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National Identity and Attitudes toward Immigrants: The Role of Social Comparison and Perceptions of Competition

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy
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NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS: THE ROLE
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by

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Abstract

Research has long demonstrated that negative types of national attachment, like nationalism, are related to relatively more negative intergroup attitudes while more positive forms of national identity, like patriotism, are either related to relatively more positive attitudes or unrelated. Most of this research has been conducted using individual difference measures of national identity. This series of studies seeks to test the difference between nationalism and patriotism empirically, by examining the idea that the presence of social comparison is what separates nationalism from patriotism. Further, the literature suggests that perceptions of competition between groups are an important factor in determining intergroup relations. Therefore, I am also interested in exploring the potential mediational role of perceptions of competition. In four studies, my goals were: (1) to determine whether the previously demonstrated relations between individual differences in nationalism and patriotism and attitudes toward immigrants would replicate; (2) to determine whether making social comparisons (downward versus upward) affects participants attitudes toward immigrants, and whether these parallel the effects found for individual differences in nationalism; and (3) to examine the potential meditational role of perceived competition. Study 1 is a correlational study examining nationalism and patriotism as predictors of attitudes and emotions toward immigrants. In Study 2, I introduce a social comparison manipulation to determine if making downward social comparisons (comparing one's nation to another nation that is considered worse off) between one's nation and another lead to less positive intergroup attitudes. In Studies 3a and 3b, I attempt to replicate Study 2, and also examine the effects of upward social comparison (comparing one's nation to another nation that is considered better

off). Across the studies, my results suggest that making downward social comparisons results in relatively less favorable attitudes toward immigrants. I also found some support for the idea that these relations are mediated by perceptions of competition between immigrants and other Canadians. Finally, I consistently replicated previous findings that the nationalism individual difference variable predicted relatively less positive intergroup attitudes while patriotism was either related to relatively more positive intergroup attitudes or unrelated to attitudes. Implications for national identity theory as well as immigrants and immigration to Canada are discussed.

Keywords

Acknowledgments

Learning happens best in community and I truly believe that without my community this dissertation would not have been possible.

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Chapter 1

1   Introduction

Globalization has been steadily increasing our interconnectedness and, as such, we have unprecedented contact with people from cultures different from our own; however, throughout history, when different social groups come into contact with one another, the result is often conflict (Castles & Miller, 2009). Although there are likely many reasons that intergroup contact may result in conflict, prejudice researchers have been particularly interested in the link between ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation (Brewer, 1999). National identity is one particularly strong form of ingroup favoritism that researchers across disciplines have been studying for decades. This topic has garnered even more interest in the years since the September 11th Terrorist Attacks, which generated a wave of American patriotism and subsequent Islamaphobia (Coryn, Beale, & Myers, 2004; Gallup, 2015; Li & Brewer, 2004; Skitka, 2005). A review of the literature on the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes found some support for this link (e.g., Blank & Schmidt, 2003; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Esses, Dovidio, Semenya, & Jackson, 2004; Spry & Hornsey, 2007); however, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about if and when identifying with one's nation results in prejudice toward other social groups. This may be because of the different forms, both positive and negative, that national identity may take. The purpose of the current research is to further explore the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes (in this case, I will focus on attitudes toward immigrants) with an emphasis on understanding the mechanisms underlying this relation. Two potential mechanisms of

particular interest in this work are the roles of social comparison and perceptions of competition.

1.1   Immigrants and Immigration in Canada

Understanding how people perceive and treat immigrants in any country is a worthy goal, but this is especially true in Canada, a country which is built on immigration. Canada is a high immigrant receiving country; a report from 2011 states that 20.6% of Canada's population is foreign-born which makes it the highest immigrant receiving nation among the G8 countries (Statistics Canada, 2013). With Canada welcoming over 250,000 new permanent residents every year (Citizen and Immigration Canada, 2012), it is imperative that we pay attention to how these newcomers are being welcomed into their communities and integrating into society.

Another reason that studying how people feel about immigrants and immigration is particularly important is that Canada is officially committed to a policy of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is an approach that governments take to deal with the increasing diversity as a result of migration. It involves passing laws granting minority groups political and cultural rights and, ideally, leads to an appreciation of that diversity (Castles & Miller, 2009). Canada passed the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* in 1985 which detailed the official government policy of multiculturalism. Highlights of the policy include understanding and respecting the many ethnic backgrounds of Canadians and ensuring equitable treatment for members of all groups (Justice, 1985).

A report produced in 2011 by the German Marshall Fund on attitudes toward immigrants and immigration across eight of the largest and most economically developed North American and European countries found that Canada had the most positive

attitudes across a variety of metrics (German Marshall Fund, 2011). That being said, research still finds that some Canadians perceive immigrants and refugees as a threat to resources and cultural values, hold dehumanizing beliefs about them, and have less favorable attitudes and emotions toward them compared to other Canadians (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Esses et al., 2004; Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013). The combination of ever increasing levels of immigration, a commitment to multiculturalism, and yet the continuing presence of negative attitudes suggests that studying the antecedents to Canadian's attitudes toward immigrants is an important endeavor.

1.2   National Identity

Finding one clear definition of national identity is not an easy task. The nature of national identity has been "variable and contested" within the literature as authors have often disagreed about how to define and operationalize it (Kunovich, 2009, p. 573). Considering the positive and negative forms is a good starting point for understanding how researchers have conceived of and studied national identity. Experts in many social scientific fields have long claimed that national identity takes both positive and negative forms (Bar-Tal & Staub, 1997; Johnson, 1997; Reykowski, 1997). The positive form is often termed patriotism while the negative form has been called by a variety of names, including nationalism, chauvinism, jingoism, pseudopatriotism, and ethnocentrism.

Much of the work on national identity, especially as it relates to intergroup relations, has examined the constructs nationalism and patriotism (e.g., Blank & Schmidt, 2003; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Esses et al., 2004), with the seminal work on these concepts that of Kosterman and Feshbach (1989). They defined patriotism as "feelings of

attachment" to one's nation (p. 261). In contrast, they defined nationalism as "the view that [one's nation] is superior and should be dominant" (p. 261). Patriotism has been found to be related to concern for the well-being of one's nation and national ingroup, unity, and civic involvement (Bar-Tal & Staub, 1997); nationalism, on the other hand, is related to xenophobia (Ariely, 2011) and hierarchy legitimizing ideologies such as Right Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation (Kemmelmeier & Winter, 2008).

1.3   National Identity and Intergroup Attitudes

There has been much empirical support for the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes (e.g., Blank & Schmidt, 2003; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Esses et al., 2004; Spry & Hornsey, 2007). Barnes and Esses (under review) recently completed a systematic review of the empirical literature on the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes, with a particular focus on attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. The authors identified 35 articles published since 1980 on the topic. The vast majority of these articles suggested that negative forms of national identity were related to less positive attitudes toward outgroups (e.g., Blank & Schmidt, 2003; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Esses et al., 2004; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006; Spry & Hornsey, 2007). However, another large number of papers, while finding similar patterns, cautioned that there are many important moderating factors (e.g., Ariely, 2011; Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997).

Many of the studies reviewed found that national identity, in its negative form, led to less positive attitudes toward outgroups. One study found that all forms of Australian national identity led to a desire for increased social distance toward several outgroups

(Jones, 1997); however, the majority of studies measured national identity using both negative and positive forms (e.g., nationalism versus patriotism; blind patriotism versus constructive patriotism; ethnic versus civic national identity) and found that the negative form predicted less positive attitudes toward outgroups, but the positive form was either positively related or not related to intergroup attitudes (Billiet, Maddens, & Beerten, 2003; Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Parker, 2009; Spry & Hornsey, 2007).

Almost 30% of the studies reviewed (10 out of 35) used patriotism and nationalism as their measures of national identity. They found that nationalism was related to less positive attitudes toward and a devaluation of outgroups, contempt and hostility toward immigrants and immigration policy (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Esses et al., 2004). In each of these studies, patriotism was found to be either weakly positively related to intergroup attitudes or unrelated. Another study by Viki and Calitri (2008), found that nationalism was predictive of a greater attribution of secondary emotions (e.g., optimism, compassion, melancholy, and guilt) to ingroups versus outgroups, while patriotism negatively predicted the differential attribution of secondary emotions to ingroups versus outgroups. Leyens and colleagues (2001) proposed that attributing secondary emotions (seen as the essence of being human) to ingroups more often than outgroups is a result of intergroup bias and they termed this infrahumanization.

Another collection of studies measured national identity as blind and constructive patriotism. Blind patriotism, or unquestioning support for one's nation and its policies (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999), predicted negative attitudes toward multiculturalism and immigration and a desire for cultural purity, but constructive patriotism, or the ability to endure criticism of one's nation that is based in a positive attachment to the nation and a

desire to see positive change, was not related to intergroup attitudes (Schatz & Staub, 1997; Spry & Hornsey, 2007). In a related study, Parker (2009) demonstrated that blind patriotism predicted xenophobic attitudes toward Islamic fundamentalists and Arabs. Interestingly, it was also predictive of contempt for African Americans and Jews, two groups who should be seen as part of the American ingroup. Rather than constructive patriotism, Parker measured symbolic patriotism as the more positive form of national identity and he found that symbolic patriotism was related to greater warmth for these groups.

Several researchers used data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), a collection of annual surveys administered across 53 countries on a wide variety of topics, to explore this relation as well. The ISSP asks about respondents' feelings of belonging to national groups, pride, what they think makes someone "truly" a member of their national group, citizenship, and membership in the European Union. It also asks about the respondents' opinions of immigrants and immigration policy ("International social survey programme: National identity II," 2003). Using these data, researchers have found that chauvinism was predictive of xenophobia and exclusionary attitudes toward immigrants (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003; Hagendoorn & Poppe, 2004; Knudsen, 1997; Latcheva, 2010; Raijman & Hochman, 2009). All these studies suggest that national identity does indeed appear to play a role in intergroup attitudes; however, excluding Jones' (1997) Australian data, the relation only tends to appears when "bad" national identity is separated from "good" national identity.

When attempting to understand why identifying with one's nation might lead to prejudice toward outgroups, many researchers look to social identity theory (Esses et al.,

2004). Social identity is a part of our self-concept that has to do with our membership in groups and the positive affect we receive from those memberships (Hogg, 2000; Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel, 1974). Social Identity Theory posits that people desire to create and maintain positive images of themselves. This sometimes occurs through internal sources, such as our beliefs about ourselves or our behaviors; however sometimes the groups we belong to can play a role in creating a positive self-image as well.

Social Identity Theory proposes that we break our social world into groups we are a part of (ingroups) and groups we are not a part of (outgroups; Brewer, 1999; Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971; Turner & Reynolds, 2008). Researchers have demonstrated that this ingroup-outgroup categorization has an effect on the way we evaluate and behave toward other people. One common finding is that we tend to favor members of our ingroups and derogate members of our outgroups (Brewer, 1999; Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Social Identity Theory may have implications for our understanding of national identity. For one, it may explain why we choose to belong to particular groups or why membership in particular groups is important to us. We desire to join large and powerful groups and the larger and more powerful a social group is, the more likely that it will contribute positively to our identity. Oftentimes, the largest and most powerful group to which one belongs is his or her nation (Bar-Tal & Staub, 1997).

Many researchers have proposed that the national identity and intergroup attitudes relation is complicated, suggesting that it does exist, but only under certain conditions (e.g., Ariely, 2011; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). One such study examined ISSP data on national identification and

xenophobia and concluded that differences at the individual level as well as the country level can account for what the author termed the "contested nature" of national identification (Kunovich, 2009, p. 573). Important moderators that have been identified are country level differences, such as globalization (Ariely, 2011) and GDP (Pehrson et al., 2009), and individual differences, such as the social status of the participants' ingroup (Duckitt & Parra, 2004; Sidanius et al., 1997).

1.4 Intergroup Competition as a Mechanism

While many studies have identified some variation on the national identity and intergroup attitudes link, few have explored the underlying mechanisms responsible for this relation. One potential mechanism that I am particularly interested in is the role of intergroup competition.

I will begin by describing theories related to intergroup competition and perceived threat. Researchers have long explored the role of threat and competition in prejudice (e.g., Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001) and some of the studies on national identity and intergroup attitudes similarly identified threat and competition as potentially important factors in this relation (e.g., Coryn, Beale, & Myers, 2004; Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013). As an example, Coryn and colleagues (2004) found that shortly after an anxiety inducing event, like the September 11th Terrorist Attacks, participants had higher levels of patriotism and more negative attitudes toward Arabic people.

Louis and colleagues (2013) set out to test the antecedents of anti-immigrant attitudes in Canada and Australia. They predicted that emotions such as contempt and lack of admiration would be related to more negative attitudes toward immigrants, that these emotions would mediate the relation between beliefs about immigrants "cheating

the system" and negative attitudes, and that these emotions and negative cognitions serve to rationalize the perceived threat and negative attitudes link. Of particular note to my current work, they also sought to test the prediction that the national identity and anti-immigrant attitudes relation is mediated by perceptions of threat and competition.

Louis and colleagues (2013) had participants complete a series of measures of national identification, perceived threat and competition, perceptions of immigrants as cheaters, intergroup emotions (admiration and contempt), and attitudes toward immigrants. They then used structural equation modeling and found good fit for a model in which people's emotions toward immigrants and their beliefs about immigrants being cheaters mediated the relation between threat and negative attitudes toward immigrants. They also found that threat mediates the relation between national identification and negative attitudes. Finally, they found that this pattern holds cross-nationally, that is, in both the Canadian and Australian samples. Thus, both conceptually and empirically, perceptions of threat offer a plausible mechanism to explain when national identity leads to outgroup derogation.

There are several theories about how intergroup competition and perceptions of threat lead to intergroup conflict that date back as far as the 1960s work of Sherif and Sherif. One of the first theories examining the role of intergroup threat was Sherif and colleagues Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961). Realistic Group Conflict Theory suggests that if groups are in competition over a limited pool of resources, there is a perception that the success of one group occurs at the expense of the other. This competition then leads to negative attitudes toward the outgroup. Originally tested using adolescent boys at a summer camp, the tenets of

Realistic Group Conflict Theory have since been confirmed in many studies. Of particular interest to my work, several studies have found that when participants believe immigrants are gaining resources at the expense of the host society, it leads to more negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Esses et al., 2001; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998).

While Realistic Group Conflict Theory primarily deals with perceived competition over resources, also termed realistic threats, others have proposed competing theories that explain conflict in the absence of competition over resources. Sears (1988) proposed a theory of symbolic threat which suggested that negative attitudes toward outgroups are due to a perceived threat to one's cultural values. Several studies have found that when people feel like foreigners are threatening their values, it leads to more negative attitudes toward immigrants (Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993).

Although Realistic Group Conflict Theory and Symbolic Threat Theory were initially seen as competing theories, over time studies have begun to demonstrate that both realistic and symbolic threats account for unique variance in intergroup attitudes (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). For example, Esses, Jackson, and Armstrong's (1998) work extended the Realistic Group Conflict Theory to include various forms of group competition. They proposed the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, which suggests that the stress over having enough resources and the saliency of an outgroup that may be in competition (either real or perceived) for such resources has the potential to lead to a perception that one's ingroup and the relevant outgroup are in competition for those resources. This competition may be over tangible factors, such as money or jobs, or more

symbolic factors, such as cultural and value dominance. This perception of group

competition may then, in turn, lead to attempts to remove the source of the competition

(Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005).

One additional recent theory that attempts to integrate both types of threat is the

aptly named Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Integrated Threat

Theory proposes that there are four different kinds of threats which may work together to

cause outgroup prejudice. There are symbolic threats, realistic threats, intergroup anxiety

and negative stereotypes which all may lead to more negative attitudes toward outgroups.

Stephan and Stephan's conception of realistic threats is slightly different from the one

found in Realistic Group Conflict Theory. For instance, they broadened the definition to

include anything that threatens the well-being of a group. Thus, they see realistic threats

as any threats to the existence and livelihood of an ingroup. Examples include warfare,

threats to the political and economic power of the group, and to the members' health. The

next type of threat Integrated Threat Theory considers is symbolic threat. Again,

symbolic threats are threats to a group's morals, values, and attitudes. The other two

types of threats discussed in Integrated Threat Theory are not of primary interest to the

current research, but they are intergroup anxiety—the fear that people have in intergroup

situations that the situation will end negatively—and negative stereotypes.

1.5   Negative National Identity as Social Comparison

When attempting to understand what makes the negative form of national identity

different from the positive form, one possibility is that nationalism introduces intergroup

comparison while patriotism does not. Social comparison theory may help to shed light

on why nationalism as an intergroup comparison may lead to prejudice. Social

Comparison Theory suggests that we have a desire to accurately understand and evaluate ourselves (Festinger, 1954). We compare ourselves to others in order to reduce uncertainty and have a clearer picture of who we are. Wills (1981) elaborated on this theory by suggesting that people can also use social comparisons in a self-enhancing function. He stated that people can improve their subjective well-being by comparing themselves to those who are less fortunate. In other words, they can do this by making a downward comparison. Interestingly, Collins (1996) found that sometimes upward comparisons could also lead to self-enhancement either by emphasizing our similarity to a better off other or as a means of inspiration for self-improvement.

