

PSIMH Research Report

Attitudes Toward Immigration in a Community-Based Sample from Michigan

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## Attitudes Toward Immigration in a Community-Based Sample from Michigan

### *Abstract*

*The purposes of the present study were to examine socio-demographic predictors of attitudes toward immigration in a community-based sample (N = 340) from the southeast Michigan area; and to explore the relationship between attitudes toward immigration and the providing of educational and health services to the children of undocumented immigrants. Attitudes toward immigration were measured with the Attitudes Toward Immigration Scale (ATIS). The providing of services was measured through the participants' evaluations of a school scenario and a health care scenario. The findings revealed that participants who were middle-aged or older, less educated, identified as Republican, and were third generation or greater were more likely to hold negative attitudes toward immigration. Participants holding negative attitudes toward immigration were less likely to provide education and health care services to the children of undocumented immigrants. National implications of the findings are discussed.*

In the November, 1994, California state election, Proposition 187 was approved by 59% of the California voters. For all non-citizens and their children, Proposition 187 banned enrollment in public schools and colleges, denied non-emergency public health care, and cut off social welfare services that are directed toward troubled youths, the elderly, the blind, and others with special needs. This proposition also created new state felonies and stiffer penalties for the use of fraudulent documents showing legal residency, and required law enforcement agencies, school officials, medical personnel, and other state and local agencies to report suspected undocumented immigrants to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (California Secretary of State's Office, 1994c).

### *Arguments For and Against Proposition 187*

*Arguments For.* Much debate occurred around Proposition 187. Supporters of Proposition 187 argued that undocumented immigrants hurt the state economy and that undocumented immigrants are drawn to California by the "magnet" of the welfare state (California Secretary of State's Office, 1994b; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1996; Johnson, 1996). For example, the individuals who drafted the initiative argued that "illegal aliens are costing taxpayers in excess of 5 billion dollars a year," and that "if the...incredible flow of illegal aliens (is not stopped), California will be in economic and social bankruptcy" (California Secretary of State's Office, 1994b, p. 1).

In addition to the economic argument, advocates of Proposition 187 argued that undocumented immigrants were responsible for crowded classrooms and thus responsible for lowering the quality of public education (California Secretary of State's Office, 1994b; Suárez-Orozco, 1996). Some advocates, including Brimelow (1995), claimed that present immigrants have not assimilated into mainstream society as successfully as the previous European immigrants. According to Brimelow, the new immigrants hold cultural values and attitudes that are not compatible with mainstream values and institutions. The differing value systems inevitably lead to school failure and social problems among the new immigrants.

As an example of such "social problems," supporters of Proposition 187 claimed that undocumented immigrants disproportionately contribute to crime (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Barbara Coe, one of the authors of the initiative, argued the following:

Violent crime is rampant, (due) to illegal-alien gangs (that) roam our streets, dealing drugs and searching for innocent victims to rob (and) rape.... In many cases, (they) murder those who dare violate their turf.... Nearly 90% of all illicit drugs are brought here by illegals.... (Coe, 1994, p. 12A).

*Arguments Against.* Proposition 187 came under heavy criticism. Critics who opposed the proposition believed that Proposition 187 unfairly scapegoated and blamed undocumented immigrants for economic problems in California. For example, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) stated that Proposition 187 is indicative of society's anti-immigrant sentiments and was a symptom for anxieties over diminishing economic expectations, crowded schools, a "broken" justice system, and rapid demographic changes (political minorities are slowly becoming the political majority). Several authors (e.g., Calavita, 1996; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1996; Mehan, 1997; Rubin, 1994; Suárez-Orozco, 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995) pointed out that, historically, anti-immigration campaigns have come during economic downturns when workers worry about having to compete for jobs with people whose standards of living are beneath their own. This, in turn, contributes to resistance to immigration. Suárez-Orozco (1996) argued that immigrants generate *positive* economic activity through taxes, by providing inexpensive labor (e.g., farm workers), and by opening immigrant businesses. Such businesses are critical in reinvigorating urban areas. Similarly, other critics (e.g., California Secretary of State's Office, 1994a; Johnson, 1996; Passel, 1994) argued that rather than costing taxpayers money, immigrants contribute a net surplus to the economy. California's Legislative Analyst estimated that if Proposition 187 was implemented, California could annually lose as much as 15 billion dollars in federal funding for education and health care.

