Prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin in Indonesia: An integrated threat approach

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Communication

at Massey University, Wellington Campus, New Zealand

Tommy Sunpana Yotes

2025

Abstract

Latent tension has long defined the relationship between Chinese Indonesians and the *Pribumi* (native Indonesians). Political violence against Chinese Indonesians has occurred from time to time, from pre-independence Indonesia to the Suharto era. Rooted in Dutch colonial legacies that framed the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia as perpetual outsiders, prejudice toward them has persisted for centuries and even continues under the current administration. Furthermore, China's rising influence in Southeast Asia has brought an influx of new Chinese migrants (Xinyimin) to the region, including Indonesia, intensifying perceptions of threats and prejudice.

This study uses Stephan & Stephan's integrated threat theory to explore how perceived threats relate to prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin working in Indonesia. Using multiple regression analyses, this study found negative stereotypes, realistic threat, history of intergroup conflict, and age act as significant predictors of prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians, and that history of intergroup conflict and contact influence the perception of economic threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia. Theoretical, methodological, and practical implications for integrated threat and prejudice are discussed.

Acknowledgements

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my mentor in life, Sensei Daisaku Ikeda, whose spiritual guidance and encouragement have been a constant source of inspiration for me in navigating life, especially during my PhD journey. Although Sensei is no longer with us, his influence and encouragement will forever be a part of who I am.

I would also like to thank my mentor in the academic world, Professor Stephen Croucher. Your constant support, patience, guidance, and dedication to mentoring me have been pivotal in helping me shape and complete this thesis on time. I am immensely grateful for helping me grow as a researcher.

I would also like to thank my mentors, Dr Elena Maydell and Dr Diyako Rahmani. Your continued support and insightful feedback have been instrumental in guiding me through the challenges of this research.

To my family, especially my mom and sister, thank you for your endless love and trust in my potential throughout this journey.

Table of Contents

List of Original Articles

1. Yotes, T. (2024). Chinese Indonesians and the new Chinese migrants in Indonesia. In S. Croucher & E. Nshom (Eds.), *Research handbook on communication and prejudice* (pp. 436-448), Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
2. Yotes, T. & Croucher, S. (In press). An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians. *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication*. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395.
3. Yotes, T., Croucher, S., & Maydell, E. (2024). Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: Testing the integrated threat model. *Communication Research Reports*. 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Prejudice toward ethnic Chinese in Indonesia and the new Chinese migrants (*Xinyimin*, 新移民) in Indonesia is a latent phenomenon. The country has witnessed such prejudice manifest in the past years, especially during heated political times. The most recent ones included the anti-Ahok movement[1] and protests against the Xinyimin working in the regions where Chinese manufacturing factories operate (Osman & Waikar, 2018; Suryadinata, 2020). Native Indonesians' (*Pribumi*) perceptions of Chinese Indonesians have been mixed, changing from time to time depending on situational factors. However, due to the colonial legacies in the Dutch period and past discriminatory policies, Chinese Indonesians are still seen as perpetual outsiders in their homeland. They are often connected to the imagined threat of the Chinese communist state (Aryodiguno, 2020). Moreover, China's economic rise and rapid investments in the country have led to increased migration of Xinyimin working in Indonesia, and public perceptions of the Xinyimin are often filled with suspicion, complicating views of Chinese Indonesians as an auxiliary of the former (Herlijanto, 2017*a*).

Decades of deep-rooted stereotypes toward Chinese Indonesians continue to shape their identities and interactions with *Pribumi*. They are perceived as a wealthy and arrogant group, only interested in making profits; many believe they consider themselves superior to the *Pribumi*, hence their social exclusiveness and conscious choice of living only in Chinese Indonesian neighbourhood enclaves (Tan, 1991). Fossati et al. (2017) found such stereotypes remained under the Jokowi administration. As many as 59.8% of the Indonesian public believe

[1] Between 2016 and 2017, far-right Islamist groups, comprising Front Pembela Islam (FPI, Islamic Defenders Front), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI, Party of Liberation), among others, used strategies of symbolic violence to attack Jakarta's former governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) — an ethnic Chinese descent and a Christian. They accused him of blaspheming Islam. The groups also weaponised Ahok's ethnic and religious identity, framing him as a puppet of the communist Chinese state and a Christian crusader in Indonesia. They perceived him as a threat to Islam (Osman & Waikar, 2018).

Chinese Indonesians are more likely to be wealthy than *Pribumi*, and more than 40% agree that they tend to live an exclusive life (Fossati et al., 2017). Such enduring perceptions, rooted in the economic supremacy of the top-listed ethnic Chinese-controlled conglomerates, seemed to have caused discontent among the *Pribumi* elite (Herlijanto, 2017*b*). Bachtiar Nasir, Indonesian ulama and former chairman of the National Movement to Safeguard the Indonesian Ulema Council's Fatwa, said Chinese Indonesians' wealth was a problem, and they did not "become more generous and fair" (Allard & Da Costa, 2017, para 3).

Suspicions toward the Xinyimin working in Indonesia are also not uncommon. Online and traditional media, oftentimes spreading misinformation, framed Chinese workers as job stealers, Chinese military intelligence, and even virus spreaders during the COVID-19 pandemic (Herlijanto, 2017*a*; Suryadinata, 2020; Yotes, 2019). Fossati et al. (2017) captured recent anti-Chinese-migration sentiments in their survey, finding that 50.2% of the Indonesian public believed that only high-skilled Chinese workers should be allowed to work in Indonesia, while 26.8% believed none of them should be allowed to work in the country. Understanding the factors that lead the dominant culture to perceive less dominant groups, such as the Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin, as threats offers practical and theoretical insights.

Stephan and Stephan's (1996) integrated threat theory (ITT) can help explain such factors by examining the roles of perceived threats in predicting prejudicial views toward a less dominant group. Such threats include realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes, all of which act as predictors of negative attitudes toward minority groups (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 1999). ITT literature examining prejudice toward minority groups and immigrants in Southeast Asia is limited. Much of the previous research focuses on studies in North America, Europe, Australia, and New

Zealand (i.e. from a Western-centric perspective). Hence, looking beyond findings from Western-centric regions is pertinent to achieving diverse samples and a more balanced view on anti-minority/ immigrant prejudice. Given this background, this study aims to understand the varying public views in Indonesia on threat perceptions and prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin, whose arrivals have been increasingly notable following the post-Belt and Road Initiative projects.

The following book chapter and articles attempt to meet the study's objective above:

1. Yotes, T. (2024). Chinese Indonesians and the new Chinese migrants in Indonesia. In S. Croucher & E. Nshom (Eds.), *Research handbook on communication and prejudice* (pp. 436-448), Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
2. Yotes, T. & Croucher, S. (2024). An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians. *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication*. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395.
3. Yotes, T., Croucher, S., & Maydell, E. (2024). Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: Testing the integrated threat model. *Communication Research Reports*. 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289.

Book Chapter

Yotes, T. (2024). Chinese Indonesians and the new Chinese migrants in Indonesia. In S. Croucher & E. Nshom (Eds.), *Research handbook on communication and prejudice* (pp. 436-448), Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

This chapter is a literature review of threat perceptions in Stephan and Stephan's (1996) integrated threat theory (ITT)—in the context of intergroup relations between native Indonesians (*Pribumi*), Chinese Indonesians, and the new Chinese migrants (Xinyimin) in Indonesia. It

begins with a brief history of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, from their early arrival in the 1500s to the Dutch colonial period (1816–1941). It then discusses how Chinese Indonesians are being discriminated against by different governments, from Sukarno to Suharto and post-Suharto rule. Next, the article provides insights into the Xinyimin in Indonesia, exploring their general profile. Last, it offers a review of how the perceptions of threat and threat antecedents in Stephan and Stephan's (1996) integrated threat theory (ITT) could be applied in the intergroup relations among the three groups. This article was published last year as a book chapter in the *Research Handbook on Communication and Prejudice*. The book is a fitting publication for this work, which aligns with the book's focus on methodological, philosophical, and theoretical approaches that offer an in-depth review of research on prejudice and communication.

Article 1

Yotes, T. & Croucher, S. (2024). An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians. *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication*. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395.

This article explores the links between threat perceptions and prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians. First, it briefly explains the positionality of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia through historical lenses; then, it elaborates on how discrimination and stereotypes toward Chinese Indonesians have been perpetuated from time to time under different governments. This article introduces ITT as its theoretical framework as a guide to answer its research question; that is, to what extent do intergroup threats and threat antecedents predict *Pribumi*'s prejudice toward ethnic Chinese in Indonesia? Using multiple regression analysis, this study (n = 611) found stereotypes, realistic threat, history of intergroup conflicts, and age act as significant predictors of prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians. It also discusses the theoretical, methodological, and

practical implications of integrated threat and prejudice within communication studies. This article was published in the *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication* (JIIC)—a Q1 journal in intercultural communication—in August 2024. JICC has consistently featured ITT research, hence making it a fitting journal for the Author's work to enrich the existing discourse within this journal.

Article 2

Yotes, T., Croucher, S., & Maydell, E. (2024). Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: Testing the integrated threat model. *Communication Research Reports*. 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289.

This article examines the effects of history of intergroup conflicts and contact on the formation of threat perceptions toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia. It first discusses the recent intergroup tensions between Indonesians and the Xinyimin, which constitutes the largest foreign labour force in Indonesia. It then features a brief profile of the Xinyimin in Indonesia. Threat perceptions and threat antecedents—the latter of which include history of intergroup conflicts and contact—are explained as theoretical tools to help the Author answer the research question: to what extent do history of conflicts and contact predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia? This study recruited 907 participants in Indonesia via Survey Monkey; using multiple regression analysis, it found both history of conflicts and contact predict realistic threat, which is a perceived threat to an ingroup's socioeconomic welfare. This article was published in *Communication Research Reports* (CRR), a Q2 journal focusing on empirical studies in the communication field, in August 2024. CRR is a fitting venue for my work, which takes a report format that is brief and yet impactful; the findings in this study also contribute to prior ITT studies in CRR.

Table 1 Articles and the main research questions addressed

Works Published	Research Questions
Yotes, T. (2024). Chinese Indonesians and the new Chinese migrants in Indonesia. In S. Croucher & E. Nshom (Eds.), *Research handbook on communication and prejudice* (pp. 436-448), Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.	What is integrated threat theory in the context of Chinese Indonesians and the new Chinese migrants (*Xinyimin*) in Indonesia?
Yotes, T. & Croucher, S. (2024). An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians. *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication.* https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395.	*RQ:* To what extent do intergroup threats and threat antecedents predict *Pribumi*'s prejudice toward ethnic Chinese in Indonesia?
Yotes, T., Croucher, S., & Maydell, E. (2024). Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: Testing the integrated threat model. *Communication Research Reports.* 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289.	*RQ1:* To what extent does history of intergroup conflicts predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia? *RQ2:* To what extent does contact with the Xinyimin predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia?

Table 2 Work distribution for co-authored pieces

Works Published	Author Contribution
Yotes, T. (2024). Chinese Indonesians and the new Chinese migrants in Indonesia. In S. Croucher & E. Nshom (Eds.), *Research handbook on communication and prejudice* (pp. 436-448), Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.	Sole author (Yotes)
Yotes, T. & Croucher, S. (2024). An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians. *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication.* https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395.	Compilation of research literature (Yotes) Development and structure of the article (Yotes) Development of theoretical framework (Yotes) Data collection (Yotes) Data preparation (Yotes) Data analysis (Yotes and Croucher) Results (Yotes and Croucher) Discussion (Yotes)

	Overall supervision and guidance (Croucher)
Yotes, T., Croucher, S., & Maydell, E. (2024). Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: Testing the integrated threat model. *Communication Research Reports.* 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289.	Compilation of research literature (Yotes) Development and structure of the article (Yotes) Development of theoretical framework (Yotes) Data collection (Yotes) Data preparation (Yotes) Data analysis (Yotes and Croucher) Results (Yotes and Croucher) Discussion (Yotes) Overall supervision and guidance (Croucher and Maydell)

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Defining Chinese Indonesian Identities

The identities of the ethnic Chinese minority in Indonesia have been shaped and reshaped through ethnic segregation and social reality defined by politics and policies since the Dutch colonial rule in the archipelago. Purcell (1951) highlighted that Chinese traders were known to have been present in Java as early as the ninth century, yet they only settled in large numbers once the Dutch arrived in the late 16th century. Past studies examined the construction of Chinese-Indonesian identities based on the primordial concept of Chineseness. This ethnic marker perpetually situates the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia outside the imagined Indonesian nationalism (Chua, 2004). Indeed, although their identities are much more complex and multi-faceted, with no single Chinese Indonesian identity existing (see Sai & Hoon, 2012), scholars on Chinese Indonesians seem to collectively agree that the 'Chinese Problem' (*masalah Cina*) has contributed to shaping their perceptions. The following section will examine the historical constructions of ethnic Chinese identities in Indonesia through state politics and policies, which may have led to the perpetuation of prejudice toward them.

2.1.1. Ethnic Chinese in the Dutch East Indies

Ethnic Chinese living between the 17th and 19th centuries of the Dutch East Indies, especially in major port cities like Batavia, held vital economic roles; they served not only as traders of imported materials but also as producers of goods and services (Reid, 1993). European-controlled ports attracted the Chinese as they provided them with stability and trading conveniences. The Chinese worked as middlemen between the Dutch and the natives where goods and services were traded between the two groups via them (Vandenbosch, 1930). They also worked as tax farmers under the Dutch fiscal strategy in Java, collecting taxes from local

populations, which cemented their position as the main middleman minority in the Javanese economy (Wahid, 2013). The institutionalisation of their role as intermediaries became more salient in Java during the peak of the opium trade in the 19th and 20th centuries, when the Dutch granted many licenses for opium farming to Chinese entrepreneurs (Dobbin, 1989).

In Batavia, the Dutch segregated the Chinese from the locals, allowing them only to live in specific areas under the *wijkenstelsel* (zoning system) and *passenstelsel* (pass system) regulations. They controlled the mobility of the Chinese, where they lived, and with whom they could interact, and heavy fines would be imposed upon the violators of these two systems. The Dutch enforced such systems because they feared that if they mixed the Chinese with the indigenous populations, the former would side with the latter and start social unrest (Aryodiguno, 2020; Lan, 2012). Suryadinata (1993) argues that the zoning and pass systems have had significant influences on the separateness of the Chinese from other races. Given this background, the ethnic Chinese's position as middlemen and the discriminatory policies against them under the Dutch may have had long-lasting effects on ethnic relations and how other ethnic groups perceive them.

2.1.2. Ethnic Chinese under Sukarno

The extent to which the colonial policies cemented the differences between the Chinese and the indigenous populations (*Pribumi*) continued under Sukarno (1949–1967). Despite the heterogeneity of the local Chinese community, they were seen as one group that controlled the Indonesian economy, and to curb their growing power, Sukarno issued Presidential Decree No. 10, which restricted foreigners from operating in rural areas (Suryadinata, 1976). The decree affected even the ethnic Chinese who had gained Indonesian citizenship because they were still treated as aliens due to the absence of citizenship papers (Tanasaldy, 2022). As a consequence of

this discriminatory policy, which was enacted in 1960, the country saw an exodus of ethnic Chinese from rural areas to large cities, even to mainland China, prompting them to sell or even abandon their properties and businesses.

In the last years of his reign, Sukarno became close to Beijing. His trip to China in the fall of 1956 marked the beginning of his enthusiasm and admiration for China's progress and political stability (Liu, 1997). However, Sukarno's close relationship with Beijing, along with the continued growth of the Indonesian Communist Party, or PKI, between 1959 and 1963, further raised public suspicions toward the ethnic Chinese populations. This perceived threat culminated in anti-Chinese riots toward the end of Sukarno's reign in 1963 in West Java. What started as trivial quarrels between *Pribumi* and ethnic Chinese youngsters due to the former's dissatisfaction over a court ruling evolved into a series of anti-Chinese riots that spread across Java, resulting in the deaths of dozens of people and damage to thousands of buildings (Pangestu, et al., 2021; Woolgar, 2023). This particular event further marginalised the Chinese Indonesians and Chinese citizens living in West Java, with some leaders of Chinese associations reportedly becoming targets of harassment, extortion, and even physical violence in the province in late 1966 (Woolgar, 2023). Due to Sukarno's close alliance with China, Chinese Indonesian identities became increasingly fraught with public distrust, ultimately leading to political violence against them.

2.1.3. Ethnic Chinese under Suharto

Chinese Indonesians faced constant discrimination under Suharto (1967–1998), who came into power after anti-communist purges in 1965 and his effort to consolidate the military into the 'New Order' government. His regime perpetuated racist discrimination toward Chinese Indonesians by banning three cultural pillars of the Chinese overseas—education, associations,

and mass media—under the pretext of assimilation (Suryadinata, 2018). The regime's forced assimilation policies encompassed discriminatory laws from the 1960s to the 1990s that required Chinese Indonesians to adopt Indonesian-sounding names, banned Chinese schools, de-prioritised Chinese Indonesian children to be admitted to public schools, prohibited the use of the Chinese language and characters in public spaces and print media, confined the practice of Confucianism to only conjugal spheres, and more (Dawis, 2009; Lie & Bailey, 2016; Suryadinata, 1976). Two policies that explicitly situated the ethnic Chinese as perpetual aliens were the assignment of a special code in the serial number of their passports and national identity cards, and the production of the SBKRI certificate, the citizenship certificate issued to Chinese Indonesians only, for matters involving government offices (Tan, 1991; Lan, 2012).

Anti-Chinese violence under Suharto broke out toward the end of his rule in 1998. Starting in Medan, North Sumatra, in 1994, worker protests led to the looting and destruction of Chinese-owned property, which then spread to Java, Makassar, and Banjarmasin (Heidhues, 2017). Anti-Chinese violence culminated in two-day riots between May 13 and 15, 1998, ravaging Jakarta, Solo, Medan, and other Indonesian cities, which brought about Suharto's downfall. The riots saw not just looting and burning of Chinese-owned property but also the systemic rape of Chinese Indonesian women and killing (Purdey, 2006; Suryadinata, 2017). Harsanto (2002, as cited in Suryadinata, 2017, p. 57) reported the riots four years later as follows:

> The May riots inflicted losses of at least Rp.2.5 trillion (US$268 million). Thirteen markets, 2,479 shop-houses, 40 malls, 1,604 shops, 45 garages, 383 private offices, nine fuel stations, eight public buses and minivans, 1,119 cars, 821 motorcycles, and 1,026 houses were destroyed during the riots. The violence claimed 2,244 lives, according to the latest data from the Volunteers' Team for Humanity. The largest number of dead came from the area of [the] Yogya Plaza department store and supermarket, with 288 killed. Anti-Chinese sentiment was sparked in the anarchy which was followed by

looting, burning, and the rape of Chinese Indonesians.

2.1.4. Ethnic Chinese in Post-Suharto and Jokowi Era

Chinese Indonesians experienced, to a large extent, greater freedom in the post-Suharto era. Discriminatory laws against Chinese Indonesians under Suharto were gradually nullified over time. BJ Habibie, Suharto's successor, issued Presidential Instruction No. 4/1999 on the Implementation of Presidential Decree No. 56/1996, which revoked the SBKRI certificate for Chinese Indonesians. Under Abdurrahman Wahid's rule (1999-2021), Chinese Indonesians were able to exercise cultural expression freely, as the then-president permitted in January 2000 the celebration of Chinese New Year in public for the first time after more than 30 years (Turner & Allen, 2007). Megawati Sukarnoputri (2001-2004) declared Chinese New Year a public holiday in 2003, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014) in 2006 passed a landmark nationality law that no longer categorised Chinese Indonesians as a foreign ethnic group, placing them under the same category as indigenous Indonesians (Anggraeni, 2017; Chandra, 2012).

Despite greater liberty and more conducive situations, Chinese Indonesians still face resistance, especially in politics, under the Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo administration (2014-2024). The past decade has seen unprecedented political participation among Chinese Indonesians, as they were elected governors, mayors, and district heads (Tanasaldy, 2022). For instance, Basuki 'Ahok' Tjahaja Purnama, a Chinese Indonesian and Christian, was elected Jakarta Governor from 2014-2017, succeeding Jokowi, who was elevated to the presidency. Despite Ahok's popularity, he faced considerable opposition from conservative Muslims during his governorship and was accused of insulting the Koran during his re-election campaign. After losing his re-election bid, he was found guilty under Indonesia's blasphemy law and was sent to prison for two years from 2017 to 2019 (Siddharta, 2019). Using the Ahok case as an example, Setijadi

(2019, p. 211) argued that anti-Chinese sentiments could dissipate as swiftly as they arose, highlighting the persistent perception of Chinese Indonesians as "convenient scapegoats during political and economic instability."

2.2. New Chinese Migrants (Xinyimin) in Indonesia

The new Chinese migration is the fourth wave of migration starting in the early 1990s, and it differs from the previous waves in that it leverages Chinese economic rise and expansion toward developing regions like South America and Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. The past two decades has witnessed a shift in such migration toward Southeast Asia, especially due to Beijing's ambition to spread its economic and diplomatic influence through partnerships with ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) (Chong, 2022). The new Chinese migrants (Xinyimin) are more educated, mobile, skilled, and more likely to leave the host country than those arriving in previous waves. They are also often described as the transnational Chinese (Suryadinata, 2022). Two parts define a Xinyimin. First, they are migrants from Mainland China (and to a much lesser extent from Taiwan); second, they have resided or plan to reside in the host country for more than one year, some intending to even live there longer or permanently (Suryadinata, 2020). Currently, the Xinyimin constitute the largest foreign labour population in Indonesia, with the Indonesian Ministry of Power issuing around 76,000 work permits to Chinese nationals between January and November 2023 (Indonesian Ministry of Power, 2023).

China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects that span key sectors from manufacturing to transportation infrastructure, and to renewable energy and EVs have galvanised the influx of Xinyimin migration to Indonesia, which ranks first among ASEAN member countries in terms of BRI-related capital flow. In 2023 alone, Indonesia received around US$7.3 billion of BRI funds (Interesse, 2024). The Xinyimin in Indonesia work in various occupations

and industries. Those who identify as PRC nationals, for instance, work as entrepreneurs, high-ranking managers, operators for small and medium businesses, and traders operating small shops or offices (Lin, 2020). The industries they are involved in range from service to manufacturing, mining, education, tourism, and finance.

Public perceptions of China and the Xinyimin are rather complex, with growing recognition of China's economic influence but considerable anxiety about its political and strategic impact. The ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute's State of Southeast Asia 2024 survey found that 54% of Indonesians view China as the most influential economic power in Southeast Asia, and 46% welcome its growing regional economic influence. However, 57% of Indonesians feel anxious about China's political and strategic influence in Indonesia (ASEAN Studies Centre at ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, 2024). Fossati et al. (2017) found the majority of Indonesians favour imposing some restrictions on Chinese workers and controlling their number.

2.3. Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) and Prejudice

This study aims to understand the diverse public perceptions of Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin in Indonesia in the context of threat perceptions and prejudice. Stephan & Stephan's integrated threat theory (ITT) can provide a theoretical framework to investigate the roots of perceived threats and prejudice toward them. ITT explains that prejudicial or negative attitudes toward outgroups arise from threats believed or perceived by individuals or groups (Croucher, 2017).

2.3.1. Prejudice

In intergroup relations, prejudice is typically understood as negative attitudes or behaviours directed toward members of a different group, either toward outgroups or ingroups (Allport, 1979; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Ingroups are formed as the basis of one's existence,

and their members seek familiarity with, preference for, and attachment to the group to which they belong. Ingroup formation "comes prior to the development of attitudes toward specific outgroups" (Allport, 1979; Brewer, 1999, p. 430). In addition, ingroup members also tend to view outgroup members as more homogenous; they easily develop ingroup favouritism based on minor similarities (Plous, 2003). An outgroup, on the other hand, constitutes individuals who are seen as different from and who do not identify with their own group (Allport, 1979).

