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## The Melting Pot Versus the Salad Bowl: American Attitudes Toward Acculturation of Middle Eastern Immigrants

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE MELTING POT VERSUS THE SALAD BOWL: AMERICAN ATTITUDES  
TOWARD ACCULTURATION OF MIDDLE EASTERN IMMIGRANTS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS  
PROGRAM IN APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

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We can have no 'fifty-fifty' allegiance in this country. Either a man is an American and nothing else, or he is not an American at all.

–President Theodore Roosevelt

Men may change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religions, their philosophies, to a greater or lesser extent. They cannot change their grandfathers.

–Horace Kallen

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## ABSTRACT

Since the formation of the United States of America the debate over the environment of America as a melting pot in which immigrants assimilate or as a salad bowl in which immigrants acculturate rages on. Acculturation in its conceptual definition is dualistic, meaning it affects not just the immigrating group but also the host culture group (Berry, 1990). In most research, however, acculturation only refers to the change in the acculturating group and not to the host culture group. This study examined the multidimensionality of attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants through an investigation of intergroup relations (threat, perceived group permeability) and individual differences (national identity, brain hemispheric dominance). Results revealed positive attitudes toward contact, cultural maintenance and tolerance are most affected by nationalism and perceived permeability between American and Middle Eastern groups. Brain hemisphere dominance failed to display a linear relationship with tolerance or acculturation strategy preference.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

The desire to create a nation free of prejudice and discrimination is central to the history of the United States of America. Early on, America was hailed as a nation of immigrants, a melting pot or a salad bowl referring to the nation's diverse cultural environment. This multi-cultural background, however, began the debate: Should immigrants assimilate to create a metaphorical melting pot or should immigrants aggregate with previous cultures to establish an American salad bowl? Since its inception, the melting pot versus salad bowl dispute has received boisterous opinions from numerous scholars and laymen alike. In 1818, the then Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, famously wrote of the American immigrants, "They must cast off their European skin, never to resume it" (Adams, 1964). Not all Americans, however, agreed with this sentiment of assimilation but focused rather on a need for biculturalism. Writer Randolph Bourne wrote, "there is no distinctively American culture. It is apparently our lot rather to be a federation of cultures" (Bourne, 1916). As evidenced by the recent signing of a stringent immigration law in Arizona, the debate over the state of America's immigration culture is increasingly ubiquitous. Over two centuries since its origin, America is still divided on its perspective toward immigration policies, cultural preservation and heritage.

While the nature of American immigration and acculturation norms should theoretically occur universally, history has instead depicted ethnic disparities in attitudes toward American immigrant culture. During the late 1800s, for example, Chinese immigrants were the victims of such ethnic prejudice culminating in the Chinese Exclusion Act; the first major law restricting immigration of any kind to the United States (Dee, 1878). Unfortunately, this was only the first of many restrictive immigration norms continuing still today. In 1924, the Johnson Immigration Act, a restrictive revision to the 1921 Immigration Act, was passed into law against only six dissenting votes. This legislation successfully restricted immigration of those ethnicities deemed “unassimilable” into American culture. This resulted in the effective marginalization of immigrants of non-Western European descent. Laws such as these set a precedent against cultural integration and for assimilation of only specific cultural groups. These laws translated easily into American culture with many in the public rising to the defense of the racist statutes.

When xenophobic legislation such as this is passed unprovoked, it is conceivable that drastic attitude and norm changes would occur when an ethnic group actually possesses a plausible or actual threat to the United States. The bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 clearly identified an active threat to the American public by a specific foreign country. This threat almost immediately translated into extreme prejudice both within legislation and public discourse. As a result, over one-hundred thousand immigrants and descendents of Japan were mandated to be relocated and interned in War Relocation Camps (Burgan, 2007). These internees, the majority of whom were American citizens,

in fact possessed no viable threat to the United States or the American people. Regardless of this, the internees were subjugated to forcible removal from their homes, deteriorating conditions in the camps, infringements of their civil liberties, and extreme cases of violence (Burgan, 2007). Once the threat had passed and America had declared victory in Japan and overseas, the prejudice leading toward the internment of American citizens remained. It was not until 1999, fifty seven years since the first internment of Japanese Americans began, that the reparations program for those interned successfully ended and closed the door on the remnants of Japanese American prejudice brought upon by the attacks of Pearl Harbor. In our current era, however, a second attack on American soil in world history has brought yet another ethnic group to the center of American fear and prejudice.

The attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001 forced the American public to develop or alter attitudes toward a newly important ethnic group. Once the rubble of the attacks was cleared, Americans were adamantly searching for the perpetrators of these horrific attacks against their nation. Then President George W. Bush addressed the nation in numerous speeches declaring Islamic extremists the architects and executioners of the September 11th attacks. Almost immediately, prejudice, racism, and violence were directed toward the Arab and Muslim communities. At a demonstration in Illinois, a young man declared his hatred of Arabs and patriotism for the United States as if they were synonymous with one another. In New York, a Lebanese-American man searching for survivors in the ruins of the World Trade Center was profanely accosted by a man shouting, "Go back to your country, you . . . Arabs"

(Thomson, 2001). While not all Americans shared this hateful sentiment, it was clear a redefinition of attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants and their acculturation strategies was occurring.

Over ten years have passed since the terrorist attacks on September 11th and while the messages of hate and violence have dissipated, it is uncertain if the negative attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants have faded as well. It took over half a century for the ethnic group deemed responsible for the first attack on American soil to be redeemed in the eyes of the law for the injustice they experienced. Currently, debates on how Americans should treat and view Muslim and Arab Americans in the United States have reached Presidential levels requiring top leaders of the nation to speak. How long and to what depths this particular ethnic group experiences internal prejudice is unknown. The question remains: Have the American people learned from their immigrant past and hysteria surrounding Pearl Harbor or do the American people still continue to react with prejudicial attitudes and acculturation norms toward Middle Eastern immigrants?

### **Problem Statement**

America as a nation is still undecided on its acculturation norms toward Middle Eastern immigrants allowing a great number of variables to influence attitudes and acculturation strategies. While history depicts hostile and often prejudicial reactions toward immigrants, there is little scientific inquiry into the mechanisms through which attitudes are formed and changed toward Middle Eastern immigrants. These attitudes are multidimensional and include desired cultural maintenance of immigrant home culture,

desired immigrant contact with host culture, and tolerance of immigrants. Desired contact with immigrants does not equate to embracing the immigrating group but rather simply maintaining contact with them. I hypothesized a variety of individual (i.e., nationalism, brain hemispheric dominance) and intergroup (i.e., threat, perceived permeability of group boundaries) variables would best explain American attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants.

### **Literature Review**

The term acculturation refers to groups of individuals from a different culture coming into “continuous first hand contact” and exchange of customs with another cultural group (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Acculturation in its conceptual definition is dualistic, meaning it affects both the immigrating group and the host culture group. In most research and literature, however, acculturation refers to the change in the immigrating group (hence forth known as the acculturating group) and not to the host culture group (Berry, 1990). Early theoretical models of acculturation theorized assimilation, the shedding of one’s previous culture in favor of the new host culture, was the only end result the acculturating group could achieve (Taylor, 1991). Park (1950) theorized acculturation was a process of assimilation occurring in four stages: contact, competition, accommodation and lastly assimilation. Other assimilationist theorists distinguished different modes of assimilation. Gordon (1964) established seven types of assimilation which can occur at different times and speeds depending on each acculturating individual. As theories of acculturation progressed, the assimilationist

perspective was in turn rejected in favor of the multiculturalism perspective of acculturation.

