Values Predict Willingness to Interact With Immigrants: The Role of Cultural Ideology and Multicultural Acquisition

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Abstract

As globalization advances, immigration has increasingly been contested. Psychological studies of immigration, which are frequently conducted in Western contexts, have established a link between attitudes toward immigrants and individual values. In two studies, the present research investigates this link between values and favorability toward immigrants in an Asian nation with a high proportion of immigrants, Singapore, and considers differences in cultural ideologies and multicultural acquisition, based on the assumption that cultural ideologies and multicultural acquisition share broader underlying motivations with self-transcendence (growth and anxiety-free) and conservation values (protection and anxiety-avoidance). In Study 1, the cultural ideologies of multiculturalism and color blindness, as reified in the Singapore context, explained how self-transcendence and conservation values predict willingness to interact with immigrants. Greater support for multiculturalism mediated the positive relationship between self-transcendence values and favorability toward immigrants. Lower support for color blindness mediated the negative relationship between conservation values and favorability toward immigrants. In Study 2, experimentally induced self-transcendence and conservation values interacted with multicultural acquisition to affect willingness to interact with immigrants. Self-transcendence increased favorability toward immigrants for people with greater multicultural acquisition. Conservation decreased favorability toward immigrants for people with less multicultural acquisition. This research has implications for demonstrating that the cultural context matters for addressing how and among whom to improve intercultural contact in diverse, globalized societies.

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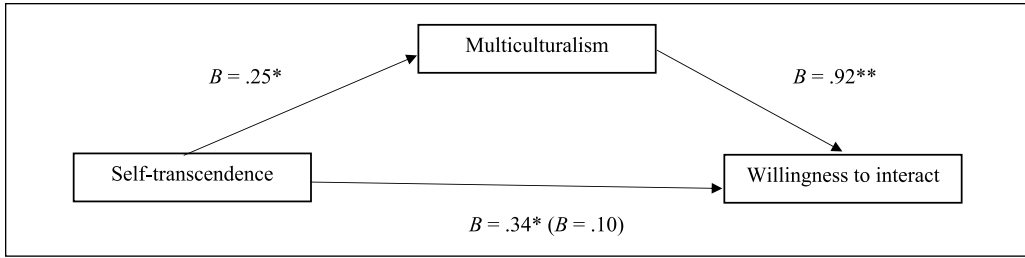Email: psysyhm@nus.edu.sg

Figure 1. Self-transcendence increases willingness to interact with PRC immigrants, as mediated by support for multiculturalism.
Note. Self-Enhancement, Openness, and Conservation were covariates. PRC = People's Republic of China.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .001$.

Given widespread globalization, immigration has been a polarizing issue all over the world. On one hand, some stakeholders emphasize the benefits of immigration and welcome the opportunities for growth that immigration brings. On the other hand, others emphasize the disadvantages of immigration and see it as a source of unwanted foreign influence. Accordingly, the importance of studying the psychology of reactions to globalization and attitudes toward immigrants has been highlighted by various researchers (e.g., Ariely, 2017; Chiu, Gries, Torelli, & Cheng, 2011; Snider, Reysen, & Katzarska-Miller, 2013; Vecchione, Caprara, Schoen, Castro, & Schwartz, 2012; Verkuyten, 2018).

Despite the progress that has been made to identify the antecedents to anti-immigrant prejudice, much of the research has been conducted in North America and Europe. With very few exceptions (e.g., Ramsay & Pang, 2017; Tong, Hui, Kwan, & Peng, 2011), little attention has been given to the psychology of anti-immigrant prejudice in non-Western countries. Yet, beyond North America and Europe, many other countries are facing new waves of immigrants and seeking to manage challenges that might be different from those found in Western countries. The current research addresses this gap by examining the relationship between values and willingness to interact with immigrants in Singapore.

Like many European, North American, and some Asian contexts (e.g., Hong Kong, Macau), Singapore has faced an increase in immigration. Indeed, Singapore stands out as a highly diverse and globalized country, where nearly 30% of the population is foreign born (Department of Statistics, Singapore, 2019). Similar to Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan, Singapore has one of the lowest birth rates in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). Relatedly, the Singapore government has proposed increasing immigration as a potential solution for a declining and aging population. The push for greater immigration culminated in the Population White Paper (National Population & Talent Division, 2013), outlining the government's official commitment to recruit 15,000 to 25,000 new citizens every year as a way to expand Singapore's population to 6.9 million by 2030. This White Paper was highly controversial, as citizens expressed different levels of acceptance toward immigrants.

To understand prejudice (or acceptance) toward immigrants in Singapore, we conducted two studies to examine the extent to which self-transcendence and conservation values predict the willingness to interact with immigrants. Self-transcendence values emphasize concerns for others, and conservation values emphasize concerns for the preservation of the status quo. These values are similar in sharing a social focus, but they also differ in that self-transcendence is motivational under anxiety-free circumstances, whereas conservation is motivational under anxiety-avoidance conditions (see Figure 1; Schwartz et al., 2012). The broad motivations underlying these values (growth versus protection) and the circumstances under which they are influential (anxiety-free vs. anxiety-avoidance) have implications for how and among whom these values

predict favorability toward immigrants. By examining the relationship between values and anti-immigrant prejudice in Singapore, we hope to shed light on how the sociocultural context matters for the values–prejudice link.

In Study 1, we examined *cultural ideology* (i.e., support for multiculturalism or color blindness) as mediators of the link between values and prejudice. Support for *multiculturalism*, an ideology that highlights differences between groups, involves an appreciation of the benefits of diversity and promotes a willingness to learn and celebrate such differences (see Plaut, 2010; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). A *colourblind* ideology, however, involves ignoring differences between groups so that an individual is not judged as inherently superior or inferior based on their group membership (see Plaut, 2010; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). Self-transcendence values and multiculturalism both involve an orientation toward growth, whereas conservation values and color blindness both involve concerns about protecting the existing social hierarchy. As explained later, the reification of these two ideologies in the sociocultural context in Singapore should influence how they account for the values-prejudice link.

In Study 2, we examined *multicultural acquisition*, which refers to a proactive response to globalization that involves strategies to maximize gains from intercultural contact (Chen et al., 2016), as a potential moderator of the relationship between values and prejudice. As explained later, having greater multicultural acquisition facilitates the anxiety-free conditions under which self-transcendence values are expected to be impactful. Similarly, having less multicultural acquisition facilitates the anxiety-avoidance conditions under which conservation values are influential.

To summarize, examining the mediating role of cultural ideology in Study 1 allows us to consider how it shapes the individual's psychological experience of values and immigrant attitudes. In addition, examining the role of multicultural acquisition in Study 2 helps us understand among whom the relationship between values and willingness to interact with immigrants is stronger.

