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How Globalization Introduced by Immigration Shapes Intragroup and Intergroup Relations

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Globalization occurs when cultures within and beyond a society influence one another through trade and exchange of ideas and information (Arnett, 2002). One important driver of globalization is immigration. Immigration has steadily increased all over the world and, as a result, demographics, including the rise in racial/ethnic minorities and immigrants in the United States and elsewhere, have changed steadily over the past decade (Ax, 2021; Zárate et al., 2019). The White population in the United States, for example, has declined for the first time in history (Ax, 2021). These demographic shifts are a type of cultural change that produces cultural stress, but also benefits society in a variety of ways. Demographic shifts impact culture by diversifying and creating new businesses, and bring forth financial gains at the macro and individual level (Simonton, 1997). Globalization forces people to face cultural change

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and adapt to change. Some individuals endorse change while others resist it in an attempt to remain in a stable culture. Contextual factors such as local norms and population characteristics, and individual difference factors like liberalism/conservatism, can influence one's propensity to seek out change or stability. Those factors are described below.

In this chapter, we focus on immigration as an important driver of globalization. We describe the positive financial ramifications of globalization. Using the Cultural Inertia Model (CIM), we discuss how globalization is linked to negative consequences for intergroup interactions, as well as who is more likely to reject or accept cultural change brought upon by a diversifying world. Additionally, we discuss who is more likely to endorse/accept globalization as well as a global identity. We end the chapter by providing potential solutions for adaptation toward societal changes brought on by globalization, and future directions for research.

Positive Consequences of Globalization

Immigration is a driving force of globalization and demographic change (Zárate et al., 2019), thus leading to a more diverse social world. While diversity and globalization are distinct constructs, we draw heavily from work on diversity to make inferences about the effects of globalization on intergroup processes. By definition, globalization entails interacting with individuals from different groups, hence our generalization. Those interactions are theorized to benefit individuals at various levels. For example, globalization through increased immigration causes increases in diversity, which, in turn, leads to financial benefits.

Financial Benefits of Globalization

Immigration drives globalization and provides financial benefits to both the immigrants and the host society. When people move into new countries, they bring their culture, business ventures, and commerce.

Although immigrants make up only about 13% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019a), they contribute to the U.S. economy beyond their population proportion. Immigrants fill key gaps in the U.S. economy by working in labor-based occupations such as fishing, construction, and grounds cleaning (Bellovary et al., 2020; Sherman et al., 2019). Racial/ethnic minorities and/or immigrants are more likely to start new businesses than native-born citizens (Joint Economic Committee, 2020). A recent report by the Joint Economic Committee (2020) detailed that in the United States, 75% of Asian-owned businesses, about 50% of Latino-owned businesses, and about 25% of Black-owned businesses are owned by immigrant entrepreneurs. All those numbers exceed the numbers of native-born owned businesses. Moreover, immigrant workers are also consumers who wield $1.3 trillion in spending power. Immigrants with degrees in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) are responsible for 75% of new patents from top producing U.S. universities, which leads to increased job opportunities across the United States (Joint Economic Committee, 2020), and this has been a trend for over a decade. For example, for every 100 immigrants with advanced STEM degrees, about 262 jobs, on average, were created for native citizens (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research & the Partnership for a New American Economy, 2011). Thus, cultural change brought on by integrating immigrants into the United States has had positive effects on intragroup relations (i.e., immigrants financially benefit from other immigrants and U.S. citizens benefit from immigrant spending power), and positive effects on intergroup relations such as American job prospects and the United States economy (New American Economy, 2017; Zavodny, 2018).

Despite all of the aforementioned benefits of globalization caused by immigration, many people react negatively toward cultural change. However, change in and of itself is not positive or negative. In the face of change, one's cultural norms are potentially challenged, local interaction patterns are potentially changed, and new opportunities arise. How one handles the change determines whether the change will be stressful or encouraging.

