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Key Lecture

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Understanding and Challenging Rural-to-Urban Migrants Related Stigma and Discrimination

Jian GUAN (KWAN Jane)
Department of Social Psychology
NanKai University, P. R. China

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Outline

Section-1

Stigma and Rural-to-urban Migrants

What stigma means

Stigma is defined as a sign of disgrace or discredit, which sets a person apart from others.

Goffman(1963) described stigma as a sign or a mark designating the bearer as "spoiled", or flawed, compromised, and less than fully human. Furthermore, he traced stigma back to the Greeks, who cut or burnt one's body to advertise that an individual was a traitor, criminal, or other social leper.

Dovidio, Major, and Crocker(2000) : (1) the recognition of difference based on some distinguishing characteristic, or mark; and (2) a consequent devaluation of the person.

- Crocker et al. (1998) defined four common features of stigma evident in ongoing social interactions; those include the activation of negative stereotypes and interpersonal rejection，both of which ultimately produce social discrimination and economic disadvantage.

- In general, stigma is a more encompassing construct than deviance,prejudice, or discrimination, involving perceptions of societal-level deviance (a negative status) and elements of prejudice (negative attitudes and impressions of worth) and discrimination (see Dovidio et al., 2000; Frable, 1993).

The experience of stigma

Shame
Blame
Secrecy
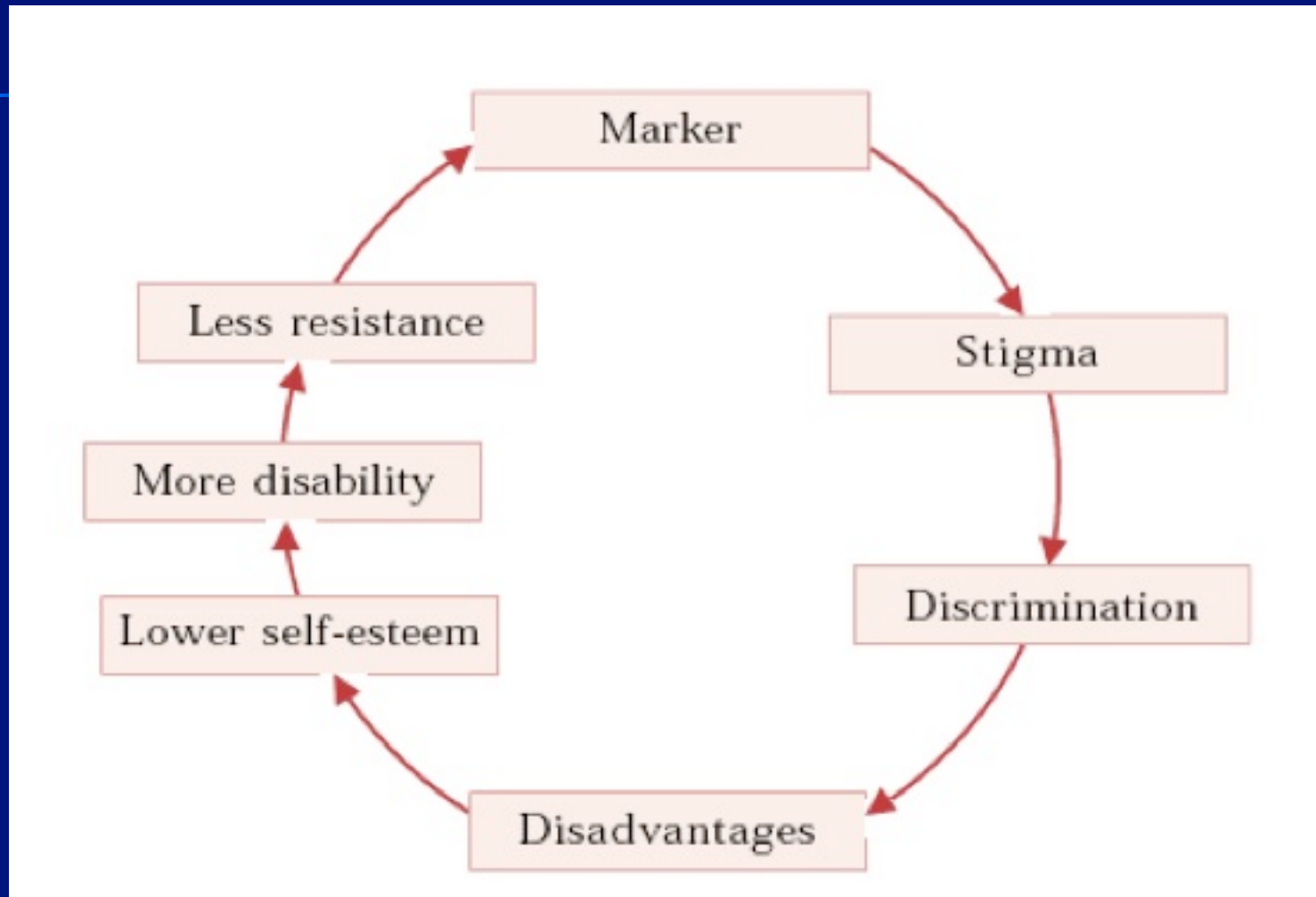The "black sheep of the family" role
Isolation
Social exclusion
Stereotypes
Discrimination

Cycles of stigma (Sartorius, 2001)

Cognitive levels that explain the distinction between public stigma and self-stigma

Public Stigma

- **Stereotype:**
Negative belief about a group
  e.g., dangerousness
    incompetence
    character weakness

- **Prejudice:**
Agreement with belief and/or
negative emotional reaction
  e.g., anger
    fear

- **Discrimination:**

Behavior response to prejudice
  e.g., avoidance of work and
    housing opportunities

