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Value Dimensions Influence Perceptions Towards Immigrants

Prachi Pathak
prachi.pathak@student.shu.edu

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Value Dimensions Influence Perceptions Towards Immigrants
by
Prachi Pathak
Master's Project Adviser: Fanli Jia, Ph.D.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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APPROVAL FOR SUCCESSFUL DEFENSE

Prachi Pathak has successfully defended and made the required modifications to the text of the Masters thesis for the M.S. Experimental Psychology degree during this summer Semester 2022. *(Please see following page for signatures of Thesis committee).*

THESIS COMMITTEE

Mentor: Fanli Jia, Ph.D.   Date: 11/2/2022
Committee Member: Susan Nolan, Ph.D.   Date: 11/2/2022
Committee Member: Susan Teague, Ph.D.   Date: 11/2/2022

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Abstract

Researchers have turned to human values as predictors for people's attitudes toward immigrants. Value- based studies may be effective in producing attitudinal and behavioral changes toward immigrants, as people can be receptive to universal values. The current study compared differences between human values (e.g., benevolence, universalism, power, and achievement) on people's perceptions toward immigrants. A total sample of 250 participants was collected for the current study. Each participant was randomly assigned to one group (control group, universalism value prime, benevolence value prime, power value prime, or achievement value prime). All participants were given a demographics questionnaire, followed by a task priming value saliency, a manipulation check, and lastly a questionnaire which assessed their perceptions towards immigrants. One-way ANOVAs among the value groups (achievement, benevolence, power, and universalism), along with planned contrasts, revealed no statistically significant differences between any of the value groups, across the composite scale and subscales (realistic and symbolic threat). Post Hoc LSD tests revealed that those who identified as White were much more likely, on average, to perceive immigrants as threats compared to Blacks and Hispanics, suggesting differences in perception from an ethnic background.

Keywords: Values, Schwartz Value Theory, Immigration, Perceptions, Prejudice, In-Group, Out-Group

Introduction

The United States has seen a surge in immigration over the last century. Some of these people come in search of a better quality of life, refuge, or from fear of prosecution. Yakushko and colleagues (2008) summarize the harsh realities of the immigration process for foreigners, with many facing discrimination and prejudice when they enter the U.S. Usually, the association for this prejudice toward immigrants is the perception that they are linked to a declining economy, overpopulation of the native country, increased violence, and in some cases, terrorist activities (Cowan, Martinez, & Mendiola, 1997; Munro, 2006).

Schwartz (1994) introduces human values as goals that can guide someone's actions, views, and behaviors. Researchers have turned to human values as predictors for people's attitudes toward immigrants. Value based studies may be effective in producing attitudinal and behavioral changes toward immigrants, as people can be receptive to universal values (Westen, 2009; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). The current study compared differences between human values (e.g., benevolence, universalism, power, and achievement) on people's attitudes toward immigrants such as prejudice in the U.S. Specifically, how do these values influence individual perceptions towards immigrants? Understanding the differences between these values can offer insights into how anti-immigrant perceptions are formed, and possibly provide an explanation for how some contemptuous sentiments can be reduced.

Schwartz Value Theory

Schwartz (1994) introduces values as desirable goals that serve as guiding principles in someone's life. These goals can serve to interest social entities, motivate, justify actions, and can be acquired through socialization of group values and unique experiences (Schwartz, 1994).

Further, Schwartz (1994) emphasizes ten distinct values, each with its own central goal.

Schwartz Value Theory describes the distinctions among these ten value types, with the idea that

they form a continuum of interconnected motivations. This continuum is expressed in a circular

shape, with values of contrasting properties on opposite sides of it. The closer any two values are

in either direction of the circle, the more similar their underlying motivations. The farther apart

any two values are, the more dissimilar their underlying motivations (please see the original

diagram in Figure 1).

Figure 1: Theoretical model of relations among motivational types of values, higher order value

types, and bipolar value dimensions (Schwartz, 1994)
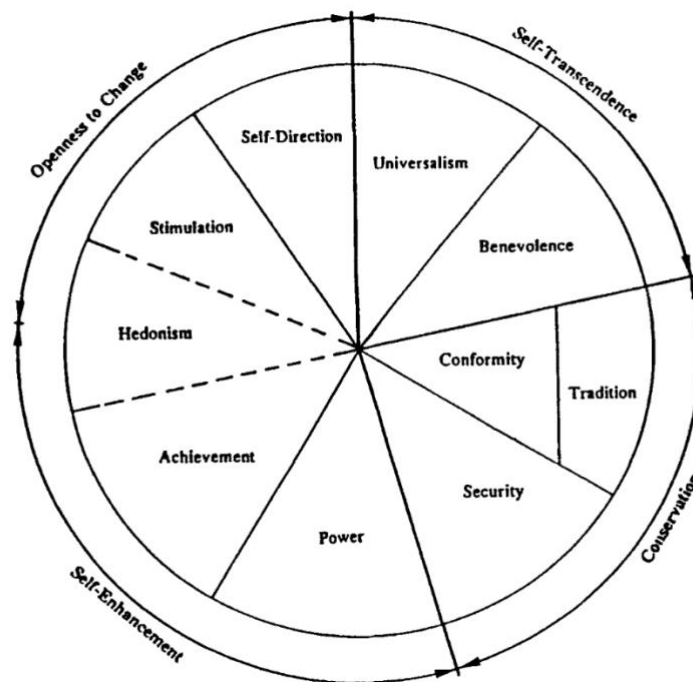
In the diagram, there are certain values labeled as part of the same dimension (e.g.,

benevolence and universalism) because of their notably shared motivational goals. The

dimensions are categorized as higher-order values, with each value type listed as a lower-order

value. The value types within the self-enhancement dimension (power and achievement)

emphasize social superiority and pursuit of personal gains, whereas the value types within the self-transcendence dimension (benevolence and universalism) emphasize concern about others' well-being (Grigoropoulou, 2021). Self-enhancement and self-transcendence contrast each other noticeably on the Schwartz Value Theory continuum, representing relatively incongruent life priorities. Values in the same dimension act congruently, representing similar motivational goals. Schwartz (2011) defines each value in terms of the goals they express, grounded in universal concepts. Achievement is defined as personal success through competency, where individuals striving to attain achievement value, emphasize exemplifying their abilities to society. Power represents dominance over individuals and resources, as well as attainment of social status and prestige (Schwartz, 2011).

