

## Evaluating the Character of People Who Insult the Nation: Implications for Immigrant Integration

**Rahsaan Maxwell**

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

**Lucie House**

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

---

*We examine immigrant integration by analyzing how natives evaluate immigrants' character. Most literature examines how natives distinguish between immigrants with different levels of assimilation, which is best suited to identifying integration boundaries between different types of immigrants. We shift the analysis and examine the boundary between immigrants and natives, which measures integration by the extent to which immigrant status is relevant for character evaluations. We compare how natives respond to national insults that come from immigrants as opposed to natives. We focus on insulting the nation because it highlights the salience of national identity and clarifies the importance of group boundaries. We measure responses to national insults with vignette experiments from three original surveys in the United States. Our results are consistent with situationist theories of interpersonal interactions because they suggest that character evaluations are more dependent on the situational distinction between people who do and do not insult the nation than the demographic distinction between whether the insult comes from a native or immigrant. These findings have multiple implications for our understanding of national identity, immigrant integration, and immigrant-native boundaries.*

---

**KEY WORDS:** immigrant integration, assimilation, boundaries, national insults, USA, situationist, national identity

Immigrant integration is the process by which immigrants become part of the host society (Alba & Foner, 2015). Natives' evaluations of immigrants are a key indicator of how immigrant integration is proceeding because those evaluations are the gateway to full acceptance in mainstream society (Gordon, 1964). When natives discriminate against immigrants because of their foreign origins it has wide-ranging implications for immigrant labor-market outcomes (Riach & Rich, 2002), political engagement (Dancygier, Lindgren, Oskarsson, & Vernby, 2015; Street, 2013), and social network formation (Schildkraut, 2014). Therefore, even if immigrants acculturate by adopting host society cultural practices and norms, full integration into mainstream society is unlikely to succeed when natives judge immigrants negatively because of their foreign origins.

There is extensive research on natives' evaluations of immigrants, particularly on natives' attitudes about whether (and which) immigrants should be allowed to enter the country (Enos, 2014; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015; Newman, Hartman, & Taber, 2012; Wright & Citrin, 2011). There is also a growing body of research on which immigrants are worthy of being considered full members of

the national community (Lessard-Phillips & Sobolewska, 2017; Maxwell, 2017; Schachter, 2016). However, these approaches mostly compare immigrants with different levels of assimilation and do not examine the conditions under which foreign origins are relevant for natives' evaluation of immigrants. There is considerable research on the distinction between immigrant and native labor-market outcomes (Borjas, 1987; Chiswick, 1978; Heath & Cheung, 2007), but we know much less about how foreign origins may shape natives' evaluations of immigrants during daily interactions. This oversight is unfortunate because interpersonal relations are the backbone of how immigrant integration is experienced in daily life (Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2010). Therefore, larger societal tensions, mistrust, and alienation are more likely to exist when immigrants are evaluated differently because of their foreign origins.

In this article, we use a series of vignette experiments from three original surveys in the United States to analyze how natives evaluate immigrants (as opposed to natives) who insult the nation. This comparison provides insight on the extent to which foreign origins are relevant for natives' evaluations. There is some evidence that foreign origins are relevant for character evaluations among natives who strongly identify with the nation. However, the main result is that character evaluations are more dependent on the situational distinction between people who do and do not insult the national identity than the demographic distinction between whether the insult comes from a native or immigrant.

### *Insulting the Nation*

The key to our analytical strategy is that we analyze how natives evaluate the character of immigrants and natives who perform the same behavior. We focus on insulting the nation because it should highlight the salience of national identity and clarify the importance of group boundaries. In part, this is because humans are motivated to view their ingroup as high status (Tajfel, 1974). Therefore, insults to the nation should increase the salience of national identity and evokes sharp boundary distinctions between ingroup and outgroup members (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Brewer, 1991). For example, political entrepreneurs have long used the mobilizing power of perceived insults to the nation as a way of stigmatizing their enemies and rallying their supporters (Albertson & Gadarian, 2015; Hurst, 2015). National insults are useful for studying the salience of foreign origins because they are a moment of explicit boundary making.

National insults are also useful because real-world examples suggest that natives are sensitive to national insults coming from both immigrants and natives. Starting in the early 2000s, North African-origin soccer fans in France began booing the French national anthem before games between French and North African teams. The insults sparked national outrage and a debate about whether the immigrant-origin fans were betraying their adopted country and forsaking the possibility of integration (Dubois, 2010). However, natives are also sensitive to insults from fellow natives. When the American pop singer Ariana Grande was caught on camera saying "I hate Americans. I hate America," it quickly became a national controversy that led many to boycott her music because she was viewed as a traitor (Mandell, 2015).

Our data are from the United States, a country with a long history of immigration. The success of immigrant integration in the United States has varied over time and across different immigrant groups, so the question of when immigrants are more likely to be integrated remains salient in national debates (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Schildkraut, 2010; Tichenor, 2002). We compare evaluations of national insults that come from Anglo-American natives or Mexican immigrants. Given the wide range of immigrant communities in the United States, our results do not necessarily generalize to all immigrants. For example, research suggests that racial barriers are important in the United States, and there is often bias against darker-skinned immigrants (Ostfeld, 2017; Portes & Zhou, 1993), but we do not explore variation across different racial groups or skin tones. In addition, immigrants with U.S. citizenship or immigrants who have the legal right to be in the country may be evaluated differently

from those who are not legally in the country (Wright, Levy, & Citrin, 2016), but we do not explore variation across immigrants with different legal status.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, our selection of Mexican immigrants is a group that is often considered one of the most difficult to integrate (Ditlmann & Lagunes, 2014; Pérez, 2010). Therefore, Mexicans are a hard case of immigrant integration which is biased towards finding evidence of salient foreign origins. This means that our result of relatively modest distinctions between immigrants and natives should be consistent across other national-origin groups who are considered easier to integrate.

Our findings have several implications for research on immigrant integration and national identity more broadly. First, our results are consistent with the claim that immigrants have become an accepted part of mainstream American society (Alba & Nee, 2003; Schildkraut, 2014; Theiss-Morse, 2009). This does not imply that all immigrants are perfectly integrated or that there is no discrimination on the basis of foreign origins. However, it does suggest that foreign origins may not be the most important factor when evaluating immigrants' character. Moreover, given our selection of Mexican-origin immigrants, this is a strong test of integration and likely to hold for other immigrant groups as well.

A second contribution is the focus on how evaluations of immigrants can vary according to immigrants' behavior. This is in contrast to most research on natives' attitudes towards immigrants, which focuses on immigrant demographic characteristics like country of origin, religion, language fluency, race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status (Enos, 2014; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015; Helbling, 2014; Wright et al., 2016). These demographic characteristics are important predictors of how natives judge immigrants, but they are also relatively fixed and difficult to change. Therefore, to the extent that demographic predictors are salient they imply that any given immigrant is either integrated or not. In contrast, our findings build on intergroup research about how attitudes and judgments may be as much about the context in which groups interact as they are about fixed individual characteristics (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2013).

Our results also highlight the way in which natives can also be an outgroup in the national community when they insult the nation. This is consistent with literature on the historical development of the nation-state, which has always involved multiple competing internal factions among natives (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 2012). Moreover, we know that there is variation among natives in their national identity attachment and in the extent to which they hold positive or negative feelings about the national community (Hetherington, 2005; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999; Wright, 2011). Therefore, our findings suggest that immigrants are not necessarily the most important national outgroup in all circumstances and that research should explore the multiple cross-cutting national identity boundaries.

### *Hypotheses*

Our main research question is about the importance of foreign origins for the evaluation of immigrants who insult the nation. Existing literature generates four main competing hypotheses that could answer this question.

