

Adolescent Ethnic Prejudice: Understanding the Effects of Parental Extrinsic Versus Intrinsic Goal Promotion

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ABSTRACT. Based on Self-Determination Theory, the role of parental extrinsic versus intrinsic (E / I) goal promotion for adolescent ethnic prejudice and the mechanisms underlying this effect were examined in a sample of adolescents and their parents. Results indicate that paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion had a significantly positive effect on ethnic prejudice. This effect could be accounted for by differences in adolescent right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO). In addition, differences in adolescent E / I goal pursuit fully mediated the effects of parental E / I goal promotion on RWA and SDO. Finally, the effects of adolescent E / I goal pursuits on ethnic prejudice were fully mediated by RWA and SDO. Implications of these findings will be discussed.

Keywords: authoritarianism, goals, parenting, prejudice, social dominance, values

FROM AN INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES PERSPECTIVE, two dimensions have been identified as important and relatively independent predictors of (ethnic) prejudice: Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). RWA is defined as the covariation of adherence to conventional norms, uncritical subjection to authority, and feelings of aggression toward norm violators (Altemeyer, 1998). SDO delineates the extent to which one prefers intergroup relations to be hierarchical rather than equal (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Several authors have recently argued that RWA and SDO do not represent core personality traits, but should be regarded as relatively malleable cognitive beliefs that only become relatively stable in adolescence (e.g., Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002). Given that their formation

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is likely to be affected by the social environment (Altemeyer, 1998), and given that parents are considered the most important socialization agents during adolescence (Maccoby, 1984), Duriez, Soenens, and Vansteenkiste (2007a) recently investigated the impact of parental style dimensions (i.e., need support and regulation) and dimensions of parental goal promotion (i.e., extrinsic versus intrinsic and conservation versus openness to change goal promotion) on RWA and SDO. The most important conclusion of this study was that the parental promotion of extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals relates to increases in both RWA and SDO among adolescents. Building further on this finding, the present study aims to investigate whether parental extrinsic versus intrinsic goal promotion is directly related to adolescent ethnic prejudice, whether the effect of this type of goal promotion on ethnic prejudice is mediated by differences in adolescent RWA and SDO, and whether the effect of E / I goal promotion on RWA and SDO is mediated by adolescents' own goal pursuit.

Parental Extrinsic Versus Intrinsic Goal Promotion

Within Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), the importance of extrinsic versus intrinsic goal pursuits is stressed. An extrinsic goal focus pertains to a concern with making a good impression through acquiring external indicators of worth, such as financial success, physical attractiveness, and social recognition. These goals have been labeled extrinsic because of their outward orientation. In contrast, an intrinsic goal focus reflects a more inward-oriented frame aimed at realizing basic growth tendencies, such as developing one's talents, building satisfying relations, and helping people. As intrinsic goal pursuits are more conducive to the satisfaction of the psychological needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness, they relate to higher personal and relational well-being (Kasser, 2002).

Although previous research (e.g., Kasser & Ryan, 1996) focused on the correlates of *personal* E / I goal pursuits, recently, it has been argued that E / I goals cannot only be pursued to different degrees by individuals, but that E / I goals can also be promoted to a different degree by teachers, parents, managers, and societies as a whole (Vansteenkiste, Lens, & Deci, 2006). Differences in E / I goal promotion would have implications for individuals' functioning similar to the effects of individual goal pursuits: Extrinsic goal promotion is assumed to portray self-worth as dependent upon the attainment of extrinsic goals, leading people to be focused on making a good impression, while intrinsic goal promotion is assumed to encourage people to develop their inherent potential. Consistent with this, framing a learning activity in terms of the attainment of intrinsic rather than extrinsic goals was shown to result in better learning and higher achievement (e.g., Vansteenkiste, Simons, et al., 2004). The present research extends this research by focusing on the effects of E / I goal promotion on ethnic prejudice. More specifically, it examines whether parental E / I goal promotion affects

adolescent ethnic prejudice. In this respect, the present study focuses on a contextual antecedent of ethnic prejudice. This does, however, not imply that there would be no room for individual differences. In fact, we suggest that individual differences can be integrated in our contextual analysis and can explain the relation between parental E / I goal promotion and ethnic prejudice.