2.3.2. Prejudice and ITT

ITT is a model expanded from the radial model network of stereotypes—a model that links stereotypes to prejudice through the networks of affective and cognitive components attached to the traits associated with groups and their labels (Stephan & Stephan, 1993; Stephan et al., 1994). ITT, as an expansion of the previous model, explores the role of threats as predictors of prejudice posed by outgroups. These threats comprise realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. It is argued that each of these threats consists of the cognitive and affective components linked to social groups and the traits associated with them (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). For instance, negative affect could be aroused by the belief that immigrants would steal jobs from native-born workers (realistic threat) or that immigrants would erode the cultural identity of a host nation (symbolic threat) (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

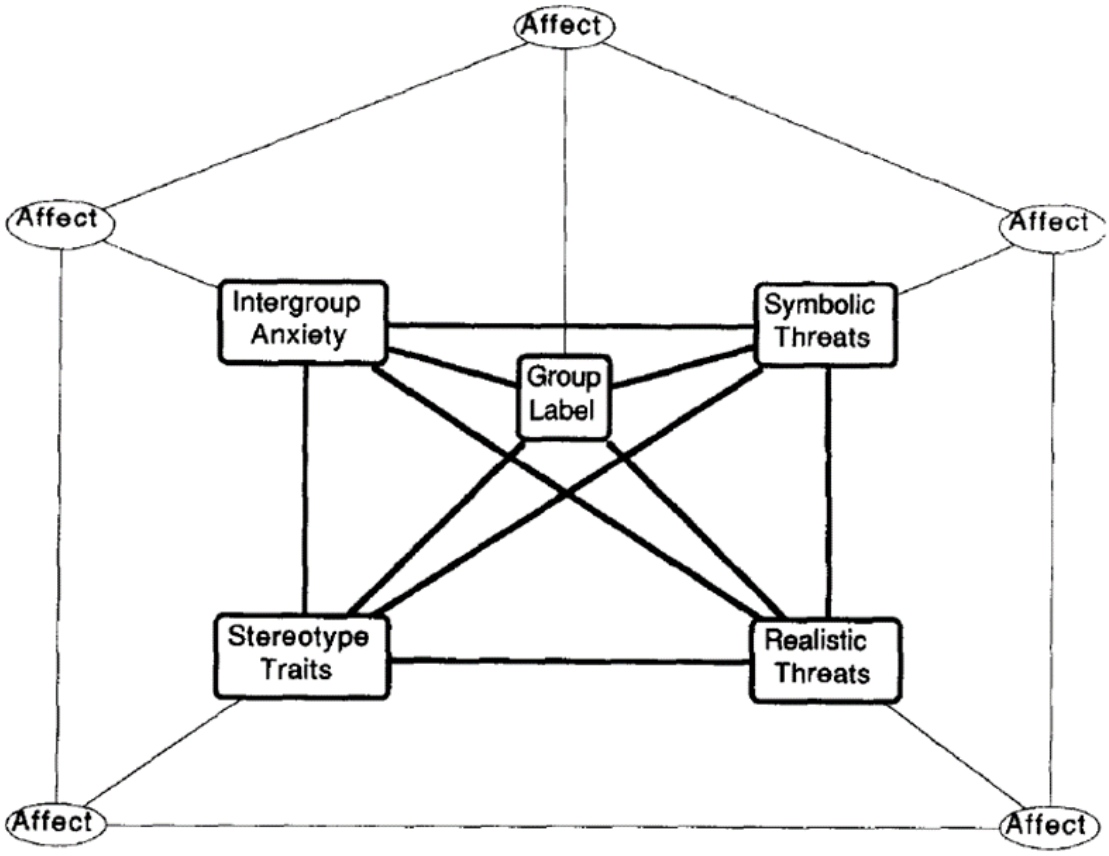


Figure 1. A radial network model of intergroup cognitions and affect (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

2.3.3. Threat Variables

Realistic Threat

Realistic threat has its roots in Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT), which argues prejudice is heightened when competition over scarce and valued resources is intensified in intergroup relations. On the contrary, under the presence of shared, superordinate goals, prejudice is reduced through intergroup cooperation (Jackson, 1993; Sherif, 1966; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). The nature of intergroup relations, be they positive or negative, is contingent upon the reciprocal interests and goals of the groups involved (Sherif & Sherif, 1979). Such

interests will become limiting factors that affect interaction processes between groups if they pose a threat—in the contexts of economic interests, military consideration, political advantage, or prestige—to the well-being and safety of either group. These threats can be real or imagined in nature (Sherif & Sherif, 1979).

RGCT has been able to predict the psychological consequences that have transpired from intergroup conflicts. Bobo (1983), for instance, found white Americans' opposition to busing in the early 1970s was likely to manifest due to their political unwillingness to share resources and translate their favourable attitudes into policies that promote racial equity and justice. LeVine and Campbell (1972) postulate that ingroup solidarity and ethnocentrism positively correlate with realistic group conflicts. They argue that in surviving intergroup conflicts, internal peace and coherence are at most functional amidst external pressure. In another study using RGCT, Quillian (1995) examines the relationships among the economic conditions of 12 European Economic Community countries, the size of racial or immigrant populations, and prejudice toward them. The study finds that prejudice [toward outgroups] is more likely to intensify when a country experiences a poor economic situation and witnesses a concentration of foreign presence simultaneously. The dominant group appears to attribute the poor economic performance of a country to the subordinate group and sees the latter as a realistic threat to their security (Quillian, 1995).

The idea of realistic threat in the integrated threat theory (ITT) differs from the concept presented in the RGCT in that the former claims it has a broader focus and places more emphasis on the perception of threats. In the ITT model, realistic threats comprise any threat (posed by an outgroup) to the very existence of ingroup members, and such a threat, notwithstanding its real or unreal presence, could lead to prejudicial attitudes toward the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan,

2000). Realistic threats are primarily concerned with tangible threats to the ingroup's political and economic power vis-à-vis their physical and material well-being (cf. Bobo, 1983; Coser, 1956; Giles & Evans, 1985; LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966; Stephan et al., 1998; Stephan et al., 1999; Quillian, 1995).

Symbolic Threat

The concept of symbolic threat owes greatly to the early studies of symbolic racism, which attempt to explain the refusals shown by white Americans to accept change in racial justice policies, as they feel Black Americans violate non-racial American core values, such as individualism, hard work, meritocracy, and delayed gratification (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears, 1988). Symbolic racism can be expressed twofold, attitudinally and behaviourally. On attitudinal levels, it reinforces abstract moral assertions about stereotypes toward Black Americans as a group, what they deserve, and what acts are expected from them (Sears & McConahay, 1973). On behavioural levels, symbolic racism is translated into justified acts, including rejecting affirmative actions, voting against Black candidates, and opposing educational and housing desegregation—all performed to maintain white Americans' status quo (McConahay & Hough, 1976). Sidanius et al. (1992), in Social Dominance Theory, propose symbolic racism acts *not* as driving attitudes toward prejudice but more of a legitimising myth that is manifested as the dominant group's desire to maintain control and social hegemony.

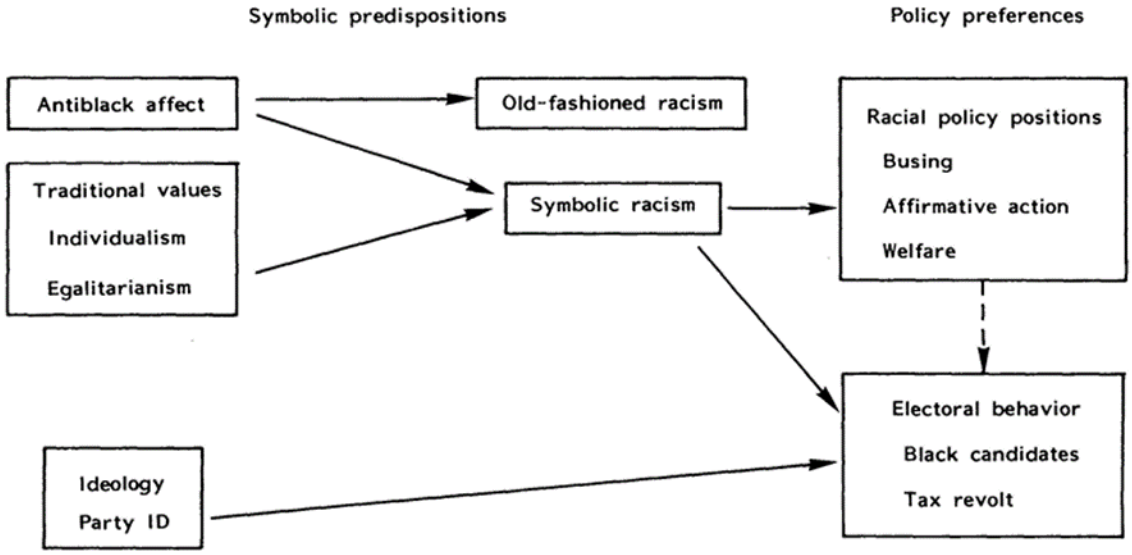


Figure 2. The symbolic racism approach (Sears, 1988)

In ambivalence-amplification theory, symbolic racism includes ambivalent perspectives of a dominant group about a stigmatised group. This ambivalence is highlighted in the dichotomy of white Americans' racial attitudes toward Blacks in which they feel sympathetic and favourable toward the latter and yet hold anti-Black feelings, attributing the Blacks' problems to the violation of the Protestant work ethic (Katz et al., 1986; Katz & Haas, 1988).

Stephan and Stephan (2000) argue their approach to symbolic threat in the integrated threat theory (ITT) model is more closely related to symbolic beliefs. The term symbolic beliefs refers to "all thoughts about the relation(s) between social groups and basic values and norms", and it highlights how ingroups' negative attitudes toward outgroups are salient when the latter blocks ingroup values, customs, and traditions (Esses et al., 1993, p. 146). Symbolic threat in ITT has indeed grown out of work in the aforementioned symbolic racism theories sans the Protestant ethic principles. It is defined as any feeling(s) of "threats posed by the outgroup to any

of the central values held by the ingroup" or threats to the ingroup's worldview (Stephan & Stephan, 2000, p. 26). ITT also distinguishes symbolic from realistic threat, as previous measures used to gauge symbolic racism include elements of realistic threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Intergroup Anxiety

Theories of intergroup relations have confirmed the presence of anxiety in intergroup contacts. Dovidio and Gaertner (2004) posit that aversive racists, for example, avoid intergroup interactions due to uneasiness and discomfort toward members of the outgroup; when such interactions become unavoidable, they will attempt to disengage from the situation as soon as possible. In anxiety/uncertainty management theory, physiological arousal experienced as anxiety is induced when individuals interact with strangers in intercultural situations (Gudykunst, 1995; Andersen et al., 2002; Gudykunst & Lee, 2002). Stranger(s) here are defined as any individual from a different culture that one encounters and who is located at the most unfamiliar end of the continuum of strangeness and familiarity (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003; Duronto et al., 2005).

Stephan and Stephan (1985) hypothesise that intergroup anxiety occurs when members of one group make contact or interact with those of outgroups. They feel personally threatened due to their worry about the negative outcomes, such as embarrassment, rejection, or ridicule, in their interactions with the outgroup(s) (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In addition, intergroup anxiety may also result in negative behavioural, cognitive, and affective consequences. On behavioural and cognitive levels, individuals, for instance, may feel confused or frustrated when interacting with outgroup members, or they may even fear that the latter would exploit, dominate, and harm them (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). On affective levels, individuals may amplify their emotional and evaluative responses when attributing their success

or failure to partners who are members of an outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

In the integrated threat model, intergroup anxiety is viewed as a predictor of intergroup attitudes that are negative or hostile toward members of outgroups. Prejudice in this case is thought to be "a consequence of intergroup anxiety" (Stephan & Stephan, 1999, p. 623). Anxiety in ITT is operationalised using measures that incorporate the feeling of uncertainty and related adjectives, and it is enhanced when a history of conflict or little/no prior contact between ingroups and outgroups is present (Stephan et al., 2000).

Negative Stereotypes

Stereotypes operate on group levels and are defined as ingroup assumptions about shared characteristics of an outgroup. Such assumptions form expectancies that may affect perceptions of and attitudes toward an outgroup (Hamilton et al., 1990). LeVine and Campbell (1972) propose that stereotypes are concomitant with ethnic differentiation in socioeconomic roles within the dimensions of urbanism, occupation, and political-technological dominance. Urban groups, for instance, hold the image of members of rural groups as "country bumpkin", "unsophisticated, guileless, confused, and ill at ease" when coming to town; in contrast, the rural groups see the former as resourceful, mannered, covetous, and opportunist individuals (LeVine & Campbell, 1972, p. 156). Stereotypes can also be used to rationalise discrimination (Allport, 1979). In interracial relations between white and Black Americans, stereotypes are used to justify slavery, decades-long segregation, and discrimination in private domains (e.g. redlining policies and bias in hiring practices) (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

ITT views that negative stereotypes toward outgroups generate negative expectations and emotions toward them, and when this occurs, unpleasant or conflict-laden contacts are likely to be anticipated (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 1998). Within this premise, negative outgroup

stereotypes are assumed to embody threats to ingroup members. Past studies support the link between negative stereotyping and prejudice; strong correlations between the two concepts have been found when the valence of the traits in the stereotypes are considered (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Esses et al., 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1993).

2.3.4. Threat Antecedents

Stephan and his colleagues (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2000) included four antecedents of threat in the ITT model, which outline the set of conditions that could lead to the formation of perceived threats; such conditions subsequently would have an impact on prejudice. The four antecedents of threats comprise *history of intergroup conflicts*, *strong ingroup identification*, *perceived status difference*, and *prior contact*. The need to examine threat antecedents in this study is twofold. First, understanding these antecedents is vital, as they influence the degree to which the ingroup sees the outgroup as a threat (Croucher, 2017). Examining the roles of history of intergroup conflict, strength of ingroup identification, prior intergroup contact, and perceived status difference could help further understand the motivation of the more dominant groups to express particular feelings and/or certain attitudes toward the less-dominant groups (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). Second, the aforementioned antecedents appear to be more salient than others such as personality traits in light of Indonesia's distal (historical, economic, and cultural) factors.

History of intergroup conflicts entails past confrontations arising from resource competitions and differences in values, norms, and culture. As these conflicts escalated, perceived threats toward outgroups increased, leading to greater prejudice (Croucher, 2017). Stephan and Stephan (2000, p 38) even claim intergroup conflict is arguably "the single most important seedbed of prejudice". In ITT, a history of intergroup antagonism refers to conflicts

that occurred in the past, not the current ones in which the groups are embroiled (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Such intergroup antagonism occupies a continuum, from covertly acknowledged, low-level conflicts to high conflicts involving direct physical/non-physical confrontations over scarce resources (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan et al., 1999).

Ingroup identification refers to the degree to which individuals perceive themselves as part of a group and the personal importance they attribute to being a member of that group (Turner et al., 1987; Tajfel, 1981; Tropp & Wright, 2001). In ITT, ingroup identification may affect the perception of threats toward the outgroup. It is expected that individuals who strongly identify themselves with their ingroup are less likely to relate to the outgroup and will feel threatened by the latter, and vice versa (Croucher, 2017; Riek et al., 2006). In the study examining the prejudice of native Israelis toward Russian immigrants, Bizman and Yinon (2001) found realistic threat is influenced by ingroup identification, revealing individuals who are high identifiers are likely to perceive more threats from the outgroup.

In ITT, *prior contact* with the outgroup may influence the perception of threats — the more negative, less frequent contacts experienced by ingroup members, the more likely they see outgroup(s) as a threat, and vice versa. Past studies confirmed threats mediate negative-positive contact and attitudes toward outgroups (Aberson, 2015; Stephan et al., 2000; Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Zingora & Graf, 2019). A study examining intergroup attitudes between Dutch and Muslim youth in the Netherlands, for instance, reveals that negative contact is related to negative attitudes and threats directed toward the outgroup (Vedder, Wenink, & van Geel, 2016).

Society is structured in a status hierarchy that ranks its members based on power resources, which include social status, income level, wealth, expertise, education, occupation, organisation membership, and the ability to apply social norms or sanctions to situations

(Labovitz & Hagedorn, 1975). Perceived status differences in intergroup relations can be analysed in the context of social identity theory in that they may intensify or reduce conflicts—depending on how such differences shape perceptions of members of the outgroup (Bond & Hewstone, 1988). Low-status white Americans, for instance, tend to perceive Black Americans as their competitors in the job market; in contrast, high-status white Americans are less likely to compete with Black Americans, as they can always extricate themselves from the intergroup competitive situation easily (Giles & Evans, 1985).

Stephan et al. (2008) summarise how antecedents of threat operate in ITT in that they could also act as predictors of threat.

2.4. Integrated Threat Theory and Applications

ITT has been used to test an integrative model of attitudes toward immigrant and religious minority groups (Croucher, 2013; Eskelinen et al., 2022; Curşeu et al., 2007; Rohmann et al., 2006; Nshom & Croucher, 2018; Tausch et al., 2009; Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Vedder et al., 2016; Velasco et al., 2008; White et al., 2012). These studies have confirmed correlations among threat antecedents, perceptions of threats, and prejudice. Velasco et al. (2008) found symbolic threat and stereotypes serve as predictors of prejudice toward Muslims in the Netherlands and that symbolic threat plays a mediating role in the effect of ingroup identification (among Dutch) on prejudice (toward Muslims). Tausch et al. (2009) examine prejudice in Hindu-Muslim relations in India. Their findings reveal Hindus (majority) perceive Muslims (minority) as a threat to their worldviews, and Muslims feel Hindus pose a threat to their well-being. It is also found intergroup contact between Hindus and Muslims is negatively associated with symbolic threat.

Other studies explore how ITT affects assimilation and tolerance. Croucher (2013) found that members of dominant groups in France, Germany, and the UK, when they feel threatened, are likely to perceive Muslim immigrants in their countries as not willing to assimilate. In a study examining tolerance of Muslim cultural practice, White et al. (2012) found that white Australians who rely more on mass media, wherein Muslims are often depicted as threatening, and who are more likely to perceive Muslims as a threat to their worldview, are likely to be less tolerant of Muslim cultural practices. In another study, Eskelinen et al. (2022) reveal individuals who have higher identifications with both national and Christian identities in Australia, Finland, Germany, and Norway are more likely to perceive diversity as a threat and are less likely to support religious minority rights.

ITT has also been used to examine prejudice toward Asians and other immigrant groups in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, with geographical focus on Europe, North America, and New Zealand. Croucher et al. (2021*a*) comparatively analyse how prejudice toward Asians operated differently in the U.S., Italy, Spain, and New Zealand during the pandemic, finding the latter being the least prejudiced and having the least score in realistic threat. In Germany, Asian immigrants reported on average more instances of discrimination when compared to other immigrant groups; this rather pronounced discrimination is attributed to a mix of realistic and symbolic threats, and to any negative situations they have experienced since the outset of the pandemic (Dollmann & Kogan, 2021). In a study of prejudice toward Asian Americans in the U.S., with a particular focus on social media, Croucher et al. (2020) found the more someone believes that their social media offers fairness, accuracy, and factuality, the more likely they think Chinese people pose threats to the American way of life.

2.5. Research Questions

The present study seeks to investigate the range of public perceptions of Chinese Indonesians and the new Chinese migrants (Xinyimin) in Indonesia, with an emphasis on understanding the role of threats in shaping prejudice. The purpose of this research project is to test the ITT model in the context of intergroup relations between the *Pribumi* and Chinese Indonesians, with both groups having recorded a history of intergroup conflicts in Indonesia (e.g. Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020). The study of prejudice using ITT toward the ethnic Chinese minority and new immigrant groups in labour-abundant Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia is limited. A study by Ramsay and Pang (2015) on prejudice toward prominent immigrant groups, including Chinese, in Singapore, for instance, distances itself from the Southeast Asian region, classifying the country as an East Asian nation, not a Southeast Asian one, for economic growth and labour scarcity reasons that are comparable to Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and South Korea. Given a very limited body of research, this study proposed the following research question:

RQ1: To what extent do intergroup threats and threat antecedents predict Pribumi's prejudice toward ethnic Chinese in Indonesia?

The current study also included the new Chinese migrants or the Xinyimin, whose relatively new emergence as foreign labourers poses significant challenges to intergroup relations in the Southeast Asian country (Suryadinata, 2020). Research examining prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia is also scarce. Much literature about them is often qualitative in nature, concentrating on their history, socioeconomic environment, and identities (Lin, 2020; Suryadinata, 2020). Filling this gap, this research also proposed the following questions:

RQ2: *To what extent does history of intergroup conflicts predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia?*

RQ3: *To what extent does contact with the Xinyimin predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia?*

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Framework and Methods

This research is grounded in the social scientific paradigm, which is defined as a research method that guides researchers to explain human behaviour by testing theories involving empirical observations and inductive and deductive reasoning (Croucher & Cronn-Mills, 2019). As a social scientist, the Author of this study adopts the positivist and interpretivist approach in the hope that he can combine objective analysis with contextual and historical narratives to understand a phenomenon holistically. The Author's positivist approach in this study is, to some extent, more salient in that it called for the Author to emphasise quantifiable data and statistical analysis to uncover relationships between perceived threats and prejudice in the study of intergroup relationships. Hence, this project employs quantitative approaches that fit well within the positivist framework to gauge constructs, all aimed at collecting generalisable data through large-scale surveys (Cooper & Schindler, 2014).

The integrated threat theory (ITT) has been used to explain perceptions of threats posed by outgroups—from migrants to LGBTQIA+ groups and other minority groups—in many parts of the world (Croucher, 2013*a*; Croucher et al., 2013*b*; Curşeu et al., 2007; Eskelinen et al., 2022; Vincent et al., 2009; Zingora & Graf, 2019). Accordingly, ITT is central to this study to examine the causal relationships, if any, between threats and prejudice, and threat antecedents and prejudice. Hence, this study aims to test the integrated threat model and to understand such relationships among *Pribumi*, Chinese Indonesians, and the Xinyimin in Indonesia. Subsequently, the research questions in this study were addressed through a quantitative inquiry as a distinctive methodology in social sciences—in the hope of gaining a better understanding of

prejudice as a phenomenon in the context of intergroup relations between *Pribumi*, Chinese Indonesians, and the Xinyimin.

3.2. Data Collection

To address the research questions, the Author of this study used online surveys to gather data in Indonesia. After obtaining ethics approval (number 4000027705) from Massey University's Human Ethics Committee, the primary Author, who had previously worked and lived in Indonesia for many years, distributed the online surveys created using SurveyMonkey to his contacts in Indonesia between September to mid-October 2023. These contacts then shared the survey links with their network of acquaintances. Platforms such as SurveyMonkey have been designed to improve the experiences of both researchers and users when conducting online surveys in social science research (Quan & Liamputtong, 2023). Past research also showed that online surveys' data results are comparable to those of the general adult population (Roulin, 2015; Troia & Graham, 2017). To attract more participants, the Author also utilised Facebook and Instagram ads for six days within the recruitment period, and toward the end, the participants were given the opportunity to enter a raffle with monetary compensation.

Two separate surveys were distributed, each aimed to explore threat perceptions and attitudes toward Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin, respectively. Each survey comprised a series of demographic questions, four measures assessing threat perceptions, threat antecedent measures, and a measure of prejudice. A professional interpreter translated the survey questions from English to Bahasa Indonesia, and they were rechecked by the primary researcher, who is a native bilingual speaker of both languages, for connotation and denotational problems. The interpreter and the researcher then worked together to reach a consensus to resolve such issues. Quality checks, including the removal of incomplete answers and means and standard deviation

analyses, were run before performing statistical analyses. The decision to exclude the back-translation method (i.e. the Brislin method) in the translation process was based on the interpreter and researcher's nativity and high fluency in both the source and target language, allowing for accurate, efficient, and culturally relevant translation work.

3.3. Measures

Measures of Integrated Threat

This research used four subscales to measure integrated threats: 1) measure of realistic threat, 2) measure of symbolic threat, 3) measure of intergroup anxiety, and 4) negative stereotypes. Researchers have explored these constructs in various cultural and national contexts, such as the United States, Mexico, France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Brazil, New Zealand, India, Russia, Singapore, and more (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2021*a*; Croucher et al., 2021*b*; Croucher et al., 2022; Ramsay & Pang, 2017; Stephan et al., 2000; Tausch et al., 2009). For this study, the measures have been tailored to reflect the specific cultural contexts of the population being studied.

Measure of realistic threat features eight statements concerning social and economic threats posed by the outgroup (Stephan et al., 1999). They included such statements as "Chinese Indonesians (or Chinese workers/migrants) are not displacing native Indonesian (*Pribumi*) employees from their jobs" and "Chinese Indonesians (or Chinese workers/migrants) get more from this country than they contribute." A 7-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7) is used in the response format. Earlier research has found this measure to exhibit high reliabilities ($\alpha = 0.80$ to 0.90) (Croucher et al., 2020; González et al., 2008).

Measure of symbolic threat features seven statements related to perceived danger or challenge to beliefs and values (Stephan et al., 1999). They included such statements as "Chinese

Indonesians (or Chinese workers/migrants) should learn to conform to the rules and norms of Indonesian society" and "The values and beliefs of Chinese Indonesians (or Chinese workers/migrants) regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most native Indonesian people." This measure features a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7); research has previously shown high reliabilities ($\alpha = 0.85$ to 0.90) of this measure (Croucher et al., 2020; González et al., 2008).