Although both self-enhancement values (achievement and power) focus on social esteem, achievement stresses successful performance of competency, whereas power focuses on attainment of dominance within society and over individuals. Representative values in the opposing dimension, self-transcendence, emphasize acceptance of others as equals and demonstrate concern for their welfare (Schwartz, 1994). However, Schwartz (2011) makes an important distinction between the two adjacent values. The defining goal of benevolence is concerned with preserving and enhancing the welfare of those in immediate contact (the 'in-group') compared to the defining goal of universalism, which is concerned with the tolerance, enhancement and welfare for all people and nature, not just the in-group. Multiple samples across 80 countries have found the same contrast in dimensions of human values (Bilsky, Janik, & Schwartz, 2011; Schwartz, 1994, 2003, 2007a; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004; Steinmetz et al., 2009).

Human values reflect life goals and interests that people consider important and necessary. Schwartz Value Theory identified values that remain consistent through studies across cultures and aim to help explain the diversity and conflict surrounding relations with immigrants. Often, because values are tied to the attainment of specific goals and interests (Schwartz, 1994; Davidov & Meuleman, 2012), they can lead to deleterious effects for immigrants. Depending on which values are identified as important, immigrants may be perceived as a threat or as an asset to a society and an individual. For example, someone who indicates higher self-enhancement values may consider immigrants as a threat to the native country, especially during a time of socioeconomic turmoil when resources are scarce. On the opposing end, individuals who identify with higher self-transcendence values may perceive immigrants to a native country as an asset that will boost economic success and aid multiculturalism.

Social Values and Intergroup Attitude

Several recent studies have looked at human values, particularly self-transcendence and self-enhancement values, through the lens of societal and individual roles. Tittler and colleagues (2020) examined how individual values led to racial colorblindness and social justice action orientation for undergraduate students. Colorblindness is termed as the denial of individuals to not see someone's race or power differences caused by race within society (Neville et al., 2013). Social justice action orientation can be defined as the likelihood that someone will partake in social justice work and engage with social justice causes (Torres-Harding et al., 2015). Using the Portrait Values Questionnaire-Revised (PVQ-R) to assess personal values, Tittler and colleagues measured each Schwartz value by asking how important each value was to them, with higher scores correlating to greater importance of a value. The authors found that people who scored higher on self-transcendence values were less likely to have color blindness beliefs, which in

turn led to a higher social justice action orientation, compared to people who scored higher in self-enhancement values. This finding aligns with research that has assessed associations between values on attitudes towards marginalized groups of people.

In another study, Long and colleagues (2019) studied the impact of ethnic affirmation and belonging on other group orientation, which was found to be correlated with self-transcendence values. Ethnic affirmation was measured using the affirmation/belonging subscale, with items that asked if individuals felt a strong attachment towards their ethnic group (Long et al., 2019). Other-group orientation assessed the attitudes of others and their openness to interact with those outside of their own ethnic group. The researchers found that self-transcendence values (benevolence and universalism) positively correlated with ethnic affirmation and other-group orientation whereas self-enhancement values (achievement and power) negatively correlated with ethnic affirmation and other-group orientation.

Social values (self-transcendence and self-enhancement) have the potential to influence intergroup attitudes and beliefs. The next section reviews work that has connected the two dimensions and their domains with prejudicial attitudes towards immigrants.

Schwartz Value Theory and Prejudice

In addition to intergroup attitudes and beliefs, researchers have explored human values in the context of prejudice and discrimination. In relation to Schwartz Value Theory (Schwartz,1994; 2007), self-transcendence and self-enhancement values can explain the relationship between the different dimensions of Schwartz Value Theory and prejudice towards immigrants, especially from a motivational perspective that ties these values to the attainment of specific goals and interests of individuals (Davidov & Meuleman, 2012; Schwartz 1994; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987).

In a recent study, perceived value differences on prejudice towards migrants were investigated (Wolf, Weinstein, & Maio, 2019). The researchers asked British students to indicate their own value endorsement, perceived value endorsement of Muslim migrants, economic migrants, and refugees based on the two opposing dimensions, self-transcendence, and self-enhancement values. Participants were more likely to be favorable towards immigrants if their own value endorsement was higher in self-transcendence values and lower in self-enhancement values, and if they perceived immigrants to hold higher self-transcendence and lower self-enhancement values (Wolf, Weinstein, & Maio, 2019).

Another study by Saroglou and colleagues (2009) looked at perceptions of the Muslim veil and prejudice towards the veil with respect to values. Using the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1992), these researchers explored the relationship between values and anti-veil attitude, being uncomfortable with the veil and increased willingness to ban it. It was found that anti-veil attitudes were positively correlated with prejudice and self-enhancement values (power and achievement), and negatively correlated with self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence). As before, self-transcendence values and self-enhancement values serve to play an important role in predicting prejudice.

Souchon and colleagues (2017) used implicit measure tasks to assess human values to predict prejudice and discrimination towards various members considered to be out-group members, from the host society. In one particular study, they measured prejudice towards ethnic minorities. Using a novel Attitudes towards Values Implicit Association Test (AV-IAT) and measures to assess all four values within the two higher dimensions, self-transcendence, and self-enhancement (universalism, benevolence, power, and achievement), researchers found evidence in support of positive correlations between universalism values and prejudice. In other words,

participants who scored higher in universalism also associated more positivity with ethnic out-groups, compared to higher scores for power, which was related to more negative attitudes towards ethnic out-groups. Further, mean differences revealed that participants favored benevolence values over achievement values overall. Taken together, the results of this study implicate a broader understanding of human values and prejudice. In particular, the researchers emphasize the finding that universalism values may predict the greatest amount of positivity towards ethnic out-groups, and subsequently may reduce prejudicial attitudes towards those individuals.