One hypothesis is that the source of the insult is less relevant than the fact that national identity is being insulted. This is based on research that emphasizes the importance of situational contexts for understanding how people evaluate each other (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934). For any given interaction between two people, the characteristics of those individuals (e.g., personality type, ideology, age, sex,

<sup>1</sup> Research suggests that many Americans associate Latinos with illegal immigration, irrespective of actual immigration or legal status (Levy & Wright, 2016; Pérez, 2010). Therefore, if our results found more negative evaluations for Mexican immigrants (as opposed to natives) who insult the nation, it would not be clear how to interpret the results. The negative evaluations could be due to the foreign origins or the assumption that the Mexican was an illegal immigrant. Yet, our results find no difference in how immigrants and natives are evaluated when they insult the nation, so assumptions about legal status are not a concern for our analysis.

race, or national origins) may not be the best predictors of how they will act. Instead, the dynamics of their interaction may be more dependent on the structure of the situation. For example, are they competing against each other, are they cooperating, does one person have a higher status, or is one person insulting the other (L. Ross & Nisbett, 1991)? The nuances of this research program are about the ways in which specific situations should be more or less important than various individual-level characteristics (M. Carter & Fuller, 2016). For the purposes of this article, insulting the nation should be a salient situation because it is a direct challenge to an important social identity (e.g., nationality) and therefore may elicit strong defensive responses (Druckman, 1994; Ellemers, 1993). This leads to the following hypothesis:

*H1:* Natives will be equally negative about the character of immigrants and natives who insult the nation.

A second perspective is that immigrants will be evaluated more negatively than natives for insulting the nation. This is based on the assumption that immigrants are the fundamental outgroup in any national community (Bail, 2008; Schildkraut, 2014). A wide range of research finds that the immigrant-native distinction is relevant in daily life and that natives are very sensitive to markers of immigrants' foreign origins (e.g., language use, skin color, or cultural and religious practices) because they are perceived as threats to the integrity of the national community (Enos, 2014; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015; Hopkins, 2015; Newman et al., 2012; Newman, Hartman, & Taber, 2014). In addition, there is well-established literature on the tendency for all individuals to view their ingroup (in this case natives) more favorably than an outgroup (in this case immigrants) (Tajfel, 1974, 1982). Therefore, natives should have psychological incentives to preserve positive views about their ingroup (fellow natives) and be more likely to disregard examples of negative insulting behavior from those fellow natives as anomalies that do not deserve much consideration (Brewer, 1999; Chen & Xin Li, 2009). In contrast, nothing will prevent natives from responding negatively to insults from immigrants because of their outgroup status (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, & Tajfel, 1979; Brewer, 1979).

*H2:* Natives will be more negative about the character of immigrants (as opposed to other natives) who insult the nation.

A third possibility is that natives will be evaluated more negatively than immigrants for insulting national identity. This has been called the "black sheep effect" and is based on the logic that ingroup deviants (fellow natives) pose a greater threat than outgroup deviants (immigrants) because ingroup deviants challenge the uniformity and positive social identity of their ingroup (Marques & Paez, 1994; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). In addition, natives may hold fellow natives to a higher standard and have more expectations for their commitment to the national community. Higher expectations can then generate greater punishment when those expectations are violated (Bettencourt, Dill, Greathouse, Charlton, & Mulholland, 1997; Jussim, Coleman, & Lerch, 1987; Kernahan, Bartholow, & Bettencourt, 2000). In contrast, it may be easy for natives to dismiss insults from immigrants, because that type of behavior that is expected from someone not committed to the national community (Bail, 2008; Schildkraut, 2014). This leads to the third hypothesis:

*H3:* Natives will be more negative about the character of fellow natives (as opposed to immigrants) who insult the nation.

A final possibility is that evaluations depend on how strongly natives are attached to their national identity. Group identities shape how people see the world (Conover, 1984), and when individuals are

more attached to an identity, it is usually more relevant for their opinions and attitudes (Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 2001). This suggests that natives with strong national identity attachment should have the strongest reactions to national insults because they are the most invested in the identity (Li & Brewer, 2004; Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, & Christ, 2007; Voci, 2006). Moreover, the distinction between strong and weak identifiers may be especially relevant for our study because our goal is to examine the relationship between national insults and national identity boundaries. However, it is not clear whether strong identifiers should be more negative about immigrants or natives who insult the nation. Strong identifiers may react more negatively to insults from immigrants because their strong attachment to the nation makes them more negative about members of an outgroup (Brewer, 1979; Tajfel, 1974). Yet strong identifiers may also react more negatively to insults from fellow natives. Strong identifiers have the most invested in a positive social identity for their ingroup so they should have higher expectations for fellow ingroup members. This could lead strong identifiers to react more negatively when natives clash with expectations by insulting the nation (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Rullo, Presaghi, & Livi, 2015). This leads to the following two hypotheses.

*H4a:* Natives who strongly identify with the nation will be more negative about the character of immigrants (as opposed to other natives) who insult the nation.

*H4b:* Natives who strongly identify with the nation will be more negative about the character of fellow natives (as opposed to immigrants) who insult the nation.

### Data

Our data are from a series of vignette experiments in three online surveys. Table 1 presents an overview of the three studies. Our goal is to study how natives evaluate national insults so our respondents are all non-Hispanic, White U.S.-born American citizens aged 18 or older. There are non-Whites who are native to the United States, but there is evidence that non-Whites and Whites have different national-identity-attachment dynamics (N. Carter & Pérez, 2016), so we leave the exploration of non-White reactions to national insults for future investigation.<sup>2</sup> Studies 1 and 2 are nationally representative samples of our target population, and Study 3 is a convenience sample of students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.<sup>3</sup>

For studies 1 and 2, we commissioned two separate samples from the firm Qualtrics. Qualtrics contracts with several third-party providers who each maintain panels of over 1 million potential respondents.<sup>4</sup> As seen in Table 1, study 1 has 1,019 respondents, and study 2 has 1,575 respondents. The surveys were fielded with quotas to generate samples that are nationally representative by sex, age, and education.<sup>5</sup> For study 3, subjects were recruited from a large introductory course in which students were required to participate in three hours of research. This yields a sample of 362 respondents which is not nationally representative (we discuss the implications of potential sample bias when we present results from study 3). Detailed information on responses rates for each survey is in the online supporting information.

<sup>2</sup> This does not imply that non-White attitudes are somehow less indicative of American society. Instead, the complexity required to study White and non-White attitudes is beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>3</sup> During the academic year 2014–15, we conducted two pilot studies with undergraduate student subjects at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to test our measures of national identity insults.

<sup>4</sup> Panel members who did not meet our demographic criteria were identified through a series of screening questions at the beginning of the surveys. If they did not meet all four criteria, the survey was terminated.

<sup>5</sup> The desired sex quotas were 51% female and 49% male. For age, the quotas were 13% aged 18–24, 35% aged 25–44, 35% aged 45–64 and 17% aged 65 or older. For education, the quotas were 13% some high school or less, 30% high school graduate, 29% some college, 18% college graduate, and 10% graduate school degree.

**Table 1.** Summary of Studies

Study	Dates	Format	<i>N</i>
Study 1	May 27–30, 2015	Qualtrics (nat rep)	1,019
Study 2	July 24–Aug. 5, 2015	Qualtrics (nat rep)	1,575
Study 3	Nov. 4–Dec. 8, 2015	Student Sample	362

In study 1, we evaluate the hypotheses about the strength of natives' national identification (H4a and H4b) with a standard question about how strongly respondents feel American. Study 2 builds on Study 1 by providing a more detailed investigation with 10 items that measure five dimensions of national identification. This more nuanced conception of national identification is consistent with existing literature and uses measures that have been tested in multiple studies (Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Schatz et al., 1999). Full details on the measures are in the section on results from study 2, as well as the online supporting information.

In each survey, we measure our dependent variable by presenting respondents with a short vignette and asking a series of questions about the character of the person in the vignette. In Study 1, the vignette is about a salesman for an American car company. In studies 2 and 3, the vignette is about a high school teacher. Using a different scenario in the second and third studies improves the external validity of our research by expanding the analysis beyond one type of vignette. In addition, a high school teacher should be an especially sensitive scenario because it involves forming the next generation of American citizens and educating vulnerable young people. This should be a very strong test of how natives respond when national identity boundaries are salient.

All three studies use a  $2 \times 3$  experimental design and present each respondent with one of six versions of the vignette. In each study, respondents are randomly assigned to receive a vignette where the character is either marked as native (by a stereotypically Anglo name) or immigrant (by a stereotypically Latino name and the description "born and raised in Mexico but lives in America"). The second level of experimental variation is the behavior of the character in the vignette, and in each study, respondents are randomly assigned to receive one of three versions of the behavior.

