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MEASURING PREJUDICED ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS IN LATTER-DAY SAINT MISSIONARIES DURING MISSIONARY SERVICE IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

by

Jared A. Montoya

A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

Department of Psychology
Brigham Young University
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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

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This thesis has been read by each member of the following graduate committee and by a majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the thesis of Jared A. Montoya in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

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ABSTRACT

MEASURING PREJUDICED ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS IN LATTER-DAY SAINT MISSIONARIES DURING MISSIONARY SERVICE IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

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Department of Psychology

Master of Science

The purpose of this study was to investigate the foundations of prejudiced attitudes toward Mexicans held by White Americans and to investigate a means of reducing it, paying specific attention to prejudice found within a subpopulation of White Americans. The origins of American prejudice toward Mexicans are outlined using both historical and psychological explanations. An understanding of these origins leads to the notion that increased favorable contact is the best method for reducing prejudice. A field study focusing on prejudice toward Mexicans among ecclesiastical volunteers demonstrated that missionary service can be considered a means of favorable contact. Eighty-one White American Latter-day Saints were measured on their levels of prejudice toward Mexicans and the amount of favorable contact with Mexicans before and during their service assignments in the American Southwest. Results indicated that individuals reported significantly more favorable contact after six months of service and significantly

less prejudice. There were no significant differences in the amount of favorable contact or levels of prejudice between individuals who were assigned to Spanish-speaking or English-speaking service assignments.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In reviewing the lengthy process that this work has been, I first of all with to express my appreciation to my wife, Camilla, and my son, Lucas, for their patience and encouragement. Likewise, I express my thanks to Dr. Robert Ridge for the guidance and advice that he has provided throughout this project and to Dr. Matthew Spackman and Dr. Dawson Hedges for their advice and suggestions. I also wish to thank my friends Julie Nelson and Jann Belcher for providing stress relief. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to the participants whose contribution ultimately made this work possible.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The turbulent relationship between the United States and Mexico has contributed to ill feelings between the two countries for a number of years. Gonzalez (2000) mentions that White Americans have persecuted people of Mexican origin since the 1800s.

Stemming from hundreds of years of conflict, Mexican and American relations have been put through the test of wars, land disputes, immigration problems and other difficulties (Roberts, 1996). During the 1920s and 1930s Americans displayed prejudice as Mexicans were filling much needed agriculture and railroad jobs. Dinnerstein, Nichols, and Reimers (2003) found the following:

Americans denounced Mexicans, even as they worked long hours every day, as immoral, irresponsible, and lazy "greasers" who had to be kept in their place...Many residents of the Golden State believed...that they were "a menace to the health and morals of the rest of the community"...Texas, however, included many southerners with strong negative attitudes about other races. Mexicans suffered more there than in any other state. Theaters segregated them, food shops refused them service, and many public facilities barred their presence. One Texan called them "dirty as hogs"; another concluded, "They're just a dumb-bell people...They drink too much, fight too much. (p. 189)

Some contemporary issues include, but are not limited to, immigration, language use, and drug trafficking. Other issues focus on interactions taking place on the U.S.-Mexico border (Spener & Staudi, 1998). These issues, both historical and contemporary,

give rise to negative stereotypes of Mexicans and prejudice by White Americans. Current trends are that positive stereotypes of Mexican-Americans have decreased and that negative stereotypes are on the rise (Phenice & Griffore, 1994). Feagin and Feagin (1996) explain that modern stereotypes hold that Mexicans are unambitious, lazy, and criminal. Women are viewed as prostitutes and flirty, and men are seen as fat, happy, thieving, and immoral. These stereotypes are directed toward both Mexicans and Mexican-Americans (Cowan et al., 1997; Phenice & Griffore, 1994; Stephan et al., 2000). In some areas, Mexican-Americans feel discouraged to enter public places without proof of U.S. Citizenship (Luna, 2001). Because these attitudes target people of Mexican ancestry whether native or American born, this study will refer to individuals of Mexican descent (e.g. Chicano, Mexican-American, Mexicano, Mexican) as Mexican.

While it has been demonstrated that prejudice toward Mexicans exists among White Americans, the scope of this study will focus on a specific group of White Americans: members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This group has been selected for inclusion in this study because they have a unique history of interacting with Mexicans that is different from other White Americans' interactions with Mexicans. Not only are there differences with respect to historical events, but Latter-day Saints' theological doctrines may influence present interactions with individuals of Mexican descent. Although these individuals may have had different experiences with Mexicans, they may well harbor many of the same prejudiced attitudes as other White Americans.

Prejudice among White American Latter-day Saints

In 1879 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was established in Mexico (Hart, 1993). Since that time, Church membership in Mexico has grown to about

920,000 members (The Church of Jesus Christ, 2003). Not only has the Church had a profound influence on a number of individuals in Mexico, but the Church has also flourished in the Southwestern United States with 211,000 members in Texas, 305,000 in Arizona, 58,000 in New Mexico, 112,000 in Colorado, and 740,000 in California (The Church of Jesus Christ, 2001). The American Southwest is of particular interest because there is a high concentration of people of Mexican descent living in these states (Texas 24.3%, Arizona 20.8%, New Mexico 18.1%, Colorado 10.5%, and California 25.0%; United States Census Bureau, 2001).

A fundamental belief of The Church of Jesus Christ is in the veracity of *The Book* of Mormon, Another Testament of Jesus Christ, which was reportedly translated from gold plates delivered to Joseph Smith by an angel named Moroni in 1827. The Book of Mormon is the record of a prophet, Lehi, who left Jerusalem with his family and traveled to the American continent. On the American continent, Lehi and his family established highly advanced civilizations and recorded their spiritual record on metal plates, some of which were delivered to Joseph Smith and became known as the *Book of Mormon* (*Book* of Mormon, 1982). One Latter-day Saint belief stemming from the Book of Mormon is that many indigenous peoples of the Americas are the descendents of this prophet. The Book of Mormon refers to some of these descendants as Lamanites. The Church of Jesus Christ holds that Mexicans and other mestizo groups are also descendents of this prophet and are therefore modern day Lamanites (Kimball, 1949). In The Book of Mormon, great promises are made to the Lamanites and Latter-day Saint theology posits that they are direct descendents of Israel and among the Lord's chosen people (The Book of Mormon, 1982). Modern leaders of the Church have proclaimed: "Lamanites share a royal

heritage... the Lord calls you Lamanites, a name which has a pleasant ring, for many of the grandest people ever to live upon the earth were so called... you are of royal blood, a loved people of the Lord" (Kimball, 1982, p. 597). "This is an honorable name" (Cowan, 1992, p. 261). A Latter-day Saint leader envisioned the Lamanites as leaders in business, law, government, the arts, literature, and in the Church, while another leader declared: "Lamanites truly are a people of destiny" (Cowan, 1992, p. 261).

One would assume that these individuals who "share a royal heritage," who are among "many of the grandest people ever to live upon the earth," and who "are a people of destiny" would be highly favored by Latter-day Saints. An investigation into this assumption reveals that relations between the White American and Mexican members of the Church appear to be struggling as Iber (2000) found that there are tensions within the Church with regard to segregated congregations in the United States. Contrary to the previous assumption that people of Mexican descent would be highly favored by Latter-day Saint members, current research shows that prejudice among American Church members exists toward Mexicans.

Kunz and Oheneva-Sakyi (1989) found that on the Bogardus Social Distance

Scale (Bogardus, 1933), Mexican-Americans and Mexicans were viewed unfavorably by

White LDS Americans when compared with 30 ethnic groups. The scale consists of

items in which the respondents select the item that best fits his/her personal beliefs for

each ethnic group. The items ask to what degree each respondent would admit a member

of the target ethnic group into their own group. Items range from admittance into the

group by marriage to excluding the individual from one's country. The means were

ranked from first to thirtieth with first being the most favorable. Mexican-Americans and

Mexicans scored twenty-first and twenty-seventh respectively. Ninety percent of the subjects were Latter-day Saints.

It should be noted that this study relied on the Bogardus Social Distance scale, which asks respondents to openly demonstrate their prejudiced attitudes. Dovidio and Gaertner (1996) explain that it is important to recognize that prejudiced attitudes are not always explicitly stated and may be manifest in other ways. Some of the ways in which prejudice and racism are manifest is by way of political initiatives. These initiatives become avenues for individuals to demonstrate prejudiced attitudes and engage in discrimination without being labeled as a bigot. The display of such attitudes and behavior become facilitated as the base of the initiative seems to "appeal to universal abstract principles such as justice, egalitarianism, and equality" (Short & Magana, 2002, pp. 702). Perhaps prejudice is manifest and can be measured in ways other than explicit statements that identify the degree of acceptance of a particular group. It may be that a measure such as the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1933) does not adequately tap prejudiced attitudes.

Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice

How then can apparent White American Latter-day Saint prejudice toward Mexicans be assessed and explained? Stephan and Stephan (2000) proposed an integrated threat theory of prejudice and offered a model that can be used in demonstrating ways of reducing prejudice. This model proposes four main components of prejudice: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. An analysis of these components may explain the roots of White American LDS Church members' prejudice toward Mexicans.

