Pathways to Support for Integrationist Immigration Policymaking among U.S.-born Whites: Testing the Deprovincialization Hypothesis of the Intergroup Contact Theory and the Role of Latino Immigrant Threat Perception

by

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ABSTRACT

Nearly 11 million immigrants in the United States, three-quarters of which are Latino, lack legal authorization to live and work in the country; nonetheless, the majority of these individuals have resided in the U.S. for a decade or more and have profound social, emotional, cultural, and economic ties to the country (Passel & Cohn, 2018). Despite being deeply embedded in their communities, the dominant policy response involves increased immigration enforcement and advancing a hostile socio-political context (Gulasekaram & Ramakishnan, 2015). This policy approach comes at a great cost to immigrant and Latino communities throughout the U.S. and is largely ineffective. Accordingly, many advocates and stakeholders, including the National Association of Social Workers (2017), argue for policies that integrate "unauthorized permanent residents" (Martínez, Slack, & Martínez- Schuldt, 2018).

The primary purpose of this study was to understand strategies that can be leveraged to build support for integrationist policymaking. Among a sample of U.S.-born white college students (n=708), intensive, community, and college contact with Latino immigrants and people of color were assessed; the relationships between intergroup contact and support for integrationist policymaking were examined. To better understand the contact-policy attitudes relationship, the deprovincialization hypothesis of the intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011) and the Latino threat narrative (Chavez, 2013) were merged and tested as a serial pathway by which contact and policy attitudes may be related.

Findings revealed intensive and community contact with Latino immigrants and people of color related to more support for integrationist legislation. In most cases, these

effects were direct as well as indirect through the ethnocentrism→threat attitudes pathway. Ethnocentrism fully accounted for the relationships between intensive and community intergroup contact and threat attitudes. These findings have several implications for intervention. First, in the long-term struggle for immigrant integration, intergroup interaction between whites and people of color should be promoted, and the importance of casual intergroup contact should not be dismissed. Interventions that reduce social segregation are needed, as well as efforts to effectively harness the ethnic-racial diversity that presently exists. Cross-group exposure interventions that aim to overcome ethnocentric tendencies should be implemented.

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BACKGROUND

U.S. Demographic Shift

The United States is currently undergoing a major demographic shift. Whites are the majority ethnic-racial group by an increasingly narrow margin (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Factoring heavily into this shift, the Latino share of the population has increased in recent decades. Over the last 40 years, the Latino population in the U.S. has shifted from relatively small ethnic enclaves in the southwest, south Florida, and New York into a significant proportion of the U.S. population with Mexican, Central American, South American, and Caribbean origins (Massey & Pren, 2012a). As of the turn of the century, Latinos represent the largest minority group in the U.S. Nearly 57 million individuals, or 18% of the U.S. population, identifies as Latino (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Notably, in the U.S.'s two most populous states with significant political influence—California and Texas—Latinos currently or will soon make up a larger share of the population than whites (Barreto & Segura, 2014).

The increase in the Latino population in the U.S. is due in large part to immigration. More than 1 in 3 Latinos in the U.S. is foreign-born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). In fact, Latinos make up more than half of the roughly 41 million immigrants in the U.S. (Pew Research Center, 2015). Mexico is the largest immigrant-sending country by a significant margin; 29% of all U.S. immigrants are of Mexican-origin (Motel & Patten, 2013). In fact, roughly 10% of Mexico's native-born population—approximately 12 million people—live in the U.S. (Martin, 2010). Roughly another 8% of immigrants in the U.S. are from Central America; 7% are

from South America; and 5% are from the Caribbean nations of Cuba and the Dominican Republic (Motel & Patten, 2013).

Unauthorized Immigrants in the U.S.

A significant share (42%) of Latino immigrants in the U.S. lack legal authorization to live and work in the country (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The total number of unauthorized immigrants residing in the U.S. increased significantly throughout the 1990s and early 2000s (Pew Research Center, 2016). Coinciding with the Great Recession, the number of unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. has since dipped and leveled off to its current level of roughly 10.7 million, more than 3 in 4 of which are from Latin America (Passel & Cohn, 2018). The largest share of unauthorized immigrants are from Mexico (5.5 million), with smaller numbers hailing from Central America (1.9 million), South America (650,000), and the Dominican Republic (179,000; Warren, 2016; Passel & Cohn, 2018). [1]

Two-thirds of unauthorized immigrant adults have lived in the U.S. for more than a decade, with the plurality having lived in the U.S. for 15 or more years (Passel & Cohn, 2018). A significant share are homeowners, as suggested by 34% of unauthorized immigrants living in a home that is owned not rented (Migration Policy Institute, 2017). Unauthorized immigrants collectively have 5 million U.S. citizen children under the age of 18 and another 1 million adult U.S. citizen children living with them (Passel & Cohn, 2018). Accordingly, many unauthorized immigrants, the majority of whom are Latino, have significant social, cultural, and emotional ties to

[1] Following the 1995 revision of the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, Cubans qualify for legal permanent residency upon entry into the U.S., even if unlawful.

the U.S. and are deeply rooted in their communities (Martínez, Slack, & Martínez-Schuldt, 2018).

Creation of Unauthorized Permanent Resident Population

Development of Unauthorized Immigration

Martínez and colleagues (2018) refer to unauthorized immigrants who have lived in the U.S. for many years as "unauthorized permanent residents," arguing they are just as intimately tied to the U.S. as those with legal permanent residency. How and why did the U.S. come to be home to a large population of unauthorized permanent residents? The obvious explanation for Latin American migration to the U.S. is the prospect for economic gain. The majority of Latin American immigrants are from Mexico. The gross national income per capita is over $40,000 higher in the U.S. than in Mexico, and a large quantity of relatively high paying jobs are available in the U.S. (World Bank, 2014). However, this wage differential would mean little in the absence of U.S. demand for foreign laborers.

In many U.S. industries, demand for labor outweighs domestic supply of laborers (Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). For over a century, U.S. employers have sought to fill this shortage by way of foreign labor from its contiguous southern neighbor. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, employers began informally recruiting laborers in Mexico for work in the U.S. No formal channels of migration had been established during this *Enganchadores* era as there was not yet concern about immigration via the southern border. In the 1940s to the mid-1960s, the federal government formalized the program of temporary Mexican labor recruitment into the *Bracero* program. The program formally gave temporary work visas to 200,000

Mexicans nationals annually; plus, some employers continued to informally recruit and hire Mexican nationals to avoid the bureaucracies of the program (Gulasekaram & Ramakishnan, 2015). In total, from 1942 to 1964, approximately five million Mexicans entered the U.S. through the *Bracero* program (Massey et al., 2002).

The *Bracero* era solidified what the *Enganchadores* era began. U.S. employers in certain labor sectors became reliant upon Mexican labor, and much migration-related human and social capital accumulated within Mexican networks (Massey & Pren, 2012b). Employers became accustomed to hiring Mexicans and Mexicans became accustomed to using U.S. employment opportunities as a temporary strategy to bolster household finances (Massey et al., 2002). As a result, in the mid-1960s, when the *Bracero* program was abruptly terminated at nearly the same time an annual combined visa cap of 120,000 for Latin America, the Caribbean, and Canada was instituted, Mexican migration continued unabated. Absent legal channels to U.S. employment, Mexican laborers continued to meet U.S. labor market demands (Massey & Pren, 2012b).

The impact of these two nearly simultaneous policy changes on annual levels of unauthorized migration was tremendous (Ngai, 2004). In the two decades that followed these policy changes, an estimated 28 million immigrants entered the country without authorization (Massey & Singer, 1995). Exacerbating the situation further, in 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was implemented. In the wake of the trade agreement between Canada, the U.S., and Mexico, many Mexican nationals lost their jobs; macroeconomic conditions worsened, and social inequality deepened in Mexico (Hing; 2001; Wise, 2006). In

the five years following NAFTA's implementation, the number of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the U.S. increased from 2.5 to 4.5 million—an increase experts partially attribute to the trade policy (Fernández-Kelly & Massey, 2007; Martin, 2005).

The increase in the unauthorized immigrant population was also partially attributed to social and political upheaval in Central America during this time. Multiple revolutions and civil wars occurred in Central America during the latter part of the 20th century (García, 2006). The U.S.-supported civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala led to much violence and instability, as did the U.S.'s own War on Drugs in the region (Chappell Deckert, 2016).

Settlement of Unauthorized Immigrants

These historical insights into the conditions that set in motion unauthorized immigration from Latin America, fail to address why such immigration came to be characterized by the (semi-)permanent settlement of families. For many years, unauthorized immigration, particularly that from Mexico, followed a predictably circular pattern. It consisted primarily of young men who would cyclically come to the U.S. to temporarily work as it was available and as financial resources were needed (Massey et al., 2002). Evidencing this reality, from 1965 to 1986, an estimated 28 million Mexican nationals entered the U.S. without authorization, but 23.4 million also returned to Mexico (Massey & Singer, 1995).

However, in the late 1980s, the circular nature of unauthorized immigration began to change as the issue of Latin American immigration gained political momentum and the perceived need to "control the border" became a rallying cry

(Massey et al., 2002). In response, a two-fold immigration and border control strategy was implemented that included militarizing the southern border and criminalizing unauthorized immigration. This translated into increased border enforcement, including border patrol officers and technology designed to thwart clandestine border crossings. The civil offense of unauthorized entry also began to be prosecuted as a criminal offense, carrying with it the risk of imprisonment of up to 10 years (Massey et al., 2002).

These measures were largely ineffective in deterring unauthorized immigration (Andreas, 1998; Cornelius, 2001). Their net effect was to make unauthorized immigration more difficult, but not impossible. It pushed migration into more remote parts of the border and created a market for human smugglers, known as *coyotes*. Unauthorized immigration to the U.S. became more dangerous, costlier, and riskier (Cornelius, 2001; Massey et al., 2002). As such, the prospect of cyclically returning to the U.S. for work diminished, as the lure of economic gain remained. Accordingly, these immigration control efforts had the effect of stimulating the (semi-)permanent settlement of whole unauthorized immigrant families or the partnering of young men in the U.S. and subsequent rearing of U.S.-citizen children (Brownell, 2001; Hing, 2010). Chain migration for the purpose of family reunification also gained steam as short-term family visits in either direction became more difficult (Mooney, 2004; Massey et al., 2002).

Federal Response to Unauthorized Resident Immigrant Population

In response to the creation of a large unauthorized permanent resident population, the federal government has continued the restrictionist agenda it initiated in the late 1980s (Gulasekaram & Ramakrishnan, 2015). The restrictionist approach involves three

concerted federal efforts, including the continuation of border enforcement and immigration criminalization strategies. Most recently, the Trump administration bolstered the restrictionist agenda by pursuing funds to erect a border wall spanning the southern border and by signing an executive action instituting a zero-tolerance border policy in which all adults detected entering the U.S. without authorization are to be criminally prosecuted (Pierce, Bolter, & Selee, 2018a).

The third concerted effort of the federal government is wide-scale interior immigration enforcement amounting to unprecedented levels of detention and deportation. To aid in this strategy, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)—an agency of the Department of Homeland Security which came about in the wake of 9/11—was created in 2003. Whereas 51,000 immigrants were deported in 1995, nearly 440,000 immigrants were deported in 2013, the majority of which were non-criminal and only a small fraction of which were for offenses involving a victim (Gonzalez-Barrera & Krogstad, 2014; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2018). This was despite a memo from the Obama administration being issued to ICE mandating the deportation of immigrants with serious criminal convictions be prioritized (American Immigration Council, 2017). The administration did not hold ICE accountable to these priorities and as a result, more immigrants were deported during the Obama administration than ever before (Gonzalez-Barrera & Krogstad, 2014). More recently, the Trump administration has reversed these removal priorities altogether (Pierce et al., 2018a), and efforts are underway to increase local authorities' cooperation with ICE to detain and deport unauthorized immigrants (Pierce, Bolter, & Selee, 2018b).

Subfederal Response to Unauthorized Resident Immigrant Population

States and localities have also taken up the restrictionist agenda and have become active in the realm of immigration policymaking at unprecedented levels (Gulasekaram & Ramakrishnan, 2015). The height of subfederal restrictionist policymaking occurred between 2005 and 2012 when state and local policies sought to reduce unauthorized immigrants' eligibility for social benefits, enable enforcement of federal immigration laws by local authorities, institute employer sanctions to penalize hiring unauthorized workers, make unlawful presence a state crime (Gelatt, Bernstein, & Koball, 2017; Gulasekaram & Ramakrishnan, 2015). Prime examples of such state-level restrictionist policies are California's Proposition 187 and Arizona's Senate Bill 1070. Passed by a landslide vote in 1994, Proposition 187 aimed to ban the enrollment of undocumented immigrant children in public elementary, secondary, and post-secondary schools and prohibit undocumented immigrants from receiving non-emergency health care (California Secretary of State's Office, 1994). Passed in 2010, Arizona's Senate Bill 1070, as well as subsequent copycat bills passed in other states, sought to require state law enforcement to make warrantless arrests of anyone they suspected to be undocumented (Morse, 2011).

Latino Threat Narrative

Massey and Pren (2012a) contend that political actors have long understood that the restrictionist approach to immigration policymaking is largely ineffective and an outside labor force is needed to meet U.S. employer demands. Why, then, are immigrants from Latin America not more readily accepted and integrated in the U.S.? One line of reasoning lies is in the U.S. profiting from cheap, expendable, and ultimately exploitable foreign labor. Integrating unauthorized workers would mean offering

protections, rights, and benefits, which may not be in the interests of U.S. (Feagin, 2011). Thus, while many Americans subscribe to the notion that the U.S. is a victim of unauthorized immigration or at least an inculpable neutral party in its inception, it is arguably more accurate that immigrants are the victims of poor U.S. policymaking constructing them as "illegal" for U.S. gain (Chavez, 2013; Massey & Pren, 2012a).

Another line of reasoning lies in the salience of the "Latino threat narrative" (Chavez, 2013). Americans tend to idealize their own immigrant forbearers, while viewing the current era of immigration as threatening their welfare and traditional way of life. The Latino threat narrative is rampant and demonizes Latino immigrants as lawbreakers and menacing criminals who pour over the southern border without regard for the law. Indeed, the dominant vernacular of "illegal immigrant" insinuates criminality, paving the way for perceived threats to safety. Latino immigrants are stereotyped as drug dealers, criminals, and even terrorists (Chavez, 2013; Johnson, 2004). The current presidential administration has been active in framing immigrants, especially those from Mexico, as a threat and menace to society (Liasson & Detrow, 2016). Latino threat hyperbole became particularly salient after the 9/11 terrorist attacks when Americans' sense of national security and safety was violated (Massey, 2009). The Latino threat narrative also involves the notion that Americans' economic wellbeing is compromised. Latino immigrants are commonly perceived as drains on public welfare services, public education, and health care (Chavez, 2013; Johnson, 2004). At various times, the population has been scapegoated for the faltering economy and under-resourced social services (Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014). Furthermore, Latino immigrants are often feared to be an unprecedented threat to

traditional American culture and social life and seen as endangering national identity (Byrne & Dixon, 2013). Concern is expressed over whether Latino immigrants can successfully assimilate and adopt "American" (i.e., white) culture (Capetillo-Ponce, 2007). Zero-sum claims linger that Latinos' maintenance of their culture-of-origin will necessarily result in a loss of traditional culture and way of life. This belief is reflected in the popular essay "The Hispanic Challenge" written by a Harvard political scientist, named Samuel Huntington (Capetillo-Ponce, 2007).

The narrative that Latino immigrants and their U.S.-born offspring are a threat to society has contributed to negative public attitudes toward Latino immigrants. Latino immigrants activate more anti-immigration attitudes and negative affect than immigrants from other origins (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008; Kinder & Kam, 2010; Schachter, 2014). Accordingly, the Latino threat narrative justifies the restrictionist agenda and makes garnering support for an integrationist approach difficult.

Ethnocentric Foundations of the Latino Threat Narrative

The ability of the Latino threat narrative to impact the public's attitudes toward Latino immigrants and fuel restrictionism is facilitated by ethnocentric human tendencies. Ethnocentrism is argued to be a precursor of intergroup threat perception (Bizumic, Duckitt, Popadic, Dru, & Krauss, 2009). Prominent historian, John Higham (1955), noted that an ideological core of attitudes toward immigrants has long been the idealizing of white culture relative to that of other ethnic-racial groups. The ethnocentric and exclusionary belief that to be American is to be white is explicitly encoded in a number of early U.S. legal documents (Saito, 1997) and

supported currently as evidenced by a study in which the prototypical American was found to be whites (Devos & Banji, 2005).

Human Costs of the Restrictionist Approach

Detention and Deportation

Undergirded by ethnocentrism, Latino immigrant threat attitudes have given way to restrictionist policymaking that has wreaked havoc on immigrant families and compromised their wellbeing. The detention and deportation of immigrants results in family separations which is psychologically, socially, and economically damaging to families and a particularly onerous burden for children (Leyro, Stageman, & Brotherton, 2013; Zayas, 2015). The threat of detention and deportation weighs heavily on the psyche of individuals who lack legal authorization in the U.S. (Androff et al., 2011). Roughly 60% of Latinos, regardless of nativity or immigration status, report concern that they themselves or a loved one will be deported (Pew Research Center, 2010). Family members left behind by detention or deportation have described being traumatized by its abruptness and lack of warning, making them feel akin to state-sponsored kidnappings (Brabeck, Lykes, & Hershberg, 2011; Salas, Ayón, & Gurrola, 2013). This is particularly the case for children of detained or deported immigrants, some of whom end up in the U.S. foster care system with the rights of biological parents risking severance (Brabeck, Lykes, & Hunter, 2014; Wessler, 2011). The experience can be similarly traumatizing for those arrested, given that human rights abuses that have been documented in immigrant detention centers (Amnesty International, 2009; Phillips, Hagan, & Rodriguez, 2006). Furthermore, detention and deportation have profoundly negative financial

impacts on families who are already more likely to live in poverty, particularly when the primary breadwinner is detained (Arias, 2013; Brabeck et al., 2011).

Federal prioritization of detention and deportation and local authorities' cooperation with ICE has the potential to compromise community safety and security. When an actual or perceived threat of deportation looms, immigrants are less trusting of law enforcement officials. This compromises their comfort to report crimes and offer witness testimony (Dart, 2017; Messing, Becerra, Ward-Lasher, & Androff, 2015).

Discrimination

Anti-Latino immigrant attitudes and restrictionist policymaking are mutually reinforcing. Thus, restrictionism has led to the lived experience of unauthorized immigrants, and by extension all Latinos given that nativity and documentation status are not readily observable, being marked by discrimination. Interpersonal discrimination is the behavioral expression of negative affect, stereotyping, and threat ascription (Link & Phelan, 2001). It ranges from subtle everyday microagressions that implicitly communicate differential worth to overtly negative treatment by others. Discrimination can also be structural or institutionalized, such as in the case of racial profiling by local and immigration authorities which has become commonplace in some regions of the country (Link & Phelan, 2001; Perez, 2011). Perceived discrimination is commonly reported by Latino immigrants of all ages (Ayón, 2013; Córdova & Cervantes, 2010). Ayón and Becerra (2013) report that Latino immigrants do not perceive discriminatory treatment to be isolated to a few incidents, but to be a common and shared experience within their community. Nationally, roughly 7 in 10 Latino immigrants report discrimination to challenge their success in the U.S. (Lopez, Morin, & Taylor, 2010).

Perceived discrimination negatively affects the mental health status of those it touches (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). Substantial evidence suggests perceived discrimination has a number of negative mental health impacts on Latinos (Araujo & Borrell, 2006; Ayón, Marsiglia, & Parsai, 2010; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Zeiders, Umaña-Taylor, & Derlan, 2012). Latino immigrants report experiencing substantial fear about how structural discrimination from anti-immigrant laws will affect them (Ayón & Becerra, 2013). In particular, the fear of deportation induces a sense of constant anxiety (Androff et al., 2011; Joseph, 2011). Discrimination can also lead to internalizing negative messages and stereotypes, causing individuals to believe that they or their fellow community members embody undesirable characteristics (Berg, 2011). Accordingly, discrimination is associated with compromised self-esteem and increased depression (Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Zeiders et al., 2012). In addition, perceived discrimination impacts Latinos' physical health (Ayón, 2013; Ding & Hargraves, 2009; Lassetter & Callister, 2009; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2008; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Perceived discrimination compromises physical health through an increase in the stress response and unhealthy behaviors as well as a decrease in healthy behaviors (Keller, Silbergerg, Hartmann, & Michener, 2010; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Williams & Mohammed, 2009).

Ineffectiveness of the Restrictionist Approach

The restrictionist approach hoists incredible hardship upon unauthorized immigrants. Despite this, it is and will continue to be ineffective at deterring the presence of the unauthorized permanent resident population. As already evidenced, the

creation of a hostile socio-political context that is within constitutional limits[2] does not incite mass voluntary deportation. The forced removal of 10.7 million individuals is also not feasible, and even if it was, it would not be successful nor financially prudent. Unauthorized immigrants have too many social ties in the U.S. (Martínez et al., 2018). In fact, according to a recent study of immigrants who were arrested by interior immigration enforcement officers (i.e., ICE) and deported to Sonora, Mexico, the average had lived in the U.S. for 19.9 years, with more than half having entered as children (Kerwin, Alulema, & Nicholson, 2018). Roughly 42% had a spouse or partner who was a citizen of the U.S., and 78% had children who were U.S. citizens. Additionally, part of their rootedness in the U.S. was their jobs themselves; the average deportee had worked for the same employer for the past 10 years. Nearly half reported identifying with Mexico little or "not at all." Not surprisingly then, 3 in 4 of those who had been deported reported plans to return to the U.S. (Kerwin et al., 2018). Similarly, a larger multi-site study of Mexican deportees found that only 23% of deportees said they would not try to cross the border again; 1 in 3 said they would try within the next week (Martínez et al., 2018). Finally, if mass deportation was a possibility, it would not be fiscally responsible. Hinojosa-Ojeda (2010) estimates that a policy of mass deportation and zero-immigration would result in reducing the U.S.'s gross domestic product by an estimated $2.6 trillion over a decade.

[2] The provisions of California's Proposition 187 to ban unauthorized immigrants from attending public schools and receiving non-emergency health care were deemed unconstitutional. Much of Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 was also deemed unconstitutional, including the provision that state law enforcement officials could arrest anyone they suspected to be unauthorized.

A New Approach: Integrationism

Through much lobbying and advocacy, some members of congress have become attuned to the human costs and ineffectiveness of the restrictionist approach. These U.S. senators and representatives have sponsored various bills that would provide earned pathways to legal status for DREAMers and unauthorized immigrants as a whole. Despite repeated efforts over more than two decades to garner sufficient political support for federal integrationist legislation, advocates and their allies in congress have been unsuccessful. As a result, restrictionism remains the status quo nationally, but the political environment in some states and localities began to shift in 2012 giving way to more subfederal integrationist policymaking (Gulasekaram & Ramakrishnan, 2015).

Gulasekaram and Ramakrishnan (2015) argue that in addition to growing disturbance with congress's inability to pass comprehensive immigration reform, the subfederal shift occurred as a result of three events. First, the Supreme Court placed limits upon restrictive state-level legislation, including Arizona's Senate Bill 1070. Second, President Obama's 2012 executive action, called Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), had an important signaling and legitimizing effect. The program offers DREAMers (i.e., unauthorized youth raised in the U.S.) temporary work authorization and reprieve from the looming threat of deportation (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2018).[3] Third, the political power inherent in Latinos became

[3] Notably, efforts were made by the Trump administration to terminate DACA. Program termination was contested as unlawful by several lawsuits, leading to the issuing of nationwide injunctions by U.S. district courts. The future of the program remains in limbo.

apparent after the 2012 presidential election, leading politicians in some districts to be more attuned to the issues by which this sector is impacted (Wallace, 2012).

A number of integrationist policies targeting unauthorized immigrants have been discussed or enacted in states and localities across the nation (Gulasekaram & Ramakrishnan, 2015). Among them are extending state drivers' licenses and city photo identification cards to residents lacking proof of legal authorization. Offering in-state tuition and/or financial aid to DREAMers is another policy arena in which states and state university systems have been active (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2019). Healthcare is another arena concerning states given that 53% of unauthorized immigrants lack health insurance (Migration Policy Institute, 2018). State legislatures have considered and/or passed legislation permitting children to qualify for public health insurance and pregnant women to qualify for public prenatal care regardless of legal status. Allowing residents to vote in local school board, mayoral, and city council elections regardless of legal status is also among the policies that have been passed or considered. Finally, sanctuary policies have been passed by various jurisdictions that seek to limit their involvement with ICE in enforcing immigration law and the detention and deportation of their residents (Gelatt et al., 2017; Gulasekaram & Ramakrishnan, 2015).

Call for an Integrationist Approach

It is time for a new national approach to immigration policymaking. Offering a pathway to legal status and U.S. citizenship for unauthorized immigrants is a fiscally prudent policy. Such a policy would allow the U.S. to continue to benefit from the $11.8 billion that unauthorized immigrants pay annually in local and state income, property,

and consumption taxes; offering unauthorized immigrants a pathway to legal status would also increase tax revenue by $2.3 billion annually (Gardner, Johnson, & Wiehe, 2015). Furthermore, it would increase the U.S.'s gross domestic product by $1.4 trillion over 10 years (Lynch & Oakford, 2013). An integrationist approach is also morally responsible. This approach would stop penalizing unauthorized immigrants as lone actors operating in isolation from historical, economic, and political forces; instead, it would recognize that a complex history involving poor U.S. policymaking had a significant impact on unauthorized immigration and the settlement of immigrant families.

Promotion of the social integration of unauthorized immigrants is consistent with the social work mission of promoting social justice and human rights for oppressed and vulnerable populations (National Association of Social Workers [NASW], 2008). Research suggests social workers hold bifurcated views of immigrants; social workers' attitudes are more or less positive depending on immigrants' legal status (Park, Bhuyan, Ricahrds, & Rundle, 2011). However, the profession's code of ethics is clear: social workers are to promote the wellbeing of *all* (NASW, 2008). Targeted calls have been made by the National Association of Social Workers imploring the profession to advocate against policies that are anti-immigrant in nature and for policies that address the legal status of long-term resident immigrants (de Silva, 2006; NASW, 2017). Furthermore, the goal of *Achieving Equal Opportunity and Justice* laid out by the Grand Challenges for Social Work Initiative urges the profession to focus resources on the reduction of social stigma for socially disenfranchised groups (Goldbach, Amaro, Vega, & Walter, 2015).

Current Study

Negative attitudes and hostile policymaking are mutually reinforcing (Pérez, 2010). This reality makes intervening on intergroup relations all the more important. The aim of this study is to understand how support for integrationist immigration policymaking can be mobilized. This study rests on the argument that efforts to improve intergroup relations must begin with U.S.-born white Americans. Whites tend to hold more negative attitudes toward Latino immigrants (Kinder & Kam, 2010). Albeit increasingly narrowly, they also make up the numerical majority (61%; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Furthermore, they hold a disproportionate share of power and influence; exceeding their proportion in the population, whites make up approximately 3 in 4 members of the electorate and tend to vote at higher rates than members of other ethnic-racial groups (U.S. Elections Project, 2017).

