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Si Se Puede: The Effects Of Collective Angst And Identity On Group Activism During The National Immigration Debate

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SI SE PUEDE: THE EFFECTS OF COLLECTIVE ANGST AND IDENTITY ON GROUP ACTIVISM

DURING THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION DEBATE

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SI SE PUEDE: THE EFFECTS OF COLLECTIVE ANGST AND IDENTITY ON GROUP ACTIVISM

DURING THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION DEBATE

By

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THESIS

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right.

Abstract

The United States is involved in an ongoing debate on immigration.   States have passed their own laws intended to enforce federal law.   The new controversial laws allow local law enforcement to act as federal immigration agents.   Opponents argue these new laws unlawfully target Latinos. Latinos are of interest for politicians and lawmakers, due to their rapid growing population.   The current research investigated the effects that anti-immigrant laws have on Latino citizens' American identity, ethnic identity and civic engagement.   Preliminary data showed conservative Latinos have low intention of voting when primed with anti-immigrant laws. Absent from the pilot study are the emotional changes occurring.   In the current study, the threat of anti-immigrant laws is amplified to induce collective angst; a fear of an uncertain future for one's group.   Findings include heightened collective angst in Latinos under threat of impending restrictive immigration legislation. Collective angst mediated the effect of threat on attitudes toward collective action. Latinos who experienced threat also experienced fear for Latinos' future and led to more support for benevolent and hostile forms of collective action. Latinos also had higher support for collective action as their ethnic identity increased, when under threat. The current research adds to the body of knowledge surrounding national and ethnic identity. Further, the current research provides insight as to why ethnic minorities distance themselves from certain political parties. This research also serves to caution lawmakers who draft laws that may violate a group's civil rights.

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Identity and Immigration Legislation

Recently the United States has experienced an economic crisis.   Following the recession

in 2007 a surge of anti-immigration laws were proposed in multiple states.   Arizona was among

the first states to propose an uncompromising law designed to combat undocumented immigration

in the state.   The strictest law of its kind at signing, Arizona's SB1070, was brought to the

Supreme Court to debate whether or not it violated certain civil rights. The Arizona law was fought

in the Supreme Court, and other laws are headed toward court actions.   In addition to the Arizona

law, similar laws have been passed Indiana, Georgia, Alabama, Utah and South Carolina have

passed similar anti-immigration laws in the recent years (S.1070, 2010; S.590, 2011; H.87, 2011;

H.56, 2011; H.497, 2011; S.20, 2011, respectively).   Although these laws often have unique

aspects, most laws share one common component.   The new laws allow local law enforcement to

act as federal immigration agents in questioning people about citizenship, requesting

documentation and allowing officers to detain individuals who cannot produce this

documentation.   The most controversy surrounding this element is that police officers need only

to have a "reasonable suspicion" that a person in residing in the country illegally.   These

immigration laws are vague, instructing police to, "for any lawful stop, detention or arrest…where

reasonable suspicion exists that the person is an alien who and is unlawfully present in the United

States, a reasonable attempt shall be made, when practicable, to determine the immigration status

of the person" (S.1070, 2010).   Opponents of the laws have expressed their concern that the new

laws target ethnic minorities and in essence, legalize racial profiling (Bean & Stone, 2011).

I argue that laws that seemingly target those with noticeable ethnic differences can change

how one feels about their own identity, especially if one is legally protected by the law because of

their nationality.   For this reason, it is critical to examine the effects that immigration laws have

on ethnic and national identity.   American citizens who appear foreign are immediately at risk for

arrest.   Among those who are most expected to be directly affected by these laws are Latino

Americans.   For the purposes of the current research, I define Latino Americans as those who

self-identify as Mexican, Mexican American, Latino, Hispanic, Chicano or biracial Mexican and

Caucasian.   Latino Americans often have physical features that make their ethnicity detectable.

Because of this vulnerability, Latino Americans' identity that stems from their ethnic and national

group membership is expected to be heightened.   Thus, the current research investigated the

extent anti-immigrant laws affect ethnic and national identity and the outcome of those effects.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity can be defined as one's self concept and sense of belonging to a social group

such as gender, race, political affiliation, or any group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Social identity theory states that people gain value from their group memberships and often work

to improve their own self-esteem through their group memberships (Hogg & Abrams, 1990).

Thus, social group memberships become an integral part of one's overall identity.   Social identity

theory also states that, under most conditions, those who highly identify with their group will

exhibit increased ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation once that group is threatened (Tajfel

& Turner, 1979).   Tajfel, Billing, Bundy, and Flament (1971) conducted a landmark study to

examine behavior of people who were placed into a seemingly random group with almost no

similar characteristics or time to bond.   Participants were briefly presented with paintings by

artists Klee or Kandinsky.   Subjects were led to believe that their preference of the paintings were

able to meaningfully group individuals.   Once the participants chose their preference for either

painting, they were randomly placed in the Klee or Kandinsky group.   Participants were then

allowed to reward anonymous participants with money.   Participants consistently favored their

own group members without forming any bond or knowing any other characteristics.   Results showed that even when group boundaries are artificially and randomly created in an experiment, participants awarded the most to their ingroup rather than outgroup.   Studies that followed used this minimal group paradigm and observed similar group behavior (Billig & Tajfel, 1973, Turner, Sachdev, & Hogg, 1983).   Favoritism toward the ingroup as well as derogation toward the outgroup is amplified when in the ingroup is threatened or in direct competition with an outgroup, especially when groups are forced to compete for valuable resources (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961). The threat of the potential loss of resources is also known as realistic threat.

Positive Group Distinction

Social identity theory states that people seek a positive and distinct social identity.   That is, people strive to have a positive view of their ingroup when compared to outgroups (Turner, 1999).   Further, it is more desirable to belong to a high status group rather than a low status group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986).   Latinos make up the highest numbers in the civilian labor force (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013), have the second lowest median household income (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), and the lowest percentage of college graduates in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Latinos as an ethnic group are generally perceived by society as a low status group (Chavira-Prado, 1994).   Society often supports these attitudes by passing laws that allow racial profiling (Bean & Stone, 2011).   Evidence has shown that people who support anti-immigrant laws appear driven by ethnocentric bias rather than by a desire to uphold the law (Longazel, 2013). Threat to one's ethnic identity, values, or interests that are intangible is known as symbolic threat. This ethnocentric prejudice is reinforced by perceived symbolic and realistic threat (Stephan & Ybarra, 1999; Mukherjee, Molina & Adams, 2011; Mukherjee, Adams, & Molina, 2013).

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Specifically, supporters of tough anti-immigration laws favor harsher punishment toward undocumented immigrants compared to their American citizen employers and toward non-White immigrants than White immigrants (e.g. Canadian) (Mukherjee, Adams, et al. in press). Such ethnocentric bias is rooted in both perceived competition for economic resources (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Zarate, Garcia, Garza & Hitlan, 2004) and the belief in a normative White American identity (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Zárate & Smith, 1990). These conditions make it particularly difficult for low status groups to have a positive and distinct view of themselves.

Permeability of Group Boundaries

For a low status group, positive group distinction is dependent on permeable and impermeable group boundaries. Permeable and impermeable group boundaries describe group membership as flexible or fixed (van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). Those who have permeable group boundaries are able to shift from one group to another. For example, the United States is widely known for its endorsement of the "American dream." The notion is that you can be born into poverty and with hard work and determination you can shift upward into a group of higher status. Permeable group boundaries provide an optimistic future for someone born into a low status group and can be associated with a positive group stereotype. Conversely, with impermeable group boundaries a negative group stereotype can be associated with those who are confined to their group. Ethnicity can be considered an impermeable boundary. Latinos may be confined to their own group and therefore must use a different approach to a distinct, positive social identity.

