

Out-group Value Incongruence and Intergroup Attitude:
The Roles of Social Identity and Multiculturalism

GUAN, Yanjun

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Abstract of thesis entitled:

Out-group Value Incongruence and Intergroup Attitude: The Roles of Social Identity and Multiculturalism

Submitted by GUAN, Yanjun

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This research was designed to examine the relationship between individuals' perceived value incongruence with out-group members and their attitude towards the target group, as well as the boundary conditions of this process. By using the "inter-subjective consensus approach", in study one we found that among Mainland Chinese college students, their value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese was negatively related to their attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. In study two, we found that among participants with high identification with both the Mainland Chinese subgroup and the Chinese super-ordinate group, the negative relation between individual value incongruence and their intergroup attitude was non-significant. In addition, among participants with high multiculturalism endorsement, the relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude was significantly weaker than those with low level of multiculturalism. Implications of this research and future directions were discussed based on these findings.

Key words: inter-subjective consensus approach, social identity, multiculturalism, intergroup attitude

摘要

本研究的目的是檢驗個體對於其他群體價值觀（Value）的非認同程度（Incongruence）與他們的群體態度（Intergroup Attitude）的關係，以及這個過程在何種條件下成立。研究一發現在中國內地的大學生群體中，他們對於香港人價值觀的非認同程度與他們對於香港人的態度呈負相關。研究二發現，如果個體同時高度認同大陸人和中國人這兩個群體身份，他們對於香港價值觀的非認同程度與對香港人的態度的相關不再顯著。同時，如果個體具有較高的多元文化取向（Multiculturalism），他們傾向於對香港人持有相對正面的態度，同時他們對於香港價值觀的非認同程度與對香港人的態度的相關系数顯著弱於那些具有較低多元文化取向的個體。基於本系列研究的結果，本論文探討了其意義以及後續研究的方向。

關鍵詞：主觀共識法，社會身份，多元文化取向，群體態度

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This research was designed to examine the relationship between individuals' dis-identification with out-group values and their inter-group attitude, as well as the boundary conditions of this process. We argue that group members' perceived value incongruence with out-group members may be related to their negative attitude towards the target group. Based on the In-group Common Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), we further argue that when members of one subgroup identify with both of their subgroup and the super-ordinate group, this "dual identity" may promote their positive attitude towards members of another subgroup, and may reduce the negative association between out-group value incongruence and intergroup attitude. In addition, we also propose that when individuals highly endorse multiculturalism, which refers to the tendency to appreciate and respect the culture of other social groups (Verkuyten, 2005), the relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude may also be weaker. To test these ideas, we will focus on the inter-group process between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese and conduct our research from the perspective of the Mainland Chinese.

Out-group Value Incongruence and Intergroup Attitude

Culture is often defined as the shared values, beliefs, and norms among members of a social group (Smith, Bond, & Kagitcibasi, 2006). According to the self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), group culture provides a meaningful framework

for members to make sense of the social world and reduces their cognitive uncertainty (Hogg, 2000). Group members are socialized to endorse the “core” values, beliefs, and norms of their groups and form different levels of identification with their group’s culture (Kelman, 2005).

Cultures of various groups were often measured by the most highly endorsed values based on the mean scores of different value domains across group members (e.g., Schwartz, 1992). However, Wan, Chiu, Tam, Lee, Lau, and Peng (2007) argued that members of a given group should know which values are important to or preferred by other members of their group, therefore the importance of a value to a culture may also be measured by the extent to which people commonly believe that value to be important in that culture, rather than the mean of self-endorsement scores among group members. People are likely to vary in the extent to which they define themselves in terms of consensual or stereotypical group-related values, and this variation may predict their degree of identification with social groups.

Accordingly, Wan and her colleagues (2007) developed the “inter-subjective consensus approach” to discover the “core” values of a specific group based on the perceived importance of different values to this group, and found that personal endorsement of these “core values” of a group was related to a global measure of group identification, viz., how strongly a respondent identified with the culture of a specific group. Moreover, they also demonstrated that the perceived importance of values to a group could predict

identification with the culture of social groups above and beyond values with high mean self-endorsement. This research suggests that although perceived reality may not always be the same as reality, individuals rely much on their perceptions to guide their attitude and behavior, such as group identification.

In addition, perceived cultural difference between social groups has also been proposed as an important predictor for negative intergroup attitude. Since people generally tend to defend their in-group culture, out-group culture may be perceived as jeopardizing the worldview of the in-group (Allport, 1954). Consistently, the Integrated Threat Theory argues that out-groups that adhere to different worldviews are often regarded as carrying “symbolic threats” to in-group members, which in turn may result in negative intergroup consequences (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Empirical research also revealed that when the in-group values and norms were thought to be blocked by an out-group, members tended to hold negative out-group attitude (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). It has also been found in the Mexican-American intergroup context that, perceived cultural difference predicted negative intergroup attitude from among members in both the Mexican group and American group (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000). Similar results were also revealed in the Black-White intergroup relations among U.S. college students (Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Bettencourt, Ervin, Jackson et al., 2002).

However, research also revealed that the relation between perceived cultural difference and inter-group attitude was also influenced by many

individual and contextual characteristics (Makie & Smith, 1998). Some recent research suggested that members' personal cultural orientation may also play an important role in predicting intergroup attitude. For example, Wan, Chiu, Peng, and Tam (2007) applied the "inter-subjective consensus approach" to examine the association between sub-group identification and stereotypes. In their study conducted among Singapore Chinese, the researchers first identified the values that members of this sub-group generally believed to differentiate their own sub-group (Singapore Chinese) from other subgroups in the same super-ordinate category (e.g., Chinese), by measuring their stereotypes of both their sub-group members and the super-ordinate group members. Then they found that the relative identification to the sub-group, which was obtained by subtracting identification with the super-ordinate group from the identification with the sub-group, was related to the individuals' endorsement of these "distinctive" values of their own sub-group. In addition, it was also revealed in previous studies that individuals' value incongruence with other members in an organization served as a significant predictor for organizational cynicism, which was a negative evaluation for their experience in the organization (Naus, van Iterson, & Roe, 2007).

In light of these findings on the role of individual cultural orientation in group identification and group evaluation, in the current study, we will extend this idea to intergroup process by examining the role of individual cultural orientation in predicting intergroup attitude. Since people have different levels of endorsement with the culture of their in-groups (Kelman,

2005), it follows that individuals may also vary in the degree of identifying or dis-identifying with the culture of other groups. Therefore, we argue that when there are cultural differences, such as value differences between in-groups and out-groups, individuals' personal value profile may play a role in predicting their inter-group attitude. Specifically, on the one hand, if members highly dis-identify with the values of a specific out-group, they may perceive high level of dissimilarity with out-group members, and therefore hold a negative intergroup attitude. On the other hand, when members personally identify with the values of a specific out-group, this perception may give rise to the sense of high similarity with out-group members, facilitating the formation of more positive attitude towards that target group.

Therefore, we propose that there may be a negative relation between individual value incongruence with out-group members and their intergroup attitude towards the target group. Although in most previous research, a perceived difference in values, beliefs, and norms at the group level was often proposed as a predictor of intergroup attitude (e.g., Stephan et al., 2002), in this study we will further examine the role of individual cultural orientation in this process and test whether this construct will predict intergroup above and beyond the prediction of perceived value difference at the group level. To examine this idea, we will focus on the intergroup process between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese and examine the relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude from the perspective of Mainland Chinese. Based on previous research on the stereotypes and intergroup

attitude between these two Chinese groups, we applied the “inter-subjective consensus approach” to identify the “distinctive” values of Hong Kong Chinese, and then examined the relation between Mainland Chinese’s perceived incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese on these “distinctive” values and their attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese.

