



A Dual Process Model of attitudes toward immigration: Predicting intergroup and international relations with China[☆]



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ABSTRACT

We integrate the Dual Process Model of Ideology and Prejudice to examine the motivations associated with attitudes toward intergroup relations with Chinese people in New Zealand. We conducted a Structural Equation Model using data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (N = 15,608) to predict (a) warmth toward Chinese people, (b) support for policies promoting increased immigration from China, and (c) support for policies promoting greater trade ties between China and New Zealand. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) were uniquely negatively associated with warmth toward Chinese and support for Chinese immigration. However, and as predicted, SDO was positively associated with support for increased trade, whereas RWA was negatively associated. Overall, SDO was most strongly related with low warmth, while RWA was most strongly associated with anti-immigration attitudes. Our model identifies key motives of group-based dominance (SDO) and threat-driven social cohesion (RWA) that inform prejudicial attitudes toward Chinese people in New Zealand. More generally, our model identifies nuances within the DPM framework, revealing subtle differences in the ways SDO and RWA are associated with closely related yet distinct aspects of New Zealanders' attitudes toward intergroup relations with China and Chinese peoples.

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1. Introduction

As diversity continues to increase within nations, intergroup relations between dominant groups in society and emerging minority populations are more important than ever to monitor and understand. New Zealand is characterised by a relatively large degree of multiculturalism and ethnic diversity, yet inequalities exist between New Zealand Europeans, the dominant/majority ethnic group, and minority groups. In particular, Asian peoples, the most rapidly growing ethnic group in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), are regarded the least warmly by NZ Europeans and fellow minority groups (Sibley & Ward, 2013). Recent survey results from the New Zealand General Social Survey also show 26.6% of Asian peoples reported experiencing discrimination within the past year (Statistics New Zealand, 2015), whilst just over one quarter of New Zealanders cite Asian peoples as the group in society they feel is most discriminated against (Human Rights Commission, 2010).

[☆] Mplus syntax for the models reported in this paper (including syntax documenting the model constraint commands we implemented in our analyses) are available on the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study website. <http://www.psych.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/NZAVS>.

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Yet, in an increasingly globalized world, attitudes toward Asian peoples, and intergroup relations with China and other Asian countries are likely to be formed with regards to numerous aspects of those intergroup relations. For example attitudes may include global evaluations of Asian peoples as well as immigration preferences in the home nation, but also trade policy preferences which implicate those same groups at the international level. Attitudes toward each of these measures may convey quite distinct motivations that result in varying levels of support across them. This begs the question: What might be driving these attitudes toward Chinese peoples and more broadly related intergroup attitudes?

Here, we integrate Duckitt's (2001) Dual Process Model of Ideology and Prejudice to predict three different facets of people's attitudes toward Chinese people in New Zealand. These are: (a) warmth toward Chinese people (affect thermometer ratings), (b) support for increased immigration from China, and (c) support for increased trade between China and New Zealand. We propose that attitudes toward these measures may each be driven by two underlying and distinct motivational goals. As outlined by the Dual Process Model, these are to protect ingroup norms and social cohesion, and to bolster ingroup dominance and social hierarchy. We examine Chinese people in New Zealand in particular because, as mentioned, Asian peoples more broadly in New Zealand occupy a low power position and experience a fair deal of discrimination, yet internationally, Chinese people originate from China, a higher power nation on the international scale. China is also one of New Zealand's major trading partners, and immigration and investment from China continue to rapidly increase (Statistics New Zealand, 2013; The Treasury, 2015). We test our integrative Dual Process Model of attitudes toward China and Chinese people using data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study, a national probability sample of New Zealand adults.

2. The Dual Process Model

The Dual Process Motivational Model of Ideology and Prejudice (DPM; Duckitt, 2001) proposes that prejudice is the result of two distinct underlying motivational goals of maintaining dominance, expressed through one's Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), as well as protecting ingroup norms and social cohesion, through Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; Altemeyer, 1998) and has seen wide use in explaining attitudes toward immigrant groups (Duckitt & Sibley, *in press*). Whereas our model predicts that RWA will be negatively associated with warmth toward Chinese people, increased immigration from China, and increased trade with China, it also makes the seeming paradoxical prediction that SDO will be *negatively* associated with warmth toward Chinese people and with immigration, but *positively* associated with support for increased trade with China itself.

According to the DPM, individual differences in SDO are produced by the personality trait of tough-mindedness (or low agreeableness; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). This personality trait in turn fosters a competitive worldview, whereby survival of groups in society is determined by relative strength and dominance. Research employing a Big-Six model of personality also indicates that low Honesty–Humility is uniquely linked with SDO independent of low Agreeableness (Sibley, Harding, Perry, Asbrock, & Duckitt, 2010). According to Duckitt (2001), the formation of a competitive worldview in turn leads to increases in SDO, and prejudice stemming from SDO therefore reflects the motivational goal of maintaining dominance, power, and hierarchy in this socially competitive world. By contrast, social conformity (or low openness) leads to the development of dangerous worldviews, or the view of society as dangerous and threatening. A dangerous social worldview in turn generates increased levels of RWA. Prejudice stemming from RWA consequently fuels the motivational goal of maintaining social cohesion, stability, and control to manage perceived threats. The DPM thus states that high SDO individuals are reactive to cues of competition and power-difference, while high RWA individuals are reactive to cues of social threat (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010a; Duckitt & Sibley, *in press*). Duckitt & Sibley (*in press*) recently updated and revised the Dual Process Model based on the last 15 years of accumulated empirical evidence. Their updated version of the DPM is presented in Fig. 1.

The causal sequence in which personality produces individual differences in social worldviews, which in turn shape individual differences in SDO and RWA and hence prejudice and related ideologies, has received wide support across numerous study formats (see Duckitt & Sibley, *in press*, for a full recent review of this research). A central prediction of the DPM is that outgroups deemed as threatening social order should elicit prejudice in individuals high in RWA, while those outgroups in competition with the ingroup and/or subordinate to the ingroup should elicit prejudice from high SDO individuals as an attempt to manage corresponding motivational goals (Duckitt, 2006). Indeed, studies have shown that RWA predicts prejudice toward dangerous groups (e.g. drug dealers, rock stars), SDO predicts prejudice toward subordinate groups (e.g. immigrants, housewives), and both RWA and SDO predict prejudice toward those groups both dangerous and subordinate (e.g. feminists, atheists, protestors; Duckitt, 2006; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007). Experimentally manipulating fictitious immigrant groups as either socially threatening, subordinate, or economically competitive, similarly evoke prejudice through RWA, SDO, or both respectively (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010b). A key advantage to studying intergroup relations within a DPM framework then is the ability to dissociate two distinct underlying motives that predict individual differences in prejudice.

2.1. The Dual Process Model and attitudes towards Chinese people in New Zealand

The DPM has seen extensive use in assessing attitudes toward immigrants, likely because they tend to be perceived as socially threatening, competitive, and subordinate. Indeed, a meta-analysis by Cohrs and Stelzl (2010) found average correlations of 0.46 and 0.45 between immigration attitudes and RWA and SDO, respectively. Their analyses also revealed large variation in the magnitude of these associations across countries, with contextual factors (such as perceptions of criminality, and where immigrants have low socio-economic status) being influential factors. Further studies also suggest

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