Building on the intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954), this study examines how U.S.-born whites' immigration policy attitudes vary as a function of their intergroup contact experiences. The relationship between intergroup contact and integrationist immigration policy attitudes are explored. Given the salience of the Latino threat narrative (Chavez, 2013), which is argued to have roots in ethnocentrism, ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes are explored as serial linking variables of the contact-policy attitudes relationship (i.e., intergroup contact → ethnocentrism → intergroup threat → immigration policy attitudes).

Intergroup contact with both Latino immigrants and people of color more generally is explored. For each group, the role of intensive contact in the form of cross-group friends, relatives, and significant others is explored, as well as extensive

contact in the form of more casual everyday interactions in a plurality of settings. The direct effect of these forms of intergroup contact on integrationist immigration policy attitudes is tested. The indirect effect of each form of intergroup contact on immigration policy attitudes is also explored via the two-staged pathway (see Figure 1). The intent of this study is to inform the design and testing of intergroup contact interventions that can be leveraged to improve intergroup attitudes and mobilize support for integrationist immigration policymaking.

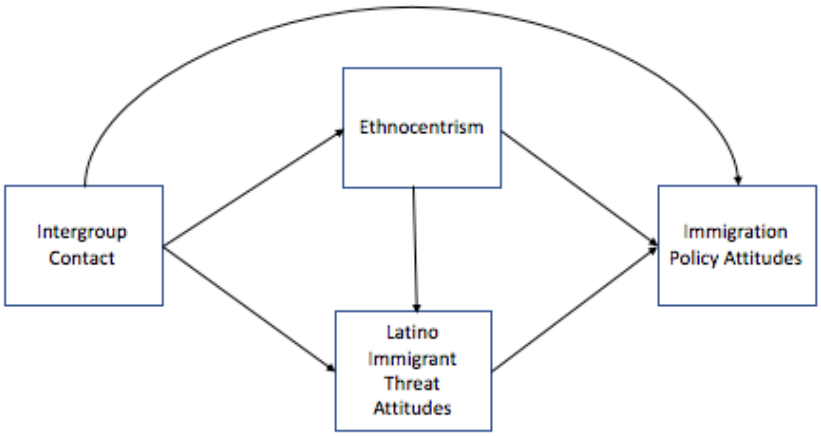

Figure 1. *Conceptual Model*

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Identity Theory as a Guiding Grand Theory

The theoretical foundation and intellectual roots of this study are found in social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). SIT is a leading grand theory from social psychology that explains social relations and lays the conceptual groundwork for the study of intergroup relations (Ellemers & Haslam, 2012). It contends that intergroup discrimination and conflict derive from individuals' proclivity to divide the social world into distinct, socially constructed groups (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Rather than view themselves and others as unique entities, individuals overlay and emphasize group identities. Internalized group membership provokes intergroup comparisons and a preference for one's own group over the out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986).[4] Accordingly, social group categorization leads to generalizations and the assignment of unmerited lower status to out-group members based merely on group membership. Simply stated, the categorization of individuals into groups generates group comparisons promotive of in-group favoritism and deprecation of the social "other;" these basic tenets are empirically supported (Haslam, Ellemers, Reicher, Reynolds, & Schmitt, 2010).

The inherent tendency to harbor positive bias toward the in-group and negative prejudice toward the out-group is theorized to be driven by the desire to maintain a positive social identity or sense of self as a member of a social group (Tajfel, 1974).

[4] An in-group member is an insider from one's own group, whereas an out-group member is someone identified to belong to another group. Both are relative concepts.

Several scholars have sought to extend SIT to offer greater theoretical insight into individuals' psychological motivation to classify themselves and others into differentially valued groups. According to the self-esteem hypothesis, individuals engage in group-level classification and discrimination in an effort to maintain a high level of self-esteem; foundational to this hypothesis is that individuals engage in hierarchical group organization as their sense of self is intimately tied to the perceived esteem and prestige of the group (Abrams & Hogg, 1988). A second theory, optimal distinctiveness theory, contends that humans have an opposing need for both inclusion and distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991). Individuals can satisfy both needs through perceived group membership and the differential evaluation of groups. In other words, the sense of belonging to a collective that has defined boundaries and is distinguished achieves both a sense of inclusion and distinctiveness (Brewer, 2012).

According to SIT, hierarchical social group categorization is inherent and universal. Therefore, prejudice toward members of other ethnic-racial and national-origin groups cannot be eradicated. However, negative or inferior intergroup evaluations can be managed.

Intergroup Contact Theory

One prescription for the abatement of negative intergroup attitudes is derived from the theoretical propositions of intergroup contact theory (ICT). ICT is a principle theory on the social psychology of intergroup relations. The chief contention of ICT is that positive intergroup interaction promotes a reduction in prejudicial attitudes toward not only the particular member involved in the interaction, but the entire out-group (Allport, 1954).

Prior to the development of the theory in 1954 by Gordon Allport, Sumner (1906) theorized that intergroup contact promoted intergroup conflict as a result of an inherent sense of group superiority. Others offered similar claims that contact leads to fear, skepticism, and conflict thereby sanctioning racial segregation (Baker, 1934). However, views on the matter began to shift post-World War II, as scholars began to contend that intergroup contact has the potential to lead to positive regard and understanding unlike segregation which breeds prejudice and conflict (Brameld, 1946; Lett, 1945). This shift was furthered in part due to the horrific events of the Holocaust and the surfacing of stories in which Christian Europeans aided and abetted their Jewish neighbors and friends (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). This was a phenomenon researchers later demonstrated to have been preceded by greater intergroup contact (Oliner & Oliner, 1988).

Early intergroup relations researchers began to test the effects of intergroup contact, and results were promising (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). As the U.S. entered desegregation, more favorable attitudes toward Blacks were reported by white soldiers who fought alongside Black soldiers (Stouffer, Schuman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams, 1949). White seamen who took interracial voyages were also found to have more favorable inter-racial attitudes (Brophy, 1945). Additionally, white housewives who resided in desegregated housing projects harbored less prejudice toward Blacks (Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Wilner, Walkley, & Cook, 1955).

Although Allport was not the first to propose that intergroup contact had the potential to reduce intergroup prejudice (e.g., Williams, 1947), he is considered the intellectual founder of the theory as he made significant conceptual contributions toward its formulation in his seminal book, called *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954; Pettigrew &

Tropp, 2011). To explain when contact ameliorates versus exacerbates prejudice, Allport (1954) proposed that four conditions create optimal circumstances under which intergroup contact can be expected to be positive and reduce prejudice. The conditions were later refined by Pettigrew (1971) and included: (1) equal status between groups within the contact situation, (2) shared goals which facilitate friendly interaction and support for one another, (3) intergroup cooperation, and (4) institutionally supported contact. Allport asserted that these conditions, which can be conceived of as moderators of the contact-prejudice relationship, should not be thought of as discrete, but as overlapping and interrelated. Allport (1954) also hypothesized that "the deeper and more genuine the association, the greater its effect" (p. 489). Furthermore, he theorized that the primary route by which contact mitigated prejudice was the cognitive process of increased intergroup knowledge or learning about the outgroup. Since Allport's original work on the theory, knowledge of how, why, and when contact leads to decreased prejudice and conflict has grown substantially through empirical research. Accordingly, what was once a modest "contact hypothesis" advanced in the mid-1950s has become a well-developed theory through extensive and methodologically diverse empirical testing (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998).

Empirical Support for the Contact Effect

A broad and diverse body of literature has empirically examined the primary tenet of ICT. Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) identified 515 studies with 700 independent samples conducted between the 1940s and 2000 on intergroup contact and prejudice with which to conduct an extensive meta-analysis. The studies came from 38 countries and assessed intergroup relations between an array of in- and out-groups using methods ranging from

cross-sectional survey-based designs to randomized experimental studies. In 94% of studies, both published and unpublished, intergroup contact was inversely related to prejudice; among the remaining studies, 4% reported a positive relationship, and 2% reported a nonsignificant effect. The meta-analysis used a Pearson correlation coefficient (r) to indicate the mean effect size of the contact effect across studies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Sample size ceilings were applied to very large studies and studies were weighted in accordance with the inverse of their variance to ensure larger and more reliable samples contributed to the mean effect size more than smaller, less reliable samples. Meta-analytic findings revealed that, across studies, contact reduced prejudice in a modest but meaningful way ($r = -.21$, $p < .001$). Additional analyses were conducted with statistical corrections applied to ensure this finding was not an artifact of sampling bias within the meta-analysis or publication bias due to the known issue of underreporting and under-publishing of nonsignificant findings. Accounting for these potential threats to internal validity did not reverse the significance of the mean effect of intergroup contact on prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

In the meta-analysis, Pettigrew and Tropp also examined whether the mean contact effect could be found among studies in which prejudice toward the entire out-group was assessed relative to only assessing attitudes toward out-group members implicated in the interaction. The mean effect did not significantly differ ($r = -21$ vs. -.23). This is an important finding as the ability for the contact effect to generalize is of upmost importance theoretically and practically. Sub-analyses also revealed that the contact-prejudice relationship is highly consistent across in- and out-groups, countries,

situations, and developmental ages. These findings provide empirical support for the broad and relatively universal nature of the contact effect (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

Empirical testing also revealed that the positive contact conditions specified by Allport facilitate prejudice reduction but are not necessary for contact to abate prejudice. In their meta-analysis, Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) examined the mean contact effect for studies in which intergroup contact explicitly met the positive contact conditions. The mean contact effect among these studies was significantly stronger than those that did not meet the conditions (r = -.29 vs. -.20, $p < .001$). However, the inverse relationship between contact and prejudice held even in the absence of the contact conditions. This provides evidence that the positive contact conditions can be thought of as optimal conditions that augment the intensity, but not direction, of the effect. It also indicates that Allport's conditions are facilitating, but not necessary, conditions.

Importance of Cross-Group Friendships

The quality of the relationship between in- and out-group members has been found to moderate the contact-prejudice relationship, making it more pronounced. When individuals feel close to an out-group member, such as in the case of cross-group friendships, the contact effect is particularly strong (Davies, Wright, & Aron, 2011; Swart, Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2011). Cross-group friendships may be especially adept at reducing prejudice as they satisfy at least three of the optimal conditions, including: common interests and goals, equal status, and cooperation (Swart et al., 2011). Furthermore, cross-group friendships represent a strong dosage of contact as this form of interaction is usually frequent and spans an extended number of years (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

In their meta-analysis, Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) found cross-group friendships to represent a potent form of intergroup contact. Friendships with out-group members reduced prejudice statistically significantly more than other contact experiences (r = -.26 vs. -.21, $p < .05$). Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, and Wright (2011) conducted a more recent meta-analysis with 208 samples from cross-group friendship studies conducted through 2009; a mean effect size (r = -.24) comparable to that of Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analysis was found.

Experimental research that eliminates self-selection bias provides the most incisive causal evidence on the importance of cross-group friendships in reducing intergroup prejudice. This body of evidence supports the proposition that although positive intergroup contact in general yields a reduction in prejudice, high quality contact marked by closeness and intimacy are most effective at reducing prejudice (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002; Wright, Brody, & Aron, 2005). In fact, the quality of intergroup contact is argued to be more important than the quantity of contact (Dixon et al., 2010). It should be noted that high quality intergroup contact is not limited to cross-group friendships but can also be found in romantic partners (Levin, Taylor, & Caudle, 2007) and family members (e.g., through marriage or adoption; Soliz & Harwood, 2003).

Explanatory Variables of the Contact Effect

Identifying the mechanisms that facilitate shifts in intergroup attitudes has been an area of great importance since ICT's inception. Allport's proposition that an increase in intergroup knowledge is the cognitive process by which prejudice is abated has failed to hold up to empirical scrutiny. According to Pettigrew and Tropp's (2011) meta-

analysis, increased knowledge accounts for only 5% of the association between intergroup contact and prejudice reduction. Thus, to further refine and extend ICT, researchers have drawn upon other lines of theoretical reasoning to understand how contact reduces prejudice.

Two processes that are affective in nature, rather than cognitive, have become the most well-studied explanatory variables of the contact effect (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Based on Stephan and Stephan's (1985) seminal work on threat perception and its role in anxiety arousal, researchers have tested anxiety as a mediator of the contact-prejudice relationship (e.g., Levin, Van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004). According to Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analysis, anxiety reduction accounted for nearly one-third of the prejudice reducing effect of contact. The second affective process shown to have substantial explanatory power across studies is empathy (e.g., Hodson, 2008; Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003). Positive intergroup contact appears to induce greater empathy, which produces more positive intergroup attitudes. The meta-analysis revealed that increased empathy accounted for nearly one-third of the contact-prejudice relationship (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Thus, above and beyond reduced intergroup anxiety and increased empathy, some of the variance in the contact effect remains unexplained.

Secondary Transfer Effect

The positive effects of contact between two groups have been found to extend to other social out-groups beyond that which is involved in the interaction (Pettigrew, 1997; Tausch et al., 2010). This phenomenon has been termed the "secondary transfer effect" as it occurs in addition to the primary contact effect involving the out-group involved in

the interaction (Pettigrew, 2009). Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) examined the secondary transfer effect in their meta-analysis; the mean contact effect for studies examining prejudice toward a group other than that which was involved in the interaction (i.e., a secondary transfer effect) was not significantly different from that of studies examining prejudice only toward those out-group members directly involved in the interaction (r = -.19 vs. r = -.23).

Deprovincialization Hypothesis

Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) reason that the secondary transfer effect exists due to a superordinate ideology that conceptually links prejudice toward all out-groups. That superordinate ideology may be an ethnocentric worldview. Ethnocentrism has been referred to as prejudice conceived broadly; in other words, it is a generalized bias for one's own group and against other groups (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). Though not framed as ethnocentrism, Pettigrew (1998) asserted that intergroup contact may introduce greater complexity into how individuals view their own group in relation to others as a result of broadened experience with other cultural standards and norms. In other words, intergroup contact may promote changes in attitudes toward out-groups as a result of in-group reappraisal and the subsequent realization that one's cultural standards and way of life are not self-evident standards. This may promote less in-group centricity and adoption of the worldview that a plurality of social groups and cultural standards are valid and valuable. This line of reasoning is known as the "deprovincialization hypothesis" (Brewer, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998).

The concept of ethnocentrism aligns with the deprovincialization hypothesis and has the potential to extend explanation of ICT's primary and secondary contact effect.

The deprovincialization hypothesis has been operationalized as the espousal of multiculturalism but these researchers called for future research examining the deprovincializing role of ethnocentrism (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Bekhuis, 2010).

Ethnocentrism

The concept of ethnocentrism has interested researchers and scholars for over a century. The first person to write about and coin the term ethnocentrism was an anthropologist named McGee (1900). McGee conceived of ethnocentrism as the group version of egocentrism, which involves an incapacity to understand or relate to a perspective other than one's own. He observed that ethnocentric perspectives arise out of a lack of experience beyond one's group boundaries and noted that "[k]nowing little of the external world, tribesman erect themselves or their groups into centers about which all other things revolve" (pp. 830-831). Later, Sumner (1906) extended the conceptual work and theorizing on ethnocentrism and, simply stated, asserted that the concept could be understood as "…the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p. 13).

Modern day scholars have amended McGee and Sumner's work on ethnocentrism, reconceptualizing and operationalizing it for empirical study in vastly different ways (e.g., Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012; Kinder & Kam, 2010; Levine & Campbell, 1972). Researchers have represented ethnocentrism as merely negative out-group attitudes (e.g., Hooghe, Meeusen, & Quintelier, 2014); however, according to Bizumic and Duckitt's (2012) thorough conceptual analysis on ethnocentrism, this is a construct external to ethnocentrism and one that it may, but does not always, cause. Other researchers have operationalized ethnocentrism as a preference for one's own

ethnic-racial group relative to other ethnic-racial groups (e.g., Kinder & Kam, 2010). This is arguably an oversimplification of a more complex concept (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012). Still others treat ethnocentrism as the use of one's culture as the standard for judging all others without clarifying what cultural membership is based on (e.g., race/ethnicity vs. national-origin; Neuliep, 2002). Accordingly, the literature on ethnocentrism suffers from a lack of a common definition and method of measurement, leading some to argue the concept has lost its utility altogether (Heaven, Rajab, & Ray, 1985). Despite this pragmatic challenge, scholars generally agree on the universal and fundamental nature of ethnocentrism as a mechanism at work in intergroup relations. This makes it a concept worth reconsidering.

Conceptual Analysis of Multidimensional Ethnocentrism

In an attempt to clarify and reorient empirical work on ethnocentrism, Bizumic and Duckitt (2012) conducted a conceptual analysis of the construct. Their work was based on a review of Sumner's preeminent work on the subject and other important conceptual and empirical scholarship. In their analysis, Bizumic and Duckitt argue that the most historically and theoretically sound definition of ethnocentrism is ethnic group self-centeredness and self-importance, which is consistent with the origins of the word itself—a blend of "ethnos" and "center." Their analysis of ethnocentrism as an important concept in the study of intergroup relations aligns with the deprovincialization hypothesis and, thus, will be used in the present study.

According to Bizumic and Duckitt (2012), ethnocentrism can be likened to narcissism extrapolated to the group-level. It is composed of six dimensions, four of which represent an intergroup form relating to the perceived importance of the in-group

relative to out-groups. They include: (1) in-group *preference* over out-groups, (2) perceptions of in-group *superiority*, (3) the desire to maintain ethnic *purity*, and (4) *exploitativeness* or prioritizing in-group interests at the expense of out-groups. Two dimensions represent intragroup ethnocentrism and concern perceived importance of the in-group as a whole over its individual members. They include: (5) pursuit of in-group *cohesion* and (6) in-group *devotion*. Intragroup forms of ethnocentrism are hypothesized to precede its intergroup forms.

Preference refers to the liking of the in-group more than the out-group. It is affective and involves the hypervaluation of one's own group and undervaluation of other groups. This dimension relates to social identity theory's acknowledgement that individuals harbor a preference for fellow in-group members. In fact, Tajfel and Turner (1986) referred to in-group bias as the laboratory equivalent of ethnocentrism. Brewer and Gaertner (2001) argue this dimension of ethnocentrism is most relevant to intergroup discrimination because it is liking one group over another that fosters discrepant treatment. Ethnocentrism has often been operationalized for empirical study as this facet alone. For example, political scientists tend to use Kinder and Kam's (2010) measure of ethnocentrism which uses feeling thermometers to assess the difference between ethnic in-group favorability ratings and the average of other ethnic out-group favorability ratings. However, this measurement falls short as it oversimplifies the construct and fails to provide a more comprehensive assessment of individuals' ethnocentric worldviews.

Superiority has been emphasized in much of the conceptual work on ethnocentrism but is notably absent from many operationalizations. In the early 1900s, Sumner noted that most non-industrialized groups see themselves as "chosen people" and

the universe as originating with their group, leading to perceptions of justified superiority. Superiority refers to the perception that one's group is all-around better than others. Its values and beliefs are not just better, but its economy, spirituality, and so forth. Perceived superiority in morality is thought to be most salient for groups (Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). Superiority leads to a sense of entitlement and the view that in-group domination is justified.

Accordingly, *exploitativeness* is another facet of intergroup ethnocentrism. Exploitativeness refers to in-group willingness to take advantage of the out-group for their own gain and without respect for equity. It involves a readiness to take action that favors the in-group. The in-group's interests are viewed as having primary importance, justifying exploitation.

The last dimension of intergroup ethnocentrism, *purity*, refers to the desire to maintain the integrity of the ethnic in-group, keeping it free from contamination by outsiders. Perceived group self-importance underlies the desire for group purity. This dimension of ethnocentrism may engender a preference for isolationism and avoidance of contact with out-groups. Whereas intergroup contact may reduce ethnocentrism as indicated by the deprovincialization hypothesis, this facet highlights the potential for ethnocentrism and intergroup contact to be reciprocally related.

Group cohesion and devotion compose intragroup ethnocentrism. *Group cohesion* represents the value of unity and cooperation among group members. The individual needs of group members come secondary to the wellbeing of the group as a whole. *Devotion* refers to in-group loyalty, attachment, and dedication. Devotion is not mere in-group positivity. At its extreme, it can lead to uncritical conformity to the ways

of the in-group and blind love for one's own ethnic group with criticism interpreted as a lack of loyalty (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950).

It is important to note that Bizumic and Duckitt's multidimensional conceptualization of ethnocentrism differs from mere ethnic in-group positivity and out-group negativity. To illuminate conceptually that ethnocentrism cannot be condensed simply into ethnic in-group positivity, a parallel can be drawn with the conceptual differences between patriotism and nationalism which concern the national group rather than the ethnic group. Like ethnic in-group positivity, patriotism represents positive attitudes toward one's country; nationalism, like ethnocentrism, involves an added layer of perceived superiority and dominance. Extending the patriotism vs. nationalism analogue to demonstrate the difference between ethnocentrism and out-group attitudes, nationalism is related to anti-foreigner attitudes but is not itself anti-foreigner attitudes (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). The distinctiveness of ethnocentrism, particularly its intergroup form, from out-group prejudice is a particularly important point for the present study. Ethnocentrism does not invariably lead to disdain for members of other ethnic-racial groups or racism but may be differentially related to negative out-group attitudes based on the group and the circumstances involved. Conceptually, individuals can be ethnocentric and feel indifferent or even positive toward out-group members, but just less so than toward in-group members. Related to this, Allport noted that in-group favoritism, a dimension of ethnocentrism, can exist apart from out-group hostility; empirical work has supported this notion (Brewer, 1999, 2007; Cashdan, 2001; Turner, 1978). Additionally, at the group-level, intergroup relations can be discordant or harmonious. If

ethnocentrism is a universal human tendency as scholars suggest, then ethnocentrism must have the potential to, but not always, create discord.

Empirical Support for Multidimensional Ethnocentrism

Bizumic and Duckitt's reconceptualization of ethnocentrism as universal, multidimensional, and consisting of six distinct facets that compose intergroup and intragroup ethnocentrism is empirically supported (Bizumic et al., 2009). In a cross-cultural study assessing the psychometric properties of their scale—The Ethnocentrism Scale—a model involving two correlated second-order factors was found to have the best fit to the data. Further contributing to the validity and robustness of their conceptualization and operationalization of ethnocentrism, measurement invariance was found for this hierarchical factor structure across samples. In other words, the structure of the measure held across sample, including a U.S.-based sample. Additionally, ethnocentrism was found to be distinct from mere ethnic in-group positivity and out-group negativity; a measurement model allowing ethnocentrism, in-group positivity, and out-group negativity to be separate factors was superior to a model in which all items were forced to load as one construct (Bizumic et al., 2009).

Integrated Threat Theory

Given the salience of the perception that Latino immigrants threaten Americans' welfare and worldview (Chavez, 2013), this study incorporates two constructs central to the integrated threat theory (ITT; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). The theoretical framework of ITT is often called upon in the study of anti-immigrant sentiment and is commonly used to highlight the differences between two classes of intergroup threat: realistic and symbolic threat. ITT comes from the field of social psychology. It offers

insight into the makeup and content of prejudice toward social out-groups (Stephan, Ybarra, Martínez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998; Stephan et al., 1999). The main contention of the theory is that intergroup threat perception underlies negative out-group attitudes. The theory asserts that prejudice can be deconstructed as the product of four domains of threat perceived to emanate from out-groups. Threat and prejudice are held to be inextricably linked (Stephan et al., 1998, 1999). In fact, some have contended that perceived intergroup threat should be conceived of as an expression, rather than predictor, of prejudice (Kinder & Sears, 1981).

Realistic Threat Perception

Realistic threats are perceived by the in-group to compromise their welfare. As depicted in Figure 2, they are often power-related and pertain to loss of political, economic, or social status (Stephan et al., 1999). They can also relate to physical well-being and safety. The conceptualizing and naming of this class of threat comes from realistic conflict theory which asserts that competition in the face of resource scarcity promotes intergroup prejudice and conflict (Sherif, 1967). Despite its name, realistic threats need not be factual or grounded in reality but must only be perceived to be true.

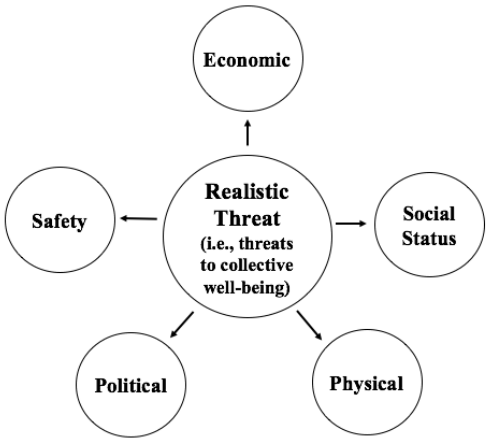

Figure 2. *Realistic Threats*

Realistic threats are perceived collective threats to the in-group's wellbeing. Collective threats, especially sociotropic economic threats, have been found to be more predictive of negative attitudes toward immigrants than perceived individual or household-level threats (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Newman, Hartman, & Taber, 2012). Realistic threats as it relates to Latino immigrants include the beliefs that Latino immigrants cost taxpayers more than they contribute in taxes and take jobs away from the in-group. Concern over their increasing size, gain in political influence, and attendant loss of the in-group's political sway also represents a realistic threat. The association of Latino immigrants with criminal activity represents another salient realistic threat.

Symbolic Threat Perception

The second class of collective threat perception posited to promote prejudice and included in the present study is symbolic threat (Stephan et al., 1999). Symbolic threats relate to the in-group's worldview. They involve the perception that the in-group's culture, including their traditional values, norms, beliefs, and morals, will be displaced or contaminated by that of another group (see Figure 3). The degree to which an out-group is constructed to be culturally different and defy aspects of the in-group's culture is the degree to which symbolic threats are perceived. The concept of symbolic threat comes from the theory of symbolic racism, which contends that prejudice stems from the perception that a given out-group violates integral in-group values (Sears, 1988).

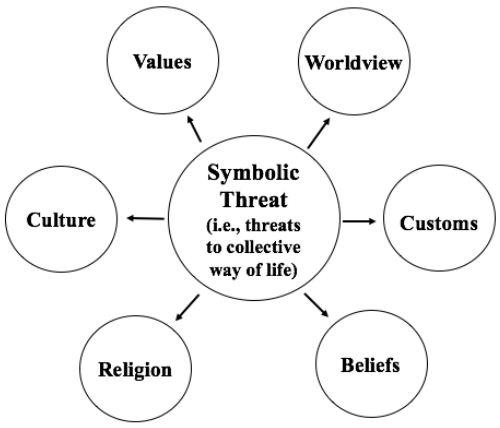

Figure 3. *Symbolic Threats*

Perhaps one of the largest sources of symbolic threat perceived by white Americans is the notion that Latino immigrants are unwilling or unable to integrate. Latino immigrants' use of their language-of-origin and preservation of traditional culture are commonly seen as threats to American culture. The idea that both cultures can exist in a multicultural world is seen as an impossibility, and a zero-sum belief is often held that the maintenance of culture-of-origin must necessarily results in a loss of traditional American culture.

Negative Stereotypes and Intergroup Anxiety

The other two domains of threats articulated in ITT are negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety (Stephan et al., 1999). Negative stereotypes cast negative projections of the out-group, perpetuating the perception of threat among in-group members and stimulating fear around the prospect of interaction. Intergroup anxiety represents a personal, individual-level threat. Intergroup anxiety is the fear of being rejected by the out-group or experiencing embarrassment during intergroup interaction (Stephan et al., 1998).