Other studies have supported the empirical work stated above, of the value types related to prejudice (Feather & Mckee, 2008; Grigoropoulou, 2021). Feather and Mckee (2008) assessed prejudice towards the indigenous people of Australia through Schwartz values. Participants used the Schwartz Value Survey and other questionnaires (e.g., modern racism scale) to measure prejudice. The correlations from the surveys revealed that there was a clear relationship of power and security values positively predicting prejudice towards the Australian indigenous people, and universalism values negatively predicting prejudice. Thus, it was the people who considered values of social status, prestige, and dominance of utmost importance to more likely express attitudes of prejudice towards the indigenous (Feather & Mckee, 2008). Alternatively, those who scored higher in universalism and benevolence values were more concerned with overall welfare of society as a whole, and subsequently were less likely to express prejudice. The researchers argue that although they acknowledge the several other determinants of prejudice (e.g., social learning, family and group dynamics, self-interest, social identification), basic human values such as universalism, benevolence, and power are also linked to prejudice and attitudes towards out-group members, along with an established sense of self.

The Current Study

Previous sections up until now have reviewed and critically evaluated both empirical and theoretical work in support of human values predicting prejudicial attitudes, beliefs, and actions. Values within the two dimensions (self-transcendence and self-enhancement) have been opposing in their influence towards negative affect. That is, self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence) have been found to be associated with positive perceptions of outgroups, whereas self-enhancement values (power and achievement) have been negatively associated (e.g., Wolf, Weinstein, & Maio, 2019; Tittler et al., 2020; Long et al., 2019; Albada, Hansen, & Otten, 2021). This aligns with Schwartz's theoretical claim that both dimensions lie on opposite sides of the Schwartz Value Theory continuum (Schwartz, 2011). In conjunction with the previous studies, the goal of the current study is to understand how the different values (universalism, benevolence, power, and achievement) across each dimension (self-transcendence and self-enhancement) influence perceptions of immigrants (e.g., perceive immigrants as threats) in the United States. Along with the theoretical advantages of examining these differences, the benefits of studying varying value domains can offer insights into perceptions of anti-immigrant and self-interest views that serve to reduce societal welfare.

However, Schwartz (2011) distinguishes between the two lower order values within each value domain. For example, universalism is concerned with the welfare of all people, compared to benevolence, which is concerned with the welfare of those who fall within a societal "in-group." Universalism combines concern of the larger society along with the world, and all things included in nature, whereas benevolence has primary concern for relations within family, and other primary groups (Schwartz, 2011). Social identity theory proposed by Tajfel and Turner

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(1979) also provides support for this distinction, where it suggests that prioritizing one's in-group may lead to more negative feelings towards those considered outsiders (e.g., immigrants). Similarly, although both self-enhancement values focus on self and social-esteem, achievement emphasizes successful performance through interactions, whereas power is largely fixated on attainment of dominance (Schwartz, 2011). Achievement values are seen as demonstrating competence according to societal standards and norms, compared to power, which strives for individual needs of control and preservation of public image.

Grigoropoulou's (2021) study may provide preliminary empirical evidence that values within the same value domain (e.g., self-transcendence) can influence prejudice in alternative ways. The researcher examined international data pooled from the European Social Survey conducted over fifteen countries. The participants went through a series of survey questions prompting their view towards the economic, cultural, and general impact of immigrants to the host-society, including the two self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence), which was done through a PVQ (Portrait Values Questionnaire). The author found that universalism had a negative effect on perceived immigrant threat, whereas higher scores of benevolence over universalism reflected a more positive effect and pronounced feelings of immigrant threat in thirteen of the fifteen countries (Grigoropoulou, 2021). Perceived immigrant threat can be defined as feelings of threat that may be triggered by out-group members or foreigners within a society. This can be intertwined with intergroup threat that challenges goal-attainment of one group through views, beliefs, and actions (Grigoropoulou, 2021; Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). These results provide evidence in support of the opposite roles that benevolence and universalism values can play when perceiving immigrant threat and perceptions of prejudice

towards immigrants. Concurrently, the study supports the notion of examining values within domains seperately, such as benevolence and universalism. is

A majority of the cited work has found correlational associations between value differences, whereas the current study aims to experimentally activate certain value domains. Priming has been well established as an experimental way to activate values temporarily. Researchers have used priming methods in their studies to induce self-enhancement and self-transcendence values and tested if different primed groups have led to behavioral changes (Bargh et al., 2001; Maio et al., 2009). For example, Bargh et al. (2001) found that when participants were primed with compete, succeed, or achievement-based values, it caused them to do better on a subsequent word task compared to participants who were primed with neutral terms. Another study by Maio and colleagues (2009) primed values through a novel sorting task, sorting either achievement, benevolence, or control condition values. The group primed with achievement values had increased success for the puzzle task and were found to be less helpful towards an experimenter, whereas the group primed with benevolence values had decreased success for the puzzle task and expressed increased helpfulness towards the experimenter. These results reveal that priming is an effective method to experimentally test value differences and emphasize the importance of priming as a manipulation.

In the current study, I argued that priming human values would have induced saliency of the values during the experimental task, which would then influence perceptions of immigrants for the different human value dimensions (benevolence, universalism, power, achievement). I expected group differences on perceptions towards immigrants between self-transcendence and self-enhancement. H1.Participants who are primed by the self-transcendent values (benevolence and universalism) should be less likely to perceive immigrants as threats than the participants

who are primed with the self-enhancement values (power and achievement). More importantly, the study explored group differences on perceptions of immigrants within the self-transcendence (Universalism vs. Benevolence) and self-enhancement (Power vs. Achievement) groups. H2. I hypothesized that individuals primed with universalism values should be less likely to perceive immigrants as threats, compared to those primed with benevolence. H3.Individuals primed with power values would be more likely to perceive immigrants as threats compared to those primed with achievement values. In addition, the current study examined the differences on perceive immigrants as threats across values. H4. I hypothesized that by comparing all four values together (universalism, benevolence, power, and achievement), those primed with universalism values would score the lowest on perception of immigrants as threats, followed by benevolence, achievement, and power values.

Method

Participants

A total sample of 200 participants were used for the current study. The sample for the study was calculated using the power analysis tool, G*Power, for a one-way ANOVA with five groups, and a small to medium effect size of 0.25. A medium effect size was thought to be most appropriate based on previous studies that measured value differences between groups along with intergroup attitudes (Souchon et al., 2017; Wolf, Weinstein, & Maio, 2019. In order to equally distribute among the five groups, a randomized block design put fifty participants per groups, totaling to 250 participants overall. Participants were recruited from Introduction to Psychology classes offered at Seton Hall University for the duration of the 2022 Spring semester. Participants aged 18 and above were able to enroll through the online SONA sign-up system, where they received course credit for participation.

