

LEGAL AND ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES:
AN EXAMINATION OF CONTACT THEORY AND GROUP THREAT THEORY

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of
Texas State University-San Marcos
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of SCIENCE

by

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San Marcos, Texas
August 2012

LEGAL AND ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES:
AN EXAMINATION OF CONTACT THEORY AND GROUP THREAT THEORY

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Les and Jenny Allen and my brother, Derek Allen.

Philippians 4:13

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with immense gratitude that I acknowledge my mentor and committee chair, Dr. Donna Vandiver, for her support throughout this process. The knowledge I have gained as a result of her guidance has far exceed my expectations and this research would not have been possible without her assistance. I would also like to recognize my committee members, Dr. Jeffrey Cancino and Dr. Mitch Chamlin, for their participation in this process.

Many friends have helped me stay sane through these last few years and I am very grateful for the honesty and compassion that they have provided me. Specifically, I would like to thank Megan Branam, Cayce Donnelly and Emily Withers for bringing me back to reality once in a while. If I ever lost faith in myself I could always count on the girls to remind me that anything is possible if you truly believe in it.

Most importantly, this project would not have been possible without the love and patience of my family. My parents and brother have been a source of unconditional love, support and guidance through every challenge and success for many years. They have taught me how to stand strong and believe in myself regardless of the seemingly impossible tasks that may come before me. For these reasons, I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Les and Jenny Allen and my brother, Derek Allen.

This manuscript was submitted on April 30th, 2012.

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ABSTRACT

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by

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May 2012

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This research involves a survey of students at a University in Southwest Texas to identify how contact theory and/or group threat theory explains the presence and/or lack thereof of restrictionist attitudes toward immigration in an academic setting. The focus is on students at a university recently granted Hispanic-serving status, which means at least 25% of the students are Hispanic. This recent change in the academic population is likely to lead to a change in the dynamics of whom students interact with—which is predicted to affect their attitudes towards immigration issues. The results of this study support contact theory by finding that white students who frequently interact with Hispanic students are more likely to have positive feelings toward Hispanics and less restrictionist views toward legal and illegal immigration issues. This study is limited by a short follow-up period and possible biases in the self-reported data.

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

In the past several decades tensions between Mexico and the United States have escalated as a result of a drastic increase in immigration activity along the southern United States border (Berg, 2009a). The Hispanic population in the United States has risen from 9.6 million in 1970 to 50.5 million in 2010. Within the current Hispanic population approximately 54 percent is Mexican (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The increasing Hispanic population in the United States has resulted in more frequent intercultural contact with white populations (Berg, 2009a). Although the Hispanic population is steadily increasing, they are considered to be a minority out-group in the United States and are susceptible to stigmatization by ethnically dominant populations, primarily from whites (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). The attitudes of whites toward Hispanics in the United States are largely founded on immigration concerns and can have a substantial impact on immigration policies (Berg, 2010; Janus, 2010).

Social science researchers began to theorize about the effects of intergroup contact following World War II (Watson, 1947). Allport (1954) is credited for having identified the positive relationship between intergroup contact and its effects on individuals' prejudicial beliefs. Two competing theoretical perspectives have been used to examine the effects of an increase in intergroup contact between in-group and out-

group populations. Contact theory is based on the premise that intergroup contact can only produce positive effects when situations are marked by four key conditions: equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, law or custom (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). The second theoretical framework, known as group threat theory, posits that an increase in racial and ethnic diversity in an area causes the dominant ethnoracial group, or in-group, to feel that their social, political and economic power is being threatened. This in turn leads to in-group members to express prejudiced attitudes that results in intergroup conflict (Berg, 2009a). Racial attitudes and stereotypes toward Hispanics can have a substantial impact on both social and political issues. Racial attitudes are also not limited to their intended target, illegal Mexican immigrants, but can be unintentionally generalized to include legal immigrants and U.S. citizens (Pearson, 2010).

The effect of people's attitudes toward illegal Hispanic immigrants extends beyond individual behaviors (Lee & Ottati, 2002). The effects of racial attitudes may extend beyond interpersonal behavior and also affect immigration policies, specifically when immigrant groups differ by race from the dominant racial group in a country (Ayers, Hofsetter, Schnakenberg & Kolody, 2009). White's attitudes toward Hispanics have been shown to have both positive and negative effects on policy depending on the quantity and quality of intergroup contact. Examples of these policies include the National Immigration Act of 1965 and more recently, California's Proposition 187 and Arizona's SB 1070. Although not all of these proposals were accepted by voters, each of them was initiated by a political movement based on attitudes toward immigration and Mexicans (Ayers, et al., 2009; Pearson, 2010). By examining the type of intergroup

contact occurring in specific settings and geographic regions policymakers will be better prepared to address conflict and be conscious of its effect on immigration laws and policies.

This research involves a survey of students at a University in Southwest Texas to identify how Contact theory and/or Group threat theory explains the presence and/or lack thereof of restrictionist attitudes toward immigration in an academic setting. The focus is on students at a university recently granted Hispanic-serving status, which means at least 25% of the students are Hispanic. This recent change in the academic population is likely to lead to a change in the dynamics of who students interact with—which likely changes their attitudes towards Hispanic students, legal and illegal immigration issues. The following chapter will provide a review of the theoretical foundation used in this study by discussing the existing literature on both contact theory and group threat theory. In addition, similar studies are examined in terms of their strengths and limitations to indicate the areas where expanded research is needed. Chapter 3 contains the methods used in this study and a description of the research design and setting, the characteristics of the sample and the development of the data and its limitations. The results of the data analysis are presented in Chapter 4. Last, Chapter 5 includes a summary of the findings and results of this study and its implications to policy. There is also a review of the study's limitations and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

The existing literature on white's attitudes toward immigration primarily focuses on the interactions of whites with Mexicans (see Berg, 2010; Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Ha, 2010). This chapter discusses contact theory and group threat theory as a theoretical foundation for this research, including how these frameworks can be applied to better understand societies' attitudes toward legal and illegal immigration. The most frequently used demographic measurements have been the age, gender and educational attainment of the sample population. These measurements are combined with levels of community diversity and residential heterogeneity to show how each variable can jointly and individually affect the presence and/or lack thereof of restrictionist views toward immigration.

Theoretical Framework

Core Networks

Core networks differ from standard social networks by narrowing their focus to the interactions between individuals and their close associates, also known as alters. Alters play an important role in the information individuals receive. They are designated as people with whom an individual is most likely to share important information. As a result the core network becomes an individuals' primary source of information to be used when forming opinions on ethnoracial groups (Berg, 2009b).

Contact Theory

Contact theory is based on the premise that the quality and quantity of intergroup contact between different ethnoracial groups should affect perceived threats and prejudice because contact provides information about the other group (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000). Positive intergroup contact may improve relations between groups by reducing their perceptions of threat and providing information that is counterintuitive to negative stereotypes (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Allport (1954) is credited with creating this hypothesis in his book titled *The Nature of Prejudice*, which identified four conditions for optimal intergroup contact: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and authority support (Pettigrew, 1998).