The fact that potential savings stemming from Proposition 187 are greatly outweighed by potential costs suggests that other factors influenced support for the measure. In addressing the anti-immigration movement, Rubin (1994) maintained that mainstream individuals speak angrily about the recent influx of immigrants not only because they see their jobs and ways of life threatened, but because they feel bruised and assaulted by a multi-racial environment in which they feel left out.

Opponents of Proposition 187 called it sanctioned discrimination against Latino/as since immigration status is not easily identifiable (California Secretary of State's Office, 1994a; Johnson, 1996). As noted, Proposition 187 required law enforcement, social, and health agencies to report *suspected* undocumented immigrants to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). However, Proposition 187 did not define the basis for such suspicion. This opened the door to base suspicion on the way an individual speaks, the sound of someone's last name, or the shade of a person's skin. Those suspected would include citizens and individuals with legal immigration status.

In answer to those who claim that new immigrants refuse to assimilate to mainstream society, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) demonstrated that several studies (e.g., Becerra, 1998; Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989; Suárez-Orozco, 1989) suggest that Latino/a immigrants are family and achievement oriented. These same values are often cited by conservative political groups as values that are important in today's society.

Finally, in regards to the belief that immigrants increase violent crime, Simon (1991) and Eisenstadt and Thorup (1994) concluded that the crime rate is less among immigrants than among nonimmigrants. These authors believed that the crime rate among immigrants has been exaggerated and misrepresented by those individuals opposed to immigration.

*Attitudes toward Mexican-Americans*

A handful of studies (Bernat & Balch, 1979; Fairchild & Cozens, 1981; Guichard & Connolly, 1977; Jackson, 1995; Marin, 1984) have explored stereotypical attitudes that Anglos hold towards Latino/as. These studies suggested that Anglo-Americans hold stereotypes toward Latino/as that are generally unfavorable. For example, Jackson (1995), in a sample of 265 Anglo college students, found that the perceptions associated with Latino/as were mostly negative. These included the notions that Latino/as are noisy, lazy, dirty, smelly, poor, uneducated, and lacking intelligence. Furthermore, the students thought that Latino/as are rebellious, physically violent, hold criminal tendencies, and lack ambition, sophistication, and knowledge. Some perceptions were positive. Latino/as were religious and belonged to strong families.

### *Previous Research on Predictors of Proposition 187 Support*

Quinton, Cowan, and Watson (1996) explored right-wing authoritarianism, positive and negative stereotypes about illegal immigration, and collective self-esteem (individual attitudes toward his or her own in-group) as predictors of Proposition 187 support among college students in the Los Angeles area. They found that Anglos ( $n = 79$ ) were significantly more in favor of Proposition 187 than were Latino/as ( $n = 92$ ). Among both Latino/as and Anglos, right-wing authoritarianism and negative stereotypes about undocumented immigrants were significantly related to Proposition 187 support. Among Latino/as, low collective self-esteem and high levels of acculturation were significantly related to Proposition 187 support. In contrast, among Anglos, high collective self-esteem was significantly related to Proposition 187 support. Quinton et al. concluded that among both Latino/as and Anglos, three forms of prejudice were associated with Proposition 187 support: personality, cognitive, and group perspectives. Their results suggested that individuals who supported Proposition 187 were characterized by one or more of the following: political conservatism with outwardly rigid, prejudiced attitudes toward outside groups; less direct prejudice in the form of negative stereotypes; and feelings of being threatened by an outside group.

In response to Proposition 187, Hovey, Rojas, Kain, and Magaña (2000) examined socio-demographic predictors of attitudes toward immigration in a community-based sample ( $N = 494$ ) from the Los Angeles area. Attitudes toward immigration were measured by the Attitudes Toward Immigration Scale (ATIS). Hovey et al. found that participants who were middle-aged or older, less educated, identified as Republican, and were third generation or greater tended to hold more negative attitudes toward immigration. Hovey et al. also explored the relationship between attitudes toward immigration and the providing of educational and health services to the children of undocumented immigrants. As noted earlier, not providing services to the children of undocumented immigrants was a key component of Proposition 187. Hovey et al. found that those participants holding negative attitudes toward immigration were less likely to provide education and health care services to the children of undocumented immigrants.