Self-Stigma

- **Stereotype:**
Negative belief about the self
  e.g., character weakness
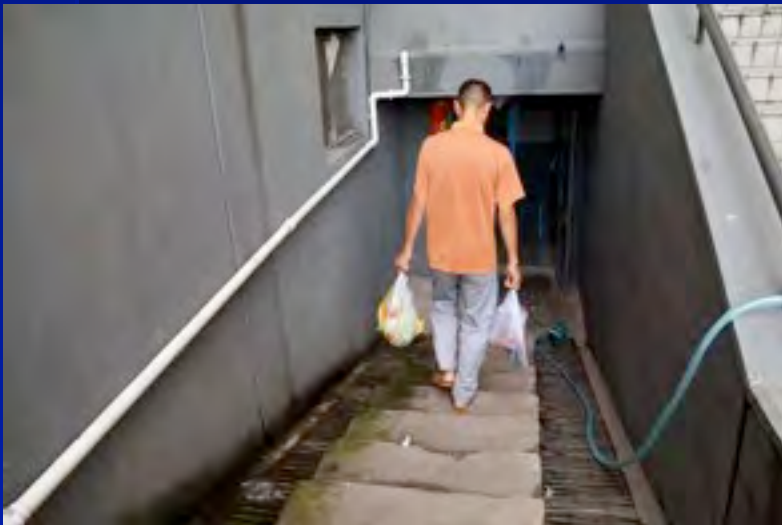   incompetence

- **Prejudice:**
Agreement with belief
Negative emotional reaction
  e.g., low self-esteem
    low self-efficacy

- **Discrimination:**

Behavior response to prejudice
  e.g., fails to pursue work
    and housing

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One day in Tianjin
-A record of a rural-to-urban migrant

- The term "rural-to-urban migrants" in the Chinese context refers to farmers-turned-workers who used to be farmers but have now left the countryside to find jobs or a better life in the cities (Li & Li, 2007).

- Of the total 1.3 billion people (1,370,536,875 as of 2010 year-end), the employment stood at 774.80 million persons, rural-to-urban migrants reached 232.23 million persons, occupied 29.01 percent of national employment.

Section-2

Stigma towards Rural-to-Urban Migrants in China: A Qualitative Study

- Stigmatising knowledge about rural-to-urban migrants is thus created, transformed, and adopted through dynamic relations between urban residents and rural-to-urban migrants, or between the stigmatisers and stigmatized.

- In the light of this framework, stigma can be identified and understood as being embedded in historical, cultural and macro-social contexts.

- Stigmatisation was examined in the context of social interactions, which involved both the stigmatizer and the stigmatized.

- The primary aims of this research are to examine the following issues:

(1) What is the experience of rural-to-urban migrants regarding their stigmatization? On what dimensions/ characteristics do they perceive themselves to be stigmatized?

(2) What are the main dimensions used by urban residents to describe rural-to-urban migrants? (i.e. what is their social representation of rural-to-urban migrants)

(3) What are the matches and mismatches between the views of urban residents and rural-to-urban migrants regarding how the migrants are perceived?

(4) What is the form of interaction between the understandings held by the urban residents and the understandings held by the rural-to-urban migrants? And what consequence does this interaction have?

Methods of Study-1

- Sampling: 138 participants (60 urban residents and 78 rural-to-urban migrants)
- Data collection: using a snowballing technique.
- Data analysis: using the qualitative data analysis NVivo 8.0

Table 1   Participants the interviews: urban residents versus migrants

		Urban Residents (n=60)	Migrants (n=78)
Gender	Female	33 (55%)	41 (52.6%)
	Male	27 (45%)	37 (47.4%)
Age	0-20	4 (6.6%)	16 (20.5%)
	20-40	25 (41.7%)	43 (55.1%)
	40-60	19 (31.7%)	19 (24.4%)
	60+	12 (20%)	0
Marital status	Single	19(31.4%)	33(42.3%)
	Ever married	41(68.3%)	45(57.7%)
Education	primary education or less	5 (8.3%)	45 (57.7%)
	secondary education	37 (61.7%)	33 (42.3%)
	higher education	18 (30%)	0
Migrants' Vocation	primary industry		11(14.1%)
	secondary industry		25(32.1%)
	tertiary industry		42(53.8%)
Years of migration	0-2		13(16.7%)
	2-4		19(24.4%)
	4-6		21(25.6%)
	6-8		17(21.8%)
	8+		8(10.3%)

Results and Analysis of Study-1

Dimension of stigma towards the rural-to-urban migrants

- (a) Physical appearance
- (b) Potential peril
- (c) Discredited places of origin

Stigmatisation processes between the migrants and urban residents

- (a) Differentiation between in-group and out-group.
- (b) Structural discrimination.
- (c) Coping in response to stigma.

Asymmetries between stigmatization and reactions

- This study highlighted that there were asymmetries between stigma and perceived stigma.

- Our research also showed the opposite. The migrants do not feel very bitter or unhappy about their stigmatization. They feel they have a good life in the city, and that their success is dependent on their hard work.

Ambivalent attitudes of urban stigmatizers towards migrant stigmatized

- Urban residents were often sympathetic with the plight of poor migrants. The migrants were disrespected, but also often pitied. They were perceived as having low competence but also high warmth, attracting compassion, sympathy, even help and support.

- Across urban participants' responses, comparing migrants to urban residents, migrants were rated as warmer and friendlier, but also as less ambitious, less responsible, and less intellectually competent.

