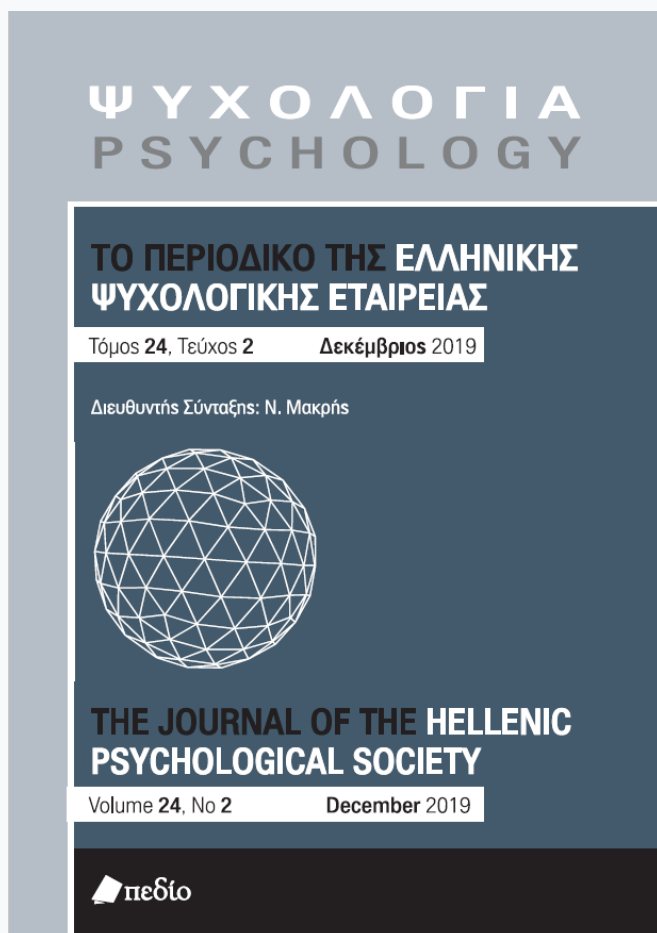


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*Xenia Chrysochoou, Ioannis Anagnostou*

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# Who is the “WE” that could include immigrants? Different aspects of common ingroups and intergroup competition

XENIA CHRYSOCHOOU<sup>1</sup> & IOANNIS ANAGNOSTOU<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

The present experimental study, with Greek participants, investigates whether some common ingroups that potentially can include immigrants, in interaction with intergroup competition present more threat for local populations. Results indicate that when the common ingroup is defined as maintaining different memberships (“inhabitants of the country”), redirecting competition towards other outgroups (other countries) is beneficial to perceptions of migrants. On the contrary, when the common ingroup is presented as blending memberships and presenting commonalities between groups (“workers”), redirecting competition towards an outgroup (employers) could be detrimental and produce almost similar results with an intergroup situation where common membership is not salient. These findings have implications both in relation to social psychological theory of Common Ingroup Identity but also in relation to immigrants’ requests for identification and integration.

*Keywords:* immigration, common ingroup identity, intergroup competition

Social psychological literature (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, 2008, 2009) has proposed that a way to reduce prejudice is to change the representation from “US” and “THEM” to a more inclusive “WE”. Indeed, prejudice towards members of outgroups is reduced when these are included in a common identity ingroup (Gaunt, 2009; Riek, Mania, Gaertner, McDonald & Lamoreaux, 2010), but the distinctiveness of the two groups should also be maintained (Crisp, Stone & Hall, 2006; Dovidio, Gaertner, Riek, Johnson & Houlette, 2006; Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy

2007; Gonzalez & Brown 2003). However, when it comes to immigrant communities there is resistance to include them in common ingroups and in some cases, this inclusion threatens the host communities’ sense of national identity (Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser & Wilbur, 2006). In a globalized world where the existing socio-political organization in nation-states is challenged, (Geddes, 2003) people might feel that their power of controlling public affairs is put into question. The nation-state cannot guarantee anymore the frontiers (cf. the immigration waves), cannot secure

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1. Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

\*Contact: Xenia Chrysochoou, Department of Psychology, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Syngrou 136, 17671 Athens, Greece, xeniachr@panteion.gr

the production and distribution of national resources, cannot guarantee employment and standards of living. Thus, the cohesion of the society is threatened (Chryssochoou, 2000, 2004; Wimmer, 2002). However, the conflict that threatens the cohesion is not constructed as originating from the unequal distribution of resources between different social groups but is constructed as due to the presence of groups with different cultural backgrounds: the threat seems to arise not from a representation of an unequal social order but from a representation of a multicultural order (Chryssochoou, 2018; Fraser & Honneth, 2005). In this context, how is therefore possible to construct an inclusive “we” for immigrants and locals?

