

IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT ATTITUDES TOWARDS

LATINOS, CRIME AND IMMIGRATION

by

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DEDICATION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|-------------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | v |
| LIST OF TABLES | viii |
| LIST OF FIGURES | ix |
| CHAPTER | |
| I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Racial/Ethnic Attitudes Towards People of Color | 4 |
| Intergroup and Outgroup Anxiety | 5 |
| Research Questions | 6 |
| II. LITERATURE REVIEW | 8 |
| Group Conflict | 8 |
| Implicit Bias and the IAT | 9 |
| Implicit Association Test in the Medical Field | 11 |
| Implicit Association in Criminal Justice | 12 |
| Implicit Bias and Police | 12 |
| Implicit Bias in other Criminal Justice Areas | 14 |
| Can Implicit Bias Be Changed? | 15 |
| Reactions to IAT Scores | 15 |
| Explicit and Implicit Attitudes | 16 |
| Implicit and Explicit Bias and Latinos | 17 |
| Latinos and the Criminal Justice System | 18 |
| Immigration Opinions | 19 |
| Influence of Political Affiliation on Immigration | 20 |
| Influence of Gender on Immigration | 21 |
| Immigration and Crime | 22 |
| III. METHODOLOGY | 25 |
| Sampling Frame and Administration of Surveys | 25 |
| Concepts and Variables | 27 |
| Survey Instruments | 28 |

| | |
|---|--------|
| Explicit Bias | 28 |
| Implicit Bias | 29 |
| Independent Variables | 30 |
| Dependent Variables | 30 |
| Ethical Considerations | 31 |
| Validity and Reliability | 31 |
| IV. RESULTS | 33 |
| Gender Differences | 37 |
| Differences in Attitudes by Political Affiliation | 40 |
| Implicit Attitudes Towards Latinos | 45 |
| Reactions to the Implicit Association Test Scores | 47 |
| General Comments by Political Affiliation | 50 |
| V. DISCUSSION | 54 |
| Conservative students and the study | 55 |
| Limitations | 56 |
| Policy Implications | 58 |
| Research Implications | 59 |
| VI. CONCLUSION..... | 60 |
| Future Studies | 61 |
| APPENDIX SECTION..... | 62 |
| REFERENCES | 84 |

LIST OF TABLES

| Table | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. Age of participants | 27 |
| 2. Gender and political affiliation | 27 |
| 3. Explicit attitudes towards immigration | 34 |
| 4. Mean (and standard deviation) explicit attitudes towards Hispanics..... | 36 |
| 5. Descriptive statistics for Implicit Association Test (IAT) score (N=239)..... | 45 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. Mean explicit attitudes towards immigration, by gender..... | 38 |
| 2. Mean explicit attitudes towards Hispanics, by gender..... | 39 |
| 3. Mean explicit attitudes towards immigration, by political affiliation..... | 42 |
| 4. Mean explicit attitudes towards Hispanics, by political affiliation..... | 43 |
| 5. Distribution of Implicit Association Test (IAT) scores in the sample (N=239)..... | 46 |

I. INTRODUCTION

Criminal justice is a field that should be dictated by regulations, laws and unbiased opinions. Theoretically, it should be easy to make decisions in the criminal justice system, because laws and regulations are meant to guide decisions and result in consequences when the 'right' decisions are not made or enforced. Everyday life is much different than the field of criminal justice because it is difficult to determine whether one's actions are truthful or if the person is being deceitful or if an individual is answering in a manner that reflects social desirability. However, using the Implicit Association Tests (IAT), it can be determined how a person feels subconsciously regardless of what is said in conversation or put on a survey they are asked to fill out in a study. The IAT has become a frequently and widely used tool to measure attitudes and prejudices toward specific groups of people, such as Blacks (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; McConnell & Liebold, 2001). This could be an important tool in the criminal justice system to help identify biases held towards specific groups of people. Uncovering the impact of implicit biases on criminal justice practice may eventually help lead to important policy changes. The current study focuses on implicit and explicit attitudes of undergraduate criminal justice college students regarding the nexus of Latino identity, immigration, and crime.

The criminal justice system, specifically the courts and police systems, has been associated with racial disparities in sentencing and arrests. For this reason, it is crucial for a tool to be utilized in hiring processes and various stages of the criminal justice system to help identify covert biases held by those employed within the criminal justice system. The IAT has mainly been applied in the fields of health care and psychology (Green et

al., 2007, Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz , 1998), and is not as commonly used in the criminal justice field as it is in other fields. This study is one of the first to utilize the IAT to analyze possible issues, such as biases towards immigration and crime, that may exist within the criminal justice system by recruiting participants who major in criminal justice. These participants will eventually have careers in the field and are likely to be in conflict situations where they must interact with Latinos and immigrants. This study is a stepping stone for testing implicit bias in the criminal justice field and will ideally lead to more IAT studies or additions that may one day lead to police, court and corrections officials being tested with the IAT before employment.

Research looking at biases held by individuals in the criminal justice system is important because of the rate that criminal justice employees come into contact with diverse populations every day. Research on racial disparities in the system, excessive use of force, and most minority groups being over-represented in the criminal justice system (see, e.g., Austin & Allen, 2000; Smith & Holmes, 2014) has been common, yet there are still some specific areas within the system that remain largely under-researched. Research and praxis with Implicit Association Tests in criminal justice has mostly occurred in the policing field and has slightly moved its way towards the courts area of the system.

Latinos are the fastest growing minority group in the United States. From 1990 to 2000 the Latino population grew to 35.3 million, a 58 percent increase (Armas, 2001). It is projected that by 2050 the Hispanic population will have grown to 98.2 million (Schmid, 2001). Many of these will be immigrants coming from Mexico or other Spanish-speaking countries that will know little or no English and will have little help adjusting to a new country and culture. Immigration and the perceived crimes

immigrants commit is a subject that has been subject to limited research from a criminal justice perspective (but see, e.g., Martinez et al., 2010). Implicit bias may play a major role in the treatment of Latino immigrants and Latino populations that are perceived to be immigrants. This study examines the biases that undergraduate students may hold, which may indicate a need to test those who work in the criminal justice system and who are likely to regularly encounter immigrants and Latinos, such as those employed in the courts or police officers. If the implicit bias held by criminal justice undergraduates is negative towards immigration and Latinos, it could be similar with current criminal justice employees as well as other undergraduate students who are “in training” to work in the criminal justice field. This negative bias could lead to the mistreatment of Latinos or immigrants based on the assumption that most Latinos are illegal immigrants. This study is important because there have been very few studies of this sort conducted before. Similar studies often focus on other minority groups, such as Blacks, and Latinos are often just a subgroup in this research. However, Latinos will be the primary focus in this study. Results may provide a first step to helping understand perceptions of crimes that immigrants and Latinos are thought to commit more frequently and the average college student’s potential biases towards Latino immigrants and Latinos in general.

The results of the current study could eventually lead to future research built on the findings on Latinos in different aspects of the criminal justice system, different immigrant groups, and could possibly even lead to policy change in the treatment of immigrants both documented and undocumented. In addition to policy change, the results could lead to changes in college education related to immigration and Latinos in the classroom for criminal justice students. This training could also be incorporated into a

segment on Latino immigrants in police training academies to help change or adjust any implicit biases held by officers before they begin encountering these groups of people.

The topic is vastly under-studied, with great potential to influence policy and practice.

Before discussing the research questions and aims of this study, it is important to understand the history of racial attitudes and how they may influence implicit and explicit bias. The rest of this chapter will include a brief history of racial attitudes towards people of color, the proposed research questions. The following chapters include an overview of the existing literature, the methodology section, followed by a discussion of the results, and, finally, some concluding remarks.

Racial/Ethnic Attitudes Towards People of Color

Racial/ethnic attitudes most often refer to the attitudes held by individuals that are based on another person's race. Racial/ethnic attitudes have played some type of role in history and the way real life situations turn out. They may influence behavior in everyday situations and interactions with minorities. Studies have shown that individuals who hold anti-Black attitudes are less likely to support race-targeted policies, affirmative action and other government policies to assist Blacks (Bobo, 1988, Kluegel, 1990), racial/ethnic attitudes have been reduced at least to an implicit form as it has become less acceptable to be blatantly racist in society. While blatant racism is not as common anymore, minorities of all races still face racial/ethnic attitudes by others. Racial/ethnic attitudes are also seen in the forms of "symbolic," "stereotypical," or "modern" racism in which racism is vented indirectly. An example would include agreeing with phrases such as: "Blacks who receive welfare could get along with it if they tried" (Sears, 1988).

While the modern American is likely to score low on traditional forms of racism such as segregation, they too often have some other form stereotypical or implicit racial attitude. Racial/ethnic attitudes influence how individuals view groups of people or even societal issues like immigration. Racial/ethnic attitudes have mostly been studied from the perspective of how Whites feel towards minority groups, compared to how minorities feel towards Whites (McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Perez, 2010). The research that has been conducted previously explains that Whites usually tend to have some sort of racial attitudes towards minorities in some form (Blair et al., 2013; Dasgupta et al., 2000). Based on the fact that Whites tend to have some bias towards minority groups in the previous research, it is expected that the Implicit Association Test conducted will show some amount of bias by college students against Latinos and immigration, and that such bias may be more prevalent in White college students. The current political climate and the fact that the survey sample is made of college students who are more in tune with social media may play a factor on how students score on the Implicit Association Test.

Intergroup and Outgroup Anxiety

Intergroup and outgroup anxiety also have a big role in implicit biases and how they can affect how individuals treat others. Intergroup anxiety refers to anxiety in intergroup interactions, individuals can often feel threatened during interactions with outgroup members. This fear of rejection, exploitation, or fear of being ridiculed which could be tested through surveys (Stephen et al., 2000). Feelings of fear or ridicule may be enhanced in certain circumstances such as immigrants coming into the state. Outgroup favoritism refers to a preference for a nonmember group relative to one's member group (Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002). With the intergroup and outgroup

anxiety that has been researched it can be understood how this may play a role in implicit and explicit bias that has been tested in the past and will be tested with this study.

Hispanic and White biases against Hispanics was tested and revealed their Hispanic intragroup attitudes were less negative than White intergroup attitudes (March & Graham, 2014). After understanding these two factors, the research being conducted now relates to the implicit and explicit measures and studies focusing on Latinos.

Research Questions

Research that has utilized Implicit Association Tests has been primarily focused on fields other than criminal justice, such as the medical field, or has been mostly used in police-citizen interaction scenarios. This study will focus on the implicit and explicit biases that may be held by college students towards Latinos, and/or about the relationship between crime and immigration. The key research question of this study is: What are the implicit and explicit attitudes towards Latinos, and/or about the relationship between crime and immigration? This question will be answered by examining the five related research questions listed below:

- Are male students more likely to hold negative opinions of illegal immigration (than females)?
- Do students who identify as conservative hold more negative views towards illegal immigration (than liberals)?
- Does political affiliation influence how participants view illegal immigration and crime?
- Does political affiliation influence how participants see the treatment of Hispanics?

- Do participants support the reliability of the IAT when scores are consistent with their personal explicit beliefs?

Participants will have the opportunity to discuss their opinions on the IAT score they received, which will help determine how they felt about their scores and the attitudes they hold. While there have not been studies that have looked at this topic from a criminal justice perspective, it is predicted that there will be some automatic preference, or implicit bias, that will be shown either in support or against immigration, crime and Latinos.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Group Conflict

Historically, there have been issues between Whites and minority groups that have influenced the way Whites and minority groups have been treated and the implicit and explicit biases held by members of all groups. One example of this conflict would be the *Mendez v. Westminster School District of Orange County (1946)*, a precursor to the *Brown v. Board of Education*, where Mexican children were not allowed to attend schools with White children prior to this decision. Prior to this decision Mexican children were secluded and segregated for decades. *Hernandez v Texas (1954)*, another landmark case for people of Hispanic descent, decided that that persons of Mexican descent should be able to serve as jury commissioners and jurors.

The outcome of these altercations with different racial groups have resulted in legislation and policies to dictate how people should be treated. One explanation that has been proposed is that prejudicial attitudes result from the relative positions of the non-dominant groups and dominant group as they become protective over certain rights and resources (Blumer, 1958). The dominant group views any other groups as alien and different. Racial biases can be a result of these group conflicts and have also been seen to influence policies, but studies indicate that the present work done has underestimated the true prevalence and influence of racial biases on punitive measures (Drakulich, 2015). In addition to group conflict creating issues, there is also the problem of stereotypes that may fuel racial attitudes or support group conflict issues.

Stereotypes are defined as generalizations about social groups that are rigidly held, illogically derived, and erroneous in content (Lippmann, 1922). Minority groups,

specifically Blacks and Latinos, are often stereotyped as crime-prone (Staat, Capatosto, Wright, & Contractor, 2015). This can lead to police officer aggression or having predisposed judgements of minorities. Latinos and Blacks often have many negative stereotypes that follow them as Latinos are often portrayed negatively on television and are commonly known as “thugs” or members of drug cartels (Roman, 2000).

Immigration seems to be viewed negatively and the immigrants are often portrayed as criminals or dangerous. Group conflicts and stereotypes can play a major role in the racial attitudes that are held by some individuals and may lead to implicit biases.

Everyday people may not even know that they hold certain implicit biases towards certain groups of people because what they express openly to other people may not show this. It is important to understand what group conflict and stereotypes are because it may help researchers understand why or how these can influence a person’s implicit bias. Full understanding of how implicit biases work allows researchers to use Implicit Association Tests to study biases held by individuals.

Implicit Bias and the IAT

Implicit and explicit bias research has been conducted for almost 20 years. The research has been conducted in a variety of fields, most commonly the medical field and within criminal justice, research has focused on police conduct or police citizen interactions, and most often with Blacks, and with Latinos being researched only as a sub-category.

Implicit attitudes are known to be relatively subconscious because they can influence one’s judgement and evaluations automatically that is, outside one’s control or awareness (Greenwald et al., 1998). While it may be easy to express or say that they feel

a certain way, their true attitudes or biases can be understood and revealed through the use of the Implicit Association Test.

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) was developed by Greenwald, Banaji, and Nosek in 1995 and was later adapted to be administered via computer in 1998. The Implicit Association Test is a widely used instrument to examine prejudices towards groups of people. This is accomplished by having participants quickly categorize stimulus words by using two response keys (most commonly the “I” and “E” keys on the keyboard) (McConnell & Leibold, 2000). During the Implicit Association Test, the participant is asked to classify stimuli that represents racial groups (e.g., Black and White faces) and evaluative attributes such as pleasant and unpleasant words using two designated keys (Dasgupta et al., 2000). The pleasant and unpleasant words used vary from study to study but most often include words such as “joy” and “beautiful” and “disgusting” and “foul.” The IAT measures unconscious bias by measuring if participants match a group representative to an attribute more quickly, when they connect these factors the IAT then measures the time required for these matching tasks under conditions (pairings) (Green et al., 2007). In addition to having to match stimuli to categories the researcher has picked, participants are also asked to categorize the information as quickly as they can and then the participant’s reaction time is measured in milliseconds as well as the accuracy of the participant’s answers (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001). The number of categories and stages may vary from test to test but most often include at least three different stages and four different matching processes. Categories will often begin by having the “E” key stand for a racial group such as White and the “I” key Blacks and have the participant match the picture to the correct category.

