

Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Rising East Asia: A Stereotype Content and Integrated Threat Analysis

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Immigration is a global phenomenon, yet comparatively few psychological investigations of anti-immigrant prejudice have been conducted in East Asia, a region of high economic growth that is set to become a leading destination for international migrants. Over two studies, we examined Singaporean attitudes towards four prominent immigrant groups: Chinese, Filipino, South Asian, and Western immigrants. Each immigrant group was found to be associated with a unique attitudinal profile. Chinese immigrants, who are culturally the most closely related to most Singaporeans, were viewed the most negatively in terms of prejudice, stereotyped warmth, and realistic and symbolic threat. Westerners were viewed the most positively despite higher ratings of perceived competence, possibly due to Western cultural influence, whereas South Asians and Filipinos were viewed as being relatively unthreatening, possibly due to their occupation of undesirable social roles. Perceived threat—both realistic and symbolic—proved to be stronger predictors of anti-immigrant prejudice than stereotypes. Implications for immigration policy in the region are discussed.

KEY WORDS: prejudice, threat, stereotypes, Asia, attitudes, immigration, intergroup bias, Singapore

Humans are itinerant by nature. Immigration has always been a defining feature of civilization, and while the United States has often been described as a nation of immigrants (e.g., Obama, 2014), this description could equally be applied to any number of countries, where broad categories like nationality often conceal a diversity of language, culture, and geographical origin. Nonetheless, immigrants are persistent targets of discrimination, and social scientists have expended considerable effort to identify the causes of anti-immigrant prejudice.

Intergroup relations has been proposed as a key component in the psychology of immigration (Berry, 2001), and work in this area has identified several key drivers of anti-immigrant prejudice, such as negative stereotypes (Timberlake & Williams, 2012), attitudes (Ward & Masgoret, 2008), and perceived threat (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). Researchers have shown that citizens often perceive competition with immigrants for societal resources such as jobs, benefits, and housing (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001), while others have demonstrated that processes of self-categorization engender anti-immigrant prejudice by encouraging downward group-level comparisons that maintain self-esteem (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002).

Despite these advances, it is clear that anti-immigrant prejudice is also influenced by contextual factors, which can be concrete and structural (e.g., levels of unemployment) or cultural (e.g., macro-level values). Globally these dimensions vary substantially, and so it is important to look beyond findings derived from European and North American studies when seeking to understand anti-immigrant sentiment. There has been much discussion of the Western bias in psychology (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), and despite efforts to examine anti-immigrant attitudes in geographically diverse samples (e.g., González, Sirlopú, & Kessler, 2010; Kuang & Liu, 2012) and to examine multinational datasets (e.g., Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009), less emphasis has been placed on non-European nations and regions.

Historically, North America and Europe were suitable environments for immigration research as they were the world's largest net importers of foreign labor (Brubaker, 2001). However, the rapid economic development of East Asia has made the region an increasingly attractive destination for economic migrants (Page, 1994). Immigration to high-growth, labor-scarce East Asian nations has increased significantly in recent decades (Hugo, 2005), with large numbers of unskilled or semi-skilled workers from other Asian nations arriving to engage in "3D" (dirty, dangerous, and difficult) jobs that citizens would rather not perform. In addition, an increasing number of skilled migrants—both from Asia and from Europe and North America—have migrated to East Asia in order to capitalize on the growing demand for their talents (Mahtani, 2012). As a result of these trends, nearly 40% of the populations of Hong Kong and Singapore are foreign born, while in Macau the figure is even higher (Hugo, 2005).

Given the scale of these movements, we believe that investigations into East Asian attitudes towards immigration are urgently required. This need is even more pressing given the profound demographic changes occurring in East Asia, as declining fertility and population ageing reduce the size of the domestic labor force (Piketty, 2014). Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore already have some of the lowest birth rates in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013), while China's aged population (over the age of 65) is predicted to triple from 110 million to 330 million by 2050 (National Institute on Aging, 2011). Given the critical role of population growth in Asian economic growth (Bloom & Finlay, 2009), there is a belief that increased immigration is required to sustain quality of life in the region (Walmsley, Aguiar, & Ahmed, 2013). Successfully integrating these new immigrant communities will pose a significant challenge.

The Present Research

The present research investigated anti-immigrant prejudice in an East Asian nation that has recently experienced a substantial influx of foreign workers. Singapore is noted as being a trailblazer in a region known for its exclusionist stance on immigration, with the government acknowledging the economic imperative of importing labor (Hugo, 2005). While valuable in and of itself, the significance of this research is enhanced by Singapore's status as a microcosm of East Asia's future. Of particular significance is a recent rise in anti-immigrant sentiment in Singapore (Chong, 2012). Singapore's rapid economic growth has been accompanied by a surge in the population, which has increased from just over four million people in 2000 to nearly 5.5 million in 2014, of which 2.1 million are foreign nationals (Singapore Government Department of Statistics, 2014). This influx has been met with significant disapproval. Alternative online news portals often host xenophobic commentary (Holmes, 2012), and opposition parties have garnered support by adopting an anti-immigration stance (Kwan, 2015). The release of a controversial population white paper—which outlined plans to further increase the proportion of foreigners in Singapore—has further fueled public anger (Tan, 2013).

In the present research, we sought to better understand attitudes towards immigrants in an East Asian nation that could serve as a bellwether for the region. Our central prediction was that attitudes

would vary significantly between different immigrant groups, although we refrained from making specific hypotheses in order to avoid unintentionally offending immigrant groups or Singaporeans (for insight into Singapore's legal and sociopolitical climate, see Spykerman, 2015). Immigrants to East Asia vary in terms of their race and geographical origin and in terms of their socioeconomic status, and these two dimensions yield immigrant clusters that are likely to be associated with distinctive perceptions and stereotypes. We chose to focus on four immigrant groups that figure prominently in public perceptions of immigration to Singapore: Mainland Chinese, Filipinos, South Asians, and Westerners. Each group has been the target of prejudice following one or more high-profile incidents and represents a distinct combination of demographic origin and socioeconomic status.