### *Goals and Hypotheses of the Present Study*

Hovey et al. (2000) stated that further research should concentrate on increasing the generalizability of their findings. For example, they noted that the examination of factors that underlie people's anti-immigration attitudes should be explored in other regions of the country. The present study is a step in the direction to generalize. The present study examined attitudes toward immigration in a community-based sample from the southeast Michigan area. The goals and hypotheses of the study included the following:

1. The study explored the relationships among socio-demographic variables and attitudes toward immigration. The demographic variables explored included gender, age, ethnicity, generation level, education, income, job type, citizenship status, and voting behavior.
2. The study explored whether negative attitudes toward immigration predict how individuals would behave in reaction to two situations that were originally outlined in Proposition 187. It was expected that those individuals with negative attitudes toward immigration will be less in favor of providing education and health care to the children of undocumented immigrants.
3. In reaction to the questions of whether schools and health clinics should provide education and health care to the children of undocumented immigrants, given the previous research that has revealed negative stereotypes held toward Latino/as, it was expected that the participants will rate Mexican immigrants less favorably than Canadian immigrants.
4. In reaction to the questions of whether schools and health clinics should provide education and health care to the children of undocumented immigrants, it was expected that participants will be more favorable to providing health care services than school services.

## Method

### *Participants*

Participants were 340 individuals who were recruited from public locations throughout the southeast Michigan area. Participants who were not old enough to vote were specifically excluded, although actual voting behavior was not a requirement for participation in the study. Forty-six percent of the sample were female; 54% were male. Age of the sample ranged from 18 to 78 ( $M = 34.58$ ;  $SD = 13.19$ ).

### *Measures*

A demographics questionnaire gathered information regarding age; gender; ethnicity; country of birth of participant, participants' parents, and participants' grandparents; level of education and income; occupation; citizenship status; and political affiliation. Participants were also asked whether they voted in the last election.

*Scenario evaluation.* Each participant was asked to read both a school scenario and a health care scenario. After each scenario, the participant rated three statements pertaining to the scenario. The country of origin of immigrant in each scenario was either Mexico or Canada. The order of the presentation of scenarios and the country of origin of immigrant were counterbalanced.

The script of the school scenario read as follows:

*A Mexican (or Canadian) immigrant wants to enroll his or her child in a public school. The family has immigrated but they do not have the official documents to be in the United States legally.*

The three statements were (1) "the school should enroll the child"; (2) "the child should receive schooling some place other than the public school system"; and (3) "the school should inform the

immigration authorities about the family's illegal immigration status." For each statement, the possible responses ranged from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 9 = "strongly agree."

The script of the health care scenario read as follows:

*A Mexican (or Canadian) immigrant goes to a County Clinic that provides low cost medical care to make an appointment for his or her child. The family has immigrated but they do not have the official documents to be in the United States legally.*

The three statements were (1) "the clinic should provide medical care to the child"; (2) "the child should receive medical care some place other than the public health system"; and (3) "the clinic should inform the immigration authorities about the family's illegal immigration status." For each statement, the possible responses ranged from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 9 = "strongly agree."

*Attitudes Toward Immigration Scale (ATIS).* To assess potential underlying motivating beliefs for participants' evaluations of the scenarios, the ATIS was developed by Kain, Rojas, and Hovey (1995) (see Appendix). The scale measures attitudes toward immigration, and consists of ten questions presented in a 9-point Likert-type format ("strongly disagree" to "strongly agree"). Five items are positively weighted toward immigrants (e.g., "Immigrants have contributed greatly to the United States") and five items are negatively weighted toward immigrants (e.g., "Immigrants drain the United States of its valuable resources"). The items that are negatively weighted toward immigrants are reverse scored. Possible scores range from 10 to 90. Higher scores indicate more favorable attitudes towards immigration. The Cronbach alpha coefficient for the present study was .77, thus indicating adequate internal consistency reliability.

### *Procedures*

The participants were recruited from public locations throughout the southeast Michigan area. Potential participants were approached by research assistants, blind to the study's purposes, and were asked if they would volunteer for an opinion survey. Those who volunteered to participate then completed the questionnaire packet which included, in order, the scenarios, the ATIS, and the demographics form. The questionnaire packet took 5 to 10 minutes to complete. Any questions that participants asked concerning the study were directed to the primary investigators.