Moreover, in Europe, all groups that are culturally different from the majority do not have the same legal status. Some groups have been part of ex-colonies and have citizenship rights, whereas others constitute recent working force. Furthermore, the policies regarding citizenship are not the same in all European countries with some practising *ius solis*, whereas others *ius sanguinis* (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2007). What would then be the superordinate group including immigrants in countries where citizenship is not granted automatically or easily? For example, only recently in Greece, (law 4452/17) was given the opportunity to children who were born and/or raised in Greece to obtain Greek citizenship upon request in the condition that their parents were legally residing in Greece and that the children followed the Greek educational system for several years.

We suggest here that two possible superordinate groups can be envisaged. One group is the “working force” since immigrants and natives are part of the larger group of working people. This categorization often relates to left-wing discourses about immigration that refer to the common class membership of “natives” and immigrants. The second group is “inhabitants of the country”. This group includes

denizens without precluding citizenship. This categorization denies the social differences within the nation-state and equalizes inclusion in terms of place of residence. The first superordinate common categorization as “workers” refers to a one-group situation where other memberships are blended in a single one that refers to the material condition of people. In this case commonalities between “natives” and immigrants are emphasized (all workers). The second categorization as “inhabitants of the country” concerns a superordinate group where other memberships are possible and refers to a more multicultural view of society. According to recent developments of the theory of Common Ingroup Identity (Dovidio, Saguy, Gaertner & Thomas, 2012) advantaged group members may prefer a superordinate group that proposes one common identity and blends other memberships because, in this case, structural inequality is hidden. If this is true the common ingroup in terms of “workers” could be less threatening than a common ingroup where different memberships are maintained. It is also suggested that people accept welfare state provisions between different groups according to their representation of the social order in terms of material or symbolic dimensions (Staerklé, Likki and Sheiddeger, 2012). We can argue that the category of “workers” refers to the material dimension whereas the category of inhabitants to the symbolic dimension. Which of these categorizations would lead to more tolerance towards multiculturalism, less negative policies towards immigrants, acceptance of a larger percentage of immigration and less prejudice towards immigrants? These are questions that the present study aims to answer.

In addition, prejudice can be considered as an antipathy that justifies existing antagonisms between social groups. Thus, competition between groups, often depicted as a representation of their relationship as a zero-sum game, should be taken into account

when speaking about intergroup co-existence within a larger super-ordinate group. In that case, would it be more appropriate to silence the perceived competition between groups or to acknowledge it? Silencing the existence of intergroup competition could be also a way to silence the minority and its claims for rights. It was argued that one should not dismiss as negative the intergroup conflict between subgroups belonging to a common group (Dixon et al. 2012; Dovidio, Sanguy & Shnabel, 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Moreover, solidarity between subgroups can be developed by exporting competition towards other outgroups (Kessler & Mummendey, 2001). In our case, if “workers” constitute the superordinate group, competition can be directed towards employers, whereas in the case of “inhabitants” competition can be directed towards inhabitants of other countries. Would this transposition of competition produce more positive attitudes towards immigration and would this transposition of competition be beneficial to migrants irrespective of the type of common ingroup?

We set up to answer these questions in an experimental study where we manipulated the salience of competition between groups and where we presented either immigrants and “natives” as two different groups (control condition), or as belonging to common superordinate groups (either as workers or as inhabitants). We investigated the impact of these variables on attitudes towards multiculturalism, policies towards immigration, prejudice towards immigrants, acknowledgement of structural racism and attitudes towards diversity in the nation-state.

In particular, it was hypothesized that, in general, people would be more positive towards multiculturalism, endorse less negative policies, acknowledge racism, accept a larger percentage of immigrants and be less prejudiced in the case of superordinate groups (hypothesis I main effect of categorization). However, this effect would be qualified by a significant interaction between