We sought to understand attitudes to these groups in terms of the negative emotions that each group elicits and also in terms of the antecedent beliefs that may drive prejudice. Two types of antecedent beliefs were examined. First, we examined the specific types of threat these different groups are seen to represent. According to Integrated Threat Theory (ITT; Stephan & Stephan, 2000), majority members can exhibit prejudice because they believe immigrants represent realistic or symbolic threats. A realistic threat is a tangible threat to the ingroup's political power, economic power, or well-being, while a symbolic threat is an abstract threat to the ingroup's values, beliefs, or worldview. Both realistic (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000) and symbolic (Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008) threat have been found to predict prejudice towards immigrant groups in Western samples. In addition to realistic and symbolic threat, ITT also identifies two other types of threat that can promote prejudice towards an outgroup: negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety. While stereotypes were assessed using an alternate theoretical framework, we chose not to examine the effects of intergroup anxiety given the overlap between this variable and our affective conceptualization of prejudice (see the study 1 materials section for more details).

We also examined group-specific stereotypes using the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), which proposes that stereotypes vary on two fundamental dimensions: warmth and competence. While the ingroup is typically seen to be high in both warmth and competence, outgroups are frequently characterized as being deficient in at least one dimension, with different combinations of stereotyped warmth and competence leading to qualitatively different stereotypes. Perception of a group as high in competence but low in warmth gives rise to an *envious stereotype*, and previous research has indicated that immigrant groups that have achieved socioeconomic success, such as East Asian immigrants to the United States, are stereotyped in this way (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). Alternatively, perceptions of low competence but relatively high warmth give rise to a paternalistic or pitying stereotype. In the context of the United States, this stereotype is to some extent applied to Latino/Hispanic immigrants, who are seen being low in socioeconomic status (Lee & Fiske, 2006). Perceived deficiency in both warmth and competence gives rise to a *contemptuous stereotype* (e.g., the homeless; Lee & Fiske, 2006).

Study 1

In study 1, we sought to examine attitudes towards immigrants in a sample of university undergraduates. Data for study 1 were collected during April 2013.

Method

Participants

One hundred and forty-one participants contributed to the study. The sample was 71.4% female with a mean age of 22.25 years ($SD = 1.55$). The majority of participants identified as being ethnically Chinese (93.2%), with 3.7% and 1.9% identifying themselves as Malay and Indian, respectively. The

remaining 1.2% indicated that they belonged to an unlisted ethnic group. The sample provided only a rough approximation of Singapore's ethnic composition (74.2% Chinese, 13.3% Malay, 9.1% Indian, 3.3% other; Singapore Government Department of Statistics, 2013).

All participants were either undergraduates or recent graduates of a Singapore university, who participated in return for either partial course credit or a token monetary reward of five Singapore dollars (\$5 SGD). All participants were Singapore citizens, and participation was anonymous. Informed consent was obtained in all cases.

Design and Procedure

All measures were administered using online surveys. Attitudinal measures relating to each immigrant group were administered together in self-contained blocks. To mitigate the possibility of order effects, administration of these group-specific blocks was randomized.

Materials

Participants completed three attitudinal measures for each immigrant group: prejudice, stereotype content, and perceived realistic and symbolic threat. Each measure was the same across all four groups, and only the name of the target immigrant group was changed.

Prejudice. Prejudice was operationalized as negative affect elicited by members of the target immigrant group. Negative affect is a fundamental component of prejudice, and the use of affective measures of prejudice has ample precedent in the literature (e.g., Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009). Our measure was adapted from Pehrson et al. (2009). Participants were asked to indicate how much the target immigrant group caused them to experience the following seven emotions: anger, fear, distrust, annoyance, pity, contempt, and envy. All answers were provided on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *none* at all to *extremely*. Responses to the individual items were subsequently averaged to provide a global measure of affective prejudice. These global indices were found to be highly reliable across the four immigrant groups, with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .85 to .88.

Stereotype content. To assess stereotype content, we adapted a measure that been successfully utilized in a wide range of national settings (Cuddy et al., 2009). Participants were required to indicate their beliefs regarding the character of typical immigrant group members by rating the applicability of certain adjectives on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *not at all* to *extremely*. The scale included eight items: four measuring perceived competence and four measuring perceived warmth. Example items include "How capable are Western immigrants?" (competence) and "How friendly are Chinese immigrants?" (warmth). In each case, the four related items were later averaged to provide aggregate measures. Both the perceived competence (Cronbach's alpha ranging from .84 to .88) and perceived warmth (Cronbach's alphas ranging from .82 to .94) scales were highly reliable across the four immigrant groups.

Perceived threat. Perceived realistic threat and perceived symbolic threat were assessed using a measure adapted from Stephan et al. (1999). In addition to these modified versions of the 15 items utilized by Stephan et al. (1999), seven additional items that assessed concerns unique to the Singaporean context were also included. In total, the measure of perceived threat utilized in study 1 included 15 items pertaining to realistic threat and 12 pertaining to symbolic threat. In each case, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with statements on a 5-point Likert scale anchored at *strongly disagree* and *strongly agree*. Examples of items include: "South Asian immigrants are NOT displacing Singaporean workers from their jobs" (realistic threat, reverse scored) and "Filipino immigrants make little effort to communicate with Singaporeans" (symbolic threat). The measures of both perceived realistic threat (Cronbach's alpha ranging from .82 to .91) and perceived symbolic threat (Cronbach's alpha ranging from .69 to .82) exhibited satisfactory internal consistency across all target immigrant groups.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Univariate Test Results for Study 1 Attitudinal Variables

	Chinese		Filipino		South Asian		Western		F	P	η^2_p
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
	Prejudice	2.35	.86	1.68	.75	1.90	.73	1.57			
Stereotyped Competence	3.31	.77	2.93	.76	2.98	.76	3.51	.67	29.56	.001	.17
Stereotyped Warmth	2.26	.81	3.21	.89	2.77	.80	3.55	.68	93.61	.001	.40
Perceived Realistic Threat	3.64	.67	3.25	.53	3.23	.52	3.11	.49	70.19	.001	.33
Perceived Symbolic Threat	3.41	.58	3.02	.46	3.08	.41	3.06	.42	28.75	.001	.17

Note. All variables were measured on a 5-point scale.