### *Data Analyses*

The data analyses are presented in six steps. Descriptive statistics are first presented. The bivariate relationships among the socio-demographic variables and the ATIS are then presented. In specific, correlation coefficients were used to assess the relationships among the continuous socio-demographic variables (education, income) and the ATIS; and analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were used to assess the effects of the categorical socio-demographic variables (gender; age groups; ethnicity; job type; generation level; citizenship status; political affiliation; voting behavior) on the ATIS. Third, correlation coefficients were used to assess the relationships among the ATIS and the scenario evaluations. Fourth, stepwise multiple regression analyses were conducted to determine the individual attitudes that best predict the scenario evaluations. Fifth, *t* tests were conducted to examine whether participants were more favorable to providing health care and school services to Canadian immigrants than to Mexican immigrants. Finally, paired samples *t* tests were conducted to examine whether participants were more favorable to providing health care services than school services.

## Results

### *Descriptive Statistics*

*Age, Ethnicity, and Generational Status.* Table 1 shows the frequency distributions for age, ethnicity, and generational status. Generational status was determined by asking about the participants' and their parents' and grandparents' places of birth. A large portion of the sample was third generation or greater.

*Education, Income, and Job Type.* Table 1 also lists the distributions for education, income, and job type. As shown, most of the sample had at least a high school education. Income was equally distributed.

*Citizenship Status, Political Affiliation, and Voting Behavior.* Table 1 gives the distributions for citizenship status, political affiliation, and voting behavior. As seen, a great majority of the sample reported being a United States citizen. Most individuals indicated that they had voted in the November, 1994 election.

*Evaluations of Scenarios.* In regards to the school scenario, the mean score for "provide schooling" was 4.14 ( $SD = 2.86$ ); the mean score for "school other" was 5.21 ( $SD = 2.93$ ); and the mean score for "report to authorities" was 5.66 ( $SD = 3.07$ ). In regards to the health care scenario, the mean score for "provide health" was 5.81 ( $SD = 2.94$ ); the mean score for "health other" was 4.70 ( $SD = 2.97$ ); and the mean score for "report to authorities" was 5.56 ( $SD = 3.14$ ).

*Attitudes toward Immigration.* The mean score for the ATIS was 57.76 ( $SD = 13.48$ ).

### *Relationships among Socio-Demographic Variables and the ATIS*

Spearman coefficients revealed that high levels of education were significantly correlated to high ATIS scores ( $r = .32, p < .0001$ ) and that income was not related to the ATIS ( $r = -.06$ ).

One-way ANOVAs were used to study the effects of gender, age (ages 18-24; 25-32; 33-45; 45 and older), ethnicity (Anglo-American; nonAnglo-American), job type, generation level (first and second; third and greater), citizenship (U.S. citizen; non-citizen), political affiliation (Democrat; Republican; other), and voting behavior on the ATIS. The analyses revealed significant main effects for age ( $F [3,327] = 5.02, p < .001$ ), ethnicity ( $F [1,307] = 4.26, p < .02$ ), job type ( $F [8,324] = 4.83, p < .0001$ ), generation level ( $F [1,333] = 4.45, p < .02$ ), and political affiliation ( $F [2,324] = 8.29, p < .0001$ ). Anglo-Americans reported less favorable attitudes than nonAnglo-Americans; and first and second generation individuals reported more favorable attitudes than third and greater generation individuals. Further ANOVAs revealed no significant main effects for gender, citizenship, and voting behavior.

Follow-up  $t$  tests were conducted to determine the location of significant group differences for age, job type, and political affiliation. Those participants over the age of 45 reported less favorable attitudes toward immigration than those aged 18-24, 25-32, and 33-45. Students, those working in a managerial or professional position, and those working in service-related activities reported more favorable attitudes than those working in other jobs and those who were unemployed. Finally, Democrats reported more favorable attitudes toward immigration than Republicans and those with "other" political affiliations; and those with "other" political affiliations reported more favorable attitudes than Republicans.

### *Relationships among the ATIS and Scenario Evaluations*

*School Scenario.* Table 2 shows the Pearson correlations among the ATIS and the school scenario. As seen, the ATIS was significantly correlated to each of the three school scenario evaluations. As expected, those individuals with negative attitudes toward immigration were less in favor of providing education to children of undocumented immigrants.

*Health Care Scenario.* Table 2 also shows the Pearson correlations among the ATIS and the health care scenario. The ATIS was significantly correlated to each of the three health care scenario evaluations. As expected, those individuals with negative attitudes toward immigration were less in favor of providing health care to children of undocumented immigrants.

