"Illegal" by Association: Do Negative Stereotypes Divide or Unite Latinxs in the United States?

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In current American political discourse, individuals tend to mistakenly conflate being an undocumented immigrant with being Latinx. This conflation puts Latinxs who are legal residents or citizens (Latinx-Americans) at risk of being negatively impacted by policies intended to deter undocumented immigrants. We examine whether being the target of anti-immigration policies would lead Latinx-Americans to politically engage on behalf of undocumented immigrants. Study 1 found that when Latinx-Americans were led to believe that what happens to undocumented immigrants will affect them personally (linked fate), those who were primed with greater conflation of the two groups expressed more positive attitudes toward undocumented immigrants and other Latinxs. Study 2 found that this pattern of effects extended to the willingness to engage in collective action on behalf of undocumented immigrants. Study 2 also examined the role of emotions (anger and fear) in mediating the relationship between the conflation of Latinxs with undocumented immigrants and collective action intentions. Together, the findings shed light on how current immigration policies affect relations among key subgroups within the Latinx community and the conditions under which Latinx-Americans will mobilize on behalf of undocumented immigrants.

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In the era of the Trump presidency, undocumented immigrants, particularly those from Latin America, have been at the center of debates about immigration reform (Lemire, Merchant, & Lucey, 2019). Among Americans, negative sentiments toward undocumented immigrants have surged alongside increasing awareness of the country's future as a majority–minority nation (U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, 2012). Contributing to the demographic shift is the substantial growth of the Latinx population over the past few decades (Pew Research Center, 2017). Although this growth includes undocumented immigrants, the vast majority of Latinxs in the United States are either citizens (naturalized or by birth) or permanent legal residents with estimates suggesting that only 16% of Latinxs are undocumented immigrants (Pew Research Center, 2016). However, a third of Americans, when asked, estimate that more than 40% of Latinxs have undocumented status (Barreto, Manzano, & Segura, 2012). Americans' overestimation of the proportion of the Latinx population in the United States who have undocumented status puts all Latinxs, including citizens, at risk of suspicion and mistreatment in encounters with law enforcement and everyday social interactions. An important question that arises, then, is how this experience affects relations among key subgroups in the Latinx community. Will the threat of being viewed and treated as undocumented immigrants motivate Latinx-Americans (i.e., Latinxs who are citizens or legal residents) to combat the group-based stigma they share with undocumented immigrants? In the current work, we suggest that the responses of Latinx-Americans depend on two factors: (1) the degree to which they believe that Americans conflate being Latinx with being an undocumented immigrant (association beliefs) and (2) perceptions that they will be personally affected by anti-immigration sentiment and policies (linked fate).

Why Beliefs about the Latinx-Undocumented Association Matter

Undocumented immigrants originate from various parts of the world (Pew Research Center, 2018), yet Americans tend to associate this group with a single ethnic group—Latinxs. Americans' tendency to conflate being Latinx with being an undocumented immigrant stems in part from selective reporting in the media (Pérez, 2016). News coverage of undocumented immigrants focuses primarily on those who originate from Latin America versus countries in Asia, Europe, and Africa (Valentino, Brader, & Jardina, 2013). The conflation of Latinxs with undocumented status has consequences for all Latinxs regardless of residential status. For example, policies that seek to identify and detain undocumented immigrants have raised concerns about racial profiling of Latinx-Americans. Since 2010, several states, notably Arizona along with Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, have passed legislation to further penalize undocumented immigration. Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 included the controversial provision that required police officers to investigate an individual's legal residency status

if officers had "reasonable suspicion" that the target was an undocumented immigrant (Johnson, 2011). Those opposed to the law argued that in the absence of more specific guidelines, "reasonable suspicion" gave wide latitude to law enforcement officers to question and detain Latinxs based on phenotypic cues, Spanish language use, and Hispanic surname (Vargas, Sanchez, & Valdez, 2017). Supporting these concerns is evidence that for many Latinx-Americans, encounters with law enforcement often result from suspicions about their legal residency status (Romero, 2006; Solis, Portillos, & Brunson, 2009).

For Latinx-Americans, being mistaken for an undocumented immigrant can carry significant material harm. In 2018, for example, two U.S.-born women of Mexican descent were questioned by a border patrol agent in Montana for close to an hour after the agent overheard them speak Spanish (Wang, 2018). In addition, accounts have come to light of Latinx-Americans detained and processed for deportation even though they were U.S. citizens (Rubin & St. John, 2017; Stevens, 2010). A well-publicized case involved a North Carolina man who immigration authorities mistakenly assumed was a Mexican national (he was born in the United States of Puerto Rican descent), failed to accurately verify his claims of American citizenship, and then wrongfully deported him to Mexico (Finnegan, 2013). While legal status may afford Latinx-Americans guaranteed access to education, health services, and civil rights protections (compared to those without legal status) (Johnson, 2004; Martinez et al., 2015; Terriquez, 2015), they are still vulnerable, more so than members of other ethnic groups, to the consequences of being mistaken for undocumented immigrants.