Table 2. Correlations Between Study 1 Attitudinal Variables

Chinese Immigrants					South Asian Immigrants				
	Prejudice	Stereotyped Competence	Stereotyped Warmth	Realistic Threat		Prejudice	Stereotyped Competence	Stereotyped Warmth	Realistic Threat
Stereotyped Competence	-.246**				Stereotyped Competence	-.004			
Stereotyped Warmth	-.348**	.407**			Stereotyped Warmth	-.165*	.557**		
Realistic Threat	.547**	-.260**	-.476**		Realistic Threat	.316**	-.049	-.164*	
Symbolic Threat	.479**	-.284**	-.490**	.660**	Symbolic Threat	.303**	-.305**	-.426**	.479**

Filipino Immigrants					Western Immigrants				
	Prejudice	Stereotyped Competence	Stereotyped Warmth	Realistic Threat		Prejudice	Stereotyped Competence	Stereotyped Warmth	Realistic Threat
Stereotyped Competence	-.110				Stereotyped Competence	-.041			
Stereotyped Warmth	-.236**	.550**			Stereotyped Warmth	-.238**	.532**		
Realistic Threat	.366**	-.269**	-.408**		Realistic Threat	.298**	-.209**	-.301**	
Symbolic Threat	.469**	-.308**	-.488**	.667**	Symbolic Threat	.256**	-.177*	-.394**	.472**

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

Results

The data were analyzed in two phases. In the first phase, mean levels of prejudice and the four antecedent variables were compared across immigrant groups using MANOVA. Descriptive statistics can be found in Table 1.

In the second phase, relationships between the variables were examined using bivariate correlation and multiple regression. Such analyses were intended to examine which of the antecedent variables may have the strongest influence on prejudice towards the various immigrant groups. Intercorrelations between the variables can be found in Table 2.

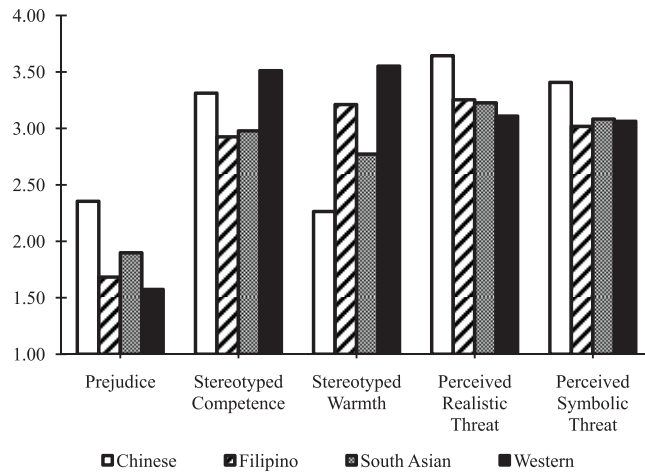


Figure 1. Mean study 1 prejudice, stereotype content, and perceived threat by immigrant group.

MANOVA. Using Pillai's trace, the multivariate test revealed a highly significant effect of group on the dependent variables ($V = .764$, $F(15, 126) = 29.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .76$). Univariate tests further revealed that immigrant group had a significant effect on each of the antecedent variables. Results of the univariate tests can be found in Table 1.

Given the significant multivariate and univariate tests, each of the immigrant groups was compared with the others across all five dependent variables (see Figure 1). Prejudice scores were highest for the Chinese, followed by South Asians, Filipinos, and finally Westerners. All pairwise comparisons were significant at the $p = .001$ level with the exception of the Filipino-Western comparison. Chinese immigrants elicited significantly more negative emotions than all other immigrant groups (all $p < .001$, Cohen's d between .58 and 1.07), while South Asian immigrants elicited more negative emotions than Filipinos or Westerners (both $p \leq .001$, Cohen's $d = .29$ and .45, respectively).

Chinese immigrants were found to represent a greater realistic threat than all other immigrant groups (all $p < .001$, Cohen's d between .65 and .92), while Westerners were viewed as being significantly less threatening than the other groups ($p < .001$, Cohen's d between .23 and .92). South Asians and Filipinos were seen as being less realistically threatening than Chinese immigrants, but more threatening than Westerners. Pairwise comparison of perceived symbolic threat revealed only one significant difference: Chinese immigrants were viewed as a greater threat than all other groups (all $p < .001$, Cohen's d between .64 and .74).

Pairwise comparison of stereotyped competence revealed significant differences. Westerners were viewed as significantly more competent than Chinese ($p = .05$, Cohen's $d = .28$), South Asian ($p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .74$), and Filipino immigrants ($p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .82$). Chinese immigrants were also viewed as being significantly more competent than both South Asians ($p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .44$) and Filipinos ($p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .51$). The difference between Filipinos and South Asians was nonsignificant. In the stereotyped warmth analyses, all pairwise comparisons were significant. Westerners were viewed as being significantly warmer than Filipinos ($p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .43$), who were in turn stereotyped as warmer than South Asians ($p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .52$). Chinese immigrants were rated as significantly less warm than all other groups (all $p < .001$, Cohen's d between .63 and 1.72).

Bivariate correlation. Significant correlations were found between most attitudinal variables (see Table 2). Prejudice correlated positively with perceived realistic and symbolic threat in each immigrant group (meaning that high prejudice associated with high threat), and was also found to correlate negatively with stereotyped warmth (meaning that high prejudice associated with low warmth).

Stereotyped competence was generally found to be uncorrelated with prejudice. The exception was for Chinese immigrants, where stereotyped competence was found to correlate negatively with prejudice, meaning that high prejudice associated with low competence.

Consistent with this finding, stereotyped competence correlated negatively with perceived realistic threat for all groups except South Asians. This indicated that low competence was associated with high realistic threat. Stereotyped competence also correlated negatively with perceived symbolic threat across all four groups (meaning that low competence associated with high symbolic threat), while stereotyped warmth correlated negatively with both perceived realistic and symbolic threat (meaning that low warmth associated with high threat). Finally, positive correlations were also observed within the two antecedent belief types. Stereotyped warmth and stereotyped competence were significantly positively correlated with one another in all groups (high warmth associated with high competence), as were perceived realistic and symbolic threat (high realistic threat associated with high symbolic threat).

