Dispelling Anti-Immigrant Misconceptions: A Study of Americans and Immigrant Exclusion

Attitudes

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Abstract

Immigration opinion in the United States is a complicated issue impacted by numerous factors. Previous research has focused solely on either cultural or economic mechanisms behind immigration opinions, rarely on both. In this paper, I argue that both cultural and economic factors impact immigration opinion. I argue that most Americans believe that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented and will hurt the economy by causing a decrease in wages. To test this, I distributed a survey to determine what stereotypes Americans hold about Mexican immigrants, what concerns they have about undocumented Mexican immigrants, and to see stereotypes can be corrected. The results of the survey were mixed. While most Americans did appear to believe that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented, this did not translate into strong immigrant exclusionary attitudes. I also tested which stereotypes could be corrected and

found that Americans who believed that most Mexican immigrants were recipients of welfare were more likely to correct their stereotype.

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A big thank you to my parents for believing in me and giving me the wings to fly.

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Dedico esta tesis a todos los que no tuvieron la oportunidad.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Immigration public opinion has been extensively studied amongst researchers.

Researchers have attempted to explain what opinions Americans have towards immigrants, and why.

Particularly, Americans have been worried about immigrants from Latin America. Some researchers have pointed out that cultural factors impact immigration. It is known that Amerians tend to prefer white immigrants from Europe over immigrants from Latin American (Brader Valentin, and Suhay, 2008; Berg, 2009, Ybarra, et al, 2016). Americans fear that immigrants from Latin America are not companitbale with American culture as they speak Spanish, are perceived to "work under the table", and are thought to be "undocumented" (Gomberg-Muñoz, 2010).

Other researchers have believed that economic factors influence immigration preferences. During economic recessions, Americans tend to favor more restrictive immigration policies, often labeling immigrants as threats to the national economy (Peter Bruns and James G. Gimpel, 2013). Americans also fear that immigrants from Latin America may be threatened with their wages and negatively influence the industry in which they work. These economic anxieties are found to be prevalent for low-skilled native workers. Lastly, Americans tend to worry that Latin American immigrants will deplete the country's welfare resources and are less deserving of such benefits than native citizens.

While these two sets of thought are explored independently, these two factors actually interact with each other. Americans often rely on both cultural and economic anxieties to form their immigration opinions. Oftentimes, immigrant exclusionary

attitudes increased towards marginalized groups of immigrants, in particular Mexican immigrants, during times of economic anxiety (Citrin, Green, Muste and Wong, 1997). In turn, Americans often rely on using stereotypes to form their economic opinions (Lingyu Lu and Sean Nicholson-Crotty, 2010). Therefore, it is crucial to examine how both anxieties interact with each other to better understand immgiration public opinion in the United States.

In an effort to bridge this gap, I studyi how Americans view undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States. Americans have been known assume that most Latin American individuals are undocumented immigrants (Timberlake and Williams, 2012; Merolla, Ramakrishnan and Haynes, 2013). I argue that Americans believe the stereotype that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented and are concerned that undocumented immigrants will hurt the country financially by causing a decrease in wages. This study attempts to bridge both cultural and economic concerns.

To test this theory out, I developed a survey that was distributed on a nationally representative online marketplace called Lucid. I collected information on what concerns Americans have about Mexican immigrants, what concerns they specifically about undocumented Mexican immigrants, how warmly they feel towards Mexican immigrants, and their opinions on amnesty.

Using this, I was able to determine what stereotype about Mexican immigrants most Americans believe, what their biggest concerns were regarding undocumented Mexican immigrants, and what stereotype about Mexican immigrants can be corrected. I used two outcome variables, a feeling thermometer and a question about amnesty, to determine this.

I found that, while most Americans believe that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented and will cause a decrease in American wages, this did not translate into high immigrant exclusionary attitudes. In fact, Americans who believe that most Mexican immigrants are recipients of welfare are actually more likely to express anti-immigrant exclusionary attitudes. While this group did have the most anti-immigrant attitudes, this group's stereotypes were also the easiest to correct. I received mostly inconclusive results regarding whether other stereotypes about Mexican immigrants can be corrected.

I believe that differences in political parties, social desirability, and motivated reasoning all were factors that impacted my results. Future research should address motivated reasoning and continue to explore how cultural and economic mechanisms of exclusion interact.

Chapter 2 : Literature Review

There are several factors that influence immigration preferences. These can be divided into two broad categories: cultural and economic explanations. I will then explore both of these mechanisms and policy implications.

<u>Cultural Factors Influencing Immigration Preferences</u>

Racial Bias in Immigration Preferences

One of the most consistent findings in the literature on immigrant exclusion is the role that cultural threat plays. For this study, I will define cultural threats as differences in morals, values, and beliefs (Stephan, et al 1998).

Americans prefer immigrants from Europe over immigrants from Latin America and hold more anti-immigrant sentiments towards immigrants from Latin America when compared to immigrants from Europe (Brader, Valentin, and Suhay, 2008; Berg, 2009, Ybarra, et al, 2016). Specifically, Americans use group cues to form beliefs about immigrants from Latin American and use these to justify anti-immigrant sentiments (Brader, Valentin and Suhay 2008). These group cues are to isolate Latin American immigrants and depict them as more threatening than their European counterparts. These threatening characteristics often follow the narrative that Latin American immigrants entered the United States without proper documentation and "work under the table" (Hartman, Newman, and Bell, 2013). These activities are seen as contradictory to American values which in turn causes immigrant exclusionary attitudes among the American population. This shows that Americans will often rely on stereotypes to form and justify immigration opinions. Additionally, when anti-immigrant

sentiments increase, these sentiments are directed towards Latin American immigrants (Ybarra, Sanchez, and Sanchez, 2016; Berg, 2009). In public policy, this means that restrictive immigration policy aimed at Latin American immigrants is favored while more lenient immigration policy is favored for white European immigrants. This supports the idea that Americans have a racial preference in immigrants.

There's too many immigrants

Lastly, anti-immigrant sentiment increases whenever residents believe that there is a sudden influx of immigrants from Latin America in their region. For example, white Americans tend to experience an increase in immigrant exclusionary attitudes after there is a perceived large influx of new immigrants, even if there were already immigrants living in that community. Surprisingly, Latin Americans living in the United States will also experience a similar feeling when other immigrants from Latin America enter their communities. Latin Americans communities in the United States may also experience an increase in anti-immigrant sentiment and support for restrictive immigration policies when there is a perceived influx of new immigrants (Hood, Morris, and Shirkey, 1997; Ybarra, Sanchez, and Sanchez, 2016). When communities feel an influx of Latin American immigrants, regardless of how many immigrants are actually entering the community, they will exude concerns over feeling outnumbered or lacking the resources to support the growing population. Thus, any perception that there are "too many" immigrants will trigger exclusionary attitudes regardless of the ethnic make-up of the community.

Economic Factors Influencing Immigration Preferences

Next, I will discuss the following economic factors that affect immigration preferences: national economic perceptions and recessions, work ethic concerns, and welfare perceptions.

National Economic Perceptions and Recessions

While individual economics circumstances do not have a profound effect on immigration preferences, individual assessments of the national economy do impact immigration attitudes. For example, when indicators of the national economy are threatened, such as national wages, immigration attitudes are impacted (Citrin, Green, Muste and Wong, 1997). This means that immigrants are more likely to experience anti-immigrant sentiment during periods of economic recession, while anti-immigrant sentiment and policy decreases during periods of economic expansion. Additionally, while there is evidence that anti-immigrant sentiment increases during economic recessions, there is no evidence that pro-immigrant sentiment increases during economic expansions (Peter Bruns and James G. Gimpel, 2013). However, increases in pro-immigrant sentiment during economic expansions is yet to be proven.