Latinxs: Coming Together or Coming Apart?

Psychologically, the assumption that Latinxs are undocumented immigrants merely because of their ethnicity signals that they do not belong or are not wanted in the United States (for a similar argument about Asian Americans, see Cheryan & Monin, 2005). According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982), membership in or perceived association with devalued groups in society can negatively affect the self-concept. Latinx-Americans can respond to this identity threat in one of two ways. One option is to collectively mobilize on behalf of undocumented immigrants to reduce the challenges faced by those without legal residency status directly and, by association, reduce harm to all Latinxs (regardless of legal status).This group-based strategy is most likely to be pursued when individuals believe that their ingroup has been illegitimately assigned low status (Mummendey, Klink, Mielke, Wenzel, & Blanz, 1999; Niens & Cairns, 2002). An alternative response is to withdraw from the stigmatized group by creating psychological distance between oneself and undocumented immigrants, specifically, and the Latinx community more generally. This individual-based strategy can involve psychologically separating the self from the devalued group by either expressing negative

attitudes toward undocumented immigrants or instead emphasizing more favorable self-relevant identities (e.g., being American vs. Latinx) (Ellemers & Van Rijswijk, 1997). In either case, these psychological strategies allow the individual to maintain a positive self-identity by signaling to themselves and others that they are not part of the devalued group. Below, we outline the conditions under which Latinx-Americans would be motivated to work to improve the situation faced by undocumented immigrants.

Latinxs' Personal Linked Fate with Undocumented Immigrants

Whether Latinx-Americans will work to improve the situation faced by un-documented immigrants (particularly those who are also Latinxs) may depend on whether they feel that their personal outcomes are tied to those of undocumented immigrants. Drawing from work in political psychology, linked fate is the belief that what happens to oneself, personally, depends on what happens to a group with which one is associated (Dawson, 1994). When a person perceives linked fate with a group, they are more willing to support policies that benefit the group and to mobilize on its behalf (Czaja, Junn, & Mendelberg, 2015; Dawson, 1994). For individuals who self-identify as Latinxs, perceptions of linked fate with other Latinxs decline as they assimilate into American culture (Sanchez & Masuoka, 2010). In communities with punitive immigration policies, Latinxs report more experiences of discrimination (Schildkraut, Jiménez, Dovidio, & Huo, 2018) and a greater sense of linked fate with other Latinxs (Vargas et al., 2017). Moreover, in a lab experiment, when Latinx students were prompted to consider how their ethnic group and African Americans share common disadvantage, they were more willing to participate in collective action on behalf of African Americans (Glasford & Calagno, 2012). Drawing from this work, we suggest that Latinxs who perceive linked fate with undocumented immigrants should similarly be motivated to mobilize on behalf of undocumented immigrants.

Anger and Fear as Potential Drivers of Collective Action

As policies toward undocumented immigrants become increasingly punitive, Latinx-Americans are exposed to a greater risk of being questioned about their residency status. Concerns about having their residency status challenged by legal authorities and, possibly, be wrongfully detained, can elicit strong negative emotions such as anger and fear. Past work shows that the type of emotional response a person experiences, when faced with group-based injustices, can either promote or suppress collective action on behalf of the targeted group (Brader & Wayne, 2015; Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Latinx-Americans may feel anger toward political leaders who promote anti-immigrant perspectives or about policies that target undocumented immigrants. They may also feel anger because

they are personally impacted by these policies even though they hold legal residency status and should be protected from questioning from authorities or, worse yet, harassment. Anger in response to perceptions of unfair treatment is often a catalyst to collective action (Jasper, 1998; Pagano & Huo, 2007; Smith, Cronin, & Kessler, 2008; Van Zomeren et al., 2004).