It is safe to infer that, under the Latino umbrella ethnicity, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans have different experiences and different feelings about SB1070 and similar laws, especially if those Latinos view themselves as White. Latino identity may change within society as well as within an individual. In this sense, ethnicity can be seen as a permeable group boundary.

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Ethnicity as a Behavior Guide

When looking at ethnic groups that are generally sorted into umbrellas (Asian American, European American) it is important to acknowledge subpopulations, especially when said groups are thought of as having different experiences (Tanaka, Ebreo, Linn, & Morera, 1998). Tanaka, et al. outline common problems researchers often make when comparing ethnic groups, specifically Asian Americans. Asian Americans are comprised of different ethnic groups such as Chinese Americans, Hmong Americans and Cambodian Americans. One mistake researchers often make is forcing the different ethnic groups to identify themselves as simply Asian American on a demographics form, thereby disregarding unique facets of their ethnicity that might set them apart from other "Asian Americans." In the current study, as Latinos are referred to as anyone who self identifies with one of five set Latino categories, these problems may occur. It is noted that the institution that all of the participants are sampled from has a majority Hispanic population and is border city with many Mexican heritage residents. It is expected that those in the region who self-identify as Latino, share common cultural characteristics and experiences and are mostly of Mexican descent. Of interest for future research are the different effects the national immigration debate has on Cuban Americans, Puerto Rican Americans and Mexican Americans.

Tanaka, et al. (1998) postulate two conditions for when ethnicity should guide behavior. The first is that individuals should view their ethnic membership as "a relevant and salient guide for behavior." The second is that being Asian American should be more apparent such that outside social conditions should make ethnic membership salient for the individual. I propose that the current research fulfills both postulates. First, restrictive anti-immigrant laws that allow for the possible persecution of citizens who *appear* foreign under reasonable suspicion make ethnic membership for Latinos both salient and a guide for behavior. Whether the behavior being guided is one of submissiveness to the laws or opposition is what is being investigated in the current research. The second proposition is met because the SB1070 and similar laws indirectly target Latino group membership with their vague language. If the only criterion for police to be able to stop or detain someone are that a person fulfills a "reasonable suspicion" of being in the country illegally, one must make their own conclusions as to what those suspicions may include. If a person in a

border state is thought to be undocumented, are these conclusions made based on physical characteristics? Asian Americans and Latino Americans carry similar ethnic traits in that they both have their own phenotypical characteristics that may lead a non-ethnic, or even a person of the same or different ethnic group to cluster them into one Asian or Latino group. Without specific guidelines for who might be seen as an undocumented individual, citizens are forced to come to their own conclusion of who might be stopped for suspicion of residing in the country illegally. Ethnic group membership is made salient here by outside social forces, namely SB1070 and other similar laws. The vagueness of the state immigration laws make ethnic groups like Latinos aware of how relevant their ethnic group membership is once the law is put into effect.

Race as a Social Construct

Bonilla-Silva (2004) hypothesizes an approaching tri-racial system in the United States. Currently the United States has a biracial system of the majority (White Americans) and the minority (ethnic Americans). The new, three tier system would be comprised of Whites, honorary Whites and a collective Black group. Whites are comprised of White Americans, certain assimilated Latinos and some Asian Americans. Honorary Whites would be light skinned Latinos, multiracials and select Asians such as Japanese Americans. The collective Black group would include Blacks, dark skinned Latinos and other Asians such as Hmong Americans. Many Latin American countries use this three tier racial system.

Restrictive immigration laws that can target Latino citizens would reinforce the expectation of a tri-racial system. Latinos who are most vulnerable SB1070-like laws are dark skinned Latinos and those who have not fully assimilated. The new state immigration laws may be drawing more clear lines between the three racial categories that are likely to replace the biracial system in the United States. Here, we see how societies change in the perception and categorization of certain Latinos can bleed over into Latino personal identity. When society forces Latinos to choose to assimilate, embrace their light skin or be lumped with the lowest collective Black racial group, we can either observe Latinos bolstering the laws or we may see an increase in threat in response to SB1070-type laws.

Legitimacy and Stability of the Status Structure

Groups can employ certain strategies to achieve a positive social identity. Depending on how the group views their status structure to be legitimate or stable and whether they perceive their own group boundaries as permeable or impermeable will affect which strategy they will use to achieve a positive social identity (Tajfel et al., 1979, 1986). A legitimate status structure refers to the extent to which both high and low status groups perceive the status structure as legitimate and therefore an appropriate structure for society to follow. For example, it can be assumed that a low status group such as Latinos would view the status structure as illegitimate because the current structure in the U.S. is most advantageous for the majority ethnicity rather than the minorities. The current structure allows some groups to be born with privilege, while others must strive for a higher position in the status structure.

One strategy available to Latinos is collective action. If ethnicity is impermeable, and presumably, Latinos believe that the current laws place an illegitimate burden on them. Historically, Latinos in the United States have faced discrimination in school, the workplace, and with businesses (Latino Civil Rights Timeline, 2006) .Such constant, direct competition and perceived discrimination with the majority White American outgroup requires collective action.

If Latinos view the status structure as illegitimate, they will challenge the structure. If the group believes their place in the status structure is unstable, they will make an effort to have their group recognized in a different position. Latinos will incite change through collective action to change the status structure. These predictions would be the opposite of what system justification theory states because of perceived threat from the society. System justification theory states that people will defend or bolster the current status structure regardless of how unfair it may be to lower status groups (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Latinos are currently and historically a

disadvantaged group.   The current anti-immigrant laws add to the situation of inequality that threatens Latinos.   These societal circumstances are enough to push a group into opposing, rather than bolstering the status quo.

Identity Threat and Reactivity

Social identity theory predicts that the need for positive group distinction, permeability of group boundaries, and status structure factors moderate identity threat experienced by targeted groups.   The new state anti-immigration laws target undocumented immigrants.   The laws protect only those who can easily prove American citizenship.   In this sense, anti-immigrant laws make American identity salient, particularly for Latinos.   Prior research investigating national identity of American college students who study abroad showed that students experienced increased commitment and affirmation of their American identity after a period of studying in a foreign country (Savicki & Cooley, 2011).   Students recognized the uniqueness of their American identity and it became amplified once American identity became prominent or commented upon in a foreign country.   Similarly, as new immigration laws require American citizenship to prove innocence, a negative reception of those laws is expected by Latino Americans.   Ethnic minorities, in the face of prejudice or discrimination, are more committed to their ethnic identity and that identity is amplified (Phinney, 2005; Phinney & Ong, 2007).   Latino Americans will experience threat leading to a feeling of being more American, defending one's birthright and place in the United States.   It is hypothesized that Latino Americans will experience an increase in both identities when threatened by the national immigration debate.   The threat felt by Latinos is one against their own liberty, physical and economic well-being.   This threat is known as realistic threat (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006).

The process of immigration and the associated social change accompanied by migrating

lead to feelings of threat for migrants (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000).   Groups experience

apprehensions of an ambiguous future that lead to realistic threat.   The fear of uncertainty

surrounding an ingroup's future is known as collective angst (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008).   Prior

research on collective angst in Jewish people provides evidence that Jews' perceptions of a

recurring holocaust predict feelings of collective angst (Wohl, McVicar & Branscombe, 2006).

Unlike Jews, Latinos probably do not fear for the existence of their group, but rather the

uncertainty of liberty for Latinos as a group.

The saliency and the growing number of anti-immigrant laws targeting those who *may* be

undocumented causes collective angst for those who may fall victim to the laws.   Though laws

can be legally repealed, this can be a rather lengthy process that gives a feeling of permanence to

the laws by the citizens most affected.   Before action can be taken to combat an uncertain future,

motivation for change must be present.   Collective angst is the emotion that will motivate

collective action (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008).

 Collective action can be broken down into benevolent and hostile forms (Zaal, Laar,

Stahl, Ellemers & Derks, 2011).   Benevolent collective action is non-violent and can include

signing petitions or joining peaceful organizations.   Hostile forms of collective action can

include the occupation of buildings or defacing buildings of organizations.   Both forms of

collective action are intended to bolster group status.

