THE EFFECTS OF PRIMING PATRIOTISM ON ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS:

DO ALL AMERICANS RESPOND TO PATRIOTIC IMAGES THE SAME WAY?

by

NORMA ELIZABETH GARZA REYES

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Science in Psychological Sciences at
The University of Texas at Arlington
December, 2018

Arlington, Texas

Supervising Committee:

Lauri Jensen-Campbell, Supervising Professor
Lauren Coursey
Kelsey Medeiros

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful and thankful for my Supervising Professor, Dr. Lauri A. Jensen-Campbell, for all her help and guidance through the process of completing my thesis. She has thought me an enormous amount of knowledge of what it is to develop, conduct, and analyze a research project. She was also supportive and patient through the whole process and, especially, when I most needed it. Additionally, I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Lauren Coursey and Dr. Kelsey Medeiros. Their thoughtful feedback and encouragement greatly improved my project.

I would also like to acknowledge our Personality and Social Behavior Lab. I learned from the older graduate students, Erin, Maria, Allyson, and Sarah, the ins-and-outs of our research projects and studies. They also thought me how to interact with and lead our research assistants. I carry this knowledge now and try my best to pass it along to our newest graduate students, Kristen and Abby. I am so grateful for the undergraduate research assistants in my "Immigration Team," who helped me collect all the data for my thesis. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the Psychology department at The University of Texas at Arlington for all their support.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my two brothers and parents. Their unconditional love and support are what kept me going. We all immigrated here more than twenty years ago, and I could not be more grateful for that. It has made us experience the best of two countries and even though it is not always easy to be here, it is worth it.

My two brothers, Gil and Chuy, are exceptional men who I can always, without a doubt, count on for whatever reason. Thank you two for being my solid foundation. Para mi madre, gracias por quererme y cuidarme. Siempre crees en mi y me apoyas en todo lo que hago. Estar lejos es difícil pero tu nos ensenaste a ir donde hay oportunidades y nunca darnos por vencidos. A mi padre, gracias por tu apoyo y creer que soy bien fregona. ¡Los quiero mucho!

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Norma Elizabeth Garza Reyes, MS

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2018

Supervising Professor: Lauri A. Jensen-Campbell, Ph.D.

Although immigrants enrich the US culture and provide intellectual and economic stimulation, there has been a rise of anti-immigration movements, making the acculturation process more difficult for the immigrant. The purpose of this thesis was to investigate how patriotism influenced negative attitudes toward immigrants, especially among individuals who were higher on right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), national identity, and/or group narcissism. This thesis study addressed these issues by priming patriotism with unpatriotic and patriotic pictures and then examining attitudes toward immigrants/immigration. This data (N = 192) linked self-reported individual difference measures (e.g., right-wing authoritarianism (RWA)) of college students that was collected prior to the lab visit. Results showed that, on average, those who were primed with patriotic images did have more negative attitudes toward immigrants than those in the neutral picture condition. Additionally, students higher on RWA held a more negative mindset toward immigration, especially if they were also higher on group narcissism. This project provided important evidence that "exclusionary patriotism" can lead to intolerance toward immigrants/immigration.

Keywords: patriotism, immigration, immigrants, priming

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"My fellow Americans, we are and always will be a nation of immigrants. We were strangers once too." - Barack Obama

"This idea that we can scare each other about each other — based on where we are from, what language we spoke before we came to this country, the color of our skin, the nationality we claimed before we claimed that we were Americans — is preposterous. It's un-American. It's not who we are." – Beto O'Rourke

"When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending the best. They're sending people that have lots of problems and they're bringing those problems. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime. They're rapists and some, I assume, are good people, but I speak to border guards and they're telling us what we're getting." - Donald Trump

The number of immigrants is growing rapidly worldwide with the United States hosting the largest international migrant population in the world, which is equivalent to about one fifth of the world's total migrants (United Nations, 2015). The percentage of immigrants (or foreign-born) in the United States has been rapidly increasing during recent decades, from 4.7 percent in 1970 to 17 percent in 2014, accounting for about 55 million people of the total U.S. population (Grieco et al., 2012; Grieco & Trevelyan, 2010; Krogstad, 2015). Immigrants enrich the culture of the USA and provide intellectual and economic stimulation (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). For example, immigrants currently make up *over* a quarter of the entire workforce in science and engineering in the United States (NSF 15-328, 2015). Yet, some

Americans still view immigrants in negative stereotypic ways (Deaux, 2006) and blame immigrants for unemployment, crime increases, and struggling schools.

Possibly more disturbing is the fact that anti-immigration movements are on the rise. The current anti-immigrant administration in the White House has made it clear where it stands when it comes to immigration and immigrants. From attempting to pass three travel bans against majority Muslim countries (Exec. Order No. 13769, January 27, 2017; Exec. Order No. 13780, March 6, 2017; & 82 FR 45161, September 27, 2017) to the continuing efforts of building a wall between the U.S. and Mexico (Exec. Order No. 13767, January 25, 2017), ending temporary protected status programs for immigrants who have been here for decades (Announcements for Nicaragua and Haiti, November 6, 2017; Announcement for El Salvador, January 8, 2018), and several attempts to rescind deferred action for childhood arrivals (Memorandum, September 5, 2017), the current administration is leading the anti-immigration rhetoric echoed throughout the country.

Unfortunately, it is not just the current administration; over 41% of Americans endorse building a wall between Mexico and the United States (Newport, 2018). Also, troubling is the increasing membership to alt-right and nationalistic groups which have been largely stimulated by Donald Trump's presidential campaign and presidency. These kind of movements and rhetoric have caused a rise in reported hate crimes toward minorities, including immigrants and refugees (Levin & Reitzel, 2018; The Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016; Weaver, 2016). At a more local level, in Texas, congress and the governor have attempted to pass a bill (Senate Bill 4) that would enable police officers to ask about immigration status if someone is lawfully detained, due to something as a minor traffic stop (The Texas Tribune, 2018). Even private industry has become involved; at least six Motel 6 locations around the country worked with US

Immigration Custom and Immigration agents and provided confidential information about guests if they had "Latino-sounding" names (Washington Post, 2018).

1.1 Anti-Immigrant Attitudes

It is important to understand why and how these anti-immigrant attitudes develop. Researchers have extensively studied which mechanisms lead to prejudice and discrimination. Dating back to Allport (1954), he identified how we categorize people according to our stereotypes that can lead to prejudice. He also explained that we create in-group and out-group categories. In-group members are people who we are familiar with and can be described as being part of our "us" group. Our family members tend to be our first in-group whom Allport described as *ascribed;* others we have to work for and might come later in life (e.g., friends) can also be part of our "in-groups", which he described as *achieved.* In contrast, out- groups are who we see or describe as "them." Even though Allport said being attached and belonging to an in-group can cause hostility toward out-groups, it is not always the case. He explained that two members of the same in-group can have widely different out-looks on what and who is part of their in-group, which is why the hostility and prejudice is not there for some in-group members but is for others (Chapter 3, 1954).

After Allport's work on prejudice, Tajfel and Turner's (1986) developed Social Identity Theory (from here on SIT). According to SIT, the foundation of our being is to enhance our self-esteem and self-concept and part of our identity is created due to identification of the social groups to which we belong to; this called social identity. To maintain our positive social identity, we use social comparison between our in-group and relevant out-groups. Wanting to keep a positive social identity can lead to out-group derogation which can, in turn, lead to prejudice and discrimination toward those out-groups (Brewer, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

1.2 Individual Differences in Prejudice and Discrimination

While the previous theories focus on group-level behaviors that lead to prejudice and discrimination, they are not the only mechanisms that contribute to this. There are individual differences that can also lead to more prejudice. One such personality trait that was identified shortly after World War II was authoritarianism, which is defined by being strict in following rules and laws, authority, and traditional values (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, & Sanford, 1950). Later, to measure this personality trait, a right-wing authoritarianism scale was created (from here on RWA; Altemeyer, 1981). RWA has been positively associated with prejudice and discrimination toward several out-group members, including immigrants, in the U.S. as well as other countries (Cohrs, Moschner, Maes & Kielmann, 2005; Duckitt, 2006; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007; Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje & Zakrisson, 2004). For example, in a study with a sample of students and non-students in Kentucky, those who scored high on RWA showed more prejudice toward African Americans, homosexuals, and women (Altemeyer, 1998). Similarly, people high on RWA have also been associated with endorsing and saying they would take part in reactive violence toward immigrants who did not follow the rules (Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008) and toward immigrants in general (Caricati, Mancini, & Marletta, 2017; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010).

Current conceptualizations of RWA. Earlier literature described right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) as a personality construct divided into three sub-types: authoritarian submissive (obedient toward authority of the in-group), authoritarian aggressive (general aggression toward various persons and such actions are sanctioned by the authority), and conventionalist (adherence to middle-class values) (Altemeyer, 1981). Individuals who score high on RWA have been previously associated with displaying more prejudice against immigrants, more discrimination, and less prosocial behavior (Altemeyer, 2006; Duckitt,

Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Farwell & Weiner, 2000). More recently, the traits that constitute the construct of RWA have been redefined. Instead of continuing with the submissive, aggressive, and conventionalist traits, Duckitt et. al. (2010) re-conceptualized the components of RWA as conservatism, traditionalism, and authoritarianism, which fall in line with traits that are associated with the social ideologies of politics. The conservatism trait or value comes from "threats to social order, cohesion, consensus, and harmony" (p. 690). The authoritarianism trait comes from "direct, real, physical threats to societal security, safety, and well-being." The traditionalism trait comes from "maintaining traditional lifestyles, norms, and morality, and resisting modern liberal, secular, or open lifestyles..." (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010, p. 691). Some of the goals of this study are directly associated with the political rhetoric around attitudes toward immigrants and how these reflect the immigration laws. Since this redefined construct falls in line with the goals of this study, it will be the one used.

Group narcissism. Researchers extended the concept of narcissism, having an overly-inflated positive sense of self, which includes feelings of grandiosity and entitlement, to group identity (Lyons, Kenworthy, & Popan, 2010; Bogart, Benotsch, & Pavlovic, 2004). Group narcissism is having grandiose feelings of pride about one's group (e.g., one's country, in this case the United States) and thinking that it is the best group (Lyons, Kenworthy, & Popan, 2010). Furthermore, individuals with high levels of group narcissim will view their group as being entitlted to privileges that out-group members are not entitled to have (e.g., freedom of religion). Threats to the sense of superiority and entitlement to the self cause narcissistic individuals to behave more aggressively toward the people or groups being threatening (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998) and cause more downward social comparison in order to keep their high self-esteem and positive affect (Bogart, Benotsch, & Pavlovic, 2004). In other literature, group

narcissism is also know as collective narcissism (de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Jayawickreme, 2009). As such, I anticipate that when put in situations that threatens the group's identity, individuals with high levels of group narcissism will be equally aggressive and/or feel threatened by outgroup members.

To measure group narcissism, Lyons, Kenworthy, and Popan (2010) modified items from the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) to fit a group-level form of narcissism about one's nation or country. Research has found that group narcissism is negatively related to welcoming attitudes toward immigrants. More specifically, it has been linked to negative attitudes toward undocumented Latino immigrants and Arab immigrants (regardless of immigration status) (Lyons, Coursey, & Kenworthy,2013; Lyons, Kenworthy, & Popan, 2010).

Patriotism. It is possible that these individual differences lead to different forms of patriotism, which may lead to more negative attitudes toward outgroup members for some people while leading to more welcoming attitudes toward outgroups, namely immigrants, for other people. Patriotism is generally defined as love and attachment for one's country (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999). Patriotism is also known to be equated to having a strong sense on national identity, which if it's under increasing external threat, can cause intolerance and authoritarian sentiments (Van Evera, 1994). Some evidence of this was found after the 9/11 terrorists' attacks. For instance, researchers found that when primed with an American patriotism statement after 9/11, people reported less tolerance to cultural diversity and more nationalistic attitudes, compared to those primed with an American common goal (Li & Brewer, 2004). This effect of being less tolerant to outgroup members as part of being patriotic has been coined "exclusionary patriotism" by Sidanius and Petrocik (2001), whereby high levels of patriotism are associated with intolerance toward immigrants (or outgroup members).

Research by Staub (1991, 1997) on patriotism has shown that not all patriotism is exclusionary, but rather it can also be constructive and inclusive. The distinction made within the literature is between blind versus constructive patriotism. Constructive patriotism is defined as being more democratic in principle and having loyalty to one's group (or country) while also being able to hold a critical perspective about one's group. On the other hand, blind patriotism is characterized by having uncritical and unquestioning loyalty towards one's group or country and displaying negative attitudes toward out-groups (Staub, 1997). By these definitions of patriotism, we can conclude that exclusionary patriotism is part of blind patriotism.