The second category will have the “E” key be for “good” words such as joy and the “I” key be for bad words such as disgusting and have the participants match to the correct category. The third and fourth categories will have the same words and faces but the “E” and “I” key meanings are switched.

Research has shown that participants tend to perform the test more quickly when pleasant attributes share the same response key with White than Black stimuli, and unpleasant attributes share the same key with Black than White stimuli (Greenwald et al., 1998). McConnell and Leibold (2001) explain that the difference in the average response latency between the two sets of key mappings is known as the IAT effect and the larger the IAT effect the stronger the associations in memory between the concept pairings. The IAT is considered a valid test partly because it is so difficult to come up with strategies to “cheat” or “fake” responses. The IAT is far more resistant to faking than explicit measures because it measures how quickly a participant subconsciously replies (Kim, 2003).

Implicit Association Test in the Medical Field

While the Implicit Association Test has been widely used, a majority of IAT studies using the Implicit Association Tests have been conducted in the medical field, and most of them are focused on Blacks and physicians’ bias towards them. Latinos are seldom researched in any fields but have been included in a few of the medical studies that have focused on physicians’ bias. It is important to understand the research that has been done with other races and the outcomes that have been concluded in these studies. These results may be similar to research that can later be conducted.

Like many of the studies in other fields, Blacks have been a major focus in implicit bias research. In one study physicians expressed an equal preference for Black and White Americans on the survey portion of the study but were seen to have a stronger association of negative attitudes towards Blacks than Whites on the Implicit Association Test (Green et al., 2007). Another study that focused on Black and Latino patients yielded similar results. This study revealed that clinicians were seen to have implicit bias towards Blacks (43% moderate to strong) and Latinos (51% moderate to strong) (Blair et al., 2013). With results such as these it is easily seen how implicit bias may still be held by some individuals and why it is important to identify. While a handful of studies have had sub-categories dedicated to Latinos or other minority groups Latinos remain largely under researched in these fields and criminal justice is no exception.

Implicit Association in Criminal Justice

Implicit Association Tests have only recently been used in the criminal justice. Implicit Association Tests have shown, people generally tend to have some degree of implicit bias towards certain groups of people. For this reason, and the fact that criminal justice employees have contact with citizens everyday it is important to test those working in the system. When the implicit association test is used in the criminal justice system, it is usually for assessing police reaction to suspects and people of color.

Implicit Bias and Police

Implicit bias can be fatal when it comes to police decision making in critical situations such as confronting suspects or even situations that may involve police use of force. Police come into contact with minorities frequently, and there has been an ongoing

debate that has been brought forward to explain the over-representation of minorities, even minority youth in the criminal justice system (Piquero, 2008). One explanation is that minorities are more likely than Whites to be involved in the criminal justice system because it is believed they commit more crime than Whites. The other is that there are more altercations with police and minorities because of police bias and prejudice towards these groups such as the belief that minorities are more likely to commit crime or be criminals (Chambliss, 1994; Takagi, 1974). Fachner and Carter (2015) focused on how implicit bias can play a role in an officer's decision to shoot a suspect describing a phenomenon known as "Threat Perception Failures" (TPF). TPF refers to a situation where a police officer is in a shooting scenario where their perceptions may not reflect the facts of the situation. Studies have shown that having a Black subject was related to police use of force (Fridell & Lim, 2016). This can be dangerous because implicit biases can play a role in how the officer perceives these situations.

Corell, Park, Judd and Wittenbrink (2002) preformed a study that asked participants to push a "shoot" or "don't shoot" at pictures of Whites and Blacks that either held a gun or a neutral non-dangerous weapon. Participants were more likely to shoot an armed Black man than an armed White man and were quicker to not shoot an unarmed White man than an unarmed Black man. James, Jears and Vila (2006) found that 96% of the participants associated Black images with images of weapons and most officers showed moderate (40%) or strong (38%) levels of implicit bias.

Research has indicated that implicit bias in police can lead to unconscious racial profiling in the field (Smith & Alpert, 2007), in addition to influencing the decision to shoot or use of force. Racial profiling refers to situations in which legal authorities may

be acting, to some extent, based on the race of a person (Harris, 1999). Carroll and Gonzalez (2014) also found that implicit stereotyping in traffic stops were conditioned upon the racial composition that made up the area of patrol. For example, police officers may use higher levels of force with suspects confronted in more disadvantaged neighborhoods (Terrell & Reisig, 2003). The research is helpful in showing that race alone is not a predictor of arrests, only an influence, so it could possibly be changed (Dabney, Teasdale, Ishoy, Gann, & Berry, 2017).

Implicit Bias in other Criminal Justice Areas

While a large amount of the research conducted in the criminal justice field has been in policing, there have been some studies that have focused on other aspects. For example, one study focused on how implicit bias could influence court judges resulted in “good” being grouped with Whites and “bad” with Blacks (Rachlinski et al., 2008). With the IAT, “good” and “bad” are often associated with positive and negative stimuli. While there have not been many studies directed towards race and criminal guilt, there is a belief that there is a connection between racial bias and presumption of innocence (King, 1993). The presumption of guilty or not guilty was put to the test in study where test participants did display significant association between Blacks and “guilty” compared to Whites and “guilty” on an IAT (Levinson et al., 2010).

The Implicit Association Test has also been adapted and used to test eyewitness reliability. For this study, an IAT was created and first asked participants to group true and false statements into true or false categories, and faces into categories, the researchers expected to be able to see if participants would have associated a face with guilt. The study explained resulted in an indication that false memory which could be

caused by suggestive nature such as previously viewing a target line-up is a result of activating implicit biases and participants who exhibited false memories were more likely to associate the suspect picked with a negative attribute than the faces not picked (Helm, Ceci, & Burd, 2016). Results so far have been very helpful and could potentially lead to changes in the way eye witnesses are exposed to trials or what they are limited to seeing or hearing before trial. With the research that has been conducted it is important to ask and look at the research that has focused on whether implicit biases/associations can be changed from the scores that participants receive.

Can Implicit Bias Be Changed?

The interesting thing that has been concluded with implicit association tests is that it seems that implicit bias can be changed. When police officers received less sleep, they were more likely to associate Blacks with weapons compared to when they had gotten more hours of sleep (James, 2017). Blair (2001) concluded that certain stereotypes or attitudes can be weakened by imagining or being shown examples of counter-stereotypes such as strong women, or minorities doing good deeds. What participants are exposed from before or after the tests can have some influence and can be promising in how well these implicit attitudes or stereotypes are changed. This is especially important because participants' reactions to their IAT are not always positive.

Reactions to IAT Scores

While there have been numerous studies that have focused on the Implicit Association Test and what the results can mean for future policy and research, few studies have focused on how the participants respond to their results. It has been seen

that, when pre-existing beliefs were reinforced by their IAT score, participants were more likely to attribute it to the validity of the IAT and thus their responses were often positive (Schlachter & Rolf, 2016). In contrast, when their IAT results conflicted with their own explicit views, individuals tended to either defend/excuse their implicit bias or question the legitimacy of the IAT. For example, Schlachter and Rolf (2016) reported that participants would try to justify their score by relating it to their life experiences or were unable to cope with the results they received. The current study will allow participants to comment on the IAT scores received.

Explicit and Implicit Attitudes

Some studies have been able to include both implicit and explicit measures into the questions being tested. This research has allowed researchers to compare the two against each other and determine if a person is being truthful or deceitful in their responses in the explicit measure used in the study. Explicit bias refers to the bias that one may outwardly show or display on a daily basis and is well known to the participant. Being able to compare explicit to implicit bias attitudes will allow the researcher to better understand the true feelings a group of participants regardless of what they indicate through the explicit methods. Explicit methods can be used in a variety of different ways in studies.

Explicit measures could include surveys that are distributed to participants, interviews done in person, self-reported surveys, etc. Questions could include support of welfare or other minority helping resources, support of immigration, support of speaking other languages, or questions similar to these.

Matthes and Schmuck (2017) conducted a study on ads and how they could influence a person's explicit and implicit bias. The explicit measure included a seven-point Likert type measure that tested how comfortable participants were with immigrants. Sample questions included whether participants believed immigration should be restricted or if immigrants were causing too much harm to the country. Negative stereotypes were also measured by a nine-point measure that considered several negative stereotypes. The implicit association test used for this study had participants classify words into four different categories. The results indicated that ad exposure had a significant effect on negative stereotypes and negative stereotypes were significant more prevalent among lower educated individuals.

Implicit and Explicit Bias and Latinos

The implicit association tests have mostly been used to look at Blacks compared to White Americans but in a handful of studies there has been a focus on Latinos. In two separate studies, Weyant (2005) and Ottaway et al. (2001) both found negative implicit bias among Whites towards Hispanics. In a study examining bias that both Hispanics and Whites hold towards Hispanics using a startle paradigm revealed that both groups displayed negativity towards Hispanic males (March & Graham, 2014). As March and Graham (2014) explained the startle paradigm task consisted of 40 trials. These trials began with a fixation, followed by a centrally presented prime on a 46-cm monitor which ultimately resulted in negativity displayed towards Hispanics. One study focusing on Latino immigrants used an IAT that compared Latino immigrants relative to White immigrants. Participants were asked to match the words "White immigrants", "Latino immigrants", with "good" and "bad" words. After the IAT test participants were asked to

take a survey. This survey asked questions that ranged from immigration and welfare to making it harder for immigrants to become citizens. The results indicated that participants held negative implicit attitudes toward Latino immigrants (Perez, 2010).

Latinos and the Criminal Justice System

Police officers are in the public eye more than others in the criminal justice system and are often judged based on the everyday encounters they have with civilians. Police community relations may already be an issue in some areas with police and certain races of people without factoring in the language barrier. For example, Hispanics tend to report less crime, ask for less information, and have less favorable attitudes towards police (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). Language barriers may help account for the issues with police and non-English speaking citizens in the community. In studies that have focused how police perceive language barriers, officers admit they sometimes perceived citizens speaking other languages during a routine stop as deviant behavior. Several officers also admitted to not pulling over Hispanic drivers for fear of not being able to communicate and instead letting them get away with whatever they were doing, and they mentioned how citizen's inability to communicate with police may affect citizens' fear of crime and perceptions of criminal activity (Culver, 2004). This study also explained that many officers get through citizen interactions by using a mix of "survival Spanish" (very simple words or phrases) and using hand signals such as "slow down" or "stop" but otherwise had a hard time communicating when in an interaction with someone who was a non-English speaker. The overall issues law enforcement saw with non-English speakers was a time delay in completing calls for service which ended up being twice as

long as other calls, the intentional failure of not pulling over Spanish speakers, the citizens not understanding the purpose of a traffic ticket or how to take care of it, and possibly adding to fear of crime (Culver, 2004). In 2002 and 2004 study a majority of Latinos (82%) said that discrimination is still a major problem in the United States and had contributed to a lack of success in America (Suro & Escobar 2006) Latino experiences within the criminal justice system is common and can be influenced by language barriers that could lead to officers being influenced on how they see Latino suspects. Being more familiar with the experience of Latinos in the criminal justice system is now important to have an understanding on the overall opinions of immigration held by the public.

Immigration Opinions

Immigration into the United States has always been a topic of discussion. But recently, immigration has been heavily reported and discussed on television networks and in classrooms. While it may seem that thoughts and opinions on immigration are constantly changing, certain factors may remain consistent in shaping these thoughts and attitudes. For one, money and financial stress. It has been seen that those who struggle more financially and are economically vulnerable are more likely to hold hostile views towards immigrants and immigration (Espenshade & Calhoun, 1993; Hoskin, 1991). A common assumption is that immigrants will take jobs from (American) citizens (Harwood, 1983). More educated survey respondents tend to support immigration and increasing immigration rates more so than those who are less educated (Burns & Gimpel, 2000). According to Burns and Gimpel (2000) this may be related to the belief that with more education comes more job security than those who may be working jobs that

require less education. The other argument is that universities produce individuals who are more likely to hold progressive beliefs (Sorensen & Krahn, 1996).

Latino immigration has had a negative past in the United States. In the 1950s an anti-Mexican sentiment under a federal program “Operation Wetback” aimed to stop Latino immigration. During this federal program, Mexican migration was stopped through the use of military power. News reports discussing Latino immigrants often boost public opposition to immigration (Brader et al., 2008). So specifically, Latino immigrants are being viewed negatively, which brings down support for immigration which could be a result of how Latino immigrants are portrayed on popular news stations and broadcasts. Immigrants are often portrayed in negative light and because of this, Latino immigrants are held in low regard and the public may automatically rely on this attitude to make judgements for immigration policies (Chavez, 2001; Huntington, 2004). Immigration has been a hot topic of discussion especially in recent years since there has been a crackdown of illegal immigration into the United States. Because of the strict calls for immigration there have been many opinions and the portrayal of immigrants especially Latino immigrants has been prevalent in the recent media.

Influence of Political Affiliation on Immigration

News broadcasts, social media sites and even magazines constantly update the American public on current events. These current events often include updates on political parties and the legislation, opinions, and arguments they are currently discussing. Political parties may influence who one chooses to associate with, vote for and even shape thoughts on major subjects such as immigration. Conservative views have often been associated more with negative opinions on immigration which may due to a

variety of issues. For one, conservatives tend to worry more about rising taxes due to legal and illegal immigration than liberals do (Citrin, Green, Muste, & Wong, 1997). It has also been seen in the 2006 National Survey of Latinos that Hispanics hold Republicans responsible for stricter immigration laws and reform. Liberals are often associated with more progressive and accepted views on the topic of immigration (Janus, 2010). Left leaning or Democratic political affiliation has been tested and associated with being pro-immigrant and having positive views on immigration (Rustenbach, 2010).

The research presented indicates from liberals or members of the Democratic party are more supportive of immigration, and this will be the expectation in the present study. Recently, President Donald Trump has referred to Mexican immigrant as “bringing drugs, bringing crime, and rapists.” With views such as these expressed by a Republican president, it is assumed that opinions on immigration held by Republicans will be more negative.

Influence of Gender on Immigration

Previous research on gender and immigration has proposed a few reasons why males may be more likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigration. First, traditionally, women are often taught to think of others while males are taught to be more concerned for themselves and be competitive (Hughes & Tuch, 2003). This could lead females to be more sympathetic towards immigrants and willing to be accepting of immigration. Based on this, it can be predicted that women will feel that immigrants need help in a new country and be more willing to help, while men may see immigrants as competition for economic resources. It has also been proposed that women are less likely to be threatened by immigrants than males (McLaren, 2003).

Immigration and Crime

Along with immigration being associated with negative attitudes due to financial stress, education and political affiliation it is also falsely linked to an increase of crime. Specifically, an increase in immigration is often thought to increase disorganization in communities which leads to an increase of crime (Schuerman & Kubrin, 1968). For example, in the past the “Hispanization” of Florida and immigration into the South led to false claims that immigration contributed to drug-related crime and race riots (Huntington, 2004). However, contrary to popular belief, immigration has not been seen to have an influence on crime.

One study focused specifically on immigration and homicide rates in Miami, Florida and San Antonio, Texas. The results indicated that levels of homicide, both of Latinos and Whites, were significantly lower in communities with immigrants (Martinez & Stowell, 2012). Martinez and Stowell (2012) also indicated that immigration did not increase or contribute to homicides related to gang or drug violence. An increase in immigrants in a community has actually been seen to decrease the level of violence over time and may actually lead to observed reductions in crime across the United States (Martinez, Stowell, & Lee, 2010; Sampson & Bean 2006).

