

## PREJUDICE TOWARD PAPUAN STUDENTS: THE ROLE OF INTERGROUP ANXIETY, BELIEF, CONTACT QUANTITY, AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Yenny Meliana and Marselius Sampe Tondok

Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Surabaya, Jl. Raya Rungkut, Kali Rungkut 60293

E-mail: s150118177@student.ubaya.ac.id; marcelius@staff.ubaya.ac.id

**ABSTRACT.** This study examined the relationship between social identity and prejudice against ethnic Papuan students with intergroup anxiety as mediators and quantity of contact and belief as moderators. This study using a quantitative cross-sectional survey design. Respondents (n=452) were students in Surabaya selected using accidental sampling. Data were collected online using Google Forms by employing several scales that were RIVEC (Rejection, Intimacy, Values, Emotions, and Culture) prejudice scale, a-three factors social identity scale, intergroup anxiety scale, contact quantity scale, and belief scale. The results of hypothesis testing showed that intergroup anxiety significantly mediates the relationship between social identity and prejudice against ethnic Papuan students ( $\beta = -0.25$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). The results also revealed the moderator roles of belief ( $\beta = -0.13$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) and quantity of contact ( $\beta = 0.07$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) in predicting prejudice. This finding can be concluded that the emotions associated with low intergroup anxiety play a role in mediated high social identity with low prejudice scores. Increased contact with outgroups did not guarantee a decrease in prejudice scores in people with high social identities. Still, the involvement of cognitive processes through positive beliefs by individuals acts as a buffer effect in reducing prejudice among people with high social identities.

**Keywords:** belief, intergroup contact; intergroup anxiety; prejudice; social identity

### PRASANGKA TERHADAP MAHASISWA ETNIS PAPUA: PERAN KECEMASAN ANTARKELOMPOK, BELIEF, KUANTITAS KONTAK, DAN IDENTITAS SOSIAL

**ABSTRAK.** Penelitian ini bertujuan menguji hubungan antara identitas sosial dan prasangka terhadap mahasiswa etnis Papua dengan intergroup anxiety sebagai mediator dan kuantitas kontak serta belief sebagai moderator. Penelitian ini menggunakan desain kuantitatif cross-sectional survey. Responden (n=452) adalah mahasiswa yang berkuliah di Surabaya yang dipilih menggunakan accidental sampling. Data dikumpulkan secara online menggunakan Google Form dengan menggunakan beberapa skala yaitu RIVEC (Rejection, Intimacy, Values, Emotions, and Culture) prejudice scale, a-three factor social identity, dan intergroup anxiety scale, skala kuantitas kontak dan skala belief. Hasil uji hipotesis menunjukkan intergroup anxiety secara signifikan memediasi hubungan antara identitas sosial dengan prasangka terhadap mahasiswa etnis Papua ( $\beta = -0.25$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). Riset juga menunjukkan adanya peran moderator belief ( $\beta = -0.13$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) dan kuantitas kontak ( $\beta = 0.07$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) secara signifikan memprediksi prasangka. Melalui hasil penelitian ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa emosi yang berkaitan dengan kecemasan antar kelompok yang rendah berperan dalam memediasi identitas sosial tinggi dengan skor prasangka yang rendah. Kontak yang tinggi dengan outgroup tidak menjamin penurunan skor prasangka pada individu dengan identitas sosial tinggi, melainkan keterlibatan proses kognitif melalui keyakinan positif yang dimiliki oleh individu yang berperan sebagai efek penyangga dalam menurunkan prasangka pada orang dengan identitas sosial yang tinggi.

**Kata kunci:** belief, kontak antar-kelompok, kecemasan antar-kelompok, prasangka, identitas sosial

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that has cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity, so tolerance in social life is necessary. Tolerance between ethnic and religious groups has a favourable impact on sustaining harmony and leading a social life. Tolerance can also assist Indonesia to achieve more remarkable development achievements (Hadi et al., 2017). In the Indonesian population census 2010, there were 1,331 names of tribes and sub-tribes in Indonesia. Javanese are the most populous ethnic group, accounting for 95.2 million people (40.2%) of Indonesia's total population. Sundanese 36.7 million people (15.5%) second highest. Moreover, the least is the Papuan ethnic minority, 2.7 million people (1.1%) (BPS, 2010).

