Is multiculturalism a viable path in Chile? Intergroup and acculturative perspectives on Chilean society and Peruvian immigrants

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ABSTRACT

Many Western democracies have implemented multiculturalism to integrate different minority groups, including immigrants. What happens with countries that are recently experiencing an increasing growth in their immigration rates? This is the case of Chile. As a consequence of continuing economic growth, it has become an attractive destination to people from neighbouring nations. Among these immigrants, Peruvians are the largest group. Since in Chile multiculturalism has started to become an issue of public opinion, the current study analyzed levels of endorsement of multiculturalism and differences in Socio-economic Status (SES) among Chileans ($N = 300$) and Peruvian immigrants ($N = 400$). Based on the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict and Social Identity Theory, we tested predictors of multiculturalism. In addition, we analyzed the relationship between acculturation and intergroup variables in both samples. Findings showed Chilean endorsement of multiculturalism. This was negatively associated with perceived threat and Social Dominance Orientation, especially among people of low SES. Moreover, permeability and legitimacy proposed by Social Identity Theory emerged as important predictors of desire for separation among Peruvian immigrants. These results are discussed in terms of its conceptual and public policy implications in Chile.

1. Introduction

The increase of immigrants in different countries has led to the emergence of societies that are becoming increasingly pluralistic in cultural terms (Verkuyten, 2006). To address this complex social scenario, policy makers and academics have proposed multiple models aimed to accommodate the newcomers. One of these models is multiculturalism.

This ideology emerged in the 1970s in Canada and the United States to replace social hierarchies based on ethnicity and race (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2013). Subsequently, multiculturalism has been disseminated to Western Europe, Asia and Oceania (Radtke, 2003). Broadly speaking, it consists of three issues: to promote a positive view of diversity which encourages all citizens to recognize and embrace the diversity of customs and traditions of a poly-ethnic society, to participate in a full and equitable manner in the larger society, and to accept that everyone (not just minority groups) should adapt to each other (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977).

The implementation of this idea has a history of more than three decades in several countries. Empirical evidence shows a wide range of responses to it, ranging from positive attitudes in Canada (Berry & Kalin, 1995) and New Zealand (Ward

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& Masgoret, 2006), through neutral attitudes in Germany (Zick, Wagner, Van Dick, & Petzel, 2001) and the Netherlands (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004), to slightly negative attitudes in Spain (Medrano, 2005).

In the mid-90s the issue of whether or not multiculturalism had potential benefits began to be questioned, especially in Europe (Kymlicka, 2012). Notably, some authors argue that this ideology serves societies with strong national identities in their justification of distancing themselves from ethnic minorities (Nagayoshi, 2011). It is also known that the effects of multiculturalism are not equivalent in every group: mainstreamers mostly prefer immigrants to adopt the dominant culture while immigrants desire that their cultural identity be respected (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998).

Three major definitions of multiculturalism have been distinguished: demographic, political, and psychological (Berry et al., 1977). The latter refers to an attitude, supporting and accepting the idea of culturally heterogeneous society. It also addresses not only the attitudes of the mainstreamers and immigrants, but also different behaviour towards cultural diversity (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2013). In this paper, we focus on the latter definition.

Multiculturalism has developed in societies with a long history of immigration. But, what happens in nations that traditionally had been sending people out and only recently have become "receivers" of immigrants? This is happening with some Latin American countries. Durand and Massey (2010) stated that the history of migration in Latin America consists of two defined phases. The first one comprises the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century, in which this continent became the destiny of millions of emigrants from Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. The second phase began around 1950 and continues up to the present. A migration turnaround occurred, as a consequence of World War II and of an unfavourable economic situation in Latin America and Caribbean countries. In this scenario, the US and some European countries such as Spain, Italy and Portugal became the main destination of Latin American immigrants (Peixoto, 2012). By the late 1990s, the adoption of more restrictive immigration laws in most industrialized countries along with an economic recovery in several Latin American nations led to an increase in the movement of people within their own continent, also called intraregional migration (Durand & Massey, 2010). In this context, Chile is one of the main receivers of these immigrants.

2. South American immigration in Chile: is multiculturalism a viable path?

In South America, Chile is an interesting case to analyze whether or not multiculturalism can be implemented. Because of its political and economic stability, and low rates of unemployment, Chile is the first South American country to become a member of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Not surprisingly, Chile has become an attractive destination to immigrants from neighbouring countries such as Peru, Bolivia and Argentina (Mora, 2008). Immigration rates have risen 200% since 1990, and political scientists claim that this migratory flow, especially from the Andean countries, will continue to increase (IOM, 2006).

The largest group of Latin American immigrants in Chile are Peruvians. There are about 200,000 Peruvians who live mainly in Santiago, the capital city. The main reasons for emigration are economic difficulties and the lack of work in their country of origin. This group is mostly composed of first generation immigrants of indigenous origin, and most of them are women (Mora, 2008). Peruvian men are employed in unskilled labour, such as construction, while women work in domestic jobs such as housekeeping ("*nanas*") (Sabogal & Núñez, 2010).