Recently, the villainization of Latino immigrants has been seen on the news, on television shows and by the political climate. The strongest arguments made by conservative leaders, including the President, is that immigrants bring crime. The research indicates that this is not the case and immigration has no relationship to an increase in crime, drugs, or homicides.

While portions or small parts of the proposed research questions have been answered throughout different studies and throughout the time that the IAT has been used there has been gaps or unanswered questions. Latinos, crime and immigration has never been focused on exclusively or in one study so this study will be able to contribute this information to the field of criminal justice.

Summed up, the previous literature has indicated that implicit bias can be revealed through the use of the Implicit Association Tests. In the instances that the IAT has been used it has concluded that bias can be seen against Blacks and Latinos and this is common throughout different fields ranging from medical to criminal justice. Implicit and explicit bias have rarely been tested together but may reveal participants were not being completely honest in responses. It was also seen that implicit bias could be changed/ modified if exposed to positive stimuli. Participants were seen to agree with their IAT scores when the outcomes were favorable to their beliefs and disagree and even challenge the validity of the IAT when their outcomes were unfavorable to the beliefs they hold.

Research has been significant in helping understand the IAT and the possible outcomes that may come from testing. Although, there have been some gaps in the existing research. Latinos are often only tested as sub groups or are not included in studies at all. Latino immigration and crime has not been studied together in a criminal justice setting. The current study focused exclusively on Latinos and crime with undergraduate criminal justice students as participants. The current study focused on responses received on both implicit and explicit measures, the reactions the participants

had to their scores, and the subject as a whole as it contributes to the criminal justice field.

III. METHODOLOGY

Sampling Frame and Administration of Surveys

The current study focused on college students' implicit and explicit bias towards Latinos, crime and immigration. The sampling frame is defined as college students from Texas State University. The university is designated as a "Hispanic-serving Institution."

The study was open to undergraduate students in the criminal justice department whose classes were participating in the SONA systems for course credit. No additional advertising was done. SONA is a computer-based tool for recruiting research participants from undergraduate courses. The sample of college students are not representative of all college students because the participants were only recruited from criminal justice courses during the Spring 2018 semester. Not all students who had the option to participate in the survey chose to do so.

Data collection was achieved through a survey that was constructed in an online computer program called Qualtrics (Provo, UT), but was distributed via the SONA system. The study was available SONA for two months. Three time slots were allotted for every 30 minutes and each time slot had a maximum of three openings that participants could sign up for. After completion of the study the data from the survey measuring explicit bias was collected in Qualtrics. The Implicit Association Test (IAT) was collected on the millisecond website, the website used to host the IAT. Participants had been given a randomized number at the end of the survey and were asked to input that number into the IAT portion of the study before beginning the IAT.

Initially, the study had aimed to compare the survey and IAT results to see if the IAT indicated a difference in implicit bias compared to the survey responses. However,

due to unforeseen issues with the Qualtrics system, it became impossible to accurately match the Implicit Association Test responses with the explicit survey measure responses. The issue was related to the randomized numbers generated in Qualtrics. The data could not be connected so instead the decision was made to analyze the data separately. This was done as an effort to accurately explain the results of the IAT and the survey without connecting data to the wrong number given by Qualtrics.

The only requirement of the study was that the student be enrolled in a criminal justice course that was participating in SONA. The explicit part of the study included a 36-question survey that asked participants about Latinos, crime and immigration (see Appendix A). After completing the survey, the participants were then asked to copy and paste the link provided and directed to the Millisecond website where the IAT was available. The IAT test included associating pictures of White and Latino Americans and “good” and “bad” words to comparison groups. The participants completed the study in its entirety in under 30 minutes. Participants who completed the study successfully were granted one credit via the SONA system that counted towards course credit.

As it can be seen from Table 1, a majority (70.2%) of the respondents were between the ages of 18 and 21. A small percentage (15.6%) of the participants consisted of what could be considered non-traditional students in that they were older than average. By the time the study closed on SONA and the survey was analyzed, 295 undergraduate students had responded and completed the survey. Prior to this point most studies using the IAT had sample sizes below 75.

Table 1. Age of participants

| Age | Frequency | Percentage |
|------------|-----------|------------|
| 18-19 | 101 | 33.4% |
| 20-21 | 111 | 36.8% |
| 22-23 | 36 | 11.9% |
| 24+ | 47 | 15.6% |
| Incomplete | 7 | 2.3% |
| Total | 302 | 100.0% |

The sample size was also broken down by political affiliation and gender. As can be seen in Table 2, about two thirds of the participants (who provided both gender and political affiliation data) were female. About half of the participants indicated they were neutral when it came to politics. Males were more likely to identify as conservative than female participants (31% vs. 18%, respectively).

Table 2. Gender and political affiliation

| Political Affiliation | Gender | | Total |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| | Male | Female | |
| Extremely Conservative | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Moderately Conservative | 23 | 30 | 53 |
| Neutral | 44 | 68 | 112 |
| Moderately Liberal | 15 | 55 | 70 |
| Extremely Liberal | 1 | 17 | 18 |
| Total | 87 | 171 | 258 |

Concepts and Variables

Implicit bias was measured through use of an IAT, which was created by the researcher and thesis chair on the Millisecond website. Explicit bias was measured through a 36-question survey that was loosely based on the Modern Ethnicity Bias Scale

(12-item version) that was adapted from McConohay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale; additional questions were created by the researcher.

The beginning of the survey consisted of demographics and college-specific questions. Participants were asked to provide their age, gender and major. The choice to split the demographic questions between the beginning and the end of the survey was to help ease participants into answering questions and cool down after answering if needed. Demographic questions at the end of the survey included political affiliation and school year which the participant answered by selecting a multiple-choice response.

Survey Instruments

Survey methods are a useful way to obtain information from a group of participants that can later be applied to the larger population. The survey instrument used for this study was the Modern Ethnicity Bias Scale that was adapted from McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale. With the Modern Ethnicity Bias Scale questions 1-7 were adapted from the original scale and 8-12 were additional questions. The Modern Ethnicity Bias scale has been previously validated in studies. In addition to the 12-question Modern Ethnicity Bias Scale the researcher created additional questions for the study. The researcher and thesis chair created an Implicit Association Test through the Millisecond website that was used to measure implicit attitudes towards Latinos.

Explicit Bias

Participants were asked to complete a 36-questions survey on the SONA system created via Qualtrics. Twenty-seven of the questions asked were Likert style questions with a seven-point scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree." The

survey included demographics questions and concluded with three open-ended questions that allowed the participants to leave additional comments they believe should have been included in the study and a space that allowed the participant to indicate their country of birth if not the United States. After completing the survey the participant was instructed to copy and paste a link provided into a different web browser to take the IAT.

Implicit Bias

The IAT was created by the researcher and the thesis chair, comparing Whites and Latinos with positive and negative descriptors. The participant was asked to complete the test by matching words and/or pictures to a certain category by either pushing the “E” or “I” keys on the keyboard. The participants were asked to match good and bad words with either images of Latinos or Whites depending on how the category of the IAT asked the participant to sort the words. The categories were switched several times to thoroughly test the participant as the IAT designed to. In addition to matching words the participants also had to match pictures of Latino and White Americans to different categories. The categories included “White American”, “Hispanic American”, “Bad”, and “Good”, these word groups were asked separately and at times together, one example would be to sort the Latino pictures and bad words to the “Latino American” and a variation of the categories and the matches.

The IAT included seven good words and seven bad words. Good words included words such as happy and joyful and bad words included words such as disgusting and unpleasant. There were seven pictures of Latinos and seven pictures of White Americans that were used and shifted around randomly through the test. The pictures used were taken from a free database and were cropped for the purpose of keeping the skin color

from influencing the participants and having them instead focus on facial features. The pictures were presented in “black and white” to also keep skin color from playing a large factor. The IAT scores are measured on a scale from -2 to 2. If a participant scored closer to -2 they were more likely to prefer Latinos and if the participant scored closer to 2 they were more likely to prefer White Americans. Participants were given the opportunity see their score of the IAT and before completing the study were able to return to the survey before completing the study and fill out the last question which asked whether they believed their scores to be accurate and why they did or did not agree with the score.

Independent Variables

For this study, there were two independent variables the researcher chose to look at. The first of the two variables used was gender which was broken down by four options: male, female, other, or do not wish to answer. The second independent variable selected by the researcher is political affiliation and was broken down into five categories: extremely conservative, moderately conservative, neutral, moderately liberal and extremely liberal. These variables would be important indicators of how participants scored on both the explicit and implicit parts of the study. These variables will be used in different analytical methods to determine how much they influence the dependent variable and influence the participant when compared against each other.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variable identified by the researcher is the outcome of the survey the participants were asked to fill out. Since the survey used was not yet standardized or validated the researcher was unable to test all questions and come up with a single overall score. So instead, four different questions were selected to test the research questions for

this study. Broad support questions were chosen to illustrate what was happening when it came to bias towards Latinos, immigration and crime. The research questions were selected based on the previous research focusing on Latinos, crime and immigration. More specifically, they were focused on the gaps identified in the literature review.

Ethical Considerations

The study was completely anonymous. Participants signed up anonymously through the SONA system and the IAT was done anonymously. Even if participants reached out with questions, the researcher was unable to trace that participant to survey or IAT data. The data received was kept confidential and only the researcher and thesis committee had access to the results. Participants were offered SONA credit in exchange for participating in the study so this may have influenced why they participated as well as how they answered questions.

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was received before the researcher put the study up on SONA and start recruiting participants. The study was considered exempt and there was minimal harm associated with this study as most of the questions were non-sensitive and the participants took a survey. Participants were also given the option to opt out of the study at any time.

Validity and Reliability

While the data collected will allow for answers to the proposed research questions it is important to identify the issues with validity. When it comes to internal validity it is impossible to determine directions and influences of causal relationships in this study. It is impossible to tell if political affiliation has influence on views towards immigration or

if immigration views influence one's political influence. In regards to measurement validity, it is important to keep in mind that the questions asked in the survey had not previously been validated or standardized. The questions from the Modern Ethnicity Bias scale had been validated but were not the only questions tested therefore, the test was not validated which may influence the validity and reliability of the results. It is also important to consider, with external validity, that the target population is criminal justice employees while the participants were undergraduate students. Our sample, sample, is likely to be younger and more educated than the target population.

IV. RESULTS

This study only had five specific research questions or hypotheses but descriptive statistics for all data are provided to understand how participants felt about Latinos, crime and immigration. Table 3 shows the means and standard deviations for the survey questions relating to immigration. As shown, the average response on questions on immigration were either neutral or slightly supportive. The means of the questions revealed that participants did not appear to be biased against immigration. The most support was seen in questions relating to legal immigration and DACA recipients. The lowest level of support was for illegal immigration. Participants also tended to disagree that illegal and legal immigrants commit more crime. As indicated by the standard deviations, participants tended to have similar responses, with the largest variation being observed for the statement that illegal immigrants should receive more resources.

Table 3. Explicit attitudes towards immigration.

| | Mean | SD |
|---|------|------|
| Q5 - I support legal immigration | 6.21 | 1.17 |
| Q6 - I would be willing to date an illegal immigrant | 4.65 | 1.88 |
| Q8 - I support the idea that immigration levels should be raised | 4.22 | 1.45 |
| Q7 - I support the idea that it should be easier to become a United States citizen | 5.20 | 1.78 |
| Q9 - I support DACA recipients | 5.38 | 1.76 |
| Q10- I would be willing to help a DACA student on my campus (N=294) | 5.74 | 1.49 |
| Q11- I support illegal immigration (N=293) | 3.46 | 1.91 |
| Q12- I would be willing to date a DACA recipient | 5.16 | 1.71 |
| Q13- I believe there should be more resources for legal immigrants (N=275) | 6.04 | 1.26 |
| Q14- I believe there should be more resources for illegal immigrants | 4.43 | 2.08 |
| Q15- I believe that illegal immigrants are not treated fairly | 5.01 | 1.93 |
| Q16- I believe that legal immigrants are not treated fairly | 5.26 | 1.63 |
| Q17- I believe that migrant farm-workers have been treated harshly in most instances | 5.34 | 1.38 |
| Q18- I believe Mexicans crossing the U.S. border are often dealt with too harshly (N=294) | 4.79 | 1.93 |
| Q19- I believe illegal immigrants are more likely than citizens to commit a crime | 2.97 | 1.75 |
| Q20- I believe legal immigrants are more likely to commit a crime than citizens | 2.76 | 1.46 |

N.B.: N=295 unless otherwise indicated.

The results relating to attitudes towards Hispanics are displayed in Table 4. Overall, participants did not have bias towards Hispanics. The participants were more likely to agree with the existence of Hispanics' struggles and frustrations. It can also be seen in the standard deviations that participants had fairly high levels of agreement. The research questions selected will break down the attitudes towards immigration and Hispanics further by gender and political affiliation.

Table 4. Mean (and standard deviation) explicit attitudes towards Hispanics.

| | Mean | SD |
|---|------|------|
| Q22- I believe that over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Hispanics than they deserve (N=294) | 2.46 | 1.35 |
| Q23- It is easy to understand the frustration of Hispanics in America | 5.21 | 1.68 |
| Q24- I believe discrimination against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the United States (N=294) | 2.14 | 1.34 |
| Q25- I believe over the past few years, Hispanics have gained more economic opportunities than they deserve | 2.56 | 1.47 |
| Q26- I believe Hispanics have more influence upon school language issues than they ought to have | 3.12 | 1.59 |
| Q27- I believe Hispanics are getting too demanding in their push for the usage of the Spanish language | 2.94 | 1.82 |
| Q28- I believe that Hispanics should not push themselves where they are not wanted | 2.59 | 1.56 |
| Q29- I believe that Hispanics are taking advantage of their minority status | 2.69 | 1.77 |
| Q30- I believe that Hispanics are taking too many jobs from non-minorities (N=294) | 2.16 | 1.42 |
| Q31- I believe Hispanics often intentionally exclude non-Spanish speakers in their conversations | 3.41 | 1.93 |
| Q32- I believe Hispanics are more likely to commit crime than Whites are (N=294) | 2.42 | 1.52 |

N.B.: N=295 unless otherwise indicated.

Gender Differences

There was only one question tested in relation to gender differences but Figure 2 shows the mean agreement scores relating to all immigration-related items. Female participants were more in favor of immigration and less likely to believe that illegal or legal immigrants committed more crime than other citizens. Males were seen to support legal immigration just as much as female respondents, but were otherwise less likely to support immigration and immigrants. Female participants were more likely to be neutral or only slightly disagree with illegal immigration whereas males were much less likely to support illegal immigration. To answer the first research question, answers by males and females to this specific statement (i.e., Q11- I support illegal immigration) were compared using a Mann-Whitney test. This confirmed females were significantly more likely to support illegal immigration than males ($U=12,920.500$, $Z=5.346$, $p<.001$).

The study did not specifically focus on gender differences and attitudes towards Hispanics but the descriptive statistics for those statements can be seen in Figure 3. Male participants were more likely show some bias against Latinos by slightly disagreeing with or being neutral when presented with Latino-favorable statements. Males were more likely to believe that Hispanics often speak Spanish to intentionally exclude non-Spanish speakers. It is important to understand that males tended to show more bias towards Hispanics and immigration and crime than females.

Figure 1. Mean explicit attitudes towards immigration, by gender.