Values and Willingness to Interact With Immigrants

Values refer to mental representations for broad desirable goals that are relevant across situations and organized into a hierarchy of personal priorities (Maio, 2010; Rokeach, 1968; Schwartz, 1992). In prior research, values have been examined as pre-existing individual differences (e.g., Bardi & Goodwin, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2012) or situationally salient tendencies (e.g., Maio & Olson, 1995; Maio, Pakizeh, Cheung, & Rees, 2009; Rokeach, 1973). There are various reasons why it is appropriate to examine values as an antecedent of willingness to interact with immigrants in Singapore. First, there is much evidence that the content and structure of values are consistent across cultures (Schwartz, 1992), and more recent investigations that examine a wider range of countries, including Singapore and other Asian countries, have found the same (Liem, Martin, Nair, Bernardo, & Prasetya, 2011; Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). Because the conceptualization and measurement of values are valid in Singapore, prior research on values and perceptions of immigration should be useful for guiding hypotheses about the relationship between values and prejudice toward immigrants in Singapore.

Second, theorizing on the motivational underpinnings of values should guide predictions regarding the willingness to interact with immigrants (e.g., Maio, 2010; Sagiv, Roccas, Cieciuch, & Schwartz, 2017; Schwartz et al., 2012). Values that have a social focus (i.e., *self-transcendence* and *conservation*; see Table 1) should be particularly relevant to the investigation of anti-immigrant prejudice. Self-transcendence values have two defining characteristics. First, they are underlined by a broader motivation for self-expansion and growth. Second, they are especially influential on attitudes and behaviors under anxiety-free conditions. More

Table 1. Values and Their Motivational Goals.

Focus		Values	Motivational goals
Social Focus	Growth/Anxiety-Free	Self-Transcendence	Emphasizing acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare
	Protection/Anxiety-Avoidance	Conservation	Submissive self-restriction, preservation of traditional practices, and protection of stability
Personal Focus	Growth/Anxiety-Free	Openness to Change	Own independent thought and action and favoring change
	Self-Protection/Anxiety-Avoidance	Self-Enhancement	Emphasizing pursuit of one's own relative success and dominance over others

specifically, self-transcendence values involve concerns for the welfare of people with whom one interacts regularly (i.e., benevolence) and for the welfare of all including outgroups (i.e., universalism). Of relevance to the current research, the emphasis on growth and concern for others in self-transcendence values should encourage people to embrace differences among various groups. This suggests that self-transcendence values should promote support for multiculturalism and thus more favorability toward immigrants in Singapore. In addition, self-transcendence is most likely to motivate people when they are relatively free of anxiety, and not when they are seeking to avoid any anxiety-arousing threat. This suggests that self-transcendence values should be more impactful on acceptance toward immigrants among people with a proactive orientation to navigate any intercultural environment, that is, among local-born hosts with greater multicultural acquisition.

In contrast, conservation values are underlined by a broader motivation for protection and are especially impactful under anxiety-avoidance circumstances. More specifically, conservation values emphasize the protection of established institutions through prioritizing the stability of society (i.e., security), upholding social norms (i.e., conformity), and respecting customs (i.e., tradition). Of relevance to the current research, the emphasis on protection should discourage the support of any cultural ideology that is viewed as threatening the existing hierarchy. In the context of Singapore, conservation values should reduce support for color blindness and thus lead to less favorability toward immigrants. In addition, the anxiety-avoidance aspect of conservation values also suggests that conservation values should be especially influential on prejudice toward immigrants among those with low competence to navigate any intercultural environment, that is, among local-born hosts with less multicultural acquisition.

Third, there is much empirical evidence that suggests a strong link between self-transcendence and conservation values to attitudes toward immigration (Davidov & Semyonov, 2017; Sagiv et al., 2017). Majority group members, or host citizens, who place more importance on self-transcendence than conservation values show more positive attitudes toward immigration (Davidov & Meuleman, 2012; Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet, & Schmidt, 2008; Davidov, Meulemann, Schwartz, & Schmidt, 2014; Vecchione et al., 2012). This link stems from self-transcendence values (i.e., universalism, benevolence) fostering tolerance toward different others (e.g., immigrants) and from conservation (i.e., security, conformity, tradition) values fostering preservation of the existing social arrangements and thus rejecting immigrants (Sagiv et al., 2017). For example, Davidov and colleagues (2008) demonstrated in 17 European countries that higher scores on self-transcendence values predict more support for immigration and higher scores on conservation values predict less support for immigration. While the evidence in Europe leads us to expect that relationships between values and acceptance toward immigrants might be similar in Singapore, new questions are also raised regarding how and among whom these value–prejudice relationships might occur in a Singapore context.

Current Research

Although past research has advanced our understanding of the role of values in perceptions of immigration policies and outgroup members, there are some remaining issues. First, it remains unclear whether values such as self-transcendence or conservation also play a role in the willingness to interact with immigrants. While reasonable to assume that the influence of values on perceptions of immigration policies will generalize to willingness to interact with immigrants, it would be ideal to provide empirical evidence for this assumption. Besides, although prior research has examined the relationship between values and prejudice in Singapore, various outgroups (including local minorities and Western immigrants) were lumped together as a target group (Roets, Au, & Van Hiel, 2015). Due to the present research's interest in psychological reactions in the context of globalization, the current studies examined the willingness to interact only with immigrants, and not local minorities. Moreover, we focused on immigrants from People's Republic of China (PRC), because PRC immigrants were viewed with the highest levels of prejudice compared to other groups such as Western immigrants in Singapore (Ramsay & Pang, 2017). Indeed, a common negative perception of PRC Chinese is that, unlike Singaporean Chinese, Singaporean Malays, and Singaporean Indians, PRC Chinese are newcomers who have not helped the country while it was still a struggling economy and who do not understand the multiracial nature of Singaporeans' national identity (e.g., Ortiga, 2015). Thus, the current research seeks to test the following hypotheses in two studies:

> **Hypothesis 1a (H1a):** Self-transcendence values would positively predict Singaporeans' willingness to interact with PRC immigrants.
> **Hypothesis 1b (H1b):** Conservation values would negatively predict Singaporeans' willingness to interact with PRC immigrants.

The Mediating Role of Cultural Ideology

The current research also aims to explore *how* values influence willingness to interact with immigrants. In line with a growing focus on examining contextual influences on intergroup relations, researchers have increasingly called for closer attention to the implications of cultural ideologies such as multiculturalism and color blindness (e.g., Noor & Leong, 2013; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Ward, Szabo, & Stuart, 2016). In the extant literature, most of which is based on research conducted in Western countries, the evidence seems to favor multiculturalism over color blindness as an effective intervention for reducing prejudice (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). That is, color blindness sometimes leads to less prejudice (Rios, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010), but other times lead to greater prejudice (e.g., Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). In short, while there has been much less debate among scholars about the benefits of multiculturalism for prejudice reduction, many have cautioned against color blindness for a variety of reasons.

Before we discuss multiculturalism and color blindness in Singapore, we consider the mixed implications of color blindness in the extant literature. On one hand, some perspectives suggest that support for color blindness should negatively predict acceptance toward a minority group. For instance, some scholars posit that color blindness has evolved into an ideological rhetoric that legitimizes the status quo and helps dominant group members and legal or policy outcomes appear unprejudiced (e.g., Plaut, 2010). Relatedly, when threat is situationally manipulated to be salient to dominant members, those who are motivated to maintain the existing hierarchy construe color blindness as equality in treatment for all groups to maintain the status quo (Chow & Knowles, 2016; Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009). Under these conditions (e.g., an outgroup is doing well at the expense of one's ingroup), these dominant members recast color blindness as treatment equality (i.e., procedural justice) to justify unequal outcomes.