American perception of the labor market is another factor that impacts immigration opinion. Americans tend to be concerned with low-skilled immigrants as they believe that an influx of low-skilled immigrant workers will outcompete low-skilled American workers by accepting lower wages (Scheve and Slaughter, 2001). High-skilled native workers on the other hand, tend to favor immigration as their wages are likely to increase after an influx of low-skilled laborers (Mayda, 2006). Furthermore, Americans tend to see how their industry as

a whole might be impacted by immigration. If Americans believe that tier industry will benefit from immigration, then native workers tend to support immigrants. Particularly if an industry is growing and needs more workers, Americans employed in that sector will be more supportive of immigration. But, if an industry is failing, then workers in that industry are more likely to view immigrants as a threat (Dancygier and Donnelly, 2013). All of these show how American workers assess the current labor market to form their opinions around immigration.

Work Ethic Concerns

Even during economic expansions, individual Americans may still experience economic anxieties regarding immigration. Individuals worry that an immigrant group's work ethic may be greater than their own and cause a decrease in wages. For example, Americans worry that undocumented workers may be more willing to take jobs that pay less due to their immigration status. This will make American workers less attractive to employers since American workers will have to be paid the minimum wage, a wage that may be higher in comparison to the wages undocumented workers are paid. Not only are immigrants thought to be more willing to accept lower pay, native workers believe that immigrant workers are also more likely to accept low quality work conditions (Bonacich, 1972). This then negatively impacts their wages and their job opportunities. One study even found that some Americans fear that other immigrants have a stronger work ethic than their own, which also makes American workers less attractive to employers (Gomberg-Muñoz, 2010). This helps explain why even during economic

expansions, immigration sentiment does not improve and immigrants can still be perceived as threatening. This also shows how individual Americans use their perception of immigrants to form opinions surrounding their impact on the economy.

Welfare Perceptions

Americans also believe that immigrants are either unworthy of welfare or draining the country's resources. For example, white Americans believe that Latin American immigrants are more likely to receive welfare benefits when compared to other ethnic groups. This translates into negative attitudes towards Latin American immigrants who use welfare (Hussey and Pearson-Merkowitz, 2016). Latin American immigrants are also perceived to be less intelligent and therefore less deserving of welfare. These ideas are based on skewed perceptions of welfare and are perpetuated by how the media frames Latin American immigrants as a threat to the American economy (Marisa Abrajano and Zolton L. Hajnal 2015). These anti-immigrant sentiments are further fueled by those who have pre-existing negative views towards welfare. Americans who have predisposed negative attitudes towards welfare will have stronger anti-immigrant attitudes towards immigrants who receive welfare in comparison to Americans who do not have a bias against welfare (Ybarra, Sanchez, and Sanchez 2016; Garand, J.C., Xu, P. and Davis, B.C., 2017). Therefore, anti-immigrant sentiments are attributed to welfare perceptions and welfare attitudes.

Policy Implications

However, these individual economic assessments are often not founded in economic fact as most individuals do not understand basic aspects of the economy (Rho and Tomz 2017). Consequently, individual economic assessments may be impacted by other factors, such as partisanship. Individuals rely on how their political parties depict the economy and what economic concerns their political party prioritizes (Bartels 2016). If a party voices concerns over the economy and immigrants, then party followers will have anti-immigrant sentiment. If a party does not voice neither economic nor immigration concerns, then party followers may not have these concerns. In other words, skewed economic perceptions are informed partly by how political parties view the economy, which then affects immigration opinion. Thus, as a whole, skewed economic perceptions help inform immigration attitudes.

Immigration attitudes, in particular negative immigration attitudes, are translated into policy proposals that seek to protect citizens from immigrants. These concerns are not strictly cultural or economic concerns. One example of a policy proposed as a result of anti-immigrant sentiment and xenophobia is Proposition 187 in California. Proposition 187 in California "profiled all Mexican-origin persons in California as immigrants seeking to deprive White persons of social and economic opportunity" (Aguire, 2004). This proposed policy would have impacted both immigrants and individuals who appeared to be of immigrant backgrounds. The perceived social and economic threats that the proposition expressed shows how individuals are often unable to distinguish what specific concerns they have about immigrants. This supports the idea that individuals may be unable to distinguish their cultural concerns about immigration from their economic concerns. It seems to be that both of these types of concerns are interacting to form immigration opinions. This is an area of study that needs further investigation.

To illustrate, Americans have disliked immigrants from Mexico particularly due to differences in culture. This dislike for Mexican immigrants persists during times of economic prosperity and increases during economic recessions (Goldstein and Peters, 2014). This shows that Americans use their own pre-existing prejudice and use that along with their own economic anxieties to intensify their immigration opinions. It appears to be almost impossible for Americans to remove any cultural concerns they have about immigration from their economic concerns. This is an area of study that needs further investigation.

Chapter 3: When cultural and economic threats interact - a new approach to understanding immigrant exclusion

Although there are different cultural and economic theories that attempt to explain individual immigration preferences, it is necessary to bridge the gap between these two explanations (Hainmuller and Hopkins, 2014). In this paper, I seek to determine the mechanism behind how certain stereotypes activate exclusionary attitudes. This bridges the gap between both cultural and economic explanations of immigration opinion.

I argue that most Americans believe the stereotype that a majority of Mexican immigrants are undocumented. A stereotype is defined by a "mental association" between a specific group and a specific trait (Greenwald, 2006). This stereotype has been found in Americans to believe this and assume that Latin Americans individuals are immigrants (Timberlake, Williams, Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes Berg, 2009). One stereotype perpetuated by the media and politicians is that most Mexican immigrants entered the United States without authorization. Not only do Americans assume that Latin American individuals are immigrants, when prompted to imagine an undocumented immigrant, Americans picture an immigrant from Latin American who brings problems to America (Timberlake and Williams, 2012; Merolla, Ramakrishnan and Haynes, 2013). However, Americans do not hold this stereotype for other ethnic immigrant groups. In fact, most Americans assume that immigrants from Europe are documented (Merolla, Ramakrishnan, and Haynes 2013). Furthermore, the media has continually portrayed all individuals who appear to be "Latino" as immigrants and this portrayal tends to be negative (Steinberg, 2004).

I argue that the argument can be applied to only Mexican immigrants, a subgroup of

Latin American immigrants because, although not all Americans think this way, when prompted

to think about immigration, many Americans think of Mexican immigrants (Roman, 2013). Additionally, researchers have concluded that Mexican immigrants make up the majority of Latin American immigrants in the United States (Dockterman 2011; Passei 2006; Passei and Cohn 2011 qtq Hartman, Newman and Bell, 2014). Thus, understanding that Americans believe that most Latin American immigrants are undocumented immigrants, the same should apply to Mexican immigrants.

Americans believe undocumented immigrants will drive down wages and hurt their economic chances. First off, individuals may fear that undocumneted immigrants negatively harm the economy by driving down wages by accepting lower pay and lower paying jobs than American workers (Bonancic,1972). Employers may pay undocumented workers lower pay and undocumented workers may be more willing to accept lower pay since their opitoins may be limited. This creates economic anxiety for American workers as they feel that their wages are threatened as a result.