Stereotypes and Intergroup Attitudes between Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese

Due to the different histories and traditions among diverse subgroups of Chinese, there exist cultural differences and stereotypes among subgroups of Chinese. Although Hong Kong Chinese are called “Chinese” and often regarded as representatives of Chinese in many cross-cultural studies (e.g., Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 1997), they are distinguishable from Mainland Chinese due to their unique history. Up to 1997, Hong Kong had been a British colony for 156 years, and during this lengthy period the British introduced Westernized social-economical-political systems into Hong Kong society, making it a place where Chinese culture meets Western culture (Lau & Kuan, 1989). In addition, after it was returned to China in 1997, the “one country, two systems” policy has ensured Hong Kong’s relative independence from the Mainland during the past twelve years.

Much research has found that Hong Kong Chinese generally perceived themselves as sharing more similarity with Westerners and being distinctive from Mainland Chinese. For example, Hong, Chiu, Yeung, and Tong (1999) used 24 trait attributes to measure inter-group perceptions held by Hong Kong

college students. The trait attributes were developed indigenously by conducting group discussions with the participants and searching the literature on the differences between people from Chinese and Western cultures (e.g., Chinese Culture Connection, 1987). They found that Hong Kong people were perceived as similar to other economically accomplished groups (e.g., Americans) in terms of their shared higher social status, Western outlook, democratic beliefs, social conscientiousness, and instrumental work motivation; Mainlanders were perceived as belonging to a different group based on these dimensions.

Similarly, by using the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1992) as a measure of perceptions of values held by members of different groups, Bond and Mak (1996) found that Hong Kong adolescents grouped Beijingers, Guangzhouese, and Taiwanese into a "typical Chinese" cluster, while Hongkongese, American-born Chinese, and Westerners were grouped into a Western cluster, based on their perceived values. The perceived cultural difference between Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese has also been related to the social identity claimed by Hong Kong Chinese, as well as their intergroup attitude towards Mainland Chinese. Most Hong Kong Chinese chose to identify themselves as Hongkongers or primarily Hongkongers, rather than as Chinese or primarily Chinese (e.g., Lam, Lau, Chiu, Hong, & Peng, 1999). In addition, Hong Kong Chinese who chose their identities as Hongkongese or primarily Hongkongese reported more negative attitudes towards Mainland Chinese, and a lesser tendency to interact with Mainland

Chinese than those who chose the identity of Chinese or primarily Chinese (Hong, Liao, Chan, Wong, Chiu, Ip et al., 2006; Lam, Chiu, Lau, Chan, & Yim, 2006; Lam, Chiu, & Lau, 2007).

From the perspective of Mainland Chinese, it was found that Mainland Chinese shared similar views on the cultural difference between Hong Kong and Mainland China: Hong Kong Chinese were perceived as more Westernized (e.g., Lai, 1998). Mainlanders perceived Hong Kong people as higher in Westernized values, such as self-direction, universalism, stimulation, and achievement (Lai, 1998). However, not much research has been done to examine [the relation between personal cultural orientation and intergroup attitude from the perspective of Mainland Chinese. In the current study, we will examine the role of Mainlanders' perceived value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese in predicting their attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. We propose that there among Mainland Chinese, their value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese may be related to negative attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese.

Common In-group Identity and Intergroup Attitude

A person's social identity often refers to "part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). Social identity consists of multiple elements (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004), and fulfills diverse

motives for group members (Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Gollidge, & Scabini, 2006). According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985; Turner, Hog, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), members who identify more highly with their group typically show more in-group favoritism and often more out-group derogation. Much social psychological research has shown that the social categorization into “us” and “them” lies at the heart of inter-group conflict and prejudice (e.g., Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971).

Since people often belong to multiple social groups and they are capable of focusing on different social identities under different contexts, this dynamic nature of the social categorization process suggests some approaches to promote inter-group relations through shifting the person’s representation of group categories. The Common In-group Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) proposes that, if members of different groups are induced to regard themselves and out-groups as members of a more inclusive, super-ordinate group, rather than just as two completely separate groups, attitudes towards former out-group members would become more positive. The change in members’ perceptions of group boundaries thereby enables some of the cognitive and motivational processes that may contribute initially to inter-group bias and conflict to be redirected toward establishing more harmonious inter-group relations.

The common in-group identity can be achieved through introducing factors that are perceived to be shared between the original groups. It has been established that by promoting the cooperation between two groups on a common goal (e.g., Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990; Sherif & Sherif, 1969), or by highlighting the proximity and visual similarity among groups (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Dovidio, 1989), members of the two groups would accept a more inclusive super-ordinate identity and reduce their negative attitudes towards the other group.

In addition, a common in-group identity can also be achieved by increasing the salience of existing common super-ordinate memberships. For example, for different ethnic groups within a school, inducing the common school identity provides an identity locally shared in the given context, thereby promoting more positive inter-group attitudes (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994). Research in other settings has also demonstrated that stronger perceptions of a common identity among members of different groups predict positive forms of behavior, such as self-disclosure and helping across the original group lines (Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Matoka, Johnson, & Frazier, 1997; Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, & Ward, 2001), and inter-group forgiveness by Jews towards Germans about the Holocaust (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005).

The Interplay of Subgroup Identity and Super-ordinate Identity on Intergroup Attitude

Although a common identity often serves as the basis for generalizing in-group liking to out-group members, researchers have also pointed out the potential threats to subgroup distinctiveness when highlighting super-ordinate social identities (e. g., Brewer, 1991; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a). According to the Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1991), individuals not only have the “need to belong”, but also have the “need to be different”, which is a need for feeling unique and differentiated from others. Moreover, people can balance their “need to belong” with their “need to be different” and fulfill both needs through group process, such as identifying themselves with a relatively distinctive subgroup. When the super-ordinate group identity of subgroup members is highlighted, the distinctive subgroup identity may be threatened, especially when the super-ordinate identity is too inclusive or lacking in positive distinctiveness.

Due to the concern about identity threat, subgroup members may show more inter-group differentiation and negative attitudes towards other subgroups when the super-ordinate group identity is introduced. Supporting this argument, it has been found that, when university students find that their university identity is made too inclusive, they show stronger inter-subgroup differentiation with the students of other departments from the same university (Hornsey & Hogg, 1999). Therefore strategies used to create a common identity have sometimes caused more negative inter-group attitudes,

especially for individuals with high subgroup identification (e.g., Crisp, Stone, & Hall, 2006; Crisp, Walsh, & Hewstone, 2006; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a). Thus, interventions that aim to replace a strong subgroup identity with a super-ordinate identity may arouse strong reactance among some members of the subgroup and result in poorer inter-group attitudes.

To reduce the identity threat caused by the introduction of the super-ordinate identity, the Mutual Inter-group Differentiation Model (Hewstone, 1996; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000b) and Common In-group Identity Model (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007) further propose that “dual categorization” or “dual identity” is a better intervention for promoting positive attitudes among subgroups through activating super-ordinate and subgroup identities simultaneously. When regarding themselves as members of different groups but at the same time as a part of the same super-ordinate entity, members of the subgroups will judge other subgroups more positively.

