

# Better Attitudes toward Foreigners: Effects of Dual-Identity, Identity Fusion with the Country and Humanity

## Mejores Actitudes hacia Extranjeros: Efectos de Identidad-Dual, Fusión de Identidad con Chile y la Humanidad

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Social categorization implies a difference between “we” and “they”, motivating people to create or maintain a positive group distinctiveness, which leads to intergroup bias. The common ingroup identity model proposes that recategorization from separated subgroups into an inclusive superordinate group can reduce intergroup bias. However, further research shows that bias reduction is more likely when a dual identity is created, wherein the ingroup and superordinate identities are simultaneously salient and, thus, ingroup distinctiveness is safeguarded within this recategorization process. The present study examined the effect of dual versus common identity representations on attitudes toward foreigners, as well as the dependence of this effect on identity fusion with the country and all humanity. Participants ( $n = 149$ ) were assigned to one of two conditions: Worldwide (common) Identity, and Dual-Identity. Regression analysis indicated that, relative to the worldwide identity condition, the dual-identity condition produced more positive attitudes toward foreigners: less willingness to fight, greater perceived common identity, and stronger trust. This last result was moderated by identity fusion with the country and all humanity. Findings suggest that to reduce intergroup bias, it is important that people perceive themselves as members of all humanity without having to relinquish their ingroup identity.

*Keywords:* national identity, worldwide identity, dual identity, identity fusion, intergroup attitudes

La categorización social implica una diferencia entre "nosotros" y "ellos", lo que motiva a las personas a crear o mantener una distinción grupal positiva, que conduce al sesgo intergrupal. El modelo de identidad endogrupal común propone que la recategorización de subgrupos separados en un grupo superordinado inclusivo puede reducir el sesgo intergrupal. Sin embargo, investigaciones posteriores demuestran que la reducción del sesgo es más probable cuando se crea una identidad dual, en la que las identidades del endogrupo y del grupo superordinado son simultáneamente salientes y, por lo tanto, el carácter distintivo del endogrupo se salvaguarda dentro de este proceso de recategorización. El presente estudio examinó el efecto de las representaciones de la identidad dual frente a la común en las actitudes hacia extranjeros, así como la dependencia de este efecto de la fusión de la identidad con el país y con toda la humanidad. Los participantes ( $n = 149$ ) fueron asignados a una de dos condiciones: Identidad mundial (común) e Identidad dual. Análisis de regresiones indicaron que, en relación a la condición de identidad mundial, la de identidad dual produjo actitudes más positivas hacia los extranjeros: menor disposición a luchar, mayor identidad común percibida y mayor confianza. Este último resultado fue moderado por la fusión de identidad con el país y con toda la humanidad. Los resultados sugieren que, para reducir el sesgo intergrupal, es importante que las personas se perciban a sí mismas como miembros de toda la humanidad sin tener que renunciar a su identidad endogrupal.

*Palabras clave:* identidad nacional, identidad mundial, identidad dual, fusión de identidad, actitudes intergrupales

Social categorization creates a distinction between “we” and “they”, stimulating a positive attitude toward the ingroup and, under some conditions, a negative attitude toward the outgroup as well. For example, international migration is associated with cultural and social exchanges, but it can also lead to conflicts as part of the differences between the local and immigrant populations (e.g., Urzúa et al., 2020). Part of these conflicts would be explained by the ingroup bias displayed by both communities, in which they can perceive the other as a threat to their group (Carmona-Halty et al., 2018; González et al., 2017). Different theories have proposed that conflicts between groups, including the relationship between locals and immigrants, can be resolved by reducing intergroup bias. This can be achieved by weakening the salience of intergroup

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differences. The common ingroup identity model (CIIM) suggests that creating a superordinate group, including simultaneously the ingroup and the outgroup, can reduce that ingroup bias and improve attitudes toward the outgroup. This model has received empirical support, but subsequent studies have shown that sometimes intergroup bias is not reduced this way and that it can even increase in individuals with a strong connection with the ingroup. This study analyzed the effect of priming dual versus common identities on attitudes toward foreigners, and the potential moderation effects of identity fusion with the nation (Chile) and all humanity.

### **Common Ingroup Identity Model**

In the intergroup relationship context, the CIIM suggests a form to reduce the intergroup bias (i.e., the tendency to evaluate the ingroup more favorably than the outgroup, including preferring the ingroup and/or derogating the outgroup; Hewstone et al., 2002). Specifically, it postulates that a positive perception toward the ingroup may be extended to the outgroup by developing a common identity, wherein ingroup members recategorize themselves as members of a shared, superordinate group, that includes the outgroup (Dovidio et al., 2007; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2012; Gaertner et al., 1993, 1996).

