipulation check for permanent and temporary immigration. The error bars represent the standard errors of the means.

### Expectations of assimilation

A 2 x 2 repeated-measures MANOVA was conducted to determine the extent to which participants expected immigrants to assimilate to mainstream American culture. The multivariate effect indicated that participants' expectations of assimilation differed significantly as a function of whether immigrants migrated voluntarily or involuntarily, Pillai's Trace = 0.29,  $F(1, 63) = 26.12$ ,  $p < .0001$ , and whether immigrants were staying permanently or temporarily in the U.S., Pillai's Trace = 0.52,  $F(1, 63) = 67.56$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The interaction between the reason for the migration and duration of stay was statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.07,  $F(1, 63) = 4.52$ ,  $p = .0375$ . As shown in Figure 3, participants' expectations of assimilation were greater for *voluntary* immigrants, relative to *involuntary* immigrants. Participants expectations of assimilation were also greater for immigrants *permanently* staying in the U.S., relative to immigrants *temporarily* staying in the U.S. Post-hoc analyses indicated that expectations of assimilation were greater for *voluntary* immigrants who were *permanently* staying in the U.S., relative to *involuntary* immigrants who are *temporarily* staying in the U.S.,  $t(63) = 7.82$ ,  $p < .0001$ . These analyses support the prediction that expectations of assimilation differ as a function of immigrants' reason for migration and duration of stay in the U.S.

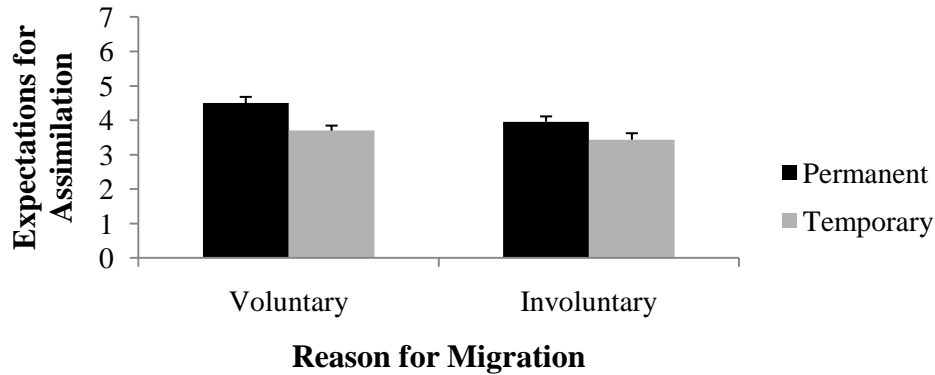


Figure 3: Mean differences in the extent to which immigrants are expected to assimilate to mainstream American culture. The error bars represent the standard errors of the means.

### Anger and Sympathy

A 2 x 2 repeated-measures MANOVA was conducted to determine the extent to which participants expressed anger toward immigrants. Overall, the mean for anger was low. Anger did not differ significantly as a function of whether immigrants migrated voluntarily or involuntarily, Pillai's Trace = 0.00,  $F(1, 63) = 0.00$ ,  $p = .9579$ . The multivariate effect for duration of stay in the U.S. was statistically significant, indicating that participants expressed more anger toward immigrants who were staying in the U.S. *permanently*, relative to immigrants who were staying in the U.S. *temporarily*, Pillai's Trace = 0.07,  $F(1, 63) = 4.99$ ,  $p = .0291$  (Figure 4). The interaction between the reason for the migration and duration of stay was not statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.01,  $F(1, 63) = 0.70$ ,  $p = .4050$ . These analyses support the prediction that anger towards immigrants differs as a function of immigrants' duration of stay in the U.S.

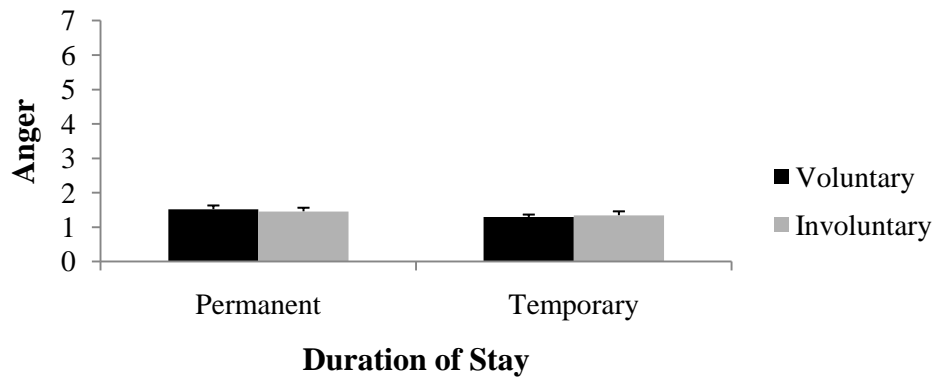


Figure 4: Mean differences in the extent to which participants expressed anger toward immigrants. The error bars represent the standard errors of the means.

Another 2 x 2 repeated-measures MANOVA was conducted to determine the extent to which participants expressed sympathy toward immigrants. The multivariate effect indicated that participants expressed greater sympathy toward immigrants who migrated *involuntarily*, relative to immigrants who migrated *voluntarily*, Pillai's Trace = 0.29,  $F(1, 63) = 25.31$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The multivariate effect further indicated that participants expressed greater sympathy toward immigrants who were *temporarily* staying in the U.S., relative to immigrants who were *permanently* staying in the U.S., Pillai's Trace = 0.27,  $F(1, 63) = 23.68$ ,  $p < .0001$  (Figure 5). The interaction between the reason for the migration and duration of stay was not statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.03,  $F(1, 63) = 1.83$ ,  $p = .1811$ . These analyses support the prediction that sympathy toward immigrants differs as a function of the reason of migration and duration of stay in the U.S.

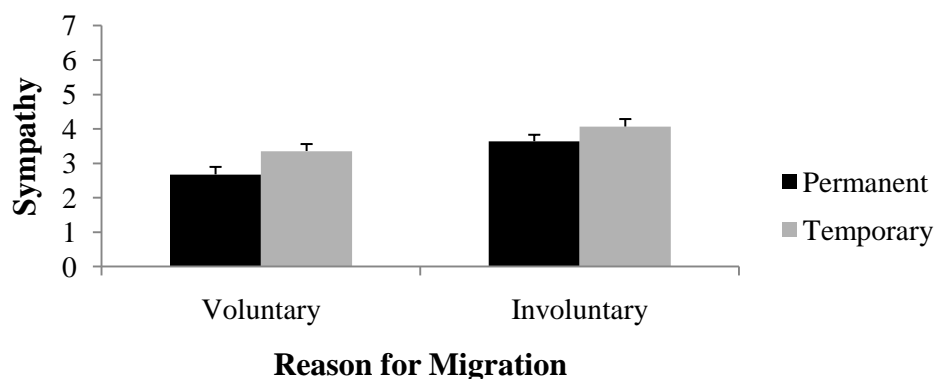


Figure 5: Experiment 1 mean differences in the extent to which participants expressed sympathy toward immigrants. The error bars represent the standard errors of the means.

## Discussion

The findings from Experiment 1 support the hypothesis that different types of immigration elicit different responses from U.S. citizens. Experiment 1 had multiple purposes. First, the manipulation checks indicated that U.S. citizens could accurately differentiate between voluntary and involuntary immigrants, and permanent and temporary immigrants. Second, expectations of assimilation and feelings of anger and sympathy differed as a function of immigrants' reason for migration and duration of stay in the U.S. Mexican immigrants who voluntarily migrated and were staying in the U.S. permanently elicited: (1) greater expectations of assimilation, and (2) less sympathy. Voluntary immigrants chose to migrate to the U.S. and should assimilate to mainstream American culture without any feelings of sympathy from the majority culture. From the majority perspective, greater expectations and less sympathy toward permanent immigrants support cultural inertia. Permanent immigrants have a longer period of time to influence the mainstream culture, and cultural change is avoided if permanent immigrants assimilate. Contrary to prediction, however, voluntary or involuntary immigration did not predict participants' anger toward immigrants. Instead, participants' anger differed as a function of whether immigrants were permanently or temporarily staying in the U.S. In this case, participants expressed less anger toward immigrants who were temporarily staying in the U.S. because temporary immigrants do not threaten the mainstream culture. Negative attitudes toward voluntary immigrants are alleviated to some degree if they do not stay in the U.S. for long periods of time. Third, the reliability analyses conducted for the realistic threat, endorsement of assimilation, American identity, and ethnic identity measures indicated that the scales could be analyzed as one component. The reliability analyses in Experiment 1 were crucial for determining whether these scales generalize to the current sample. The findings from the Principal Components analysis and parallel analysis justified the use of these scales in Experiment 2. This study provided the necessary foundation to continue investigating the implications of voluntary and involuntary, and permanent and temporary immigration in the United States.