Design

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the five value priming conditions (control group, universalism, benevolence, power, or achievement), using the Scrambled Sentences Task (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000), which serves as the independent variable in this study. After completing the Scrambled Sentences Task, all participants completed subsequent surveys measuring the influence of the primed value condition they were in, along with measuring perceptions of immigrants as threats. All participants completed the same surveys regarding influence of the primed value conditions and perceptions towards immigrants. The primary analysis for the current study was a one-way ANOVA to measure any group differences found between the five independent groups. The one-way ANOVA determined whether there are any statistically significant differences found between the five groups.

Perceptions towards immigrants serves as the dependent measure in the study, in the form of a questionnaire. Directly following the priming condition, a manipulation check was administered through the short Schwartz's value survey (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005), measuring the importance of each value within Schwartz's value theory to their identity. The subsequent measure assessed perceptions toward immigrants through the Perceived Immigrant Threat scale (Gamez-Djokic & Waytz, 2020).

Materials and Measures

The Scrambled Sentences Task adapted from (e.g. Bargh & Chartrand, 2000) primed participants for the Schwartz Value condition they are in (control group, universalism, benevolence, power, or achievement) to induce saliency of the value during the study. Participants in each group were given eight sets of words to make into grammatically correct sentences. Each scrambled task is framed as a gender-neutral individual, avoiding pronouns such

as she/he. For example, in the universalism priming condition, eight keywords present: "compassionate, fair, just, accepting, open-minded, empathic, non-judgemental, and tolerant" were used. The participants were provided scrambled words such as "people/tolerated/dissimilar/they/is" for each keyword. The unscrambled sentence could be "they tolerated dissimilar people." Please note that some keywords were adapted from (Fischer & Karl, 2020) as well as Krettenauer et al. (2016), which can be found in Appendix A.

Short Schwartz's Value Survey (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005) includes 10 value items representing ten motivationally distinct value domains. Participants rated the importance of the following values as a life-guiding principle, using the 7-point scale in from 1 (not important at all), to 7 (supremely important). For example, the value power is described with the following attributes: "social power, authority, wealth".

The Perceptions of Immigration Threat (Gamez-Djokic & Waytz, 2020) scale includes eight items of realistic-threat and seven items of symbolic-threat of immigrants. Symbolic threats are defined as threats to the integrity or validity of a group's meaning system [such as] religion, values, belief system, ideology, philosophy, morality, and world view (Stephan et al., 2009). For example, "Social services have become less available to Americans because of immigration." Realistic threats are defined as threats which result from the perceptions held by the in-group, that the out-group poses a risk to their safety, economy, politics, health, or overall well-being (Stephan et al., 2009). For example, "Immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of American society as soon as possible after they arrive." Participants were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement with each statement on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). To obtain a composite score of the perception of immigrant threat, the realistic and symbolic threat subscales were averaged together. Items for the symbolic

threat and realistic threat subscales were reverse scored for statements representing non-threat perceptions.

After measuring perceptions towards immigrant threat, participants were given a demographics questionnaire which asked about gender, date of birth, ethnicity, race, and age.

Procedure

The study was conducted in an online platform through Qualtrics. Participants were asked to complete the informed consent form online. After participants signed the consent form and agreed to complete the study, they were able to begin the study. The participants were then be prompted to a screen which went over the instructions on the Sentence Scrambled Task. They were then given the Sentence Scrambled Task priming value saliency, followed by the Short Schwartz's Value Survey as a manipulation check, the questionnaire measuring perceptions towards immigrant threat, and a demographics questionnaire. The participants in each condition completed the Short Schwartz's Value Survey as a manipulation check after the priming task. Following the manipulation check, they completed a questionnaire assessing their perceptions of immigration threat. The demographics questionnaire asked about their gender, date of birth, ethnicity, race, age, and country of birth, etc. Once participants completed the study, they were asked to write/guess the purpose of the study. At the end, all the participants were presented a debriefing form.

<h1 style="text-align:center">Results</h1>

Descriptive Results

After measuring perceptions towards immigrant threat, participants were given a demographics questionnaire. Please note that 78 participants did not receive the demographic questionnaire due to a technical error in Qualtrics. Out of 172 participants, there were 72.6%

female respondents and 27.4% male respondents in the sample. The majority ethnicity was reported as White (47.2%), followed by Hispanic or Latino (19.1%), Asian (14.1%), African American (14.1%), Other (4.0%), and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (1.5%). A one-way ANOVA was performed to compare the effect of ethnicity on perceptions of immigrant threat. There was a statistically significant difference in the composite score of threat (realistic and symbolic), $F(3, 143) = 3.362$, $p = 0.02$). Post Hoc LSD Tests for multiple comparisons found that the mean value for threat was significantly higher for those who identified as White, compared with those who identified as Black ($p = 0.007$, 95% C.I. = [0.1248, 0.7577]) and those who identified as Hispanic ($p = 0.002$, 95% C.I. = [0.1970, 0.8119]). In other words, those who identified as White were much more likely to perceive immigrants as threats compared to Blacks and Hispanics.

Manipulation Check – Short Schwartz's Value Survey

The Short Schwartz's Value Survey was administered directly after the Scrambled Sentences Task to check if the priming manipulation was successful. A One-way ANOVA was performed to compare the targeted values (benevolence, universalism, achievement, and power) between the priming conditions and the control condition to see if the targeted values succeeded in priming participants for their respective values. Planned contrasts revealed no significant differences among the value groups, however certain comparisons in targeted values between the groups revealed trends in the direction hypothesized. The contrast test between the universalism priming group and control group found a higher score for universalism in the priming group compared to the control group, $t(250) = 1.158$, $p = .248$. Further, planned contrasts between the benevolence priming group and the control group found a higher score of benevolence in the prming group compared to the control group, $t(250) = 0.295$, $p = 0.946$. Similarly, contrasts tests

between the achievement priming group and the control group found a higher score for achievement in the priming group compared to the control group, $t(250) = 0.149$, $p = 0.895$. However, planned contrasts between the power priming and control groups revealed a trend opposite of what was hypothesized, where a higher score for power was found in the control group compared to the priming group, $t(250) = -0.16$, $p = 0.653$. Overall, no significant differences on the targeted values were found between groups, suggesting the manipulation failed. The results appear in Table 1 for mean value comparisons and standard deviations.