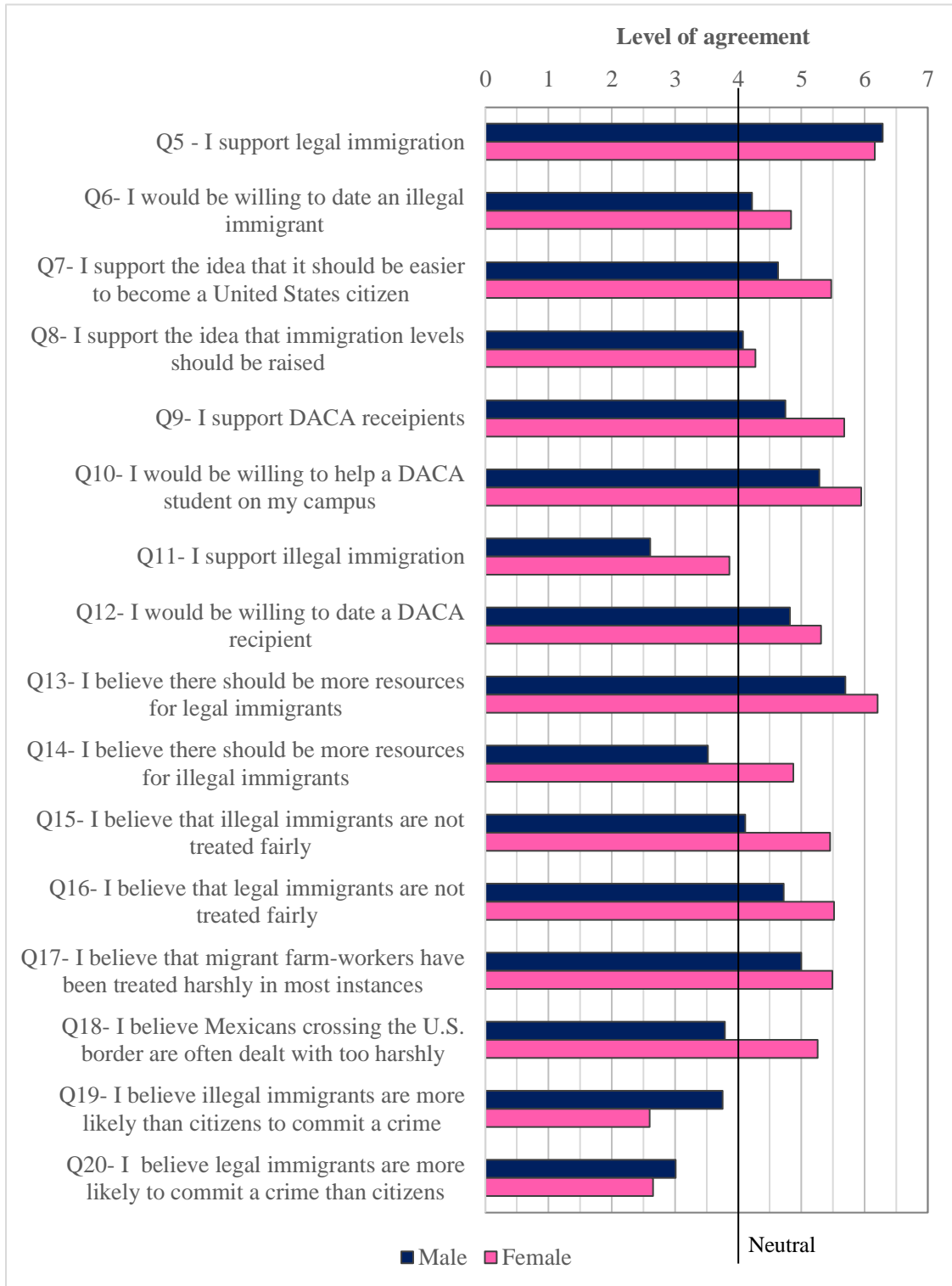
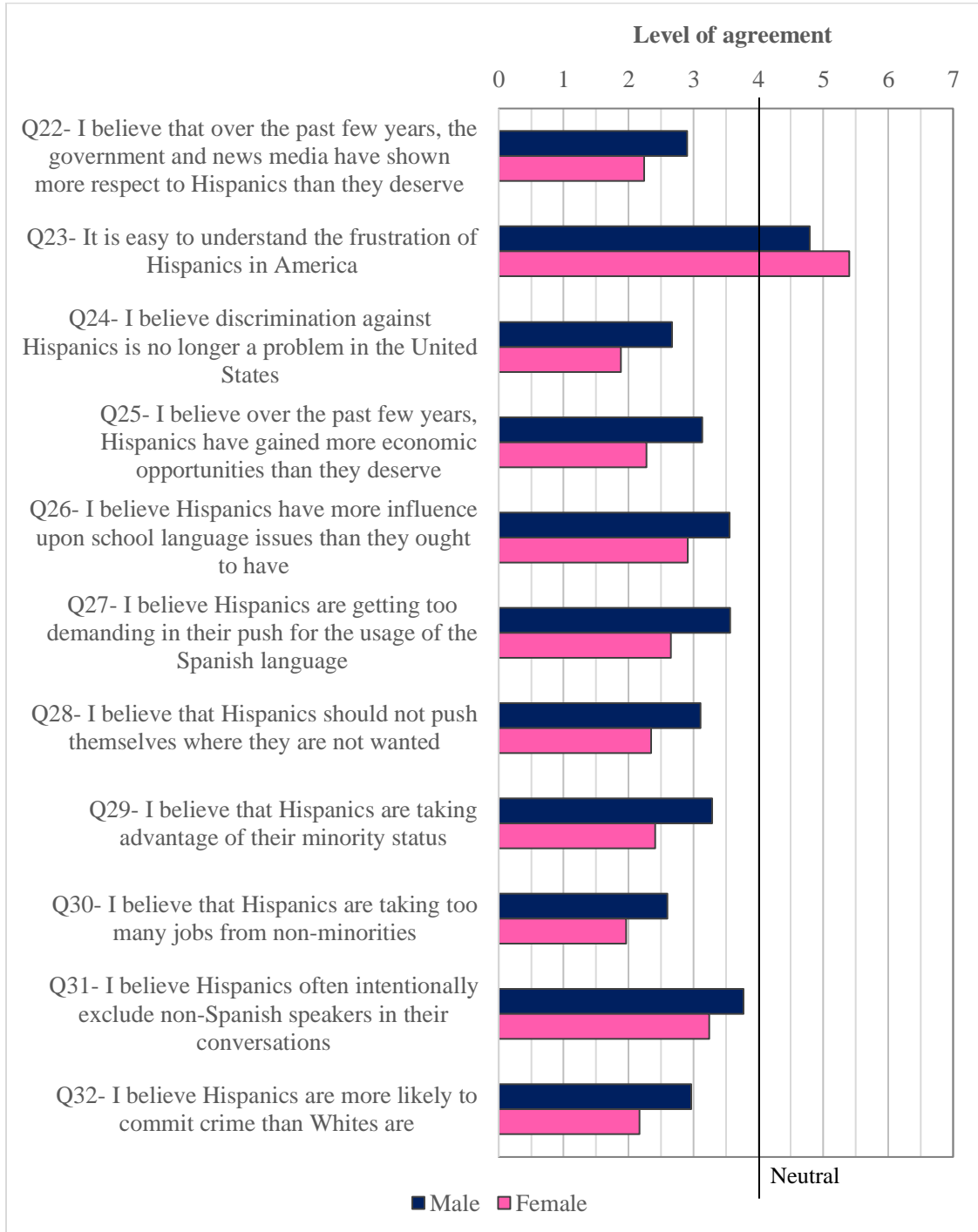


Figure 2. Mean explicit attitudes towards Hispanics, by gender



Differences in Attitudes by Political Affiliation

There were three questions that tested in relation to political affiliation but Figure 4 shows scores relating to all immigration-related items. Liberal participants were more in favor of immigration and less likely to believe that illegal or legal immigrants committed more crime than other citizens. Conservatives were seen to support legal immigration just as much as liberal respondents, but were otherwise less likely to support illegal immigration and immigrants.

The study did not specifically focus on gender political affiliation and attitudes towards Hispanics as much as immigration but the descriptive statistics for those statements can be seen in Figure 5. Conservative participants were more likely to show slight bias against Latinos or be neutral when presented with Latino-favorable statements. Conservatives were more likely to believe that Hispanics often speak Spanish to intentionally exclude non-Spanish speakers. It is important to understand that conservatives tended to show more bias towards Hispanics and immigration and crime than liberals. To answer the second research question, answers by participants to this specific statement (i.e., Q11- I support illegal immigration) were compared using a Spearman's Rho correlation. This confirmed that liberals were significantly more likely to support illegal immigration than conservatives ($\rho=.457$, $p<.001$, $N=257$). As indicated by the statistical test performed and the figure below there were differences observed between the political affiliations. For better clarity of the figures presented the categories of extremely conservative and moderately conservative were combined just as extremely liberal and moderately liberal were combined. The statistical test indicated there was a moderate positive relationship between political affiliation and support for illegal

immigration. A higher score was a higher level of agreement and it is important to consider that a higher score meant the participant identified more as liberal. As predicted by the research questions participants who identified as conservative were less likely to support the idea of illegal immigration. Participants who identified as liberal were more likely to support the idea of illegal immigration.

Figure 3. Mean explicit attitudes towards immigration, by political affiliation

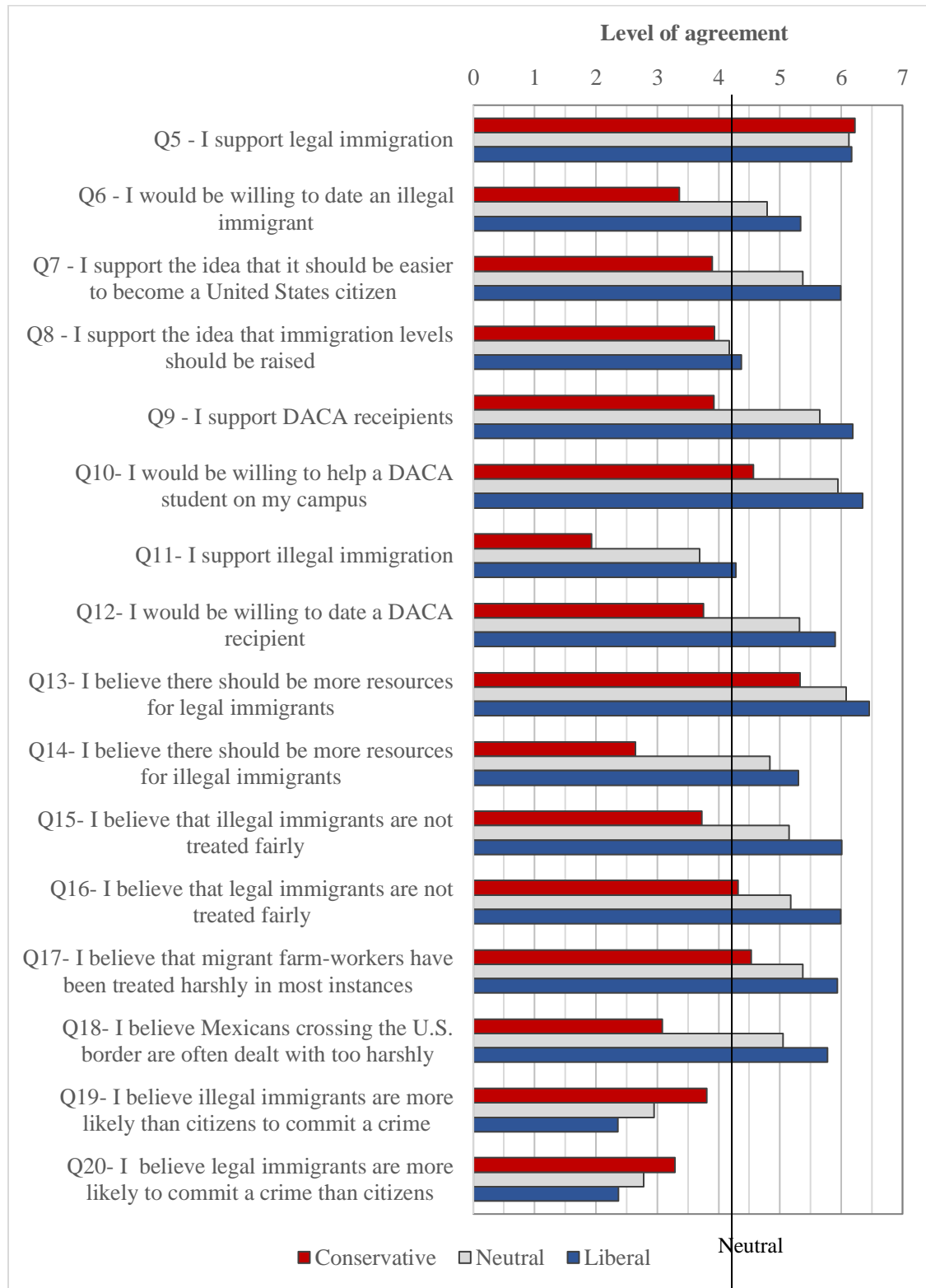
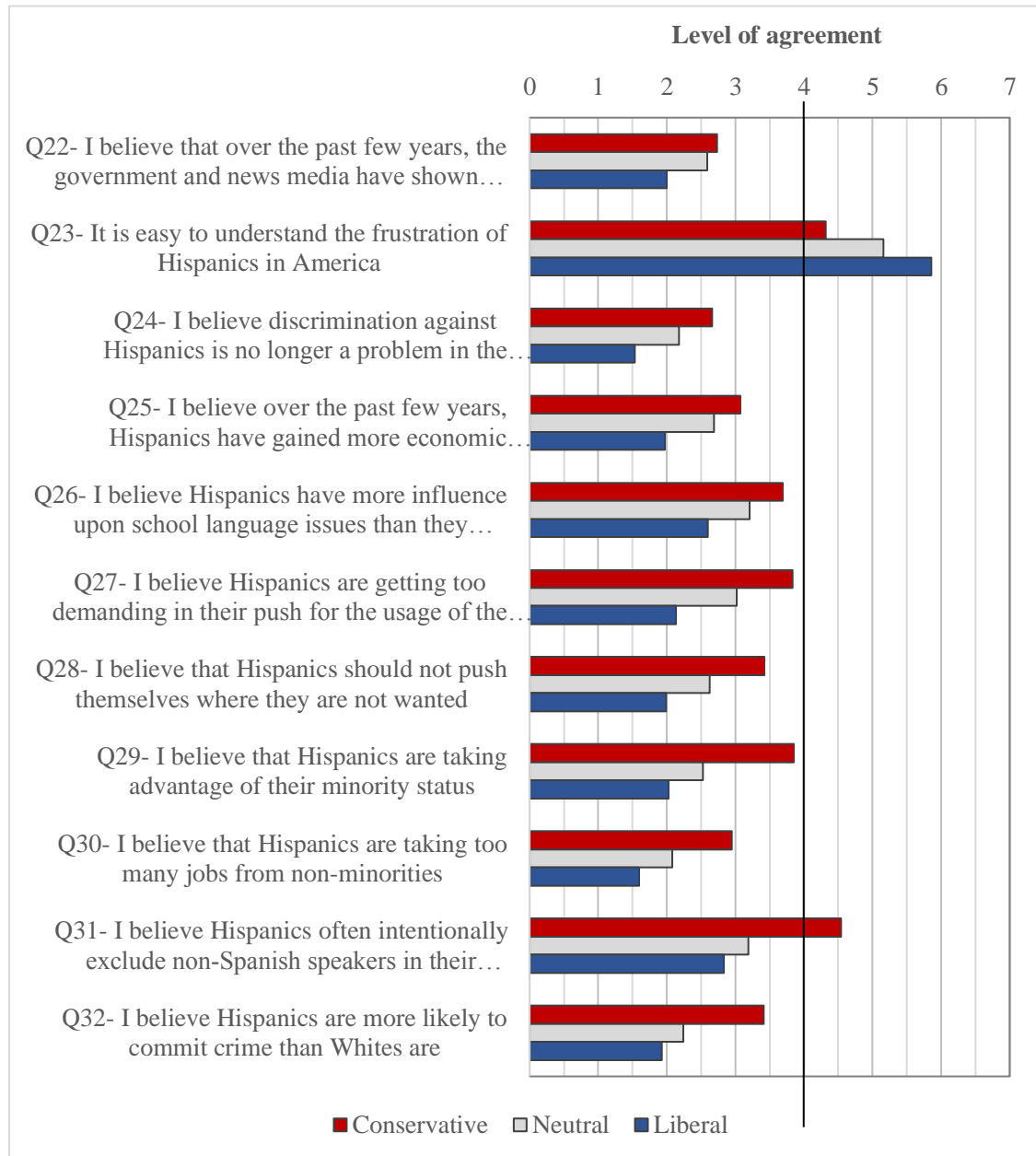