Only realistic and symbolic threat perception will be examined in the present study for two reasons. First, these two classes of threats encompass the central themes of the influential Latino threat narrative in the U.S. Second, representing a critique of ITT, the theory is discussed such that all four domains of threat are concurrent predictors of prejudice; however, it is plausible there are pathways that sequentially link the four constructs conceived of as threats (Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). For example, perceived realistic and symbolic threats may be predicated on stereotypes; there is some evidence for this (Stephan et al., 2002). Alternatively, the ascription of stereotypes may mediate the relationship between realistic and symbolic threat perception and prejudice; a study by Curseu, Stopp, and Schalk (2007) supported this causal sequence. Additionally, intergroup anxiety may be the product of realistic and symbolic threat perception. For example, the stereotype that Latino immigrants are prone to criminality would increase realistic threat perception, which may then foster intergroup anxiety.

Prior Research

This study concerns the linkages between intergroup contact, ethnocentrism, intergroup threat perception, and immigration policy attitudes. Some relationships have been empirically well established. Other relationships have been only minimally tested. The full conceptual model, in which intergroup contact is related to integrationist immigration policy attitudes via a serial indirect effect involving ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes, has yet to be tested.

Intergroup Contact and Attitudes toward Immigrants/Immigration

A number of European studies support intergroup contact between immigrants and natives as a method of reducing anti-immigrant attitudes (e.g., McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Schneider, 2008; Titzmann, Brenick, & Silbereisen, 2015). However, fewer studies conducted in the U.S. have undertaken the study of intergroup contact on immigrant and immigration attitudes. Instead, what largely exists is a body of literature that examines contact indirectly by assessing the size of the immigrant population in a given area and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration among that populace; this body of research is mixed in its finding of a contact effect, but is arguably more a test of *context* than *contact* (Newman et al., 2012). This proxy measure for intergroup contact assumes positive interaction occurs when populations live within proximity to one another, which is not uniformly the case (Stein, Post, & Rinden, 2000; Tropp, Okamoto, Marrow, & Jones-Correa, 2018). Indeed, the extent of intergroup contact is often dependent upon the integration versus segregation of the two groups (Rocha & Espino, 2009).

The handful of studies that have directly examined intergroup contact in the U.S. have found support for its positive impact on attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Ceballos and Yakushko (2014) found that individuals in Nebraska who interacted with immigrants or had immigrant friends had more favorable attitudes toward immigrants; specifically, participants were less likely to report the stereotypical belief that immigrants increase crime and were more likely to believe immigrants make society open to new ideas and cultures and improve ethnic and cultural diversity. More intimate contact with immigrants via friendships, but not casual contact, was related to a reduction

in the belief that immigrants contribute to a loss of jobs for natives (Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014). In a study asking participants about their "personal contact" with immigrants that they either know or suspect to be undocumented, intergroup contact did not have an impact on individuals' desire to integrate versus deport undocumented immigrants (Gravelle, 2016). Two limitations of this study are notable; contact with undocumented immigrants was assessed crudely with a single dichotomized item. Additionally, findings hinged on participants' ability to accurately judge the nativity and documentation status of those within their social networks, a potentially problematic assumption.

Using a sample of residents of Atlanta and Philadelphia, Tropp and colleagues (2018) examined the extent to which intergroup contact with Mexican immigrants and intergroup contact with African Americans predicted whites' welcoming feelings toward immigrants. More intergroup contact with both groups in the workplace, neighborhood, and public spaces were related to greater welcoming feelings; these relationships were enhanced when interactions were rated as friendly (Tropp et al., 2018). Similarly, among a national sample of native-born whites, Berg (2009) found that those who have ethnic-racially diverse friendship networks are less prone to perceive immigrants as a threat. They were more likely to report that immigrants improve society and are beneficial to the economy and were less likely to believe they contribute to higher rates of crime and take jobs from natives (Berg, 2009). Additionally, in an unpublished study with two national samples, having more friends of color was related to more accepting attitudes toward immigrants (Ha, 2008 as reported in Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

Ha (2008) also extended the effects of intergroup contact with people of color to immigration policy preferences, finding that white Americans with more ethno-racially diverse friends favored immigrants having fewer qualifications for U.S. citizenship. However, having more friends of color did not increase support for higher levels of immigration to the U.S. (Ha, 2008 as reported in Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Ayers and colleagues (2009) also found partial support for the relationship between intergroup contact and immigration policy preferences among a sample of residents of San Diego; having more personal contact with people of color was marginally related to increased support for offering legal status to unauthorized immigrants. However, this contact had no bearing on support for increased levels of legal immigration or Mexican immigration (Ayers, Hofstetter, Schnakenberg, & Kolody, 2009). Additionally, Ellison, Shin, and Leal (2011) found that intergroup contact in the form of close friendships with Latinos was inversely associated with the desire to curtail immigration but having Latino acquaintances did not have the same effect.

Intergroup Contact and Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is universal, but there is variation in the extent to which individuals are ethnocentric. Levels of ethnocentrism tend to correspond to individuals' gender, education level, and political ideology (Meeusen, de Vroome, & Hooghe, 2013). Thus, despite being a fundamental and basic social reality, ethnocentrism may be amenable to change. As the deprovincialization hypothesis alludes, intergroup contact may be instrumental in the abatement of ethnocentrism. In the case of this study, diverse experiences resulting from contact with people of color may give whites a broader

perspective of the world, changing the way in which they perceive their ethnic group in relation to others and targeting ethnocentrism (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Bekhuis, 2010).

Few studies have examined the relationship between intergroup contact and ethnocentrism. One study found intergroup contact in the form of cross-group friendships to be predictive of reduced levels of ethnocentrism (Hooghe et al., 2014). However, less intimate forms of intergroup contact may not have the same effect; while not a direct measure of intergroup interaction, Dejaeghere, Hooghe, and Claes (2012) reported that classroom diversity had no bearing on ethnocentric attitudes. Problematically, these two studies relied on an overly simplistic operationalization of ethnocentrism—negative attitudes toward immigration and diversity—which according to conceptual and empirical analysis of ethnocentrism, are constructs external to ethnocentrism (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012). The present study examined the relationship between intergroup contact and ethnocentrism using a more theoretically developed and defensible measure of ethnocentrism.

Intergroup Contact and Intergroup Threat Perception

Empirical evidence supports that intergroup contact and intergroup threat perception are related (Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, & Christ, 2007; Verkuyten et al., 2010). Specifically, interaction with immigrants has been found to weaken the perception that immigrants represent a realistic and symbolic threat to the in-group (Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; Schmid, Hewstone, Kupper, Zick, & Tausch, 2014). Contact with people of color more generally also has been found to reduce the perception that immigrants are a threat (Berg, 2009). Notably, intergroup contact appears to have a stronger effect on intergroup attitudes than policy preferences (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

Thus, in this study, it is expected that the paths between intergroup contact and threat perception—a form of cognitive intergroup attitudes—will be stronger than those between intergroup contact and policy attitudes.

Ethnocentrism and Intergroup Threat Perception

Early ethnocentrism scholars conjectured that ethnocentrism promotes intergroup threat attitudes (Adorno et al., 1950). Similarly, Bizumic and colleagues (2009) theorized that intergroup threat perception mediates the relationship between ethnocentrism and negative out-group attitudes. The effect of ethnocentrism on perceived intergroup threat is an empirically understudied relationship (Bizumic et al., 2009). There is some evidence to suggest ethnocentrism predisposes whites to view Latino immigrants as a threat to society; Kinder and Kam (2010) found ethnocentrism to be strongly related to the view that Latino immigrants increase the tax rate, have little to offer culturally, and take jobs away from Americans. However, this study came from the discipline of political science and conceived of ethnocentrism unidimensionally, as in-group preference and operationalized it as the difference between feelings toward whites and people of color. This approach falls short of capturing the breadth of ethnocentrism.

Ethnocentrism and Immigration Policy Attitudes

Ethnocentrism is promotive of ethnic-racial favoritism and, thus, has been found to have numerous policy implications (Kinder & Kam, 2010). Higher levels of ethnocentrism promote policy preferences that are perceived to favor the interests of the in-group. Ethnocentrism appears to be a powerful force behind immigration policy attitudes; more ethnocentrism has been found to be related to greater support for decreased levels of immigration and restrictionist immigration policies (Banks, 2016;

Haubert & Fussell, 2006; Kinder & Kam, 2010; Valentino, Brader, & Jardina, 2013). However, many of these studies come from the discipline of political science and thus incur the aforementioned issues related to the operationalization of ethnocentrism.

Intergroup Threat Perception and Immigration Policy Attitudes

The relationship between intergroup threat perception and anti-immigrant and immigration attitudes is well supported (Murray & Marx, 2013; Stephan et al., 1999; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005; Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004; Willis-Esqueda, Delgado, & Pedroza, 2017). Studies have extended this scholarship to attitudes toward immigration policy, finding that, broadly, threat perception predicts support for restrictionist immigration policymaking, lower levels of immigration, and fewer immigrant rights (Newman et al., 2012; Citrin, Green, Muste, & Wong, 1997; Hood & Morris, 1997; Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016). Some evidence exists in support of symbolic threats being more predictive than economic threats of a preference for restrictive and punitive immigration policies (Buckler, Swatt, & Salinas, 2009; Citrin et al., 1997; Sides & Citrin, 2007; Sniderman et al., 2004).

Theoretical and Empirical Gaps in the Literature

In sum, the empirical evidence accumulated thus far suggests white Americans who have more intergroup interaction with immigrants and people of color have more favorable attitudes toward immigrants and perceive immigrants to be less of a threat. The studies that have examined policy attitudes suggest individuals with more inter-ethnic-racial group contact are more likely to favor integrating immigrants presently in the U.S. but are not more supportive of subsequent immigration. While the mounting evidence suggests a promising relationship between intergroup contact and attitudes toward

immigrants and immigration policies targeting those presently in the U.S., gaps in the literature remain.

First, it appears no study has examined intergroup contact as it relates to attitudes toward Latino immigrants. This represents a significant omission as Latinos are the largest immigrant group and one of the most negatively viewed (Kinder & Kam, 2010; Schachter, 2014). Furthermore, many studies have assessed intergroup contact crudely or have examined only one form of contact. Additionally, with the exception of a study by Tropp and colleagues (2018), these studies have not examined the role of intergroup contact with immigrants *and* people of color within the same sample; such findings have important intervention implications. As such, this study considers the impact of intergroup contact with both Latino immigrants and people of color. Although Latinos' nativity may not be reliably assessed in the context of casual interaction, extensive intergroup contact with Latino immigrants is assessed nonetheless. This is because it is arguably one's *perception* of the social "other" that is influential on intergroup attitudes rather than the *actual* social identity of the "other."

In this study, two forms of intergroup contact with Latino immigrants and people of color are explored, including that which is intensive or marked by closeness and that which is extensive or casual and occurring in a variety of everyday settings. Extensive contact is assessed in two broad domains—community settings and college settings. The extent and impact of intergroup interaction occurring at college is assessed for several reasons. Research suggests adolescence is a critical time for the development of social attitudes, including anti-immigrant sentiments (Miklikowska, 2017). Racial attitudes are impacted significantly by college experiences (Smith, Senter, & Strachan, 2013).

Additionally, college campuses are often more ethno-racially diverse environments than the communities from which students come, lending to newfound opportunities to engage with peers, faculty, and staff from different backgrounds (Smith et al., 2013). As such, college campuses may be important sites for the promotion of positive attitudes toward Latino immigrants and support for integrationist policymaking.

Another gap in the literature concerns theoretical explication of the factors that drive the contact effect (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). This study examines ethnocentrism as a form of provincial thinking, directly testing the deprovincialization hypothesis. Explication of why contact with Latino immigrants and people of color may influence whites' integrationist immigration policy preferences, more specifically, remains nebulous. This study is the first to merge the deprovincialization hypothesis of ICT and the Latino threat narrative to explain the relationship between intergroup contact and immigration policy attitudes. It heeds the call of Pettigrew and Tropp to link intergroup contact with policy, adding to the small body of literature on intergroup contact that considers policy attitudes.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study seeks to answer the following research questions guided by theory-driven hypotheses:

Q_1: Among U.S.-born white college students, are (a) intensive, (b) college, and (c) community intergroup contact related to Latino immigrant threat attitudes? *H_1:* Intensive, college, and community intergroup contact will be associated with less Latino immigrant threat attitudes.

Q_2: Among U.S.-born white college students, are (a) intensive, (b) college, and (c) community intergroup contact indirectly related to Latino immigrant threat attitudes via ethnocentrism? *H_2:* More intensive, college, and community intergroup contact will be indirectly related to less Latino immigrant threat attitudes via less ethnocentrism.

Q_3: Among U.S.-born white college students, are (a) intensive, (b) college, and (c) community intergroup contact related to immigration policy attitudes? *H_3:* More intensive, college, and community intergroup contact will be associated with more integrationist immigration policy attitudes.

Q_4: Among U.S.-born white college students, is ethnocentrism related to integrationist immigration policy attitudes? *H_4:* Less ethnocentrism will be associated with more integrationist immigration policy attitudes.

Q_5: Among U.S.-born white college students, are (a) intensive, (b) college, and (c) community intergroup contact indirectly related to integrationist immigration policy attitudes via a serial pathway of ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes? *H_5:* More intensive, college, and community intergroup contact will be indirectly related to more integrationist immigration policy attitudes via a serial pathway of less ethnocentrism and less Latino immigrant threat attitudes.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

To test this study's theory-based hypotheses, a quantitative methodology was employed. Data were collected and analyzed with inferential statistics to provide supporting or disconfirming evidence for study hypotheses. Using a cross-sectional survey design, data were collected from participants at one point in time. Participants self-selected into the study, making the sample a non-probabilistic convenience sample, which is common for research in its early stages, as is the case with the present study (Singleton & Straits, 2005). Findings from this study represent initial evidence of forces that may directly or indirectly shape attitudes toward Latino immigrants and integrationist immigration policymaking but do not indicate causality.

Procedure

The survey was administered to students at a large public university in the southwest for a four-week period in the Spring of 2018. Students across degree programs and disciplines were invited to participate. Participants were recruited for study participation using several methods and platforms. A university-wide study announcement was posted on the university's student portal. The recruitment letter (see Appendix A) and survey link were also broadcasted through student listservs, student associations, and course instructors. Eligibility criteria to participate in the survey included being 18 years or older and being a current university student. Participants took the survey online through Qualtrics on their personal computers. IP addresses were tracked to prevent multiple submissions from the same participant.

Institutional review board approval was obtained for this study. In accordance with protocol, informed consent was obtained from study participants (see Appendix B), after a brief description of the study. Participants were informed that responses would remain confidential and data and findings would be reported only in the aggregate. They were informed that survey participation would not be anonymous if they chose to provide their email address for entry into the raffle; however, this information would remain confidential and not be shared and email addresses could not be linked to survey responses. Participants were instructed that their participation was optional and could be terminated at any point. They were encouraged to complete the survey honestly. Following this, participants were notified that informed consent was given by clicking on the link to the full survey.

Participants were guided through the survey domains, including: intensive intergroup contact with Latino immigrants and people of color (see Appendix C), extensive intergroup community and college contact with Latino immigrants and people of color (see Appendix D), Latino immigrant threat attitudes (see Appendix E), and immigration policy attitudes (see Appendix F). Additionally, because this study is part of a larger study on intergroup relations, a split survey was used in which participants either received the ethnocentrism domain (see Appendix G) or a social empathy domain (see Appendix H). The ethnocentrism domain was administered during the first two weeks, and the social empathy domain was administered in the latter half of the data collection period. Social empathy was not used in the present study but will be used in forthcoming research. Survey domains were intentionally sequenced to avoid biasing participant responses. For example, participants' friendship networks were elicited before the Latino

immigrant threat attitudes domain so as to avoid selective recall and reporting of Latino immigrant friends. Participants were permitted to skip survey items but not to move back and forth between survey sections. Participants had the option of being entered into a raffle to win one of four $75 Amazon e-gift cards if they chose to provide an email address.

Data were collected from individuals who self-identified with any ethnic-racial group(s) and who were from any country of origin. However, the analytic sample for this study was restricted to U.S.-born white adult college students for several reasons. Whites represent approximately 61% of the U.S. population and a disproportionate share (3 in 4) of the electorate (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017; U.S. Elections Project, 2017). Because this population holds more social and political influence, it is critical to understand forces that sway their attitudes. Finally, relationships among study constructs would be expected to be different based on minority versus majority group membership. For example, among Latinos, ethnocentrism has been found to have an opposite effect on immigration policy attitudes (Kinder & Kam, 2010). That is, the more ethnocentric Latinos are, the more favorable they are toward integrationist immigration policymaking. Furthermore, the strength of the relationship between ethnocentrism and immigration policy attitudes has been found to be stronger for Latinos than whites (Kinder & Kam, 2010).

Scale Development and Initial Validation

Two new instruments were developed for the purpose of this study as no psychometrically developed multi-item scale currently exists to asses Latino immigrant threat attitudes and immigration policy attitudes. Each scale was developed and initially validated following a three-stage process exploring and testing the factor structure and

soundness of psychometric properties. In Stage 1, an item pool was first developed to assess the construct of interest; then, using a scale development sample, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to identify conceptually meaningful factor structures. Using a scale calibration sample is Stage 2, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was employed to evaluate the factor structure identified in Stage 1 as the best fit to the data and most conceptually meaningful. In Stage 3—using a scale validation sample—cross-validating CFA was conducted to assess if the final factor structure from Stage 2 held in a separate sample. The EFA followed by CFA approach follows the recommendations of Worthington and Whittaker (2006) and is the most common method of scale development.

Participants

Participants included in the scale development and initial validation phase of the study self-identified as U.S.-born whites and reported being a current college student age 18 or older. Seventy-nine participants with missing data across all Latino immigrant threat attitudes and immigration policy attitudes items were omitted from analysis, yielding an analytic sample of 958 participants. Using the random split function in SPSS v. 23, participants were randomly assigned into the development, calibration, or validation sample. This triadic split yielded 319 participants in the development sample, 319 participants in the calibration sample, and 320 participants in the validation sample. This sample size exceeded the minimum recommended ratios of 10 to 15 participants per item for factor analysis (Bryant & Yarnold, 1995; Pett, Lackey, & Sulivan, 2003). It also met the recommended minimum of 150 participants for solution with several high factor loadings (>.80; Guadagnoli & Velicer, 1988; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), as well as the

more generic recommended minimum of 300 participants (Comrey & Lee, 1992; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). Additionally, prior to employing EFA in Stage 1, the sufficiency of the sample size was determined empirically through the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.

Table 1 provides a summary of participant socio-demographics for the development, calibration, and validation samples. Across all three samples, the majority of participants were female, online students, from an urban or suburban area, and leaned liberal. A plurality were upper-level undergraduate students.

Table 1

Sample Demographics: Development, Calibration, and Validation Samples

	Sample 1: Development (n = 319)		Sample 2: Calibration (n = 319)		Sample 3: Validation (n = 320)	
	f	*%*	*f*	*%*	*f*	*%*
Female	256	80.30	249	78.30	233	72.81
Level of education						
Freshman	41	12.85	60	18.81	53	16.83
Sophomore	51	15.99	42	13.17	47	14.92
Junior	89	27.90	93	29.15	93	29.52
Senior	67	21.00	62	19.44	61	19.36
Graduate student	61	19.12	52	16.30	59	18.73
Online student	180	56.43	180	56.43	179	55.94
Full time student	251	78.68	242	75.86	236	73.75
Reside on campus	35	10.97	41	12.85	29	9.06
Type of locality						
Urban area	76	23.82	99	31.03	77	24.06
Suburban area	170	53.29	156	48.90	175	54.69
Small town	50	15.67	42	13.17	46	14.38
Rural area	23	7.21	22	6.90	22	6.88
Foreign-born parent(s)	22	6.89	28	8.78	18	5.64
Political ideology						
Extremely liberal	20	6.27	23	7.21	28	8.75
Liberal	80	25.08	79	24.76	70	21.88
Slightly liberal	48	15.05	48	15.05	55	17.19
Moderate	95	29.78	97	30.41	79	24.69
Slightly conservative	40	12.54	40	12.54	36	11.25
Conservative	29	9.09	27	8.46	43	13.44
Extremely conservative	7	2.19	5	1.57	9	2.81
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Political ideology (1-6)	3.53	1.48	3.48	1.46	3.59	1.61
Age	27.37	9.00	26.39	8.42	27.00	8.57

Data Screening

Following triadic split of the data, data were screened for univariate outliers using *z*-scores. *Z*-scores outside +/- 3.29 indicated potential univariate outliers. Multivariate outliers were screened for using Mahalanobis distance scores. Scores greater than the critical chi-square value based on degrees of freedom (based on the number of scale items) and $p < .001$ indicated potential multivariate outliers. In each sample, potential univariate and multivariate outliers were detected, but closer inspection indicated all scores were legitimate observations and not drastically different from other cases. Thus, all cases were preserved. The distributional properties of scale items were also explored through examination of standardized kurtosis and skewness values. According to Kline (2005), kurtosis is not considered to be "severe" until standardized values are outside +/-10. Potentially consequential skewness values are those outside +/-3 (Kline, 2005). Some univariate non-normality, although not severe, was detected in each sample based on standardized kurtosis and skewness values. Thus, a robust maximum likelihood method of estimation (MLR) was used across scale development and validation analyses.

Latino Immigrant Threat Attitudes Item Development

For the measure of Latino immigrant threat attitudes, the initial pool of items was written based on a review of the literature on intergroup threat perception and existing measures used to assess the construct. Some items were adapted from previous multi-item measures of intergroup threat perception, including a perceived cultural threat scale (Chiricos, Stupi, Stults, & Gertz, 2014), realistic and symbolic threat scales (Stephan et al., 1999), the Threats-Benefits Inventory (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016), and the Negative Attitude Toward Immigrants Scale (Varela, Gonzalez, Clark, Cramer, & Crosby

2013; see Table 2). Other items were adapted from nationally representative polls assessing public opinion on Latino immigrants or a related population, including polls from The German Marshall Fund (Wunderlich, Ziebarth, Gustin, Isernia, Diehl, & Martin, 2008), Gallup News Service (Jones & Saad, 2017), and Latino Decisions (Barreto, Manzano, & Segura, 2012). Salient themes of public discourse on Latino immigrants as represented in the Latino threat narrative (Chavez, 2013), were used to guide item selection and adaptation.

The initial pool of items was submitted for expert review. Feedback on face validity and clarity was solicited from a psychology researcher with expertise in the area of intergroup relations and Latino immigrants. All items were determined to have face validity, but based on expert review, several items were amended to be similarly valanced. This methodological decision is supported by research suggesting reverse wording is an ineffective method of preventing response bias and may actually promote respondent confusion (Swain, Weathers, & Niedrich, 2008; Suárez-Alvarez, Pedrosa, Lozano Fernández, García-Cueto, Cuesta, & Muñiz, 2018; Weijters, Baumgartner, & Schillewaert, 2013). Research also suggests reverse-worded items may inflate the number of dimensions underlying scale items merely as an artifact of wording (Suárez-Alvarez et al., 2018).

The pool of items administered to participants consisted of 20 items. Items were thought to represent two important dimensions of intergroup threat perception—realistic and symbolic threat—discussed in the integrated threat theory (Stephan et al., 1999), which overlays onto the Latino threat narrative. Realistic threats are perceived physical and economic threats based on perceived intrusion of an alien group. Physical threats

derive from the perception that Latino immigrants harm the in-group's security and safety. Economic threats stem from the perception that Latino immigrants compromise the in-group's dominance over resources, including jobs and social services. They derive from the value of security and power (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016). Symbolic threats can be summarized as the belief that the worldview and traditional way of life of the in-group is compromised as a result of foreign group intrusion. This group of threats are perceived to compromise social cohesion as a result of a new group's divergent customs and norms. Symbolic threats derive from the value of traditionalism and conformity (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016).

Table 2

Item Pool for Latino Immigrant Threat Attitudes Scale

Item	Adapted from	Source
1. Latino immigrants undermine the common bond of American national identity.	Perceived cultural threat scale	Chiricos et al. (2014)
2. Latino immigrants are a burden on social services.	Immigration Policy Questionnaire	Tartakovsky & Walsh (2016)
3. Latino immigrants damage the social fabric of America.	Perceived cultural threat scale	Chiricos et al. (2014)
4. Latino immigrants care more about their native country than they do about America.	Perceived cultural threat scale	Chiricos et al. (2014)
5. Latino immigrants get more from the U.S. than they contribute.	Realistic threat scale	Stephan et al. (1999)
6. Latino immigrants increase the tax burden on Americans.	Realistic threat scale	Stephan et al. (1999)
7. Latino immigrants have no regard for law and order.	Original item	--
8. Latino immigrants do not share the core values of America.	Perceived cultural threat scale	Chiricos et al. (2014)
9. Latino immigrants take jobs away from American workers.	Realistic threat scale	Stephan et al. (1999)
10. Social services are less available to Americans because of immigration from Latin America.	Realistic threat scale	Stephan et al. (1999)
11. Latino immigrants are unwilling to learn the English language.	Public opinion poll	Barreto, Manzano, & Segura (2012)
12. Immigration from Latin America negatively impacts public education for American children.	Immigration Policy Questionnaire	Tartakovsky & Walsh (2016)
13. Latino immigrants increase crime in the U.S.	Public opinion poll	Wunderlich et al. (2008)
14. The values and beliefs of Latino immigrants are very different from those of most Americans.	Symbolic threat scale	Stephan et al. (1999)
15. Immigration from Latin America represents a national security threat.	Negative Attitude Toward Immigrants Scale	Varela et al. (2013)
16. Latino immigrants drive down wages for American workers.	Public opinion poll	Jones & Saad (2017)
17. Latino immigrants are not assimilating into American culture.	Public opinion poll	Wunderlich et al. (2008)
18. Latino immigrants negatively affect the U.S. economy.	Public opinion poll	Jones & Saad (2017)
19. Immigration from Latin America is undermining American culture.	Symbolic threat scale	Stephan et al. (1999)
20. Most Latino immigrants are here illegally.	Public opinion poll	Wunderlich et al. (2008)

Immigration Policy Attitudes Item Development

For the immigration policy attitudes measure, the pool of items was developed to represent pro-immigrant policies that have recently been passed or considered at the federal, state, and local levels. Policies were selected for inclusion based on Gulasekaram and Ramakrishnan's (2015) analysis of integrationist social policies proposed or enacted in the U.S. at federal and subfederal levels (see Table 3). All items pertained to the social integration of undocumented immigrants, which is one of the most marginalized populations in the U.S. as a result of lacking full civic, legal, and political benefits and rights. Two items elicited participants' level of support for or opposition to federal policies. An additional four items elicited extent of support for or opposition to state-level integrationist policies, and three items elicited level of support for or opposition to three local-level policies.