## **EXPERIMENT 2**

The findings from Experiment 1 indicated that the experimental materials developed to manipulate the distinction between voluntary and involuntary, and permanent and temporary immigrants tested valid for use in Experiment 2. Thus, Experiment 2 formally tested differential attitudes toward voluntary and involuntary immigrants as a function of whether they are permanently or temporarily staying in the U.S. Experiment 2 extended the findings of Experiment 1 with a between-subjects design that included measures for perceptions of cultural change and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation that were not measured in Experiment 1.

Experiment 2 had multiple purposes: (1) investigated the relationship between duration of stay (permanent or temporary) and participants' expectations of assimilation, feelings of anger and sympathy toward immigrants, perceptions of cultural change, realistic threat, and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation; (2) investigated the relationship between reasons for migration (voluntary or involuntary) and participants' expectations of assimilation, feelings of anger and sympathy toward immigrants, realistic threat, and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation; and (3) investigated the extent to which personal endorsement of assimilation, and national and ethnic identification are associated with attitudes toward different types of immigration.

First, we predicted that participants would express greater expectations of assimilation, greater feelings of anger, greater perceptions of cultural change, greater realistic threat, and greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation after reading about Mexican immigrants who are permanently staying in the U.S. We further predicted that participants would express greater feelings of sympathy toward Mexican immigrants who are temporarily staying in the U.S. These predictions are consistent with cultural inertia. Immigrants who permanently stay in the U.S. have the opportunity to influence mainstream American culture for a longer period of time than immigrants who temporarily stay in the

U.S. We predicted that permanent immigration would be associated with greater perceptions of cultural change for U.S. citizens.

Second, we predicted that participants would express greater expectations of assimilation, greater anger, greater realistic threat, and greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation after reading about voluntary Mexican immigrants. We further predicted that participants would express greater feelings of sympathy toward involuntary Mexican immigrants. Voluntary immigrants are responsible for their migration and are perceived as a threat to the majority culture, especially if they do not assimilate to the mainstream culture. Greater sympathy is predicted for involuntary immigrants because they were forced to migrate.

Third, we predicted that personal endorsement of assimilation and national identification would be associated with greater expectations of assimilation, greater feelings of anger, greater realistic threat, and greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation; especially toward voluntary immigrants who are permanently staying in the U.S. We further predicted that ethnic identification would be associated with greater feelings of sympathy; especially toward involuntary immigrants who are temporarily staying in the U.S.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

An a priori power analysis was conducted with G\*Power 3.1.6 (Faul et al., 2007). The power analysis was conducted for the fixed effects, special, main effects and interactions for an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) with four groups (numerator  $df = 3$ ). The analysis included the interaction effect size ( $f = 0.268$ ) that was found in Experiment 1 for participants' expectations of assimilation, where  $\alpha = 0.05$  and  $\beta = 0.80$ . These parameters indicated that a minimum of one hundred fifty-six ( $N = 156$ ) participants were needed for Experiment 2 to achieve the reason for migration X duration of stay interaction observed in Experiment 1 for participants' expectations of assimilation.

One hundred fifty-nine ( $N = 159$ ) students who self-identified as U.S. citizens participated in the present study. Students enrolled in Introductory Psychology courses at the University of Texas at El Paso participated in the present study, and were compensated with one credit to fulfill the research participation requirement for the course. Ninety percent ( $N = 143$ ) of students self-identified as Latino, and lived in the U.S. for an average of 17 years ( $M = 17.88$ ,  $SD = 6.76$ ). The final sample included 90 females (56.60%) and 69 males (43.30%) with an average age of 21 years ( $M = 20.77$ ,  $SD = 3.94$ ).

## **Design**

The present study was a 2 x 2 between-subjects design. The two independent variables were immigrants' reason for migration (voluntary or involuntary) and immigrants' duration of stay in the U.S. (permanent or temporary). The following dependent variables were measured: expectations for immigrants to assimilate, feelings of anger and sympathy toward immigrants, perceptions of cultural change, realistic threat, and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation. Participants' endorsement of assimilation, identification with mainstream American culture, and ethnic group identification were included as individual difference variables. The study was completed in the laboratory with Qualtrics (Qualtrics Labs, Inc., 2005).

## **Materials and Procedure**

**Reason for Migration X Duration of Stay manipulation.** Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions where they read three stories about *voluntary* or *involuntary* immigrants who are *permanently* or *temporarily* staying in the U.S. Similar to Experiment 1, the stories were each about one male individual who migrated from Mexico to the United States. The stories were revised so that the names of the immigrants were consistent across conditions. Each story contained about four to five sentences, and participants read an average of eighty words per story. The first sentence implied the voluntary or involuntary reason for migration, and the last sentence implied the permanent or temporary stay in the U.S. Participants read the same voluntary and involuntary stories across the permanent and

temporary conditions. The description for the immigrants' permanent or temporary stay in the U.S. also remained consistent across the voluntary and involuntary conditions (Appendix C).

**Expectations of assimilation.** The extent to which participants expect each immigrant to assimilate was measured with the same four items used in Experiment 1 (Appendix B).

**Anger and sympathy.** Participants' emotional reactions toward each immigrant were measured with the anger and sympathy items used in Experiment 1.

**Perceptions of cultural change.** Participants' perceptions of cultural change were measured with a series of four items adapted from a previous experimental manipulation (Quezada et al., 2011). Participants rated items, such as, "Immigrants are causing the rules and norms of American society to change." along a seven-point scale ( $1 = \text{Strongly Disagree}$ ,  $7 = \text{Strongly Agree}$ ). The endpoints differed across items, and an average composite was created so that higher numbers reflect greater perceptions of cultural change. The Cronbach's alpha for this measure was ( $\alpha = 0.62$ ) in this sample (Appendix D).

**Realistic threat.** After reporting perceptions of cultural change, participants completed the adapted measure of realistic threat used in Experiment 1 (Stephan et al., 1999). Although adequate reliability was found for the realistic threat scale in the present study ( $\alpha = 0.80$ ), a Principal Components Analysis was conducted with a Parallel Analysis in SAS (O'Connor, 2000). The comparison between the Principal Components Analysis and the parallel analysis eigenvalues indicated that one component can be retained for this scale (Table 6).

**Endorsement of anti-immigration legislation.** The extent to which participants support anti-immigration legislation measured participants' explicit attitudes toward immigrants (Quezada et al., 2011). Participants rated a series of three anti-immigration legislation items, such as "That the fifty states should enact anti-immigration laws similar to the Arizona SB1070 bill." Participants also rated a series of three pro-immigration legislation items, such as "That the United States government should enact the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (the 'DREAM Act') to provide

academic assistance to immigrant students who move to the U.S. before the age of 14.” The pro-immigration items were reverse-scored to create an average composite of opposition to immigration ( $\alpha = 0.57$ ). Participants rated these items along a seven-point scale ( $1 = \text{Not at all likely to support this act}$ ,  $7 = \text{Very likely to support this act}$ ) (Appendix E).

A Principal Components Analysis was conducted with a Parallel Analysis in SAS (O’Connor, 2000) to improve the inadequate reliability of the six items ( $\alpha = 0.57$ ). The comparison between the Principal Components Analysis and the parallel analysis eigenvalues indicated that one component can be retained for this scale (Table 7).

**Endorsement of assimilation.** The items used to measure participants’ endorsement of assimilation in Experiment 1 were used in the present study ( $\alpha = 0.75$ ) (Wolsko et al., 2006).

