

A Multi-level Research Framework for the Analyses of  
Attitudes Toward Immigrants

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### Abstract

Contemporary research on acculturation tended to focus on the sojourners' or immigrants' perspectives on adaptation. The current dissertation however, centers on recipient nationals' attitudes toward immigrants and perceptions of multiculturalism. Three distinctive frameworks to study host nationals' perceptions are adopted; they include: (1) intergroup relations, (2) individual differences, and (3) cultural differences. Five separate studies were done based on the three frameworks using attitudes toward Chinese immigrants as the dependent measure in all except the final study. Based on the intergroup framework, Study 1 and 2 examined the influence of intergroup contact, national pride, perceived permeability, fairness, threat and host community acculturation strategies. Results showed that decreased contact and increased threat predicted less favorable perception towards immigrants (Study 1); respondents who espoused a need for immigrant assimilation and exclusionism, and those who adopted a less individualistic perception towards migration tended to express a more negative attitude (Study 2). Based on an individual differences framework, Study 3 and 4 examined the influence of social dominance orientation, self-esteem, individualism-collectivism, national pride and personal values. Increased self-esteem and collectivism predicted more favorable attitudes toward immigrants, and increased social dominance orientation predicted less favourable perceptions among host nationals who rated high on individualism (Study 3); respondents who placed greater emphases on security and achievement motivation have expressed more negative attitudes, but

endorsement of stimulation value predicted more favourable perceptions (Study 4). In the final study, cultural differences were adopted as correlates of attitudes. Secondary data from the Eurobarometer (2000) and Schwartz's and Hofstede's typologies of cultural differences were used. Based on Schwartz's model, increased mastery was associated with less multicultural optimism; increased egalitarian commitment was linked to lesser support for policies that promote co-existence; and increased harmony was related to less demand for cultural assimilation. Based on Hofstede's model, increased masculinity was associated with less multicultural optimism and lower demand for cultural assimilation; and increased uncertainty avoidance was related to decreased multicultural optimism. Overall, two broad dimensions of acculturation experience have emerged from the research, first one is based on an 'invasion' perspective and the second one reflects an 'enrichment' experience.

## CHAPTER 1 A BROAD RESEARCH OVERVIEW

## Introduction

The last century has witnessed unprecedented growth in human migration across the world. Globalization, international trade, overseas education and tourism have all created immense opportunities for countries that adopt an open door policy for trade, investment and movement of human capital. At the individual level, immigration is regarded as an invaluable opportunity for people to improve their quality of life; at the macro level, migration can also be seen as means for the developing countries to combat poverty when immigrants to the developed countries remit their wages back home.

In year 2000, more than 174 million people, or approximately 2.9% of the world's population, relocated from one part of the world to another (United Nations, 2002). Compared to a decade ago, this figure represents an increase of 20 million immigrants. Among the 174 million immigrants in 2000, 104 million were people from the more developed countries, and about 70 million from the less developed regions. For the developed nations, there was an average net increase of 2.3 million immigrants in the year 2000 while the less developed countries suffered the same proportional decline in net immigrants. In Asia, the net migrant figure fell by an average of 1.3 million from 1995 to 2000, but countries in North America, Australasia, and Western Europe reported an increase of net immigrant figures of 1.3 million, 103,000, and 202,000,

respectively<sup>1</sup> (United Nations, 2002). Most of the Asian immigrants chose the developed western countries as their destination, and among this group of immigrants, ethnic Chinese from China is the single largest ethnic group in New Zealand (New Zealand Census, 2001; New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). Between 1991 to 2001, the number of ethnic Chinese immigrants coming into New Zealand reported an increased of 133% (Smeith & Dunstan, 2004).

### *Acculturation Research*

The development of acculturation research is, in part, spurred by this enormous increase in human exchange. Generally speaking, the term acculturation is defined as changes that result from direct contact with members of a different ethno-cultural groups (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). The early social and psychological approaches to understanding intercultural contact highlighted three conceptual models in the acculturation processes, often in the context of the sojourning experience (see Bochner & Furnham, 1986). The first one describes the experiences of sojourners who find themselves caught between two opposing cultural systems, neither belonging to nor accepted by either one of the two groups (Park, 1928). The essence of this acculturation model was also captured in a book called *The Marginal Man* (Stonequist, 1937), whereby people who went abroad for an extended period of time eventually found themselves becoming an outcast, feeling both culturally and psychologically estranged.

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<sup>1</sup> Includes immigrants from other less developed regions other than Asia, such as Africa, South America and Eastern Europe.

The second model was based on the Culture Shock phenomenon originally proposed by Oberg (1960). Culture shock, as defined by Oberg (1960), is the experience of loss, confusion, disorientation, and feelings of uncertainty by sojourners as a result of their relocation. The unpleasant experience was attributed to a lack of familiar cues in the social environment, holding stereotypical views toward the prevailing culture, and the experience of intergroup hostility and anxiety (Wallen, 1967). Apparently sojourners are not the only ones affected by culture shock, rural migrants moving into the urban cities were found to be just as vulnerable to distress (Dynes, 1956); the culture shock proposition was regarded as one of the most popular empirical frameworks in the history of acculturation research (e.g., Byrnes, 1966; Guthrie, 1966; Taft, 1977; Wallen, 1967).

The final analytical model took off at about the same time as Oberg's culture shock proposition. The U-curve hypothesis suggests that sojourners typically go through three stages of adjustment (e.g., Deutsch & Won, 1963; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Selltitz & Cook, 1962). At the early entry to the foreign culture, the experience is characterized by an elation of enjoyment and optimism. Mid way through the sojourn, experiences of anger, depression and disappointment become overwhelming. Towards the end of the cycle, sojourners gradually recover and regain confidence and express satisfaction with respect to their overseas experience.

Over the years, a range of analytical and application-based models with different theoretical interests have evolved, and the three conceptual models

used in the early studies are considered relatively obsolete and limited in perspective. Examples of the contemporary frameworks include Kim's communication theory of effective adjustment (e.g., Kim, 1979), the Anxiety / Uncertainty Management model by Gudykunst (Gudykunst, 1988, 1993, 1995, 1998), values assimilation model by Hurtado (e.g., Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1994), the four-fold acculturation strategies proposed by Berry (e.g., 1984, 1994a, 1997), and the ABC ('Affective-Behavioral-Cognitive') model of acculturation by Ward (e.g., Ward, 2001; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001), to name a few.

Comparing the different analytical models and frameworks, the ones that are known to be particularly useful include Berry's classification of intercultural relations for ethnocultural groups and the larger community (Berry, 2004), the broader framework on socio-psychological acculturation processes (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986; Rogler, 1994; Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1999, pp. 310), the four-fold acculturation strategies (Berry, 1980, 1994a, 1997), and Ward's ABC model (i.e., Affective-Behavioral-Cognitive) of acculturation (e.g., Ward, 1996; Ward, 2001).

According to Berry's model for intercultural relations (Berry, 2004), there are two broad categories of research processes which can be applied to the study of ethnocultural groups and the broader community. Broadly speaking, the definition of ethnocultural groups includes immigrants, sojourners, natives, and other non-dominant minorities groups. The terms "Acculturation Research" and

“Intergroup Research” are used to differentiate two types of intergroup studies (see Figure 1.1).

On the left hand side of Figure 1.1, the term “Acculturation Research” deals with matters pertinent to the maintenance of ethnic heritage and the relationship with members of other ethnic groups. Overall, this section of the framework seems more relevant to the ethnocultural minorities (including immigrants), rather than the broader community. In line with this perspective, immigrants and sojourners have to deal with two major questions regarding their acculturation experience: “How do you relate to host nationals?” and “How do you relate to your ethnic heritage?”

In acculturation research, the quintessential model for interpreting sojourners’ and immigrants’ identity and adjustment is represented by the four-fold acculturation strategies (see Figure 1.2; Berry, 1980, 1994a, 1997) derived from the two acculturation questions (i.e., How do you relate to host nationals / How do you relate your ethnic heritage?). Conceptualized under a social identity paradigm, the model examines the individual’s relations with the host nationals (i.e., identification with host culture) and the degree of ethnic cultural retention (i.e., heritage identification). The two dimensions jointly determine the type of acculturation strategies used by sojourners and immigrants.

Broadly speaking, a strong affiliation with both cultures are said to characterize an integration strategy towards acculturation; strong ethnic retention and a low level of mainstream identity indicates a separation strategy; weak heritage retention and strong mainstream affiliation symbolize an assimilation

strategy; and lack of identification with either culture exemplifies a marginalization approach to acculturation. Generally, the literature has found the integration strategy to be associated with the best potential adaptation in both sojourner and immigrant samples (e.g., Virta, Sam, Westin, 2004; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). A more in-depth discussion of Berry's four-fold acculturation model will be presented in the subsequent sections.

Consistent with the focus on immigrants and sojourners' adaptation, Ward's (e.g., Ward, 1996; Ward, 2001; Ward, et al., 2001) 'ABC' model of acculturation provides a unique and parsimonious framework for research with sojourners and immigrants. Generally speaking, the ABC model defines acculturation as comprising the affective (i.e., psychological symptomatology, depression), the behavioral (i.e., socio-cultural difficulties) and possibly a cognitive component of adjustment, in which indicators such as identity conflict (Leong & Ward, 2000) have been explored. The three approaches to understanding acculturation can be predicted by different socio-psychological models and theories, such as the stress and coping model, the socio-learning model and the social identification theories, respectively. The stress and coping model examines psychological adjustment in terms of factors such as locus of control, significant life changes, social support, and the degree of co-national affiliation (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). In contrast, the social learning model considers behavioral adjustment in relation to factors such as cultural distance, extroversion, length of residence in the host



society, the quality and quantity of interactions with host nationals, and the degree of host identification (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1993b; 1994).

The strong emphasis on sojourners' and immigrants' acculturation experience is also evident from the broader research model proposed by Berry and associates (see Figure 1.3; Segall et al., 1999; Berry et al., 1986; Rogler, 1994). In Figure 1.3, a distinction is made between individual and group level acculturating changes. At the individual level, the attention is focused on the immigrant's acculturation experience, including the processes leading to psychological and sociocultural adaptation. The relevant conceptual issues concern the appraisal of intercultural experiences, the type coping strategies used, stress evaluation, perception of prejudice and discrimination, and moderating factors such as personality, attitudes, and other demographic variables. In the group level acculturation, the factors that influence effective adaptation include the situational and cultural characteristics, such as the political, economic and social environment, and the prevailing social attitudes toward multiculturalism. At the group level, the distinction between society of 'Origin' and 'Settlement' is highlighted. Generally, immigrants coming from a culture that is significantly different from the recipient nation will experience greater acculturative stress; and host societies that espouse a monocultural ideology are also known to be less receptive toward immigrants.

Overall, according to this research model, the end state of adaptation can be measured by the degree of psychological adaptation and the amount of socio-cultural difficulties. The psychological processes involved in the individual

acculturation experience are similar to the ones advocated by Ward (Ward, 1996; Ward, 2001; Ward, et al, 2001). In the ABC model, they include the contemporary psychological models such as the social learning theory, stress and coping model, and the social identity theory. Fundamentally, this acculturation research model exemplifies the general framework that many of the past empirical studies have adopted; it is primarily sojourner/immigrant centered, and it constitutes part of the “Acculturation Research” effort outlined in Figure 1.1.

In contrast to “Acculturation Research,” the term “Intergroup Research” on the right hand portion of Figure 1.1 describes the contemporary studies of intergroup related issues such ethnic stereotypes, attitudes, and prejudices. It concerns the affective, cognitive and motivational aspects of acculturation and intergroup experiences, and the framework determines (directly or indirectly) the extent of social acceptance towards immigrants. Compared to “Acculturation Research,” “Intergroup Research” seems more relevant to members of the host community. Some empirical examples that are modeled on the basis of host perspectives on immigrants include the Integrated Threat Theory (e.g., Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000), Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (e.g., Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001), and the Interactive Acculturation Model (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Overall, the empirical research that is based on the host perspective has been fairly limited compared to the amount of research in immigrants’ acculturation experience.

Notwithstanding this limitation, one of the most theoretically intriguing perspectives in the “Intergroup Research” domain concerns the multicultural ideology. Broadly speaking, the term refers to idea of “unity in diversity,” the creation of a vibrant society on the basis of diverse cultural groups living in the same community, drawing the strength and talents from people of different background. The concept is said to promote increased tolerance and appreciation of different cultural norms, behaviors and attitudes.

Central to the multicultural ideology is the multicultural hypothesis – it is assumption that individuals in the society will be more accepting towards members of other ethno-cultural groups (including immigrants and sojourners) if they feel secure and comfortable in their personal, social, and ethnic identity. Berry, Kalin, and Taylor’s (1977) research has provided some empirical support for the multicultural hypothesis. Perceptions of cultural and economic security are generally associated with more favorable attitudes toward other ethno-cultural groups in a society. Although the concept of multicultural ideology has provided a valuable platform to study host community perceptions of immigrants, this aspect of acculturation research has been limited. The host perspective (i.e., the right hand portion of Figure 1.1) of acculturation appears to be overshadowed by the overwhelming empirical focus on the ethnic minorities and immigrants’ experiences, at least in the international literature.

Despite the utility offered by Berry’s research model (in Figure 1.1), an important issue has been somewhat overlooked in the mainstream empirical studies – the role and influence of host community factors in the acculturation

experience. Although the model has indicated a role for the society of settlement, it does not provide sufficient information (especially empirical data) regarding the predictors of change (e.g., what aspects of the host community will affect immigrants' adaptation and group acculturation?), or the type of cultural differences that will influence group acculturation (i.e., what type of society is more receptive to immigration?).

Moreover, one limitation has continued to persist in the empirical research and many of the analytical models – they are predominantly sojourner and immigrant-centered. In the ABC model of acculturation for instance, the emphasis is oriented exclusively towards the sojourner or immigrant's adaptation, giving little or no attention to the host nationals' experience. In Berry's research models and frameworks (Berry, 1980, 1994a, 1997; Berry et al., 1986; Segall et al., 1999; Rogler, 1994), the role of the host community did not receive a fair amount of international attention in empirical studies although this domain is recognized to be important. As a result of this research bias, the literature has given the impression that the role of the host national is assumed to be static, unchanging and passive. Although in recent years, there is an increased number of investigations originating from the host's perspectives (e.g., Esses et al., 1998; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001), the overall momentum has been relatively weak. Moreover, the renewed awareness in the host's perceptions appears to have little synergy or integration among the different theoretical frameworks. The diverse range of research paradigms and methodologies has not provided any unifying research theme like the case of the ABC model in the sojourners'

research. In view of this limitation, the current dissertation is a preliminary and exploratory attempt to unify the varied findings and the different methodologies. Specifically, the current dissertation proposes three fundamental frameworks for research on host attitudes toward Chinese immigrants: (1) intergroup relations, (2) individual differences, and (3) cultural differences. Based on the three research frameworks, five studies will be conducted to examine New Zealanders' perceptions of Chinese immigrants. The schematic structure of the thesis can be seen in Figure 1.4.

Each of the three frameworks provides a unique and distinctive lens to examine attitudes toward immigrants. Intergroup relations, for example, has always been regarded as one of the key conceptual issues in the acculturation literature. Examples of the conceptual frameworks and theories based on the intergroup perspective include Social Identity Theory, (e.g., Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Integrated Threat Theory (e.g., Stephan et al., 2000), the Contact Hypothesis (e.g., Allport, 1954; Amir, 1967), and the Instrumental Model of Intergroup Conflict (e.g., Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001). The theoretical principles underpinning intergroup relations are generally believed to be conceptually equivalent and applicable across different cultural groups. Attitudes toward minority immigrants, immigration policies and multicultural optimism are some of the key dependent variables of theoretical interest in this research (e.g., Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Eurobarometer, 2000; Ho, Niles, Penney, & Thomas, 1994). A more comprehensive review of the literature will be described in the subsequent studies.

The second theoretical framework of the dissertation focuses on individual differences and their influence on attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. In this approach, the attention is focused on the influence of individual differences, or personality-like factors (or traits), on attitudes. Social dominance orientation for example, represents a contemporary predictor of intergroup prejudice and discrimination due to its emphasis on social inequalities and hierarchies. Self-esteem, as a trait measurement, is also known to be positively associated with intergroup perceptions based on its theoretical grounding in the Social Identity Theory.

The definition of individual differences is not limited to personality measurements. An alternative approach based on individual value priorities has also been adopted for investigation. Generally speaking, values surveys provide a broader, generic, and encompassing description of individual differences, and the Schwartz's Value Survey (e.g., Schwartz, 1994a, 1994b) is considered the most appropriate instrument for the purpose. Schwartz's measurement is reasonably well established. It has documented convergent validity with other personality traits for his conceptualization of value systems, and it has been validated using different cultural samples. There is also a theoretical foundation to relate values and attitudes toward outgroups (Biernat, Vescio, Theno, & Crandall, 1996); a comprehensive discussion of individual value differences and intergroup attitudes will be covered in the later sections.

The final framework involves cultural differences and their implications for perceptions of immigrants and multiculturalism. Compared to the individual

difference framework, cultural variations examine the key dimensions that differentiate between cultures, and how cultural differences affect attitudes in acculturation research. Examples of the dimensions of cultural variations include Hofstede's (1980) four dimensions of culture (i.e., individualism-collectivism, power distance, masculinity-femininity, uncertainty avoidance), and Schwartz's (1994b) seven cultural value differences (i.e., mastery, hierarchy, conservation, harmony, egalitarian commitment, intellectual and affective autonomy).

In individual level research (i.e., intergroup and individual differences), the attention is centered on the relationship between variables within the sample, and whether variations on the dimensions of interest will be predictive of the outcomes. In contrast, in a cultural level investigation, the focus is on the differences between different cultural groups and how the variations influence perceptions, behaviors or attitudes. Measurements of cultural differences are based on the aggregated scores of the individual samples on a particular evaluative domain. The average rating on a dimension provides a composite reflection of how a cultural group fares comparative to other cultural groups; compared to the intergroup and individual differences framework, this dimension of relativity (i.e., comparing one culture to another) is the hallmark of the cultural framework. Evidently, due to the extensive amount of data sampling required for cultural level comparisons, not many empirical studies have been performed at this level.

Altogether, the three levels of analyses provide a comprehensive examination of the host acculturation experience, with each of the three

frameworks offering a unique perspective on the host community and their attitudes on immigrants. New Zealand is considered a suitable location to conduct the current research because it is predominantly an immigrant society, and it has a clear ethnic majority population (i.e., European New Zealanders). Some of the ethnocultural minorities in New Zealand include Asians, Pacific Islanders, and the native Maori.

### *Immigration in New Zealand*

New Zealand has traditionally been an immigrant society. Other than the native Maori people, every other ethnic population in New Zealand was an immigrant group to the country at one point in time. Although, currently, the New Zealand society is generally considered multicultural, the ethnic composition was relatively homogeneous more than a century ago, comprising of predominantly British nationals and the ethnic Maori. Much of the major changes in the population make up were a direct result of immigration policies introduced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including the naturalization of Asian immigrants.

### *The Past: History of Chinese Immigration in New Zealand*

New Zealand received the first wave of British settlers in 1840s after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between the native Maori and British colonials. For the most part of the nineteenth century, only British nationals were eligible to become legitimate settlers in the Colony. Moreover, citizens of Great Britain were also automatically accorded identical privileges and rights as New



Zealanders. Non-British Europeans were rare and non-White people were certainly off limits (McKinnon, 1996).

Historically, the relations between Chinese immigrants and the early European settlers in New Zealand have been turbulent. The first wave of Chinese arrivals to New Zealand began approximately in the 1860s. The Chinese migrants were mostly gold miners meant to complement the shortage of skilled labor in the Colony. The miners were subjected to many controls and restrictions. Among these regulations, the miners were considered temporary residents; they were not eligible to apply for immigrant status; and they were to be sent home after they accumulated £100 of wealth. In 1881, further restrictions were imposed on the Chinese miners when the European New Zealand gold miners complained that the Chinese miners deprived them of their jobs. A £10 poll tax was levied on each Chinese national who entered New Zealand, and the amount was increased to £100 in 1908 (Murphy, 2002); additional legislation was put in place to prohibit the Chinese from any naturalization proceedings. The poll tax lasted half a century, and it was eventually abolished in 1944 (Murphy, 2002).

In 1949, New Zealand withdrew automatic privileges given to British nationals and the latter no longer received identical benefits as local born or permanent New Zealand citizens when they arrived in the country. Nonetheless, there was still a preference for European compared to Asian settlers.

Besides the Asians and the Europeans, immigrants from the Pacific Islands also represented a significant percentage of overall immigrants to New

Zealand. Between the 1950s and 1960s, there was a massive increase in the number of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand due to the political turmoils in the island states. However, by and large, the Pacific Islanders were not considered a significant threat to the European New Zealanders because the former was regarded as simply 'a different kind of Maori'<sup>2</sup>(McKinnon, 1996, pp. 40).

The restrictions imposed on Chinese immigrants were relaxed in 1952 when other ethnic minorities were allowed to seek naturalization. However, this new ruling had only minimal effect as only those who had family members or distant relatives in New Zealand were eligible to apply. The changes had neither made the process easier for non-European immigrants, nor was it able to broaden the base of eligible immigrants. General attitudes toward Chinese or Asians improved marginally in the 1950s, and this was partially due to the Colombo plan scholarships awarded to outstanding Asian students from less developed countries. New Zealanders experienced a sense of gratitude reciprocated from the beneficiaries of the scholarships.

The restrictive policy on family reunion for Asian immigrants remained in force until the early 1980s. The eligibility of Chinese immigrants were determined by kinship, New Zealand's occupational needs, and a limited quota on refugee intake. In 1984 for example, 40,000 long term immigrants entered New Zealand, 26,500 of them came from Australia, Britain, United States, and Canada; 1,600 were from the Pacific Islands, and only 1,500 originated from Asia, and many of them were relatives of other New Zealand residents.

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<sup>2</sup> The Maori are the native New Zealanders.

The most dramatic changes in immigration policies took place in 1987, when long term residency was granted on the basis of individual merit instead of family reunification. New immigrants were assessed in areas such as their potential contribution to New Zealand, their skills, and business investment. Ethno-socio demographics including race, nationality, ethnic origin, marital status, religion, and ethical beliefs became irrelevant. The changes led to a surge in applications for residency from Asia in the 1990s, and ethnic Chinese being one of the largest groups.

*The Present: Issues in New Zealand Contemporary Migration*

The amendments to the immigration policies in the 1980s permanently changed New Zealand's ethno-cultural landscape. According to the recent population census in 2001, approximately 20% of the residents are overseas born (New Zealand Census, 2001). In terms of ethnic composition, about 80% are of European descent, 14.6% are native Maori, 6.5% are from the Pacific Islands, 6.6% are Asians and 6.9% others. The Chinese constitute the largest group of Asians in New Zealand, representing 2.8% of the population.

For the immigrants, including most Chinese, Auckland is the preferred city of settlement. Auckland has the largest share of the immigrant population at about 50% of the total. This is followed by the Wellington region at 12.4%, and 9.9% in Canterbury (including Christchurch city), and 7.2% in the rural regions (New Zealand Census, 2001).

Similar to other developed nations, New Zealand faces a low fertility rate among the resident population, and immigration is considered as a key policy for maintaining its population numbers and for enhancing the quality of the labor force. From 1996 – 2001, the percentage of overseas born residents increased by 15.5%; in contrast, the New Zealand born residents increased only by 1.5%.

From a policy perspective, the immigration policies introduced in the last two decades were designed to generate a huge amount of economic benefits and to preserve the high quality labor standard in the country. This objective, unfortunately, has not been fully realized. Like the conditions in many other developed nations, most of the recent immigrants in New Zealand face a relatively high unemployment rate compared to the domestic residents even though the former tends to hold relatively higher educational qualifications (Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 2001). On average, the rate of unemployment is 22.6% for immigrants within first year of arrival. The unemployment rate falls to 13.3% in the following year, and to 10.5% in five to nine years time. This figure compares unfavorably with the current national unemployment rate of 4%. Some immigrants may also find their overseas qualifications lack recognition in New Zealand, and it is not uncommon to find employers who prefer to hire local (i.e., New Zealand), rather than overseas, graduates. Among the immigrants who have found employment, many of them were working in jobs unrelated to their previous experience or skills (Ho & Lidgard, 1996).

The employment predicament is also partially reflected in the income of recent immigrants and their New Zealand born counterparts. Overall, the current

New Zealand median income is approximately NZ\$18,500, and this figure varies between different ethnic groups. The European New Zealanders reported a median income of NZ\$19,800, the median Maori income is NZ\$14,800, and the median Chinese income is NZ\$10,800. When comparing the income of New Zealand born Chinese versus overseas born Chinese, the figures reveal a startling difference. The New Zealand born Chinese earn a median income of NZ\$20,200, but the overseas born Chinese only NZ\$7,900.

Generally, research on New Zealanders' perceptions of immigrants has shown mixed results. In a recent household survey ( $N = 500$ ) conducted by Ward and Masgoret (2004, April), the majority (88%) agreed that it is good for New Zealand to have diverse races, religions, and cultures. However, on the flip side, the survey has also found that immigrants of British or Australian descent were generally perceived more favorably than the Chinese or Indians. In a separate multinational study involving thirteen countries, New Zealand adolescents generally expressed favorable perceptions toward ethnic integration compared to other acculturation attitudes (Ward, 2002, April). The integration attitude demonstrates a commitment to own cultural heritage but at the same time, having a positive view and being tolerant toward other ethnic cultures.

Based on research, the empirical findings suggest that the New Zealand society generally endorses multicultural ideology as the basis of intercultural relations. A closer examination based on other resources, however, reveals that the relations between domestic New Zealand residents and immigrants, particularly the Asians, are more complicated. Anecdotal reports from the media

and other empirical research have shown that discrimination and anti-Asian immigrant sentiment are widespread.

In a field experiment by Ward and Masgoret (Ward & Masgoret, 2004, August), Chinese immigrant applicants were more likely to be rejected by recruitment agencies than New Zealand born residents even when they have equivalent educational qualifications and work experience. A bogus resume showing either a Chinese national or a European New Zealander was sent to 85 recruitment agencies in Auckland, Christchurch, and Wellington. Twenty-seven of agencies rejected the Chinese applicant, stating no immediate available job vacancies, but only 3% of the companies rejected the European New Zealander (Ward & Masgoret, 2004, August).

A survey by the National Business Review in 1994 revealed that 42% of respondents believed there were too many immigrants from Asia. The same survey a year later showed the figure increased to 51%. In a separate survey conducted in 1996, 41% New Zealanders thought that current migration level will 'ruin the country'; and 48% believed that there were too many immigrants in the country. In general, New Zealanders remain sceptical about Asian immigrants despite the fact that migrants (and Chinese in particular) tend to bring a lot of investment into the country. A survey on investment from Asia revealed 46% of respondents had mixed feelings toward Asian investment; 18% were opposed of Asian capital; and 11% had neither good nor bad feelings (c.f. McKinnon, 1996). Compared to other ethnic groups, Asian immigrants, particularly Chinese, are generally considered less desirable. Often, European New Zealanders do not

see them as people of equal worth or status compared to other immigrants from the Western countries, and this is despite the fact that some Chinese New Zealanders have been here for generations (Vasil & Yoon, 1996).

Immigrants have also been accused of inflating property prices in the major New Zealand cities, and exploiting social welfare and educational opportunities. Even though statistically it has been shown that most immigrants do not abuse the welfare system, the negative stereotype remains firmly in place (The Dominion Post, 2002 Sept 16; 2002 Sept 17a, b; 2003 July 8). Despite the fact that many immigrants have professional qualifications such as surgery and medicine, their education is not immediately recognized in New Zealand, and many of them are required to go through local examinations and certifications before they are allowed to practice (The Dominion Post, 2002 Sept 18). These limitations severely affect the employability and standard of living for Asian immigrants, including the ethnic Chinese population.

In the current thesis, the Chinese were selected as the target immigrant group in New Zealand. The Chinese immigrants are chosen for a number of reasons in addition to their history in New Zealand. First, the group represents the fastest growing ethnic minority coming into the country. In the year ended December 2000, the total net permanent and long term non-New Zealand citizen arrivals were 26,600, out of which 5,360 were from mainland China, 3,160 from the United Kingdom (UK), 2,320 from Japan, 2,260 from India, and 2,140 from South Africa. In 2001, the net permanent and long term arrivals were 42,300, out of which 10,400 were from China, 5,200 from the UK, 4,000 from India, 2,800

from South Africa, 2,500 from Japan, and 2,400 from Fiji. In 2002, the net permanent and long term arrivals were 54,900, and the figure for China has almost tripled to 14,900 since year 2000. The figures from the UK were 7,000, India 6,600, South Africa 2,800, Japan, 2,500, Korea, 2,200, and Fiji, 2000. In the 2001 population census, 104,583 New Zealand citizens and long-term residents identified themselves as ethnic Chinese, with 78,519 of them born overseas. The figures have more than doubled since 1991, where there were 44,793 ethnic Chinese citizens and 28,401 of them were born overseas. Overall, the ethnic Chinese constitutes the single largest immigrant group coming into New Zealand in the last decade (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004; Smeith & Dunstan, 2004).

Based on the 2001 census, the number of ethnic Chinese easily surpassed the number of ethnic Indians, the next largest Asian group in New Zealand, estimated to be more than 61,000. The rise in numbers over the years mirrors the trend towards globalization, and the economic success in the East Asian countries has given rise to a wealthier and more educated group of individuals who are eligible for permanent residency, investment, and education abroad.

The second reason for choosing Chinese immigrants concerns the visibility of the target group. Compared to other recent immigrants from the European continent, the Chinese are more visually identifiable. The cultural practices and value beliefs of the ethnic Chinese are also dissimilar to the ones adopted by New Zealand nationals. In short, the ethnic Chinese represents a



salient target that can be used to tap the host nationals' perceptions of immigrants and immigration related attitudes.

In terms of the media portrayal, ethnic Chinese have been given a relatively negative image. From time to time, the press has provided disproportionately more coverage on the Chinese involvement in criminal activities in New Zealand. The types of criminal activities have included the more serious ones like kidnapping and drug trafficking. The effect of these events has led to a number of public debates regarding the merits of limiting the number of immigrants from non-Western backgrounds coming into New Zealand. Although, the vast majority of immigrants are not involved in any criminal activities, the public's perceptions of Chinese migrants may have been tinted by the debate and the media reports. For instance, in both the 1996 and 2002 General Elections, New Zealand First, the Right-wing political party, sought to create an impression that Asian immigrants in New Zealand have contributed to the rise in violent crimes. Although, the political party did not achieve a clear mandate from the electorates, the political message has reverberated across the nation resulting in an increase in anti-immigrant sentiments. It should be noted that the term 'Chinese' refers to a generic ethnic category with no specific national group in mind.

Finally, the present thesis will survey European New Zealanders (i.e., citizens of European ancestry) and the Maori in New Zealand on their perceptions toward Chinese immigrants. It should be noted that in the local context, the term 'Pakeha' is sometimes used to refer to the European New

Zealanders. From a historical perspective, the relationship between Maori and the European settlers (i.e., Pakeha) has been mostly confrontational, or at best, distant. The Treaty of Waitangi, signed by the early British settlers and the native Maori in 1840, is the single and most important piece of legal and historical document that encapsulates the relationship between the Maori and the British.

The Treaty of Waitangi legitimizes the British settlement in New Zealand, it provided the Crown (i.e., the Queen) with the sovereignty to govern New Zealand, and it recognized the Maori's rightful ownership of estates, including land, fishery, and forestry. There are different views and interpretations of the Treaty between the Maori and New Zealand Europeans and this debate has remained a contentious one for a long time. In light of this controversy, the subsequent changes in immigration policies that allow Asian immigrants to enter New Zealand have unsettled some of the Maori as they (i.e., Maori) were not consulted on these policy changes in the spirit of the treaty. Some of them perceive the Asian immigrants as a threat to their unique status in New Zealand and part of a deliberate attempt to dilute their political influence in the country. Not surprisingly, since the Asians are more visible than most other European immigrants they are also more likely to be a target of discrimination (Vasil & Yoon, 1996).

It should be highlighted that the current research does *not* intend to focus on the social, historical, economical and political differences between European New Zealanders and the native Maori, and how the intergroup differences influence attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policies; the two ethnic

groups will be represented in the data but any differences in attitudes will only be discussed within a limited context. More importantly, the aim and orientation of the current thesis are meant to focus on the development of a host nationals' framework for acculturation research using three distinct but related perspectives (i.e., intergroup, individual differences, and cultural differences). It is important not to digress beyond this preliminary objective although the author recognized the importance of the socio-historical and political differences between Maori and European New Zealanders and its influence on attitudes formation and perceptions.

In conclusion, the current research is designed to examine host nationals' attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in New Zealand. The respondents will include both European New Zealanders and Maori samples. Overall, three research frameworks are proposed and they are based on theoretical principles derived from "Intergroup Research," "Individual Differences" and "Cultural Differences." The Chinese immigrants are selected as the target group in the survey due to their local and historical migration experience, cultural and physical visibility, the media coverage, and their social and economic impact on New Zealand.

## CHAPTER 2 THE INTERGROUP FRAMEWORK IN INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

### Background

According to Berry's (see Figure 1.1, Berry, 2004) framework, there are two fundamental approaches to study intercultural relations. The first one is predominantly based on the contemporary work on intergroup research in social psychology (i.e., represented by the right hand portion in Figure 1.1.), and the areas of investigation broadly include ethnic prejudice, attitudes, and stereotypes. Examples of the theories, models and frameworks used for research in intergroup relations include the (1) Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), (2) the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan et al., 2000) (3) the Instrumental Model of Intergroup Conflict (Esses et al., 1998), and (4) the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954).

Generally, the models, theories or frameworks in intergroup research (right hand side of Figure 1.1) share many similar characteristics, propositions, and hypotheses. In many cases, the distinctions are the results of the different theoretical emphases. For instance, the Integrated Threat Theory stresses the subjective threat perception, the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict focuses on resource scarcity and competition, the Contact Hypothesis emphasizes intercultural contact, and Social Identity Theory examines how behaviors, attitudes and motivations can be influenced by social identification. The various models and theories more or less agree that the perceptions of threat and

competition from an outgroup lead to increased prejudice and threaten individuals' self-esteem, and in order to ameliorate intergroup hostility, increased contact under equal status conditions would be desirable. Generally, this part of the research framework is fundamentally based on the host nationals' perspective in acculturation, it emphasizes the experience and perceptions of host nationals toward immigrants and multiculturalism.

In contrast to the intergroup relations approach, the second perspective on intercultural relations focuses on the influence of acculturation strategies. Broadly speaking, this part of Berry's framework examines the level of contact participation with regards to the (1) host community and (2) the ethnic heritage cultures of the immigrants and sojourners. The two categories of contact participation generate four acculturation strategies based on integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1984, 1994a). Evidently, this part of the framework based on acculturation strategies appears more relevant for the immigrants rather than members of the host community. A detailed discussion on the type of acculturation strategies will be presented in the later Chapters.

In the current thesis, three distinct frameworks are proposed to examine hosts' perceptions and experiences in the acculturation process. The frameworks are based on intergroup, individual differences, and cultural differences. In the intergroup perspective, two independent research approaches are proposed; the first one based on contemporary literature that emphasizes the influence of social identity, perceived threat, and intergroup contact, and the

second one is on the basis of host acculturation attitudes or strategies – what the host community think immigrants should do in relation to their own and the recipient cultures.

The distinction mirrors Berry's (Berry, 2004; Berry et al., 1977) framework on intercultural relations based on the taxonomy on intergroup versus acculturation research (Figure 1.1). In the former (i.e., intergroup research), the emphasis is on research in ethnic stereotypes, attitudes, and prejudice; whereas in the latter (i.e., acculturation research), the attention is on contact participation with host nationals versus own heritage cultural maintenance. Having said this however, unlike the type of acculturation strategies highlighted by Berry in Figure 1.1, the theoretical interest on acculturation research in the current thesis (see Figure 1.4) originates from the hosts' rather than the immigrants' perspective. Specifically, the current approach is based on Bourhis' Interactive Acculturation Model – a five-fold typology of acculturation strategies that measure host nationals' expectations of immigrants' experience (Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). The model provides a 'mirror image' of Berry's four-fold acculturation model as seen from members of the host community. A more indepth introduction of this framework will be covered in the later part of this chapter.

Overall, regardless of the approach that is adopted for investigation, the empirical and theoretical literature in acculturation research has always been consistent in one direction – to learn about intergroup relations between cultures and cultural groups, the intergroup processes and outcomes as a result of the

contact between groups. To reiterate the objectives, the current thesis proposes three theoretical frameworks to study attitudes toward Chinese immigrants: intergroup, individual differences, and cultural differences. In the intergroup perspective, there two general approaches or categories. The first one based on the contemporary intergroup theories and models, such as social identity theory, integrated threat theory and contact hypothesis; the second domain is based on acculturation studies. This schematic distinction between intergroup versus acculturation research is similar to Berry's differentiation of intercultural relations for ethnocultural groups and the broader host community (See Figure 1.1; Berry, 2004). The schematic structure of the thesis can also be found in Figure 1.4.

*Conceptualization and Measurement of Intergroup Relations  
and Attitudes to Outgroups*

One of the most challenging tasks in empirical research on intergroup relations involves the selection of an appropriate dependent measure. Currently there is no consensus on what constitutes the best or the most objective representation of intergroup relations and for much of the time, the outcome variable adopted for study is also influenced by the theoretical interest of the investigators and the research methodologies. This problem is further complicated by the way in which the outcome is assessed.

For example, attitudinal measures may be a common dependent measure in empirical studies, but the approach in defining and conceptualization the variable may vary between different studies. Inspired by research on the

influence of perceived threat on attitudinal prejudice, Stephan and colleagues (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998) defined attitudes toward immigrants on the basis of reaction responses to twelve evaluative and emotional items. The items include hostility, disdain, affection, admiration, disliking, acceptance, superiority, approval, hatred, sympathy, rejection and warmth. Respondents rated on a 10-point likert-like scale ranging from “not at all” to “extremely” such that a composite attitudinal rating measuring attitudes toward immigrants could be obtained.

Others, such as Zagefka and Brown (2002), preferred a ‘relativity’ perspective in their assessments of outgroup perceptions and ingroup bias. Respondents in a survey indicated how comfortable they were with members of their own group and outgroup, and how much they perceived the ingroup and outgroup as ‘nice’, ‘aggressive’, and ‘friendly’. Based on the statistical response differences between the two ratings (i.e., ingroup versus outgroup), general measurements of ingroup bias and outgroup attitude were obtained. Gaertner and colleagues (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994) adopted a similar ‘relative’ method, albeit based on a different set of assessment items that appealed more to the affective aspects of intergroup relations. Respondents indicated their perceptions of overall favorability toward each social group on the basis of a ‘Feeling Thermometer’ and their affective reactions to the ingroup and outgroup on the things that they had done to make the respondents feel ‘good’, ‘bad’, ‘uneasy’ and ‘respectful.’ In some other research, a semantic differential approach is sometimes reported. The measurements of intergroup anxiety, for



example, adopted this methodology (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993).

Respondents were asked how they feel when they interact with members of the outgroup and were told to rate on a list of bipolar emotional dimensions such as feeling 'certain' versus 'uncertain' and 'easy' versus 'uneasy'.

Attitudinal prejudice and affective differential ratings are not the only measures used in studies of intergroup relations. Stereotypes and perceptions of stereotypes have also been noted in empirical research. In experimental research on resource allocation, the measurement of attitudes toward immigrants was established based on how participants reacted (i.e., favorably or unfavorably) to the stereotypical traits of immigrants (Esses et al., 1998).

At this point, it should be noted that self-devised and plausibly context specific measures are not uncommon in the assessment on intergroup attitudes. For instance, in a study of idiocentrism-allocentrism and intergroup attitudes, Lee and Ward (1998) developed a scale that purportedly measured intergroup attitudes between ethnic Malays and Chinese in Singapore. Arguably, the external validity of this instrument would have been in doubt in other cultures given the unique ethnic composition in Singapore. The Swedish Classical and Modern Racism Scale developed by Akrami, Ekehammar and Araya (2000) is another case of intergroup measurement that is contextualized, and in this case, in the Swedish community. Notwithstanding this limitation, it is known that for general measurements of intergroup relations, the instruments are commonly modified and adapted for use in other cultures.

Last but not least, some research has also adopted an applied behavioral approach to study attitudes. Quinton and colleagues (Quinton, Cowan, & Watson, 1996), for instance, defined attitudes on the basis of the respondents' support of Proposition 187, a political initiative that deprives illegal immigrants of social services in the US, and a decision that was considered racist and discriminatory. The applied-behavioral perspective was also adopted by Jackson and colleagues (Jackson, Brown, Brown & Marks, 2001) in their research on self-report racism and support for immigrants' deportation from the European Union.

Finally, measures of intergroup relations can also be conceptualized on the basis of the socio-political and economical benefits derived from increased immigration. In one of the pioneer studies on Australians' attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism, Ho and colleagues (Ho et al., 1994) collected data regarding the preferred types of immigrants allowed in Australia, the degree of support towards different ethnic related programs, and attitudes toward multiculturalism. The multiculturalism attitude measure fielded a variety of questions relating to the social, political and economic impact from increased immigration. Some examples from this instrument include "Australian society has benefited from a policy of multiculturalism," "Multiculturalism, as a policy to deal with cultural diversity, is in line with this country's national interest," and "Is multiculturalism more likely to lead to social cohesion or intergroup conflict in Australian society?" In contrast to other contemporary assessments of intergroup relations and attitudes, the current research places less emphasis on

the evaluative and affective components of perception, but more on the applied policies and the implications. From a conceptual point of view, this is a more relevant perspective in the current thesis, considering the multi-level structure of the research framework. (i.e., intergroup, individual differences, and cultural differences); and in view of this argument, Ho et al's measurement of attitudes on multiculturalism has been modified and adopted in the current investigations.

### *Intergroup Theories and Models of Acculturation*

#### *Social Identity Theory*

According to the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals have a fundamental need for positive distinctiveness (i.e., self-esteem) through their membership in a particular social group category. The theoretical framework posits three major propositions, namely, self-categorization, self-identification, and social comparison.

In self-categorization, individuals rely on salient or contextually relevant cues to define their own and others' group membership. People within the same group will be labeled as members of the ingroup, and members that belong to other groups are regarded as the outgroup. Ethnicity and gender are some of the most frequently adopted social identities in the self-categorization process, and in the context of acculturation research, the ethnocultural identities of minorities and immigrant groups have received particular attention.

With self-categorization, comes social identification. In social identification, individuals strive to enhance their personal self-esteem by identifying themselves as a member of the ingroup. By strengthening their identification with their group membership, individuals derive positive distinctiveness, a sense of belonging and a feeling that they are being cherished. Identification with a social category also provides individuals with a clear sense of purpose, and a prescriptive set of normative behaviors associated with the ingroup membership.

Lastly, in social comparison, members compare their ingroup's performance and status with those of a relevant outgroup. The comparisons provide individual members with a better understanding and benchmark of how well they fare vis-à-vis other similar groups. If the comparison ends in favor of the ingroup, members will experience increased positive distinctiveness. However, if the comparison casts the individuals in an unfavorable light, members from this negatively distinctive ingroup may experience a reduction in self-esteem. Many implications arise from SIT and its three major propositions. For example, the more we identify with our ingroup membership, the more committed and motivated we are to the ingroup's objective, manifest own group favoritism and excessively reward members of the ingroup. In contrast to the ingroup relations, we are more likely to perceive the outgroup members as homogeneous and show increased prejudice toward them (see Hogg & Abrams, 1988a).

Intergroup comparisons are not born out of vacuums (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986), just as self-categorization and social comparison are not random phenomena. An individual possesses a repertoire of social identities, and the situation determines the type and relevance of identity to call for in different circumstances. For instance, in the context of acculturation, national identity probably represents the most appropriate referral. In the presence of an increasing number of immigrants and sojourners, host nationals may find their national identity becoming a significant and salient aspect of their self-concept, especially if the situation requires some form of intergroup contact between the host and immigrant groups. In essence, the minority acculturating groups 'remind' host nationals of who they are.

### *Integrated Threat Theory*

According to the Integrated Threat Theory, intergroup prejudice is primarily a consequence of threat perception (Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan, Stephan & Gudykunst, 1999; Stephan et al., 1998). Overall, there are four major components of threat in intergroup perceptions. They include realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. Realistic threat involves perceived competition over limited economic resources such as social welfare, employment opportunities, and power. Symbolic threat represents a form of cultural encroachment against the dominant group by members of a minority group. The challenges posed by symbolic threat usually revolve around different normative behaviors, values and religious practices. Both realistic and

symbolic threats are based on individuals' perceptions and do not necessarily reflect reality. Intergroup anxiety measures the level of personal discomfort as a result of interaction with members of the outgroup (see Figure 2.1) Negative stereotypes epitomize an individual's overall cognitive schema of an outgroup member, together with the evaluative dimensions associated with the social category (Stephan et al., 2000). Both symbolic and realistic threats represent an intergroup perspective of threat perception, whereas anxiety and negative stereotypes are considered as a more individual-based threat. Since the current research is based on an intergroup perspective, only symbolic and realistic threat perception will be measured<sup>3</sup>.

The experience of threat is affected by a number of socio-psychological factors including the prior experience of intergroup conflict, status inequalities, social identification with the ingroup, and knowledge about the outgroup. Social groups that have a history of conflict, unequal and perceived illegitimate status between groups, a high degree of ingroup identification (in a competitive environment), and a lack of intergroup knowledge will tend to experience a higher level of threat perception. The amount and quality of intergroup contact are also known to have a direct influence on the outcome – overall, intergroup contacts that are based on individualized, equal-status, and voluntary conditions predicted more favorable attitudes toward the each other (e.g., Amir, 1969; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan & Stephan, 1992).

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<sup>3</sup> The concept of intergroup threat was also echoed in Berry's (1977) work on Multicultural Hypothesis. In general, people who feel secured in their own cultural and economic environment (i.e., less threatened) will be less apprehensive towards immigrants and immigration policies.

Overall, increased perception of threat tends to be associated with more negative attitudes toward the outgroup. For instance, studies based on Americans' perceptions of Mexicans have demonstrated that for the dominant group, increased perception of realistic threat, anxiety, and negative stereotypes predicted increased prejudice toward minority groups (i.e., Mexicans; Stephan et al., 2000).

It should be noted that the definition of realistic and symbolic threats in Integrated Threat Theory is not the same as the one conceptualized in Tajfel's Social Identity Theory although there are some aspects of conceptual overlap. As the SIT was born out of the Jewish experience in the Second World War, the concept of identity threat lies in the subjective evaluation of general discomfort, perception of inferiority, feeling awkward in the presence of the dominant group members, and having difficulties communicating with them. Clearly, this perspective of threat was viewed from the minority's point of view. For the Integrated Threat Theory, the emphasis is focused on the subjective experience of insecurity as a result of economic uncertainties, social encroachment, anxiety, and negative stereotypes regarding a target outgroup. It has largely been applied to members of the majority group and often in response to the immigrant groups.