A dual identity representation can be elicited experimentally by simultaneously emphasizing both the super-ordinate identity and the subgroup identities, as opposed to just the super-ordinate identity or the different group identities. It was found that when both subgroup and super-ordinate group identity were emphasized, inter-group favoritism was smaller than when emphasizing the super-ordinate group identity alone (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a). Gonzalez and Brown (2006) also found in their experiment that

the dual identity intervention was more effective in promoting inter-group favoritism, compared with the only super-ordinate identity intervention. With a dual identity, group distinctiveness is maintained while a positive connection to the other group is established through the super-ordinate identity.

Results based on a survey study of white Americans further showed that Whites who had a strong super-ordinate American identity in addition to their White racial identity were more likely to support policies that would benefit Blacks and other minorities (Smith & Tyler, 1996). In addition, minority students who identified themselves as both American and as a member of their ethnic groups reported higher levels of out-group favoritism relative to those who only used their ethnic group identities (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1996). Taken together, these findings suggest that members with dual identity tend to generate positive attitudes towards other subgroups and dual identity is beneficial in improving inter-group relations.

According to Dovidio, Gaertner and Saguy (2007), different combinations of subgroup identification and super-ordinate group identification represent different orientations for the cultural relations in pluralistic societies (Berry, 1997). When individuals' subgroup identification and super-ordinate group identification are both high, this dual identity represents the orientation of mutual integration among different subgroups

into a super-ordinate group, and positive intergroup attitude will be resulted; when people's subgroup identification is high and super-ordinate identification is low, they will treat other subgroups as out-groups, like separatism, and therefore negative intergroup attitude may be resulted; when people have high super-ordinate group identification and low subgroup identification, they may want to be assimilated to other subgroups, and intergroup attitude will depend on their personal evaluation for the target subgroup; when both identities are not valued by individuals, their personal identities will be more important than their group identities and their intergroup attitude will be more related to their own characteristics.

Since Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese share the same super-ordinate "Chinese" group identity, in this study we will examine the role of Mainland Chinese's subgroup identification and super-ordinate group identification in their intergroup attitude. Based on the Common In-group Identity Model (Gaertner et al., 1993), we propose that among Mainland Chinese, when their Mainland Chinese identification and Chinese identification are both high, they will hold a general high positive attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. In contrast, for those who don't have this dual identity, their intergroup attitude may be generally more negative. Moreover, we argue that Mainland Chinese's social identities may interact with their value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese in predicting their intergroup attitude, as discussed below.

Firstly, when members of Mainland Chinese identify highly with both the Mainland Chinese subgroup and the Chinese super-ordinate group, they may regard Hong Kong Chinese as their in-group and also regard the culture of Hong Kong Chinese as complementary to Mainland Chinese culture, therefore even when they have personal value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese, this dual identity may elicit more tolerance on this dissimilarity. In addition, dual identity may also suggest that they regard Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese as sharing common goals in the competition with other groups, this thought may also make the value incongruence irrelevant in forming their intergroup attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. Therefore we propose that among Mainland Chinese with this dual identity, the relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude may be non-significant.

Secondly, when Mainland Chinese's subgroup identification is high and super-ordinate group identification is low, they will treat Hong Kong Chinese as out-group members, rather than as fellow-members in a super-ordinate group. We propose that among these individuals, their social identities will not serve as a buffer between their perceived value incongruence and intergroup attitude, therefore their intergroup attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese may be based on their personal evaluations of the culture of Hong Kong Chinese, and the relation between value incongruence and negative intergroup attitude may be significant.

Thirdly, when Mainland Chinese have high Chinese identification and low Mainland Chinese identification, which means they generally regard the Chinese group as good, but the Mainland Chinese group is an inferior subgroup among different subgroups of Chinese. This combination of subgroup and super-ordinate identity may suggest that they want to be assimilated to other subgroups of Chinese, and their intergroup attitude towards the Hong Kong Chinese subgroup may be heavily based on their personal value incongruence with this specific subgroup of Chinese. Therefore we propose that among these participants, their intergroup attitude will also be significantly related to their value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese.

Finally, when Mainland Chinese dis-identify with both of their subgroup and super-ordinate group, their person identity will be more relevant in forming intergroup attitude, therefore their intergroup attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese may also be significantly related to the value incongruence with this out-group. In sum, we propose that among Mainland Chinese with dual identity, their intergroup attitude will be related to value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese to a less extent, compared with those without this dual identity.

Multiculturalism Ideology and Intergroup Attitude

Multiculturalism refers to the ideology that the appreciation of cultural diversity should be encouraged and the cultures of other groups within a

society should be acknowledged and respected (Berry, 1984, 2001; Frederickson, 1999; Verkuyten, 2006). In contrast, the ideology of assimilation often encourages the diverse subgroups in a society to adopt a set of dominant values, beliefs and norms (Frederickson, 1999; Verkuyten, 2006). The effects of multiculturalism versus assimilation ideology on inter-group relations have been examined in prior studies. Research among American Whites revealed that compared with the color-blind intervention which encouraged judging others as individuals without differentiating their social group membership, multiculturalism generated less racial attitude bias on both unobtrusive and explicit measures (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000).

In addition, Verkuyten (2005) systematically examined the effects of multiculturalism versus assimilation ideology on group evaluations among the majority and minority groups in the Netherlands. He found that among members of majority groups, endorsing the ideology of multiculturalism was related to positive evaluations to minority groups. In the current study, we examined the role of multiculturalism ideology in the intergroup attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese among Mainland Chinese. Consistent with previous study, we propose that among Mainland Chinese, higher multiculturalism endorsement may be positively related to their intergroup attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. Moreover, we further propose that since people with higher multiculturalism support the tolerance and respect of out-group values and norms, the value incongruence with out-group members

will be less relevant in their intergroup attitude. In contrast, when individuals endorse lower level of multiculturalism, they may show less tolerance with the value difference between themselves and out-group members, therefore the negative relation between value incongruence with out-group member and intergroup attitude may be stronger. Accordingly, we expected that personal endorsement of multiculturalism would moderate the relation between value incongruence and negative intergroup attitude.

The Present Study

In summary, this research was designed to examine the relationship between individuals' value incongruence with out-group members and their out-group attitude, as well as the boundary conditions of this process. We argue that group members' attitude towards another group will be negatively related to their value incongruence with the target out-group. In addition, we further propose that individuals' social identities and multiculturalism ideology may moderate this relation: Among mainland Chinese with dual identity or high endorsement of multiculturalism, this negative correlation may be not significant. To test these ideas, we focused on the inter-group process between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese and conducted our research from the perspective of the Mainland Chinese.

CHAPTER TWO: STUDY ONE

Study 1 aims to examine the role of value incongruence with out-group in predicting inter-group attitude. We used the “inter-subjective consensus approach” to discover the “distinctive” values of the Hong Kong Chinese, and examined whether Mainland Chinese’s personal dis-identification with these “distinctive” values was related to their negative inter-group attitude.

Method

Participants

One hundred and twelve participants (56 males and 49 females) were recruited from a Mainland Chinese university in Beijing, China. Seven participants did not indicate their gender. Their average age was 24.79 years old ($SD = 1.87$). They were asked to complete the questionnaires in a classroom and were paid ten *yuan* (about USD 1.50) for their participation.