Evidence suggests the framing of immigrants in policy discussions heavily influences support for or opposition to specific policies. Framing immigrants as "illegal" as opposed to "undocumented" or "unauthorized" yields more oppositional attitudes (Haynes, Merolla, & Ramakrishnan, 2016). Likewise, framing a policy as amnesty rather than opportunities for or extension of legal status produces a higher level of opposition (Haynes et al., 2016). A blend of more and less favorable frames was adopted so as to avoid biasing participants heavily in one direction. Similar to Wright, Levy, and Citrin (2016), "amnesty" framing was not used in the federal policymaking items; the illegality framing was employed across items, however. The pool of nine items administered to participants were similarly valanced for the aforementioned methodological reasons.

Table 3

Item Pool for Immigration Policy Attitudes Scale

Item
How much would you support or oppose a *federal* policy…
1. That would allow immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to apply for legal status and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, as long as they meet certain requirements?
2. Like the DREAM Act that would allow immigrants brought to the U.S. illegally as children to apply for legal status and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, as long as they meet certain requirements?
How much would you support or oppose a *state* policy that would allow…
3. Immigrant children living in the U.S. illegally to qualify for public health insurance.
4. Immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to obtain a state driver's license?
5. Immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to qualify for in-state college tuition, as long as they meet certain requirements like having a high school diploma from that state?
6. Pregnant immigrant women living in the U.S. illegally to qualify for public health insurance for prenatal care?
How much would you support or oppose a *local* policy that would…
7. Prohibit city resources from being used to investigate immigration status and detain and deport immigrants living in the U.S. illegally?
8. Allow immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to obtain a city photo identification card?
9. Allow immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to vote in local elections?

Stage 1 Analytic Plan

To understand the underlying factors that lead to correlations among scale items, EFA was conducted in Mplus version 7.4 using the development sample (n = 319). An iterative process was used to assesses the number of constructs and underlying factor structure of the measure and to refine the item pool.

Assumptions testing. Several assumptions of EFA were examined prior to conducting the analysis, including that there are patterned relationships among scale items, an absence of multicollinearity and singularity, and that the sample is adequate. To assess the first assumption, bivariate correlations of scale items were examined to ensure items were not too weakly related, which would indicate a lack of pattered relationships; items correlated <.30 were eliminated (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Bartlett's test of sphericity was then examined to test item intercorrelations; a significant test ($p < .05$) was evidence of patterned relationships among scale items (Yong & Pearce, 2013).

Multicollinearity and singularity were assessed via examination of bivariate correlations between items. Items with multiple bivariate correlations $\geq$.80 were considered too highly correlated and were eliminated. Next, determinant scores (desired threshold: >.00001; Yong & Pearce, 2013), condition index values (desired threshold: <30; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), and variance inflation factor (VIF) scores (desired threshold: $\leq$10; Kline, 2005) were examined, which assess for multicollinearity.

To determine sampling adequacy, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and the diagonal elements of the anti-correlation matrix were inspected. Values represent the proportion of variance among scale items that may be common variance; values >.50 suggest distinct, reliable factors can be ascertained through factor analysis with the current sample size and scale items (Yong & Pearce, 2013). Values above this threshold indicate the sample is large enough and data are sufficient for factor analysis.

Factor extraction. Three empirical tools and interpretability were considered to determine the best number of latent factors to extract that would capture the greatest amount of variance while balancing model parsimony and conceptual clarity. First, the scree plot was visually inspected, looking for the point at which the line drawn through the plotted eigenvalues flattened (i.e., the elbow; Cattell, 1978). The number of factors suggested by the scree plot was the number of factors that preceded the elbow. Using the scree plot to help determine the number of factors to retain is considered superior to

retaining factors based on eigenvalues being >1 (Zwick & Velicer, 1986). Based on the assumption that the sample approximated a continuous normal distribution, a parallel analysis was conducted via O'Connor's SPSS Program (O'Connor, 2000). Parallel analysis compares the eigenvalues from the actual data to those generated from random data. The number of factors suggested by the parallel analysis was the number of eigenvalues for the actual data that exceed the mean eigenvalues for the random data. Velicer's revised Minimum Average Partial (MAP) test using O'Connor's SPSS Program was also conducted (O'Connor, 2000; Velicer, Eaton, & Fava, 2000). The revised MAP test sequentially assessed extracted components to determine if proportionally more of its variance was common factor or unique variance. When all common variance was eliminated, the mean squared partial correlations increased. The number of factors suggested by the revised MAP test was that with the lowest 4^{th} power average partial correlations. When the three empirical tools diverged on the number of factors suitable to retain, multiple solutions were examined.

Estimation and interpretation. After determining the number of factors to specify, EFA with robust maximum likelihood parameter estimation (MLR) was conducted in Mplus v. 7.4. MLR is optimal for continuous data with some non-normality. Estimates are identical to those produced by the maximum likelihood (ML) estimator, but the chi-square test statistic and standard errors are corrected to the degree the data are non-normal (Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999; Kline, 2012). Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) was used to handle missing data. FIML is considered a state-of-the-art technique for analysis of data with some missingness (Schafer & Graham, 2002). FIML takes into account the conditions under which data are

missing, offering less biased parameter estimates (Dong & Peng, 2013). It optimally uses all available information to estimate model parameters and standard errors based on values from other pieces of information, such as variable means and variances (Wothke, 2000). Missing data in the development sample was minimal; the proportion of missing data ranged from .00 to .019.

Geomin rotation was employed to achieve simple structure of factor loadings. When each factor defines a distinct grouping of variables simple structure is achieved, which yields easier interpretation (Cattell, 1973). This oblique method of rotation was selected *a priori*, as factors were anticipated to be correlated in both scales, as is characteristic of attitudinal constructs in social science research (Costello & Osborne, 2005). The pattern matrix with factor loadings, item communalities, and factor correlation matrix were evaluated for each scale. The factor loading cut-point used to determine items to retain on the factors was $\geq$.32 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001), which indicated the item shared 10% of its variance with other items in the factor (Costello & Osborne, 2005). The communality for each item should be greater than .20 (Child, 2006), which indicated that at least 20% of the item variance was predicted by the factor and was thus *common* variance rather than unique (i.e., error or specific) variance (Yong & Pearce, 2013). The strength of factor correlations was examined to empirically confirm that factors were indeed correlated, justifying geomin rotation and the modeling of correlated factors in Stages 2 and 3.

Stage 2 Analytic Plan

Model specification. CFA was used to examine the factorial validity of the hypothesized model relating constructs to measures. In addition to testing the final model

that emerged in Stage 1, competing models were tested. Alternative models were specified *a priori* based on the number of factors suggested in Stage 1, relevant theory, and considerations of parsimony. Analyses were carried out in Mplus version 7.4 using the calibration sample (n = 319). The method of estimation was MLR. FIML was used to handle missing data; the proportion of missing data ranged from .00 to .019. The metric of each factor was set by fixing the first factor loading to one.

Model evaluation. The final model retained in Stage 2 was that which was conceptually meaningful and had the best global and local model fit. Global model fit was assessed using several criteria following the recommendations of Kline (2005) and Hu and Bentler (1998) to evaluate fit indices with different measurement properties. The chi-square test of exact fit was evaluated, which tests the null hypothesis that the reproduced covariance matrix fits the data perfectly; a non-significant chi-square (p >.05) indicates good model fit. This test statistic is sensitive to sample size and should be interpreted with caution as it is likely to be significant with large sample sizes when only a trivial lack of fit is present (Bentler & Bonett, 1980). Accordingly, other goodness-of-fit indices not sensitive to sample size were also evaluated, including the comparative fit index (CFI; cut off value for good fit: ≥.90) which is an incremental fit index (Bentler, 1990). The root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) along with its related 90% confidence interval was also examined (cut off value for good fit: ≤.08) which is a parsimony-adjusted index (Browne & Kudeck, 1993; MacCullum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996). Finally, the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) was inspected (cut off value for good fit: ≤.08) which is a residuals-based fit index (Hu & Bentler, 1999). For comparison of competing models that were nested, a chi-square difference test using

the Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square was used; a chi-square difference value that exceeded the critical chi-square value based on the difference in degrees of freedom indicated a statistically significant loss of model fit.

Local fit within the model was assessed by inspection of the magnitude, direction, and statistical significance ($p < .05$) of factor loadings. The squared multiple correlation coefficients (i.e., communalities) were examined as an indication of the proportion of item variance accounted for by the common factor (Cabrera-Nguyen, 2010). Larger values were preferred as they suggested the model did a better job explaining item variance.

Model respecification. Modification indices were examined to assess for model misspecification. Modification index (M.I.) values were examined as an indication of the extent to which the chi-square value would reduce if a specific parameter were freely estimated. Expected parameter change (E.P.C.) values were assessed in conjunction with these values as an estimation of the size of the parameter estimate. Post hoc model respecification was only considered if justified theoretically or conceptually (e.g., covarying errors that are a product of similar item wording) so as not to capitalize on chance variation in the sample. Any respecifications were considered tentative until cross-validated in the validation sample (MacCallum, 1986).

Stage 3 Analytic Plan

To cross-validate the final factor structure from Stage 2, CFA was used with a unique validation sample ($n = 320$). The analysis was conducted in Mplus version 7.4. The method of estimation used was MLR, and FIML was used to handle missing data. The proportion of missing data was low and ranged from .00 to .009. The metric of each

factor was set by fixing the first loading on each factor to one. The model evaluation techniques and global and local model fit criteria discussed in Stage 2 were used in Stage 3.

Full Latent Variable Modeling

Structural equation modeling (SEM) was used to test study hypotheses as this analytic method is optimal for research questions involving indirect effects. SEM is an optimal technique for evaluating indirect effect models given its ability to model simultaneous equations and treat constructs as both independent and dependent variables; this allows for the production and evaluation of direct effects as well as indirect effects of one variable on another by way of a third variable (Hoyle, 2012). SEM is also ideal for this study as it is adept at handling multiple linking variables hypothesized to occur in sequence—known as serial mediation[5] (Stride, Gardner, Catley, & Thomas, 2015).

SEM also allows for the modeling of measurement error. The advantage of this is that imperfect measurement of constructs is recognized and statistically accounted for, producing less biased estimates in the structural portion of the model (Bowen & Guo, 2011). Latent variable modeling is particularly desirable for attitudinal constructs that are not directly observable making measurement complex and imperfect, as is the case in the present study.

[5] Although the methodological literature uses the phrase "serial mediation," the phrase "serial indirect effects" will be used in the present study so as to avoid the language of causation. Furthermore, ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes are referred to as "linking" rather than "mediating" variables.

Participants

Due to the use of a split survey, 250 participants received the social empathy survey domain rather than the ethnocentrism domain. Only those participants who were administered the ethnocentrism domain were included in the full latent variable models. The analytic sample with which study hypotheses were tested was 708 participants, which exceeds Comrey and Lee's (1992) threshold of 500 for a very good sample size for SEM. These participants self-identified as U.S.-born white and reported being a current college student age 18 or older. The majority of participants were female (76.55%), online students (59.60%), and from an urban or suburban area (77.40%). A plurality were upper level undergraduate students (47.18%). On average, participants leaned liberal (M = 3.55, SD = 1.54), and the mean age was 27.51 (SD = 9.15). See Table 4 for full sample demographics.

Table 4

Full Sample Demographics

Variable	*f*	*%*
Female	542	76.55
Level of education		
Freshman	116	16.38
Sophomore	103	14.55
Junior	190	26.84
Senior	144	20.34
Graduate student	137	19.35
Online student	422	59.60
Full time student	523	73.87
Reside on campus	71	10.03
Type of locality		
Urban area	192	27.12
Suburban area	356	50.28
Small town	109	15.40
Rural area	51	7.20
Foreign-born parent(s)	49	6.92
First generation college student	291	41.10
Political ideology		
Extremely liberal	54	7.63
Liberal	167	23.59
Slightly liberal	115	16.24
Moderate	190	26.84
Slightly conservative	86	12.15
Conservative	82	11.58
Extremely conservative	14	1.98
	M	*SD*
Political ideology (1-6)	3.55	1.54
Age	27.51	9.15

Measurement and Statistical Treatment of Study Variables

Intensive intergroup contact. The main predictor variable in this study was intergroup contact. Two forms of intergroup contact were assessed: intensive contact and extensive contact. Intensive contact emphasizes the intensity or quality of intergroup contact, whereas extensive contact emphasizes the extensiveness or quantity of contact. Extensive contact is a more casual and less intimate form of intergroup interaction that occurs in a variety of settings.

The promising effects of intergroup contact experiences marked by intimacy on intergroup attitudes have led to growing interest in the role of cross-group friendships (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). In this study, the composition of participants' friendship network was assessed using the network approach, also known as the name generator approach (Smith, 2002). An adaptation of the wording used by the Kinder Houston Area Survey and Pew Research Center was used. Similar to Bohmert and DeMaris (2015), participants were asked to nominate six of their closest friends and list the initials of each alter. They then indicated the ethnic-racial group(s) and nativity of each alter, as well as perceived closeness with each alter, following the method of Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997). Closeness, as a measure of relationship quality, was captured using the Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (IOS Scale; Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992). This single item measure was used in intergroup friendships study and depicts seven sets of circles- one representing the self and the other representing the alter- with an increasing degree of overlap. Participants were asked to select the set of circles that best represents their relationship with the alter; greater overlap indicates greater perceived

closeness. The IOS scale is highly correlated with other longer measures of closeness and has good test-retest reliability (Aron et al., 1992).

The friendship nomination approach has been shown to be less biased by social desirability relative to asking participants to indicate the number of friends of color they have or the proportion of friends than are non-white; the latter is the more popular route as it is less time-intensive for participants but can drive them to inflate the number of cross-group friendships and intimacy so as to appear more tolerant (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Davies, Tropp, et al., 2011; Smith, 2002). A potential limitation of this method can be that the total number of close friends is underreported given the effort involved in recalling, naming, and describing each (Smith, 2002). Thus, in this study, if participants proceeded to the next survey section without specifying six alters, a message appeared reminding but not requiring participants to populate all lines before proceeding. This may have led participants to volunteer more friends than they truly identify as *close* friends as the question asked; however, the intimacy qualifier (i.e., IOS Scale) offset this. To further minimize self-presentation bias in this study, the name generator portion was positioned at the beginning of the survey tool (Smith, 2002).

Close intergroup contact is not limited to friendships and can also come in the way of romantic partners (Levin et al., 2007) and family members as a result of marriage or adoption (Soliz & Harwood, 2003). Thus, cross-group significant others and relatives were assessed. If the participant had a significant other, his/her ethnic-racial group and nativity was obtained as well as perceived closeness. Participants were then asked if they had relatives from an ethnic-racial group other than that with which they identify. As with the name generator portion of the survey, the initials of each relative were elicited

(maximum of six); participants indicated the alters' ethnic-racial group, nativity, and perceived closeness.

The intensive contact variables were treated as indices made up of summed closeness scores with friends, a significant other, and relatives who were Latino immigrants (i.e., Model 1) or people of color more generally (i.e., Model 2). Rather than treating the variable as a raw count of close intergroup relationships, this measurement approach weights relationships by quality of contact or closeness. Each intergroup relationship in the category of friends, significant other, and relatives was rated on a closeness scale (i.e., IOS scale) of 1 to 7; these closeness scores were summed for a total index representing intensive intergroup contact. An intensive contact score of 0 indicated no reported close friends, significant other, or relatives who were Latino immigrants or people of color. The upper bound of the intensive contact variable was 91, indicating all six close friends, a significant other, and six relatives were reported to be Latino immigrants or people of color and the highest level of closeness was reported with each (i.e., 13 intergroup alters each rated 7 on the closeness scale = 91).

Extensive intergroup contact. Neglecting to capture intergroup contact beyond that which is marked by closeness risks underestimating influential intergroup ties (Smith, 2002). Comprehensive assessment of intergroup contact is a limitation of the intergroup contact literature. Many studies have measured contact crudely, using an overly simplistic single-item approach (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This approach relies on individuals' ability to recall the array of settings they find themselves in and analyze the demographic make-up of each before offering a single-response summary of this information. This task is cognitively taxing and likely to result in inaccurate reports of

intergroup contact. Thus, this study assessed extensive contact by way of eliciting extent of interaction in each of a variety of common settings. Intergroup interaction in community and college settings with individuals perceived to be Latino immigrants and people of color was captured.

For intergroup contact at college, participants reported the extent of intergroup interaction they had in: classes, on-campus workplace(s), Greek life, sports teams or activities, student clubs or organizations, and, if they lived on campus, in the dorm and with dormmates. This was a modified set of settings used by Schofield, Hausmann, Ye, and Woods (2010). All items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 = *None* to 5 = *A great deal*. Participants were given the option of *Does not apply* which was coded as 0, representing no contact in that arena. Intergroup contact with individuals perceived to be Latino immigrants and people of color were reported separately. For each referent group, items were summed to create an index of extensive college contact. Each index ranged from 0 to 28, with higher scores indicating more intergroup contact at college.

Representing intergroup contact in the community, participants reported the extent of intergroup interaction they had in a number of community settings. Building on the Racial Composition subscale of the Racism and Life Experience Scales (Harrell, 1997), settings included: off-campus workplace(s), internship, place of worship, organizations or groups of which they are a part, dating scene, and, if they lived off campus, their neighborhood and with roommates. As with college contact, a 5-point Likert-type scale was used ranging from 0 = *None* to 5 = *A great deal*, with *Does not apply* coded as 0. For each referent group, items were summed to create an index of

community contact. Each index ranging from 0 to 24, with higher scores indicating more intergroup contact in the community.

Ethnocentrism. To assess ethnocentrism, the abbreviated 36-item version of the Ethnocentrism Scale was used (Bizumic, Kenny, Iyer, Tanuwira, & Huxley, 2017; see Bizumic et al., 2009 for development of full scale). Excluding two *intra*group ethnocentrism subscales, only the four *inter*group ethnocentrism subscales were used, including: (a) preference, (b) superiority, (c) purity, and (d) exploitativeness. An example item from each subscale is: "In most cases, I like people from my culture more than I like others." (preference); "The world would be a much better place if all other cultures and ethnic groups modeled themselves on my culture." (superiority); "I like the idea of a society in which people from completely different cultures, ethnic groups, and backgrounds mix together freely." (purity); "We should always put our interests first and not be oversensitive about the interests of other cultures or ethnic groups." (exploitativenss). Half of the items in each scale were reverse worded.

The protocol suggested by scale developers specified a priming question asking participants to indicate the "ethnic group" with which they most identify. Given the U.S. context, the term "ethnic-racial group" was employed, and the following close-ended response options were provided: Latino/Hispanic/Chicano, White/Caucasian, Black/African American, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian/Asian American, Middle Eastern/Middle Eastern American, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. This initial scale question is designed to make participants' white identity salient as they answer scale items related to their "culture" and "ethnic group," rather than a national heritage group such as Italian or Irish. For each of the four subscales, a 9-point Likert-

type scale was used, ranging from *Very strongly disagree* to *Very strongly agree*. Items were coded such that higher values represented more ethnocentrism (a = .94).

Ethnocentrism was treated as a latent variable in the statistical models. A second-order factor model was used; six indicators made up each of the four dimensions, and each of the four dimensions made up the dimension of intergroup ethnocentrism (here forth referred to as ethnocentrism for brevity). As such, ethnocentrism was the construct from which and to which structural paths were run. In scale development (Bizumic et al., 2009), model fit for the second-order factor model was roughly equivalent to a four correlated factors model, making which measurement model to use a theoretical rather than empirical decision. For this study, research questions and hypotheses concerned ethnocentrism as a whole, not its individual subparts.

Latino immigrant threat attitudes. To measure Latino immigrant threat attitudes, the Latino Immigrant Threat Attitudes Scale was developed and initially validated for use in the full latent variable models. The scale was comprised of 12 items that represent various threats that may be perceived to emanate from Latino immigrants. An example item is, "Latino immigrants get more from the U.S. than they contribute." Responses were assessed via a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* to *Strongly agree*; higher scores indicated more threat perception (a = .96). Latino immigrant threat attitudes was treated as a unidimensional latent variable in the statistical models.

Immigration policy attitudes. The primary outcome in this study was attitudes toward integrationist immigration policy as it relates to immigrants presently in the U.S. without authorization. Attitudes toward the extension of pathways to legal status and

rights and benefits to immigrants who lack legal status was assessed via the Immigration Policy Attitudes Scale (see scale development and initial validation phase). The scale was composed of seven items asking about level of support for or opposition to various policies targeting unauthorized immigrants presently in the U.S. See scale development and initial validation phase for a full list of policies included in the measure. Items were responded to on a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from *Very strongly oppose* to *Very strongly support*. The scale was bidimensional with five items making up the Support for Immigrant Rights and Benefits subscale (a = .91). Two items made up the Support for Pathways to Legal Status subscale (a = .83). For each subscale, higher scores reflected more support for integrationist immigration policymaking. Statistically, immigration policy attitudes was modeled as a two correlated factors model.

Controls. Several variables were used as controls across all statistical models, including: gender (dichotomous), age (continuous), locality (dummy coded: urban, suburban, town, rural), political ideology (Likert-type scale: 1 = Extremely liberal to 7 = Extremely conservative), and socioeconomic status growing up (dummy coded parents' highest level of education as a proxy: no high school diploma, high school diploma/GED, some college, college degree). These control variables were selected given supported or probable relationship with ethnocentrism, Latino immigrant threat attitudes, and/or and immigration policy attitudes (Fischer, 2011; McClelland & Linnander, 2006; Smith et al., 2013). In Models 1a-1e, intergroup contact with Latino immigrants growing up was also used as a statistical control; in Models 2a-2e, intergroup contact with people of color growing up was used (Likert-type scale: 1 = *None* to 5 = *A great deal*). Furthermore, for consistency, intensive, community, and college intergroup contact with people of color

was used as a control in Models 1d and 2d. These controls were held constant in all regression paths so as to better isolate the effects of the independent variables of interest.

Analytic Plan

Before carrying out the main study analyses, the data were screened, and assumptions were tested. Data were screened for univariate and multivariate outliers and univariate normality using the procedures discussed in the scale development and validation phase of the study. Potential univariate and multivariate outliers were detected in each sample; case-by-case inspection revealed all scores were within appropriate ranges and not drastically different from other cases. All cases were retained. Based on standardized kurtosis and skewness values and the thresholds discussed earlier, minimal univariate non-normality was detected among some of the study variables. Only one variable—intensive contact with Latino immigrants—was more severely skewed and kurtotic. However, univariate normality of independent variables is not an assumption of regression analysis, so no transformations of the variable were conducted.

The regression assumption that residuals are multivariate normal was also examined. Because dependent variables in the model were latent, the distributional properties of the residuals were examined after fitting measurement models and by saving factor scores and importing them back into SPSS v. 23. Regression analyses were conducted, and Q-Q plots were inspected. Some non-normality of residuals was found in some of the regression relationships. Accordingly, a robust maximum likelihood method of estimation (i.e., MLR), which is robust to deviations from the normality assumption, was used to estimate the models.

Analyses were conducted in Mplus version 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 2010). A sequence of models was estimated to test study hypotheses and build up to the two full conceptual models testing the serial indirect effects. An identical series of models was tested for intergroup contact with each referent group (i.e., Latino immigrants and people of color). Model 1 assessed the effects of intergroup contact with *Latino immigrants*. Model 2 assessed the effects of intergroup contact with *people of color*. Intergroup contact with Latino immigrants and people of color were examined through separate models for conceptual clarity and because of overlap in the variables; Latino immigrant friends was a subset of friends of color.

Across all models, the method of parameter estimation was MLR, as some non-normality was found in the data. FIML was used to handle missing data. For intergroup contact with Latino immigrants, the proportion of missing data was .041 for intensive contact, .025 for extensive contact in the community, and .024 for extensive contact at college. For intergroup contact with people of color, the proportion of missing data was .042 for intensive contact, .024 for extensive contact in the community, and .025 for extensive contact at college. The proportion of missing data for the ethnocentrism indicators ranged from .065 to .069. The proportion of missing data for the Latino immigrant threat attitudes indicators ranged from .047 to .051. The proportion of missing data for the immigration policy attitudes indicators ranged from .059 to .064. The metric of each factor was set by fixing the first factor loading to one. In every model, control variables were modeled to all dependent variables, and independent variables were permitted to covary. Goodness-of-fit was assessed via the aforementioned fit indices and thresholds. Local fit was assessed by inspecting the magnitude and statistical

significance ($p < .05$) of factor loadings and regression estimates. For the measurement models, squared multiple correlation coefficients (i.e., communalities) were also inspected.

As a first step, the measurement models for ethnocentrism, Latino immigrant threat attitudes, and immigration policy attitudes were analyzed using CFA to assess fit. The measurement models were analyzed individually for specificity in identifying model misfit. Next, the structural paths predicting relationships between constructs were sequentially added. Testing Hypothesis 1, for each referent group, a model examining the direct effects of the intergroup contact variables on Latino immigrant threat attitudes was estimated. See Figure 4 which represents the model tested for each referent group (controls omitted for model simplicity).

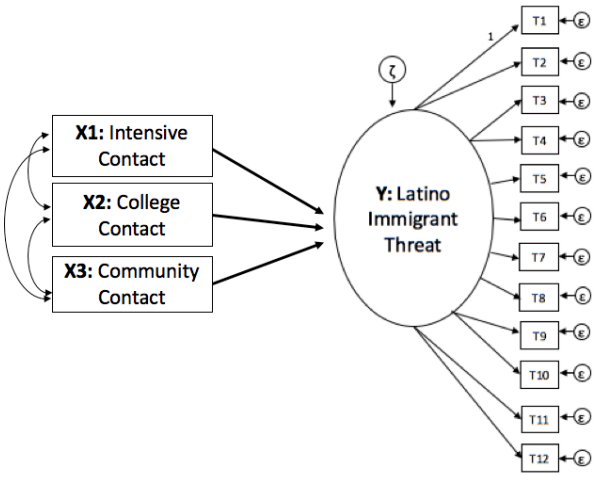

Figure 4. *Statistical Model Testing Hypothesis 1*

The absence of a direct effect did not preclude the possibility of an indirect effect of intergroup contact on threat attitudes by way of another linking variable (see Hayes, 2009 for discussion of flawed nature of Baron and Kenny's [1986] causal steps approach). Thus, regardless of statistical significance of direct effects, a model adding in

the hypothesized linking variable—ethnocentrism—was examined for each referent group to test Hypothesis 2. See Figure 5 which represents the model tested for each referent group (controls omitted for model simplicity).

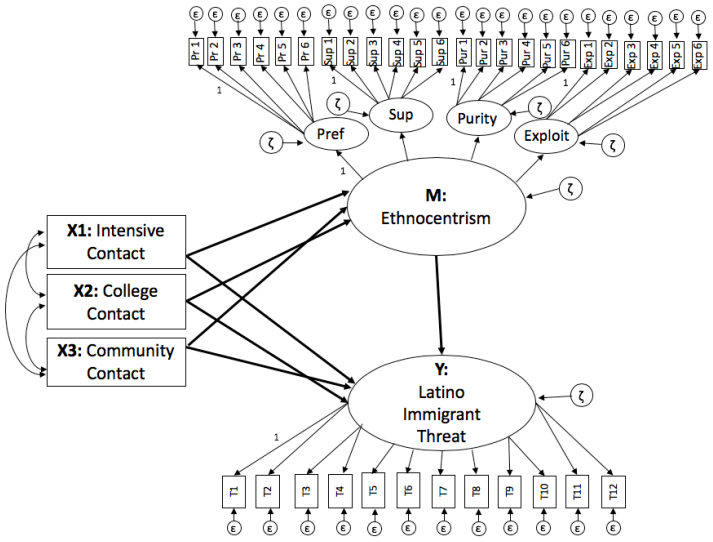

Figure 5. *Statistical Model Testing Hypothesis 2*

Hypothesis 3 was tested by way of a model examining the direct effects of the intergroup contact variables on immigration policy attitudes for each referent group. Figure 6 represents both models. See Figure 6 which represents the model tested for each referent group (controls omitted for model simplicity).