When making intergroup comparisons we tend to try to maximize intergroup distinctiveness, that is, we try to use as many different dimensions as possible to distinguish our groups from outgroups (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In maximizing outgroup distinctiveness we are motivated to focus on dimensions that are favorable for our ingroup and which result in positive distinctiveness for our group. This positive distinctiveness leads to a positive self-evaluation and heightened self-esteem and sense of well-being.

Social Identity Theory and Social Comparison Theory suggest that ingroups do not simply want to differentiate themselves from outgroups, but they want to make comparisons that favor the ingroup over the outgroup. In this way, groups tend to value attributes or accomplishments in which they see themselves as superior to other groups. This suggests that all groups could, in theory, maintain positive distinctiveness if they had different primary values, that is, values which are seen as most important to the group. As long as ingroup members can feel superior in areas that are particularly valued

by the group, they can recognize that other relevant outgroups are superior in other, less important, areas. Problems occur when two relevant outgroups choose the same measure of success, a situation which may lead to intergroup conflict (Brewer, 1999). When the two groups have the same goals, it leads the groups to compare themselves to one another on those shared domains. In comparison situations, the privileged group tends to make, or overstress, positive comparisons that favor their ingroup while the less privileged group either tries to minimize differences between the two groups or recognizes its inferiority and resents the more privileged group (Brewer, 1999).

Theory and research supports the idea that prejudice and discrimination may be the result, in part, of social comparison. Wills suggested that negative intergroup attitudes and behavior could be the consequence of a person making a downward comparison with a group less fortunate than his or her own (Wills, 1981). This may be especially likely if the point of comparison is a shared value or a value that both groups see as particularly important (such as the positive evaluation of one's nation). To my knowledge, only one study has attempted to look at intergroup comparison within the scope of national identity and outgroup rejection.

Mummendey, Klink, and Brown (2001) suggested that the difference between nationalism and patriotism described so frequently in the literature is based on a difference in the type of comparison being made. Across four studies in Germany and Britain, they tested the idea that national identity was only related to outgroup derogation when people were under an intergroup comparison orientation. They primed participants by having them generate reasons why they preferred living in their home country versus a different country (intergroup comparison condition), their home country today rather than

in the past (temporal comparison condition), or their home country without a comparison (control condition). After the priming manipulation, participants responded to measures of ingroup identification, ingroup pride, and derogation of foreigners. Their results demonstrated that national identification and national pride were most strongly related to outgroup derogation when participants made intergroup comparisons rather than temporal comparisons or no comparison (Mummendey et al., 2001a).

1.6 The Current Research

The primary purpose of the current research is to attempt to understand what makes nationalism different from patriotism. As stated above, nationalism is consistently found to be related to negative intergroup attitudes while patriotism is not; however, almost all of the research on nationalism and intergroup attitudes has been correlational and conducted using one of the few individual difference measures described previously. Upon examining these scales, one notable difference between nationalism and patriotism seemed to be the presence of an intergroup comparison in the nationalism scales and the absence of such a comparison in patriotism scales. Thus, I am theorizing that it is the presence of this intergroup comparison that leads to negative intergroup attitudes via perceptions of competition.

The current research has several goals: (1) The first goal is to attempt to replicate correlational results of previous work which found that nationalism was related to more negative attitudes toward immigrants, and that patriotism was either related to more positive attitudes or unrelated to attitudes (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Esses et al., 2004, 2006); (2) The second goal is to explore the possibility that the defining feature of nationalism is a social comparison in which one's nation is

seen as better than others; (3) The third goal is to explore the role of perceptions of competition between immigrants and members of the host society in the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes, particularly in light of recent work that demonstrates that perceived competition mediates the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes (Louis et al., 2013). I propose that intergroup comparison is responsible for inducing feelings of competition which, in turn, lead to negative intergroup attitudes.

I address these goals in a series four studies. Study 1 is a correlational study, in which I measured national identity, perceived competition with immigrants, and a variety of measures of attitudes toward immigrants. In Study 2, I began to explore the possibility that nationalism is based on intergroup comparison. I attempted to prime nationalism and patriotism separately by asking participants to either write about how Canada is better than the United States (downward comparison) or write about what they love about Canada (no intergroup comparison). I then measured the same attitudes and individual difference variables as in Study 1 including the competition measure. I examined whether the intergroup comparison manipulation affects attitudes toward immigrants. I also examined whether perceived competition mediated this relation. In Study 3a, I extended the findings from Study 2 by having participants make either upward or downward comparisons to determine whether the type of comparison being made differentially affects perceptions of competition and attitudes toward immigrants. Finally, in Study 3b, I replicated Study 3a using a non-student American sample.

Chapter 2

2 Study 1

The purpose of this study was to explore the relation between national identity, perceived competition with immigrants, and attitudes toward immigrants. Previous research has demonstrated a relation between nationalism and negative attitudes toward immigrants (Esses et al., 2004, 2006). The goals of this study were to determine if these results would replicate and to examine perceived competition as a potential mediator of that relation. In light of the previous research conducted by Esses and colleagues (2004, 2006), I hypothesized that (1) nationalism would predict more negative attitudes and emotions toward immigrants and patriotism would predict positive attitudes and emotions or be unrelated; (2) Previous research has also indicated that this relation is mediated by perceived competition (Louis et al., 2013). Thus, I predicted that perceived competition would serve as a mediator (See Figure 1 for the proposed mediational model). Study 1 was approved by the University of Western Ontario Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (see Appendix B).

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Participants

Participants were undergraduate students at Western University who participated in partial fulfillment of course credit. The original sample size was 102, but I removed the data from two participants who did not complete the majority of the survey. Because of uncertainty as to their national identity, I also removed the data from 13 people who reported that they were not born in Canada. The final sample size was 87 (20 men, 49
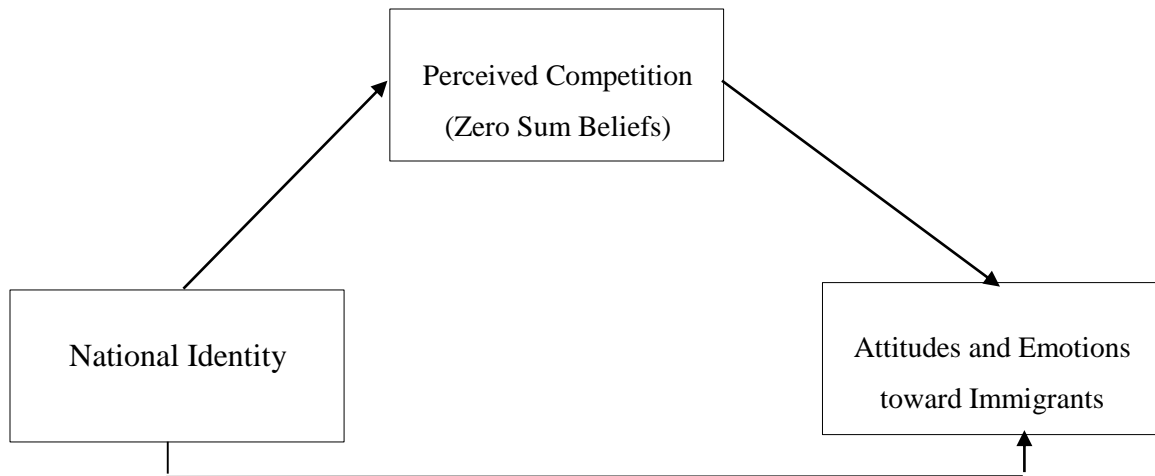
Figure 1: Proposed Mediational Model

women, 18 unspecified) with a mean age of 18.50 (SD = 2.03). The ethnic background of the sample was 64.3% White, 17.9% Asian, 10.7% East Indian, and 7.1% other.

2.1.2   Materials

2.1.2.1   *Emotions Scale (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).*

I included the emotions scale as one of two measures of intergroup attitudes. The emotions scale assesses the degree to which participants associate certain emotions with a target group. It asks, "To what extent does *target group* make you feel…" and participants respond using a 7-point scale ranging from -3 *(not at all)* to +3 *(extremely)*. Items were recoded from 1 to 7 (higher numbers indicating a greater level of the emotion). Items were then averaged to create three subscales: contempt (α = .93) was measured with 8 items, admiration (α = .84) was measured with 5 items, and envy was measured with 2 items (α = .85).

2.1.2.2   *Zero Sum Beliefs (Esses et al., 2001)*

The Zero Sum Beliefs Questionnaire (α = .95) is a measure of perceived competition. It is a 30-item scale that measures participants' agreement with a series of statements regarding their perceptions of competition with a target outgroup (in this case, immigrants). The scale measures the degree to which participants think competition over resources and culture is a zero sum game (e.g., if one group gains resources or cultural dominance, it is at the expense of another). The items are measured on a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 *(strongly disagree)* to 7 *(strongly agree).* All 30 items were averaged to create a composite zero sum beliefs score.

2.1.2.3   *Attitude Thermometer (Esses et al., 1993)*

The attitude thermometer is the second measure of intergroup attitudes. It is a

single item measure that asks participants to indicate their attitude toward a particular

target group on a thermometer that ranges from 0 to 100. In the current case, they were

told, "You will be using this to indicate your attitude toward *immigrants*. Here's how it

works. If you have a favorable attitude toward *immigrants*, you would give them a score

somewhere between 50º and 100º, depending on how favorable your evaluation is of

immigrants. On the other hand, if you have an unfavorable attitude toward *immigrants*,

you would give them a score somewhere between 0º and 50º, depending on how

unfavorable your evaluation is of immigrants." Participants were asked to indicate their

evaluation of immigrants[1].

2.1.2.4   *Open-Ended Stereotypes Measure (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993)*

The Open-Ended Stereotypes measure asks participants to generate a list of

"Characteristics that you would use to describe immigrants." After they generate a list of

characteristics, or stereotypes, they are asked how positive or negative each characteristic

is using a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*).

Participants were able to generate up to twelve characteristics and their numerical ratings

were averaged to create a composite measure. Higher numbers indicated participants'

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[1] For each of the above scales (Emotions, Zero Sum Beliefs, and Attitude Thermometer), participants were randomly assigned to respond to them either for an immigrant target or a refugee target. The results with refugee targets were inconsistent and deemed beyond the scope of this series of studies. Thus, they were dropped. For this reason, the analyses conducted using immigrants as a target have about half as many participants as the total sample.

generation of more positive characteristics while lower numbers indicate less positive characteristics. The reliability of this scale was good ($\alpha = .89$).

2.1.2.5   *Nationalism and Patriotism (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989)*

Nationalism and patriotism were measured using Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) 20-item scale modified for a Canadian sample. Participants responded on a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The nationalism scale ($\alpha = .88$) includes eight items that are related to gaining and maintaining prestige and status for the nation at the expense of other nations. There is an important intergroup comparison aspect to nationalism in that it is related to the desire for superiority and domination over other nations. Sample items include "In view of Canada's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policy." and, "The important thing for the Canadian foreign aid program is to see to it that Canada gains a political advantage." Items were averaged to create a nationalism score for each participant. The patriotism scale ($\alpha = .89$) includes 12 items that reflect pride and an affective attachment to the nation. Sample items include, "I love my country." and "I am proud to be a Canadian." Items were averaged to create a composite patriotism score.

2.1.3   Procedure

Participants were recruited for a study on "Current Social Issues". The study was conducted online, and participants were provided a link to the survey on Survey Monkey. First, they read a letter of information and provided consent. Then they completed the series of measures described above. The emotions scale, the attitude thermometer, and the zero sum beliefs scale were presented in random order. They were followed by the

nationalism and patriotism scale and then demographics were always completed last. After completing the measures, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

2.2 Results

2.2.1   Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 contains means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the study variables. Consistent with previous literature, I found that nationalism and patriotism were significantly intercorrelated, but the correlation was only moderate, r (74) = .31, p = .01 (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Thus, patriotism and nationalism are related, but separate forms of national identity.

Neither patriotism nor nationalism was directly correlated with general attitudes toward immigrants (ps > .56). However, nationalism was significantly correlated with contempt for immigrants, r (43) = .32, p = .03, and patriotism was correlated with admiration for immigrants, r (42) = .41, p = .01. Patriotism was also negatively correlated with perceived competition with immigrants, r (42) = -.41, p = .01.

2.2.2   Test of Hypothesis 1: National Identity Individual Differences

In order to further test the prediction that nationalism would predict negative attitudes toward immigrants and patriotism would predict positive attitudes or be unrelated, a series of multiple regression analyses were conducted. Each analysis included nationalism and patriotism as simultaneous predictors and had a different outcome (general attitudes, perceived competition, contempt, admiration, envy, and stereotypes). Regressions were conducted in addition to simple correlations because

Table 1: Means, standard deviations, and correlations for Study 1 variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. General Attitudes Possible Range (0 – 100)	66.21	20.68	--						
2. Admiration Possible Range (1 – 7)	4.04	1.10	.32*	--					
3. Contempt Possible Range (1 – 7)	2.17	1.08	-.43**	.03	--				
4. Envy Possible Range (1 – 7)	4.71	2.98	.04	.11	.62**	--			
5. Perceived Competition Possible Range (1 – 7)	3.03	1.04	-.35*	-.21	.62**	.36*	--		
6. Stereotypes Possible Range (1 – 7)	4.40	1.27	.59**	.27	-.49**	-.15	-.53**	--	
7. Patriotism Possible Range (1 – 7)	5.45	.95	-.03	.41**	-.21	-.13	-.41**	.07	--
8. Nationalism Possible Range (1 – 7)	3.78	.96	.09	.20	.32*	.17	.09	.05	.31**

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

patriotism and nationalism are moderately intercorrelated. Regressions allowed me to include patriotism and nationalism in the model simultaneously, thus controlling for one predictor while testing the effects of the other on each dependent variable. The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 2.

Both nationalism, $\beta = .36$, $p = .02$, and patriotism, $\beta = -.33$, $p = .04$, were significant predictors of contempt for immigrants. This indicates that more nationalistic participants reported more contempt for immigrants compared to less nationalistic participants, whereas more patriotic participants reported less contempt compared to less patriotic participants[2]. Patriotism also positively predicted admiration of immigrants, $\beta = .36$, $p = .02$. In other words, participants with more patriotic attitudes reported more admiration toward immigrants than those with less patriotic attitudes. Nationalism, $\beta = .32$, $p = .03$, and patriotism, $\beta = -.51$, $p = .001$, were both also significant predictors of perceived competition. Therefore, participants with higher levels of nationalism reported higher perceptions of competition than those with lower levels of nationalism and those with higher levels of patriotism reported lower perceptions of competition with immigrants than those with lower levels of patriotism. Neither patriotism nor nationalism predicted general attitudes toward immigrants, envy of immigrants, or generation of positive stereotypes of immigrants, $ps > .18$. In the case of both the patriotism-contempt relation and the nationalism-perceived competition relation, the Pearson's correlations were not significant, but I did find the significant relations using simultaneous

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[2] It is important to note that throughout this paper, attitudes and emotions toward immigrants measures were generally positive (e.g., the mean for contempt is well below the scale midpoint). Thus, the differences we are interested in are *relative* differences. See the general discussion for a more in-depth discussion of this issue.

regressions. This may point to the presence of suppression effects that are revealed when both nationalism and patriotism are included in the analyses simultaneously.

2.2.3   Test of Hypothesis 2: Perceived Competition as a Mediator

To test whether perceived competition is functioning as a mediator, I used Hayes' PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013). The PROCESS macro uses ordinary least squares path analysis and bootstrapping techniques to estimate direct and indirect effects. I used model 4, the model designed for mediation analysis which tests the direct and indirect effects of an independent variable on a dependent variable through a mediator, with 5000 bootstrap samples for each of the following analyses. Direct effects are the direct influence of one variable on another. Indirect effects are the effects of one variable on another through a third variable. Total effects are the combination of both direct and indirect effects. First, I tested the models with nationalism as the causal variable followed by the models with patriotism as the causal variable[3].

In conducting the mediational analysis for contempt, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is contempt for immigrants. The mediator or M is perceived competition with immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on contempt is .33 ($p = .03$). The direct effect from nationalism to contempt is .27 ($p = .03$). The indirect effect for nationalism to contempt is .06. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is -.14 to .28.

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[3] It is worth noting that I tested all mediational models in which nationalism or patriotism predicted the dependent variables. In some cases, the bivariate correlations between the variables were not significant; however, I tested them anyway because of the potential for indirect effects in the absence of direct effects, perhaps caused by masking or suppression effects.

Table 2: Summary of Regression Results for Study 1

Outcome	Nationalism β	Patriotism β	R^2	F
Attitudes	-.01	-.08	.00	.02
Admiration	.14	.36*	.18	4.60*
Contempt	.36*	-.33*	.16	3.92*
Envy	.22	-.20	.06	1.28
Perceived Competition	.32*	-.51**	.26	7.11**
Stereotypes	-.03	.08	.01	.12

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

Since zero falls within the confidence interval, I can conclude that perceived competition is not significantly mediating the relation between nationalism and contempt for immigrants.