Unlike what happens in other countries, where the discussion of multiculturalism is sometimes associated with very contrasting cultures, both Chile and Peru share important cultural aspects such as language (Spanish), religion (Catholic) and history (both were colonies of Spain). However, the relationship between these groups is far from positive. Studies have shown that many Chileans express ethnic prejudice and class discrimination against Peruvians (González, Sirlopú, & Kessler, 2010). Chile is also one of the countries in the continent with a higher level of rejection of Latin American immigrants (Latinobarómetro, 2007).

Two main factors might help explain these social reactions. First, a military government lead by Augusto Pinochet ruled Chile for almost twenty years. That period was marked by a radical transformation of Chilean society. One of the consequences was in the domain of identity building which remained even after the country returned to democracy. Chileans strongly believe that their country is culturally and ethnically homogeneous (Donoso, 2004). Thus, Chilean identity is built on the ideal of a White society that highlights its European ancestry and tends to deny its indigenous roots (Muñoz, 2005). This preference for white-skinned people has also been found with implicit measures of attitudes (Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald, & Swanson, 2002). Since the vast majority of immigrants arriving to Chile have indigenous ethnic origins, reflected in their phenotype, Chileans have fostered distrust and disdain for these groups (Sabogal & Núñez, 2010).

Second, according to several authors (Staab & Maher, 2006), Chilean society is very segregated in terms of social class. The cues that people can use to determine who belongs to a higher social group may be as simple as the neighbourhood where people live, or more subtle such as the Western origin of their surnames (Chang & Ñopo, 2007). It is possible that Chileans perceive immigrants as threatening based on these cues. However, this reaction can be more intense among members of low Socioeconomic Status (SES), who must compete directly with immigrants, many of whom occupy unskilled labour positions (Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006).

In recent years the Chilean government has shown more concern about immigration policy issues. This is reflected in the signing of several international treaties to prevent trafficking and the irregular migration of people (IOM, 2006). Nevertheless, this nation does not have a modern immigration policy. As such, it is important that political and social actors promote discussion about whether or not multiculturalism should be implemented in Chile (Muñoz, 2005). Attitudes research can contribute to such debate by identifying potential accommodating factors and potential pitfalls in policy making.

3. Acculturation and intergroup relations among Chileans and Peruvians

A concept closely related to multiculturalism is that of acculturation, which depicts psychological changes in people exposed to prolonged intercultural contact (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). One of the most influential theoretical frameworks within acculturation is the bi-dimensional model developed by Berry (2001). According to this theory, immigrants face two fundamental questions, one referring to the maintenance of cultural heritage ("is it of value to maintain my cultural heritage?") and one referring to relations with other ethnocultural groups ("is it of value to maintain relations with other groups?"). Based on the answers to these questions, four acculturation strategies may be distinguished: (a) *integration* (it is important to maintain both cultural identity and to have positive relations with the host society); (b) *assimilation* (only positive relations with the host society are important); (c) *separation* (only maintaining cultural heritage is important); and (d) *marginalization* (neither outcome is important) (Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006).

Recent literature has shown that integration is the immigrant's favourite orientation in different countries (Berry et al., 2006; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzálek, 2000). Furthermore, consistent with the assumption that acculturation is a mutual process, it is important to understand the attitude of mainstreamers towards the acculturation orientations chosen by immigrants (Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006). Unlike the evidence found among immigrants, majority members oscillate between preferring the assimilation or integration of immigrants (Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

Despite its widespread use, Berry's model has been recently criticized by some authors (cf. Rudmin, 2009, for a defence of the model see Berry & Sam, 2003). One of its drawbacks is that it focuses on measuring acculturative attitudes. Many social psychologists recognize that the concept of attitude is problematic because of its ambiguous relationship with behaviour (Bohner & Wänke, 2002). For example, immigrants may mention an interest in integration, but this does not necessarily mean it will happen (Rudmin, 2009). Another limitation is that maintenance of the heritage culture and contact with majority members does not apply to all immigrants (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). There are societies where assimilation looks inevitable, for instance because of a high dependence on mainstream society, or because the cultures of origin and receiving country are very similar. This seems to hold for Latin American immigrant groups in Chile. Therefore, in this research we used a model of acculturation called the 'two-culture matrix' (Keefe & Padilla, 1987), which assesses involvement with heritage culture and host culture independently, and also deals with evaluating real experiences or behaviour of immigrants in everyday life.

Most scholars agree that it is pertinent to combine the findings of the acculturation framework with robust evidence from social psychology theories of intergroup relations, since it is very clear that acculturation unfolds within the context of intra and intergroup processes (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). There are a number of intergroup theories that have been used in migration settings. Among them, we chose two theories to understand the perspective of host society members: the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, and to analyze the immigrants' perspective, Social Identity Theory.