Studies have examined the perceived equality of status between groups prior to, during and after contact situations. Consistent with Allport's (1954) hypothesis, it is important that both groups expect and perceive equal status *within* the contact situation for the interaction to have a positive effect on attitudes (Cohen & Lotan, 1995; Pettigrew, 1998). Reducing prejudicial views also requires that both groups have an active, goal-oriented effort. For example, interracial athletic teams depend on their teammates regardless of race, to achieve their goal of winning the game (Allport, 1954; Chu & Griffey, 1985). Achieving prescribed goals must involve an independent effort of both groups without intergroup competition (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Intergroup cooperation in an academic environment provides the strongest support of this principle. Several studies have shown significant positive results among students who cooperatively strive to attain a common goal without racial competition (Pettigrew, 1998; Schofield, 1989). The fourth principle states that intergroup contact has more positive effects with

both groups have the support of authorities, laws or customs to establish norms of acceptance. Evidence of this effect can be seen in research in military, business and religious institutions (Parker, 1968; Pettigrew, 1998).

A study conducted by Sims and Patrick (1936), which provided the basis of Allport's hypothesis, found that anti-black prejudice increased among white college students from the Northern United States with every year spent in the Southern United States. Recent literature has shown strong support for the relevance of contact theory to the relationship between dominant ethnoracial populations and immigrants. Dixon and Rosenbaum (2004) found that whites who know Hispanics from academic settings were less likely to express prejudicial stereotypes. A more recent study compared white's opinions toward immigration in 1996 and 2004 and found that an increase in the Hispanic population resulted in more intergroup interaction and subsequently less restrictionist attitudes among whites toward immigrants in general (Berg, 2009b). The demographic characteristics of whites' core networks are also important in determining their likelihood of expressing restrictionist attitudes toward immigrants and Hispanics. Several studies have found that whites who are embedded in racially diverse, politically liberal and educated core networks are likely to express more empathy toward immigrants and believe that they improve American society (Berg, 2009a; Hood & Morris, 1998).

The quality of intergroup contact is also shown to play a role in the likelihood of reducing restrictionist views and prejudice among whites. A study using a sample of university students found that the quality, not quantity, of intergroup contact was a strong predictor of less restrictionist attitudes and prejudicial views. White students reported less

anxiety and feeling less threatened by Hispanics when their interactions were favorable according to Allport's prescribed principles (Allport, 1954; Stephan, et al., 2000).

Summary of Empirical Support for Contact Theory

While existing studies have provided empirical support for contact theory in a variety of applications they have also described its various limitations. One potential problem with this perspective is a selection bias created by the fact that prejudiced individuals may avoid contact with minorities. Although intergroup contact is shown to dispel prejudicial and restrictionist attitudes this affect cannot be measured among prejudiced populations that do not willingly engage in intergroup contact (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004). Forbes (1997) found that the positive effects of intergroup contact were not generalizable beyond the individual and concluded that contact can reduce prejudice at the individual level but is unable to resolve group conflict.

In summary, there has been a substantial amount of research shown to support the hypothesis that positive intergroup contact reduces prejudicial and/or restrictionist views toward minority ethnoracial immigrant populations. A meta-analysis study using 713 independent samples from 515 studies on contact theory showed that despite the presence of certain limitations, 94% of the samples showed an inverse relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice. They found that sampling bias was not a threat to the validity of the results and were able to easily control for the possible bias. In contrast to prior studies, intergroup contact was found to be highly generalizable to groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Contact theory is used as one component of the theoretical framework for this study. The alternative hypothesis to that of contact theory is known as

Group Threat theory which hypothesizes that increased intergroup contact will have a positive relationship with prejudicial and/or restrictionist attitudes.

Group Threat Theory

The theoretical framework for group threat theory was founded by Herbert Blumer in 1958 where he proposed that the prejudicial attitudes are in response to the fear of a subordinate racial group threatening the position of the dominant group. This research applies the definition of group threat theory as stated by Berg (2009b) which states that as an area becomes racially and ethnically diverse, the dominant ethnoracial group is likely to feel that it will lose its social, economic, and political power. This feeling of threat may lead dominant ethnoracial group members to express prejudiced attitudes toward other ethnoracial groups; resulting in intergroup conflict. Several studies have applied this theoretical framework in conjunction with measures of education, age, gender, residential heterogeneity and core network composition to examine the effects of interaction and prejudice among whites and Hispanics. The following section discusses the existing empirical support for group threat theory.

Summary of Empirical Support for Group Threat Theory

A study by Ayers, Hofsetter, Schnakenberg and Kolody (2009) examined to what degree opinions on immigration were racially based. Using a sample from telephone surveys of 549 whites in California they found that attitudes toward immigration are primarily motivated by racial sentiments. Lee, Ottatti and Hussain (2001) administered a face-to-face survey to two sets of college students in Massachusetts and California and collected a sample of 111 responses. They found that white students who showed prejudice toward Hispanics prior to the survey were more likely to show similar attitudes

toward immigration and support restrictionist immigration policies. A similar study done by Higgins, et al. (2010) had a sample comprised of 500 Hispanics and 800 whites and used the responses from a public national poll to identify how whites' perceived competition from Hispanics led to whites' attempts to control minority populations and reduce competition. Using face-to-face clustered interviews and phone surveys, Berg (2009b) found that the presence of Hispanics leads most white citizens to hold restrictionist attitudes due to their perceptions of threat and competition.

Summary of Existing Literature for Contact and Group Threat Theories

In summary, the existing literature shows that similar to contact theory, group threat theory has strong empirical support for explaining the developing conflicts between white and Hispanic populations in the United States. Whereas contact theory supports increased interaction between the two ethnoracial populations, group threat theory posits that interaction can have substantially negative consequences and result in increased threat, competition, conflict and ultimately prejudiced and restrictionist attitudes toward Hispanics. The interactional relationship between these two groups can also be described in terms of their demographic and sociocultural factors. The following section will discuss the existing literature on this relationship in terms of the populations' age, gender, educational attainment, residential heterogeneity and core network composition.

Opinions on Immigration: Literature Analysis

Researchers have found that individual and average core network measures of age, gender, educational attainment, residential heterogeneity and racial composition are significant in predicting the effects of interaction among diverse racial populations (For

example see: Berg, 2009b; Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996; Ha, 2010; Janus, 2010). In general, whites who feel that most recent Hispanic immigrants cause problems or pose a threat to social norms are significantly less likely to prefer higher levels of immigration (Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996). These findings provide an illustration of how measures of whites' attitudes toward Hispanics can be directly related to their attitudes toward immigration.

Gender and Age

Researchers have found that males and females are significantly likely to differ in their propensity to express restrictionist attitudes toward Hispanics and immigration issues. In general women are less likely than men to express prejudiced attitudes and are positively affected by an increase in immigrants in their community or geographical area (Berg, 2010). Men, although more likely to express restrictionism, are less likely to believe that an increase in immigration leads to in criminal activity (Higgins et. al., 2010).

The age of the respondent and the average age of their core network are also found to be predictors of expression prejudicial attitudes. Research has shown for every year the average age of a core network increases the odds of believing immigrants are a main source of crime increases by 2 percent. In other words, older networks are more likely to support the notion of immigrants being a primary cause of crime (Berg, 2009a). Younger cohorts are found to express more positive opinions and more tolerance for immigration, specifically those aged 18-24 years of age (Burns and Gimpel, 2000; Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996).