Latinx-Americans can also experience fear in response to concerns about being targeted by immigration authorities. Unlike anger, the relationship between fear and collective action is not as fully developed. Some research suggests that fear can suppress collective action (Miller, Cronin, Garcia, & Branscombe, 2009). Individuals who are fearful are more motivated to escape a threat than to confront it (Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994). Fearful individuals are also less likely to be action-oriented (Groenendyk & Banks, 2014; Huddy, Feldman, Taber, & Lahav, 2005). However, the effect of fear may depend on whether individuals are fearful about what is happening in the present or about what will happen in the future. When individuals are fearful about future threats or risks, fear can be a catalyst for taking action (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Dumont, Yzerbyt, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003). For example, individuals who are concerned about the potentially harmful consequences of climate change are willing to engage in collective action to avert a future climate crisis (Van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2010). Similarly, individuals who are fearful about future military attacks are more willing to endorse aggressive action during wartime (Spanovic, Lickel, Denson, & Petrovic, 2010). In a climate that is increasingly hostile toward undocumented immigrants, fear about what may happen should punitive immigration policies be adopted may energize Latinx-Americans to act in the present to forestall future risk. In the current work, we examine the different roles that anger and fear may play in motivating collective action among Latinx-Americans on behalf of undocumented immigrants and, by association, the Latinx community in the United States.

Overview of Studies

In two studies, an experiment and a post-2016 Presidential Election survey of Latinx-Americans, we examine how concerns about being associated with undocumented immigration affect relations within the U.S. Latinx community. Specifically, we examine whether Latinx-Americans' response to the Latinx-Undocumented association (association beliefs) depends on their perceptions of the extent to which what happens to undocumented immigrants is likely to also happen to them (linked fate). It may be that simply being aware of immigration-related misperceptions about their ethnic group is enough to motivate attitudes and behaviors that are in favor of undocumented immigrants. Alternatively, it is possible that these changes in attitudes and political engagement may depend on Latinx-Americans feeling that anti-immigrant attitudes and policies affect them personally.

Study 1 is an experiment which manipulated beliefs about the prevalence of the Latinx-Undocumented association and the degree of linked fate with undocumented immigrants to assess their effect on attitudes about that group and about Latinxs. Study 2, conducted in the months after Donald Trump took office as President of the United States, tested whether anger and/or fear mediated the relationship between association beliefs and Latinx-Americans' willingness to mobilize on behalf of undocumented immigrants.

Study 1

We manipulated Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs and the likelihood that Latinx-Americans would be personally affected by anti-immigration policies in a 2 (strong vs. weak Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs) by 2 (high vs. low linked fate with undocumented immigrants) experimental design. We tested the hypothesis that exposure to association beliefs held by Americans would lead our participants to feel more positively about undocumented immigrants and the broader Latinx[1] community but only among those in the high linked fate condition.

Method

Participants. Two hundred and five Latinxs residing in the United States were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk (47.3% women; average age 30.77 years, $SD = 9.78$). Nineteen (10.5%) were immigrants, 161 (89%) were born in the United States, and one provided no information about their country of birth. Nearly half of the participants reported that their father (45%) and/or mother (49.3%) are immigrants to the United States. The sample leaned toward the liberal end of the political spectrum: 50.3% Democrats, 9.4% Republicans, and 40.4% indicated they were Independents, had no preference, or provided no information about their political party affiliation. Participants who answered either of the two manipulation comprehension check questions incorrectly were excluded from our analyses ($N = 24$). The final sample comprised of 181 participants.[2] Based on a sensitivity analysis, a sample of 181 participants and $\alpha = .05$, yields power of .80 to detect effects as small as $f = 0.21$ (equivalent to $r = .21$) and power of .95 to detect effects as small as $f = 0.27$ (equivalent to $r = .26$).

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[1] Throughout this report, we use the gender inclusive terms Latinx and Latinxs. However, when we initially developed and conducted our studies, we used the labels "Latino/a" and "Latinos." These labels were used throughout our questionnaires and in the articles that participants read. Therefore, when we quote our materials verbatim for both Studies 1 and 2, we have retained the original labels.

[2] For ethical and legal reasons, we do not ask about legal residency status. Given that Amazon Mechanical Turk participants must register with a U.S. bank account, those who are immigrants are likely to have legal residency status. Removing the 19 immigrants from our analysis did not change the general patterns of findings. Thus, we reported the analysis with the overall sample including the immigrants.

Design and procedure. Participants were recruited to participate in a study described as "Readers' Reactions to News Reporting of Current Events." The goal of the study was ostensibly about regional differences in responses to media reports of current events. We did not explicitly recruit for Latinxs or individuals with legal residency status to reduce self-selection biases and to avoid the possibility that those who did not meet eligibility criteria would misrepresent their demographic information in order to participate. Instead, all interested individuals were asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire to determine eligibility. Those who self-identified as Latinxs and were over 18 years of age were invited to participate. The study took about 10 minutes, and those who completed the study were paid $1.00.