The CIIM has been supported empirically through experimental and correlational studies. The perception of a common identity as one superordinate group instead of two separated groups (the ingroup versus the outgroup) has been associated with more positive and less negative attitudes toward different types of outgroups. The studies have considered different ingroups and outgroups based on nationality, race, political stance, and religiosity, among others (Andrighetto et al., 2012; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2012; Gaertner et al., 2016; Glasford & Dovidio 2011; González & Brown, 2003, 2006; McFarland et al., 2019; Noor et al., 2008; Riek et al., 2010; Robinson, 2016; Römpke et al., 2018; Stone & Crisp, 2007). Examples of the attitudes included in those studies are forgiveness, trust, empathy, threat perception, and willingness to engage in contact.

The creation of a common identity implies the recategorization of people's identity, in which they give up their ingroup identity and create a more inclusive identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2012). In some cases, however, the perception of a common identity does not reduce the intergroup bias, or even it increases it, and does not diminish the intergroup conflict. For example, an increased bias has been informed for individuals highly connected to their ingroup. These individuals perceive themselves, to an important degree, according to their group membership. Therefore, it might be that they would resist developing a superordinate common identity because that more inclusive identity may threaten their group distinctiveness, norms, and way of life (Crisp et al., 2006; Esses et al., 2006; Jetten et al., 2004; Stone & Crisp, 2007). Consistently, past research shows that in conditions of low group distinctiveness, subjects express a stronger intergroup bias to the extent that they are highly identified with the ingroup (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Jetten et al., 2001) or perceive the outgroup as a threat (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). However, other studies have found that stimulating a common identity does not produce a stronger impact on intergroup attitudes than a condition promoting an ingroup identity (Ioannou et al., 2017). In sum, the common identity (versus the perception of separated groups) has shown in past studies both significant and non-significant effects on intergroup attitudes.

The authors of CIIM extended their initial proposal to include alternatives that do not increase intergroup bias in subjects that perceive a threat to their ingroup distinctiveness. For those individuals, the intergroup bias can be reduced if they perceive themselves as members of a superordinate group while simultaneously maintaining their connection with the ingroup, which is called dual identity (Gaertner et al., 1996; Dovidio et al., 2007). In other words, individuals preserve their connection to their ingroups within a shared superordinate group and, therefore, their need for group distinctiveness is safeguarded. Consistently, there is evidence that for individuals strongly connected with their ingroup, dual identity leads to less bias toward different types of outgroups than one common identity group (Banfield, & Dovidio, 2013; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011), but other studies have reported non-significant effects (Ufkes et al., 2016).

In sum, past research indicates that the effect of activating a superordinate identity on intergroup attitudes depends on the degree of connection with the ingroup. For that reason, we included identity fusion with the country in our study as an assessment of a strong connection with the ingroup.

## Identity Fusion Theory

Identity fusion is a feeling of oneness, a strong connection with a group, in which individuals perceive that they share essential qualities with their group and their personal and social identities are fused (Gómez et al., 2011; Swann et al., 2009). Fused subjects establish a connection with the group as a whole—collective ties—and also with its members—relational ties—who are perceived as a family to them (Buhrmester et al., 2014; Gómez et al., 2020; Swann, Buhrmester et al., 2014; Swann et al., 2012). Identity fusion is of interest for the present study because it is a good predictor of an extreme case of intergroup behavior, the willingness to fight for the group, which implies attacking people who have offended or threatened the ingroup. Identity fusion has shown a stronger effect on willingness to fight than other variables, such as several measures of group identification from the classic social identity theory (Besta et al., 2014, 2015; Bortolini et al., 2018; Gómez et al., 2011; Gómez & Vázquez, 2015; Henríquez et al., 2020; Jiménez et al., 2015; Kossakowski & Besta, 2018; Paredes et al., 2020; Whitehouse et al., 2014). We evaluated identity fusion with the country (Chile) as a measure of connection with the ingroup and also assessed willingness to fight for the country against foreigners as one of our dependent measures of attitudes toward foreigners.

In addition to a willingness to fight for the country, this study considered two positive attitudes toward foreigners: trust in them and perception of a shared, common identity with them. Trust consists in an expectation of ingroup members of positive motivations and behavior from the outgroup toward them (Lewicki et al., 1998). Perceived common identity refers to participants' perceptions of ingroup members (Chileans) and outgroup members (foreigners) as one group instead of two separated groups. Associations with positive attitudes toward outgroups have been reported for trust (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000; Noor et al., 2008) and perceived common identity (Riek et al., 2010). Trust and perceived common identity have been studied within the CIIM, but not in relation to identity fusion.

## The Present Study

This study considered the worldwide community and the country as the superordinate and subordinate groups, respectively. The dual identity entails a simultaneous identification with the worldwide and national communities. We manipulated the salience of these two identities (worldwide and dual), and then examined their influence on three different attitudes toward foreigners: trust, perceived common identity, and willingness to fight for the country. The research question was: does a national-worldwide dual identity affect attitudes toward foreigners, and does the effect differ depending on identity fusion with the country and humanity? The dual-identity condition implies a low threat to the ingroup (national) distinctiveness, while the worldwide identity condition represents a high threat.

