

Not in My Backyard! Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, and Support for Strict Immigration Policies at Home and Abroad

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Many controversial immigration policies have recently emerged across the United States and abroad. We explore the role of national context in shaping support for such policies. Specifically, we examine whether the extent to which ideological attitudes—Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)—predict policy support is moderated by the national context of the policy. Across three studies, United States citizens read about a controversial immigration policy affecting either their own country (United States) or a foreign country (Israel or Singapore) and indicated their support for the policy. Results reveal that SDO predicts policy support, regardless of its national context; this effect is mediated by perceived competition. Conversely, RWA predicts policy support only if the policy affects domestic immigration; this effect is mediated by perceptions of cultural threat. Consistent with prior research, the present findings highlight the role of perceived cultural threat to one’s ingroup and perceived competition in shaping attitudes toward immigration and shed light on some of the motivations underlying the recent rise in popularity of strict immigration policies.

KEY WORDS: Immigration attitudes, Ethnic exclusion, Social dominance orientation, Right-wing authoritarianism, Perceived threat

The greatest threat to our neighborhoods is the illegal alien invasion.

Russell Pearce (Billeaud, 2010)

As the foreign-born population of the United States reaches nearly 37 million people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), a majority (63%) of Americans report it is “very important” for Congress to address immigration policy (Pew Research Center, 2010b). Responding to calls for U.S. immigration reform, legislators introduced more than 1,400 state immigration bills in 2010 (Johnston & Morse, 2011). One recent state-level effort to address immigration, Arizona Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070), however, ignited a firestorm of national debate. SB 1070, signed into law in April of 2010, requires police officers to determine individuals’ immigration status if there is “reasonable suspicion” they are undocumented residents of the country (Billeaud, 2010; Gomez,

2010).¹ Despite impassioned outcries that the law could instigate racial profiling and anti-Hispanic discrimination, 59% of Americans approved of the policy at the time of its passage (Pew Research Center, 2010a), and copycat legislation cropped up in a number of other states (Gomez, 2010). Further, although it received considerably less attention in the U.S. media, the same month in which SB 1070 became law, the Israeli military enacted an order defining undocumented residents of the West Bank as “infiltrators” to be jailed or deported (Garcia-Navarro, 2010). Given the proliferation of such strict immigration laws and policies across the United States and the world, the present research explores individual difference and situational factors predicting their support.

Past research has found that individual differences in Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) powerfully and independently predict prejudice against immigrants (e.g., Danso, Sedlovskaya, & Suanda, 2007; Oyamoto, Borgida, & Fisher, 2006; Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008) and support for harsh immigration policies (e.g., Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; for a meta-analysis of the association between ideological attitudes and anti-immigrant attitudes, see Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010). Pratto, Sidanius, and colleagues (e.g., Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) have defined SDO as the general belief in and preference for intergroup hierarchy and social inequality. Furthermore, greater SDO predicts favorable evaluations of the dominant group, regardless of one’s position in the hierarchy (Henry, Sidanius, Levin, & Pratto, 2005). Individuals high in SDO, in other words, are concerned with the hierarchical relations among groups. RWA, on the other hand, is characterized by a concern with adherence to ingroup norms, social order, and security (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Altemeyer, 1996, 1998; Cohrs & Asbrock, 2009; Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010). Individuals high in RWA, then, are primarily interested in ingroup security.

Although the motivations underlying both RWA and SDO can and do engender aggression towards out-group immigrants, recent research has begun to provide a more nuanced perspective on the underlying psychological processes that govern the relation between these distinct ideologies and anti-immigrant sentiment (e.g., Thomsen et al., 2008). The dual-process model of prejudice (Duckitt, 2001) proposes that different mechanisms underlie the associations between RWA, SDO, and prejudice. Specifically, SDO is proposed to lead to prejudice via perceptions of the world as a competitive place in which high SDO individuals are motivated to achieve dominance (Duckitt, 2001). Conversely, RWA is proposed to lead to prejudice via motives to achieve security from threats (Duckitt, 2001). Research examining the effects of RWA and SDO on immigration attitudes has found support for this dual-process model. Drawing in part on this model, Duckitt and Sibley (2010) examined the role of perceived threat on the association between SDO, RWA, and attitudes toward a fictitious immigrant group. Duckitt and Sibley (2010) found that higher RWA predicted greater opposition to immigration if the immigrants were perceived as economic competitors or were perceived to hold very different cultural values, but not if the immigrant group was simply described as disadvantaged but did not pose a threat. Conversely, higher SDO predicted greater opposition to immigration if the immigrants were either disadvantaged (i.e., low status) or posed an economic threat, but not if the immigrants simply posed a threat to ingroup cultural norms.