Eligible participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (strong/weak Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs) × 2 (high/low linked fate) experimental design. Participants were asked to read and respond to three short news articles. All participants read the first article about a company's plan to produce films. This article, unrelated to immigration or Latinxs, was intended to strengthen the believability of the cover story. Participants then read two additional articles in which the manipulations were embedded. One article reported on the extent to which Americans hold the stereotype that most Latinxs in the United States are undocumented immigrants (Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs). The article reported that a recent survey found Americans either overestimated (strong association beliefs) or slightly underestimated (weak association beliefs) the proportion of Latinxs in the United States who are undocumented immigrants (see Appendices A and B for more information about the articles). The next article embedded information about Latinxs' risk of being profiled by police as undocumented immigrants (linked fate). This article described a federal policy requiring police officers to determine the legal residency status of someone arrested or detained based on reasonable suspicion and that the policy had raised concerns about the potential racial profiling of Latinxs. In the article, federal agencies either adopted (high linked fate) or rejected (low linked fate) the policy (see Appendices C and D for more information about the articles). Finally, participants completed a brief post-experiment questionnaire.

Measures

Manipulation comprehension check. To confirm that participants read and understood the articles, participants were asked a comprehension check question for each article in which an experimental manipulation was embedded. For the articles describing strong or weak Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs, the question was the following: "According to the article, how accurate are Americans

in their estimate of the percentage of Latinos in the U.S. who are illegal[3]?"
(Americans' estimates of illegal Latinos far exceed official numbers; Americans'
estimates of illegal Latinos are slightly lower than official numbers). For the articles
on linked fate with undocumented immigrants, the question was the following:
"According to the article, federal agencies are planning to _____ efforts to identify
illegal immigrants?" (Scale back; Increase).

Dependent variables. We included measures to assess participants' feelings
about two key target groups—undocumented immigrants and other Latinxs. By
asking participants to report their feelings toward the two groups, we can deter-
mine whether the observed effects on attitudes toward undocumented immigrants
generalizes to Latinxs.

Feelings toward Latinxs. To assess attitudes toward Latinxs, we used a stan-
dard feelings thermometer. Participants were asked to indicate their feelings toward
"Latinos" (0 = *extremely cold/unfavorable* to 10 = *extremely warm/favorable*).

Closeness to undocumented immigrants. We assessed perceptions of close-
ness toward undocumented immigrants using a single item: *I feel close to il-
legal immigrants* (1 = *strongly disagree to* 5 = *strongly agree*). We chose to
assess attitudes about undocumented immigrants using a feeling of closeness
measure instead of a feelings thermometer because undocumented immigrants
are strongly associated with behaviors that violate existing laws. If we used a
feelings thermometer, negative feelings could reflect either judgments about the
individuals (i.e., undocumented immigrants) or about the crimes they are asso-
ciated with (e.g., entering the country without permission). In contrast, using a
measure of psychological closeness more directly taps into feelings about the
individuals.

Results

Perceived closeness to undocumented immigrants. First, we tested the effect
of association beliefs and of linked fate on participants' perceived closeness to
undocumented immigrants using analysis of variance (ANOVA). There were no

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[3] In our materials for Study 1, we referred to undocumented immigrants as "illegal immigrants."
We decided to use "illegal immigrants" in our study because it is a more commonly used term than
"undocumented immigrants" in English-language publications (Rucker, Murphy, & Quintanilla, 2019).
Our goal was to create fictitious news articles that resembled those that participants were likely to come
across in the real world and we therefore decided that the use of "illegal immigrants" was appropriate
for this purpose. However, we recognize that "illegal immigrants" promote a negative stereotype,
which is why we use the term, "undocumented immigrants," in the introduction, when reporting the
results, and in the discussion sections.

main effects of association beliefs, F (1, 177) = 1.31, p = .254, η_p^2 = .007, or of linked fate, F (1, 177) = 0.08, p = .774, η_p^2 = .001. However, as predicted, there was a significant interaction between association beliefs and linked fate, F (1, 177) = 4.63, p = .033, η_p^2 = .026. Among participants in the low linked fate condition, there was no significant difference in perceived closeness to un-documented immigrants between those who were primed with strong or weak association beliefs (M = 2.61, SD = 1.22 vs. M = 2.78, SD = 1.25), F (1, 177) = 0.49, MSE = 1.27, p = .486, η_p^2 = .003. In contrast, among participants in the high linked fate condition, those primed with strong association beliefs reported greater perceived closeness to undocumented immigrants than did those who were primed with weak association beliefs (M = 2.92, SD = 1.12 vs. M = 2.36, SD = 0.89), F (1, 177) = 5.69, MSE = 1.27, p = .018, η_p^2 = .031.