We also conducted bivariate correlations of the four antecedent stereotyping and threat factors, as well as for prejudice, between the four immigrant groups, in order to examine the association of these attitudinal constructs between groups. Out of bivariate correlations computed for stereotyped competence and warmth, all except one (warmth of Chinese and Western immigrants) were positive and statistically significant (r s ranged from .203 to .557). Additionally, all of the bivariate correlations computed for realistic threat were positive and statistically significant, with r s ranging from .517 to .798. Similarly, of the bivariate correlations computed for symbolic threat, all except one (symbolic threat of Chinese and Western immigrants) were positive and statistically significant (r s ranged from .185 to .433). Finally, all bivariate correlations for group-specific prejudice were also found to be positive and statistically significant (r s ranged from .501 to .643). This pattern of correlations suggests that there is correspondence between both the predictors of prejudice and prejudice itself across the immigrant groups, meaning that the evaluation of one group often indicates a tendency to evaluate other groups similarly on that same dimension.

Multiple regression. Four group-specific multiple regressions examined which of the four antecedent stereotyping and threat factors predicted prejudice (see Table 3). In all cases, the global test of the regression model was significant, although there were differences in the predictive power of the four variables. For Chinese immigrants, both perceived realistic threat and perceived symbolic threat were found to be significant positive predictors, meaning that high scores in both indices of threat independently predicted high scores in prejudice. Similarly, perceived realistic and symbolic threat were also found to significantly positively predict prejudice towards South Asians. In the case of Filipino immigrants, only perceived symbolic threat was found to be significant (meaning that high symbolic threat predicted greater prejudice), whereas for Western immigrants, stereotyped warmth and perceived realistic threat were significant (high warmth predicted lower prejudice and high realistic threat predicted higher prejudice). Stereotyped competence was also found to be a marginally significant positive predictor of prejudice towards Westerners, indicating that higher ratings of competence to some extent predicted greater prejudice. Consolidating the results of all four multiple regressions, the perceived threat variables—particularly perceived realistic threat—were generally found to be the strongest predictors of prejudice, while with the exception of Western immigrants, the stereotyping variables were generally found not to significantly predict prejudice.

Discussion

The results of study 1 were striking. Members of the undergraduate sample discriminated significantly between the immigrant groups in terms of perceived threat, stereotypic traits, and the strength of the negative emotions they elicited. Most conspicuously, Chinese immigrants elicited significantly more negative emotions, were perceived as representing a significantly greater realistic and symbolic

Table 3. Summary of Study 1 Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Prejudice

Chinese Immigrants						South Asian Immigrants					
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Stereotyped Competence	-.075	.082	-.067	-.909	.365	Stereotyped Competence	.146	.089	.150	1.643	.102
Stereotyped Warmth	-.045	.087	-.042	-.515	.608	Stereotyped Warmth	-.126	.089	-.136	-1.413	.160
Perceived Realistic Threat	.485	.119	.373	4.067	.000	Perceived Realistic Threat	.306	.123	.214	2.479	.014
Perceived Symbolic Threat	.294	.140	.195	2.107	.037	Perceived Symbolic Threat	.330	.171	.183	1.936	.055
<i>R</i> ²	.327					<i>R</i> ²	.146				
<i>F</i>	18.328***					<i>F</i>	6.449***				
Filipino Immigrants						Western Immigrants					
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Stereotyped Competence	.059	.088	.058	.674	.501	Stereotyped Competence	.150	.083	.162	1.799	.074
Stereotyped Warmth	-.020	.079	-.024	-.249	.803	Stereotyped Warmth	-.180	.085	-.203	-2.113	.036
Perceived Realistic Threat	.120	.134	.087	.892	.374	Perceived Realistic Threat	.257	.103	.217	2.483	.014
Perceived Symbolic Threat	.681	.166	.420	4.102	.000	Perceived Symbolic Threat	.159	.127	.114	1.257	.211
<i>R</i> ²	.228					<i>R</i> ²	.139				
<i>F</i>	11.014***					<i>F</i>	6.035***				

Note. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

threat, and were stereotyped as being significantly less warm than all other groups. In terms of stereotyped competence, Chinese immigrants were viewed as being reasonably capable, with a mean score significantly lower than Westerners but significantly higher than both the Filipino and South Asian groups.

Of all the immigrant groups, Westerners fared the best. Despite being stereotyped as significantly higher in competence than Chinese immigrants, Westerners were also stereotyped as being significantly warmer than all other groups, and—along with Filipinos—were found to elicit the least negative emotions. This is surprising as minorities that are stereotyped as being highly competent are often seen as representing a threat to the majority. Westerners were also seen as representing a significantly lower realistic threat than all other groups, and a significantly lower symbolic threat than Chinese immigrants. Attitudes towards Filipinos and South Asian migrants fell between these two extremes. South Asians elicited more negative emotions than Filipinos, while both groups were stereotyped as being lower in competence than either Western or Chinese immigrants. South Asian immigrants were also stereotyped as being significantly less warm than Filipino immigrants, which might explain the greater negative emotionality they elicit.

The correlation and regression analyses helped to elucidate the relationships between the various attitudinal variables, both within and between immigrant groups. As anticipated, perceived realistic

threat and perceived symbolic threat positively correlated with prejudice toward all immigrant groups, while stereotyped warmth was found to correlate negatively with prejudice towards Chinese, Filipino, South Asian, and Western immigrants. However, stereotyped competence was for the most part found to be unrelated to prejudice. Only in the case of Chinese immigrants was this correlation found to be significant, and unexpectedly this relationship was found to be negative.

Perceived realistic threat was found to be an important predictor of prejudice, as was perceived symbolic threat to a lesser extent, while the stereotyping variables were far less effective predictors. Correlation of the attitudinal variables between groups also revealed many significant associations, indicating that the tendency to exhibit prejudice, negative stereotyping, and perceived threat towards one group frequently associated with a tendency to feel the same way about other groups. This will be further discussed in the general discussion.