Section-3

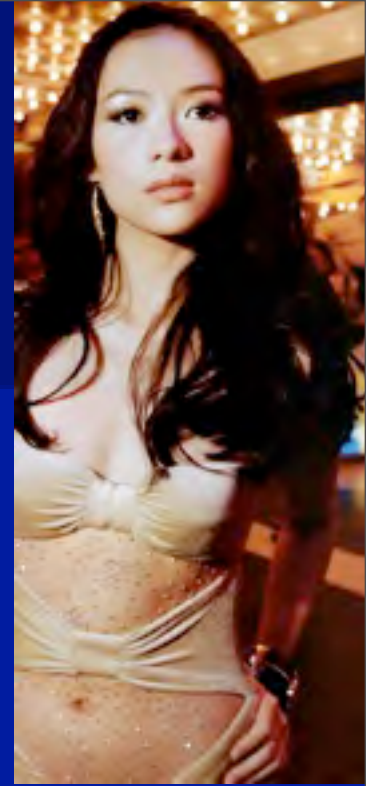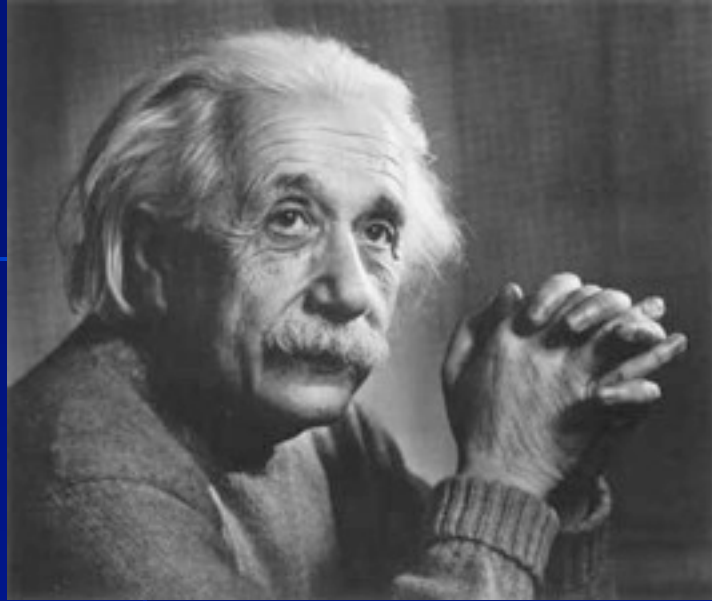Using the Stereotype Content Model to Explain Prejudice Change

LW-HC Group

HW-HC Group

The present research:
From SCM to BIAS Map

- The Stereotype Content Model (SCM), suggests that there is more to the stereotyping process than the uni-dimensional out-group antipathy suggested in traditional models (See; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009).

- A recently developed model, the BIAS Map (Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; see also Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008) is a structural map of negative and positive discriminatory behavioral tendencies and of their associated stereotypes, emotions and social structural relations.

Stereotype Content Model
(Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, Advances, in press; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, TiCS, 2007; Fiske et al., JSI,1999, JPSP, 2002)

	Lo Competence	Hi Competence
Hi Warmth	Ambivalence	Pure favoritism
Lo Warmth	Pure antipathy	Ambivalence

BIAS Map

(Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; see also Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008)

Warmth	Competence	
	Low	High
High	Paternalistic prejudice	Admiration
	Low status, not competitive	High status, not competitive
	Pity, sympathy	Pride, admiration
	(e.g., elderly people, disabled people, housewives)	(e.g., in-group, close allies)
Low	Contemptuous prejudice	Envious prejudice
	Low status, competitive	High status, competitive
	Contempt, disgust, anger, resentment	Envy, jealousy
	(e.g., welfare recipients, poor people)	(e.g., Asians, Jews, rich people, feminists)

Hypotheses of Study-2

- It was hypothesized that perceived competence and warmth differentiate group stereotypes in China.

- Social structure will influence the stereotypes Chinese groups receive, in that perceived socioeconomic status and competition will correlate with attributions of competence and warmth, respectively.

- When the priming the relationship involvement, perceptions of rural-to-urban migrants will occupy distinct locations in the SCM space.

Research Strategy of Study-2

Pilot Study: selecting Chinese groups

Study 2.1: Chinese Groups' SCM and BIAS Map

Study 2.2: The effects of Priming the relationship involvement

Pilot study: selecting Chinese groups

- Participants: 125(F=67,M=58)
- Questionnaire and Procedure (Cuddy, et al., 2007, Fiske, et al.,, 2002)
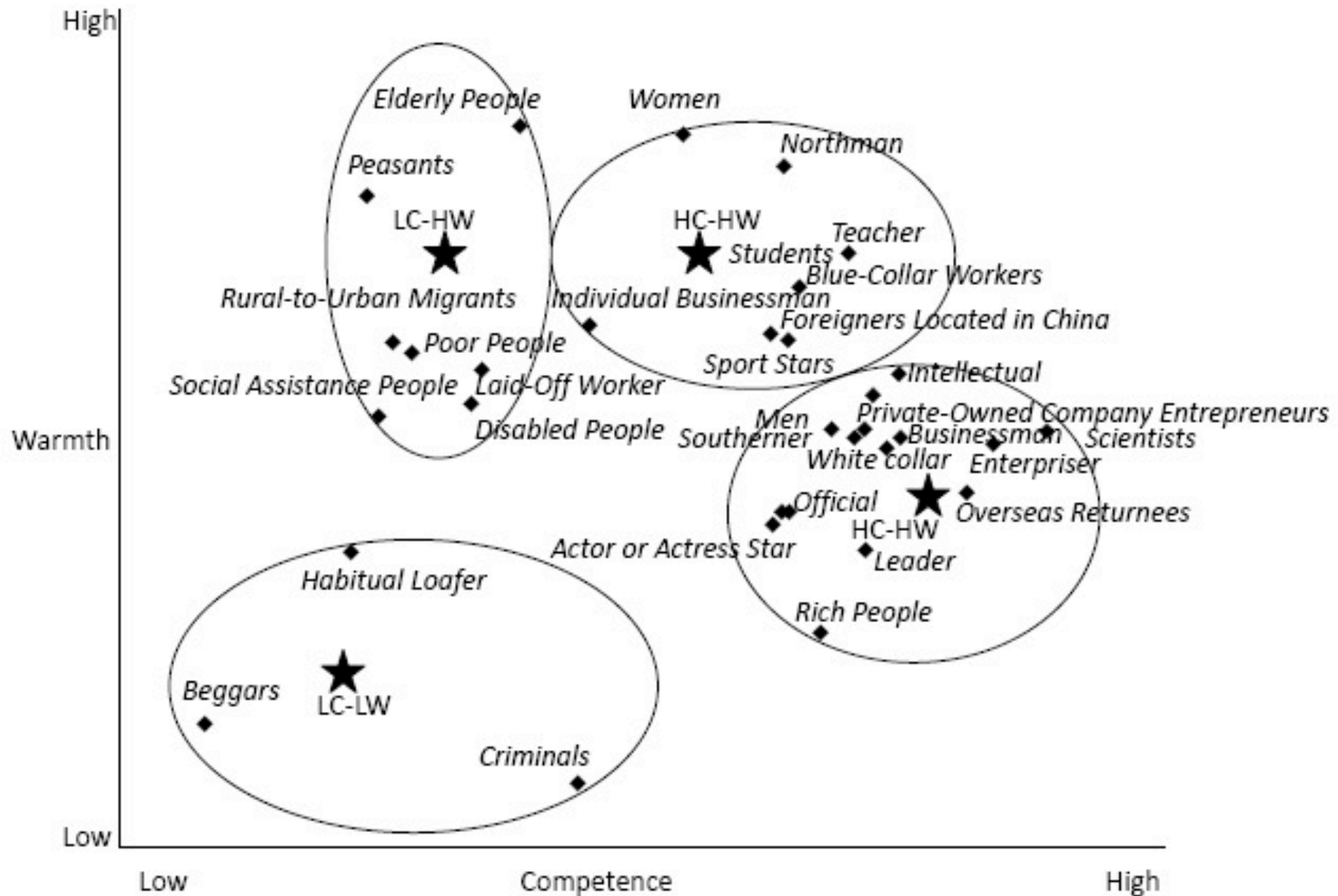- Results:

