

# The Combined Role of Independence in Self-Concept and a Collectivistic Value Orientation in Group-Focused Enmity in Korea

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# The Combined Role of Independence in Self-Concept and a Collectivistic Value Orientation in Group-Focused Enmity in Korea

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Previous research (Zick et al. 2008) suggested that animosity toward social minorities in Europe is intertwined, forming a syndrome of Group-Focused Enmity (GFE). In the current research, we extended the notion of GFE by identifying the GFE structure in a non-European context (South Korea). We also tested a novel hypothesis that stipulates an interplay between individuals' self-concept and their value orientation in predicting the overall level of GFE. Two nation-wide surveys in South Korea showed that antagonism toward social minorities that have typically been marginalized and devalued in that country forms GFE while reflecting the unique intergroup context of Korean society. Further, we found as expected that independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation jointly predict lower levels of GFE (Study 1). When political orientation and national identification were taken into account, the predicted interaction was observed only on antagonism toward ingroup minorities but not toward outgroup minorities by race or ethnicity (Study 2). Implications of these findings and directions for research on GFE are discussed.

Keywords: Group-Focused Enmity, generalized prejudice, self-concept, value orientation

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Prejudice is one of the most unfortunate human experiences of our time. Since the seminal work on the nature of prejudice by Allport (1954), a large volume of research has specified the antecedents and consequences of everyday prejudice (see Brown 2010; Dovidio and Gaertner 2010; Paluck et al. 2021). Implicit in this past work is the assumption that prejudices are group-specific, reflecting the social and political milieu uniquely associated with a particular target group (e.g., racism, sexism, homophobia). Along these lines, researchers have typically treated different types of prejudice as separate constructs, with a focus on the history of a particular intergroup context (for exceptions, see Bergh et al. 2016; Ekehammar et al. 2004;

Stangor et al. 1991). In direct contrast to the target-specific approach, an emerging line of work in European societies has suggested that prejudices against various social groups are intertwined as they share an ideological common core to form a syndrome of Group-Focused Enmity (GFE hereafter; Heitmeyer 2002; Zick et al. 2008).

In the current research, we make further strides in research on GFE with two specific goals. First, as an attempt to extend the notion of GFE to understand the structure of prejudices in a non-European society, we first seek to identify a syndrome of GFE involving social minorities in South Korea. Rising from the ashes of war, South Korea has become one of the key

players in the world economy. This rapid national development was accompanied by unprecedented changes in every corner of the society, some of which resulted in sharp divisions within the social hierarchy. With the influx of migrant workers and the emergence of multicultural families over the past two decades, South Korea, which has been one of the world's most ethnically homogeneous societies, is now faced with new challenges due to the clash between the host culture and various racial/ethnic minorities (Jeong 2014). The tumultuous changes in the social environment have resulted in greater social stratification and discrimination against social minorities<sup>1</sup> (e.g., ableism, gender inequality, prejudice against refugees, discrimination against immigrants) that bear semblance to the European context, offering a useful test-bed to further investigate the nature and manifestation of GFE. Second, we attempt to extend the previous work on GFE by identifying the role of self-concept and value orientation as predictors of GFE. At its core, our model proposes that GFE would be less likely among individuals with a strong sense of independence in self-views (i.e., an independent self-concept) and a strong commitment to the overall society (i.e., a collectivistic value orientation). As we argue and show with data, this model opens new avenues for research on GFE by specifying the combined role of self-concept and value orientation in predicting GFE.

### 1 Group-Focused Enmity

At the core, GFE involves a generalized belief that some social groups deserve unequal treatment (Zick et al. 2008). This is reminiscent of the long-standing notion in social psychology that biased perceptions of equality underlie everyday prejudice (Allport 1954; Sidanius et al. 1996). According to Zick and colleagues (Küpper and Zick 2014; Zick et al. 2008, 2011), GFE has several key features. First, as a generalized ideology of inequality, GFE is conceived as a syndrome in the sense that it encompasses prejudices toward different social groups. Second, the GFE syndrome is

<sup>1</sup> The term social minority refers to outgroups that are low in power and social status and often, but not always, numerically small. We follow the tradition of including sexism as a GFE dimension though women are no minority in South Korea (see Zick et al. 2008).

typically manifested in animosity toward outgroups that are low in power and social status, reflecting anti-democratic mentalities in the modern world. Third, GFE accompanies devaluation of outgroups in general, thereby perpetuating the group-based inequality in society (see also Sidanius et al. 1996).

These key features of GFE have been observed in several studies involving European countries. Using representative German samples, Zick et al. (2008) have found that prejudice against eight social groups (sexism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, racism, homophobia, devaluation of newcomers, devaluation of homeless people) forms a second-order construct of GFE that explains the eight first-order factors pertaining to specific target groups. Further, this GFE structure was found to be stable over time and associated with stronger discrimination intention. Similar results on six major forms of prejudice (racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim attitudes, sexism, sexual prejudice, and anti-immigrant attitudes) have been reported by Küpper and Zick (2014) in a multinational study involving eight European countries. These researchers have also found that, among others, intergroup threat posed by immigrants, anti-diversity beliefs, and social dominance orientation positively predicted GFE, whereas contact with immigrants, universalism, and general trust negatively predicted GFE.

### 2 The Combined Role of Independence in Self-Concept and a Collectivistic Value Orientation in Predicting GFE

We assume in this research that a syndrome of GFE represents an intergroup attitude as it involves biased perceptions of social minorities on the part of the majority (Dovidio and Gaertner 2010). We also base our research on the notion that individuals' attitude toward social minorities is a function of their predominant self-concept and value orientation (Choi and Euh 2019).

A large body of research in social psychology has shown that people differ in their perceptions of self in relation to others (Kitayama et al. 2007). An independent self-concept denotes a person's self-definition as a unique entity with a set of core attributes that are consistent across situations, whereas an interdependent self-concept underscores self as being connected

to significant others with a heightened awareness of situational contexts. Decades of research have also shown that people differ in their predominant value orientation, with collectivists giving priority to common goals over personal goals versus individualists prioritizing their personal interests over collective goals (Triandis 1995).