Procedure

To determine the “distinctive” values of Hong Kong Chinese, two pilot studies were conducted among forty Mainland college students (21 males and 19 females) in Beijing, and thirty five Hong Kong Chinese college students (13 males and 21 females) in Hong Kong. The average age of Mainland Chinese participants was 23.89 years old ($SD = 1.53$); and the average age of Hong Kong Chinese participants was 20.09 years old ($SD = 1.60$). All participants were asked to rate “Hong Kong Chinese” on the Schwartz Value Survey (1992) by comparing them with “Mainland Chinese,”

A seven-point scale was used, with the midpoint “4” as the anchor point indicating “the same as Mainlanders”, with “1” as “much lower than Mainlanders”, and with “7” as “much higher than Mainlanders”. In this way, the contrast between members of the two groups was made explicitly comparative.

Among these two samples, the score of each item was then submitted to a one sample t-test to be compared with “4” (which means “the same as Mainlanders”). Eight of the forty items were rated significantly higher than “4” with p values less than .01, among both the Mainland Chinese sample and the Hong Kong Chinese sample. These items tapped the Schwartz domains of self-direction, universalism and stimulation. That is, among both Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese participants, these eight values were regarded as endorsed more strongly by Hong Kong Chinese than by Mainland Chinese. Therefore, in our study, we used these eight values as the “distinctive” values of Hong Kong Chinese.

Materials

Stereotype of Hong Kong Chinese on the Distinctive Values. To confirm that among the participants of our main study, these eight values were also perceived as “distinctive” Hong Kong Chinese values, participants were asked to rate “Hong Kong Chinese” on these items by comparing them with “Mainland Chinese” on the same seven-point scale as in pilot study. Higher scores represented higher stereotype scores of Hong Kong Chinese on these

values. In our study, these items produced a Cronbach α of .85, which shows the consistency of these values in differentiating the two Chinese groups. The average scores of these items were submitted to t-tests, and the result showed that Hong Kong people were indeed perceived to endorse these values more strongly than were Mainland Chinese ($M = 5.13$, $t(111) = 18.14$, $p < .001$).

Individual Value Incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese. Participants were asked to indicate their personal endorsement of the “distinctive” values of Hong Kong Chinese on a seven-point scale, “1” as “not important to me at all”, “7” as “extremely important to me”. Their average scores on these values ($\alpha = .87$) were computed and the reversed scores were defined as the perceived value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese.

Attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. Four items measuring the Mainland participants’ attitude toward Hong Kong Chinese were adopted from previous research (Hong et al., 2006): “Will you accept people from Hong Kong?”, “Will you avoid people that are related to Hong Kong?”, “Will you frequently build good relationships with people from Hong Kong?” and “Will you keep your distance from Hong Kong people?” Participants rated each item on a 7-point scale anchoring by “strongly disagree” and “strongly agree” at the two ends. In this study, these four items produced a Cronbach α of .84. Their average was taken as an index of attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese.

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Inter-correlations among Variables

The descriptive statistics and correlations among stereotype of the “distinctive” values ascribed to Hong Kong Chinese, perceived value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese and attitude toward Hong Kong Chinese are shown in Table 1. Individual value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese and out-group attitude significantly correlated, $r(112) = -.37, p < .001$. The relation between stereotype of Hong Kong Chinese on the “distinctive” values and out-group attitude was not significant, $r(112) = .18, p > .05$. In addition, there also existed a significant correlation between stereotype of Hong Kong Chinese on the “distinctive” values and individual value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese, $r(112) = -.26, p < .01$.

Table 1

Mean, S.D., and Inter-correlations among Variables in Study 1

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3
1. Stereotype of Hong Kong Chinese on the distinctive values	5.13	.70	1		
2. Individual value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese	3.38	.78	-.26**	1	
3. Attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese	5.55	.91	.18	-.37***	1

Notes. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Predicting Out-group Attitude by Using Value Incongruence and Stereotype of Hong Kong Chinese on Distinctive Values

A hierarchical regression was conducted to examine the unique contributions of individual value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese in predicting out-group attitude after controlling for the effects of stereotype of Hong Kong Chinese. Stereotype of the “distinctive” values of Hong Kong Chinese was entered into the first block, and personal endorsement of these “distinctive” values was entered into the second block. The results showed that Mainlanders’ perceived value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese made an additional contribution towards predicting their attitude towards the Hong Kong out-group ($\Delta R^2 = .11$, $F(1, 109) = 14.17$, $p < .001$), after controlling the effects of stereotype of the “distinctive” values of Hong Kong Chinese (see Table 2).

Table 2

Predicting Attitude towards the Hong Kong Chinese by Stereotype of
 "Distinctive" Values of Hong Kong Chinese and Individual Value
 Incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese among Mainland Chinese Participants
 in Study 1

Hierarchical Regression:	Intergroup Attitude	
	(n = 112)	
Predictors	Step 1	Step 2
Stereotype of Hong Kong Chinese	.18	.09
Individual value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese		-.35***
R^2	.03	.14***
F	3.54*** ^a	9.07*** ^b
ΔR^2		.11***

Notes. ^a $df = 1, 110$. ^b $df = 2, 109$. *** $p < .001$.

Discussion

This study examined the role of Mainlanders' individual value incongruence in predicting their attitude towards the Hong Kong Chinese. Findings revealed that stronger perceived value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese predicted negative intergroup attitude.

By using the "inter-subjective consensus approach," we found that among both Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese college students, Hong Kong Chinese were regarded as endorsing highly the "Westernized" values (e.g., self direction, stimulation and universalism values), which are different from the traditional collectivistic values of Chinese (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987). These results confirmed previous findings that Hong Kong Chinese were perceived as more Westernized by Mainland Chinese (Lai, 1998). From a social-functional perspective, the perceived "distinctive" values of Hong Kong Chinese may be a reflection of the history of relations among the two Chinese groups (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999). Due to Hong Kong's unique colony history by the western country, Mainland people may relate the superior economic status and the greater Westernization of Hong Kong society to the westernized values held by Hong Kong people, such as self direction, stimulation and universalism values.

Consistent with our hypothesis, we also found that Mainlanders' perceived value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese was significantly related to a negative general attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. Personal endorsement of in-group values has been established as one important

predictor for group identification (Wan et al., 2007), and our study brought this process into intergroup research and found value incongruence to be a significant predictor of intergroup attitude. However, since there are diverse contextual and individual variables that interplay with one another in predicting intergroup attitude (Makie & Smith, 1998), in study 2, we examined the boundary conditions of the relation between value incongruence and negative intergroup attitude, by considering the moderating roles of individuals' social identity and personal endorsement of multiculturalism.

CHAPTER THREE: STUDY TWO

In study 1, we found that among Mainland Chinese, their perceived value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese was negatively related to their attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. In study 2 we examined whether Mainland Chinese's social identity and multiculturalism endorsement moderated this relationship. We expect that when participants identify highly with both Mainland Chinese and Chinese, the relation between their individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude may be weaker, compared with other participants. In addition, when participants endorse the multiculturalism ideology to a greater extent, their intergroup attitude will be more positive, and the negative relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude will be weaker.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and two Mainland Chinese college students (92 males and 110 females) participated in this study. Their average age was 22.55 ($SD = 2.41$). They were recruited from a university at Beijing, Mainland China. An advertisement was posted on a website to recruit participants. Participants registered to participate in the study through emails. Each participant was paid twenty-five *yuan* (about USD 4.00) for participating in this study.