Peasants
rural-to-urban migrants
men
women
teachers
elderly people
white collar
official
Intellectual
Enterpriser

urban resident
north man
blue-collar
workers
businessman
southerner
rich
poor
students
scientists

disabled people
beggars
individual businessman
overseas returnees
leader
private-owned company entrepreneurs
habitual loafer
social assistance people
actor or actress stars
Criminals
sport stars
laid-off worker
Foreigners located in China

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Study-2.1: Chinese Groups' SCM and BIAS Map

- Participants:The 103 student participants (Mage of 22 years, range from 19 to 26) were 43% women and 57% men.

- Questionnaire and Procedure: The questionnaire named the same 32 groups listed on the pilot questionnaire. Participants rated these groups on scales reflecting SCM and BIAS map.

Study-2.2: The effects of Priming the relationship involvement

- Participants and Procedure: Participants were 53 female and 59 male students (Mage=23.5 years, SD=2.31) at Nankai University who didn't take part in the pilot study and study 1.

- To test our hypothesis, at the beginning of the study, we assessed with relationship involvement items.

Results and Discussion of Study 2.2
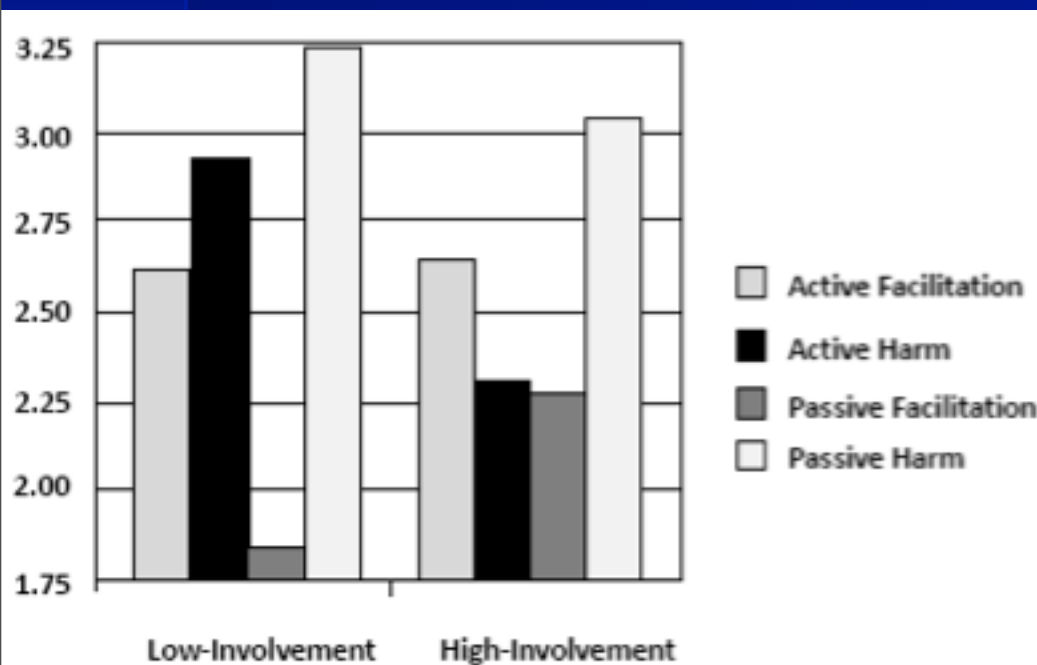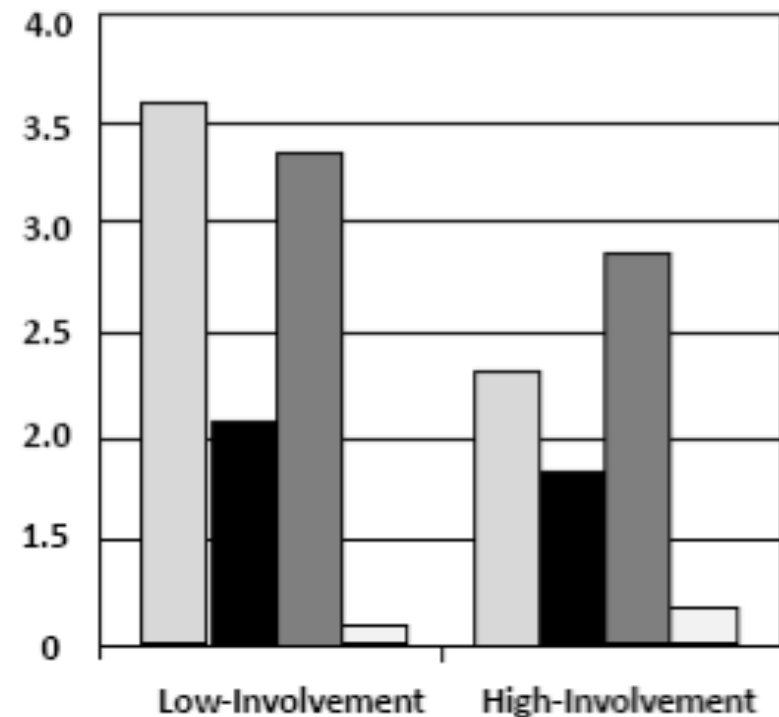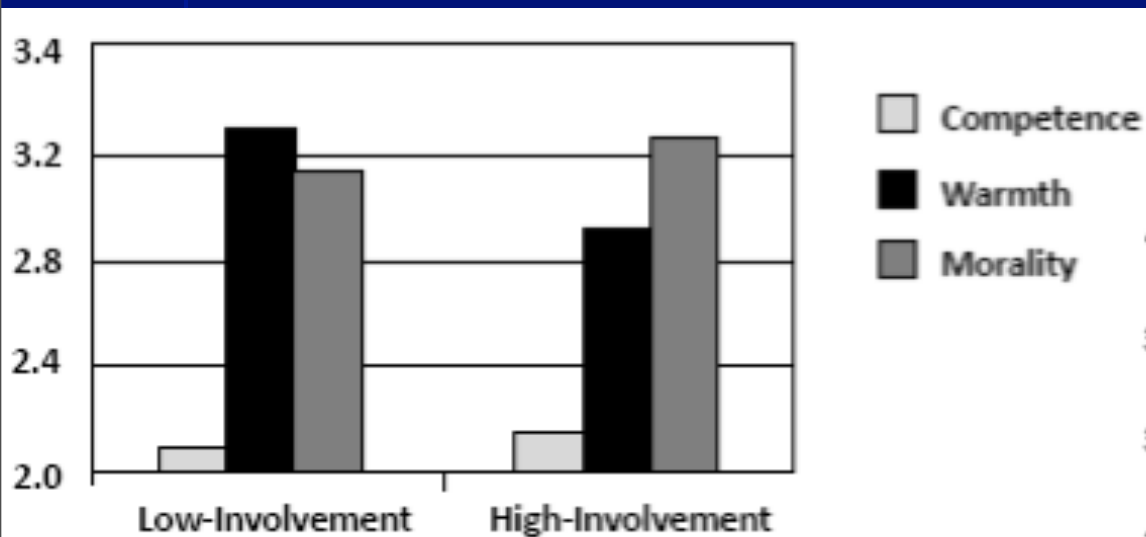
Conclusion of study-2