Measure of intergroup anxiety captures 12 types of emotions—apprehensive, friendly, uncertain, comfortable, worried, trusting, threatened, confident, awkward, safe, anxious, and at ease—during intergroup interactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). This measure uses a 10-point scale from *not at all* (1) to *extremely* (10); previous studies have found this measure to show high reliabilities ($\alpha = 0.86$) (Curşeu et al., 2007; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Measure of negative stereotypes captures 12 adjectives that highlight traits or behaviours of outgroup members. Those adjectives are hardworking, ignorant, friendly, aggressive, reliable, undisciplined, proud, dishonest, respectful, unintelligent, clean, and clannish (socially exclusive). Each trait adjective is rated on a percentage scale ranging from 0-10% (1) to 90-100% (10). High reliabilities ($\alpha = 0.83$ to 0.86) for this measure were reported in previous studies (Curşeu et al., 2007; González et al. 2008).

Measures of Threat Antecedents

Measure of history of intergroup conflicts features four statements concerning tensions and hostilities throughout history. Such statements as "Relations between native Indonesian people (or Indonesians) and Chinese Indonesians (or Chinese workers/migrants) have always been characterised by conflicts" and "Although sometimes it is not visible, there is an inter-ethnic battle going on in this country" are included in this measure (Stephan et al., 2002). This

measure is rated on a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Previous research has recorded moderate reliabilities ($\alpha = 0.68$ to 0.71) for this measure (Stephan et al., 2002).

Measure of ingroup identification includes four statements related to a sense of belonging to one's group, such as "Overall, being a native Indonesian (or Indonesian) has very little to do with how I feel about myself" and/or "Being a native Indonesian (or Indonesian) is an important reflection of who I am" (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Stephan et al., 2002). Each statement is rated on a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Previous research has found high reliabilities ($\alpha = 0.89$ to 0.95) for this measure (González et al., 2008; Stephan et al., 2002).

Measure of contact comprises four items, asking participants how often they have contact with members of the outgroup. Such questions as "How many Chinese friends who have migrated or worked here in Indonesia do you have?" or "Do you have contact with Chinese migrants/workers at work or school?" are included in this measure. The four question items are assessed on a 4-point scale from (1) *none/never* to (4) *only Xinyimin friends/often*. Past research has indicated that the reliability ($\alpha = 0.70$) of this measure is moderate (González et al., 2008).

Measure of Prejudice

This measure comprises 12 items reflecting various emotional reactions toward outgroup members (Chinese Indonesians); they are hostility, disliking, superiority, disdain, hatred, rejection, warmth, sympathy, approval, affection, acceptance, and admiration (Stephan et al., 2002). Each emotional reaction is rated on a 10-point scale from *no…at all* (1) to *extreme…* (10). Earlier research has shown high levels of reliability ($\alpha = 0.82$ to 0.91) for this measure (Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan et al., 2002).

3.4. Participants and Procedure

After obtaining ethics clearance from Massey University's Human Ethics Committee, the Author recruited a total of 1,518 participants from September to mid-October 2023, with a breakdown of the following: 1) 611 respondents to Survey 1—aimed to explore threat perceptions and attitudes toward Chinese Indonesians and 2) 907 respondents to Survey 2—aimed to explore threat perceptions and attitudes toward the Xinyimin. Before starting the surveys, participants were provided informed consent, and it took about 20-30 minutes for the participants to complete the surveys. The participants were from 18 to 70 and above years old. The surveys were conducted anonymously, with no identifying information collected. **Table 3** and **Table 4** provide complete demographic information of the survey respondents for Survey 1 and Survey 2, respectively.

Table 3 (Survey 1)

Participant Demographics

Variable	*n* (611)	*M*	*SD*
Age		37.8	11.2
Sex			
Female	376 (62%)		
Male	235 (38%)		
Ethnicity			
Javanese	327 (54%)		
Sundanese	103 (17%)		

Betawi	41 (6.7%)
Batak	33 (5.4%)
Melayu	21 (3.4%)
Minangkabau	15 (2.5%)
Bugis	10 (1.6%)
Others	61 (10%)
Highest educational level	
Senior high school	276 (45.2%)
Bachelor's degree	198 (32.4%)
Vocational degree	69 (11.3%)
Master's degree	37 (6.1%)
Junior high school	27 (4.4%)
PhD	4 (.7%)
Domicile	
West Java	218 (35.7%)
Jakarta	178 (29.1%)
East Java	61 (10%)
Central Java	50 (8.2%)
Sumatra	43 (7%)
Sulawesi	16 (2.6%)
Yogyakarta	15 (2.5%)
Kalimantan	13 (2.1%)
Bali	6 (1%)

Others	11 (1.8%)
Occupation	
Private sector	178 (29.1%)
Housewives	150 (24.5%)
Self-employed	93 (15.2%)
Freelancer	77 (12.6%)
Public sector	34 (5.6%)
Student	8 (1.3%)
Others	71 (11.6%)
Main source of news	
Social media (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, TikTok)	471 (77.1%)
Online news and portals	72 (11.8%)
Television	49 (8.01%)
Internet blog	6 (1%)
Others	13 (2.1%)

Table 4 (Survey 2)

Participant Demographics

Variable	*n* = 907	*M*	*SD*

Age		34.11	9.7
Sex			
Female	647 (71.3%)		
Male	260 (28.7%)		
Ethnicity			
Javanese	455 (50.2%)		
Sundanese	152 (16.8%)		
Chinese Indonesian	105 (11.6%)		
Betawi	41 (4.5%)		
Batak	29 (3.2%)		
Others	125 (13.8%)		
Domicile			
West Java	311 (34.3%)		
Jakarta	184 (20.3%)		
East Java	123 (13.6%)		
Central Java	111 (12.2%)		
Sumatra	85 (9.4%)		
Sulawesi	18 (2.0%)		
Bali	8 (.9%)		
Kalimantan	22 (2.4%)		
Others	10 (1.1%)		
Occupation			
Private sector	283 (31.2%)		

Housewives	271 (29.9%)
Self-employed	138 (15.2%)
Freelancer	92 (10.1%)
Public sector	22 (2.4%)
Student	15 (1.7%)
Others	86 (11.6%)
Main source of news	
Social media (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, TikTok)	770 (84.9%)
Online news and portals	78 (8.6%)
Traditional media	59 (6.5%)

3.5. Process of Analysis

Statistical Analysis

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

A series of confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) using AMOS were conducted before running any statistical analysis to assess the constructs' validity and reliability of the scales used in this research (Pedhazur & Schmelkin, 1991). CFA is necessary to ascertain whether the data from the new population sample is consistent with the data from past studies using specified measurement models (Harrington, 2009).

Multiple Regression Analysis

This study used a multiple regression model to answer the research questions. To answer *RQ1*, the researcher used prejudice as the criterion variable; demographics, realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, stereotypes, history of conflicts, ingroup of identification, and perceived status difference acted as predictor variables. To answer *RQ2* and *RQ3*, history of intergroup conflict and contact were used as the criterion variables, respectively, while demographics, symbolic threat, and realistic threat were used as predictor variables. Dummy variables were generated for ethnicity, city of domicile, and source of news, with Javanese, West Java, and social media chosen, respectively, as the baseline categories.

Chapter 4: Book Chapter and Articles

The book chapter and two articles aimed to explore the different perceptions in Indonesia regarding perceived threats and prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians and new Chinese migrants (Xinyimin), testing the integrated threat (ITT) model in this context through different approaches.

The book chapter, titled "Chinese Indonesians and the New Chinese Migrants in Indonesia", explores how ITT can be applied to explain how threat perceptions and prejudice operate in the context of Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin in Indonesia. It begins with a brief history of the Chinese Indonesians, looking into the roots of perpetuated discrimination against them, starting from the colonial period to contemporary Indonesia. The book chapter also explores the general profile of the Xinyimin working in Indonesia. As a result of their lack of capital and knowledge, the Xinyimin came to Indonesia largely because they were at a competitive disadvantage in their home country, which made it difficult for them to thrive in China's megapolises like Beijing and Shanghai. The increased presence of the Xinyimin in Indonesia was met with heightened prejudice toward them among local populations. The book chapter explains how Stephan and Stephan's (1996) integrated threat model could be applied and tested to investigate the links between threat perceptions and prejudicial views toward Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin in Indonesia. This book chapter, therefore, functions both as a literature review and an introduction to the main study.

The first article, titled "An Integrated Threat Theory Analysis of Latent Tension between Native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians", is the first part of the main study; it examines the relationships between perceived threats, threat antecedents, and prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians. The article sets the scene with an exploration of interethnic tensions targeting

Chinese Indonesians in contemporary Indonesia and explores the current perceptions of Chinese Indonesians. The 2017 Indonesia National Survey Project revealed that most native Indonesians (*Pribumi*) still perceived Chinese Indonesians as an economically dominant, privileged, and exclusive group, which resonates clearly with the long-lasting stereotypes against them (Fossati et al., 2017; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020). In response to these findings, the article attempts to discover whether such perceptions are translated into threats, considering the long history of intergroup conflicts between *Pribumi* and Chinese Indonesians—the latter of whom often became easy targets of political violence during precarious election periods. Thus, this study proposed the following research question:

> *RQ:* To what extent do intergroup threats and threat antecedents predict *Pribumi*'s prejudice toward ethnic Chinese in Indonesia?

Between September to mid-October 2023, an online survey, which was created via SurveyMonkey, was distributed in Indonesia; the primary researcher also ran Meta Ads for six days to help recruit more participants. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to evaluate the validity and reliability of the measures applied in this study. CFA results for realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotype, history of intergroup conflicts, strength of ingroup identification, and perceived status difference in Indonesia showed acceptable fit: $\chi2(303) = 662.08$, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.95, GFI = 0.92, RMSEA = 0.44, PClose = 0.98. CFA results for prejudice in Indonesia also demonstrated acceptable fit: $\chi2(5) = 7.46$ $p < 0.189$, SRMR = 0.08, CFI = 0.99, GFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.28, PClose = 0.78. A reliability test using Omega (ω) was also performed to assess the internal consistency of the scales, with six scales—realistic threat (ω = 0.83), symbolic threat (ω = 0.60), intergroup anxiety (ω = 0.89), negative stereotype (ω = 0.89), prejudice (ω = 0.91), and history of intergroup conflict (ω = 0.79)

—being retained, as they exhibited moderate to good internal consistency. Nevertheless, this study found ingroup identification and perceived status differences constructs problematic, and they were subsequently removed due to low factor loadings.

A multiple regression analysis was performed to answer the research question. The results found that stereotypes, realistic threat, history of intergroup conflicts, and age were strong predictors of prejudice toward the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. However, this study found that symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety did not act as significant predictors of prejudice. The Author argued that a more conducive environment in post-Suharto times that allowed Chinese Indonesians to become more culturally expressive may have contributed to increased cultural acceptance and better acculturation.

The second article, "Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: Testing the Integrated Threat Model", is the second part of the main study, investigating the links between history of intergroup conflicts and contact, and prejudice. The article starts with establishing the context of interethnic relations between Indonesians and the Xinyimin, which has been marred by tensions and violence in the past years. The article also briefly covered the demographic characteristics of the Xinyimin, who are typically under 35 years old and work in various occupations in a wide range of industries—from mining to manufacturing, and to education. Conflicts between the Xinyimin and the locals at the grassroots level suggest a growing prejudice toward the latter, emphasising the need to understand this phenomenon as a social issue through ITT. Hence, this study proposed the following research questions:

RQ1: To what extent does history of intergroup conflicts predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia?

RQ2: To what extent does contact with the Xinyimin predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia?

The Author of this study distributed an online survey created by SurveyMonkey from September to mid-October 2023; Meta ads were also run for six days to recruit more participants. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was then performed to test the validity and reliability of the measures used in this study. CFA results for realistic threat demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(26) = 106.58$, $p = 0.001$, CFI = 0.97, GFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.58, PClose = 0.11. CFA results for history of intergroup conflict demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(2) = 29.86$, $p = 0.001$, CFI = 0.98, GFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.12. CFA results for contact demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(2) = 16.5$, $p = 0.001$, CFI = 0.95, GFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.09. In this study, a revised version of ITT is used, excluding intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes — both of which are now commonly treated as potential antecedents to realistic and symbolic threats. Also, symbolic threat measure was removed from data analysis due to the low Cronbach's α of 0.35.

The Author then ran a multiple regression analysis to answer the research questions. The results revealed that history of intergroup conflict, contact, and sex significantly predicted realistic threat, corroborating previous studies (Altemeyer, 1998; McFarland, 2010; Parrillo & Donoghue, 2005; Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan et al., 2002). In addition, the study also found individuals identified as Chinese Indonesians[2] and Batak (the predominant ethnic group in the North Sumatra province) are less likely to feel threatened by the Xinyimin. The Author argued their lower threat perception toward the Xinyimin might have been caused by their distinct entrepreneurial, demographic, and historical backgrounds.

[2] There is a discrepancy between the proportion of participants who identified as Chinese Indonesians in the sample (11.6%) and the estimated general population of Chinese Indonesians (1%-2%). This might affect the aggregate results when using Chinese Indonesian as an ethnicity covariate predicting prejudice. Participant recruitment in future research should strive for more representative sampling.

4.2. Article 1

Journal of International and Intercultural Communication

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rjii20

An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians

Tommy S. Yotes & Stephen M. Croucher

To cite this article: Tommy S. Yotes & Stephen M. Croucher (2024) An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians, Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 17:4, 427-447, DOI: 10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395

Published online: 18 Sep 2024.

JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
2024, VOL. 17, NO. 4, 427–447
https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395

An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians

Tommy S. Yotes and Stephen M. Croucher

School of Communication, Journalism and Marketing, Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand

ABSTRACT

The relationship between Chinese Indonesians and native Indonesians (*Pribumi*) is marred by tensions and violence. The Dutch colonial legacies have positioned Chinese Indonesians as perpetual outsiders, making them constantly question their roles and identity in the process of Indonesian nation-building. Despite their centuries-old presence and Indonesia's almost three decades of reform, prejudice towards Chinese Indonesians persists. This was reflected in the 2017 Indonesia National Survey Project, suggesting native Indonesians still perceive their Chinese Indonesian counterparts as an economically privileged group, greedy, selfish, and exclusive. Using integrated threat theory, this study explores the link between the perception of threats and prejudice towards Chinese Indonesians. Using multiple regression analysis, this study found stereotypes, realistic threats, history of intergroup conflicts, and age are strong predictors of prejudice towards the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. Theoretical, methodological, and practical implications for integrated threat and prejudice are discussed.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 1 November 2023
Accepted 21 June 2024

KEYWORDS
Integrated threat; prejudice; stereotypes; Chinese Indonesian; intergroup communication

Interethnic tensions between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians are well documented. Chinese Indonesians, representing 1–2 per cent of the country's population of 275 million (World Bank, 2022), have faced discrimination since Dutch colonial times (Coppel, 2013). Situational factors, primarily socioeconomic and political, often dictated anti-Chinese Indonesian sentiments during both colonial and post-colonial times. The 1998 May riots loom large as arguably the most recent and painful anti-Chinese incidents in the collective of Chinese Indonesians. In the days following pro-democracy demonstrations in Jakarta, which eventually toppled Indonesian dictator Suharto after 32 years in power, rioters killed more than 1,000 ethnic Chinese, raped hundreds of Chinese-Indonesian women, and looted their homes and shops (Himawan et al., 2022).

A 2017 national survey revealed most native Indonesians (*Pribumi*) view Chinese Indonesians as an economically dominant and privileged group (Fossati et al., 2017). Native Indonesians also perceive Chinese Indonesians as an exclusive group and

CONTACT Stephen M. Croucher s.croucher@massey.ac.nz

having too much influence in Indonesian politics and economy. These perceptions have been echoed in studies on Chinese-Indonesian stereotypes. Kuntjara and Hoon (2020, p. 2014) found the old stereotypes of Chinese Indonesians being "exclusive, disloyal, and apolitical" continue today with less racialisation. Herlijanto (2016), however, highlights that some segments of the *Pribumi* elite, which include heads of various Islamic organisations, intellectuals, and politicians with nationalist views, still view Chinese Indonesians with new suspicions, including concerns about the visibility and prevalence of Chinese culture, and their activism in Indonesian politics. Such suspicions might stem from the rise of China, the imaginary conspiracy theory that Chinese communities conspire with the Chinese government to exert their economic, cultural, and political dominance over the *Pribumi* majority (Herlijanto, 2016). Lie and Sandel (2020) highlighted the portrayals of Chinese Indonesians on social media, particularly in Facebook comments. They found that rhetorical terms like "Cina" (a racial slur against Chinese Indonesians) and *Pribumi* were used to magnify the otherness of the Chinese Indonesians, reinforcing their image as perpetual outsiders and as default scapegoats for societal problems.

Understanding the current perceptions of Chinese Indonesians in the eyes of the *Pribumi* public is essential from both practical and theoretical perspectives. In practical terms, such an understanding may help mitigate the adverse outcomes of intergroup conflicts and prejudice between Chinese Indonesians and *Pribumi*, whose intergroup relationships have historically been precarious. Theoretically, communication research has indicated public discourse and everyday conversations actively communicate prejudice (Ruscher, 2017). Studies have shown specific daily communicative patterns among family members and media portrayals, for instance, can influence prejudice and intergroup attitudes (Odenweller & Harris, 2018; Tal-Or & Tsfati, 2016). In addition, Kim (1988) also highlights that increased prejudice in intergroup relations could bring about less communication between groups. This is particularly pertinent for the case of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia who have historically experienced discrimination and negative stereotypes in their everyday lives (Maryanah, 2018; Setijadi, 2019).

Sparse research has far examined the role of threat as a predictor of prejudice towards Chinese Indonesians. Much of the past research on the ethnic minority group has centred on historical, post-colonial, socioeconomic, identity, and cultural approaches to understanding their relationship with the *Pribumi* (see: Chen, 2022; Herlijanto, 2004; Ingketria, 2018; Koning, 2018; Sai & Hoon, 2012; Suryadinata, 2008). Stephan and Stephan's (1996) Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) offers a relevant communication framework to explain how threat perceptions can lead to prejudice and negative sentiments against a minority group. Previous research has shown intergroup threats serve as potent predictors of prejudice towards minority groups (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999; Stephan et al., 2000). Within the communication field, researchers have used ITT to understand further the complex relations between perceived threats, prejudice, culture, intergroup communication, and intercultural communication (Croucher, 2013; Khan & Bruschke, 2016; Nshom, 2016).

The vast majority of ITT research is Western-centric, anchored in North America, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. Research on ITT examining prejudice and other negative attitudes towards minority groups, especially in Southeast Asia, is limited. Therefore, this study aims to capture diverse samples and gain a comprehensive view

of anti-minority prejudice. Given this context, this study seeks to understand the varying public views in Indonesia on perceptions of threat and attitudes towards Chinese Indonesians. This juncture is rooted in the idea that prejudice emerges when a majority group senses their interests are under threat (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). Next, this study tests the application of ITT in the Indonesian context and setting to ascertain its relevance across cultures and within an intercultural setting.

Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia

Pre-colonial Indonesia has recorded the presence of Chinese migrants since as early as the twelfth century when merchants from the Song dynasty migrated to the Sumatran state of the Srivijaya Kingdom. Lockard (2013) found that by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Chinese traders had already established themselves in Javan ports by building social ties with the native population and marrying local women. The Chinese traders in colonial Indonesia or the Netherlands Indies predominantly came from Fujian, the southeastern part of China, and they were called *Huaqiao*, which means "Chinese sojourner" (Claver, 2014). They served vital economic roles, acting as merchants and tax collectors. Leggett (2010) argues the Dutch colonial hierarchy was designed to perpetuate the status of the Chinese people as outsiders whose duties were to secure taxes from the native Javanese. The role taken up by the Chinese people as middlemen between the Europeans and the Javanese peasants was deliberately made salient to carry "the weight of blame for [the Dutch's] colonial exploitations" of the indigenous Javanese (Leggett, 2010, p. 1272).

Post-independence Indonesia, under the Sukarno rule (1945–1967), the ethnic Chinese experienced varying degrees of treatment, evolving from a welcoming stance to growing discrimination. Towards the end of his administration, Sukarno developed close ties with Beijing, leading to growing suspicion among the nationalists of the influence of communism in the country through the Communist Party of Indonesia, or PKI (Liu, 2011). During this time, indigenous populations harboured distrust and jealousy towards ethnic Chinese, primarily because of the latter's role in the economy since colonial times (Anwar, 2019). In 1959, to limit the growing economic influences of ethnic Chinese, the government issued the PP-10 regulations that prohibited immigrants from engaging in trade and living in rural areas (Permana & Purwantiningsih, 2021).

Chinese Indonesians under the Suharto regime (1968–1998) experienced heightened discrimination. Suharto framed the economic disparities between the *Pribumi* and ethnic Chinese as the "*masalah Cina*" or the Chinese problem, situating the latter as an ethnic group so disparate in terms of appearance, culture, and economic levels from the ethnic Indonesian majority that they were a problem and needed to be assimilated (Lie & Bailey, 2017). Suharto also banned ethnic Chinese from enrolling in the armed forces, the civil service, and state-owned enterprises. Suharto also barred Chinese schools and newspapers, the use of Chinese characters, the teaching of Mandarin, celebrations of Chinese Lunar New Year, among others (Sai & Hoon, 2012).

Chinese Indonesians experienced greater liberty after the toppling of Suharto. Abdurrahman Wahid, who succeeded Suharto in 1999, overturned the dictator's anti-Chinese Indonesian policies, which allowed Chinese cultural practices to flourish (Fikri & Hasudungan, 2022). The progressive steps were further cemented by Megawati Sukarnoputri,

daughter of Sukarno and Indonesia's first female president succeeding Wahid. She made the Chinese New Year a national holiday in 2003. The newly acquired freedom marked a milestone for ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, affording them new opportunities to openly express their Chinese identity, resuscitate Mandarin-speaking media, and even engage more actively in politics (Chong, 2018).

Despite progress, Indonesian Chinese are still easy targets of prejudice, especially during election cycles. The 2017 Jakarta governor's election saw the burgeoning of misinformation targeting Chinese-Indonesian candidate Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama, framing him as the extension of the *cukong,* a derogatory term for Chinese-Indonesian businessmen who work closely with those in power or the military (Yotes, 2019). The year before, on November 4, 2016, a group of vigilantes attempted to raid Ahok's house in Pluit, North Jakarta, a Chinese Indonesian neighbourhood enclave, demanding that the government arrest him for insulting Islam. They destroyed and looted some shops, and damaged houses owned by Chinese Indonesians on their way (Tempo, 2016).

Anti-China and anti-Chinese narratives were also rampant during the 2019 presidential elections, aiming at President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo's alleged strong ties with China in disinformation on social media. Such narratives put Chinese-Indonesian communities in the crosshairs of Indonesian politics, as they were conflated with China and communism, hence a threat to Indonesian values (Anwar, 2019).

Current public perceptions of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia may have changed towards a positive attitude due to post-1998 reform (Hoon, 2006). However, this should be treated with caution. Recent studies show cultural stereotypes against ethnic Chinese in Indonesia persist; the indigenous population still views them as an economically successful, greedy, selfish, and exclusive group. The recent influx of Chinese workers to the country, because of Chinese capital inflow through the Belt and Road Initiative, has complicated public perceptions. During the early times of the pandemic, for instance, there was a legitimate fear of prejudice among Chinese Indonesians, which was caused by anti-Chinese rhetoric that conflated them with the workers from Mainland China (Sibarani et al., 2020). Despite such lingering stereotypes, more nuanced, less-racialised perceptions of Chinese Indonesians are gaining ground. Ethnic Chinese are undeniably more visible now than before in sociopolitical spheres; their presence is no longer considered an anathema (Herlijanto, 2017; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020).

Integrated threat theory and prejudice

Prejudice is typically understood as negative attitudes or behaviours directed towards members of a different group (Allport, 1979). Prejudice involves not only the cognitive content but also the emotion or affect of intergroup and intercultural relations (Brewer & Kramer, 1985). Individuals' predisposition to prejudice is shaped by their personality traits, their bond with the group to whom they belong, and their perceived differences with the outgroup (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

Stephan and Stephan's (2000) ITT has been widely used to explain intergroup relations between the dominant cultural group and the less-dominant group. It proposes negative attitudes or prejudice towards an outgroup can be explained through threats that are perceived or believed to exist by members of the ingroup (Croucher, 2017). ITT has been explored as a theoretical construct in numerous cultural, political, and

economic contexts. For example, Croucher (2013) found that members of dominant groups in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, when they feel threatened, are likely to perceive Muslim immigrants in their countries as not willing to assimilate. In another study, Eskelinen et al. (2022) revealed individuals who strongly associate themselves with both national and Christian identities in Australia, Finland, Germany, and Norway are more likely to perceive diversity as a threat and are less likely to support religious minority rights. Croucher et al. (2014) found highly religious Spaniards (Catholic) were more likely to perceive Muslim immigrants as a threat to Spanish culture. Stephan et al. (2000) found in the U.S. and Mexico that threat was present in both nations towards the other group. Vedder et al. in a 2016 study found Dutch participants scored higher on intergroup anxiety, negative outgroup attitudes, negative stereotypes, negative experiences, and lower on contact than Muslim participants. This study expands ITT by examining this theoretical construct in the intercultural Indonesian context.