We also examined the moderating role of identity fusion with Chile and all humanity. Fusion with all humanity was considered as a moderator because, when the superordinate identity is salient, the threat to the group's distinctiveness experienced by fused people with the ingroup would be even higher if they do not have a connection with the superordinate identity (Stone & Crisp, 2007). Identity fusion with the country has been studied extensively in samples from different countries (e.g., Fredman et al., 2015; Gómez et al., 2020), whereas fusion with all humanity has not been previously considered in the literature. However, research with a similar concept—identification with all humanity—indicates that a sense of belonging to a community of all human beings is associated with positive attitudes toward people from other countries (for a review, see McFarland et al., 2012, 2019; Reese et al., 2015). Identity fusion with all humanity was chosen instead of identification with all humanity, as identity fusion has shown a higher association with aggression against threatening outgroups than identification (e.g., Fredman et al., 2015; Henríquez et al., 2020).

Previous studies have analyzed the perception of Chileans toward foreigners (e.g., Carmona-Halty et al., 2018; González et al., 2010, 2017), but they have not evaluated the perception produced by the dual-identity or worldwide identity conditions proposed in the present study. The present study could contribute to identifying the conditions under which a dual identity would promote less intergroup bias, in contrast to a worldwide identity. This could be useful for interventions centered on improving intergroup relationships, especially between the local and foreign communities.

## Hypothesis

We predicted that the dual-identity condition, relative to the worldwide identity condition alone, would have a significant positive effect on attitudes toward foreigners, namely, less willingness to fight against them, more trust in them, and more perceived common identity with them. We also expected that these effects would be moderated by identity fusion with the country and identity fusion with all humanity. Specifically, we predicted that the dual-identity condition would have the strongest positive effect on attitudes toward foreigners when identity fusion with the country was high and identity fusion with all humanity was low.

## Method

### Design

We conducted an experimental design in which participants were assigned to one of two conditions: worldwide identity or dual-identity. The assignment was based on the first letter of their given names. These conditions were designed according to the procedures used by Glasford and Dovidio (2011), and Banfield and Dovidio (2013).

### Participants

A priori sample size calculation using GPower for linear multiple regression was performed considering a medium effect size  $f^2 = .15$ , Power = .80,  $\alpha = .05$ , and nine predictors (the three predictors plus their four interaction terms, plus two covariates, age, and sex). A minimum of 114 participants was required. The sampling was non-probabilistic and for convenience. One hundred forty-nine Chileans from the general population completed the study ( $M_{\text{age}} = 31.15$ ,  $SD = 10.48$ , 95 women).

### Measurements

#### *Identity Fusion with the Country*

The Spanish version of the verbal fusion scale (Gómez et al., 2011) was used. Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with seven statements about their relationship with their country on a scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Example items are “I am one with my country,” and “I make my country strong” ( $\alpha_s$  ranging from .70 to .95; Besta et al., 2014, 2015; Buhrmester et al., 2014; Gómez et al., 2011; Landabur et al., 2022; Swann, Buhrmester et al., 2014; Swann, Gómez et al., 2014).

#### *Demographic Variables*

Participants indicated their age, sex, and nationality. Age and sex were included to characterize the sample and because previous studies have informed significant effects on outgroup attitudes (e.g., Besta et al., 2014; González et al., 2017; Swann, Buhrmester et al., 2014).

#### *Willingness to Fight for the Country*

This scale was modified from Swann et al. (2009) by replacing “someone” with “foreigner”. Participants indicated their agreement with five items on a scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*): “I would fight a foreigner physically threatening another Chilean”, “I would fight a foreigner insulting or making fun of Chile as a whole”, “I would help others get revenge on a foreigner who insulted Chile”, “Hurting a foreigner is acceptable if it means protecting my country”, and “I’d do anything to protect my country from foreigners” (reported  $\alpha_s$  ranging from .73 to .80; Swann et al., 2009). The rest of the scales used the same response scale.

#### *Identity Fusion with All Humanity Right Now*

The Spanish version of the verbal fusion scale (Gómez et al., 2011) was adapted using humanity instead of country. Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with seven statements about their relationship with all humanity right now, on a scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).

Example items are “Right now I feel that I am one with all humanity”, and “Right now I feel that I make all humanity strong” ( $\alpha$ s between .89 and .94, using groups different from all humanity, Gómez et al., 2019).

### ***Outgroup Trust***

The trust scale was adapted from Noor et al. (2008) by replacing “right/left” (political ideology) with “foreigners”. Participants indicated their opinions about foreigners on a scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). The four items were: “I believe that the majority of the foreigners are fair”, “The majority of the foreigners are well-intended people”, “I believe that I can trust in few foreigners” (reversed), and “The majority of the foreigners are opportunistic” (reversed). Reliabilities (alphas) between .66 and .86 have been reported in past studies (Noor et al., 2008; Regalia et al., 2015).

### ***Perception of a Common Identity***

Participants’ group representations were measured by asking them two questions: 1) “To what extent do you feel Chileans and foreigners as two separate groups?” and 2) “To what extent do you feel Chileans and foreigners as one group?”. Both questions have been used previously (Dovidio et al., 1995; Riek et al., 2010). Each question was answered on a scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 6 (*very much*). The answers to both questions correlated negatively ( $r = -.66, p < .001$ ), so the first question’s score was reversed and averaged with the second question’s score to create the perceived common identity variable. Higher scores indicated the extent to which these two groups (Chileans and foreigners) were perceived as one group instead of two separate groups.