Diversity and tolerance are inversely proportional to the data on violence and discrimination in Indonesia. Diversity of social identities has become the source of social prejudice in Indonesian society (e.g., Hernawan, 2017; Karomani, 2011). Data on violence and discrimination cases that occurred in Indonesia in the 14 years since the reform period showed there were 2,398 total cases of conflict, 20% of which were conflicts that occurred between ethnic groups (Hadi et al., 2017). Historical developments showed that conflicts often arise between the Indigenous and Chinese ethnic groups.

However, now starting to change due to the increase in cases of conflict between non-Papuans and ethnic Papuans (Ulaan et al., 2016). Not only in Indonesia, Nurdin (2020) said that discrimination

against ethnic Papuans also occurred to Papuan students studying in Germany. He told of his experience meeting several other students who did not want to be in the same group as him.

The results of qualitative research (Ulaan et al., 2016) on ethnic Papuan students studying on Java Island also denoted the experience of being shunned due to their different physical identities, being ridiculed, and not being considered the Indonesian ethnic group. These discriminatory behaviours are strengthened because ethnic Papuans have a Melanesian race with darker skin colour than most of the population in Indonesia have pale yellow skin and come from the Malay race (Diniari, 2018). In addition, there are also differences in the political system (Anderson, 2015), and Papuan culture has many unique traditional rituals (Heekeren, 2010).

Injustice behaviour towards a group stems from negative attitudes or prejudice (Allport, 1954). Prejudice is considered a cause of discrimination and can affect the health and well-being of the victim. Prejudice can lead to inter-group conflict, civil unrest, and more potential for violence (Reynolds et al., 2017). A study by Jackson et al. (2020) demonstrated the negative impact of discriminatory events on students. The more incidents of discrimination experienced by students, the lower the confidence of students to finish school, and the lower the victims' self-esteem were.

### Prejudice

Prejudice is an attitude that includes feelings, thoughts, and tendencies to act negatively towards other groups (Tejada et al., 2011). Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) classify prejudice into two aspects, then Martini et al. (2016) divide it into several sub-aspects. First, blatant prejudice, namely open, close, hot, and direct prejudice. Blatant prejudice includes two sub-aspects, namely threat and rejection. This prejudice involves feeling threatened and showing rejected behaviour toward outgroups. Second, intimacy, namely the refusal to establish close relationships with outside groups (for example, romantic relationships or relationships involving power, where the outside group is the leader).

Second, subtle prejudices are distant, cold, and carried out indirectly. Subtle prejudices can include traditional values, i.e., blaming an outgroup for actions that are deemed acceptable but not in line with ingroup values. Subtle prejudice can also include cultural differences, which tend to think cultural differences cause harm, thus creating stereotypes about outgroups. The last sub-aspect is a positive emotion, namely rejection of positive emotional

responses to the presence of outgroup (Martini et al., 2016).

Prejudice can be influenced by factors of social contact and individual differences (personal). Individual differences include anxiety when interacting with outgroups (Stephan & Stephan, 1985a), social dominance orientation, authoritarian personality, introversion, fundamentalism, and religious orientation (Bukhori, 2017). In the social context, prejudice is influenced by social identity and the process of social categorization (Myers & Twenge, 2016), contact between groups, conformity behaviour (Islam & Hewstone, 1993), and the process of socialization through the media, friends, or parents (Tondok et al., 2017).

### Social Identity

Tajfel (1974) reveals that social identity is part of a person's self-concept, based on his knowledge of his social group or its members, including the values and emotions in that group membership. There are several indicators of social identity. First is cognitive centrality, which is the amount spent thinking about being part of an ingroup. Second, ingroup affect, namely positive feelings associated with being part of an ingroup. Third, ingroup ties, namely the perception of similarities, connections, and feelings of belonging to other members of a group.

Previous research has shown that social identity was significantly correlated with prejudice against immigrants (Spiegler et al., 2021; Bauer & Hannover, 2020). However, there are gaps in research results. Other researchers found that social identity with prejudice against other religions in Indonesia was not significantly correlated (Pandan et al., 2013), and significantly weakly correlated in the context of prejudice against ethnic groups in Turkey (Çakal et al., 2016), prejudice toward asylum seekers in Italy (Servidio, 2020), and other religions (Sulistio et al., 2020).