### *Multiple Regression Analyses of Scenario Evaluations*

*School Scenario.* Table 3 shows three stepwise multiple regression analyses which were conducted to determine the individual attitudes that best predict the evaluations of the school scenario. For each analysis, the criteria for entering the equation was set at  $< .05$ . In the first analysis, ATIS 5 ( $\beta = -.34, p < .0005$ ), ATIS 2 ( $\beta = -.20, p < .0005$ ), ATIS 3 ( $\beta = -.12, p < .05$ ), and ATIS 10 ( $\beta = .11, p < .05$ ) were significant predictors of "provide schooling." The overall equation accounted for 17% of the variance in "provide schooling."

In the second analysis, ATIS 5 ( $\beta = .24, p < .0005$ ) and ATIS 2 ( $\beta = .16, p < .007$ ) were significant predictors of "school other," and together accounted for 8% of the variance in "school other."

In the third analysis, ATIS 5 ( $\beta = .37, p < .0005$ ), ATIS 3 ( $\beta = .19, p < .001$ ), and ATIS 1 ( $\beta = .12, p < .02$ ) were each a significant independent predictor of "report to authorities," and together accounted for 17% of the variance in "report to authorities."

*Health Care Scenario.* Table 4 shows three stepwise multiple regression analyses which were conducted to determine the individual attitudes that best predict the evaluations of the health care scenario. For each analysis, the criteria for entering the equation was set at  $< .05$ . In the first analysis, ATIS 5 ( $\beta = -.31, p < .0005$ ), ATIS 6 ( $\beta = -.16, p < .005$ ), and ATIS 10 ( $\beta = .13, p < .02$ ) were significant predictors of "provide health," and together accounted for 13% of the variance in "provide health."

In the second analysis, ATIS 5 ( $\beta = .29, p < .0005$ ) and ATIS 9 ( $\beta = .16, p < .02$ ) were significant predictors of "health other," and together accounted for 9% of the variance in "health other."

In the third analysis, ATIS 5 ( $\beta = .32, p < .0005$ ), ATIS 3 ( $\beta = .21, p < .0005$ ), ATIS 1 ( $\beta = .16, p < .01$ ), and ATIS 9 ( $\beta = .14, p < .04$ ) were significant predictors of "report to authorities." The overall equation accounted for 17% of the variance in "report to authorities."

### *Relationships among Ethnicity of Immigrant and Providing Services*

Three *t* tests were conducted to examine whether participants were more favorable to providing school services to Canadian immigrants than to Mexican immigrants. The analyses revealed higher scores for Mexican immigrants on "school reporting to authorities" ( $t [333] = 1.35, p = .08$ ), and no significant



differences between the groups on "provide schooling" ( $t [333] = -.89, ns$ ) and "school other" ( $t [333] = .08, ns$ ).

Three  $t$  tests were conducted to examine whether participants were more favorable to providing health care services to Canadian immigrants than to Mexican immigrants. The analyses revealed no significant differences between the groups on "provide health care" ( $t [334] = -.25, ns$ ), "health other" ( $t [332] = .18, ns$ ), and "health service reporting to authorities" ( $t [334] = -.80, ns$ ).

#### *Relationship between Providing School Services and Health Care Services*

Paired samples  $t$  tests were conducted to examine whether participants were more favorable to providing health care services than school services. In comparing "provide schooling" and "provide health care," participants reported that the child should receive more health care than schooling ( $t [336] = 10.33, p < .0005$ ). In comparing "school other" and "health other," participants more strongly agreed that the child should receive schooling somewhere else ( $t [336] = 3.18, p < .002$ ) than health care. In comparing "school reporting to authorities" and "health service reporting to authorities," the analysis was not significant ( $t [335] = 0.87, ns$ ).

#### Discussion

Although the present study stemmed from Proposition 187 in California, it is important to note that this study has national implications. First, statistics indicate that the immigrant population has dramatically increased during the last two decades not only in California, but nationally. For example, almost half of the immigrant population in the United States (over 30 million) has entered the country since 1980 (Passel & Edmonston, 1992). Over 700,000 documented immigrants and 300,000 unauthorized immigrants arrive each year in the United States (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

As noted, Hovey et al. (2000) also utilized the ATIS in their study of attitudes toward immigration in California. In comparing the ATIS mean of the present sample ( $M = 57.76$ ) and that of the California sample ( $M = 56.14$ ), there is no significant difference ( $t [785] = 1.6, ns$ ). This too suggests that immigration and anti-diversity concerns are not limited to California.