Realistic threats challenge the existence of the ingroup's political, economic, physical, or mental well-being. Realistic threats stem from competition theories, which emphasize aspects of group competition, such as struggle for resources, jobs, power, and so forth (Olzak & Nagel, 1986). Among the white American Latter-day Saints, Mexican immigration may be perceived as a realistic threat because it has been ongoing since the mid 1800s and appears to effect political and economic systems (Lamb, 1970). Realistic threats may exist because minority groups in the United States receive more public assistance than Whites, which may be perceived as an economic loss (Hofferth, 1999). Perhaps Whites feel threatened by the prevalence of crime. Hagan and Palloni (1999) argue that the U.S. government perpetuates mistaken perceptions linking Mexican immigration and criminal behavior by reporting the growing numbers of Hispanic immigrants in prison. Looking at a number of potential realistic threats, it is apparent that these threats exist and that they may lead to prejudiced attitudes toward Mexicans.

Symbolic threats confront the worldview of the ingroup and create a feeling that the values or moral rightness of the system are threatened. These perceived threats develop from apparent group differences in morals, values, norms, standards, beliefs, and attitudes of the outgroup which result in disaffection (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran 2000).

"In areas such as the US. Southwest where migration from Mexico is often recurrent, the immigrant's experience with advocacy and organizing in Mexico is carried into the United States and vice versa. Immigrants transmit, create, and recreate culture. They build ethical communities as well as spatial ones and

organize a range of social groups... immigrants are carriers of ideals, experiences and myths" (Maciel & Herrera-Sobek, 1998, pg. 29).

It is probable that the culture brought and maintained by Mexicans is very different from the White American Latter-day Saint culture and may pose threats to the worldview of these Latter-day Saints.

Intergroup anxiety stems from anticipated contact with outgroup members. It is manifest as fear of negative psychological or behavioral consequences for the self, and the fear of negative evaluations by members of both the outgroup and the ingroup.

Intergroup anxiety is often experienced as individuals interact with people from different cultures (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Intergroup anxiety has been found to be prevalent among individuals who have stereotyped beliefs about the outgroup, assume that they are different from outgroup members, lack knowledge about outgroup members and are highly ethnocentric (Stephan & Stephan, 1989). This type of threat for White American Latter-day Saints may be present if they are apprehensive about interacting with Mexicans. They may fear saying or doing the wrong thing because they are unfamiliar with Mexicans and appear to hold prejudiced attitudes.

Negative stereotypes are also grounded in fear of negative consequences.

Stereotypes fuel expectations concerning the behavior of members of the stereotyped group. Christiansen, Kaplan, and Jones (1999) found that when the attributes of the target are stereotypic and negative, an individual's judgment toward the target is most likely prejudiced. Nelson, Acker, and Mannis (1996) reported that subjects' judgments were guided by their stereotypes even when they were aware of the stereotypes' invalidity. They concluded that stereotypes often influence judgment even when an

individual makes a concerted effort to evaluate another as an individual instead of relying on stereotypes.

These four components, realistic threats, symbolic threats, interaction anxiety, and negative stereotypes, contribute to attitudes expressed by members of the ingroup toward members of the outgroup. The model further emphasizes that these threats are dependant on the amount and quality of contact with the outgroup, which result in different levels of threat for different groups (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The integrated threat theory of prejudice has been used to understand prejudice among a variety of individuals. This theory has been used to investigate prejudice between Blacks and Whites (Stephen et al., 2002), native Israelis toward Russian immigrants (Bizman & Yinon, 2001), Women's attitudes toward men (Stephan, Stephan, Demitrakis, Yamada, & Clason, 2000), and prejudice toward Morrocan, Ethiopian, and Russians in Spain and Israel (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, and Tur-Kaspa, 1998).

Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran (2000) used the integrated threat theory to explain American prejudice towards Mexicans. They examined the types of threat mentioned above and had Americans and Mexicans evaluate each other in regard to these threats. The study consisted of 126 undergraduates at New Mexico State University. The participants completed a survey that contained measures of realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes, and contact. They found that some of these threats are indeed significant predictors of American's attitudes toward Mexicans and that these threats are affected by the amount and quality of contact with the other group. Quality contact is defined as voluntary, positive, cooperative, individualized and containing equal status. The results of this study show that for Americans, intergroup

anxiety and negative stereotypes appear to be the major determinants of prejudiced attitudes towards Mexicans. Americans' attitudes toward Mexicans appear to be related to anxiety about interacting with them. American students who held negative stereotypes about Mexicans or who felt anxious about interacting with them tended to be prejudiced toward Mexicans.

Reducing American Prejudice toward Mexicans

An important element of the Integrated Threat model (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) is that we are able to use it as a matching strategy to reduce prejudice by identifying the threats that are closely associated with prejudiced beliefs. If we can understand the threats that contribute to prejudice, we can attempt to reduce the threats themselves and in effect reduce prejudiced attitudes. According to the integrated threat model, the amount and quality of contact with the outgroup determines the degree to which threat is perceived (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The nature of prejudice and the type of contact with the outgroup is different for every ingroup/outgroup interaction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Because different groups have different types of interactions and different prejudices, it is important to look at the specific groups, the prejudice that exists, and the type of contact when employing prejudice reducing strategies. Higher quality contact between Mexicans and Americans results in the Americans liking the Mexicans more. The Americans report feeling less threatened as they had more quality contact with the Mexicans (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000).

Britt et al. (1996) explained this threat reduction by suggesting that positive or neutral contact with out-group members reduces intergroup anxiety and that increased interaction helps people to know what to expect in such encounters. With regards to American's attitudes towards Mexicans, Stephan et al. (2000) explain: "If one wished to change Americans' attitudes toward Mexicans, favorable contact would be a helpful tool because it should reduce perceived fears concerning social interaction and realistic threats, the two threat variables most strongly associated with prejudice toward Mexicans" (p.247).

What constitutes favorable contact and how does it reduce prejudice? Allport (1954) suggested aspects of contact that foster reduced conflict between groups. These aspects are cooperation, equal status, norms that encourage egalitarian attitudes, and joint activities that result in success. Stephan et al. (2000) suggest that the quality of contact may be more important than the quantity of contact. As mentioned above, Stephan et al. assert that quality contact is voluntary, positive, cooperative, individualized, and equal in status. Intergroup contact may reduce bias by making boundaries between the groups insignificant through decategorization (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999). Tajfel and Turner (1979) explain "pressures to evaluate one's own group positively through ingroup/outgroup comparisons lead social groups to attempt to differentiate themselves from each other." (p. 41). Intergroup contact helps them to see similarities in each other by influencing the ingroup members to see individual differences among the outgroup members. Intergroup contact can also induce interactions where people are seen as unique as intimate information is exchanged (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999). Seeing an outgroup member as unique is one of the aspects of favorable contact described above. Dovidio and Gaertner (1999) further explain that to reduce prejudice, it is better to be in individual contact with a broad range of group members who are typical for their group

than with a single person who is not a typical representative of the group. This can provide stereotype-disconfirming information.

Brief Explanation of Latter-day Saint Missions

As we seek to understand the factors that contribute to and reduce American Prejudice toward Mexicans, and more specifically in the Latter-day Saint community, we can identify areas in which intergroup contact may prove useful in reducing prejudice. Among Latter-day Saints, it is very common for men and women to leave home for 18 to 24 months and, at their own expense, live among and interact with members of other cultures in efforts to win converts (Widsoe, 1965). The missionary program is an integral program of the Church of Jesus Christ with a current full time force of approximately 60,000 missionaries in 162 countries (The Church of Jesus Christ, 2000). Widsoe (1954) explained that a mission "develops understanding, sympathy and tolerance, indispensable elements in any program for the social well-being of a community." (p. 321). Because Latter-day Saint missionaries live among and work directly with members of different countries and ethnic and cultural groups, the question arises as to whether or not this type of contact can reduce prejudice. As explained previously, the Integrated Threat theory of prejudice helps us understand that favorable contact between Americans and Mexicans would reduce perceived fears concerning social interaction and realistic threats (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000). It appears that Latter-day Saint missionary service would provide the contact necessary to reduce prejudice towards Mexicans. The mission experience provides opportunities to engage in quality contact as described above.

One of the characteristics of favorable contact given by Stephen et al. (2000) is that the contact must be voluntary. Latter-Day Saint missionaries work on a voluntary basis and dedicate their time to serving those in the areas in which they reside. In order for an individual to volunteer as a missionary, he/she must display an interest and be recommended by two ecclesiastical leaders. The prospective missionary completes his/her application and submits it to their ecclesiastical leader. At no time does the missionary request a specific location or a specific population with which to work. Assignments are decided upon by the Missionary Committee of the Church and finalized by the President of the Church, who signs a letter and has it sent to the man or woman who has applied for service (Dunn, 1973).

Another aspect of quality contact is that it must be positive and cooperative. In the mission, missionaries engage in teaching activities and leadership within the church and the community. Many missionaries are paired with native missionaries from the country where they are serving. Not only do the missionaries interact with the individuals they visit, but also they interact with those with whom they live and spend their entire day. These interactions are both positive and cooperative. The individualized aspect of the mission experience is that missionaries often teach on an individual basis where the lessons are termed discussions because of the nature of the lesson. In these discussions both the missionary and the learner share personal religious experiences, which lead to a mutual understanding of each other. In situations where the foreign missionary is paired with a native missionary, they study together, work together, and eat together.

Finally, the mission experience appears to incorporate quality contact in terms of status. Equal status is most likely established when foreign missionaries are paired with native missionaries and may also exist in their interactions with community members.

Many status markers are removed during missionary service. This occurs because missionaries are required to wear the same clothing. Missionary attire is restricted to conservative suits, white shirts, conservative ties, and conservative shoes for men and long dresses or skirts for women. Missionaries live on the same limited budget as one another and families are encouraged not to send additional funds to their children.