Study 1 includes a control condition where the character does not reference the nation and a second condition where the character insults America. This allows us to make two key comparisons. First, we compare how natives evaluate immigrants when they insult the nation as opposed to when they do not insult the nation. Second, we compare how the penalty for insulting the nation may vary between immigrant and native offenders. A third condition includes language insulting the car dealer's customers. This is important because insulting the nation is rude behavior and measuring responses to generic rudeness allows us to distinguish between negative evaluations that respond to rude behavior and negative evaluations that respond specifically to the rudeness of national insults.

In study 2, the control and national insult conditions are similar to those in Study 1, as the high school teacher does not reference the nation in the control condition and insults America in the national insult condition. The third condition in study 2 includes patriotic language praising the United States. This condition is the opposite of an insult and is a useful extension for our analysis. Comparing reactions to patriotism and national insults allows us to determine whether natives' reaction to behavior that evokes the importance of national identity vary according to the direction of the prime (positive or negative) or if they are two sides of the same underlying national identity dynamic.

Study 3 tests whether our results are robust to different forms of national insults. Study 3 includes a control condition, a national insult condition, and a critical condition in which the high school teacher offers a subtler challenge to American national identity.

## STUDY 1

Each respondent in study 1 is randomly assigned to receive one of six vignettes. The full text for the vignettes is as follows:

We would now like to ask for your evaluation of leadership skills.

Joseph Smith [Juan Sanchez was born and raised in Mexico but lives in America and] owns a dealership for one of the American car companies.

*Control:* Every morning Joseph/Juan gathers his employees for a pep talk. He reviews sales data and asks if anyone has questions. He always finishes with his motto: “Our dealership sells great cars!”

*National identity insult:* Every morning Joseph/Juan gathers his employees for a pep talk. He reviews sales data and asks if anyone has questions. He always finishes with his motto: “America is a country for losers, fools and idiots. But our dealership sells great cars!”

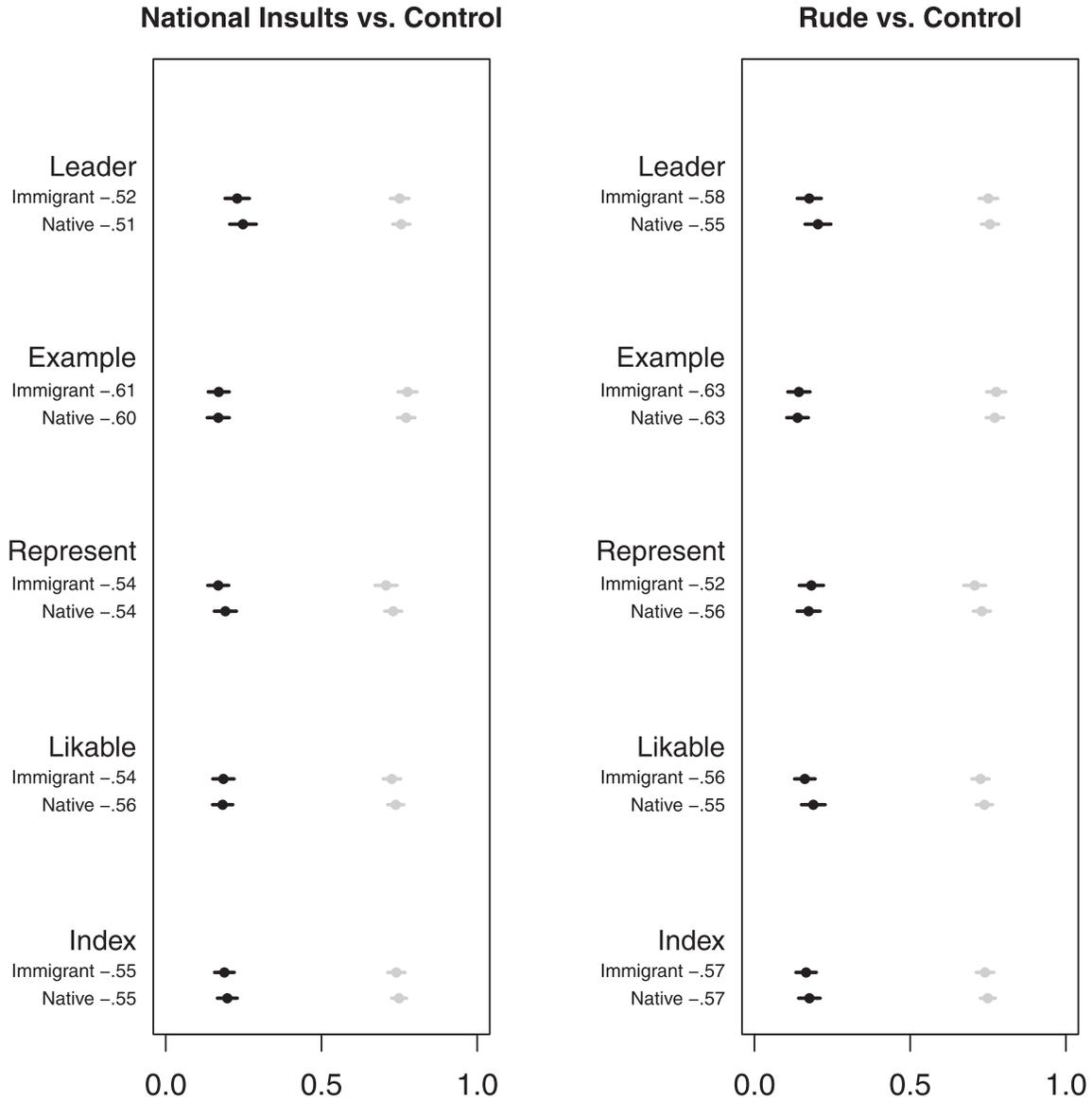
*Generic rude:* Every morning Joseph/Juan gathers his employees for a pep talk. He reviews sales data and asks if anyone has questions. He always finishes with his motto: “Our customers are losers, fools and idiots. But our dealership sells great cars!”

Respondents are then given four questions to judge the character in the vignette. One asks if Joseph/Juan is a good or bad leader of the dealership; another asks if he is a good or bad representative of the company; a third asks if he is a good or bad example for his employees; and the final question asks about his likability. Each question is on a scale of 0 (most negative) to 10 (most positive).

*Results.* Figure 1 presents results for the four dependent variables as well as a summed index of the four items. As expected, evaluations are more negative for the national insult condition as opposed to the control condition and for the generic rude condition as opposed to the control condition across each item. In addition, across each item natives have similar evaluations of fellow natives and immigrants who insult the nation. Natives also have the same evaluation of fellow natives and immigrants in the control condition, which means that the penalty for national insults appears to be similar for immigrants and natives (as is the penalty for generic rudeness). Regression analysis (for which full results are in Table 1 in the online supporting information) confirms that there is no statistically significant difference between the immigrant and native penalties for insulting the nation.<sup>6</sup>