- First, in previous studies, the SCM framework has proved to be applicable across cultures, predicting how groups are likely to be stereotyped on the basis of the structural relations with other groups in their society. This research provides empirical support for Chinese stereotype contents, which result from perceived structural relations, in predicting behavioral tendencies.

- Second, many of the existing approaches neglect priming the relationship involvement about SCM and BIAS Map. It was tested that when a high relationship involvement context was primed, SCM and BIAS Map will be changed than when a low relationship involvement context was primed.

- Third, our finding is consistent with the SCM prediction, namely, that stereotypes depict out-group as warm when perceived as non-competitive with others.

- The present work bridge this gap, so as to demonstrate the model's validity in China and Chinese culture context. And then, the study pointed to the stereotype change possibility under priming the relationship involvement.

- Study-2 draws on the dialogically based theory of social representations to analyze the relation between stigmatizer and stigmatized.
- The results implied that the stigma towards rural-to-urban migrants as a social representation was embedded deeply in the collective memory of Chinese society, and that it was generated from, and dialogically interdependent with the Chinese socio-cultural context.

Section-4

Stigmatization and Identity Representations: Understanding Intergenerational Differences

Method of Study-3

- This study made use of the method of open-ended individual interviews in gathering the data.

- The interviews were conducted in China in March 2011.

- We selected Tianjin, a major city located in the northeast of China, as our study site.

Participants of Study-3

- Open-ended individual interviews were conducted with 67 participants (32 first urban immigrants and 35 second urban immigrants) in China.

		First Immigrants (n=32)	Second Immigrants (n=35)
Gender	female	15(47%)	16(46%)
	male	17(53%)	19(54%)
Age	0-20	0(0%)	20(57%)
	20-40	19(59%)	15(43%)
	40-60	13(41%)	0(0%)
	60+	0(0%)	0(0%)
Marital status	single	2(6%)	23(66%)
	ever married	30(94%)	12(34%)
Education	primary education or less	16(50%)	9(26%)
	secondary education	14(44%)	22(63%)
	higher education	2(6%)	2(6%)
Vocation	primary industry	11(34%)	5(14%)
	secondary industry	9(28%)	11(31%)
	tertiary industry	12(38%)	4(11%)
	receive education	0(0%)	13(37%)
Years of migration	0-2	1(3%)	1(3%)
	2-4	0(0%)	8(23%)
	4-6	5(16%)	8(23%)
	6-8	7(22%)	10(29%)
	8-10	8(36%)	6(17%)
	10+	11(34%)	2(6%)

Data collection of Study-3

- Fist- and second-generations immigrants were recruited using a snowballing technique. Initial interviewees were identified at their workplace or house.

- A key objective of this research is to understand first- and second-generation immigrant participants' stigma experiences and coping through their own narratives.

Data Analysis of Study-3

- Initial coding of all interview transcripts was done using the qualitative data analysis NVivo 8.0, a software program that assisted in the organizing and analysis of qualitative data.