With respect to equal status among community members, missionaries are required to spend their time engaging in proselytizing and service activities. If the missionary is assigned to learn a new language, he/she will most likely have difficulty acquiring the new language and will be limited in his/her communication. This communication barrier may contribute to feelings of submissiveness and may actually place the missionary in a lower status position when compared with the native individual they are serving. Because a missionary's goal is to serve those around him or her, he or she should approach others with an air of humility instead of superiority.

Present Investigation

The present study investigates whether or not individuals who engage in ecclesiastical service with Mexicans will change their attitudes toward individuals of Mexican descent and will hold less prejudiced views after such contact. In the present study, volunteers for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reported their attitudes toward individuals of Mexican descent prior to and during their service assignment. Participants' prejudice toward Mexicans as well as levels of symbolic threat, realistic threat, interaction anxiety, negative stereotyping, social desirability, and the amount of favorable contact were assessed.

Hypothesis 1

White American individuals who are assigned to Latter-day Saint missions in Spanish speaking regions of the American southwest will have significantly more interpersonal contact with Mexicans than English-speaking missionaries serving in the same area after six months of service.

Hypothesis 2

Spanish-speaking missionaries' prejudiced attitudes towards Mexicans will become more favorable than English-speaking missionaries' attitudes after six months.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 81 White U.S. citizens who had received mission calls to the Southwestern United States (English speaking and Spanish speaking missions).

Seventeen (21%) of the participants identified themselves as female and 64 (79%) identified themselves as male. Participants' ages ranged from 18-28 with a mean age of 19.48. Participants were recruited from Brigham Young University missionary preparation classes, general announcements displayed on BYU campus, and were identified from announcements placed by their families in local newspapers and online¹. The same flyer was used for recruitment in classes and display around campus (see Appendix A) When participants were contacted in person, by telephone, or email they were informed of the study and asked to participate.

Because participants were ecclesiastical volunteers, they were assigned to each condition based on where the Church had assigned them, English speaking or Spanish speaking. For this reason, random assignment to groups was not feasible. Participants were informed of the present study and given the opportunity to complete the survey. Participants' data were included in the study if they identified that they had received a service assignment to the American Southwest (Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, or California) and would be speaking either English or Spanish. Only participants who identified themselves as white Americans were included in the study.

¹ This study was conducted under the direction of my thesis committee and Brigham Young University and is independent from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Participants were contacted and committed to participate in the study prior to the commencement of their ecclesiastical service.

Procedure

Spanish speaking group. Participants were recruited as explained above and were assigned to this group based on the language assignment that they received from the Church (American Southwest Spanish-speaking). Participants were 24 male and 10 female prospective missionaries who were white U.S. Citizens. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 28 years old with a mean age of 19.91. Participants were sent the packet of materials (see Appendix B) and asked to complete the battery of scales and return them in a stamped envelope provided to them. When the subjects had been on their assignments for four to six months, they were mailed the same battery of surveys and asked to complete and return them in a stamped envelope that was provided to them. Participants who did not return the second survey after a month were sent a follow-up postcard reminding them of the study (see Appendix C). Participants who were sent the follow-up postcard and who did not respond were sent another survey packet with a letter (see Appendix D) asking them to complete the survey packet. Thirty of the thirty-four participants (88.24%) returned the second survey and were included in the final analysis.

English speaking group. Participants were 40 men and 7 women who had received English-speaking mission assignments in the American Southwest. All participants reported their ethnicity and nationality as white U.S. Citizens. The survey administrations for the English speaking group was conducted exactly the same as the Spanish-speaking group. Of the original 47 participants, 40 completed the second survey administration for a response rate of 85.1%.

Participants from both groups were informed that the purpose of the study was to shed light on cultural attitudes of different ethnic groups in the United States and because of their mission assignments, they would report on their attitudes toward Mexicans. Participants were informed that their information would be confidential and that their names would be changed to numbers. In order to reduce socially desirable responding, participants were informed that the study was being conducted under the direction of Robert D. Ridge, my committee chair, and were not given my name. For both groups, a monetary incentive of \$3 was included with each administration of the survey in order to compensate the participants for their time and to increase the response rate.

Instruments

The Attitudes Toward Out-Groups Scale (Stephan et al. 2000) is a twelve item, ten-point scale that presents respondents with the following statement: My attitude toward Mexicans is. The statement is followed by twelve polarized items, which complete the previous statement. Respondents are asked to indicate their attitude by circling the number that reflects the location of their attitude on each of the items. For example, an item would range from No Hostility to Extreme Hostility and No sympathy at all to Extreme sympathy. The scale score is calculated by assigning each item the point value indicated by the respondent, reverse scoring the even items, and summing across items for an overall scale score. The overall scores can range from 12 to 120, lower scores indicate less agreement with the statements and subsequently less prejudice, whereas higher scores indicate more agreement and more prejudice. Stephan et al. (2000) reported a Chronbach's alpha of .82 for this measure.

The Attitudes Towards Chicanos Scale (Carranza, 1992) was designed to measure prejudiced attitudes toward Mexican-Americans. The scale consists of 20 attitude items that include statements such as, Mexicans are rich in culture, or Mexicans are inferior in

every way to the rest of the world. Respondents place a check mark next to the items that they agree with. Each score is weighted and respondents receive an overall score on the measure. The overall scale score is the median of the weighted responses. Scores can range from 1.2 to 9.8. A higher score on the measure indicates more favorable attitudes whereas a lower score indicates less favorable attitudes and hence more prejudice.

Carranza (1992) reported an equivalent forms reliability coefficient of .91 for this scale.

For the present study, the scale was revised in that the target group on the scale,

"Chicanos" was changed to "Mexicans", which refers to individuals of Mexican descent.

The items containing the word "Anglo" were replaced with the word "American."

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1933) measures the degree to which one would accept individuals from differing groups. Individuals are asked to indicate their acceptance of another individual by identifying whether or not they would admit a member of a specific group into increasingly more intimate social circles. In the present investigation, respondents are asked to mark the categories in which they would accept Mexicans. The categories are as follows: 1) To close kinship by marriage; 2) To my club as personal chums; 3) To my street as neighbors; 4) To employment in my occupation in my country; 5) To citizenship in my country; 6) As visitors only to my country; 7) Would exclude from my country. Respondent's scores represent the lowest number they indicate. Respondents' scores can range from 1 to 7. A lower number reflects more acceptance of the targeted group and a higher number indicates less acceptance and subsequently more prejudice. Bogardus (1933) reported a split-half reliability of .95.

The Favorable Contact Index is a measure I constructed for this study and was designed to assess the quality and quantity of contact between Americans and Mexicans. The scale is a twelve item, seven point instrument in which respondents indicate how much they agree or disagree with the given statements. Examples of this scale are as follows: I feel a sense of unity when working with Mexicans and I interact with Mexicans daily. Respondents indicate their degree of agreement by circling a number for each item. The scale score is calculated by totaling the individual item scores. Scores can range from 7 to 84 with lower scores indicating more favorable contact and higher scores indicating less favorable contact.

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) was used to assess the degree to which subjects respond to items in a socially desirable way. The scale consists of thirty-three true-false items and includes questions such as, I have never intensely disliked anyone, I never resent being asked to return a favor, and I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings. Individuals are asked to read each question and indicate if it is true or false for them. Eighteen of the items are keyed in the true direction and fifteen are keyed in the false direction. Individual item scores are summed across the measure and the sum is the overall social desirability score. The scale ranges from 0 to 33 and a higher score indicates more socially desirable responding whereas a lower score indicates less socially desirable responding. Paulhus (1991) reported that alpha reliabilities on this measure range from .73 to .88.

Modified versions of *Realistic Threats*, *Symbolic Threats*, *Intergroup Anxiety*, and *Negative Stereotype Index* Scales (Stephan et al. 2000) were used to compare with previous research in investigating the influences of American prejudice toward Mexicans.

Detailed descriptions of these measures are as follows: The *Realistic Threats Scale* (Stephan et al. 2000) is a twelve item, ten-point scale that includes statements such as, *Mexican immigrants should not receive social welfare intended for Americans* and *Mexicans get more from this country than they contribute*. Respondents indicate the degree to which they agree with each of the statements. More agreement reflects the degree to which the respondent feels threatened by Mexicans. The scale score is calculated by assigning each item the point value indicated by the respondent, reverse scoring the even items, and summing across items for an overall scale score. The overall scores can range from 12 to 120. A higher overall score indicates more realistic threat and a lower score indicates less realistic threat. Stephen et al. (2000) reported a Chronbach's reliability alpha of .85 for this measure.

The Symbolic Threats Scale (Stephan et al. 2000) is a twelve item, ten-point scale that presents items such as, Mexicans are undermining American Culture and The values and beliefs of Mexicans regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most Americans. Respondents indicate the level of their agreement or disagreement with each statement. More agreement reflects the degree to which the respondent feels threatened by Mexicans. The scale is scored in the same manner and has the same range as the Realistic Threats Scale. A higher overall score indicates more symbolic threat and a lower score indicates less symbolic threat. Stephan et al. (2000) reported a Chronbach's coefficient alpha of .79 for this scale.

The *Intergroup Anxiety Scale* (Stephan et al. 2000) is a twelve item, ten-point scale that asks respondents to indicate how they would feel when interacting with Mexicans by identifying the degree to which they would be *apprehensive*, *friendly*,

uncertain, or threatened. Respondents indicate the level of their agreement or disagreement with each statement. More agreement reflects the degree to which the respondent experiences anxiety when interacting with Mexicans. The scale is scored in the same manner and has the same range as the Realistic Threats Scale. A higher overall score indicates more interaction anxiety and a lower score indicates less anxiety when interacting with individuals of Mexican descent. Stephan et al. (2000) reported a Chronbach's alpha of .90 for this measure.