the type of categorization and the salience of competition (hypothesis II). In particular, when the groups would be presented as two distinct groups (control condition) and competition would be acknowledged people would feel less positively towards multiculturalism and would have more negative attitudes towards immigration than in the case of a common inclusion and where competition concerns other outgroups. In the presence of two groups, the salience of competition will be detrimental to positive attitudes. However, we also hypothesize that the salience of competition would play a more important role in the case of the superordinate group “inhabitants” than both the control-intergroup condition or the superordinate group of “workers”. This is because in the case of inhabitants suggesting competitive relations with the inhabitants of other countries reinforces the cohesion of the ingroup since it presents immigrants as an added force in the country’s competition with other countries. Not acknowledging this competition might leave people to think that their country is fragmented by the presence of different cultures. If the competition with other countries is not made salient then people might engage in representations of migrants as the enemy inside the country, often depicted in right-wing discourses. On the contrary, when it comes to the workers’ group, the inclusion of immigrants does not constitute an additional force to the battle against economically dominant groups. Immigrants might even be perceived as the weakest link in facing employers since their presence reduces, for example, salaries. Thus, we would expect that redirecting the competition towards employers would either be detrimental or will not make any difference in people’s attitudes towards multiculturalism, immigration policies and acceptance of diversity whereas it would make a positive difference when the re-direction is towards inhabitants of other countries.

## Method

### *Design and experimental manipulations*

A 3(categorization) x 2(competition) between-subjects design was used. The first factor had three levels: a) presentation of immigrants and “natives” as two distinct groups, b) presentation of immigrants and “natives” as belonging to the common ingroup of workers, c) presentation of immigrants and “natives” as belonging to the common ingroup of inhabitants of Greece. The second factor had two levels: salience of competition or not. These variables were introduced by means of short texts that read as follows:

*In Greece over the last few years live a lot of immigrants. It is a fact that two different groups live in the country: Greeks and immigrants. The experience has shown that there is a competition between these two different groups, Greeks and immigrants (Control-intergroup condition with competition) OR* The experience has shown that although two different groups, Greeks and immigrants, there is no competition between them(**Control-intergroup condition without competition**)

*In Greece over the last few years live a lot of immigrants. It is a fact that Greeks and immigrants, although different groups, are all working people. The experience has shown that working people, Greeks and immigrants together, are in competition with employers. (Common-ingroup “working people” with competition) OR* The experience has shown that working people, Greeks and immigrants together, are not in competition. (**Common-ingroup “working people” without competition**).

*In Greece over the last few years live a lot of immigrants. It is a fact that Greeks and immigrants, although different groups, are all*

*inhabitants of Greece. The experience has shown that the inhabitants of Greece, Greeks and immigrants together, are in competition with inhabitants of other countries. (Common-ingroup “inhabitants of Greece” with competition) OR* The experience has shown that Inhabitants of Greece, Greeks and immigrants together, are not in competition. (**Common-ingroup “inhabitants of Greece” without competition**)

It is important to note that the distinctiveness of the two groups was maintained even in the conditions of common-ingroup membership.

Following the texts participants were asked two questions to verify that a) they perceived the level of categorization and b) they perceived whether the text talked about competition. All participants responded correctly to these two questions. However, their agreement with the different conditions was not asked<sup>2</sup>.

### *Participants*

Participants were 148 students mainly of social sciences. They were between 18 and 37 years old (mean age =20.02). Women were 111, men 33 and one refused to disclose his/her gender. They were all of Greek nationality. Questionnaires were randomly distributed to participants.

### *Dependent variables*

- 1) After reading the text participants had to: Give their level of agreement with 10 items (on a 7-point scale, 1=strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree) measuring perceptions of multiculturalism adapted from Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver (2003) Dutch Multicultural Ideology Scale.
- 2) Display the percentage of immigrants

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2. Although, as is demonstrated in the results, participants were sensitive to the manipulation, the fact that their agreement was not measured can be considered as a limitation of the study.

that they wished in Greece after being informed that the current percentage was estimated at 9%. The scale had 21 points from 0 to 20+. This was a measure of tolerance to ingroup diversity.

- 3) Give their level of agreement with 7 items (on a 7-point scale, 1=strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree) measuring prejudice towards immigrants in Greece based on Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher & Wolf, (2006)
- 4) Give their level of agreement with 6 items (on a 7-point scale, 1=strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree) measuring structural discrimination according to Verkuyten and Martinovic (2006)
- 5) Give their level of agreement with 9 items (on a 7-point scale, 1=strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree) measuring policies towards immigration adapted from Pettigrew and Meertens (1995).

#### *Non-manipulated independent variables*

A number of non-manipulated independent variables were measured such as identification with Greeks (a six-items scale); two items measuring beliefs of meritocracy (whoever tries hard succeeds, whoever has the necessary skills will succeed); contact with immigrants following Wagner et al. (2006); political ideology following Papastamou and Prodromitis (2010); perceived vulnerability (following Staerklé, Delay, Gianettoni & Roux, 2007); and perceived economic position of one's family in relation to other families in Greece. All items were measured on 7 points scales (1= strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree). These measures were destined to serve as covariates in order to see whether the effects of the experimental manipulations were beyond people's identification and ideological beliefs.