However, other perspectives suggest that color blindness should positively predict acceptance toward minority groups. Some point out that color blindness remains prominent in the United States as an ideology that challenges the status quo, as popularized by Martin Luther King, Jr., such that a "distributive justice construal is the default" (p. 860; Knowles et al., 2009). According to this perspective, the default construal of color blindness as outcome equality in the United States occurs among both dominants who are high and low in their motivation to maintain the existing hierarchy. Additional research suggests that in Canada, such concerns about outcome equality are heightened among dominant members who care about meritocracy.[1] That is, among those who strongly endorse meritocracy, greater perceptions of discrimination predicted more support for affirmative action (Son Hing, Bobocel, & Zanna, 2002). Such research suggests that when people acknowledge the ways that discrimination biases the assessment of merit, color-conscious policies such as affirmative action are seen as a precondition to recognizing merit. Although a color-conscious attempt to remove barriers for structurally disadvantaged individuals may seem to contradict the principles of color blindness, it aims to produce the type of colour-blind outcomes advocated by King (see also Chow & Knowles, 2016).

Beyond the distributive justice construal of color blindness, social–cognitive perspectives about the advantages of color blindness have emphasized the dangers of social categorization (e.g., Brewer & Miller, 1984; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Thus, one implication is that color blindness should reduce prejudice by encouraging people to view others as unique individuals instead of as members of a group (see also Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). The positive consequences of color blindness for reducing prejudice were demonstrated in prior findings in New Zealand (Yogeeswaran, Davies, & Sibley, 2017) where color blindness helped to ameliorate prejudice toward minority groups among those who prefer to maintain a hierarchy. Similarly, White participants in some states in the United States who are motivated to maintain ingroup dominance were found to be less supportive of color blindness and consequently more prejudiced toward various minority groups (Levin et al., 2012).

Multiculturalism in Singapore

Singapore is an interesting cultural context because the government pursues both multiculturalism and color blindness in its policies, often for the purpose of upholding meritocracy (Moore, 2000; Noor & Leong, 2013; Tan, 2008). Singapore is often and strongly associated with multiculturalism because of its diverse ethnic make-up (i.e., Chinese, Malay, Indian), and because of its bilingual education system, which recognizes native languages as the "mother tongue" to facilitate the maintenance of different ethnic identities (Noor & Leong, 2013). In post-colonial multiracial Singapore, these multicultural policies were aimed at managing ethnic diversity at the national level. In fact, being part of a multiracial society is an important basis of Singaporeans' national identity (e.g., Moore, 2000).

We suggest that institutional support for multiculturalism in Singapore sets the stage for a positive relationship between individuals' support for multiculturalism and acceptance of immigrants, to the extent that support for multiculturalism generalizes from embracing different local ethnic groups to embracing immigrants. Furthermore, multiculturalism is more effective at reducing prejudice when it is framed as learning from others (e.g., Rios & Wynn, 2016). Therefore, individuals who prioritize self-transcendence, and thus, emphasize growth and concern for others, should be more likely to go beyond viewing multiculturalism as just institutional initiatives and instead consider the beneficial learning opportunities it provides and consequently endorse it. Put differently, support for multiculturalism is a likely mechanism for the positive relationship between self-transcendence and acceptance of immigrants in Singapore.

Thus, the current research tests the following hypothesis in Study 1:

Hypothesis 2a (H2a): The positive relationship between self-transcendence values and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants would be mediated by greater support for multiculturalism.

Color Blindness in Singapore

Singapore's pursuit of color blindness is also informed by its preference for meritocracy (Moore, 2000; Tan, 2008). On one hand, the pursuit of meritocracy can lead to the justification of inequalities between groups as being attributable to differences in talent or effort. This approach often co-occurs with the denial of pre-existing disparities that should not account for differences in rewards or outcomes. On the other hand, endorsing meritocracy can lead to vigilance for any group being disadvantaged due to some undeserving factor. The latter approach has been adopted by the Singapore government, such that the perception of fair competition is encouraged by policies that include matching financial support to ethnic minority organizations and minimum quotas for access to affordable public housing for ethnic minorities, with the assumption that such policies address pre-existing disparities (Moore, 2000). Besides, to attain political legitimacy, the government has relied on strategies to convince Singaporeans that the playing field is leveled for individuals from all walks of lives such that they can distinguish themselves in a highly competitive, merit-based education system (Tan, 2008).

Whether the Singapore government's efforts are sincere or strategic, the existence of these policies means the acknowledgment that structural factors exist from which unfair discrimination and intergroup inequality can arise. Of most relevance, citizens are encouraged to view color blindness as an ideology that upholds meritocracy by ensuring that deserving or qualified individuals do not get fewer rewards than others even if they belong to a different group based on their ethnicity or their country of origin (see also Son Hing et al., 2002). This also means that color blindness functions as a hierarchy-attenuating ideology that benefits immigrants who can claim access to the same resources and rewards that local-born citizens enjoy, such that it should be rejected by dominant members who are motivated to maintain the status quo.

Thus, the current research tests the following hypothesis in Study 1:

Hypothesis 2b (H2b): The negative relationship between conservation values and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants would be mediated by lower support for color blindness.[2]

The Moderating Role of Multicultural Acquisition

Besides cultural ideologies, individual differences in multicultural acquisition also overlap with self-transcendence values and conservation values in the extents of anxiety-free versus anxiety-avoidance tendencies. As established by data from Hong Kong, an Asian context that is similar to Singapore in being highly globalized, individuals with greater multicultural acquisition are focused on positive outcomes, which are attained via others-oriented strategies that include learning languages from other cultures and seeking out friendships (Chen et al., 2016). Perhaps because of their success with such growth-oriented strategies, these individuals also tend to have less overall anxiety, more positive expectations about intercultural contact, and more support for multiculturalism. In the context of willingness to interact with immigrants, these individuals should be more likely to activate standards that are consistent with situationally salient self-transcendence values, which have been theorized to impact attitudes and behavior more under anxiety-free conditions. Thus, we explored the possibility that the positive relationship between self-transcendence and willingness to interact with immigrants as hypothesized in Study 1 would be greater among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition.

In comparison, individuals with less multicultural acquisition find it more difficult to navigate intercultural contact and tend to report lower well-being and greater anxiety and stress. Although we know of no research that has examined the relationship between having a weak multicultural acquisition and rejecting color blindness, both have been shown to be underlined by an avoidance focus. That is, individuals with less multicultural acquisition tend to be more worried about failure (Chen et al., 2016), and color blindness increases concerns about failures at intergroup exchanges (Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009). Of importance, these individuals should be more likely to activate standards that are consistent with situationally salient conservation values, which have been theorized to influence attitudes and behavior more under anxiety-avoidance conditions. Thus, we explored the possibility that the negative relationship between conservation and favorability toward immigrants as hypothesized for Study 1 would be greater among individuals with less multicultural acquisition.

That is, the current research tests the following hypotheses in Study 2:

> **Hypothesis 3a (H3a):** Multicultural acquisition would moderate the positive relationship between self-transcendence and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants such that it would be greater among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition.
> **Hypothesis 3b (H3b):** Multicultural acquisition would moderate the negative relationship between conservation and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants such that it would be greater among individuals with weaker multicultural acquisition.

