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A COMPREHENSIVE MODEL OF ANTI-IMMIGRANT PREJUDICE

Exclusionary Beliefs, Multicultural Ideology, Empathy, and Perceived Threat:
A Comprehensive Model of Anti-immigrant Prejudice

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Abstract

Despite the increased movement of people across national borders, anti-immigrant sentiment continues to pose challenges to immigrant mental health and disrupt intergroup relations. In the USA, where over 14% of the population is comprised of foreign-born individuals, immigrants continue to face prejudice from both the public and political administration. Intergroup Threat Theory (ITT) explains this prejudice as stemming from the perception that the out-group poses a threat to the cultural purity, economic stability, or physical safety of the in-group. Traits that promote group exclusion, such as perceived group superiority (i.e. Right-Wing Authoritarianism; RWA, Social Dominance Orientation; SDO, cultural dominance; CD) and strict, essentialist group boundaries (i.e. Nationalism), were explored alongside worldviews that promote inclusion, such as multicultural ideology (MCI), cultural openness (CO), general empathy, and multicultural empathy in the context of perceived threat and as they predicted anti-immigrant prejudice. Exclusionary Beliefs (i.e. RWA, SDO, CD, NATL) and Inclusionary Beliefs (i.e. MCI, CO, empathy, multicultural empathy) were independently related to perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice. Exclusionary Beliefs were predictive of greater anti-immigrant prejudice through the lens of perceived threat; participants who endorsed greater Exclusionary Beliefs were more likely to endorse anti-immigrant sentiment, which partially stemmed from perceived threat. Inclusionary Beliefs were predictive of greater anti-immigrant prejudice through the lens of perceived threat; participants who endorsed greater Inclusionary Beliefs were less likely to endorse anti-immigrant sentiment, which partially stemmed from lower levels of perceived threat. Despite the significant relations between exclusionary traits and prejudices and inclusionary traits and

prejudice, the overall model failed to reach significance, suggesting that additional research is needed to understand the relation between Exclusionary Beliefs, Inclusionary Beliefs, perceived threat, and anti-immigrant prejudice.

Keywords: Immigrant, prejudice, perceived threat, intergroup threat theory, SDO, RWA, nationalism, cultural dominance, multicultural ideology, cultural openness, empathy, multicultural empathy

Exclusionary Beliefs, Multicultural Ideology, Empathy, and Perceived Threat:

A Comprehensive Model of Anti-immigrant Prejudice

According to the Migration Policy Institute, an estimated 44.7 million immigrants lived in the United States of America in 2018 (Batalova et al., 2020). Annual immigration to the U.S. had increased every year between 1970, when immigrants made up only 5% of the population, and 2018, when foreign-born citizens and non-citizens represented about 13.7% of the country's total population. Immigration has been and continues to be a key issue for the American people; PEW research center reported that 70% of registered voters said immigration was "very important" to their vote in the 2016 general election (Pew, 2016), a sharp increase from 42% in 2012 and 54% of in 2008 (Pew, 2012). Unfortunately, along with increase in mobility of peoples across national borders, anti-immigrant sentiment has also seen an increase.

Contrary to the idealized welcome inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty, U.S. popular sentiment towards immigrants has been less than unanimously welcoming. Several presidential administrations have enacted exclusionary immigration policies against immigrants from specific populations, and they have done so with varying degrees of public support. Interestingly, the groups targeted by legislative measures do not always directly relate to the largest immigrant groups of the time. For example, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 banned migrants from China, even though the majority of immigrants at the time came from Europe. The movement behind this act reportedly stemmed from Californian sentiment that Chinese immigrants were squeezing Americans out of jobs. Racial suspicion grew and the Chinese Exclusion Act was eventually passed, banning all Chinese immigrants, despite the fact that they were not the largest immigrant

group at the time. Other exclusionary legislation has been passed in American history. In 1924 the Immigration Act set quotas based on the then-current population, with immigrants from Asia completely banned. Policies continued through the 20th century, with restrictions placed on immigrants and refugees fleeing to the US from African countries in the 1920s and from Mexico in the 1950s (Fussel, 2014). Rhetoric from recent years has included similar exclusionary policies against refugees from Muslim and Arab states, with a heightened emphasis on those fleeing the conflict in Syria (Trump, 2017). Attitudes toward specific immigrant groups shift over time, but the general trend reflects a continued criticism of immigrants as a group (Fussel, 2014).

Popular opinion polls have similarly reflected anti-immigrant attitudes. Thirty-nine percent of U.S. citizens polled in 2018 by Ipsos reported wanting a reduction in the number of immigrants to the U.S. This was an increase from 2016's report where 27% of responders supported this idea (MORI, 2018). Twenty-one percent of respondents reported even more extreme views; they indicated that the U.S. would be stronger if immigration was stopped completely (MORI, 2018). This form of exclusion is particularly explicit; however, more subtle forms of exclusion were also endorsed. For example, although 75% described immigrants as an important part of American identity, 52% believed employers should prioritize hiring citizens when jobs are scarce. Additionally, expectations about what qualities were most valued or accepted in immigrants were highlighted; about 44% believed the U.S. should specifically prioritize immigrants who speak English. This exclusionary or restrictive sentiment against immigrants is a form of anti-immigrant prejudice.

Anti-immigrant prejudice is destructive to both the individual members of the immigrant group and the overall functioning of communities with multiple groups. Strong negative attitudes towards immigrants tend to be associated with support for the harsh treatment of refugees (Louis et al., 2007), exclusionary national policies (Esses et al., 2008), and punishment rather than rehabilitation for minor crimes (Leidner et al., 2013). In addition, research has shown that negative attitudes towards migrants have been associated with migrants' poorer school achievement and social adjustment (António & Monteiro, 2015), higher rates of PTSD and physical health problems (Kira et al., 2010), and the adoption of less successful acculturation strategies (Te Lindert et al., 2008). Personal experiences of discrimination by community members has been linked to psychological stress of immigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006), primarily in the form of higher rates of depression (Finch et al., 2000; Noh et al., 1999; Pernice & Brook, 1996) and anxiety (Kessler et al., 1999; Pernice & Brook, 1996). At the community level, anti-immigrant sentiment has been implicated in greater mistrust of voting practices, particularly the belief that non-citizen voting occurs frequently in U.S. elections, which calls into question the legitimacy of elected officials (Udani, 2018). Fear of voter fraud is associated with greater support for restrictive voter ID laws (Udani, 2018), which, when enforced, differentially impacts minorities and skews representation in favor of the political right (Hajnal et al., 2017).

Conversely, communities that are welcoming or supportive of immigrant populations have positively impacted immigrants and communities overall. Immigrants who described host communities as supportive tend to have stable, positive perceptions of intergroup relations. In these communities, immigrants are better able to handle single

instance of denigration as outliers rather than added information that their community of resettlement is dangerous (António & Monteiro, 2015). This stability is echoed in other studies where positive impressions of host community attitudes were associated with fewer difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation and more frequent positive intergroup interactions (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2016). Entrepreneurship and innovation are high amongst immigrant communities, with roughly 40% of Fortune 500 companies founded by immigrants or their children (Griswold, 2018). Since 2000, 38% of American Nobel Prize winners in chemistry, medicine, and physics were foreign-born (National Foundation for American Policy, 2019). Additionally, contrary to anti-immigrant rhetoric, welcoming immigrants may come with economic benefits, as both documented and undocumented immigrants pay taxes and are less likely to be recipients of social welfare (Roberts, 2019). Despite the intellectual, cultural, and economic benefit of immigration to the U.S. population, prejudice against this population persists and is worthy of further academic study.

The literature addressing prejudice often follows specific and separate lines of research on the individual factors and group relationships associated with anti-immigrant sentiment. At the individual level, people who hold more exclusionary beliefs such as support for social hierarchies, traditional/right-leaning values, and strict ideas of nationalism, and less inclusionary beliefs (i.e. multicultural ideology and empathy), are more likely to be prejudiced against outgroups. At the group level, fear of outgroups, as explained in Intergroup Threat Theory, may define the strong divisions and prejudice directed towards members of social or ethnic outgroups. Importantly, this fear or belief that the outgroup poses some sort of a threat is an emotion that exists *regardless of*

whether or not there is any factual evidence to support this fear. For example, in the context of immigrant groups to the U.S., host communities who fear economic instability due to the inaccurate belief that unemployment is increased by immigration (MORI, 2016) are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants. Similar perceptions of threats can be found in other domains, such as the concern that Muslim immigrants “dilute” the Christian heritage of a town (Gjelten, 2015) or pose a threat to national security (MORI, 2016). Research has shown that unique beliefs held by host-community members are associated with the perception that immigrants pose economic threats and threats to social/cultural maintenance and safety. These beliefs are, at their foundation, exclusionary in that they create a deep division between the host community and the immigrant group. Traditional conservative approach to authority, belief in social hierarchies, and strict national identities are all characteristics that have been associated with perceptions of immigrants as threatening and/or anti-immigrant prejudice.

Fear of immigrants persist in the face of evidence to the contrary (Cameron & Trope, 2004), but it is clear that not all U.S. citizens share these beliefs (MORI, 2018). Unsurprisingly, appreciation of cultural diversity (i.e. multicultural ideology) is inversely related to both perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice, as is empathy, the ability to feel compassion towards and understand the views of another person. Previous research has explored the interplay between these beliefs to varying degrees but no study to date has investigated the association between exclusionary beliefs, multicultural ideology, and empathy on perceptions of threat and anti-immigrant attitudes. This dissertation will attempt to address the gap in the literature by bringing together the previously separate lines of research in one convergent model of anti-immigrant prejudice.

Understanding Prejudice

The behavioral expression of prejudice is demonstrated in both individual behaviors and systemic discrimination against social groups. Perhaps easiest to observe comes in the form of classical racism, or the open expression of racial prejudice based on negative stereotypes (e.g. “members of group X do not take care of their hygiene; Akrami et al., 2000). This type of prejudice is paralleled in non-racial circumstances, such as when communities hold beliefs about the hygiene practices, ethical values, or intelligence of immigrants. Although this outward expression of prejudice still exists today, shifts in the social acceptability and potential legal consequences of overt racism have resulted in a more covert expression of prejudice as well. Also known as modern racism, this subtler form of prejudice manifests in several “hidden” ways. such as the denial of continued discrimination (e.g. “racism/prejudice does not exist anymore”), antagonism toward demands by the target group for equal rights (e.g. asking why communities of color need additional funding for education), and resentment about special favors or policies designed to assist the target group (e.g. the belief that universities should not consider minority status of applicants; Akrami et al., 2000).

Dehumanization is a common expression of prejudice that, in its extreme form, is identified by the depiction of social out-groups as less than human (e.g. slaves, barbarians) and, in its milder forms, occurs when groups are portrayed as deviating from societal norms (Haslam, 2006). Immigrant groups are frequently dehumanized as a way to garner support for anti-immigrant sentiment and policy. Degraded morality is a form of dehumanization, such as when media outlets portray immigrants as trying to cheat the system by throwing away their passports to secure a presumed stronger passport from

another country (Esses et al., 2008). Highlighting these supposed group-level character flaws serves to legitimize the poor treatment of immigrants because they are seen as less deserving (Trounson et al., 2015). These attitudes have also been linked to greater support for political violence and “retributive justice,” where punishment and suffering for a crime are preferred over rehabilitation (Leidner et al., 2012). The prominence of media representations of immigrants as violating appropriate social, cultural, and political procedures and trying to cheat the system further entrenches prejudice towards immigrant (Esses et al., 2008; MORI, 2016).

Viewing Immigrants as Sources of Threat: Integrated Threat Theory

Despite the evidence that much of the beliefs that lead to prejudice are often based on misinformation, it is not entirely unexpected that individuals continue to hold fast to their beliefs. Research has long supported the notion that people tend to seek and process information that confirms their preconceived ideas rather than challenges them (Cameron & Trope, 2004). This, coupled with the problematic overreliance on the categorization of others into distinct out-groups and preferential treatment of the in-group, lays the groundwork for prejudice that can be seen at the interpersonal level (e.g. hate crimes, racist statements, microaggression) and systemic level (e.g. oppression, exclusionary government policies, varying benefits based on group membership).

Integrated threat theory (ITT) defines intergroup attitudes based on perceptions of one or both groups as posing a threat to the other. The nature of the threat has traditionally been divided into two categories: realistic and symbolic. Realistic threats are defined as perceptions of threat to a group’s welfare, most often in the context of economic resources, safety, or political control. The term realistic refers not to the

likelihood of the threat occurring but rather the sense that the threat has a tangible consequence. In the context of immigration, a realistic threat would be the expressed fear that a particular immigrant group was taking job opportunities away from citizens, creating economic instability, or burdening the welfare resources of the state. Safety concerns, such as fears that immigrants are violent criminals or members of terrorist organizations also falls under the category of realistic threat. The potentially misleading name realistic represents the tangible nature of the threat; economic growth and crime statistics are objective measures that can be clearly reported on in the context of immigration. *Symbolic threats*, on the other hand, are perceived threats that target a group's norms, values, or worldviews (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Examples of symbolic threats include fear that women wearing the Islamic veil in Western countries goes against a host community's so-called Christian values or feminist identity. The term symbolic can be thought of as relating to the less tangible aspects of a community's identity. In the original version of ITT, two other factors were included: negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety. Although both continue to impact negative attitudes, studies have indicated that negative stereotyping is better conceptualized as a predictor of perceptions of threat, and intergroup anxiety is better understood as a subcomponent of threat stemming from apprehension towards social interactions (Stephan et al., 2009). For the purposes of this dissertation, the updated theory that includes only realistic and symbolic threats will be considered.

It is important to emphasize that both realistic and symbolic threats are *perceptions* of threat; neither is rooted in actual danger or harm (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). These perceptions, however, still play a key role in understanding negative

attitudes towards immigrants. Perceived threat, whether political, economic, social or cultural, is linked to poor intergroup relations (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) and negative attitudes towards immigrants (Murray & Marx, 2013). Interestingly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, the specific type of threat perceived by a host community is not inherent to the identity of the immigrant group. For example, one person might be concerned that immigrants from Mexico are taking job opportunities from locals while another person might be worried that Mexican immigrants are criminals; one person might fear that a Muslim Arab is planning a terror plot while another person might believe Muslim Arabs are attempting to take over medical positions. The incongruence of these fears does little to reduce a person's belief in the inaccurate representation of the same, suggesting there might be certain factors of a person's worldview that leads them to hold these inaccurate beliefs. Identifying the specific beliefs associated with the perception of immigrants as a threatening group and understanding what factors might mitigate this fear may help explain what underlies anti-immigrant prejudice. No study to date has explored both the enhancing and mitigating factors that influence fear towards and prejudice against immigrants; this study will attempt to fill this gap.