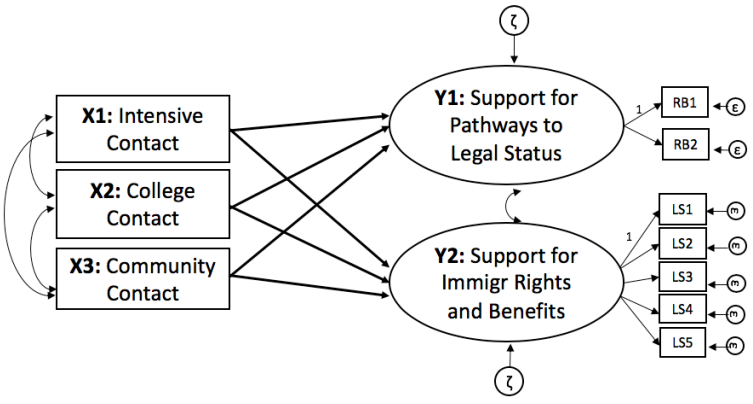

Figure 6. *Statistical Model Testing Hypothesis 3*

Hypothesis 4 were tested by way of a model examining the direct effects of ethnocentrism on immigration policy attitudes (see Figure 7 [controls omitted for model simplicity]).

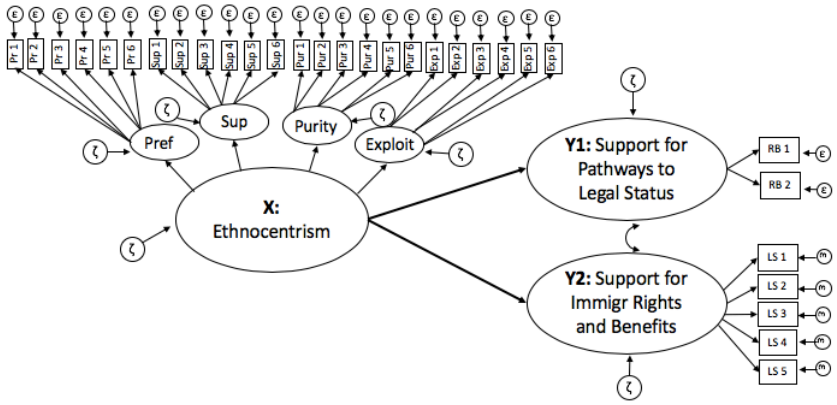

Figure 7. *Statistical Model Testing Hypothesis 4 (Controls Omitted for Clarity)*

Finally, Hypothesis 5 that intergroup contact is indirectly related to immigration policy attitudes through a sequential pathway involving ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes were tested. This full conceptual model was a serial indirect effects model with all variables hypothesized to influence one another (i.e., fully saturated model) and effects flowing in a single direction (i.e., recursive model). See Figure 8 which represents the model tested for each referent group (controls omitted for model simplicity).

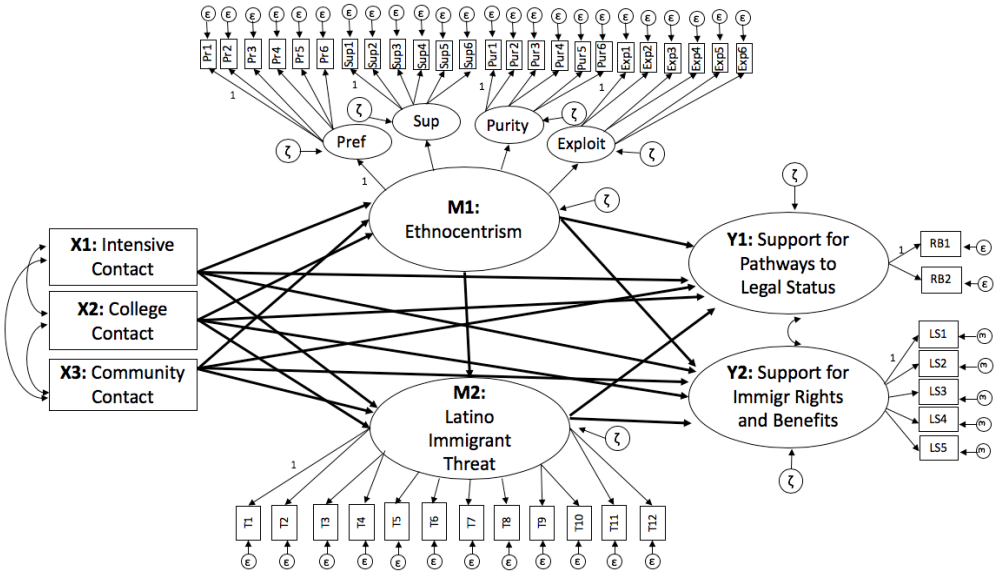

Figure 8. *Full Statistical Model Testing Hypothesis 5*

As the ultimate test of Hypothesis 2, the indirect effects of intergroup contact on Latino immigrant threat attitudes via ethnocentrism were examined (three indirect effects per model). To test Hypothesis 5, the indirect effects of intergroup contact on immigration policy attitudes via the serial pathway of ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes were examined (six indirect effects per model). Indirect effects were tested through a bias-corrected bootstrap approach as the product of the direct effects violates the normality assumption, making the *p* values unreliable (Fritz, Taylor, & MacKinnon, 2012). A maximum likelihood method of estimation (ML) with 1,000 bootstrap samples was used, which involves random sampling with replacement from the original sample. The 95% bootstrap confidence intervals were interpreted to determine statistical significance of indirect effects. Unstandardized point estimates (*B*) and 95% confidence intervals were reported; intervals that do not cross zero indicate with 95% confidence that the indirect effect is not zero (Hayes, 2009).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Latino Immigrant Threat Attitudes Scale

Stage 1: Exploratory Factor Analysis with Exploration Sample

Assumptions testing. Patterned relationships among scale items appeared to be present as indicated by correlations >.30. The Bartlett's test of sphericity $\chi^2(153) = 5326.17$, $p < .001$ suggested patterned relationships were present among variables. Two scale items (*Latino immigrants get more from the U.S. than they contribute.* and *Latino immigrants negatively affect the U.S. economy.*) were each correlated with two or three other variables ≥.80, and were excluded from analysis. The remaining 18 items were assessed for multicollinearity and were not found to have excessively overlapping variance. This was evidenced by a determinant score of 3.30, condition index values for each item <24, and VIF scores for each item <5. The KMO was .97 and all KMO values for the individual items were >.90; this indicated the sample was large enough and data were suitable for factor analysis.

Factor extraction. As outlined above, the item pool for the Latino immigrant threat attitudes measures was generated with two conceptually distinct dimensions of intergroup threat perception in mind (i.e., realistic threat and symbolic threat). Given that EFA is a data-driven approach to initial factor structure identification, these conceptually distinct dimensions were not guaranteed to hold in the model structure (Fabrigar et al., 1999; DeVellis, 2016). The scree plot and MAP test indicated a single dimension was underlying the 18 scale items, whereas the parallel analysis indicated three dimensions

were present. Accordingly, 1, 2, and 3-factor structure were examined to determine which model best explained correlations among scale items.

Estimation and interpretation. Global model fit for the 2- and 3-factor solution were superior to the 1-factor solution. However, in the 2- and 3-factor solutions, all items loaded ≥.32 on the first factor. In the 2-factor solution, only one item loaded on the second factor and was a cross-loading item (i.e., loaded on both factors ≥.32). In the 3-factor solution, all items loaded highly on the first factor; seven items cross-loaded onto the second factor, and one item cross-loaded onto the third factor. Thus, if complex cross-loading items were dropped as is generally recommended so as not to violate a simple structure (Costello & Osborn, 2005), factors two and three would dissolve. Furthermore, the second and third factors did not appear to be conceptually interpretable and meaningful.

Given that all items loaded highly on the first factor, three bifactor models were explored. Bifactor models permit all variables to load onto the first factor, representing a common factor, as well as on specific factors. A 2-factor (one specific factor), 3-factor (two specific factors), and 4-factor (three specific factors) bifactor model was examined. Across all models, too few items loaded onto each of the specific factors. In the 2-factor solution, only one item loaded >.32 on the specific factor; in the 3-factor model, only one item loaded on each of the two specific factors; and in the 4-factor model, no items loaded on the first specific factor; one item loaded strongly on the second specific factor, and two items loaded on the third specific factor. Findings did not support the *a priori* factor structure that items tap into two distinct dimensions of perceived intergroup threat. Instead, items represented one unified construct.

Item reduction. After identifying the unidimensionality of scale items, an item reduction technique was employed to optimize scale length and utility. Competing interests of scale length, internal consistency reliability, and content representation were considered. The number of items was reduced from 18 to a more desirable range of 10 to 15 items (Pett et al., 2003). First, the internal consistency reliability of the four items with the highest factor loadings was calculated by way of Cronbach's alpha. Internal consistency of items was calculated iteratively after the addition of the next two highest loading items on the factor. Cronbach's alphas were plotted using a line graph and examined to identify the point at which the addition of items neglected to yield an improvement in internal consistency, as indicated by the leveling off of the line. Using this method, six items were eliminated from the scale without compromising the scale's reliability.

Factor extraction, estimation, and interpretation: 12-item version. Following item reduction, the factor analytic process was repeated to ensure the factor structure with 18 items held with 12 items. The scree plot and MAP test suggested a 1-factor solution would be the best fit to the data. The parallel analysis suggested a 2-factor solution would best represent correlations among scale items. Thus, 1- and 2-factor solutions were examined.

Global model fit indices indicated the 2-factor model was a better fit to the data, but a unidimensional factor structure remained the most interpretable. In the 2-factor solution, all 12 items loaded highly (.794-.875) on Factor 1, with two items cross-loading onto Factor 2. In addition to failing to achieve simple structure, Factor 2 did not appear

to be conceptually interpretable and meaningful. Thus, the 1-factor solution with the 12-items was retained.

The chi-square significance test for the 1-factor, 12-item solution was significant, $\chi^2(54) = 179.083$, $p < .001$, which is not uncommon with large sample sizes even when only a trivial lack of fit is present (Bentler & Bonett, 1980). The RMSEA (.085 [.072-.099]) was outside the cutoff criteria and suggested the model had mediocre fit to the data (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). The CFI (.938) and SRMR (.032) suggested the model had acceptable fit to the data. All scale items were strong loaders ($\geq$.80) on a single factor, indicating a solid factor (Costello & Osborne, 2005). See Table 5 for factor loadings and communalities. The scale had good internal consistency reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of .96.

Table 5

Factor Loadings and Communalities for Final Model

Item	Loadings	Communalities
Undermining culture	.882***	.778
Burden social services	.830***	.689
Social fabric	.840***	.706
Tax burden	.852***	.727
Law and order	.835***	.697
Core values	.825***	.680
Take jobs	.859***	.738
Availability of social services	.856***	.732
Public education	.800***	.639
Crime	.833***	.695
Wages	.810***	.656
Assimilating	.806***	.649

Note. *** $p < .001$; $n = 319$.

Stage 2: Confirmatory Factor Analysis with Calibration Sample

Using the calibration sample ($n = 319$), and based on findings from Stage 1, a model with 12 items loading on a single factor was evaluated through CFA (see Figure 9). Overall, global model fit indices suggested acceptable model fit. The chi-square test was significant, $\chi^2(54) = 148.168$, $p < .001$. Other indices, including the CFI (.948), RMSEA (.074 [.060-.088]), and SRMR (.031), were within acceptable range.

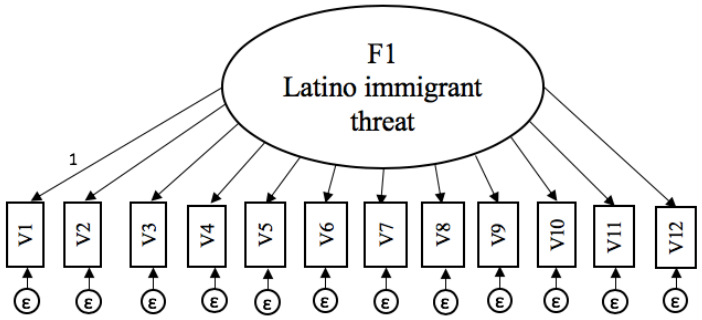

Figure 9. *Latino Immigrant Threat Attitudes Scale*

Indicators of local fit suggested all items loaded strongly (standardized factor loadings: .894-.778) and significantly ($p < .001$) on the latent factor. Communalities indicated the common factor accounted for more than 60% of each item's variance. See Table 6 for unstandardized factor loadings with standard errors, standardized factor loadings, and communalities. Examining the modification indices (i.e., M.I. and E.P.C. values), no model respecifications were warranted or justified. The scale had good internal consistency ($a = .96$).

Table 6

Calibration CFA: Factor Loadings and Communalities

Item	Unstandardized Loadings (*SE*)	Std. Factor Loadings	Communalities
Undermining culture	1.00	.894***	.800
Burden social services	.994 (.058)	.842***	.709
Social fabric	.856 (.047)	.836***	.699
Tax burden	1.161 (.067)	.842***	.709
Law and order	.854 (.056)	.828***	.686
Core values	.919 (.059)	.825***	.681
Take jobs	1.013 (.058)	.812***	.659
Availability of social services	1.090 (.053)	.861***	.741
Public education	1.031 (.054)	.833***	.694
Crime	1.091 (.065)	.832***	.693
Wages	.935 (.058)	.789***	.622
Assimilating	.978 (.048)	.778***	.606

Note. *** $p < .001$. *SE* = standard error. Std. = standardized.

Stage 3: Confirmatory Factor Analysis with Validation Sample

Using a validation sample ($n = 320$), the factor structure of the Latino immigrant threat attitude items was cross-validated through CFA. The model with 12 items loading on a single factor was evaluated (see Figure 9). Considered together, the fit indices indicated the model fit the data reasonably well. The chi-square test was significant, $\chi^2(54) = 157.741$, $p < .001$. The CFI was .941, the RMSEA was .077 [.064-.092] and the SRMR was .031. All items loaded strongly (standardized factor loadings: .892-.790) on

the latent factor and were significant ($p < .001$). Communalities suggested over 60% of each item's variance was accounted for by the common factor (.622-795). See Table 7 for unstandardized factor loadings and standard errors, standardized factor loadings, and communalities. The scale, which will be referred to as the Latino Immigrant Threat Attitudes Scale (LITAS), had good internal consistency ($a = .96$).

Table 7

Validation CFA: Factor Loadings and Communalities

Item	Unstandardized Loadings (*SE*)	Std. Loadings	Communalities
Undermining culture	1.00	.892***	.795
Burden social services	1.070 (.071)	.818***	.668
Social fabric	.767 (.050)	.795***	.632
Tax burden	1.241 (.074)	.845***	.714
Law and order	.951 (.057)	.860***	.740
Core values	.999 (.062)	.875***	.766
Take jobs	1.009 (.060)	.816***	.666
Availability of social services	1.113 (.065)	.849***	.721
Public education	1.146 (.072)	.882***	.778
Crime	1.162 (.070)	.854***	.729
Wages	1.004 (.055)	.790***	.625
Assimilating	1.038 (.062)	.790***	.624

Note. *** $p < .001$. *SE* = standard error. Std. = standardized.

Immigration Policy Attitudes Scale

Stage 1: Exploratory Factor Analysis with Exploration Sample

Assumptions testing. Patterned relationships among scale items appeared to be present as indicated by correlations >.30. The Bartlett's test of sphericity $\chi^2(36) = 2463.30$, $p < .001$ provided further evidence of patterned relationships. One item was excluded from analysis (*State policy that would allow immigrant children living in the U.S. illegally to qualify for public health insurance*.) as a result of being highly correlated with two other scale items >.80, including one correlation >.90. Another item was correlated with one item at .81; the decision was made to not eliminate this item given it exceeded the correlation threshold only slightly with a single item. The remaining eight items were assessed for multicollinearity and were not found to have excessively overlapping variance. This was evidenced by a determinant score of .002, condition index values for each item <31, and VIF scores for each item <5. Indicating the sample was large enough and data were suitable for factor analysis, the KMO was .90, and all KMO values for the individual items were >.80.

Factor extraction. The scree plot appeared to have two "elbows," indicating either a 1- or 2- factor solution would be the best fit to the data. The revised MAP test and parallel analysis indicated two dimensions were underlying scale items. Accordingly, a 1- and 2-factor solution were compared.

Estimation and interpretation. In the 1-factor solution, all items loaded highly ($\geq$.64) on the factor, but the model had poor fit to the data as indicated by the goodness-of-fit indices. The 2-factor solution had good fit to the data (see Table 8 for model comparison). In the 2-factor solution, two items loaded highly onto Factor 1, with weak

loadings on the second factor; six items loaded highly onto Factor 2, with weak loadings on the first factor.

Table 8

Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Exploratory Factor Models

Model	χ^2	*df*	*CFI*	*RMSEA* ($CI_{90\%}$)	*SRMR*	*AIC*	χ^2_{diff}
1 Factor	193.299***	20	.86	.166 (.145-.188)	.065	7520.632	
2 Factor	20.794	13	.99	.044 (.000-.077)	.015	7293.600	141.36***

Note. χ^2 = chi square goodness of fit statistic; *df* = degrees of freedom; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; AIC = akaike information criterion; CFI = comparative fit index; SRMR = standardized square root mean residual; χ^2_{diff} = chi-square difference test using Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square; *** $p < .001$; $n = 319$.

See Table 9 for factor loadings and communalities for the 2-factor solution. The factors were correlated at .596. Despite the recommendation of three items per factor, this structure was deemed the best fit to the data as it had superior model fit to the 1-factor model and conceptually interpretable and meaningful factors. Factor 1 clearly represented support for pathways to legal status for undocumented immigrants. Factor 2 represented support for rights and social benefits for undocumented immigrants. The scale as a whole had good internal consistency reliability ($a = .92$), as did each subscale (Factor 1: $a = .88$; Factor 2: $a = .92$).

Table 9

Factor Loadings and Communalities for Final Model

Item	Factor 1 Loadings	Factor 2 Loadings	Communalities
Legal status	**.723***	.120	.640
DREAM Act	**1.00***	-.002	.998
In-state tuition	-.021*	**.957***	.892
Prenatal care	.234*	**.656***	.668
Driver's license	.250*	**.692***	.748
Sanctuary city	.017	**.658***	.446
City photo ID	.130*	**.773***	.734
Vote in local elections	-.144*	**.821***	.554

Note. Factor loadings >.40 are in boldface; * $p < .05$; $n = 319$

Stage 2: Confirmatory Factor Analysis with Calibration Sample

Using the calibration sample ($n = 319$), and based on findings from Stage 1, a 2-factor, 8-item model was evaluated through CFA. Assessed together, goodness-of-fit indices suggested the fit of the model to the data was mediocre. The chi-square test was significant, $\chi^2(19) = 74.157$, $p < .001$, as is common with large samples when even a small amount of misfit is present (Bentler & Bonett, 1980). The RMSEA was .096 [.074-.120], which was outside the cutoff criteria and suggested the model had mediocre fit to the data. The CFI (.946) and SRMR (.039) were within acceptable ranges, which indicated good model fit. All items loaded highly and significantly on their respective factors, but inspection of communalities and the modification indices revealed a problematic item. The *Vote in local elections* item in Factor 2 had a high level of

unexplained variance (communality: .474). Modification indices also suggested the item cross-loaded negatively onto Factor 1 (M.I.: 12.852; E.P.C.: -.658).

On the basis of striving for simple structure, this item was eliminated and a 7-item, 2-factor model was evaluated (see Figure 10). Considered together, global model fit was acceptable. The chi-square test for this model was significant, $\chi^2(13) = 37.454$, $p < .001$. The CFI (.969), RMSEA (.077[(.049-.107)] and SRMR (.025) were within acceptable ranges. All items loaded strongly (standardized factor loadings: .853-.706) and significantly ($p < .001$) on their anticipated latent factors. Communalities indicated a substantial amount of item variance was accounted for by the common factors (.498-.746). See Table 10 for unstandardized factor loadings and standard errors, standardized factor loadings, and communalities. No justifiable model respecifications were indicated by the modification indices. The scale as a whole had good internal consistency reliability ($a = .92$), as did each subscale (Factor 1: $a = .81$; Factor 2: $a = .91$).

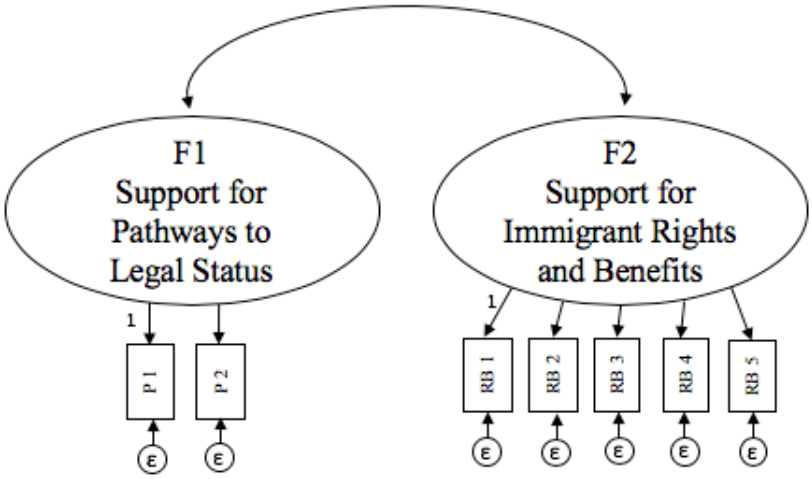

Figure 10. *Immigration Policy Attitudes Scale*

Table 10

Calibration CFA: Factor Loadings and Communalities

Item	Factor 1 Loadings		Factor 2 Loadings		Commun-alities
	Unstand-ardized (*SE*)	Std.	Unstand-ardized (*SE*)	Std.	
Legal status	1.00	.849***			.722
DREAM Act	.932 (.089)	.799***			.638
Driver's license			1.00	.864***	.746
In-state tuition			.960 (.042)	.853***	.728
Prenatal care			.894 (.042)	.847***	.717
Sanctuary city			.757 (.052)	.706***	.498
City photo ID			.841 (.043)	.826***	.682

Note. *** $p < .001$; *SE* = standard error; Std. = standardized.

A competing 1-factor model was evaluated to ensure factors were not over-extracted and the scale was actually unidimensional. Global model fit in the 1-factor model was poorer, and the chi-square difference test was significant, indicating a significant loss in model fit relative to the 2-factor model (see Table 11). Thus, the 2-factor, 7-item model was retained as the model with the best fit to the data.

Table 11

Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Immigration Policy Attitudes Scale

Model	χ^2	*df*	*CFI*	*RMSEA (90%CI)*	*SRMR*	*AIC*	χ^2_{diff}
1-Factor	62.542***	14	.938	.105 (.079-.132)	.044	6734.719	
2-Factor	37.454***	13	.969	.077 (.049-.107)	.025	6681.443	11.191***

Note. χ^2 = chi square goodness of fit statistic; *df* = degrees of freedom; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation; AIC = Akaike Information Criterion; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; SRMR = Standardized Square Root Mean Residual. *** $p < .001$.

Stage 3: Confirmatory Factor Analysis with Validation Sample

Using the validation sample ($n = 320$), the factor structure of the immigration policy attitudes items was cross-validated through CFA. A 7-item, 2-factor model was evaluated (see Figure 10). Global model fit indices indicated the model had good fit to the data. The chi-square significance test was significant, $\chi^2(13) = 27.492$, $p = .011$. The CFI (.983), RMSEA (.059 [.028-.090]), and SRMR (.021) were within acceptable ranges. Each item loaded strongly on its respective latent factor (standardized factor loadings: .890-.749) and was significant ($p < .001$). Communalities suggested a relatively high amount of item variance was accounted for by the common factors (.562-.793). See Table 12 for unstandardized factor loadings with standard errors, standardized factor loadings, and communalities. The scale, which will be referred to as the Integrationist Immigration Policy Attitudes Scale (IIPAS), had good internal consistency reliability ($a = .93$), as did each subscale (*Support for Pathways to Legal Status*: $a = .85$; *Support for Immigrant Rights and Benefits*: $a = .92$).

Table 12

Validation CFA: Factor Loadings and Communalities

Item	Factor 1 Loadings		Factor 2 Loadings		Commun-alities
	Unstand-ardized (*SE*)	Std.	Unstand-ardized (*SE*)	Std.	
Legal status	1.00	.853***			.278
DREAM Act	.968 (.065)	.871***			.362
Driver's license			1.00	.890***	.254
In-state tuition			.952 (.040)	.847***	.272
Prenatal care			.927 (.041)	.856***	.283
Sanctuary city			.773 (.043)	.749***	.502
City photo ID			.902 (.037)	.854***	.318

Note. *** $p < .001$; *SE* = standard error; Std. = standardized.

Full Latent Variable Models

Measurement Models

Tests of the ethnocentrism measurement model indicated the hypothesized second-order model structure (Bizumic et al., 2009) fit the data reasonably well. The hypothesized unidimensional immigrant threat attitudes model and the bidimensional integrationist immigration policy attitudes measurement models had good fit to the data (see Table 13). All indicators loaded significantly ($p < .001$) and strongly on their anticipated factors in the ethnocentrism (standardized first-order factor loadings: .541-.826; standardized second-order factor loadings: .757-.978), Latino immigrant threat attitudes (standardized factor loadings: .785-.886), and immigration policy attitudes measurement models (standardized factor loadings: .704-.883).

Table 13

Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Measurement Models

Model	χ^2	*df*	*CFI*	*RMSEA* ($CI_{90\%}$)	*SRMR*
Ethnocentrism	728.780***	248	.908	.054 (.050-.059)	.049
Threat Attitudes	274.448***	54	.942	.078 (.069-.087)	.030
Policy Attitudes	48.082***	13	.979	.064 (.045-.083)	.021

Note. χ^2 = chi square goodness of fit statistic; *df* = degrees of freedom; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CFI = comparative fit index; SRMR = standardized square root mean residual. *** $p < .001$.

After fitting each measurement model, two serial indirect effects models were built. Model 1 is the serial indirect effect model testing the effects of intergroup contact with Latino immigrants. Model 2 tested the effects of intergroup contact with people of color. The models were sequentially built. These series of models building up to the serial indirect effect models are depicted in Appendix I (Model 1) and Appendix J (Model 2); the specific hypothesis tested by each model is explicated, and standardized results are provided. Table 14 demonstrates the descriptive results for all variables of interest.