Educational Attainment

The educational attainment of an individual and their core network is found to be predictive of restrictionist attitudes among dominant ethnoracial populations in two ways. The first is the degree to which respondents are likely to conceal or express their racially conservative attitudes. Respondents with higher levels of education differ dramatically in terms of the extent to which they hide their true attitudes in a survey setting. Janus (2010) found that college graduates are less likely to express their restrictionist attitudes in response to a direct question (29%) compared to the less educated (49%).

Second, the level of educational attainment is also related to the composition of an individual's network and accordingly, to the information he/she receives from members of the core network. Whites who are embedded in more educated networks comprised of more non-white individuals are more likely to express pro-immigration attitudes. With the addition of each non-white member in a network, the odds of expressing pro-immigration beliefs increase by 122 percent (Berg, 2009b). In summary, educational attainment has a substantial multifaceted influence on whites' beliefs toward Hispanics and immigration and is a valuable measure of the effects of interaction between these two groups.

Residential Heterogeneity

Chandler and Tsai (2001) found that, "the greater tolerance of persons with higher levels of education has been attributed to their wider knowledge, more critical habits of thought, greater security, or merely a more sophisticated defense of their class interests... Or the more educated may possess more diverse and cosmopolitan social networks" (p.186). Whites' exposure and proximity to immigrants and/or Hispanics in the

residential and/or working environments may produce different outcomes on restrictionist attitudes (Ha, 2010). The presence of non-white individuals provides more opportunities for the two different racial populations to interact and receive new information which negates stereotypes and prejudice. Whites' who live in areas with more non-whites are more likely to express pro-immigration attitudes and believe that immigrants have a positive effect on society.

However, this effect is moderated by an increase in educational level and white homogeneity in the core network. Whites have a tendency to prefer individuals of high social status and education as opposed to minorities and are prone to communicating with the former group (Burns, 2000). Using a measure of cultural inertia, Zarate and Shaw (2010) found that those core networks that are more open-minded to change are less likely to be prejudiced toward Hispanics. This finding is relevant to the current study because college students are frequently exposed to social and environmental changes that require them to be more open-minded to change.

In conclusion, whites who reside and/or work in racially heterogeneous environments are provided more opportunities for interaction with minorities and exposure to anti-restrictionist information and values. College campuses are constantly evolving and students are continually exposed to a racially diverse population of peers.

Limitations of Existing Literature

Research on opinions toward immigration typically relies on a community sample or national poll data; few studies have focused exclusively on college student populations. As opposed to local community members, the average college student at a public university will have significantly more interaction with minorities, specifically

with Hispanics. The university setting is also highly unique in that it promotes more racially tolerant values, more open-mindedness to change and is conducive to more liberal attitudes toward controversial topics such as immigration and prejudicial beliefs. This research will use the frameworks of contact theory and group threat theory and build upon the existing empirical support by showing how factors such as age, education and core network composition are influenced by the academic environment.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODS

The public's opinion on immigration is affected by multiple intersecting relationships between demographic characteristics, community factors and social influences (see generally: Berg, 2010, Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996, Janus, 2010). There is a paucity of research that addresses the unique personal and community-level dynamics which affect college students' personal opinions. The existing research has shown that individuals with more education are less likely to express their restrictionist attitudes in a direct-question setting. Also, individuals who obtain a collegiate-level education typically express increased awareness of tolerance toward minorities and are hesitant to disclose personal views which contrast to the social mores of an academic environment (Janus, 2010). The data used in this study is comprised of the responses from an electronic survey that was administered to a random sample of 3,000 Texas State Students. Several measures were taken to improve the response rate including an incentive and anonymity¹. This chapter discusses the research setting, the methods used to generate the sample, the research questions and hypotheses, the conceptualization and operationalization of variables within the survey, and the statistical methods of data analysis used to evaluate the hypotheses.

¹ See Appendix A for survey

Research Setting: Population Demographics and Geographic Region

This study used survey responses from a random sample of students at a Hispanic-serving university in Southwest Texas. Texas State University-San Marcos is located in San Marcos, Hays County, Texas. It is in the south-central region of Texas, approximately 30 miles south of Austin and 200 miles north of the Mexico border. As of 2010, the population of San Marcos was 55,314 and over 37 percent of the population was between the ages of 20-29 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Hispanics represented 37 percent of the total population, and 31 percent of those individuals were Mexican. There is a discrepancy in the census reporting system in San Marcos whereby students have the option to report either their permanent address or their school address as their residence. The census reports for San Marcos are unable to separate the data of the transient population (i.e., students) from that of permanent citizens. Although limited in its validity, Census data shows that in 2010 Texas State students accounted for 33 percent of the total San Marcos population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

According to the U.S. Department of Education, as of the 2010 Fall Semester there were 32,572 students enrolled. The majority of the population consists of white students (62.3 %) and the second largest population is Hispanic/Latino (26.2%) (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011).

Method for Collecting Data

This study collected original data from a random sample using a web-based anonymous survey. Research has shown that college students are less likely to disclose their personal views when asked direct questions (Janus, 2010). The existing literature on

public opinion has also shown that anonymous/confidential surveys provide the best response in terms of both reliability and frequency (Berg, 2009a; Berg, 2009b; Burns and Gimpel, 2000; Lee, Ottati, and Hussain, 2001); thus an electronic survey was utilized as opposed to a face-to-face administered survey.

To collect a representative sample this study randomly selected 3,000 students, or approximately 10 percent of the student population, to receive an electronic survey invitation. The random sample was generated using the university student e-mail address database and provided to the researchers in an anonymous electronic format. An e-mail invitation was then sent to the students with a link to a web-survey hosted by surveymonkey.com. To improve the predicted response an incentive was offered to participants who completed the survey. Students had the choice to provide their name and e-mail address to be entered into a drawing for one of five Visa gift cards ranging in value from \$10.00 to \$50.00. The student was required to respond to a consent form prior to participating which ensured any personal information provided would be kept confidential. Ensuring the student that their answers were confidential and could in no way be linked to their personal information was an integral part of improving the frequency and honesty of the responses (Janus, 2010).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The primary research question addressed in this study asks: *What is the effect of a recent increase in the number of Hispanic students at TSU in regards to the dominant ethnoracial student population's student-interactions (peer network) and attitudes towards Hispanic students, legal immigrants and illegal immigration issues?* Three hypotheses are tested to address this question. The first hypothesis states:

H₁: White students are likely to be embedded in networks with Hispanic students and have more frequent interactions with Hispanic students.

This hypothesis tests both the demographic characteristics of the respondent, their core network and the frequency of their contact with Hispanic students. The survey obtained the following demographic characteristics of both the respondent and the respondent's network: age, educational attainment, race/ethnicity (network's composition), gender, personal political party affiliation and a self-reported measure of perceived socioeconomic status. As a result of the increase in the Hispanic population at Texas State University, it is expected that students are likely to have frequent interactions with Hispanic students and have at least one-third of their network be comprised of Hispanic students.

The second hypothesis states:

H₂: White students who are embedded in networks with Hispanic students and have regular interactions with Hispanic students, compared to white students who are not embedded in networks or interact with Hispanic students, are less likely to have negative feelings towards Hispanic students.