Individuals' self-concept and value orientation have often been used interchangeably in cultural analyses of cognition and behavior, thereby creating some degree of confusion in the literature (see Cross et al. 2011; Oyserman et al. 2002). For example, research on individualism/collectivism has, often wrongly, equated collectivistic values with a loss of personal identity (Reicher et al. 1995). However, the more recent work indicates that on the individual level self-concept and value orientation are conceptually distinct as the former represents the person's predominant self-views and the latter represents their motivational end-state (see Brewer and Chen 2007; Wagner 2002). Indeed, an emerging body of research has consistently shown that perceptions of self-uniqueness constitute the foundation of a person's selfhood in all cultures (Brewer 1991; Vignoles et al. 2000), and that they can be harmoniously combined with collectivistic values in social groups (see Bechtoldt et al. 2012; Choi forthcoming). Extending the recent work showing that independence in self-concept and collectivistic values in combination yield desirable effects both within (Choi et al. 2018, 2019; Choi and Kim 2020; Choi and Yoon 2018; Lee and Choi 2020) and between groups (Choi and Euh 2019), we hypothesize a joint impact of the two variables on GFE for the reasons we discuss below.

Research indicates that individuals' personal sense of uniqueness is positively associated with autonomy and openness (Lynn and Harris 1997; Şimşek and Yalınçetin 2010). Further, a strong sense of self-uniqueness is a conduit to positive intergroup behavior (Choi and Euh 2019). These findings are in line with the notion that, as compared to individuals with an interdependent self-concept, those with an independent self-concept consider ingroup/outgroup distinction less meaningful in constructing self (see Kitayama et al. 2007). To the extent GFE involves a clear demarcation between ingroup and outgroup, majority group mem-

bers with an independent self-concept would be less likely to show GFE than would those with an interdependent self-concept (see also Ensari and Miller 2001, 2006).

We also note that, although some scholars have viewed collectivism as a source of ingroup bias (e.g., Gomez et al. 2000), this "dark side" of collectivism has not received consistent support in the literature, with some studies offering rebuttals (e.g., Heine and Lehman 1997; Yamagishi et al. 2008) and others concluding that the link between collectivism and intergroup bias is not straightforward (see Chen et al. 2002). More importantly in the context of the current research, we pay close attention to the notion that collectivistic values reflect a preference for equality and cooperative relationships with others (see Schwartz 1992; Triandis 1995). In line with this argument, research has shown that collectivistic values produce positive effects in social groups due to the emphasis on the common goal and collective welfare (e.g., Chatman et al. 1998; Jackson et al. 2006; Tjosvold et al. 2010; see also Earley and Gibson 1998). To the extent that GFE reflects a lack of communal concerns and commitment to the welfare of the overall society on the part of majority group members, collectivistic values should play an inhibitory role in relation to the emergence of GFE. It stands to reason, then, that the presumed negative link between independence in self-concept and GFE is more likely to emerge among majority group members with a collectivistic value orientation than those with an individualistic value orientation.

On the basis of this reasoning, we derived the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 1:** Individuals' prejudice against social minorities forms a syndrome of GFE in South Korea.

**Hypothesis 2:** Independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation interact to predict GFE. For those with a collectivistic value orientation, GFE is negatively associated with an independent form of self-concept. In contrast, differences in self-concept do not have a significant relationship with GFE among those who have an individualistic value orientation.

To test Hypothesis 1, we followed Zick et al. (2008) and examined a model fit with GFE as a second-order factor that explains the first-order factors, each of

which pertains to prejudice against a specific target group. In testing Hypothesis 2, we controlled for the two individual difference variables that seem relevant to the South Korean context, namely, national identification and political orientation. These variables have been found to be important predictors of intergroup attitudes involving social minorities in South Korea (Kim et al. 2011; Yoon, 2019). National identification positively predicts GFE as it is associated with negative attitudes toward outgroups by race or ethnicity (Dovidio et al. 2004; see also Bizumic and Duckitt 2012). Political conservatism has been shown to positively predict GFE, presumably because it is positively associated with social dominance orientation and authoritarianism (Duckitt and Sibley 2007), which are positively associated with GFE (see Friehs et al. 2022, Küpper and Zick 2014). We pre-registered the research and uploaded research materials, all data, analysis codes, and supplementary results on Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/wb7nq>) following recommendations by Veer and Giner-Sorolla (2016).

### 3 Study 1

#### 3.1 Participants and Measures

Study 1 was conducted as part of a nation-wide survey in collaboration with the Korea Institute for National Unification in May 2020. A total of 1,000 South Korean adults (511 males;  $M_{\text{age}} = 44.30$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.17$ , age range = 19–69) were recruited via quota sampling by gender, age, and residential area.

Building on the previous work that distinguished value orientation from self-concept (Choi forthcoming; see also Brewer and Chen 2007; Oyserman et al. 2002; Wagner 2002), we measured the two predictors as distinct constructs. Value orientation was measured using an eight-item bipolar scale that juxtaposes a collectivistic versus an individualistic value orientation to distinguish individuals with collectivistic values from those with individualistic values (see Kim and Cho 2011; for a review, see Taras et al. 2014). Following the previous conceptualization of individualistic versus collectivistic values (see Brewer and Chen 2007; Hofstede 2001; Triandis 1995), we included four items that measure group goal priority versus personal goal priority (e.g., “*It is more important to give priority to group goals rather than personal goals.*” vs.

“*It is more important to give priority to personal goals rather than group goals.*”) and another four items measuring cooperation versus competition (e.g., “*Groups are better with cooperation rather than competition.*” vs. “*Groups are better with competition rather than cooperation.*”).