Stephan and Stephan (1996) highlight the four primary threats that can give rise to prejudice: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. *Realistic threat* is defined as any perceived threat to the economic, physical, and political resources of the ingroup, and prejudice intensifies when there is a competition for limited resources, such as food, housing, employment, social benefits, public school admissions, and more in intergroup relations (González et al., 2008; Sherif, 1966; Stephan et al., 2000). Chinese Indonesians have historically been seen as a threat to the *Pribumi*'s ability to control the economy (Allard & Beo Da Costa, 2017). A 2017 Indonesia National Survey Project revealed the majority of *Pribumi* held the belief in the perceived economic dominance of the latter (Setijadi, 2017).

Symbolic Threat entails feeling(s) of "threats posed by the outgroup to any of the central values held by the ingroup" or threats to the ingroup's worldview (Stephan & Stephan, 2000, p. 26). Symbolic threat arises when there is a disparity of worldviews between the ingroup and outgroup, with the former holding a deep-seated belief in the righteousness of their values (Stephan et al., 2009). Historically, the nationalism and allegiance of Chinese Indonesians to Indonesia have been questioned. In addition, the Jokowi administration's close relationship with China and China's rise to power on the global stage have amplified suspicion of the growing influence of Chinese culture and values in Indonesia among the *Pribumi* elite (Herlijanto, 2016; Setijadi, 2016). In addition, religious differences often compounded ethnic tensions between *Pribumi* and Chinese Indonesians in the past. The anti-Ahok movement,[1] which saw Ahok, a Christian Chinese, as a threat to Islam – a faith embraced by the Indonesian majority, exemplified this intersectionality within the national context (Osman & Waikar, 2018). In addition, Chinese Christians in Indonesia face double marginalisation due to their ethnic and religious identities that are historically considered foreign in the eyes of Indonesian traditionalists (Hoon, 2012).

Stephan and Stephan (1985, 2000) argue *intergroup anxiety* happens during interaction between the ingroup and outgroup whose members feel personally threatened due to their worry about negative outcomes, such as embarrassment, rejection, or ridicule, in the interactive process. In ITT, intergroup anxiety is viewed as a predictor of intergroup attitudes that are hostile towards members of outgroups. Prejudice in this case is thought to be "a consequence of intergroup anxiety" (Stephan, Stephan et al., 1999, p. 623). While research on intergroup anxiety and prejudice is abundant, studies on this focus involving Chinese Indonesians and the native Indonesian population are scarce.

Negative stereotypes towards outgroups generate negative expectations and emotions towards them, and when this occurs, unpleasant or conflict-laden contacts are likely to be anticipated (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 1998). Within this premise, negative outgroup stereotypes are assumed to embody threats to ingroup members. Past studies support the link between negative stereotyping and prejudice; strong correlations between the two concepts have been found when the valence of the traits in the stereotypes are considered (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Stephan & Stephan, 1993). Long-standing negative stereotypes attached to Chinese Indonesians as a wealthy, economically avaricious, exclusive, and disloyal group have persisted (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Setijadi, 2017).

Past studies have confirmed correlations between perceived threats and prejudice in intercultural relations between dominant and less-dominant groups. Stephen et al. (1998), in a study on prejudice towards immigrants in Spain and Israel, found all four threats acted as predictors of prejudicial attitudes. Croucher et al. (2021a) analyzed how prejudice towards Asians operated differently in the U.S., Italy, Spain, and New Zealand during the COVID-19 pandemic, finding the latter being the least prejudiced and having the lowest score on realistic threat. Stephan et al. (2002) found realistic and symbolic threats act as strong predictors of prejudice in a study involving White and African-American students in the U.S. González et al. (2008) discovered symbolic threats and stereotypes predict prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands. Tausch et al. (2009) examined prejudice in Hindu-Muslim relations in India. Their findings revealed Hindus (majority) perceive Muslims (minority) as a threat to their worldviews, and Muslims feel Hindus pose a threat to their well-being.

Antecedents of threats

The relationship between perceptions of threats and prejudice can be understood through "antecedents" of intergroup threats. Stephan and colleagues introduce several threat antecedents, history of intergroup conflicts, strength of ingroup identification, and perceived status differences (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2002). In ITT research, threat antecedents refer to variables that are related to intergroup threats, and the relationship among these variables appears to be reciprocal depending on situational factors (Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999). For example, heightened levels of intergroup conflict (antecedent) could lead to higher levels of realistic threat, while higher levels of realistic threat could also lead to decreased contact (antecedent) (Stephan et al., 2009; Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999).

In ITT, a *history and culture of intergroup antagonism* refers to conflicts that occurred in the past, not the current ones in which the groups are embroiled (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Such intergroup antagonism occupies a continuum, from covertly acknowledged, low-level conflicts to high conflicts involving direct physical/non-physical confrontations over scarce resources (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999). Low- and high-level conflicts between the Chinese Indonesians and the Indonesian locals have been recorded since the early arrivals of the Chinese in Indonesia in the sixteenth century (Carter, 2021; Heidhues, 2017; Kemasang, 1985; Suryadinata, 1971).

Ingroup identification is described as the extent to which individuals see themselves as part of members of a group and how personally significant such group membership holds to them (Tropp & Wright, 2001; Turner et al., 1987). In ITT, ingroup identification may affect the perception of threats towards the outgroup. It is expected that individuals who strongly identify themselves with their ingroup are less likely to relate to the outgroup and will feel threatened by the latter, and vice versa (Croucher, 2017; Riek et al., 2006). Since the fall of Suharto, along with the rise of China as a regional economic player, Chinese Indonesians are said to re-orient themselves towards China through associations, a phenomenon referred to as "(re)Sinification" or a "return" to Chinese culture (Hoon, 2004; Setijadi, 2016). Others argue they are becoming more assimilated, as evidenced by their increased involvement in politics (Hervandi, 2011; Ling, 2016).

In ITT, Stephan and Stephan (1985) propose *prior status differences* promote anxiety in intergroup interactions. On the one hand, high-status groups are apt to feel guilty about their privilege and view lower-status groups as inferior. On the other hand, low-status groups are worried about receiving disparaging treatment from high-status groups. Chinese Indonesians have indeed retained a unique hierarchical status in Indonesian society. Their perceived economic status is not commensurate with their efficacy in the Indonesian political arena, which has been under the control of native Indonesians.

Past studies have also confirmed the role of threat antecedents in affecting perceived threats. Among African and White American populations who are highly aware of the historical antagonism between the two groups, a history and culture of intergroup conflict operates as an antecedent that affects realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety (Stephan et al., 2002). In a study examining the prejudice of native Israelis towards Russian immigrants, Bizman and Yinon (2001) found realistic threat is influenced by ingroup identification, revealing individuals who are high identifiers are likely to perceive more threats from the outgroup.

A study on Dutch and Muslim youths in the Netherlands reveals negative contact is related to negative attitudes and threats directed towards the outgroup (Vedder et al., 2016). Croucher (2017) highlights the natural disposition of two groups comparing their status and power hierarchy in society. Migrants, for example, will have less power than the dominant group of their host country, and they are more likely to be perceived as a threat when the degree of status inequalities becomes salient (Croucher, 2017). Since no research has specifically explored ITT in predicting threat towards Chinese Indonesians on a nationwide scale, this study then aims to propose the following research question.

RQ: To what extent do intergroup threats and threat antecedents predict Pribumi's prejudice toward ethnic Chinese in Indonesia?

Method

After receiving ethical approval, the primary researcher collected a nationally representative sample from Indonesia ($n = 611$) from September to mid-October 2023 using Survey Monkey where participants answered demographic questions and questionnaires.[2] The primary researcher who had previously worked and lived for many years in Indonesia reached out to acquaintances and initiated a snowball sampling survey.[3]

Such a sampling strategy is typically employed in intercultural/cross-cultural communication research. In addition, the primary researcher also ran the survey via Facebook and Instagram ads for six days to recruit more participants. Such a technique has been proven a feasible, rapid, and economical means to recruit a more representative sampling population (Forgasz et al., 2018; Shaver et al., 2019). Participants were given the opportunity to enter a raffle with a prize worth IDR 1.5 million (US$96.00) after answering the online survey. Full participant demographic information is presented in Table 1.

Measures

The survey included demographic questions and the following measures: Measure of Realistic Threat (Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999), Measure of Symbolic Threat (Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999), Measure of Intergroup Anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), Measure of Negative Stereotype (Stephan & Stephan, 1996), Measure of Prejudice (González et al., 2008); Measure of History of Intergroup of Conflicts (Curşeu et al., 2007; Stephan et al., 2002), Measure of Ingroup Identification (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Stephan et al., 2002), and Measure of Perceived Status Difference (Curşeu et al., 2007; Stephan et al., 2002). Researchers have explored these constructs in various cultural and national contexts, such as the U.S., Mexico, France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Brazil, New Zealand, India, Russia, Singapore, and more (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2021a; Croucher et al., 2021b; Croucher et al., 2022; Ramsay & Pang, 2017; Stephan et al., 2000; Tausch et al., 2009).

The *measure of realistic threat* comprises eight statements reflecting social, economic, or political threats posed by the outgroup (Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999). Participants responded to such statements as "Chinese Indonesians get more from this country than they contribute" and "Chinese Indonesians are not displacing native Indonesian employees from their jobs." The response format features a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Previous research has shown this measure to have high alpha reliabilities ranging from 0.80 to 0.90 and to hold a valid factor structure (Croucher et al., 2020; González et al., 2008).

The *measure of symbolic threat* consists of seven statements that capture perceived threats in relation to differences in values and beliefs (Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999). Such statements include "Chinese Indonesians should learn to conform to the rules and norms of Indonesian society" and "The presence of Chinese Indonesians will undermine the Indonesian culture." The feedback used a 7-level scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Past studies showed reliability scores between 0.85 and 0.90 (Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2020; González et al., 2008).

The *measure of intergroup anxiety* features 12 items capturing degrees of different emotions, such as feeling certain or awkward, during intergroup interactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Each emotion is rated on a 10-point scale from *not at all* (1) to *extremely* (10) (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Past research has shown measure of intergroup anxiety to have high alpha reliabilities of 0.86 (Curşeu et al., 2007; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

The *measure of stereotypes* captures 12 trait adjectives, such as dishonest, friendly arrogant, and violent (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Each trait is rated using a percentage scale

Table 1. Participant demographics.

Variable	*n* (611)	*M*	*SD*
18–19 years of age	2 (.3%)		
20–29 years of age	165 (27%)		
30–39 years of age	205 (34%)		
40–49 years of age	136 (22%)		
50–59 years of age	74 (12%)		
60–69 years of age	25 (4%)		
70 years and older	4 (.7%)		
		37.8	11.2
Sex			
Female	376 (62%)		
Male	235 (38%)		
Ethnicity			
Javanese	327 (54%)		
Sundanese	103 (17%)		
Betawi	41 (6.7%)		
Batak	33 (5.4%)		
Melayu	21 (3.4%)		
Minangkabau	15 (2.5%)		
Bugis	10 (1.6%)		
Others	61 (10%)		
Highest educational level			
Senior high school	276 (45.2%)		
Bachelor's degree	198 (32.4%)		
Vocational degree	69 (11.3%)		
Master's degree	37 (6.1%)		
Junior high school	27 (4.4%)		
PhD 4 (.7%)			
Domicile			
West Java	218 (35.7%)		
Jakarta	178 (29.1%)		
East Java	61 (10%)		
Central Java	50 (8.2%)		
Sumatra	43 (7%)		
Sulawesi	16 (2.6%)		
Yogyakarta	15 (2.5%)		
Kalimantan	13 (2.1%)		
Bali	6 (1%)		
Others	11 (1.8%)		
Occupation			
Private sector	178 (29.1%)		
Housewives	150 (24.5%)		
Self-employed	93 (15.2%)		
Freelancer	77 (12.6%)		
Public sector	34 (5.6%)		
Student	8 (1.3%)		
Others	71 (11.6%)		
Monthly expenditure			
>$380	148 (24.2%)		
US$75–$380	323 (52.9%)		
$34–$74	94 (15.4%)		
<$34	46 (7.5%)		
Main source of news			
Social media (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, TikTok)	471 (77.1%)		
Online news and portals	72 (11.8%)		
Television	49 (8.01%)		
Internet blog	6 (1%)		
Others	13 (2.1%)		

from 0–10% (1) to 91–100% (10). For instance, if a participant believes 0–10% of Chinese Indonesians are "dishonest", they would mark "1", and so on. Alpha reliabilities from

past research indicated high values in the negative stereotype index, ranging from 0.83 to 0.86 (Curşeu et al., 2007; González et al., 2008).

The *measure of history of intergroup conflicts* comprises four items reflecting such statements as "Relations between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians have always been characterised by conflicts" and "Although sometimes it is not visible, there is an inter-ethnic battle going on in this country" (Stephan et al., 2002, p. 1246). Each item is rated on a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Past studies have shown moderately high alpha reliabilities in this measure, ranging from 0.68 to 0.71 (Stephan et al., 2002).

The *measure of ingroup identification* features four items, reflecting such statements as "Overall, being a native Indonesian has very little to do with how I feel about myself" and/or "Being a native Indonesian is an important reflection of who I am" (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Stephan et al., 2002). Each item in this scale is rated on a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Alpha reliabilities for this measure in past research range from 0.76 to 0.89 (González et al., 2008; Stephan et al., 2002).

The *measure of perceived status difference* is measured with five items reflecting such statements as "There is a great difference between the status of native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians here in Indonesian society" and "Native Indonesians have more political power than Chinese Indonesians" (Stephan et al., 2002). Each item is rated on a 7-point scale, ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (10) (Stephan et al., 2022). Alpha reliabilities from past research indicated moderately high values in this measure ranging from 0.61 to 0.79 (Curşeu et al., 2007; Stephan et al., 2002).[4]

The *measure of prejudice* consists of 12 items that reflect different emotional reactions, such as such as hostility, admiration, dislike, acceptance, superiority, and affection – towards the target group (Stephan et al., 2002). Each item is rated on a 10-point scale from *no … at all* (1) to extreme … (10). Past research has shown high alpha reliabilities from 0.82 to 0.91 in this measure (Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan et al., 2002).[5] See Table 2 for the correlations associated with the examined variables.

Results

The study uses a multiple regression to answer the research question. The multiple regression predicted prejudice. The following predictor variables were entered: Step (1) sex, age, ethnicity, city of domicile, source of news, Step (2) history of intergroup

Table 2. Correlations for study variables.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
(1) Realistic threat	–					
(2) Symbolic threat	.66**	–				
(3) Intergroup anxiety	.57**	.50**	–			
(4) Negative stereotypes	.28**	.26**	.20**	–		
(5) History of conflict	.46**	.47**	.49**	.14**	–	
(6) Prejudice	.40**	.37**	.26**	.65**	*24**	–

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$.

conflicts, and Step (3) perceived threats (realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and stereotypes). Dummy variables were generated for ethnicity, city of domicile, and source of news, using Javanese, West Java, and social media, respectively, as the baseline categories.

In model 1, sex, age, ethnicity, city of domicile, and source of news were entered (R^2 = .03). In model 2, history of intergroup of conflicts was entered, showing a significant improvement over model 1 (R^2 = .09; R^2_{adj} = .07; ΔF = 45.31, p < .001). In model 3, realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and stereotype were entered. This model was a significant improvement over model 2 (R^2 = .48; R^2_{adj} = .39; ΔF = 111.60, p < .001). Hence, this study retains model 3 for final analysis. As shown in model 3 in Table 3, there are significant main effects on prejudice. As individuals identified as native Indonesian get older (b = .10, p < .05), their prejudice towards Chinese Indonesians increases. Also, native Indonesians who are aware of the history of conflicts (b = .10, p < .05) between the two groups are also more prejudiced against Chinese Indonesians. In addition, those who perceive Chinese Indonesians as a realistic threat (b = .20, p < .001) and associate them with (negative) stereotypes (b = .57, p < .001) are also more likely to hold prejudicial views towards them.

Demographic information, except age, did not predict prejudice in the final model. Sex (b = .04, p = .20) has no significant effects on prejudice. The same cases apply to ethnicities – Sundanese (b = .01, p = .98), Betawi (b = .01, p = .92), and other ethnicities (b = -.03, p = .38) – and one's domicile: Jakarta (b = .01, p = .73), Central Java (b = .02, p = .60), East Java (b = .04, p = .26), and others (b = .02, p = .63). Sources from which people acquire their news also do not predict prejudice: Internet/online news (b = -.01, p = .97), traditional media (b = .02, p = .73), and other media (b = .14, p = .73).

Table 3. Regression model for prejudice.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Regressor	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*
Intercept	4.83	.54	2.52	.63	−.96	.52
Sex	−.01	.21	.01	.20	.04	.15
Age	.08	.09	.14	.09	.10*	.07
Sunda	.03	.28	.03	.27	.01	.21
Betawi	.05	.40	.04	.38	.01	.29
Other ethnicities	−.07	.25	−.08	.24	−.03	.19
Jakarta	−.04	.24	−.05	.23	.01	.18
Central Java	−.05	.38	−.04	.36	.02	.28
East Java	.06	.35	.05	.34	.04	.26
Others	.01	.30	.01	.29	.02	.22
Internet/online news	−.05	.29	−.04	.28	−.01	.21
Traditional media	−.01	.34	.01	.33	.01	.25
Other media	.03	.78	.04	.075	.01	.57
History			.27**	.07	.08*	.06
Realistic threat					.21**	.07
Symbolic threat					.02	.08
Intergroup anxiety					−.01	.06
Stereotypes					.57**	.04
F	1.26		4.74***		32.56***	
ΔF	1.26		45.31**		111.60**	
R^2	.03		.09		.48	
R^2_{adj}	.00		.07		.47	

Note: *p < .05, **p < .001, ***p < .0001.

Discussion

According to Stephan and Stephan (1996), four types of threat, realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes, may give rise to prejudice. This study examines the extent to which threats predict prejudicial attitudes among native Indonesians (*Pribumi)* towards Chinese Indonesians. The results of this study offer implications for understanding prejudice.

Our research found the strongest predictor of prejudice was negative stereotyping. When individuals strongly associate Chinese Indonesians with negative stereotypes, they are increasingly prejudiced against them. This finding is consistent with previous studies showing negative stereotypes predict prejudice (Curşeu et al., 2007; González et al., 2008; Stephan et al., 2002). It also indicated stereotyping of Chinese Indonesians is deeply entrenched in the collective subconscious of the *Pribumi* public, which may have been due to Indonesia's long history of stereotyping this minority group (Anggraeni, 2017; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Setijadi, 2017).[6]

A significant effect of realistic threat also predicted prejudice towards Chinese Indonesians. When Indonesians perceive Chinese Indonesians as a threat to their limited resources, such as jobs and housing, they are more likely to hold prejudicial views towards them. Past research on intergroup relations and prejudice conducted in the U.S., Europe, Africa, and East Asia has confirmed this relationship (see Nshom & Arzamastseva, 2021; Nshom & Croucher, 2017; Ramsay & Pang, 2017; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Zárate et al., 2004). The perception of Chinese Indonesians as an economically dominant group, hence a threat to *Pribumi* power and wealth, may account for realistic threat being a significant predictor of prejudice. This perception is said to have arisen from a feeling of victimhood among the natives because of unfair treatment and economic discrimination that historically disadvantaged them (Bilven et al., 2022).

The study also revealed history of intergroup conflicts as a threat directly predicts prejudice. Stephan et al. (2002) found perceptions of past conflicts mediated the relationship between realistic threat and prejudice. Allport (1979) theorized that positive contact leads to reduced prejudice. This finding shows historical conflicts between Chinese Indonesians and the natives, have a direct effect on prejudice. The 1998 May Riots, which signified the bloodiest conflict in Chinese Indonesian history, exemplified this historical conflict, which might have led to negative feelings that could reverse the effects of optimal contact between the two groups (Croucher, 2016). This situation could subsequently result in prejudice.

As for demographics, age was the only significant predictor. The study found that as individuals age, their prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians increases. This is consistent with previous research (Danigelis & Cutler, 1991; Nshom & Croucher, 2014; Wilson, 1996). Gonsalkorale et al. (2009) explained older people's judgement and understanding of certain racial groups are contingent upon the time in which they grew up. In the Indonesian context, this is perhaps obvious, as older individuals witnessed and experienced (more) intergroup conflicts than their younger counterparts. Furthermore, past research has found prejudicial attitudes differ between males and females, some suggesting that being male is more susceptible to holding such attitudes than being female (Altemeyer, 1998; McFarland, 2010; Schweitzer et al., 2005). In this study, sex, however, is not a significant predictor of prejudice. Prior studies have also found variations in prejudicial

attitudes among race/ethnicity and geographic distribution (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Freng et al., 2022; Snellman & Ekehammar, 2005; Stephan et al., 2002). In this study, however, race/ethnicity and geographic distribution were not significant predictors. The absence of predictive power of sex, race/ethnicity, and one's domicile could be attributed to the complex historical, socioeconomic, and political factors that are entrenched in the *Pribumi*-Chinese Indonesian narratives. Sukma (2013, pp. 189–190) noted that Indonesians have historically viewed ethnic Chinese as a "separate *bangsa*" (race, nation) due to the latter's economically privileged position and their role as "henchmen" – dating back to the Dutch colonial period.

Two threat variables, symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety were not significant predictors of prejudice. This may be due to political changes after Suharto's fall in 1998, which allows for a safer environment for Chinese Indonesians to be more culturally expressive (Chong, 2018; Mubah & Anabarja, 2020), fostering increased cultural acceptance and acculturation over time. However, the conflation of Chinese Indonesians with China and its communist belief has been a common theme in the past, especially during political elections (Osman & Waikar, 2018; Yotes, 2019). Future studies, conducted during elections, may want to investigate this area.

Implications and future research

There is a long history of research on Chinese Indonesians, situating them in historical, post-colonial, socioeconomic, identity, and cultural frameworks (see Sai & Hoon, 2012). From a methodological perspective, research that empirically measures prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians on a nationwide scale has been scarce. Hence, the findings of this study add to our understanding, especially through a quantitative method, of how intergroup threats reinforce the relevance and impact of the Chinese Problems[7] in post-reform Indonesia, which heighten prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians.

From a theoretical perspective, the findings broaden the scope of ITT research to cover a new sociocultural and geographical setting, proposing further evidence of threats as predictors of prejudice outside the U.S./European context. A study by Ramsay and Pang (2017) on prejudice toward Chinese immigrants in Singapore distances itself from the Southeast Asian region, classifying the country as an East Asian nation, for economic growth and labour scarcity reasons comparable to Japan and South Korea. This study, sheds light on how threat perceptions operate in intergroup relations in a Southeast Asian country, where an ethnic Chinese community has had a presence for centuries. Future research should investigate the relationship between threats and prejudice towards ethnic Chinese communities in other Southeast Asian countries, such as Malaysia and Thailand, both of which, are home to the largest ethnic Chinese populations which make up around 14 million in total (Suryadinata, 2021). Stephan and Stephan (1996) suggested pinpointing the primary type of threat causing prejudice and applying the most fitting intervention to counter it is crucial. In the Indonesian context, the predominant type of threat is the stereotyping prescriptions of Chinese Indonesians. The Indonesian government, communities, and individuals must work towards dismantling such stereotypes to mitigate prejudice and prevent future intergroup conflicts.

In addition, ITT research has historically considered such variables as intergroup contact, history of intergroup conflicts, perceived status difference, and strength of ingroup identification as antecedents of threats that have reciprocal relationships with realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (Stephan, Stephan, et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, et al., 1999). This entails the threat antecedents, to an extent, impact threat perceptions, and vice versa. Future research may want to theoretically explore renaming the term "antecedents of threats' to "reciprocal variables' or another term to avoid a potential misnomer.