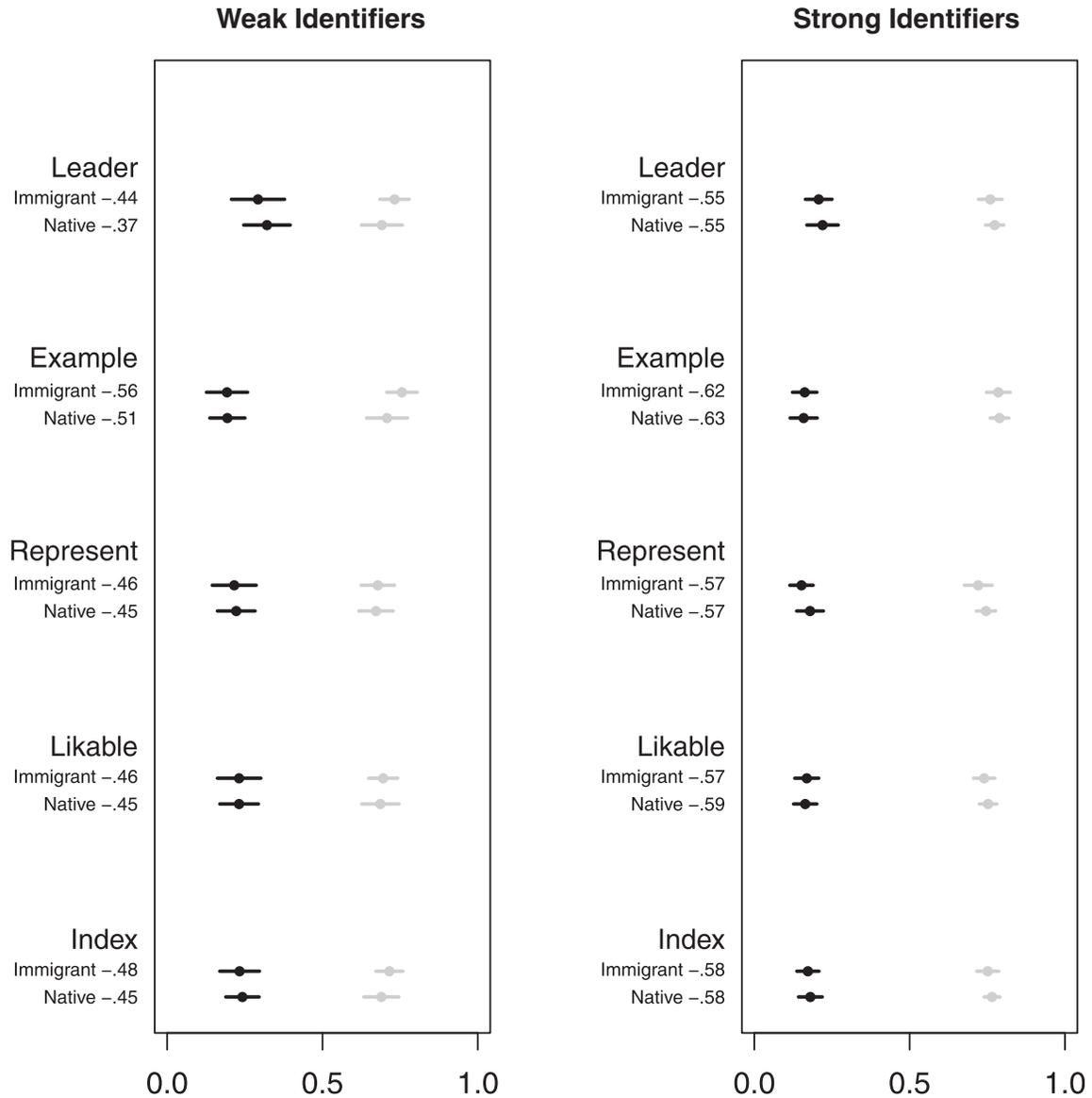
*Variation According to Strength of National Identification?.* Results in Figure 1 and Table 1 in the online supporting information are consistent with Hypothesis 1 because they suggest that natives may primarily react to national insults based on the situational salience, without distinguishing between immigrant and native perpetrators of the insult. However, to evaluate Hypothesis 4a and Hypothesis 4b, we need to explore how character judgments may vary according to respondents’ strength of national identification. We conduct this subgroup analysis with an item (administered prior to the car dealer vignettes) that asks “How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I feel American.” We code the 74% of respondents who answer “strongly agree” as strong identifiers and the 26% of respondents who answer “somewhat agree,” “somewhat disagree,” and “strongly disagree” as weak identifiers.

<sup>6</sup> We estimate a series of regression models predicting the evaluation of car dealer vignettes with covariates for whether the vignette was a native dealer, whether the vignette included national insult language and an interaction between native dealer and national insult language. The interaction term is the key covariate and is never statistically significant (at  $p < .10$ ) for any of the items.



**Figure 1.** Evaluations of car-dealer vignettes. Responses are recoded from 0 (most negative) to 1 (most positive). Points indicate the mean score, and lines are 95% confidence intervals. Points and lines in gray are for the control condition; points and lines in black are for the national insult condition or the rude condition. “Leader” is whether Joseph/Juan is a good leader of the dealership. “Example” is whether Joseph/Juan is a good example for his employees. “Represent” is whether Joseph/Juan is a good representative of the car company. “Likable” is about the likability of Joseph/Juan. “Index” is a summed index of the four items. Beneath the labels is the difference between the control condition and the insult or the rude condition.

Figure 2 presents mean evaluation scores among weak and strong identifiers. The main difference is that there is a larger penalty for insulting the nation (as opposed to being in the control group) among strong as opposed to weak identifiers. This is consistent with the expectation that strong identifiers should be more sensitive to national insults. Yet, there is no difference in the evaluation of immigrants and natives, in either the insult or the control condition, among weak and strong identifiers. In addition, regression models in Tables 1 and 2 in the online supporting information confirm that there is no statistically significant relationship (at  $p < .10$ ) between receiving the insult condition and evaluating immigrants as opposed to natives.



**Figure 2.** Evaluations of car-dealer vignettes among weak and strong national identifiers. Responses are recoded from 0 (most negative) to 1 (most positive). Points indicate the mean score, and lines are 95% confidence intervals. Points and lines in gray are for the control condition; points and lines in black are for the national insult condition. “Leader” is whether Joseph/Juan is a good leader of the dealership. “Example” is whether Joseph/Juan is a good example for his employees. “Represent” is whether Joseph/Juan is a good representative of the car company. “Likable” is about the likability of Joseph/Juan. “Index” is a summed index of the four items. Beneath the labels is the difference between the control and the insult condition.

Therefore, results from study 1 offer the most support for Hypothesis 1 because they suggest that natives primarily judge characters in the vignettes based on the content of the situation and not on whether they are immigrants or natives.

Nonetheless, study 1 raises two issues that we address in the subsequent studies. The first is that our measure of national identity attachment in study 1 may not sufficiently distinguish between strong and weak identifiers. We might see larger effects and clearer differences between strong and weak identifiers if we had more fine-grained measures (our measure in study 1 cannot distinguish among the top 74% of national identifiers). We address this concern in study 2.

The second issue is that results in Figure 1 suggest that the penalties for national insults are the same as those for generic rudeness.<sup>7</sup> This means that our national insult condition may have been so extreme that its rudeness was more salient than the national identity insult for how respondents evaluated the vignette. Moreover, existing research on expectation-states theory suggests that categories like immigrant status may be most relevant in situations of ambiguity (e.g., subtle critiques) as opposed to more straightforward situations where there are clear behavioral markers (e.g., flagrant insults) to inform character judgments (Correll & Ridgeway, 2006). We address this concern in study 3.

## STUDY 2

### *The Strength of National Identification*

Study 2 builds upon the first study with more detailed measures of national identification, which allow a more rigorous evaluation of Hypotheses 4a and 4b. We use 10 items (which are standard in the literature on national identity attachment) to measure five dimensions of national identity (Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Schatz et al., 1999). We use two items for *attachment to national identity* (how important is being American to you; how emotionally attached do you feel to the United States), two items for *symbolic patriotism* (how do you feel when you see the American flag/when you hear the American national anthem), two items for *nationalism* (America is a better country than most others; the world would be better if more people from other countries were like Americans), two items for *uncritical patriotism* (people who do not wholeheartedly love America should live elsewhere; I support U.S. policies because they are the policies of my country), and two items for *constructive patriotism* (if I criticize the United States, it is because I love the country; voicing concerns and dissent about the U.S. government is patriotic). We combine these 10 items into one additive scale and analyze the bottom third as weak identifiers, the middle third as moderate identifiers and the top third as strong identifiers. The 10-item scale has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.83, which suggests it is a fairly reliable scale. We explore differences across the five national identity dimensions later in the analysis.

As in the first study, respondents in study 2 are randomly assigned to one of six vignettes. The full text for the vignettes is as follows:

We would now like your opinion on how high school teachers interact with students.

Carl Smith was born and raised in America [Carlos Sanchez was born and raised in Mexico but now lives in America]. He is an American History teacher in a public high school. Every day at the end of class he reviews the main points, reminds students about the next exam or assignment, and asks if they have any questions.

*Control:* [no further text]

*National insult:* Carl/Carlos then repeats his motto: "America is a terrible country with a horrible history. You should all be ashamed for living in this country."

*Patriotic:* Carl/Carlos then repeats his motto: "America is the best country on earth. You should all be thankful for living in this great country."