The Cultural Inertia Model

As globalization increases, it is imperative that researchers study how individuals react toward cultural change and how cultural change affects intergroup relations and processes. We use the Cultural Inertia Model (CIM) to study change and its effect on intergroup relations. Generally, the CIM has only been utilized to investigate negative reactions toward cultural change. Thus, this section of the chapter uses CIM to discuss the negative ramifications of cultural change. The CIM has four tenants that are analogous to Isaac Newton's laws of motion (Quezada et al., 2012; Zárate et al., 2019). First, cultures at rest desire to stay at rest (i.e., a "stable" culture will strive to remain stable). Second, cultures in motion aim to continue moving (i.e., a "dynamic" culture will strive to remain dynamic). Third, and this applies to the first two tenets, cultures are theorized to react toward cultural change and globalization in an attempt to maintain their respective status quo (i.e., cultures will fight back against cultural change and those who enact it).

Fourth, the CIM contends that there are individual difference factors that exacerbate or reduce negative reactions toward cultural shifts. Variables that exacerbate negative reactions toward cultural shifts can be thought of as psychological anchors. An anchor *prevents* a vessel from moving forward. In much the same way, psychological anchors prevent cultural change. Obvious anchors include group identity and political conservatism. Individuals with a strong group identity resist change more so than those who are poorly connected to the group identity. Similarly, political conservatism acts as an anchor, where the very name suggests conserving the current norms. Research shows that individuals who are high on these two variables are more resistant toward change (Armenta et al., In Press; Zárate et al., 2019). On the other hand, variables that promote change or produce positive reactions toward change are considered psychological propellers. A propellor *allows* a vessel to move forward and onward. Those who score higher on psychological propellors are more likely to accept cultural change. Openness to new experiences produces a greater desire for change. Similarly, individuals high in political liberalism, sometimes called progressives, appear more open to change (Zárate et al., 2019).

Through all four tenets, the CIM provides an organizing model to study how people may react toward cultural change brought upon by the driving forces of globalization (e.g., immigration, demographic changes, etc.) at the macro and micro level, as well as who is more likely to reject or accept globalization (for a more detailed description of the model see Zárate et al., 2019).

Negative Consequences of Globalization

Static societies are defined as civilizations with relatively little cultural change. The CIM posits that stable (i.e., static societies) are the most reactant against cultural change (Zárate et al., 2019). Stable societies rarely introduce change to existing norms and practices because they enjoy their cultural lifestyles. Per the CIM, these cultural practices and lifestyles are theorized to become an extension of their self-concept, making it difficult for external forces, that introduce change, to be welcomed and accepted.

Societal or local norms can produce a greater resistance toward change. For example, in the United States, the Midwest continues to racially identify as White (over 70% identify as White), and these demographics have not changed in over a century. The lack of change over time produced a static society. As such, there has also been very little variation in political ideology in the Midwest (Pew Research Center, 2014). Recently, however, increased immigration has caused many static societies to experience increased globalization and, as a result, cultural change. For example, Hazleton, Pennsylvania, went from being 7% Latino in 2000 to 58% Latino in 2019 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019b). These demographic shifts have caused many White residents of Hazleton to feel increased anxiety and fear for their group's existence (Norris, 2018). These demographic shifts are also found elsewhere. The overall population in four states in the United States (Connecticut, Illinois, Vermont, and West Virginia) decreased, while the Latino population in these areas increased (Krogstad, 2020). While we focused on examples of static cultures in the United States, they are not limited to the United States. Per the CIM, these identifiable demographic shifts in

static cultures are theorized to generate stress, and in turn, generate intergroup strife (Zárate et al., 2019).

The CIM posits that static groups avoid cultural change because cultural change threatens the lifestyles, routines, and potentially the status quo of the societies that have become an extension of the "self-concept" (Zárate et al., 2019). For example, Armenta and colleagues (in press) examined how introducing cultural change in static cultures may lead to prejudice, by manipulating cultural change through vignettes. In one condition, participants read that cultural change was occurring in the United States, due to Latino immigrants, while in the second condition, participants believed that U.S. culture was remaining stable despite Latino immigration. Immigration was equally stressed in both conditions, but we manipulated how much change that immigration entailed. The findings demonstrated that White participants reported higher negative attitudes toward Latino immigrants and higher endorsement of anti-immigration policies when cultural change was salient in comparison to when cultural stability was salient. These findings showcase that people in static cultures react against cultural change caused by globalization presumably because cultural change challenges the status quo.