Finally, since Proposition 187, heightened national attention has been paid to anti-diversity sentiments, both in the media and in the political arena. For example, the media has consistently detailed lawsuits and legislation against affirmative action, and the belief that universities in Texas, Michigan, and California should not use affirmative action in making their admissions decisions. In fact, in 1996, the voters in the state of California passed Proposition 209, another anti-diversity proposition. Proposition 209, approved by 54 percent of the voters, eliminated affirmative action in public education and state and local governments (California Secretary of State's Office, 1996). Rosenbaum (1997) and de la Torre (1996) believe that anti-immigration policy will surface as an issue in Congress and in states with new immigrant populations. This will ensure that immigration will remain a major issue in upcoming political campaigns. The present study thus appears particularly topical.

#### *Negative Attitudes toward Immigration*

How do individuals acquire their negative attitudes toward immigrants, especially given the probability that many such individuals have had little contact with immigrants? As just alluded to, mass media may

contribute to negative perceptions of immigrants and particular ethnic groups. Gutierrez (1980) found that newspapers tended to focus on Latino/as as "problem people" (causing or beset by problems). As a specific example of a negative newspaper portrayal, three months before the passage of Proposition 187, the Los Angeles Times quoted Ron Prince--one of the persons who drafted the initiative--in a cover story. In advocating the passage of Proposition 187, Prince summoned disturbing imagery from the wild west: "You (the voter) are the posse.... Proposition 187 is the rope" (McDonnell, 1994, p. A1). Similarly, on the very same day, an editorial in the New York Times suggested that if California immigration continued to increase, "a Mexico-controlled California could vote to establish Spanish as the sole language of California.... There could (then) be a statewide vote to leave the Union and annex California to Mexico" (Hayes, 1994, sec. 1, p. 18). Harris (1994) examined portrayals of several minority groups in television and movies and found that Latino/as were rarely portrayed (1.5% of all characters). When Latino/as were portrayed, they were usually shown in stereotypical roles such as drunks, robbers, drug dealers, gang members, gardeners, or farmhands (see also Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon, & Korzenny, 1983).

Jackson (1995) noted that sources other than the mass media may explicitly or implicitly reinforce negative perceptions of Latino/as. These include families, communities, and educational institutions. As noted by Jackson, however, research has yet to explore these avenues of perceptions.

The literature on the self-fulfilling prophecy suggests important implications for the present study. For example, Jussim (1986) and Miller and Turnbull (1986) noted that the perceptions of others may affect individual self-perception and behavior. In respect to the present subject-matter, negative attitudes toward immigrants may create self-fulfilling prophecies in which the negative attitudes become internalized in the self-concepts of immigrants. The immigrant may thus come to perceive himself or herself more negatively.

#### *Socio-Demographic Predictors of Attitudes toward Immigration*

The findings of the present study highlight some of the socio-demographic indicators that may serve as important determinants of attitudes toward immigration. Those individuals who were Anglo-American, middle-aged or older, less educated, and identified as Republican were more likely to hold negative attitudes toward immigration. Furthermore, students and those individuals working in managerial or professional positions reported more favorable attitudes than those working in other jobs and those who were unemployed. Professional and student status may be proxy indicators of higher levels of education. Further education may increase individuals' awareness of the complexities of the immigration issue, and may, for example, lead to the realization that many factors other than immigration contribute to the success (or lack thereof) of the economy.

Generational status also appears to be an important determinant of attitudes toward immigration. Those individuals who had immigrated to the United States or whose parents had immigrated to the United States revealed more favorable attitudes than those individuals with a less recent family history of immigration. Individuals without a family history of immigration may hold more negative attitudes toward immigration because they do not identify with being a member of an immigrant group. This finding is consistent with Quinton et al. (1996) who found that individuals with a high collective self-esteem (individual's attitude toward his or her in-group, which may contribute to his or her sense of self) were unlikely to identify with the out-group (immigrants), and thus were likely to protect their collective identity by supporting Proposition 187.

### *Relationships among Attitudes toward Immigration and Scenario Responses*

It was interesting that the present study found little support for the notion that participants would provide less education and health care to Mexican immigrants than they would to Canadian immigrants. This finding is similar to that found by Hovey et al. (2000) in their study of immigration attitudes in California. These results suggest that individuals intensely respond to the *issue* of illegal immigration, per se, rather than to whether an illegal immigrant is from Mexico or Canada. The present study did find, however, that participants were generally more favorable to providing health care services to the illegal immigrant than school services. This may have been due to a belief, among participants, that the children of undocumented immigrants contribute to crowded classrooms and are thus responsible for lowering the quality of public education.