The Negative Stereotype Index (Stephan et al. 2000) is a two-part index. The first part requires participants to read a list of twelve adjectives, which may be positive or negative, and identify what percentage of Mexicans they feel possesses that trait. The percentages are broken down into a ten-point scale with 1 representing the intervals of 0% to 10%, 2 representing 10% to 20% and so forth. The second part requires that participants evaluate each of the twelve traits on a ten-point scale as being positive or negative for a person to possess. Examples of these traits include, hard working, proud, aggressive, and intelligent. The scale is scored by first converting the evaluation scale, the second part, so that the most positive evaluation receives a score of -5 and the most negative evaluation receives a score of 5. The ten-point scale then ranges from 5 to -5. The values the respondents indicate for each item are then multiplied by the score of the corresponding adjective in the first part of the measure. The overall score then is a combination of what percentage of Mexicans a respondent feels possesses a given trait and how positive or negative it is for an individual to possess the trait. Higher scores indicate more negative stereotyping and lower scores indicate less negative stereotyping. Stephan et al. (2000) reported a Chronbach's reliability alpha of .68 for this measure.

Demographic information regarding participants' ages, parents' educational level, ethnicity, gender, birthplace (nation), and duration of residence in the United States was also collected.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Demographic Data

Participants' demographic information was submitted to analysis in order to demonstrate the similarity of groups in the pre-test condition. A chi-square analysis demonstrated that there was no significant difference in gender $\chi^2(1, N = 81) = 2.51$, p = .113, birthplace (country of birth) $\chi^2(2, N = 81) = 1.483$, p = .476, father's educational level $\chi^2(5, N = 78) = 4.455$, p = .486, or mother's educational level $\chi^2(4, N = 80) = 6.671$, p = .154 between the two language groups.

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed on three dependent variables: age, length of residence in the United States, and the amount of time elapsed from the first survey administration to the second. The between subjects independent variable was language assignment (Spanish or English). With the use of Wilks' criterion, the combined DVs were not significantly different between the language groups F(3,69) = 2.102, p = .108. These findings demonstrate that the two groups of participants were similar to each other on all the demographic variables included in this study. Means and standard deviations for these dependent variables are listed in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographic Data

		n	M	SD
Age (in years)	English	47	19.17	1.09
	Spanish	34	19.91	1.94
Length of Residence	English	45	19.08	1.17
(in years)	Spanish	33	19.88	1.95

Time spent in service	English	42	5.64	1.45
(in months)	Spanish	30	5.73	1.07

Instrument Reliability

Participants' pre and post-test interval scores for the Attitudes Toward Out-Groups scale (Stephan et al. 2000), Realistic Threats scale (Stephan et al. 2000), Symbolic Threats scale (Stephan et al. 2000), Negative Stereotype Index (Stephan et al. 2000), Interaction Anxiety scale (Stephan et al. 2000), Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), and the Favorable Contact scale were submitted to a reliability analysis (see Tables 2 and 3). The reliability analysis used Chronbach's alpha, which calculates the internal consistency of the measure. Reliability was favorable for all measures with exception of the Negative Stereotype Index pre-test. Interestingly, this instrument demonstrated favorability in the post-test administration only. While this particular administration of the Negative Stereotype Index yielded low reliability, it may be that this measure is less reliable than the other measures. Stephan et al. (2000) reported a reliability coefficient that was lower than the other instruments used in the Integrated Threat model.

Item scores on the Favorable Contact Index were submitted to an exploratory factor analysis using principal component analysis and varimax rotation. This analysis revealed two factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. Factor I accounted for 33.982% of the total variance and factor II accounted for 32.842%. The two-factor solution explained 66.824% of the total variance. I labeled the two factors as *amount of contact* and *quality of contact*. Factor loadings for the individual items are listed in Table 2.

Table 2

Factor Analysis for Favorable Contact scale

		Factor	
		1	2
avor	able Contact Scale and item number		
mou	nt of Contact		
i:#6	I have a lot of contact with Mexicans on a daily basis	.88	
•	I spend the majority of my time interacting with Mexicans	.78	
	I engage in one on one interaction with Mexicans often	.88	
0.	I interact with Mexicans daily	.84	
1.	I have close relationships with Mexicans	.72	
2.	I have friends who are Mexican	.57	
Quali	ty of Contact		
	My experiences with Mexicans have been favorable		.79
•	My experiences with Mexicans have been positive		.89
€1	I feel a sense of unity when working with Mexicans		.61
•	My interactions with Mexicans are enjoyable		.87
•	I work well with Mexicans		.66
	My experiences with Mexicans have been rewarding		.76

Scale items for the Favorable Contact Index were submitted to reliability analysis using Chronbach's alpha. The overall scale reliability analysis yielded a Chronbach's alpha of .90 on the pre-test items and .91 on the post-test items. Items corresponding to amount of contact yielded a Chronbach's alpha of .89 for the pre-test items and .89 for the post-test items whereas items corresponding to quality of contact yielded a Chronbach's alpha of .85 for the pre-test items and .94 for the post-test items. I summed the item scores to form a single index because of the high alpha for the overall scale.

Descriptive Statistics

Participants' pre and post-test means, standard deviation, and range were calculated for the prejudice measures and the threat variables. Table 3 illustrates the data

for the three prejudice measures and Table 4 illustrates the data for contact, perceived threat, and social desirability. With respect to the prejudice measures, pre-test means on the Attitudes Toward Out-Groups scale (Stephan et al. 2000) show mild levels of prejudice for both the English-speaking and the Spanish-speaking groups. On the Attitudes Toward Chicanos Scale (Carranza, 1992) both groups reported moderate levels of prejudice on the pre-test. On the Bogardus Social Distance scale (Bogardus, 1993), pre-test means for the English and Spanish-speaking groups demonstrate less social distance than was reported by Kunz and Oheneba-Sakyi (1989), which may demonstrate that (a) this sample is not comparable to the Kunz and Oheneba-Sakyi (1989) sample, (b) individuals are becoming less prejudiced over time, or (c) that respondents are more likely to express prejudiced attitudes in more subtle ways.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Prejudice Measures Pre/Post-test

		n	M	SD	Range	α
AttitudesToward Out-Groups pre-test	Eng. Span.	46 34	38.55 35.57	14.13 14.2		.91
Attitudes Toward Out-Groups post-test	Eng. Span.	40 30	34.65 27.37	13.53 14.87		.92
Attitudes Toward Chicanos pre-test	Eng. Span.	47 34	6.97 7.59	1.53 1.08	3.6-9.1 4.1-9	n/aª
Attitudes Toward Chicanos post-test	Eng. Span.	40 30	6.93 7.09	1.65 1.38	3.35-9.1 3.1-9.0	n/aª
Bogardus Social Distance pre-test	Eng. Span.	46 33	1.42 1.42	0.81 0.72	1-4 1-4	n/aª
Bogardus Social Distance post-test	Eng. Span.	40 30	1.53 1.33	1.09 0.71	1-7 1-4	n/aª

^aInternal consistency reliability cannot be computed with this measure

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Contact, Threat Variables, and Social Desirability Pre/Post Test

		n	M	SD	Range	α
Favorable Contact pre-test	Eng. Span.	47 34	47.05 40.27	15.04 15.57	16-71 15-73	.90
Favorable Contact post-test	Eng. Span.	40 30	38.05 20.07	12.74 9.14	19-80 12-43	.91
Symbolic Threat pre-test	Eng. Span.	46 34	60.85 53.50	12.53 13.58	27-87 21-84	.72
Symbolic Threat post-test	Eng. Span.	40 30	61.83 58.77	11.64 14.57	34-89 25-94	.69
Realistic Threat pre-test	Eng. Span.	47 34	55.80 48.60	13.27 19.22	16-80 13-89	.81
Realistic Threat post-test	Eng. Span.	40 30	56.33 51.60	16.31 18.80	25-91 25-106	.85
Interaction Anxiety pre-test	Eng. Span.	47 34	44.65 39.37	18.47 18.76	12-87 12-70	.91
Interaction Anxiety post-test	Eng. Span.	40 30	36.38 28.73	14.94 15.50	12-78 12-72	.93
Negative Stereotypes pre-test	Eng.	47	-83.13 -	55.77	-184 - 31	.56
NTTiCi	Span.	34 40	111.69 -82.50	67.63 59.04	-251 - 60 -221 - 71	.71
Negative Stereotypes post-test	Eng. Span.	30	102.18	72.66	-221 - 71	. / 1
Social Desirability pre-test	Eng. Span.	47 34	16.88 17.97	5.14 6.29	5-29 6-28	.81
Social Desirability post-test	Eng. Span.	40 30	17.25 17.60	5.11 5.64	4-31 7-29	.76

Correlation of Measures

Data from the pre-test measures and the post-test measures of prejudice were submitted to a Pearson's correlation analysis in order to demonstrate the extent to which the three measures were related to each other. A strong correlation between all three measures would indicate that the instruments may be measuring the same construct. However if there is a weak relationship between the measures, then they may be measuring different aspects of prejudice. This is of importance with respect to the Bogardus Social Distance scale, which may be a weak measure of prejudice because it requires that respondents express prejudice in an explicit manner when prejudice may be a more subtle phenomenon.