I also tested an alternative model in which the mediator and dependent variable were switched. This is also called reverse mediation. For this analysis, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is perceived competition with immigrants. The mediator or M is contempt for immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on perceived competition is .09 (p = .55). The direct effect from nationalism to perceived competition is -.11 (p = .39). The indirect effect for nationalism to perceived competition is .19. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is .05 to .40. In this case, I did not find support for the total or direct effects of nationalism on perceived competition, but I did find support for the indirect effect through contempt.

Next, I examined the models with patriotism as the causal variable. The causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of patriotism. The outcome variable or Y is contempt for immigrants. The mediator or M is perceived competition with immigrants. The total effect of patriotism on contempt is -.24 (p = .17). The direct effect from patriotism to contempt is .08 (p = .57). The indirect effect for patriotism to contempt is -.32. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is -.60 to -.12. Again, even though I did not find support for the total or direct effects, I did find support for an indirect effect of patriotism on contempt through perceived competition.

In order to lend support to my proposed mediation, again, a reverse mediation was also conducted. In this case, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of patriotism. The outcome variable or Y is perceived competition beliefs about immigrants. The mediator or M is contempt for immigrants. The total effect of patriotism on perceived competition is -.43 (p = .006). The direct effect from patriotism to perceived competition is -.30 (p = .02). The indirect effect for patriotism to contempt is -.14. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is -.40 to .05. In this model, I only found support for direct effects. Thus, it does not seem to be the case that contempt is mediating the relation between patriotism and perceived competition.

In conducting the mediational analysis for admiration, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of patriotism. The outcome variable or Y is admiration for immigrants. The mediator or M is perceived competition with immigrants. The total effect of patriotism on admiration is .51 (p = .01). The direct effect from patriotism to admiration is .45 (p = .02). The indirect effect for patriotism to admiration is .06. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is -.11 to .33. Since zero falls within the confidence interval, I can conclude that perceived competition is not significantly mediating the relation between patriotism and admiration for immigrants.

Again, I conducted a reverse mediation. For this analysis, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of patriotism. The outcome variable or Y is perceived competition with immigrants. The mediator or M is admiration for immigrants. The total effect of patriotism on perceived competition is .44 (p = .01). The direct effect from patriotism to perceived competition is -.39 (p = .02). The indirect effect for patriotism to perceived competition is -.05. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is

-.26 to .08. Again, I did not find support that admiration was mediating the relation between patriotism and perceived competition.

2.3 Discussion

Study 1 replicated patterns found in previous studies in which negative national identity leads to relatively less favorable attitudes toward immigrants while positive forms of national identity lead to relatively more favorable attitudes (e.g., Blank & Schmidt, 2003; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Esses et al., 2004; Spry & Hornsey, 2007). Although neither patriotism nor nationalism was related to general attitudes toward immigrants, envy for immigrants, or stereotyping of immigrants, results did demonstrate that nationalism was related to more contempt for immigrants and more perceptions of competition. Patriotism was also found to negatively predict perceptions of competition and contempt and to positively predict admiration for immigrants.

I also found partial support for the prediction that perceived competition would mediate the national identity-intergroup attitude relation. I found that patriotism led to lower perceptions of competition which led to less contempt for immigrants. This suggests that the perception of competition between immigrants and Canadians already living here is one mechanism by which national identity may be related to prejudice and discrimination of immigrants. However, I also found support for the idea that contempt was mediating the relation between nationalism and perceived competition, but not for the prediction that perceived competition was the mediator. This finding suggests that the mediation effects may be bidirectional.

While these results provide support for a bidirectional relation, the effect is stronger when perceptions of competition function as the mediator. With perceived

competition producing the stronger mediational effects and a robust literature suggesting

that competition plays an important role in intergroup attitudes (Esses et al., 2001, 1998,

2005; Louis et al., 2013), I tend to have more confidence in that finding. It is not

surprising that more love for Canada (a country that has an official policy of

multiculturalism and is seen as an immigrant and refugee receiving nation; Ministry of

Justice, 1985) would be related to a less competitive and more inclusive view of

immigrants.

The results from this study are consistent with the predicted pattern of patriotism

as the more positive form of national identity and nationalism as the more negative. I

would like to attempt to replicate the patterns of relations between nationalism and

patriotism and attitudes toward immigrants in a second study. I would also like to extend

this first study by attempting to experimentally manipulate patriotism and nationalism

separately.

Chapter 3

3   Study 2

The purpose of Study 2 was to continue to explore the relation between two forms of national identity (patriotism and nationalism) and attitudes toward immigrants. Previous studies have typically treated nationalism and patriotism as individual difference variables, but this study tested whether patriotic and nationalistic attitudes could also be situationally induced, or primed. After examining the Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) scale and reading Mummendey and colleague's (2001) work on intergroup comparison, I hypothesized that the key difference between nationalism and patriotism may be the presence of a downward social comparison in the case of the former. Therefore, in this study, participants were asked to make such a downward comparison. They were asked to write about how Canada was better than the US to prime nationalism (downward comparison), write about what they loved about Canada to prime patriotism (no intergroup comparison), or simply describe Canada (control).   I hypothesized that (1) the individual difference variable nationalism would predict less favorable attitudes and the individual difference variable patriotism would either be unrelated or positively related to attitudes toward immigrants; (2) participants primed for nationalistic attitudes (downward comparison) would exhibit significantly more negative attitudes toward immigrants than those primed for patriotism and those in the control condition; and (3) that these relations would be mediated by perceived competition (for both the individual differences – hypothesis 3a, and the manipulations – hypothesis 3b). Study 2 was approved by the University of Western Ontario Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (see Appendix B).

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Participants

Participants were undergraduate students at the University of Western Ontario who participated in exchange for partial course credit. The original sample size was 72 However, consistent with Study 1, I removed the data for 21 participants who were not born in Canada. This resulted in a final sample size of 51 participants, 26 women and 25 men, with a mean age of 19.53 ($SD = 4.33$). The ethnic background of the sample was 60.8% White, 13.7% Asian, 9.8% Black, 5.9% East Indian, 2% Hispanic, 2% North American Indian, and 6% other.

3.1.2 Materials

3.1.2.1 Social Comparison Manipulation

To prime patriotism and nationalism separately, participants engaged in one of three writing prompt exercises. They were randomly assigned to condition and asked to list three "things you love about Canada" (patriotism), "ways Canada is better than the US" (downward comparison), or "things that describe Canada" (Control). After listing three descriptions, they were asked to elaborate on them in as much detail as possible. I chose to use the US as a reference group in the downward comparison condition, because Canadians have a long history of comparing themselves to Americans. In fact, some claim that one of the defining features of Canadian identity is "not being American" (Howard, 1998). Further, for many Canadians, Americans are not only an outgroup, but a dissociative outgroup (White & Dahl, 2007). A dissociative outgroup is a group that people actively want to disassociate from or a group of which people do not want to be a part.

3.1.2.2   Measures

The measures were the same as Study 1: the emotions scale (contempt - α = .87,

admiration - α = .88, envy - α = .87; Fiske et al., 2002), zero sum beliefs (α = .95; Esses

et al., 2001)[4], the attitude thermometer (Esses et al., 1993), nationalism (α = .85) and

patriotism (α = .85; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), and demographic items[5].

3.1.3   Procedure

Participants were informed that they were taking part in two short studies on

National Perceptions and Contemporary Social Issues. Participants read a letter of

information for the "first study," National Perceptions, and provided consent. They were

then randomly assigned to one of the three conditions described above, and completed the

writing prompt manipulation.

Participants then read a letter of information and provided consent for the "second

study," Contemporary Social Issues. They were asked to complete the measures of

individual differences and attitudes listed above. These measures were randomly

presented with the exception of the nationalism and patriotism measures, which were

always completed right before the final demographics measure. After completing the

measures, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

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[4] In this and the remaining two studies, we used a 4-item abbreviated form of the Zero Sum Beliefs Scale. We did this to ease the burden on participants because the full scale is quite long. We factor analyzed the items and chose the four items that loaded the strongest on the primary factor.

[5] Although the Open-ended Stereotype Measure was included in Study 1 (and subsequently included in Studies 3a and 3b), it was not included in Study 2 due to an oversight.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 3 contains means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the study variables irrespective of condition. As in Study 1, I found that nationalism and patriotism were significantly intercorrelated, and that the correlation was moderate, $r(49) = .32$, $p = .02$.

Contrary to results from Study 1, but not unexpected based on previous literature, patriotism was not correlated with any of the other variables ($ps > .12$). Nationalism was, however, related to the dependent variables in the predicted directions. Nationalism was significantly correlated with general attitudes toward immigrants, $r(49) = -.43$, $p = .01$, perceived competition with immigrants, $r(49) = .58$, $p < .001$, and contempt for immigrants, $r(49) = .40$, $p = .01$. It was not, however, related to admiration or envy for immigrants.

I conducted two one-way ANOVAs with condition as a fixed factor and patriotism and nationalism as the dependent variables to test whether they were influenced by the situational primes; the results were marginal. I had expected that participants' levels of nationalism would be highest in the "Better than US" condition and participants' levels of patriotism would be highest in the "Love Canada" condition, but that is not what I found. Participants' levels of nationalism differed marginally between conditions, $F(2, 48) = 2.71$, $p = .08$, partial eta $= .10$. Participants had the highest levels of nationalism in the "Describe Canada" condition ($M = 4.16$, $SD = 1.00$) compared to the "Love Canada" condition ($M = 3.16$, $SD = 1.47$). The "Better than US" condition ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.16$) did not significantly differ from either of the other conditions.

Table 3: Means, standard deviations, and correlations for Study 2 variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. General Attitudes	68.27	23.91	--					
Possible Range (0 – 100)								
2. Admiration	3.76	1.63	.56**	--				
Possible Range (1 – 7)								
3. Contempt	1.92	.99	-.61**	-.27	--			
Possible Range (1 – 7)								
4. Envy	1.74	1.11	.01	.16	.44**	--		
Possible Range (1 – 7)								
5. Perceived Competition	3.08	1.44	-.74**	-.44**	.65**	.15	--	
Possible Range (1 – 7)								
6. Patriotism	5.66	.85	-.19	.11	.15	-.02	.22	--
Possible Range (1 – 7)								
7. Nationalism	3.64	1.28	-.43**	-.13	.40**	.18	.58**	.32*
Possible Range (1 – 7)								

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

Participants' levels of patriotism also differed marginally between conditions, $F(2, 48) = 2.67$, $p = .08$, partial eta = .10. Participants again had the highest levels of patriotism in the "Describe Canada" condition ($M = 6.00$, $SD = .71$) compared to the "Better than the US" condition ($M = 5.34$, $SD = .81$). The "Love Canada" condition ($M = 5.69$, $SD = .92$) did not significantly differ from either of the other conditions. These results led me to question the suitability of my control condition. The "Describe Canada" condition was supposed to function as a control, but participants' nationalism and patriotism were both highest in this condition. I will return to this idea when I describe the types of things that participants spontaneously mentioned when asked to "Describe Canada." However, suffice it to say that they were mostly generating positive responses related to multiculturalism, political values, and the landscape of Canada.

3.2.2   Test of Hypothesis 1: National Identity Individual Differences

First, I wanted to determine whether the regression patterns replicated those found in Study 1. Because nationalism and patriotism did not significantly differ as an effect of the manipulation, I collapsed across conditions and included all participants in the analyses, which used the individual difference measures of nationalism and patriotism as predictors. As in Study 1, to test the prediction that nationalism would be related to more negative attitudes toward immigrants and patriotism would be related to more positive attitudes, a series of multiple regression analyses were conducted. Each analysis included nationalism and patriotism as simultaneous predictors and had a different outcome (general attitudes, perceived competition, contempt, admiration, and envy). The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 4.

Nationalism, $\beta = .65$, $p = .04$, was a significant predictor of perceptions of competition. This indicates that participants who reported higher levels of nationalism also felt more like they were in competition with immigrants than participants who reported lower levels of nationalism. Patriotism did not emerge as a significant predictor of any of the outcome variables.

3.2.3   Test of Hypothesis 3a: Perceptions of Competition as Mediator - National Identity Individual Differences

In this study, patriotism was not related to any of the dependent measures, *ps > .26*. Thus, I did not find support for perceived competition mediating the relation between patriotism and attitudes toward immigrants, as found in Study 1. Perceived competition did, however, appear to mediate the relation between nationalism and general attitudes and contempt for immigrants. I used the same PROCESS macro procedure as in Study 1.

In conducting the mediational analysis for general attitudes, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is general attitudes toward immigrants. The mediator or M is perceived competition with immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on attitudes is -8.03 ($p = .01$). The direct effect from nationalism to attitudes is .10 ($p = .96$). The indirect effect for nationalism to attitudes is -8.13. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is -13.30 to

Table 4: Summary of Regression Results for Study 2

Outcome	Nationalism β	Patriotism β	R^2	F
Attitudes	-.06	.03	.003	.02
Admiration	.17	.12	.05	.34
Contempt	-.01	.17	.03	.17
Envy	-.18	.14	.04	.26
Perceived Competition	.65**	-.07	.41	4.23*

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

-4.51. Thus, I can conclude that perceived competition is significantly mediating the relation between nationalism and general attitudes toward immigrants.

I then conducted a reverse mediation to test the alternative model. In this analysis, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is perceived competition with immigrants. The mediator or M is general attitudes toward immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on perceived competition is .66 ($p <$ .001). The direct effect from nationalism to perceived competition is .37 ($p = $.001). The indirect effect for nationalism to perceived competition is .29. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is .12 to .51. These results suggest that general attitudes partially mediate the relation between nationalism and perceived competition, suggesting possible bidirectional effects.

In conducting the mediational analysis for contempt, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is contempt for immigrants. The mediator or M is perceived competition with immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on contempt is .31 ($p = $.01). The direct effect from nationalism to contempt is .03 ($p = $.79). The indirect effect for nationalism to contempt is .28. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is .16 to .45. Thus, I can conclude that perceived competition is significantly mediating the relation between nationalism and contempt for immigrants.

Again, I conducted a reverse mediation. For this analysis, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is perceived competition with immigrants. The mediator or M is contempt for immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on perceived competition is .66 ($p < $.001). The direct effect from

nationalism to perceived competition is .43 ($p < .001$). The indirect effect for nationalism to perceived competition is .23. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is .10 to .43. Again, I find that the reverse mediation model results in a partial mediation, suggesting possible bidirectional effects.

3.2.4 Test of Hypothesis 2: Social Comparison Manipulation

In order to test the prediction that participants in the "Better than the US" condition would have less favorable attitudes toward immigrants than those in the "Love Canada" and control conditions, a series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted with condition as the fixed factor.

Participants' general attitudes toward immigrants as reported on the attitude thermometer significantly differed between the three conditions, $F(2, 48) = 5.10$, $p = .01$, partial eta = .18 (See Figure 2). In the "Better than the US" condition ($M = 55.44$, $SD = 5.22$) participants had significantly lower general attitudes toward immigrants than in the "Love Canada" (M = 78.56, SD = 5.22), p = .003, and "Describe Canada" ($M = 71.33$, $SD = 5.72$), p = .05, conditions. The latter two conditions did not differ significantly, $p = .36$.