### Intergroup Anxiety

Intergroup anxiety is a feeling of tension, nervousness, or discomfort caused by an appointment or even just the thought of meeting outgroup members *outgroup* (Stephan & Stephan, 1985a). The anxiety can make group interactions awkward and prejudice increased (Stephan, 2014). The indicators of intergroup anxiety include cognitive, affective, and physiological. Cognitive include interactions with outgroup members will negatively impact. Affective contain feeling worried, pressured, threatened, afraid, uncomfortable and angry when meeting with an outgroup. Physiological, namely hormonal changes

in the body due to affective, is not measured by a psychological scale. For example, increased cortisol was associated with worry when interacting with outgroups.

The results of previous studies showed that anxiety was very strongly correlated with prejudice toward veiled Muslim women (Inderasari et al., 2021) also strongly correlated to prejudice toward asylum seekers (Servidio, 2020). Correlate moderately with prejudice inter-ethnic and religious group relationships (Stevenson et al., 2020; Zagefka et al., 2017), associated weakness with prejudice towards minorities in China (Wang et al., 2019), and least associated very weakly with disorders against hard of hearing people (LaBelle et al., 2013).

### **Belief**

Myers dan Twenge (2016) states that attitudes arise because the beliefs held by individuals influence them. Beliefs are also referred to as stereotypes which can be positive or negative. Furthermore, the stereotype is a belief in a specific characteristic of the group and is generalized to all group members.

A person's belief can be formed due to the role of friends, parents, reading material read, and spectacle from social media (Kite & Whitley, 2016). Positive belief towards outsiders can act as a moderator in reducing prejudice. Previous research has proven that beliefs formed in society can influence prejudice. Thus, belief in diversity can reduce prejudice (Adesokan et al., 2011; Suhay et al., 2017).

### **Contact Quantity**

Allport (1954) states that frequent contact with unfavored group members can increase feelings of liking. The frequency of contact with outgroup members is a contact quantity, as stated in Islam and Hewstone (1993). Bogardus (1947) put forward social distance theory related to contact interaction. He stated that feelings of liking or disliking a group can be known from the intimacy of relations with group members. The grouping of relations from the most distant is relations as acquaintances (community integration), friends and companions (social interaction), and willingness to marry members of that ethnicity (intermarriage) (Haagensen & Croes, 2012).

Based on previous research, there were inconsistencies in research results. In a study by Servidio (2020), there were moderately positive results between intergroup contact and prejudice against asylum seekers in Italy. However, other research found that intergroup contact was negatively correlated with prejudice against individuals with intellectual disabilities (Rafiqi & Thomsen, 2021).

Intergroup anxiety acts as a mediator in the relationship between social identity and prejudice to answer the gap in this study. Intergroup anxiety is considered a mediator because (Jelić et al., 2020) determined that the inconsistency of research results between social identity and prejudice might occur. After all, a high national identity does not necessarily have high prejudice because it has a low intergroup anxiety score. So that a high or low intergroup anxiety score determines the relationship between social identity variables and prejudice, when a person has a high social identity and low intergroup anxiety, prejudice will be low. Conversely, if someone has high social identity with a high intergroup anxiety score, prejudice will be high.

Intergroup anxiety plays an essential role in influencing social identity and prejudice because intergroup anxiety is related to emotional processing. When someone is anxious, the affective aspects or negative emotions formed will also affect the tendency to take hostile actions. Emotions function in evaluating decision making, preparing to act or adapting psychologically, regulating potential responses (Scherer & Moors, 2018). Through affective-perceptual cognitive process theory, Quintana & Mckown (2012) states that emotions influence prejudice or judgment against outgroups, but these emotions can also be regulated through cognitive processes. Therefore, prejudice can also be influenced by intergroup anxiety involving emotions and thoughts.

Even though someone has negative emotions toward others, the cognitive processes played a role in forming emotions and influencing how to act are related to one's beliefs and stereotypes about outside groups. Positive belief can be a moderator to reduce prejudice. That is why someone with a high social identity views the outgroup as an outside group is possible moderated by positive belief. In addition to belief, the number of experiences in contact with other groups also can reduce prejudice. In the research of Visintin et al. (2020), contact between groups can be a moderator in reducing prejudice due to intolerant social norms. In this research, contact quantity hypothesized can affect the relationship between social identity and prejudice as stated in Islam & Hewstone (1993) researched finding, when a person had high intergroup contact, the lower intergroup anxiety and prejudice they had.