#### *Instrumental Model of Group Conflict*

A more recent model demonstrating the relations between hosts and immigrants is derived from the research by Esses and colleagues (e.g., Esses et

al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001). The instrumental model of group conflict was inspired by research from the realistic group conflict theory (e.g., LeVine & Campbell, 1972) and work on the social dominance orientation (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). According to the instrumental model, there are two prior conditions leading to intergroup antagonism. The first one involves a perception of resource stress, and the second, the presence of a distinctive outgroup (see Figure 2.2).

In order to experience resource stress, jobs, status, and power must be seen as scarce, whether actual or perceived. Furthermore, there should be a perception of unequal resource distribution where one group (usually the dominant one) feels relatively deprived compared to another group. The competition for resources escalates when the dominant group demands a greater share of the limited resources as it regards itself as being superior relative to other social groups. In addition to the demand for more resources, the dominant group also believes in the establishment of a stable and unequal social hierarchical order. Members from the lower hierarchy are not expected to challenge the status quo, and the perception of resource stress will increase if they do so. Overall, the perception of resource stress and the desire for unequal resources distribution are said to be represented by the measurement of social dominance orientation (Esses et al., 1998). In the context of acculturation, the dominant group refers to the hosts and the subordinate group to the immigrants.

The second determinant of intergroup conflict in the instrumental model depends on the presence of a relevant outgroup. A salient and distinctive



outgroup represents a convenient 'scapegoat' for the dominant group. The outgroup must also be similar to the dominant group on the important and relevant dimensions (e.g., skills) such that the dominant group can easily attribute their problems to the outgroup (e.g., competition for skilled jobs). For unimportant or irrelevant dimensions like ethnicity and nationality, the outgroup should appear as dissimilar, so that members of the ingroup can differentiate themselves from the outgroup.

When both conditions are met, i.e., the experience of resource stress and the presence of a relevant outgroup, intergroup competition will be accompanied by the cognitive and affective perceptions of threat. The cognitive component exemplifies a zero-sum belief system, a perception that any opportunities and benefits given to immigrants are regarded as directly reducing the same amount of opportunities and benefits available to the host nationals. In essence, there is a zero-sum trade off between the two groups – as more resources such as welfare, jobs, and political power are given to immigrants, there will be less available to the host nationals. The affective component encompasses the perceptions of fear and anxiety as a result of the challenges posed by immigrants to the host nationals. Overall empirical evidence has supported a mediating role via the zero-sum beliefs system between resource stress (exemplified by the measure on social dominance orientation) and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001).

To resolve intergroup conflict, the dominant group (i.e., host nationals) can adopt a variety of strategies to remove the source of the competition. These

include improving the actual or perceived performance or competitiveness of the ingroup, decreasing the performance of the outgroup (i.e., immigrants) either by lowering their competitiveness or derogating members of the outgroup, and lastly by avoiding or denying social comparisons with the outgroup. The selection of strategy may reflect what is considered most convenient and appropriate in a particular cultural context. For example, to increase the actual competitiveness of the ingroup (i.e., host nationals), skills re-training programs can be initiated; to reduce the competitiveness of outgroup (e.g., skilled immigrants), discriminatory actions against the immigrant groups, including the use of institutionalized barriers to limit the intake of skilled immigrants may be adopted. In either approach, the ultimate goal is to reduce or remove the source of competition.

### *Contact Hypothesis*

Proponents of the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Stephan, 1987) believe that the best way to promote better intergroup relations is through increasing the quantity and quality of contact between members of the different groups. On the whole, when a member of the outgroup is perceived as being a typical member of his or her social group, increased contact with the individual has an overall positive effect on intergroup perceptions – it encourages understanding and appreciation of the outgroup, disconfirms stereotypes, increases perceptions of outgroup variability and reduces prejudice (e.g., Rothbart & John, 1985; Stangor, Jonas, Stroebe, & Hewstone, 1996). Generally, contact works through the affective processes by reducing the amount of anxiety

experienced when interacting with people who are perceived as representative members of their outgroup. This process then reduces the amount of prejudice, and as a result, improves the overall attitudes toward the outgroup (Hewstone, 2003).

In order for contact to influence relationships, a few additional conditions are needed. For example, the type of prior intergroup experience between members of the different groups should at least be neutral. Increased contact in an already antagonistic condition can only cause intergroup relationships to deteriorate further. In a similar vein, Islam and Hewstone (1993) made a distinction between quantity and quality of intergroup contact. Generally, more contact with members of an outgroup will only predict increased positive perceptions when the interactions are performed in a positive, equal status, and cooperative environment. If the intergroup contact occurs under unequal status conditions and in a competitive and superficial context, increased interaction is likely to result in elevated antagonism and prejudice.

It is important to note that the effects of intergroup contact on attitudes are not restricted to racial, religious, or national groups, although these are the predominant categorical groups used in empirical research. The influence of contact on intergroup relations is also reported in sexual orientation. For example, increased contact with people who have a dissimilar sexual orientation has resulted in changed opinions. Heterosexual Turkish university students who had more contact with homosexual classmates were more likely to hold more positive attitudes toward homosexuality in general (Sakalli & Ugurlu, 2001).

Lastly, consistent with the earlier emphasis on the typical representation of an outgroup member, it is important that the positive benefits from individual and personal interactions between members of different ethnocultural groups be generalized across to other individuals in the broader outgroup community (Pettigrew, 1997). Intergroup contact is known to have the greatest impact in reducing anxiety and improving intergroup perceptions and evaluation when group identities are salient (Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

*Acculturation Strategies and the Interactive Acculturation Model*

According to Berry's framework (Berry, 2004), two general perspectives for research on intercultural relations are noted. The first one is based on contemporary intergroup related studies, and the issues examined include ethnic attitudes, prejudice, and stereotypes (see Figure 1.1, left hand side). Overall, this perspective is more frequently used for studying the recipient nationals' perceptions of immigrants. In the second approach, the theoretical emphasis is on the influence of acculturation strategies in adaptation (see Figure 1.1, right hand side). Compared to intergroup research, this is considered more prominent in immigrant's research. Notwithstanding this distinction (i.e., between intergroup research and acculturation strategies), it should be noted that, theoretically, either perspective can be applied to both host and immigrant groups.

The research on acculturation strategies was partially inspired by personality studies, and the concept of identity formation is regarded as a relatively stable, trait-like latent variable that influences social behaviors, attitudes, and motivations. From the perspective of the immigrants, Berry (e.g., Berry, 1980, 1994a, 1997) proposes a four-fold acculturation model derived from two fundamental issues (or questions) in acculturation. One, how does a minority person relate to members of the host community group? And second, how does the individual relate to his or her own ethnic cultural group? In the former, the issue involves conforming to the social standards, beliefs systems, and behaviors practiced by members of the host community; for the latter, the emphasis is on the retention of ethnic-heritage culture and the enhancement of

ethnic affiliation. Although there is variation in the way the two dimensions are labeled, it is generally assumed that both dimensions are conceptually orthogonal<sup>4</sup> (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000).

On the basis of this distinction between cultural maintenance (i.e., ethnic retention) and host relations, four types of acculturation strategies are derived depending on the endorsement of the two principles. The four strategies include integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalisation (see Figure 1.2). The integration strategy exemplifies a strong and simultaneous identification with both host community and ethnic cultures; the separation strategy indicates a strong preference for ethnic retention but shows little regard for maintaining host relations; an assimilation strategy endorses the host culture, but there is no effort to retain the ethnic culture; and finally, marginalization approach adopts neither of the two cultures. Research has demonstrated that the four strategies predict different patterns of psychological, behavioral and attitudinal outcomes.

Although the four-fold acculturation model by Berry has provided a valuable platform to the study of immigrants' adjustment processes, the framework suffers the same problem as the contemporary studies in intergroup relations – most of this research has been immigrants centered. The over emphasis and attention assigned to the minority members of a society has given the impression that the host community group is assumed to be static and passive. In response to this imbalance, Bourhis and associates (Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001) suggested a “mirror” image of the acculturation

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<sup>4</sup> Berry adopted the term “ethnic retention” and “host relations” although Ward (1996) preferred using the term “host identification” and “co-national identification”.

model called the Interactive Acculturation Model, a five-fold taxonomy of acculturation strategies from the perspectives of the host community. The model posits five major acculturation strategies recommended by members of the host community, and they represent the different acculturation approaches that host nationals expect immigrants to engage. The five strategies include integrationism, separationism (or segregationism), assimilationism, individualism and exclusionism.

Integrationism is regarded as an accommodative approach, members of the host community believe that immigrants should keep part of their heritage culture and maintain a cordial relationship with the host culture. In separationism, recipient nationals believe that it is in the interest of the broader community for the immigrants to keep to their own cultures and not to adopt the mainstream culture. Assimilationists believe that immigrants should relinquish their heritage culture and adopt the host national's culture. In individualism, host nationals believe it does not matter what immigrants do because they have the right to do what they consider fit. Finally, exclusionists believe that immigration is detrimental to the host community in general, and the recipient country should close the door to immigrants. From a broader conceptual perspective, individualism and exclusionism represent the 'mirror' perspective to the marginalization strategy originally espoused in Berry's (e.g., 1980, 1994a, 1997) four-fold model on immigrant acculturation<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> An alternative four-fold model on host acculturation was also proposed by Berry (2004, pp. 177; also see Ward & Leong, 2005 in press); he identified 'multiculturalism,' 'melting pot,' 'segregation' and 'exclusion' as the correspondent acculturation strategies for 'integration', 'assimilation',

*Summary*

On the basis of the theoretical review, it is evident that the quality of intergroup relations plays an important role in the context of acculturation research. The analytical models and theories adopted for intergroup research include Social Identity Theory, Integrated Threat Theory, Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, acculturation strategies and the contact hypothesis. In line with Berry's research proposal (2004), research in intercultural relations can be distinguished according to 'acculturation' versus 'intergroup' studies. The former involves the type of acculturation strategies used for dealing with members from the host community and the co-national groups, and the empirical research has largely been undertaken from the perspectives of the acculturating ethnocultural groups (non-dominant) rather than members of the recipient culture. In the "intergroup research", the emphasis is more relevant to the host community, and the attention is focused on the perceptions of ethnic prejudice, attitudes and stereotypes. Although theoretically, both 'acculturation' and 'intergroup' perspectives can be applied to members of the dominant and non-dominant groups, there is a research bias in empirical studies and this has generated a conceptual impression that the two approaches are designed for different population groups. In the current thesis both perspectives will be examined in the context of the host community, i.e., acculturation strategies (or acculturation expectations) and contemporary intergroup research.

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'separation' and 'marginalization,' respectively. This (Berry's) model on host acculturation however, did not receive much empirical attention.



## Study 1: Social Identity, Contact and Threat

### *Introduction*

In this section, specific intergroup related variables will be introduced as part of the broader “Intergroup Research” perspective. The variables are derived from contemporary social intergroup theories such as Social Identity Theory, Integrated Threat Theory, the Contact Hypothesis and the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict. The section includes an indepth discussion of the variables examined in Study 1 and their hypothesized relations with attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. The predictors of interest include: perceptions of symbolic and realistic threats, intergroup contact, perceived fairness of intergroup relations, intergroup permeability, national pride, and interactions between perceived threat and permeability and between perceived threat and national pride.

### *Perceived Threat: Symbolic and Realistic*

According to Stephan and colleagues (Stephan et al., 1998, 1999, 2000), the experience of intergroup threat can be differentiated by four major components: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (see Figure 2.1). Realistic threat arises when there is the perception of competition over limited resources, such as employment, social welfare, and political power. Symbolic threat refers to the perception of cultural encroachment against the dominant group. Symbolic threat may arise due to

different social normative behaviors, values and religious practices in minority groups. Both realistic and symbolic threats are based on an individual's subjective experience, and they do not always reflect reality accurately. Generally, realistic and symbolic threats are considered intergroup-based components of threat, whereas intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes are seen as interpersonal-based (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). As the focus of the research is primarily intergroup oriented, only realistic and symbolic threats will be measured.

In empirical studies, realistic and symbolic threats have generally shown to be effective predictors of outgroup attitudes. Based on a study on intergroup perceptions of Moroccan, Ethiopian and Russian immigrants in Spain and Israel (Stephan et al., 1998), increased realistic threat was found to be associated with more negative perceptions of Moroccans, whereas increased symbolic threat predicted more negative perceptions of Ethiopian migrants. In a separate study on Israeli undergraduates' perceptions of Russian and Ethiopian immigrants (Schwarzwald & Tur-Kaspa, 1997), symbolic threat was found to be a significant predictor of attitudes toward both groups of immigrants.

In another study by Stephan et al. (2000), increased perception of realistic threat accounted for the highest amount of statistical variance in outgroup prejudice for members of the dominant group. For members of the minority group, however, symbolic threat predicted more negative attitudes toward the dominant group. Presumably, for the dominant group, the focus is on the deprivation of resources, like jobs, welfare, and other social opportunities. For

members of the minority group, the more pressing issue concerns the preservation of the ethnic heritage. Overall, the influence of realistic and symbolic threats on outgroup attitudes has also been reported in other ethnic-intergroup based research; increased perception of threat from ethnic minority groups is also associated with more negative outgroup attitudes experienced by members of the majority group (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001).

On the basis of the theoretical review and empirical evidence, realistic and symbolic threats are adopted for the current research due to its intergroup-based orientation of threat. Increased realistic and symbolic threats are expected to predict increased prejudice towards recent Chinese immigrants in New Zealand.

### *Intergroup Contact*

According to the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Stephan, 1987), positive intergroup relations can be enhanced through increasing the quantity and quality of contact between members of different groups.

Based on a longitudinal study on exchange students from the United States, Stangor and colleagues found increased contact between students and host nationals reduced negative stereotypes towards the host nationals, and students overall reported having a more favorable attitude of their sojourn experience (Stangor et al., 1996). Generally, sojourners who report more frequent contacts with their host nationals also tend to express more satisfaction with their overseas experience (Rohrlich & Martin, 1991).

The relation between intergroup contact and positive intergroup experience, however, is not necessarily universal. Culture-specific patterns have emerged in some studies. In an investigation based on Chinese (from People's Republic of China) international students in Singapore, Leong and Ward (2000) found that Chinese students reported more identity conflict with increased contact with their Singaporean hosts. In a separate study on Chinese students in Singapore, increased intergroup contact between the sojourners and host predicted more perceived discrimination by the former (Ward & Leong, in press).

The effects on the frequency (or quantity) of contact can be moderated by the quality of intergroup contact. According to Islam and Hewstone (1993), increased contact with outgroup members predict more favorable attitudes toward the outgroup only when interactions are initiated on an individual basis, and in a pleasant and cooperative condition where members of both groups are accorded with equal status. When contact is initiated under an unequal status condition and in a competitive and superficial environment, having more intergroup contact will result in increased frustration, disappointment and greater outgroup prejudice. The influence of contact quality on intergroup relations has been documented in research between ethnic minorities and Anglo-Saxon Americans (Stephan & Stephan, 1989) and between host and exchange students in Morocco (Stephan & Stephan, 1992). Overall, positive contact in an intimate and non-threatening environment tends to predict lower anxiety, whereas negative contact quality tends to result in increased anxiety.

Institutional support that promotes intergroup contact, interdependence, and a common fate are also important factors in reducing bias and prejudice (Amir, 1969; Stephan, 1987). Intergroup contact is a necessary condition for forging a shared common ingroup identity, otherwise known as a super-ordinate identity (Gaertner et al., 1994). The super-ordinate identity suggests a sense of camaraderie and the perception of a common fate. Favorable contacts, both in terms of the quantity and quality, deconstruct the cognitive and stereotypical representations of outgroup members. Individual members of the outgroup will be judged in terms of their personal attributes rather than their group membership. In addition, members from the two separate groups are perceived as sharing a common destiny and identity, and thus, reducing ingroup favoritism and enhancing attitudes toward outgroup members at the same time.

In the context of host and immigrant relations, intergroup contact is generally associated with reduced prejudice and more favorable perceptions of the outgroup. In a study on Italian nationals and immigrants in Italy, increased intergroup contact predicted reduced anxiety and improved outgroup perceptions and evaluations (Voci & Hewstone, 2003). In Germany, a study on German and Turkish students found that increased leisure contact is correlated with lower prejudice for the former group (Wagner, Hewstone & Machleit, 1989).

On the basis of the theoretical review and empirical evidence, it is predicted that increased intergroup contact between host nationals and Chinese immigrants will be associated with more favorable perceptions of the latter group.

*Perceived Fairness*

Conceptually, the perception of intergroup relational fairness is said to be partially embedded within the broader conception of intergroup permeability and legitimacy. Fairness, as defined in the current context, represents a generalized perception of social justice, equal status, and a level playing field between immigrants and host nationals. When recipient nationals perceive the achievement, status and well being of immigrants as unfair, it implies that the latter is perceived as having more opportunities and resources compared to the host nationals. This could either be a result of support from institutional policies and assistance (e.g., government welfare, special assistance schemes), the financial background of immigrants prior to their migration, or any other factors that favor the immigrant groups. Empirical evidence in support of the influence of perceived fairness and legitimacy on acculturation attitudes comes from a study by Florack and colleagues (Florack, Piontkowski, Bohman, Balzer & Perzig, 2003). The perception of legitimacy and fairness was related to negative attitudes of Germans toward Turkish immigrants. Host community members who perceived immigrants as non-legitimate tended to express more ethnocentric acculturation attitudes, i.e., showed greater support for assimilation, separation and exclusion.

The concept of legitimacy/fairness is also considered an important aspect in the social identity theoretical framework. Overall, when intergroup relations are seen as non-legitimate, unstable, and unfair, individuals from the disadvantaged groups will be motivated to change the status quo through

individual or collective actions (depending on the permeability of group boundaries). Perceived legitimacy and fairness, in a general sense, are the relevant cognitive belief systems that influence intergroup perceptions and relations.

The second analytical framework that embodies the principles of perceived legitimacy and fairness is based on the concept of relative deprivation (e.g., Davis, 1959; Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star & William, 1949). Intended for studies on intergroup hostility, the concept of relative deprivation suggests that it is not the absolute reward or advantage that one group enjoys that determines their satisfaction, but rather, it is the comparative well-being of the ingroup vis-à-vis the outgroup that will influence the perception of satisfaction. When the process of social comparison relegates a group to a disadvantaged position, resentment and the perception of social injustice will surface even though, in absolute terms, both groups could have enjoyed an increased standard of living. Members from the relatively deprived group will view the outgroup members with resentment and contempt. They believe that the outgroup has achieved an advantage through an uneven playing field and through illegitimate means. Perceived fairness of intergroup relations, in an indirect way, exemplifies relative deprivation. This perspective was put forth by Duckitt and Mphuthing (2002) in their theoretical and empirical review of anti-White attitudes in South Africa. The legitimacy component of relative deprivation in particular, predicted increased anti-Whites attitudes, negative evaluation and increased identification with the African ethnic identity.

The perception of “fairness” is also implicated as one of the key psychological factors in the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001). In Esses’s model, prejudice and conflict are directly influenced by the perception of intergroup competition and anxiety; the experience of competition, however, is precipitated by two conditions: (1) the perception of resource stress, and (2) the presence of a relevant outgroup. Resource stress is affected by the scarcity of resources (e.g., jobs, welfare and other limited benefits), unequal distribution (i.e., perception of unfair, illegitimate resource allocation), and desire for unequal resource distribution in favor of the ingroup. Fairness, in other words, has an important role in determining the perception of resource allocation and justice.

On the basis of the evidence reviewed, the current study predicts that host nationals who evaluate the intergroup status quo between Chinese immigrants and other New Zealanders as unfair and perceive Chinese immigrants as getting more than their fair share of opportunities due to advantages that were not available to the rest of the population are more likely to express increased hostility towards the immigrants.

### *National Pride*

#### *Conceptual definition and measurement.*

National pride is broadly defined as the degree of positive distinctiveness and strength of identification associated with the country. Conceptually, the definitions of national pride may include assessments of affective, cognitive and



behavioral components such as belongingness or identification (Do I see myself as a member of this social category?); centrality (How often do I think about my group membership?); evaluation (Do I feel proud being a member of this group?); and the behavioral aspects (How often do I engage in the group related activities?).

Generally speaking, there is no consensus regarding the measurement of national pride. Empirical investigations have relied on varied measurements of national pride although most include both the affective and cognitive components of identification. The studies by Bizman and Yinon (2001) and Quinton et al. (1996), for example, measured ingroup identification partially on the basis of the Collective Self-Esteem instrument (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The Collective Self-Esteem scale is comprised of four subscales indicating membership pride, private collective self-esteem, public collective self-esteem, and importance to identity. Although Bizman and Yinon labeled the term as 'ingroup identification,' they were essentially using the same instrument as Quinton et al. (1996), and both studies were performed in the context of acculturation involving perceptions toward immigrants.

In the research by Mummendey, Klink and Brown (2001), ingroup (i.e., German) identification was defined on the basis of both cognitive (e.g., I can identify with the Germans; It is important to me to be a German) and affective (e.g., How proud are you of the German history) aspects of identification. In some investigations, a short and succinct measurement is preferred over elaborated assessments of national pride. For instance, Florack et al. (2003)

measured ingroup (German) identification on the basis of a three-item scale: “How much do you feel like a German?” (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*); “How do you feel as a German?” (1 = *ashamed*, 5 = *proud*) and “Are you a typical German?” (1 = *hardly*, 5 = *very much*). The three-item instrument was reported to be internally reliable. In Jackson et al.’s (2001) study, a single item was used to measure the degree of national pride. Respondents rated on a four-point Likert like scale how much they “feel proud of their country.”

Overall, it is clear that there is no standardized conceptualization and measurement of national pride in empirical studies. Notwithstanding this limitation, it is also evident that most of the research has incorporated both cognitive and affective elements of identification. And in line with this perspective, the current study will include both cognitive and affective aspects of identification such as belongingness, centrality and evaluation.

*National pride as a main predictor of attitudes.*

As a main effect predictor, national pride has shown to be associated with both increased and decreased prejudice. For example, based on a field study of Californians’ opinions about illegal immigrants, Quinton and colleagues (Quinton et al., 1996) examined the influence of right-wing authoritarianism, collective self-esteem (as a Latino, i.e., minority, or as a Caucasian, i.e., dominant group), and stereotypes of illegal immigrants on their attitudes toward California’s Proposition 187 – a discriminative legislation that makes illegal immigrants ineligible for social services. Results indicated that members of the dominant group (i.e.,

Caucasians) who rated higher on collective self-esteem tended to show more prejudice and voted in favor of Proposition 187.

In the context of acculturation, members of the host majority are said to be more focused on the negative aspects of multiculturalism (e.g., Arends-Toth & Van De Vijver, 2003), and an increase in national identification is likely to exacerbate this preoccupation. In line with this concern, in a recent study based on a large sample ( $N = 649$ ) of Dutch adolescents, Verkuyten and Peary (2004) found that host community members with higher, as opposed to lower, levels of national identification were less in favor of multiculturalism; and in a separate study, increased national identification among recipient nationals was correlated with increased discrimination towards ethnic Surinamese in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Peary, 2002).

In contrast to the positive relation between national pride and prejudice, the study by Jackson and colleagues (Jackson et al., 2001) reported the opposite effect, a negative relation between national pride and attitudes was noted. Based on secondary data obtained from the Eurobarometer survey (Eurobarometer, 2000) on immigration and xenophobia, the field study correlated measurements of national pride and attitudes toward immigrants. The results found that individuals who expressed a high level of national pride were more accepting of migrants, less in favor of immigrants' deportation, and generally indicated more favorable attitudes toward immigrants. Overall, the Eurobarometer survey (Eurobarometer, 2000) was considered highly reliable as

it was performed on a large and random group ( $N = 12,141$ ) of native European residents in 15 European countries.

The positive relation between national pride and outgroup attitudes appears to be in line with Berry's concept of "multicultural ideology" (Berry, 2004; Berry et al., 1977). Multicultural ideology emphasizes the concept of "unity in diversity," deriving synergy, strength, and talents from individuals of diverse backgrounds. An important assumption that underscores the multicultural ideology is the multicultural hypothesis – it is assumed that individuals in the larger community will be more accepting and tolerant toward members of other ethno-cultural groups (including immigrants and sojourners) if they feel secure and comfortable in their personal, social, and cultural identities; and this perception of cultural and economic security should generally predict more positive attitudes towards immigrants and other minority groups.

Overall, based on results from the different empirical studies, there is not clear relationship between national pride (as a main effect predictor) and prejudice. It is possible that this association is context specific, and the current study will explore this relationship in the New Zealand context. Last but not least, it can also be speculated that the inconsistencies are partly an effect of an interaction with perceived threat. The interaction effect between national pride and perception of threat will be discussed in the following section.

*Interaction Effects: Perceived Threat x National Pride*

Although as a main effect, national pride has documented relatively inconsistent results, the influence of national pride as part of an interactive term has been found to be rather robust and consistent. Generally, in the context of increased threat perception, individuals with *high*, as opposed to *low*, levels of national pride are more likely to show increased outgroup derogation. This effect appears to be consistent with the propositions derived from the Social Identity Theory (SIT; e.g., Crocker, Thompson, McGraw & Ingerman, 1987) although the SIT is more pertinent to personal (i.e., self-esteem) rather than national pride (i.e., collective self-esteem).

Conceptually speaking, as the perception of threat increases, individuals who report a high level of national pride tend to be more affected because they are more protective of their national identity and report greater commitment and stronger emotional ties to the country. Increased threat will thus affect the individual as much as the social ingroup for those with high degrees of national pride. For individuals with low national pride, the experience of intergroup threat will not matter much as their personal and collective interests are not committed to that of the national ingroup. The interaction effect is also in line with Crocker and Luhtanen's (1990) proposition regarding collective self-esteem – individuals that are high, relative to low, on collective self-esteem are more likely to respond to increased threats by derogating the outgroup.

The hypothesized interaction between national pride and threat has been observed in empirical research. In a study on Israeli's perceptions of Russian

immigrants, Bizman and Yinon (2001) measured the degree of ingroup (Israeli) identification, perception of realistic threat, and attitudes toward Russian immigrants in Israeli. Overall, the results indicated a significant moderating effect of threat on the relationship between ingroup identification and discrimination (i.e., outgroup attitude). Increased perceived realistic threat predicted more prejudice against Russian immigrants in high but not low levels of national identification. In line with the theoretical propositions advocated by Crocker and Luhtanen (1990), the perception of realistic threat posed by the Russian immigrants was considered relatively more intimidating for participants who expressed high, as opposed to low, levels of Israeli identification.

Consistent with the hypothesized relationship between ingroup identification and discrimination, Branscombe and Wann (1994) proposed that a distinction be made between identity threatening and non-threatening intergroup contexts. When the intergroup relation is deemed as evaluative and threatening, a form of self-protection as a strategic defense will be engaged – high collective self-esteem will be associated with more prejudice. Individuals whose self-concept has been threatened will be motivated to show increased outgroup derogation. In line with this proposition, Mummendey et al. (2001) found that the relations between national identification, national pride and outgroup rejection are closely associated but only in an intergroup evaluative condition. Increased national pride predicted a higher degree of prejudice when the outgroup is considered a potential threat to members of the ingroup.

On the basis of the theoretical and empirical evidence, the current study expects to find an interaction effect between national pride and perceived threat on attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. Increased perception of threat will be associated with less favorable attitudes in high, relative to low, levels of national pride.

*Interaction Effects: Perceived Threat x Intergroup Permeability*

Broadly speaking, intergroup permeability is defined as the perception of actual or psychological barriers to becoming a member of another group. Intergroup boundaries are regarded as permeable when they are open, flexible, and members from one social group can easily adopt a new social ingroup identity without difficulties. Group boundaries are impermeable when members from a particular group find it difficult if not impossible, to switch camps as a result of social categorization (e.g., race and gender categories), institutionalized barriers (e.g., laws that prohibit a person from taking up a foreign citizenship), or psychological obstacles (e.g., perceptions that one is not welcome as a member of the new social ingroup). Although most of the empirical and theoretical literature on social identity is based on the minorities' perspectives on intergroup relations, it is likely that some of these propositions can be adopted for the dominant group. Some general understanding of the intergroup permeability concept from the minorities' perspective will be necessary for the formulation of hypothesis.

In laboratory experiments, permeability of boundaries is known to have evaluative implications for the degree of ingroup identification and satisfaction. Members that belong to a negatively distinctive group will tend to display a lower level of ingroup identification, satisfaction and pride compared to members from a higher status group (Ellemers, Doojse, Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992; Ellemers, Knippenberg, Vries & Wilke, 1988; Ellemers, Knippenberg & Wilke, 1990). Moreover, for members of a lower status group, the level of ingroup identification and satisfaction will be lower when the group boundaries are permeable than when they are impermeable (Ellemers et al., 1988). Generally, when group boundaries are permeable, there will be greater incentives for individual members to pursue individual based mobility strategies (e.g., changing himself/herself to become a member of the higher status group) than to endorse collective actions (e.g., a revolution to change the ingroup/outgroup status; Ellemers et al., 1990).

For the higher status group (particularly if the numbers are small), permeable intergroup boundaries represent an open and inclusive social group membership, and this may or may not be desirable. The permeable boundary implies that the high status social identity is non-distinctive, non-exclusive, and additional membership can be anticipated. For the current members of the dominant high status group, this can be an objectionable characteristic especially if the incoming members are considered less desirable. In laboratory experiments, members from a superior status group will tend to strengthen their psychological bonding with their ingroup when they are informed that the



intergroup boundaries will become permeable. Presumably, the high status members are expecting a potential 'invasion' from the lower status group members (Ellemers et al., 1992).

In acculturation research, host nationals' perceptions of permeability in immigrant acculturation have documented some interesting results. A study by Florack and colleagues (Florack et al., 2003) on Germans' attitudes toward Turkish immigrants found an association between perception of permeability and ethnocentric acculturation attitudes toward immigrants. Overall, when intergroup boundaries were regarded as permeable, a more ethnocentric acculturation attitude towards the Turkish migrants were endorsed; host nationals expressed greater desire for community separation from the immigrants and a reduction of immigrants to Germany.

A separate study by Echabe and Gonzales (1996) on Spanish perceptions of immigrants to Spain demonstrated that the concept of permeability has different implications depending on the perception of desirability (i.e., valued versus devalued) of the immigrant group. When a migrant group is considered as 'devalued' (e.g., coming from third world countries), the anticipation of an open border, Visa-free-entry policy has led to negative stereotypes of foreigners and immigration policy. On the other hand, when the target migrant group is regarded as 'valued' (e.g., those come neighboring European countries), respondents tend to recall more positive images of immigrants and were found to be more in favor of the open border policy. In other words, depending on perceptions of a social group, the permeability of boundaries can be regarded as

an indicator for potential invasiveness, i.e., an interaction between perceived permeability and 'worthiness'.

This distinction between 'valued' versus 'devalued' can also be broadly conceptualized in the context of perceived threat. A devalued immigrant group (i.e., high perceived threat) will invoke more negative reactions if the immigration borders are believed to be open or permeable. In contrast, if the immigrant group is regarded as a 'valued' category (i.e., low perceived threat), open door immigration will be less likely to lead to increased prejudice. In other words, this is analogous to a two-way interaction between perceived threat (i.e., valued versus devalued) and intergroup permeability (i.e., open versus closed doors).

To summarize, based on the theoretical propositions outlined in the earlier chapters, Study 1 expects to find the following main effects:

- (1) Increased perception of threat will predict less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants;
- (2) Increased intergroup contact (both quantity and quality) will predict more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants;
- (3) Increased perception of unfairness will predict less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants;

The following two-way interaction effects are also anticipated:

- (4) Perceived Threat x National Pride; increased perception of threat will predict increased outgroup derogation for those with high, relative to low, levels of national pride;

- (5) Perceived Threat x Intergroup Permeability; increased perception of threat will predict relatively more outgroup derogation in permeable, as opposed to impermeable, intergroup conditions.

### *Method*

#### *Participants*

A total of three hundred and eighteen valid questionnaires were received, 105 (33%) were ethnic Maori and 213 (67%) identified themselves as Pakeha (i.e., European New Zealanders). The sample was comprised of 143 (46%) males and 170 (54%) females; five participants did not specify their gender. In terms of gender breakdown, in the Pakeha sample there were 99 (47%) males and 110 (53%) females; for the Maori respondents, the distribution was 44 (42%) and 60 (58%) males and females, respectively. The overall profile of the sample in age, education, marital status and employment were similar to the New Zealand population census.

The mean age for the whole sample is 46.26 years old ( $SD = 15.71$  years), ranging from 19 to 94 years of age. One hundred and seventy five participants (55%) were in full time employment, 64 (20%) were employed part time, 70 (22%) were either unemployed or retired, and nine (3%) did not indicate their current employment status. A hundred and fifty two (48%) were married, 53 (17%) indicated a de facto relationship, 69 (22%) were single, 29 (9%) were divorced/separated and 13 (4%) were widowed, and two persons did not respond

to the question on marital status. All respondents were New Zealand citizens as confirmed by a single-item which asked the participants to state their nationality.

In terms of educational qualifications, 2.5% ( $N = 8$ ) of participants had no formal or only primary education. About 28.6% ( $N = 91$ ) of those surveyed indicated secondary school as the highest qualification achieved. Approximately 37.7% ( $N = 120$ ) of respondents stated post secondary certificates or diplomas as the highest level, and 31.1% ( $N = 99$ ) cited having at least a bachelor's degree. The majority of the respondents were born in New Zealand ( $N = 296$ , or 93.1%), followed by Europe ( $N = 13$ , or 4.1%), with the remaining respondents from Africa, Asia, North America, and Pacific Islands.

### *Procedure*

Potential participants were contacted via their mailing addresses published in the New Zealand Electoral Roll. A stratified random sampling approach was adopted in which the Auckland and Christchurch regions were selected due to a high proportion of migrant population in both cities. Each potential participant was mailed a copy of the information sheet, a copy of the questionnaire (see Appendix 1), a Victoria University of Wellington bookmark and a pre-paid return envelope.

Participation was strictly anonymous and voluntary. Participants who wished to take part in the research completed the survey and returned it to the investigator using the pre-paid return envelope. A bookmark was given to all addressees as a souvenir regardless of whether they had completed the survey

or not. The survey was conducted in the name of the supervisor, as the author is Chinese and using the author's name might provoke an unintended experimenter effect.

The data collection was completed approximately three weeks after the surveys were sent out. A total of 1830 questionnaires were distributed, with 950 targeting New Zealanders who were of Maori descent and the remaining 880 targeting the Pakeha population. The overall return rate for the whole sample was calculated to be 17.4% ( $N = 318$ ). As the entire procedure was anonymous, a copy of the debriefing statement (see Appendix 2) was sent to everyone on the mailing list.

### *Measures*

The measurements used in the study included a number of standard assessments and self-devised items. Where necessary, measurement scales adopted from other studies were modified to suit New Zealand's context. As the survey was targeted at the general population, it was carried out through an anonymous-return mailing method. The questionnaire was kept as short as possible to encourage greater participation. Repetitive items were avoided, and lengthy scales were shortened.

A list of standard demographic variables were first assessed; these included age, gender, ethnicity, nationality (for confirmation as New Zealander), employment/ occupation, marital status, educational level, and both respondents' and their parents' country of birth. In addition to these measurements, a scale

indicating cultural exposure was also added. This was based on a composite index that assessed the degree of experience in other cultures and countries such as the ability to speak a foreign language other than English and Maori, possession of a second citizenship or residency in another country, frequency and duration of overseas travel, and whether the respondent was married to a person from another ethnic group or country. A high score on the composite index indicates a low level of exposure to other cultures or national groups (i.e., reverse scoring).

On completion of the demographic section, the following psychological measurements were included: national pride, intergroup contact, perceived intergroup permeability, perceived fairness, perceived threat, and attitudes to Chinese immigrants. The psychometric properties of each instrument are reported in Table 2.1.

*National pride.* The 18-item scale was adopted from a research by Smith and Jarkko (2001) and from a similar study by the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in Singapore (c.f. The Straits Times, 2000 February 19). The data from Smith and Jarkko's (2001) research were based on population-representative samples' ratings of national identity and pride across 23 countries. Although the international profile of their investigation was considered impressive, the 5-item general national pride scale used by Smith and Jarkko was rather weak in reliability. The Cronbach's Alpha ranged from .33 (The Philippines) to .70 (East Germany), averaging around .63 for all samples. The

Institute of Policy Studies replicated Smith and Jarkko's research and included a list of items that were generated separately with some items specifically written for the Singaporean context. The research was well received, and it validated Smith and Jarkko's original 5-item scale. Selectively, by combining the best from both scales, the two measurements complemented each other – the 18-item assessment used in the current research has a Cronbach's Alpha of .77, with nine positively (e.g., New Zealand is the only place where I feel completely at home) and negatively (e.g., There are some things about New Zealand that make me feel ashamed of New Zealand) worded items each.

For the current instrument, based on a combination of items from Jarkko and Smith and the Institute of Policy Studies, participants rated each item based on a 5-point scale (1-*Strong disagree* to 5-*Strongly agree*). A high rating represented a greater sense of national pride. The psychometric properties of the scale are reported in Table 2.1.

*Intergroup contact.* The scale was adopted from Leong's (2001) Masters thesis as it was known to be a reliable and valid measurement of intergroup contact. The framework for measuring contact was inspired by Islam and Hewstone's (1993) distinction between the quantity and quality of intergroup contact. The scale consisted of 12 items, six of each for quantity and quality of contact. Like the findings in Leong's Masters dissertation, there was a significant correlation between the two domains of contact ( $r = .44, p < .001$ ), and the two measures were merged to form a single index of intergroup contact.

An example of contact quantity and contact quality includes: “How much contact have you had with ethnic Chinese in school/work situations? (1-*No contact*, 5-*Very frequent contact*),” and “How would you consider your contact with ethnic Chinese generally? (1-*Unpleasant*, 5-*Pleasant*).” An increased score on the scale represents more contact and positive experience with ethnic Chinese. The twelve-item scale had a Cronbach’s Alpha of .86.

*Perceived intergroup permeability.* The three-item scale was modified based on Leong’s (2001) Masters thesis, and it has been adopted for a number of other previous studies (Leong, 1999, 2000, 2003). The measurements asked the respondents what they think about ethnic Chinese’s access to social resources, political influence, and work opportunities. Specifically: “How much access do you think ethnic Chinese in New Zealand have to the social resources that are available to other New Zealanders? E.g., WINZ,” “Do you think ethnic Chinese in New Zealand have equal political influence that is available to other New Zealanders?” and “In general, comparing between other New Zealanders and ethnic Chinese, do you think one group will have more work opportunities than the other?”. Respondents rated each item based on a 5-point scale with endpoints representing “*Other NZ-ers have more access/ Chinese have more access*,” “*Other NZ-ers have more influence / Chinese have more influence*,” and “*Other NZ-ers have more opportunities / Chinese have more opportunities*” for the respective item. Higher scores on the composite scale show more permeable intergroup boundaries for Chinese



immigrants as perceived by the New Zealanders. Overall, the three-item scale yielded a Cronbach's Alpha of .66.

*Perceived fairness.* The author's self-constructed measurement was comprised of three items: "Unlike the Chinese who have been here for generations, the recent Chinese migrants came here just to make this place a stepping-stone to Australia/UK," "Some Chinese migrants are getting more than their fair share of the economic pie," and "Whatever standard of living recent Chinese migrants may experience, it is based on fair play." Participants responded on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). The Cronbach's Alpha was less than desirable, calculated to be .42. The last item was found to have a low item-total correlation ( $r = .06$ , *N.S.*), and it was omitted from further analysis. The remaining two items were aggregated to form a single index that measured perceived fairness (or unfairness) in intergroup relationships. The Pearson  $r$  and Cronbach's Alpha were found to be .45 and .62, respectively. An increased score in the composite index represents greater perceived injustice and a perception that immigrants have taken advantage of New Zealand for their own benefits.

*Perceived threat.* The construct was inspired by Stephan's Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan et al., 1999; Stephan et al., 1998) in which it was proposed that the perception of threat can be delineated into four basic categories: realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotypes, and intergroup anxiety. The present scale measures only realistic and symbolic

threat. Eight items – five positively and three negatively worded items assessed the level of symbolic threat experienced. Another eight items – one positively and seven negatively worded items measured the perceptions of realistic threat. An example of a positively worded item for symbolic threat is: “New Zealand culture will be strengthened by the arrival of more Chinese immigrants.” An example of a negative item for realistic threat is: “Increased Chinese immigration will put more pressure on the already battered health care system.” The Cronbach’s Alphas for symbolic and realistic threat were .77 and .86, respectively. The correlation between the two scales was reported to be .66. To avoid complications arising from multicollinearity in subsequent analyses, they were collapsed to form a single index of perceived threat. The composite threat scale has a Cronbach’s Alpha of .89, with a higher score showing an increased perception of threat.

*Attitudes to Chinese immigrants.* The 10-item scale was adapted from the measurement by used by Ho and colleagues (Ho et al., 1994) and the Australian Office of Multicultural Affairs. Instead of attitudes toward multiculturalism, the items were modified to target specifically recent Chinese immigrants in New Zealand. Additional items were also added based on socio-political and economical aspects of attitudes. The current measure has eight positively worded and two negatively worded items. Examples of a positive and negative item include: “New Zealand society has benefited from a policy of attracting Chinese immigrants,” and “Most of the recent Chinese migrants do not want to

mix with the mainstream New Zealanders,” respectively. The measurement has a Cronbach’s Alpha of .87, with higher scores representing more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

### *Results*

Preliminary analyses included checking the reliabilities of each measurement scale and computing the descriptive statistics (See Table 2.1). All the measurement scales were shown to be relatively reliable (i.e.,  $\alpha > .70$ ), other than the measurements on intergroup permeability and fairness, with Cronbach’s Alpha of .66 and .62, respectively.

This was followed by a zero-order correlation matrix using all independent and dependent variables including national pride, intergroup contact, attitudes toward Chinese immigrants and perception of intergroup permeability, fairness and threat (See Table 2.2). The correlations were meant to screen for potential problems in multicollinearity. From Table 2.2, the degree of correlations between the different independent factors were generally weak to moderate, with the exception of perceived fairness and threat ( $r > .60$ ). A Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) was performed in the later analysis to determine if this involved a potential multicollinearity problem.

The major statistical analysis involved a hierarchical multiple regression model with five steps of entries. In Step 1, the objective was to control for the influence from the demographic factors, and the following covariates were entered: age, gender, ethnicity, educational qualification, employment, and

cultural exposure. In Step 2, two of the five independent variables that were not examined as interaction terms were introduced into the regression model<sup>6</sup>. The two independent variables were Intergroup Contact and Perceived Fairness. In Step 3, the three independent variables that were examined as part of the interaction terms were included. They included measurements of National Pride, Intergroup Permeability, and Perceived Threat. In Step 4, the two-way interaction terms comprising Threat x National Pride and Threat x Intergroup Permeability were entered.

The hierarchical regression model was analyzed using the moderated regression approach advocated by Aiken and West (1991). Accordingly, for the interaction terms to be meaningful, Aiken and West (1991) proposed that the change in R square at the step entry should also be significant prior to examining the individual two-way interaction terms.

Due to the moderate correlation between the perceived fairness and threat, the variance inflation factors (VIF) for all independent variables were analyzed. The results indicated that the VIF for all entries were less than 5.0 for all variables in every hierarchical entry (i.e., Step 1 to Step 4). This indicates that despite the relatively high correlations between the measures of perceived fairness and threat, multi-collinearity does not pose a problem. This procedure is similar to the one adopted by Bizman and Yinon (2001).

Results for the hierarchical regression model are presented in Table 2.3. The overall model significantly predicted attitudes to Chinese immigrants,  $F(13,$

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<sup>6</sup> A separate entry for intergroup contact and perceived fairness is recommended because they were not part of any interaction terms.

281) = 24.46,  $p < .001$ , with a  $R^2$  of .54. The covariates (i.e., demographics) and the independent variables (i.e., the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Steps, respectively) accounted for a significant  $\Delta R^2$  ( $\Delta R^2 = .16$ ,  $F(6, 288) = 8.91$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .17$ ,  $F(2, 286) = 40.46$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .19$ ,  $F(3, 283) = 37.77$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively). The two-way interaction block (Step 4) however, was not significant ( $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ,  $F(2, 281) = .10$ , *N.S.*).

When all main and interaction terms were introduced, intergroup contact and perceived threat emerged as significant predictors of attitudes toward Chinese immigrants; none of the covariates were significant. Increased intergroup contact with Chinese migrants predicted more favorable perceptions of the latter whereas increased perception of threat from recent Chinese immigrants was associated with more negative opinions. The data supported H1 and H2, but H3 was not supported. As there are no significant two-way interaction terms, H4 and H5 were rejected.

### *Discussion*

In terms of main effects, increased perception of threat, decreased intergroup contact, and increased perceived unfairness were expected to predict increased prejudice towards Chinese immigrants. In addition, two sets of two-way interaction effects were also anticipated: Perceived Threat x National Pride and Perceived Threat x Intergroup Permeability – increased threat was hypothesized to be associated with relatively more prejudice in conditions of high, relative to low, national pride; and increased threat was expected to predict

relatively more prejudice in the high, relative to low, intergroup permeability condition.

Results from the multiple hierarchical-regression revealed significant main effects of perceived threat and intergroup contact. Increased threat predicted more prejudice, whereas increased intergroup contact was associated with more favorable attitudes toward immigrants. These findings confirmed H1 and H2. Perceived unfairness did not affect attitudes to immigrants, and there were no interaction effects from either National Pride x Perceived Threat or Intergroup Permeability x Perceived Threat.

In line with the Integrated Threat Theory, increased perception of threat was related to less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. Realistic threat is concerned with the perception of competition over limited economic resources including employment opportunities, social benefits and power. Symbolic threat, on the other hand, represents a form of cultural invasion against the dominant group by members of the immigrant community; the issues involving symbolic threat usually revolve around alien social behaviors, values and religious practices. Both realistic and symbolic threats represent intergroup oriented threat perceptions, although the threat experience does not necessarily reflect reality.

In the current study, the measurement for the perception of threat included both realistic and symbolic components, and it had a  $\beta$  weight of  $-.63$ , relatively much higher than all other variables. Although zero-order correlations documented all three predictors (i.e., intergroup contact, perceived threat and

fairness) as significant, the regression analysis revealed that threat perception had the greatest contribution to the prediction of attitudes. This dominating influence reflects similar findings by Florack and colleagues (Florack et al., 2003). Similar to the current thesis, Florack et al., examined the influence of perceived threat, ingroup identification (as Germans), intergroup permeability, residential legitimacy, and acculturation expectations in German host nationals regarding Turkish immigrants in Germany. Overall, the perception of threat was reported to have a unique and dominating effect on immigrant attitudes. Increased threat was associated with more negative perceptions of immigrants and more ethnocentric acculturation attitudes, characterized by a strong desire for immigrant-host separation and immigrant exclusion. None of the other factors were reported to have as much influence. Generally, this converges with the broader literature where a negative relation between threat perceptions and intergroup attitudes has consistently been documented, including research involving Moroccan, Ethiopian and Russian immigrants in Israel (e.g., Schwarzwald & Tur-Kaspa, 1997; Stephan et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 2000).