Participants' levels of contempt for immigrants also differed between conditions, $F(2, 48) = 5.58$, $p = .01$, partial eta = .19 (See Figure 3). Participants in the "Better than the US" condition reported relatively higher levels of contempt ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.16$) than participants in the "Love Canada" condition ($M = 1.60$, $SD = .84$), $p = .01$, and participants in the "Describe Canada" condition ($M = 1.63$, $SD = .59$), $p = .01$. The "Love Canada" and "Describe Canada" conditions did not significantly differ, $p = .93$.
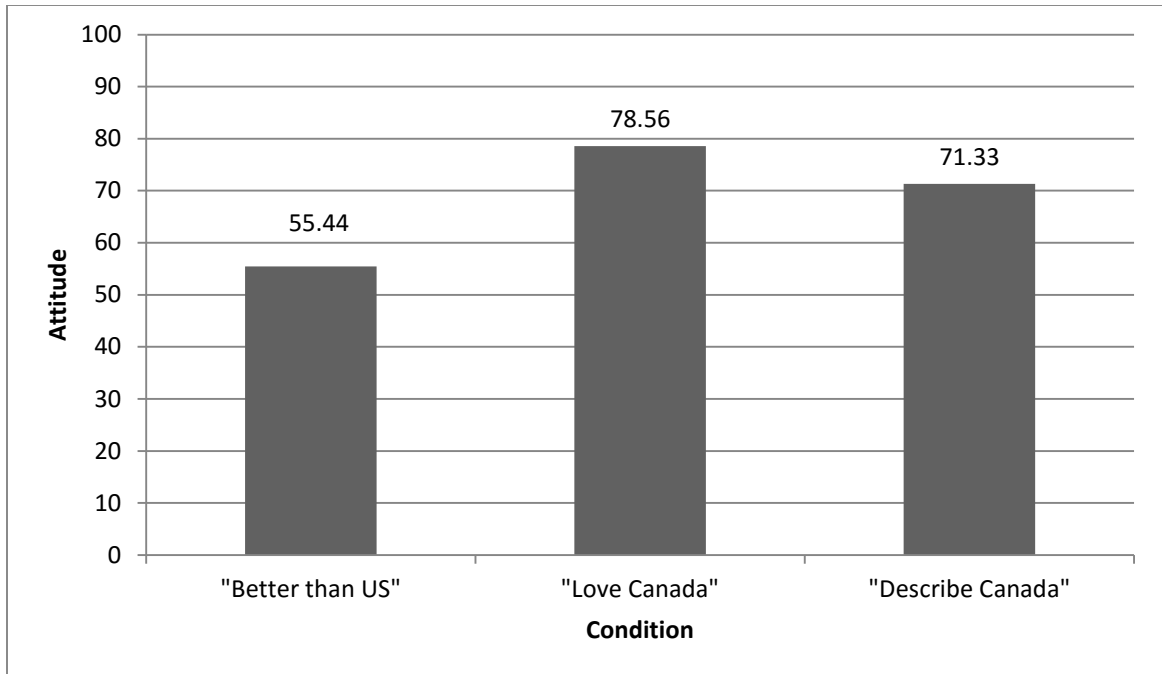
Figure 2: Study 2: Mean general attitudes toward immigrants by condition
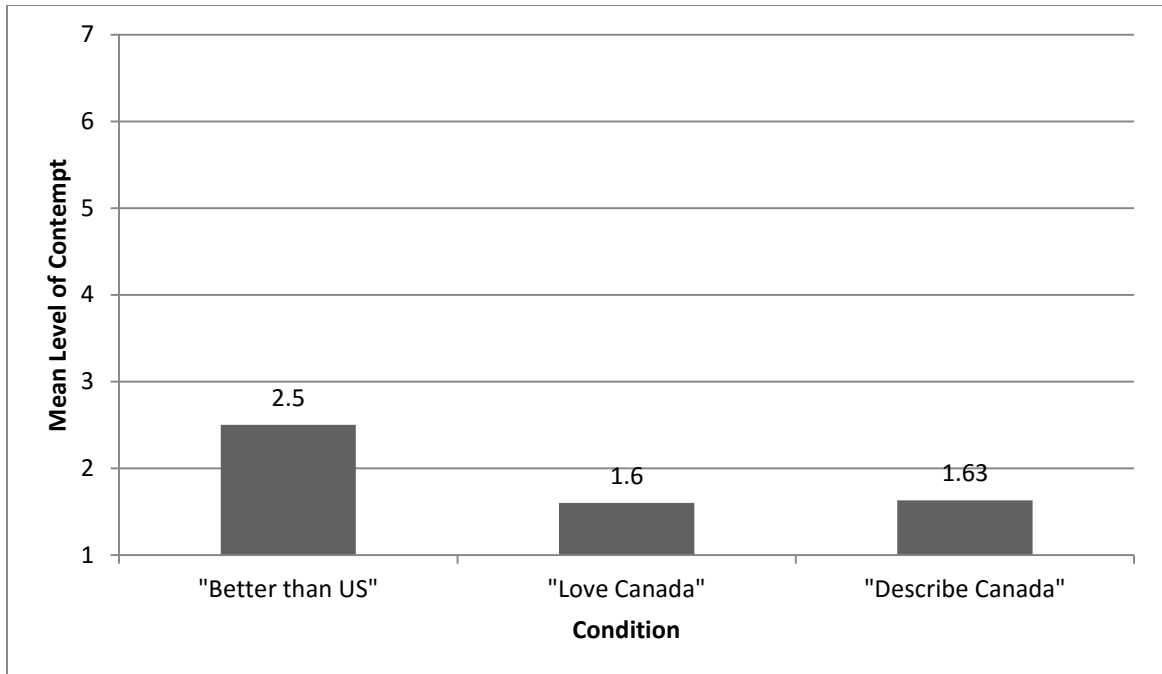
Figure 3: Study 2: Mean contempt for immigrants by condition

Participants' reported levels of admiration also differed across conditions although the effect was marginal, $F(2, 48) = 2.82$, $p = .07$, partial eta $= .11$ (See Figure 4). In this case, those in the "Better than the US" condition were relatively lower in admiration ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.42$) than those in both the "Love Canada" ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.57$), $p = .06$, and "Describe Canada" ($M = 4.23$, $SD = 1.75$), $p = .04$, conditions. The "Love Canada" and "Describe Canada" conditions did not significantly differ, $p = .79$. Participants' levels of envy did not differ between the conditions, $p = .34$.

Participants' levels of perceived competition differed across conditions as well, but the effect, again, was marginal, $F(2, 48) = 2.79$, $p = .07$, partial eta $= .10$ (See Figure 5). The mean level of perceived competition with immigrants in the "Better than the US" ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.61$) condition differed from the "Love Canada" condition ($M = 2.49$, $SD = 1.31$), $p = .03$, but not the "Describe Canada" condition ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.16$). The "Love Canada" and "Describe Canada" conditions did not differ, $p = .13$. Finally, participants' levels of envy did not differ by condition, $p < .33$.

3.2.5 Test of Hypothesis 3b: Perceptions of Competition as Mediator of the Effects of the Social Comparison Manipulation

I tested whether perceptions of competition with immigrants mediated the effect of the manipulation on the measures of attitudes toward immigrants using Hayes' MEDIATE macro which is similar to the PROCESS macro described earlier, but uses bootstrapping procedures designed for multicategorical independent variables (Hayes & Preacher, 2013). First, I tested this model using general attitudes toward immigrants as the outcome. Because condition is a categorical variable with three levels, there are results for comparisons between the "Better than the US" and "Love Canada" conditions
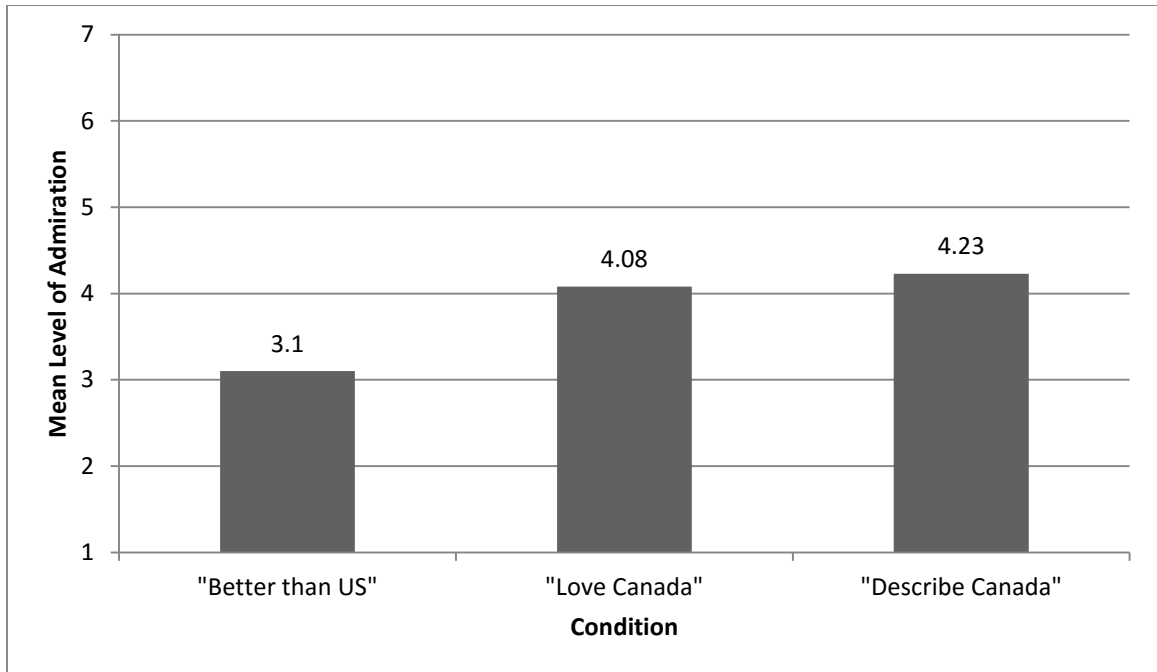
Figure 4: Study 2: Mean admiration for immigrants by condition
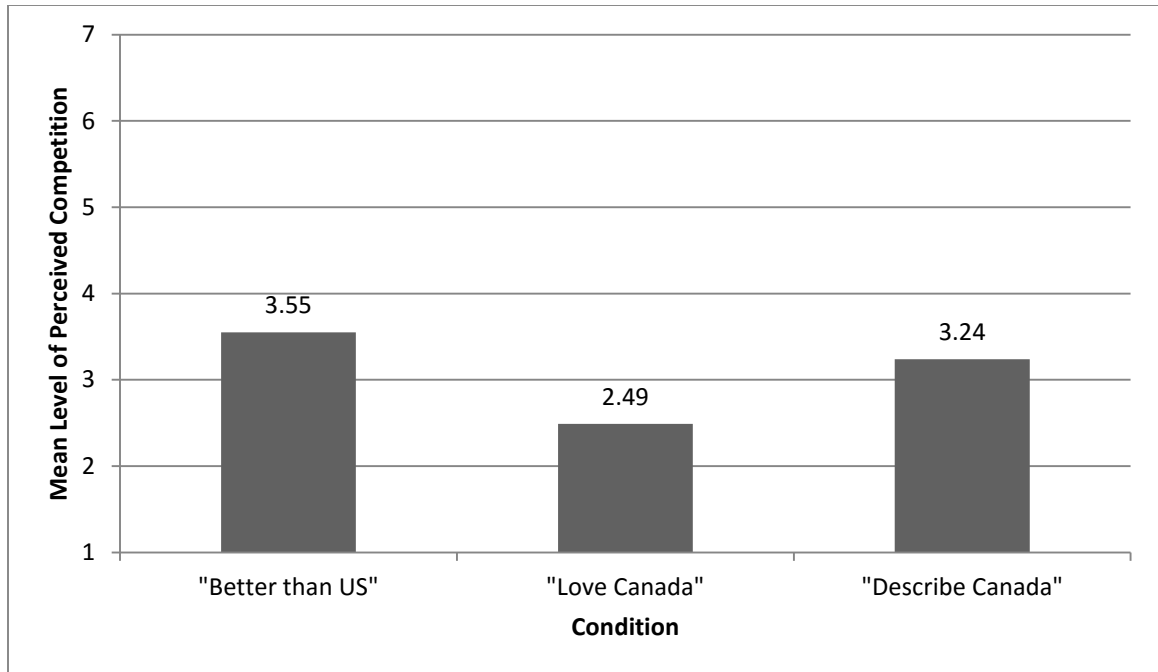
Figure 5: Study 2: Mean perceived competition for immigrants by condition

(labelled D1), comparisons between the "Better than the US" and control conditions (labelled D2), and omnibus results for the whole model. A marginal direct effect of condition emerged, $F(2, 47) = 3.08$, $p = .06$. The D1 comparison was significant, B = -10.94, $t = -1.99$, $p = .05$; however, the D2 comparison was not significant. Next, the D1 comparison significantly predicted perceived competition, B = 1.06, $t = 2.03$, $p = .03$; however, the D2 comparison was again non-significant. Perceived competition, in turn, negatively predicted attitudes toward immigrants, B = -11.44, $t = -7.02$, $p < .001$. Finally, I found that the D1 comparison significantly predicted general attitudes through perceived competition, B = 12.17. The 95% confidence interval for the test of indirect effects ranged from -26.12 to -1.81. As zero falls outside this interval, I concluded that perceptions of competition significantly mediated the effect of the D1 comparison on general attitudes. As before, indirect effects for the D2 comparison were not significant.

Next, I tested the reverse mediation to compare my proposed mediational model to this alternative model. That is, I tested the same model, but with general attitudes toward immigrants as the mediator and perceived competition as the outcome. The direct effect of condition was not significant, $F(2, 47) = .68$, $p = .51$. Next, the D1 comparison significantly predicted general attitudes, B = -23.11, $t = -3.13$, $p = .01$; however, the D2 comparison was non-significant. Attitudes, in turn, negatively predicted perceived competition, B = -.05, $t = -7.02$, $p < .001$. Finally, I found that the D1 comparison significantly predicted perceived competition through general attitudes, B = 1.03. The 95% confidence interval for the test of indirect effects ranged from .35 to 1.87. As zero falls outside this interval, I concluded that general attitudes significantly mediated the

effect of the D1 comparison on perceived competition, suggesting bidirectional effects. As before, indirect effects for the D2 comparison were not significant.

Next, I tested this same model using contempt for immigrants as an outcome. A direct effect of condition emerged, $F(2, 47) = 4.61$, $p = .02$. The D1 comparison was marginally significant, $B = .46$, $t = 1.84$, $p = .07$; however, the D2 comparison was not significant. Next, the D1 comparison significantly predicted perceived competition, $B = 1.06$, $t = 2.30$, $p = .03$; however, the D2 comparison was again non-significant. Perceived competition, in turn, predicted contempt for immigrants, $B = .42$, $t = 5.68$, $p < .001$. Finally, I found that the D1 comparison significantly predicted contempt through perceived competition, $B = .45$. The 95% confidence interval for the test of indirect effects ranged from .08 to .88. As zero falls outside this interval, I concluded that perceptions of competition significantly mediated the effect of the D1 comparison on contempt. As before, indirect effects for the D2 comparison were not significant.

Again, I tested the reverse mediation, that is, whether contempt mediates the relation between the manipulation and perceived competition. A direct effect of condition was not significant, $F(2, 47) = 1.96$, $p = .15$. Next, the D1 comparison significantly predicted contempt, $B = 1.60$, $t = 7.75$, $p < .001$; however, the D2 comparison was non-significant. Contempt, in turn, predicted perceived competition immigrants, $B = .97$, $t = 5.68$, $p < .001$. Finally, I found that the D1 comparison significantly predicted perceived competition through contempt, $B = .88$. The 95% confidence interval for the test of indirect effects ranged from .23 to 1.66. As zero falls outside this interval, I concluded that contempt significantly mediated the effect of the D1

comparison on perceived competition, suggesting bidirectional effects. As before, indirect effects for the D2 comparison were not significant.

Finally, I tested the model using admiration for immigrants as an outcome. A direct effect of condition was not significant. In this model, neither the D1 nor the D2 comparison were significant. The D1 comparison did, however, significantly predict perceived competition, $B = 1.06$, $t = 2.30$, $p = .03$; however, the D2 comparison was again non-significant. Perceived competition, in turn, negatively predicted admiration for immigrants, $B = -.48$, $t = -3.15$, $p = .00$. Finally, despite the lack of direct effects, I did find that the D1 comparison significantly negatively predicted admiration through perceived competition, $B = -.51$. The 95% confidence interval for the test of indirect effects ranged from -1.17 to -.07. As zero falls outside this interval, I concluded that perceived competition significantly mediated the effect of the D1 comparison on admiration. As before, indirect effects for the D2 comparison were not significant.

Again, I tested the reverse mediation of this model, that is, whether admiration mediates the relation between the manipulation and perceived competition. A direct effect of condition was not significant. In this model, neither the D1 nor the D2 comparison were significant. The D1 comparison did, however, marginally predict admiration, $B = -1.02$, $t = -1.95$, $p = .06$; however, the D2 comparison was again non-significant. Admiration, in turn, negatively predicted perceived competition with immigrants, $B = -.37$, $t = -3.15$, $p = .01$. Finally, I found that the D1 comparison significantly negatively predicted perceived competition through admiration, $B = .38$. The 95% confidence interval for the test of indirect effects ranged from .02 to 1.08. As zero falls outside this interval, I concluded that admiration significantly mediated the

effect of the D1 comparison on perceived competition suggesting bidirectional effects. As before, indirect effects for the D2 comparison were not significant.

3.2.6   Qualitative Responses

I decided to analyze participants' responses to the writing prompt for exploratory purposes. Therefore, a research assistant, in consultation with the researcher, read through the qualitative data and generated a coding scheme based on common themes. Once created, this coding scheme was used to categorize participants' responses and categories were added or deleted as needed during this first coding (see Appendix A for the final coding scheme). After the data were initially coded and the coding scheme was finalized, a different research assistant used the scheme to code the data again. There was good inter-rater reliability between the research assistants with a Cohen's kappa of .82.

Perhaps not surprisingly, I found that the topics participants were writing about varied across conditions. In the "Better than the US" condition, responses most often fell into the Social Programs category (26.03%). Examples of this category are healthcare and education. The second largest category discussed in this condition was "Other" (20.55%) which was a catch-all for responses that did not fit into any other category. The third largest category in this condition was how Canada is viewed by the rest of the world (15.07%). Examples of this are that Canada is respected by the rest of the world, it is seen as safe, and its people are seen as polite.

In the "Love Canada" condition, the most common category of responses was Political Values (23.29%), such as freedom, equality, and democracy. The second highest level of responses fell into the "Other" category (20.55%). The third largest

category in this condition was "Multiculturalism" (19.18%), which included discussion of diversity, language, and immigration, among other topics.

Interestingly, in the "Describe Canada" condition, participants primarily spoke of "Multiculturalism" (28.36%), followed by Political Values (19.40%), and "Physical Environment" (11.94%) with examples of the latter including how large Canada is and discussion of natural beauty.