Feelings toward other Latinxs. Next, we examined the effect of Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs and linked fate with undocumented immigrants on feelings toward Latinxs. Again, there were no main effects of association be-liefs, F (1, 177) = 1.58, p = .211, η_p^2 = .009, or of linked fate, F (1, 177) = 0.48, p = .489, η_p^2 = .003. However, consistent with our predictions, there was again a significant interaction between association beliefs and linked fate, F (1, 177) = 6.30, MSE = 4.16, p = .013, η_p^2 = .034. Among participants in the low linked fate condition, there was no significant difference in feelings toward Latinxs between those who were primed with strong (M = 8.03, SD = 2.27) or weak (M = 8.41, SD = 1.84) association beliefs, F (1, 177) = 0.751, MSE = 4.16, p = .387, η_p^2 = .004. In contrast, among participants in the high linked fate condition, those primed with strong association beliefs reported significantly more positive feelings about Latinxs (M = 8.58, SD = 1.69) than did those who were primed with weak association beliefs (M = 7.43, SD = 2.38), F (1, 177) = 7.42, MSE = 4.16, p = .007, η_p^2 = .04.

Discussion

Study 1 findings were consistent with our hypothesis. When primed with high linked fate with undocumented immigrants, Latinx-Americans reported more positive feelings toward undocumented immigrants and all Latinxs when Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs were strong (vs. weak). However, this effect was not observed for those primed with low linked fate. These findings provide initial support for the idea that association beliefs can bring Latinx-Americans and undocumented immigrants closer together but only when there is a sense of linked fate with undocumented immigrants. In Study 2, we further test these ideas by focusing on Latinx-Americans' willingness to engage in collective action on behalf of undocumented immigrants.

Study 2

Study 2 was conducted in the spring after the January 20, 2017 inauguration of President Donald J. Trump. Due to the heightened focus on undocumented immigrants and increased attention on the policies enacted during the Trump administration's first 100 days, it became impractical to prime participants with Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs and perceptions of linked fate with undocumented immigrants as we did in Study 1. Instead, we focused on the very real feelings and attitudes among Latinx-Americans during this time. A strength of this approach is that it provides a unique opportunity to robustly test whether concerns about association beliefs and perceived linked fate with undocumented immigrants translate into the desire to engage in collective action, mediated by the emotions of anger and fear.

First, we expect that Latinx-Americans' anger in response to the experiences of undocumented immigrants will mediate the relationship between association beliefs and collective action intentions, regardless of whether they perceive a sense of linked fate with undocumented immigrants. Anger is an externalizing emotion that can motivate individuals to endorse collective action on behalf of a group even when they do not feel personally at risk (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009). Second, we expect that fear will also mediate the relationship between association beliefs and intentions to engage in collective action on behalf of undocumented immigrants, but only among Latinx-Americans who perceive a sense of linked fate with undocumented immigrants. Experiencing linked fate with a group targeted by anti-immigration policies is more likely to elicit feelings of fear. Thus, among those who perceive linked fate with undocumented immigrants, taking steps to change punitive policies is a way to reduce the likelihood of future adverse outcomes that are the source of their fear (Van Zomeren et al., 2010).

Method

Participants. Two hundred and fifty-six U.S.-born Latinxs were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk. We sought to obtain as large a sample as funds would accommodate, which is 256 participants. Close to half of the participants (45.3%) were women. The average age was 31 years ($SD = 9.02$) with 45.9% Democrats, 12.5% Republicans, and 41.5% indicated they were Independents, had no preference, or provided no information on their political party affiliation. During the 2016 U.S. Presidential election, 48.4% of participants voted for Hillary Clinton and 15.2% for Donald Trump while 23.8% did not vote.

Procedure. Participants were recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk for a 10- to 15-minute study of "Current Social Issues" in exchange for $1.00. As in Study 1, interested individuals completed a brief demographic survey and only

Table 1. Study 2 Interitem Correlations, Means (*M*), and Standard Deviations (*SD*)

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4
Latinx-undocumented association beliefs (1)	4.90	1.24				
Linked fate (2)	3.68	1.51	.25*			
Anger (3)	3.64	1.94	.34*	.42*		
Fear (4)	3.50	2.00	.30*	.54*	.67*	
Collective action (5)	3.58	1.84	.21*	.57*	.36*	.46*

*Represents significant correlations at $p < .01$.

those who self-reported as Latinxs, were over 18 years of age, and were born in the United States were invited to participate. As in Study 1, we did not explicitly recruit for Latinxs or participants born in the United States to avoid possible misrepresentation on key demographic information and to avoid self-selection into the study.