This hypothesis is developed from contact theory and group threat theory by measuring the degree to which students accommodated or were threatened by the increasing population of Hispanic students. Group threat theory is measured by asking if Hispanic students negatively affected the respondent's personal sense of safety and/or economic security. Respondents were also asked if they supported increasing the Hispanic student population at TSU and whether this may have an overall positive or negative affect. It is

predicted that an increase in white students' interactions with Hispanic students will have a positive effect and reduce restrictionist attitudes among white students.

The third hypothesis states that:

H₃: White students at TSU who have positive feelings toward Hispanic students are more likely than white students with negative feelings toward Hispanic students to have less restrictionist attitudes towards legal and illegal immigration issues.

This hypothesis tests students' opinions on legal and illegal immigration, immigrants and current illegal immigration policy issues. Questions covered topics such as rights for illegal immigrants including education, voting, employment, etc. The survey measured opinions on legal and illegal immigration independently to isolate the variables and control for possible intervening factors. It is predicted that white students who frequently interact with Hispanic students are more likely to have positive feelings toward Hispanic students and as a result will also have less restrictionist attitudes toward the general Hispanic population and harsh immigration policies.

Conceptualization and Operationalization

The following section describes the conceptualization and operationalization of the variables used in this study.

Race/Ethnicity

The data collected on the respondent's reported race were an integral part of this study. Race was operationalized using a self-reported measure in the survey. The original coding for this variable was: (1) Caucasian, Not Hispanic, (2) African American, (3) Hispanic, (4) Alaskan Native/Indian, (5) Hawaiian/Pacific Islander and (6) Other. The

variable was recoded into white and non-white students to focus the analysis on the views of the dominant ethnoracial population toward the minority Hispanic population. The ethnoracial composition of the respondent's network was used as a measure of interaction-specifically the quality and quantity of interactions. Research has shown that interaction between these groups must be cooperative, individualized, positive and voluntary (Alford, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Stephan, Diaz-Loving and Duran, 2000; Ward and Masogret, 2006). The term 'core network' was conceptualized in such a way as to include only those interactions which would be most likely to foster the specifications listed.

Educational Attainment

Previous studies have shown a negative correlation between a person's educational attainment and their restrictionist views toward immigration (Berg, 2009a). Higher levels of average educational attainment among a person's core network are shown to reduce restrictionist views toward immigrants (Berg, 2009a; Berg 2009b). The data for this variable was self-reported by the respondents. The sample was composed of strictly college students so the respondent was asked to identify what year in college they were. The coding included: (1) Freshman, (2) Sophomore, (3) Junior, (4) Senior, (5) Masters and (6) Doctoral. The average educational level of the respondent's core network was coded as: (1) No College, (2) Some College, (3) 4-Year Degree Completed, (5) Graduate Degree Completed and (6) Professional Degree Completed.

Core Network & Interaction

The definition of "core network" was derived from that used by Berg (2009a). Individuals' ties within their core network provide an outlet for the transfer of

information which can lead to different individual evaluations in response to the perceived viewpoints of close personal contacts. Any effects from the larger social environment are conditional on a person's core network. Ultimately, the core network is likely to have a direct effect on attitude formation (Berg, 2009a).

The variable "core network" is conceptualized in this study as "anyone a student comes in contact with at college such as classmates, dorm residents, roommates and close friends". The variable "interaction" was defined as "any type of verbal, electronic, or personal communication". Interaction was extended to include any type of conversation regardless of how well the student knew the individual. To measure interaction, students were asked the following questions:

During a typical semester how frequently do you interact with Hispanic members of your network?

During a typical semester how frequently do you interact with non-Hispanic members of your network?

Which of the following races represents the majority of your interactions with non-white individuals?

These questions measured the frequencies of students' interactions with both white and non-white individuals within and outside of the students' core network.

Attitudes toward Hispanics

This study operationalizes students' feelings toward Hispanics by asking if Hispanic students threaten the respondents' sense of economic security and/or personal safety. Specifically, students were asked to identify if they agree or disagree with the following statements:

In general, Hispanic students negatively affect my economic security as a student.

Hispanic students negatively affect my personal sense of security as a student.

Respondents were also asked their opinion toward policies which would promote an increase in the Hispanic population at TSU and what effect the increase may have.

Restrictionist Attitudes – Legal & Illegal Immigration

The term “immigration” is conceptualized as “the act of people coming to live permanently in a foreign country”. Restrictionist attitudes toward legal immigration and immigrants are measured by asking students if they agree or disagree with the following statements:

In general, legal immigration is beneficial to the United States.

Legal immigration into the United States should continue to be permitted.

The survey also asked students if they believe that Hispanic immigrants have a positive, negative or no effect on the United States. Restrictionist attitudes toward illegal immigration are measured with similar questions. In addition to the statements above, students were also asked if they believe that illegal immigrants should be provided more rights in the United States and whether children of illegal immigrants should be provided education opportunities as a U.S. citizen.

Institutional Review Board

An exemption application for this research was submitted to the Institutional Review Board at Texas State University-San Marcos and was approved on July 28 2011².

This research study met the criteria for an exemption because the data was collected

² Application Number: 2011U400; Approval Number: EXP2011P3384; See Appendix B for Approval Certification

confidentially and the survey did not ask any questions that would cause harm for the students.

Analysis

This study uses descriptive statistics to describe the sample's characteristics in terms of age, race, educational attainment and gender. To examine the relationships between the respondents' race, frequency of interaction with Hispanics, Hispanic representation in the core network, attitudes toward Hispanics and attitudes toward legal and illegal immigration cross-tabs and tests of significance (chi-squared) were utilized.

CHAPTER FOUR – FINDINGS AND RESULTS

Survey Demographics

This study uses survey responses from a random sample of TSU students (N=794). The average age of the sample is 25 years (M=25) and ranges from 17 to 60 years of age. The sample demographics were representative of the TSU student population in terms of race, educational attainment and gender. As of 2010 the TSU student population was 62 percent white and 26 percent Hispanic. Over three-quarters of the student population were undergraduate students (84.2 percent) and 16 percent were graduate students. The sample used for this study showed that 63 percent of respondents were white and 25 percent were Hispanic. Undergraduate students represented 82 percent while graduate students represented 16 percent. The student population was almost equally divided between males (45%) and females (55%) whereas the sample population was predominately female (65%). The final sample received a 26 percent response rate and included 794 survey responses (n=794).