Procedure

Similar to Study 1, participants in this study were asked to rate Hong Kong Chinese, Mainland Chinese, and themselves on the “distinctive” values of Hong Kong Chinese. In addition, their Mainland Chinese identification, Chinese identification, multiculturalism endorsement and intergroup attitude were also measured. To confirm that among the participants in this study, the eight values were indeed perceived as endorsed highly by Hong Kong Chinese, we submitted the scores of Mainland Chinese on these items and the scores of Hong Kong Chinese on these items to paired sample t-tests. The results showed that on each item, Mainland Chinese were indeed rated significantly lower than Hong Kong Chinese, with all p values less than .001.

Materials

Individual Value Incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese. Similar to Study 1, participants were asked to rate themselves on the “distinctive” values of Hong Kong Chinese on a seven-point scale, “1” as “not important to me at all”, “7” as “extremely important to me”. The reversed scores of these items ($\alpha = .78$) represent the perceived value dissimilarity between participants themselves and Hong Kong Chinese, thus in our study the reversed average scores of these items were taken as an index of value incongruence.

Multiculturalism Ideology. Seven items assessed the endorsement of multiculturalism ideology. These items were mainly based on a previous study (Verkuyten, 2005) and were reworded to fit the intergroup context in this study. Sample items include “It’s necessary for Mainland Chinese to know the

culture of Hong Kong Chinese”, “It is not good to set up difference social systems for different social groups in China (reverse coded)”, “It’s unfair to have different social systems in Mainland and Hong Kong (reverse coded)”, “Cultural diversity should be encouraged”, “China should have its core values and reduce the cultural diversity (reverse coded)”, “Minority groups should be encouraged to keep their own culture”, “People from different cultural groups should keep distance from each other (reverse coded)”. Items were rated on scales ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (agree strongly). The Cronbach α for these seven items was .70 and the mean of these items was computed as an index of participants’ endorsement of multiculturalism ideology.

Mainland Chinese and Chinese identification. Participants’ group identification was assessed by fourteen items adopted from previous studies (Jackson & Smith, 1999; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Sample items are: “I’m a typical Mainland Chinese (Chinese)”; “I’m glad to be a Mainland Chinese (Chinese)”; “I often think about the fact that I’m a Mainland Chinese (Chinese)”; “What happens to Mainland Chinese (Chinese) will greatly influence my own life”; “The fact that I am a Mainland Chinese (Chinese) is an important part of my Identity”. These items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (agree strongly) with a Cronbach of α of .83 for Mainland Chinese identification, and .89 for Chinese identification, respectively. The average scores of these two scales were computed as indexes of participants’ subgroup identification and super-ordinate group identification respectively.

Dual identity. Consistent with previous research (Wenzel et al., 2003), we built posteriori factors for identification with the in-group (low/high) and identification with the inclusive category (low/high) using median splits. In this study, participants with both high Mainland Chinese identification and high Chinese identification were operationally defined as having dual identity ($n = 75$); others were categorized into none-dual-identity group ($n = 127$). A dummy variable was created based on dual identity for further data analysis (0 = “non-dual-identity” group; 1 = “dual identity” group).

Attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. Ten items measuring attitude toward Hong Kong Chinese were adopted from previous research (Hong et al., 2006; Verkuyten, 2005). Sample items are “I would like to accept people from Hong Kong”, “I will keep distance from Hong Kong people” (reverse coded), “It will be nice to work with Hong Kong Chinese”. Seven-point response formats were anchored by “strongly disagree” and “strongly agree”. In this study, these ten items produced a Cronbach α of .88 and their average was taken as an index of attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese.

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Inter-correlations among Variables

The descriptive statistics and correlations among variables are shown in Table 3. Intergroup attitude was negatively related to individual value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese ($r(202) = -.35, p < .001$). In addition, intergroup attitude was also positively related to the dual identity dummy

variable ($r(202) = .33, p < .001$). Multiculturalism was positively related to intergroup attitude ($r(202) = .51, p < .001$).

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Variables in Study 2

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Value Incongruence	3.04	.80	1					
2. Mainland Chinese Identification	4.90	.71	-.09	1				
3. Chinese Identification	5.46	.78	-.21**	.64***	1			
4. Dual Identity	NA	NA	-.16*	.70***	.59***	1		
5. Multiculturalism	4.82	.87	-.16*	.06	.24**	.11	1	
6. Intergroup Attitude	5.23	.76	-.35***	.27***	.44***	.33***	.51***	1

Notes. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Examining the Interaction between Subgroup Identification and Superordinate Group Identification on Intergroup Attitude

To examine the relation between participants' Mainland Chinese identification, Chinese identification and their intergroup attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted after all predictors were centered on their means. To predict intergroup attitude, in step 1 of the analysis, Mainland Chinese identification and Chinese identification were entered. In step 2, the two-way interaction term Mainland Chinese identification \times Chinese identification was entered. The results showed that this interaction was not significant ($\beta = .06, t = .93, p = .36$).

Examining the Interactions among Subgroup Identification, Super-ordinate Group Identification and Individual Value Incongruence on Intergroup Attitude

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted after all predictors were centered on their means. To predict intergroup attitude, in step 1 of the analysis, individual value incongruence, Mainland Chinese identification and Chinese identification were entered. In step 2, the two-way interaction term individual value incongruence \times Mainland Chinese identification, individual value incongruence \times Chinese identification and Mainland Chinese identification \times Chinese identification were entered. In step 3, the three-way interaction term individual value incongruence \times Mainland Chinese identification \times Chinese identification was entered. As can be seen in Table 4, there existed a significant three-way interaction among Mainland Chinese identification, Chinese identification, and individual value incongruence on intergroup attitude ($\beta = .20, t = 2.68, p < .01$).

Table 4

Interactions among Mainland Chinese Identification, Chinese Identification and Individual Value Incongruence on Intergroup Attitude among Mainland Chinese Participants in Study 2

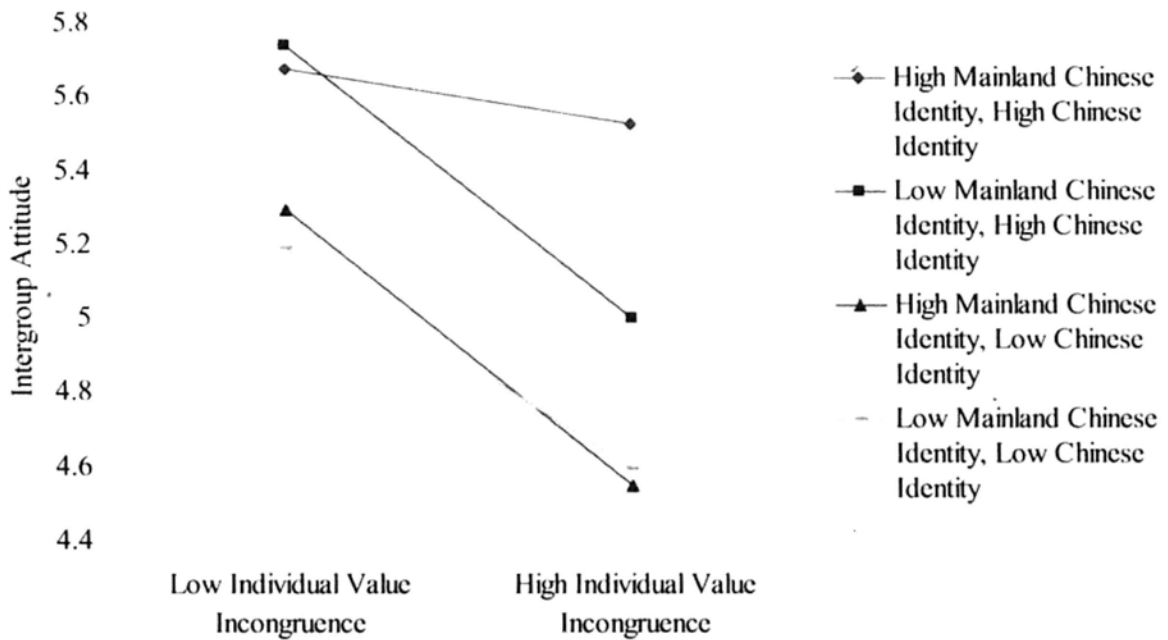
Hierarchical Regression: Predictors	Intergroup Attitude (n = 202)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Individual value incongruence	-.27***	-.31***	-.38***
Mainland Chinese identification	.01	.04	.09
Chinese identification	.37***	.36***	.39***
Individual value incongruence × Mainland Chinese identification		.15	.09
Individual value incongruence × Chinese identification		.04	.08
Chinese identification × Mainland Chinese identification		.10	.08
Individual value incongruence × Mainland Chinese identification × Chinese identification			.20**
R^2	.25***	.26***	.29***
F	23.00*** ^a	13.02*** ^b	12.54*** ^c
ΔR^2		.01	.03**