From the multiculturalism school of thought, Berry (1997) lays out four differing mediums in which acculturation can occur for the acculturating group: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. These acculturating strategies are differentiated by the acculturating group's degree of cultural maintenance of original culture and contact with the host group which is illustrated in Table 1 below. As evidenced by the framework, contact and cultural maintenance are not necessarily incompatible with one another. These stages of acculturation, when amalgamated with the previous assimilationist framework explain acculturation as a process rather than as a typology. An individual would not necessarily be fixated at one type of acculturation but rather be free to move between acculturation strategies. The strategy of assimilation is adopted when the acculturating group dissolves its former cultural identity and adopts the new culture as its own.

Separation, in contrast, occurs when the acculturating group avoids contact with the new culture and places a stronger emphasis on maintaining its previous culture. Contact with the host culture while maintaining one's previous culture is defined as integration. In this case, the acculturating group places importance on both cultural maintenance and interactions with the host culture. For purposes of this study, integration is renamed biculturalism in an effort to adopt more acceptable terminology as recommended by other acculturation researchers (Triandis, 1997). Lastly in the acculturation matrix is the option of marginalization. This acculturating strategy entails

little to no desire (or in some instances, ability) to maintain the previous culture and little or no interest (or ability) to establish a relationship with the new culture.

Table 1. Berry's Acculturation Strategy Framework.

	<b>Low or no original cultural maintenance</b>	<b>High original cultural maintenance</b>
<b>Contact host group</b>	Assimilation	Biculturalism
<b>No contact with host group</b>	Marginalization	Separation

These strategies of acculturation do not occur in a vacuum, however, and are subject to internal and external pressures from both the acculturating group and the host group. Marginalization can occur due to host group pressure in which the host culture does not allow for the maintaining of the acculturating groups' culture or establishing any relationship with the host group. For example, in support of the 1924 Immigration Act, Senator Ellison Smith addressed Congress arguing for a marginalizing approach toward immigrants by stating "we have sufficient stock in America now for us to shut the door" (Smith, 1924). Marginalization can also occur, however unlikely, due to the acculturating groups' desire to avoid contact with the host group and low interest in maintaining cultural heritage. While previous research focuses mostly on the presence of one of the four acculturation strategies, the nature of the employed strategy and its relationship with other attitudes toward the acculturating group has not been fully examined (Rohnman, Piontkowski, & Van Randerborgh, 2008; Piontkowski, Rohmann,



& Florack, 2002). Therefore the purpose of the current study from Berry's multiculturalism perspective, examines the effects of both intergroup relations and individual differences on the host groups' attitudes toward and preferred acculturation strategies of Middle Eastern immigrants.

Tolerance is another theoretical indicator of attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Overt tolerance in the United States is mandated by the first amendment to the constitution which declares persecution on the basis of religious freedom illegal (Beneke, 2006). The American cultural norm of tolerance, however, has historically failed to translate into the eradication of intolerance for outgroups. The recent debate on whether or not to build an Islamic cultural center near Ground Zero, the site of the September 11th attacks on the United States, exemplifies the ambiguity of tolerance in the United States. Former U.S. Congressman Newt Gingrich said of the construction of the Islamic center, "We as Americans don't have to tolerate people who are supportive of violence against us. . . This is not about religious liberty." Based on this type of rhetoric, an evident schism exists between law and cultural practice of tolerance toward outgroups, specifically Middle Eastern immigrants, in the United States.

In its most basic definition, tolerance refers to the capacity or practice of acknowledging and respecting the beliefs and practices of others (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English language, 2000). Theoretically, tolerance refers to the outward acceptance, but not necessarily the inward acceptance, of a specific outgroup. An individual, therefore, could outwardly support members of a specific outgroup yet maintain inward disapproval of the group as a whole. An example of this phenomenon

could be an individual who publically supports gay rights, perhaps even going as far as to appear in rallies or vote for pro-gay rights issues. This individual's personal thoughts and feelings, however, may be negative toward gays. While this may be an overly embellished example of the phenomenon, an individual still need not both overtly and inwardly tolerate outgroups. Through a psychological analysis of tolerance, a deeper understanding of the processes through which attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants are formed or changed can be attained.

### **Intergroup Relations**

In discussing attitudes and acculturation strategies, it is only natural to examine variables which involve intergroup relations. Threat is one such intergroup variable which may have an effect on the attitudes and the type of approved or espoused acculturative strategy. Research has demonstrated that perceived threat of foreign groups can influence the host group's attitudes toward a specific immigrant group (Rohnman, Piontkowski, & Van Randerborgh, 2008; Davies, Steele, & Markus, 2008; Jackson, Brown, Brown, & Marks, 2001). Throughout American history, the effect of foreign threat has manifested itself in forms including internment camps for Japanese and German immigrants after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. After the attacks on the United States on September 11th, Middle Eastern and Arab immigrants became victim to the effects of a foreign threat to the United States. It was these prejudicial reactions which presumably prompted then President George W. Bush to attempt to reduce tensions by proclaiming just two days after the attacks on the United States in 2001 to treat Middle Eastern immigrants, Arabs, and Muslims Americans with respect (Bush, 2001).

According to Berry's (1997) theory of acculturation, pressure from the host culture to adopt a specific acculturation strategy will result in the acculturating group adopting the desired strategy. For example, an open host group which experiences no foreign threat from the acculturating group will allow for the acculturating group to adopt any acculturation strategy the group may desire. A host group which experiences a foreign threat from the acculturating group, however, may approve only of the assimilation or marginalization approaches (e.g., become one of us or become none of us) rather than the bicultural or integration approaches. This will in turn force the acculturating group into one of the host group's approved strategies. Prior to September 11th, no viable threat from the Middle East existed in the public sphere. Once the threat presented itself, however, those perceived to be of Middle Eastern or Arab descent appeared to experience a forcible marginalization on behalf of the host American culture group.

While this degradation of Middle Eastern immigrants in a post-9/11 America is evidenced through reports of violence and prejudice soon after the attacks, the lasting effects of a foreign threat on attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants a decade later has yet to be examined. It is possible the effect may only present itself after an initial threat has occurred. After public discourse and awareness of the inaccuracies of these negative attitudes, subsequent threats from the same target group may not present the same presence or magnitude of negative attitudes. On the other hand, however, subsequent threats may strengthen the negative attitudes toward the target immigrant group thus increasing the desire to marginalize or assimilate Middle Eastern immigrants. Regardless, the relationship of threat will yield critical information about attitudes,

acculturation norms, and strategy preference of Middle Eastern immigrants in the United States.

A second variable which may possess an effect on attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants is perceived group permeability. Several studies have examined the effects of perceived permeability of the host group and has established a relationship among perceived group permeability, threat, and acculturation (Akiyama, 2003; Leong, 2006; Van Wagenen, 2008; Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer, & Perzig, 2009). One such study conducted by Ellemers et al. (1988) found perceived group permeability of the majority group affected the ability for low-status individuals (i.e., immigrant population) to assimilate into the high-status group (i.e., host population). These results pose the question how perceived permeability of the acculturating group can affect the desired contact on behalf of the host group.

Relatively unstudied, however, is how perceived permeability of the host group by the host group can affect attitudes toward an immigrant population. For example, perceived permeability of Americans by Americans may in fact affect how attitudes are formed about an immigrant group such as Middle Easterners. Theoretically, perceived group permeability can take on different forms such as social or identity permeability. Most research, however, has focused almost primarily on social permeability (Florack, et al., 2009; Ellemers, et. al. 1988). This form of permeability is concerned with the perceived ability to socialize with and among another group. Heritage permeability, however, is concerned with the perceived ability to become a member of another heritage group. By incorporating permeability of an heritage identity with social permeability, a

more comprehensive understanding of perceived permeability of both the host and acculturating groups and their subsequent relationships with attitudes toward the outgroup will be attained. These effects, whether they be directly affected by ingroup or outgroup perceived permeability, should be examined both independently and in combination with threat.