To clearly measure the difference between individuals with an independent versus an interdependent self-concept (see Kitayama et al. 2007; Markus and Kitayama 1991), we used an eight-item bipolar scale that included four items that capture perceptions of self-uniqueness versus self-other similarity (e.g., “*I am different from other people in many respects.*” vs. “*I am similar to other people in many respects.*”) and another four items measuring cross-situational consistency versus variability in self-definition (e.g., “*My own view of who I am does not change no matter what.*” vs. “*My own view of who I am depends on the situation.*”). For both the values and the self-concept scales, participants chose one of the two opposing statements in each item and indicated the degree to which they agreed with the chosen statement (1 = *Somewhat agree* to 3 = *Strongly agree*). The ratings were transformed into a six-point scale, with higher scores on each scale meaning independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation.

On the basis of the previous work by Zick et al. (2008), we measured GFE by asking individuals to indicate their attitudes toward five social minorities in Korea (women, foreigners, homeless people, newcomers, and North Korean defectors) using two items for each target group (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*; see Table 1). Of the five target groups, women, foreigners, homeless people, and newcomers were included to make our study comparable to the previous work on GFE reported in Europe (Küpper and Zick 2014; Zick et al. 2008). North Korean defectors are a unique social minority in Korea, reflecting the geo-political context of the Korean peninsula (Ko et al. 2004).

We also measured national identification and political orientation as covariates. Four items were adapted from Hogg and Hains (1996) to measure national identification (e.g., “*I identify with Korea*”; 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 9 = *Strongly agree*), and the scores were averaged for each participant ( $\alpha = .96$ ). We measured political orientation using four items that capture the

person's political view of the four specific dimensions (Skitka et al. 2002), including social policies, economic policies, politically, and the general view of one's own political orientations (1 = *Extremely liberal* to 7 = *Extremely conservative*). We averaged the scores for each participant ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

### 3.2 Results and Discussion

In line with the conceptual distinction between self-concept and value orientation, we modeled a hierarchical factor structure with self-concept and value orientation as second-order factors and the four subscales as first-order factors (i.e., group vs. personal goal priority and cooperation vs. competition as first-order factors loading on value orientation; self-uniqueness vs. self/other similarity and cross-situational consistency vs. variability as first-order factors loading on self-concept). We conducted a second-order CFA and found that the model fit the data (see Hu and Bentler 1995),  $\chi^2(99) = 490.30$  ( $p < .001$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 4.95$ , CFI = .942, RMSEA (90% CI) = .063 (.057, .068), SRMR = .041. We averaged the scores to yield two composite scores for each participant, one reflecting the person's self-concept ( $\alpha = .80$ ) and the other reflecting his/her value orientation ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

To test Hypothesis 1, we conducted factor analyses using the scores of the ten prejudice items. We randomly split the data into two subsets and first conducted an EFA ( $n = 495$ ) to examine the five-factor structure involving the five target groups following a model-fit approach (Fabrigar and Wegener, 2011; Fabrigar et al. 1999). First, EFA revealed a good fit of the hypothesized five-factor model,  $\chi^2(5) = 3.51$  ( $p = .622$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 0.70$ , CFI = 1.000, RMSEA (90% CI) = .000 (.000, .052), SRMR = .006 (see Table 1).<sup>2</sup> We conducted a CFA ( $n = 505$ ) to validate a hierarchical model with GFE as a second-order factor and the five first-order factors pertaining to the target groups (see Figure 1). This analysis indicated a good fit of the model,  $\chi^2(30) = 69.05$  ( $p < .001$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 2.30$ , CFI = .981, RMSEA (90% CI) = .051 (.035, .067), SRMR = .037. On the basis of

these results, we created a composite score of GFE by averaging the scores for each participant ( $\alpha = .82$ ).

Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations among the variables are presented in Table 2. As expected, self-concept and value orientation were only weakly correlated. To test Hypothesis 2, we conducted a hierarchical regression analysis on the GFE composite score by entering the two main effect terms in the first step, and the interaction term in the second step. Mean-centered predictors were used in all regression analyses. We found that both independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation negatively predicted GFE,  $b = -.11$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.10$ ,  $p = .003$  for self-concept and  $b = -.12$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $p = .002$  for value orientation, respectively. More importantly, we found the expected significant interaction between the two predictors,  $\Delta R^2 = 0.007$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 996) = 6.77$ ,  $b = -.08$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $p = .009$ . Simple slope analyses indicated that, for those with a collectivistic value orientation (at +1  $SD = 0.79$ ), independence in self-concept negatively predicted GFE,  $b = -.18$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.15$ ,  $p < .001$ . By contrast, for those with an individualistic value orientation (at -1  $SD = -0.79$ ), GFE did not vary as a function of self-concept,  $b = -.05$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $\beta = -.04$ ,  $p = .265$  (Figure 2).

We also assessed the role of national identification and political orientation in our analysis as covariates. Political conservatism positively and significantly predicted GFE,  $b = .26$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $\beta = .34$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas national identification did not significantly predict GFE,  $b = .04$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $\beta = .06$ ,  $p = .051$ . Both independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation negatively predicted GFE,  $b = -.08$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.07$ ,  $p = .018$  for self-concept and  $b = -.09$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.08$ ,  $p = .011$  for value orientation, respectively. More importantly, the interaction between the two predictors was still significant even after controlling for the two covariates,  $\Delta R^2 = 0.006$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 994) = 6.35$ ,  $b = -.07$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.05$ ,  $p = .012$ . Simple slope analyses indicated that, for those with a collectivistic value orientation (at +1  $SD = 0.79$ ), independence in self-concept negatively predicted GFE,  $b = -.14$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.12$ ,  $p < .001$ . By contrast, for those with an individualistic value orientation (at -1  $SD = -0.79$ ), GFE did not vary as a function of self-concept,  $b = -.03$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.02$ ,  $p = .539$ .