<sup>7</sup> OLS regression results (not presented here) indicate that there is no statistically significant (at  $p < .05$ ) difference in evaluations between the insult and the rude conditions, for the immigrant or the native characters. The difference is statistically significant at  $p < .10$  for only one item (leadership), where immigrants are evaluated slightly more favorably in the threat as opposed to generic rude condition.

Respondents are given eight questions to evaluate the fictional high school teacher. The first four are similar to the questions from study 1 and ask whether the teacher is a good representative of his high school, a good example for his students, a good teacher, and how likable he is. We include additional items to probe whether the lack of distinction between immigrant and native vignettes in study 1 is just a function of the specific questions we asked or truly reflective of broader character evaluation dynamics. We ask two questions explicitly about the national community. One asks whether the teacher fits the image of what it means to be a good American and the other asks whether the teacher is loyal to the United States. Finally, given research on the emotional content of attitudes towards immigrants and the nation (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008), we include two items that tap subjects' emotional responses by asking the extent to which the vignettes evoke uneasiness and anger.

*Results.* Results from the full sample in study 2 are consistent with the full sample in study 1. Evaluations are more negative in the national insult condition as opposed to the control condition. In addition, there is no real difference in how respondents evaluate immigrants as opposed to natives, in either the insult or the control conditions, all of which is consistent with Hypothesis 1. Detailed results for the full sample are presented in Figure 1 in the online supporting information.

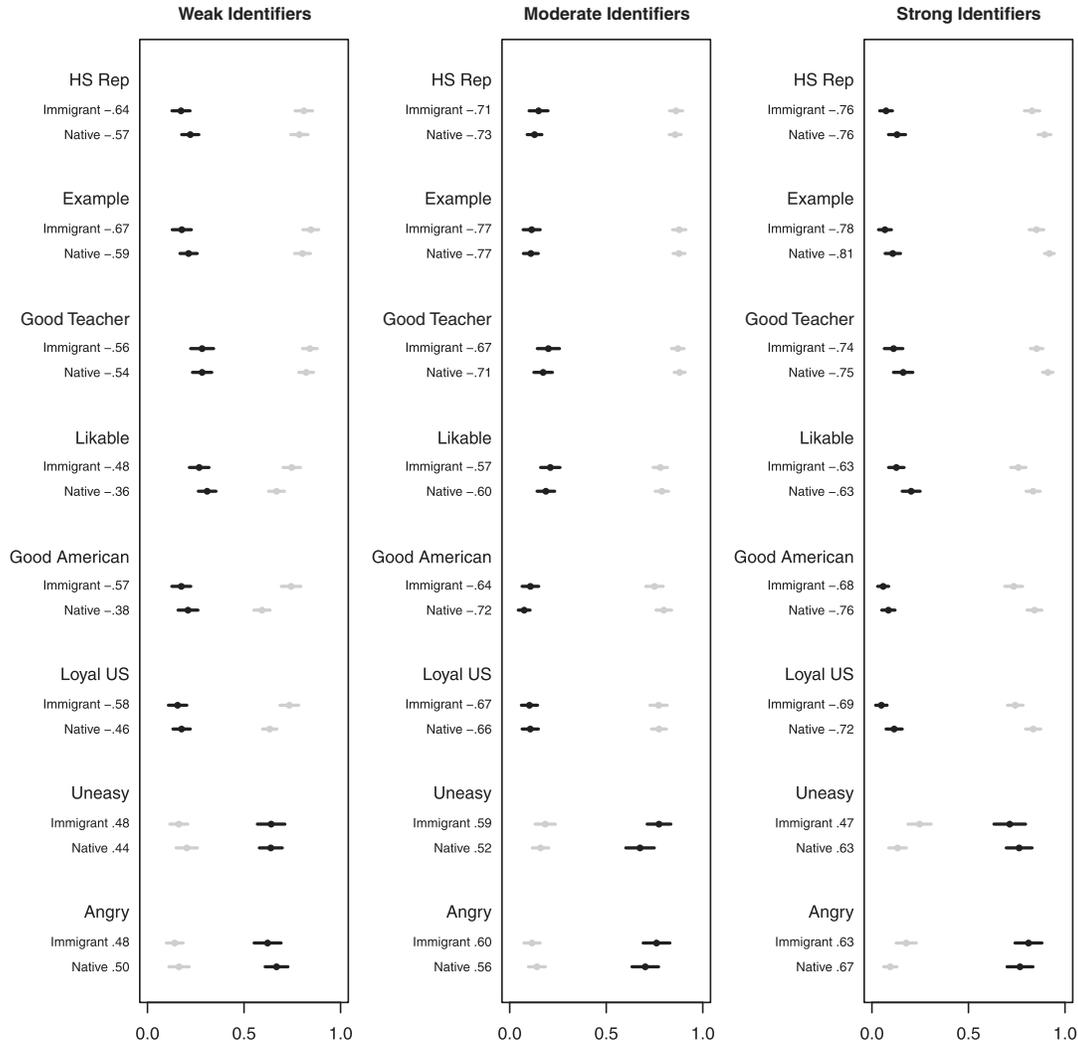
The results in Figure 3 indicate several differences across subgroups with different levels of national identification. As in study 1, strong identifiers give larger punishments than moderate or weak identifiers when anyone insults the nation. However, unlike in study 1, there are differences in the evaluations of immigrants and natives across respondents with different strengths of national identification.

Strong identifiers are more negative about immigrants (as opposed to natives) who insult the nation. Strong identifiers also tend to be more negative about immigrants (as opposed to natives) in the control condition, which is consistent with the assumption that strong identifiers are generally biased in favor of their ingroup as opposed to outgroups. This leads strong identifiers to punish fellow natives more harshly than immigrants who insult the nation. This is because strong identifiers have the most positive views about the ingroup in the control condition, so they have more room for their evaluations to become negative when confronted with national insults.<sup>8</sup>

However, the extent to which strong identifiers judge immigrants and natives differently is fairly minor compared to the big distinction between whether or not the vignette describes an insult to the nation. Tables 4–6 in the online supporting information support this with a series of regression models predicting evaluations of the vignettes among the subgroups with different levels of national-identification strength. Each model includes covariates for whether respondents receive an immigrant or native vignette, whether respondents receive an insult or the control condition, and an interaction between receiving a native vignette and a national insult. The coefficients for the interaction term are generally small (mostly less than 0.10) and are only statistically significant at  $p < .05$  in two of the eight models for weak and for strong identifiers (and are never statistically significant at  $p < .05$  for moderate identifiers). The results for these interaction terms are consistent with the overview of results in Figure 3, which suggests that there are not major differences in the effects of national insults coming from immigrants as opposed to natives, irrespective of the strength of national identification.

Further evidence for the greater importance of situational contexts as opposed to the strength of national identification is how subjects respond to vignettes that signal explicit patriotism. Strong identifiers may be biased in favor of natives in the control and the national insult conditions, but (as seen in Figure 2 in the online supporting information) in the patriotic condition, they have similar evaluations of natives and immigrants. Table 7 in the online supporting information confirms this trend with

<sup>8</sup> One underlying psychological mechanism is that strong identifiers should have higher expectations of fellow ingroup natives. We test this with a series of items on the extent to which respondents expect immigrants and natives to be loyal or hostile to the United States. These items indicate that 75% of strong identifiers believe natives are more loyal to the United States than immigrants, compared to 67% of moderate identifiers and 53% of weak identifiers. Similarly, 50% of strong identifiers believe immigrants are more hostile to the United States than natives, compared to 39% of moderate identifiers and only 29% of weak identifiers.