This research suggests that SDO, because it is associated with a general favoritism for dominant groups and a competitive worldview, is likely to predict support for strict immigration laws, irrespective of the national context of the immigration. RWA, on the other hand, is likely to predict support for strict immigration laws when the relevant immigrant group can be perceived as a threat to the culture/values of the ingroup—that is, when the law pertains to one’s own nation. The

¹ At the time of this article’s submission, the constitutionality of the Arizona immigration law has been ruled on by the Supreme Court. While some aspects of the law were struck down, the provision allowing for police to check individuals’ immigration status was allowed to stand (Cohen & Mears, 2012).

proliferation of strict immigration laws and policies both domestically and internationally provides a unique opportunity to examine these hypotheses. Moreover, the current sociopolitical climate allows for the study of the relations between SDO, RWA, and attitudes toward actual laws and policies (e.g., SB 1070 and the Israel policy) rather than the types of hypothetical scenarios upon which prior experimental work has, quite understandably, typically relied.

Thus, the present work examines whether the national context of a strict immigration policy affects the extent to which SDO and RWA predict policy support. Specifically, participants in the present research learned about an immigration policy said to affect low-status groups entering either their country (i.e., the United States) or a foreign country (i.e., Israel in Studies 1 and 2; Singapore in Study 3) and then indicated their endorsement of the persecution of the law violators (Study 1) and their support of the policy (Studies 2 and 3). We expected that SDO would predict endorsement of and support for the policy, regardless of its national context. In addition, we predicted that RWA would be positively associated with policy endorsement and support if the policy concerned immigration to participants' own country (i.e., could pose a threat to the ingroup), but not if it concerned immigration into a foreign country (i.e., could not pose a threat to the ingroup).

Method

Study 1

Study 1 sought to provide an initial test of the hypothesis that the national context of a strict immigration policy will differentially affect the extent to which SDO and RWA predict policy support. Specifically, in a laboratory experiment with a student sample, participants read about an immigration law passed in either Israel or Arizona and indicated their willingness to engage in persecution against immigrants thought to be in violation of the policy.

Participants. One-hundred-and-eleven college students from a Midwestern University (all native-born, U.S. citizens) participated in exchange for partial course credit or \$8. Because Hispanics were identified as potential targets of the Arizona law in the stimulus materials, six Latino/Hispanic participants were removed from analysis. One person who arbitrarily hit buttons when responding was also excluded. The final sample included 104 participants (53.8% women, 84.6% White, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.36$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 4.32$).

Materials/Measures

National context manipulation. Participants read an article about a controversial law that required authorities to determine residency status of suspected illegal immigrants. The text of the article suggested that the law would disproportionately and negatively affect a minority group (see the online supporting information for full text). Half of the participants were randomly assigned to read that the law took effect in the West Bank of Israel and affected Palestinians, and half read that the law took effect in Arizona and affected Hispanics. To maximize ecological validity, we adapted the materials from actual online news articles regarding the Israel policy and Arizona law (Garcia-Navarro, 2010; NPR, 2010).

Individual differences in intergroup ideology. Participants completed 15 items from the SDO scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) and 20 items from Altemeyer's (1998) RWA scale. Items were anchored by 1 = *Strongly Disagree/Disapprove* and 7 = *Strongly Agree/Approve*. Items were recoded and averaged to create indices with higher numbers corresponding with greater SDO and RWA.²

² Reliability coefficients for all scales are shown in Table 1.

Law support. We assessed support for the law with a version of the posse scale (Altemeyer, 1996; see also, Thomsen et al., 2008). Participants were instructed to consider the new law and imagine that they lived in the affected location,³ and then they indicated their agreement with the law and willingness to persecute illegal immigrants on 7-point scales (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*). These six statements ranged in severity from, “I would tell my friends that it is a good law” to “I would support the execution of illegal immigrants” (a full list of items is available in the online supplemental materials). Items were averaged to create an index of law support; higher numbers reflect greater support for the law.