Summary

The present research aims to examine the relationships between values and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants in Singapore. Beyond establishing the direction of the relationship between values and favorability toward immigrants in a non-Western context, the present research also explores how and among whom the relationships occur. Examining the role of cultural ideologies in how the relationships occur enables us to engage with a long-standing literature on the effects of support for or rejection of multiculturalism and color blindness on prejudice toward immigrants. Examining the individual difference of multicultural acquisition allows us to build on emerging research on intercultural relations in the context of globalization and has implications for our prediction of the effectiveness of any tailored pro-immigrant intervention for different groups of people within a society.

Study 1

Method

Participants. Participants were 100 undergraduates (38 males, 61 females, 1 unreported; $M_{age} = 22.3$, $SD_{age} = 4.48$ years; 89 were Chinese, 4 were Malay, 4 were Indian, and 3 were Eurasian) from National University of Singapore who were all local-born Singaporeans and who completed the study for partial course credit.[3]

Procedure and materials. Groups of between one and seven participants per session completed the study in visually isolated cubicles in a computer laboratory. Upon arrival, they indicated their informed consent and were then presented with the questionnaires in a random order. All questionnaires were administered in English. They then completed demographic questions before they were debriefed and thanked for their time.

Predictor variables
   Values. We used the Twenty-Item Values Inventory (TwIVI; Sandy, Gosling, Schwartz, & Koelkebeck, 2016), which was developed as a brief measure of values that were previously

Table 2. Scale Reliability and Descriptive Statistics for Values in Study 1.

Value	A	M	SD
Self-Transcendence	.77	4.72	0.79
Conservation	.66	3.75	0.82
Openness to Change	.78	4.31	0.80
Self-Enhancement	.74	3.39	0.87

captured by the 40-item Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz, 2003). Following the model in Schwartz et al. (2012), the *self-transcendence* value is computed as the average of TwIVI items that assessed benevolence (two items) and universalism (two items). Examples include "It is important to him or her to respond to the needs of others. She or he tries to support those she or he knows," and "She or he thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. She or he believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life." The *conservation* value is computed as the average of TwIVI items that assessed conformity (two items), security (two items), and tradition (two items). Examples include "Having a stable government is important to him or her. She or he is concerned that the social order be protected," and "It is important to him or her to always behave properly. She or he wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong."

To be comprehensive, we also assessed the personal focus values of *self-enhancement* (which includes two achievement items and two power items) and *openness to change* (which includes two stimulation items, two self-direction items, and two hedonism items). Including personal focus values allow us to control for their personal importance and rule out the alternative explanation that any effects are due to acquiescence to the endorsement of values in general. Participants responded on a 6-point scale (1 = *not at all like me*, 6 = *very much like me*) and higher scores meant greater personal importance of the value (see Table 2 for descriptives).

Mediators

Multiculturalism. Participants completed 28 items, which were adapted from the Multicultural Attitude Scale (Breugelmans & Van De Vijver, 2004). Examples are "I think that it is good for Singapore to have different groups with a distinct cultural background living in this country" and "I think that the unity of Singapore is weakened by immigrants (reverse-coded)." Participants responded on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Scores from items were reverse-coded where necessary before an average was computed. Higher scores indicated greater support for multiculturalism (α = .87, M = 4.71, SD = 0.64).

Color blindness. Participants reported their support for color blindness by responding to four items that were identical to the ones used in prior research (Knowles et al., 2009), such as "People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human" and "Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual." The scores from all items were then averaged such that higher scores meant greater support for color blindness (α = .80, M = 5.25, SD = 1.12).

Dependent variable: Willingness to interact. Favorability toward PRC immigrants was measured by items adapted from prior research (Esses & Dovidio, 2002). The 12-item questionnaire measured participants' willingness to engage in a list of potential behaviors with PRC immigrants across various social situations. Examples include "If given the opportunity, how willing are you to . . . have a PRC immigrant as a close friend?" or ". . . accept a PRC immigrant as a neighbour?" Participants responded on a 7-point scale (1 = *very unwilling*, 7 = *very willing*). The scores from

Table 3. Zero-Order Correlations Between Variables in Study 1.

	Age	Gender	ST	Cons	OC	SE	MC	CB	WTI
Age	—	−.140	−.003	.134	−.198*	.058	−.221*	.061	−.097
Gender		—	.075	.261**	−.042	−.001	.062	−.030	.164
ST			—	.323**	.341**	.035	.289**	.142	.161
Cons				—	−.210*	.137	−.078	−.141	−.235*
OC					—	.354**	.159	−.032	.124
SE						—	−.161	−.167	−.199*
MC							—	.200*	.583**
CB								—	.301**

Note. ST = Self-Transcendence; Cons = Conservation; OC = Openness to Change; SE = Self-Enhancement; MC = Multiculturalism Ideology; CB = Color-Blindness; WTI = Willingness to interact with PRC immigrants.
*$p <$ .05 level. **$p <$ .01 level.

Table 4. Willingness to Interact as a Function of Values in Study 1.

Predictor	B
Self-Transcendence	.34*
Conservation	−.37*
Openness to Change	.07
Self-Enhancement	−.24

Note. R^2 = .15, $F(4, 95)$ = 4.09, p = .004.
*$p <$ .05.

all items were averaged. Higher scores indicated greater favorability toward PRC immigrants (α = .94, M = 4.82, SD = 1.11).

Results

Table 3 presents the correlations among the variables. Notably, there is a modest but positive relationship between support for multiculturalism and color blindness, thus suggesting that color blindness and multiculturalism play complementary instead of antagonistic roles in Singapore.

Values predict willingness to interact. A multiple regression analysis was conducted to analyze the relationships between values and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants (see Table 4). As hypothesized, the higher the personal importance of self-transcendence, the greater the willingness to interact with PRC immigrants, B =.34, SE = .16, t (95) = 2.09, p =.04, pr^2 = .04. Also consistent with our hypothesis, the greater the personal importance of conservation, the lower the willingness to interact with PRC immigrants, B = −.37, SE = .15, t (95) = −2.45, p =.02, pr^2 = .06. There was a tendency for self-enhancement to negatively predict willingness to interact, B = −.24, SE = .14, $t(95)$ = −1.75 p = .083, pr^2 = .03. Openness to change did not predict willingness to interact, B =.07, SE = .17, $t(95)$ = 0.42, p = .68, pr^2 = .002.