New state immigration laws create threats that can impact identity and cause those targeted

citizens to defend their group through their civic rights of voting and collective activism.   Such

collective action has shown positive outcomes with regard to status and perceived group

boundaries in both the women's and civil rights movements in the United States (Bettencourt,

Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001).   Women and African Americans caused change with landmark

lawsuits such as Brown v. Board of Education (1954) and Roe v. Wade (1973) and also with public boycotts, marches and sit-ins that directly targeted the source of discrimination, be it public transportation, local businesses, or one's own employer.

Latinos who have different backgrounds, experiences and countries of origin often face the same threats. Common threat, and consequently, common goals against threat, is one of two circumstances under which groups can become unified (Brewer, Hong, & Li, 2004). The other entity that coherent social units have in common is what is proposed by Brewer, et. al to be a common essence. This is the thought that the social group shares the same heritage or overarching qualities. Some Latinos, but not all, share the same language and physical characteristics such as hair texture and skin color. Unfortunately, these common attributes may also contribute to a common threat when confronted with the consequences of restrictive immigration laws in the United States. I propose that Latinos share both common essence and common threat and will be unified in their feelings and intended actions toward SB1070-like laws.

For some Americans who were primed with the notion that Americans have a common essence, high levels of patriotism, or American identity, was associated with high levels of multiethnic inclusion (Li & Brewer, 2004). For Latino Americans, we may see that heightened American identity is associated with attitudes against laws that may discourage a multicultural America. Laws that could target certain racial or ethnic groups may be seen as anti-American by Americans who view themselves as having a common essence to fellow Americans. The essence in this case may be that Americans are diverse and made up of many different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Theoretical backing and preliminary data will support the hypotheses that (1) Latinos will experience increased ethnic and American identity when the threat of anti-immigrant laws is made

salient; (2) the change in identity will affect voting intention and choices, causing participants to have an increased probability in voting intention and to vote more liberally rather than conservatively.   (3) Latinos will report greater support for benevolent and hostile forms of collective action, when compared to a control group, as a function of identity change.   Finally, (4) those in the threat salient condition will report significantly higher levels of collective angst. Latinos under threat will have (5) lower belief in a just world but (6) a higher sense of sociopolitical control. When threatened, (7) Latinos who score high in sociopolitical control will score high in their support for collective action. When threatened, (8) Latinos who score low in belief in a just world will score high in their support for collective action. Lastly, as an ancillary hypothesis, (9) collective angst will mediate the effect of ethnic and American and ethnic identity change on voting patterns and both forms of collective activism.

I ran a preliminary study to investigate the hypotheses that (1) Latino students would experience heightened American and ethnic identity when anti-immigrant laws were made salient and (2) they would be more likely to vote in the upcoming (2012) presidential election and that they would show more liberal political views as compared to the control group.

Preliminary Data

Data were collected from the University of Texas at El Paso. Although participants of any ethnicity were allowed to participate for course credit, only self-identified Latinos were included in the analyses (N=93). Participants were excluded (n=6) from analyses if their responses did not vary across different measures in the survey (i.e. consistent Likert-type responses of 7,7,7, etc.). Two participants who had excessive missing values across measures were deleted from analyses.

The entire survey was pre-tested to determine how fast participants would be able to finish the study with thoughtful responses. Eight research assistants were instructed to complete the survey as fast as possible, with no distraction while reading all the material and providing thoughtful responses to all questions. An average of 317 seconds was recorded as "fast readers." A distribution of the time spent taking the survey by each participant revealed normal distribution with minimal outliers at or below 200 seconds. Participants who spent less than 200 seconds on the entire survey were also excluded from analyses. Only Latinos who were at or over the voting age of 18 were included in analyses (N=85). Participants were mostly women (n=59).

Participants were recruited from the university's online research participation website and were awarded course credit for their participation. Participants were able to sign up and complete the online based survey at a time and place of their choice. Once signed up, participants were given a link to our informed consent page. Once consent was given by electronic signature, participants were offered the link to the actual survey to assure that participants remained anonymous. Upon clicking the survey link, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (experimental or control) that included either six state anti-immigration laws or six state lunch break laws, respectively. After reading the laws, participants completed dependent measures including perceptions of the laws, intended voting behavior, ethnic and American

identity scales and demographics.   Once the survey was completed, participants were presented with a debriefing page and thanked.

Results did not support the first hypothesis that participants would experience heightened American and ethnic identity when anti-immigrant laws were made salient.   Condition did not have an effect on American, $F(1, 83) = 1.25$, $p = .27$, or ethnic identity, $F(1, 83) = .93$, $p = .34$ in this study.

I ran a regression analysis using the participants' likelihood of voting as the dependent variable and condition, political affiliation and the interaction as independent.   The model was significant $F(3, 81) = 2.80$, $p = .045$. Participants in the immigration salient condition had lower likelihood of voting (M = 5.00, SD = 2.32) than control (M = 5.73, SD = 1.99), and this occurred among liberals ($\beta = -.33$, $p = .036$). Political affiliation was measured on a 7-point Likert type scale (1=Very Liberal, 7=Very Conservative). This effect supports the second hypothesis stating that immigration saliency would predict higher likelihood to vote in Latinos and that voting choices would be more liberal.

Conservative Latinos are unique in that the political views they endorse are also endorsed by lawmakers and politicians who draft legislation that may target Latinos as a whole.   When this occurs, Latinos distance themselves from their own party and subsequently suppress their own vote.   Unable to change the political views of a conservative portion of the United States, individual conservative Latinos subdue their own political voice.

The first hypothesis was not supported.   Although no significant results were observed when examining ethnic identity as a moderator between condition and the likelihood to vote, significant associations were seen among participants' attitudes toward the laws and their own ethnic identity (See Table 1). A non-significant positive association was observed among

American identity and the likelihood to vote (See Table 2).

Current Study

The preliminary study presented a number of problems that are addressed in the methods of the current study. The preliminary study was among the first studies conducted in this lab that was entirely online. Problems were encountered when the timing of the survey was observed for each participant. It was evident that some participants did not attend to the manipulations and simply skipped through pages, while others spent hours on the survey that was previously tested to take about 5-8 minutes to complete. Several participants also did not vary in their responses to all the items in the survey. This posed problems when examining intention to vote that was unfortunately a single-item measure. Because the study was intentionally conducted within two months of the 2012 presidential election, an overwhelming number of participants reported that they were *very* likely to vote in the upcoming presidential election. This may or may not have been an accurate representation of likelihood of voting, however with no other items to compare, it is difficult to determine. Finally, measures of identity did not include any reverse coded items.

Several changes were implemented in the current study to address problems in the preliminary study. One strategy that remained the same was the use of pre-testing and time-monitoring to ensure participants are completing the survey thoughtfully. The current study was partly conducted in a lab with the supervision of research assistants and partly online. The online based survey included manipulation check questions designed to verify that participants were being attentive when completing the survey. These questions were inserted throughout the survey. Questions included "If you are paying attention, select the third bubble," and "Are you paying attention? If so, skip this question" that participants responded to on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). Identity measures were modified to include reverse coded items. Dependent measures examining collective action consisted of 9 items

developed by Zaal, Laar, Stahl, Ellemers and Derks (2011). Finally, more items were added to measure voting intention. The preliminary study included 1 item for this measure whereas the current study includes 8 items.

In order to strengthen the manipulation and induce collective angst, the opposing arguments have been removed from each law. The participants saw a short summarization of state anti-immigrant laws using the actual language, the recent Supreme Court decision on SB1070, and the possibility of a similar law being proposed in the state of Texas in the near future. This change was expected to induce collective angst to a point where Latinos would feel the need to engage in collective action for their own well-being.