Procedure. Participants entered the lab for a study allegedly examining reading and memory skills for recent events. After providing consent and completing measures for an unrelated study, participants read about an immigration law passed in either Israel or Arizona, completed the law support measure, the SDO and RWA scales, followed by a number of demographic items. Finally, participants were debriefed and credited for their participation.

Results and Discussion

The descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations for all variables in Studies 1–3 are provided in Table 1. In all studies, RWA and SDO were positively correlated with each other, but importantly, neither was correlated with the national context manipulation. We tested for collinearity among predictor variables by examining the variance inflation factor (VIF). Across all studies, the maximum VIF score was 2.46, indicating that multicollinearity was not a concern (see Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). Furthermore, both SDO and RWA were positively correlated with participants’ support of the law.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Zero-Order Correlations

Variables	α	Range of Scores	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
Study 1 – Student Sample (N = 104)										
1. SDO	.87	1.00–4.33	2.60	0.84	–	.45***	–.13	.55***	–	–
2. RWA	.93	1.00–5.45	2.46	0.98		–	–.13	.49***	–	–
3. National Context	–	–	0.02	1.00			–	–.02	–	–
4. Law Support Score	.83	1.00–5.00	1.94	0.91				–	–	–
Study 2 – National Sample (N = 170)										
1. SDO	.94	1.00–5.56	2.62	1.23	–	.51***	.02	.47***	–	–
2. RWA	.96	1.00–6.30	2.67	1.30		–	.06	.46***	–	–
3. National Context	–	–	0.02	1.00			–	.04	–	–
4. Law Support Score	.96	1.00–7.00	4.09	2.08				–	–	–
Study 3 – National Sample (N = 132)										
1. SDO	.90	1.00–7.00	2.70	1.35	–	.42***	–.02	.56***	.61***	.54***
2. RWA	.92	1.00–5.67	3.12	1.16		–	–.15	.60***	.62***	.54***
3. National Context	–	–	–0.02	1.00			–	–.15	–.15	–.06
4. Law Support Score	.98	1.00–7.00	4.35	2.09				–	.73***	.78***
5. Perceived Cultural Threat	.87	1.00–7.00	3.82	1.49					–	.79***
6. Perceived Economic Competition	.89	1.00–7.00	4.45	1.64						–

Note. National context was coded with –1 = foreign nation (Studies 1–2: Israel, Study 3: Singapore) and 1 = own nation (Arizona, USA). The descriptive statistics of the law support scores in Study 1 were similar to those found by Thomsen et al. (2008). *** $p < .001$.

³ The instruction to imagine living in the affected location was only given in Study 1.

Table 2. Multiple Regression Coefficients Predicting Law Support

Predictors	<i>b</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Study 1 – Student Sample (N = 104)				
SDO	.43	.40	4.62	<.001
RWA	.22	.24	2.30	.024
National Context	.07	.07	0.94	.350
SDO \times National Context	–.06	–.06	–0.65	.519
RWA \times National Context	.17	.18	2.12	.037
Study 2 – National Sample (N = 170)				
SDO	.32	.19	2.50	.014
RWA	.08	.05	0.54	.591
National Context	.08	.04	0.67	.504
SDO \times National Context	–.06	–.04	–0.52	.606
RWA \times National Context	.23	.14	2.01	.046
Study 3 – National Sample (N = 132)				
SDO	.42	.28	3.61	<.001
RWA	.57	.31	3.77	<.001
National Context	–.09	–.04	–0.72	.475
SDO \times National Context	.11	.07	1.01	.313
RWA \times National Context	.26	.14	2.03	.044

Note. Nondichotomous variables were centered. National context was coded with -1 = foreign nation (Studies 1–2: Israel, Study 3: Singapore) and 1 = own nation (Arizona, USA). We controlled for the following participant characteristics: political ideology, participant race, and income (Studies 2–3 only).