Multiculturalism as a mediator. To test the hypothesis that support for multiculturalism is a mediator for the positive relationship between self-transcendence and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants, the data were submitted to a mediation analysis with a bootstrapping method with 10,000 iterations using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018). Following the regression
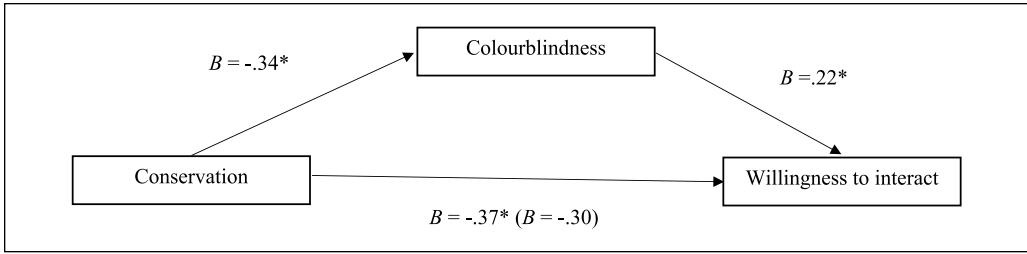
Figure 2. Conservation decreases willingness to interact with PRC immigrants, as mediated by lower support for color blindness.
Note. Self-Enhancement, Openness, and Self-Transcendence were covariates. PRC = People's Republic of China.
*$p < .05$.

analyses, the other values were included as covariates. As shown in Figure 1, self-transcendence positively predicted support for multiculturalism, $B = .25$, $SE = .09$, $t(95) = 2.68$, $p = .01$. Support for multiculturalism in turn positively predicted willingness to interact, $B = .92$, $SE = .15$, $t(94) = 6.08$, $p < .001$. Consistent with the previous regression analysis, there was a significant positive effect of self-transcendence on multiculturalism, $B = .34$, $SE = .17$, $t(95) = 2.09$, $p = .04$. However, when we controlled for multiculturalism, the effect of self-transcendence on willingness to interact with PRC immigrants becomes nonsignificant, $B = .10$, $SE = .14$, $t(94) = 0.75$, $p = .45$. The mediational effect is evinced by the significant indirect effect, $B = .23$, $SE = .11$, 95% confidence interval (CI) = [.02, .46].

Thus, consistent with H2a, the positive relationship between self-transcendence values and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants was mediated by greater support for multiculturalism.[4] That is, the more importance people place on self-transcendence, the more positive they are toward PRC immigrants, and this positive relationship is due to the greater support for multiculturalism. These results imply PRC immigrants can be viewed as positive contributors to cultural diversity by local-born hosts in a culture where multicultural policies such as a bilingual education system have been relied on to manage ethnic diversity, and multiculturalism is part of the national identity (Noor & Leong, 2013).

Color blindness as a mediator. To test the hypothesis that the rejection of color blindness is a mediator for the negative relationship between conservation and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants, the data were submitted to a mediation analysis with a bootstrapping method with 10,000 iterations using the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018). As shown in Figure 2, conservation negatively predicted support for color blindness, $B = -.34$, $SE = .16$, $t(95) = -2.14$, $p = .04$. Support for color blindness in turn positively predicted willingness to interact, $B = 0.22$, $SE = .10$, $t(94) = 2.25$, $p = .027$. Consistent with the previous regression analysis, there was a significant negative effect of conservation on color blindness, $B = -.37$, $SE = .17$, $t(95) = -2.45$, $p = .02$. However, when we controlled for color blindness, the effect of conservation on willingness to interact was smaller $B = -.30$, $t(94) = -1.96$, $p = .05$. The mediational effect was evinced by the significant indirect effect, 95% CI = [-.19, -.001]. Thus, consistent with H2b, the negative relationship between conservation values and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants is mediated by lower support for color blindness.[5] This finding is consistent with prior research that suggests that color blindness can have positive implications for reducing prejudice in contexts where it is not used to legitimize intergroup inequality but is instead focused on viewing others as unique individuals and prioritizing outcome equality over treatment equality to address any potential violation of meritocracy.

Study 2

By studying the role of cultural ideologies as mechanisms via which values predict willingness to interact with immigrants, as was done in Study 1, suggestions can be made for the type of strategy that would be effective in a campaign, given varying degrees of importance of values. For instance, given a high importance of conservation among host citizens, it would be useful for a pro-immigration campaign to encourage support for color blindness. However, because the individual characteristics of the target group matter for the effectiveness of such a campaign, it is also important to examine among whom values would influence anti-immigrant prejudice. This was done in Study 2.

As mentioned before, self-transcendence values are more likely to guide attitudes and behavior when individuals are free of anxiety. In their reaction to globalization, individuals with greater multicultural acquisition expect intercultural contact to be pleasant and also have less anxiety (Chen et al., 2016). Thus, the positive impact of self-transcendence values on favorability toward immigrants should be stronger among these individuals.

Conservation values, however, are more likely to influence attitudes and behavior when individuals are motivated to avoid anxiety-provoking situations. Because individuals with less multicultural acquisition find it difficult to navigate intercultural contact and have more anxiety, the negative impact of conservation values on favorability toward immigrants should be greater among these individuals.

Study 2 also departed from Study 1 by examining experimentally induced values rather than pre-existing individual differences. This approach is similar to prior research that manipulated the salience of values (e.g., Maio & Olson, 1995; Maio et al., 2009; Rokeach, 1973), and allows us to establish causal links between values and favorability toward immigrants, as pre-existing values might be related to other differences (e.g., political orientation) that might account for favorability toward immigrants.

Method

Participants and design. Participants were 313 undergraduates (86 males, 247 females; M_{age} = 21 years, *SD* = 1.66; 293 were Chinese, 8 were Malay, 7 were Indian, and 5 were Eurasian) from National University of Singapore and were all local-born Singaporeans who completed the study for partial course credit or S$5. They were randomly assigned to three conditions: self-transcendence salience, conservation salience, and no-value control. Multicultural acquisition was measured as a continuous variable. This design allowed us to test the hypothesis that, among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition, the salience of self-transcendence would lead to more favorability toward PRC immigrants than the conservation or the control condition, whereas among individuals with less multicultural acquisition, the salience of conservation would cause less favorability toward PRC immigrants than the self-transcendence or control condition.

Procedure and materials. Participants were briefed by the experimenter about the study and informed consent was collected. All subsequent instructions were then presented on the computer screens in front of each participant. As a cover story, participants were told that, because the main experimental task was rather short, they would have to complete several other unrelated tasks to make up the 30 min to receive their participation points or remuneration.

Participants were then directed to the values manipulation (e.g., Maio & Olson, 1995; Maio et al., 2009; Rokeach, 1973). After completing the task, the on-screen instructions informed participants that they had completed the first experimental task and instructed them to move on to a second section. They were then told that the research team was interested to find out about opinions on

social issues and were asked to report their willingness to interact with PRC immigrants (Esses & Dovidio, 2002) and their multicultural acquisition using the Multicultural Acquisition scale (Chen et al., 2016). Having participants report their multicultural acquisition at the end of the session allows us to demonstrate support for our hypothesis where Multicultural Acquisition, which is supposed to be a stable individual difference, does not need to be immediately salient to moderate the impact of values on willingness to interact with PRC immigrants. Finally, participants completed several demographic questions before they were debriefed and thanked for their time.

Predictor variables

Values. Using the cover of an impression formation task, participants in the two experimental conditions were presented with 18 statements describing an individual and were asked to form an impression of that individual. Of the 18 statements, 12 were related to either self-transcendence or conservation values, depending on the condition participants were randomly assigned to (e.g., "It is very important for her to help the people dear to her" for *self-transcendence* and "Having order and stability in society is important to her" for *conservation*). To reduce participants' suspicion, the remaining six statements were related to the value of hedonism, which has been shown to be psychologically dissimilar to both self-transcendence and conservation values (Schwartz et al., 2012). Participants in the control condition were given 18 statements describing a lemphur, a fictitious animal, and were told to form an impression of the animal (e.g., "Lemphurs are medium-sized animals" and "They use their claws to dig for food"). All participants were then asked to write down their impression of the individual or lemphur, depending on their assigned condition.