Study 2

While study 1 demonstrated clear differences in the strength and content of attitudes towards different immigrant groups, it was possible that some of these results may be particular to undergraduates, perhaps due to such factors as enhanced education level, greater affluence, or more regular contact with foreign scholars and faculty. As such, we conducted a replication of study 1 in a more representative community sample. Data for study 2 were collected during June and July 2013, two months after data collection for study 1.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and ninety-nine Singapore citizens were recruited as participants. The community sample was 57.6% female with a mean age of 36.98 years ($SD = 12.08$). The ethnic make-up of the sample was 71.7% Chinese, 14.8% Malay, and 10.4% Indian, with the remaining 3.0% identifying as members of an unlisted ethnic group. This sample was therefore more representative than the one recruited in study 1.

Participants in study 2 were recruited by way of door-to-door solicitation. Responses were anonymous, and informed consent was obtained in all cases. Participants received a \$5 shopping voucher as remuneration. A team of three undergraduate research assistants visited a number of neighborhoods preselected to maximize the ethnic and socioeconomic variability of the resulting sample. These efforts to representativeness of the sample were successful, with the distribution closely approximating the distribution at the national level (Singapore Government Department of Statistics, 2014).

Design and procedure. In general, the survey followed the same structure as in study 1. The only significant difference in study 2, other than the mode of administration, was the use of translated versions of the survey. To widen accessibility, the survey was made available in each of Singapore's four official languages: English, Mandarin Chinese, Malay, and Tamil. All translations were conducted by research assistants who spoke the language as their mother tongue. The accuracy of their translations from the original English version was ensured by having the three translated versions back-translated by a second group of research assistants.

Materials. The measures of prejudice were similar to those employed during study 1. Abridged versions of the stereotype content and perceived threat measures were used due to concerns over the practicality of using lengthy questionnaires in the community. The Cuddy et al. (2009) measure was further adapted by reducing the number of items assessing perceived warmth and perceived competence to two each. For perceived warmth, participants were asked: "How friendly are Chinese

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics and Univariate Test Results for Study 2 Attitudinal Variables

	Chinese		Filipino		South Asian		Western		<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Prejudice	2.19	.91	1.66	.77	1.88	.85	1.72	.85	44.14	.001	.14
Stereotyped Competence	2.82	.99	2.81	.92	2.80	.98	3.29	.96	24.17	.001	.08
Stereotyped Warmth	2.26	.81	3.21	.89	2.70	1.00	3.18	1.09	71.61	.001	.21
Perceived Realistic Threat	3.70	.92	3.52	.86	3.52	.85	3.57	.86	14.73	.001	.05
Perceived Symbolic Threat	3.18	.63	2.92	.55	2.99	.50	3.02	.54	25.05	.001	.08

Note. All variables were measured on a 5-point scale.

immigrants?” and “How warm are Filipino immigrants?” For perceived competence, participants were asked: “How competent are South Asian immigrants?” and “How capable are Western immigrants?” Responses to the two items were aggregated to give mean scores.

The number of items used to assess perceived threat was reduced using principle components analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation. The PCA was carried out on the data from study 1 and was conducted separately for each of the immigrant groups. In each case, the PCA yielded either a three- or a four-component solution, with two factors corresponding to realistic threat and either one or two factors corresponding to symbolic threat. Generally speaking, the positively worded and negatively worded threat items loaded onto different factors, meaning that the PCA yielded two factors each—one positive and one negative—for both realistic and symbolic threat. Aggregating the results of the four PCAs, all realistic threat items that did not load significantly onto at least one of the two realistic threat factors in each of the group-specific analyses were discarded, meaning that seven of the 15 items were retained. In order to ensure a balance between the realistic and symbolic threat items, slightly less stringent criteria were applied when selecting the items to retain, given that the factor structure was less uniform across the four groups. In this case, all items that loaded significantly onto one of the two symbolic threat factors in at least three of the four group-specific analyses were retained. This led to eight items being retained for use in the abridged questionnaire.

As in study 1, the aggregate measures of prejudice, stereotype content, and perceived threat to be used in the analysis were generally found to be highly reliable (Pearson’s *r* and Cronbach’s alphas ranging from .78 to .95). Only the measures of perceived symbolic threat, which gave rise Cronbach’s alphas of between .53 and .59, exhibited lower reliability.

Results

Data from study 2 were analyzed following the procedures outlined in the results section of study 1. As before, repeated measures MANOVA was first used to assess between-group differences in the attitudinal variables. Descriptive statistics for each of the dependent variables by group can be found in Table 4.

Subsequently, relationships between the various attitudinal variables were examined using a combination of correlation and regression analyses. Correlations between the variables are presented in Table 5.

MANOVA. The Pillai’s trace method was used to examine the significance of the omnibus multivariate test. As in study 1, the analysis revealed a highly significant effect of group on the dependent variables ($V = .571$, $F(15, 264) = 23.39$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$). Univariate tests indicated that immigrant group once again exerted a significant effect on prejudice, stereotyped competence, stereotyped warmth, perceived realistic threat, and perceived symbolic threat. Results of the univariate tests can be found in Table 4.

Table 5. Correlations Between Study 2 Attitudinal Variables

Chinese Immigrants				South Asian Immigrants					
	Prejudice	Stereotyped Competence	Stereotyped Warmth	Realistic Threat		Prejudice	Stereotyped Competence	Stereotyped Warmth	Realistic Threat
Stereotyped Competence	-.139*				Stereotyped Competence	.026			
Stereotyped Warmth	-.250**	.526**			Stereotyped Warmth	-.010	.647**		
Realistic Threat	.270**	-.280**	-.450**		Realistic Threat	.109	-.109	-.233**	
Symbolic Threat	.333**	-.274**	-.433**	.597**	Symbolic Threat	.214**	-.195**	-.224**	.570**
Filipino Immigrants				Western Immigrants					
	Prejudice	Stereotyped Competence	Stereotyped Warmth	Realistic Threat		Prejudice	Stereotyped Competence	Stereotyped Warmth	Realistic Threat
Stereotyped Competence	-.050				Stereotyped Competence	.122*			
Stereotyped Warmth	-.074	.713**			Stereotyped Warmth	.032	.559**		
Realistic Threat	.137*	-.252**	-.234**		Realistic Threat	.251**	-.116*	-.221**	
Symbolic Threat	.308**	-.275**	-.358**	.556**	Symbolic Threat	.287**	-.094	-.300**	.511**

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

As in study 1, each immigrant group was then compared with the other three groups across each of the five dependent variables. As in the undergraduate sample, prejudice was found to be greatest for Chinese immigrants, followed by South Asian immigrants. Contrasting with the undergraduate sample, Filipinos elicited the lowest ratings of negative emotion, with Western immigrants falling between the South Asian and the Filipino immigrant groups. All pairwise comparisons were significant at the $p = .001$ level (Cohen’s d between .27 and .62, with the exception of the contrast between the Western and Filipino immigrant groups, which was nonsignificant. Graphical comparison of the attitudes towards different immigrant groups can be found in Figure 2.