The current study has revealed a positive relation between intergroup contact and attitudes, and this is in line with the propositions from the contact hypothesis. Increased contact was associated with more positive attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. Intergroup contact creates opportunities for people of different background to understand and appreciate members of the outgroup. Through contact, negative stereotypes can be disconfirmed, intimate knowledge

of each other can be enhanced, and a reduction of anxiety to take place when interacting with members of the outgroup.

Intergroup contact can be classified on the basis of contact quantity and quality. The quality of contact reflects the subjective experience of interacting with members of the outgroup; the measurements of contact quality can be represented by the degree of intimacy (e.g., intimate versus superficial), status (e.g., equal versus unequal status), competition (e.g., competitive versus cooperative), and whether it is generally positive or negative. The quality of contact is considered important as it is noted that increased contact quantity may result in elevated antagonism and prejudice if the interaction occurs in an unequal, competitive and superficial environment. The current measures of intergroup contact included both contact quantity and quality.

In empirical research, the positive relation between intergroup contact and attitudes has been consistently documented for those groups with at least neutral or slightly positive intergroup perceptions before their contact experience. For example, based on samples of Italian nationals and immigrants in Italy, intergroup contact resulted in reduced anxiety and improved outgroup perceptions and evaluations when group identity is salient (Voci & Hewstone, 2003). In similar research in Germany, increased leisure contact between German and Turkish students is correlated with reduced prejudice in the former (Wagner et al., 1989). In perception of sexual orientation, increased contact and exposure to homosexuals elicited more positive favorable homosexual attitudes in a group of heterosexual Turkish university students (Sakalli & Ugurlu, 2001).



Overall, the current finding on intergroup contact is in line with the established proposition – increased contact is associated with more positive attitudes toward the outgroup.

The perception of fairness was hypothesized to be positively related to attitudes. The results, however, demonstrated no significant effect of perceived fairness. Generally, the perception of fairness was conceptually associated with the broader framework on intergroup legitimacy, and is regarded as a key psychological factor in the instrumental model of group conflict (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001). It represents an overall perception on social justice, status, and a level playing field between immigrants and host nationals. Perceived unfairness implies that immigrants enjoy more opportunities than members of the host community due to an unequal or unjust allocation system (e.g., government welfare, special assistance schemes) or the financial background of immigrants prior to their intercultural transition. Although previous empirical research has documented a relationship between perception of legitimacy (including fairness) and ethnocentric acculturation attitudes (Florack et al., 2003), the current study did not replicate this result. In the author's opinion, this could be due to the psychometric limitations of the fairness measurement. The scale has only two items and a Cronbach's alpha of only .62. It is highly probable that this instrument did not capture the essence of the dimension, and it is recommended that future research should adopt an alternative instrument.

Finally, the current study had hypothesized two interactions effects: perceived threat x national pride and intergroup permeability x national pride;

increased threat perception would be associated with more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in high, relative to low, levels of national pride, and increased perception of intergroup permeability related to more negative attitudes in high, relative to low, levels of national pride. The results supported none of the interaction terms. It is unclear why the two hypotheses were not supported despite the robust and consistent findings in previous empirical studies. Speculatively, the problems may be due to the instruments used for the assessment of national pride and intergroup permeability. None of the two measurements had been used before in New Zealand, and their conceptual validity was unknown. Moreover, for intergroup permeability, there were only three items and the low reliability could have contributed to the statistically non-significant result.

#### *Limitations and Directions for Future Research*

In Stephan's framework of threat perception, he posited the threat dimension as consisting of four interrelated domains: (1) Symbolic threat, the perception of cultural and social invasion; (2) Realistic threat, perceived competition for jobs, welfare, resources, and other opportunities; (3) Intergroup anxiety, arising as a result of first hand direct contact with members of the outgroup; and (4) Negative stereotypes, the generalized cognitive representations of the outgroup. As the current study was primarily based on an intergroup orientation, only realistic and symbolic threats had been selected for examination. Intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes are based on interpersonal threat experience. Hence, future empirical research may wish to

broaden the research horizon and examine the influence of intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes on prejudicial attitudes toward minority immigrants.

The influence of social economic status (SES) is not included for investigation in the present study. One of the reasons for this deliberate omission is due to the difficulty, reliability, and sensitivity of getting information regarding the respondents' financial status using the mass mailing survey method. Future research should consider the effect of SES on attitudes toward immigrants. The number of items for the measurement on intergroup permeability and perceived fairness was relatively limited, future studies may wish to adopt more extensive scales for better reliability. Lastly, the return rate for completed questionnaires is considered relatively low (17.4%). The low response rate could be a cause of concern as it may indicate a selective, rather than representative, sample of the population. Regardless of the reason for the poor response rate, future research may wish to provide more incentives in order to promote a higher return rate.

### *Summary*

In summary, the present study is part of a broader intergroup research framework that examines attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, and in line with the proposed outline in Figure 1.4, the intergroup research framework comprises of two investigations, the first one based on contemporary intergroup related issues and the second one based on acculturation strategies. Study 1 represents the research initiative in contemporary intergroup issues, and in the

next study (i.e., Study 2), the emphasis is focused on using host community acculturation attitudes as predictors of prejudice. The research measures (in Study 2) are based on Bourhis' Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). The two research dimensions, i.e., intergroup relations (Study 1) and acculturation (Study 2) research, constitute the proposed intergroup level of analyses in Figure 1.4.

## Study 2: Host Community Acculturation Strategies

### *Introduction*

At the individual level, acculturation refers to the changes experienced by a person as a result of his or her direct contact with members of another cultural group (Graves, 1967). These changes may entail a range of socio-psychological factors including cultural identity, attitudes, values and behaviors. Cultural identification in particular, has been the focal interest in the past empirical studies. Broadly speaking, social or cultural identification involves the degree of affiliation towards a particular categorical group membership and what it means to be a member of this social ingroup.

Conceptually, the types of social identification theories adopted for research on intercultural relations can be broadly classified into two categories. The first one is based on the contemporary social identity and intergroup related theoretical models such as Social Identity Theory (e.g., Tajfel, 1978 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Integrated Threat Theory (e.g., Stephan et al., 1999). The type of empirical issues examined in this category includes intergroup prejudice, stereotypes and attitudes, and they reflect the variables identified in Berry's model of intercultural relations between the larger society and the ethnocultural groups (i.e., Figure 1.1). This perspective has been adopted in the first study (i.e., Study 1).

In the second category, the attention is focused on the implications of cultural contacts and identities particularly for members of immigrant groups.

The way individuals conceive and re-define their self-concepts as a result of direct contact with people of different social values, attitudes, and behaviors. Much of the work in this area was inspired by personality and identity research and the individuals' perspectives toward intergroup relations and identities are considered a relatively stable trait in the individuals' self-concept. Overall, two orthogonal identity domains are said to underscore acculturation processes, those aspects of self-concept that are associated with the host nationals, and those originated from the ethnic cultural group. For immigrants, host identification includes the acceptance of the social standards, beliefs, and norms practiced by members of the host community. It exemplifies a motivation to maintain a cordial intergroup relationship between the immigrant and host societies. In ethnic identification, the priorities are oriented towards the retention of ethnic identity and the enhancement of ethnic affiliation. Members are encouraged to stay in touch with their cultural heritage and to adopt the type of values, attitudes and behaviors practiced by the ethnic group.

On the basis of this orthogonal relationship, the quintessential model of host relations and ethnic cultural maintenance is derived primarily from the work by John Berry (e.g., Berry, 1980, 1994a, 1997). Conceptually based on a social identity perspective, Berry's four-fold model of acculturation proposed that the social-intergroup relations for immigrants can be broadly defined as those cultural aspects that belong to the host, and those that originate from the ethnic culture. The strength of affiliation with each of the two dimensions in conjunction with an intersection between the two continuums will determine one

of the four acculturation strategies envisaged by Berry (See Figure 1.2). The integration strategy is defined by a high level of identification with both the host and the ethnic heritage cultures; a separation strategy shows preference for the ethnic culture but with little regard for the host; an assimilation strategy features a strong endorsement in favor of the host culture only; and a marginalization approach represents disengagement from both cultures.

As categorical measurements and as predictors of outcome, the integrationist approach is generally associated with the best psychological, behavioral, and attitudinal adjustment. Immigrants who endorse an integrationist strategy tend to show the best adaptation compared to those who adopt separation, assimilation, or marginalization strategies (e.g., Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987); integration is positively correlated with a higher level of self-esteem (e.g., Phinney, Chavira & Williamson, 1992); and it is associated with having the most receptive and positive attitudes toward group counseling and psychotherapy (Leong, Wagner, & Kim, 1995). As a criterion measurement, immigrants who demonstrate increased ethnic identification are less likely to endorse the assimilation strategy; less acculturation distress and concurrent identification with host and ethnic cultures are associated with increased proclivity for the integration strategy; perceived discrimination and poor language proficiency are related to the separation strategy; and increased depressive symptomatology are associated with the endorsement of the marginalization strategy (Neto, 2002). Overall, Berry's research in this area is regarded as the quintessential literature on immigrants' acculturation, identity and adjustment.

Although Berry's contribution to the literature was unquestionable, there is a need to look beyond the immigrants' perspectives on acculturation and intercultural relations. Many researchers have taken Berry's model to assume that the host societies' perspectives are passive and unchanging. Notwithstanding, in some of the earlier literature Berry did identify potential interactive effects between the dominant host and immigrant groups, but the predominant investigations, unfortunately, have given an impression that the responsibility for adaptation and intergroup relations falls exclusively onto the immigrants' shoulders. This caveat is obvious considering the post September 11 political climate and the rise of anti-globalization and anti-immigration sentiment across Euro-American and Australasian countries in the recent years. Evidently, a corresponding framework that reflects the host communities' perspective toward acculturation strategies should be given greater emphasis.

In response to this limitation, Bourhis and his associates have proposed a "mirror" model that was designed to address the issue – the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). The model posits five major acculturation strategies available to immigrants from the host's perspective. These are sometimes referred to as host community acculturation strategies (HCAS) and they include integrationism, separationism (or segregationism), assimilationism, individualism and exclusionism. The first three strategies were conceptually similar to Berry's model, whereas the last two were unique to the host's perspective; individualism and exclusionism represent



the two alternative views of acculturation based on the hosts' perspective toward immigrant acculturation.

Integrationism represents an accommodative approach in which the dominant host nationals accept the fact that immigrants are entitled to keep part of their heritage culture while maintaining a cordial relationship with members of the dominant culture. Those who endorse integrationism also understand that a pluralistic society based on biculturalism or even multiculturalism may evolve as a consequence of integrationism. For host nationals who are oriented towards separationism, it is considered to be in the interest of the larger community to separate the immigrant culture from the mainstream society. Assimilation indicates a desire to see immigrants giving up their heritage culture in favor of the one from their adopted country. For those who espouse individualism as the preferred strategy, it does not matter what immigrants do, as they believe that individuals should be empowered to do anything that they see fit for themselves. Lastly, host nationals who endorse exclusionism consider immigration and immigrants as perilous to the community in general. They believe the host community would be better off under a closed, as opposed to an open, immigration policy.

Empirical evidence regarding host acculturation attitudes has revealed different preferences depending on the cultural context. In the Netherlands for example, studies have shown that the majority native Dutch tend to hold more positive perceptions of immigrants when they believe that the migrants (e.g., Moroccans and Turks) adopt an assimilation or integration approach (Arends-

Toth & Van De Vijver, 2003; van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998; van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998).

In Germany, assimilation and separation are the preferred strategies for the host nationals, and most Germans tend to conceptualize effective acculturation in a unidimensional perspective with the bi-polar endpoints indicating assimilation/segregation versus integration (Zick, Wagner, Van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). According to Zick and colleagues, the result is due to the strong anti-foreigners sentiment and the historical 'closed- border' immigration policies in Germany.

Generally, those who prefer assimilation, separation or rejection ideologies tend to demonstrate greater blatant and subtle prejudice towards immigrants (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995); integrative acculturation attitudes on the other hand, predict greater willingness to live in a multicultural neighborhood (Athenstadt, Denison, & Waldeyer, 1998, c.f. Zick et al., 2001) and are correlated with intention to fight racism (Eurobarometer, 1997).

Acculturation attitudes of the dominant and the minority groups do not necessarily converge. In the Netherlands case, although the majority Dutch favor the assimilation or integration strategy, they believe most immigrants, specifically the Moroccans and Turks, endorse separationism (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998a). In another sample of Moroccan and Turk immigrants surveyed by van Oudenhoven, the two migrant groups reacted most positively to an integration strategy and perceived a hypothetical migrant who adopted an integration strategy most favorably (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998b). The 'misfit'

finding is also corroborated by Arends-Toth and Van De Vijver (2003).

Comparisons between native Dutch and Turkish-Dutch revealed differences in perceptions toward multiculturalism and acculturation orientations. The latter endorsed multiculturalism, but the former was indifferent to the idea. While both cultural groups agreed that assimilation should be exercised by the immigrants in public (e.g., in schools), there was no agreement for acculturation orientation in the private domains (e.g., at home).

Bourhis highlighted the importance of differentiating between the different categories of immigrants based on what is regarded as 'valued' versus 'devalued' migrants (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981), human beings have a tendency to categorize themselves and others as members of the 'ingroup' and 'outgroup,' and compare the ingroup favorably against a relevant outgroup. On the whole, individuals are more likely to identify themselves with members of the ingroup, reward ingroup members over and above the outgroup, maintain a positive distinction in favor of the ingroup, and derogate people from the outgroup in situations involving intergroup competition and threat. Consistent with the Social Identity Theory, the Similarity-Attraction Hypothesis predicts that individuals tend to feel more attracted by people who are similar to themselves than those who are dissimilar. On the basis of the conceptual distinctions between 'value-devalue,' 'ingroup-outgroup' and 'similar-dissimilar,' it would be theoretically probable to find the type of host community acculturation strategies associated with or representing the perceived 'value' of immigrants. In other words, host acculturation strategies are a proxy of

desirability. Generally, an 'inclusive' approach, based on integrationism is preferred for valued immigrants. On the other hand for 'devalued' groups, an 'exclusive' approach is more prevalent – exclusionism and separation strategies are favored more by the dominant community.

Based on a survey involving 637 Canadian students on the perceptions of immigrants and immigration in Quebec, Montreuil and Bourhis (2001) presented participants with targets that were identified as either potential immigrants from France or Haiti. As hypothesized, they found that integration and individualism were preferentially adopted as host nationals' acculturation attitude, but only if the would-be migrants originated from a preferred (or "valued") country (i.e., France). If the migrants were coming from a source country that is regarded as "devalued" (i.e., Haiti), segregation or exclusionism was preferred by the host majority.

Echabe and Gonzales (1996) asked a sample of native Spanish in Spain for their opinions toward immigrants under an open border policy (permeable socio-geographical boundaries) to permit Visa free entry for foreigners. When immigrants from third world countries (i.e., devalued) were anticipated, an opened, as compared to a closed, border was associated with more negative descriptions of immigrants. In contrast, for immigrants from other European countries (i.e., valued), an open border was considered a more acceptable and more 'inclusive' acculturation strategies.

In the current study, and similar to the approach adopted by Montreuil and Bourhis (2001), the host community acculturation strategies are conceived as

predictors of attitudes. It is assumed that the degree of endorsement of the different acculturation strategies would influence attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in New Zealand. As there is no distinction or attempt to measure perceived 'value' of Chinese immigrants, the degree of endorsement for the different acculturation strategies may also provide a proxy of 'value/devalue' indication, i.e., an integration acculturation strategy would indicate a 'value' immigrant group whereas exclusion or separation strategies would point to a 'devalue' group.

On the basis of the theoretical review and the empirical findings, it would suggest that the preference for the different host community acculturation strategies would be associated with, or speculatively, influence attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. Specifically, it is hypothesized that:

- (1) Stronger endorsement of integrationism as a host acculturation strategy predicts more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants;
- (2) Stronger endorsement of exclusionism, separationism, and assimilation as host acculturation strategies predict less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

### *Method*

#### *Participants*

Seven hundred and ninety-two persons completed the survey. There were 328 (41.4%) ethnic Maori respondents and the remaining 464 (58.6%) identified themselves as Pakeha. In terms of ethnic by gender breakdown, for

Pakeha, there were 216 (47%) males and 242 (53%) females; whereas in the Maori sample, the gender distribution was 135 (42%) and 189 (58%) for males and females, respectively.

The mean age for the combined sample was 47.30 years old with a standard deviation of 15.88 years. Participants' ages ranged from 19 to 94 years old. Nineteen persons did not specify their age. The sample included 351 (44.9%) males and 431 (55.1%) females. Ten persons did not indicate their gender status. In terms of the employment status, 421 (54.7%) had a full time job, 139 (18.1%) were employed part time, 116 (15.1%) were unemployed, 93 (12.1%) were retirees, and 23 persons did not answer the item. On marital status, 173 (22%) were singles, 54 (6.9%) were divorced, 408 (52%) were married, 46 (5.9%) were widowed, 104 (13.2%) were in a de facto relationship and seven persons did not reply to the question. All participants were New Zealand citizens. This was confirmed using a single item that requested respondents to state their nationality.

In terms of education, 4.8% ( $N = 38$ ) of participants listed no formal education or only primary education as the highest level attained. The percentage of respondents who cited secondary education only was 29.5% ( $N = 233$ ), the proportion with post secondary or diploma as the highest standard achieved was 38.3% ( $N = 302$ ), and 27.4% ( $N = 216$ ) of respondents indicated a bachelor's degree as the minimum qualification attained. Three participants did not indicate their educational status. Most of the participants were born in New

Zealand (743, or 93.8%), followed by Europe (32, or 4%) and the rest from the various continents including Asia, Africa, and North America.

### *Procedure*

The two measurements in this current study (i.e., HCAS, Host Community Acculturation Strategies and Attitudes to Chinese Immigrants) were adopted as part of a broader investigation on host attitudes and perceptions toward Chinese immigrants originally designed as Study 1, Study 3, and Study 4. It was decided that the two scales (i.e., HCAS and Attitudes to Chinese Immigrants) from the three studies should be extracted and presented as a separate study because the author felt that the issue of host acculturation attitudes could be better addressed in a parsimonious way without looking at the influences from other psychological or social variables. Furthermore, due to the psychometric nature of the host community acculturation strategy scale (i.e., as a single item measurement instead of a multi-item scale), it was believed that a larger sample consisting of close to 800 respondents would be better than three separate samples of participants with over 200 respondents each. The breakdown of the composite sample indicating the contribution by each of the three samples from Study 1, 3 and 4 is presented in Table 2.4.

The data for this study were collected over a period of 15 months. The same procedure was adopted for all data collection in this dissertation. A stratified random sampling method was adopted, and only districts within the Auckland and Christchurch regions were selected for the survey. A list of 4822

names was randomly selected, comprising 1880 Pakeha (i.e., European New Zealanders) and 2942 ethnic Maori and their contact addresses. Each of the 4822 potential participants was sent a copy of the survey, with an attached information sheet providing the outline of the study, a pre-paid return envelope, and a Victoria University of Wellington souvenir bookmark. In the questionnaire, only the supervisor's and not the author's name was mentioned, as the latter is Chinese.

The potential participants were told that the research was a study on perceptions of New Zealand citizenship and attitudes toward Chinese immigrants and immigration policies. As the research was anonymous, a debrief statement detailing the objectives and the results of the investigation was sent to everyone on the contact list. A total of 792 participants took part in the study (464 Pakeha and 328 Maori); the overall return rate was calculated to be 16.4%.

### *Measures*

A standard list of demographic questions similar to the one used in Study 1 was adopted. The demographic items included age, gender, ethnicity, nationality (for confirmation as New Zealander), employment status/occupation, marital status, educational level, and both respondents' and their parents' country of birth. Similar to Study 1, a list of items measuring the degree of cultural exposure was included; these assessed the ability to speak a foreign language besides English and Maori, holding other citizenship or residencies, frequency and duration of overseas travel, and whether the respondent was married to a



person from a different ethnic culture or country. A high composite score on the scale indicated that the respondent was exposed to other ethnic cultural or national groups. In addition to the demographic items, the survey included measurements of Host Community Acculturation Strategies and Attitudes toward Chinese Immigrants. Both instruments can be found in Appendix 3. The information sheet, debriefing statement, and items measuring background information were extracted from Study 1, 3, and 4. The psychometric properties of the scales and items can be found in Table 2.5.

*Host community acculturation strategy.* Montreuil and Bourhis's (2001) Interactive Acculturation Model can be examined by five single-item measurements representing the five fundamental types of Host Community Acculturation Strategies. The five items were modified to target Chinese immigrants in the New Zealand context; and the five strategies include Assimilation ("Recent Chinese immigrants should give up their original culture for the sake of adopting the New Zealand culture"), Separation ("Recent Chinese immigrants can maintain their original culture as long as they do not mix it with New Zealand culture"), Individualism ("Whether recent Chinese immigrants maintain their original culture or adopt the New Zealand culture makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the culture of his/her choice"), Integration ("Recent Chinese immigrants should maintain their original culture while also adopting the New Zealand culture"), and Exclusionism ("Recent Chinese immigrants should not maintain their original culture, nor adopt the New

Zealand culture, because, in any case, there should be less immigration to this country”). The original scale designed by Montreuil and Bourhis require the investigator to generate additional measurement items in the different social aspects (e.g., in the work place, at home, at social gatherings) based on the five acculturation strategies. Unfortunately, due to the length of the questionnaire, this requirement was overlooked and a single item measurement was used. Respondents were asked to rate on a five-point scale (1-*Strong disagree*, 5-*Strongly agree*) how much they agreed with each statement. Higher ratings on any of the five items represent a stronger endorsement for the particular acculturation strategy.

*Attitudes to Chinese immigrants.* The 10-item scale was adapted from a measure previously used by Ho and colleagues (Ho et al., 1994) and the Australian Office of Multicultural Affairs. The modified scale assesses New Zealanders' perceptions of recent Chinese immigrants. An example of the items included “New Zealand society has benefited from a policy of attracting Chinese immigrants.” Respondents indicated on a 5-point scale (1-*Strongly disagree*, 5-*Strongly agree*) how much they agree or disagree with each statement. The measurement yielded a Cronbach's Alpha of .87, with increased ratings representing more favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants.

### *Results*

Preliminary analyses involved checking the reliabilities for the scale measuring Attitudes to Chinese Immigrants, its corresponding descriptive

statistics, and a bivariate correlation matrix involving all predictors and criterion measures (See Table 2.5 and Table 2.6). The zero-correlations were meant to check for potential multicollinearity problems, and to ensure that the five single item acculturation strategies were not part of a more generalized dimension, i.e., a form of “inclusion-exclusion” cognitive representation as suggested by Zick and colleagues (Zick et al., 2001). This was followed by a one-way repeated measure ANOVA comparing the mean scores of the five strategies.

The final analysis involved a multiple hierarchical regression model predicting attitudes toward Chinese immigrants based on the five acculturation strategies (i.e., assimilation, separation, individualism, integration, and exclusionism) outlined by Montreuil and Bourhis (2001) after controlling for the effects of demographic variables. The covariates input included age, gender, ethnicity, employment status, educational level, and a composite index indicating cultural exposure. A high score on the composite index indicated a low level of exposure to other cultures (reverse scoring). In the regression model, covariate factors indicating age, gender, ethnicity, education, employment status, and cultural exposure were introduced in Step 1. This was followed the main effect terms indicating the five-acculturation strategies (i.e., assimilation, separation, individualism, integration, and exclusionism) in Step 2.

Based on the bivariate correlation matrix, the possibility of multicollinearity was considered unlikely given that the Pearson  $r$ 's were not more than .44 (in absolute value) for all pairwise comparisons between the five acculturation strategies. Comparing this result to the Montreuil and Bourhis' (2001) study, the

Pearson  $r$ 's in their research ranged from .44 to .78 (in absolute value), and hence, it was concluded that the five-acculturation strategies in the current study was unlikely to constitute a uni-dimensional measure of 'inclusion-exclusion' similar to the one reported by Zick et al. (2001). The correlation patterns between the five acculturation strategies were similar to the ones derived from a study by Florack et al. (2003); thus demonstrating a form of conceptual validity on the measurement of acculturation strategies. On this basis, the five-acculturation strategies were assumed to be structurally independent from each other.

A repeated measure ANOVA based on the ratings on the five-acculturation strategies demonstrated significant differences,  $F(1, 791) = 519.61$ ,  $p < .001$ . Post-hoc comparisons revealed significant pairwise differences for the mean scores between all strategies except for the comparison between assimilation (2.14) and separation (2.12). On a Likert-scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 being *Strongly Disagree* and 5 *Strongly Agree*, integration strategy has the highest average rating of 3.90, followed by individualism and exclusionism at 3.65 and 2.53, respectively (See Table 2.5).

The results from the multiple hierarchical regression model are shown in Table 2.7. The overall model significantly predicted attitudes toward Chinese immigrants,  $F(11, 748) = 42.74$ ,  $p < .001$ , with an adjusted  $R^2$  of .38. After both the covariates and the independent variables had been introduced to the model, the results showed age, gender, ethnicity, assimilation, individualism and exclusionism as significant predictors of attitudes. Young, female and the ethnic

Maori reported less favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants. In terms of host acculturation strategies, the endorsement of the assimilation and exclusionism strategies predicted more negative attitudes toward immigrants, but the preference for an individualistic strategy predicted more favorable perceptions. Contrary to the hypothesis, integrationism and separationism did not predict the outcome measure. On the basis of this result, H1 has been rejected while H2 was partially supported.

### *Discussion*

It was hypothesized that endorsement of integrationism (H1) would predict more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in New Zealand; but endorsement of exclusionism, separationism, and assimilationism (H2) would predict less favorable perceptions. Based on the overall data, the results partially supported the second hypothesis but not the first one. Increased endorsement of exclusionism and assimilation acculturation strategies were associated with less favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants. Interestingly, individualism emerged as a significant predictor of attitudes – greater endorsement of individualism as an acculturation strategy was associated with less prejudice.

Although the first hypothesis was not supported, the results from the overall sample were consistent with the general expectations. Assimilation requires immigrants to relinquish their culture of origin and embrace the New Zealand heritage. Respondents who favor assimilation tend to have more

negative views of immigrants. Chinese immigrants to New Zealand are expected to fit in, and leave the status quo unchallenged. Speculatively, the endorsement for the assimilation strategy could be part of a more generalized personality and social attitude that discriminates against immigrants. Due to the cultural dissimilarity between the two groups, the host nationals may regard the Chinese foreign culture as an encroachment to the New Zealand identity. As a result, the outgroup is perceived less favorably and there is a general desire for assimilation to halt the erosion of the New Zealand identity. This effect is consistent with Zick et al.'s finding on ethnic Germans' attitudes toward minority groups in Germany where they reported a positive relation between assimilation preference and prejudice (Zick et al., 2001).

Individualism, in this context, is defined as having the freedom to choose between different options of acculturation strategies in immigrants. Host nationals who endorse individualism believe it does not matter what acculturation strategies immigrants adopt because they have the right to do what they want. On hindsight, this relation between individualism and positive attitudes is intuitively in line with previous findings. An individualistic orientation is focused on the wellbeing of self rather than the collective group. The individual pursues what is to be in the person's interest, not what the community regards as appropriate. Therefore, it is logical to expect respondents who adopt an individualistic perspective (in acculturation attitudes) to be more receptive towards Chinese immigrants because the latter may be regarded as independent entities unrelated to the respondents.

The significant influence of individualism raises an interesting theoretical issue regarding the construct. In the current measurement, respondents rated each of the five-acculturation strategies on what they considered as the best option for others, i.e., immigrants. The endorsement for individualism as a host community acculturation strategy does not implicate similar attitudes for the respondents' personal orientation towards their family members, friends or colleagues, as in the case of the generic concept of individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 1980). It would be interesting to know whether individualism, as a broader personality-like measurement, would influence attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. This theoretical question will be revisited in the next study.

The result for exclusionism is in line with the hypothesis and corroborated the findings by Montreuil and Bourhis (2001). Exclusionism indicates a desire to see reduced immigration in general, and the preferences for the exclusionism strategy is associated with more outgroup rejection. Similar to the proposition about assimilation, it is possible that the predictor and the dependent measure are part of a more generalized personality and social attitude about acculturation and immigration. The generalized attitudinal factor could concurrently influence the endorsement of acculturation strategies and perceptions of immigrants. Due to the limited evidence in this study, this postulation should be examined in future investigations.

On the surface, the significant influence of exclusionism on attitudes toward Chinese immigrants may seem to suggest that the Chinese were considered a 'devalued' immigrant group. However, a closer examination in

Table 2.5 revealed that this might not be the case. Integration strategy has the highest average rating of 3.19, whereas assimilation and separation had the lowest, at 2.14 and 2.12, respectively. Despite the scores, the current results have not provided sufficient evidence that Chinese immigrants were the most preferred or welcome in New Zealand. Indeed, as Ward and Masgoret (2004, April; 2004, August) have shown, immigrants from Asia and the Pacific Islands were generally regarded as less desirable when compared with people from Britain or Australia.

The important implication, on the basis of the current results, is that assimilation, individualism and exclusionism predicted attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. As predictors of attitudes, the relationships between host community acculturation strategies and prejudice should remain relatively stable. In retrospect, additional information on the value/devalue distinction should be solicited, and the study should have collected comparative data on attitudes toward other target immigrants besides the Chinese. It is recommended that future research explore the value-devalue dimension as a covariate and examine how New Zealanders perceive other non-Asian immigrant groups.

Last but not least, it is surprising that the integration strategy did not emerge as significant, although in previous empirical studies, it was found to be a good predictor of attitudes (Athenstadt, Denison & Waldeyer, 1998, c.f. Zick et al., 2001; Eurobarometer, 1997). Speculatively, the non-significant result could be due to the bicultural influence in New Zealand. Traditionally, the idea of a 'New Zealand culture' is loosely defined as those aspects that belong to the



ethnic Maori and those that are broadly considered European (i.e., as bicultural). Immigrants who migrated here could be expected to adopt this tradition, i.e., adopt both aspects of the Maori and European cultures, and thus, the social impetus to favor an integrative acculturation attitude based on the Chinese versus New Zealand cultures may not be so prominent. The implications of biculturalism in the New Zealand context is beyond the scope of this thesis, and this topic should be revisited in future empirical research.

In summary, the Interactive Acculturation Model, based on Host Community Acculturation Strategies and on social identification theories, has demonstrated significant predictive effects to explain differences in attitudes toward immigrants. Possibly due to the different cultural context and research samples, the current findings were partially similar to the conclusions in Montreuil and Bourhis' (2001) study. In the present investigation, the large sample size collected by a random sampling method in the field environment has rendered increased reliability and validity to the results. The findings have also fulfilled an obvious gap in acculturation research, where most of the literature tends to be centered on the perspectives of the minority members, like the sojourners and immigrants, instead of members of the host national group. Moreover, among the limited empirical evidence that has been based on the host perspectives, the research approach tended to lean in favor of using contemporary social identifications theories (e.g., Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, Integrated Threat Theory), and only examine intergroup-related issues like ethnic prejudice, attitudes, and stereotypes. This research bias (from the host perspective) has

inevitability overlooked the influence of host community acculturation strategies (also known as acculturation attitudes /expectations) on perceptions of immigrants. The current study has thus provided an alternative way to examine intercultural relations. Notwithstanding this achievement, there are a few contentious methodological and theoretical issues that need to be addressed.

#### *Limitations and Directions for Future Research*

The Host Community Acculturation Strategies were measured based on a single item that asked for respondent's preferred acculturation strategy for Chinese immigrants in New Zealand. The psychometric properties of the host acculturation measurements may have been better if more items were included in the scale.

In the current study, the choice of (host community) acculturation strategies is assumed to influence attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. As the research is based on correlational data, the results should be interpreted with caution. It is possible that the type of immigrants influenced the choice of acculturation attitudes, rather than vice versa. Future research may wish to adopt a longitudinal framework to study this causal relationship and having additional comparison groups such as the Euro-American immigrants and Somali refugees.

It will be also helpful if additional outcome measurements can be included, such as intergroup anxiety, stereotypes and political and policy related attitudes. These variables can provide a better understanding of the implications of host

acculturation strategies. Lastly, the return rate for the survey participation remains a problem (16.4%). Future research should consider providing additional incentives (e.g., vouchers) that can help to enhance the response rate, or where possible, reduce the number of items in the survey.

### *Summary*

According to Figure 1.4, there are three major frameworks designed to study host nationals' perceptions toward Chinese immigrants, namely (1) intergroup relations, (2) individual differences, and (3) cultural differences. The intergroup relation framework outlined in the thesis (see Figure 1.4), is partly inspired by Berry's model of intercultural relations and processes (Berry, 2004; Figure 1.1), in which he had proposed a similar distinction between "intergroup research" and "acculturation research."

The intergroup relations perspective, as part of the multi-level thesis framework, consisted of two studies (see Figure 1.4). The first one is anchored in contemporary intergroup research, with attention to issues such as perceived threat, intergroup contact, national pride, and fairness. The second perspective is oriented towards acculturation strategies, and this approach is primarily based on Bourhis model on Host Community Acculturation Strategies. Based on results in Study 1, increased perception of threat and low intergroup contact predicted increased prejudice towards Chinese immigrants. In study 2, stronger endorsement of assimilationism and exclusionism, and weaker support of individualism predicted more prejudice.

In the next segment of the thesis research, the focus is directed to study the influence of individual differences on attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. The framework includes two major research initiatives (see Figure 1.4), the first one (Study 3) based on individual differences with personality-like measures such as individualism-collectivism and social dominance orientation, and esteem oriented measures including self-esteem and national pride. The variables adopted for Study 3 are based on established measurements that have good theoretical groundings and a long history of research in attitudes and prejudice. In the second study (Study 4), measurement of personal values profiles based on the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS; Schwartz, 1994a) is adopted. The SVS is comprised of ten inter-related value types that can be also summarized under two broader bipolar value dimensions: (1) self-enhancement versus self-transcendence, and (2) openness to change versus conservation.

The value measures are flexible and offer a diverse range of individual difference indicators compared to personality traits. An indepth introduction on the influence of individual differences, i.e., personality-like traits and values, on attitudes toward Chinese immigrants will be presented in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 3 INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL DIFFERENCES FRAMEWORK IN INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

### Background

In Study 1 and 2, the research examined host perceptions of Chinese immigrants based on intergroup and acculturation perspectives. In the first study, Social Identity Theory, Integrated Threat Theory, the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, and the Contact Hypothesis were some of the key models and theories adopted for research. In the second study, acculturation expectations were investigated on the basis of the Interactive Acculturation Model (i.e., host community acculturation strategies). Acculturation expectations (or host acculturation strategies) are defined as the host's perception on how immigrant groups should relate to members of the recipient nationals and people from their (i.e., immigrant) native culture (Roccas, Horenczyk & Schwartz, 2000). The two investigations (Study 1 and 2) form part of a broader intergroup research framework based on the distinction between intergroup, individual-level and cultural-level analyses (see Figure 1.4).

Generally speaking, intergroup related factors are more transient, situational and context specific. The process of self-categorization depends on the salience and relevance of a particular social identity. For instance, an ethnic minority college student may find his or her racial background salient in a class full of other ethnic members from the host community group, but the same person may also identify himself or herself as a member of the college football

match team. Likewise, the perception of threat changes according to the context; increasing the number immigrants would be regarded as complementary to the domestic labor force in a tight employment market, but it would be the source of a major economic threat during a recession. Contrary to the intergroup research (i.e., Study 1 and 2), the emphasis in the individual-level differences framework is focused on enduring, stable traits that are assumed to affect human behaviors, emotions, attitudes, and perceptions. Theoretically, measurements of individual differences remain stable across different situational contexts, and the research on personality traits and personal values are of particular interest.

The early empirical and theoretical evidence that links personality and prejudice is based primarily on research on the authoritarian personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950). The authoritarian personality construct is characterized by high religiosity, self-righteousness, absolute obedience and submission to authority figures, and strong prejudice against deviant and other minority groups (Adorno et al., 1950; Maslow, 1943). Over the years, this measurement of the authoritarian personality has also gone through a few revisions to reflect the changing times (Altemeyer, 1981). Although the measure is still considered one of the key traits that influences intergroup perceptions, much of the empirical research on individual differences has proceeded to explore other variables of interest, such as social dominance orientation (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and personal values (e.g., Schwartz, 1994a).

In the current research, two major theoretical perspectives regarding individual-level differences are explored. The first one is based on the contemporary measures of personality-like traits, including individualism-collectivism (Singh & Vasoo, 1994), self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), national pride (e.g., collective self-esteem; Smith & Jarkko, 2001), and social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999); the second one is based on the concept of personal values derived from Shalom Schwartz's (1994a, 1994b) measurements of individual value differences. It should be noted that the two perspectives (i.e., personality versus personal values) offer different insights for understanding individual differences and their influence on prejudice. Most of the personality traits have a strong theoretical foundation, and many were grounded in empirical research. The limitation however, is that personality traits tend to offer or explore only a specific dimension of individual differences (unless a comprehensive evaluation such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory is used). Personal value profiles, on the other hand, provide a broader range of individual difference measures. Moreover, the influence of personal values on attitudes can be examined as a cluster, instead of a single individual value. For example, depending on the interest of the investigator, prejudice may be predicted from a single value type such as security motivation or on the basis of a cluster of related personal values including security motivation, tradition, and conformity, also known as value domains.

In the individual-level difference framework, two studies will be performed, based on either the personality perspective (Study 3) or measurements of

personal values (Study 4). From the personality perspective, four personality-like traits have been selected as predictors of attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. They include individualism-collectivism, self-esteem, national pride, and social dominance orientation. Other than the assessment of self-esteem, the three individual difference measurements are directly or indirectly group and intergroup affiliated.

Individualism-collectivism measures the extent to which individuals regard their self-concept as part of a larger collective group (Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clark, 1985). Collectivists define their identity based on their relationship with other persons, put greater emphasis on collective as opposed to individual goals, and are mostly concerned with how a person can 'fit in' with the norms, attitudes, and behaviors practiced by members of the broader social ingroup. Evidently, the conceptual definition of collectivism is characterized by a high degree of group orientation.

Self-esteem is an overall perception of individual wellbeing (Rosenberg, 1965). According to the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981), individuals are assumed to possess an inherent need for positive distinctiveness, and this desire serves as a key motivational factor in intergroup perceptions. National pride shares a close conceptual resemblance to personal self-esteem in that both are defined as the subjective experience of feeling 'proud'. The concept of national pride is similar to the collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), in which individuals feeling proud as a member of their social ingroup.



Social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) is defined as the endorsement of social inequality and hierarchy. Individuals who adopt a social dominance orientation believe it is in their personal and the broader social interest to have a segregated community based on status inequality and unequal resource allocation. Generally, the social dominance dimension is believed to be a robust predictor of intergroup prejudice (e.g., Altemeyer, 2004).

Compared to personality traits, the literature on personal values is based primarily on the research by Shalom Schwartz (1994a). On the basis of individual priorities, Schwartz identified 10 inter-related value types that constitute a measurement of individual differences in personal values. Based on the Schwartz Value Survey, the 10 value types can also be conceptualized in four broader value domains representing dimensions of self-enhancements, self-transcendence, openness to change and conservation. Overall, the 10 value types or four value domains, derived from the Schwartz Value Survey, are said to be a reliable measurement of individual differences (Schwartz, 1994a, 1994b). The influence of personality and values on attitudes toward immigrants will be explored in the next two studies.

### Study 3: Personality traits

#### *Introduction*

In the current research, the emphasis has moved away from intergroup related variables to a framework that is based on individual differences for the studies of attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. There are two studies in the individual differences framework. The first one (Study 3) is based on personality-like measures and esteem related constructs; both types of predictors are considered measurements of enduring and stable traits that could have significant influences on attitudes. In the second study (Study 4) based on an individual differences framework, the Schwartz's (Schwartz, 1994a) value distinctions are used as research measurements of individual differences.

In Study 3, using personality-like measures and esteem related constructs, four major variables of theoretical interests are examined. These include social dominance orientation, individualism-collectivism, self-esteem and national pride. The first two variables exemplify personality-like measurements, whereas the latter two are esteem-related constructs.

#### *Social Dominance Orientation*

Social dominance orientation is defined as an individual preference for a social hierarchical system that advocates power and status differentials (e.g., Federico, 1998; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Individuals who espouse high social dominance support an unequal

status and unjust resource allocation system because they believe they benefit from this distinction. High social dominance oriented persons perceive their society as segregated based on a hierarchical order. Members from the subordinate groups should not mix with people at the superior level and the latter should take a leadership role in the community. Although there is occasional disagreement on the stability of social dominance orientation (as a personality trait), the overall literature has generally portrayed this construct as trait-like, relatively stable and unchanging, and some proponents even consider this dimension as evolutionary and innate in humans (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000).

Conceptually, social dominance orientation appears at first to be similar to the authoritarian personality. Both dimensions, for example, are considered the major individual difference measures that predict outgroup prejudice (Altemeyer, 2004; Whitley, 1999). However, a closer examination shows that the two concepts have different theoretical emphases. High social dominance persons support social inequality, are manipulative, power hungry, and show little moral restraint (Altemeyer, 2004). Authoritarian persons, on the other hand, tend to exaggerate the level of submission to authority; they are more likely to show greater self-righteous hostility towards members from the outgroup and manifest an extreme level of conformity to social norms (Altemeyer, 2004). In other words, high social dominance oriented persons want to lead, whereas authoritarian persons want to follow. Authoritarianism tends to be associated with high religiosity and dogmatism, but social dominance orientation is seldom related to religion and has few moral principles to be dogmatic.

In empirical studies, findings have also documented the two dimensions as independent and each associated with different traits (e.g., Heaven & Bucci, 2001). Authoritarianism, after controlling for the influence of social dominance, is negatively associated with hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction, but positively related to tradition, conformity and security (using Schwartz's measurement of value types). Social dominance, after controlling for authoritarianism, is negatively correlated with universalism, benevolence and tradition, and positively with power, achievement, hedonism, and stimulation motivations (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002). In other studies, social dominance has been shown to be associated with disagreeableness, coldness, vindictiveness, and aggressiveness (Lippa & Arad, 1999) although both dimensions (i.e., social dominance and authoritarianism) are good predictors of prejudice.

From a more recent theoretical perspective, social dominance orientation has been conceptualized as a malleable concept that can be adapted to suit the theoretical interest of the investigator. Depending on the context, it can be used as a personality variable, a moderator of situational variables (person x situation model) or as a mediator between social position and prejudice (group socialization model; Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov, & Duarte, 2003). In any case, the relation between SDO and prejudice has been consistently documented to be positive. For example, using African Americans and homosexuals as targeted stigmatized outgroups, increased social dominance is related to more adverse affective responses, negative outgroup stereotyping and less favorable attitudes toward equality enhancement for the outgroup members

(Whitley, 1999). Social dominance interacts with perceived threat to determine stereotypes and the maintenance of social inequality. Increased experience of threat by individuals who are high, as opposed to low in social dominance, is associated with reports of negative stereotypes and increased proclivity to legitimize social 'myths' in order to perpetuate the social hierarchical system (Quist & Resendez, 2002).

In terms of intergroup orientation, deviants and minority groups are considered as social outcasts and should be treated with punitiveness for individuals high in social dominance orientation. Not surprisingly, social dominance orientation correlates positively with attitudes that support hegemonic groups (Pratto, Liu, Levin, Sidanius, Shih, Bachrach, & Hegarty, 2000) and is associated with less favorable attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policies (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al, 2001; Schwarzwald & Tur-Kaspa, 1997). For members of the majority ethnic group (e.g., Whites in America), increased social dominance orientation is also related to the experience of national patriotism and pride (Pena & Sidanius, 2002).

The conceptual definition of social dominance orientation is also considered one of the important elements in the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses et al., 1998). According to Esses, the experience of resource stress is a major contributing factor to the perception of intergroup competition. An important consideration that underlies the perception of resource stress concerns the desire for unequal resource distribution in favor of the dominant group, and social dominance orientation exemplifies this socio-psychological

factor. In her research on hosts' perceptions of immigrants, increased social dominance predicted less favorable attitudes toward migrants (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001). On the basis of the theoretical and empirical evidence, it is hypothesized that increased social dominance orientation will be associated with more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

### *Individualism-Collectivism*

Individualism-collectivism is one of the fundamental psychological concepts in social and cross-cultural studies. Originally conceived as one of the fundamental dimensions of cultural variations (Hofstede, 1980), the construct has also been adapted to assess within sample individual differences (e.g., Triandis et al., 1985). Broadly speaking, individualism-collectivism measures the extent to which an individual regards his or her self-concept as part of a larger collective group (Triandis et al., 1985). Collectivists tend to define their identity on the basis of their relationships with other entities, assign greater priorities to collective as opposed to personal goals, and are concerned with how the individual can 'fit in' to the broader social community. Individualists, on the other hand, tend to define themselves as separate and autonomous units from other entities, giving more consideration to personal than collective goals, and they tend to be less influenced by their immediate social environment. Comparatively, collectivists are more likely than individualists to identify themselves as members of their social ingroup, and the former is also more concerned with the relative performance of their ingroup than the latter. To mark the distinction between

cultural and individual level analyses, Triandis (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988; Triandis, et al, 1985) proposed using the terms 'idiocentrism' and 'allocentrism' as replacements for individualism and collectivism, respectively. This recommendation, however, has not been consistently adopted in empirical research.

In the context of acculturation, most of the research involving individualism-collectivism has been predominantly focused on the sojourners or immigrants. Empirical studies have examined the direct effects of individualism-collectivism on adaptation (i.e., as a predictor of psychological adjustment) or as part of a broader assessment of the "cultural fit" proposition (e.g., Ward & Chang, 1997; Ward, Leong & Low, 2004). In short, the effects of individualism-collectivism on intergroup processes and attitudes have not been adequately addressed for members of the receiving society in acculturation research.

How will an individualist-collectivist orientation influence host nationals' attitudes toward minority immigrants? In a multicultural society, Lee and Ward (1998) have shown that increased collectivism (or allocentrism) is associated with greater outgroup derogation, and this result is consistent with the contemporary literature on individualism and collectivism. On the whole, collectivists tend to report more intense emotional attachment to their ingroup (Triandis et al., 1985, 1988), conform to the normative values and attitudes, place greater emphasis on co-operating with members of the ingroup, and make a sharp distinction between members of ingroup versus outgroup. Overall, intergroup processes such as social identification, ingroup favoritism, conformity

and outgroup derogation are all expected to be stronger, or accentuated, in collectivistic individuals (e.g., Brown, Hinkle, Ely, Fox-Cardamone, Maras & Taylor, 1992; Hinkle & Brown, 1990).