Multicultural acquisition. The Multicultural Acquisition Scale is a 13-item questionnaire measuring goal-oriented skills and abilities that contribute to obtaining positive outcomes in intercultural interactions (Chen et al., 2016). Examples include "I learn and speak languages other than my mother tongue" and "I read books or magazines to obtain knowledge about other cultures." Participants responded on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The scores from all items were averaged, and higher scores meant greater multicultural acquisition ($\alpha = .85$, $M = 5.62$, $SD = .68$). These Multicultural Acquisition scores were not influenced by the prime, $p = .84$.

Dependent variable: Willingness to interact. The same scale as in Study 1 was used. Participants reported their willingness to engage in a list of potential behaviors with PRC immigrants across various social situations (1 = *very unwilling*, 7 = *very willing*). The scores from all items were averaged, and higher scores indicated greater favorability toward PRC immigrants ($\alpha = .93$, $M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.10$)

Results and Discussion

To test the hypotheses that the positive effect of self-transcendence would be stronger among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition and that the negative effect of conservation would be greater among individuals with less multicultural acquisition, a hierarchical regression was conducted to test for the effects of the Self-Transcendence × Multicultural Acquisition and Conservation × Multicultural Acquisition interactions on willingness to interact (see Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). Two sets of dummy codes were created: one for comparing self-transcendence against conservation and control (self-transcendence = 1, conservation = 0, control = 0) and the other for comparing conservation against self-transcendence and control (conservation = 1, self-transcendence = 0, control = 0). The dummy codes and centered Multicultural Acquisition were then entered into the first block. The two interactions between each set of dummy codes and centered Multicultural Acquisition were entered into the second block (see Table 5). Subsequently,

Table 5. Willingness to Interact as a Function of Values and Multicultural Acquisition.

Predictor	B
Step 1	
Multicultural acquisition	.60**
Self-transcendence dummy code (self-transcendence = 1, conservation = 0, control = 0)	.13
Conservation dummy code (conservation = 1, self-transcendence = 0, control = 0)	−.01
Step 2	
Multicultural acquisition × self-transcendence dummy code	.48*
Multicultural acquisition × conservation dummy code	.54*

Note. $R^2_{change} = .02$, $F(2,307) = 3.92$, $p = .02$.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.
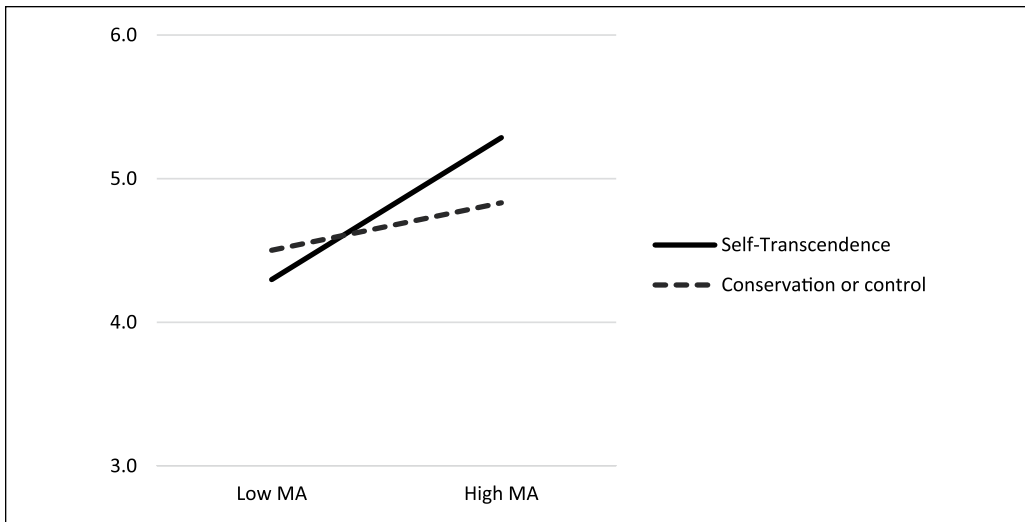
Figure 3. Self-transcendence increases willingness to interact with PRC immigrants relative to conservation or control among high multicultural acquisition individuals.
Note. PRC = People's Republic of China.

these Self-Transcendence × Multicultural Acquisition and Conservation × Multicultural Acquisition interactions were decomposed by comparing individuals with greater multicultural acquisition (1 *SD* above the mean of Multicultural Acquisition) against individuals with less multicultural acquisition (1 *SD* below the mean of Multicultural Acquisition).

There was a significant main effect of Multicultural Acquisition, $B = .60$, $SE = .09$, $t(309) = 7.04$, $p < .001$, $pr^2 = .14$, such that individuals with greater multicultural acquisition were more willing to interact with PRC immigrants. The salience of Self-Transcendence did not lead to more favorability toward PRC immigrants than the salience of Conservation or the control condition, $B = .13$, $SE = .14$, $t(309) = .90$, $p = .37$, $pr^2 = .002$. Similarly, the salience of Conservation did not lead to more favorability than the salience of Self-Transcendence or the control condition, $B = −.01$, $SE = .14$, $t(309) = −.09$, $p = .93$, $pr^2 = .00003$.

Of most relevance to our hypothesis, there was a significant Self-Transcendence × Multicultural Acquisition interaction, $B = .48$, $SE = .21$, $t(307) = 2.29$, $p = .02$, $pr^2 = .02$ (see Figure 3). Decomposing the Self-Transcendence × Multicultural Acquisition interaction revealed that as predicted, among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition, the salience of
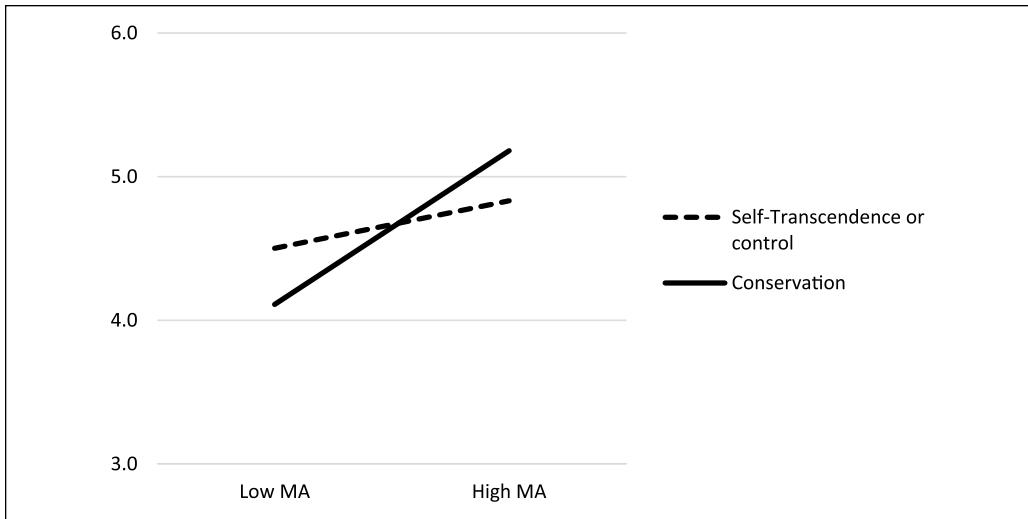
Figure 4. Conservation decreases willingness to interact with PRC immigrants relative to self-transcendence or control among low multicultural acquisition individuals.
Note. PRC = People's Republic of China.

self-transcendence caused more willingness to interact compared to the salience of conservation and the control condition, $B = .45$, $SE = .20$, $t(307) = 2.25$, $p = .03$, $pr^2 = 02$. In contrast, among individuals with less multicultural acquisition, the salience of self-transcendence did not matter, $B = -.21$, $SE = .20$, $t(307) = -1.01$, $p = .31$, $pr^2 = .003$.