Measures. For each of the multi-item scales described below, refer to Appendix E for more information about the complete scales.

Latinx-undocumented association beliefs. Five items were used to assess participants' belief that Americans conflate being Latinx in the United States with being an undocumented immigrant. Example: *Most Americans assume the majority of Latinos are undocumented* (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .77$).

Linked fate. Five items assessed perceptions of linked fate with undocumented immigrants. Example: *How well I do will depend on how well undocumented immigrants do* (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .88$).

Emotional response. Participants were asked to indicate their experience of anger and fear when thinking about the plight of undocumented immigrants. *When thinking about the situation faced by undocumented immigrants who share your ethnicity in the United States today, to what extent do you feel the following emotions? (Anger, Fear)* (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *all of the time*).

Collective action on behalf of undocumented immigrants. Eight items assessed intentions to engage in political activities to support undocumented immigrants. Example: *Attend a rally* (1 = *very unlikely* to 7 = *very likely*; $\alpha = .94$).

Results

Interitem correlations and descriptive information for key predictors and outcome variables are reported in Table 1.

Table 2. Study 2 Anger (2a) and Fear (2b) as Mediators of the Effect of Association Beliefs on Collective Action Intentions

	Beta coefficient	Standard error	p Value	Lower limit confidence interval	Upper limit confidence interval
Table 2a					
Mediator—anger					
Predictor—association beliefs	.56	0.10	.001	0.37	0.75
Outcome—collective action					
Predictor—association beliefs	.15	0.10	.123	−0.04	0.34
Mediator—anger	.30	0.06	.001	0.18	0.42
Direct effect of X on Y	.15	0.10	.123	−0.04	0.34
Indirect effect of X on Y	.17	0.05	.001	0.09	0.26
Table 2b					
Mediator—fear					
Predictor—association beliefs	.50	0.10	.001	0.31	0.70
Outcome—collective action					
Predictor—association beliefs	.12	0.09	.205	−0.06	0.29
Mediator—anger	.41	0.06	.001	0.30	0.51
Direct effect of X on Y	.11	0.09	.205	−0.06	0.29
Indirect effect of X on Y	.20	0.05	.001	0.12	0.31

Note: X = predictor variable, Y = outcome variable. Eleven participants with missing data were removed from the analyses using listwise deletion. Percentile bootstrap confidence intervals were calculated using 50,000 bootstrap samples and a 95% confidence level.

Anger as a mediator. First, we tested anger as a mediator of the relationship between association beliefs and collective action intentions. We expected that greater association beliefs would predict more feelings of anger which, in turn, would predict greater collective action intentions. Hayes' PROCESS Macro Model 4 was used for this test (SPSS, version 25; PROCESS, version 3.3). While the PROCESS Macro is appropriate for our analysis of mediation, we note that a limitation of this approach is that it uses list-wise deletion to analyze datasets with missing data (see Table 2 for the total number of removed cases). As shown in Table 2a, the direct effect of association beliefs on collective action intentions was not significant when the mediator was present. However, the indirect effect of association beliefs on collective action mediated by anger was significant ($b = .17$, $SE = 0.05$, lower 95% CI = 0.09, upper 95% CI = 0.26). Participants who described association beliefs as very common among Americans reported greater feelings of anger which in turn predicted more willingness to participate in collective action on behalf of undocumented immigrants.

Testing moderated mediation with anger. To test whether linked fate moderated the mediation effect of anger, we utilized Hayes' PROCESS Macro Model 7. Results were calculated at the mean of linked fate and one deviation above/below the mean. As shown in Table 3a, the interaction between association beliefs and linked fate did not significantly predict feelings of anger, which suggests that

Table 3. Study 2 Conditional Indirect Effects of Association Beliefs on Collective Action Intentions Mediated by Anger (3a) and Fear (3b) at Low (−1 SD), Moderate (Mean), and High (+1 SD) Levels of Linked Fate

Conditional level of linked fate	Indirect effect	Bootstrapped standard error	Lower limit confidence interval	Upper limit confidence interval
Table 3a. Outcome = collective action; mediator = anger				
−1 SD (2.00)	**0.10**	**0.04**	**0.04**	**0.18**
Mean (3.80)	**0.13**	**0.04**	**0.06**	**0.21**
+1 SD (5.20)	**0.15**	**0.05**	**0.06**	**0.25**
Table 3b. Outcome = collective action; mediator = fear				
−1 SD (2.00)	0.04	0.04	−0.03	0.11
Mean (3.80)	**0.14**	**0.04**	**0.07**	**0.22**
+1 SD (5.20)	**0.22**	**0.06**	**0.11**	**0.33**