3.3 Discussion

In Study 2, I partially conceptually replicated the previous findings that nationalism, as an individual difference variable, is related to relatively more negative attitudes toward immigrants and that this relation is mediated by perceived competition with immigrants. Nationalism negatively predicted general attitudes toward immigrants and positively predicted both perceived competition and contempt for immigrants. Although not a perfect replication, both studies 1 and 2 provide support for the general pattern of negative national attachment leading to relatively more negative attitudes toward immigrants and positive national attachment being unrelated or weakly positively related to attitudes toward immigrants. I also found that this relation is mediated by perceived competition with immigrants.

I extended these findings by priming national identity under a social comparison condition ("Better than the US"), no comparison condition ("Love Canada"), or a control condition ("Describe Canada") via a writing prompt. I found that the "Better than the US" condition, that is the social comparison condition, led to more negative attitudes toward, more contempt for, less admiration for, and more perceived competition of

immigrants. The "Love Canada" and "Describe Canada" conditions did not differ on any of these variables.

Finally, I found some support for the prediction that perceived competition mediates the national identity-intergroup attitudes relation, though the relation, again, seems to be bidirectional. It seems that perceptions of competition lead to negative attitudes, but negative attitudes seem to reinforce perceptions of competition. This bidirectional effect is consistent with previous models that suggest that negative attitudes and perceived competition affect each other reciprocally (Louis et al., 2013). Results suggest that the difference in attitudes produced by the manipulation was driven by a difference in the levels of perceived competition the manipulation produced.

Lastly, Study 2 was my first attempt to explore the proposal that the primary driver of national identity leading to outgroup derogation is the inclusion of an intergroup comparison in some measures of national identity. The condition that led to the least positive attitudes was the only condition in which participants were asked to make intergroup comparisons. Although not conclusive, these findings lend support to intergroup comparison as the mechanism that produces the perceptions of threat and competition which, in turn, lead to prejudice.

An unexpected outcome of this study is that I had attempted to manipulate participants' nationalistic and patriotic attitudes, but I did not find significant differences on the nationalism and patriotism individual difference measures between conditions, at least not in the predicted directions. Although this may suggest that I was not actually manipulating levels of nationalism and patriotism, it is also possible that the writing prompt manipulated participants' levels of state nationalism and patriotism while not

raising their trait levels of nationalism and patriotism (as measured by the Kosterman and Feshbach scale) in the predicted directions. Future studies will continue to test the validity of this manipulation.

Surprisingly, both patriotism and nationalism were highest in the "Describe Canada" condition. There are a few possible reasons for this outcome. First, it is possible that patriotism and nationalism were highest when participants were asked to describe Canada because when people are asked to describe their country, they, perhaps unconsciously, draw on the best aspects of it and this makes them feel more proud of their country. Another possible option is that these were accurate representations of baseline patriotism and nationalism, but the manipulations in the other conditions actually resulted in lower levels of these variables. Although, I had originally conceived of the "Describe Canada" condition as a control, it is unclear whether it was functioning as a pure control. As further evidence that this condition may have been a less than ideal control, we can see, based on the analysis of the qualitative responses, that a large number of participants (28.36%) spoke of multiculturalism. If activating thoughts of Canada are simultaneously activating thoughts of multiculturalism, this could have an unintended effect on participants' attitudes toward immigrants. This also suggests that Canadians see multiculturalism as a defining feature of Canada and may explain why participants in this condition had relatively favorable attitudes toward immigrants. Because it is not certain why patriotism and nationalism were highest in the "Describe Canada" condition, it is prudent to add a control condition which does not activate thoughts of Canada as a comparison. That is, a condition which does not activate thoughts of Canada will provide a true baseline for participants' levels of patriotism,

nationalism, and attitudes toward immigrants that I can compare against. For that reason, in Studies 3a and 3b, I will replace the "Describe Canada" condition with a condition in which participants write about items in their kitchen, a commonly used control prime.

Chapter 4

4 Study 3a

In Study 2, I found that when participants were asked to make downward intergroup comparisons, or write about why their nation was better than another, they had significantly less favorable attitudes toward immigrants. I also found some support for the idea that perceptions of competition with immigrants was mediating this relation. In light of Social Comparison Theory, these results may suggest that the downward comparisons I asked participants to make were serving a self-enhancement function (Collins, 1996). Mummendey, Klink, and Brown (2001) conducted studies where they primed participants with either temporal or intergroup comparisons and measured their national identification, national pride, and rejection of national outgroups. Results demonstrated that national identification was only related to outgroup rejection when participants made intergroup comparisons and not when they made temporal comparisons (Mummendey et al., 2001a). The results from Study 2, combined with the findings of Mummendey and colleagues lend support to my hypothesis that making downward comparisons between one's nation and another "worse off" nation are producing perceptions of competition which are responsible for the negative outgroup attitudes.

Study 2 found that making downward social comparisons could result in less favorable attitudes toward immigrants; however, these results lead to an important follow up question. Is it simply the presence or absence of a social comparison involving one's nation and other nations that matters or does the direction of the social comparison matter as well? That is, if downward comparisons lead to less favorable attitudes toward immigrants, would making upward comparisons do so as well? Similarly, if making a

downward comparison between one's nation and another "worse off" nation leads to perceptions of threat and competition, would that also be the case when making an upward comparison between one's nation and another "better off" nation?

Research suggests that both upward and downward social comparisons can be used to enhance one's self-esteem, particularly in cases when one feels threatened (Collins, 1996; Wills, 1981). Studies have demonstrated that people make downward comparisons as a way to derogate other people and groups and feel better about themselves (Wills, 1981). Thus, I predict that making downward social comparisons will result in more derogation of outgroups, in this case, immigrants. However, since upward social comparisons involve comparing oneself to a person or group who is better than oneself, there is no reason to expect a derogation of outgroups. Thus, I do not expect that when people make upward comparisons between their country and another that it will result in more negative feelings toward immigrants.

In Study 3a, I again examined the role of intergroup comparison and perceived competition as mechanisms that may underlie the relation between national identity and outgroup attitudes. Participants were asked to make either upward or downward comparisons between Canada and the US and then responded to a series of questions about their attitudes toward Canada, the US, and immigrants.

In this study, I also wanted to further explore the role of perceived competition and attempt to tease it apart from perceptions of threat. Throughout the literature, authors often speak of perceptions of threat and competition interchangeably (de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Louis et al., 2013; Riek et al., 2006). To determine whether the zero sum beliefs scale I used to measure perceived competition is different than threat, I included a

scale measuring whether participants feel that Canada and Canadians are under threat.

Because perceived threat and competition are similar, I would expect to find that they are

correlated; however, since they are also separate constructs, I would not expect that

correlation to be large. Although I had some a priori predictions about how threat would

be related to intergroup attitudes (i.e., that threat would be related to nationalism and less

favorable attitudes toward immigrants), the inclusion of this threat measure was largely

exploratory.

The goals of Study 3a were: (1) to determine whether the effects of the individual

differences nationalism and patriotism found in Studies 1 and 2 would replicate; (2) to

determine whether the effects of the downward comparison manipulation found in Study

2 would replicate and to extend these findings by examining the effects of an upward

comparison on attitudes toward immigrants; and (3) to examine once again the potential

meditational role of perceive competition in terms of both the effects of the social

comparison manipulations (3a) and the national identity individual difference variables

(3b), and to extend this by examining perceptions of threat.

My hypotheses as they related to my stated goals were as follows: (1) I expected

that nationalism would be related to more negative attitudes toward immigrants and

patriotism would be related to more positive attitudes or unrelated to attitudes as I have

found in previous studies; (2) I expected that participants in the downward comparison

condition ("Canada Better than the US") would have more negative attitudes toward

immigrants. However, I did not expect participants' attitudes toward immigrants in the

upward comparison condition ("US Better than Canada") to be affected; (3) I expected

that the national identity and attitudes toward immigrants relation would be mediated by

perceptions of competition between immigrants and other Canadians. In the case of the social comparison manipulation, I expected that participants in the downward comparison condition would experience more perceived competition which, in turn, would lead to less favorable attitudes toward immigrants (3a). In the case of the national identity individual difference variables, I expected that higher levels of nationalism would be related to greater levels of perceived competition which, in turn, would lead to less favorable attitudes toward immigrants (3b). Study 3a was approved by the University of Western Ontario Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (see Appendix B).

4.1 Method

4.1.1 Participants

Participants were 193 undergraduate students from the University of Western Ontario. They participated in exchange for partial course credit. I removed data from 7 participants because they did not provide complete data and an additional 62 because they were born outside of Canada and were, thus, immigrants. I was left with a sample of 124 (75 females, 47 males, and 2 unspecified) with a mean age of 18.40 ($SD = 1.12$). The ethnic background of the sample was 71.77% White, 12.9% Chinese, 8.9% South Asian, 4.8% Southeast Asian, 1.6% Korean, and less than 1% Black, Filipino, and Latin American.

4.1.2 Materials

4.1.2.1 Social Comparison Manipulation

The manipulation was similar to that used in Study 2, with one exception. In order to explore how upward and downward comparisons about national groups affect attitudes toward immigrants, participants completed one of four writing prompt exercises. They were asked to

list three "things they love about Canada" (patriotism condition), "ways Canada is better than the

US" (downward comparison), "ways the US is better than Canada" (upward comparison), or

they wrote about an unrelated topic, the contents of their kitchen (control condition). After

listing three descriptions, they were asked to elaborate on them in as much detail as possible.

4.1.2.2   Measures

I used the same measures as in the previous two studies: the emotions scale (contempt -

$\alpha = .84$, admiration - $\alpha = .86$, envy - $\alpha = .72$; Fiske et al., 2002), zero sum beliefs ($\alpha = .78$; Esses

et al., 2001), the attitude thermometer (Esses et al., 1993), Open-Ended Stereotypes measure ($\alpha =$

.64; Esses et al., 1993), nationalism ($\alpha = .75$) and patriotism ($\alpha = .82$; Kosterman & Feshbach,

1989), and demographic items.

I also added a question assessing task difficulty in order to control for how easy or

difficult it was for participants to generate answers to the writing prompt. Although I did not

control for task difficulty in Study 2, it was deemed important in this study because there was

some concern that participants would find it difficult to think of ways that the United States is

better than Canada. According to the ease of retrieval heuristic, people often make judgments

based on how easy or difficult it is to retrieve related information (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973).

The ease of retrieval heuristic has been used to demonstrate biases in self-evaluations as well as

evaluations of others (Haddock, 2002; Pahl & Eiser, 2007).   This is important because if

participants have a hard time generating ways in which the US is better than Canada (or vice

versa), this could affect how positively they feel toward the two countries (and by extension,

their national identity). This item was "How easy or difficult was it for you to answer the

previous question?". It was measured on a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (extremely

easy) to 7 (extremely difficult).

4.1.2.2.1 Threat to Canadians (adapted from Louis, Duck, Terry, & Lalonde, 2010)

Additionally, I added a measure to examine whether participants felt like Canada or Canadians were under threat, I adapted items from Louis and colleagues' measure of Threat to White Australians (Louis, Duck, Terry, & Lalonde, 2010). The scale was made up of five items asking participants if they feel Canada is under social or economic threat or if they feel that Americans are doing better than Canadians or have more advantages. The items were measured on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). In this sample, reliability was lower than would be considered ideal ($\alpha = .55$).

4.1.3 Procedure

Participants were told that they were participating in "Two Short Studies: Descriptions of Place and Current Social Issues." They came in to the lab and were seated at a computer. First, they read the letter of information and provided consent for the first study, "Descriptions of Place." Then they were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions and they completed the writing prompt exercise. They were then asked "How difficult was the writing prompt activity for you?" so that I could determine if I needed to control for the ease and accessibility of generating the comparisons. When they were done, they were told that this was the end of the first study, thanked, and debriefed.

Next, participants read a second letter of information and provided consent for the second study, "Current Social Issues." They then completed all of the measures in random order with the exception of the nationalism and patriotism scales and demographic items which were completed last. Then they were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

4.2   Results

4.2.1   Descriptive Statistics

Table 5 contains means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the study variables irrespective of condition. Contrary to previous studies, I found that nationalism and patriotism were not significantly intercorrelated, r (124) = .13, p =.16. Also contrary to predictions and results from Study 1, patriotism was only found to be significantly related to envy, r (124) = -.23, p = .01. Quite surprisingly, nationalism was not related to any of the other variables, ps > .10.

I again conducted two one-way ANOVAs with condition as a fixed factor, task difficulty as a covariate, and patriotism and nationalism as the dependent variables to test whether they were influenced by the situational primes. In this sample they were not, ps < .67.

4.2.2   Test of Hypothesis 1: National Identity Individual Differences

To determine whether national identity predicted attitudes toward immigrants, since nationalism and patriotism were not affected by the manipulation, I again, collapsed across conditions and conducted a series of multiple regression analyses.   Each analysis included nationalism and patriotism as simultaneous predictors and had a different outcome (general attitudes, admiration, contempt, envy, perceived competition, perceived threat, and generation of stereotypes). The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 6.

Nationalism, β = -.16, p = .09, but not patriotism, was a marginally significant predictor of attitudes toward immigrants. It was also a marginally significant predictor of

Table 5: Means, standard deviations, and correlations for Study 3a variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. General Attitudes Possible Range (0 – 100)	66.75	20.24	--							
2. Admiration Possible Range (1 – 7)	4.48	1.25	.58**	--						
3. Contempt Possible Range (1 – 7)	2.27	1.04	-.52**	-.32**	--					
4. Envy Possible Range (1 – 7)	2.01	1.29	.03	.10	.33**	--				
5. Perceived Competition Possible Range (1 – 7)	3.46	1.35	-.48**	-.33**	.54**	.06	--			
6. Threat Possible Range (1 – 7)	2.59	.61	-.14^	.02	.14	.07	.30**	--		
7. Open Ended Stereotypes Possible Range (1 – 7)	4.75	1.35	.60**	-.52**	-.51**	-.08	-.54**	-.13	--	
8. Patriotism Possible Range (1 – 7)	5.53	.67	.05	.10	-.12	-.23*	-.04	-.10	.11	--
9. Nationalism Possible Range (1 – 7)	4.00	.82	-.15	-.11	.06	-.06	.14	.16	-.10	.13

Note. ^ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 6: Summary of Regression Results for Study 3a

Outcome	Nationalism β	Patriotism β	R^2	F
Attitudes	-.16^	.07	.03	1.66
Admiration	-.12	.11	.02	1.47
Contempt	.08	-.13	.02	1.16
Envy	-.04	-.22**	.05	3.34*
Perceived Competition	.15	-.06	.02	1.38
Perceived Threat	.17^	-.12	.04	2.42
Stereotypes	-.12	.12	.03	1.56

Note. ^ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

perceived threat, $\beta = .17$, $p = .06$. Patriotism, $\beta = -.22$, $p = .02$, but not nationalism, was a significant predictor of envy. Contrary to predictions and previous research, neither nationalism nor patriotism predicted contempt, admiration, perceived competition, perceived threat, or valence of stereotypes, $ps > .11$. In light of the fact that the regression analyses largely did not demonstrate significant effects, there was no need to run follow-up mediational analyses.

4.2.3   Test of Hypothesis 2: Social Comparison Manipulation

Before I tested my hypothesis about social comparison, I wanted to see whether task difficulty differed between conditions so I could determine whether I needed to control for it. To do this, I conducted a one-way ANOVA with condition as the fixed factor and task difficulty as the dependent variable. I found that task difficulty did differ by condition, $F(3, 120) = 19.99$, $p < .001$, partial eta $= .33$. Participants found the "Love Canada" condition ($M = 5.34$, $SD = 1.41$) easiest followed by the control condition ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.64$), the "Canada Better than US" condition ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 1.61$) and finally the "US Better than Canada" condition ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.27$) was the most difficult. Higher numbers indicated less task difficulty. Based on these results, I decided to use task difficulty as a covariate in the following analyses[6].

In order to test the prediction that participants in the "Better than the US" condition would have less favorable attitudes toward immigrants than those in the "Love Canada" and "US Better than Canada" and control conditions, a series of one-way

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[6] I also ran analyses that did not include task difficulty as a covariate. Results were similar whether the covariate was included or not.

ANOVAs were conducted with condition as the fixed factor and task difficulty as a covariate.

Contrary to predictions and previous research, participants did not significantly differ across conditions on any of the outcome variables (general attitudes, contempt, admiration, envy, stereotypes, perceived competition, or perceived threat), $ps > .43$.

4.2.4   Test of Hypothesis 3: Perceived Competition as a Mediator

Since, in this sample, I did not find evidence that the social comparison manipulation affected attitudes toward immigrants, it was not necessary or possible to test the hypothesis that perceptions of competition served as a mediator. Similarly, since I did not find evidence, in this sample, that the nationalism or patriotism individual differences were predicting attitudes toward immigrants, it was, again, not necessary nor possible to test for mediation.