In the stereotyped competence analysis, community members viewed Westerners as being significantly more competent (all $p < .001$, Cohen’s d between .47 and .51) than all other immigrant groups. Pairwise comparisons between the Chinese, South Asian, and Filipino immigrant groups yielded no significant differences. Pairwise comparisons of stereotyped warmth revealed that Chinese immigrants were perceived as being significantly lower in warmth than South Asian immigrants ($p < .001$, Cohen’s $d = .51$), who were in turn perceived to be lower in warmth than both Filipinos ($p < .001$, Cohen’s $d = .38$) and Westerners ($p < .001$, Cohen’s $d = .46$). Comparison of the Filipino and Western groups was nonsignificant.

Echoing the results in the undergraduate sample, Chinese immigrants were viewed as representing the greatest realistic threat by members of the community sample. Chinese immigrants were rated as posing a higher realistic threat than all other immigrant groups (all $p < .001$, Cohen’s d between .15 and .20). Comparisons between the remaining three groups did not yield significant results. In the symbolic threat analysis, Chinese immigrants were again rated more negatively than the other three groups (all $p < .001$, Cohen’s d between .27 and .44). Westerners were rated as representing the second highest symbolic threat, followed by South Asians, and

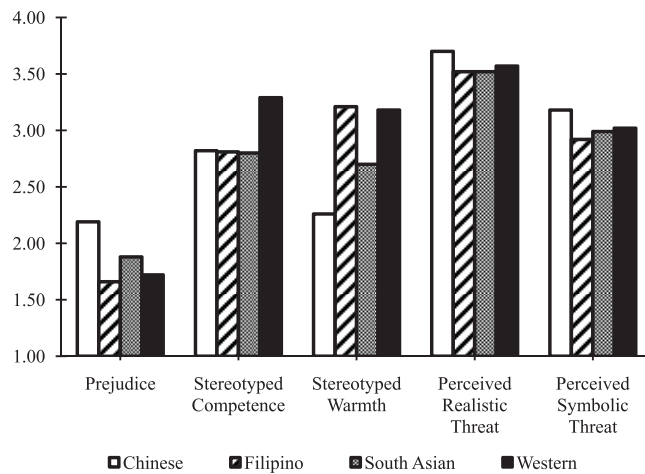


Figure 2. Mean study 2 prejudice, stereotype content, and perceived threat by immigrant group.

finally Filipinos. Filipinos were seen as being significantly less symbolically threatening than Westerners ($p = .006$, Cohen's $d = .19$), while the pairwise comparison between South Asians and Westerners was not found to be significant.¹

Bivariate correlation. The results of the study 2 correlation analysis echoed those of study 1. Prejudice was found to be significantly correlated with many of the other attitudinal variables. Once again, prejudice was found to correlate positively with realistic threat in all four immigrant groups and also correlated positively with symbolic threat in all of the immigrant groups except South Asians (meaning that higher prejudice was generally associated with higher perceived threat). As in study 1, stereotyped warmth was found to be negatively correlated with prejudice towards Chinese immigrants, meaning that higher prejudice was associated with lower warmth. Surprisingly, stereotyped warmth was found to be uncorrelated with prejudice in the remaining three immigrant groups. Stereotyped competence was again found to correlate negatively with prejudice towards Chinese immigrants, whereas stereotyped competence correlated positively with prejudice towards Western immigrants (indicating that higher prejudice corresponded to lower and higher perceptions of competence for Chinese and Western immigrants respectively). Stereotyped competence was unrelated to prejudice for both South Asian and Filipino immigrants.

As in study 1, stereotyped competence was for the most part negatively correlated with perceived realistic threat, meaning that lower appraisals of competence associated with higher ratings of perceived threat. These correlations were significant for Chinese, Filipino, and Western immigrants, but nonsignificant for South Asian immigrants. This exactly replicates the pattern found in study 1. These findings are inconsistent with the notion that any of these groups elicits an envious stereotype. Stereotyped competence was also found to correlate negatively with symbolic threat for Chinese, South Asian, and Filipino immigrants (indicating that lower stereotyped competence associated with higher perceived threat), whereas this relationship was nonsignificant for Western immigrants. As in study 1,

¹ On the request of a reviewer, we also performed a series of supplementary ANOVAs examining the effect of respondent ethnicity on prejudice towards each immigrant group. While the group sizes were too small for meaningful comparison in the undergraduate sample, such analyses were possible in the community sample. All ANOVAs were significant at the $p < .01$ level, with post hoc Bonferroni-corrected comparisons revealing that one particular ethnic group exhibited significantly more anti-immigrant prejudice than the others. Given the sensitive nature of these findings and Singapore's criminalization of seditious acts, utterances, and publications (see Spykerman, 2015), we have elected not to identify the group in the interests of maintaining interethnic harmony.

the stereotyping and threat variables were found to correlate with one another. Stereotyped warmth was found to positively correlate with stereotyped competence in all immigrant groups, meaning that groups that were stereotyped as less warm were also stereotyped as being less competent, while perceived realistic threat was also found to correlate with perceived symbolic threat in all groups, indicating that high appraisals of threat in one domain associated with high appraisals of threat in the other. Once again, this was suggestive of a more generalized form of anti-immigrant prejudice, a possibility that will be examined in the general discussion.

