MEXICAN AMERICANS' ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS

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DEDICATION

To my parents, who gave up so much to give me the opportunity of pursuing a higher education

and a career in the United States and have helped me with every goal I have ever dreamed of. To

my brother, who I love and want to inspire with every achievement. To my husband, who has

pushed me every step of the way and never gives up on me.

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ABSTRACT

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This study aimed to determine the relationship between acculturation, ethnic and national identity, political ideology and partisanship, prejudice, and disgust within Mexican Americans. Previous studies indicated that national identification, political conservatism, and disgust were related to increased prejudice toward out-groups. It was hypothesized that acculturation, national and ethnic identity, and political ideology would predict prejudice and disgust toward Mexican immigrants. In addition, political ideology was expected to mediate the disgust-prejudice relationship. Results indicated Mexican Americans that had higher national identification, political conservatism, and acculturation predicted prejudice toward Mexican immigrants. Contrary to the hypothesis, individuals that identified as second generation or more had less prejudice than first generation participants. Further, when political conservatism was controlled for, the direct effect of disgust and prejudice was decreased, indicating partial mediation. Future research should consider recruiting more participants that identify as second generation or more to properly analyze group differences, as well as replicate these findings in other minority ethnic groups.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Immigration reform has become a hot topic in the United States since the 2016 presidential election of Donald Trump. Trump began his presidential campaign by calling Mexican immigrants "bad hombres," "murderers," and "rapists" (Marietta et al., 2017). His choice of words has contributed to the negative attitudes and stereotypes of Mexican immigrants. Negative views of Mexican immigrants have been a part of rhetoric portrayed by many Americans that are anti-immigration (Diaz, et al., 2011; Stephan, et al., 1999; Zárate & Quezada 2012). Immigrants come into this country from various parts of the world (e.g., Honduras, Guatemala, Syria, Iran, Yemen, etc.), but Donald Trump and many Americans mostly focus on the Mexican subgroup of Latinx (Green, 2016). The attention to Mexicans is due to the growing population of Mexican immigrants in the country, as they make up 30% of all immigrants (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; Villegas-Gold & Yoo, 2014). Therefore, the current president's attacks on Mexican immigrants has brought about a heightened anti-immigration perspective by some Americans, including Mexican Americans.

Mexican Americans are individuals that are of Mexican descent, but are born in the United States, while Mexican immigrants are Mexican born individuals that migrated to this country. Some Mexican Americans were seen supporting anti-immigration during the presidential elections of 2016 (Baker et al., 2018). They protested immigration reform and openly supported the election of Donald Trump despite his negative language toward Mexican immigrants. One may wonder why this particular group would hold negative attitudes toward individuals that they share an ethnic background with. Mexican immigrants have negative connotations associated with them as they are an out-group. This creates a worry amongst

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Mexican Americans, as they do not want to be associated with negative terms because they have acculturated to American norms. These norms may include perception of threat (i.e., prejudice) to an individual's identity from out-groups and the fear of change to their American life. Along with prejudice, Mexican Americans that support anti-immigration policies may have adopted a conservative ideology (Jost, et al., 2003). Moreover, a conservative ideology is also related to disgust, which is found to be related to negative attitudes toward out-groups (Esses & Hodson, 2006; Hodson & Costello, 2007; Hodson & Esses, 2005).

Past research has found that many factors (e.g., political party, economic benefits, race, socioeconomics) influence attitudes toward immigrants. The current study sought to examine additional factors that may contribute to negative attitudes toward Mexican immigrants (i.e., acculturation, national and ethnic identity, and political ideology). Therefore, it was predicted that acculturation, national and ethnic identity, and political ideology were related to prejudice, xenophobia, and disgust. In the current study, I was interested in uncovering the potential of Mexican Americans' identity as a factor that contributes to negative attitudes toward Mexican immigrants. Specifically, I predicted that there would be a positive relationship between national identity, acculturation, and political ideology and prejudice. I also anticipated that Mexican Americans that have lived in the US longer would exhibit more prejudice than those that have not. Finally, political conservatism was examined as a mediator between disgust and prejudice, such that the increased occurrence of prejudice would be accounted for by disgust.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Identity Theory

Individuals around the world have an idea of who they are and where they belong. Group preferences can emerge due to race and ethnicity (Whitt & Wilson, 2007), political affiliation (Rand, et al., 2009), and/or national identification (Mummendey, et al., 2001). Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) suggests that individuals define themselves based on their group membership, as well as the differences they perceive with their in-group and other out-groups. SIT may help explain in-group bias, which is the preference and attachment that individuals have to their in-group rather than out-groups (Brewer, 1972). By having in-group bias when interacting with others, people will favor in-group behavior, thoughts, and morals while pushing away the out-group.

Treating the in-group differently than out-groups is found throughout different societies, especially when having interracial interactions (Chen & Li, 2009; Romano et al., 2017; Tajfel et al., 1971). Many individuals grow up in an environment that discourages change from groups that are dissimilar to their own, which may cause for opposition or discrimination to prevent any change from the out-group taking place (Krumm & Corning, 2008). This type of interaction can also be explained by SIT through out-group derogation. Out-group derogation is the act of searching for or preferring negative information about the out-group (Jackson et al., 1996) with the intention of protecting the in-group's social identity (Hewstone et al., 2002).

Prejudice

A consequence of the categorization process are prejudiced attitudes that form toward group members or groups. Prejudice consists of having adverse attitudes toward group members or groups to which an individual does not associate with (Allport, 1958; Duckitt, 1992; Nelson, 2009; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). When having prejudice towards any group, it involves demonstrating negativity toward them (Aboud, 1998; Fishbein, 2002), whether that is to immigrants, the LGBTQ community, women, or other ethnic groups. Ethnic prejudice is based on SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), where an individual would fear an out-group interfering with the in-group (Caricati et al., 2017). The perception of threat from out-groups is one of the factors associated with individuals demonstrating prejudice to out-groups (Makashvili et al., 2018; Pfeifer et al., 2007). Many groups in the US that are considered out-groups face prejudice and the discrimination that comes along with it. The unauthorized legal status of Mexican immigrants in this country leaves this group of individuals vulnerable to be discriminated against (Ellis et al., 2010). However, the continuing prejudice that Mexican immigrants face from Americans does not explain why Mexican Americans contribute to the discrimination. Tummala-Narra (2020) states that the existence of intergenerational transmission of prejudice as a defense could explain the generational differences. Mexican Americans that have lived in this country for more generations may have adopted negative views toward Mexican immigrants that were passed along to their offspring as a way to overall disassociate from the discrimination and stereotyping that the Mexican ethnic group faces.

Apart from intergenerational prejudice, Mexican Americans hold certain negative views toward migrants because of the impact of their presence in this country. Jiménez (2007) found that while some Mexican Americans believe there to be a social benefit from Mexican

immigration, others feel a pressure to be the representation of the Mexican ethnic group, especially when Mexicans are being acknowledged in the media. Due to the pressure of being the Mexican spokesperson, Mexican Americans pointed out that Mexican immigrants do not assimilate fast enough and give the Mexican group a bad image that is later projected onto the Mexican Americans (Jiménez, 2007). Individuals hold prejudice toward groups like Mexican immigrants for many reasons, one being the economic distress and uncertainty that is believed to threaten Americans when it comes to job competition (Kumar et al., 2011). Prejudice towards immigrants has historically become worse due to the economic hardships that in reality have nothing to do with the incoming migrants from other countries (Zárate & Quezada, 2011). Shin and Dovidio (2017) also found consistency in higher prejudice towards immigrants and foreign workers. These findings are steady with the claims made by the president, in which Trump states that immigrants are stealing Americans' jobs. The perceived threat of losing job opportunities heightens the prejudice toward any group. However, being that Mexican Americans would also be at a risk of losing a job, they are left vulnerable to fall into realistic or symbolic threat.

Prejudice can be predicted when observing the things that cause people to have a perceived realistic or symbolic threat. Perceived realistic threat refers to the imposition on the welfare of the in-group (i.e., Americans). An example of realistic threat would be the possibility of job scarcity due to an influx of immigrants that would take jobs, leaving Americans without the opportunity to work. On the other hand, symbolic threat refers to the challenge put on the in-group's morals, values, and identity. An example of a symbolic threat would be the possibility that the out-group would bring in different religious perspectives from the in-group's, causing controversial disputes. Perceived realistic threat has been found to predict prejudiced attitudes toward immigrants more than perceived symbolic threat (Mayda, 2006; Pereira et al., 2010;

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Schweitzer et al., 2005). These forms of threat are important in determining the presence of prejudice that Mexican Americans may hold toward Mexican immigrants, as well as exploring further negative attitudes.

Xenophobia

The idea of group threat is necessary for the existence of xenophobia (Blumer, 1958; Hjerm, 2005). Xenophobia is the fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners as well as anything that is strange of foreign (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, n.d.; Yakushko, 2009). Xenophobia includes fear-like emotions that induce individuals to feel vulnerable to foreigners' intentions (Veer et al., 2011). Xenophobia can cause individuals to hold discriminatory views (Watts, 1996), which can later go hand in hand with racism when speaking of oppression (Yakushko, 2009). Group members from one ethnic group are capable of being prejudiced and discriminating to others from the same ethnic group (i.e., interethnic group racism; Clark, 2004) and intergenerational transmission can explain prejudice continuing for generations (Tummala-Narra, 2020).

There is the possibility that Mexican Americans have participated in downward comparisons to recent Mexican immigrants (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004), or they have internalized racist views on Latinos which has led them to view members of their ethnic group just as negatively (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010). Individuals that are members of marginalized communities are inclined to have biased beliefs, even toward members of their ethnic group. This form of bias depicts a scenario in which the marginalized individual views their ethnicity as inferior and is likely suffering from internalized racism (Padilla, 2001). This internalization of racism and belief that one's ethnic group is inferior also suggests that individuals will have a decreased identification with their ethnic identity (Hipolito-Delgado, 2016). Identification with

one's ethnic group usually comes from pride and Latinx have been found to defend their ethnic group when they perceive more racism (Chavira & Phinney, 1991; Hipolito-Delgado, 2016). However, there may be those Latinx that continue to view their ethnic group as inferior and adopt adverse attitudes that further increase as prejudice or xenophobia.

Xenophobia is a complex construct, such that researchers have had a difficult time measuring for. Even so, it has been found that people have a fear of the "other" (e.g., out-groups or foreigners) and a fear of losing national identity (Veer et al., 2011). Therefore, xenophobia can then explain the out-group derogation that White Americans hold (Baker et al., 2018) when they feel threatened. The perception that an individual is being threatened is one of the factors that indicates that there is prejudice. Baker et al. (2018) help explain the connection of xenophobia and prejudice by defining fear as something that precedes prejudice. One could then assume that Mexican Americans who are prejudiced towards an out group (i.e., Mexican immigrants) would also hold a fear that can be explained through xenophobia. The rise of xenophobia in Mexican Americans as well as other Americans may have increased because of the political climate towards Mexican immigrants.

Fear and anxiety are sometimes invoked by political candidates. These emotions contribute to perceived threat, which heightens in-group bias. When it comes to looking at large numbers of immigrants at the state and national level, it has been found that this larger presence can heighten xenophobia due to perception of threat (Jolly & DiGiusto, 2014). Donald Trump invoked perceived threat in Americans with the rhetoric toward immigrants (Baker et al., 2018) by saying that Mexican immigrants were stealing American jobs. Since Mexican Americans have attempted to be considered a part of the in-group (i.e., Americans), their national identity

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would be threatened when negative messages of immigrants are spread by politicians, which only builds the out-group derogation toward Mexican immigrants.

Identity

National and Ethnic Identity

When examining what may cause prejudiced, xenophobic, or racist attitudes, turning to individual's identities may help give an explanation. Ethnic identity and national identity are associated with SIT and in-group favoritism (Mummendey et al., 2001; Whitt & Wilson, 2007). Ethnic identity is the idea that an individual feel as if they belong and identify with their ethnic group (Phinney, 1989). Within the ethnic identity framework, it is understood that individuals first gain knowledge about an ethnic group, then develop a negative or positive outlook on their ethnic group. This then contributes to the overall perspective and understanding that they will have with the meaning of their membership and commitment to their ethnic group (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Ethnic identity has been characterized as a domain of acculturation, where it is specifically a form of identification (Liebkind, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010; Snauwaert et al., 2003). The Mexican ethnic group has been interacting with the US for centuries and naturally going through the process of shift in culture. However, it may be that over the years, that ethnic identity has become blurred to this group as they try to define themselves as Americans, too.