Parental Goal Promotion and Ethnic Prejudice

Although it has been shown that the parental promotion of extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals increases the degree to which adolescents subscribe to the prejudice dimensions of RWA and SDO (Duriez, Soenens, & Vansteenkiste, 2007a), it has not yet been investigated whether there is a direct association between parental E / I goal promotion and ethnic prejudice. A first aim of this study is to examine whether parental E / I goal promotion does predict adolescent ethnic prejudice. Given that parental E / I goal promotion would lead adolescents to focus on materialist ambitions, they are likely to experience other people as competitors and potential hazards to their own welfare. In order to attain their materialist ambitions, adolescents would objectify other people and consider them as exchangeable products (rather than as individuals per se) that should be used efficiently to get ahead in life (Kasser, 2002). This would be accompanied by decreased empathy levels. Conversely, adolescents who are raised in an intrinsic goal environment are more likely to be truly concerned with the well-being of others and to take an empathic perspective. Because empathy was found to negatively relate to ethnic prejudice (Duriez, 2004), adolescents who are raised in intrinsic environments are expected to display lower ethnic prejudice levels than people raised in extrinsic environments. A recent study by Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov, and Duarte (2003) provides indirect evidence for this. Consistent with social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), Guimond et al. (2003) demonstrated that highlighting one's dominant social position, as indexed by the extrinsic goals of material success and social status, is sufficient to generate prejudice. Because of these reasons, we expect a positive relationship between the parental promotion of extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals and adolescent ethnic prejudice (Hypothesis 1).

The Mediating Role of Prejudice Dispositions

A second aim of this study is to shed light on the mechanisms explaining the relation between parental E / I goal promotion and adolescent ethnic prejudice. Although the previous reasoning stressed the importance of empathy, we propose that, jointly, SDO and RWA can fully explain this effect. As already noted, previous research has shown that parental E / I goal promotion relates to the degree to which adolescents subscribe to RWA and SDO (Duriez et al., 2007a). In addition, previous research has shown that SDO and RWA are negatively related to empathy

and mediate its effect on ethnic prejudice (Duriez, 2004). SDO is said to arise from perceiving the world as a competitive jungle (Duckitt, 2001). According to Self-Determination Theory, environments that promote extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals should stimulate competition, and, hence, SDO (Duriez et al., 2007a). RWA, in contrast, is said to arise from perceiving the world as a dangerous place (Duckitt, 2001), and would serve to reduce the feelings of threat arising in times of psychological insecurity. In line with this, increases in indicators of RWA have been shown in times of economic and political threat (Doty, Peterson, & Winter, 1991) as well as when social threat is induced (Duckitt & Fisher, 2003). Given that RWA arises from feelings of threat and insecurity, the question can be raised as to which parental practices engender such feelings. Elaborating on an early idea of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) who assumed, relying on psychoanalysis, that the authoritarian personality takes root in punitive parental socialization, Duckitt (2001) suggested that punitive parenting activates a dangerous world belief, which should predict RWA. However, relying on social learning theory, Altemeyer (1998) argued that parents need not be harsh and unresponsive to produce authoritarian offspring, and that merely teaching and reinforcing certain values (e.g., obedience) is sufficient. From a self-determination theory perspective, environments promoting extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals would prompt concerns about appearance and status, which lead to stressful interpersonal comparisons that arouse feelings of insecurity. Hence, it can be expected that, when parents stress extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals, they will arouse feelings of insecurity in their children that might lead them to also adopt RWA. In sum, the parental promotion of extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals can be expected to make adolescents prone to adopt RWA and SDO, which in turn would lead them to embrace ethnic prejudice. In other words, the relationship between parental E / I goal promotion and ethnic prejudice is expected to be fully mediated by adolescent RWA and SDO (Hypothesis 2).