Intercorrelations for the three prejudice measures showed a moderate relationship between the Attitudes Toward Out-Groups (Stephan, et al., 2000) scale and the Attitudes Toward Chicanos scale (Carranza, 1992) scale in both the pre-test and post-test condition. The Bogardus Social Distance scale (Bogardus, 1993) and the Attitudes Toward Out-Groups scale were also moderately correlated in both the pre-test and post-test condition, but the Bogardus Social Distance failed to demonstrate a significant correlation with the Attitudes Toward Chicanos scale in either condition. It appears that what the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the Attitudes Toward Chicanos scale have in common with the Attitudes Toward Out-Groups scale they do not share with each other.

Correlations were also computed, collapsing across all groups, with pre and posttest measures of favorable contact, social desirability, realistic threat, symbolic threat, interaction anxiety, and negative stereotypes in order to identify whether or not there existed a relationship between these variables and each measure of prejudice. The correlations are shown in Table 5. For both the pre-test and post-test, greater perceptions of symbolic threats, realistic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes were significantly correlated with increased prejudiced attitudes toward Mexicans on the Attitudes Toward Out-Groups scale (Stephan, et al., 2000). Consistent with previous research (Stephan, et. al., 2000) intergroup anxiety showed the strongest correlation with prejudice for both the pre-test and the post-test. This means that individuals who reported feeling very anxious when interacting with Mexicans also reported high levels of prejudice. Favorable contact was significantly correlated with prejudice toward Mexicans such that individuals who had more favorable contact with Mexicans reported less prejudiced attitudes toward Mexicans.

Correlations for the Attitudes Toward Chicanos scale (Carranza, 1992) on the pretest and post-test show that an increase in symbolic threats, realistic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes was also significantly correlated with increased prejudiced attitudes toward Mexicans. The relationship between these variables and the Attitudes Toward Chicanos scale were somewhat smaller than the correlations with the Attitudes Toward Out-Groups scale. An increase in favorable contact was slightly, but significantly related to more favorable attitudes toward Mexicans.

The correlations with the Bogardus Social Distance scale (Bogardus, 1993) scale with the threat variables and contact are smaller than what was seen with the previous two measures. An increase in symbolic threat and realistic threat were slightly but significantly correlated with an increase in prejudiced attitudes for both the pre-test and the post-test. Higher intergroup anxiety was significantly related to more prejudice in the post-test condition only. Increased negative stereotypes showed little correlation with

prejudiced attitudes in either condition. In the pre-test condition, favorable contact was unrelated to prejudice, but in the post-condition increased favorable contact was significantly related to less prejudiced attitudes.

Table 5

Intercorrelations Between Measures for Pre-test and Post-test

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Attitudes Toward Out-Groups	Carlos and C	48*	.38*	.51*	.57*	.53*	.71*	.48*	18
2. Attitudes Toward Chicanos	45*		14	38*	47*	47*	36*	30*	00
3. Bogardus Social Distance	.31*	07		.16	.27*	.26*	.21	.13	24
4. Favorable Contact	.64*	27*	.25*		.34*	.28*	.46*	.32*	23*
5. Symbolic Threat	.52*	48*	.31*	.36*	<u> </u>	.63*	.45*	.34*	.00
6. Realistic Threat	.59*	44*	.24*	.46*	.67*		.35*	.56*	00
7. Intergroup Anxiety	.85*	41*	.24*	.58*	.42*	.52*	Nine and	.29*	15
8. Negative Stereotypes	.58*	47*	09	.38*	.38*	.50*	.49*		15
9. Social Desirability	03	06	.01	.08	10	.10	12	04	V

Note. Coefficients above the diagonal represent the Pre-test correlations (N = 81) and below the diagonal represent the Post-test correlations (N = 70). p < .05

Measure of Main Effects

A 2 X 2 mixed-model repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed on eight dependent variables: Attitudes Toward Out-Groups, Attitudes Toward Chicanos scale, Bogardus Social Distance scale, Favorable contact, Symbolic threats, Realistic threats, Intergroup Anxiety, and Negative stereotypes. The between subjects independent variable was language assignment (Spanish or English), whereas the within subjects independent variable was time (pre/post). With the use of Wilks' criterion, the between subjects effect was significant F(8,61) = 3.300, p = .003 and the combined DVs were significantly different from the pre-test to the post-test F(8,61) = 10.507, p < .001. The interaction of language assignment was not significant F(8,61) = 10.507, p < .001. The interaction of language assignment was not significant F(8,61) = 10.507, p < .001.

61) = 1.770, p = .10. An effect size analysis on the probability value for the interaction effect yielded a small effect d = .31. Results did not support the research hypotheses that the Spanish-speaking group would have more interpersonal contact with Mexicans and would demonstrate more favorable attitudes towards Mexicans after six months of service than the English-speaking group.

Univariate analyses were conducted for the between subjects effect and the effects of pre-test to post-test. The between subjects effect revealed that participants in the Spanish speaking group had significantly more favorable contact than in the English speaking condition F(1,68) = 23.391, p < .001. The effects of pre-test to post-test revealed an increase in favorable attitudes towards Mexicans on the Attitudes Toward Out-Groups scale F(1,68) = 11.513, p = .001 (see Figure 1), and an increase in favorable contact with Mexicans F(1,68) = 53.338, p < .001 (see Figure 2). This informs that volunteers became less prejudiced toward and had more favorable contact with Mexicans regardless of language assignment. The test of the difference from the pre-test to the post-test also showed a significant increase in the levels of symbolic threats F(1,68) = 4.163, p = .045 (see Figure 3) and a significant decrease in intergroup anxiety F(1,68) = 20.761, p < .001 (see Figure 4) from the pre-test to the post-test.