To examine whether the national context manipulation interacted with SDO or RWA, separate from the influence of the other individual difference variable, we regressed support for the law on SDO, RWA, the national context manipulation (contrast-coded with -1 = Israel law, 1 = Arizona law), the product term of SDO and the experimental manipulation, and the product term of RWA and the experimental manipulation.⁴ Consistent with hypotheses, there was a robust and significant main effect of SDO, such that greater SDO predicted greater endorsement of the law (see Table 2 for regression coefficients). Furthermore, consistent with hypotheses, the SDO \times national context interaction was not significant. We also found a significant main effect of RWA, qualified by a significant interaction between national context and RWA. We examined this RWA \times national context interaction with simple slope analyses (Aiken & West, 1991). As shown in Figure 1, among individuals who read about Arizona’s immigration law, there was a robust, positive association between RWA and support for the law, $b = .39$, $t(96) = 3.17$, $p = .002$.⁵ However, among individuals who read about the Israeli law, there was no reliable relation between RWA and support for the law, $b = .05$, $t(96) < 1$, $p = .685$.

Taken together, the results of Study 1 provide initial support for the hypothesis that national context moderates the influence of RWA, but not SDO, on willingness to support strict immigration policies. SDO was positively associated with policy support, regardless of the national context, whereas RWA only predicted support among participants considering the domestic policy.

⁴ All analyses control for political ideology and participant race (dummy coded: not White = 0, White = 1). In addition, analyses in Studies 2–3 also control for the effect of participant income. We conducted analyses examining possible interactions by race or gender, but we found no significant interactions in any study.

⁵ Degrees of freedom may vary from the expected values due to listwise deletion of missing data.

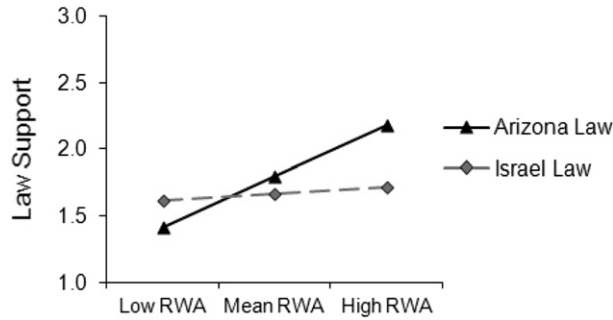


Figure 1. Study 1: Law support scores by RWA and national context. Values on the X-axis range ± 1 *SD* from the sample mean.

Study 2

Study 1 offered support for the hypothesis that RWA and SDO similarly predict support for domestic strict immigration policies, but they differentially predict support for similar policies pertaining to a foreign nation. However, RWA and SDO were assessed after the context manipulation, leaving a possibility that the manipulation affected RWA and SDO scores (e.g., Pratto et al., 2006). For example, the SDO items ask about preference for group hierarchy without specifying which groups to consider in making the judgments. It is possible that individuals may have used different groups as reference points when answering the SDO items, as a function of the experimental condition. To ensure that the presentation order of measures is not driving the effects of Study 1, in Study 2 we assessed RWA and SDO prior to the experimental manipulation. Further, Study 2 sought to expand our findings from Study 1 with a more passive, and perhaps, cleaner measure of policy support. We expected to replicate the effects of Study 1 and find that RWA predicts support for a domestic, but not foreign, strict immigration policy, whereas SDO predicts support for the policy, regardless of national context.

Participants. One-hundred-and-eighty-six United States citizens were recruited from the Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk.com) marketplace and participated in exchange for \$0.30. Participants lived in 37 different states (two participants lived in Arizona). Again, we excluded data from five participants who indicated Latino/Hispanic ethnicity. Ten people were excluded for incorrectly responding to items assessing whether they were reading the questions. One extreme outlier on both the SDO and RWA scales was also excluded. Thus, the final sample included 170 participants (55.9% women, 90.0% White, $M_{\text{age}} = 38.96$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 14.51$).

Materials/Measures

National context manipulation. The materials were identical to those described in Study 1.

Individual differences in intergroup ideology. Participants completed the 16-item SDO scale (Pratto et al., 1994) and the same 20-item RWA scale (Altemeyer, 1998) from Study 1.

Law support. We assessed support for the immigration law with three items. Participants reported their feelings about the law by indicating their support (1 = *Don't support the law at all*; 7 = *Support the law a great deal*), how much they considered the law to be good for the affected country (1 = *Extremely bad for the country*; 7 = *Extremely good for the country*), and how favorably they viewed the law (1 = *Extremely in favor*; 7 = *Extremely against*). Items were recoded and averaged such that higher numbers correspond with greater support of the law.