3.1. Instrumental model of group conflict and Social Dominance Orientation

According to the Multiculturalism Hypothesis proposed by Berry et al. (1977), when individuals feel secure in their cultural identity and their place in the larger society is not undermined, more positive mutual relations and acceptance of the 'other' will result. In contrast, when their identities and their place in the larger society are threatened, they will reject 'others'. Related to this theory is the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses, Dovidio, Danso, Jackson, & Semenya, 2005; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998) which integrates, on the one hand, contributions of theoretical models based on the premise that competition for scarce resources can explain intergroup conflict (e.g. Campbell, 1965), and on the other hand, theories that focus on individual beliefs about the existence of social hierarchies as inevitable, leading to a perception of society as a constant group-based competition for material or symbolic resources (Social Dominance Theory, or SDT, Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994).

The Instrumental Model of Group Conflict proposes that "resource stress and the salience of a potentially competitive outgroup lead to perceived group competition for resources" (Esses et al., 1998, pp. 393–394). This perceived competition adopts zero-sum beliefs, where the more that the out-group gains, the less that is available for the in-group or vice versa. In this sense, the model suggests that negative attitudes and discrimination towards the out-group, perceived as the competitor, reflects efforts to remove this group competition (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001).

Perceptions of competition among members of the majority can be conceived as an element of a broader ideological belief such as Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), aimed at maintaining inequality and supporting group dominance within a society. SDO is defined as the desire of individuals to belong to a superior group to dominate and subordinate other groups that are thought to be inferior (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). Research shows that higher scores on SDO are associated with negative attitudes towards immigrants and policies that intend to benefit newcomers (Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010).

Within the frame of immigration, previous research findings show that zero-sum beliefs would mediate the relationship between SDO and prejudice towards immigrants. In particular, individuals who support an inequitable distribution of resources in society (high in SDO) are also relatively biased against immigrants because of the perception that they are usurping local jobs (Esses et al., 2006). Drawing on a European sample, Küpper, Wolf, and Zick (2010) for example found that native citizens of low income tend to agree more with anti-immigrant attitudes and have less support for diversity. In that sense, we are interested in adding SES to the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict for assessing the support of Chileans for multiculturalism.

3.2. Social Identity Theory and socio-structural variables

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), one's identity depends on the groups or social categories to which one belongs. Self-categorization through social comparison is crucial to constructing salient of group memberships in SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As part of their self is defined by membership to social groups, individuals will strive to achieve a positive social identity through comparison with relevant out-groups. Consequently, ethnocentric biases are assumed to be a consequence of social identification (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). SIT also postulates that individuals who belong to groups that fail to provide a satisfactory social identity can use a series of individual or collective strategies to counteract the associated negative social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Preference for a particular strategy depends partly on the perception of the social situation. SIT specifies three socio-structural variables which can interactively determine the responses of individuals and group differentiation strategies used to attain positive distinctiveness (Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008). These are *stability* (degree of perceived mutability in relations between groups of high and low status), *legitimacy* (degree to which the structure of status is accepted as legitimate) and *permeability* (refers to the possibility of individuals leaving a low-status group to join a group of higher status).

Related to these concepts is the issue of perceived cultural distance. It is conceived as the perceived discrepancies between the social and physical aspects of the culture of origin and the society of settlement (Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009), and also as a prior condition to successful acculturation (Berry, 2001). Studies show that it is a crucial factor in cultural and social integration, since larger perceived cultural differences are associated with more distress of immigrants and sojourners (Galchenko & Van de Vijver, 2007).

Several studies have focused on examining how immigrants should manage their social identity in their interaction with national citizens, which is based on the perception of the particular socio-structural traits of this society (Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008). However, there is a lack of research that simultaneously analyses acculturative preferences of immigrants and their relationship to intergroup variables (González et al., 2010; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). This study aims to continue in this line of research.

4. Study overview

To summarize, this article has three goals. Firstly, it examines attitudes towards multiculturalism among members of Chilean society. We used the Multicultural Ideology Scale (MIS) developed originally by Berry and Kalin (1995) which has been used in many studies (see Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Berry & Kalin, 1995). We expect Chileans to show little support for multiculturalism (Hypothesis 1a). In addition, we examined possible differences in support of multiculturalism among Chileans, depending on their SES. We assume that Chileans of low SES will exhibit lower levels of support for multiculturalism than those Chileans of high and medium SES (Hypothesis 1b). Secondly, we predicted that the lower the income levels of Chileans, the higher the levels of SDO, the larger their perception of threat of immigrants, and the less positive their multicultural attitudes. In addition, it is hypothesized that the greater the SDO, the less support for multiculturalism (Hypothesis 2).

Thirdly, we examined whether acculturation has an effect on intergroup variables in both samples. Among Chileans, we expected only main effects of acculturation preferences and SES. Specifically, we hypothesized that both Chileans who prefer that immigrants opted for separation and Chileans of low SES will (a) demonstrate less multiculturalism, (b) exhibit higher levels of perceived threat and SDO, (c) more negative affect towards Peruvians than Chileans than those who adopted other acculturation preferences and others who are from SES levels (Hypothesis 3). Among Peruvians we expected that immigrants who endorse separation will experience (a) a stronger *ethnic identity*, (b) will perceive that Chilean Society has lower *stability*, lower *legitimacy*, and lower *permeability*, (c) they will perceive a higher cultural distance, and (d) they will demonstrate greater negative affects towards Chileans than Peruvians who endorse other acculturative orientations (Hypothesis 4).