The outcome of collectivism as a socio-psychological measurement is also consistent with the contemporary intergroup processes described in Social Identity Theory, particularly in the conception, perception, and experience of group membership, ingroup identification, and intergroup comparison (Brown et al., 1992; Hinkle & Brown, 1990). For example, similar to propositions specified by Social Identity Theory, in a competitive intergroup context, collectivists (compared to the individualists) tend to engage more in intergroup differentiation, and demonstrate increased ingroup identification and ingroup favoritism (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). On the basis of the theoretical and empirical evidence, it is hypothesized that a collectivistic orientation will predict more negative attitudes toward minority immigrants.

#### *Two-Way Interactions: Social Dominance Orientation x Individualism-Collectivism*

Individualism-collectivism and social dominance orientation are two conceptually independent measurements. The former measures the extent to which individuals define their self-concept as part of the larger collective group. It is anticipated that collectivists tend to assign increased priorities to group, relative to personal, goals and are aware of the need for individuals to conform to the social norms and values practiced by the larger ingroup. Based on this



theoretical perspective, it is hypothesized that increased collectivism will predict less favorable attitudes towards Chinese immigrants.

Social dominance orientation, on the other hand, stresses the importance of maintaining social hierarchy and having unequal resource distribution. Individuals high on social dominance orientation believe in an unfair and unjust social system because they think it will benefit them (Altemeyer, 2004, pp. 425). Empirical studies based on social dominance have consistently predicted a positive relation with prejudice. Conceptually, social dominance is negatively related to universalism, benevolence, and tradition, and positively associated with power, achievement, hedonism, and stimulation motivations (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002), and with disagreeableness, coldness, vindictiveness, and aggressiveness (Lippa & Arad, 1999).

On the basis of the two theoretical perspectives, it is suggested that a combination of high collectivism and social dominance orientation would predict the highest level of prejudice. Hence, in the current research, it is hypothesized that an interaction effect between individualism-collectivism and social dominance orientation will be found. In a moderated regression analysis, increased social dominance orientation will predict significantly more prejudice towards Chinese immigrants in higher, relative to lower, levels of collectivism.

### *Self-Esteem*

Self-esteem is an overall evaluation of an individual's state of well being. Conceptually and empirically, the concept can be used holistically or modified to

measure specific domains of self-perceptions and performance such as academic, social and athletics achievement (e.g., Marsh, 1992). Depending on the context, self-esteem has been conceptualized as both predictor and criterion measures.

As a dependent measure, self-esteem is considered the ultimate objective in the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

According to proponents of SIT, human beings possess an innate desire to enhance and maintain their self-concept. This objective can be achieved by three fundamental psychological processes: social categorization, social identification and social comparisons. In social categorization, individuals categorize themselves and others as members of an ingroup or outgroup based on contextually relevant or salient cues such as race, gender and age. The categorization process provides individuals with a sense of belongingness, pride, and security in numbers. In social identification, the level of self-esteem increases when the degree of affiliation to the ingroup membership increases. In social comparisons, members of a particular social group will compare their performance with a relevant outgroup on evaluative dimensions that are relevant to both ingroup and outgroup. A sense of positive distinctiveness (i.e., self-esteem) is achieved when the comparison favors the ingroup over the outgroup. Based on the research by Phinney (e.g., 1991, 1995) on self-esteem and ethnic identity, the social identity perspective has generally been supported. Minority adolescents who identify with their ethnic social membership are more likely to

express increased self-esteem. In other words, self-esteem represents a subjective assessment of psychological adjustment.

As a predictor, self-esteem is conceived as a personality-like trait – a static and enduring manifestation of an individual's mental state of well-being. In general, high self-esteem is related to increased optimism (Montgomery, Haemmerlie & Ray, 2003); it functions as a personal coping resource against distress arising from perceived ethnic threat (Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997); operates as a mediator between perceived stress and internalizing problems in children and their parents (Haine, Ayers, Sandler, Wolchik, & Weyer, 2003); and is associated with a lower level of neuroticism and increased locus of control (Bono & Judge, 2003). From a generic perspective, self-esteem is regarded as an indicator of generalized wellbeing, a broad based measure of mental health, resilience, efficacy, and positive intra and interpersonal functioning. And on the basis of this definition, it qualifies as one of the fundamental socio-psychological constructs that assesses individual differences.

From an intergroup perspective, the relation between self-esteem and outgroup prejudice is theoretically assumed to be inversely related, although empirically, the findings are inconclusive (see Hogg & Abrams, 1988a; 1988b). In line with Social Identity Theory and the self esteem hypothesis (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986), a negative relation between self-esteem and prejudice is anticipated – increased self-esteem is associated with favorable perceptions toward members of the outgroup, or conversely, low self-esteem predicts more prejudice. According to Hogg and Abrams (1988b), the need for a

positive self-esteem is a primary psychological motivation. Overall, people who are high in self-esteem tend to express more general satisfaction about themselves and others, and thus there is no need to discriminate in order to feel better. In contrast, individuals who are low in self-esteem tend to manifest more prejudice in order to elevate their sense of personal regard. As a result of this, the self-esteem construct is believed to be negatively related to prejudice.

Empirical evidence in support of this proposition derives from a diverse sample of targets that includes measurements of attitudes toward Gypsies (e.g., Sotelo, 2002), stereotypes of women (e.g., Valentine, 1998), and perceptions of homosexuals (e.g., Simoni, 1996). Female Spanish adolescents who have a higher level of self-esteem report more positive attitudes toward Gypsies and are more likely to embrace resolute democratic norms (Sotelo, 2002); men who reported higher levels of self-esteem are also more likely to approve of women working and believe in creating employment opportunities for women (Valentine, 1998); and having lower levels of self-esteem generally leads to more unfavorable perceptions toward homosexuals (Simoni, 1996). In summary, self-esteem epitomizes a form of psychological endowment that enables the individual to interact with members of an outgroup with confidence. Overall, on the basis of the theoretical and empirical findings, it is predicted that increased self-esteem will be related to more positive attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

#### *National Pride*

National pride is a stable, trait like evaluation of the collective self that is similar to the theoretical conception of collective self-esteem (Crocker &

Luhtanen, 1990; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). In Study 1, national pride was part of the main and interaction effects hypothesized to influence intergroup attitudes. In the present investigation, national pride is conceptualized as a trait-like assessment of collective self-esteem and an enduring indicator of ingroup identification. The current research reexamines the effect of this predictor in conjunction with other personality type assessments including social dominance orientation, individualism-collectivism, and self-esteem to determine how effectively individual differences may account for outgroup attitudes.

Generally, national pride is defined as the degree of positive distinctiveness and strength of identification associated with the country. This concept includes measurements of affective, cognitive, and behavioral components such as belongingness, centrality, evaluation, and behaviors. Overall, there is no consensus on the measurement of national pride. Empirical research has adopted different approaches to assess national pride, though the basic elements of national pride remain similar, and it usually includes both affective and cognitive components of identification.

In empirical studies (e.g., Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Quinton, et al, 1996), national pride is sometimes conceptualized on the basis of collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Although Bizman and Yinon labeled the term as 'ingroup identification,' the study was using the same instrument as Quinton et al (1996). In the study by Mummendey et al. (2001), ingroup (i.e., German) identification was defined on the basis of both cognitive (e.g., I can identify with the Germans; It is important to me to be a German) and affective (e.g., How

proud are you of the German history) aspects of identification. In some studies, a short and succinct measurement is sometimes preferred over elaborated assessments of national pride. For example, Florack et al. (2003) measured ingroup (German) identification on the basis of a three-item scale: “How much do you feel like a German?” “How do you feel as a German?” and “Are you a typical German?” In Jackson et al.’s (2001) research, a single item was adopted to measure the degree of national pride. Generally, regardless of the measurement used, all the research was performed in the context of acculturation and in relation to perceptions of immigrants. Although it is clear that there are no standardized measures of national pride, it is clear that most research incorporates both cognitive and affective components of identification. In line with this perspective, the current study will include both cognitive and affective aspects of identification such as belongingness, centrality and evaluation.

Overall, the empirical findings based on the hosts’ perspective on national pride have revealed inconsistent findings. As a main effect predictor of prejudice, national pride has shown to be associated with both increased and decreased prejudice. In a research on Californians’ perceptions of illegal immigrants in the California, Quinton and colleagues (Quinton, et al, 1996) examined the influence of right-wing authoritarianism, collective self-esteem (as a Latino, i.e., minority, or as a Caucasian, i.e., dominant group), and stereotypes of illegal immigrants on attitudes toward Proposition 187 – a political and discriminatory legislation initiative that makes illegal immigrants ineligible for

social services. The dominant group members (i.e., Caucasians) who rated higher on collective self-esteem tended to manifest increased prejudice by voting in favor of Proposition 187.

A similar finding was reported by Verkuyten and Peary (2004). In their study of Dutch adolescents' ( $N = 649$ ) perceptions of multiculturalism, they found an inverse relation between national identification and endorsement of multicultural ideology – adolescents with a strong identification were less in favor of multiculturalism; in a separate study on intergroup perceptions between Dutch and Surinamese adolescents, increased national identification among the Dutch host nationals was associated with increased discrimination towards Surinamese immigrants in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Peary, 2002). The measures of ingroup (i.e., national) identification included the affective, cognitive and esteem related aspects of identification. In the context of acculturation, members of the host majority are known to be more concerned about the negative aspects of multiculturalism and immigration (e.g., Arends-Toth & Van De Vijver, 2003). Hence, it is not surprising that an increased in national identification has exacerbated this preoccupation.

Notwithstanding, the positive relation between national pride and prejudice has not been consistently demonstrated. Based on secondary archive data derived from a Eurobarometer survey on immigration and xenophobia (Eurobarometer, 2000), Jackson et al (2001) found that individuals who expressed a high level of national pride were more accepting of migrants, less in favor of immigrants' deportation, and possessed more positive attitudes toward

immigrants. The survey was based on a large random sample ( $N = 12,141$ ) of native European residents across 15 Western European countries, and it included measurements of national pride and general attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

In a broader perspective on acculturation, the positive association between national pride and attitudes mirrors Berry's concept of "multicultural ideology" (Berry, 2004; Berry et al., 1977). The multicultural ideology advocates the concept of "unity in diversity," generating synergy, strength, and talents from heterogeneity. Central to this ideology is the multicultural hypothesis – individuals from the larger community will tend to be more accepting and tolerant toward other ethno-cultural groups, including immigrants and sojourners, if members of the host community feel secure and comfortable in their own social and cultural identities; and the perception of cultural and economic security will predict more accepting attitudes towards immigrants in general. National pride exemplifies a form of socio-psychological bonding between people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds; and a high degree of national pride can provide a secured form of cultural-national identity, ameliorating negative ethnic stereotypes and skepticism.

In Study 1, national pride was examined as part of an intergroup framework. The results showed no significant main or interaction effects with other socio-psychological factors. Nonetheless, the current study hopes to revisit this concept again but in relation to an individual differences framework. Similar to Study 1, the present investigation will explore the relation between national



pride and attitudes in the New Zealand context, and thus, no specific hypothesis is proposed.

In summary, based on the empirical and theoretical reviews, the following hypotheses are formulated regarding the main effects of individualism-collectivism, social dominance orientation, and self-esteem:

- (1) Increased individualism will predict more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants;
- (2) Increased social dominance orientation will predict less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants;
- (3) Increased self-esteem will predict more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants;

In addition to the main effects, a two-way interaction between individualism-collectivism and social dominance orientation is hypothesized:

- (4) Individualism-collectivism will interact with social dominance orientation; increased social dominance orientation will predict more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in higher, relative to lower, levels of collectivism.

### *Method*

#### *Participants*

Two hundred and forty-one persons took part in this study, out of which there were 117 (50.2%) Maori and 116 (49.8%) Pakeha. Ninety-six people from the sample were male, and 136 were female; one participant did not indicate

his/her gender. In terms of ethnic by gender breakdown, among the Pakeha, there were 53 (46%) and 62 (54%) males and females, respectively. In the Maori sample, the gender breakdown was 43 (37%) males and 74 (63%) females. The overall profile of the sample in terms of attributes such as age, employment and marital status were similar to the data derived from the New Zealand population census.

The mean age was 49.40 years old with a standard deviation of 15.88 years, ranging from 21 to 85 years old. One hundred and twenty-three of participants (53%) were in full time employment, 39 participants (17%) were employed part time, 20 (9%) were unemployed and 43 (18%) were retirees. Eight participants did not list their employment status. For marital status, 120 (52%) were married, 54 (23%) were single, 14 (6%) were divorced, 10 (4%) were widowed, 33 (14%) were in a de facto relationship, and two persons did not state their marital status. Participants were all New Zealand citizens as indicated by a single item that requested the respondent's nationality.

The educational breakdown was similar to Study 1 and Study 2. The percentage of respondents who indicated no formal education or only primary level was 7.5% ( $N = 18$ ). About 29% ( $N = 70$ ) listed secondary school as the highest level attained, and 36.1% ( $N = 87$ ) cited post secondary or diploma as the highest qualifications. The proportion known to have at least a bachelor degree was 27.4% ( $N = 66$ ). The majority of respondents were born in New Zealand (224, or 92.4%), followed by Europe (12, or 5%) and the remaining were from Asia, Africa, North America and the Pacific Islands.

*Procedure*

Like Studies 1 and 2, an invitation-by-mail method was adopted and a random list of names and addresses were generated from the Electoral Rolls from the Auckland and Christchurch region. From a sample of 1384 valid mailing addresses 233 New Zealanders responded, representing a 16.8% return rate.

The procedure was identical to the previous investigations. Every potential participant was contacted by mail. Each person was given an information sheet detailing the nature of the research, a copy of the questionnaire, a Victoria University of Wellington bookmark, and a pre-paid return envelope stamped with a return address. Potential participants kept the bookmark as a souvenir regardless of whether they took part in the study. Participation was strictly anonymous and voluntary. An official debriefing statement was sent to everyone on the contact list approximately two months after the data collection ended.

*Measures*

A standard list of demographic variables identical to Study 1 and 2 was utilized. It included questions on the respondents' age, gender, ethnicity, nationality (for confirmation as New Zealander), employment status / occupation, marital status, educational level, and both respondents' and their parents' country of birth. On top of the basic demographic factors, a scale measuring cultural

exposure was also included. This was based on a composite index that assessed the degree of experience in other countries and cultures, such as the ability to speak a foreign language beside English and Maori, having a second citizenship or residency in another country, frequency and duration of overseas travel, and whether the respondent was married to a person from another ethnic group or country. A high score on cultural exposure indicated having less experience in other cultures or countries (reverse scoring).

Finally, the following lists of socio-psychological measurements were also included: National Pride, Self-esteem, Individualism-Collectivism, Social Dominance Orientation, and Attitudes to Chinese Immigrants. The psychometric properties for each of the instruments are documented in Table 3.1. A copy of the information sheet and questionnaire can be found in Appendix 4. The debriefing statement that was sent to everyone in the contact list can be found in Appendix 5.

*National pride.* The 18-item scale was identical to the one used in all previous studies. The instrument was modified based on the research by Smith and Jarkko (2001) and Singapore's Institute of Policy Studies (IPS). Participants rated each item on a 5-point scale (1-*Strong disagree* to 5-*Strongly agree*). Increased ratings represent having a greater sense of national pride. Examples of the measurement include: "New Zealand is the only place where I feel completely at home" and "There are some things about New Zealand that

make me feel ashamed of New Zealand (reverse coding).” The instrument had a Cronbach’s Alpha of .74 in the present study.

*Self-esteem.* The Rosenberg’s Self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965) was adopted in the study. The scale is one of the most widely used instruments for the assessment of individual self-esteem. In a bid to keep the survey short, this study included only five items from Rosenberg’s original scale. The five items were known to have the highest item-total correlation based on previous research by Leong (2001). On a scale of 1(*Strongly disagree*) to 5(*strongly agree*), participants rated each item based on their own experience, and high scores indicated a higher level of self-esteem. An example of the scale is “I take a positive attitude about myself.” After deleting two items due to low or negative item-total correlations, the 3-item scale had a Cronbach’s Alpha of .65.

*Individualism-collectivism.* Singh and Vasoo’s (1994) instrument assesses individualism and collectivism based on a unidimensional continuum. The measurement is known to be a reliable and valid assessment in past empirical research (e.g., Lee & Ward, 1998). There were a total of 24-items in the original scale – fifteen positively worded and nine negatively worded items. One of the reversed items, “One should not always pay attention to friend’s views on what one should really do,” was eliminated from further analysis due to a negative item-total correlation. Examples of positively and negatively worded items include: “To do well in one’s job, one should take help from co-workers,”

and “It is not necessary to know one’s neighbors,” respectively. Respondents rated on a 5-point scale (1-*Strong disagree* to 5-*Strongly agree*) how much they agreed with each item. A high score on the measurement represents a strong endorsement of collectivism. The 23-item measurement had a Cronbach’s Alpha of .81.

*Social dominance orientation.* The assessment for Social Dominance Orientation was adopted from a scale used by Pratto and colleagues (Pratto et al., 1994) and Esses et al. (1998). In Pratto et al.’s (1994) study, the instrument had 16 items. Due to the overall length of the current study, only 10 items were selected. The 10-item instrument has six and four positively and negatively worded items, respectively. Examples of the scale items include: “Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups,” and “Group equality should be our ideal” (reverse scoring). Respondents rated on a 5-point scale (1-*Strong disagree* to 5-*Strongly agree*) how much they agree with each of the 10 items. The measurement yielded a Cronbach’s Alpha of .85, where a high score indicates a socially dominant personality.

*Attitudes to Chinese immigrants.* The 10-item instrument was identical to the one used in Study 1 and 2. The scale was originally developed and used by Ho and colleagues (Ho et al., 1994) and the Australian Office of Multicultural Affairs. The instrument was modified in the current research to measure New Zealanders’ perceptions of recent Chinese immigrants. Respondents rated on a

5-point scale (1-*Strongly disagree*, 5-*Strongly agree*) how much they agreed or disagreed with each of the 10 statements. An example of the scale was “New Zealand society has benefited from a policy of attracting Chinese immigrants.” Increased ratings represented more favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants. The scale had a Cronbach’s Alpha of .88.

### *Results*

Preliminary analyses were performed which involved checking the reliabilities of each scale, computing the descriptive statistics, examining potential multicollinearity, and conducting a bivariate correlation matrix among all variables. The final analysis included a multiple hierarchical regression model predicting attitudes toward Chinese immigrants based on the main effect terms of self-esteem, national pride, individualism-collectivism, and social dominance orientation, and the interaction effects between social dominance orientation and individualism-collectivism. The influence of demographics (i.e., age, gender, ethnicity, employment status, educational level and cultural exposure) was controlled before the main and interaction terms were introduced. The demographics were identical to the ones adopted in Study 1 and 2.

The results for the zero-order correlations are shown in Table 3.2. None of the pairwise comparisons have exceeded .24 (Pearson  $r$ ), and any problems arising from multicollinearity were considered unlikely. For the hierarchical multiple regression model, the covariate terms entered in Step 1 included all the relevant demographic factors: gender, age, ethnicity, educational qualifications,

employment, and cultural exposure. In Step 2, two of the four independent variables were entered, they included National Pride and Self-Esteem<sup>7</sup>. In Step 3, the two independent variables used for subsequent interaction were introduced: Individualism-Collectivism and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). In the final Step, the two-way interaction term comprising Collectivism x SDO was included. The result for the regression model is shown in Table 3.3.

The results of the overall multiple hierarchical regression model significantly predicted attitudes toward Chinese immigrants,  $F(11, 219) = 5.19$ ,  $p < .001$ , with an adjusted  $R^2$  of .17 ( $R^2 = .21$ ). Among the covariates, ethnicity and gender emerged as significant predictors of attitudes. Respondents who were ethnic Maori and female tended to express more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants; and increased cultural exposure predicted more favorable perceptions. Step 1 entry accounted for a significant  $\Delta R^2$  of .11,  $F(6,224) = 4.61$ ,  $p < .001$ . In Step 2, with self-esteem and national pride as independent variables, results showed increased self-esteem predicted more favorable attitudes; the influence of cultural exposure was reduced to statistical non-significance. The second Step entry was marginally significant, accounted for a  $\Delta R^2$  of .02,  $F(2,222) = 2.96$ ,  $p < .10$ . In Step 3, social dominance orientation and individualism-collectivism were introduced; both measures were found to be significant predictors of attitudes. Contrary to hypothesis, increased collectivism was associated with more favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants, but in

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<sup>7</sup> Separate entries for (1) national pride and self-esteem, and (2) individualism-collectivism and social dominance orientation are recommended because the former (i.e., pride and esteem) were not part of the interaction term.



accordance with the hypothesis, increased social dominance predicted more negative perceptions toward immigrants. The block entry (Step 3) was reported to be significant, with a  $\Delta R^2$  of .05,  $F(2,220) = 7.05$ ,  $p < .01$ . On the basis of this result, H1 is rejected, H2 partially supported (at Step 2), and H3 was supported.

The overall results, however, were qualified by a significant two-way interaction between individualism and social dominance orientation,  $\beta = .15$ ,  $t = 2.43$ ,  $p < .05$ . The final Step entry accounted for a  $\Delta R^2$  of .02,  $F(1,219) = 5.91$ ,  $p < .05$ . Similar to Study 1, based on the statistical principles outlined for analyzing simple effects in a significant interaction term (e.g., Aiken & West, 1991; Baron & Kenny, 1986), two separate regression lines were constructed representing high and low individualism-collectivism based on one standard deviation (+1 SD) above and (-1 SD) below the mean (see Figure 3.1). For the sake of simplicity, the regression line representing one standard deviation below the mean was labeled 'Individualism' and the line with one standard deviation above the mean as 'Collectivism'. The x-and y-axis represented social dominance orientation and attitudes, respectively.

Contrary to the hypothesis, the analysis of simple slope effects revealed that increased social dominance orientation predicted less favorable attitudes in individualistic orientation ( $\beta = -.26$ ,  $t(221) = -3.37$ ,  $p < .001$ ), but not in the collectivistic orientation. In high collectivism, the relation between social dominance orientation and attitudes was statistically non-significant,  $\beta = .01$ ,  $t(221) = .16$ , *N.S.* Hence, hypothesis H4 was not supported.

*Discussion*

It was hypothesized that greater individualism, higher self-esteem, and lower social dominance orientation would predict more favorable attitudes toward immigrants. In addition to the main effects, an interaction between individualism-collectivism and social dominance orientation was expected. Specifically, it was hypothesized that increased social dominance would predict more prejudice in high, relative to, low levels of collectivism. Due to inconsistent findings in previous empirical research, the relation between national pride and attitudes toward immigrants was also explored in the current study.

Consistent with expectation, the results from the hierarchical regression demonstrated that increased self-esteem was related to more favorable attitudes toward the outgroup. Contrary to hypothesis, respondents rated higher on collectivism expressed more positive opinions about Chinese immigrants in New Zealand. The relation between individualism-collectivism and perceptions, however, was moderated by a significant two-way interaction with social dominance orientation; increased social dominance was associated with more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in the individualist, but not the collectivistic, orientation. There was no relation between social dominance and attitudes for individuals rated high on collectivism. In addition to the socio-psychological factors, two demographics variables emerged as significant predictors of attitudes – ethnicity and gender. In general, female and Maori respondents reported less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

Overall, on the basis of the empirical results, the findings supported H3 and partially supported H2. Hypotheses H1 and H4 were not supported.

Personal esteem is the overall evaluation of an individual's state of wellbeing and satisfaction. In the current study, increased self-esteem predicted more favorable perceptions of immigrants. This effect is consistent with the hypothesis derived from the Social Identity Theory; individuals high on self-esteem have little or no motivation to discriminate against members of the outgroup. On the other hand, for individuals with low self-esteem, there is an inherent desire to manifest increased prejudice in order to enhance their personal self-concept.

In the contemporary literature on self-esteem, the variable has been conceptualized both as a main effect predictor and mediator of attitudes toward the outgroup. For instance, men with higher, as opposed to lower, levels of self-esteem were more likely to evince gender equality work and employment ethics and possess less gender stereotypes (Valentine, 1998). Compared to individuals with high self-esteem, low self-esteem individuals have a greater tendency to espouse negative opinions about homosexuals (Simoni, 1996).

From empirical studies, self-esteem is also known to be associated with increased optimism (Montgomery et al., 2003); it functions as a coping resource against perceived threat (Nesdale et al., 1997); correlates with decreased neuroticism and a higher level of locus of control (Bono & Judge, 2003); and operates as a mediator between perceived stress and internalizing mental problems in children and their parents (Haine et al., 2003) – increased stress

leads to lower self esteem and subsequently greater likelihood of internalizing mental problems. In the current study, the results showed that increased self-esteem predicts more favorable attitudes toward immigrants. In other words, from a general perspective, self-esteem can be considered an overall individual difference measure that is associated with positive intra and interpersonal functioning.

Social dominance orientation, as a part of the main effect terms and before the introduction of the interaction term (IC x SDO), significantly predicted attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. Increased social dominance orientation was associated with less favorable perceptions. Empirically, the relation between social dominance and intergroup attitudes is known to be robust and consistent (e.g., Altemeyer, 2004; Esses et al., 2001; Esses et al., 1998). Individuals who are high in social dominance reportedly endorse social inequality and believe that members of the higher status group should receive relatively more resources than the inferior group members. Social segregation is preferred, and members from the subordinate groups are not supposed to challenge the status quo. People who are high in social dominance orientation tend to be power hungry and are more likely to show a high level of intergroup prejudice (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Consistent with the theoretical propositions, the current study found increased social dominance orientation predicted less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants in New Zealand.

Individualism-collectivism, although significant, did not predict attitudes in the anticipated direction. Increased collectivism predicted more, instead of less,

favorable views of immigrants. This finding is opposite to the empirical and theoretical evidence on the influence of individualism-collectivism.

Speculatively, this result may be attributed to the different assessments used for investigation, and more precisely, the conceptual definition of collectivism used in the present study. In the individualism-collectivism measurement by Singh and Vasoo (1994), the theoretical emphasis is focused on family, social relations, interpersonal harmony, and the collective environment. Examples of the measurement include: “An uncle should be treated like a father,” “The husband need not be responsible for looking after the wife's relatives (reverse score),” and “On social occasions neighbors must be invited”. Retrospectively, this could be interpreted as elements of egalitarianism, benevolence and inclusiveness. As a result, respondents who rated highly on collectivism (i.e., valued harmonious relationships with their family members, colleagues, and neighbors) were also more likely to endorse the contributions made by immigrants to the New Zealand society. This suggests that recent Chinese immigrants are considered as part of the broader social circle, and therefore valued by the collectively oriented host nationals.

An alternative explanation of the current result could also be attributed to the intended type of respondents. Singh and Vasoo's (1994) scale was originally conceptualized and validated in Singapore and thus, the measurement is probably more appropriate for Asian, rather than Western, respondents. In view of this possibility, it is recommended that the individualism-collectivism dimension be revisited in future empirical research.

In hindsight, more established, sophisticated, and multidimensional assessments of individualism-collectivism should have been adopted. One of the common theoretical criticisms of individualism-collectivism concerns the unidimensional assumption. In the early research, the construct was regarded as unidimensional, with individualism and collectivism representing the bipolar ends of the continuum. For example, in Hofstede's (1980) measurement of individualism-collectivism, being highly loaded on one end of the dimension implies a low score on the other. As such, an individualistic person is expected to hold every trait that is considered antithesis to a collectivistic individual, and vice versa.

In some research, individualism-collectivism has been conceptualized based on a multi-dimensional perspective. The INDCOL scale by Hui (1988), for instance, suggested that the psychological effects of individualism-collectivism should be target-specific and contextually sensitive. In other words, the degree of individualism and collectivism varies according to the target and context. Hence, being an employee who is independent and self-driven towards achievement at work may be a collectivistic oriented person at home with the family and neighbors. In line with this view, it is plausible that the hypothesized (positive) relation between collectivism and outgroup prejudice does not apply to the acculturation context. This contention, however, should be examined in future studies.

An alternative perspective on individualism-collectivism can also be derived on the basis of Singelis' (1994), and Markus and Kitayama's (1991)

distinction of the independent and interdependent self-construals. Rather than conceptualizing individualism and collectivism as opposite ends of a bipolar dimension, Singelis regards the two dimensions as separate and independent, and he replaces the individualism-collectivism terminologies with 'independent' and 'interdependent' self-construals, respectively. The measurement scale examines the degree of self-direction and inter-personal relatedness as a form of personality construct, and both dimensions are considered non-mutually exclusive. Theoretically speaking, it is possible that a person can be both individually and collectively oriented. Hence, in accordance with Singelis' model, the current results may have examined only one of the two aspects, i.e., interdependent self-construal. The relationship between independent self-construal and outgroup relations, however, has yet to be investigated.

The significant interaction effect between social dominance orientation and individualism-collectivism deserves more elaboration, albeit the results were contrary to the hypothesized effect. The simple slope analysis showed that increased social dominance orientation was associated with less favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants but only among the individualists. For collectivists, the relation between the two variables was statistically non-significant. On the basis of this interaction effect, the results suggest that there is a conceptual need to differentiate individualists and collectivists (or idiocentrist and allocentrist as Triandis would define it) because the two groups relate differently with social dominance in influencing attitudes. For the individualist (i.e., ideocentrist), social dominance orientation matters, increased dominance

predicted more prejudice. For the collectivist (i.e., allocentrist), social dominance orientation has no predictive effects on outgroup rejection.

Speculatively, the contradictory effect observed in the two-way interaction could be a result of the influence from individual-collectivism. Conceptually, collectivism (i.e., allocentrism) is more inward, rather than outward, focused. Based on the research conclusions by Triandis and others (e.g., Triandis, 1990), the defining attributes of collectivism are known to be family integrity and solidarity; whereas the defining hallmarks of individualism are emotional detachment, distinction of self from the ingroup, and competition. As a result of different theoretical emphasis, it is plausible that the socio-psychological influence of social dominance orientation on intergroup prejudice is less prominent or relevant for collectivistic persons (i.e., allocentrists) because to them, the attention is drawn to the ingroup. On the other hand, since a key feature of individualists (i.e., idiocentrists) involves competition, the individualist could be motivated to challenge the Chinese immigrants as the degree of social dominance increases.

In summary, both the main effect (for individualism-collectivism) and the interaction effect between social dominance and individualism-collectivism were contrary to the hypothesized direction and the existing literature (e.g., Lee & Ward, 1998). In addition to problems associated with the measurement of individualism-collectivism, the current study also suggests a re-examination of some of the fundamental assumptions. For example, the perception that collectivists, relative to individuals, draw a sharper distinction between members



of ingroup (host national group) versus the outgroup (the immigrant group) deserves some attention. In the context of acculturation, it may be possible that the collectivists did not make finer distinctions between immigrants and New Zealand borns because both groups are citizens of the same country, and hence, there is no basis to reject the former. In short, the collectivist perceives and adopts an inclusive superordinate New Zealand identity in acculturation and intercultural relations. Whatever the speculations, these contentious issues should be further examined in future research.

Notwithstanding potential Type II error, the non-significant finding on national pride deserves some elaboration. National pride was conceptualized as part of a broader assessment of collective self-esteem and social identification. Generally, the empirical evidence had shown inconsistent main effects of pride, showing both positive (Quinton et al., 1996; Verkuyten & Peary, 2004) and negative (Jackson et al., 2001) relations with prejudice. In the current research, the concept of national pride was examined in both intergroup and individual difference research frameworks (i.e., Study 1 and 3 respectively), but surprisingly, both studies demonstrated no significant main or interaction effects.

Speculatively, a possible explanation could be the measurement used in the current study. Although it contained items measuring the affective, cognitive and esteem-related domains of national pride, the present instrument was different compared to the one adopted by Quinton et al. (1996) and Jackson et al. (2001). The future empirical research may wish to re-examine the influence of national pride again based on other assessment tools.

*Limitations and Directions for Future Research*

There are a few important limitations in the present study. The first one involves the construct and psychometric shortcomings of the Singh and Vasoo's collectivism scale. The measurement adopts a unidimensional definition of individualism-collectivism, and the scale included many family and people-related items such as "The husband and wife should jointly decide whether the wife should work," and "It is not necessary to know one's neighbors." Relationships with people, though conceptually paramount to the collectivist, are not the only relevant matters. Individualism-collectivism also requires consideration of other personality-oriented domains, such as the pursuit of personal versus collective goals, endorsement of social hierarchy, sensitivity to the social environmental context, and motivational and emotional attachment to the ingroup. Most of these elements have not been incorporated in the Singh and Vasoo instrument. Hence, there is a possibility that the current finding regarding individualism-collectivism is not an accurate reflection of the research domain. Empirical studies in the future may wish to examine this contention.

The results from this study should be interpreted with caution as the response rate is considered low and the data could be based on a bias and unrepresentative sample of New Zealand respondents. The disappointing return rate could be due to the length of the questionnaire (i.e., ten pages) or an impersonal and less appealing data collection methodology (e.g., Mail surveys). Future investigations should be aware of this limitation.

Duckitt and colleagues (Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002) have argued that certain measurements of individual differences should be more appropriately conceptualized as ideological attitudes rather than personality dimensions, and social dominance orientation and authoritarianism are some examples cited by them. According to Duckitt, social dominance attitudes are more likely to be a function of other cognitive ideological systems such as toughmindedness and a belief in global competitiveness rather than an individual difference measure. Without discussing the merits or demerits of Duckitt's contention, future research may wish to examine if there are any ideological attitudes that may be relevant to the acculturation context.

The present study has utilized four established individual difference measurements (i.e., self-esteem, national pride, social dominance orientation, individualism-collectivism) that are known, or expected, to predict attitudes. In spite of this attempt, the percentage of variance accounted for by the four individual difference variables was relatively low. Future empirical research may wish to explore other personality traits as predictors of attitudes in acculturation research. Some of the less commonly used individual difference measures known to be correlated to prejudice include: need for cognition (Waller, 1993), extraversion (Lester, 1993), and openness (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003).

Finally, individual difference measures are limited by definition. The four theoretical dimensions examined in the current study (i.e., individualism-collectivism, social dominance orientation, self-esteem, and national pride) do not represent the full spectrum of personality traits. Overall, the personality factors in

Study 3 have accounted for less variance (i.e.,  $R^2 = .21$ ) compared to the intergroup variables in Study 1 and 2 ( $R^2 = .53$  and  $.39$ , respectively). This finding is contrary to the recent empirical research in which personality factors were cited as better predictors of prejudice than intergroup / social identity related factors (Heaven, & St Quintin, 2003). It is possible that certain dimensions were omitted and thus, would not have adequately explained the influence of individual differences on attitudes toward immigrants. An alternative paradigm that may address this limitation involves using values measurement as a framework to assess a diverse range of individual differences. This proposal will be examined in the next study.

### *Summary*

The current study is part of a broader framework that examines the influence of individual differences on attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. On the basis of personality-like and esteem-related measurements, the study found that increased self-esteem and collectivism predicted less prejudice. In addition, increased social dominance orientation was associated with more negative attitudes toward immigrants in the individualism condition.

As mentioned earlier, one of the limitations in the present study involves the scope of the variables used. In response to this shortcoming, the next study adopts the Schwartz Value Survey to explore other individual difference measures that may influence attitudes. On the basis of the Schwartz Value Survey, 10 fundamental value types can be assessed, and these variables can

also be combined to form two bipolar higher order value dimensions. Schwartz's value types provide an alternative and convenient measure of individual differences.

## Study 4: Values

### *Introduction*

In Study 3, individual differences were defined in terms of personality-like measures and esteem related constructs known to be predictors of prejudice. An alternative measurement of individual level differences that has been relatively overlooked in acculturation research involves the assessment of personal values. Values are belief systems, the guiding principles that determine the way individuals think (i.e., cognition), behave (i.e., behavior), and feel (i.e., affect, Schwartz, 1994a; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). They represent a form of “generalized standards” for individuals to benchmark themselves and others; they epitomize the “desirable end states of existence” (Biernat et al., 1996, pp. 154), and they are the modes that regulate social behaviors and conduct.

Values are not defined in absolute terms but in relativity. Individuals prioritize their values according to what they consider important and relevant, and these value priorities then become the motivational goals that help to fulfill basic human needs. These include ecological needs (e.g., desire for food and satisfaction), needs for standard governing social interaction (e.g., rules on interaction with others), and needs for a system regulating survival and functioning (e.g., norms regulating behaviors in groups).

Research involving individual value systems has had a long history, and one of the most distinguished contributors to the literature is Shalom Schwartz.

According to Schwartz (e.g., Schwartz, 1994b), there are ten fundamental value priorities or value types that are distinguished by their respective motivational goals. The ten value types include: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security. A description of each of the ten dimensions can be found in Table 3.4.

Schwartz suggests that the ten fundamental value types can be classified under four superordinate value dimensions or value domains, namely (1) self-enhancement, (2) self-transcendence, (3) openness to change, and (4) conservation. The self-enhancement dimension includes power and achievement value types; the self-transcendence domain encompasses universalism and benevolence; openness to change includes stimulation and self-direction; and conservation is comprised of conformity, tradition, and security. Hedonism loads on both self-enhancement and openness to change dimensions. The four superordinate dimensions, moreover, are said to be organized along two bipolar orientations: self-enhancement versus self-transcendence and openness to change versus conservation.

According to Schwartz, value priorities and domains are structured on the basis of inherent conflicts and compatibility. Reflecting this relationship, the ten basic values priorities and superordinate value domains are purported to be linked under a circumplex model (see Figure 3.2). Some values types are more closely associated than others because the desired motivational interests are comparable and mutually non-exclusive. For example, the conformity value is more closely associated with tradition and security, but not with stimulation or

hedonism because the latter are incompatible with conformity motivation.

Similarly, individuals who strongly endorse achievement and power are less likely to show consideration and compassion towards the welfare of strangers (i.e., universalism and benevolence) as it would have been inconsistent with the motivation for excellence.

For the broader value domains, the conflicting value dimensions lie opposite to each other. For example, the conservation dimension (including conformity, tradition, and security) are placed in the opposing end (and hence negatively related) to the value domain that emphasizes openness to change. Similarly, the self-transcendence domain, one that underscores value types such as universalism and benevolence, lies opposing to the self-enhancement dimension which promotes achievement, power and hedonism. The two pairs of bipolar value dimensions, i.e., conservation versus openness to change and self-transcendence versus self-enhancement, are negatively correlated with each other, and the bipolar dimensions epitomize the conflicts between different value priorities and motivational goals. Conceptually, value domains that lie adjacent to each other will share a compatible relation. For example, the self-enhancement dimension, which includes fundamental value types such as power, achievement, and hedonism, are regarded as comparable to the openness to change dimension, which encompasses self-direction, stimulation, and hedonism; and the two value domains will thus be positively correlated.

In contrast to other theoretical models in which it is usually the theories that drive the development of measurement items, Schwartz's circumplex model



was formulated based on his research using a 56-item instrument scale that was initially designed to assess the basic value principles (i.e., Schwartz Value Survey; Schwartz, 1994b). In short, it was a bottom-up model. The Schwartz Value Survey has been demonstrated to be a simple but comprehensive and reliable measurement for individual value systems. In terms of the value interpretation (i.e., meanings) and structure, the scale has documented good content equivalence and external validity in multiple cultural samples (Schwartz, 1992, 1994c; Schwartz & Ros, 1995). The ten basic value priorities are found to display similar structural relations with conventional personality measurements. For instance, the benevolence and tradition values are reported to correlate most positively with Agreeableness (based on the Big Five personality traits); self-direction and universalism are significantly related to Openness; achievement and stimulation are correlated with Extroversion; and achievement and conformity are associated with Conscientiousness (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz & Knafo, 2002). In other words, the Schwartz Value Survey is capable of measuring fundamental aspects of individual differences as well as other conventional instruments such as the Big Five.

Additional corroborating evidence on the content structure of the Schwartz Value Survey has been found from its comparisons with the Rokeach Value Survey and the Freiburg Personality Inventory (Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994). The study revealed a similar number and structure of value priorities as proposed by Schwartz, and the type of value priorities point to similar motivational dynamics (e.g., self-enhancement, self-transcendence). From 1988 to 1993, Schwartz

collected data across multiple countries and continents, and the results from his studies have supported the universality of the model's content and structure. A total of 97 samples from 44 countries were collected in every continent using Schwartz's value model (Schwartz, 1994b). Most of the samples were either teachers (41 samples) or university students (42 samples), as Schwartz regarded the former to be cultural values transmitters and therefore more likely to endorse and advocate value types that are consistent with the need of the social community. Using a non-metric multidimensional scaling technique called the Smallest Space Analyses, results of the analyses on each of the 97 samples generally fitted the proposed circumplex model.

In the broader value domain, the bipolar dimension measuring openness to change versus conservation is purported to be conceptually similar to Hofstede's individualism-collectivism dimension – where individualism is the equivalent of openness and collectivism of conservation (Smith & Schwartz, 1997). This is an important theoretical proposition given that the individualism-collectivism construct typically accounts for a large proportion of cultural variations. Conceptually, the self-enhancement versus self-transcendence domain also resembles the masculinity-femininity distinction advanced by Hofstede (Schwartz, 1994c). The masculine dimension is intimately associated with self-enhancement and the feminine dimension with self-transcendence. In summary and on the basis of the results from the empirical studies reported, Schwartz's proposed value types and value domains appear to show similar

cognitive representations of individual differences as conventional personality traits, and the content and structure of these values appear to be universal.

In terms of application, Schwartz's value model has a number of distinctive advantages over the conventional personality-trait measurements. Specifically, value structures can be analyzed under different levels of abstraction. For example, in the broader value domain, the bipolar dimension covering conservation versus openness to change can be used as an alternative platform to assess individualism-collectivism (IC). This dimension can compensate for the shortcomings in the conventional IC measurements. Some of these limitations include: overlooking specific values that can both serve individualist and collectivist interests; the neglect of individual values that can serve the collective beside the ingroup; and giving the erroneous impression that the two dimensions (i.e., individualism and collectivism) are antagonistic (e.g., Schwartz, 1990).

Schwartz's model is purported to be able to circumvent these problems. For example, the openness-conservation dimension can be adopted as an alternative to the measurement of IC, but where necessary, the openness to change and conservation dimension can also be analyzed as two separate domains. The self-enhancement and transcendence value domains are independent to both individualists and collectivists; and the openness and conservation dimensions can also be scrutinized using specific individual value types (e.g., using security, conformity and tradition) instead of the higher order

value domains (i.e., conservation). These elements of flexibility make the Schwartz Value Survey unique and valuable.

Schwartz's theoretical model has also documented no specific or systematic gender differences in value priorities and the interpretation of value meanings. Empirical data revealed no significant differences between males and females (Prince-Gibson & Schwartz, 1998; Struch, Schwartz & Van der Kloot, 2002). Both gender groups have been found to share similar results across the 10 different value types, and there are no statistical effects for gender by socio-demographic interactions (e.g., Prince-Gibson & Schwartz, 1998) or gender by culture interactions (e.g., Struch et al., 2002).

How do values predict attitudes to immigrants? Like personality traits, values are individual differences known to affect individuals' motivations, cognitions, and emotions. They represent the "desirable states" for a social ingroup, and they also influence the way people perceive their social environment. This includes the perceptions of outgroup members and the attributions of behaviors. In other words, value priorities provide a tinted lens whereby individuals interpret the social world.

Not surprisingly, some of the early research on values focused on racism and intergroup relations, albeit not necessarily using Schwartz's measurement. Investigations of symbolic and modern racism (Kinder, 1986; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988) have identified two types of values that predict outgroup attitudes: the ones that are conceptually related to protestant work ethics, such as individualism, hard work, sexual repression, and delay of gratification, and the

ones that are associated with humanitarianism and egalitarianism, advocating communal and collective well being (Katz & Hass, 1988).

Generally, the protestant work ethics-related values predict increased racial discrimination (e.g., Insko, Noacoste & Moe, 1983) whereas humanitarianism and egalitarianism oriented values relate to less prejudice (e.g., Katz & Hass, 1988). Humanitarianism and egalitarianism advocate social equality, social justice, and showing overall concern for the welfare of other groups. Egalitarian values mediate expression of prejudice through a sense of moral obligation in helping the less privileged (Monteith & Walters, 1998); the two values in general exemplify an ideology that suppresses racial discrimination (Katz & Hass, 1988).

Schwartz and colleagues (Sagiv & Schwartz 1995; Schwartz, Struch & Bilsky, 1990) reported additional evidence in support of the proposed relationship between value types and outgroup rejection/acceptance. Comparing intergroup perceptions between Jewish (dominant group) and Arab (subordinate group) Israelis, they found that within the dominant group, readiness for outgroup contact was positively correlated with value types that emphasize humanitarianism such as universalism and self-direction, and negatively with values that stress tradition, security and conformity (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). In contrast to humanitarianism, traditional masculinity ideologies that espouse achievement orientation and power are associated with increased authoritarianism and sexist stereotypes (Cecil, 1996).

On the basis of the two antagonistic dimensions (i.e., protestant work ethics versus humanitarianism / egalitarianism), it is posited that endorsement of value types that exemplify humanitarianism and egalitarianism will be associated with more favorable perceptions of the outgroup, and endorsement of value types that feature protestant work ethics will be related to increased outgroup rejection. Despite the apparent relevance and importance of using values in studies of intergroup perceptions, it is surprising that there is scant attention given to the application of values in acculturation research. In view of this limitation, the present study will examine the influence of values on perceptions of immigrants. Specifically, it is hypothesized that humanitarian/egalitarian-like value dimensions such as universalism and benevolence (i.e., self-transcendence) will predict more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, while value dimensions that are conceptually similar to the protestant work ethics such as tradition, conformity and security (i.e., conservation); and power and achievement (i.e., self-enhancement) will be associated with negative perceptions of Chinese migrants. The hypotheses are:

- (1) Increased endorsement of universalism and benevolence (i.e., self-transcendence) will predict more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.
- (2) Increased endorsement of tradition, conformity and security (i.e., conservation); and power and achievement (i.e., self-enhancement) will be associated with negative perceptions of Chinese migrants.

## *Method*

### *Participants*

Two hundred and thirty-three persons responded to the survey, including 106 (44%) Maori and 135 (56%) Pakeha respondents. The gender breakdown was 112 and 125, male and female, respectively; four persons did not indicate their gender. In terms of ethnic by gender breakdown, among the Pakeha, there were 64 (48%) males and 70 (52%) females; for the Maori sample, the gender distribution was 48 (47%) and 55 (53%) for males and females, respectively. The overall profile of the sample such as age, gender, employment status and marital status were similar to the data derived from the New Zealand population census.