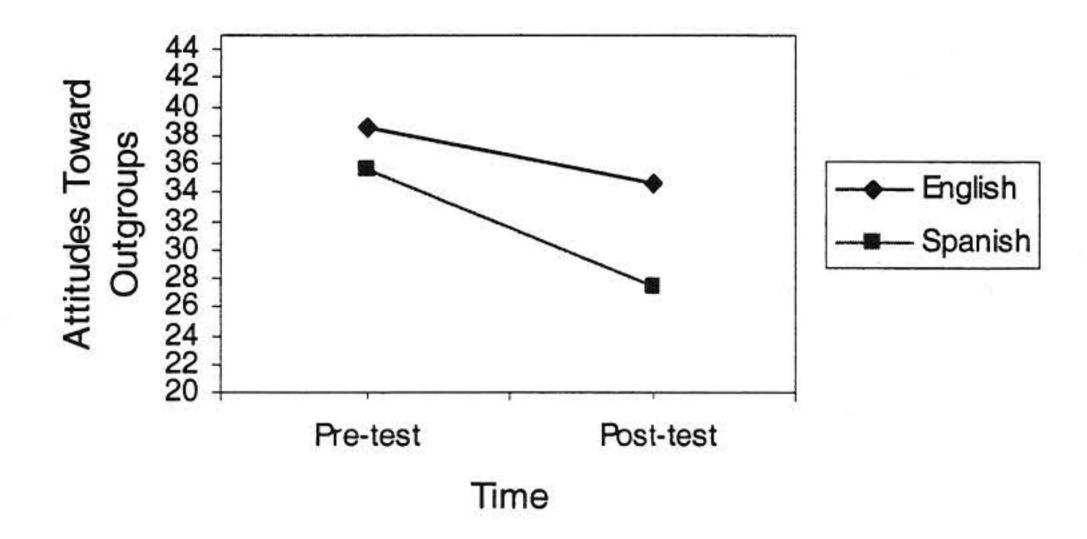


Figure 1. Mean change for Attitudes Toward Outgroups Pre-test/Post-test

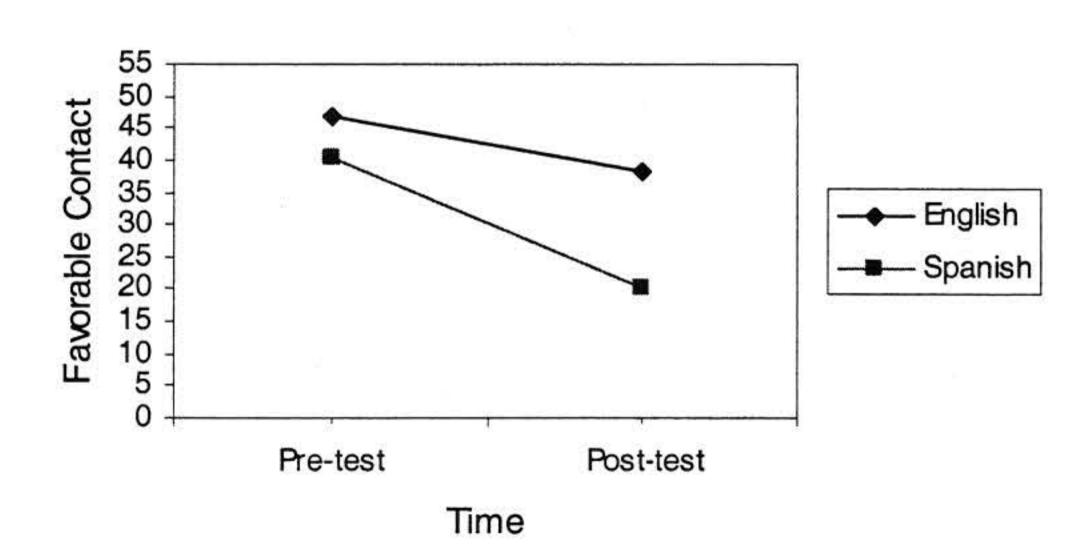


Figure 2. Mean change for Favorable Contact Pre-test/Post-test

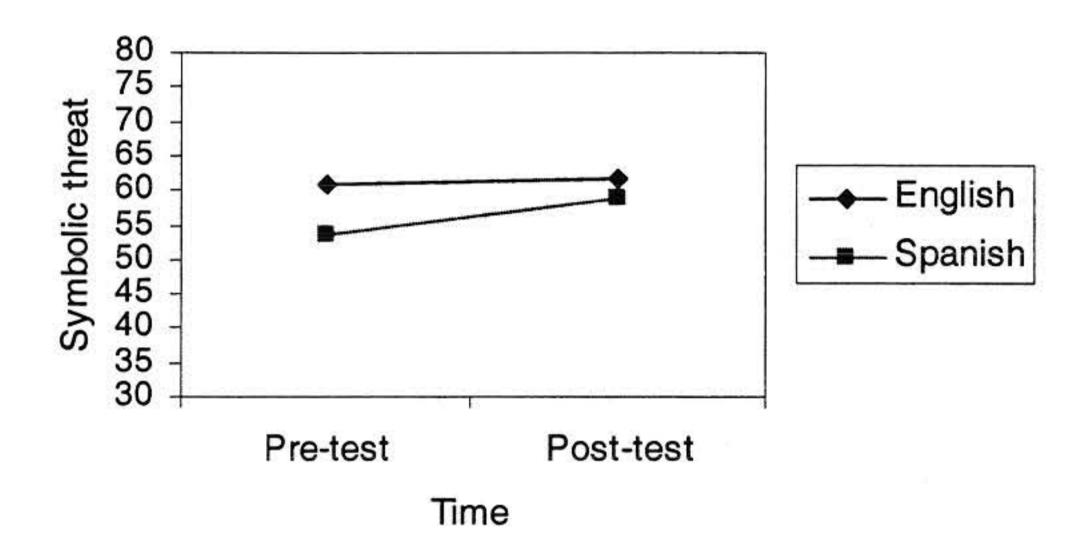


Figure 3. Mean change for Symbolic Threat Pre-test/Post-test

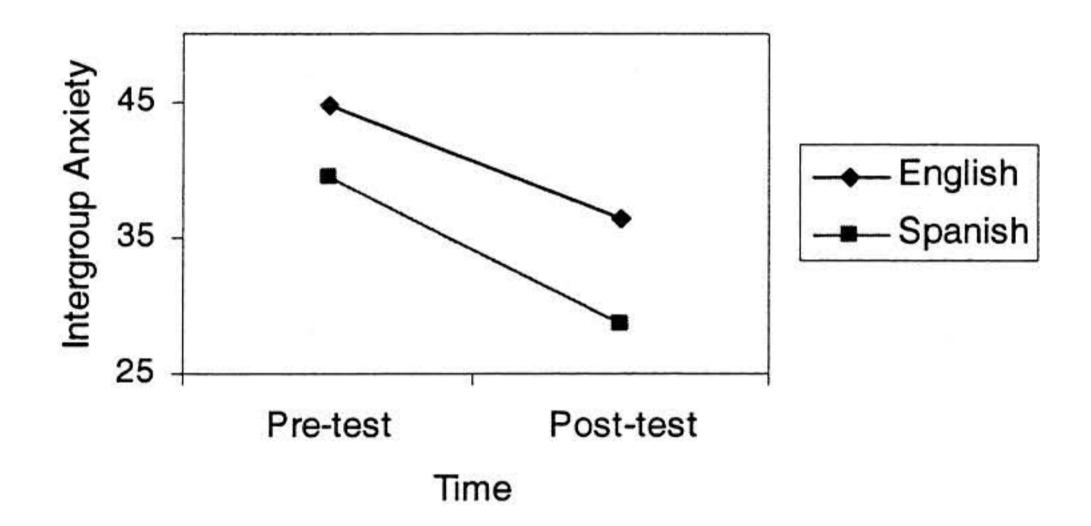


Figure 4. Mean change for Intergroup Anxiety Pre-test/Post-test

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to investigate whether prejudice can be reduced as a result of favorable contact with a specific ethnic group. Results demonstrated that participants reported moderate levels of prejudice on two of the prejudice measures and low levels of prejudice on the Bogardus Social Distance scale (Bogardus, 1933). Correlations of these three measures may substantiate the argument that individuals are less likely to explicitly express prejudiced attitudes on measures such as the Bogardus Social Distance scale.

The first hypothesis proposed that individuals who were assigned to a Spanish-speaking service assignment would have more favorable contact with Mexicans than their English-speaking counterparts. In this study, Spanish-speaking volunteers did not report more favorable contact than their English-speaking counterparts, however, both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking volunteers reported a significant increase in favorable contact. The lack of a difference between the English-speaking group and the Spanish-speaking group may be explained by the nature of Latter-day Saint missionary service and the demographic characteristics of the American Southwest.

Missionaries operate under the principle that every individual is of divine origin and has a divine destiny and purpose. For this reason, missionaries may be less selective in whom they contact, which may result in missionaries engaging in service with a variety of individuals regardless of mission assignment. It is also probable that missionaries had increased contact regardless of language assignment because many of the Mexican residents in the American Southwest may also speak English or may be native English-speaking individuals of Mexican descent. Since both groups reported

significantly more contact after the six-month period, there is reason to conclude that this increase in favorable contact may have contributed to a change in their attitudes toward Mexicans.

The second hypothesis proposed that Spanish-speaking missionaries would report a greater reduction in prejudice toward Mexicans after six months of service. Although both groups of volunteers demonstrated a reduction in prejudice toward Mexicans after six months of service, the hypothesis that there would be a difference by language group was not confirmed. Prejudice reduction demonstrated by both groups can most likely be explained by the relationship between contact and prejudice. The strong negative correlation between contact and prejudice shows that as individuals experienced increased favorable contact, they reported significantly less prejudice toward Mexicans. Since there was no difference in contact between groups, it may be important to look at the amount of contact each individual had regardless of group assignment and to investigate the extent to which more contact may directly affect a reduction in prejudice.

There are two explanations that may be explored in describing why both groups had considerably more contact with Mexicans and less prejudice toward them during the six month period. A lack of difference in favorable contact and prejudiced attitudes between the Spanish and English-speaking groups may have been affected by the length of time each participant had engaged in service. Spanish-speaking missionaries generally spend the first eight weeks of their assignment in the Missionary Training Center where they learn teaching techniques and receive Spanish language instruction whereas English-speaking missionaries spend only three weeks in the Missionary Training Center.

Because of this, the English-speaking missionaries had been working in their assigned

areas five weeks longer than the Spanish-speaking missionaries and may have had more opportunities to engage in favorable contact than Spanish-speaking missionaries.

One might argue that both groups had more contact and reported less prejudice because the experience of volunteering and the expectations of ecclesiastical service would lead one to respond in a more socially desirable way. However, the results of this study demonstrate that there is a very small relationship between socially desirable responding and attitudes toward Mexicans. It may be concluded that the reduction in prejudice demonstrated by this study is not influenced by social expectations.

It may also be possible that the mission experience itself fosters greater acceptance of all individuals and that contact was simply a by product of the geographical location and not necessarily a cause of prejudice reduction. The scope of this design did not allow adequate control to rule out this possibility. Comparing this sample to other volunteers in another geographical area might provide stronger control and greater ability to make causal inferences.

The use of the Integrated Threat model (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) confirmed the notion that it adequately explains prejudice among White American Latter-day Saints. Perceptions of symbolic threats, realistic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes were significantly related to prejudice toward Mexicans. After six months of service, these variables continued to show a strong relationship, with intergroup anxiety showing the strongest relationship. Not only did intergroup anxiety show the strongest relationship with prejudice, but participants reported significantly less intergroup anxiety from the pre-test to the post-test. These results indicate that the missionary experience appears to foster less anxiety about interacting with Mexicans. Stephan and Stephan

(1989) identified that intergroup anxiety is higher among individuals who see themselves as different from the outgroup members, lack knowledge about outgroup members, and are highly ethnocentric. In the current study, it is possible that participants' reduction in anxiety stems from greater identification with the outgroup, greater knowledge of the outgroup, and less ethnocentrism.

While participants reported that they experienced less anxiety when interacting with Mexicans, surprisingly, they reported a significant increase in symbolic threats. According to Stephan, Diaz-Loving, and Duran (2000), symbolic threats are perceived as individuals confront the values, morals, and norms of the outgroup and feel that their own worldview is threatened. Participants in this study, regardless of service assignment, reported feeling more threatened after six months of ecclesiastical service. This increase in symbolic threat may have transpired as participants increased their interactions with Mexicans and became more aware of the differences in cultures and value systems. For many participants, this was most likely the only experience in which they were immersed in a culture different from their own. Black, Gregersen, and Mendenhall (1992) reported that American business people on foreign assignments are challenged by cultural differences and culture shock, such that one of five leaves the foreign assignment prematurely. In the current study, the increase in symbolic threat may represent some perceptions associated with culture shock. While culture shock may provide an explanation for the increase in symbolic threat, further investigation of this phenomenon should be conducted.

Implications

This study strengthens previous research that investigates the effects of favorable contact on prejudice. This study is the first of its kind to measure interpersonal contact that comes from service experiences on prejudice. This type of activity may be more conducive to reduced prejudice because it tends to meet the conditions of favorable contact, cooperation, equal status, norms that encourage egalitarian attitudes, and combined activities that result in success (Allport, 1954). Stephen et. al (2000) emphasize that quality contact is also voluntary, positive, individualized and equal in status. Service activities of this sort are completely voluntary, positive, and individualized. There may or may not be equal status, however, the volunteer may actually take a lower status role in the interaction. Further research is needed to investigate the status relationship between service volunteers and those whom they serve.