4.3 Discussion

In Study 3a, I did not find support for any of my hypotheses. In this sample, the downward social comparison manipulation did not appear to affect attitudes toward immigrants as it had in Study 2. The upward social comparison manipulation also did not affect any of the dependent variables. Surprisingly, I also did not find significant support for the idea that nationalism was related to less favorable attitudes and patriotism was related to more favorable attitudes or unrelated to attitudes toward immigrants, although nationalism did emerge as a marginal predictor of less favorable general attitudes and patriotism did significantly predict envy of immigrants. Finally, because I did not have significant findings with the social comparison manipulation or the national identity

individual difference variables, it was not possible to test my hypothesis regarding perceptions of competition as a mediator.

Although we can never draw firm conclusions from non-significant results, I can speculate about some of the reasons for these null findings. One potential problem is that the reliabilities of the scales, while still adequate, were lower than in previous studies. Another interesting observation is that the nationalism and patriotism scales have standard deviations quite a bit lower than previous studies. Perhaps there was a lack of variation in these scales that led to the lack of correlations that I found.

In light of these limitations and the lack of consistency this study has with my previous work, I decided to conduct this study again using a difference sample. It is possible that there was something anomalous about this particular group of participants.

Chapter 5

5   Study 3b

In Study 3a, contrary to predictions and results from Study 2, the intergroup

comparison manipulation did not lead participants to have differing attitudes toward

immigrants. Perhaps more unexpectedly, in this sample, neither patriotism nor

nationalism was found to be significantly related to any of my outcome variables. In fact,

patriotism and nationalism were not even significantly correlated with each other in this

sample. Although we can never fully know what goes wrong when a study produces null

results, this unexpected pattern of findings suggests that something about this particular

sample may be an irregularity. Therefore, I decided to re-run Study 3b with a different

sample.

For Study 3b, I decided to attempt to replicate and extend the findings of Study 2

using a more representative sample of Americans from Amazon's Mechanical Turk. I

chose to use an American sample because demonstrating the current pattern of results

across two different countries would provide greater generalizability and enhance the

external validity of the effects.

In the previous study, I had attempted to further explore the role of perceived

competition by trying to tease it apart from perceptions of threat. In that study, I did not

find that threat was affected by the social comparison manipulation although it was

marginally related to nationalism; however, again, it is not clear if these findings were

meaningful or an anomaly. Interestingly, I did find that perceptions of threat and

perceptions of competition were moderately positively intercorrelated, which does lend

some support to the idea that these are related, but distinct, constructs. As in the previous

study, to determine whether the zero sum beliefs scale I use to measure perceived competition is different than threat, I included the threat scale. As in Study 3a, although I had some a priori predictions (i.e., that threat would be related to nationalism and less favorable attitudes toward immigrants), the inclusion of this threat measure was largely exploratory.

Since Study 3b is a replication of Study 3a with the exception of the sample, the goals and hypotheses are the same. The goals of Study 3b are: (1) to determine whether the effects of the individual differences nationalism and patriotism found in Studies 1 and 2 would replicate; (2) to determine whether the effects of the downward national comparison manipulation found in Study 2 would replicate and to extend the inquiry by examining the effects of an upward national comparison on attitudes toward immigrants; and (3) to examine once again the potential meditational role of perceived competition in the effects of the social comparison manipulation (3a) and the national identity individual difference variables (3b), and to extend this by examining perceptions of threat.

My hypotheses as they relate to my stated goals are as follows: (1) I expected that nationalism would be related to more negative attitudes toward immigrants and patriotism would be related to more positive attitudes or unrelated to attitudes as I have found in previous studies; (2) I expected that participants in the downward national comparison condition ("US Better than Others") would have more negative attitudes toward immigrants. However, I did not expect participants' attitudes toward immigrants in the upward national comparison condition ("Others Better than US") to be affected; (3) I expected that the national identity and attitudes toward immigrants relation would be mediated by perceptions of competition between immigrants and other Americans. In the

case of the social comparison manipulation, I expected that participants in the downward

comparison condition would experience more perceived competition which, in turn,

would lead to less favorable attitudes toward immigrants (3a). In the case of the national

identity individual difference variables, I expected that higher levels of nationalism

would be related to greater levels of perceived competition which, in turn, would lead to

less favorable attitudes toward immigrants (3b). Study 3b was approved by the

University of Western Ontario Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (see Appendix B).

5.1   Method

5.1.1   Participants

Participants were 242 individuals recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk).

In order to participate in the study, they had to indicate on their Mturk profile that they were

from the United States. They were paid $0.30 for their participation in this half hour study. I

removed data from 61 participants because they did not complete the study, 7 because they failed

an attention check question, and an additional 11 because they were born outside of the United

States and were, thus, immigrants. I was left with a sample of 163 (85 females, 76 males, and 2

unspecified) with a mean age of 37.66 ($SD = 13.34$). The ethnic background of the sample was

85.9% White, 7.4% Black, 2.5% Latin American, 1.8% Southeast Asian and less than 1%

Chinese, South Asian, Filipino, and Korean.

5.1.2   Materials

5.1.2.1   Social Comparison Manipulation

The manipulation in the current study is similar to that used in Study 3a, with one

exception. Since, unlike Canada, the United States does not have a well-known sense of

competition between the two countries, I decided to make the prompt more general. Thus, participants were asked to list three "things you love about the United States" (patriotism condition), "ways the United States is better than other countries" (downward national comparison), "ways other countries are better than the US" (upward national comparison), or they wrote about an unrelated topic, the contents of their kitchen (control). After listing three descriptions, they were asked to elaborate on them in as much detail as possible.

5.1.2.2   Measures

The measures are the same as in the previous studies, but are adapted for American participants: the emotions scale (admiration - $\alpha = .89$, contempt - $\alpha = .94$, envy - $\alpha = .87$; Fiske et al., 2002), zero sum beliefs ($\alpha = .85$; Esses et al., 2001), the threat to Americans scale ($\alpha = .73$; Louis et al., 2010), the attitude thermometer (Esses et al., 1993), Open-Ended Stereotypes measure ($\alpha = .79$; Esses et al., 1993), nationalism ($\alpha = .89$) and patriotism ($\alpha = .94$; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989), and demographic items. I also retained the question assessing task difficulty from Study 3a.

5.1.3   Procedure

Participants were told that they were participating in "Two Short Studies: Descriptions of Place and Current Social Issues." They clicked on a link that took them to the online survey. First, they read the letter of information and provided consent for the first study, "Descriptions of Place." Then they were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions and completed the writing prompt exercise. They were then asked the task difficulty question. When they were done, they were told that this was the end of the first study, thanked, and debriefed.

Next, participants read a second letter of information and provided consent for the second study, "Current Social Issues." They then completed all of the measures in random order with

the exception of the nationalism and patriotism scales and demographic items which were always completed last. Then they were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

5.2 Results

5.2.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 7 contains means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the study variables irrespective of condition. As in the previous studies, I found that nationalism and patriotism were significantly intercorrelated; however the correlation was almost twice as large as for the Canadian samples, r (161) = .60, $p < .001$.

Patriotism was significantly correlated with general attitudes toward immigrants, r (161) = -.18, $p = .02$, and perceived competition with immigrants, r (161) = .29, $p < .001$; however, the effects were in directions contrary to predictions. Nationalism was related to the dependent variables in the predicted directions. Nationalism was significantly correlated with general attitudes toward immigrants, r (161) = -.30, $p < .001$, perceived competition with immigrants, r (161) = .44, $p < .001$, contempt for immigrants, r (161) = .33, $p < .001$, and the valence of stereotypes, r (161) = -.26, $p = .001$. It was not, however, related to admiration for immigrants, envy, or feelings of threat.

The nationalism individual difference measure was significantly influenced by the situational primes. Participants' levels of nationalism differed significantly by condition, F (3, 158) = 3.02, $p = .03$, partial eta squared = .05. Participants in the "Love US" ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.26$) condition reported significantly higher levels of nationalism than those in the Upward Comparison ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 1.48$) and Control Conditions ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.04$). The "Love US" and Downward comparison ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.35$) conditions did not differ. The patriotism individual difference measure also differed by condition;

Table 7: Means, standard deviations, and correlations for Study 3b variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. General Attitudes Possible Range (0 – 100)	68.60	22.41	--							
2. Admiration Possible Range (1 – 7)	4.18	1.54	.67**	--						
3. Contempt Possible Range (1 – 7)	2.05	1.33	-.42**	-.27**	--					
4. Envy Possible Range (1 – 7)	1.89	1.33	-.05	.10	.64**	--				
5. Perceived Competition Possible Range (1 – 7)	3.01	1.51	-.54**	-.41**	.66**	.35**	--			
6. Perceived Threat Possible Range (1 – 7)	3.48	.85	-.12	-.16*	.18*	-.01	.19*	--		
7. Open Ended Stereotypes Possible Range (1 – 7)	5.34	1.55	.52**	.50**	-.44**	-.07	-.44*	-.21**	--	
8. Patriotism Possible Range (1 – 7)	4.83	1.27	-.18*	-.10	.13	.00	.29**	-.10	-.13	--
9. Nationalism Possible Range (1 – 7)	3.55	1.32	-.30**	-.12	.33**	.19*	.44**	-.10	-.26**	.60**

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

however these results were marginal, F (3, 158) = 2.24, p = .09, partial eta squared = .04.

Participants in the "Love US" condition (M = 5.14, SD = 1.06) had significantly higher

levels of patriotism than those in the "Others Better than US" condition (M = 4.42, SD =

1.45). The "US Better than Others" (M = 4.81, SD = 1.19) and control conditions (M =

4.93, SD = 1.28) did not differ.

5.2.2   Test of Hypothesis 1: National Identity Individual Differences

As in previous studies, to test the prediction that nationalism would be related to

negative attitudes toward immigrants and patriotism would be related to positive

attitudes, a series of multiple regression analyses were conducted.   However, because

nationalism was significantly affected by the social comparison manipulation, for this

study I split my data file by condition and looked only at participants in the control

condition (N = 39). Each analysis included nationalism and patriotism as simultaneous

predictors and had a different outcome (general attitudes, admiration, contempt, envy,

perceived competition, perceived threat, and stereotypes). The results of these analyses

are summarized in Table 8.

Nationalism, but not patriotism, was a significant predictor of contempt for

immigrants, β = .49, p = .01, perceived competition with immigrants, β = .66, p < .001,

and valence of stereotypes of immigrants, β = -.46, p = .02. Patriotism was also a

significant negative predictor of perceptions of threat, β = -.41, p = .03. These results

demonstrate that participants who reported higher levels of nationalism had more

contempt for immigrants, higher levels of perceived competition with immigrants, and

generated less positive stereotypes of immigrants than participants who reported lower

levels of nationalism. They also demonstrate that

Table 8: Summary of Regression Results for Study 3b

Outcome	Nationalism β	Patriotism β	R^2	F
Attitudes	-.31	.05	.08	1.57
Admiration	-.06	.10	.01	.12
Contempt	.49*	-.22	.16	3.45*
Envy	.18	.08	.05	1.00
Perceived Competition	.66***	-.08	.38	10.83***
Perceived Threat	-.01	-.41*	18	3.86*
Stereotypes	-.46*	.10	.16	3.51*

Note. * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

participants with higher levels of patriotism feel less like America and Americans are under threat compared with participants who had lower levels of patriotism.

5.2.3   Test of Hypothesis 3a: Perceived Competition as Mediator – National Identity Individual Differences

In this study, patriotism was only related to perceived threat, but not related to any of the other dependent measures, $ps > .24$. Thus, I did not find support for perceptions of competition mediating the relation between patriotism and attitudes toward immigrants, as found in Study 1. Perceived competition did, however, appear to mediate the relation between nationalism and contempt for immigrants and stereotypes.

To test whether perceived competition is functioning as a mediator, I again used Hayes' PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013). I used model 4 with 5000 bootstrap samples for each of the following analyses. These analyses were conducted only for the control condition.

In conducting the mediational analysis for contempt, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is contempt for immigrants. The mediator or M is perceived competition with immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on contempt is .33. The direct effect from nationalism to contempt is .03 ($p = .85$). The indirect effect for nationalism to contempt is .30. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is .12 to .51. Although the total effect of nationalism on contempt was not significant in this analysis, the indirect effect of nationalism on contempt through perceived competition was significant. Thus, I have some support that perceived competition is mediating the relation between nationalism and contempt for immigrants.

To test the alternative model, I conducted a reverse mediation. For this analysis, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is perceived competition with immigrants. The mediator or M is contempt for immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on perceived competition is .81 . The direct effect from nationalism to perceived competition is .63 ($p < .001$). The indirect effect for nationalism to perceived competition is .18. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is .04 to .44. Thus, I find that the reverse mediation model results in a partial mediation, suggesting some bidirectional effects.

In conducting the mediational analysis for stereotypes, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is stereotypes. The mediator or M is perceived competition with immigrants. The total effect of nationalism on stereotypes is -.54 . The direct effect from nationalism to stereotypes is -.21 ($p = .41$). The indirect effect for nationalism to stereotypes is -.33. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is -.66 to -.13. Again, although the total of effect of nationalism on stereotypes was not significant in this analysis, the indirect effect of nationalism on stereotypes through perceived competition was significant. Thus, I have some support that perceived competition is mediating the relation between nationalism and the valence of stereotypes generated.

Again, I conducted a reverse mediation. For this analysis, the causal variable or X is participants' mean levels of nationalism. The outcome variable or Y is perceived competition with immigrants. The mediator or M is stereotypes. The total effect of nationalism on perceived competition is .81 . The direct effect from nationalism to perceived competition is .65 ($p < .001$). The indirect effect for nationalism to perceived

competition is .16. The bootstrapping confidence interval (5000 resamples) is .01 to .56.

Again, I find that the reverse mediation model results in a partial mediation, suggesting

bidirectional effects.

5.2.4   Test of Hypothesis 2: Social Comparison Manipulation

Before I tested my social comparison hypothesis, I wanted to see if task difficulty

differed by condition to determine if I needed to control for it. To do that, I ran a one-

way ANOVA with condition as a fixed factor and task difficulty as the dependent

variable. I found that task difficulty did differ by condition, F (3, 159) = 4.13, p = .01,

partial eta = .07. Participants found the control condition (M = 6.03, SD = 1.25) easiest

followed by the control "Love US" condition (M = 5.23, SD = 1.62), the "Others Better

than US" condition (M = 5.07, SD = 1.90) and finally the "US Better than Others"

condition (M = 4.85, SD = 1.46) was the most difficult. Higher numbers indicated less

task difficulty. Based on these results, I decided to use task difficulty as a covariate in the

following analyses[7].

In order to test the prediction that participants in the "US Better than Others"

condition would have less favorable attitudes toward immigrants than those in the

"Others Better than US", "Love US", and control conditions, a series of one-way

ANOVAs were conducted with condition as the fixed factor and task difficulty as a

covariate. Contrary to predictions, participants' general attitudes toward immigrants as

reported on the attitude thermometer did not significantly differ between the four

conditions, $F(3, 158) = .82$, $p = .49$, partial eta = .02.

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[7] Again, results were similar whether including the covariate or not including it in the analyses.
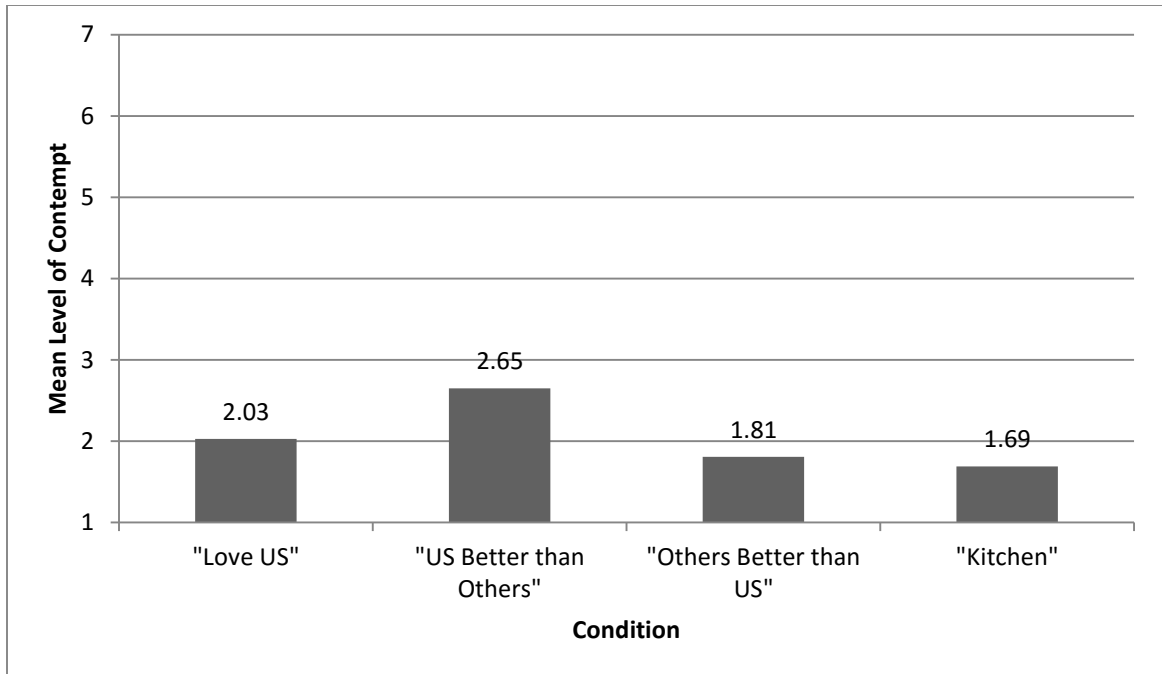
Figure 6: Study 3b: Mean contempt for immigrants by condition

Participants' levels of contempt for immigrants significantly differed between conditions, F (3, 158) = 4.23, p = .01, partial eta = .08 (See Figure 6). Participants in the "US Better than Others" condition reported relatively higher levels of contempt (M = 2.65, SD = 1.55) than participants in the "Love US" condition (M = 2.03, SD = 1.35), p = .03, participants in the "Others Better than US" condition (M = 1.81, SD = 1.22), p = .004, and participants in the control condition (M = 1.69, SD = .94, p = .001).