Figure 4. Mean explicit attitudes towards Hispanics, by political affiliation



To answer the third research question, answers by participants to this specific statement (i.e., Q19- I believe illegal immigrants are more likely than citizens to commit a crime) were compared using a Spearman's Rho correlation. This confirmed that liberals were significantly less likely to believe that illegal immigrants commit are more likely than citizens to commit a crime than conservatives ($\rho=.457$, $p<.001$, $N=257$). A weak, significant negative correlation between political affiliation indicates that the more liberal the participant was, the less likely they were to believe that illegal immigrants commit crime. As indicated by the statistical test performed and the figure above it could be seen that the participants were more likely to select neutral than agree or disagree. However, liberal participants were less likely to believe that illegal immigrants commit crime compared to conservative participants. It was predicted that political affiliation would have an influence on whether the participant believed that the illegal immigrants are more likely than citizens to commit crime and while the relationship was weak there was evidence of political affiliation influencing this response.

To answer the fourth research question, answers by participants to this specific statement (i.e., Q24- I believe discrimination against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the United States) were compared using a Spearman's Rho correlation. A Spearman correlation test revealed a weak, negative correlation between political affiliation and the belief that discriminant against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the United States ($\rho=-.373$, $p<.001$, $N=258$). As with the last question, the more liberal participants were the less likely they were to believe that discrimination against Hispanics was no longer an issue in the United States. Participants were more likely to disagree that discrimination against Hispanics is no longer an issue in America. But it is important to consider that

while the correlation was weak there was a relationship between political affiliation and the participant's answer.

Implicit Attitudes Towards Latinos

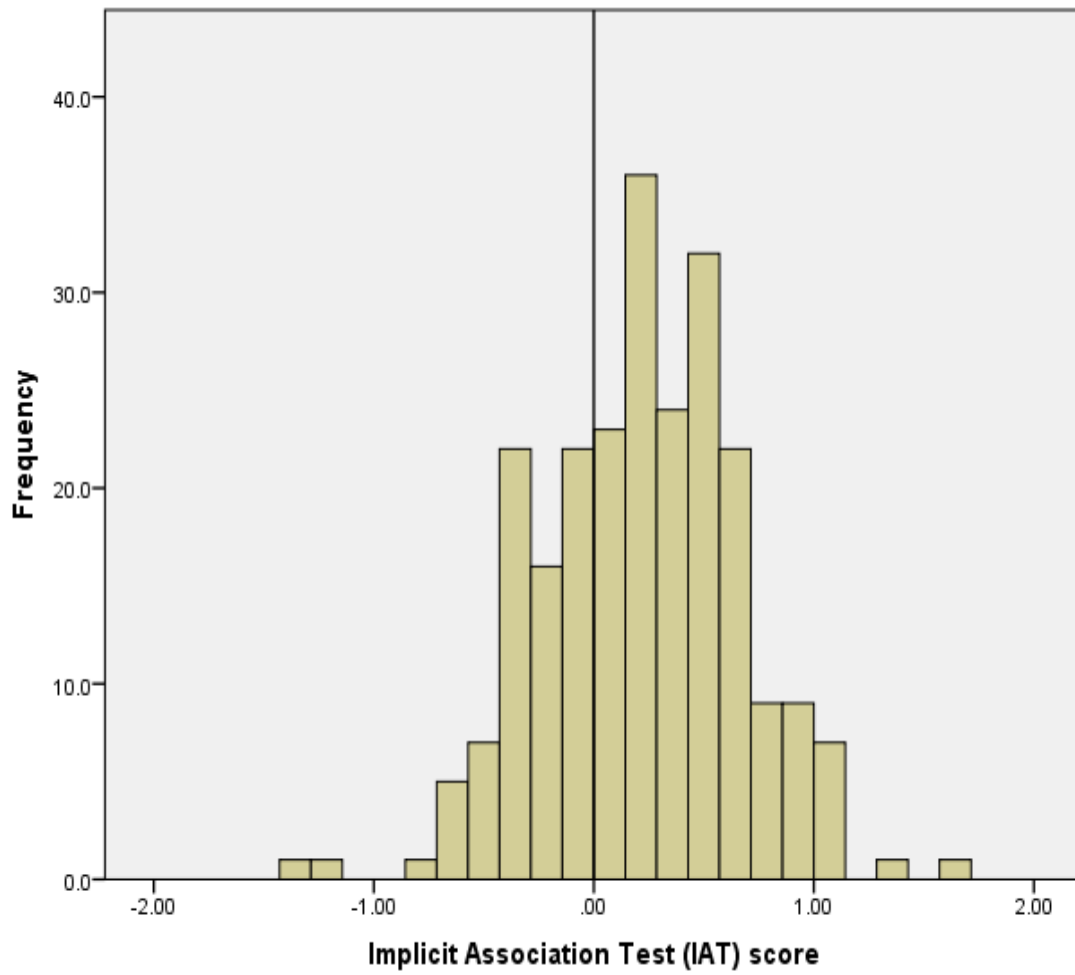
Due to unforeseen circumstance the IAT was not able to be accurately matched up to the survey data. The IAT was analyzed separately and the results indicated that the participants did have a preference for White Americans (.21). With a range from -2 being a preference for Latino Americans and 2 being a preference for White Americans no participant fell on either extreme.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics for Implicit Association Test (IAT) score (N=239).

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Mean | .21 |
| Median | .24 |
| Std. Deviation | .45 |
| Minimum | -1.42 |
| Maximum | 1.57 |

The figure below gives a visual presentation of the information listed in Table 5. While the mean score was closer to no bias the figure below allows for it to be seen that there was a skew of the IAT scores towards White Americans. However, it was also seen that there were no extreme or 2 or -2 responses in the scores.

Figure 5. Distribution of Implicit Association Test (IAT) scores in the sample (N=239).



Reactions to the Implicit Association Test Scores

Hypothesis 5

- Do participants support the reliability of the IAT when scores are favorable to their beliefs?

The goal of this study was to test the IAT data collected against the survey data provided by students and to test the two against each other to see whether the students had been honest on the survey. Since it was impossible to accurately match the data against each other the decision was made to look at the data separately.

The IAT aimed to test whether students had an automatic preference towards Latinos or Whites. While the information could not be accurately matched, the students were asked to reflect on their IAT test score at the end of the survey. Since this information was provided by the participants the researcher and team were able to identify how students felt about their IAT scores. Previous research on the IAT explained that participants often exhibited similar behaviors based on the scores they received. If they received scores they thought were favorable they were more supportive of the study and the IAT test, however if they disagreed with their score were likely to discuss how the test was unreliable and faulty. The comments were broken down by political affiliation to remain consistent with the previous research questions, favorable and unfavorable outcomes/attitudes and are shown in this fashion below (only a few of the comments were selected and used for this paper a list of the full comments received is located in the appendix). The comments were also left unaltered and were posted exactly as the participants wrote them to keep authenticity.

All the comments left by participants were analyzed by the researcher and common themes were identified. Participants were more likely to agree with scores that were more favorable to their beliefs than if they disagreed with their scores.

Favorable Attitudes:

- “yes I agree. I scored a 0.43 which shows I have a moderate preference to whites. I would expect this as the people that I most often come in contact with such as family or roommates are white”
- “My results were 0.6 and I guess they're kind of right. As a hispanic myself, I tend to gravitate towards people who are caucasian and disagree with many of my fellow hispanics' view's”
- “My number was 5423 I scored a 0.06 indicating no preference between White and Hispanic. Being both Hispanic and White, I agree with the statement. I treat everyone equally. I don't think there should be favoritism, if there is any, towards any race. I attempted going as fast as I could, when the roles were reversed in the orders, I found myself clicking for the wrong category multiple times. I knew the answer but physically clicked the wrong one”
- “My result was a .58 which i feel is 50/50 and somewhere in the middle. I feel that i was taking the test to distinguish what they were asking for and not what i "thought" people were. I come from a Hispanic family but i do not discriminate against someone because of their race or color. With the results being .58 i feel as is i was doing what the test simply asked”
- “I agree with my .25 score, I think I probably do have a slight bias. Not that it is right but I guess it is just the way i'm wired”

Unfavorable Attitudes:

- “Not exactly. I received a .67 which showed that I strongly prefer whites over Hispanics which I do not agree with. I personally do not identify as racist and tend to treat each person as their own individual, not changing my view because of their race”
- “No. I scored a .83 and showed a preference for white over Hispanics. In reality i feel it is backwards. I am white and married into a traditional Hispanic family majority of my friends are Hispanic vs white. I feel for some reason i am drawn to the Hispanic culture”
- “no, I got a ,16 which I feel is low but still feel as though the test was confusing and slightly skewed due to getting used to the first orientation of words and muscle memory. but just an opinion”
- “I had a .4 positive leaning toward Hispanics but those were simple errors based on confusion of the correct key. To suggest I have a bias in either direction because I tapped the wrong key is foolish. Someone could, with or without bias, complete this test with a neutral outcome. This test did not interpret bias as much as it did ones ability to follow rapidly changing directions, but that is only my experience”
- “My score was 0.39 suggesting I have a "moderate automatic preference" for White American rather than Hispanic American. I do not agree with my score, not in because I don't prefer White American, or because I'm Hispanic and my score suggested I preferred another race besides mine, but because I have no preference over one race to another. I have taken the Implicit Bias Test but

instead of Hispanic American they substituted it to African American and my score also suggested I prefer White American over African American. I understand the test is trying to test your unconscious on what you race preference is but for me it is a stressful test in trying to place the words and faces in to the correct side of the screen, and not really a way to truly tell an individuals attitude, preference or liking of a race. The only way to get this type of information with little possible error is to conduct interviews that require open responses which will allow individuals to answer freely what they believe and we can see their true nature of their preference of if they have any preference at all”

As prior research had documented the students who participated in this survey were more likely to agree with their score if it was favorable to their beliefs or was more neutral. There were instances where the student score leaned more toward Hispanics or Whites but the student explained this may be due to their upbringing. There were also students who did not agree with their scores and blamed the IAT test itself to the point where they used aggressive language towards the test. There was no notable use of language between the political affiliations when they received unfavorable scores. Participants of all political affiliations were upset when the scores were unfavorable to their beliefs.

General Comments by Political Affiliation

Participants were also given the option to discuss anything else relating to the study, Latinos, crime or immigration that they believed was left out or that they wanted to add. Below are some of the comments left by students discussing their IAT scores and the comments they wanted to add about the study. As with the previous participant comments

shared the comments below were left exactly as the student wrote them on the survey and were broken down by political affiliation.

Extremely Conservative

- “Hispanics are good people and they shouldn't be treated any different than any other race, however there is no excuse for illegal immigration. It is a strict liability offense and it is breaking the laws we have in place.”

Moderately Conservative

- “I come across hispanics every day, due to the fact that my husband is fully hispanic and from a hispanic family, and they are the least dangerous, not threatening people ever. They don't steal my jobs, all they do is come to america to work the jobs that we don't want to work, other than that, they are some of the nicest people you will ever meet. The only down side is, i have been denied many times from scholarships because i am not hispanic, i am white. I work so hard in school and the community just to get denied a scholarship because of my race. “I'm a Hispanic white born in Texas but with grandparents from Mexico, I don't believe Hispanics get treated unfairly on the illegal ones and they wouldn't be treated like that if they were legal and went through the correct way to become a legal citizen.”
- “My parents pay taxes, which are to support many of those that are illegal that don't have jobs.”

Neutral

- “Hispanics are often portrayed and labeled as criminals, if we label just a group, then they will act as such.”
- “I support ANY citizen as I would my own brother, regardless of race, ethnicity or creed. With that being said, that feeling is towards my fellow Americans with respect for this country. by not following the same process as all other LEGAL immigrants, they are disrespecting not only American, but the other Legal migrants that came before them.”

Moderately Liberal

- “I believe they should be given some help from the government because being a resident is already very hard and to add on people pushing you to be a citizen is just too much for some. They are here just to find work and better there lives. They aren't here to steal anything from any "whites.”
- “I believe that many people look at immigrants like they are outsiders and even if they came here legally they are still looked at differently because they are not from here. They deserve much better than the bad reputation they are usually given because, unlike what many seem to believe, people who immigrate here are not always criminals and many of them are good people looking for a better life.”

Extremely Liberal

- “What so many fail to realize is that most are fleeing hostile situations and it is often a matter of life and death. Usually when committing crime it is likely a

means of survival. They have to make money somehow and if we are pushing them underground then they are forced to operate in underground activities”

- “I am half Hispanic, born in the U.S. and I have seen half of my family abused and vilified for far too long. My entire life I have seen the truth of the system. My father's family is white, with a German immigrant mother, and they have faced no racial discrimination and rose high above poverty within a single generation. My mother's family is born of a Mexican immigrant mother and I am a witness to the fact that they have worked twice as hard as my father's family only to end up with a fraction of the life his family lives. This is not an issue of individual work ethic. This is a system designed to keep Hispanics down.”

While it seemed that the comments above provided by students showed empathy towards immigrants it was also seen that students who classified themselves as conservative were more likely to be against illegal immigration or bring up negative experiences with immigrants. However, it is impossible to determine the extent to which political beliefs influence feelings on immigration and vice versa. The influence could play a major role or no role at all in this causal relationship. The undergraduate students that participated in this study were also less likely to believe that immigrants committing more crime than integrated American citizens. This outcome was surprising considering that the media and political climate has shed a negative light on immigrants recently. This may be a result of the participants being enrolled in criminal justice courses. Issues with racial bias and current events are commonly discussed in criminal justice courses.

V. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore whether undergraduate students hold unfavorable attitudes towards Latinos, or about any relationships that may exist between immigration and crime. With the current political climate, it was hypothesized that students who consider themselves to be more conservative would be more likely to hold attitudes less favorable to immigrants and believe immigrants were more likely to commit crime. It was also hypothesized that males would hold attitudes less favorable towards illegal immigration. Finally, it was hypothesized that students would leave negative comments towards Latinos on the optional section on the survey used.