The aforementioned findings are not limited to White populations or majority groups. Minority groups also avoid cultural change when possible. For example, Latino people who reside in relatively homogeneous spaces are theorized to be in an existing state of rest. Latinos in these static cultures appreciate, endorse, and support their people, culture, and customs and avoid changing their cultural tapestry. When these cultural objects are threatened by an external force that introduces or threatens to introduce change (e.g., immigration, political campaigns, etc.), they react negatively against the cultural change, and those who are enacting it. For example, research has demonstrated that Latino people in El Paso, TX, a U.S./Mexico border city, increased their negative attitudes toward White individuals who were perceived to be introducing cultural change (Quezada et al., 2012). However, Latinos showed no changes in attitudes toward White people who were perceived to assimilate to Latino culture (i.e., produce no cultural change). Thus, static cultures fight to remain stable regardless of the cultural composition of the group.

In addition to challenging the customs and cultures of the majority and minority groups, globalization is perceived as threatening because it changes the prototypicality of the group's composition. In the United States, people often equate American with being "White" (Danbold & Huo, 2015; Devos & Banaji, 2005). When demographic shifts threaten America's White composition, people react against those changes. Danbold and Huo (2015) found that when majority groups are presented with data demonstrating that racial demographics are changing the group composition, participants were significantly less likely to endorse diversity initiatives. Other research found that demographic changes lead White individuals to endorse anti-immigrant legislation (Craig & Richeson, 2014). Thus, when presented with a change that is perceived as shifting the local culture (i.e., demographic changes, immigration), majority members' group identity is magnified, and subsequent behaviors aim to prevent significant changes to the existing cultural tapestry (i.e., endorsing anti-immigrant policies, forgoing support for diversity initiatives). These findings demonstrate that cultural change changes the group identity of majority members and the group prototype for the existing cultural landscape, and causes people to react against those changes through whatever methods they deem necessary. These methods, however, usually result in increased prejudice and discrimination against the relevant outgroup. Thus, research across multiple labs demonstrates that the agents causing cultural change as a result of globalization at the macro level (e.g., immigration, demographic shifts, etc.) influence negative reactions at the individual level.

Given that cultural change caused by increased immigration and globalization threatens the cultural tapestry of the quintessential American group (i.e., White people in the United States), one possible factor that may be driving negative reactions toward cultural change is extinction threat. Extinction threat is the perception that one's group can face extinction under certain conditions and may lead groups to seek ways to protect themselves (Bai & Federico, 2019). The CIM posits that making cultural change salient should increase one's fear about the future of their group. In line with this, our laboratory has found that when abrupt cultural change is made salient, majority of group members report higher extinction threat relative to when cultural stability is made

salient (Armenta et al., in press). Outten et al. (2012) reported similar results, where White Canadians and White Americans reported higher fear and sympathy for their group when cultural change was believed to be occurring due to increases in the numbers of ethnic minorities.

Psychological Anchors

The CIM posits that there are psychological anchors that exacerbate negative reactions toward societal shifts. While there is limited research on psychological anchors within the context of the CIM, we propose that national nostalgia (i.e., a sentimental longing for a country's past) is one such anchor. In our lab, we have found that national nostalgia is linked to increases in negative attitudes toward Latino immigrants, greater ingroup protection (i.e., the extent to which individuals want to safeguard their ingroup from outgroup members), and outgroup derogation (i.e., the extent to which individuals want to devalue, diminish, etc. the outgroup). In a recent study, we investigated how societal shifts, such as the Black Lives Matter movement or creating a new normal following the COVID-19 pandemic, influenced support for changing one's life. We found that higher levels of national nostalgia predicted more negative reactions toward the Black Lives Matter movement and the creation of new social norms, presumably because the Black Lives Matter movement and the COVID-19 pandemic are perceived to be enactors of cultural change (Armenta et al., 2021).

Racial/ethnic identity is also conceptualized as a psychological anchor. The model predicts that those who are highly identified with their ethnic group will reject cultural change at higher levels than those less identified with their racial/ethnic identity. Morrison et al. (2010), for example, found that highly identified White Americans were more likely to report greater social dominance and greater disdain toward minority groups. Similarly, experimental research demonstrates that Latinos who highly identify with their ethnic group are more likely to report greater resistance toward cultural change, as well as greater prejudice toward those believed to be enacting that change (Quezada et al., 2012). Thus,

psychological anchors exacerbate negative reactions toward globalization. Considering that cultural changes are likely to continue, and as a result, intergroup strife is likely to increase, it is important for researchers to study possible methods of reducing intergroup hostility caused by globalization.