Previously, the question "Does this law reflect American values?" was asked following each anti-immigrant law. This item has been replaced with "Are you concerned about how these laws will affect you?" and "Are you concerned about how these laws will affect someone close to you?" to prevent any symbolic threat or pairing of the laws with being American.

Of interest in the current study are the underlying emotional changes occurring in participants because of the rise of anti-immigrant laws and how those changes affect decisions to act. It is evident that anti-immigrant laws pose a perceived threat to Latinos. What is unclear is the necessary agent that leads to action. Collective angst can be defined as the fear of uncertainty of one's in group (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). This emotion is expected to be experienced by groups who feel threatened. Specifically, Latinos are expected to show collective angst in the face of anti-immigrant laws. Collective angst is also the means that will lead to collective action by a threatened group.

No hypotheses are made about the differences between benevolent and hostile forms of collective action as this was among the first studies including these measures with the current

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sample.   Data between the two types of action was analyzed for exploratory purposes and future directions.

The same hypotheses for the preliminary study were employed in the current study.   In addition to reporting higher ethnic and American identity when anti-immigrant laws are made salient, this increase will also cause an increase in voter intention, specifically in favor of more liberal choices.   The identity increase will also account for greater support for benevolent and hostile forms of collective action.   In the current study, a measure of perceived fear of the future for one's social group will be used to detect mechanisms leading to support for collective action. I predict that higher levels of collective angst will be reported by Latinos when anti-immigrant laws are made salient.   Collective angst will mediate the effect of the identity change on voting intention and support for benevolent and hostile collective action (See Figure 2).

Method

Design

The current study employed a single factor between subjects design with two conditions. The dependent variables were American and ethnic identity, collective angst, attitudes toward benevolent and hostile forms of collective action, and intentions to vote. Differences were analyzed between a control condition and a threat salient manipulation condition.

Participants

The study took place at UTEP. The target sample was Latino American citizens. Only participants who are U.S. citizens and are at or over the age of 18 were included in analyses.

An a priori power analysis was conducted using G*Power 3.0 to determine the minimum number of participants needed to detect the predicted effects for a fixed model, R^2 deviation from zero (Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996). The procedure included the mediation effect size ($f^2 = 0.14$) found by Wohl, McVicar and Branscombe (2006) when assessing the mediating effects of collective angst on ingroup protective behaviors. Where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $\beta = 0.80$, G*Power indicated that a minimum of 82 participants was needed to detect the mediation of collective angst on the effect of identity change on voting intention and support for benevolent and hostile collective action.

One hundred eighteen participants (59) per condition were needed to detect a medium sized effect ($f^2 = 0.14$) at 80% power with $\alpha = 0.05$ for simple linear regression with one contrast coded variable (condition). The effects size estimate of ($f = .37$) is obtained from similar research assessing the differences in the Commitment Affirmation subscale of their American Identity Measure among study abroad students (Savicki & Cooley, 2011). This is the number of participants needed to detect a difference in American identity as the threat of anti-immigrant laws

are made salient (hypothesis 1). This power analysis yielded a larger number of needed participants than the prior analysis. I am justified in recruiting 118 participants as this is a more conservative route than the preceding analysis.

Prime

To induce collective angst, the survey consisted of a summary of Arizona's SB1070 followed by a brief statement describing other state anti-immigrant laws that have passed. Participants were told that an anti-immigrant law similar to the current ones is expected to be proposed in the state of Texas. The summary contained actual language of the original proposed laws (see Appendix A). Arizona's SB1070, among others, takes the strongest approach against undocumented immigrants to a point that allows local law enforcement to act as federal agents. Following the summary, six arguments in support of the laws were presented. An example of an argument is, "The vulnerability of this country to acts of terrorism because of our porous borders and lack of enforcement of immigration laws has most Americans concerned and rightfully so, -- Steve Short, American Legion." The arguments are provided to augment the threat that comes with the presentation of the laws. Actual language from the laws is used in the summaries; the arguments provide a sense of reality as to who might be vulnerable to the laws.

After the summary and arguments, participants were asked five questions regarding their attitudes toward the laws. Questions included, "Is this law fair?" and "Would this law make you *less* likely to visit these states? (R)" Participants responded on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). These questions are part of the prime.

Control

The control condition included a summary of a current laws pertaining to work-break regulations. This condition is considered non-threatening and will not affect collective angst.

Participants were presented with arguments in support of the law and answer the same Likert-type questions as the manipulation condition.   See Appendix B for control law summary and arguments.

Dependent measures

Collective Angst. To assess collective angst, participants completed 5 items adapted from Wohl and Branscombe (2009).   Items include such statements as, "I think that Latino Americans are in jeopardy due to immigration laws" and "I think the future of the Latino American way of life is under threat from immigration laws." Participants gauged their response on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree), see Appendix C for full scale.

Identity. Participants completed 5 items developed by Meyer-Lee and Evans (2008) to assess American Identity.   These items comprise the Commitment Affirmation subscale of the American Identity Measure (AIM) (Appendix F).   To assess ethnic identity, participants completed 16 items developed by Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) that comprise the Collective Self-Esteem Scale. The items have been modified to measure ethnic identity (Appendix G). Participants rated their level of agreement with each statement along a 7-point scale (*1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree*).

Collective Action. Participants completed 9 items developed by Zaal, et al. (2011) that measure willingness to support various acts of benevolent and hostile collective action. Participants responded to questions such as "I would be willing to support becoming a volunteer for a collective action group that takes a stance against some immigration laws" on a 6-point Likert-type scale (Appendix D).   Items were randomized and slightly edited to measure willingness to collectively oppose anti-immigrant laws.   Items have been reworded for reverse scoring.

Threat suppression. Participants completed 6 items that comprise the Belief in a Just World questionnaire (Dalbert, 2000) (Appendix I). Participants rated their level of agreement with each statement along a 7-point scale (*1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree*).

Perceived Control. Participants completed 5 items developed by Meyer-Lee and Evans (2008) to assess perceived control over political issues. These items comprise the Sociopolitical Control Scale of Spheres of Control (Paulhus, 1983) (Appendix H). Participants rated their level of agreement with each statement along a 7-point scale (*1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree*).

Voting Intention. Participants completed 7 items assessing their past, present, and future voting patterns. All items ask participants to reply on a 7- point Likert-type scale. Questions included in the voter intention scale include items such as "How likely are you to vote in the next local election?" and "What is the likelihood that you would vote in a Texas state election that had an anti-immigrant law on the ballot?" (See Appendix E for full scale). Participants completed demographic measures including political affiliation; they were then be briefed and thanked.

The current study began as a computer-based online survey that was conducted in a laboratory and supervised by a research assistant (*n*= 44). Due to low recruitment, the concluding portion of the study was conducted completely online at a time and place of the participants' choosing (*n* = 90). There was one significant difference of between the online group and the lab group on the private subscale of Collective Self-Esteem, *F* (1, 132) = 5.10, *p* = .03. Latinos in the lab reported higher scores on the private scale of Collective Self-Esteem (*M* = 5.15, *SD* = .699) than Latinos who took the survey online (*M* = 4.85, *SD*= .72). No effects discussed below were influenced by the mode of data collection.

Measures

Data analyzed included U.S. citizens who self-identified as Mexican-American, Chicano, Hispanic/Latino, Mexican, or mixed- race Hispanic and Caucasian (*N* = 134). These participants will further be referred to as Latinos. The sample consisted of mostly females (*n* = 91) with a mean age of 19.7 (*SD* = 3.73). Dependent measures for the current study have decent reliability with this sample with Cronbach's Alpha above .65. Individual Cronbach Alpha's and means by condition for all dependent measures are in Table 3. No significant differences were observed between genders on any of the dependent measures.