Exclusionary Beliefs Drive Anti-Immigrant Sentiment

Researchers have identified a number of exclusionary beliefs held by host-community members that are often associated with anti-immigrant sentiment. Specifically, group superiority as defined by conservative and traditional values (Right-Wing Authoritarianism; RWA) and belief in group hierarchies (Social Dominance Orientation; SDO) have been shown to strongly relate to fear of immigrants and anti-immigrant prejudice. More recently, cultural dominance (CD) and nativist national

identities, a specific form of nationalism, promotes group divisions and may also heighten perceptions of threat, though additional research is needed to consider them in the context of RWA, SDO, and anti-immigrant sentiment

Exclusion Through Assumed Superiority

RWA and SDO

Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) is thought to reflect a person's belief in traditional values, submission to a perceived legitimate authority, and endorsement of punitive actions against individuals who threaten the norms (Altemeyer, 1981; 1996). Individuals who score high on the RWA scale tend to be less open, less accepting of ethnic minorities, and more willing to adhere rigidly to social norms. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), which stems from Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) Social Dominance Theory, is the degree to which an individual or group endorses the belief in an inequality based hierarchal social system. Individuals who score high on SDO scales are often members of socio-politically powerful groups (e.g. White, male), and express a desire to maintain dominance over other groups. Although RWA and SDO are often comorbid phenomena, they have been shown to reflect slightly different conceptualizations of in-group superiority (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010). Individuals high in RWA endorse negative attitudes towards immigrants only when they are seen as a threat to their traditional ways of life (Esses et al., 2008). Individuals high in SDO, however, are more likely to denigrate out-groups when they are seen as de-stabilizing the local economy or taking jobs or resources away from citizens (Esses et al., 2001). While both constructs reflect a sense of superiority, RWA focuses more on tradition and obedience to authority, while SDO focuses on group power.

Strong identification with group superiority is linked to anti-immigrant prejudice through slightly different avenues depending on the type of group superiority endorsed. A study assessing the impact of economic threat on attitudes towards immigrants found that individuals high in SDO reported more unfavorable attitudes towards immigrants when the immigrants were presented as achieving financial success in a difficult economy (Esses et al., 2001). In this same vein, SDO has been associated with the dehumanization of immigrants, likely because dehumanization is assumed to reduce the likelihood that they will be able to successfully compete for local resources (Esses et al., 2008). SDO seems to explain discrimination in the context of a zero-sum competition between groups where social groups are in a constant struggle to win resources (i.e. there is no third option of shared/distributed gains and losses). Put in the framework of integrated threat theory, RWA can be understood as relating to perceptions of threat that fall under the category of symbolic (cultural purity), while SDO is associated with perceptions of threat that fall under the category of realistic (economic stability and physical safety).

RWA, SDO, and Perceived Threat

Research has supported this unique association between type of group superiority and type of perceived threat. For example, although RWA and SDO were both associated with negative attitudes towards out-groups overall, only RWA was associated with the rejection of hate speech against ethnic minorities, likely because it violates acceptable traditional social norms (Bilewicz et al., 2015). Similarly, discrepancies were found whereby RWA was associated with negative attitudes towards groups fighting for immigrant rights only when the immigrants were presented as disrupting social norms; SDO, on the other hand, was associated with political intolerance towards fictional

immigrant-rights groups that sought sociopolitical power or reform (Crawford & Pilanski, 2014). One study explored the characteristics of the immigrant groups as activating perceptions of threat. Groups that were presented as socially deviant elicited anti-immigrant attitudes from individuals high in RWA. When these groups were presented as economically disadvantaged, individuals high in SDO expressed more anti-immigrant attitudes because they believed that the immigrants would drain resources such as social security (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010).

The question of whether RWA and SDO precede perceptions of threat or vice versa has also been explored. Studies have shown that SDO varies slightly depending on situational priming but the only longitudinal study exploring SDO over the span of several years concluded that SDO is a relatively stable trait that is *predictive* of future prejudice and discrimination (Kteily et al., 2011). Though potentially malleable, these traits are difficult to change without long-term interventions that are often financially costly and unlikely to be utilized by the populations who may benefit the most. Researchers have considered the temporal relation between perceived threat and RWA and SDO in an attempt to evaluate whether SDO and RWA were antecedents or consequences of the respectively associated threats. A longitudinal study found support for prior experiential research identifying SDO as a precursor to prejudice, though the role of RWA was less clear (Osborne et al., 2017). Caricati, Mancini, & Marletta (2017) argued that both SDO and RWA are consequences of threat such that realistic threats increase rates of SDO and symbolic threats increase rates of RWA. Despite this claim, however, neither proposed model reached statistical significance and the authors

acknowledged the need for a more complex model that could better encompass the relationship between the variables, threats, and prejudice (Caricati et al., 2017).

Exclusion Through Nativist Identity: Nationalism

Another exclusionary belief less commonly studied in clinical psychology is nationalism. Although the term nationalism can, at its most basic level, be understood as a person's degree of national identity, the issue is much more complex. Reicher and Hopkins (2001) explain that the challenge may stem from disagreement about the defining characteristics of a nation, noting that, although a nation-state has clearly defined political borders, national identity can be developed through birth, ethnicity, or shared history. Bonikowski & DiMaggio (2016) argue that national identity provides a sense of self, a lens through which to view the world, and a framework that guides social interactions. Colloquially, nationalism can be interchanged with patriotism; however, research suggests that the two are, in fact, distinct. For the purposes of this study, Kosterman and Feshbach (1989)'s operational definition of nationalism as the belief that one's nation is superior to others and should have a dominant role in the international arena. It is important to contrast this with *patriotism*, which can be thought of as one's attachment to a homeland or value-system embodied by a country. Patriotism is a civic form of national identity and is not generally associated with negative attitudes towards out-groups (Schatz et al., 1999). Nationalism, which is a more nativist or essentialist notion of national identity, does appear to be associated with negative attitudes towards out-groups. Because nationalism is rooted in the belief that birth or ethnicity are directly linked to national identity it is more exclusionary than patriotism due, in large part, to the

restrictive requirements for membership (Jones, 1997; Pehrson et al., 2009). Nationalism, then, is the subject of study in relation to anti-immigrant prejudice.

Much like RWA and SDO, nationalism has been positively associated with anti-immigrant prejudice. Much of the research explores refugee resettlement and attitudes towards asylum seekers, both subcategories of the broader group of immigrants. Nationalism has specifically been linked to support for restrictive government policies (Nickerson & Louis, 2008, Pehrson et al., 2009) and open criticism of open-door refugee policies (de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003). Nationalism is associated with negative views of asylum seekers (Nickerson & Louis, 2008; Pehrson et al., 2009) and with the dehumanization of immigrants who have been forced to flee their native land (Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013; Viki & Calitri, 2008). In states where the government rhetoric is hostile against non-citizens, nationalism is highly correlated with greater support for restrictive border policies against forced immigrants (Nickerson & Louis, 2008). In a study exploring the impact of national identity compared to identity as a human, prejudice against out-groups was found to be significantly stronger in the former category.

Separate studies have also explored the association between nationalism, RWA, SDO, and perceived threat, though independently of one another. Studies have shown a positive association between nationalism and RWA in a New Zealand sample (Osborne et al., 2017) an Austrian sample (Renner et al., 2004), and a German sample (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). It has also been explored in the context of SDO, though less often. Nationalism, as defined above, has been shown to be positively related to SDO (Sidanius et al., 1997). Interestingly, a study testing a model where RWA and SDO predicted

nationalism and subsequent support for military action highlighted the complexity of the relationships between these variables. (Crowson, 2009). While the model tested reflected a positive relationship between RWA and nationalism; however, the correlation between SDO and nationalism was not significant. One possible explanation for this finding has to do with the sample itself. The sample consisted of college students completing the study for course credit. Although many studies use this type of convenience sampling, the authors noted that it may have impacted the strength of their results, as the predicted relationships that did reach significance were not as strong as expected. It is also possible then, that the association between SDO and nationalism may have been non-significant due to sampling issues rather than an absence of an association. An additional possibility is that the model may be conceptualized differently, such that RWA, SDO, and nationalism are all considered predictors of prejudice. Although there appears to be evidence that nationalism may be strongly related to RWA, SDO, perceptions of threat (Parker, 2010), and anti-immigrant prejudice, additional research is needed to understand how these variables relate to one another.

Reducing Anti-Immigrant Prejudice

As noted previously, a significant percentage of U.S. society does not view immigrants as threats to economic stability, personal safety, or cultural purity. To fully understand and better predict anti-immigrant sentiment, consideration must be given to the factors that have been shown to reduce this prejudice. Two distinct lines of research have identified particularly interesting factors that mitigate prejudice against immigrants. The first is appreciation for diversity (i.e. multicultural ideology), and the second the

ability to experience compassion and understand others' perspectives (i.e. empathy) as strongly associated with lower levels of prejudice against immigrants.

Multicultural Ideology

Multicultural ideology (MCI) is the view that cultural diversity enhances society (Berry, 2006). It stems from multiculturalism, which, at the societal level, allows for both the values of the larger society and the needs of non-dominant group members to co-exist. Individuals who adhere strongly to MCI address racial and ethnic differences as a way to appreciate the respective contributions each group is able to make to society. Communities that value MCI acknowledge and address systemic injustice and encourage minority groups to maintain their traditions (Whitley & Webster, 2018). Rather than ignore historical or systemic inequalities between groups, acknowledgement of group differences is a core component of MCI (Karafantis et al., 2010). This creates a positive dynamic between dominant and non-dominant groups, as greater MCI is positively associated with positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Berry, 2006). In the context of immigration, then, it follows that communities that endorse greater MCI would also demonstrate less anti-immigrant sentiment.

At first glance, it would seem logical to expect that individuals who adhere to multicultural ideology would be more welcoming of immigrant groups. Multicultural ideology has indeed been negatively associated with authoritarianism (Nesdale et al., 2012), SDO (Levin, et al., 2012), and nationalism (Verkuyten, 2008). Generally speaking, individuals who adhere to a multicultural ideology do tend to view immigrants as less threatening (Verkuyten, 2008) and tend to have more favorable attitudes towards immigrants overall (Ward & Masgoret, 2006; 2008). People who adhere more strongly to

MCI endorse lower rates of ethnic prejudice (Nesdale et al., 2012) and are less likely to consider immigrants as a threat to the cultural purity of a community or economic stability (Berry, 2006). Other studies, however, have highlighted a different relationship. In some cases, policies that appear to promote multiculturalism and multicultural ideology end up increasing conflict between cultural groups. This can be seen in the failure of government policies that attempt to promote a multicultural ideology but end up increasing nationalistic notions of identity (Jackson & Doerschler, 2016). For example, the enforcement of bilingual education policies across several nations in Europe has been shown to promote legitimization of immigrants and cultural sharing, which enhances positive attitudes towards immigrants, while other policies, particularly those that support providing dual-citizenship and funding for ethnic minorities are associated with majority members reporting greater perceived discrimination, lack of safety, and lower life-satisfaction (Jackson & Doerschler, 2016). One explanation could be that multiculturalism, when enforced at the national level but not endorsed at the individual level, may actually increase prejudice. This explanation, however, may not be satisfactory. Even when information is presented to an individual through an explicitly multicultural lens, it has resulted in greater reliance on stereotypes rather than an appreciation for cultural exchanges (Karafantis et al., 2010). This is at least partially explained by the inherent definition of multicultural ideology—that it acknowledges and highlights group differences. In doing so, it increases the salience of group boundaries and, when unregulated, negatively impacts group relations. It is likely, then, that perceptions of threat may also be necessary to understand the relation between multicultural ideology and anti-immigrant prejudice.

In this context, cultural and economic security could be thought of as prerequisites to the success of multicultural policies. By factoring in perceived threat, it may elucidate the surprisingly negative outcomes of multicultural policies (Berry et al., 1977). When citizens perceive a risk of disruption to economic or social norms by a particular out-group, they resent national rhetoric that promotes diversity and the acceptance of out-groups. In countries that collectively rank higher in intrapersonal variables like RWA, citizens would be more inclined to resist national multicultural policies. A study exploring this hypothesis revealed that high RWA individuals do indeed express more prejudice when exposed to videos promoting multiculturalism than when watching a control video (Kauff et al., 2013). This suggests that multicultural policies implemented at the national level are successful only when the majority group does not perceive them as threatening to the local community. Additionally, it is unclear whether feeling less threatened by immigrants leads to greater MCI or the reverse (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). The dearth of research on this finding in the context of immigrants is problematic, particularly when considering the variable impact of multicultural policies on host citizens. One promising direction to explain the incongruent research on the association between MCI and prejudice focuses on the role of empathy.

Empathy

Empathy is the ability to recognize and share feelings with someone or something else. Empathic individuals tend to be more sensitive to the struggle of others regardless of group membership (Levin et al., 2016; Miklikowska, 2017). Empathy encourages recognition of similarities in target individuals and promotes prosocial attitudes and interactions (Miklikowska, 2017). Findings consistently indicate that empathy is

inversely related to prejudice against a number of marginalized groups including African Americans, obese individuals, gay men, women, and individuals struggling with substance abuse (Levin et al., 2016). Empathy has also been shown to specifically mediate the relation between intergroup contact and ethnic prejudice (Visintin et al., 2017). Other studies similarly found association between empathy and lower levels of ethnic and racial prejudice (Bäckström & Björklund, 2007; McFarland, 2010; Miklikowska, 2017).

Researchers have identified two subcomponents of empathy: a cognitive component called *perspective taking* and an affective component called *empathic concern*. The former can be thought of as the ability to correctly identify emotions and consider the experience from another's perspective (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), while the latter involves sharing the emotional experience of another (Butrus & Witenberg, 2012). Both perspective taking and empathic concern are significant predictors of generalized prejudice. Perspective taking reduces reliance on stereotypes and increases identification with the target individual or group (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000); it enhances social understanding and is associated with prosocial ideologies (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1990). Individuals who are able to take another's perspective are better able to understand the uniqueness of the experience, thus reducing the characteristic lumping of out-group individuals as having the same negative attributes. Perspective taking reduces ethnic pro-White bias on IAT not by blinding participants to racial disparities/injustice but by increasing understanding of the other's experience (Todd et al., 2011). With immigrant groups, encouraging perspective taking would be expected to engender understanding and compassion, thus reducing negative attitudes. Empathic concern, the

other subcomponent of empathy, is also associated with greater tolerance and less prejudice towards out-groups (Butrus & Witenberg, 2012). People who have an affective reaction that is shared or activated by another's experience are better able to understand the emotional suffering at a visceral level, which generally motivates individuals to alleviate the distress (Miklikowska, 2017).

Multicultural Empathy

Multicultural empathy, namely the idea that empathic feelings and perspective taking can be uniquely applied to an ethnic/cultural context, may offer additional support in understanding anti-immigrant prejudice. Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, and Bleier (2003) specified the application of empathy in cross-cultural research by developing the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) and emphasizing the differences between ethnocultural empathy and empathy more generally. Similar to general empathy, ethnocultural empathy is thought to have cognitive and affective components that parallel empathic concern and perspective taking, as well as two other factors: acceptance of cultural differences and awareness of discriminatory experiences (Wang et al., 2003). Individuals who are more culturally empathetic and open-minded are more tolerant of ethnic diversity (Korol, 2017). In addition to the original studies supporting the use of ethnocultural empathy as a measure of culture-specific empathy in the U.S., international studies have indicated its utility in countries such as Spain (Albar et al., 2015), Italy (Albiero & Matricardi, 2013), and Turkey (Özdikmenli-Demir & Demir, 2014).