The Mediating Role of Adolescent Goal Pursuit

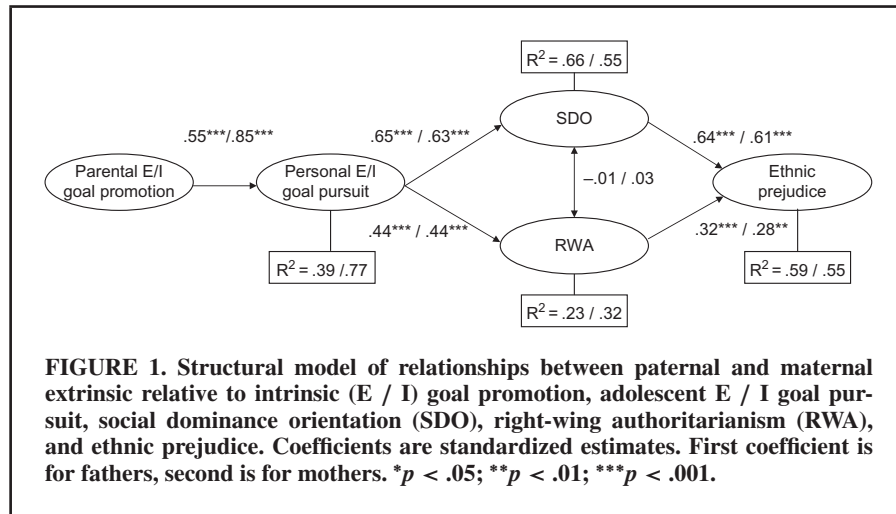
A third aim of this study is to shed light on the mechanisms mediating the effect of parental E / I goal promotion on adolescent RWA and SDO. We suggest that the type of goals parents promote is likely to shape adolescents' goal-strivings. When parents promote extrinsic goals, adolescents are more likely to organize their lives around the attainment of such goals. In contrast, parental intrinsic goal promotion is likely to result in an increased focus on intrinsic goals. Studies examining the parental antecedents of adolescents' E / I goal pursuits found that adolescents reared in cold and controlling families were more likely to adopt an extrinsic goal pursuit, presumably because such environments fail to support self-expression and engender feelings of insecurity (e.g., Kasser, Koestner, & Lekes, 2002). The development of an extrinsic goal focus would be an attempt to

cope with these insecurities (Kasser, 2002). The present study examines whether the type of goals parents promote, rather than the child rearing styles they employ, predict adolescents' goal pursuit. We expect adolescent goal pursuit to mediate the effect of parental goal promotion on RWA and SDO. Specifically, we expect extrinsically oriented adolescents to be more likely to adopt SDO because this helps them attain the extrinsic goals that are shaped by their parents, and to be more likely to endorse RWA because this helps them overcome the insecurities arising from materialist goal inductions. Duriez, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, and De Witte (2007b) provided initial support for this by showing that an E / I goal pursuit predicts SDO. In sum, the parental promotion of extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals can be expected to lead adolescents to pursue of extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals, which in turn would lead them to adopt RWA and SDO. In other words, the relation between parental E / I goal promotion and RWA and SDO is expected to be fully mediated by differences in adolescent goal pursuit (Hypothesis 3).

Present Research

The present research aims to test three hypotheses: a) Parental E / I goal promotion relates to adolescent ethnic prejudice, b) differences in adolescent RWA and SDO can explain (i.e., mediate) this link, and c) the effect of E / I goal promotion on RWA and SDO can be explained (i.e., is mediated) by the fact that adolescents internalize these goals and start pursuing them themselves. In doing so, the present research elaborates on previous research in several ways. First, although previous research has shown that parental E / I goal promotion leads adolescents to embrace RWA and SDO (Duriez et al., 2007a), a direct association between parental E / I goal promotion and ethnic prejudice has never been shown. Second, although a relation between parental E / I goal promotion and SDO has been established on several occasions, evidence for a link between parental E / I goal promotion and RWA is mixed, with this relation coming to the fore in Duriez et al. (2007a) but not in Duriez, Soenens, and Vansteenkiste (2008). Most likely, this was because of the fact that, in the latter study, differences in another type of parental goal promotion (i.e., openness to change versus conservation goal promotion) were also modelled, obscuring the pure effects of parental E / I goal promotion. Third, to my knowledge, this is the first study to investigate whether the relation of parental E / I goal promotion with RWA and SDO can be explained by the fact that adolescents internalize these parental goals.