Table 1. Means and (Standard Deviation) of Manipulation Check Values

Value Being Tested	
Universalism	Universalism = 6.14(1.65)
	Control = 5.69(2.07)
Benevolence	Benevolence = 6.80(1.55)
	Control = 6.78(1.25)
Achievement	Achievement = 6.57(1.43)
	Control = 6.53(1.37)
Power	Power = 3.78(2.03)
	Control = 3.94(1.92)

Main Results

In general, one-way ANOVAs among the value groups (achievement, benevolence, power, and universalism), along with planned contrasts revealed no statistically significant differences among any of the value groups, across the composite scale and subscales (realistic and symbolic threat). For mean value comparisons and standard deviations, see Table 2.

Hypothesis 1

It was expected that participants who are primed by self-transcendence values (benevolence and universalism) would be less likely to perceive immigrants as threats than the participants who are primed with self-enhancement values (power and achievement). ANOVA with the planned contrast between the self-transcendence and self-enhancement groups revealed there wasno statistically significant differences for the composite score of threat, $t(250) = 1.082$, $p = 0.280$, and for each subscale of threat (symbolic, $t(250) = 1.434$, $p = 0.153$; and realistic, $t(250) = 0.447$, $p = 0.656$).

Hypothesis 2

Furthermore, it was expected that participants who were primed with the universalism value would perceive immigrants as less of a threat compared to those primed with the benevolence value. Overall, the planned contrast between universalism and benevolence revealed no statistically significant difference for the composite score of threat, $t(250) = 0.612$, $p = 0.541$and for both subscales of threat (symbolic, $t(250) = 0.816$, $p = 0.415$; and realistic, $t(250) = 0.447$, $p = 0.656$).

Hypothesis 3

It was expected that participants primed with the power value would be more likely to perceive immigrants as threats than those primed with the achievement value. The planned contrast between the two values revealed no statistically significantdifference for the composite

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score of threat, $t(250) = 1.333$, $p = 0.184$ and for both subscales of threat (symbolic, $t(250) = 1.073$, $p = 0.285$;and realistic, $t(250) = 1.290$, $p = 0.198$).

Hypothesis 4

Last, it was hypothesized that participants primed with the power value would be more likely to perceive immigrants as threats compared to those primed with the universalism value. The planned contrast between power and universalism revealed no statistically significant difference for the composite score of threat, $t(250) = 0.612$, $p = 0.541$; and for both subscales of threat (symbolic, $t(250) = 0.816$, $p = 0.415$; and realistic, $t(250) = -0.003$, $p = 0.997$).

Table 2. Composite Threat, Realistic Threat, and Symbolic Threat Mean Value and (Standard Deviation) Comparisons:

	Universalism	Benevolence	Achievement	Power	Control
Threat (Composite)	3.22(0.76)	3.12(0.87)	2.95(0.72)	3.15(0.71)	3.15(0.75)
Realistic Threat	2.90(0.95)	2.82(1.05)	2.67(0.93)	2.91(0.90)	3.02(0.79)
Symbolic Threat	3.53(0.77)	3.42(0.85)	3.24(0.67)	3.40(0.78)	3.29(0.83)

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the impact of different human values (e.g., benevolence, universalism, power, and achievement) on people's perceptions of immigrants in the U.S. as threats. It was hypothesized (hypothesis 1) that participants primed by self-transcendence values (benevolence and universalism) would be less likely to perceive immigrants as threats compared to participants primed with self-enhancement values (achievement and power). It was also hypothesized (hypothesis 2) that individuals primed with the universalism value would perceive immigrants as less of a threat than those primed with the benevolence value. Similarly, we expected (hypothesis 3) that individuals primed with the power value would perceive immigrants as more of a threat than those primed with the achievement value, and that those primed by the power value would be more likely to perceive immigrants as threats compared to individuals primed by the universalism value (hypothesis 4).

The main results revealed no statistically significant differences between any value groups across the composite scale and subscales (realistic and symbolic threat). This finding misaligns with previous literature that suggests differences in perceptions of immigrants as a threat between the self-transcendence and self-enhancement value groups (e.g., Wolf, Weinstein, & Maio, 2019, Saroglou et al., 2009, Feather & Mckee, 2008). More specifically, previous research suggests that individuals with higher self-transcendence values may influence perceptions in a more positive and favorable direction towards immigrants, and self-

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enhancement values would influence perceptions in a more negative way. (e.g., Wolf, Weinstein, & Maio, 2019, Saroglou et al., 2009, Souchon et al., 2017). Similarly, research suggests that individuals who score higher in universalism and benevolence values are more concerned with overall welfare of society as a whole, and subsequently are less likely to express prejudice, whereas those who score higher in power and achievement reveal correlations of those values positively predicting prejudice). Moreover, Grigoropoulou's (2021) study provides evidence for differences between values from the same domain (benevolence and universalism), and thus led us to hypothesize that those primed with benevolence, universalism, power, or achievement values, would influence perceptions towards immigrants in alternative ways. However, the current study contradict reports of differences on perceiving immigrants as threats between these values across and within the same value domains.

Consistent with the main results, no statistically significant differences were found among comparison groups and values in the manipulation check. As noted earlier, the results of the current study do not replicate previous research. The non-significant results of this study may be attributed to the method used to prime participants for a given value. The manipulation check, administered via the Short Schwartz's Value Survey (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005), revealed no significant differences between the value groups and the control group. This suggests that the Scrambled Sentences task did not successfully prime participants for the specific value group they were randomly assigned to. While previous studies have found that the Scrambled Sentences Task induced saliency in their respective studies, in this study, it failed to prime participants. A similar result was found in Karl and Fischer (2020), who also failed to activate values through priming method, however found significant correlations between values and

behavior. Therefore, their study, along with ours, emphasizes the ineffectiveness of priming on activating social constructs (e.g. values).