5. Method

5.1. Participants

The study was conducted in Santiago. The sample consisted of 300 Chileans (female = 153; male = 147), whose mean age was 42.5 (SD = 10.5), and 400 Peruvian immigrants (female = 230; male = 170), whose mean age was 33.4 (SD = 9.1). There were significant age differences between groups, $F(1, 698) = 149.74$, $p < 0.01$. The mean of time living in Chile for immigrants was 5.8 years (SD = 3.7 months).

In both samples, we measured SES through the classification given by ESOMAR, which combines terminal education age of the individual with occupation of the main income earner of the household. By combining these two variables, in Chilean sample we found 12% of individuals of high, 46.7% of middle, and 41.3% of low SES. Among Peruvian immigrants, 40% and 60% of the immigrants were of middle and low SES, respectively.

5.2. Procedure and instruments

Peruvian immigrants were contacted using a snowball sampling procedure. We adopted it because of the specific characteristics of this sample, and the lack of governmental information available to identify this population. Hence, these immigrants were approached in places where they usually meet. For the Chilean sample, we used stratified random sampling; respondents were interviewed in their homes.

The questionnaires contained a section of demographic questions, and items drawn from various published measures. For all the scales we used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), unless otherwise indicated. Furthermore, all scales were formed by averaging their corresponding items. For all scale analysis, we conducted Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) with Principal Axis Factoring and Oblimin rotation.[1]

5.2.1. Multicultural ideology scale

Administered only to Chileans, this scale consists of 10 items that address various domains of multiculturalism such as the benefits of diversity or beliefs about whether immigrants should or should not assimilate (Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008). We adapted the version used by Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003), which is based on Berry and Kalin (1995). A sample item is 'In Chile, Latin American immigrants should be helped to preserve their cultural heritage' and 'it is best for Chile if all Latin American immigrants forget their different cultural backgrounds as soon as possible'. We found a factor composed of 6 items ($\alpha = 0.77$).

5.2.2. Acculturation orientations

To measure the acculturation behaviour of Peruvian immigrants and the acculturation preferences of Chileans, we created two different scales. Two separate dimensions were used: one representing attitudes towards the heritage culture, and the other representing attitudes towards the majority culture. Following Berry and Sabatier (2011), we used the midpoint (4) of the scale to classify their four acculturative orientations.

The Chilean acculturation scale had 20 items (e.g. 'I think *Peruvian* immigrants should have a Peruvian partner'). Factor analysis yielded two factors: one labelled *maintenance of Peruvian culture* (7 items; $\alpha = 0.72$), and the second one called *adoption of Chilean culture* (6 items; $\alpha = 0.76$). These dimensions were combined with the midpoint of the scale to generate four possible acculturation attitudes among Chileans: integration (host society members accept that immigrants maintain their heritage culture and also accept that they adopt the culture of the majority), separation (host society members accept that immigrants maintain their heritage culture, and do not adopt the culture of the majority), assimilation (host society members accept that immigrants adopt the culture of the majority, and give up their heritage culture), and marginalization (host society members do not want immigrants to maintaining their heritage culture nor to adopt the majority culture).

The Peruvian acculturation scale comprised 18 items with different life domains such as friendship, use of media, and child-rearing practices ('I have or had a Chilean partner'). A factor analysis yielded two factors: one called *involvement with Chilean culture* (6 items; $\alpha = 0.71$), and the second one labelled *involvement with Peruvian culture* (5 items; $\alpha = 0.68$). The combination of these two dimensions with the midpoint yielded four possible acculturation orientations: integration (high involvement in both cultures), assimilation (low involvement in the heritage culture, but high involvement in the culture of the majority), separation (high involvement in the heritage culture, but low in the culture of the majority), and marginalization (low involvement in both cultures).

5.2.3. Perceived threat

Chileans answered 14 items about realistic (7 items) and symbolic (7 items) threat adapted from a scale created by Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999). A sample of realistic threat item is: 'Peruvian immigrants are displacing Chilean workers from their jobs' ($\alpha = 0.79$).[2]

5.2.4. Social dominance orientation

Only Chileans answered 16 items from the Social Dominance Orientation scale developed by Sidanius and Pratto (1999) which was translated into Spanish by Cárdenas, Meza, Lagues, and Yáñez (2010). Factor Analysis yielded 2 factors: *Group-based dominance* ('If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems'; $\alpha = 0.78$), and *Opposition to equality* ('All groups should be given an equal chance in life'; $\alpha = 0.82$).

5.2.5. In-group identification

Chileans and Peruvian immigrants responded to 4 items regarding their respective in-group identification. A sample item for Peruvians is: 'I feel proud of being Peruvian' ($\alpha = 0.69$) and for Chileans: 'Being Chilean is an important part of my identity' ($\alpha = 0.84$).