There was also a Conservation × Multicultural Acquisition interaction, $B = .54$, $SE = .21$, $t(307) = 2.59$, $p = .01$, $pr^2 = .02$ (see Figure 4). Decomposing the Conservation × Multicultural Acquisition interaction revealed that as predicted, among individuals with less multicultural acquisition, the salience of Conservation tended to cause less willingness to interact compared to the salience of self-transcendence and the control condition, $B = -.39$, $SE = .20$, $t(307) = -1.92$, $p = .06$, $pr^2 = 02$. Among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition, there was an unexpected positive effect of Conservation on willingness to interact as suggested by the marginal significance of the simple slope, $B = .35$, $SE = .20$, $t(307) = 1.75$, $p = .08$, $pr^2 = .01$ However, it is worth noting that this effect is only half as strong as that of the hypothesized negative effect of Conservation among less multicultural acquisition individuals and the hypothesized positive effect of Self-Transcendence among greater multicultural acquisition individuals.

General Discussion

The current research examines the role of values in predicting willingness to interact with immigrants in Singapore. On one hand, self-transcendence values positively predicted willingness to interact with PRC immigrants. In Study 1, this pattern was mediated by greater support for multiculturalism. In Study 2, this pattern was more pronounced among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition. On the other hand, conservation values negatively predicted willingness to interact with immigrants. In Study 1, this pattern was mediated by less support for color blindness. In Study 2, this pattern was more pronounced among individuals with less multicultural acquisition.

The present research suggests the importance of self-transcendence and conservation values to predicting immigration attitudes in non-Western contexts, specifically in the Asian context of Singapore where increased immigration has led to a highly globalized and diverse cultural

climate. Consistent with research in Western countries on values and immigration policies (e.g., Davidov et al., 2014; Vecchione et al., 2012), the present findings show that self-transcendence values have positive, whereas conservation values have negative implications for willingness to interact with immigrants.

In addition, Study 2's results suggest boundary conditions for these overall relationships between values and anti-immigrant prejudice. That is, these relationships do not hold for all individuals. First, the positive impact of self-transcendence values on acceptance of immigrants did not occur among individuals with less multicultural acquisition. Second, the negative impact of conservation tended to reverse among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition. While the first pattern was consistent with our expectations, the second pattern was unexpected. One possibility for the second pattern is that individuals with greater multicultural acquisition in Singapore are also most likely to perceive the benefits of the government's pro-immigration policies for their ingroup such that the more important conservation values are to them, the more willing they are to interact with PRC immigrants. Further research is needed to examine this possibility.

Another finding that we did not expect was that self-enhancement tended to negatively predict willingness to interact with PRC immigrants. This finding is consistent with the notion that values on opposite ends of the circular model can impact attitudes and behavior in opposite directions (Maio et al., 2009; Sagiv et al., 2017; Schwartz et al., 2012). However, it is important to note that such values can also have independent rather than opposite influences on behavior (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz et al., 2012). Accordingly, in this research, openness to change did not predict greater willingness to interact with PRC immigrants even though it is motivationally conflicting with conservation. Further research is needed to examine when and why conflicting values act in opposite versus independent directions.

Implications

Beyond the direction of these relationships, the present research also supports the extant theorizing on values in a cultural context. That is, the endorsement of multiculturalism, which is an ideology that advocates for embracing differences between groups in Singapore helps to fulfill the desire for growth and self-expansion in one's pursuit of self-transcendence. In addition, the greater impact of self-transcendence values among individuals with greater multicultural acquisition supports theorizing that these values flourish under anxiety-free conditions when people are focused on attaining positive outcomes. However, the rejection of color blindness, which is an ideology that advocates for intergroup equality, helps to fulfill the desire for protection in one's pursuit of conservation values. In addition, the greater impact of conservation values among individuals with less multicultural acquisition supports theorizing that these values flourish under anxiety-avoidance conditions when people are focused on avoiding negative outcomes.

The findings also imply that the sociocultural context matters. The reliance on both multiculturalism and color blindness for the management of intergroup harmony and adherence to meritocracy by the Singapore government influences the reification of these cultural ideologies. As mentioned before, the government relies on both cultural ideologies, with multiculturalism advocating for a celebration of diversity and color blindness advocating for a level playing field and equal access to rewards (Moore, 2000; Noor & Leong, 2013; Tan, 2008). This two-pronged approach, together with the motivational underpinnings of values, set up the stage for individuals' support for multiculturalism and rejection of color blindness as underlying mechanisms for the relationship between the values–prejudice link in Singapore.

It is important to note that we do not argue that the Singapore government has achieved a perfect or stable blend of cultural ideologies for managing intergroup harmony. In fact, it is possible that the role of cultural ideologies in Singapore would change due to factors such as a

widening income gap (Tan, 2008). For example, as mentioned before, although color blindness started out as a hierarchy-attenuating ideology in the United States, it has since evolved into one that many individuals rely on in social discourse to justify the status quo (e.g., using All Lives Matter to deny the existence of systematic bias against Blacks). As globalization increases exposure to alternative worldviews, Singaporeans might interpret these worldviews as they see fit to protect their ingroup dominance. Further research can assess the impact of such exposure. Importantly, our findings shed light on how the present sociocultural context in Singapore shapes individual processes in the acceptance of immigrants.

The complementary function of multiculturalism and color blindness in explaining greater willingness to interact with immigrants based on self-transcendence and conservation values demands further research in other cultural contexts. Study 1's findings might be generalizable to other contexts such as New Zealand, where color blindness and multiculturalism are both viewed as pro-diversity ideologies and where greater support for color blindness predicts greater warmth toward ethnic minorities among those who are motivated to maintain the existing hierarchy (Yogeeswaran et al., 2017). Although, in the United States, the rejection of color blindness has also been shown to account for generalized prejudice among individuals who are motivated to maintain an existing hierarchy (Levin et al., 2012), it is worth noting that generally, color blindness has had mixed influences on prejudice in the United States (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). Thus, where multiculturalism and color blindness are often treated as alternatives to each other (see Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012; Plaut, 2010), multiculturalism might predict favorability toward immigrants in opposite (instead of the same) directions among individuals who prioritize self-transcendence or conservation, or only one of the two ideologies might mediate the values–prejudice link depending on which is salient.