#### *Covariates*

After checking for reliability, where appropriate, new variables were computed for each

variable by computing the mean score of the corresponding items: national identification ( $\alpha=.841$ ), meritocracy ( $r=.626$ ), vulnerability ( $\alpha=.824$ ). The reliability of the items measuring contact was not satisfactory ( $\alpha=.473$ ) and therefore, no variable was computed. These items will not be analyzed further. Finally, four items measuring left-wing beliefs according to Papastamou and Prodromitis (2010) scale were reversed and then a new variable was computed measuring right-wing ideology ( $\alpha=.618$ ). Along with the family's economic positioning, these new variables will be used as covariates in the analyses.

#### *Multicultural Ideology*

The 10 items of the scale were factor analyzed with oblimin rotation ( $KMO=.785$ ). Three factors emerged explaining 60.391 % of the overall variance. The first factor (eigenvalue=3.7 36.995 % of variance) regrouped items concerning the request to assimilate. Being satisfactorily reliable ( $\alpha=.680$ ) this factor was transformed to a new variable by computing the mean score of the corresponding items. The second factor (eigenvalue=1.178 11.779% of variance) regrouped items in favour of a multicultural organization of society and after a reliability check ( $\alpha=.618$ ) was seemingly computed into a new variable. Finally, the third factor (eigenvalue=1.162 11.618 % of variance) regrouped two items measuring perceived threat to the cohesion of society from the presence of different cultures. Seemingly this factor produced a new computed variable ( $r=.590$ ).

## **Results**

A 3(categorization) x 2(competition) analysis of covariance was performed on each new variable entering as co-variate: national identification, meritocratic beliefs, right-wing ideology, economic vulnerability and family's economic position.

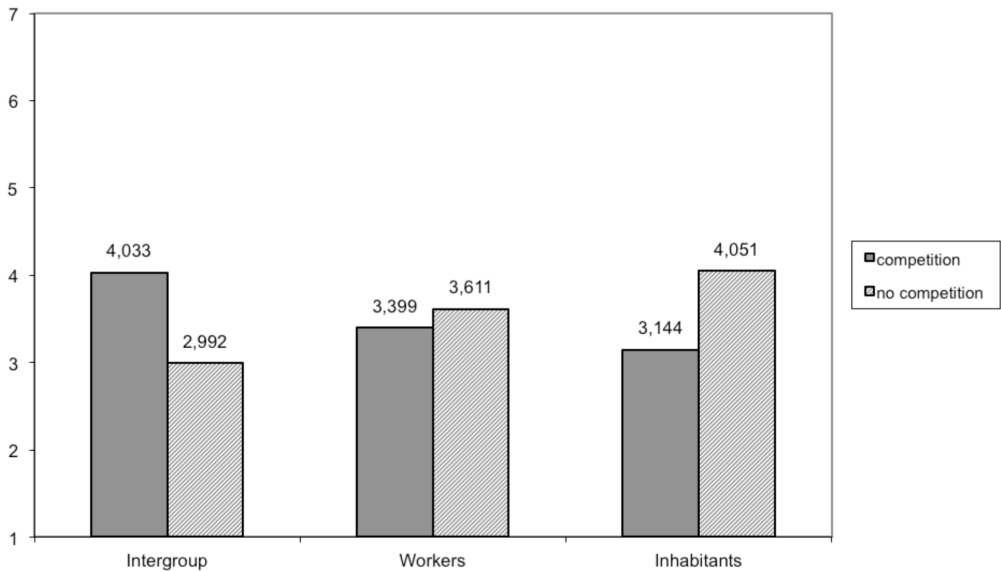


Figure 1. Threat to the cohesion of the society: interaction effects categorization x competition

Regarding *the request for immigrants' assimilation*, no significant main effects or interaction effects were found. However, two covariates were significant: economic vulnerability and the family's position in relation to other families in Greece. These results indicate that the less vulnerable ( $\text{adj}R^2=.041$ ,  $F(1-143)=7.21$   $p<.008$ ,  $b=-.219$   $p<.008$ ) and the richer he/she perceives one's family to be in relation to other families in Greece ( $\text{adj}R^2=.070$ ,  $F(1-142)=11.72$   $p=.001$ ,  $b=.276$   $p=.001$ ), the more he/she believes that immigrants should forget their culture and adopt a Greek way of life. This confirms other findings suggesting that advantaged group members opt for assimilation (Dovidio et al. 2012).