National identity refers to the extent to which an individual feel as if they belong to the nation in which they live. Specifically, for this study, the nation of interest is the United States, which would require the conceptualization of a US national identity. Researchers have created scales that measure an individual's US identity. These scales include the American Identity Measure (AIM; Schwartz et al., 2012) and the United States Identity Scale (USIS; Meca et al., 2019), which have shown that national identity is a complex construct. This construct can be

difficult to disentangle US cultural identity exploration (i.e., participation in events that teaches

one about their cultural group), affirmation (i.e., positive and/or negative feelings of one's

cultural group), and resolution (i.e., understanding the meaning of one's cultural group). Even

with the complexity, it is important to differentiate national identity from ethnic identity because

these two constructs may not always be the same for an individual and may help establish

biculturalism (Meca et al., 2019). Therefore, national identity is an important factor to include

when studying the identity of any ethnic group, including Mexican Americans.

Past research has found that first generation immigrants that are rejected due to their

ethnicity will choose not to identify with the host country (Badea et al., 2011; Berry et al., 2006;

Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Mexican Americans that have adopted US culture would then

possibly join the actions of other Americans and expect Mexican immigrants to adopt the host

culture as they themselves have throughout generations. It could be assumed that Mexican

Americans do not acknowledge their shared ethnic identity with Mexican immigrants, especially

if they feel that Mexican immigrants are a threat. By doing so, this means that Mexican

Americans may identify more with their US identity than their Mexican identity. However, this

has not been found in research before. Mexican Americans that have lived in the US for

generations may have in-group bias for US Americans and out-group derogation for Mexican

immigrants for the sake of preserving their national identity.

Mexican Immigrants as the Out-Group

Majority groups tend to be considered in-groups, such as White Americans in the US

Individuals that are labeled as in-group members tend to feel more accepted on an emotional,

behavioral, and cognitive level than out-group members, even when there is the potential that

they could cause harm to others (Ferguson et al., 2019; Miron et al., 2010). The ambition to feel

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accepted could be one of the many factors that lead Mexican Americans to strive for the in-group status (i.e., American), even if they cause harm to others on their way to acceptance. Incoming Mexican immigrants have a similar goal once they are in this country of wanting to be accepted by Americans as honest and devoted people. Eng and Han (2000) state that out-groups, like immigrants, have the hope that association with White Americans could lead to a path of belonging in America. Although Eng and Han (2000) specifically singled out immigrants, that is not to say that Mexican Americans have participated in that association after being rejected for their ethnicity and skin color. The need to fit into the in-group for Mexicans that have resided in the US for generations may have led to the perspective that having the label of being a naturalized American means that they are no longer considered an out-group.

The in-group of a nation tends to prefer that immigrants adopt the identity of the in-group and abandon their group identity (Dovidio et al., 2016; Hehman et al., 2012; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). This expectation of the in-group in many countries could explain the discrimination that is targeted at any out-group that is not conforming to the nation's norms and customs (Reijerse et al., 2013; Roblain et al., 2016). There have been studies that found that adopting the host culture can determine the attitude taken by the in-group towards immigrants (Matera et al., 2012; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Since the majority group of a nation prefers that an out-group does not have a dual identity, it could explain why some Mexican Americans attempt to only identify with the in-group in order to avoid being cast away or looked down upon by White Americans. Mexican Americans may then view Mexican immigrants as an out-group and perceive a threat from them to their identity and stance in the country. The opposite also may be true, where Mexican immigrants perceive Mexican Americans as out-group members, however this has not been found in research before. The threat

perceived by out-groups, especially immigrants, may be further explained through the ideology that Mexican Americans hold.

Acculturation

Another factor that could contribute to the stance that some Mexican Americans have adopted against Mexican immigrants is their level of acculturation. Acculturation is the process of adopting the customs, norms, and culture of the new country (Berry, 1997; Redfield et al., 1936). Acculturation can be broken down into four different strategies: assimilation, separation, biculturalism, and marginalization. Assimilation is the loyalty to the host culture, but a separation from the individual's heritage culture. Separation involves a disconnection from the present host culture while keeping the heritage culture, while biculturalism is the adherence to both the host and heritage cultures. Lastly, marginalization is the separation of the host and heritage cultures. Acculturation can occur to any group going into any country, however for this research, the group of interest is Mexican Americans.

Mexican Americans have been present in the United States for centuries. Since Mexico is a bordering nation to the US, the Mexican people remain an ethnic group prevalent in American society. Since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, where the US gained a large amount of land from Mexico, Mexicans were granted US citizenship and were considered "white by law" (Fox & Bloemraad, 2015). Although Mexicans at the time had a lengthier naturalization process when compared to other immigrant groups (Schneider, 2001). Mexicans were also not genuinely seen as white by the local, state, or federal level, but they still attempted to become naturalized. These issues contributed to the eagerness of this ethnic group in obtaining citizenship in the US, which could bring them closer to the possibility of being socially accepted (Fox & Bloemraad, 2015). These were some of the first signs from Mexicans in the early 20th century that Mexicans

were wanting to fit in with the in-group of Americans and be widely accepted. The process of naturalization can be assumed to be one of the first signs of acculturation that Mexican Americans took part in as they continued their presence in the country.

Previous research on acculturation has been able to differentiate Mexican Americans among the four strategies of assimilation, separation, biculturalism, and marginalization (Capielo Rosario & Dillon, 2020). These four strategies are important when studying acculturation, as they provide levels or steps in which one can distinguish how acculturated an individual has become. Acculturation levels have also been found to vary between intergenerational groups of Mexican Americans due to the exposure to mainstream culture, which peer pressures the adherence to cultural norms (Mendez et al., 2012). The intergenerational differences would mean that Mexicans that have been in the US longer would have passed on modified Mexican customs and values to their offspring as they attempted to integrate American culture into their lives. On the other hand, Mexicans that have lived in the US for a few generations would not be as integrated to American culture, hence the intergenerational differences.

Some Mexican Americans differ from Mexican immigrants that have just arrived in the country. Mexican Americans speak, understand, and write the English language, as well as practice American customs like Thanksgiving or partake in American sports like football, while Mexican immigrants may not. One can assume that Mexican Americans that have lived in the US for more than one generation will have higher levels of acculturation than Mexican immigrants, despite Mexican immigrants beginning the natural process of acculturation once they step into the country. The difference in the level of acculturation will be one of the factors by which you could view these two groups differently, despite the shared ethnic background.

Political Ideology

Political ideology is also a factor that may explain prejudice as it is associated with nationalism. Attitudes on immigration policies have changed throughout the history of America based on the economic or social benefits that the country gained from migrants. Prior to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, most Americans had a positive perspective on immigrants by viewing them as beneficial to the economy (Esses et al., 2002). However, things changed after the attacks and negative attitudes surfaced as Americans viewed immigrants as part of a threat to the American life. Mexican Americans have demonstrated a perception of threat to their job safety from Mexican immigrants, which shows that this group was viewed as more of a cost than a benefit to the country for some Americans (Jiménez, 2007). The feeling of threat was also influenced by political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003). Greater political conservatism then contributes to an increasing concern and motive to lower uncertainty and fear in one's society. To bring attention to the threat, many politicians and news outlets speak about immigration in a way that instills fear and anxiety to receive support and attention to anti-immigration policies. Furthermore, if conservative Americans are assumed to have anti-immigration views, then it would be expected for conservative Mexican Americans to uphold these views too.

In the US, political parties, specifically the Republican party, has labeled immigrants and refugees as the cause of a decrease in jobs for Americans and increase of crime (Jolly & DiGiusto, 2014). The zero-tolerance policy for immigration that Trump has reiterated (Ghitis, 2018) has been symbolic for the relationship between the republican party and anti-immigration. Due to this movement under the Trump administration, America is living under the "Trump Effect," where racialization, xenophobia, homophobia, and misogyny has only increased as a result of Donald Trump's rhetoric (Zimbardo & Sword, 2017).

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The presence of Mexican Americans at anti-immigration rallies contradicts the findings of Latrofa et al. (2012). Latrofa et al. (2012), who found that people that are part of stigmatized and stereotyped groups tend to have an increased fear of being judged by the stereotypes put on them. Moreover, when people face discrimination to their in-group or ethnic group, they may perceive a threat to their self-worth (Crocker et al., 1998) and will then have an increased need to identify with that ethnic group (Branscombe et al., 1999; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2011). One would expect for Mexican Americans to stand by Mexican immigrants and identify with their ethnic group more when there is negativity being thrown at Mexican immigrants. For those Mexican Americans that have negative views and hold anti-immigration support toward Mexican immigrants may be displaying internalized prejudice (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010), however political conservatism and Republican party affiliation may be factors associated with continued negative stances on immigration.

Disgust

Another one of the negative emotions that may come from prejudice toward out-groups is disgust. Disgust is known to be associated with avoidance and distancing from a stimulus that may activate the human defense system when there is an infectious disease present (Rozin et al., 2000). Apart from a bodily defense mechanism, disgust is also an emotion that has an important role when individuals conform to social norms, especially if they perceive threat (Murray & Schaller, 2012; Rozin et al., 2000). Since disgust is a complex construct, one must understand that there are many concerns that come with this emotion that range from protecting oneself from disease to distancing oneself from scenarios that affect one's morals (Rozin et al., 2000).

Disgust is related to conservative views. Conservative individuals avoid the offensive target as well as view themselves to be less offensive and purer than the target (Hodson &

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Costello, 2007). The prevalence of this emotion could possibly explain why Mexican Americans would partake in having a disassociating view toward Mexican immigrants. People that demonstrate interpersonal disgust are more likely to be conservative and have the ideology that they are socially dominant. Moreover, holding these views has previously predicted negative attitudes toward out-groups in such a way that the out-group is viewed as less human (Esses & Hodson, 2006; Hodson & Costello, 2007; Hodson & Esses, 2005). Past research has linked disgust and immigration attitudes to where a negative attitude increases toward immigrants after being exposed to a disgusting stimuli (Faulkner et al., 2004; Hodson & Costello, 2007; Huang et al., 2011; Navarrete & Fessler, 2006) or disgust toward immigrants increases during disease pandemics (Esses et al., 2013; Green et al., 2010). Specific language use about out-groups can also interfere with the view that people have of them. When immigrants are presented as being harmful to the country, Americans become more anti-immigration (Marshall & Shapiro, 2018). This is something that Trump has succeeded in by referring to Mexican immigrants as an infestation. Like other Americans, Mexican Americans were exposed to media where Trump spoke negatively about Mexican immigrants. Being that they hear this rhetoric, they are prone to adopt these views. Although there are many negative emotions that are involved in forming certain attitudes towards a group of individuals, disgust will be taken into consideration as it could be involved in the prejudice that Mexican Americans have toward Mexican immigrants.

Purpose of Study

The current study aimed to explain why some Mexican Americans have negative attitudes (e.g., prejudice, xenophobia, and disgust) toward Mexican immigrants. Results from this study have the potential to increase the understanding of negative attitudes toward perceived out-groups that individuals share an ethnic background to. In addition, better understanding of

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Mexican Americans' identity may contribute to future research on other ethnic groups and negative attitudes that may exist toward immigrants from their ethnicity or race. For the current study, it was hypothesized that:

H_1: National identity (e.g., United States Identity Scale and hierarchical multicomponent model of in-group identification) would be positively correlated with prejudice (e.g., realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, perceived threat to US norms, and intergroup disgust).

H_2: National identity (e.g., United States Identity Scale and hierarchical multicomponent model of in-group identification) would be negatively correlated with ethnic identity (e.g., hierarchical multicomponent model of in-group identification and Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised).

H_3: Political ideology (e.g., political ideology, partisanship, approval of Donald Trump, and authoritarianism) would be positively correlated with prejudice (e.g., realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, perceived threat to US norms, and intergroup disgust).