### **Individual Differences**

The exploration of cognitive and neurophysiological aspects may also lead to greater understanding of attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Recent studies have proposed that brain hemispheric dominance may play a role in the flexibility or concreteness of beliefs and thoughts. This is based on the theory that attitude evaluation is dependent on inter-hemispheric interaction (Christman, Henning, Geers, Proper, & Niebauer, 2008). Those with increased hemispheric interaction are more able to update thoughts, beliefs and attitudes with new information making them more cognitively flexible. Those with less hemispheric interaction, conversely, are less able to update and are therefore more concrete or stable in their attitudes, beliefs and thoughts. Recent research has provided evidence for this theory in correlations between handedness (an indicator of brain hemispheric dominance) and beliefs in creationism and evolution (Niebauer, Christman, Reid, & Barve, 2004).

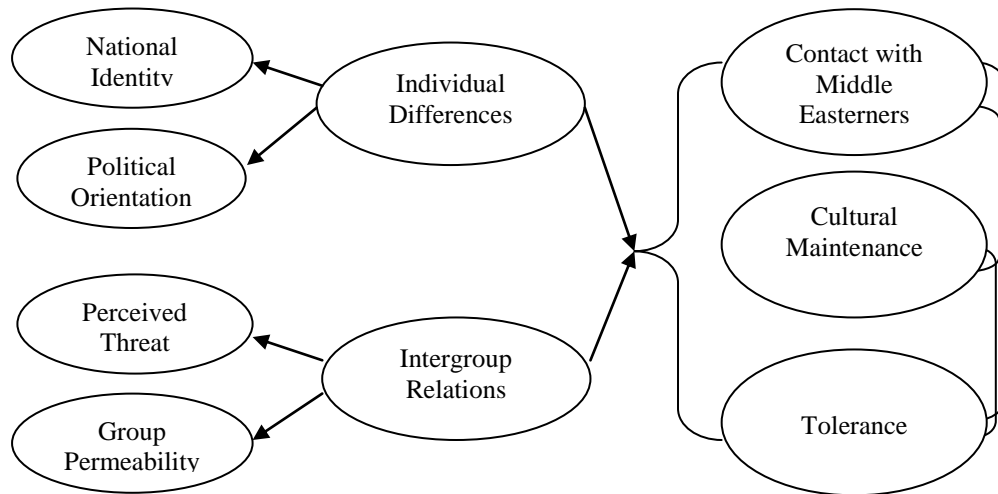
This theory can be extrapolated to acculturation and attitude research to examine the degree of contact and cultural maintenance with respect to individual brain hemispheric dominance. Host group members with less inter-hemispheric interaction would be apt to approve of acculturation strategies high in cultural maintenance (i.e.,

biculturalism, separation) low in contact (i.e., separation, marginalization) than those with more inter-hemispheric interaction. In regards to attitudes, those with brain hemispheric dominance may have lower tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants than those with less brain hemispheric dominance. As of yet, however, this possible relationship remains unexamined.

National identity is another individual variable which consistently maintains a relationship with attitudes (Davies, Steele, & Markus, 2008; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). As a concept, national identity is most often times defined as nationalism. It is vital, however, to also include patriotism within the definition of national identity to achieve the most accurate appraisal of how national identity affects acculturation strategies. While related, patriotism and nationalism are two significantly different constructs. Nationalism is characterized by “chauvinistic arrogance,” feelings of superiority and the desire for control in international affairs (Li & Brewer, 2004).

Consistent with negative out-group attitudes and inflated positive in-group attitudes, nationalism can manifest in prejudice and bigotry. Patriotism, however, is characterized by pride and love of one’s country without the negative outgroup attitudes associated with nationalism (Li & Brewer, 2004). Taken together, nationalism and patriotism will establish a more comprehensive conceptualization of national identity and a more accurate description of its role with attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants.

Figure 1. Pictorial Representation of the Theoretical Framework of the Independent and Dependent Variables.



### Hypotheses

Contact and cultural maintenance are expected to be positively related with tolerance. The theory behind this hypothesis is that the more desired contact or cultural maintenance will be associated with higher levels of tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Also, higher tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants would allow for a higher outward acceptance of the immigrants' culture, practices, and beliefs but not necessarily lead to inward approval or acceptance. Cultural maintenance and contact, however, are hypothesized to be negatively correlated with one another. Hypotheses regarding mediating and moderating variables are outlined and divided by intergroup relations and individual differences below.

### **Intergroup Relations**

The first hypothesis involving intergroup relations posits that when a foreign threat is induced, participants will have overall negative attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Americans are thus predicted to produce lower ratings of tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants, favor low cultural maintenance, and contact acculturation strategies, (i.e. marginalization). Threat will thereby facilitate Americans to rely on conservation and desire low to no contact with, or cultural maintenance by the perceived threatening outgroup (e.g., Middle Eastern immigrants).

A second group of intergroup relations hypotheses theorize low perceived permeability of Americans by Americans will be positively related to cultural maintenance. This is to say that if the ability to become a member of the American group appears to be difficult by the group members themselves, Americans will encourage culture maintenance of Middle Eastern immigrants. Tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants is expected to be positively predicted by perceived permeability of the host group. Perceived permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants is also hypothesized to positively predict contact and tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Based upon prior research, these relationships between perceived permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants and attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants are hypothesized to be moderated by threat.

### **Individual Differences**

In regards to individual difference variables, the degree of brain hemispheric dominance is posited to be negatively related to cultural maintenance and contact



strategies. Strong brain hemispheric dominance is related to a lowered ability to update new ideas and a higher likelihood to express concreteness of thoughts. Americans higher in brain hemispheric dominance would therefore be less likely to be open to cultural maintenance or contact with a new culture. Stronger brain hemispheric dominance is also hypothesized to be negatively related with tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants. The concreteness of beliefs and inability to be open to new ideas would thus force individuals to desire Middle Eastern immigrants to separate from American culture. The second individual difference hypothesis posits nationalism will be negatively related with contact, cultural maintenance, and tolerance. This is hypothesized due to the conservative nature of nationalism which encompasses both inflated positive ingroup attitudes and negative outgroup attitudes. Americans high in nationalism are therefore hypothesized to favor their ingroup and degrade the outgroup such that cultural maintenance, contact and tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants are negatively appraised.

Patriotism is expected to be positively related to contact and negatively related to cultural maintenance. The negative relationship with cultural maintenance is hypothesized due to patriotism's shared conservative value with nationalism. Patriotism is unique from nationalism as it does not operate the same negative outgroup attitudes. Therefore, desired contact and tolerance are not hypothesized to be negatively related with patriotism as they were with nationalism.

CHAPTER TWO  
METHODS AND PROCEDURES

**Sampling**

This study used convenience sampling of one hundred thirty-eight undergraduate students from Loyola University Chicago. Participants were recruited through either Experimentrix or fliers posted around campus. Psychology 101 students recruited through Experimentrix received course credit for their involvement while those recruited through poster fliers received one entry into a raffle for a seventy-five dollar Visa gift card. Participants were self-identified as being American born and were randomly assigned to either the threat or control condition before beginning the survey.

**Instrumentation**

*Attitudes Toward Middle Eastern Immigrants*

For the purposes of measurement of acculturation strategies, an altered Vancouver Index of Acculturation was employed (see Appendix A). This measure included subscales measuring the degree of contact and cultural maintenance. Each item was coded as being high or low in either cultural maintenance or contact. This measure has been widely utilized in an array of acculturation research and withstood validity and reliability scrutiny (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). The altered Vancouver Index of Acculturation measured the degree of desirability of the specific acculturation strategies

rather than acculturation behavior (e.g., “I often participate in my Middle Eastern traditions” was altered to read “Middle Eastern immigrants should often participate in their Middle Eastern traditions”).

Tolerance was measured through a six item scale created for this study to ascertain the degree of inward and outward acceptance of the outgroup. Each item addressed either inward or outward approval of Middle Eastern immigrants. The items were measured on a seven point bipolar scale assessing the participants’ agreement to each statement (see Appendix B).