Notes. ^a $df = 3, 198$. ^b $df = 6, 195$. ^c $df = 7, 194$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

To examine the three-way interaction among individual value incongruence, Mainland Chinese identification and Chinese identification on intergroup attitude more closely, we conducted additional regression analyses, as outlined in Aiken and West (1991). The zero value for the scale was set at one standard deviation above and below the mean for participants with high Mainland Chinese identification and low Mainland Chinese identification, respectively. Similarly, the zero value for the scale was set at one standard deviation above and below the mean for participants with high Chinese identification and low Chinese identification, respectively. The three way interaction was analyzed four more times by using hierarchical regression to examine the relation between individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude, for participants with different combinations of Mainland Chinese identification (high vs. low) and Chinese identification (high vs. low).

Among participants with high Mainland Chinese identification, for those with high Chinese identification, the relation between individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude was negative and non-significant ($\beta = -.10, t = -1.15, p = .25$); for those with low Chinese identification, the relation between individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude was significantly negative ($\beta = -.50, t = -2.77, p < .01$). Among participants with low Mainland Chinese identification, for those with high Chinese identification, the relation between individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude was negative and significant ($\beta = -.50, t = -2.87, p < .01$); for those with low Chinese identification, the relation between individual

value incongruence and intergroup attitude was also negative and significant ($\beta = -.40, t = -3.75, p < .001$). The results were showed in Figure 1.



Notes. Low Mainland Chinese identification, low Chinese identification and low value incongruence were defined as at least one standard deviation below the means; high Mainland Chinese identification, high Chinese identification and high value incongruence were defined as at least one standard deviation above the means. Higher numbers indicate greater intergroup attitude.

Figure 1. The interactions among Mainland Chinese identification, Chinese identification and value incongruence on intergroup attitude among Mainland Chinese participants in study 1.

*Examining the Interaction between Dual Identity and Individual Value
Incongruence on Intergroup Attitude*

Since the above three-way interaction showed similar patterns on the relation between individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude among participants without dual identity. To present these results in a more concise way, we did further regression analysis by using the dual identity dummy variable and individual value incongruence in predicting intergroup attitude. A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted after individual value incongruence was centered on its mean. To predict intergroup attitude, in step 1 of the analysis, individual value incongruence and dual identity were entered. In step 2, the two-way interaction term individual value incongruence \times dual identity was entered. As can be seen in Table 5, this interaction was significant ($\beta = .25, t = 3.06, p < .01$).

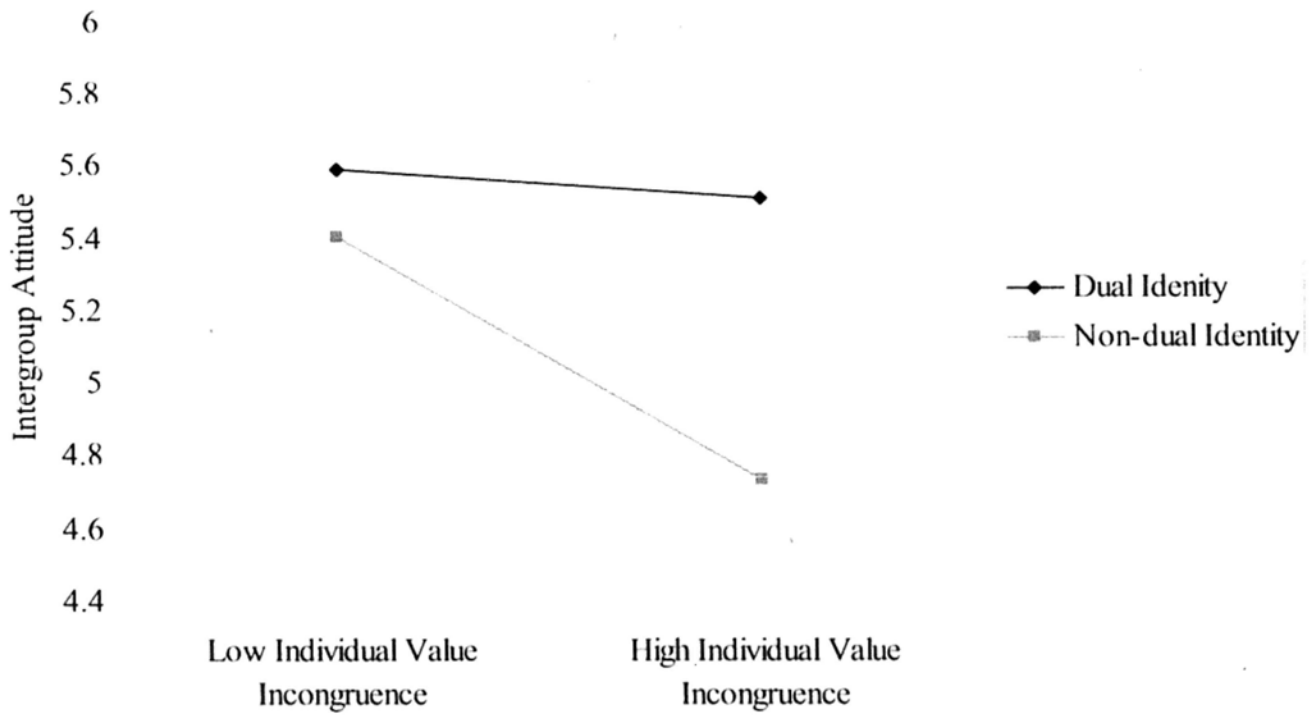
Table 5

Interaction between Dual Identity and Individual Value Incongruence on Intergroup Attitude among Mainland Chinese Participants in Study 2

Hierarchical Regression: Predictors	Intergroup Attitude (n = 202)	
	Step 1	Step 2
Dual identity	.22***	.26***
Individual value incongruence	-.32***	-.44***
Dual identity × Individual value incongruence		.25**
R^2	.17***	.21***
F	20.21*** ^a	17.62*** ^b
ΔR^2		.04***

Notes. ^a $df = 2, 199$. ^b $df = 3, 198$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

To examine two-way interaction between individual value incongruence and dual identity more closely, we conducted additional regression analyses using by splitting participants by dual identity. For participants with dual identity, their individual value incongruence was not significantly related to intergroup attitude ($\beta = -.06, t = -.55, p = .58$); for participants without dual identity, their individual value incongruence was negatively related to intergroup attitude ($\beta = -.44, t = -5.89, p < .001$). Dual identity thus moderated the general relation between individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude (see Figure 2).