H_4: Acculturation (e.g., Revised Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans II) would be positively correlated with prejudice (e.g., realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, perceived threat to US norms, and intergroup disgust).

H_5: We anticipated that those who have been in the US for more generations would exhibit more prejudice (e.g., realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, perceived threat to US norms, and intergroup disgust).

H_6: Political ideology would mediate the relationship between disgust and prejudice (e.g., realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, and perceived threat to US

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norms) toward Mexican immigrants, such that the relationship between disgust and prejudice would be accounted for by political conservatism. Therefore, the relationship between disgust and prejudice would increase upon introducing political ideology as a mediator, such that disgust would predict political conservatism, which would predict prejudice toward Mexican immigrants. It was predicted that Mexican Americans that are politically conservative would have greater disgust and increased prejudice toward Mexican immigrants.

H_6 A. Disgust would be positively correlated with prejudice. Refer to the figure (i.e., see Figure 1, Path C'). Given the connection between interpersonal disgust and negative attitudes toward out-groups (Esses & Hodson, 2006; Hodson & Costello, 2007; Hodson & Esses, 2005), it was predicted that with increased disgust, there would also be more prejudice (i.e., perceived threat).

H_6 B. Disgust would be positively correlated with political conservatism. Refer to the figure (i.e., see Figure 1, Path A). Given the connection between both disgust and political conservatism (Hodson & Costello, 2007), it was predicted that with more disgust, there would also be more political conservatism.

H_6 C. Political conservatism would be positively associated with prejudice. Refer to the figure (i.e., see Figure 1, Path B). Previous studies have found that perceived threat toward out-groups can be indicated by increased conservatism (Dunwoody & Plane, 2019; Jost et al., 2003). Thus, it is likely that similar results would be found in this study.

H_6 D. When political conservatism is controlled for, the relation between disgust and prejudice would be reduced.

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Figure 1

Proposed mediation model of Hypothesis 6
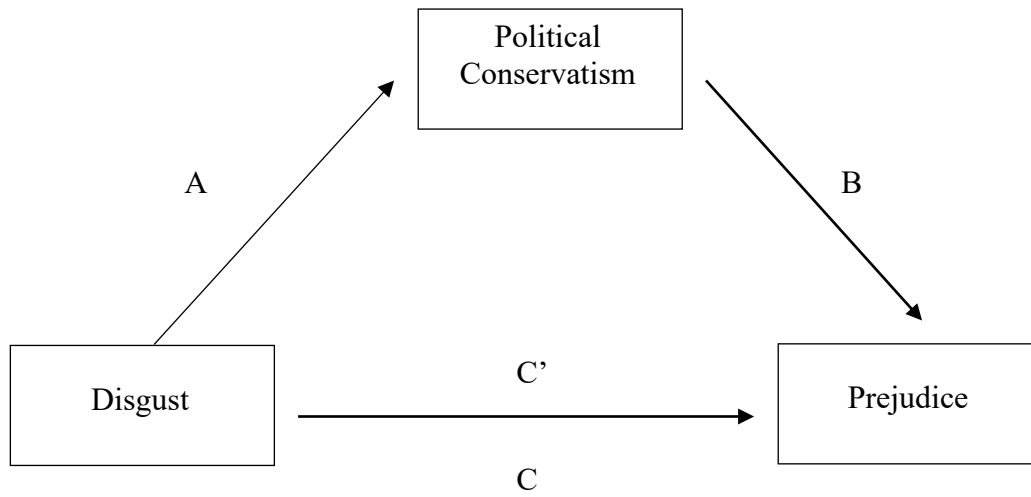
CHAPTER III

METHODS

Participants

The sample consisted of 248 participants. There were 275 entries made in the PsychData website; however, 27 individuals did not answer any questions past the consent form, and they were excluded from analyses. Even so, there were many participants that did not fully complete the survey therefore leaving their demographics undetermined ($N = 69$). These participants' responses were not excluded from the overall study, as many did attempt to complete half or more than half of the questionnaires. For this reason, there is not an alignment throughout the analyses regarding the number of participants.

14.5% of the participants self-identified a male ($N = 36$), 57.3% self-identified as female ($N = 142$), and one individual chose to respond as other. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 72, with a mean age of 31.15 ($SD = 12.76$). The participants were 71% ($N = 176$) Hispanic or Latino and 1.2% ($N = 3$) that identified as non-Hispanic or Latino. The participants were 61.3% White or Caucasian ($N = 152$), 0.4% Black or African American ($N = 1$), 4.8% American Indian ($N = 12$), 5.6% that were multiracial ($N = 14$). 71% of participants self-identified as Mexican descent ($N = 176$), while only 3.6% self-identified as Mexican born ($N = 9$). In regard to generation status, 2.4% self-identified as Mexican born ($N = 6$), 42.7% first generation ($N = 106$), 14.5% second generation ($N = 36$), 8.1% third generation ($N = 20$), and 4.4% that were fourth generation or more ($N = 11$). Participants were recruited using social media posting (i.e., Facebook, Twitter, Reddit, Instagram) and through mass emails sent to all Texas Woman's University affiliated emails across the Denton, Houston, and Dallas campuses. Participants did not receive any form of compensation.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through social media sites and snowball sampling. They were provided with a URL to the PsychData website. On the first screen of the study, participants indicated informed consent. They were told that the study was examining their attitudes toward Mexican immigrants, as well their demographics and acculturation. Upon consenting, participants answered a series of questionnaires regarding their acculturation, national and ethnic identity, prejudice, xenophobia, disgust, and political ideology, which took 30 to 40 minutes on average and was ordered as listed (see Appendix A). In addition, demographic information was collected regarding their age, ethnicity, race, gender, religious affiliation, generation status, approval of the wall on the US-Mexico border, and their anxiety toward COVID-19. Once the study was completed, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation. The contact information of the principle investigator was provided to allow participants to request the results of the study.

Measures

National Identity

The USIS (Meca, Gonzalez-Backen, Davis, Hassel, & Rodil, 2019) is a 17-item measure that was developed from adapting the Ethnic Identity Scale with "United States" or "American" in place of "my ethnic group." This measure assesses US identity exploration (e.g. "I have attended events that have helped me learn more about the United States"), resolution ("I understand how I feel about being American"), and affirmation ("I am not happy with being American"). Participants' answers were recorded on a 4-point scale that ranges from (1) *does not describe me at all* to (4) *describes me very well*. Items that are negative were reverse coded and

averaged for an overall score, with higher scores indicating greater identification with the US identity. For this study, Cronbach's α for the overall scale was .89.

In conjunction with the USIS, two items from Leach et al.'s (2008) three-item solidarity subscale of the hierarchical multicomponent model of in-group identification (HMMII) were used to assess participants' American and ethnic identity. The HMMII has not been used frequently with Latino populations, however the solidarity subscale was found to have a reliability above .85 with students and other ethnic identities (i.e., Dutch and European; Leach et al., 2008). The two items were adapted to target groups of interest (e.g., American and Mexican). Since there were two target groups in question, the two items used were duplicated to use each target group separately. The items were "I feel committed to Americans/Mexicans" and "I feel a bond with other Americans/Mexicans." Participants' answers were rated on a scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (7) *strongly agree*. American solidarity was calculated by averaging the answers to the two items pertaining to the American target group, which resulted in a Cronbach's α of .91 for this study. Mexican solidarity was calculated using the same method for American solidarity and resulted in a Cronbach's α of .81 for this study. Both Cronbach's alphas were very closely similar to that of Leach et al.'s (2008). An overall Cronbach's alpha for the American and Mexican solidarity questions from the HMMII was .63.

In association to ethnic identity specifically, the Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007) was used to measure ethnic identity. The MEIM-R is a revised version of the MEIM, with six items, which measures for ethnic identity (i.e., exploration and commitment) across different ethnic groups with six items that focuses on the participant's identified ethnic group (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group"). The MEIM-R demonstrates good reliability with an alpha of .81. Participants' answers

were rated on a scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. Items were then averaged together, with higher scores indicating that a participant identified more with their ethnic group. For this study, the Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale was .91. The exploration subscale had a Cronbach's alpha of .88, while the commitment subscale had an alpha of .86.

Political Ideology

Two items were used to assess participants' political ideology (Dunwoody & Plane, 2019). Ideology was measured using one item on a 5-point scale that ranged from (1) *strongly liberal* to (5) *strongly conservative*. Higher scores indicated that the participant is more conservative, while lower scores indicated that the participant is more liberal. The partisanship of participants was also measured for by using one item on a 5-point scale that ranged from (1) *strongly Democratic* to (5) *strongly Republican*, which allowed for the assessment of Republicanism. Higher scores indicated that the participant is more Republican. Lower scores indicated that the participant is more Democratic. For this study, both questions were analyzed together to create a Cronbach's α of .82.

A separate measure for support for Trump was given to the participants. This single question asked for indication of approval for Donald Trump's job performance as president (Gallup, 2020). This item's purpose was to assess if individuals approved or disapproved of President Trump (e.g. "Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Trump is handling his job as president?"). Participants' answers were recorded on a 4-point scale from (1) *strongly disapprove* to (4) *strongly approve*. Higher scores indicated that the participant approves of President Trump. In this study, a reliability analysis of this question was not able to be conducted as it only consisted of one item.

In conjunction with Republicanism and conservatism, authoritarianism was also measured for. In using the Aggression-Submission-Conventionalism scale (Dunwoody & Funke, 2016), participants were assessed on their levels of authoritarianism. This 18-item measure consisted of three subscales of aggression, submission, and conventionalism. Participants' answers were recorded on a 5-point scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. Negative items were reverse-coded and averaged out. In the past, reliability for the three subscales has ranged from alphas of at least .66 to .88 based on different samples. For this study, the overall Cronback's α for this scale was .78, .60 for authoritarian-submission, .71 for conventionalism, and .73 for authoritarian-aggression.

Prejudice

The perception of realistic or symbolic threats can lead to prejudice (Stephan et al., 1999). The Realistic Threats measure contains 7 items and was created to assess realistic threats with items including such threats of crime, drugs, disease, job loss, and economic costs for health, education, and welfare towards different ethnic immigrants (e.g., "[Mexican] immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of American society as soon as possible after they arrive."). Participants' answers were rated on a scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (10) *strongly agree*. An average score was taken from the items, as well as reverse scored where necessary and then averaged. Higher scores indicated more realistic threat perceived. In the past, this scale has used toward Mexican immigrants, which resulted with good reliability of an alpha of .82. For this study, the Cronbach's α was .48. The Symbolic Threats measure contains eight items and was created to assess threats that are posed by perceived differences in values and beliefs between participants and immigrant groups (e.g., "[Mexican] immigrants get more from this country than they contribute."). Participants' answers were rated on a scale from (1) *strongly*

disagree to (10) *strongly agree*. An average score was taken from the items, as well as reverse scored where necessary and then averaged altogether. Higher scores indicated more perceived symbolic threat. In the past, this scale has been used toward Mexican immigrants, which resulted with good reliability of an alpha of .68. In this study, the Cronbach's α was .67.

Since prejudice can involve a feeling of threat, a one item measure of perceived threat to the American identity was used to assess perceived threat (Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013). Falomir-Pichastor and Frederic (2013) used this item with a Swiss population, therefore there were adjustments to the item to specifically target Mexican immigrants (e.g., "To what extent do [Mexican] immigrants constitute a threat to the American identity?"). Participants' answers were rated on a scale from (1) *never* to (5) *almost always*. A reliability analysis was not able to be conducted for this study since this scale only consisted of one item.

In conjunction to the perception of threat to American identity, the perception of Mexican immigrants as a threat to US norms and values was measured with two items on the values, safety, and resources of Americans. Dunwoody and Plane (2019) used two 3-part questions (see APPENDIX A) that are followed by three different responses (i.e., "be disruptive to the norms and values of American society", "be dangerous because they might include potential criminals", and "take resources away from Americans in need"), which makes a total of 6 items. Participants' answers are recorded on a scale from (1) *not at all concerned* to (5) *very concerned*. In the past, reliability of these items using the target group of Muslims and Syrians had a high reliability of alpha .88 to .90 (Dunwoody & McFarland, 2018). Items that are negative in language were reverse-scored and averaged together, with high scores indicating that a participant has more perception of threat to their American identity. For this study, the overall scale had a Cronbach's α of .89.