As already mentioned, parts of the proposed model (see Figure 1) have already been addressed in previous studies. More specifically, Duriez and colleagues (2007a, 2008) tested the direct relation between parental E / I goal promotion and adolescent RWA and SDO, and Duriez and colleagues (2007b) tested the mediating role of SDO in the relation between personal E / I goal pursuit and ethnic prejudice. In order to test whether these previous findings can



be replicated and in order to test the present hypotheses, new data were gathered. These also allow checking whether the relationship between adolescents' personal E / I goal pursuit and ethnic prejudice can be fully accounted for by differences in RWA and SDO, or whether personal E / I goal pursuit has predictive power over and beyond RWA and SDO. In this respect, personal E / I goal pursuit has been found to predict ethnic prejudice over and beyond SDO (Duriez et al., 2007b). However, we expect that the remainder of this direct effect can be explained by differences in RWA. If the path from personal E / I goal pursuit to ethnic prejudice is fully mediated by differences in RWA and SDO, this would imply that RWA and SDO serve to cover up an egoistic self-interest. This would be in line with social dominance theory that proposes that people tend to revert to legitimizing myths to justify and maintain their privileged social position or even to acquire such a position (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Method

Participants

Participants were Flemish-speaking Belgian high-school students following an academic track who were recruited in secondary schools ($N = 397$) in the Flemish-speaking part of Belgium and who took part during school hours ($M = 16.27$; 46% male) without receiving any course credit or the like. Pupils received additional questionnaires for their mother and father, and were asked to return these in a closed envelop. In total, 251 mothers (63%) and 217 fathers

(55%) of Belgian nationality participated in the research. Four percent of the fathers and 7% of the mothers had dropped out of school by the end of ninth grade; 19% of the fathers and 18% of the mothers had completed high school; and 77% of the fathers and 75% of the mothers had completed higher education. After listwise deletion of missing values, 240 mother-child and 210 father-child dyads were retained. Independent samples *t*-tests showed no differences in adolescent perceptions of either maternal or paternal goal promotion as a function of whether their mothers and fathers participated [$t(393) = 1.26$ and 1.41 , *ns*, respectively], suggesting that the final sample was comparable with the initial sample.

Measures

All of the measures that were used in the present study were shown to be both valid and reliable in previous research. As in previous research using these scales, five-point likert scale items anchored by *completely disagree* and *completely agree* were used for all measures. Adolescents completed a 6-item ethnic prejudice scale assessing anti-immigrants attitudes (Duriez et al. 2007b; e.g., “Immigrants come here to profit from our social security system” and “The Islam threatens Western culture”; Cronbach alpha = .89, $M = 2.44$, $SD = 0.93$), a 14-item RWA scale (Duriez et al., 2007a; e.g. “Obedience and respect for authority are among the most important virtues children should learn”; Cronbach alpha = .71, $M = 2.82$, $SD = 0.47$), a 14-item SDO scale (Duriez et al., 2007a; e.g., “It’s sometimes necessary to step on others to get ahead in life”; Cronbach alpha = .85, $M = 2.40$, $SD = 0.62$), and a 12-item E / I goal pursuit scale (Duriez et al., 2007b) assessing the importance of the extrinsic goals of financial success (e.g., “It is important for me to be financially successful in life”), social recognition (e.g., “It is important for me to be admired by others”), and physical attractiveness (e.g., “It is important for me to be physically attractive and appealing to others”), and the intrinsic goals of self-development (e.g., “It is important for me to develop my talents”), community contribution (e.g., “It is important for me to help other people”), and affiliation (e.g., “It is important for me to develop close relations with friends”). After control for response sets, the scree plot of a higher order explanatory factor analysis pointed to one factor (explaining 40% of the variance) on which each extrinsic scale had a minimal positive loading of .50 and each intrinsic scale had a minimal negative loading of $-.50$. A personal E / I goal pursuit score was created by summing the extrinsic and reversed intrinsic scales (Cronbach alpha = .76, $M = -0.95$, $SD = 0.81$). Positive scores indicate a preference for extrinsic rather than intrinsic goals.