Individual perceptions of the economy and immigration preferences are informed by stereotypes (Lingyu Lu and Sean Nicholson-Crotty, 2010). In other words, the way in which individuals study the economy and use economic assessments to build their attitudes on immigration, is built upon stereotypes. This mechanism is the mechanism I intend to study in this research. Since it is almost impossible to distinguish between economic and cultural concerns about immigration, both of these factors generate exclusionary attitudes. Looking at the way in which individuals view undocumented mexican immigrants is one way to study this third mechansim.

Alternative arguments are simply that economic threats and cultural threats drive exclusively directly, without interacting. Other exclusionary attitudes are actived by a fear that

undocumented immigrants threatened american safety since they broke the law (Stevenson, 2018). Undocumneted immigrants have been criminalized for simply being undocumented. This creates a narrative that perpetutea the idea that undocumented immigrants are inherently crimminals. Given that economic factors are often significant factors in making decisions, I believe that individuals are using stereotypes that all mexican immigrants are undocumented and feel economically threatened by them, which then leads to anti-immigrant sentiment. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that individuals are using stereotypes to form their opinions about the economic impacts of immigration and thus, developing negative immigration attitudes as a result.

Chapter 4: Hypothesis

With these understandings on how stereotypes are formed, I have the following hypothesis regarding which stereotypes are most prevalent, the mechanism by which this happens, how this correlates to immigration attitudes, and which stereotype can be most easily corrected.

Hypothesis 1: The most prevalent stereotype Americans have about Mexican immigrants is that Mexican immigrants are undocumented.

Null Hypothesis: The stereotype that Mexican immigrants are undocumented is not the most prevalent stereotype held by Americans.

Hypothesis 2: Americans who believe that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented will hold more anti-immigrant attitudes when compared to Americans who have other stereotypes.

Null Hypothesis 2: Americans who believe that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented will not hold more anti-immigrant attitudes when compared to Americans who have other stereotypes.

Hypothesis 3: Americans who believe that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented will hold anti-immigrant sentiments because they feel both culturally and economically threatened. Null Hypothesis 3: Americans exclude Mexican immigrants because they feel culturally threatened, or because they feel economically threatened, but not because of the interaction of the two.

Exploratory Analysis

A secondary question I will explore is whether or not individual stereotypes can be corrected. Researchers have found that it is incredibly difficult to correct people's stereotypes or misinformation due to motivated reasoning (Kunda, 1990). Individuals are more likely to believe

what they want to believe and find justifications for that reasoning, even if what they believe is not well supported by facts. This is one reason why individuals believe in stereotypes. However, when presented with new information, individuals should be able to become more informed and become less attached to a stereotype. As Elizabeth Fussell points out, stereotypes are dependent on certain pieces of information and need to be manipulated (2014). With this understanding, presenting Americans with new information that is research based should correct their stereotypes since they will have access Therefore, I can infer the following hypothesis:

Exploratory Hypothesis: Americans who receive a treatment that challenges or attempts to correct their stereotype, will have more immigrant-friendly attitudes when compared to Americans who did not receive new pieces of information.

Null Hypothesis: There will be no difference in immigration opinion between Americans who receive information that challenges the stereotype they hold and Americans who did not receive that information.

Chapter 5: Methods

Independent Variable

My independent variable will be the different stereotypes Americans have about Mexican immigrants and will be measured by the number of individuals who believe these stereotypes.

The stereotypes that I will test have been referenced by previous literature. These are the stereotypes below:

- Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented (Hartman, Newman, and Bell, 2013).
- 2. Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare Marisa Abrajano and Zolton L. Hajnal 2015).
- Most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English (Ted Brader, Nicholas A. Valentin and Elizabeth Suhay 2008).

Dependent Variable

My dependent variable will be American immigration opinion as tested. This will be tested by using a feeling thermometer and a question about amnesty. Respondents will be asked to rate how they feel towards Mexican immigrants using a feeling thermometer scale that ranges from 0 to 100. A score of 0 will indicate feeling very coldly towards Mexican immigrants whereas a score of 100 will indicate feeling very warmly towards Mexican immigrants. This method has been used by researchers as it allows Americans to indicate a wide range of sentiments that they feel and can be specific with how exactly they feel (Esterling,

Ramakrishnan, Neblo, and Lazer, 2010). I used the same question from the American Nation Election Studies for the survey¹.

Survey Logistics

To study which stereotype is held by most Americans, the mechanism behind anti-immigrant sentiment against undocumented Mexican immigrants, and which stereotype can be most easily corrected, this article will use data collected from a national survey launched on Lucid from January 25th, 2021 to January 26th, 2021. Individuals from all over the United States filled out the survey. Quotas were used to ensure that the sample was nationally representative.

The survey was created to produce information about public opinion regarding Mexican immigrants in the United States. First, the survey would tell us which stereotype most Americans believe about Mexican immigrants. Secondly, the survey will explain the mechanism behind why Americans are concerned with undocumented immigrants. Lastly, the survey will explain which stereotype is easiest to correct.

I will examine which stereotype most Americans believe about Mexican immigrants by using a survey. The first question in the survey will ask respondents which stereotype, if any, do they believe about Mexican immigrants. The results will be analyzed using a descriptive analysis.

To examine which stereotype can be most easily corrected, I will analyze six groups.

Respondents will pick one of three stereotypes they believe is most salient about Mexican immigrants: Most Mexican immigrants are undocumented, most Mexican immigrants speak little no English, and most Mexican immgirants are recipients of welfare. I will not randomly assign

¹ For a copy of the American National Election Studies, reference here-https://electionstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/2007ANES_Gallup_QuestionComp arisons.pdf

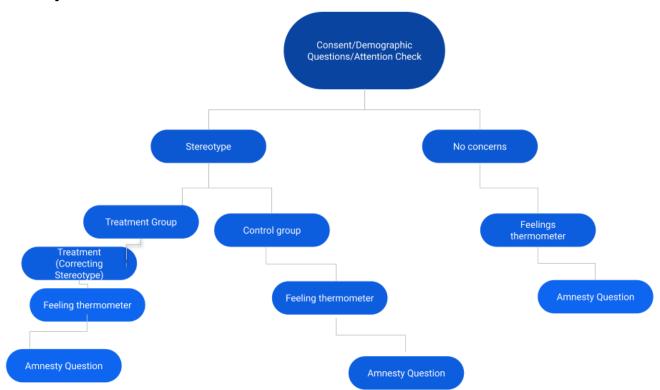
individuals into these groups. Rather, individuals will be allowed to select which stereotype they hold about mexican immigrants, if they have any.

Table 1: Groups that I will compare for stereotype correction (Exploratory Hypothesis)

Respondents who believe that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented who received the treatment	Respondents who believe that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented who did not receive the treatment
Respondents who believe that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare who received the treatment	Respondents who believe that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare who did not received the treatment
Respondents who believe that most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English who received the treatment	Respondents who believe that most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English who did not receive the treatment

Half of the respondents for each stereotype will be randomly assigned to a treatment, a piece of information that will challenge or attempt to correct the stereotype. The other half will not receive this piece of information. Then all of the respondents will be asked to rate how they feel towards Mexican immigrants and be asked whether or not they support amnesty for Mexican immigrants. This will establish a causal relationship to determine whether a stereotype can be corrected and which one can be most easily corrected.

Figure 1: Survey Flow



A total of 998 responses were analyzed. These responses were collected from a survey created on Qualtrics and distributed using Lucid, a marketplace for online surveys. Out of the 1,391 individuals who filled out the survey, a total of 359 individuals were identified by Lucid to have not filled out the survey properly, for example, they may have filled out the survey too quickly. These results were not used to analyze the data since these responses would not accurately portray a person's feelings.