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Group threat is necessary for xenophobia to settle in. To measure for participants' level of xenophobia, the Fear-Based Xenophobia Scale was used. This 9-item measure was developed by Veer et al. (2011) and was set to measure the fear that "the other" could cause harm. For precise answers, there were adjustments to the items that single out the target of interest (i.e. Mexican immigrants). The nine items of the measure are statements about attitudes and/or beliefs that are related to immigrants and the effects of the immigration on a country (e.g., "[Mexican immigrants] cause increase in crimes"). Participants' answers were recorded on a scale of (1) *disagree strongly* to (6) *strongly agree*. In the past, this measure has demonstrated high reliability of alphas of at least .77. Items that are negative were reverse-scored and then averaged together, with higher scores indicating that a participant is more fearful of the outsider target (i.e., Mexican immigrants). For this study, the overall scale had a Cronbach's α of .83.

Intergroup disgust can serve as an attitude that predicts the perspective of one individual to another ethnic group. The Intergroup Disgust Sensitivity Scale (Hodson et al., 2013) is an 8-item scale that asks participants how disgusted they would be in various situations regarding another ethnic group. The items on this measure reflect out-group disgust, avoidance of out-groups, concern for out-group stigma being transferred to the individual, and the desire for cleansing after out-group contact. The items on this scale were adjusted to specifically target Mexican immigrants (e.g., "I feel disgusted when [immigrant] people from [Mexico] invade my personal space). Participants' answers were recorded on a 7-point scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (7) *strongly disagree*. The items were averaged out, with higher scores indicating the participant has more intergroup disgust toward the target group of focus. In the past, this measure has demonstrated strong reliability that ranged from alphas of .69 to .83, but for this study the Cronbach's α was .58.

Mexican Americans also perceive and experience discrimination. Therefore, the Discrimination Stress Scale (Flores et al., 2008) was used to assess perceived discrimination in everyday life because of one's ethnic minority status. This measure included 14-items with response options ranging from (1) *never* to (4) *very often*. The alpha of this measure has demonstrated to be high, with a .90. For this study, the reliability was higher than seen before with a Cronbach's alpha of .95. Higher scores on this measure indicated that participants experienced more perceived discrimination.

Acculturation

The level of acculturation was measured by using the Brief Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (Brief ARSMA-II; Bauman, 2005). This abbreviated version is from the well-established 48-item ARSMA-II scale (Cuéllar et al., 1995) that was constructed to be used among children and adolescents. The Brief ARSMA-II consisted of 12 items, rather than the original 48-items, however the items still consisted of two of the subscales from the original ARSMA-II (i.e., Anglo Orientation Subscale [AOS] and Mexican Orientation Subscale [MOS]). The AOS consisted of 6-items and the MOS consisted of 6-items as well. Both of these subscales measure for acculturation and enculturation from individuals. Participants' answers were rated on a scale from (0) *not at all* to (5) *almost always*. Both subscales have demonstrated good reliability in the past with alphas of .73 for AOS and .91 for MOS. For this study, the Cronbach's α for the overall scale was .69, .54 for AOS, and .89 for MOS. Items from the MOS were obtained averaged, as well as for the AOS, which provided two separate scores. A linear acculturation score was calculated by taking the mean of the AOS and subtracting it from the mean of the MOS (AOS mean – MOS mean). Higher scores on the AOS indicated that the

participant has high acculturation and higher scores on the MOS indicated that the participant has high enculturation.

Disgust

Pathogen, sexual, and moral disgust sensitivities were measured for by using the Three Domain Disgust Scale (TDDS; Tybur et al., 2009). This measure assessed participants' levels of disgust within three domains. The three subscales included in the TDDS were moral (e.g., "A student cheating to get good grades;" $\alpha = .89$), pathogen (e.g., "Stepping on dog poop;" $\alpha = .83$), and sexual disgust (e.g., "Performing oral sex;" $\alpha = .86$). Each subscale had 7-items, which makes a total of 21-items in the whole scale. For this study, the overall scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .88, .82 for moral disgust, .75 for pathogen disgust, and .85 for sexual disgust. Participants were asked to rate each item based on how disgusted they were by the concept on a 7-point scale from (1) *not disgusting at all* to (7) *extremely disgusting*. The items were then averaged within the subscales to create three separate average values of disgust reactivity. Higher scores indicated that a participant was more sensitive to disgust.

Demographic data was also collected from participants concerning their age, ethnicity, gender, religiosity, generation status, and approval of the wall.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data. The acculturation score was computed by taking the difference of the MOS subscale average from the AOS subscale average within the ARSMA-Revised scale. National identity was observed by computing separate averages of the USIS scale and the HMMII (i.e., American target) scale. Ethnic identity was observed by computing separate averages of the MEIM-R scale and the HMMII (i.e., Mexican target) scale. Prejudice was observed by computing separate averages of several measures, which included realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, perceived threat to US norms and customs, fear-based xenophobia, and intergroup disgust scales. Political ideology was defined by observing ideology, partisanship, and the computation of the average of the three subscales within the Aggression-Submission-Conventionalism Scale. Disgust was computed as the average of the three subscales within the TDDS. Lastly, perceived discrimination was observed separately and computed by averaging the items within the Discrimination Stress Scale.

Pearson's Correlations

Correlational analyses were used to analyze the overall relationships between the factors of acculturation, national and ethnic identity, political ideology, prejudice, and disgust. For this study, these correlational analyses also served the purpose of testing Hypothesis 1 through 4.

Hypothesis 1 predicted a positive relationship between national identity (i.e., USIS and HMMII [American target] and prejudice (realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, perceived threat to US norms, xenophobia, and intergroup disgust). Based on the results, this hypothesis was partially supported. USIS was positively correlated with symbolic

threats, $r(206) = .16$, $p < .05$, perceived threat to US norms, $r(203) = .17$, $p < .05$, and fear-based

xenophobia, $r(202) = .15$, $p < .05$. That is, individuals with greater identification with the US

identity also reported higher levels of perceived symbolic threat, perceived threat to US customs

and norms, and xenophobia from Mexican immigrants. The USIS scale was not significant with

all of the prejudice measures. This scale was not significant with perceived realistic threats,

$r(214) = -.07$, $p > .05$, perceived threat to the American identity, $r(205) = -.06$, $p > .05$, or

intergroup disgust, $r(192) = .14$, $p > .05$. Along with the USIS scale, the HMMII (American

target) was also observed for national identity within this hypothesis. Contrary to expectations,

HMMII (American target) was negatively correlated with perceived realistic threat, $r(213) = -$

$.23$, $p < .01$, which indicates that individuals that had a higher in-group identification with the

American identity also reported lower levels of perceived realistic threat toward Mexican

immigrants. At the same time, HMMII (American target) was positively correlated with

perceived symbolic threat, $r(206) = .18$, $p < .01$, as well as with perceived threat to US customs

and norms, $r(203) = .15$, $p < .05$. Therefore, individuals that had higher in-group identification

with the American identity also reported more perceived symbolic threat and threat to US

customs and norms from Mexican immigrants. The HMMII (American target) scale was not

significantly correlated with all of the prejudice measures. This scale did not have a significant

relationship with perceived threat to American identity, $r(205) = .08$, $p > .05$, fear-based

xenophobia, $r(203) = .07$, $p > .05$, or intergroup disgust, $r(192) = .13$, $p > .05$. Overall, national

identity increased with most of the prejudice variables within Mexican Americans. These

findings are similar to that of Veer et al. (2011) that found that national identity increases when

there is a threat to the self. These results are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1

Correlations between Scales – Hypothesis 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. USIS	--							
2. HMMII American	.53**	--						
3. RT	-.07	-.23**	--					
4. ST	.16*	.18**	.25**	--				
5. American threat	-.06	.08	.13	.30**	--			
6. OT	.16*	.15*	.29**	.57**	.45**	--		
7. FBMX	.15*	.07	.20**	.49**	.27**	.62**	--	
8. IDSS	.14	.13	.14*	.11	.10	.24**	.13	--
M	3.37	4.37	4.20	2.07	1.23	1.18	1.38	2.31
SD	.55	1.94	1.37	1.20	0.61	0.25	0.59	0.68

Note. USIS = United States Identity Scale. HMMII = Hierarchical Multicomponent Model of In-Group Identification (Solidarity Subscale). RT = Realistic Threats. ST= Symbolic Threats. American threat = Perceived Threat to the American Identity. OT = Outgroup Threat. FBMX = Fear-Based Measure of Xenophobia. IDSS = Intergroup Disgust Sensitivity Scale.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

Hypothesis 2 predicted that national identity was negatively correlated with ethnic identity (i.e., HMMII [Mexican target] and MEIM-R), however this hypothesis was not supported. The relationship between the USIS scale and the HMMII (Mexican target) was not significant, $r(225) = .04$, $p = .54$, as well as the relationship between the USIS scale and the MEIM-R scale, $r(223) = .10$, $p = 13$. Furthermore, the HMMII (American target) was not significantly related to the HMMII (Mexican target), $r(225) = .07$, $p = .29$, or to the MEIM-R, $r(223) = -.09$, $p = 19$. Past literature had not indicated any relation between national and ethnic identity; therefore, these findings were not contradictory to the literature. These results are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2

Correlations between Scales – Hypothesis 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. USIS	--					
2. HMMII American	.53**	--				
3. HMMII Mexican	.04	.07	--			
4. MEIM-R Exploration	.10	-.03	.30**	--		
5. MEIM-R Commitment	.09	-.13	.44**	.71**	--	
6. MEIM-R	.10	-.09	.40**	.92**	.93**	--
M	3.37	4.37	5.95	4.40	4.34	4.37
SD	0.55	1.94	1.26	0.86	0.91	0.82

Note. USIS = United States Identity Scale. HMMII = Hierarchical Multicomponent Model of In-Group Identification (Solidarity Subscale). MEIM-R = Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure – Revised.
*p < .05. **p < .01

For the third hypothesis, it was predicted that political ideology (i.e., ideology, partisanship, approval for Trump, and authoritarianism) would be positively correlated with prejudice. Based on the results, this hypothesis was partially supported. Ideology was positively correlated with perceived symbolic threat, $r(191) = .33$, $p < .01$, perceived threat to the American identity, $r(191) = .19$, $p < .01$, perceived threat to US customs and norms, $r(191) = .41$, $p < .01$, and fear-based xenophobia, $r(191) = .32$, $p < .01$. That is, individuals that reported higher levels of conservatism also reported higher levels of perceived symbolic threat, perceived threat to the American identity, perceived threat to US customs and norms, and xenophobia toward Mexican immigrants. However, ideology was not significantly related to perceived realistic threats, $r(192) = .13$, $p > .05$, and to intergroup disgust, $r(192) = .11$, $p > .05$. Partisanship was positively correlated with perceived realistic threat, $r(191) = .28$, $p < .01$, perceived symbolic threat, $r(191) = .23$, $p < .01$, perceived threat to the American identity $r(191) = .19$, $p < .001$, perceived threat to US customs and norms, $r(191) = .35$, $p < .01$, and fear-based xenophobia, $r(191) = .22$, $p < .01$. Therefore, individuals that reported higher levels of Republicanism as their partisanship also reported higher perceived realistic and symbolic threat, perceived threat to the American identity, perceived threat to US customs and norms, and xenophobia toward Mexican immigrants. However, this partisanship scale was not significantly related to intergroup disgust, $r(192) = -.04$, $p > .05$. Individuals approval for Donald Trump had positive correlations with perceived realistic threat, $r(191) = .16$, $p < .05$, perceived symbolic threat, $r(191) = .29$, $p < 01$, perceived threat to US customs and norms, $r(191) = .48$, $p < .01$, and fear-based xenophobia, $r(191) = .32$, $p < .01$.