To the best of our knowledge, research that associates the relationship between social identity and prejudices with intergroup anxiety as a mediator and contact quantity and belief as moderators is still very limited in Indonesian settings, especially in

prejudice against ethnic Papuan students. Therefore, this research is essential to answer the gap and help provide an overview in setting policy. This study aimed to examine the relationship between social identity and prejudice to ethnic Papuan students, with intergroup anxiety as a mediator and contact quantity and belief as moderators.

### Research Hypothesis

H1: There was a relationship between social identity and prejudice toward Papuan Student in which intergroup anxiety as a mediator.

H2: There was a relationship between social identity and prejudice toward Papuan Student in which belief as a moderator.

H3: There was a relationship between social identity and prejudice toward Papuan Student in which contact quantity as a moderator.

## METHOD

The method utilized in this research is quantitative, with a cross-sectional survey research design. The subjects of this study were 452 students studying in Surabaya who reported themselves have non-Papuan ethnic group identity and were aged 18-25 years. Data were collected online using Google Forms from September 21, 2021 to October 17, 2021. The Google Form link was distributed through social media such as Telegram, Instagram, Line, and Whatsapp. Respondents who filled out the questionnaire in this study had the following demographic data.

**Table 1. Demographic Data of Research Respondents**

Demographic Data	Categories	N	%
Gender	Female	256	58.63
	Male	185	40.93
University	Private	233	51.5
	Public	219	48.5
Ethnic	Javanese	274	60.62
	Chinese	110	24.34
	Others	68	15.08
Religion	Islamic	268	59.29
	Christian	83	18.36
	Catholic	50	11.06
	Hindu	35	7.74
	Buddha	14	3.1

Most respondents were prejudiced in the low category of 43.8% (N= 198) and 36.50% in the very low category (N= 165) based on the frequency distribution. Subtle prejudice, the majority fall into very low category 37.83% (N=171) and low 43.36% (N=196). In comparison, the respondents with blatant prejudices fall into the low category of 38.72% (N= 175) and medium 28.98% (N= 131).

The measuring instruments were used to measure prejudice, social identity, intergroup anxiety, belief, and contact quantity. The tool for measuring prejudice uses the RIVEC prejudice scale compiled by Martini et al. (2016), consisting of 15 two-aspect items. Each aspect has a sub-aspect. The aspects are blatant (intimacy, threat, and rejection) and subtle (traditional value, cultural differences, positive emotion). The social identity measurement tool uses a three-factor model of social identity scale consisting of 18 items and three aspects (ingroup ties, cognitive centrality, and ingroup affect). The measuring instrument for intergroup anxiety uses the Stephan & Stephan (1985) scale, consisting of 11 items and two aspects, cognitive and affective. These scales consist of five response options in a Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).

Meanwhile, the belief and the contact quantity were arranged by the researchers. The contact quantity consists of four items which are arranged based on the theory from Islam and Hewstone (1993), "Do you have (acquaintances/friends/friends/relatives who are married to ethnic Papuans)," the response options consist of no (0) and yes (1). Meanwhile, the question about belief is a single item measurement that is compiled based on the concept of Myers and Twenge (2016). Respondents were asked to mark several options that matched their views on ethnic Papuans. The available response options are positive (strong, diligent, friendly, helpful, intelligent, cheerful) and negative (lazy, grumpy, not socialized, often conflicted, incapable, stubborn).

The respondents also asked additional questions about what influences positive and negative perceptions toward ethnic Papuan to enrich research findings. First, the question provides "How much (information obtained based on own experience/ social media/ news /peers experience) influences the formation of views on ethnic Papuans." Second, "How interested respondents are in hearing the topic of achievement/discrimination/innovation by ethnic Papuans." Respondents were asked to respond from the least influential/ interested (1) to the most influential/ interested (4).

Based on expert judgment content validity, the items measuring variables in this study were in line with the theory. The reliability of measuring the variables produced a score in the following table 2.

To test hypothesis 1 (H1), we used mediation analysis and moderated-mediation model 5 using Process Hayes's to test hypothesis 2 (H2) and hypothesis 3 (H3) with SPSS version 25. Furthermore, item analysis using Winstep 3.73.