**American identity.** The extent to which participants identify with mainstream American culture was measured with the items used in Experiment 1 (Garza Caballero, 2003). Although adequate reliability was found for the American identity scale in the present study ( $\alpha = 0.87$ ), a Principal Components Analysis was conducted with a Parallel Analysis in SAS (O’Connor, 2000). The comparison between the Principal Components Analysis and the parallel analysis eigenvalues indicated that two components should be retained for this scale (Table 8). The correlation between the two components, however, showed that the American identity scale is unidimensional and the nine items may be included in all analyses ( $r = 0.427$ ,  $p < .0001$ ).

**Ethnic identity.** The extent to which participants identify with their ethnic group was measured with the items used in Experiment 1 (Garza Caballero, 2003). Although adequate reliability was found for the Ethnic identity scale in the present study ( $\alpha = 0.83$ ), a Principal Components Analysis was conducted with a Parallel Analysis in SAS (O’Connor, 2000). The comparison between the Principal Components Analysis and the parallel analysis eigenvalues indicated that one component can be

retained for this scale (Table 9). The descriptive statistics for the scales completed after the experimental manipulation in Experiment 2 are presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics for Scales used in Experiment 2

Descriptive Statistics					
	Number of items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Actual Minimum	Actual Maximum
Expectations of Assimilation	4	3.97	1.31	1.00	7.00
Anger	1	1.31	0.79	1.00	6.00
Sympathy	1	4.06	1.93	1.00	7.00
Perceptions of Cultural Change	4	4.05	1.15	1.25	7.00
Realistic Threat	9	3.49	1.17	1.00	6.33
Endorsement of Anti-Immigration Legislation	6	3.13	1.56	1.00	7.00
Endorsement of Assimilation	6	4.63	1.14	1.83	6.67
American Identity	9	5.55	1.09	2.00	7.00
Ethnic Identity	10	4.84	1.09	1.90	7.00

*Note:* All scales were rated on a seven-point scale.

**Demographics.** At the end of the study, participants completed the same demographics form used in Experiment 1.

## Results

The primary goal of Experiment 2 was to extend the findings of Experiment 1 by testing the extent to which immigrants' reason for migration and duration of stay in the U.S. is associated with perceptions of cultural change and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation. First, we predicted that participants would express greater expectations of assimilation, greater feelings of anger, greater perceptions of cultural change, greater realistic threat, and greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation after reading about Mexican immigrants who are permanently staying in the U.S. We further predicted that participants would express greater sympathy toward Mexican immigrants who are

temporarily staying in the U.S. Second, we predicted that participants would express greater expectations of assimilation, greater feelings of anger, greater realistic threat, and greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation after reading about voluntary Mexican immigrants. We further predicted that participants would express greater sympathy toward involuntary Mexican immigrants. Third, we predicted that personal endorsement of assimilation and national identification would be associated with greater expectations of assimilation, greater feelings of anger, greater realistic threat, and greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation; especially toward voluntary immigrants who are permanently staying in the U.S. We further predicted that ethnic identification would be associated with greater feelings of sympathy; especially toward involuntary immigrants who are temporarily staying in the U.S.

The hypotheses were tested with a 2 x 2 between-subjects Multivariate Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA) with the General Linear Model (GLM) in SAS (Table 11). The two independent variables were immigrants' duration of stay in the U.S. (permanent or temporary) and immigrants' reason for migration (voluntary or involuntary). Expectations of assimilation, feelings of anger and sympathy, perceptions of cultural change, realistic threat, and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation were the dependent variables. Participants' endorsement of assimilation, American identification, and ethnic identification were included in the analysis as individual difference variables. The main effects for duration of stay (permanent or temporary), reason of migration (voluntary or involuntary), and the reason for migration X duration of stay interaction were analyzed for all dependent variables.

Table 11: Summary of MANCOVA analysis

	Voluntary Immigration		Involuntary Immigration	
	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary
	<i>M (SE)</i>	<i>M (SE)</i>	<i>M (SE)</i>	<i>M (SE)</i>
Expectations of Assimilation	4.07 (0.24)	3.62 (0.23)	4.26 (0.17)	3.89 (0.19)
Anger	1.19 (0.10)	1.18 (0.09)	1.56 (0.16)	1.29 (0.12)
Sympathy	2.73 (0.27)	3.78 (0.35)	4.63 (0.25)	4.92 (0.25)
Perceptions of Cultural Change	4.15 (0.21)	4.10 (0.22)	4.11 (0.14)	3.85 (0.16)
Realistic Threat	3.39 (0.19)	3.53 (0.19)	3.73 (0.18)	3.31 (0.18)
Endorsement of Anti-Immigration Legislation	2.82 (0.22)	3.18 (0.30)	3.42 (0.25)	3.07 (0.22)

### Duration of Stay

The multivariate effect for immigrants' duration of stay in the U.S. was statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.0864,  $F(6, 147) = 2.32$ ,  $p = 0.0363$ . The univariate analyses for each of the dependent variables indicated that expectations of assimilation differed across permanent and temporary immigration experimental conditions,  $F(1, 152) = 3.87$ ,  $p = 0.0511$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.025$ . The Bonferroni comparison test showed that participants expressed significantly greater expectations of assimilation for permanent immigrants ( $M = 4.17$ ,  $SE = 0.14$ ), relative to temporary immigrants ( $M = 3.77$ ,  $SE = 0.15$ ) (Figure 6).



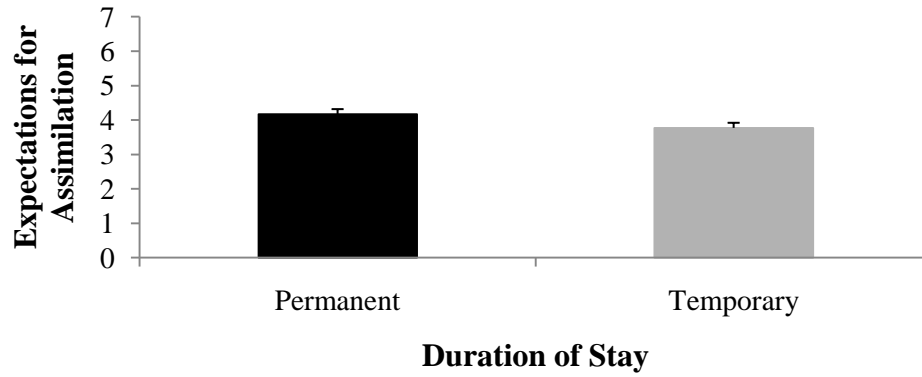


Figure 6: Mean differences in the extent to which participants expected permanent and temporary immigrants to assimilate to mainstream American culture. The error bars represent the standard errors of the means.

Sympathy also differed across permanent and temporary immigration conditions,  $F(1, 152) = 8.56, p = 0.0040, \eta_p^2 = 0.053$ . The Bonferroni comparison test showed that participants expressed significantly greater sympathy toward temporary immigrants ( $M = 4.39, SE = 0.22$ ), relative to permanent immigrants ( $M = 3.73, SE = 0.21$ ) (Figure 7).

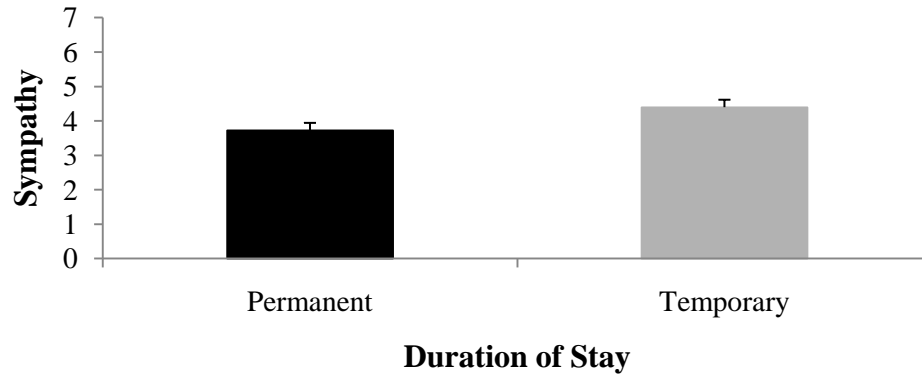


Figure 7: Mean differences in the extent to which participants expressed sympathy toward permanent and temporary immigrants. The error bars represent the standard errors of the means.