Some researchers refer to nationalism as being a heightened form of patriotism (Kelly & Ronan, 1987; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999) and can also be equated to blind patriotism or even group narcissism, as mentioned earlier in the text. While patriotism is defined as having both positive and negative connotations, nationalism is viewed as leading to discrimination and prejudice toward immigrants across most of the literature (De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003) and toward other outgroup members (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). Feelings of patriotism and nationalism have been positively associated with RWA but nationalistic sentiments effects with RWA were three times the size of patriotic sentiments effects with RWA (Osborne, Milojev, & Sibley, 2017). In another study, nationalistic sentiments were increased in the presence of the American flag, but they did not see an increase on patriotism sentiments (Kemmelmeier & Winter, 2008). This effect could have been due to the fact that they measured nationalism and patriotism as two separate measures. In contrast, other researchers have found the flag to be associated with national identification and in-group promotion (Butz, 2009) and patriotism (Skitka, 2005). Therefore, for this study I used pictures as symbolic representations to prime patriotism (e.g., pictures of flags and monuments). I aimed on priming state patriotism rather

than looking at patriotism as a trait in participants. Furthermore, I did not make a distinction between nationalism and patriotism in this study. In other words, I treated state patriotism and nationalism as the same construct and labeled it here as *primed patriotism*.

I believe that people who score high in RWA and group narcissism and are then primed with these pictures (i.e., patriotic or unpatriotic), will show more qualities that fall in line with exclusionary patriotism, compared to those who score low on RWA and group narcissism. I also think that persons who score low on RWA and group narcissism may even be more welcoming exhibiting constructive patriotism. This could be because part of the USA's history and being an American is to welcome immigrants, allow change, and have a critical analysis of current policies.

Ethnic minorities. From previous studies, it was found that prejudice toward immigrants differs among minority groups. Ethnic minorities tend to show lower levels of group narcissism. Additionally, ethnic minorities are more likely to be more accepting to diversity, compared to white individuals (Garza & Jensen-Campbell, 2017). Other studies have also shown that minorities endorse policies that are more pro-diversity and pro-immigrant (Sears, Citrin, Cheleden, & van Laar, 1999; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). This is partly attributed to the fact that minority groups share a common identity (in this case being the out-group), which reduces bias toward each other (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986) and even increases helping behavior within their shared common identity group (Dovidio et al., 1995).

1.3 Current Study

Based on previous research and theory presented here, this proposed thesis aims to examine the role of primed patriotism on attitudes toward immigrants. Specifically, in this study, I hypothesized that priming patriotic/unpatriotic pictures would generate more negative attitudes

towards immigrants in general. Furthermore, I expected this relationship to be moderated by group narcissism, RWA, and ethnic minority status. That is, people higher on group narcissism and RWA or who are an ethnic majority will be more likely to exhibit negative attitudes toward immigrants when patriotism is primed.

Aim 1 was expected to replicate previous work by analyzing if people with higher RWA and group narcissism would show more negative attitudes toward immigrants (regardless of the experimental condition). Additionally, this thesis examined whether RWA and group narcissism uniquely predicted attitudes toward immigrants after controlling for US identity, and general liberal/conservative attitudes.

Aim 2 examined whether negative attitudes toward immigrants would become more extreme after being primed with patriotic/unpatriotic pictures compared to neutral pictures. It was anticipated that priming with either patriotic or unpatriotic pictures would lead to more negative polarizing attitudes toward immigrants compared to the control condition. As part of this aim, I examined differences between ethnic minorities. Specifically, I hypothesized that ethnic minorities in general would show fewer negative attitudes toward immigrants even after being primed with patriotism[1].

Aim 3 examined whether the priming effect would be moderated by group narcissism and RWA. I expected that people with higher RWA and group narcissism would become more negative toward immigrants, which would be exacerbated by the state patriotic/unpatriotic primes. These more negative attitudes toward immigrants were predicted because individuals

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[1] Originally, this study was going to examine whether Hispanic/Latino and Black minorities would have less negative attitudes compared to the other minorities in the sample. However, ethnicity was confounded with immigrant status. Both Hispanic and Asian students were more likely to have a parent who was an immigrant in this sample. As such, these analyses could not be run.

higher on these traits were more likely to have patriotic beliefs that are "blind" or exclusionary in nature.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1 Picture Pilot Study

To select patriotic and unpatriotic pictures, I asked the undergraduate research assistants from our laboratory to do a google search and send us five patriotic and five unpatriotic pictures. I collected all of the pictures and got rid of any duplicates. Then, uploaded the pictures (total of 86) to Qualtrics. I recruited 100 participants from the psychology department subject pool (Sona). Participants were asked how patriotic each picture was on a scale from 1 (not at all patriotic) to 5 (very patriotic). I then analyzed frequency and descriptive statistics to select the pictures that were rated most patriotic and less patriotic. I ended up with five patriotic ($M = 4.34$, $SD = .73$) and six unpatriotic ($M = 1.37$, $SD = .51$) pictures to add to our priming study (see Appendix B). Neutral pictures were chosen from the International Affective Picture System (IAPS) set of pictures (Lang, Bradley, & Cuthbert, 2008).

2.2 Participants

A total of 192 students participated in the study (Men = 72, Women = 118, Other = 2). All participants were American citizens. A total of 29.2% of the sample were second-generation immigrants. That is, their parents had immigrated to the US from from another country. Four participants (2.1%) were naturalized citizens. Additionally, 124 participants (64.6%) identified as an ethnic minority and 65 participants identified as White/Majority (33.9%). Of the 124 participants, 67 identified as Latinx. The remaining minority students were Asian (N = 22), Black/African American (N = 28) and Other/Multiracial (N = 7). Three participants declined to provide ethnic/race information. Participants were recruited through the department of

Psychology's subject pool website (Sona). Only those who were 17 years and older and U.S.

citizens will be eligible to participate in the study. Participants also had to complete the first

phase of the study (Group Attitudes II) in order to participate in the second phase (Memory for

Pictures and Current Events). Participants did not know the two studies were linked until the

debriefing section of the second phase. A power calculation was conducted to determine how

many participants will be needed for the statistical analyses. For a regression analyses with

seven predictors and an effect size of R^2= .25, α = .05, two-tailed, and power = .80, a minimum

of 65 participants will be needed in order to have sufficient power to detect effects.

<div align="center">2.3 Assessments of RWA and Group Narcissism</div>

Right-wing authoritarianism. This scale was on a 36-item scale used to measure levels

of conservative attitudes about government and laws (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010).

It used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 "strongly agree" to 7 "strongly disagree" on

statements like "Our leaders should be obeyed without question" and "What our country really

needs is a tough, harsh dose of law and order" (α = 0.84). This scale was also divided into three

subscales that measure each trait of RWA. Each subscale had 12 items and are measured on the

same 7-point Likert scale. RWA-Conservatism subscale had Cronbach's Alpha = 0.78. RWA-

Traditionalism Cronbach's Alpha = 0.88. RWA-Authoritarianism Cronbach's Alpha = 0.75.

Each dimension of RWA can be assessed individually. Previous research has shown that those

who score higher on the authoritarianism subscale show more negative attitudes toward

documented and undocumented immigrants (Garza & Jensen-Campbell, 2017). For this study, I

looked at the scale as a whole rather than each dimension separately.

Group Narcissism. This variable was on a 14-item scale that measures grandiose or

narcissistic beliefs about America as a country and being an American (Lyons, Kenworthy, &

Popan, 2010). Measured on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 "strongly disagree" to 7

"strongly agree." Examples of items in this scale were "If America ruled the world, it would be a

much better place" and "America deserves a lot of respect from others" ($\alpha = .81$).

National Identification. This variable was on a 9-item scale that measures how strongly

an individual identifies with their nation, in this case the United States. It's measured on a 7-

point Likert scale ranging from 1 "strongly disagree" to 7 "strongly agree." Examples of items in

this scale were "Being an American is an important reflection of who I am" and "I feel proud to

be an American" ($\alpha = .90$).

Liberal/Conservative. Liberal/conservatism was a one-item self-report scale.

Participants were asked to rate themselves a question that stated, "Overall, I consider myself to

be": 1 (very liberal) to 7 (very conservative).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Individual Difference Measures

Measure	Range	Min.	Max.	*M*	*SE*	Skewness	Kurtosis	α
RWA	5.31	1.47	6.78	3.90	.06	-.20	1.71	.84
Group Narcissism	4.79	2.21	7.00	4.69	.06	.23	.05	.81
US Identity	5.89	1.11	7.00	4.58	.09	-.412	-.120	.90
Liberal/Conservative	6.00	1.00	7.00	3.47	.11	.07	-.40	

2.4 Assessments of Attitudes Toward Immigrants

Feeling thermometers. During the second phase of the study a feeling thermometer was

used to assess attitudes towards undocumented immigrants and immigrants in general.

Participants rated their feelings by modifying a round face from happy, neutral, or sad (see

Appendix A). The three items are: "Please choose the face that best represents your attitudes

toward documented immigrants," "Please choose the face that best represents your attitudes toward undocumented immigrants," and "Please choose the face that best represents your attitudes toward documented immigrants and refugees from primarily Muslim countries." Although this question about refugees was not part of this thesis.

Attitudes about immigrants/immigration. A 11-item scale that measures attitudes toward immigration and immigrants in general. It used a 10-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" to rate statements like "Immigrants are a burden to our school system" and "We have too many immigrants in America." This scale has been used before for other studies in our research lab. During the second phase of the study, immigration was assessed by asking participants what percentage of visas should be issued during this year and to which geographic regions should they be issued ($\alpha = 0.90$).

Attitudes toward undocumented immigrants. A 10-item scale that measures attitudes toward undocumented immigrants. Ten of the items use a 10-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" to rate statements like "undocumented immigrants are dangerous and should be feared" and the last item asks participants how much of the USA population is made up of undocumented immigrants. This scale has been used before for other studies in our research lab ($\alpha = 0.92$).

Implicit Measure of immigration (VISA TASK). During the second phase of the study, participants are given a task that asks their input on percentages of visas that will be given out this year. They are to decide what percentage of the visas will go to different geographical areas across the globe. They can also choose to decrease the total number of visas that are given out this year if that's what they want to do. This is designed to measure implicit attitudes by giving

participants a task rather than asking them directly about their feelings toward immigrants (see

Appendix A).

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Outcome Measures

Measure	Range	Min.	Max.	*M*	*SE*	Skewness	Kurtosis	α
Time 1 (Prior to Lab)								
Attitudes Immigrants	9.73	0.27	10.00	3.17	0.13	1.01	1.19	0.89
Attitudes Undocumented	8.50	1.00	9.50	3.59	0.15	0.77	-0.29	0.92
Time 2 (Lab Visit)								
Attitudes Immigrants	9.00	1.00	10.00	3.05	0.12	1.14	1.63	0.90
Attitudes Undocumented	8.30	1.00	9.30	3.34	0.14	0.83	-0.22	0.92
Feelings Immigrants	4	1	5	4.63	0.05	-2.22	6.42	
Feelings Undocumented	4	1	5	3.45	0.10	-0.39	-1.02	

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Endorsement of News Items

Measure	Range	Min.	Max.	*M*	*SE*	Skewness	Kurtosis
Border Wall	13	0	13	3.77	0.27	1.17	0.11
Sanctuary Cities	12	1	13	4.63	0.28	0.75	-0.73
Deport Undocumented	25	1	26	4.92	0.31	1.15	1.64
Travel Ban	12	1	13	3.06	0.23	1.67	1.79
DREAMer Detained	12	1	13	3.68	0.26	1.13	0.15

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for visa task.

Measure	Range	Min.	Max.	*M*	*SE*	Skewness	Kurtosis
Visa Mexico	60	0	60	14.36	0.55	1.76	6.87
Visa W. Europe	34	0	34	10.45	0.35	0.86	3.17

Visa E. Europe	29	0	29	9.01	0.27	0.63	3.89
Visa Middle East	50	0	50	10.00	0.46	1.79	8.02
Visa Africa	50	0	50	10.80	0.42	2.83	15.20

2.5 Assessment of Patriotism

Priming patriotism with pictures. To select patriotic and unpatriotic pictures, undergraduate research assistants from our laboratory were asked to do a google search and send us five patriotic and five unpatriotic pictures. I collected all of the pictures and got rid of any duplicates. Then, uploaded the pictures (total of 86) to Qualtrics. I recruited 100 participants from the psychology department subject pool (Sona). Participants were asked how patriotic each picture was on a scale from 1 (not at all patriotic) to 5 (very patriotic). I then analyzed frequency and descriptive statistics to select the pictures that were rated most patriotic and less patriotic. I ended up with five patriotic ($M = 4.34$, $SD = .73$) and six unpatriotic ($M = 1.37$, $SD = .51$) pictures to add to our priming study (see Appendix B). Neutral pictures were chosen from the International Affective Picture System (IAPS) (Lang, Bradley, & Cuthbert, 2008). Additionally, the three sets of memory recall tasks consist of ten pictures which matched the initial condition assigned.