**Table 2. Scale’s reliability**

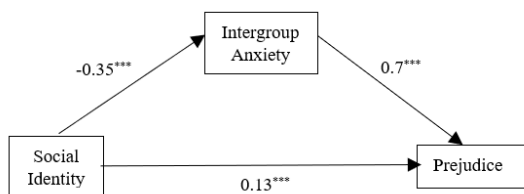
Measuring instrument	Drop item number	Item-rest correlation range	$\alpha$	Status
<i>Prejudice</i>				
<i>Blatant</i>	6	0.27 -0.61	0.67	Reliable
<i>Subtle</i>	11,14	0.74-0.78	0.79	Reliable
<i>Social identity</i>				
<i>Ingroup affect</i>	17	0.67-0.76	0.85	Reliable
<i>Ingroup ties</i>	-	0.39-0.58	0.76	Reliable
<i>Cognitive centrality</i>	8,10,11	0.49-0.70	0.80	Reliable
<i>Intergroup anxiety</i>				
<i>Cognitive</i>	-	0.36-0.74	0.78	Reliable
<i>Affective</i>	-	0.41-0.56	0.72	Reliable
<i>Contact quantity</i>	-	0.23-0.63	0.66	Reliable

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This study set out to determine the relationship between social identity and prejudice to ethnic Papuan students, with intergroup anxiety as a mediator and contact quantity and belief as moderators.

**Model 1**

The results of the mediation test proved that the three pathways had significant effects (Figure 1). Social identity affected intergroup anxiety ( $\beta = -0.35$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). Intergroup anxiety affected prejudice against ethnic Papuans on path b ( $\beta = 0.7$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). Social identity directly influenced prejudice against ethnic Papuan students on path c ( $\beta = -0.13$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). The direct effect of social identity to prejudice against ethnic Papuan students on path c ( $z$ -value = -3.464;  $p < 0.001$ ; 95% CI [-0.20, -0.06]) was lower than the indirect effect through intergroup anxiety ( $z$ -value = -6.707;  $p < 0.001$ ; 95% CI [-0.32, -0.18]) in the c’s path. Intergroup anxiety and social identity on paths b and c had a 55% effect on prejudice ( $z$ -value -7.571;  $p < 0.001$ ; 95% CI [-0.47, -0.28]), social identity on the path a had a 10% effect on intergroup anxiety.



**Figure 1. Path analysis of Intergroup Social Identity, Anxiety and Prejudice variables**

The first hypothesis (H1) in this study was accepted, on the c’s path or indirect effect, it showed that intergroup anxiety significantly mediated the relationship between social identity and prejudice against ethnic Papuan students ( $z$ -value = -6.707;  $p < 0.001$ ). Social identity significantly affects intergroup anxiety in path a ( $\beta = -0.35$ ;  $p < 0.001$ )

with a determination coefficient of 10%. It means that if respondents have a low social identity, intergroup anxiety is high. High intergroup anxiety has the effect of mediate increased prejudice scored against ethnic Papuan students significantly on path b ( $\beta = 0.7$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ), social identity has a significant effect on prejudice against ethnic Papuan students on path c or direct effect ( $\beta = -0.13$ ;  $z$ -value = -3.46;  $p < 0.001$ ). If the anxiety variable between groups is not considered, a low social identity score impacts increasing prejudice against students of Papuan descent. However, the indirect effect of social identity with prejudice against ethnic Papuan students ( $z$ -value = 6.71) through intergroup anxiety resulted in a higher score than the direct effect ( $z$ -value = 3.46). This finding showed the important role of the mediating variable, intergroup anxiety, in the relationship between social identity variables and prejudice against ethnic Papuan students.

The indirect effect on the c’s pathway follows Servidio (2020) research findings. Intergroup anxiety mediated the relationship between Italian national identity and prejudice towards refugees. However, Servidio (2020) research showed that the relationship had a positive direction. In path a, the higher the national identity, the more intergroup anxiety increased ( $\beta = 0.23$ ;  $p < 0.01$ ), the high intergroup anxiety then affects the high prejudice in path b ( $\beta = 0.53$ ;  $p < 0.01$ ). On the other hand, the study of Jelić et al. (2020) instead supported this study’s findings and opposed the findings of Servidio (2020) research. The more a person feels bound to his or her ethnicity (having a high ethnic identity), the lower the intergroup anxiety when interacting with other ethnic groups ( $\beta = -0.13$ ). As a result, the lower the prejudice or tendency to discriminate ( $\beta = 0.72$ ). Emphasize, the context of research with a multi-ethnic population, ethnic identity, is mentioned as a protective factor. Consistent with the current research context, various universities in Surabaya have a multi-ethnic composition of college students.