Note: Twelve participants with missing data were removed from the analyses using listwise deletion. Percentile bootstrap confidence intervals were calculated using 50,000 bootstrap samples and a 95% confidence level. All significant indirect effects ($p < .01$) are presented in boldface.

linked fate does not moderate the relationship between association beliefs and anger. Furthermore, the indirect effect of association beliefs was significant at each level (mean, +1 SD, −1 SD) of linked fate (see Table 3). Overall, the results support our hypothesis that anger would mediate the relationship between association beliefs and collective action, regardless of feelings of linked fate.

Fear as a mediator. Next, we tested fear as a mediator of the relationship between association beliefs and collective action intentions. As shown in Table 2b, when fear was included as a mediator, there was no significant direct effect of association beliefs on collective action. However, the indirect effect of association beliefs on collective action mediated by fear was significant ($b = .20$, $SE = 0.05$, lower 95% CI = 0.12, upper 95% CI = 0.30). In summary, Latinx-Americans who held more association beliefs reported greater feelings of fear which in turn predicted greater collective action intentions.

Testing moderated mediation with fear. Finally, we tested whether linked fate moderated the mediation effect of fear. As shown in Table 3b, the interaction between association beliefs and linked fate significantly predicted feelings of fear. The indirect effect of association beliefs on collective action was not significant one standard deviation below the mean of linked fate. However, the indirect effects were significant at the mean of linked fate (IE lower 95% CI = 0.07, upper 95% CI = 0.22) and one standard deviation above the mean (IE lower 95% CI = 0.11, upper 95% CI = 0.33). Overall, the results suggest that fear mediates the relationship between association beliefs and collective action, but only for Latinx-Americans with higher levels of linked fate with undocumented immigrants.

Discussion

Study 2 sought to extend findings from Study 1 by examining whether Latinx-Americans' concerns about being associated with undocumented immigrants and potentially being affected by the policies targeting this group can motivate engagement in collective action to challenge these policies. Our results showed that Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs motivate collective action and that this relationship is mediated by feelings of anger and fear. Interestingly, the downstream consequences of anger do not depend on Latinx-Americans feeling a sense of linked fate with undocumented immigrants. In contrast, perceptions of linked fate with undocumented immigrants moderate the relationship between association beliefs and feelings of fear. Thus, Study 2 demonstrates that both anger and fear play a role in explaining why greater Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs predict increased intentions to engage in collective action on behalf of undocumented immigrants. However, while fear only mobilizes those higher in linked fate with undocumented immigrants, anger has a more robust effect that is not limited by the degree to which Latinx-Americans believe they will be personally affected by policies intended to target undocumented immigrants.

General Discussion

In the current work, we examined how Americans' tendency to conflate being Latinx with being an undocumented immigrant (Latinx-Undocumented Association beliefs) affects Latinx-Americans. Specifically, we addressed the question of whether perceptions that Americans endorse the association between Latinxs and undocumented immigrants would lead Latinx-Americans (i.e., those who are citizens or have legal residency status) to feel closer to and work on behalf of undocumented immigrants.

In Study 1, we found that describing association beliefs as widespread among other Americans led Latinx-Americans to hold more positive attitudes toward not only undocumented immigrants but also toward Latinxs more generally. However, this effect held only among those who were led to believe that what happens to undocumented immigrants will likely also happen to them (i.e., high linked fate). In study 2, conducted after the election of President Donald Trump, we assessed the relationship between Latinx-Americans' perceptions that association beliefs are widespread and their willingness to engage in collective action on behalf of undocumented immigrants. Study 2 findings showed that beliefs that Americans conflate Latinxs and undocumented immigrants predicted increased intentions to engage in collective action on behalf of undocumented immigrants, mediated through two distinct emotional responses. Consistent with past work (Smith et al., 2008; Van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012), anger played a role in increasing mobilization intentions by mediating the relationship

between perceptions that Americans hold Latinx-Undocumented association be-liefs and willingness to engage in collective action. This mediational relationship held among both those who perceived high linked fate with undocumented immi-grants as well as those who did not. Fear also mediated the relationship between Latinx-Undocumented association beliefs and collective action intentions but only among those who perceived higher degrees of linked fate with undocumented immigrants.