Participants' levels of envy for immigrants also significantly differed between conditions, F (3, 158) = 3.53, p = .02, partial eta = .06 (See Figure 7). Participants in the "US Better than Others" condition reported relatively higher levels of envy (M = 2.46, SD = 1.69) than participants in the "Love US" condition (M = 1.64, SD = 1.06), p = .004, participants in the "Others Better than US" condition (M = 1.77, SD = 1.10), p = .02, and participants in the control condition (M = 1.28, SD = .94, p = .01).

Participants' levels of admiration, F(3, 158) = .90, p = .44, partial eta = .02, perceived competition, F (3, 158) = 1.98, p = .12, partial eta = .04, perceived threat, F (3, 158) = 1.98, p = .12, partial eta = .04, and open-ended stereotypes, F (3, 158) = 1.71, p = .17, partial eta = .03, did not differ across conditions, .

5.2.5   Test of Hypothesis 3b: Perceived Competition and Perceived Threat as Mediators – Social Comparison Manipulation

In this sample, neither perceived competition nor perceived threat were found to be affected by the social comparison manipulation. Thus, neither could function as a mediator of the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes.
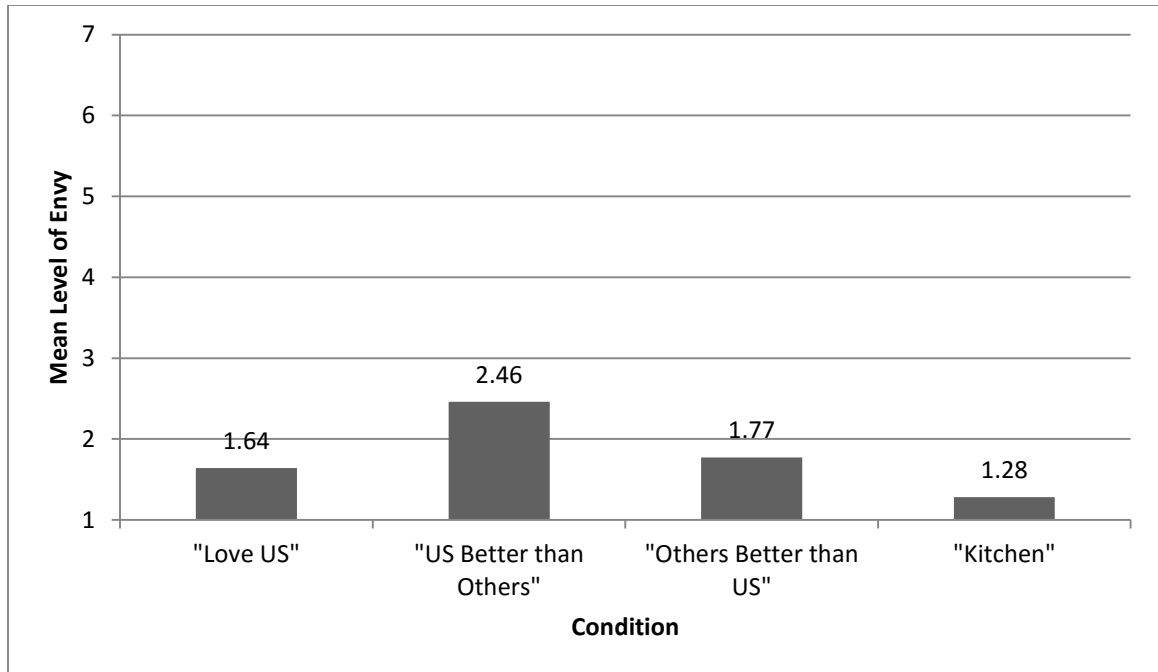
Figure 7: Study 3b: Mean envy for immigrants by condition

5.2.6   Qualitative Responses

As in Study 2, I analyzed participants' responses to the writing prompt for exploratory purposes. Therefore, two research assistants, in consultation with the researcher, read through the qualitative data and adapted the coding scheme used in Study 2 for use with the American sample. This coding scheme was then used to categorize participants' responses by the two different coders (again, refer to Appendix A for the final coding scheme). There was good inter-rater reliability between the research assistants with a Cohen's kappa of .70.

As in Study 2, I again found that the topics participants were writing about varied across conditions. In the "US Better than others" condition, responses most often fell into the Political Values category (47.79%) with many participants mentioning their love of freedom. The next largest category discussed in this condition, "Multiculturalism" (12.39%), was a distant second. This category included discussion of diversity, language, and immigration, among other topics. The third largest category in this condition was how the United States is viewed by the rest of the world (11.50%) examples of this included being seen as powerful and innovative.

In the "Love US" condition, the most common category of responses was again Political Values (41.09%) such as freedom, equality, and democracy. The second highest level of responses fell into the "Physical Environment" category (18.60%). Examples of this included the diversity of places to visit, national parks, and diverse landscapes. The third largest category in this condition was "Multiculturalism" (15.50%).

In the "Others Better than US" condition, participants primarily spoke of "Social Policies" (46.61%) which included things like healthcare, education, and work related policies such as maternity leave. This was followed by how the US is viewed by the rest

of the world (16.10%), and "Other" (14.41%). In this condition, examples of the way the US is viewed by the rest of the world were more negative and included things like other countries are seen as less arrogant and militarized than the US.

5.3 Discussion

In Study 3b, I found patterns of results consistent with those from Study 1 and 2. First, I replicated patterns found in Study 2 when examining the predictive power of the national identity individual difference measures. I found that participants' levels of nationalism predicted contempt, perceptions of competition, and the generation of less positive stereotypes of immigrants. That is, as expected, nationalism was related to relatively less positive intergroup attitudes. Patriotism was also related to less feeling that America and Americans were under threat.

Next, consistent with my hypotheses, I found that participants who reflected on how the US was better than other countries (downward social comparison) had relatively more contempt for immigrants than those who reflected on their love for their country, those who reflected on how other countries were better than the US (upward social comparison), or those who wrote about items in their kitchen (control). Participants in the downward comparison condition also had more envy for participants. While envy may seem like a positive emotion, it is made up of two items (envious and jealous) and of the two items, jealousy is somewhat negative. Envy was also fairly highly correlated with contempt. Being jealous actually may imply that participants are perceiving competition between themselves and immigrants. Although I did not find that participants differed on their general attitudes toward immigrants, admiration for immigrants, perceived competition, perceived threat, or stereotypes, the pattern of results

still suggests, as in Study 2, that making downward national comparisons leads to relatively less favorable attitudes toward immigrants.

Finally, I found mixed support for my hypothesis that the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes is mediated by perceptions of competition between the groups. My social comparison manipulation did not affect perceptions of competition between immigrants and other Americans; therefore, it could not act as mediator. However, when considering the individual difference measures of national identity, perceived competition did emerge as a significant mediator. It is important to note, though, that in many cases, the reverse patterns signaled either partial or full mediations as well. This suggests that there may be bidirectional effects between perceptions of competition, attitudes, and emotions.

In addition to replicating and strengthening my previous findings, this study extended my work in several ways. For one, I demonstrated that, at least in this sample, upward social comparison does not seem to lead to negative intergroup attitudes as downward comparison does. This corresponds to social comparison theory's prediction that downward social comparisons are related to outgroup derogation as a means of self-enhancement while upward comparisons lead to self-enhancements by a different mechanism (Collins, 1996; Wills, 1981). I also demonstrated that perceived competition and perceived threat, although related, are not the same thing. Perceived competition was related to less favorable attitudes toward immigrants, but threat was not. Another important extension is related to the use of an American sample. Because this was an American sample and not Canadian, as in the previous studies, this allows me to

generalize more broadly and suggests that the effects of downward comparisons on attitudes toward immigrants are not unique to the Canadian context.

Chapter 6

6   General Discussion

6.1   The Current Research – Results Summary

6.1.1   Individual Differences in Nationalism and Patriotism

Many previous studies have demonstrated that negative national identity (e.g., nationalism and blind patriotism) predicts relatively less favorable intergroup attitudes while positive national identities, like patriotism, are related to relatively more positive intergroup attitudes or unrelated (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Esses et al., 2004; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006b; Spry & Hornsey, 2007). The current series of studies further supports this assertion. Studies 1, 2, and 3b found that nationalism was related to perceived competition. Studies 1 and 3b also found that nationalism was related to contempt for immigrants and, in Study 3b, nationalism also predicted more negative stereotyping of immigrants. Study 3a did not support this pattern, but again, based on many previous studies, both in this current paper and elsewhere, this study seems to be an anomaly. See Table 9 for a conceptual summary of the results of each of the studies.

6.1.2   Social Comparison Manipulation

The main goal of this set of studies was to test the idea that making a social comparison between one's country and another nation would lead to less favorable attitudes toward immigrants, in comparison to simply thinking about what one loves about his or her country. Across Study 2 and Study 3b, there seems to be some support

Table 9: Conceptual Summary of Results across Studies

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3a	Study 3b
National Identity Individual Differences	Nationalism predicted: • More contempt • More perceived competition Patriotism predicted: • More admiration • Less contempt • Less perceived competition	Nationalism predicted: • More perceived competition	Nationalism predicted: • Less favorable general attitudes (marginal) • Higher perceived threat (marginal) Patriotism predicted: • Less envy	Nationalism predicted: • More contempt • More perceived competition • Less positive stereotypes Patriotism predicted: • Lower perceived threat
Social Comparison Manipulation	Not tested	Ps in the "Better than US" (downward comparison) condition had: • Less favorable general attitudes • More contempt • Less admiration • More perceived competition (marginal)	No significant findings	Ps in the "Better than Others" (downward comparison) condition had: • More contempt • More envy

that the social comparison manipulation changed participants' attitudes toward immigrants.

In both studies, participants who were asked to reflect on how their country was better than others displayed relatively more contempt for immigrants than in any other condition. In Study 2, when participants reflected on how their country was better than another, they also had significantly less positive general attitudes and more perceptions of competition with immigrants. Across both studies, reflecting on how much one loves his or her country or how other countries are better than theirs did not seem to change participants' attitudes toward immigrants.

6.1.3   The Role of Perceived Competition

I also found some support, both correlationally and experimentally, for my hypothesis that perceptions of competition mediate the relations between national identity and attitudes toward immigrants. In Study 1, I found that higher levels of nationalism led to more perceived competition compared to lower levels of nationalism. Higher levels of patriotism led to less perceived competition and, thus, less contempt for immigrants compared to lower levels of patriotism. In Study 2, I found that nationalism led to more perceptions of competition which, in turn, led to lower general attitudes and higher contempt. In Study 3b, nationalism, through perceptions of competition, also led to more contempt and less positive stereotyping of immigrants.

Further evidence for the importance of perceptions of competition came from the social comparison manipulation. I found that participants perceived more competition with immigrants after reflecting on how Canada was better than other countries. Results

of mediation analyses suggested that there was, indeed, evidence for perceived competition mediating the relations between the social comparison manipulation and general attitudes, contempt, and admiration for immigrants.

It is important to note that for all of the mediation analyses, I conducted reverse mediations and found partial support for those models as well. That is, negative national identity (either the nationalism individual difference or the downward comparison manipulation) seemed to also lead to more contempt and less favorable attitudes which may have resulted in the increased perceptions of competition. That is, these results suggest that there may be bidirectional effects between perceived competition and negative attitudes. The potential for bidirectional effects is not altogether surprising, considering that in each of these studies, perceptions of competition are significantly correlated with the intergroup outcome measures. These relatively high correlations may indicate some degree of construct overlap. That is, perceptions of competition may not be entirely separate from general attitudes and emotions one feels toward immigrants. In fact, Louis and colleagues (2013) have proposed a model in which perceptions of competition, contempt, and lack of admiration toward immigrants are all interrelated and work together to mediate the relation between national identity and general attitudes.

6.2 National Identity as Social Comparison

One of the primary goals of this series of studies was to better understand what separates "good" from "bad" national identity. Specifically, I wanted to test the idea that negative national identity, such as nationalism, was a result of the presence of intergroup comparisons while positive national identity did not attempt to make social comparisons. The conclusions we can draw from the results of these studies are mixed. On the one

hand, participants making downward social comparisons (that is, reflecting on how their country is better than others) tend to have relatively more negative attitudes toward immigrants. As the nationalism scale is made up of several items which make this same type of downward comparison and as that scale consistently predicts similar, less favorable attitudes toward immigrants, this may suggest that I was, in fact, correct and nationalism is simply the presence of intergroup comparison. However, it is also important to note that upward social comparison did not appear to affect attitudes. Thus, nationalism seems to be based on downward comparison. These results are consistent with the predictions of social comparison theory which suggest that people compare themselves to less fortunate others and derogate outgroups as a way to feel superior and restore or maintain self-esteem (Wills, 1981).

On the other hand, I did not consistently find that participants who reflected on how their country was better than others scored higher on the nationalism scale. This may suggest that I was not actually manipulating levels of nationalism, but rather tapped some other, possibly related, construct. However, this does not necessarily invalidate my results as it may simply reflect a difference between trait levels of national identity and state levels of national identity. For example, it is conceivable that the social comparison prime made participants more nationalistic in the moment, but that does not necessarily have to be reflected as a change in the more general nationalistic attitudes measured by the Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) scale.

6.3 The Role of Intergroup Competition

As I mentioned above, my results related to perceived competition as a mediator were mixed. Although there was evidence for bidirectional effects, perceived

competition as a mediator was stronger than the reverse analyses. For example, perceptions of competition fully mediated the relations between national identity and the outcome variables, but, in most cases, the reverse analyses were only partial mediations. Additionally, the effects of the principle mediation analyses were stronger as evidenced by larger coefficients in most analyses.

In either case, my evidence is consistent with previous work that suggests perceptions of threat and competition are important factors in intergroup relations (Esses et al., 2001, 1998, 2005; Louis et al., 2013). For example, whether or not perceived competition plays a causal role, it is significantly correlated with contempt, lack of admiration, and a generally less positive attitudes toward immigrants.

In Studies 3a and 3b, I wanted to see if perceived competition was different than perceived threat. In both studies, I found that the two constructs were moderately significantly intercorrelated suggesting they are related, but separate constructs. Further, threat was not correlated with nationalism or the attitude toward immigrant measures. Finally, threat was not affected by the social comparison manipulations. All of these results suggest that while perceived threat is related to perceived competition, perceived competition seems uniquely important to the national identity – intergroup attitudes link.

6.4   National Identity and Intergroup Attitudes

These studies tend to support previous findings that there are two forms of national identity and each is differentially related to intergroup attitudes. I have correlational evidence that demonstrates that nationalism as an individual difference variable predicts more negative attitudes and emotions toward immigrants as well as perceptions of competition. In addition, I have some preliminary experimental evidence

that also suggests that a national identity centered around intergroup comparison leads to more negative attitudes toward immigrants while a national identity rooted in a love for one's country does not. This work joins that of Mummendey and colleagues (Mummendey, Klink, & Brown, 2001b), Esses and colleagues (Esses et al., 2001, 2006), and Li and Brewer (2004) as some of the few studies to use experimental manipulations to examine the relation between national identity and intergroup attitudes.

6.5 Implications: Immigrants and Immigration to Canada

As mentioned in the introduction, understanding how Canadians feel about immigrants and what factors make them more or less supportive of immigration to Canada are important for two reasons. For one, Canada receives a large number of immigrants every year, and if the government wants to continue to attract and retain immigrants, it is important that these newcomers are happy. One extremely important factor in their satisfaction is how much prejudice and discrimination they experience (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). The current research suggests that how people feel about Canada is related to how they feel about immigrants. In fact, the idea that one can experimentally manipulate people's national identity, and thus, their attitudes toward immigrants may lead to optimism. If we can lower attitudes toward immigrants by focusing on why our country is better than others, it follows that by avoiding such comparisons, we should be able to keep attitudes toward immigrants more favorable. For example, if politicians and the media avoid making comparison statements, such as discussing how Canada is better than the United States in terms of multiculturalism or social welfare programs, perhaps Canadians will become even more receptive to immigrants.