The mean age was 46.54 years old with a standard deviation of 15.97 years. The participants' ages ranged from 20 to 91 years old. The sample included 125 persons (52%) who were employed full time, 36 (15%) were employed part time, 26 (11%) were unemployed, 50 (21%) were retirees, and six did not indicate their employment status. Of the respondents, 136 were (56%) married, 50 (21%) were single, 11 (5%) were divorced, 23 (10%) were widowed, and 18 (7%) were in a de facto relationship. Three persons did not respond to the item on marital status. All respondents were New Zealand citizens at the point of the survey, indicated by a single item that requires a statement of nationality.

On highest educational achievement, 5.2% ( $N = 12$ ) of respondents indicated having no formal or only primary education. The percentage for

secondary education as the highest level attained was 31.3% ( $N = 72$ ). For post secondary or diploma, the percentage was 41.3% ( $N = 95$ ), and those who minimally received a bachelor's degree was reported to be 22.2% ( $N = 51$ ). Similar to all previous studies, the majority were born in New Zealand (223, or 95.7%), followed by the European continent (7, or 3%), and only a handful from the rest of the world.

### *Procedure*

A mailing approach was adopted, a method that was identical to all the previous studies reported. A list of potential respondents was randomly generated from the Auckland and Christchurch Electoral Rolls, and they were invited to take part in the investigation by mail. Each was given an information sheet with a detailed description of the research, a copy of the questionnaire, a souvenir bookmark from Victoria University of Wellington, and a pre-paid return envelope.

Potential respondents were told that they could keep the bookmark regardless of whether they took part in the study. Participation was voluntary and anonymous. Participants were simply required to send in their completed survey using the pre-paid self-addressed envelopes provided by the school. As it was anonymous research, a copy of the official debriefing statement was sent to everyone on the initial contact list two months later at the completion of the data collection. Based on 1608 valid addresses, 233 completed surveys were received. The overall response rate was found to be 15.0%.



*Measures*

A list of demographic variables was included prior to other psychological measurements. It included questions regarding the respondents' age, gender, ethnicity, nationality (for confirmation as New Zealander), employment status / occupation, marital status, educational level, and both respondents' and their parents' country of birth. In addition to these measurements, there was also a scale on cultural exposure. It was designed as a composite index that assesses the amount of experience with other cultures and countries based on areas such as the ability to speak a foreign language beside English and Maori, possession of a second citizenship or residency in another country, frequency and duration of overseas travel, and whether the respondent was married to a person from another ethnic group or country. After the demographic items, the list of psychological measurements included a copy of Schwartz's Values Survey and the Attitudes toward Chinese immigrants scale. A copy of the information sheet and questionnaire can be found in Appendix 6 and the debriefing statement in Appendix 7.

*Schwartz's Values Survey (SVS).* The Schwartz Values Survey was developed by Shalom Schwartz for the assessment of individual-based values system. The instrument is comprised of 44 items that can either be classified into a ten or a four value dimensional model measuring individual values. Respondents were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert-like scale, labeled as 1(*Not*

*important*), 2(*Important*), 3(*Moderately important*), 4(*Very important*), and 5(*Of supreme importance*). The rating scale in the current study differs from Schwartz's original measurement in which a 9-point Likert scale was used, with endpoints ranging from -1 (*Opposite to my value*), 0 (*Not important*), 1(*Important*), to 7 (*Of supreme importance*).

The ten-dimensions in Schwartz's circumplex model include: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-deference, universalism, benevolence, traditionalism, conformity, and security. The four higher order value dimensions are represented by: self-enhancement, openness, self-transcendence, and conservation. The classification and computation system was based on a standard recommended by Schwartz.

The SVS is a unique instrument in that the items (or scales) are computed in a circumplex formation, that is, measurement on one dimension is conceptually the opposite end of another. For example, self-enhancement and self-transcendence are posited to be unidimensional with each lying on opposing ends of the scale, even though the two dimensions are assessed independently. Because of its structure, Schwartz recommends that all ratings on the SVS be ipsatized prior to further statistical analysis. In ipsatization, each and every individual item rating is deducted from the mean 44-item score. Thus, leaving half of the 44-item scale in positive territory and the other half in negative ground. This procedure will identify the type of values considered to be of relative importance to the individual and at the same time control for any acquiescence bias. Increased scores on the ten or four value dimensions represent increased

endorsement for the particular value beliefs. The psychometric properties for each of 10 value types are shown in Table 3.5.

*Attitudes to Chinese immigrants.* The 10-item measurement was identical to the one used in Studies 1, 2, and 3. The scale was adopted from a study by Ho and colleagues (Ho et al., 1994), and the modified measure has shown to be a consistent and valid assessment for the New Zealand context. An example of the scale includes “New Zealand society has benefited from a policy of attracting Chinese immigrants.” Respondents were told to rate on a 5-point scale (1-*Strongly disagree*, 5-*Strongly agree*) how much they agree or disagree with each item. Increased ratings indicate a more positive perception of Chinese immigrants. The instrument had a Cronbach’s Alpha of .86. The other psychometric properties of the scale are included in Table 3.5.

### *Results*

Prior to any statistical analyses, the scores on the Schwartz Value Survey were ipsatized to eliminate any acquiescence bias that was typically associated with the scale. This was followed by aggregating the individual items according to their respective dimensions (i.e., value types) and checking the reliability of the dependent measure, i.e., attitudes to Chinese immigrants. As a precaution against multicollinearity, a zero-order correlation was performed, depicting the relations between all ten independent variables (i.e., value types) and the dependent measure. The correlation matrix is shown in Table 3.6. In Table

3.6, the Pearson  $r$ 's are equal to or less than  $-.50$ , and hence, the potential threat from multi-collinearity was low.

For the main analyses, two multiple hierarchical regression models were performed. The first one examined the effects based on the 10 value types (i.e., power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security), and the second one used the four broader value dimensions (i.e., self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation). In both regressions, the relevant demographic variables were introduced in Step 1, followed by the 10 or four value dimensions as the main effect terms in Step 2. The former included measurements of age, gender, ethnicity, employment status, educational level, and the composite index of cultural exposure. The hierarchical entry was designed to control for the influence of demographics, and this approach was consistently adopted throughout Study 1 to 3.

Due to the interdependent relations among the different value types and dimensions (i.e., organized as a circumplex model), a stepwise entry was adopted for the multiple hierarchical regression models in Step 2. In the first regression based on the 10 value types, security, achievement and stimulation motivation emerged as significant predictors of attitudes. Increased security and achievement motivation were associated with less favorable perceptions toward Chinese immigrants; higher stimulation motivation, however, was related to more positive attitudes. The overall model significantly predicted attitudes toward Chinese immigrants,  $F(9, 209) = 3.25$ ,  $p < .01$ , with a  $R^2$  and adjusted  $R^2$  of .12

and .09 respectively (see Table 3.7) . Despite the significant inter-correlations between the ten variables, none of the VIF (i.e., variance inflation factor) exceeded five, suggesting that there were no problems of multicollinearity.

In the second regression model and based on the four broader dimensions of values, the results indicated no significant effect for any of the four value domains. None of the demographic variables were significant, and the overall model did not predict attitudes,  $F(6, 212) = 1.49, N.S.$ , managing a  $R^2$  and adjusted  $R^2$  of .04 and .01, respectively (see Table 3.8). On the basis of the results obtained above, H2 is said to be only partially supported.

### *Discussion*

Individual values, as measurements of individual differences, were hypothesized to affect attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. On the basis of Schwartz's model, it was predicted that endorsement for universalism and benevolence would predict less prejudice towards immigrants and endorsement in favor of tradition, conformity, security, power and achievement would be associated with increased negative perceptions. The result of the regression model demonstrated three significant variables and two of the three were consistent with H2. Increased security and achievement motivation predicted less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants whereas higher scores on stimulation motivation were related to more positive perceptions. None of the higher order value domains (i.e., self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation) significantly predicted attitudes.

The influence of security and achievement motivations were in line with expectations derived from protestant work ethics, but the effect of stimulation was not part of the hypothesis. In security motivation, the individual value items are comprised of social order, national security, reciprocation of favors, family security, and being clean. Achievement value type includes being ambitious, influential, capable, and successful. Generally, security and achievement motivations are considered protestant work ethics-related value types, and this form of belief system is known to predict increased racial discrimination (Insko et al., 1983).

The security value type emphasizes the need for safety, social order, and predictability. Empirical studies have also shown the security value to be related to right-wing authoritarianism, a personality trait that tends to be closely associated with intergroup prejudice (Heaven & Connors, 2001). In Study 1, perceived threat was found to be a prominent predictor of attitudes, with the increased perception of threat related to more negative perceptions of migrants. Conceptually, the motivational impetus that underpins the security value type is similar to the one in the perception of threat adopted in Study 1. Both constructs highlight a subjective and 'invasive' experience resulting from increased migration although in the security value type, this perception tends to be more generic and non-specific. The negative relation between security and attitudes in host nationals may reflect the experience of insecurity and uncertainties due to the potential changes in status quo arising from increased immigrants.

Achievement motivation highlights the importance of personal success through demonstrating competence according to certain social standards. Increased achievement motivation was associated with less favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants. Host nationals who rated high on achievement motivation may regard increased immigration as a setback to their chances of achieving their goals. Their aspirations could be affected as a result of having more residents competing for resources, and the added pressure to put in more effort in order to excel ahead of others. This contention is conceptually similar to the zero-sum belief system proposed by Esses (Esses et al., 1998), in which achievement is believed to be made at the expense of other people. It will be interesting for future research to examine the hypothetical relation between achievement values and zero-sum beliefs.

Last but not least, an unexpected effect for stimulation motivation was found. Increased need for stimulation was related to less prejudice. Stimulation need measures the degree of preference for excitement and novelty. Speculatively, individuals who are motivated to experience new challenges in life may embrace immigration and diversity because it will inject new ideas and social behaviors to the host country. In fact, having more immigrants may constitute an impetus for economic growth and other intellectual developments. Conceptually, stimulation motivation could be regarded as similar to the extraversion construct, and the latter dimension is known to be associated with less prejudice; undergraduate students who scored higher on the extraversion dimension showed less discrimination towards deviant and psychiatric patients

(Lester, 1993). Notwithstanding, this speculation should be validated in future investigations.

Finally, it should be noted that the four broader value dimensions (i.e., self-transcendence, self-enhancement, conservation and openness to change) failed to predict attitudes as hypothesized. Instead, specific values based on security, achievement and stimulation motivations were significant. This finding showed that there was a unique predictive power from each individual value types, and attitudes to immigrants were unrelated to the general value domains (e.g., conservation).

#### *Limitations and Directions for Future Research*

Although the statistical analyses found significant effects of stimulation, security and achievement motivation, the investigation has revealed a few limitations. Firstly, the internal reliabilities for some of the value types were relatively low. For example, the Cronbach's Alphas for power, hedonism, and security motivations were .60, .64, and .65 respectively. The cumulative effects from the low reliabilities can be substantial. It is recommended that future empirical studies should consider using measurement that have more items. McClelland (1985), for example, has a comprehensive scale on achievement, power and affiliation motivations, and empirical research has found the measurements to be generally reliable.

Secondly, the low return rate (i.e., 15%) of completed questionnaires remains a cause of concern. Similar to Study 3, the poor response may be due



to the length of the questionnaire or the way the data was collected (i.e., Mail survey).

Finally, the low levels of R and Adjusted R squares show that not much statistical variation has been accounted for by personal value differences. This is important because in Study 3, the same conclusion was drawn. Both studies were designed to represent the influence of individual differences on attitudes toward immigrants. The lack of explanatory power compared to the intergroup factors in Study 1 and 2 suggest that attitudes to immigrants are probably a contextual outcome. That is, host nationals react to challenges posed by immigrant communities; prejudice is reactive and exogenous, rather than static and generic. Not discounting the potential effects of individual differences, perhaps what is necessary and imperative is to examine interaction effects between individual differences and intergroup factors such as threat perception and permeability, not individual differences alone. Future empirical studies should keep this in mind and consider the merits of interaction effects using variables from the two paradigms.

### *Summary*

On the basis of results derived from the individual difference perspective, the framework has offered empirical support, albeit a limited one, to suggest that some personality-like measures and value types can predict attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. In line with the thesis' outline (see Figure 1.4), two studies were performed to investigate the influence of individual differences on

perceptions of immigrants. The two investigations adopted different approaches although both essentially used enduring, stable and trait like measures as predictors of attitudes. In Study 3, personality-like and esteem-related measures were introduced; they included self-esteem, national pride, individualism-collectivism, and social dominance orientation. In Study 4, a broader measurement of individual differences was adopted based on the Schwartz Value Survey.

Results showed that increased collectivism and self-esteem were associated with more favorable opinions. Moreover, collectivism interacted with social dominance orientation to predict attitudes – increased social dominance orientation was related to more prejudice but only for respondents who were high in individualism. In Study 4, the results demonstrated that increased achievement and security motivation predicted more negative perceptions, and increased stimulation motivation was associated with more positive attitudes.

Overall, with the exception of individualism-collectivism and its interaction term with social dominance orientation, the findings were consistent with the expected directions. Individual differences, as part of a broader research framework, have demonstrated an effective, although limited, utility for the prediction of attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. Based on the proposed thesis structure (Figure 1.4), the next level of analysis will investigate the influence of cultural-level differences on attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism. In a cultural-level context, the research focuses on the influence of cultural variations on attitudes toward immigration and

multiculturalism. The results from the New Zealand context will constitute part of a broader investigation on social attitudes.

Despite the vast amount of contemporary research in acculturation, few investigations have attempted to study the influence of cultural variations on attitude formation and cultural differences in attitudes toward immigrants, and at the broader level, the perceptions of multiculturalism. The next framework (and study), therefore, will attempt to illuminate this area using secondary archival data from the Eurobarometer opinion polls on perceptions of immigrants and multiculturalism.

## CHAPTER 4 CULTURAL-LEVEL DIFFERENCES FRAMEWORK

## Introduction to Study 5: Cultural differences

In the current research framework, the influence of cultural variations on attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism will be examined. Generally speaking, culture is defined as the “shared way of life of a group of people” (Berry, 2004, pp. 167). From an anthropological perspective, cultures can be defined as the different ways of life adopted by members of various collective social groups. The motivations and behaviors of each collective group are dictated by its own regulations that are considered functional in each respective cultural context. In cross-cultural psychology, cultural variations are more than just anthropological differences in behaviors. They are also means to explain differences in socio-psychological processes and the outcomes from these processes. In other words, for cross-cultural psychologists, cultural differences are sometimes conceived as both an outcome and a predictor of behaviors at the same time.

On the basis of this definition, cultural variations or differences, can be interpreted as the differences in way of life between various social groups. And in many theoretical and empirical studies of acculturation, the distinction is often based on ethnic, religious, and national differences. From an ecocultural perspective (Berry, 1979, 1994b), cultural variations arise because ecological (such as physical environment, climate and resources) and sociopolitical factors (like the degree of democratic freedom) influence cultural adaptation, and this in

turn, affects individual behaviors and attitudes. In a densely populated environment, for example, the amount of physical space between individuals would be restricted, and as a result of this limitation, certain norms about conformity and social behaviors evolve over time to regulate interpersonal relations so that people can live harmoniously together in this ecological context. In the longer term perspective, this type of social regulation sets itself apart from other cultures.

In contemporary social psychological research, the renewed theoretical interest in cultural variations is also partly driven by the recognition that some socio-psychological theories and processes may not be consistent or valid across cultural groups; and cultural variations can serve as an explanation for these differences. The type of social psychological processes affected by cultural background includes attribution styles/bias, social cognition and self-presentations.

So what are the cultural differences? The East/West distinction is one that has been often adopted by the layperson, but the more scientific ones are based on the work by social and cross-cultural psychologists. Among them, the most notable achievements in this field is derived from the research by Hofstede (1980). According to Hofstede, cultures can be defined as an aggregate of shared belief systems between different social groups, usually demarcated at a geographical and national level. It represents 'the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another' (Hofstede, 1980, pp. 21). Hofstede's investigation revealed four continuums on which a

country can be assessed: individualism, masculinity, power distance and uncertainty avoidance. The four dimensions independently and collectively identify a particular culture's position in relation to others.

Hofstede's framework is not the only the approach to measuring cultural variations. Among others, Schwartz's (Schwartz, 1994c) circumplex model of cultural value dimensions is also highly regarded in this field. According to Schwartz (1994c), there are seven dimensions in which most of the countries differ, these include: mastery, hierarchy, conservation, harmony, egalitarian commitment, intellectual and affective autonomy. The dimensions were originally conceptualized as a form of 'cultural values,' the different value systems adopted by the different countries. In empirical research, however, the seven domains are regarded as synonymous to the notion of cultural variations. More indepth discussion on both Hofstede's and Schwartz's research will be covered in the later sections.

Similar to individual value systems, cultures may differ between countries, and they are sometimes implicated as a causal factor or motivator of our behaviors and thoughts (Hofstede, 1980). As a result, there is a theoretical impetus to believe that cultural differences (i.e., between different countries) may affect the way different cultures perceive immigrants and multiculturalism. The type and structure of cultural dimensions may not be identical to the ones found within an individual sample (e.g., New Zealand in Study 4), although some recent empirical studies by Schwartz (e.g., Schwartz, 1994b, 1994c; Schwartz & Bardi,

2001) do suggest that there is close resemblance between the two levels of abstraction (i.e., individual versus cultural level).

It is also important to note the distinction between individual and cultural-level differences because the two angles do not always converge. For example, the correlation between individualism and national income is +0.82 (Pearson  $r$ ) between countries; however, at the intra-country or individual level, the relationship between the two variables is negative or statistically non-significant (Hofstede, 1980; c.f. Smith & Bond, 1993).

In the similar vein as attributional behaviors, cultural variations can also provide a platform in which results, or more specifically attitudes as in the current study, can be explained. Based on established cultural differences such as individualism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance and masculinity, attitudinal differences concerning perceptions of immigrants and multiculturalism found in archive data can be elucidated according to cultural variations.

In order to accomplish the objectives, a novel method of data collection and analysis is proposed – a “fusion” of archival information on data involving (1) cultural differences and (2) attitudes to immigrants and multiculturalism. Briefly speaking, this process combines two separate sets of data and analyzes the findings as though there is one complete and independent set of data. This is a methodology that is seldom used in acculturation studies and part of the reason is due to the availability of country-level information<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> A multi-national study on identity and acculturation attitudes in immigrant youth and their counterparts is currently underway (e.g., Ward, 2002, August). Spearheaded by John Berry, the 13-nation study included measures on perceptions of multiculturalism and one of their intentions is to predict attitudes toward multiculturalism on the basis of cultural differences, such as ethnic

Three archival databases were selected for the current study. They include Schwartz's seven cultural dimensions (Schwartz, 1994c), Hofstede's (1980) four cultural dimensions, and the Eurobarometer survey (Eurobarometer, 2000). The objective is to correlate attitude measurements found in the Eurobarometer survey with Hofstede's and Schwartz's measurements of cultural differences.

In theory, a good piece of intercultural research should manifest a fair degree of conceptual consistency across different levels of abstraction (e.g., at individual and cultural-level). One effective litmus test of validity can be drawn on the basis of the results' convergence between the individual level and cultural level analyses. Simply put, for the most convincing findings, the empirical conclusions from an individual sample should be similar, if not identical, to the results derived at the cultural level, i.e., using the number of countries as the sample size, and based on the aggregated scores of each countries using a similar set of variables examined in the individual sample. In the correlational results between individualism and national income, for example, it is difficult to draw a conceptual conclusion because the two levels of abstraction do not converge.

In Study 4, increased achievement and security needs were found to predict less favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. On the basis of this finding, it is proposed that cultural level dimensions that echo security (e.g., uncertainty avoidance) and achievement (e.g., masculinity) motivations will be

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homogeneity (Kurian, 2001) and cultural values. At this point of the (thesis) writing, the paper by Berry and associates is still work-in-progress.



associated with more negative perceptions of minority immigrants if the predictive influence of the two dimensions (i.e., security and achievement) are indeed conceptually consistent. In other words, a convergence occurs when cultural variables that suggest achievement and security needs correlate with attitudes toward immigration.

Having said this, it should be highlighted that a significant convergence does not exclude the possibility of having other cultural dimensions emerging as predictors of attitudes at the cultural level. The number and types of cultural dimensions are non-exclusive and non-exhaustive. In summary, the two primary objectives in the present study are: (1) to perform a cultural-level analysis to examine the relations between attitudes to immigrants / multiculturalism and cultural differences, on the basis of Hofstede's four cultural dimensions and Schwartz's seven cultural value dimensions; and (2) to examine potential convergence between achievement motivation and attitudes at both individual and cultural level analyses; and between security motivation and attitudes at both individual and cultural level analyses.

#### *Eurobarometer Survey (2000)*

The Eurobarometer is a social and public opinion research institution housed under the European Union umbrella. It conducts both periodical (i.e., standard surveys) and special opinion surveys covering a number of wide ranging topics of current affairs. Each of the Eurobarometer's studies is meticulously designed by professionals in the relevant fields and executed

according to the stringent guidelines and principles in social research. In general, every survey will include at least 1000 randomly selected respondents for each of the 15 countries polled. The large random sampling method adopted by Eurobarometer provides reliable, comprehensive, and up to date statistical evidence in a variety of topics such as perceptions of the European Union, the media, sciences, personal health, life styles, and immigration.

The first formal investigation of attitudes toward immigration and immigrants was designed in the late eighties (Eurobarometer, 1988), a follow up study was performed a decade later (Eurobarometer, 1997), and a similar investigation was conducted few years later (Eurobarometer, 2000). The most recent survey (i.e., Eurobarometer, 2000) comprehensively covered a wide range of issues pertaining to immigration and multiculturalism. A paper entitled "Attitudes towards minority groups in the EU: Racism and Xenophobia," reflected the rise of racism and xenophobia as a result of increased immigrants from non-European backgrounds in Europe at the time. Participating countries for the study included Austria, Denmark, France, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Based on principal factor analysis with oblique rotation, i.e., assuming that the factors were correlated, the study identified seven major dimensions pertinent to immigrants and multiculturalism, they included: (1) blaming minorities, (2) policies improving social co-existence, (3) cultural assimilation, (4) disturbance, (5) multicultural optimism, (6) conditional

repatriation, and (7) restrictive acceptance of immigrants. In the present research context, only the first five of the seven factors will be considered.

#### *Hofstede's Four Dimensions of Cultural Differences*

Similar to the individual measurement of value motivations, Hofstede considers values as determinants of motivation, cognition, and affect. Cultural dimensions represent the shared and aggregated value system within a particular social ingroup (Hofstede, 1980, 1983). In Hofstede's view, the definition of culture tends to be largely demarcated by national and geographical boundaries.

To appreciate culture and its related influence on motivation, cognition, and behavioral patterns, it is necessary to interpret the concept of culture as a complex and multidimensional structure rather than merely a categorical variable. The multi-dimensional approach will provide a more accurate and informative model to account for variability in social attitudes, norms, behaviors, and other individual differences (Triandis, 1977). Hofstede's (1980) distinction of culture, then, is one such multi-dimensional approach. From 1967 till 1973, Hofstede collected his data using employees from IBM, a multinational company, in more than 50 countries. Based on the data that he collected, a factor analysis was performed using the country level data. In other words, national samples, instead of individual persons, were adopted as the unit of analysis. The results of the analysis revealed four distinctive but inter-related cultural dimensions.

The four include power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, and masculinity. Power distance represents the amount of respect and deference between people from different levels within the hierarchy (i.e., between superior and subordinate positions); uncertainty avoidance concerns the focus on planning and the creation of stability as a strategy to cope with life's uncertainties; individualism deals with whether one's identity is defined by personal choices and achievements; masculinity dimension is the relative emphasis on achievement versus harmonious interpersonal relations. The four dimensions are said to be fundamentally distinctive but inter-related. For instance, a low level of individualism tends to be associated with increased power distance, although the two concepts, individualism and power distance, are generally regarded as independent.

Hofstede labeled the four domains as "ecological" factors, while most others simply regard them as cultural dimensions (c.f. Leung & Bond, 1989). The identification of the four dimensions is followed by an ordering of countries along each of the four dimensions. Each country (or cultures) can be represented by an index on the four dimensions, and the relative status of every country under Hofstede's sample can be compared against each other. With the rankings, it is now possible to examine psychological and social differences such as attitudes, public opinions, motivation and behavioral patterns as functions of the cultural typology. Examples of countries that loaded high or low in each of the four cultural dimensions and representative items to measure the four dimensions are shown in Table 4.1.

It is important to note that the literature review on Hofstede is so far based on his research in the early years (e.g., Hofstede 1980). At the time, the samples that he collected did not include countries that were formerly under the Communist bloc and most of Africa; and most of the countries surveyed were relatively modern and democratic. According to Hofstede, the socialist nations were excluded because their scores on the cultural dimensions may be influenced by the governing regimes rather than a true reflection of the individual ratings. Hofstede recognized the limitations of the sample, and also the existence of subgroups or cultural heterogeneity within individual countries. Each of the samples that he solicited was thus assumed to be somewhat representative of the broader society in general. In response to the first criticism, he recently published an updated version of the four cultural dimensions which contains samples from the previously Communist States such as China and Poland (Hofstede, 2001). The inclusion resulted in an expanded sample with 53 countries.

With the additional numbers, the data were reanalyzed to see if the original four dimensions of cultural-level distinction could be upheld, and whether the relative ranking position of countries remained intact. Overall, the new empirical data found the four dimensions to be robust and consistent. The structure and conceptual framework of Hofstede's cultural propositions did not change with the new empirical data. In terms of relative ranking, the positions of the countries' respective ordering were relatively stable with only minor adjustments. A fifth potential cultural dimension was identified, although not all

samples contained the measured dimensions. Called the “Long and Short Term orientation,” it represents a time perspective towards social relations and events. In summary, Hofstede concluded that there is evidence to suggest that the four country-level value dimensions are indeed theoretically and structurally universal, at least apart from the emic or culturally specific variables. To make his point on instrument reliability and cross-cultural validity, he cited that the country rankings have been consistently adopted as a referral to explain differences in behavioral patterns and managerial strategies across cultures (Hofstede, 2002).

How will the four cultural dimensions predict attitudes to immigrants? In the masculinity orientation, the continuum is conceptually similar to Schwartz’s self-enhancement value domain. The latter includes value types such as achievement, power and hedonism motivations. The masculinity dimension highlights a trade off between achievements versus interpersonal harmony. High masculine cultures place a strong emphasis on personal or collective development and enhancement whereas cultures that are low in masculine traits focus on maintaining peaceful co-existence between the members in the collective state. The former has been found to be associated with a variety of social psychological variables such as sexuality, religiosity, and organizational behaviors. Masculine cultures tend to endorse more taboos regarding sexuality. There is an overall tendency to oppose sexual activities such as abortions, contraception, and masturbation. Homosexuality in particular, is regarded as strictly not acceptable in masculine cultures (Hofstede, 1998a).

In addition, masculinity cultures are also more likely to show higher religiosity and a stronger identification with God (Hofstede, 1998c). Individuals from masculine cultures are more involved with their careers than the family (Hofstede, 1998b) and hold stereotypical expectations in gender relationships (e.g., husbands should be healthy, rich, and understanding; Hofstede, 1996). For cultures low on masculinity, there is stronger emphasis on the importance of interpersonal harmony and caring for the less fortunate. Minority immigrants who are new to the recipient country often lack the necessary resources for adaptation and understanding of mainstream cultures. Hence, host communities that espouse a femininity orientation are likely to be more accepting of minority immigrants than masculine cultures that stress achievement and status.

In conclusion, the conceptual definition of masculinity shares a strong resemblance to the 'achievement' (individual level) values in that both dimensions place a strong emphasis on self-enhancement via discipline. The result from Study 4 has shown that the endorsement of the achievement value predicted less favorable perceptions toward immigrants in general. It is therefore hypothesized that the masculine dimension will document similar influences on intergroup relations despite the difference in the unit of analysis.

As a socio-psychological variable, the individualism-collectivism dimension is considered one of the key constructs that has accounted for much of the cultural variations between different countries. Contrary to the hypothesis and contemporary literature, in Study 3, an increased in collectivistic orientation predicted more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants; but in Study 4,

the broader collective value dimension (i.e., Conservation) showed no significant relation with attitudes. Both measurements, however, were performed at the individual-level, i.e., results derived on the basis of a single sample. Due to the different assessment tools (for individualism-collectivism) adopted in this study, it is not certain whether the cultural-level analysis will reveal a positive, negative, or no significant relation between individualism and prejudice. Notwithstanding the limitation and the results derived from Study 3, the theoretical propositions underpinning individualism-collectivism remain in favor of a negative association between collectivism and attitudes (e.g., Triandis et al., 1985; Triandis et al., 1988).

The collectivist, as opposed to the individualist, regards the self as an extension of a collective entity; has a tendency to assign greater priorities to the ingroup's goal over personal preferences; conforms with the collective's normative attitudes and behaviors; and shares an intense motivational and emotional attachment towards his/her social membership. Overall, collectivists tend to make greater distinctions between members of the ingroup and the outgroup (Brown, et al., 1992; Hinkle & Brown, 1990). In the acculturation context, the immigrants become the obvious outgroup members. Moreover, from an intergroup perspective, minority immigrants who are negatively distinctive (i.e., salient, stigmatized and 'devalued') are more likely to qualify for the 'scapegoat' mentality, representing a convenient target for members of the host community group to attribute their social and economic problems (Esses, et al., 1998).



It should be noted that many of the behavioral and motivational factors underpinning intergroup relations tend to be context or situational specific. For example, the need for consensus and conformity to group norms are only relevant if the target member is considered part of a collective social ingroup. Similarly, an immigrant group will become a problem to the host nationals if it represents a potential threat to the host community at large (Florack, et al., 2003). In situations where evaluative comparisons are involved, hostile and antagonistic relations between host and immigrant groups can be anticipated; and cultural variations in individualism may determine the experience of intergroup antagonism.

In conclusion, cultures low in individualism (i.e., collectivism, if one assumes that the individualism and collectivism is unidimensional) remain theoretically less in favor of immigration. This postulation remains to be empirically validated, and particularly at a cultural level of analysis (i.e., comparing different countries), in which the proposition has never been investigated. The current research aims to fulfill this objective, and it is posited that collectivistic oriented countries are likely to express less favorable attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in general.

Power distance documents the extent to which a culture immerses itself in a hierarchical order. A high power distance culture believes that it is in the interest of the collective group to have clear power differentials between the different hierarchical levels. Members from the lower status level are expected to treat members from the higher-ranking group with deference and not challenge

the status quo. Stability should be preserved for the sake of harmony. In other words, there exists an institutionalized legitimacy in status differentials. In a low power distance culture, members generally accord each other with equal status, and they regard the opinions of everyone with as much importance regardless of the social positions. Members from the lower social status group express their opinions freely and challenge authority figures if they wish to do so.

Although power distance is theoretically a distinctive dimension in Hofstede's classification of cultural variations, the construct has shown to be modestly correlated with the individualism-collectivism orientation. As expected, collectivistic cultures are also known to be high in power distance. The hierarchical distinction that underpins power distance is also considered to be one of the hallmarks of collectivism.

Conceptually, the power distance dimension shares a few distinctive traits that echo the social dominance orientation. Similar to social dominance, discrimination against members from a lower status group is considered a generic characteristic of power distance. In a high social dominance culture, a hierarchical management is preferred and members from the higher status group will adopt a leadership role. Not surprisingly, a high social dominance orientation is associated with increased prejudice towards immigrants in general (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001). In Study 3, increased social dominance orientation predicted greater intergroup discrimination against Chinese immigrants. In view of the empirical and theoretical evidence on the conceptual characteristics of

power distance, it is hypothesized that the dimension will be related to a less favorable perception of immigrants and immigration in general.

Last but not least, uncertainty avoidance is the preoccupation with planning and stability to deal with the uncertainties in the social environment. Cultures that rate high on this dimension tend to feel more threatened by ambiguous situations, have a strong desire for consensus, resist changes, and show less tolerance towards people or groups with different ideas or behaviors (Gudykunst & Matsumoto, 1996; Hofstede, 1979; 1980). High uncertainty avoidance cultures believe that having proper organization, a clear structural outline, and the development of rules and rituals are paramount for effective functioning.

In the communication literature, cultures that rate higher on this dimension are generally more cautious in interacting with strangers and show a greater tendency to adopt a context-specific style (Gudykunst, 1983; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988). Compared to low uncertainty cultures, individuals from high uncertainty cultures generally have less positive expectations about interacting with members of the outgroup (Gudykunst, 1995). In terms of social behaviors, cultures high on uncertainty avoidance are more pessimistic, they are more likely to be influenced by the perceptions or anticipations of negative experiences, including anxiety and even financial losses from investments, rather than the positive rewards (Bontempo, Bottom & Weber, 1997). On the basis of the theoretical evidence, the current research predicts that cultures that rate higher

on uncertainty avoidance will be more sensitive to the social impact from immigration and will express less positive opinions toward multiculturalism.

In the acculturation context, the multiculturalism concept is, by definition, a deliberate form of diversity. Increased migration will introduce new social group memberships, behaviors, and attitudes to an existing country. The extent to which members of the host national group can tolerate these ambiguities will therefore be considered a key factor that will influence outgroup prejudice. Hence, this cultural construct is expected to be negatively related to outgroup acceptance. National cultures that rate high on uncertainty avoidance will be more likely to demonstrate increased outgroup derogation and express lower optimism towards multiculturalism.

#### *Schwartz's Seven Cultural Value Dimensions*

An alternative measure of cultural values is derived from the work of Schwartz (Schwartz, 1994b) as a natural extension of his research performed at the individual level. At the individual level, value priorities embody the experience of conflicts and compatibilities resulting from different motivational goals. At a cultural level, values represent the shared belief system that belongs to a particular social group, and it stands for the socially desirable attitudes in which most members of the social ingroup agreed. Cultural values are derived from the mean score of the ingroup and the differences in mean scores among different cultural groups represents the extent of cultural variability.

Schwartz appreciates the potential cultural variations in the interpretation of value meanings and value structural relations. His continual and persistent pursuit for samples from different cultural-national groups is a testament to his emphasis on intercultural equivalence. Although conceptually independent, Schwartz's analyses of the cultural samples are an extension of his research initially measured at the individual level. Based on the extensive database that Schwartz collected in the 1990's, a cultural value profile involving multicultural samples from various geographical locations was established (Schwartz, 1994b). The same survey items were used to study cultural level differences as in the individual level analysis. After removing items that posed culturally inconsistent interpretations of meaning, forty-five value items were analyzed. The cultural level database comprised a total of 121 samples from 54 countries, with 10 of them from the former Soviet bloc. The database included both teachers and student samples.

The cultural level analysis involves the computation of a mean score for each value type that has been designated as a priori based on the results from the individual level analysis. The data included 86 samples, and it was comprised of school teachers and university students from 41 cultural groups in 38 nations (Schwartz, 1994b; also see Smith & Schwartz, 1997). An average score was calculated for each country on the cultural value dimensions with one end of the bipolar minus the ratings from the other. Based on similar statistical analyses performed at the individual level (i.e., Smallest Space Analysis), the data revealed seven cultural value types: mastery, hierarchy, conservation,

harmony, egalitarian commitment, intellectual and affective autonomy (See Figure 4.1).

Mastery emphasizes the need for control over the social environment by self-assertion. It encourages the active pursuit of individual goals and getting ahead of others. Mastery is subsumed as part of a broader value region labeled self-enhancement. Hierarchy promotes the legitimacy of status differentials and unequal resource distribution, and this value type is also classified under the same region as mastery (i.e., self-enhancement). Conservatism emphasizes value traits that are associated with a collective orientation. The individual value types that were classified under conservation include security, politeness, respect for tradition, self-discipline, preservation of public image, and social order. Conservation stresses the importance for the preservation of status quo, the maintenance of social order, and a harmonious relationship with people from the immediate environment. Harmony highlights the need to synchronize with nature. Together with egalitarian commitment, it falls under the self-transcendence value region. The individual value types for harmony include protecting the environment and unity with nature. In egalitarian commitment, the focus is on voluntary social commitment, a desire to enhance the wellbeing of other people, and it stresses the importance of status equality. Egalitarian commitment represents the anti-thesis of mastery and hierarchy value types and in connection with harmony it forms the self-transcendence value region. The final cultural value is autonomy. The dimension can be divided into affective and intellectual components. Affective autonomy emphasizes stimulation and

hedonism; whereas intellectual autonomy highlights the pursuit for personal interests and growth. The seven cultural value dimensions are represented in Figure 4.1.

On the basis of the seven cultural value dimensions, comparisons between countries or cultures can be made in line with the differences in cultural value priorities, and these cultural variations can be a result of differences in social, political, and historical backgrounds. For instance, comparing Eastern and Western European nationals, the former are found to place more emphasis on conservatism and hierarchy values, and less importance on egalitarianism, intellectual and affective autonomy, and mastery values (Bardi & Schwartz, 1996; Schwartz & Bardi, 1997). Comparing East versus West German teachers, the former group attributed greater priority to hierarchy and conservatism values and the latter group to value types that exemplify egalitarianism, intellectual and affective autonomy and harmony (Schwartz & Ros, 1995). In a separate study of teachers and students from both East and West Germans the two ideological-cultural groups are most antagonistically opposed to each other on the self-direction versus security dimension with the West Germans more in favor of self-direction (Boehnke, Dettenborn, Horstmann, & Schwartz, 1994). The cultural variations in all of the above studies are attributed to many decades of exposure to Communist versus Capitalist ideologies.

Similar to the results from individual level analysis, the seven cultural value dimensions can be organized as a set of bipolar continuums structured in a circumplex formation. The mastery and hierarchy domains are categorized

under the self-enhancement region, and the opposite end is a measurement of self-transcendence, comprised of harmony and egalitarian commitment value types. Openness to change and conservation represent the adjacent bipolar continuum to self-enhancement and self-transcendence. Affective and intellectual autonomy form the openness region; and conservatism is the sole representative for conservation. Overall, cultural values that fall at opposite ends to each other are negatively correlated (e.g., intellectual autonomy and conservation,  $r = -.74$ ); and those that lie adjacent will be positively related (e.g., mastery and hierarchy,  $r = .41$ ). The structure and content of the seven cultural value dimensions can be seen in Figure 4.1.

Based on the descriptions above, it is clear that the two bipolar dimensions echo similar structural relations and content as the individual level analyses. Both levels are comprised of similar bipolar dimensions – self-enhancement versus self-transcendence and conservation versus openness to change, and each region is represented by value types that mirror similar characteristics. For example, in self-enhancement, mastery and hierarchy conceptually overlap power, achievement, and hedonism; in self-transcendence, egalitarian commitment and harmony compare to universalism and benevolence.

Schwartz's distinction of seven cultural values is conceptually similar to the definitions of culture by Hofstede (1980, 2001). Correlations between Hofstede's value dimensions and Schwartz cultural value types showed individualism as negatively related to conservation and hierarchy, and positively to egalitarian commitment and affective and intellectual autonomy; power



distance was positively associated with conservation, and negatively with affective autonomy; uncertainty avoidance was positively related to harmony; and there were positive correlations between mastery and masculinity.

On the basis of the empirical and theoretical evidence, it is predicted that endorsement for mastery, hierarchy, and conservation will be associated with more negative attitudes; and egalitarian commitment and harmony will be related to favorable perceptions of immigrants. In Study 4, increased achievement needs predicted greater outgroup rejection. Hence, should the mastery value emerge as a significant predictor of attitudes, a convergence of individual and cultural data is said to have taken place.

In conclusion, based on the theoretical and empirical evidence reviewed, the following hypotheses are made:

- (1) Increased Masculinity, Power Distance and Uncertainty Avoidance, and decreased Individualism (i.e., based on Hofstede's four cultural dimensions) will be associated with more negative attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism.
- (2) Increased Mastery, Hierarchy, and Conservation (i.e., based on Schwartz's seven cultural values) will be associated with increased negative attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism; however, increased Egalitarian Commitment and Harmony will be associated with more favorable perceptions of immigrants and multiculturalism.

## *Method*

### *Participants and Procedure*

There were three components to the data collection and analyses:

- (1) Part One describes the results of a survey conducted in New Zealand using the questionnaire items adapted from the Eurobarometer study (2000). The descriptive statistics derived from the New Zealand sample will be compared against data from the European countries.
- (2) Part Two requires collating data from Hofstede's four dimensions of cultural differences (i.e., Individualism, Masculinity, Power Distance, and Uncertainty Avoidance), and Schwartz's seven cultural dimensions (i.e., Mastery, Hierarchy, Conservation, Egalitarian Commitment, Harmony, Affective Autonomy, and Intellectual Autonomy) for New Zealand and the fifteen European countries.
- (3) Part Three describes the results from two cultural-level analyses based on zero-order correlations between the country scores on Hofstede's four cultural dimensions and its respective Eurobarometer ratings; and between the country scores on Schwartz's seven cultural value dimensions with the respective Eurobarometer ratings.

### *Part One*

The operating procedure in the first part was identical to the one used for all previous studies with one exception – the potential list of participants does not

include the Maori population<sup>9</sup>. This was a deliberate attempt to make this study compatible with the Eurobarometer survey wherein only members from the majority ethnic group were short listed for the interview. Based on a list of 930 potential respondents, 221 completed surveys were received. Hence, the return rate was calculated to be approximately 24%. Since the survey was anonymous, everyone in the contact list was given a copy of the debriefing statement at the end of the data collection.

The data collected from this study will be aggregated to form a singular score (i.e., a cultural-level index) that will be added to the pool of information in the European survey. In other words, the New Zealand sample will provide an additional *N* size to the available data from fifteen European countries. Hence, the combined cultural-level (i.e., country-level) database will have *N* of 16: European Union (*N* = 15) plus New Zealand (*N* = 1).

In the New Zealand sample, the standard list of demographic variables identical to the one used in all four previous studies was adopted. It included questions regarding the respondents' age, gender, ethnicity, nationality (for confirmation as New Zealander), employment status / occupation, marital status, educational level, and both respondents' and their parents' country of birth. Two hundred and twenty-one New Zealand citizens responded to the survey. All participants identified themselves as New Zealand Europeans. In terms of gender, 97 (44.5%) were male, and 121 (55.5%) were female, and three participants did not specify their gender. A hundred and four persons (47.3%)

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<sup>9</sup> The indigenous Maori population has separate Electoral Rolls and districts from the rest of New Zealand's population.

from the sample were employed full time, 45 (20.5%) held part time employment, 12 (5.5%) were unemployed, 59 (26.8%) were retirees, and one did not indicate his/her employment status. On marital status, 149 (67.7%) were married, 35 (5.5%) were single, 12 (5.5%) were divorced, 16 (7.3%) were widowed, eight (3.6%) were in a de facto relationship, and one did not respond to the item.

The Eurobarometer survey (2000) was comprised of 135 items. Since not all items were relevant to the local context (i.e., New Zealand), only selected ones were adopted in the current study. The Eurobarometer identified at least five domains with respect to opinions on immigration and immigrants. They were labeled by the Eurobarometer as (1) Blame, (2) Policies improving social co-existence, (3) Disturbance, (4) Multicultural optimism, and (5) Cultural assimilation. The information sheet and questionnaire are included in Appendix 8; a copy of the debriefing statement can be found in Appendix 9. Descriptions on the five socio-psychological measurements are as follow:

*Blame* The first factor was labeled as “Blame.” It measures the extent to which respondents attributed their individual and social misfortunes to the new immigrants. Two examples of the factor include: “Non-European immigrants tend to abuse the system of social welfare,” and “The presence of non-European immigrants increases unemployment in New Zealand.” Respondents rate each item on a 3-point scale in terms of how much they agree with each statement (1- *Tend to disagree*, 2- *Don’t know*, & 3- *Tend to agree*). The 3-point likert-like scale was identical to the method used in the Eurobarometer (2000) study. In each of

the six items, the percentage of agreement was calculated based on the number of participants who endorsed '3-tend to agree.' This was followed by computing an average percentage score for the overall 6-item measurement. The overall mean score (i.e., average percentage of agreement for the 'Blame' scale) forms the basis of the comparison with other European Union countries. A high average percentage of agreement represents a higher propensity of attributing blame to immigrants. The 6-item instrument, modified based on the Eurobarometer Survey (2000), has a Cronbach's Alpha of .72.

*Policies Improving Social Co-existence* The 7-item instrument represents the level of support for policies to help improve social relations between majority New Zealanders and the non-European immigrants. Examples include "Outlaw discrimination against non-European immigrants" and "Encourage the creation of organizations that bring people from different races, religions and cultures together." Similar to the measurement on "Blame," respondents were told to rate on a 3-point scale (1-*Tend to disagree*, 2-*Don't know*, & 3-*Tend to agree*) how much they agree or disagree with each statement. For each of the seven items, the percentage of agreement for those who endorsed '3-tend to agree' was calculated over 221 respondents, followed by an average percentage score for the overall 7-item scale. The overall mean percentage of agreement forms the basis of comparison with the fifteen European countries. A high average percentage score of agreement indicates a strong endorsement for policies that

will help improve social co-existence. The scale yielded a Cronbach's Alpha of .83.

*Disturbance* The 3-item index measures the degree of perceived disturbance to the respondents on the basis of the targets' nationality, race, and religion. The statements were "Do you personally find the presence of people of another nationality disturbing in your daily life?" "Do you personally find the presence of people of another race disturbing in your daily life?" and "Do you personally find the presence of people of another religion disturbing in your daily life?" Participants respond on a 3-point scale (1-*Not disturbing*, 2-*Don't know*, & 3-*Disturbing*) indicating the amount of discomfort they feel with respect to each statement. Similar to the procedure used in the first two instruments, an overall percentage of agreement was calculated with an increased score indicating more disturbances. The 3-item instrument had a Cronbach's Alpha of .88.

*Multicultural Optimism* The 5-item instrument assesses the respondents' opinion towards multiculturalism, in particular, whether the infusion of immigrants has an overall and positive influence on the well being of the New Zealand society. Examples of the multicultural optimism scale include: "New Zealand's diversity in terms of race, religion and culture adds to its strengths," and "Immigrants from non-European backgrounds are enriching the cultural life of New Zealand." Respondents were told to rate on a 3-point scale (1-*Tend to disagree*, 2-*Don't know*, & 3-*Tend to agree*) indicating their level of support for a

multicultural society. The overall mean percentage of agreement for the 5-item scale was computed for comparisons with the 15 European countries. The 5-item measurement had a Cronbach's Alpha of .92.

*Cultural Assimilation* Based on the Eurobarometer (2000) survey, a 2-item factor was found to represent cultural assimilation. They include "In order to become fully accepted members of New Zealand society, people from non-European background must give up their own culture," and "In order to become fully accepted members of NZ society, people from non-European background must give up such parts of their religion and culture which may be in conflict with New Zealand law." Respondents rate on a 3-point scale (1-*Tend to disagree*, 2-*Don't know*, & 3-*Tend to agree*) how much they agree with each item. The average percentage of agreement for the 2-item instrument was used for subsequent comparisons.