Another possible explanation for why the Scrambled Sentences Task failed to prime participants may be attributed to studies that have shown values to be personality traits rather than transitory states. For example, some researchers have discussed the trait vs. state argument, with respect to human values, and have found evidence against values being manipulated after the adolescence stage. Poge (2018) and Fetvadijev and He (2019), argue that values tend to become increasingly more stable during the formative years of one's life, and that traits predicted values strongly through longitudinal studies. During the Scrambled Sentences task, participants were randomly assigned to one of five priming groups, which were used to activate saliency of the value group they were in for the duration of the study. In this study, human values were used to prime participants saliency during the task, which drew to activate characteristic patterns of thinking for a specific time period, which aligns with personality states rather than traits, as it is a temporary state of activation. Therefore, it is reasonable to propose that the study may have failed to prime participants because Schwartz human values are found to be generalized across varying scenarios for individuals and serve as personality traits.

One interesting finding was the statistically significant difference found when comparing the composite score of threat across self-reported ethnic groups. Post Hoc LSD tests found that the mean value for threat was significantly higher for those who identified as White, as compared to Blacks and Hispanics. This reveals that those who identified as White were much more likely to perceive immigrants as threats compared to Blacks and Hispanics. This finding has implications for the perceptions towards immigrants, where identifying as White may be a determining factor in how much individuals consider immigrants to be a threat to society.

Murray and Marx (2013) studied perceptions and views towards immigrants and refugees to the U.S. One of their findings revealed that White participants had higher realistic threat scores towards immigrants than did non-White participants, which again, reflect challenges towards the majority group. More recently, researchers have shifted efforts, focusing on threat towards racial and ethnic minority populations in the U.S. Zou and Cheryan (2022), studied the effect of foreign cultural threat, defined as a threat to American culture or way of life, through the growth of these minority populations in predominantly White populated neighborhoods. Their findings revealed that White individuals did in fact perceive a foreign cultural threat within these neighborhoods and went beyond realistic and symbolic threats when highlighting their concerns. Additionally, it was found that Whites' perceived a greater foreign cultural threat towards Arab Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans, as compared to Black Americans, which may be attributed to the idea that they are typically stereotyped as less foreign or unfamiliar than the former ethnic groups (Zou & Cheryan, 2022). Similarly, Chirco and Buchanan (2021), studied the role of skin tone and color in immigration-based practices within the U.S. Their findings revealed that those with brown skin were more likely to perceived as undocumented immigrants compared to white or black skin tones, which also predicted higher levels of support for harsher immigration policies for groups who identified as having brown skin. These studies explore ethnic backgrounds through the lens of immigration, and how perceptions may vary based off those differences.

Limitations

As is the case with many university-based studies, our participants do not accurately represent the larger population of Americans or residents in the U.S. Specifically, the majority of our sample was female and white, which does not reflect accurately the diversity of the nation.

Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) report that college students are typically more liberal, which may have affected the perceptions towards immigrants in the current study. It would be ideal to replicate the study with a more representative sample, where the Scrambled Sentences Task may have worked in priming participants for value saliency.

Due to a technical error in Qualtrics, roughly 1/5th of participants did not receive the demographics questionnaire. Time constraints did not allow for further data collection, which is why a limitation of the study may be the incompleteness of data reported from participants. Therefore, although the study found differences for the composite score of threat between ethnicities, the results may have the potential to be inconsistent with the complete demographic data from the Seton Hall University sample.

Last, the current study did not explore different types of immigration status, which may have importantly affected the perceptions towards immigrants. Previous studies have shown varying perceptions towards immigrants who are documented vs. undocumented (Chirco and Buchanan, 2021). Given that there was no manipulation of immigration status, perceptions may have been influenced in a more positive direction towards immigrants to the United States, for both realistic and symbolic types of threats, as well as the composite score of threat. A potential follow-up study may explore perceptions towards immigration through the varying types of status' that individuals hold when entering the U.S.

Conclusion

The current study compared human values (benevolence, universalism, power, and achievement) on individual perceptions towards immigrants in the U.S. Specifically, symbolic and realistic threat types were used to measure people's attitudes towards immigrants. Schwartz Value Theory has been well established in previous literature, where researchers have used

human values to predict actions, views, and behaviors. Overall, the findings of my research indicate no significant differences between any value groups when perceiving attitudes towards immigrants. This contradicts with previous work that exemplifies differences between human values. Furthermore, it is noted that the priming task used to induce value saliency in the study may have been the primary cause for why no significant effects were found. A significant difference was found among ethnicities, where those who identified as White were more likely to perceive immigrants as threats compared to any other type of ethnic background. This significance has been replicated in previous works, which have shown differences among race and ethnicity when it comes to attitudes towards immigrants in the U.S. A good follow-up study may look at the differences among ethnicities from a value-based standpoint to further understand the self-transcendence and self-enhancement dimensions, as well as the role ethnicity can play in influencing our perceptions. Although this work did not find any differences between the self-transcendence and self-enhancement dimensions, future research should be aimed at dissecting the reasons behind why perceptions towards immigration alter, and how negative sentiments can be reduced.

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APPENDIX A

Scrambled Sentences Task

References:

(e.g., Bargh and Chartrand, 2000; Bargh et al., 2001; Kühnen et al., 2001; Srull and Wyer, 1979; van Baaren, Maddux, Chartrand, de Bouter, and van Knippenberg, 2003) ;

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Information:

For each of the Scrambled Sentences Tasks below, each Task will be specific to one value group (power, achievement, benevolence, universalism, or the control group). Each task will contain 14 scrambled sentences, from which 8 of the scrambled sentences will contain key words related to each of the value groups. For the control condition, there will be no keywords. Each of the key words are bolded in the scrambled sentences below. Each of the sentences will be in an open text box on Qualtrics where the participant will be asked to type their answer into the text box.

Instructions:

For each set of words below, make a grammatical four-word sentence and write it down in the space provided.