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[1] Principal Axis Factoring is one of the extraction methods in SPSS.
[2] Although EFA yielded two factors, only one factor that include items about realistic threat ($n = 7$) had an acceptable level of reliability.

Table 1

Means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for the Chilean sample.

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Multiculturalism	4.94	1.28	–							
2. Adoption of Chilean culture	3.77	1.31	.37**	–						
3. Maintenance of Peruvian culture	4.64	1.15	.27**	.38**	–					
4. National identity	6.14	.08	.07	−.10	.16**	–				
5. Threat	2.87	1.44	−.59**	−.30**	−.16**	−.14*	–			
6. Opposition to equality (subscale from SDO)	2.41	1.12	−.42**	−.04	−.18**	−.38**	.41**	–		
7. Group dominance (subscale from SDO)	3.37	1.24	−.31**	.11	.06	−.14*	.27**	.46**	–	
8. Negative affect	3.77	0.64	−.24**	−.14*	−.10	−.05	.23**	.14*	.19**	–

Note. Standard deviations are into parenthesis.

** $p < .01$.

* $p < .05$.

5.2.6. Socio-structural variables

Only Peruvians answered this scale. Legitimacy was assessed by 2 items ($\alpha = 0.75$): 'Peruvian immigrants are treated fairly by Chilean people'; 'Chilean people respect my group's way of living'. Permeability was also measured by 2 items ($\alpha = 0.69$): 'It is easy for Peruvian immigrants to be seen as Chileans'; 'In principle, it is not difficult for my group to be seen as Chileans'. Finally, to measure stability, Peruvians answered one item: 'I think the current relationship between Peruvian immigrants and Chileans is only temporary'.

5.2.7. Perceived cultural distance

This 5-item scale was answered only by Peruvians (1 = very similar; 7 = very different). A sample item is 'How similar or different do you think Peruvian immigrants are to Chileans in their beliefs and traditions?' ($\alpha = 0.81$).

5.2.8. Negative affect

This was measured in both samples. Participants answered 6 items and were asked to choose between two opposing emotions to describe their feelings towards the out-group ('warm-cold'; 'respect-disdain'). Cronbach's α was 0.84 for both Chileans and Peruvian samples.

Results

The results are divided into four sections. Firstly, means, standard deviations, and correlations for all of the variables are presented. Secondly, we estimated the levels of multiculturalism and differences by SES among Chileans. Additionally, we tested predictors and mediators of support of multiculturalism among Chileans. Thirdly, we assessed whether there are principal effects between acculturation preferences and SES on some intergroup variables in the Chilean sample. Fourthly, we examined the effect of acculturation orientations on identity and socio-structural variables among Peruvian immigrants.

5.3. Descriptive analysis of the variables

Before addressing the results, descriptive statistics for the Chilean sample are displayed in Table 1. It can be seen that Chileans showed high levels of support for multiculturalism and Peruvians for maintaining their own culture. Regarding other variables, adoption of Chilean culture, perceived threat, both factors of SDO and negative affect had scores below the mid-point of the scale (4). These latter results seem to show that there is no widespread negative view of Peruvian immigrants. All correlations were in the theoretically expected direction. It is important to mention the high and negative correlation between multiculturalism and perceived threat.

Table 2

Means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for the Peruvian sample.

Peruvian immigrants	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Involvement with Peruvian culture	5.53	.96	–							
2. Involvement with Chilean culture	3.74	1.13	−.23**	–						
3. Ethnic identity	6.25	.80	.38**	−.15**	–					
4. Permeability	2.76	1.56	−.19**	.19**	−.01	–				
5. Legitimacy	3.77	1.53	−.01	.34**	.01	.20**	–			
6. Stability	4.25	1.52	.02	.06	.01	.13**	.01	–		
7. Perceived cultural distance	2.87	1.21	−.08	.21**	−.01	.20**	.22**	.10*	–	
8. Negative affect	3.37	1.10	−.04	−.29**	−.10*	.01	−.28**	.06	−.01	–

Note. Standard deviations are into parenthesis.
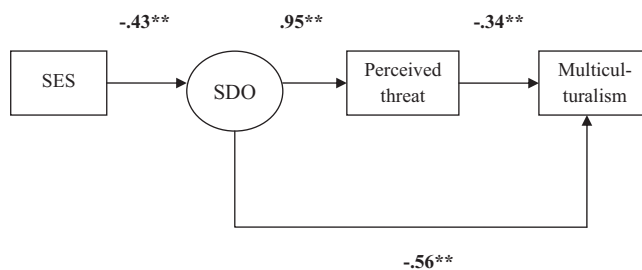
** $p < .01$.

* $p < .05$.

Fig. 1. Structural equation model of the predictors of multiculturalism in Chilean sample (** $p < .01$).

In Table 2 we can see the results for the Peruvian sample. Involvement in Peruvian culture, stability of relationship, and ethnic identity had scores above the mid-point. Interestingly, the score of perceived cultural distance is low indicating that these immigrants do not find major differences with Chilean culture.