Manipulation check. A free association word task was made to be completed after the initial set of pictures by which participants were asked to come up with the first word that came to mind. Each choice could have been completed with a patriotic word and if the priming is successful, participants should have completed the task with more words related to their prime than if they were in the neutral condition. Three of the items were chosen to represent the manipulation check given there was another non-patriotic word had equal probability of being used: visor/vapor vs. valor; library vs. liberty; nation vs. nature. Several words were not useable: duty, red, and blue.

Table 5. Word Association Task and Frequency of Answer Possibilites.

Fill in the Blank	Common Possible Words	Suggested Modifications
1. **FL _ _**	Flag (2465) versus flan, flap, flat (2592), flaw, flea, fled, flee (2965), flex (4267), flip (3959), flop, flog, flow (1997)	Too many choices with similar frequencies; dropped Modify to FLA_ for future versions.
2. **HE_ _**	Hero (1926) versus here (96), herb, hers, hell (1464), help (167), hemp, heat (1012), hear (195)	Keep in current version because people still responded with hero but still could ne modified. Modify to HER_ for future versions.
3. **FR_ _**	Free (2875) *versus* frog, from (26), fray, and fret	Frequency disparity between free and from; dropped
4. **DU_ _**	Duty (1765) *versus* dual, duck (3553), dude, duet, duke, dull, dumb (4712), dump, dung, dust (2283),	Only two people wrote duty; does not seem to be a popular word – no variability; dropped
5. **GL _ _ _**	glory (4151) *versus* glade, gland, glass (823), glaze, glide, gloat, globe, glock, gloom, gloss, glows, glue, glute	Frequency disparity between glass and glory; too many choices; dropped Modify to GLO _ _
6. **ST _ _ S**	Stars (539) *versus* stops (330), stats, stems, steps, stress	Kept in final version
7. **PR _ _ _**	Pride/proud (2825) *versus* prank, prays (2421), press (1182), price (476), prick, print (2228), probe, prove (869)	Too many choices with similar frequencies; price and prove have high frequencies; dropped
8. **UN _ _ _**	Union (1667), unify, unite (4184) *versus* untie, uncle (3373), under (226), undue, , until (271)	Too many choices with two fillers being high frequency (i.e., until and under). Kept in final version although questionable.
9. **V _ _ _R**	Voter (1459), valor *versus* vader, vaper, vapor, viper, visor, vigor	Kept in final version
10. **BL _ _**	Blue (845) versus blah, bled, blow (1421), blot, blur	Kept in final version
11. **R _ _**	Red (598) versus ran, rat (3593), raw (2807), rot, row (1858), run (202)	Kept in final version
12. **ST_ _ _ S**	States versus stacks, stains, stairs, stamps, starts, status, stress	Kept in final version
13. **LIB _ _ _ Y**	Liberty (3870) versus library (2148)*	Kept in final version (best item)
14. **NA _ _ _ _**	Nation (413) versus nannys, nachos, napkin, Narnia, NASCAR, nature (697), native (1410)	Kept in final version Modify to NAT _ _ _ (Nation versus nature, native)

2.6 Procedure

This study was completed in two phases after the participants completed the departmental prescreening, which ensured they were US citizens. Through the prescreening, I also collected demographic information (e.g., ethnicity, gender) as well as a measure liberal/conservatism. The first phase of the study consisted in completing an online survey study via Qualtrics, which was used to measure RWA, national identity, and group narcissism. Additional measures were collected as part of a larger study but were not be part of this thesis (e.g., Big Five Personality). Participants who agreed to participate completed a series of on-line surveys that took approximately 45 minutes.

Any individual who completed the on-line surveys were then eligible to sign up for the in-lab study. Potential participants did not know that the two studies were connected until the debriefing in Phase 2. The second phase of the study consisted of participants coming in to the lab under the false pretense of completing a memory study related to pictures, geography, and current events. The entire study was completed electronically on a computer/laptop using Qualtrics. Additionally, a research assistant who was blind to the experimental condition gave the participants instructions during the different phases.   Before the participant began, the research assistant reviewed the consent with the participant while they read along on the computer screen. Once any questions had been answered, they electronically accepted or declined participation in the study. Participants gave their consent by acknowledging that they were 17 years of age or older and agreed to participate. Only those who accepted to continue to the next section remained in the study. Those who declined to participate were directed by Qualtrics to the final page of the survey, where they were thanked for participating. If the participant agreed to participate, the researcher then explained the memory learning task and

provided them with some sample questions. To help them attend to the pictures and add credibility to the deception, participants were asked to mark the areas of the pictures that they thought helped them remember the pictures during the memory recall portion of the study. After they were done marking the parts of the picture that were memorable, they slid a ratings bar to choose a face that represents how pleasant/unpleasant the picture was. During this portion of the survey, reaction time data was also collected for each response, but was not part of this thesis.

I set the study up such that Qualtrics randomly assigned the participant to the patriotic, unpatriotic, or neutral picture condition. Pictures for each condition were then displayed in random order to participants to control for order effects. Each participant saw a total of 15 pictures in the first task. In the patriotic condition, each participant saw a combination of patriotic and neutral pictures. In the unpatriotic condition, participants saw a combination of unpatriotic and neutral pictures. In the control condition, participants saw only neutral pictures.

After they completed the picture learning task, participants completed a free association word task where they were asked to come up with the first word that comes to mind. Each choice could be completed with a patriotic word – previous studies have found that if the priming is successful participants would complete the task with more words related to their prime than if they were in the neutral condition. This was used as a type of manipulation check.

To further set the stage for the deception, participants were given their first memory task of 10 pictures. They were asked to indicate whether the exact picture was in their initial set of pictures and how confident they are that it was in those pictures[2]. This task was used (1) to keep the prime active in their memory throughout the study and (2) to keep the cover story believable. Half the pictures were previously seen, and half the pictures were new.

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[2] Although I collected data during the memory tasks, it was not part of this thesis.

After the memory task, participants were instructed to look at maps of countries around the world. The maps of other countries were compared to a map of the United States and participants were asked if the maps were correct in depicting the size of the U.S. compared to the other countries. This task can be used as an implicit measure of group narcissism but is not part of this thesis.

Participants then completed a task that requires them to decide what percentage of visas should be given from different demographic areas of the world. All groups start with 3% and participants are to make their percentages equal to 100%. They have an option to choose a reduction in the number of visas as well. These demographic areas were chosen based on actual Visa data demographic breakdowns. This task will be used as another more implicit measure of attitudes toward specific immigrant groups as well as overall attitudes toward immigrants. For this thesis, I focused primarily on how many visas were given to Mexico given that much of the anti-immigration rhetoric has focused on immigrants crossing the southern border of the United States.

The next task was part of the cover story about current events, participants were asked to rate US policies and/or current events using a scale from A+ to F. Embedded within these policies/current events is an item about attitudes toward immigration. Again, I focused on policies toward Mexico such as the endorsement of building the wall on the southern border. Immediately following this task, participants completed feeling thermometers that assessed their attitudes toward immigrants.

A second memory test with 10 pictures was given to the participants. Like the first memory test, they were asked to indicate whether the exact picture was in their initial set of pictures and how confident they are that it was in those pictures. It should be noted that, in an

attempt to make the test more realistic, pictures of similar items were chosen. For example, there is the actual picture of Iwo Jima statue and another view/picture of the same monument. As stated previously, this task was used (1) to keep the prime active in their memory and (2) keep the cover story believable. Half the pictures were previously seen, and half the pictures were new. Additionally, some of the pictures were "not seen" pictures from the initial learning task but could have been seen in the Memory Task 1.

After the second memory task, participants now answered explicit attitude questions about immigration, comfort with immigrants, comfort with ethnic groups, and comfort with undocumented immigrants. Some of these measures were not part of this thesis project (e.g., comfort with ethnic groups). As part of this section, they were asked if they voted in the last election and for whom they voted. Finally, they completed the last memory test for the study and answered the last scales about attitudes toward documented and undocumented immigrants.

Once they were done with the experimental task, the research assistant debriefed the participant and explained the true nature of the study. As part of the debriefing process, each participant was given the option to withdraw their data from the study if they wish to or feel uncomfortable with the true purpose of the study. No participant withdrew consent. Additionally, the researcher asked each participant a series of questions to probe whether they figured out the deception and to ensure they leave feeling the same as when they came in. Two participants, out of 192, did guess the priming association with the memory tasks. Additionally, one or two participants did feel that the study was particularly interested in attitudes toward immigration. This is not surprising given the last few measures assessed explicit attitudes about immigration.

Research assistants also told the participant about the nature of the study, and why the deception was necessary. Participants were given the opportunity to ask further questions if they had them. As a final note, the researcher asked the participant not to disclose the true nature of the study to peers and/or friends because in doing so, our results would be invalidated. Finally, each participant was thanked for their time.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

3.1 Aim 1

Aim 1 hypothesized that people higher in RWA and group narcissism would show more negative attitudes toward immigrants. Dependent measures included negative attitudes toward documented immigrants at time one and time two, giving less visas to counties like Mexico or continents like Africa, endorsement of building a border wall as well as other current news events related to immigration, and feelings toward documented and undocumented immigrants.

I began by examining the correlations between the individual difference measures. As seen in Table 6, the measures were highly correlated ($r > 0.34$). More importantly, participants who identified with the USA were also likely to report high levels of group narcissism ($r = .49$), right-wing authoritarianism ($r = .43$) and conservatism ($r = .46$). Additionally, RWA was highly positively correlated with conservatism ($r = .54$).

Table 6. Correlations between individual differences.

Measure	RWA	Group Narcissism	US Identity
Group Narcissism	0.41**		
US Identity	0.43**	0.49**	
Liberal/Conservative	0.54**	0.34**	0.46**

Next, I examined the correlations between the individual difference measures and the outcomes. As can be seen in Tables 7 – 9, people higher in RWA and group narcissism reported

more negative attitudes towards immigrants. For example, at both time 1 (pre-lab) and time 2 (lab), people higher on RWA and group narcissism had more negative attitudes toward both documented and undocumented immigrants and had more negative feelings toward undocumented immigrants in the lab. Students higher on these dimensions also were more likely to endorse building a border wall, taking money from Sanctuary cities, supporting a travel ban for primarily Muslim countries, and detaining a DREAMer compared to students lower on these dimensions. Students who identified more with the US or who reported being more conservative also showed similar patterns of results toward immigrants compared to students who were less likely to identify with the US or who were more liberal. The pattern of relationships between the individual difference and outcome measures were similar for minority and majority students (see Tables 10 -12).

Table 7. Correlations between individual differences and visa task.

Measure	Visas				
	Mexico	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Middle East	Africa
RWA	-0.11	0.20**	0.05	-0.40**	-0.09
Group Narcissism	0.11	0.18*	-0.11	-0.20**	-0.17*
US Identity	-0.05	0.31**	-0.04	-0.42**	0.19**
Liberal/Conservative	-0.18*	0.23**	-0.01	-0.32**	-0.07

Table 8. Correlations between individual differences and attitudes/feelings toward immigrants.

Measure	Time 1: Attitude Immigrants	Time 1: Attitudes Undocumented	Time 2: Attitudes Immigrants	Time 2: Attitude Undocumented	Feelings Immigrants	Feelings Undocumented
RWA	0.37**	0.40**	0.37**	0.36**	-0.07	-0.30**
Group Narcissism	0.24**	0.25**	0.23**	0.28**	-0.05	-0.24**
US Identity	0.38**	0.44**	0.35**	0.40**	-0.06	-0.41**
Liberal/ Conservative	0.41**	0.44**	0.45**	0.48**	-0.16*	-0.44**

Table 9. Correlations between individual differences and current events/news items.

Measure	Border Wall	Sanctuary Cities	Deport Undocumented	Travel Ban	DREAMer Detained
RWA	0.39**	0.35**	0.39**	0.41**	0.38**
Group Narcissism	0.25**	0.20**	0.34**	0.34**	0.10
US Identity	0.39**	0.33**	0.40**	0.43**	0.28**
Liberal/Conservative	0.55**	0.51**	0.42**	0.48**	0.43**

Table 10. Correlations between individual differences and visa task (divided into majority and minority groups).

	Visa Task				
Measure	Mexico	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Middle East	Africa
Majority (n = 65)					
RWA	-0.28*	0.24	0.08	-0.53**	-0.11
Group Narcissism	0.08	0.19	-0.10	-0.38**	-0.19
US Identity	-0.03	0.34**	-0.13	-0.63**	-0.12
Liberal/Conservative	-0.25*	0.31*	-0.04	-0.50**	-0.14
Minority (n = 124)					
RWA	-0.01	0.15	0.01	-0.31**	-0.07
Group Narcissism	0.16	0.15	-0.11	-0.11	-0.18
US Identity	-0.03	0.28**	-0.00	-0.32**	-0.23**
Liberal/Conservative	-0.10	0.13	-0.02	-0.22*	-0.04

Table 11. Correlations between individual differences and attitudes/feelings toward immigrants (divided into majority and minority groups).