### **Intergroup Relations**

#### **Threat**

Mock U.N. press releases operated to instill either a threat or a control manipulation (see Appendix C). In both conditions, the prompts included a U.N. press release template to enhance credibility. The threat condition described an international threat to the internal stability of the United States in relation to Middle Eastern nations. Specifically, the threat outlined a verbal incitement for violence toward the United States provoked by the annual release of the U.N. Development Report which ranked the United States eleventh overall. All information provided was ensured to be accurate including names, ranks, and the United States’ U.N. Development score. The control manipulation altered only the source of the incitement of violence from Middle Eastern extremist groups to American extremist groups. The purpose of including such a manipulation was to induce a comparable degree of anxiety. This inclusion excludes anxiety as a cause of any possible effect. Following the manipulation, a manipulation check assessed whether

participants read, understood, and believed the press release to be valid. Pilot testing was conducted to ensure a threat was induced from the manipulation.

### Perceived Permeability

To measure perceived permeability, participants rated on a seven point bipolar scale their agreement with statements measuring two different types of permeability: ethnic permeability and social permeability. Social permeability was assessed by the completion of the items, “It is easy to socialize with groups of Americans” and “It is easy to socialize with groups of Middle Easterners.” These items were used in previous studies examining perceived permeability and have exhibited high internal reliability. To attempt to understand the multifaceted nature of perceived permeability, two items were crafted to measure perceived permeability of an ethnic group. Ethnic permeability was assessed by the following items: “If a Middle Eastern person is born in America and has grown up in American culture, he or she is an American” and “If an American is born in the Middle East and has grown up in Middle Eastern culture, he or she is a Middle Easterner.”

### Individual Differences

#### Brain Hemispheric Dominance

The measurement of brain hemispheric dominance occurred through the completion of multiple surveys measuring handedness, footedness, and eyedness. Studies have suggested indicators of brain hemispheric dominance such as eyedness or footedness are more accurate due to the lack of societal pressure to utilize one foot or eye over the other as there exists for handedness (Elias & Bryden, 1998; Chapman, L.J., &

Allen, 1987; Bhushan & Khan, 2006). Other research has shown varying degrees of the relationships of handedness, footedness, and eyedness to brain hemispheric dominance. This study, therefore, incorporated multiple measures to accurately assess brain hemispheric dominance (Bhushan & Khan, 2006; Elias & Bryden, 1998; Christman, Henning, Geers, Propper, & Niebauer, 2008). The handedness survey was a modified version of the Edinburg Handedness Measure, incorporating new and previously tested items to gain the most comprehensive and valid measure of handedness (Niebauer, Christman, Reid, & Barve, 2004; Dragovic, 2004). Footedness was assessed through a modified Waterloo Footedness Questionnaire, again incorporating new and previously employed items (Elias & Bryden, 1998; Chapman, L.J., & Allen, 1987). Similarly, eyedness was measured by including both new and previously tested items (Bhushan & Khan, 2006). These measures were chosen for this study for their frequent utilization in hemispheric research, simple implementation, and for the purposes of creating a new and more comprehensive measure of brain laterality.

### National Identity

Measurement of national identity was obtained through subscales of patriotism and nationalism. The patriotism subscale was measured through the Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) patriotism scale which retains high internal validity in recent studies (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Li & Brewer, 2004). The nationalism subscale of national identity was measured by the combined Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) and Smith and Kim (2006) National Pride items to ensure high convergent validity. Both subscales included twelve items all measured on a seven point bipolar scale ranging from

strongly disagree to strongly agree.

### **Procedure**

Once recruited from Experimentrix, participants provided consent for their participation within the study. Following obtaining consent, the participants received a booklet which contained background instructions for completing the study and all previously discussed research materials. Participants first completed a demographics survey including items identifying: country of origin, sex, age, religious affiliation, religious importance, years lived within the United States, and occurrences of being confused as having a different ethnic background (used to indirectly measure how “foreign” the individual appears). Prior to completing any other measures, participants received either a threat or control manipulation. Participants were told the manipulation was a brief statement on current American affairs which all participants read to ensure a baseline starting point for the study. Upon completion of the manipulation, the participants completed; the brain hemispheric dominance measures, altered VIA, national identity measures, permeability items, and tolerance measure. Lastly, participants completed a manipulation check ensuring the participants read, understood, and believed the content of the manipulations. Debriefing forms were given to each subject upon completion of the study explaining the activities, purposes, and manipulations administered. Participants were given one psychology course credit for their participation within the study if recruited through Experimentrix or one raffle entry if recruited through a flier.

## CHAPTER THREE

### DATA ANALYSIS

Reliability analyses found acceptable internal consistency for patriotism ( $\alpha = .91$ ), nationalism ( $\alpha = .84$ ), and tolerance ( $\alpha = .84$ ). Measures of contact ( $\alpha = .86$ ), cultural maintenance ( $\alpha = .88$ ), handedness ( $\alpha = .96$ ), footedness ( $\alpha = .81$ ), and eyedness ( $\alpha = .90$ ) all required item omission to boost reliability. To present a background for the research in terms of the hypotheses, Table 2 provides the matrix of first-order correlations. Although these correlations are indicative of the study outcomes, the research hypotheses were systematically tested using sets of multiple regression analyses. Results of these regression analyses are provided in Tables 3, 4, and 5, and discussed in the narratives following each stated hypothesis.

#### **Hypothesis Testing**

##### Attitudes Toward Immigrants

*Hypothesis: Contact and cultural maintenance are positively related with tolerance and negatively related with one another.*

Surprisingly, investigation of the indicators of attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants found measures of acculturation attitudes, contact, and cultural maintenance, to be highly correlated with one another ( $r = .79, p < .01$ ). Tolerance was not significantly correlated with contact with Middle Eastern immigrants ( $r = .14, ns$ ), and was only moderately correlated with cultural maintenance ( $r = .23, p < .01$ ). To examine the effects

of the intergroup relations and individual variables on attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants, a simultaneous multiple regression was conducted. This analysis was conducted due to the absence of a theoretical basis for considering any one variable before another in the model. Taken together, the intergroup and individual variables significantly predicted 14.1% of the variance in contact,  $F(8,155) = 3.18, p < .01$ . Cultural maintenance was also significantly predicted by the variables with 10.9% of the variance accounted for by the model,  $F(8,154) = 2.35, p < .05$ . Finally, the variables explained the most variance in tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants with 43.7% of the variance accounted for by the model,  $F(8,155) = 15.01, p < .001$ .

Table 2. Correlation Coefficients among Dependent and Independent Variables.

	<b>Tolerance</b>	<b>Contact</b>	<b>Cultural Maintenance</b>
<i><b>Intergroup Relations</b></i>			
<b>Threat</b>	-.08	-.12	-.15*
<b>Social Permeability of MEIs</b>	.42**	.21**	.15*
<b>Ethnic Permeability of MEIs</b>	.12	.09	.12
<b>Social Permeability of Americans</b>	-.06	.21**	.15*
<b>Ethnic Permeability of Americans</b>	.32**	.10	.14*
<i><b>Individual Differences</b></i>			
<b>Nationalism</b>	-.36**	.24**	.17*
<b>Patriotism</b>	.00	.28**	.26**
<b>Eyedness</b>	-.04	.01	.05
<b>Footedness</b>	-.13	-.07	-.08
<b>Handedness</b>	-.09	.03	.02
<i><b>Demographic Information</b></i>			
<b>Religious Importance</b>	-.01	.16*	.15*
<b>Political Orientation</b>	.25**	-.08	-.00

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .



Table 3. Predicting Contact from Intergroup and Individual Variables using Simultaneous Regression.