Notes. Low value incongruence was defined as at least one standard deviation below the mean; high value incongruence was defined as at least one standard deviation above the mean. Higher numbers indicate greater intergroup attitude.

Figure 2. The interaction between dual identity and value incongruence on intergroup attitude among Mainland Chinese participants in Study 2.

Examining the Interaction between Multiculturalism Ideology and Individual Value Incongruence on Intergroup Attitude

To examine the interaction between personal endorsement of multiculturalism ideology and value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese on intergroup attitude, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted after all predictors were centered on their means. To predict intergroup attitude, in step 1 of the analysis, individual value incongruence and multiculturalism ideology were entered. In step 2, the two-way interaction term individual value incongruence \times multiculturalism ideology was entered. As can be seen in Table 6, there existed a significant two-way interaction between these two predictors on intergroup attitude ($\beta = .14, t = 2.38, p < .05$).

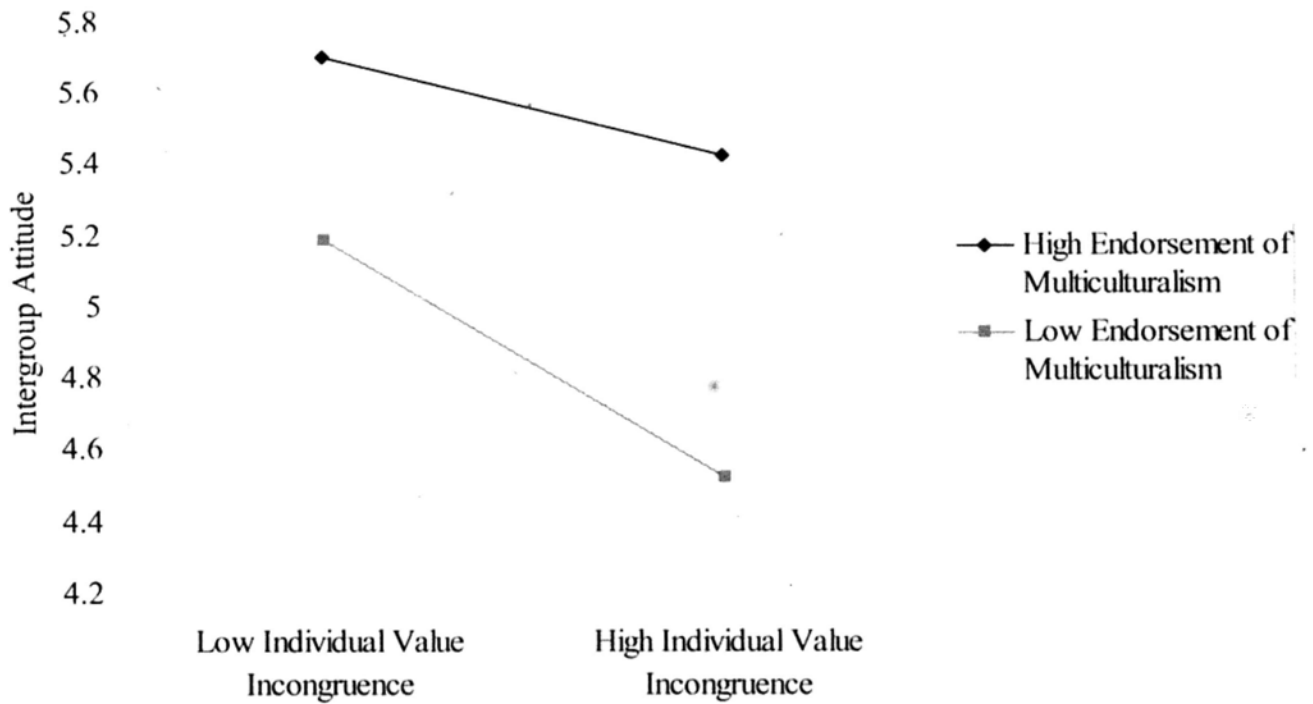
Table 6

Interaction between Multiculturalism Ideology and Individual Value
Incongruence on Intergroup Attitude among Mainland Chinese Participants in
Study 2

Hierarchical Regression: Predictors	Intergroup Attitude (n = 202)	
	Step 1	Step 2
Individual value incongruence	-.34***	-.28***
Multiculturalism	.46***	.44***
Multiculturalism × Individual value incongruence		.14*
R^2	.39***	.41***
F	48.27*** ^a	34.39*** ^b
ΔR^2		.02*

Notes. ^a $df = 2, 199$. ^b $df = 3, 198$. * $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

To examine the interaction more closely, we conducted additional regression analyses, as outlined in Aiken and West (1991). The zero value for the scale was set at one standard deviation above and below the mean for participants with high multiculturalism endorsement and low multiculturalism endorsement, respectively. Similarly, the zero value for the scale was set at one standard deviation above and below the mean for participants with high value incongruence and individual value incongruence, respectively. Among participants with low multiculturalism, the relation between individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude was significantly negative ($\beta = -.42, t = -5.03, p < .001$); for those with high multiculturalism, the relation between individual value incongruence and intergroup attitude was also significantly negative, but to a less extent ($\beta = -.19, t = -2.71, p < .01$). The results were showed in Figure 3.



Notes. Low multiculturalism endorsement and low value incongruence were defined as at least one standard deviation below the means; high multiculturalism endorsement and high value incongruence were defined as at least one standard deviation above the means. Higher numbers indicate greater intergroup attitude.

Figure 3. The interaction between multiculturalism and value incongruence on intergroup attitude among Mainland Chinese participants in Study 2.

Discussion

This study examined the role of Mainlanders' social identity, multiculturalism endorsement and value incongruence in predicting their attitude towards the Hong Kong Chinese. Findings revealed that both dual identity and multiculturalism moderated the negative relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude.

The results showed that when participants highly identified with their Mainland Chinese subgroup and the Chinese super-ordinate group, their value incongruence no longer predicted their intergroup attitude; in contrast, among participants without this dual identity, value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese served as a significant predictor of their negative intergroup attitude.. These results generally supported the Common In-group Identity Model that dual identity is beneficial for positive intergroup attitude (Gaertner et al., 2007) and suggested the importance of considering individuals' social identities in the research on cultural difference and intergroup attitude.

In addition, in this study we also found that multiculturalism predicted positive intergroup attitude among Mainland Chinese, which was consistent with a previous study that among Dutch people, multiculturalism was positively related to intergroup attitude (Verkuyten, 2005). The results suggest that through the appreciation of cultural diversity in a society and the tolerance of culture difference, positive intergroup attitude may be achieved. Moreover, in this study we also found that multiculturalism moderated the

negative relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude: Among participants with high multiculturalism endorsement, the relation between the value incongruence and intergroup attitude was reduced. This result added new evidence on the role of multiculturalism in intergroup attitude.