### **Procedure**

This study was conducted online. We collected the data between May and June 2021. The duration of this study was 20 minutes approximately. Participants received an invitation to participate by different means (email, social networks). They read and approved the informed consent that included the study conditions and safeguarded the confidentiality of their personal data. To preserve anonymity, participants were not asked to give their names. They were offered to be included in a raffle (7 prizes of 10,000 Chilean pesos, about US\$12.30) for their participation. Participants gave their consent by clicking on a webpage. Then, they answered the scale of identity fusion with the country. Afterward, they indicated their demographic characteristics, and we assigned them to one of two experimental conditions, worldwide identity or dual-identity:

#### ***Worldwide identity condition***

Participants read an ostensible article titled “Celebrating our worldwide identity: The scientific journal Studies on Social Sciences recently published the results of a series of studies carried out by leading social science experts from different universities. These studies dealt with the importance of a worldwide identity. These experts have concluded that, although there is diversity around the world, there is a common identity among all citizens who inhabit it. All world inhabitants share the same basic values, and these universal values unite us and make the world stronger. The experts also point out that we are all members of the same group, humanity. The experts conclude that emphasizing this belonging to a common group of all world inhabitants, over belonging to a certain country, could be a great asset for the world society, regarding greater well-being in the long term.”

#### ***Dual-identity condition***

Participants read an ostensible article titled “Celebrating our national and worldwide identity: The scientific journal Studies on Social Sciences recently published the results of a series of studies carried out by leading social science experts from different universities. These studies dealt with the importance of national and global identity. These experts have concluded that there is diversity throughout the world, as well as similarities: there are different identities in different countries, as well as a common identity for all citizens of the world. People share different basic values depending on the country, as well as basic universal values shared by all human beings on the planet. These national and universal values unite us and make each country and the world stronger. The experts also point out that we are members of both our respective countries and the same larger group, humanity. The experts conclude that emphasizing this dual

membership to a given country as well as to the common group of all inhabitants of the globe could be a great asset for each country and the world society, regarding greater well-being in the long term.”

After that, the experimental manipulation was reinforced (Ufkes et al., 2016) by asking each participant to give reasons about “why would it be important to think about our [worldwide identity] [dual-identity], that is, to keep in mind that we are all members of [the same group, humanity] [our respective countries and the world]?”

Subsequently, the participants answered the questionnaires in the following order: Willingness to fight for the country, Fusion with all humanity right now, Outgroup trust, and Perception of a common identity. Finally, participants were probed for suspicion and thoroughly debriefed.

### Data analysis

All analyses were conducted on SPSS v. 23. Three multiple regression analyses were conducted to analyze the effect of the experimental condition and potential moderators on each of the three dependent variables (i.e., willingness to fight, trust, and perceived common identity). A dummy variable was created so that the experimental condition variable would take the values of 0 (*worldwide identity condition*) and 1 (*dual condition*). To perform moderation analyses, we centered the two moderators on their mean, namely, identity fusion with the country and identity fusion with all humanity. Then, multiplicative terms were created between the experimental condition and each centered moderator, and between the moderators with each other, to probe two-way interactions. We also included a three-way interaction term: experimental condition X fusion with the country X fusion with all humanity. In separate analyses, each dependent variable was regressed on the experimental condition, the centered moderators, the two-way interaction terms, and the 3-way interaction term. When interactions were significant, we conducted simple slope tests and slope difference tests (Dawson & Richter, 2006). Age and sex were not correlated with the dependent variables, so they were excluded from the regression analyses.

## Results

The descriptive statistics and correlations are displayed in Table 1.

**Table 1**  
*Descriptive Statistics, Reliabilities, and Correlations for Variables*

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	1	2	3	4	5
Perceived common identity	2.84	1.70	.79					
Willingness to fight	1.33	1.21	.78	-.18*				
Trust	3.82	1.21	.75	.44***	-.20*			
Fusion with Chile	2.97	1.42	.90	.01	.43***	-.11		
Fusion with all humanity	2.74	1.44	.90	.31***	.18*	.31***	.42***	
Age	31.15	10.48		.12	.10	-.03	.32***	.30***
Sex				-.07	.10	-.08	-.06	.03

*Note.*  $n = 149$ .  $\alpha$  = Cronbach’s Alpha. Numbers in columns 1-5 are Pearson correlation coefficients.  
\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Most variables were correlated to each other, as would be expected. Perceived common identity and trust were positively correlated with each other, and both of them were negatively correlated with willingness to fight. Perceived common identity and trust were positively correlated with identity fusion with all humanity, and willingness to fight was positively correlated with identity fusion with Chile. The only unexpected result was the positive correlation between fusion with all humanity and willingness to fight for the country. Identity fusion with all humanity should imply considering each person as an ingroup member and establishing a strong connection with them (Buhrmester et al., 2014; Swann, Buhrmester et al., 2014). Therefore, fusion with humanity should be related to less willingness to fight against foreigners. However,

this correlation became not significant when identity fusion with Chile was controlled in a partial correlation (partial  $r = -.002$ ;  $p = .979$ ). The measure of identity fusion with all humanity has not been used in previous studies, so it was not clear what to expect about its association with identity fusion with the country.