Measure	Time 1: Attitude Immigrants	Time 1: Attitude Undocumented	Time 2: Attitude Immigrants	Time 2: Attitude Undocumented	Feelings Immigrants	Feelings Undocumented
Majority (n = 65)						
RWA	0.44**	0.60**	0.49**	0.52**	0.01	-0.39**
Group Narcissism	0.34**	0.46**	0.30*	0.36**	-0.02	-0.40**
US Identity	0.56**	0.68**	0.51**	0.58**	-0.05	-0.56**
Liberal/ Conservative	0.40**	0.58*	0.46**	0.58**	-0.12	-0.52**
Minority (n = 124)						
RWA	0.35**	0.25**	0.27**	0.24**	-0.17	-0.25**
Group Narcissism	0.13	0.02	0.12	0.14	-0.05	-0.07
US Identity	0.24**	0.20*	0.21*	0.19*	-0.02	-0.27**
Liberal/ Conservative	0.36**	0.20*	0.38**	0.30**	-0.15	-0.27**

Table 12. Correlations between individual differences and current events/news items (divided into majority and minority groups).

Measure	Border Wall	Sanctuary Cities	Deport Undocumented	Travel Ban	DREAMer Detained
Majority (n = 65)					
RWA	0.50**	0.48**	0.55**	0.49**	0.51**
Group Narcissism	0.31**	0.36**	0.48**	0.32**	0.24*
US Identity	0.53**	0.49**	0.61**	0.55**	0.44**
Liberal/Conservative	0.62**	0.66**	0.54**	0.60**	0.53**
Minority (n = 124)					
RWA	0.28**	0.26**	0.27**	0.33**	0.29**
Group Narcissism	0.14	0.04	0.19*	0.32**	-0.02
US Identity	0.21*	0.19*	0.19*	0.30**	0.15
Liberal/Conservative	0.41**	0.35**	0.21*	0.31**	0.31**

Finally, regression analyses were conducted to examine the unique contribution of RWA and group narcissism. For each analysis, USA identity and liberal/conservatism were entered on Step 1. On Step 2, group narcissism, RWA, and minority/majority status were entered. Minority/majority status was coded using unweighted effects codes with minorities coded as -1 and majorities coded as +1. Although the predictors were highly correlated, they did fall within the acceptable collinearity range. For the regression analyses, dependent measures focused on negative attitudes toward documented immigrants at time one and time two, visa task, current events/news items, and feelings toward documented and undocumented immigrants.

Visa Task. Results from the visa task showed that, after controlling for national identification and conservatism, individual differences and minority status together accounted for a significant amount of variance in the Mexico visa task, $\Delta R^2 = 0.05$, $\Delta F(3, 183) = 3.48$, $p = .017$, as well as the Middle East visa task, $\Delta R^2 = 0.05$, $\Delta F(3, 183) = 3.71$, $p = .013$. RWA significantly predicted giving less visas to immigrants from the Middle East, $b = -1.81$, $SE = 0.63$, $t(183) = -2.90$, $p = 0.004$, $sr^2 = 0.03$. Contrary to what we expected, group narcissism significantly predicted giving visas to immigrants from Mexico, $b = 2.23$, $SE = 0.80$, $t(183) = 2.80$, $p = 0.006$, $sr^2 = 0.04$, which means that as group narcissism increased, so did the number of visas given out to people from Mexico. However, group narcissism was not related to giving visas to Mexico when examining the bivariate relationship. This suggests that this finding is a suppressor effect and should be interpreted with caution until it can be replicated.

Table 13. Summary of regression analyses for visa task.

	Visa Mexico	W. Europe	E. Europe	Middle East	Africa
STEP 1					
US Identity	0.19	1.03**	-0.15	-1.80**	-0.94*
	[-0.79, 1.17]	[0.44, 1.62]	[-0.63, 0.33]	[-2.54, -1.06]	[-1.67, -0.20
Lib/Cons	-0.98*	0.38	0.07	-0.72*	0.11
	[-1.80, -0.16]	[-0.12, 0.87]	[-0.33, 0.47]	[-1.34, -0.01]	[-0.50, 0.73]
STEP 2					
US Identity	-0.20	0.97**	-0.06	-1.68**	-0.76
	[-1.27, 0.86]	[0.31, 1.63]	[-0.59, 0.48]	[-2.49, -0.88]	[-1.58, 0.05]
Lib/Cons	-0.79	0.30	-0.01	-0.39	0.07
	[-1.71, 0.13]	[-0.27, 0.86]	[-0.47, 0.45]	[-1.08, 0.30]	[-0.63, 0.77]
RWA	-0.90	0.16	0.45	-1.81**	0.22
	[-0.74, 2.53]	[-0.85, 1.18]	[-0.37, 1.27]	[-3.05, -0.58]	[-1.03, 1.48]
Group Narcissism	2.23**	0.03	-0.65	0.56	-0.87
	[0.66, 3.81]	[-0.94, 1.01]	[-1.44, 0.14]	[-0.63, 1.75]	[-2.08, 0.33]
Minority	1.11	-0.31	-0.13	-0.52	-0.41
	[-0.08, 2.29]	[-1.04, 0.42]	[-0.72, 0.47]	[-1.41, 0.38]	[-1.31, 0.50]
ΔR^2	0.05*	0.004	0.02	0.05	0.01
Total R^2	0.08**	0.12**	0.02	0.25**	0.05

Notes: Reported figure are *b*- weights and confidence intervals in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

Attitudes toward immigration. When looking at outcomes that have to do with feelings and attitudes toward immigrants, results showed that individual differences and minority status together accounted for a significant amount of variance in attitude toward immigrants at time one, $\Delta R^2 = 0.04$, $\Delta F(3, 183) = 3.242$, $p = .023$, and at time two, $\Delta R^2 = 0.04$, $\Delta F(3, 183) = 3.07$, $p = .029$; attitudes toward undocumented immigrants at time one, $\Delta R^2 = 0.12$, $\Delta F(3, 183) = 11.46$,

$p < .001$, and at time two, $\Delta R^2 = 0.07$, $\Delta F(3, 183) = 6.74$, $p < .001$; and feelings toward

undocumented immigrants (using the feeling thermometer), $\Delta R^2 = 0.07$, $\Delta F(3, 183) = 06.47$, $p <$

.001. RWA predicted negative attitudes toward immigrants both before doing the pictures

manipulation, $b = 0.42$, $SE = 0.17$, $t(183) = 2.50$, $p = 0.013$, $sr^2 = 0.02$, and after the pictures

manipulation, $b = 0.35$, $SE = 0.16$, $t(183) = 2.23$, $p = 0.027$, $sr^2 = 0.02$. RWA also significantly

predicted negative attitudes toward undocumented immigrants before the pictures manipulation,

$b = 0.60$, $SE = 0.19$, $t(183) = 3.17$, $p = 0.002$, $sr^2 = 0.03$, but not after. Group narcissism did not

significantly predict attitudes or feelings toward immigrants.

Table 14. Summary of regression analyses for attitudes/feelings toward immigrants.

	Time 1: Att. Immigrants	Time 1: Att. Undocu	Time 2: Att. Immigrants	Time 2: Att. Undocu	Feelings Immigrants	Feelings Undocu
STEP 1						
US Identity	0.36**	0.51**	0.26**	0.35**	0.01	-0.28**
	[0.16, 0.56]	[0.27, 0.75]	[0.08, 0.45]	[0.13, 0.57]	[-0.07, 0.10]	[-0.43, -0.14]
Lib/Cons	0.35**	0.44**	0.41**	0.52**	-0.07*	-0.28**
	[0.19, 0.52]	[0.24, 0.64]	[0.25, 0.56]	[0.34, 0.71]	[-0.14, -0.003]	[-0.40, -0.15]
STEP 2						
US Identity	0.29**	0.41**	0.21*	0.25*	0.02	-0.25**
	[0.07, 0.51]	[0.16, 0.65]	[0.002, 0.41]	[0.02, 0.49]	[-0.08, 0.11]	[-0.40, -0.10]
Lib/Cons	0.22*	0.21	0.29**	0.37**	-0.06	-0.20**
	[0.03, 0.41]	[-0.001, 0.42]	[0.11, 0.46]	[0.16, 0.57]	[-0.15, 0.02]	[-0.33, -0.07]
RWA	0.42*	0.60**	0.35*	0.33	-0.01	-0.11
	[0.09, 0.76]	[0.23, 0.97]	[0.04, 0.67]	[-0.03, 0.70]	[-0.15, 0.14]	[-0.35, 0.13]
Group Narcissism	-0.06	-0.16	-0.07	0.02	.001	0.04
	[-0.38, 0.27]	[-0.52, 0.20]	[-0.37, 0.23]	[-0.33, 0.37]	[-0.14, 0.14]	[-0.19, 0.27]
Minority	-0.27*	-0.74**	-0.27*	-0.57**	0.06	0.38**
	[-0.51, -0.03]	[-1.01, -0.46]	[-0.50, -0.05]	[-0.83, -0.31]	[-0.05, 0.16]	[0.21, 0.55
ΔR^2	0.04*	0.12**	.04*	.07**	0.01	.07**
Total R^2	0.27**	0.38**	0.28**	0.35**	0.03	0.32**

Notes: Reported figure are b- weights and confidence intervals in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

Minority status predicted more negative attitudes toward immigrants at time one, b = -0.27, SE = 0.12, $t(183)$ = -2.19, p = 0.03, sr^2 = 0.02, and at time two, b = -0.27, SE = 0.12, $t(183)$ = -2.36, p = 0.03, sr^2 = 0.02; more negative attitudes toward undocumented immigrants at time one, b = -0.74, SE = 0.14, $t(183)$ = -5.35, p < 0.001, sr^2 = 0.10, and at time two, b = -0.57, SE = 0.13, $t(183)$ = -4.27, p < 0.001, sr^2 = 0.07, such that those in the majority (non-Hispanic white) had more negative attitudes compared to those in the minority. When participants were asked how they felt toward undocumented immigrants, those in the minority had more negative attitudes compared to those in the majority, b = 0.38, SE = 0.09, $t(183)$ = 4.39, p < 0.001, sr^2 = 0.07. This suggests that this finding is also a suppressor effect and should be interpreted with caution. That is, when you examine minority versus majority without controlling for personality differences, majority students have more negative attitudes toward undocumented immigrants (M = 4.39, SD = 2.26) than minority students (M = 2.82, SD = 1.63), $t(100)$ = 4.98, p < .001.

News endorsements. When participants were asked to rate current events or news items, results showed that individual differences and minority status together accounted for a significant amount of variance in endorsement of the border wall, ΔR^2 = 0.03, $\Delta F(3, 183)$ = 3.15, p = .026, plan to deport undocumented immigrants, ΔR^2 = 0.08, $\Delta F(3, 183)$ = 7.41, p < .001, and a DREAMer being detained and held in custody by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), ΔR^2 = 0.05, $\Delta F(3, 183)$ = 4.33, p = .006. RWA significantly predicted more favorable ratings toward deporting undocumented immigrants, b = 1.04, SE = 0.40, $t(183)$ = 2.61, p = 0.010, sr^2 = 0.03, and toward a DREAMer being detained and held in custody by ICE, b = 1.07, SE = 0.34, $t(183)$ = 3.11, p = 0.002, sr^2 = 0.04. Group narcissism predicted unfavorable ratings toward a DREAMer being detained and held by ICE, b = -0.71, SE = 0.33, $t(183)$ = -2.13, p = 0.035, sr^2 = 0.02. Minority status significantly predicted endorsement to build the border wall, b = -0.69, SE

= 0.25, $t(183)$ = -2.79, p = 0.006, sr^2 = 0.03, and more favorable ratings in deporting

undocumented immigrants, b = -1.05, SE = 0.29, $t(183)$ = -3.64, $p < 0.001$, sr^2 = 0.05, which

means those in the majority rated these two news/current events items more favorably compared

to those in the minority.

Table 15. Summary of regression analyses for current events/ news items.