These results indicate that individuals that had a higher approval from Trump also reported higher perceived realistic and symbolic threat, perceived threat to US norms and values, and xenophobia toward Mexican immigrants. Even so, this scale was not significantly related to

perceived threat to the American identity, $r(192) = .12$, $p > .05$, and intergroup disgust, $r(192) =$ .07, $p > .05$. Lastly, authoritarianism had a positive relationship with perceived realistic threat, $r(178) = .23$, $p < .01$, perceived symbolic threat, $r(178) = .32$, $p < .01$, perceived threat to the American identity, $r(178) = .21$, $p < .01$, perceived threat to US norms and values, $r(178) = .33$, $p < .01$, and fear-based xenophobia, $r(178) = .41$, $p < .01$. The prejudice scale that the authoritarianism scale was not significantly related to was the intergroup disgust scale, $r(179) =$ .02, $p > .05$. Therefore, individuals that reported being more authoritarian also reported having higher levels of perceived realistic and symbolic threat, perceived threat to the American identity, perceived threat to US norms and values, and xenophobia. Dunwoody and Plane (2019) and Jost et al. (2003) had found that political ideology and political conservatism influence the feeling of threat from out-groups. The findings of this study partially contribute to past research, in which political conservatism in Mexican Americans is related to prejudiced attitudes, specifically toward Mexican immigrants. These results are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Correlations between Scales – Hypothesis 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. RT	--												
2. ST	.25**	--											
3. American Threat	.13	.30**	--										
4. OT	.29**	.57**	.45**	--									
5. FBMX	.20**	.49**	.27**	.62**	--								
6. IDSS	.14**	.11	.10	.24**	.13	--							
7. Ideology	.13	.33**	.19**	.41**	.32**	.11	--						
8. Partisanship	.28**	.23**	.19**	.35**	.22**	-.04	.70**	--					
9. Trump Approval	.16*	.29**	.12	.48**	.32**	.07	.50**	.56**	--				
10. ASCS	.23**	.32**	.20**	.33**	.41**	.02	.37**	.25**	.36**	--			
11. ASCS Autho-Sub	.21**	.20**	.05	.18*	.28**	-.02	.18*	.13	.15*	.70**	--		
12. ASCS Conventionalism	.08	.16*	.23**	.21**	.26**	.03	.33**	.18*	.27**	.74**	28**	--	
13. ASCS Autho-Agg	.23**	.34**	.15*	.32**	.36**	.03	.30**	.24**	.36**	.76**	.35**	.29**	--
M	4.20	2.07	1.23	1.18	1.38	2.31	2.13	1.98	1.24	2.26	1.94	2.76	2.09
SD	1.37	1.20	0.61	0.45	0.59	0.68	1.07	0.98	0.65	0.54	0.64	0.78	0.76

Note. RT = Realistic Threats. ST= Symbolic Threats. American threat = Perceived Threat to the American Identity. OT = Outgroup Threat. FBMX = Fear-Based Measure of Xenophobia. IDSS = Intergroup Disgust Sensitivity Scale. Ideology = Political Ideology. Partisanship = Political Partisanship. Trump Approval = Approval of Donald Trump as president. ASCS = Aggression-Submission-Conventionalism Scale.

*p < .05. **p < .01

Acculturation was also considered when observing the correlational analyses. Hypothesis 4 predicted that individuals that were more acculturated would be positively related to prejudice. After viewing the correlational analyses, this hypothesis was partially supported. The acculturation score was positively correlated to perceived symbolic threat, $r(206) = .17$, $p < .05$. The acculturation score was also positively correlated with perceived threat to US norms and values, $r(203) = .15$, $p < .05$. These correlations indicate that individuals that were more acculturated also reported have higher perceived symbolic threat and perceived threat to US norms and values from Mexican immigrants. Contrary to expectations, the acculturation score was negatively correlated with perceived realistic threat, $r(213) = -.15$, $p < .05$. That is, individuals who reported greater acculturation also reported a lower perceived realistic threat toward Mexican immigrants. The acculturation score of Mexican American participants was not significantly related to the prejudice scales of perceived threat to the American identity, $r(205) = .03$, $p > .05$, fear based xenophobia, $r(203) = .12$, $p > .05$, or intergroup disgust, $r(192) = .06$, $p > .05$. Acculturation had not been found to be related to prejudice in past literature, therefore this study contributes to the research in this area. These results are displayed in Table 4.

Table 4

Correlations between Scales – Hypothesis 4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. AOS	--								
2. MOS	-.19**	--							
3. Acculturation Score	.57**	-.92**	--						
4. RT	-.01	.17*	-.15*	--					
5. ST	.16*	-.12	.17*	.25**	--				
6. American threat	.03	-.02	.03	.13	.30**	--			
7. OT	.14*	-.11	.15*	.29**	.57**	.45**	--		
8. FBMX	.10	-.10	.12	.20**	.49**	.27**	.62**	--	
9. IDSS	.10	-.02	.06	.14*	.11	.10	.24**	.13	--
M	4.12	3.53	0.59	4.20	2.07	1.23	1.18	1.38	2.31
SD	0.48	3.83	0.33	1.37	1.20	0.61	0.45	0.59	0.68

Note. AOS = Brief ARSMA-II Anglo Orientation Scale. MOS = Brief ARSMA-II Mexican Orientation Scale. Acculturation Score = AOS minus MOS. RT = Realistic Threats. ST= Symbolic Threats. American threat = Perceived Threat to the American Identity. OT = Outgroup Threat. FBMX = Fear-Based Measure of Xenophobia. IDSS = Intergroup Disgust Sensitivity Scale.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

Independent Sample T Test

In order to examine the generational differences within the prejudice variables, an independent *t*-test was conducted using the prejudice variables (i.e., realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, perceived threat to US norms and values, xenophobia, and intergroup disgust). Overall, this study found that individuals that self-identified as second generation or more had statistically significantly lower perceived realistic threat (M = 3.89, SD = 1.45) than individuals that identified as first generation (M = 4.51, SD = 1.28), $t(171)$ = 2.95, p = .004, d = .45. The effect size for this analysis (d = .45) was found to not exceed Cohen's convention for a large effect size (d = .80); however, this effect size is considered to be small (d = .20) and very close to a medium effect size (d = .50). The independent variable of realistic threat explained 4.84% of the variance in the dependent variable. This result did not support Hypothesis 5, which predicted increased realistic threat in individuals that were second generation or more in the US. These results are displayed in Table 5.

Table 5

Generational Differences in Prejudice

	First		Second or more					
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p*	Cohen's *d*
RT	4.51	1.28	3.89	1.45	2.95	171	.004	0.45
ST	1.91	1.10	2.25	1.39	-1.70	117	.092	0.31
American Threat	1.25	0.53	1.16	0.57	0.95	171	.342	0.14
OT	1.20	0.53	1.16	0.36	0.49	171	.623	0.05
FBMX	1.36	0.49	1.41	0.60	-0.56	171	.574	0.09
IDSS	2.33	0.59	2.23	0.87	0.78	105	.436	0.13

RT = Realistic Threats. ST= Symbolic Threats. American threat = Perceived Threat to the American Identity. OT = Outgroup Threat. FBMX = Fear-Based Measure of Xenophobia. IDSS = Intergroup Disgust Sensitivity Scale.

Mediation Analyses

For this analysis, disgust, political conservatism, and prejudice were the concepts in question. Since there were multiple variables for each concept, steps were taken to standardize the variables in question. The prejudice concept included five separate scales (e.g., realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, intergroup disgust and perceived threat to US norms) that were standardized and averaged together. The standardization and averaging step were also used for the political ideology concept, which had four separate scales (e.g., political ideology, partisanship, approval of Donald Trump, and authoritarianism). For the disgust variable, the three subscales in the TDDS were standardized and averaged together (Terrizzi et al., 2013). These results are displayed in Table 6.

Table 6

Indirect Effect of Disgust on Prejudice

Mediator	Mediation Model Path			
	a	*b*	*c*	*c'*
Prejudice	.16*	.45**	.19**	.11

Note. α = path from disgust to prejudice; β = path from political conservatism to prejudice; *c* = unmediated path from disgust to prejudice; *c'* = direct effect from disgust to prejudice after controlling for the effect of political conservatism.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Disgust, Political Conservatism, and Prejudice

Kenny's mediation model (Baron & Kenny, 1986) was used to test Hypothesis 6. Specifically, the direct effect of disgust (TDDS' subscales standardized and averaged; Tybur et al., 2009) on prejudice (standardized average of realistic threat, symbolic threat, threat to American identity, threat to US norms and values, fear-based xenophobia, and intergroup disgust) was examined using political conservatism (standardized average of ideology, partisanship, approval of Trump, and ASCS) as the mediator. Hypothesis 6 was supported and indicated partial mediation. Disgust was positively related to political conservatism, which was positively related to prejudice.

Subhypothesis A was supported within the model (see Figure 2). Disgust ($\beta = .16$, $p < .01$) positively predicted political conservatism, accounting for 2.7% of the variance in political conservatism, $R^2 = .027$, $F(1, 191) = 5.31$, $p < .05$. Subhypotheses B and C were also supported within the model (see Figure 2). Both disgust ($\beta = .11$, $p = .08$) and political conservatism ($\beta = .45$, $p < .001$) positively predicted more prejudice, accounting for about 24% of the variance in prejudice, $R^2 = .236$, $F(2, 189) = 29.21$, $p < .001$. Lastly, subhypothesis D was supported, with the total effect ($\beta = .16$, $p < .01$) decreasing after controlling for the mediator with the direct effect, ($\beta = .11$, $p = .08$). However, even though it was not significant, the p-value was moving toward the significant value of .05, which indicates that there is the possibility of this model being fully supported. Therefore, the relationship between disgust and prejudice decreased when political conservatism was controlled for. Furthermore, a Sobel test was conducted to analyze if there was mediation from political conservatism and this test did indicate mediation at play, $p < .05$.

Figure 2

Mediation model for direct effect of disgust on prejudice. Parentheses indicate the total effect.
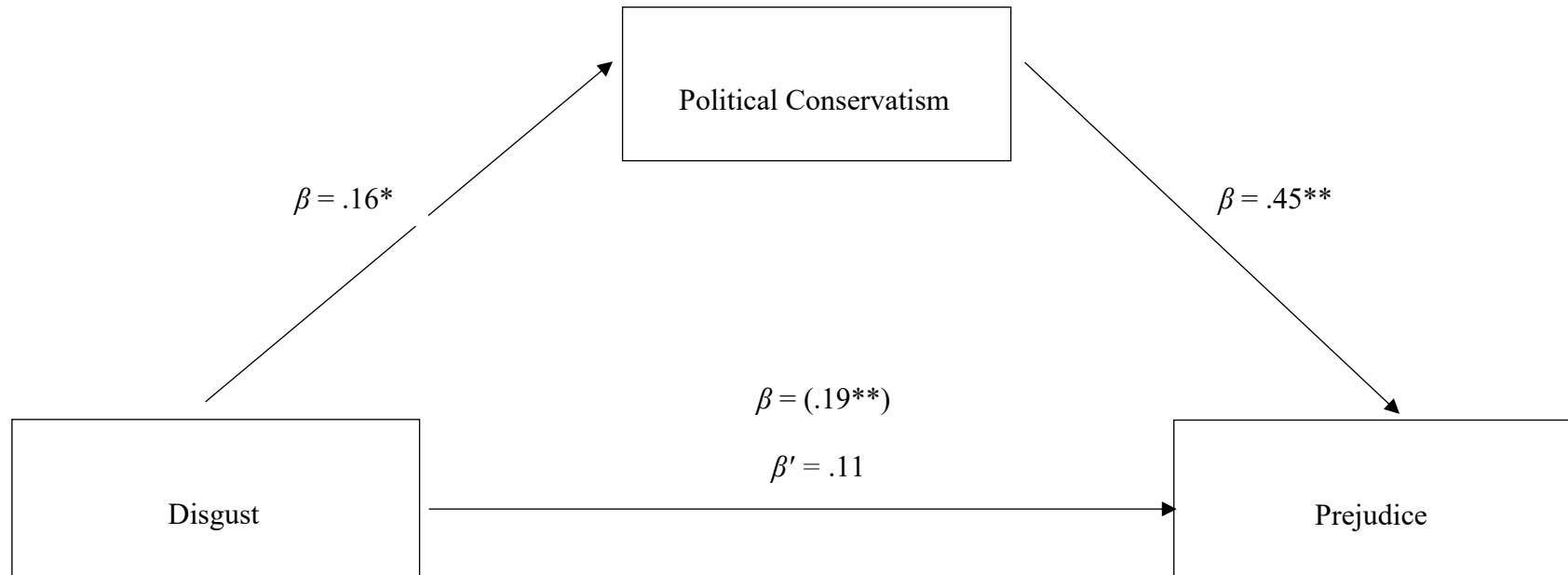
*p < .05. **p < .01

Exploratory Analyses

Racial Differences

Exploratory analyses were conducted to determine whether there were racial differences in prejudice toward Mexican immigrants. The participants in this study self-identified their race in a forced choice question that let them check as many boxes as needed. Sixty one percent of participants identified as only White ($N = 152$), while 10.8% identified as Black or African American ($N = 1$), American Indian or Alaska Native ($N = 12$), or multiracial ($N = 14$). Race is a form of self-identification that could affect prejudicial attitudes. Specifically, if Mexican Americans identify as White only, they would exhibit more prejudice toward Mexican immigrants. Therefore, an independent sample t test was conducted to view differences of those that self-identified as White only for their race and those that did not by using the prejudice variables (i.e., realistic threat, symbolic threat, perceived threat to American identity, perceived threat to US norms and values, xenophobia, and intergroup disgust).