Procedure. Participants were recruited from MTurk.com, ostensibly to give their opinions about social issues and recent events. After providing consent, participants completed the measures of

RWA and SDO (whether participants first completed the SDO or RWA scale was randomly determined), followed by 10 filler questions (e.g., indicating agreement with “Summer is my favorite season”). Participants then read about the immigration policy enacted in either Israel or Arizona, indicated their support of the policy, and reported on their demographic information.

Results and Discussion

To examine the extent to which SDO and RWA predict support for the immigration law, we regressed support for the law on SDO, RWA, the national context variable (contrast coded with $-1 = \text{Israel law}$, $1 = \text{Arizona law}$), and the product terms ($\text{RWA} \times \text{national context}$, $\text{SDO} \times \text{national context}$). Consistent with Study 1, the main effect of SDO was significant, with greater SDO predicting greater support for the immigration law (see Table 2 for regression coefficients). Furthermore, consistent with hypotheses, while the $\text{SDO} \times \text{national context}$ interaction was not significant, a significant $\text{RWA} \times \text{national context}$ interaction emerged. Consistent with predictions and Study 1, as shown in Figure 2, simple slope analyses revealed a positive (albeit marginally significant) association between RWA and law support among individuals who read about the Arizona law, $b = .30$, $t(161) = 1.78$, $p = .076$. The association between RWA and law support was not significant for individuals who read about the Israel law, $b = -.15$, $t(161) < 1$, $p = .428$. Thus, consistent with the results of Study 1, Study 2 results revealed that national context moderates the influence of RWA, but not SDO, on willingness to support strict immigration policies.

Study 3

Studies 1 and 2 offer compelling support for the hypothesis that RWA and SDO are differentially related to support for actual immigration policies as a function of whether they pertain to one’s own country or, rather, to a foreign country. While in these studies we were able capitalize on strikingly similar aspects of the immigration policies that were recently passed and/or adopted in Arizona and by the Israeli military, allowing for a particularly ecologically valid test of the hypotheses, we thought it important to conduct another study to ensure the generalizability of the effects. For instance, factors unique to Israel could be driving the results. Most notably, the West Bank is the site of *actual* on-going armed conflict and violence. Thus, whether or not an area is currently or recently enmeshed in violent conflict may affect perceptions of the justification and/or consequences of the

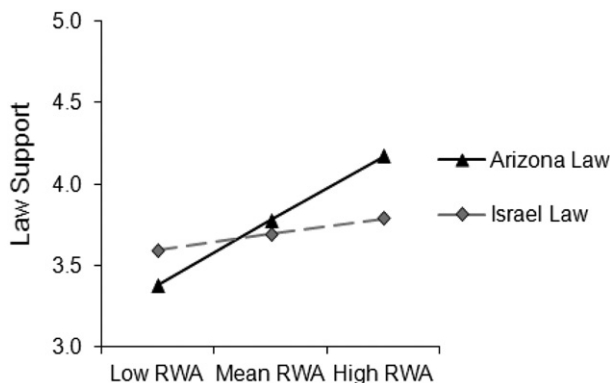


Figure 2. Study 2: Law support scores by RWA and national context. Values on the X-axis range ± 1 SD from the sample mean.

laws, perhaps affecting policy support. Additionally, RWA is historically associated with anti-Semitism (e.g., Dunbar & Simonova, 2003), and, thus, the failure for RWA to predict Israeli policy support may be due to a lack of concern about Israel. To rule out these alternative explanations, we examined reactions to an alleged immigration policy in a different foreign country, not currently embroiled in conflict; namely, Singapore. Unlike in Studies 1 and 2, therefore, the foreign context article utilized in Study 3 is not based on an actual policy.

A second aim of Study 3 was to examine the putative mediators that give rise to the differential relations found among RWA, SDO, and foreign, compared with domestic, immigration policy support. Recall that anti-immigrant sentiment among high SDO-individuals is posited to stem from a motive to achieve dominance in a competitive world with scarce resources (e.g., Duckitt, 2001, 2006). Conversely, anti-immigrant sentiment among high-RWA individuals is thought to stem from a motive to achieve security from threats to the self/ingroup (e.g., Duckitt, 2001, 2006). Thus, in Study 3, we expected to observe that the positive association between SDO and policy support is mediated by perceived competition from illegal immigrants. By contrast, we expected to find moderated mediation regarding RWA; specifically, RWA scores will predict support for a domestic, but not foreign, strict immigration policy (replicating Studies 1 and 2), and, this effect will be mediated by high-RWA individuals' greater perceptions of threat to cultural values.