The research question with gender and support for illegal immigration indicated a significant difference between male and female opinions. Female participants were more likely to be supportive of immigration compared to males. This is important to consider since the field of criminal justice, specifically policing, is a male dominated culture.

The research questions based on political affiliation were seen to support prior research as the more liberal students were, the more likely they were to support illegal immigration and believe that discrimination against Hispanics is no longer an issue in the United States. As Figure 4 indicated participants who identified as conservative were less likely to support illegal immigration questions overall, they were more likely to support legal immigration but it was still less supportive than participants who identified as liberal. While these relationships were weak it is important to consider that it may be different for the target population of criminal justice professionals. It is also worth considering that the responses given on the survey may not have been completely indicative of the way respondents actually felt about Latinos, crime and immigration.

The results of this study indicate that it may be worth conducting this study again. Being able to connect IAT data may be helpful because it was seen that participants who were less likely to share similar experiences with immigrants or Latinos were less likely to support immigration and believe that discrimination was no longer an issue in America for Latinos. If participants were less likely to identify with immigrants or their experiences they were more likely to believe that immigrants are more likely to commit crime than citizens. The belief here was that the survey was anonymous so students would not be afraid to be honest with how they felt about issues of immigration, Latinos and crime.

Conservative students and the study

The political climate was a major reason the research questions selected were used in this study. Recently there has been a push for stricter immigration laws, deportation and even a push to end Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals or DACA. Testimonials have been seen on television and even heard from close friends where there is fear to go out because Hispanics are accused of not being legal or mocked for something as simple as speaking Spanish in public. Much of the harassment has been from those who identified as conservative so the hypothesis predicted that participants who identified as conservative would hold bias views towards Latinos, immigration and immigrants committing crime. Students who considered themselves to be extremely conservative were seen to be empathetic with the situations illegal immigrants experienced but did not agree with their coming over to the United States illegally. The statistics of the survey questions indicated that conservative participants supported illegal immigration but in the comments at the end of the survey revealed this may not have

been completely true. If the IAT had been able to be matched to the surveys it may have revealed if the students had answered honestly on the survey questions. While there were relationships between conservatives and positive attitudes towards Latinos and illegal immigration it was often contradicted in the comments left in the survey.

When it came to illegal immigrants and crime the participants did not seem to believe that illegal immigrants were more likely to commit crimes than citizens and that discrimination against Latinos was no longer an issue in the United States. While participants claimed to support illegal immigration the results indicated they no longer believed discrimination to be an issue and that immigrants were more likely to commit crime. These results seem to contradict the beliefs of supporting illegal immigration. While nothing can be fully determined on just this information it can be assumed that if the IAT and surveys could have been accurately matched up there would have been some indication the participants were not completely truthful.

Limitations

As with any study there were limitations associated with this study and its outcomes. For one, only a small portion of students participated. Of the students that participated, they were all from the same university, Texas State University. Most of them were criminal justice or psychology majors with only a few others being outside these two majors. Students from these majors may have been more aware of what the study was testing or more familiar with the issues tested that may have influenced their answers. The answers provided may have been different if students from other majors had participated. Criminal justice students may be more aware of what the study was testing and how biases influence treatment of minority, especially Latinos.

Most of the students who participated were under the age of 24 which may have influenced their beliefs or the way they see these issues. Students of this age range are more likely to be aware of current events and issues going on in society. If this study is repeated it should be tested among people of various ages, ethnic backgrounds and even socioeconomic class. All the participants were educated to at least a freshman college level which may provide different results than if the sample had participants from all educational and socioeconomic classes. Education allows for the participants to more aware of issues and may be more familiar with implicit bias tests than those who are less educated or from a different socio economic class.

Also, when it comes to participants they were all offered one SONA credit for participating in the study which means some participants may not have participate in the study as seriously or answered as carefully as other participants. When it came to demographics the participants were not asked to identify their ethnic background which may have helped the researchers understand certain bias or experiences held by the participants. The question was left off to minimize confusion as some students may be unsure how to identify when given a variety of options.

Another limitation was that the explicit and implicit component of the study were not able to be compared and tested with each other. The original plan was to have participants be assigned a random number at the end of the survey that they would then enter again before completing the IAT which would allow for the IAT and survey to be matched up at the end of the study. However, there were unforeseen issues with the Qualtrics system and the IAT and surveys were unable to be matched up. If they had been able to be matched up they may have revealed more about how the participants and

whether they had been honest in their surveys. Future studies done should incorporate both methods and test them with each other to see if the results reveal anything new/different.

All the participants reside in the state of Texas which may influence their thought on immigration. Living so close to the border and being in areas with high numbers of Hispanic residents may affect how the participants see immigration and crime than participants who live out of Texas or more up north. Participants in this study are frequently exposed to Latinos and may be more familiar with the way they act than areas up north where the Latino population is scarce.

Policy Implications

The results of this study were helpful in determining whether political affiliation and gender have an influence on attitudes towards Latinos, crime and immigration. Negative bias was seen towards illegal immigrants being more likely to commit crime and the more liberal a participant the less likely they were to believe that discrimination is no longer an issue in the United States were revealed. It is worth considering if this would be a similar outcome with those working in the criminal justice field. Next steps should include more testing of college students from different universities and different fields and eventually testing with use of the IAT in criminal justice employees. If bias is found in criminal justice employees there may be a need for training courses on Latinos and immigrants and how to handle these citizens as well as the facts of immigrants and crime. Policies implemented in departments could require courses taken or special methods of identifying whether a Latino citizen is documented or undocumented and the proper ways to handle these situations.

Research Implications

The results were supportive of previous research on these topics. For this reason, researchers can continue to conduct studies on Latinos, crime and immigration and expand the participants pools, and eventually test the target population of criminal justice professionals. The inability to match the survey and IAT data limited the interpretations of the results received. Future studies should aim to test IAT and survey data and compare the two. There were some negative attitudes identified that should be researched more in depth and possibly even include questions on what factors help solidify this bias. Research could also aim to try to change the implicit bias held by individuals, which could possibly lead to implementation of these methods in a criminal justice setting. The possibilities of future research and directions it could take are endless. This study was able to test just a few of the many questions that could be asked in regards to Latinos, immigration and crime. Future studies could look to obtaining different participant pools and finding more useful information that may lead to policy change in the criminal justice system.

VI. CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to explore and examine the attitudes held by college undergraduates towards Latinos and crime. While there have been studies that have used the Implicit association test to measure attitudes towards groups of people it has not been seen in combination with an explicit measure focusing on Latinos and crime. This study was one of the first of its kind and has provided many implications for future tests.

The main questions this study aimed to find out whether college students held attitudes unfavorable towards immigration, crime and Latinos. This question was broken down to look at the influence of political affiliation and gender. It was seen that the participants who considered themselves to be more conservative were more likely to hold negative attitudes towards Latinos, crime and immigration compared to other political affiliations. On research question was also tested by gender, ideally there would have been a larger number of males to have participated. The study was voluntary and students opted to participate or opt out at any time. The number of male participants was low but there did not seem to be any extreme relationships with the sample.

Finally, there was a belief by the researcher that the comments left on the survey would be revealing on how participants felt about Latinos and immigration. The comments left were surprisingly less aggressive than the researcher anticipated. Most comments were supportive of immigrants and the difficulties they go through on a daily bases. There were some comments were participants voiced their disagreement and lack of support towards immigration and the belief that they commit more crime than citizens (comment list can be found in the appendix).

Participants were also able to express their feelings about the result of their IAT. Students were seen to disagree whenever the scores they received were unfavorable to what they believed it should've been. They questioned the validity and the study as a whole.

Future Studies

Future studies could look to successfully compare the explicit and implicit measures used. Being able to match up these measures and test them will make for more accurate results. This was one of the first studies of its kind and future studies can look to testing larger population for bias and make its way into the criminal justice system by testing police officers and other people within the system who may come into contact with Latinos and Latino immigrants. Future studies should also aim to test students from different, departments, different universities and in different regions of the United States and even testing the general public and possibly incorporate education level as a research question. In regards to immigration and crime future studies can look to identify where participants gain information on these subjects, how they determine their feelings on the subjects, and what would help them change their minds or believe in the research and facts. It would also be worth testing this student population again to see if the current immigration issues and reform results in different outcomes and results of the study.

APPENDIX SECTION

| | |
|--|----|
| A. LATINO ATTITUDES SURVEY..... | 63 |
| B. QUALTRICS COMMENTS..... | 67 |
| C. MODERN ETHNICITY BIAS SCALE | 71 |
| D. IMPLICIT ASSOCIATION TEST COMMENTS..... | 73 |

APPENDIX A: LATINO ATTITUDES SURVEY

The survey below will ask a couple of questions regarding Latinos and immigration. The answers you choose and your information will remain confidential, even to the researcher so please answer honestly. Thank you again for being agreeing to be part of this study.

1. Age

- 18-19
- 20-21
- 22-23
- 24 or older

2. Gender

- Male
- Female
- Other
- Do not wish to answer

3. Major

- Criminal Justice
- Psychology
- Sociology
- Political Science
- Undecided
- Other: _____

Immigration

How likely are you to agree with the following:

4. I support legal immigration

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

5. I would be willing to date an illegal immigrant

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

6. I support the idea that it should be easier to become a United States citizen

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

7. I support the idea that immigration levels should be raised

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

8. I support DACA recipients

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

9. I would be willing to help a DACA student on my campus

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

10. I support illegal immigration
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
11. I would be willing to date a DACA recipient
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
12. I believe that there should be more resources for legal immigrants
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
13. I believe that there should be more resources for illegal legal immigrants
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
14. I believe that illegal immigrants are not a treated fairly
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
15. I believe that legal immigrants are not a treated fairly
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
16. I believe migrant farm-workers have been treated harshly in many instances.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
17. I believe Mexicans crossing the U.S. border are often dealt with too harshly.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
18. I believe illegal immigrants are more likely than citizens to commit a crime.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
19. I believe legal Hispanic immigrants are more likely to commit a crime than citizens.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Latinos

20. I believe that over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Hispanics than they deserve.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
21. It is easy to understand the frustration of Hispanics in America.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
22. I believe discrimination against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the United States.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
23. I believe over the past few years, Hispanics have gotten more economically than they deserve.
Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

24. I believe Hispanics have more influence upon school language issues than they ought to have.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

25. I believe Hispanics are getting too demanding in their push for the usage of the Spanish language.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

26. I believe that Hispanics should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

27. I believe that Hispanics are taking advantage of their minority status.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

28. I believe that Hispanics are taking too many jobs from non-minorities.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

29. I believe Hispanics often intentionally exclude non-Spanish speakers in their conversations.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

30. I believe Hispanics are more likely to commit crime than Whites are.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

31. Political affiliation

- Extremely Conservative
- Moderately Conservative
- Neutral
- Moderately Liberal
- Extremely Liberal

32. School year

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior

33. Is there anything else about immigrants or immigration that you'd like to add that wasn't on the survey?

34. Is there anything else you'd like to add about Hispanics that wasn't on the survey?

35. What crimes if any do you think Hispanic immigrants are more likely to commit?

36. How did you feel about the results of the Implicit Association Test? Were you surprised, why or why not? Please explain.

APPENDIX B: QUALTRICS COMMENTS

Extremely Conservative

- Hispanics are good people and they shouldn't be treated any different than any other race, however there is no excuse for illegal immigration. It is a strict liability offense and it is breaking the laws we have in place.

Moderately Conservative

- lose things to immigrants

- end to respect those who come across the border illegally in search for a better life and job opportunities to provide for their families on the other side of the border.

- coming from a border city where most of the citizens are either legal or illegal immigrants, i can see first hand how poorly they have recently been treated. It takes forever to get papers and cost a lot of money, and for many low income families that is not an option for them. that is why they stay here illegally.

I come across hispanics every day, due to the fact that my husband is fully hispanic and from a hispanic family, and they are the least dangerous, not threatening people ever. They don't steal my jobs, all they do is come to america to work the jobs that we don't want to work, other than that, they are some of the nicest people you will ever meet. The only down side is, i have been denied many times from scholarships because i am not hispanic, i am white. I work so hard in school and the community just to get denied a scholarship because of my race.

-Not all immigrants are bad.

-I'm a Hispanic white born in Texas but with grandparents from Mexico, I don't believe Hispanics get treated unfairly on the illegal ones and they wouldn't be treated like that if they were legal and went through the correct way to become a legal citizen.

- My parents pay taxes, which are to support many of those that are illegal that don't have jobs.

-I support anyone who wants to become a citizen of our country in a legal way, no matter their race or ethnicity.

Neutral

- Everyone should have equal opportunities

- Immigrants deserve the same opportunities, point blank period .

- I support ANY citizen as a I would my own brother, regardless of race, ethnicity or creed. With that being said, that feeling is towards my fellow Americans with respect for this country. by not following the same process as all other LEGAL immigrants, they are disrespecting not only American, but the other Legal migrants that came before them.

- I mean... It is a complex topic. there's tons of things.what cultures bring with them Is broad, what they add to the economy, how the country was based on immigration. How connecting with immigrants in general can expand our ideals and ways to see things, and how we act on them. Its not as effective as traveling and going to the source. but immigration brings new ideas, flavors and things with them that would take a long conversation and tea...immigrants bring the world to us right around the corner sometimes; without getting out of home. We just need to be more aware and have more

empathy, as Americans we tend to be self focus. we are very competitive. Long story short we can learn and teach from each other.... but again, complex.

- there is a large amount of hispanics who don't or can't speak Spanish, its been lost through generations.

the lose of migrate-workers has cause a lose in labor which has lead to the rotting of crops that were not collected in time.

- How we are under represented in media and if any Hispanics/Latinos are victims of crimes here

Questioning people to see if they really know how difficult it is to become a citizen and how long the process is.

Do people see Hispanics getting as much respect as others in any other field (such as politics, Doctors, scientists etc.)

-Many have access to resources around town, in most cases their are alot of places that are wanting to help immigrants because they feel it is their duty to

Hispanics are often portrayed and labeled as criminals, if we label just a gorup, then they will act as such.

Moderately Liberal

- Commit crimes because of the situation their in

- I feel like immigrant in general are misunderstood by us Americans. We don't know their stories or what they had to go through and it's sad that they aren't granted the same equal oppotunity as us Americans. America is supposed to be the land of opportunity and we are looked up to, so I don't understand why we make immigration a problem when we could be helping.

- all minorities in usa especially immigrant coming from lation culture or any other background are not treated fairly and always discriminate aganist especially ,if they have middle eastern background like myself

- Immigrants are treated unfairly in the sense they are most of the time all painted with the same brush and society may have a negative perspective of them which may follow them at all times and in many aspects of their life, pushing them into a group that society created which unfairly limited their abilities to do many great things in this country.

As a nation, America could stand to do a better job seeking to understand the circumstances of immigrants.

-I think immigrants in general receive a bad rap if they're not from a European or East Asian country. And even with the latter, they still may face prejudice considering a customer told my sample giving co-worker recently that she doesn't eat Asian food because they eat cats. The food my co-worker was sampling was Mexican.

I think immigrants in general receive a bad rap if they're not from a European or East Asian country. And even with the latter, they still may face prejudice considering a customer told my sample giving co-worker recently that she doesn't eat Asian food because they eat cats. The food my co-worker was sampling was Mexican.