Table 14

Descriptive Results

Variable	*M*	*SD*	Range	*a*
Intergroup contact- Latino immigrants				
Intensive	.54	1.95	0-91	--
College	2.62	3.75	0-28	--
Community	6.64	4.76	0-24	--
Intergroup contact- people of color				
Intensive	8.44	9.09	0-91	--
College	3.78	4.73	0-28	--
Community	8.37	4.76	0-24	--
Ethnocentrism				
Preference	3.88	1.57	1-9	.85
Superiority	2.36	1.37	1-9	.87
Purity	2.21	1.18	1-9	.84
Exploitativeness	2.86	1.51	1-9	.85
Threat attitudes	2.08	1.05	1-6	.96
Policy attitudes				
Support for pathways to legal status	5.03	1.09	1-6	.83
Support for rights and benefits	4.03	1.42	1-6	.91

Note. a = Cronbach's alpha

Model 1: Intergroup Contact with Latino Immigrants

Model 1a: Contact → threat. A direct effects only model tested the relationship between intensive, community, and college contact with Latino immigrants and Latino immigrant threat attitudes. The model had good fit to the data: $\chi^2 = 565.666$ (197), $p < .001$; CFI = .940; RMSEA = .051 [.046, .056]; SRMR = .022. Community contact with Latino immigrants was significantly associated with less Latino immigrant threat

attitudes (B = -.029, SE = .007, β = -.137, $p < .001$). Intensive and college contact with Latino immigrants were not significantly related to Latino immigrant threat attitudes.

Model 1b: Contact → ethnocentrism → threat. An indirect effects model tested the indirect effects of intergroup contact with Latino immigrants on Latino immigrant threat attitudes via ethnocentrism. The model had acceptable fit to the data: χ^2 = 2178.628 (1031), $p < .001$. The CFI was .914, the RMSEA value was .040 [.037, .042], and the SRMR was .040. Intensive (B = -.027, SE = .012, β = -.052, p = .024) and community contact with Latino immigrants (B = -.027, SE = .009, β = -.127, p = .002) were significantly associated with less ethnocentrism; the relationship between college contact with Latino immigrants and ethnocentrism was not statistically significant. The association between ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes was positive and statistically significant (B = .590, SE = .060, β = .583, $p < .001$). The direct effects of all intergroup contact variables on Latino immigrant threat attitudes were not statistically significant.

Examining the bootstrapped indirect effects, the indirect effect of community contact with Latino immigrants on Latino immigrant threat attitudes by way of ethnocentrism was statistically significant (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [-.030, -.005], B = -.016). In the earlier direct effects only model, the relationship between community contact and threat attitudes was significant; this direct effect disappeared with the inclusion of ethnocentrism, indicating the relationship between community contact and threat attitudes was *fully accounted for* by ethnocentrism.

Despite statistically significant direct effects of intensive contact on ethnocentrism and ethnocentrism on threat attitudes, the indirect effect did not reach

statistical significance as evidenced by the bootstrapped confidence intervals crossing zero. The indirect effect of college contact on threat attitudes was not statistically significant; this was anticipated given the absence of statistically significant direct effects between college contact and ethnocentrism and ethnocentrism and threat attitudes.

Model 1c: Contact → policy. A direct effects only model tested the relationship between intensive, community, and college contact with Latino immigrants and immigration policy attitudes. The model had good fit to the data: $\chi^2 = 111.548$ (78), $p = .008$, with a CFI of .988 and an RMSEA of .025 [.013, .034]; the SRMR was .013. Community contact with Latino immigrants was statistically significantly related to more support for pathways to legal status ($B = .024$, SE = .008, $\beta = .116$, $p = .003$) and support for immigrant rights and benefits ($B = .031$, SE = .011, $\beta = .098$, $p = .004$). Intensive and college contact with Latino immigrants were not statistically significantly associated with immigration policy attitudes.

Model 1d: Ethnocentrism → policy. A direct effects only model tested the relationship between ethnocentrism and immigration policy attitudes. The model had acceptable fit to the data: $\chi^2 = 1586.905$ (791), $p < .001$, with a CFI of .919 and an RMSEA of .038 [.035, .040]; the SRMR was .043. Less ethnocentrism was statistically significantly related to more support for pathways to legal status ($B = -.515$, SE = .058, $\beta = -.531$, $p < .001$) and support for immigrant rights and benefits ($B = -.529$, SE = .071, $\beta = -.350$, $p < .001$).

Model 1e: Contact → ethnocentrism → threat → policy. Adding in ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes as variables serially linking intergroup contact and policy attitudes, a fully saturated serial indirect effects model was

tested. This model was the full conceptual model, and had good fit to the data (see Table 15).

Table 15

Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Full Models

Model	χ^2	*df*	*CFI*	*RMSEA (90%CI)*	*SRMR*
Intergroup contact with Latino immigrants	2629.187***	1357	.923	.036 (.034-.038)	.040
Intergroup contact with people of color	2654.349***	1357	.922	.037 (.035-.039)	.041

Note. χ^2 = chi square goodness of fit statistic; *df* = degrees of freedom; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CFI = comparative fit index; SRMR = standardized square root mean residual. *** = $p < .001$.

There was a statistically significant inverse relationship between intensive contact with Latino immigrants and ethnocentrism (B = -.026, SE = .012, β = -.051, p = .026). Intensive contact with Latino immigrants was not significantly related to Latino immigrant threat attitudes and immigration policy attitudes. The relationship between community contact and ethnocentrism (B = -.027, SE = .009, β = -.128, p = .002) was inversely and significantly related; community contact was not statistically associated with Latino immigrant threat attitudes and immigration policy attitudes. The direct effects of college contact on ethnocentrism, threat perception, and policy attitudes were not statistically significant. Ethnocentrism was positively and significantly associated with Latino immigrant threat attitudes (B = .594, SE = .061, β = .584, $p < .001$). Ethnocentrism was significantly and inversely associated with support for pathways to legal status (B = -.389, SE = .080, β = -.401, $p < .001$), but not significantly associated with support for immigrant rights and benefits. Latino immigrant threat perception was significantly and inversely associated with support for immigrant rights and benefits (B =

-.695, SE = .090, β = -.465, p < .001) and pathways to legal status (B = -.248, SE = .080, β = -.260, p = .002).

Examining the bootstrapped indirect effects, intensive contact with Latino immigrants was indirectly and significantly related to support for pathways to legal status (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [.000, .010], B = .004) and immigrant rights and benefits (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [.000, .021], B = .011) by way of the ethnocentrism → threat attitudes pathway. The absence of direct effects between intensive contact and policy attitudes in the earlier direct effects only model indicated the two constructs were *only indirectly related*.

Community contact with Latino immigrants was indirectly and significantly related to support for pathways to legal status (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [.001, .009], B = .004) and immigrant rights and benefits (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [.003, .021], B = .011) by way of the ethnocentrism → threat attitudes pathway. In the direct effects only model, community contact was statistically significantly related to more support for pathways to legal status and immigrant rights and benefits; these direct effects disappeared in the indirect effects model, indicating ethnocentrism and threat attitudes *fully accounted for* the relationship between community contact and policy attitudes.

The indirect effects of college contact on immigration policy attitudes were not statistically significant. This was anticipated given nonsignificant direct effects. See Table 16 for unstandardized indirect effects results.

Table 16

Bootstrapped Indirect Effects

Specific Indirect Effect	Model 1: Latino immigrants		Model 2: People of color	
	B (SE)	$CI_{95\%}$	*B (SE)*	$CI_{95\%}$
Intensive contact → ethnocentrism → threat		*NS*	-.008 (.003)	-.015, -.002
Community contact → ethnocentrism → threat	-.016 (.008)	-.030, -.005	-.017 (.005)	-.029, -.008
College contact → ethnocentrism → threat		*NS*		*NS*
Intensive contact → ethnocentrism → threat → legal status	.004 (.002)	.000, .010	.002 (.001)	.001, .005
Intensive contact → ethnocentrism → threat → rights and benefits	.011 (.005)	.000, .021	.005 (.002)	.001, .011
Community contact → ethnocentrism → threat → legal status	.004 (.002)	.001, .009	.004 (.002)	.001, .008
Community contact → ethnocentrism → threat → rights and benefits	.011 (.005)	.003, .021	.012 (.004)	.005, .020
College contact → ethnocentrism → threat → legal status		*NS*		*NS*
College contact → ethnocentrism → threat → rights and benefits		*NS*		*NS*

Note. Maximum likelihood estimation with bias-corrected bootstrapping. Regression coefficients are unstandardized. *SE* = standard error; *CI* = confidence interval; *NS* = nonsignificant.

Model 2: Intergroup Contact with People of Color

Model 2a: Contact → threat. A direct effects only model tested the relationship between intergroup contact with people of color and Latino immigrant threat attitudes. The model had good fit to the data: $\chi^2 = 582.351(197)$, $p < .001$; CFI = .938; RMSEA = .053 [.048, .058]; SRMR = .022. Intensive (B = -.015, SE = .004, β = -.132, $p < .001$) and community contact with people of color (B = -.017, SE = .007, β = -.078, p = .011) were significantly associated with less Latino immigrant threat attitudes. College contact

with people of color was not significantly associated with Latino immigrant threat perception.

Model 2b: Contact → ethnocentrism → threat. An indirect effects model tested the indirect effects of intergroup contact with people of color on Latino immigrant threat attitudes via ethnocentrism. The model had acceptable fit to the data: χ^2 = 2202.784 (1031), $p < .001$. The CFI was .913, the RMSEA was .040 [.038, .042], and the SRMR was .041. Intensive (B = -.013, SE = .005, β = -.121, p = .008) and community contact with people of color (B = -.028, SE = .008, β = -.133, $p < .001$) were inversely and significantly associated with ethnocentrism; college contact was not statistically significantly related to ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism was positively and significantly associated with Latino immigrant threat attitudes (B = .595, SE = .063, β = .593, $p < .001$). The direct effects of all contact variables on Latino immigrant threat attitudes were not statistically significant.

Examining the bootstrapped indirect effects, intensive (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [-.015, -.002], B = -.008) and community contact with people of color (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [-.029, -.008], B = -.017) were significantly associated with Latino immigrant threat attitudes via ethnocentrism. The direct effects between intensive and community contact and threat attitudes were no longer significant in this model, as they were in the former direct effects only model; this indicated the relationships between intensive and community contact and threat attitudes were *fully accounted for* by ethnocentrism. The indirect effect of college contact on threat attitudes was not significant as anticipated given no statistically significant direct effects.

Model 2c: Contact → policy. A direct effects model testing the relationship between intergroup contact with people of color and immigration policy attitudes had good fit to the data: $\chi^2 = 111.544$ (78), $p = .008$; CFI = .989; RMSEA = .025 [.013, .034]; SRMR = .013. Intensive contact with people of color was significantly related to more support for pathways to legal status ($B = .016$, SE = .003, $\beta = .145$, $p < .001$) and immigrant rights and benefits ($B = .029$, SE = .005, $\beta = .173$, $p < .001$). Community contact with people of color was positively and significantly associated with support for pathways to legal status ($B = .022$, SE = .008, $\beta = .108$, $p = .003$), but not statistically significantly related to support for immigrant rights and benefits. College contact with people of color was not significantly associated with immigration policy attitudes.

Model 2d: Ethnocentrism → policy. A direct effects only model tested the relationship between ethnocentrism and immigration policy attitudes. Model results are equivalent to those of Model 1d (see above).

Model 2e: Contact → ethnocentrism → threat → policy. Adding in the hypothesized linking variables—ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes—a fully saturated serial indirect effects model was tested. The model had good fit to the data (see Table 12). Intensive contact with people of color was inversely and significantly related to ethnocentrism ($B = -.013$, SE = .005, $\beta = -.120$, $p = .008$). Intensive contact was positively and significantly associated with support for immigrant rights and benefits ($B = .017$, SE = .004, $\beta = .104$, $p < .001$) and pathways to legal status ($B = .007$, SE = .003, $\beta = .066$, $p = .029$). The direct effect of intensive contact with people of color on Latino immigrant threat attitudes was not significant. Community contact with people of color was inversely and significantly associated with

ethnocentrism (B = -.028, SE = .008, β = -.134, $p < .001$), but not Latino immigrant threat attitudes and immigration policy attitudes. The direct effects of college contact with people of color on ethnocentrism, Latino immigrant threat perception, and immigration policy attitudes were all non-significant. Ethnocentrism was positively and significantly related to Latino immigrant threat attitudes (B = .599, SE = .064, β = .594, $p < .001$) and inversely and significantly associated with support for pathways to legal status (B = -.366, SE = .077, β = -.379, $p < .001$); ethnocentrism was not significantly associated with support for immigrant rights and benefits. Latino immigrant threat perception was negatively and significantly associated with support for immigrant rights and benefits (B = -.681, SE = .088, β = -.456, $p < .001$) and pathways to legal status (B = -.246, SE = .078, β = -.257, p = .001).

Examining the bootstrapped indirect effects, intensive contact with people of color was indirectly and significantly related to support for pathways to legal status (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [.001, .005], B = .002) and immigrant rights and benefits (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [.001, .011], B = .005) by way of ethnocentrism and threat attitudes. In the earlier direct effects only model, intensive contact and support for pathways to legal status and immigrant rights and benefits were significantly associated; these direct effects were still present in the indirect effects model, indicating the ethnocentrism → Latino immigrant threat attitudes pathway *partially accounted for* the relationship between intensive contact and policy attitudes.

According to the bootstrapped indirect effects, community contact was indirectly and significantly related to support for pathways to legal status (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ = [.001, .011], B = .005) and immigrant rights and benefits (bootstrapped $CI_{95\%}$ =

[.005, .020], *B* = .012) by way of ethnocentrism and threat attitudes. The absence of a statistically significant association between community contact and support for immigrant rights and benefits in the earlier direct effects only model indicated the two constructs were *only indirectly related* by way of the ethnocentrism → Latino immigrant threat attitudes pathway. Conversely, in the earlier direct effects only model, community contact and support for pathways to legal status were significantly associated; this direct effect disappeared in the indirect effects model, however, meaning the relationship between community contact and support for pathways to legal status was *fully accounted for* by the ethnocentrism → Latino immigrant threat attitudes pathway.

The indirect effects of college contact with people of color on immigration policy attitudes were not significant. This was anticipated given the lack of significant direct effects. See Table 13 for unstandardized indirect effect results.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Latino Immigrant Threat Attitudes Scale

Findings from the development and initial validation of the Latino Immigrant Threat Attitudes Scale (LITAS) did not support the integrated threat theory's notion that realistic threats and symbolic threats are discrete forms of threat perception (Stephan et al., 1999). The theory holds that each form of threat is a distinct predictor of negative out-group attitudes. Despite scale items having been written to represent each domain of threat, items did not cluster together in this way. Perceived collective threats to Americans' physical, social, political, and economic welfare were not distinct from perceived threats to Americans' collective worldview and culture. Instead, the scale appeared to be unidimensional, and participants who scored highly on realistic threat items also scored highly on symbolic threat items and vice versa. Insofar as it relates to Latino immigrants, this suggests that a more global form of intergroup threat perception is salient.

The lack of empirical evidence for realistic and symbolic threat perception having discriminant validity has important practical implications. Researchers often make the *a priori* assumption that symbolic and realistic threat perception are distinct and may not test this proposition prior to including threat in the statistical model (e.g., Velasco González et al., 2008). Statistically, this could be akin to including the same construct in the model twice, which could lead to model instability and biased estimates. This, in turn, may lead to a misguided understanding of the role of intergroup threat perception, including its antecedents and outcomes.

This scale assesses the extent to which individuals subscribe to the Latino threat narrative (Chavez, 2013). It appears to be the first multi-item measure to capture Latino immigrant threat attitudes that has been psychometrically developed and tested. Given the salience of the Latino threat narrative, the capacity to assess this construct is critical to the study of immigration and intergroup relations. The ability to assess Latino immigrant threat attitudes allows researchers to assess where, when, and with whom intervention is most needed. Furthermore, the ability to assess Latino immigrant threat perception allows researchers to evaluate the effectiveness of intergroup interventions.

Immigration Policy Attitudes Scale

Findings from the development and initial validation of the Immigration Policy Attitudes Scale (IPAS), suggest there are two separate but interrelated dimensions of integrationist immigration policy attitudes. Attitudes toward integrationist legislation that would extend pathways to legal status were distinct from those that would expand rights and benefits. The first dimension represents support for sweeping federal policies that would fully integrate unauthorized immigrants. The second dimension represents support for state and local policies that represent modest movement toward the social integration of unauthorized immigrants through the expansion of eligibility for social benefits and extension of rights.

Notably, there was a higher level of mean support for policies that address immigrants' legal status ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.09$) relative to policies that extend rights and benefits ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 1.42$). The finding that support for access to legal status was distinct from, and more supported than, access to social rights and benefits may be evidence of a belief system that deservingness for social benefits and rights should be tied

to citizenship. Unauthorized immigrants have been excluded from many federal social programs since their inception, including the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, Social Security, Medicaid, and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families; however, in 1996, the undeservingness of all non-citizens was codified in sweeping federal legislation that barred lawfully present immigrants from many public programs (Broder, Moussavian, & Blazer, 2015). This finding may also be evidence of the belief that extending eligibility for a benefit such as public prenatal care or in-state tuition is an underserved hand-out and even a "reward" for unlawful behavior. To the contrary, offering a pathway to adjust immigrants' legal status may be perceived as an opportunity that can and must be earned; thus, this category of policymaking may not be seen as rewarding unlawful behavior in the same way extending eligibility for specific social benefits is. Individual rights and benefits may also be seen as a net cost to taxpayers whereas pathways to legal status may be seen as expanding the tax payer base. Notably, such a rationale fails to consider that many undocumented immigrants are already taxpayers who fund, yet cannot reap, many social benefits (Becerra, Androff, Ayón, & Castillo, 2012). Finally, the scale structure and greater support for pathways to legal status may also be indicative of a belief that immigration policymaking is the domain of the federal government and should not devolve into a patchwork of subfederal policies. This represents a dilemma for immigrant integration in that there has been and continues to be a congressional gridlock on immigration policymaking that would provide an opportunity to legal status for unauthorized immigrants; immigration policymaking *has* largely become the domain of states and localities given high levels of political polarization nationally with immigration being a particularly divisive issue (Gulasekaram

& Ramakrishnan, 2015). The is a paralyzing paradox and one that must be overcome through greater political participation, more activism, and long-term strategies to improve intergroup attitudes, such as those discussed in this study.

This scale has much conceptual utility and appears to be the first psychometrically developed and tested measure of attitudes toward integrationist policymaking. The benefit of this measure is that is goes beyond the mere assessment of cognitive attitudes and affective sentiments toward unauthorized immigrants and captures policy positions as an expression of intergroup attitudes. The multidimensional nature of the measure allows researchers to examine aspects of policy attitudes that may be most responsive to intervention and to employ targeted subscales to meet study needs. A limitation of this scale, however, is that despite its psychometric development for utility in latent models, the support for legal status subscale cannot be used alone in a latent model as a result of identification issues stemming from only having two indicators; both correlated dimensions must be utilized in the measurement model for the model to be identified. Another potential limitation of this measure is that participants may interpret item wording to mean that immigrants would unilaterally qualify for social benefits based solely on their unauthorized immigration status ("How much would you support or oppose a [policy] that would allow immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to qualify for…"). In reality, item wording is suggestive of reversing unilateral *ineligibility* for social programs based on unauthorized immigration status. This may account in part for the finding of less support for extending eligibility for rights and benefits. Additional scale development research should employ cognitive interviewing or focus groups to probe this potential item wording issue.

Summary of Structural Equation Model Findings

The primary aims of this study were to advance knowledge of intergroup contact as a strategy to build support for integrationist immigration policymaking and to understand the mechanisms by which such relationships may exist. The overarching intent is to improve intergroup relations between U.S.-born white Americans and Latino immigrants thereby improving the lived experience of what Massey and Pren (2012a) argue to be one of the foremost social underclasses of today. This research heeds calls by the NASW (2017) to fight against anti-immigrant legislation and address the documentation status of long-term residents.

Findings from this study supported the full conceptual model that merged the intergroup contact theory, the deprovincialization hypothesis, and the Latino threat narrative. Findings suggest an important avenue through which intergroup contact may influence integrationist policy attitudes is a serial pathway involving reduced ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes. Intensive *and* community contact with both Latino immigrants *and* people of color were related to more support for integrationist policy attitudes by way of this sequential pathway. In three cases, the effect of contact on policy attitudes was fully indirect; that is to say, intergroup contact was related to policy attitudes only through the ethnocentrism and threat attitudes pathway. In three other cases, the pathway explained the effect of contact on policy attitudes *in full*. In another two cases, the pathway explained the effect of contact on policy attitudes *in part*, indicating other variables also explain how and why a contact-policy attitudes effect exists (see Table 17).

Table 17

Indirect Effects of Contact on Policy Attitudes via Serial Pathway

	Fully accounted for relationship (i.e., direct effect disappeared in full model)	Partially accounted for relationship (i.e., direct effect remained in full model)	Only indirectly related via pathway (i.e., no direct effect)
LI: Intensive and support for legal status			X
POC: Intensive and support for legal status		X	
LI: Intensive and support for rights and benefits			X
POC: Intensive and support for rights and benefits		X	
LI: Community and support for legal status	X		
POC: Community and support for legal status	X		
LI: Community and support for rights and benefits	X		
POC: Community and support for rights and benefits			X

Note. LI = Latino immigrant; POC = people of color.

Support for Study Hypotheses

All study hypotheses were supported in full or in part. Across all models, college contact was unrelated to all outcome variables, which was likely due to a majority of the sample involved in distance learning leading to limited college contact. Given the likelihood of insufficient statistical power to detect an effect,

support for study hypotheses is considered in terms of intensive and community contact. Further research is needed to make dependable inferences on the role of college contact in the formation and change of intergroup attitudes.

An important caveat in discussion of study results is the need to interpret with caution the role of intensive contact with Latino immigrants. The prevalence of Latino immigrant friends, relatives, and significant others were low in the study sample. Only 45 participants reported a friend who was a Latino immigrant, compared to 454 who reported a friend who was a person of color; 25 participants reported a relative who was a Latino immigrant, compared to 260 who reported a relative who was a person of color; 11 participants had a spouse who was a Latino immigrant, compared to 135 who reported a partner who was a person of color. In total, only 113 participants or 16% of the sample had a non-zero value on intensive contact with Latino immigrants.

Hypothesis 1

Intergroup contact was hypothesized to be associated with less Latino immigrant threat attitudes. Hypothesis 1 was partially supported for intergroup contact with Latino immigrants and fully supported for intergroup contact with people of color. More community contact with Latino immigrants was related to less threat attitudes, but intensive contact with Latino immigrants was unrelated to threat attitudes. This was unanticipated; according to the intergroup contact theory and prior research, intergroup contact marked by closeness is more promotive of prejudice reduction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Given that community contact with Latino immigrants—a less intimate form of intergroup contact—was related to less threat

attitudes, it may be that the incidence of intensive contact with Latino immigrants was too low for an effect to be detected. Both intensive and community contact with people of color were related to less Latino immigrant threat attitudes.

Hypothesis 2

Intergroup contact was hypothesized to be inversely and indirectly related to Latino immigrant threat attitudes via lower ethnocentrism. Hypothesis 2 was partially supported for intergroup contact with Latino immigrants and fully supported for intergroup contact with people of color. Community contact with Latino immigrants was inversely and indirectly related to Latino immigrant threat attitudes by way of lower ethnocentrism; ethnocentrism fully explained the relationship between community contact and threat attitudes. Intensive contact with Latino immigrants was related to less ethnocentrism which was, in turn, related to less Latino immigrant threat attitudes; despite significant direct effects, the indirect effect was not statistically significant, which may be an artifact of statistical underpowering. Intensive and community contact with people of color were both inversely and indirectly related to Latino immigrant threat perception via lower ethnocentrism. Again, ethnocentrism fully explained the association between intensive and community contact with people of color and Latino immigrant threat attitudes.

Hypothesis 3

More intergroup contact was hypothesized to be related to more support for integrationist immigration policymaking. Hypothesis 3 was partially supported for both contact with Latino immigrants and people of color. More community contact with Latino immigrants, but not intensive contact, was related to greater support for

pathways to legal status and immigrant rights and benefits. Given the significance of community contact with Latino immigrants, the lack of statistical significance of intensive contact may be the result of statistical underpowering.

Intensive contact with people of color was related to more support for both pathways to legal status and immigrant rights and benefits. Community contact with people of color was only statistically significantly related to support for pathways to legal status, not immigrant rights and benefits. The lack of statistical association between community contact with people of color and policies extending immigrants more rights and benefits may be because these policies are perceived to be unearned hand-outs. It may require a closer form of contact to see these policies as important or needed. Having close friends or family members who are people of color and disproportionately impacted by structural barriers may give individuals greater empathy and understanding for why rights and benefits are important to the wellbeing and success of marginalized populations. Conversely, a network of more superficial ties to people of color may not lend sufficient empathy and insight into the lived experience of marginalized populations.

Hypothesis 4

Lower ethnocentrism was hypothesized to be associated with more support for integrationist immigration policy attitudes. Hypothesis 4 was fully supported. Ethnocentrism was inversely related to both support for pathways to legal status and immigrant rights and benefits.

Hypothesis 5

Intergroup contact was hypothesized to be positively and indirectly related to integrationist immigration policy attitudes via the serial pathway of lower ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes. Hypothesis 5 tested the full conceptual model and was fully supported for both contact with Latino immigrants and contact with people of color. Intensive and community contact with both Latino immigrants and people of color were related to support for pathways to legal status and support for immigrant rights and benefits via the serial pathway of ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat attitudes. The precise role of the pathway for each type and referent group of intergroup contact and domain of policymaking can be found in Table 15.

Significance of Findings for Intervention

Overall, findings suggest intergroup contact is an effective tool to leverage in the promotion of more favorable attitudes toward Latino immigrants and support for policies that would integrate undocumented immigrants. Findings reinforce the importance not only of strong intergroup ties, but also those that are weaker. The sum of more trivial intergroup contact had an important—and sometimes just as strong or even stronger—relationship with ethnocentrism, threat attitudes, and policy attitudes. This finding diverges from prior research that suggests close intergroup contact is more effective at reducing negative intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

Another noteworthy finding is that intergroup contact with people of color, not just Latino immigrants, was related to less Latino immigrant threat perception and

more support for integrationist policymaking. This effect was both direct and indirect through ethnocentrism. The strength of these relationships rivaled those of contact with Latino immigrants. This has pragmatic implications as intergroup interaction can more easily be promoted with people of color than Latino immigrants, given greater numbers in the population.

Another important finding from this study is related to the significant role of ethnocentrism in the promotion of attitudes favorable toward Latino immigrants and integrationist policymaking. The association between ethnocentrism and threat attitudes was strong; for every one standard deviation decrease in ethnocentrism, there was roughly a .60 standard deviation decrease in threat perception. Also, controlling for threat perception in the full conceptual model, ethnocentrism had a sizeable direct effect on support for pathways to legal status. This finding is consistent with prior findings, which suggest whites' attitudes toward immigration are heavily underscored by ethnocentrism, and thus, race (Haubert & Fussell, 2006; Kinder & Kam, 2010). The idea that attitudes toward immigration are dependent on racial attitudes has been cogently argued by scholars (e.g., Dietrich, 2011). However, Romero (2008) argues the centrality of race to the immigration debate has been systematically downplayed in empirical research and should be given greater attention. This study supports the contention that understanding racial attitudes, especially an "us vs. them" mentality, is critical to understanding and shifting attitudes toward immigration. The significance of ethnocentrism in this study has important implications for immigrant advocates; to effectively target the Latino threat

narrative, ethnocentrism must be targeted. Ethnocentrism may be an important point of intervention to successfully move the pendulum toward immigrant integration.