Individuals who identified as White only had statistically significantly higher perceived symbolic threat ($M = 2.16$, $SD = 1.28$) than individuals that identified as another race ($M = 1.38$, $SD = .55$), $t(177) = 3.10$, $p = .002$, $d = .47$. The effect size for this analysis ($d = .47$) was found to not exceed Cohen's convention for a large effect size ($d = .80$), however, this effect size is considered to be small ($d = .20$) and very close to a medium effect size ($d = .50$). There were differences across the other measures of prejudice included in this analysis, however, those were found to not be significant. This result indicates that one's self-identification of race can differentiate prejudice levels. These results are displayed in Table 7.

Table 7

Race Differences in Prejudice

	White Only		Other					
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p*	Cohen's *d*
RT	4.27	1.42	4.01	1.14	0.91	177	.363	0.14
ST	2.16	1.28	1.38	0.55	3.10	177	.002	0.47
American Threat	1.22	0.55	1.15	0.46	0.67	177	.505	0.10
OT	1.20	0.50	1.04	0.12	1.67	177	.097	0.25
FBMX	1.39	0.55	1.29	0.39	0.85	177	.396	0.13
IDSS	2.30	0.71	2.27	0.67	0.25	177	.800	0.04

Other = Black or African-American, American Indian or Alaska Native, or multiracial. RT = Realistic Threats. ST= Symbolic Threats. American threat = Perceived Threat to the American Identity. OT = Outgroup Threat. FBMX = Fear-Based Measure of Xenophobia. IDSS = Intergroup Disgust Sensitivity Scale.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study sought to understand how national identity, ethnic identity, acculturation, and political ideology were related to prejudice and disgust. Four hypotheses out of the total six and were at least partially supported. The current study found that Mexican American individuals that had a higher national identification to the US, were more conservative, and more acculturated also reported more prejudice toward Mexican immigrants.

As expected, national identity was positively associated with prejudice. The SIT states that individuals define themselves based on their group membership and out-group differences (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). By having preference for your in-group (Brewer, 1972), you could have in-group bias that may further lead to out-group derogation (Hewstone et al., 2002) as well as adverse attitudes toward the out-group (i.e., prejudice or xenophobia; Allport, 1958; Nelson, 2009; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). For this study, the SIT may help explain why Mexican American participants in this study would view their group membership to be American. This would then indicate their perceived in-group bias to being American would suggest having adverse attitudes toward the out-group (i.e., Mexican immigrants). Mexican Americans' national identification to the US may have led to a group preference to the American group identity (Mummendey et al., 2011), which would be protected and lead to fear of any group interreference from Mexican immigrants (Caricati et al., 2017). Moreover, the national identity and increased prejudice relationship would contribute to previous research where out-groups are treated differently than the in-group (Chen & Li, 2009).

In contrast to what was hypothesized, national identity was not negatively related to ethnic identity. Although the results were not significant, there was a negative pattern with the

American identity (i.e., HMMII) and ethnic identity (i.e., MEIM-R). Even so, there were further mixed non-significant results of a positive pattern for US national identification and ethnic identity (i.e., HMMII-Mexican & MEIM-R). These patterns suggest that Mexican Americans may identify with their Mexican ethnic identity as well as their American identity. Previous research had not found a link between these two factors, therefore in-group preference to United States' Americans does not lead to a disassociation to one's ethnic identity or ethnic group.

Political ideology was also expected to be related to prejudice, as Dunwoody and Plane (2019) and Jost et al. (2003) had previously found that the feeling of threat is influenced by political conservatism. The findings of this study contribute to this past literature, as most Mexican Americans in this study that had a higher conservative political ideology also reported having increased prejudice toward Mexican immigrants. These findings go hand in hand with the increased prejudice when there is higher national identification, as political ideology is associated with nationalism.

In addition, acculturation was expected be related to prejudice, which was partially supported in this study. Mexican Americans with a higher acculturation score also reported an increased prejudice toward Mexican immigrants. Contrary to what was hypothesized, Mexican Americans that had a higher acculturation score also reported lower perceived realistic threat from Mexican immigrants. Along with these findings, individuals that have lived in the US for more than two generations had lower prejudice toward Mexican immigrants when compared to individuals that were first generation. This finding was contrary to the positive correlation of acculturation and prejudice. First generation participants having a slightly higher reported prejudice contradicts the findings of Tummala-Narra (2020) whom found generational differences with intergenerational transmission of prejudice. The generational differences in this

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study may be accounted to the group difference of there being fewer participants that self-identified as second generation or more when compared to double the group size for first generation. However, the effect size almost reached a medium effect size, therefore the difference of first generation to second or more generation participants may not be the reason for this result. Rather, it may be that first-generation Mexican Americans interact more with Mexican immigrants and have a conflicting relationship that results in negative attitudes toward this group. This conflict may be due to the difference between first generation individuals and immigrants regarding who is more connected to their ethnic culture and language. Hispanics connect to their ethnic or cultural identity, which includes language, customs, and so forth (Marger, 2003). Even so, immigrant families tend to lose their native language over generations after their arrival to the US (Veltman, 2000) and the children of immigrants increasingly prefer the English language (Alba et al., 2002; Guglani, 2016). Therefore, the first-generation Mexican Americans that have any conflict with their identity and do not connect with their ethnic or cultural identity may identify as more American and that pushes them further away from Mexican immigrants and the politics of speaking Spanish or embracing other cultural factors. This may then increase the perceived prejudice or out-group differences that first generation Mexican Americans may view toward Mexican immigrants.

Further analysis of the race self-identification question demonstrated that Mexican American individuals that only identified their race as White had higher levels of perceived symbolic threat than Mexican Americans that identified as other races or multiracial. The increased prejudice for these individuals may also come from the in-group identification and in-group bias toward the White race label (Brewer, 1972). Therefore, perceiving a type of threat from any out-group would lead to increased prejudice. This finding coincides with Mexican

American participants that were more acculturated having higher perceived realistic threat toward Mexican immigrants. It may be that Mexican Americans that are more acculturated and self-identify as just White are more likely to have perceived threat, whether it is realistic or symbolic.

Other implications of this finding could be found with first generation Mexican Americans reporting higher levels of prejudice than second or more generation due to internalized prejudice or racism (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010). This internalization may go back to the immediate acculturation that migrant families naturally go through as a process in being accepted and not perceived as an out-group that brings threat to the community. Mexican Americans will still face discrimination and stereotyping as they acculturate and adopt American customs and values, but their need to be accepted can lead to internalization of the negative perspectives that other Americans have of their ethnic group.

Lastly, Hypothesis 6 predicted that disgust would be positively associated with prejudice, through the mediation of political conservatism. As expected, greater self-report of disgust and political conservatism predicted an increase in prejudice (Jost et al., 2003; Murray & Schaller, 2012; Rozin et al., 2000). The positive relation between disgust and political conservatism was also expected, as Hodson and Costello (2007) found disgust to be related to conservative views. When controlling for political conservatism, the relationship between disgust and prejudice became decreased, indicating partial mediation. Even so, the relationship was still trending toward significance.

CHAPTER VI

STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Strengths

The current study is among the first to study the relationship between national and ethnic identity, acculturation, and political ideology and its relation to prejudice and disgust. Further, it has provided literature for future researchers to examine potential reasons behind the positive relationship between acculturation and prejudice, which had not been found or studied in previous literature. In addition, the study's participants were diverse in generation status from the same ethnic group, which contributed to the purpose of this research.

Limitations

Despite the strength of the current study, there were a few limitations regarding the sample and measurement techniques that were used. As with all online studies, this study required for participants to have access to a device that connected to the internet, such as a computer or cell phone. This may have led to a biased sample regarding education level, culture, or socioeconomic status. Along with access to the internet, the study reached individuals through social media, which also meant for an increase in a biased sample of participants that are members of various social media platforms. Therefore, the findings of this study may potentially be skewed when considering the culture that participants lived in or the amount of education that they may have received.

The sample for this study required for a diverse number of participants that self-identified as different generation status in the US For this study, there were almost twice as many first generations participants as there were second or more generations participants. This may have led to a decrease in direct effect of the mediation model, which almost had a significant effect. A

higher number of participants that self-identified as second generation or more may have led to a complete mediation effect. Apart from the possible effects to the analyses, it would be important to have more second or more generation participants that could lead to a more even distribution of participants for each generation group. This study did gather some participants that were Mexican immigrants or undocumented, however gathering more participants that grew up with first generation without having the legal status, residency, or citizenship would be an interesting group to compare to with first or second or more generation Mexican Americans.

The findings of the current study may have also been influenced by self-report bias. All of the measurements used for this study consisted of self-report measures, which causes for a reliance on participants to respond honestly. Since there were sensitive and hot button issues in this study, it is likely that the participants involved answered in a manner where they appeared socially desirable either intentionally or unintentionally. Social desirability was not accounted for in the analyses of this study, therefore self-report should be greatly considered when interpreting the findings. The nature of this study did not include a measurement technique in which experimental manipulation would be used, which means that causality should not and cannot be drawn from the findings.

This study is not generalizable to the US population. The method of gathering participants and the geographic location limit how generalizable the results are to other Mexican Americans in the US Further limitations of generalizability include only questioning participants on their attitudes toward Mexican immigrants. This study was not able to gather data on the participants overall attitude on immigration, immigrants from other countries, or immigrants of other Latinx backgrounds. Apart from looking past Mexican immigrants as the target group,

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Mexican American participants were not questioned about their views on skin tone, which could have broadened the results and discussion.

Mexican Americans were asked to self-identify their ethnicity as non-Hispanic or Hispanic, as well as check what their race was based limited choices given by the researcher. The lack of free response options provided for these self-identification questions may have limited the participants to confidently identifying themselves to the researcher due to their restrictions. The forced response choices can lead to inaccuracy and quality of this data collection in which individuals may not feel that they were correctly identified (McBean, 2006). Hispanics also tend to better identify themselves when there is only one question rather than two questions regarding their race and Hispanic ethnicity (Taylor-Clark, 2009), which is what this study used.

Future Directions

Future studies should replicate this study and further examine the relationship between national identity, ethnic identity, acculturation, and political ideology with prejudice and disgust. When considering observing generational differences, it would be recommended to have more participants that identify as second generation or more, as this would help when comparing to a high number of first-generation participants. Specifically, future research should examine other related predictors when investigating prejudice amongst minority ethnic groups in the US Such possible related predictors could be personality (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003; Lin & Alvarez, 2020) or social status (Brandt, 2017). There should also be a consideration of related mediators to attempt to enlighten the differences between the relationships between disgust and political conservatism. Future studies should also consider using an interview technique that would gather more extensive data.