Results may provide beneficial information for organizations such as The Church of Jesus Christ that are becoming more global and hence encountering more intercultural issues. As explained previously, Latter-day Saint theology holds that Mexicans should be highly favored by the Latter-day Saint community and research demonstrates the opposite. These results would be beneficial to the Latter-day Saint community because they demonstrate how missionary service contributes to understanding of Mexicans and may lead to improved relations. The results of this study will further support the possibility that people can overcome prejudices they have towards members of different ethnic and racial groups through intergroup contact.

Limitations and Future Research

While the design of the study was effective in demonstrating changes in prejudice for ecclesiastical volunteers over a six month period, a number of suggestions could strengthen further research of this sort. The scope of this study made it difficult to randomly select participants and made it impossible for participants to be randomly assigned to groups. Because of this, findings cannot be generalized beyond the participants under investigation and causal inferences should not be made. Not only is this study limited in terms of internal and external validity, but it is difficult to assess the interpersonal interactions in detail and describe which interactions were favorable and which were not. Direct control or manipulation of favorable contact was not feasible in this study.

While care was taken to employ a repeated-measures design in order to minimize differences among participants, I failed to take into account practice effects on the measures. It is possible that taking the battery of surveys biased individuals in how they responded from the pre-test to the post-test. A stronger design would have a non-service group that took the pre-test and then took the post-test six months later. This group would have demonstrated the effects of taking the measure and would have lead to a stronger design and stronger conclusions.

It is important to note that I looked at only the first four to six months of a two year assignment and, during this short time, both groups of participants showed significantly less prejudiced attitudes and more interpersonal contact. Future researchers should look at the stability of the attitude change and investigate the degree to which it remains stable during the service assignment and whether or not it changes after

individuals resume their regular activities. Future research should also investigate other types of service and how engaging in service affects prejudice toward individuals of other stigmatized groups.

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APPENDIX A RECRUITMENT FLYER

Research Participants Needed

If you have received a mission call to the **Southwestern United States** and will be speaking **English** or **Spanish**, you qualify to participate.

You will be given \$3.00 just for filling out a 10-25 min. survey

Where: 1150 SWKT (11th Floor)
When: 9am-5pm Monday
9am-4pm Tue-Fri

Come Today!
Limited Space Available

us_research@byu.edu

APPENDIX B SURVEY MATERIALS

Consent to be a Research Subject

Introduction/Purpose

The purpose of this study is to investigate cultural attitudes. It is being conducted under the direction of Robert D. Ridge, an associate professor of Psychology, at Brigham Young University. You were selected for this study because you will be engaged in voluntary ecclesiastical service.

Procedures

You will be asked to complete a survey on cultural attitudes and may be contacted and asked to complete the survey again in 4-6 months. The time to complete the survey is approximately 25 minutes.

Risks/Discomforts

There are minimal risks or discomforts for participation in this study. You will be providing information about our own attitudes and beliefs, which may cause some discomfort.

Benefits

Your participation in this study will help you to become more aware of your attitudes. The benefits to society are that this study will shed light on aspects of multiculturalism, which are essential to a more understanding world. You will also receive \$3.00 for your participation.

Confidentiality

Participation in this study is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without loss of compensation. No identifying information will be disclosed and all identifying information will be removed and replaced by numbers.

If you have any questions regarding your participation in this study, you may contact Robert D. Ridge, Brigham Young University, 1001 SWKT Provo, UT 84604, 801-422-7867

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in a research project, you may contact Dr. Shane Schulthies, Chair of the Institutional Review Board, 801-422-5490.

I have read, understood and received a copy of the above consent, and desire of my own free will and volition to participate in this study and accept the benefits and risks relating to the study.

Research Subject (Print first and last name)	Date	
Name of Mission	Language	
MTC Entry date		

Cultural Attitudes Study Brigham Young University

This is a study of attitudes toward the current interaction of cultures in the United States. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to understand Americans' views of People of Mexican origin. Please use your own opinions as the basis for responding to the items on the questionnaire. Your answers will remain completely anonymous so please be completely frank in your answers.

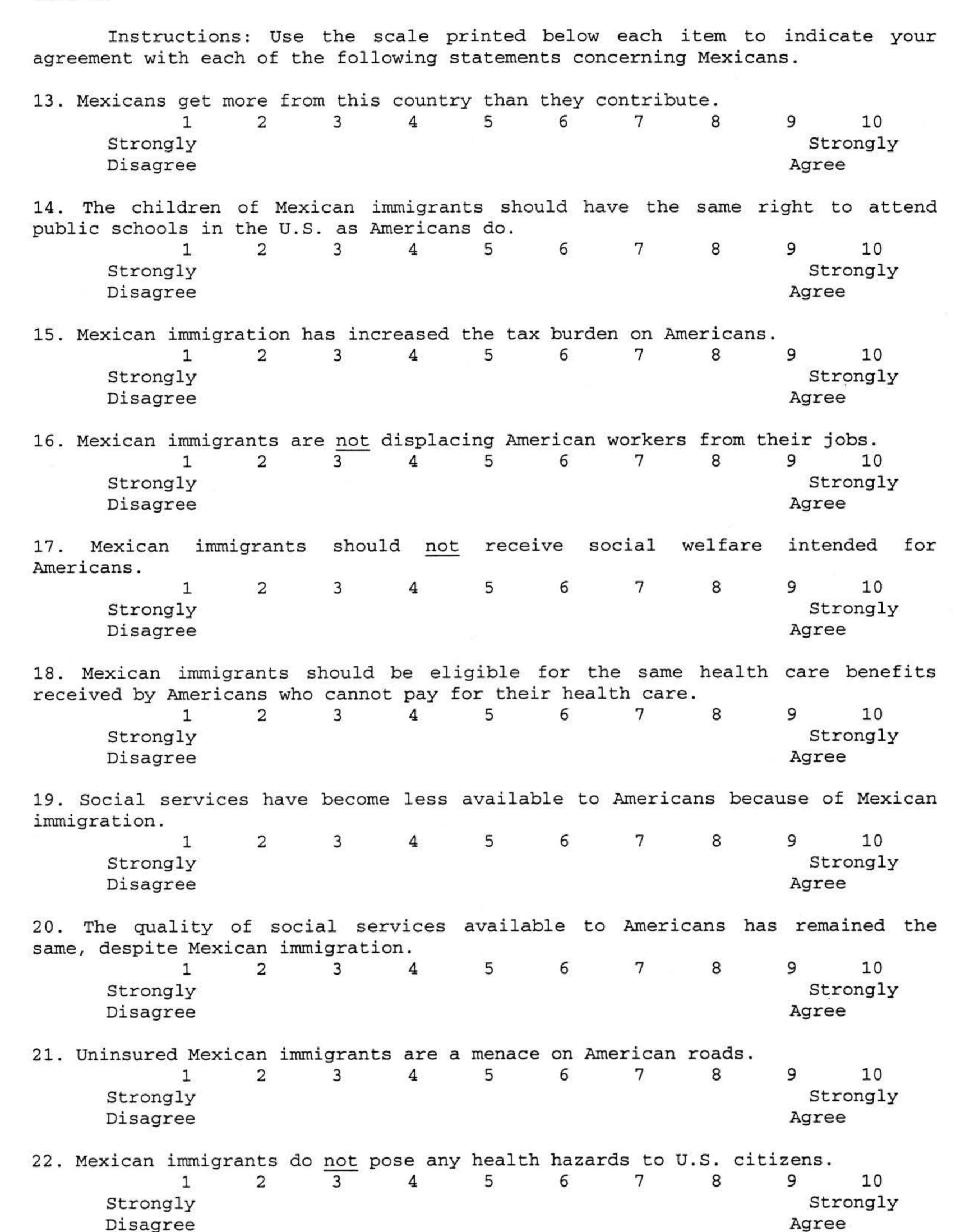
Symbolic Threat Scale

Par	t I											
agr	Instructeement with			the so e follo	- Dig						cate y	/oui
	Mexicans sh soon as pos 1 Strongly Disagre	sible L Y				the r	ules an	d norm	s of 8	9	10 trongly	·-
2	American cu 1 Strongly Disagre	L Y	will 2	only be 3	streng 4	thened 5	by the	arriva 7	l of 8	9	10 trongly	
3. 1	Mexicans ar 1 Strongly Disagre	L Y	ermini 2	ng Amer	ican cu 4	lture. 5	6	7	8	9 St Agr	10 trongly ee	
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	The beliefs compatible 1 Strongly Disagre	with L Y								9	10 trongly	
	The values ldren are b Strongly Disagree	asical L Y						- 33		9	10 trongly	
	The belief patible wit 1 Strongly Disagree	h the							1 re	9	10 crongly	
	Mexicans ha omodate the		right	to exp	ect that	at Amei	rican c	ulture 7	will 8	make o	changes 10	to

Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree 9. Mexican culture threatens to overwhelm American culture if immigration continues at its present rate. 5 6 8 10 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree 10. Mexicans should not have to accept American ways. 5 8 3 10 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree 11. Mexicans should place American interests above those of their country of origin. 8 3 6 10 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree 12. The American way of life will not be weakened by Mexican immigration. 5 6 8 10 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree

Realistic Threat Scale

Part II



23. Mexican immigrants are as entitled to subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, sewage, electricity) as poor Americans are. 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree 24. Mexicans are contributing to the increase in crime in the U.S. 5 6 7 8 2 3 4 10 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree

At Ease

Intergroup Anxiety Scale

Part III

For each of the items listed below, indicate how you would feel when interacting with Mexicans