Limitations and Future Research

Our findings show support for the idea that perceptions of linked fate play a key role in shaping relations between Latinx-Americans and undocumented immigrants—two groups that are perceived as interchangeable in the minds of Americans. Before we address the theoretical and policy implications of our findings, we want to acknowledge study limitations. First, our participants, who are English speaking and for the most part, U.S. born, reflect a subsection of the diverse Latinx-American community. Compared to this group, newer immigrants who are still adapting to American society may be at greater risk of being mistaken for or treated as undocumented immigrants. For example, individuals who lack fluency or proficiency in English may be more at risk to be mistaken for undocumented immigrants and thus feel a greater sense of linked fate with this group. Relatedly, another cue that could increase perceived linked fate is phenotypicality. Within the Latinx community, individuals with darker skin tones often experience greater stigmatization than those with lighter skin tones (Chavez-Dueñas, Adames, & Organista, 2014; Perreira & Telles, 2014). If experiences do differ by phenotype or other observable traits, then Latinx-Americans who are more easily identified as a member of the Latinx community may feel more vulnerable to anti-immigration policies and perhaps even more likely to mobilize on behalf of undocumented immigrants. Future research that includes a more representative sample of Latinx-Americans will be able to test the extent to which the reported findings may be moderated by key demographic factors such as English language fluency, time in the United States, and phenotypicality. A second limitation is that we assessed collective action intentions rather than actual behavior. Thus, while our findings lend support to the psychological experiences that promote Latinx-Americans' willingness to engage in collective action, future research should seek to establish these relations with actual political behaviors such as voting and activism in support of undocumented immigrants.

Implications of Feeling Anger versus Fear

Past work has consistently described feeling angry as an emotional response that acts as a catalyst for collective action (Jasper, 1998). The current work adds

to the existing literature on the mobilizing effects of anger. In the context of immigration, anger mobilizes Latinx-Americans in a way that does not depend on individuals having to feel personally threatened by immigration policies. This suggests that feelings of anger can be reliably tapped into to encourage political behaviors.

In contrast to anger, fear has an observable but more constrained role in mobilizing collective action. While past research has viewed fear as an inhibiting response (Miller et al., 2009), the current work extends our understanding of fear's role in collective action behaviors by demonstrating that fear can embolden individuals to engage in political behaviors designed to deter future threats. However, the role of fear in mobilizing action is limited to those who feel a sense of linked fate with the intended target of the policies. Thus, to the extent that Latinx-Americans feel that they too are targets of immigration policies along with undocumented immigrants, they will be more likely to mobilize in response to fear of how the policies will affect them. One implication of this observation is that undocumented immigrants who reside in communities that are particularly hostile toward immigrants may be more likely to find allies who will act to try to improve their shared situation than those in more welcoming communities. Gaining the support of individuals who both understand their experiences and who are positioned to challenge the political system is an unexpected but potentially welcomed benefit of living in an anti-immigration environment.

Latinx-Americans' Role in Enacting Immigration Reform

Our findings suggest that if anti-immigrant policies are interpreted as personally threatening, Latinx-Americans may support immigration reform in principle to reduce stigma against themselves. What is less clear is the specific reform goal they would support. For example, there is likely to be support among Latinx-Americans for policies that facilitate the ability of immigrants already residing in the country to seek legal residency status. Reducing the number of individuals living in the United States without legal residency status would make the need for policies that specifically seek to detain and deport undocumented immigrants unnecessary.

On the other hand, there is likely to be less support among Latinx-Americans for policies that would make it easier for undocumented immigrants to enter the United States. Policies that lead to a growth of the undocumented population could escalate rather than reduce the threat experienced by Latinx-Americans by way of their association with undocumented immigrants in the minds of fellow Americans. Future work should explore whether support for these two types of immigration reform policies differs among Latinx-Americans who differ in the degree to which they perceive that their personal situation is dependent upon what happens to undocumented immigrants.

Conclusion

The widely held misconception that Latinx-Americans are undocumented immigrants, merely because they are Latinx, plays an essential role in shaping relations within the broader Latinx community. Our findings show that when Latinx-Americans perceive that fellow Americans associate them with undocumented immigrants, they respond in systematic and predictable ways depending on the extent to which they feel that policies targeting undocumented immigrants will directly affect them. When Latinx-Americans feel that they are personally protected from the adverse consequences of these policies, they respond by psychologically distancing from the plight of undocumented immigrants. In contrast, when Latinx-Americans have a stake in the consequences of the policies, they then respond by working to improve conditions for the targeted group as well as themselves. In conclusion, while exposing Latinx-Americans to the consequences of anti-immigration policies causes psychological and material harm to them as individuals, it concurrently bolsters a coalition that can then work more effectively to enact change.

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Supplementary Information

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

Supporting Information

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