Several studies exploring group differences reported that dominant and non-dominant groups show different levels of ethnocultural empathy. Researchers conducting a study in Turkey found lower rates of ethnocultural empathy in the dominant group than

for minority groups (Özdikmenli-Demir & Demir, 2013). In the U.S.A., Latinx individuals living in Arizona had higher rates of ethnocultural empathy compared to Caucasians (Segal et al., 2011). These group differences have been hypothesized to stem from the shared experience of minorities. The shared experience of being a minority in society promotes a unique ability to take the perspectives of other minorities and it fosters a sense of shared humanity between minority groups. Evidence for these processes can be found in the mindfulness literature. Bishop, Lau, Shapiro, Carlson, Anderson, Carmody, Segal, Abbey, Speca, Velting, and Devins (2004) operationally defined Kabat-Zinn's (1994) description of mindfulness as attention to one's immediate experience with an orientation of openness and acceptance. Mindfulness practices have been shown to strengthen both cognitive (Wallmark, 2013) and affective (Hayes et al., 2011) aspects of empathy. Activities such as single, brief interventions lasting 5-10 minutes have successfully reduced racial bias (Stell & Farside, 2017) and negative attitudes towards groups typically rejected by society (Parks et al., 2014). Mindfulness training reduces the reliance on stereotypes, which often present as prejudiced assumptions, as evidences through changes in linguistic bias (Tincher et al., 2015) and assessments of trustworthiness (Leuke & Gibson, 2016). In instances where perceived threat continues to influence anti-immigrant sentiment, mindfulness practices increase a person's ability to tolerate their fear without needing to act on it (Hayes et al., 2011), thus reducing the likelihood that a person will express anti-immigrant prejudice.

The Present Study

The current study was designed with the central goal of bringing previously distinct lines of research together to develop a unified model to explain anti-immigrant

prejudice. A strong base of evidence supports the notion that anti-immigrant attitudes stem from the belief that immigrants pose threats to the host community's social/cultural identity, economic stability, and physical safety. Cultural Dominance (CD) and Nationalism (NATL), though conceptually aligned with Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), has not been explored in conjunction with these constructs the context of perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice. Multicultural Ideology (MCI) and empathy have been associated with reduced levels of threat and similarly reduced anti-immigrant sentiment. Empathy and multicultural empathy, however, have rarely been directly compared within this framework. Cultural openness (CO), a relatively new construct, similarly requires additional research to better understand it in relation to perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice. The general aim of this study is to assess the relationship between RWA, SDO, CD, Nationalism, multicultural ideology, empathy, multicultural empathy, cultural openness, and perceived threat as they relate to anti-immigrant attitudes.

Hypothesis Group 1

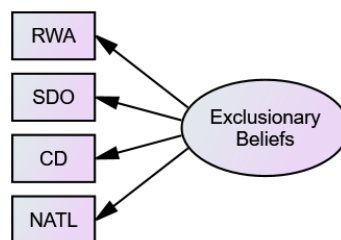
The first set of hypotheses considers the association between beliefs that enhance group hierarchies, adherence to traditional conservative values, and restrict group membership. Specifically, these hypotheses will focus on the relation between Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Cultural Dominance (CD), Nationalism (NATL) in the context of perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice.

***Hypothesis 1a:** RWA, SDO, CD, and NATL will be positively related to one another*

RWA, SDO, CD, and Nationalism are thought to reflect the underlying notion Exclusionary Beliefs. Using the statistical framework of structural equation modeling (SEM), Exclusionary Beliefs is hypothesized to be the latent variable that can be observed through a person's scores on RWA, SDO, CD, and Nationalism. In other words, Exclusionary Beliefs underlie or drive these scores, which, at this stage, can be seen through positive correlations between the variables. For a conceptual diagram see Figure 1.

Figure 1

Conceptual Model of Exclusionary Beliefs



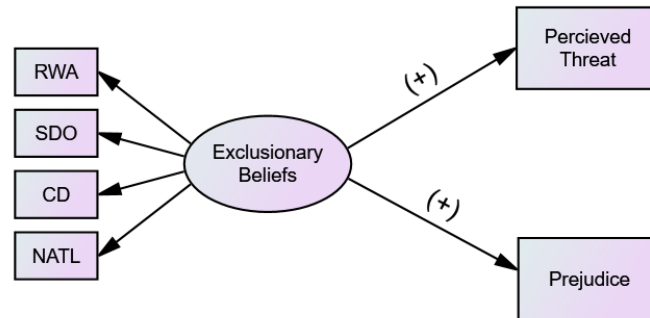
Note. Exclusionary Beliefs is an underlying, inferred variable that is observed through its influence on Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Cultural Dominance (CD), and Nationalism (NATL).

Hypothesis 1b: *Exclusionary Beliefs, a latent variable measured by RWA, SDO, CD, and NATL, will be positively related to perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice*

Host communities that identify strongly with traditional, conservative values and who believe in the need for a hierarchal group structure are more likely to report prejudice against immigrants. Communities with these values also tend to perceive immigrants as posing a threat. As such, Exclusionary Beliefs is expected to positively relate to both perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice. For a conceptual diagram see Figure 2.

Figure 2

Conceptual Model of Exclusionary Beliefs as it Relates to Perceived Threat and Prejudice



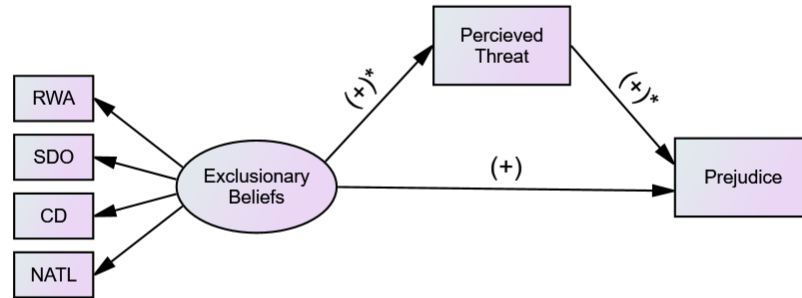
Note. Exclusionary Beliefs is an underlying, inferred variable that is observed through its influence on Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Cultural Dominance (CD), and Nationalism (NATL). Exclusionary Beliefs is expected to be positive associated with Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice (Prejudice)

Hypothesis 1c: *Perceived threat will mediate the relation between Exclusionary Beliefs and anti-immigrant prejudice*

Based on the literature, the expectation of this association is that the prejudice reported can be explained by the level of perceived threat. In other words, the underlying Exclusionary Beliefs, which drive the observed variables RWA, SDO, CD, and Nationalism, is positively associated with anti-immigrant prejudice through perceived threat. For a visual representation and the overall model for this set of hypotheses see Figure 3.

Figure 3

Perceived Threat Explains the Relation between Exclusionary Beliefs and Anti-Immigrant Prejudice



Note. Exclusionary Beliefs is an underlying, inferred variable that is observed through its influence on Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO, Cultural Dominance (CD), and Nationalism (NATL). Exclusionary Beliefs is positively associated with both Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice (Prejudice). When tested together, the indirect path of Exclusionary Beliefs to Prejudice through Perceived Threat is expected to be statistically significant (*), while the direct path between Exclusionary Beliefs and Prejudice is expected to be non-significant, demonstrating statistically significant mediation.

Hypothesis Group 2

The second set of hypotheses focus on mitigating factors related to anti-immigrant prejudice. Multicultural ideology (MCI), cultural openness (CO), empathic concern (EC), perspective taking (PT), multicultural empathic feeling (MEF), and multicultural perspective taking (MPT) were expected to relate to prejudice through perceived threat. Multicultural ideology (MCI) stands out as the most prominent mitigating factor of anti-immigrant prejudice; several studies, however, have demonstrated conflicting findings. While MCI tends to be associated with less perceived threat and more positive attitudes towards immigrants, the imposition of government laws rooted in MCI have been shown to increase anti-immigrant prejudice. Cultural Openness, a relatively new construct, is conceptually similar to MCI, and will be explored in its association to the other variables. Empathy has been strongly associated with anti-immigrant prejudice and reduced perceptions of threat; however, the distinction between general empathy and multicultural

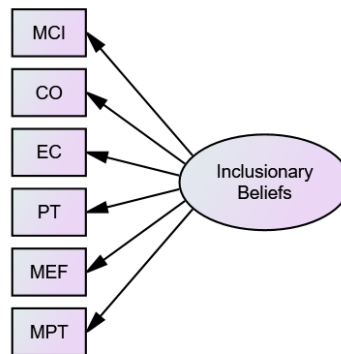
empathy is not directly compared in the literature. Consideration will be made to include both general empathy, which includes Perspective Taking and Empathic Concern, and multicultural empathy, which include Multicultural Perspective Taking and Multicultural Empathic Feelings.

***Hypothesis 2a:** Multicultural Ideology, Cultural Openness, Perspective Taking, Empathic Concern, Multicultural Perspective Taking, and Multicultural Empathic Feelings will be positively related to one another*

Using the same framework of SEM as in the first set of hypotheses, Inclusionary Beliefs is thought to be the latent variable that can be observed through a person's MCI, CO, PT, EC, MEPT, and MEF. In other words, Inclusionary Beliefs underlie or drive these scores, which can, at this stage, be seen through positive correlations between the variables. For a conceptual diagram see Figure 4.

Figure 4

Conceptual Model of Exclusionary Beliefs



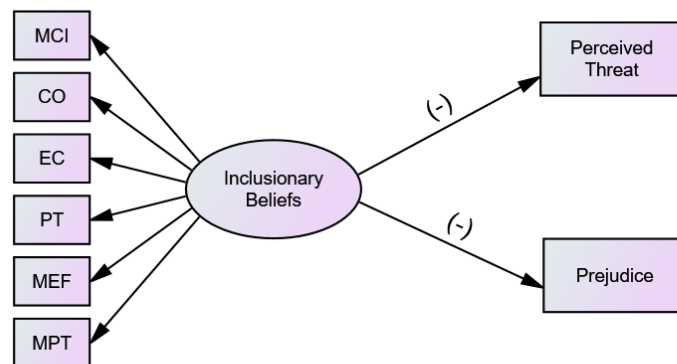
Note. Inclusionary Beliefs is an underlying, inferred variable that is observed through its influence on Multicultural Ideology (MCI), Cultural Openness (CO), Empathic Concern (EC), Perspective Taking (PT), Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF), and Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT).

Hypothesis 2b: *Inclusionary Beliefs, a conceptualization of MCI, CO, PT, EC, MPT, and MEF, will be inversely related to perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice*

Individuals who identify strongly with appreciation of diversity and the cognitive and emotional aspects of empathy and multicultural empathy are less likely to report prejudice against immigrants. People with these values also tend to perceive immigrants as adding value to the community and do not see immigrants as a threat to economic stability, social/cultural purity, or physical safety. As such, Inclusionary Beliefs is expected to negatively relate to both perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice. For a conceptual diagram see Figure 5.

Figure 5

Conceptual Model of Inclusionary Beliefs as it Relates to Perceived Threat and Prejudice



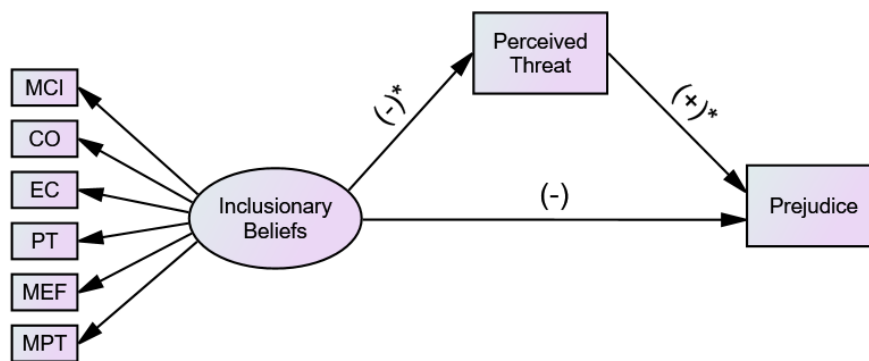
Note. Inclusionary Beliefs is an underlying, inferred variable that is observed through its influence on Multicultural Ideology (MCI), Cultural Openness (CO), Empathic Concern (EC), Perspective Taking (PT), Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF), and Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT). Inclusionary Beliefs is expected to be negatively associated with Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice (Prejudice).

Hypothesis 2c: *Perceived threat will mediate the relation between Inclusionary Beliefs and anti-immigrant prejudice*

Host communities that identify strongly with traditional, conservative values and who believe in the need for a hierarchal group structure are more likely to report prejudice against immigrants. Communities with these values also tend to perceive immigrants as posing a threat. As such, Exclusionary Beliefs is expected to positively relate to both perceived threat and anti-immigrant prejudice. For a visual representation and the overall model for this set of hypotheses see Figure 6.

Figure 6

Perceived Threat Explains the Relation between Exclusionary Beliefs and Anti-Immigrant Prejudice



Note. Inclusionary Beliefs is an underlying, inferred variable that is observed through its influence on Multicultural Ideology (MCI), Cultural Openness (CO), Empathic Concern (EC), Perspective Taking (PT), Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF), and Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT). Inclusionary Beliefs is expected to be negatively associated with Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice (Prejudice). When analyzed together, the indirect path of Inclusionary Beliefs to Prejudice through Perceived Threat is expected to be statistically significant (*), while the direct path between Inclusionary Beliefs and Prejudice is expected to be non-significant, demonstrating statistically significant mediation.

Hypothesis Group 3

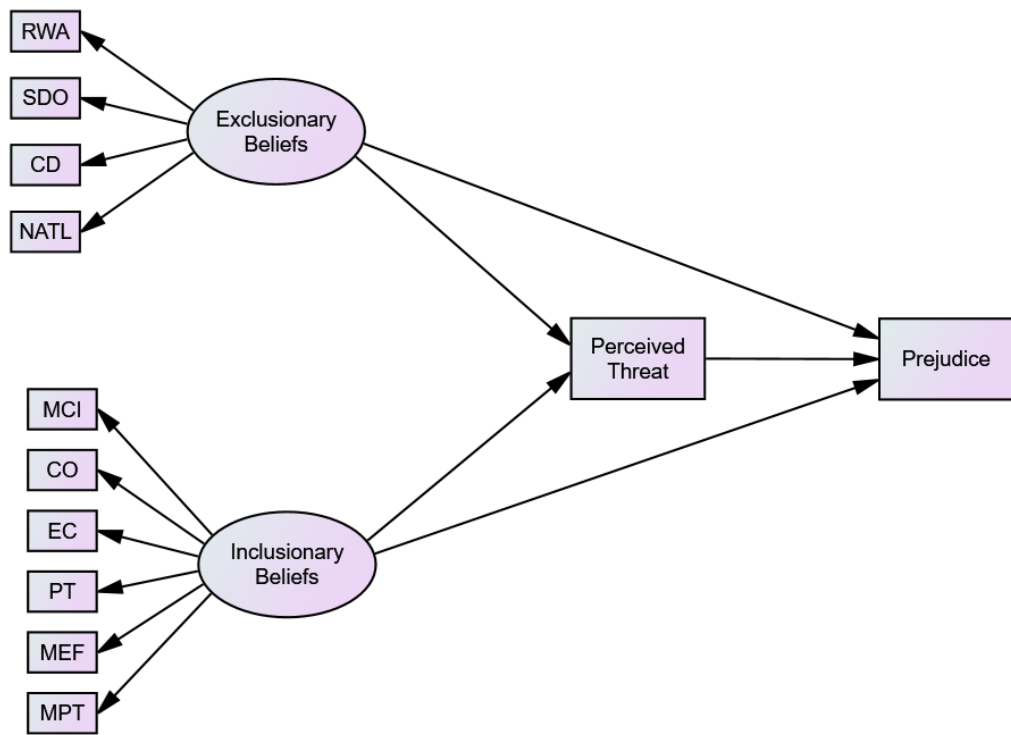
Finally, the abundant research addressing anti-immigrant prejudice as stemming from perceived threat rarely explores complex models that incorporate constructs that

both entrench and mitigate prejudice. The third aim is to specify a model that allows for the convergence of research perceived threat, exclusionary beliefs, multicultural ideology, and empathy on perceived threat and subsequent anti-immigrant prejudice. For a visual representation of this hypothesis see Figure 7.