For example: Flew/ eagle/ the/ plane/ around = The eagle flew around

Prime Group 1: Scrambled Sentences Task - Self-enhancement (Power)

1) the / has / woman / **authority** / forest
2) a/ smile/ parrot/ what/ great

3) **captain** / dancing / their / need / boats
4) ball/ the/ hoop/ toss/ normally
5) I / future / giving / enjoy / **commands**
6) saw/ hammer/ I / train/ the
7) **control** / above / I / chaos / the
8) keen / I / conversation / **dominate** / the
9) the/ machine/ wash/ frequently/ clothes
10) called / the / today / green / **executive**
11) sky/ the/ seamless/ red/ is
12) lie / **influenced** / was / heavily / I
13) a/ have/ June/ holiday/ wedding
14) a / field / it's / **privileged** / situation

Prime Group 2: Scrambled Sentences Task – Self-enhancement (Achievement)

1)people/ **successful** / they / are
2) the / machine / wash / frequently / clothes
3) a / smile / parrot / what / great
4) I / self / am / **disciplined**
5) They / **persevere** / obstacles / hard
6) I / socially / am / **accepted**
7) saw/ hammer/ I / train/ the
8) a/ have/ June/ holiday/ wedding
9) saw / my / unique / is / style
10) people / they **hard-working** / are
11) an / what **intelligent** / person
12) really / value **education** / they
13) ball/ the/ hoop/ toss/ normally
14) parent / what / a / **proud**

Prime Group 3: Scrambled Sentences Task – Self-Transcendence (Benevolence)

1)treat **/ kindly** / I / forest / animals
2)of / act / **selflessness** / future / an
3)saw/ hammer/ I / train/ the
4)ball/ the/ hoop/ toss/ normally
5)flight / **generous** / they / are / people
6) I / **altruistic** / very / am / behavior
7) parents / be / **forgiving** / if / can
8) sky/ the/ seamless/ red/ is
9) a / smile / parrot / what / great
10) people / **helpful** / are / mostly / not
11) they / genuinely / **benevolent** / are / is
12) the / machine / wash / frequently / clothes
13) a/ have/ June/ holiday/ wedding
14) can / be / friend / **caring** / I

Prime Group 4: Scrambled Sentences Task – Self-Transcendence (Universalism)

1) little / **compassion** / showed / I / above
2) no / **sympathy** / have / I / keen
3) a/ have/ June/ holiday/ wedding
4) saw/ hammer/ I / train/ the
5) ball/ the/ hoop/ toss/ normally
6) I / extremely / was / **open-minded** / no
7) sky/ the/ seamless/ red/ is
8) judge / **fair** / have / was / the
9) were / my / parents / **accepting** / she
10) the / machine / wash / frequently / clothes
11) to / be / **non-judgmental** / try / happens
12) I / religiously / am / **tolerant** / not
13) a / somewhat / society / **just** / very
14) a / smile / parrot / what / great

Prime Group 5: Scrambled Sentences Task – Control Group (No Keywords)

1. book / hundred / interesting / the / is
2. swim / their / opinions / distinct / are
3. you / june / like / things / different
4. only / I / moving / eat / salad
5. very / throw / I / am / competitive
6. saw / my / unique / is / style
7. independently / already / I / act / building
8. green / you / your / umbrella / forgot
9. working / parrot / prefer / alone / I
10. train / the / apart / drift / boats
11. solitude / sometimes / plane / I / enjoy
12. I / early / too / arrived / waiting
13. button / hungry / detached / the / is
14. I / cold / autonomy / my / value

APPENDIX B

The Short Schwartz's Value Survey

Reference:

Lindeman, M. and Verkasalo, M. (2005). Measuring values with the Short Schwartz's Value Survey. Journal of Personality Assessment, 85(2),170-178.

Information:

This short value scale is a shortened version of Schwartz's Value Survey (SVS), which includes 57 value items that represent ten motivationally distinct values. The Short Schwartz's Value Survey gives insight in the ten broad values, not in the 57 specific values.

Instructions:

Please rate the importance of the following values as a life-guiding principle for you. Use the 8-point scale in which 0 indicates that the value is opposed to your principles, 1 indicates that the values is not important for you, 4 indicates that the values is important, and 8 indicates that the value is of supreme importance for you.

	Opposed to my principles	Not important			Important				Of supreme importance
1. POWER (social power, authority, wealth)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2. ACHIEVEMENT (success, capability, ambition, influence on people and events)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

3. HEDONISM (gratification of desires, enjoyment in life, self-indulgence)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4. STIMULATION (daring, a varied and challenging life, an exciting life)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5. SELF-DIRECTION (creativity, freedom, curiosity, independence, choosing one's own goals)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
6. UNIVERSALISM (broad-mindedness, beauty of nature and arts, social justice, a world at peace, equality, wisdom, unity with nature, environmental protection)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7. BENEVOLENCE (helpfulness, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, responsibility)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8. TRADITION (respect for tradition, humbleness, accepting one's portion in life, devotion, modesty)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9. CONFORMITY (obedience, honoring parents and elders, self-discipline, politeness)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10. SECURITY (national security, family security, social order, cleanliness, reciprocation of favors)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

APPENDIX C

Perceived Immigration Threat Measure

Reference:

Gamez-Djokic, M., & Waytz, A. (2020). Concerns About Automation and Negative Sentiment Toward Immigration. Psychological Science, 31(8), 987-1000. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797620929977

Information:

Perceived immigrant threat was measured using items from o-threat (e.g., "Immigrants should be eligible for the same health care benefits received by Americans who cannot pay for their health care") and symbolic-threat (e.g., "The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most Americans") subscales adapted from previous research (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999).

Instructions:

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of following statements below. Note: The scale to rate each item ranges from 1-7, with 1 representing that you strongly disagree with a statement and 7 representing that you strongly agree with a statement.

Realistic Threat Items:

1. Immigrants get more from this country than they contribute.

2. The children of immigrants should have the same right to attend public schools in the United

States as Americans do (reverse scored).

3. Immigration has increased the tax burden on Americans

4. Immigrants are not displacing American workers from their jobs (reverse scored).

5. Immigrants should be eligible for the same health care benefits received by Americans who cannot pay for their health care (reverse scored).