In sum, study findings with direct and significant implications for intervention are three-fold. First, the importance of less intimate forms of intergroup contact should not be dismissed. Second, in the long-term struggle to combat anti-immigrant attitudes and promote immigrant integration, intergroup contact with people of color, more broadly, can be leveraged. Third, interventions should be implemented that specifically aim to target ethnocentrism.

To get the boulder that is immigrant integration rolling, a multipronged approach should be taken. As a long-term strategy, policy interventions to change macro-level social conditions are critical. However, as a more immediate strategy, interpersonal interventions are warranted to help improve intergroup attitudes. Notably, shifting intergroup attitudes through such interventions would help build support for changing macro-level social conditions.

Policy Interventions to Reduce Segregation

Despite the fact that housing discrimination has been outlawed for more than 50 years in the U.S., society is still highly segregated along ethnic and racial lines (Rothstein, 2014). Targeting residential segregation would provide opportunities for intergroup contact in equal-status, everyday settings to organically occur. Studies suggest social integration would by and large increase intergroup contact and cross-group friendship development (Burns, 2007). Policies that decrease segregation are vital as segregation and intergroup contact each have self-reinforcing cumulative effects.

Segregation breeds more self-segregation and positive intergroup contact spurs more intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

A prominent scholar on segregation, Richard Rothstein (2017), argues the U.S. has an obligation to reverse segregation through social policymaking. He offers a number of solutions that would spur residential integration. For example, the federal government could increase housing subsidies for low-income people of color to move out of high-poverty racially-isolated neighborhoods. Housing vouchers currently reinforce the status quo as vouchers do not cover the cost of residence in more affluent neighborhoods. Thus, vouchers would have to increase in value and in number to have a sizeable effect on segregation; 6 million families qualify for Section 8, but only 1 million receive vouchers (Rothstein, 2017).

Importantly, most efforts to reverse segregation are not likely to be politically viable if citizens continue to accept the myth of *de facto* rather than *de jure* segregation. In other words, the country is segregated not because of historical instances of interpersonal or private discrimination, but because of federal policies that were explicit yet unconstitutional in their discrimination against people of color (Rothstein, 2017). Discussion of remedial proposals to fight segregation may also be futile in the face of the myth of meritocracy, which is the belief that by and large people get what they work hard for and deserve. The fact that the myth of meritocracy stymies support for actions that reverse segregation is a conundrum, as segregation itself maintains the myth of meritocracy via a lack of intergroup contact (Lopez, Gurin, & Nagda, 1998; Nagda, Gurin, & Lopez, 2003).

As a dual approach, efforts to integrate society must also target making the quintessential American dream a possibility for everyone. Despite being one of the wealthiest nations per capita, the prospects for inter-generational upward social mobility are meager in the U.S., and even moreso for people of color (Martin, 2007; Rothstein, 2017). Roughly 1 in 4 people who identify as Black or Latino live below the federal poverty line, compared to only 1 in 10 whites (Pew Research Center, 2016). This racial disparity in socioeconomic status is likely to be maintained as a result of a wealth gap between whites and people of color, which is transferred intergenerationally with the bestowing of assets. For example, median household wealth among Blacks is less than 8% that of whites ($11,200 vs. $144,200; Pew Research Center, 2016).

By intervening on intergenerational maintenance of an economic hierarchy, whites and people of color can begin to live more integrated existences. To target socioeconomic disparities maintained by a wealth gap, efforts must be made to protect people of color against employment discrimination. Research suggests Black men are less likely than white men to get an interview, even when the former have no criminal record and the latter do (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 2019). Corrective action around socioeconomic disparities should also involve targeting policies that are covertly racially-motivated. One such policy that is purportedly race-neutral, but arguably serves to maintain the racial status quo, is the federal tax code program of property tax and mortgage interest deduction (Rothstein, 2017). This program is a federal subsidy for higher income earners (who are more likely to be white) with no equivalent for lower income renters (who are more likely to be people of color). Additional racially-motivated policies that must shift are those that have amounted to

stark disparities in the criminal justice system—what Alexander (2012) refers to as the "new Jim Crow." In myriad ways, both direct and indirect, injustices in the criminal justice system depress the economic wellbeing of people of color for generations to come. Efforts to correct these policies would reduce residential segregation by way of economic uplift for people of color.

Promoting residential integration would serve to combat segregation in elementary and secondary schools, which is higher than it was 40 years ago (Rothstein, 2017). School integration is highly important as stronger positive contact effects have been found among children and college students relative to adults (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Children and adolescents are in a developmental period in which ideas about the world and people are still relatively malleable (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Sears, 1986). During these developmental years, a significant amount of time is spent in school where peer interaction is plentiful. In this setting, peer interaction has the potential to meet the optimal prejudice-reducing conditions for intergroup contact, including: (1) equal status between groups within the contact situation, (2) shared goals which facilitate friendly interaction and support for one another, (3) intergroup cooperation, and (4) institutionally supported contact. Furthermore, research suggests more diverse friendship networks earlier in life lead to more diverse friendship networks later in life (Stearns, Buchmann, & Bonneau, 2009).

Interventions to Reduce Self-segregation

One way to leverage the diversity and multiculturalism that does presently exist in schools is to decrease self-segregation. Reducing the tendency for elementary, secondary, and post-secondary students to self-segregate is important for the same

reasons reducing systemic school segregation is important (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010). One way to increase cross-group friendship development is to grant school-sanctioned equal status to the primary languages of children from different cultural backgrounds (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Wright & Tropp, 2005). Accordingly, English only state policies that eliminate bilingual education programs, such as Arizona's Proposition 203 and California's Proposition 227, should be fought against (Mora, 2000; Stritikus & Garcia, 2005).

Another intervention to target self-segregation directly concerns campus housing policies, such as those that mandate college roommate pairings are random. Evidence suggests that white undergraduates who are paired with a roommate from a different ethnic-racial group form more positive intergroup attitudes and more diverse friendship networks in college (Shook & Fazio, 2008; Stearns et al., 2009; Van Laar et al., 2005). Such policies should be carefully considered by all stakeholders before execution, however, given that preserving *intra*group connection among students of color is critical to combatting feelings of isolation that commonly arise at primarily white institutions. Done thoughtfully, such policies have the potential to benefit universities by way of improving intergroup relations on campus while also promoting student success and retention.

Additionally, school staff have ample opportunities to reverse self-segregation patterns. Educators, school social workers, after-school staff, and coaches are all provided with opportunities to harness campus diversity and promote intergroup interaction as part of routine school-based activities. Pre-kindergarten through college educators can purposefully structure the classroom environment to maximize intergroup

mixing. They can assign students to study groups and project groups as well as orchestrate seating arrangements that maximize diversity. An evidence-based method for producing quality intergroup interaction in the classroom us the jigsaw technique. This technique promotes cooperative and equal status cross-group interaction through structured activities in which students are interdependence upon one another for their learning and success (The Jigsaw Classroom, 2016). Evidence suggests the jigsaw technique promotes positive intergroup interaction that reduces racial hostility between students and leads to the development of further contact across group boundaries (Slavin & Cooper, 1999).

Intergroup Dialogues

A specific small group intervention that can be used in community or higher education settings to overcome the paucity of intergroup contact that plagues society is the Intergroup Dialogue Method (Nagda & Gurin, 2007). Intergroup dialogues foster personal connections among members of different social groups. The method is designed for use with groups of 12 to 16 and is co-facilitated by trained peers from socially privileged and marginalized groups. Facilitators pose questions and scenarios and share personal experiences (Nagda & Gurin, 2007; Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003). Intergroup dialogue is intended to be sustained for 10 to 14 weeks to allow for more intimacy to develop among participants and to move dialogue beyond a superficial level. By emphasizing dialogue rather than debate, horizontal and reciprocal communication occurs (Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003), which satisfies the optimal intergroup contact criterion of equal status (Miller & Harris, 2005; Rodenborg & Boisen, 2013). Intergroup dialogues facilitate greater self-awareness, identification of biases, the development of corrective

thoughts, and anti-racist behaviors (Nagda et al., 1999). Intergroup dialogues do not focus on a purely intellectual understanding of concepts like social position, discrimination, and privilege, but rather on developing empathy and personalizing the social "other" (Nagda & Gurin, 2007; Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003). The method has been found to raise critical consciousness of social group membership (Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003) and societal and historical forces that have differentially acted upon social groups promoting their success or marginalization (Nagda et al., 2003). Participants of intergroup dialogue give greater consideration to structural forces that influence individual outcomes (Lopez et al., 1998). For this reason, intergroup dialogues have the potential to be especially meaningful between U.S.-born and unauthorized immigrant group members; as chronicles earlier, structural forces have played a large role in unauthorized immigration, a reality of which many Americans are unaware.

Interventions to Reduce Ethnocentrism

Findings from this study suggest that by reducing ethnocentrism, more favorable attitudes toward Latino immigrants and integrationist policymaking can be stimulated. Ethnocentrism is a fundamental human tendency, yet detrimental to the pluralistic societies in which most people live; it cannot be eliminated, but it can be abated. The struggle to reject the vice of ethnocentrism and its effects on intergroup relations is best fought through careful curation of politicians and national leaders. Political rhetoric has the strong potential to stoke ethnocentric proclivities among the public. Thus, it is critical that individuals who embrace multiculturalism and unity are elected to positions of power and leadership in this country rather than those who pit groups against one another. To ensure this, the country must realize higher rates of political participation. Social

workers and other advocates are needed to engage in voter registration and mobilization. People of color generally have lower rates of voter participation relative to whites (McDonald, n.d.). This is problematic and does not aid in the election of politicians who reflect values of cultural pluralism and diversity—antitheses of ethnocentrism. Another segment of the electorate with lower rates of votership is young people (McDonald, n.d.). This is similarly problematic in that younger Americans tend to have more favorable views toward multiculturalism and diversity (Fingerhut, 2018).

Another potentially meaningful way to reduce ethnocentrism is through cross-cultural exposure. Cross-cultural exposure is a form of intergroup contact but is indirect or vicarious. It involves exposing individuals to other cultural norms and standards and may promote greater complexity in how individuals see their own group in relation to others. Cross-cultural exposure can be promoted through multicultural storybooks (Wan, 2006), historical stories (Demircioglu, 2008), or songs from other cultures (Pascale, 2011). These tools have been found to teach diversity and tolerance and are appropriate for early childhood and elementary education. At the secondary and post-secondary level, cross-cultural exposure can be facilitated through books and videos offering the perspective of those from other cultures. Teaching Tolerance (tolerance.org) is an excellent resource for educators of all developmental stages who seek to devise lesson plans and course assignments geared toward the development of intergroup understanding. Across all levels of education, intergroup sharing among peers can also be promoted, allowing different groups to highlight their cultural practices and perspectives. It is worth noting that caution should be taken, however, not to tokenize students with minority identities in these spaces. At the post-secondary level,

experiential assignments and activities can be integrated. For example, students could be required to participate in multicultural functions on campus or in the community as part of a course assignment and then guided through critical self-reflection prompting introspection on cultural lens. Experiential in-class activities could include cross-cultural speaker panels; there is some evidence suggesting speaker panels are effective at promoting more positive intergroup attitudes (Walch, Sinkkanen, Swain, Francisco, Breaux, & Sjoberg, 2012).

Social Work Education

While educational settings in general may be important sites for the reduction of ethnocentrism and promotion of positive intergroup attitudes, social work education is a particularly important site for such efforts. The profession works on the front lines with diverse and marginalized populations, yet social workers do not consistently hold positive views of those they serve (e.g., Park et al., 2011; Swank & Raiz, 2010). As it relates to unauthorized immigrants, 33% of social workers surveyed as part of a national study subscribed to the notion that undocumented immigrants drain social services (Park et al., 2011). Furthermore, only 67% of social workers surveyed reported confidently that it is part of social work's professional responsibility to serve and advocate for unauthorized immigrants (Park et al., 2011). This finding demonstrates the extent to which immigration has been politicized, potentially leading social workers to prioritize politics and personal political views over people. This is problematic as the social work mission is clear; the profession is to address the wellbeing of the oppressed and marginalized (NASW, 2008), and unauthorized immigrants are among the most vulnerable in society today due to a lack of full legal and social rights and protections. It is also concerning

because the majority of social workers are likely to work with unauthorized immigrants at various points in their careers and must be able to do so unencumbered by personal biases and stereotype ascription.

Biases against unauthorized immigrants should be confronted *before* social workers enter the field. Social work education should heed the findings of Park and colleagues (2011) and respond accordingly. This is particularly the case for regions of the country where social workers are more likely to interface with clients with liminal or no legal status. Social work educators should help address negative preconceptions of unauthorized immigrants, challenge the stereotypes involved in the salient Latino threat narrative, and work to abate ethnocentrism. Social work instructors could introduce an historically accurate account of the historical and socio-political factors that have led migrants to the U.S. and to settle in the country despite legal status; such a counter-narrative offers greater perspective as individuals come to see immigration as a micro-level decision spurred by macro-level conditions in which poor U.S. policymaking is implicated. Similarly, social work educators should address narratives of threat and the false assertions that fuel them, offering a data-based perspective that also includes immigrants' contributions (see Becerra et al., 2012). Furthermore, the strategies discussed above to reduce ethnocentrism should be utilized with social work students. These strategies involve both direct intergroup contact and cross-cultural exposure and in addition to exposing and challenging ethnocentric tendencies and intergroup biases help satisfy educational and professional requirements for cultural competence (Council on Social Work Education, 2015; NASW, 2008). A number of core courses at both the baccalaureate and master's level could be tailored to incorporate such content, including

diversity and oppression, theory, and social policy courses. To effectively prepare social workers for work in the field, exercises and assignments in these courses must seek to activate critical self-reflexivity in addition to increasing intellectual awareness.

Study Limitations and Future Research

This study had several notable limitations that warrant future research. This study was limited by three underpowered intergroup contact variables, including: college contact with Latino immigrants, college contact with people of color, and intensive contact with Latino immigrants. A large proportion of the sample had very limited intergroup contact in college settings, preventing the detection of effects on ethnocentrism, threat perception, and policy attitudes. Further research is needed with in-person students to understand if college settings are effective sites to promote intergroup contact. Additionally, intensive intergroup contact with Latino immigrants was likely underpowered. Accordingly, these findings were interpreted with caution. Future research should be conducted in which participants who have close friends and family members who are Latino immigrants are oversampled.

This study has several study design limitations. Findings are intended to serve as initial tentative evidence of the associations between intergroup contact, ethnocentrism, Latino immigrant threat perception, and attitudes toward immigration policy. This study has limited generalizability given the non-probability convenience sample employed. Findings are only representative of those who self-selected to participate in the study, not U.S.-born white college students as whole. Future research should be conducted that employs a probability sample of U.S.-born whites.

Another study design limitation was the use of cross-sectional data. Accordingly, findings do not provide indication of causal sequencing of variables. Instead, the sequencing of variables and directionality of relationships are theoretical predictions. This is important as some of the relationships between study variables may actually be reciprocal, such as contact and ethnocentrism and Latino immigrant threat perception. While intergroup contact leads to more favorable out-group attitudes, participants may also be predisposed to engaging in intergroup contact as a result of more favorable out-group attitudes (Wilson, 1996). However, in Pettigrew and Tropp's (2011) meta-analysis of intergroup contact studies, experimental studies involving random assignment had a comparable mean contact effect relative to samples in which participants had the ability to choose to engage in intergroup contact. Analyzing studies with experimental designs only, the direction of the mean contact effect was negative and even larger than that for cross-sectional studies. Given that contact remains inversely related to prejudice in experimental studies, this implies the theory's most basic premise on the directionality of contact and prejudice is empirically supported. It also indicates that cross-sectional studies approximate those of more rigorous designs both in direction and magnitude of the contact-prejudice relationship. Nonetheless, future research is needed that uses a longitudinal design to provide evidence of causal mechanisms. Longitudinal research that commences with in-person college freshmen may be ideal as this is a time in which new acquaintances and friends are made; for many college students, college is one of the more diverse setting they have been is, given high levels of residential and school segregation. Such a study could also track the formation of immigration attitudes, as college is likely a time when autonomous political opinions are formed or solidified.

Additional future research would be valuable to better understand how to mobilize support for integrationist immigration policymaking. While this study provides insight into policy attitudes held by participants, policy attitudes mean very little in the absence of political involvement. Accordingly, future research should explore voting intentions as well as other forms of political involvement and activism. For example, does intergroup contact have the potential, either directly or indirectly, to mobilize voters and activate ally behaviors?

In this study, the ethnocentrism and threat attitudes serial pathway did not fully account for the relationship between intensive contact with people of color and support immigration policymaking. This indicates there are additional explanatory variables that would provide insight into how and why intimate contact influences policy attitudes. Prior work suggests empathy is an important mediator of the contact-prejudice relationship (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Future research should extend these findings and explore the effect of empathy in the relationship between intergroup contact and immigration policy attitudes.

Additionally, given the strong relationship between ethnocentrism and threat perception and policy attitudes, future research could dissect ethnocentrism and examine the role of its individual subparts. Harboring the belief that whites are superior, the preference for white culture, the desire to maintain racial purity, or a willingness to exploit out-groups may differentially relate to attitudes toward Latino immigrants and immigration policymaking. Understanding the particular aspect(s) of ethnocentrism that drive these attitudes would allow for interventions to be more effectively tailored.

Finally, this study could be extended to further examine the role of intergroup contact in the formation immigrant and immigration attitudes. First, the ability to leverage indirect intergroup contact (i.e., cross-group exposure) to reduce ethnocentrism should be considered and tested. Findings would provide insight into the potential to intervene upon ethnocentrism. As discussed earlier, there are myriad ways by which cross-group exposure can be facilitated. Second, a more granular assessment of the settings in which extensive intergroup contact occurs is warranted. The settings of intergroup contact may be differentially related to ethnocentrism, threat perception, and immigration policy attitudes, and such findings would have implications for where intervention is targeted.

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APPENDIX A

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Dear Student,

My name is Elizabeth Kiehne, and I am a PhD candidate in the School of Social Work at Arizona State University. I am working on a dissertation study under the supervision of Dr. David Becerra. We would like to invite you to participate in an online survey **to understand students' social experiences and their social and political attitudes toward immigrants.** Your participation is expected to take 25-30 minutes. At the end of the survey, you will have the option of providing your email address to be entered into a raffle in which you could **win one of four $75 Amazon e-gift cards.**

You must be 18 years or older and a student of ASU to participate in the study. Your participation in this study is voluntary and confidential. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

To complete the survey, please visit: [link]

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Kiehne, MSW
PhD Candidate | School of Social Work
Arizona State University
Elizabeth.Kiehne@asu.edu

David Becerra, MSW, PhD
Associate Professor | School of Social Work
Arizona State University
David.Becerra@asu.edu

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT

March 1, 2018

Dear Student,

I am a PhD candidate in the School of Social Work at Arizona State University and am working on a dissertation study under the supervision of Dr. David Becerra to understand people's social experiences and their social and political attitudes toward immigrants.

We are inviting you to participate in a brief study, which involves responding to an online survey from your personal laptop with questions related to your demographic characteristics, social involvement, social attitudes, and preferences toward certain social policies. The survey is expected to take 25-30 minutes to complete.

You must be 18 years or older to participate in the study and a student of ASU. Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty and it will not affect any course grades. Although participation may not result in direct benefit to you, possible benefits of your participation relate to improved social relations more broadly on and off-campus. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

You have the option of entering into a raffle to win one of four $75 Target gift cards by providing an email address. By providing your email address, study participation will not be anonymous. However, personal information will remain confidential and will not be shared. Email addresses will only be seen by the researchers and at all times will remain separate from survey responses. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications, but your identity will never be revealed and results will be shared only in the aggregate.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team: Elizabeth.Kiehne@asu.edu and David.Becerra@asu.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance at (480) 965-6788.

Please note that by clicking "Yes" below you are acknowledging that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Your participation is greatly appreciated!

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Kiehne, MSW, PhD Candidate, School of Social Work

David Becerra, MSW, PhD, Associate Professor, School of Social Work

APPENDIX C

INTENSIVE INTERGROUP CONTACT INSTRUMENT

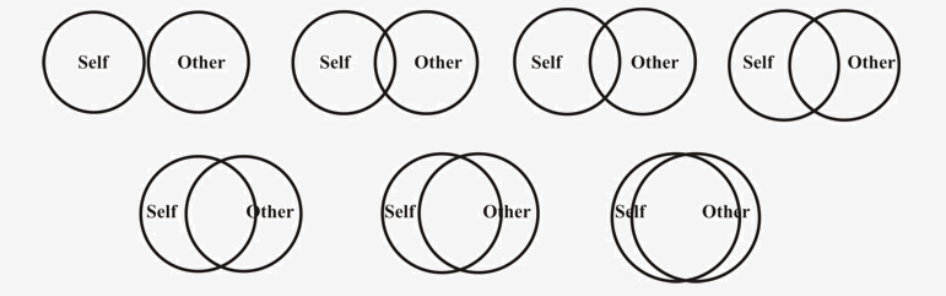
Instructions: Many people have some good friends they feel close to. We are going to ask you a few questions about these individuals.

Please start by listing the initials of your SIX closest friends (do NOT include your significant other).

Friend 1 _____
Friend 2 _____
Friend 3 _____
Friend 4 _____
Friend 5 _____
Friend 6 _____

Now, let's go back and talk about ___(initials of alter 1…6)___.

1. Please select the picture that best describes your current relationship with ___(initials of alter 1…6)___. *[Researcher's note: This is Aron et al.'s (1992) Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale]*



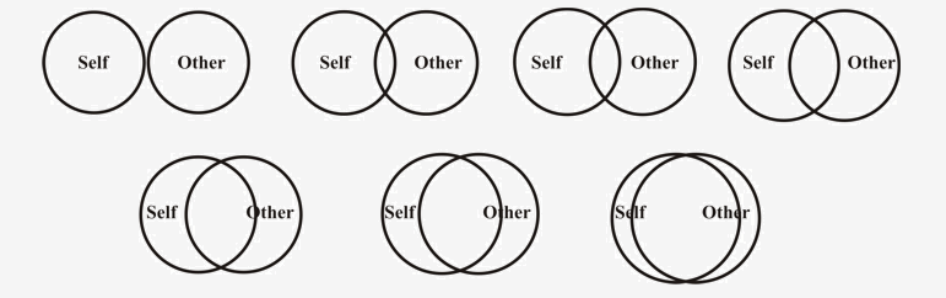
2. To which ethnic-racial group does ___(initials of alter 1…6)___ belong?
    i. Latino/Hispanic/Chicano
    ii. Non-Hispanic White/Caucasian
    iii. Black/African American
    iv. American Indian or Alaskan Native
    v. Asian/Asian American
    vi. Middle Eastern/Middle Eastern American
    vii. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
    viii. Biracial or Multiracial
    ix. Other: _____

3. Was ___(initials of alter 1…6)___ born in the U.S.?
    i. Yes
    ii. No
    iii. Do not know

Instructions: Now we would like to ask you some questions about your significant other.

4. Do you have a significant other?
    i. No
    ii. Yes

5. Please select the picture that best describes your current relationship with your significant other. *[Researcher's note: This is Aron et al.'s (1992) Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale]*



6. To which ethnic-racial group does your significant other belong?
    x. Latino/Hispanic/Chicano
    xi. Non-Hispanic White/Caucasian
    xii. Black/African American
    xiii. American Indian or Alaskan Native
    xiv. Asian/Asian American
    xv. Middle Eastern/Middle Eastern American
    xvi. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
    xvii. Biracial or Multiracial
    xviii. Other: _____

7. Was your significant other born in the U.S.?
    i. Yes
    ii. No
    iii. Do not know

Instructions: Next, we would like to ask you a few questions about your relatives. By relatives, we mean anyone who you consider to be family.

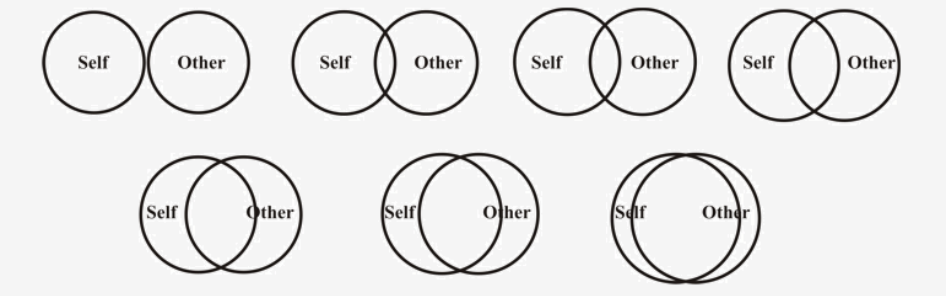
8. Do you have any relatives who are from a different ethnic-racial group than you (NOT including your significant other)?
    i. Yes
    i. No

Please list the initials of your relatives from a different ethnic-racial group than you (if more than 6, list those to whom you feel the closest).

Relative 1 _____
Relative 2 _____
Relative 3 _____
Relative 4 _____
Relative 5 _____
Relative 6 _____

Now, let's go back and talk about ___(initials of alter 1…6)___.

9. Please select the picture that best describes your current relationship with ___(initials of alter 1…6)___. *[Researcher's note: This is Aron et al.'s (1992) Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale]*



10. To which ethnic-racial group does ___(initials of alter 1…6)___ belong?
    xix. Latino/Hispanic/Chicano
    xx. Non-Hispanic White/Caucasian
    xxi. Black/African American
    xxii. American Indian or Alaskan Native
    xxiii. Asian/Asian American
    xxiv. Middle Eastern/Middle Eastern American
    xxv. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
    xxvi. Biracial or Multiracial
    xxvii. Other: _____

11. Was ___(initials of alter 1…6)___ born in the U.S.?
    i. Yes
    ii. No
    iii. Do not know

APPENDIX D

EXTENSIVE INTERGROUP COLLEGE CONTACT INSTRUMENT

Instructions: We now would like to ask you some questions about your on-campus college experiences.

Below are some **on-campus** settings in which you may interact with others. How much interaction do you have with individuals from a different ethnic-racial group than you in the following?

	A great deal	Quite a bit	Some	Very little	None	Does not apply
Classes	○	○	○	○	○	○
On-campus workplace	○	○	○	○	○	○
Greek life (i.e., fraternity or sorority)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sports teams or activities	○	○	○	○	○	○
Student clubs or organizations	○	○	○	○	○	○

Below are some **on-campus** settings in which you may interact with others. How much interaction do you have with individuals who are Latino immigrants in the following?

	A great deal	Quite a bit	Some	Very little	None	Does not apply
Classes	○	○	○	○	○	○
On-campus workplace	○	○	○	○	○	○
Greek life (i.e., fraternity or sorority)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sports teams or activities	○	○	○	○	○	○
Student clubs or organizations	○	○	○	○	○	○

Do you live on campus?