The data from the New Zealand sample were compiled into single indices that measure the average percent of agreement on each of the five domains identified by the Eurobarometer. The procedure used for the compilation is identical to the one adopted in the Eurobarometer study (2000). For example, in calculating the mean percentages of agreement endorsed by United Kingdom citizens on the Multicultural Optimism domain, it was found that 43% agreed that "Immigrants from non-European backgrounds are enriching the cultural life of the United Kingdom," 53% were in favor of the statement "Where schools make the

necessary efforts, the education of all children can be enriched by the presence of children from non-European immigrant background,” 67% agreed “It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures,” 51% believed that “United Kingdom’s diversity in terms of race, religion and culture adds to its strengths,” and 40% concurred that “Non-European immigrants enrich the cultural life in United Kingdom.” The average percentage of agreement for Multicultural Optimism was therefore calculated as 50.8% for the UK nationals (i.e., the average of 43%, 53%, 67%, 51%, and 40%). The same approach is used in the New Zealand data. The percentage of agreement for individual items on the Eurobarometer survey and the respective average percentage (domain) scores for all fifteen nations can be seen in Table 4.2.

### *Part Two*

The index scores on Hofstede’s (2001) four dimensions of cultural differences (i.e., Individualism, Masculinity, Power Distance, and Uncertainty Avoidance) were collated for the fifteen European countries in the Eurobarometer survey. The index scores on the four dimensions were based on the latest version of Hofstede’s (2001) cultural difference measurement published three years ago. The data was collected through the branch offices of IBM, a multinational company. The fifteen nations included: Austria, Denmark, France, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Belgium, Germany (West), Netherlands, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. As Luxembourg was not included in the IBM samples, the corresponding information



on Luxembourg in the Eurobarometer survey was eliminated from further analysis. Table 4.3 shows the list of fourteen European countries (excluding Luxembourg) and their respective scores on the four dimensions. New Zealand, although not part of the European Union, was added to the list for subsequent analysis.

For Schwartz's (1994c) seven cultural value dimensions (i.e., Mastery, Hierarchy, Conservation, Egalitarian Commitment, Harmony, Affective Autonomy, and Intellectual Autonomy), the respective scores for New Zealand and the fifteen European countries are collated. Due to the limited samples in his investigation, only ten (Nine European plus New Zealand) of the sixteen countries are available. The ten countries include Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain. Table 4.4 reveals the list of ten countries and their respective mean scores on the seven cultural dimensions.

### *Part Three*

By combining data from Hofstede's and Schwartz's conceptions of cultural variations with results from the Eurobarometer study, a cultural-level analysis can be performed based on a sample ( $N$  size) of fifteen or ten countries (New Zealand plus the European countries). In a cultural paradigm, the individual within each sample is no longer the unit of analysis. Instead, the sample countries that were collected will become the subject of examination.

Two sets of correlation matrices will be performed in the final component. The average scores on the Eurobarometer survey will be correlated with (1) the ratings on Hofstede's four cultural dimensions; and (2) Schwartz seven cultural value dimensions. Since the data for all three resources can only be found separately, it is necessary that the fifteen countries' index data on Hofstede's cultural dimensions be matched correctly with its respective ratings on Eurobarometer survey. The same method is used for the Schwartz's cultural value dimensions.

In Hofstede's conception of culture, the following variables measuring intercultural differences are adopted: (1) Individualism, (2) Masculinity, (3) Power Distance, and (4) Uncertainty Avoidance. In the Eurobarometer survey, the five domains of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration include: (5) Blame, (6) Policies improving social co-existence, (7) Disturbance, (8) Multicultural Optimism, and (9) Cultural Assimilation. The descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations for the variables can be found in Table 4.5 and Table 4.6 respectively.

From Table 4.6, the findings showed that increased masculinity was associated with decreased multicultural optimism ( $p < .05$ ) and cultural assimilation ( $p < .10$ ); and increased uncertainty avoidance was marginally related to less multicultural optimism ( $p < .10$ ).

Based on Schwartz's distinction of cultural differences, seven value domains were identified (1) Mastery, (2) Hierarchy, (3) Conservation, (4) Egalitarian Commitment, (5) Harmony, (6) Affective Autonomy, and (7)

Intellectual Autonomy. The criterion of interest are the same as the ones used in the previous analysis, i.e., the Eurobarometer survey measuring the five domains of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: (1) Blame, (2) Policies improving social co-existence, (3) Disturbance, (4) Multicultural Optimism, and (5) Cultural Assimilation. The descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the measurements can be found in Table 4.7 and Table 4.8.

The results demonstrated that increased endorsement for the mastery value was correlated with less multicultural optimism ( $p < .05$ ); increased egalitarian commitment was associated with less support towards policies promoting social co-existence ( $p < .05$ ); and increased emphasis on harmony was related to lower demand for cultural assimilation ( $p < .05$ ). Except for the associations between egalitarian commitment and policies support, the correlations between the variables were generally in line with expectations.

At this point, although the overall findings have documented some form of cultural-level differences in the correlations of attitudes, the analyses have so far excluded other social, economic and demographic variables that may have influenced attitudes. To examine this caveat, the data (from the Eurobarometer) were correlated with these plausible factors, including (1) the economic growth rate (1998-1999), (2) the percentage of unemployment (1998-2001), (3) the area size of the country, (4) the population size, (5) population density, (6) the Gross National Income (GNI, measure in 1999), and (7) the Purchasing Power Parity per capita measured in 1999.

The results of the correlations are presented in Table 4.9. None of the economic and demographic variables were associated with attitudes toward immigration and immigrants. In other words, the cultural variations such as uncertainty avoidance, masculinity, egalitarian commitment, harmony and mastery were more powerful correlates of perceptions than the objective data like the percentage of economic growth and population density. Having said this, it should also be noted that statistically non-significant data should be interpreted carefully in view of the possible Type II error. But notwithstanding this limitation, the results do indeed offer a refreshing perspective on our understanding of cultural differences and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration.

#### *Discussion*

In Hofstede's four dimensions of cultural differences, it was predicted that countries that were high on collectivism (i.e., low in individualism), power distance, masculinity and uncertainty avoidance dimensions would express more negative attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism. In Schwartz's seven cultural value dimensions, countries that strongly endorsed mastery, hierarchy, and conservation value types would have more negative attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism, however, countries that were high on egalitarian commitment and harmony values would have more favorable perceptions of immigrants and multiculturalism.

On the basis of Hofstede's definitions of cultural variations, it was concluded that increased masculinity was related to less multicultural optimism

and marginally related to a weaker endorsement of cultural assimilation.

Increased uncertainty avoidance was associated with marginally less multicultural optimism. Overall, these findings partially supported H1.

The results also revealed that endorsement for the mastery value was related to less multicultural optimism. Furthermore, increased egalitarian commitment was associated with *less* support towards policies promoting social co-existence, and increased emphasis on harmony was correlated with less demand for cultural assimilation. Other than the correlations between egalitarian commitment and policies (promoting social co-existence), the relations between the measures were generally in line with hypothesis, thus, partially supported H2.

Increased uncertainty avoidance was related to marginally less favorable attitudes toward multicultural optimism. The construct emphasizes planning and stability to cope with the uncertainties in the social environment. In cultures that rate high on this dimension, effective functioning and social order requires clear structural relations and organization. In the context of immigration, multiculturalism is a deliberate form of diversity creation. The influx of foreign ethnic social groups will inevitably introduce new social categories, behaviors, concepts, and attitudes. The nature and scope of these uncertainties will depend on the extent of the cultural differences between the host and the recipient nationals and the degree of tolerance in the host nationals' culture. The higher the uncertainty avoidance, the more likely members of the host national group will show prejudice and rejection of immigrants.

Cultures that rate highly on the masculinity dimension demonstrated less multicultural optimism and were less in favor of cultural assimilation. The masculinity continuum is a trade off between achievement orientation and interpersonal harmony. It is a balance between personal enhancement and peaceful co-existence; the masculine cultures exemplify the former and the feminine cultures the latter. The construct echoes elements of achievement motivation; a masculine person emphasizes high religiosity and identification with God (Hofstede, 1998c), believes in the importance of a career (Hofstede, 1998b), and adopts gender stereotypes on social judgment (Lobel & Shavit, 1997). It is interesting to note that at the individual-level, achievement value in Study 4 predicted more negative attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. The conceptual similarity between masculinity and achievement needs thus suggest a convergence of results between individual and cultural level analyses. The evidence for convergence will be discussed later.

At this point, it should be noted that the present conceptual measurement of cultural assimilation has a number of limitations. Similar to the Eurobarometer survey, cultural assimilation is assessed based on two items: "In order to become fully accepted members of New Zealand society, people from non-European backgrounds must give up their own culture," and "In order to become fully accepted members of NZ society, people from non-European background must give up such parts of their religion and culture which may be in conflict with New Zealand law." Evidently, the definition in this case is different from the contemporary perspective that most acculturation investigators are familiar with,

that is, to relinquish the cultures that belong to the immigrants' societies of origin, *and* embrace the cultures from the societies of settlement. Moreover, there is also a question of beneficiary. Is cultural assimilation (based on the Eurobarometer's definition) necessarily a bad thing? The answer is unclear because the two items can be interpreted both positively and negatively. In view of this limitation, the current findings should be analyzed with caution and future research may wish to reexamine this contention.

In Schwartz's cultural value differences, increased egalitarian commitment was associated with less favorable attitudes for policies that promote social co-existence. The direction, however, was opposite to what was anticipated. Egalitarian commitment stressed the importance of voluntary social commitment, the desire to enhance the welfare of other people and the emphasis of status equality for people from different social backgrounds, ethnic, and gender groups. Theoretically, egalitarian commitment exemplifies the opposite of the mastery value type, and it should be positively related to more favorable perceptions of multiculturalism and immigrants. It was therefore surprising that the opposite pattern of result was revealed. One plausible explanation for this unusual effect involves the interpretation on supporting "policies that improve social co-existence." In cultures high on egalitarian commitment, the endorsement of supporting policies could be incorrectly conceived as a form of bias in favor of immigrants over other social groups, although ironically the objectives of these policies are supposed to address the problems encountered by immigrants, such

as having lower status and limited opportunities. This contention deserves more empirical scrutiny in future investigations.

Increased harmony value type was associated with less demand for cultural assimilation. The harmony value type emphasizes the need to synchronize with nature, which includes protecting nature and unity with the surrounding environment. It is part of the self-transcendence value region, and it stresses the need for considering beyond the individual to include the broader collective social groupings and the environment. The negative relation between harmony and cultural assimilation shows that in societies that rate highly on harmony motivation, members of the dominant group recognize that ethnic minorities have a need for their own cultural identities that might differ from the mainstream community. The mainstream community believes that it is unrealistic to expect immigrants to give up their heritage cultures completely to embrace the identity of the adopted country. Speculatively, perhaps the concepts of immigration and multiculturalism are seen part of a 'naturalistic' human progression for cultures that rate high on harmony. In other words, the idea of environmental conservation and harmonizing with the nature also includes global immigration. This contention should be revisited in future research.

Lastly, the mastery value type was positively associated with less multicultural optimism. Cultures that rated high on the dimension tended to be less optimistic over cultural diversity. This value domain stresses the need for active control over the environment through self-assertion. It emphasizes the pursuit of individual goals and getting ahead of others. Mastery is part of a



broader value region labeled self-enhancement that focuses on personal development and growth. Conceptually, the mastery dimension is similar to the achievement value type measured at the individual-level. Both value types encompass individual value items such as being ambitious, influential, capable, and successful. The results corroborated the findings derived from Hofstede's masculinity dimension where cultures that score high on the construct report increased rejection of policies that promote social co-existence, show less optimism for multiculturalism, and are less in favor of cultural assimilation.

Comparing the results between Study 4 and Study 5, it can be observed that there was a convergence of results, albeit a limited one, on the correlations between values and attitudes toward immigrants. In Study 4, the need for achievement, measured at the individual level, predicted less favorable perceptions toward Chinese (minority) immigrants. In Study 5, the masculine culture of Hofstede and the mastery value of Schwartz were associated with a pessimistic view of both multiculturalism and cultural diversity. The two dimensions, measured at the cultural level, embody an achievement-oriented society, the desire to strive for personal enhancement through diligence, perfection and hard work – the same type of qualities echoed in Study 4 in an individual level analysis. It should be highlighted that the identical conclusion regarding the cultural influence of achievement orientation was derived on the back of separate assessment tools, i.e., Hofstede and Schwartz. This multi-instrument approach indirectly provides an additional piece of corroborating evidence to support the robustness of the result.

Overall, at a cultural-level, the effects of masculinity reported the greatest correlations with the five dependent variables. It registered significant relationships with multicultural optimism and cultural assimilation and all significant relations were in line with the expected directions.

#### *Limitations and Directions for Future Research*

Despite the intriguing results, there are a few limitations that need attention in future empirical research. Firstly, the number of cultures or countries that are available for comparisons is relatively small. In Hofstede's cultural dimensions, only fifteen out of sixteen countries are available for comparisons using data collected from IBM, a multinational company. Representative information from Luxembourg was not available and as a result, this culture was left out for comparisons. In Schwartz's cultural value differences, country level information was only available in ten out of the sixteen countries. Hence, despite the statistically significant relations between cultural values and attitudes, the limited number of countries available for comparisons should be noted.

The limitation of the sampling data has also led to a secondary caveat – external validity. The current data comprises exclusively Western oriented countries including New Zealand. Hence, it should be noted that the extent to which the conclusions from this research can be generalized across other nations, particularly the Asian countries, will be limited. More cultural-level empirical research in Eastern oriented countries is needed.

Last but not least, psychometric limitations involving the Eurobarometer items and the sampling methodology used by Hofstede should be addressed. The Eurobarometer survey provided five-attitudinal measures for the current study. Despite showing good internal reliability and validity, the domains of assessments are still limited. The five domains from the Eurobarometer may not completely reflect the diverse spectrum of opinions toward immigrations and multiculturalism. Assessments based on other criteria, such as stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, and contribution of knowledge and skills to the country can be adopted as alternative measurements in future studies. Hofstede collected most of his data from IBM, a multinational company. It is commonly acknowledged that the samples of employees from the data may not be representative of the larger population and therefore, an issue of conceptual validity has been raised.

Finally, there is an issue of conceptual equivalence in intercultural comparisons. The Eurobarometer surveys are purported to be conceptually comparable across different European countries, but at the same time said to be localized by asking each European Union member to focus on migration groups that each country considered most problematic. This proposition suggests a compromise between the two opposing objectives. On one hand, every cultural State is poised to have its own unique challenges arising from immigration, but on the other, the degree of conceptual equivalence and hence comparability has

to be maintained. The balance is a theoretical and analytical challenge that has to be addressed in future investigations.

## CHAPTER 5 GENERAL DISCUSSION

The thesis has been designed to expand contemporary research in acculturation and to redress the imbalance of research undertaken from the immigrants' relative to the host nationals' perspective. Broadly speaking, the research examined host nationals' attitudes toward a specific minority immigrant group in New Zealand and broader attitudes toward multiculturalism. The investigations were based on three levels of analysis: intergroup, individual, and cultural. The intergroup perspective examined the influence of contemporary intergroup factors such as contact, perceived threat, intergroup permeability, legitimacy, and acculturation expectations. At the individual-level of analysis, the attention was directed to the influence of individual differences on attitudes. Individual differences were considered in terms of key social psychological traits that were known to affect prejudice; these included social dominance orientation and Schwartz's model of value types. The third and final framework, culture-level analysis, examined the dimensions of cultural variations such as masculinity, power distance and mastery values.

Although the three frameworks were regarded as conceptually distinct, the results have partially converged, and this in turn corroborates the empirical evidence derived from each approach. In Study 1, as part of the intergroup relations framework (Figure 1.4), increased perception of threat predicted more prejudice towards Chinese immigrants. Increased intergroup contact, on the other hand, was related to having more favorable attitudes. In Study 2, based on

the measures from the Interactive Acculturation Model proposed by Bourhis et al. (1997), support for assimilation and exclusionism acculturation strategies predicted more prejudice, whereas greater endorsement for individualism was associated with more favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants.

In the individual difference framework, two independent studies were performed to investigate the influence of individual-level differences on attitudes. The first one (i.e., Study 3) examined the main and interaction effects of self-esteem, individualism-collectivism, national pride, and social dominance orientation; and the second study (i.e., Study 4) adopted the Schwartz Value Survey as an individual-level differences measure to predict attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

The results of Study 3 revealed that self-esteem, individualism-collectivism, and social dominance orientation predicted attitudes toward immigrants. Increased personal esteem was associated with having more positive perceptions toward Chinese immigrants, thus supporting the hypothesis derived from Social Identity Theory. Contrary to hypothesis, increased collectivism predicted more favorable attitudes. The individualism-collectivism construct also interacted with social dominance orientation; increased social dominance orientation was associated less favorable attitudes, but only in the high individualism condition. In Study 4, the Schwartz Value model was employed as an alternative measurement to assess individual differences. The results showed increased stimulation related to having more positive attitudes

toward Chinese immigrants, and increased security and achievement motivation predicted more negative perceptions.

In the third and final research framework, the influence of cultural-level differences on attitudes was examined. Cultural analyses, as opposed to individual level differences, examine the type of cultural variations between different collective groups, and how the differences influence opinions toward immigration. The framework adopted Hofstede's four dimensions of cultural variations and Schwartz's seven cultural value dimensions as measures of cultural differences. The outcome measures were based on archive data from the Eurobarometer surveys. In Hofstede's framework, the results of the analyses showed that increased uncertainty avoidance was associated with marginally less multicultural optimism, and increased masculinity was related to less multicultural optimism and marginally less endorsement of cultural assimilation. In Schwartz's cultural value model, cultures that rated highly on the mastery value domain tended to espouse lower multicultural optimism; increased egalitarian commitment was related to less support for policies that promote social co-existence; and greater emphasis on harmony was associated with lower demand for cultural assimilation.

Theoretically, there was a strong rationale to suggest that the collectivism dimension would be associated with increased outgroup rejection (Brown et al., 1992). The current research, however, showed inconclusive results. In the individual difference framework (Study 3), increased individualism, not collectivism, predicted less favorable perceptions of Chinese immigrants. But in

the context of the Schwartz Value Survey (Study 4), neither of the two quadrants (i.e., openness to change, and conservation), proxy measurements for individualism and collectivism, respectively, predicted attitudes toward Chinese immigrants. At the cultural level based on Hofstede's cultural distinction (Study 5), individualism-collectivism was not significantly related to any of the dependent measures. Hence, in view of the inconsistencies, it is premature to postulate about the relation between the two constructs and future empirical research should definitely revisit this theoretical question.

On the basis of results from the five investigations, the data seem to suggest some form of partial convergence across the different empirical studies. The conceptual definitions and findings on perceived threat (Study 1), security motivation (Study 4) and uncertainty avoidance (Study 5) exemplify an experience of invasion and encroachment; the fear of the uncertainties and the preoccupation with the negative consequences of large scale immigration, such as the potential loss of jobs and the competition for resources (e.g., education) and other social benefits (e.g., medical). The results on social dominance orientation (Study 3) and exclusionism (Study 2) represent a perception of ingroup superiority and exclusivity; and finally, achievement motivation (Study 4), mastery cultural values (Study 5), and the masculinity dimension (Study 5) epitomize the broader self-enhancement value type highlighted in Figure 3.2, and Figure 4.1. It should be noted that Study 4 and 5 were performed at an individual and cultural level, respectively. The convergence at the two levels suggests that the results were indeed robust, and a more in-depth discussion on the



implications from both individual and cultural level research will be addressed in the next section.

*Integrating the Multi-level Analyses in Acculturation Research*

In the broader acculturation model outlined in Figure 1.3 (Segall et al., 1999), the general attitudes toward ethnic relations and multiculturalism are believed to influence both individual and group acculturation. Although much has been said about how the different characteristics in the society of settlement can affect immigrants' adaptation, very little empirical research has been performed to examine the *relative* differences *between* the recipient cultures, and how cultural variations affect the acculturation process. On the basis of the thesis' research findings (Study 5), it is now understood that cultural differences in masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, harmony motivation, mastery, and egalitarian commitment were correlated with attitudes to immigration. These cultural characteristics underscore the type of factors in the society of settlement that are relevant for the broader acculturation process (see Figure 1.3).

More specifically, cultural variations (for the host community) in masculinity and uncertainty avoidance (based on Hofstede's distinction of cultural differences) and mastery (based on Schwartz cultural value distinction) were associated with multiculturalism optimism. To repeat the findings, based on Hofstede's cultural distinction and Schwartz's model of cultural value differences (Study 5), host cultures that rated higher on masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and the mastery value domain tend to express lower multicultural optimism, and

demand less cultural assimilation (for masculinity only). A masculine oriented culture places significant emphasis on achievement orientation. The society sets a high standard for success, and not meeting the criteria would be regarded as a social failure. Similarly, in the mastery value domain, there is a strong emphasis on the need to excel in the areas that one engages, and individuals not conforming to the social target will be sidelined. Not surprisingly, both masculinity and a mastery value domain share a conceptual overlap as both constructs highlight the importance of achievement orientation. The significant and negative relation between (1) masculinity and multicultural optimism and cultural assimilation; and (2) between mastery and multicultural optimism and cultural assimilation provided strong theoretical and empirical evidence that the masculinity / mastery culture is indeed a significant correlate of attitudes.

At the individual level analysis, the research based on individual differences framework (Study 4) demonstrated that achievement motivation predicted less favorable perceptions of immigrants. Integrating the results from both individual (Study 4) and cultural level (Study 5) studies, it is clear that there is some kind of *data convergence* between the two levels of analyses. Specifically, achievement motivation (Study 4), masculinity orientation (Study 5) and the mastery dimensions (Study 5) were all associated with attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism. Overall, increased endorsement in any of the three domains was associated with less positive perceptions of immigrants and multiculturalism. The three concepts also share similar theoretical definitions, in that all of them emphasize the importance of achievement orientation. On the

basis of this finding, the results suggest that the relation between achievement orientation and attitudes converges between individual and cultural level research; and achievement orientation, in general, correlates negatively with immigrant attitudes.

Notwithstanding, it should be reminded that correlational data, regardless at the individual or at the cultural level, should be interpreted with caution. For instance, individuals high on achievement motivation may not necessarily have a greater proclivity to espouse negative attitudes toward immigrants. It could be possible that individuals high in achievement orientation are *also* high achievers generally, and high achievers would probably want to keep out the competition by demonstrating more negative attitudes toward immigrants. In a similar vein, masculine cultures could be successful generally, and such cultures would also be more inclined to keep immigrants out of the country. In short, the causality of the relationship cannot be established. In order to appreciate the relation between masculinity and perceptions of immigrants and multiculturalism, it is important that future empirical studies adopt longitudinal designs for research in both individual and cultural levels.

The conclusions from the cultural-level analysis (i.e., Study 5) could also be discussed in the perspective of Berry's model of intercultural relations (see Figure 1.1; Berry, 2004). In Berry's (2004) intercultural framework (Figure 1.1), he identified multicultural ideology as an important social political environment that is receptive to immigrants. The multicultural ideology espouses the idea of "unity in diversity," the perception that the community in general will benefit from

having people of diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds. Berry, however, cautioned that the positive multicultural experience could only be precipitated by the perceptions of economic, personal and cultural security (i.e., Multicultural hypothesis). The emphasis on economic and cultural security echoes the conclusions based on the earlier research where the perception of threat (Study 1; symbolic and realistic threats), and security motivation predicted less favorable attitudes toward immigrants (Study 4).

### *Revisiting the Host Acculturation Experience*

In the contemporary acculturation research, the host perspectives' on intercultural relations have largely been overshadowed by the vast amount of empirical and theoretical literature on the immigrant groups. Moreover, it is also lack of a general research theme, or direction, for the host acculturation experience. How can the findings on host acculturation expectations (e.g., host community acculturation strategies) be integrated with the contemporary research in intergroup studies, such as perceived threat and intergroup contact?

In order to appreciate the host perspective in acculturation, it is important to re-examine the evidence all together, i.e., based on the five studies. What are the conceptual and theoretical implications, and how do they contribute to the host acculturation research literature? At a broader conceptual level, two seemingly opposing<sup>10</sup> research themes appear to have evolved – 'invasion' versus 'enrichment' (see Figure 5.1) experiences. The first one is based on security motivation and threat related perceptions and a general sense of

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<sup>10</sup> May or may not be mutually exclusive.

encroachment in both cultural and economic aspects of immigration and multiculturalism. In the second dimension, the 'enrichment' experience, reflects the perception that immigrants and the broader concept of multiculturalism can benefit the host community. The theoretical distinction of 'enrichment' versus 'invasion' mirrors the concept of 'approach' versus 'avoidance' strategies in learning and developmental psychology; specifically in the context of immigrants and refugees, and the differentiation of 'push' versus 'pull' factors.

The 'enrichment' perspective favors a form of active engagement and intergroup contact with people from diverse backgrounds. It regards multiculturalism as culturally stimulating and inspiring, and it supports multiculturalism and policies that promote immigration. Members of the host community who experience 'enrichment' believe that immigrants have the right to practice and adopt whatever cultural heritage and attitudes that immigrants consider relevant; they tend to express high personal esteem and see himself or herself as part of a broader collective community. On the basis of a secure economic and cultural identity, cultural diversity can provide an enormous resource of strength and cultural resilience. Immigration enhances, not depletes, the overall amount of economic resources.

In the 'invasion' experience, multiculturalism and immigration policies should be avoided, are culturally divisive, threaten the social hierarchical order, create uncertainties, elevate competition, and affect the perception of communal security. The 'invasionist' regards multiculturalism and immigration as threats to the cultural and economic wellbeing of the host community. Immigration

deprives the host nationals of their jobs and welfare, and it dilutes the host society's distinctive cultural heritage. For people who experience immigration as 'invasion,' the concept of multiculturalism provides no obvious benefits to the host society. They tend to espouse acculturation attitudes that favor cultural assimilation or exclusionism, and believe that immigrants (if there are any) should give up their heritage cultures and adopt the cultures of the recipient community.

Generally speaking, the 'invasion/enrichment' distinction mirrors the 'push/pull' dilemma in emigration. The host distinction (i.e., enrichment versus invasion) exemplifies the difficult choices experienced by many modern societies in coping with the prospects of economic globalization and cultural diversification – the need to be connected to the rest of the world, but at the same time, feeling apprehensive to opening the doors for immigrants. The 'enrichment' perspective believes that immigrants and multiculturalism can place the country in a good position to meet the challenges in globalization; but according to the 'invasion' experience, the changes will come with an enormous price, and the benefit, if any, will be limited.

It is not clear whether the two dimensions or themes are antagonistic or independent. Both dimensions, however, seem to have a role in the different acculturation research frameworks and theoretical models. For example, the 'invasion' theme echoes Esses' (Esses et al., 1998) proposition that the zero-sum belief system determines host attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Zero-sum beliefs are broadly defined as the perception of tradeoff between

immigrant and host national communities, where one group can only achieve economic or social progress at the expense of the other. The 'invasionist' view point epitomizes the zero-sum perception that giving more resources for one group implies having less for the other. This proposition is also consistent with other theoretical models like the realistic group conflict theory and the integrated threat theory. With limited resources, 'invasionist' will regard the presence of immigrants as a source of symbolic and realistic threat, and this in turn, exacerbates the experience of insecurity and prejudice toward immigrants.

In contrast to the 'invasion' perspective, the 'enrichment' perspective considers immigration and multiculturalism as a form of cultural renaissance and economic rejuvenation. The perception that a culturally heterogeneous environment will enhance the vibrancy in the host community mirrors Berry's (2004) postulation of a multicultural ideology, the postulation of deriving strength and unity from diversity. The 'enrichment' theme is a key indicator of an open and inclusive society, and a condition for the successful implementation of the integration strategy in ethnocultural groups including immigrants (Berry, 1991).

Conceptually, the 'enrichment' perspective is also reflected in the contact theory (Allport, 1954); it is generally assumed that having more contact between members of different social groups will enhance the appreciation of each other and build relationships. Evidently, the idea of increased contact will not surface in the 'invasion' experience because the preference is for avoidance of immigrants and multiculturalism altogether. In line with the 'enrichment' theme, the positive relation between self-esteem and attitudes corroborated the

hypothesis derived from the Social Identity Theory. Increased personal esteem was associated with more positive perceptions toward Chinese immigrants. A secured and comfortable socio-psychological environment is seen as an important criterion and hallmark for the multicultural hypothesis; at a more general level, the 'enrichment' experience will also create a more conducive atmosphere for the integration strategy to be realized (Berry & Kalin, 1995).

In the broader social context, the 'enrichment' experience exemplifies a form of collective identity and attachment to cultural diversities, similar to some of the conceptual characteristics of collectivism, and there is a mutual recognition that there is a place for everyone regardless of their background. The concept embodies a sense of communal attachment and relationship to the broader society, a suggestion that parallels some of the pre-conditions of multiculturalism highlighted by Kalin and Berry (1995).

### *Revisiting Intercultural Relations: Immigrant and Host Perspectives*

In Figure 1.1, Berry (2004) distinguished two categories of intercultural strategies generally reported in ethnocultural groups and the larger community. In his view, intercultural relations studies could either be in the form of 'acculturation' or 'intergroup' research. The former is based on the literature on acculturation strategies, and the latter is based on the contemporary intergroup studies. Although Berry recognizes the importance of both immigrants and host acculturation experiences<sup>11</sup>, he had however, asymmetrically implied that

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<sup>11</sup> For simplicity, 'ethnocultural' groups are assumed as synonymous to 'immigrant' groups, and the 'larger' society as the 'host' community.



'acculturation' research is a platform for immigrant studies, and 'intergroup' research for the host community. And indeed, the associated factors and concerns in the framework exemplified the distinction. Issues like contact participation, cultural maintenance/identity, and acculturation attitudes (i.e., left hand side in Figure 1.1), appear to be immigrant-centered, whereas ethnic stereotypes, ethnic attitudes, ethnic prejudice, and multiculturalism ideology (i.e., right hand side in Figure 1.1) seem more host oriented. Overall, the model gives the impression that the choice of research framework would be determined by the type of research participant involved (i.e., immigrant versus host). Clearly, this is not the case, and the author does not believe that Berry had this in mind when he conceptualized the model. There is a place for both types of research emphasis in both acculturating groups (i.e., immigrant and host), and the current research has demonstrated so, albeit from the host perspectives only.

From the host perspective, Berry identified multicultural ideology as an important concept in host acculturation research. It is a social ideology that will influence positive acculturation experiences and is probably a crucial factor in maintaining intergroup harmony in pluralistic societies. The multicultural ideology posits that a community can derive greater strength based on people from diverse backgrounds, and immigration has a key influence on this perception. Although, the conceptual definition of the multicultural ideology is a theoretically appealing attitudinal measure, the broader question has to be, what are its generic relations to the contemporary literature in social psychology research? In

short, what are the predictors of multicultural ideology and under what type of research framework?

The current research illuminated some aspects of the multicultural hypothesis. The perceptions of cultural and economic threats, reflected in uncertainty avoidance, security and achievement values, social dominance orientation, and endorsement of the exclusionism and assimilationism acculturation attitudes precipitated an 'invasive' experience; one that would eventually undermine multiculturalism as a social ideology (Figure 5.1). On the other hand, a secured personal esteem, desire for more stimulating contact experiences, strong attachment to the community at large, and individualistic acculturating expectations tend to initiate an 'enriching' acculturation experience; and this in turn, makes members of the host community more likely to accept or adopt the multicultural ideology. It should be highlighted that this research was not specifically designed to investigate Berry's multicultural hypothesis (or more broadly, multicultural ideology), although it is believed that the current results has implications for Berry's research.

In summary, in the current research, which has relied exclusively on host community samples, provided complementary evidence to the acculturation literature on sojourners/immigrants adaptation. The findings provided a refreshing perspective on contemporary acculturation research, where the latter tends to be sojourner or immigrant oriented. Moreover, the present thesis has also argued and demonstrated that both types of intercultural strategies for research (i.e., acculturation and intergroup research; Figure 1.1) can be

successfully applied to both host and immigrants groups without the limitations implied by Berry (2004). Overall, the current thesis is probably among the few dissertations in acculturation research that has conducted all its investigations based entirely on the host perspective. The investigation is also unique, as it had considered both individual and group-level analyses on attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism.

*A Word on Ethnocultural Factors in New Zealand and  
Attitudes Toward Chinese Immigrants*

In terms of the demographic influences on attitudes, the current dissertation found that the females, as opposed to males, had more negative perceptions towards immigrants in two of the four (Study 2 and 3) individual-level regression analyses<sup>12</sup>. This finding differs from some of the contemporary literature where the males demonstrate relatively less favorable opinions toward members of a stigmatized outgroup (e.g., Baker & Fishbein, 1998; Cunningham, Dollinger, Satz, & Rotter, 1991). In terms of age, the first two studies (Study 1 and 2) showed a positive relation with attitudes, older participants tended to report more favorable opinions towards immigrants. The two other individual-level analyses (Study 3 and 4) did not reveal any significant relation between age and perceptions. For both education and employment, there were no significant relations with attitudes in any of the four individual-level analyses (i.e., Study 1 to 4). For cultural exposure, Study 3 documented a negative relation with

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<sup>12</sup> Significant at Step 1

attitudes<sup>13</sup>, increased exposure to other ethnic and national cultures predicted more favorable perceptions toward immigrants; in the remaining individual-level studies (i.e., Study 1, 2, 4) it did not predict attitudes. In the final and probably the most important demographic factor, ethnicity predicted attitudes towards Chinese immigrants. In Study 1, 2, and 3, ethnic Maori, relative to the European New Zealanders (i.e., Pakeha), reported a less favorable opinion towards Chinese immigrants.

The ethnic difference is not surprising considering that a disproportionate number of native Maori belongs to the lower socio-economic status. On average, native Maori have a lower life expectancy, less income, lower education, higher infant mortality rate and more likely involved in crimes than other ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). In addition to the lower socio-economic status, the political intergroup relation between the European New Zealanders (i.e., Pakeha) and Maori have been conditioned by the Treaty of Waitangi, an historical agreement signed between the British colonials in 1840. The Treaty settlement provided the Crown (i.e., the Queen and the New Zealand government) the sovereignty to govern New Zealand and indirectly acknowledged the legitimacy of the British settlement. The Treaty also recognized Maori's ownership of estates, including land, fisheries and forestry, and that the Crown may compensate the Maori for the use of these resources (see Kawharu, 1989). Due to the native's (i.e., Maori) unique status in New Zealand, some Maori have also questioned if the immigration policy is a deliberate attempt by the government (governed predominantly European New

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<sup>13</sup> Cultural exposure is inverse scoring; a high score indicated low exposure.

Zealanders) to dilute their political influence in New Zealand (The Dominion Post, 2002 Sept 16; Vasil & Yoon, 1996). Not unexpectedly, Chinese (and Asians more generally) immigrants became the target of prejudice, in part due to their visible appearances compared to other European ethnic groups. The complexity and political debate in the Treaty of Waitangi is beyond the scope of this thesis. Future empirical research may wish to examine this matter in detail.

The sense of insecurity expressed by the Maori respondents can also be interpreted from the perspectives of the integrated threat theory, and in the context of the multicultural ideology (Berry, 2004). Increasing immigrant population in New Zealand may dilute the distinctiveness of Maori New Zealand culture (symbolic threat), and elevate the competition for economic resources and other opportunities (realistic threat). The fact that most recent Asian (including Chinese) immigrants coming into New Zealand have better educational qualifications<sup>14</sup> implies that the Maori population could be marginalized if the high immigration rate persists. Evidently, the social economical circumstances experienced by the Maori population are not conducive to fostering multicultural ideology (for Maori). From the application and policy perspectives, it would be imperative to assure the ethnic Maori that increasing the immigrant population will not dilute their cultural heritage, nor will it deprive them of the economic resources.

In addition, the author noted that more indepth statistical analyses comparing Maori and European New Zealanders could be done using the data

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<sup>14</sup> Among overseas-born residents, 17.6% has at least a university degree compared to 10.1% in the native-born, and only about 2.5% in the Maori population (New Zealand Census 2001)

that is currently available. These include intergroup comparisons on the perception of threat, perceived permeability, contact, fairness and legitimacy, and host acculturation strategies. The plausible intergroup differences should theoretically mirror the findings from other empirical studies relating to host acculturation research in New Zealand (e.g., Ward & Masgoret, 2004 April), and it may also suggest potential moderating effects of ethnicity on intergroup differences (e.g., threat, legitimacy, and contact) and attitudes toward Chinese immigrants and immigration policies. At the individual-level framework, differences in personality traits, self and collective esteems and personal values could also differ significantly between the two ethnic groups, and speculatively, these differences may indirectly influence the overall attitudes. In both levels of analyses (i.e., intergroup and individual levels), the differences could be partially explained by the socio-historical and political relations between the Maori and European New Zealanders; the unique social status of the native Maori in New Zealand; and the tripartite relations between Maori, European New Zealanders and Asian immigrants.

Notwithstanding the different analytical possibilities, it should be emphasized that the aim of the current thesis is *not* to provide an indepth analysis on the social, historical, economical and political differences between the two ethnic groups, and how intergroup differences influence attitudes. The present dissertation is committed to the development of a host nationals' framework in acculturation research and it is important not to go beyond the scope of this thesis although the author does recognize the importance and

influence of the socio-historical and political differences between Maori and European New Zealanders. Future research should be aware of this limitation.

*Evaluation, Limitations, and Directions for Future Research*

The current research has performed a number of studies on the basis of a multi-level research framework. The levels of analysis included intergroup, individual and cultural differences. The general research framework represents a comprehensive overview of intercultural relations from the perspectives of the host nationals. It has provided a platform for the different theoretical emphasis to converge, and thus synergizing the conceptual implications of the different research perspectives.

In the author's opinion, the greatest accomplishment in the thesis is the cultural-level study of attitudes toward multiculturalism (Study 5). The study adopted a creative approach to gather information on multicultural attitudes using secondary archival data on public opinions in the Western European countries and New Zealand; and followed by a data merger with Hofstede's and Schwartz's measurements of cultural differences. This approach has circumvented the need for expensive multi-national sampling and rendered interesting findings.

Despite the merits in the current research, there are some limitations that should be noted, and also recommendations for future investigations. Some of the general limitations that affected the overall research included the choice of the dependent variable. The Attitudes Toward Chinese Immigrants Scale provided a measure of host nationals' perceptions of socio-political and economic

changes brought about by Chinese immigrants. Although it has been a reliable and valid instrument, other aspects of intergroup relations such as intergroup anxiety and discrimination, were not examined. Future research may wish to explore the other additional outcomes of intergroup contact.

In the current research, Chinese immigrants were selected as the target reference group for the survey. Although the Chinese is the largest salient ethnic minority group in New Zealand, there are also a considerable number of other ethnocultural groups from South Asia and the Pacific islands. The generalizability of the findings documented in Study 1 to 4 remains unclear, and future research should perform similar investigation with these ethnocultural groups. Additionally, there is a lack of comparison immigrant groups from other Western cultures, i.e., Caucasian immigrants from the Western Euro-American regions, such as Britain, Western Europe, and North America. The intergroup dynamics and socio-psychological processes derived from studies with these Western immigrant groups are not necessarily similar to the conclusions in this thesis.

In Study 1 and 3, the conceptual definitions, applications, and research findings relating to 'social identification,' 'national pride,' and 'collective self-esteem' were used interchangeably on the basis of the different frameworks, models, and theories, including Social Identity Theory (e.g., Tajfel, 1978, 1981) and the concept of collective self-esteem (e.g., Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Although from a theoretical point of the view, the conceptual definitions and applications of the different terminologies were not expected to differ from each



other, it is nonetheless important to note that the psychological and intergroup processes are not always consistent across different contexts. It is important to proceed with caution when drawing conclusions based on one social category to another (e.g., applying the principles derived from 'ethnic' groups to the 'national' groups); or using the terminologies interchangeably (e.g., collective self-esteem as social identification).

In the thesis model outlined in Figure 1.4, the three research frameworks are conceptualized as distinct. Each of the studies was performed using independent variables that were either intergroup-oriented, individual differences-oriented, or cultural differences-oriented. There ought to be more inter-framework type of research in order to better comprehend the influence of these factors on attitudes formation. For example, it is possible that cultures that rated highly on the masculinity / mastery motivation may engage in different intergroup processes compare to the more feminine oriented cultures; or that host nationals who vary on the individualism-collectivism dimension may respond differently to perception of intergroup threat, and they (i.e., host) express different opinions towards multiculturalism from their intergroup contact with immigrants. The concept of multiculturalism could also be interpreted differently across cultures, in which case, some cultures may perceive the presence of immigrants as an unwanted challenge, but the others regard this as a part and process of social modernization. The inter-framework possibilities are unlimited and should be explored in future studies.

*Conclusion*

The current thesis has offered an innovative perspective on acculturation research. The host nationals' perceptions toward immigrants and multiculturalism have long been overshadowed by research on the adaptation and experience of immigrants and sojourners. The current thesis is probably among the few empirical research studies that is designed based on three distinct frameworks representing intergroup relations, individual differences and cultural differences. The findings from the separate investigations have partially converged, and this implies that there is mutual theoretical support across the different frameworks. The challenges for the future research will involve continual model refinement; exploration of other key dimensions of attitudes toward immigration and multiculturalism; an examination of the inter-relations between the three frameworks; and perhaps how the findings can be applied to policy formation in improving attitudes of immigrants and multiculturalism.

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## Appendix 1

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
*Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*



## National Survey – New Zealand Citizenship & Immigration

I am Professor Colleen Ward from the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington. I am currently conducting a survey to examine the perceptions of New Zealand citizenship and attitudes toward immigration. This investigation is part of a larger study conducted by me concerning these issues. I hope to learn what New Zealanders think about our nation and how this compares with findings from other countries. I am also interested in what New Zealanders think about the impact of immigration on their personal lives. I believe that this research is of social and scientific significance, particularly in light of New Zealand's changing population.

You are invited to take part in this national survey and to provide me with your valuable opinions on citizenship and immigration issues. Your name was randomly selected and your contact address obtained from the electoral roll published by the election department. This information is available to the public.

Your participation in this research would involve completing the enclosed questionnaire which takes approximately 30 minutes and returning it in the accompanying pre-paid envelope.

Your participation in this survey is strictly **VOLUNTARY AND ANONYMOUS**. I will not be able to identify you as a participant in this study on the basis of returned questionnaires.

If you complete this survey, it will be understood that:

- a) you have consented to participate in the research, and
- b) you consent to the publication of the results, under the condition that your participation remains anonymous.

Please note that the data for this study will remain with me as the Principal Investigator, be stored in the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington for at least five years, and be shared with members of my research team and other competent professionals on a case by case basis.

A summary of the research, further detailing the nature of the study and summarising the findings will be sent to you via post when data analysis is completed in December 2002. In appreciation for taking your time to read this letter, I would like to present you with our School of Psychology bookmark.

If you have any queries about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me at [vuw\\_psych\\_survey@scs.vuw.ac.nz](mailto:vuw_psych_survey@scs.vuw.ac.nz).

Thank you and best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Colleen Ward, PhD  
Professor of Psychology  
Victoria University of Wellington  
P.O. Box 600  
Wellington, New Zealand



Your place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

Your father's place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

Your mother's place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

**(NATIONAL PRIDE)****Attitudes toward New Zealand citizenship**

The following questions concern your personal opinion towards your New Zealand citizenship. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. **For example**, if you strongly agree with the first statement “My New Zealand citizenship means a lot to me,” circle 5. If you strongly disagree with the statement “My New Zealand citizenship means a lot to me,” then circle 1. If you neither agree nor disagree, circle 3 (i.e., Neutral). There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**      **Disagree**      **Neutral**      **Agree**  
**Strongly agree**  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

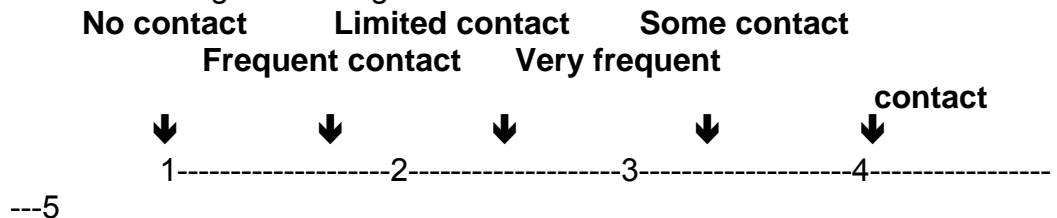
All things considered, I can say that I love New Zealand very much.	1---2---3---4---5
New Zealand is the only place where I feel completely at home.	1---2---3---4---5
I would feel upset if I saw anyone burning the New Zealand national flag.	1---2---3---4---5
I do not feel a sense of belonging to New Zealand.	1---2---3---4---5
I feel annoyed whenever people criticize New Zealand.	1---2---3---4---5
It is not wrong for people to give up their New Zealand citizenship in order to avoid paying higher taxes.	1---2---3---4---5
Given the right opportunity elsewhere, I would be willing to give up my New Zealand citizenship.	1---2---3---4---5
I will only fight for New Zealand if I can get some personal benefits from doing so.	1---2---3---4---5
In the event of war, I will leave New Zealand.	1---2---3---4---5
I think of myself as a citizen of the world and not any country in particular.	1---2---3---4---5
I will not defend New Zealand if it means losing my life.	1---2---3---4---5
Even if I were given a better offer such as a higher-paid job in another country, I will not emigrate.	1---2---3---4---5
It does not matter to me which country I am a citizen of, as long as I can attain a high standard of living.	1---2---3---4---5
I prefer to be citizen of New Zealand than of any other country in the world.	1---2---3---4---5
There are some things about New Zealand that make me feel ashamed of New Zealand.	1---2---3---4---5
The world would be a better place if people from other	1---2---3---4---5

countries were more like New Zealanders.	
Generally speaking, New Zealand is a better country than most other countries.	1---2---3---4---5
People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong.	1---2---3---4---5

### (QUANTITY OF INTERGROUP CONTACT)

#### Intercultural contact with ethnic Chinese people

The following questions concern the amount of contact you have with ethnic Chinese people, regardless of whether they are recent immigrants or not. Using the scale on below, circle the number that best represents your personal experience. There are no right or wrong answers.