	Border Wall	Sanctury Cities	Deport Undocu	Travel Ban	Dreamer Detained
STEP 1					
US Identity	0.52*	0.40	0.91**	0.68**	0.32
	[0.12, 0.92]	[-0.03, 0.84]	[0.43, 1.40]	[0.33, 1.04]	[-0.09, 0.73]
Lib/Cons	1.21**	1.21**	0.86**	0.79**	0.90**
	[0.87, 1.54]	[0.84, 1.57]	[0.45, 1.26]	[0.49, 1.08]	[0.56, 1.24]
STEP 2					
US Identity	0.41	0.37	0.53*	0.48*	0.31
	[-0.03, 0.85]	[-0.11, 0.85]	[0.02, 1.04]	[0.09, 0.87]	[-0.13, 0.78]
Lib/Cons	0.98**	1.05**	0.42	0.58**	0.64**
	[0.61, 1.36]	[0.64, 1.47]	[-0.02, 0.86]	[0.24, 0.91]	[0.26, 1.02]
RWA	0.57	0.55	1.04*	0.59	1.07**
	[-0.10, 1.24]	[-0.19, 1.28]	[0.25, 1.82]	[-0.01, 1.18]	[0.39, 1.75]
Group Narcissism	-0.10	-0.28	0.51	0.34	-0.71*
	[-0.75, 0.55]	[-1.00, 0.44]	[-0.25, 1.27]	[-0.24, 0.91]	[-1.36, -0.05]
Minority	-0.69**	-0.30	-1.05**	-0.27	-0.40
	[-1.18, -0.20]	[-0.83, 0.24]	[-1.62, -0.48]	[-0.70, 0.16]	[-0.89, 0.09]
ΔR^2	0.03*	0.01	0.08**	0.03	0.05**
Total R^2	0.36**	0.29	0.32**	0.31	0.25**

Notes: Reported figure are b- weights and confidence intervals in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

3.2 Aim 2

Aim 2 examined whether negative attitudes toward immigrants will become more

extreme after being primed with patriotic/unpatriotic pictures compared to neutral pictures. It

was anticipated that priming with either patriotic or unpatriotic pictures would lead to more

negative polarizing attitudes toward immigrants compared to the control condition. As part of this aim, I examined differences between ethnic minorities. Dependent measures included Visas for Mexicans, endorsement for the border wall, changes in attitudes toward immigrants from T1 to T2 for both documented and undocumented immigrants, and the feeling thermometer for both documented and undocumented immigrants.

Visas for Mexicans. A 3 (pictures: patriotic, neutral, unpatriotic) x 2 (minority: majority, minority) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test the hypothesis that those in patriotic/unpatriotic conditions gave less visas to Mexicans, compared to those in the neutral condition. Results indicated there was a significant main effect of picture condition on visas to Mexicans, $F(2, 183) = 3.41$, $p = .035$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Specifically, participants in the patriotic condition ($M = 12.21$, $SE = 0.92$) gave fewer visas to Mexicans compared to the neutral condition ($M = 15.73$, $SE = 1.06$). There were no differences between the unpatriotic and neutral conditions. Additionally, there was a marginally significant main effect of minority, $F(1, 183) = 3.81$, $p = .053$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, such that participants in the majority ($M = 13.07$, $SE = 0.94$) gave less visas than participants in the minority ($M = 15.33$, $SE = 0.67$).

Changes in Attitudes toward immigrants. A 3 (pictures: patriotic, neutral, unpatriotic) x 2 (minority: majority, minority) x 2 (pre versus post) repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test the hypothesis whether negative attitudes toward immigrants will be more extreme after being primed with patriotic/unpatriotic pictures.

For documented immigrants, results indicated there was not a significant change in attitudes between time one and time two. There was a significant main effect of minority, $F(1, 183) = 12.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, such that participants in the majority ($M = 3.68$, $SE = 0.20$)

showed more negative attitudes toward immigrants than participants in the minority ($M = 2.79$,

$SE = 0.14$).

For undocumented immigrants, there was a significant change in attitudes, $F(1, 183) =$

10.36, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Specifically, participants showed more negative attitudes on time one

($M = 3.86$, $SE = 0.15$) than on time two ($M = 3.58$, $SE = 0.2$), which is opposite of what was

expected (figure 1). Additionally, there was a significant main effect of minority, $F(1, 183) =$

35.71, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$, such that participants in the majority ($M = 4.56$, $SE = 0.21$) showed

more negative attitudes toward immigrants than participants in the minority ($M = 2.88$, $SE =$

0.16).
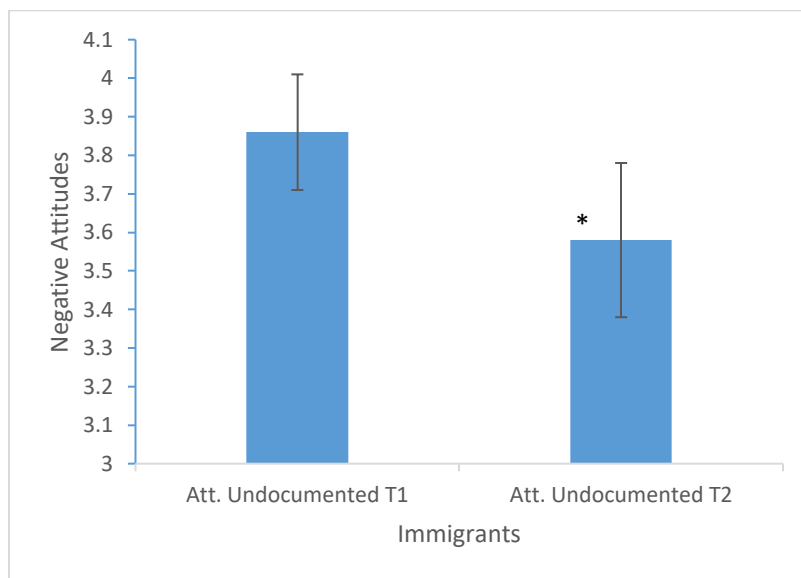
Figure 1. Bar graph showing attitude change toward undocumented immigrants.

Feeling Thermometer. A 3 (pictures: patriotic, neutral, unpatriotic) x 2 (minority:

majority, minority) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test the hypothesis that

those in patriotic/unpatriotic conditions had more negative feelings toward immigrants and

undocumented immigrants, compared to those in the neutral condition. Results indicated there

was not a significant difference on feelings toward immigrants or between minority and majority status.

For undocumented immigrants, there was a significant main effect of picture condition, $F(2, 183) = 4.03$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Participants showed more negative feelings in the patriotic condition ($M = 2.97$, $SE = 0.15$) compared to the unpatriotic condition ($M = 3.49$, $SE = 0.16$) (figure 2). There were no significant differences between patriotic/unpatriotic and neutral conditions. Additionally, there was a significant main effect of minority, $F(1, 183) = 29.00$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$, such that participants in the majority ($M = 2.83$, $SE = 0.15$) showed more negative feelings toward undocumented immigrants than participants in the minority ($M = 3.81$, $SE = 0.11$) (figure 3).
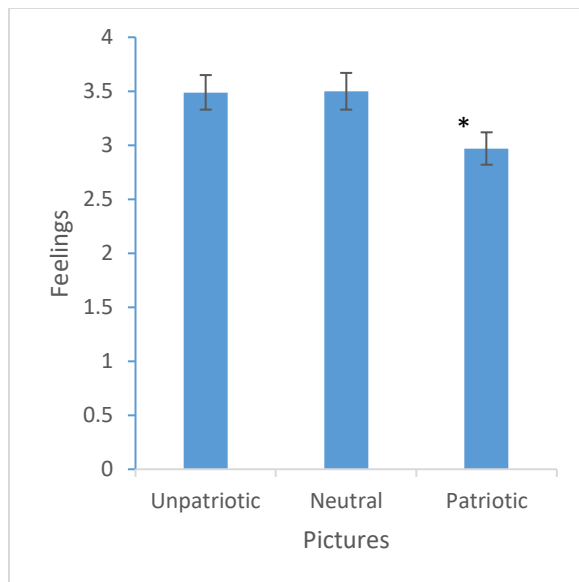
Figure 2. Differences in picture manipulation on attitudes toward undocumented immigrants.
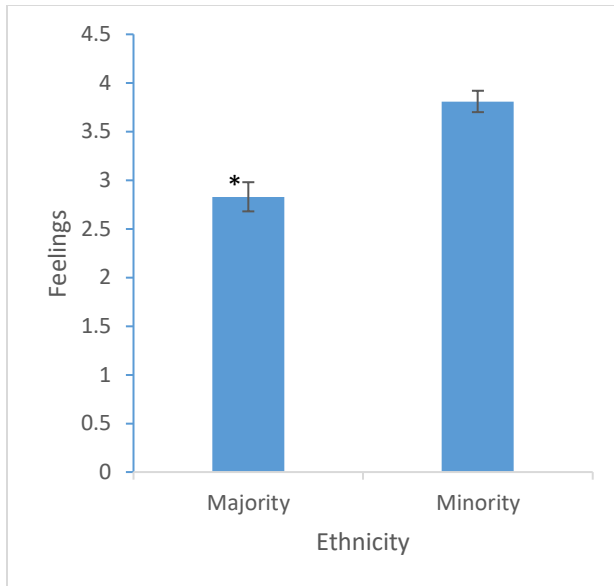
Figure 3. Differences between majority and minority groups on feelings toward undocumented immigrants.

Border Wall. A 3 (pictures: patriotic, neutral, unpatriotic) x 2 (minority: majority, minority) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test the hypothesis that those in patriotic/unpatriotic conditions were more likely to endorse building a wall, compared to those in the neutral condition. Differences between majority and minority participants were also tested. Results indicated there was a significant main effect of picture condition on endorsement of building a wall, $F(2, 183) = 4.10$, $p = .018$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Specifically, participants in the patriotic condition ($M = 5.06$, $SE = 0.44$) were more likely to endorse building a wall compared to the unpatriotic condition ($M = 3.20$, $SE = 0.49$) (figure 4). There were no significant differences between patriotic/unpatriotic and neutral conditions. Additionally, there was a significant main effect of minority, $F(1, 183) = 16.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, such that participants in the majority ($M = 5.19$, $SE = 0.45$) were more likely to endorse building a wall than participants in the minority ($M = 2.94$, $SE = 0.32$) (figure 5).
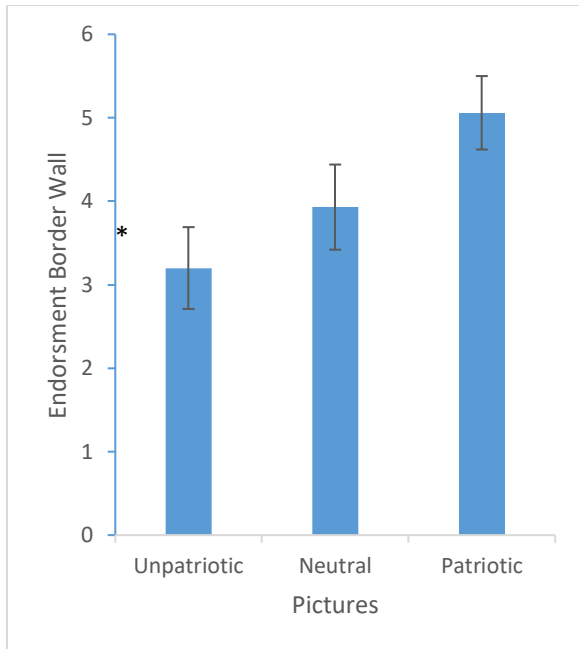
Figure 4. Differences of picture manipulation on endorsement of building border wall.
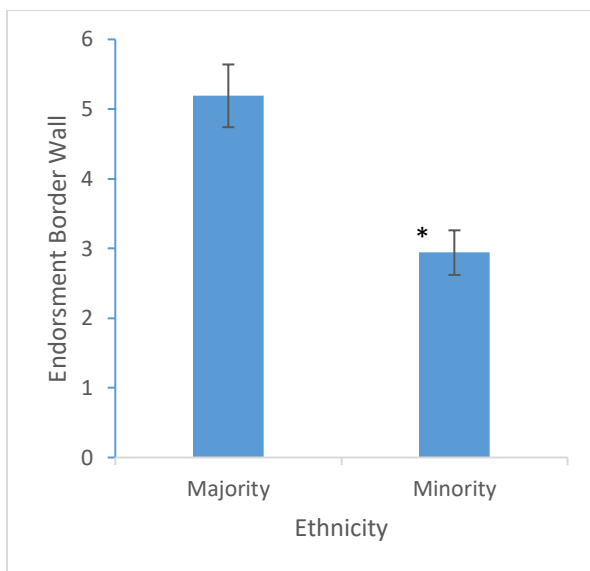
Figure 5. Differences between ethnic status on endorsement of building border wall.

3.3 Aim 3

Aim 3 examined whether the priming effect will be moderated by group narcissism and RWA. I expected that people with higher RWA and group narcissism will become more negative toward immigrants, which will be exacerbated by the state patriotic/unpatriotic primes. These

more negative attitudes toward immigrants are predicted because individuals higher on these traits are more likely to have patriotic beliefs that are "blind" or exclusionary in nature. To examine if this relationship was moderated by group narcissism and RWA, moderated multiple regression analyses were conducted. The analysis used unweighted effects codes for the experimental conditions and treated the individual difference variable as a continuous variable and centered (Aiken & West, 1991)[3]. The dependent variables used were attitudes toward documented and undocumented immigrants, feelings toward documented and undocumented immigrants, visa task (Mexico only), and current events item relating to building the border wall. For the visa task and current event items, we focused only on the items relating to Mexico due to the overall negative rhetoric toward Mexicans and Mexico in the past few years. We are also a border state with Mexico and it is more relevant.