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<i>Intergroup Differences</i>			
<b>Threat</b>	-1.79	1.31	-.11
<b>Social Permeability of Americans</b>	-.16	.60	-.03
<b>Social Permeability of MEIs</b>	1.21	.51	.22*
<b>Ethnic Permeability of Americans</b>	.62	.71	.09
<b>Ethnic Permeability of MEIs</b>	-.15	.57	-.03
<i>Individual Differences</i>			
<b>Nationalism</b>	.18	.07	.25**
<b>Patriotism</b>	.02	.06	.03
<b>Brain Hemispheric Dominance</b>	.02	.03	.04

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

Table 4. Predicting Cultural Maintenance from Intergroup and Individual Variables using Simultaneous Regression.

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<i>Intergroup Differences</i>			
<b>Threat</b>	-2.49	1.26	-.16*
<b>Social Permeability of Americans</b>	.04	.57	.01
<b>Social Permeability of MEIs</b>	.70	.49	.14
<b>Ethnic Permeability of Americans</b>	.41	.70	.06
<b>Ethnic Permeability of MEIs</b>	.22	.55	.04
<i>Individual Differences</i>			
<b>Nationalism</b>	.13	.06	.19*
<b>Patriotism</b>	.02	.06	.03
<b>Brain Hemispheric Dominance</b>	.02	.03	.04

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

Table 5. Predicting Tolerance from Intergroup and Individual Variables using Simultaneous Regression.

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<i>Intergroup Differences</i>			
<b>Threat</b>	-.09	.79	-.01
<b>Social Permeability of Americans</b>	-1.73	.36	-.36**
<b>Social Permeability of MEIs</b>	2.46	.31	.60**
<b>Ethnic Permeability of Americans</b>	1.26	.43	.25**
<b>Ethnic Permeability of MEIs</b>	-.20	.34	-.05
<i>Individual Differences</i>			
<b>Nationalism</b>	-.16	.04	-.30**
<b>Patriotism</b>	.08	.04	.16*
<b>Brain Hemispheric Dominance</b>	.00	.02	.00

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

#### Intergroup Relations

*Hypothesis: Foreign threat will induce overall negative attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants.*

Threat did present an effect in approval ratings of cultural maintenance of Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = -2.49$ ,  $\beta = -.16$ ,  $p < .05$ . Those experiencing a foreign threat originating in the Middle East, therefore, reported lower desired cultural maintenance of Middle Eastern immigrants. Surprisingly, foreign threat failed to significantly predict ratings of contact,  $B = -1.79$ ,  $\beta = -.11$ , ns. Threat also failed to possess a significant effect on participants' tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = -.09$ ,  $\beta = -.01$ , ns. The presence of a foreign threat therefore reduces desired cultural maintenance of Middle Eastern immigrants yet is irrelevant regarding desired contact with and tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants. While these effects on contact and tolerance were not significant, they did tend to be in the expected negative direction.

*Hypothesis: Perceived permeability will be positively related to cultural maintenance and tolerance.*

Of the measures of perceived permeability, ethnic permeability of Americans and Middle Eastern groups failed to significantly predict ratings of contact with Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = .62$ ,  $\beta = .09$ , ns;  $B = -.15$ ,  $\beta = -.03$ , ns. Both ethnic permeability of Americans and Middle Easterners also failed to significantly predict desired cultural maintenance of Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = .41$ ,  $\beta = .06$ , ns;  $B = .22$ ,  $\beta = .04$ , ns. Likewise, perceived permeability of the Middle Eastern ethnicity did not significantly predict ratings of tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = -.20$ ,  $\beta = -.05$ , ns. Perceived ethnic permeability of Americans, however, did positively predict tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = 1.26$ ,  $\beta = .25$ ,  $p < .005$ . The higher the perceived ethnic permeability of Americans, therefore, the higher the participants rated their tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants.

Secondly, perceived social permeability of Americans failed to present any significant relationship with contact,  $B = -.16$ ,  $\beta = -.03$ , ns. Perceived social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants did, however, positively predict desired contact with Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = 1.21$ ,  $\beta = .22$ ,  $p < .05$ . Therefore, the easier it appears to become a social member of a Middle Eastern immigrant group, the more contact participants desired to have with Middle Eastern immigrants. The same relationship is not present between cultural maintenance and perceived social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = .70$ ,  $\beta = .14$ , ns. Similarly, perceived social permeability of

Americans did not predict cultural maintenance,  $B = .04$ ,  $\beta = .01$ , ns. Perceived social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants, however, positively predicted tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = 2.46$ ,  $\beta = .60$ ,  $p < .01$ . Those who perceived the social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants to be high also had higher ratings of tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants. Unexpectedly, tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants was also negatively predicted by perceived social permeability of Americans,  $B = -1.73$ ,  $\beta = -.36$ ,  $p < .01$ . Participants perceiving the permeability of American social groups, consequently, also had lower tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants.

#### Individual Differences

*Hypothesis: Brain hemispheric dominance will be negatively related with cultural maintenance, contact, and tolerance.*

To determine the relationship brain hemispheric dominance has with attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants, both linear regression and curvilinear regression analyses were examined. Linear analyses failed to find any relationship between brain hemispheric dominance and contact ( $B = .02$ ,  $\beta = .04$ , ns), cultural maintenance ( $B = .02$ ,  $\beta = .04$ , ns), or tolerance ( $B = .00$ ,  $\beta = .00$ , ns). This result indicates a difference between strong left versus strong right hemisphere individuals does not exist. To further explore the nature of the relationship between brain hemispheric dominance and attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants, curvilinear analyses were conducted to examine the differences in attitudes among strongly right and left hemispheric individuals and non-hemispheric dominant individuals.

Curvilinear analysis unexpectedly revealed a non-significant relationship between brain hemispheric dominance and contact,  $F(2, 163) = .27$ , ns. This unexpected finding similarly presented itself for cultural maintenance,  $F(2, 162) = .90$ , ns. Attitudes toward the acculturation of Middle Eastern immigrants, therefore, appears to be unaffected by brain hemisphere dominance. Tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants, was also unpredicted by brain hemispheric dominance,  $F(2, 163) = 1.26$ , ns.

*Hypothesis: Nationalism will be negatively related with contact, cultural maintenance, and tolerance while patriotism will be positively related with contact and negatively related with cultural maintenance.*

In regards to national identity, patriotism and nationalism were found to share twenty-three percent of their variance with one another ( $r = .48$ ,  $p < .001$ ). They both, however, possessed different relationships with attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. For example, contact was positively predicted by nationalism ( $B = .18$ ,  $\beta = .25$ ,  $p < .05$ ) but not patriotism ( $B = .02$ ,  $\beta = .03$ , ns). Cultural maintenance, however, was not related with patriotism ( $B = .02$ ,  $\beta = .03$ , ns), but positively predicted by nationalism ( $B = .13$ ,  $\beta = .19$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Lastly, tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants was negatively predicted by nationalism ( $B = -.16$ ,  $\beta = -.30$ ,  $p < .001$ ) but positively predicted by patriotism ( $B = .08$ ,  $\beta = .16$ ,  $p < .05$ ). While higher patriotism significantly increased tolerance, higher nationalism significantly decreased tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants.