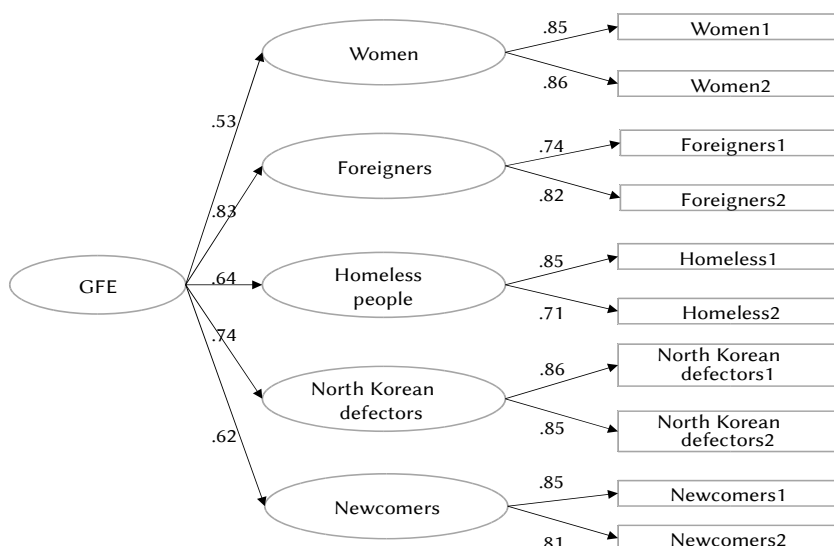
<sup>2</sup> An alternative model involving four factors did not fit the data, RMSEA (90% CI) = .152 (.130, .175). Another model involving six factors did not improve model fit, and the factor structure was not interpretable due to cross-loaded items.

**Table 1: Descriptive statistics, item-total correlations (*r*), and EFA factor loadings (Study 1)**

	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>r</i>	Factor loadings				
			Women	Foreigners	Newcomers	Homeless people	NK defectors
1. Women should think stronger on the role as wives and mothers.	3.63 (1.64)	.56	<b>0.98</b>	-0.02	-0.03	0.02	-0.05
2. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself.	2.85 (1.45)	.58	<b>0.71</b>	0.03	0.04	-0.05	0.10
3. There are too many foreigners living in South Korea.	4.00 (1.47)	.66	0.08	<b>0.61</b>	0.00	0.04	0.09
4. When jobs get scarce, foreigners living in Korea should be sent back home.	3.70 (1.56)	.69	-0.01	<b>0.98</b>	-0.01	-0.02	-0.05
5. Begging homeless people should be removed from the pedestrian precincts.	3.78 (1.44)	.61	-0.05	0.24	0.03	<b>0.48</b>	0.11
6. The homeless in the towns are unpleasant.	4.25 (1.35)	.56	0.02	-0.02	-0.01	<b>1.13</b>	-0.02
7. Those who are new somewhere should be content with less.	3.80 (1.20)	.60	0.13	0.10	<b>0.31</b>	0.10	0.16
8. Those who have always been living here should have more rights than those who came later.	3.72 (1.31)	.59	-0.01	-0.01	<b>1.41</b>	-0.01	-0.01
9. It is unpleasant to see a region full of North Korean defectors here in South Korea.	2.85 (1.31)	.65	-0.01	-0.04	-0.02	0.00	<b>0.92</b>
10. The influx of North Korean defectors into South Korea causes social problems such as unemployment and delinquencies.	3.22 (1.39)	.68	0.01	0.19	0.02	0.01	<b>0.71</b>

Note: *N* = 1,000 (subset *n* = 495 for the EFA factor loadings); Item-total correlations were all significant at *p* < .01; Factor loadings greater than 0.30 are indicated in bold in the table; NK defectors = North Korean defectors residing in South Korea.

**Figure 1: Five-factor GFE model (Study 1)**

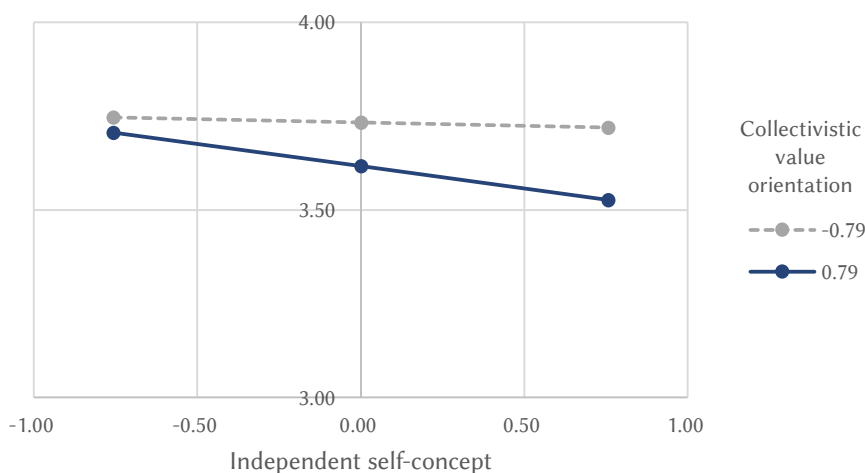


**Table 2: Correlations and descriptive statistics (Study 1)**

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Independent self-concept	-	-.29**	-.07*	-.04	-.06*
2. Collectivistic value orientation		-	.27**	-.09**	-.09**
3. National identification			-	-.06	.02
4. Political conservatism				-	.36**
5. GFE					-
<i>M</i>	3.45	3.96	6.63	3.75	3.58
<i>(SD)</i>	(0.76)	(0.79)	(1.45)	(1.17)	(0.87)

Note: *N* = 1,000; \* *p* < .05, \*\* *p* < .01 (two-tailed).

**Figure 2: Interaction of self-concept and value orientation (Study 1)**



Taken together, the results from Study 1 indicate initial support for our hypotheses. We examined individuals’ attitudes toward the five social groups that have traditionally been marginalized and devalued in South Korean society. We found that prejudiced beliefs against these social minorities are interrelated with one another to form GFE. We also found support for our hypothesis that independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation interact to predict lower levels of GFE. Notably, we found the predicted interaction even after controlling for national identification and political orientation, the two variables that predicted GFE in previous research involving European samples (Küpper and Zick 2014).