### Hypothesis testing

We hypothesized that compared to participants in the worldwide identity condition, those in the dual-identity condition would report more trust, more perceived common identity, and less willingness to fight. In each analysis, the dependent variable was regressed on the experimental condition, fusion with Chile, fusion with humanity, and the interactions among these variables. The regression results for trust are detailed in Table 2.

**Table 2**

*Effects of the Dual-Identity vs. Worldwide Identity Conditions on Trust in Foreigners, Moderated by Identity Fusion with Chile and Identity Fusion with all Humanity*

Predictors	$\beta$	$t$	$p$	95 % CI	
				<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
(Constant)		25.09	<.001		
Experimental condition (dual vs. worldwide)	.20	2.57	.011	.05	.36
Fusion with Chile	-.61	-5.11	<.001	-.84	-.38
Fusion with humanity	.67	5.40	<.001	.42	.91
Condition X fusion with Chile	.32	2.80	.006	.10	.55
Condition X fusion with humanity	-.17	-1.45	.150	-.40	.06
Fusion with Chile X fusion with humanity	.44	3.90	<.001	.22	.67
Condition X fusion with Chile X fusion with humanity	-.34	-3.01	.003	-.56	-.12

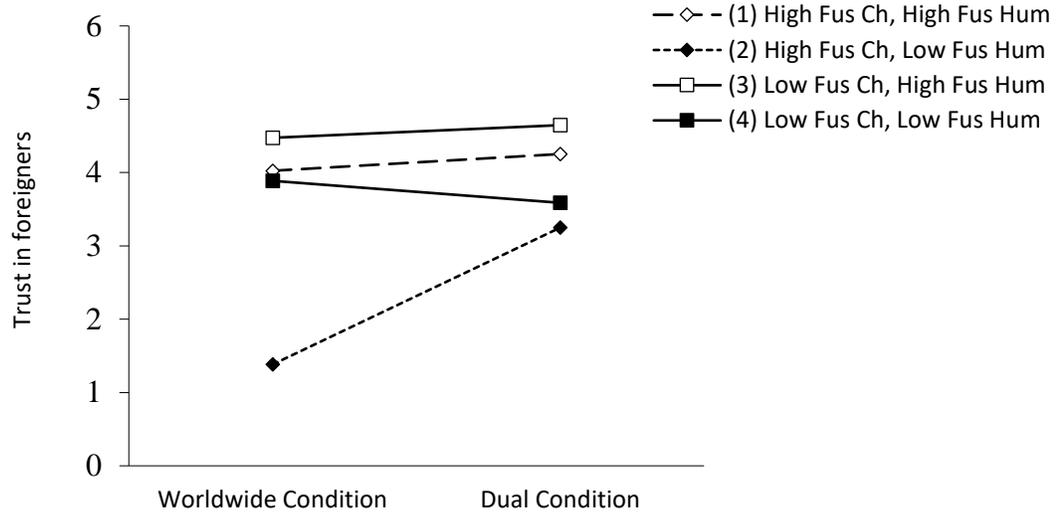
*Note.*  $n = 149$ . CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

The predictors explained around 28 % of the trust's variance ( $R^2 = .28$ ),  $F(7, 141) = 7.68$ ,  $p < .001$ . Supporting our hypothesis, trust was higher in the dual-identity condition than the worldwide identity condition, standardized regression coefficient  $\beta = .20$ ,  $t(141) = 2.57$ ,  $p = .011$ , 95% IC [.05, .36]. Likewise, as expected, there was a triple interaction effect on trust ( $\beta = -.34$ ,  $t(141) = -3.01$ ,  $p = .003$ , 95% CI [-.56, -.12]). Figure 1 depicts this triple interaction (the moderator variables were split at  $\pm$  SD from the mean). Tests of simple slopes indicated that the slope for high fusion with Chile and low fusion with humanity (number 2 in Figure 1) was positive and significant,  $b = 1.87$ ,  $t(141) = 3.67$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [0.862, 2.871]. This slope was significantly different from the slope 1 ( $b_{\text{diff}} = 1.64$ ,  $t(141) = -2.77$ ,  $p = .006$ ), slope 3 ( $b_{\text{diff}} = 1.69$ ,  $t(141) = 2.48$ ,  $p = .014$ ), and slope 4 ( $b_{\text{diff}} = 2.17$ ,  $t(141) = 3.71$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The rest of the slopes were all not significant ( $p > .10$ ) and did not differ from each other.

We conducted a multiple regression on perceived common identity (see Table 3).