### Moderation Hypotheses

*Hypothesis: The relationship between perceived permeability and attitudes toward immigrants is moderated by threat.*

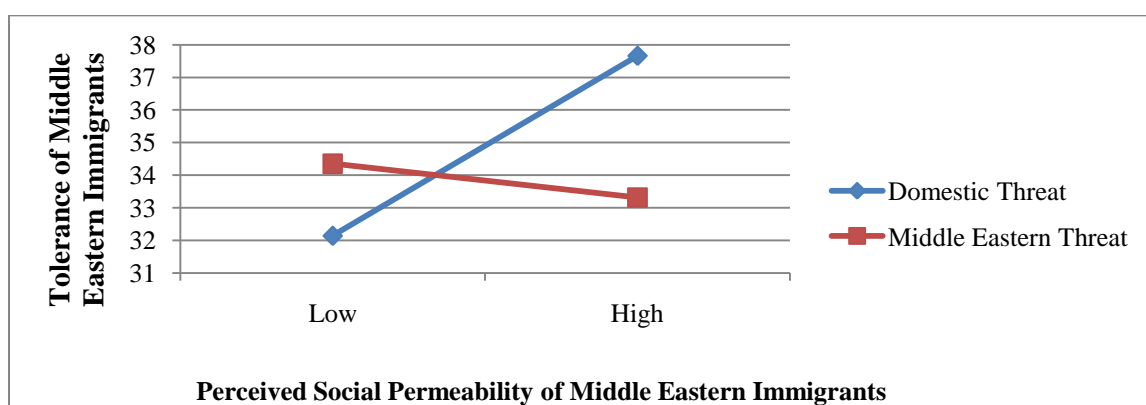
Previous research suggests a moderation effect of threat on the relationship of perceived permeability and acculturation attitudes. Unexpectedly, after centering the variables, analyses revealed non-significant interaction terms for both tolerance and cultural maintenance in relation to threat and perceived social and ethnic permeability. Furthermore, perceived ethnic permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants failed to yield significant interaction terms. The relationship between perceived social permeability and contact with Middle Eastern immigrants revealed, as hypothesized, a significant moderation by threat.

Analyses revealed a non-significant main effect of threat type predicting contact with Middle Easterners,  $B = -1.35$ ,  $\beta = -.08$ ,  $t(198) = -1.11$ , ns. The main effect of social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants predicting contact, however, was significant,  $B = 1.67$ ,  $\beta = .30$ ,  $t(198) = 3.31$ ,  $p < .01$ . The analysis also revealed a marginally significant Threat X Social Permeability of Middle Easterners 2-way interaction predicting contact,  $B = -1.54$ ,  $\beta = -.17$ ,  $t(198) = -1.89$ ,  $p < .06$ . This suggests the relationship between social permeability of Middle Easterners and tolerance differs across origin of threat.

Post-hoc probing of the marginally significant interaction term found social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants significantly predicted contact toward Middle Easterners for those experiencing a domestic threat,  $B = 1.67$ ,  $\beta = .30$ ,  $t(102) = 3.15$ ,

$p < .005$ . For those experiencing a foreign threat, however, social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants did not significantly predict tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants,  $B = .14$ ,  $\beta = .02$ ,  $t(96) = .23$ , ns. Figure 2 represents the simple slope analyses for the significant interaction.

Figure 2. Predicting Contact with Middle Eastern Immigrants from Perceived Social Permeability of Middle Eastern Immigrants and Threat Origin.



### Forward Regression Analyses

To determine the strongest predictors of attitudes toward immigrants, I conducted a series of forward multiple regressions. A forward regression was chosen to determine the best set of predicting variables as no theory as to which would best predict attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants has emerged in the literature thus far. Also, due to the multicollinearity of the set of independent variables, this type of analysis reduces the redundancies in the correlations among the predicting variables. As seen in Table 6, after controlling for variance, desired contact with Middle Eastern immigrants was positively predicted by patriotism ( $B = .12$ ), perceived social permeability of Americans ( $B = 1.16$ ), and nationalism ( $B = .11$ ). Converging these results, patriotism, perceived social

permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants, and nationalism explained thirteen percent of the variance in desired contact with Middle Eastern immigrants ( $R^2=.130$ ).

Table 6. Predicting Contact from Intergroup and Individual Variables using Forward Multiple Regression.

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<b>Step 1</b>			
<b>Constant</b>	34.93	2.83	
<b>Patriotism</b>	.18	.05	.27***
<b>Step 2</b>			
<b>Constant</b>	30.56	3.15	
<b>Patriotism</b>	.17	.04	.26***
<b>Social Permeability of Middle Eastern Immigrants</b>	1.12	.38	.20***
<b>Step 3</b>			
<b>Constant</b>	28.69	3.26	
<b>Patriotism</b>	.12	.05	.19*
<b>Social Permeability of Middle Eastern Immigrants</b>	1.16	.38	.21***
<b>Nationalism</b>	.11	.06	.15*

Note:  $R^2=.07$  for Step 1,  $\Delta R^2= .04$  for Step 2,  $\Delta R^2= .02$  for Step 3 ( $p<.05$ ). \* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p<.01$ , \*\*\* $p<.005$ .

The series of forward regressions continued with an examination of the strongest predictors of cultural maintenance of Middle Eastern immigrants as seen in Table 7. This regression revealed cultural maintenance was positively predicted by social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants ( $B=.79$ ), and patriotism ( $B =.15$ ). The entered variables combined explain approximately eight percent of the variance in cultural maintenance ( $R^2=.082$ ).



Table 7. Predicting Cultural Maintenance from Intergroup and Individual Variables using Forward Multiple Regression.

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<b>Step 1</b>			
<b>Constant</b>	33.66	2.75	
<b>Patriotism</b>	.16	.04	.25**
<b>Step 2</b>			
<b>Constant</b>	30.58	3.08	
<b>Social Permeability of Americans</b>	.15	.04	.29**
<b>Threat Type</b>	.79	.37	.15*

Note:  $R^2=.06$  for Step 1,  $\Delta R^2= .02$  for Step 2 ( $p<.05$ ). \* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p<.001$ .

The last of the series of regressions as presented in Table 8, tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants was positively predicted by perceived social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants ( $B=2.20$ ), perceived ethnic permeability of Americans ( $B=1.11$ ), and patriotism ( $B=.11$ ). Tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants was negatively predicted by nationalism ( $B= -.21$ ), and perceived social permeability of Americans ( $B= -1.47$ ). Out of the indicators of attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants, tolerance was explained the most in regards to the dependent variables with approximately forty-three percent of the variance accounted for by the predictors in the model ( $R^2=.427$ ).

### Examining Demographic Information

A series of analyses were conducted to investigate the relationships to attitudes about Middle Eastern immigrants of various demographic characteristics such as religion and political orientation. As shown in Table 2, higher religious importance was unrelated to tolerance but slightly positively related to both desired contact with and cultural maintenance by MEIs. Also, more liberal political orientation was positively related to tolerance but unrelated to both desired contact and maintenance. It was, however, hypothesized, that the main predictors of brain hemispheric dominance, national identity,

permeability, and threat would be stronger predictors of attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants rather than the collected demographic information. Including religious importance and political orientation to the regression models did not significantly add anything to the original models.

Table 8. Predicting Tolerance of Middle Eastern Immigrants from Intergroup and Individual Variables using Forward Multiple Regression.

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<b>Step 1</b>			
Constant	26.06	1.31	
Social Permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants	1.83	.29	.41**
<b>Step 2</b>			
Constant	34.81	1.93	
Social Permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants	1.781	.27	.40**
Nationalism	-.21	.04	-.35**
<b>Step 3</b>			
Constant	27.43	2.45	
Social Permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants	1.63	.26	.37**
Nationalism	-.20	.03	-.34**
Ethnic Permeability of Americans	1.29	.28	.26**
<b>Step 4</b>			
Constant	30.31	2.51	
Social Permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants	2.15	.29	.48**
Nationalism	-.16	.03	-.27**
Ethnic Permeability of Americans	1.31	.28	.27**
Social Permeability of Americans	-1.27	.35	-.24**
<b>Step 5</b>			
Constant	28.04	2.56	
Social Permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants	2.20	.28	.49**
Nationalism	-.21	.04	-.36**
Ethnic Permeability of Americans	1.11	.28	.23**
Social Permeability of Americans	-1.47	.35	-.28**
Patriotism	.11	.03	.21*

Note:  $R^2$  = .17 for Step 1,  $\Delta R^2$  = .12 for Step 2,  $\Delta R^2$  = .07 for Step 3,  $\Delta R^2$  = .04 for Step 4,  $\Delta R^2$  = .03 for Step 5 ( $p < .005$ ). \* $p < .005$ , \*\* $p < .001$ .