The results of this study also help us understand the role of threats within communication research, providing insights into how historical conflict-laden narratives and events have lasting impacts on and even shape prejudicial views in contemporary intergroup/intercultural relations. War, genocide, terrorism, and civil unrest, which act as signifiers of a history of intergroup antagonism, could lead ingroups to develop threat perceptions towards outgroups (Stephan et al., 2009). Such threats are often communicated as one group's gains or losses, hence shaping their perceptions and interactions with other groups. This study demonstrates that historical conflicts between *Pribumi* and Chinese Indonesians act as a direct predictor of prejudice towards the latter. In their recent research on the May 1998 riots, Himawan et al. (2022) found *Pribumi* mainly blamed the conflicts on external forces, including anti-Chinese prejudice and the government's scapegoating of Chinese Indonesians. The open discussion of the May 1998 riots was often discouraged, as the violent conflict is, to some extent, still considered a taboo topic, a collective memory that needs to be obscured. As a result, this has led to what Himawan et al. (2002, p. 244) termed as "strategic political murkiness" where rumour, reality, and secrecy collide.

This study has limitations. First, the reliance on self-reports in the survey may have downplayed the prejudicial views of the participants to meet social desirability expectations (Oetzel, 1998). Second, the study treats intergroup anxiety and stereotypes as threat variables. In the revised version of ITT, these variables are treated as subsets of both realistic and symbolic threat (Croucher, 2017). Future research should consider using this new revision to examine whether the two subsets have similar effects on prejudice in the context of *Pribumi*-Chinese Indonesian relations.

This study extended ITT and prejudice research to the study of intergroup and intercultural relations between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians. The findings revealed that, within the Indonesian setting, stereotyping, realistic threat, history of intergroup conflicts, and age predict prejudicial attitude towards Chinese Indonesians. The results corroborate and challenge certain aspects of the threat-prejudice hypothesis. It is imperative that future studies explore the relationship between threat and prejudice in countries with a history of Chinese migration to understand further the dynamics of prejudice.

Notes

1. The anti-Ahok movement was a movement in 2016/2017 organised by far-right Islamist groups — protesting Jakarta's former governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), who is of ethnic Chinese descent and a Christian, for insulting Islam. Demonstrators conflated

Ahok with the communist Chinese state and accused him of leading a Christian takeover in Indonesia. They perceived him as a threat to Islam.

2. The survey was translated from English to Bahasa Indonesia by a professional translator and rechecked by the primary researcher, who is a native bilingual speaker, for connotational and denotational issues. Then, the translator and the primary researcher worked together for a consensus to solve such issues.
3. In this quantitative study, the primary researcher shared the survey with his contacts in Indonesia who then shared it with their network of acquaintances.
4. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted to ensure validity of the constructs. CFA results for realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotype, history of intergroup conflicts, strength of ingroup identification, and perceived status difference in Indonesia demonstrated acceptable fit: $\chi^2(303) = 662.08$, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.95, GFI = 0.92, RMSEA = 0.44, PClose = 0.98. Realistic threat's deleted items = 4,6,7,8. Symbols threat's deleted items = 1,3,5,6. Intergroup anxiety's deleted items = 2,4,6,8,10,12. Negative stereotype's deleted items = 1,2,4,6,8,10,12. History of intergroup conflict's deleted item = 4. Ingroup identification's deleted item = 4. Perceived status difference's deleted items = 2, 4. Ingroup of identification and perceived status differences were found to be problematic and were subsequently dropped due to low factor loadings. A reliability test using Omega (ω) was also performed to assess the internal consistency of the scales. Six scales — realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotype, prejudice, and history of intergroup conflict — were retained, as they exhibit good internal consistency;[4] however, ingroup of identification and perceived status differences were found to be problematic and were subsequently dropped due to low factor loadings.
5. CFA results for prejudice in Indonesia also showed acceptable fit: $\chi^2(5) = 7.46$ $p < 0.189$, SRMR = 0.08, CFI = 0.99, GFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.28, PClose = 0.78. Deleted items = 1,3,5,7,9,10,11.
6. In the follow-up analysis of negative stereotypes, we discovered a direct relationship between negative stereotypes and prejudice without controlling for any other variables. The measures indicating a strong correlation with prejudice included being disrespectful and friendly, whereas being perceived as dirty showed the least strong correlation with prejudice. Ultimately, answering the question whether stereotypes of Chinese Indonesians have remained constant over time is challenging due to the lack of longitudinal studies on the topic.
7. The Suharto regime in the late 1970s even issued a set of regulations and policies aimed at solving the Chinese Problems — under the title *Guide to the Solution of the Chinese Problem in Indonesia* (Coppel, 2002). This solution entailed the banning of ethnic Chinese from enrolling in the armed forces, the civil service, and state-owned enterprises. Suharto also barred the existence of Chinese schools and newspapers, the use of Chinese characters, the teaching of Mandarin, celebrations of Chinese Lunar New Year, among others (Sai & Hoon, 2012; Storey, 2000).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Data availability

Data available upon reasonable request to the corresponding author.

References

Allard, T., & Beo Da Costa, A. (2017, May 12). *Exclusive - Indonesian Islamist leader says ethnic Chinese wealth is next target*. Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-indonesia-politics-cleric-exclusive-idUSKBN18817N.

Allport, G. W. (1979). *The nature of prejudice: Unabridged*. Addison-Wesley.
Altemeyer, B. (1998). The other "Authoritarian Personality". *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *30*(1), 47–92. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60382-2
Anggraeni, D. (2017). Chinese Indonesians after May 1998. How they fit in the big picture. *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia*, *18*(1), 106. doi:10.17510/wacana.v18i1.575
Anwar, D. F. (2019). *Indonesia-China relations: To be handled with care*. Perspective 19, ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute. Available at https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2019_19.pdf.
Bilven, B., Nyúl, B., & Kende, A. (2022). Exclusive victimhood, higher ethnic and lower national identities predict less support for reconciliation among native and Chinese Indonesians through mutual prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *91*, 262–273. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.10.011
Bizman, A., & Yinon, Y. (2001). Intergroup and interpersonal threats as determinants of prejudice: The moderating role of in-group identification. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *23*(3), 191–196. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15324834BASP2303_5
Brewer, M. B., & Kramer, R. (1985). The psychology of intergroup attitudes and behavior. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *36*(1), 219–243. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.36.020185.001251
Carter, J. (2021, October 21). *The 1740 Batavia massacre of ethnic Chinese in Java*. The China Project. Retrieved November 30, 2022, from https://thechinaproject.com/2021/10/06/the-1740-batavia-massacre-of-ethnic-chinese-in-java/.
Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X. (2010). Comparative analyses of public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration using multinational survey data: A review of theories and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *36*(1), 309–328. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651
Chen, J. (2022). Representing Chinese Indonesians: Pribumi discourse and regional elections in post-reform Indonesia. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, *41*(1), 59–87. doi:10.1177/18681034211036716
Chong, W. L. (2018). *Chinese Indonesians in Post-Suharto Indonesia: Democratisation and ethnic minorities*. Hong Kong University Press.
Claver, A. (2014). *Dutch commerce and Chinese merchants in Java*. Brill.
Coppel, C. A. (2002). *Studying ethnic Chinese in Indonesia*. Singapore Society of Asian Studies.
Coppel, C. A. (2013). Diaspora and hybridity: Peranakan Chinese culture in Indonesia. In C. B. Tan (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora* (pp. 345–358). Routledge.
Corenblum, B., & Stephan, W. G. (2001). White fears and Native apprehensions: An integrated threat theory approach to intergroup attitudes. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, *33*(4), 251–268. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0087147
Croucher, S. M. (2013). Integrated threat theory and acceptance of immigrant assimilation: An analysis of Muslim immigration in Western Europe. *Communication Monographs*, *80*(1), 46–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2012.739704
Croucher, S. M. (2016). Further development of integrated threat theory and intergroup contact: A reply to Aberson (2015). *Communication Monographs*, *83*(2), 269–275. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2015.1119866
Croucher, S. M. (2017). Integrated threat theory. In J. Harwood, & H. Giles (Eds.), *Intergroup communication encyclopaedia*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318814675_Integrated_threat_theory
Croucher, S. M., Galy-Badenas, F., & Routsalainen, M. (2014). Host culture acceptancy, religiosity, and the threat of Muslim immigration: An integrated threat analysis in Spain. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, *14*(35), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.36923/jicc.v14i2.675
Croucher, S. M., Nguyen, T., Pearson, E., Murray, N., Feekery, A., Spencer, A., Gomez, O., Girardelli, D., & Kelly, S. (2021a). A comparative analysis of Covid-19-related prejudice: The United States, Spain, Italy, and New Zealand. *Communication Research Reports*, *38*(2), 79–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2021.1885371
Croucher, S. M., Nguyen, T., & Rahmani, D. (2020). Prejudice toward Asian Americans in the COVID-19 pandemic: The effects of social media use in the United States. *Frontiers in Communication*, *5*, 39. https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2020.00039

Croucher, S. M., Permyakova, T., & Turdubaeva, E. (2021b). Prejudice toward Asians and migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic in Russia and Kyrgyzstan. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *13*, 289–301. https://doi.org/10.1080/19409419.2021.1958697

Croucher, S., Nguyen, T., Ashwell, D., Spencer, A., Permyakova, T., & Gomez, O. (2022). COVID-19 prejudice towards Afro-Brazilians. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, *51*(4), 383–399. https://doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2021.1957702

Curşeu, P. L., Stoop, R., & Schalk, R. (2007). Prejudice toward immigrant workers among Dutch employees: Integrated threat theory revisited. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *37*(1), 125–140. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.331

Danigelis, N. L., & Cutler, S. J. (1991). An inter-cohort comparison of changes in racial attitudes. *Research on Aging*, *13*(3), 383–404. doi:10.1177/0164027591133006

Eagly, A. H., & Mladinic, A. (1989). Sex stereotypes and attitudes toward women and men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *15*(4), 543–558. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167289154008

Eskelinen, V., Renvik, T. A., Pauha, T., Jetten, J., Kunst, J., van der Noll, J., Rohmann, A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2022). Disentangling national and religious identification as predictors of support for religious minority rights among Christian majority groups. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *61*(2), 550–568. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12496

Fikri, A., & Hasudungan, A. N. (2022). Siauw Giok Tjhan and Abdurrahman Wahid: History of Chinese Citizenship in Indonesia. *Journal of Education, Society & Multiculturalism*, *3*(1), 181–200. https://doi.org/10.2478/jesm-2022-0011

Forgasz, H., Tan, H., Leder, G., & McLeod, A. (2018). Enhancing survey participation: Facebook advertisements for recruitment in educational research. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, *41*(3), 257–270. https://doi.org/10.1080/1743727X.2017.1295939

Fossati, D., Hui Y., & Dharma Negara, S. (2017). *The Indonesian national survey project: Economy, society and politics*. Singapore: ISEAS. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/trends-in-southeast-asia/trends-insoutheast-asia-2017/the-indonesia-national-survey-project-economy-society-and- politics-by-diego-fossati-hui-yewfoong-and-siwage-dharma-negara/.

Freng, S., Schweitzer, K., Estrada-Reynolds, V., Leki, E., & Choi, S. (2022). Geographic distribution of prejudice toward African Americans: Applying the two-dimensional model. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *162*(2), 262–279. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2021.1893149

Gonsalkorale, K., Sherman, J. W., & Klauer, K. C. (2009). Aging and prejudice: Diminished regulation of automatic race bias among older adults. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *45*(2), 410–414. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.11.004

González, K., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Negative attitudes towards Muslims in The Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *47*(4), 667–685. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608X284443

Heidhues, M. S. (2017). Studying the Chinese in Indonesia: A long half-century. *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, *32*(3), 601–633. doi:10.1355/sj32-3c. 3c.

Herlijanto, J. (2004, December). *The May 1998 riots and the emergence of Chinese Indonesians: Social movements in the post-Soeharto era*. 18th Conference of International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA), Taipei, Taiwan.

Herlijanto, J. (2016). *What does Indonesia's Pribumi elite think of ethnic Chinese today?* ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2016_32.pdf.

Herlijanto, J. (2017). Old stereotypes, new convictions: Pribumi perceptions of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia today. *Trends in Southeast Asia 6*, 1–26. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/TRS6_17.pdf

Hervandi, R. (2011, May 21). Reimagining Chinese Indonesians in democratic Indonesia. *East Asia Forum*. Retrieved December 2, 2022, from https://owww.eastasiaforum.org/2011/05/21/reimagining-chinese-indonesians-in-democratic-indonesia/.

Himawan, E. M., Pohlman, A., & Louis, W. (2022). Revisiting the May 1998 riots in Indonesia: Civilians and their untold memories. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, *41*(2), 240–257. https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034221084320

Hoon, C. Y. (2004). How to be Chinese: Ethnic Chinese experience a 'Reawakening' of their Chinese identity. *Inside Indonesia*, *78*, 13–14. https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/soss_research/834.
Hoon, C. Y. (2006). Assimilation, multiculturalism, hybridity: The dilemmas of the ethnic Chinese in post-Suharto Indonesia. *Asian Ethnicity*, *7*(2), 149–166. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631360600734400
Hoon, C. Y. (2012). By race, I am Chinese; and by grace, I am Christian": Negotiating Chineseness and Christianity in Indonesia. In S. M. Sai, & C. Y. Hoon (Eds.), *Chinese Indonesians reassessed: History, religion and belonging* (pp. 159–177). Routledge.
Ingketria, E. (2018). Chinese Indonesians under Jokowi: Flourishing yet unsettling. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, *6*(07|7), 84–121. https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2018.67009
Kemasang, A. R. T. (1985). How Dutch colonialism foreclosed a domestic bourgeoisie in Java: The 1740 Chinese massacres reappraised. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, *9*, 57–80. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40241012.
Khan, Z., & Bruschke, J. (2016). Media coverage of Muslims, perceived threats, ethnocentrism, and intercultural contact: Applying cultivation theory, integrated threat theory, and the contact hypothesis. *Northwest Journal of Communication*, *44*(1).
Kim, Y. Y. (1988). *Communication and cross-cultural adaptation: An integrative theory*. Multilingual Matters.
Koning, J. (2018). Chinese Indonesians: Businesses, ethnicity, and religion. In R. Hefner (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of contemporary Indonesia* (pp. 177–186). Routledge.
Kuntjara, E., & Hoon, C. Y. (2020). Reassessing Chinese Indonesian stereotypes: Two decades after Reformasi. *South East Asia Research*, *28*(2), 199–216. https://doi.org/10.1080/0967828X.2020.1729664
Leggett, H. W. (2010). Institutionalizing the colonial imagination: Chinese middlemen and the transnational corporate office in Jakarta, Indonesia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(8), 1265–1278. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691831003687709
Lie, S., & Bailey, B. (2017). The power of names in a Chinese Indonesian family's negotiations of politics, culture, and identities. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, *10*(1), 80–95. doi:10.1080/17513057.2016.1216577
Lie (李惠贞), S., & Sandel (申大德), T. (2020). Unwelcomed guests: Cultural discourse analysis of comments on ethnic Chinese in Indonesian social media [不受欢迎 的客人: 印尼社交媒体上有关华裔评论的文化话语分析]. *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, *16*(1), 31–57. https://doi.org/10.1163/17932548-12341412
Ling, C. W. (2016). Rethinking the position of ethnic Chinese Indonesians. *SEJARAH: Journal of the Department of History*, *25*(2), 96–108. https://doi.org/10.22452/sejarah.vol25no2.7
Liu, H. (2011). China and the shaping of Indonesia, 1949–1965. *The China Quarterly*, *212*, 1140–1142. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741012001415
Lockard, C. A. (2013). Chinese migration and settlement in Southeast Asia before 1850: Making fields from the sea. *History Compass*, *11*(9), 765–781. https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12079
Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's own identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *18*(3), 302–318. doi:10.1177/0146167292183006
Maryanah, T. (2018). Citizenship in everyday life: Exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians by non-Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung-Indonesia. *KnE Social Sciences*, *3*, 516–531. https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v3i5.2353
McFarland, S. (2010). Authoritarianism, social dominance and other roots of generalized prejudice. *Political Psychology*, *31*(3), 453–477. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00765.x
Mubah, A. S., & Anabarja, S. (2020). Globalization, national identity and citizenship: Dilemma of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesian nation-building. *Tamkang Journal of International Affairs*, *23*, 55–101. https://doi.org/10.6185/TJIA.V.202001_23(3).0002
Nshom, E. (2016). Predictors of Finnish adolescent's prejudice towards Russian immigrants and the effect of intergroup contact. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, *45*(1), 31–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2015.1136347

Nshom, E., & Arzamastseva, E. (2021). Are Chinese immigrants in Cameroon perceived as a threat? *Africa Review*, *13*(1), 61–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2020.1787076

Nshom, E., & Croucher, S. (2017). Perceived threat and prejudice towards immigrants in Finland: A study among early, middle, and late Finnish adolescents. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, *10*(4), 309–323. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2017.1312489

Nshom, E., & Croucher, S. M. (2014). Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: A comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *6* (3), 308–317. https://doi.org/10.1080/19409419.2014.954599

Odenweller, K. G., & Harris, T. M. (2018). Intergroup socialization: The influence of parents' family communication patterns on adult children's racial prejudice and tolerance. *Communication Quarterly*, *66*(5), 501–521. doi:10.1080/01463373.2018.1452766

Oetzel, J. (1998). The effects of self-construals and ethnicity on self-reported conflict styles. *Communication Reports*, *11*(2), 133–144. https://doi.org/10.1080/08934219809367695

Osman, M. N. M., & Waikar, P. (2018). Fear and loathing: Uncivil Islamism and Indonesia's anti-Ahok movement. *Indonesia*, *106*(1), 89–109. https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2018.0016

Permana, S. A., & Purwantiningsih, A. (2021). Chinese community under the Soekarno era in Indonesia. *Paramita Historical Studies Journal*, *31*(1), 104–110. https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v31i1.23986

Pettigrew, T. F., & Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *25*(1), 57–75. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420250106

Ramsay, J. E., & Pang, J. S. (2017). Anti-immigrant prejudice in rising East Asia: A stereotype content and integrated threat analysis. *Political Psychology*, *38*(2), 227–244. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12312

Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *10*(4), 336–353. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1004_4

Ruscher, J. B. (2017, August 22). Prejudiced communication. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication.* https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.419

Sai, S. M., & Hoon, C. Y. (2012). Introduction: A critical reassessment of Chinese Indonesian studies. In S. M. Sai, & C. Y. Hoon (Eds.), *Chinese Indonesians Reassessed* (pp. 1–26). Routledge.

Schweitzer, R., Perkoulidis, S., Krome, S., Ludlow, C., & Ryan, M. (2005). Attitudes towards refugees: The dark side of prejudice in Australia. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, *57*(3), 170–179. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049530500125199

Setijadi, C. (2016). *Ethnic Chinese in contemporary Indonesia: Changing identity politics and the paradox of sinification (No. 12)*. ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2016_12.pdf.

Setijadi, C. (2017). *Chinese Indonesians in the eyes of the pribumi public (No. 73)*. ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2017_73.pdf.

Setijadi, C. (2019). Anti-Chinese sentiment and the 'return' of the pribumi discourse. In G. Fealy, & R. Ricci (Eds.), *Contentious belonging: The place of minorities in Indonesia* (pp. 194–213). ISEAS Publishing.

Shaver, L. G., Khawer, A., Yi, Y., Aubrey-Bassler, K., Etchegary, H., Roebothan, B., Asghari, S., & Wang, P. P. (2019). Using Facebook advertising to recruit representative samples: Feasibility assessment of a cross-sectional survey. *Journal of medical Internet research*, *21*(8), e14021. https://doi.org/10.2196/14021

Sherif, M. (1966). *In common predicament: Social psychology of intergroup conflict and cooperation*. Houghton Mifflin.

Sibarani, R., Zemits, B., & Miller, S. (2020, March 10). How to communicate COVID-19 risk without fuelling anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia. https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2020/03/10/how-to-communicate-covid-19-risk-without-fuelling-anti-chinese-sentiment-in-indonesia.html.

Snellman, A., & Ekehammar, B. (2005). Ethnic hierarchies, ethnic prejudice, and social dominance orientation. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *15*(2), 83–94. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.812

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., McNatt, P. S., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of Blacks and Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*(9), 1242–1254. https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672022812009

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *31*(2), 240–249. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022100031002006

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, *41*(3), 157–175. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1985.tb01134.x

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1993). Cognition and affect in stereotyping: Parallel interactive networks. In D. M. Mackie, & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception* (pp. 111–136). Academic Press.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *20*(3-4), 409–426. doi:10.1016/0147-1767(96)00026-0

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23–45). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Stephan, W. G., Stephan, C. W., & Gudykunst, W. G. (1999). Anxiety in intergroup relations: A comparison of anxiety/uncertainty management theory and integrated threat theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *23*(4), 613–628. doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(99)00012-7

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice toward immigrants: An integrated threat theory. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *29*(11), 2221–2237. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1999.tb00107.x

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martnez, C. M., Schwarzwald, J., & Tur-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward Immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *29*(4), 559–576. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022198294004

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Morrison, K. R. (2009). Intergroup threat theory. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 43–59). Psychology Press.

Storey, I. J. (2000). Indonesia's China policy in the new order and beyond: Problems and prospects. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *22*, 145–174. doi:10.1355/CS22-1F

Sukma, R. (2013). Indonesia's perceptions of China: The domestic bases of persistent ambiguity. In I. Storey, & H. Yee (Eds.), *China Threat: Perceptions Myths* (pp. 181–204). Routledge.

Suryadinata, L. (1971). Pre-war Indonesian nationalism and the Peranakan Chinese. *Indonesia*, *11*, 83–94. doi:10.2307/3350745

Suryadinata, L. (Ed.). (2008). *Ethnic Chinese in contemporary Indonesia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Suryadinata, L. (2021). A rising China affects ethnic identities in Southeast Asia. *ISEAS Perspective 74*. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/ISEAS_Perspective_2021_74.pdf.

Tal-Or, N., & Tsfati, Y. (2016). When Arabs and Jews watch TV together: The joint effect of the content and context of communication on reducing prejudice. *Journal of Communication*, *66*(4), 646–668. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12242

Tausch, N., Hewstone, M., & Roy, R. (2009). The relationships between contact, status and prejudice: An integrated threat theory analysis of Hindu–Muslim relations in India. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *19*(2), 83–94. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.984

Tempo. (2016, November 5). *Kronologi rusuh Pluit dan bentrok massa di Luar Batang* (Chronology of the Pluit riot and mass clash in Luar Batang). Tempo. https://nasional.tempo.co/read/817929/kronologi-rusuh-pluit-dan-bentrok-massa-di-luar-batang.

Tropp, L. R., & Wright, S. C. (2001). Ingroup identification as the inclusion of ingroup in the self. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *27*(5), 585–600. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167201275007

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Basil Blackwell.

Vedder, P., Wenink, E., & van Geel, M. (2016). Explaining negative outgroup attitudes between native Dutch and Muslim youth in the Netherlands using the integrated threat theory.

International Journal of Intercultural Relations, *53*(1), 54–64. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2016.05.001

Wilson, T. C. (1996). Cohort and prejudice: White's attitudes toward Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, and Asians. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *60*(2), 253–274. https://doi.org/10.1086/297750

World Bank Open Data. (2022). *Population, total - Indonesia*. World Bank Group. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=ID.

Yotes, T. (2019). *Looking for patterns in anti-Chinese hoaxes: The case of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential election* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Liverpool.

Zárate, M. A., Garcia, B., Garza, A. A., & Hitlan, R. T. (2004). Cultural threat and perceived realistic group conflict as dual predictors of prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *40*(1), 99–105. doi:10.1016/S0022-1031(03)00067-2

Article 2

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Communication Research Reports

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rcrr20

Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: testing the integrated threat model

Tommy Yotes, Stephen M. Croucher & Elena Maydell

To cite this article: Tommy Yotes, Stephen M. Croucher & Elena Maydell (2024) Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: testing the integrated threat model, Communication Research Reports, 41:4, 243-252, DOI: 10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289

Published online: 12 Sep 2024.

COMMUNICATION RESEARCH REPORTS
2024, VOL. 41, NO. 4, 243–252
https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: testing the integrated threat model

Tommy Yotes, Stephen M. Croucher, and Elena Maydell

ABSTRACT

China's Belt and Road Initiative has galvanized new Chinese migration to Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. The presence of the new Chinese migrants (*Xinyimin*) has not gone without resistance in Indonesia. This study examines the effects of history of intergroup conflicts and contact on the formation of threat perceptions toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia. The findings revealed both history of conflicts and contact predict realistic threat and highlight the importance of open communication in mitigating intergroup biases.