If the main effect or interaction for the conditions (patriotic, unpatriotic, neutral) were significant, they were dummy coded and tested with each as a base in the regression analyses. To probe interactions for the continuous variables, the effect of RWA on the dependent variables was examined at low (-1 SD) and high (+1 SD) group narcissism. Two additional regression were conducted; the first included low group narcissism, centered RWA, and their interaction, and the second included high group narcissism, centered RWA, and their interaction.

In the main effects model (Step 1), RWA predicted more negative attitudes toward documented and undocumented immigrants as well as more negative feelings toward undocumented immigrants. RWA was also negatively correlated with giving visas to Mexico and positively correlated with the endorsement of building the border wall (See Table 16).

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[3] US Identity and Conservatism/Liberalism were dropped from the final models due to issues with collinearity when interaction terms were added into the models. Additionally, three-way interactions were dropped from the model because there were no consistent results and I had no a priori predictions.

Group narcissism was again related to negative attitudes and feelings toward undocumented immigrants. More importantly, there was a picture prime main effect for all of the outcome measures, with the exception of attitudes for documented immigrants (See Table 16). To examine whether the patriotic prime influenced outcomes, I ran regression models with patriotic and unpatriotic pictures at the base groups using dummy codes (see Aiken and West, 1991 for details). As anticipated, priming for patriotism led to more negative attitudes toward undocumented immigrants compared to people in the neutral condition, $b = .66$, $t(187) = 2.03$, $p = .043$. Similarly, participants who had the patriotic prime also reported feeling more negatively toward undocumented immigrants compared to participants in the neutral condition, $b = -.55$, $t(187) = 2.54$, $p = .012$. Patriotic priming led participants to give fewer visas to Mexico ($b = -3.98$, $t(187) = -3.05$, $p = .003$) and to see the Border Wall as a desirable option people ($b = 1.24$, $t(187) = 2.04$, $p = .043$) compared to in the neutral condition. There was little support for the unpatriotic prime influencing participant attitudes (see Table 17).

Contrary to what I anticipated, I did not find that the priming effect moderated group narcissism or RWA. However, for several of the outcome measures, group narcissism did moderate the influence of RWA on outcome measures.

Attitudes toward Immigrants (T2).

There was a significant interaction between RWA and group narcissism for attitudes toward immigrants, $\Delta F(1, 182) = 16.00$, $p = .011$, $\Delta R^2 = .029$, $b = .62$, $SE = .15$, $t(188) = 4.29$, $p < .001$, $sr^2 = .08$. At low group narcissism, RWA was a significant predictor of attitudes toward immigrants, $b = .30$, $SE = .20$, $t(184) = 1.84$, $p = .125$, $sr^2 = .01$, such that as RWA increased negative attitudes toward immigrants increased as well. At high levels of group narcissism,

RWA was again a significant predictor of negative attitudes toward immigrants, $b = .93$, $SE = .18$, $t(184) = 5.05$, $p < .001$, $sr^2 = .11$ (Figure 6) but the effect size was 5x greater.

Table 16. Moderated Regression Analyses for Primed Patriotism, RWA, and Group Narcissism

predicting attitudes toward immigrants/immigration

OUTCOMES MEASURES

MODEL	Attitudes Documented B(se)		Attitudes Undocumented B(se)		Visas for Mexico B(se)		Endorsement Border Wall B(se)		Feelings - Documented B(se)		Feelings – Undocumented B(se)	
MAIN EFFECTS (STEP 1)												
RWA	0.65**	(0.15)	0.70**	(0.18)	-1.71*	(0.70)	1.53**	(0.33)	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.36*	(0.12)
GROUP NARCISSISM (GN)	0.20	(0.15)	0.40*	(0.18)	1.77*	(0.74)	0.54	(0.34)	-0.02	(0.07)	-0.24*	(0.12)
PICTURES EFFECTS 1	-0.08	(0.16)	-0.29	(0.19)	0.18	(0.77)	-0.63	(0.36)	0.10	(0.07)	0.11	(0.13)
PICTURES EFFECTS 2	0.16	(0.16)	0.47*	(0.18)	-2.08*	(0.74)	0.94*	(0.35)	-0.13	(0.07)	-0.33*	(0.12)
PICTURE MAIN EFFECT ΔR²	.01		.03**		.05*		.03**		.02**		.03**	
TWO-WAY INTERACTIONS (STEP 2)												
RWA X GN	0.39*	(0.15)	0.23	(0.18)	-1.59*	(0.72)	0.78*	(0.34)	-0.12	(0.07)	-0.14	(0.12)
GN X PICTURE 1	0.17	(0.22)	0.26	(0.27)	0.76	(1.06)	0.27	(0.50)	-0.01	(0.10)	-0.16	(0.18)
GN X PICTURE 2	-0.32	(0.20)	-0.28	(0.24)	-1.94*	(0.96)	-0.26	(0.45)	-0.07	(0.09)	0.26	(0.16)
GN X PICTURE ΔR²	.01		.01		.02		.002		.01		.01	
RWA X PICTURE 1	0.26	(0.22)	-0.09	(0.27)	0.35	(1.07)	-0.06	(0.51)	-0.04	(0.10)	-0.004	(0.18)
RWA X PICTURE 2	0.03	(0.20)	0.30	(0.24)	1.51	(0.96)	0.08	(0.46)	0.14	(0.09)	-0.06	(0.16)
RWA X PICTURE ΔR²	.01		.01		.02		.000		.02		.001	
TOTAL R²	.19**		.20**		.15**		.22**		.06		.16**	

Table 17. Means and Standard Deviations for Simple Effects Analyses

| | *Type of Prime* | | | | | |
| | Unpatriotic Pictures | | Neutral Pictures | | Patriotic Pictures | |
	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE
Attitudes Documented	2.97[a]	.20	2.97[a]	.20	3.20[a]	.19
Attitudes Undocumented	3.03[a]	.23	3.14[a]	.24	3.79[b]	.22
Visas - Mexico	14.64[a]	.94	16.37[a]	.96	12.39[b]	.89
Endorsement – Border Wall	3.10[a]	.44	3.43[a]	.45	4.46[b]	.42
Feelings - Documented	4.74[a]	.08	4.67[ab]	.09	4.50[b]	.08
Feelings - Undocumented	3.57[a]	.16	3.68[a]	.16	3.14[b]	.15
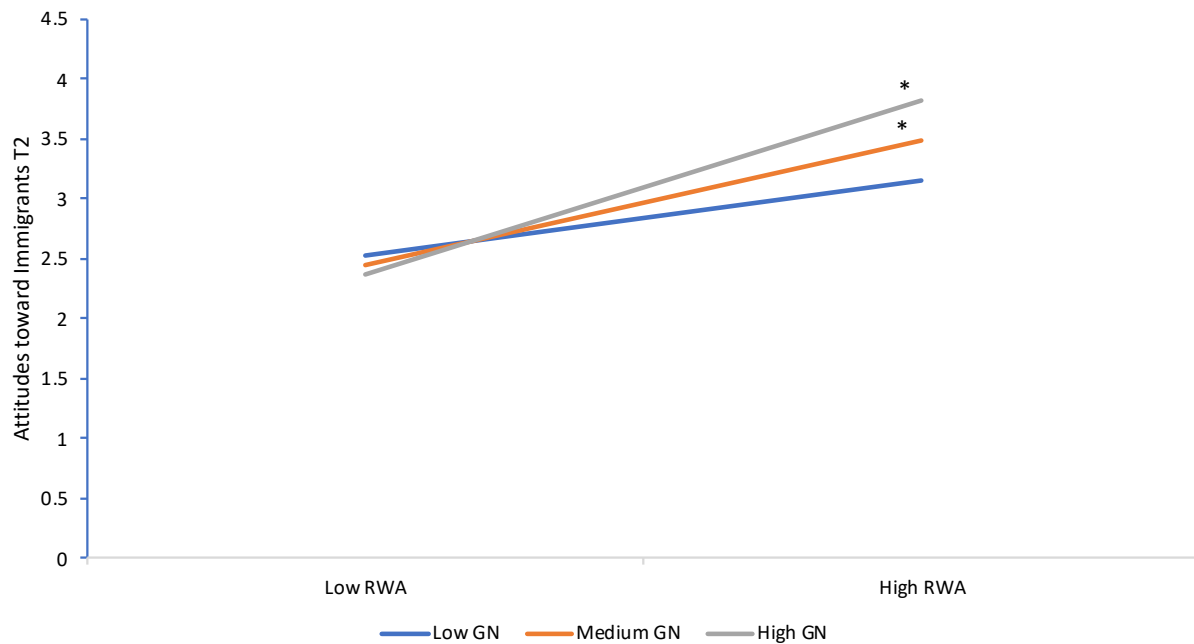
Figure 6. RWA on negative attitudes toward immigrants, moderated by group narcissism.

Visas for Mexicans. There was a significant interaction between RWA and group narcissism, $\Delta F(1, 182) = 5.00$, $p = .028$, $\Delta R^2 = .023$, $b = -1.58$, SE $= .71$, $t(188) = -2.23$, $p = .027$, $sr^2 = .02$. Results showed that at low group narcissism, RWA was not a significant predictor of the Mexico visa task, $b = -.39$, $SE = .94$, $t(184) = -.24$, $p = .677$, $sr^2 = .00$. At high levels of group narcissism, RWA was again a significant predictor of the Mexico visa task, $b = -2.92$, $SE = .88$, $t(184) = -3.33$, $p = .001$, $sr^2 = .05$, such that those who showed less group narcissism, as RWA increased, gave less visas out to immigrants from Mexico . As previously reported, RWA was also a significant predictor of Mexico visa task at mean levels of group narcissism. Simply, as RWA increased, group narcissism was found to play a role. Specifically, in participants who showed mean and high levels of group narcissism, as RWA increased, participants gave fewer number of visas to immigrants from Mexico (Figure 7).   Contrary to predictions, people, high on group narcissism and low on RWA were the most likely to give visas to Mexico.
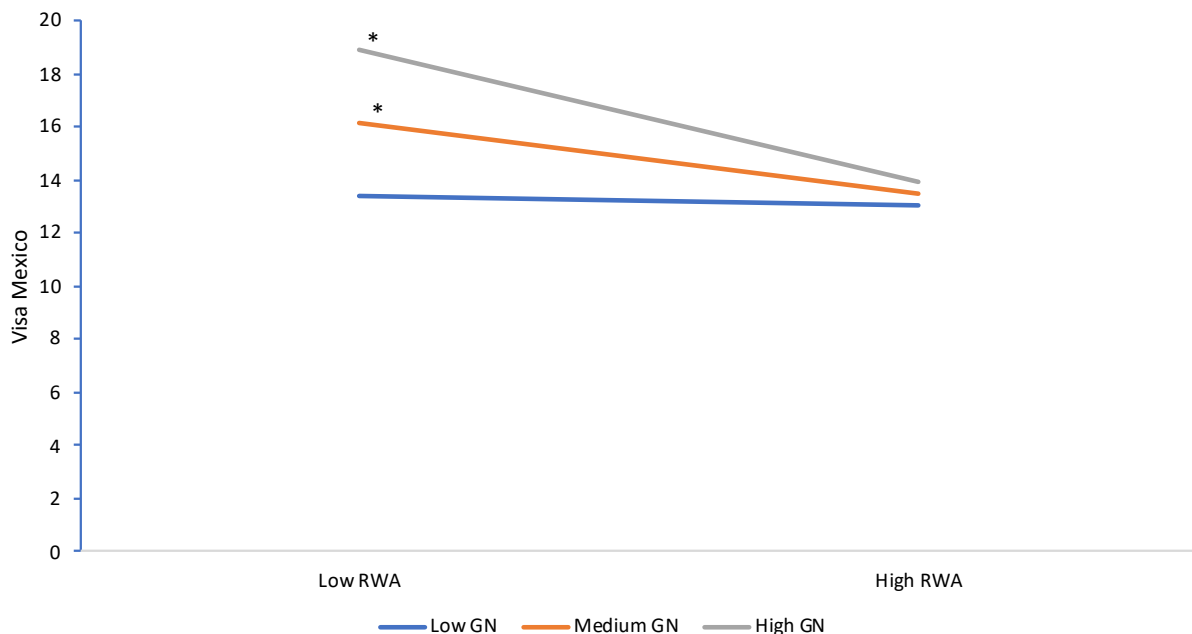

Figure 7. RWA on Mexico visa task, moderated by group narcissism.