- I believe they should be given some help from the government because being a resident is already very hard and to add on people pushing you to be a citizen is just too much for some.

They are here just to find work and better there lives. They aren't here to steal anything from any "whites."

- Immigrants have to work hard in order to survive here. One question that should be added is "Do you think Immigrants have it easy or their life becomes easier once they leave their country?"

- I believe immigrants are the most hard working people I have ever met.

Hispanics seem to strive more for a better future. Unlike many whites, they have to jump through many more obstacles to be considered at the same level as a US citizen and white American.

- Political climate has certainly influenced perceptions on immigrants.

- Immigrants don't only come into this country for bad, most immigrants are in this country to better themselves.

Hispanics are slowly but surely becoming better to this country.

-Most are good people and family's whose condition has gotten so bad in their homeland they must come here where the conditions will still be bad for them, just not as bad.

- I believe that many people look at immigrants like they are outsiders and even if they came here legally they are still looked at differently because they are not from here. They deserve much better than the bad reputation they are usually given because, unlike what many seem to believe, people who immigrate here are not always criminals and many of them are good people looking for a better life.

I think they are often heavily unfairly stereotyped

- People will commit crimes, whether they are legally or illegally here does not mean they are more likely to commit crimes.

They have a very unique culture that adds to America's diversity and we should welcome that.

Extremely Liberal

- should be easier to receive citizenship

-What so many fail to realize is that most are fleeing hostile situations and it is often a matter of life and death. Usually when committing crime it is likely a means of survival. They have to make money somehow and if we are pushing them underground then they are forced to operate in underground activities

- Illegal Immigrants are less likely to commit a crime than native-born citizens and legal immigrants. This has been proven in studies conducted by people in the Criminal Justice field. Immigrants are often viewed as people who do not have goals or desires, but in reality, they do have goals and want to seek the same opportunities just like any other member of the American society. It is just sad to see such people who do in fact demonstrate moral character be viewed as someone who is lazy. I hope that this changes in the future, as Congress hopefully provides some sort of immigration reform, this being a Dream Act, I am a huge supporter of comprehensive immigration reform and will make sure to use my privilege as an American to vote for the right representatives and senators that share the same passion/beliefs like I do.

Hispanics are a minority group that is in fact in the middle, we do have some advantages that other groups don't have. For example, most of us like myself are able to speak two languages. I am very grateful that my mother taught me Spanish growing up because I feel that I am able to use that to my advantage as I seek a professional career in the near future. I think that Hispanics are overly represented in the media a bit, especially with

immigration. In fact, some Americans automatically associate Latinos with immigration, which I think needs to be changed.

- I come from a very Hispanic community and from my perspective, Hispanics are more open to change than whites are

- Even legal Hispanic immigrants deal with an extreme amount of prejudice. This is not really an issue of immigration and the legality of it, this is about race. White immigrants, legal or not, are treated much better than any non-white immigrants, legal or not. When people say they don't like illegal immigrants, they are saying they don't like Hispanics because that's who they think of when they imagine an illegal immigrant. It's just easier for them to say they hate brown people when those brown people are given a different name.

I am half Hispanic, born in the U.S. and I have seen half of my family abused and vilified for far too long. My entire life I have seen the truth of the system. My father's family is white, with a German immigrant mother, and they have faced no racial discrimination and rose high above poverty within a single generation. My mother's family is born of a Mexican immigrant mother and I am a witness to the fact that they have worked twice as hard as my father's family only to end up with a fraction of the life his family lives. This is not an issue of individual work ethic. This is a system designed to keep Hispanics down.

- When it comes to "Do you think illegal immigrants will more likely commit a crime than citizens?" question, I find it a vague. By calling them illegal immigrants, there is implication of crime committed. But to make things clear, technically, they are committing a crime by being here. However, I do not believe that these undocumented immigrants are more likely to commit any violent or criminal crime above a low class misdemeanor.

When it comes to "Do you think Hispanics will more likely commit a crime than citizens?" question, I find it a vague as well. No, I do not think that ethnicity or skin color will direct a person to crime, whether they are white or a POC (person of color). It is not the POC that is committing a crime. We need to stop using those identifiers, because it is simply those who are facing grave social issues such as poverty, domestic violence/sexual assault, illness, etc. Many of the people who are subject to these issues, however, are typically POC, such as hispanics, that have been pushed into these lifestyles without any help of getting out. Alongside structural racism, those who do not receive help, will eventually help themselves survive at the expense of committing crime. Its not usually a decision of free choice, but a decision that was made as an ultimatum means to living. This thought is often a socially rejected concept when looking at related statistics.

APPENDIX C: MODERN ETHNICITY BIAS SCALE

1. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Hispanics than they deserve.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

2. It is easy to understand the frustration of Hispanics in America.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

3. Discrimination against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the United States.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

4. Over the past few years, Hispanics have gotten more economically than they deserve.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

5. Hispanics have more influence upon school language issues than they ought to have.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

6. Hispanics are getting too demanding in their push for the usage of the Spanish language.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

7. Hispanics should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

8. Hispanics are taking advantage of their minority status.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

9. Hispanics are taking too many jobs from non-minorities.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

10. Migrant farm-workers have been treated poorly in many instances.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

11. Hispanics often intentionally exclude non-Spanish speakers in their conversations.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

12. Mexicans crossing the U.S. border are often dealt with too harshly.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Note. Items are adapted from McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale. Items 1–7 are adapted from the

original scale, and Items 6–12 are additions. Questions 2, 10, and 12 are reverse-coded.

APPENDIX D: RESPONSES TO THE IAT

Extremely conservative:

-I was unable to complete the second part of the study. I routinely received an error message.

-I don't agree because it's just a mind test, and I don't just go around "labeling" people.

-Kind of, but I do believe that just because a test says something doesn't mean it is always correct. There are numerous things like who you grow up around, your neighborhood, the school you attended, and etc. That could determine why you are the way you are. It said I was more slightly more likely to side with White Americans, but I have numerous amounts of friends who are of Hispanic origin, so I do not believe a test that makes me push buttons could really tell me what I think and how I side on a certain topic.

-The results of the study said that I was moderately biased towards White Americans. I think this was mostly accurate, I do have a slight disposition to think this way. That being said, I am not racist in any speech, work, or day to day life in this way. In other words, while I may have these dispositions, I do not act on them and they are quickly pushed aside.

-NO

Moderately conservative:

My results showed that I show no automatic preference for white Americans over Hispanic Americans. I agree with this, because I do not choose my preference of people based on their nationality or color of their skin.

-I neither agree nor disagree. Situations dictate how reality would answer these questions.

-I do not think that my results are completely accurate. I feel that my answers were based on trying to memorize a pattern rather than truly understanding someone's character.

-Agree because it's what I voted on?

-i do not agree with my results because it said i have a preference for white americans when in all reality i like everyone unless they give me a reason not to, such as if they're rude or full of themselves

-I do agree with the results. The test was performed in a very foreign manner that I was not expecting. I believe the method of the test was able to produce accurate information.

-yes.

-I agree with some of them. I believe some are false but are good questions that need be to asked in society.

-Yes I agree with my results because I dont have many biases against whites or hispanics or any other race.

-No I don't agree with the results. I've taken these same tests before and gotten no bias but this is the first time I've done it on the computer so my fingers got mixed up a couple of times. Plus I'm dating someone Hispanic so it wouldn't make any sense for me to have a bias.

-Not exactly. I received a .67 which showed that I strongly prefer whites over Hispanics which I do not agree with. I personally do not identify as racist and tend to treat each person as their own individual, not changing my view because of their race.

-I don't agree with my results. It says that I have a preference of white americans over hispanic americans, which I don't believe is true considering that I am a hispanic american.

-I would like to think that I am not bias, but I did realize that I would associate the good words easier with White Americans, which I guess would consider me bias.

-i don't think that test is accurate in anyway shape of form because me clicking i or e for a picture doesn't depict anything

-I don't agree because I identify more with the quarter of my heritage which is Hispanic.

-it says my results was a "moderate automatic preference for whites over hispanics" which i can't agree with, i have the same love and the same respect for every race as i do my own

-No not really. Based solely on just looking at words and pictures does not in my opinion give a far representation of ones belief.

-

I agree, it said I had little to no bias or preference to Hispanics compared to whites

-yes i am not biased towards any race.

-

yes. I believe I do have a slight preference for white Americans compared to Hispanic Americans.

-I do agree with the Implicit Bias Test because though I am Hispanic, I have grown up in a white town so I have a bias towards the white race.

-Kind of i wouldn't go that far to say my preference is with a specific race.

-I agree with the results, the results being i have no real preference to white Americans over Hispanic Americans

-I agree that I have no automatic preference.

-No. I scored a .83 and showed a preference for white over Hispanics. In reality i feel it is backwards. I am white and married into a traditional Hispanic family majority of my friends are Hispanic vs white. I feel for some reason i am drawn to the Hispanic culture.

-I do not feel the test was as accurate as it could be. I feel my errors were more from confusion of changing keys than from a bias for a certain race.

-yes I agree. I scored a 0.43 which shows I have a moderate preference to whites. I would expect this as the people that I most often come in contact with such as family or roommates are white.

-I'm unsure of how the test actually tested for implicit bias. Muscle memory for either good or bad, and then adding Hispanic American and White American, with switching the positioning of options just added to mix ups when taking the test.

-No. I am Hispanic. Both sides of my family came here legally. Both sides are doing very well for themselves. Sure it's a difficult process, but it should be. Becoming a citizen of a country that is not originally your own should not be easy and should not be taken lightly.

-no

-I would somewhat agree, since I am white and was raised around white people, it would make sense to have a natural preference, which I don't believe is racist or negative at all.

-possibly. however, growing up in a heavily hispanic populated area led to the vast majority of my friends being hispanic and i don't feel like i make a conscious bias for or against them

-I somewhat agreed, it had said that I leaned more to prefer Hispanics over Whites. I think that stems from myself being a Mexican-American raised in a predominately Hispanic community. I don't have any form of disdain in my heart towards Whites or any race for that matter. But, I guess I do favor Hispanics in a sense since that is my community and what I am as a person for the most part. It's whatever.

-I do, I do tend to have a slight preference for American Whites, perhaps because I've spent a few years working in retail in South/Central Texas and many of the most rude and memorable customers I've dealt with have been Spanish-speaking Hispanics.

-No I do not agree because I treat everyone the same.

-My results were 0.6 and I guess they're kind of right. As a hispanic myself, I tend to gravitate towards people who are caucasian and disagree with many of my fellow hispanics' view's

-I don't agree with it, it was weird and didn't make sense how you came up with that decision

-No because I was easily confused by the switching categories as opposed to intentionally trying to put one face into a certain category.

-I somewhat agree with the results. As a white male it's easier to identify with other white individuals. However the quiz was a bit confusing towards the end. If it had been done in reverse order I feel my results would be slightly different.

-My number was 5423 I scored a 0.06 indicating no preference between White and Hispanic. Being both Hispanic and White, I agree with the statement. I treat everyone equally. I don't think there should be favoritism, if there is any, towards any race. I attempted going as fast as I could, when the roles were reversed in the orders, I found myself clicking for the wrong category multiple times. I knew the answer but physically clicked the wrong one.

-My score was a .07, but my browser closed before I could read what this meant.

-I agree with the Implicit Bias Test. I scored a preferred moderate Hispanic which makes sense because I am myself a Hispanic American.

-I do agree with my results, just because it is what catches my eye.

-I agree. I don't have a preference towards white or Hispanic Americans. I am white however I grew up in a town that was about 95% Hispanic and the majority of my friends were Hispanic. I judge people by their character not by their skin.

-I agree with my .25 score, I think I probably do have a slight bias. Not that it is right but I guess it is just the way i'm wired.

Neutral:

No. A pattern game isn't gonna tell me who I'm biased/not biased towards.

-no

-Yes, its a good way to show involuntary biased thoughts.

-i couldn't do it because it required me to download something else and it wouldn't download

-yes i do because I was raised by two loving parents that taught me the culture of my Latino heritage and the american culture that we are surrounded by. The reason why i don't dislike or act rudely to one or the other is because I understand both of them so i don't have reserve about either.

- I do agree with my results because I am not normally bias towards things or people.
- Yes, I do favor whites over Hispanics
- i do not agree as i feel that every race is equal.
- My test said I somewhat have a preference to White Americans than I do to Hispanic Americans but I think I was just getting confused on the experiment because I do not have a preference
- I disagree with the results because Im Hispanic American and the test showed that I preferred white of Hispanics American I consider my self in the middle I respect both.
- i don't agree because i prefer white friends as opposed to Hispanic i think that showing pictures and words don't test anything other than my reaction time
- No, because I don't prefer a race over the other
- yes. I identify more with minorities so I can see why my results were as such.

I was surprised but I was trying to go fast as the instructions said so I got confused on some but my white preference was surprisingly higher. I grew up around Hispanics in south Texas so that could possibly be it.

-Yes, I think the society that we grew up in favors whites over immigrants. We see the good person usually played by a white person in TV shows, movies, and other forms.

-Yes

-My result was a .58 which i feel is 50/50 and somewhere in the middle. I feel that i was taking the test to distinguish what they were asking for and not what i "thought" people were. I come from a Hispanic family but i do not discriminate against someone because of their race or color. With the results being .58 i feel as is i was doing what the test simply asked.

-No because i see a difference

-I neither agree or disagree, just intrigued. I am white yet it said i have a bias towards hispanic americans

-It might be a true reflection of who I am. It suggested that I was only slightly biased towards one side compared to the other, which in some cases, is true.

-I agree and relieved to find that I treat both White and Hispanic Americans equal

-It did not show me my results, but being the fact that my laptop was frozen for the first part of the survey and then started going off by itself, I probably wouldn't agree with my result. Even though I have no idea what they are.

-no, I got a .16 which I feel is low but still feel as though the test was confusing and slightly skewed due to getting used to the first orientation of words and muscle memory. but just an opinion

-No, i do not feel like i have a slight bias towards white americans

-yes, it said I was .05, which meant I had no biased distinction between whites and hispanics

-No.... Its really confusing. once it says is timed, it rushes you.... and you had created a pattern subconsciously... the one you have been learning to use it the first time. and yes those people in the pictures are likely to be white or Hispanic based on their color... but you cant really be assuming if people are white or Hispanic based on their color...maybe for "tests" like this, but not on a daily based. another complex topic.

-Yes i do agree because I don't have a bias when it comes to hispanic americans vs. white americans

-My result say I have a preference for white Americans than to Hispanics, which is definitely a shock. It really gets you thinking because the test makes you associate feelings to people, and you don't really have a choice in the matter until it switches sides to see if its easier or harder for you to associate that person to it.

-I somewhat agree but I did mostly get stripped up from the groups switching

-I felt like it said I had an average feel on Hispanics as a white person and I feel (sadly) like the average view on Hispanics for white people is negative and racist which is not at all how I feel being I have been dating one for 2 years.

-Yes because the test seemed pretty accurate. Although I do think there should of been a larger/more number of faces.

-I don't know exactly what the test was testing me about. When it said that I had a preference towards whites as opposed to hispanics specifically. In what context precisely? I'm not bugged by the results I just wish there was more clarification.