6. Social services have become less available to Americans because of immigration.

7. The quality of social services available to Americans has remained the same, despite immigration (reverse scored).

8. Immigrants are as entitled to subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, sewage, electricity) as poor Americans are (reverse scored)

Symbolic Threat Items:

1. Immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of American society as soon as possible after they arrive.

2. Immigration is undermining American culture.

3. The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most Americans (reverse scored).

4. The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most Americans.

5. The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding family issues and socializing children are basically quite similar to those of most Americans (reverse scored).

6. The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding social relations are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most Americans.

7. Immigrants should not have to accept American ways (reverse scored).

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
1 8 5 6

February 8th, 2022

Prachi Pathak
Seton Hall University

Re: 2022-301

Dear Prachi,

At its January meeting, the Research Ethics Committee of the Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board reviewed and approved your research proposal entitled, "Value Dimensions Influence Perceptions Towards Immigrants" submitted. This memo serves as official notice of the aforementioned study's approval. Enclosed for your records are the stamped original Consent Form and recruitment flyer. You can make copies of these forms for your use.

The Institutional Review Board approval of your research is valid for a one-year period from the date of this letter. During this time, any changes to the research protocol, informed consent form or study team must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to their implementation.

You will receive a communication from the Institutional Review Board at least 1 month prior to your expiration date requesting that you submit an Annual Progress Report to keep the study active, or a Final Review of Human Subjects Research form to close the study. In all future correspondence with the Institutional Review Board, please reference the ID# listed above.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Mara C. Podvey, PhD, OTR
Associate Professor
Co-Chair, Institutional Review Board

Phyllis Hansell, EdD, RN, DNAP, FAAN
Professor
Co-Chair, Institutional Review Board

Office of the Institutional Review Board
Presidents Hall · 400 South Orange Avenue · South Orange, New Jersey 07079 · Tel: 973.275.4654 · Fax 973.275.2978 · *www.shu.edu*
W H A T   G R E A T   M I N D S   C A N   D O

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Informed Consent Form

Title of Research Study: Value Dimensions Influence Perceptions Towards Immigrants

Principal Investigator: Prachi Pathak, Graduate Student Researcher

Department Affiliation: Department of Psychology, Seton Hall University

Sponsor: This research is supported by the Department of Psychology, College of Arts and Sciences at Seton Hall University.

Brief summary about this research study:
The following summary of this research study is to help you decide whether or not you want to participate in the study. You have the right to ask questions at any time.

The purpose of this study is to examine your perceptions about immigrants.

You will be asked to complete an unscrambled word task, and then answer questions about value beliefs and your perceptions about immigrants. The questionnaire consists of a series of questions or statements that you will be asked to evaluate. The survey is entirely online and can be completed at any time that is convenient for you.

We expect that you will be in this research study for less than 30 minutes.

There is no primary risk for participation. The main benefit of participation is that you are contributing to advancing psychology research and you can learn about the research process by participating.

Purpose of the research study:
You are being asked to take part in this research study because you are an introductory psychology student seeking to fulfill requirements for your course.

Your participation in this research study is expected to be for 30 minutes.

You will be one of 250 people who are expected to participate in this research study.

What you will be asked to do:
Your participation in this research study will include:

First you will unscramble words to form complete sentences through a series of words provided to you.

> "For each set of words below, make a grammatical four-word sentence and write it down in the space provided. For example: Flew/ eagle/ the/ plane/ around = The eagle flew around".

Next you will answer questions about human values.

> "Please rate the importance of the following values as a life-guiding principle for you. For example, ACHIEVEMENT (success, capability, ambition, influence on people and events). (0= opposed to your principles to 8= supreme importance for you)"

Then you will answer questions related to your perceptions towards immigrants.

"Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of following statements below. For example, Immigrants get more from this country than they contribute. (1=Strongly disagree to 7=Strongly agree)"

Your participation is expected to last less than 30 minutes. You will complete the entire study on Qualtrics, an online survey platform. This study consists of only one session; there is no follow up or further contact with participants.

Your rights to participate, say no or withdraw:
Participation in research is voluntary. You can decide to participate or not to participate. You can choose to participate in the research study now and then decide to leave the research at any time. Your choice will not be held against you.

The person in charge of the research study, Prachi Pathak, can remove you from the research study without your approval. Possible reasons for removal include missing study visits or non-compliance with the study procedures.

Alternative options:
Instead of being in this research study, you may instead choose to: complete activities for an introduction to research in various fields of psychology online via the American Psychological Association, or scheduling a Teams meeting with a graduate student.

Potential benefit:
There may be no direct benefit to you from this study. You may obtain personal satisfaction from knowing that you are participating in a project that contributes to new information.

Potential risks:
The risks associated with this study are minimal in nature.

Confidentiality and privacy:

Efforts will be made to limit the use or disclosure of your personal information. This information may include the research study documents or other source documents used for the purpose of conducting the study. These documents may include your SONA participation records. We cannot promise complete secrecy. Organizations that oversee research safety may inspect and copy your information. This includes the Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board who oversees the safe and ethical conduct of research at this institution.

This survey is being hosted by Qualtrics and involves a secure connection. Terms of service, addressing confidentiality, may be viewed at https://www.qualtrics.com/privacy-statement/. Upon receiving results of your survey, any possible identifiers will be deleted by the investigator. You will be identified only by a unique subject number. Your email address will be stored separately from your survey data. All information will be kept on a password protected computer only accessible by the research team. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used.

Data sharing:
De-identified data from this study may be shared with the research community at large to advance knowledge. We will remove or code any personal information that could identify you before files are shared with other researchers to ensure that, by current scientific standards and known methods, no one will be able to identify you from the information we share. Despite these measures, we cannot guarantee anonymity of your personal data.

Cost and compensation:

You will not be responsible for any of the costs or expenses associated with your participation in this study. There is no payment for your time to participate in this study.

Conflict of interest disclosure:

The principal investigator and members of the study team have no financial conflicts of interest to report.

Contact information:

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about this research project, you can contact the principal investigator, Prachi Pathak, pathakpr@shu.edu or thesis advisor Fanli Jia, fanli.jia@shu.edu or the Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board ("IRB") at (973) 761-9334 or irb@shu.edu.

If you wish to participate, please click the "I Agree" button and you will be taken to the survey.

If you do not wish to participate in this study, please exit the browser.