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Contrary to previous research, the subscales of acculturation, contact and cultural maintenance, were not found to be negatively related with one another (Berry, 1990). Rather, cultural maintenance and contact were strongly positively related with one another. This suggests Americans reject assimilation or separation acculturation strategies in favor of bicultural or marginalization strategies toward Middle Eastern immigrants. This finding could be indicative of the curious nature of the college aged sample in relation to new cultures and people. It may be a small glimpse of an evolution of attitudes toward the acculturation of Middle Eastern immigrants within the United States across age. Another explanation for this finding is that Americans presently desire a more multicultural “salad bowl” than a metaphorical melting pot in relation to Middle Eastern immigrants.

The relatively weak positive relationship shared with tolerance, however, is cause to include measures of both explicit and implicit attitude measures of Middle Eastern immigrants in future studies. These weak relationships with tolerance may be indicative of implicit attitude ambivalence where individuals possess both positive and negative attitudes toward a specific attitude object but are either unaware of this ambivalent conflict or reject one of the opposing evaluative reactions as representative of their attitude (Petty & Brinol, 2008). This exact sentiment was echoed by an American

protester on a recent CNN broadcast who powerfully yelled “I don’t hate them (i.e., Middle Easterners) but they don’t have to live here.” While on the surface it appears Americans may be evolving into a more culturally open group, further examination into both implicit and explicit attitudes may reveal Americans as privately maintaining some negative attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants.

### **Intergroup Relations**

#### Threat

Cultural maintenance and contact, while strongly correlated, were related to somewhat different mixtures of positive and negative intergroup relations predicting factors. Also, tolerance, which was only slightly positively related to the preferences for the two acculturation strategies (and significant only for cultural maintenance) showed varied relationships with the predictors. For example, a foreign threat originating in the Middle East significantly negatively affected preference for cultural maintenance by Middle Eastern immigrants, was only marginally negatively related to preference for contact, and not at all related to tolerance. American tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants, therefore, is formed independent of any foreign threat originating from the Middle East. The results indicate a slight, non-significant trend toward less desired contact when the threat is from the Middle East.

These findings should be taken into consideration when drafting immigration reform, policies, or news broadcasts referencing or in the background of a perceived threat from the Middle East. For example, media outlets may want to decrease the sensationalism of reporting on irrelevant or unconfirmed threats from the Middle East

towards America to reduce the public's reaction to these perceived threats. Public policy and immigration laws may also want to consider the historical background for which they are crafted. Reducing hasty legislation in the wake of a threat of the Middle East could possibly end policies directed at marginalization and separation.

### Perceived Permeability

In regards to attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants, it is irrelevant to Americans if the Middle Eastern culture is open, accepting, or accommodating. Threat origin, however, was found to significantly moderate this relationship between tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants and perceived ethnic permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants. For those who perceived a threat originating within the United States, the more difficult it appears to become a member of a Middle Eastern culture, the lower the tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Conversely, the easier it appears to become a member of a Middle Eastern culture, the higher the tolerance for those perceiving a threat to the United States from within the nation. Those experiencing a threat originating within the Middle East, however, have no relationship existing between perceived ethnic permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants and tolerance. If the threat is from the Middle East, Americans do not seem to care if a culture is inviting to determine tolerance. Rather, when the threat is outside of the Middle East, Americans use the perceived openness of the Middle Eastern culture to form or alter tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants.

Perceived social permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants, however, was found to be one of the strongest predictors of tolerance and the acculturation subscale of contact

independent of threat. Therefore, the easier it appears to socialize with and become a social member of a Middle Eastern immigrant group, the more contact Americans wish to have with Middle Eastern social groups. If the groups appear to be more difficult to socialize with, however, Americans are more resistant to desiring contact with Middle Eastern immigrants. Likewise, tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants is reduced if the groups appear to be relatively exclusive or unsociable. Conversely, the perceived ease of sociability of Middle Eastern immigrants has a small and non-significant effect on the desired maintenance of immigrant culture. By reducing the perceived difficulty to socialize with Middle Eastern immigrant groups, it is possible to increase the degree of desired contact and tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants on behalf of Americans.

Perceived social permeability of Americans, however, displayed a different pattern of results. While acculturation norms were unaffected, perceived social permeability of Americans was among of the strongest predictors of tolerance. Unexpectedly, increasing the perceived ease of sociability of Americans decreased the tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants. Tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants will, therefore, only increase if socializing with Americans is perceived to be relatively difficult. Americans who perceive it to be difficult to become a social member of American groups may overemphasize their tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants. Conversely, Americans who perceive it to be easy to socialize and become a member of an American social group may feel Middle Eastern immigrants have not earned or deserve their tolerance. During the period of the great migration of immigrants in the United States, for example, it appeared to be relatively easy to socialize with and become

a member of American groups. Rampant intolerance, however, also prevailed during this era with strongly bigoted sentiments. This finding may therefore describe intolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants as a function of the perceived ease of mobility and social integration with Americans.

Similar to perceived ethnic permeability of Middle Eastern immigrants, perceived ethnic permeability of Americans did not affect acculturation attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Tolerance, however, was again affected by perceived ethnic permeability of Americans. The easier it appears to become a member of the American heritage, the higher the tolerance toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Tolerance toward Middle Easterners may change here due to Americans perceiving the difficulty of becoming an American as an agreed upon social norm. Therefore, if it is difficult for Middle Easterners to become citizens, it is because Americans do not want Middle Easterners to become citizens. On the other hand, if it appears easy for Middle Eastern immigrants to become American citizens, it is due to Americans wanting Middle Easterners to become Americans. Converging the results of perceived American permeability on tolerance, a more open American ethnic culture coupled with more exclusive American social groups will increase tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants.

Not only do these findings provide validation for the use of multiple aspects of perceived permeability, but it provides more evidence for America as a multicultural salad bowl in contrast to a melting pot. When social and ethnic permeability is perceived to be high, Americans in this study were highly tolerant of Middle Easterners becoming a member of their country but less tolerant of Middle Easterners becoming a member of



their social group. These findings depict Americans as tolerant of multiculturalism in their nation but not within their social groups when it is easy to become members of both. The differing results among these two types of perceived American permeability here follow salad bowl pattern: Americans tolerate Middle Eastern cultures joining America but cannot see past cultural origin to tolerate the assimilation of Middle Eastern immigrants within American social groups when permeability of both ethnic and social groups are perceived as high.

### **Individual Differences**

#### **Brain Hemispheric Dominance**

Unexpectedly, brain hemispheric dominance failed to possess any relationship with attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. These findings are inconsistent with previous research concluding evidence of a relationship between brain hemispheric dominance and flexibility in thought (Niebauer et al., 2004). The lack of findings here may have occurred due to flawed theory or poor measurement. Brain hemispheric dominance has not been readily studied specifically in relation to attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. It is possible that brain hemispheric dominance does affect cognitive flexibility but not attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. It is also possible that measurement of brain hemispheric dominance is not as accurate through the method of testing employed in this study. All measurement was self-report which is susceptible to error. Future research may attempt to include non-self-report measures such as observation or brain imaging technology.

## National Identity

Comparing Table 2 with Tables 3, 4, and 5, an interesting pattern emerges among nationalism and patriotism. In Table 2, both nationalism and patriotism have significant positive correlations with both contact and cultural maintenance and a significant negative relationship between nationalism and tolerance and a zero correlation with patriotism and tolerance. In the regression analyses the effects of nationalism on attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants remain constant. Patriotism, however, becomes a slightly significant positive predictor of tolerance and is no longer a positive predictor of either contact or cultural maintenance. The consistency of the results in nationalism but change in results for patriotism could possibly be accounted for by the overlap in the meaning of nationalism and patriotism which is statistically controlled by regression.