In Study 2, we attempted to replicate the findings with an expanded list of social minorities. To this end, we subdivided the foreigners category into smaller groups, including migrant workers, migrant wives, and refugees. Migrant workers have joined South Ko-

rean society in response to a labor shortage that is largely attributable to the rapidly aging population. By contrast, migrant wives have been invited to South Korea as part of the government response to decreasing marriage rates in rural areas. An increasing number of refugees reflects South Korea’s participation in global humanitarian initiatives. In addition, we included elders as a social minority because people’s perceptions of elders in South Korea are associated with stereotypic views about individuals with vulnerability and low social status (see North and Fiske 2015). We also added the physically handicapped and homosexuals to the target list as those groups are one of the most frequently studied minority groups in research on social justice and equality in South Korea (Korea Institute of Public Administration 2021). The ten target groups well represent minority groups in South Korea *vis-a-vis* the overall composition of the current Korean population (Chun 2010). This extended



list of target groups is more comparable to the social minorities examined in the previous work on GFE (Küpper and Zick 2014; Zick et al. 2008, 2011).

## 4 Study 2

### 4.1 Participants and Measures

We recruited a total of 1,600 Korean adults (816 males;  $M_{\text{age}} = 44.52$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.30$ , age range = 19–69) residing in South Korea in May 2021 via quota sampling by gender, age, and residential area. Sample size was determined based on Study 1 ( $f^2 = .0044$  for the hypothesized interaction) with a power of .80 and alpha of .05. The required sample size was 1,422 according to the power analysis using G\*Power (Faul et al. 2009).

The two-dimensional scale reported in Study 1 was used to measure self-concept and value orientation. We conducted a CFA to verify the presumed second-order factor structure and again found good fit,  $\chi^2(99) = 546.42$  ( $p < .001$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 5.52$ , CFI = .955, RMSEA (90% CI) = .053 (.049, .058), SRMR = .036. We averaged the scores for each participant to create two composite scores ( $\alpha = .81$  for both self-concept and value orientation).

We included a total of ten minority groups to measure GFE (women, migrant workers, migrant wives, homeless people, newcomers, North Korean defectors, refugees, homosexuals, elders, physically handicapped people). Prejudice against the five target groups repeated from Study 1 was measured using the same ten items reported in Study 1. For the additional five groups, we created two items per group that fit the specific target group being measured (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*). We also measured national identification and self-reported political orientation using the same scales reported in Study 1. We averaged the scores for each participant for analysis ( $\alpha = .96$  for national identification and  $\alpha = .90$  for political orientation, respectively).

### 4.2 Results and Discussion

To test Hypothesis 1, we examined the factor structure of the attitude ratings applying the same analytic scheme adopted in Study 1. We randomly split the data into two subsets and first conducted a series of EFAs ( $n = 800$ ) with differing numbers of factors to examine the factor structure of the twenty prejudice

items. From these, we found the best fit for a six-factor model,  $\chi^2(85) = 450.23$  ( $p < .001$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 5.30$ , CFI = .939, RMSEA (90% CI) = .073 (.067, .080), SRMR = .029 (see Table 3).<sup>3</sup> The six-factor structure revealed that, consistent with the pilot study, prejudice against women, homeless people, and newcomers were three separate factors. By contrast, prejudice against migrant workers and migrant wives loaded onto the same factor. Prejudice against refugees and North Korean defectors also loaded on to the same factor, and this was also the case for the ratings on elders and the physically handicapped. Notably, the two items measuring prejudice against homosexuals did not show any meaningful structure (factor loadings were less than .30; Hair 2009), and thus we excluded this group from all analysis. Based on the EFA results, we collapsed the relevant items, leaving a total of six first-order factors (Table 3).

To validate the six-factor structure that emerged from the EFA, we conducted a CFA on a second randomly split sample ( $n = 800$ ) with GFE as a second-order factor and the six first-order factors pertaining to the partially-combined nine target groups. The model fit approached the acceptable range according to RMSEA (90% CI) = .099 (.094, .104) and SRMR = .080, whereas  $\chi^2(129) = 1139.03$  ( $p < .001$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 8.83$ , and CFI = .845 fell short of the recommended criteria. Following Zick et al. (2008), we examined modification indices (MIs) to see if additional modifications were needed in the model. The MIs suggested a covariance between migrant workers/wives and elders/the physically handicapped (MI = 74.72). They also suggested a covariance between women and elders/the physically handicapped (MI = 15.64). With these modifications, we found an acceptable fit of the model,  $\chi^2(124) = 732.39$  ( $p < .001$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 5.91$ , CFI = .907, RMSEA (90% CI) = .078 (.073, .084), SRMR = .070 (see Figure 3). We created a composite index of GFE by averaging the scores for each participant ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

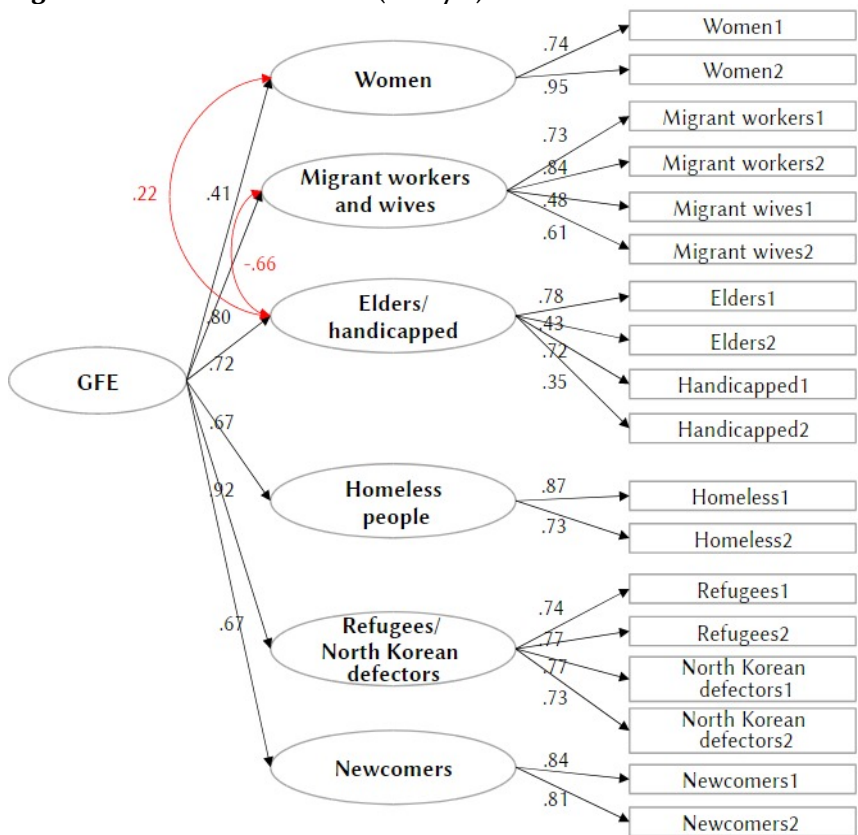
<sup>3</sup> We provide results of these analyses in the supplementary material on Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/wb7nq>). In brief, a five-factor model suggested that four items be removed due to small factor loadings (less than .30; Hair 2009). A seven-factor model did not improve model fit, and interpretation of the factor structure was complicated by the emergence of a factor with a single item (prejudice against homosexuals).