Results and Analysis of study-3

- Identity Fusion: City identity and country identity

- Stigmatization among first- and second-generation migrant

- Identity Management among first- and second-generation migrant

Identity Fusion:
City identity and country identity

- The measure we used in our research in depicted in Figure 1. The scale is a modified version of the one developed by Swann (2009). The measure was a scale that asked participants to choose among five symmetrical degrees of overlap (0%, 25%, 50%, 75% and 100%).
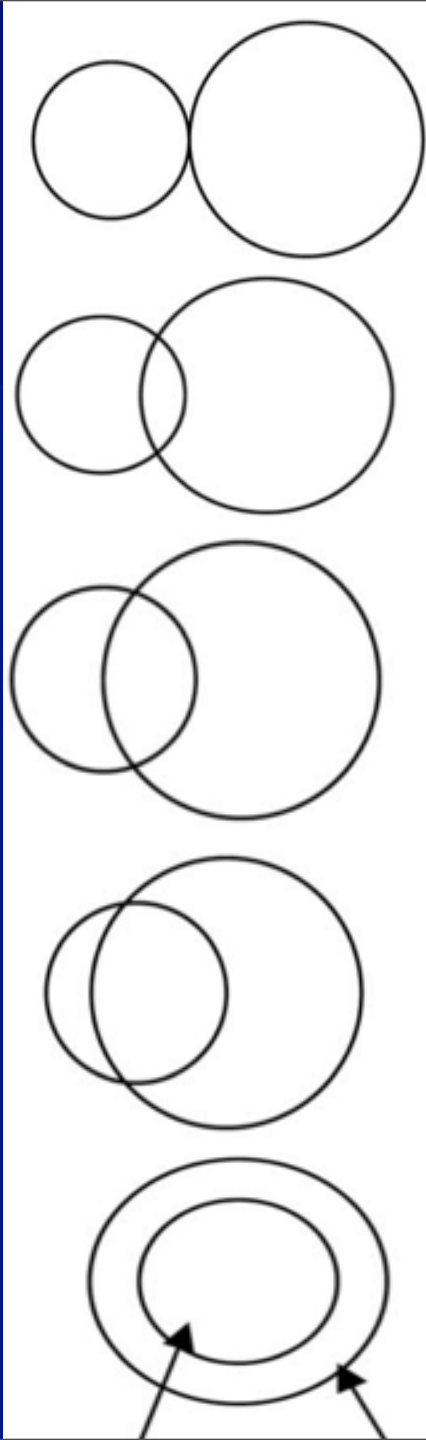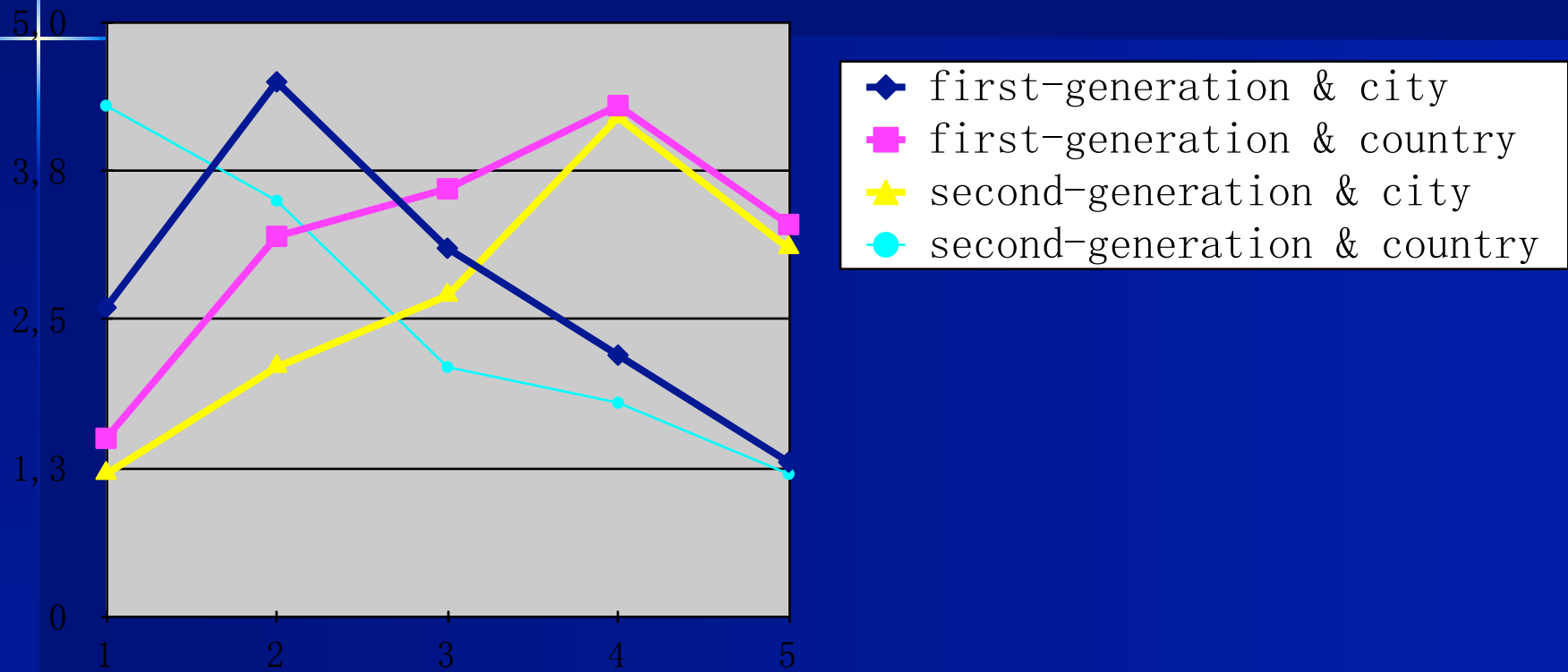
Stigmatization among first- and second-generation migrant

- Readers familiar with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (e.g., Turner et. al., 1979) may wonder how the fusion construct that we are introducing here differs from identification with the group.

- The present study supports the idea that not all rural-to-urban migrant individuals experience the same level of stigma, even though they have the same socially stigmatized stressor.

- Extract from a second-generation migrant (male, age 19, a construction worker):

- "We are fragile and sensitive, we feel are always discriminated, and we have to bear hostilities toward cities and urbanites."

- Extract from a second-generation migrant (male, age 19, a construction worker):

- "I don't understand, why, in the big city, I receive 1500 yuan a month less compared with other workers, who are doing the same kind of job in the same unit. The manager said because he is urbancitizen, he can enjoy various social benefits and subsidies. I don't understand why he can have it, but I cannot. Aren't we both Chinese? Is it true that Chinese cities are hierarchical, and Chinese people are hierarchical too?"

- Exact from a first-rural-to-urban participant (Female, age 36, Hebei province)

- …Now, I am satisfied with my life. In the past, we had been living a hard life. I could not even afford enough children educational fees. Once a farmer in Hebei province, I came to Tianjin for a job two years ago. I first worked as a waitress in a restaurant near NanKai University with a monthly salary of six hundred yuan (about $90). Later I attained a position as head waitress in that restaurant. My salary doubled, and I became the economic pillar of my family in the countryside […]. My family in the country is building a new house. Other neighbor peasants in our countryside are envy with me. So, I don't take care for urban residents attitude to me, saving money is most important to me.