The study results by Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2011) showed differences in the formation of attitudes towards outgroups in the majority and minority groups. Among majority groups, contacts and norms influence attitudes toward outgroups independently, so those in majority positions do not need to consider personal experiences with outgroup members and thoughts to behave in a certain way toward outgroup members. However, the difference between a majority and minority groups is related to inferiority and domination status due to lack of power and lower status and more substantial pressure to associate with outgroups. Hence, members

of minority groups have to shape their outgroup attitudes concerning the normative model given by ingroups. Contacts vs norms formed within the group play an important role, especially for minority youth. On the one hand, personal contact experience is more important than the norm in the group as long as the contact is considered positive. However, the positive social norms prevailing within the group can inhibit the negative effect of the experience of unpleasant contact on attitudes towards the majority group.

Research that showed a negative relationship between social identity variables and intergroup anxiety, apart from being influenced by intergroup contact factors, can also be influenced by the context of the study. In this study, the population and research sample are non-Papuans ethnic (for example, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Chinese), which means the respondent is the majority ethnicity. The majority context can lead non-Papuans to feel less threatened. Likewise, as in the research of Jelić et al. (2020), the role of national identity on intergroup anxiety also has a negative relationship because the study was conducted on students with ethnic majority context in Croatia.

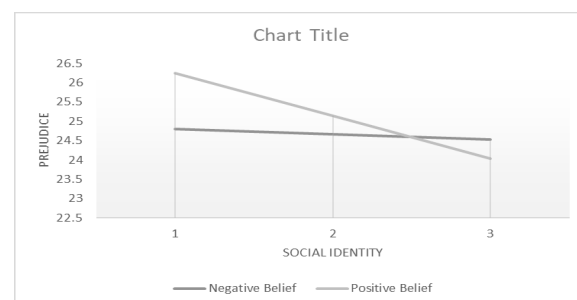
Nelson (2015) states that social identity through the identification process can cause a person to feel threat and intergroup anxiety when interacting with other groups. Furthermore, based on the theory, the process is known as identifying, categorizing, comparing with outgroup in forming social identity can affect the emergence of threat perceptions. Both threats are realistic (e.g., destruction of property, aggression) and symbolic (e.g., physical characteristics, norms, and culture). This theory is not in line with the research results due to differences in the research context.

In contrast, in path analysis b, the research findings are in line with the theory of Stephan & Stephan (1985) that high intergroup anxiety can increase behavioural tendencies to avoid outside groups so that they feel less anxious. Intergroup anxiety can also cause cognitive consequences in the form of biased processing of information. For example, the mind agrees to give negative behaviour to outside groups. Finally, intergroup anxiety has emotional consequences, such as disgust, fear, anger, hatred. As a result, high intergroup anxiety affects increasing prejudice scores or the tendency to discriminate against ethnic Papuan students.

## Model 2

The second research hypothesis (H2) was accepted, positive belief of Papuan ethnic students acted as a moderator in reducing prejudice scores

against Papuan ethnic students ( $\beta = -0.13$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) (Table 3). The role of this moderator can cause the regression direction of the research results on path c's is not followed the theory because the positive belief that exists in respondents who have a high social identity had a role as buffering variable. Positive belief gave the highest effect on the result of +1 standard deviation on reducing prejudice ( $\beta = -0.17$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ; 95% CI [-0.25, -0.09]) compared to scores in the range of standard deviation 0 ( $\beta = -0.11$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ; 95% CI [-0.19, -0.05]) and -1 standard deviation, not significant or confidence interval include zero ( $\beta = -0.17$ ;  $p > 0.05$ ; 95% CI [0.013, -0.09]). From these data and the graph in Figure 2, it can be seen that the role of positive belief acts as a better mediator in reducing prejudice against outgroups. With every increase in social identity score, people who have positive beliefs about ethnic Papuans will experience a decrease in prejudice scores compared to those who have negative beliefs.