How much contact have you had with ethnic Chinese in school/work situations?	1---2---3---4---5
How much contact have you had with ethnic Chinese in social/leisure situations?	1---2---3---4---5
How much contact do you have with ethnic Chinese as:	
i. neighbours	1---2---3---4---5
ii. close friends	1---2---3---4---5
iii. a visitor to a Chinese home	1---2---3---4---5

**Using the description on each end of the scale, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.**

How many of your close friends are ethnic Chinese?	Few	1---2---3---4---5	Many
How easy or difficult it is to communicate with the ethnic Chinese	Difficult	1---2---3---4---5	Easy





In general, comparing between other New Zealanders and ethnic Chinese, do you think one group will have more work opportunities than the other?	Other NZers have more	1---2---3---4---5	Equal	Chinese have more	opportunities
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### (PERCEIVED THREAT)

#### Impact on New Zealand from Chinese immigration

The following are statements that people use to describe the social impact that takes place either directly or indirectly from increased immigration. We would like to know what you think about these statements. Please respond to the items based on your personal opinion. Using the scale below, circle the number that best represents your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5-----

Recent Chinese immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of New Zealand society as soon as possible after their arrival.	1---2---3---4---5
New Zealand culture will be strengthened by the arrival of more Chinese immigrants.	1---2---3---4---5
The values and beliefs of recent Chinese immigrants regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most New Zealanders.	1---2---3---4---5
The beliefs and values of recent Chinese immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are compatible with the beliefs and values of most New Zealanders.	1---2---3---4---5
The values and beliefs of recent Chinese immigrants regarding family issues and socializing children are basically quite similar to those of most New Zealanders.	1---2---3---4---5
The beliefs and values of recent Chinese immigrants regarding social relations are compatible with the beliefs and values of most New Zealanders.	1---2---3---4---5
Some of the recent Chinese migrants belong to organized triad gangsters.	1---2---3---4---5
Recent Chinese migrants are displacing New Zealand workers from their jobs.	1---2---3---4---5

Social services have become less available to New Zealanders because of recent Chinese immigration.	1----2----3----4----5
Chinese culture threatens to overwhelm New Zealand culture if immigration continues at its present rate.	1----2----3----4----5
There will be a social problem if too many ethnic Chinese speak Chinese instead of using English.	1----2----3----4----5
Recent Chinese migrants tend to find employment more easily than the locals because they demand a lower pay.	1----2----3----4----5
Increased Chinese immigration will put more pressure on the already battered health care system.	1----2----3----4----5
The quality of social services available to New Zealanders has remained the same, despite increased Chinese immigration.	1----2----3----4----5
Recent Chinese immigrants get more from this country than they contribute.	1----2----3----4----5
Recent Chinese immigration has increased the tax burden on New Zealanders.	1----2----3----4----5

**(ATTITUDES TO CHINESE IMMIGRANTS)****Consequences to New Zealand from Chinese immigration**

The following questions concern the possible consequences of Chinese migration into New Zealand. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**   **Disagree**                      **Neutral**                      **Agree**                      **Strongly agree**  
 ↓                      ↓                      ↓                      ↓                      ↓  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

New Zealand society has benefited from a policy of attracting Chinese immigrants.	1---2---3---4---5
Attracting Chinese migrants, as a policy to deal with the labour inadequacy, is in line with this country's national interest.	1---2---3---4---5
Recent Chinese migrants should be given greater access to power resources like status, wealth, education, government positions, and political office.	1---2---3---4---5
We should continue to support the policy of attracting Chinese migrants.	1---2---3---4---5
Recent Chinese migrants will bring in the expertise and skills needed by this country.	1---2---3---4---5
Attracting Chinese migrants can help New Zealand to attain greater economic success.	1---2---3---4---5
Most of the recent Chinese migrants do not want to mix with the mainstream New Zealand society.	1---2---3---4---5
Chinese immigration can help us rejuvenate our values such as hard work, and family cohesion.	1---2---3---4---5
Chinese migrants are primarily loyal to New Zealand.	1---2---3---4---5
Will increasing Chinese migrants into this country be more likely to lead to social cohesion or potential for conflict in New Zealand society? (Please tick)	<input type="checkbox"/> More social cohesion <input type="checkbox"/> No change <input type="checkbox"/> More potential conflict

**Thank You**

## Appendix 2

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
*Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*



### **ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW ZEALAND CITIZENSHIP & IMMIGRATION: DEBRIEFING STATEMENT AND SURVEY RESULTS**

Last year you were contacted and invited to participate in a study on New Zealanders' attitudes towards citizenship and immigration. If you completed and returned the survey, thank you for your participation in our research. The study was conducted on a voluntary and anonymous basis, and we are not able to identify those who responded to the survey; therefore, this summary report is sent to every person who was originally contacted. This debriefing procedure is part of an ethical requirement for psychological research.

Although New Zealand is traditionally a migrant country, most of the recent immigrants come from very different cultural backgrounds compared to the traditional patterns of migration from Great Britain and other European countries. For example, Chinese immigrants are the largest ethnic group of recent settlers. To understand whether our immigration program is successful, we will need to examine attitudes and behaviours of both immigrants and the native New Zealanders (Pakeha and Maori). The survey focused on New Zealanders' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration and the factors that affect those attitudes.

The objectives of this study were: (1) To examine the influence of the strength of national identity and contact with recent Chinese immigrants on the perceptions of recent Chinese immigrants and immigration policies, and (2) To compare Pakeha/NZ European with Maori responses to these issues.

Overall, New Zealanders who feel a stronger sense of national identity and have less contact with the immigrants, report a more negative attitude towards recent Chinese immigrants. In terms of immigration policies, those who have negative perceptions of migrants are more likely to oppose the offer permanent residency to academically bright international students and skilled labour from abroad, and they are more in favour of raising the standard of English language requirement for permanent residence applications.

Compared to New Zealand Europeans, Maori have more negative attitudes toward immigrants; have a stronger sense of national identity; are less in favour of immigration policies to attract and retain academically successful international students and skilled labour from abroad; and they are more convinced that recent Chinese immigrants have taken advantage of the immigration policies and other economic opportunities.

Most of the New Zealanders sampled would like the recent Chinese migrants to adopt an 'integrationist' approach – to adopt the New Zealand culture and maintain their ethnic culture at the same time. About 20 percent of the total sample surveyed would like to see less immigrants in general. The breakdown is 11 and 35 percent for New Zealand Europeans and Maori respectively.

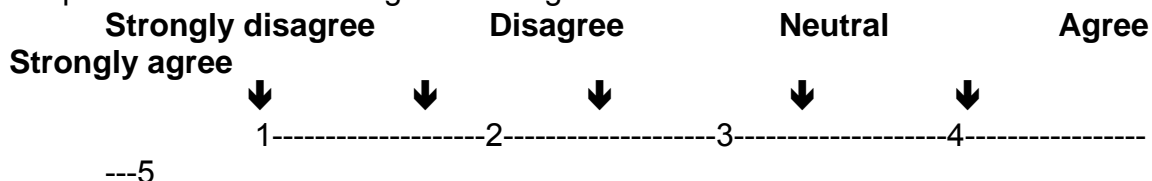
What are the implications of the study? The results indicate that a minority group of New Zealanders, both of European and Maori background, are not convinced of the need to attract talented immigrants; feel uncomfortable towards the recent Chinese migrants; and feel relatively deprived of opportunities because of migrants. Without debating the merits/demerits in the existing immigration policies, the result suggest that the government and the New Zealand Immigration Service need to provide greater evidence to support the need for current immigration policies; whether the increase in immigration will lead to poorer social services; most importantly, to look into the concerns within the Maori community.

Professor Colleen Ward,  
School of Psychology,  
Victoria University of Wellington,  
PO Box 600, Wellington, New Zealand

## Appendix 3

**(HOST COMMUNITY ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES)****How should immigrants adapt to life in NZ?**

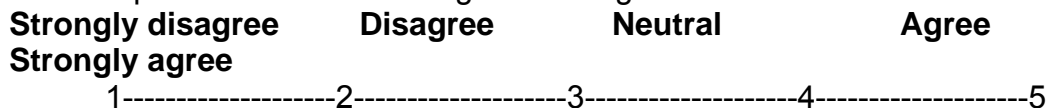
The following questions concern what you think may be the best way for recent Chinese immigrants (i.e., those who arrived in the last 10 years) to adapt in New Zealand. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.



Recent Chinese immigrants should give up their original culture for the sake of adopting the New Zealand culture.	1---2---3---4---5
Recent Chinese immigrants can maintain their original culture as long as they do not mix it with New Zealand culture.	1---2---3---4---5
Whether recent Chinese immigrants maintain their original culture or adopt the New Zealand culture makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the culture of his/her choice.	1---2---3---4---5
Recent Chinese immigrants should maintain their original culture while also adopting the New Zealand culture.	1---2---3---4---5
Recent Chinese immigrants should not maintain their original culture, nor adopt the New Zealand culture, because, in any case, there should be less immigration to this country.	1---2---3---4---5

**(ATTITUDES TOWARD CHINESE IMMIGRANTS)****Consequences for New Zealanders from Chinese immigration**

The following questions concern the possible consequences of Chinese migration into New Zealand. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.



New Zealand society has benefited from a policy of attracting Chinese immigrants.	1---2---3---4---5
Attracting Chinese migrants, as a policy to deal with the labour inadequacy, is in line with this country's national interest.	1---2---3---4---5
Recent Chinese migrants should be given greater access to power resources like status, wealth, education, government positions, and political office.	1---2---3---4---5
We should continue to support the policy of attracting Chinese	1---2---3---4---5

migrants.	
Recent Chinese migrants will bring in the expertise and skills needed by this country.	1---2---3---4---5
Attracting Chinese migrants can help New Zealand to attain greater economic success.	1---2---3---4---5
Most of the recent Chinese migrants do not want to mix with the mainstream New Zealand society.	1---2---3---4---5
Chinese immigration can help us rejuvenate our values such as hard work, and family cohesion.	1---2---3---4---5
Chinese migrants are primarily loyal to New Zealand.	1---2---3---4---5
Will increasing Chinese migrants into this country be more likely to lead to social cohesion or potential for conflict in New Zealand society? (Please tick)	<input type="checkbox"/> More social cohesion <input type="checkbox"/> No change <input type="checkbox"/> More potential conflict

## Appendix 4

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
*Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*

**Information Sheet****Ref: Personality survey****Survey on New Zealand Citizenship, Values & Immigration**

You are invited to participate in a survey on the perceptions of New Zealand citizenship, values, and attitudes toward immigration. This investigation is part of a larger programme of research on immigration, acculturation, and adaptation conducted in the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington. We are very interested in your views on these issues.

Your name was randomly selected for this research, and your contact address obtained from the electoral roll published by the election department. This information is available to the public. Participation in this research is **voluntary and anonymous**. You cannot be identified as a research participant on the basis of a returned questionnaire.

Your participation in this research would involve completing the enclosed questionnaire which takes approximately 30 minutes and returning it in the accompanying pre-paid envelope.

If you complete this survey, it will be understood that:

- a) you have consented to participate in the research, and
- b) you consent to the publication of the results, under the condition that you participation remains anonymous.

Please note that the data for this study will remain with me as Principal Investigator, be stored in the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington for at least five years, and be shared with members of my research team and other competent professionals on a case by case basis.

A general debriefing statement on the research topic will be provided to everyone in our mailing list in July 2003 after the data collection is completed. A summary of the research, further detailing the nature of the study and summarising the findings will be sent to you on request via post or email when data analysis is completed in December 2003.

In appreciation for taking your time to read this letter, I would like to present you with our School of Psychology bookmark. If you have any queries about this



research, please do not hesitate to contact me at  
vuw\_psych\_survey@scs.vuw.ac.nz.

Thank you  
Yours sincerely,

Colleen Ward, PhD  
Professor of Psychology  
Victoria University of Wellington  
P.O. Box 600  
Wellington, New Zealand



Your place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

Your father's place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

Your mother's place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

**(NATIONAL PRIDE)****Attitudes toward New Zealand citizenship**

The following questions concern your personal opinion towards your New Zealand citizenship. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. **For example**, if you strongly agree with the first statement "My New Zealand citizenship means a lot to me," circle 5. If you strongly disagree with the statement "My New Zealand citizenship means a lot to me," then circle 1. If you neither agree nor disagree, circle 3 (i.e., Neutral). There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**      **Disagree**      **Neutral**      **Agree**      **Strongly agree**  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

All things considered, I can say that I love New Zealand very much.	1----2----3----4----5
New Zealand is the only place where I feel completely at home.	1----2----3----4----5
I would feel upset if I saw anyone burning the New Zealand national flag.	1----2----3----4----5
I do not feel a sense of belonging to New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
I feel annoyed whenever people criticize New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
It is not wrong for people to give up their New Zealand citizenship in order to avoid paying higher taxes.	1----2----3----4----5
Given the right opportunity elsewhere, I would be willing to give up my New Zealand citizenship.	1----2----3----4----5
I will only fight for New Zealand if I can get some personal benefits from doing so.	1----2----3----4----5
In the event of war, I will leave New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
I think of myself as a citizen of the world and not any country in particular.	1----2----3----4----5
I will not defend New Zealand if it means losing my life.	1----2----3----4----5
Even if I were given a better offer such as a higher-paid job in another country, I will not emigrate.	1----2----3----4----5
It does not matter to me which country I am a citizen of, as long as I can attain a high standard of living.	1----2----3----4----5
I prefer to be citizen of New Zealand than of any other country in the world.	1----2----3----4----5
There are some things about New Zealand that make me feel ashamed of New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like New Zealanders.	1----2----3----4----5

Generally speaking, New Zealand is a better country than most other countries.	1---2---3---4---5
People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong.	1---2---3---4---5

### (SELF-ESTEEM)

#### How do you describe yourself?

The following are statements that people often use to describe themselves.

Using the scale below, circle the number that best describes you. There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**      **Disagree**      **Neutral**      **Agree**      **Strongly agree**  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

I am able to do things as well as most other people.	1---2---3---4---5
I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1---2---3---4---5
I take a positive attitude about myself.	1---2---3---4---5
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1---2---3---4---5
At times I think I am no good at all.	1---2---3---4---5

### (SOCIAL DOMINANCE ORIENTATION)

#### Opinion regarding social relations in New Zealand

The following is a list of statements concerning social relations in New Zealand.

Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**      **Disagree**      **Neutral**      **Agree**      **Strongly agree**  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	1---2---3---4---5
We should have increased social equality.	1---2---3---4---5
To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	1---2---3---4---5
If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	1---2---3---4---5
Group equality should be our ideal.	1---2---3---4---5
Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	1---2---3---4---5
Inferior groups should stay in their place.	1---2---3---4---5

We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	1----2----3----4----5
It would be good if all groups could be equal.	1----2----3----4----5
It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups at the bottom.	1----2----3----4----5

### (COLLECTIVISM SCALE)

#### Opinion regarding personal relations

The following is a list of statements on relationship with family and friends. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**      **Disagree**      **Neutral**      **Agree**      **Strongly agree**  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

There should be at least one meeting of all close relatives every year.	1----2----3----4----5
One should not always pay attention to friend's views on what one should really do.	1----2----3----4----5
One should enjoy meeting and talking to one's neighbours.	1----2----3----4----5
To do well in one's job, one should take help from co-workers.	1----2----3----4----5
The husband and wife should jointly decide whether the wife should work.	1----2----3----4----5
When a close relative is in financial difficulty, one should lend assistance.	1----2----3----4----5
One should know one's neighbours well.	1----2----3----4----5
Neighbour's problems should not bother us at all.	1----2----3----4----5
A cousin should be treated like one's brother or sister.	1----2----3----4----5
To earn good grades students should take help from classmates.	1----2----3----4----5
Personal problems should not be disclosed to even close relatives.	1----2----3----4----5
An uncle should be treated like a father.	1----2----3----4----5
One should count on one's relatives for help in any kind of trouble.	1----2----3----4----5
Classmates should form study groups for the benefit of all.	1----2----3----4----5
One need not give advice to friends on what they should do.	1----2----3----4----5
It may be unwise on the part of our relatives to advise us on what we should do.	1----2----3----4----5

It is not necessary to know one's neighbours.	1----2----3----4----5
The wife should look after the relatives of the husband.	1----2----3----4----5
One should avoid advising relatives on what they should do.	1----2----3----4----5
On social occasions neighbours must be invited.	1----2----3----4----5
How we live our lives should not be the concern of relatives.	1----2----3----4----5
The husband need not be responsible for looking after the wife's relatives.	1----2----3----4----5
One should consult one's neighbours during difficult times.	1----2----3----4----5
One should live as close to one's friends as possible.	1----2----3----4----5

### (ATTITUDES TOWARD CHINESE IMMIGRANTS)

#### Consequences for New Zealanders from Chinese immigration

The following questions concern the possible consequences of Chinese migration into New Zealand. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**      **Disagree**      **Neutral**      **Agree**      **Strongly agree**  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

New Zealand society has benefited from a policy of attracting Chinese immigrants.	1----2----3----4----5
Attracting Chinese migrants, as a policy to deal with the labour inadequacy, is in line with this country's national interest.	1----2----3----4----5
Recent Chinese migrants should be given greater access to power resources like status, wealth, education, government positions, and political office.	1----2----3----4----5
We should continue to support the policy of attracting Chinese migrants.	1----2----3----4----5
Recent Chinese migrants will bring in the expertise and skills needed by this country.	1----2----3----4----5
Attracting Chinese migrants can help New Zealand to attain greater economic success.	1----2----3----4----5
Most of the recent Chinese migrants do not want to mix with the mainstream New Zealand society.	1----2----3----4----5
Chinese immigration can help us rejuvenate our values such as hard work, and family cohesion.	1----2----3----4----5
Chinese migrants are primarily loyal to New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
Will increasing Chinese migrants into this country be more likely to lead to social cohesion or potential for conflict in New Zealand society? (Please tick)	<input type="checkbox"/> More social cohesion <input type="checkbox"/> No change <input type="checkbox"/> More potential conflict

**Thank You**

## Appendix 5

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
*Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*



**NEW ZEALANDERS' PERCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP, VALUES & IMMIGRATION:  
 DEBRIEFING STATEMENT AND SURVEY RESULTS**

Last year you were contacted and invited to participate in a study on New Zealanders' attitudes towards citizenship and immigration. If you completed and returned the survey, thank you for your participation in our research.

The study was conducted on a voluntary and anonymous basis, and we are not able to identify those who responded to the survey; therefore, this summary report is sent to every person who was originally contacted. This debriefing procedure is part of an ethical requirement for psychological research.

Although New Zealand is traditionally a migrant country, most of the recent immigrants come from very different cultural backgrounds compared to the traditional patterns of migration from Great Britain and other European countries. For example, Chinese immigrants are the largest ethnic group of recent settlers. To understand whether our immigration program is successful, we will need to examine attitudes and behaviours of both immigrants and the native New Zealanders (Pakeha and Maori). The survey focused on New Zealanders' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration and the factors that affect those attitudes.

The objectives of this study were: (1) To examine the influence of the strength of national identity and personal values on the perceptions of recent Chinese immigrants and immigration policies, and (2) To compare Pakeha/NZ European with Maori responses to these issues.

Overall, New Zealanders who are self-centered, put strong emphasis on traditions, and who believe in social inequality tend to report a more negative attitudes toward Chinese migrants and immigrants in general. In terms of immigration policies, those who have negative perceptions of migrants are more likely to oppose the offer permanent residency to academically bright international students and skilled labour from abroad, and they are more in favour of raising the standard of English language requirement for permanent residence applications.

Compared to New Zealand Europeans, Maori have more negative attitudes toward immigrants; have a stronger sense of national identity; are less in favour of immigration policies to attract and retain academically successful international students and skilled labour from abroad. Most New Zealanders sampled see recent Chinese migrants as having adopted an 'integrationist' approach – adopt both New Zealand culture and maintain their ethnic culture at the same time (approx. 62%). About 35 percent of the total sample think that recent Chinese migrants maintain their own culture without adopting the New Zealand culture.



What are the implications of the study? The results indicate that a minority group of New Zealanders, both of European and Maori background, are not convinced of the need to attract talented immigrants; feel uncomfortable towards the recent Chinese migrants; and feel relatively deprived of opportunities because of migrants. Without debating the merits/demerits in the existing immigration policies, the results suggest that the government and the New Zealand Immigration Service should provide greater evidence to support the need for current immigration policies and their effects and to look into the concerns within the Maori community.

Professor Colleen Ward,  
School of Psychology,  
Victoria University of Wellington,  
PO Box 600, Wellington, New Zealand

## Appendix 6

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
*Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*

**Information Sheet****Ref: Values survey****Survey on New Zealand Citizenship, Values & Immigration**

You are invited to participate in a survey on the perceptions of New Zealand citizenship, values, and attitudes toward immigration. This investigation is part of a larger programme of research on immigration, acculturation, and adaptation conducted in the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington. We are very interested in your views on these issues.

Your name was randomly selected for this research, and your contact address obtained from the electoral roll published by the election department. This information is available to the public. Participation in this research is **voluntary and anonymous**. You cannot be identified as a research participant on the basis of a returned questionnaire.

Your participation in this research would involve completing the enclosed questionnaire which takes approximately 30 minutes and returning it in the accompanying pre-paid envelope.

If you complete this survey, it will be understood that:

- c) you have consented to participate in the research, and
- d) you consent to the publication of the results, under the condition that you participation remains anonymous.

Please note that the data for this study will remain with me as Principal Investigator, be stored in the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington for at least five years, and be shared with members of my research team and other competent professionals on a case by case basis.

A general debriefing statement on the research topic will be provided to everyone in our mailing list in July 2003 after the data collection is completed. A summary of the research, further detailing the nature of the study and summarising the findings will be sent to you on request via post or email when data analysis is completed in December 2003.

In appreciation for taking your time to read this letter, I would like to present you with our School of Psychology bookmark. If you have any queries about this

research, please do not hesitate to contact me at  
vuw\_psych\_survey@scs.vuw.ac.nz.

Thank you  
Yours sincerely,

Colleen Ward, PhD  
Professor of Psychology  
Victoria University of Wellington  
P.O. Box 600  
Wellington, New Zealand

Background Information

How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ What is your gender? Male / Female  
 Are you a citizen of New Zealand? Yes / No  
 Are you currently employed? (please tick)  
 Employed full time       Employed part time  
 Unemployed       Retired  
 If employed (full or part time), what are you employed as? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your marital status? (please tick)  
 Single       Married       De facto  
 Divorced       Widow/widower

Please tick the appropriate boxes in response to the questions on the left

**(CULTURAL EXPOSURE)**

Can you speak another language other than English or Maori?  Yes  No  
 Are you married (or in a de facto relationship) to a person from another ethnic group?  Yes  No  
 Are you married (or in a de facto relationship) to a person from another country?  Yes  No  
 Have you ever stayed in any country for more than 3 months consecutively?  Yes  No  
 Are you required to travel overseas frequently for work or study purposes?  Yes  No  
 Are you a citizen or a permanent resident of another country?  Yes  No

What is your ethnic group? (please tick)  
 Pakeha / New Zealand European  
 Maori  
 Pacific Islander  
 Asian  
 African  
 Mixed parentage (please specify),  
 Father: \_\_\_\_\_ Mother: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Others

What is your highest education level? (please tick)  
 None / Completed primary school  
 Completed secondary school  
 Attended post-secondary education / completed a certificate  
 Completed a diploma  
 Completed a Bachelor's degree / Post-graduate diploma  
 Completed a Master's / PhD degree

Your place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

Your father's place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

Your mother's place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

**(NATIONAL PRIDE)****Attitudes toward New Zealand citizenship**

The following questions concern your personal opinion towards your New Zealand citizenship. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. **For example**, if you strongly agree with the first statement "My New Zealand citizenship means a lot to me," circle 5. If you strongly disagree with the statement "My New Zealand citizenship means a lot to me," then circle 1. If you neither agree nor disagree, circle 3 (i.e., Neutral). There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**      **Disagree**      **Neutral**      **Agree**      **Strongly agree**  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

All things considered, I can say that I love New Zealand very much.	1----2----3----4----5
New Zealand is the only place where I feel completely at home.	1----2----3----4----5
I would feel upset if I saw anyone burning the New Zealand national flag.	1----2----3----4----5
I do not feel a sense of belonging to New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
I feel annoyed whenever people criticize New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
It is not wrong for people to give up their New Zealand citizenship in order to avoid paying higher taxes.	1----2----3----4----5
Given the right opportunity elsewhere, I would be willing to give up my New Zealand citizenship.	1----2----3----4----5
I will only fight for New Zealand if I can get some personal benefits from doing so.	1----2----3----4----5
In the event of war, I will leave New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
I think of myself as a citizen of the world and not any country in particular.	1----2----3----4----5
I will not defend New Zealand if it means losing my life.	1----2----3----4----5
Even if I were given a better offer such as a higher-paid job in another country, I will not emigrate.	1----2----3----4----5
It does not matter to me which country I am a citizen of, as long as I can attain a high standard of living.	1----2----3----4----5
I prefer to be citizen of New Zealand than of any other country in the world.	1----2----3----4----5
There are some things about New Zealand that make me feel ashamed of New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like New Zealanders.	1----2----3----4----5



Social justice (correcting injustice, care for the weak)	1---2---3---4---5
Independent (self-restraint, self-sufficient)	1---2---3---4---5
Moderate (avoiding extremes of feeling & action)	1---2---3---4---5
Loyal (faithful to my friends, group) 25	1---2---3---4---5
Ambitious (hard-working, aspiring)	1---2---3---4---5
Broadminded (tolerant of different ideas & beliefs)	1---2---3---4---5
Humble (modest, self-effacing)	1---2---3---4---5
Daring (seeking adventure, risk)	1---2---3---4---5
Protecting the environment (preserving nature) 30	1---2---3---4---5
Influential (having an impact on people and events)	1---2---3---4---5
Honouring of parents and elders (showing respect)	1---2---3---4---5
Choosing your goals (selecting own purposes)	1---2---3---4---5
Capable (competent, effective, efficient)	1---2---3---4---5
Accepting my portion in life (submitting to life's circumstances)	1---2---3---4---5
Honest (genuine, sincere)	1---2---3---4---5
Obedient (dutiful, meeting obligations)	1---2---3---4---5
Helpful (working for the welfare of others)	1---2---3---4---5
Enjoying life (enjoying food, sex, leisure etc.)	1---2---3---4---5
Responsible (dependable, reliable) 40	1---2---3---4---5
Curious (interested in everything, exploring)	1---2---3---4---5
Forgiving (willing to pardon others)	1---2---3---4---5
Successful (achieving goals)	1---2---3---4---5
Clean (neat, tidy)	1---2---3---4---5



**(ATTITUDES TOWARD CHINESE IMMIGRANTS)****Consequences for New Zealanders from Chinese immigration**

The following questions concern the possible consequences of Chinese migration into New Zealand. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

**Strongly disagree**      **Disagree**      **Neutral**      **Agree**      **Strongly agree**  
 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

New Zealand society has benefited from a policy of attracting Chinese immigrants.	1----2----3----4----5
Attracting Chinese migrants, as a policy to deal with the labour inadequacy, is in line with this country's national interest.	1----2----3----4----5
Recent Chinese migrants should be given greater access to power resources like status, wealth, education, government positions, and political office.	1----2----3----4----5
We should continue to support the policy of attracting Chinese migrants.	1----2----3----4----5
Recent Chinese migrants will bring in the expertise and skills needed by this country.	1----2----3----4----5
Attracting Chinese migrants can help New Zealand to attain greater economic success.	1----2----3----4----5
Most of the recent Chinese migrants do not want to mix with the mainstream New Zealand society.	1----2----3----4----5
Chinese immigration can help us rejuvenate our values such as hard work, and family cohesion.	1----2----3----4----5
Chinese migrants are primarily loyal to New Zealand.	1----2----3----4----5
Will increasing Chinese migrants into this country be more likely to lead to social cohesion or potential for conflict in New Zealand society? (Please tick)	<input type="checkbox"/> More social cohesion <input type="checkbox"/> No change <input type="checkbox"/> More potential conflict

**Thank You**

## Appendix 7

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
*Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*



**NEW ZEALANDERS' PERCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP, VALUES & IMMIGRATION:  
DEBRIEFING STATEMENT AND SURVEY RESULTS**

Last year you were contacted and invited to participate in a study on New Zealanders' attitudes towards citizenship and immigration. If you completed and returned the survey, thank you for your participation in our research.

The study was conducted on a voluntary and anonymous basis, and we are not able to identify those who responded to the survey; therefore, this summary report is sent to every person who was originally contacted. This debriefing procedure is part of an ethical requirement for psychological research.

Although New Zealand is traditionally a migrant country, most of the recent immigrants come from very different cultural backgrounds compared to the traditional patterns of migration from Great Britain and other European countries. For example, Chinese immigrants are the largest ethnic group of recent settlers. To understand whether our immigration program is successful, we will need to examine attitudes and behaviours of both immigrants and the native New Zealanders (Pakeha and Maori). The survey focused on New Zealanders' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration and the factors that affect those attitudes.

The objectives of this study were: (1) To examine the influence of the strength of national identity and personal values on the perceptions of recent Chinese immigrants and immigration policies, and (2) To compare Pakeha/NZ European with Maori responses to these issues.

Overall, New Zealanders who are self-centered, put strong emphasis on traditions, and who believe in social inequality tend to report a more negative attitudes toward Chinese migrants and immigrants in general. In terms of immigration policies, those who have negative perceptions of migrants are more likely to oppose the offer permanent residency to academically bright international students and skilled labour from abroad, and they are more in favour of raising the standard of English language requirement for permanent residence applications.

Compared to New Zealand Europeans, Maori have more negative attitudes toward immigrants; have a stronger sense of national identity; are less in favour of immigration policies to attract and retain academically successful international students and skilled labour from abroad. Most New Zealanders sampled see recent Chinese migrants as having adopted an 'integrationist' approach – adopt both New Zealand culture and maintain their ethnic culture at the same time (approx. 62%). About 35 percent of the total sample think that recent Chinese migrants maintain their own culture without adopting the New Zealand culture.

What are the implications of the study? The results indicate that a minority group of New Zealanders, both of European and Maori background, are not convinced of the need to attract talented immigrants; feel uncomfortable towards the recent Chinese migrants; and feel relatively deprived of opportunities because of migrants. Without debating the merits/demerits in the existing immigration policies, the results suggest that the government and the New Zealand Immigration Service should provide greater evidence to support the need for current immigration policies and their effects and to look into the concerns within the Maori community.

Professor Colleen Ward,  
School of Psychology,  
Victoria University of Wellington,  
PO Box 600, Wellington, New Zealand

## Appendix 8

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
*Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*

**Information Sheet****Survey on Culture, Immigration, and Social Services in New Zealand**

You are invited to participate in a survey on the perceptions of culture, immigration, and social services in New Zealand. This investigation is part of a larger programme of research on immigration, immigrants' adjustment, and New Zealanders' perceptions of migrants conducted in the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington. The results of this study will also be used as the basis of a PhD student's research.

Your name was randomly selected for this research, and your contact address obtained from the electoral roll published by the election department. This information is available to the public. Participation in this research is voluntary and anonymous. You cannot be identified as a research participant on the basis of a returned questionnaire. **There are no right or wrong answers to the questions. My research team is interested in your opinions.**

Your participation in this research would involve completing the enclosed questionnaire which takes approximately 15 minutes and returning it in the accompanying pre-paid envelope.

If you complete this survey, it will be understood that:

- e) you have consented to participate in the research, and
- f) you consent to the publication of the results, under the condition that your participation remains anonymous.

Please note that the data for this study will remain with the investigators in the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington for at least five years, and be shared with members of my research team and other competent professionals on a case by case basis.

A debriefing statement on the research topic and the findings of study will be provided to everyone in our mailing list before the end of the year after the data collection is completed.

In appreciation for taking your time to read this letter, I would like to present you with our School of Psychology bookmark.

If you have any queries about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me at [vuw\\_psych\\_survey@student.vuw.ac.nz](mailto:vuw_psych_survey@student.vuw.ac.nz).

Thank you

Yours sincerely,

Colleen Ward, PhD  
Professor of Psychology  
Victoria University of Wellington  
P.O. Box 600  
Wellington, New Zealand



Your place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

Your father's place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

Your mother's place of birth? (please tick)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand     | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Europe          | <input type="checkbox"/> North America                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islands | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia                          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Africa          | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, please specify: _____ |

**(BLAME)****Perceptions of recent immigrants from non-European countries in New Zealand**

The following are statements about immigrants from non-European countries in New Zealand. For each of the following statements, please indicate whether you agree or disagree. There is no right or wrong answer.

Tend to agree = 1  
 Don't know = 2  
 Tend to Disagree = 3

In schools where there are too many non-European immigrants, the quality of education suffers.
Non-European immigrants tend to abuse the system of social welfare.
The presence of non-European immigrants is a cause of insecurity.
Non-European immigrants are given preferential treatment by the authorities.
The presence of non-European immigrants increases unemployment in NZ.
The non-European immigrants are more often involved in criminality than the average.

**(POLICIES TO IMPROVING SOCIAL CO-EXISTENCE)****Policies to improving social relations between non-European immigrants and other New Zealanders**

In your opinion, what has to be done to improve the relationship between people of different races, religions and cultures? Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the suggestions. There is no right or wrong answer.

Tend to agree = 1  
 Don't know = 2  
 Tend to Disagree = 3

Outlaw discrimination against non-European immigrants.
Encourage the creation of organizations that bring people from different races, religions and cultures together.
Promote equality of opportunity in all areas of social life.
Promote understanding of different cultures and lifestyles in NZ.



Give a greater role to organisations which have already gained experience in the fight against racism.
--

Encourage the participation of non-European immigrants in the political life of NZ.
---

Encourage trade unions and churches to do more against racism.
--

### **(DISTURBANCE)**

#### **Feeling at ease with people from another culture**

The following questions concern your feelings in the presence of people from another culture. Please indicate how much you feel disturbed in the presence of the following groups. There is no right or wrong answer.

Not disturbing = 1

Don't know = 2

Disturbing = 3

Do you personally find the presence of people of another nationality disturbing in your daily life?
---

Do you personally find the presence of people of another race disturbing in your daily life?
--

Do you personally find the presence of people of another religion disturbing in your daily life?
--

### **(MULTICULTURAL OPTIMISM)**

#### **Opinions about multiculturalism**

The following are statements about having different immigrant groups in New Zealand. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the statements. There is no right or wrong answer.

Tend to agree = 1

Don't know = 2

Tend to Disagree = 3

Immigrants from non-European backgrounds are enriching the cultural life of NZ.
---

Where schools make the necessary efforts, the education of all children can be enriched by the presence of children from non-European immigrant background.
---

It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures.
--

NZ's diversity in terms of race, religion and culture adds to its strengths.
--

Non-European immigrants enrich the cultural life of NZ.
---

### **(CULTURAL ASSIMILATION)**

#### **How should immigrants adapt to New Zealand society?**

The following are statements on how recent immigrants should adapt in New Zealand. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the statements. There is no right or wrong answer.

Tend to agree = 1

Don't know = 2

Tend to Disagree = 3

In order to become fully accepted members of NZ society, people from non-European background must give up their own culture.
--

In order to become fully accepted members of NZ society, people from non-European background must give up such parts of their religion and culture which may be in conflict with NZ law.
--

## Appendix 9

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
*Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*



### **Survey on Culture, Immigration, and Social Services in New Zealand Debriefing Statement and Results**

You were invited earlier this year to participate in a study on New Zealanders' attitudes towards citizenship and immigration. If you completed and returned the survey, thank you for your participation in our research. The study was conducted on a voluntary and anonymous basis, and we are not able to identify those who responded to the survey; therefore, this summary report is sent to every person who was originally contacted. This debriefing procedure is part of an ethical requirement for psychological research.

Although New Zealand is traditionally a migrant country, most of the recent immigrants come from very different cultural backgrounds compared to the traditional patterns of migration from Europe and other Pacific nations. For example, Chinese immigrants are the largest ethnic group of recent settlers. To understand whether our immigration programme is successful, we will need to examine attitudes and behaviours of both immigrants and New Zealanders. This survey focused on New Zealanders' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration and the factors that affect those attitudes. Our sample comprised of 194 respondents who identified themselves as Pakeha/New Zealand European. The Maori sample is not included currently as we would like to focus on the majority group for the time being.

The measurements of attitudes include: blaming immigrants, support for policies improving social relations, restrictive acceptance of immigrants, disturbance, multicultural optimism, cultural assimilation, and opinions about the political establishment. Overall, between 62.5% to 75.51% of the respondents agreed to statements that New Zealand has benefited from the increased cosmopolitan make up of the country. However, on the issue of embracing "multiculturalism as the way forward", only 56% of respondents agreed. This discrepancy may be due to our historical ties with the Maori and the Treaty of Waitangi, which specified a bicultural social environment.

On average, about one third (33%) of the respondents attributed social problems like crime, unemployment, and abuse of social welfare to increased immigration. Most respondents (65%) are in favour of having policies or programmes that will enhance race relations and ameliorate discrimination.

Eighty two percent of respondents welcome Western European nationals who wish to settle in New Zealand but less than half (39.7%) were in favour of Muslims, and with other groups of migrants (Asians 55.8%; Eastern Europeans 68.4%; and refugees 52.6%) falling in between. Majority identified integration (78%) as the preferred strategy for immigrants to adapt in New Zealand. Lastly, those who perceived the public services as corrupt and incompetent tend to have a more negative opinion towards multiculturalism and are more likely to blame immigrants for their social problems.

My PhD student, Chan-Hoong Leong, will be using part of the data for his thesis. He can be contacted at [leongchan@student.vuw.ac.nz](mailto:leongchan@student.vuw.ac.nz) if you have further queries about the study. Alternatively, you can also contact me at the postal or electronic addresses below.

Thank you for your help and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Professor Colleen Ward,  
School of Psychology,  
Victoria University of Wellington,  
P.O. Box 600, Wellington  
Email: [vuw\\_psych\\_survey@student.vuw.ac.nz](mailto:vuw_psych_survey@student.vuw.ac.nz)  
Phone: 04-4636976

TABLE 3.4. Schwartz's Value Survey: Models of Four and Ten Values Dimensions

Four-Value Domains	10-Value Types	Definitions of individual-level motivational types of values
Self-enhancement	Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources
	Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards
	Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself
Openness to change	Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life
	Self-direction	Independent thought and action – choosing, creating, exploring
Self-transcendence	Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature
	Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact
Conservation	Tradition	Respect for, commitment to, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion impose on the self
	Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and to violate social expectations or norms
	Security	Safely, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self

FIGURE 3.2. Schwartz's Structure of Relations Among the 10 Motivational Value Dimensions

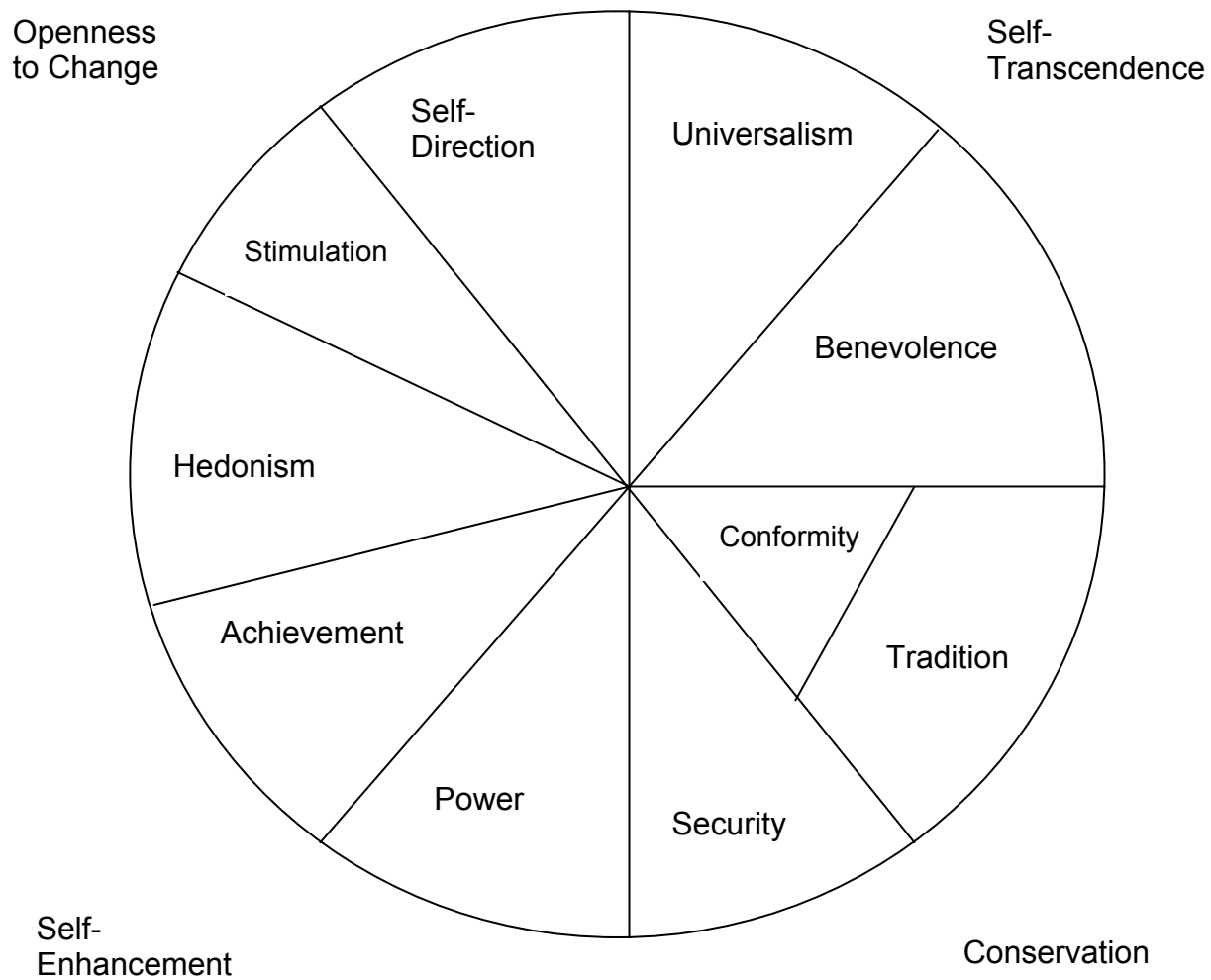


TABLE 4.3. Index scores on Hofstede's Four Dimensions of Cultural Differences for New Zealand and 14 Western European Countries ( $N = 15$ ).

	Power Distance	Uncertainty Avoidance	Individualism-Collectivism	Masculinity-Femininity
Mean (SD) Range	55.82 (21.99) 11 – 104	65.90 (24.91) 8 – 112	43.94 (25.84) 6 – 91	48.86 (18.83) 5 – 95
Austria	11	70	55	79
Belgium	65	94	75	54
Denmark	18	23	74	16
Finland	33	59	63	26
France	68	86	71	43
Germany	35	65	67	66
Greece	60	112	35	57
Ireland	28	35	70	68
Italy	50	75	76	70
Netherlands	38	53	80	14
New Zealand	22	49	79	58
Portugal	63	104	27	31
Spain	57	86	51	42
Sweden	31	29	71	5
United Kingdom	35	35	89	66

TABLE 4.2. Average Percentage of Agreement on the Five Attitudinal Outcomes in the Eurobarometer Survey for New Zealand and 14 Western European Countries ( $N = 15$ ).

	Blame	Policy to improving multiculturalism	Disturbance	Multicultural Optimism	Cultural Assimilation
Austria	46	74	15	41	45
Belgium	64	73	25	46	59
Denmark	65	67	26	34	57
Finland	44	66	9	28	42
France	64	72	19	36	53
Germany	49	72	19	41	44
Greece	61	78	28	67	55
Ireland	46	76	15	40	38
Italy	48	75	13	35	24
Netherlands	62	67	12	31	56
New Zealand	65	66	11	67	44
Portugal	43	80	10	31	43
Spain	37	75	5	28	27
Sweden	48	64	13	26	52
United Kingdom	44	71	16	38	52

Note:

- (1) A higher percentage of agreement indicates greater endorsement for the particular domain. Example, a high percentage on "Disturbance" indicates increased perception of disturbance in the presence of people from other background;
- (2) Missing scores are replaced by the series mean.