Primary Research Question

The primary research question was: What is the effect of a recent increase in the number of Hispanic students at TSU in regards to the dominant ethnoracial student population's student-interactions (peer network) and attitudes towards Hispanic students,

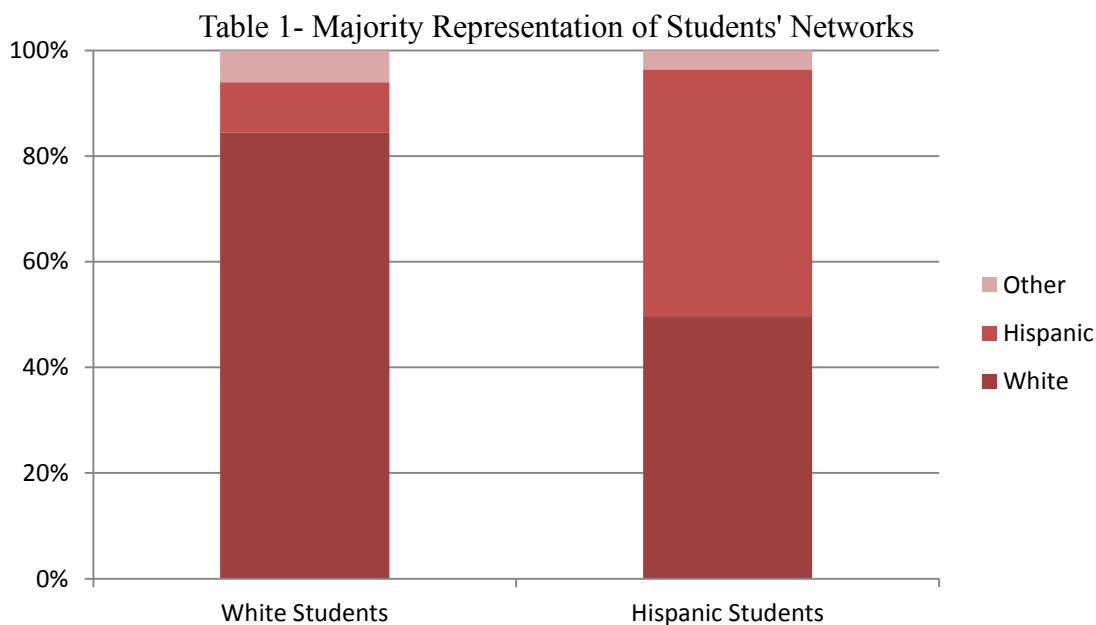
legal immigrants and illegal immigration issues? Before analyzing the data the race variable was collapsed into two categories of white and non-white students. This allowed the data to focus on the differences and relationships between the in-group and out-group population opinions as defined by group threat and contact theory (Berg, 2009a; Ha, 2010).

Hypothesis 1 - *Analysis A*

Three hypotheses were used to test the primary research question. The first hypothesis stated that:

H₁: White students are likely to be embedded in networks with Hispanic students and have more frequent interactions with Hispanic students.

This hypothesis was tested by examining how white students at a Hispanic-Serving University describe their friends in their core network in terms of race, age, college enrollment and level of education. The age and educational attainment distributions among both white and Hispanic students' networks were almost equal with most networks being between the ages of 18 and 25 (M=77.9%) and with some college completed (M=72.9). Respondents were asked to identify which race represented the majority of the individuals in their network. White students were significantly less likely than Hispanic students to have Hispanic students in their network ($\chi^2=248.5$, $df=4$, $p<.01$). For example, Hispanics had 47 percent Hispanic friends compared to whites who had 10 percent. White students compared to Hispanic students reported having substantially fewer percentages of Hispanic individuals in their network (See Table 1).



The racial distribution in terms of majority representation of Hispanic students' networks was 49.7 percent white and 46.7 percent Hispanic. The racial distribution of white students' networks showed that the largest representation (84.4%) was white individuals and Hispanics represented only 9.6 percent. Students were also asked how many individuals within their network are Hispanic. This question used a likert-scale measurement with the responses being: none, less than half, about half, more than half or all. A significant negative relationship was found between the respondents' race and the number of Hispanics in their network. White students are less likely than Hispanic students to have Hispanic individuals in their network ($r(n=790) = -.19, p < .001$). Among white students, 69.2 percent reported that less than half of individuals in their network are Hispanic whereas 70 percent of Hispanic students reported that half or more of the individuals in their network are Hispanic. These findings did not support the hypothesis that TSU students are likely be embedded in core networks with Hispanic students.

Instead, the data analysis shows that white students' core networks are more likely to

consist of mostly white students compared to the core networks of Hispanic students.

Hypothesis 1 - Analysis B

The second step of analysis was to examine how often white students at a Hispanic-serving University interact with Hispanics. This analysis was done to separate students' descriptions of their core networks from their interactions with individuals within and outside of their networks. Students were asked how frequently they interact with Hispanic members of their network and what race represents the majority of their interactions with non-white individuals. A moderately significant positive relationship was found between the number of Hispanics in a students' network and their reported frequency of interaction. Those students who reported having more Hispanic individuals in their network also reported being significantly more likely to interact with Hispanic individuals both in and out of their core network ($r(n=792) = .44, p < .001$).

The frequency distributions showed similar findings for both white and Hispanic students wherein both groups reported having frequent interaction with Hispanic members of their network (white = 55.5%; Hispanic = 71.6%). A weak significant relationship was found between students' race and their interactions with Hispanics. White students interactions with Hispanic students are less frequent than those Hispanic students ($r(n=789) = .11, p < .01$). Approximately three-quarters of white students (73.7%) and more than three-quarters of Hispanic students (86.3%) reported that Hispanics comprised the majority of their interactions with non-white individuals.

These findings provide mixed support for the prediction that white students at TSU are likely to have frequent interaction with Hispanic individuals. Based on the results of the frequency distribution analysis, white students report frequent interaction

with Hispanics both in and out of their core networks. However, Hispanics are found to interact with Hispanic students slightly more often than white students.

In conclusion, white students at TSU are not embedded in core networks consisting of a substantial percentage of Hispanic students. White students at TSU report having frequent interactions with Hispanics both in and out of their core networks. Compared to the white students, Hispanics are more embedded in core networks with Hispanic students and have more frequent interactions with Hispanic students.

There are two possible explanations for the lack of Hispanic representation in white students' core networks. First, the findings may be due to the respondents' perception of the term 'core network' as defined in this study. The respondents were provided with a brief definition of the term before taking the survey which may have not provided an adequate description of the measure being used. Second, these findings are also considered in context of the fact that white students represent more than double the population of Hispanic students at TSU. As a result, it is possible that students' have more access to white students than Hispanic students and ultimately build their core networks based on opportunity. The second analysis which follows will build on these analyses by focusing on those students whose network consists of half or more Hispanic individuals and that report having occasional to frequent interactions with Hispanics.

Hypothesis 2 – Analysis A

The second hypothesis used to test the effect of an increase in the number of Hispanic students at TSU stated that:

H₂: White students who are embedded in networks with Hispanic students and have regular interaction with Hispanic students, compared to white students who are not

embedded in networks and interact with Hispanic students, are less likely to have negative feelings towards Hispanic students.

This analysis was a direct test of contact theory and group threat theory. Group threat theory cites individuals' perceived competition, such as threats to economic security and personal safety, as being strong indicators of an in-group-out-group bias among the racially dominant population (Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996; Higgins, et al., 2010). The dependent variable used in this analysis was the group of white students within the sample who reported that half or more of the persons in their network were Hispanic and who had occasional to frequent interaction with Hispanic individuals. The independent measures were based upon earlier studies and addressed white students' opinions toward Hispanic students in terms of the increasing Hispanic population at TSU and the perceived threat posed to white students' economic security and personal safety. The frequency distributions for this analysis were analyzed on four levels of measurement to illustrate the effects of interaction and core network composition on white students' attitudes. These measurements include all white students within the sample, white students with occasional to frequent interaction with Hispanics, white students whose network included half or more Hispanics and a collective analysis examining the effects of the three aforementioned variables.