Participants. One-hundred-and-forty native-born, U.S. citizens were recruited from the MTurk.com marketplace and participated in exchange for \$0.20. Participants lived in 37 different U.S. states (two participants lived in Arizona). Again, we excluded data from one participant who indicated Latino/Hispanic ethnicity. Seven people were excluded for incorrectly responding to an item assessing whether they were reading the questions. The final sample included 132 participants (53.8% women, 90.2% White, $M_{\text{age}} = 37.69$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.75$).

Materials/Measures

National context manipulation. Participants read an article about a controversial law adapted from Studies 1 and 2. For half of the participants, the law took effect in Arizona and affected Hispanics; for the other half, the law took effect in Singapore and negatively affected Bangladeshis (see the online supporting information for full text). Across condition, the articles included identical information (except for the national context).

Individual differences in intergroup ideology. Participants completed an eight-item SDO scale (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and a 15-item RWA scale (Zakrisson, 2005). SDO and RWA items were anchored by 1 = *Strongly Disagree/Disapprove* and 7 = *Strongly Agree/Approve*. Higher numbers correspond with greater SDO and RWA.

Perceived cultural threat. Participants rated the degree to which they perceived illegal immigrants to pose a threat to the culture/values of the nation described in the manipulation (adapted from the symbolic threat scale in Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). Participants indicated their agreement with five statements (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*), such as, "Illegal immigration undermines the nation's culture." Items were recoded as needed and averaged to create indices with higher numbers corresponding with greater perceived cultural threat.

Perceived competition. Participants rated the degree to which they perceived illegal immigrants to be competitors over valued resources (e.g., jobs, money, or political power) in the nation described in the manipulation. Participants indicated their agreement with five statements (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*), for example, "Illegal immigrants do not take jobs away from legal citizens" (reverse scored). Items were recoded as needed and averaged to create indices with higher numbers corresponding with greater perceived competition.

Law support. We assessed support for the immigration law with the same three items from Study 2.

Procedure. Participants were recruited from MTurk.com ostensibly to give their opinions about recent events. After providing consent, participants read about the immigration law passed in either Singapore or Arizona, indicated their support of the law, completed the perceived cultural threat and perceived competition items, completed measures of SDO and RWA, and then reported their demographic information.

Results and Discussion

We again regressed support for the immigration law on SDO, RWA, the national context variable ($-1 =$ Singapore law, $1 =$ Arizona law), and the product terms (SDO \times national context and RWA \times national context). Similar to the findings obtained for Studies 1 and 2, results revealed a positive association between SDO and support for the immigration law, but no SDO \times national context interaction (see Table 2 for regression coefficients). Further, we found a significant main effect of RWA, qualified by a significant RWA \times national context interaction. Simple slope analyses of the RWA \times national context interaction revealed that among individuals who read about the Arizona law, there was a significant positive association between RWA and law support, $b = .82$, $t(123) = 4.55$, $p < .001$. Among individuals who read about the Singapore law, RWA did not significantly predict law support, $b = .31$, $t(123) = 1.46$, $p = .147$.

To test whether SDO and RWA predict perceived cultural threat by condition, we regressed perceived threat on SDO, RWA, the national context variable ($-1 =$ Singapore law, $1 =$ Arizona law), and the product terms (SDO \times national context and RWA \times national context). We found a significant main effect of SDO, but the SDO \times national context interaction was not significant (see Table 3 for regression coefficients). Further, we found a significant main effect of RWA, qualified by the predicted significant RWA \times national context interaction. Simple slope analyses revealed a positive association between RWA and perceived cultural threat among individuals who read about the Arizona law [$b = .69$, $t(123) = 5.50$, $p < .001$], but not among individuals who read about the Singapore law [$b = .14$, $t(123) < 1$, $p = .320$].

Similarly, to test whether SDO and RWA predict perceived competition by condition, we regressed perceived competition on SDO, RWA, the national context variable ($-1 =$ Singapore law, $1 =$ Arizona law), and the product terms (SDO \times national context and RWA \times national context). We found significant main effects of SDO and RWA, but the interaction terms were not significant (see Table 3 for regression coefficients).