Further research should attempt gathering Mexican American participants from other regions of the country and replicate this study to compare the results. There should also be more research that attempts to question Mexican Americans or other Latinx Americans about their attitudes toward all immigrants that enter and live in the US or focus on other Latinx immigrants. It would also be recommended to include measures that analyze participants views on skin tone, as this factor may also play a part in Mexican Americans or other Latinx Americans views on immigrants (Golash-Boza & Darity, 2008). It is also important to note that since Mexican Americans self-reported their ethnicity and race on forced choice questions, then these questions could either be left the same but followed with a Likert question about the participants' confidence in that response. Another option would also be to give participants the option to answer a free response style question regarding their ethnicity and race. Internalized prejudice was an implication of the negative attitudes held by first generation Mexican Americans and those that were more acculturated. However, this study did not include a measure for this factor and future research should take into account internalized racism or prejudice as a factor that could be related to negative attitudes toward immigrants or other out-groups.

In addition, future researchers should consider developing implicit measures for prejudice that further conceptualizes the concept while also eliminating self-report bias and increasing the reliability of prejudice measures. Furthermore, the difference of generation status in participants should further be expanded and an attempt to gather more participants that identify as second generation, or more should be done. This study would also be interesting to be replicated amongst different ethnic minority groups.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The present study aimed to determine how national and ethnic identity, acculturation, and political ideology are interconnected with prejudice and disgust. Specifically, this research examined the relationship between national identity, ethnic identity, acculturation, and political ideology to prejudice and disgust. This study also examined the generational differences of prejudice amongst Mexican Americans. Lastly, this study analyzed the mediating effect of political conservatism on both the relationship between disgust and prejudice.

Results indicated that individuals that had a higher national identity to the US also demonstrated more prejudice to Mexican immigrants. Mexican Americans that have a higher national identification may be more prejudiced to Mexican immigrants because their in-group bias may have them view the out-group as a threat. These individuals have adopted a new identity to which they view themselves as members, and if Mexican immigrants are thought to be a threat to this American in-group, then they are left to partake in out-group derogation.

Along with national identity, participants that had were more conservative, had a higher Republican party affiliation, and identified more with authoritarianism also demonstrated more prejudice toward Mexican immigrants. Individuals that were more acculturated to American norms and values demonstrated more prejudice toward Mexican immigrants as well. Further analysis of generational differences indicated that individuals that identified as second generation or more in the US did not demonstrate more prejudice than their first-generation counterparts. Although this hypothesis was not supported, the results could indicate that first generation Mexican Americans perceive a threat from the Mexican community despite more interaction with Mexican immigrants than second or more generation Mexican Americans. These results

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could imply that first generation Mexican Americans' ethnic identity could be challenged amongst their ethnic community, especially if they are more acculturated or assimilated to the American identity and naturally lose the practice of Mexican culture, customs, and Spanish language. This would then differentiate them from Mexican immigrants, where they may not feel as accepted and therefore view Mexican immigrants as an out-group that challenges them, which could create adverse attitudes.

After examining the impact of identity, political ideology, and generation status on an increase in prejudice, political conservatism was considered as a factor that could explain the relationship between disgust and prejudice. The results indicated that individuals who reported more disgust and political conservatism were more likely to report more prejudice toward Mexican immigrants. The mediating effect of political conservatism did not result to be significant, but it did demonstrate a trend towards significance when being controlled for. Even so, this model did indicate partial mediation of political conservatism in the relationship of disgust and prejudice.

These results display that the negative attitudes that Mexican Americans may hold toward Mexican immigrants may have more to do with their identity in the US, as well as their ideology and conformity to social norms (i.e., disgust and acculturation). Generational and acculturation differences did not demonstrate that there was more prejudice toward Mexican immigrants from individuals that identified as second generation or more. However, since acculturation was related to prejudiced attitudes, it may be that first-generation Mexican Americans have conflicting relationships and connectedness with Mexican immigrants, hence the increased prejudice. Mexican Americans that are more conservative and have higher levels of disgust may also hold more prejudiced attitudes. Further exploration demonstrates that individuals that self-

identify as only White also have increased prejudice with higher levels of perceived symbolic threats. These results indicate that prejudice within an ethnic group is prevalent, despite sharing the same culture, values, and language. Future research should seek relating factors that could increase the likelihood of prejudice toward Mexican immigrants being prevalent amongst Mexican Americans. Lastly, researchers should seek to determine if these results are also applicable with other ethnic minorities in the US.

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APPENDIX A

Measures

U.S. Identity Scale (USIS; Meca et al., 2019)

Please rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *does not describe me at all* to 4 *describes me very well.*

1. My feelings about being American are mostly negative
2. I feel negatively about being American
3. I wish I were not American
4. I am not happy with being American
5. If i could choose, I would prefer to not be American
6. I dislike being American
7. I have not participated in any activities that would teach me about the U.S.
8. I have experienced things that reflect American culture, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies
9. I have attended events that have helped me learn more about the U.S.
10. I have read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that have taught me about the U.S.
11. I have participated in activities that have exposed me to American culture
12. I have learned about the U.S. by doing things such as reading (books, magazines, and newspapers), searching the internet, or keeping up with current events
13. I have participated in activities that have taught me about the U.S.
14. I am clear about what being American means to me
15. I understand how I feel about being American
16. I know what being American means to me
17. I have a clear sense of what being American means to me

Hierarchical Multicomponent Model of In-Group Identification (Solidarity Subscale;

Leach et al., 2008)

Please rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 7 *strongly agree.*

1. I feel a bond with Americans.
2. I feel committed to Americans.
3. I feel a bond with Mexicans.
4. I feel committed to Mexicans.

Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007)

Please rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 5 *strongly agree.*

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.
6. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

Brief Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (Brief ARSMA-II; Bauman, 2005)

Please reach each statement carefully and rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *not at all* to 5 *almost always*.

1. I speak Spanish.
2. I speak English
3. I enjoy speaking Spanish
4. I associate with Anglos
5. I enjoy English language movies
6. I enjoy Spanish language TV
7. I enjoy Spanish language movies
8. I enjoy reading books in Spanish
9. I write letters in English
10. My thinking is done in the English language
11. My thinking is done in the Spanish language
12. My friends are of Anglo origin

Realistic Threats (Stephan et al., 1999)

Please reach each statement carefully and rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 10 *strongly agree.*

1. Mexican immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of American society as soon as possible after they arrive.
2. Immigration from Mexico is undermining American culture.
3. The values and beliefs of Mexican immigrants regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most Americans.
4. The values and beliefs of Mexican immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are *not* compatible with the beliefs and values of most Americans.
5. The values and beliefs of Mexican immigrants regarding family issues and socializing children are basically quite similar to those of most Americans.
6. The values and beliefs of Mexican immigrants regarding social relations are *not* compatible with the beliefs and values of most Americans.
7. Mexican immigrants should *not* have to accept American ways.

Symbolic Threats (Stephan et al., 1999)

Please reach each statement carefully and rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 10 *strongly agree.*

1. Mexican immigrants get more from this country than they contribute.
2. The children of Mexican immigrants should have the same right to attend public schools in the United States as Americans do.
3. Mexican immigration has increased the tax burden on Americans.
4. Mexican immigrants are *not* displacing American workers from their jobs.
5. Mexican immigrants should be eligible for the same health-care benefits received by Americans.
6. Social services have become less available to Americans because of Mexican immigration.
7. The quality of social services available to Americans has remained the same, despite Mexican immigration.
8. Mexican immigrants are as entitled to subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, sewage, electricity) as poor Americans are.

Perceived Threat to the American Identity (Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013)

Please reach each statement carefully and rate how true the following statement is for you on a scale from 1 *never* to 5 *almost always*.

1. To what extent do Mexican immigrants constitute a threat to the American identity?

Outgroup Threat (Dunwoody & McFarland, 2018)

Please reach each statement carefully and rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *not at all concerned* to 5 *very concerned.*

1. When thinking about Mexican immigrants *coming* to the United States, how concerned are you that they would be disruptive to the norms and values of American society?
2. When thinking about Mexican immigrants *coming* to the United States, how concerned are you that they would be dangerous because they might include potential terrorists?
3. When thinking about Mexican immigrants *coming* to the United States, how concerned are you that they would take resources away from Americans in need.
4. When thinking about Mexican immigrants *living* in the United States, how concerned are you that they would be disruptive to the norms and values of American society?
5. When thinking about Mexican immigrants *living* in the United States, how concerned are you that they would be dangerous because they might include potential terrorists?
6. When thinking about Mexican immigrants *living* in the United States, how concerned are you that they would take resources away from Americans in need.

Fear-Based Measure of Xenophobia (Veer et al., 2011)

Please reach each statement carefully and rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 6 *strongly agree.*

1. Immigration in this country is out of control
2. Immigrants cause an increase in crimes.
3. Immigrants take jobs from people who are here already.
4. Interacting with immigrants makes me uneasy
5. I worry that immigrants may spread unusual diseases
6. I am afraid that in case of war or political tension, immigrants will be loyal to their country of origin
7. With increased immigration i fear that our way of life will change for the worse
8. I doubt that immigrants will put the interest of this country first
9. I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increased immigration

Discrimination Stress Scale (Flores et al., 2008)

Please reach each statement carefully and rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *never* to 4 *very often.*

1. How often are you treated rudely or unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?
2. How often are you discriminated against because of your race or ethnicity?
3. How often do others lack respect for you because of your race or ethnicity?
4. How often do you have to prove your abilities to others because of your race or ethnicity?
5. How often is racism a problem in your life?
6. How often do you find it difficult to find work you want because of your race or ethnicity?
7. How often do people dislike you because of your race or ethnicity?
8. How often have you seen friends treated badly because of their race or ethnicity?
9. How often do you feel that you have more barriers to overcome than most people because of you race or ethnicity?
10. How often do you feel rejected by others due to your race or ethnicity?
11. How often is your race or ethnicity a limitation when looking for a job?
12. How often do people seem to have stereotypes about your racial or ethnic group?
13. How often do people try to stop you from succeeding because of your race or ethnicity?
14. How often do you not get as much recognition as you deserve for the work you do, just because of your race or ethnicity?

Three Domain Disgust Scale (Tybur et al., 2009)

Please rate how disgusting you find the concepts described in the items, where 0 means that you do not find the concept disgusting at all, and 6 means that you find the concept extremely disgusting.

1. Shoplifting a candy bar from a convenience store.
2. Hearing two strangers having sex.
3. Stepping on dog poop
4. Stealing from a neighbor
5. Performing oral sex
6. Sitting next to someone who has sores on their arm
7. A student cheating to get good grades
8. Watching a pornographic video
9. Shaking hands with a stranger who has sweaty palms
10. Deceiving a friend
11. Finding out that someone you don't like has sexual fantasies about you
12. Seeing some mold on old leftovers in your refrigerator
13. Forging someone's signature on a legal document
14. Bringing someone you just met back to your room to have sex
15. Standing close to a person who has body odor
16. Cutting to the front of a line to purchase the last few tickets to a show
17. A stranger of the opposite sex intentionally rubbing your thigh in an elevator
18. Seeing a cockroach run across the floor
19. Intentionally lying during a business transaction
20. Having anal sex with someone of the opposite sex
21. Accidentally touching a person's bloody cut

Intergroup Disgust Sensitivity Scale (Hodson et al., 2012)

Please reach each statement carefully and rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 7 *strongly agree.*

1. I feel disgusted when immigrant people from Mexico invade my personal space
2. After shaking hands with a Mexican immigrant, even if their hands were clean, I would want to wash my hands.
3. After interacting with Mexican immigrants, I typically desire more contact with my own ethnic group to "undo" all ill effects from intergroup contact.
4. It would be repulsive to swim in a chlorinated swimming pool if most of the people in the pool belonged to Mexico.
5. I would ask for hotel bed sheets to be changed if the previous occupant belonged to Mexican immigrants.
6. When socializing with immigrant members of Mexico, one can easily become tainted by their stigma.
7. It would not bother me to have an intimate sexual relationship with someone from Mexico.
8. I would not feel disgusted if I ate food prepared by a Mexican immigrant with their hands.

Ideology (Dunwoody & Plane, 2019)

Please read the statement carefully and rate how true the following statement is for you on a scale from 1 *strongly liberal* to 5 *strongly conservative.*

1. Please indicate what best represents your ideology

Partisanship (Dunwoody & Plane, 2019)

Please read the statement carefully and rate how true the following statement is for you on a scale from 1 *strongly Democratic* to 5 *strongly Republican.*

1. Please indicate what best represents your partisanship.

Approval of Trump (Gallup, 2020)

Please read the statement carefully and rate how true the following statement is for you on a scale from 1 *strongly disapprove* to 4 *strongly approve.*

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Trump is handling his job as president?