Chapter 6: Data Analysis

In this section, I will present results from the survey I fielded. I will first discuss what stereotype was most prevalent. Following that, I will discuss which group of individuals expressed the strongest anti-immigrant sentiments. Then, I will discuss what concerns individuals have about undoucmented Mexican immigrants. Next, I will discuss how likely it is to correct individual stereotypes. I end with limitations on my research and attempt to explain some of the null results using political parties, social desirability, and motivated reasoning.

What Stereotype Was Most Prevalent

My first hypothesis stated that most respondents would believe the stereotype that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented. This was the stereotype that most respondents of my survey picked.

Table 2: Distribution of Stereotypes

Stereotype	Percentage of respondents
Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented.	28.05%
Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare.	14.63%
Most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English.	13.13%

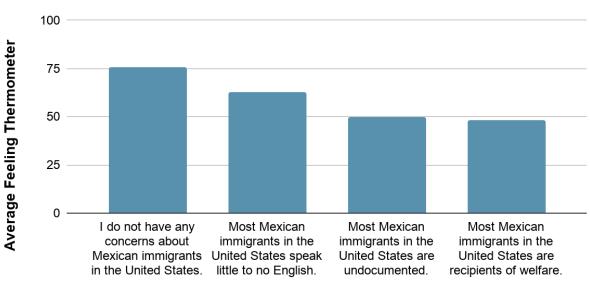
Which respondents were most likely to have anti-immigrant sentiments

My second hypothesis was that those who had the stereotype that most Mexican immigrants in the United States were undocumented would have the most anti-immigrant feelings. This would be measured using a feeling thermometer and a question asking respondents about their support of amnesty for Mexican immigrants.

Those who believed that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented did not have the lowest feeling thermometer scores. In fact, those who believed that most Mexican immigrants were recipients of welfare had the lowest feeling thermometer scores.

Figure 2: Average Feeling Thermometers of Respondents

Average Feeling Thermometers of Respondents



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Different Concerns Respondents Had About Mexican Immigrants

A similar pattern occurred when respondents were asked about amnesty. Respondents who believed that most Mexican immigrants in the United States were recipients of welfare were

least likely to support amnesty for Mexican immigrants.

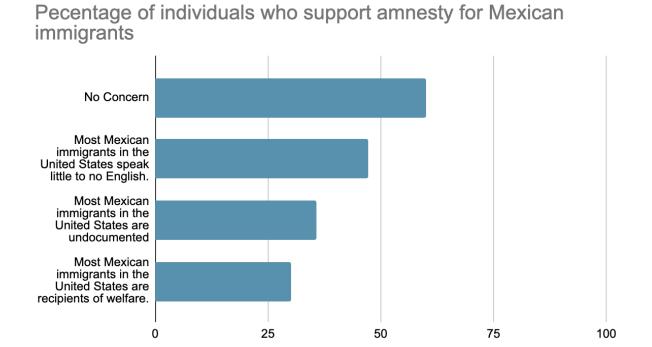


Figure 3: Percentage of individuals who support amnesty for Mexican immigrants What concerns individuals have about undocumented Mexican immigrants

My second hypothesis was that respondents who would believe that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented, would also face heightened economic anxiety. This was true as most respondents who believed that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented also believed that their wages would decrease.

Table 3: Distribution of Concerns Regarding Undocumented Mexican Immigrants

Respondent Concern about Undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States	Percentage of Respondents who had that concern
I am concerned that they will drive down wages because they will be willing to accept lower pay.	50%
I am concerned that they will make this country less safe because they have broken the law.	37.5%
Other	12.5%

My hypothesis also postulated that those who believed that undocumented Mexican immigrants would cause a decrease in wages would also have lower feeling thermometer scores and would be least likely to support amnesty for Mexican immigrants. This initially did not appear to be true, as those who believed that undocumented Mexican immigrants would make the country less safe had the lowest feeling thermometer scores. This group was also least likely to support amnesty for Mexican immigrants in the United States.

On average, those who believed that undocumented Mexican immigrants would decrease wages had an average feeling thermometer score of 53.26 while those who belived that undocumented Mexican immigrants would make the country less safe had an average of 46.44. These results proved to be statistically significant and yielded a p-value of 0.048. A similar pattern was found when respondents were asked about their views on amnesty. Individuals who were concerned that undocumented Mexican immigrants would decrease wages were more likely to support amnesty when compared to those who were concerned that undocumented Mexican immigrants would threaten the country's public safety. This result is statistically significant as it yielded a 0.035 p-value. The null hypothesis was that there would be no difference in feeling thermometer scores and support for amnesty between these two groups. Given that both of these

results are statistically significant, this shows that I cannot reject the null hypothesis but I was incorrect to believe that those who had economic concerns would have more anti-immigrant sentiments in comparison to those who had public safety concerns.

Figure 4: Average feeling thermometer for undocumented concerns group

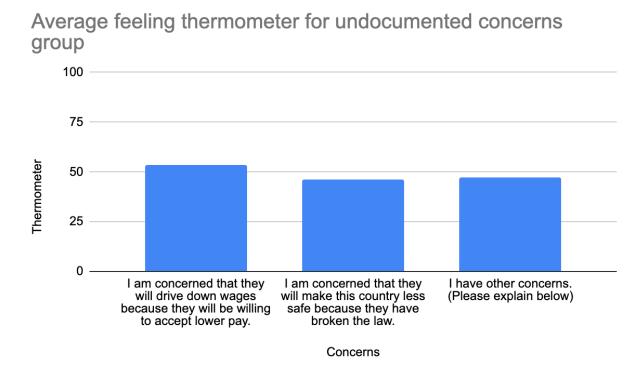


Table 4: Distribution of Concerns Regarding Undocumented Mexican Immigrants

	AMNESTY	NO OPINION	NO AMNESTY
lower pay	37.86	25	37.14%
	AMNESTY	NO OPINION	NO AMNESTY
public safety	32.38%	11.43%	56.19%
	AMNESTY	NO OPINION	NO AMNESTY
other concern	37.14%	17.14%	45.71%

Stereotype Corrections

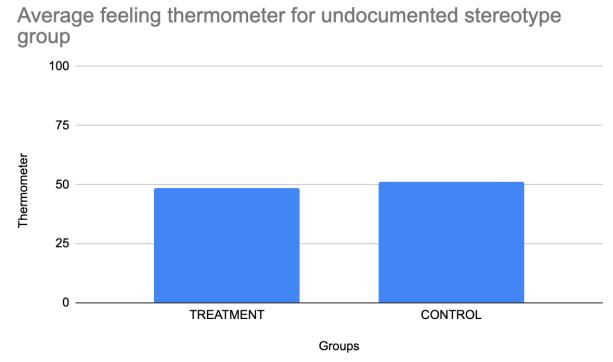
My next hypothesis was that those in the treatment groups, regardless of what stereotype they picked, would have higher feeling thermometer scores and be more likely to support amnesty than those in the control groups.

In the following sections, I will compare the treatment and control groups of respondents who picked one of the three stereotypes I presented. As a reminder, to see if I could correct individual misconceptions about Mexican immigrants, I presented half of the respondents, my treatment group, with a fact that countered or challenged that stereotype.