Contrary to the hypotheses, participants' anger ( $F(1, 152) = 1.36, p = 0.2451, \eta_p^2 = 0.009$ ), perceptions of cultural change ( $F(1, 152) = 0.55, p = 0.4578, \eta_p^2 = 0.004$ ), realistic threat ( $F(1, 152) = 0.83, p = 0.3641, \eta_p^2 = 0.005$ ), and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation ( $F(1, 152) = 0.00, p = 0.9809, \eta_p^2 = 0.00$ ) did not differ as a function of whether immigrants permanently or temporarily stayed in the U.S.

## Reason for Migration

The multivariate effect for immigrants' reason for migration was statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.2640,  $F(6, 147) = 8.79$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The univariate analyses for each of the dependent variables indicated that sympathy was the only variable that differed across voluntary and involuntary immigration experimental conditions,  $F(1, 152) = 42.28$ ,  $p < .0001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.218$ . The Bonferroni comparison test showed that participants expressed significantly greater sympathy toward involuntary immigrants ( $M = 4.77$ ,  $SE = 0.18$ ), relative to voluntary immigrants ( $M = 3.24$ ,  $SE = 0.22$ ) (Figure 8).

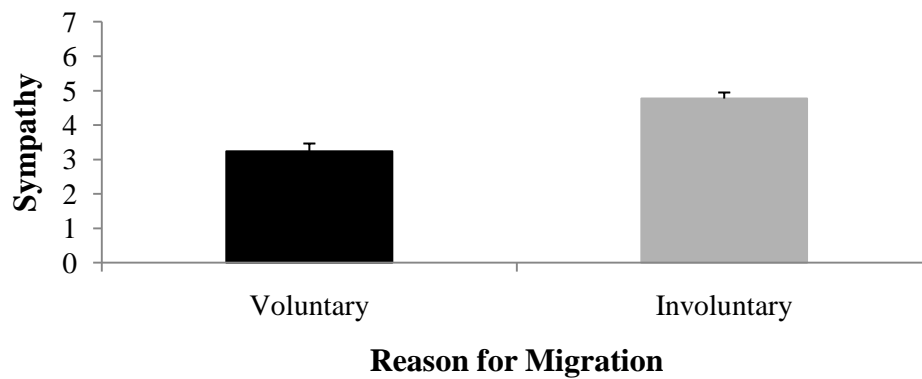


Figure 8: Mean differences in the extent to which participants expressed sympathy toward voluntary and involuntary immigrants. The error bars represent the standard errors of the means.

Contrary to the hypotheses, participants' expectations of assimilation ( $F(1, 152) = 1.96$ ,  $p = 0.1631$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.013$ ), anger ( $F(1, 152) = 3.56$ ,  $p = 0.0610$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.023$ ), realistic threat ( $F(1, 152) = 0.00$ ,  $p = 0.9838$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.00$ ), and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation ( $F(1, 152) = 0.64$ ,  $p = 0.4260$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.004$ ) did not differ as a function of whether immigrants voluntarily or involuntarily migrated to the U.S.

Perceptions of cultural change also did not differ across voluntary and involuntary immigration experimental conditions,  $F(1, 152) = 0.53$ ,  $p = 0.4662$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.004$ .

## Reason for Migration X Duration of Stay Interaction

The multivariate effect for the reason for migration X duration of stay interaction was not statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.0608,  $F(6, 147) = 1.59$ ,  $p = 0.1552$ . Participants' expectations of assimilation, anger and sympathy toward immigrants, perceptions of cultural change, realistic threat,

and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation did not significantly differ across voluntary and involuntary immigrants as a function of whether they permanently or temporarily stayed in the U.S.

### **Individual Difference Variables**

**Personal endorsement of assimilation.** The multivariate effect for participants' endorsement of assimilation was statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.2983,  $F(6, 147) = 10.41$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

Consistent with the hypotheses, participants' endorsement of assimilation was associated with their expectations of assimilation ( $F(1, 152) = 33.49$ ,  $p < .0001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.181$ ), realistic threat ( $F(1, 152) = 23.17$ ,  $p < .0001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.132$ ), and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation ( $F(1, 152) = 16.45$ ,  $p < .0001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.098$ ). Participants who expressed greater endorsement of assimilation expressed greater expectations of assimilation ( $b = 0.53$ ,  $SE = 0.09$ ,  $t(152) = 5.79$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), greater realistic threat ( $b = 0.37$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $t(152) = 4.81$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), and greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation ( $b = 0.44$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ,  $t(152) = 4.06$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). Participants' endorsement of assimilation unexpectedly predicted perceptions of cultural change,  $F(1, 152) = 14.82$ ,  $p = 0.0002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.089$ . Participants who expressed greater endorsement of assimilation perceived greater cultural change,  $b = 0.33$ ,  $SE = 0.09$ ,  $t(152) = 3.85$ ,  $p = 0.0002$ . Contrary to the hypotheses, participants' endorsement of assimilation was not associated with anger toward immigrants,  $F(1, 152) = 0.03$ ,  $p = 0.8692$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.0002$ . Participants' endorsement of assimilation was also not associated with sympathy toward immigrants,  $F(1, 152) = 0.85$ ,  $p = 0.3578$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.006$ .

**American identity.** The multivariate effect for participants' identification with mainstream American culture was not statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.0630,  $F(6, 147) = 1.65$ ,  $p = 0.1383$ . Consistent with the hypotheses, participants' American identity was associated with realistic threat,  $F(1, 152) = 5.84$ ,  $p = 0.0168$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.037$ . Participants who expressed greater identification with mainstream American culture expressed greater realistic threat,  $b = 0.19$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $t(152) = 2.42$ ,  $p = 0.0168$ . Participants' American identity unexpectedly predicted sympathy toward immigrants,  $F(1, 152) = 6.35$ ,

$p = 0.0128$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.040$ . Participants who expressed greater identification with mainstream American culture expressed less sympathy toward immigrants,  $b = -0.33$ ,  $SE = 0.13$ ,  $t(152) = -2.52$ ,  $p = 0.0128$ . Contrary to the hypotheses, participants' American identity was not associated with their expectations of assimilation ( $F(1, 152) = 0.26$ ,  $p = 0.6111$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.002$ ), anger toward immigrants ( $F(1, 152) = 0.06$ ,  $p = 0.8002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.0004$ ), and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation ( $F(1, 152) = 3.21$ ,  $p = 0.0753$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.021$ ). Participants' American identity was also not associated with perceptions of cultural change,  $F(1, 152) = 0.25$ ,  $p = 0.6145$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.002$ .

**Ethnic identity.** The multivariate effect for participants' ethnic identification was statistically significant, Pillai's Trace = 0.2009,  $F(6, 147) = 6.16$ ,  $p < .0001$ . Consistent with the hypotheses, participants' ethnic identity was associated with sympathy toward immigrants,  $F(1, 152) = 26.53$ ,  $p < .0001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.149$ . Participants who expressed greater ethnic identification expressed greater sympathy toward immigrants,  $b = 0.62$ ,  $SE = 0.12$ ,  $t(152) = 5.15$ ,  $p < .0001$ . Participants' ethnic identity unexpectedly predicted realistic threat ( $F(1, 152) = 14.32$ ,  $p = 0.0002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.086$ ) and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation ( $F(1, 152) = 11.47$ ,  $p = 0.0009$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.070$ ). Participants who expressed greater ethnic identification expressed less realistic threat ( $b = -0.28$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ,  $t(152) = -3.78$ ,  $p = 0.0002$ ) and less endorsement of anti-immigration legislation ( $b = -0.35$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ,  $t(152) = -3.39$ ,  $p = 0.0009$ ). Participants' ethnic identification was not associated with expectations of assimilation ( $F(1, 152) = 0.04$ ,  $p = 0.8516$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.0002$ ), anger toward immigrants ( $F(1, 152) = 0.04$ ,  $p = 0.8473$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.0002$ ), and perceptions of cultural change ( $F(1, 152) = 0.00$ ,  $p = 0.9968$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.00$ ).