KEYWORDS

Prejudice; intergroup conflict; integrated threat theory; Indonesia; regression

Past research suggests the history of conflicts influences threat perceptions in intergroup relations. This phenomenon is visible in Indonesia, where the presence of new Chinese migrants, or *Xinyimin* (新移民), has created tensions at grassroots levels. In January 2023, Indonesian workers clashed with their Chinese counterparts at PT Nickel Gunbuster Industry in Morowali, Central Sulawesi, leading to escalated violence. Two workers, one Indonesian and one Chinese reportedly died, and others were injured (Suryadinata & Negara, 2023). This conflict reflects a survey by Fossati et al. (2017), which revealed over 70% of Indonesians support imposing restrictions or control over the influx of Chinese workers into Indonesia. Conflicts or tensions between the Xinyimin and locals usually stem from labor competitions. In 2015, locals demanded the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower revoke the work permits of 799 Chinese working at a cement factory in Lebak, West Java, due to the environmental damage they caused (Bisnis.com, 2015). Locals also rejected the arrival of 49 Chinese migrant workers in Konawe, Southeast Sulawesi, in March 2020, which was followed by another protest opposing the planned arrival of 500 Chinese workers in June, accusing them of taking local jobs and bringing COVID-19 to Indonesia (CNN Indonesia, 2020; Pati & Khairina, 2020). Lin (2020) provides preliminary insights into the demographic characteristics of the Xinyimin in Indonesia, revealing that most belong to the middle or lower classes, are typically under 35 years old, and enter Indonesia

CONTACT Stephen M. Croucher s.croucher@massey.ac.nz School of Communication, Journalism and Marketing, Massey University, New Zealand

with various types of visas. In terms of occupation, these Chinese nationals work for Chinese state-owned companies, private firms, and Chinese-Indonesian joint ventures in various industries—from mining to manufacturing, finance, service, tourism, and education.

The grassroots conflicts between the Xinyimin and local workers in Indonesia indicate an increasing level of prejudice toward the former, and understanding this phenomenon is vital through a communication lens. From a practical standpoint, such knowledge is key to mitigating intergroup conflicts through improved communication in a region where gradual demographic changes are inevitable. Theoretically, this phenomenon offers a scenario for testing the integrated threat theory (ITT) (Stephan & Stephan, 1996), a well-established theory in prejudice and communication. Examining this phenomenon as a social issue through the ITT lenses is crucial as the model presents a structured way to identify the sources of intergroup tensions and conflicts.

Consequently, this study aims to understand the various public perceptions in Indonesia on perceived threats posed by the Xinyimin, whose arrivals became prominent following the post-Belt and Road Initiative projects. This examination is grounded in the notion that threats arise when the dominant group feels their interests are at risk due to the presence of others (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). The current study employs ITT to investigate the nature of prejudice toward the Xinyimin, focusing on threat, history of conflict, and contact variables.

Integrated threat model

Stephan and Stephan (1996) introduced four central threats that can lead to prejudice. *Realistic threat* involves socioeconomic, political, and physical welfare. *Symbolic threat* refers to the perceived threat to an in-group's values or beliefs when they interact with an outgroup (Stephan et al., 1998). *Intergroup anxiety* stems from fear of embarrassment, rejection, or ridicule during intergroup interactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). *Negative stereotypes* represent a threat or anticipation from the ingroup concerning how members of the outgroup should behave (Croucher et al., 2021).

Corenblum and Stephan (2001) highlight the roles of threat antecedents in ITT, suggesting they could shape threat perceptions. Such threat antecedents include 1) *history of intergroup conflicts* — the more extensive and violent the history of conflict between groups, the higher the likelihood people feel threatened by the other group (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2002); and 2) *contact* — the more negative, less frequent contacts experienced by ingroup members, the more likely they see outgroup(s) as a threat, and vice versa (González et al., 2008).

ITT has confirmed the links between threat perceptions and prejudice in the context of the host society-migrant relationships. Nshom and Arzamastseva (2021) found realistic threat was linked to prejudicial views and attitudes toward Chinese migrants in Cameroon. Using ITT, Vallejo-Martín et al. (2020) found individuals with precarious employment in Spain are more likely to feel threatened by Syrian refugees, due to competition for resources. A study by Pereira et al. (2010) in 21 European countries revealed that prejudice toward immigrants were largely driven by employment and security concerns. They also found similar findings in Portugal which traditionally has been a nation with a high rate of emigration (Pereira et al., 2010). Furthermore, realistic and symbolic threats are also found to act as strong predictors of prejudice toward foreign workers, including Chinese, in Singapore (Ramsay & Pang, 2015).

Understanding the relationship between perceived threats and their antecedents is key to identifying important factors that shape prejudice. Realistic threats involve concerns about tangible resources scarcity, while symbolic threats relate to fears about challenges to cultural values and beliefs. In a revised version of ITT, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes are viewed as potential antecedents of realistic and symbolic threats, not as perceived threats (Rios et al., 2018); hence, given this reason, this study excludes these two variables.

The perception of threat is key to prejudice formation; thus, a perceived threat, even if not real, is sufficient to foster prejudice (Croucher et al., 2013). Despite this understanding, research on the Xinyimin and prejudice in Indonesia remains limited. Thus, to fill this gap and further explore the relationship, the following research questions are proposed:

RQ1: To what extent does history of intergroup conflicts predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia?

RQ2: To what extent does contact with the Xinyimin predict perceived threats toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia?

Method

Participants and procedures

Following ethics approval in 2023, 907 Indonesians completed a survey via Survey Monkey, with respondents given the opportunity to participate in a raffle with a prize worth US$95 (in local currency). Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted to ensure the

Table 1. Participant demographics.

Variable	*n* = 907	*M*	*SD*
Age		34.11	9.7
Sex			
Female	647 (71.3%)		
Male	260 (28.7%)		
Ethnicity			
Javanese	455 (50.2%)		
Sundanese	152 (16.8%)		
Chinese Indonesian	105 (11.6%)		
Betawi	41 (4.5%)		
Batak	29 (3.2%)		
Others	125 (13.8%)		
Domicile			
West Java	311 (34.3%)		
Jakarta	184 (20.3%)		
East Java	123 (13.6%)		
Central Java	111 (12.2%)		
Sumatra	85 (9.4%)		
Sulawesi	18 (2.0%)		
Bali	8 (.9%)		
Kalimantan	22 (2.4%)		
Others	10 (1.1%)		

validity of constructs, following the criteria set by Hu and Bentler (1999). Following criteria set forth by Croucher and Kelly (2019), problematic items causing significant error were removed. Table 1 contains demographic details.

Instruments

Measure of *realistic threat* has eight items, which include statements such as "the Xinyimin get more from this country than they contribute" and are rated on a seven-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7) (Curşeu et al., 2007). Cronbach's α for this measure is .78. Measure of *symbolic threat* comprises seven items, which include such statements as "the value and beliefs of Xinyimin regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with those of most Indonesians." This measure is rated on a seven-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Cronbach's α for this measure is .35.[1]

Measure of *history of intergroup conflicts* has four items, such as "Relations between native Indonesians and Xinyimin have always been characterised by conflicts" and is assessed on a seven-point scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (7) *strongly agree*. Cronbach's α for this measure is .84. Measure of *contact* comprises four items, including such statements as "Do you have contact with Xinyimin in your neighbourhood?" The items were assessed on a 4-point scale, ranging from (1) *none/never* to (4) *only Xinyimin friends/often*. Cronbach's α for this measure is .85.[2]

Table 2. Regression model for realistic threat.

	Model 1		Model 2	
Regressor	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*
Intercept	5.48	.61	2.50	.09
Sex	.04	.11	.10**	.10
Age	−.08*	.01	−.04	.01
Sundanese	−.06	.15	−.06	.12
Chinese Indonesians	−.28**	.16	−.23**	.14
Betawi	.02	.23	.03	.19
Batak	−.09*	.27	−.07*	.23
Other ethnicities	−.04	.16	−.02	.14
West Java	−.01	.14	−.01	.12
East Java	−.03	.17	−.05	.15
Central Java	−.02	.18	−.01	.15
Sumatra	−.07	.20	−.03	.17
Other Domicile	.00	.19	.01	.16
History of conflicts			.52**	.03
Contact			−.06*	.05
F	9.34**		37.38**	
Δ*F*	9.34**		182.83**	

*$p < .05$ **$p < .001$, ***$p < .0001$.

Results

This study used multiple-regression analysis to answer the research question, aiming to predict threat. As the symbolic threat measure was unreliable, only realistic threat was examined. The following predictor variables were entered: Step 1) sex, age, ethnicity, and city of domicile; Step 2) history of intergroup conflicts and contact; and Step 3) realistic threat. In Model 1, sex, age, ethnicity, and city of domicile were entered ($R^2 = .11$). In Model 2, history of intergroup conflicts and contact were entered, showing a significant improvement over Model 1 ($R^2 = .37$; $R^2_{adj} = .36$; $\Delta F = 182.83$, $p < .001$). Thus, model 2 was retained for analysis. Model 2 in Table 2 highlights notable effects on realistic threat. Sex ($b = .10$) is a significant predictor of realistic threat, with males having higher levels of realistic threat. Individuals identified as Chinese Indonesians ($b = -.23$) and Batak ($b = -.07$) are less likely to feel threatened by the Xinyimin. History of conflicts ($b = .52$) also significantly predicts threat. The results also suggest contact ($b = -.06$) is a significant predictor of realistic threat.

Discussion

Our results found the strongest predictor of realistic threat is the history of intergroup conflicts in the context of intergroup relations between Indonesians and the Xinyimin. The more intense and lengthy history of intergroup conflict between groups, the more likely individuals will believe other groups pose a threat to their well-being (Stephan et al., 2002). Such threats are often communicated through one-way communication models, such as anti-immigration protests and political speeches in which politicians

try to convince voters that migrants are hurting their countries in many aspects, from the economy to public health (Nshom, 2024).

Contact also significantly predicts realistic threat, with more contact leading to less threat. This shows that perceived economic threats can be reduced when individuals interact more with the Xinyimin. When people have more frequent and better quality of contact, they tend to feel less threatened by the other group and experience less intergroup anxiety (Stephan et al., 2000). Lack of communication and knowledge, especially arising from minimal intergroup and interpersonal contact can engender ignorance, which often leads to suspicion, stereotypes, and rumors, hence strained intergroup relations (Zhang, 2016). There is little research on contact between locals and the Xinyimin. Hildayanti et al. (2021) explored interactions between locals and Chinese workers in Morowali, Central Sulawesi, and found they perceived the latter both positively and negatively through socioeconomic interactions. Future studies may want to investigate the contact between these two groups further.

Our findings add valuable insights into the existing ITT model in that they extend our understanding of the links between the history of conflicts, contact, and perceived threats. We found history of conflicts and contact predict realistic threat, which is consistent with previous research (Stephan et al., 2000, 2002). This suggests the model may serve as a useful theoretical tool to predict prejudice in the Indonesian context.

As for demographics, sex is a significant predictor of realistic threat. Those identifying as male are more likely than females to perceive Xinyimin as threatening their economic well-being. This finding supports previous studies arguing males are more susceptible to being prejudiced (Altemeyer, 1998; McFarland, 2010; Parrillo & Donoghue, 2005). Males are still traditionally perceived as breadwinners in Indonesian society (Utari, 2018). They constitute 61% of Indonesia's total labor force (as of February 2023) and dominate most sectors, including manufacturing, as well as corporate culture (International Labour Organization ILO, 2020; Ministry of Manpower Indonesia, 2024). These factors may make them feel more sensitive to job competition and economic security, hence perceiving the Xinyimin as a threat to their economic well-being.

Last, individuals identifying as Chinese Indonesians and Batak are less likely to feel threatened by the Xinyimin. This finding, especially concerning Chinese Indonesians, challenges Suryadinata's (2020) claim that they consider the Xinyimin a threat and competition. Chinese Indonesians' lower realistic threat perception toward the Xinyimin may be due to their strong entrepreneurial culture and relative economic success over other ethnic groups (Mackie, 1998; Virgosita, 2020). This may provide them with a sense of stability and security, which may result in lower threat perceptions toward the Xinyimin. As for those identified

as Batak, an ethnic group of North Sumatra, their lower level of perceived realistic threat toward the Xinyimin may stem from the fact that their province is home to "the most sizeable Chinese Indonesian community of Sumatra, and indeed anywhere outside Java," and that the province's capital, Medan, has the second-largest number of Chinese population (Arifin et al., 2017; Reid, 2004, p. 194). Their distinct demographic and historical background might have instilled in their upbringing a degree of cultural familiarity and knowledge of Chinese groups, including the Xinyimin, through various channels of communication, hence reducing their threat perceptions.

Communication serves as a vehicle for expressing prejudice and stereotypical beliefs and as an instrument to reduce or mitigate intergroup biases. Intergroup communication, in which ingroup and outgroup members learn about each other and dismantle negative stereotypes, can lead to more positive perceptions of the outgroup (Nshom, 2024). Governments, private sectors, and communication scholars should explore the extent to which fostering open communication can help reduce biases between the two groups. Stakeholders may want to consider such programmes as cooperative learning, reading and media interventions, and cross-cultural training to elicit effective effects on prejudice reduction (Paluck & Green, 2009).

Limitations and future research

This study has some limitations. In self-report surveys, participants may have either under-reported or over-reported the views they deemed to be socially desirable or undesirable (Oetzel, 1998). Future research may want to address this issue by administering the social desirability scale to evaluate the extent to which such a bias influences the study. Second, the symbolic threat measure, one of the key threat components, was removed due to the low Cronbach's α reliability. Future research may want to refine this measure or consider different approaches to fully capture how participants perceive symbolic threat, particularly in this population.

Notes

1. Due to the low Cronbach's α for this measure is .35, symbolic threat measure was removed from data analysis.
2. CFA result for realistic threat demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(26) = 106.58$, $p = .001$, CFI = 0.97, GFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.58, PClose = 0.11. Realistic threat's deleted items = 2,4,7. CFA result for history of intergroup conflict demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(2) = 29.86$, $p = .001$, CFI = 0.98, GFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.12. CFA result for contact demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(2) = 16.5$, $p = .001$, CFI = 0.95, GFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.09.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Tommy S. Yotes (MSc, University of Liverpool) is a PhD candidate in the School of Communication, Journalism and Marketing at Massey University.

Stephen M. Croucher (PhD, University of Oklahoma) is a Professor of Communication and Head of the School of Communication, Journalism and Marketing at Massey University.

Elena Maydell (PhD, Victoria University) is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Communication, Journalism and Marketing at Massey University.

References

Altemeyer, B. (1998). The other "authoritarian personality". *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 30, 47–92. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60382-2

Arifin, E. N., Hasbullah, M. S., & Pramono, A. (2017). Chinese Indonesians: How many, who and where? *Asian Ethnicity*, 18(3), 310–329. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2016.1227236

Bisnis. com. (2015, June 26). *Waduh, para pekerja asal China di lebak suka bab sembarang (wow, Chinese workers in lebak like to relieve themselves at inappropriate places)*. https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20150626/12/447727/waduh-para-pekerja-asal-china-di-Lebak-suka-bab-sembarang

Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X. (2010). Comparative analyses of public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration using multinational survey data: A review of theories and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36(1), 309–328. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651

CNN Indonesia. (2020). *Demo tolak 49 TKA China di Kendari berujung adu jotos (The demonstration against 49 Chinese foreign workers in Kendari ended in afist fight)*. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200318200118-20-484736/demo-tolak-49-tka-china-di-kendari-berujung-adu-jotos

Corenblum, B., & Stephan, W. G. (2001). White fears and native apprehensions: An integrated threat theory approach to intergroup attitudes. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 33 (4), 251–268. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0087147

Croucher, S. M., Homsey, D., Brusch, E., Buyce, C., DeSilva, S., & Thompson, A. (2013). Prejudice toward American Muslims: An integrated threat analysis. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, 13(2), 1–08. https://doi.org/10.36923/jicc.v13i2.654

Croucher, S. M., & Kelly, S. (2019). Measurement in intercultural and cross-cultural communication. In E. E. Graham & J. P. Mazer (Eds.), *Communication research measures III: A sourcebook* (pp. 141–159). Routledge.

Croucher, S. M., Nguyen, T., Pearson, E., Murray, N., Feekery, A., Spencer, A., Gomez, O., Girardelli, D., & Kelly, S. (2021). A comparative analysis of covid-19-related prejudice: The United States, Spain, Italy, and New Zealand. *Communication Research Reports*, 38(2), 79–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2021.1885371

Curşeu, P. L., Stoop, R., & Schalk, R. (2007). Prejudice toward immigrant workers among Dutch employees: Integrated threat theory revisited. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 37(1), 125–140. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.331

Fossati, D., Hui, Y. F., & Negara, S. D. (2017). The Indonesia national survey project: Economy, society and politics. *Trends in Southeast Asia No. 10*. ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/TRS10_17-002.pdf

González, K., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Negative attitudes towards Muslims in the Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 47(4), 667–685. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608X284443

Hildayanti, H., Idrus, I. I., & Ahmad Said, M. R. (2021). *Pertukaran sosial masyarakat lokal dan Tenaga Kerja Asing (TKA) di Desa Fatufia Kabupaten Morowali Sulawesi Tengah (social exchange of local communities and foreign workers in Fatufia Village Morowali Regency, Central Sulawesi)*. Jurnal Predestinasi. https://ojs.unm.ac.id/predestination/article/view/32295

Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cut-off criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 6(1), 1–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118

International Labour Organization (ILO). (2020). *Leading to success: The business case for women in business and management in Indonesia*. https://www.ilo.org/publications/leading-success-business-case-women-business-and-management-indonesia#:

Lin, P. (2020). Discovering the Xinyimin in Jakarta: New Chinese migrants from the PRC. Translocal Chinese. *Translocal Chinese: East Asian Perspectives*, 14(1), 66–94. https://doi.org/10.1163/24522015-01401005

Mackie, J. (1998). Business success among Southeast Asian Chinese: The role of culture, values, and social structures. In R. W. Hefner (Ed.), *Market cultures: Society and morality in the new Asian capitalisms* (pp. 129–144). Routledge.

McFarland, S. (2010). Authoritarianism, social dominance and other roots of generalized prejudice. *Political Psychology*, 31(3), 453–477. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00765.x

Ministry of Manpower Indonesia. (2024, May 29). *Penduduk yang bekerja (PYB) periode Februari 2023 di Indonesia (Working population February 2023 in Indonesia). Satudata Kemnaker | Portal Data Ketenagakerjaan RI*. https://satudata.kemnaker.go.id/data/kumpulan-data

Nshom, E. (2024). Introduction: Understanding prejudice and communication. In E. Nshom & S. Croucher (Eds.), *Research handbook on communication and prejudice* (pp. 31–48). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Nshom, E., & Arzamastseva, E. (2021). Are Chinese immigrants in Cameroon perceived as a threat? *Africa Review*, 13(1), 61–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2020.1787076

Oetzel, J. (1998). The effects of self-construals and ethnicity on self-reported conflict styles. *Communication Reports*, 11(2), 133–144. https://doi.org/10.1080/08934219809367695

Paluck, E. L., & Green, D. P. (2009). Prejudice reduction: What works? A review and assessment of research and practice. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60(4), 339–367. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163607

Parrillo, V. N., & Donoghue, C. (2005). Updating the Bogardus social distance studies: A new national survey. *The Social Science Journal*, 42(2), 257–271. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2005.03.011

Pati, K. A., & Khairina, K. (2020, June 23). *Tolak Kedatangan 500 TKA China, Ratusan Orang Demo di Perempatan Bandara Haluoleo Kendari (resisting the arrival of 500 Chinese foreign workers, hundreds of people demonstrated at the Haluoleo Kendari airport intersection)*. KOMPAS. com. https://regional.kompas.com/read/2020/06/23/16195351/tolak-kedatangan-500-tka-china-ratusan-orang-demo-di-perempatan-bandara

Pereira, C., Vala, J., & Costa-Lopes, R. (2010). From prejudice to discrimination: The legitimizing role of perceived threat in discrimination against immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40(7), 1231–1250. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.718

Ramsay, J. E., & Pang, J. S. (2015). Anti-immigrant prejudice in rising East Asia: A stereotype content and integrated threat analysis. *Political Psychology*, 38(2), 227–244. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12312

Reid, A. (2004). Chinese migration into North Sumatra. In An Indonesian frontier: Acehnese and other histories of Sumatra (pp. 194–225). Brill.

Rios, K., Sosa, N., & Osborn, H. (2018). An experimental approach to intergroup threat theory: Manipulations, moderators, and consequences of realistic vs. symbolic threat. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 29(1), 212–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2018.1537049

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., McNatt, P. S., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of blacks and whites. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(9), 1242–1254. https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672022812009

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31(2), 240–249. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022100031002006

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *The Journal of Social Issues*, 41 (3), 157–175. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1985.tb01134.x

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20(4), 409–426. https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(96)00026-0

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martnez, C. M., Schwarzwald, J., & Tur-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(4), 559–576. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022198294004

Suryadinata, L. (2020). New Chinese migrants in Indonesia: An emerging community that faces new challenges. *ISEAS perspective* 61. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ISEAS_Perspective_2020_61.pdf

Suryadinata, L., & Negara, S. D. (2023). Lesson to learn from the north morowali smelter riot. *ISEAS perspective 8*. from https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/ISEAS_Perspective_2023_8.pdf

Utari, V. Y. D. (2018). Migrating males and gender role exchange. In M. Kulkarni & R. Jain (Eds.), *Global masculinities: Interrogations and reconstructions* (pp.195–211). Routledge.

Vallejo-Martín, M., Canto, J. M., San Martín García, J. E., & Perles Novas, F. (2020). Prejudice and feeling of threat towards Syrian refugees: The moderating effects of precarious employment and perceived low outgroup morality. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(17), 6411. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17176411

Virgosita, R. (2020). *Institutions and ethnic Chinese entrepreneurship in Indonesia* [Doctoral dissertation]. University of Agder, School of Business and Law. ISBN: 978-82-7117-977-9.

Zhang, Q. (2016). The mitigating effects of intergroup contact on negative stereotypes, perceived threats, and harmful discriminatory behavior toward Asian americans. *Communication Research Reports*, 33(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2015.1089854

Chapter 5: Discussion and Evaluation

5.1. Summary of Findings

Prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians

Using integrated threat theory, the first empirical study (Article 1) in this thesis examines the degree to which perceived threats among *Pribumi* predict prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians. The following types of threat and threat antecedents predict prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians the most strongly, listed in order of strength:

1. Negative stereotyping predicts prejudicial views toward Chinese Indonesians the strongest. When people strongly associate Chinese Indonesians with negative stereotypes, they are more likely to hold prejudicial views toward them. This may have been due to Indonesia's long history of discrimination against this minority group, which might have contributed to the deeply ingrained stereotyping of Chinese Indonesians in the collective subconscious of the *Pribumi* public (Anggraeni, 2017; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Setijadi, 2017).

2. Realistic threat is the second-strongest predictor of prejudice. This entails that the feeling of prejudice among the *Pribumi* is more likely to increase when they view Chinese Indonesians as a threat to their limited resources, such as housing and employment. This may have been related to the long-lasting stereotypes against Chinese Indonesians whom *Pribumi* perceive as an economically dominant group; this feeling may have arisen from a sense of victimhood among the *Pribumi* due to the economic discrimination they have faced (Bilven et al., 2022).

3. History of conflicts also acts as a threat that predicts prejudice significantly. This suggests native individuals who are aware of past conflicts between their group and Chinese Indonesians are more likely to perceive the latter with a prejudicial attitude. Past interethnic

conflicts such as the May 1998 Riots might have disrupted the effectiveness of optimal contact between the two groups.

As for demographic variables, age is the only significant predictor of prejudice in the context of *Pribumi*-Chinese Indonesian relations. This indicates that the older people get, the more prejudiced they are toward Chinese Indonesians, as their judgment and understanding of other racial/ethnic groups are shaped by life events—such as interethnic conflicts—they had experienced.

The findings of this first empirical study partially supported past research using integrated threat theory analysing intergroup/ethnic prejudice, suggesting that negative stereotyping, realistic threat, history of conflicts, and age significantly predicted prejudice toward members of the outgroup (Danigelis & Cutler, 1991; Curşeu et al., 2007; González et al., 2008; Nshom & Arzamastseva, 2021; Nshom & Croucher, 2014; Nshom & Croucher, 2017; Ramsay & Pang, 2017; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan et al., 2002; Wilson, 1996; Zárate et al., 2004). Symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety, however, did not act as significant predictors of prejudice, which might have been attributed to the political shifts that had happened since the fall of Suharto in 1998. Such shifts largely allowed Chinese Indonesians to express their cultural roots more freely; hence, exposure to Chinese cultures among the *Pribumi* may have increased significantly since Suharto's downfall, allowing more cultural acceptance and acculturation over time.

Moreover, in this study, sex, race/ethnicity, and one's residence were found to be non-significant predictors of prejudice, even though past studies found the opposite (Altemeyer, 1998; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Freng et al., 2022; McFarland, 2010; Schweitzer et al., 2005; Snellman & Ekehammar, 2005; Stephan et al., 2002.) The absence of a significant predictive

relationship between sex, race/ethnicity, and one's residence, and prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians might be a result of the complex political factors that had affected *Pribumi*-Chinese Indonesian relations where the latter has been viewed historically as a separate race (Sukma, 2002).