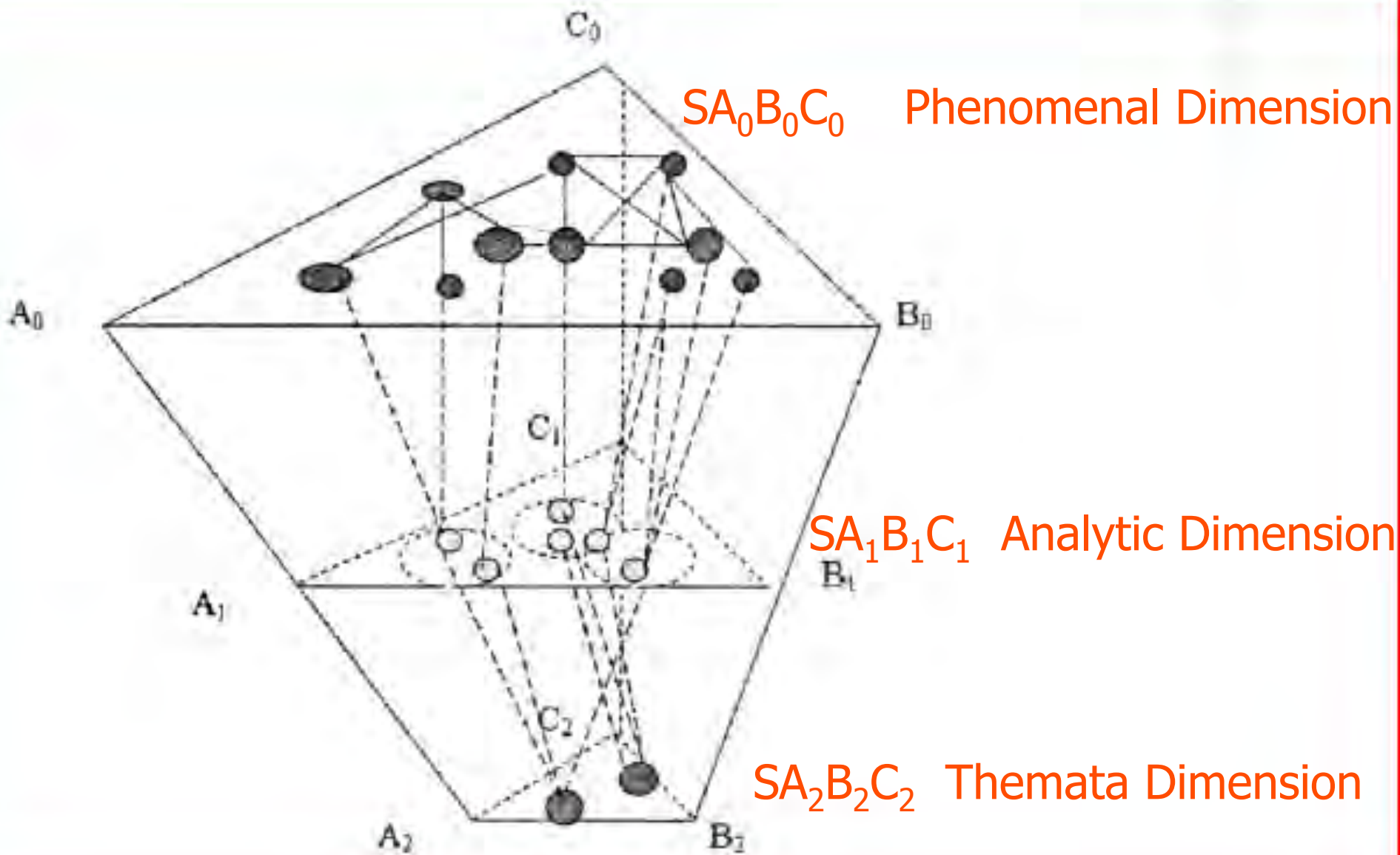# Identity Management among first- and second-generation migrant

- Attempts to avoid the stigma of prejudice, migrants often led to the development of a variety of coping strategies.

Difference	First-	Second-
behaviors	Grin and bear it	Struggle in order to change the status
social comparison	Countryside	City
social mobility	Go back to their hometown	Live in the city
social completion	low	High
attitude towards citizens	Be satisfied with life	Fell discrimination
attribution	fate	Struggle against fate
self-esteem	low	High
Context of the intergroup relationship	close	Integrate with the host group

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General Discussions of stduy-3

- The study shows that in terms of representations of difference between first urban immigrants and second urban immigrants have higher difference representation and intergenerational difference of social identity.

- This study highlighted that stigmatization and intergenerational difference of social identity of the generation urban immigrant is generated from and organized around a central themata of "self-being" and "self-making".

$SA_0B_0C_0$ Phenomenal Dimension

$SA_1B_1C_1$ Analytic Dimension

$SA_2B_2C_2$ Themata Dimension

Self-being & Self-making

Section-5

Serial Reproduction as a method for Studying Stereotype of Social Representations

- This method, originally developed by Bartlett (1932), is similar to the children's games "Chinese Whispers" or "Broken Telephone," and involves passing material (usually written text) relevant to the hypothesis being tested along chains of participants.

- When communicating, a general tendency exists for people to transmit more stereotype consistent (SC) than inconsistent (SI) information.