Solutions for Living in a Changing World

A growing body of research has investigated solutions for reducing negative reactions toward cultural change brought upon by globalization. The CIM posits that one potential solution for reducing negative reactions toward globalization is to frame cultural change as continuous (i.e., cultural change in the present is similar to cultural shifts from the past) than abrupt (i.e., the current cultural change occurring is sudden and distinct from past cultural shifts). For example, in our laboratory, we found that framing anti-immigrant policies proposed by President Donald Trump as a *continuation* of existing conservative policies proposed by the Republican party rather than an *abrupt* change from existing conservative policies proposed by the Republican party produced less severe negative reactions toward the policies in Latino participants. Similar to previous findings, identity was an important factor in understanding negative reactions toward cultural change. In the above mentioned experiment, highly identified Latino participants expressed more negative reactions, than less identified Latino participants (Armenta et al., in press). More importantly, as with basic inertia concepts, the abrupt change produced greater reactions than continual change.

    We conceptually replicated and extended these effects in a second experiment with White participants. We manipulated whether the immigration population in the United States was constantly growing and always changing, or whether the immigration population had recently experienced a sudden spike in numbers. We randomly assigned participants to either receive presentations that described immigration trends in the United States as historically stable across time with an abrupt increase in the foreign-born population, or historically continuous across

time with dips and increases in the foreign-born population. Our findings demonstrated that abrupt cultural change produced more ingroup protection, outgroup derogation, and collective angst (i.e., fear toward the future existence of the ingroup). These effects were mediated by fear (Armenta et al., in press).

Overall, our findings demonstrate that abrupt change is significantly more threatening in comparison to continuous cultural change. One reason why abrupt change may be perceived as more threatening is that it risks the sudden loss of one's self-concept, while continuous cultural change suggests that the cultural objects, people, and routines that have become an extension of the self-concept will ultimately remain intact. Thus, one solution to reduce intergroup strife caused by globalization may be to frame the cultural change as continuous (which is arguably more accurate) rather than abrupt.

Psychological Propellers

In contrast to psychological anchors, propellers are theorized to drive or cause an individual to accept cultural change. We propose that openness to new experiences and need for novelty are traits that enable constant morphing. Openness to new experiences reflects a tendency to actively seek out new and cognitively challenging experiences, ponder new ideas, think creatively, and enjoy intellectual pursuits (McCrae & Sutin, 2009). Individuals high in openness to new experiences have greater access to a variety of feelings, thoughts, perspectives, and ideas, and, as a result, may be more adaptable to changing circumstances given the wider range of experiences encountered. They are generally more willing and able to come up with and think about new ideas that challenge the status quo (McCrae & Costa, 1997). On the other hand, people who are low on openness to new experiences are more conservative and demonstrate a greater liking for ideas and things that are familiar and conventional rather than novel and unique (Costa & McCrae, 1992).

Like openness to new experiences, research has shown that need for novelty facilitates changes in one's environment (Oreg, 2003). For example, one study found that innovative individuals generally exhibit a

greater need for novel stimuli (Goldsmith, 1984). Thus, it is reasonable to expect that people who resist change would exhibit a weaker need for novelty. It has also been reported that need for novelty is inversely related to harm avoidance (McCourt et al., 1993) and, as a result, those low in need for novelty often seek fewer new life experiences. In addition, because change often involves an increase in stimulation, those who prefer lower levels of stimulation may resist change. We posit that need for novelty is a natural propeller, such that those high in need for novelty possess the desire to seek continuous change and engage in constant transformation.

In line with the psychological propeller work, we propose that thinking about the future of the nation produces more positive feelings toward change and globalization. Future thinking has been linked to motivation and optimism (Vasquez & Buehler, 2007). It is also linked to increased mental well-being and goal planning (D'Argembeau et al., 2010). Thus, we contend that future thinking regarding one's country (what we call national prostalgia) may be a psychological propeller. We define national prostalgia as a sentimental longing for the future of one's country. At an empirical level, it is operationalized as conceptually the opposite of national nostalgia. In a recent paper (Armenta et al., 2021), we found that those higher in national prostalgia reported greater support toward the Black Lives Matter movement and the creation of new social norms. Similarly, we have found that national prostalgia was linked to lower prejudice toward Latino immigrants, lower ingroup protection, lower outgroup derogation, and lower odds of supporting President Donald Trump. Thus, national prostalgia may foster support for cultural change (Armenta et al., 2021). Future work should experimentally test whether promoting or fostering psychological propellers such as openness to new experiences, need for novelty, and national prostalgia *causes* reductions in negative reactions toward societal shifts.