Table 3: Descriptive statistics, item-total correlations ( $r$ ), and EFA factor loadings (Study 2)

	$M$ ( $SD$ )	$r$	Factor loadings					Elders/ physically handicapped
			Women	Migrant workers/ wives	Homeless people	Refugees/ NK defectors	Newcomers	
1. Women should pay more attention to their role as wives and mothers.	3.82 (1.62)	0.39	<b>0.95</b>	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.04	0.00
2. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself.	2.89 (1.45)	0.44	<b>0.66</b>	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.07	0.21
3. There are too many migrant workers living in South Korea.	4.58 (1.46)	0.46	0.02	<b>0.75</b>	-0.07	0.04	-0.01	-0.03
4. When jobs get scarce, the migrant workers living in South Korea should be sent back home.	4.03 (1.59)	0.58	0.00	<b>0.85</b>	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.12
5. Migrant wives should make efforts to assimilate themselves into the Korean culture.	4.87 (1.31)	0.34	0.29	<b>0.33</b>	0.08	-0.03	0.03	-0.18
6. Migrant wives do not contribute to the Korean local community.	3.15 (1.35)	0.62	0.03	<b>0.31</b>	0.10	0.21	0.15	0.20
7. Begging homeless people should be removed from the pedestrian precincts.	3.71 (1.54)	0.53	0.01	0.10	<b>0.79</b>	-0.03	-0.03	0.09
8. The homeless in the towns are unpleasant.	4.19 (1.46)	0.46	0.00	-0.03	<b>0.76</b>	0.05	-0.01	-0.02
9. Those who are new somewhere should be content with less.	3.60 (1.38)	0.52	0.06	0.03	-0.01	-0.01	<b>0.76</b>	0.00
10. Those who have always been living here should have more rights than those who came later.	3.50 (1.44)	0.51	0.00	-0.02	-0.02	0.01	<b>0.81</b>	0.05
11. It is unpleasant to see a region full of North Korean defectors here in South Korea.	3.02 (1.42)	0.65	0.03	-0.03	0.00	<b>0.85</b>	-0.05	0.16
12. The influx of North Korean defectors into South Korea causes social problems such as unemployment and delinquencies.	3.24 (1.46)	0.65	0.03	0.02	-0.10	<b>0.91</b>	-0.01	0.03
13. Refugees in South Korea do not contribute to the Korean society.	3.68 (1.50)	0.64	-0.04	0.23	0.17	<b>0.46</b>	0.11	-0.06
14. It is only natural that refugees in South Korea are treated poorly relative to the Korean people.	3.49 (1.50)	0.64	-0.05	0.16	0.17	<b>0.41</b>	0.24	-0.03
15. Marriages between two women or between two men should be permitted. (reverse)	4.77 (1.83)	0.15	0.24	0.11	-0.03	0.07	-0.04	-0.21
16. It is disgusting when homosexuals kiss in public.	4.62 (1.84)	0.27	0.20	-0.02	0.15	0.14	0.04	-0.25
17. It is best for old people to live apart from others in order not to bother anyone.	2.45 (1.47)	0.48	0.12	0.04	0.17	0.07	0.06	<b>0.53</b>
18. Old people deserve freedom and rights as much as the younger generations in the society. (reverse)	2.44 (1.49)	0.16	-0.08	0.04	-0.10	-0.01	-0.05	<b>0.53</b>
19. Sometimes I feel uncomfortable in the presence of handicapped people.	2.43 (1.43)	0.47	0.00	-0.07	0.17	0.16	0.12	<b>0.45</b>
20. Physically handicapped people have the right to be treated equally. (reverse)	2.87 (1.55)	0.19	0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	<b>0.41</b>

Note:  $N = 1,600$  (subset  $n = 800$  for the EFA factor loadings); All item-total correlations were significant at  $p < .01$ ; Factor loadings greater than 0.30 are indicated in bold in the table; NK defectors = North Korean defectors residing in South Korea

Figure 3: Finalized GFE model (Study 2)



As for the two predictor variables, self-concept and their value orientation were again only weakly correlated (see Table 4). To test Hypothesis 2, we conducted a set of hierarchical regression analyses on the GFE composite score. We first conducted a hierarchical regression analysis using self-concept and value orientation interaction term as a predictor in the second step while controlling for the two main effects in the first step. We found that both main effects were significant,  $b = -.08$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.07$ ,  $p = .003$  for self-concept and  $b = -.13$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.12$ ,  $p < .001$  for value orientation, respectively. More importantly, we found the expected significant interaction between the two predictors,  $\Delta R^2 = .003$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 1596) = 4.43$ ,  $b = -.05$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $\beta = -.03$ ,  $p = .036$ . Consistent with Study 1, simple slope analyses indicated that, for those with a collectivistic value orientation (at +1  $SD = 0.75$ ), independence in self-concept negatively predicted GFE,  $b = -.12$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $p < .001$ . By contrast, for those with an individualistic value orientation (at -1  $SD = -0.75$ ), GFE did not vary as a function of self-concept,  $b = -.05$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.04$ ,  $p = .197$  (Figure 4).