Border Wall Endorsement. There was a significant interaction between RWA and group narcissism, $\Delta F(1, 182) = 5.27$, p = .023, $\Delta R^2 = .023$, b = 1.46, SE = .33, t(188) = 4.45, p < .001, sr2 = .09. Results showed that at low group narcissism, RWA was a marginally significant predictor of endorsement of a border wall, $b = .81$, $SE = .44$, $t(184) = 1.86$, $p = .065$, $sr^2 = .01$, such that those who showed less group narcissism, as RWA increased, endorsements of building a border wall increased as well. The second regression included high group narcissism, centered RWA, and their respective interaction. Results showed that at high numbers of group narcissism, RWA was again a significant predictor of building a border wall, $b = 2.06$, $SE = .41$, $t(184) = 5.02$, $p < .001$, $sr2 = .11$. As previously reported, RWA was also a significant predictor of attitudes toward immigrants at mean levels of group narcissism. Simply, as RWA increased, group narcissism was found to play a role. Specifically, in participants who showed low, mean, and high levels of group narcissism, as RWA increased, so did endorsements of building a border wall (Figure 8).
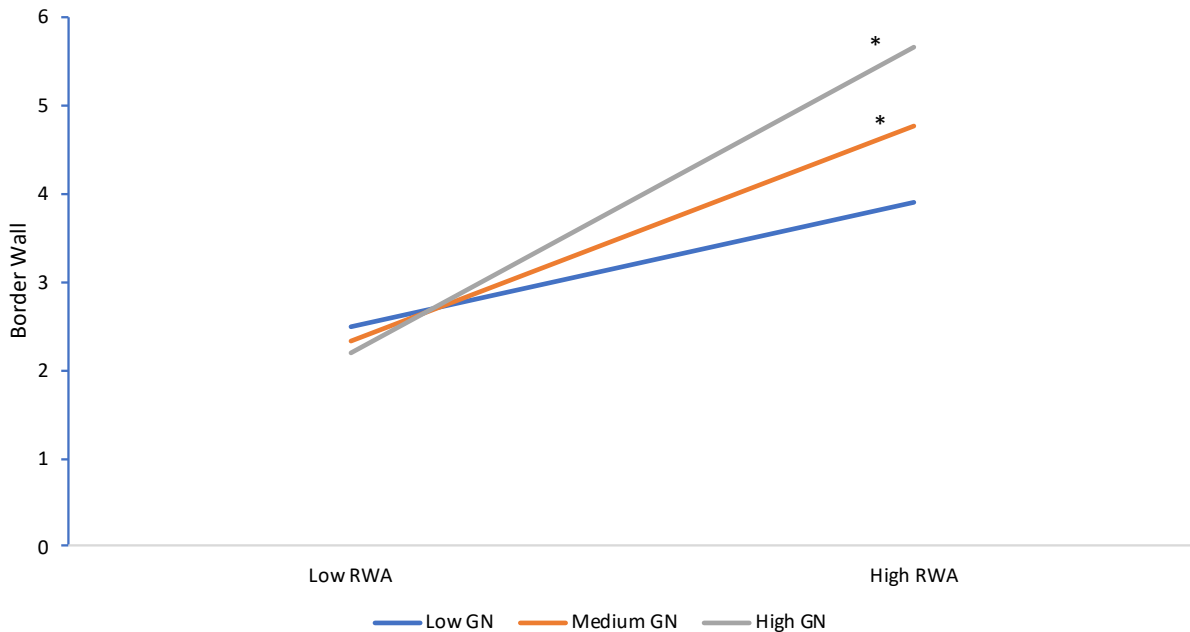

Figure 8. RWA on endorsement of a border wall, moderated by group narcissism.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

This study was conducted to examine whether priming patriotism affects attitudes toward immigrants and whether certain individuals would be influenced by primed patriotism. In Aim one, this thesis examined how RWA and group narcissism were related to negative attitudes/feelings toward immigrants. Attitudes and feelings toward immigrants were measured in several different ways. Some were scales that explicitly asked about attitudes and others were measured implicitly by asking participants to rate current events/news items and by allocating visas to immigrants from different countries. Aim one was partially supported. Individuals who had high levels of RWA, group narcissism, US identity, and conservatism were more likely to give visas to people from western Europe. These same participants were less likely to give out visas to people from the Middle East. Those who were high in group narcissism and US identity gave less visas out to people from Africa and those who were high in conservatism gave fewer visas to people from Mexico. All individual difference measures were associated with having more negative attitudes and feelings toward immigrants, with the exception of feelings toward documented immigrants. Only those high in conservatism were related to having more negative feelings toward documented immigrants. All predictors were significantly related to the current events items, with the exception of group narcissism on a DREAMer being detained. In other words, individuals higher in RWA, group narcissism, US identity, and conservatism were more likely to endorse building the border wall and were in agreement to strip money from sanctuary cities, deport undocumented immigrants, to have a travel ban for primarily Muslim countries, and to detain DREAMers than individuals who scored lower on these dimensions.

RWA and group narcissism uniquely predicted predicted negative attitudes toward immigration even after controlling for national identification, conservatism, and minority status. Exceptions to these were visas given out to eastern Europe, Africa, feelings toward documented immigrants, stripping money from sanctuary cities, and endorsing a travel ban. The effect appeared to be larger for attitudes toward undocumented versus documented immigrants although this was not directly tested here. It is not surprising that people higher on RWA would be particularly negative toward undocumented immigrants given they may be perceived as breaking the law.   Indeed, results from this thesis are consistent with previous literature relating to RWA and ethnic groups (Altemeyer, 2006; Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Farwell & Weiner, 2000; Sears, Citrin, Cheleden, & van Laar, 1999; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). Future research will need to more carefully examine whether individuals higher in RWA are more negative toward undocumented versus documented immigrants than individuals lower in RWA.

The main focus of my study was to examine if priming patriotism would be associated with negative attitudes toward immigrants. Aim two and three incorporated a pictures manipulation in order to see how priming patriotism related to attitudes toward immigrants. In regard to the picture manipulation, participants who were shown patriotic pictures showed more negative attitudes but only toward undocumented immigrants when controlling for minority status. Additionally, when controlling for minority status, participants who saw patriotic pictures gave fewer visas to Mexicans and had more negative feelings toward undocumented immigrants, compared to those who saw neutral pictures. Compared to those who saw unpatriotic pictures, participants who saw patriotic pictures were more likely to endorse building a wall.

When RWA and group narcissism were controlled for, primed patriotism accounted for an average of 3% of the variance in attitudes toward immigrants/immigration. Patriotic pictures consistently contributed toward attitudes over and above RWA and group narcissism compared to neutral pictures, with the exception of general attitudes toward documented immigrants. More specifically, participants who saw patriotic pictures had more negative attitudes and feelings toward undocumented immigrants, gave fewer visas to Mexicans, and were more likely to endorse building a wall.

Overall, there was consistent pattern that when participants were primed with patriotic pictures, they became more negative in their attitudes toward immigrants. Based on previous literature, there is reason to believe that those who felt more negatively toward immigrants, had been primed with blind patriotism, instead of the constructive patriotism (Staub, 1991, 1997). Ariely (2011) found that, in countries with more globalization, constructive patriotism was negatively related to xenophobia, but nationalism was positively related to xenophobia. This supports my belief that in my study, being primed with patriotism does elicited a form of patriotism that is exclusionary toward immigrants. However, I did not explicitly measure for what form of patriotism was primed with the pictures.

Aim two incorporated a pictures manipulation in order to see how priming patriotism related to attitudes toward immigrants, before and after the manipulation. Differences in attitudes between the two time points were found but only toward undocumented immigrants. Contrary to expected, time one attitudes toward undocumented immigrants were more negative than time two.

As part of Aim 2, I found that participants in the majority students had more negative attitudes and feelings toward immigrants and undocumented immigrants, gave less visas to

people from Mexico, and were more likely to endorse building a wall. The uniqueness of this sample allowed me to examine differences between minority and majority ethnic groups. The University of Texas at Arlington is the 5th most diverse campus in the United States (US News and World Report, 2015). What was surprising was within the ethnic minority participant sample, 40% had parents who are immigrants, making them second-generation immigrants. Additionally, three of the four who were naturalized citizens were minorities. Clearly, these participants have had frequent and direct contact with immigrants, which can lead to less prejudice and discrimination toward immigrants according to contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954). One would also hope that most children would have high quality contact with their parents, which can also lead to less prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998).

Additionally, as part of my Aim three, analyses were conducted to examine if primed patriotism moderated the relationship between RWA or group narcissism on attitudes toward immigrants. Results did not show that primed patriotism was a moderator for RWA or group narcissism. Results did show that RWA and group narcissism predicted negative attitudes immigration. Additionally, group narcissism moderated the relationships between RWA on attitudes toward immigrants at time two, Mexico visa task, and endorsing the border wall. That is to say, individuals who had higher levels of group narcissism and RWA were the ones who had the most negative attitudes toward immigrants and only at high levels of group narcissism was RWA influencing attitudes toward immigration. When group narcissism was low, RWA was not related to immigration attitudes.

There was a finding that was unexpected. Participants higher in group narcissism were more likely to give visas to Mexico, especially if they were low on RWA. Although a suppressor effect could be contributing to this outcome, further analyses also suggests that this

interaction only held for minority participants [$F(1, 181) = 7.87$, $p = .006$, $b = -2.66$] compared to majority participants [$F(1, 181) = .06$, $p = .81$, $b = -.24$]. This is important because 54% of the minority students in this sample were Latinx living in a state that borders Mexico. Indeed, 84% of these participants had an immigrant parent. It is possible that individuals can belong to multiple groups and that group narcissism may be active at different time for different in-groups.

In previous research, there has been evidence about bicultural individuals switching from one culture to the other depending on context (Benet-Martinez et al., 2012, Hong et al., 2000; LaFrombiose, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). These individuals identify with and have internalized two or more cultures. Therefore, they can easily perform cultural frame-switching between the cultures they identify with (van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martinez, 2015). As such, it is possible that individuals who are higher on group narcissism may hold overly-inflated feelings of grandiosity and entitlement associated with their multiple group identities (Lyons, Kenworthy, & Popan, 2010; Bogart, Benotsch, & Pavlovic, 2004). Additionally, depending on the cultural frame that is activated, group narcissism may even be operating for the potentially competing in-groups (e.g., American vs. descendant of Mexican immigrant).

Outcomes that showed more consistent significant results were negative attitudes and feelings toward undocumented immigrants. This falls in line with previous research conducted which had similar results toward undocumented immigrants (Lyons, Coursey, & Kenworthy, 2013; Lyons, Kenworthy, & Popan, 2010). When looking at what consistently predicted these outcomes, RWA was an individually significant predictor in most of the analyses, which also falls in line with previous research that says RWA is related to discrimination against out-group members (Altemeyer, 2006; Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Farwell & Weiner, 2000). People who are high on RWA have a strong drive to follow the rule of law and listen to authority

figures without criticism. Therefore, these people have more negative attitudes or feelings toward undocumented immigrants because they broke the law. As for group narcissism, while it was related to several outcomes, it only individually predicted how many visas were given out to Mexicans and better ratings on the news items that a DREAMer was detained. However, group narcissism was a significant moderator, which indicates that, when coupled with RWA, it exacerbated negative feelings toward immigrants.

4.1 Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study advances our knowledge about how priming patriotism may influence attitudes toward immigration, there are some limitations. For example, this study did not explicitly measure what type of patriotism was primed nor did it measure individual differences in patriotism or nationalism. It is possible that if you prime patriotism, you are more likely to prime whatever that individual has a tendency to be higher on (e.g., blind versus constructive). This is important because, theoretically, we are assuming blind patriotism was primed due to the increased levels of negative attitudes against immigrants, but it would be better to have the actual evidence especially when past research shows that patriotism can be related to nationalism (Kemmelmeier & Winter, 2008).

Future studies should also focus on recruiting a sample that is more conservative with non-Hispanic whites. The majority of this sample consisted of ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities are more diverse in nature and this can lead to more contact with different kinds of people, including immigrants. For example, in this sample, 56 participants had parents who were immigrants. Additionally, three were naturalized citizens. Literature has shown that having contact with out-group members reduces discrimination and prejudice toward them (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). This study should be replicated with a sample that is mostly non-

Hispanic white who were born in the United States and have less contact with immigrants in order to see how the effects might change. Given what was found in this study, it is predicted that with a more conservative sample that has less direct contact with immigrants, the results should be see stronger and there should be more consistent negative effects toward immigrants.

Another aspect of patriotism to take into consideration for future studies is how it affects veterans or active military personnel. Our pictures of patriotism had references to people in the military saluting the flag and wars won. This could trigger feelings or symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder for people who have served in the military. Even though a study by Whitsell and Owens (2012) did not find a relationship between patriotism and PTSD symptoms, it should be something to take into consideration for future studies.

Additionally, veterans being primed with these sorts of pictures may lead to a state of blind patriotism. In the military, enlisted are trained to follow orders and not question authority in the name of country. The Department of Defense even does this kind of training and priming to the American people by having "paid patriotism" at sports events (Koesters, Brown, & Nagel, 2017). This includes family reunions with veterans, enlistment ceremonies, and the well-known full-field exhibition of the American flag in games from the NFL, NBA, MLB. and other sporting events. This usually involves paying for such sponsorship with taxpayers' dollars, so much so that congress attempted to end this kind of spending in 2015 (McCain & Flake, 2015). As such, veterans could have a trait sense of patriotism ingrained in their being, which could lead to discrimination and prejudice toward out-group members when primed. A study by Whitesell and Owens (2011) showed veterans having a strong relationship with uncritical patriotism and a weaker association with constructive patriotism. It would be interesting to see if veterans who

are primed with patriotism also show higher levels of blind patriotism rather than constructive patriotism, and how this would influence their attitudes toward immigrants.