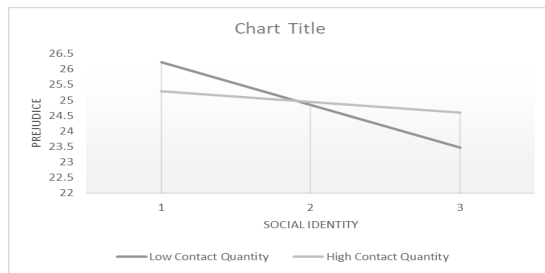


**Figure 2. Interaction between social identity and belief in predicting prejudice**

This study follows (Stephan, 2014) that negative perceptions are the most influential factor initiating intergroup anxiety and prejudice. This study shows that positive belief toward ethnic Papuans correlates with personal experience, so the more a person has never had direct contact with ethnic Papuans, the more negative the perception (Table 4). Myers and Twenge (2016) suggest that negative perceptions of outside groups can cause prejudice to be formed due to the influence of parents, social media, or friends.

Belief derived from information obtained through friends correlated with increased prejudice scores but was not significant ( $r = -0.06$ ;  $p > 0.05$ ). In contrast, the view of ethnic Papuans based on personal experience was significantly correlated with a low prejudice score ( $r = -0.19$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). Meanwhile, news sources ( $r = 0.16$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ) and social media ( $r = 0.12$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) correlated with a significant increase in prejudice scores. News sources in the form of positive topics such as news about the development of innovations carried out by ethnic Papuans correlated with a decrease in prejudice scores ( $r = -0.10$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ).

Meanwhile, news content with negative topics, namely conflicts between ethnic non-Papuans and Papuans, correlated with a significant increase in prejudice ( $r= 0.14$ ;  $p<0.01$ ) (Table 4). Boyer (2021) proves that news broadcast through television can increase the arousal and emotions of the people who see it. Thus, the critical role of the media in stimulating negative emotions and thoughts. Then, it tends to increase intergroup anxiety and prejudice when learning negative news about the outgroup.



**Figure 3. Interaction between social identity and contact quantity in predicting prejudice**

**Model 3**

The third hypothesis (H3) in this study is accepted. The quantity of contact acts as a moderator in the relationship between social identity and prejudice. However, it was found that with every increase in the score of social identity, people who have extensively contact with ethnic Papuans will have a higher increase in prejudice scores than those who have few contacts. This explanation is supported by the contact quantity data which is at -1 standard deviation giving a higher effect ( $\beta= -0.21$ ;  $p<0.001$ ; 95% CI [-0.32, -0.11]), 0 standard deviation ( $\beta= -0.13$ ;  $p <0.001$ ; 95% CI [-0.21, -0.06]), and data in the range of -1 standard deviation, not significant or include zero ( $\beta= -0.22$   $p>0.05$ ; 95% CI [-0.15, -0.04]). This finding means that someone who has a high social identity will increasingly identify that his/her social group is different from the outgroup ( $\beta= 0.07$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), making it more difficult to change through the role of intergroup contacts.

Haagensen and Croes (2012) explained the social distance theory developed by Bogardus, the more intimate a person’s contact relationship with an outgroup group is, the lower the prejudice will be. This theory is in line with the research of Mak et al. (2014) that relationships through contact with outside groups can reduce intergroup anxiety ( $\beta= -0.58$ ;  $p<0.05$ ). Also, in line with the results of this study, respondents who have theoretical relationships in the social distance as acquaintances, friends, friends, or relatives have a low correlation with prejudice scores.

Overall, contact quantity still plays a role in reducing prejudice, in line with the research of

De Coninck et al. (2021), i.e., contact with friends was significantly correlated with positive attitudes towards refugees ( $r=0.24$ ;  $p<0.01$ ) in Belgium, the Netherlands, France, and Sweden. Meanwhile, watching commercial TV was significantly correlated with negative attitudes towards refugees ( $r= 0.13$ ;  $p<0.01$ ). According to Harwood (2017), contacts can be divided into two, direct contact and through media (indirect) or so-called socialization factors (Tondok et al., 2017). In the results of this study, friendly contact was directly correlated with a decrease in prejudice. Meanwhile, indirect contact, for example, learning through contact experiences from other ingroup members (mediated vicarious contact) and news sources or social media, especially with negative content, correlated with an increase in prejudice scores (Table 4).