- Rooted in the early research of memory, serial reproduction method is passed through a chain of participants to effectively simulate chains of communication and has found information to become more stereotypical.
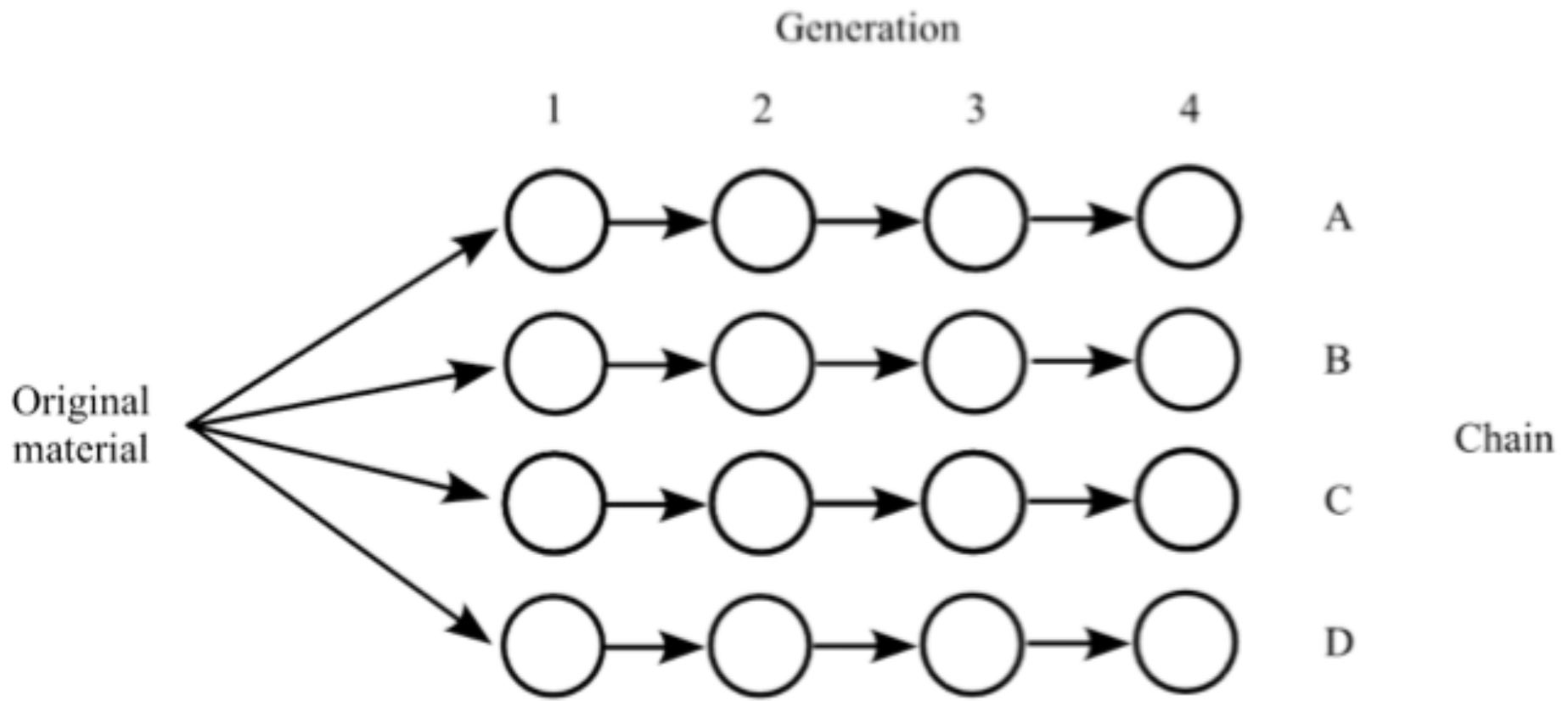
Figure 1 – Experimental design of a typical transmission chain study. The original material relevant to the hypothesis under investigation is given to the first participant (circles indicate participants) in each of four parallel chains (A-D). This material is then passed along four further participants/generations (1-4) in each chain. Changes in accuracy, quantity or content of the material can be assessed in each generation, to test for specific biases in stereotype transmission.

- An experiment is presented that uses written serial reproduction of a story that contains a mixture of SC and SI information, based on the stereotypes of migrants.

- The story focused on one main character, based on the stereotypes of this first- and second-generation group.

- The story has 872 words and was written using relatively simple language with short sentences. Embedded in the story were 9 SC clauses and 9 SI clauses that each described the main character's behaviors and mental-emotional states.

- 80 undergraduate students (43 females and 37 males) read the story before being presented with a randomized list of the stereotype-relevant items. They were asked to rate their level of agreement (0 = completely disagree to 10 = completely agree) that each item contained information typical of a migrants.

- All participants were randomly assigned to 20 four-person serial reproduction chains in this study, half of them were asked to remember and retell a first-generation immigrant's story while others had to do the same things with a second-generation immigrant's story.

	Communication condition		Memory condition	
	Central	Peripheral	Central	Peripheral
First-generation & SC	73.33	53.33	35.00	25.00
First-generation & SI	54.44	33.33	25.56	22.22
Second-generation & SC	82.78	62.22	52.22	46.11
Second-generation & SI	75.56	47.78	37.22	30.56

Table: Mean proportion of stereotype-consistent (SC) and stereotype-inconsistent (SI) clauses reproduced in the central and peripheral zones of the communication and memory conditions

- The quantitative and qualitative research showed the tendency of maintaining more stereotype consistent (SC) than inconsistent (SI) information, and messages of second generational immigrants to be maintained better while the participant's different locations shouldn't be neglected.

- In the meanwhile, the presentation and the distance of consistent information and inconsistent information in story also have an effect.

Section-6 Conclusion

Current and Future Directions and Summary

- Stigmatisation was examined in the context of social interactions, which involved both the stigmatizer and the stigmatized.

- Stigma towards migrants is not a thing-in-itself in the vacuum at any sense, but structurally bound up with the context which it emerges and circulates. It is embedded in a culture, anchored in beliefs, and manifested in everyday practices.

- Consistent with the dialogical perspective of the theory of social representations, the results from the present research show that the stigmatizer and the stigmatized were dialogically interdependent in relation to stigmatization.

- Based on our observation of the situation in China, as mentioned in the introduction, emphasizing dialogically interdependent perspective according to the theory of social representations can have important implications for stigma research.

- Using a dialogically interdependent perspective of the theory of social representations, stigma, as a dynamically interdependent knowledge is knowledge in communication and knowledge in action.

- The results implied that the stigma towards rural-to-urban migrants as a social representation was embedded deeply in the collective memory of Chinese society, and that it was generated from, and dialogically interdependent with the Chinese socio-cultural context.

Thank you!