Concerning, *the positive attitude towards multiculturalism*, a main effect of categorization was perceived ( $F(2-143)=4.45$   $p=.026$ ,  $\eta^2=.053$ ). Indeed, and contrary to our hypothesis, *post hoc* analyses indicated that when faced with an intergroup situation with two distinct and different groups, participants

were more positive towards multiculturalism ( $M=4.960$ ,  $SD=.154$ ) than when the two groups were part of a superordinate group of working people ( $M=4.392$   $SD=.160$ ) or inhabitants of Greece ( $M=4.482$   $SD=.170$ ). This result goes against the hypothesis that superordinate memberships could increase tolerance towards a multicultural organization of society and would need to be further explained.

Finally, a similar analysis performed on the perception of *threat to national cohesion* indicated a significant interaction between categorization and competition  $F(2, 143)=6.95$   $p=.001$   $\eta^2=.095$  (figure 1).

Post hoc analyses (Sidak test) have shown that, when competition is salient, there are no significant differences between the three-categorization levels regarding agreement with the idea that national cohesion is threatened. However, when competition is denied then people feel more threatened when a superordinate categorization in terms of

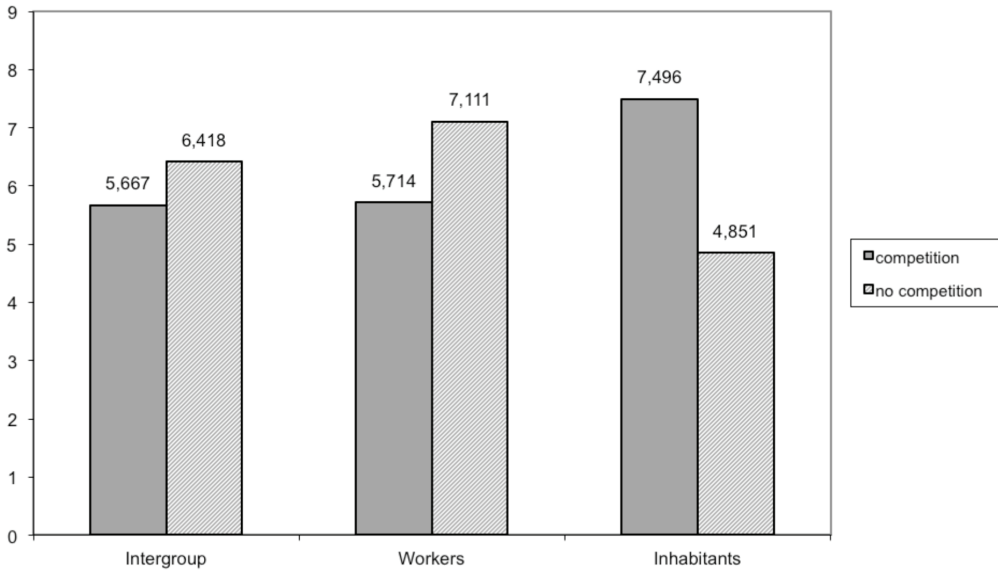


Figure 2. Percentage of immigrants accepted in Greece: interaction effects categorization x competition

“inhabitants” is activated ( $M=4.05$ ,  $SD=.269$ ) than when the control/intergroup condition is presented ( $M=2.99$ ,  $SD=.248$ )  $p=.004$ . Moreover, whereas the inclusion to a superordinate group of “workers” does not differentiate significantly opinions about national cohesion between the conditions of competition, post hoc comparisons have indicated that in both the control/intergroup condition and the “inhabitants” condition the differences are significant. Indeed, people feel that the national cohesion is more threatened in an intergroup situation (control condition) when competition between groups is acknowledged ( $M=4.03$ ,  $SD=.268$ ) than when competition is denied ( $M=2.99$ ,  $SD=.248$ )  $p=.008$ , whereas the contrary is true for the category “inhabitants”. Under this common ingroup, people feel that national cohesion is more threatened when competition is denied ( $M=4.051$ ,  $SD=.269$ ), than when competition is redirected ( $M=3.144$ ,  $SD=.291$ )  $p=.007$ . This result confirms our hypothesis that including locals

and immigrants to a common group such as “inhabitants of a country” would increase perceptions of threat unless competition is redirected towards other countries.