-1.01 I think it's kinda exist I don't jecesaarily agree

-No I don't because I do not see myself as having any bias towards any particular one group

-I had a .4 positive leaning toward Hispanics but those were simple errors based on confusion of the correct key. To suggest I have a bias in either direction because I tapped the wrong key is foolish. Someone could, with or without bias, complete this test with a neutral outcome. This test did not interpret bias as much as it did ones ability to follow rapidly changing directions, but that is only my experience.

-I do agree with my result of the Implicit Bias Test. I like to think that I view everyone equally no matter what race but sometimes it gets strayed due to society and media, so I would have a slight preference for my own race.

-Honestly I don't agree with the results, I had to take this test before last semester and the results can't change this radically fast.

-I disagree because i am not biased

-No I don't, it asked me to do something so I did. My score was that i favored hispanics but it couldn't be possible when it told me what to do

-I do not see how that can tell who you are more towards. I think it is more about the attitude someone gives off when you meet them or how they play their role in society. If someone is doing a good job and working hard no matter the race ill be okay with them.

-yes, I am Mexican and I lived in a town where it was all just us now I moved to San Marcos and fell in love with white blonde girls but Id rather have Mexican guy friends so it is hard to say cause I just moved here.

-No, I do not prefer white people over my own. By chance, I happen to mess up on the times that a minority popped up over a white person. I began to notice within the first few rounds that the negative comments were attached with the pictures of the minorities making it difficult once the categories switch to pick the correct answer.

-No, I think this test was created to get you to remark negatively about Hispanic people through encouraging you to go faster and then tell you what a racist you are the end.

Honestly that's a pretty shitty way of trying to confirm your expected outcome of a bias and lowers the integrity of your survey as a whole.

-I do agree because I myself am Hispanic and in my opinion us as immigrants do not intend to do any harm.

- I don't agree with my implicit bias test, I tend to not believe that I hold certain biases against individuals based on their national origin.
- Some what. I feel some people actually forget which side things go on and get confused.
- I don't agree with the test showing bias. It's just memorization. Then when the words were flipped it was hard to change what i first memorized.
- I believe I agree because I don't discriminate.
- I some what but felt like it was muscle memory of trying to remember what was the right keys to use.
- yes I believe hispanics are good people.
- I got a negative score meaning there was no preference. I think this is true because I see people as humans and do not judge one based on a skin color.
- Yes because I am a Hispanic person
- well i don't really get what my score meant maybe you can get back to me to explain it for me
- Not at all. I believe that test is not accurate because you can't tell someones intelligence or even friendship by just there voice, which is a strong accent.
- I do, because at first I was confused at the time as to why I was categorizing and classifying who was white and who was hispanic. When words started to become a factor in categorizing, I felt like the tests were aimed toward using words like 'disgusted' and 'nasty' with the Hispanic culture and it was easier to categorize it when the test asked me to do that. As a hispanic myself, I felt like it made me realize how bias and quick I was to judge people.
- I don't agree because I think those propositions ae very bias.
- I do agree with my results because I am not a racist person. I do not choose to judge people by the color of their skin, and this test gave me the results that reflect my way of thinking about hispanics and whites.
- I do, It said that my score was a .08 and that I had little to no implicit bias between latinos and whites
- I don't agree with this test. Even though I received a moderate score and was considered in the middle, I still do not agree with how these results were obtained, nor do I agree with the wording of the test in saying someone 'prefers one side over the other.' It's this kind of instilled thinking- that even a test administers- that leads to a division in thinking.
- No. I am an Hispanic American and feel more at ease with my own race and feel less at ease with White American due to the fact there is still racism out in the world and I worry if I will run into someone who perceives me just based on my race. The test conformed to one side in the beginning and switched it left which caused confusion to me.
- I do agree with my result. I do not "prefer" one race over another or treat people differently because of the color of their skin.
- no I am not racist against Mexicans because I am Mexican. thank you.
- =i agree with my results, i love all races
- Not really. It made me think of racism and I am not for that. I believe everyone deserves a chance and everyone should be treated equally.
- Yes. I have more white friends than Hispanic friends but i don't think i pick sides though
- I would agree to some point as I am white myself..
- Yes, because I am Hispanic. I'm light complected and I haven't personally received any discrimination but I've seen it done to others close to me and I've also heard stories. I also

don't really trust white people because they are crazy, they have been shooting up places and most of them voted for Trump.

-I strongly disagree with the Implicit Bias Test. It just confused me with all of the controls. At first it tells you to go one way and then it tells you to do the opposite. Half of my family is Hispanic, I don't favor whites over Hispanics, at all.

-Yes, because that's who I prefer.

-yes. I am hispanic and have a hispanic family and most of my friends are white or black.

-No I do not agree with the results because the test was invalid and a persons opinion cannot be based on a mug shot of someone facial features and words put into categories'.

-I do not agree with my result because I don't believe I have a preference over the other.

-Yes, I have no biases towards Hispanic Americans and I'm in full support of their rights

-I somewhat agree with this result. I am not going to lie, my first impression of the result was shocking because I am Mexican American and the result concluded I am more comfortable around White Americans. In a way it is accurate because I was mostly raised around White Americans.

-I somewhat don't agree with the results because i thought that i had no preference to either white Americans or Hispanic Americans.

-No, when focusing on speed I sacrificed accuracy which when dealing with swapping associated terms in the categories may need to be taken into consideration.

-no, the questions were repetitively brought back up in different ways which seems as if it sets you up to make mistakes.

-I would agree with the test due to the fact that I'm part hispanic

-I received a .07 which I believe is pretty accurate. I don't usually try and assume anything about a person before I meet them.

-I agree with my results. It shows you how easily Hispanics are mistaken or treated wrongly simply because of the color of their skin. The word choices applied with whites. Is unfair and it shows how easily people are influenced.

-Yes I do because it said I am not bias

-I disagree with my result. I am dating a Mexican that is not a United States citizen and feel that I do not have a preference to either.

-Yes, I agree. I feel as though my survey responses do not quite add up, however. I definitely am not racist or bias towards a certain group.

-No

-Yes I disagree because I feel more socially accepted and comfortable around Hispanics and Latinos, also the test was kind of confusing/ hard to get use to since they kept mixing up categories

-I do not agree with the Test.

Moderately Liberal

-No because the test didn't determine anything, it was more challenging for my brain to keep up with all the options changing around.

-I agree. There is no bias between the two for me. Everyone is pretty much the same people to me.

-NO Because I am Hispanic

-No because the program was broken and I basically had to button smash on each side to get it to respond to my button pressing, and sometime it would switch while I was

smashing the buttons for the previous image. I'm really not lying, the program was not responding to me simply pressing the E and I button, someone should fix it!!

-My IAT score (D) was -.22, which suggests a slight automatic preference for Hispanic American compared to White American. To be honest, I was not expecting this result but I also wasn't expecting the test to be like that. I followed the directions as best I could, but I wouldn't say I disagree with them.

-I believe it is correct. I have no preference for any race.

-I agree with my implicit bias test because some of those biases I do have and I have those attitudes because of how society has implemented them in our heads.

-I agree with my results

-disagree, I sympathize with Hispanics and feel their treatment is not okay.

-I do believe the results I got because I do not see my as a person who judges people based on the color of their skin or where they may come from.

-I agreed with the results of the Implicit bias test because I myself know what it feels like to be a minority so I try my best not to be biased towards anyone.

-I don't agree or disagree.

-I think it is biased because yes someone can look a certain way but their race can be something different.

-I agree, because results suggested that I was non biased between the two parties of hispanics vs whites

-My score was 0.39 suggesting I have a "moderate automatic preference" for White American rather than Hispanic American. I do not agree with my score, not in because I don't prefer White American, or because I'm Hispanic and my score suggested I preferred another race besides mine, but because I have no preference over one race to another. I have taken the Implicit Bias Test but instead of Hispanic American they substituted it to African American and my score also suggested I prefer White American over African American. I understand the test is trying to test your unconscious on what your race preference is but for me it is a stressful test in trying to place the words and faces in to the correct side of the screen, and not really a way to truly tell an individual's attitude, preference or liking of a race. The only way to get this type of information with little possible error is to conduct interviews that require open responses which will allow individuals to answer freely what they believe and we can see their true nature of their preference of if they have any preference at all.

-I agree, because society sees Hispanics as all the bad things that were listed and I don't so when the bad words were associated with the Hispanics I kept getting them wrong. It really messed with my head for a second.

-not particularly, the test doesn't seem to be an accurate representation of bias. to me, it seemed more like a test of someone's ability to carefully follow specific directions

-No, I thought the test was hard just because of the format. I don't have any biases towards anybody of any race.

-yes, I too am a minority and therefore I have an understanding for other minorities that the whites may not have so I find it true that I may favor Hispanics.

-I disagree because it said I had a preference for White rather than Hispanics, but in reality I have no preference and I rather stay neutral.

-NO. I don't agree with the results because it said I had a strong preference for whites over Hispanics and that is not true in my opinion. Maybe towards the end I clicked

quicker being tested when whites were paired with good associations only because I had practice beforehand and was used to seeing the pictures and associations by that point. But I do not have a strong preference of whites over Hispanics.

-yes. I'm more partial to whites over Hispanics.

-Yes, I agree with my results, I associate more so with Hispanics than Caucasians.

-yes, being 1/4 hispanic i related to some of the issues in the surveys. It did not surprise me that i was leaning toward hispanic american

-I'd agree with my results. I didn't fit in with the other Hispanic kids growing up because my mom's pale Puerto Rican genes overpowered my dad's Mexican genes. On top of that, I wasn't taught Spanish as my first language. So naturally, people assumed I was white and I felt like I wasn't allowed to associate with the Hispanic cliques. My clique consisted of a diverse group, but the only other two Hispanics were just as disconnected as I was (one was a fellow pale Hispanic while the other could not speak Spanish).

-I do because I am hispanic and lean more towards "my people" versus whites because i've had some bad encounters/good ones with them. Also with out recent president whites aren't really getting a good rep.

-I agree somewhat that the majority of society thinks that is what Hispanics and Whites look like or should look like.

-I agree that I might have a preference to Hispanics over White Americans because I have lived in between both outlooks. I know the real reason why many Hispanics are here and some illegally but mostly all for good reasons. I have also seen the closed mindedness White Americans have towards other races especially Hispanics. This happens because of our generalization and the way we grow up.

-No. I don't agree with it.

-I would have to agree. Even though I am Hispanic, I grew up mainly amongst white communities so I tend to feel more affiliation with people from those groups. It does not necessarily result in certain attitudes towards racism but more of who you affiliate with and recognize more.

-Yes because I am not racist

-No, I prefer Hispanic over Caucasian.

-I don't understand the results of my bias test. It reported that my score was a .57, and since I am not the researcher I am unaware of the entire scale regarding that score.

=My score was -0.62. I would agree with my score given that I'm Hispanic myself I do have a bias towards my ethnic group.

-The bias test said I preferred Hispanics over white Americans being Hispanic I grew with Hispanics all around me so I agree that I am a little bias.

-Yes, I have no biased preference towards either Angelos or Hispanics.

-I was surprised by results that I have a bias towards Hispanic Americans because I am white but I am not exactly surprised because I am very for immigration and for people trying to give themselves a chance for a better life and I know that becoming a citizen here is not very easy and it is very expensive so I understand the hardships people deal with. I also have many Hispanic friends and my boyfriend is also Hispanic so that could have created a bias

-

I agree with my score because I grew up not seeing color so I don't really have a preference.

-Yes, I have truly been able to see what people of color go through on a day to day basis as well as the political climate we are living in. It's not only just hispanics but all people of different origin other than American.

-I would like to learn more about the science behind this test because I don't agree with the results. In the beginning I had a hard time getting used to the test and by the end I had gotten the hang of it so I did a lot better.

-I do not agree and I think it was a stupid and useless test. We should not group anyone as "bad" or "good", and in that case the test was consistently racist to either one group or the other. I did better on the second test, not because I have a much stronger preference towards whites, but because my system recognized more quickly what it was asking for since I had already done it once.

-Yes I agree with my results. This due to the fact that I was raised in a Hispanic/Mexican household.

-My results said that I have a moderate preference towards hispanics. I guess this is true because I come from a minority status so I can understand any cultural issues. However being born and raised here in the USA I have become some what "white washed," preferring ideas associated with white folks.

-Yes I agree, I have been raised in a Hispanic family. Although I identify as white, the people I socialize with do not.

-I am not sure if I agree or not because I have no idea what my score means.

-My result is understandable that I would slightly tend to have a preference for white. I don't like that my result was this way, but as a white girl in a messed up world where white is preferential for some reason, it is understandable. I actively try to use my white privilege to open up the minds of those who are not as accepting of other races/religions as I am.

-I do not know how to answer this because i am Hispanic and maybe that just makes me Bias anyway.

-Yes I agree with my bias test. because my results concluded I am not biased towards either race.

-I slightly agree. I am a Hispanic female, but growing up my mother has been through traumatizing events including Hispanic males so I think this slightly affects my own beliefs about White men vs. Hispanic men.

-I do not agree with the results. The method used was confusing and switching the buttons made my response incorrect because i got use to doing it a certain way.

-I agree, it is my first time ever taking an assessment like it therefore i have no experience on it.

I do, i have no preference when it comes to race; i hate everybody equally.

-

Yes because they are tested equally

-yes, it was .87. I am not bias

-No. I did well because I payed attention, not because I associated any word with either race.

-I honestly dont know whether I agree or disagree with them.

Extremely liberal

-I agree that I am biased in a way because I feel that people need chances to succeed. I don't agree with most conservative opinions of immigrants. I think that they are wrong.

-no, I don't believe that tests measure which race I prefer.

-Yes. I am a strong advocate for DACA

-I don't agree with my results of the bias test. It said that I favor white Americans over hispanics, which isn't true.

=I got .24 with a slight automatic preference to white people. I would disagree with these results. This test gets your mind into a pattern, I think that if this tested had started in reverse and I had become use to the second pattern first, then my results may have been the same with the opposite preference.

-I do not agree simply because how do they know my preference with just a bunch of pictures and words. Not really given me a choice where to put each pictures.

- I don't agree with the results of my Implicit Bias Test, I am a Hispanic-American and I found it shocking that the system said I prefer White Americans over Hispanics. I just simply do not agree with that.

-No, because I did not like the way the words were either with the White Americans or the Hispanics.

-I don't agree with the results because I thought I was following the instructions. I don't think I prefer white over hispanic, though I thought that is what the test was trying to get at. It is probable that I have some biases however I do not think they are "strong."

-yes because I am a minority so I favor Hispanics.

-Maybe? I don't think it's hard to beat that system.

-yes I am more biased because I am an also a minority.

-My score was -0.33, which is supposed to indicate a slight automatic preference for Hispanic Americans compared to White Americans. I suppose I do agree with the results. I'm pretty aware that I have a slight preference for Hispanic Americans, but for me it's only natural that I would since I am one and I grew up primarily around them. Meanwhile White Americans have been a source of abuse and ignorance for most of my life, so why would I not prefer my own family over them?

-i agree with the test because i am around more mexican americans than white americans.

-I agree with them. As a mixed child of a white mother and latino father, I have fortunately been exposed very much to both sides of my family. More so, I have found myself more connected and culturally comfortable with my (Mexican) latino side. Having faced "racism" from both white and latino people- an issue of rejection many mixed children/people face- so I try not to become more of one than the other. Though I can honestly admit that I am tired of of the white supremacy that is taking away from so many POC who cannot help but face structural racism.

-.41 was my score which indicated I had a preference towards white people which in my opinion is false

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