Finally, adolescent and parent participants received an amended version of the E / I goal pursuit scale measuring (perceived parental) E / I goal promotion (Duriez et al., 2007a; e.g., the item “It is important for me to be financially successful in life” was reworded to “My father finds it important that I’m financially successful in life” for adolescents and to “I find it important that my son/daughter

is financially successful in life” for parents). In order to control for systematic response sets, an individual’s mean score was subtracted from the individual scores, after which exploratory factor analyses were conducted. The scree plot pointed to one-factor solutions, explaining between 43% and 51% of the variance for (perceived) maternal and paternal E / I goal promotion. Intrinsic scales always had a minimal positive loading $>.50$ and extrinsic scales had a minimal negative loading $<-.50$ on this factor. Subsequently, (perceived) maternal and paternal E / I goal promotion scores were computed by summing the extrinsic and reversed intrinsic scales. Cronbach alpha’s were $.75$ ($M = -1.20$, $SD = 0.79$) and $.78$ ($M = -1.11$, $SD = 0.89$) for adolescent reports of maternal and paternal E / I goal promotion, and $.78$ ($M = -1.67$, $SD = 0.72$) and $.75$ ($M = -1.59$, $SD = 0.72$) for maternal and paternal reports of E / I goal promotion. Positive scores indicate the promotion of extrinsic rather than intrinsic goals.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

In line with previous research (e.g., Duriez et al., 2007b), univariate ANOVA-analyses indicated that boys scored higher than girls on E / I goal pursuit, $F(1, 392) = 9.54$, $p < .01$, SDO, $F(1, 390) = 22.29$, $p < .001$, and ethnic prejudice, $F(1, 389) = 10.96$, $p < .01$. Although no gender differences occurred in the parent reports of E / I goal promotion, differences emerge in the adolescent reports. Boys perceived mothers, $F(1, 393) = 7.54$, $p < .01$, and fathers, $F(1, 381) = 5.02$, $p < .05$, to promote E / I goals to a greater extent than girls. Parental educational level related significantly negatively to parent and adolescent reports of E / I goal promotion, RWA and prejudice ($r = -.20$, $-.15$, $-.16$, and $-.16$ for fathers, and $r = -.28$, $-.19$, $-.32$, and $-.20$ for mothers, $ps < .05$). In addition, maternal educational level related negatively to E / I goal pursuit ($r = -.17$, $p < .05$). Therefore, in the primary analyses, we controlled for adolescent gender and parental level of education. Table 1 shows the correlations between the variables for father-child and mother-child dyads.

Primary Analyses

Measurement model. To adjust for measurement error, Structural Equation Modeling with latent variables was performed using Lisrel 8.54 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1996). Latent variables were represented by parcels rather than items because this has several advantages: It results in less indicators, parcels are likely to have a stronger relationship to the latent variables, are less likely to suffer from method effects, and are more likely to meet normality assumptions (Marsh, Hau, Balla, & Grayson, 1998). In order to get a better estimation of the actual parental E / I goal promotion level, paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion were

TABLE 1. Correlations (Mothers Below and Fathers Above Diagonal)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. E / I goal promotion (parent report)		.36***	.18**	.15*	.16*	.26***
2. E / I goal promotion (adolescent report)	.33***		.47***	.18***	.34***	.33***
3. Personal E / I goal pursuit	.31***	.53***		.32***	.46***	.38***
4. Right-wing authoritarianism	.28***	.21***	.33***		.32***	.43***
5. Social dominance orientation	.26***	.39***	.46***	.31***		.59***
6. Ethnic prejudice	.32***	.35***	.38***	.43***	.59***	

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

identified by taking the common variance of parent and adolescent reports (for a similar procedure, see Schwarz, Barton-Henry, & Pruzinsky, 1985). Personal E / I strivings were identified by three parcels containing one randomly selected extrinsic and (reversed) intrinsic scale. For RWA, SDO and ethnic prejudice, three parcels were created by randomly splitting these scales in three parts. Hence, parceling resulted in 16 indicators (i.e., 14 parcels, adolescent gender, and parental educational level). Because data screening revealed data non-normality, both the covariance matrices and the asymptotic covariance matrices were used as input, and the Satorra-Bentler Scaled chi-square (SBS- χ^2) was inspected. Solutions were generated using maximum-likelihood estimations, and several fit indices were used: The SBS- χ^2 to degree of freedom ratio (SBS- χ^2 / df), the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI). Good model fit is indicated by SBS- χ^2 values ≤ 3.0 (Kline, 1998) and combined cut-off values $\leq .08$ for RMSEA and $\geq .95$ for CFI (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Estimation of the paternal and maternal models, in which the errors of the parcels capturing adolescent goal pursuit and of the adolescent reports of parental goal promotion were allowed to correlate in order to exclude unwanted shared variance, yielded good fit, SBS- χ^2 (82) = 158.26 and 216.13; SBS- χ^2 / df = 1.93 and 2.64; RMSEA = .067 and .082; and CFI = .97 and .95 for fathers and mothers, respectively. All parcels had a strong loading on their corresponding latent factor (mean lambda = .74 for fathers and .72 for mothers).