## Discussion

The findings from Experiment 2 supported the hypotheses tested in Experiment 1. Consistent with Experiment 1, U.S. citizens expressed less sympathy toward voluntary immigrants. Voluntary immigrants control their migration to the United States, relative to involuntary immigrants who are forced to migrate. Thus, greater sympathy is expressed toward the immigrant groups who do not choose

to migrate. Consistent with Experiment 1, U.S. citizens also expressed greater expectations of assimilation and less sympathy for immigrants who are permanently staying in the U.S. This finding supports cultural inertia. Immigrants who permanently stay in the U.S. have a longer period of time to change mainstream American culture and U.S. citizens aim to prevent that change by expecting permanent immigrants to assimilate. Furthermore, immigrants who temporarily stay in the U.S. received greater sympathy from U.S. citizens because temporary immigrants do not threaten mainstream American culture. Collectively, these findings support the hypothesis that immigrants' duration of stay elicited different responses from U.S. citizens.

The individual difference effects in Experiment 2 partially supported the hypotheses. First, personal endorsement of assimilation was positively associated with expectations of assimilation, perceptions of cultural change, realistic threat, and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation. Experiment 2 showed that U.S. citizens who personally endorse assimilation expect immigrants to assimilate, perceive greater cultural change and greater realistic threat, and express greater endorsement of anti-immigration legislation. Second, Experiment 2 showed that high American identification predicted less sympathy, and greater realistic threat. Third, Experiment 2 showed that high ethnic identification predicted greater sympathy toward immigrants, less realistic threat, and less endorsement of anti-immigration legislation. Although the experimental manipulation partially produced the predicted effects, the individual difference effects are informative to understanding cultural inertia.

## **General Discussion**

The present research provides a novel perspective to the investigation of attitudes toward immigration in the U.S. This line of research makes a theoretical and applied contribution to the literature because the present research: (1) is the first series of studies to experimentally manipulate voluntary and involuntary immigration for U.S. citizens in the United States; (2) introduces the implications of perceiving immigrants' stay as permanent or temporary, which has not been investigated; (3) is the first series of studies to apply cultural inertia as a dependent measure, rather than an experimental manipulation; and (4) investigates voluntary and involuntary immigration in the context of assimilation, rather than multiculturalism. Across two studies, we predicted that attitudes toward Mexican immigrants in the U.S. would differ as a function of whether immigrants migrated voluntarily or involuntarily, and whether they are permanently or temporarily staying in the U.S.

### **Consistencies between Experiment 1 and Experiment 2**

Experiment 2 was conducted to extend the findings of Experiment 1 with the inclusion of scales that measured perceptions of cultural change and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation. Immigration in the U.S continues to receive widespread political attention, and Experiment 2 directly tested the implications of immigration in the political domain. The extent to which U.S. citizens expressed anger, perceived cultural change and realistic threat, and endorsed anti-immigration legislation did not statistically differ in Experiment 2 as a function of whether immigrants voluntarily or involuntarily migrated and whether they were permanently or temporarily staying in the U.S. There were a few findings from Experiment 1, however, that replicated in Experiment 2.

Across both studies, U.S. citizens expressed greater expectations of assimilation and less sympathy for immigrants who were permanently staying in the U.S. Irrespective of whether immigrants voluntarily or involuntarily migrated to the U.S., participants perceived permanent immigrants as a threat to mainstream American culture. These findings support cultural inertia. Cultural inertia is based

on the premise that groups resist cultural change, unless cultural change is already occurring. From the majority perspective, mainstream American culture is stable and permanent immigrants who do not assimilate threaten the stability of the majority culture. Permanent immigrants remain in the U.S. for longer periods of time, and their duration of stay can have lasting effects on the mainstream culture. Thus, the majority culture expects permanent immigrants to assimilate to reduce cultural change in the U.S. From the immigrant perspective, permanent immigrants are changing everyday to create the foundation they need to remain in the U.S. for a long period of time. If permanent immigrants are in a constant state of change, they should want to continue changing until they fully assimilate to mainstream American culture. Although this finding supports cultural inertia, there are limitations with the present research that are discussed below.

Across both studies, U.S. citizens expressed greater sympathy toward involuntary immigrants. Irrespective of whether immigrants are permanently or temporarily staying in the U.S., participants do not sympathize with voluntary immigrants who choose to migrate. These findings support Verkuyten (2005). The majority culture does not sympathize with voluntary immigrants because voluntary immigrants chose to migrate, relative to involuntary immigrants who were forced to migrate.

### **The Importance of National and Ethnic Identity**

Group identification is a psychological anchor in cultural inertia (Zárate & Shaw, 2010). When individuals highly identify with a group, their resistance to cultural change is stronger. Cultural change that threatens the group equally threatens individuals who highly identify with the group. Experiment 2 shows that national identification and ethnic identification were significantly associated with sympathy toward immigrants and realistic threat. The most compelling findings from these analyses showed that positive effects for national identification were negative effects for ethnic identification, and vice versa. Greater identification with mainstream American culture, for example, predicted less sympathy toward immigrants and greater realistic threat. Greater identification with an ethnic group, however, predicted

greater sympathy toward immigrants and less realistic threat. The opposing effects between American and ethnic identification were found irrespective of immigrants' reason for migration and duration of stay in the U.S. Immigration typically implies greater cultural change for the host country. Participants in Experiment 2 who highly identified with mainstream American culture may recognize change caused by immigration and thus, expressed greater realistic threat.

The results from Experiment 2 showed that greater ethnic identification was associated with greater sympathy toward immigrants, and less realistic threat and endorsement of anti-immigration legislation. This association is especially important in the present research. The present studies were conducted along the U.S./Mexico border with predominantly Latino samples. The immigrants described in the experimental manipulation migrated from Mexico to the United States. The ethnic identification effects in Experiment 2 may be explained by the application of real-world migration in the experimental manipulation.

## **Limitations**

The present research aimed to continue extending cultural inertia to further understand the implications of immigrants' reason for migration and duration of stay in the U.S. The findings from the present research, however, did not replicate previous cultural inertia research for multiple reasons. First, previous research investigating cultural inertia has manipulated perceptions of cultural change (Quezada et al., 2012; Zárate et al., 2012), and Experiment 2 in the present research was the first study that measured cultural change. Without manipulating perceptions of cultural change in the present research, a baseline is not provided to determine whether the participants in the present study perceive mainstream American culture as stable or changing. Future research may include a manipulation of cultural change to make salient the change caused by voluntary and involuntary immigrants who permanently or temporarily stay in the U.S. Second, the experimental manipulations in previous cultural inertia research were developed at the group level. Participants in previous studies were told that an outgroup was



changing to accommodate the majority group, or the majority group was changing to accommodate the outgroup. In the present research, the experimental manipulation was developed at the individual level. Participants in the present research read stories about an individual migrating from Mexico to the U.S. The cultural changes caused by a group may be perceived as more threatening than the cultural change caused by an individual. Future research may contrast the distinctions between cultural change at the group level and cultural change at the individual level.

### **Future Directions**

Although there were caveats in the present research, this is an initial investigation of the extent to which immigrants' reasons for migration and duration of stay in the United States predict U.S. citizens' attitudes toward immigration. The findings are informative for how researchers may continue with two distinct avenues for future research: (1) extend the present research from the White majority perspective, and (2) extend the present research from the immigrant perspective. Although U.S. citizens in Experiment 1 could differentiate between voluntary and involuntary immigrants and permanent and temporary immigrants, the differences expected in Experiment 2 were not observed. The lack of replication on Experiment 2 may be caused by a number of reasons, including revisions to the experimental manipulation and inadequate reliability for dependent measures. The unique samples in both experiments, however, may also be worth addressing. Both experiments were conducted along the U.S./Mexico border where the majority population is Latino. The findings in Experiment 2 showed that U.S. citizens expressed greater sympathy toward involuntary immigrants and immigrants who are temporarily staying in the U.S. The participants in the present research may have expressed sympathy toward immigrants because they define American culture through the lens of Latino culture.