#### *Tolerance for Diversity: the percentage of immigrants in Greece*

Again a 3(categorization) x 2(competition) analysis of covariance was performed on the item “the wished percentage of immigrants in Greece” entering as covariates national identification, meritocratic beliefs, right-wing ideology, economic vulnerability and family’s economic position. Here, Right-wing ideology was significant as a covariate. These results indicate that the more right-wing one is ( $\text{adj}R^2=.073$ ,  $F(1-139)=12.01$   $p<.001$ ,  $b=-.282$   $p<.001$ ) the smaller percentage of immigrants in the country one wishes. Moreover, the analysis indicated a significant interaction between levels of categorization and competition  $F(2,139)=4.75$   $p=.01$   $\eta^2=.069$  (figure 2).



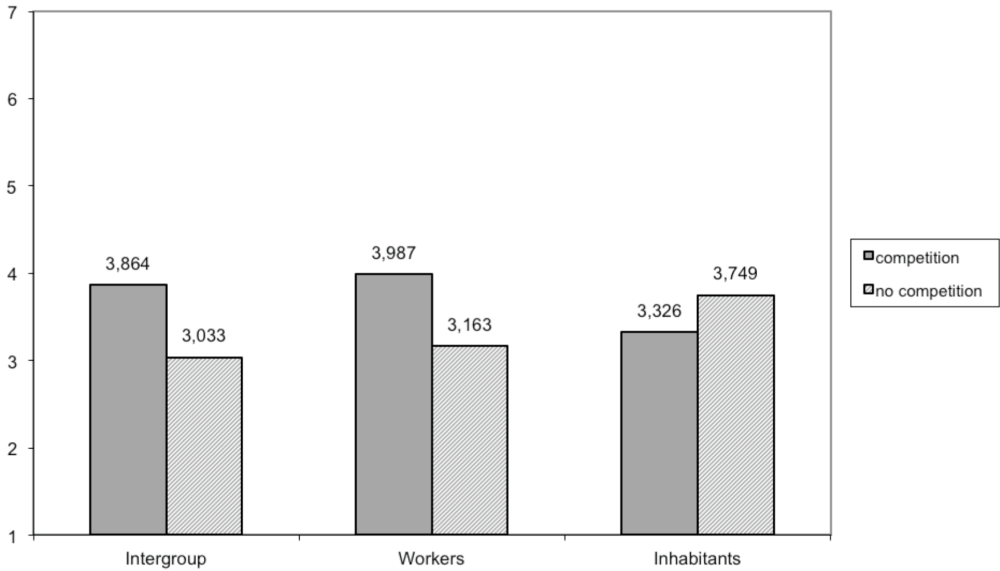


Figure 3. Negative policies towards immigrants: interaction effects categorization x competition

As post hoc analyses (Sidak test) have shown this result is mainly due to the fact that when locals and immigrants are re-categorized as inhabitants, people reduce considerably the percentage of immigrants they feel acceptable when competition is denied and not re-directed towards people of other countries in comparison to when competition is re-directed towards other groups. Again, this result confirms our second hypothesis.

#### *Policies towards immigrants*

Those items concerned mainly policies aiming to repatriate immigrants. After checking for reliability ( $\alpha = .869$ ), a new variable was constructed by averaging the scores of the items regarding policies towards immigrants and a similar ANCOVA was conducted. Here, Right-wing ideology and identification with Greeks were significant covariates. These results indicate that the more right-wing one is ( $\text{adj}R^2 = .217$ ,  $F(1-143) = 40.92$   $p < .001$ ,  $b = .472$   $p < .001$ ) the more one agrees with

negative policies towards immigrants. Moreover, the more one identified with being Greek the more likely it was that he/she supported these policies ( $\text{adj}R^2 = .109$ ,  $F(1-143) = 18.63$   $p < .001$ ,  $b = .340$   $p < .001$ ). Further, the analysis revealed a main effect of competition  $F(1-143) = 4.89$   $p = .029$   $\eta^2 = .036$  indicating that when competition was salient, people were more inclined to support negative policies ( $M = 3.73$   $SD = .132$ ) than when competition was silenced ( $M = 3.32$   $SD = .128$ )  $p = .029$ . However, this result was qualified by a significant interaction between categorization and competition  $F(2-143) = 4.84$   $p = .009$   $\eta^2 = .068$  (figure 3).

As post hoc analyses (Sidak test) have shown, although in both the intergroup and “workers” conditions people were more supportive of negative policies when competition was salient than when it was silenced, this difference was not significant in the condition of “inhabitants” where, independently of competition, support was equally high. Thus,

when competition is salient in an intergroup condition or when immigrants are re-categorized in a single group (workers) that is opposed to another (employers) in the same society, people support negative policies towards migrants. Whereas when immigrants are re-categorized in a group in which they maintain their distinctiveness (inhabitants), people equally support negative policies independently to the re-direction of competition.