Hypothesis 3: Exclusionary Beliefs, Inclusionary Beliefs, and Perceived Threat will explain anti-immigrant attitudes

Figure 7

Perceived Threat Explains the Relation between Exclusionary Beliefs and Anti-Immigrant Prejudice



Note. Exclusionary Beliefs is an underlying, inferred variable that is observed through its influence on Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO, Cultural Dominance (CD), and Nationalism (NATL). Inclusionary Beliefs is an underlying, inferred variable that is observed through its influence on Multicultural Ideology (MCI), Cultural Openness (CO), Empathic Concern (EC),

Perspective Taking (PT), Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF), and Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT).

Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited through Facebook and Reddit. Craigslist was originally expected to be a referral source; however, due to changing community guidelines, no post was uploaded to Craigslist. Individuals over the age of 18 who currently reside in the U.S.A. were eligible to participate in the study.

Procedure

Participants were asked to complete a 45-minute online survey hosted on Qualtrics. Prior to beginning the survey participants were provided an IRB-approved Informed Consent form detailing the risks and benefits of the study. Individuals were asked to print or save a copy of this form for their records prior to proceeding to the survey. Participants were given the opportunity to share their email address at the end of the survey to be entered into a draw to win one of 100 Amazon e-gift cards worth \$20 each. Entry into the draw explicitly required a minimum of 80% completion of the survey items.

Measures

Exclusionary Beliefs

Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA). Right-Wing Authoritarianism was measured using the 15-item short version of the RWA scale developed by Zakrisson (2005). This measure reflects adherence to conservative and traditional Western values, submission to authority, and willingness to use aggression to maintain order. Statements include “Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral

currents prevailing in society today,” and “God’s laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, violations must be punished.” Items are measured on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *very negative* and 7 = *very positive* and higher total scores reflect stronger adherence to traditional Western values, submission to authority, and willingness to use aggression to maintain order. The short version of the RWA scale shows good reliability with Cronbach’s alphas ranging from .72 to .80.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). Social Dominance Orientation was measured using the 16-item Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO-6; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). This measure was constructed to assess a person’s belief that one’s in-group rightfully (or should) dominate other social groups due to an inherent superiority (Pratto et al., 1994). Sample items include “Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups,” and “If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.” Items are measured on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; higher total scores reflect greater belief in social structures that encourage group competition and dominance of one group over others. The SDO scale shows strong reliability with a Cronbach’s alphas of .91.

Cultural Dominance (CD). The Resentment and Cultural Dominance subscale of the Everyday Multicultural Competencies/Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014) was administered. The 10-item subscale includes statements like “Members of minorities tend to overreact all the time” and “When in America, minorities should make an effort to merge into American culture.” Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*;

higher total scores reflect greater minimization of the systemic issues faced by minorities as well as the stronger belief that White American culture is threatened by minority cultures. The Resentment and Cultural Dominance subscale of the EMC/RSEE shows strong reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.85.

Nationalism (NATL). To measure essentialism in national identity, a subscale developed by Bonikowski and DiMaggio (2016) was used. A statement reading "Some people say the following things are important for being truly American. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?" prefaced a list of items such as "... to have been born in America, ... to be a Christian, ... to be able to speak English." Items from the list are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; higher total scores reflect strict, essentialist definition of national identity in the U.S.. The original scale used in Bonikowski and DiMaggio (2016) did not report on reliability statistics.

Inclusionary Beliefs

Multicultural Ideology (MCI). Berry and Kalin (1995) developed the Multicultural Ideology Scale (MIS) to evaluate Canadian support for cultural diversity. The MIS shows good reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.80, and has been adapted for use with other nations, including the Netherlands (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2003; Verkutyen, 2009), Luxembourg (Murdock & Ferrings, 2016), and New Zealand (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). All adaptations show good reliability with Cronbach's alpha of 0.80 or above. Given the previous successful adaptations of this scale it was adapted for use with an American sample for this study. Sample items include "Americans should recognize that American society consists of groups with different cultural backgrounds," and "A

society that has a variety of cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.” Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; higher total scores reflect greater belief that ethnic and cultural diversity is a valuable component of American identity.

Cultural Openness (CO). The Cultural Openness and Desire to Learn subscale of the Everyday Multicultural Competencies/Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014) was administered. The 10-item subscale includes statements like “I think it is important to be educated about cultures and countries other than my own” and “I am interested in participating in various cultural activities on campus.” Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; higher total scores reflect greater interest in other cultures and willingness to engage in other culture’s activities. The Cultural Openness and Desire to Learn subscale of the EMC/RSEE shows strong reliability with a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.92.

Empathic Concern (EC). The Empathic Concern subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI; Davis, 1980) is a 7-item measure of the degree to which a person feels sympathy and compassion for others. Sample statements include “I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me” and “When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.” Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *does not describe me at all* and 7 = *describes me almost perfectly*; higher total scores reflect greater emotional compassion in response to the plight of others. A recent study using IRI indicated adequate reliability for the Empathic Concern subscale with a Cronbach alpha of 0.77 (Levin et al., 2016).

Perspective Taking (PT). The Perspective Taking subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI; Davis, 1980) is a 7-item measure of a person's self-reported ability to adopt others' points of view. An example of statements includes "I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both," and "When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while." Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *does not describe me at all* and 7 = *describes me almost perfectly*; higher total scores reflect greater ability to generate and understand perspectives different from one's own. A recent study using the IRI indicated adequate reliability for the Perspective Taking subscale with a Cronbach alpha of 0.76 (Levin et al., 2016).

Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF). The Everyday Multicultural Competencies /Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE) (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014) is a recently revised and updated version of the Ethnocultural Empathy Scale developed by Wang et al. (2003). It was administered given the specificity of the scale's ability to tap into cultural empathy. The Empathic Feeling and Acting as an Ally subscale of the Everyday Multicultural Competencies/Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014) was administered. The 8-item subscale includes statements like "I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own" and "I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic background." Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; higher total scores reflect greater emotional compassion when thinking about racial or ethnically

based discrimination. The Empathic Feeling and Acting as an Ally subscale of the EMC/RSEE shows good reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.78.

Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT). The Everyday Multicultural Competencies / Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE) (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014) is a recently revised and updated version of the Ethnocultural Empathy Scale developed by Wang et al. (2003). It was administered given the specificity of the scale's ability to tap into cultural empathy. The Empathic Perspective-Taking subscale of the Everyday Multicultural Competencies/Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014) was administered. The 5-item subscale includes statements like "It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own" and "I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds." Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; higher total scores reflect the ability to understand the experiences of a racially or ethnically different individual. The Empathic Perspective-Taking subscale of the EMC/RSEE shows acceptable reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.69.

Perceived Threat

Stephan et al. (1999) developed a series of 15 statements that assessed perceptions of intergroup threat towards Asian immigrants in the U.S. These statements have been adapted for use in predicting attitudes towards target populations (Stephan et al., 1999; Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Wirtz van der Pligt, & Doosje 2016). In line with previous research on perceived threat, items are divided into statements based on face validity.

Statements are categorized as reflective of perceived social/cultural, economic, or safety threat. Examples include “Immigration is undermining American culture (social/cultural threat)”, “Immigration has increased the tax burden on Americans (economic threat),” and “Immigrants are more likely to commit crimes than people born in the United States (Safety).” A total of 9 items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*, with higher total scores reflecting greater belief that immigrants pose a threat to cultural purity, economic stability, or physical safety.

Anti-immigrant Prejudice

Akrami et al. (2002) developed a Classical and Modern Racial Prejudice Scale to explore prejudice towards immigrants in Sweden. The 17-items were loosely based on the Modern Racism Scale developed by McConahay (1983). Statements reflect classic prejudice (e.g. “Immigrants are generally not very intelligent) and modern, subtle racism (e.g. “Immigrants are getting too demanding in the push for equal rights”). Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; higher total scores reflect greater prejudice and discrimination against immigrants, antagonism towards immigrant demands, and resentment about policies promoting immigrant support. The Classical and Modern Racial Prejudice Scale shows good reliability with Cronbach’s alphas ranging from 0.72 to 0.82.

Demographics

Participants were asked to provide demographic information on their age, gender identity, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship status, education, region of residence, perceived socioeconomic status, and political views.

Data Analysis

Data Cleaning and Quality Analysis

A total of 699 participants electronically agreed to the informed consent and confirmed that they met the inclusion criteria of being over the age of 18 and currently residing in the U.S.A. Of these participants, 515 participants completed at least 80% of the scale items, which was the minimum eligibility criteria to enter the raffle. A Little's MCAR test indicated that the data were missing completely at random ($\chi^2(12682) = 12451.92$ $p = .926$). Scale scores were created used prorated averages of the scale item responses; averages were only generated for scales with at least 50% items completion. Data from these 515 participants were then evaluated for indicators of careless or unusual responding.

Numerous authors suggest using cutoff completion times based on reading rates, standard deviations from the median, and interquartile ranges to help identify data that is likely to be of little value for analysis, either due to careless or insufficient effort responding, or bot-based responses (Huang et al., 2012; Teitcher et al., 2015; Buchanan & Scofield, 2018; Meade & Bartholomew Craig, 2012). Trauzettel-Klosinski and Dietz (2012) suggest using rate of reading per character as a helpful identifier. They reported that the average rate of reading is 987 (SD 118) characters per minute. Readers who fall in the 95th percentile are considered the "fastest readers" and are able to read at a rate of 1,223 characters per minute. The character count for all scale items administered for the purposes of this dissertation total 10,381, which the average reader would be expected to complete in about 10.51 minutes, or 631 seconds; the fastest readers would be expected to complete it in about 8.48 minutes, or 509 seconds. When the data from the current study was reviewed, the median completion time for participants who answered 80% or

more scale items was 11.82 minutes, or 709 seconds ($SD = 4,355$). Given the extreme variability between minimum (114 seconds) and maximum (64,058 seconds) durations, an added consideration was made to determine the cutoff scores. Huang et al. (2012) suggest that, in addition to considering average reading speeds, responses faster than the average of 2 seconds per survey item are highly unlikely to have been attended to. The current survey employed 125 survey items. Following Huang et al.'s argument, a minimum cutoff of 248 seconds would be appropriate. Taking both the expected fastest reading rate proposed by Trauzettel-Klosinski and Dietz (2012) and the minimum of 2 seconds per survey item proposed by Huang et. al (2012), a cutoff of 253 seconds (10th percentile) was selected as a strict elimination cutoff, which removed an additional 49 participants.

Data from the remaining 466 participants were screened for unusual responding using a point system. Semantic Synonyms are pairs of statements that are expected to be scored in the same way. Semantic Antonyms are pairs of statements that are expected to be scored in opposing directions. Eight semantic synonyms and antonym pairs were identified; for every response not corresponding to the expected relationship participants were given one point. LongString responding is a type of responding where survey items are responded to using the same number of pattern (e.g. if a person responded to all RWA scale items using "6" irrespective of whether the item would be reverse coded or not, they engaged in LongString responding). Nine scales were evaluated for LongString responding; participants received one point for every scale their answers appeared to mimic LongString responding. Participants who received 6 points or higher were

removed from further analysis due to the high likelihood of uneffortful responding. This precluded 36 participants.

An overall Mahalanobis distance was calculated with the 10 independent variables; 18 cases were identified as significant at the $p \leq .001$ level. These cases were evaluated using additional Mahalanobis distance calculations between pairs of scales known to relate strongly (i.e. RWA and SDO, General Empathy and Multicultural Empathy). In addition, they were examined for missing data that precluded overall scores of the scale means; scale scores were computed as an average of the items of that scale with the requirement that at least 50% of the items must have been responded to. Nine cases were eliminated following this process; the remaining 421 cases were used for the remaining analyses.

Each scale was then examined for univariate normality and all were found to fall within acceptable skewness and kurtosis ranges of -2 and 2; for specific scale values see Table 1. Scales were assessed for multicollinearity. A VIF cutoff of 10 was used to identify multicollinear scales; all scales had acceptable multicollinearity (ranged from VIF = 1.73 to 7.4). All scales had acceptable reliability; see Table 2.

Table 1

Skewness and Kurtosis Statistics for Scales

	<i>n</i>	<u>Skewness</u>		<u>Kurtosis</u>	
		Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
RWA	421	-.156	.119	-.938	.237
SDO	421	.117	.119	-.887	.237
CD	421	.042	.119	-.908	.237
NATL	421	.621	.119	1.66	.237

MCI	421	-.144	.119	-.741	.237
CO	421	-.157	.119	-1.259	.237
EC	421	.080	.119	-.281	.237
PT	421	.033	.119	-.328	.237
MEF	421	-.060	.119	-.701	.237
MPT	421	.425	.119	.562	.237
Perceived Threat	421	.433	.119	-.127	.237
Prejudice	421	.303	.119	-.072	.237

Note. Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Cultural Dominance (CD), Nationalism (NATL), Multicultural ideology (MCI), Cultural Openness (CO), Empathic Concern (EC), Perspective Taking (PT), Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF), Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT)

Table 2.

Reliability Statistics for Scales

	<i>n</i>	M	SD	α
RWA	421	2.81	.89	.862
SDO	421	2.57	1.08	.937
CD	421	2.72	1.11	.899
NATL	421	3.54	.96	.654
MCI	421	4.16	1.11	.897
CO	421	4.56	1.12	.924
EC	421	4.20	.88	.785
PT	421	4.20	.86	.776
MEF	421	4.26	1.03	.851
MPT	421	3.78	.78	.490
Perceived Threat	421	2.73	.82	.739

Prejudice	421	2.67	.89	.904
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Note. Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Cultural Dominance (CD), Nationalism (NATL). Multicultural ideology (MCI), Cultural Openness (CO), Empathic Concern (EC), Perspective Taking (PT), Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF), Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT)

Sample Characteristics

An a-priori sample size calculator for structural equation modeling was used to determine the appropriate number of subjects for this study. As there are no existing studies that examine this model, we used a conservative small to moderate effect size of 0.3 for the power analysis and determined that data from a minimum of 400 participants was needed. The sample consisted of 421 adults. Two hundred sixteen participants (51.3%) identified as women, 193 identified as men (45.8%), and 9 identified as another gender (2.1%). Caucasians made up the largest racial/ethnic group ($n = 203$; 48.2%), followed by African Americans ($n = 85$, 20.2%), Hispanic/Latinx ($n = 33$, 7.8%), Asian American ($n = 28$, 6.7%), African ($n = 26$, 6.2%), Asian ($n = 19$, 4.5%), biracial or multiethnic ($n = 18$, 4.3%), Middle Eastern ($n = 5$, 1.2%), and Native American ($n = 1$, 0.2%). Three people did not report their racial/ethnic group. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 72, with a mean age of 31.2 ($SD = 9.35$) and a median age of 29. Of those who reported their highest education, 26.7% had attended or completed graduate school ($n = 78$), 45.4% had attended or completed college ($n = 190$), 18.62% had partially or fully completed an associate degree ($n = 112$), and 9.3% had attended or completed high school ($n = 39$).

Group Differences

Analyses of potential group differences between individuals recruited through different portals indicated a number of significant differences. The largest referral source was Reddit ($n = 194$; 46.1%) followed by Facebook ($n = 153$; 36.3%). Twenty-seven participants (6.4%) reported that they obtained the link to the survey through other means, presumably word-of-mouth. Thirty-six participants (8.6%) selected Craigslist as their referral source; however, the Craigslist ad was never posted due to changed community guidelines. Initial consideration was made regarding immediate elimination of these participants; however, it was decided that they would remain in the analysis as they had passed all previous screening measures and it is possible that they selected Craigslist as their referral source in error.