One way to address the limitation of the present samples is to conduct the experiments with a White American sample. Research with White Americans and White Canadians showed that these majority groups expressed greater anger and fear toward ethnic minorities, and greater sympathy for the

majority ingroup, when biased to believe they would become a minority group in the future (Outten, Schmitt, Miller, and Garcia, 2012). The predictions that voluntary and permanent immigration would be associated with greater anger, and that involuntary and temporary immigration would be associated with greater sympathy, may be further supported with a majority sample.

Another way to address the limitation of the present samples is to conduct the experiments with a Mexican immigrant sample. A link is missing between the research conducted by Verkuyten (2005) and Ogbu and Simons (1998). Future research can unite these distinct lines of research by investigating the extent to which non-U.S. citizen students assimilate to mainstream American culture. Research has not investigated why immigrants migrate to the United States, and why immigrants permanently or temporarily stay. From an education perspective, future research may provide insight into the extent to which different types of immigrants want to become incorporated into mainstream American culture to attain education success. The findings from the present research provide the foundation necessary to continue investigating the implications of immigrants' reason for migration and duration of stay in the United States.

## **Conclusion**

The present research gives a deeper understanding about attitudes toward immigration in the United States. The implementation of multiple immigration policies across the country has highlighted the need to understand why immigrants are migrating to the U.S. and why members of mainstream American culture express conflicting attitudes toward immigration. A focus on cultural inertia showed that immigrants' duration of stay implies different degrees of cultural change for mainstream American culture. Immigrants who permanently stay in the U.S. threaten the stability of mainstream American culture when they do not assimilate. Permanent immigration in the U.S. can be understood in the context of the aftermath of September 11<sup>th</sup>. After September 11<sup>th</sup>, it became difficult for individuals to regularly commute across the U.S. borders. In many cases, individuals became permanent immigrants when they

decided to remain in the U.S. to avoid the trouble of commuting across tighter borders. The present research shows that U.S. citizens expect these individuals to assimilate to mainstream American culture. Collectively, the present research disentangles the distinction between immigrants' reason for migration and their duration of stay in the U.S. to better identify the root of negativity surrounding immigration in the country.

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Table 1

*Principal Components Analysis for Realistic Threat Scale used in Experiment 1*

Item	Component Loadings	
	Realistic Threat	Component 2
Immigrants get more from this country than they contribute.	<b>.765</b>	-.290
The children of immigrants should have the same right to attend public schools in the United States as Americans do. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.524</b>	<b>.636</b>
Immigration has increased the tax burden on Americans.	<b>.769</b>	-.178
Immigrants are not displacing American workers from their jobs. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.704</b>	-.308
Immigrants should be eligible for the same health care benefits received by Americans who cannot pay for their health care. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.741</b>	<b>.420</b>
Social services have become less available to Americans because of immigration.	<b>.864</b>	-.116
Immigrants who are uninsured are a menace on American roads.	<b>.687</b>	.034
Immigrants are as entitled to subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, sewage, electricity) as poor Americans are. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.638</b>	<b>.434</b>
Immigrants are contributing to the increase in crime in the U.S.	<b>.680</b>	-.398
Observed Eigenvalues	<b>4.585</b>	1.153
% of variance	50.95	12.81
Parallel Analysis Eigenvalues	<b>1.638</b>	1.393

*Note:* <sup>R</sup> denotes reverse-scored item. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. Observed eigenvalues that exceed the Parallel Analysis eigenvalues appear in bold to show which components are retained.



Table 2

*Principal Components Analysis for American Identity Scale used in Experiment 1*

Item	Component Loadings	
	American Identity	Component 2
I have spent time trying to find out more about the United States, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	<b>.593</b>	<b>.494</b>
Being American is central to my identity.	<b>.823</b>	-.162
I have a clear sense of my nationality and what it means for me.	<b>.786</b>	.102
My national group membership is important to me.	<b>.850</b>	.048
I am happy that I am a citizen of the United States.	<b>.783</b>	-.255
I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of the United States. <sup>R</sup>	.313	<b>.841</b>
I have a strong sense of belonging to my country.	<b>.916</b>	-.027
I have a lot of pride in my country and its accomplishments.	<b>.885</b>	-.210
I feel a strong attachment toward other Americans.	<b>.769</b>	-.172
Eigenvalues	<b>5.294</b>	1.131
% of variance	58.82	12.56
Parallel Analysis Eigenvalues	<b>1.638</b>	1.393

*Note:* <sup>R</sup> denotes reverse-scored item. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. Observed eigenvalues that exceed the Parallel Analysis eigenvalues appear in bold to show which components are retained.

Table 3

*Principal Components Analysis for Ethnic Identity Scale used in Experiment 1*

Item	Ethnic Identity	Component Loadings	
		Component 2	Component 3
When someone criticizes members of my ethnic group, it feels like a personal insult.	<b>.674</b>	-.385	.358
I care about what happens to members of my ethnic group.	<b>.661</b>	-.323	.154
I don't act like the typical member of my ethnic group. <sup>R</sup>	.318	<b>.771</b>	-.087
I am ashamed to be a member of my ethnic group. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.518</b>	<b>.517</b>	<b>.411</b>
I like being a member of my ethnic group.	<b>.565</b>	.208	<b>.471</b>
The limitations associated with members of my ethnic group apply to me also.	<b>.450</b>	.042	<b>-.437</b>
When I talk about members of my ethnic group, I usually say "we" rather than "they."	<b>.704</b>	.045	<b>-.413</b>
The successes of members of my ethnic group are my successes.	<b>.746</b>	-.189	-.057
When someone praises members of my ethnic group, it feels like a personal compliment.	<b>.797</b>	-.200	-.040
I act like a member of my ethnic group to a great extent.	<b>.751</b>	.122	-.310
Eigenvalues	<b>4.035</b>	1.252	1.012
% of variance	40.35	12.52	10.13
Parallel Analysis Eigenvalues	<b>1.683</b>	1.453	1.277

*Note:* <sup>R</sup> denotes reverse-scored item. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. Observed eigenvalues that exceed the Parallel Analysis eigenvalues appear in bold to show which components are retained.

Table 6

*Principal Components Analysis for Realistic Threat Scale used in Experiment 2*

Item	Component Loadings	
	Realistic Threat	Component 2
Immigrants get more from this country than they contribute.	<b>.769</b>	-.152
The children of immigrants should have the same right to attend public schools in the United States as Americans do. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.653</b>	.382
Immigration has increased the tax burden on Americans.	<b>.680</b>	-.301
Immigrants are not displacing American workers from their jobs. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.466</b>	-.090
Immigrants should be eligible for the same health care benefits received by Americans who cannot pay for their health care. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.674</b>	<b>.421</b>
Social services have become less available to Americans because of immigration.	<b>.728</b>	-.181
Immigrants who are uninsured are a menace on American roads.	<b>.554</b>	.207
Immigrants are as entitled to subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, sewage, electricity) as poor Americans are. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.414</b>	<b>.728</b>
Immigrants are contributing to the increase in crime in the U.S.	<b>.651</b>	-.346
Eigenvalues	<b>3.584</b>	1.170
% of variance	39.82	13.00
Parallel Analysis Eigenvalues	<b>1.392</b>	1.257

*Note:* <sup>R</sup> denotes reverse-scored item. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. Observed eigenvalues that exceed the Parallel Analysis eigenvalues appear in bold to show which components are retained.

Table 7

*Principal Components Analysis for Anti-Immigration Legislation Scale used in Experiment 2*

Item	Component Loadings	
	Anti-Immigration Legislation	Component 2
That the United States Government should repeal the 14 <sup>th</sup> Amendment...	<b>.547</b>	<b>-.539</b>
That the United States Government should enact the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (The "DREAM Act") to provide academic assistance to immigrant students who move to the U.S. before the age of 14... <sup>R</sup>	<b>.650</b>	.184
That the United States Government should end the "Widow Penalty"... <sup>R</sup>	.265	<b>.724</b>
To declare English as the official language of the United States, and to establish a uniform English language rule...	<b>.714</b>	-.090
That each state should recognize Hispanic Heritage Month and celebrate the contributions of Latinos to the strength and culture of our Nation... <sup>R</sup>	.399	<b>.445</b>
That the fifty states should enact anti-immigration laws similar to the Arizona SB1070 bill.	<b>.739</b>	-.179
Eigenvalues	<b>2.006</b>	1.085
% of variance	33.43	18.08
Parallel Analysis Eigenvalues	<b>1.267</b>	1.137

*Note:* <sup>R</sup> denotes reverse-scored item. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. Observed eigenvalues that exceed the Parallel Analysis eigenvalues appear in bold to show which components are retained.