Next, we examined the role of national identification and political orientation by including the two covariates in the first step, the two main effects in the second step, and self-concept and value orientation interaction in the final step. This analysis indicated that political conservatism positively predicted GFE,  $b = .18$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $\beta = .22$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas national identification did not predict GFE,  $b = .00$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $\beta = .00$ ,  $p = .977$ . Both independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation negatively predicted GFE,  $b = -.09$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.08$ ,  $p = .001$  for self-concept and  $b = -.10$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.09$ ,  $p < .001$  for value orientation, respectively. The interaction effect was marginally significant,  $\Delta R^2 = 0.002$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 1594) = 3.01$ ,  $b = -.04$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $\beta = -.03$ ,  $p = .083$ , and simple slope analyses revealed that for those with a collectivistic value orientation (at +1  $SD = 0.75$ ), independence in self-concept negatively predicted GFE,  $b = -.12$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $p < .001$ . For those with an individualistic value orientation (at -1  $SD = -0.75$ ), independence in self-concept was negatively associated with GFE, and this relationship was marginally significant,  $b = -.06$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.05$ ,  $p = .083$ .

Although we did not pre-register specific hypotheses regarding the possible sub-group differences, we took into account the key features of the target groups included in the study to further explore the role of the two covariates in our model. The reasoning behind these exploratory analyses was that, of the ten target groups, women, elders/the physically handicapped, homeless people, and newcomers are minority groups within the boundary of ingroup for South Koreans. By contrast, migrants and refugees/North Korean defectors represent outgroup minorities either by race or nationality (see Bergh et al. 2016 for a similar distinction). Research suggests that prejudice against outgroups has typically been amplified during the COVID-19 pandemic (see Huo 2020). Thus, it would be informative to examine our model along the suggested ingroup/outgroup dimension. We first conducted a multiple regression analysis on prejudice

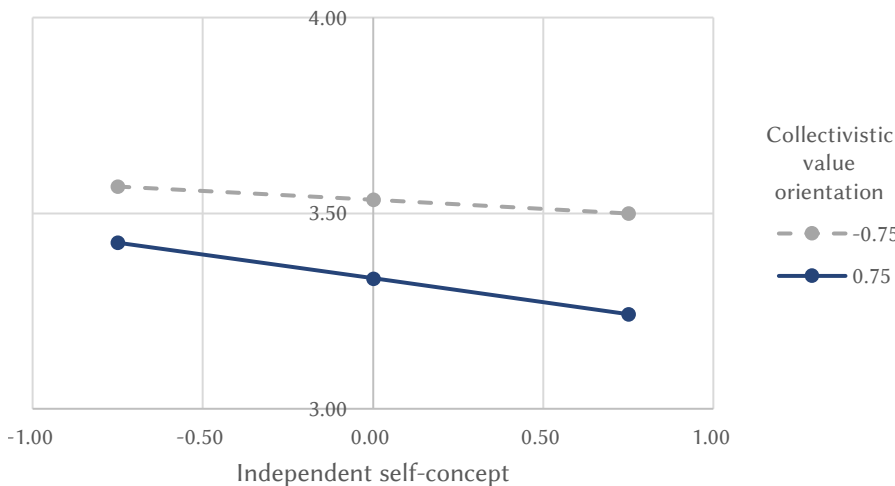
against the five ingroup targets controlling for the two covariates ( $\alpha = .75$  for ten prejudice items). This analysis revealed that political conservatism positively predicted prejudice,  $b = .16, SE = .02, \beta = .21, p < .001$ , whereas national identification did not,  $b = .00, SE = .02, \beta = -.01, p = .785$ . We also found that both independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation negatively predicted prejudice,  $b = -.06, SE = .03, \beta = -.06, p = .018$  for self-concept and  $b = -.08, SE = .03, \beta = -.07, p = .007$  for value orientation, respectively. More importantly, the hypothesized interaction effect was significant,  $\Delta R^2 = 0.002, \Delta F(1, 1594) = 4.06, b = -.05, SE = .02, \beta = -.03, p = .044$ . Simple slope analyses revealed that for those with a collectivistic value orientation (at +1 SD = 0.75), independence in self-concept negatively predicted prejudice,  $b = -.10, SE = .03, \beta = -.09, p = .001$ . For those with an individualistic value orientation (at -1 SD = -0.75), prejudice

**Table 4: Correlations and descriptive statistics (Study 2)**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Independent self-concept	-	-.28**	-.03	.06*	-.04	-.03	-.05*
2. Collectivistic value orientation		-	.22**	-.15**	-.11**	-.10**	-.10**
3. National identification			-	-.07**	-.03	-.04	-.03
4. Political conservatism				-	.23**	.22**	.20**
5. GFE					-	.91**	.92**
6. Ingroup prejudice						-	.66**
7. Outgroup prejudice							-
<i>M</i>	3.42	3.96	5.07	3.80	3.44	3.28	3.64
<i>(SD)</i>	(0.75)	(0.75)	(1.19)	(1.02)	(0.82)	(0.79)	(1.04)

Note:  $N = 1,600$ ; \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$  (two-tailed).

**Figure 4: Interaction of self-concept and value orientation (Study 2)**



scores did not vary as a function of self-concept,  $b = -.03$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.03$ ,  $p = .374$ .

We conducted a parallel analysis on the prejudice scores involving the four outgroup targets ( $\alpha = .86$  for eight prejudice items) and found that political conservatism also positively predicted prejudice,  $b = .20$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = .19$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas national identification did not,  $b = .00$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $\beta = .01$ ,  $p = .835$ . We also found that both independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation negatively predicted prejudice,  $b = -.12$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.09$ ,  $p < .001$  for self-concept and  $b = -.13$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $\beta = -.10$ ,  $p < .001$  for value orientation, respectively. The interaction term failed to reach significance,  $\Delta R^2 = 0.001$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 1594) = 1.32$ ,  $b = -.03$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $\beta = -.02$ ,  $p = .251$ .