Several differences were found in the makeup of participants based on referral source; detailed differences for the largest two referral sources, Reddit and Facebook, are reported here. The ethnic makeup of participants was significantly different based on referral source, $\chi^2(24, N = 410) = 133.54, p < .001$. Of the participants who were directed to the survey through Reddit, the largest groups were Caucasian ($n = 133$, 68.9%), Hispanic/Latinx ($n = 16$, 8.3%), African American ($n = 15$, 7.8%), biracial/multiethnic ($n = 12$, 6.2%), and Asian American ($n = 8$, 4.1%). Of the participants who were directed to the survey through Facebook, the largest groups were Caucasian ($n = 49$, 32.0%), African American ($n = 46$, 30.0%), African ($n = 17$, 11.1%), and Asian American ($n = 15$, 9.8%).

Significant differences were also found in levels of education based on referral source, $\chi^2(9, N = 347) = 74.90, p < .001$. Individuals referred from Reddit indicated higher traditional educational attainment with 73.1% of participants reporting graduate

school or some college education, while 51.7% of Facebook participants reported the same, $\chi^2(9, N=347) = 74.90, p < .001$. Of the Reddit participants, 21.1% had attended or completed graduate school ($n = 41$), 52.6% had attended or completed college ($n = 102$), 12.9% had partially or fully completed an associate degree ($n = 25$), and 13.4% had attended or completed high school ($n = 26$). Of the Facebook participants 11.8% had attended or completed graduate school ($n = 18$), 39.9% had attended or completed college ($n = 61, 42.5%$) had partially or fully completed an associate degree ($n = 65$), and 5.8% had attended or completed high school ($n = 9$).

Differences were also observed in participants reported ability to purchase items the need—a component of one's socioeconomic status. Participants from Reddit were had a greater ability to purchase needed items compared to participants from Facebook, $\chi^2(9, 247) = 128.99, p < .001$. Participants from Facebook were more likely to report a complete inability to purchase needed items, with 10 participants (10.9%) indicating that they “never” had enough money to buy needed items. Only 4 (2.5%) of Redditors reported the same. The majority of Facebook participants identified as mid-level socioeconomic power, with 80 (86.9%) reportedly having ability to purchase needed items “some of the time” or “most of the time.” Comparatively, 64 Reddit participants (41.3%) fell in this mid-level category. Finally, while 2 (2.5%) of Facebook participants reported complete ability to purchase needed items, 87 (56.1%) of Reddit participants indicated the same. No significant difference was observed between the average age or gender of participants recruited from Reddit and Facebook.

Given the differences in demographics based on recruitment portal, differences in scale responses were assessed. An independent samples t-test was run on dummy coded

variables: gender, education (high school or less/more than high school), ethnicity (Caucasian/non-Caucasian), and socioeconomic status. The independent samples t-test was run on SPSS 25.0 and indicated that gender, ethnicity, education, and SES significantly impacted prejudice, with men, non-Caucasians, less education, and lower SES reporting higher prejudice than their counterparts; for details see Table 3.

Table 3

Differences in Prejudice based on Gender, Ethnicity, Education, and SES

		<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Gender	Men	193	2.92	.87	5.33	407	.000
	Women	216	2.47	.85			
Ethnicity	Non-Caucasian	215	2.92	.78	6.45	416	.000
	Caucasian	203	2.40	.91			
Education	High School or less	151	3.02	.70	6.38	417	.000
	College or more	268	2.47	.92			
SES	Upper-middle and above	172	2.50	.83	-8.50	283	.000
	Lower-middle and below	113	3.22	.44			

When these variables were included as covariates in the analyses, however, they were not statistically significant. Each covariate was tested individually and non-significance was confirmed, suggesting that the impact of gender, ethnicity, education, and SES on prejudice is better explained by the model overall. Gender, ethnicity, education, and SES were therefore not included as covariates when testing the model. The remaining analyses were run using IBM AMOS 26.0 Graphics software. Diagrams were drawn using the software; squares represent measured variables, ovals represent latent variables, small circles represent error variances, straight arrows represent causal

effects, and curved arrows represent correlations. When evaluating model fit, commonly accepted cutoffs were used: non-significant chi-square statistic ($CMIN = p \geq .05$); Comparative Fit Index ($CFI \geq .90$); Root Mean Square Error of Approximation ($RMSEA \leq .08$).

Results

Main Analyses: Hypothesis 1

Results

The first hypothesis predicted that perceived threat would mediate the relation between Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Cultural Dominance (CD), Nationalism (NATL), and anti-immigrant prejudice (Prejudice). A bivariate correlation confirmed a positive association between all variables, with strong correlations between SDO, RWA and Prejudice, and moderate correlations between NATL and the other variables. All correlations were statistically significant at the $p \leq .01$ level. See correlations in Table 4.

Table 4

Correlations of Measures Comprising Exclusionary Beliefs

Variable	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. RWA	421	2.80	.89	-				
2. SDO	421	2.57	1.08	.83**	-			
3. CD	421	2.72	1.11	.83**	.83**	-		
4. NATL	421	3.54	.96	.47**	.46**	.60**	-	
5. Perceived Threat	421	2.73	.82	.80**	.83**	.85**	.54**	-
6. Prejudice	421	2.67	.89	.79**	.85**	.87**	.55**	.89**

** $p \leq .01$

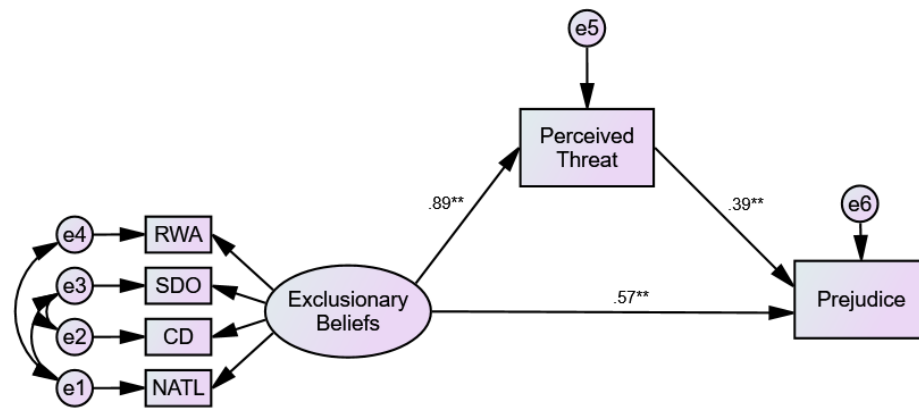
Note. Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Cultural Dominance (CD), Nationalism (NATL).

Model Fit. The indirect effect of Perceived Threat on SDO, RWA, CD, and NATL, and Prejudice was evaluated using IBM AMOS 26.0 Graphics software. Cultural Dominance had the strongest regression weight and was set to 1. The hypothesized model had good model fit after three modifications correlating error variances. The initial model without modification was such that $CMIN(8) = 64.33, p < .001$; $CFI = 0.979$; $RMSEA = 0.129$. Modification indices suggested correlating the error variances of SDO and NATL. This improved the model such that $CMIN(7) = 45.21, p < .001$; $CFI = 0.986$; $RMSEA = .114$. Modification indices suggested correlating the error variance of Nationalism and Social Dominance Orientation. This improved the model such that $CMIN(6) = 18.16, p = .006$; $CFI = 0.995$; $RMSEA = .069$. Modification indices suggested correlating the error variance of Nationalism and Right-Wing Authoritarianism. This improved the model such that $CMIN(5) = 7.59, p = .180$; $CFI = 0.999$; $RMSEA = .035$. The model was determined to have good fit. Direct and indirect effects are reported below.

Direct Effects. Exclusionary beliefs were related positively to Perceived Threat (standardized coefficient (β) = .89) and Prejudice (β = .57). Perceived Threat was predictive of Prejudice (β = .39). All paths were significant at $p \leq .001$. These can be seen in Figure 8.

Figure 8

Standardized regression coefficients for the relationship between Exclusionary Beliefs and Prejudice as mediated by Perceived Threat.



Note. Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO, Cultural Dominance (CD), and Nationalism (NATL).

Indirect Effects. The relationship between Exclusionary Beliefs and Prejudice was mediated by Perceived Threat. The standardized regression coefficient between Exclusionary Beliefs and Perceived Threat was statistically significant, as was the standardized regression coefficient between Perceived Threat and Prejudice. The standardized indirect effect was $(.89)(.39) = .35$. We tested the significance of this indirect effect using bootstrapping procedures. Standardized indirect effects were computed for each of 1,000 bootstrapped samples, and the 95% confidence interval was computed by determining the indirect effects at the 2.5th and 97.5th percentiles. The bootstrapped standardized indirect effect was .342, 95% CI [.245, .427]. The indirect effect was statistically significant at $p \leq .01$.

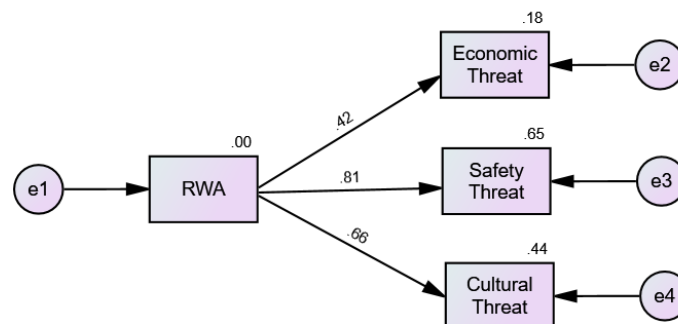
Secondary Analyses. Given the conceptual overlap between cultural dominance and social dominance orientation, a model comparison was run to assess the utility of including both forms of dominance in Exclusionary Beliefs. An alternate model comparison was made first between the overall model described above and an alternate model that included only SDO, then between the overall model and an alternate model

that included only CD. The alternate models still included RWA and Nationalism. Results from the first comparison indicated that the overall model $CMIN(9) = 64.33, p < .001, CFI .98, RMSEA = .13$ had better fit than the alternate model using only SDO ($CMIN(8) = 804.52, p < .001, CFI .71, RMSEA = .46$); this difference was statistically significant ($CMIN(1) = 740.18, p < .001$). The second alternate model using only CD also indicated that the overall model had better fit than the alternate model ($CMIN(9) = 694.96, p < .001, CFI .75, RMSEA = .23$); this difference was statistically significant ($CMIN(1) = 630.63, p < .001$).

Additional modeling was conducted to evaluate the possibility that RWA, SDO, CD, and NATL were differentially related to the three types of perceived threat: economic stability (Economic Threat), physical safety (Safety Threat), and cultural purity (Cultural Threat). Each of the components of Exclusionary Beliefs was tested independently. Right-Wing Authoritarianism was most strongly associated with perceived Safety Threat ($\beta = .81$), followed by perceived Cultural Threat ($\beta = .65$) and perceived Economic Threat ($\beta = .43$); see Figure 9.

Figure 9

Right-Wing Authoritarianism is Differentially Associated with Type of Perceived Threat

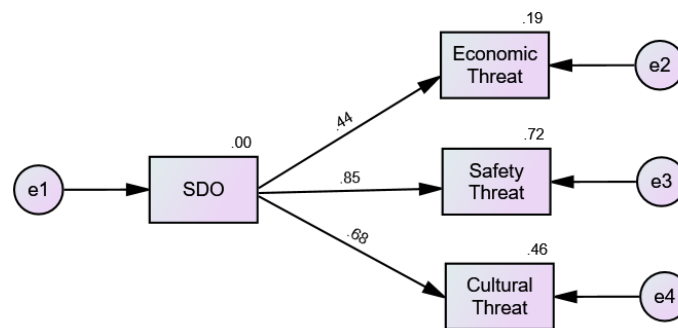


Note. Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) is most strongly linked with perceived threat to safety (Safety Threat)

Social Dominance Orientation demonstrated the same pattern and was most strongly associated with perceived Safety Threat ($\beta = .85$), followed by perceived Cultural Threat ($\beta = .68$) and perceived Economic Threat ($\beta = .44$); see Figure 10.

Figure 10

Social Dominance Orientation is Differentially Associated with Type of Perceived Threat

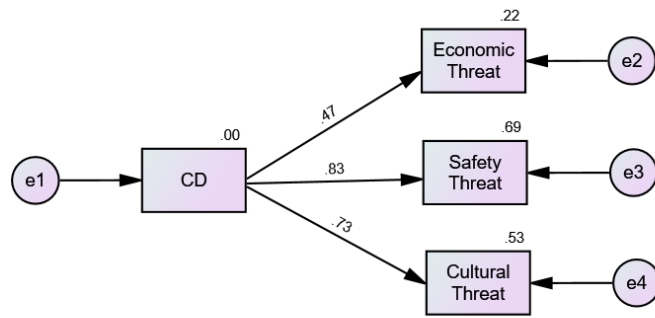


Note. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) is most strongly linked with perceived threat to safety (Safety Threat)

Cultural Dominance was also most strongly associated with perceived Safety Threat ($\beta = .83$), followed by perceived Cultural Threat ($\beta = .73$) and perceived Economic Threat ($\beta = .47$); see Figure 11.

Figure 11

Cultural Dominance is Differentially Associated with Type of Perceived Threat

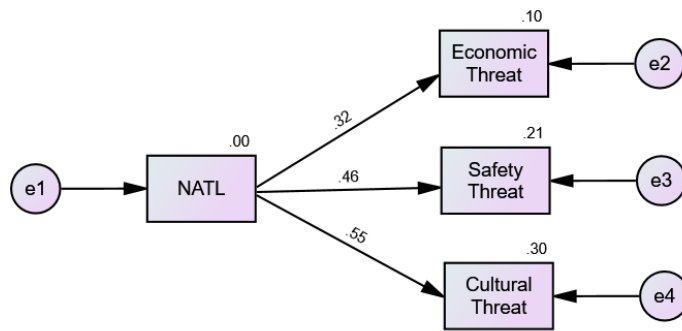


Note. Cultural Dominance (CD) is most strongly linked with perceived threat to safety (Safety Threat)

Nationalism was associated differently; it was most strongly predictive of perceived Cultural Threat ($\beta = .55$), followed by perceived Safety Threat ($\beta = .46$) and perceived Economic Threat ($\beta = .32$); see Figure 11. All were significant at the $p \leq .001$. See Figure 12.

Figure 12

Nationalism is Differentially Associated with Type of Perceived Threat



Note. Nationalism (NATL) is most strongly linked with perceived threat to safety (Safety Threat)

** $p < .001$

Discussion

The first hypothesis predicted that right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, cultural dominance, and nationalism would be positively correlated with each other; the data confirmed these associations. A statistically significant strong correlation

was found between SDO and RWA ($r = .83, p \leq .01$), with greater belief in social hierarchies associated with stronger adherence to traditional conservative values. SDO and RWA have long been associated with one another in the context of prejudice research (for a meta-analysis, see Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Both RWA and SDO have been linked to anti-immigrant prejudice through perceived threat (Bilewicz et al., 2015; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Kteily et al., 2011). The addition of cultural dominance and nationalism in conjunction with RWA and SDO to further understand anti-immigrant prejudice is novel to the psychology research literature.