**Table 3. Regression Analysis in Predicting Prejudice**

Variable	Prejudice			
	$\beta$	SE	R2	R2- Chng
Social Identity	-0.13***	0.03		
Intergroup Anxiety	0.70***	0.03		
Social Identity → Intergroup Anxiety	-0.25***	0.04	0.55	
Contact Quantity	0.04	0.21		
Identitas Sosial x Contact Quantity	0.07*	0.03		0.005
Belief	0.43	0.32		
Identitas Sosial x Belief	-0.13*	0.05		0.006

Note. \*)  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*)  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*)  $p < 0.001$

Based on the distribution of prejudice, it shows that the total prejudice of the majority of respondents is in the low-very low category. In fact, in reality, cases of discrimination against ethnic Papuans that are mentioned in the background still occur. Blatant prejudice scores (medium-low majority) were higher than subtle prejudices (low-very low majority). This condition can occur because the prejudice measured in this study is a conscious prejudice, supported by Pettigrew & Meertens (1995), which states that subtle prejudice is a form of prejudice related to a positive public image that helps build self-representation to be accepted by the public. Social, for example, gives positive emotions and tolerance for cultural differences or values. On the other hand, blatant prejudice is related to the emergence of rejection towards minority groups. An example of blatant prejudice is having an intimate relationship (e.g., denying having romantic relationship) with an outgroup (Caroli et al., 2013).

Based on item analysis, blatant prejudice has a higher score because this prejudice has items that are easy to agree on, namely item number 5 of the intimacy sub-aspect “If I have to travel to do

**Tabel 4. Bivariate Correlation for Study Variable**

Variabel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	—												
2	-0.32 ***	—											
3	-0.34 ***	0.73 ***	—										
4	0.11 *	-0.30 ***	-0.21 ***	—									
5	-0.06	-0.30 ***	-0.19 ***	0.08	—								
6	0.06	0.13 **	0.12 *	-0.14 **	-0.10 *	0.26 ***	—						
7	-0.01	0.18 ***	0.16 ***	-0.16 ***	0.08	-0.62 ***	-0.68 ***	—					
8	-0.02	-0.22 ***	-0.19 ***	0.28 ***	0.06	-0.67 ***	-0.46 ***	0.17 ***	—				
9	-0.04	-0.07	-0.06	-0.02	-0.16 ***	0.02	0.16	-0.19 ***	0.04	—			
10	-0.04	0.12 **	0.12 *	-0.07	0.12 *	0.15 **	-0.08	0.09 *	-0.21 ***	-0.54 ***	—		
11	0.09	-0.06	-0.02	0.10 *	0.01	-0.05	5.77e-4	-0.05	0.11 *	0.16 ***	-0.58 ***	—	
12	-0.09	0.02	5.38e-4	-0.12 **	0.03	-0.13 **	-0.08	0.14 **	0.06	-0.59 ***	0.06	-0.50 ***	—
13	0.03	-0.08	-0.10 *	0.09									

Note. \*)  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*)  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*)  $p < 0.001$ ; 1: Social Identity; 2: Intergroup Anxiety; 3: Prejudice; 4: Contact Quantity; 5: Perception; 6: Social Media; 7: News; 8: Own Experience; 9: Friend Info; 10: Conflict; 11: Achievements; 12: Discrimination; 13: Innovation

work in a team, I prefer to travel with non-Papuan students rather than traveling with non-Papuan students. Papua” (logit value= -0.32). Meanwhile, the prejudice is subtle; a reversed-item number 13 of the sub-aspect relation is easy to agree on “I admire Papuan students who come to Surabaya to seek better college opportunities” (logit value = 0.90). This finding can explain that the positive emotions towards the ethnic Papuan student group without interaction process (from subtle prejudice reversed item) are more accessible than establishing intimate relationships (from blatant prejudice item).

## CONCLUSION

Through the discussion of the research results, it can be concluded that intergroup anxiety as an affective antecedent of prejudice plays a significant role as a mediator in the relationship between social identity and prejudice against ethnic Papuan students. The higher the social identity score, the higher the intergroup anxiety score, the higher the prejudice against Papuan ethnic students. Likewise, belief and contact quantity as cognitive and external factors act as mediators in reducing prejudice against ethnic Papuan students. The research found that high contact with outgroups does not guarantee a significant reduction in prejudice scores, but it is also necessary to consider changing beliefs towards ethnic Papuans to be more positive. These findings have significant implications for the Government, particularly the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, which can appeal to the public or establish policies that direct the segregation of information that enters the media to become more positive and free from ethnic-based hate speech. The university is also expected to support implementing programs that can increase intergroup quality contact between ethnic groups to reduce prejudice. Future research can use implicit association tests to measure

unconscious prejudice and use experimental design to measure the effectiveness of variables in reducing prejudice.

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