Finally, the literature on intergroup strife has also identified other possible psychological propellers. For example, global identity may be considered a psychological propeller in the context of the CIM. Global identity (i.e., identifying with humanity as a whole) has been linked to a variety of pro-social outcomes such as increased empathy toward global crisis, donating to global causes (Reese et al., 2015), social justice, and

embracing cultural diversity (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013). Thus, it is possible that global identity acts as a psychological propeller and fosters acceptance of cultural change caused by globalization.

Future Directions: Dynamic Societies

In contrast to static societies, a dynamic society is open and embracing of change. Dynamic societies are characterized by constant change, activity, or progress. In the United States, Silicon Valley, CA, Austin, TX, and New York City, NY are ranked among the top 10 most dynamic cities (Piperato, 2014). These cities share a capacity to embrace rapid change. Research has shown that personality traits predict migration within and between U.S. states, such that high openness and low agreeableness predicted increased migration (Jokela, 2009). Based on this evidence, we argue that the residents of the world's most dynamic cities are ready to create change that will continue shaping the urban experience and its' future. When a culture is dynamic, individuals and groups reside in a psychological state where more change is desired. For example, introducing change in New York City should not significantly impact New Yorkers since they are continuously exposed to gradual change. These characteristics relate to the second tenet of the CIM, which suggests that a culture in motion stays in motion with the same speed and in the same direction unless acted upon by an unbalanced force (i.e., a variable that goes against the existing norm). Despite growing research on diversity and globalization, few studies have focused on investigating the extent to which introducing an unbalanced force to a culture in motion affects group processes.

Unsurprisingly, the most dynamic cities are places with diverse ideas, demographics, perspectives, and predictive models, likely because dynamic societies are typically progressive (Page, 2007). The constant cultural change can easily produce a desire for more change. Diverse groups who are in an environment that is conducive to idea sharing can build on an initial innovative solution by suggesting improvements that were not originally included. As a result, environments in dynamic societies are continuously changing and transforming, most often, through

innovation. The most dynamic cities in America share several similarities. For example, the top dynamic cities take advantage of technology trends and provide fertile environments for innovation; are rapidly urbanizing; are growth hotspots; and are resurgent cities gearing up for events in the near future. These characteristics attract a variety of individuals from different backgrounds, resulting in demographic populations that are socially and educationally diverse (Piperato, 2014). Given the increasing diversity within dynamic and diverse cities, these cultures also facilitate an increasing amount of intergroup contact. Contact theory suggests that positive intergroup contact improves perceptions of "others," resulting in reduced prejudice and social distancing (Barlow et al., 2012). However, limited research has investigated the societal context as a contributing factor toward improved intergroup relations. Thus, future work should investigate whether dynamic societies react differently to cultural shifts. If our predictions are supported, dynamic societies should react positively to cultural change and negatively toward cultural stability.

Additionally, dynamic cultures may be more embracing of global identities in comparison to static cultures. Research demonstrates that countries with higher globalization levels report stronger negative correlations between global identity and xenophobia, such that the higher you identify with global identity, the lower your anti-immigrant attitudes (Ariely, 2016). Thus, it is possible that dynamic cultures are more likely to embrace multicultural approaches, reject stability, and these effects should be exacerbated for those who report greater levels of global identity.

Conclusion

Globalization produces cultural shifts that have major consequences for peoples' lives. Many of these cultural shifts are caused by increased immigration. Although globalization has positive impacts on peoples' lives (e.g., increased financial growth), people tend to respond to change negatively. Those negative reactions have significant implications for psychological research and can be investigated through the CIM. Per the CIM, psychological anchors such as nostalgia may hinder people

from accepting change and lead to them reacting negatively in the face of change. Based on the CIM, we propose that shifting how change is presented can foster acceptance of globalization and cultural change. Additionally, psychological propellors, such as national prostalgia, and framing change as a continuation of previous policies may help those in static cultures accept the inevitable change brought upon by globalization.

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