Table 3. Multiple Regression Coefficients Predicting Perceived Cultural Threat and Economic Competition (Study 3)

Predictors	<i>b</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Study 3 Predicting Cultural Threat – National Sample (N = 132)				
SDO	.41	.38	5.08	<.001
RWA	.42	.32	4.02	<.001
National Context	-.08	-.06	-0.92	.357
SDO \times National Context	-.14	-.13	-1.89	.062
RWA \times National Context	.27	.21	3.09	.002
Study 3 Predicting Economic Competition – National Sample (N = 132)				
SDO	.36	.30	3.53	<.001
RWA	.40	.28	3.02	.003
National Context	.05	.03	0.48	.632
SDO \times National Context	-.02	-.02	-0.25	.803
RWA \times National Context	.12	.08	1.07	.286

Note. Nondichotomous variables were centered. National context was coded with $-1 =$ foreign nation (Singapore) and $1 =$ own nation (Arizona, USA). We controlled for the following participant characteristics: political ideology, participant race, and income.

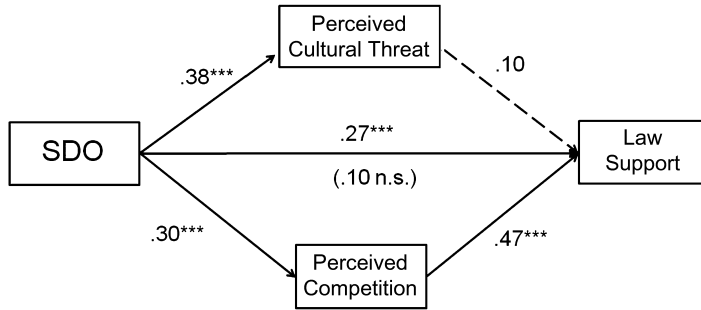


Figure 3. Study 3: Multiple mediation model of the effect of SDO on Law Support. Path values represent standardized regression coefficients. The coefficient above the path from SDO to Law Support represents the direct effect with no mediators in the model. The coefficient below the path represents the direct effect when both mediators are included in the model. The dashed line represents a nonsignificant pathway. *** $p < .001$.

We then tested the proposed mediational pathway between SDO and law support (collapsed across national context). Because SDO significantly predicted both perceived cultural threat and perceived competition, we tested both variables as potential mediators. Specifically, we estimated the indirect effect of SDO on law support in a multiple mediator model with perceived cultural threat and perceived competition as mediators, controlling for RWA and the $RWA \times$ national-context product term (with 5,000 bootstrap samples; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). As shown in Figure 3, in support of hypotheses, the indirect effect of SDO on law support through perceived cultural threat was not reliable, bias-corrected 95% CI $[-.03, .12]$, whereas we found a reliable indirect effect of SDO on law support through the proposed mediator, perceived competition, bias-corrected 95% CI $[.05, .27]$.⁶ That is, consistent with predictions, the effect of SDO on law support was mediated by perceived competition.

To test the potential mediator of the moderated effect of RWA on law support, we conducted analyses to examine moderated mediation using the method developed by Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007). Because we predicted, and found, that national context moderates the relationship between RWA and perceived cultural threat as well as the relationship between RWA and law support, we tested whether RWA's influence on law support is mediated by perceived cultural threat. Specifically, we calculated the indirect effect of RWA on law support, through perceived threat, separately within each national context condition, controlling for SDO and the $SDO \times$ national-context product term (with 5,000 bootstrap samples). In support of hypotheses, RWA had a reliable indirect effect on law support through perceived cultural threat for participants in the Arizona law condition, $z = 3.70$, $p < .001$, bias-corrected 95% CI $[.13, .39]$, but this effect was not found for participants in the Singapore law condition, $z = 0.96$, $p = .336$, bias-corrected 95% CI $[-.04, .16]$. That is, consistent with predictions, perceived cultural threat mediated the association between RWA and domestic-law support.

Considered in tandem, the present results provide further evidence that RWA predicts willingness to support a strict immigration law in the context of domestic immigration, but not foreign immigration, despite examining a different foreign context than in the previous studies. SDO, by contrast, predicts willingness to support a strict immigration law regardless of where the policy takes effect. Further, consistent with Duckitt and Sibley (2010), the present results suggest that perceived threat to cultural norms and values accounts for the association between RWA and law support in the domestic context.