I woul	ld feel:								
25.	1 Not at all Apprehensive	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Apprehensive
26.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10
	Not at all Friendly								Extremely Friendly
27.	1 Not at all Uncertain	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Uncertain
28.	1 Not at all Comfortable	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Comfortable
29.	1 Not at all Worried	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Worried
30.	1 Not at all Trusting	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Trusting
31.	1 Not at all Threatened	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Threatened
32.	1 Not at all Confident	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Confident
33.	1 Not at all Awkward	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Awkward
34.	1 Not at all Safe	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Safe
35.	1 Not at all Anxious	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely Anxious
36.	1 Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10 Extremely

At Ease

Negative Stereotype Index (Part A)

Part IV

What percentage of Mexicans possess each of the following traits?
Use the following scale to indicate your answers.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 0-10% 11-20% 21-30% 31-40% 41-50% 51-60% 61-70% 71-80% 81-90% 91-100%

- 37. Hard-working
- 38. Ignorant
- 39. Friendly
- 40. Aggressive
- 41. Reliable
- 42. Undisciplined
- 43. Proud
- 44. Dishonest
- 45. Respectful
- 46. Unintelligent
- 47. Clean
- 48. Clannish

Attitudes Toward Outgroups Scale

Part V

For each of the items listed below, indicate what your attitudes are toward Mexicans

My attitude toward Mexicans is:

49.	1 No Hostility At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremental Hosti	
50.	1 No Admiration At All	2 n	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremation Admira	
51.	No Dislike At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extre	
52.	No Acceptance At All	2 e	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremation Accept	
53.	1 No Superiori At All	2 ty	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Very to The	10 Superior em
54.	1 No Affection At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremation Affect	
55.	1 No Disdain At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremation Disda:	
56.	1 No Approval At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremation Approx	
57.	1 No Hatred At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extreme Hatre	
58.	1 No Sympathy At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremated Sympates	
59.	1 No Rejection At all	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremation Reject	
60.	1 No Warmth Toward Them	2	3	4	5	6	7		9 Extreme Toward	

Negative Stereotype Index (Part B)

Part VI

Rate each of the following traits in terms of how positive or negative it is for a person to possess it.

61.	Hard-working 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
62.	Ignorant 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
63.	Friendly 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
64.	Aggressive 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
65.	Reliable 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
66.	Undisciplined 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
67.	Proud 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
68.	Dishonest 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
69.	Respectful 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
70.	Unintelligent 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive
71.	Clean 1 Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very Positive

72. Clannish

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Very
Negative
Positive

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Part VII

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you.

- T F 1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
- T F 2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
- T F 3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
- T F 4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
- T F 5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life
- T 6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
- T F 7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
- T 8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
- T 9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.
- T F 10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
- T F 11. I like to gossip at times.
- T F 12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
- T F 13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
- T F 14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
- T F 15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
- T F 16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
- T F 17. I always try to practice what I preach.
- T F 18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud-mouthed, obnoxious people.
- T F 19. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.
- T F 20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
- T F 21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.

- T F 22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
- T F 23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
- T F 24. I would never thing of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
- T F 25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
- T F 26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
- T F 27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
- T F 28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
- T F 29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
- T F 30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
- T F 31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
- T F 32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.
- T F 33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

Favorable Contact Scale

Part VIII

Agree 1

Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

73.		ave a Agree		contac 2	t with	Mexica:	ns on a 5	daily 6	basis. 7	Disagree
74.	220	experi Agree		with Me 2	xicans 3	have b	een fav 5	orable. 6	7	Disagree
75.	Probability Co.	experi Agree		with Me 2	xicans 3	have b	een pos 5	itive 6	7	Disagree
76.			sense	of unit	y when 3	working 4	g with	Mexicar 6	ns. 7	Disagree
77.		pend t Agree		ority o 2	f my ti	ime int	eractin 5	g with 6	Mexican 7	ns. Disagree
78.	75.7	intera Agree		with M 2	exicans	s are e	njoyabl 5	e. 6	7	Disagree
79.		ork we Agree		h Mexic 2	ans 3	4	5	6	7	Disagree
80.		ngage Agree		on one	intera 3	action 4	with Me 5	xicans 6	often. 7	Disagree
81.	89-01 L	experi Agree		with Me 2	xicans 3	have b	een rew 5	arding 6	7	Disagree
82.		nterac Agree		Mexica 2	ns dai: 3	ly. 4	5	6	7	Disagree
83.		ave cl Agree		lations 2	hips wi	ith Mex 4	icans. 5	6	7	Disagree
84.	I h	ave fr	iends	who are	Mexica	an.				

7 Disagree

Attitudes Toward Chicanos Scale

Part IX

<u>Instructions:</u> Place a $(\sqrt{})$ in the left hand margin if you agree with the statement. Interpret the statements in accordance with your own experiences with Mexicans (both men and women).

- 1. Mexicans are inferior in every way to the rest of the world.
- 2. Mexicans are rich in culture.
- 3. Mexicans are likely to prove disloyal to our government.
- 4. Mexicans have an air of dignity about them.
- Mexicans as a group tend to be on welfare.
- Mexicans are willing to work for equality.
- 7. Mexicans want to better their economic status at the expense of others.
- Mexicans are a vigorous people.
- 9. Mexicans are disorganized.
- 10. Mexicans stress personal relationships.
- 11. Mexicans are suspicious of outsiders.
- 12. Mexicans favor cooperation over competition.
- 13. Mexicans think of themselves as a rejected race.
- 14. Mexicans are loyal to their superiors.
- 15. Mexicans tend to place short-range goals before long-range goals.
- 16. Mexicans are sensitive about achieving status in North American society.
- 17. Mexicans prefer large families.
- 18. Mexicans are very sentimental.
- 19. Mexicans resist creating their own ethnic identity.
- 20. Mexicans feel that their color causes others to discriminate against them.

Bogardus Social Distance Scale

Part IX

Directions. If you willingly admit members of a group in the specified situation, place a check mark in the blank under the group label.

	Blacks	Whites	Mexicans	Asians
1. To close kinship by marriage				
2. To my club as personal chums				
3. To my street as neighbors				
4. To employment in my occupation				
5. To citizenship in my country				
6. As visitors only to my country				
7. Would exclude from	n			

Demographic Information Sheet

Part X
Demographic Information
73. What is your age?
74. Ethnicity:
<pre>1 = African-American 2 = Mexican-American 3 = Caucasian 4 = Hawaiian 5 = Hispanic 6 = Native American Indian 7 = Other</pre>
75. What is your gender
1 = Female 2 = Male
76. What is your father's education level?
77. What is your mother's education level?
78. Place of birth
 U.S. Asia Pacific Islands Philipines Africa India Europe, the former Societ Union Latin America Australia, New Zealand Other
79. How long have you lived in the United States?

Weights for Carranza (1992) Attitudes Towards Chicanos Scale

Attitudes Towards Chicanos Scale Scoring

Question #	Weights	Mexicans:
1	1.2	are inferior in every way
3	1.5	are likely to prove disloyal.
5	2	tend to be on welfare.
7	2.6	better their economic status at expense of others.
9	3.1	are disorganized.
11	3.6	are suspicious of outsiders.
13	4.1	think of themselves as a rejected race
15	4.5	place short-range before long-range goals.
17	4.9	prefer large families.
19	5.5	resist creating their own ethnic identity.
20	5.9	feel their color is a cause of discrimination
18	6.4	are very sentimental.
16	6.9	Sensitive about achieving status in society.
14	7.4	are loyal to superiors.
12	7.7	favor cooperation over competition.
10	8.5	stress personal relationships.
8	8.9	are a vigorous people.
6	9.1	are willing to work for equality.
4 2	9.5	have an air of dignity about them.
2	9.8	are rich in culture.

APPENDIX C FOLLOW-UP MATERIALS

Letter with Second Survey

Dear Research Participant,

A number of months ago, you participated in a study of cultural attitudes and were told that some of the participants would be selected to participate again in 4-6 months.

You have been selected as one to continue in the study. Enclosed in this packet is a survey for you to complete. It should take you 10-20 minutes to complete. As you complete the survey, we ask that you are completely frank in your responses. Be assured that no identifying information will be disclosed and all identifying information will be removed or replaced by numbers.

Your participation in this study is appreciated as it may provide important insights to aspects of multiculturalism and the mission experience. We ask that you complete the survey as soon as possible and return it in the enclosed envelope. As a token of our appreciation, we have enclosed \$3.00 for the time away from your busy schedule.

In keeping with the mission guidelines, we ask that you complete this survey on your preparation day as to not detract from your service assignment.

Thank you

If you have any questions regarding your participation in this study you may contact Robert D. Ridge, PhD., Brigham Young University, 1001 SWKT Provo, UT 84604, 801-422-7867.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in a research project, you may contact Dr. Shane Schulthies, Chair of the Institutional Review Board, 801-422-5490

Postcard

Dear Research Participant,

A few weeks ago, we mailed you a cultural attitudes survey. This is a reminder that your completion of the survey contributes to important research findings.

Again, thank you for your participation in this study

Second follow-up survey

Dear research participant,

A number of months ago, you were sent a survey of cultural attitudes and asked to complete the study. We understand that you may be very busy and may not have had the opportunity to complete the survey. We ask that you complete the survey again as the information you provide may contribute to important insights to aspects of multiculturalism and the mission experience

Enclosed in this packet is a survey for you to complete. It should take you 10-20 minutes to complete. As you complete the survey, we ask that you are completely frank in your responses. Be assured that no identifying information will be disclosed and all identifying information will be removed or replaced by numbers.

We ask that you complete the survey as soon as possible and return it in the enclosed envelope.

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