General Population – Analysis A

The total sample used for this analysis included 698 responses which included 501 white students (63.3%) and 197 (24.9%) Hispanic students. White students' attitudes toward Hispanic students were measured using a 5-pt likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Respondents were asked if they agree or disagree that

Hispanic students have had a negative effect on the respondents' economic security as a student (financial aid resources, employment opportunities etc.). Among the total sample over three-quarters of Hispanic students (78.5%) and slightly under half of white students (47.6 percent) disagreed with the statement. The majority of both groups (white = 80.2%; Hispanic = 89.8%) did not feel that Hispanic students have had a negative effect on the respondents' personal sense of safety. In other words, both white and Hispanic students did not feel that their economic security or personal safety was threatened by Hispanic students.

Students were also asked their opinion toward policies that would increase the population of Hispanic students at TSU and whether this increase would have an overall positive, negative or no affect. Hispanic students were in favor of increasing the Hispanic student population and over half (60%) believed it would have a positive overall affect. White students showed minimal preference for increasing the Hispanic population and most did not believe it would have any overall affect (56.8%). These findings are reflective of earlier studies and indicate that Hispanic students may be more likely than white students to express their attitudes toward increasing the Hispanic population. White students are not necessarily impartial to the topic but may be less inclined to respond honestly (Janus, 2010).

White Students: Interaction and Network Composition – Analysis B

The following analysis will build upon the findings for hypothesis one – analyses A and B by isolating the group of white students whose network is composed of at least half Hispanic members and who report occasional to frequent interaction with Hispanic individuals. Within the total sample there are 501 measured responses from white

students. Out of the total white students in the sample 154 (30.8%) reported having half or more of their network be Hispanic and 445 reported having occasional (33.7% $n= 168$) or frequent (55.5%; $n= 277$) interaction with Hispanic individuals.

B1) Threat to Economic Security and Personal Sense of Safety

The frequency distributions of perceived economic threat show that perception of threat decreases among white students who are embedded in core networks with Hispanics compared to those who are not embedded in such networks.

Respondents were asked if they agree or disagree with the following statements:

In general, Hispanic students negatively affect my economic security as a student.

Hispanic students negatively affect my personal sense of safety as a student.

Table 1b shows the frequency distributions of white students who disagreed with the above statements according to their network composition and interactions with Hispanic individuals. A chi-squared analysis showed that students' frequency of interactions with Hispanic students was found to have a more significant impact on their lack of perceived economic and personal safety threat than their network composition ($X^2(8, N=498, 34.68, p=.000)$); ($X^2(N=496, 44.70, p=.000)$).

In summary, these results show that as networks become more embedded with Hispanic students and interactions with Hispanic persons become more frequent, white students are less likely to feel threatened by the increasing Hispanic population at TSU. These findings are consistent with contact theory by showing that as networks become more racially diverse and students engage in positive intergroup interactions, white students are less likely to hold restrictionist and/or prejudicial attitudes (Berg, 2009; Hood and Morris, 1998).

Table 2 – White Students’ Reported Perceptions of Threat as a Result of Increasing Hispanic Student Population

	Economic Threat	Personal Safety
Total Sample	47.6%	80.2%
Half or more of network is Hispanic	52.9%	79.8%
Occasional to Frequent Interaction with Hispanics	49.8%	82.0%
Collective – Network and Interaction	53.4%	80.7%

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis examined the attitudes of students toward immigration and immigrants. It stated that:

H₃: White students at TSU who have positive feelings toward Hispanic students are more likely than white students with negative feelings toward Hispanic students to have less restrictionist attitudes towards legal and illegal immigration issues.

This hypothesis was tested by comparing the attitudes of white students with positive feelings toward Hispanics those of white students within the total sample. This analysis uses all white students within the sample as a control group to show how prevalence of restrictionist attitudes is affected by in-group-out-group interaction, network membership, and positive attitudes. The analysis is divided into two subsections: a) opinions on legal immigration and immigrants and b) opinions on illegal immigration and immigrants.

Analysis A – Legal Immigration and Immigrants

Generally, both groups of white students believed that legal immigration and Hispanic immigrants have an overall positive effect on the social and economic structures within the United States. The population of white students who have positive feelings

toward Hispanics as a result of their network composition and interactions show less restrictionist attitudes than the total sample. A weak positive relationship was found between white students who do not feel their economic or personal security is threatened and believing that Hispanic immigrants have a generally positive effect ($r (n=492) = .19, p<.01$; $r (n=492) = .21, p<.01$).

Table 3a – White Students’ Reported Attitudes toward Legal Immigration & Immigrants

	Legal Immigration Has a Positive Effect	Hispanic Immigrants Have a Positive Effect
White Students in Sample	69.6%	56%
White Students with Positive Feelings Toward Hispanics	82.7%	74.7%

Table 3b – White Students’ Reported Attitudes toward Legal Immigration & Immigrants

	Legal Immigration is Beneficial	Legal Immigration Should Continue to be Permitted
White Students in Sample	73.7%	84.4%
White Students with Positive Feelings Toward Hispanics	85.3%	93.3%

Table 3c – White Students’ Reported Attitudes toward Legal Immigration & Immigrants

Correlations				
			Legal Immigration – Beneficial	Legal immigration - continue to permit
White Students	Economic Threat	Pearson Correlation	-.335**	-.321**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000
		N	500	499
	Safety Threat	Pearson Correlation	-.256**	-.271**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000
		N	500	499

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

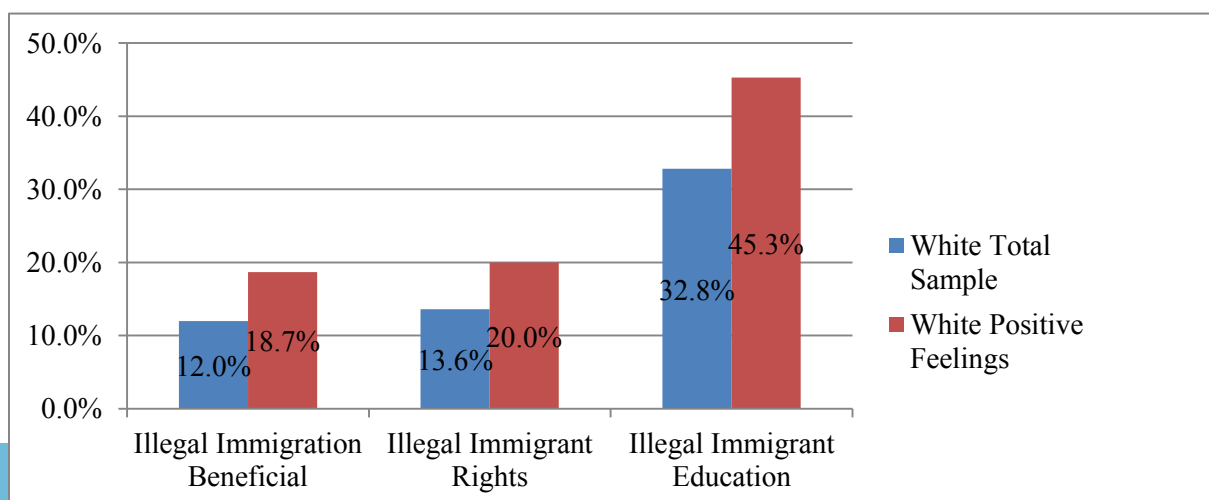
Strong negative relationships were found between white students with no perceived threat to safety or economic security and beliefs that legal immigration is beneficial and should continue to be permitted. In other words, as white students' perceptions of threat decrease their attitudes toward legal immigration and immigrants significantly increase. This finding shows strong support for Contact theory by identifying how positive attitudes toward out-groups in a population can also be reflective of less restrictionist attitudes toward immigration and immigrants.