Overall, results from Study 2 are consistent with those from Study 1, lending further support to our hypotheses. As in Study 1, we found that GFE as a second-order construct explains first-order factors involving prejudice against different social groups. Prejudice against the nine target groups formed six first-order factors with an interpretable pattern. Migrant workers and migrant wives share the common core in that they have been invited to South Korea for a similar purpose, namely, to help the nation's economy. Likewise, North Korean defectors are a special case of refugees, and thus prejudice against this group may well be related to prejudice against other refugee groups. Lastly, both elders and the physically handicapped are typically perceived in Korea as people with physical vulnerability. We contend that perceptions of the two groups may have become similar due to the pandemic situation when the current study was being conducted.

Subsidiary analyses including national identification and political orientation as covariates revealed interesting patterns of results. We found that when the two covariates were taken into account the predicted interaction between self-concept and value orientation was pronounced in prejudice toward ingroup targets but not toward outgroup targets. Prejudice against migrants and refugees might have become particularly sensitive to the distinction by race and nationality as South Korea was facing a high degree of societal threat due to the pandemic during which Study 2 was conducted. Research has suggested that

perceptions of group boundaries involving race/nationality are an especially potent source of prejudice during the pandemic (see Esses and Hamilton 2021; Huo 2020), and this may have rendered self-concept and value orientation less relevant to the perceptions of migrants and refugees. Given that in Study 1 the predicted interaction between self-concept and value orientation emerged even after controlling for the two covariates, whether or not the partial evidence for Hypothesis 2 in this study is pandemic-specific remains an open question. At the least, the different pattern of results involving ingroup targets versus outgroup targets resonates with previous work suggesting that different domains of generalized prejudice are related differentially to individual difference variables (see Duckitt and Sibley 2007). This interpretation is also in line with the notion that when and how prejudice is manifested depends on the immediate circumstances (see Crandall and Eshleman 2003).

## 5 General Discussion

We found in two studies that GFE, as a second-order construct, explains first-order factors involving prejudices against various social minorities in South Korea. We also found evidence that independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation jointly predict lower levels of GFE, although the results varied somewhat in Study 2 when national identification and political orientation were taken into account as covariates.

To the best of our knowledge, the hierarchical structure of the prejudices examined in the current research offers the first empirical evidence for the notion of GFE in a non-European context, further suggesting the utility of GFE as a theoretical construct. The target groups examined in our studies as well as those in the previous work on GFE represent minority groups of low power and social status, suggesting that a general ideology of inequality is at the root of prejudices against those groups. This line of reasoning is also consistent with the recent finding that devaluation of low-power groups forms the basis of generalized prejudice in Western societies (see Bergh et al. 2016). One important implication, therefore, would be that efforts to reduce prejudice, as well as empirical research on the nature of prejudice, need to address

the ideological common core of prejudice with a focus on multiple types of prejudice rather than a single-group focus (Küpper and Zick 2014).

Unlike the previous work involving European samples (Küpper and Zick 2014; Zick et al. 2008, 2011), animosity toward homosexuals did not emerge as a first-order factor in Study 2. It is worth noting that in South Korea, issues related to homosexuals have come to the surface only recently, with a very small number of individuals coming out overall. Thus, the visibility of this particular group is still very low compared to the Western societies. This suggests that homosexuals in South Korea may not make an entitative group that is subject to a specific type of prejudice. Thus, perceptions of this group may involve a focus on individuals rather than the group focus stipulated in the GFE framework. It is also worth noting that animosity toward homosexuals was the strongest and significantly higher than ratings of all target groups combined in our data. It may be that prejudice against homosexuals in South Korea, where Confucian values are still in place, needs to be traced to factors other than the general ideology of inequality. In this regard, our data raise an interesting question for future studies on GFE, especially ones involving East Asian populations.

The results regarding the combined role of independence in self-concept and a collectivistic value orientation offer additional insights into what predicts GFE. The role of values in predicting GFE has been reported by Küpper and Zick (2014), who found a negative association between universalism and the overall GFE (see also Nickel 2022). However, security values did not predict GFE as hypothesized, leaving questions about the utility of the universalism/security contrast in predicting GFE. By contrast, our model specifies the interplay between a collectivistic value orientation and an independent self-concept in predicting GFE. We contended that GFE would be less likely among those who do not succumb to the “group-focus” in their perceptions of others, the key feature of an independent self-concept in social cognition (Kitayama et al. 2007; Markus and Kitayama 1991). At the same time, our model stipulates that collectivism, a strong concern for the well-being of the overall community, represents an important condition that inhibits biased perceptions of social minorities

(Choi and Euh 2019). Given the centrality of self in social perception (Cross et al. 2011; Oyserman and Lee 2007), the current research sheds light on the role of self-concept in the GFE syndrome. Moreover, by identifying the interaction between self-concept and value orientation in the GFE framework, the current research suggests an interesting direction for research on generalized prejudice.

Despite the potential contribution of the current research, several limitations need to be addressed. Both studies are cross-sectional, and thus longitudinal studies are required to establish the stability of the GFE syndrome over time in South Korea. In addition, we set out to test the GFE syndrome with an assumption that prejudices in South Korea, as a manifestation of anti-democratic mentality, have similar features to those in European societies. Although our results are encouraging, this assumption requires further testing. Lastly, we found supportive evidence for the hypothesized interaction between self-concept and value orientation on the overall level of GFE, but the effect size was rather small in both studies. Additional research establishing a causal relationship between the variables would certainly increase confidence in our model.

As Allport (1954) noted, prejudices are not islands unto themselves but interrelated, and this is precisely why research is needed to understand the common core of everyday prejudice. In this regard, the GFE framework offers useful insights into one of the most persistent questions in the literature, namely: What constitutes prejudice? In addition, our new approach in GFE that considers a joint function of individuals’ self-concept and their value orientation may shed some light on the psychological variables that might attenuate devaluation of minorities and a syndrome of GFE.

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