Collective Action. Confirmatory Factor Analysis was conducted for the Collective Action measure to determine whether the data fit the two hypothesized factors of the scale; support for benevolent forms of collective action (F1) and support for hostile forms of collective action (F2). In this model, χ^2 (26) = 79.88, *p* < .001. RMSEA = .12, 90% C.I. = [.09, .16], SRMSR = .11, CFI = .92. Taken together, fit indices indicate the current data moderately to poorly fit the two factor model. Factor loading for both factors are all above .40. Factors correlate with each other in the

current study, $r = .35$, p $< .001$ similar to their correlation in Zaal, et al. (2011), $r = .37$.

Exploratory Factor Analysis was conducted using method maximum likelihood and direct oblimin rotation method indicated two factors for the scale (see Table 5). Although Zaal, et al. (2011) established 2 factors, the current data do not load on their expected factors precisely like Zaal et al. This 9-item scale was intended to have 4 items load onto benevolent collective action and 5 items onto hostile collective action. In the current study, 5 items loaded onto on the benevolent factor, 4 loaded onto hostile collective action. The following item was originally designated as hostile but fit with benevolent with our sample: "I would be willing to support…'the occupation of the buildings of organizations that support immigration laws.'"

Cronbach's alpha for the benevolent factor with the 4 intended items is .92. When adding the items that unexpectedly loaded onto the benevolent factor in the current sample, Cronbach's alpha is .87. Cronbach's alpha was reduced because the added item correlates with the original items rather low (below .40). The original items have intercorrelations above .67.

Collective Self Esteem. To assess ethnic identity, a modified version of the Collective Self Esteem measure was used. The total Collective Self Esteem scale was a 16- item measure with 4 subscales of 4 items each. One item was mistakenly omitted from the public identity subscale. The four subscales for the measure are private, public, membership and identity. All subscales positively correlate except for the public subscale which does not correlate with the others (see Table 4).

Hypotheses

There were no significant differences of American or ethnic identity, when comparing the threat condition to control therefore hypothesis 1 was not supported [$F (1, 132) = 2.79, p = .097; F (1, 132) = 0.00, p = .95$, respectively]. Hypothesis 2 stated that the proposed change in identity

would affect voting intention and choices, causing participants to have an increased probability in voting intention and to vote more liberally rather than conservatively. This hypothesis was partially supported. Ethnic identity was shown to predict the likelihood to vote, $F(1, 132) = 8.69$, $p = .004$. The same was not true for American identity. Higher ethnic identity was associated with higher likelihood to vote regardless of threat, ($\beta = 0.13$, $p = .005$). Voting choices of either a Republican or Democrat candidate did not differ.

No significant effects were observed when looking at condition, political affiliation and their interaction when predicting the likelihood of participants to vote, $F(3, 130) = .44$, $p = .72$, thus not replicating the previous study's finding of conservative Latinos suppressed their vote due to threat.

It was predicted that Latinos would report greater support for collective action as a function of identity change, when threatened. There was a significant interaction of condition and ethnic identity, $F(1, 132) = 7.19$, $p = .01$. Latinos under threat expressed greater support for collective action as their ethnic identity increased ($\beta = 0.40$, $p = .001$) compared to control ($\beta = 0.05$, $p = .70$). As Latinos' ethnic identity increases, so does their support for collective action, but only when they are under threat. Condition, ethnic identity, and the interaction of condition and ethnic identity accounted for about 12% of the variance in support for collective action ($R^2 = .119$)[1]. These findings support the third hypothesis for ethnic identity. The same model replacing ethnic identity with American identity was non-significant.

Hypothesis 4 stated that Latinos under threat would express higher collective angst when compared to a control group. There was a significant main affect for condition $F(1, 132) = 11.10$, $p = .001$. Latinos in the threat condition reported higher collective angst ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.16$) than

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[1] Post Hoc analyses include a shortened ethnic identity measure. The current result for hypothesis 3 had the same outcome with both the shortened and original ethnic identity measure.

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Latinos in the control condition ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.21$).

Although the direct effect of threat on Latino's attitudes toward collective action was not observed, the relationship between condition and support for collective action was mediated by collective angst (see figure 1). To test for mediation, the PROCESS program (Hayes, 2013) was used, entering condition as a predictor, collective action as the outcome variable and collective angst as the mediator. I generated 10,000 samples using bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals (C.I.s) to observe the indirect effect of threat on collective action. Condition significantly affects collective angst ($a = -.68$, $t = -3.33$, $p = .001$, 95% C.I. [-1.09, -.28]). When condition and collective angst were included as predictors of attitudes toward collective action, collective angst remained significant ($b = .31$, $t = 4.75$, $p < .0001$, 95% C.I. [.18, .44]). However, the direct effect of condition on collective action is non-significant ($c' = -.08$, t = -.47, p = .64, 95% C.I. [-.39, .24]).The bias-corrected bootstrap 95% CI indicates that the indirect effect of condition on collective action through collective angst is significant, $ab = -.21$, 95% C.I. [-.39, .24]. These results indicate full mediation.

No significant condition effects were observed for participants' belief in a just world or their measure sociopolitical locus of control, providing no support for the fifth and sixth hypotheses. Hypothesis 8, stating that when threatened, Latinos who have a high sociopolitical control score would have higher support for collective action. This hypothesis was partially supported as participants in both conditions reported higher support for collective action as their perceived level of sociopolitical locus of control increased, $F (1,132) = 9.84$, $p = .002$.

Secondary Hypothesis. Hypothesis 9, the ancillary hypothesis, proposed a moderated mediation model (see figure 2). This model is the same as the above mediation with an added moderator to the "a" path. It was predicted that American and ethnic identity would moderate the

mediation of collective angst on condition and collective action. The same method and bootstrapping technique was used to test the model. American identity did not significantly moderate the relationship between condition and collective angst; the moderated mediation was non-significant, 95% C.I. [-.05, .19]. A significant interaction is observed when collective angst is regressed on condition and ethnic identity, $\beta = -.45$, $t = -1.99$, $p = .05$, 95% C.I. [-.90, -.001]). However, the moderated mediation is non-significant 95% C.I. [-.38, .01].

Post-Hoc Analyses

Collective Self-Esteem. In the current study, a modified Collective Self-Esteem Measure is used to assess ethnic identity. This measure includes 4 subscales, all of which correlate save for the "public" subscale. The public subscale has been omitted and a measure of ethnic identity including the mean of the three other subscales is used in the following analyses, this measure a shortened version of ethnic identity and will further be referred to as ethnic identity. Separate analyses were also conducted using the public subscale as an independent variable.

A general linear model was used to assess the effects of threat, ethnic identity and the interaction on support for benevolent and hostile collective action as separate entities. No significant effects were observed when the public subscale was used as a dependent variable. Significant effects were observed when analyzing the effects of condition, ethnic identity and its interaction on support for benevolent collective action, $F (3, 130) = 11.58$, $p < .0001$.   There was a significant interaction of condition and ethnic identity, $F (1, 132) = 10.18$, $p = .002$. When Latinos' ethnic identity increases, so does their support for benevolent collective action, but only when they are under threat. Threat ($\beta = .56$, $p < .0001$), control ($\beta = .19$, $p = .14$) ethnic identity ($\beta = 0.16$, $p = .13$) and the interaction of condition and ethnic identity ($\beta = 1.39$, $p = .002$) accounted

for 21% of the variance in support for benevolent collective action ($R^2 = .21$)[2].

When support for hostile collective action was assessed as a dependent variable, similar effects were observed. Significant effects were found when analyzing the effects of condition, ethnic identity and its interaction on support for hostile collective action, $F(3, 130) = 3.15$, $p = .03$. There was a significant interaction of condition and ethnic identity, $F(1, 132) = 5.41$, $p = .02$. When Latinos' ethnic identity increases, so does their support for hostile collective action, but only when they are under threat. Condition ($\beta = -.94$, $p = .05$), ethnic identity ($\beta = -.052$, $p = .63$) and the interaction of condition and ethnic identity ($\beta = 1.10$, $p = .02$) accounted for about 7% of the variance in support for hostile collective action ($R^2 = .067$). Non-significant results are found when analyzing the effect of condition, the full ethnic identity scale and interaction on the support for hostile collective action, $F(3, 130) = 2.29$, $p = .08$. No significant effects were observed when the public subscale was used a dependent variable for predicting support for hostile collective action when under threat.