5.4. Predictors of multiculturalism

As we see in Table 1, Chileans demonstrated strong support for multiculturalism. This finding is contrary to our first hypothesis, and would suggest a willingness to live in a culturally diverse society. An ANOVA on multiculturalism scores with SES as predictor demonstrate a significant effect, $F(2, 299) = 13.53$, $p < .01$, $\eta = .08$. A Bonferroni post hoc test was used to test differences by SES. Moreover, we predicted that Chileans of low SES will exhibit lower levels of support for multiculturalism than those Chileans of high and medium SES (Hypothesis 1b). Results showed that Chileans of low SES exhibited less support for multiculturalism ($M = 4.52$, SD = .11) than people of middle SES ($M = 5.16$, SD = .10) and high SES ($M = 5.53$, SD = .20). This hypothesis was supported.

Next, we conducted Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) to test the functional relations between SES and intergroup variables on attitudes towards multiculturalism among Chilean people. In this model, SES was the exogenous variable while the remaining variables were endogenous. We included only one latent construct, SDO, which is made up of two observed variables: opposition to equality and group dominance. Each one was measured using the mean of their eight respective indicators. Regarding the manifest variables (except SES), the mean of seven items for the perceived threat scale and the mean of the six items for the multicultural scale were used.

A structural model was used to model the relationship between these variables using EQS (Bentler, 2005), with the ML method. Overall, the goodness-of-fit indices were very good, $\chi^2(4, N = 300) = 11.02$, $p > 0.05$; AGFI = 0.94, GFI = 0.98, IFI = 0.98, CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.07 (90% lower confidence limit = .02, and 90% upper confidence limit = .13). These results provide evidence for appropriately explaining the relationships among all the variables of the model. The relationships between the variables are presented in Fig. 1. In the model we can see that the lower the SES of the Chileans, the greater their SDO, the higher levels of perceived threat, and the lower the support of multiculturalism. Moreover, higher levels of SDO were negatively related to multiculturalism. According to these results, Hypothesis 2 was totally supported.

5.5. Effects of acculturation preferences and SES in Chilean sample

In the Chilean sample, a prescriptive sphere of acculturation was assessed, related to the preferences for the acculturative orientations that should be adopted by Peruvian immigrants. Results showed that while 36.7% of Chileans preferred that Peruvian immigrants integrate into Chilean society, 32.7% and 24.3% of them preferred their separation and marginalization, respectively. Only 6.3% of Chileans preferred the assimilation of immigrants.

A Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was performed to analyze the main effects of acculturative orientations (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization) and SES levels (low, medium, and high) on psychological variables in the native Chilean population. Results showed a significant multivariate effect of acculturation preferences (Willks' $\lambda = 0.82$, $p < .01$, $\eta = .06$) and SES (Willks' $\lambda = 0.86$, $p < .01$, $\eta = .08$). No interaction effect was found. The univariate effects revealed a significant effect of acculturative orientations on multiculturalism ($F(3, 298) = 5.98$, $p < .01$), opposition to equality ($F(3, 298) = 2.76$, $p < .05$), and group dominance ($F(3, 298) = 5.11$, $p < .01$). Moreover, SES showed significant effects on all variables: multiculturalism ($F(2, 298) = 19.58$, $p < .01$), identity ($F(3, 298) = 6.16$, $p < .01$), threat ($F(2, 298) = 11.85$, $p < .01$), opposition to equality ($F(2, 298) = 6.27$, $p < .01$), group dominance ($F(2, 298) = 7.12$, $p < .01$), and negative affect ($F(2, 298) = 5.29$, $p < .01$). As such, Hypothesis 3 was supported.

In Hypothesis 3, it was postulated that Chileans who prefer that immigrants opted for separation and Chileans of low SES will demonstrate low support for multiculturalism and negative affect towards Peruvians. In order to test this Bonferroni post hoc procedure was applied to evaluate differences within groups. Openness to multiculturalism was weaker for Chileans who opted for marginalization ($M = 4.52$) than Chileans who preferred integration ($M = 5.40$) and separation ($M = 5.01$). Perceived threat was stronger among Chileans who preferred marginalization ($M = 2.88$) than for Chileans who opted for integration

(M = 2.54). Opposition to equality and greater SDO was found among Chileans who endorsed marginalization of Peruvian immigrants (M = 2.52) than for Chileans who opted for separation (M = 2.09).

With regard to SES, Chileans of low SES demonstrated less support of multiculturalism (M = 4.54) than people of high (M = 5.40) and medium SES (M = 5.21). In contrast, individuals of medium SES levels (M = 6.52) identified themselves more with their country than people of low status (M = 5.87). Chileans of medium (M = 3.73) and low (M = 3.88) SES expressed more negative emotions towards Peruvian immigrants than people of higher status (M = 3.48). Something similar happened with respect to perceived threat. Chileans of low SES (M = 3.33) were more threatened by Peruvian immigrants than Chileans of high (M = 2.10) and medium SES (M = 2.60). For the factors that make up SDO, Chileans of low SES (M = 2.73) showed more opposition to equality than people of middle SES (M = 2.14). Finally, people of low SES (M = 3.58) showed more support for group dominance than those of high (M = 2.70) and medium (M = 3.21) levels. Taken together, these findings confirmed partially hypothesis 3.