Lastly, it is important to point out that this study can bring awareness to how patriotism or flag imagery is being used to influence people in the U.S. It has previously been used to recruit people to fight wars and to deter protests during the national anthem (McCain & Flake, 2015). Flag Imagery exposure has recently been linked to helping candidates in Presidential elections, especially for those voters who are more likely to be racially prejudice, who held symbolic patriotic beliefs or who were likely to identify with Republicans (Kalmoe & Gross, 2016). Despite the limitations inherent in this study, these results suggest that patriotic images may spill over to immigrants and probably other out-group members. That is, these images may prime in-group members to be more negative toward out-group members, which could lead to more prejudice and discrimination and should be of concern to the American people.

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Appendix A

Feeling thermometers

Please choose the face that best represents your attitudes toward **documented** immigrants.
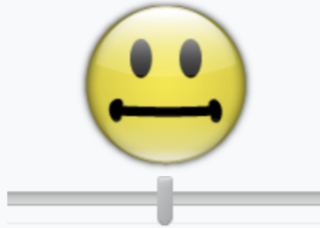
Please choose the face that best represents your attitudes toward **undocumented** immigrants.
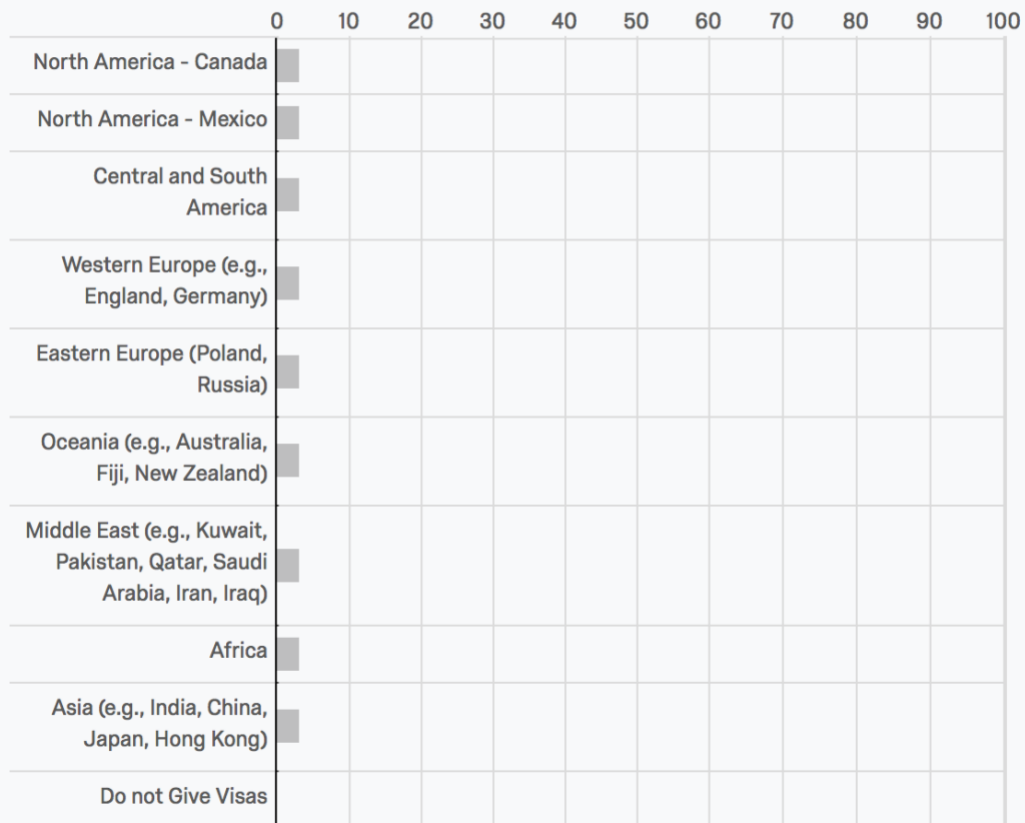
Please choose the face that best represents your attitudes toward **documented immigrants and refugees from primarily Muslim countries.**

Visa task

The USA will issue approximately 500,000 immigrant visas in 2017. Decide what **percentage** should come from each of the following geographic areas. All values were started at 3% - you can increase or decrease these values by sliding the bar. If you want to reduce the number of visas given - you would chose the Do not Give Visas option (which is set at 0%) and provide the percent that you would like to reduce the visa percentage by. Your answer must total 100%.

|	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
North America - Canada											
North America - Mexico											
Central and South America											
Western Europe (e.g., England, Germany)											
Eastern Europe (Poland, Russia)											
Oceania (e.g., Australia, Fiji, New Zealand)											
Middle East (e.g., Kuwait, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq)											
Africa											
Asia (e.g., India, China, Japan, Hong Kong)											
Do not Give Visas											

News/Current Events Items

Please provide a grade for the following recent US policies and/or current events. An A+ would indicate that you strongly support the policy or agree with what happened in the current event. F would indicate that you strongly oppose the policy and/or disagree with what happened in the current event.
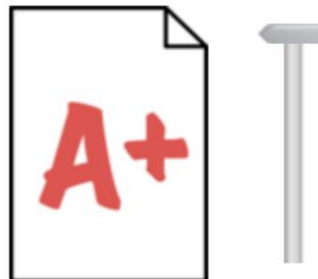
The authorization of a US-Mexico Border wall.
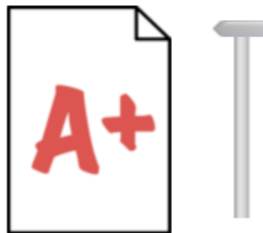
The stripping of federal grant money to sanctuary cities (cities that welcome refugees and illegal immigrants and do not use municipal funds/resources to enforce national immigration laws)
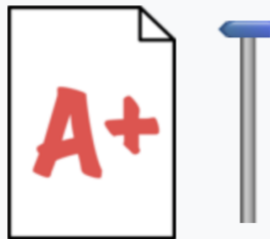
Homeland Security unveils a sweeping plan to deport undocumented immigrants.

Putting a temporary ban on immigrants from countries that have predominantly Muslim populations - even for those who are already permanent residents or who have legal USA visas.
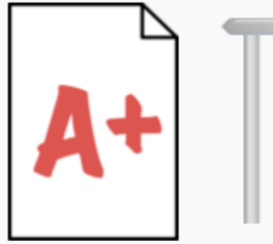
An immigrant protected under "Dreamer" program detained and held in custody by ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement).
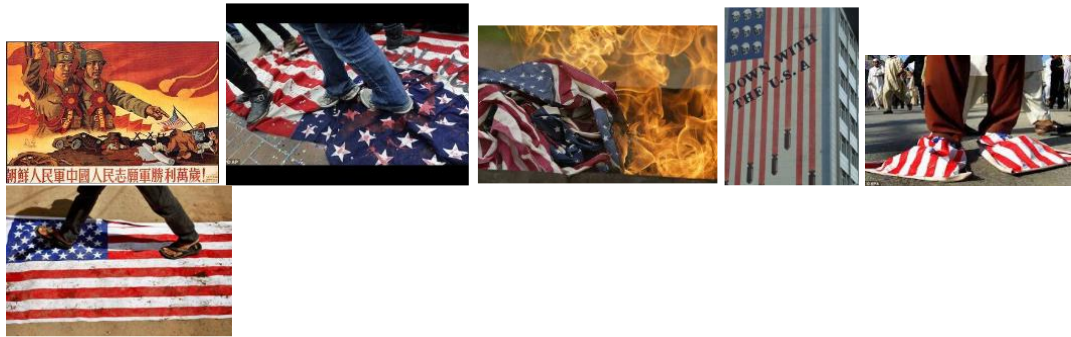
Appendix B

Patriotic pictures

Unpatriotic pictures

Appendix C

Scales

Authoritarian-conservatism-traditionalism scale (RWA):

1. It's great that many young people today are prepared to defy authority. (reverse)

2. What our country needs most is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity.

3. Students at high schools and at universities must be encouraged to challenge, criticize, and confront established authorities. (reverse)

4. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

5. Our country will be great if we show respect for authority and obey our leaders.

6. People should be ready to protest against and challenge laws they don't agree with. (reverse)

7. People should be allowed to make speeches and write books urging the overthrow of the government. (reverse)

8. The more people there are that are prepared to criticize the authorities, challenge and protest the government, the better it is for society. (reverse)

9. People should stop teaching children to obey authority. (reverse)

10. The real keys to the "good life" are respect for authority and obedience to those who are in charge.

11. The authorities should be obeyed because they are in the best position to know what is good for our country.

12. Our leaders should be obeyed without question.

1. Nobody should stick to the "straight and narrow." Instead people should break loose and try out lots of different ideas and experiences. (reverse)

2. The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live.

3. God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late.

4. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps. (reverse)

5. This country will flourish if young people stop experimenting with drugs, alcohol, and sex, and pay more attention to family values.

6. There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse. (reverse)

7. Traditional values, customs, and morality have a lot wrong with them. (reverse)

8. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else. (reverse)

9. The radical and sinful new ways of living and behaving of many young people may one day destroy our society.

10. Trashy magazines and radical literature in our communities are poisoning the minds of our young people.

11. It is important that we preserve our traditional values and moral standards.

12. People should pay less attention to the bible and the other old-fashioned forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral. (reverse)

1. Strong, tough government will harm not help our country. (reverse)

2. Being kind to loafers or criminals will only encourage them to take advantage of your weakness, so it's best to use a firm, tough hand when dealing with them.

3. Our society does NOT need tougher government and stricter laws. (reverse)

4. The facts on crime and the recent public disorders show we have to crack down harder on troublemakers, if we are going to preserve law and order.

5. Our prisons are a shocking disgrace. Criminals are unfortunate people who deserve much better care, instead of so much punishment. (reverse)

6. The way things are going in this country, it's going to take a lot of "strong medicine" to straighten out the troublemakers, criminals, and perverts.

7. We should smash all the negative elements that are causing trouble in our society.

8. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.

9. People who say our laws should be enforced more strictly and harshly are wrong. We need greater tolerance and more lenient treatment for lawbreakers. (reverse)

10. The courts are right in being easy on drug offenders. Punishment would not do any good in cases like these. (reverse)

11. What our country really needs is a tough, harsh dose of law and order.

12. Capital punishment is barbaric and never justified. (reverse)

Group narcissism scale.

1. America will never be satisfied until we get all that we deserve.

2. America expects a lot from other people.

3. America wants to amount to something in the eyes of the world.

4. If America ruled the world, it would be a much better place.

5. America has a strong will to power.

6. America insists upon getting the respect that is due.

7. America deserves a lot of respect from others.

8. America is an extraordinary country.

9. We Americans know that we are good because everyone says so.

10. America likes to be complimented.

11. America's destiny is to be the greatest country of all.

12. We Americans think that we are a special country.

13. Somebody should someday write a history of America.

14. America is the best country in the world.

Attitudes toward immigrants.

1. We have too many immigrants in America.

2. America should not allow so many immigrants to come to America.

3. Immigrants are ruining America.

4. All immigrants should go back to where they came from.

5. We should make it easier for immigrants to come to America legally. (reverse)

6. We should make it harder for all immigrants to come to America.

7. Immigrants are responsible for increases in crime rates in communities.

8. Immigrants are a burden on our school system.

9. All immigrants should be forced to learn English if they want to live here.

10. Immigrants should have the same rights as American citizens. (reverse)

11. Immigrants should have as much say about the future of the USA as people who were born and raised here. (reverse)

Attitudes toward undocumented immigrants.

1. Undocumented immigrants should not have access to free medical treatment in America.

2. Undocumented immigrants should not be able to get scholarships or funding to go to college in the USA.

3. Undocumented immigrants should not be able to get an education or attend college in the USA.

4. Children of undocumented immigrants should not be able to go to school in the USA.

5. Undocumented immigrants are dangerous and should be feared.

6. Children of undocumented immigrants should not be able to become an American citizen by birth.

7. There is no such thing as an "illegal" immigrant. (reverse)

8. People who give undocumented immigrants a job or housing should be punished (e.g., fined or go to jail).

9. America should try to get rid of undocumented immigrants.

10. Terrorists are likely to be undocumented immigrants (versus US citizens).

National Identification.

1. I see myself as an American.

2. Being an American is central to my sense of who I am.

3. Overall, being an American has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (reverse)

4. Being an American is an important reflection of who I am.

5. In general, being an American is an important part of my self-image.

6. I value being an American.

7. I feel proud to be an American.

8. Being an American is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (reverse)

9. I feel strong ties to other Americans.