<u>Undocumented Stereotype Correction</u>

To test whether or not I could correct individual stereotypes that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented, I will analyze my treatment group, who received the following statement, "Did you know that the Pew Research Center found that unauthorized Mexican immigrants no longer make up the majority of undocumented immigrants living in the United States and that apprehensions of non-Mexicans outnumber those of Mexicans for the past three fiscal years?", with the control group, the group who did not receive this statement during the survey.

Figure 5: Average feeling thermometer for undocumented stereotype group



The treatment and control groups had similar feelings about thermometer scores. The control group had 51.27 average feeling thermometers while the treatment group had a lower feeling thermometer of 48.63. The p value was 0.21, showing that these results are statistically insignificant. This is not surprising given the small sample size. I cannot reject the null hypothesis nor claim that the treatment affected how individuals feel towards undocumented Mexican immigrants.

 Table 5: Distribution of Respondents with Concerns Regarding Undocumented Mexican

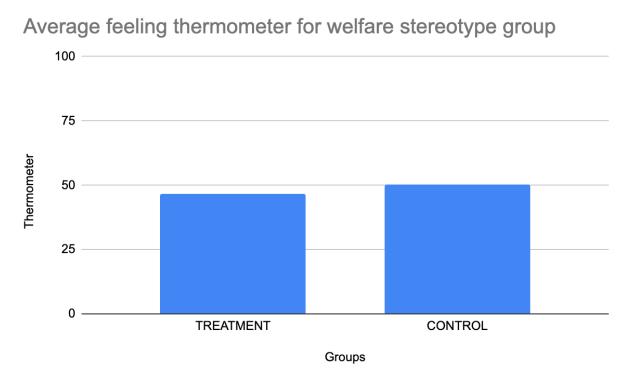
Immigrants and their view on amensty

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	Treatment	Control	
Do not support amnesty for Mexican immigrants	25%	19.05%	
Have no opinion on the issue	30.88%	30.16%	
Support amnesty for Mexican immigrants	44.12%	50.21%	

A similar pattern happened when respondents were asked about their feelings about amnesty for undocumented Mexican immigrants. The control group was more likely to support amnesty for undocumented Mexican immigrants when compared to the treatment group. However, these results were not statistically significant as the p-value was 0.15. Therefore, the null hypothesis stands and no conclusive results can be drawn from this outcome variable.

Welfare Stereotype Correction

Figure 6: Average feeling thermometer for welfare stereotype group



The following section will explore the results between the treatment and control groups of those respondents who believed that most Mexican immigrants were recipients of welfare. The treatment group received a statement from the United States Department of Agriculture that stated that most recipients of food stamps are White Americans. The average feeling thermometer for the treatment group was 46.64 while the control group had a higher feeling thermometer of 50.18. The p-value for these groups was roughly 0.46, meaning that these results are statistically insignificant. The null hypothesis, which states that there should be no difference between the control group and the treatment group, cannot be rejected.

Figure 7: Percentage of respondents in welfare group who support amnesty for Mexican immigrants

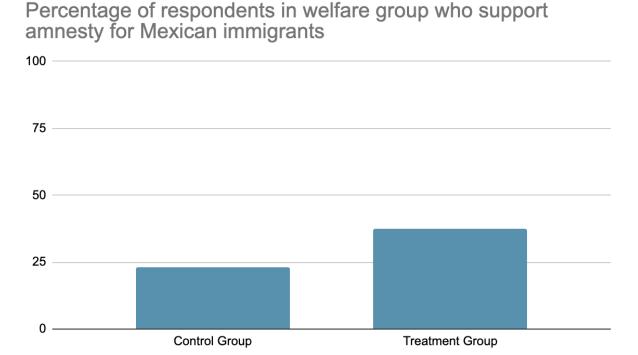


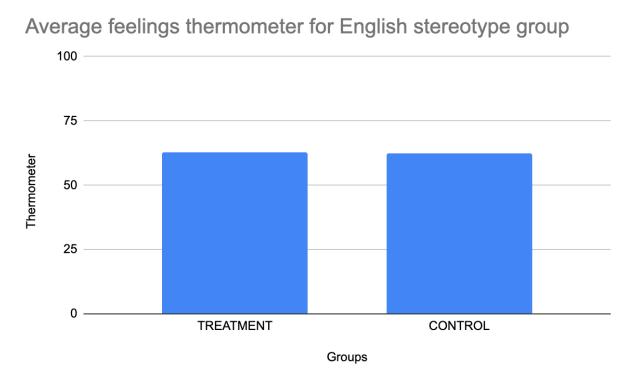
Table 6:Levels of Support for Amnesty Amongst Welfare Treatment and Control Group

	Treatment Group	Control Group
Do not support amnesty	43%	58.1%
No Opinion	19.4%	18.9%
Support Amnesty	37.5%	23%

However, there was a statistically significant result between the treatment and control groups when it came to the amnesty question. Individuals in the treatment group were more likely to support amnesty for Mexican immigrants when compared to the control group. The results of this were statistically significant, with a p-value of 0.042. In other words, the null hypothesis can be rejected. This shows that there is a difference in views on amnesty between the treatment and control groups. The treatment had an impact on individual perceptions of amnesty.

<u>Little to no English Stereotype Correction</u>

Figure 8: Average Feelings Thermometer for English Stereotype Group



The next group that I tested to see if I could correct their belief that most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English. Respondents who received the treatment were presented with a statement from the Pew Research Center that stated that 96% of Latino families in the United States believe it is important to teach their children English. The treatment group has a slightly higher average feeling thermometer score of 62.85 in comparison to the control group who had a feeling thermometer average of 62.55. The results were statistically insignificant with a p-value of 0.44. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected. The treatment did not seem to alter individuals' who had this belief about Mexican immigrants.

Figure 9: Amnesty Opinions-English Stereotype Group

Amnesty Opinions- English Stereotype Group

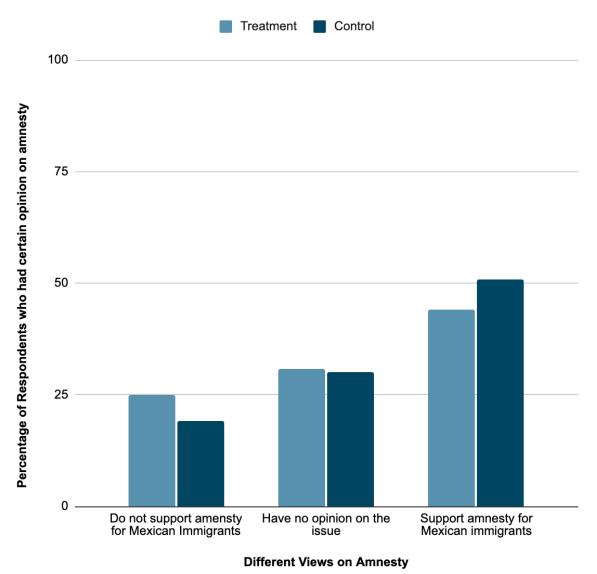


Table 7: Levels of Support for Amnesty between English Treatment and Control Groups

	Treatment	Control
Do not support amnesty	25%	19.05%
No opinion	30.88%	30.16%
Support amnesty	44.12%	50.79%

A different pattern was found when the treatment and control groups were asked about their opinions on amnesty for Mexican immigrants. Individuals in the control group were actually more willing to support amnesty for Mexican immigrants when compared to the treatment group. However, this result was statistically insignificant as it yielded a p-value of 0.18. Therefore, the null hypothesis, which expects there to be no difference between the treatment and control groups, cannot be rejected.