Analysis B – Illegal Immigration

Table 4a - White Students' Reported Attitudes toward Illegal Immigration & Immigrants

	Illegal Immigration is Beneficial	Illegal Immigrants Should Have More Rights	Provide Education to Children of Illegal Immigrants
White Students in Total Sample			
<i>Agree</i>	12.0%	13.6%	32.8%
<i>Disagree</i>	67.4%	74.6%	48.9%
White Students with Positive Feelings toward Hispanics			
<i>Agree</i>	18.7%	20%	45.3%
<i>Disagree</i>	48%	61.4%	26.7%

Table 4b - White Students' Reported Attitudes toward Illegal Immigration & Immigrants



White students with positive attitudes toward Hispanics are more likely than the total sample of white students to have less restrictionist attitudes toward illegal immigration and immigrants. As seen in Table 4a and 4b, the percentage of students in favor of providing more rights and education opportunities to illegal immigrants substantially increased among white students with positive attitudes toward Hispanics.

Table 4c - White Students' Reported Attitudes toward Illegal Immigration & Immigrants

Correlations					
			Illegal - Beneficial	Illegal - more rights	Illegal - education rights
White Students	Economic Threat	Pearson Correlation	-.462**	-.436**	-.448**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000
		N	499	498	500
	Safety Threat	Pearson Correlation	-.303**	-.287**	-.332**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000
		N	498	498	500
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).					
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).					

Strong negative relationships were found for perceived economic and personal safety threat and opinions toward illegal immigration and immigrants. White students who disagreed that Hispanic students threaten their economic and personal security were significantly more likely to support providing more rights to illegal immigrants and believe that illegal immigration is beneficial.

In summary, these findings support the hypothesis that white students at TSU who have positive feelings toward Hispanic students are more likely than white students with negative feelings toward Hispanic students to have less restrictionist attitudes towards

legal and illegal immigration issues. The analyses of students' attitudes toward both legal and illegal immigration show that those who are embedded in core networks with Hispanics, have occasional to frequent interaction with Hispanics and have positive feelings toward Hispanic students show lower rates of restrictionist attitudes compared to the total sample of white students.

Conclusion – Findings & Results

The primary research question used in this study examined the effect of a recent increase in the number of Hispanic students at TSU in regard to in-group-out-group student-interactions (peer network) and their attitudes towards Hispanic students, legal immigrants and illegal immigration issues. This research question was addressed by testing three different hypotheses. The first hypothesis was partially supported in that although white students' core networks did have a substantial Hispanic representation they did have occasional to frequent interactions with Hispanic students. The second hypothesis was supported and showed that white students who are embedded in networks with half or more Hispanic students and have occasional to frequent interactions with Hispanic individuals, are less likely to have negative attitudes toward Hispanics. The third hypothesis was also supported. The findings show that white students with positive feelings toward Hispanics as a result of network composition and out-group interaction are less likely to have restrictionist attitudes toward legal and illegal immigration issues.

In conclusion, these findings support contact theory by showing how the combined effects of racial diversity within students' core networks, regular in-group-out-group interaction and positive attitudes toward ethnoracial populations can counteract restrictionist attitudes among dominant ethnoracial populations.

CHAPTER FIVE – DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This research surveyed a sample of students at a University in Southwest Texas to identify how contact theory and/or group threat theory explained the presence and/or lack thereof of restrictionist attitudes toward immigration in an academic setting. The findings supported contact theory and showed that interaction among white and Hispanic students led to positive intergroup feelings and less restrictionist attitudes toward immigration. Berg (2009b) found that when core networks are highly educated and consist of non-white members they are more likely to receive pro-immigrant information leading to less restrictionist attitudes. Each non-white member in a persons' core network increased the odds by over 100 percent that the individual would believe immigrants are beneficial to the social structure in the United States. Consistent with Berg's findings, this study showed that interaction with Hispanic students was also a significant predictor of white students' believing that Hispanic immigrants are beneficial to the United States.

The attitudes of whites toward Hispanics in the United States are largely founded on immigration concerns and can have a substantial impact on immigration policies (Berg, 2010; Janus, 2010). This study showed that whites' attitudes toward Hispanics can be predictive of their opinions on both legal and illegal immigration issues. Those students who were not threatened by the increasing Hispanic population were more likely

to believe immigrants are productive members of society and support policies which provide them more rights.

Limitations

These findings may be limited by the respondents' hesitation to express controversial opinions and the overall level of education of the sample. Multiple studies have found that individuals' attitudes toward immigration can be a function of the education level of both the respondent and their core network (Berg, 2009a; Burns and Gimpel, 2000; Janus, 2010). Janus (2010) examined whether this was a result of the influence of social desirability pressures as perceived by the respondents taking the survey. She found that college-educated individuals are more likely to conceal restrictionist attitudes as a result of being immersed in a largely liberal social environment. As a result of this sample being comprised of only college students, it may be limited by the respondents' unwillingness to express restrictionist or conservative views toward immigration issues. Although the respondents' were guaranteed anonymity in the consent form, they were given the opportunity to provide their e-mail address to be entered into a drawing for a gift card. The survey did not include a measure to account for the possibility of a response bias and thus the analysis did not take it into consideration.

Chandler and Tsai (2001) found that persons' with greater levels of education and more diverse social networks are less likely to hold restrictionist views toward immigration. This finding has been supported in multiple studies which have shown that individuals with greater education are more supportive of immigration and immigrants in general. This study may be limited in its' explanatory power because it did not include a group of less-educated individuals to compare to the college-educated sample. In

summary, the limitations of this research are centered on the education level of the sample. Although the consensus of the sample was pro-immigrant, these attitudes may be influenced by respondents' perceptions of social pressures and/or the norms of their social environments.

Implications and Future Research Recommendations

The findings of this study support contact theory and show strong implications for a social and political process involving the integration of white and Hispanic populations in the United States. First, communities must remove any present racial barriers and facilitate the integration of whites and Hispanics in both residential and working environments. This integration will provide opportunity for positive interaction. Integration of white and Hispanic populations in small community-settings will provide opportunity for interaction. Interaction between different ethnoracial populations provides the dominant race with information that counteracts prejudicial beliefs toward the minority population. Racial integration is an essential step in the process of alleviating tension and facilitating mutual understanding between whites and Hispanics. This mutual understanding will lead whites' to develop more positive feelings toward Hispanics and less restrictionist views toward immigrants and immigration issues.

Future research should include a longitudinal measure of the racial composition of individuals' core networks where there is an increasing Hispanic population. Although TSU has seen a substantial increase in the Hispanic student population, this may not reflect in students' core network composition for several years. Second, the existing literature primarily uses data obtained by administering a survey which limits the participants' ability to elaborate in their responses. Future research should address this

limitation by using methods to collect data which allow for more detailed responses and follow-up interviews with participants.