Another important way in which these data speak to Canadian immigration is by demonstrating the importance of showing that immigrants are not competing with other Canadians for resources such as jobs or to impose their values. Again, if perceptions of intergroup competition are related to more negative attitudes toward immigrants, perhaps emphasizing that this competition is imagined can improve the relationship between immigrants and other Canadians. It is easy to imagine that politicians and media rhetoric could be structured in a way as to downplay competition. However, previous research has suggested that for some people (i.e., those high in social dominance orientation), challenging their beliefs about perceived competition with immigrants can actually lead to a rebound effect in which they report even more negative attitudes toward immigrants (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). Therefore, if we are going to take this approach to improve attitudes, we will need to be cautious in how we do it. In any case, it is clear that the current work has important implications for making immigrants feel welcomed and happy in Canada.

6.6 Limitations and Future Directions

There are several limitations of the current set of studies. First, although I suggested that my downward comparison condition was representative of negative national identity, the manipulations did not directly test this, but rather did so indirectly. Because the social comparison manipulations did not affect participants' levels of nationalism, I cannot be certain that the central process underlying their effects is similar. However, both do involve explicit comparisons suggesting that this may indeed be the case. Further research needs to continue to test the construct validity of this manipulation as a prime for nationalistic attitudes.

Another limitation of these studies is the relatively low sample sizes in studies 1 and 2. A less than adequate sample size reduces the power of the statistical tests used and introduces the potential for both increased Type I and Type II error. This means that it is possible that, in Studies 1 and 2, I may have been unable to detect effects that were present or I reported effects that were actually a result of chance. Future work should draw on much larger sample sizes to ensure sufficient statistical power.

One of the strengths of this body of studies is the presence of both Canadian and American samples. Finding a similar pattern across two countries allows me to generalize my findings beyond the Canadian context. However, the Canadian samples are student samples which means they are relatively young and well-educated while the American sample is older and more nationally representative. Because the samples differ so greatly, they cannot be directly compared. Although we can observe differences, such as the much higher correlation between patriotism and nationalism in the American sample, without a directly comparable sample, we cannot draw any cross-cultural conclusions. Because the topics we are interested in, national identity and immigration, vary so greatly from country to country, future work would be strengthened with a truly cross-cultural approach.

Another potential sample-related extension would be to conduct these studies with populations who are currently facing more extreme situations regarding a loss of resources. For example, it would be interesting to examine perceptions of competition among people who are in poverty or losing their jobs, especially if it was a direct result of a new reliance on temporary foreign workers, outsourcing to other countries, or an increase in immigration.

Finally, it is worth noting that although I found differences in participants' attitudes, levels of contempt and admiration, and perceptions of competition, means on these scales were generally positive. For example, means on the contempt and perceptions of competition scales were below the midpoint in every study. Similarly, general attitudes toward immigrants and admiration were consistently on the more favorable side of their respective scales. This means that the differences I found were relative differences and not necessarily reflective of hostility.

6.7   Conclusion

To conclude, it had been known previously that people who are more nationalistic, a construct which is made up of items suggesting that one's nation is superior to other nations, tend to have less favorable attitudes toward immigrants. This series of studies not only confirmed that finding, but extended it. These data suggest that when we reflect on how our country is better than others, that act tends to make us less favorable toward immigrants. I have also suggested that this may be a result of increased perceptions of competition between immigrants and members of the host society. These findings have important implications both for our understanding of national identity as well as for making Canada a more welcoming place for immigrants.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Qualitative Coding Scheme for Studies 2 and 3b

Themes

1) **Physical Environment[8]**
   a) Size
   b) Beauty
   c) Agriculture
   d) **Built environment (Ex. Highways, housing)**
   e) **Weather**
2) Economy
   a) Government expenditures
3) Political Values
   a) Freedom
   b) Care about the Environment
   c) Equality
   d) Justice
   e) Constitutional Monarchy (**Constitution)**
   f) Opportunity
   g) Democratic
   h) Non-Corrupt
   i) Liberal
   j) **Government Policies (E.g., Gun Laws, Food labeling, Smoking)**
   k) **Taxes**
4) Multiculturalism
   a) Diversity
   b) Language
   c) Immigration
   d) Embracing
   e) **Racism/Biased**
   f) **Religion**
5) Hockey
6) Social Welfare (**Social policies)**
   a) Healthcare

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[8] The unbolded items were the original coding scheme developed for the Canadian sample in Study 2. The bolded items were added to fit the American sample in Study 3b.

    b) Education
    c) Work (i.e., wage, vacation, maternity leave, employee benefits)
    d) Transportation
    e) Retirement
    f) Welfare for Poverty
    g) Child Care

7) Seasons
    a) Winter
    b) Summer

8) Symbols
    a) Maple Leaf
    b) Beaver
    c) Tim Horton's
    d) Traffic
    e) Food
    f) Media

9) Viewed of by the Rest of the World
    a) Respected
    b) Safe
    c) Polite
    d) Inviting
    e) Friendly
    f) Good Relations with United States
    g) Caring
    h) Militarized; Power
    i) Arrogant
    j) Innovative
    k) Nosy
    l) Self-Improving
    m) Terrorizing

10) Other
    a) Relaxing
    b) Comfortable
    c) Pride/Patriotic
    d) Peace
    e) Nationality
    f) History
    g) Culture
    h) Population
    i) Clean

j) **Standard of Living (Quality of Life)**
k) **Disease**
l) **Crimes and Jail**
m) **Convenient**
n) **Technology**
o) **Electricity**
p) **Work hard to improve SES**

Appendix B: Ethics Approval Forms

Department of Psychology The University of Western Ontario

Western

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Review Number	11 10 09		Approval Date	11 10 19
Principal Investigator	Vicki Esses/Kelly Barnes		End Date	12 04 30
Protocol Title	Current social issues			
Sponsor	n/a			

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Department of Psychology Research Ethics Board (PREB) has granted expedited ethics approval to the above named research study on the date noted above.

The PREB is a sub-REB of The University of Western Ontario's Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. (See Office of Research Ethics web site: http://www.uwo.ca/research/ethics/)

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the University's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the PREB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of research assistant, telephone number etc). Subjects must receive a copy of the information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly also report to the PREB:
a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to the PREB for approval.

Members of the PREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the PREB.

Clive Seligman Ph.D.

Chair, Psychology Expedited Research Ethics Board (PREB)

The other members of the 2011-2012 PREB are: Mike Atkinson (Introductory Psychology Coordinator), Rick Goffin, Riley Hinson Albert Katz (Department Chair), Steve Lupker, and TBA (Graduate Student Representative)

CC: UWO Office of Research Ethics
This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files

Department of Psychology The University of Western Ontario

Western

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Review Number	12 02 03		Approval Date	12 02 01
Principal Investigator	Vicki Esses/Kelly Barnes		End Date	12 04 30
Protocol Title	National perceptions and contemporary social issues			
Sponsor	n/a			

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Department of Psychology Research Ethics Board (PREB) has granted expedited ethics approval to the above named research study on the date noted above.

The PREB is a sub-REB of The University of Western Ontario's Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. (See Office of Research Ethics web site: http://www.uwo.ca/research/ethics/)

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the University's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the PREB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of research assistant, telephone number etc). Subjects must receive a copy of the information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly also report to the PREB:
a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to the PREB for approval.

Members of the PREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the PREB.

Clive Seligman Ph.D.

Chair, Psychology Expedited Research Ethics Board (PREB)

The other members of the 2011-2012 PREB are: Mike Atkinson (Introductory Psychology Coordinator), Rick Goffin, Riley Hinson Albert Katz (Department Chair), Steve Lupker, and Karen Dickson (Graduate Student Representative)

CC: UWO Office of Research Ethics

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Western
Research

Western University Health Science Research Ethics Board
NMREB Delegated Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Prof. Vicki Esses
Department & Institution: Social Science\Psychology, Western University

NMREB File Number: 105950
Study Title: Two Short Studies: DESCRIPTIONS OF PLACE and Social Attitudes
Sponsor:

NMREB Initial Approval Date: November 24, 2014
NMREB Expiry Date: October 31, 2015

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Instruments		2014/11/17
Other	Debriefing	2014/11/11
Western University Protocol		2014/10/21
Recruitment Items	Experimental Pool Poster-Received Nov 10, 2014	

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Ethics Officer, on behalf of Riley Hinson, NMREB Chair

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

Erika Basile	Grace Kelly	Mina Mekhail	Vikki Tran

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Western University, Research,

Western Research

Western University Health Science Research Ethics Board
NMREB Full Board Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Prof. Vicki Esses
Department & Institution: Social Science\Psychology, Western University

NMREB File Number: 106306
Study Title: Two Short Studies: Descriptions of Place and Social Attitudes - MTurk Sample
Sponsor:

NMREB Initial Approval Date: March 18, 2015
NMREB Expiry Date: March 18, 2016

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Other	Debriefing Form	2015/01/27
Revised Western University Protocol		2015/03/04
Instruments	Study Packet - Canadian	2015/03/04
Instruments	Study Packet American	2015/03/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent		2015/03/04
Advertisement		2015/03/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent		2015/03/04

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Ethics Officer, on behalf of Riley Hinson, NMREB Chair

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

Erika Basile	Grace Kelly	Mina Mekhail	Vikki Tran

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Curriculum Vitae

CURRICULUM VITAE
(May 2015)

Kelly L. Barnes

Education

Expected 2015	Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) – Social Psychology Specialization in Migration and Ethnic Relations University of Western Ontario
2010	Master of Arts (MA) – Cognitive and Social Processes Ball State University
2008	Bachelor of Arts (BA) – Psychology (Major), Business (Minor), Theology (Minor) Trinity Christian College

Teaching Experience

<u>Course Instructor</u>

Summer 2015	Applications of Psychology (distance studies) University of Western Ontario
Winter 2015	Psychology and Diversity Kings University College
Winter 2015	Social Psychology (distance studies) University of Western Ontario
Summer 2014	Psychology of Persuasion (distance studies) University of Western Ontario

<u>Lab Instructor</u>

Winter 2013, 2014 Fall 2014	Social Psychology University of Western Ontario
2011-2012	Research Methods (Nominated for Teaching Award) University of Western Ontario

<u>Teaching Assistant</u>
Summer 2013   Research Methods and Statistical Analysis
                                    University of Western Ontario

Fall 2012   Test Construction
                                    University of Western Ontario

Fall 2008, 2009   Research Methods
                                    Ball State University
<u>Certifications</u>
2015   Western Certificate in University Teaching and Learning

2013, Fall   Completed Graduate Studies course in "The Theory and
                                    Practice of University Teaching"

2011, September   Completed Teaching Assistant Training Program
                                    Teaching Support Centre, University of Western Ontario
<u>Guest Lecturer</u>
2014, March   Social Psychology, Huron University College
2013, August   Human Sexuality, University of Western Ontario
2009, December   Research Methods, Ball State University

Peer Reviewed Publications

Barnes, K.L., & Esses, V.M. (Under Review). National identity and intergroup attitudes: An integrative review.

Maxwell-Smith, M.A., **Barnes, K.L.**, Mattos, M. (Revise and Resubmit). Competition and intergroup bias: Toward a new model distinguishing competitive perceptions from competitive motivations.

Ferrari, J.R., **Barnes, K.L.**, & Steel, P. (2009). Life regrets by avoidant and arousal procrastinators: Why put off today what you will regret tomorrow? *Journal of Individual Differences, 30,* 163-168.

Conference Presentations – Papers

Barnes, K.L., & Esses, V.M. (2012, May). *Canadian national attachment: Breeding fear and contempt or admiration and love.* Paper presented at the annual Western-Waterloo Social Psychology Conference, London, ON.

Barnes, K.L., Kite, M.E., & Hollander, K.M. (2010, May). *Is there a double standard of aging?* Paper presented at the meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

Barnes, K.L. (2010, April). *Is patriotism always a positive force? Blind Patriotism, Stereotyping, and the Mediating Role of Threat.* A paper presented at the 3rd Annual Psychology Alumni Conference, Trinity Christian College, Palos Heights, IL.

Barnes, K.L., & Hassert, D.L. (2008, April). *Is that a church or a temple? Classification of Religious Stimuli.* Paper presented at Opus: Celebration of Scholarship, Trinity Christian College, Palos Heights, IL.

Conference Presentations – Posters

Barnes, K.L., Armstrong, J.B., & Olson, J. (2015, February). *Prescriptive versus Descriptive Belief in a Just World: Justice Principle or Hierarchy Legitimizing Belief?* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Personality and Social Psychology, Long Beach, CA.

Armstrong, J.B., **Barnes, K.L**., & Olson, J. (2014, June). *Prescriptive vs descriptive belief in a just world.* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association, Vancouver, B.C.

Barnes, K.L., & Esses, V.M. (2014, February). *Happiness is more than just a paycheck: Economic and social integration as predictors of immigrants' life satisfaction.* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Personality and Social Psychology, Austin, TX.

Barnes, K.L., & Esses, V.M. (2013, January). *Priming patriotism and nationalism: Beyond individual differences.* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Personality and Social Psychology, New Orleans, LA.

Barnes, K.L., & Esses, V.M. (2012, June). *Canadian national attachment: Breeding fear and contempt or admiration and love.* Poster presented at the Biannual meeting of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Charlotte, NC.

Barnes, K.L., & Tagler, M. (2011, January). Sex differences in jealousy: The role of social dominance orientation. Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Meeting, San Antonio, TX.

Hollander, K.M., **Barnes, K.L.**, & Kite, M.E. (2010, May). *Is there a double standard of aging?* Poster presented at the Ball State Department of Psychological Science Annual Poster Session, Muncie, IN.

Barnes, K.L. (2010, April). *Is patriotism always a positive force? Blind Patriotism, Stereotyping, and the Mediating Role of Threat.* A poster presented at both the Ball State Student Symposium and the Ball State Department of Psychological Science Annual Poster Session, Muncie, IN.

Barnes, K.L., Cohen, J.R., & Ferrari, J.R. (2008, May). *Regrets—I have a few or too many to mention. A Procrastinator's Recollections of Past Life Experiences*. Poster presented at the meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

Barnes, K.L., & Hassert, D.L. (2008, May). *A stimulus generalization approach to religious classification.* Poster presented at the Psi Chi session of the meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

Barnes, K.L., Cohen, J.R., & Ferrari, J.R. (2008, March). *Why put off today what you will regret tomorrow? Types of regret and their relationship to procrastination.* Poster presented at the meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association, Boston, MA.

Research Experience

2013 – Present	Graduate Research Assistant SSHRC Insight Grant funded project on multiculturalism Supervisor: Dr. Paul Nesbitt-Larking University of Western Ontario
2011 – Present	Graduate Student in Esses Intergroup Relations Lab Supervisor: Dr. Victoria Esses University of Western Ontario
2008 – 2010	Graduate Research Assistant Supervisor: Dr. Mary Kite Ball State University
2007 – 2008	Undergraduate Research Assistant Community Psychology Lab Supervisor: Dr. Joseph Ferrari DePaul University

Professional Service

2013 – 2014	Vice-President of Communications Student Executive Committee Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Relations University of Western Ontario
2012 –2013	Graduate Student Member Workload and Resource Planning Committee Department of Psychology University of Western Ontario
2012—2013	Psychology Department Representative Student Executive Committee Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Relations University of Western Ontario

2012—2013	Lab Reservations Coordinator Social Psychology Area Committee University of Western Ontario
2012—Present	Sub-council Member Inclusion and Civic Engagement Sub-council London & Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership
2010—2012	Ad Hoc Reviewer Journal of Homosexuality
2008, 2009	Science Fair Judge Behavioral Science Category Indiana Regional Science Fair
2009	Textbook PowerPoint Editor *The Psychology of Stereotyping and Prejudice* Whitley & Kite, 2010 Wadsworth Publishing
2006—2008	Psychology Department Secretary Trinity Christian College
2006—2008	Psychology Club Professor/Student Liaison Trinity Christian College
2007—2008	Psi Chi Chapter President Trinity Christian College

Honors, Awards, and Fellowships

2011-2015	Western Graduate Research Scholarship, University of Western Ontario Value: CDN-$60,000
2010	Dean's Citation for Academic Excellence (In Recognition of Graduating with a Perfect Academic Record), Ball State University
2010	Ball State INSPIRE Travel Grant, Value: USD-$50
2010	Graduate School Recognition Award, Ball State University
2008	Psychology Departmental Award, Trinity Christian College
2008	Graduated with Highest Honors, Trinity Christian College
2008	Graduate of Honors Program, Trinity Christian College
2007-2008	Maurice VanderVelde Junior Scholars Award, Trinity Christian College, Value: USD-$1000
2007-2008	Inaugural Psychology Honor Scholarship, Trinity Christian College
2004-2008	Dean's List, Trinity Christian College

Professional Affiliations

Association for Psychological Science
Midwestern Psychological Association
Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues
Society for Personality and Social Psychology
Phi Kappa Phi
Golden Key International Honour Society
Psi Chi: The National Honor Society in Psychology
American Psychological Association
Eastern Psychological Association

Research Interests

Stereotyping and prejudice; prejudice reduction; national identity; attitudes toward immigrants and immigration; immigrant settlement and belonging.