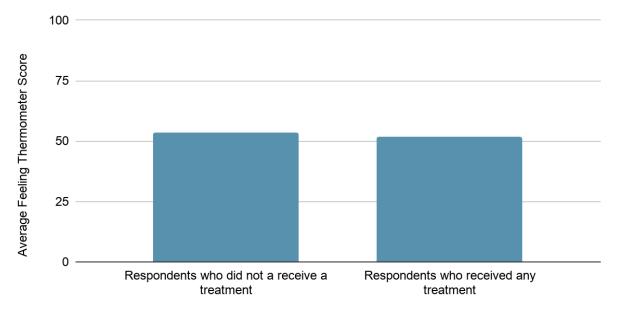
Any Stereotype

While the results between the treatment and control groups were statistically significant for those who believed that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare, the results were statistically insignificant for those who believed that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented and for those who believed that most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English.

The sample sizes were small for each stereotype since I allowed respondents to select what stereotype they believed to be true, if they believed any of them. To test the overall effects of presenting a statement to counter individual stereotypes, I will compare anyone who received a treatment to control groups of all the stereotypes.

Figure 10: Average Feeling Thermometer- Treatment vs. Control Groups Regardless
Of Stereotype Selected

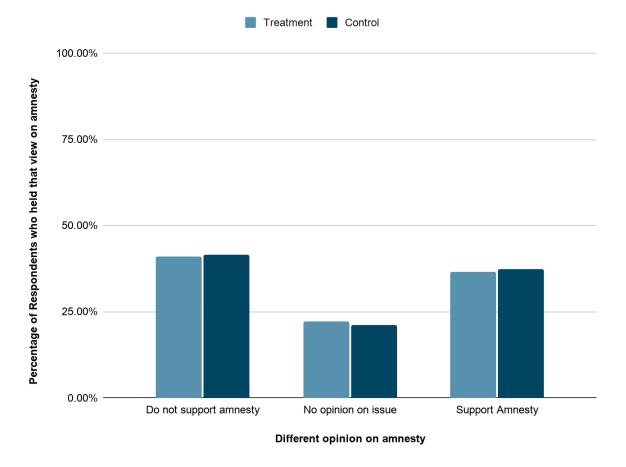
Average Feeling Thermometer- Treatment vs Control Groups Regardless of Stereotype Selected



On average, the treatment groups had a lower overall feeling thermometer score when compared to the control group. Respondents from all the control groups had an average of 53.44 on the feeling thermometer while the respondents who received any treatment had an average feeling thermometer score of 51.59. These results were not statistically significant as the p-value was 0.21, meaning that the null hypothesis, which states that there is no difference between the treatment and control groups cannot be rejected. No conclusion can be made about the overall impact the treatments had on respondent feeling thermometer scores.

Figure 11: Comparison of Treatment and Control Groups Opinion on Amnesty for Mexican Immigrants

Comparison of Treatment and Control Groups Opinion on Amnesty for Mexican Immigrants



A slightly different pattern emerged when these two groups when respondents were asked about their opinions on amnesty. Overall, the control group was more likely to support amnesty but also more likely to not support amnesty for Mexican immigrants when compared to the treatment group. 37.28% of respondents in the control groups support amnesty whereas 36.69% of respondents who received any treatment support amnesty. The results of this were statistically insignificant, with a p-value of 0.499. Therefore, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected and there

is no difference in support for amnesty between respondents who received any treatment and respondents who were in any control group.

Summary of Results

_____The most prevalent stereotype individuals had about Mexican immigrants was that most of them are undocumented. Most individuals were worried that undocumented Mexican immigrants would decrease American wages since they are more likely to accept lower pay and work "under the table". However, individuals who were concerned that undocumented Mexican immigrants would threaten public safety had greater anti-immigrant sentiments than those who had economic concerns. These results were statistically significant.

Respondents who believed that most Mexican immigrants were recipients of welfare, however, had the greatest anti-immigrant sentiment out of any group who had a concern about Mexican immigrants, as measured by feeling thermometers and opinions on amnesty.

Individuals who had different stereotypes about Mexican immigrants were randomly assigned into two groups, a treatment and a control group. Those in the treatment group were given a statement to counter or correct their stereotype. The results of these were statistically insignificant for individuals who believed that most Mexican immigrants were undocumented or spoke little to no English. However, the treatment appeared to have on effect on the treatment group's views on amnesty for those who believed that most Mexican immigrants were recipients of welfare. This was the only statistically significant result that showed that at least one stereotype could be corrected.

Chapter 7: Limitations

There were a few limitations to my research. The biggest limitation was my small sample size. I could analyze the results of only 998 respondents out of over 1,300 respondents who filled out the survey. Unfortunately, several respondents failed the attention check question and were flagged by Qualtrics as individuals who did not take the survey properly. From this small sample size, respondents were then allowed to select what stereotype, if any, they had about Mexican immigrants. From there, half of the individuals were randomly selected to receive a corresponding treatment. This produced small sample sizes that could not give me an accurate picture of individual immigration opinions.

Table 8: Sample Sizes for Each Stereotype/No Stereotype

Stereotype	Number of Respondents who selected that concern
I have no concerns about Mexican immigrants.	441
Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented.	280
Most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English.	131
Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare.	146

Total respondents	998

Table 9: Sample Sizes for treatment and control groups

	Number of respondents in treatment group	Number of respondents in control group
Respondents who believed that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented.	138	142
Respondents who believed that most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English.	68	63
Respondents who believed that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare.	72	74

Ideally, the treatment and control groups would be of equal sample sizes. The survey was created this way. But, as mentioned above, some responses had to be removed since Qualtrics flagged them as faulty, which led to imbalances between the treatment and control groups.

Alternative Explanations

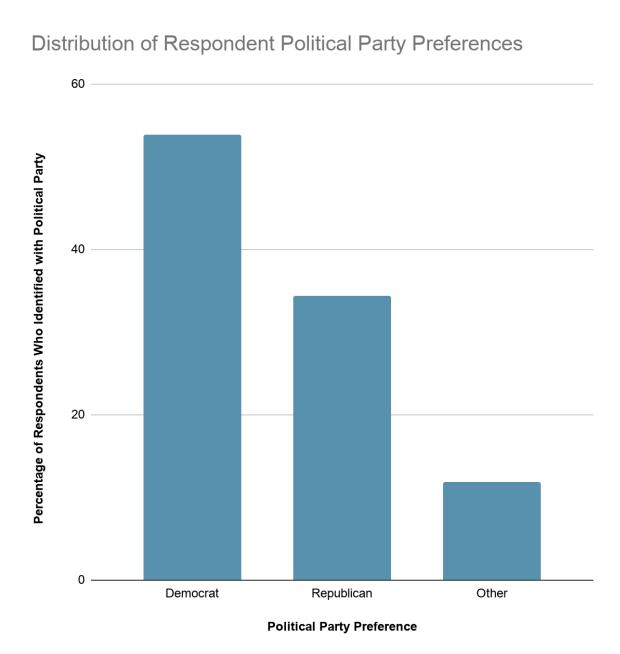
The following factors could have also impacted my research: differences in political parties, social desirability, and motivated reasoning.

Political Parties

Individual political party preferences can impact how individuals view the economy and how they subsequently view immigration Democrats tend to favor immigration while Republicans tend to favor restrictions on immigration. Furthermore, each party has their own economic concerns. Democrats tend to be more concerned with unemployment while Republicans tend to be focused on inflation (Kiewiet,1981). This can cause some individuals

from certain political groups to have potentially different stereotypes and different concerns about Mexican immigrants.