**Figure 1**

*Effects of the Dual-Identity Condition vs. Worldwide Identity Condition on Trust, Moderated by Identity Fusion with Chile and Identity Fusion with all Humanity*



*Note.* Fus Ch = identity fusion with Chile; Fus Hum = identity fusion with humanity.

**Table 3**

*Effects of the Dual-Identity vs. Worldwide Identity Conditions on Perceived Common Identity, Moderated by Identity Fusion with Chile and Identity Fusion with all Humanity*

Predictors	$\beta$	$t$	$p$	95 % CI	
				<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
(Constant)		11.31	<.001		
Experimental condition (dual vs. worldwide)	.26	3.14	.002	.10	.43
Fusion with Chile	-.35	-2.79	.006	-.60	-.11
Fusion with humanity	.49	3.79	<.001	.24	.75
Condition X fusion with Chile	.20	1.68	.096	-.03	.44
Condition X fusion with humanity	-.06	-0.50	.619	-.30	.18
Fusion with Chile X fusion with humanity	.23	1.91	.059	-.01	.46
Condition X fusion with Chile X fusion with humanity	-.18	-1.48	.142	-.41	.06

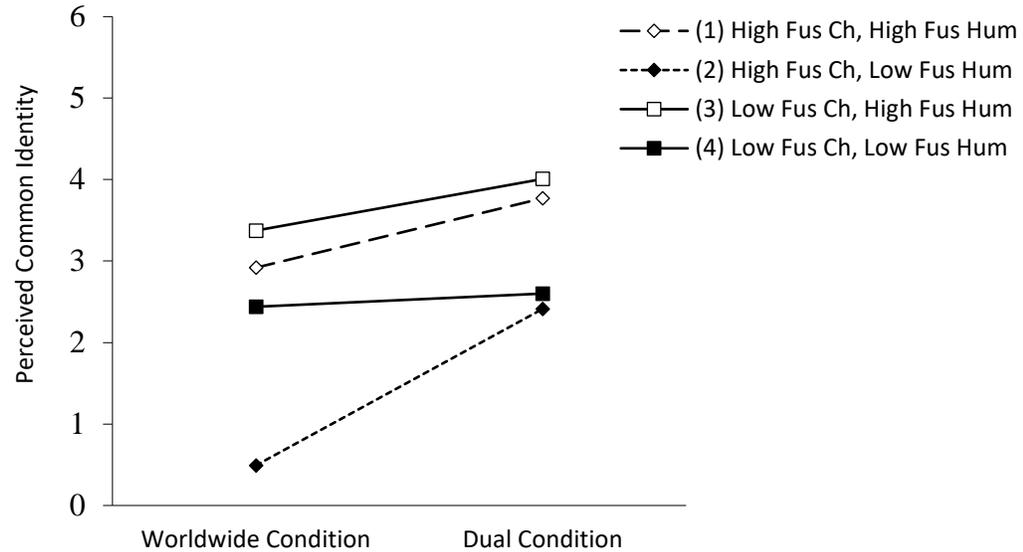
*Note.*  $n = 149$ . CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

We expected that participants in the dual-identity condition (vs. worldwide identity condition) would report more perceived common identity, and that this effect would be moderated by fusion with Chile and fusion with all humanity. The model explained around 19 % of the variance of the dependent variable ( $R^2 = .19$ ),  $F(7, 141) = 4.71$ ,  $p < .001$ . As expected, the dual-identity condition versus worldwide identity condition led to more perceived common identity,  $\beta = .26$ ,  $t(141) = 3.14$ ,  $p = .002$ , 95 % CI [.10, .43]. We did not find a triple interaction effect on perceived common identity ( $\beta = -.18$ ,  $t(141) = -1.48$ ,  $p = .142$ , 95% CI [-.41, .06]), but we did find a marginally significant 2-way interaction between the experimental manipulation and fusion with Chile ( $\beta = .20$ ,  $t(141) = 1.68$ ,  $p = .096$ , 95% CI [-.03, .44]). Figure 2 depicts the relation between the experimental condition and perceived common identity at high and low values of fusion with Chile and fusion with all humanity. Simple slope tests indicated that the slope for high identity fusion with Chile and high fusion with all humanity (slope 1) was positive and significant,  $b = .85$ ,  $t(141) = 1.99$ ,  $p = .049$ , 95% CI [0.01, 1.69]. Likewise, the slope for high fusion with Chile and low fusion with humanity (slope 2) was positive and significant,  $b = 1.92$ ,  $t(141) = 2.55$ ,  $p = .012$ , 95% CI [0.44, 3.40]. In contrast, the

two slopes involving a weak fusion with Chile (slopes 3 and 4) were not significant ( $p > .10$ ). Besides, the slope for high fusion with Chile and low fusion with all humanity was significantly different from the slope for low fusion with Chile and low fusion with all humanity ( $b_{diff} = 1.76$ ,  $t(141) = 2.03$ ,  $p < .044$ , 95% CI [0.06, 3.46]).