As in study 1, we also conducted bivariate correlations of the four antecedent factors, as well as for prejudice itself. Of the bivariate correlations computed for competence and warmth, all except one (competence of Chinese and Western immigrants) were positive and statistically significant (r s ranged from .169 to .713). Additionally, all of the bivariate correlations computed for realistic threat were positive and statistically significant, with r s ranging from .776 to .827. Similarly, all bivariate correlations computed for symbolic threat between immigrant groups were positive and statistically significant (r s ranged from .490 to .656). Finally, bivariate correlations for group-specific prejudice were again found to be positive and statistically significant (r s ranged from .413 to .585). This pattern of correlations reinforces the notion that there is correspondence between both the predictors of prejudice and prejudice itself across the four immigrant groups, meaning that the evaluation of one group often indicates a tendency to evaluate other groups similarly on that same dimension.

Multiple regression. Group-specific regression analyses were conducted following the same procedure as in study 1, yielding quite different results (see Table 6). In the Chinese, Filipino, and South Asian regression models, only the beta coefficient associated with symbolic threat was found to be significant, with higher symbolic threat predicted greater prejudice. In the Western regression model, both realistic and symbolic threat were significant positive predictors, while stereotyped competence was also found to marginally positively predict prejudice, meaning that higher perceptions of realistic threat, symbolic threat, and competence all predicted greater prejudice.

Discussion

The results of study 2 were in some ways similar to those of study 1, but in other ways quite different. Like the undergraduates, the community sample rated Chinese immigrants the most negatively. Chinese immigrants elicited significantly more negative emotions than all other groups, were viewed as a significantly higher realistic and symbolic threat, and were stereotyped as being significantly less warm. In contrast to the undergraduate sample, however, Chinese immigrants were not stereotyped by the community as being relatively high in competence. The two samples also differed in their attitudes towards Western immigrants. Westerners were viewed the most positively across almost all dimensions by undergraduates, whereas the community sample viewed Westerners less positively.

The study 2 results generally replicated those of study 1 with respect to Filipino and South Asian immigrants. While Filipino immigrants were viewed more positively vis-à-vis Westerners in the community sample, this effect seems to be driven predominantly by greater negativity towards Westerners. The study 2 analyses revealed that South Asian immigrants again elicited the second most negative emotions but were viewed the second most favorably in terms of symbolic threat, a result which again reflects the more negative view of Westerners in the community sample.

While the results of the study 2 correlation analyses were generally similar to those obtained in study 1, perhaps the greatest divergence from the results of study 1 was in the results of the multiple regression analyses. Whereas perceived realistic threat was the most consistent predictor of anti-immigrant prejudice in the undergraduate sample, perceived symbolic threat proved to be a better predictor in our analysis of the community data. Only in the case of Western immigrants did other attitudinal variables also significantly predict prejudice.

Table 6. Summary of Study 2 Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Prejudice

Chinese Immigrants						South Asian Immigrants					
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Stereotyped Competence	.008	.060	.009	.141	.888	Stereotyped Competence	.069	.067	.079	1.026	.306
Stereotyped Warmth	-.106	.066	-.116	-1.611	.108	Stereotyped Warmth	-.014	.067	-.016	-.210	.834
Perceived Realistic Threat	.077	.071	.077	1.082	.280	Perceived Realistic Threat	-.014	.070	-.014	-.196	.845
Perceived Symbolic Threat	.348	.102	.241	3.433	.001	Perceived Symbolic Threat	.398	.119	.235	3.354	.001
<i>R</i> ²	.128					<i>R</i> ²	.051				
<i>F</i>	10.247***					<i>F</i>	3.795**				
Filipino Immigrants						Western Immigrants					
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Stereotyped Competence	.014	.069	.017	.209	.835	Stereotyped Competence	.111	.059	.126	1.874	.062
Stereotyped Warmth	.017	.058	.025	.297	.767	Stereotyped Warmth	.057	.054	.073	1.045	.297
Perceived Realistic Threat	-.027	.059	-.030	-.448	.654	Perceived Realistic Threat	.165	.063	.166	2.608	.010
Perceived Symbolic Threat	.481	.100	.336	4.827	.000	Perceived Symbolic Threat	.384	.104	.241	3.684	.000
<i>R</i> ²	.096					<i>R</i> ²	.128				
<i>F</i>	7.425***					<i>F</i>	10.243***				

Note. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

General Discussion

Over two studies, we investigated the attitudes of Singapore citizens towards four important immigrant groups that approximate the subcontinent's most prominent immigrant demographics. Two key findings emerged. Firstly, Singaporeans do, to some extent, discriminate between different immigrant groups, associating them with distinct patterns of emotions, perceived threats, and stereotypes. The second key finding is that Chinese immigrants were viewed significantly more negatively than all other immigrant groups. This result is superficially surprising yet may be explicable in terms of both cultural and demographic factors. This finding also demonstrates that shared cultural attributes and racial similarity are not necessarily protective factors with respect to anti-immigrant prejudice. This has important policy implications for governments in the region, many of whom have implemented immigration policies designed to maintain a level of ethnic homogeneity in the population (Hugo, 2005) in order to maintain social harmony. The results presented here caution against such an assumption.

Chinese immigrants elicited the most negative emotions and were judged to represent the greatest realistic and symbolic threat across both studies. While the results of the stereotype analyses suggest that Singaporeans believe Chinese immigrants possess stereotypic traits that make them "worse" than other immigrant groups (notably low warmth), it is also possible that Chinese immigrants are viewed

as a greater threat because they are more numerous. The Singapore government does not release statistics on the composition of Singapore's migrant community, and so it is impossible to say whether Chinese immigrants truly represent a majority. Nonetheless, other researchers have suggested that Chinese immigrants are the most common immigrants to Singapore (Yeoh & Lin, 2012). As such, it may be that this demographic preponderance has exacerbated the issue of anti-Chinese prejudice. Combined with a stereotypic view that characterizes Chinese immigrants as unfriendly, it is not hard to see why Chinese immigrants are targeted for the most prejudice despite being culturally and racially the most similar to most Singaporeans.