Figure 12: Distribution of Respondents Political Party Preferences

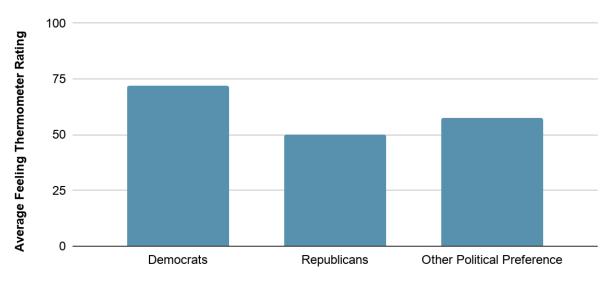


53.81% of my respondents were democrats, 34.37 % were republicans, and roughly

11.82% of my respondents identified with another political party. This was not done on purpose, respondents were not selected to complete the survey based on political party preferences. Future studies should ensure an equal distribution across political party preferences.

Figure 13: Average Feeling Thermometer Across Political Party

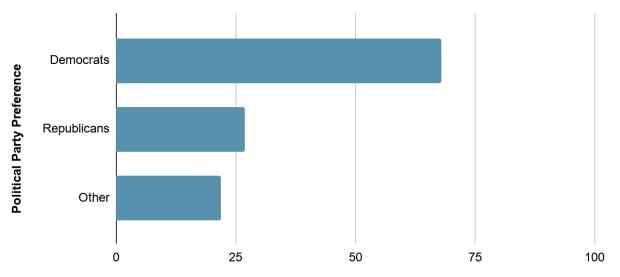
Average Feeling Thermometer Across Political Party Preferences



Political Party Preference

Figure 14: Percentage of respondents who support amnesty for Mexican immigrants according to Political Party Preference

Percentage of respondents who support amnesty for Mexican immigrants according to Political Party Preference



Percentage of respondents who support amnesty for Mexican immigrants

Democrats were more likely to express pro-immigrant views when compared to Republicans. Democratic respondents had an average of a 72.14 overall feeling thermometer rating while Republicans, on the other hand, had an average of 50.04 average for their feeling thermometer. These results did prove to be statistically significant that yielded a p-value of 0. Democrats were more likely to support amnesty for Mexican immigrants than Republicans. In fact, roughly 68.03% of Democrats supported the policy whereas only 26.82% of Republicans supported it. This result was also statistically significant as it yielded a p-value of 0.

Table 10: Stereotypes held by the different political parties

Political Party Preference	Most Pressing Concern	Percentage of Respondents with that concern	Second Most Pressing Concern	Percentage of Respondents with that concern
Democratic	I do not have any concerns about Mexican immigrants in the United States.	57.24%	Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented.	20.80%
Republican	Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented.	40.52%	Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare.	23.61%
Other	I do not have any concerns about Mexican immigrants in the United States.	46.61%	Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented.	24.58%

Lastly, respondents from each political party preference each had different concerns. Most Democratic respondents and respondents who identify with a different political party preference outside of the two major parties said that they had no concern about Mexican immigrants. In fact, 57.24% of Democratic respondents and 46.61% of respondents with other political party preferences had no concerns about Mexican immigrants. The second largest concern these two groups believed was that most Mexican immigrants are undocumented. This was not the same for Republican respondents as most Republican respondents roughly 40.52%, believed that most Mexican immigrants were undocumented. The second largest concern

Republcian respondents had was that most Mexican immigrants in the United States were recipients of welfare. Roughly 23.61% of respondents believed this.

It appears that each of the political party ideologies has their feelings towards Mexican immigrants, different concerns about them, and different views on amensty. This is not surprising as political differences have impacted immigration legislation. Conservative citizens tend to be drivers of restrictive immigration reform while liberal and Hispanic populations are known to implement pro-immigrant legislation (Chavez and Provine, 2009). Further research should examine how political parties frame immigration issues and see how that impacts public opinion.

Social Desirability Bias

The other factor that may have impacted my results was social desirability. Social desirability is when individuals do not respond to surveys honestly. Instead of sharing their own views, they select answers that they believe the owner of the survey expects. In other words, individuals might be inclined to express a certain view to not face social disapproval from the owner of the survey (Phillips and Clancy, 1972). This showed up in my survey as most respondents, roughly 44.79% of respondents, indicated that they did not have any concerns about Mexican immigrants.

Recent research however suggests that individuals may now be more willing to express their honest political view, regardless of what society deems acceptable. Due to recent changes in how politicians speak about race, it appears that Americans may no longer upset or disturbed by harsh or explicit racial hatred in political discourse. This is known as the standard racial priming model. However, this model seems to be losing impact as racial animus increases (Valentino, Neuner, Vandenbroek, 2018).

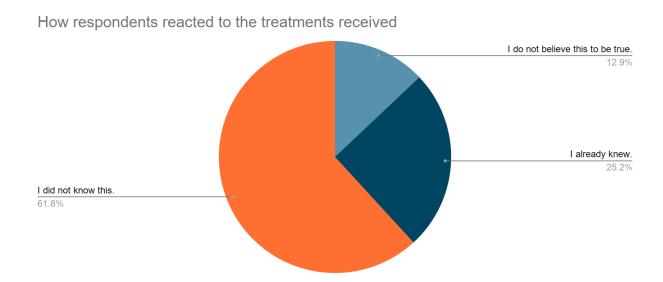
I can see this phenomena at play in my survey. For those who had the stereotype that most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented, respondents could select which concern they have or write their own concern. Only a small percentage of respondents, 12.5%, chose to do this, but they tended to be explicit in what their concerns were. Respondent concerns included, "They are uneducated and poor!", "Hurts the school system", "They will use much space in our medical units for free", and "Terrorists are able to come in among them which makes our country less safe. They can also bring in covid.". One respondent expressed a myriad of concerns, regarding economics, public safety concerns, and overall racial animus by stating that Mexican immigrants "besides they accepting lower wages to do menial jobs and also enhancing the incidence of crime, another factor is their inability to merge with the american system of law, culture and ethics. The are very often unethical and their children also do not follow the american tradition, they carve out a niche for themselves and overall dilute the whole american system." All of these responses are explicit in their beliefs and indicate racial animus. These responses indicate that the respondents believed that Mexican immigrants are poor. uneducated, criminals, and overall harmful to American society. These responses are explicit in their concerns and indicate that in these cases, social desirability bias may not have been a significant factor in their responses to the feeling thermometer and amnesty question.

Motivated Reasoning

_____A third factor impacting my results was motivated reasoning. Motivated reasoning is when individuals chose which information to find and which information to believe (Kunda, 1990). If a piece of information does not fit their beliefs or opinions, then that individual would reject the information, or refuse to believe that such a piece of information exists. This is important as individuals who received any treatment were asked how they felt about the

statement. If a respondent held a view strongly, they could have used motivated reasoning to reject the statement that was meant to counter the stereotype and therefore, impacted their feeling thermometer rating and views on amnesty.