Based on the results of this study, cultural dominance in particular may be strongly related to RWA and SDO with minimal overlap in terms of content given the correlations (see Table 4) and noting that VIF scores did not meet the threshold for multicollinearity concerns. The pattern of these associations highlights the need to consider cultural dominance as a construct that adds to our understanding of exclusionary beliefs in a way that is distinct from the established dominance-based constructs of SDO and RWA.

Nationalism, when operationalized through the essentialist lens as in this study, was also considered as an exclusionary belief. Prior research indicates a strong association between nationalism and anti-immigrant prejudice (Esses, et. al., 2017; Louis et al., 2008; Nickerson & Louis, 2008, Pehrson et al., 2009). The findings from the current study similarly support this conclusion, with moderate associations between NATL and RWA, SDO, and CD (see Table 4). Nationalism, when defined by strict criteria of what it means to belong to a nation, serves the same function as RWA, SDO, and CD in that it excludes people from being part of the ingroup. This is similar to prior

research, which confirms the relation between nationalism and authoritarianism generally (Blank & Schmidt, 2003, Renner et al., 2004) and with RWA specifically (Osborne et al., 2017).

Prior research indicated that exclusionary beliefs were associated with anti-immigrant prejudice through the belief that immigrants pose some form of threat to the community. The current study provides partial support for this hypothesis. The standardized regression coefficients for these direct paths were all positive and statistically significant at the $p \leq .001$ level; the stronger participants' endorsement of Exclusionary Beliefs, the more likely they were to believe that immigrants pose a threat to their cultural purity, economic stability, and physical safety. The indirect path of Exclusionary Beliefs to Prejudice through Perceived threat was also statistically significant, confirming that Perceived Threat does indeed explain anti-immigrant prejudice. All direct paths remained significant, however, indicating that, although some of the variance of anti-immigrant prejudice was explained through perceived threat, it does not explain the relation fully. This is not surprising given the push in the literature to consider both exclusionary and inclusionary beliefs as predictors of prejudice (Levin et al., 2016), which this study considers in later hypotheses.

Secondary analyses confirmed that including cultural dominance as an exclusionary belief adds value above solely focusing on social dominance orientation when attempting to understanding perceived threat and predicting anti-immigrant prejudice. By testing the overall model in comparison to an alternate models that did include social dominance but not cultural dominance or included cultural dominance but

not social dominance orientation, it became clear that the model including both constructs was better able to predict anti-immigrant prejudice than either alternate model.

Secondary analyses also shed additional light on the specific type of threat associated with RWA, SDO, CD, and NATL. Numerous studies have shown the differential relation between RWA and realistic (Economic and Safety) threat and SDO and symbolic (Cultural) threat. Data from the current sample, however, indicate that both RWA and SDO are most strongly associated with concerns of physical safety followed by economic stability—both of which would have fallen under the previous category of realistic threat. This stands in contrast to the literature, which commonly associates RWA with symbolic threats and SDO with realistic threats (Bilewicz et al., 2015; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Kteily et al., 2011).

Main Analyses: Hypothesis 2

Results

The second hypothesis predicted that perceived threat would mediate the relation between inclusionary beliefs and anti-immigrant prejudice. A bivariate correlation confirmed significant correlations between all variables. See table 5.

Table 5

Correlations of Measures Comprising Inclusionary Beliefs

Variable	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. MCI	421	4.16	1.11	-						
2. CO	421	4.56	1.12	.83**	-					
3. EC	421	4.20	.88	.61**	.65**	-				
4. PT	421	4.20	.86	.49**	.62**	.67**	-			
5. MEF	421	4.26	1.03	.83**	.83**	.69**	.54**	-		

6. MPT	421	3.78	.78	.26**	.30**	.33**	.35**	.29**	-	
7. Perceived Threat	421	2.73	.82	-.82**	-.78**	-.55**	-.44**	-.80**	-.20**	-
8. Prejudice	421	2.67	.89	-.86**	-.83**	-.63**	-.48**	-.84**	-.21**	.89**

Note. Multicultural ideology (MCI), Cultural Openness (CO), Empathic Concern (EC), Perspective Taking (PT), Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF), Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT)

** $p \leq .01$

Model Fit. Cultural Openness had the strongest regression weight and was set to

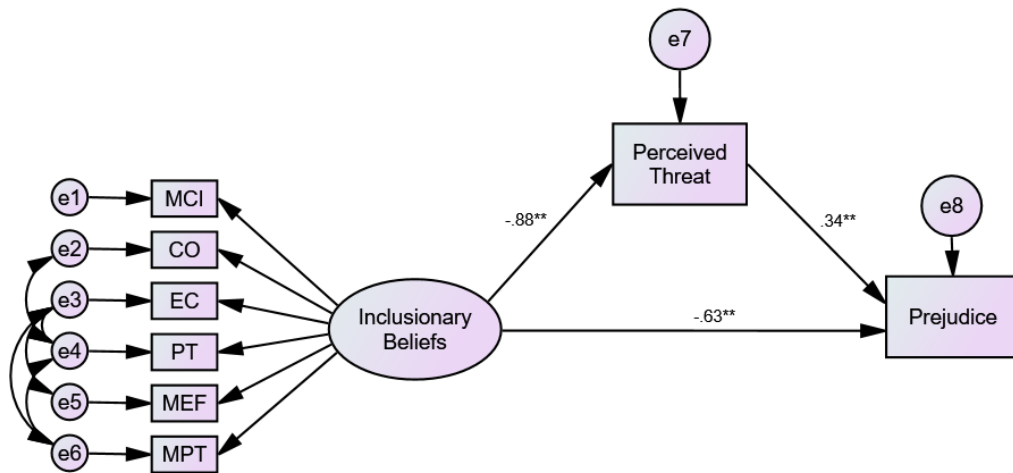
1. The hypothesized model had acceptable fit following five modifications correlating error variances. For reference, the initial model fit indices were CMIN (19) = 212.52, $p < .001$; CFI = .938, RMSEA = .156. The initial modification step required correlating the error variances of Empathic Concern and Perspective taking. This modification resulted in the following model fit indices: CMIN (18) = 121.46, $p < .001$; CFI = .967, RMSEA = .117. The second modification required correlating the error variances between Perspective Taking and Cultural Openness. This modification resulted in the following model fit indices: CMIN (17) = 76.44, $p < .001$; CFI = .981, RMSEA = .091. A third modification was made; a correlation was drawn between the error variances of Empathic Concern and Multicultural Empathic Feelings. This modification improved the model such that CMIN (16) = 65.79, $p < .001$; CFI = .984; RMSEA = .086. A fourth modification was made to correlate the error variance of Perspective Taking and Multicultural Perspective Taking. This modification improved the model such that CMIN (15) = 55.60, $p < .001$; CFI = .987; RMSEA = .080. A fifth modification was made to correlate the error variance of Empathic Concern and Multicultural Perspective Taking. This modification improved the model such that CMIN (14) = 42.15, $p < .001$; CFI = .991; RMSEA = .069. Additional modification recommendations would have required

correlated the error variances between Multicultural Perspective Taking and Prejudice; this was not selected as it would modify the conceptual understanding of the model. Given that the CFI and RMSEA reached the threshold for good fit, no additional modifications were made; the model was considered to have acceptable fit.

Direct Effects. Inclusionary Beliefs was negatively related to Perceived Threat ($\beta = -.88$) and Prejudice ($\beta = -.63, p \leq .01$). Perceived Threat was positively related to Prejudice ($\beta = .34$). All paths were statistically significant at the $p \leq .001$ level. See Figure 13.

Figure 13

Standardized Regression Coefficients for the Relation Between Exclusionary Beliefs and Prejudice as Mediated by Perceived Threat.



Note. Multicultural Ideology (MCI), Cultural Openness (CO), Empathic Concern (EC), Perspective Taking (PT), Multicultural Empathic Feeling (MEF), and Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT).

** $p < .001$

Indirect Effects. The relationship between Inclusionary Beliefs and Prejudice was mediated by Perceived Threat. As the figure illustrates, the standardized regression

coefficient between Inclusionary Beliefs and Perceived Threat was statistically significant, as was the standardized regression coefficient between Perceived Threat and Prejudice. The standardized indirect effect was $(-.88)(.34) = -.30$. We tested the significance of this indirect effect using bootstrapping procedures. Standardized indirect effects were computed for each of 1,000 bootstrapped samples, and the 95% confidence interval was computed by determining the indirect effects at the 2.5th and 97.5th percentiles. The bootstrapped standardized indirect effect was $-.296$, 95% CI $[-.227, -.369]$. The indirect effect was statistically significant at $p \leq .01$.

Secondary Analyses. Given the conceptual overlap between empathy (EC, PT) and multicultural empathy (MEF, MPT), a model comparison was run to assess the utility of including both forms of empathy in Inclusionary Beliefs. An alternate model comparison was made between the overall model described above and an alternate model that excluded both components of multicultural empathy. This alternate model was drawn such that Inclusionary Beliefs was comprised solely of MCI, CO, EC, and PT. Results from the comparison indicated that the overall model (CMIN (19) = 212.52, $p < .001$, CFI = .938, RMSEA = .156) had better fit than the alternate model excluding both components of multicultural empathy (CMIN (21) = 921.92, $p < .001$, CFI = .711, RMSEA = .320); this difference was statistically significant (CMIN (2) = 709.394, $p < .001$). A second alternate model was tested, this time excluding both components of general empathy. This alternate model was drawn such that Inclusionary Beliefs was comprised solely of MCI, CO, MEF, and MPT. Results from the comparison again indicated that the overall model had better fit than the second alternate model (CMIN

(21) = 652.81, $p < .001$, CFI = .797, RMSEA = .268); this difference was statistically significant (CMIN (2) = 440.29, $p < .001$).

Discussion

The second hypothesis was partially supported. Multicultural ideology (MCI), cultural openness (CO), empathic concern (EC), perspective taking (PT), multicultural empathic feeling (MEF), and multicultural perspective taking (MPT) were all positively correlated and had acceptable multicollinearity; they were considered distinct components of Inclusionary Beliefs (IB). The relation between IB and anti-immigrant prejudice was partially explained by the perception of immigrants as a threat to economic stability, cultural purity, and physical safety.

It is noteworthy that Multicultural Perspective Taking, a subcomponent of multicultural empathy, was not as strongly related to the other components of general or multicultural empathy. Perspective Taking (PT) and Multicultural Perspective Taking (MPT), which would theoretically require similar skills of cognitive flexibility, were weakly associated ($r = .35$). Similarly, although PT was moderately correlated with MCI, CO, EC, and MEF, MPT was only weakly correlated with the same variables; see Table 5. Despite the conceptual association between MPT and MCI, CO, EC, and MEF, there appears to be something unique regarding a person's ability to cross cultural bounds when taking the perspective of others that is above and beyond general perspective taking skills. This does not appear to exist when considering the emotional component of empathy; Empathic Concern and Multicultural Empathic Feeling were strongly correlated, as were both variables with MCI and CO; both MEF and EC had similar strengths of association with other variables. See Table 5.

Inclusionary Beliefs (IB) was negatively related to anti-immigrant prejudice, and this relation was partially mediated by perceived threat. Prior research indicates strong support for several of the components of IB as they relate to perceived threat and prejudice against immigrants. Multicultural ideology has been shown to be negatively related to both perceived threat (Verkuyten, 2008) and anti-immigrant sentiment (Nesdale et al., 2012; Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Perspective Taking (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000) and Empathic Concern (Butrus & Witenberg, 2012) have both been linked to lower levels of prejudice. Multicultural empathy, which includes MEF, MPT, and CO, has shown that individuals who have greater multicultural empathy are generally more supportive of outgroups, particularly when the outgroup is ethnically differently (Korol, 2017).

Secondary analyses confirmed that both general empathy (as measured through Empathic Concern and Perspective Taking) and multicultural empathy (as measured through Multicultural Empathic Feeling and Multicultural Perspective Taking) are important in understanding perceived threat and predicting anti-immigrant prejudice. By testing the overall model in comparison to alternate models that incorporated only one type of empathy, it became clear that having both significantly improved the ability of the model to predict anti-immigrant prejudice. A search of the literature on empathy and multicultural empathy highlighted the dearth of research comparing the two. Beyond the development of Wang et al.'s (2003) Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE), only a handful of studies have used both constructs. Of the studies that use both constructs, they are used in parallel with one another (e.g. Rasool et al., 2009) or assessed for similarity by correlating one another (Özdikmenli-Demir & Demir, 2014), rather than in direct

comparison of utility. The single study that did conduct such a comparison did so by evaluating the correlation between the IRI and SEE and running a confirmatory factor analysis on scale items. They found a moderate correlation ($r = .63$) and non-significance of a two-factor model, concluding that the scales did not measure distinct constructs (Rasoal et al., 2011). One major limitation of this study is that the participants were a homogenous sample of university students in Sweden, which may limit the generalizability of their findings. Additionally, the authors did not explore the utility of each measure in a larger framework, as was considered in this dissertation. Although empathy and multicultural empathy may be highly interrelated, the results from the direct comparison of model fit between a model using both general empathy and multicultural empathy and alternative models indicate the need to consider them as distinct constructs.

Main Analyses: Hypothesis 3

Results

Unidimensionality. To check the factor loadings of the individual scales on each latent variable, unidimensionality was assessed. For Exclusionary Beliefs, Cultural Dominance was identified as having the strongest unit loading. The model had good fit (CMIN (1) = .360, $p = .549$; CFI = 1.00; RMSEA = .000) following one modification whereby the error variances of CD and NATL were correlated. For Inclusionary Beliefs, Cultural Openness was identified as the strongest unit loading. Modification indices indicated the need for five modifications; the error variances were correlated between EC and PT, CO and PT, MPT and PT, MPT and EC, and MEF and EC. The final model had good fit (CMIN (4) = 8.22, $p = .084$; CFI = .998; RMSEA = .050).

A confirmatory Factor Analysis was then run to assess both convergent and discriminant validity of Inclusionary Beliefs and Exclusionary Beliefs as latent variables. Convergent validity was assessed using Average Variance Extracted ($AVE > .5$) and Composite Reliability ($CR > .7$) cutoffs. Convergent validity was confirmed for both Exclusionary Beliefs ($AVE = .69$; $CR = .89$) and Inclusionary Beliefs ($AVE = .57$; $CR = .88$). Discriminant validity was measured by comparing the squared correlations and the AVE scores. The correlation between Exclusionary Beliefs and Inclusionary Beliefs was $-.96$; the squared correlation (r^2) was $.91$. Given that this is larger than the AVEs of both latent variables, it was concluded that the latent variable had poor discriminant validity. This discrepancy calls into question the nomological validity of these constructs, suggesting that they may not be supported as separate factors. A correlation analysis indicated an extremely strong negative correlation ($r = -.97, p \leq .001$). Analyses proceeded despite this finding; the model was adjusted to specify covariance between Exclusionary Beliefs and Inclusionary Beliefs. Implications are discussed in the *Discussion* section of this dissertation.

Model Fit. The third hypothesis predicted that a comprehensive model including exclusionary beliefs, inclusionary beliefs, and perceived threat would explain prejudice. The model was drawn following the same modifications as recommended following the analyses evaluating Hypotheses 1 and Hypothesis 2 and correlating Exclusionary Beliefs and Inclusionary Beliefs as indicated by the previous test of unidimensionality. The initial model displayed variable fit indices. $CMIN(50) = 435.88, p < .001$; $CFI = .928$, $RMSEA = .136$. Additional modifications were attempted; however the model fit did not

reach the threshold of good fit. Given the poor discriminant validity and model fit, it was determined that this model did not fit the data and was thus not interpreted.