Structural model. Our hypotheses were tested in three steps, always controlling for the effects of adolescent gender and parental educational level by allowing paths to all latent construct. For each hypothesis, a full mediation model in

which independent and dependent variable are only indirectly related through the hypothesized mediating variable was compared with a partial mediation model including an additional path from independent to dependent variable. Step 1 tested the direct path from parental E / I goal promotion to ethnic prejudice. The initial models fitted both the paternal and maternal data, SBS- χ^2 (10) = 11.65 and 24.90; SBS- χ^2 / *df* = 1.17 and 2.49; RMSEA = .024 and .079; and CFI = .99 and .97, respectively, and revealed significant effects of paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion on ethnic prejudice (β = .47 and .64, p < .001). Step 2, examined whether RWA and SDO would account for these effects. The full mediation models, which allowed error correlations between RWA and SDO, fitted the paternal and maternal data: SBS- χ^2 (53) = 103.34 and 141.36; SBS- χ^2 / *df* = 1.95 and 2.67; RMSEA = .067 and .084; and CFI = .97 and .95, respectively. Direct paths did not improve model fit, SBS- χ^2 diff (1) = 3.31 and 1.85, p > .05, and were no longer significant. In line with a full mediation hypothesis, the indirect effect of E / I goal promotion to prejudice through SDO and RWA was significant for fathers and mothers (z = 3.14 and 3.42, ps < .05), and all coefficients related to the structural paths were significant. Step 3 added adolescents' E / I goal pursuit to the model to examine whether it would account for the effect of E / I goal promotion on RWA and SDO. The full mediation model fit the paternal and maternal data: SBS- χ^2 (86) = 161.80 and 221.55; SBS- χ^2 / *df* = 1.88 and 2.58; RMSEA = .065 and .081; and CFI = .97 and .95, respectively. Direct paths from paternal E / I goal promotion to SDO or RWA, SBS- χ^2 diff (1) = 0.56 and 0.00, and from maternal E / I goal promotion to SDO or RWA, SBS- χ^2 diff (1) = 0.89 and 0.28, did not significantly improve model fit, and were not significant. In line with a full mediation hypothesis, the indirect paths from paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion to SDO (z = 4.57 and 5.48, ps < .001) and RWA (z = 2.93 and 3.34, ps < .01) through E / I goal pursuit were significant, and all structural paths were significant (see Figure 1). Adding a direct path from personal E / I goal pursuit to ethnic prejudice did not significantly improve model fit in either the maternal or the paternal model, SBS- χ^2 diff (1) = 0.02 and 0.02, and these direct paths were not significant.

Discussion

Parental E / I goal promotion predicted adolescent ethnic prejudice. Apparently, E / I goal promotion stimulates adolescents to pursue extrinsic over intrinsic goals, which, in turn, leads them to adopt SDO and RWA, which, in turn, predicted ethnic prejudice. Results extend previous research within Self-Determination Theory as well as previous research on socialization and prejudice.