Table 15: How respondents reacted to the treatments received



To measure the impact of motivated reasoning, I measured how many individuals in all the treatments had stated that they "did not believe this to be true" when they were presented with a statement that challenged their stereotypes about Mexican immigrants. Roughly 12.86% of respondents who received a treatment, regardless what what stereotype they chose, answered that they did not believe that the fact was true. Most respondents. 61.43%, stated that they did not know the fact I presented them. Roughly 25.09% of respondents stated that they already knew the fact I presented them. Respondents who did not believe the treatment may be more likely to use motivated reasoning. Respondents who already knew the fact but chose to still hold the belief may have also used motivated reasoning even prior to taking the survey to form their

views. Although this group was small, this may have impacted my results. Further research should attempt to measure motivated reasoning and see how that impacts public policy opinions.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In this paper, I sought to explain what concerns individuals had about undocumented Mexican immigrants, how cultural and economic explanations about immigration opinion interact to inform people's perceptions of undocumented Mexican immigrants, and attempt to correct any other stereotypes individuals may have about Mexican immigrants.

I accomplished this by fielding a survey on an online marketplace called Lucid.

Individual respondents were allowed to select what, if any, stereotype they believed about Mexican immigrants. Half of the respondents were given a treatment that counters that corresponding stereotype.

I proceeded to compare different groups of respondents who had different concerns about Mexican immigrants and compared the corresponding treatment and control groups of each stereotype using a T-Test.

I found out that most individuals believe that most Mexican immigrants living in the United States are undocumented and that they will threatened their economic security. This did not necessarily translate into public policy opinions.

Individuals who believed that most Mexican immigrants are recipients of welfare expressed more anti-immigrant sentiment than those who had other stereotypes about Mexican immigrants.

This group of individuals, however, were persuaded by a treatment given to them that challenged this stereotype. Although it did not affect how these individuals feel towards Mexican

immigrants, the treatment did have an impact on their public policy views regarding amnesty. Individuals who had other stereotypes about Mexican immigrants did not change their views about Mexican immigrants when presented with facts.

There are several alternative explanations that can explain this phenomenon. First off, I did not have a large enough sample size. Secondly, individual responses to the survey are impacted by social desirability bias and motivated reasoning.

Future research should attempt to measure the impacts of motivated reasoning on immigration public opinion using large, representative samples and explore the intersections between culturally motivated immigrant exclusion attitudes and economically motivated immigrant exclusion attitudes. Immigration opinion is complicated and impacted by stereotypes and economic anxieties. Thus, developing approaches to examine how stereotypes and economic anxieties interact to form immigration sentiment will provide a clearer picture as to why Americans exhibit exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants. Ultimately, understanding how these attitudes are formed can help public policy makers find ways to address these concerns and develop a more inclusive society for everyone, regardless of immigration status.

Survey Given to Americans

Consent

You are invited to participate in a research study that will examine public opinion regarding immigration. This study is being done by Claire Adida from the University of California-San Diego (UCSD). You were randomly selected to participate in this study through the Lucid Marketplace.

The purpose of this research study is to better understand individual immigration attitudes. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey. This survey will ask about your opinions toward Mexican immigrants and will take you approximately 15 minutes to complete.

There is no direct benefit to you from this research. The investigators, however, may learn more about immigration attitudes and how it may influence public opinion.

There are minimal risks associated with this research study. At no point will researchers know your identity. While there may be a loss of confidentiality if Lucid experiences a security breach, your answers in this survey cannot be linked to your identity. Research records will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law and may be reviewed by the UCSD Institutional Review Board.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time by simply exiting the survey. Choosing not to participate or withdrawing will result in no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. You are free to skip any question that you choose.

If you have questions about this project, you can contact Claire Adida, at cadida@ucsd.edu. If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may contact the UCSD Human Research Protections Program Office at 858-246-HRPP (858-246-477).

By clicking "I consent" below you indicate that you are at least 18 years old, have read this consent form, and agree to participate in this research study. Please print a copy of this page for your records.

Demographic Questions

- 1. What is your gender identity?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Non-binary
 - d. Prefer not to say
- 2. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origins?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
- 3. What race do you associate yourself most closely with?
 - a. White
 - b. African American

- c. Asian
- d. American Indian
- e. Alaska Native
- f. Native Hawaiian
- g. Pacific Islander
- h. Other
- 4. Are you a U.S. Citizen?
- 5. If you are a U.S. citizen, what is your state of birth?
- 6. Which party do you believe is closest to your views?
 - a. Democratic Party
 - b. Republican Party
 - c. Other
- 7. People are very busy these days and many do not have time to follow what goes on in the government. We are testing whether people read questions. To show that you've read this much, answer both "extremely interested" and "very interested".
 - a. Extremely interested
 - b. Very interested
 - c. Moderately interested
 - d. Slightly interested
 - e. Not interested at all
- 8. Please share the biggest concern you have about Mexican immigrants in the United States.
 - a. Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented.

- b. Most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English.
- c. Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare.
- d. I do not have any concerns about Mexican immigrants in the United States.

FOR THOSE WHO PICKED A-Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are undocumented.

9a. What concerns do you have about undocumented Mexican immigrants living in the United States?

- 1. I am concerned that they will drive down wages because they will be willing to accept lower pay.
- 2. I am concerned that they will make this country less safe because they have broken the law.
- 3. I am concerned that they will make this country less safe because they have broken the law.

TREATMENT QUESTION- Did you know that the Pew Research Center found that unauthorized Mexican immigrants no longer make up the majority of undocumented immigrants living in the United States and that apprehensions of non-Mexicans outnumber those of Mexicans for the past three fiscal years?

- I did not know this.
- I already knew this.
- I do not believe this to be true.
- 10. Please tell us your feelings towards Mexican immigrants to the United States using a feelings thermometer. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees signal cold feelings or negative feelings towards Mexican immigrants. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees signal warm feelings or positive feelings toward Mexican immigrants.
- 11. Do you support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States?
 - A. I support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States.

- B. I do not support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States.
- C. I have no opinion on this issue

FOR THOSE WHO PICKED B -Most Mexican immigrants in the United States speak little to no English.

TREATMENT QUESTION- Did you know that the Public Policy Institute of California found that 96% of foreign-born Latinxs find it very important to teach English to their children?

- I did not know this.
- I already knew this.
- I do not believe this to be true.
- 9. Please tell us your feelings towards Mexican immigrants to the United States using a feelings thermometer. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees signal cold feelings or negative feelings towards Mexican immigrants. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees signal warm feelings or positive feelings toward Mexican immigrants.
- 10. Do you support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States?
 - A. I support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States.
 - B. I do not support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States.
 - C. I have no opinion on this issue.

For those who picked C-Most Mexican immigrants in the United States are recipients of welfare.

TREATMENT QUESTION-Did you know that in 2016, the US Department of Agriculture reported that Whites made up 36.2% of SNAP (currently known as food stamps) recipients while Hispanics made up 17.2% of welfare recipients?

- I did not know this.
- I already knew this.
- I do not believe this to be true.

•

- 9. Please tell us your feelings towards Mexican immigrants to the United States using a feelings thermometer. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees signal cold feelings or negative feelings towards Mexican immigrants. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees signal warm feelings or positive feelings toward Mexican immigrants.
- 10. Do you support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States?
 - A. I support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States.
 - B. I do not support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States.
 - C. I have no opinion on this issue.

FOR THOSE WHO PICKED D -I do not have any concerns about Mexican immigrants in the United States.

- 9. Please tell us your feelings towards Mexican immigrants to the United States using a feelings thermometer. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees signal cold feelings or negative feelings towards Mexican immigrants. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees signal warm feelings or positive feelings toward Mexican immigrants.
- 10. Do you support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States?
 - A. I support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States.
 - B. I do not support amnesty for Mexican immigrants living in the United States.
 - C. I have no opinion on this issue.

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