Aggression-Submission-Conventionalism Scale (Dunwoody & Funke, 2016)

Please read each statement carefully and rate how true the following statements are for you on a scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 5 *strongly agree.*

1. We should believe what our leaders tell us.
2. Our leaders know what is best for us.
3. People should be critical of statements made by those in positions of authority.
4. People in positions of authority generally tell the truth.
5. People should be skeptical of all statements made by those in positions of authority
6. Questioning the motives of those in power is healthy for society
7. People emphasize tradition too much
8. Traditions are the foundation of a healthy society and should be respected
9. It would be better for society if more people followed social norms
10. Traditions interfere with progress
11. People should challenge social traditions in order to advance society
12. People should respect social norms
13. Strong force is necessary against threatening groups
14. It is necessary to use force against people who are a threat to authority
15. Police should avoid using violence against suspects
16. People should avoid using violence against others even when ordered to do so by the proper authorities
17. Using force against people is wrong even if done so by those in authority
18. Strong punishments are necessary in order to send a message

Demographics

Age: ____

Ethnicity:
__Hispanic or Latino
__Not Hispanic or Latino

Race (Check all that apply):
__White
__Black or African-American
__American Indian or Alaska Native
__Asian
__Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

Gender:
__Male
__Female
__Other_____

What is your religious affiliation?
__Christian - Protestant   __Muslim
__Christian - Catholic   __Jewish
__Hindu   __Atheist
__Buddhist   __Agnostic
__Not religious   __Other_____

Are you of Mexican descent?
__Yes
__No

Were you born in Mexico?
__Yes
__No

Please indicate what generation status you are in this country:
__First generation (you are the first U.S. born in your family)
__Second generation (your parents were born in the U.S.)
__Third generation (your grandparents were born in the U.S.)
__Other_____

Who did you vote for in the presidential election of 2016
__Donald Trump
__Hillary Clinton

__Did NOT vote
__Other

Are you in favor of the wall being proposed by Trump with the U.S.-Mexico border?
__Yes
__No

Do you think in English or in Spanish?
__English
__Spanish
__Other_____

How anxious are you about COVID-19?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

How well do you think the government has responded to the pandemic of COVID-19?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all well				Very well

Appendix B

Correlations

Correlations of all Scales

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. ARSMA Mean	--											
2. ARSMA AOS	.28**	--										
3. ARSMA MOS	.89**	-.19**	--									
4. Acculturation Score	-.63**	.57**	-.92**	--								
5. RT	.16**	-.01	.17*	-.15*	--							
6. ST	-.05	.16*	-.12	.17*	.25**	--						
7. Threat to American Identity	-.01	.03	-.02	.03	.13	.30*	--					
8. OT Sub 1	-.04	.12	-.09	.13	.29**	.54**	.43**	--				
9. OT Sub 2	-.05	.16*	-.12	.16*	.28**	.57**	.45**	.93**	--			
10. OT Mean	-.04	.14*	-.11	.15*	.29**	.57**	.45**	.98**	.98**	--		
11. FBMX	-.05	.10	-.10	.12	.20**	.49**	.27**	.61**	.60**	.62**	--	
12. DSS	.19*	-.19**	.28**	-.31**	.05	-.16*	-.08	-.18**	-.18*	-.19**	-.06	--

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. ARSMA Mean	--															
2. ARSMA AOS	.28**	--														
3. ARSMA MOS	.89**	-.19**	--													
4. Acculturation Score	-.63**	.57**	-.92**	--												
5. TDDS Mean	.18*	.19**	.10	-.01	--											
6. TDDS Moral Disgust	.08	.22**	-.02	.10	.70**	--										
7. TDDS Sexual Disgust	.20**	.12	.15*	-.07	.79**	.30**	--									
8. TDDS Pathogen Disgust	.09	.06	.07	-.03	.68**	.29**	.28**	--								
9. IDSS	.02	.10	-.02	.06	.11	.10	.04	.11	--							
10. Ideology	.03	.01	.03	-.02	.12	.02	.13	.10	.11	--						
11. Partisanship	.07	-.00	.08	-.03	.00	-.04	.01	.04	-.04	.70**	--					
12. Trump Approval	-.09	.03	-.11	.10	.09	.01	.08	.11	.07	.50**	.56**	--				
13. ASCS Mean	.12	.15*	.05	.02	.33**	.18*	.28**	.25**	.02	.37**	.25**	.36**	--			
14. ASCS Autho-Submission	.12	.19**	.04	.04	.20**	.13	.13	.18*	-.02	.18*	.13	.15*	.70**	--		
15. ASCS Conventionalism	.07	.05	.05	-.02	.26**	.22**	.22**	.11	.03	.33**	.18*	.27**	.74**	.28**	--	
16. ASCS Autho-Aggression	.07	.11	.11	.02	.26**	.05	.24**	.26**	.03	.30**	.24**	.36**	.76**	.35**	.29**	--

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. USIS Mean	--										
2. HMMII American	.53**	--									
3. HMMII Mexican	.04	.07	--								
4. RT	-.07	-.23**	-.05	--							
5. ST	.16*	.18**	-.14*	.25**	--						
6. Threat to American Identity	-.06	.08	-.08	.13	.30*	--					
7. OT Sub 1	.14*	.14	-.23**	.29**	.54**	.43**	--				
8. OT Sub 2	.18**	.16*	-.18**	.28**	.57**	.45**	.93**	--			
9. OT Mean	.16*	.15*	-.21**	.29**	.57**	.45**	.98**	.98**	--		
10. FBMX	.15*	.07	-.19**	.20**	.49**	.27**	.61**	.60**	.62**	--	
11. DSS	-.27**	-.29**	.12	.05	-.16*	-.08	-.18**	-.18*	-.19**	-.06	--

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. USIS Mean	--														
2. HMMII American	.53**	--													
3. HMMII Mexican	.04	.07	--												
4. TDDS Mean	.25**	.01	.06	--											
5. TDDS Moral Disgust	.24**	.13	.03	.70**	--										
6. TDDS Sexual Disgust	.12	-.06	.05	.79**	.30**	--									
7. TDDS Pathogen Disgust	.21**	-.02	.05	.68**	.29**	.28**	--								
8. IDSS	.14	.13	-.08	.11	.10	.04	.11	--							
9. Ideology	.15*	.18*	-.06	.12	.02	.13	.10	.11	--						
10. Partisanship	.03	.04	-.15*	.00	-.04	.01	.04	-.04	.70**	--					
11. Trump Approval	.25**	.22**	-.14	.09	.01	.08	.11	.07	.50**	.56**	--				
12. ASCS Mean	.31**	.27**	.16*	.33**	.18*	.28**	.25**	.02	.37**	.25**	.36**	--			
13. ASCS Autho-Submission	.20**	.19*	.15*	.20**	.13	.13	.18*	-.02	.18*	.13	.15*	.70**	--		
14. ASCS Conventionalism	.28**	.21**	.18*	.26**	.22**	.22**	.11	.03	.33**	.18*	.27**	.74**	.28**	--	
15. ASCS Autho-Aggression	.21**	.19*	.02	.26**	.05	.24**	.26**	.03	.30**	.24**	.36**	.76**	.35**	.29**	--

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. MEIMR Exp	--														
2. MEIMR Commitment	.71**	--													
3. MEIMR Mean	.92**	.93**	--												
4. TDDS Mean	.11	.14	.13	--											
5. TDDS Moral Disgust	.10	.05	.08	.70**	--										
6. TDDS Sexual Disgust	.02	.09	.06	.79**	.30**	--									
7. TDDS Pathogen Disgust	.14	.17*	.17*	.68**	.29**	.28**	--								
8. IDSS	.05	.05	.05	.11	.10	.04	.11	--							
9. Ideology	-.07	-.04	-.06	.12	.02	.13	.10	.11	--						
10. Partisanship	-.15*	-.13	.15*	.00	-.04	.01	.04	-.04	.70**	--					
11. Trump Approval	-.01*	-.01	-.01	.09	.01	.08	.11	.07	.50**	.56**	--				
12. ASCS Mean	.10	.15*	.14	.33**	.18*	.28**	.25**	.02	.37**	.25**	.36**	--			
13. ASCS Autho-Submission	.09	.02	.06	.20**	.13	.13	.18*	-.02	.18*	.13	.15*	.70**	--		
14. ASCS Conventionalism	.11	.21**	.17*	.26**	.22**	.22**	.11	.03	.33**	.18*	.27**	.74**	.28**	--	
15. ASCS Autho-Aggression	.02	.08	.06	.26**	.05	.24**	.26**	.03	.30**	.24**	.36**	.76**	.35**	.29**	--

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. MEIMR EXP	--										
2. MEIMR Commitment	.71**	--									
3. MEIMR Mean	.92**	.93**	--								
4. RT Mean	.02	.01	.02	--							
5. ST Mean	-.17*	-.13	-.16*	.25**	--						
6. Threat to American Identity	.01	-.02	-.01	.13	.30*	--					
7. OT Sub 1	-.12	-.17*	-.16*	.29**	.54**	.43**	--				
8. OT Sub 2	-.12	-.15*	-.15*	.28**	.57**	.45**	.93**	--			
9. OT Mean	-.12	-.16*	-.15*	.29**	.57**	.45**	.98**	.98**	--		
10. FBMX Mean	-.11	-.06	-.09	.20**	.49**	.27**	.61**	.60**	.62**	--	
11. DSS Mean	.16*	.17*	.18*	.05	-.16*	-.08	-.18**	-.18*	-.19**	-.06	--

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. RT	--												
2. ST	.25**	--											
3. Threat to American Identity	.13	.30*	--										
4. OT Sub 1	.29**	.54**	.43**	--									
5. OT Sub 2	.28**	.57**	.45**	.93**	--								
6. OT Mean	.29**	.57**	.45**	.98**	.98**	--							
7. FBXM Mean	.20**	.49**	.27**	.61**	.60**	.62**	--						
8. DSS Mean	.05	-.16*	-.08	-.18**	-.18*	-.19**	-.06	--					
9. TDDS Mean	.15*	.17*	.02	.16*	.17*	.17*	.10	.01	--				
10. TDDS Moral Disgust	.05	.04	.12	.05	.09	.07	.06	.05	.70**	--			
11. TDDS Sexual Disgust	.17*	.21**	.01	.19**	.16*	.18*	.07	-.03	.79**	.30**	--		
12. TDDS Pathogen Disgust	.09	.09	-.10	.08	.12	.10	.11	.02	.68**	.29**	.28**	--	
13. IDSS	.14*	.11	.10	.22**	.26**	.24**	.13	-.08	.11	.10	.04	.11	--

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. RT	--														
2. ST	.25**	--													
3. Threat to American Identity	.13	.30*	--												
4. OT Sub 1	.29**	.54**	.43**	--											
5. OT Sub 2	.28**	.57**	.45**	.93**	--										
6. OT Mean	.29**	.57**	.45**	.98**	.98**	--									
7. FBXM Mean	.20**	.49**	.27**	.61**	.60**	.62**	--								
8. DSS Mean	.05	-.16*	-.08	-.18**	-.18*	-.19**	-.06	--							
9. Ideology	.13	.33**	.19**	.41**	.39**	.41**	.32**	-.16*	--						
10. Partisanship	.28**	.23**	.19**	.35**	.34**	.35**	.22**	-.16*	.70**	--					
11. Trump Approval	.16*	.29**	.12	.47**	.46**	.48**	.32**	-.23**	.50**	.56**	--				
12. ASCS Mean	.23**	.32**	.20**	.31**	.34**	.33**	.41**	-.16*	.37**	.25**	.36**	--			
13. ASCS Autho-Submission	.21**	.20**	.05	.16*	.19**	.18*	.28**	-.14	.18*	.13	.15*	.70**	--		
14. ASCS Conventionalism	.08	.16*	.23**	.19*	.22**	.21**	.26**	-.14	.33**	.18*	.27**	.74**	.28**	--	
15. ASCS Autho-Aggression	.23**	.34**	.15*	.32**	.32**	.32**	.36**	-.08	.30**	.24**	.36**	.76**	.35**	.29**	--