Discussion

The third hypothesis was not supported. When exploring the predictive power of exclusionary beliefs, multicultural ideology, empathy, and perceived threat on prejudice against immigrants, the model did not reach the threshold of good fit. Individual studies have supported the association between the scale-level constructs under Exclusionary Beliefs and Inclusionary Beliefs as they relate to Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice; however, no study to date has explored them in conjunction with one another. Earlier researchers frequently focused on factors that positively related to perceived threat and exacerbated anti-immigrant prejudice. These include RWA, SDO, and Nationalism; all have been linked to increased perceptions of threat and higher levels of anti-immigrant sentiment (Esses et al., 2001; Esses et al., 2008; Nickerson & Louis, 2008). In the recent decades, researchers have explored factors associated with lower levels of perceived threat and less anti-immigrant prejudice. These include MCI, CO, and both components of general empathy (EC, PT; Butrus & Witenberg, 2012; Todd et al., 2011) and multicultural empathy (MEF, MPT; Korol, 2017); all have been linked to less perceived threat and lower levels of anti-immigrant prejudice. Joining these lines of research was an attempt to create a comprehensive model predicting anti-immigrant prejudice. The success of the individual components as they adhere to the theoretical foundation of integrated threat theory stands in contrast to the failure of the overall model to reach good fit, suggesting that the model design, rather than the individual pieces or theoretical structure, needs to be reconsidered.

General Discussion

Exclusionary Beliefs, Perceived Threat, and Anti-Immigrant Prejudice

The findings of this study align with and add to the research indicating that group exclusion through superiority and strict definitions of national identity are associated with anti-immigrant sentiment. Well-researched measures of group exclusion, such as Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), a person's adherence to traditional conservative values (Altemeyer, 1981; 1996), and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), a person's belief in social hierarchies with one dominant group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), have long been shown to promote anti-immigrant prejudice; the current study aligns with the research base. Two less researched constructs that promote group exclusion and anti-immigrant prejudice were explored in conjunction with RWA and SDO: Cultural Dominance (CD) and Nationalism. Cultural Dominance is a relatively new construct that reflects the tendency to minimize the systemic issues faced by minorities and the belief that White American culture is threatened by minority groups (Malinckrodt et al., 2014). Nationalism, a strict, essentialist definition of national identity in the U.S, is a component of anti-immigrant sentiment commonly studied in political science but less often explored in the psychology literature (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Research indicate that RWA and SDO are strong predictors of prejudice (Kteily et al., 2011), and Nationalism moderately predicts prejudice (Esses, et. al., 2017; Nickerson & Louis, 2008, Pehrson et al., 2009); cultural dominance is not well-established in the literature and no studies explore it in the context of prejudice and perceived threat.

The current study attempts to address the absence of literature exploring Cultural Dominance (CD) in the context of perceived threat. The present study found support for

the association between CD and Nationalism as they relate to RWA and SDO. Specifically, cultural dominance was strongly related to RWA and SDO, and moderately related to NATL. The utility of adding CD to better capture Exclusionary Beliefs was also supported by the data. By testing the overall model in comparison to alternate models, cultural dominance proved to add value above and beyond RWA, SDO and NATL. This is particularly noteworthy as cultural dominance has not yet been studied in the context of social dominance orientation in the psychology literature despite their conceptual overlap. While SDO is a general measure of belief in social hierarchies, CD more specifically targets the belief that the majority identity in the U.S. (i.e. White identity) should dominate minority cultures, many of which are seen as being given unfair advantages. The finding that cultural dominance follows the same pattern of association is novel to the psychology literature. The implication of adding a measure exploring the denial of the systemic disadvantages of minorities face and the subsequent association of this denial with higher degrees of prejudice is crucial to understanding the ways dominant-leaning communities maintain power.

Partial support was found for the hypothesis that perceived threat partially explains the association between Exclusionary Beliefs (i.e. RWA, SDO, CD, and NATL) and anti-immigrant prejudice. Results from current analyses were aligned with the established relation between RWA and SDO and anti-immigrant prejudice through perceived threat (Bilewicz et al., 2015; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Kteily et al., 2011), and the relation between Nationalism and anti-immigrant prejudice (Esses, et. al., 2017; Louis et al., 2008; Nickerson & Louis, 2008, Pehrson et al., 2009); it also offers novel information regarding CD and anti-immigrant prejudice. Generally speaking, prejudice

reported by individuals who endorse RWA, SDO, CD, and NATL is partially explained by fear that immigrants pose a threat to the community's cultural purity, economic stability, and physical safety. This is key to understanding intergroup relations in areas with higher rates of immigrant residents, such as communities along national borders, sanctuary cities, and areas with high rates of refugee resettlement.

One particularly noteworthy finding was the prominent role of safety fears. Although there is general consistency in the literature that highlights the distinct association between RWA and SDO and the specific type of threats, the current study indicated different results. Research indicates that RWA is more commonly associated with symbolic threats (i.e. threats to cultural purity) and SDO is more commonly associated with realistic threats (i.e. threats to economic stability or physical safety) (Bilewicz et al., 2015; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Kteily et al., 2011). There is evidence that nationalism may be associated with perceptions of threat generally (Parker, 2010), though it is not clear what type of threat would be most predictive, and there is no data on the association with cultural dominance. Contrary to established research, the current study indicated that RWA, SDO, and CD were most strongly associated with the perception that immigrants pose a threat to physical safety, while nationalism was most strongly associated with the perception that immigrants pose a threat to cultural purity. It is unclear what might be driving this discrepancy. One possible explanation may come from the political climate at the time of data collection. Participants had to be living in the U.S. to participate in the survey; the U.S., at the time of data collection and writing, was led by President Trump, a highly vocal individual whose platform Make America Great Again advocates for the re-establishment of American values. Given the traditional nature of the

values he explicitly supports, it is possible that individuals who would previously have felt that their cultural purity was at risk now feel supported by the leader of the country; the fear of cultural contamination through diversity is reduced because of the assurance of the president that he is aligned with their values and will work to protect the so-called American way. Similarly, concerns for economic instability caused by immigration may be reduced with the frequent rhetoric from the president that he has cut down on immigration and improved the economy (Trump, 2018). As with perceived threat, the actual actions and/or figures representing changes in immigration or economic growth are not as important as rhetoric and belief. If this explanation holds ground, it would also make sense that RWA, SDO, and CD are more strongly associated with physical; not only have concerns for cultural purity and economic stability been alleviated, rhetoric claiming immigrant communities are dangerous is prominent (Trump, 2018).

Multicultural Ideology, Empathy, Perceived threat, and Prejudice

The second hypothesis considered mitigating factors of anti-immigrant prejudice, specifically the role of Multicultural ideology (MCI), cultural openness (CO), empathic concern (EC), perspective taking (PT), multicultural empathic feeling (MEF), and multicultural perspective taking (MPT) in the context of perceived threat. Multicultural ideology, CO, EC, PT, MEF, and MPT were all positively related and had acceptable multicollinearity; they were determined to be distinct but related constructs that reflect Inclusionary Beliefs. Noteworthy patterns of correlations were found both within and between the perspective taking and empathic feeling subscales of general empathy and multicultural empathy. Multicultural Perspective Taking in particular was less strongly correlated with the other subscales. Where other components of IB displayed strong to

moderate correlation coefficients, MPT was weakly correlated with the remaining IB constructs. Prior research has indicated that prejudice follows generalized patterns across groups (Bäckstrom & Björklund, 2007; McFarland, 2010); however, given the weaker correlation between multicultural perspective taking and other measures of empathy, the current study results suggest that there may be something unique about the ability to cross cultural bounds when taking the perspective of others. This would be important to consider in the context of anti-immigrant sentiment, as perspective taking is a teachable skill that can be used in prejudice-reduction interventions. The current study provides further evidence in support of these associations, adding to the literature by considering them reflective of a broader construct of inclusionary beliefs, which, in turn, reduce anti-immigrant prejudice by reducing the perception of immigrants as threatening. The novelty of this finding may offer insight into the specific challenges of culturally-based perspective taking. The efficacy of community-based programs designed to encourage development of this skill could be improved with additional research supporting the uniqueness of multicultural perspective taking.

Partial support was found for the hypothesis that Perceived Threat mediated the relation between Inclusionary Beliefs and anti-immigrant prejudice. Multicultural ideology has been shown to be negatively related to both Perceived Threat (Verkuyten, 2008) and anti-immigrant sentiment (Nesdale et al., 2012; Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). As discussed previously, multicultural ideology can lessen prejudice against immigrants by promoting the acknowledgment and appreciation of group differences. Both Perspective Taking (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000) and Empathic Concern (Butrus & Witenberg, 2012) have been linked to lower levels of prejudice as

well. Research on multicultural empathy, which includes MEF, MPT, and CO, has suggested that individuals who have greater multicultural empathy are generally more supportive of ethnically dissimilar outgroups (Korol, 2017). The current study provides further evidence in support of these associations, adding to the literature by considering them reflective of a broader construct of Inclusionary Beliefs, which, in turn, reduce anti-immigrant prejudice by reducing the perception of immigrants as threatening.

Although general empathy and multicultural empathy are well studied independently of one another, few studies explore them in comparison of one another. Beyond the development of Wang et. al's (2003) Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) and Malinckrodt et al.'s (2014) adaptation of the SEE only a handful of studies have used general empathy and multicultural empathy in parallel (e.g. Özdikmenli-Demir & Demir, 2014; Rasoal et al., 2009). One study that compared the utility of a scale of general empathy to a scale of multicultural concluded that there was insufficient divergent validity (Rasoal et al., 2011); the results of this study, however, have not been replicated and limitations of the sample and design may challenge the generalizability of the findings. In the current study general empathy and multicultural empathy were explored in the context of a larger framework, which has not yet been reported on in the literature. Based on comparisons of model fit between alternate versions of the model, the data supported the model containing both general empathy (EC, PT) and multicultural empathy (MEF, MPT). Although the content may appear similar, these constructs are sufficiently divergent and both are necessary to understand the factors that could potentially reduce Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice.

When immigrants are viewed as threats to economic, physical, or cultural stability, as is expressed in intergroup threat theory, this creates a perceived justification of prejudice towards immigrant groups. Having the knowledge that MCI, CO, EC, PT, MEF, and MPT all play a significant role in reducing prejudice supports the use of individual and community-based programs promoting the development of these worldviews and skills. The role of EC, PT, MEF, and MPT have particular clinical significance given the substantive literature highlighting the efficacy of interventions promoting empathy. Mindfulness, stemming from the Buddhist tradition encouraging awareness of the present moment (Kabat-Zinn, 1994), has become interwoven with Western psychology over the past three decades (Creswell, 2017). It is a primary component of certain therapies, such as Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) and Dialectical Behavior Therapy (DBT), and has become common practice in specific treatments, such as Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) and Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT) (for a brief review of the specific mindfulness practices in each see Kang & Whittingham, 2010). Mindfulness is better thought of as a process rather than a static quality (Bishop et al., 2004), and it reduces reliance on cognitive heuristics. By not over-valuing prior experiences or immediate emotions to determine the significance of an event, practicing mindfulness reduces the bias often associated with prejudice. Mindfulness can be taught through training programs to reduce the reliance on stereotypes, which often present as prejudiced assumptions (Leuke & Gibson, 2016; Tincer et al., 2015). The success of mindfulness training to reduce prejudice goes beyond education (Hayes et al., 2007). Instead, it encourages people to expand their views of humanity (i.e. through perspective taking) and encourages

compassion (i.e. through empathic emotions). The current study provides further foundational support for the notion that efforts to disseminate these interventions could be focused on communities with large immigrant populations given their proclivity to reduce fear of immigrants and subsequent anti-immigrant prejudice.

Testing A Comprehensive Model of Anti-Immigrant Prejudice

Our third hypothesis predicted that a comprehensive model incorporating Inclusionary Beliefs, Exclusionary Beliefs, and Perceived Threat would explain anti-immigrant prejudice. The data did not support the predicted model. Despite several modifications, the model did not display good fit. The model specification was negatively impacted by lack of divergence between Exclusionary Beliefs and Inclusionary Beliefs, which had a near-perfect negative correlation ($r = -.97, p \leq .001$). The most probable design flaw in the model stems from the specification that Exclusionary Beliefs and Inclusionary Beliefs are separate factors. Although each factor showed promising explanatory power with each scale loading significantly onto the respective factor, when drawn together in a comprehensive model, the factors displayed poor discriminant validity. The correlation between EB and IB was surprisingly high ($r = -.97, p \leq .001$), indicating a near perfect association. Based on these findings, it would not be appropriate to consider RWA, SDO, CD, NATL, MCI, CO, EC, PT, MEF, MPT as components of more than a single, currently undescribed, factor.

Although the association between the measured constructs of EB and IB were consistent with the literature, categorizing them as distinct latent variables was not supported. On further review of the constructs, this makes logical sense. Adherence to both Exclusionary Beliefs and Inclusionary beliefs would result in extreme dissonance. It

would be inconsistent to endorse belief in social hierarchy (SDO) or cultural superiority (CD) while also endorsing the belief that diversity enhances a community (MCI).

Similarly, the cognitive practice of perspective taking, a component of both general empathy (PT) and multicultural empathy (MPT), reduces the impact of the group divisions (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Parks et al., 2014; Stell & Farside, 2017). Clear ingroup/out-group divisions are a precursor to excluding others and is the foundation of Exclusionary Beliefs; to endorse both would be incongruent.

Rather than conceptualize Exclusionary and Inclusionary Beliefs as separate constructs, they may represent opposite ends of a continuum or high and low levels of a single factor. Each construct is still important to understanding anti-immigrant prejudice, as evidenced by earlier analyses. Much of the research, however, focuses solely on what this study had categorized as Exclusionary Beliefs or Inclusionary Beliefs; no studies integrate components of the two in the context of Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice. This is highly problematic. If the assumption is that EB and IB constructs represent one factor with added value for each construct, it suggests an incompleteness in the current literature. By exploring only EB constructs (RWA, SDO, CD, NATL), researchers neglect the more malleable, mitigating IB constructs (MCI, CO, EC, PT, MEF, MPT); shifting focus to these could offer hope and possibility to change otherwise highly prejudiced communities. When studies explore IB constructs, often in the context of interventions to reduce anti-immigrant prejudice, researchers may neglect the more rigid, exacerbating EB constructs; making sure to include these could further enhance the efficacy of interventions and overcome potential obstacles related to RWA, SDO, CD, and NATL.

Limitations

Sample

Sufficient number of participants were recruited to achieve the necessary power for the study design; however, sample limitations may limit generalizability of the results. The majority of participants were recruited through Facebook and Reddit, which required the use of a device with internet capabilities. People who did not have access to a connected device were not represented in this study. Additionally, although the post was created on several Facebook and Reddit groups, the likelihood of snowball sampling occurring is high, particularly with regards to those recruited through Facebook. It would be valuable to compare the results of this study with a similar study conducted on a random sample. Similarly, the participants for this study were recruited from within the USA to reduce possible confounds; however, the sample overall reported low degrees of RWA, SDO, CD and high degrees of MCI, CO, EC, PT, MPT, and MEF. It would be interesting to compare the data with data obtained from other populations who might report a wider range of adherence to these constructs.