Yes

No

[If yes to above] Do you have any roommates from a different ethnic-racial group than you?

Yes

No

[If yes to above] How much interaction do you have with your roommates from a different ethnic-racial group than you?

A great deal

Quite a bit

Some
Very little
None

How much interaction do you have with students from a different ethnic-racial group than you in your residence hall/dorm (NOT including roommates)?
A great deal
Quite a bit
Some
Very little
None

Do you have any roommates who are Latino immigrants?
Yes
No

[If yes to above] How much interaction do you have with your roommates who are Latino immigrants?
A great deal
Quite a bit
Some
Very little
None

How much interaction do you have with students who are Latino immigrants in your residence hall/dorm (NOT including roommates)?
A great deal
Quite a bit
Some
Very little
None

APPENDIX E

EXTENSIVE INTERGROUP COMMUNITY CONTACT INSTRUMENT

Instructions: We would like to ask you some questions about your off-campus experiences outside of college.

Below are some **off-campus** settings in which you may interact with others. How much interaction do you have with individuals from a different ethnic-racial group than you in the following?

	A great deal	Quite a bit	Some	Very little	None	Does not apply
Off-campus workplace	○	○	○	○	○	○
Internship	○	○	○	○	○	○
Place of worship (e.g., church, mosque, temple)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Organizations or groups you are a part of	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dating scene	○	○	○	○	○	○

Below are some **off-campus** settings in which you may interact with others. How much interaction do you have with individuals who are Latino immigrants in the following?

	A great deal	Quite a bit	Some	Very little	None	Does not apply
Off-campus workplace	○	○	○	○	○	○
Internship	○	○	○	○	○	○
Place of worship (e.g., church, mosque, temple)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Organizations or groups you are a part of	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dating scene	○	○	○	○	○	○

Do you live on campus?

Yes

No

[If no to above] Do you have any roommates from a different ethnic-racial group than you?

Yes

No

[If yes to above] How much interaction do you have with your roommates from a different ethnic-racial group than you?

A great deal

Quite a bit

Some
Very little
None

How much interaction do you have with individuals from a different ethnic-racial group than you in your neighborhood?
A great deal
Quite a bit
Some
Very little
None

Do you have any roommates who are Latino immigrants?
Yes
No

[If yes to above] How much interaction do you have with your roommates who are Latino immigrants?
A great deal
Quite a bit
Some
Very little
None

How much interaction do you have with individuals who are Latino immigrants in your neighborhood?
A great deal
Quite a bit
Some
Very little
None

APPENDIX F

THE ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE 1: THE 36 ITEM VERSION

(Note: These are the intergroup ethnocentrism subscales only [Bizumic et al., 2009])

Instructions: The following statements deal with various ways in which you may think or feel about your ethnic-racial group. Some statements also pertain to your relationship with other ethnic-racial groups. The words "culture," "cultural group," "ethnic group," "we," and "our people" are meant to prompt you to think about your ethnic-racial group. By ethnic-racial group, we mean the below categories. To begin, please select the ethnic-racial group with which you most strongly identify.

i. Latino/Hispanic/Chicano
ii. Non-Hispanic White/Caucasian
iii. Black/African American
iv. American Indian or Alaskan Native
v. Asian/Asian American
vi. Middle Eastern/Middle Eastern American
vii. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

1 = Very strongly disagree
2 = Strongly disagree
3 = Somewhat disagree
4 = Slightly disagree
5 = Neutral/unsure
6 = Slightly agree
7 = Somewhat agree
8 = Strongly agree
9 = Very strongly agree

Preference

1. In most cases, I like people from my culture more than I like others.

2. I feel much more relaxed and comfortable in the company of people from my cultural or ethnic group than I feel in the company of others.

3. In general, I prefer doing things with people from my own culture than with people from different cultures.

4. I do NOT prefer members of my own cultural or ethnic group to others.

5. I don't think I have any particular preference for my own cultural or ethnic group over others.

6. I would probably be quite content living in a cultural or ethnic group that is very different to mine.

Superiority

7. The world would be a much better place if all other cultures and ethnic groups modeled themselves on my culture.

8. On the whole, people from my culture tend to be better people than people from other cultures.

9. In general, other cultures do not have the inner strength and resilience of our culture.

10. Our cultural or ethnic group is NOT more deserving and valuable than others.

11. I don't believe that my cultural or ethnic group is any better than any other.

12. It is simply NOT true that our culture and our customs are any better than other cultures and other customs.

Purity

13. It is better for people from different ethnic and cultural groups not to marry.

14. Our culture would be much better off if we could keep people from different cultures out.

15. I prefer not to be around people from very different cultures.

16. I'd really enjoy working and being with people from completely different cultures and ethnic groups.

17. I'd like to live in a neighborhood where there are many people from all sorts of quite different cultural and ethnic groups to mine.

18. I like the idea of a society in which people from completely different cultures, ethnic groups, and backgrounds mix together freely.

Exploitativeness

19. We should always put our interests first and not be oversensitive about the interests of other cultures or ethnic groups.

20. In dealing with other ethnic and cultural groups our first priority should be that we make sure that we are the ones who end up gaining and not the ones who end up

losing.

21. We need to do what's best for our own people, and stop worrying so much about what the effect might be on other peoples.

22. We should always show consideration for the welfare of people from other cultural or ethnic groups even if, by doing this, we may lose some advantage over them.

23. In dealing with other cultures we should always be honest with them and respect their rights and feelings.

24. I would be extremely unhappy if our actions had negative effects on other cultures, no matter how much advantage we might be gaining.

APPENDIX G

LATINO IMMIGRANT THREAT ATTITUDES SCALE

Instructions: Next, we would like to ask you about your general views of Latino immigrants in the U.S. Please answer honestly. There are no right or wrong answers.

1 = Strongly agree
2 = Agree
3 = Somewhat agree
4 = Somewhat disagree
5 = Disagree
6 = Strongly disagree

1. Latino immigrants are a burden on social services.

2. Latino immigrants damage the social fabric of America.

3. Latino immigrants increase the tax burden on Americans.

4. Latino immigrants have no regard for law and order.

5. Latino immigrants do not share the core values of America.

6. Latino immigrants take jobs away from American workers.

7. Social services are less available to Americans because of immigration from Latin America.

8. Immigration from Latin America negatively impacts public education for American children.

9. Latino immigrants increase crime in the U.S.

10. Latino immigrants drive down wages for American workers.

11. Latino immigrants are not assimilating into American culture.

12. Immigration from Latin America is undermining American culture.

APPENDIX H

IMMIGRATION POLICY ATTITUDES SCALE

Instructions: Next, we would like to get your opinions on different social policies that recently have been passed or discussed. Please answer honestly. There are no right or wrong answers.

1=Very strongly support
2=Strongly support
3=Somewhat support
4=Somewhat oppose
5=Strongly oppose
6=Very strongly oppose

1. How much would you support or oppose a federal policy that would allow immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to apply for legal status and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, as long as they meet certain requirements?

2. How much would you support or oppose a federal policy like the DREAM Act that would allow immigrants brought to the U.S. illegally as children to apply for legal status and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, as long as they meet certain requirements?

3. How much would you support or oppose a state policy that would allow immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to qualify for in-state college tuition, as long as they meet certain requirements like having a high school diploma from that state?

4. How much would you support or oppose a state policy that would allow pregnant immigrant women living in the U.S. illegally to qualify for public health insurance for prenatal care?

5. How much would you support or oppose a state policy that would allow immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to obtain a state driver's license?

6. How much would you support or oppose a local policy that would prohibit city resources from being used to investigate immigration status and detain and deport immigrants living in the U.S. illegally?

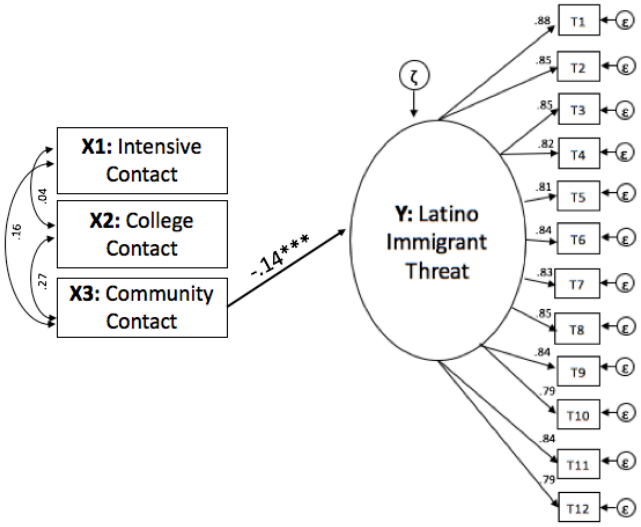
7. How much would you support or oppose a local policy that would allow immigrants living in the U.S. illegally to obtain a city photo identification card?

APPENDIX I

SEQUENTIALLY BUILT MODEL 1: LATINO IMMIGRANTS

Model 1a: Contact → Threat

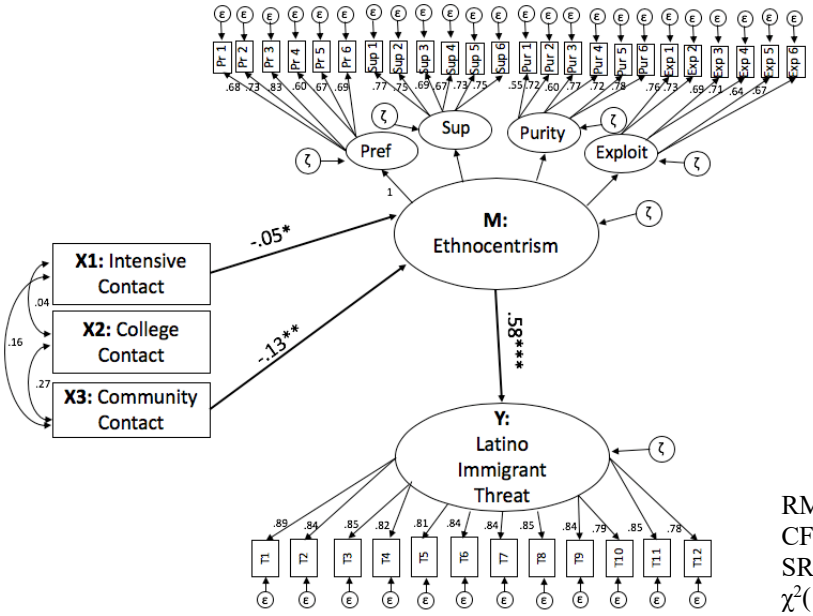
H_1: Intensive, extensive college, and extensive community intergroup contact with Latino immigrants will be associated with less Latino immigrant threat attitudes.



RMSEA = .051 (.046-.056)
CFI = .940
SRMR = .022
$\chi^2(197) = 565.666$, $p < .001$

Model 1b: Contact → Ethnocentrism → Threat

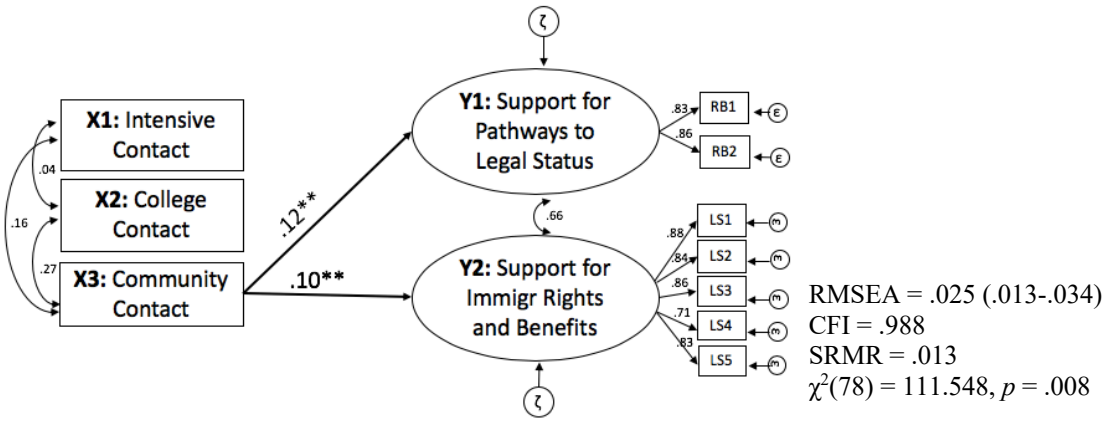
H_2: More intensive, extensive college, and extensive community intergroup contact with Latino immigrants will be indirectly related to less Latino immigrant threat attitudes via less ethnocentrism.



RMSEA = .040 (.037-.042)
CFI = .914
SRMR = .040
$\chi^2(1031) = 2178.628$, $p < .001$

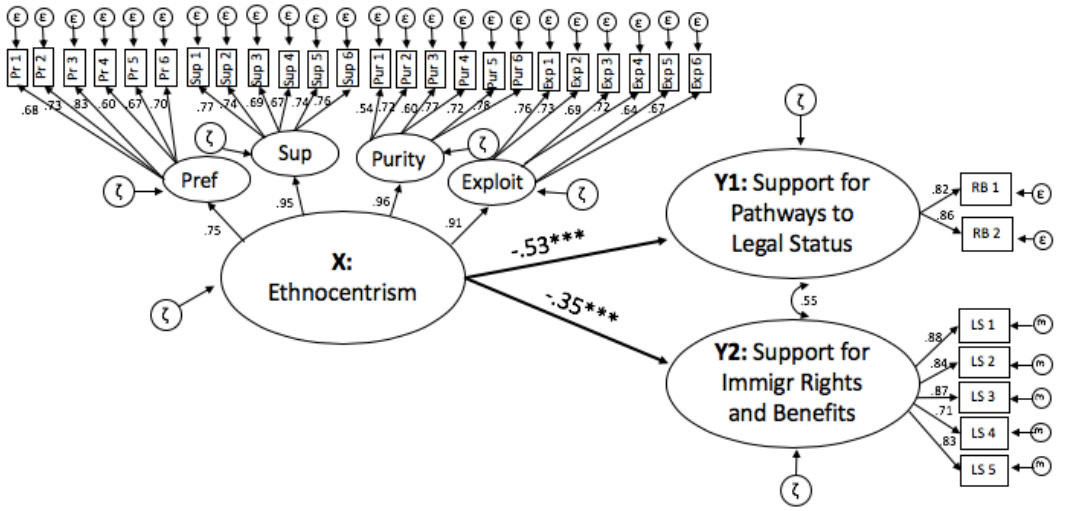
Model 1c: Contact → Policy

H3: More intensive, extensive college, and extensive community intergroup contact with Latino immigrants will be associated with more integrationist immigration policy attitudes.



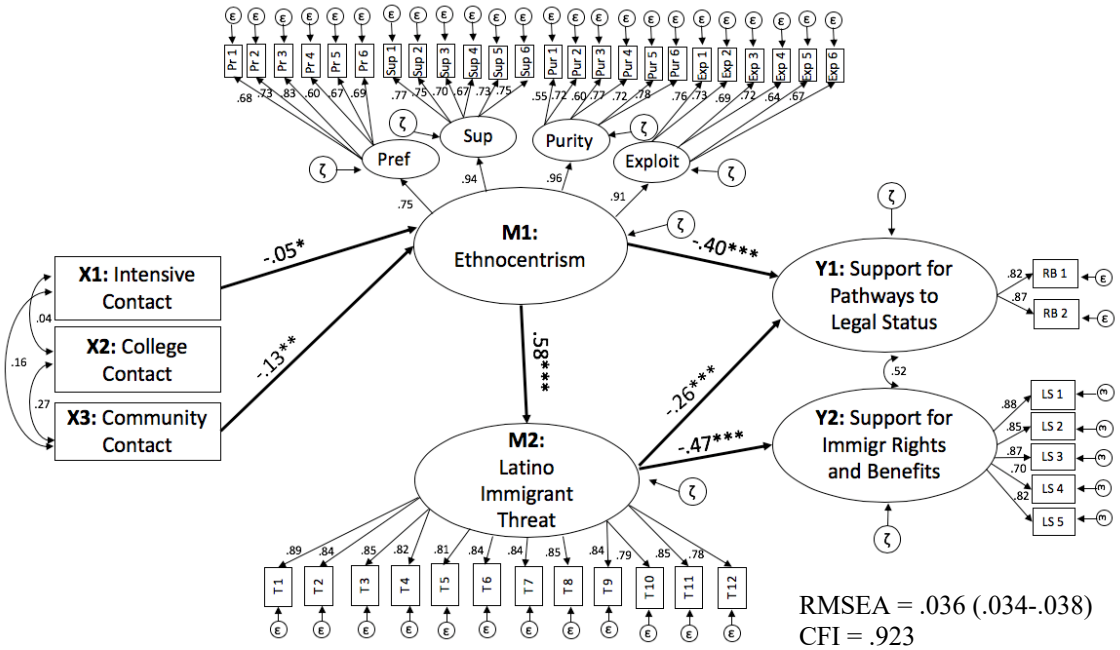
Model 1d: Ethnocentrism → Policy

H4: Less ethnocentrism will be associated with more integrationist immigration policy attitudes.



Model 1e: Contact → Ethnocentrism → Threat → Policy

H_5: More intensive, extensive college, and extensive community intergroup contact with Latino immigrants will be indirectly related to more integrationist immigration policy attitudes via a sequential pathway of less ethnocentrism and less Latino immigrant threat attitudes.



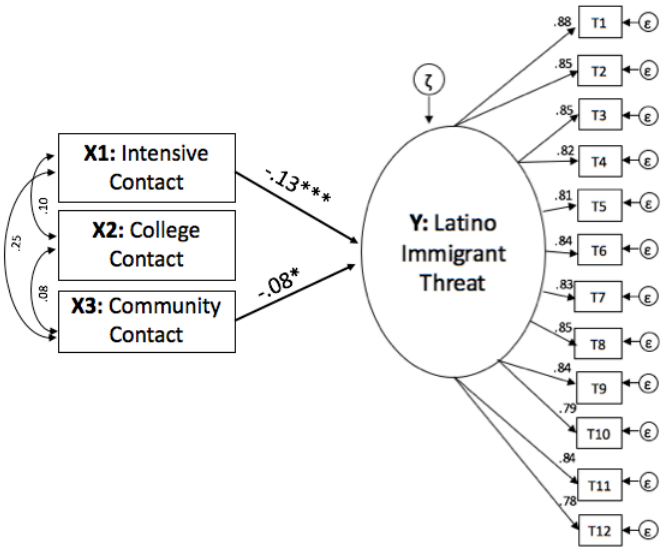
RMSEA = .036 (.034-.038)
CFI = .923
SRMR = .040
$\chi^2(1357) = 2629.187$, $p < .001$

APPENDIX J

SEQUENTIALLY BUILT MODEL 2: PEOPLE OF COLOR

Model 2a: Contact → Threat

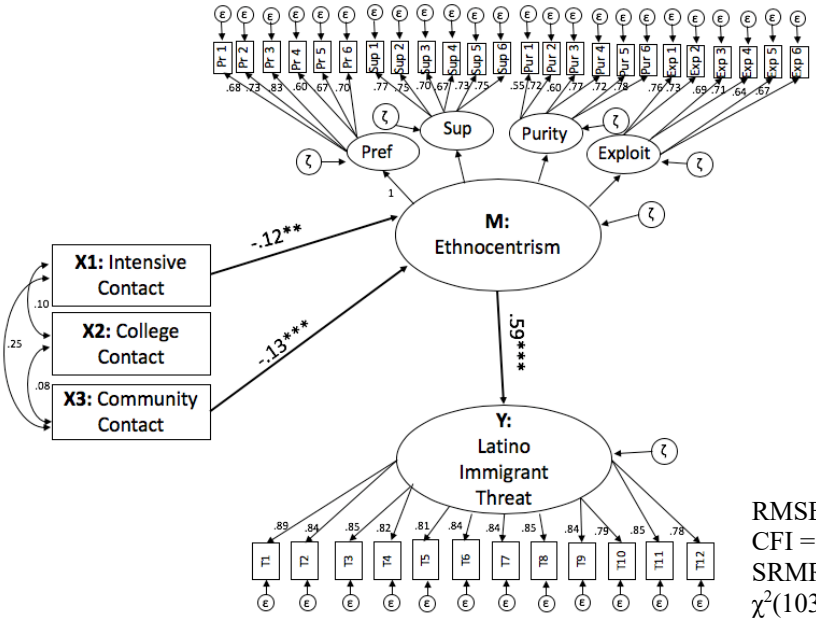
H_1: Intensive, extensive college, and extensive community intergroup contact with people of color will be associated with less Latino immigrant threat attitudes.



RMSEA = .053 (.048-.058)
CFI = .938
SRMR = .022
$\chi^2(197) = 582.351$, $p < .001$

Model 2b: Contact → Ethnocentrism → Threat

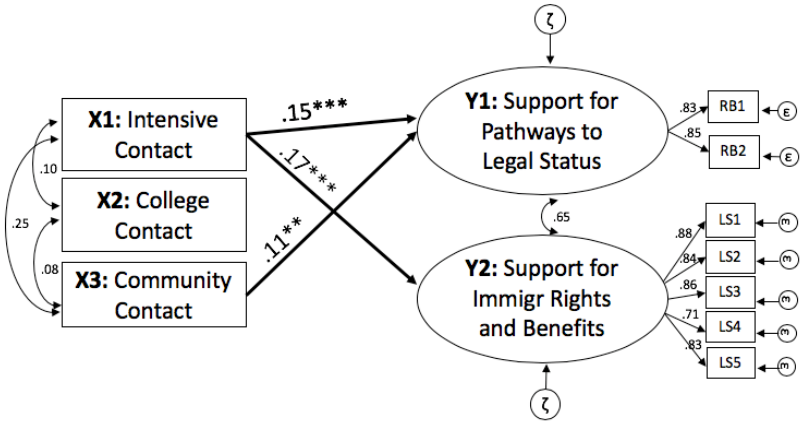
H_2: More intensive, extensive college, and extensive community intergroup contact with people of color will be indirectly related to less Latino immigrant threat attitudes via less ethnocentrism.



RMSEA = .040 (.038-.042)
CFI = .913
SRMR = .041
$\chi^2(1031) = 2202.784$, $p < .001$

Model 2c: Contact → Policy

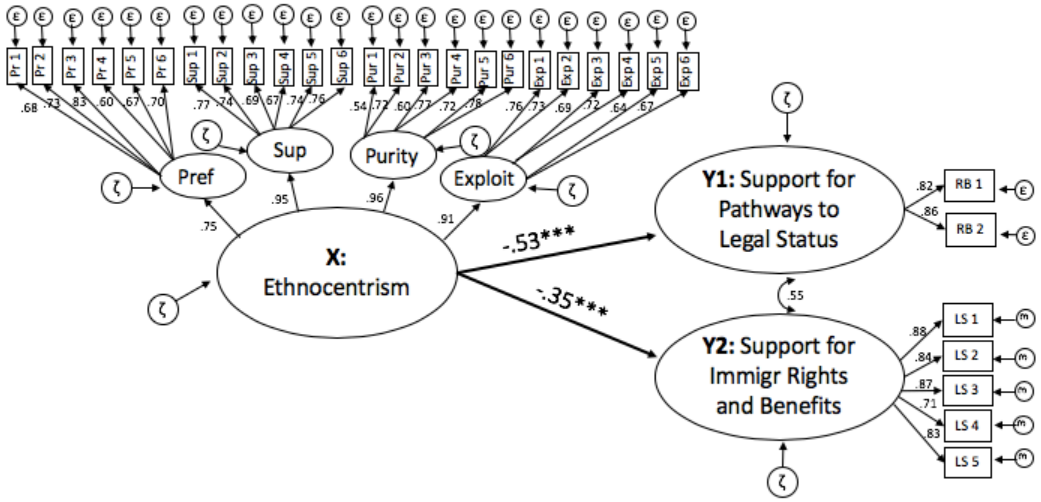
H_3: More intensive, extensive college, and extensive community intergroup contact with people of color will be associated with more integrationist immigration policy attitudes.



RMSEA = .025 (.013-.034)
CFI = .989
SRMR = .013
$\chi^2(78) = 111.544$, $p = .008$

Model 2d: Ethnocentrism → Policy

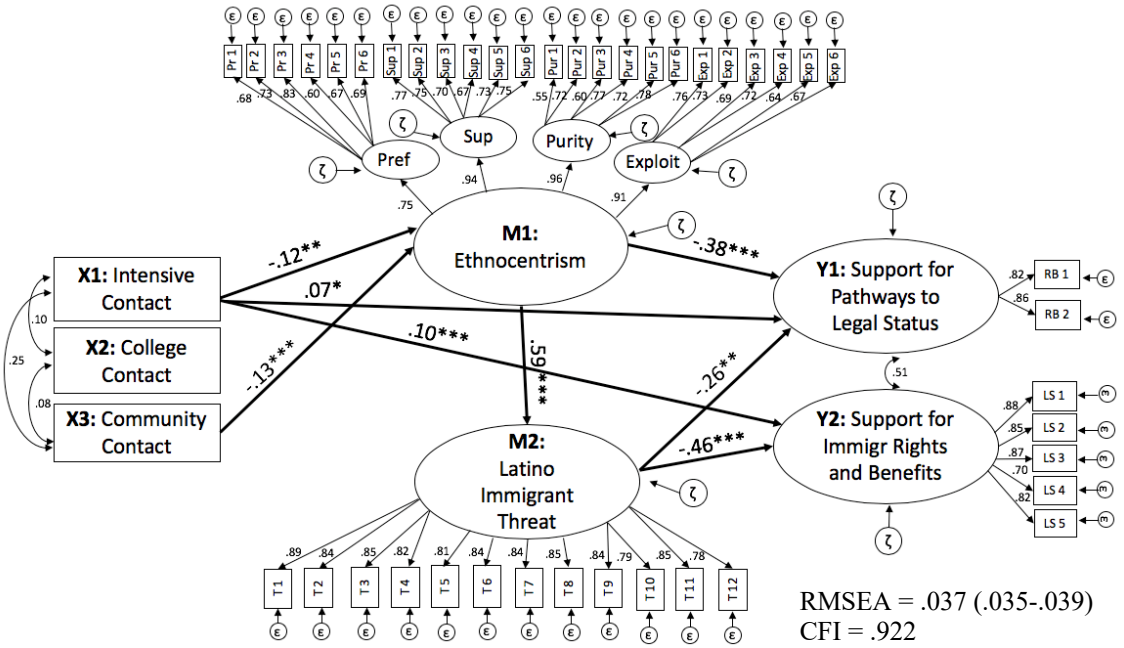
H_4: Less ethnocentrism will be associated with more integrationist immigration policy attitudes.



RMSEA = .038 (.035-.040)
CFI = .919
SRMR = .043
$\chi^2(791) = 1586.905$ $p < .001$

Model 2e: Contact → Ethnocentrism → Threat → Policy

H_5: More intensive, extensive college, and extensive community intergroup contact with people of color will be indirectly related to more integrationist immigration policy attitudes via a sequential pathway of less ethnocentrism and less Latino immigrant threat attitudes.



RMSEA = .037 (.035-.039)
CFI = .922
SRMR = .041
$\chi^2(1357) = 2654.349$, $p < .001$