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[2] These findings do not differ when replacing the shortened ethnic identity with the full ethnic identity scale.

Discussion

In addition to voting patterns, the current study sought to observe how the threat of an impending restrictive immigration law would lead them to support acts of collective action, or civil disobedience. The third hypothesis was that Latinos who were threatened would show greater support for two forms of collective action as their ethnic and American identity increased. Threatened Latinos demonstrated increased support for benevolent and hostile forms of collective action as their ethnic identity increased, when compared to non-threatened Latinos. The threat of restrictive immigration legislation led Latinos to support acts like volunteering, petitioning, and even defacing the offices of organizations that support immigration laws. This effect was augmented by Latinos' heightened sense of their own ethnic identity in the presence of threat, or perceived discrimination, consistent with prior theory (Phinney, 2005; Phinney & Ong, 2007).

SB1070 type laws make Latinos feel more Mexican as this is the part of them that is being threatened. Latino Americans are going to rise up against these laws that make their physical appearance, surnames and accent a cause for "reasonable suspicion." What increases their ethnic identity may be what sets them apart from White Americans, who have little to worry about when it comes to restrictive anti-immigrant laws. The laws make ethnic group membership salient and, we see here that the saliency causes Latinos to support certain behaviors. These findings support theories of the psychological implications of belonging to a certain ethnic group leading to behaviors (Tanaka, et al, 1998). This is particularly strong in Latino citizens because, while they have the legal right to work, rent property, and accept rides in any state in the country, they may be stopped and questioned, even detained for doing these very things. This finding may also contribute to the theory of common threat and common essence being the underlying bases for unification (Li & Brewer, 2004). We see here that, among self-identified Chicanos, Latinos,

Hispanics, Mexicans, Mexican Americans and biracial Mexican & Caucasians, higher identification with their ethnicity led to their willingness to take a stand against certain immigration laws. This can be interpreted as self-identified Latinos, recognizing a common Latino essence that they are willing to collectively act to protect. Since this heightened identity and support for action was observed when Latinos were exposed to anti-immigrant laws, it further supports the theory of common threat or a common end goal as the other circumstance leading to unification. The laws are being interpreted as a threat to Latinos as a whole that can only be defeated by a collective Latino group.

The fact that Latinos heightened ethnic identity predicted more support for collective action in the presence of threat also lends support to the theories of positive and distinct social identities and permeable versus impermeable boundaries. Latinos, in order to feel positive and distinct about their social group, support action against laws that target their ethnic group. Positive distinction may also account for why the same effect was not observed for American identity. Latinos may have wanted to distance themselves from their American identity so as not to be associated any support for the threatening laws or the supporters who claim that the laws protect American rights and American people. Further, we can interpret this collective support for action as evidence of Latinos' own belief of their ethnic boundaries being impermeable. Latinos are threatened by laws that may permit profiling of salient ethnic features that cannot change. If Latinos did change their ethnic identity, it is probable that we would not witness heightened ethnic identity in the face of threat that leads to collective action, as there would be no perceived threat to ones altered ethnic identity.

Of interest in this study was the mechanism that led to the increase in collective action. As hypothesized, collective angst, or the fear of uncertainty for one's group's future, heightened in

Latinos under threat. It was predicted that collective angst would mediate the effect of ethnic and American identity change on voting patterns and both forms of collective activism. Although this hypothesis was not supported, further analysis revealed an effect that is consistent with previous literature on collective angst (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). Collective angst mediated the relationship between threat and collective action. In the case of Latinos under threat, higher collective angst predicted higher collective action. Threat alone did not lead to greater support for collective action. Threat, leading to the fear of uncertainty for Latinos due to imminent anti-immigrant laws did predict greater support for both forms of group action. This effect provides support for the theory that low status groups, within impermeable boundaries have limited choices for a positive and distinct social identity and so must resort to collective action as a means of raising the status of their group.

Restrictive SB1070- like laws are gaining popularity in both border and non-border states. New laws are proposed every year and the federal government is being pressured to reform immigration. Latinos are living in an unsure time in the U.S. The current state of the federal and state governments is ingraining Latino Americans with a fear of uncertainty for their social group. This fear is not lying dormant. Latinos who feel a threat that causes them to fear for their social group's future can and will act against those they feel threatened by. This collective action is not limited to the government or even the lawmakers but also includes any organization that supports such threats toward Latinos.

Hypothesis 8 was partially supported. Latinos under threat who scored high in sociopolitical control did not significantly score higher in their support for collective action. However, Latinos in *both* conditions had greater support for collective action as their sense of sociopolitical locus of control increased.

In some cases, effects strengthened when the measure of ethnic identity was modified. Future studies will aim to replicate the current results and investigate possible ways of improving the measure, if need be. The psychometric properties of the Collective Self-Esteem measure warrant further investigation, particularly when treating the scale as a measure of ethnic identity. The subscales provide insight to one's identity but one subscale fails to correlate with the others. The "public" subscale includes items that ask people to describe how *others* perceive their social group. In the case of the current study, Latinos were being asked how positive or negative other people view Latinos. The other subscales of the measure ask Latinos how they feel about their own group; Latinos. The public point of view of a group can be strikingly different than your own view, especially in a case where one's group is being threatened. These two dimensions, although worthwhile to analyze separately, may not be appropriate to assess overall collective self-esteem.

The threat of impending anti-immigrant legislation led to fearful feelings toward the future. This fear of future outcomes irrupted support for acts of defiance. Jost, et al. (2004) proposed that people will actually support the current status quo even if they themselves are at a disadvantage. This is referred to as system justification theory. Restrictive laws have, in past U.S. history led to group resistance. Those times that involved disenfranchised groups rising up against government power are in contrary to and have yet to be explained by system justification theory.

Future research will include the investigation of the conditions necessary for disenfranchised groups to turn to radical action. Further study is under way to measure the radicalism a person is willing to support or engage in if she is led to believe that she has no say (voting or otherwise) in decisions that will affect her.

The current study failed to replicate the preliminary study in that conservative Latinos under threat did not suppress their vote. Regardless of the conditions the current participants were

in, this study compliments the pilot study in that it shows group activism in response to group-targeted threat. The pilot data showed Latino conservatives suppressing their vote in response to threat while the current data show Latinos willingness to act against supporters of the same group-targeted threat. Together, a group under threat has shown their resistance to a law that is aimed at infringing their rights.

This study illuminates what seems to be a problem within the GOP. Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, while discussing the changing Republican Party, stated, "…If the Republican Party does not change with the demographic, they're going to be in trouble. And so when we see that in one more generation, the minorities of America: African Americans, Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans will be the majority of the country, you can't go around saying, 'We don't want to have a solid immigration policy. We're going to dismiss the 47%, we are going to make it hard for these min to vote'….What did that produce? ... It caused people to turnout and stand in line because these Republicans are trying to keep us from voting." Prohibitive immigration laws have sparked action in Latinos. With their attack, the GOP has invited a group of people to fight back, and that they will, as current research shows. Unless lawmakers draft fair, non-infringing laws, they can expect to see groups unite at the polls and on picket lines.

What is shown by these data is that policies can elicit a reaction that may prove counterproductive to the intention of the law. Driven by a group-based fear, Latinos are willing to join resistance organizations, take part in demonstrations and even commit sabotage at companies or organizations that support immigration laws. It would be wise for lawmakers to consider the population they are targeting when drafting restrictive laws. Though Latino Americans may not be the intended target of these laws, group threat is enough for voting citizens to fight against these infringements.