5.6. Acculturation orientations in immigrant sample

In the Peruvian sample, 57.5% preferred separation while 34.5% chose integration. A smaller group of immigrants preferred the other two orientations: 5% opted for assimilation, and 3% for marginalization.

The Hypothesis 4 concerning those Peruvian immigrants who endorse separation will experience lower perception of socio-structural variables and negative affects towards Chileans was tested in this section. We found a multivariate significant effect for acculturation orientations (Willks' λ = 0.69, p < .01, η = .11). The analysis of univariate effects revealed a significant effect for acculturation orientations preferred by Peruvians on ethnic identity (F(3, 397) = 14.54, p < .01), perceived cultural distance (F(3, 397) = 6.65, p < .01), permeability (F(3, 397) = 10.55, p < .01), legitimacy (F(3, 397) = 10.56, p < .01), and negative affect (F(3, 397) = 15.15, p < .01). There were no significant differences for stability.

Applying the Bonferroni post hoc procedure, immigrants who chose separation perceived less permeable boundaries in Chilean society (M = 2.42) than those who chose integration (M = 3.14), assimilation (M = 3.55), and marginalization (M = 3.88). Furthermore, Peruvians who opted for separation perceived less legitimacy (M = 2.42) than those who were integrated (M = 3.14), assimilated (M = 3.55), and marginalized (M = 3.87). Moreover, Peruvians who preferred separation (M = 2.65) perceived less similarity with Chilean culture than those who chose integration (M = 3.22). Regarding identity and affective variables, immigrants who preferred integration (M = 6.34) and separation (M = 6.31) were more identified with their country in comparison to those who opted for assimilation (M = 5.20). Finally, immigrants who were separated expressed more negative emotions towards Chileans (M = 3.68) than those who are integrated (M = 2.95). Hypothesis 4 was confirmed.

6. Discussion

Societies with a long history of immigration have debated for years about the potential benefits of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2012). In contrast, countries like Chile that have recently experienced a massive flow of immigrants, have not yet defined a clear policy to face the challenges of becoming a multiethnic society. Therefore, Chile offered an attractive case to examine the adherence to multiculturalism in view of the increasing number of Latin American immigrants. The strengths and difficulties of implementation were addressed with regards to Peruvian immigrants.

Considering manifold factors such as the rapid growth of migration in Chile (Mora, 2008), a society described by some authors as very stratified in terms of social class (Chang & Ñopo, 2007), and considering that the most hostile reactions occur in the early stages of mass migration (Zick et al., 2001), we predicted that Chileans would exhibit low levels of support for multiculturalism. However, findings were different from what we expected. Some explanations are discussed to explain this result.

Multiculturalism, in general terms, is an ideology that emphasizes the tendency to appreciate and value the cultural diversity of different groups within a nation (Verkuyten, 2006). Nevertheless, some of its members can perceive ethnic minorities adversely since they represent a potential threat to national values (Nagayoshi, 2011). Hence, it could be expected that members of the host society will exhibit more negative attitudes towards what they perceive to be greater differences with the culture of newcomers. On the other hand, since Latin immigrants and Chileans share many cultural aspects, there are not many reasons to experience symbolic threat. This speculation was indirectly confirmed when we looked at the measures of realistic and symbolic threat (Stephan et al., 1999). The latter factor obtained a very poor internal consistency in the Chilean sample. These data suggest that the Chileans of our study show a favourable disposition towards multiculturalism, to the extent that Latin American immigrants are perceived to adhere to similar worldviews.

The label "Latin American immigrants" might have induced a higher score on multiculturalism, since this might have generated different representations among participants in the Chilean sample. While the vast majority of immigrants who settled in this country are of indigenous origin (i.e., natives), a large group comes from Argentina. As a group, Argentineans have a better economic situation, have a Western appearance and tend to hold positions of high social status. This would explain why many Chileans express more favourable attitudes towards this group than to those of indigenous origin (Mora, 2008). Differences in attitudes towards different ethnic groups have been observed in other contexts. For example, many Canadians react differently to immigrants depending on whether immigrants are perceived as belonging to "valued" or "devalued" groups (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

Considering this, perceived threat appears then as an important element in understanding this migratory scenario. Threat can explain prejudice and discrimination towards immigrant groups to the extent that they gain at the expense of host society members (Esses et al., 2006). However, realistic threat did appear as a negative predictor of support for multiculturalism as it did in other studies (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). As predicted, Chileans of low income perceived more threat towards Peruvian immigrants because in their social segment immigrants from indigenous origins (including Peruvians) compete directly with them in the job market.