Methodology

Using the Qualtrics platform to obtain participant responses has its strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, Qualtrics is easily accessible to anyone with an device that can connect to the internet; it supports and adapts the interface to individuals on laptops, desktop computers, cell phones, and tablets. Given the ubiquity of smartphones and tablets, it facilitates reaching a wider audience rather than limiting participants to those who can afford laptop or desktop computers; however, it excludes people without internet access. Additionally, one challenge to using an online platform from the creator side is

that survey design errors are more likely than when using paper copies of a survey. This occurred during the present study. A subset of participants were not shown all of the demographics questions at the end of the survey. This did not impact their responses to the scales as scale items were shown prior to the set of demographic questions; however, it limited our power to detect the impact of certain demographics on the models tested. While we determined that, of those who responded to all demographic questions, no statistically significant impact was found on the scale responses, it is possible that additional data would have highlighted trends that were missed. Further studies may consider using a subset of this data set to explore these trends.

The study itself was designed to utilize quantitative self-reported data. Although we attempt to minimize social desirability bias by administering the questionnaire online, separating email addresses from responses, and requesting that participants be fully upfront about their views, we cannot say with absolute certainty that respondents were forthcoming in their attitudes. Along this vein, the data was quantitative, which limits the ability to understand the specifics of why participants may have responded in certain ways. It would be noteworthy to understand if a person's belief that immigrant groups pose threats to the community might stem from personal experiences or if it might be related to the messages received through their news source. Additionally, by virtue of using solely self-reported data we are only obtaining information regarding the participants' beliefs about themselves, which, in some cases, may contradict their actions. We hope that the insight into their reported beliefs adds valuable information that could be used to help communities be more welcoming towards immigrants and/or impact

refugee resettlement policy; however, future studies would need to include a behavioral component to ensure alignment between self-reported beliefs and actions.

Measures

All measures were administered at a single time point; this cross-sectional design precludes interpretation of the longitudinal relation between variables. Using structural equation modelling allows predictive inferences to be made; however, we are unable to account for the possibility that certain scales may be impacted by confounds such as news articles or direct experiences. Although no major political events took place during the time frame in which the survey was open, we cannot know if individual or smaller community experiences may have temporarily elevated or reduced these variables.

Future Directions

The present study highlighted the importance of considering Cultural Dominance (CD) alongside more traditionally explored measures group superiority: Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation. The specific focus of CD addresses the denial of minority disadvantage and the indirect dominance of the majority group over others; this goes above and beyond what is assessed by RWA and SDO. The implication of adding a measure exploring the denial of the systemic disadvantages of minorities face and the subsequent association of this denial with higher degrees of prejudice is crucial to understanding the subtle ways dominant-leaning communities work to maintain social power. Future research should incorporate CD and specifically explore its relation to Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice.

Recent literature exploring multicultural ideology has shed light on its relation to RWA and SDO. A community-based study found that multicultural ideology was

predictive of greater national attachment in minority groups but that this same effect was not observed in White participants (Watters et al., 2020). Future research could explore the impact of national identity on MCI, and what factors might influence the salience of group divisions such that reliance on stereotypes (and subsequent prejudice) increases compared to other factors that might promote appreciation for diversity. These studies may benefit from considerations between the cognitive and emotion components of both general empathy and multicultural empathy. In designing this work, consideration should be given to assess the replicability of the finding that multicultural empathy is uniquely predictive of anti-immigrant prejudice even when tested in conjunction with general empathy.

It would also be noteworthy to study the variability of the constructs in the context of political rhetoric. Language has a profound effect on human perception, particularly in the arena of Perceived Threat and prejudice. For example, a study exploring RWA and prejudice against same-sex attraction noted that participants reported less prejudice against a group described as “gay men and lesbians” compared to a group described as “homosexuals” (Rios, 2013). In the context of the U.S. and immigration, individuals who adhere to traditional values (i.e. who might have higher scores on RWA) demonstrate greater prejudice against groups that are described as violating social norms, whereas individuals who believe in social hierarchies (e.g. SDO or CD) may be more reactive when presented with rhetoric that describes immigrants as criminals; it is likely that the current political rhetoric increases some individual’s propensity to express prejudice against immigrants. It would also be important to explore this association from a more hopeful lens. Empathy, one of the mitigating factors that reduces prejudice, can be

cultivated through mindfulness practices (Kemper & Khirallah, 2015; Leuke & Gibson, 2016). Additional research is needed to evaluate long-term changes and to determine whether multicultural empathy can similarly be developed through mindfulness practices.

Longitudinal data and experimental designs could offer data that would identify areas most suitable for change. Levin et al. (2016) highlighted the need to understand malleable variable to inform antiprejudice interventions. Given the prior literature indicating RWA and SDO as fairly stable constructs, it is even more important to understand the role of mitigating factors, such as empathy and multicultural empathy.

The overall model did not meet the threshold for good fit but the individual components were found to have significant utility in understanding anti-immigrant prejudice. Further research should continue exploring how the constructs relate to each other and to consider what the single factor might represent; Exclusionary Beliefs and Inclusionary Beliefs can be thought of as opposite sides of the same coin rather than as two separate constructs.

Summary

The present study attempted to develop a comprehensive model explaining anti-immigrant sentiment. In particular, this study considered the role of exclusionary factors, such as belief in social hierarchies, traditional conservative values, and nativist nationalism, and mitigating factors, including multicultural ideology and empathy. The study was guided by the framework of Intergroup Threat Theory, which suggests that prejudice against outgroups, in this case immigrants, stems from the belief that immigrant groups pose a threat to a community's cultural purity, economic stability, or physical safety. These beliefs rarely stem from threats rooted in sound evidence or expert-driven

predictions but rather the personal perception of threat. As such, individuals who view immigrants as posing one of these types of threats are more likely to hold stronger prejudice against immigrants, even in the absence of evidence supporting the perceived threat. To better understand what might drive an individual to perceive immigrant groups as threatening, we explored a number of variables that have been shown to be related to anti-immigrant prejudice in the hopes of better understanding group-level prejudice against immigrants. Exclusion through group superiority was understood through social dominance (Social Dominance Orientation) and traditional right-wing values (Right Wing Authoritarianism). Exclusion through strict definitions of identity and belonging was understood through nationalism. In addition to these exclusionary beliefs, it is important to consider the factors that might mitigate anti-immigrant prejudice.

Multicultural ideology, the belief that diversity enhances society, is often considered antithetical to anti-immigrant prejudice. Research, however, has shown mixed findings between multicultural ideology and prejudice, likely stemming from the fact that multicultural ideology inherently highlights group divisions. To better understand when multicultural ideology truly reduces anti-immigrant prejudice, we considered multicultural ideology as part of a broader category of Inclusionary Beliefs. Inclusionary Beliefs, which included empathy, multicultural empathy, and cultural openness, was supported as a significant factor in understanding prejudice in the context of Perceived Threat.

The final model incorporating both paths to prejudice was not significant. Complexities in the relation between multicultural ideology and group superiority should be considered in future studies; they may be better thought of as opposite ends of the

same continuum rather than entirely separate constructs. Additional research should be conducted to better understand the association between these factors and the impact they have on Perceived Threat and anti-immigrant prejudice. Programs in communities with large immigrant populations and organizations that work on refugee resettlement may benefit from this information.

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Appendix A: Measuring Exclusionary Beliefs

Right Wing Authoritarianism

RWA Short-Form (Zakrisson, 2005)

1. Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral currents prevailing in society today.
2. Our country needs free thinkers, who will have the courage to stand up against traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.
3. The “old-fashioned ways” and “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to live.
4. Our society would be better off if we showed tolerance and understanding for untraditional values and opinions.
5. God’s laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, violations must be punished.
6. The society needs to show openness towards people thinking differently, rather than a strong leader, the world is not particularly evil or dangerous.
7. It would be best if newspapers were censored so that people would not be able to get hold of destructive and disgusting material.
8. Many good people challenge the state, criticize the church and ignore “the normal way of living.”
9. Our forefathers ought to be honored more for the way they have built our society, at the same time we ought to put an end to those forces destroying it.
10. People ought to put less attention to the Bible and religion, instead they ought to develop their own moral standards.
11. There are many radical, immoral people trying to ruin things; the society ought to stop them.
12. It is better to accept bad literature than to censor it.
13. Facts show that we have to be harder against crime and sexual immorality, in order to uphold law and order.
14. The situation in the society of today would be improved if troublemakers were treated with reason and humanity.
15. If the society so wants, it is the duty of every true citizen to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within.

Social Dominance Orientation

SDO-6 Scale (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001)

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal. (reverse coded)
10. Group equality should be our ideal. (reverse coded)
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life. (reverse coded)
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. (reverse coded)
13. Increased social equality is beneficial to society. (reverse coded)
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally. (reverse coded)
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible. (reverse coded)
16. No group should dominate in society. (reverse coded)

Resentment and Cultural Dominance

Everyday Multicultural Competencies / Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2003)

1. Members of minorities tend to overreact all the time.
2. When in America, minorities should make an effort to merge into American culture.
3. I do not understand why minority people need their own TV channels.
4. I fail to understand why members from minority groups complain about being alienated.
5. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me.
6. Minorities get in to school easier and some get away with minimal effort.
7. I am really worried about White people in the U.S. soon becoming a minority due to so many immigrants.
8. I think American culture is the best culture.
9. I think members of the minority blame White people too much for their misfortunes.
10. People who talk with an accent should work harder to speak proper English.

Nationalism

National Identity Adapted from (Verkuyten 2008)

1. I often think of myself as American
2. I consider myself a typical American
3. I am proud that I am American
4. If someone said something bad about Americans I feel almost as if they said something bad about me

Essentialism (Bonikowski & DiMaggio, 2016)

5. Some people say the following things are important for being truly American. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?
6. To have been born in America
7. To be a Christian
8. To have American citizenship
9. To be able to speak English
10. To feel American
11. To respect America's political institutions and laws
12. To have lived in America for most of one's life

Appendix B: Measuring Inclusionary Beliefs

Multicultural Ideology

Adapted from Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003)

1. Americans should recognize that American society consists of groups with different cultural backgrounds.
2. Ethnic minorities should be helped to preserve their cultural heritage in America.
3. It is best for America if all people forget their different cultural backgrounds as soon as possible.
4. A society that has a variety of cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.
5. The unity of this country is weakened by Americans of different cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways.
6. If Americans of different cultural origins want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves.
7. A society that has a variety of cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups.
8. Americans should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different cultural groups in this country.
9. Immigrant parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland.
10. People who come to live in America should change their behavior to be more American.

Cultural Openness and Desire to Learn

Everyday Multicultural Competencies / Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy
(EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2003)

1. I think it is important to be educated about cultures and countries other than my own.
2. I welcome the possibility that getting to know another culture might have a deep positive influence on me.
3. I admire the beauty in other cultures.
4. I would like to work in an organization where I get to work with individuals from diverse backgrounds.
5. I would like to have dinner at someone's house who is from a different culture.
6. I am interested in participating in various cultural activities on campus.
7. Most Americans would be better off if they knew more about the cultures of other countries.
8. A truly good education requires knowing how to communicate with someone from another culture.
9. I welcome being strongly influenced by my contact with people from other cultures.
10. I believe the United States is enhanced by other cultures.

Appendix C: Measuring Empathy

General Empathy

Subset of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, adapted from (Davis, 1980)

Perspective Taking

1. I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view (reverse coded).
2. I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.
3. I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.
4. If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments (reverse coded).
5. I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.
6. When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while.
7. Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

Empathic Concern

8. I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.
9. Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems (reverse coded).
10. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.
11. Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal (reverse coded).
12. When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them (reverse coded).
13. I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.
14. I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.

Multicultural Empathy

Everyday Multicultural Competencies / Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2003)

Empathic Perspective Taking subscale

1. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.
2. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.
3. It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives.
4. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
5. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.

Empathic Feeling and Acting as an Ally subscale

6. I don't care if people make racist statements against other racial or ethnic groups.
7. I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic background.
8. I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
9. I share the anger of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity).
10. I rarely think about the impact of a racist or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted.
11. When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group.
12. When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public arena, I share their pride.
13. When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them.

Appendix D: Measuring Perceptions of Threat

Perceptions of Threat

Adapted from (Stephan et al., 1999) and modeled after Ward & Masgoret (2006)

Social/Cultural Threat

1. Immigration is undermining American culture.
2. The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are *not* compatible with the beliefs and values of most Americans.
3. The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding family issues and socializing children are basically quite similar to those of most Americans. (Reverse coded)

Economic Threat

4. Immigrants give more to this country than they get. (Reverse coded)
5. Immigration has increased the tax burden on Americans.
6. Immigrants are displacing American workers from their jobs.

Safety Threat

7. Immigrants are more likely to commit crimes than people born in the United States.
8. More often than not, immigrants are law-abiding members of the community. (Reverse coded)
9. The United States is more dangerous due to the presence of immigrants

Appendix E: Measuring Anti-immigrant Prejudice

Adapted from the **Classical and Modern Racial Prejudice Scale** (Akrami, Ekehammar, & Araya, 2002)

Classical racial prejudice

1. Immigrants should live far out in the countryside
2. Immigrants do not keep their homes tidy
3. Immigrants do not take care of their personal hygiene
4. Immigrants are generally honest people (reverse coded)
5. Generally speaking immigrants have high moral principles (reverse coded)
6. Immigrants are generally not very intelligent
7. I favor full integration of Americans and immigrants (reverse coded)
8. Immigrants hold negative attitudes toward women

*Modern racial prejudice**Denial of continuing discrimination*

9. Discrimination against immigrants is no longer a problem in the United States
10. There have been enough programs designed to create jobs for immigrants
11. Racist groups are no longer a threat toward immigrants

Antagonism toward demands

12. It is easy to understand immigrants' demands for equal rights (reverse coded)
13. Immigrants get too little attention in the media (reverse coded)
14. Immigrants are getting too demanding in the push for equal rights

Resentment about special favors

15. It is important to invest money in teaching immigrants their mother tongue (reverse coded)
16. Special programs are needed to create jobs for immigrants (reverse coded)
17. A multicultural America would be good (reverse coded)

Appendix F: Demographics

1. Age: (drop-down menu)

2. Gender:

Male

Female

Another (free text)

3. Sexual orientation:

Heterosexual

Gay or Lesbian

Bisexual

Another (free text)

4. Ethnic background (select all that apply):

African

African-American

Asian

Asian-American

Caucasian

Caribbean

Hispanic

Latinx

Middle Eastern

Native American/Alaska Native

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

Another (free text)

5. Do you identify as an American?

Yes

No

If no: please write your national identity here

6. Highest level of Education:

Some High School, no degree

High School Diploma/GED

Some Associate's /Vocational/Technical School, no degree

Associate's /Vocational/Technical Degree

Some College, no degree

Bachelor's Degree

Some Graduate Work, no degree

Graduate Degree (Master's, PhD, MD, etc.)

6. Please rate the following statements on how much they apply to you:

My family has enough money to buy the things we want

Yes, all of the time

Yes, most of the time

Some of the time

Almost never

My family has enough money to buy the things we need

Yes, all of the time

Yes, most of the time

Some of the time

Almost never

7. Assume this ladder represents your society. The people at the top rung have the most money, highest education, and highest standing in the community. Where do you see yourself on the ladder?

8. Please move the center rung to where your orientations lie for:

Economic policies

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X
Very Liberal				Neutral					Very Conservative	Undecided

Social policies

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X
Very Liberal				Neutral					Very Conservative	Undecided

9. Which political party do you identify with:

Republican

Democrat

Libertarian

Green

None

Another: (free text)

10. What is your zip code?

Free Text

Prefer not to answer