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Table 1

Correlations in manipulation condition

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. American Identity	--					
2. Ethnic Identity		--				
3. Political Affiliation			--			
4. Likelihood of voting				--		
5. Immigration Law Fairness	.16	-.33*	.04	.04	--	
6. Immigration Law Agreement	.14	-.36*	.10	-.00	.96**	--
7. Immigration Law American Values	-.46**	-.00	.38*	-.39**	.29	.31*

Note. $*p \le .01$, $**p < .05$, $n=40$

Table 2

Correlations across all subjects

Measure	1	2	3
1. American Identity	--		
2. Ethnic Identity	.12	--	
3. Political Affiliation	-.12	-.10	--
4. Likelihood of voting	.19[+]	.13	-.15

Note. $^+p = .08$, $n=85$

Appendix A

Please read through the state law summaries and answer the following questions.
Below is a summary of a law that has been passed in an effort to enforce federal immigration law at the state level. The Supreme Court of the United States has upheld the portion of this law that allows police officers to question individuals if there is a "reasonable suspicion" that they are in the country illegally.
SB1070

SB 1070 or the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act allows local law enforcement in Arizona to detain individuals for the purpose of determining their immigration status if the officer has a reasonable suspicion that the individual is in the country illegally. This law requires illegal immigrants to carry registration documents with them at all times and criminalizes those who do not comply. SB1070 criminalizes illegal immigrants who solicit work. In addition to targeting illegal aliens, this law makes it illegal for employers to knowingly hire illegal aliens or for any U.S. citizen to knowingly give a car ride to an illegal alien.

Some states who have modeled Arizona's break law include Georgia, Alabama, Utah, South Carolina and Indiana. Unique elements have been adopted by different states to take a tougher stance against illegal immigrants. Alabama prohibits citizens from knowingly renting housing to any illegal immigrant. Alabama also requires K-12 schools to ask the immigration status of all enrolled children and completely bans illegal immigrants from public state colleges and universities. Georgia punishes employers who knowingly hire illegal immigrants with up to 15 years in prison and up to $250,000 in fines. Indiana requires the state budget committee to assess the cost of an illegal immigrant including public education, incarceration, healthcare and public assistance. Indiana also requires all official state documents to be written in English and all meetings (via phone, email, in person or video conference) to be conducted in English only.

These laws are gaining widespread popularity throughout the nation. Other states, including Texas are expected to pass similar laws. Below are arguments and opinions of actual attorneys, lawmakers, politicians and influential community members who support the new state anti-immigrant laws that have been passed since Arizona's SB1070.

Arguments in support of SB1070

"These people are illegal and the state can't afford it any more. Now that you have this, it's not business as usual anymore ... From everything I've heard, we got pretty much what we wanted."   -- Bill Hudson, board member of the Georgia Tea Party, Marietta.

"The objective of the law is intended to put some boundaries on the problem of illegal immigration and the services that are supplied to those illegal immigrants. U.S. citizens will see little or no impact at all." -- Jeanetta Williams, President, NAACP Salt Lake Branch (Salt Lake City).

"The vulnerability of this country to acts of terrorism because of our porous borders and lack of enforcement of immigration laws has most Americans concerned and rightfully so," -- Steve Short, American Legion.

"We're trying to help the federal government do something that they are incapable of or failing to do right now and that's enforce immigration," Alan Wilson, Attorney General, South Carolina.

"Those are the intended consequences of Alabama's legislation with respect to illegal aliens…We don't have the money in America to keep paying for the education of everybody else's children from around the world.   We simply don't have the financial resources to do that.   Second, with respect to illegal aliens who are now leaving jobs in Alabama, that's exactly what we want." – Representative Mo Brooks, Alabama.

Are these laws fair?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Would this law make you *less* likely to visit these states? (R)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Do you agree with these laws?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Are you concerned about how these laws will affect you? (R)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Are you concerned about how these laws will affect someone close to you? (R)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Appendix B
Please read through the state law summaries and answer the following questions.

Below is an actual state law that outlines mandatory breaks for workers. States have drafted their own laws as federal guidelines are deemed inadequate by some employers and employees. In the event that state laws do not outline certain work break rules, federal law regarding those breaks must be followed by employers and employees.

California employees must be provided with a meal period of no less than a 30-minute when they work more than 5 consecutive hours (more than 6 hours for employees in the motion picture industry in specific situations).Unless the employee is relieved of all duties during the entire 30-minute meal period and is free to leave the employer's premises, the meal period must be counted as hours worked and paid at the employee's regular rate of pay. California law only permits employers to provide an "on duty" meal period when the nature of the work prevents the employee from being relieved of all duty and when by written agreement for an on-the-job meal period is agreed to.

States who have modeled California's break law include Illinois, Alabama, Utah, Iowa and Florida. Illinois allows a 20-minute, unpaid work break for employees who work 7 and a half continuous hours or more. Employers in Alabama are not required to give employees a break if the employee is 16 years of age or older, and so employers must follow federal law. Federal law also applies to employees of the state of Florida, as they have no state work break laws for employees over the age of 18. In the state of Utah, work breaks for employees under the age of 18 are every 5 hours for at least 30 minutes, unpaid. Employers may provide more breaks for employees but any break under 20 minutes is typically paid.

These laws are gaining widespread popularity throughout the nation. Texas, among other states, is expected to pass a similar law. Below are arguments of employers and employees who support their state work break laws.

Argument in support of California's break law
"As a manager, I have respect for my employees and believe this law is fair. I have young and older employees who are happy with this law. The people who wrote this law definitely had the feelings and opinions of the everyday employee at heart." Juan Ruiz, California retail manager.

"I work in a hospital. My position is fast paced and my days are filled with hard work but I think this law is perfect. If people are complaining, they must be lazy," Vanessa Roberts, Illinois employee.

"I like how Florida follows federal laws. If it's good for the U.S., it's good for this state. Why would states try to take work break laws into their own hands if the federal government has already done it for us? Makes no sense to me." Yadira Malone, Florida emoployee.

"Our state has a break law for the employee that is also accommodating to the employer. One long break works better. I have a business to run." George Morris, Alabama employer.

"I work at the movie theater and I think the breaks that I am allowed every 3 hours are just right. This is a good law. I think sometimes states try to take advantage of their employees but Utah wrote a good, fair law for us workers." Ben Lawson, Utah employee.

"I like Iowa's law on breaks.   I can take a break when I need it and my pay does not get docked.   I would rather have a bunch of small breaks than one big break after working many hours.   A body needs rest every so often and this law makes it so employees get their needed break during their shift." Marika Bahar, Iowa employee.

Are these laws fair?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Would this law make you *less* likely to visit these states? (R)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Do you agree with these laws?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Are you concerned about how these laws will affect you? (R)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Are you concerned about how these laws will affect someone close to you? (R)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Measure of Collective Angst

I think the future of the Latino American way of life is under threat from immigration laws
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I believe that external sources are purposefully trying to undermine the Latino Americans
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I feel there are no threats currently facing Latino Americans in the United States (R)
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I am not at all concerned about threats to Latino American civil rights (R)
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I think that Latino Americans are in jeopardy due to immigration laws.
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

Support for benevolent forms of collective action
'I would be willing to support . . .
becoming a member of a collective action group that takes a stance against certain immigration laws.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

becoming a volunteer for a collective action group that takes a stance against some immigration laws.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

taking part in a demonstration against immigration laws.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

serving as a fundraiser for a collective action group that takes a stance against immigration laws.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Support for hostile forms of collective action
'I would be willing to support . . .
the organization of illegal strikes at organizations that support or finance the passing of certain immigration laws.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

the occupation of the buildings of organizations that support immigration laws.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

throwing up barricades at organizations that support some immigration laws, keeping their employees from going to work.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

defacing the buildings of organizations that support immigration laws.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

committing sabotage at organizations that support or finance the passing of immigration laws.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Appendix E

Measure of voting intention

How likely are you to vote in the next presidential election?
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Very Unlikely   Very Likely

How likely are you to miss voting in the next local election? (R)
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Very Unlikely   Very Likely

What is the likelihood that you would vote in a Texas state election?
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Very Unlikely   Very Likely

What is the likelihood that you would vote in an election that had an immigration law on the ballot?
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Very Unlikely   Very Likely

Would you ever skip voting in an election? (R)
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Very Unlikely   Very Likely

Is voting important to you as an American?
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Very Unimportant   Very Important

I will most likely vote in favor of conservative issues*
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Very Unlikely   Very Likely

I will most likely vote for liberal issues*
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Very Unlikely   Very Likely

---

*The final two items will be analyzed separately from the aggregate of the other items but will be presented to the participants in this measure.