### *Structural Racism and Prejudice*

After checking for their reliability, the items measuring structural racism ( $\alpha = .735$ ) and the items measuring prejudice ( $\alpha = .858$ ) towards immigrants were computed into new variables and similar ANCOVAs were performed. These analyses indicated no significant main effects or significant interaction between the experimental variables for either racism or prejudice. Only right-wing ideology was a significant covariate indicating that the more right-wing one is ( $\text{adj}R^2 = .096$ ,  $F(1-143) = 15.13$   $p < .001$ ,  $b = -.309$   $p < .001$ ) the less he/she acknowledges structural racism towards immigrants and the more prejudice towards them he/she displays ( $\text{adj}R^2 = .244$ ,  $F(1-143) = 47.47$   $p < .001$ ,  $b = .499$   $p < .001$ ). These results do not follow our hypotheses. Moreover, the fact that re-categorization did not reduce prejudice constitutes a finding that needs to be further discussed.

### **Concluding remarks**

The main argument here is that, although social psychological research has brought evidence that including minority groups to larger superordinate ingroups reduces prejudice, these inclusive groups may be of different nature and perhaps are not ideologically neutral. It was shown empirically that the framing of immigrants and natives as two distinct groups, as part of working people or as inhabitants of Greece, in interaction with the salience of competition influences the way

people perceive the presence of immigrants and this beyond participants' national identification, meritocratic beliefs, right-wing ideology, economic vulnerability and family's economic position.

We found that multicultural ideology has three components: a) an appeal for assimilation that is mainly advocated by those who feel less economically vulnerable and who position their families as being better-off. Other research has shown that members of advantaged groups are more keen to talk about commonalities between groups (Sanguy, Dovidio & Pratto 2008, Dovidio et al. 2012). In this case, claiming assimilation might be a hegemonic strategy and is not influenced by the level of categorization or the competition between groups; b) positive attitudes towards multiculturalism that, contrary to expectations, are greater when people perceive immigrants and locals as two different groups. Research has indicated that the perception of the meaning given to the common ingroup constitutes a boundary to common ingroup identity to reduce biases (Rutchick & Eccleston 2010). This might also indicate that people reject the idea of a common ingroup, but are willing to see positive aspects in multiculturalism if groups are distinct and perhaps when migrants are not included in a common ingroup; and c) a threat to national cohesion. This last component was sensitive to our manipulation: although for the category "workers" the salience of competition did not alter perceptions of threat, the absence of competition reduced perceptions of threat to societal cohesion in the intergroup situation and increased threat in the condition of the inclusive group of "inhabitants". It would seem that, when conflict is not redirected towards external groups, in a common group that does not imply necessarily commonalities (the group of inhabitants), threat to national cohesion increases, as it is in the (control) intergroup condition when competition is acknowledged. Similar results were observed with regard to tolerance to diversity measured

as the percentage of immigrants accepted in the country. When immigrants and locals are re-categorized as “inhabitants”, people accept a significantly lower percentage of immigrants when there is no re-directing of competition towards other groups. Finally, both in the intergroup condition and the single group implying commonalities (workers), more negative policies are expected when competition is acknowledged or re-directed towards employers, whereas there is no difference between levels of competition when it comes to the group of inhabitants. Thus, not all superordinate ingroups have the same consequences for a more tolerant perception of immigrants. When it comes to the common ingroup “inhabitants” transposing competition seems to be beneficial to immigrants’ perception since it reduces threat to national cohesion, increases willingness to accept more immigrants in the country (than when competition is not acknowledged) and reduces support for negative immigration policies in comparison with other forms of categorization. Re-direction of competition in the case of a single group implying commonalities in terms of material position (all workers against employers) does not seem so beneficial to migrants, since in this case, people tolerate less migrants in the country, accept more negative policies and do not differ in relation to societal cohesion. Perhaps cohesion is perceived to be threatened at a class level and not because of the presence of different cultural/ethnic groups in society. In the intergroup situation (control) the acknowledgement of conflict was more detrimental to migrants in relation to societal cohesion, percentage of migrants in the country and policies towards them.

What we also found, is first that prejudice and perceptions of racism were not sensitive to the experimental manipulation and secondly that prejudice and racism were not reduced in the re-categorization conditions. Instead, right-wing ideology, as in other instances, played an important role in predicting both these variables.