⁶ Conducting analyses with separate, single-mediator models found that if tested separately (without the other construct included as a mediator in the model), both perceived cultural threat and perceived competition are significant mediators of the effect of SDO on law support, 95% CI $[.08, .28]$ and 95% CI $[.07, .27]$, respectively.

General Discussion

In both student and national samples, the present work explored how RWA and SDO relate to support for strict, if not persecutory, immigration policies as a function of the policy's national context. Indeed, our findings offer a compelling, ecologically valid demonstration of these relations using an experimental paradigm that made use of actual immigration policies. Thus, the present work explored not only who is likely to support strict immigration policies like Arizona's SB 1070, but also whether national context moderates such support. Taken together, the findings suggest that SDO is positively associated with greater willingness to support a policy that may negatively affect minority immigrants, regardless of the national context of the policy. Further, we found evidence that perceived competition mediated the relation between SDO and policy support (irrespective of national context). The association between RWA and willingness to support such policies, however, was moderated by the national context; RWA predicted policy endorsement only when the policy pertained to domestic immigration. Further, perceived threat to the *ingroup's* culture/values mediated this relation between RWA and domestic-law support.

Taken together, the present findings advance our understanding of the conditions under which SDO and RWA are likely to predict different intergroup outcomes (e.g., Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Thomsen et al., 2008). Most notably, our data suggest that RWA will predict U.S. citizens' attitudes towards current "Arizona-style" laws developing across the United States, but not similar policies in other nations. Further, our findings suggest that addressing concerns about perceived threat and competition may reduce support for strict immigrant laws by tackling different motivational underpinnings of anti-immigrant sentiment among high-RWA and high-SDO individuals, respectively. While the present research points to this and other intriguing possibilities, future research is needed to examine possible interventions to effect such attitude change.

Although we found evidence that the lack of perceived threat in the foreign immigration context is likely to account for and certainly contribute to the failure for RWA to predict foreign immigration policy support, we acknowledge that other factors may also play a role in shaping decisions as complex as immigration-policy preferences. For example, it is possible that individuals high in RWA have trouble identifying with any out-group members, including the foreign nationals who are likely to be affected by immigration to their country. Consequently, high-RWA individuals may have trouble taking the perspective of such foreign nationals who may indeed feel threatened by immigration to their country. Of course, this possibility is not inconsistent with our own reasoning. Indeed, to the extent that individuals are as highly identified with a foreign nation as they are with their own nation, one may expect for their levels of RWA to predict the threat they perceive from immigrants to this foreign nation and, thus, also their support for strict immigration policies in that nation. Future research, perhaps with a sample of individuals with dual citizenship, is needed to consider such a possibility. Another point that should be mentioned is that the policies put forth in foreign contexts were put forth by national bodies, compared to the state-level Arizona policy. While ideally we would have explored responses to immigration policies at the national-level context (at "home" and abroad), we were interested in examining reactions to actual policies, and no such national policy currently exists in the United States. Perhaps future studies, examining alleged proposed legislation, could explore the question of whether the level at which a policy is enacted (i.e., city, state, country, etc.) affects its endorsement, and by whom. Moreover, we hope that future studies are able to reveal any and all psychological-component processes that shape these complex policy decisions.

We should also note that although the present work examined participants' endorsement of some of the most extreme, persecutory anti-immigration policies, mean levels of support for these persecutory actions in the current research were relatively low. Nevertheless, recent behaviors and proposals for policing the U.S.-Mexico border suggest that some individuals do indeed respond to immigration in extreme and sometimes violent ways (e.g., Camia, 2011; Sterling, 2011). As the

foreign-born populations of the United States and many other countries continue to increase, debates over immigration policy are also likely to increase in number and ferocity. Exploring the individual difference and situational factors that influence policy support and anti-immigrant sentiment, therefore, is particularly timely and will become important to shaping policies that are both fair (i.e., nonpersecutory) and effective.

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Supporting Information

Additional Supporting Information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher's web-site:

Supplemental Materials. Full list of law support items from Study 1.

Supplementary Materials. Experimental Manipulation Full Text.

Supplemental Table 1. Zero-order correlations by condition (Top of diagonal = Domestic condition, Bottom of diagonal = Foreign condition).