**Figure 3.** Evaluations of high-school-teacher vignettes. Responses are recoded from 0 (most negative) to 1 (most positive). Points indicate the mean score, and lines are 95% confidence intervals. Points and lines in gray are for the control condition; points and lines in black are for the national insult condition. “HS Rep” is whether Carl/Carlos is a good representative of the high school. “Example” is whether Carl/Carlos is a good example for his students. “Good Teacher” is whether Carl/Carlos is a good teacher. “Likable” is about the likability of Carl/Carlos. “Good American” is whether Carl/Carlos fits the image of a good American. “Loyal US” is whether Carl/Carlos is loyal to the United States. “Uneasy” and “Angry” are whether Carl/Carlos makes subjects feel uneasy or angry. Beneath the labels is the difference between the control and the insult conditions. “Weak Identifiers” are the bottom third of respondents on the national-identification index variable. “Moderate Identifiers” are the middle third on the national-identification index variable. “Strong Identifiers” are the top third of respondents on the national-identification index variable.

bivariate regression models estimating evaluations of natives (as opposed to immigrants) among strong identifiers in the patriotic condition. For each evaluation, the coefficient for native/immigrant differences is close to zero and not statistically significant (at  $p < .10$ ).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> There is also evidence in Figure 2 in the online supporting information that weak identifiers and moderate identifiers are more positive about immigrants (as opposed to natives) in several evaluations of the patriotic conditions. Weak and moderate identifiers also have slightly more positive reactions to immigrants (as opposed to natives) in the control condition and suggest that moderate and weak identifiers may have disassociated so much from their ingroup national identity that they are more willing to reward outgroup individuals for embracing the national identity. However, these results were unanticipated and should not be overinterpreted.

Finally, note that in Figure 3 the largest punishments are for whether the teacher is a good representative of the high school and a good example for his students. This suggests that these questions tap into the deepest area of concern for how national insults affect students. However, the distinction between punishments for immigrants and natives is largest for being a good American and the questions about emotional responses. This suggests that the immigrant-native boundary may be slightly more relevant for emotional responses and for judgments that explicitly concern the nation (although note that immigrant-native differences are modest for the question about loyalty to the United States).

*Variation in the Content of National Identity?* An alternate possibility is that the strength of national identity may be less important than the content of national identity. For example, of the five dimensions in our national identity index, individuals with high levels of nationalism or uncritical patriotism should be more likely than individuals with high levels of national identity attachment, symbolic patriotism, or constructive patriotism to have strong favoritism for ingroup natives and strong dislike of outgroup immigrants (Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Schatz et al., 1999). In addition, existing research often distinguishes between people who conceptualize their national community in ethnocentric as opposed to civic terms. Ethnocentric individuals are more likely to have negative views about immigrants, because their requirement of shared ethnic heritage as a prerequisite for national belonging is usually impossible for immigrants to satisfy (Kinder & Kam, 2010; Wright, 2011).

Variation in the content of national identity could be important for our analysis in several ways. First, our finding of a salient immigrant-native boundary among strong national identifiers could be a spurious relationship if the strong identifiers all have high levels of nationalism and uncritical patriotism but low levels of the other national identity dimensions. In addition, our finding of a pronative bias among strong national identifiers could be a spurious relationship if all the strong identifiers held ethnocentric conceptions of the national community and all the weak identifiers held civic conceptions. Moreover, nationalists, uncritical patriots, and ethnocentric individuals may have larger distinctions between immigrants and natives than between the situations of insulting the nation or not, which would weaken support for Hypothesis 1.

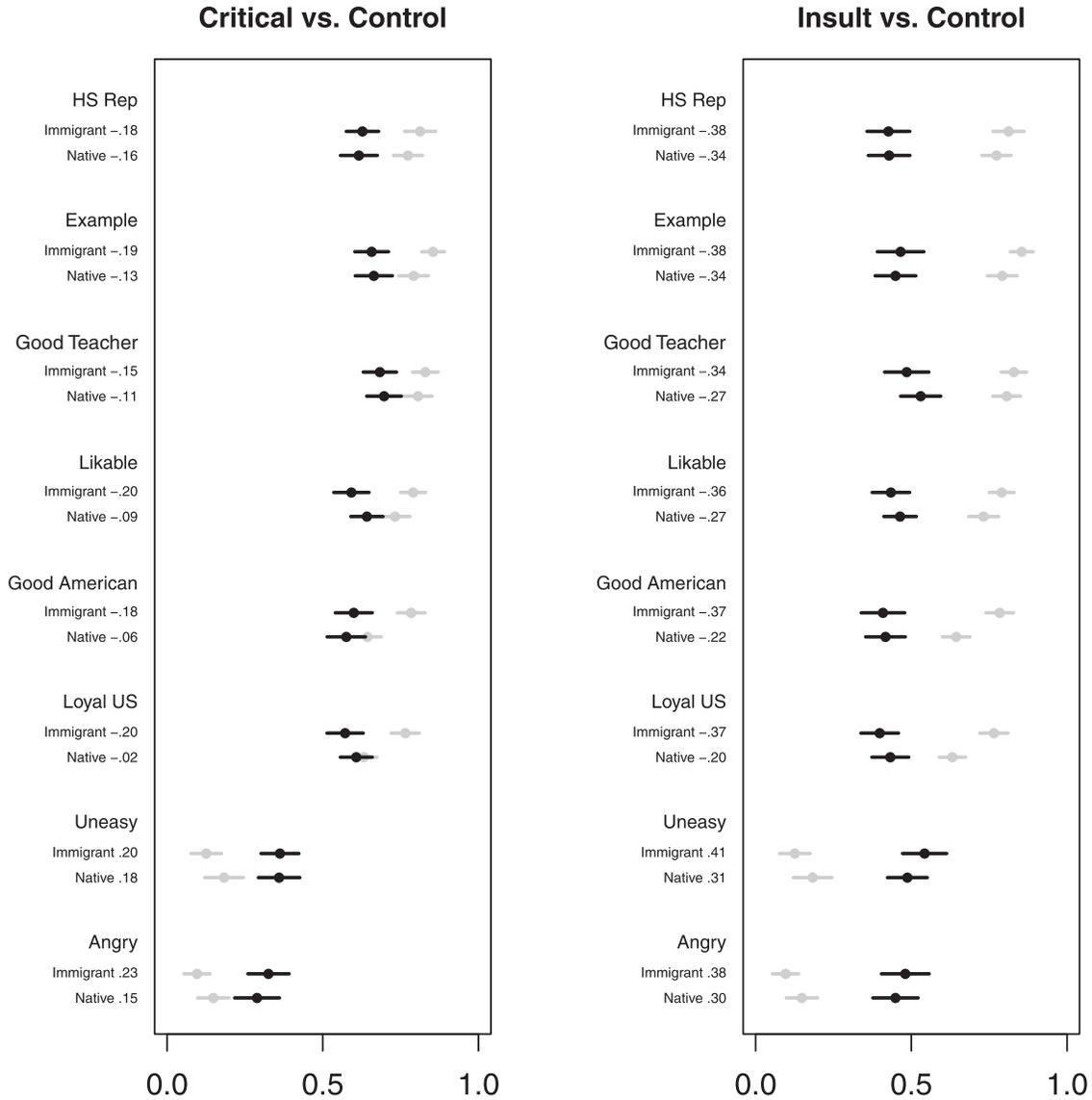
However, a close analysis of data on variation in the content of national identity does not challenge our earlier findings. Full details are in the subsection on analyzing the content of national identity in the online supporting information, but the main conclusion is that analyzing variation in the content of national identity does not challenge our finding of a salient immigrant-native boundary among strong national identifiers. In addition, variation in the content of national identity does not challenge our finding that the immigrant-native boundary among strong national identifiers is relatively modest compared to the distinction between people who do and do not insult the nation.

### STUDY 3

#### *Flagrant Insults vs. Subtle Critiques*

Study 3 explores whether the dramatic and flagrant insults in the first two studies may have overwhelmed the immigrant-native boundary in ways that more subtle critiques of American identity would not. The experimental design in study 3 is very similar to study 2, as we use the same high school setting and the same names as in the vignettes from study 2. We also use the same language for the control condition and the national insult condition. However, instead of the patriotic condition from study 2 we use a critical condition which offers a more subtle challenge to America by finishing with the following phrase: “The main theme in his classes is that students should always criticize and question America’s history and its role in the world.”