The parenting domain has paid attention to how norms and values are introduced to adolescents by examining the impact of parental style dimensions such as responsiveness (Maccoby, 1984). In line with recent research (Duriez

et al., 2007a), the study focused on another important aspect of socialization: The type of values that are transmitted. Although substantial attention has been paid to the issue of value transmission (e.g., Schönplflug, 2001), less attention has been paid to whether the content of this transmission (i.e., intrinsic versus extrinsic values) yields different consequences for adolescent functioning. Self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) focuses on such differential consequences, and within this theory, attention has been paid to the differential impact of extrinsic and intrinsic goals and values on individual functioning (e.g., Vansteenkiste et al., 2006). The present study elaborated on previous research within self-determination theory by demonstrating the impact of parental E / I goal promotion on ethnic prejudice. More specifically, the present findings make it clear that the more parents promote extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals, the more likely it is that their offspring will have negative attitudes toward immigrants from a different race and culture. In this way, the parental promotion of extrinsic at the expense of intrinsic goals seems to jeopardize the peaceful coexistence of people with different cultural backgrounds within the same nation. These findings are compatible with the findings of Duriez and colleagues (2007a), who found that the type of goals that parents promote affect both the prejudice dispositions of RWA and SDO. Extending this previous research, the present study shows that parental E / I goal promotion does not only influence adolescent RWA and SDO, but also directly influences adolescents' attitudes towards immigrants from a different culture.

The present research also suggests that a view on the social antecedents of ethnic prejudice can be integrated with an individual differences perspective on prejudice. Specifically, the present study shows that important prejudice dispositions among adolescents that have been identified in past research, i.e., RWA and SDO, mediate the relationship between parental E / I goal promotion and adolescent ethnic prejudice and, hence, seem to take root in the type of goals emphasized within the family themselves. In addition, the present study investigated how parental E / I goal promotion affects RWA and SDO. Results suggest that adolescents' personal E / I goal pursuit can explain these links, and that people who pursue extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals try to legitimize their ethnic prejudice by reverting to hierarchy-enhancing ideologies. In this respect, RWA and SDO were found to take root to a large extent in predominantly extrinsic goal pursuits. Notably, the relation between parental E / I goal promotion and individual E / I goal pursuit was quite strong, suggesting that parents are important role models for the goal pursuits of their offspring. Adolescents who adopt the pursuit of extrinsic rather than intrinsic goals are likely to subscribe to SDO, probably because this helps them to attain the materialist ambitions that were promoted by their parents, and are likely to subscribe to RWA, probably because this helps them overcome the insecurity engendered by this type of goal promotion. Future research might want to further investigate these hypothetical mechanisms.

Limitations

First, although we proposed a process model accounting for the effect of parental E / I goal promotion on ethnic prejudice, all relations are cross-sectional. Longitudinal research is needed to explore whether parental E / I goal promotion leads to increases in ethnic prejudice over time. Second, although both parents and adolescents provided assessments of parental E / I goal promotion, all other variables were reported by adolescents only. Future research might want to include observer ratings of these variables or peer-nomination procedures to explore whether parental E / I goal promotion predicts affiliation with ethnically prejudiced friends. Third, our research assessed directly and openly expressed ethnic prejudice. Numerous authors have argued that prejudice can also be expressed in a more covert and subtle fashion (e.g., Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Future research might also measure this type of ethnic prejudice. However, if E / I goal promotion affects overt ethnic prejudice, we would predict it to certainly have an effect on more subtle forms, because open expressions of ethnic prejudice are likely to be accompanied by subtle expressions, whereas the opposite is not necessarily true. Fourth, the data collection in the present study was limited to one specific region (i.e., Flanders, Belgium). Although we expect our results to generalize to other countries, future research might explicitly test this.

Conclusion

The present research identified one important social-contextual factor that helps to understand adolescent ethnic prejudice. If parents promote extrinsic goals at the expense of intrinsic goals, their offspring are more likely to display ethnic prejudice. This effect occurs because adolescents tend to internalize the goals that are promoted by the parents, which, in turn, leads them to adopt SDO and RWA. If parents want their children to become open-minded and tolerant individuals, they might do well in downplaying the importance of extrinsic goal contents. Instead, parents might try to create an environment that highlights the importance of building up satisfying relationships, helping others without expecting something in return, and developing one's talents and potential.

AUTHOR NOTE

Bart Duriez is a Post-doctoral Fellow of the Fund for Scientific Research Flanders (FWO) who is working at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). His main research interest is on authoritarianism, although he also published articles on topics as diverse as religiosity, goals and values, perfectionism, parenting, empathy, identity styles, et cetera.

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Received November 20, 2008

Accepted April 20, 2010