*A posteriori* we could say that the different sensitivity of the dependent variables to the manipulation might be due to their different nature. Prejudice might be considered a state of mind towards outgroups and, therefore, sensitive to personal ideological stances such as right-wing ideology. Recent discussion on prejudice suggests that a focus on prejudice reduction might sidetrack unequal relations between groups and thus impede struggles for social justice (Dixon et al. 2012; Dovidio et al., 2012). Policies are in fact expectations or requests from governments (what governments should do in relation to migrants) and the framing of the situation in terms of how groups are categorized and the acknowledgement of competition influence the level of support they get. Finally, multicultural ideology concerns ideological beliefs about the social order (Chrysochoou 2018; Staerklé et al., 2012). Thus, people’s position (cf. results on assimilation), the maintenance of distinctiveness of the groups in a multicultural social order (cf. results on positive multiculturalism) or the transposition of competition at another level (cf. results on societal cohesion) are important factors influencing perceptions. Although these might seem speculative, the point remains that, when it comes to real social situations, general processes such as categorization need to be specified. Our results indicate that not all superordinate groups have the same consequences and that redirection of competition should, in some cases, be part of the discourse on immigration. It would seem that when the common ingroup maintains the distinctive groups, redirection of competition is beneficial to migrants. On the contrary, when the common ingroup blends other memberships and emphasizes commonalities the redirection of the competition is not beneficial and the levels of threat and intolerance are the same as in the intergroup situation. The framing should, therefore, be taken into account before proposing strategies for the better integration of

immigrants. Our results indicate, for example, that stressing commonalities in terms of material position and at the same time making salient the competition between the common ingroup and an advantaged group may not be beneficial to the perception of migrants. Thus, communications including migrants to the common group of workers might have a perverse effect. Seemingly communicating that migrants are included in a common group of inhabitants is beneficial only when competition is exported towards external to the common ingroup groups.

To conclude, two words of caution are needed: a) this research was done in a country without colonial past, with recent immigration waves and in the middle of a severe economic crisis; b) the target here were “immigrants” in general. Further research should be done in other European countries and with different target groups in order to specify further under which framing immigration would be more accepted in Europe.

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## Ποιο είναι το «ΕΜΕΙΣ» που μπορεί να συμπεριλάβει τους μετανάστες; Διαφορετικές όψεις «κοινών ενδο-ομάδων» και διομαδικός ανταγωνισμός

ΞΕΝΙΑ ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΟΥ<sup>1</sup> & ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup>

### ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η παρούσα πειραματική μελέτη με Έλληνες συμμετέχοντες διερευνά κατά πόσον ορισμένες κοινές ενδοομάδες που μπορεί να συμπεριλάβουν τους μετανάστες, σε αλληλεπίδραση με τον διομαδικό ανταγωνισμό μπορεί να αποτελέσουν μεγαλύτερη απειλή για τους υποδεχόμενους μεταναστευτικούς πληθυσμούς. Τα αποτελέσματα δείχνουν ότι όταν η κοινή ενδοομάδα μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ότι συμπεριλαμβάνει διαφορετικές και διακριτές ομάδες (όπως πχ «κάτοικοι της χώρας») τότε η εξαγωγή του ανταγωνισμού σε ομάδες εκτός της κοινής (όπως κάτοικοι άλλων χωρών) μπορεί να είναι θετική για την ευμενή πρόσληψη των μεταναστών. Αντίθετα, όταν η κοινή ενδοομάδα είναι μια ομάδα που αναμιγνύει τα μέλη της και προωθεί τα κοινά τους χαρακτηριστικά (πχ εργαζόμενοι), η εξαγωγή του ανταγωνισμού σε μια εξωομάδα (πχ εργοδότες) μπορεί να είναι αρνητική για την πρόσληψη των μεταναστών και να επιτρέψει την εμφάνιση αρνητικών προσλήψεων για τους μετανάστες σχεδόν στα ίδια επίπεδα με την περίπτωση όπου μια κοινή ενδοομάδα δεν είναι ευκρινής. Τα αποτελέσματα αυτά έχουν συνέπειες τόσο για την κοινωνιοψυχολογική θεωρία διομαδικών σχέσεων και κοινής ενδοομαδικής ταυτότητας όσο και για τους μετανάστες που επιδιώκουν την ένταξή τους στις κοινότητες υποδοχής.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Μετανάστευση, Κοινή ενδο-ομαδική ταυτότητα, διομαδικός ανταγωνισμός

1. Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο Κοινωνικών και Πολιτικών Επιστημών

\*Στοιχεία επικοινωνίας: Ξένια Χρυσοχόου, Τμήμα Ψυχολογίας, Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο Κοινωνικών και Πολιτικών Επιστημών, Συγγρού 136, 17671 Αθήνα. Email: xeniachr@panteion.gr