**Figure 2**

*Effect of the Dual-Identity Condition vs. Worldwide Identity Condition on Perceived Common Identity, Moderated by Fusion with Chile and Fusion with all Humanity*



*Note.* Fus Ch = identity fusion with Chile. Fus Hum = identity fusion with humanity.

Finally, we performed a multiple regression on willingness to fight (see Table 4).

**Table 4**

*Effects of the Dual-Identity vs. Worldwide Identity Conditions on Willingness to Fight, Moderated by Identity Fusion with Chile and Identity Fusion with all Humanity*

Predictors	$\beta$	$t$	$p$	95 % CI	
				<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
(Constant)		11.04	<.001		
Experimental condition (dual vs. worldwide)	-.16	-2.02	.046	-.32	-.004
Fusion with Chile	.58	4.71	<.001	.34	.82
Fusion with humanity	-.03	-0.26	.797	-.28	.22
Condition X fusion with Chile	-.17	-1.43	.156	-.40	.06
Condition X fusion with humanity	-.01	-0.10	.923	-.25	.22
Fusion with Chile X fusion with humanity	-.07	-0.61	.546	-.30	.16
Condition X fusion with Chile X fusion with humanity	.01	0.04	.967	-.22	.23

*Note.*  $n = 149$ . CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

The model explained 23% of the willingness to fight's variance ( $R^2 = .23$ ),  $F(7, 141) = 1.90$ ,  $p < .001$ . As expected, the dual-identity, in contrast to worldwide identity conditions, led to less willingness to fight

against foreigners,  $\beta = -.16$ ,  $t(141) = -2.02$ ,  $p = .046$ , 95% CI [-.32, -.004]). Nevertheless, contrary to our hypothesis, there was not a triple interaction effect,  $\beta = .004$ ,  $t(141) = 0.04$ ,  $p = .967$ , 95% CI [-.22, .23].

## Discussion

The main goal of this study was to examine the effect of a worldwide identity vis-a-vis a national-worldwide dual identity on attitudes toward foreigners, as well as the dependence of this effect on identity fusion with the country and all humanity. We predicted that making this dual identity salient would produce more positive attitudes toward foreigners than making the worldwide identity salient only. As predicted, results showed that relative to the worldwide identity condition, the dual condition produced less willingness to fight for the country against foreigners, as well as more trust in foreigners and more perceived common identity with foreigners. Moreover, these three significant effects of the experimental manipulation remained significant after controlling for identity fusion with the country and identity fusion with all humanity in the regression equations. Hence, a dual identity representation has a unique positive effect on attitudes toward foreigners, in the sense that its effect cannot be attributed to the (low) degree of fusion with one's country, nor to the (high) degree of fusion with the whole humanity either.

On the other hand, we also predicted that the effect of the dual condition on attitudes toward foreigners would be stronger for those with a high identity fusion with the country and low identity fusion with humanity. We found mixed support for that hypothesis. Thus, unexpectedly, the experimental effect on willingness to fight was not moderated by identity fusion with the country nor by identity fusion with humanity or their interaction. However, regarding trust in foreigners, a significant 3-way interaction confirmed that relative to the worldwide identity condition, the impact of the dual-identity condition was the strongest when identity fusion with the country was high and identity fusion with humanity was low. This result is interesting in that the group of individuals most likely to distrust foreigners seems also the most likely to be (positively) affected by a dual identity priming intervention. Finally, the pattern of results for perceived common identity with foreigners was similar to that for trust in foreigners. Thus, although the three-way interaction was not significant in this case, simple slope tests showed that the contrast between the dual-identity and worldwide identity conditions was only significant when identity fusion with the country was high instead of low, and especially so when accompanied by low identity fusion with humanity.

Supporting our proposal, results indicated that, in comparison with the worldwide identity condition, the dual-identity condition produced more trust in and perceived common identity with foreigners, and less willingness to fight against them. These results are coherent with previous research (e.g., Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). The scale of willingness to fight evaluates the ingroup members' response to offenses and threats made by outgroup members. Thus, this scale would make the threatening context salient, which may have helped to activate the threat to one's national identity implicated in the worldwide identity condition and increase the difference with the dual-identity condition. Previous research associated with CIIM has used superordinate groups such as countries or continents (e.g., Riek et al., 2010; Stone & Crisp, 2007; Ufkes et al., 2016), while the present study extended these conclusions regarding a larger superordinate group, the worldwide community. Thus, interventions appealing to more general, abstract concepts including all people and maintaining the connection with the ingroup can diminish the intergroup bias compared with programs only centered on developing a bond with all individuals.