Moreover, our findings showed that people of low SES showed higher scores of SDO and threat than those from different economic backgrounds. On the other hand, endorsement of multiculturalism was predicted by SDO levels and perceived threat. Since people high in SDO are strongly motivated to maintain the legitimacy of social hierarchies, it is understandable that Chileans of low income tend to prefer marginalization for Latin American immigrants and to ventilate more hostile attitudes towards this minority (Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008).

To allow us a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of Latin American immigration in Chile, we analyzed the relationships among multiculturalism, acculturation, and intergroup variables in this social context. Regarding the analysis of acculturation, the preferences of Chileans for separation and integration of Latin American immigrants could be attributed to several different motives. One is the anticipation of positive (integration) or negative (separation or marginalization) outcomes in the interaction with immigrants (Piontkowski et al., 2000). Likewise, the preference for the separation of Peruvians by Chileans may be a reaction engendered by surprise for the level of migration into this country.

Regarding Peruvians, most of them opted for separation which appears to be different from the findings of previous studies.[3] However, preference for separation is not unusual in literature. It has been observed among Latin American immigrants living in Spain, a country whose citizens share the same language and religion (Sobral, Gómez-Fraguela, Luengo, Romero, & Villar, 2010). Preference for separation clearly rejects any notion referred to integration or assimilation with Chilean society. It is unclear if this reaction occurs as a negative reaction to what Peruvians experience in their daily contact with Chileans.

An examination of psychological processes in Peruvians who opted for separation showed the influence of two sociostructural variables, perceived permeability and legitimacy. These beliefs about the characteristics of the boundaries of Chilean society could generate an attitude of rejection of integration or assimilation (Terry, Pelly, Lalonde, & Smith, 2006).

Moreover, Chileans, especially those with lower SES, who opted for the separation of Peruvian immigrants showed negative attitudes towards them. This result is connected with the postulates of the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses et al., 2005). It is also plausible that Chileans of lower SES felt that their social identity was being threatened by immigrants, and negative reactions could be a way to protect their positive group distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, this speculation has to be tested in future research.

This study has various limitations that need to be considered in making any conclusions. The first one is related to generalizability of our findings to a larger and heterogeneous population. Since this study was conducted in the capital city, where the vast majority of Peruvian immigrants live, we cannot extrapolate these results to other areas of the country. Since this research is cross-sectional, we were unable to observe the evolution of support for multiculturalism among Chileans or draw causal inferences in the model tested. Also, the use of self-report methods can underestimate or overestimate the responses of the participants, especially when it comes to social issues of some sensitivity.

The South American scenario offers an unexpected opportunity to explore acculturative and intergroup processes, which are very different from investigations concerned with contrasting cultures in other Western countries. In addition, unlike other studies that evaluated multiculturalism in school or counselling settings, in this case we assessed this issue in the society at large (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2013). Finally, in line with other recent research, we included the perspective of both members of the host society and immigrants (Rohmann et al., 2006), and connected concepts from related theoretical frameworks such as multiculturalism, acculturation, and intergroup relations (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006).

Future directions in research should include the measurement of attitudes towards two or more Latin American immigrant groups (e.g., Bolivians and Argentineans). This would allow us to have a better understanding of the different reactions that Chileans have towards these immigrants. It would also be worth knowing the attitudes of immigrants towards multiculturalism, in order to compare these results with those held by members of the majority.

Our study also has implications at a political level. Academic and public debate about multiculturalism in Chile is still incipient. An example of this is that although Chile has several indigenous groups, as recently as 2008, a new social pact was proposed regarding multiculturalism (Montecinos & Williamson, 2011). Our findings provide a deeper understanding of the relationship between Chilean society and Latin American immigrants, especially from Peru. In our view, the implementation of multiculturalism in Chile confronts great challenges. Although our study showed apparent support for this ideology, it seems that this occurs because Chileans do not perceive greater cultural differences with Peruvian or Latin American immigrants. However, rejection by Chileans occurred when immigrants were considered a threat to their jobs. This is a more common phenomenon among individuals of low SES who also hold strong beliefs about social hierarchies. A question

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[3] González et al. (2010) found that Peruvian immigrants opted by marginalization and assimilation, while Chileans chose marginalization and integration. This difference probably reflects the fact that these samples were homogeneous in their socio-economic composition and were assessed acculturative attitudes instead of behaviour as in this research.

that remains is whether immigrants from very different cultures, such as Korean or Chinese people who have come recently to Chile, may experience different reactions than the Latin American immigrants.

Since Chile is described as a society where there is an unequal distribution of wealth and power among the whole population, immigrants are in this regard a highly vulnerable group. Therefore, if the Chilean government decides to introduce multicultural policies to the country, public and non-governmental organizations must encourage the discussion of civic integration among Chileans, while recognizing the contribution of immigrants to Chile's culture. The latter is crucial, with a development of a legal framework to penalize offences committed against minority members based on ethnic or national differences. Similarly, immigrants should be informed that their social rights are supported by law, and therefore they are considered as equal citizens just like any member of the majority society.

Acknowledgments

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