Prejudice toward Xinyimin in Indonesia

Applying integrated threat theory, the second empirical study (Article 2) introduced in this thesis investigates the extent to which history of conflicts and contact predict prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia. Earlier studies have shown history of conflicts impacted how threat perceptions are shaped in intergroup dynamics, and since perceptions of threat are central to prejudice formation, a perceived threat—whether it is real or not—can suffice to instil prejudice.

The second empirical study found *history of intergroup conflicts* strongly predicts realistic threat toward the Xinyimin, suggesting that increased awareness of conflicts between locals and the Xinyimin could lead to escalated feelings of threats toward the latter. Equally important, this finding also hinted that the longer and more intense the conflicts, the more inclined individuals are to view the Xinyimin as an economic threat. *Contact* is also s significant predictor of realistic threat toward the Xinyimin. This means when individuals engage more with the Xinyimin, perceived economic threats can be reduced. These findings are consistent with previous research (see Stephan et al, 2000; Stephan et al., 2002), indicating the integrated threat model could be a useful tool to examine prejudice in the Indonesian context.

In this study, the demographic variables of sex, and ethnic identifications with being Chinese Indonesians and Batak also predict realistic threat toward the Xinymin. Male individuals are more likely to see the Xinyimin as an economic threat, which may have been attributed to

their traditional roles as income providers in Indonesian society, thus making them feel more vulnerable to employment rivalry and economic uncertainties (Utari, 2018). Also, people identified as Chinese Indonesians appear to have lower threat perceptions toward the Xinyimin, the finding of which challenges Suryadinata's (2020) argument that the former regarded the latter as a threat and competitor. The entrepreneurial culture and relative economic stability among Chinese Indonesians may have played a key role in reducing the economic threat perceptions toward the Xinyimin (Mackie, 1998; Virgosita, 2020). The same case applies to the people who identified themselves as Batak, the predominant ethnic group in the North Sumatra province. The lower level of perceived realistic threat among the Batak people toward the Xinyimin might be linked to the fact that the province's capital, Medan, is home to the second-largest population of the Chinese Indonesian community in Indonesia (Arifin et al., 2017; Reid, 2004). As a result, Batak people might have cultivated familiarity with and awareness of the Chinese cultures and people through various communication avenues, hence mitigating their threat perceptions toward the Xinyimin.

5.2. Implications and Future Research

Despite the extensive and established research on Chinese Indonesians, mostly framed within historical, post-colonial, socioeconomic, identity, and cultural frameworks (see Sai & Hoon, 2012), studies on the Xinyimin in Indonesia are still a novelty (Lin, 2020; Suryadinata, 2022). The current study, through its quantitative approach, offers a valuable addition to understanding Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin in Indonesia. This study provides empirical insights into how intergroup threats amplify the relevance and impact of the *Masalah Cina* (Chinese Problems)[4] in post-1998 Indonesia, and how, to an extent, they affect perceptions

[4] A term coined by Suharto in his first national speech as Indonesian President in 1967, which since then had been used by his regime to refer the ethnic Chinese and the Chinese state as the cause of the problems that the country

toward the Xinyimin living in Indonesia.

Implications for ITT

Stephan & Stephan's (1996) integrated threat theory (ITT) provides a fitting framework to guide this study to meet its objective; that is, to understand the varying public perceptions of Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin in Indonesia in the context of threat perceptions and prejudice. Drawing from ITT studies from all around the world to explain threats posed by outgroups, the two empirical studies in this thesis also present the development of ITT and discussions in the Indonesian context, especially within the domain of interethnic relations between the *Pribumi*, Chinese Indonesians, and the Xinyimin.

The book chapter introduced in this chapter provides a literature overview of ITT, setting the scene for how the ITT model could be applied and tested to examine the links between threat perceptions and prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin. The chapter revisits past research examining symbolic and realistic threats, and their relations with prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians living in Medan, North Sumatra, and goes on to explore the theoretical applications of ITT's threat antecedents in the case of Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin in Indonesia.

The findings of the two empirical studies shed light on how threats operate and influence intergroup relations in a Southeast Asian country with a centuries-old ethnic Chinese presence and the relatively new migration of the Xinyimin. Future studies may want to investigate the relationship between threats and prejudice in other Southeast Asian countries, such as Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines, which have a long history of ethnic Chinese migration and witnessed the Xinyimin phenomenon.

---

faced—from economic inequality to red scare (communist invasion). The Suharto regime believed that the solutions to the Chinese problems included banning their three cultural pillars—education, association, and mass media.

Additionally, ITT research has long treated history of intergroup conflicts, strength of group identification, perceived status differences, and intergroup contact as threat antecedents that are reciprocally linked with threat perceptions: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (Stephan et al., 1999). This suggests threat antecedents and threat perceptions, to an extent, influence each other. Future research might consider renaming threat antecedents to 'reciprocal antecedents' or another term to avoid potential misnaming.

Validation of ITT Scales

The empirical studies of this thesis translated the scales developed by Curşeu et al. (2007) and Gonzàlez et al. (2008), who adapted them from the original model by Stephan et al. (1999). Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was then performed to ensure the validity and reliability of the constructs (Harrington, 2009; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Moore, 2012).

In the first empirical study, the scales used for realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes, strength ingroup identification, and perceived status difference indicated an acceptable fit: $\chi2(303) = 662.08$, $p < 0.001$, CFI = 0.95, GFI = 0.92, RMSEA = 0.44, PClose = 0.98. Some items were removed from the scales to improve model fit: items 4, 6, 7, and 8 from the realistic threat scale; items 1, 3, 5, and 6 from the symbolic threat scale; items 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 from the intergroup anxiety scale; and items 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 from the negative stereotype scale. In addition, items 2 and 4 were removed from the perceived status difference scale, and item 4 was removed from the history of intergroup conflict scale. Further CFA results also demonstrated an acceptable fit for prejudice: $\chi2(5) = 7.46$, $p = 0.189$, SRMR = 0.08, CFI = 0.99, GFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.28, PClose = 0.78. Items 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, and 11 were removed to achieve this fit.

In addition, a reliability test using Omega (ω) was performed to evaluate the internal

consistency of the scales of the first empirical study. Subsequently, the study had to drop the strength of the ingroup identification and perceived status difference scales due to the very low factor loading values in Omega (ω). The other six scales, however, showed good to moderately acceptable internal consistency and, hence retained.

As for the second empirical study, the measure of symbolic threat was removed from the data analysis due to the low Cronbach alpha (α = .35). The other scales, nevertheless, were kept, as they showed satisfactory internal consistency. The CFA results for realistic threat demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(26) = 106.58$, $p = 0.001$, CFI = 0.97, GFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.58, PClose = 0.11. Items 2, 4, and 7 were deleted from this scale to improve model fit. The CFA results for history of intergroup conflict demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(2) = 29.86$, $p = 0.001$, CFI = 0.98, GFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.12. The CFA results for contact demonstrated acceptable fit $\chi2(2) = 16.5$, $p = 0.001$, CFI = 0.95, GFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.09. No items were deleted from both scales. These fit indices suggest the scales needed adjustment to better fit various and similar contexts to ensure accuracy.

Realistic Threat, Symbolic Threat, Intergroup Anxiety, and Prejudice

Research on ITT has exhaustively associated economic and realistic threats, and symbolic threats to prejudice toward outgroups, especially migrants (Pereira et al., 2010). Realistic threat challenges the welfare of the majority group that perceives the benefits obtained by migrants come at the former's expense. For instance, when the host community believes the immigrants take over their scarce economic resources, such as employment and housing, they see the latter as a threat (Riek et al., 2006). Symbolic threat refers to challenges related to conflicting cultural beliefs, values, and identities posed by the outgroup. Intergroup anxiety emerges when the expectation of negative outcomes is present during interactions between different groups. They

may feel anxious because they anticipate adverse consequences from such interactions. The last two types of threat provide alternative explanations for economic prejudice toward immigrants (Kinder & Sears, 1981).

Correlational studies have found evidence supporting both realistic (see Bobo, 1983; Esses et al., 2021; Quillian, 1995; Stephan et al., 2002) and symbolic threats (Esses et al., 1993; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003) predict prejudice, and yet, the causal relationship between these two types of threat and prejudice remains unclear, despite longitudinal studies on this matter (Schluete et al., 2008). Furthermore, Aberson (2019) also explains that both realistic and symbolic threats can manifest separately or similarly, depending on the target. Past studies also found that intergroup anxiety predicted prejudice (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Stephan et al., 1998).

In the current research, realistic threat operates as both a predictor of prejudice and an outcome variable, demonstrating the salience of economic prejudice in the context of Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin living in Indonesia. This suggests economic threat is more of a substantial predictor of prejudice among the *Pribumi* toward Chinese Indonesians, and it is influenced by other factors (in this case history of conflicts and contact) in the context of the Xinyimin. This finding adds importance to the ITT model, as it shows realistic threat acted as common predictors of prejudice; it also helps us understand factors that influence people's perceptions of being threatened by an outgroup regarding economic well-being.

Symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety, however, failed to manifest due to its lack of predictive power in the first empirical study; symbolic threat was even excluded in the analysis in the second study due to its low Cronbach's alpha reliability. For the first study, the finding could be attributed to the political shifts following Suharto's downfall in 1998, which created a

safer and more open environment for cultural expressions among Chinese Indonesians to thrive, hence promoting greater acceptance and acculturation over time (Chong, 2018; Mubah & Anabarja, 2020).

Negative Stereotypes and Prejudice

The conceptualisation of stereotypes as a threat is a controversial issue. Some approaches treat negative stereotypes as a result of intergroup anxiety (Greenland & Brown, 1999; Hilton & Hippel, 1996), while others as an antecedent for intergroup anxiety (Stangor et al., 1991; Stephan, et al., 2002). In a revised version of ITT, Stephan et al. (2015) considered negative stereotypes as subsets of symbolic and realistic threats.

The findings of the first empirical study found negative stereotypes significantly predict prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians, suggesting that they might exert a more independent influence on prejudice in this context. Negative stereotypes create expectations about the behaviours of the outgroup, and if they fail to meet such expectations, stereotypes could result in prejudice (Hamilton et al., 1990). It is important to note that this finding might hold significant cross-cultural implications in that the weight of negative stereotypes toward Chinese Indonesians in predicting prejudice is noticeably salient and may operate independently as a result of a long history of stereotyping and discrimination against them.

History of Conflicts, Contact, and Realistic Threat

ITT treats history of intergroup conflicts and prior contact as threat antecedents. With people experiencing violence, civil unrest, or other types of conflict, they are more likely to be concerned about the conflicts spilling over and about the potential dangers the outgroup poses (Stephan et al., 2015). The relationship between threats and prejudice varies, depending on the intergroup's dynamics. In the case of history of intergroup conflicts, realistic threats are likely to

manifest and predict prejudice if past conflicts are present (Stephan et al., 1998).

In this study, history of intergroup conflicts acted as a significant predictor of prejudice toward Chinese Indonesians and that of realistic threat toward the Xinyimin. While previous studies found history of conflicts is a less frequent significant predictor of threats (Stephen et al., 2002), this research, however, challenges that view. The findings of this study, in turn, not only reinforce the significance of historical contexts in shaping prejudice in intergroup relations but also broaden ITT's applicability, particularly in regions or countries with past intergroup antagonism.

Past research found increased contact results in decreased prejudice toward the outgroup (Bizman & Young, 2001; Croucher, 2013*c;* Gonzalez et al., 2008; Stephan & Stephan, 1993, 1996). Contact quantity is also associated with a reduction in intergroup anxiety and symbolic threats (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan et al., 2000; Tausch et al., 2009). Extending these insights, this study found quantity of intergroup contact significantly predicted prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia in the context of economic threats, revealing a negative relationship. This means in situations where the well-being of the locals is threatened economically, more contact between the locals and Xinyimin could lead to less prejudice. This finding strengthens the applicability of contact in terms of quantity in ITT across cultures, especially in predicting realistic threats.

Implications for Communication Studies

Communication research suggests everyday conversations and public discourse are instrumental in communication prejudice (Ruscher, 2017). Specific communicative patterns communicated in families or found in the media discourse can play an active role in transmitting prejudice and influencing intergroup attitudes (Odenweller & Harris, 2018; Tal-Or & Tsfati,

2016). Additionally, when the feeling of prejudice increases in intergroup relations, communication between groups becomes less (Kim, 1988). Within communication studies, this dynamic is especially relevant to Chinese Indonesians and the Xinyimin living in Indonesia who have suffered from discrimination and negative stereotyping in their everyday lives.

The findings of the two empirical studies also shed light on the role threats play in communication research, revealing how past conflicts laden with narratives could leave an enduring impact, even influencing intergroup relations and shaping prejudice. In this case, a history of antagonism, which could take the form of wars, genocides, terrorism, and civil unrest, could prompt ingroups to see outgroups as a threat. Such antagonism is often framed as one group's gains or losses, hence indirectly influencing how groups interact and perceive each other (Stephan et al., 2009). This is evident in how history of conflicts directly predicts prejudice. In the Chinese Indonesian context, for instance, the May 1998 riots, which were among the most violent conflicts targeting ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, are rife with narratives that are still seen as an off-limit subject—a collective memory intentionally eclipsed by what Himawan et al. (2022, p. 244) refer to as "strategic political murkiness". Therefore, the deliberate suppression of dialogue about these conflicts highlights the role of communication, or a lack thereof, in instilling or mitigating prejudice.

Furthermore, digital technology is also becoming more relevant in shaping intergroup perceptions and communication. Social media, for instance, by way of disinformation and misinformation, can intensify threat perceptions towards Chinese Indonesians (see Lie & Sandel, 2020; Yotes, 2019) or the Xinyimin in Indonesia; at the same time, it can serve as a platform to foster more positive cultural expressions and contact (see Schumann et al., 2012; Tsai et al.,

2020). Future studies may want to investigate the roles of digital technology, especially social media as a communication platform, in shaping ITT studies.

Using Co-cultural Theory for Future Research

Despite its flexible application, ITT is believed to have slightly less efficacy in studying threats perceived by the minority than in the majority group. In other words, the model appears to account for less variance(s) among the former than the latter (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2000; Vedder et al., 2016). One possible explanation is that the minority group seems to have less to lose than the more dominant group, as they have already been greatly disenfranchised within social structures that advantage the more dominant group (Stephan et al, 2002). The more variance results shown in the dominant group in the ITT are possibly due to the grievance and fear of members of the dominant group over giving up their power and having their beliefs challenged by the less dominant group (Stephan et al, 2002).

In addition, while ITT focuses on the factors that contribute to intergroup prejudice, including prejudice against the less dominant groups, it may need to adequately explain the voices of such groups whose identities and experiences are diverse. One theory that may better explain intergroup relations from the standpoint of the less dominant group is the co-cultural theory, which was conceptualised by Orbe (1998). Co-cultural theory deals with how the less powerful (co-cultural) group communicates with the more powerful group in their everyday lives within dominant structures.

Co-cultural theory and ITT are related in that both provide insights into intergroup communication and the dynamics of intergroup relations. The former focuses on communicative strategies of the less dominant groups within dominant cultures, while the latter on the cognitive and emotional processes by which intergroup relations are affected by threat perceptions. Future

studies may want to investigate co-cultural theory to explore the lived experiences of the Xinyimin in Indonesia and to investigate their communication strategies when interacting with the dominant group.

Practical Implications

Communication is a tool to express and perpetuate prejudice and stereotypes and mitigate intergroup biases. When groups interact, learning about their differences and breaking down stereotypes, it often leads to more favourable perceptions of the outgroup (Nshom, 2024). Lawmakers, private sector leaders, media practitioners, and communication experts should explore how fostering intergroup dialogue and open communication can lessen intergroup prejudices. Such interventions as cooperative learning programmes in school, media exposure, and cross-cultural training (CCT) could be considered effective methods to reduce prejudice (Paluck & Green, 2009). For the Xinyimin in Indonesia, particularly, CCT is a crucial component of their success and is key to ensuring the financial return of the companies investing in them. To be effective, CCT programmes need to be sustainable and extended over a longer period; they should include topics related to practical matters, including immersion in the foreign language of the country they live and cultural differences (Cheema, 2012; Gao, 2010).

5.3. Study Limitations

Like all research, this study has several limitations that should be noted. First, the use of self-reported data might have led to bias because of participants' tendency to minimise their prejudicial views to conform to social desirability expectations (Oetzel, 1998). Future studies could administer the social desirability scale to assess the degree to which such bias could influence the findings of similar studies. Second, the first empirical study still considered intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping as threat variables, even though the revised version

of ITT treated them as subsets of realistic and symbolic threats (Croucher, 2017). The second empirical study, however, used the revised version of ITT, excluding intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping as threat variables; this shift would allow a more accurate evaluation of how realistic and symbolic threats operate in the Indonesian context.

Third, the removal of symbolic threat as a significant threat component in the second empirical study indicates that the scale may not have captured what it was intended to assess. Future researchers may want to improve this measure or locate alternative ways to assess how participants perceive symbolic threats in the Indonesian context.

Last, the contact measurement in the second empirical study only measures contact quantity, not contact quality. Although the findings of this study suggest increased contact is more likely to reduce prejudice, it is possible that the quality of contact may have played a more significant role in shaping threat perceptions, especially economic ones. Future research should measure both the quality and quantity of contact for a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of contact on prejudice.

References

Aberson, C. L. (2015). Positive intergroup contact, negative intergroup contact, and threat as predictors of cognitive and affective dimensions of prejudice. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 18*(6), 743-760. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430214556699.

Aberson, C. L. (2019). Indirect effects of threat on the contact–prejudice relationship. *Social Psychology, 50*(2), 105–126. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000364/.

Allard, T., & Da Costa, A. B. (2017, May 13). Exclusive - Indonesian Islamist leader says ethnic Chinese wealth is next target. *Reuters*. https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-indonesia-politics-cleric-exclusive/exclusive-indonesian-islamist-leader-says-ethnic-chinese-wealth-is-next-target-idUSKBN18817N/.

Allport, G. W. (1979). *The nature of prejudice: Unabridged.* Addison-Wesley.

Altemeyer B. (1998). The other "Authoritarian Personality". *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 30*(1), 47–92. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60382-2.

Andersen, P. A., Hecht. M. L., Hoobler, G. D., & Smallwood, M. (2002). Nonverbal communication across cultures. In W.B. Gudykunst., & B. Mody (Ed.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication (2nd ed.)*. United Kingdom: Sage Publications.

Anggraeni, D. (2017). Chinese Indonesians after May 1998 how they fit in the big picture. *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia, 18*(1), 7. https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/context/wacana/article/1204/viewcontent/v18_i1_n07.pdf.

Arifin, E. N., Hasbullah, M. S., & Pramono, A. (2017). Chinese Indonesians: How many, who and where?. *Asian Ethnicity, 18*(3), 310-329. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2016.

1227236.

ASEAN Studies Centre at ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute. (2024). *The state of Southeast Asia 2024 survey report*. Retrieved from https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/The-State-of-SEA-2024.pdf.

Aryodiguno, H. (2020). Embedded anti-Chinese orientations: The Dutch occupation and its legacies. In Z. Shi (Ed.), *Colonial legacies and contemporary studies of China and Chineseness* (pp. 121-145). Singapore. World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte.

Bilven, B., Nyúl, B., & Kende, A. (2022). Exclusive victimhood, higher ethnic and lower national identities predict less support for reconciliation among native and Chinese Indonesians through mutual prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 91*, 262-273. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.10.011.

Bizman, A., & Yinon, Y. (2001). Intergroup and interpersonal threats as determinants of prejudice: The moderating role of in-group identification. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 23(3), 191-196.* https://doi.org/10.1207/S15324834BASP2303_5.

Bobo, L. (1983). Whites' opposition to busing: Symbolic racism or realistic group conflict? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45*(6), 1196–1210. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.45.6.1196.

Bond, M. H., & Hewstone, M. (1988). Social identity theory and the perception of intergroup relations in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 12*(2), 153-170. https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(88)90046-6.

Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup Love and outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues, 55*(3), 429–444. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00126.

Chandra, E. (2012). “We the (Chinese) people”: Revisiting the 1945 constitutional debate on

citizenship. *Indonesia, (94),* 85-110. https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.94.0085.

Cheema, H. (2012). Best cross-cultural training practices for North American and European expatriates in China: a Delphi study. *Journal of Psychological Issues in Organizational Culture, 3*(3), 20-47. https://doi.org/10.1002/jpoc.21064.

Chua, C. (2004). Defining Indonesian Chineseness under the new order. *Journal of Contemporary Asia, 34*(4), 465-479. https://doi.org/10.1080/00472330480000221.

Chong, T. (2022). Contemporary Chinese immigration into mainland Southeast Asia. In L. Suryadinata (Ed.), *Rising China and new Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia*, pp. 31-45. Singapore: ISEAS — Yusof Ishak Institute.

Corenblum, B., & Stephan, W. G. (2001). White fears and Native apprehensions: An integrated threat theory approach to intergroup attitudes. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 33*(4), 251-268.

Cooper, D. R., & Schindler, P. (2014). *Business research methods*. McGraw-Hill.

Coser, L. A. (1956). *The functions of social conflict.* Free Press.

Croucher, S. M. (2013*a*). Integrated threat theory and acceptance of immigrant assimilation: An analysis of Muslim immigration in Western Europe. *Communication Monographs, 80*(1), 46-62. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2012.739704.

Croucher, S. M., Aalto, J., Hirvonen, S., Sommier, M., & Hirvonen, S. (2013*b*). Integrated threat and intergroup contact: An analysis of Muslim immigration to Finland. *Human Communication, 16*(2), 109-120. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/275041107_Integrated_Threat_and_Intergroup_Contact_An_Analysis_of_Muslim_Immigration_to_Finland.

Croucher, S. M., Homsey, D., Brusch, E., Buyce, C., DeSilva, S., & Thompson, A. (2013). Prejudice toward American Muslims: *An integrated threat analysis. Journal of Intercultural Communication, 13*(2), 1-08. https://doi.org/10.36923/jicc.v13i2.654.

Croucher, S.M. (2017). Integrated threat theory. In J. Harwood & H. Giles (Eds.)*, Intergroup communication encyclopaedia.* Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318814675_Integrated_threat_theory.

Croucher, S. M., & Cronn-Mills, D. (2019). *Understanding communication research methods* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Croucher, S. M., Nguyen, T., & Rahmani, D. (2020). Prejudice toward Asian Americans in the Covid-19 pandemic: The effects of social media use in the United States. *Frontiers in Communication, 5*, 39. https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2020.00039.

Croucher, S. M., Nguyen, T., Pearson, E., Murray, N., Feekery, A., Spencer, A., . . . Kelly, S. (2021*a*). A comparative analysis of Covid-19-related prejudice: The United States, Spain, Italy, and New Zealand. *Communication Research Reports, 38*(2), 79-89. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2021.1885371.

Croucher, S. M., Permyakova, T., & Turdubaeva, E. (2021*b*). Prejudice toward Asians and migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic in Russia and Kyrgyzstan. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *13*(3), 289-301. https://doi.org/10.1080/19409419.2021.1958697.

Croucher, S., Nguyen, T., Ashwell, D., Spencer, A., Permyakova, T., & Gomez, O. (2022). COVID-19 prejudice towards Afro-Brazilians. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research, 51*(4), 383-399.

Curşeu, P. L., Stoop, R., & Schalk, R. (2007). Prejudice toward immigrant workers among

Dutch employees: Integrated threat theory revisited. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37*(1), 125-140. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.331.

Dawis, A. (2009). *The Chinese of Indonesia and their search for identity: The relationship between collective memory and the media.* Cambria Press.

Danigelis, N. L., & Cutler, S. J. (1991). An inter-cohort comparison of changes in racial attitudes. *Research on Aging, 13*(3), 383-404. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.11.004.

Dobbin, C. (1989). VIII. From middlemen minorities to industrial entrepreneurs: the Chinese in Java and the Parsis in Western India 1619–1939. *Itinerario, 13*(1), 109-132. https://doi:10.1017/S0165115300004198.

Dollmann, J. & Kogan, I. (2021). COVID-19–associated discrimination in Germany. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility 74,* 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm. 2021.100631.

Duronto, P. M., Nishida, T., & Nakayama, S. I. (2005). Uncertainty, anxiety, and avoidance in communication with strangers. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29*(5), 549-560. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.08.003.

Eagly, A. H., & Mladinic, A. (1989). Gender stereotypes and attitudes toward women and men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 15*, 543-558. https://doi.org/ 10.1177/0146167289154008,

Eskelinen, V., Renvik, T. A., Pauha, T., Jetten, J., Kunst, J., van der Noll, J., ... & Jasins kaja-Lahti, I. (2022). Disentangling national and religious identification as predictors of support for religious minority rights among Christian majority groups. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 61*(2), 550-568. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12496.