Table 8

*Principal Components Analysis for American Identity Scale used in Experiment 2*

Item	Component Loadings	
	American Identity	Component 2
I have spent time trying to find out more about the United States, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	<b>.506</b>	<b>.734</b>
Being American is central to my identity.	<b>.775</b>	-.076
I have a clear sense of my nationality and what it means for me.	<b>.713</b>	-.007
My national group membership is important to me.	<b>.746</b>	.037
I am happy that I am a citizen of the United States.	<b>.674</b>	<b>-.481</b>
I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of the United States. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.515</b>	<b>.711</b>
I have a strong sense of belonging to my country.	<b>.786</b>	-.172
I have a lot of pride in my country and its accomplishments.	<b>.822</b>	-.279
I feel a strong attachment toward other Americans.	<b>.736</b>	-.018
Eigenvalues	<b>4.476</b>	<b>1.391</b>
% of variance	49.74	15.45
Parallel Analysis Eigenvalues	<b>1.392</b>	<b>1.257</b>

*Note:* <sup>R</sup> denotes reverse-scored item. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. Observed eigenvalues that exceed the Parallel Analysis eigenvalues appear in bold to show which components are retained.

Table 9

*Principal Components Analysis for Ethnic Identity Scale used in Experiment 2*

Item	Ethnic Identity	Component Loadings	
		Component 2	Component 3
When someone criticizes members of my ethnic group, it feels like a personal insult.	<b>.677</b>	-.092	.232
I care about what happens to members of my ethnic group.	<b>.757</b>	-.385	.104
I don't act like the typical member of my ethnic group. <sup>R</sup>	.192	.175	<b>.907</b>
I am ashamed to be a member of my ethnic group. <sup>R</sup>	<b>.419</b>	<b>-.620</b>	.241
I like being a member of my ethnic group.	<b>.645</b>	-.388	.006
The limitations associated with members of my ethnic group apply to me also.	<b>.442</b>	<b>.640</b>	-.078
When I talk about members of my ethnic group, I usually say "we" rather than "they."	<b>.720</b>	.108	-.104
The successes of members of my ethnic group are my successes.	<b>.818</b>	.151	-.105
When someone praises members of my ethnic group, it feels like a personal compliment.	<b>.765</b>	.267	-.120
I act like a member of my ethnic group to a great extent.	<b>.748</b>	.189	.206
Eigenvalues	<b>4.188</b>	1.272	1.056
% of variance	41.88	12.72	10.56
Parallel Analysis Eigenvalues	<b>1.412</b>	1.281	1.185

*Note:* <sup>R</sup> denotes reverse-scored item. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold. Observed eigenvalues that exceed the Parallel Analysis eigenvalues appear in bold to show which components are retained.

## **Appendix A**

### ***Experimental Manipulation in Experiment 1***

#### **Voluntary-Permanent Immigrants**

Juan originally left Mexico to gain a higher education in the United States. He believed in hard work and decided that obtaining an education in the U.S. was the best way for him to accomplish his career goals. After he earned his degree from an American university, he met his wife and stayed in the United States where he started his career, and raised a family. Juan lost connections with Mexico, and has grown distant from Mexican culture.

Diego and his wife left Mexico to raise their children in the United States. Diego wanted his children to gain an American education. He believed it was important for his children to attend school in the U.S. to be eligible for opportunities that are not available in Mexico. Diego and his wife do not teach their children about Mexican culture and traditions because they think their children would do better if they focused on American values.

Javier left Mexico to become reunited with family in the United States. Although he had a great life in Mexico, he believed it was important to keep a close connection with family members. He was the last member of his family in Mexico, and was unhappy about the distance that separated him from his family. Javier jumped at the first chance to move to the U.S. so that he can now start his own family.

#### **Voluntary-Temporary Immigrants**

Carlos left Mexico to pursue the “American Dream” by opening a business in the United States. He had a great life in Mexico, but always dreamed of having a career in the U.S. Carlos was motivated to fulfill greater economic opportunities that were not available to him in Mexico. Although he earns good money in the U.S., Carlos visits Mexico often. He misses Mexican culture, so he often thinks about expanding his business to Mexico.

Enrique left Mexico to care for a grandmother who lives in the United States. Family is extremely important to Enrique, and since his grandmother was the only family member living in the U.S., he wanted to ensure he was readily available to offer the care she needed. Although he is happy to care for his grandmother, Enrique misses his lifestyle in Mexico and longs to reunite his grandmother with the rest of his family in Mexico.

Miguel and his wife left Mexico to begin a family in the United States. Miguel wanted his children to be born in the United States so that they may have access to American opportunities. Although he loves his life in Mexico, he wanted his children to have access to better opportunities that were unavailable to him as a child. Miguel keeps close connections with people he knows in Mexico, and wants to someday immerse his children into Mexican culture.

### **Involuntary-Permanent Immigrants**

Esteban left Mexico when famine spread across the region where he lived. He was involved in efforts to provide food to the poor, but when resources for food were no longer available, he migrated to the United States. While in the U.S., he worked to send back money to his family. Esteban appreciates American resources, so he focuses on providing for his family without thinking about how his life would have been if he would have stayed in Mexico.

Pedro left Mexico after tensions increased following a political election. He was extremely involved in politics, and made it his career to support politicians. When newly elected political leaders made it difficult for people like Pedro to remain in Mexico, he migrated to the United States. The political shift changed Mexico, so although Pedro keeps a close watch on the politics of his area, he has shifted his focus and is becoming politically active here in the U.S.

Hector left Mexico when different groups became persecuted. He witnessed people suffer imprisonment and physical violence because of their ethnic beliefs. Hector was a strong voice of advocacy and civil rights in Mexico so he feared he may become a target of persecution. He wanted to protect himself, so he migrated to the United States in the middle of the night, when he could leave safely. Hector wants to live peacefully while maintaining his beliefs.

### **Involuntary-Temporary Immigrants**

Alfredo left Mexico when the violence among the drug cartels escalated. He was devoted to his family and career in Mexico, so he did not let the violence affect him. He thought the violence was contained, until one day, a family on his block was found dead. Alfredo became afraid for his life, so he moved to the United States soon after that. Alfredo longs for peace in Mexico and hopes he can remain connected with Mexican culture and traditions.

Gerardo left Mexico after he lost his home during an earthquake. His town was completely ruined and job opportunities became limited. Gerardo's only solution for survival was to migrate to the United States. He never wanted to live in the U.S. and often missed his life in Mexico, so he constantly searched the newspapers in his hometown for job opportunities. Although Gerardo found a good job in the U.S., he wants to return to Mexico if a good opportunity arises.

Ricardo migrated to the United States when a war erupted in Mexico. He did not agree with the injustice of the war and became fearful of his rights and safety in Mexico. Ricardo did not want to become imprisoned by the war, so he felt that moving to the United States was the best thing for him. Ricardo remains informed about the political situation in Mexico and thinks about life in Mexico after the war ends.



## Appendix B

### *Expectations of assimilation*

1. Rate the extent to which [immigrant's name] should assimilate to mainstream American culture:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[Immigrant's name] should not assimilate at all						[Immigrant's name] should completely assimilate

2. Rate the speed at which [immigrant's name] should assimilate to mainstream American culture:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[Immigrant's name] should assimilate at his own pace						[Immigrant's name] should assimilate quickly

3. Rate the extent to which the American government should force immigrants like [immigrant's name] to assimilate to mainstream American culture:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
American government should not force immigrants to assimilate						American government should force immigrants to assimilate

4. Rate the extent to which laws should require [immigrant's name] to learn English:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Laws should not require [immigrant's name] to learn English						Laws should require [immigrant's name] to learn English

## Appendix C

### *Experimental Manipulation in Experiment 2*

#### **Voluntary-Permanent Immigrants**

Carlos left Mexico to pursue the “American Dream” by opening a business in the United States. He had a great life in Mexico, but always dreamed of having a career in the U.S. Carlos was motivated to fulfill greater economic opportunities that were not available to him in Mexico. He earns good money in the U.S., and does not think about his life in Mexico. Carlos appreciates his economic opportunities in the U.S. and wants to live peacefully without worries.