We also expect that compared to other countries, Singaporeans might possess a larger range of levels of multicultural acquisition due to its nationwide bilingual education system. By examining multicultural acquisition as a moderator of the impact of situationally salient values and willingness to interact with immigrants, the present findings enrich our understanding of multicultural acquisition as a psychological response to globalization, for instance, in predicting receptiveness to pro-immigration messages. Although the present findings are consistent with prior research showing the challenges of having weak multicultural acquisition or the benefits of multicultural acquisition for intercultural attitudes and contact (Chen et al., 2016; Shi, Shi, Luo, & Cai, 2016), the question remains whether they will generalize to other contexts. For example, compared to Singapore or Hong Kong, both of which rely heavily on the global economy, individuals in other countries that have a large domestic economy might not be as susceptible to the challenges of weak multicultural acquisition. Importantly, the present findings suggest that in Singapore or any other context where multicultural acquisition matters, even while pro-immigration campaigns might motivate people to place more importance on self-transcendence values, it would be ideal to also increase people's ability to manage intercultural interactions so that the impact of self-transcendence values would be greater. At the same time, it would be important to be vigilant for any heightening of conservation values among people with weaker multicultural acquisition, because the impact of such values on prejudice is particularly strong in this group.

Limitations and Future Directions

One limitation in the present research is the focus on the psychological processes in dominant group members. Because most interactions are reciprocal, it would be ideal for future studies to examine immigrants' willingness to interact with hosts. Much of the existing research efforts have been directed to studying the attitudes of the majority, leading to a dearth of research on favorability of immigrants toward intercultural contact in their host countries. Studies that attempt to bridge this gap point out that minorities and immigrants are more likely to endorse

cultural ideologies and behave in ways that appear to be motivated by self-transcendence values (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). Nevertheless, more research needs to be done to establish if the same mechanisms underlie both attitudes toward immigrants and hosts, especially in non-Western contexts (e.g., Chen et al., 2016). Another limitation is that in both studies, the samples were undergraduate students. Thus, further research can examine whether the current findings are generalizable to non-college samples who might place less importance on self-transcendence or greater importance on conservation.

In Study 1, we did not adapt items to assess color blindness in terms of various groups (e.g., religion, national origin). Instead, we used an identical scale from prior research that only focused on color blindness regarding race. It is worth noting that in other research (e.g., Levin et al., 2012), color blindness items that focused on race cohered with other items that referred to various groups (e.g., national origin and religion). Thus, color blindness does not need to be group-specific in its reference to be impactful. Nevertheless, further research could examine the utility of conceptualizing or assessing color blindness in group-specific ways.

In the present research, cultural ideologies and multicultural acquisition were examined in separate studies. These constructs share some overlap in their underlying themes and shed some light on how and among whom to combat anti-immigrant prejudice. For instance, although multicultural acquisition is more about actively learning skills during intercultural contact, whereas support for multiculturalism is more about the general endorsement of diversity in a local community, both constructs have in common an orientation toward learning from others and are known to predict favorability toward immigrants. Indeed, the distinction yet overlap between multicultural acquisition and multiculturalism is suggested by the modest but significant positive correlation between the two in a previous sample (Chen et al., 2016). In addition, extant research suggests that both color blindness and weak multicultural acquisition are underlined by an anxiety-avoidance orientation. Nevertheless, because our research has demonstrated that favorability toward immigrants is negatively predicted by conservation values among those with less multicultural acquisition, further research can examine whether these individuals would also reject color blindness to the extent that it serves as a hierarchy-attenuating ideology.

We do not propose that support for multiculturalism *must* explain how self-transcendence causes more favorability toward immigrants among individuals with high multicultural acquisition or that the rejection of color blindness *must* explain how conservation causes more negativity toward immigrants among individuals with low multicultural acquisition. That is, other cultural variables might come into play in the patterns that occurred in the present research. For instance, identification with one's ethnicity might be an individual difference that moderates the degree to which it is multiculturalism or color blindness that drives the respective influence of self-transcendence and conservation on prejudice (e.g., Rios et al., 2010). As another example, the mechanisms that explain the moderating influence of multicultural acquisition on the values–prejudice link might be ones that capture general psychological reactions to intercultural context, such as stress during intercultural interactions (e.g., Chen et al., 2016). Such future research can give us an even more comprehensive understanding of the values–prejudice link.

Another complexity in understanding the values–prejudice link comes from the relationship of values to right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social-dominance orientation (SDO). Although Cohrs, Moschner, Maes, and Kielmann (2005) posit that values underpin RWA and SDO, future research would benefit from investigating the distinct impacts of values, RWA, and SDO on willingness to interact with immigrants in various cultural contexts. Conservation and self-transcendence values may relate to willingness to interact with immigrants similarly to RWA and SDO. RWA is a personality trait involving authoritarian submission, aggression, and being conventional (Altemeyer, 1981). SDO is likewise rooted in personality preferences for social groups to be equal or to be hierarchical (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Both RWA and SDO are well-established predictors of prejudice and intergroup hostility (e.g., Cohrs et al., 2005; Henry,

Sidanius, Levin, & Pratto, 2005). Previous research has demonstrated that RWA is closely related to conservation values and both RWA and SDO are linked with lower self-transcendence values (Cohrs et al., 2005). Given the present findings, future research can examine the role of cultural ideologies in accounting for the relationship between these personality variables and immigrant attitudes or the role of multicultural acquisition in moderating the negative influence of RWA and SDO on immigrant attitudes.

Conclusion

The present research emphasizes two cultural ideologies and one cultural orientation as newly relevant variables in the relationship between values and favorability toward immigrants. We hope that continued research on these variables will help us better understand and direct future initiatives for improving intercultural contact, especially contact stemming from immigration.

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Notes

1. In this research, meritocracy refers to the principle of distributing outcomes based on factors such as effort and is violated when outcomes are distributed according to factors such as group membership.
2. As mentioned, prior research suggests that there are mixed consequences of color blindness for prejudice. Thus, an alternative hypothesis is that the negative relationship between conservation and willingness to interact would be mediated by greater (not lower) support for color blindness. Although we did not consider this alternative hypothesis in the context of Singapore as we do not think that color blindness has evolved into an ideology that legitimizes intergroup inequality in Singapore the way it has in the United States, theoretically, this alternative hypothesis is plausible. We address this in the general discussion.
3. In both studies, neither age nor sex predicted willingness to interact with PRC immigrants.
4. Although self-transcendence positively predicted support for color blindness, color blindness did not mediate the relationship between self-transcendence and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants. Also, the indirect effect for multiculturalism as a mediator did not change when color blindness was included as a covariate. Thus, the finding that multiculturalism mediated the relationship between self-transcendence and willingness to interact is not due to color blindness.
5. Multiculturalism was not predicted by conservation and did not mediate the relationship between conservation and willingness to interact with PRC immigrants. Also, the indirect effect for color blindness as a mediator did not change when multiculturalism was included as a covariate. Thus, the finding that color blindness mediated the relationship between conservation and willingness to interact is not due to multiculturalism.

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