This phenomenon is not unique to Singapore. The issue of prejudice towards rural-to-urban migrants in China is well-documented (Kuang & Liu, 2012), despite the fact that Chinese city dwellers and rural laborers share a nationality and cultural heritage (Guan & Liu, 2013). In Japan, where the government has enacted pro-immigration policies that maintain ethnic homogeneity in the face of severe labor shortages, foreign nationals of Japanese heritage suffer considerable prejudice after returning to their ancestral homeland (McCabe, Lin, Tanaka, & Plewa, 2009). A similar phenomenon has also been documented in Korea (Seol & Skrentny, 2009).

Despite being perceived as more competent than the Chinese immigrants, Westerners were viewed the most positively, particularly by undergraduates. This is surprising, given that high-status immigrant groups are often associated with an envious stereotype (Lee & Fiske, 2006). The enhanced stereotyped warmth observed in study 1 is likely the main driver of this effect and may well be due to the increasingly bicultural nature of Singapore youth, many of whom are avid consumers of both Asian and Western popular culture (Sung, 2008). Nonetheless, it remains to be seen whether attitudes would remain so positive if immigration from the West increased, as the comparatively small number of Western immigrants renders them significantly less threatening.

The remaining two immigrant groups represent the larger population of relatively low-skilled migrants from Asia's less developed nations. The results of the present research are relatively encouraging with respect to these groups, although it should be noted that immigrants from South Asia were consistently viewed more negatively than those from the Philippines. It is conceivable that this divergence relates to gender balance of these two migrant groups, as well as the kind of roles they typically occupy. Anecdotal evidence suggests that most South Asian immigrants are male, while the majority of domestic helpers from the Philippines are female (Yeoh & Lin, 2012). Women are often stereotyped as being caring, while men are typically viewed as being aggressive (Eagly, 1987; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), differences that may explain the different perceived warmth of these two groups. While it is documented that low-skill migrants from developing nations do suffer prejudice in East Asia (Seol & Skrentny, 2009), our results suggest that migrants who raise their sights above and beyond the "3D" jobs (such as the Chinese immigrants in the present study), may suffer enhanced prejudice.

While the findings above suggest that attitudes towards different immigrant groups differ, the results of the correlation and regression analyses suggest that there are limits to this differentiation. Generally speaking, the variables exhibited similar patterns of correlation across all immigrant groups, with realistic threat, symbolic threat, and stereotyped warmth all exhibiting significant associations with prejudice. Furthermore, realistic and symbolic threat were universally positively correlated, as were stereotyped competence and stereotyped warmth. These results suggest that these antecedent variables are far from independent, meaning that an individual who evaluates a given immigrant group negatively along one dimension is likely to evaluate them negatively along other dimensions as well. Moreover, the antecedent attitudinal variables and prejudice itself were also correlated across immigrant groups. Taken together, the correspondence between bivariate correlations of attitudinal variables, both within and across immigrant groups, indicates that these four antecedents affect prejudice similarly for all groups. Indeed, when we conducted post hoc factor analyses using individual items (rather than aggregated variables) for stereotype content and threat ratings of each immigrant

group, a three-factor solution emerged for both studies. These three factors contained items that mapped generally onto the constructs of realistic threat, symbolic threat, and stereotype content, once again suggesting that there are attitudinal similarities across immigrant groups.

Only in the case of Chinese immigrants did strong evidence for a particular combined stereotype with a consistent association with prejudice emerge. Stereotyped competence and stereotyped warmth were negatively associated with prejudice, which is consistent with the notion of a contemptuous stereotype. This suggests that respondents see Chinese immigrants as threatening because of their perceptions of incompetence, not competence. Wage depression has been cited as a negative consequence of enhanced immigration (Tan, 2015), meaning that groups perceived as inferior may still represent a realistic threat. These findings suggest that Chinese immigrants are viewed as the archetypal *immigrant scrounger* (Chong, 2012): a low-status group who are seen as being happy to take resources while contributing little in return.

Over the two studies, relatively little evidence emerged for ambivalent stereotyping. For paternalistic stereotyping this is unsurprising, since few outgroups have been found to occupy this area of the stereotyping space (Lee & Fiske, 2006). This stands in contrast to the envious stereotype, where it is more common for groups to be simultaneously stereotyped as being high in competence but deficient in warmth (e.g., Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). In the present research, only Western immigrants were associated with envious stereotyping, and even then the evidence is mixed. Westerners were stereotyped as being the most competent across both studies, and while prejudice towards this group was comparatively low, perceived competence was found to correlate positively with both perceived realistic threat and prejudice in study 2. This is also consistent with the results of the study 2 regression for Westerners, in which both perceived realistic threat and stereotyped competence positively predicted prejudice. There appears to be a divergence in attitudes towards Westerners across the two studies, and only in the community sample do these hallmarks of envious stereotyping and resulting prejudice emerge.

Limitations

Several limitations of the present research should be noted. First, the sensitive nature of interethnic relations means that many respondents may have been unwilling to share their true beliefs despite their anonymity. Given that it is hard to imagine someone with positive, more politically correct attitudes worrying that their responses might be traceable, our survey likely underestimated the extent of anti-immigrant sentiment. Second, it should be noted that these data were collected during the summer of 2013, several months before the Little India riots: Singapore's first incident of civil unrest in over 40 years (Shen & Armstrong, 2013). As the rioters were migrant workers of South Asian origin, attitudes towards this group may have become more negative, and further research will be required to assess the impact of this event. Third, many previous studies of anti-immigrant prejudice have examined the influence of national identification, with the general consensus being that stronger identification with the national group leads to enhanced prejudice (Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009). While previous research in East Asia has reported weak associations between national identification and prejudice (e.g., Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009), it is impossible to say whether national identification affected prejudice or the antecedent variables in this study, given that we did not measure it.

Conclusion

The present research provided a much-needed exploration and characterization of anti-immigrant attitudes and prejudice in East Asia, a region that is likely to become one of the top destinations for economic migrants in the coming decades. Our results highlight the dangers of perceived ubiquity of a given immigrant group, who may be targeted for enhanced prejudice. They also caution against

immigration policies that favor ethnically similar migrant groups, since they may not yield the desired results of enhanced stability and integration.

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