CHAPTER FOUR: GENERAL DISCUSSION

In the two studies reported here, we examined the relationship between individuals' value incongruence with out-group members and their intergroup attitude, as well as the moderation roles of dual identity and multiculturalism. Results indicated that among Mainland Chinese college students, value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese was negatively related to their attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese. Second, this relation was no longer significant among participants who showed high identification with both the Mainland Chinese subgroup and the Chinese super-ordinate group. Third, among participants with higher endorsement of multiculturalism ideology, their intergroup attitude was more positive, and the negative relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude was weaker, compared with those with lower multiculturalism endorsement. Our findings are consistent with the proposition of Common In-group Identity Model that dual identity is beneficial to form positive intergroup attitude (Gaertner et al., 2007). The moderation role of multiculturalism also adds new evidence on the positive effects of this ideology on intergroup attitude (Verkuyten, 2005).

The Role of Value Incongruence with Out-group Members in Intergroup Attitude

By using the "inter-subjective consensus approach" (Wan et al., 2007), we found a consistent negative relation between Mainland Chinese's value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese and intergroup across the two studies, which demonstrated the importance of perceived reality in people's intergroup

attitude. The validity of this approach was supported by the consistent results that these values were regarded as distinctive Hong Kong Chinese values across different samples of Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese. Future research may continue to explore the application of this approach beyond this Chinese intergroup context.

These results also suggest that perceived cultural differences among groups do not necessarily give rise to negative inter-group attitudes, as proposed by the Integrated Threats Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In this study, negative intergroup attitude was significantly related to Mainland Chinese's value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese, rather than the stereotypes of Hong Kong Chinese. Therefore this study also revealed the importance of including individual cultural orientation in the research of cultural difference and intergroup attitude.

The Role of Multiculturalism in Intergroup Attitude

Previous research has found that in general, members of majority groups tend to hold the assimilation ideology and expect minority groups to conform to dominant values and ideals (e.g., Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Verkuyten (2005) further discovered that individual endorsement of multiculturalism was directly related to intergroup attitude to other subgroups in Dutch society. In this study, we replicated this finding and found that personal endorsement of multiculturalism predicted positive intergroup attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese among Mainland Chinese.

Moreover, in this study we also found that multiculturalism moderated the negative relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude: Among participants with high multiculturalism endorsement, the relation between the value incongruence and intergroup attitude was reduced. Although a causal conclusion could not be obtained from this study, this finding has provided preliminary evidence that people's multiculturalism endorsement is likely to influence the way they form intergroup attitude when the value difference between themselves and out-group members is salient. This mechanism remains to be confirmed through experimental or longitudinal method in future study.

The Role of Dual Identity in Intergroup Attitude

In this study, we also found the moderation role of dual identity in the relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude, which provided new evidence on beneficial effects of dual identity in intergroup attitude (Gaertner et al., 2007). However, the underlying mechanisms of dual identity in these findings remain to be discovered in future research.

The proposed mechanism on the effects of dual identity in this study was mainly based on the Self-Categorization Theory (Turner et al., 1987), which emphasizes the function of group culture in members' self definition and attitude towards in-group and out-group members. However, research also have revealed that people fulfill multiple motives in identifying with diverse social groups, such as promoting positive self-concept, achieving a sense of

efficacy and sharing common goals with in-group members (e.g., Vignoles et al., 2006). The diverse motives underlying individuals' group identification suggest that the role of dual identity in intergroup process may be due to multiple reasons. For example, previous research showed that promoting the cooperation between two groups on a common goal (e.g., Gaertner et al., 1990; Sherif & Sherif, 1969) was effective in achieving the perception of common identity and reducing the negative attitudes towards the other group. Therefore, among subgroup members, their dual identity may also represent the perception that their own subgroup share common goals with other subgroups. Accordingly, the dual identity among Mainland Chinese may represent that they acknowledge the increasing cooperation and interaction between these two Chinese groups (Chiu, 2006), and this goal compatibility may reduce the importance of their own value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese in predicting their intergroup attitude. However, in the current study, we did not include any variables on this perception. By including the perceived common goals into consideration, future research may examine whether this variable could explain the effects of dual identity. In addition to the perception of common goals, there may also exist other alternative mechanisms underlying the effects of dual identity found in this study and this issue should be addressed in future research.

Practical Implications for Promoting Harmony Intergroup Relations

The results of this research suggested different ways to promote the intergroup relations among subgroups nested in a super-ordinate group.

First, since value incongruence served as the predictor of negative intergroup attitude in both studies, one way to promote more harmonious inter-group relations is to encourage people to focus on their personal similarity in values and other characteristics with out-group members. Social engineers may wish to promote media campaigns emphasizing this similarity. By considering the sharing of values or other characteristics between self and out-group members, individuals may form more favorable attitudes towards out-groups.

Alternatively, the moderation role of dual identity suggests that even if it is hard to change the fact that there exists value incongruence between individuals and out-group members, emphasizing the dual identity of members may be a good strategy in achieving positive intergroup attitude. By highlighting members' subgroup identity and super-ordinate group identity at the same time, individuals may acknowledge the shared common identity with out-groups and all subgroups are important parts of the super-ordinate group. Through this way, they may regard the value incongruence as less important in forming their intergroup attitude.

Third, the moderation role of multiculturalism found in Study 2 also suggests that encouraging individuals to respect and appreciate the values of other subgroups may also be beneficial in promoting intergroup attitude. When people recognize the merits of multiculturalism, value incongruence will not serve as a barrier to positive intergroup attitude. In a previous study

(Verkuyten, 2005), the researcher has successfully manipulated individuals' endorsement of multiculturalism and found the positive effects of multiculturalism on intergroup attitude, which suggests the possibility that multiculturalism endorsement can be promoted through education or median campaign, in order to achieve a harmony intergroup relationship.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several limitations in the present studies that warrant attention. First, all the results obtained are correlational. Therefore the causal relationships among dual identity, multiculturalism and value incongruence on intergroup attitude have yet to be established. As suggested by some research using minimal group paradigm (e.g., Tajfel et al., 1971), it is also possible that negative intergroup attitude may serve as the cause of perceived value incongruence and the findings of these two studies could be interpreted in this way. Although in previous research, the causal effects of dual identity and multiculturalism on intergroup attitude have been established (e.g., Hogg & Hornsey, 2000a; Verkuyten, 2005) by some experimental studies, the moderation roles of these variables found in this study still remain to be confirmed in future experimental or longitudinal research.

Second, the participants in this study were college students who generally had low value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese values (around three on a seven-point scale) and positive attitudes (larger than five on a seven-point scale) towards Hong Kong Chinese. Among other samples of

Mainland Chinese, such as adults in rural areas, their value incongruence with Hong Kong Chinese may be higher and their intergroup attitude may not be so positive. Therefore whether the findings in this study could be generalized to other Mainland Chinese and whether there exist demographic moderators on the relation between value incongruence and intergroup attitude should be addressed in future research.

Despite the limitations mentioned above, findings from the present studies show that among Mainland Chinese college students, their dis-identification with the culture of Hong Kong Chinese is negatively related to their attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese, and this process is also influenced by their social identities and multiculturalism endorsement. Our findings are consistent with the proposition of Common In-group Identity Model that dual identity is beneficial to form positive intergroup attitude (Gaertner et al., 2007). The moderation role of multiculturalism extends previous research on this construct in intergroup attitude (Verkuyten, 2005). These results also raise new questions for future research in understanding the mechanisms of social identity in determining people's intergroup attitude.

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