While sharing a significant amount of variance with one another, nationalism and patriotism are differentiated by their varying relationships with attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants. Nationalistic individuals desired more contact with and cultural maintenance of Middle Eastern immigrants but were less tolerant of Middle Eastern immigrants. Regression analyses revealed patriotism, however, to only significantly predict tolerance and not attitudes toward acculturation strategies of Middle Eastern immigrants. Therefore, the more important element of American national identity related in acculturation strategies of Middle Eastern immigrants is not how emotionally attached one is to America but rather the love of one's nation coupled with the derogation of all other nations. This type of national identity is related with lowered tolerance of Middle Eastern immigrants, which is unsurprising due to nationalism's chauvinistic nature.

Startlingly, however, is that higher desired contact with Middle Eastern immigrants is related with nationalism. This may be a factor of again an instance of the melting pot diminishing in importance in current American attitudes in favor of a multicultural nation.

### **Limitations and Delimitations**

One limitation of this study, as stated before, is the emphasis on self-report measures. While self-report measures can be easily manipulated by the participant, they remain easily rendered and inexpensive to administer. A second limitation to the study is the method of sampling for the study. Convenience sampling of college students lacks strong external validity as it cannot be fully generalizable to the population. Due to the sole use of college students, the results may be endemic to college students and not generalizable to the United States' population as a whole. Acculturation may be a process which changes throughout different stages of life which would be missed without a more age diverse sample. Future studies may examine the generalizability of these results across ages and country origin. Also, the results here appear to be missing elements which could aide in tying together the factors affecting Middle Eastern immigrants more tightly together. Future studies should thus include indicators of the amount and quality of the contact or interactions with Middle Easterners and Middle Eastern immigrants. The inclusion of such variables may help to account for the pattern of results obtained here.

### **Significance of Study**

This study may lead to findings which are vital to research in cross-cultural

psychology, cultural groups, American policies toward immigration, and the study of immigrants in America. Findings suggest the portrayal of issues in the media and from reputable news sources (in this study, the U.N.) can have damaging effects on internal multi-cultural cooperation. With conflict arising in the Middle East in Libya, Yemen, and Syria, it is progressively more important to understand what affects our attitudes toward Middle Eastern immigrants in our own nation. Future studies should use the present findings to aid in illuminating the complexity of American evaluations of Middle Eastern immigrants and acculturation strategies. With the debate raging on in the United States on acculturation norms, it has never been more important to examine the causes and effects of acculturation strategies in America.

APPENDIX A  
ACCULTURATION MEASURES

Please answer each item with the following terminology in mind. The term *American* refers to an individual born and raised in the United States. Terms regarding *Middle Easterners* or *people from the Middle East* refer to an individual who was born in the Middle East and immigrated to the United States. Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling *one* of the numbers to the right of each question to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement.

Use the following key to help guide your answers:

- 1- Strongly Disagree
- 2- Moderately Disagree
- 3- Slightly Disagree
- 4- Neither Agree or Disagree
- 5- Slightly Agree
- 6- Moderately Agree
- 7- Strongly Agree

1. Others should often participate in their Middle Eastern traditions.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

2. Others should participate in mainstream American cultural traditions.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

3. Americans should be willing to marry a person from the Middle East.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

4. People from the Middle East should be willing to marry an American person.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

5. Americans should enjoy social activities with people from the Middle East.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

6. Middle Easterners should enjoy social activities with typical American people.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

7. Middle Easterners should be comfortable working with people from their heritage culture.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

8. Middle Easterners should be comfortable working with typical American people.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

9. Middle Easterners should enjoy entertainment (e.g., movies, music) from the Middle East.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

10. Middle Easterners should enjoy American entertainment (e.g., movies, music).

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

11. Middle Easterners should often behave in ways that are typical of their heritage culture.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

12. Middle Easterners should often behave in ways that are 'typically American.'

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

13. It is important for people from the Middle East to maintain or develop the practices of their heritage culture.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

14. It is important for people from the Middle East to maintain or develop North American cultural practices.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

15. Middle Easterners should believe in the values of their heritage culture.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

16. Middle Easterners should believe in mainstream North American values.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

17. Middle Easterners should enjoy the jokes and humor of their heritage culture.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

18. Middle Easterners should enjoy typical American jokes and humor.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7



19. Middle Easterners should be interested in having friends from their heritage culture.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

20. Middle Easterners should be interested in having American friends.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

*\*Note.* The *cultural maintenance subscore* is the mean of the odd-numbered items, whereas the *contact subscore* is the mean of the even-numbered items.

APPENDIX B  
TOLERANCE MEASURES

Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling *one* of the numbers to the right of each question to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement. The term *American* refers to an individual born and raised in the United States. Terms regarding *Middle Easterners* or *people from the Middle East* refer to an individual who was born in the Middle East and immigrated to the United States.

Use the following key to help guide your answers:

- 1- Strongly Disagree
- 2- Moderately Disagree
- 3- Slightly Disagree
- 4- Neither Agree or Disagree
- 5- Slightly Agree
- 6- Moderately Agree
- 7- Strongly Agree

1. I care about Americans.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

2. I generally feel safe and secure in the company of Americans.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

3. Middle Eastern immigrants should be allowed to express their beliefs and customs even if native born Americans disapprove of them.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

4. I would feel threatened living in a neighborhood primarily populated with Middle East immigrants.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

5. I publicly respect Middle Eastern immigrants, their culture and their customs.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

6. Americans should be allowed to express their beliefs and customs even if Middle Easterners disapprove of them.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

7. I generally feel safe and secure in the company of Middle Eastern immigrants.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

8. I publicly respect Americans, their culture or their customs.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

9. I would feel threatened living in a neighborhood primarily populated with Americans.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

10. I care about Middle Eastern immigrants.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

11. I would feel upset if some other people believed that I was a Middle Eastern immigrant.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

12. I would feel upset if some other people believed that I was a native born American.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

APPENDIX C  
THREAT MANIPULATION

Threat Manipulation:

31 August 2010



Security Council  
SC/10019

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Department of Public Information • News and Media Division • New York

## Security Council Press Statement on the United States

The following press statement on the United States was issued today by Council President Vitaly Churkin (Russian Federation):

The members of the Security Council are concerned in the strongest terms the verbal attack on the United States by Middle Eastern nations in response to the annual release of the U.N. Human Development Report.

The members of the Security Council expressed their concerns for the continued safety of the United States as tensions escalate. Middle Eastern extremists cited the Development Report, which ranks the United States 11<sup>th</sup> overall, as ‘proof’ that the United States is no longer a great country and incited citizens to take up violence. The members of the Security Council reiterated their condemnation of all acts of violence and incitement to violence against civilians.

The members of the Security Council strongly condemned the recent increased incitement to violence, reiterated their full support for the United States and its efforts to achieve peace, security and reconciliation throughout the world.

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For information media • not an official record

Control Manipulation:

31 August 2010



Security Council  
SC/10019

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Department of Public Information • News and Media Division • New York

## Security Council Press Statement on the United States

The following press statement on the United States was issued today by Council President Vitaly Churkin (Russian Federation):

The members of the Security Council are concerned in the strongest terms the verbal attack on the United States by American extremist groups in response to the annual release of the U.N. Human Development Report.

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The members of the Security Council strongly condemned the recent increased incitement to violence, reiterated their full support for the United States and its efforts to achieve peace, security and reconciliation throughout the world.



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While at Loyola, Hannah presented numerous posters at MPA and APS on her research. Hannah also served as a poster reviewer for SPSP in 2010. In 2010, Hannah was award the Psychology Graduate Student Research and Professional Development Award. Currently, Hannah lives in Chicago, Illinois and works as a project coordinator for the Sit, Stay, Read program in Chicago public schools.