The individual attitudes that were negatively weighted toward immigrants were much stronger predictors of the evaluations of the illegal immigration scenarios than were the attitudes that were positively weighted. Furthermore, "immigrants take jobs from those who need them" was the strongest predictor in each of the six regression equations. These findings--consistent with Hovey et al. (2000)--are not surprising as the negatively weighted attitudes that were predictive ("immigrants take jobs from those who need them"; "everyone in the United States should speak English"; "immigrants drain the United States of its valuable resources"; "America should take care of Americans first"; "United States citizenship should be difficult to obtain") corroborate sociological observations. For example, they support Rubin's (1994) belief that people become angry over the influx of immigrants when they perceive that their jobs are threatened, and that they have to compete for jobs with people whose standard of living is beneath their own. Similarly, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) argued that negative attitudes toward immigration and issues of diversity are societal symptoms that emerge from fear over diminished economic resources and opportunities, lower quality of education and health care, rapid demographic changes, and diminished political influence.

### *Research Limitations and Directions for Future Research.*

Limitations of the present study include its use of a convenience sample and a single-informant self-report methodology. The present study was designed in an analogous fashion so as to ascertain how an individual might behave in situations such as those described in the scenarios. However, because of the analogue nature of the design, it is difficult to assess just how accurately participants' reactions reflect the way they would behave in such situations. Because the sample of the present study was drawn from a geographically specific area, caution must be used in generalizing the results.

Further research should concentrate on increasing the present study's generalizability by exploring attitudes toward immigration in other regions in the country. In addition, research should further explore the potential sources of negative perceptions of immigrants and ethnic groups. These include the media, families, communities, and educational institutions. Finally, research should examine predictors of anti-diversity sentiments and stereotypes in other areas (e.g., Affirmative Action in education and employment).

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Appendix  
*Attitudes Toward Immigration Scale (ATIS) Items*

1. One of the good things about America is that it can be the land of opportunity for many people.
2. America should take care of Americans first.
3. Everyone in the United States should speak English.
4. There is no such thing as a typical American.
5. Immigrants take jobs from those who need them.
6. United States citizenship should be difficult to obtain.
7. Immigrants have contributed greatly to the United States.
8. The United States is strengthened by its diversity.
9. Immigrants drain the United States of its valuable resources.
10. Immigrants make good citizens.

Table 1. *Sample Distributions for Socio-Demographic Variables*

Variable	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
<b>Age</b>		
18 years - 24 years	27.2	27.2
25 years - 32 years	25.1	52.3
33 years - 45 years	27.5	79.8
45 years and older	20.2	100.0
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Anglo American	81.5	81.5
Latino/a-American	2.4	83.9
African American	7.3	91.2
Asian American	2.7	93.9
Other	6.1	100.0
<b>Generational Status</b>		
First (immigrant status)	8.4	8.4
Second	4.8	13.2
Third	28.7	41.9
Fourth or greater	58.1	100.0
<b>Highest Level of Education</b>		
No formal schooling	0.3	0.3
Some schooling, did not graduate from high school	3.0	3.3
High school graduate	20.1	23.4
Some college, did not graduate from college	33.1	56.5
College graduate	21.9	78.4
Some graduate or professional school	9.3	87.7
Completed graduate or professional school	12.3	100.0
<b>Annual Income</b>		
\$10,000 or below	19.9	19.9
Over \$10,000 to \$20,000	20.9	40.8
Over \$20,000 to \$30,000	16.2	57.0
Over \$30,000 to \$50,000	23.4	80.4
Over \$50,000 to \$70,000	11.7	92.1
Over \$70,000 to \$90,000	2.5	94.6
Over \$90,000	5.4	100.0



Table 1 (continued)

<b>Job Description</b>		
Managerial or professional	32.7	32.7
Technical, sales, or administrative support	26.2	58.9
Service	9.3	68.2
Farming, forestry, or fishing	1.2	69.4
Precision production, craft, and repair	3.9	73.3
Operator, fabricator, or laborer	5.1	78.4
Student	14.4	92.8
Have not been employed in the last 5 years	2.7	95.5
Other	4.5	100.0
<b>Citizenship Status</b>		
United States citizen	94.9	94.9
Permanent resident (green card)	1.5	96.4
Working visa	0.9	97.3
F-1 visa	0.6	97.9
Other	2.1	100.0
<b>Political Affiliation</b>		
Democrat	34.6	34.6
Republican	23.2	57.8
Independent	11.0	68.8
Peace and Freedom	1.6	70.4
Green Party	0.9	71.3
Other party	0.9	72.2
No political party	27.8	100.0
<b>Voting Behavior</b>		
Voted in November, 1994 election	71.0	71.06
Did not vote in November, 1994 election	29.0	100.0