Esses, V. M., Haddock, G., & Zanna, M. P. (1993). Values, stereotypes, and emotions as

determinants of intergroup attitudes. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception* (pp. 137- 166). Academic Press.

Esses, V. M., Dovidio, J. F., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (2001). The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*, 389–412. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00220.

Fossati, D., Hui, Y. F., & Negara, S. D. (2017). The Indonesia national survey project: Economy, society and politics. In *Trends in Southeast Asia No. 10. ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute.* https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/TRS10_17-002.pdf.

Freng, S., Schweitzer, K., Estrada-Reynolds, V., Leki, E., & Choi, S. (2022). Geographic distribution of prejudice toward African Americans: Applying the two-dimensional model. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 162*(2), 262-279. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2021.1893149/.

Gao, G. (2010). The effects of intercultural training upon the organizational performance of multinational corporations in China. *International Journal of Business Anthropology, 1*(2). Retrieved from https://articlearchives.co/index.php/IJBA/article/view/2781.

González, V. K., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 47*(4), 667-685. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608X284443.

Giles, M. W., & Evans, A. S. (1985). External threat, perceived threat, and group identity. *Social Science Quarterly, 66,* 50–66. Retrieved from https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/external-threat-perceived-group-identity/docview/1291641820/se-2.

Greenland, K., & Brown, R. (1999). Categorization and intergroup anxiety in contact between British and Japanese nationals. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*, 503–521. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199906)29:4%3C503::AID-EJSP941%3E3.0.CO;2-Y.

Gudykunst, W. B. (1995). Anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) theory: Development and current status. In R. L. Wiseman (Ed.), *Intercultural communication theory.* Sage.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Kim, Y. Y. (1992). *Communicating with Strangers: An approach to inter cultural communication.* McGraw-Hill.

Gudykunst, W.B., & Lee, C.M (2002). Cross-cultural communication theories. In W.B. Gudykunst., & B. Mody (Ed.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Hamilton, D. L., Sherman, S. J., & Ruvolo, C. M. (1990). Stereotype-based expectancies: Effects on information processing and social behavior. *Journal of Social Issues, 46*(2), 35-60. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1990.tb01922.x.

Harrington, D. (2009). Confirmatory factor analysis. Oxford University Press.

Heidhues, M. S. (2017). Violent, political, and administrative repression of the Chinese minority in Indonesia, 1945-1998. *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia, 18*(1), 94-105. http://doi: 10.17510/wacana.v18i1.574.

Herlijanto, J. (2017a). Public perceptions of China in Indonesia: The Indonesia national survey. *Perspective 89*. ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. Retrieved from https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/trends-in-southeast-asia.

Herlijanto, J. (2017b). Old stereotypes, new convictions: *Pribumi* perceptions of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia today. In Trends in Southeast Asia No. 6 (pp. 1-26). ISEAS–Yusof Ishak

Institute.

Hilton, J., & Hippel, W. (1996). Stereotypes. *Annual Review of Psychology, 47,* 237–271. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.47.1.237.

Himawan, E. M., Pohlman, A., & Louis, W. (2022). Revisiting the May 1998 riots in Indonesia: Civilians and their untold memories. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 41*(2), 240-257. https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034221084320.

Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal, 6*, 1-55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118

Indonesian Ministry of Manpower. (2024, June 25). *Satudata Kemnaker: Portal data ketenagakerjaan RI.* Satudata Kemnaker | Portal Data Ketenagakerjaan RI. https://satudata.kemnaker.go.id/data/kumpulan-data.

Interesse, G. (2024, June 5). *China's investments in Indonesia: 2024 outlook*. ASEAN Business News. Retrieved from https://www.aseanbriefing.com/news/chinas-investments-in-indonesia-2024-outlook/#:~:text=China's%20investment%20in%20Indonesia%3A%20Key,attracting%20approximately%20US%247.3%20billion.

Islam, M. R., & Hewstone, M. (1993). Dimensions of contact as predictors of intergroup Anxiety, perceived out-group variability, and out-group attitude: An integrative model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19*, 700–710. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167293196005.

Jackson, J.W. (1993). Realistic group conflict theory: A review and evaluation of the theoretical and empirical literature. *Psychological Record, 43,* 395-413. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/232469870_Realistic_Group_Conflict_

Theory_A_Review_and_Evaluation_of_the_Theoretical_and_Empirical_Literature.

Katz, I., & Hass, R. G. (1988). Racial ambivalence and American value conflict: Correlational and priming studies of dual cognitive structures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55*(6), 893–905. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.55.6.893.

Katz, I., Wackenhut, J., & Glass, D. C. (1988). An ambivalence-amplification theory of behavior toward the stigmatized. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations (2nd ed.)*. Nelson-Hall.

Kim, Y. Y. (1988). *Communication and cross-cultural adaptation: An integrative theory.* Multilingual Matters.

Kinder, D. R., & Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 40*(3), 414–431. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.40.3.414.

Kuntjara, E., & Hoon, C. Y. (2020). Reassessing Chinese Indonesians stereotypes: two decades after Reformasi. *South East Asia Research, 28*(2), 199-216. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0967828X.2020.1729664.

Labovitz, S., & Hagedorn, R. (1975). A structural-behavioral theory of intergroup antagonism. *Social Forces, 53*(3), 444-448. https://doi.org/10.2307/2576586.

Lan, T. J. (2012). Contesting the post-colonial legal construction of Chinese Indonesians as 'foreign subjects'. *Asian Ethnicity, 13*(4), 373-387. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2012.710075.

LeVine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). *Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes and group behavior.* John Wiley & Sons.

Lie, S., & Bailey, B. (2016). The power of names in a Chinese Indonesian family's negotiations

of politics, culture, and identities. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 10*(1), 80–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2016.1216577.

Lie, S., & Sandel, T. (2020). Unwelcomed guests: Cultural discourse analysis of comments on ethnic Chinese in Indonesian social media. *Journal of Chinese Overseas, 16*(1), 31-57. https://doi.org/10.1163/17932548-12341412.

Lin, P. (2020). Discovering the Xinyimin in Jakarta: New Chinese migrants from the PRC. *Translocal Chinese: East Asian Perspectives, 14*(1), 66-94. https://doi.org/10.1163/24522015-01401005.

Liu, H. (1997). Constructing a China metaphor: Sukarno's perception of the PRC and Indonesia's political transformation. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 28*(1), 27-46. https://doi:10.1017/S0022463400015162.

Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's own identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18*, 302-318. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167292183006.

Mackie, J. (1998). Business success among Southeast Asian Chinese: The role of culture, values, and social structures. In R.W. Hefner (Ed.), *Market cultures: Society and morality in the new Asian capitalisms* (pp. 129-144). Routledge.

Maryanah, T. (2018). Citizenship in everyday life: Exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians by non-Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung-Indonesia. *KnE Social Sciences,* 516-531. https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v3i5.2353.

McConahay, J. B., & Hough, J. C, Jr. (1976). Symbolic racism. *Journal of Social Issues, 32*, 23-45.

McFarland S. (2010). Authoritarianism, social dominance and other roots of generalized prejudice. *Political Psychology, 31*(3), 453–477. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.14679221.2010.00765.x.

Moore, M. T. (2012). Confirmatory factor analysis. In R. H. Hoyle (Ed.), *Handbook of structural equation modelling* (pp. 361-379). The Guilford Press.

Mubah, A. S., & Anabarja, S. (2020). Globalization, national identity and citizenship: Dilemma of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesian nation-building. *Tamkang Journal of International Affairs, 23*(3), 55-101. https://doi.org/10.6185/TJIA.V.202001_23(3).0002.

Nshom, E., & Croucher, S. M. (2018). An exploratory study on the attitudes of elderly Finns towards Russian-speaking minorities. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 11*(4), 324-338. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2018.1469783.

Nshom, E., & Arzamastseva, E. (2021). Are Chinese immigrants in Cameroon perceived as a threat? *Africa Review, 13*(1), 61-75. https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2020.1787076.

Nshom, E., & Croucher, S. M. (2014). Threats and attitudes toward Russian-speaking immigrants: A comparative study between younger and older Finns. *Russian Journal of Communication, 6*(3), 308-317. https://doi.org/10.1080/19409419.2014.954599.

Nshom, E., & Croucher, S. (2017). Perceived threat and prejudice towards immigrants in Finland: A study among early, middle, and late Finnish adolescents. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 10*(4), 309-323. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2017.1312489.

Nshom, E. (2024). Introduction: understanding prejudice and communication. In E. Nshom and

S. Croucher, (Eds.), *Research handbook on communication and prejudice* (pp. 31-48). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Odenweller, K. G., & Harris, T. M. (2018). Intergroup socialization: The influence of parents' family communication patterns on adult children's racial prejudice and tolerance. *Communication Quarterly, 66*(5), 501-521. https://doi.org/10.1080/.

Oetzel, J. (1998). The effects of self-construals and ethnicity on self-reported conflict styles. *Communication Reports, 11*(2)*,* 133-144. https://doi.org/10.1080/08934219809367695.

Osman, M. N. M., & Waikar, P. (2018). Fear and loathing: Uncivil Islamism and Indonesia's anti-Ahok movement. *Indonesia, 106*, 89-109. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5728/indonesia.106.0089.

Paluck, E. L., & Green, D. P. (2009). Prejudice reduction: What works? A review and assessment of research and practice. *The Annual Review of Psychology, 60*, 339–367. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163607.

Pangestu, D. A., Kumalasari, D., & Aman, A. (2021). Anti-Chinese Incident in West Java in 1963. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal, 31*(1), 93-103. https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v31i1.23428.

Pedhazur, E. J. & Schmelkin, L. P. (1991). *Measurement, design, and analysis: An integrated approach.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pereira, C., Vala, J., & Costa-Lopes, R. (2010). From prejudice to discrimination: The legitimizing role of perceived threat in discrimination against immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 40*(7), 1231-1250. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.718.

Plous, S. (2003). The psychology of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination: An overview. In S. Plous (Ed.), *Understanding prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 3-48). McGraw-Hill.

Purcell, V. (1951). *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*. Oxford University Press.

Purdey, J. (2006). *Anti-Chinese violence in Indonesia 1996-1999.* Brill.

Khoi Quan, N., & Liamputtong, P. (2023). Social surveys and public health. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Handbook of social sciences and global public health* (pp. 1-19). Springer.

Quillian, L. (1995). Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review, 60,* 586-611. https://doi.org/10.2307/2096296.

Ramsay, J. E. & Pang, J. S. (2015). Anti-immigrant prejudice in rising East Asia: A stereotype content and integrated threat analysis. *Political Psychology, 38*(2), 227-244. doi:10.1111/pops.12312.

Reid, A. (1993). Economic and social change, c. 1400–1800. In N. Tarling (Ed.), *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia* (pp. 460–507). Cambridge University Press.

Reid, A. (2004). Chinese migration into North Sumatra. In *An Indonesian frontier: Acehnese and other histories of Sumatra* (pp. 194-225). Brill.

Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 10* (4), 336-353. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1004_4.

Rohmann, A., Florack, A., & Piontkowski, U. (2006). The role of discordant acculturation attitudes in perceived threat: An analysis of host and immigrant attitudes in Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30*(6), 683-702. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.06.006.

Roulin, N. (2015). Don't throw the baby out with the bathwater: Comparing data quality of crowdsourcing, online panels, and student samples. *Industrial and Organizational*

Psychology, 8(2), 190-196. https://doi.org/10.1017/iop.2015.24.

Ruscher, J. B. (2017). Prejudiced communication. In *Oxford research encyclopaedia of communication.* Retrieved 13 Feb. 2024, from https://oxfordre.com/communication/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-419.

Sai, S. M. & Hoon, C. Y. (2012). A critical assessment of Chinese Indonesian studies. In S.M. Sai & C. Y. Hoon (Eds.), *Chinese Indonesians reassessed* (pp. 1-26). Routledge.

Schweitzer, R., Perkoulidis, S., Krome, S., Ludlow, C., & Ryan, M. (2005). Attitudes towards refugees: The dark side of prejudice in Australia. *Australian Journal of Psychology, 57*(3), 170-179. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049530500125199.

Schlueter, E., Schmidt, P., & Wagner, U. (2008). Disentangling the causal relations of perceived group threat and outgroup derogation: Cross-national evidence from German and Russian panel surveys. *European Sociological Review, 24,* 567–581. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcn029.

Schumann, S., Van der Linden, N., & Klein, O. (2012). Bridging the gap on Facebook: Assessing intergroup contact and its effects for intergroup relations. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking, 15*(8), 411-416. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2011.0569.

Sears, D. O. (1988). Symbolic racism. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy* (pp. 53-84). Plenum.

Sears, D. O., & McConahay, J. B. (1973). *The politics of violence: The new urban blacks and the Watts riot.* Houghton-Mifflin. (Reprinted by University Press of America, 1981).

Sears, D. O., & Henry, P. J. (2003). The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*, 259–275. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.2.259.

Setijadi (2019). Anti-Chinese sentiment and the 'return' of the *Pribumi* discourse. In G. Fealy & R. Ricci (Eds.), *Contentious belonging — The place of minorities in Indonesia*, pp. 194-213, SEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute.

Sherif, M. (1966). *Group conflict and cooperation: Their social psychology*. Routledge & Kagan Paul.

Sherif, M., & Sherif, C.W. (1979). Research on intergroup relations. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations.* Brooks Cole.

Sidanius, J., Devereux, E., & Pratte, F. (1992). A comparison of symbolic racism theory and social dominance theory as explanations for racial policy attitudes. *Journal of Social Psychology, 132*, 377-395. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224545.1992.9924713.

Siddharta, A. (2019, January 24). *What next for Indonesia's Ahok after release from jail?* Al Jazeera. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/1/24/ex-jakarta-governor-ahok-jailed-for-Blasphemy-freed.

Snellman, A., & Ekehammar, B. (2005). Ethnic hierarchies, ethnic prejudice, and social dominance orientation. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 15*(2), 83-94. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.812.

Stangor, C., Sullivan, L. A., & Ford, T. E. (1991). Affective and cognitive determinants of prejudice. *Social Cognition, 9,* 359–380. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1521/soco.1991.9.4.359.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues, 41*(3), 157-175.

Stephan, W. G., and Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 20*(6)*,* 409-426. https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(96)00026-0.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martnez, C. M., Schwarzwald, J., & Tur-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward Immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 29*(4), 559–576. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022198294004.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice toward immigrants: An integrated threat theory. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 29*(11)*,* 559-576. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1999.tb00107.x.

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Looving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and inter-cultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31*(2)*,* 240–249. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022100031002006.

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., ... & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of Blacks and Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*(9), 1242-1254. https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672022812009.

Stephan, W.G., Renfro, C.L., & Davis, M.D. (2008). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In U. Wagner, L.R. Tropp, G. Finchilescu, & C. Tredoux (Eds.), *Improving intergroup relations. Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew* (pp. 55-72). Blackwell Publishing.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Rios, K. (2015). Intergroup threat theory. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 255-278). Psychology

Press.

Sukma, R. (2002). Indonesia's perceptions of China: The domestic bases of persistent ambiguity. In I. Storey & H. Yee (Eds.), *China Threat: Perceptions Myths* (pp. 181-204). Routledge.

Suryadinata, L. (1976). Indonesian policies toward the Chinese minority under the new order. *Asian Survey, 16*(8), 770-787. https://doi.org/10.2307/2643578.

Suryadinata, L. (1993). The state and Chinese minority in Indonesia. In L. Suryadinata, (Ed.), *Chinese adaptation and diversity: Essays on society and literature in Indonesia, Malaysia & Singapore* (pp. 77-100). NUS Press.

Suryadinata, L. (2017). *The rise of China and the Chinese overseas: A study of Beijing's changing policy in Southeast Asia and beyond*. ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.

Suryadinata, L. (2018). Ethnic groups and the Indonesian nation-state — with special reference to ethnic Chinese. In R.W. Hefner (Ed.), *Routledge handbook of contemporary Indonesia* (pp. 43-53). Routledge.

Suryadinata, L. (2020). New Chinese migrants in Indonesia: An emerging community that faces new challenges. *ISEAS Perspective 61*. Retrieved from https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ISEAS_Perspective_2020_61.pdf.

Suryadinata, L. (2022). Rising China, new migrants, and ethnic Chinese identity in Southeast Asia. In L. Suryadinata (Ed.), *Rising China and new Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia*, pp. 20-30. Singapore: ISEAS — Yusof Ishak Institute.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories.* Cambridge University Press.

Tal-Or, N., & Tsfati, Y. (2016). When Arabs and Jews watch TV together: The joint effect of the content and context of communication on reducing prejudice. *Journal of Communication, 66*(4), 646-668. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12242.

Tan, M. G. (1991). The social and cultural dimensions of the role of ethnic Chinese in Indonesian society. *Indonesia,* 113-125. https://doi.org/10.2307/3351258.

Tanasaldy, T. (2022). From official to grassroots racism: Transformation of Anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia. *The Political Quarterly, 93*(3), 460-468. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.13148.

Tausch, N., Hewstone, M., & Roy, R. (2009). The relationships between contact, status and prejudice: An integrated threat theory analysis of Hindu–Muslim relations in India. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 19*(2), 83-94. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.984.

Troia, G. A., & Graham, S. (2017). Use and acceptability of writing adaptations for students with disabilities: Survey of grade 3-8 teachers. *Learning Disabilities Research & Practice, 32*(4), 257-269. https://doi.org/10.1111/ldrp.12135.

Tropp, L. R., & Wright, S. C. (2001). Ingroup identification as the inclusion of ingroup in the self. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*(5), 585-600. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167201275007.

Tsai, J. Y., Phua, J., Pan, S., & Yang, C. C. (2020). Intergroup contact, COVID-19 news consumption, and the moderating role of digital media trust on prejudice toward Asians in the United States: Cross-sectional study. *Journal of medical Internet research, 22*(9), e22767. https://doi.org/10.2196/22767.

Turner, S., & Allen, P. (2007). Chinese Indonesians in a rapidly changing nation: Pressures of ethnicity and identity. Asia pacific viewpoint, 48(1), 112-127. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1467-8373.2007.00334.x.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D.,& Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Redisco-*

vering the social group: A self-categorization theory. Basil Blackwell.

Utari, V. Y. D. (2018). Migrating males and gender role exchange. In M. Kulkarni & R. Jain (Eds.), *Global masculinities: Interrogations and reconstructions.* Routledge.

Vandenbosch, A. (1930). A problem in Java: the Chinese in the Dutch East Indies. *Pacific Affairs, 3*(11), 1001-1017. https://doi.org/10.2307/2750073.

Vedder, P., Wenink, E., & van Geel, M. (2016). Explaining negative outgroup attitudes between native Dutch and Muslim youth in the Netherlands using the integrated threat theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 53*(1)*,* 54-64. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2016.05.001.

Virgosita, R. (2020). *Institutions and ethnic Chinese entrepreneurship in Indonesia* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Agder, School of Business and Law. ISBN: 978-82-7117-977-9.

Vincent, W., Peterson, J. L., & Parrott, D. J. (2009). Differences in African American and White women's attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Sex Roles, 61*(9), 599-606. https://doi.org/10.1007%2Fs11199-009-9679-4.

Voci, A., & Hewstone, M. (2003). Intergroup contact and prejudice toward immigrants in Italy: The mediational role of anxiety and the moderational role of group salience. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 6*(1), 37-54.

Wahid, A. (2013). In the shadow of opium: Tax farming and the political economy of colonial extraction in Java, 1807–1911. In E. Frankema & F. Buelens, (Eds.), *Colonial exploitation and economic development* (pp. 109-129). Routledge.

Ward, C., & Masgoret, A. M. (2006). An integrative model of attitudes toward immigrants.

International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30(6), 671-682. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.06.002.

White, C., Duck, J. M., & Newcombe, P. A. (2012). The impact of media reliance on the role of perceived threat in predicting tolerance of Muslim cultural practice. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 42*(12), 3051-3082. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2012.00973.x.

Wilson, T. C. (1996). Cohort and prejudice: White's attitudes toward Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, and Asians. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 60*(2), 253-274. https://doi.org/10.1086/297750.

Woolgar, M. (2023). Ethnic politics, the Cold War and sub-national dynamics: the Indonesian Communist Party, the ethnic Chinese minority and anti-Chinese activities in West Java, 1949–67. *Modern Asian Studies, 57*(6), 1959-1983. https://doi:10.1017/S0026749X22000592.

Yotes, T. (2019). Looking for patterns in Anti-Chinese hoaxes: *The case of the 2019 Indonesian presidential election* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Liverpool.

Zárate, M. A., Garcia, B., Garza, A. A., & Hitlan, R. T. (2004). Cultural threat and perceived realistic group conflict as dual predictors of prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 40*(1), 99-105. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-1031(03)00067-2.

Zingora, T., & Graf, S. (2019). Marry who you love: Intergroup contact with gay people and another stigmatized minority is related to voting on the restriction of gay rights through threat. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 49*(11), 684-703. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12627.

Appendices

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the student and the student's main supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the student's contribution as indicated below in the Statement of Originality.

Student name:	Tommy Yotes
Name and title of main supervisor:	Prof. Stephen Croucher, Professor of Communication and Analytics
In which chapter is the manuscript/published work?	Chapter 4

Describe the contribution that the student and members of the supervisory team have made to the manuscript/published work:[1]

The student is the sole author of the book chapter. The student wrote the literature review and discussion. Prof. Croucher assisted in theory development and editing.

Please select one of the following three options:

- (●) The manuscript/published work is published or in press

  Please provide the full reference of the research output:

  Yotes, T. (2024). Chinese Indonesians and the new Chinese migrants in Indonesia. In S. Croucher & E. Nshom (Eds.), Research handbook on communication and prejudice (pp. 436-448), Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

- ( ) The manuscript is currently under review for publication

  Please provide the name of the journal:

- ( ) It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Student's signature:		Main supervisor's signature:	

This form should be placed at the beginning of each relevant thesis chapter.

[1] Refer to the Massey University Publishing and Authorship guidelines (OneMassey for staff, Stream for students) and/ or Contributor Roles Taxonomy (CRediT) guidelines for guidance.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the student and the student's main supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the student's contribution as indicated below in the Statement of Originality.

Student name:	Tommy Yotes
Name and title of main supervisor:	Prof. Stephen Croucher, Professor of Communication and Analytics
In which chapter is the manuscript/published work?	Chapter 4

Describe the contribution that the student and members of the supervisory team have made to the manuscript/published work:[1]

The student conceived the idea, collected data, analysed data, and interpreted data. The student also wrote the introduction, literature review, method section, results and discussion section, and implication/future research section. Second author helped with data analysis, theory development, and editing.

Please select one of the following three options:

- (●) The manuscript/published work is published or in press

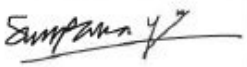
  Please provide the full reference of the research output:

  Yotes, T. & Croucher, S. (2024). An integrated threat theory analysis of latent tension between native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians. Journal of International & Intercultural Communication. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2024.2397395.

- ( ) The manuscript is currently under review for publication

  Please provide the name of the journal:

- ( ) It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Student's signature:		Main supervisor's signature:	

This form should be placed at the beginning of each relevant thesis chapter.

[1] Refer to the Massey University Publishing and Authorship guidelines (OneMassey for staff, Stream for students) and/ or Contributor Roles Taxonomy (CRediT) guidelines for guidance.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the student and the student's main supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the student's contribution as indicated below in the Statement of Originality.

Student name:	Tommy Yotes
Name and title of main supervisor:	Prof. Stephen Croucher, Professor of Communication and Analytics
In which chapter is the manuscript/published work?	Chapter 4

Describe the contribution that the student and members of the supervisory team have made to the manuscript/published work:[1]

The student conceived the idea, collected data, analysed data, and interpreted data. The student also wrote the introduction, literature review, method section, results and discussion section, and implication/future research section. Second author helped with data analysis, theory development, and editing. Third author helped with editing.

Please select one of the following three options:

- (●) The manuscript/published work is published or in press

  Please provide the full reference of the research output:

  Yotes, T., Croucher, S., & Maydell, E. (2024). Prejudice toward the Xinyimin in Indonesia: Testing the integrated threat model. Communication Research Reports. 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2024.2402289.

- ( ) The manuscript is currently under review for publication

  Please provide the name of the journal:

- ( ) It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Student's signature:		Main supervisor's signature:	

This form should be placed at the beginning of each relevant thesis chapter.

[1] Refer to the Massey University Publishing and Authorship guidelines (OneMassey for staff, Stream for students) and/ or Contributor Roles Taxonomy (CRediT) guidelines for guidance.