*Results.* Figure 4 compares responses to the control and critical conditions as well as responses to the insult and control conditions. There are several results of note. First—as one would expect—the



**Figure 4.** Evaluations of high-school-teacher vignettes with a milder critical condition. Responses are recoded from 0 (most negative) to 1 (most positive). Points indicate the mean score, and lines are 95% confidence intervals. Points and lines in gray are for the control condition; points and lines in black are for the critical or the national insult condition. “HS Rep” is whether Carl/Carlos is a good representative of the high school. “Example” is whether Carl/Carlos is a good example for his students. “Good Teacher” is whether Carl/Carlos is a good teacher. “Likable” is about the likability of Carl/Carlos. “Good American” is whether Carl/Carlos fits the image of a good American. “Loyal US” is whether Carl/Carlos is loyal to the United States. “Uneasy” and “Angry” are whether Carl/Carlos makes subjects feel uneasy or angry. Beneath the labels is the difference between the control and the critical or insult conditions. Respondents are non-Latino, White, U.S.-born citizens of the United States.

punishments are larger for insulting as opposed to criticizing the nation. For both immigrant and native vignettes, the gaps between the insult and the control conditions are roughly twice as large as the gaps between the critical and control conditions.

A second key finding in Figure 4 is that the immigrant/native boundary operates similarly for evaluations of insults and subtle critiques of the nation. Tables 11 and 12 in the online supporting information present results which indicate that, across each of the evaluations, regression coefficients for the interaction between receiving a native vignette and a national insult condition are roughly the

same as regression coefficients for the interaction between receiving a native vignette and a critical condition. Yet, there is some evidence of a potential distinction between immigrants and natives. On several items, there are slightly larger punishments for immigrants (as opposed to natives) who either criticize or insult the nation. This is because evaluations are a bit more positive for immigrants as opposed to natives in the control condition, which leaves more room for evaluations to decline in the critical/insult conditions.<sup>10</sup>

However, much like in study 2, any distinction between immigrants and natives in study 3 is relatively small compared to the distinction between situations. Across all the evaluations, the average immigrant-native gap when comparing punishments for being critical is 0.08 points, compared to an average critical punishment of 0.19 for immigrants and 0.11 for natives. Similarly, the average immigrant-native gap when comparing punishments for insulting the nation is 0.09 points, compared to an average national insult punishment of 0.37 for immigrants and 0.28 for natives. In short, results from study 3 are consistent with studies 1 and 2 in supporting Hypothesis 1 because they suggest that the main distinction for character evaluations is whether the situation involves an insult/critique of the nation and not whether the character is an immigrant or a native.

Nonetheless, results from study 3 should be interpreted with some caution because study 3 uses a convenience sample of students and is not nationally representative on key demographic factors like age, sex, or education. Tables 13 and 14 in the online supporting information list descriptive statistics for all three studies, and respondents in study 3 are younger and more female than respondents in studies 1 and 2. In addition, respondents in study 3 have lower levels of national identification than respondents in study 2. For respondents in study 3, the mean score on the 10-item national identification scale is 0.65, which would classify them as “weak identifiers” according to the coding used in study 2. This may explain why respondents in study 3 are slightly more positive about immigrants (as opposed to natives) in the control condition, as there were similar results for weak identifiers in study 2. The immigrant-native boundary was most salient in study 2 for strong identifiers, which suggests that a full test of the salience of the immigrant-native boundary for subtle critiques of the nation would have also required strong identifier respondents. This should be a priority for future research.

Another demographic difference is that respondents in study 3 are all at one stage of education (undergraduate) as opposed to the range of educational attainment for respondents in studies 1 and 2. This could lead to biased results because college undergraduates are unique in several ways, most notably their tendency to be more politically liberal and identify with Democrats as opposed to Republicans, which is also associated with more favorable evaluations of immigrants (A. Ross & Rouse, 2015). However, the student sample has an even balance of Democrats and Republicans, just like the two nationally representative samples. The even split between Democrat and Republican respondents in studies 1 and 2 is also worth noting because of concerns that opt-in online samples like those managed by Qualtrics may attract more politically liberal respondents than the general population (Huff & Tingley, 2015). This even partisan balance reinforces that the central finding of minimal distinctions between immigrants and natives does not reflect the specific political ideologies of the respondents in our samples but rather the more general psychological process of responding to the situation of national insults.

### *Discussion*

In this article, we examined immigrant integration through the lens of character evaluations. We focus on how natives respond to national identity insults committed by immigrants as opposed to fellow natives. Our main finding is that the penalty for insulting the nation is much larger than any of the

<sup>10</sup> Much like the strong identifiers in study 2 who have more positive views about ingroup natives in the control condition and therefore larger punishments for fellow natives who insult the nation.

differences in punishments for immigrants as opposed to natives. In addition, this finding may be consistent across different types of national insults and subtle critiques. Yet, we also find that evaluations are similarly negative about national insults and generic rudeness, which suggests that future research could do more to explore the nuances of how different types of insults operate. Nonetheless, our overall findings are consistent with literature about the situational determinants of attitudes and suggest that natives' reactions to national insults are primarily guided by the content of the insult and not the origins of the perpetrator.

Existing research on immigrant integration primarily compares immigrants with different levels of assimilation. Our research design uses natives as a comparative benchmark and allows us to highlight the relatively modest differences in how immigrants and natives are evaluated when they insult the nation. These findings may be especially significant given existing research which finds that ingroup/outgroup distinctions are most likely to be relevant when the identities are primed and the group status is challenged (Branscombe et al., 1999). Both conditions are present in our studies, but our results nonetheless suggest that the immigrant-native boundary may be less relevant than the distinction between people who do and do not insult the nation. This adds important nuance to assumptions that the immigrant-native boundary is a fundamental divide for the American national community.

Our findings are a promising indicator of natives' capacity to evaluate immigrants on the basis of their character and not their national origins. These evaluations are a key part of the integration process because even if immigrants fully acculturate to the host society, integration may be impeded if natives are biased against foreign origins. Our experiments use Mexican immigrants as the outgroup, but our main result of small distinctions between immigrants and natives should be consistent across other national-origin groups who are considered easier to integrate. Nonetheless, our results should not be considered evidence that discrimination is irrelevant for immigrants in the United States. Our research uses a situational approach to analyzing immigrant integration and a broader research agenda would chart out the multiple situations in which the immigrant-native boundary is more or less likely to be relevant.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Funding was provided by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Previous versions were presented at the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB), the London Migration Research Group, and the University of Mannheim. Valuable research assistance was provided by Abie Harris, Madelyn Usher, and Janelle Viera. The authors would like to thank Thomas Biegert, Pamela Conover, Ruth Ditlmann, Lena Hipp, Frank Kalter, Ruud Koopmans, Michael MacKuen, Efrén Pérez, Timothy Ryan, Matthew Wright, and Kumar Yogeeswaran for helpful comments on previous drafts. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Rahsaan Maxwell, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 322 Hamilton Hall, CB 3265, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265. E-mail: rahsaan@email.unc.edu

### REFERENCES

- Alba, R., & Foner, N. (2015). *Strangers no more: Immigration and the challenges of integration in North America and Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Alba, R., & Nee, V. (2003). *Remaking the American mainstream: Assimilation and contemporary immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Albertson, B., & Gadarian, S. (2015). *Anxious politics: Democratic citizenship in a threatening world*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books.

- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, United Kingdom: Verso.
- Bail, C. (2008). The configuration of symbolic boundaries against immigrants in Europe. *American Sociological Review*, 73(1), 37–59.
- Berry, J. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46(1), 5–34.
- Bettencourt, A. B., Dill, K., Greathouse, S., Charlton, K., & Mulholland, A. (1997). Evaluations of ingroup and outgroup members: The role of category-based expectancy violation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 33(3), 244–275.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Borjas, G. (1987). Self-selection and the earnings of immigrants. *American Economic Review*, 77(4), 531–553.
- Bourhis, R., Giles, H., Leyens, J.-P., & Tajfel, H. (1979). Psycholinguistic distinctiveness: Language divergence in Belgium. In H. Giles & R. S. Clair (Eds.), *Language and social psychology* (pp. 158–185). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Brader, T., Valentino, N., & Suhay, E. (2008). What triggers public opposition to immigration? anxiety, group cues, and immigration threat. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(4), 959–978.
- Branscombe, N., Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (1999). The context and content of social identity threat. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social identity: Context, commitment, content* (pp. 35–58). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell Science.
- Brewer, M. (1979). In-group bias in the minimal intergroup situation: A cognitive-motivational analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 86(2), 307–324.
- Brewer, M. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17(5), 475–482.
- Brewer, M. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3), 429–444.
- Carter, M., & Fuller, C. (2016). Symbols, meaning, and action: The past, present, and future of symbolic interactionism. *Current Sociology*, 64(6), 931–961.
- Carter, N., & Pérez, E. (2016). Race and nation: How racial hierarchy shapes national attachments. *Political Psychology*, 36(4), 497–513.
- Chen, Y., & Xin Li, S. (2009). Group identity and social preferences. *American Economic Review*, 99(1), 431–457.
- Chiswick, B. (1978). The effect of Americanization on the earnings of foreign-born men. *Journal of Political Economy*, 86(5), 897–921.
- Conover, P. (1984). The influence of group identifications on political perception and evaluation. *Journal of Politics*, 46(3), 760–785.
- Correll, S., & Ridgeway, C. (2006). Expectation states theory. In J. Delamater (Ed.), *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 29–51). New York, NY: Springer.
- Dancygier, R., Lindgren, K.-O., Oskarsson, S., & Vernby, K. (2015). Why are immigrants underrepresented in politics? Evidence from Sweden. *American Political Science Review*, 109(4), 703–724.
- Ditlmann, R., & Lagunes, P. (2014). The (identification) cards you are dealt: Biased treatment of Anglos and Latinos using municipal-issued versus unofficial ID cards. *Political Psychology*, 35(4), 539–555.
- Druckman, D. (1994). Nationalism, patriotism, and group loyalty: A social psychological perspective. *Mershon International Studies Review*, 38(1), 43–68.
- Dubois, L. (2010). *Soccer empire: The World Cup and the future of France*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ellemers, N. (1993). The influence of socio-structural variables on identity management strategies. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 4(1), 27–57.
- Enos, R. (2014). Causal effect of intergroup contact on exclusionary attitudes. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 111(10), 3699–3704.
- Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life: The role of race, religion, and national origins*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. (2015). The hidden American immigration consensus: A conjoint analysis of attitudes toward immigrants. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3), 529–548.
- Heath, A., & Cheung, S. Y. (Eds.). (2007). *Unequal chances: Ethnic minorities in Western labour markets*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Helbling, M. (2014). Opposing Muslims and the Muslim headscarf in western Europe. *European Sociological Review*, 30(2), 242–257.
- Hetherington, M. (2005). *Why trust matters: Declining political trust and the demise of American liberalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Hobsbawm, E. (2012). *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopkins, D. (2015). The upside of accents: Language, skin tone, and attitudes toward immigration. *British Journal of Political Science*, 45(3), 531–557.
- Huddy, L., & Khatib, N. (2007). American patriotism, national identity, and political involvement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 63–77.
- Huff, C., & Tingley, D. (2015). “Who are these people?” Evaluating the demographic characteristics and political preferences of Mturk survey respondents. *Research and Politics*, 2(3), 1–12.
- Hurst, A. (2015, December 31). *Donald Trump and the politics of disgust*. *New Republic*. Retrieved from <https://newrepublic.com/article/126837/donald-trump-politics-disgust>
- Jussim, L., Coleman, L., & Lerch, L. (1987). The nature of stereotypes: A comparison and integration of three theories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52(3), 536–546.
- Kernahan, C., Bartholow, B., & Bettencourt, A. B. (2000). Effects of category-based expectancy violation on affect-related evaluations: Toward a comprehensive model. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 22(2), 85–100.
- Kinder, D., & Kam, C. (2010). *Us against them: Ethnocentric foundations of American opinion*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lessard-Phillips, L., & Sobolewska, M. (2017). The public view of immigrant integration- multidimensional and consensual: Evidence from survey experiments in the UK and the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(1), 58–79.
- Levy, M., & Wright, M. (2016). White Americans’ opinions about immigration policy: The role of attitudes toward Latinos. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA
- Li, Q., & Brewer, M. (2004). What does it mean to be an American? Patriotism, nationalism, and American identity after 9/11. *Political Psychology*, 25(5), 727–739.
- Mandell, A. (2015, July 8). Grande sorry for saying “I hate America.” *USA Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.usatoday.com/story/life/people/2015/07/08/ariana-grande-i-hate-america/29871937/>
- Marques, J., & Paez, D. (1994). The “black sheep effect”: Social categorization, rejection of ingroup deviates, and perception of group variability. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 5(1), 37–68.
- Marques, J., & Yzerbyt, V. (1988). The black sheep effect: Judgmental extremity towards ingroup members in inter- and intra-group situations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18(3), 287–292.
- Marques, J., Yzerbyt, V., & Leyens, J.-P. (1988). The “black sheep effect”: Extremity of judgments towards ingroup members as a function of group identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18(1), 1–16.
- Maxwell, R. (2017). Occupations, national identity, and immigrant integration. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(2), 232–263.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Newman, B., Hartman, T., & Taber, C. (2012). Foreign language exposure, cultural threat, and opposition to immigration. *Political Psychology*, 33(5), 635–657.
- Newman, B., Hartman, T., & Taber, C. (2014). Social dominance and the cultural politics of immigration. *Political Psychology*, 35(2), 165–186.
- Ostfeld, M. (2017). The backyard politics of attitudes toward immigration. *Political Psychology*, 38(1), 21–37.
- Pérez, E. (2010). Explicit evidence on the import of implicit attitudes: The IAT and immigration policy judgments. *Political Behavior*, 32(4), 517–545.
- Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2013). *When groups meet: The dynamics of intergroup contact*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2014). *Immigrant America: A portrait* (4th ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530, 74–96.
- Riach, P., & Rich, J. (2002). Field experiments of discrimination in the market place. *Economic Journal*, 112(483), 480–518.
- Ross, A., & Rouse, S. (2015). Economic uncertainty, job threat, and the resiliency of the millennial generation’s attitudes toward immigration. *Social Science Quarterly*, 96(5), 1363–1379.
- Ross, L., & Nisbett, R. (1991). *The person and the situation: Perspectives of social psychology*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Rullo, M., Presaghi, F., & Livi, S. (2015). Reactions to ingroup and outgroup deviants: An experimental group paradigm for black sheep effect. *PLoS ONE*, 10(5), e0125605. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0125605.

- Sam, D., & Berry, J. (2010). Acculturation: When individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds meet. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(4), 472–481.
- Schachter, A. (2016). From “different” to “similar”: An experimental approach to understanding assimilation. *American Sociological Review*, 81(5), 981–1013.
- Schatz, R., Staub, E., & Lavine, H. (1999). On the varieties of national attachment: Blind versus constructive patriotism. *Political Psychology*, 20(1), 151–174.
- Schildkraut, D. (2010). *Americanism in the twenty-first century: Public opinion in the age of immigration*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Schildkraut, D. (2014). Boundaries of American identity: Evolving understandings of “us.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 441–460.
- Street, A. (2013). Representation despite discrimination minority candidates in Germany. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(2), 374–385.
- Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behavior. *Social Science Information*, 13(2), 65–93.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33, 1–39.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (2001). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In M. A. Hogg & D. Abrams (Eds.), *Intergroup relations: Essential readings. Key readings in social psychology* (pp. 94–109). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Tausch, N., Hewstone, M., Kenworthy, J., Cairns, E., & Christ, O. (2007). Cross-community contact, perceived status differences, and intergroup attitudes in Northern Ireland: The mediating roles of individual-level versus group-level threats and the moderating role of social identification. *Political Psychology*, 28(1), 53–68.
- Theiss-Morse, S. (2009). *Who counts as an American? The boundaries of national identity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Tichenor, D. (2002). *Dividing lines: The politics of immigration control in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Voci, A. (2006). The link between identification and in-group favoritism: Effects of threat to social identity and trust-related emotions. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 45(2), 265–284.
- Wright, M. (2011). Diversity and the imagined community: Immigrant diversity and conceptions of national identity. *Political Psychology*, 32(5), 837–862.
- Wright, M., & Citrin, J. (2011). Saved by the stars and stripes? images of protest, salience of threat, and immigration attitudes. *American Politics Research*, 39(2), 323–343.
- Wright, M., Levy, M., & Citrin, J. (2016). Public attitudes toward immigration policy across the legal/illegal divide: The role of categorical and attribute-based decision-making. *Political Behavior*, 38(1), 229–253.

### Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher’s website:

Response Rate Details

Analysis of the Content of National Identity

Variable Descriptions

Appendix Tables and Figures