Juan originally left Mexico to pursue a higher education in the United States. He decided that obtaining an education in the U.S. was the best way to accomplish his career goals. After he earned his degree from an American university, he met his wife and stayed in the United States where he started his career, and raised a family. Juan focuses on his family and career without thinking about how his life would have been if he stayed in Mexico.

Javier left Mexico to become reunited with family in the United States. Family is important to Javier, and he wanted to keep a close relationship with family members. Many years had passed since some of his family members moved to the U.S., and he was unhappy about the distance that separated them. He longed to spend time with his family again. Javier is enjoying his move to the United States and values being close to his family.

#### **Voluntary-Temporary Immigrants**

Carlos left Mexico to pursue the “American Dream” by opening a business in the United States. He had a great life in Mexico, but always dreamed of having a career in the U.S. Carlos was motivated to fulfill greater economic opportunities that were not available to him in Mexico. Although he earns good money in the U.S., he often thinks about his life in Mexico. He misses Mexico and follows the Mexican newspapers in hopes for economic improvements in Mexico.

Juan originally left Mexico to pursue a higher education in the United States. He decided that obtaining an education in the U.S. was the best way to accomplish his career goals. After he earned his degree from an American university, he met his wife and stayed in the United States where he started his career, and raised a family. Juan enjoys his life in the United States, but considers returning to Mexico if a better opportunity arises.

Javier left Mexico to become reunited with family in the United States. Family is important to Javier, and he wanted to keep a close relationship with family members. Many years had passed since some of his family members moved to the U.S., and he was unhappy about the distance that separated them. He longed to spend time with his family again. Javier is happy to be reunited with his family, but wants to remain connected with his life in Mexico.

### **Involuntary-Permanent Immigrants**

Carlos left Mexico when different groups became persecuted. He witnessed people suffer imprisonment and physical violence because of their beliefs. Carlos was a strong voice of advocacy and civil rights in Mexico so he feared he may become a target of persecution. He wanted to protect himself, so he migrated to the United States in the middle of the night, when he could leave safely. Carlos appreciates his sense of security in the U.S. and wants to live peacefully without worries.

Juan left Mexico after he lost his home during an earthquake. His town was completely ruined and job opportunities became limited. Juan's only solution for survival was to migrate to the United States and search for job opportunities that would allow him to provide for his family. He never wanted to live in the U.S. and often missed Mexico. Juan focuses on his family and career without thinking about how his life would have been if he stayed in Mexico.

Javier left Mexico when the violence among the drug cartels escalated. He was devoted to his family and career in Mexico, so he did not let the violence affect him. He thought the violence was contained, until one day a family on his block was murdered. Javier became afraid for his life, and believed he could avoid the violence if he escaped from Mexico. Javier is enjoying his move to the United States and values being away from the violence.

### **Involuntary-Temporary Immigrants**

Carlos left Mexico when different groups became persecuted. He witnessed people suffer imprisonment and physical violence because of their beliefs. Carlos was a strong voice of advocacy and civil rights in Mexico so he feared he may become a target of persecution. He wanted to protect himself, so he migrated to the United States in the middle of the night, when he could leave safely. He misses Mexico and follows the Mexican newspapers in hopes for the persecution to end in Mexico.

Juan left Mexico after he lost his home during an earthquake. His town was completely ruined and job opportunities became limited. Juan's only solution for survival was to migrate to the United States and search for job opportunities that would allow him to provide for his family. He never wanted to live in the U.S. and often missed Mexico. Juan enjoys his life in the United States, but considers returning to Mexico if a better opportunity arises.

Javier left Mexico when the violence among the drug cartels escalated. He was devoted to his family and career in Mexico, so he did not let the violence affect him. He thought the violence was contained, until one day a family on his block was murdered. Javier became afraid for his life, and believed he could avoid the violence if he escaped from Mexico. Javier is happy to escape the violence, but wants to remain connected with his life in Mexico.

## Appendix D

### *Perceptions of Cultural Change*

1. How are the beliefs and values of this country changing due to the mixing of traditional U.S. culture with the cultures of immigrants?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
U.S. culture is not changing at all						U.S. culture is changing dramatically

2. Immigrants are causing the rules and norms of American society to change.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

3. How much is the job market in America being affected by immigrant workers?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
U.S. job market is not affected by immigrant workers						U.S. job market highly affected by immigrant workers

4. I am going to have to adapt my values and customs because of the immigrant population.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

## Appendix E

### *Pro-Immigration Legislation*

1. That the United States Government should end the “Widow Penalty”. Under the penalty, immigrants whose American spouses died faced deportation if the couple had not been married for more than two years. Regardless of entering the United States legally, these spouses would be deported on the grounds that the marriage could no longer serve as a criterion to gain residency in the United States. This legislation would end the “Widow Penalty” and would allow immigrant spouses to remain in the U.S.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not likely to support this act at all						Very likely to support this act

2. That each state should recognize Hispanic Heritage Month and celebrate the contributions of Latinos to the strength and culture of our Nation. The United States celebrates Black History Month to commemorate African American culture. A Hispanic Heritage month would enhance cultural celebrations in the United States by allocating a month of celebration for Hispanic culture.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not likely to support this act at all						Very likely to support this act

3. That the United States government should enact the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (The “DREAM Act”) to provide academic assistance to immigrant students who move to the U.S. before the age of 14. While immigrant students have free access to K-12 public education, there are restrictions that reduce the number of immigrant students who attend college. The DREAM Act would provide in-state college tuition and legal status to illegal immigrant students in the United States who are pursuing a college education.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not likely to support this act at all						Very likely to support this act

### ***Anti-Immigration Legislation***

4. To declare English as the official language of the United States, and to establish a uniform English language rule. Thirty-nine states have already made English as the official language for their state. Georgia, for example, has mandated written exams for a driver's license to be administered in English-only format. This legislation would make English the official language for legal documents and voting ballots across all fifty states.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not likely to support this act at all					Very likely to support this act	

5. That the United States Government should repeal the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment. The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment states that any individual born on U.S. territory is a U.S. citizen, regardless of parental citizenship status. Repealing the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment would not give U.S. citizenship to “anchor babies” – babies who are born in the United States to illegal immigrants.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not likely to support this act at all					Very likely to support this act	

6. That the fifty states should enact anti-immigration laws similar to the Arizona SB1070 bill. The Arizona law, for instance, requires immigrants to carry their legal documents at all times in the case they should come across an official who requests them. The law further prevents businesses from renting, sheltering, or hiring illegal immigrants. This legislation would allow all fifty states to enact laws that are similar to the Arizona SB1070.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not likely to support this act at all					Very likely to support this act	

## Vita

Stephanie Ann Quezada earned her Bachelor of Arts degree with honors in Psychology from Vassar College in 2008. During that time, she was the recipient of multiple scholarships, including the Gates Millennium Scholarship. In 2008 she joined the doctoral program in Psychology at the University of Texas at El Paso where she received her Master of Arts degree in Experimental Psychology in 2010.

Stephanie has been the recipient of numerous fellowships, including the Department of Homeland Security Graduate Fellowship, the UTEP College of Liberal Arts Summer Dissertation Fellowship, and the Graduate Excellence Award. She was also the recipient of the Graduate School Banner Bearer Award and the Outstanding Graduate Student in Psychology Award when she received her M.A. in 2010.

During her doctoral career, Stephanie was a graduate member of the Social Cognition Laboratory in the Psychology department and a Research Assistant for the Center for Research on Educational Reform. She was also the Assistant Instructor for Statistical Methods courses in the Psychology department. Stephanie conducted research in an applied setting when she completed a summer internship at Sandia National Laboratories in 2010.

Stephanie has presented her research at numerous conferences, and has published different works in multiple outlets, including a chapter in the *APA Handbook of Multicultural Psychology*, and articles in the following journals: *Social Psychology of Education*, *Social Psychology*, *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, and *Psychology of Violence*.

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