Appendix F

American Identity Measure (AIM), Meyer-Lee and Evans (2008).

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement. There are no right or wrong answers.

I think of myself as being American.
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

Being American plays an important part in my life.
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I understand pretty well what being American means to me
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I have a strong sense of being American
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I feel a strong attachment towards my American nationality
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

Appendix G

Collective Self-Esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)

    1. I am a worthy member of the ethnicity I belong to

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

    2. I often regret that I belong to the ethnicity I do

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

    3. Overall, my ethnic group is considered good by others

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

    4. Overall, my ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

    5. 5. I feel I don't have much to offer the ethnic group I belong to

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

    6. In general, I'm glad to be a member of the ethnic group I belong to

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

    7. Most people consider my ethnicity, on the average, to be more ineffective than other ethnicities

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

    8. The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

    9. I am a cooperative participant in the ethnic group I belong to

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

10. Overall, I often feel that the ethnic group of which I am a member is not worthwhile

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

11. In general, others respect the ethnicity that I am a member of

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

12. The ethnic group I belong to is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am (R)

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

13. I often feel I'm a useless member of my ethnic group

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

14. I feel good about the ethnicity I belong to

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

15. In general, others think that the ethnic group I am a member of is unworthy

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

16. In general, belonging to my ethnicity is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

Appendix H

Sociopolitical Control (Paulhus, 1983)

By taking an active part in political and social affairs we, the people, can control world events.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

Bad economic conditions are caused by world events that are beyond our control.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

One of the major reasons we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

There is nothing we, as consumers, can do to keep the cost of living from going higher.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

When I look at it carefully I realize it is impossible to have any really important influence over what big businesses do.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

I prefer to concentrate my energy on other things rather than on solving the world's problems.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

In the long run we, the voters, are responsible for bad government on a national as well as a local
level.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

Appendix I

Belief in a Just World (Dalbert, 2000)

I think basically the world is a just place
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I believe that, by and large, people get what they deserve

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I am confident that justice always prevails over injustice
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I am convinced that in the long run people will be compensated for injustices

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I firmly believe that injustices in all areas of life (e.g., professional, family, politics) are the exception rather than the rule
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

I think people try to be fair when making important decisions.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

Table 3.

Measure	Cronbach's Alpha	Mean (SD) Threat Condition	Mean (SD) Control Condition
American Identity	.91	5.76 (1.44)	6.11 (.89)
Ethnic Identity (CSE)	.85	5.14 (.82)	5.13 (1.03)
Public	.67	3.97 (1.46)	4.31 (1.39)
Private	.76	4.98 (.68)	4.92 (.78)
Membership	.75	5.42 (1.11)	5.23 (1.34)
Identity	.74	4.75 (1.32)	4.75 (1.54)
Collective Angst	.75	5.11 (1.16)**	4.43 (1.21)
Collective Action	.85	3.01 (1.06)	2.72(.85)
Voting Intention	.85	5.14 (1.43)	4.98 (1.41)
Voting Choice	.85	3.46 (1.56)	3.78 (1.30)
Belief in a Just World	.70	3.99 (1.16)	4.19 (1.83)
Sociopolitical Locus of Control	.80	4.43 (1.08)	4.19 (1.07)

**$p < .01$

Table 4.
Subscale correlations of Collective Self-Esteem Measure

Subscale	1	2	3	4
1. Membership	1.00			
2. Public	.15	1.00		
3. Private	.58**	.12	1.00	
4. Identity	.56**	.09	.48**	1.00

** *p* < .0001.

Table 5

Summary of Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Support for Collective Action Measure Using Maximum Likelihood Estimation (N = 134)

	Factor Loadings	
Item 'I would be willing to support . . .	Benevolent Collective Action	Hostile Collective Action
becoming a member of a collective action group that takes a stance against certain immigration laws.	**.89**	-.08
becoming a volunteer for a collective action group that takes a stance against some immigration laws.	**.96**	-.12
taking part in a demonstration against immigration laws.	**.81**	.12
serving as a fundraiser for a collective action group that takes a stance against immigration laws.	**.82**	.00
the organization of illegal strikes at organizations that support or finance the passing of certain immigration laws.	.25	**.46**
the occupation of the buildings of organizations that support immigration laws.	**.31**	.07
throwing up barricades at organizations that support some immigration laws, keeping their employees from going to work.	-.11	**.71**
defacing the buildings of organizations that support immigration laws.	-.04	**.98**
committing sabotage at organizations that support or finance the passing of immigration laws.	.11	**.77**
Eigenvalues	11.99	4.63
% of variance	19.17	9.93

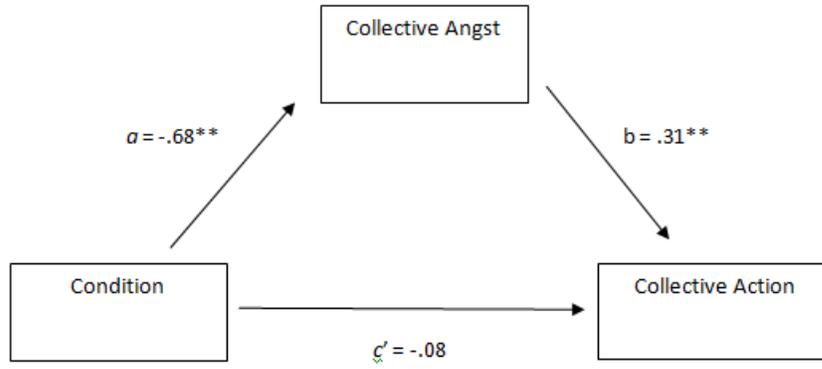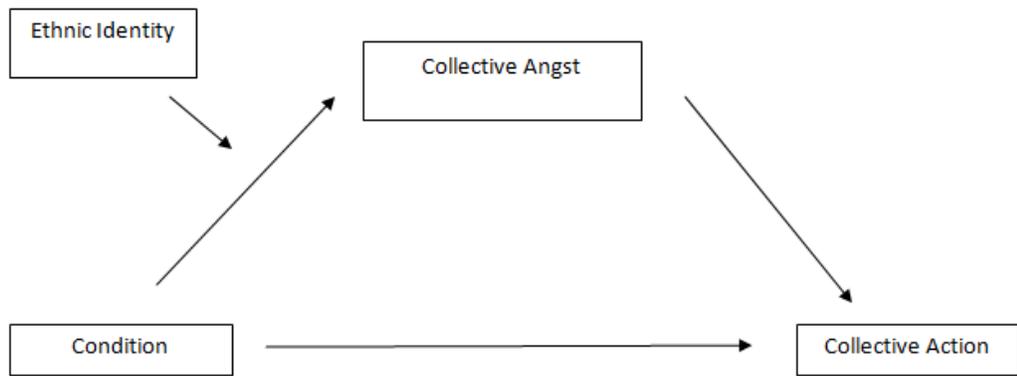*Note:* Factor loadings over .30 appear in bold.

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Curricula Vita

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