Likewise, as expected, the effect of the dual-identity (vs. worldwide identity condition) on trust in foreigners depended on the identity fusion with the country and all humanity. In contrast with the worldwide identity condition, the dual-identity condition was particularly effective at increasing trust in foreigners when identity fusion with Chile was high and fusion with all humanity was low. This finding is consistent with the literature (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Jetten et al., 2001). Because the dual-identity condition would safeguard the ingroup distinctiveness, individuals fused with the country would feel their ingroup bond relatively safe, and then they would express more trust in foreigners, even if they were not fused with all humanity. This finding would be especially relevant in the current world migration context characterized by large movements of people from one country to another (International Organization for Migration, 2022; Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2021). Part of the people highly connected to their country may not feel linked to all humanity. This is because these individuals would be more inclined to perceive high numbers of immigrants as a threat to their country's status and norms of life (e.g., González et al., 2010; Pereira et al., 2010; Stone & Crisp, 2007). Hence, they would not feel a high fusion with immigrants and neither with all humanity. The intervention program mentioned in the former

paragraph would be particularly effective for people with these levels of fusion with the country and all humanity.

In the present study, we also found that identity fusion with the country and identity fusion with all humanity were associated with more and less intergroup bias, respectively: less and more trust, and less and more perceived common identity. Identity fusion with the country was also related to more willingness to fight. These results are consistent with previous research that indicate more and less intergroup bias for identification with the ingroup and superordinate group respectively (e.g., Crisp et al., 2006; Stone & Crisp, 2007), which could be applicable to identity fusion. Identity fusion with all humanity would imply considering all groups as part of the same superordinate group, humanity. Hence, there would be no outgroups. Probably this expanded social identity explains the positive attitudes toward foreigners in our study. On the other hand, Gómez et al. (2020) have suggested that identity fusion with the group, such as one's country, is not supposed to be associated necessarily with negative intergroup attitudes. However, past research has not examined this suggestion directly, but has evaluated the effect of identity fusion on outgroup attitudes when those outgroups are perceived as a threat (Bortolini et al., 2018; Fredman et al., 2015; Henríquez et al., 2020; Swann et al., 2009). The present relationships between identity fusion with the country and intergroup bias may call into question the proposal of Gómez et al. (2020). However, this difference has to be taken cautiously because our study was developed under the immigration context detailed below, in which Chileans might perceive foreigners as a threat and, therefore, this context might explain part of the association between fusion with the country on more intergroup bias.

Considering the positive effect of fusion with all humanity on trust and perceived common identity, we conclude that interventions focused on increasing this fusion could be a good option to reduce the intergroup bias. Recent studies have indicated problems to manipulate the identification with all humanity (Reysen et al., 2021; Sparkman et al., 2022), which may apply to identity fusion. Perhaps those reported difficulties resulted from an activated threat to the participants' ingroup distinctiveness. Nevertheless, more evidence is necessary to establish solid conclusions about this manipulation and other measures tapping some sort of identification or connection with all people could be explored. For example, universalism value refers to a concern about equality and justice for all individuals and nature (Schwartz, 1994, 2012), and consequently, has been associated with positive attitudes towards outgroups, including immigrants (Davidov & Meuleman, 2012; Ponizovskiy, 2016; Schwartz, 2010; Vala & Costa-Lopes, 2010; Vecchione et al., 2012). There is evidence of an increment in universalism's value by asking participants to realize that this value is preferred for their reference group (Maio et al., 2009; Rokeach, 1975). Future studies could examine whether universalism value is a good alternative to reduce the intergroup bias in fused individuals with the country.

Identity fusion with Chile and identity fusion with all humanity did not moderate the effect of the experimental manipulation on willingness to fight for the country against foreigners. A tentative explanation could be based on the current Chilean migration context. This country has received large immigration in recent years, which has been associated with positive but also negative consequences such as conflict, reciprocal aggression, and threat perception from locals toward immigrants (Carmona-Halty et al., 2018; Departamento de Extranjería y Migración, 2021). In Chile there would be important levels of threat perception toward foreigners (e.g., Criteria, 2021; González et al., 2017), which could influence the participants' responses. This threat would include realistic elements such as access to employment, education, or health institutions (Carmona-Halty et al., 2018; Pereira et al., 2010; Stephan & Stephan 2000), and thus would go beyond the threats associated with group distinctiveness. These possible threats may have affected the identity fusion with all humanity and the dual identity and worldwide identity manipulations by making it difficult to connect with the worldwide identity, because it includes foreigners. Difficulties to manipulate the dual-identity condition have been indicated by other studies (Riek et al., 2010).

The present study has some limitations. First, a wide description of the outgroup as "foreigners" does not allow to establish conclusions about attitudes toward specific surrounding countries. Second, the sampling was non-probabilistic and for convenience, and the sample was relatively young (75 % was under 40). Therefore, extrapolations should be done carefully. Third, the measurement of perceived common identity was created using two items only. Research based on the CIIM tends to use few items to evaluate perceived common identity and some of them have found non-significant effects of manipulations on perceived common identity (e.g., Riek et al., 2010). Future studies can include more items to evaluate the perception of common identity (for example, see Bock et al., 2017).

Despite those limitations, the current study reports evidence consistent with the CIIM and an alternative to increasing the level of trust in outgroups through simultaneously activating people's connection with the ingroup and the worldwide community. Likewise, this study focused on foreigners, a relevant topic in the world and especially in Chile because of the aforementioned immigration conflicts. Finally, it included identity fusion with all humanity, which has not been previously studied.

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