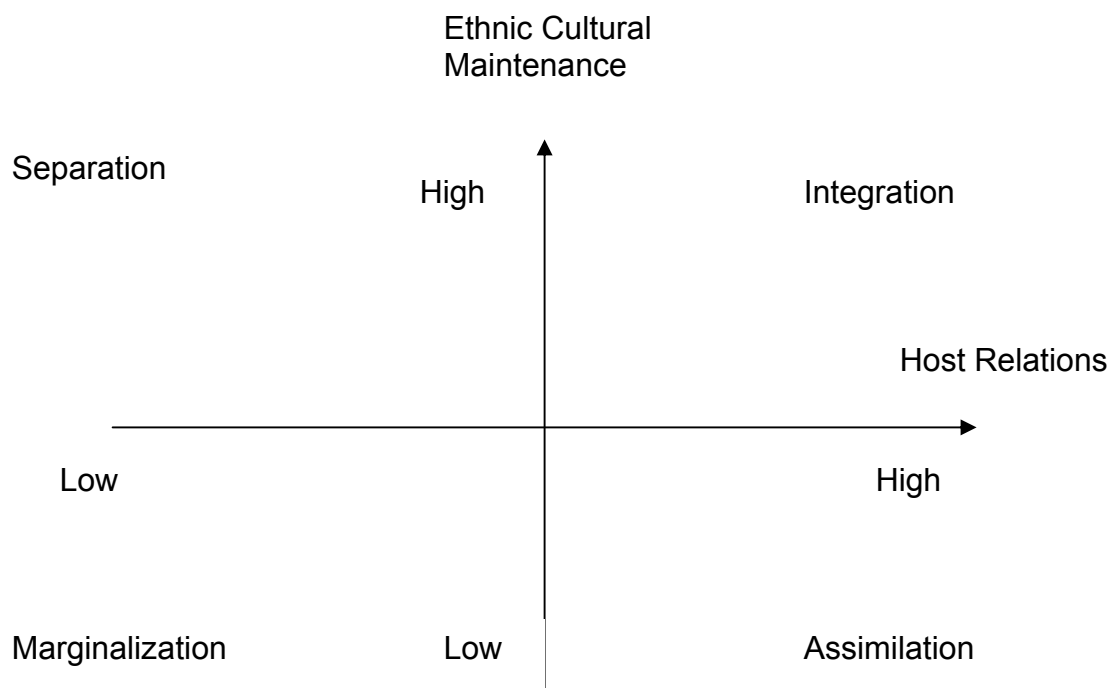


FIGURE 1.2. Berry's Model of Acculturation (Berry, 1980)

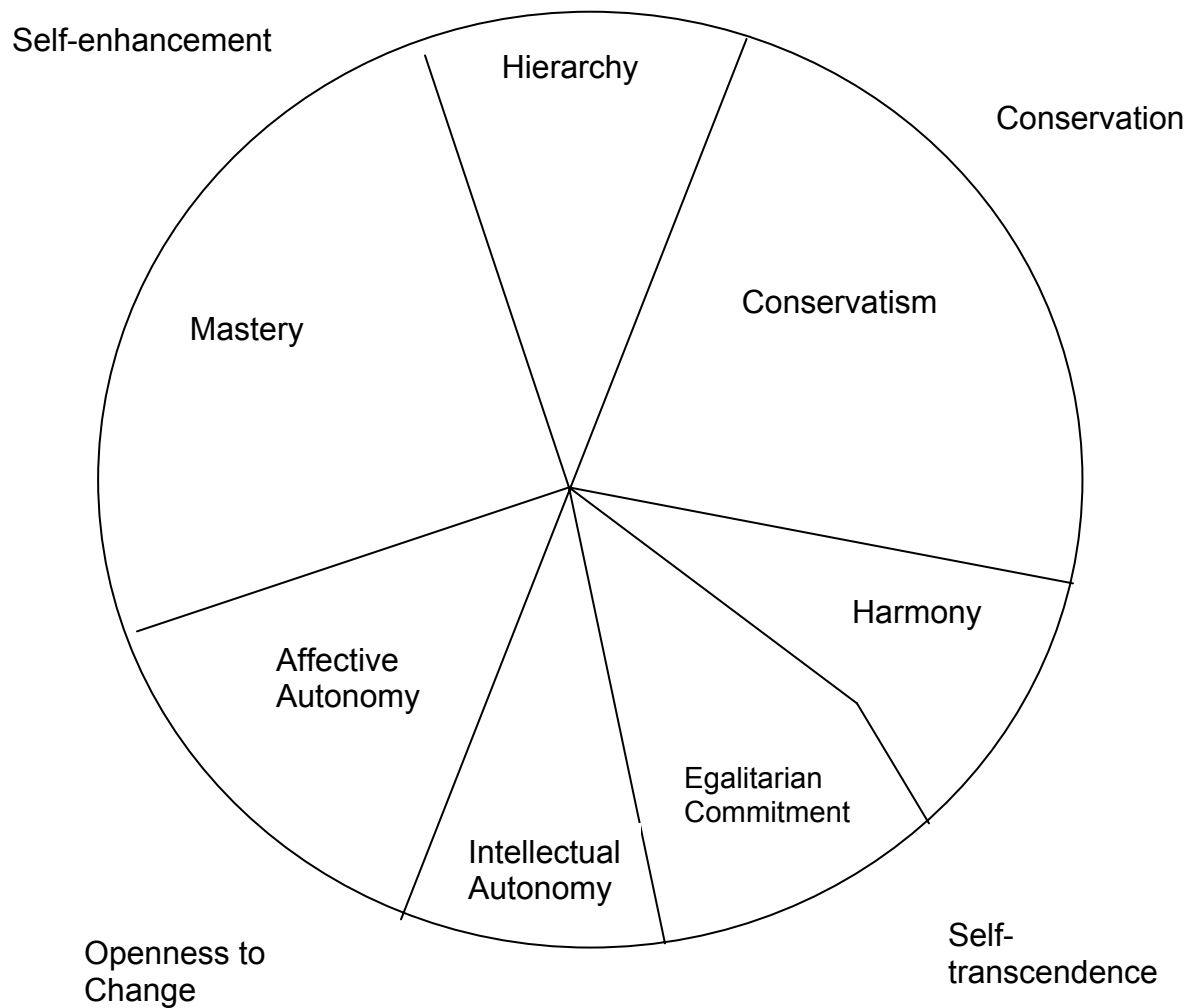


FIGURE 4.1. Schwartz's Seven Cultural Value Dimensions (Schwartz, 1994b)

TABLE 2.4. Breakdown of Composite (Study 2) Sample Based on Contribution From Each of the Three Studies (Study 1, 3, and 4)

	Instrument adopted for Study 2 ( <i>N</i> = 792)
<p>Study 1 (<i>N</i> = 318)</p> <p>Information Sheet Background Information Host Community Acculturation Strategies National Pride Quantity of Intergroup Contact Quality of Contact Perceived Fairness Perceived Intergroup Permeability Perceived Threat Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants Debriefing Statement</p>	<p>Yes Yes Yes -- -- -- -- -- -- -- Yes Yes</p>
<p>Study 3 (<i>N</i> = 241)</p> <p>Information Sheet Background Information Host Community Acculturation Strategies National Pride Self-Esteem Social Dominance Orientation Individualism-Collectivism Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants Debriefing Statement</p>	<p>Yes Yes Yes -- -- -- -- Yes Yes</p>
<p>Study 4 (<i>N</i> = 233)</p> <p>Information Sheet Background Information Host Community Acculturation Strategies National Pride Schwartz Value Survey Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants Debriefing Statement</p>	<p>Yes Yes Yes -- -- Yes Yes</p>

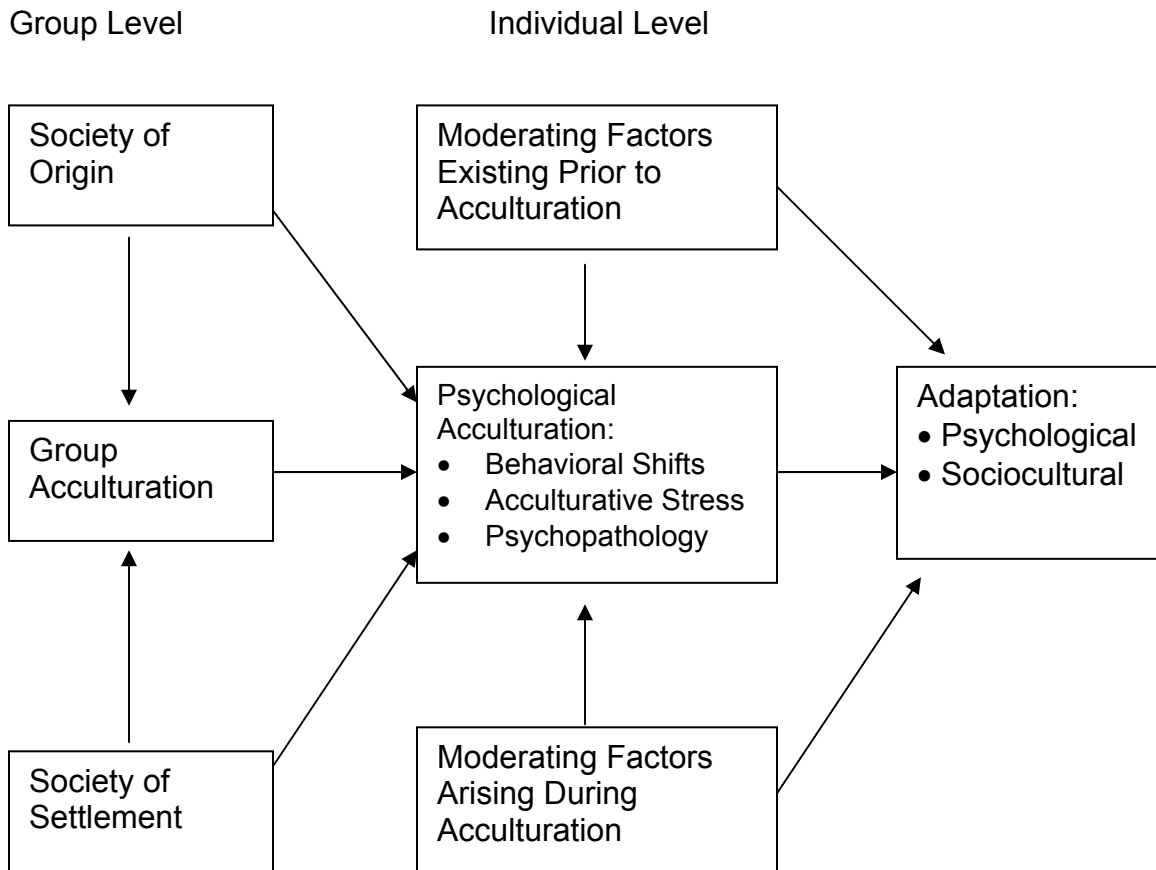


FIGURE 1.3. Framework for Acculturation Research (Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1999, pp. 310)

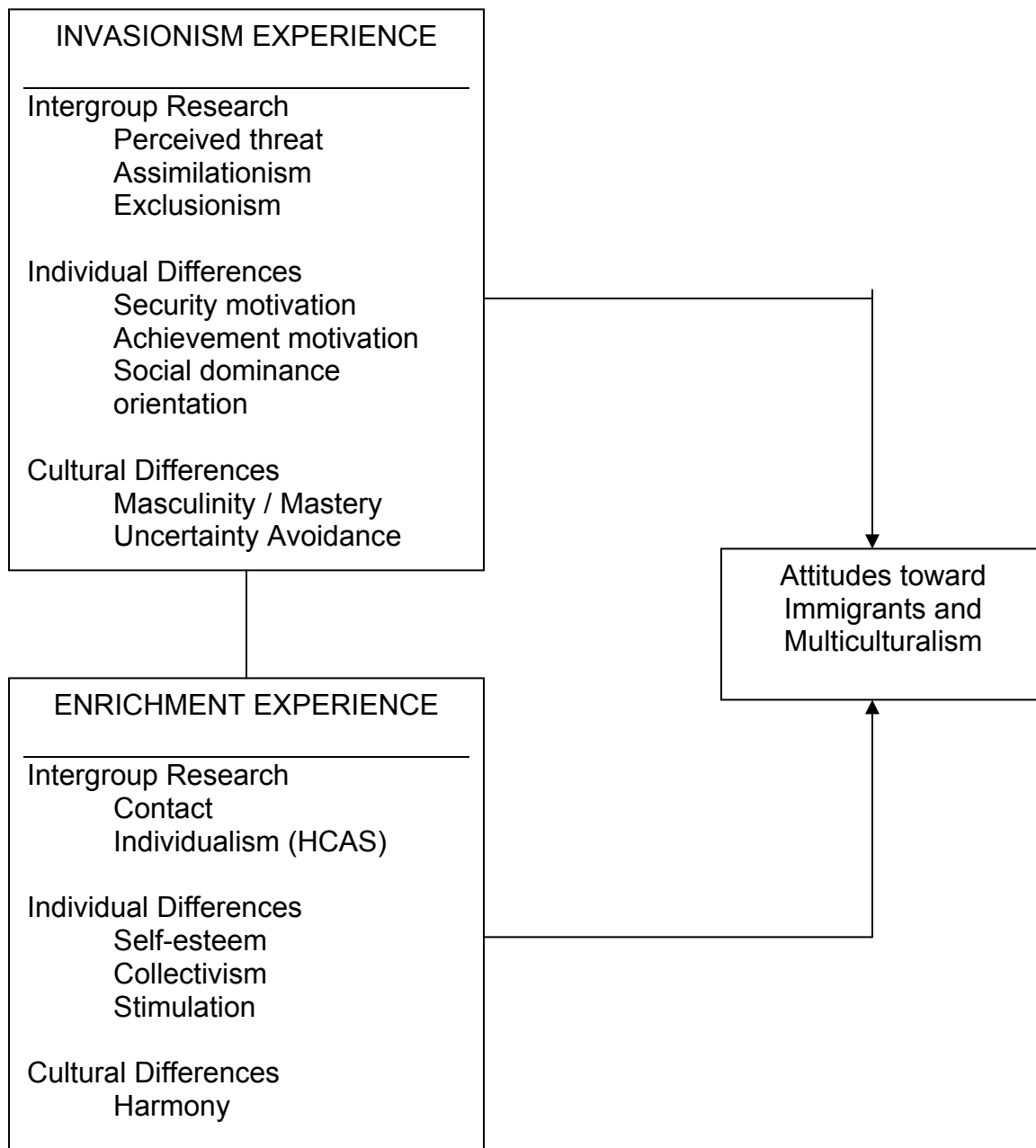


FIGURE 5.1. Multilevel Research Framework of Host Attitudes Towards Immigrants and Multiculturalism

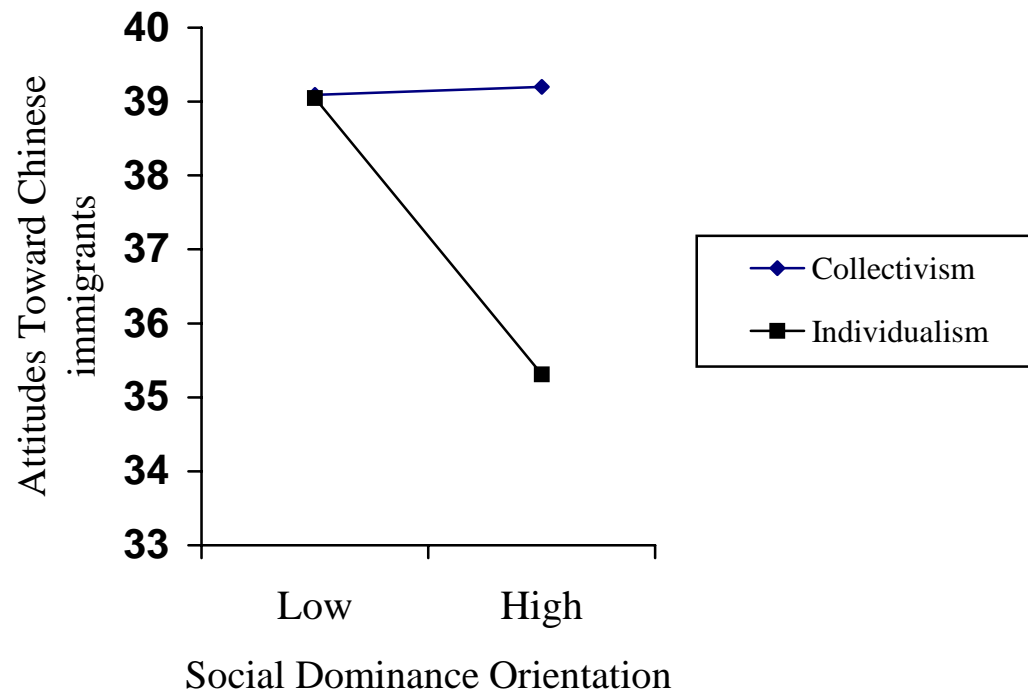


FIGURE 3.1. Analysis of simple slope effects based on Interaction between Social Dominance Orientation and Individualism-Collectivism

TABLE 4.4. Mean scores on Schwartz's Seven Cultural Value Dimensions in New Zealand and Nine Western European Countries ( $N = 10$ ).

	Conservation	Affective Autonomy	Intellectual Autonomy	Hierarchy	Mastery	Egalitarian Commitment	Harmony
Mean (SD) Range	3.63 (.18) 3.35 – 3.84	3.79 (.41) 2.95 – 4.41	4.56 (.35) 4.09 – 5.15	2.08 (.20) 1.69 – 2.38	4.07 (.24) 3.63 – 4.53	5.42 (.15) 5.15 – 5.62	4.34 (.25) 3.98 – 4.80
Denmark	3.64	4.01	Not available	1.86	3.97	5.52	4.16
Finland	3.84	3.51	4.62	2.03	3.63	5.26	4.54
France	3.35	4.41	5.15	2.16	3.89	5.45	4.31
Germany	3.42	4.03	4.75	2.27	4.07	5.37	4.42
Greece	3.68	3.96	4.09	2.01	4.53	5.35	4.39
Italy	3.82	2.95	4.60	1.69	4.08	5.57	4.80
Netherlands	3.68	3.51	4.44	2.26	3.98	5.39	3.98
New Zealand	3.73	3.98	4.36	2.38	4.23	5.15	3.99
Portugal	3.76	3.54	4.12	2.08	4.25	5.62	4.29
Spain	3.42	3.97	4.90	2.03	4.11	5.55	4.53

TABLE 2.1. Psychometric Properties of the Measurements (*N* = 318)

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha	Number of Items	Range of Scores
1. National Pride	65.40	8.85	.77	18	38-88
2. Intergroup Contact	31.35	8.03	.86	12	12-57
3. Intergroup Permeability	8.21	2.03	.66	3	3-15
4. Intergroup Threat	50.62	10.00	.89	16	23-80
5. Perceived Fairness	5.98	1.68	.62	2	2-10
6. Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants	26.33	6.47	.87	10	10-47

Note: Higher scores indicate greater national pride, more contact, greater permeability, greater threat, more perceived unfairness, and more favorable attitudes.



TABLE 2.2. Zero-Order Correlations Among Predictor Variables (*N* = 318)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. National Pride	-					
2. Intergroup Contact	-.10	-				
3. Intergroup Permeability	.16**	-.17**	-			
4. Intergroup Threat	.18**	-.27***	.31***	-		
5. Perceived Fairness	.12*	-.20***	.31***	.61***	-	
6. Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants	-.09	.30***	-.21***	-.68***	-.49***	-

Note: Higher scores indicate greater national pride, more contact, greater permeability, greater threat, less perceived fairness (i.e., perceived unfairness), and more favorable attitudes.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

TABLE 2.5. Psychometric Properties for Measurements of Host Community Acculturation Strategies and Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants (*N* = 792)

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha	Number of Items	Range of Scores
1. Assimilation	2.14	1.08	NA	1	1-5
2. Separation	2.12	1.02	NA	1	1-5
3. Individualism	3.65	1.18	NA	1	1-5
4. Integration	3.90	0.94	NA	1	1-5
5. Exclusionism	2.53	1.38	NA	1	1-5
6. Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants	25.65	6.71	.87	10	10-47

Note: Higher scores indicate more endorsement for assimilation, separation, individualism, integration, exclusionism, and having more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

TABLE 2.6. Zero-Order Correlations Among Host Community Acculturation Strategies and Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants (N = 792)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Assimilation	-					
2. Separation	.44***	-				
3. Individualism	-.43***	-.21***	-			
4. Integration	-.19***	-.10**	.11**	-		
5. Exclusionism	.39***	.31***	-.22***	-.12**	-	
6. Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants	-.33***	-.17***	.29***	.06	-.53***	-

Note: Higher scores indicate more endorsement for assimilation, separation, individualism, integration, exclusionism, and having more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

\* p <.05, \*\* p <.01, \*\*\* p <.001

TABLE 3.5. Psychometric Properties for Measurements of Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants and Schwartz's Ten Value Dimensions (*N* = 233)

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha	Number of Items	Range of Scores
1. Power	-1.24	.65	.60	3	-3.12 – 0.41
2. Achievement	-.08	.45	.82	4	-2.12 – 1.12
3. Hedonism	-.21	.68	.64	2	-2.63 – 1.87
4. Stimulation	-.36	.57	.76	3	-1.95 – .98
5. Self-Direction	.13	.37	.75	5	-.78 – 1.57
6. Universalism	.20	.32	.80	8	-.65 – 1.35
7. Benevolence	.37	.39	.81	5	-1.03 – 1.47
8. Traditionalism	-.33	.50	.68	4	-2.39 – .88
9. Conformity	.32	.49	.79	4	-1.39 – 1.44
10. Security	.29	.41	.65	5	-1.03 – 1.78
11. Attitudes toward Chinese immigrants	24.40	6.74	.86	10	10.00 – 43.00

Note: Higher scores indicate increased motivation for power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, traditionalism, conformity, security, and more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

TABLE 3.6. Zero-Order Correlations Among Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants and Schwartz's Ten Value Dimensions (N = 233)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Power	-										
2. Achievement	-.14*	-									
3. Hedonism	.11+	-.01	-								
4. Stimulation	.02	.20**	.01	-							
5. Self-Direction	-.28**	.11+	-.13*	.14*	-						
6. Universalism	-.18**	-.36***	-.06	-.23***	-.06	-					
7. Benevolence	-.30***	-.01	-.12	-.23***	-.09	.02	-				
8. Traditionalism	-.17**	-.25***	.08	-.16*	-.26***	-.10	-.14*	-			
9. Conformity	-.19**	-.25***	-.11	-.37***	-.50***	-.27***	.22**	.25***	-		
10. Security	-.06	-.34***	-.15*	-.27***	-.21**	-.17**	-.21**	-.08	.27***	-	
11. Attitudes toward Chinese immigrants	-.08	-.11+	.06	.16*	.02	.09	.10	.05	-.03	-.18**	-

Note: Higher scores indicate increased motivation for power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, traditionalism, conformity, security, and more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

+  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

TABLE 3.7. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Attitudes Toward Chinese Immigrants from the Demographics and Schwartz's Ten Value Dimensions (N = 233)

	Step	
	1	2
<b>Covariates</b>		
Ethnicity	-.06	-.04
Age	.10	.15
Gender	-.01	.05
Education	.07	.07
Employment	-.09	-.05
Cultural Exposure	-.06	-.07
<b>Independent Variables</b>		
Security		-.18*
Achievement		-.20**
Stimulation		.19**
Power		-.07
Hedonism		-.08
Self-Direction		-.02
Universalism		.01
Benevolence		.08
Traditionalism		.00
Conformity		.06
Adj. R square	.01	.09
R square	.04	.12

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

TABLE 3.8. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Attitudes Toward Chinese Immigrants from the Demographic Factors and Schwartz's Four Values Domains

	Step	
	1	2
<b>Covariates</b>		
Ethnicity	-.06	-.06
Age	.10	.10
Gender	-.01	-.01
Education	.07	.07
Employment	-.09	-.09
Cultural Exposure	-.06	-.06
<b>Independent Variables</b>		
Self-Enhancement		-.11
Self-Transcendence		.09
Openness to Change		.11
Conservation		-.06
Adj. R square	.04	.04
R square	.01	.01

TABLE 3.1. Psychometric Properties for Measurements of National Pride, Self-Esteem, Social Dominance Orientation, Collectivism, and Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants (*N* = 241)

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha	Number of Items	Range of Scores
1. National Pride	66.63	8.68	.74	18	28-86
2. Self-Esteem	12.64	1.66	.65	3	6-15
3. Social Dominance Orientation	23.43	7.24	.85	10	10-48
4. Collectivism	71.50	10.51	.81	23	40-107
5. Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants	25.95	6.84	.88	10	10-46

Note: Higher scores indicate greater national pride, higher self-esteem, greater social dominance orientation, increased collectivism, and more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.



TABLE 3.2. Zero-Order Correlations Among National Pride, Self-Esteem, Social Dominance Orientation, Collectivism, and Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants (*N* = 241)

	1	2	3	4	5
1. National Pride	-				
2. Self-Esteem	.24***	-			
3. Social Dominance Orientation	-.06	-.00	-		
4. Collectivism	.24***	.09	-.24***	-	
5. Attitudes Towards Chinese Immigrants	.03	.14*	-.23***	.14*	-

Note: Higher scores indicate greater national pride, higher self-esteem, greater social dominance orientation, increased collectivism, and more favorable attitudes toward Chinese immigrants.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

TABLE 4.5. Psychometric Properties for Measurements on Hofstede’s Four Cultural Dimensions and Attitudinal Outcomes From the Eurobarometer Survey (N = 15)

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range of Scores
<b>Hofstede’s Four Cultural Dimensions</b>			
1. Power distance	40.93	18.30	11.00 – 68.00
2. Uncertainty Avoidance	65.00	27.87	23.00 – 112.00
3. Individualism	65.53	16.99	27.00 – 89.00
4. Masculinity	46.33	23.19	5.00 – 79.00
<b>Outcomes From Eurobarometer Survey</b>			
5. Blame	48.38	8.30	34.66 – 61.26
6. Policies promoting Social Co-existence	31.44	10.32	21.86 – 65.51
7. Disturbance	15.25	6.39	5.00 – 27.67
8. Multicultural Optimism	54.51	9.85	29.60 – 67.40
9. Assimilation	42.46	9.96	23.00 – 55.00

Note: Increased scores indicate increased endorsement for power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, masculinity, blame, policies promoting social co-existence, disturbance, multicultural optimism, and assimilation.

TABLE 4.6. Zero-Order Correlations Among Hofstede's Four Cultural Dimensions and the Outcomes From the Eurobarometer Survey ( $N = 15$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Power distance	-								
2. Uncertainty Avoidance	.78**	-							
3. Individualism	-.37	-.69**	-						
4. Masculinity	-.04	.24	.02	-					
5. Blame	.33	.22	-.01	-.21	-				
6. Policies promoting Social Co-existence	-.47	-.45	.45	-.12	-.38	-			
7. Disturbance	.10	.08	.04	.08	.82**	-.18	-		
8. Multicultural Optimism	-.27	-.48†	.40	-.59*	-.43	.60*	-.60*	-	
9. Assimilation	.02	-.08	.20	-.51†	.67**	.20	.58*	.07	-

Note: Increased scores indicate increased endorsement for power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, masculinity, blame, policies promoting social co-existence, disturbance, multicultural optimism, and assimilation.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , †  $p < .07$ , for a two-tail test

TABLE 4.7. Psychometric Properties for Measurements on Schwartz’s Seven Cultural Value Dimensions and Outcomes From the Eurobarometer Survey (*N* = 10)

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range of Scores
<b>Schwartz’s Seven Cultural Value Dimensions</b>			
1. Conservation	3.63	.18	3.35 – 3.84
2. Affective Autonomy	3.79	.41	2.95 – 4.41
3. Intellectual Autonomy	4.56	.35	4.09 – 5.15
4. Hierarchy	2.08	.20	1.69 – 2.38
5. Mastery	4.07	.24	3.63 – 4.53
6. Egalitarian Commitment	5.42	.15	5.15 – 5.62
7. Harmony	4.34	.25	3.98 – 4.80
<b>Outcomes From Eurobarometer Survey</b>			
8. Blame	48.38	8.30	34.66 – 61.26
9. Policies promoting Social Co-existence	31.44	10.32	21.86 – 65.51
10. Disturbance	15.25	6.39	5.00 – 27.67
11. Multicultural Optimism	54.51	9.85	29.60 – 67.40
12. Assimilation	42.46	9.96	23.00 – 55.00

Note: Increased scores indicate increased endorsement for conservation, affective autonomy, intellectual autonomy, hierarchy, mastery, egalitarian commitment, harmony, blame, policies promoting social co-existence, disturbance, multicultural optimism, and assimilation. Scores on Schwartz’s seven cultural value dimensions are only available in 10 of the original 16 countries (15 European nations plus New Zealand).

TABLE 4.8. Zero-Order Correlations Among Schwartz's Seven Cultural Value Dimensions and the Attitudinal Outcomes from the Eurobarometer Survey ( $N = 10$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Conservation	-											
2. Affective Autonomy	-.77**	-										
3. Intellectual Autonomy	-.70*	.38	-									
4. Hierarchy	-.32	.50	-.00	-								
5. Mastery	.02	.09	-.62	.05	-							
6. Egalitarian Commitment	-.15	-.25	.12	-.62	.08	-						
7. Harmony	.06	-.42	.28	-.68*	-.11	.39	-					
8. Blame	-.24	.32	.02	-.11	.03	.08	-.18	-				
9. Policies promoting Social Co-existence	.18	.18	-.06	.51	-.06	-.71*	-.56	-.38	-			
10. Disturbance	-.10	.36	-.27	-.20	.33	-.04	-.18	.82**	-.18	-		
11. Multicultural Optimism	.10	-.10	.37	.23	-.67*	-.14	-.29	-.43	.60*	-.60*	-	
12. Assimilation	-.05	.50	-.26	.42	-.05	-.33	-.76*	.67*	.20	.58*	.07	-

Note: Increased scores indicate increased endorsement for conservation, affective autonomy, intellectual autonomy, hierarchy, mastery, egalitarian commitment, harmony, blame, in favor of policies promoting social co-existence, disturbance, multicultural optimism, and assimilation. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , for a two-tail test

Note: Scores on Schwartz's seven cultural value dimensions are only available in 10 of the original 16 countries (15 European nations plus New Zealand).

TABLE 4.9. Psychometric Properties and Zero-Order Correlations Among GDP Growth Rate, Unemployment Rate, Country Area Size, Population Size, Population Density, GNI Per Capita, PPP Per Capita, and Outcomes from the Eurobarometer Survey (N = 15)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. GDP growth rate #	-											
2. Unemployment rate +	-.14	-										
3. Country area size	-.14	.60*	-									
4. Population size	-.37	.39	.54*	-								
5. Population density (1999)	-.25	-.27	-.37	.31	-							
6. GNI per capita (1999)	-.08	-.40	-.06	.10	.29	-						
7. PPP per capita (1999)	-.10	-.56*	-.39	-.04	.42	.61*	-					
8. Blame	-.04	-.08	-.28	-.04	.39	.39	.24	-				
9. Policies promoting Social Co-existence	-.21	-.26	.12	-.25	-.23	-.04	-.22	-.38	-			
10. Disturbance	-.13	-.14	-.44	-.10	.19	.27	.08	.82**	-.18	-		
11. Multicultural Optimism	-.15	-.14	.40	-.09	-.12	.23	.20	-.43	.60*	-.60*	-	
12. Assimilation	-.27	-.43	-.28	-.28	.28	.36	.33	.67**	.30	.58*	.07	-

Note: higher scores indicate higher growth rate, unemployment, area size, population size, population density, GNI per capita, PPP per capita, blame, and higher ratings on policies promoting social co-existence, disturbance, multicultural optimism, and assimilation. “\*” – Average rate from 1998 to 1999. “+” – Average rate from 1998 to 2001. \* p <.05, \*\* p <.01, \*\*\* p <.001

TABLE 3.3. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Attitudes Toward Chinese Immigrants from the Demographic Factors and Personality Measurements (*N* = 241)

	Step			
	1	2	3	4
<b>Covariates</b>				
Ethnicity	-.20**	-.21**	-.23**	-.22**
Age	.06	.05	.07	.07
Gender	-.14*	-.14*	-.14*	-.14*
Education	.04	.06	.02	.03
Employment	-.03	-.03	-.05	-.05
Cultural Exposure	-.14*	-.13*	-.12	-.12
<b>Independent Variables</b>				
National Pride		.01	-.05	-.07
Self-Esteem		.15*	.14*	.15*
<b>Independent Variables</b>				
Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)			-.16*	-.13
Individualism-Collectivism (IC)			.15*	.15*
<b>2-Way Interaction</b>				
IC x SDO				.15*
Adj. R square	.09	.10	.15	.17
R square	.11	.13	.19	.21
R square Change	.11***	.02	.05**	.02*

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

TABLE 2.3. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Attitudes Toward Chinese Immigrants from the Demographic and Intergroup Factors (*N* = 318)

	Step			
	1	2	3	4
<b>Covariates</b>				
Ethnicity	-.30***	-.19**	-.09	-.09
Age	.13*	.12*	.09	.09
Gender	-.10	-.07	-.04	-.04
Education	.11	.04	-.06	-.07
Employment	.05	.04	-.02	-.02
Cultural Exposure	.07	.08	.02	.02
<b>Independent Variables</b>				
Intergroup Contact		.18***	.12**	.12**
Perceived Fairness		-.39***	-.09	-.09
<b>Independent Variables</b>				
National Pride (N)			.02	.02
Intergroup Permeability (P)			.04	.05
Perceived Threat (T)			-.60***	-.60***
<b>2-Way Interactions</b>				
T x N				.01
P x T				-.02
Adj. R square	.14	.32	.51	.51
R square	.16	.34	.53	.53
R square Change	.16***	.19***	.19***	.00

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$



TABLE 2.7. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Attitudes Toward Chinese Immigrants from the Demographic Factors and Host Community Acculturation Strategies ( $N = 792$ )

	Step	
	1	2
<b>Covariates</b>		
Ethnicity	-.20***	-.16***
Age	.10*	.14***
Gender	-.08*	-.06*
Education	.07	.03
Employment	-.01	-.02
Cultural Exposure	-.05	-.01
<b>Independent Variables</b>		
Assimilation		-.14***
Separation		.05
Individualism		.20***
Integration		-.06
Exclusionism		-.41***
Adj. R square	.08	.38
R square	.09	.39

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

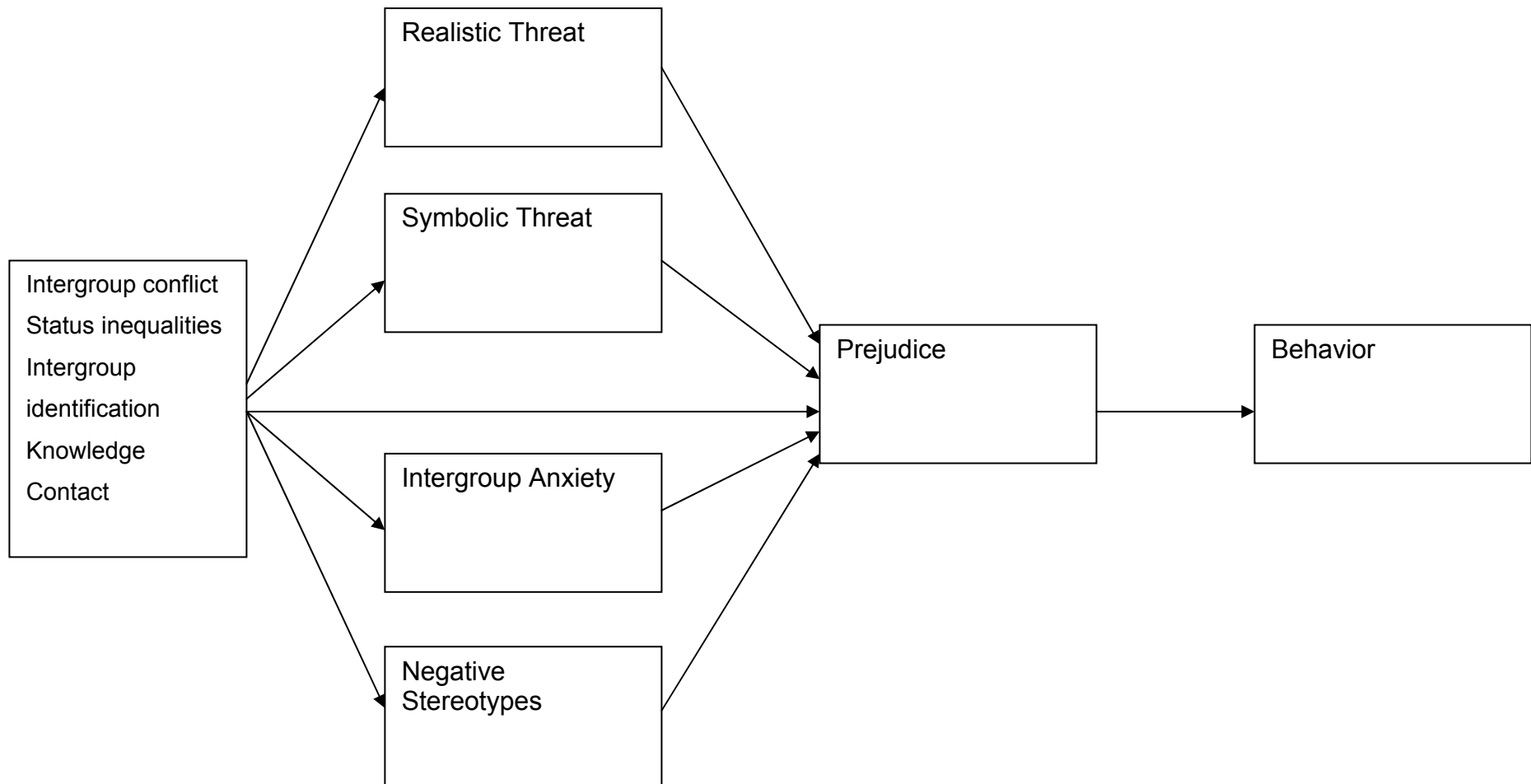


FIGURE 2.1. Causal Model of Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan, Stephan, & Gudykunst, 1999)

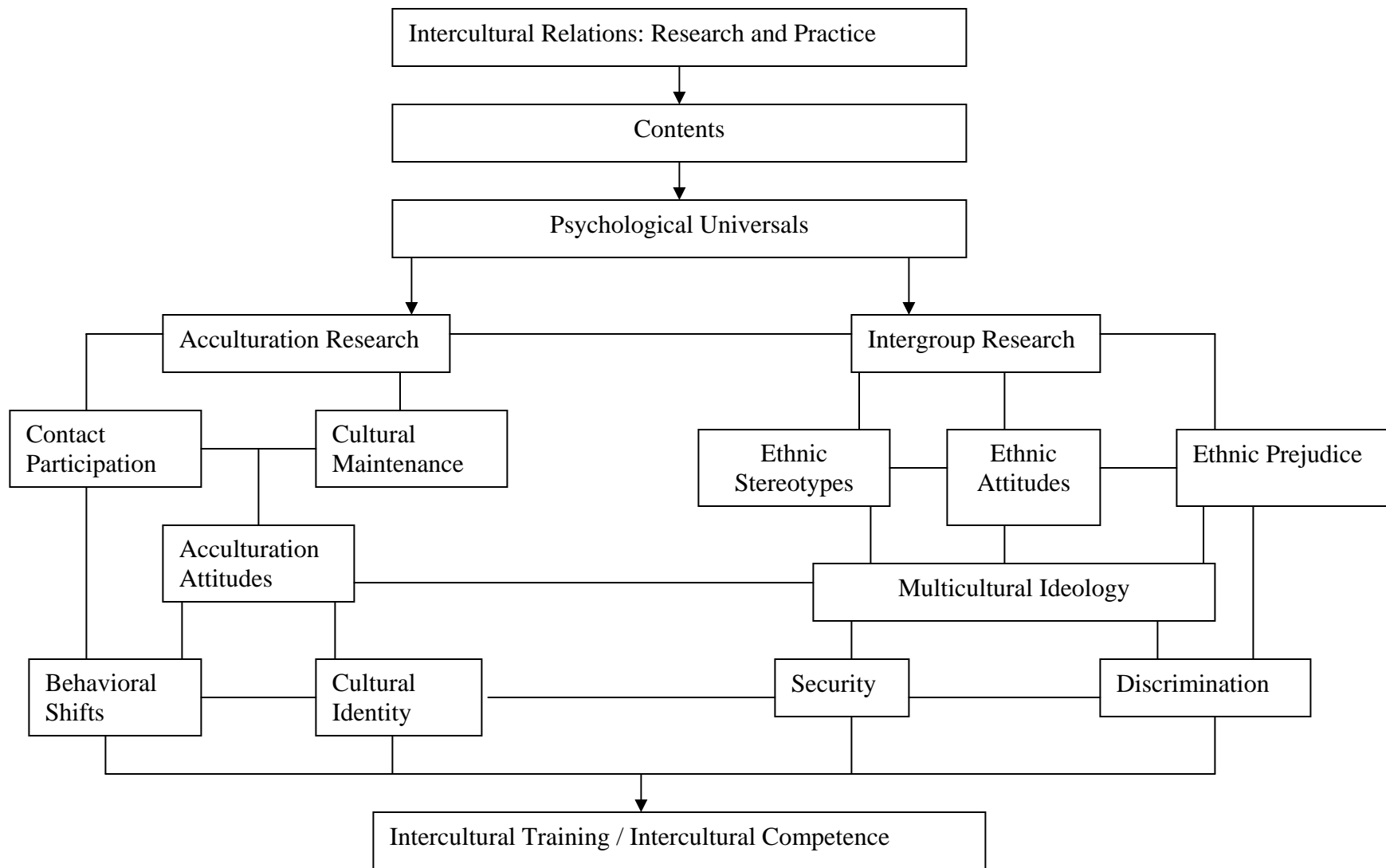


FIGURE 1.1. Varieties of Intercultural Strategies in Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society (Berry, 2004)

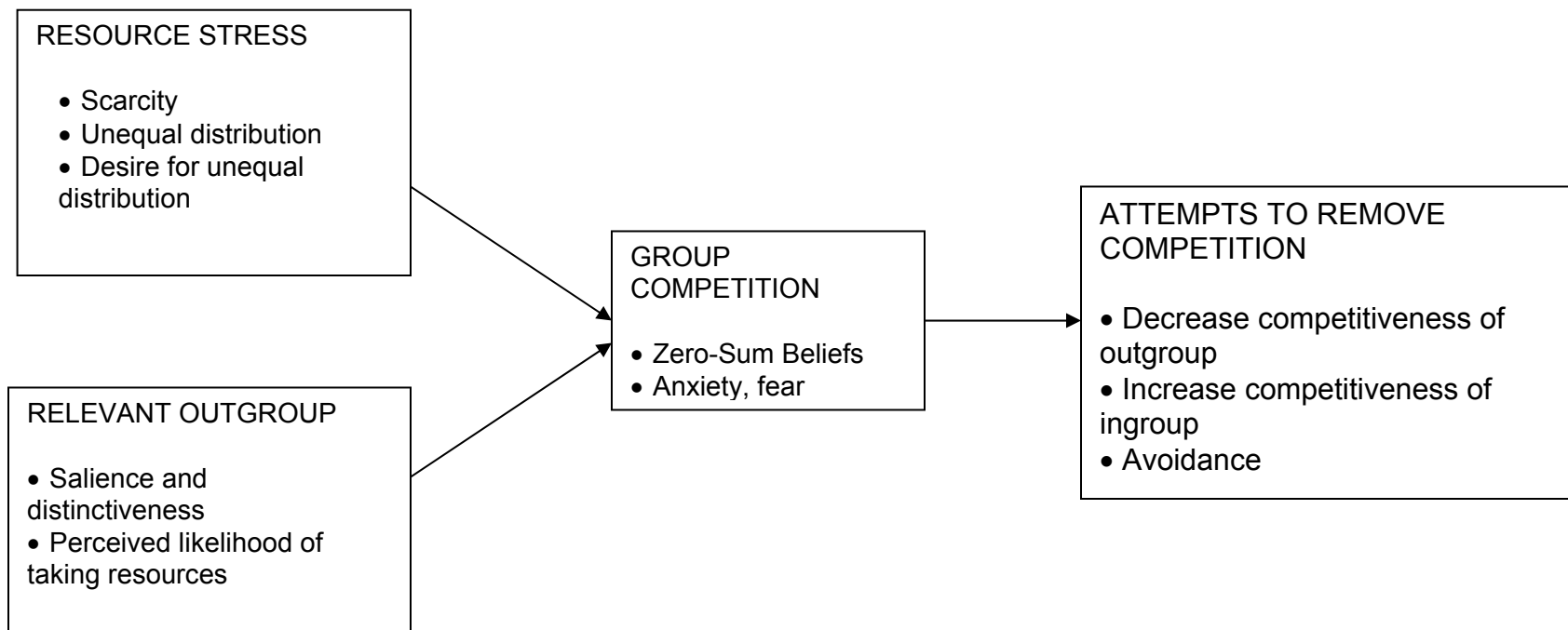


FIGURE 2.2. The Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998)

TABLE 4.1. Hofstede's Four Dimensions of Cultural Differences (Hofstede, 1980)

Cultural dimensions	Description	Examples	Representative countries (high versus low on dimension)
Power Distance	Acceptance and perception of legitimacy towards social inequality between members from different hierarchies	How frequently, in your experience, does the following problem occur: employees being afraid to express their disagreement with their managers?	High – Malaysia, Panama, Philippines, Mexico  Low – Austria, Denmark, Ireland, New Zealand
Uncertainty Avoidance	The level of tolerance for uncertainties, and hence the endorsement for measures that will reduce the discomfort	Company rules should not be broken, even if the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest.	High – Greece, Portugal, Uruguay, Belgium  Low – Hong Kong, Sweden, Singapore, Ireland
Individualism	The importance of having close knit social and family circles with a high degree of uniformity and loyalty	How important is it to you to have a job that leaves you sufficient time for your personal or family life?  How important is it to you to have considerable freedom to adapt to your own approach to the job?	High – USA, Australia, Britain, Netherlands  Low – Ecuador, Panama, Guatemala, Venezuela
Masculinity	The importance of achievement, material success and status, versus interpersonal orientation and egalitarianism.	How important is it to you to have a good working relationship with your manager?  How important is it to you to have an opportunity for high earnings?	High – Japan, Austria, Venezuela, Italy, Switzerland  Low – Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden

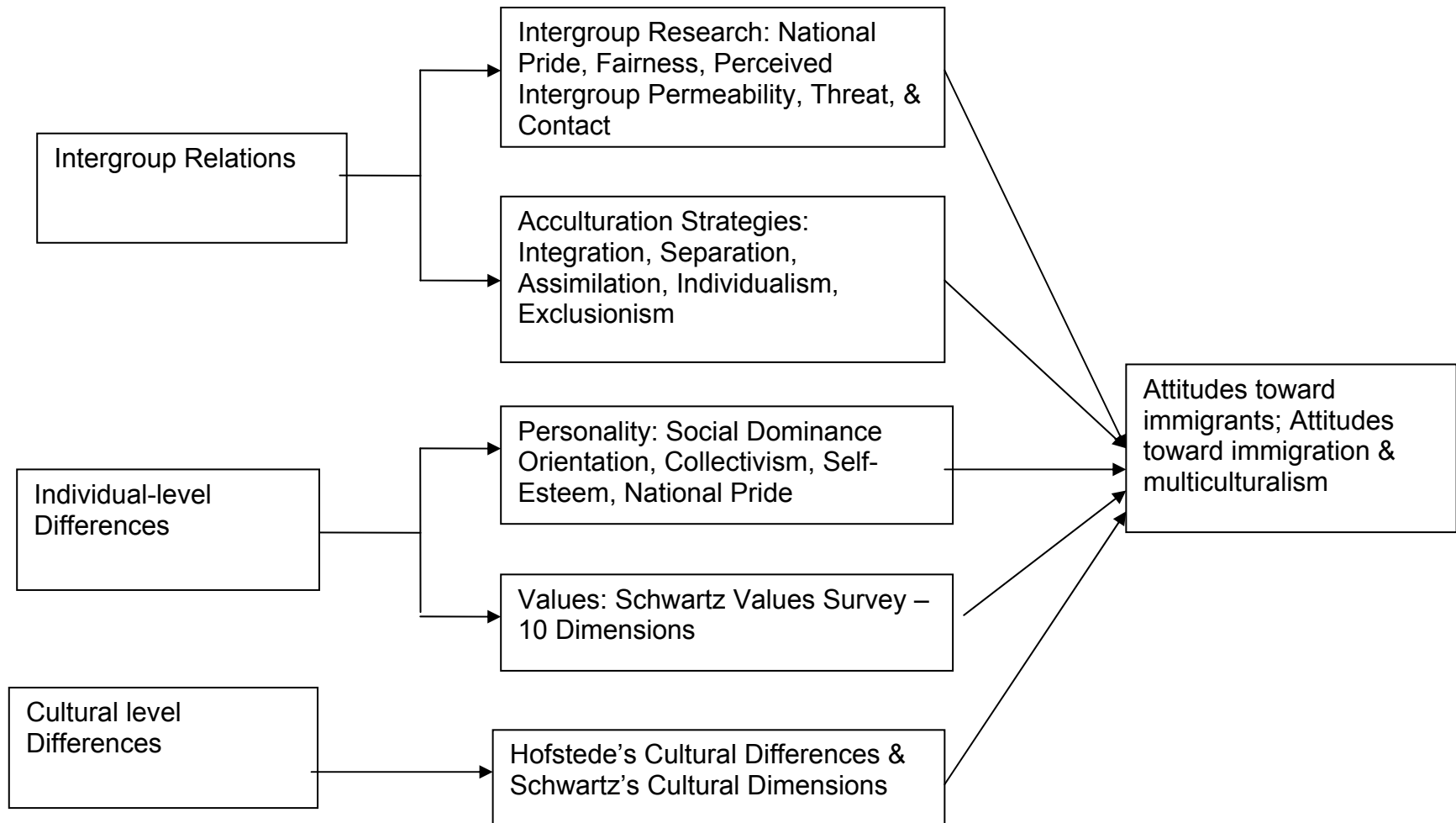


FIGURE 1.4. The Schematic Structure of the Research