APPENDIX A - SURVEY

Opinions on Immigration

You are being asked to participate in a study involving research on immigration. The research project involves asking participants to fill out a 36-question survey regarding immigration. The questions inquire about your attitudes toward immigration as well as your background and demographics. The purpose of the survey is to assess attitudes of students regarding immigration. The research is being conducted by Ashley L. Allen (aa1334@txstate.edu) and assisted by Dr. Donna Vandiver (vandiver@txstate.edu, 512-245-7907).

We are using a sample representative of Texas State students. Thus, participants are selected randomly from the Texas State University e-mail registry.

You must be at least 18 years old to participate. Your participation is voluntary; there are no consequences if you refuse to take part. You may refuse to answer any question and cease participation at any time; you will not jeopardize your standing at the university by refusing. The survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. The risks are minimal. The potential risks associated with participation include, for example, becoming more aware of your attitudes towards immigration.

Those who complete the survey may choose to provide contact information. This information will not be associated with the answers you provide. You will be entered for a drawing. One participant will be randomly selected to receive a Visa \$50 gift card and five will be selected for a Visa \$10 gift card.

The survey is anonymous; no identifying information is collected or reported in this survey. The data will be maintained on the researcher's computer for five years. The summary of the results will be provided to respondents upon request; the purpose of the survey is to better understand University students' opinions on immigration. Any questions regarding this research should be directed to Ashley L. Allen at (512) 245-2174 or Dr. Donna Vandiver at (512) 245-7907. Pertinent questions about the research and research participants' right, and research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chairperson, Dr. Jon Lasser (245-3413), and the OSP Administrator, Ms. Becky Northcut (245-2102).

Below are examples of questions on the survey:

How frequently do you interact with Hispanic members of your network?

Do Hispanic immigrants affect your personal sense of safety?

To complete this survey you must have read and understood the terms and conditions listed above.

1. Please identify if you agree with the terms and conditions described above before beginning the survey.

- Agree
- Disagree (I do not wish to participate in this survey)

2. In general, legal immigration has a _____ effect on the social and economical structures in the United States. (Immigration is defined as the act of people coming to live permanently in a foreign country).

- Negative
- Positive
- No Effect
- Not Sure

Opinions on Immigration

3. In general, legal immigration is beneficial to the United States.

- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Neither Agree/Disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly Disagree

4. Legal immigration into the United States should continue to be permitted.

- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Neither Agree/Disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly Disagree

5. Hispanic immigrants have a ___ effect on the United States.

- Negative
 Positive
 No Effect

The next set of questions is about the people you interact with at Texas State University.

6. During a typical semester how many people in your network are fellow college students? (The term 'network' means anyone you come in contact with at college. For example: classmates, dorm residents, roommates, close friends, mutual friends, acquaintances, professors, etc.)

- All
 Most
 About Half
 Some
 None

Opinions on Immigration

7. Which of the following races/ethnicities represents the largest percentage of your network?

- White
- Asian
- Black
- Hispanic
- Other (please specify)

8. What is the typical age of people in your network?

- 11-17
- 18-21
- 22-25
- 26-30
- 30 or older

9. What is the typical level of education of the people in your network?

- No College
- Some College
- 4-Year Degree Completed
- Graduate Degree Completed
- Professional Degree Completed

The next set of questions is related to how often you interact with the people in your network. Interaction is defined here as any type of verbal, electronic, or personal communication. For example, even though you may not know a classmates' full name but you still converse with them in and/or out of class, it is considered interaction. This also includes anyone you come in contact with at college. For example: classmates, dorm residents, roommates, close friends, mutual friends, casual acquaintances, professors etc.

10. During a typical semester how frequently do you interact with Hispanic members of your network?

- Never
- Rarely
- Occasionally
- Frequently

Opinions on Immigration

11. During a typical semester how frequently do you interact with non-Hispanic members of your network?

- Never
- Rarely
- Occasionally
- Frequently

12. How many individuals in your network are Hispanic?

- None
- Less than half
- About half
- More than half
- All

13. Which of the following races represents the majority of your interactions with non-White individuals?

- Black/African American
- Hispanic
- Asian American
- Indian/Alaskan Native
- Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Do not associate with non-white/Not Applicable
- Other (please specify)

For the next set of questions please respond according to how you feel about the following statements.

14. In general, Hispanic students negatively affect my economic security as a student. (For example: financial aid resources, employment opportunities etc.)

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree/Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Opinions on Immigration

15. Hispanic students negatively affect my personal sense of safety as a student.

- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Neither Agree/Disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly Disagree

16. The population of Hispanic students pursuing a college education has increased in the last five years.

- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Neither Agree/Disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly Disagree

17. I support taking measures to increase the current population of Hispanic students at Texas State University.

- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Neither Agree/Disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly Disagree

18. Increasing the population of Hispanic students at Texas State would have an overall _____ affect.

- Negative
 Positive
 No Effect

19. My interactions with non-White people affect my opinion of minority groups.

- Negatively
 Positively
 No Effect

Opinions on Immigration

20. My interactions with Hispanics affect my opinion of minority groups.

- Negatively
 Positively
 No Effect

The next set of questions will ask about your opinion on issues related to illegal immigration.

21. Have you ever met someone living in the United States who was an illegal immigrant?

- Yes
 Not Sure
 No

22. Illegal immigration from Mexico is beneficial to the United States.

- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Neither Agree/Disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly Disagree

23. Illegal immigrants should be provided more rights and opportunities in the United States. For example, education, voting, employment etc.

- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Neither Agree/Disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly Disagree

24. Those who arrived in the U.S. with their parents (who immigrated illegally) should be given education opportunities as a U.S. student. (Receive financial aid to attend college, attend public schools etc.)

- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Neither Agree/Disagree
 Disagree
 Strongly Disagree

Opinions on Immigration

25. The methods currently used to prevent illegal immigration from Mexico are too harsh. (e.g., Border Patrol, highway check points etc.)

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree/Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

26. What is your gender?

- Female
- Male

27. What is your race/ethnicity?

- Caucasian, Non-Hispanic
- African American
- Hispanic
- Alaskan Native/Indian
- Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Other (please specify)

28. Do you know any first-generation Hispanic immigrants?

- Yes
- No

29. Are you first-generation Hispanic immigrant?

- Yes
- No

30. Are you second-generation Hispanic immigrant?

- Yes
- No

31. How old are you?

Opinions on Immigration

32. Do you associate yourself with a specific political party?

- Yes
 No

33. Which political party do you associate yourself with?

34. What year in college are you?

- Freshman
 Sophomore
 Junior
 Senior
 Masters
 Doctoral

35. On a scale of 1-10, with 1 being poverty and 10 being upper-class, what is your socioeconomic status?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Socioeconomic Status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

36. If you have any additional comments about the survey in general please describe them below.

37. If you would like to be entered into the drawing for a Visa gift card please provide your full name and e-mail address in the spaces below. Your answers to the survey will remain anonymous and cannot be linked to your contact information in any way.

APPENDIX B – IRB APPROVAL



Institutional Review Board

Request For Exemption

Certificate of Approval

Applicant: Ashley Allen

Request Number : EXP2011P3384

Date of Approval: 07/28/11

Assistant Vice President for Research
and Federal Relations

Chair, Institutional Review Board

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