Table 2. *Correlations among ATIS and Scenario Responses*

	ATIS
<b>School Scenario Responses</b>	
Provide Schooling	.36*
School Other	-.22*
Report to Authorities (school)	-.29*
<b>Health Care Scenario Responses</b>	
Provide Health Care	.36*
Health Other	-.25*
Report to Authorities (health)	-.27*

*Note:* Pearson correlation coefficients. Significance levels are based on one-tailed tests.

\*  $p < .0005$ .

ATIS = Attitudes Toward Immigration Scale.

Provide Schooling = The school should enroll the child.

School Other = The child should receive schooling some place other than the public school system.

Report to Authorities (school) = The school should inform the immigration authorities about the family's illegal immigration status.

Provide Health Care = The clinic should provide medical care to the child.

Health Other = The child should receive medical care some place other than the public health system.

Report to Authorities (health) = The clinic should inform the immigration authorities about the family's illegal immigration status.

Table 3. *Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses of School Scenario Responses*

Dependent and Predictor Variables	<i>F</i>	(df)	<i>p</i>	Total % Variance Accounted For
<b>Provide Schooling</b>				
ATIS 5	41.07	(1,320)	.0001	11.4
ATIS 5, ATIS 2	53.81	(2,319)	.0001	14.8
ATIS 5, ATIS 2, ATIS 3	40.34	(3,318)	.0001	15.9
ATIS 5, ATIS 2, ATIS 3, ATIS 10	31.74	(4,317)	.0001	16.9
<b>School Other</b>				
ATIS 5	18.93	(1,320)	.0001	5.6
ATIS 5, ATIS 2	13.49	(2,319)	.0001	7.8
<b>Report to Authorities</b>				
ATIS 5	49.33	(1,320)	.0001	13.4
ATIS 5, ATIS 3	31.22	(2,319)	.0001	16.4
ATIS 5, ATIS 3, ATIS 1	23.00	(3,318)	.0001	17.8

*Note:* Criteria for entering equation was set at < .05.

Provide Schooling = The school should enroll the child.

School Other = The child should receive schooling some place other than the public school system.

Report to Authorities = The school should inform the immigration authorities about the family's illegal immigration status.

ATIS 1 = One of the good things about America is that it can be the land of opportunity for many people.

ATIS 2 = America should take care of Americans first.

ATIS 3 = Everyone in the United States should speak English.

ATIS 5 = Immigrants take jobs from those who need them.

ATIS 10 = Immigrants make good citizens.

Table 4. *Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses of Health Scenario Responses*

Dependent and Predictor Variables	<i>F</i>	(df)	<i>p</i>	Total % Variance Accounted For
<b>Provide Health Care</b>				
ATIS 5	34.23	(1,320)	.0001	9.7
ATIS 5, ATIS 6	21.50	(2,319)	.0001	11.9
ATIS 5, ATIS 6, ATIS 10	16.38	(3,318)	.0001	13.4
<b>Health Other</b>				
ATIS 5	29.56	(1,320)	.0001	8.5
ATIS 5, ATIS 9	17.95	(2,319)	.0001	10.1
<b>Report to Authorities</b>				
ATIS 5	35.69	(1,320)	.0001	10.0
ATIS 5, ATIS 3	25.59	(2,319)	.0001	13.8
ATIS 5, ATIS 3, ATIS 1	19.87	(3,318)	.0001	15.8
ATIS 5, ATIS 3, ATIS 1 ATIS 9	16.26	(4,317)	.0001	17.0

*Note:* Criteria for entering equation was set at  $< .05$ .

Provide Health Care = The clinic should provide medical care to the child.

Health Other = The child should receive medical care some place other than the public health system.

Report to Authorities = The clinic should inform the immigration authorities about the family's illegal immigration status.

ATIS 1 = One of the good things about America is it can be the land of opportunity for many people.

ATIS 3 = Everyone in the United States should speak English.

ATIS 5 = Immigrants take jobs from those who need them.

ATIS 6 = United States citizenship should be difficult to obtain.

ATIS 9 = Immigrants drain the United States of its valuable resources.

ATIS 10 = Immigrants make good citizens.